RELIGIOUS THOUGHT
BEYOND DENOMINATIONAL BORDERS
IN THE MEDIEVAL WORLD OF ISLAM

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Summary

By means of a theoretical introduction and fourteen case studies, this dissertation formulates and validates its overarching thesis: that religious thought in the pre-modern world of Islam has at its core a trans-denominational disposition and therefore requires a historiographical approach that systematically and methodically transcends the boundaries of individual religious communities.

Irrespective of the religious community, religious thought is the result of a constant and open-ended effort to understand, organize and explain the manifold and changing manifestations of one's own religion. The present dissertation understands these endeavours as an intellectual practice that has an irreducibly trans-denominational and trans-cultural complexion, as it is in constant exchange with other intellectual practices and decisively shaped by these transactions.

In a first step (I.), the introductory essay presents various reasons why historical accounts of religious thought tend to remain within the confines of a particular religion or denomination, thus conveying the deceptive impression that religions are self-referential and self-contained entities. This tendency towards navel-gazing has been bolstered by the formation of disciplinary segmentation in Western academia, which has assigned a separate specialist discipline to each of the major religious traditions. At best, these disciplines engage in scattered exchanges with disciplines assigned to other religious traditions and occasionally resort to a comparative approach.

In a second step, the basic components of trans-denominational religious thought are presented based on action-theoretical models that have been adopted from transcultural theories. Following the lead of transcultural theories, religious thought is understood as an aggregate of intentional and unintentional transactions that are marked by the characteristics of agents (II.1.), the constitution of commodities (II.2.), places and contexts (II.3.), and the type and mode of the (trans-)action (II.4.).

The third part of the introductory essay (III.) presents the fourteen case studies included in this dissertation with reference to the afore-mentioned components of trans-denominational religious thought by clarifying which of them is relevant to each case study.

The fourth part (IV.) traces precursors for the emergence of a trans-denominational approach to the history of religious thought within the humanities at European universities and outlines processes of disciplinarisation that hampered this development. Until well into the nineteenth century, 'oriental' religions were primarily studied from the vantage point of Christian theology and closely linked to the study of 'oriental' languages, each of which was assigned to a specific religious tradition, while at the same time being subordinate and auxiliary to the study of the biblical languages. The gradual abolition of admission restrictions for Jewish university teachers over the course of the 19th century generated a necessary condition that furthered the emergence of rudimentary trans-denominational approaches to religious thought. Such developments were dealt a heavy blow prior to World War II, not least because of the employment ban imposed on Jewish government employees. In recent decades, efforts to promote a trans-denominational approach to the history of religions and religious thought have again gathered pace thanks to the adoption of new methodological approaches from the historical science, the social sciences, and anthropology, which put an emphasis on trans-cultural relationality, entanglement, interconnectedness, and interaction.

The final section of the introductory essay outlines the basic points of a heuristic framework that structures the trans-denominational approach to the history of religious thought.

The fourteen case studies that follow the introductory essay are divided into three thematic clusters in accordance with their thematic thrust:

The nine studies in the first cluster deal with various aspects of the Jewish Muʿtazila. The Muʿtazila was a dominant strand of speculative thought during the ʿAbbāsid period that has typically been presented as an Islamic school of thought. Jewish Muʿtazilism is not only a reflection of the fact that Jewish religious thought was at the time decisively shaped by the socio-cultural milieu of the Islamic world, but also makes plain that Jewish champions of Muʿtazilī thought actively contributed to advancing the intellectual profile of this school of speculative thought. Their works constitute therefore an invaluable source with a view to drawing a more nuanced picture of Muʿtazilī thought.

The second thematic cluster comprises four case studies that demonstrate the trans-denominational character of religious thought during the heyday of Copto-Arabic literature in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. During this period, the transformation of religious thought was driven by Coptic clerics and intellectuals whose family members held key positions in the Ayyubid state administration and thus enjoyed privileged access to the canon of knowledge of the educated elite. Based on the reception of the works of Maimonides and Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī in major works by Coptic authors, the studies in this cluster exemplify that the renewal of religious thought in Coptic Christianity was largely negotiated through terms and concepts fleshed out in non-Christian literature.

The third thematic cluster explores cross-connections between the thought of major representatives of *kalām* and Galenic literature during the ʿAbbāsid period. Generally, these two knowledge traditions have been associated with two sharply separated epistemic communities that functioned independently from each other and in mutual ignorance of one another. In stark contrast to this assumption, my study points to social and intellectual contexts that provided recurring opportunities for exchange of ideas between two discrete bodies of knowledge. In addition, the relationship between *kalām* and the Galenic tradition is reassessed and resituated in the light of late antique points of contact between patristic and Galenic literature.

Using the example of the concepts of 'desire'/'aversion' and 'pleasure'/'pain' in Muʿtazilī literature, the second part of the study seeks to demonstrate that specific views of the eminent physician Abū Bakr Muḥammad bin Zakariyyāʾ al-Rāzī prompted intra-Mutazilī debates.

The emphasis on the trans-denominational condition of religious thought, which constitutes the common thread of the fourteen case studies included in this dissertation, is grounded in the methodological hypothesis that the dynamic history of religious thought is best explored and understood in light of a trans-denominational approach, as it reveals important facets of religious thought that remain hidden to a self-referential, mono-denominational historiography.

Zusammenfassung

Mit einem theoretischen Rahmen und vierzehn Fallstudien formuliert und begründet die vorliegende Dissertation eine übergreifende These: religiöses Denken hat im Kern eine trans-denominationale Disposition und Verankerung und erfordert demnach einen historiographischen Zugang, der die Grenzen einzelner Religionsgemeinschaften systematisch und methodisch überschreitet.

Unabhängig von der Religionsgemeinschaft ist religiöses Denken Ausdruck eines fortdauernden Bestrebens, die vielfältigen und sich wandelnden Erscheinungs- und

Äußerungsformen der je eigenen Religion zu verstehen, zu ordnen und zu erklären. Die vorliegende Arbeit versteht diese Verstehens- und Erklärungsbemühungen als intellektuelle Praxis, die zwangsläufig trans-denominational und trans-kulturell bestimmt ist, da sie in stetigem Austausch mit anderen intellektuellen Praxen steht und von dieser Auseinandersetzung wesentlich geprägt wird.

In einem ersten Schritt werden verschiedene Gründe angeführt, weshalb historische Darstellungen religiösen Denkens sich vorwiegend innerhalb der Grenzen einzelner Religionen oder Konfessionen bewegen und so den trügerischen Eindruck vermitteln, dass es sich bei Religionen um in sich abgeschlossene, selbstreferenzielle Gebilde handeln würde. Diese Tendenz der Selbstbezogenheit wird durch die historisch gewachsene Auffächerung der Geisteswissenschaften an westlichen Universitäten verstärkt, wonach jeder Religion eine je separate Fachdisziplin zugeordnet wird, die bestenfalls in gelegentlichem Austausch mit Fachdisziplinen anderer Religionen steht oder in komparativen Bezug zu ihnen gestellt wird.

In einem zweiten Schritt werden die Grundbestandteile des trans-denominationalen religiösen Denkens in Anlehnung an handlungstheoretische Modelle transkultureller Theorien präsentiert. Demnach wird religiöses Denken als ein Aggregat von gewollten und ungewollten Transaktionen verstanden, welches durch die Eigenschaften von Akteuren (II.1.), die Beschaffenheit von Gütern (II.2.), Orte und Kontexte (II.3.) sowie die Art und Weise der Handlung (II.4.) konstituiert wird.

Der dritte Teil des einleitenden Essays erläutert die vierzehn in der Dissertation enthaltenen Fallstudien unter Bezugnahme auf die zuvor herausgearbeiteten Grundkomponenten trans-denominationalen religiösen Denkens und verdeutlicht welche dieser Komponenten in jedem Fallbeispiel zum Tragen kommen.

Der vierte Teil skizziert die zaghafte Herausbildung einer trans-denominationalen Herangehensweise an die Geschichte des religiösen Denkens und beschreibt Entstehungskontexte der Geisteswissenschaften in Europa, die einer solchen Entwicklung im Wege standen. Bis weit ins neunzehnte Jahrhundert wurden die 'orientalischen' Religionen vornehmlich aus der Warte der christlichen Theologie erforscht und eng mit dem Studium einer der jeweiligen Religion zugeordneten 'orientalischen' Sprache verknüpft, die dem Studium der biblischen Sprachen nachgeordnet war. Erst mit der stufenweisen Aufhebung der Zulassungsbeschränkungen für jüdische Lehrkräfte im Laufe des 19. Jahrhunderts wurden Bedingungen geschaffen, die der ansatzweisen Entwicklung trans-denominationaler Forschungsansätze förderlich waren. Viele dieser Bemühungen wurden jedoch durch die Zäsur des Zweiten Weltkriegs wieder zunichte gemacht. In jüngerer Zeit wurden Bestrebungen zur Förderung einer trans-denominationalen Geschichtsschreibung der Religionen vor allem durch die Übernahme methodologischer Ansätze aus den Kultur- und Sozialwissenschaften, der Geschichtswissenschaft und der Anthropologie begünstigt, die ihr Augenmerk auf kulturübergreifende Relationalität, Interaktion, Verflechtung und Vernetzung richten.

Zum Abschluss des einleitenden Essays werden Ansatzpunkte einer heuristischen Rahmenstruktur skizziert, die als Grundlage einer trans-denominationalen Historiographie des religiösen Denkens dienen können.

Die dem einleitenden Essay folgenden vierzehn Fallstudien werden aufgrund ihrer thematischen Ausrichtung in drei Themenblöcke unterteilt:

Die neun Studien des ersten Blocks beschäftigen sich mit diversen Aspekten der jüdischen Mu'tazila. Die Mu'tazila war eine bedeutende Denkschule der abbasidischen Zeit, die gemeinhin

als islamische Denkströmung bekannt ist. Die jüdische Muʿtazila veranschaulicht nicht nur, wie stark das religiöse Denken des Judentums im gesellschaftlich-kulturellen Umfeld der islamischen Welt verankert war, sondern macht auch deutlich, dass jüdische Vertreter diese Denkrichtung entscheidend mitgeprägt haben. Ihre Werke tragen denn auch wesentlich dazu bei, eine differenziertere Darstellung des muʿtazilitischen Denkens zu erreichen.

Der zweite thematische Block umfasst vier Fallstudien, die den trans-denominationalen Charakter religiösen Denkens während der Blütezeit der koptisch-arabischen Literatur im dreizehnten und vierzehnten Jahrhundert aufzeigen. In dieser Zeitspanne wurde die Transformation religiösen Denkens von koptischen Geistlichen und Intellektuellen vorangetrieben, deren Familienmitglieder Schlüsselämter in der ayyubidischen Staatsverwaltung innehatten und dadurch privilegierten Zugang zum Wissenskanon der Bildungselite genossen. Ausgehend von der Rezeption der Werke Maimonides' und Faḫr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī's in wichtigen Schriften koptischer Autoren wird nachgewiesen, dass die Erneuerung religiösen Denkens koptischer Christen in hohem Maße von Begriffen und Konzepten nicht-christlicher Denker geprägt wurde.

Der dritte thematische Block spürt Querverbindungen zwischen Vertretern des *kalām* und der galenischen Literatur nach. Üblicherweise werden diese beiden Wissenstraditionen zwei scharf getrennten epistemischen Gemeinschaften zugeordnet, die unabhängig voneinander und in gegenseitiger Unkenntnis gewirkt haben. Im Gegensatz dazu weist meine Untersuchung auf soziale und intellektuelle Kontexte hin, die Gelegenheiten für den Austausch zwischen beiden Traditionen boten. Darüber hinaus wird das Verhältnis zwischen *kalām* und Medizin auch im Lichte spätantiker Berührungspunkte zwischen patristischer und galenischer Literatur neu bewertet und verortet.

Der zweite Teil der Studie belegt am Beispiel der Konzepte 'Begierde'/'Abneigung' und 'Genuss'/'Schmerz' in der muʿtazilitischen Literatur, dass spezifische Ansichten des berühmten Arztes Abū Bakr Muḥammad bin Zakariyyā' al-Rāzī einen direkten Einfluss auf inner-mutazilitische Debatten hatten.

Die Hervorhebung der trans-denominationalen Beschaffenheit religiösen Denkens, welche die vierzehn Fallstudien dieser Dissertation vereint, verdankt sich einer methodologischen Hypothese, wonach die dynamische Geschichte des religiösen Denkens in erster Linie aus einer transdenominationalen Perspektive beleuchtet und erklärt werden soll. Dadurch können Aspekte religiösen Denkens sichtbar gemacht werden, die einer Nabelschau betreibenden Historiographie verborgen bleiben.

RELIGIOUS THOUGHT BEYOND DENOMINATIONAL BOUNDARIES IN THE MEDIEVAL WORLD OF ISLAM

Thesis

In this dissertation, I present fourteen case studies that bear out its overarching thesis: that religious thought in the pre-modern world of Islam is inextricably trans-denominational. Accordingly, any historiographical account of religious thought that seeks to live up to the intertwined condition of its object of investigation is bound to opt for an approach that is trans-denominational in both scope and method. The thesis stands in contrast to the assessment that such an approach has only rarely been employed in a consistent and systematic manner.

In keeping with their thematic thrust, the case studies included in this dissertation are subdivided into three main thematic clusters: (1) Jewish Mu'tazilism; (2) the renaissance of Copto-Arabic literature; and (3) early *Kalām* and the Galenic tradition. Each cluster and every single case study included here is designed to contribute to the validation of the above-stated main thesis and to bear out its soundness.

After a general introduction that outlines the main observations that prompted me to posit the underlying thesis and clarifies the key terms (I.), I will first set forth the constituent parts of trans-denominational religious thought (II.) and elaborate how they come into play in each of the fourteen case studies (III.). The trans-denominational complexion of religious thought calls for a corresponding approach, and that will be developed in the final section of this introductory essay (IV.).

I. Introduction

Academic research on the history of religious thought, its intellectual strands, and related educational institutions in the Islamicate world has traditionally been divided along the lines of rigid confessional and religious boundaries. This denominational fragmentation is due in no small measure to the formation of narrowly defined academic fields and isolated areas of expertise within the humanities at Western universities.

The making of the humanities and its prevalent disciplinarity over the last centuries will help us to understand why modern historiography of the Islamicate world in general and its intellectual history in particular has been trapped within the confines of rigid denominational compartmentalisation and fallen short of depicting the various religious communities as parts of one single comprehensive and integrative cultural unit.

In order to reach a complete or balanced view of the complex ensemble of available data and sources, boundaries imposed by traditional disciplinary division must be transgressed. They defy historical reality. In virtually all areas of socio-cultural practice and intellectual production, the various communities neither existed in self-contained cultural bubbles nor functioned as autonomous thought laboratories, but were tightly interconnected parts of one cultural sphere. They represent a dynamic complex of practices and reflections that were perpetually evolving and in continuous exchange with their respective socio-cultural milieus. Within this complex, ideas flowed into each other and merged without regard for denominational boundaries.

Fittingly, the intellectual history of the Islamicate world has been compared to a marketplace where "ideas and motifs moved from one religious or theological system to another, slightly modifying the system into which they were adopted, and, in the process, undergoing some transformation themselves".[1] No less than commodities, religious thought is subject to patterns of dissemination, circulation, and competition.

The quest for a history of religious thought beyond denominational boundaries in the Islamicate world not only emphasises the need to transgress real and imagined borders separating religious communities, it also entails the methodological imperative to think outside the denominational box and to abandon an automatic, unreasoned, and often arbitrary and inexpedient assignment of primacy to such borders in studies of pre-modern intellectual history. All too often, denominational ascriptions are inconsiderately inscribed onto ideas, spaces, and histories, thus implying a sense of identitarian sameness and reification.[2] The meaning, role, and significance of denominational labels, dividing lines, and other delimitative criteria should be the result and not the starting point of any given historical research.[3] A multifocal, trans-denominational approach to the history of religious thought is therefore a methodological prerequisite.[4]

The risk of sleepwalking into the trap of considering historical data first and foremost through the prism of denominational partition and to triage available sources according to supposedly denominational attributes has not only been furthered by the parcellation of expert knowledge in accordance with academic compartmentalisation or the denominational classification of primary source material in libraries and archives, but also owing to the proclivity of contemporary political discourses that employ denominational labels to describe current events and conflicts and to make sense of a globalised world. This development has, in turn, reinforced the phenomenon of scholarly communitarianism, i.e. the tendency of many scholars to employ an inward-looking methodology and to relate primarily to data that are internal to their

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1 Sarah Stroumsa, "Thinkers of 'This Peninsula': Toward an Integrative Approach to the Study of Philosophy in al-Andalus", in *Beyond Religious Borders: Interaction and Intellectual Exchange in the Medieval Islamic World*, ed. David M. Freidenreich and Miriam Bayla Goldstein (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 44–57 [53]; eadem, "Whirlpool Effects and Religious Studies: A Response to Guy G. Stroumsa", in *Dynamics in the History of Religions between Asia and Europe: Encounters, Notions, and Comparative Perspectives*, ed. Volkhard Krech and Marion Steinicke (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 159–162 [159].

2 On strong and soft ways of "identitarian theorizing", see Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper, "Beyond 'Identity'", *Theory and Society* 29 (2000): 1–47 [7]; on the limits of religious labels, see the well-considered reflections in Lena Salaymeh, "Between Scholarship and Polemic in Judeo-Islamic Studies", *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 24, no. 3 (2013): 407–418.

3 Daniel Boyarin, *Border Lines: The Partition of Judaeo-Christianity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 1–27; Luke Yarbrough, "A Christian Shīʿī, and Other Curious Confreres: Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr of Córdoba on Getting along with Unbelievers", *Al-Masāq* 30, no. 3 (2018): 284–303 [292–294].

4 Manfred Sing, "Towards a Multi-Religious Topology of Islam: The Global Circulation of a Mutable Mobile", *Entangled Religions* 9 (2019): 212–272; Sarah Stroumsa, "Comparison as a Multifocal Approach: The Case of Arabic Philosophical Thought", in *Comparative Studies in the Humanities*, ed. Guy G. Stroumsa (Jerusalem: Israeli Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 2018), 133–152 [145–147].

own specialist community. "Safe scholarship, with clearly defined boundaries, not to be trespassed, and with no threat of unexpected results, has become the name of the game."[5]

Moreover, all religions are in actual practice internally diverse, and have been historically fluid. Each religion consists of multiple trends that may at times vie with one another for power and dominance. It is the task of historiography to lay bare the flowing process of transformation within religious practice and thought and to rebuke tendencies to identify religion with a fossilised orthodoxy. Such tendencies are exacerbated in studies of religious thought which traditionally focus on "the beliefs of theological elites and what might be termed 'confessional entrepreneurs' – that is, people whose aim or intent it was to create a well-formed and well-bounded [...] community in a place where a community having that particular constellation of religiously distinctive characteristics had not previously existed".[6] Accordingly, the historiographical focus of a trans-denominational approach should on the one hand be on transformative moments, namely those particular moments in the history of a religious community when it undergoes significant evolution or mutation, and on the margins and contact zones on the other hand, where transformation is more likely to occur.[7]

While these general considerations about the trans-denominational constitution of religious thought and the ensuing requirements for a fitting method of its historiography apply to a greater or lesser extent to any period and location, they are particularly pertinent to the pre-modern cultural space under Muslim sovereignty for a number of reasons:

1) As a unified geopolitical space, it encompassed the main centres of intellectual production of several religious communities. As such, it facilitated the mobility of scholars and ideas and contributed to an increased mutual awareness and receptivity and an enhanced intercommunal exchange of ideas.
2) Between the eighth and the twelfth centuries, Arabic gradually established itself as the main literary language of all religious communities and became the principal vehicle of framing their respective body of religious thought. This *lingua communis* facilitated and expedited the exposure to and reception of extra-communal thought production, be it by means of written or oral channels of communication.
3) Multiple, concurrent, and decentralised endeavours to develop full-fledged systems of Islamic religious thought throughout the ʿAbbāsid period created a vibrant marketplace of ideas that spurred the dynamics of knowledge production in all religious communities and generated innovative trends of scholarship.
4) The spread of paper manufacture in the Near East after the eighth century increased the volume of textual production and entailed that books became much more widely available than before. This technological transformation not only affected the methods of knowledge production, but also its dissemination and consumption. In all religious communities, it involved the reordering and systematisation of religious thought, the introduction of new disciplines and literary genres, and the formation of new institutions and teaching methods.

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5 Guy G. Stroumsa, *A New Science: The Discovery of Religion in the Age of Reason* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010), viii; Aaron W. Hughes, *Somewhere Between Islam and Judaism: Critical Reflections* (Sheffield: Equinox, 2021), 33–35.

6 Jack Tannous, *The Making of the Medieval Middle East* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018), 225.

7 Michael E. Pregill, "Blurred Boundaries and Novel Normativities: The Jews of Arabia, the Quranic Milieu, and the 'Islamic Judaism' of the Middle Ages", *Al-ʿUṣūr al-Wusṭā* 29 (2021): 256–302 [283].

Taken together, these factors explain why the pre-modern Islamicate world offers an abundance of illustrative examples to demonstrate the inextricably trans-denominational make-up of religious thought.

With regard to the terminology used in the title of this dissertation, it should be clarified that the terms 'religion' and 'religious' are not meant to describe a specific sphere of human activity, belief, or experience.[8] That is not to say, however, that we ought to altogether dispense with these terms. It simply means that historians of religion and religious thought constitute their intellectual domain without being constrained by the boundaries of canon or of community. In other words, 'religion' should not be misunderstood as being a trans-historical and transcultural phenomenon that one can identify 'out there'.[9] What we subsume under the term "is not a unity and does not aspire to be. It is not an entity in any theoretical sense, let alone any practical one."[10] Like many other abstract concepts developed in the human and social sciences, it serves as a grid that enables scholars to gather certain data which are pertinent to answering some greater theoretical or comparative questions about the functioning of past and present human societies.[11]

Accordingly, our speaking of 'religious thought' is neither geared toward a specific or even normative definition of religion nor meant to uphold a simplistic dichotomy of 'religious' versus 'secular' domains. It rather refers to the ensemble of speculative and interpretative thought about concepts, texts, objects, events, places, practices, and experiences which at a given time and place are considered meaningful for a religious community or its individual members or perceived as pertinent to the ensemble of its/their religio-cultural expressions and identity formation.[12]

The term 'denomination' not only refers to one of the established religious communities (e.g. Judaism, Christianity, Islam), but also to religious fringe groups and subgroups within a larger faith community (e.g. Copts, East Syrians, Qaraites, Ismailites) which for ideological, geopolitical, or socio-cultural reasons have developed a discrete body of religious thought, literary canon, and/or communal practices.

II. The constituent parts of trans-denominational religious thought

The specification of constituent parts of trans-denominational religious thought relies on the understanding of religious thought as a subform of intellectual practice and of intellectual practice as a subset of cultural practice. Cultural practice refers to the ensemble of culturally meaningful acts that together make up the fabric of a culture. *Trans*-denominational religious thought considers the pertinent practice as an aggregate of intentional and unintentional transactions beyond the purported boundaries of a given denomination. In keeping with basic

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8 Chase F. Robinson, "Reconstructing Early Islam: Truth and Consequences", in *Method and Theory in the Study of Islamic Origins*, ed. Herbert Berg (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 101–135 [105]; Jonathan Z. Smith, *Imagining Religion: From Babylon to Jonestown* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), xi; idem, "Religion, Religions, Religious," in *Critical Terms for Religious Studies*, ed. Mark C. Taylor (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 269–284.

9 Aaron W. Hughes, *Theorizing Islam: Disciplinary Deconstruction and Reconstruction* (Durham: Acumen, 2012), 2.

10 Wilfred Cantwell Smith, *The Meaning and End of Religion: A New Approach to the Religious Traditions of Mankind* (New York: Macmillan, 1962), 63.

11 Daniel Barbu, "Discussion of Judaism: The Genealogy of a Modern Notion, by Daniel Boyarin", *Quest: Issues in Contemporary Jewish History* 17 (2020): 192–202 [198].

12 Michael L. Satlow, "Beyond Influence: Toward a New Historiographic Paradigm", in *Jewish Literatures and Cultures: Context and Intertext*, ed. Anita Norich and Yaron Z. Eliav (Providence: Brown University, 2008), 37–54.

action-theoretical models employed in various transcultural theories, these transactions entail four constituent parts: agents (II.1.), commodities (II.2.), places and contexts (II.3.), and types and modes of action (II.4.).[13] In what follows, each of these parts shall be considered separately. While my deliberations partly draw on the literature referenced in the footnotes, they have been adapted to the specific subject area of this dissertation.

II.1. Agents of trans-denominational religious thought

Processes of transmission and transformation do not simply 'happen'. They involve and depend on actors. For a trans-denominational approach, it is therefore essential to include a theory of agency which considers questions of intentionality, power relations, motives, goals, and interests.[14] This holds true even when an actor's agency may be shaped or even determined by their context or environment of action.

In the trans-denominational paradigm, agents are depicted as 'brokers', 'mediators', 'intermediaries', or 'go-betweens', i.e. people who assume a facilitating role in transmission or transaction.[15] By virtue of their power, knowledge, skills, or competences, they have the capacity to act as intermediary agents forging a connection between two or more previously unconnected entities, be they individuals, communities, objects, bodies of knowledge, moral values, habits, tastes, styles, etc. By establishing connections between previously unconnected entities, they open up new vistas and create possibilities for new interpretations and meanings.

Transcultural agents are described in terms of the assets, features, and attributes which enable them to act as cultural brokers. Where and how have they acquired their pertinent skills and 'capitals'? How and through which channels are they connected to other groups and individuals? What is their position and function within these social and cultural networks, and how did they cultivate and sustain these connections? To what extent are these agents self-aware of their role as cultural brokers and how do they fashion and depict their activities along and across cultural fault lines?[16] How do they construct references to outsiders and alterities? In what way do their activities change or blur existing cultural boundaries or reinterpret them to create interstitial spaces for new cultural practices and repertoires?

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[13] See, for instance, the section "Les éléments fondamentaux des transferts culturels" in Rania Abdellatif et al., "Introduction à l'étude des transferts culturels en Méditerranée médiévale: Aspects historiographiques et méthodologiques", in *Construire la Méditerranée, penser les transferts culturels: Approches historiographiques et perspectives de recherche*, ed. eidem (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2012), 14–44 [24–42]. The most pertinent contributions to the development of a transcultural theory are mentioned in n. 84 below.

[14] Sebastian Jobs and Gesa Mackenthun, eds., *Agents of Transculturation: Border-Crossers, Mediators, Go-Betweens* (Münster: Waxmann, 2013).

[15] Antje Dietze, "Cultural Brokers and Mediators", in *The Routledge Handbook of Transregional Studies*, ed. Matthias Middell (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018), 494–502.

[16] Nikolas Jaspert, "Mobility, Mediation and Transculturation in the Medieval Mediterranean: Migrating Mercenaries and the Challenges of Mixing", in *Engaging Transculturality: Concepts, Key Terms, Case Studies*, ed. Laila Abu-Er-Rub et al. (London: Routledge, 2019), 136–152, distinguishes between "'manifest brokers' – those who intentionally perform acts of mediation or brokerage – and 'latent brokers', individuals who do so unintentionally as a by-product of other activities, not specifically sought for, though factually conducted" [139], and 'oppositional brokers' who do "not perform or facilitate transculturation involuntarily, but in fact [do] so contrary to [their] actual objective" [145].

To understand the role of religious thinkers as *passeurs culturels* and knowledge brokers, these mechanisms of exchange, entanglement, and intermediation need to be investigated from different angles and perspectives.

Trans-denominational religious thought investigates the role of individual thinkers in establishing relations between previously unrelated bodies of knowledge. It focuses on their education, skills, affiliations, mobility, and networks. The success of trans-denominational religious thinkers qua cultural brokers depends on their ability to translate, adapt, and transform objects of knowledge. This ability not only requires know-how, but also authority, trust, recognition, and legitimacy. As agents of change, cultural brokers are often acting in liminal spaces and are potentially perceived as de-stabilising elements endangering established identity patterns. Hence, they tend to be exposed to criticism, suspicion, and hostile attitudes. For an act of transcultural or trans-denominational brokerage to be successful, the broker's ability to build and assert authority, credibility, and trust is therefore of paramount importance.

II.2. Commodities of trans-denominational religious thought

As products of intellectual activities, ideas and thoughts may be compared to material objects either by virtue of their inner constitution and functionality or on account of their varying material substrates and contexts. On both accounts they are inextricably entangled with material culture.[17]

Inasmuch as thoughts and ideas are considered part and parcel of material culture, they should be studied in analogy to material things and not just as cognitive abstractions. Given that thoughts can act on others and prompt cognitive processes in others, one could even make a good case for designating them as 'agents' in conformance with the diction of material culture studies.[18]

Like material objects and artefacts, thoughts and ideas are characterised by an internal structure and composition. Like them, they may have complex 'biographies' and undergo frequent shifts in value and meaning.[19] When they move into new spatial, temporal, or social contexts they are reconfigured and in turn may elicit new webs of meaning. They thus exist in relationship to the specificities of temporality, spatiality, and sociality.[20] As such, they are an integral dimension of the wider culture and as richly encoded as objects and artefacts of the material world. No less than material artefacts, they are culturally constructed entities, "endowed with culturally specific meanings, and classified and reclassified into culturally constituted categories".[21] As culturally encoded entities, they offer insights into processes of cultural encounter and exchange,

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17 Karen Harvey, ed., *History and Material Culture: A Student's Guide to Approaching Alternative Sources* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2009); Daniel Miller, ed., *Material Cultures: Why Some Things Matter* (London: UCL Press, 1998).

18 Ian Hodder, "The Entanglements of Humans and Things: A Long-Term View", *New Literary History* 45, no. 1 (2014): 19–36; Alexander A. Bauer, "Itinerant Objects", *Annual Review of Anthropology* 48 (2019): 335–352.

19 The term 'biography' is here used in line with Igor Kopytoff, "The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process", in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 64–91; Wim M. J. van Binsbergen, "Commodification: Things, Agency, and Identities: Introduction", in *Commodification: Things, Agency, and Identities* (*The Social Life of Things Revisited*), ed. Wim M. J. van Binsbergen and Peter Geschiere (Münster: Lit, 2005), 9–51.

20 Lynn Meskell, "Introduction: Object Orientations", in *Archaeologies of Materiality*, ed. Lynn Meskell (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2005), 1–17 [6].

21 Kopytoff, *The Cultural Biography of Things*, 68.

acculturation, conversion, and transformation. Like material objects, ideas and thoughts may undergo processes of commoditisation and de-commoditisation.[22] In specific religio-cultural contexts, they may assume a symbolic value, prestige, or power, at least for certain groups or individuals.

Not least, complex thought structures are – like artefacts – a product of skilled practice which requires certain qualities, training, competence, and dexterity.[23] In this respect, edifices of ideas may be compared to what Alfred Gell termed a 'distributed object', namely a thing that consists of "many [...] parts with different micro-histories".[24]

In a more profound and tangible way, the 'materiality' of ideas comes into view by means of their textual and non-textual substrates and witnesses. Considering thoughts and ideas in conjunction with, rather than detached from, their material substrate follows the lead of the so-called New Philology or material philology which attaches cardinal importance to manuscript culture, i.e. the technological, cognitive, and communicative contexts of handwritten literary production, distribution, and consumption.[25] New Philology stresses the fact that no literary work exists "independently of its material embodiment, and that this physical form is part of the meaning of the text".[26] An idea, its textual substrate, the history of its transmission, and the context of its consumption are all inextricably intertwined. Manuscript production, scribes and scribal practices, the circulation and transmission of manuscripts, literacy, reading and memorisation, orality and aurality, traces of usage, and numerous other features of textual and para-textual materiality are all considered integral components of an idea's embodiment.[27]

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[22] *Ibid.*, 65.

[23] See the introductory article by Penelope Harvey to a special edition of *Social Analysis: The International Journal of Anthropology* 41, no. 1 (1997), 3–14, on the theme of technology as skilled practice; and Tim Ingold, "Beyond Art and Technology: The Anthropology of Skill", in *Anthropological Perspectives on Technology*, ed. Michael B. Schiffer (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2001), 17–31.

[24] Alfred Gell, *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 220–223.

[25] Stephen G. Nichols, "The New Philology: Introduction; Philology in a Manuscript Culture", *Speculum* 65, no. 1 (1990): 1–10; idem, "Why Material Philology? Some Thoughts", *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 116 (1997): 10–30; Jörg Quenzer, Dmitry Bondarev, and Jan-Ulrich Sobisch, eds., *Manuscript Cultures: Mapping the Field* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014); Hugo Lundhaug and Liv Ingeborg Lied, "Studying Snapshots: On Manuscript Culture, Textual Fluidity, and New Philology", in *Snapshots of Evolving Traditions: Jewish and Christian Manuscript Culture, Textual Fluidity, and New Philology*, ed. Liv Ingeborg Lied and Hugo Lundhaug (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017), 1–19 [12].

[26] Lundhaug and Lied, "Studying Snapshots", 6; Matthew James Driscoll, "The Words on the Page: Thoughts on Philology, Old and New", in *Creating the Medieval Saga: Versions, Variability and Editorial Interpretations of Old Norse Saga Literature*, ed. Judy Quinn and Emily Lethbridge (Odense: Syddansk Universitetsforlag, 2010), 85–102 [90–91]; John Law, "Actor Network Theory and Material Semiotics", in *The New Blackwell Companion to Social Theory*, ed. Bryan S. Turner (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 141–158.

[27] See Eugenia Sokolinski et al., eds., *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies: An Introduction* (Hamburg: Zenodo, 2015). François Déroche, *Islamic Codicology: An Introduction to the Study of Manuscripts in Arabic Script*, ed. Muhammad Isa Waley, trans. Deke Dusinberre and David Radzinowicz (London: Al-Furqan Islamic Heritage Foundation, 2006); Adam Gacek, *Arabic Manuscripts: A Vademecum for Readers* (Leiden: Brill, 2009); De Gruyter's Studies in Manuscript Cultures series (ISSN 2365–9696); Andreas Görke and Konrad Hirschler, eds., *Manuscript Notes as Documentary Sources* (Beirut: Orient-Institut Beirut; Würzburg: Ergon in Kommission, 2011); Myriam Wissa, ed., *Scribal Practices and the Social Construction of Knowledge in Antiquity, Late Antiquity and Medieval*

The analysis of trans-denominational religious thought through the lens of material culture and material philology is therefore of paramount importance to situate its changing meanings within a wider spectrum of cultural entanglement.

II.3. Places and contexts of trans-denominational religious thought

Knowledge brokering tends to happen in particular locations, in spaces that privilege the brokering of knowledge across changing boundaries, be they epistemic, social, or territorial. In anthropological studies, these spaces are designated as 'contact zones', paradigmatic spaces of encounter and interaction where notions of belonging and foreignness, inclusion and exclusion are negotiated.[28] Contact zones are constituted by interactions between human agents and as such are no less mobile than the latter. They are characterised by a dynamic of exchange, porosity, permeability, and ambiguity. Depending on the field of operation or sphere of activity (religious, social, linguistic, etc.), the type of commodity (goods, values, ideas, tastes, food, etc.), and the economic, social, or legal status of the agents, multiple contact zones may exist simultaneously side by side. At times, they may overlap, at others compete with or even contradict one another.

Contact zones are places where cultural, religious, ethnic, linguistic, and a myriad of other boundaries are established, defended, fixed, re-defined, re-calibrated, modified, dismantled, and transgressed.[29] Often, these activities are initiated or accompanied by a movement – of people or objects – from one place to another. These movements may be deliberate or incidental, singular, recurrent, or continuous, direct or indirect, simple or complex, and focused or fuzzy, and have accordingly been described by a wide range of attributes and metaphors, such as 'transfer', 'circulation', 'flow', 'influence', 'diffusion', and 'cross-pollination'.[30] Movement, however, is not restricted to translocation, but includes translation and transformation as well. In the latter cases, movement is understood as part of a process during which people, objects, texts, or ideas are subject to change and undergo re-contextualisation, for instance from one linguistic milieu to another.

In an Islamicate framework, the fact that thinkers belonging to different cultural orbits and religious communities came to share Arabic as their *lingua franca* effectively furthered the development of intellectual exchange not only in the crafts, sciences, and philosophy, but also in

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Islam (Leuven: Peeters, 2017); Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, trans. Jane E. Lewin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

[28] The term 'contact zone' in a colonial setting was introduced by Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2007), 6. Various aspects of contact zones are explored in volumes of the *Cultural Encounters and the Discourses of Scholarship* series (Münster: Waxmann, 2009–; ISSN 1868-1395).

[29] On the boom of border and boundary studies in all social and human sciences, see Inga Brandell, Marie Carlson, and Önver A. Çetrez, "Introduction", in *Borders and the Changing Boundaries of Knowledge*, ed. eidem (Stockholm: Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul, 2015), 7–14; David M. Freidenreich and Miriam Bayla Goldstein, eds., *Beyond Religious Borders: Interaction and Intellectual Exchange in the Medieval Islamic World* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012); Janina M. Safran, *Defining Boundaries in al-Andalus: Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Islamic Iberia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013), 168–208.

[30] For a useful discussion of these and kindred biological metaphors used in cultural studies and historiography, see James E. Montgomery, "Islamic Crosspollinations", in *Islamic Crosspollinations: Interactions in the Medieval Middle East*, ed. Anna Ayşe Akasoy, James E. Montgomery, and Peter Ernst Pormann (Warminster: Gibb Memorial Trust, 2007), 148–193.

the field of religious thought.[31] The common linguistic-discursive framework not only sharpened the awareness for divergent discourses and interpretations in other religious traditions, but also accentuated the perception that in some areas of religious thought trans-denominational affinities may in fact be greater than intra-denominational commonalities or that differences between groups of one religious community may be more significant than those between factions of different religious communities.

The production and dissemination of religious thought is often bound to institutions, which in certain historical contexts may become vessels of transcultural dynamics where knowledge orders are restructured, transformed, and transmitted. Examining the profile of such institutions, their organisation, functions, networking, personnel, and accession to (re)sources of knowledge is a constituent part of any sociology of knowledge which strives to understand the factors that stimulate or hamper transcultural and trans-denominational exchange. More often than not it is also this institutional setting which produces compelling narratives of tradition required to asseverate ruptures and changes as continuous with the past.

II.4. Types and modes of trans-denominational religious thought

The modality and efficacy of transcultural practices depend largely on the aforementioned attributes of agents (skills, power, connectivity, mobility, motives, interests, beliefs, etc.), the constitution and accessibility of commodities, and the spheres of activity and contexts of action. In general, transcultural transactions are made up of a conglomerate of activities which involve multiple actors, take place in several temporalities and spatialities, and require a variety of skills, tools, and practices.

III. Fourteen case studies of trans-denominational religious thought

The fourteen case studies gathered in this dissertation exemplify different components of trans-denominational religious thought and put them into concrete spatio-temporal terms. Each article is situated at a particular contextual node and sheds light on a specific instance of religious knowledge production that has either gone unnoticed altogether or remained insufficiently understood in the absence of a trans-denominational framework. In accordance with their thematic focus, the case studies have been divided into three clusters, each detailed in what follows.

III.1. Jewish Mu'tazilism

The reception and advancement of Mu'tazilī *Kalām* in the religious thought of Arabicized Jews had a very long career, spanning from the ninth to about the seventeenth century, reaching its high point in the late tenth through twelfth centuries.[32] Mu'tazilism was only one voice within

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[31] Muhsin J. al-Musawi, *The Medieval Islamic Republic of Letters: Arabic Knowledge Construction* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2015); S. Stroumsa, "Comparison as a Multifocal Approach", 133.

[32] For concise surveys, see Haggai Ben-Shammai, "Kalām in Medieval Jewish Philosophy", in *History of Jewish Philosophy*, ed. Daniel Frank and Oliver Leaman (New York: Routledge, 1997), 115–148; David Sklare, "Mu'tazili Trends in Jewish Theology: A Brief Survey", *Journal of Islamic Sciences / İslâmî İlimler Dergisi* 17, no. 2 (2017): 145–178; Sarah Stroumsa, "Saadya and Jewish *Kalam*", in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Jewish Philosophy*, ed. Daniel Frank and Oliver Leaman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 71–90; Gregor Schwarb, "Kalām", *Encyclopedia of Jews in the Islamic World*, ed. Norman A. Stillman (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 3:91–98.

the polyphonous exposition of Jewish-Arabic theological reflection which drew on various traditions of philosophical and theological thought. For a significant number of Rabbanite and most Qaraite scholars, however, it was the cosmology and systematic theology developed within the Baṣran branch of the Muʿtazila that emerged as a pivotal point of reference.[33]

Exponents of Muʿtazilī *Kalām* conceived of this science as an autonomous and critically rational metaphysics based on premises and assumptions whose validity was understood to be based on exclusively rational grounds. Accordingly, the adoption of Muʿtazilī *Kalām* by Jewish scholars was not primarily the adoption of an *Islamic* theology, but rather the adoption of a discourse and prevalent system of thought that could in principle be shared by adherents of any monotheistic religion.

Jewish Muʿtazilism is the product of an aspiration of Jewish scholars to develop a systematic theology that was up to the standards of the time and that would enable them to integrate a rich tradition of religious beliefs and doctrines into a coherent system of religious thought.

The development of Muʿtazilism among Jewish thinkers is therefore inextricably linked with parallel developments in Islamic and Christian *Kalām* and can only be studied within the wider context of religious thought in Arabic. While it is true that Jewish Muʿtazilism is chronologically later to and historically dependent on '*the*' Muʿtazila and intimately related to it, it is neither a mere copy nor a pale imitation of its Muslim precursor. Many Jewish savants in the period between Saadia Gaon (d. 330/942) and Maimonides (d. 601/1204) were well-informed and fully fledged masters of their art who made significant and original contributions to the advancement and elaboration of Muʿtazilī thought.

For a historian of intellectual thought in the Islamicate world, the many surviving literary products of Jewish Muʿtazilism offer an additional value inasmuch as they present a greater variety of texts, genres, and disciplines if measured against the corpus of compositions by Muslim authors that have come down to us.

A trans-denominational history of Muʿtazilī thought has a rich variety of data at its disposal to show that it reaches far beyond isolated instances of exchange across supposedly rigid and static denominational boundaries. It rather concerns the formation and transformation of the entire complex of religious knowledge production, its categorial framework, institutional setting, educational curricula, and literary genres.

The first article in this cluster (no. 101) presents a trans-denominational survey of Muʿtazilī thought in the age of Averroes with a view to breaching the mono-denominational myopia of traditional accounts and to exposing a more inclusive and variegated picture of this seminal strand of thought.[34] It reassesses the significance and diversity of Muʿtazilī thought in Sunnī, Shīʿī, Jewish, and Samaritan thought in various parts of the Islamic world during the lifetime of Averroes (d. 595/1198) and invalidates a widely held assumption that equates the twelfth century with the demise of Muʿtazilī thought.[35] My reassessment of this conventional view arises from a change of

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[33] See the articles included in C. Adang et al., eds., *A Common Rationality: Muʿtazilism in Islam and Judaism* (Würzburg: Ergon, 2007).

[34] "Muʿtazilism in the Age of Averroes", in *In the Age of Averroes: Arabic Philosophy in the 6th/12th Century*, ed. Peter Adamson (London: Warburg Institute, 2011), 251–282.

[35] The article is a by-product of a comprehensive survey of "Muʿtazilī Authors, Works, and Manuscripts", compiled between 2004 and 2008, which provided the documentary basis for research projects carried out by members of the Muʿtazilite Manuscripts Project Group at Freie Universität Berlin. Selected findings of the Muʿtazilite

focus on 'agents' located in liminal spaces of the Islamic world (e.g. Khwārazm, Yemen) and on proponents of Muʿtazilī thought within smaller communities (Caspian and Yemenite Zaydis, Qaraite Jews, Samaritans). Many of these figures embody major attributes of cultural brokers, such as mobility, connectivity, expert knowledge, and authority. These assets are employed to introduce new textual corpora, literary genres, interpretive methods, and institutional settings as exemplified by the massive knowledge transfer from Iran to Yemen over the course of the twelfth century and the presence of a sizeable body of Muʿtazilī texts by Muslim authors in eleventh-century Qaraite libraries in Jerusalem. As documented in the following articles, these cases of knowledge transfer are backed up with hundreds of original manuscripts from the period that offer access to the material substrates of these processes and enable us to consider 'laboratories' of religious thought in conjunction with their contexts of handwritten literary production, distribution, and consumption. Article no. 101 also discusses the transfer of Muʿtazilī thought from one linguistic milieu to another by way of Byzantine Qaraites who studied in Jerusalem and translated their teachers' works from Arabic into Hebrew interspersed with glosses in vernacular Greek.

Articles nos. 102 and 103 examine the contribution of legal methodology (*uṣūl al-fiqh*) to the development of fully fledged semantic, hermeneutic, and semiotic theories underlying the exegetical and juridical practices of Muslim and Jewish practitioners of *Kalām* from the tenth through early thirteenth centuries.[36] By tracing the use of legal-hermeneutical terminology and concepts in works of Jewish authors over three centuries, I show how the integration of a complex theoretical commodity into Jewish religious thought may involve several generations of learned 'brokers' in various centres of learning until it is fully embraced and perceived as an integral part of one's own religious discourse. This case study thus shows in an exemplary way that the complexity of a knowledge-item is emulated by the complexity of its biography. For this very reason, the adoption of a longue durée perspective is often indispensable to fully appreciate the significance of a single transaction. In the realm of *uṣūl al-fiqh*, the gradual process from using isolated concepts – such as non-particular meaning (*ʿumūm*), concurrent reports (*aḫbār mutawātira*), or interpretive exertion (*ijtihād*) – to the composition of treatises that adopt the generic structure of Muʿtazilī *uṣūl al-fiqh* compositions involved four to five generations of scholars who negotiated, tested, and vindicated the benefit of its concepts, discipline, and genre.

Article no. 104 narrows the focus to 'abrogation' (*naskh*), a core concept of *uṣūl al-dīn* and *uṣūl al-fiqh* compositions. I introduce a hitherto unknown treatise by the Qaraite scholar Yūsuf al-

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Manuscripts Project Group were published in the proceedings of its two major conferences: Adang et al., *A Common Rationality*.

[36] "Capturing the Meanings of God's Speech: The Relevance of *Uṣūl al-fiqh* to an Understanding of *Uṣūl al-tafsīr* in Jewish and Muslim *Kalām*", in *A Word Fitly Spoken: Studies in Mediaeval Exegesis of the Hebrew Bible and the Qur'ān presented to Haggai Ben-Shammai*, ed. Meir M. Bar-Asher, Simon Hopkins, Sarah Stroumsa, and Bruno Chiesa (Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Institute for the History of Jewish Communities in the East, Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, and Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2007), 111*–156*, repr. in *Tafsīr: Interpreting the Qur'ān*, vol. 2, *Tafsir: Theory and Constructs*, ed. Mustafa Shah (London: Routledge 2013), 434–473; "*Uṣūl al-fiqh* im jüdischen Kalām des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts: Ein Überblick", in *Orient als Grenzbereich? Rabbinisches und außerrabbinisches Judentum*, ed. Annelies Kuyt and Gerold Necker (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2007), 77–104.

Baṣīr (d. before 431/1040-1) about the permissibility of abrogation (*Risāla fī ma'nā ijāzat al-naskh*).[37] This unicum manuscript written in bi-alphabetical Arabic and Hebrew script was copied during the author's lifetime and, like most of al-Baṣīr's works, written from dictation (*imlā'*). The well-travelled and widely read al-Baṣīr personifies several core components of an agent of trans-denominational religious thought. During his education in Baṣra and Baghdad he became fully immersed in Bahshamī Mu'tazilī *Kalām* and by all indications also studied with Muslim teachers. On several occasions, he refers to being personally acquainted with eminent Muslim exponents of the Mu'tazila. He quotes from a wide range of their works and even dictated his own annotations on some of them. The 'commodity', namely his deliberations about the concept of abrogation, is best described as a palimpsest of previous debates on the topic. It specifically relates to positions that were first advocated in *uṣūl al-fiqh* treatises by Muslim authors written during his lifetime and thus evinces a kind of feedback loop in straight succession of debates between Jewish and Muslim scholars of this period.

A preeminent example of a composition that fully adopts the generic structure of *uṣūl al-fiqh* treatises is reconstructed and presented in article no. 105.[38] Its author, Sahl b. al-Faḍl b. Sahl al-Tustarī (in Hebrew: Yashar ben Ḥesed ben Yashar), was a scion of the renowned Qaraite Jewish Tustarī family that had risen to fame and fortune in Egypt during the century in which he lived. Like his illustrious ancestors in Fāṭimid Cairo, he occupied a senior position in the administration of Seljuq Palestine during the latter decades of the eleventh century. Owing to his closeness to the power elite, he was well connected with eminent figures of other religious communities. The Andalusian scholar Abū Bakr Ibn al-'Arabī relates that he attended a public debate in Jerusalem between leading figures of the various communities in which al-Tustarī represented the Jewish community. Several manuscripts in al-Tustarī's proficient scribal hand, among them rough copies of his *fatāwā* and excerpts from Jewish and Muslim compositions, as well as annotated codices that were part of his library have come down to us.

The treatise on *uṣūl al-fiqh* is part of the tripartite *Kitāb al-Īmā' ilā jawāmi' al-taklīf 'ilm*^{an} *wa-'amal*^{an} ('Book Intimating the Ensemble of Theoretical and Practical Components of the Obligation Imposed by God'). Conceived as a handbook for Qaraite jurists, the work displays several features of the author's capacity as a cultural broker. At the behest of his close confidant and frequent correspondent Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Sulaymān al-Maqdisī, he modelled the work on a popular handbook (*Jumal al-'ilm wa-l-'amal*) by the eminent Imāmī Shī'ī scholar al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (d. 436/1044). But far from being a slavish imitation of the *Jumal*, the book incorporates theological concepts by al-Murtaḍā's contemporary Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī (d. 436/1044) to challenge positions championed by earlier Qaraite authorities. His integration of Aristotelian syllogistics into *uṣūl al-fiqh* attests to his close familiarity with contemporaneous developments in Muslim legal theory. As in the case of Yūsuf al-Baṣīr, the trans-denominational character of his religious thought, the adoption of new arguments, concepts and literary genres was regarded by al-Tustarī as a matter of course that did not require extra justification.

Articles nos. 106 and 107 introduce two examples of the numerous compositions by leading Muslim proponents of Mu'tazilī thought that were held at the library of the Qaraite *dār al-'ilm* in

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[37] "Theological Semantics in Yūsuf al-Baṣīr's *Risāla fī ma'nā ijāzat al-naskh*: Mu'tazilī *Uṣūl al-fiqh* in the Service of Inner-Jewish Polemics (II)", in *Islamic Legal Theory: Intellectual History and* Uṣūl al-fiqh, ed. Robert Gleave and Murteza Bedir (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming).

[38] "Sahl b. al-Faḍl al-Tustarī's *Kitāb al-Īmā'*", *Ginzei Qedem: Genizah Research Annual* 2 (2006): 61*–105*.

Jerusalem.[39] Both examples relate to authoritative treatises on Muʿtazilī *uṣūl al-dīn* that were widely studied at contemporaneous teaching institutions in the Būyid domain. The first example refers to diligently arranged digests of *Kitāb al-Waʿd wa-l-waʿīd* and *Kitāb al-Asmāʾ wa-l-aḥkām*, which form part of ʿAbd al-Jabbār al-Hamadhānī's *magnum opus*, *Kitāb al-Mughnī fī abwāb al-tawḥīd wa-l-ʿadl*. These volumes of the *Mughnī* were previously considered lost. The second example concerns a fragment of al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā's *Kitāb al-Mulakhkhaṣ fī uṣūl al-dīn*. It is the oldest textual witness of this seminal Imāmī work which otherwise is only preserved in a unicum manuscript in Iran. In the context of a trans-denominational paradigm of religious thought, these eleventh-century manuscripts are not merely material substrates of texts, but open a window on working methods and strategies of knowledge acquisition. To gain a fuller understanding of a manuscript as a culturally encoded entity one needs, however, a larger comparative codicological framework. To this end, the material substrate of a literary work should be considered as part of a coherent corpus of manuscripts which as a whole constitutes the interpretive framework of its cultural encoding.

The final two articles of the first cluster (nos. 108 and 109) exemplify the underappreciated benefit of studying texts and manuscripts written by members of fringe groups. The considerate inclusion of forgotten and neglected texts by marginal and minority groups into the history of religious thought is a significant feature of a trans-denominational approach. More often than not, these documents cast new light on supposedly well-known intellectual currents and help to uncover unexpected connections that only come into view by reviewing the centre from the margin. In article no. 108, I explore Arabic manuscripts of the Samaritan community to reconsider established scholarly views about the relation between various traditions of Arabic Bible translations and to demonstrate a significant and sustained intellectual exchange between Jewish and Samaritan proponents of Muʿtazilī thought.[40]

Article no. 109 identifies and reconstructs a comprehensive treatise on the *qibla* by the early eleventh-century Samaritan polymath Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ṣūrī and its subsequent refutation by a contemporaneous Qaraite scholar from Jerusalem.[41] It is the most substantial and extensive surviving account of the centuries-old debate between Jews and Samaritans about 'the chosen place', the permanent location of the sanctuary, and the status of Jewish prophets after Moses. The identification of the two texts is entirely due to a trans-denominational approach. Moreover, both texts exemplify several components of trans-denominational religious thought: each author was a leading scholar of his community and both frequented similar social milieux. On several occasions, they refer to texts that are understood to be part of a shared educational canon, such al-Qirqisānī's *Kitāb al-Anwār*; ʿAbd al-Jabbār al-Hamadhānī's *al-Kitāb al-Mughnī*, *Sharḥ al-ʿUmad* [*fī uṣūl al-fiqh*], and *Sharḥ al-Maqālāt* [*li-Abī l-Qāsim al-Balkhī*]; Abū Bakr al-Rāzī's *al-Ḥāwī* [*fī l-ṭibb*];

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[39] "Découverte d'un nouveau fragment du *Kitāb al-Mughnī fī abwāb al-tawḥīd wa-l-ʿadl* du Qāḍī ʿAbd Al-Jabbār al-Hamadhānī (d. 415/1025) dans une collection karaïte de la British Library", *Mélanges de l'Institut Dominicain d'Études Orientales* 27 (2008): 119–129; "A Newly Discovered Fragment of al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā's *K. al-Mulakhkhaṣ fī uṣūl al-dīn* in Hebrew Script", *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World* 2 (2014): 75–79.

[40] "Vestiges of Qaraite Translations in the Arabic Translation(s) of the Samaritan Pentateuch", *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World* 1 (2013): 115–157.

[41] "Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ṣūrī's *Kitāb fī bāb al-qibla* and its Qaraite refutation (*al-Naqḍ ʿalā l-Sāmira*)." In *Samaritan Languages, Texts, and Traditions*, edited by Stefan Schorch. Studia Samaritana 8. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2023 (in press).

or al-Mutanabbī's *Dīwān*. Both texts are modelled on the dialectic structure of Muʿtazilī *uṣūl al-dīn*, *uṣūl al-fiqh*, and *adab al-jadal* compositions and as such are closely related to other instances of inter-religious (e.g. Jewish-Muslim) and intra-religious (e.g. Qaraite-Rabbanite) disputations from the same period and milieu. The two central topics of the debate, to wit the *qibla* and prophetology, are firmly rooted in the larger socio-cultural context of related debates during the ʿAbbāsid period and draw on similar topoi and arguments.[42]

III.2. The renaissance of Copto-Arabic literature

The second cluster of articles focuses on the renaissance of Copto-Arabic literature in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. This period of cultural flowering brought about the large-scale reception by Coptic savants of works by contemporaneous non-Christian authors from various disciplines of knowledge and a thorough shake-up of the traditional literary canon. The cultural brokers of the renaissance of Copto-Arabic literature were a group of Coptic notables and state officials who had the power and the connections to lavish patronage on other Coptic scholars. As shown in article no. 201, they were closely associated with families that occupied senior positions within the Fāṭimid and Ayyūbid administration over several generations.[43] Their social and economic status afforded them the opportunity to travel extensively and to indulge in their passion of bibliophilia by tracking down and buying manuscripts of rare and forgotten texts and building up extensive private libraries.

The holdings of these libraries benefited the composition of innovative works that adopted a new synthesis of trans-denominational religious thought characterised by a specific strand of Avicennising philosophical theology, which was mediated above all through the works of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210). Over the course of the thirteenth century, it emerged as the prevalent discourse among intellectual elites of all religious communities. Unlike their Muslim contemporaries, however, Coptic authors brought this novel Avicennian-Rāzian discourse in conversation with their variegated legacy of Christian Arabic and patristic literature and blended it into the established corpus of Christian doctrinal tradition. In the process, the Coptic bibliophiles rediscovered a substantial number of Christian Arabic texts from the ninth and tenth centuries that by then had vanished into oblivion. This example paradigmatically illustrates how the dynamics of a trans-denominational acculturation resets the relation to and interpretation of an autochthonous literary tradition.

Article no. 202 exemplifies the intertwining of formerly unrelated corpora of religious thought based on a short and by all appearances unfinished treatise by the Damascene Coptic priest and physician al-Rashīd Abū l-Khayr Ibn al-Ṭayyib (d. after 668/1269-70).[44] The treatise was directed at a Christian readership of coreligionists who became passionate readers of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's books and got carried away by their fascination with the intellectual appeal of his novel discourse, to the point that they fell for his deterministic concept of human agency and turned

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[42] Ari Michael Gordon, *Sacred Orientation: The Qibla as Ritual, Metaphor, and Identity-Marker in Early Islam*, PhD thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 2019.

[43] "The Coptic and Syriac Receptions of Neo-Ashʿarite Theology", in *The Oxford Handbook of Islamic Theology*, ed. Sabine Schmidtke (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 547–566.

[44] "The 13th Century Copto-Arabic Reception of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī: Al-Rashīd Abū l-Khayr Ibn al-Ṭayyib's *Risālat al-Bayān al-aẓhar fī l-radd ʿalā man yaqūlu bi-l-qaḍāʾ wa-l-qadar*", *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World* 2 (2014): 143–169.

into advocates of universal causal predeterminism (*man yaqūlu bi-l-qaḍā' wa-l-qadar*). The impetus for change and novelty that inheres in the trans-denominational texture of religious thought goes hand in hand with a perceived urgency to reaffirm the boundaries of identity, legitimacy, and authority.

The same Ibn al-Ṭayyib is also a protagonist of articles nos. 203 and 204.[45] They explore the reception of Maimonides in Christian Arabic literature. In his two major compositions, Ibn al-Ṭayyib resorts to a common strategy of trans-denominational religious thought that justifies the appropriation of novel intellectual 'commodities' with the need to make oneself understood to the outsider.

> "I did not quote the author of the *Dalāla*, who adheres to the Jewish doctrine, because it was indispensable to do so, or because I would have been unable to write something equivalent, but rather to confront those members of the Jewish community who base themselves on his authority, so that by virtue of the statements of the most important authority of their nation they will realise that the Christian religion tallies with the divine intentions in spiritual matters and rational methods."[46]

In this case, Ibn al-Ṭayyib appropriates Maimonides's concept of divine accommodation and condescension to explain the pedagogical rationale underlying the doctrines of incarnation and trinity and to demonstrate that Christianity is the most refined form of 'God's divine wisdom'.

III.3. Early *Kalām* and Galenism

The third thematic cluster explores the trans-denominational tissue of religious thought during the formative period of the science of *Kalām*. Article no. 301 thus reconsiders the significance of 'pagan' and Christian Galenism for the development of early *Kalām* cosmologies, epistemologies, and anthropologies and shows that in stark contrast to their rhetoric of distance and dissociation, the *mutakallimūn* critically engaged with philosophical worldviews and physical theories championed by proponents of medical science.[47] I evince this engagement as a prolonged, complex, and dialectic process of appropriation and rejection. On the one hand, the Galenic tradition, and in particular Galen's *On the Usefulness of the Parts of the Body*, are exploited as a scientific source to lay bare the Creator's providential wisdom and benevolence and the purposive design of His creation. On the other hand, the demiurge and 'nature', the wise, powerful, and good subjects of Galen's 'sacred discourse', are substituted with the monotheistic Creator God, while the concepts of 'nature' and 'soul' are rejected as 'unintelligible' (*ghayr maʿqūl*). The *mutakallimūn*, the agents of this dialectic translation process, portrayed themselves as harbingers of a new,

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[45] "The Reception of Maimonides in Christian-Arabic Literature." In *Maimonides and His World*, edited by Yosef Tobi. *Ben 'Ever la-'Arav* – Contacts between Arabic Literature and Jewish Literature in the Middle Ages and Modern Times 7. Haifa: University of Haifa Press, 2014, 109–175; "Eine maimonidische Trinitätslehre? Zur Maimonidesrezeption in der koptisch-arabischen Literatur." In *'Höre die Wahrheit, wer sie auch spricht': Stationen des Werks von Moses Maimonides vom islamischen Spanien bis ins moderne Berlin*, edited by Lukas Muehlethaler. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2014, 40–53.

[46] *The Reception of Maimonides*, 140 (my translation).

[47] "Early Kalām and the Medical Tradition", in *Philosophy and Medicine in the Formative Period of Islam*, ed. Peter Adamson and Peter E. Pormann (London: Warburg Institute, 2018), 104–169.

alternative paradigm to explain the phenomena of the world, which undercuts the constituent parts of the worldview of previous elites.

This is to show that trans-denominational religious thought is embedded in the intrinsic relationship between rupture and continuity. In the case of early *Kalām*, the emphasis on rupture and discontinuity aims at downplaying elements of continuity and appropriation, while claims to continuity and tradition are foregrounded in the face of rapid change and with a view to legitimising the adoption of novel thought structures.

IV. Towards a trans-denominational approach to religious thought

The trans-denominational approach to the history of religious thought advocated in this dissertation is an attempt at overcoming the adverse impact of traditional disciplinary divisions in the humanities, which have resulted in a rigid denominational compartmentalisation of academic research on the history of religious thought in the pre-modern world of Islam. In a first step, I will briefly sketch historical factors that have contributed to the incrustation of denominational disciplinary boundaries in the humanities (IV.1.); in a second step I will delineate a methodological framework that may help to expose and rectify inadequacies of traditional approaches (IV.2.).

IV.1. The fragmentation of Islamic, Jewish, and religious studies at Western universities

The study of intellectual history and religious thought in the Islamicate world is closely intertwined with the legacy of the humanities in Western academia. The way this history has been studied until today "is part and parcel of European intellectual and cultural history" and as such "mirrors broader cultural trends and societal developments" on the 'Old Continent'.[48] It is first and foremost conditioned by the conventions of academic disciplines and only secondarily by the requirements of the topic. A better grasp of the historical processes that gave rise to the partition of the humanities into faculties, departments, disciplines, and curricula is therefore necessary to better understand the reasons underlying the fragmentation of modern historiography on intellectual trends and religious thought in the Islamicate world.[49] On this basis, it will be easier to point to solutions for overcoming it.

In its early modern infancy, the study of religions and religious thought was driven by denominational commitment, embedded in theological approaches, and mostly practised by Protestant and Catholic scholars within faculties of theology. Other religious cultures were approached from a Christian viewpoint and described using Christian concepts and categories.

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[48] Guy G. Stroumsa, "When the Orient Moved East: Judaism and Islam in Nineteenth-Century Scholarship / Als sich der Orient nach Osten bewegte: Judentum und Islam in der Wissenschaft des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts", in *Eine dreifältige Schnur: Über Judentum, Christentum und Islam in Geschichte und Wissenschaft*, trans. Michaela Müller (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2020), 126–209 [136, 190].

[49] Ursula Wokoeck, *German Orientalism: The Study of the Middle East and Islam from 1800 to 1945* (London: Routledge, 2009); Suzanne L. Marchand, *German Orientalism in the Age of Empire: Religion, Race, and Scholarship*. (Washington, DC: German Historical Institute; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); Alexander Bevilacqua, *The Republic of Arabic Letters: Islam and the European Enlightenment* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2018); Jan Loop, Alastair Hamilton, and Charles Burnett, eds., *The Teaching and Learning of Arabic in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2017); and other volumes within Brill's History of Oriental Studies series (ISSN 2405–4488).

Furthermore, the study of each religion was firmly anchored in the philology of a particular language which was associated with that particular religion. In institutional terms, Indology, Sinology, Japanese studies, Jewish studies, and Middle Eastern and Islamic studies were all strictly connected to 'Oriental languages' and 'Oriental philology'. In these subject areas, one would first and foremost study the languages concerned, which were taught after the model of classical philology (classical Greek and Latin), and apply this knowledge to the examination of old canonical texts of predominantly 'religious' character. Good knowledge of 'Islamic' Oriental languages and the mastery of their core texts were the principal criteria of an Islamic scholar's competence.

The first Islamicists were typically Christian theologians who first acquired an expertise in Oriental languages related to biblical studies (Hebrew and Aramaic), and then applied themselves to the study of Arabic, Persian, and Turkish.[50] Focused biographical studies on eminent figures of seventeenth-century European Orientalism, such as Johann Heinrich Hottinger or Abraham Ecchellensis, have fleshed out the main contours of this paradigmatic approach in great detail.[51] Even though the establishment of independent chairs for Arabic in Leiden (Thomas Erpenius, Jacobus Golius) and Oxford (Edward Pococke) paved the way for "a tradition of philological studies of Arabic and Islamic history which were not simply guided by theological questions, [...] this disciplinary independence of Arabic studies was only a short episode, not to be repeated on a broader scale until the early nineteenth century".[52] Even during the Age of Enlightenment, Arabic studies remained a handmaiden of *philologia sacra* and theology and generally served as an accessory to the Hebrew and biblical training of Christian theologians.[53]

Following the institutional separation between the faculties of theology and philosophy and the progressive differentiation of disciplines in the early nineteenth century, Hebrew remained in the turf of the faculty of theology, while Arabic, Persian, Turkish, and a series of other 'Oriental languages' were now united within the minor discipline of 'Oriental studies'.[54] At several German universities (e.g. Berlin, Breslau, Göttingen, Halle, Kiel, Leipzig, Tübingen), a chair for Oriental languages now became one of the five basic chairs (in addition to classical philology, history, philosophy, and mathematics) "that a proper faculty of philosophy was expected to have during the early decades of the nineteenth century."[55] This development notwithstanding, even in the

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[50] Roberto Tottoli, "The Study of Islam and Muslims and the History of Religions", *Historia Religionum* 1 (2009): 95–104 [97].

[51] Jan Loop, *Johann Heinrich Hottinger: Arabic and Islamic Studies in the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); Bernard Heyberger, ed., *Orientalisme, science et controverse: Abraham Ecchellensis (1605–1664)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 9–51.

[52] Loop, *Johann Heinrich Hottinger*, 192.

[53] Martin S. Kramer, "Introduction", in *The Jewish Discovery of Islam: Studies in Honor of Bernard Lewis*, ed. idem (Tel Aviv: Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies, 1999), 10. Characteristically, the early eighteenth-century Dutch scholar Albert Schultens, one of the most eminent Arabists in the Protestant world of his generation, considered Aramaic, Syriac, Ethiopic, Samaritan, and Arabic as "daughters" or "dialects" of Hebrew ("filiarum Linguae Hebraeae, Dialectorum ejus dico"), similar to how "Doric, Aeolic, Ionic and Attic together constitute one single Greek language"; see his "Dissertatio theologico-philologica de utilitate linguae Arabicae", in idem, *Opera minora* (Leiden: Mair & Chalmot, 1769), 489–510 [490].

[54] See chapter 2 in Wokoeck, *German Orientalism*, 39–64.

[55] *Ibid.*, 88–91, 212ff. Appendices 2 and 3 of that work include a list of scholars and university appointments for the period in question.

middle of the nineteenth century a considerable number of those who took an interest in the emerging field of Oriental philology were trained theologians who had received an introduction to Oriental languages at the faculty of theology. Strikingly, the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft (DMG), founded in 1845, had during its first decades more members with a Christian theological training than professional scholars in Oriental studies.[56] This may be explained by the fact that the philological approach to Oriental languages evolved from the historico-critical approach to biblical studies as it became established at faculties of theology.[57]

The detachment of Oriental philology from Christian theology is generally associated with Antoine Isaac Silvestre de Sacy (1758–1838) and the establishment of the École spéciale des langues orientales vivantes in Paris (1795).[58] Over the first half of the nineteenth century, this institution attracted numerous students from France and across Europe, among them many non-Christian students.[59] Particularly for Jewish students from Prussia and Eastern Europe, who were by law prohibited from pursuing an academic career, Paris became the place of choice to pursue the study of Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit, and other Oriental languages.[60] While the number of Jewish students at German universities and in particular at faculties of Oriental studies was continuously growing throughout the nineteenth century, the formal restrictions and informal bias against Jewish participation in university teaching remained effective until well into the second half of the nineteenth century. In France, however, where such legal barriers had been removed, some Jewish students were able to rise to prominence in academia. They came to constitute the nucleus of the French version of the *Wissenschaft des Judenthums* that furthered the application of scientific, historical, and philological criteria to the study of sacred texts and of critical methodology to traditional Jewish scholarship.[61]

Among the German Jewish Orientalists who pursued an academic career in France, Salomon (Shlomo b. Eliezer) Munk (1803–1867) may serve as a representative example to single out major developments and transformations in nineteenth-century Oriental studies that were primarily initiated by German Jewish scholarship.[62]

In 1838, ten years after his arrival in Paris, Munk was appointed custodian of Oriental manuscripts at the royal library. Even though his official task was to compile a *Catalogue des manuscrits sanskrits de la Bibliothèque royale* (1844),[63] he spent most of his time perusing hundreds of Arabic, Hebrew, and Latin manuscripts. Over the years, he uncovered the riches of Judaeo-

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56 *Ibid.*, 113.

57 *Ibid.*, 109–112.

58 Michel Espagne, Nora Lafi, and Pascale Rabault-Feuerhahn, eds., *Silvestre de Sacy: Le projet européen d'une science orientaliste* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2016).

59 Johann Fück, *Die arabischen Studien in Europa bis in den Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1955), 156ff.

60 Eminent Jewish students who studied with Silvestre de Sacy at the Collège de France included Salomon Munk, Joseph Derenbourg, Julius Oppert, and Albert Cohn.

61 Ottfried Fraisse, ed., *Modern Jewish Scholarship on Islam in Context: Rationality, European Borders, and the Search for Belonging* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018); Martin S. Kramer, ed., *The Jewish Discovery of Islam: Studies in Honor of Bernard Lewis* (Tel Aviv: Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies, 1999).

62 Paul B. Fenton, "Salomon Munk and the Franco-Jewish Discovery of Orientalism", in *Modern Jewish Scholarship on Islam*, ed. Fraisse, 267–290; Chiara Adorisio, *Dialectic of Separation: Judaism and Philosophy in the Work of Salomon Munk* (Boston: Academic Studies Press, 2017).

63 Manuscript available at http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10537585t (accessed 20 July 2022).

Arabic literature and compiled material for a history of Arabic philosophy which hitherto was mostly based on indirect sources or Latin translations. In light of the expansive preservation of Muslim thought in the Arabic literature of the Jews, he concluded that studying Jewish thought would provide an essential avenue to understanding Muslim thought. This insight guided his longstanding work on a critical edition and French translation of Maimonides's *Le guide des égarés* (Paris, 1856–1866) as well as his groundbreaking and richly documented *Mélanges de philosophie juive et arabe* (Paris, 1857–1859).[64]

Like many of his Jewish peers in Oriental studies, Munk had completed a traditional Jewish education with a rabbinical diploma prior to his studies at the university. During this phase of his life, he came into contact with major figures of the German Haskalah and representatives of the nascent *Wissenschaft des Judenthums*. His exasperating experience with the discriminatory laws against Jews in Prussia, his years of study in Paris, and later on his journeys to Egypt and Syria in 1840, which afforded him a first-hand impression of the Islamic world and brought him into contact with the living tradition of Judaeo-Arabic letters, were other formative factors that made him a trailblazer for a new approach in European Oriental studies that brought about a thorough transformation of the subject area over the coming century.[65] Of paramount importance was his appointment to the prestigious chair of Hebrew at the Collège de France which made "an enormous impression on the Jewish intellectuals of Prussia and Eastern Europe, who were as yet denied access to University posts".[66] According to Abraham Geiger, it marked the moment when the study of Hebrew was wrested from the hands of Christian theology to be subjected "to the scrutiny of philology and historical criteria".[67]

The self-assured challenge to the hegemony of Christian theology and the inversion of the predominant Christian and Eurocentric perspective on the history of intellectual and religious thought found their most significant expression in the highlighting of the Jewish and Muslim contributions to the advancement of European civilisation. This shift of historiographical focus and perspective was closely related to the political and cultural emancipation process of European Jewry. By virtue of their favourable attitude towards Islamic civilisation and by stressing its intimate affinity with Judaism in contrast to Christianity, Jewish Orientalists of Munk's generation heralded the start of a new era in European Oriental studies and set the agenda for a "Modern Jewish Scholarship on Islam" which between 1830 and 1930 transformed the study of Islam at European universities in a profound and sustainable manner.[68]

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[64] Salomon Munk, *Le guide des égarés: Traité de théologie et de philosophie / par Moïse ben Maïmoun, dit Maïmonide*; publié pour la première fois dans l'original arabe et accompagné d'une traduction française et de notes critiques, littéraires et explicatives. 3 vols. (Paris: A. Franck, 1856–1866) ; idem, *Mélanges de philosophie juive et arabe* (Paris: A. Franck, 1857–1859).

[65] Fenton, "Salomon Munk", 278.

[66] *Ibid.*

[67] *Ibid.*, 279.

[68] Fraisse, ed., *Modern Jewish Scholarship*. As shown by Ludmila Hanisch, "Akzentverschiebung – Zur Geschichte der Semitistik und Islamwissenschaft während des 'Dritten Reichs'", *Berichte zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte* 18, no. 4 (1995): 217–226 [218], and eadem, *Die Nachfolger der Exegeten: Deutschsprachige Erforschung des Vorderen Orients in der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2003), 177–212, 25 per cent of the chairs in Oriental studies in Germany in 1930 were held by Jews.

The transformative effect that European Jewish scholarship had on the way Islam and the 'Orient' were perceived and studied at European universities was bound up with the fact that the study of religions continued to be marked by a clear divide between Europe and the (Near) 'East' throughout the nineteenth century. While Christianity was identified as the religion of the 'Aryan peoples' of Europe, Judaism and Islam represented the 'Semitic religions' of the two surviving 'Semitic peoples' (Jews and Arabs) in Asia.[69] Within this dichotomous structure, scholars of a Jewish background were generally more susceptible to "the colonizing habitus of Europe in modernity" and self-conscious of their ambivalent relationship to European cultures.[70] While this self-awareness of their cultural precariousness did not predetermine their attitude towards the 'East' or Islam, it co-determined their interest in and their historiographical approach towards Islam and the Islamic world.[71] Regardless of whether Islam was depicted as daughter religion of Judaism or as the projected ideal image of what Judaism once was and ought to become once again,[72] the study of Islam and Islamic intellectual history became for European Jewish Orientalists a pivotal point of reference to capture their own cultural identity and served as a gateway to their approaching the history of Judaism in general and of Jewish religious thought in particular.[73]

Within the European academic tradition of the nineteenth century, the benefit of this new perspective on the 'East' and Islam was somewhat curtailed by methodological assumptions that structured the study of 'religions' and the relationship between them in analogy to comparative philology and textual criticism.[74] Comparative philology placed languages in a vertical hierarchical relationship. By comparing their vocabulary and grammar and grouping them based on the extent of their similarities, it arranged them in accordance with evolutionary tree theory. Similar to a family tree of languages, the genealogical relationship between religions was chiefly conceived in terms of origin and derivation, borrowing and influence. This evolutionary scientific paradigm proceeded from misguided assumptions about the self-reliance and self-referentiality of individual religions, a supposedly straightforward distinction between the progenitor and the scion, and a neat differentiation between an emic and an etic perception of a given religion.

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69 Guy G. Stroumsa, *The Idea of Semitic Monotheism: The Rise and Fall of a Scholarly Myth* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), 63–75.

70 Ottfried Fraisse, "Modern Jewish Scholarship on Islam in Context: Rationality, European Borders, and the Search for Belonging", in *Modern Jewish Scholarship*, ed. idem, 1–29 [6].

71 Barber Johanson, "Politics and Scholarship: The Development of Islamic Studies in the Federal Republic of Germany", in *Middle East Studies: International Perspectives on the State of the Art*, ed. Tareq Y. Ismael (New York: Praeger, 1990), 81.

72 The above-cited volume on *Modern Jewish Scholarship on Islam in Context* construes four major methodological turning points from within "a broad range of positions regarding how they rendered the borders of (colonial) Europe visible by means of the way in which they chose to reflect upon their object of research (i.e. mostly Islam)"; Fraisse, "Modern Jewish Scholarship", 14. In the contribution by Susannah Heschel, "The Rise of Imperialism and the German Jewish Engagement in Islamic Studies", 61–92, these four positions are represented through the scholarship of Gustav Weil, Abraham Geiger, Shlomo Dov Goitein, Gottlieb Leitner, Ignác Goldziher, and Josef Horovitz.

73 Susannah Heschel, "German Jewish Scholarship on Islam as a Tool for De-Orientalizing Judaism", *New German Critique* 117 (2012): 91–107.

74 For a succinct account of the assumptions underlying this genealogical historiographical model, see chapter 3 of Lena Salaymeh, *The Beginnings of Islamic Law: Late Antique Islamicate Legal Traditions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 84–104.

The rise of various forms of Zionism and the settlement of European Jews in Ottoman Palestine towards the end of the nineteenth century further ramified the identitarian entanglement of Jewish scholars involved in research on the Islamic world. While now being located in the 'East', their scientific research of the 'East' continued to be shaped by European notions of 'culture', 'nation', 'religion', and 'people', and categories of Western *Wissenschaft* that were now geared towards promoting the cultural and political mission of the Zionist movement.

These limitations notwithstanding, there can be no doubt that nineteenth- and early twentieth-century European Jewish scholarship on Islam – from Munk over Goldziher to Horovitz and Goitein – had a lasting impact on the field and should be considered an important stepping stone towards the development of a trans-denominational approach to religious thought in the pre-modern world of Islam.

The Second World War marked a distinct turning point for the field of Oriental studies. In Germany and beyond, the university system as it had existed since the beginning of the nineteenth century underwent a major reform. Following the example of the emerging new cultural and literary studies, the field gradually diverged from its traditional focus on philological approaches to 'Oriental' languages and literatures and started to espouse new methodologies from social and political sciences and religious studies and to attach greater importance to studying contemporary cultures and societies. Despite a growing awareness of the variety of scholarly approaches in the field of Islamic studies, however, tendencies of disciplinary isolation lingered on and frequently were even aggravated, most notably in countries where the tradition of Jewish scholarship had been obliterated. Standard syllabi, departmental divisions, and academic career structures thus continued to act as a powerful brake on comparative research and led to loss of depth and range alike.[75] Prevalent approaches to the history of religious thought in Islam and Judaism remained largely oblivious to debates and developments in related disciplines and only reluctantly took on board new questions and considerations from emerging disciplines in the wider field of sociological or anthropological studies. This parochial attitude boosted the demise of trans-disciplinary competence and inhibited attempts at broad comparisons between cultures.[76]

Only over the last few decades can one recognise a growing appreciation for the significance of cross-cultural and comparative analyses and the fact that religious traditions can no longer be dealt with in isolation. The expansion of the horizon stimulated the willingness to accommodate a greater variety of scholarly approaches and methodologies. In consequence, studies on the history of philosophy and religious thought in the Islamicate world has slowly been shifting from the paradigm of 'peoples', 'nations', 'religions', and 'confessions' to 'continents', 'spheres', 'epochs', 'cultures', and 'genders' as classification and systematisation criteria of intellectual history. Given, however, that "true inter-disciplinarity calls for deep, diverse, and thus time-consuming training,

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[75] Patricia Crone, *Roman, Provincial and Islamic Law: The Origins of the Islamic Patronate* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 6.

[76] According to Hughes, *Theorizing Islam*, 118, "there have been virtually no attempts to connect Islamic data to the critical methods and discourses supplied by certain subsections within the larger field of religious studies". He alleges "that the academic study of Islam has become more, not less, insular and apologetic" (*ibid.*, 2). Hughes applies a similar assessment to the current state of Islamic and Jewish studies in his *Between Islam and Judaism*, 11–51. In both fields he detects ongoing strong tendencies to navel-gaze and a propensity for introversion.

which the acutely time-conscious academic system of today feels it can ill afford",[77] such tendencies continue to be faced with considerable resistance.

In the domain of historiography, new trans-disciplinary methodological paradigms are closely associated with concepts such as 'global history', 'entangled history', and 'histoire croisée'.[78] With their emphasis on processes of interaction, relationality, connectivity, circulation, integration, and reconfiguration, these paradigms share major concerns with the trans-denominational approach to the history of religious thought as is advocated in the present dissertation.[79]

Before writing his often-quoted three-volume *Venture of Islam*, Marshall G. S. Hodgson (1922–1968) published a series of lesser-known essays employing the terms 'global history' and 'world history' in a bid to re-spatialise the historiography of the world. It culminated in an emphatic rejection of "the westward distortion in history" and his slogan that "there is no Orient".[80] In his view, 'global history' represented an epistemic rupture to transition from a West-centric into a post-occidental world and a methodological tool to provincialise Europe. By critiquing the Eurocentric pedigree of academic disciplinarity and challenging traditional master narratives of centre and periphery, Hodgson's endeavour coincided with core concerns of postcolonial studies.

During his graduate education, this initial anti-Orientalism was supplemented by his objection to the "Arabistic bias" of his teachers and their overwhelming interest in Sunnī Islam

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77 S. Stroumsa, "Comparison as a Multifocal Approach", 140.

78 Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Connected Histories: Notes towards a Reconfiguration of Early Modern Eurasia", *Modern Asian Studies* 31, no. 3 (1997): 735–762; Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann, "Penser l'histoire croisée: Entre empirie et réflexivité", *Annales: Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 58, no. 1 (2003): 5–36; Sönke Bauck and Thomas Maier, "Entangled History", in *InterAmerican Wiki*, Center for InterAmerican Studies, Universität Bielefeld, 2015, https://www.uni-bielefeld.de/einrichtungen/cias/publikationen/wiki (accessed 8 September 2022); Wolfram Drews and Christian Scholl, eds., *Transkulturelle Verflechtungsprozesse in der Vormoderne* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016); Madeleine Herren, Martin Rüesch, and Christiane Sibille, *Transcultural History: Theories, Methods, Sources* (Berlin: Springer, 2012); Guillaume Dye, "Pollinisation croisée et identité religieuse: Perspectives récentes sur l'islamologie", *Diogène: Revue trimestrielle publiée sous les auspices du Conseil International de la Philosophie et des Sciences Humaines* 256 (2016): 29–49.

79 For a general survey on 'global history', see Sebastian Conrad, *What Is Global History?* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017); the *Journal of Global History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006–, ISSN 1740–0228); Jeremy Adelman, "What Is Global History Now?", *AeonOnline*, 2 March 2017, https://aeon.co/essays/is-global-history-still-possible-or-has-it-had-its-moment (accessed 2 May 2021).

80 Marshall G. S. Hodgson, *Rethinking World History: Essays on Europe, Islam and World History*, ed. Edmund Burke (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); idem, "Hemispheric Inter-Regional History as an Approach to World History", *Cahiers d'histoire mondiale* 1 (1954): 715–723 [721ff.]; idem, "World History and a World Outlook", *The Social Studies* 35 (1944): 297–301; idem, "The Interrelations of Societies in History", *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 5, no. 2 (1963): 227–250; idem, "Outline for a Book Combatting Western Provincialism," 23 June 1945, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library, Marshall G. S. Hodgson Papers, Box 15, folder 6. See also Edmund Burke, "There is No Orient: Hodgson and Said," *Review of Middle East Studies* 44, no. 1 (2010): 13–18; Michael Geyer, "The Time of World History: Essaying Marshall G.S. Hodgson's Work on Islamicate Societies and Afro-Eurasian World History," *Chronologics: Periodisation in a Global Context* (blog), 16 March 2018, https://chronolog.hypotheses.org/370 (accessed 26 August 2020).

and the Near East. He solicited for an enhanced focus of Islamic studies on Shīʿī Islam and Sufism, and pleaded for an eastward orientation with a focus on Persia and northern India.[81]

Hodgson's coining of the term 'Islamicate' in his *Venture of Islam* was similarly driven by his conviction that the historiography of a civilisation marked by Islamic rule should be all-inclusive.

> There has been, however, a *culture*, centred on a lettered tradition, which has been historically distinctive of Islamdom the *society*, and which has been naturally shared in by both Muslims and non-Muslims who participate at all fully in the society of Islamdom. For this, I have used the adjective 'Islamicate'. I thus restrict the term 'Islam' to the *religion* of the Muslims, not using that term for the far more general phenomena, the society of Islamdom and its Islamicate cultural traditions.[82]

While rightly criticised for his simplistic and unwarranted juxtaposition of a religious and a cultural sphere of human activity, Hodgson's coining of these neologisms was guided by the conviction that by putting communal boundaries and border lines between religious and ethnic groups in the rear, a broader perspective on the ensemble of social and cultural practices performed within that civilisation would be achieved. For similar reasons, Hodgson opposed the confessional labelling of ideas and concepts as 'belonging' to one religion or another. To his mind, ideas were part of a shared cultural platform that was to some degree or another common to thinkers of different religious and ethnic backgrounds.

The heightened awareness of global interconnectedness has reinforced the emphatic demand of global history to transgress the historical framework of the modern humanities which was anchored in languages and nation-states and burdened with the legacy of Euro- and West-centrism. The viability of scholarly approaches that understood cultures as stable and geographically bound entities have thus been thoroughly eroded.

The continuing impact of Hodgson's reflections on method in historical and textual studies of Islam and the Islamicate world comes to the fore in Shahab Ahmed's *What is Islam?*, which includes a critical discussion of Hodgson's fallaciously neat distinction between the 'religious' and the 'cultural' spheres of human activity.[83] Ahmed's much-discussed book and its many thoughtful reviews may – taken together – be read as a nuanced contemporary debate about the analytical and conceptual problems, and the intricacies and fallacies, that arise from resorting to denominational categories of explanation in histories of intellectual and religious thought.

IV.2. Towards a heuristic framework for a trans-denominational approach to the history of religious thought

My attempt to sketch out a heuristic framework for a trans-denominational approach to the history of religious thought builds on methodological discussions about historiographical concepts such as 'global history', 'entangled history', and 'histoire croisée'. In particular, I draw on recent research initiatives dedicated to developing and advancing the transcultural approach in

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[81] Hodgson, *Rethinking World History*, 102.

[82] Marshall G. S. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilisation*, vol. 1, *The Classical Age of Islam* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), 58.

[83] Shahab Ahmed, *What Is Islam? The Importance of Being Islamic* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), 157–175.

the humanities and social sciences.[84] As explained in section II, I consider trans-denominational religious thought a subform of transcultural intellectual practice. There, I have outlined how the analytical building blocks of the transcultural approach might be adapted to a trans-denominational paradigm of religious thought. Here, the goal is not to expound the blueprint of a comprehensive, coherent, and self-sufficient theory, but to offer a methodological toolbox that may serve as heuristic framework for a trans-denominational approach to the history of religious thought and to show how it is applied to the articles included in this dissertation.

In accordance with the exigencies and requirements of various academic disciplines in humanities and social sciences and in response to different sets of academic traditions, the term 'transcultural' has been used in at least four distinct ways:[85]

1) In the sense of anthropological universals that transcend cultural boundaries insofar as they are common to all human groups (e.g. crime, intellectual activity, etc.).
2) For a specific variety of phenomena that transcend cultural boundaries and are shared by different and distinct milieus as a result of diffusion, transmission, and reception (e.g. Roman law).
3) For phenomena that are transferred to and transformed in various cultural milieus. The focus is on milieus and agents (brokers) that act as connecting links between different cultural spheres.

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[84] For a useful survey of the concept 'transculturality' and its history, see Laila Abu-Er-Rub et al., "Introduction: Engaging Transculturality", in *Engaging Transculturality: Concepts, Key Terms, Case Studies*, ed. eidem (London: Routledge, 2019), xxiii–xliv [xxiii–xxxiv]; Margit Mersch, "Transkulturalität, Verflechtung, Hybridisierung – 'Neue' epistemologische Modelle in der Mittelalterforschung", in *Transkulturelle Verflechtungsprozesse in der Vormoderne*, ed. Wolfram Drews and Christian Scholl (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016), 239–251. Relevant recent projects on 'transculturality' include: (a) the Käte Hamburger Kolleg "Dynamics in the History of Religions between Asia and Europe" (Bochum, 2008–), based at the Center for Religious Studies (CERES) of the Ruhr-Universität Bochum, https://khk.ceres.rub.de/en/publications/dynamics-history-religions/ (accessed 2 May 2021) – a conceptual outline of the research project is presented by Volkhard Krech, "Dynamics in the History of Religions: Preliminary Considerations on Aspects of a Research Programme", in *Dynamics in the History of Religions between Asia and Europe: Encounters, Notions, and Comparative Perspectives*, ed. Volkhard Krech and Marion Steinicke (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 15–70; (b) the cluster of excellence "Asia and Europe in a Global Context" (Heidelberg, 2007–), based at the Heidelberg Centre for Transcultural Studies (HCTS) and the Centre for Transcultural and Asian Studies (CATS), https://www.asia-europe.uni-heidelberg.de/ (accessed 2 May 2021); (c) the research group FranceMed "La France et la Méditerranée: Espaces des transferts culturels"; (d) the book series Transcultural Medieval Studies (Turnhout: Brepol, 2021–); (e) the collaborative research centre "Episteme in Bewegung / Episteme in Motion", based at Freie Universität Berlin, https://www.sfb-episteme.de/ (accessed 2 May 2021) – see Eva Cancik-Kirschbaum and Anita Traninger, eds., *Wissen in Bewegung: Institution – Iteration – Transfer* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2016) and other volumes published within the Episteme in Bewegung: Beiträge zu einer transdisziplinären Wissensgeschichte book series (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2015–, https://www.harrassowitz-verlag.de/series_251.ahtml, accessed 2 May 2021). See also the recent report on the conference "Motions of Knowledge – Knowledge in Motion: Conceptualizing Knowledge Circulation for Historical Research", https://www.hsozkult.de/conferencereport/id/tagungsberichte-8947 (accessed 22 May 2021).

[85] Daniel G. König and Katja Rakow, "The Transcultural Approach within a Disciplinary Framework: An Introduction", *Transcultural Studies* 2 (2016): 89–100 [93–95]; Daniel G. König, "Islamic Studies: A Field of Research under Transcultural Crossfire", *Transcultural Studies* 2 (2016): 101–135 [101].

4) As a means to emphasise the multipolarity, multiple perspectives, and transformative dynamics inherent in a given research topic. According to this understanding, the term 'transcultural' not only questions the pertinence of boundaries in a cultural sense, but also challenges and stretches the defined boundaries of any given discipline or field of research it is applied to and highlights the relevance of specific subfields of research which often stand in the margins of established academic disciplines. In so doing, it aims at critically evaluating predominant forms of knowledge production and stimulating new lines of enquiry.[86]

With respect to the proposed trans-denominational approach to the history of religious thought, I use the term 'transcultural' according to the third and fourth meanings. Their common denominator is an emphasis on the processual understanding of culture, the inextricable transcultural relationality of cultural phenomena and practices, and the insistence on multipolarity, multiple perspectives, interactive processes, and transformative dynamics.[87] Transcultural research proceeds from the conviction that everything, any action, event, idea, or material object is – at least in principle – transcultural. This also applies to religion and religious thought: "Religion is always inter-religion", "all religion susceptible of our study is in a situation of contact".[88]

The starting point of a trans-denominational approach to the history of religious thought is the awareness that religious communities, like any social formation, are not stable and monolithic entities "defined by readily ascertainable or accessible boundaries that effortlessly moves throughout history".[89] They are subject to a constant dynamic through which patterns of religious practice and thought are perpetually evolving.[90] This awareness constitutes a constitutional precondition of all articles included in this dissertation.

As a direct consequence of this basic observation, religious communities and their thought systems cannot be considered in isolation or understood independently of other, supposedly 'external' or 'extraneous' communities and thought systems. Their histories are inextricably entangled with the rest of the world.[91] Accordingly, practices, artefacts, texts, or thoughts that are tagged with the label of a specific religious community ought to be described as complex entities

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86 Laila Abu-Er-Rub et al., "Introduction: Engaging Transculturality", xxviii.

87 This point is highlighted by the research network "Genealogies of Knowledge: The Evolution and Contestation of Concepts across Time and Space", which provides further references and a conceptual outline by Mona Baker, Jan Buts, and Henry Jones, "Using Corpora to Trace the Cross-Cultural Mediation of Concepts through Time: An Interview with the Coordinators of the Genealogies of Knowledge Research Network", *Genealogies of Knowledge*, n.d., https://genealogiesofknowledge.net/research-network/outputs-and-activities/ (accessed 26 May 2021).

88 Steven M. Wasserstrom, "Nine Theses on the Study of Religion", in *All Religion is Inter-Religion: Engaging the Work of Steven M. Wasserstrom*, ed. Kambiz GhaneaBassiri and Paul Robertson (London: Bloomsbury, 2019), 9–14 [10]; Niels Reeh, "Inter-Religious Relations as a New Foundation for Comparative Religion", *Method & Theory in the Study of Religion* 32, no. 1 (2019): 47–73.

89 Hughes, *Theorizing Islam*, 130.

90 See the pertinent methodological remarks in Salaymeh, "Between Scholarship and Polemic", 407–418. Recent studies that feature this awareness in an exemplary manner include Tannous, *Making of the Medieval Middle East*; Michael Philip Penn, *Envisioning Islam: Syriac Christians and the Early Muslim World* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), 142–182.

91 Etienne Wenger, *Communities of Practice: Learning, Meaning, and Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 103.

that bear the traces of earlier practices, artefacts, texts, and thoughts.[92] They evolve from a continuous conversation with their cultural environment and are imbued with the voices of multiple 'interlocutors'.

A trans-denominational approach to religious thought requires elaborate reflections on source material. Source material is most often preserved, stored, and organised according to neat denominational and confessional parting lines which mask varieties of entanglement. Documents of contested, foreign origin, on the other hand, are much more difficult to find and may even have a smaller chance of preservation. A weak transboundary documentation conveys the impression of dense confessional traditions and may result in the construction of cultural and religious authenticity that may never have existed. On these grounds, border crossings not only shape the preferred topic of a history of trans-denominational religious thought, but also direct the selection of its source materials.

Several articles included in this dissertation have their origin in the perusing of manuscript catalogues or browsing through uncatalogued manuscript collections to identity items that seem to be at odds with the denominational label of a given manuscript collection. More often than not, such items are indicative of intellectual practices that stretch the boundaries of a neatly demarcated denominational cultural sphere. Other clues that may serve as initial pointers to the presence of trans-denominational religious thought consist in the presence of rare and noteworthy terms and concepts, or references to seemingly extraneous authorities, texts, and textual practices that sit badly with the notion of a self-referential denominational cultural sphere.

Proceeding from these starting points, the trans-denominational approach to religious thought traces in each case the constituent parts of the underlying intellectual practice as they have been outlined in section II, i.e. (1) agents, (2) commodities, (3) places and contexts, and (4) types and modes of trans-denominational religious thought.

Using the example of the Mu'tazila, a prevalent thought system during the 'Abbāsid period, article no. 101 demonstrates a fundamental methodological step of the trans-denominational approach to religious thought, namely the systematic and comprehensive collection of source material and secondary literature that assiduously disregards established disciplinary and denominational limitations to the subject area. As a trans-denominational survey of Mu'tazilī thought, the article establishes connections between agents and intellectual commodities that have previously been seen as parochial assets of isolated communities.

Articles nos. 102 and 103 apply the trans-denominational approach to a specific literary genre and curricular discipline (*uṣūl al-fiqh*). They illustrate the pertinence of viewing educational institutions, educational canons, curricula, and teaching methods unrestricted by denominational confines.

Article no. 104 employs the trans-denominational approach on the history of concepts (*Begriffsgeschichte*). It traces transformations of the concept of 'abrogation' (*naskh*) in Muslim and Jewish compositions on *uṣūl al-fiqh* over the tenth and eleventh centuries to substantiate an ongoing trans-denominational exchange and modification of a specific conceptual commodity and determines the principal agents involved in these transactions.

The trans-denominational approach considers agents or producers of religious thought as brokers who are characterised by specific attributes, competences, knowledge capital, authority, and networking skills that enable them to establish connections between previously unconnected

[92] Kees Versteegh, "Can a Language Be Islamic?", *Eurasian Studies* 18, no. 1 (2020): 5–25.

cultural entities. Article no. 105 showcases this approach using the example of a prominent Qaraite figure of the eleventh century who brings his brokerage capacities into play in several spheres of activity.

The following two articles (nos. 106 and 107) exemplify the trans-denominational approach through the handwritten reproduction and adaptation of texts from other communities. The production and usage of manuscripts are embedded in specific contexts and practices of knowledge production which can partially be reconstructed through a close analysis of a text's material embodiment and by employing a range of methodological tools subsumed under 'material philology'. The specific examples of manuscripts presented in the two articles bring to light previously unnoticed intellectual, institutional, and personal connections across denominational borders.

The trans-denominational approach to religious thought shows a particular interest in the intellectual production of fringe groups. It generally offers a valuable heuristic tool to reconsider unquestioned commonplaces of dominant historiographical narratives. Articles nos. 108 and 109 apply this approach to several manuscripts of texts by little known Samaritan authors. They not only reveal unexpected and underappreciated contexts for the employment of Mu'tazilī thought, but also shed important new light on the dialectical forge and rhetoric texture of interdenominational disputations.

Articles nos. 201–204 present several case studies illustrating how the trans-denominational approach to religious thought is efficaciously employed to re-examine the reception history of two protagonists of Jewish and Islamic religious thought, namely Maimonides and Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī. In both cases, the vantage point is the literary production of Coptic authors during the renaissance of Copto-Arabic literature in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The articles show how the main brokers of this period of cultural flowering procured a large number of manuscripts containing texts by authors from various dominations. These texts were then put to use to work out a thoroughly new canon of knowledge that furnished the Coptic community with a novel conceptual framework.

A trans-denominational approach to the history of early *Kalām* ties in with the general historiographical trend that views the intellectual history of early Islam as an integral part of the late antique intellectual landscape which is characterised by a multireligious environment and blurred borders.[93] Article no. 301 combines a knowledge-sociological investigation of ninth- and tenth-century *mutakallimūn* with a conceptual historical analysis of medical and *Kalām* texts to expose multiple points of reference between two spheres of intellectual activity and textual corpora that were hitherto depicted as devoid of meaningful relationships.

The uncovering of inconspicuous, hidden, and forgotten relationships between supposedly discrete cultural spheres and the focus on agents and commodities that establish and sustain these relationships are the quintessential common denominator that underlies the trans-denominational approach to religious thought advocated in this dissertation and constitutes the common thread linking its fourteen case studies.

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[93] See, for instance, Angelika Neuwirth, *Der Koran als Text der Spätantike: ein europäischer Zugang* (Berlin: Verlag der Weltreligionen, 2010); Garth Fowden, *Before and after Muhammad: The First Millennium Refocused* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014); Tannous, *Making of the Medieval Middle East*.

Muʿtazilism in the Age of Averroes*

Gregor Schwarb

وأمّا المعتزلة فإنه لم يصل إلينا في هذه
الجزيرة من كتبهم شيء نقف منه على طرقهم
التي سلكوها في هذا المعنى، ويشبه
أن تكون طرقهم من جنس طرق الأشعرية

Ibn Rushd, *al-Kashf ʿan manāhij al-adilla fī ʿaqāʾid al-milla*, ed. M. A. al-Jābirī, Beirut 1998, p. 118.

INTRODUCTION

In accounts of the early history of Islamic theology during the second and the third centuries AH the central role of the Muʿtazila is generally acknowledged as a matter of course.[1] By the sixth century of the Muslim era, however, the hierarchy of the theological schools seems to have been completely reversed. In standard surveys of sixth/twelfth-century intellectual thought in the Islamic world Muʿtazilism usually plays a minor part, or – worse still – is declared extinct. If a study of 'Muʿtazilism in the Age of Abū Walīd Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Ibn Rushd (520/1126–595/1198)' were to draw only on Carl Brockelmann's (1868–1956) *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur* (*GAL*),[2] which never ceased to be the authoritative reference work for the whole of Arabic literature produced after the fifth century AH, it would hardly be more than necropsy.[3] In Brockelmann's account Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAbd al-Jabbār b. Aḥmad al-Hamadhānī (d. 415/1024–5) was 'one of the last important Muʿtazilites'.[4] Fuat Sezgin in turn labelled Jārullāh Abū l-Qāsim Maḥmūd b. ʿUmar al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144) 'the last great theologian of the Muʿtazila'.[5] The fact that his *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums* (*GAS*), which was

* This study was prepared within the framework of the European Research Council's FP 7 project 'Rediscovering Theological Rationalism in the Medieval World of Islam' <http://tinyurl.com/RTRMWI>. I am grateful to my colleagues Peter Adamson and Jan Thiele who offered some helpful suggestions.

1. On the common phenomenon in the third/ninth century to count a scholar as 'Muʿtazilī' without fitting the picture entirely, and the tendency to lump together numerous independent-minded theologicans under the name 'Muʿtazila' see J. van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra. Eine Geschichte des religiösen Denkens im frühen Islam*, Berlin, 1991–7, vol. 4, p. 123 ('Solange die Muʿtazila in der Theologie weitgehend das Feld beherrschte, blieben ihre Grenzen für den Beobachter fliessend; man hatte sich daran gewöhnt, dass in ihrem Umfeld Randsiedler auftraten, die nur in bestimmten Punkten von ihr abwichen').

2. Leiden, 1898–1949.

3. Cf. J. J. Witkam, 'Brockelmann's *Geschichte* revisited', in C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur (GAL). Reprint with New Introduction*, Leiden, 1996, pp. v–xvii. The fact that Brocklemann's *Geschichte*, though utterly outdated, still plays an essential and 'indispensible' role in Western scholarship is borne out by Brill's recent launch of *Brockelmann Online*, a full-text searchable version of *GAL* <http://www.brill.nl/broo> or <http://tinyurl.com/brockelmann> (consulted 30 Nov 2009).

4. *GAL* (n. 3 above), Supplement vol. 1, p. 343.

5. F. Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, Leiden, 1967–, vol. 1, p. 614.

primarily conceived as a supplement to Brockelmann's *Geschichte*, only covered the first four centuries AH (up to 430/1038–9) may also have contributed to neglecting the study of later Muʿtazilite literature.

There exists no Muʿtazilī *ṭabaqāt* work covering the age of Averroes. Accordingly, it is still common in research literature to refer to ʿAbd al-Jabbār and his students as representatives of the 'late Muʿtazila'.[6] This usage reflects the terminology of the most influential works of Muʿtazilī *ṭabaqāt* literature, the best known being *Bāb dhikr al-Muʿtazila wa-ṭabaqātihim* by the Zaydī Imām al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā l-Murtaḍā (d. 840/1436–7),[7] i.e. the third part of *K. al-Munya wa-l-amal fī sharḥ K. al-Milal wa-l-niḥal*,[8] which in turn is the first part (out of nine) of the author's comprehensive *Ziyādāt* on the *Dībāja* of his *K. al-Baḥr al-zakhkhār* entitled *K. Ghāyāt al-afkār wa-nihāyat al-anẓār al-muḥīṭa bi-ʿajāʾib al-Baḥr al-zakhkhār*.[9] Ibn Yaḥyā l-Murtaḍā's *Bāb dhikr al-Muʿtazila* is little more than a verbatim copy of the parallel third part of Abū Saʿd al-Muḥassin b. Muḥammad al-Bayhaqī al-Barawghanī's (better known as al-Ḥākim al-Jishumī, d. 494/1101) *Sharḥ ʿUyūn al-masāʾil*, entitled *Bāb fī dhikr al-Muʿtazila wa-rijālihim wa-akhbārihim wa-mā ajmaʿū ʿalayhi min al-madhhab wa-dhikr firaqihim*,[10] which in turn draws on ʿAbd al-Jabbār's *Faḍl al-iʿtizāl wa-ṭabaqāt al-Muʿtazila wa-mubāyanatuhum li-sāʾir al-mukhālifīn* with appendices on the generation of ʿAbd al-Jabbār (eleventh *ṭabaqa*, fl. second half of fourth/tenth c.), the generation of ʿAbd al-Jabbār's students (twelfth *ṭabaqa*, fl. first half of fifth/eleventh c., i.e. the generation of al-Ḥākim al-Jishumī's teachers), Shīʿī, esp. Zaydī Muʿtazilites (*man wāfaqahum fī l-madhhab min al-ʿitra al-ṭāhira*), the ʿAbbāsid Caliphs (*man dhahaba madhhab al-ʿadl mimman būyiʿa lahu bi-l-khilāfa*), the Būyids (*al-umarāʾ wa-l-ruʾasāʾ*), jurists (*man qāla bi-l-ʿadl min al-fuqahāʾ*), grammarians (*nuḥāt*), poets (*shuʿarāʾ*), and

6. See, among many other examples, J. van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft* (n. 1 above), vol. 4, p. 48. W. Madelung, 'The Late Muʿtazila and Determinism: The Philosophers' Trap', *Yād-Nāma in Memoria di Alessandro Bausani, vol. I: Islamistica*, ed. B. Scarcia Amoretti and L. Rostagno, Rome, 1991, pp. 245–57.

7. Ed. S. Diwald-Wilzer, *Die Klassen der Muʿtaziliten* (*Kitāb Ṭabaqāt al-Muʿtazila*), Beirut, 1961; for a harsh critique of this edition see A. Zarzūr, *al-Ḥākim al-Jushamī wa-manhajuhu fī tafsīr al-Qurʾān*, Beirut, 1972, p. 106. On the origins of the Muʿtazilite *ṭabaqāt* literature see van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft* (n. 1 above), vol. 1, pp. 61–3.

8. Ed. M. J. Mashkūr, Beirut, 1979.

9. While *K. al-Baḥr al-zakhkhār* has been reprinted several times (Baghdād, Maktabat al-Muthannā, 1947–9; Beirut, Muʾassasat al-Risāla, 1975; Beirut, Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 2001), the bulk of *K. Ghāyāt al-afkār* still remains unedited, including its fifth part, *K. al-Jawāhir wa-l-durar min sīrat Sayyid al-bashar wa-aṣḥābihi al-ʿitra al-ghurar*, with important biographical information about the Zaydī imāms. For a detailed description of the structure of this work see G. Schwarb, *Handbook of Muʿtazilite Works and Manuscripts*, Leiden, forthcoming.

10. MS Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Or. 2584 A, ff. 47b–155b; MS Ṣanʿāʾ, Maktabat al-Jāmiʿ al-Kabīr al-Gharbiyya, *ʿIlm al-kalām* no. 99, ff. 28a–98a; MS Ṣanʿāʾ, Maktabat al-Jāmiʿ al-Kabīr al-Sharqiyya (= Maktabat al-Awqāf = al-Maktaba al-Mutawakkiliyya), no. 706; ff. 48b–166b. The section covering the eleventh and twelfth *ṭabaqāt* was edited by F. Sayyid, *Faḍl al-iʿtizāl wa-ṭabaqāt al-Muʿtazila*, Tūnis, 1974, pp. 365–93. An edition of *Sharḥ ʿUyūn al-masāʾil* is in preparation. The sixth/twelfth-century Zaydī Imām al-Manṣūr bi-llāh ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥamza b. Sulaymān (d. 614/1217, more on him below) lists in his *K. al-Shāfī* (ed. Majd al-Dīn al-Muʾayyadī, 4 vols in 2, Ṣanʿāʾ, 1406/1986, pp. 136–139) sources containing substantial information about the history of the Muʿtazila, Muʿtazilite scholars and literature.

ḥadīth-scholars (*ruwāt al-akhbār*, *ʿulamāʾ al-ḥadīth wa-aʾimmat al-naql*). In all these works a distinction is made between the earlier Muʿtazilites (*al-mutaqaddimūn min al-Muʿtazila* = *ṭabaqāt* 1–7) and the later, 'modern' representatives of the Muʿtazila (*al-mutaʾakhkhirūn min al-Muʿtazila* = *ṭabaqāt* 8–12), the dividing line being Abū ʿAlī al-Jubbāʾī (d. 303/915–6), the figurehead of the eighth *ṭabaqa*. What is called 'late/modern Muʿtazila' in these *ṭabaqāt* works reflects therefore a fifth/eleventh-century, not a fifteenth/twenty-first-century perspective.

Another factor contributing to the disregard of Muʿtazilī literature in the age of Averroes is the fact that by the sixth/twelfth century Muʿtazilism had become a marginal force in the centre of the Caliphate. Its strongholds were situated in the Eastern provinces of the Caliphate, in Khūzistān, Jibāl, Fāris, Daylamān, Jīlān, Ṭabaristān, Jurjān, Khurāsān, and Khwārazm, and among the Zaydīs in Yemen. The historiographical focus on the center of the Caliphate and Sunnī Islām thus tended to ignore the presence and ongoing efflorescence of Muʿtazilite thought.[11]

Ignaz Goldziher (1850–1921) aptly characterized this situation in his well-known article 'Aus der Theologie des Fachr al-dīn al-Rāzī',[12] albeit in a language that betrays him as a man of his time.[13] In this study Goldziher surveyed the sources that evince the overwhelming presence of Muʿtazilī thought in Khūzistān, Khurāsān, and, above all, Khwārazm, and then assessed its significance for an adequate understanding of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's (d. 606/1210) thought. Following in the wake of Goldziher, many other scholars have called attention to the abundance and significance of Muʿtazilite literature produced during this period,[14] but only rarely have these pleas given rise to in-depth studies of this literature.[15]

The relative lack of scholarship on 'Muʿtazilism in the Age of Averroes' can thus mainly be attributed to a lack of documentation. As this survey will show, the amount of extant Muʿtazilite works written during the sixth/twelfth century in no way falls short

11. Such studies include T. Nagel, *Die Festung des Glaubens: Triumph und Scheitern des islamischen Rationalismus im 11. Jahrhundert*, Munich, 1988; G. Makdisi, *Ibn ʿAqīl et la résurgence de l'islam traditionaliste au XIe siècle, Ve siècle de l'Hégire*, Damascus, 1963; id., *Ibn ʿAqīl: Religion and Culture in Classical Islam*, Edinburgh, 1997.

12. In *Der Islam*, 3, 1912, pp. 213–47.

13. See, for instance, his reference to 'an orthodoxy craving for persecution and terrorizing each incentive to freedom of thought' (p. 213), or 'the obscurantists of Baghdad who opposed dogmatic rationalism' (ibid.), or his quotation (p. 218) of a rather crude passage of R. A. Nicholson's *Literary History of the Arabs* (London, 1907, p. 268).

14. See, for instance, D. Gimaret, 'Pour un rééquilibrage des études de théologie musulmane', *Arabica*, 38, 1991, pp. 1–18; id., 'Muʿtazila', *EI*², vol. VII, pp. 785b–786a; S. Schmidtke, 'Neuere Forschungen zur *Muʿtazila* unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der späteren *Muʿtazila* ab dem 4./10. Jahrhundert, in *Arabica*, 45, 1998, pp. 379–408. For a detailed survey of the pertinent literature see my forthcoming *Handbook of Muʿtazilite Works and Manuscripts* (n. 9 above).

15. See above all W. Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm und die Glaubenslehre der Zaiditen*, Berlin, 1965 and many subsequent studies by Madelung. Several ongoing research projects realized within the European Research Council's FP 7 project 'Rediscovering Theological Rationalism in the Medieval World of Islam' will be devoted to *kalām* texts of this period.

of what we have from the two preceding centuries. Indeed, many of the extant Muʿtazilite texts of previous centuries owe their survival to political events that took place in the lifetime of Averroes and a remarkable number of extant manuscripts were copied during this century.

NON-SHĪʿITE MUʿTAZILA

While there is no doubt that in Seljūq Iraq the Muʿtazila had lost the position and official support it had during the Būyid age,[16] it was paradoxically the pro-Ḥanafite respectively anti-Ashʿarite-Shāfiʿite policy of the Seljūks that allowed Ḥanafite Muʿtazilite scholars to retain some limited ground there.[17] The available data for Baghdad show that the Ḥanbalite efforts to force the exclusion of Muʿtazilites from official positions and the restriction of teaching Muʿtazilite *kalām* were not entirely sucessful. Historio- and biographical sources refer to a number of Muʿtazilite scholars as well as savants and officials with Muʿtazilite leanings in Baghdad, even if the epithet 'al-Muʿtazilī' was by now often used disparagingly for all sorts of nonconformists.[18] Elements of Muʿtazilī doctrine survived, too, not least in some major works of Ḥanbalī theology and legal methodology.[19] Only under the Caliph al-Mustaḍīʾ bi-amri llāh (566–75/1170–80), who openly encouraged a resurgence of Ḥanbalism, the privileged position of the Ḥanafite Muʿtazilites was severely reduced. Besides, Transoxanian Ḥanafite scholars who adhered to the Māturīdite creed, which was systematically promoted by the official policy,

16. Makdisi, *Ibn ʿAqīl* (n. 11 above), pp. 300f., 330f.

17. Madelung, 'The Spread of Māturīdism and the Turks', *Actas do IV Congresso de Estudos Árabes e Islâmicos, Coimbra-Lisboa, 1 a 8 de setembro de 1968* [reprinted in id., *Religious Schools and Sects in Medieval Islam*, London, 1985, text no. II], Leiden, 1971, pp. 114–116, nn. 21f., 24–26 and pp. 136f., n. 70; D. Ephrat, *A Learned Society in a Period of Transition: the Sunni ʿulamāʾ of Eleventh Century Baghdad*, Albany, 2000, pp. 35–49, 161–3, 172. The libraries of the Niẓāmiyya institutions seem to have kept a handful of Muʿtazilite works, too. Thus, Abū Bakr Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 543/1148), *al-Awāṣim min al-Qawāṣim*, ed. ʿAmmār al-Ṭālibī, Cairo, 1417/1997, p. 72 mentions to have read ʿAbd al-Jabbār's *K. al-Muḥīṭ fī tafsīr al-Qurʾān* [!] in the Niẓāmiyya library in Baghdād (*qaraʾtuhu fī khizānat al-madrasa al-Niẓāmiyya bi-Madīnat al-Salām*), along with other Muʿtazilī works (ibid., p. 70).

18. For some of these names see Madelung, 'The Spread of Māturīdism' (n. 17 above), pp. 136f., n. 70. Abū l-Qāsim Khalaf b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Ḍarīr al-Shiljī (d. 515/1121), was a Ḥanafite scholar who taught *kalām* in the sanctuary (*mashhad*) of Abū Ḥanīfa, the most famous Ḥanafite madrasa in Baghdad (Ibn Abī l-Wafāʾ, *al-Jawāhir al-muḍiyya fī ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanafiyya*, 3rd ed., Giza, 1993, vol. 2, pp. 168f., no. 559). Among his students was ʿAbd al-Sayyid b. ʿAlī Ibn al-Zaytūnī, a Ḥanbalī and companion of Ibn ʿAqīl who converted to Ḥanafism and became a Muʿtazilī (ibid., pp. 424f., no. 814). Towards the end of the sixth/twelfth century Abū Yaʿqūb Yūsuf b. Ismāʿīl al-Lamghānī (d. 606/1209) taught *fiqh* and *kalām* in the mosque of the Sulṭān (since 588/1192) and likewise in the sanctuary of Abū Ḥanīfa (ibid., vol. 3, pp. 620f., no. 1836). Al-Lamghānī belonged to a prominent Ḥanafite family in Baghdad and was described as 'the chief of the Ḥanafites in his time', 'well-read in Muʿtazilī *kalām*', and as having upheld the createdness of the Qurʾān in disputations. His students included ʿIzz al-Dīn Abū Ḥāmid ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Abī l-Ḥadīd (d. Baghdad 656/1258), the well-known pro-ʿAlīd Ḥanafī Muʿtazilī scholar, man of letters, and author of *Sharḥ Nahj al-balāgha*, who also studied with the Zaydī Abū Jaʿfar Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. Abī Zayd al-Ḥasanī (d. 613/1216), and the Shāfiʿī Baghdādī historian Ibn al-Najjār (d. 643/1245; *EI*², vol. 3, pp. 896f.).

19. See, for instance, *K. al-Muʿtamad fī uṣūl al-dīn* by the Qāḍī Abū Yaʿlā b. al-Farrāʾ (d. 458/1066), ed. Wadīʿ Zaydān Ḥaddād, Beirut, 1974, or *al-Wāḍiḥ fī uṣūl al-fiqh* by Abū l-Wafāʾ ʿAlī Ibn ʿAqīl (d. 513/1119), edited several times, by: ʿAbd al-Muḥsin al-Turkī, Beirut, 1999; G. Makdisi, Stuttgart, 1996–2002; A. al-Sudays, Riyadh, 2008.

gradually became the dominant force within Ḥanafism and supplanted local Ḥanafī-Muʿtazilī traditions, not only in their home territory, but also in Iraq and Bilād al-Shām.[20]

In the Eastern provinces of the Caliphate the Muʿtazila also suffered some major setbacks in the post-Būyid period. In many towns and regions, however, it kept a sizeable presence throughout the Seljūq age.[21] Contemporaneous sources still refer to Khūzistān, Khurāsān, and, above all, Khwārazm as '*Bilād al-Muʿtazila*'.[22] Even among non-Ḥanafite, non-Muʿtazilite scholars in these provinces, Muʿtazilism was only rarely considered a heresy. Khwārazm in fact became the last bastion of non-Shīʿite Muʿtazilism, which survived there at least until the ninth/fifteenth century. Muʿtazilites in Eastern provinces benefited from the effects of the partition of the Seljūq empire in 510/1117, and the cultural efflorescence under Abū l-Ḥārith Aḥmad Sanjar who reigned in Marw till 552/1157. In the decades preceding the Mongol invasions, Oghuz tribal leaders, former Seljūq generals, and several external powers used the desintegration of Seljūq power to control Khurāsān. Among them, the Khwārazmshāhs Tāj al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn Abū l-Fatḥ Il-Arslān (551/1156–568/1172) and his son ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Tekish (568/1172–596/1200), who since 1173 not only controlled the Jurjāniyya and parts of Transoxania, but also northern Khurāsān with the towns of Marw, Sarakhs, Khūjān, Rādhaqān, Bayhaq, Nīsābūr, and Ṭūs, evidently favoured Muʿtazilism and promoted pro-Shīʿite activities, much to the dismay of the caliph.[23]

Since in non-Shīʿite circles Muʿtazilism was firmly rooted among the Ḥanafites, it is the *Ṭabaqāt*-works of the Ḥanafī *madhhab* which provide us with numerous names of Ḥanafī scholars who upheld the Muʿtazilī creed. In Rayy, Nīsābūr, and several cities in Khurāsān and Khwārazm there were many Muʿtazilites among the Ḥanafites.[24] Among these Muʿtazilite Ḥanafites pro-ʿAlid sentiments and strong Shīʿite affinities were very wide-spread at least since the Būyid age.[25] Just as it was nothing unusual for a Ḥanafī to

20. Madelung, 'The Spread of Māturīdism' (n. 17 above), pp. 140f. and passim.

21. See the names mentioned in Madelung, 'The Spread of Māturīdism' (n. 17 above), p. 116, n. 25; Goldziher, 'Aus der Theologie' (n. 12 above), pp. 220–3; C. Gilliot, 'L'Exégèse du Coran en Asie Centrale et au Khorasan', *Studia Islamica*, 89, 1999, pp. 150–4; id., 'La Théologie musulmane en Asie centrale et au Khorasan', *Arabica*, 49, 2002, pp. 141–7.

22. Goldziher, 'Aus der Theologie' (n. 12 above), pp. 219, 222 and passim. See, for instance, Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Qazwīnī, *Mufīd al-ʿulūm wa-mubīd al-humūm*, ed. Damascus, 1323/1906, who writes in the chapter entitled *fī ḥukm ʿawāmm al-muʾminīn* (p. 46): *Law kallafnāhum maʿrifat aḥkām al-jawāhir wa-l-aʿrāḍ lataʿaṭṭalat al-maʿāyish wa-'khtallat umūr al-dunyā* [...] *wa-l-Muʿtazila ḥaythu yashtariṭūna maʿrifat al-jawāhir wa-l-aʿrāḍ wa-yaḥkumūna bi-takfīr ʿawāmmihim, wa-lā yūjadu ʿammī muslim fī diyārihim fī ʿAskar Mukram wa-Khwārazm wa-sāʾir Bilād al-Muʿtazila*. Zakkariyyā b. Muḥammad al-Qazwīnī (d. 682/1283), *Āthār al-bilād wa-akhbār al-ʿibād*, ed. Beirut 1380/1960, p. 520, writes in his description of the Khwārazmian capital Jurjāniyya: *wa-ahl Jurjāniyya kulluhum Muʿtazila wa-l-ghālib ʿalayhim mumārasat ʿilm al-kalām*.

23. C. E. Bosworth, 'The Political and Dynastic History of the Iranian World', *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 5, Cambridge, 1968, pp. 185–95, 201f.; id., 'Khwarazmshahs', *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 15 <http://www.iranica.com/articles/khwarazmshahs-i>.

24. Madelung, *Der Imam* (n. 15 above), pp. 114–6, 134–6 (with nn. 22–6, 68–70). Abū Bakr Ibn al-ʿArabī, *al-Awāṣim* (n. 17 above), p. 212, writes: *wa-mā ruʾiya bi-Khurāsān wa-lā bi-l-ʿIrāq Ḥanafī illā Muʿtaziliyyan aw Karrāmiyyan*.

25. Good examples for the pro-ʿAlid attitude among Muʿtazilite Ḥanafites in the Būyid age are Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Baṣrī's *K. al-Darajāt (fī tafḍīl Amīr al-muʾminīn)* or Ibn Mattawayh's *K. al-Kifāya*.

study the *uṣūlān* (i.e. *uṣūl al-dīn* and *uṣūl al-fiqh*) with a Shīʿite master, we frequently encounter Shīʿite, especially Zaydī experts in Ḥanafī law.[26] Symptomatic of this situation is the occasional difficulty to determine whether a particular Muʿtazilite *mutakallim* was in point of fact a pro-ʿAlid Ḥanafite or a Zaydī.

On that evidence it is not surprising that a vast amount of information about non-Shīʿite Muʿtazilism in Northern Iran can be gleaned from contemporaneous Shīʿite, particularly Zaydī historiographical and *ṭabaqāt* works, *ijāzāt*-literature, and manuscripts in general.[27]

Among several other sources providing information on Muʿtazilīs in Khurāsān and Khwārazm[28] mention should be made of the extant third part of a biographical dictionary by the Khwārazmian Ḥanafī Abū l-Karam ʿAbd al-Salām b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Andarasbānī (d. late sixth/twelfth c.), extant in a unique manuscript held at the Institute of Oriental Studies in St. Petersburg. Only the biography of Abū l-Qāsim al-Zamakhsharī has thus far been published.[29] The author compiled the dictionary in Jurjāniyya, the capital city of Khwārazm, in close cooperation with students of al-Zamakhsharī, such as Abū

26. See, for instance, Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim*, pp. 175–9, 183; id., 'The Spread of Māturīdism' (n. 17 above), p. 114, n. 21 and pp. 120f., n. 32 for the evidence furnished by the Imāmī Shīʿite ʿAbd al-Jalīl al-Qazwīnī al-Rāzī in his *K. Naqḍ al-faḍāʾiḥ* (written in 552/1157). For the presence of Shīʿite mourning ceremonies among non-Shīʿites see M. Kervran, *Les Structures funéraires et commémoratives en Iran et en Asie Centrale du 9e au 12e siècles*, PhD thesis, Sorbonne, Paris, 1987. As we shall see below, the bond linking Khwārazmian and Khurāsānian Ḥanafism and Zaydism constitutes an important background to understanding the reception of the non-Shīʿite Muʿtazilī literature among the Zaydiyya in Yemen, as well as the historical revisionism upheld by the Zaydiyya which pictures the origins of the Muʿtazila as an offspring of early Zaydism.

27. The Zaydī *ṭabaqat* tradition culminated in three works of the eleventh/seventeenth century, all of which strived to be comprehensive surveys of Zaydī scholars up to the authors' time. The first of these is *K. Maṭlaʿ al-budūr wa-majmaʿ al-buḥūr (fī tarājim rijāl al-Zaydiyya)* by the Qāḍī of Ṣanʿāʾ Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ Ibn Abī l-Rijāl (d. 1092/1681), ed. ʿAbd al-Raqīb Muṭahhar Muḥammad Ḥajr, 4 vols, Ṣanʿāʾ, 1425/2004; the second is *K. al-Mustaṭāb fī tarājim ʿulamāʾ al-Zaydiyya al-aṭyāb* (= *K. al-Ṭabaqāt fī dhikr (faḍl) al-ʿulamāʾ wa-ʿilmihim* = *Ṭabaqāt al-Zaydiyya al-Ṣughrā*) by Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Imām al-Manṣūr bi-llāh al-Qāsim (d. 1100/1688), which was later updated and rearranged under the title *Ṭabaqāt al-Zaydiyya [al-Kubrā]* (*wa-yusammā Nasamāt al-asḥār fī ṭabaqāt ruwāt al-akhbār*) by the author's nephew, Ṣārim al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. al-Qāsim b. al-Imām al-Muʾayyad bi-llāh Muḥammad b. al-Imām al-Manṣūr bi-llāh al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad al-Shahārī (d. 1152/1739–40). The third part of this latter work (*Bulūgh al-murād ilā maʿrifat al-isnād*) is available in print, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām b. ʿAbbās al-Wajīh, 3 vols, Amman, 1421/2001. These three works, namely *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, *Ṭabaqāt al-Zaydiyya al-Ṣughrā*, and *Ṭabaqāt al-Zaydiyya al-Kubrā*, provide us with a wealth of information on the transmission and teaching of Zaydī-Muʿtazilī literature not to be gleaned from other sources. See also D. T. Gochenour, 'A Revised Bibliography of Medieval Yemeni History in the Light of Recent Publications and Discoveries', *Der Islam*, 63, 1986, pp. 309–22.

28. For the Jibāl region see Imām al-Dīn, ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad al-Rāfiʿī al-Qazwīnī (d. 623/1226), *Al-Tadwīn fī akhbār Qazwīn*, 3 vols, ed. A. al-ʿAṭāridī al-Khabūshānī, Tehran 1374sh/1995–6.

29. Ms. St. Petersburg, Institute of Oriental Studies, Arab. C 2387 (A. B. Khalidov, Arabic Manuscripts in the Institute of Oriental Studies, vol. 1, Moscow 1986, p. 435, no. 9454). On the MS see S. Prozorov, 'A Unique Manuscript of a Biographical Dictionary by a Khorezmian Author', *Manuscripta Orientalia*, 5, 1999, pp. 9–17, with references to relevant earlier literature. Prozorov's edition of this MS is due to be published soon. The biography of al-Zamakhsharī has been edited twice, first by B. Z. and A. B. Khalidov, 'Халидов Б.З., Халидов А.Б. Биография аз-Замахшари, составленная его современником ал-Андарасбани, in Письменные памятники Востока / Историко-филологические исследования, Ежегодник, 1973. М.: «Наука», ГРВЛ, 1979, pp. 203–12, (for the marginal note on f. 141b see p. 212), later by ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Yāfī, in *Majallat Majmaʿ al-Lugha al-ʿArabiyya*, 57, 1982, pp. 363–82.

l-Muʾayyad al-Muwaffaq b. Aḥmad al-Makkī (d. 568/1172), Abū Ṣāliḥ ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. ʿUmar al-Tarjumānī, and Abū l-Maʿālī ʿAbdallāh b. Alī l-Ḥākimī l-Zamakhsharī.[30] On several occasions, the author expresses his sympathies for the Muʿtazilite doctrine, which as he says, was firmly entrenched in Khwārazm. He mentions, for instance, that in 545/1150–1, while completing his *ḥajj*, he stayed in Rayy with Qāḍī l-quḍāt ʿImād al-Dīn Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Astarābādī and visited the grave of the great ʿAbd al-Jabbār b. Aḥmad al-Hamadhānī, which was located in the courtyard of al-Astarābādī's home. Al-Andarasbānī was acquainted with both ʿAbd al-Jabbār's *Faḍl al-iʿtizāl wa-ṭabaqāt al-Muʿtazila* and al-Ḥākim al-Jishumī's *Sharḥ ʿUyūn al-masāʾil*, but added much material of his own, relying on informants and sources not known to be extant, such as *Tārīkh Khwārazm* by Abū Muḥammad Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad al-ʿAbbās b. Arslān al-Khwārazmī (d. 568/1172–3) and chronicles of Baghdad, Nīsābūr, Bukhārā, and other cities.[31]

In his heresiographical digest *K. Iʿtiqādāt firaq al-muslimīn wa-l-mushrikīn* Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī listed seventeen subgroups of the Muʿtazila, twelve belonging to the pre-Jubbāʾī period, i.e. the second and third centuries AH. Of the remaining five al-Rāzī attested only for the presence of two in his time, namely the Bahshamiyya (no. 14) and the Ḥusayniyya (no. 17).[32] Effectively agreeing with al-Rāzī's assessment, a survey of sixth/twelfth-century Muʿtazilism will essentially revolve around these two branches of the Muʿtazila.[33]

The Bahshamites were well entrenched in Northern Iran since the late fourth/tenth century. The list of Shīʿī (esp. Zaydī) and non-Shīʿī scholars from these provinces who studied (among others) with Abū Hāshim al-Jubbāʾī (d. 321/933), first in Khūzistān, then in Baghdad, and later with 'al-Shaykh al-Murshid' Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Baṣrī (d. 369/979–80) in Baghdad, and ʿAbd al-Jabbār al-Hamadhānī in Rayy is substantial.[34] The Bahshamites of the sixth/twelfth century thus continued to teach a well-established doctrine, as it was laid down in the school's major *summae* of the two preceding centuries, i.e. ʿAbd al-Jabbār's *al-Mughnī fī abwāb al-tawḥīd wa-l-ʿadl*, al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad Ibn

30. See A. J. Lane, *A Traditional Muʿtazilite Qurʾān Commentary. The* Kashshāf *of Jār Allāh al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144)*, Leiden, 2006, pp. 35–7, nn. 76–86 and pp. 252–66 (with further names).

31. See H. Ansari and S. Schmidtke, 'New Sources on the Life and Work of ʿAbd al-Jabbār al-Hamadhānī', forthcoming.

32. 'Of all the factions of the Muʿtazila there remain only these two schools in our time, those who follow Abū Hāshim [al-Jubbāʾī] and those who follow Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī' (*wa-lam yabqa fī zamāninā min sāʾir firaq al-Muʿtazila illā hātān al-firqatān, aṣḥāb Abī Hāshim wa-aṣḥāb Abī l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī*; ed. A. S. al-Nashshār, Cairo, 1936, p. 45). Statements to the same effect can be found in other heresiographical works and biographical dictionaries of the sixth/twelfth century, such as Abū l-Fatḥ Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Shahrastānī's (d. 548/1153) *K. al-Milal wa-l-niḥal* (ed. F. Badrān, vol. 1, Cairo, 1951, pp. 130f. and the corresponding French translation and notes by D. Gimaret in *Shahrastani, Livre des religions et des sectes*, Paris, 1986, pp. 287–9 with nn. 100–108 and indices, p. 692: 'Abū Hāšim al-Jubbāʾī' and 'Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī').

33. An exception to this rule is the ongoing legacy of the Baghdādī Muʿtazila within the Hādawī doctrine followed by the majority of the Yemenite Zaydis, including the Muṭarrifiyya (see below).

34. See Madelung, *Der Imam* (n. 15 above), pp. 175–82; M. T. Heemskerk, *Suffering in the Muʿtazilite Theology: ʿAbd al-Jabbār's Teaching on Pain and Divine Justice*, Leiden, 2000, pp. 21ff.; S. Schmidtke, 'Jobbāʾī', *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 14, p. 670.

Mattawayh's *al-Majmūʿ fī l-Muḥīṭ bi-l-taklīf* and *al-Tadhkira fī aḥkām al-jawāhir wa-l-aʿrāḍ*, and al-Ḥākim al-Jishumī's *Sharḥ ʿUyūn al-masāʾil*, and a good number of other important, though less comprehensive treatises.

The foremost representative of pro-ʿAlid Khurāsānian Ḥanafī Muʿtazilism in the fifth/eleventh century was the above-mentioned Abū Saʿd al-Muḥassin b. Muḥammad b. Karāma al-Jishumī al-Bayhaqī al-Barawghanī (d. 494/1101). He recognized the Zaydī Imāms, and – towards the end of his life – embraced the Zaydī doctrine.[35] The most important compositions of Bahshamī *kalām* during the sixth/twelfth century were authored by his students and students' students. The works of al-Jishumī and his students – many of which are still unedited – played a crucial role in the subsequent transmission, reception and elaboration of Bahshamī thought among the Zaydīs in Yemen. One important link for the transmission of al-Jishumī's work included his son, Muḥammad b. al-Muḥassin al-Jishumī al-Bayhaqī[36] and the latter's students, above all Fakhr al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥusayn Zayd b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Bayhaqī al-Barawqanī (d. 545/1150–1),[37] and Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. Abī l-Manṣūr al-Daylamī.[38]

In many cases the transmission of Muʿtazilī works and thought can be traced over several generations[39]: Burhān al-Dīn Abū l-Fatḥ Nāṣir b. Abī l-Makārim al-Muṭarrizī al-Khwārazmī (b. 538/1144 – d. 610/1213),[40] for instance, studied with Abū l-Muʾayyad al-Muwaffaq b. Aḥmad al-Makkī (d. 568/1172) and al-Ṣadr al-Khaṭīb al-Miskī, both students of al-Zamakhsharī.[41] Among al-Muṭarrizī's students were not only Khwārazmian adherents of the Muʿtazila such as al-Ḍarīr al-Wabrī,[42] Majd al-Afāḍil al-Ṭarāʾifī, and Najm al-Aʾimma, but also Yemenite Zaydīs, such as Jaʿfar al-Bābirī. The latter taught al-Zamakhsharī's *Kashshāf* to his son Ismāʿīl b. Muḥammad who taught it to his son Ibrāhīm b. Ismāʿīl who taught it to Muḥammad b. al-Mahdī b. Nāṣir, and so forth.[43]

The introduction of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's (d. 436/1044) philosophical theology into Khurāsān and Khwārazm is usually attributed to the physician Abū Muḍar Maḥmūd

35. Madelung, *Der Imam* (n. 15 above), pp. 187–91. The two principal *kalām*-teachers of al-Ḥākim al-Jishumī, Abū Ḥāmid Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Najjār al-Nīsābūrī (d. 433/1041–2) and Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh al-Nīsābūrī (d. 457/1065) were students of ʿAbd al-Jabbār respectively of the Zaydī Imām al-Nāṭiq bi-l-Ḥaqq Abū Ṭālib Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn and the latter's student Abū l-Qāsim al-Ḥasanī (see *Sharḥ ʿUyūn al-masāʾl*, MS Leiden, UB, Or. 2584 A, f. 152a).

36. *Ṭabaqāt al-Zaydiyya al-Kubrā* (n. 27 above), vol. 2, p. 1064, no. 669.

37. More on him below, in the section on the Yemenite Zaydiyya.

38. *Ṭabaqāt al-Zaydiyya al-Kubrā* (n. 27 above), vol. 3, p. 1290, no. 816. Another student of al-Jishumī, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Isḥāq al-Khwārazmī, was a teacher of al-Zamakhsharī.

39. Besides the information contained in the works mentioned above (n. 27), see Aḥmad b. Saʿd al-Dīn al-Miswarī (d. 1079/1668–9), *Ijāzāt al-aʾimma* (MSS).

40. See *EI*^{2}, vol. 7, pp. 773f. (R. Sellheim, 1992). Al-Muṭarrizī was later known as *Khalīfat al-Zamakhsharī*, since al-Zamakhsharī died in the same year and in the same town in which al-Muṭarrizī was born.

41. See above n. 30.

42. Possibly identical with ʿAbd al-Khāliq b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Wabrī al-Khwārazmī who lived before 654/1256 (Madelung, 'The Spread of Māturīdism' (n. 17 above), p. 116, n. 25).

43. *Ṭabaqāt al-Zaydiyya al-Kubrā* (n. 27 above), vol. 2, p. 1081, no. 680.

b. Jarīr al-Ḍabbī al-Iṣfahānī (d. 508/1115),[44] and hence approximately simultaneous with the spread of Ibn Sīnā's philosophical system in Khurāsān by Abū l-ʿAbbās al-Faḍl b. Muḥammad al-Lawkarī (d. ca. 517/1123?), a student of Bahmanyār Ibn Marzubān (d. 458/1066) and author of *K. Bayān al-ḥaqq bi-ḍamān al-ṣidq*.[45] While the impact of the Ḥusayniyya on the development of theological and philosophical thought during the Age of Averroes inside and outside the Muʿtazila has repeatedly been stressed, it has barely been studied in detail, mostly in connection with the thought of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (606/1210) and Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (672/1274).[46]

The most influential representative of the Ḥusayniyya in the first half of the sixth/twelfth century was Rukn al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad al-Malāḥimī al-Khwārazmī (d. 17 Rabīʿ I 536/19 Oct. 1141),[47] a contemporary and associate of al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144).[48] Of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's two theological books, *K. Taṣaffuḥ al-adilla* and *K. Ghurar al-adilla fī uṣūl al-dīn*, only fragments and/or quotations are at present known to be extant.[49] Since

44. On him see 'Introduction' in W. Madelung and M. J. McDermott (eds), *Kitāb al-Muʿtamad fī uṣūl al-dīn*, London, 1991, p. v, with nn. 6f.; Lane, *A Traditional Muʿtazilite Qurʾān Commentary* (n. 30 above), pp. 24, 247f. An earlier trace of the reception of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's thought in Rayy is indicated by Ibn Abī l-Wafāʾ, *al-Jawāhir al-muḍiyya fī ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanafiyya*, 3rd ed., Giza, 1993, vol. 1, p. 425, who writes that Abū Saʿd Ismāʿīl b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Zanjuwayh al-Sammān al-Rāzī (d. Rayy 24 Shaʿbān 445/9 Dec 1053), an expert in Ḥanafī and Zaydī *fiqh* and *kalām*, *kāna yadhhabu madhhab Abī l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī wa-madhhab al-Shaykh Abī Hāshim* [sic] (see on him Madelung, *Der Imam* (n. 15 above), p. 216, n. 429).

45. Partly ed. (*al-Kitāb al-awwal min al-manṭiq*) by Ibrāhīm Dībājī, Tehrān 1364/1986. On Ibn Sīnā's students and students' students, including al-Jūzjānī, Bahmanyār, Ibn Zayla, al-Maʿṣūmī, al-Lawkarī, and al-Īlāqī, see A. H. al-Rahim, 'Avicenna's Immediate Disciples: Their Lives and Works', *Avicenna and His Legacy. A Golden Age of Science and Philosophy*, ed. Y. T. Langermann, Turnhout, 2009, pp. 1–25. On al-Lawkarī see also R. D. Marcotte, 'Preliminary Notes on the Life and Work of Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Lawkarī (d. ca. 517/1123)', *Anaquel de Estudios Árabes*, 17, 2006, pp. 133–57.

46. Studies in Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's thought and its impact on developments in Ashʿarite *kalām* from al-Juwaynī to Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī and beyond include W. Madelung, 'The Late Muʿtazila' (n. 6 above); id., 'Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's Proof for the Existence of God', *Arabic Theology, Arabic Philosophy. From the Many to the One: Essays in Celebration of Richard M. Frank*, ed. J. E. Montgomery, Leuven, 2006, pp. 273–80; S. Schmidtke, 'Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī and His Transmission of Biblical Materials from *Kitāb al-Dīn wa-al-Dawla* by Ibn Rabban al-Ṭabarī: The Evidence from Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb*', *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations*, 20.2, 2009, pp. 105–18; A. Shihadeh, *The Teleological Ethics of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī*, Leiden, 2006, pp. 277f. (index). The numerous conceptual differences between the thought of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī and Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī not only arose from differing readings of Ibn Sīnā's philosophy, but also from a distinct reception of the Ḥusayniyya: see A. M. Ḥ. Sulaymān, *al-Ṣila bayna ʿilm al-kalām wa-l-falsafa fī l-fikr al-Islāmī*, Alexandria, 1998, pp. 77–109; H. N. Farḥāt, *Masāʾil al-khilāf bayna Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī wa-Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī*, Beirut, 1997; M. Horten, *Die spekulative und positive Theologie des Islam nach Razi (gest. 606/1209) und ihre Kritik durch Tusi (gest. 672/1273)*, Leipzig, 1912.

47. On him see Madelung, 'Introduction' (n. 44 above), pp. iii–xiii; id. and H. Ansari (eds.), *K. Tuḥfat al-mutakallimīn fī l-radd ʿalā l-falāsifa*, Tehran, 2008, pp. i–ix.

48. For a study and edition of al-Zamakhsharī's *K. al-Minhāj fī uṣūl al-dīn*, see W. Madelung, 'The Theology of al-Zamakhsharī', *Actas del XII Congreso de la Union Européenne d'Arabisants et d'Islamisants (Malaga, 1984)*, Madrid, 1986, pp. 485–95; S. Schmidtke (ed.), *Jārullāh Abū l-Qāsim Maḥmūd Ibn ʿUmar al-Zamakhsharī: Kitāb al-Minhāj fī uṣūl al-dīn*, Beirut, 1428/2007.

49. See *Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī, Taṣaffuḥ al-adilla*, ed. W. Madelung and S. Schmidtke, Wiesbaden, 2006. Apart from a fragment of his *Sharḥ al-uṣūl al-khamsa* on the imamate (*Faṣl muntazaʿ min K. Sharḥ al-uṣūl fī l-imāma*), extant in Ms. Vienna, Austrian National Library, Cod. Arab. 114/1 (= Glaser 55[1]), ff. 1–38, all extant fragments of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's theological works known at present are related to the reception of the Ḥusayniyya among Qaraite Jews (see below).

both of Ibn al-Malāḥimī's theological works, the comprehensive four-volume *K. al-Muʿtamad fī uṣūl al-dīn* and its abridged version, *K. al-Fāʾiq fī uṣūl al-dīn* (completed 532/1137), draw heavily on Abū l-Ḥusayn's books, they are one of our principal sources for the doctrines of the Ḥusayniyya.[50] In all these works the methods and conceptual principles of Bahshamite ontology, epistemology, and theory of action are systematically reconsidered with a view to bolstering the main constituents of Muʿtazilī thought against its critics, notably the philosophers. Ibn al-Malāḥimī's third extant work, a refutation of the philosophically minded Islamic scholars entitled *Tuḥfat al-mutakallimīn fī l-radd ʿalā l-falāsifa*, is also paramount to our appreciating the Muʿtazilī component in Islamic thought after Avicenna and, as the editors put it, 'apt to modify significantly our understanding of the reaction of *kalām* theology to the spectacular ascendancy of Avicennan thought'.[51]

In the introduction to the *Tuḥfa* Ibn al-Malāḥimī expounded the historical context that prompted him to write the work[52]:

> What prompted me two write this book after having completed *Kitāb al-Muʿtamad* on the principles (*uṣūl* [*al-dīn*]) – where I gave a detailed assessment of the proponents of all religious groups and argued against the positions espoused by the 'modern' philsophers of Islam, like al-Fārābī, Abū ʿAlī Ibn Sīnā and his followers, regarding the createdness of the world and the affirmation of a pre-eternal creator and his attributes, and their position on the imposed obligation and the nature of the obligated subject, prophecy, the religious laws of the prophets, and the hereafter, and where I explained that they modelled the creed of Islam on the methods of the ancient philosophers and diverted it from the real nature of Islam and from the creed of the prophets, peace upon them, hitting the truth on no matter, whether small or great – was the fact that I discerned many so-called legal scholars in our time who aspired to study the sciences of these 'modern' philosophers, among them a group of people who are regarded as followers of the Shāfiʿī *madhhab*.[53] They deemed that it would benefit them to acquire painstaking methods in all sorts of sciences, even in jurisprudence and legal methodology (*fiqh wa-uṣūl al-fiqh*). Their

50. *K. al-Muʿtamad fī uṣūl al-dīn* (n. 44 above – a revised edition, which will include newly found manuscripts of hitherto missing parts, is due to be published in the near future); *K. al-Fāʾiq fī uṣūl al-dīn*, ed. W. Madelung and M. J. McDermott, Tehran, 2007. Note that the earliest extant texts to attest a reception of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's theological thought by Jewish *mutakallimūn* (see below) predate Ibn al-Malāḥimī's theological works by almost a century.

51. W. Madelung, 'Ibn al-Malāḥimī's Refutation of the Philosophers', *A Common Rationality: Muʿtazilism in Islam and Judaism*, ed. C. Adang et al., Würzburg, 2007, p. 331. The *Tuḥfa*, written fourty years after al-Ghazālī's *Tahāfut al-falāsifa*, has survived in a single manuscript, ed. H. Ansari and W. Madelung, Tehran, 2008 (n. 47 above). It is important to note that some of Ibn al-Malāḥimī's students were themselves fervent supporters of Ibn Sīnā's philosophy, as was the case with Ẓāhir al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Zayd (Ibn Funduq) al-Bayhaqī (d. 565/1169), the author of *Maʿārij Nahj al-Balāgha* and *Tārīkh Bayhaq* (*Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 3, pp. 895f.). Ibn al-Malāḥimī's acquaintance with the works of the likes of Bahmanyār and al-Lawkarī is very likely, but has not yet been verified in detail.

52. *Tuḥfat al-Mutakallimīn* (nn. 47 and 51 above), pp. 3f.

53. See the material compiled by A. H. al-Rahim, *The Creation of Philosophical Tradition: Biography and the Reception of Avicenna's Philosophy from the 11th to the 14th centuries AD*, Ph.D., Yale University, 2009; D. Gutas, 'The Heritage of Avicenna: The Golden Age of Arabic Philosophy, 1000 – ca. 1350', *Avicenna and His Heritage*, eds J. L. Janssens and D. De Smet, Leiden, 2002, pp. 88–90. Ibn al-Malāḥimī refers to prominent Shāfiʿīte scholars who studied Avicennan philosophy, such as Abū l-Fatḥ Asʿad b. Muḥammad al-Mayhanī (d. 523/1130 or 527/1132–3), a student of al-Lawkarī (see F. Griffel, *Al- Ghazālī's Philosophical Theology*, New York, 2009, pp. 71–4, where al-Mayhanī's connections with al-Ghazālī are also discussed).

conviction is a deceptive assumption, a delusive hope, and a vanishing desire for guidance. Some so-called legal scholars among the Ḥanafites followed suit. They only got to this point, because they wanted to study jurisprudence otherwise than it should be studied. For expert knowledge in jurisprudence must be preceded by knowledge of legal methodology (*uṣūl al-fiqh*), and the knowledge of legal methodology must be preceded by the knowledge of the principles of Islam. By (mastering) these sciences one is safeguarded from misrepresenting the true nature of Islam.

It is in my view very likely that the interpretation of what Islam is about will eventually lead to something like what Christianity became in relation to the religion of Jesus, peace upon him. Their leading proponents were inclined towards the Greeks in philosophy, to the point that they modelled the religion of Jesus upon (the docrines of) the philosophers, and therefore came up with what they came up with, namely the three hypostases, the unity/incarnation, and Jesus becoming a God after having been a human, and other nonsense of this kind.

For this reason I wanted to make plain in this my book what these would-be philosophers endorsed, who – so they claim – adhere to Islam by modelling Islam on their [*scil.* the philosophers'] methods. I will explain its invalidity and expound the shortcomings of each one of them who was inclined towards them [*scil.* the philosophers] and fooled by them, because of their accurate procedures in non-religious sciences *(li-ajli ʿulūmihim al-daqīqa fī ghayr al-ʿulūm al-dīniyya).*

I called it '*Tuḥfat al-Mutakallimīn*' ('The unique gift of/for the theologians'), because I was not aware of any book composed by our masters that would cover the doctrines of these 'modern' would-be philosophers – who model Islam on their [*scil.* the philosophers] methods, rather than on what they pretend it to be based upon – as well as the refutation (of these doctrines). With this book I thus complemented theirs. In what prompted me to write this book no Islamic theologian has preceded me.

At first I will discuss what these people said regarding the createdness of the world and the affirmation of a pre-eternal creator and his attributes, and their position on prophecy, the religious laws, the hereafter, reward and punishment in general terms, then I will discuss the conformity of their doctrine with the doctrine of the Dahriyya, the Dualists and the hellenized Christians, then I will discuss on what grounds they preferred their doctrine over the doctrine of the Muslims; then I will set forth the details of their doctrines, which I first dicussed in general terms, and their arguments against it and our answers to that, after having mentioned for each topic the corresponding position of the Muslims and in what way their position is superior.

In the aftermath of Ibn al-Malāḥimī the reception of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's version of Muʿtazilī *kalām* left its most significant imprints not only in the thought of luminaries like Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, and the many who followed in their footsteps, but most markedly in major intellectual traditions of the Imāmī Shīʿa and in branches of the Zaydiyya in Yemen (see further below). Among the non-Shīʿite authors who promoted Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's and Ibn al-Malāḥimī's thought in the Age of Averroes mention should be made of Taqī l-Dīn Abū l-Maʿālī Ṣāʿid b. Aḥmad al-ʿUjālī who apparently studied with Ibn al-Malāḥimī and authored *K. al-Kāmil fī l-istiqṣāʾ fī-mā balaghanā min kalām al-qudamāʾ*,[54] Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad

54. Ed. M. al-Shāhid, Cairo 1999. A new edition of *K. al-Kāmil*, based on additional manuscripts from collections in Iran and Yemen, is currently being prepared by H. Ansari, W. Madelung, and S. Schmidtke. Taqī l-Dīn al-ʿUjālī is identical with Ṣāʿid b. Aḥmad al-Uṣūlī mentioned in *Ṭabaqāt al-Zaydiyya al-Kubrā* (n. 27 above), p. 415.

al-Khwārazmī, and his student ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Sadīd b. Muḥammad al-Khayyāṭī. The latter taught Sirāj al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Abī Bakr al-Sakkākī (d. 626/1229), the famous author of *Miftāḥ al-ʿulūm*, whose linguistic thought owes much to Muʿtazilī *uṣūl al-fiqh*.[55] Al-Sakkākī in turn was teacher of the Ḥanafī jurist Najm al-Dīn Mukhtār b. Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad al-Zāhidī al-Ghazmīnī (d. 658/1260) who authored *K. al-Mujtabā*, an important book on theology and legal methodology with frequent references to Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī, Ibn al-Malāḥimī, and Taqī l-Dīn al-ʿUjālī.[56] Other pro-ʿAlid Ḥanafites who were well acquainted with the Ḥusayniyya include the above-mentioned (n. 18) Abū Yaʿqūb Yūsuf b. Ismāʿīl al-Lamghānī (d. 606/1209) and his student ʿIzz al-Dīn Abū Ḥāmid ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Abī l-Ḥadīd (d. Baghdad 656/1258), the well-known author of *Sharḥ Nahj al-balāgha*. The latter also authored *K. Sharḥ mushkilāt al-Ghurar*, a commentary on selected passages of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's *K. Ghurar al-adilla*, and critical comments (*taʿlīqāt*) on Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's *K. Muḥaṣṣal afkār al-mutaqaddimīn wa-l-mutaʾakhkhirīn* and *K. al-Arbaʿīn fi uṣūl al-dīn*.

IMĀMĪ SHĪʿĪ MUʿTAZILA

From the very outset, the adoption of Muʿtazilism among Imāmī Shīʿites was hampered by some fundamental tensions between the two doctrines, above all the Imāmī Shīʿite belief in the imamate and the existence of a sinless and infallible imām who is the intercessor for the community of his followers. In accordance with this doctrine, the Imāmī *mutakallimūn* consistently rejected two of the principal tenets of Muʿtazilism: the irrevocable punishment of the grave sinner (*al-waʿd wa-l-waʿīd*), and his intermediate position (*al-manzila bayna l-manzilatayn*) between the believer and the unbeliever.[57] Imamism also struggled to reconcile with the Muʿtazilī view that the principal truths of religion (*uṣūl al-dīn*) can only be derived from reason, but not on the basis of Scripture and authority. For some Imāmī scholars, like al-Shaykh al-Mufīd (d. 413/1022), *kalām* was not much more than a means of defending more effectively the Imamite dogma derived from the teaching of the imams.

Notwithstanding these tensions several eminent Imāmī *mutakallimūn* adopted one branch or the other of Muʿtazilism, even if they were as a rule careful to dissociate from the Muʿtazila by explicitly negating any doctrinal dependence, claiming ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and at times Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq to be the true founders of their dogma.

In some ways, the sixth/twelfth century marks a turning point with respect to the reception of Muʿtazilī thought within Imāmī Shīʿism. While Ibn Qiba al-Rāzī (d. in

55. U. G. Simon, *Mittelalterliche arabische Sprachbetrachtung zwischen Grammatik und Rhetorik: ʿilm al-maʿānī bei as-Sakkākī*, Heidelberg, 1993, pp. 13–23.

56. See Madelung, 'Introduction' (n. 44 above), p. vii. While al-Ghazmīnī's *K. al-Mujtabā* was known to and quoted by Yemenite Zaydī authors (e.g. Muḥammad Ibn al-Wazīr (d. 840/1436–7), *K. Īthār al-ḥaqq ʿalā l-khalq*, Cairo 1318/1900, pp. 10, 12, 50, 67, 104–6, 112, 118, and passim), no manuscript is presently known to be extant.

57. W. Madelung, 'Imamism and Muʿtazilite Theology', *Le Shīʿisme imāmite*, ed. T. Fahd, Paris, 1970, pp. 13–29 [reprinted in id., *Religious Schools* (n. 17 above), text no. VII].

Rayy, before 319/931), a student of Abū l-Qāsim al-Balkhī (d. 319/931), and al-Shaykh al-Mufīd had in the main adapted the doctrine of the Baghdādī Muʿtazila,[58] the following generations of Imāmī scholars followed mainly the teachings of the Bahshamiyya, as represented by ʿAbd al-Jabbār b. Aḥmad al-Hamadhānī.[59] ʿAlam al-Hudā Abū l-Qāsim ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Mūsā al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (d. 436/1044) and his younger brother, Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Sharīf al-Raḍī (d. 406/1016), who first studied with al-Shaykh al-Mufīd and then with ʿAbd al-Jabbār, were the first Imāmī scholars who fully accepted the Muʿtazilī view that establishing the fundamental truths of religion belonged exclusively to the domain of reason and integrated this claim into the Imamite view.[60] With some minor modifications many of their students and a number of Imāmī scholars of the sixth/twelfth century adopted their stand on Muʿtazilī tenets, among them Jamāl al-Dīn Abū l-Futūḥ Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Rāzī (d. Rayy after 1131),[61] Amīn al-Dīn Abū ʿAlī l-Faḍl b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Faḍl al-Ṭabarsī (d. ca. 548/1154),[62] ʿImād al-Dīn Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Ḥamza al-Ṭūsī al-Mashhadī (= Abū Jaʿfar al-thānī, alive in 566/1171),[63] Naṣīr al-Dīn Abū Rashīd ʿAbd al-Jalīl b. Abī l-Ḥusayn al-Qazwīnī al-Rāzī (d. after 566/1171),[64] and others.

58. H. Modarressi, *Crisis and Consolidation in the Formative Period of Shīʿite Islam: Abū Jaʿfar ibn Qiba al-Rāzī and His Contribution to Imāmite Shīʿite Thought*, Princeton, 1993; M. J. McDermott, *The Theology of al-Shaikh al-Mufīd (d. 413/1022)*, Beirut, 1978; P. Sander, *Zwischen Charisma und Ratio: Entwicklungen in der frühen imamitischen Theologie*, Berlin, 1994; T. Bayhom-Daou, *Shaykh Mufīd*, Oxford, 2005; R. M. el Omari, *The Theology of Abū l-Qāsim al-Balḫī/al-Kaʿbī (d. 319/931): A Study of Its Sources and Reception*, PhD Thesis, Yale University, 2006, pp. 85–9, 128, 158–61, 220f.

59. On the early reception of Muʿtazilī *kalām* in the Imāmī Shīʿa see W. Madelung, 'Imamism and Muʿtazilite Theology' (n. 57 above).

60. *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 1, pp. 791–5 (W. Madelung, 1985); Aghā Buzurgh al-Ṭihrānī, *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Shīʿa, al-Nābis fī l-qarn al-khāmis*, Beirut, 1391/1971, pp. 120f., 164f. The numerous doctrinal differences between al-Shaykh al-Mufīd and al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā were recorded by Quṭb al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥusayn Saʿīd b. Hibatillāh b. al-Ḥasan al-Rāwandī (d. 573/1177–8), *K. al-Ikhtilāfāt = al-Khilāf [alladhī tajaddada] bayna l-Shaykh al-Mufīd wa-l-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā fī masāʾil kalāmiyya* (see Ṭihrānī, *al-Dharīʿa ilā taṣānīf al-Shīʿa*, vol. 1, p. 361; al-Lajna al-ʿIlmiyya fī Muʾassasat al-Imām al-Ṣādiq, *Muʿjam al-turāth al-kalāmī*, Qum, 1423/2002, vol. I, p. 203, no. 645; E. Kohlberg, *A Medieval Scholar at Work: Ibn Ṭāwūs and his Library*, Leiden, 1992, p. 217).

61. *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Shīʿa* (n. 60 above), *Thiqāt al-ʿuyūn fī sādis al-qurūn*, pp. 79f.; *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. I, p. 292 (M. J. McDermott, 1985). Gilliot, 'L'exégèse du Coran' (n. 21 above), p. 149. Jamāl al-Dīn al-Rāzī made frequent use of Sunnite and esp. Muʿtazilite texts. He is the author of a Persian Qurʾān commentary known in Arabic as *K. Rawḍ al-jinān wa-rawḥ al-janān fī tafsīr al-Qurʾān*.

62. B. G. Fudge, *The Major Qurʾān Commentary of al-Ṭabrisī (d. 548/1154)*, Ph.D. Thesis, Harvard University, 2003. *GAL* (n. 3 above), I^2, pp. 513f.; Suppl. vol. 1, pp. 708f., no. 3; *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Shīʿa* (n. 60 above), *Thiqāt al-ʿuyūn*, p. 216; *al-Dharīʿa ilā taṣānīf al-Shīʿa* (n. 60 above), index vol. 2, pp. 1230f.

63. *Dharīʿa* (n. 60 above), index vol. 5, p. 5; *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Shīʿa* (n. 60 above), *Thiqāt al-ʿuyūn*, pp. 272f.

64. *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. I, p. 120 (W. Madelung, 1985). His *K. Naqḍ al-Faḍāʾiḥ* (n. 26 above) is an important source for the religious and social conditions in Persia in the Seljūq age, and contains much relevant information about sixth/twelfth-century Muʿtazilī scholars in the Eastern provinces of the Caliphate. He repeatedly mentions Shīʿite and ʿAlid sympathies among Sunnī scholars in Northern Iran and maintained friendly ties with major representatives of the Ḥanafite school, including the above-mentioned Muʿtazilī chief Qāḍī Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Astarābādī. Ibn Shahrashūb was his student. He is not to be confused with Rashīd al-Dīn Abū Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Jalīl b. Abī l-Fatḥ Masʿūd b. ʾĪsā l-Rāzī who wrote a refutation of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's *K. Taṣaffuḥ al-ʾadilla* ('*Naqḍ al-Taṣaffuḥ*') (*Dharīʿa* (n. 60 above), vol. 24, p. 286, no. 1466; *Muʿjam al-turāth al-kalāmī* (n. 60 above), vol. 5, p. 410, no. 12248).

With the introduction of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's thought to Khurāsān and Khwārazm during the sixth/twelfth century, these doctrines were also adopted by some Imāmī theologians, first and foremost by Sadīd al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī (d. after 600/1204), a contemporary of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī and teacher of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī.[65] Mainly by the intermediary of the theological works of al-Ṭūsī and his student al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī (d. 726/1325), Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's thought made its marks on an important trend of Imāmī Shīʿī theology.[66]

CASPIAN ZAYDĪ MUʿTAZILA

In the sixth/twelfth century the Zaydī community of the coastal regions south of the Caspian Sea had already passed its Golden Age.[67] The most significant theological treatises that were instrumental to the subsequent reception of the Bahshamite doctrine among the Zaydis in Yemen were written during the fourth/tenth and fifth/eleventh centuries.[68] Indeed, during the lifetime of Averroes the centre of Zaydī learning shifted from the Northern Caspian state to Yemen. A great deal of what we know about the Caspian Zaydī community and its scholars is due to the wealth of information contained in historio- and biographical works preserved or composed by Yemenite Zaydīs.[69] It is also in Yemen that a considerable part of the theological works written during this period has survived.

65. *K. al-Munqidh min al-taqlīd wa-l-murshid ilā l-tawḥīd*, ed. M. H. Al-Yūsufī al-Gharawī, Qum, 1412/1991–2. The work was completed on 9 Jumādā I 581/8 Aug 1185. According to the editor's introduction Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī attended one of Ḥimmaṣī's teaching sessions.

66. For further details about the initially reluctant reception of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's thought among Twelver Shīʿites see the editors' introduction to the anonymous *Khulāṣat al-naẓar* (ed. S. Schmidtke and H. Ansari, Tehran 2006, pp. v–xix), which is yet another example for the early Imāmī reception of the Ḥusayniyya; S. Schmidtke, 'The Doctrinal Views of the Banū al-ʿAwd (early 8th/14th century): An analysis of MS Arab. F. 64 (Bodleian Library, Oxford)', *Le Shīʿisme imāmite quarante ans après. Hommage à Etan Kohlberg*, ed. M. A. Amir-Moezzi et al., Paris, 2009, pp. 373–396; ead., 'Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī on the Torah and Its Abrogation', *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph*, 61, 2008, pp. 562f.; ead., *The Theology of al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī (d. 726/1325)*, Berlin, 1991; ead., *Theologie, Philosophie und Mystik im zwölferschiitischen Islam des 9./15. Jahrhunderts. Die Gedankenwelt des Ibn Abī Ǧumhūr al-Aḥsāʾī (um 838/1434–35 – nach 906/1501)*, Leiden, 2000, pp. 3f., 333 (index).

67. For the reception of Muʿtazilī *kalām* in the Caspian Zaydiyya see Madelung, *Der Imam* (n. 15 above), esp. 153–222; id., ''Alids', *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. I, pp. 881–6; id., 'Zaydiyya', *EI*^{2}, vol. XI, pp. 478f.

68. For a detailed documentation see my *Handbook of Muʿtazilite Works and Manuscripts* (n. 9 above).

69. See above n. 27 and in particular the eight texts (partially) edited by W. Madelung, *Akhbār aʾimmat al-Zaydiyya fī Ṭabaristān wa-Daylamān wa-Jīlān* [*Arabic texts concerning the History of the Zaydī Imāms of Ṭabaristān, Daylamān and Gīlān*], Beirut, 1987; id., 'Abū Isḥāq al-Ṣābī on the Alids of Ṭabaristān and Gīlān', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 26, 1967, pp. 17–56, repr. in id., *Religious and Ethnic Movements in Medieval Islam*, Aldershot, 1992, text no. VII; ʿA.M. Zayd, *Aʾimmat Ahl al-Bayt khārij al-Yaman* (*Aʾimmat Ahl al-Bayt, vol. I*), Amman, 2002. In the meantime, most of the texts included in *Akhbār aʾimmat al-Zaydiyya* have been edited separately; moreover, a complete manuscript copy of al-Ḥākim al-Jishumī's *Jalāʾ al-abṣār* has been found. Of particular relevance for the sixth/twelfth century is *K. al-Ḥadāʾiq al-wardiyya fī manāqib aʾimmat al-Zaydiyya* by Abū ʿAbdallāh Ḥumayd b. Aḥmad al-Muḥallī, known as 'al-Shahīd' (d. 652/1254), ed. 1) Damascus: Dār ʾUsāma, 1985 (facsimile); 2) al-Murtaḍā b. Zayd al-Maḥaṭwarī al-Ḥasanī, Ṣanʿāʾ 1423/2002, <http://www.almahatwary.org/p8–1–9.htm> (consulted 30 Nov 2009). H. Ansari, <http://ansari.kateban.com/entry1110.html> and <http://ansari.kateban.com/entry1192.html>, has extracted information on Caspian Zaydīs from *K. Maṭlaʿ al-budūr wa-majmaʿ al-buḥūr* (n. 27 above).

The knowledge transfer from the Caspian Zaydiyya to the Zaydī state in Yemen gradually increased throughout the sixth/twelfth century, from 511/1117, when the Caspian and the Yemenite Zaydiyya were politically united for the first time under the Imām Abū Ṭālib al-Akhīr (d. 520/1126), until the death of the Imām al-Manṣūr ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥamza (d. 614/1217), whose imamate was also endorsed by the Caspian Zaydīs.[70]

Despite this gradual shift, remnants of the tradition of Zaydī learning in the Caspian region remained alive till about the tenth/sixteenth century.[71] The continuity and transmission of Zaydī Muʿtazilī learning in Northern Iran during the sixth/twelfth century may paradigmatically be illustrated by the 'School of Rayy' whose main representatives were directly or indirectly linked to the major exponents of Bahshamite *kalām* in the scholarly circle around al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād (d. 385/995), the vizier of Muʾayyad al-Dawla in Būyid Rayy, such as ʿAbd al-Jabbār al-Hamadhānī and the two Buṭḥānī brothers, Abū l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Hārūnī (the Imām al-Muʾayyad bi-llāh, d. 411/1020), and Abū Ṭālib Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn al-Hārūnī (the Imām al-Nāṭiq bi-l-ḥaqq, d. 424/1033).[72] It may suffice here to mention two important families of Zaydī jurists and theologians, the Farrazādhīs and the Mazdaks, who exemplify the continuous scholarly tradition of Muʿtazilī learning among the Zaydīs in Rayy.[73] Like the Khwārazmian and Khurāsanian traditions of Muʿtazilī learning, the School of Rayy left its distinctive marks among the Zaydīs in Yemen.

70. See ʿAlī al-Mūsawī Najjād, *Turāth al-Zaydiyya*, Qum, 1383sh/2005, pp. 101–10.

71. See Madelung, *Der Imām* (n. 15 above), p. 218; id., *Akhbār aʾimmat al-Zaydiyya* (n. 69 above), pp. 13f., nn. 5f. The Zaydīs of the north state were, however, slowly pushed aside by the Nuzayrīs and finally absorbed by the Twelver Shīʿa.

72. Many of these scholars are listed in the eleventh and twelfth *ṭabaqa* and the appendix on Shīʿite Muʿtazilites in the above-mentioned (n. 10) *Bāb fī dhikr al-Muʿtazila* of al-Jishumī's *Sharḥ ʿUyūn al-masāʾil*. See *Handbook of Muʿtazilite Works and Manuscripts* (n. 9 above), nos. 317–31.

73. For more details on the main representatives of the Farrazādhī and the Mazdak families and the School of Rayy see the facsimile edition of the anonymous *Sharḥ K. al-Tadhkira fī aḥkām al-jawāhir wa-l-aʿrāḍ*, Tehran, 2006, a commentary on Abū Muḥammad Ḥasan b. Aḥmad Ibn Mattawayh's *K. al-Tadhkira* (ed. D. Gimaret, Cairo, 2009), which originated and was transmitted in the School of Rayy (the MS dates 570/1175), together with Ḥasan Anṣārī, 'Kitābī az maktab-i mutakkilimān-i muʿtazilī Rayy', *Kitāb-i māh dīn* 104/105/106, 1385/2006, pp. 68–75, who showed Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Mazdak, a student of Ibn Mattawayh and teacher of Abū Muḥammad Ismāʿīl b. ʿAlī al-Farrazādhī, to be its likely author. On the commentary, see also S. Schmidtke, 'MS Mahdawi 514. An Anonymous Commentary on Ibn Mattawayh's *Kitāb al-Tadhkira*', *Islamic Thought in the Middle Ages. Studies in Text, Transmission and Translation in Honour of Hans Daiber*, eds. A. Akasoy and W. Raven, Leiden, 2008, pp. 139–62; D. Gimaret, 'Le Commentaire récemment publié de la *Taḏkira* d'Ibn Mattawayh: premier inventaire', *Journal Asiatique* 296, 2008, pp. 203–228; see, moreover, the manuscripts of al-Farrazādhī's *Taʿlīq ʿalā Sharḥ al-uṣūl al-khamsa* (MSS Ṣanʿā', Maktabat al-Jāmiʿ al-Kabīr al-Sharqiyya, *ʿIlm al-kalām* no. 73, with an important *isnād* on fol. 1a, published by ʿAbd al-Karīm Uthmān in the introduction to his edition of Mānekdīm's *Taʿlīq*, Cairo 1965, p. 24, n. 1; Riyadh: al-Maktaba al-Markaziyya bi-Jāmiʿat al-Imām Muḥammad b. Saʿūd al-Islāmiyya, no. 2404; Riyadh: Jāmiʿat al-Malik Saʿūd, no. 7784) with <http://ansari.kateban.com/entry1132.html>, <entry1396.html>, <entry1567.html>, <entry1678.html>, and <entry1684.html>. Some forthcoming articles by Ansari and Schmidtke will shed further light on the legacy of the Zaydiyya in Northern Iran: 'The Role of the Farrazādhī Family in the Propagation of Muʿtazilism in Rayy', 'Muʿtazilism in Daylam: ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn Siyāh [Shāh] Sarījān [Sarbījān] and his Writings', 'Muʿtazilism in Rayy and Astarābād: Abu l-Faḍl al-ʿAbbās b. Sharwīn'.

YEMENITE ZAYDĪ MUʿTAZILA

When the founder of the first Zaydī state in Yemen, the Imām al-Hādī ilā l-Ḥaqq (Abū l-Ḥusayn Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim al-Rassī) died in 298/911, his state comprised little more than the city of Ṣaʿda.[74] Al-Hādī's son Abū l-Qāsim Muḥammad, the Imām al-Murtaḍā li-Dīn Allāh (d. 310/922) did not reach any further, and his second son Aḥmad, the Imām al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh (d. 322/934) was involved in permanent combat with various local forces. Already under al-Nāṣir's son the Hādī state had lost almost all its relevance. With the spread of the *Ghayba*-doctrine after the death of the Mahdī al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim al-ʿIyānī in 404/1013 the absence of the imamate became almost seen as the normal state of affairs.[75]

Around that time emerged the Muṭarrifiyya, the most important school of Zaydī instruction in the fifth/eleventh and sixth/twelfth centuries, which is of pivotal importance to our understanding of the momentous development of Zaydī Muʿtazilī thought in Yemen during the sixth/twelfth century.[76] The Muṭarrifiyya was a pietist movement named after its founding figure Muṭarrif b. Shihāb b. ʿĀmir b. ʿAbbād al-Shihābī (d. 459/1067), who initially had been a fervent supporter of al-Mahdī al-ʿIyānī's imamate, but then disavowed it after the imām's alleged occultation. The Muṭarrifiyya aspired to adhere strictly to the teaching of al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm and the early Yemenite Imāms, al-Hādī ilā l-Ḥaqq Yaḥyā, and his two sons, Muḥammad al-Murtaḍā, and Aḥmad al-Nāṣir. In addition to its pietistic and conservative attitude the Muṭarrifiyya cherished the rivalry between the immigrant Zaydis and the native Zaydis by repudiating the deviant doctrine of the later Yemenite imāms and those who had been active 'abroad', esp. in the Caspian region. The antagonism with the Sayyids was most apparent in the Muṭarrifī concept of the imamate and the requirements to be satisfied by a potential imām pretender, stressing the conditions of merits and achievements rather than those of ancestry and lineage.[77] Unsurprisingly, the Muṭarrifiyya generally had little support among the ʿAlids who fostered close contacts with the Zaydis outside the Yemen and were more concerned with preserving the super-regional unity of the Zaydiyya.[78]

74. A. M. Zayd, *Muʿtazilat al-Yaman: dawlat al-Hādī wa-fikruhu*, Beirut, 1981.

75. On al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim al-ʿIyānī see *Min majmūʿ kutub wa-rasāʾil al-Imām al-ʿIyānī*, ed. ʿAbd al-Karīm Aḥmad Jadabān, Ṣanʿāʾ, ²2006.

76. On the Muṭarrifiyya see D. T. Gochenour, *The Penetration of Zaydī Islam into Early Medieval Yemen*, Ph.D thesis, Harvard University, 1984, pp. 186–201; A. M. Zayd, *Tayyārāt Muʿtazilat al-Yaman fī l-qarn al-sādis al-hijrī*, Ṣanʿāʾ, 1997, pp. 64–104; Madelung, 'Muṭarrifiyya', *EI*², vol. 7, pp. 772–3; id., 'A Muṭarrifī Manuscript', *Proceedings of the VIth Congress of Arabic and Islamic studies* (Visby, 13–16 August, Stockholm, 17–19 August, 1972), ed. F. Rundgren, Stockholm, 1975, pp. 75–83 (reprinted in id., *Religious Schools* (n. 17 above), text no. XIX), and the literature mentioned below. A detailed study of the Muṭarrifiyya is currently being prepared by my colleague H. Ansari; see for now <http://ansari.kateban.com/entry800.html> and <http://ansari.kateban.com/entry863.html>.

77. If the imām was to be *afḍal (min) al-muʾminīn*, this *faḍl* could only be achieved by virtue of good deeds (*wa-lā yakūnu hādhā l-faḍl illā bi-ṣāliḥ al-aʿmāl*). See Zayd, *Tayyārāt* (n. 76 above), pp. 86–104, here p. 88; Gochenour, *The Penetration of Zaydī Islam* (n. 76 above), pp. 199f. A particularly elaborate form of this merit-based concept of imamate was advocated by Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī (d. 573/1178); see Zayd, pp. 105–7 and I. b. A. al-Akwaʿ, *Nashwān b. Saʿīd al-Ḥimyarī wa-l-ṣirāʿ al-fikrī wa-l-siyāsī wa-l-madhhabī fī ʿaṣrihi*, Damascus, 1997.

78. Zayd, *Tayyārāt* (n. 76 above), pp. 80f., 86–104.

Closely linked with the Muṭarrifiyya was the concept of *hijra*.[79] The Muṭarrifiyya viewed the duty of *hijra* as the permanent obligation to emigrate from the domination of the sinners and oppressors (*dār al-ẓulm*), as it had been defined by the Imam al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm and his son Muḥammad before the establishment of the imamate in the Yemen. Under the reign of the Ismāʿīlī Ṣulayḥids, whom the Muṭarrifiyya, like other Zaydīs, considered as arch-heretics and atheists, the obligation of *hijra* was of the most immediate urgency.[80] Throughout the fifth/eleventh century the Muṭarrifiyya established a wide network of *hijras* throughout the Northern part of the Yemen. The *hijra* became the corner stone of an extensive missionary activity and stronghold against the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* and was constitutive to the spreading of Zaydī doctrine into regions south of Ṣaʿda as far as Dhamār that had hitherto been unreached by the *daʿwa* of the Zaydī Sayyids.[81] The first Muṭarrifī *hijra* was founded by Muṭarrif b. Shihāb himself at Sanāʿ, ca. 5 km south of Ṣanʿāʾ, in the territory of the Banū Shihāb, his own tribe, sometimes after 1037, perhaps still before the rise of the Ṣulayḥids. The second *hijra* was established in Wādī Waqash which remained the centre of the Muṭarrifī movement and remained the seat of its leaders until the destruction of the *hijra* in 612/1215 by order of the Imām al-Manṣūr ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥamza (d. 614/1217).

When in 511/1117 the Caspian and the Yemenite Zaydiyya were politically united for the first time under the Imām Abū Ṭālib al-Akhīr (see above), who had risen in Gīlān in 502/1108, and was then endorsed by the Yemenite Sayyids, the Yemenite part of the Zaydī state was still very small. The imām's proxy in Yemen, the Amīr al-Muḥsin b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Nāṣir, resided in Ṣaʿda, where the Caspian savant and Qāḍī Abū Ṭālib Naṣr

79. On the *hijras* see Gochenour, *The Penetration of Zaydī Islam* (n. 76 above), pp. 148–243, Zayd, *Tayyārāt* (n. 76 above), pp. 69–81; W. Madelung, 'The Origins of the Yemenite *Hijra*', *Arabicus Felix: Luminosus Britannicus. Essays in Honour of A.F.L. Beeston on his Eightieth Birthday*, ed. A. Jones, Oxford, 1991, pp. 25–44, repr. in id., *Religious and Ethnic Movements in Medieval Islam*, Aldershot, 1992, text no. XIII; I. b. A. al-Akwaʿ, *Hijar al-ʿilm wa-maʿāqiluhu fī l-Yaman*, 6 vols, Beirut, 1996–2003; id., *al-Muhājir ilā hijar al-ʿilm fī l-Yaman*, Ṣanʿāʾ, 2006; id., *Les Hiğra et les forteresses du savoir au Yémen*, Ṣanʿāʾ, 1996; Y. Kuriyama, 'Zaydī *Hijras* in Yemen in the Late Eleventh and Early Twelfth Centuries: With a Focus on the *Hijras* of the Muṭarrifiya', *Tōhōgaku*, 102, 2001, pp. 92–78 (sic!) [in Japanese, with English abstract pp. 7f.].

80. On the Fāṭimid *daʿwa* in Yemen see A. F. Sayyid, *Tārīkh al-madhāhib al-dīniyya fī bilād al-Yaman ḥattā nihāyat al-qarn al-sādis al-Hijrī*, Cairo, 1988, pp. 91–206.

81. Zayd, *Tayyārāt* (n. 76 above), p. 73. Zaydism was a minor factor within a rather complex patchwork of political entities and intellectual affinities that made up Yemen in the early sixth/twelfth century. From a political point of view the Age of Averroes in Yemen roughly spans from the end of the Fāṭimid dynasty of the Ṣulayḥids, marked by the death of Sayyida Arwā bint Aḥmad (= *Bilqīs al-ṣughrā*) in 532/1138, up to the successive incursions by the Ayyūbid armies from 569/1173 onwards. For the northern part of Yemen and in particular Ṣanʿāʾ the three Hamdānid dynasties played an important role, after the Sulayḥids lost effective control of the town in 492/1098. In 533/1138–9 the Ḥamdānī Sulṭān Ḥātim b. Aḥmad al-Majīdī b. ʿImrān al-Faḍl al-Yāmī gained control of the city. By 545/1150 he was in control of all territory north of Ṣanʿāʾ, apart from Ṣaʿda, which remained in Zaydī hands (see below). For a survey of the main historical sources for sixth/twelfth-century Yemen see Sayyid, *Maṣādir tārīkh al-Yaman fī l-ʿaṣr al-Islāmī*, Cairo, 1974, pp. 99–115, 353–9, 384–95.

b. Abī Ṭālib b. Abī Jaʿfar was charged with promoting creed and law of the Caspian Zaydiyya, including Bahshamite *kalām*.[82]

A new chapter of the Yemenite Zaydiyya was opened with Abū l-Ḥasan Aḥmad b. Sulaymān (d. 566/1170), who in 532/1137–8 rose as al-Imām al-Mutawakkil ʿalā llāh.[83] For almost twenty years he was locked in a struggle with the Hamdānī Sulṭān of Ṣanʿāʾ, Ḥātim b. Aḥmad. For any pretender to the imamate the Muṭarrifī *hijras* were of paramount strategic significance, and it was therefore natural for Aḥmad b. Sulaymān to try to recruit his support for the liberation of Ṣanʿāʾ among these *hijras*, all the more so as he had himself a very traditional Hādawī education (he was a sixth generation descendant of the imām al-Hādī ilā l-Ḥaqq). Indeed, during the early years of his imamate and during his prolonged combats with the Hamdānī Sulṭān we find him quite often in company of Muṭarrifites, and his early works show clear affinities with Muṭarrifī doctrines which in major points corresponded with the doctrines of the Baghdādī Muʿtazila as they were adopted by al-Hādī ilā l-Ḥaqq and his successors to the imamate in Yemen,[84] complemented with an idiosyncratic concept of the structure of the physical world, whose only constituents are the three (or four) elements, their natural properties, and the interactions between them.[85]

82. Bahshamite *kalām* was sparsely known among Yemenite Zaydis in the early sixth/twelfth century. It differed in substantial points (*irāda*, *ikhtirāʿ*, *tawallud*, *imāma*, *faḍl*) from the Hādawī-theology of the Muṭarrifiyya. Unsurprisingly, some of the earliest known Bahshamī texts copied in Yemen were copied in Ṣaʿda, as is the case with the acephalous ms. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, X 96 Sup. (= Codex Griffini 27, cat. Löfgren/Traini, vol. I, pp. 156f. no. CCXC/A), copied in Rabīʿ I 499/Nov 1105, i.e. prior to the imamate of Abū Ṭālib al-Akhīr. I am currently preparing an edition of this important text, which has alternately been identified as Abū Ṭālib Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn's *K. Mabādiʾ al-adilla fī uṣūl al-dīn* (W. Madelung, 'Zu einigen Werken des Imams Abū Ṭālib an-Nāṭiq bi l-Ḥaqq', *Der Islam* 63, 1986, pp. 5–10), and Abū l-Faḍl al-ʿAbbās Ibn Sharwīn's *K. al-Madkhal fī uṣūl al-dīn* (H. Ansari, <http://ansari.kateban.com/entry1581.html>.

83. See *Ṭabaqāt al-Zaydiyya al-Kubrā* (n. 27 above), pp. 132–5, no. 50; *Ṭabaqāt al-Zaydiyya al-Ṣughrā* (n. 27 above); *K. al-Ḥadāʾiq al-wardiyya* (n. 69 above), vol. 2, pp. 117–33; Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Zaḥīf, *Maʾāthir al-abrār fī tafṣīl mujmalāt jawāhir al-akhbār, wa-yusammā al-Lawāḥiq al-naddiyya bi-l-Ḥadāʾiq al-wardiyya*, ed. A. al-Wajīh and K. al-Mutawakkil, Amman, 1423/2002, pp. 748–68; A. b. A. al-Wajīh, *Aʿlām al-muʾallifīn al-Zaydiyya*, Amman, 1420/1999, pp. 114–16, no. 85; A. M. al-Ḥibshī, *Maṣādir al-fikr al-islāmī fī l-Yaman*, 2nd ed., Abu Dhabi, 2004, pp. 534–6, 616–19; M. b. M. Zabāra, *Tārīkh al-aʾimma al-Zaydiyya fī l-Yaman ḥattā l-ʿaṣr al-ḥadīth*, Cairo, 1998, pp. 95–108. *GAL* (n. 3 above), Suppl., vol. 1, p. 699, no. 2A; U. R. Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn*, Damascus, 1376–81/1957–61, vol. 1, p. 239; A. al-Ḥusaynī, *Muʾallafāt al-Zaydiyya*, Qum, 1413/1992, vol. 3, pp. 183f.; Madelung, *Der Imam* (n. 15 above), pp. 199f., index; Sayyid, *Tārīkh al-madhāhib al-dīniyya* (n. 80 above), pp. 265f.; id., *Maṣādir tārīkh al-Yaman* (n. 81 above), pp. 107f.; Zayd, *Tayyārāt* (n. 76 above), pp. 44–63.

84. See Madelung, *Der Imam* (n. 15 above), pp. 164–169, 201–204, 211–213; A. M. Zayd, *Muʿtazilat al-Yaman:* (n. 74 above); on the dependence of the Muṭarrifī doctrine on Abū l-Qāsim al-Balkhī and in particular his *K. al-Maqālāt* see id., *Tayyārāt* (n. 76 above), pp. 204f.; Sayyid, *Tārīkh al-madhāhib al-dīniyya* (n. 80 above), pp. 251–54; el Omari, *The Theology of Abū l-Qāsim al-Balḫī* (n. 58 above), p. 127; A. A. Fuʾād, *al-Imām al-Zaydī Aḥmad b. Sulaymān (500–566) wa-ārāʾuhu al-kalāmiyya*, Alexandria, 1986. Aḥmad b. Sulaymān emphatically underlined the close alliance between the Baghdādī Muʿtazila and the Zaydiyya in his *K. Ḥaqāʾiq al-maʿrifa* [*fī uṣūl al-dīn ʿalā manhaj Āl Sayyid al-mursalīn*], ed. Ḥ. b. Y. al-Yūsufī, Amman, 2003, pp. 524f.: *Mashāyikh al-Baghdādiyyīn* [...] *yusammūna 'Shīʿat al-Muʿtazila' wa-'Muʿtazilat al-Shīʿa', wa-sammū l-Zaydiyya 'Muʿtazilat al-Shīʿa' wa-ṣawwabū l-Zaydiyya fī jamīʿ aqwālihim wa-dhakarū anna l-firqa al-nājiya hum Shīʿat al-Muʿtazila wa-Muʿtazilat al-Shīʿa, yaʿnūna l-Zaydiyya.*

85. On the historical background of this doctrine see W. Madelung, 'A Muṭarrifī Manuscript' (n. 76 above) pp. 78f. and the sources mentioned below, nn. 115–16.

Within less than a century the relationship between the Muṭarrifiyya and the supporters of the local imāms deteriorated drastically. By 614/1217, the year in which the Imām al-Manṣūr ʿAbdallā b. Ḥamza died, the Muṭarrifī network of *hijras* was almost completely destroyed. Up to this very day the accounts of the process that led to the quasi-annihilation of the Muṭarrifī movement have remained a controversial and highly sensitive topic among Zaydīs.[86] In a survey of Muʿtazilī thought in the age of Averroes this intra-Zaydī and, indeed, intra-Muʿtazilī contention is highly significant. Even though the conflict clearly pivoted on political issues related to the doctrine of the imamate, the endorsement of specific pretenders to the imamate, their tax and marriage policy, and similar issues,[87] disputes on matters of doctrine were no mere trifle. Indeed, developments in the theological doctrines of either side to the conflict can hardly be understood, if detached from this historical context.

According to the common narrative of the Zaydī sources, including the *sīra* of the Imām al-Mutawakkil Aḥmad b. Sulaymān,[88] it was the visit of the afore-mentioned Fakhr al-Dīn Zayd b. al-Ḥasan al-Bayhaqī al-Barawqanī (d. 545/1150–51)[89] that generated the sudden surge of Bahshamī *kalām* among Yemenite Zaydīs and triggered the doctrinal aspect of the twist between the Muṭarrifites and the Sayyids.[90] Zayd b. al-Ḥasan al-Bayhaqī, a representative of the ʿIrāqī Ḥanafī tradition, studied Bahshamī *kalām* with the son of al-Ḥākim al-Jishumī and became the major scion of the latter's thought in

86. Zayd, *Tayyārāt* (n. 76 above), and A. M. ʿAbd al-ʿĀṭī, *al-Ṣirāʿ al-fikrī fī l-Yaman bayna l-Zaydiyya wa-l-Muṭarrifiyya. Dirāsa wa-nuṣūṣ*, al-Haram [Giza], 2002, are the two most comprehensive studies of this process up to date. Both studies were met with much criticism among the Zaydīs. In recent years the Muṭarrifiyya has become a much debated topic in leading Yemenite academic journals (see, for istance, Zayd b. ʿAlī al-Wazīr, '*al-Muṭarrifiyya: al-fikr wa-l-maʾsāh*', *al-Masār*, 1.2, 2000, pp. 27–84; Badr al-Dīn al-Ḥūthī, Muḥammad Yaḥyā Sālim ʿAzzān, Zayd b. ʿAlī al-Wazīr, *'Ḥiwār ḥawla l-Muṭarrifiyya'*, *al-Masār*, 2.2, 2001, pp. 68–80 and 2.3, 2001, pp. 70–94; Ḥasan Muḥammad Zayd, '*Miḥnat al-Muṭarrifiyya wa-Shaykh al-Islām al-ʿUmarī*', *al-Masār* 4.2–3, 2003, pp. 123–41 and in the same volume Zayd b. ʿAlī al-Wazīr, '*Tawḍīḥ wa-taʿqīb ʿalā maqāl 'Miḥnat al-Muṭarrifiyya"*, pp. 143–72; id., '*Fī 'ntiẓār jadīd al-Muṭarrifiyya*', *al-Masār* 5.2, 2004, pp. 5–12 (p. 12: '*wa-laysa yawm ẓuhūrihā bi-ba'īd*' (!)) as well as in online discussion forums (see, e.g., the interesting thread no. 262 of the online forum 'Āl Muḥammad', <http://71.18.61.110/forums/viewtopic.php?t=262>, or <http://www.ye22.net/vb/showthread.php?t=276280> consulted 30 Nov 2009).

87. See in particular the texts by ʿAbdallāh b. Zayd al-ʿAnsī (d. 667/1268–9), ed. A. M. ʿAbd al-ʿĀṭī, in *al-Ṣirāʿ al-fikrī fī l-Yaman* (n. 86 above), pp. 274–334, his *K. al-Miṣbāḥ al-lāʾiḥ fī l-radd ʿalā l-Muṭarrifiyya*, quoted in A. F. Sayyid, *Tārīkh al-madhāhib al-dīniyya* (n. 80 above), pp. 248–250.

88. *Sīrat al-Imām Aḥmad b. Sulaymān, 532–566 H*, ed. ʿA. M. ʿAbd al-ʿĀṭī, al-Haram [Giza], 2002.

89. On him see al-Wajīh, *Aʿlām al-muʾallifīn al-Zaydiyya* (n. 83 above), p. 435, no. 424. *Ṭabaqāt Aʿlām al-Shīʿa* (n. 60 above), *Thiqāt al-ʿuyūn*, p. 112; Madelung, *Der Imam* (n. 15 above), pp. 203f., 211–3; Zayd, *Tayyārāt* (n. 76 above), n. 7, pp. 132f.; *Ṭabaqāt al-Zaydiyya al-Kubrā* (n. 27 above), pp. 446–50, no. 261; *K. Maṭlaʿ al-budūr* (n. 27 above), vol. 2, pp. 300–3, no. 581. He must not be confused with Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Zayd al-Bayhaqī (d. 565/1159; see *GAL* (n. 3 above), vol. 1, p. 324, Supplement vol. 1, pp. 557f.).

90. According to the Bahshamī doctrine of *ikhtirāʿ al-aʿrāḍ* (the creation *ex nihilo* of a body's accidents) the Bahshamiyya was also called 'al-Mukhtariʿa'. The sources give different points of origin regarding the debate between the Mukhtariʿa and the Muṭarrifiyya in Yemen. Most sources mention a dispute between ʿAlī b. Shuhr (arch-Mukhtariʿa) and ʿAlī b. Maḥfūẓ, the teacher of Muṭarrif b. Shihāb (arch-Muṭarrifiyya) in the time of the Imām al-Manṣūr al-Qāsim b. ʿAlī al-ʿIyānī (d. 393/1003) as point of departure (see Sayyid, *Tārīkh al-madhāhib al-dīniyya* (n. 80 above), 241–6).

Khurāsān. In 540/1146, while completing his *ḥajj*, he stopped at Rayy, where he taught the Bayhaqī tradition of Ḥanafī Muʿtazilism to local Ḥanafī and Zaydī students, among them the Qāḍī Najm al-Dīn Quṭb al-Shīʿa Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Abī l-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Kannī al-Ardastānī (d. ca. 560/1164–5), a former student of Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Farrazādhī and ʿAbd al-Majīd b. ʿAbd al-Ghuffār al-Astārābādhī.[91] After spending the *ḥajj*-period of 540/May-June 1146 in Mecca in company of the Sharīf Abū l-Ḥasan ʿUlayy b. ʿĪsā b. Ḥamza b. Wahhās al-Sulaymānī (d. 556/1161),[92] he arrived (at Ibn Wahhās' behest) in Jumādā I 541/Oct. 1146 in Hijrat Muḥannaka (near Ḥaydān) of Khawlān Ṣaʿda,[93] apparently bringing along numerous books of Khurāsānian and Khwārazmian Muʿtazilīs and Caspian Zaydīs.[94]

With the support of Aḥmad b. Sulaymān, al-Bayhaqī spent the first two and a half years teaching local Yemenite Zaydīs at the Hādī Mosque in Ṣaʿda. He then moved to Sanāʿ, which is where Muṭarrif b. Shihāb had founded the first Muṭarrifī *hijra*. According to the available Zaydī sources al-Bayhaqī's lectures succeeded in winning over many Muṭarrifī scholars, while others are said to have been more reluctant to renunciate the established doctrine of their own religious learning. Among the Muṭarrifī scholars who are said to have attended al-Bayhaqī's teaching sessions in Sanāʿ was Shams al-Dīn Abū l-Faḍl Jaʿfar b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Salām al-Buhlūlī (d. 573/1177–8) who later would play a pivotal role in promoting Bahshamī *kalām* among the Zaydiyya in Yemen.[95] The Zaydī sources describe him as one of those open-minded spirits who quickly realized that the traditional doctrines of the Muṭarrifiyya were markedly inferior to the sophisticated

91. *Ṭabaqāt al-Zaydiyya al-Kubrā* (n. 27 above), pp. 447 and 574, no. 346; Zayd, *Tayyārāt* (n. 76 above), p. 133. On al-Kannī see <http://ansari.kateban.com/entry1132.html> (no. 4), consulted 30 November 2009. According to Zayd, al-Kannī was not a Zaydī.

92. On this eminent Zaydī scholar and teacher in Mecca see Lane, *A Traditional Muʿtazilite Qurʾān Commentary* (n. 30 above), pp. 26–29, 48–53, 251. Ibn Wahhās studied with al-Zamakhsharī in Mecca, while Jaʿfar b. Aḥmad (on whom see further below) studied with Ibn Wahhās several works by al-Ḥākim al-Jishumī and al-Zamakhsharī (*ijāza* dated Dhū l-Ḥijja 555/1160). Al-Zamakhsharī dedicated his *Kashshāf* to Ibn Wahhās.

93. Ca. 35 miles southwest of Ṣaʿda, where Aḥmad b. Sulaymān had a residence, and where he died and was buried in 566/1170.

94. On the importance of Mecca as a way station for the transmission of Caspian knowledge to Yemen see Zayd, *Tayyārāt* (n. 76 above), p. 159. A copy of Abū Ṭālib Yaḥyā's *K. al-Mujzī fī uṣūl al-fiqh* (MS Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, ar. E 409; cat. O. Löfgren and R. Traini, *Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, vol 3: Nuovo fondo, series E (nos. 831–1295)*, Vicenza, 1995, pp. 165f., no. 1239), copied in 1028/1619, was copied from a *Vorlage* in the handwriting of Zayd b. al-Ḥasan al-Bayhaqī, dated 544/1150, i.e. during his stay in Yemen.

95. On Jaʿfar b. Aḥmad see *EI*^{2}, Suppl., p. 236; Madelung, *Der Imam* (n. 15 above), pp. 204, 212–6; Schwarb, *Handbook of Muʿtazilite Works and Manuscripts* (n. 9 above), no. 354; Zayd, *Tayyārāt* (n. 76 above), pp. 130–143, 309–40, 341 (MSS); Sayyid, *Tārīkh al-madhāhib al-dīniyya* (n. 80 above), 254–9; al-Wajīh, *Aʿlām al-muʾallifīn al-Zaydiyya* (n. 83 above), pp. 278–82, no. 257; *GAL* (n. 3 above), vol. I, p. 403, Suppl. vol. I, pp. 699f., no. 5a; *Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn* (n. 83 above), vol. 3, p. 132; Ḥ.ʿA. al-ʿAmrī, *Maṣādir al-turāth al-Yamanī fī l-Matḥaf al-Barīṭānī*, Damascus, 1400/1980, pp. 148–50; *Muʾallafāt al-Zaydiyya* (n. 83 above), vol. 3, pp. 197f.; *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr* (n. 27 above), vol. 1, pp. 617–24, no. 343; *Ṭabaqāt al-Zaydiyya al-Kubrā* (n. 27 above), pp. 273–8, no. 145; *Ṭabaqāt al-Zaydiyya al-Ṣughrā* (n. 27 above), pp. 108–110; *Maʾāthir al-abrār* (n. 83 above), pp. 769–74; *Taysīr al-Maṭālib fī Amālī Abī Ṭālib*, ed. A. Ḥ. al-ʿIzzī, Amman, 2002, pp. 20–25; MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Glaser no. 111.

doctrines of the Bahshamī Muʿtazila. It was also during this short period at Sanāʿ that Jaʿfar b. Aḥmad started to endorse Aḥmad b. Sulaymān as Imām al-Mutawakkil. Only one year later, in 545/1150–1, when Aḥmad b. Sulaymān temporarily succeeded in wresting Ṣanʿāʾ from the Sulṭān Ḥātim b. Aḥmad, Jaʿfar was appointed Qāḍī of the town. This appointment was not innocent. The father of Jaʿfar, Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Salām served as Qāḍī of Ṣanʿāʾ under Ḥātim b. Aḥmad and was involved in several plots against the Zaydī Imām. Apparently, he was already in the service of the Ismāʿīlī Qāḍīs of Ṣanʿāʾ when the town was still under control of the Fāṭimid Ṣulayḥids.[96] Jaʿfar's brother Yaḥyā (d. 562/1167) on the other hand served the Ismāʿīlī Zurayʿids in ʿAdan as a panegyrist and judge. Presumably in consequence of the close connection of his family with the Ismaʿīlī rulers the biographical sources are silent about Jaʿfar b. Aḥmad's life before his conversion to Zaydism or the motives of his conversion.[97]

Still in the same year (545/1150–1) it was decided that Jaʿfar would accompany Zayd b. al-Ḥasan al-Bayhaqī on his way back to Khurāsān to acquire a profound theological education in Northern Iran and to gather books on behalf of the Yemenite community. However, since al-Bayhaqī died shortly after their departure on the way near Tihāma, Jaʿfar b. Aḥmad continued his *riḥla fī ṭalab al-ʿilm* on his own. The available data about this journey allow us to draw a quite detailed picture of where, when, what, and with whom Jaʿfar studied and provide us with substantial information about the state of Muʿtazilī scholarship among the Zaydīs in Iraq and Iran around the middle of sixth/twelfth century.[98] On his way, Jaʿfar studied with the principal Zaydī scholars of Mecca and Kūfa. The *riḥla* culminated in Rayy where in 552/1157 he studied with Aḥmad b. Abī l-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Kannī who had attended Zayd b. al-Ḥasan al-Bayhaqī's classes, when the latter passed through Rayy in 540/1146.[99]

After his return to Yemen in 553/1158 Jaʿfar started to systematically propagating Bahshamī *kalām* and the religious doctrines and literature of the Caspian and Kūfan Zaydī communities among Yemenite Zaydīs.[100] To this end he opened his own *madrasa*

96. Aḥmad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Wazīr (d. 985/1577), *K. al-Faḍāʾil = Tārīkh al-sādāt al-ʿulamāʾ al-fuḍalāʾ wa-l-aʾimma min Banī l-Wazīr* (MS), p. 151. *Ṭabaqāt al-Zaydiyya al-Ṣughrā* (n. 27 above) describes the father as *ʿĀlim al-bāṭiniyya wa-ḥākimuhā wa-khaṭībuhā* and his brother ʿĪsā b. Aḥmad as *shāʿiruhum wa-nassābuhum*. Zayd, *Tayyārāt* (n. 76 above), p. 130 suggests that his father may be identical with Yaḥyā b. Abī Yaḥyā who is reported to have praised the Zurayʿite Dāʿī Muḥammad b. Sabā al-Zurayʿī (r. 532/1137–8 – 548/1153) in Jibla. See, moreover, the important contemporaneous source: Najm al-Dīn ʿUmāra b. ʿAlī al-Yamanī (d. 569/1174), *Tārīkh al-Yaman al-musammā al-Mufīd fī akhbār Ṣanʿāʾ wa-Zabīd wa-shuʿarāʾ mulūkihā wa-aʿyānihā wa-udabāʾihā*, ed. M. b. A. al-Akwaʿ, Cairo, 1976, pp. 187f.

97. At an unknown date, most probably in his later teens or early twenties, he joined the Muṭarrifiyya.

98. See Madelung, *Der Imam* (n. 15 above), pp. 214–16; *K. Maṭlaʿ al-budūr* (n. 27 above), vol. 1, pp. 617–24, no. 343; *Ṭabaqāt al-Zaydiyya al-Kubrā* (n. 27 above), 273–8, no. 145.

99. See above n. 92.

100. By espousing the Bahshamite doctrine in the *uṣūlān* and by recognising the Caspian Zaydī Imāms as being equally autoritative teachers with the Yemenite Imāms, Jaʿfar restored the ideological unity within the Zaydiyya. Zayd, *Tayyārāt* (n. 76 above), p. 132 aptly described this transformational process as *taḥwīl iʿtiqādāt al-Zaydiyya min al-Muṭarrifiyya ilā mā ʿurifa bi-l-Mukhtariʿa*.

in Sanāʿ, the place of the oldest Muṭarrifī *hijra*, where the foremost Zaydī scholars of the next generation received their education, and wrote numerous introductory books in virtually all disciplines of religious learning, mostly consisting of copies, excerpts, paraphrases, and adaptations of books from Northern Iran.[101] As a result of these activities Jaʿfar was perceived by his Muṭarrifī gainsayers as the founder of a new school, which they disdainfully called 'al-Jaʿfariyya'.[102]

The confrontation with the Muṭarrifiyya in Sanāʿ lasted from 553/1158 till 559/1164.[103] During this period Jaʿfar engaged in numerous public disputations with leading Muṭarrifī scholars of the time, particularly students of Musallam al-Laḥjī (d. 545/1150), the author of the still unedited Muṭarrifī *ṭabaqāt*,[104] including Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAbdallāh al-Yaḥīrī (d. 577/1181–2),[105] the leading scholar of the Muṭarrifī stronghold in Wādī Waqash and acquaintance of Nashwān b. Saʿīd b. Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī (d. 573/1178).[106] Significantly, these confrontations lead on to the Muṭarrifites' definitive rejection of Aḥmad b. Sulaymān as imām and the imām's declaring the Muṭarrifī *hijras* as *dūr al-ḥarb*.[107] The Muṭarrifis notably mistrusted the Ismāʿīlī

101. Jaʿfar's works amount to more than sixty, most of which are extant, though only very few have been edited so far (see al-Wajīh, *Aʿlām al-muʾallifīn al-Zaydiyya* (n. 83 above), and *Handbook of Muʿtazilite Works and Manuscripts* (n. 9 above)). To determine the source material and models used by Jaʿfar for each of his works and to identify their role within the study programme of the early Mukhtariʿa in Sanāʿ, more painstaking research is required. Among the Bahshamī compositions assimilated by Jaʿfar, al-Jishumī's works undoubtedly played a key role: thus, two of his extant school manuals in *uṣūl al-fiqh*, namely *K. al-Bayān* and *K. al-Taqrīb fī uṣūl al-fiqh*, are copied or excerpted from the seventh part (*al-kalām fī adillat al-sharʿ*) of al-Jishumī's *K. al-ʿUyūn* [compare MS Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Ar. D 544, ff. 109–126 (*K. al-Taqrīb*), 127–214a (*K. al-Bayān*) with MS Milan, BA, Ar. B 66, ff. 38b–74b (*K. al-ʿUyūn*)]. For some names of Jaʿfar's students, including the father of al-Imām al-Manṣūr ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥamza, see Zayd, *Tayyārāt* (n. 76 above), pp. 140f., *Ṭabaqāt al-Zaydiyya al-Kubrā* (n. 27 above), pp. 276f. and *K. Maṭlaʿ al-budūr* (n. 27 above), vol. 1, pp. 623f.

102. See Sulaymān b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Muḥallī, *al-Burhān al-rāʾiq al-mukhalliṣ min wuraṭ al-maḍāʾiq* (MS Ṣanʿāʾ, Maktabat al-Jāmiʿ al-Kabīr al-Sharqiyya, no. 673, ed. ʿAbd al-Karīm Jadbān, forthcoming) and the anonymous MS London, British Library, Or. 4009 (see below nn. 115f.), passim.

103. Zayd, *Tayyārāt* (n. 76 above), p. 84.

104. Musallam b. Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar al-Laḥjī (d. 545/1150), *Ṭabaqāt/Tārīkh Musallam al-Laḥjī = K. Akhbār al-Zaydiyya min ahl al-bayt ʿalayhim al-salām wa-shīʿatihim bi-l-Yaman*, was completed in 544/1149. It contains biographies of Zaydī imāms and scholars in the Yemen arranged in five *ṭabaqāt* (for MSS see al-Wajīh, *Aʿlām al-muʾallifīn al-Zaydiyya* (n. 83 above), 1028, no. 1102; *Maṣādir al-fikr al-islāmī fī l-Yaman* (n. 83 above), pp. 475f.; I use MS Riyadh, Jāmiʿat al-Imām Muḥammad b. Saʿūd al-Islāmiyya, no. 2449; see M. al-Ṭanāḥī, *al-Fihris al-waṣfī li-baʿḍ nawādir al-makhṭūṭāt bi-l-Maktabat al-Markaziyya bi-Jāmiʿat al-Imām Muḥammad ibn Saʿūd al-Islāmiyya fī l-Riyāḍ,* Riyadh, 1993, p. 19, no. 4). The extant second volume of this work contains the second portion of the third, the complete fourth and fifth *ṭabaqāt*. The fifth *ṭabaqa* covers Zaydī scholars from the first half of the sixth/twelfth century, contemporaneous to the author. See Gochenour, *A Revised Bibliography* (n. 24 above), pp. 315–17; Y. Kuriyama, 'Zaydī *Hijras* in Yemen in the Late Eleventh and Early Twelfth Centuries' (n. 79 above) mentions (p. 81, n. 8) that the manuscript (copied in 566/1171), which originally came from a private collection in Najrān (see Gochenour, pp. 315f., n. 24), 'is now in my possession'. For the extant part of the first volume see W. Madelung, T*he Sīra of Imām Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā Al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh from Musallam al-Laḥjī's Kitāb Akhbār Al-Zaydiyya bi l-Yaman*, Exeter, 1990. An edition of al-Laḥjī's *ṭabaqāt* is due to be published in the near future.

105. Probably to be preferred over the traditional reading 'al-Baḥīrī' or 'al-Buḥayrī'.

106. See Zayd, *Tayyārāt* (n. 76 above), pp. 66f., 105–29. In 559/1164 Jaʿfar b. Aḥmad held public disputations with Muṭarrifī scholars in Ḥaḍūr, Bakīl, ʿAns, Zabīd.

107. The Muṭarrifis downgraded Aḥmad b. Sulaymān to '*al-amīr*'; see Zayd, *Tayyārāt* (n. 76 above), pp. 84–6.

background of Jaʿfar's family, fearing that the closeness with the Imām was a politically motivated decision to maintain power.[108]

Besides, Jaʿfar's teaching activities also met strong resistance among Sunnī circles. A public disputation which took place in Ibb in 554/1159 with ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. Yaḥyā b. ʿĪsā al-Yarmī, a student of the influential Shāfiʿī Ḥanbalī Yaḥyā b. Abī l-Khayr al-ʿAmarānī (d. 558/1163),[109] was the starting point for the composition of several polemical texts.[110]

After Jaʿfar's death in 573/1177 his student Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Raṣṣāṣ (d. 584/1188) became the new head of the school in Sanāʿ. His writings and those of his students, a great number of which are extant, but not edited, continued and refined Jaʿfar's efforts in establishing the Bahshamite doctrine as the official theology of the Yemenite Zaydiyya.[111]

Remarkably, al-Raṣṣāṣ' writings, which focused on ontological and cosmological issues that constituted the crux of the doctrinal side of the controversy between Mukhtariʿa and Muṭarrifiyya, include a short refutation of passages in Ibn al-Malāḥimī's *Tuḥfat al-mutakallimīn*, where the latter defended Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's view that the essence of every created being (and not only the creator) is identical with and amounts to nothing

108. Interestingly, it is a common pattern until today to discredit the exponents of the Muṭarrifiyya by implying their closeness to Ismāʿīlī persons or doctrines.

109. Sayyid, *Tārīkh al-madhāhib al-dīniyya* (n. 80 above), pp. 75–7. In the early sixth/twelfth century most Shāfiʿites in Yemen were still Ḥanbalites, while only one century later, most of them followed Ashʿarite *kalām*. While Ashʿarite *kalām* was already introduced to Yemen in the late fourth/tenth century, it became only widespread after the Ayyūbids invaded Yemen in 569/1173 [See Sayyid, pp. 56–79; Badr al-Dīn Ḥusayn Ibn al-Ahdal (d. 855/1451), *Ṭabaqāt al-Ashāʿira* (MS)]. Characteristic for the transitional period is the conflict between al-ʿAmarānī the father, an avowed Ḥanbalī, and his son Abū l-Ṭayyib Ṭāhir (d. 587/1191), a convinced Ashʿarī, who charged each other with unbelief.

110. These texts include: *K. al-Intiṣār fī l-radd ʿalā l[-Muʿtazila al]-Qadariyya al-ashrār* (ed. Saʿūd b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Khalf, Medina, 1419/1998) by the aforementioned Yaḥyā b. Abī l-Khayr al-ʿAmarānī, an extensive refutation of Jaʿfar b. Aḥmad's *K. al-Dāmigh*, accusing Jaʿfar for his spreading Muʿtazilite doctrines. Among his sources he mentions *K. al-Ḥurūf al-sabʿ fī l-radd ʿalā l-Muʿtazila wa-ghayrihim min ahl al-ḍalāla wa-l-bidʿa* by al-Ḥusayn b. Jaʿfar al-Marāghī. The polemic against Jaʿfar was continued by al-ʿAmarānī's son Abū l-Ṭayyib Ṭāhir in his *Kasr Qunāt al-Qadariyya fī l-radd ʿalā l-Qāḍī Jaʿfar b. ʿAbd al-Salām* (see *Maṣādir al-fikr al-islāmī fī l-Yaman* (n. 83 above), p. 113). See, moreover, Sayyid, *Tārīkh al-madhāhib al-dīniyya* (n. 80 above), pp. 73–9.

111. On him see entry no. 356 in my *Handbook of Muʿtazilite Works and Manuscripts* (n. 9 above). My presentation of the entries on al-Raṣṣāṣ and his students at the 'Muʿtazila Workshop', The German Orient Institute, Istanbul, 16–20 May 2006, triggered several research projects currently being realized within the framework of the European Research Council's FP 7 project 'Rediscovering Theological Rationalism in the Medieval World of Islam' under the direction of S. Schmidtke. These projects include a critical edition of al-Raṣṣāṣ's theological works; J. Thiele, *Kausalität in der muʿtazilitischen Kosmologie. Das Kitāb al-Muʾaṯṯirāt wa-miftāḥ al-muškilāt des Zayditen al-Ḥasan ar-Raṣṣāṣ (st. 584/1188)*, Leiden, forthcoming; id. 'Propagating Muʿtazilism in the 6th/12th Century Zaydiyya: the Role of al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣāṣ', forthcoming in *Arabica*, 57, 2010. See, moreover, H. Ansari, <http://ansari.kateban.com/entry853.html> (22 April 2007). The Raṣṣāṣ family provided numerous prominent scholars over the centuries. The most important students of al-Raṣṣāṣ were: his son Abū l-Ḥasan Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Raṣṣāṣ (d. 621/1224), the Imām al-Manṣūr bi-llāh ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥamza b. Sulaymān (d. 614/1217), Shihāb al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim b. al-Ḥusayn b. Shabīb al-Tihāmī, Nūr al-Dīn Sulaymān b. ʿAbdallāh al-Khurāshī, Muḥyī al-Dīn Ḥumayd b. Aḥmad al-Qurashī (d. 621–3/1224?), Muḥammad b. ʾAḥmad (Ibn) al-Walīd al-Qurashī al-Ānif (d. 623/1226).

more than its existence (*al-wujūd huwa dhāt al-shay'*), i.e. that there is no essence in the state of non-existence.[112] This is the earliest known evidence of a long-lasting Yemenite Zaydī reception of the Ḥusayniyya and the Malāḥimiyya.[113] The possibility that al-Raṣṣāṣ' refutation of Ibn al-Malāḥimī came in response to an appropriation of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's critic of the Bahshamiyya by leading Muṭarrifī thinkers, who were intent on confuting the Jaʿfariyya, cannot be ruled out.[114] Thus, an anonymous Muṭarrifī treatise approvingly refers to Ibn al-Malāḥimī's denying the annihilation of bodies (*fanāʾ al-ajsām*), a position which concurs with the Muṭarrifī, but clashes with the Bahshamī-Jaʿfarī doctrine.[115]

The seventeen years between the death of the Imām al-Mutawakkil Aḥmad b. Sulaymān in 566/1170 and the first rising of ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥamza as al-Imām al-Manṣūr bi-llāh in 583/1187 were a window of respite and opportunities for the Muṭarrifiyya and it is not unlikely that most of the four extant Muṭarrifī texts were written during this period or in the early years of ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥamza's imamate.[116] Be that as it may, it is

112. H. Ansari, '*Al-Barāhīn al-ẓāhira al-jaliyya ʿalā anna l-wujūd zāʾid ʿalā l-māhiyya* by Ḥusam al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Raṣṣaṣ', *A Common Rationality* (n. 51 above), pp. 337–348; id., <http://ansari.kateban.com/entryprint1593.html>. Al-Raṣṣāṣ quotes from *Tuḥfat al-mutakallimīn* (n. 47 above), pp. 63:22–64:5 [= *Barāhīn*, pp. 341:12–342:4], 64:6–64:13 [= 343:4–11], 64:14–22 [= 345:15–346:5], 62:20–63:5 [= 347:13–348:3].

113. According to Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī Ibn al-Walīd al-Qurashī al-Ānif (d. 623/1226), *al-Jawāb al-ḥāsim bi-ḥall shubah al-Mughnī* (ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥakīm Maḥmūd et al., in al-Qāḍī Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAbd al-Jabbār, *al-Mughnī*, vol. 20_2, Cairo, n.d., pp. 263f.) al-Raṣṣāṣ also wrote a refutation of *K. al-Madkhal ilā Ghurar al-adilla li-l-Shaykh Abī l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī*. For further information about the subsequent reception of the Ḥusayniyya-Malāḥimiyya in Yemen, from Abū Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh b. Zayd al-ʿAnsī (d. 667/1268–9), via the Imām al-Muʾayyad bi-llāh Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza (d. 749/1348–9), and until ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-ʿAjrī al-Muʾayyadī (d. 1407/1987), see for now H. Ansari, <http://ansari.kateban.com/entryprint853.html> and <http://ansari.kateban.com/entryprint1382.html>; Ansari and Schmidtke, *Zaydī Muʿtazilism in 7th/13th century Yemen: The theological thought of ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayd al-ʿAnsī (d. 667/1268)*, forthcoming.

114. Similarly, Muṭarrifī scholars did not hesitate to appropriate anti-Ismāʿīlī treatises written by their theological opponents, such as al-Bāqillānī's *Kashf al-asrār* (see Gochenour, *The Penetration of Zaydī Islam* (n. 76 above), p. 191 and p. 235, n. 179), to enhance their own anti-Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa*. Alternatively, it is, of course, also possible that the Muṭarrifis invoked Ibn al-Malāḥimī's views in consequence of al-Raṣṣāṣ' refutations (see below n. 118). Either way, the earliest Yemenite Zaydī reception of the Ḥusayniyya-Malāḥimiyya is closely linked to the controversy between the Mukhtariʿa-Jaʿfariyya and the Muṭarrifiyya.

115. *Fa-madhhabunā anna l-ajsām lā yajūzu ʿalayhā l-fanāʾ, wa-ʿalayhi dallat ẓawāhir al-Qurʾān al-karīm wa-huwa l-aẓhar min madhhab ahl al-bayt, ʿalayhim al-salām, wa-ilayhi dhahaba Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad al-Malāḥimī wa-huwa ʾllatī ʾkhtārahu al-Jāḥiẓ wa-qāla bihi baʿḍ al-Muʿtazila. Wa-dhahabat al-Jaʿfariyya ilā anna l-ajsām tafnā* [...]. *Wa-lladhī yadullu ʿalā buṭlān mā dahabū ilayhi al-ʿaql wa-l-samʿ* (MS London, British Library, Or. 4009, f. 11b). A possible author of this anonymous treatise, which regularly refers to al-Raṣṣāṣ and al-Jishumī as arch-representatives of the Jaʿfariyya, is Rāshid al-Ṣaqarī. To what extent Sulaymān b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Muḥallī made use of the *Tuḥfa* and the *Muʿtamad* in his *al-Burhān al-rāʾiq al-mukhalliṣ min wuraṭ al-maḍāʾiq* (n. 102 above), for instance in his refutation of the philosophers, still needs to be verified.

116. These works include: 1) Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAbdallāh b. Aḥmad al-Yaḥīrī (d. 577/1181), *Sharḥ ʿalā faṣl al-Imām al-Murtaḍā Muḥammad b. al-Imām al-Hādī fī l-tawḥīd* (MSS Ṣaʿda, Maktabat ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Shāyim; see ʿAbd al-Salām ʿAbbās al-Wajīh, *Maṣādir al-turāth fī l-maktabāt al-khāṣṣa fī l-Yaman*, Ṣanʿāʾ / Amman: Muʾassasat al-Imām Zayd b. ʿAlī al-Thaqāfiyya, 2002, vol. 2, p. 87, no. 40:7; Ḍaḥyān, Maktabat al-Sayyid ʿAbdallāh al-Ṣaʿdī; see ibid., vol. 2, p. 137, no. 28:2); 2) MS Jaʿfar Muḥammad al-Saqqāf, '*Makhṭūṭa Yamaniyya nādira. Min Turāth baʿḍ firaq al-Zaydiyya – al-Muṭarrifiyya*', *al-Iklīl*, 28, 2004, pp. 176–82 and 29–30, 2006,

unquestionable that the teaching activities of Jaʿfar b. Aḥmad and Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Raṣṣāṣ in Sanāʿ left their marks on the theological views and writings of the Muṭarrifiyya. Within only one generation, from Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn al-Yaḥīrī to his student Sulaymān b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Muḥallī, the character of Muṭarrifī theological compositions underwent significant modifications by facing up to the newly available works of the Bahshamiyya and the Ḥusayniyya.[117]

During the lifetime of the Imam al-Manṣūr ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥamza,[118] who studied with al-Raṣṣāṣ, the Mukhtariʿa became the predominant theological school in the Yemenite Zaydī community. Not only was the imām a fervent supporter and promoter of Bahshamī *kalām*, he also waged a war of extermination against the Muṭarrifiyya and thus effectively contributed to the sink into insignificance of the Muṭarrifī doctrine.[119] With the endorsement of al-Manṣūr's imamate in Gīlān and Daylamān the religious and

pp. 86–90, an exegetical-polemical text of 109 folios; 3) Sulaymān b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Muḥallī, *al-Burhān al-rāʾiq al-mukhalliṣ min wuraṭ al-maḍāʾiq* (nn. 102 and 114 above); this text is discussed by Madelung, 'A Muṭarrifī Manuscript' (n. 76 above); ʿAbd al-ʿĀṭī, *al-Ṣirāʿ al-fikrī fī l-Yaman* (n. 86 above), pp. 51–90; M. Al-Ḥājj al-Kamālī, '*Al-Taʿrīf bi-makhṭūṭa Yamaniyya nādira min turāth al-Muṭarrafiyya (!) al-Zaydiyya*', *al-Iklīl*, 24, 2001, pp. 111–46 and 25 (2001), pp. 43–95); 4) MS London, British Library, Or. 4009; whether the author of this anonymous and fragmentary Muṭarrifī treatise is identical with either *Ṣāḥib [K.] al-Irshād* or *Ṣāḥib Kitāb Najāt al-muwaḥḥidīn*, mentioned by ʿAbdallāh b. Zayd al-ʿAnsī in his *al-Risāla al-nāṭiqa bi-ḍalāl al-Muṭarrifiyya al-zanādiqa* (ed. Abd al-ʿĀṭī, in *al-Ṣirāʿ al-fikrī fī l-Yaman* (n. 86 above), pp. 274–89 (276)) or Rāshid al-Ṣaqarī whose *kalām* treatise was refuted in al-ʿAnsī's *K. al-Tamyīz bayna l-Islām wa-l-Muṭarrifiyya al-tughām* is one of many questions to be tackled in future research in this area. Aḥmad b. Sulaymān's son did not have enough support to realize his aspirations to follow his father as Imām. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥamza was a descendant of ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥusayn, a brother of the Imām al-Hādī ilā l-Ḥaqq (for his family background see Zayd, *Tayyārāt* (n. 76 above), pp. 156f.). There are several indications to show that the relation between ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥamza and the Muṭarrifiyya was good during the first years of his imamate (he was only aged 22 at this time), even though many Muṭarrifites doubted his qualifications from the outset (see Zayd, *Tayyārāt* (n. 76 above), pp. 160–64).

117. Thiele, 'Propagating Muʿtazilism' (n. 111 above), has evinced the presence of unmarked and uncontradicted quotations from al-Raṣṣāṣ' *K. al-Muʾaththirāt wa-miftāḥ al-mushkilāt* in the Muṭarrifī MS London, British Library, Or. 4009, f. 8a, a feature that needs to be examined more closely.

118. See on him *al-Sīra al-sharīfa al-Manṣūriyya*, 2 vols, ed. ʿAbd al-Ghanī Maḥmūd ʿAbd al-ʿĀṭī, Beirut, 1993; ʿAbd al-Salām b. ʿAbbās al-Wajīh, *Majmūʿ rasāʾil al-Imām al-Manṣūr bi-llāh ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥamza* (= *al-Majmūʿ al-Manṣūrī*, 2), 2 vols, Amman, 1422/2002; id. (ed.), *Majmūʿ mukātabāt al-Imām ʿAbd Allāh ibn Ḥamzah, 561–614 H*, Ṣanʿāʾ, 2008; *K. al-Shāfī*, ed. Majd al-Dīn al-Muʾayyadī, 4 vols in 2, Ṣanʿāʾ, 1406/1986; al-Wajīh, *Aʿlām al-muʾallifīn al-Zaydiyya* (n. 83 above), pp. 578–86, no. 592; *GAL* (n. 3 above), vol. 1, pp. 403f., Suppl. vol. 1, p. 701, no. 9; *Maṣādir al-fikr al-islāmī fī l-Yaman* (n. 83 above), pp. 620–28; *Maṣādir al-turāth al-Yamanī fī l-Maṭḥaf al-Barīṭānī* (n. 95 above), pp. 151–9; *Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn* (n. 83 above), vol. 6, p. 50; *K. al-Ḥadāʾiq al-wardiyya* (n. 69 above), vol. 2, pp. 133ff. *Ṭabaqāt al-Zaydiyya al-Kubrā* (n. 27 above), pp. 596–610, no. 365; *Maʾāthir al-abrār* (n. 83 above), pp. 799–816; Madelung, *Der Imam* (n. 15 above), pp. 216–19, 256 (MSS); Sayyid, *Tārīkh al-madhāhib al-dīniyya* (n. 80 above), pp. 267–70; Zayd, *Tayyārāt* (n. 76 above), pp. 156–98, 342 (MSS).

119. At the outset of the conflict between the Muṭarrifiyya and ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥamza probably stands an alliance between ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥamza and the Ḥātim family in Ṣanʿāʾ against the Ayyūbī aspirations. This alliance involved considerable sums of greace. Those who fought for the Ayyūbī army were payd monthly salaries which at first obliged ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥamza to do the same, then he had to make truce with Ayyūbids at conditions which were inacceptable to Muṭarrifites. According to Madelung (*EI*², vol. VII, p. 773) remnants of the Muṭarrifiyya seem to have survived in Yemen until the ninth/fifteenth century.

intellectual dependence of the southern on the northern Zaydī state was inverted into the opposite.

During the age of Averroes the foundations were laid for a continuous transmission and development of Muʿtazilī thought among the Zaydīs in Yemen which implicated the preservation of its major works of the two preceding centuries. While it is true that Muʿtazilī *kalām* never became the uncontested theology of the Yemenite Zaydiyya,[120] it retained a lasting presence there until today, temporarily marginalized only by strong pro-Sunnī currents in the twelfth/eighteenth and thirteenth/nineteenth centuries and by the events of the country's more recent political history after the Republican Revolution in 1962.[121] Even the major works of this long-standing Zaydī-Muʿtazilī intellectual tradition, including substantial and systematic Zaydī-Muʿtazilī responses to eminent rival trends of Islamic thought, have remained virtually unstudied.[122]

JEWISH AND SAMARITAN MUʿTAZILA

The Jewish reception of Bahshamī *kalām* gained currency during the fourth/tenth century, when the Būyid authorities, who ruled in Iraq and western Persia, favoured and promoted Muʿtazilī and Shīʿī doctrines. Among the Rabbanites it was first and foremost Samuel ben Ḥofnī Gaon (d. 1013), the head of the ancient Yeshiva of Sura in Baghdad, who adopted and advanced the main tenets of

120. See, for instance, A. M. Ṣubḥī, *Fī ʿilm al-kalām: Dirāsa falsafiyya li-ārāʾ al-firaq al-islāmiyya fī uṣūl al-dīn*, vol. 3: *al-Zaydiyya*, Beirut, 1411/1991, who distinguishes between 1) *al-Tayyār al-Zaydī al-mushāyiʿ li-l-Muʿtazila* (pp. 177–311), 2) *al-Tayyār al-Zaydī al-muʿāriḍ li-l-Muʿtazila* (pp. 313–43), and 3) *al-Ittijāh al-Zaydī al-mutafattiḥ ʿalā ahl al-Sunna* (pp. 345–453).

121. After a two-century prevalence of pro-Sunnī doctrines among the Zaydīs in Yemen (whose exponents were Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl Ibn al-Amīr and Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Shawkānī), the twentieth century witnessed a marked renaissance of Muʿtazilī thought, this being the only current in twentieth century Arabic and Islamic thought that could justly be labelled 'Neo-Muʿtazilism' (see, for instance, al-Imām al-Hādī al-Ḥasan b. Yaḥyā b. ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Qāsimī al-Muʾayyadī al-Ḍaḥyānī (d. 1343/1924), *al-Baḥth al-sadīd fī [mā yakfī fī bāb a]l-ʿadl wa-l-tawḥīd*; Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā Mudāʿis al-Ṣanʿānī (d. 1351/1932–3), *K. al-Kāshif al-amīn ʿan jawāhir al-ʿIqd al-thamīn*; Aḥmad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn al-Sayyāghī (d. 1402/1982), *Riyāḍ al-ʿārifīn fī sharḥ al-ʿIqd al-thamīn fī maʿrifat rabb al-ʿālamīn*; ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-ʿAjrī al-Muʾayyadī (b. 1320/1902 – d. 1407/1987), *Miftāḥ al-saʿāda al-jāmiʿ li-l-muhimm min masāʾil al-iʿtiqād wa-l-muʿāmalāt wa-l-ʿibāda*, ed. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamūd al-ʿIzzī, 6 vols, Ṣanʿāʾ, 2003; see also I. M. A. Ghanem, 'The Development of the Hādawī Doctrine, the Neo-Rationalists of the Zaydī School Since 1948, and the Current Role of *ʿIlm al-Kalām* (or Scholasticism) in Yemeni Courts', *Arab Law Quarterly*, 3, 1988, pp. 329–344 and 4, 1989, pp. 3–19; ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Qāʿid al-Masʿūdī, *Ishkāliyyat al-fikr al-Zaydī fī l-Yaman al-muʿāṣir: qirāʾa fī l-qirāʾāt al-sabʿ li-turāth Muʿtazilat al-ʿIrāq*, Cairo, 2007. The otherwise valuable study by T. Hildebrandt, *Neo-Muʿtazilismus? Intention und Kontext im modernen arabischen Umgang mit dem rationalistischen Erbe des Islam*, Leiden, 2007, completely ignores this neo-Muʿtazilite current in the twentieth century Yemenite Zaydiyya. The reaction of Zaydī *ʿulamāʾ* to the marginalization of the Zaydiyya in a Post-Zaydī Yemen is discussed by J. R. King, 'Zaydis in a Post-Zaydī Yemen: 'Ulama Reactions to Zaydism's Marginalization in the Republic of Yemen', *Shīʿa Affairs Journal*, 1, 2008, pp. 53–84.

122. Among the few exceptions to this verdict see A. M. Ṣubḥī, *al-Imām al-mujtahid Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza wa-ārāʾuhu l-kalāmiyya*, Beirut, 1410/1990.

the Bahshamiyya and was personally acquainted with Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Baṣrī (d. 369/980).[123]

Towards the end of the century the community of Qaraite scholars in Jerusalem, many of whom originated from Iraq and Persia,[124] founded their own academy (*dār al-[/li-l-]ʿilm*) in the courtyard of Yūsuf Ibn Nūḥ (= Yūsuf Ibn Bakhtawayh), located in the quarter of the Easterners (*ḥārat al-mashāriqa*), possibly emulating homonymous Būyid institutions of similar scope and predominantly Muʿtazilite learning in al-Baṣra, Rāmahurmuz, Baghdad, and elsewhere.[125] This academy became the centre of a large-scale literary production that included the development of a systematic Qaraite theology along the lines of Bahshamī *kalām*.[126] This project was spearheaded by scholars such as Levi ben Yefet, Yūsuf al-Baṣīr (d. 429–30/1038–9) and the latter's student Abū l-Faraj Furqān b. Asad (= Yeshuʿah ben Yehudah, fl. 1030–70).[127] As part of their effort they assembled an impressive number of Bahshamī compositions, above all the works of ʿAbd al-Jabbār and his students, notably the Qāḍī Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿīd al-Labbād. Manuscript evidence suggests that some Qaraite *mutakallimūn* may have studied with al-Labbād.[128]

123. For a more detailed account see D. Sklare, *Samuel ben Ḥofni Gaon and His Cultural World: Texts and Studies*, Leiden, 1996; R. Brody, *The Geonim of Babylonia and the Shaping of Medieval Jewish Culture*, New Haven, 1998. For a survey of early Jewish *kalām* see H. Ben-Shammai, '*Kalām* in Medieval Jewish Philosophy,' *History of Jewish Philosophy*, eds D. H. Frank and O. Leaman, New York, 1997, pp. 115–48; S. Stroumsa, 'Saadya and Jewish *Kalam*,' *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Jewish Philosophy*, eds D. H. Frank and O. Leaman, Cambridge, 2003, pp. 71–90; G. Schwarb, 'Kalām', *Encyclopedia of Jews in the Islamic World*, Leiden, 2010.

124. For a short survey of the Jewish presence in Northern Iran see M. Gil, *Jews in Islamic Countries in the Middle Ages*, Leiden, 2004, pp. 491–532; J. Olszowy-Schlanger, *Karaite Marriage Documents from the Cairo Geniza: Legal Tradition and Community Life in Mediaeval Egypt and Palestine*, Leiden, 1998, pp. 49–51; V. Basch Moreen, 'Judeo-Persian Communities of Iran IV: Medieval to Late 18th Century', *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 15, pp. 103–5, and A. Netzer, 'Judeo-Persian Communities of Iran IX: Judeo-Persian Literature', ibid., pp. 139–56.

125. See Y. Eche, *Les Bibliothèques arabes publiques et semi-publiques en Mésopotamie, en Syrie et en Égypte au Moyen Âge*, Damascus, 1967, pp. 67–161. A similar institution was founded at Baghdad in 383/993–4 by the Zaydī vizier of Bahāʾ al-Dawla, Abū Naṣr Shābūr b. Ardashīr (d. 416/1025), who contracted for the marriage of his daughter with the eminent Imāmī Shīʿite scholar al-Sharīf al-Raḍī Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad (n. 60 above). Several years after Shābūr's death the academy passed under the control of al-Raḍī's brother, al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā whose writings were well-known among the Qaraites in Jerusalem (see G. Schwarb, 'Sahl b. al-Faḍl al-Tustarī's *Kitāb al-Īmā'*', *Ginzei Qedem* 2, 2006, pp. 77*–82*). The academy went up in flames in the sectarian violence in Baghdad at the end of 451/1059.

126. The earlier reception of Muʿtazilī *kalām* among the Qaraites is discussed in H. Ben-Shammai, *The Doctrines of Religious Thought of Abū Yūsuf Yaʿqūb al-Qirqisānī and Yefet ben ʿEli*, Ph.D thesis, Jerusalem: The Hebrew University, 1977 [Hebrew].

127. See, for instance, G. Vajda (ed. and transl.), *Al-Kitāb al-Muḥtawī de Yūsuf al-Baṣīr*, Leiden, 1985, together with H. Ben-Shammai, 'Lost Chapters of Yūsuf al-Baṣīr's al-Muḥtawī: Tentative Edition,' *Judaeo-Arabic Manuscripts in the Firkovitch Collections: The Works of Yūsuf al-Baṣīr*, ed. D. Sklare, Jerusalem, 1997, pp. 113–26 [Hebrew]. A new edition of *al-Kitāb al-Muḥtawī* is in preparation. See also the recent edition of the Hebrew translation by Ṭovia ben Moshe (*Sefer ha-Neʿimot*), ed. Y. al-Gamil, Ashdod, 2004; Levi ben Yefet, *Kitāb al-Niʿma*, partially ed. by D. Sklare, 'Levi ben Yefet and His *Kitāb al-Niʿma*: Selected Texts,' *A Common Rationality* (n. 51 above), pp. 157–216. For Yeshuʿah ben Yehudah see my forthcoming edition and annotated English translation of his *K. al-Tawriya*.

128. According to al-Jishumī, *Sharḥ ʿUyūn al-masāʾil* (see Sayyid, *Faḍl al-iʿtizāl wa-ṭabaqāt al-Muʿtazila* (n. 10 above), p. 383), al-Labbād was a prolific author (*lahu kutub kathīra*) and acted as a teaching deputy of ʿAbd al-Jabbār in Rayy (*kāna min mutaqaddimī aṣḥābihi wa-khalīfatihi fī l-dars*). He apparently died before his teacher. While there are only very few traces of al-Labbād's œuvre in later Muslim Muʿtazilī *kalām* literature, he has a

Still during the lifetime of Yūsuf al-Baṣīr some Qaraite scholars in the ambit of the Tustarī family in Cairo adopted the theology of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī and thus provoked the stern opposition of al-Baṣīr. His attempts to defend the main tenets of Bahshamite ontology and to fend off the impact of the Ḥusayniyya were, however, unsuccessful: the two main proponents of Qaraite theology in the late eleventh century, Abū l-Faḍl Sahl b. al-Faḍl al-Tustarī and Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Sulaymān, were both fervent supporters of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's doctrines.[129]

In twelfth century Qaraite Judaism the reception of Muʿtazilite thought was continued both in Hebrew and Arabic. The Greek-speaking Qaraites in Byzantium, who lived under Christian rule, continued their impressive attempt to make the Arabic works of their teachers in Jerusalem accessible to the educated segment of their community by means of idiosyncratic Hebrew translations, compilations, and independent treatises interspersed with numerous glosses in vernacular Greek.[130] One of the last major works to be composed with these aims in mind was Judah ben Elijah Hadassi's (fl. mid-twelfth c.) *Eshkol ha-Kofer*.[131] Its theological sections were constructed directly upon the Muʿtazilī *kalām* of Yūsuf al-Baṣīr and Yeshuʿah ben Yehudah and dependent on the Hebrew translations of their major works. The 'Literary Project' of the Byzantine Qaraites was the first large-scale translation of Muʿtazilī terminology and concepts into a language other than Arabic.[132] In spite of their many linguistic idiosyncrasies these translations shed important light on how

noticeable presence in Qaraite *kalām* literature: Yūsuf al-Baṣīr wrote a commentary on al-Labbād's *K. al-Uṣūl* (*Sharḥ Uṣūl al-Labbād*) mentioned in his *al-Kitāb al-Muḥtawī* (ed. G. Vajda, Leiden, 1985, p. 741, l. 17 and p. 760, l. 8). Fragments of a work by al-Labbād have recently been identified (MSS St. Petersburg, Russian National Library, Yevr.-Arab. II 1060, f. 214; Yevr.-Arab. II 1082, ff. 26–27; Yevr.-Arab. I 3093; Yevr.-Arab. I 880; Yevr.-Arab. II 1065, ff. 1–2; London, British Library, Or. 2529, ff. 89–95), others may well be identified in the future. Besides, [*K.*] *al-Labbād* is mentioned three times in a booklist from the Cairo Geniza (see N. Allony, *The Jewish Library in the Middle Ages: Book Lists from the Cairo Genizah*, ed. M. Frenkel and H. Ben-Shammai, Jerusalem, 2006, pp. 162, 166f., ll. 142, 237, 255).

129. See W. Madelung and S. Schmidtke, *Rational Theology in Interfaith Communication. Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's Muʿtazilī Theology among the Karaites in the Fāṭimid Age*, Leiden, 2006; eid., 'Yūsuf al-Baṣīr's First Refutation (*Naqḍ*) of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's Theology', *A Common Rationality* (n. 51 above), pp. 229–96; S. Schmidtke, 'The Karaites' Encounter With the Thought of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī (d. 436/1044). A Survey of the Relevant Materials in the Firkovitch-Collection, St. Petersburg', *Arabica*, 53, 2006, pp. 108–42; eadem, 'Muʿtazilī Manuscripts in the Abraham Firkovitch Collection, St. Petersburg: A Descriptive Catalogue', *A Common Rationality* (n. 51 above), pp. 377–462; Schwarb, 'Sahl b. al-Faḍl al-Tustarī's *K. al-Īmā'*' (n. 125 above), pp. 61*–105*.

130. See Z. Ankori, *Karaites in Byzantium: The Formative Years, 970–1100*, New York, 1957 and the relevant articles by A. Maman, D. Lasker, and D. Frank (Part III: Byzantium and Turkey) in *Karaite Judaism: A Guide to its History and Literary Sources*, ed. M. Polliack, Leiden, 2003, pp. 485–558; Schwarb, 'Arabic into Greek in Karaite Hebrew of the 11th century', forthcoming.

131. Eupatoria, 1836; reprinted Westmead, 1971. See Lasker (n. 130 above), pp. 505–8; id., 'The Philosophy of Judah Hadassi the Karaite', *Jerusalem Studies in Jewish Thought*, 8, 1988, pp. 477–92 [Hebrew]; id., *From Judah Hadassi to Elijah Bashyatchi: Studies in Late Medieval Karaite Philosophy*, Leiden, 2008, pp. 41–59.

132. There are a few Persian texts by eleventh century Muʿtazilī authors translated into Arabic, such as al-Ḥākim al-Jishumī's *al-Risāla al-tāmma fī naṣīḥat al-ʿāmma* which was originally written in Persian <http://ansari.kateban.com/entry1562.html>. In his still unedited *al-Safīna al-jāmiʿa li-anwāʿ al-ʿulūm* al-Jishumī also mentions two Qurʾān commentaries which he wrote in Persian, *al-Tafsīr al-mūjiz* and *al-Tafsīr al-mabsūṭ*.

components of Muʿtazilite doctrines and some of its technical terms were understood within this specific school of reception.

Among the Qaraite community in Egypt the reception of Muʿtazilī thought continued throughout the twelfth century and much beyond, despite a noticeable and increasing presence of non-Muʿtazilite intellectual traditions.[133] Since a close study of many relevant theological treatises of the period is still pending, it would be premature to make sweeping conclusions. Suffice to say that the prevalence of Muʿtazilī tenets is apparent in several twelfth-century Qaraite theological and legal treatises, such as *K. al-Tawḥīd, al-Maqāla fī l-dhabīḥa*, and *al-Maqāla fī l-ʿarayot* by David ben Ḥasday ha-Nasi, *K. fī uṣūl al-dīn* by his son Shlomoh b. David ha-Nasi,[134] or *K. al-Uṣūl al-Muhadhdhabiyya*, a book on *uṣūl al-dīn* dedicated to an official of the Fāṭimid government known as 'al-Muhadhdhab' by al-Sayyid al-Fāḍil ha-Sar Yashar b. ha-Sar Ḥesed al-Tustarī (d. after 587/1191), a contemporary of Moses Maimonides in Fusṭāṭ-Cairo,[135] *K. Ladhdhat al-dhāt fī ithbāt al-waḥda wa-l-ṣifāt* by al-Faḍl Ibn al-Mufarraj, and other contemporaneous works.[136] Already in the late twelfth century the weight of Maimonides' influence becomes tangible in Qaraite theological writings. A good example for that would be *K. al-Radd*, a polemical text against the Rabbanites, by Yefet al-Burqumānī, who repeatedly refers to 'al-Raʾīs', i.e. Maimonides.[137]

The impact of Maimonides' writings is also apparent in the theological literature of the Jews in Yemen which was much more impregnated by Ismāʿīlī thought than by Yemenite Zaydī Muʿtazilism.[138]

With regard to the Samaritan reception of Muʿtazilī *kalām* during the eleventh century, it appears, according to our present knowledge, to have been largely dependent on the Qaraites.[139] Given that many Samaritan theological texts of the sixth/twelfth

133. The continuing presence of Muʿtazilī thought among the Arabic speaking Qaraites is already borne out by the overwhelming evidence of manuscript copies of Muʿtazilī works copied between the twelfth and the nineteenth centuries.

134. Extant in MS St. Petersburg, Russian National Library, Yevr. I 680 and several other manuscripts. The authorship of *K. fī uṣūl al-dīn* is uncertain. See also J. Mann, *Texts and Studies in Jewish History and Literature*, vol. 2, New York, 1972, pp. 138f.; M. Steinschneider, *Die arabische Literatur der Juden*, Frankfurt a.M., 1902, pp. 94f., §52.

135. He must not be confused with the above-mentioned Abū l-Faḍl Sahl b. al-Faḍl al-Tustarī who was active during the second half of the fifth/eleventh century.

136. Schmidtke, 'Muʿtazilī Manuscripts' (n. 129 above), pp. 459f., no. 39 (MS St. Petersburg, Russian National Library, Firk. Arab. 652); an edition of this text is currently being prepared within the European Research Council's FP 7 project 'Rediscovering Theological Rationalism in the Medieval World of Islam'. For further names see D. Sklare, 'A Guide to Collections of Karaite Manuscripts', *Karaite Judaism* (n. 130 above), p. 909; S. Poznański, *Encyclopedia le-Toledot Bnē Miqra*, completely revised, ed. H. Ben-Shammai et al. (Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Institute, forthcoming).

137. Yefet was probably the father of the Alexandrian Qaraite physician al-Rashīd b. Abī l-Ḥasan al-Isrāʾīlī, better known as Ibn al-Burqumānī (d. 724/1324). On him see Steinschneider, *Die arabische Literatur der Juden* (n. 134 above), p. 233, §172. His *al-Maqāla al-Muḥsiniyya fī ḥifẓ al-ṣiḥḥa al-badaniyya* was dedicated to al-Muḥsinī al-Nāṣirī, *Nāʾib al-Sulṭana* in Alexandria (see M. Ullmann, *Die Medizin im Islam*, Leiden, 1970, p. 191 with nn. 4f.; M. Steinschneider, *Die Hebraeischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, vol. 2, Berlin, 1897, pp. 102–104, no. 250[3]).

138. Y. Tobi, *The Jews of Yemen. Studies in Their History and Culture*, Leiden, 1999, pp. 34–47, 65, 142–56, 208.

139. G. Wedel 'Muʿtazilitische Tendenzen im *Kitāb aṭ-Ṭabbāḫ* des Samaritaners Abū l-Ḥasan aṣ-Ṣūrī,' *A Common Rationality* (n. 51 above), pp. 349–75. According to Samaritan chronicles the Samaritan theologian Abū

century remain virtually unstudied, it is too early to assess the quality and intensity of a continued reception of Muʿtazilī *kalām*.

To narrow the gap between the marked presence of Muʿtazilism in the Age of Averroes on the one hand and Averroes' very sketchy first-hand knowledge of Muʿtazilite texts on the other hand we may finally refer to some offshoots of Jewish Muʿtazilism in the Western part of the Islamic World. It is common knowledge that the Muʿtazila had far less followers in the Maghrib than in the Mashriq.[140] Averroes had, by his own account, hardly access to Muʿtazilī texts in al-Andalus.[141] It is the various testimonies for an admittedly discreet presence of Jewish Muʿtazilism in the Maghrib in the eleventh and twelfth centuries which bring us closest to Averroes' homeland.

Some Muʿtazilite ideas reached the Rabbanite Jews in the Maghrib through the writings and the responsa of the Geonim in Baghdad, in particular Samuel ben Ḥofnī (d. 1013) and Hayya b. Sherira Gaon (d. 1038).[142] Otherwise, the transfer of Muʿtazilī thought to the

l-Ḥasan al-Ṣūrī, author of *K. al-Ṭubākh* and *K. al-Ishāra fī uṣūl al-dīn* and alleged translator of the first Arabic version of the Samaritan Pentateuch, met Yūsuf al-Baṣīr in Jerusalem in 424/1033. See also *K. al-Ṭubākh*, MS London, British Library, Or. 12257, fol. 62a for the polemical exchange between al-Ṣūrī and al-Baṣīr and my forthcoming article 'The Samaritan Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ṣūrī and the Qaraites: New findings from the Firkovitch collections in St. Petersburg'.

140. Traditional accounts mention among the early missionaries (*duʿāt*) of the Muʿtazila and students of Abū Ḥudhayfa Wāṣil ibn ʿAṭāʾ (b. 80/699 – d. 131/748–9) ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥārith who brought Muʿtazilite ideas and, indeed, Ibn ʿAṭāʾ's writings to the Maghrib (van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft* (n. 1 above), vol. 2, p. 312; vol. 4, pp. 259–76; U. Rebstock, *Die Ibāḍiten im Maġrib (2./8.-4./10. Jh.): die Geschichte einer Berberbewegung im Gewand des Islam*, Berlin, 1983, pp. 190f.; A. A. Bashīr, 'Al-Muʿtazila fī l-Maghrib al-Awsaṭ. ʿAṣr al-dawla al-mustaqilla, 140–296/757–908', *Dirāsāt fī tārīkh al-ʿuṣūr al-wusṭā. Majmūʿ Abḥāth muhdāt ilā l-Ustādh al-Duktūr Qāsim ʿAbduh Qāsim bi-munāsabat bulūghihi al-sittīn ʿāmman*, Cairo, 2003, pp. 25–62). The Maghribi branch of the early Muʿtazila is therefore usually known as *al-Wāṣiliyya* or as *Aṣḥāb Abī Ḥudhayfa*. Ibn al-Nadīm's Fihrist (ed. A. F. Sayyid, London, 2009, vol. 1.2, p. 561.11), for instance, mentions *K. al-Mashriqiyyīn min Aṣḥāb Abī Ḥudhayfa ilā ikhwānihim bi-l-Maghrib* whose author is said to be 'an unknown follower' of Wāṣil. According to these accounts, Muʿtazilite ideas would have reached the Islamic West already before the middle of the second century AH. Several sources relate the presence of Muʿtazilite ideas in the West to an ʿAlid disaster in the East, and some of the followers of Bashīr al-Raḥḥāl, who survived the revolt of 145/762 against al-Manṣūr, are said to have fled to the Maghrib (*Faḍl al-iʿtizāl* (n. 10 above), p. 227; van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft*, vol. 2, p. 330). In the early third/ninth century the Aghlabid emir Abū l-ʿAbbās ʿAbd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm adopted for a short period the religious policy of the contemporary ʿAbbasid caliph al-Maʾmūn of promoting the Ḥanafī legal school and Muʿtazili theology. Some scholars have suggested that Muʿtazilī elements in the Maghribian Ibāḍī doctrine date from this period: C. A. Nallino, 'Rapporti fra la dogmatica muʿtazilita e quella degli Ibāḍiti dell' Africa settentrionale', *RSO*, 7, 1918, pp. 455–60 (reprinted in *The Teachings of the Muʿtazila: Texts and Studies 1*, ed. F. Sezgin et al., Frankfurt a.M., 2000, pp. 257–62); J. van Ess, 'Untersuchungen zu einigen ibāḍitischen Handschriften', *ZDMG*, 126, 1976, pp. 43–52.

141. See *al-Kashfʿan manāhij al-adilla fī ʿaqāʾid al-milla*, ed. M. A. al-Jābirī, Beirut 1998, p. 118, as quoted in the epigraph to this article.

142. See M. Ben-Sasson, *The Emergence of the Local Jewish Community in the Muslim World: Qayrawan, 800–1057*, 2nd ed., Jerusalem, 2005, pp. 41–53, 389–400 [Hebrew], and some documents discussed in H. Ben-Shammai, 'Some Genizah Fragments on the Duty of the Nations to Keep the Mosaic Law', *Genizah Research after Ninety Years*, eds J. Blau and S. Reif, Cambridge, 1992, pp. 22–30 and D. Sklare, 'Are the Gentiles Pbligated to Observe the Torah? The Discussion Concerning the Universality of the Torah in the East in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries', *Beʾerot Yitzhak; Studies in Memory of Isadore Twersky*, ed. J. M. Harris. Cambridge MA, 2005, pp. 311–46; A. Shaḥlān, 'al-Mutakallimūn al-Yahūd fī l-sharq wa-l-gharb al-islāmiyyīn,' *al-Ittijāhāt al-Kalāmiyya fī l-gharb al-islāmī*, ed. ʿA. Idrīsī, Rabat, 2005, pp. 197–215.

West was first and foremost mediated by Qaraite Jews from al-Andalus who studied in Jerusalem and brought the writings of their teachers back to the Iberian peninsula.[143]

The origins of Qaraite Jews in the Maghrib and al-Andalus are not entirely clear and have been the subject of far-fetched speculation.[144] Various documents account for the presence of a sizeable Qaraite community there in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, but the precise nature of this Qaraism remains opaque. Many of them were probably Ananites who returned to Spain as Qaraites after having studied at the Qaraite academy in Jerusalem.[145] Since they left behind no written records, we know about their existence almost solely through Rabbanite writings of the period which were as a rule polemical and readily dismissed Qaraism as a marginal phenomenon.[146] At the same time Rabbanite authors extensively borrowed from exegetical, theological, and grammatical works by Eastern Qaraites.[147] On the evidence provided by eminent Rabbanite figures of the twelfth century, among them Jehudah Halevi (d. 1141), Moshe Ibn Ezra (d. after 1138), Joseph Ibn Ṣaddīq (d. 1149), Abraham Ibn Ezra (d. 1167), Abraham Ibn Dāʾūd (d. 1180), and Maimonides (d. 1204), the group still gathered strength and their influence was strongly felt in al-Andalus in the first half of the twelfth century. Famously, Jehudah Halevi stated that he wrote the first version of his *Kuzari* (*K. al-Ḥujja wa-l-dalīl fī naṣr al-dīn al-dhalīl*) after a discussion with a Qaraite philosopher from Christian Spain.[148] Joseph Ibn Ṣaddīq knew the *kalām* system mainly from Qaraite sources. In the theological part of his Microcosm (*al-ʿĀlam al-ṣaghīr*, *ha-ʿOlam ha-qaṭan*) he refutes the Muʿtazilī *kalām* of the Qaraites while repeatedly referring to Yūsuf al-Baṣīr's theological compendium *al-Manṣūrī* (i.e. the revised version of his *K. al-Tamyīz fī uṣūl al-dīn*).[149]

143. The most famous case is Ibn al-Ṭarās who is said to have brought several works by Yeshuʿah ben Yehudah to al-Andalus in 1109–10. See the introduction and the index of G. D. Cohen's edition of Abraham Ibn Dāʾūd's *Sefer ha-Qabbalah*, Philadelphia 1967 (reprinted Oxford 2005); M. Gil, *A History of Palestine, 634–1099*, Cambridge, 1992, pp. 818f.

144. See, for instance, the frenzied speculation in W. H. Rule, *History of the Karaite Jews*, London, 1870, pp. 146–56 (= Ch. XIV, 'Karaites in Spain'). H. Z. Hirschberg, *A History of the Jews in North Africa*, vol 1: From Antiquity to the Sixteenth Century, Leiden, 1974, pp. 157–63 ('The Karaites in the Maghreb').

145. See H. Ben-Shammai, 'Between Ananites and Karaites: Observations on Early Medieval Jewish Sectarianism', *Studies in Muslim-Jewish Relations*, 1, 1993, pp. 23–5, with further literature given there at n. 51.

146. For the socio-political context of Rabbanite attitudes towards 'Qaraites' on the Iberian peninsula see M. Rustow, *Heretics and the Politics of Community. The Jews of the Fatimid Caliphate*, Ithaca, 2008, pp. 347–55.

147. D. Lasker, 'Karaism in Twelfth Century Spain', *Journal of Jewish Thought and Philosophy*, 1.2, 1992, pp. 179–95, with further references, repr. in id., *From Judah Hadassi to Elijah Bashyatchi* (n. 131 above), pp. 125–40; A. Schenker, 'Karäer im Maghreb: Zur epigraphischen Evidenz', *Bulletin d'Études Karaïtes*, 3, 1993, pp. 9–13.

148. S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, vol. 5, Berkeley, 1988, pp. 456, 465 ; D. Lasker, 'Jehudah Halevi and Karaism', *From Ancient Israel to Modern Judaism: Intellect in Quest of Understanding. Essays in Honor of Marvin Fox*, vol. 3, ed. J. Neusner et al., Atlanta, 1989, pp. 111–25, revised in id., *From Judah Hadassi to Elijah Bashyatchi* (n. 131 above), pp. 141–54. The third part of the Kuzari contains a sustained polemic against Qaraism.

149. Ed. S. Horovitz, Breslau, 1903, pp. 44, 47, 72f. and the parallel pages in J. Haberman (intr. and transl.), *The microcosm of Joseph ibn Ṣaddiq* (with the Hebrew text of the Horovitz edition), Madison, 2003. See also G. Vajda, *Al-Kitāb al-Muḥtawī de Yūsuf al-Baṣīr* (n. 128 above), p. 333, n. 2; id., 'La Philosophie et la théologie de Joseph Ibn Çaddiq', *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et litéraire du Moyen Âge*, 17, 1949, pp. 93–181 (174–8).

Moshe Ibn Ezra's theory of language is in many respects akin to that of eleventh-century Qaraites.[150] Abraham Ibn Ezra's indebtedness to Qaraite exegesis and notably Yeshuʿah ben Yehudah's *Tafsīr* in both approach and content was distinctive enough for later generations of Qaraite scholars in Byzantium to claim him as one of their own, regardless of his pronounced anti-Qaraite rhetoric.[151] Maimonides was impressed with Qaraite scholarship, notwithstanding his sharp-edged polemic against 'these apostates'.[152]

The claim that Muslim authors in the Iberian peninsula had access to Muʿtazilite doctrines by the agency of local Qaraite scholars is, however, questionable. It has, for instance, been suggested that Ibn Ḥazm (d. 1064) had access to and made use of Qaraite polemical writings against the Rabbanites and presumably even met some Andalusian Qaraites, but the identity of these people and writings remains obscure.[153] This is just about as far as we get in bridging the substantial divide separating Averroes from contemporaneous Muʿtazilī *kalām*.

150. P. B. Fenton. *Philosophie et exégèse dans le Jardin de la métaphore de Moïse Ibn Ezra, philosophe et poète andalou du XIIe siècle*, Leiden, 1997.

151. See P. R. Weiss, 'Ibn Ezra and the Karaites on Halakhic issues', *Melilah*, 1, 1944, pp. 35–53; 2, 1946, pp. 121–34; and 3, 1950, pp. 188–203 [Hebrew]; Z. Ankori, 'Elijah Bashyachi: An Inquiry into His Traditions Concerning the Beginnings of Karaism in Byzantium', *Tarbiz*, 25, 1955–6, pp. 60–63, 185 [Hebrew]. On the interest of later Qaraites in Ibn Ezra's biblical commentaries see D. Frank, 'Ibn Ezra and the Karaite Exegetes Aaron ben Joseph and Aaron ben Elijah', *Abraham Ibn Ezra y su tiempo*, ed. F. D. Esteban, Madrid, 1990, pp. 99–107; N. de Lange, 'Abraham Ibn Ezra and Byzantium', ibid., pp. 181–92; P. E. Miller, *At the Twilight of Byzantine Karaism. The Anachronism of Judah Gibbor*, PhD Dissertation, New York University, 1984; U. Simon, 'Interpreting the Interpreter: Supercommentaries on Ibn Ezra's Commentaries,' *Rabbi Abraham Ibn Ezra. Studies in the Writings of a Twelfth-Century Jewish Polymath*, ed. I. Twersky and J. M. Harris, Cambridge 1993, pp. 86–128; J.-C. Attias, 'Intellectual Leadership: Rabbanite-Karaite Relations in Constantinople as Seen Through the Works and Activity of Mordekhai Comtino in the Fifteenth Century', *Ottoman and Turkish Jewry: Community and Leadership*, ed. A. Rodrigue, Bloomington, 1992, pp. 67–86.

152. Lasker, *From Judah Hadassi to Elijah Bashyatchi* (n. 131 above), pp. 155ff.

153. C. Adang, 'Éléments karaïtes dans la polémique antijudaïque d'Ibn Ḥazm', *Diálogo filosófico-religioso entre cristianismo, judaísmo e islamismo durante la edad media en la Península Ibérica*, ed. H. Santiago-Otero, Turnhout, 1994, pp. 419–41; ead., *Muslim Writers on Judaism and the Hebrew Bible: from Ibn Rabban to Ibn Hazm*, Leiden, 1996, p. 102, n. 152; ead., 'The Karaites as Portrayed in Medieval Islamic Sources', *Karaite Judaism* (above n. 130), p. 188: 'It is highly likely that he met some of these Spanish Karaites'. In his *K. al-Fiṣal fī l-milal wa-l-ahwāʾ wa-l-niḥal* (ed. M. I. Naṣr and A. ʿUmayra, Beirut, 1416/1996, vol. 1, p. 178.7f.) Ibn Ḥazm mentions that Qaraites lived in Talavera and Toledo.

Capturing the meanings of God's speech: the relevance of *uṣūl al-fiqh* to an understanding of *uṣūl al-tafsīr* in Jewish and Muslim *kalām*[1]

Gregor Schwarb

Introduction

Studies in the principles of mediaeval scriptural exegesis tend to focus upon works belonging to the specific genre of Biblical commentaries in Judaism and Christianity, and Qur'ānic commentaries in Islam. For each of these book-religions its Scripture is perceived as the key repository of divine-human communication. It thus seems natural to suppose that the commentarial practice of the exegetical genre — which aims at establishing and explaining the meaning, significance and authoritativeness of God's speech — is the setting of choice in which to account for the principles that guide the interpretive process. And indeed, scriptural commentaries, and more particularly their introductions, are a suitable and common context for an — at least partial — exposition of hermeneutic rules, interpretive presuppositions and theoretical underpinnings of the applied exegetical practice. Their exposition quite naturally implies the justification of their validity vis-à-vis the challenges of rival interpretive approaches from inside and outside a given community.

However, in all these communities scriptural exegesis is only one facet of the more inclusive "general hermeneutics".[2] This condition is particularly notable in the Islamic world during the period that concerns us here. The division of the religious sciences into many distinct specialised disciplines, professions and schools led *inter alia* to a multitude of simultaneous yet independent inquiries

1 I am indebted to the editors of this Festschrift for their critical remarks and to M. Goldstein for her proofreading of an earlier version of this article.

2 Cf. O. R. Scholz, *Verstehen und Rationalität: Untersuchungen zu den Grundlagen von Hermeneutik und Sprachphilosophie* (Frankfurt a. M.: Vittorio Klostermann, 2001), pp. 253–314.

into the hermeneutic structure underlying each discipline. These deliberations comprised a set of fundamental questions about the ways in which meanings are produced as well as about the conditions to be fulfilled for their (proper) understanding. In Islam of the classical period, such hermeneutic reflections came to be operative in such strictly religious disciplines as *uṣūl al-dīn*, *uṣūl al-fiqh*, *uṣūl al-ḥadīth*, or (*uṣūl*) *tafsīr al-Qur'ān*, represented in each case by a rich variety of doctrinal affiliations (within *kalām*, *fiqh*, etc.). We have also to consider the miscellaneous types of hermeneutic reflections in para- and extra-religious fields, such as fundamental linguistics (*uṣūl al-naḥw*), literary theory (*'ilm al-balāgha*), literary criticism (*naqd al-shi'r*), logic (*'ilm al-manṭiq*), philosophy and medicine (*ṭibb*), natural sciences (*'ulūm ṭabī'iyya*) and so forth.

Following the steady stabilisation and institutionalisation of these disciplines during the ninth and tenth centuries, we notice several efforts to integrate the relevant insights of other, seemingly extraneous disciplines into the established topical catalogue of a specific discipline, and in some instances to merge hitherto distinct disciplines into one comprehensive field. The initial development from an unspecialised knowledge to a knowledge regulated by disciplines was thus gradually supplemented by the endeavour towards more comprehensive and ultimately encyclopaedic compendia covering one or several disciplines.[3] The appearance of the first books on the division of the sciences,[4] the composition of propaedeutic and/or systematic introductions (*muqaddima*) to each of these sciences,[5] books of definitions (*ḥudūd*) and dictionaries of technical terms,[6] as

3 The development of the linguistic sciences is a good example of this process. See the overview articles in *HLS*, pp. 245–318. For partly parallel developments in the Hebrew linguistic tradition see *HLS*, pp. 215–44; G. Khan, "The early Eastern traditions of Hebrew grammar", in *Hebrew Scholarship and the Medieval World*, ed. Nicholas De Lange (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 77–91; idem, *Karaite Tradition*, vol. 1, pp. xi–xxxix; A. Maman, "The linguistic school: Judah Ḥayyūj, Jonah ibn Janāḥ, Moses ibn Chiquitilla and Judah ibn Bal'am", in *HBOT* I, 2, pp. 261–81.

4 Cf. W. Heinrichs, "The classification of the sciences and the consolidation of philology in Classical Islam", in *Centres of Learning: Learning and Location in Pre-Modern Europe and the Near East*, ed. Jan Willem Drijvers & A. A. MacDonald (Leiden: Brill, 1995), p. 121; Heck, *Hierarchy*.

5 For a study of the genesis and development of the "foreword" (*muqaddima*) in Arabic literature at large, see P. H. O. Freimark, *Das Vorwort als literarische Form in der arabischen Literatur* (Ph.D. dissertation, Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster, 1967); idem, "Muḳaddima", in *EI*^{2} VII, pp. 495f.

6 Cf. M. A. S. Abdel Haleem, "Early Islamic theological and juristic terminology", *BSOAS*

well as the formulation of methodological metadiscourses (*uṣūl al-...*) for various disciplines during the ninth and tenth centuries, were essential prerequisites for the advance of this process.

Similar tendencies — i.e. classification of the sciences, disciplinisation of areas of knowledge, standardisation of newly adopted textual models and literary genres, stabilisation of technical vocabulary, formulation of methodological metadiscourses — are to be found in contemporaneous Judaism, i.e. in what Rina Drory has called "the Jewish Literary System".[7]

Within the rich texture of hermeneutic discourses outlined above, this article proposes to describe paradigmatically[8] some selected facets of the interplay between two genres of the religious sciences with a strong hermeneutic purport — namely, *uṣūl al-fiqh*[9] and *uṣūl al-tafsīr*[10] — in Oriental Jewish and Muslim *kalām* during the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries.[11]

54 (1991), pp. 5–41; K. Kennedy-Day, *Books of Definition in Islamic Philosophy: The Limits of Words* (London: Routledge Curzon, 2003).

7 R. Drory, *Models and Contacts: Arabic Literature and its Impact on Medieval Jewish Culture* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), pp. 126–57. See also J. Blau, *The Emergence and Linguistic Background of Judaeo-Arabic* (Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Institute, 1999, 3rd ed.), pp. 232–40 and the literature indicated in n. 3.

8 Among the various other interrelations between hermeneutic discourses of different disciplines and their respective technical vocabulary some are frequently explored topics of comparative studies and *Begriffsgeschichte*, as for instance the relation between *uṣūl al-dīn* and *falsafa*, grammar and logic, *(uṣūl al-) fiqh* and grammar/logic, literary theory and *falsafa*, literary theory/criticism and *tafsīr*, etc., whereas other meeting points are scarcely studied, e.g. the relation between medicine and (*uṣūl*) *'ilm al-kalām*. For the latter see van Ess, *Logical structure*, p. 35 n. 71.

9 Cf. Chaumont, *Livre des rais*, pp. 375–81; Hallaq, *History*, 268–72; Zysow, *Mu'tazilism*, pp. 235–65. A comprehensive study of *uṣūl al-fiqh* within Jewish *kalām* is still a desideratum; for the time being see Sklare, *Samuel b. Ḥofnī*, pp. 28f., 55f., 156–65, 171; idem, *al-Baṣīr*, pp. 252, 255, 257ff.; idem, *al-Ḥāwī* and my article "*Uṣūl al-fiqh* im jüdischen *Kalām* des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts: ein Überblick", in *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, ed. Annelies Kuyt and Gerold Necker (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006).

10 A useful abstract of extant and lost *kalām* commentaries is found in *EQ* II, pp. 114–16 (C. Gilliot) and III, pp. 469–71 (S. Schmidtke); Zarzūr, pp. 123ff.; Gimaret, *Lecture*, pp. 11–29. A more extensive, but often unreliable overview of extant *tafsīr* texts is al-Majma' al-Malakī li-Buḥūth al-Ḥaḍāra al-Islāmiyya / Mu'assasat Āl al-Bayt, *al-Fihris al-shāmil li-l-turāth al-'arabī al-islāmī al-makhṭūṭ: 'ulūm al-qur'ān — makhṭūṭāt al-tafsīr, al-juz' al-awwal* (Ammān, 1987), pp. 53–239. A survey of the Jewish Bible exegesis of the relevant period is found in R. Brody, "The Geonim of Babylonia as Biblical exegetes", in *HBOT* I, 2, pp. 74–88; D. Frank, "Karaite exegesis", in *HBOT* I, 2, pp. 110–28.

11 The reception and transformation of the *uṣūl al-fiqh* literature in Christian *kalām* will be dealt

A comparison of introductions to *tafsīr* works and books on *uṣūl al-fiqh* by *kalām* scholars shows that a proper appreciation of the hermeneutic principles underlying scriptural exegesis must look beyond the *tafsīr* genre. The latter is not a self-contained discipline but rather a pandect of all branches of knowledge.[12] The subtlety of the hermeneutic reasoning advanced in writings on *uṣūl al-fiqh* is particularly significant in this regard.

This article attempts to consider the degree of interdependence between the two disciplines from pedagogical and analytical perspectives. The former explores the place of *uṣūl al-fiqh* in the curriculum of a *mufassir*; the latter surveys some structural components of *uṣūl al-fiqh* that are of paramount importance to a proper understanding of scriptural hermeneutics. The comparison will be limited here to a synchronic assessment of the most basic semiotic and hermeneutic questions, i.e. how God's speech signifies and how it may be understood, leaving aside such collateral and derivative issues as transmission (*naql/akhbār*), consensus (*ijmāʿ*), juridical syllogism (*qiyās*) and so forth.[13]

I shall also point out some instances where a critical adaptation and transformation of theoretical components in the context of modern linguistics, philosophy of language and legal theory may enrich and sharpen our understanding of the functions and functioning of *uṣūl al-fiqh* and *uṣūl al-tafsīr* and refine our *re-lecture* of the respective texts.

with in a separate article. Previous studies on the relationship between *uṣūl al-tafsīr* and *uṣūl al-fiqh* are mostly confined to the post-classical period. Cf., for instance, ʿImād al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Rashīd, *Asbāb al-nuzūl wa-atharuhā fī bayān al-nuṣūṣ: dirāsa muqārina bayna uṣūl al-tafsīr wa-uṣūl al-fiqh* (Damascus: Dār al-Shihāb, 1420/1999), esp. pp. 272–367; Moutaouakil, pp. 39–66; Versteegh, *Landmarks*, pp. 127–39; idem, "The linguistic introduction to Rāzī's *Tafsīr*", in *Studies in Near Eastern Languages and Literatures: Memorial Volume of Karel Petráček*, ed. Petr Zemánek (Prague: Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, Oriental Institute, 1996), pp. 589–603. Regarding Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī see also the remarks in M. Lagarde, *al-Miṣbāḥ al-munīr li-l-tafsīr al-kabīr: al-fihrist al-kāmil li-Mafātīḥ al-ghayb li-Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), pp. 15–51. M. Zucker, *Genesis*, repeatedly refers to post-Se'adyan Islamic *uṣūl al-fiqh* literature; cf. esp. pp. 35–69 of his general introduction (references to ʿAbd al-Jabbār, *al-ʿUmad*; Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī, *al-Muʿtamad*; Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Iḥkām fī uṣūl al-aḥkām*; al-Sarakhsī, *al-Uṣūl*; al-Ghazālī, *al-Mustaṣfā*; al-Āmidī, *al-Iḥkām fī uṣūl al-aḥkām*; al-Shawkānī, *Irshād al-fuḥūl ilā taḥqīq al-ḥaqq min ʿilm al-uṣūl*).

12 Ben-Shammai's *Doctrines* and many of his articles outstandingly demonstrate this fact.

13 A diachronic account of the development of *uṣūl al-fiqh* in Jewish and Muslim *kalām* will be part of my doctoral dissertation: *Yeshuʿah ben Yehudah's Kitāb al-Tawriya. An annotated edition and English translation of the Judaeo-Arabic text*, University of Fribourg.

I. The pedagogical perspective (*shurūṭ al-mufassir)*

When al-Suyūṭī (d. 910/1505) wrote his *al-Itqān fī 'ulūm al-Qur'ān*, he condensed a long tradition of literature determining the scholarly equipment required for the exegete to engage in his métier (*'ulūm al-Qur'ān*).[14] In the seventy-eighth category of the *Itqān*, entitled *fī ma'rifat shurūṭ al-mufassir wa-ādābihi*, he mentions some of the conceptions in these heterogenous traditions[15] of what a commentary should contain, what a commentator must know and the sources, tools and methods he has at his disposal.

Even though the principles underlying an understanding of the Law (*uṣūl al-fiqh*) are generally regarded as part of a commentator's scientific equipment, opinions differ as to their role and content. Al-Suyūṭī lists fifteen sciences that a commentator is expected to master (*lā yakūnu mufassiran illā bi-taḥṣīlihā*).[16] *Uṣūl al-fiqh* is the tenth on this list. Its definition is rather technical; basically "it serves to determine the type of inference and deduction used to set down a legal judgement".[17]

An altogether different facet of this discipline is emphasised by Ibn Juzayy (d. 741/1340), an earlier representative of the *'ulūm al-Qur'ān* tradition. He included *uṣūl al-fiqh* in a list of twelve sciences required for exegetical composition:[18]

> *Uṣūl al-fiqh* is one of the tools [used for] the explanation of the *Qur'ān*. Even though many commentators did not study it in depth, it is of great assistance in understanding meanings and weighing up statements [in

14 Al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān fī 'ulūm al-Qur'ān*, ed. F. A. Zumurlī (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabī, 1421/2001). The *Itqān* is essentially a lucid collage of previous compendia dealing with the Qur'ānic sciences. On the *Itqān* and its sources see K. E. Nolin, *The* Itqān *and its Sources: A Study of al-Itqān fī 'ulūm al-Qur'ān* by Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī with special reference to *al-Burhān fī 'ulūm al-Qur'ān* by Badr al-Dīn al-Zarkashī (Ph.D. dissertation, Pennsylvania: Hartford Seminary Foundation, 1968).

15 *Itqān* II, pp. 434–463.

16 *Itqān* II, p. 451:5.

17 *Itqān* II, p. 450:20. In *Itqān* II, p. 261:16–20, however, al-Suyūṭī quotes a somewhat broader description of the discipline. For a similar characterisation, cf. al-Zarkashī's *al-Burhān fī 'ulūm al-Qur'ān*, ed. Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, 4 vols. (Cairo: Dār Iḥyā' al-Kutub al-'Arabiyya, 1957–1958), vol. 2, p. 6:6f.

18 Abū Qāsim Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Juzayy, *al-Tashīl li-'ulūm al-tanzīl*, ed. Muḥammad Sālim Hāshim (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmīya, 1415/1995), I, pp. 9:25–12:21 (= *muqaddima* I, *bāb* IV). Eleven sciences are tools (*adawāt*) in the service of the twelfth science, which is commentarial practice (*tafsīr*).

> cases of conflicting meaning].[19] It is essential for the commentator to understand [such notions as] *naṣṣ, ẓāhir, mujmal, mubayyan, ʿāmm, khāṣṣ, muṭlaq, muqayyad, faḥwā al-khiṭāb, laḥn al-khiṭāb, dalīl al-khiṭāb, shurūṭ al-naskh, wujūh al-taʿāruḍ, asbāb al-khilāf* and other [notions] belonging to the science of principles.[20]

Ibn Juzayy's depiction of *uṣūl al-fiqh* includes a series of technical terms each denoting a specific quality of the divine discourse that should be known to every accomplished *mufassir*. As will be seen below, this broad conception of *uṣūl al-fiqh*, which examines fundamental semantic and hermeneutic questions, is akin to its role during the formative period of the discipline, particularly in the context of *kalām*.

The formation of *uṣūl al-fiqh* as an organically structured and independent science with its proper genre occurred during the late ninth century and, particularly, the tenth.[21] Though "the roots of the discipline are certainly as ancient as the roots of *fiqh* itself",[22] and regardless of the numerous treatises and controversies from the eighth and ninth centuries discussing one or more topics that later came to be included in *uṣūl al-fiqh*, there is no evidence for claiming that the creation of *uṣūl al-fiqh* as a comprehensive generic discipline took shape before the very end of the ninth century.[23]

19 On *tarjīḥ* see Barzanjī, vol. I, pp. 86ff., vol. II, pp. 123ff.; U. Rebstock, "Abwägen als Entscheidungshilfe in den *uṣūl al-fiqh*: die Anfänge der *tarjīḥ*-Methode bei al-Jaṣṣāṣ", *Der Islam* 80 (2003), pp. 110–21; É. Chaumont, "En quoi le madhhab shāfiʿite est-il shāfiʿite selon le *Mughīth al-khalq* de Juwaynī?", in *Annales Islamologiques* 35 (2001), pp. 19f.

20 *Tashīl* I, p. 12:6–10; among many similar characterisations of the role of *uṣūl al-fiqh* see e.g. Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī, *al-Baḥr al-muḥīṭ*, ed. al-Riyāḍ: Maktaba wa-Maṭābiʿ al-Naṣr al-Ḥadītha, [1969?], I, p. 15; al-Rashīd, *Asbāb* (see *supra* n. 11), pp. 4–10.

21 For the various meanings of *uṣūl* and *uṣūl al-fiqh* in earlier compositions see *EI*^{2} X, pp. 928–930, art. "Uṣūl" (M. G. Carter), *EI*^{2} Suppl., p. 517, art. "Ḳawāʿid fiḳhiyya"; Hallaq, *al-Shafiʿi*, pp. 588–91; Chaumont, *Livre des rais*, p. 3 n. 1.

22 B. G. Weiss, *The Spirit of Islamic Law* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1998), p. xii.

23 It has been repeatedly pointed out in recent years that al-Shāfiʿī's *Risāla* does not belong to the genre of *uṣūl al-fiqh* and that it had a rather marginal impact on the formation of the discipline, independent of the debate regarding its dating: cf. Hallaq, *al-Shafiʿi*, passim; Lowry, *Sources of Law*, pp. 23f.; idem, *Reconsideration*, pp. 19, 40f. As Vishanoff, pp. 44–48 and 140–42, argues, there are nevertheless important continuities between the *Risāla* and later works on *uṣūl al-fiqh*. When Stewart, pp. 131f., concludes that *uṣūl al-fiqh* was already "a sophisticated science presented in comprehensive manuals" at the time Dāʾūd [al-Iṣbahānī al-Ẓāhirī], al-Ṭabarī and Ibn Dāʾūd [al-Ẓāhirī] wrote their books on *uṣūl al-fiqh* (none of which is extant), he carries his argument too far considering the rather ambiguous nature of the

It is thus not surprising that prior to the tenth century *uṣūl al-fiqh* is never mentioned as a discipline that is indispensable to commentarial practice. The introduction to Muqātil ibn Sulaymān's commentary, for instance, lists thirty-two hermeneutic rules denoting basic interpretive problems.[24] Even though some of his terminology closely resembles the key categories of later *uṣūl al-fiqh* works, it does not yet reflect a generic structure.[25] Even with regard to al-Ṭabarī's *(Laṭīf) al-bayān ʿan uṣūl al-aḥkām*, which he wrote around 870, there is no evidence to support the claim that he conceived of his book as a specimen of an established generic discipline called *uṣūl al-fiqh*, even though it covered — relying on the references in his *Jāmiʿ al-bayān* — most of the subjects included in later *uṣūl al-fiqh* works.[26]

By the latter half of the tenth century, however, *uṣūl al-fiqh* was not only an already well-established genre but also a discipline considered essential for any qualified *mufassir*. Mān(e)kdīm Sheshdīv (d. 425/1034) concludes his discussion of the second principle *(aṣl al-ʿadl)* in his *Taʿlīq ʿalā sharḥ al-uṣūl al-khamsa*[27]

evidence, the many conjectural speculations *ex silentio*, and the partly flawed assumptions. A case in point is al-Jāḥiẓ's *Kitāb al-futyā*. Basing himself on scanty citations in the edited part of *Kitāb al-mujzī* by the Zaydī Imām Abū Ṭālib al-Nāṭiq bi-l-Ḥaqq (see *infra* n. 65) and a reference to Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Baṣrī's *Naqḍ al-futyā* in ʿAbd al-Jabbār's *Faḍl al-iʿtizāl*, he concludes: "al-Jāḥiẓ' *Kitāb uṣūl al-futyā wa-'l-aḥkām* must therefore have treated *uṣūl al-fiqh*, including, at the very least, sections on consensus, legal analogy, and *ijtihād*" (p. 109). Without providing further evidence, he later concludes: "The evidence presented above that al-Jāḥiẓ wrote a work on *uṣūl al-fiqh* suggests that Ibn Surayj could not have founded the genre [sic!] of *uṣūl al-fiqh*" (p. 135).

24 See the list and a rash comparison with the thirty-two precepts ascribed to Rabbi Eli'ezer in Y. Goldfeld, "The development of theory on Qur'anic exegesis in Islamic scholarship", *Studia Islamica* 67 (1988), pp. 24f.; Versteegh, *Arabic Grammar*, pp. 104–6, 130–54. For the dating of the commentary see C. Gilliot, "Exegesis of the Qur'ān: classical and medieval", in *EQ* II, pp. 106f.

25 Further examples demonstrating the origin of classical *uṣūl al-fiqh* terminology in early grammar and exegesis are found in Versteegh, *Arabic Grammar*, pp. 96ff.; Carter, *Missing link*, pp. 53f.; Vishanoff, pp. 19–30.

26 Cf. C. Gilliot, *Exégèse*, p. 40 n. 2; Stewart, pp. 112f., 132. See *Jāmiʿ*, e.g. ed. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1420/1999, vol. 1, p. 391:15f. (ad *Q* 2:70), p. 552:25 (ad *Q* 2:115), p. 555:17 (ad *Q* 2:116), p. 558:10 (ad *Q* 2:117).

27 On Mān(e)kdīm's *Taʿlīq* and ʿAbd al-Jabbār's *Sharḥ al-uṣūl al-khamsa* see D. Gimaret, "Les *Uṣūl al-khamsa* du Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Jabbār et leurs commentaires", in *Annales Islamologiques* 15 (1979), pp. 47–96, which also includes an edition of ʿAbd al-Jabbār's *Kitāb al-uṣūl al-khamsa* (pp. 79–96). A fragment (8 fols.) of ʿAbd al-Jabbār's *Sharḥ* may be extant in MS. St. Petersburg, RNL Firk. Arab. 259.

by citing 'Abd al-Jabbār's account of a commentator's needed qualifications (*alladhī yajibu an yakūna 'alayhi al-mufassir min al-awṣāf*):

> It is not enough for a commentator (of the Qur'ān) to have learnt the Arabic language. He must be equally acquainted with grammar and the orally transmitted material (*riwāya*), and also with *fiqh*, i.e. the legal values contained in the Law and their circumstances (of revelation) (*asbāb*). But no one is really acquainted with the legal values contained in the Law, and their circumstances, without having knowledge of *uṣūl al-fiqh*, i.e. the indicators (that are instrumental to) understanding the Law (*adillat al-fiqh*): the *Qur'ān*, the *Sunna*, consensus, analogical reasoning, reports and related issues. Moreover, he will not know these constituents without being familiar with God's unicity and justice, i.e. which of His attributes are necessary, possible, or impossible and which actions He may properly perform, and which not. Someone who has acquired all these qualities and is acquainted with God's unicity and justice as well as with the legal indicators and the legal values contained in the Law and is able to relate ambiguous verses to definite ones and to distinguish between them, he may engage in the explanation of God's book; but whoever lacks even one of these sciences is not allowed to inquire into God's book, (for instance) by relying exclusively on (his skills) in linguistics, grammar or transmitted material.[28]

Obviously, then, not everyone is qualified to comment upon the text of Scripture. The high standard of scientific competence required of a *mufassir* is the pre-eminent common denominator of the *shurūṭ al-mufassir* literature. Far from being a propaedeutic, ancillary activity, Qur'ānic commentary represents in fact the summit in the curriculum of a proficient scholar.[29] Inasmuch as the *tafsīr* is at the top of the pyramid of the scientific and literary cursus, it is an

28 'Abd al-Jabbār as quoted (*wa-qad awrada raḥimahu llāh hādhihi al-jumlata faṣlan*) by Mān(e)kdīm in his *Ta'līq sharḥ al-uṣūl al-khamsa*, ed. 'Abd al-Karīm 'Uthmān (Cairo: Maktabat Wahba, 1965), pp. 606:11–607:2. For a similar account in al-Ḥākim al-Jishumī's *Sharḥ 'uyūn al-masā'il* see Zarzūr, pp. 175f.; cf. also the introductory chapter to al-Ṭūsī's *Tibyān* ("Chapter that calls attention to general things which have to be known before starting to comment upon the Qur'ān"), esp. pp. 4:13–7:6.

29 Al-Tha'labī calls *tafsīr* "the supreme religious science" (*ra's al-'ulūm al-shar'iyya*); for al-Wāḥidī it is "the most noble of all sciences" (*ashraf al-'ulūm*). Cf. Saleh, pp. 78f.; Moutaouakil, p. 57; Heck, *Hierarchy*.

inclusive abode for all sciences and a literary form of potentially encyclopaedic annotation, whose organisational structure is partly determined by the order of the commented text.[30] The hermeneutic principles established in the discipline of *uṣūl al-fiqh* are considered useful for any *mufassir;* for a *mutakallim*, however, they are a *conditio sine qua non* of commentarial practice.

With regard to Jewish *kalām* the relationship between the two disciplines is complicated insofar as *uṣūl al-fiqh* never came to be a discipline of curricula.[31] This does not mean, however, that the Jewish *mutakallimūn* of the tenth and eleventh centuries were unfamiliar with the form and content of this young discipline. On the contrary, during the period in question the legal and exegetical compositions of both Karaite and Rabbanite *mutakallimūn* are replete with borrowings from and explicit references to *uṣūl al-fiqh* topics.[32] The Rabbanites, who had their own established tradition of legal hermeneutics, showed more reluctance to integrate new, "foreign" hermeneutic principles. The Karaites, in contrast, formed their alternative legal hermeneutics by and large on the model of Mu'tazilite *uṣūl al-fiqh*. Moreover, some Karaite writings not only integrated the relevant material but partly adapted the generic form of *uṣūl al-fiqh* as well.[33] I have not been able to find an explicit reference to *uṣūl al-fiqh* as a prerequisite for writing Jewish Bible commentaries. Implicit references and functional parallels, however, are frequent, as the two examples that follow may show.[34]

Among the thirty-seven exegetical principles in Ya'qūb al-Qirqisānī's

30 This role of scriptural commentaries is usually ignored in overviews on the development of encylopaedic texts in mediaeval Arabic and Hebrew literature; cf., for instance, *The Medieval Hebrew Encyclopedias of Science and Philosophy: Proceedings of the Bar-Ilan University Conference*, ed. S. Harvey (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2000).

31 Cf. n. 9.

32 Among the more accessible (edited) examples of explicit references see Sklare, *Samuel b. Ḥofnī*, p. 55 n. 56; idem, *Sample Catalogue*, pp. 22, 25, 33, 57, 106, 137; *Muḥtawī*, p. 756:12; *Kāfī* II.14, p. 761. For further examples see my forthcoming article (cf. above n. 9).

33 Relevant examples of the eleventh century are Yeshu'ah b. Yehudah's *Kitāb al-tawriya*, the second *maqāla* of Sahl b. al-Faḍl al-Tustarī's *Kitāb al-īmā' ilā jawāmi' al-taklīf 'ilman wa-'amalan* and — to a more limited extent — Yūsuf al-Baṣīr's *Kitāb al-shukūk, al-kalām fī al-qiyās* and the opening section of R. David b. Se'adyah ha-Ger's *al-Dīwān al-kabīr al-ḥāwī 'alā taqyīd al-ma'ānī min al-uṣūl al-fiqhiyya wa-taḥrīr mā fī al-qawānīn min al-uṣūl al-shar'iyya* (cf. Sklare, *al-Baṣīr*, pp. 259f.; idem, *al-Ḥāwī*).

34 For Se'adyah's use of *uṣūl al-fiqh* terminology in the introductions to his Biblical commentaries (*ṣudūr al-kutub*) see the references in Zucker, *Genesis*, pp. 35–69; H. Ben-Shammai, "R. Se'adyah's prologue to Isaiah — an introduction to the Books of the Prophets", in *Tarbiz* 60 (1991), pp. 379–83 [Hebrew]; Chiesa, *Filologia storica*, pp. 136–40; Steiner, pp. 216f.

introduction (*taqdima*) to the first (long) version of his *Kitāb ar-riyāḍ wa-l-ḥadā'iq* ("Book of Gardens and Parks")[35] the following are related to the linguistic section of *uṣūl al-fiqh*: (2) apparent meanings (*ẓāhir*); (4) the linguistic identity of Scripture (*khiṭāb al-kitāb*); (5) lies and untrue reports (*kadhib, akhbār bāṭila*); (13) particular and general expressions (*khuṣūṣ — 'umūm*); (16) interrogative utterances in God's speech (*istifhām*); (18) and (19) *ẓāhir* versus *fī al-ḥaqīqa*; (20) to (24) *kalām zā'id/nāqiṣ;* (27) to (29) utterance-type and utterance-meaning (*amr* versus *khabar*); (31) to (33) ambiguity and dissimulation; (35) unqualified speech (*iṭlāq*); (36) unspecific and specific speech (*'āmm — khāṣṣ*).

Closely related to the *Taqdima* is the fourth treatise of *Kitāb al-anwār wa-l-marāqib* ("Book of Lights and Watchtowers"). It treats of the methods needed to gain knowledge of the ordinances by specifying the types of text-inherent, scriptural stipulations and the categories of extratextual, inferred regulations.[36] It contains a critical assessment of the thirteen principles that served the Rabbanites to extract the epistemic content of scripture (IV 9–21) and partially dismisses them, along with the addition of an introduction to Aristotelian propositional logic and a detailed exposition of methods of meaning construction in normative discourse.[37]

David b. Abraham al-Fāsī, in the introduction to his *Kitāb jāmi' al-alfāẓ* ("The Book of the Collection of Lexical Units"), mentions a detailed list of skills imperative for the practice of exegesis (*al-funūn allatī yajibu sti'māluhā 'inda al-taqdīm 'alā waḍ' kutub al-tafsīr*). This list includes exclusively linguistic aspects of meaning-understanding: (a) morphological and syntactical patterns of utterances and the different strategies to discern their meanings, i.e. lexical and syntagmatic semantics (pp. 11:225–13:265) and (b) patterns of discourse and pragmatic semantics, stylistics and their methods of interpretation (pp. 13:266–14:291). The latter embodies important aspects of meaning construction,

35 On the *Taqdima* see the wealth of information contained in Chiesa, *Principii*; idem, *Filologia storica*, pp. 166ff.

36 For a scantily commented and often only paraphrastic French translation of a great part of the fourth treatise (= *Anwār*, pp. 343–494) see G. Vajda, "Études sur Qirqisānī, parts III–V", *Revue des Études Juives* 108 (1948), pp. 63–91 [IV. 1–8, 22–36], 120 (1961) pp. 211–57 [IV. 37–58], 122 (1963) pp. 7–74 [IV. 58–68]; cf. also Chiesa, *Filologia storica*, esp. pp. 172ff.

37 Even if the fourth treatise of *Kitāb al-anwār* is conceptionally parallel to several sections in *uṣūl al-fiqh* compositions, it does not share their generic structure and shows some important terminological differences with *uṣūl al-fiqh* of the classical period.

also discussed in treatises on *uṣūl al-fiqh*. Al-Fāsī, however, does not refer to the discipline and uses a very peculiar terminology.[38]

II. The analytical perspective

The link between *uṣūl al-fiqh* and *uṣūl al-tafsīr* in a pedagogical framework partly reflects their correlation in an analytical perspective. This correlation is best made clear if we conceive of both disciplines as attempts to tackle a set of basic noetic questions:

Does God's speech signify? If so, how does it signify? Is it omnisignificant or only partially significant? Does it have only one or several possible meanings? How can one understand its meaning(s)? How much can one understand? Are there impediments that limit the possibility of understanding it or render it more difficult? If so, what is their nature? With what degree of certainty can one understand it? Who can understand it? What are the tools and methods of its interpretation? What does it signify? Why is it necessary to understand it? What does it mean to understand God's speech?

The answers to these questions determine the semiotic structure of the divine discourse and the hermeneutic strategies of its interpretation.[39]

II.1 Does God's speech signify (*shurūṭ al-dalāla*)?

The affirmation that God's speech exists and signifies belongs to the domain of *uṣūl al-dīn*.[40] Any work on the principles of religion would by definition cover this subject (*bāb fī kawnihi ta'ālā mutakallim*^{an}).[41]

38 For the lexicographical sources of *Kitāb jāmi' al-alfāẓ* see A. Maman, *Comparative Semitic Philology in the Middle Ages: From Sa'adiah Gaon to Ibn Barūn (10th–12th C.)* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), pp. 251–75. Maman sheds no light on the possible sources of al-Fāsī's theories of meaning and interpretation.

39 For an excellent account of the relationship between semiotics and hermeneutics see O. R. Scholz, "Semiotik und Hermeneutik", in *Semiotics: A Handbook of the Sign-Theoretic Foundations of Nature and Culture*, ed. R. Posner et al., vol. 3 (Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2003), pp. 2511–61. Cf. also B. S. Jackson, "Semiotics and the problem of interpretation", in *Law, Interpretation and Reality: Essays in Epistemology, Hermeneutics and Jurisprudence*, ed. P. Nerhot (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1990), pp. 84–103.

40 While the negation of its existence, i.e. the rejection of revealed religion, is usually attributed to the unbelievers (*mulḥidūn*) and heretics (*zanādiqa*), the negation of its signification may well be an option for certain religious groups, usually those identified with the Ḥashwiyya. Cf. *Mughnī* XVI, 345:8; *'Udda* I, 43:4–44:11; *Sharḥ 'uyūn al-masā'il*, cited in Zarzūr, p. 233. The various arguments put forward in support of its existence and the extensive discussions about

For Ash'arites, speech is one of God's essential attributes.[42] The existence of His speech is a necessary implication of the affirmation of His existence, and since His existence may be affirmed on purely rational grounds, the existence of His speech, too, is known by reason.[43] As an essential attribute, God's speech is a unique entity (*ma'nan wāḥid*) that is incomposite and indivisible, i.e. devoid of syllables and sounds; it comprises an infinity of significations/entities (*muḫīṭ bi-mā lā yatanāhā min al-ma'ānī*),[44] just as His knowledge is omniscience. This infinity of significations comprises all possible modalities of speech (*awṣāf al-kalām*): God is eternally commanding, prohibiting, informing, etc., irrespective

its nature, including the debates about the origin and nature of language and the question of the Qur'ān's createdness or pre-eternity, do not concern us here. They have been thoroughly surveyed in a great number of studies, e.g. H.A. Wolfson, *The Philosophy of the Kalām* (Cambridge Mass.: Harvard U.P., 1976), pp. 235ff.; Peters, pp. 278–402; Versteegh, *Greek Elements*, pp. 149–77; Gimaret, *Doctrine*, pp. 309–22, 357–62; Ben-Shammai, *Doctrines* I, pp. 242–58; Chiesa, *Riflessioni*, pp. 334–50; idem, *Filologia storica*, pp. 187–223. Weiss, *Language*; A. Czapkiewicz, *The Views of the Medieval Arab Philologists on Language and its Origin in the Light of 'as-Suyūṭī's "'al-Muzhir"* (Kraków, 1988); A. Dotan, *The Dawn of Hebrew Linguistics: The Book of Elegance of the Language of the Hebrews by Saadia Gaon,* vol. I: *Introduction* (Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1997), pp. 96–104 [Hebrew]; M. Á. Gallego, "Orígenes y evolución del lenguaje según el gramático y exegeta caraíta Abū l-Faraj Hārūn ibn al-Faraj", *Sefarad* 63 (2003), pp. 43–67; M. Shah, "The philological endeavours of the early Arabic linguists: theological implications of the *tawqīf-iṣṭilāḥ* antithesis and the *majāz* controversy", *Journal of Qur'anic Studies* 1 (1999), pp. 27–46 and 2 (2000), pp. 43–66.

41 See among many other examples 'Abd al-Jabbār, *Mughnī* VII, pp. 3ff.; Ibn Mattawayh, *al-Majmū' fī al-muḫīṭ* I, pp. 316ff. (306ff.); al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, *Sharḥ jumal al-'ilm wa-l-'amal*, pp. 89ff.; Abū Ja'far aṭ-Ṭūsī, *Tamhīd al-uṣūl fī 'ilm al-kalām*, pp. 117ff.; *Muḫtawī*, pp. 688–93; Levi b. Yefet, *Kitāb al-ni'ma*, MS. St. Petersburg, RNL Y.-A. I 996, fol. 11v; Yeshu'ah b. Yehudah, *Tafsīr 'aśeret ha-dĕvārīm* ad Ex 20:1; *Tawriya*, fol. 165r. al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā complains about scholars who wrongly included this topic in treatises on *uṣūl al-fiqh*: "The conditions by which the speeches of God and the prophet are known to signify legal values, the distinction between those two speeches with respect to unique and shared features, and similar subjects are merely, exclusively, and genuinely discussed in *uṣūl al-dīn* and not in *uṣūl al-fiqh*". See *Dharī'a* I, p. 2:8–11 and cf. *'Udda* I, pp. 7:7–10. The importance of this distinction is repeatedly stressed by 'Abd al-Jabbār in the *Shar'iyyāt* of the *Mughnī*, which is *not* a treatise on *uṣūl al-fiqh;* cf. *Mughnī* XVII, p. 92:2–3.15–18.

42 See Gimaret, *Doctrine*, pp. 309–15.

43 See Gimaret, *Doctrine*, pp. 219ff. For an outline of the major differences in Māturīdī's approach see U. Rudolph, "Ratio und Überlieferung in der Erkenntnislehre al-Ash'arī's und al-Māturīdī's", *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 142 (1992), pp. 78–88.

44 *Mujarrad*, p. 66:8–9; Gimaret, *Doctrine*, p. 319.

of the existence of the addressees.[45] God's speech signifies even as "solipsistic speech" (*kalām li-nafsihi*), when it subsists only in the mind (*qā'im fī al-nafs*).

For our purposes, the essential implication of this doctrine is the dissociation of the purely rational affirmation *that* God's speech exists and signifies from the exclusively revelational access to the substance of *what* it signifies. For an Ash'arite, the normative practical knowledge conveyed by the divine discourse is unattainable through means other than revelation.

For Mu'tazilites, speech is an attribute of God's actions and therefore treated as part of the principle of divine equity (*'adl*). In their view, solipsistic and incomposite speech is inconceivable.[46] For speech to be significant, there has to be a language shared by both speaker and addressee(s). Only on this conventional basis (*muwāḍa'a*, *tawāḍu'*, *muwāṭa'a*, *iṣṭilāḥ*) is it possible to convey meaning.[47] Accordingly, addressed speech has a communicative value (*fā'ida*) only, if the speaker intends the meaning that his speech conventionally has. For communication to be useful, the speaker must understand what he says and say what he means. Speech "is not known to be true or false on the grounds of its mere form (*ṣīġa*). Only by knowing the state of the informant (*ḥāl al-mukhbir*) does it become possible to know that".[48] In inter-human communication, a listener may not know whether a speaker means what he says without some evidence (*dalīl*) to support this assumption.[49] With regard to God's speech, it is the task of *uṣūl al-dīn* to provide the evidence requisite to affirming its significance and communicative value. It must, in other words, give evidence for the fact that God means what He says and says what He means in the language of the addressees.[50] The Mu'tazilite view is that the nature of

45 *Mujarrad*, pp. 57:11–16 and 58:2f.; Gimaret, *Doctrine*, p. 320.

46 *Mughnī* VII, pp. 14–20.

47 For the conception of *muwāḍa'a* see e.g. *Mughnī* V, pp. 160–65; *Jawābāt*, MS. St. Petersburg, RNL Firk. Arab. 90, fols. 66v–67v; Weiss, *Language*, pp. 8–41; Peters, p. 438 (index).

48 *Mutashābih*, p. 1:13f. and cf. p. 3:6 (*al-kalām lā yadullu 'alā mā yadullu 'alayhi li-amr*^{in} *yarji'u 'ilayhi*); *Mughnī* XVI, p. 395:4–7; *'Īmā'*, MS. Moscow, RSL, Guenzburg 1040, fol. 133r (*dalālat al-khiṭāb laysat dhātiyya*).

49 In a *kalām* usage *dalīl* usually has an epistemological connotation: it is not only an indicator/sign for the signified (*al-madlūl 'alayhi*) but an indicator that constitutes certain knowledge (*'ilm*), as distinct from *amāra* which constitutes probable knowledge (*ẓann*); *dalīl* thus means "evidence"; cf. e.g. *Mughnī* XII, p. 36 and passim; *Mu'tamad*, pp. 9:26–10:7; *Taqrīb*, p. 202:4f.; *Tawriya*, fols. 101ff.; *Īmā'*, MS. St. Petersburg, RNL Y.-A. I 1711, fols. 32, 61. For the opposite view see *Sharḥ al-luma'* I, pp. 155:8–156:6. Van Ess, *Erkenntnislehre*, p. 366, gives alleged parallels in Stoic logic (cf. *infra* n. 82).

50 *Mughnī* XVI, pp. 347–55; XVII, pp. 39f.; *'Udda* I, pp. 42–48.

this evidence is exclusively rational and precedes revelation both logically and chronologically:[51]

> It is everybody's duty to follow and examine the indicators (*al-adilla*) in order to gain knowledge. [...] The first [of these indicators] is the demonstrative force of the rational faculty (*dalālat al-ʿaql*), since through it one distinguishes between good and evil, and through it one knows that the Book is a source of authority (*ḥujja*), as are the *Sunna* and consensus. Some people may be surprised by the order of this arrangement, since in their view only the Book, the *Sunna* and consensus are indicators, or [they think] that the rational faculty — if it is [considered to be] an indicator for something — is only a subsidiary indicator. This is wrong, for God speaks only to people who dispose of the rational faculty (*ahl al-ʿaql*). Through it one knows that the Book is a source of authority, as are the *Sunna* and consensus. Hence, it is the principle (*al-aṣl*) with regard to this subject.[52]

For both Ash'arites and Mu'tazilites, revelation has no value whatsoever in establishing the conditions according to which God's speech is said to signify.[53] Additional evidences, i.e. miracles and reliable channels of transmission, are required only in order to authenticate (*taṣḥīḥ/taṣdīq*) a particular speech as a specimen of divine speech.[54]

51 See Se'adyah, *Sefer Yĕṣirah*, pp. 48:17–49:4; Chiesa, *Filologia storica*, p. 143, n. 23.

52 'Abd al-Jabbār, *Faḍl al-iʿtizāl wa-ṭabaqāt al-muʿtazila wa-mubāyanatuhum li-sāʾir al-mukhālifīn*, ed. Fu'ād Sayyid, in *idem*, *Faḍl al-iʿtizāl wa-ṭabaqāt al-muʿtazila* (Tūnis: al-Dār al-Tūnisiyya li-l-Nashr, 1986), pp. 138:20f. and 139:3–8. A much more developed form of this argument is found for instance in *Mughnī* XVI, pp. 353:1–355:7 and 394:13–396:6, and in the introduction to *Mutashābih al-Qurʾān*, pp. 1:1–5:15 (*masʾala* no. 1); cf. also *Mughnī* XI, pp. 375–87; Mān(e)kdīm's *Taʿlīq ʿalā sharḥ al-uṣūl al-khamsa*, p. 607:9 for a corresponding interpretation of *Q al-Nisāʾ* (4):82.

53 Mu'tazilite argumentations are also found in the works of non-Mu'tazilī scholars like al-Māwardī (d. 450), *Adab al-qāḍī* I, pp. 274:11–275:6, 276:12–16 or Ibn 'Aqīl (d. 513/1119), but in both cases the complexity of the intellectual biographies renders a clear-cut affiliation with a specific theological school impossible; both show Mu'tazilite leanings. Cf. Makdisi, *Ibn ʿAqil: Religion and Culture in Classical Islam* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997), pp. 98f.

54 On the latter point see R. Martin, "The role of the Baṣra Mu'tazila in formulating the doctrine of the apologetic miracle", *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 39 (1980), pp. 174–89. On the development of *taṣdīq* in Ash'arite *kalām* see Griffel (*infra* n. 115), pp. 122–26.

II.2 The mode of signification (*kayfiyyat al-dalāla*)

Each set of *uṣūl al-dīn* has a direct bearing on *how* and *what* God's speech signifies — the questions that are at the heart of *uṣūl al-fiqh* and *uṣūl al-tafsīr*. The principles of religion establish the boundaries for the semiotic structure of His discourse and confine the basic hermeneutic techniques of its interpretation.[55] Accordingly, the large spectrum of possible answers to these fundamental questions tallies with the different *kalām*ic avenues to the interpretation of revelation.[56] Statements to this effect are normally included in any introduction to either genre:

> The principles of understanding the Law (*uṣūl al-fiqh*) are dependent upon all principles of religion (*jamīʿ uṣūl al-dīn*). [...] In this book, however, we consider only the principles of understanding and do not discuss the principles of the principles of understanding the Law (*uṣūl li-uṣūl al-fiqh*). In any case, only those who are proficient in and well acquainted with the principles of religion may then go beyond them in order to (study) other (principles) which are dependent upon them.[57]

In consequence, disagreements on the principles of religion necessarily yield controversies in the domains of *uṣūl al-fiqh* and *uṣūl al-tafsīr*, as ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Abū Bakr al-Samarqandī (d. 539/1144), a follower of Māturīdite *kalām*, points out in the opening section of his *Mīzān*:

> Take note that the science dealing with *uṣūl al-fiqh* and legal values is a branch of the science treating of the principles of *kalām* (*ʿilm uṣūl al-kalām*).[58] [...] A book on this subject [sc. *uṣūl al-fiqh*] must therefore of necessity be composed in agreement with the conviction (*iʿtiqād*) of the author. Most compositions in *uṣūl al-fiqh* have been written by Muʿtazilites, who disagree with us on matters of principle, or by

55 See *supra* n. 39. I disregard the position of those who affirm that God's speech has a meaning but deny the possibility of understanding it (*lahū maʿnā, lākin lā dalīla ʿalayhi*); cf. *Mughnī* XVI, pp. 345:9 and 356–58. A lucid study of the epistemological status of a particular interpretive approach to revelation — written from the stance of analytical philosophy — is J. J. E. Gracia, *How Can We Know What God Means? — The Interpretation of Revelation* (New York: Palgrave, 2001). See also N. Wolterstorff, *Divine Discourse: Philosophical Reflections on the Claim that God Speaks* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 202–22.

56 Cf. Vishanoff, pp. 75ff., 114ff., 129f.

57 *Dharīʿa*, pp. 2:14; 4:2–5; cf. *Wāḍiḥ* I, p. 8:12–18; *Burhān* I, pp. 77:12–78:5.

58 On the interchangeable use of *ʿilm* (*uṣūl*) *al-kalām* and *ʿilm uṣūl al-dīn* see Frank, *Kalām*, p. 11 n. 7 and p. 37.

> traditionists (*ahl al-ḥadīth*), who disagree with us on derivative issues. Hence, we cannot rely on their books, as this would lead to errors in matters of principle or to mistakes in derivative issues.[59]

The repeated emphasis on the need for *uṣūl al-fiqh* and *uṣūl al-tafsīr* to be consistent with the theological and epistemological principles expounded in books on *uṣūl al-dīn* is emblematic of *kalām* hermeneutics.[60] The Ibn Khaldūnian distinction between two major approaches to *uṣūl al-fiqh* — the one characteristic of the jurists (*ṭarīqat [...] al-fuqahā'*), the other of the theologians (*ṭarīqat al-mutakallimīn*)[61] — underlines this tendency. It is a distinction that definitely concurs with the evidence of tenth- and eleventh-century manuals of *uṣūl al-fiqh*.[62] For the jurists, the point of departure is the existing corpus of positive law (*al-aḥkām al-shar'iyya*). Their goal consists in formalising its relation to the authoritative sources. This formalisation would then provide the guidelines for the *mujtahid* to apply the Law to individual cases of daily life. Generally, the extra-legal, theological and epistemological implications of this formalisation were beyond their concern.[63] The *mutakallimūn*, on the other

59 Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Samarqandī, *Mīzān al-uṣūl fī natā'ij al-'uqūl (fī uṣūl al-fiqh)*, ed. 'Abd al-Malik 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sa'dī [Baghdād]: Wizārat al-Awqāf wa-l-Shu'ūn al-Dīnīya, 1987, vol. I, p. 97:6–11.

60 In the context of *kalām* one should therefore speak of Mu'tazilite *uṣūl al-fiqh* and Ash'arite *uṣūl al-fiqh*, regardless of the fact that a majority of Mu'tazilites adhered to the Ḥanafite *madhhab* and a great part of the Ash'arites to the Shāfi'ite *madhhab*. Ironically enough, the eminent figure of Mu'tazilite *uṣūl al-fiqh*, 'Abd al-Jabbār, was a Shāfi'ī, while the towering figure of Ash'arite *uṣūl al-fiqh*, al-Bāqillānī, was a Mālikī; cf. W. Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm und die Glaubenslehre der Zaiditen* (Beirut: Walter de Gruyter, 1965), pp. 15f. For an account of some significant differences between Iraqi Mu'tazilite and Central Asian Ḥanafite *uṣūl al-fiqh* see Zysow, *Mu'tazilism*, pp. 235–65; W. Madelung, "The spread of Māturīdism and the Turks", in *Actas do IV Congresso de Estudos Arabes e Islámicos* (Coimbra/Lisbon, 1968; Leiden: Brill, 1971), esp. pp. 123–42.

61 Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddima*, ed. I.M. Katramīr (Beirut: Maktabat Lubnān, 1970), III, pp. 1064–66; tr. Rosenthal III, p. 28.

62 See for example *Mujzī*, fol. 19r, 22r, 47v and passim; *Masā'il al-khilāf*, pp. 1, 3, 17 and passim; *Adab al-qāḍī* I, p. 525 and passim; Gimaret, *Doctrine*, p. 519. On account of these writings I disagree with Robert Gleave, who recently questioned the possibility of using Ibn Khaldūn's typology of *uṣūlī* writers "as an effective vehicle to explore the early development of legal theory". See Gleave, *Review* of Chaumont, *Livre des rais* in *Journal of Semitic Studies* 48 (2003), p. 215.

63 The role of *uṣūl al-fiqh* in the *adab al-qāḍī* literature is a good illustration of this fact; cf. I. Schneider, *Das Bild des Richters in der* 'adab al-qāḍī'*-Literatur* (Frankfurt a. M.: Peter Lang, 1990), pp. 166 and 202ff.

hand, conceived of *uṣūl al-fiqh* as a metalanguage. Their starting point was the question of what the semiotic structure of God's speech ought to be in order to be coherent in itself and consistent with the principles of religion.[64]

A typical example of the difference between the two approaches, albeit one that is unflattering for the jurists, is given by the Zaydī Imām al-Nāṭiq bi-l-Ḥaqq Abū Ṭālib Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn al-Buṭḥānī (d. ca. 424/1032–3) in his *Kitāb al-mujzī*:[65]

> The scholars (*ahl al-'ilm*) disagreed on whether the knowledge gained merely on the basis of concurrent reports (*al-akhbār al-mutawātira*) is irresistible and immediately evident (*ḍarūrī*) or acquired (*muktasab*).[66] A group of *kalām*-scholars — namely, our colleagues of the Baġdādī school and those who follow them — maintained that such knowledge is acquired. However, a great part of them — namely, our colleagues of the Baṣran school and those who follow them — maintained that it is immediately evident. This is also the position of our teachers Abū 'Alī, Abū Hāshim [al-Jubbā'ī] and Abū 'Abd Allāh [al-Baṣrī], may God be pleased with them. This disagreement concerns the theologians but not the jurists. The (latter) followed one of the positions advocated by the theologians. Nowadays, most of them tend to adopt the position of those theologians who maintain that it is acquired.[67]

II.2.1 The linguistic character of God's speech

Beyond the theological restraints of God's speech the quality of its signification is first and foremost marked by its linguistic structure. The language of God's

64 Cf. *'Udda*, 7:3–6.11f. Whether or not one accepts George Makdisi's view that the *mutakallimūn* entered the field of *uṣūl al-fiqh* as a reaction to a loss of their institutional power base after the *miḥna* in order to rechannel their ideas into the mainstream of Islamic thought by way of traditional disciplines, it is a fact that the discipline of *uṣūl al-fiqh* underwent a fundamental change with the first Mu'tazilite treatises on the subject.

65 The 127, usually quite extensive, *quaestiones disputatae* (*masā'il*) in *Kitāb al-mujzī* together with the 164 considerably shorter *masā'il* of *Jawāmi' al-adilla fī uṣūl al-fiqh* by the same author are of paramount importance to our knowledge of the early development of *uṣūl al-fiqh*, be it inside or outside the Mu'tazila. On Abū Ṭālib see W. Madelung, "Zu einigen Werken des Imams Abū Ṭālib al-Nāṭiq bi l-Ḥaqq", in *Der Islam* 63 (1986), pp. 5–10.

66 *Tawātur* refers to a report related through numerous chains of transmission; cf. e.g. B. Weiss, "Knowledge of the past: the theory of *tawātur* according to Ghazālī", *Studia Islamica* 61 (1985), pp. 81–105.

67 *Mujzī*, MS. Milano, fol. 90r:5–11 = MS. Tarīm, fol. 60v:6–11.

speech is basically a specimen of the language of its initial recipients, who are its native or natural speakers (*ahl al-lugha*).[68] The core of this position is shared by all *mutakallimūn*, though with important nuances.

As noted earlier, for the Mu'tazila the identity of God's speech with human speech is a necessary consequence of the inherent qualities of speech itself: to say that God's speech signifies (*yadullu*) is on a par with saying that it has an intelligible meaning (*lahū ma'nā wa-fā'ida*), and "since the way in which speech signifies does not alter",[69] its meaning must by definition correspond to the semantic conventions of human speech (*ḥukm al-muwāḍa'a*). Being conventional, the act of speaking is, through and through, normative engagement.[70] To ask "How does God's speech signify?" is thus equivalent to asking "How does (conventional) speech signify?" Even if seen as representing that language at its most eloquent, it would not break with its normal, normative usage.[71] Hence the meaning of God's speech is *by necessity* bound to the accepted standards of linguistic semantics.[72]

For al-Ash'arī, too, "the Sharī'a did not divert the language from its conventional track and did not introduce a lexicon that had not existed before.[73] It reached its recipients in the language in which they were used

68 On the term *ahl al-lugha* see e.g. *Taqrīb* I, pp. 319ff.; *Tibyān* I, 7:2; *Mughnī* V, pp. 160ff. Se'adyah, *Muqaddima* in Zucker, *Genesis*, p. 18:2; Qirqisānī, *Taqdima*, §§ 4, 6, 11; Gimaret, *Les Uṣūl* (see n. 27), p. 92; Ben-Shammai, *Tension*, p. 37 with n. 38; Chiesa, *Filologia storica*, p. 158 n. 92; Frank, *Karaite Exegetes*, p. 52 n. 79.

69 *Mughnī* XVI, p. 359:12 (*ṭarīqat dalālat al-kalām lā takhtalif*).

70 *Mughnī* V, pp. 160ff.; *Mutashābih* 83:8–84:3 (ad *Q al-Baqara* (2):31); *Jawābāt*, MS. St. Petersburg, RNL Y.-A. I 3111, fol. 2. According to *Mughnī* V, p. 165:6f., these topics were already summarised in *al-Nihāya fī uṣūl al-fiqh*, an early treatise by 'Abd al-Jabbār (cf. *Mughnī* XX_2, p. 258:13); *Sharḥ al-luma'*, p. 176:5–7.

71 The *i'jāz* doctrine does not exclude God's speech from the conventional rules of human-human communication. The contention of the Qur'ān's formal superiority serves primarily to ensure its semiotic stability. Cf. S. Vasalou, "The miraculous eloquence of the Qur'ān: general trajectories and individual approaches", *Journal of Qur'anic Studies* 4 (2002), pp. 23–53, esp. pp. 29–33.

72 *Mughnī* XVI, p. 372:8 (*al-kalām alladhī yajūzu an yatanāwala al-murāda bi-l-lugha*); *Īmā'*, MS. Moscow, RSL, Guenzburg 1040, fols. 71v, 72r.

73 On *al-asmā' al-shar'iyya*, i.e. the question whether there is a lexicon peculiar to God's speech, and *al-asmā' al-'urfiyya*, see the references in É. Chaumont, "Encore au sujet de l'Ash'arisme d'Abū Isḥāq ash-Shīrāzī", *Studia Islamica* 74 (1991), pp. 167–77; *Mughnī* V, pp. 172f.; *Sharḥ 'uyūn al-masā'il*, cited in Zarzūr, pp. 236f.; *'Udda* I, pp. 39–41; *Taqrīb* I, pp. 387–98; *Talkhīṣ* I, pp. 209ff.; *Mustaṣfā* II, pp. 13:4–18:16; *Kāfī* II.14.3, pp. 742–45; *Jawābāt*, RNL Y.-A. I 3111, fols. 3v–5v, 1v/r.

to converse".[74] For him, however, that does not imply that God's speech is identical with a specific language. Only the created expression (*ʿibāra*) of His speech through which He conveyed its meaning (*afhama*) to the respective recipients was in that language, whereby He gave them a sign (*dalāla/ʿalāma*) to confirm that it was an authentic expression of His speech.[75] This dichotomy between the speech that exists in the mind (*al-kalām al-nafsī*) and its linguistic expression (*al-kalām al-lisānī/al-lafẓī*) implies the dissociation of meanings (*maʿānī*) from linguistic forms (*ṣiyagh al-alfāẓ wa-ṣuwaruhā*), or of semantics from morphology and syntax.[76]

In either case, the basic criterion for the validity of an interpretive practice is linguistic competence with regard to the source language.[77] For both the *mufassir* and the *uṣūlī* scholar this linguistic competence rests upon the insights of lexicographers and grammarians, but, as we shall see below, it extends to other linguistic domains where the relevance of *uṣūl al-fiqh* to an understanding of *uṣūl al-tafsīr* is particularly noteworthy.[78]

To sum up, despite the linguistic identity of God's speech with human speech the former does not share all features of the latter. The constraints that principles of religion impose on its ways of signification make it both "purer" and "poorer" than human language; God's speech is human speech in the straitjacket of *uṣūl al-dīn*. Thus while human speech — intentionally or unintentionally — may well be inoperative (*muhmal*), self-contradictory (*mutanāqiḍ*), incoherent (*mutaʿāriḍ*), redundant (*ʿabath*) or incorrect, God's speech is constrained to

74 *Mujarrad*, p. 149:14f.; cf. p. 191:7f.15f.; cf. al-Bāqillānī, *Tamhīd al-awāʾil wa-talkhīṣ al-dalāʾil*, ed. ʿImād al-Dīn Aḥmad Ḥaydar (Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Kutub al-Thaqāfiyya, 1414/1993), p. 390:4f.; *Taqrīb* I, p. 431; *al-Baḥr al-muḥīṭ* I, p. 359; Chaumont, *Livre des rais*, pp. 15f., 22–24.

75 *Mujarrad*, p. 64:4–6.15–21; cf. n. 54.

76 Cf. *Mujarrad*, p. 191:14; Gimaret, *Doctrine*, p. 522; Peters, pp. 308ff.; Vishanoff, pp. 116f. In his *Dalāʾil iʿjāz al-Qurʾān* ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī objects to ʿAbd al-Jabbār's refutation of the Ashʿarite notion of meaning as a noetic entity (*maʿnā qāʾim fī al-nafs*, see *Mughnī* VII, pp. 14–20) and insists that discourse refers to a configuration of *noemata* and not to extramental reality; cf. Larkin, pp. 61–71. As we shall see below, the dichotomy between semantics and morphology is maintained by the Muʿtazila too, yet for an entirely different reason.

77 See e.g. al-Fāsī (*supra* n. 38); for Samuel b. Ḥofnī cf. Zucker, *Genesis*, pp. 448f.; al-Jishumī, *Tahdhīb* ad *Q Fuṣṣilat* (41):1–3 and *Shūrā* (42):7, cited in Zarzūr, pp. 227f.

78 Al-Zarkashī writes in *al-Baḥr al-muḥīṭ*, p. 9:18f.: "The *uṣūlī* scholars were painstaking in their analytical effort to understand aspects of the speech of the Arabs which the grammarians and the lexicographers did not (even) notice". See also Larcher, "Les relations entre la linguistique et les autres sciences dans la société arabo-islamique", in *HLS*, pp. 312–18.

be coherent, meaningful (*mufīd*), operative (*musta'mal*), relevant and correct (*ṣaḥīḥ*).[79]

For a Mu'tazilite like 'Abd al-Jabbār, the omnisignificance of God's speech by definition entails its potential omni-intelligibility,[80] either without additional evidence (*bi-mujarradihi*) — in which case the intended meaning must concur with the apparent, *prima facie* meaning(s) (*ẓāhir*)[81] — or through evidence linked to it (*qarīna taqtarinu ilayhi/dalīl*).[82] The Ash'arite position

79 *'Udda* I, 28ff.; *Taqrīb* I, 336ff.; *Sharḥ al-luma'*, pp. 167ff.; *Anwār* IV.33, pp. 402–406; *Jawābāt*, MS. St. Petersburg, RNL Y.-A. I 1137, fols. 38v, 39, 45; Peters, pp. 304f.; Chiesa, *Filologia storica*, pp. 168ff.; al-Barzanjī, pp. 41ff.

80 *Mughnī* XVI, 360:6 (*lā shay' fī al-qur'ān illā wa-lahū ma'nā wa-'alayhi dalīl*); al-Ḥākim al-Jishumī, *Sharḥ 'uyūn al-masā'il* and *Tahdhīb*, as cited in Zarzūr, pp. 234f., 243–45, 267ff.

81 Generally, *ẓāhir* is to be understood as the apparent utterance-token meaning (*mā sabaqa murāduhu ilā fahmi sāmi'ihi*), while *naṣṣ* corresponds to the meaning based on linguistic forms (*mā kāna lafẓuhu dalīlahu*), but the use of both terms is far from uniform. On different concepts of *naṣṣ* and *ẓāhir* see e.g. *al-Baḥr al-muḥīṭ* I, pp. 372–376; regarding Se'adyah see the remarks in Chiesa, *Filologia storica*, pp. 137ff.; Ben-Shammai, *Tension*, pp. 35ff.; Zucker, *Genesis*, pp. 42f. As a rule, the definition of exegetical key terms, such as *ẓāhir*, is more detailed in works of *uṣūl al-fiqh* than in scriptural commentaries.

82 Al-Ash'arī distinguishes between *mā yu'lamu (yadullu) bi-nafsihi* and *mā yu'lamu (yadullu) bi-ghayrihi*; see *Mujarrad*, pp. 23:9f. and 191:8–9. Again, the conditions and reasons that justify an unconventional and non-apparent reading of a scriptural text vary in accordance with the set of *uṣūl al-dīn*, the premises, presuppositions, or convictions to which an individual scholar adheres. Karaites and most Muslim Mu'tazilites defy the binding authority of the transmitted exegetical tradition to determine the legitimacy of a deviate interpretation. For Qirqisānī see *Taqdima*, § 2 and *Anwār* IV, 22.1 (pp. 385:16–386:7); Yefet, *Tafsīr* ad Ex. 21:34, in Ben-Shammai, *Doctrines* II, 163, no. 19; For Samuel b. Ḥofnī see the relevant references in Fenton, *Philosophie*, pp. 276–86 and Zucker, *Genesis*, pp. 448ff.; for Se'adyah see Chiesa, *Filologia storica*, pp. 155f.; Ben-Shammai, *Tension*, pp. 40–42. On the term *qarīna* and its various subcategories see W. Hallaq, "Notes on the term *Qarīna* in Islamic legal discourse", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 108 (1988), pp. 1–15, reprinted in idem, *Law and Legal Theory in Classical and Medieval Islam*, Aldershot: Variorum, 1995, text no. X; Vishanoff, p. 157, n. 38; Y. Erder, "The attitude of the Karaite Yefet Ben 'Elī to moral issues in light of his interpretation of Exodus 3:21–22", *Sefunot* 22 (1999), p. 314 with n. 5 [Hebrew]. *Qarīna* denotes any linguistic or extra-linguistic information for disambiguation or evidence that the intended meaning of an utterance is not its apparent, customary meaning. Van Ess, *Logical structure*, p. 28 with n. 34, has pointed out a presumed parallel in Stoic logic, a possibility strongly contested by D. Gutas, "Pre-Plotinian philosophy in Arabic (other than Platonism and Aristotelianism): a review of the sources", in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt, Teil II*, Vol. 36.7, ed. W. Haase & H. Temporini (Berlin/New York, 1994), pp. 4944–49, 4959–62. A comprehensive terminological-historical study to substantiate or refute the presence of Stoic theories of meaning in Christian Greek, Syriac and Arabic literature, on the one hand, and in Mu'tazilite literature, on the other, still needs to be written.

is much less straightforward. Even if omnisignificance is generally affirmed, it is occasionally said to be limited to *al-kalām al-nafsānī*, whereas *al-kalām al-lisānī* could at times well be meaningless.[83] With regard to omni-intelligibility, the heterogeneity of the Ash'arite viewpoints is well illustrated by the various interpretations of the lexical and syntactic ambiguity implied in Q *Āl 'Imrān* (3):7.[84] However, al-Ash'arī himself and the eminent Ash'arites of the tenth and eleventh centuries asserted unanimously that all of God's speech is intelligible.[85]

II.2.2 Types of signification (*anwā'/wujūh/ṭuruq al-dalāla*) and linguistic semantics[86]

In keeping with the *kalām*ic principles of understanding, at least a part of God's speech can be properly understood by any native speaker of the source language. Regarding the remainder, however, the quality of understanding depends upon the degree of linguistic and other abilities possessed by the interpreter.[87] Despite the theologically established certainty that the divine discourse consists of meaningful and understandable utterances, its language, *qua* language, includes semantic indeterminacy (*ijmāl*), such as vagueness, indefiniteness (*iṭlāq*), unspecificity (*'umūm*), ambiguity (*iḥtimāl*) and so forth,

83 Cf. *al-Baḥr al-muḥīṭ* I, p. 370:24–27. This becomes especially clear in 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī's conception of *ṣūra*: while a linguistic expression is merely the manifestation on the linguistic level of an intellectual entity (*ṣūra*) that is unique to the individual creator of discourse, the appreciation of its rhetorical and stylistic excellence reflects the quality of the denoted meaning. In "the marriage of form and content that his notion of *ṣūra* represents, al-Jurjānī found a way of elevating the meaning of the Qur'ān and venerating its objective embodiment at the same time" (Larkin, p. 131). From a Mu'tazilite stance the risk inherent in this conception of *i'jāz* is that the intelligibility of God's speech could at best be approximative.

84 Cf. *al-Baḥr al-muḥīṭ* I, pp. 363:8–369:8.

85 Cf. *Mujarrad*, pp. 190:23–191:2; Gimaret, *Doctrine*, p. 521 with n. 11; *Taqrīb* I, pp. 328–34; *Talkhīṣ*, pp. 178:5–184:6.

86 A comprehensive monography on *kalām*ic theories of meaning and signification remains a desideratum. Useful outlines include Frank, *Meanings*; Vishanoff; Versteegh, *Arabic Tradition*, pp. 279–84 with further relevant bibliography; C. Schöck, *Koranexegese, Grammatik und Logik. Zum Verhältnis von arabischer und aristotelischer Urteils-, Konsequenz- und Schlußlehre* (Leiden: Brill, 2006). Of assistance may also be a standard introduction to modern theories of meaning such as J. Lyons, *Linguistic Semantics: An Introduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); see also the relevant articles in *Semantik: Ein internationales Handbuch der zeitgenössischen Forschung*, ed. A. von Stechow & D. Wunderlich (Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1991).

87 *Mughnī* XVI, pp. 361f.; *Tibyān* I, pp. 5f.; al-Ghazālī as cited in *al-Baḥr al-muḥīṭ* I, p. 369:14–18.

and makes use of a wide range of (theologically acceptable) poetic and rhetoric expressibility.[88] The presence of semantic indeterminacy and poetic and rhetoric modes of expression in the divine discourse is significant in two regards: on the one hand, it challenges the above-stated principle of omni-intelligibility; on the other hand, it provides the basis for the interpretive flexibility needed to reconcile conflicting meanings and show that an apparently divergent and conflicting corpus of revelation does actually constitute a coherent system of law.[89]

The standard procedure for identifying and controlling the indeterminacy of meaning in general and the meaning of God's speech in particular was to systematise and classify the whole range of linguistic and epistemological difficulties that are prone to impair its understanding, and to attribute to each of these difficulties a set of interpretive rules so as to regulate the process of meaning construction and bring about clarity (*bayān*) by way of disambiguation, specification, qualification and so forth.[90] The resulting scheme of interpretive categories should not only be comprehensive enough to include a maximum of linguistic and rhetorical phenomena, but also clear enough to be applicable to the interpretive practice. Moreover, it would have to take into account the heterogeneous terminology of the exegetical tradition and non-exegetical disciplines and incorporate it into a structure of convincing coherence. Such schematic "theories of meanings", which included all of lexical, syntagmatic and pragmatic semantics, came to be an integral part of introductions to compositions on *uṣūl al-fiqh*.[91] The respective taxonomies and their peculiar terminology became the hallmark of particular schools of interpretation.[92]

88 As Se'adyah states (Zucker, *Genesis*, p. 17:24), these structural characteristics apply to any language (*kullu lughat*^{in} *'alā hādhihi al-bunya*). Indeed, it is the accessibility and exotericity that increases the polyvalence of God's speech.

89 Cf. Vishanoff, pp. 42, 44f., 103ff.; cf. also Steiner, pp. 215–30, who does not refer to the centrality of the subject in the *uṣūl al-fiqh* literature.

90 *Īmā'*, MS. RSL Guenzburg 1040, fols. 32r–33r; MS. Harkavy Ph. 3, fols. 36v–37v.

91 See *Taqrīb* I, pp. 340ff., 422ff.; *Talkhīṣ* I, pp. 180ff., 230ff.; *Qawāti'* I, pp. 46ff.; *Tawriya*, fols. 4–6, 109; Hallaq, *History*, pp. 42–58; Weiss, *Search*, pp. 130ff. The schemes developed for this purpose could include anything from two (*muḥkam-mutashābih*) to 768 categories; see Zysow, *Typology*, p. 92 with n. 15 (p. 177). Cf. also Frank, *Karaite Exegetes*, pp. 33–39, who does not refer to the heuristic role of *uṣūl al-fiqh* for Karaites and Rabbanites with regard to the question of "halakhic indeterminacy".

92 The sources for these schematic theories of signification are to be sought in *all* of the disciplines mentioned at the outset of this article; cf. e.g. Chiesa, *Filologia storica*, 143–52, who notes a great quantity of *hypothetical* source material for Se'adyah's conception of language and

Introductions to scriptural commentaries, on the other hand, usually presented similar classifications in a summary version (*jumla*^{tan}*/'alā wajh al-ikhtiṣār*), usually in connection with a reference to a more elaborate treatment of the subject in *uṣūl al-fiqh*.[93]

Typically, the basic structure of the classificatory scheme is outlined as part of three inclusive topics, the first relating to the characteristic use of classes of sentences, the second to the (speaker's) use of lexical items, and the third to (the hearer's) language interpretation.

Each sentence can be attributed to a class of sentences by virtue of its grammatical structure, and each class of sentences represents a characteristic use. The resulting typology is usually introduced under the heading *aqsām al-kalām*. The common and most basic distinction is between declarative, propositional sentences (*khabar*) and non-declarative, non-propositional

signification that may be found, for instance, in the Neoplatonic commentary tradition to Aristotle's *Peri Hermeneias*; cf. Steiner, pp. 230–35 and 254–58; H. Hugonnard-Roche, "La tradition syro-arabe du *Peri Hermeneias*", in *L'Organon d'Aristote et ses commentateurs*, ed. R. Bodéüs & L. A. Dorion (Paris: Belles-Lettres, forthcoming) and Schöck, *Koranexegese* (see n. 86).

93 See, for instance, al-Māwardī, *Nukat*, ed. Ibn 'Abd al-Maqṣūd b. 'Abd al-Raḥīm (Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Kutub al-Thaqāfiyya, 1992), pp. 36:16–40:22, with 38:13f.; al-Ṭūsī, *Tibyān*, pp. 5:8–16:5, with 13:17f. (here, however, in the context of *naskh*); al-Jishumī, *Sharḥ*, apud Zarzūr, p. 223; al-Ṭabarsī, *Majma'*, ed. Ibrāhīm Shams al-Dīn (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1418/1997), pp. 16:9–17:16, with 17:14f.; al-Qirqisānī, *Taqdima*; Yeshu'ah b. Yehudah, *al-Tafsīr al-mukhtaṣar*, MS. St. Petersburg, RNL Y.-A. I 3204, fol. 4r: 14; *Tafsīr 'aśeret ha-dĕvārīm*, RNL Y.-A. I 2130, fol. 18r = I 3218, fol. 3r and RNL Y.-A. I 1989, fol. 66v = I 2130, fol. 6r. See, moreover, the frequent references to *Tawriya* in all of Yeshu'ah's *tafāsīr*. In Zamakhsharī's *Kashshāf*, ed. Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, n.d., pp. 16:4 and 20:1, the hermeneutic principles of *uṣūl al-fiqh* have already become an integral part of *'ilm al-ma'ānī* and *'ilm al-bayān*, which he calls "the two Qur'ān-specific sciences". The gradual integration of *uṣūl al-fiqh*-specific linguistics into the linguistic sciences during the eleventh and twelfth centuries is described in Larcher, *Métalangages*, 126ff. with n. 23; idem, *Arabica*, 38 (1991), 249f. and passim; U. G. Simon, *Mittelalterliche arabische Sprachbetrachtung zwischen Grammatik und Rhetorik*: 'ilm al-ma'ānī *bei as-Sakkākī* (Heidelberg: Heidelberger Orientverlag, 1993), pp. 13–23. A relatively small number of studies analyse the introductions to non-*kalām*ic Qur'ān commentaries of the relevant period: Gilliot, *Exégèse*, pp. 73ff., is a discussion and partial translation of the introduction to Ṭabarī's *Jāmi' al-bayān*; for Ṭabarī see also J.D. McAuliffe, "Quranic hermeneutics: the views of al-Ṭabarī and Ibn Kathīr", in *Approaches to the History of the Interpretation of the Qur'ān*, ed. A. Rippin (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), pp. 46–62; for al-Māturīdī see M. Götz, "Māturīdī and his *Kitāb Ta'wīlāt al-Qur'ān*", in *The Qur'ān: Formative Interpretation*, ed. A. Rippin (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 1999), pp. 181–214; Saleh, pp. 77–99.

sentences (*amr*, *nahy*), to which varying numbers of additional sentence-types have been added.[94]

The distinction between an ordinary or original meaning (*ḥaqīqa*) and a derivative, deviative meaning (*majāz*) of lexical items and linguistic forms is corollary to the activity of naming (*tasmiya*) through which God, or a community of speakers, institutes (*wḍ'*) an arbitrary contractual relation between a signifier (*ism*) and a signified (*musammā*).[95] Broadly speaking, it denotes the semiotic relationship (*dalāla*) between the use of a linguistic sign (*dalīl*), form (*ṣīgha*) or expression (*lafẓ*) and its intended referent (*al-madlūl 'alayhi*) or meaning (*ma'nā/murād*); it thus includes a substantial part of the field of linguistic semantics.

The initial lack of specification and diffuseness of the notion *majāz* and its currency in various disciplines made it a malleable collective term for a wide range of semantic indeterminacies and modes of expression (*ḍurūb al-majāz*), but during the classical period it developed into an ever more elaborated, more specific and better defined system of language use and meaning construction.[96]

The interpretive perspective of the hearer is represented by the Qur'ānic pair of terms *muḥkam-mutashābih*. In its broadest sense *mutashābih* refers to any utterance whose meaning is either unclear for semantic reasons or unacceptable due to axiomatic and theological criteria. It applies to any speech whose *prima facie* meaning cannot be considered as univocal evidence of the speaker's intention.[97]

94 *Adab al-qāḍī* I, pp. 277:11–278:8; al-Tahānawī, *Kashshāf iṣṭilāḥāt al-funūn wa-l-'ulūm*, ed. Beirut: Librairie du Liban, 1996, vol. II, p. 1372.

95 See e.g. *Kāfī* II.14, pp. 740–761. Abū al-Faraj Hārūn explicitly states (II.14.12, p. 761) that the natural place for the discussion on the *ḥaqīqa-majāz* dichotomy is *uṣūl al-fiqh* (*wa-mawḍi'uhu al-aḥaqqu bihi uṣūl al-fiqh*). For a general background see the references given in n. 40; Weiss, *Language*, esp. pp. 42ff., and a series of Weiss's subsequent articles.

96 See the chronology of examples (Abū 'Ubayda, Se'adyah, al-Jurjānī) in J. Wansbrough, "*Majāz al-Qur'ān*: periphrastic exegesis", *BSOAS* 33 (1970), pp. 247–66; E. Almagor, "The early meaning of *Majāz* and the nature of Abū 'Ubayda's exegesis", in *Studia Orientalia Memoriae D.H. Baneth Dedicata* (Jerusalem: 1979), pp. 307–26; W. Heinrichs, "On the genesis of the *haqīqa-majāz* dichotomy", *Studia Islamica* 59 (1984), pp. 111–40; idem, "Contacts between Scriptural hermeneutics and literary theory in Islam: the case of *majāz*", *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Arabisch-Islamischen Wissenschaften* 7 (1991–92), pp. 253–84; Shah (s. above, n. 40). For the use of the term in Judaeo-Arabic exegesis see furthermore the selective material collected by Zucker, *Genesis*, pp. 42–57; Fenton, *Philosophie*, pp. 258–98; Chiesa, *Creazione*, p. 194 n. 32, and idem, *Filologia storica*, 157–62; Ben-Shammai, *Tension*, p. 40.

97 See above, n. 84; *Taqrīb* I, p. 331:2; *Tibyān* I, p. 10:5ff.; *Īmā'*, MS. St. Petersburg, RNL Y.-A. I

The summary style of introductions to scriptural commentaries is even more palpable with regard to three other points that are cardinal to the hermeneutic discussions in *uṣūl al-fiqh* treatises. First, God's speech is communicative speech (*mukhāṭaba*) that has — due to the non-immediacy and alocality of its conveyance — a limited range of pragmatic indicatability.[98] It lacks some of the important tools that in communication between humans serve to modulate and constrain the meaning of an utterance by means of contextual implications and conversational implicatures.[99] Second, God's speech is a normative discourse not only because it is subject to the conventional norms of language but, more importantly, because it conveys legal values and judgements. However, since it is not worded with the clarity and rigour required of a legal draughtsman, it is the task of the interpreter to establish its relevance to normative action.

Both the first and the second points imply that the understanding of God's speech relies on additional clarity requirements that are not *a priori* needed to understand human speech. While from a theological perspective God's speech is thus clearer than human speech, from a pragmatic and jurisdictional perspective it lacks the latter's clarity. This lack of clarity has some serious epistemological implications — a third point of importance in appraising the relevance of *uṣūl*

1096, fol. 3r; cf. RNL Y.-A. I 3021, fol. 6v. A good number of articles in European languages have surveyed the various interpretations of the Qur'ānic terms *muḥkamāt-mutashābihāt* (cf. the literature indicated in S. Wild, "The self-referentiality of the Qur'an: sura 3:7 as an exegetical challenge", in *With Reverence for the Word: Medieval Scriptural Exegesis in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*, ed J. D. McAuliffe et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 434–36; S. Syamsuddin, "*Muḥkam* and *Mutashābih*: an analytical study of al-Ṭabarī's and al-Zamakhsharī's interpretations of Q.3:7", *Journal of Qur'anic Studies* 1 (1999) pp. 63–79; Steiner, pp. 216f.; Chiesa, *Creazione*, pp. 192f. n. 30; idem, *Filologia storica*, pp. 144f. Chiesa's remark (p. 144) that "I due termini cruciali, *al-muḥkam* e *al-mutashābih*, [...] non sono altro che gli equivalenti arabi della coppia greca: συνώνυμα e ὁμώνυμα" applies only to a very specific understanding of the two terms. Unfortunately, none of these articles pays attention to the wealth of relevant material in compositions on *uṣūl al-fiqh*, which are of particular importance to the respective *kalām* positions during the tenth and eleventh centuries.

98 While the communicative nature of the divine discourse is established in compositions on *uṣūl al-dīn* (cf. *supra* n. 41), its implication for the interpretive practice is discussed in treatises on *uṣūl al-fiqh* (cf. *supra* n. 55).

99 See e.g. *Mughnī* VIb, 10; VII, 183; *Taqrīb* I, pp. 432:13–15 and 435:3; *Mustaṣfā* II, pp. 23:3f., all mention some non-verbal, prosodic features of utterances as well as paralinguistic features as sources of sensory knowledge, e.g. articulation, emphasis, gestures, indications, hints and signs (*ḍurūb al-alfāẓ, ta'kīdāt, ishārāt, rumūz, amārāt*). On "conversational implicatures" cf. Levinson, pp. 97–166, and Ali, pp. 183ff. (see references in n. 100).

al-fiqh to *uṣūl al-tafsīr* in a *kalām* context. All three points deserve a closer look.

II.2.3 Divine speech as communication (*khiṭāb/mukhāṭaba*) and pragmatics[100]

For the commentator and the *uṣūlī* scholar, the communicative nature of God's speech is the key category (*aṣl*) of the entire conceptual framework.[101] The scriptural text is an oral, auditory text. It is the repository of God's utterances to humanity, its addressees (*al-mukhāṭabūn*). In a communicative scheme the proper understanding of utterances is dependent not only upon semantics (in a narrow sense) and contextual and situational considerations, but also on the intentions of the speaker and the linguistic competence and cognitive capacity of the addressees.[102]

Thus in a communicative speech act there may be a significant gap between the surface meaning of the sentence (the locutionary act) and the speaker's

100 The inclusion of pragmatics in post-classical *uṣūl al-fiqh* has been thoroughly studied by P. Larcher, *Information et performance en science arabo-islamique* (Thèse pour le Doctorat 3ème cycle, Université de Paris III, 1980); idem, "Quand en arabe, on parlait de l'arabe ..." (I–III), *Arabica* 35 (1988) 117–42, 38 (1991) 246–73, 39 (1992) 358–84; idem, "Une pragmatique avant la pragmatique: 'médiévale', 'arabe', 'islamique'", *Histoire, Épistémologie, Langage* 20 (1998) 101–16; Moutaouakil, pp. 162–236; M. M. Y. Ali, *Medieval Islamic Pragmatics: Sunni Legal Theorists' Models of Textual Communication* (Richmond: Curzon Press, 2000). While Larcher and Moutaouakil borrow their theoretical framework from Benveniste, Barthes, Ducrot, Greimas, Kristeva, Lakoff, Jakobson, Chomsky and others, Ali works with the theoretical vocabulary of the Gricean school. For an overview of pragmatics and speech act theory see the large collection of key texts in *Pragmatics: Critical Concepts*, 6 vols., ed. A. Kasher (London: Routledge, 1998); S. C. Levinson, *Pragmatics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

101 *'Udda*, p. 7:3–6.11f.; *Taqrīb*, I, pp. 335ff.; *Luma'*, p. 47:13; cf. Peters, pp. 385–387.

102 See e.g. *Jawābāt*, MS. St. Petersburg, RNL Firk. Arab. 90, fol. 56r = London, BL Or. 2602[xi], fol. 31r/v. In this context Gleave, p. 151, referred to "utterance" as a key notion in the linguistic studies of Mikhail Bakhtin (see his "The problem of speech genres", in *Speech Genre and Other Late Essays*, ed. Caryl Emerson & Michael Holquist, tr. Vern W. McGee [Austin: University of Texas Press, 1986], 60–103). For Bakhtin, an utterance emitted by an individual must be considered part of a "dialogue". An utterance exists both as a response and as a response-prompt. "Under a Bakhtian scheme, [God's speech] would be a response to a (possibly unspoken, as yet unknown or even unauthored) question. It is the exegete's task to discover/formulate the question and then understand the answer". Indeed, the basic meaning of '*fiqh*' is *al-ma'rifa bi-qaṣd al-mutakallim* "understanding the speaker's intention"; cf. *Mu'tamad* 8:10; *Qawāti'* I, p. 9:7f.

intended effect of that meaning on the addressee (the illocutionary act).[103] An interpreter of a specific speech act may well understand its lexical, syntagmatic or propositional meaning, but he has no guarantee that this is the meaning actually intended by the speaker. This is all the more relevant with regard to divine speech acts, given their lack of some important features that in inter-human communication would make it possible to know the speaker's intention intuitively, or at least to restrict its multiple meanings and put constraints on its potential interpretations.[104]

To capture the meanings of God's speech successfully and for God's speech to be of any communicative relevance, the interpreter not only needs to know a language but also to recognise God's communicative intentions.[105] This endeavour involves a series of questions: which intentions, which illocutionary speech acts are legitimately ascribable to God? What are the underlying "maxims" of His speech?[106] Could God, for instance, be said to be lying or deceiving? Could He conceal or dissimulate His true intentions, e.g. for a hidden, superior goal? Who can know the intentions of His speech?

As far as the conception of God's will and intention is concerned, the disagreement between the Mu'tazila and the Ash'ariyya is fundamental, indeed. The Ash'ariyya maintains that God's will comprises all created things (*ta'ummu sā'ir al-muḥdathāt*). Hence, no created act is beyond his will, including those acts of men considered evil or unlawful. For the Mu'tazila, too, God is capable

103 See K. Bach, "Semantic slack: what is said and more", in *Foundations of Speech Act Theory: Philosophical and Linguistic Perspectives*, ed. S. L. Tsohatzidis (London: Routledge, 1994), pp. 267–291. The intentional aspect of meaning (*al-murād*, *al-maqṣūd*) is usually reflected in Mu'tazilite definitions of *ma'nā* or *kalām*; cf. *Tawriya*, RNL Y.-A. I 4816, fols. 87v, 164f.; the references in Versteegh, *Arabic Tradition*, pp. 228–30; and Frank, *Meanings*, pp. 262ff. The pragmatic implications of 'Abd al-Jabbār's conception of *qaṣd* have been distorted, misunderstood and mistranslated by Larkin, pp. 37f.; cf. also A. Ghersetti, "La définition du *khabar* (énoncé assertif) dans la pensée rhétorique de 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī", in *Studies in Arabic and Islam*, ed. S. Leder et al. (Leuven: Peeters, 2002), pp. 367–77, esp. 372f.

104 See above n. 99.

105 This, of course, brings us back to the domain of *uṣūl al-dīn*; cf. n. 48.

106 Cf. Paul Grice, "Logic and conversation", in *Syntax and Semantics iii: Speech Acts*, ed. P. Cole & J. L. Morgan (New York, 1975), pp. 41–58. An application of Grice's maxims to Midrash exegesis is A. Samely, "Scripture's implicature: the Midrashic assumptions of relevance and consistency", *JSS* 37 (1992), pp. 167–205; Samely speaks of conversational 'background assumptions' instead of the Gricean 'maxims' (cf. pp. 169f., 184f.). In a *kalām*ic context a considerable number of these 'assumptions' are the outspoken and reflected commitments of an individual scholar.

of doing evil (acts) (*qādir ʿalā al-qabīḥ*), but due to His absolute goodness and justice He neither performs (*lā yafʿaluhu*) nor intends it (*lā yurīduhu*).[107] Accordingly, God's speech acts cannot be linked to an evil intention on His part. Moreover, since moral values can be known on purely rational grounds, some specific communicative intentions of God's speech are known to be inadmissible by reason alone. Lying is thus inconceivable in God's speech, since, so alleges the Muʿtazila, it is intrinsically evil.[108] Likewise inconceivable are the various forms of rhetoric techniques where the ostensible meaning of the words would be different from the meaning intended by God, unless there is an indicator that gives evidence for such a use of language.[109] For the Muʿtazila, then, God's intention to communicate must concur with the intention that the recipients of His

107 Cf. *Mughnī* VIa, 3:1ff.; *Taʿlīq* 301:1ff.; *Muḥtawī*, pp. 706f. with Vajda's translation and commentary on pp. 271ff. and 322ff.

108 See S. Vasalou, "Equal before the law: the evilness of human and divine lies: ʿAbd al-Jabbār's rational ethics", *Arabic Sciences and Philosophy* 13 (2003), pp. 243–68. In this article Vasalou tries to work out the reason and role of categories of acts that are considered good or evil regardless of the consequences they bring in their wake within ʿAbd al-Jabbār's ethics, which otherwise are fundamentally teleological. She rightly rejects (pp. 259ff.) that the need for deontological moral axioms (e.g. "lying is intrinsically evil") would be the result of a *de facto* teleological argumentation — namely, that the consequences of His lying would entail that men do not trust His message, as ʿAbd al-Jabbār seems to imply when he says: "If lying could be good due to [resulting] benefit or repulsion of harm, we could not have any guarantee that God Almighty would not lie and it [i.e. the lie] would be good; that, in turn, would entail doubting His message (*akhbār*), and the message of His messengers, and would make it entirely useless as a source of knowledge [...]. Whoever deemed it possible that He may lie in any part of His message cannot trust anything He says" (*Mughnī* VIa, 66:17–67:5). The need for the unconditional axiom has its origin in an *a priori* judgement: its absence would entail a *contradictio in adjecto* — namely, that the signification of God's speech would be insignificant, i.e. imply its negation, contradict the conditions of its possibility (*shurūṭ al-dalāla*). Unfortunately, Vasalou ignores the relevant discussions in *Mughnī* XVI and XVII, which could have helped to clarify her argument; cf. also *Mujzī* II, p. 244:2–6.

109 In contrast to lying, such techniques of speech (*kitmān*, *taʿrīḍ*, *ilghāz*, *tawriya*, *taʿmiya*, *talbīs* etc.) are not unconditionally evil regardless of consequences, yet inconceivable as part of divine discourse, since it would, once again, cause it to be unintelligible; for most *mutakallimūn* the Prophet may use such techniques under well-defined conditions; cf. Qirqisānī, *Taqdima*, §§ 31–33; *Mughnī* XV, pp. 409f.; XVII, 32:5ff.; VIb, 342:9f.; *ʿUdda* I, pp. 45–48; *Taqrīb* I, 429ff.; *Talkhīṣ* I, 235ff. These topics are at the heart of Yeshūʿah b. Yehudah's *Kitāb al-tawriya*, fols. 169–82 and will be discussed in detail in my doctoral dissertation (see above n. 13). Origen's theory of 'intentional obscurity' (cf. the references in Chiesa, *Filologia storica*, p. 44 n. 6 and pp. 49–52) is inconceivable from a Muʿtazilite point of view.

speech recognize the meaning represented by His utterances. It is this stable and intelligible communicative intention that delivers the interpreter of God's speech from the potentially infinite regress of thinking about what God is thinking the interpreter will think He is thinking, and so on.

From an Ash'arite point of view the difficulties for the interpreter are more involved. Following the Ash'arite conception of God's will, the *prima facie* meaning of God's speech could be significantly different from the meaning actually intended by Him, even beyond the indeterminacy of the semantic meaning stated above. Besides, God could attribute more than one meaning to one and the same utterance, as long as those meanings are not mutually exclusive.[110] The implied consequences of the Ash'arite approach are obviously far-reaching, since revelation could indeed be one great attempt to divert and deceive, and every effort to capture the meaning of God's speech would be doomed to failure.[111] The Ash'arites propose various solutions to escape the consequences of such a conclusion, none of which seems entirely consistent with their conception of God's will. Thus, for example, truthfulness is maintained to be one of God's essential attributes, but — as the Mu'tazilites object[112] — it is unclear on what grounds an Ash'arite could substantiate such a claim.[113] Alternatively, it is maintained that God can constrain the addressee of His speech to know its meaning (*yaḍṭarruhu ilā murādihi bi-l-khiṭāb*), since it is in God's capacity to constrain people to know all *noemata*, or at least certify the veracity of His messenger with overwhelming signs (*āyāt bāhira*).[114] To this proposed solution the Mu'tazilites object that in keeping with the Ash'arite conception of God's will, God could truly authenticate an impostor with miracles so that he would lead astray and induce unbelief. Such a point of view, the Mu'tazila claim, would be tantamount to the destruction of prophecy (*hadm al-nubuwwāt*).

110 *Taqrīb* I, pp. 424:3–428:6, esp. 427:18–428:1; *Talkhīṣ* I, pp. 230:12–235:2; *Mujzī*, MS. Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Arabic E 409, fols. 52v:6–53r:26 = MS. Tarīm, Maktabat al-Aḥqāf, *Fiqh* #1019, 34v:35–35r:32.

111 *Taqdima*, § 5.

112 *Mughnī* VII, pp. 71:21–81:13; VIII, p. 204:12ff.

113 Cf. Gimaret, *Doctrine*, pp. 320f. and Zysow, *Typology*, p. 489, n. 80. A similar challenge to the Ash'arite doctrine arises from the apparent contradiction between their belief that ethical knowledge cannot be gained independent of revelation and the application of *qiyās* which embodies legal rationality, an inconsistency to which the Ash'arites of the 11th century responded with the theory of appropriateness (*munāsaba*) and the doctrine of five universal values (*kulliyyāt*); cf. Zysow, *Typology*, pp. 341–47.

114 *Taqrīb* I, pp. 429–31.

It was, indeed, this latent aporia in the Ash'arite position that pushed al-Ghazālī and later Ash'arites to concede that reason plays a fundamental role not only in verifying the authenticity of a prophetic claim, but also in ascertaining the intelligibility of the meanings conveyed by the divine discourse.[115]

II.2.4 *Uṣūl al-fiqh* as the 'semiotics of (God's) Law'[116]

God's speech is not only a specimen of human language addressed to its recipients, it is also a *legal* discourse.[117] Inasmuch as it institutes the Law, its utterances are interpreted as indicative statements of that Law.[118] Because of the intrinsic link between the linguistic identity of God's speech and its being a legal discourse, the latter is structurally identical to ordinary human language.

115 See *Mustaṣfā*, pp. 37:13–19, 74–78 and cf. F. Griffel, "Al-Ghazālī's concept of prophecy: the introduction of Avicennan psychology into Ash'arite theology", *Arabic Sciences and Philosophy* 14 (2004), p. 103. Griffel notes a substantial shift in the Ash'arite position concerning the epistemological status of prophecy and revealed knowledge following the introduction of Avicennian psychology into Ash'arite theology by al-Ghazālī. See also A. Shihadeh, *The Teleological Ethics of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), pp. 104–107.

116 A useful overview on the 'semiotics of law' is found in T. M. Seibert, "Semiotische Aspekte der Rechtswissenschaft: Rechtssemiotik", in *Semiotik: Ein Handbuch zu den zeichentheoretischen Grundlagen von Natur und Kultur*, vol. 3, ed. R. Posner et al. (Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2003), pp. 2847–904; B. Jackson, *Semiotics and Legal Theory* (London/New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1985); idem, *Making Sense in Law: Linguistic, Psychological and Semiotic Perspectives* (Liverpool: Deborah Charles Publications, 1995), pp. 140–93; W. Krawietz, "Sprachphilosophie in der Jurisprudenz", in *Sprachphilosphie: Ein internationales Handbuch zeitgenössischer Forschung*, vol. 2., ed. M. Dascal et al. (Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1996), pp. 1470–89. Many relevant articles are to be found in the *International Journal for the Semiotics of Law*.

117 For the term 'legal discourse' cf. P. Goodrich, *Legal Discourse: Studies in Linguistics, Rhetoric and Legal Analysis* (London: Macmillan, 1987), esp. pp. 63–81; S. Gu, *The Boundaries of Meaning and the Formation of Law*, Legal concepts and reasoning in the English, Arabic and Chinese traditions (Montreal: McGill — Queen's University Press, 2006), pp. 40–75, 135–157. For the theoretical background see M. Pêcheux, *Language, Semantics and Ideology: Stating the Obvious*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982, esp. pp. 69–82; P. Bourdieu, *Ce que parler veut dire: l'économie des échanges linguistiques* (Paris: A. Fayard, 1982), an expanded translation of which appeared as *Language and Symbolic Power* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991). A valuable historical case study of the legal discourse theory with telling parallels to scriptural exegesis is B. Rüthers, *Die unbegrenzte Auslegung: Zum Wandel der Privatrechtsordnung im Nationalsozialismus* (Heidelberg: CF Müller, 1997, 5th edition).

118 The actual number of legal and quasi-legal stipulations and ordinances is of no importance in this regard.

On these grounds *uṣūl al-fiqh* is systematically related to linguistics, and legal practice to conceptions of language use. The specialist of the legal discourse (*al-faqīh*) must therefore demonstrate proficiency in all the linguistic sciences, which are his most valuable heuristic tool. On these grounds Éric Chaumont has recently characterised *uṣūl al-fiqh* as 'grammaire du discours légal'.[119]

Yet, beyond this basic structural identity of language and legal discourse, their semiotic structure is distinct, just as the semiotic structure of any discourse may alter in conformity to its functions, contexts and purposes. In grammar, God's speech is regarded as an object of analytical description, while in *uṣūl al-fiqh* it is conceived of as prescriptive and norm-establishing. Whereas grammar describes the laws of language, *uṣūl al-fiqh* establishes and defines the language of Law.

For the interpreter of a legal discourse the basic assumption is that it is legally relevant. It is his task to interpret this discourse in such a way that its relevance to the law is clearly displayed.[120] *Uṣūl al-fiqh* defines the formal conditions determining the statements of the divine discourse to be legally relevant and provide the hermeneutical rules by means of which one may derive the legal value of specific actions (*aḥkām al-af'āl*). It is this regulative formalism of interpretive rules that creates the semiotics of God's Law:[121] "The subject of the

119 Cf. Chaumont, *Livre des rais*, 17.24f. On the Greimasian term 'la grammaire juridique' see the references in Jackson, *Semiotics* (n. 116), pp. 111ff. The common development and systematisation of linguistic and legal theories in Islam and later on in Judaism according to a shared philological model of normative science is crucial in this regard. Grammar and law drew from a common terminological and methodological tradition. By the 10th and 11th centuries they had evolved into two parallel scholastic disciplines, but with an ongoing "intimate contact". A good example of their affinity is provided by the fact that the origins of the schism between Baṣran and Kūfan grammar were closely related to corresponding issues in *uṣūl al-fiqh*; cf. M. G. Carter: "The struggle for authority: a re-examination of the Baṣran and Kūfan debate", in *Tradition and Innovation: Norm and Deviation in Arabic and Semitic Linguistics*, ed. Lutz Edzard & Mohammed Nekroumi (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1999), pp. 55–70; idem, *Missing link*, pp. 51–65. See also Versteegh, *Arabic Grammar*, pp. 33–36.

120 Gleave, p. 153.

121 To the best of my knowledge, Robert Brunschvig was the first to characterise *uṣūl al-fiqh* as 'the semiotics of Muslim Law'. He even goes a step further when he says: "I must hasten to say that the *uṣūl* are not too narrowly tied down to linguistics; their technical terminology (*muṣṭalaḥ*), [...] knows how to detach itself from linguistics and develop and become deeper on its own account, in such a way that it would be fitting to speak not only of the semiotics of Muslim Law, but in addition of the semiotics of its *uṣūl*"; see Brunschvig, *Logic and law*, p. 12. Similarly, Versteegh, *Arabic Tradition*, pp. 231f., writes: "The science of the

discussion on the principles of understanding the Law (*uṣūl al-fiqh*) is the mode of signification (*kayfiyyat al-dalāla*) of these principles, how they signify legal values in a general, unspecific way".[122]

The evaluation of the normativity of actions in a legal discourse supplements the theological and linguistic clarity requirements of God's speech. God's speech must not only be meaningful and intelligible to its addressees but also applicable to concrete actions, i.e. to specific individuals, at specific moments of time, at specific points in space, under specific circumstances. In the context of legal hermeneutics the problems of linguistic indeterminacy, vagueness, ambiguity, and polysemy referred to above therefore gain additional weight. A term or expression with vague (*mujmal*) or general (*ʿāmm/ʿumūm*) denotations is particularly problematic in legal discourse, since its referent includes several attributes of different genera.[123] In fact such terms and expressions prevent the utterances of God's speech from having binding legal effect, inasmuch as the legal judgements would be insufficiently clear to enable jurists to understand the exact scope and extension (*istighrāq*) of the respective ordinances. Only by bringing these utterances out of the realm of indeterminacy into that of clarity and precision by means of additional indicators (*qarāʾin/adilla*) and hermeneutic techniques of restriction, does their legal effect become a binding norm.[124]

The imperative and prohibitive forms (*ṣīghat al-amr wa-l-nahy*) represent modes of speech that pose a particular problem in any legal discourse. Does, for example, a given imperative express a command or some other meaning — such as permission or threat? If it expresses a command, does it imply an obligation or a recommendation? Does the unqualified imperative (*al-amr al-muṭlaq*), if it is a command, imply an immediate action or not? Does it require a single or a repeated action? Moreover, a command or a prohibition in the mouth of the servant does not have the same degree of binding force as has the same command

principles of law [...] was based on a semiotic analysis of speech acts [...] that would have been inconceivable in linguistics proper"; cf. ibid., pp. 266 and 272; see also above, n. 78; Weiss, *Search*, p. 130; Moutaouakil, pp. 32–34, 269–311; Jackson, *Making Sense in Law* (n. 116), p. 191.

122 *Dharīʿa* I, 7:12f.

123 Qirqisānī, *Taqdima*, §§ 12, 36; *Adab al-qāḍī* I, 283:4–297:13; *Īmāʾ*, MS. RNL Yevr.-Arab. I 1711, fols. 24r–30r; MS. Harkavy Ph. 3, fols. 33v–36v. See also T.A.O. Endicott, *Vagueness in Law* (Oxford: OUP, 2000), pp. 31–55, 159–183; V.K. Bhatia (ed.), *Vagueness in Normative Texts* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2005), pp. 9–23, 27–48.

124 Cf. *EQ* III, p. 157 (W. Hallaq); *Īmāʾ*, MS. Moscow, RSL, Guenzburg 1040, fols. 98, 29–32.

or prohibition in the mouth of the master or the ruler:[125] utterances, expressions, propositions etc. change their meaning according to the position held by those who use them as well as by those to whom they are addressed. Consequently, it must be asked whether imperative and prohibitive forms as constituents of *God's* speech necessarily indicate commands whose legal value must be a categorical obligation or interdiction, rather than a request, petition, recommendation, or even mere information. Conversely, one might ask whether commands can be indicated with other than imperative and prohibitive forms.[126]

The incapacity of available and acceptable interpretive instruments to preserve the stability and coherence of the semiotic structure of Law leads to abrogation (*naskh*), i.e. the borderline case of a material change in the existing corpus of legally relevant signs. This is the case whenever two legal rulings of identical scope prove to be incompatible or mutually exclusive.[127]

To sum up: inasmuch as *uṣūl al-fiqh* addresses difficulties that are specific to the semiotics of divine Law, it urged the *mutakallimūn* to deal with a broad variety of linguistic and hermeneutic questions that had not been tackled in the ordinary linguistic disciplines.[128] The resulting insights into the complex relationship between signs and referents, forms and meanings, in a normative discourse and their systematic exposition in treatises on the principles of understanding the Law (*uṣūl al-fiqh*) are of paramount importance to a considerable part of the subject matter encountered in the exegetical genre.

II.2.5 Presumptive meanings

The result of any interpretive practice may be evaluated in epistemological terms. The attribution of specific meanings or normative values to specific utterances of God's speech as well as the application of these utterances to answer questions of theoretical or practical intent may be assessed in terms of (un)certain or (im)probable knowledge. The evaluation of an act of understanding and interpretation in epistemological terms is significant whenever multiple and incompatible meanings may be attributed to an utterance, or when utterances of incompatible meanings are thought to be relevant to answer questions of

125 *Kāfī*, II.17.7, p. 751; *Īmā'*, MS. Moscow, RSL, Guenzburg 1040, fol. 133v; MS. Harkavy Ph. 3, fol. 27v.

126 Qirqisānī, *Taqdima*, § 27f.

127 *Īmā'*, MS. St. Petersburg, RNL Yevr.-Arab. I 1711, fols. 44–47.

128 Cf. *supra* n. 78.

theoretical or practical nature. With regard to questions that tolerate only one right answer (*mā al-ḥaqq fīhi wāḥid*, *al-ʿaqliyyāt*, *al-qaṭʿiyyāt*), the evaluation is limited to determining the only true and certain interpretation (*al-ḥaqq*). With regard to questions that allow only probable verdicts (*al-farʿiyyāt*, *al-ẓanniyyāt*) it should give preponderance (*tarjīḥ*) to the most probable interpretation (*al-ashbah*).[129]

The evidence put forward in favour of one interpretation rather than another is in many cases not based on objective, "scientific" criteria. As noted earlier, it depends to a considerable degree upon theological and methodological assumptions and various ephemeral, circumstantial considerations that are not necessarily shared by the entire interpretive community. Hence the result of an interpretation may be rather fortuitous, and its epistemological evaluation subjective.

In *uṣūl al-fiqh* compositions related issues were preferably treated under the heading of *ijtihād*.[130] In the context of jurisdiction, *ijtihād* means the hermeneutic effort by the qualified scholar (*mujtahid*) to discover the normative value of specific actions and to settle differences between conflicting interpretations in terms of probability (*ghālib al-ẓann*) rather than certain knowledge (*ʿilm*).[131] Not surprisingly, then, it is in the chapters on *ijtihād* that the "constant preoccupation with epistemology" in *kalām* hermeneutics is particularly notable.

129 Cf., for instance, *Mustaṣfā* II, pp. 399:4–400:6, for al-Ghazālī's tripartite list of questions that allow answers of absolute certainty (*naẓariyyāt qaṭʿiyya*) and give no room for disagreement and controversy. On *tarjīḥ* see above, n. 19. As to the issue of whether there exists *al-ashbah ʿinda llāh*, i.e. an inaccessible, definite divine answer to questions that — according to human standards — allow only probable answers, see *Mujzī* II, pp. 277ff.

130 An overview of various conceptions of *ijtihād* is found in A. Poya, *Anerkennung des Ijtihād — Legitimation der Toleranz: Möglichkeiten innerer und äußerer Toleranz im Islam am Beispiel der* Ijtihād-*Diskussion* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 2003), pp. 19–43. Unfortunately, this doctoral thesis ignores some important primary sources and much relevant secondary literature.

131 Cf. Zysow, *Typology*, p. 460. A typical definition of *ijtihād* is e.g. al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī, *Mabādiʾ al-wuṣūl ilā ʿilm al-uṣūl*, Tehran, 1310/1892, p. 51: *ijtihād* is the "expending of one's utmost effort in the inquiry into legal questions admitting of only probable answers (*masāʾil ẓanniyya*)", cited in *Enc. Iran.*, s.v. "Ejtehād" (A. Zysow); cf. *Lumaʿ*, p. 187:4f. In classical *kalām* there is no place for probability in theological questions belonging to the domain of *uṣūl al-dīn*, since they are thought to depend on rational criteria or unequivocal scriptural texts (*nuṣūṣ*) and are accordingly called *ʿaqliyyāt* or *qaṭʿiyyāt*: "If it were admissible to uphold the principles of religion in all their doctrinal variations, this would also apply to the non-Islamic religions, so that even the doctrines of unbelievers, the Barāhima, Jews and Christians would be true whenever a *mujtahid* would come to that conclusion" (*Mujzī*, II, pp. 246:20–247:1 = MS. Milano, fol. 252:26–30).

The *mutakallimūn* are well aware that in most cases the epistemological value of their legal interpretations does not transcend probabilism and presumptive meaning. It is this awareness that makes their interpretive practice remarkably "self-conscious".[132]

Most *kalām* scholars, both Mu'tazilites and Ash'arites, came to embrace one or another variation of the doctrine of *taṣwīb*, according to which the correctness of an interpretation in derivative legal matters cannot be identified with certainty.[133] In its radical form, represented by al-Bāqillānī, the assessment of probability depends entirely upon the individual *mujtahid*:

> What appears probable to me (*mā ghalaba fī zannī*), I act upon and treat it as a mark (*sima*) and a sign (*'alāma*). But if something else appears probable to someone else and he acts upon it, he is correct and does not err. Every qualified scholar is correct (*kullu mujtahid muṣīb*).[134]

132 Zysow, *Typology*, p. 1. On the exceptional category of *al-qaṭ'iyya min al-fiqhiyya* see *Mustaṣfā* II, p. 400:4–6. Analogous questions are relevant to any legal system; cf., for instance, the articles in *Law, Interpretation and Reality: Essays in Epistemology, Hermeneutics and Jurisprudence*, ed. P. Nerhot (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1990).

133 On *taṣwīb fī al-ijtihād* see *Mujzī*, II, pp. 235–76; *Īmā'*, MS. St. Petersburg, RNL Y.-A. I 1711, fols. 63–68; É. Chaumont, "'Tout chercheur qualifié dit-il juste?' (*hal kull mujtahid muṣīb*) — La question controversée du fondement de la légitimité de la controverse en Islam", in *La controverse religieuse et ses formes*, ed. Alain Le Boulluec (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1995), pp. 11–27; idem, "*Ijtihād* et histoire en islam sunnite classique selon quelques juristes et quelques théologiens", in *Islamic Law: Theory and Practice*, ed. R. Gleave & E. Kermeli (London: I.B. Tauris, 1997), pp. 12–15; Zysow, *Typology*, pp. 463ff.; Poya (see above, n. 130), pp. 122–44. Poya justly criticises Zysow's infelicitous rendering of *taṣwīb* with "infallibilism" and of *takhṭi'a* with "fallibilism" (pp. 124f. with n. 616). For a comprehensive form of *taṣwīb*, attributed to 'Ubayd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan al-'Anbarī (d. end of 2nd/8th cent.), according to whom *taṣwīb* applies not only to legal but also to theoretical and theological questions, see *Mujzī*, II, p. 240:6f.; *Talkhīṣ* II, pp. 342ff.; *Mustaṣfā* II, pp. 402ff.; van Ess, *TG* II, pp. 161–64 and TG V, pp. 117–19 with further references; Poya, pp. 135–39. A similar position is sometimes attributed to al-Jāḥiẓ; cf. *Mustaṣfā* II, pp. 401f. The opposite doctrine, known as *takhṭi'a*, according to which there was only one correct answer for every legal question, is generally associated with Shī'ite, Ẓāhirite and Māturīdite-Ḥanafite scholars (cf. the names mentioned in *Mustaṣfā* II, p. 405; Zysow, *Typology*, pp. 467, 475f., 479).

134 Al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, *al-Fuṣūl al-mukhtāra min al-'uyūn wa-l-maḥāsin [li-l-Shaykh al-Mufīd]*, ed. Qumm: al-Mu'tamar al-'Ālamī li-Alfiyyat al-Shaykh al-Mufīd, 1413 [1992], p. 84:12–14, cited in Zysow, *Typology*, p. 462. See also M. McDermott, "A debate between al-Mufīd and al-Bāqillānī", in *Recherches d'Islamologie. Recueil d'articles offert à Georges C. Anawati et Louis Gardet par leurs collègues et amis*, ed. R. Arnaldez & S. Van Riet (Louvain: Peters, 1977), pp. 223–35.

As al-Ghazālī clarifies:

> There exists no definite indicator (*dalīl qāṭiʿ*) and no specific judgement (*ḥukm muʿayyan*) in the domain of positive law. Probable indicators, however, have no indicative force by themselves and vary in accordance with the related object (*al-adilla al-ẓanniyya lā tadullu li-dhātihā wa-takhtalifu bi-l-iḍāfa*). The obligation to determine precisely something for which there exists no definite indicator is the obligation to do something impossible (*taklīf mā lā yuṭāq*). [...] Indeed, those who affirmed the *taṣwīb* doctrine maintained that any event (*wāqiʿa*) for which there is no explicit scriptural stipulation (*naṣṣ*) has no specific legal value that one could try to track down in probable terms; on the contrary, the legal value follows the presumption (*al-ḥukm yattabiʿu al-ẓann*). For every *mujtahid* God's value judgement corresponds to what he determines as most probable (*wa-ḥukmu llāh taʿālā ʿalā kulli mujtahid mā ghalaba ʿalā ẓannihi*); this position has to be preferred — it was the one endorsed by the Qāḍī (Abū Bakr al-Bāqillānī).[135]

According to these two eminent Ash'arite *uṣūlī*s, the legal value of an action is not discovered but created by the interpreter of God's speech. It is the result and not the starting point of interpretation. God's law is by and large an interpretive concept. The result of an interpretive act is therefore not said to be probable, because it would be beyond the reach of a *mujtahid* to discover the authorial intent or the true, precise meaning of a scriptural text; the probability of the interpretive act resides in the epistemic status of the subject matter of *ijtihād* (*al-mujtahad fīhi*) — namely, normative practical knowledge. The main part of normative practical knowledge by definition excludes certainty.[136] Hence the *mujtahid* — who puts forth his best effort and follows the basic interpretive

135 *Mustaṣfā* II, pp. 406:9–11, 409:3–5.

136 The probability of judgements in a normative legal discourse should not be confused with the omni-intelligibility of the divine discourse. The fact that certainty in the interpretation and application of the divine Law lies *by definition* beyond the reach of the interpreter does not detract from the *kalām*ic thesis that *in principle* all of God's speech can be understood. Probabilism in the realm of normative legal knowledge not only means that there exists no pre-interpretive understanding of God's speech, but also that God's speech conveys no pre-interpretive meaning that could satisfy the exigencies of jurisdictional applicability (cf. *Mughnī* XVI, p. 355).

rules — is called *muṣawwib*, because there is no further objective standard against which the result of his interpretation could be measured.[137]

Mu'tazilites, on the other hand, recognize an objective gradation of evidence, founded in the ethics of epistemology.[138] Inasmuch as God acts in humanity's best interest (*al-aṣlaḥ*), His speech has to be interpreted in keeping with this utilitarian yardstick (*al-maṣlaḥa*).[139] Whenever more than one interpretation of God's speech is thought to be in keeping with this yardstick, each one is considered equally appropriate.[140]

> In the realm of non-principal issues of the revealed Law (*fī al-furū' al-shar'iyya*) God may be served by (following) different and incongruous legal judgements (*bi-l-aḥkām al-mukhtalifa*), while each of them may be true (*ḥaqq*). This is made evident by the fact that the criterion, according to which (a legal judgment) (is said) to be an appropriate way of serving God, is the benefit it entails for the legally obliged people. Just as it is possible that the benefit of actions varies according to individuals and people, it is possible that it varies in keeping with times and periods. Thus, the benefit of Zayd may by conditioned by a specific action, whereas the benefit of 'Amr is conditioned by a different action. It is also possible

137 Al-Bāqillānī's position was dismissed not only by al-Shaykh al-Mufīd in the quoted debate (*al-Fuṣūl al-mukhtāra*, p. 84:15ff.), but partly also by such eminent Ash'arites as Abū Isḥāq al-Isfarā'inī, al-Shīrāzī, al-Juwaynī and al-Bayḍāwī (cf. *Talkhīṣ* III, pp. 340f.).

138 In keeping with the general tenor of this article I disregard here the rich variety of positions inside the Mu'tazila. On the ethics of epistemology and scriptural hermeneutics in the halakhic Midrash see the valuable study by M. Halbertal, *Interpretative Revolutions in the Making: Values as Interpretative Considerations in Midrashei Halakhah* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, ^{2}1999), esp. pp. 168ff. [Hebrew].

139 Among the more recent studies on *maṣlaḥa* see F. M. M. Opwis, *Maṣlaḥa: An Intellectual History of a Core Concept in Islamic Legal Theory* (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 2001); M. Izzi Dien, "*Maṣlaḥa* in Islamic law: a source or a concept? A framework for interpretation", in *Studies in Honour of Clifford Edmund Bosworth*, Volume I: *Hunter of the East: Arabic and Semitic Studies*, ed. I. R. Netton (Leiden: Brill, 2000), pp. 345–56; see also *EI*^{2} Suppl., pp. 569f., s.v. "Maḳāṣid al-Sharī'a" (R. Gleave). The underlying assumption of the Mu'tazilite position, i.e. that the intentions of the Lawgiver could be known, was vehemently rejected by the Ẓāhirī Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064).

140 When the evidence for two conflicting legal interpretations was thought to be of equal validity (*takāfu' al-adilla*), some scholars consented to an individual choosing whichever interpretation he preferred (*takhyīr*), while others chose to abstain — at least temporarily — from both (*tawaqquf*).

> that the benefit of Zayd depends upon an action at a specific time, while at another time it depends on a different action.[141]

With regard to normative practical knowledge, the act of interpreting the divine discourse is not judged to be successful and right insofar as it would be an accurate expression of a specific, pre-interpretive communicative intention on the part of God. Its adequacy is determined by the presumptive beneficial effect of a legal judgement on the people who are bound by it. The communicative intention of God's speech is conditioned by this effect. While the normative force of a legal judgement is bound to its being a result of *scriptural* interpretation, the fundamental teleological perspective is both text- and revelation-independent.

Both the Mu'tazilite and the Ash'arite versions of *taṣwīb* imply a positive account of scriptural polyvalence in the domain of normative practical knowledge. The epistemological limitations of practical reason and the relativity of teleological ethical judgements imply that polyvalence is not only a possibility but a conceptual necessity.

Summary and Conclusion

It was my intention in this article to draw the attention of historians of scriptural exegesis to the relevance of *uṣūl al-fiqh* — both as a literary genre and as a discipline of the religious sciences — to an understanding of the semiotic foundations and the hermeneutic discourse of scriptural commentaries (*uṣūl al-tafsīr*) in mediaeval Judaism and Islam. What are the means through which meaning is produced, what are the conditions to be met for the possibility of their understanding? We find the most systematic and exhaustive discussions on these and related questions not in the commentaries themselves but in compositions on *uṣūl al-fiqh*.

This basic observation led, as a first step, to consideration of the role of *uṣūl al-fiqh* in the *shurūṭ al-mufassir* literature, which specifies the knowledge required for a commentator. In this context, evidence for the presence of *uṣūl al-fiqh* in Judaism was presented.

Second, it was pointed out that Jewish and Muslim *mutakallimūn* perceived their hermeneutics as determined by the principles underlying their respective religion (*uṣūl al-dīn*) and by theological premises. For *kalām* scholars the

141 *Mujzī*, II, pp. 241:11–242:2 = MS. Milano, fol. 251:4–10; cf. *Mustaṣfā* IV, p. 60.

ways through which God's speech may transfer meanings and the range of its legitimate interpretations were intimately bound to these principles.

Third, the thus defined nature of the revealed divine discourse in its relationship to human language was analysed. The postulated linguistic identity of God's speech with human utterances compelled the *mutakallimūn* to enquire into the problem of the indeterminacy of linguistic reference, on the level of both semantics and pragmatics. An important part of the solution to this problem was to associate meaning not with linguistic forms but with the speaker's communicative intent.

The communicative intent of God's speech is the Law. In this respect, the divine discourse is entirely a legal discourse and scriptural exegesis is always "halakhic exegesis". In this vein it was suggested that *uṣūl al-fiqh* — i.e. the formal framework by means of which Jewish and Muslim *mutakallimūn* claimed God's speech to be a clear, comprehensive and consistent statement of an applicable law — is best characterised as 'the semiotics of God's Law'.

The analysis of linguistic indeterminacy and vagueness in God's law caused the *mutakallimūn* to conclude that the legal judgments of most actions cannot be known with certainty. The absence of certainty inevitably triggered questions regarding the legitimacy and validity of each particular interpretation. This, as was argued in a last point, explains why we encounter in scriptural commentaries and legal treatises by Jews and Muslims of a *kalām*ic bent a constant concern with epistemology and polyvalence.

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'Uṣūl al-fiqh im jüdischen *kalām* des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts: Ein Überblick

Gregor Schwarb

I. Einleitung

Sowohl IslamwissenschaftlerInnen als auch muslimische Theologen haben der Disziplin der *'uṣūl al-fiqh* (‚Rechtshermeneutik')[1] in jüngerer Zeit wieder vermehrt Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt. Muslimische Reformdenker haben die *'uṣūl al-fiqh* als umfassendes und zugleich flexibles hermeneutisches System wiederentdeckt, mit Hilfe dessen sie die Texte von Qur'ān und Sunna aus der Zwangsjacke festgefahrener Interpretationsmuster zu befreien versuchen. Dank des in den *'uṣūl al-fiqh* latenten Potentials interpretativer Offenheit erhoffen sich diese Gelehrten, eine hier und heute relevante Auslegung der Offenbarungstexte zu erreichen.[2] Die zahlreichen

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1 Wörtlich meint *'uṣūl al-fiqh* „die Wurzeln des Verstehens". Als Fachbegriff bezeichnet die Wortverbindung sowohl die akademische Disziplin als auch das literarische Genre, deren Gegenstand „die Grundlagen des positiven Rechts" sind, d.h. die Quellen und Methoden, die der Rechtsproduktion zugrunde liegen. Ich bevorzuge im folgenden die Verdeutschung ‚Rechtshermeneutik' bzw. ‚Rechtssemiotik'. Diese Übersetzungen berücksichtigen sowohl die Wort- als auch die Fachbedeutung des Begriffs und werden meines Erachtens den Aufgaben und Funktionen der Disziplin besser gerecht als die besonders im Englischen gebräuchliche, letztlich aber unangemessene Bezeichnung ‚Rechtstheorie' (‚legal theory'). Vgl. HANS-THOMAS TILLSCHNEIDER, Die Entstehung der juristischen Hermeneutik (*uṣūl al-fiqh*) im frühen Islam, Würzburg 2006, S. 1f. Einführende Übersichten zu den *'uṣūl al-fiqh* bieten etwa NORMAN CALDER, uṣūl al-Fiḳh, in: EI² (englische Ausgabe), Bd. X (2000), S. 931–934. WAEL B. HALLAQ, A History of Islamic Legal Theories. An Introduction to Sunnī *uṣūl al-fiqh*, Cambridge 1997. ARON ZYSOW, The Economy of Certainty. An Introduction to the Typology of Islamic Legal Theory, Ph.D. Thesis, Harvard University 1984. KEVIN REINHART; ARON ZYSOW, Islamic Jurisprudence, Edinburgh (in Vorbereitung). Siehe auch die in den folgenden Fussnoten erwähnte Literatur.

2 Siehe zum Thema FARHAT J. ZIADEH, uṣūl al-fiqh, in: The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World, Bd. IV (1995), S. 298–300. DAVID JOHNSTON, A Turn in the Epistemology and Hermeneutics of Twentieth Century *uṣūl al-fiqh*, in: Islamic Law and Society 11 (2004), S. 233–282. DAVID VISHANOFF, Early Islamic Hermeneutics. Language, Speech, and Meaning in Preclassical Legal Theory. Ph.D. thesis, Emory University 2004, S. 6–10 und 152–155. Beispiele jüngerer Versuche, die *'uṣūl al-fiqh* zu erneuern, sind ŠUKRIJA HUSEJN RAMIĆ, Language and the Interpretation of Islamic Law. Cambridge 2003, 'ABŪ L-FAḌL ʿABD AS-SALĀM B. MUḤAMMAD B. ʿABD AL-KARĪM, *at-Taǧdīd wa-l-muǧaddidūn fī 'uṣūl al-fiqh. Dirāsa muwassaʿa li-ǧuhūd al-muǧaddidīn min ʿulamā' al-'uṣūl tantahī 'ilā istiḫlāṣ manhaǧ 'iṣlāḥī sadīd lil-kitāba al-'uṣūlīya*, Cairo 2003. Die beiden letztgenannten Beiträge zeichnen sich durch einen selektiven und ahistorischen Zugang zu den heterogenen Traditionen islamischer Rechtshermeneutik aus.

in jüngerer Zeit publizierten Editionen klassischer und post-klassischer *'uṣūl al-fiqh* Texte sind Voraussetzung und Bestandteil solcher Ambitionen.

Parallel zu diesen innerislamischen Reformbemühungen haben an westlichen Universitäten lehrende IslamwissenschaftlerInnen versucht, die historische Entwicklung der islamischen Rechtshermeneutik neu zu schreiben und ihre epistemologischen, semiotischen und linguistischen Grundlagen systematisch aufzuarbeiten. Auch in der Islamwissenschaft hat man inzwischen erkannt, dass die *'uṣūl al-fiqh* weit mehr sind als eine blosse Hilfsdisziplin des positiven Rechts (*fiqh*). Als Rechtshermeneutik befasst sich die Disziplin weniger mit dem Recht an sich als mit theologischen und erkenntnistheoretischen Fragen, die durch die Rolle der Offenbarungstexte als Quelle menschlichen Wissens aufgeworfen werden.[3]

Ungeachtet geblieben ist sowohl bei muslimischen Reformdenkern als auch bei IslamwissenschaftlerInnen der wichtige Umstand, dass die *'uṣūl al-fiqh* auch in der arabischsprachigen Literatur der Juden rezipiert und auf die spezifischen Anliegen des Judentums und seiner Offenbarungstexte hin transformiert wurden.[4] Der Goldziher-Schüler Martin Schreiner (1863–1926) hatte bereits Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts darauf hingewiesen, dass „der Zusammenhang zwischen den Prinzipien der karäischen Gesetzeskunde und der Wissenschaft von den uṣûl al-fiqh so gross [ist], wie derjenige zwischen dem karäischen und islamischen kalām"[5]. Diese Einsicht wurde jedoch in der Folge kaum weiterverfolgt, unter anderem auch deshalb, weil interessierten Forscherinnen und Forschern aus dem Westen der Zugang zu den relevanten Handschriftensammlungen jenseits des ‚Eisernen Vorhangs' über Jahrzehnte verwehrt blieb. Die Beseitigung dieser Hindernisse erlaubt es uns heute, auf die Frage nach der Rolle der *'uṣūl al-fiqh* im arabischsprachigen Judentum zurückzukommen.

Die jüdische Rezeption der islamischen Rechtshermeneutik ab dem 10. Jahrhundert ist nicht etwa nur für die Judaistik von Belang, wo sie zur Klärung zentraler Entwicklungen des jüdischen Rechtsverständnisses in gaonäischer Zeit beiträgt, sondern auch für die Islamwissenschaft, u.a. deshalb, weil im jüdischen *kalām* teils

3 Zum Verhältnis zwischen *fiqh* und *'uṣūl al-fiqh* in einigen Werken der *taḥriǧ al-furūʿ ʿala l-'uṣūl*-Literatur siehe AHMAD ATIF AHMAD, Structural Interrelations of Theory and Practice in Islamic Law. A Study of Six Works of Medieval Islamic Jurisprudence, Leiden 2006.

4 In MORITZ STEINSCHNEIDER's Die arabische Literatur der Juden. Ein Beitrag zur Literaturgeschichte der Araber, Frankfurt a.M. 1902, dessen Überarbeitung ein dringendes Desideratum der Judaistik sein müsste, sucht man vergeblich nach Querverweisen auf die *'uṣūl al-fiqh* Literatur. — Auch in der arabischen Literatur christlicher Autoren finden sich Spuren einer Rezeption der islamischen Rechtshermeneutik. Sie sind jedoch deutlich diskreter als in der arabischen Literatur der Juden. Ich beabsichtige, dieses Thema in einem separaten Artikel zu behandeln.

5 MARTIN SCHREINER, Jeschu'a ben Jehuda, in: 18. Bericht über die Lehranstalt für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums, Berlin 1900, S. 69 [Neudruck in: IDEM, Gesammelte Schriften. Islamische und jüdisch-islamische Studien. Hrsg. von Moshe Perlmann, Hildesheim u.a. 19[illegible] S. 569].

mit islamischen Textvorlagen gearbeitet wurde, von denen uns bis heute keine Handschriften bekannt sind.

In diesem Artikel sollen einige ausgewählte Aspekte der Präsenz der *'uṣūl al-fiqh* im jüdischen *kalām* während seiner Blütezeit im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert überblicksartig dargestellt und auf die wichtigsten Quellentexte hingewiesen werden.[6]

II. Die Formation der islamischen Rechtshermeneutik als Wissenschaft im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert

Die *'uṣūl al-fiqh* sind im zehnten und elften Jahrhundert noch immer eine junge Disziplin, die sich durch das gleichzeitige Vorhandensein divergierender und rivalisierender Ansätze auszeichnet.[7] Die grossen Synthesen, die den Status von scholastischen Standardwerken erreichen werden, sind erst später, zwischen dem 13. und 15. Jahrhundert entstanden.[8] Die Formation der *'uṣūl al-fiqh* als einer organisch strukturierten und selbständigen Wissenschaft mit ihrem eigenen literarischen Genre fällt in das späte neunte und frühe zehnte Jahrhundert.[9] Zwar wissen wir um zahl-

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6 Wichtige Erkenntnisse zur Rezeption der *'uṣūl al-fiqh* im jüdischen *kalām* finden sich in DAVID E. SKLARE, Samuel b. Ḥofnī Gaon and His Cultural World. Texts and Studies, Leiden u.a. 1996, S. 55–56 und 158–165 und in weiteren Beiträgen Sklare's, die in diesem Artikel genannt werden.

7 Besonders deutlich kommt die Vielfalt dieser Ansätze in einigen *ḫilāfāt* Werken des 11. Jahrhunderts zum Ausdruck, etwa bei 'Abū Ṭālib Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn al-Buṭḥānī (gest. 424/1032-3), *K. al-Muǧzī fī 'uṣūl al-fiqh*, Ms. Tarīm, Maktabat al-'Aḥqāf, *Fiqh* Nr. 1019; Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Arabic E 409; Vatican, BAV, Arabic 1100, fälschlicherweise herausgegeben von ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. ʿAlī 'Abū Zunayd als 'Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's *Šarḥ al-ʿUmad*. 2 Bände. al-Madīna 1410 [1989–90]. IDEM, *Kitāb Ǧawāmiʿ al-'adilla fī 'uṣūl al-fiqh*, Mss. Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Glaser 205; Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Arabic B 49. 'Abū 'Isḥāq 'Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlī aš-Šīrāzī (gest. 476/1083), *K. at-Tabṣira (fī l-ḫilāf) fī 'uṣūl al-fiqh*. Hrsg. von Muḥammad Ḥasan Haytū, Damaskus 1980; 'Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī aṣ-Ṣaymarī (gest. 436/1045), *K. Masā'il al-ḫilāf fī 'uṣūl al-fiqh*. Hrsg. von Abdelouahad Jahdani. Thèse de doctorat. Université de Provence, Aix-Marseille I 1991.

8 Unvollständige Listen von *'uṣūl al-fiqh* Texten finden sich in ÉRIC CHAUMONT, Al-Šayḫ Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm al-Šīrāzī. *Kitāb al-Lumaʿ fī uṣūl al-fiqh* – Le Livre des Rais illuminant les fondements de la compréhension de la Loi: Traité de théorie légale musulmane, Berkeley 1999, S. 375–381. DEVIN J. STEWART, Islamic Legal Orthodoxy. Twelve Shiite Responses to the Sunni Legal System, Salt Lake City 1998, S. 33–36. WAEL B. HALLAQ, History, S. 268–272. Siehe auch al-Maǧmaʿ al-Malakī li-Buḥūṯ al-Ḥaḍāra al-'Islāmīya / Mu'assasat Āl al-Bayt, *al-Fihris aš-šāmil lit-turāṯ al-ʿarabī al-'islāmī al-maḫṭūṭ: al-fiqh wa-'uṣūluh*. 13 Bde, ʿAmmān 1999-2002.

9 Zu den diversen Bedeutungen von *'uṣūl* und *'uṣūl al-fiqh* in frühislamischen Texten siehe M.G. CARTER, Uṣūl, in: EI², Bd. X (2000), S. 928-930. W.P. HEINRICHS, Ḳawāʿid fiḳhiyya, in: EI², Supplementband, Fasc. 7–8 (2003), S. 517f. WAEL B. HALLAQ, Was al-Shafiʿi the Master Architect of Islamic Jurisprudence?, in: International Journal of Middle East Studies 25 (1993), bes. S. 588-591 (Neudruck mit Addenda in: DERS., Law and Legal Theory in Classical and Medieval Islam. Aldershot 1995, Text VII). ÉRIC CHAUMONT, Livre des rais, S. 3, Anm. 1. — DEVIN STEWART, Muḥammad b. Da'ūd al-Ẓāhirī's Manual of Jurisprudence, *al-Wuṣūl ilā maʿrifat al-uṣūl*, in: Studies in Islamic Legal Theory. Hrsg. von Bernard G. Weiss, Leiden 2002, S. 99–158 (Neudruck in: The Formation of Islamic Law. Hrsg. von Wael B. Hallaq,

reiche Traktate und Debatten aus dem zweiten und dritten Jahrhundert der Hijra, die einen Topos oder mehrere Topoi der künftigen Disziplin behandeln, jedoch repräsentieren diese noch keine selbständige Wissenschaft mit ihrem eigenen Genre.[10] Dies gilt insbesondere auch für aš-Šāfiʿī's *Risāla*, die zwar die meisten Topoi späterer *'uṣūl al-fiqh* Werke behandelt, aber weder die systematische Form noch die theologische Sensibilität der klassischen Rechtshermeneutik aufweist.[11]

Die formativen Werke der Disziplin wurden insbesondere unter dem Einfluss des *kalām*, häufig sogar von den herausragenden Vertretern der Muʿtazila, 'Aš'arīya und Māturīdīya selbst verfasst.[12] Innerhalb des *kalām* unterscheiden sich die diversen Ansätze der Rechtshermeneutik, von denen zuvor die Rede war, weniger aufgrund der Zugehörigkeit des jeweiligen Autors zu dieser oder jener Rechtsschule als vielmehr in Abhängigkeit von seinen theoretischen und theologischen Grundannahmen. In bezug auf die Rechtshermeneutik der *Mutakallimūn* ist es, mit anderen Worten,

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Aldershot 2004, S. 277–315), und DERS., Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī's *al-Bayān ʿan uṣūl al-aḥkām* and the genre of *uṣūl al-fiqh* in Ninth Century Baghdād, in: ʿAbbassid Studies: Occassional papers of the School of ʿAbbasid Studies. Hrsg. von James E. Montgomery, Leuven 2004, S. 321-349, hat versucht, die Präsenz des *'uṣūl al-fiqh* Genres für die erste Hälfte des neunten Jahrhunderts nachzuweisen. Seine Argumentation stützt sich vor allem auf Annahmen *ex silencio* und ist in wesentlichen Punkten nicht stichhaltig.

10 Vgl. hierzu etwa die Indices in JOSEF VAN ESS, Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra. Eine Geschichte des religiösen Denkens im frühen Islam. Band IV, Berlin u.a. 1997, S. 982–1018 bzw. 1021–1107 unter '-m-r *('amr)*, b-y-n *(bayān)*, ğ-m-ʿ *('iğmāʿ)*, ğ-h-d *(iğtihād)*, ḫ-b-r *(ḫabar)*, ḫ-ṣ-ṣ *(ḫāṣṣ/taḫṣīṣ)*, ḫ-ṭ-b *(ḫiṭāb)*, ʿ-m-m *(ʿāmm/ʿumūm)*, q-y-s *(qiyās)*, n-s-ḫ *(nasḫ)*, *'uṣūl al-fiqh*, usf.

11 Die Struktur und Funktion von aš-Šāfiʿī's *Risāla* und die Bedeutung des Werkes für die Entwicklung der *'uṣūl al-fiqh* sind in jüngerer Zeit unterschiedlich bewertet worden. Siehe WAEL B. HALLAQ, Master Architect. JOSEPH LOWRY, The Legal-Theoretical Content of the *Risāla* of Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-Shāfiʿī. Ph.D. Thesis. University of Pennsylvania 1999. DERS., The Legal Hermeneutics of al-Shāfiʿī and Ibn Qutayba. A Reconsideration, in: Islamic Law and Society 11 (2004), S. 1–41. VISHANOFF, Early Islamic Hermeneutics, S. 31–48, 136–149, 176–187, 259–262. HANS-THOMAS TILLSCHNEIDER, "Allgemeiner Wortlaut und eingeschränkter Sinn. Die Fundierung der juristischen Hermeneutik (*'uṣūl al-fiqh*) in der *Risāla* des Šāfiʿī", in: Asiatische Studien 59 (2005), S. 907–924. DERS., Entstehung, S. 31–69.

12 Siehe GEORGE MAKDISI, The Juridical Theology of Shāfiʿī. Origins and Significance of *'uṣūl al-fiqh*, in: Studia Islamica 59 (1984), S. 14–17. Eine Schlüsselrolle kommt u.a. folgenden Werken zu: Muʿtazila: 'Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAbd al-Ğabbār b. 'Aḥmad al-Hamaḏānī (gest. 415/1024-25), *K. al-ʿUmad*. 'Abū 'l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. aṭ-Ṭayyib al-Baṣrī (gest. 436/1044), *K. al-Muʿtamad fī 'uṣūl al-fiqh*. Hrsg. von Muḥammad Ḥamīdullāh u.a. Damascus 1964-65. 'Aš'arīya: 'Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. aṭ-Ṭayyib al-Bāqillānī (gest. 403/1013), *K. at-Taqrīb wa-l-'iršād (,aṣ-ṣaġīr')*. Hrsg. von ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. ʿAlī 'Abū Zunayd. Beirut 1413/1993–1418/1998. 'Imām al-Ḥaramayn ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ğuwaynī (gest. 478/1085), *K. al-Burhān fī 'uṣūl al-fiqh*. Hrsg. von ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm Maḥmūd ad-Dīb. al-Manṣūra 1997. 'Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ġazālī (gest. 505/1111), *K. al-Mustaṣfā min ʿilm al-'uṣūl*. Hrsg. von Muḥammad Sulaymān al-'Ašqar. Beirut 1417/1997. Māturīdīya: 'Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. 'Aḥmad as-Samarqandī (gest. 539/1144), *K. Mīzān al-'uṣūl fī natā'iğ al-ʿuqūl*. Hrsg. von ʿAbd al-Malik ʿAbd al-Raḥmān as-Saʿdī. Baghdād 1407/1987.

angemessener, von ‚mu'tazilitischen' bzw. ‚'aš'aritischen' als etwa von ‚ḥanafitischen' oder ‚šāfi'itischen' *'uṣūl al-fiqh* zu sprechen.[13]

III. *'uṣūl al-fiqh* im jüdischen *kalām* des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts

Jüdische Autoren rezipierten vorab Versionen des mu'tazilitischen *kalām*, einschliesslich dessen Rechtshermeneutik.[14] Die theologischen Grundannahmen *('uṣūl ad-dīn)* und Kategorien der Mu'tazila wurden, mit Ausnahme der Prophetologie, vom jüdischen *kalām* weitgehend geteilt.[15] Insbesondere karäische Autoren fanden in der diskursiven und traditionskritischen Hermeneutik der Mu'tazila eine systematisch durchdachte und theologisch kohärente Interpretationsgrundlage, mit Hilfe derer sie sich imstande sahen, nicht nur die Autorität, sondern auch die Legitimität des rabbinischen Judentums und seiner etablierten Rechts- und Auslegungstradition zu untergraben. Dies kann mitunter erklären, weshalb die Aneignung mu'tazilitischer Theologoumena im heterodoxen Judentum weit schneller vollzogen wurde als in den konservativen Zentren rabbinischer Gelehrsamkeit.[16]

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13 Vgl. dazu ausführlich GREGOR SCHWARB, Capturing the Meanings of God's Speech. The Relevance of *'uṣūl al-fiqh* to an Understanding of *'uṣūl at-tafsīr* in Jewish and Muslim *kalām*, in: A Word Fitly Spoken. Studies in Mediaeval Exegesis of the Hebrew Bible and the Qur'ān presented to Haggai Ben-Shammai. Hrsg. von Meir M. Bar-Asher et al., Jerusalem 2007, S. 111*–156*.

14 ‚Mu'tazila' bzw. ‚mu'tazilitisch' bezeichnet hier und im folgenden ausschliesslich die von 'Abū Hāšim al-Ǧubbā'ī (gest. 321/933) begründete Schule der ‚Bahšamīya' (< ‚Bā Hāšim(īy)a') innerhalb der baṣrischen Mu'tazila. Siehe DANIEL GIMARET, Mu'tazila, in: EI² Bd. VII, S. 785. SABINE SCHMIDTKE, Neuere Forschungen zur *Mu'tazila* unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der späteren *Mu'tazila* ab dem 4./10. Jahrhundert, in: Arabica 45 (1998), S. 381. Die Differenzen rechtshermeneutischer Auffassungen innerhalb der Mu'tazila werden von mir in einer separaten Studie detailliert dargestellt werden. — Die bisweilen geäusserte Meinung, dass die frühe Ẓāhirīya die karäische Rechtshermeneutik in spezifischen Punkten mitbeeinflusste (z.B. in der kategorischen Zurückweisung des *ta'ẖīr al-bayān*), kann meines Erachtens nicht ausgeschlossen werden. Bereits IGNAZ GOLDZIHER, Caraites et Zahirites. Mélanges judéo-arabes IV, in: Revue des Études Juives 43 (1901), S. 268–9 hatte jedoch darauf aufmerksam gemacht, dass die ẓāhiritische Ablehnung von *qiyās* und *iǧtihād* sehr weit von der karäischen Position entfernt ist. Siehe ferner ZYSOW, The Economy of Certainty, S. 152–157. — Während die *'uṣūl al-fiqh* des jüdischen *kalām* als ‚mu'tazilitisch' bezeichnet werden können, sind die zahlreichen Berührungspunkte zwischen dem positiven Recht des Judentums und des Islam nicht auf eine spezifische Rechtsschule *(maḏhab)* beschränkt, häufig jedoch durch die regional dominante Rechtsschule bestimmt. Siehe dazu GIDEON LIBSON, Jewish and Islamic Law. A Comparative Study of Custom During the Geonic Period, Cambridge Mass. 2003, S. 155.

15 Einführende Übersichten zum jüdischen *kalām*, insbesondere auch zur Frage, weshalb vornehmlich der mu'tazilitische *kalām* rezipiert wurde, finden sich, zusammen mit weiterführenden Literaturangaben, in HAGGAI BEN-SHAMMAI, *Kalām* in Medieval Jewish Philosophy, in: History of Jewish Philosophy. Hrsg. von D.H. Frank und O. Leaman, London u.a. 1997, S. 115-148. SARAH STROUMSA, Saadya and Jewish *kalām*, in: The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Jewish Philosophy. Hrsg. von D.H. Frank and O. Leaman, Cambridge 2003, S. 71-90.

16 Die der islamischen Rechtshermeneutik entlehnten Kategorien spielen in der polemischen Literatur im allgemeinen und in der Polemik zwischen rabbinischen und karäischen Juden im

Die erkenntnistheoretische Ausrichtung der mu'tazilitischen Rechtshermeneutik und die durch sie beeinflusste karäische Kritik einer an Institutionen gebundenen Autorität und Legitimität rabbinischer Legislation führte im zehnten Jahrhundert auch im rabbinischen Judentum zu einer Neukonzeption des Autoritäts- und Traditionsverständnisses. So wurde einerseits die etablierte Unterscheidung zwischen *(mi)de'orayta* und *(mi)derabbanan*, thoraitischer und rabbanitischer Legislation, stark relativiert, während andererseits die talmudischen Rabbis bloss noch als verlässliche Überlieferer einer ursprünglichen, mosaischen Legislation dargestellt wurden.[17]

Die Rezeption der *'uṣūl al-fiqh* im jüdischen *kalām* ist im übrigen Bestandteil einer radikalen Umgestaltung des literarischen Systems des Judentums angesichts der Herausforderung einer massiven und innovativen literarischen Produktion im frühen Islam.[18] Auch hier gilt, dass die Integration neuer literarischer Genres, ‚fremder' Disziplinen und neuartiger Fachterminologie im heterodoxen Judentum schneller vollzogen wurde als im rabbinischen Judentum. Selbst die Geonim der beiden Baghdader Yeshivot konnten sich jedoch dieser Entwicklung letztlich nicht entziehen. Die Werklisten von Se'adya b. Yosef (gest. 942), Sherira b. Ḥanina (gest. 1006), Samuel b. Ḥofnī (gest. 1013) und Hayya b. Sherira Gaon (gest. 1038) sind eindrückliche Belege einer grundlegenden Umgestaltung der in den Akademien von Sura und Pumbedita produzierten und vermittelten Wissensinhalte.[19]

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besonderen eine zentrale Rolle. Zur Polemik jüdischer Autoren gegen den Islam siehe DAVID E. SKLARE, Responses to Islamic Polemics by Jewish Mutakallimūn in the Tenth Century, in: The Majlis: Interreligious Encounters in Medieval Islam. Hrsg. von Hava Lazarus-Yafeh et al. Wiesbaden 1999, S. 137–161. Unter den zahlreichen erhaltenen anti-rabbinischen Schriften karäischer Autoren siehe Yūsuf al-Baṣīr, *an-Naqḍ ʿalā Šemuel rā's al-maṭība*, Ms. St. Petersburg, RNL Yevr.-Arab. I 3025 (und rund zwanzig weitere Handschriftenfragmente). Yeshu'a ben Yehuda, *Tafsīr tora ṣiwwa lanu*, Ms. RNL Yevr.-Arab. I 2134 (neben rund vierzig weiteren Handschriftenfragmenten). Dies gilt auch für die polemischen Schriften der Samaritaner bzw. die karäische Polemik gegen die Samaritaner. Siehe GERHARD WEDEL, *Kitāb aṭ-Ṭabbāḥ* des Samaritaners 'Abū l-Ḥasan aṣ-Ṣūrī. Kritische Edition und kommentierte Übersetzung des 1. Teils. Berlin 1987. Zur anti-samaritanischen Polemik karäischer Autoren siehe die Handschriften London, British Library, Or. 2528. Ms. St. Petersburg, RNL Yevr.-Arab. I:1681.

17 Gute Beispiele für eine derartige Veränderung des Traditionsverständnisses im rabbinischen Judentum sind SE'ADYA GAON's „Buch über das Herleiten der offenbarten Gebote" *(K. Taḥṣīl aš-šarā'iʿ as-samʿīya)* [in Fragmenten hrsg. von Moshe Zucker, in: Tarbiṣ 41 (1971), S. 373–410], oder die ersten fünfzehn Kapitel von SAMUEL BEN ḤOFNĪ's „Einleitung zum Studium der Mischna und des Talmuds" *(K. al-Madḫal 'ilā ʿilm al-Mishna wa-t-Talmūd)* [in Fragmenten hrsg. von Shraga Abramson. Jerusalem 1990]. Siehe SKLARE, Samuel b. Ḥofnī Gaon, S. 43–44 und 159–165.

18 Siehe RINA DRORY, Models and Contacts. Arabic Literature and Its Impact on Medieval Jewish Culture. Leiden 2000, bes. S. 126-157.

19 Vgl. hierzu NEḤEMYA ALLONY, The Jewish Library in the Middle Ages. Book Lists from the Cairo Genizah (hebr.). Jerusalem 2006, S. 468, 497, 499 (Index). SKLARE, Samuel b. Ḥofnī Gaon, Kapitel 1 und 2. ROBERT BRODY, The Geonim of Babylonia and the Shaping of Medieval Culture. New Haven 1998, S. 249ff.

Für die Rezeption und Transformation der muʿtazilitischen *'uṣūl al-fiqh* im jüdischen *kalām* des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts lassen sich verschiedene Entwicklungsstufen von einer diskreten und impliziten Rezeption hin zu ihrer umfassenden und expliziten Integration unterscheiden. Diese Entwicklung war nicht nur diachronisch graduell, sondern auch abhängig von der Disziplin und vom literarischen Genre, in welche die Begriffe, Argumente und Konzepte der islamischen Rechtshermeneutik jeweils eingebettet wurden. Ich unterscheide im folgenden drei Intensitätsstufen der Rezeption:

1) Konzeptionelle und terminologische Parallelen ohne explizite Bezugnahme auf die *'uṣūl al-fiqh*.

2) Punktuelle, kontextbedingte Verweise auf Kategorien und Termini der *'uṣūl al-fiqh*.

3) Partielle bis umfassende Adaptation der generischen Struktur der *'uṣūl al-fiqh*.

Ungeachtet der tendenziellen Zunahme der Rezeptionsintensität scheinen sich die *'uṣūl al-fiqh* weder im karäischen noch im rabbinischen Judentum je als formale kurrikulare Disziplin etabliert zu haben. Für die meisten jüdischen *Mutakallimūn* des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts präsentierte sich die muʿtazilitische Rechtshermeneutik als Summe isolierter Bausteine, die nach Bedarf in theologische, exegetische, sprachtheoretische und polemische Werke, in Einleitungen zu Rechtstraktaten sowie in Responsa eingebettet wurden. Als lose Theorieelemente eigneten sie sich, punktuelle Interpretationsprobleme und spezifische Rechtsfragen zu klären.

Im folgenden sollen die genannten Entwicklungsstufen unter Einhaltung einer chronologischen Reihenfolge an repräsentativen Beispielen dargestellt werden.

III.1. Das frühe 10. Jahrhundert: Konzeptionelle und terminologische Parallelen ohne explizite Bezugnahme auf die 'uṣūl al-fiqh

Zu dieser ersten Gruppe zählen insbesondere die beiden herausragenden Gestalten des rabbinischen bzw. karäischen Judentums im frühen 10. Jahrhundert, Seʿadya b. Yosef al-Fayyūmī (gest. 942) und 'Abū Yūsuf Yaʿqūb b. 'Isḥāq al-Qirqisānī (fl. erste Hälfte des 10. Jh.). In den Werken beider Autoren haben hermeneutische Reflexionen einen hohen Stellenwert. Sowohl Seʿadya als auch al-Qirqisānī erörtern an diversen Stellen ihrer theologischen, exegetischen und halakhischen Schriften hermeneutische und erkenntnistheoretische Themen, die sich im Islam – in etwa zu ihren Lebzeiten – zur Disziplin der *'uṣūl al-fiqh* zu formieren begannen. Beide scheinen jedoch weder mit dem Begriff ‚*'uṣūl al-fiqh*' noch dem literarischen Genre einer in sich abgeschlossenen, eigenständigen Wissenschaft der Rechtshermeneutik vertraut gewesen zu sein.

Seʿadya b. Yosef al-Fayyūmī

Im Werk Seʿadya's vereinigt sich die Innovation literarischer Formen mit einer betont konservativen Haltung den traditionellen Inhalten des rabbinischen Judentums gegenüber. Dank Seʿadya's Prestige halten Wissensgebiete, literarische Genres und nicht zuletzt auch die arabische Sprache Einzug in die babylonischen Akade-

mien, die gemessen am herkömmlichen Studienformat dieser Institutionen durchweg neuartig waren. Ziel seines selbstbewussten, programmatischen Schaffens war das *aggiornamento* rabbinischer Gelehrsamkeit. Die traditionellen Wissensinhalte des Judentums sollten durch ihre systematische Neuordnung ein solides Fundament erhalten, das den unter islamischer Herrschaft lebenden und Arabisch sprechenden Juden als verständliche Richtschnur dienen konnte.[20]

Innerhalb dieses umfassenden Programms sind hermeneutische Fragestellungen von massgebender Bedeutung. Ausführungen zu den theoretischen Prämissen der Schriftexegese finden sich nicht nur in seinem theologischen Hauptwerk *K. al-'Amānāt wa-l-iʿtiqādāt* („Buch der Glaubensgrundsätze und Überzeugungen"), seinem *Tafsīr Kitāb al-Mabādi'* („Kommentar zum Buch der Anfangsprinzipien [= der Schöpfung]") und in der Einleitung zu seinem Torakommentar, sondern auch in seinen linguistischen Schriften, den Einleitungen zu halakhischen Monographien und zu Kommentaren einzelner biblischer Bücher *(ṣudūr al-kutub)*.[21] Sein *K. Taḥṣīl aš-šarā'iʿ as-samʿīya* behandelt die in der Rechtshermeneutik anwendbaren Formen (ana)logischer Inferenz und somit Fragen, die Gegenstand der rabbinisch-karäischen Polemik waren.[22]

Für viele der in diesen Texten verwendeten Termini und hermeneutischen Reflexionen ist in der Sekundärliteratur auf phänomenologische Parallelen in einem breiten Spektrum möglicher Quellen hingewiesen worden. Dazu sind neben den ins Arabische übersetzten Kommentartraditionen des aristotelischen Organon – insbesondere des *Peri Hermeneias* (arab. *K. al-ʿIbāra*) – die syrischen und arabischen Traditionen christlicher Schriftauslegung sowie die vielfältigen hermeneutischen Ansätze innerhalb des frühen Islam zu zählen. Leider nennt Seʿadya seine nichtjüdischen Quellen nur selten. Von den denkbaren Quellen sind uns heute viele nicht mehr zugänglich. Die Forschung muss sich deshalb in der Regel mit der Angabe wahrscheinlicher Quellen begnügen.[23]

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20 BRODY, The Geonim of Babylonia, S. 235–248.

21 Die meisten Texte sind in der Forschung bereits eingehend studiert worden. Siehe u.a. MOSHE ZUCKER, Seʿadya's Kommentar zum Buche Genesis (hebr.). Jerusalem 1984, S. 35–69; NEḤEMYA ALLONY, Linguistische und literarische Studien. Gesammelte Schriften Bd. 1: Seʿadya's Werke (hebr.). Jerusalem 1986. RICHARD C. STEINER, Saadia vs. Rashi: On the Shift from Meaning-Maximalism to Meaning-Minimalism in Medieval Biblical Lexicology, in: The Jewish Quarterly Review 88 (1998), S. 215–235. BRUNO CHIESA, Filologia storica della Bibbia ebraica. Volume primo: Da Origene al Medioevo, Brescia 2000, S. 136–166. HAGGAI BEN-SHAMMAI, The Tension Between Literal Interpretation and Exegetical Freedom: Comparative Observations on Saadia's Method, in: With Reverence for the Word. Medieval Scriptural Exegesis in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. Hrsg. von J. D. McAuliffe et al., Oxford 2003, S. 33–50.

22 Siehe Anm. 17.

23 Siehe zu diesem Problem STROUMSA, Saadya and Jewish *kalām*. DIES., A Literary Genre as a Historical Document: On Saadia's Introductions to His Bible Commentaries (Hebr.), in: A Word Fitly Spoken, S. 193-204.

Im Bereich der Rechtshermeneutik werden solcherlei Probleme dadurch kompliziert, dass sich die *'uṣūl al-fiqh* erst zu Seʿadya's Lebzeiten als eigenständige Disziplin zu etablieren begannen. Mit Ausnahme von aš-Šāfiʿī's *Risāla*, die in formaler Hinsicht – aus den bereits genannten Gründen – nicht dem literarischen Genre der *'uṣūl al-fiqh* zugerechnet werden kann, datieren die frühesten uns erhaltenen *'uṣūl al-fiqh* Traktate aus der Mitte des 10. Jahrhunderts.[24] Es ist in dieser Hinsicht bezeichnend, dass Moshe Zucker, der in seinem Kommentar zur Einleitung von Seʿadya's Tora-Kommentar wiederholt auf Berührungspunkte mit der islamischen Rechtshermeneutik aufmerksam gemacht hat, sich ausschliesslich auf postseʿadyanische Werke berufen musste.[25] Es ist jedoch keinesfalls unmöglich, den Entwicklungsstand des *'uṣūl al-fiqh* Genres im frühen 10. Jahrhundert zu rekonstruieren. Vermittels einer minutiösen Auswertung einiger ungenutzter Schlüsseltexte des späten 10. und des 11. Jahrhunderts lassen sich die rechtshermeneutischen Positionen einiger Schlüsselfiguren des frühen 10. Jahrhunderts — etwa jene der Muʿtaziliten 'Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Ǧubbā'ī (gest. 303/915) und dessen Sohn 'Abū Hāšim ʿAbd as-Salām b. Muḥammad al-Ǧubbā'ī (gest. 321/933), jene des der Muʿtazila nahestehenden Ḥanafiten 'Abū l-Ḥasan ʿUbayd Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn al-Karḫī (gest. 340/951), oder jene 'Abū l-Ḥasan al-'Aš'arī's (gest. 324/935) und der Šāfiʿiten 'Abū l-ʿAbbās 'Aḥmad Ibn Surayǧ (gest. 306/918) und 'Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh aṣ-Ṣayrafī (gest. 330/941) — in substantiellen Teilen rekonstruieren und jenen Seʿadya's und al-Qirqisānī's gegenüberstellen.[26] Um die Bedeutung des sich formierenden *'uṣūl al-fiqh* Genres für die von

24 'Abū Bakr 'Aḥmad b. ʿAlī ar-Rāzī al-Ǧaṣṣāṣ (gest. 370/981), *K. al-Fuṣūl fī l-'uṣūl*. Hrsg. von ʿUǧayl Ǧāsim an-Našamī. Kuwayt ³1414/1994. Siehe zu diesem Werk TILLSCHNEIDER, Entstehung, S. 71–162 und oben Anm. 9.

25 Siehe ZUCKER, Genesis, S. 35–69. Zucker verweist insbesondere auf 'Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār (gest. 415/1024-5), *K. al-ʿUmad*; 'Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī (gest. 436/1044), K. *al-Muʿtamad*; 'Abū Muḥammad ʿAlī Ibn Ḥazm (gest. 456/1064), *K. al-'Iḥkām fī 'uṣūl al-'aḥkām*; 'Abū Bakr Muḥammad as-Saraḫsī (gest. ca. 490/1097), *K. al-'Uṣūl*; 'Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad al-Ġazālī (gest. 505/1111), *K. al-Mustaṣfā min ʿilm al-'uṣūl*; 'Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī al-'Āmidī (gest. 631/1233), *K. al-'Iḥkām fī 'uṣūl al-'aḥkām*; Muḥammad b. ʿAlī aš-Šawkānī (gest. 1250/1834), *K. 'Iršād al-fuḥūl 'ilā taḥqīq al-ḥaqq min ʿilm al-'uṣūl*.

26 Methodisch kann sich ein solcher Rekonstruktionsversuch orientieren an DANIEL GIMARET, Une lecture muʿtazilite du Coran. Le Tafsīr d'Abū ʿAlī al-Djubbā'ī (m. 303/915) partiellement reconstitué à partir de ses citateurs. Louvain 1994. Zu methodischen Problemen einer solchen Rekonstruktion siehe LAWRENCE I. CONRAD, Recovering Lost Texts: Some Methodological Issues, in: Journal of the American Oriental Society 113 (1993), S. 258–263. Zu den wichtigsten Quellen für die Rekonstruktion der frühen muʿtazilitischen Rechtshermeneutik zählen die zaydischen *'uṣūl al-fiqh* Texte, insbesondere jene von 'Abū Ṭālib Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn al-Buṭḥānī (gest. 424/1032-3): *K. al-Muǧzī fī 'uṣūl al-fiqh* und *K. Ǧawāmiʿ al-'adilla fī 'uṣūl al-fiqh* (siehe oben Anm. 7). Für eine lückenhafte Zusammenstellung der rechtshermeneutischen Positionen 'Abū l-Ḥasan al-Karḫī's siehe ḤUSAYN ḪALAF AL-ǦUBŪRĪ (Hrsg.), *al-'Aqwāl al-'uṣūlīya lil-Imām 'Abī l-Ḥasan al-Karḫī*. [Saudi Arabien] 1989. Zu 'Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Da'ūd aẓ-Ẓāhirī (gest. 297/909-10) und 'Abū Ǧaʿfar Muḥammad b. Ǧarīr aṭ-Ṭabarī (gest. 310/923) siehe die Studien von STEWART (oben Anm. 9).

Seʿadya und al-Qirqisānī dargelegten Grundlagen ihrer Schriftauslegung und Rechtshermeneutik bemessen zu können, sind solche Rekonstruktionsversuche eine unerlässliche Voraussetzung.

ʾAbū Yūsuf Yaʿqūb b. ʾIsḥāq al-Qirqisānī

Seʿadya's karäischer Zeitgenosse al-Qirqisānī widmete der Rechtshermeneutik die 68 Abschnitte der vierten Abhandlung seines um 927 verfassten *Kitāb al-ʾAnwār wa-l-marāqib* („Buch der Lichter und der Leuchttürme").[27] Er legt hier die Methoden und Mittel dar, mit Hilfe derer man die religiösen Pflichten erkennen kann und stellt die diversen Typen expliziter und abgeleiteter Stipulation zusammen. Die vierte Abhandlung enthält nicht zuletzt auch eine Kritik der dreizehn – in der rabbinischen Tradition R. Yishmaʿʾel zugeschriebenen – ‚hermeneutischen Regeln', von denen sieben als unzulänglich verworfen und durch eine Reihe eigener Interpretationsregeln ergänzt werden.[28]

Hinsichtlich der Frage, ob bzw. inwiefern al-Qirqisānī mit der islamischen *ʾuṣūl al-fiqh* Literatur des frühen 10. Jahrhunderts vertraut war, können wichtige Aufschlüsse aus der Struktur und der Terminologie der genannten vierten Abhandlung des *K. al-ʾAnwār* und der Einleitung *(Taqdima)* zur 938 abgeschlossenen langen Version seines *Buches der Gärten und der Pärke* (*Kitāb ar-Riyāḍ wa-l-ḥadāʾiq*) gewonnen werden.[29] Dabei gilt es zu beachten, dass die von al-Qirqisānī in dieser

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27 *Kitāb al-ʾAnwār wa-l-marāqib*. Hrsg. von Léon Nemoy. New York 1939–1943, Bd. II, S. 343–494. Eine spärlich kommentierte französische Paraphrase findet sich in GEORGES VAJDA, Études sur Qirqisānī, parts III–V, in: Revue des Études Juives 108 (1948), S. 63–91 [IV.1–8, 22–36], 120 (1961), S. 211–257 [IV.37–58], 122 (1963), S. 7–74 [IV.58–68]. Vgl. auch CHIESA, Filologia storica, S. 172ff.. Zu al-Qirqisānī's Person siehe DERS., Creazione e caduta dell'uomo nell'esegesi giudeo-araba medievale, Brescia 1989, S. 41–44.

28 Al-Qirqisānī spricht von den 13 Vorgehensweisen, „die von den rabbinischen Juden als Grundlagen zur Herausarbeitung des in der Schrift enthaltenen Wissens benutzt wurden" (*allatī ǧaʿalahā ar-rabbānīyūn ʾuṣūl*^{an} *li-stiḫrāǧ maʿrifat al-kitāb*). Siehe *K. al-ʾAnwār* IV.8.2, S. 365. Dieser Ansicht hatte Seʿadya widersprochen, indem er betonte, dass die hermeneutischen Regeln der rabbinischen Literatur einen bloss deskriptiven, d.h. nicht produktiven, Recht schaffenden Charakter haben. Siehe DANIEL FRANK, Search Scripture Well. Karaite Exegetes and the Origins of the Jewish Bible Commentary in the Islamic East. Leiden 2004, S. 24 und oben, S. 82 Anm. 17. Zur Tradition hermeneutischer Regeln im rabbinischen Judentum siehe MENACHEM ELON, Jewish Law: History, Sources, Principles. Bd. 1. Philadelphia 1994, S. 318ff. ROBERT BRUNSCHVIG, Herméneutique normative dans le Judaïsme et dans l'Islam, in: Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei anno 1975, serie ottava. Rome 1976, S. 233–252 [Neudruck in: IDEM, Études sur l'Islam classique et l'Afrique du Nord. Hrsg. von Abdel-Magid Turki. London 1986, Text Nr. VI], hat den Versuch unternommen, die 13 hermeneutischen Regeln der rabbinischen Tradition den Kategorien der islamischen Rechtshermeneutik gegenüberzustellen, wobei er insbesondere auf fundamentale Unterschiede zwischen beiden Systemen hinweist.

29 Der unvollständige Text dieser Einleitung ist in HARTWIG HIRSCHFELD, Qirqisānī Studies. London 1918, S. 39–49 enthalten. BRUNO CHIESA, Dai 'Principii dell'Esegesi Biblica' di Qirqisānī, in: The Jewish Quarterly Review 73 (1982), S. 124–137, bietet eine reich dokumentierte Analyse dieser Einleitung mit zahlreichen weiterführenden Literaturangaben. Die Edition

Einleitung angeführten 37 Interpretationsgrundregeln, die für die Schriftauslegung unentbehrlich seien, stark von Se'adya's Einleitung zu dessen Torakommentar abhängig sind.[30] Beide Texte sind vom Bestreben geprägt, die der Schriftauslegung und der Rechtsetzung zugrunde liegenden Prozeduren von Einzelbeispielen zu abstrahieren und zu systematisieren. Charakteristisch für das Resultat dieser Anstrengung sind die relativ lose Kompositionsstruktur sowie die Heterogenität der verwendeten Begrifflichkeit. Ähnlich wie bei Se'adya finden sich hier aus der Organontradition entnommene Termini neben solchen, die der christlichen Auslegungstradition und diversen hermeneutischen Diskursen des frühen Islam, einschliesslich aš-Šāfi'ī's *Risāla*, entlehnt sind. Durch das Fehlen einer klaren, kompakten Struktur und einer einheitlichen Terminologie unterscheiden sich al-Qirqisānī's wie auch Se'adya's Texte in wesentlichen Merkmalen von frühen Werken des *'uṣūl al-fiqh* Genres, die im 10. Jahrhundert entstanden sind.[31]

III.2. Zweite Hälfte des 10. und frühes 11. Jahrhundert: Punktuelle, kontextbedingte Verweise auf Kategorien und Termini der 'uṣūl al-fiqh

In der zweiten Hälfte des zehnten Jahrhunderts, nur wenige Jahrzehnte nach Se'adya's Tod, kann eine kontinuierliche Zunahme der aus der islamischen Rechtshermeneutik entlehnten Begriffe und Kategorien beobachtet werden. Obwohl dieser Adaptationsprozess im karäischen Milieu rascher und in umfassenderer Weise vollzogen wurde als bei rabbinischen Autoren, teilten beide Gruppen gegen Ende des zehnten Jahrhunderts einen beachtlichen Teil ihrer rechtshermeneutischen Terminologie und Argumentationsweisen. Diese gemeinsame Basis führte mitunter zu einer gewissen Versachlichung der gegenseitigen Polemik und ermöglichte einen differenzierteren Meinungsaustausch zwischen einzelnen Exponenten beider Gruppen.[32]

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des Gesamttextes des *K. ar-Riyāḍ* wird ebenfalls von CHIESA vorbereitet.

30 ZUCKER, Genesis, S. 28, vertritt die Meinung, dass al-Qirqisānī nicht nur die meisten dieser 37 Interpretationsregeln aus der Einleitung zu Se'adya's Torakommentar übernommen hat, sondern auch den Grossteil seines Kommentars zum Buche Genesis von Se'adya abgeschrieben hat. Zu den möglichen se'adyanischen Quellen al-Qirqisānī's siehe die Literaturangaben in BRUNO CHIESA und WILFRID LOCKWOOD, Ya'qūb al-Qirqisānī on Jewish Sects and Christianity. A Translation of ‚Kitāb al-anwār', Book I, with two introductory essays. Frankfurt a.M. u.a. 1984, S. 39 Anm. 48.

31 Man könnte umgekehrt sagen, dass weder Se'adya's noch al-Qirqisānī's Ausführungen zu den hermeneutischen Grundlagen der Schriftexegese für die von Stewart verfochtene Frühdatierung der Genese des *'uṣūl al-fiqh* Genres in die erste Hälfte des 9. Jahrhunderts sprechen (siehe oben Anm. 9).

32 Siehe MARINA RUSTOW, Rabbanite-Karaite Relations in Fatimid Egypt and Syria. A Study Based on Documents from the Cairo Genizah. Ph.D. Thesis. Columbia University 2004, *passim*. Zu dieser Entwicklung ist etwa auch das wachsende Interesse karäischer Autoren an der rabbinischen Literatur zu zählen. Siehe hierzu OFRA TIROSH-BECKER, Das in der karäischen Literatur tradierte rabbinische Hebräisch (hebr.). Ph.D. Thesis. Jerusalem 1999, S. 7–9. MENAHEM I. KAHANA, Sifre Zuta on Deuteronomy. Citations from a New Tannaitic Midrash (Hebr.). Jerusalem 2002, S. 17–29.

Rabbinische Autoren

Für die Integration der muʿtazilitischen *'uṣūl al-fiqh* in die traditionelle rabbinische Rechtshermeneutik haben die Schriften von Samuel b. Ḥofnī Gaon (gest. 1013) exemplarischen Charakter.[33] Trotz einer überwältigenden Präsenz muʿtazilitischen Gedankengutes in seinen theologischen und rechtshermeneutischen Schriften[34], ist bei ihm – und mehr noch bei seinen tendenziell etwas konservativer eingestellten Zeitgenossen Sherira b. Ḥanina und Hayya b. Sherira Gaon[35] – das Bemühen festzustellen, eine zumindest rhetorische Distanz zu diesen ‚fremden Implantaten' zu bewahren. Dies kann etwa anhand einer Passage aus seinem *Kitāb ʿAšar masā'il* („Buch der zehn Streitfragen") veranschaulicht werden.[36] Dort schreibt Samuel im Zusammenhang mit dem rabbinischen Dictum *mishlosh ʿesre middot ha-tora nidreshet* („die Tora wird gemäss dreizehn Regeln ausgelegt"), den dreizehn ‚hermeneutischen Regeln' also, die – wie gezeigt wurde – von al-Qirqisānī eingehend kritisiert wurden, Folgendes:

> [Diese dreizehn Regeln] haben für uns den gleichen Stellenwert wie die *'uṣūl al-fiqh* der Nicht-Juden *('uṣūl fiqh al-goyim)*. Selbst wenn nicht alle den *'uṣūl al-fiqh* der Nicht-Juden entsprechen, so beruhen doch alle auf der Überlieferung, von der die Gültigkeit ihrer Anwendung abhängig ist. Es ist unzulässig von (dieser Überlieferung) abzuweichen. Alles, was von ihr abweicht und ihr widerspricht, ist zurückzuweisen.[37]

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33 Die Entwicklung der rabbinischen Bildungskultur im zehnten Jahrhundert ist ausführlich beschrieben in SKLARE, Samuel b. Ḥofnī Gaon, S. 37–67.

34 Siehe SKLARE, ebd., S. 26–31.

35 Siehe SKLARE, ebd., S. 43–52. BRODY, The Geonim of Babylonia, S. 263–266 und 278–282. TSVI GRONER, The Legal Methodology of Hai Gaon. Chico (California) 1985.

36 Der Karäer Yūsuf al-Baṣīr, der u. a. auch von einer Begegnung mit Samuel b. Ḥofnī in Baghdad berichtet (Ms. St. Petersburg, RNL Yevr.-Arab. I:3025, f. 52v), hat später eine Widerlegung einiger anti-karäischer Argumente in Samuel's *K. ʿAšar masā'il* verfasst *(K. an-Naqḍ ʿalā Šemue'el ra's al-maṭība)*, die annähernd vollständig erhalten ist. Siehe oben Anm. 16 und SKLARE, ebd., S. 240–242.

37 Ms. Jerusalem, JNUL 4° 577.4/83, f. 4r, wiedergegeben in SKLARE, Samuel b. Ḥofnī Gaon, S. 56:64–67 (Textteil). Siehe ferner MOSHE ZUCKER, Zur Lösung des Problems der 32 (hermeneutischen) Regeln und ‚Mishnat Rabbi Eliʿezer' (hebr.), in: PAAJR 23 (1954), S. 1–39, wo gezeigt wird, dass diese 32 Regeln ihren Ursprung in den 49 Interpretationsregeln in der Einleitung zu Samuel b. Ḥofnī's Kommentar zum zweiten Teil des Buches Genesis haben und somit aus dem Arabischen übersetzt wurden. Die von YESHAYAHU GOLDFELD vertretene Meinung, dass Muqātil b. Sulaymān (gest. 150/767) zwanzig der in der Einleitung zu seinem grossen Korankommentar *(at-Tafsīr al-kabīr)* erwähnten 32 hermeneutischen Regeln aus der jüdischen Tradition übernommen habe [The Development of Theory on Qur'anic Exegesis in Islamic Scholarship, in: Studia Islamica 67 (1988), S. 9–11 und 23–24], ist demnach in gewisser Hinsicht umzukehren, was nicht heissen soll, dass in den frühen Korankommentaren keine Spuren jüdischer und christlicher Auslegungstraditionen auszumachen sind. Es ist jedoch übertrieben, von einer „Jewish school of Muqātil" (ebd. S. 6) zu sprechen.

In Wirklichkeit sind Samuel b. Ḥofnī's Schriften und insbesondere das *Buch der Zehn Streitfragen* selbst schlagende Beweise des Gegenteils: Nicht die dreizehn hermeneutischen Regeln sind es, welche seinen rechtshermeneutischen Ausführungen zugrunde liegen, sondern die muʿtazilitische Version der *'uṣūl al-fiqh*.[38]

Als Beispiel mag uns die neunte Streitfrage dienen, welche die über die blosse Pflichterfüllung hinausgehenden, freiwilligen Handlungen *(an-nawāfil)* zum Thema hat.[39] Sie erörtert u.a. die Frage, ob die für sich allein stehende linguistische Form des Imperativs *(al-'amr al-muṭlaq)* Verpflichtung, Empfehlung oder Erlaubnis impliziert, und ob es in dieser Hinsicht zwischen göttlicher und menschlicher Rede zu unterscheiden gilt.[40] Samuel b. Ḥofnī vertritt die klassisch muʿtazilitische Position, wonach der von jeglichem Kontext isolierte Imperativ nur den Willen des Sprechers zum Ausdruck bringt, dass die durch diesen Imperativ angezeigte Handlung ausgeführt wird. Ob dieser Wille Verpflichtung oder Empfehlung impliziert, ist jedoch aufgrund der linguistischen Form allein nicht zu entscheiden.

Die Annahme, Samuel habe einzelne Passagen dieses Textes aus einer islamischen Vorlage abgeschrieben, lässt sich nicht abschliessend verifizieren oder falsifizieren, da uns die Mehrzahl seiner möglichen Quellen heute nicht mehr vorliegen.[41] Angesichts der bis in den Wortlaut reichenden Nähe zu muʿtazilitischen *'uṣūl al-fiqh* Texten des späten 10. und frühen 11. Jahrhunderts[42] und in Anbetracht der Tatsache, dass uns solcherlei Plagiate aus anderen Wissensdisziplinen bekannt sind[43], können wir diese Möglichkeit nicht von vornherein ausschliessen.

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38 Vgl. PAUL B. FENTON, Philosophie et exégèse dans le Jardin de la métaphore de Moïse Ibn Ezra, philosophe et poète andalou du XIIe siècle. Leiden 1997, S. 278–280. ZUCKER, Genesis, S. 453–456.

39 Vgl. zum Thema JOSHUA HALBERSTAM, Supererogation in Jewish Halakhah and Islamic Sharīʿa, in: W.M. BRINNER und S.D. RICKS (Hrsg.), Studies in Islamic and Judaic Traditions, Atlanta 1986, S. 85–98.

40 Eine kurze Präsentation vorklassischer Diskussionen dieser Fragen findet sich in JOSEPH LOWRY, The Reception of Shāfiʿī's Concept of *'Amr* and *Nahy* in the Thought of his Student al-Muzanī, in: Law and Education in Medieval Islam: Studies in Memory of George Makdisi. Hrsg. von Devin Stewart et al. Cambridge 2004, S. 128–149.

41 Als mögliche Vorlagen kommen etwa ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār's *K. al-ʿUmad* bzw. *K. an-Nihāya fī 'uṣūl al-fiqh* oder 'Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Baṣrī's *'uṣūl al-fiqh* Werk in Frage. Samuel erwähnt etwa 'Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Baṣrī's *K. al-'Īḍāḥ* („Buch der Erläuterung") in seinem *K. Nasḫ aš-šarʿ* („Abhandlung über die Abrogation des Gesetzes"), Ms. St. Petersburg, RNL Yevr.-Arab I:3024, f. 3r. Samuel b. Ḥofnī erwähnt daselbst eine persönliche Begegnung mit 'Abū ʿAbd Allāh (gest. 367–9/977–80).

42 Vgl. ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār, *al-Muġnī fī 'abwāb at-tawḥīd wa-l-ʿadl*. Bd. XVII. Hrsg. von 'Amīn Ḫūlī. Kairo 1382/1963, S. 107–115. 'Abū Ṭālib Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn al-Buṭḥānī, *K. al-Muǧzī fī 'uṣūl al-fiqh*, Ms. Tarīm, Maktabat al-'Aḥqāf, *Fiqh* Nr. 1019, f. 1v–2v.

43 Vgl. beispielsweise NASSER BASSAL, Judaeo-Arabisch in arabischer Schrift: 'Abū l-Farağ Hārūn's *al-Kitāb al-Muštamil* (hebr.), in: *Ben ʿever la-ʿarav*. Contacts between Arabic Literature and Jewish Literature in the Middle Ages and Modern Times. Bd. 3. Hrsg. von Yosef Tobi. Tel Aviv 2004, S. 32, wo 'Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn as-Sarrāǧ's *K. al-'Uṣūl fī n-naḥw* und 'Abū ʿAlī al-Fārisī's *K. al-'Īḍāḥ* als Vorlagen für 'Abū al-Farağ Hārūn's *al-Kitāb al-Muštamil* nachgewiesen werden.

Karäische Autoren

Karäische Gelehrte des späten 10. und frühen 11. Jahrhunderts betrachteten die Begriffe und Kategorien der muʿtazilitischen *'uṣūl al-fiqh* nicht mehr als etwas von aussen Importiertes und benutzten sie als integralen Bestandteil ihrer eigenen Theoriebildung. Obwohl die meisten der im genannten Zeitraum verfassten karäischen Schriften noch nicht in Editionen vorliegen, reichen die uns bekannten Textausschnitte aus, dieses Faktum zu belegen.[44]

Die karäische Literatur des zehnten Jahrhunderts wird von zwei literarischen Genres dominiert, nämlich Bibelkommentaren *(tafāsīr)* und Gesetzbüchern *(kutub al-farā'iḍ)*. Zwischen beiden Genres besteht eine enge Wechselbeziehung. Da die Bibel als Grundnorm und Primärquelle des Gesetzes fungiert, enthalten Bibelkommentare regelmässig ausgedehnte Diskussionen zu Fragen des Rechts, während umgekehrt der Inhalt der Gesetzbücher als Ergebnis der Schriftauslegung zu verstehen ist. Die Beziehung zwischen Schriftinterpretation und Rechtserkenntnis mündet direkt in jenen Komplex von epistemologischen, linguistischen und hermeneutischen Fragen, die in den *'uṣūl al-fiqh* verhandelt werden. Auf dem Hintergrund dieser Affinität mag es nicht erstaunen, dass gewisse terminologische und strukturelle Veränderungen, die in der karäischen Literatur des 10. Jahrhunderts festzustellen sind, die parallele Entwicklung und Systematisierung der islamischen Rechtshermeneutik widerspiegeln.

Die Entwicklung der karäischen Rezeption muʿtazilitischer *'uṣūl al-fiqh* verläuft jedoch nicht linear und enthält – abhängig von der Rezeptionsbereitschaft einzelner Autoren – auch Brüche. Ihre differenzierte Beschreibung wird erst möglich sein, wenn die Gesetzbücher von Sahl ben Maṣliaḥ, Yefet b. ʿEli, Yisra'el b. Dani'el und Levi b. Yefet, die Bibelkommentare von David b. Boʿaz, Yefet b. ʿElī, Yūsuf b. Nūḥ und andere karäische Schriften aus der zweiten Hälfte des 10. und dem frühen 11. Jahrhundert in kritischen Editionen vorliegen.[45]

Die angedeutete Tendenz einer beständig wachsenden Rezeptionsintensität wird speziell in den Schriften jener Generation greifbar, die durch Autoren wie Levi b. Yefet (= 'Abū Saʿīd Levī b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Baṣrī), 'Abū l-Farağ Hārūn b. al-

44 Weiterführende Literatur zu den im folgenden genannten Namen findet sich in FRANK, Search Scripture Well, S. 12–32. MEIRA POLLIACK (Hrsg.), Karaite Judaism. A Guide to its History and Literary Sources. Leiden 2003, *Index*. Die umfassende Integration muʿtazilitischer Terminologie und Argumentationsmuster schloss eine bisweilen heftige anti-islamische und punktuelle anti-muʿtazilitische Polemik nicht aus. Siehe HAGGAI BEN-SHAMMAI, The Attitude of Some Early Karaites Towards Islam, in: Studies in Medieval Jewish History and Literature. Bd. 2. Hrsg. von Isadore Twersky. Cambridge Mass. 1984, S. 3-40.

45 Eine erste Standortbestimmung zur genannten Literatur bieten FRANK, Search Scripture Well, S. 33–94. HAGGAI BEN-SHAMMAI, Das Gesetzbuch des Karäers Levi b. Yefet (hebr.), in: Shenaton ha-Mishpaṭ ha-ʿIvri 11–12 (1984–86), S. 99–133. DAVID SKLARE (in Zusammenarbeit mit HAGGAI BEN-SHAMMAI), Judaeo-Arabic Manuscripts in the Firkovitch Collections. The Works of Yūsuf al-Baṣīr. A Sample Catalogue, Texts and Studies. Jerusalem 1997, S. 23 und 127–139.

Farağ und 'Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf al-Baṣīr repräsentiert wird. Alle drei lehrten im frühen 11. Jahrhundert an der eine Generation zuvor von Yūsuf b. Nūḥ gegründeten karäischen Akademie *(dār lil-'ilm)* in Jerusalem.[46] Obwohl von allen drei Autoren Schriften zu mehr als einem Themengebiet erhalten sind, lagen ihre Arbeitsschwerpunkte in je unterschiedlichen Disziplinen: Jurisprudenz (Levi b. Yefet), Linguistik ('Abū l-Farağ Hārūn) bzw. systematisch-spekulative Theologie (Yūsuf al-Baṣīr). Das ungleiche Verhältnis zwischen der Rechtshermeneutik und jeder dieser drei Disziplinen wird in der je unterschiedlichen Funktion, welche die *'uṣūl al-fiqh* in den Werken der drei genannten Autoren wahrnehmen, widerspiegelt.

Für den Juristen ist die Rechtshermeneutik die anwendungsorientierte Grundlage seines Handwerks. Dementsprechend werden spezifische Aspekte der Rechtshermeneutik nach Bedarf in Einleitungen zu Gesetzbüchern und Responsa diskutiert.[47]

Für den Linguisten wiederum kann die Rechtshermeneutik als eine erweiterte Form der linguistischen Semantik verstanden werden.[48] In diesem Sinn kann etwa folgende beiläufige Bemerkung 'Abū l-Farağ Hārūn's in seinem *al-Kitāb al-Kāfī fī l-luġa al-'ibrānīya* („Ausreichendes Buch über die hebräische Sprache") gedeutet werden:

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46 G. MARGOLIOUTH, Ibn al-Hītī's Arabic Chronicle of Karaite Doctors, in: The Jewish Quarterly Review 9 (1897), S. 433:16. JACOB MANN, Texts and Studies in Jewish History and Literature. Bd. 2. New York 1972, S. 29.

47 Man kann in diesem Zusammenhang an die bekannte Unterscheidung Ibn Ḫaldūn's zwischen zwei Konzeptionen der Rechtshermeneutik erinnern, nämlich *ṭarīqat al-fuqahā'* und *ṭarīqat al-mutakallimīn*. Diese Unterscheidung ist charakteristisch für die *ḫilāfāt*-Werke des frühen 11. Jahrhunderts (s.o. Anm. 7). Für den Juristen sind die *'uṣūl al-fiqh* ein Rezeptbuch von Interpretationsregeln, die in der Rechtsprechung zur Anwendung kommen, während sie für den Theologen als Rechtssemiotik verstanden werden, d.h. als ein System von für die Rechtsetzung relevanten Zeichen, dessen Gültigkeit nach Kriterien der Konsistenz und Kohärenz beurteilt wird. Siehe SCHWARB, Capturing the Meanings of God's Speech (oben Anm. 13).

48 Siehe SCHWARB, a.a.O. und PIERRE LARCHER, Les relations entre la linguistique et les autres sciences dans la société arabo-islamique, in: History of the Language Sciences. An International Handbook on the Evolution of the Study of Language from the Beginnings to the Present, Bd. 1. Hrsg. von S. Auroux et al. Berlin 2000, S. 312–318. Badr ad-Dīn Muḥammad b. Bahādur az-Zarkašī (gest. 794/1392) meinte etwa in seinem *al-Baḥr al-muḥīṭ fī 'uṣūl al-fiqh*. Bd. 1. Hrsg. von Muḥammad Muḥammad Tāmir. Beirut 1421/2000, S. 9:18f.: „Dank präziser Beobachtung haben die Spezialisten der Rechtshermeneutik Aspekte der arabischen Sprache verstanden, welche von den Grammatikern und den Lexikographen nicht einmal angerührt wurden." — Man kann hinzufügen, dass die Relevanz der *'uṣūl al-fiqh* für die linguistischen Studien auch in der Forschung nicht immer gebührend zur Kenntnis genommen wird. Dies trifft insbesondere zu auf AHARON MAMAN, Comparative Semitic Philology in the Middle Ages: From Sa'adiah Gaon to Ibn Barūn (10th–12th C.). Leiden 2004, S. 251–275. IDEM, In welchem Masse haben die hebräischen Grammatiker des Mittelalters komparative Linguistik betrieben? (hebr.), in: Encounters in Medieval Judaeo-Arabic Culture. Proceedings of the Fourth Conference of the Society for Judaeo-Arabic Studies. Hrsg. von Joshua Blau et al. Tel Aviv 1998, S. 81–93.

> Die vorangehende ausführliche Diskussion über normale und abweichende Wortbedeutungen *(al-ḥaqā'iq wa-l-mağāzāt)* gehört nicht eigentlich zum hier behandelten Thema. Die *'uṣūl al-fiqh* wären der hierfür angemessenere Kontext.[49]

Für den systematischen Theologen schliesslich vereinigt die Rechtshermeneutik erkenntnistheoretische Überlegungen hinsichtlich der Normfindung, sprachtheoretische Untersuchungen hinsichtlich der Normbedeutung, und autoritätstheoretische Erörterungen hinsichtlich der Normgültigkeit. Diese Themen ziehen sich wie ein roter Faden durch Yūsuf al-Baṣīr's Schriften, in denen die Schwelle zwischen der zweiten und der dritten Intensitätsstufe der karäischen Rezeption islamischer Rechtshermeneutik erreicht wird.[50]

Abgesehen von den über das Gesamtwerk verstreuten Querverweisen auf Teilbereiche der *'uṣūl al-fiqh*[51] sind folgende Schriften rechtshermeneutischen Themen gewidmet: *K. aš-Šukūk* („Buch der Einwände/Ungewissheiten") behandelt erkenntnistheoretische Fragen; *K. al-Hidāya* („Buch der Leitung") diskutiert die verschiedenen Arten der Überlieferung *('aḫbār)* offenbarten Wissens; *Mas'ala ʿalā man iddaʿā nasḫ šarīʿatinā* ist eine kleine Schrift zur Widerlegung der islamischen Doktrin, wonach das mosaische Gesetz durch die islamische Offenbarung abrogiert worden sei; *Maqāla/Risāla/Tafsīr ki yippale' mimkha davar la-mishpaṭ* [= *Maqālat al-qiyās* oder *al-kalām fī l-qiyās wa-mā yataʿallaqu bihi min tafsīr faṣl ,ki yippale' mimkha davar la-mishpaṭ'*] ist ein unter verschiedenen Titeln zitierter und als Kommentar zu Dtn 17:8–12 angelegter Traktat zum juristischen Syllogismus *(qiyās)* im positiven Recht; ein Responsum an die karäische Gemeinde in Ramla diskutierte offenbar die Partikularisierung des Schrifttextes mittels juristischem Syllogismus *(taḫṣīṣ an-naṣṣ bi-l-qiyās)*.[52] Längere Exkurse zu Themen der Rechtshermeneutik

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49 GEOFFREY KHAN et al. (Hrsg.), The Karaite Tradition of Hebrew Grammatical Thought in Its Classical Form. A Critical Edition and English Translation of *al-Kitāb al-Kāfī fī al-Luġa al-ʿIbrāniyya* by 'Abū al-Faraj Hārūn ibn al-Faraj. Bd. 2. Leiden 2003, S. 761 [= § II.14.12].

50 Yūsuf al-Baṣīr war von ca. 1020 bis zu seinem Tod nach 1040 Vorsteher der karäischen Akademie in Jerusalem. Siehe RUSTOW, Rabbanite-Karaite relations, S. 258. Zu al-Baṣīr's Person und Werk siehe DAVID E. SKLARE, Yūsuf al-Baṣīr: Theological Aspects of His Halakhic Works, in: Daniel Frank (Hrsg.), The Jews of Medieval Islam. Community, Society, and Identity. Leiden u.a. 1995, S. 249–270. IDEM, Sample Catalogue. GEORGES VAJDA, Al-Kitāb al-Muḥtawī de Yūsuf al-Baṣīr. Texte, traduction et commentaire. Hrsg. von David R. Blumenthal. Leiden 1985. WOLFGANG VON ABEL, Yūsuf al-Baṣīr. Das Buch der Unterscheidung. Judäo-arabisch-Deutsch. Freiburg 2005.

51 Vgl. unter vielen anderen Beispielen Ms. RNL Yevr.-Arab. I:818, f. 9r *('aṣḥāb 'uṣūl al-fiqh)*; RNL Yevr.-Arab. II:1039, f. 23v *(ḫilāf fī 'uṣūl al-fiqh)*; RNL Yevr.-Arab. I:970, f. 19v = I:1794, f. 53v zu Formen des juristischen Syllogismus und der *ratio legis (qiyās, ʿilla – „li 'anna ḏālika min bāb 'uṣūl al-fiqh"*); RNL Yevr.-Arab. I:1171, f. 6r zu Imperativ und Prohibitiv *(bāb al-'amr wa-n-nahy)*; Ms. RNL Yevr.-Arab. I:1811, f. 93r *(bāb al-iğtihād)*; RNL Arab.-Yevr. 24, f. 1r *(bāb al-iğtihād wa-taġlīb 'amāra ʿalā 'amāra wa-taqwiyat ẓann ʿalā ẓann)*.

52 Das Responsum wird erwähnt in Ms. St. Petersburg, RNL Yevr.-Arab. II:1039, f. 24r.

finden sich im umfangreichen *K. al-Istibṣār fī l-farā'iḍ* („Buch über das Streben nach Klarsicht im Bereich der religiösen Pflichten")[53]. In seinem theologischen Hauptwerk *al-Kitāb al-Muḥtawī fī ʿilm at-tawḥīd wa-l-ʿadl* schreibt Yūsuf al-Baṣīr:

> Selbst wenn dieses unser Buch seinem Titel zufolge die Prinzipien der Religion umfasst *(wa-'in kāna mulaqqab*^{an} *bi-kawnihi muḥtawīy*^{an} *li-'uṣūl ad-dīn)*, gehören auch die Rechtshermeneutik bezüglich der religionsgesetzlichen Bestimmungen *('uṣūl al-fiqh fī aš-šarā'iʿ)* und die ausführliche Darlegung der religiösen Pflichten *(tafṣīl al-farā'iḍ)* dazu. Aus Angst, weitschweifig zu werden und das eigentliche Anliegen dieses Buches aus den Augen zu verlieren, haben wir uns darauf beschränkt, auf die wesentlichen Punkte der genannten Themenbereiche hinzuweisen. Zu den religiösen Pflichten haben wir (ein separates Buch) zu diktieren begonnen, das wir (bald) abzuschliessen hoffen. Es enthält die ausführliche Darlegung dessen, was wir hier nur summarisch erwähnt haben. Im hiesigen Buch weichen wir also nicht vom Format ab, welches für Bücher zu den Prinzipien (der Religion) üblich ist.[54]

Unter den muʿtazilitischen Quellen al-Baṣīr's muss das Werk 'Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār b. Aḥmad al-Hamaḏānī's (gest. 415/1024–5) – überragender Exponent der baṣrischen Muʿtazila, 977 vom Buyidenwesir aṣ-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād zum Oberrichter *(Qāḍī al-quḍāt)* im nordiranischen Rayy ernannt – gesondert hervorgehoben werden.[55] Im frühen 11. Jahrhundert verfügten die karäischen Gelehrten in Jerusalem über Abschriften zahlreicher muʿtazilitischer Werke, darunter mehrere Werke ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār's.[56] Vermittels al-Baṣīr's Schriften avancierte ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār's Werk zur Primärreferenz der karäischen Fundamentaltheologie und Rechtshermeneutik.

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53 Beispiele sind Ms. St. Petersburg, RNL Yevr.-Arab. I:680, ff. 87v–135v zur Imperativform *('amr)*; RNL Yevr.-Arab. I:794, ff. 2–4 und 33–38 zu erkenntnistheoretischen Fragen der Überlieferung *('aḫbār)*; RNL Yevr.-Arab. I:1811, ff. 58–88 zur Abrogation *(nasḫ)*; hier wird auch eine separate Schrift *(Risāla)* zum Thema erwähnt (f. 82v). — Es darf hier angemerkt werden, dass *K. al-Istibṣār* [wörtlich: „Buch über das Streben nach Sehkraft"] für einen blinden, aber „Sehender" *(baṣīr)* genannten Autor eine durchaus doppelsinnige Titelwahl ist.

54 Yūsuf al-Baṣīr, *al-Kitāb al-Muḥtawī fī ʿilm at-tawḥīd wa-l-ʿadl*. Hrsg. von Georges Vajda und David R. Blumenthal. Leiden 1985, S. 756 bzw. 524 (franz. Übersetzung). Im *Sefer ha-Neʿimot*, der von Ṭovia b. Moshe (11. Jh.) angefertigten hebräischen Übersetzung des *K. al-Muḥtawī*, findet sich die entsprechende Stelle in der Ausgabe von Yosef al-Gamil. Ashdod 2004, S. 334. Die *'uṣūl al-fiqh* werden hier durch *ʿIqqarey ha-teliyya* (wörtlich: „Grundlagen des Aufhängens") wiedergegeben.

55 Siehe WILFERD MADELUNG, ʿAbd al-Jabbār b. Aḥmad, in: Encyclopaedia Iranica Bd. I (1982), S. 116–118.

56 Siehe HAGGAI BEN-SHAMMAI, A Note on Some Karaite Copies of Muʿtazilite Writings, in: Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies 37 (1974), S. 295-304. GREGOR SCHWARB, Découverte d'un nouveau fragment du *Kitāb al-Muġnī fī 'abwāb al-tawḥīd wa-l-ʿadl* du Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār al-Hamaḏānī dans une collection karaïte de la British Library, in: MIDEO 27 (2007) (in Druck). Es ist nicht auszuschliessen, dass einige der karäischen Abschriften ihren Ursprung in Rayy haben. YOSEF AL-GAMIL, Das karäische Judentum in Osteuropa (hebr.). Ashdod 2001, S. 188, meinte, dass Yūsuf al-Baṣīr selbst aus Rayy, und nicht

III.3. Mitte bis Ende des 11. Jahrhunderts: Partielle bis umfassende Adaptation der generischen Struktur der 'uṣūl al-fiqh

Von Yūsuf al-Baṣīr's Werk ist es nur noch ein kleiner Schritt hin zur Aneignung der generischen Struktur muʿtazilitischer *'uṣūl al-fiqh*. Es ist deshalb wenig erstaunlich, dass dieser Schritt von einem Schüler al-Baṣīr's, nämlich Yeshuʿa ben Yehuda (= 'Abū l-Farağ Furqān b. 'Asad) vollzogen wurde.[57] Gleichzeitig ist es bezeichnend, dass sich die Adaptation des literarischen Genres der *'uṣūl al-fiqh* auf das karäische Judentum beschränkte. Im rabbinischen Judentum wurde diese dritte Rezeptionsstufe nie erreicht.

Yeshuʿa ben Yehuda

Yeshuʿa's 438/1046 geschriebener *Kitāb at-Tawriya* („Buch des doppelsinnigen Redens") kann als umfassende Darstellung theologischer, epistemologischer und linguistischer Grundprobleme der Schrifthermeneutik charakterisiert werden, wobei sich diese Probleme in der Frage bündeln, ob doppelsinniges Reden Bestandteil der göttlichen Rede sein kann.[58] In dieser pointierten Form behandelt *K. at-Tawriya* fundamentaltheologische Themen *('uṣūl ad-dīn)*, die Gottes' Wesen und seine Attribute betreffen. Von den sechs Teilen des Buches sind die Teile I–V parallel zu Werken der islamischen Rechtshermeneutik: Der nur fragmentarisch erhaltene erste Teil enthält eine Klassifikation der Redensformen und Sprechakte (*al-ḫiṭāb wa-'aḥwāluhū*, Teil II behandelt Imperativ und Prohibitiv *('amr, nahy)*, Teil III den Indikativ bzw. die Überlieferung *(ḫabar)*, Teil IV Partikularität und Allgemeinheit *('uṣāl, ʿumūm)*, Teil V die Abrogation *(nasḫ)* und „die verzögerte Erklärung" *(ta'ḫīr al-bayān)*. Teil VI behandelt vermischte exegetische Probleme *(≈ muškil/mutašābih at-Tawrāt)*.

Themen der *'uṣūl al-fiqh* werden auch in Yeshuʿa's übrigen Schriften behandelt, etwa an diversen Stellen seiner Bibelkommentare, vor allem aber in der Einleitung zu seiner „Abhandlung über die verbotenen Verwandtschaftsgrade" (*Muqaddimat*

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aus Baṣra stamme. Die Quelle dieser Information ist mir allerdings unbekannt.

57 Zu Yeshuʿa ben Yehuda siehe HAGGAI BEN-SHAMMAI, Yeshuʿa Ben Yehuda – Charakterisierung eines karäischen Gelehrten aus dem Jerusalem des 11. Jahrhunderts (hebr.), in: Peʿamim 32 (1987), S. 3–20. DAVID SKLARE et al., Judaeo-Arabic Manuscripts in the Firkovitch Collections. The Works of Yeshuʿah ben Yehudah. A Sample Catalogue, Texts and Studies. Jerusalem 2007 (in Druck).

58 Edition, englische Übersetzung und ausführlicher Kommentar dieser umfangreichen Schrift (246 fol.) sind Gegenstand meiner Dissertation. — Es gilt zu beachten, dass *tawriyat*^{un} und *tawrāt*^{un} („Tora") sowohl in hebräischer als auch in unvokalisierter arabischer Schrift Homographen sind [von den meisten Werken Yeshuʿa's sind uns sowohl Handschriften in hebräischer Schrift als auch solche in arabischer Schrift erhalten]. Dadurch, dass der Buchtitel nicht nur „doppelsinniges Reden" bedeudet, sondern auch „doppelsinnig" ist, kann er als performative Realisierung seiner semantischen Bedeutung betrachtet werden. Da das Buch von der Tora und den in der Frage des „doppelsinnigen Redens" kulminierenden Problemen ihrer Auslegung handelt, ist das Titelwort Programm des ganzen Buches.

Ǧawābāt al-masā'il fī l-ʿarayot) und in seiner nach 1060 verfassten anti-rabbinischen Schrift *Tafsīr tora ṣiwwa lanu*.[59]

Im Rahmen dieses Artikels soll es genügen, zwei Textausschnitte aus dem „Buch des doppeldeutigen Redens" in deutscher Übersetzung wiederzugeben.

Der erste Text ist dem nur unvollständig erhaltenen zweiten Teil zu Imperativ und Prohibitiv entnommen:

> Wisse, dass Uneinigkeit darüber besteht, ob der Imperativ in der Sprache [= die linguistische Form des Imperativs] für eine (verbindliche) Verpflichtung *('īǧāb)* steht.[60] Qāḍī al-Quḍāt (ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār) berichtete im *Kitāb al-ʿUmad*, dass 'Abū ʿAlī (al-Ǧubbā'ī) und (Muḥammad b. 'Idrīs) aš-Šāfiʿī zu dieser (Frage) je unterschiedliche Meinungen vertraten. Er erwähnte zudem, dass die meisten Juristen (der Ansicht waren), dass er Verpflichtung impliziere, wenn sie auch diese Position unterschiedlich begründeten. Er [= ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār] und 'Abū Hāšim (al- Ǧubbā'ī) waren der Meinung, dass (der Imperativ) nicht die Verpflichtung, die (gebotene) Handlung (auszuführen), impliziere.[61]
>
> Mir war bekannt, dass einige sprachgewandte und in der arabischen Sprache gebildete Leute, deren Vorzüglichkeit auf diesem Gebiet wohlbekannt ist – selbst wenn ihre Sprachkompetenz nicht höher zu bewerten ist als jene der zuvor Genannten, so stehen sie ihnen darin auch nicht nach –, der Auffassung waren, dass der Imperativ in (der arabischen Sprache) für die Verpflichtung steht. (Die Richtigkeit dieser Auffassung) ergab sich für sie aus ihrer dabei empfundenen Seelenruhe *(sukūn nufūsihim)*.[62] Allerdings kommt es ja häufig vor, dass man (eine auf Seelenruhe gründende Auffassung) zugunsten einer davon abweichenden (Auffassung) fallen lässt.

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59 Bereits SCHREINER, Jeschu'a ben Jehuda, S. 70 [570], hatte Yeshu'a's „Traktat über die verbotenen Verwandtschaftsgrade" als „mu'tazilitische[s] Werk über die *'uṣūl al-fiqh*" charakterisiert (vgl. oben S. 78). Sowohl die *Ǧawābāt al-masā'il fī l-'arayot* als auch der *Tafsīr tora ṣiwwa lanu* sind von mir durch Kollation sämtlicher bisher indentifizierten Handschriften rekonstruiert worden. Relevante Texte werden in der obengenannten Dissertation diskutiert.

60 In die Terminologie John L. Austin's übersetzt geht es darum, ob die linguistische Form des Imperativs ausnahmslos die stärkste Stufe eines ‚exerzitiven', direktiven Sprechaktes („Ich befehle Dir...") repräsentiere.

61 Die Zuschreibung der entsprechenden Auffassungen an bestimmte Personen oder Gruppen findet sich in den meisten *'uṣūl al-fiqh* Werken. Siehe z.B. 'Abū Ṭālib Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn al-Buṭḥānī, K. *Ǧawāmiʿ al-'adilla fī 'uṣūl al-fiqh*, Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Arabic B 49, f. 3r. 'Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī aṣ-Ṣaymarī, *K. Masā'il al-ḫilāf fī 'uṣūl al-fiqh* (s.o. Anm. 7), S. 3f.

62 Zu diesem zentralen Bergriff der muʿtazilitischen Erkenntnistheorie, siehe JOSEF VAN ESS, Die Erkenntnislehre des ʿAḍudaddīn al-Īcī. Übersetzung und Kommentar des ersten Buches seiner *Mawāqif*. Wiesbaden 1966, S. 75–77. Seelenruhe ist ein Symptom sicheren Wissens *(ʿilm)*, im Gegensatz zu hypothetischem Wissen *(ẓann)*. Die epistemologische Relevanz der Seelenruhe war schon früh Gegenstand heftiger Polemik (siehe VAN ESS, ebd.).

> Für uns ist es wohl wichtiger, in Erfahrung zu bringen, wie es sich bei uns, in unserer Sprache, verhält. Es scheint offensichtlich, dass die linguistische Form, die (im Hebräischen) der Imperativform des Arabischen entspricht – z.B. *ʿase* (‚tue'), *bᵉne* (‚baue'), *ekhol* (‚iss'), *shᵉte* (‚trink') – solange als Verpflichtung zu verstehen ist als sie ohne kontextuellen Anhaltspunkt *(qarīna)* gebraucht wird, der implizieren würde, dass es keine verbindliche Verpflichtung ist.[63]

Das zweite Textbeispiel entnehme ich dem vierten Teil des *K. at-Tawriya* zu den allgemeinen und partikularen Bedeutungen linguistischer Formen[64]:

> (Die arabische Vokabel) ‚man' (= ‚wer') gehört zu den linguistischen Formen, die Allgemeinheit bezeichnen *('alfāẓ al-ʿumūm)*, wenn sie als Indefinitpronomen in Bedingungssätzen oder (als Interrogativpronomen) in Fragesätzen gebraucht wird, z.B. wenn jemand sagt: „Wer (auch immer) mich besucht, den behandle ich zuvorkommend"; „Wer (auch immer) mich zurücksetzt, den behandle ich mit Verachtung", oder dasselbe in umgekehrter Reihenfolge; „Wer (auch immer) sich mir gegenüber feindselig verhält, den behandle (auch) ich feindselig, und wer mich freundlich behandelt, den behandle (auch) ich freundlich". (Alle diese Beispiele) sind auf alle Menschen [wörtl. „auf alle, die zur Species der Vernunftbegabten gehören"] anwendbar. (Beispiele) für Fragesätze sind etwa: „Wer ist bei Dir (zu Gast)"; „Wer ist zu Dir gekommen"; „Wer ist Dir begegnet". Auch diese Fragesätze beziehen sich nicht auf ein bestimmtes Individuum, und deshalb kann sich die Antwort richtigerweise auf alle Menschen beziehen, nicht aber auf etwas anderes (als Menschen).
>
> Im Hebräischen ist die (dem arabischen ‚man') entprechende Vokabel ‚mī' (‚wer'), beispielsweise in: „Wer ist es, der ein neues Haus gebaut hat" (Dtn 20:5); „Wer ist es, der einen Weinberg gepflanzt hat" (Dtn 20:6); „Wer ist es, der sich mit einer Frau verlobt hat" (Dtn 20:7); „Wer ist es, der sich fürchtet" (Dtn 20:8); „Wer ist es, der gegen mich gesündigt hat" (Ex 32:33); „Wer ist es, der nicht zu Ihm heraufgekommen ist (Jdc 21:8). (In diesen Beispielen) bezieht sich ‚mī' auf all jene, die der jeweiligen Beschreibung entsprechen. (Beispiele für den Gebrauch von ‚mī') in Fragesätzen (sind): „Wer hat das getan?" (Jdc 15:6); „Wer von uns soll zuerst gegen die Kanaanäer hinaufziehen?" (Jdc 1:1); „Wen soll ich senden, und wer wird für uns hingehen?" (Jes 6:8), „Wer ist mit mir, wer?" (II Reg 9:32). (In diesen Beispielen) hat

63 Ms. St. Petersburg, RNL Yevr.-Arab. I:4816, f. 84v–85r.

64 Im Fachjargon heutiger Sprachwissenschaft geht es um das Problem der Bestimmung der Mengenreferenz bzw. des Quantifikationsbereichs von nominalen Quantoren und Quantorenphrasen. Vgl. dazu jetzt ausführlich CORNELIA SCHÖCK, Koranexegese, Grammatik und Logik. Zum Verhältnis von arabischer und aristotelischer Urteils-, Konsequenz- und Schlusslehre. Leiden 2006. TILLSCHNEIDER, Entstehung.

‚mī' die Funktion eines Interrogativpronomens. In dieser Bedeutung darf es jedoch bei Ihm [= als Bestandteil göttlicher Rede] nicht vorkommen. „Wen soll ich dir heraufholen? Und er erwiderte: ‚Hole mir Samuel herauf!'" (I Sam 28:11). Gelegentlich hat ‚mī' auch die Funktion einer Negation, z.B. in „Wenn Er ruht, wer darf Ihn für schuldig erklären? Verbirgt Er das Angesicht, wer kann Ihn wahrnehmen, eine Nation, ein Mensch?" (Hi 34:29); „Siehe, Er rafft dahin, und wer will Ihm wehren? Wer kann zu Ihm sagen: Was tust Du?" (Hi 9:12); „Wer ist Dir gleich unter den Göttern, Adonay, Wer ist Dir gleich" (Ex 15:11). (In diesen Beispielen) hat ‚mī' ebenfalls eine allgemeine Bedeutung und bezieht sich auf jeden einzelnen Menschen. Dementsprechend meint (das letztgenannte Beispiel): „Unter allen Handlungsfähigen und Vernunftbegabten gibt es keinen, der gegen Dich ankäme und Dich bekämpfen könnte. In diesem Sinn heisst es: „Wer ist der Gott im Himmel (und auf Erden), der etwas Deinen Werken und Deinen Machttaten Vergleichbares tun könnte' (Dtn 3:24), was bedeutet: ‚Es gibt keinen, der Deine Taten vollbringen könnte'. In einigen Fällen wird ‚mī' auch als Determinans *(maʿrifa)* für Gott gebraucht, da Ihm der Status eines Vernunftbegabten zukommt, z.B. in: „Wer hat Jakob der Plünderung preisgegeben?" (Jes 42:24), oder wenn es in bezug auf den Leviathan heisst: „Wer deckte die Oberseite seines Gewandes auf?" (Hi 41:5), was bedeutet: ‚Es gibt niemanden, der dies tun könnte ausser dem, der ihn geschaffen hat. Er ist sein Schöpfer und Er hat [ihm] sein Schwert beschafft' (vgl. Hi 40:19). Wenn (die Vokabel ‚mī') in einem von diesen Bedeutungen abweichenden Sinn gebraucht wird, muss ein Ausweg gefunden werden, damit sie ihrer eigentlichen Bedeutung entspricht, wo immer dies möglich ist, wie etwa in: „Wer ist mein Haus" (II Sam 7:18 = ; I Chr 17:16) und „Wer ist Dein Name" (Jdc 13:17), denen die hypothetische Satzstruktur *(taqdīruhu)*[65] „Wer sind die Leute meines Hauses?" bzw. im zweiten Fall „Wer bist Du?" zugrunde liegt.[66]

'Abū l-Faḍl Sahl b. al-Faḍl b. Sahl at-Tustarī

Das zweite Beispiel für die Adaptation des *'uṣūl al-fiqh* Genres im jüdischen *kalām* des 11. Jahrhunderts finden wir im *Kitāb al-'Īmā' 'ilā ǧawāmiʿ at-taklīf ʿilm*^{an} *wa-ʿamal*^{an} („Buch des Hinweisens auf die Gesamtheit der wissens- und praxisspezifischen Komponenten der auferlegten religiösen Verpflichtungen")[67] des 'Abū

65 Siehe zu diesem Begriff HADASSA SHY, *Taqdīr* and Its Counterparts in Mediaeval Judaeo-Arabic, in: Genizah Research After Ninety Years. The Case of Judaeo-Arabic. Papers read at the third congress of the Society for Judaeo-Arabic Studies. Hrsg. von Joshua Blau et al. Cambridge 1992, S. 144–153. ARYEH LEVIN, The Theory of *al-taqdīr* and Its Terminology, in: Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam 21 (1997), S. 142–166.

66 Ms. St. Petersburg, RNL Yevr.-Arab. I:3472, f. 2r/v.

67 Zur Rekonstruktion dieser Schrift siehe GREGOR SCHWARB, Sahl b. al-Faḍl at-Tustarī's *Kitāb al-'Īmā'*, in Ginzei Qedem 2 (2006), S. 61*–105*. MOSHE GIL, Die Tustarīs. Familie und Sekte (hebr.). Tel Aviv 1981, S. 64, liest den Buchtitel fälschlicherweise als *Kitāb al-'A'imma* [!] und

l-Faḍl Sahl b. al-Faḍl b. Sahl at-Tustarī (zweite Hälfte des 11. Jahrhunderts), Nachkomme einer Familie einflussreicher Geschäftsleute und Mäzenen im fatimidischen Kairo.[68]

In der Einleitung zu diesem Werk schreibt at-Tustarī wie folgt:

> Als ich von jemandem einen Brief erhielt, dessen Autorität nicht widersprochen werden darf und der im Bereich der (religiösen) Wissenschaften einen herausragenden Rang einnimmt, nämlich vom vortrefflichen Gelehrten 'Abū l-Ḥusayn [!] ʿAlī b. Sulaymān[69], möge Gott Seinen Beistand für ihn noch lange währen lassen, drängte mich dieser dazu, ein Kompendium nach dem Muster von aš-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā's *Kitāb Ǧumal al ʿilm wa-l-ʿamal* („Buch, das die wissens- und praxisspezifischen (Teile der Religion) zusammenfassend darstellt") zu verfassen[70], das in übersichtlicher Weise auf sämtliche wissens- und praxisspezifischen (Teile der Religion) hinweisen würde und (folgende) drei Traktate (umfassen) sollte: Der erste Traktat sollte jene Themen darlegen, die sich auf (Gottes) Einheit und Gerechtigkeit

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übersetzt dementsprechend *Sefer ha-manhigim* („Buch der Führer").

68 Die Edition und Analyse der zahlreichen erhaltenen Schriften, Exzerpte, Briefe und Buchskizzen at-Tustarīs steht noch aus. ANDREJ JAKOVLEVICH BORISOV hatte eine Studie zu diesem Autor angekündigt, die meines Wissens jedoch nie realisiert wurde [Muʿtazilitskije Rukopisi Gosudarstvennoj Publichnoj Biblioteki v Leningrade, in: Bibliografija Vostoka 8-9 (1935), S. 70 Anm. 2. Neudruck in: The Teachings of the Muʿtazila. Texts and Studies, Selected and Reprinted. Bd. II. Hrsg. von Fuat Sezgin. (Islamic Philosophy, 115). Frankfurt a.M. 2000, S. 18]. Einige grundlegende Angaben zu Sahl b. al-Faḍl at-Tustarī finden sich in SAMUEL POZNAŃSKI's unveröffentlichter *Enṣyqlopedia le-toledot bney miqra* (Ms. Jerusalem 4° 760). IDEM, The Karaite Literary Opponents of Saadiah Gaon. London 1908, S. 183–185. MANN, Texts and Studies, vol. II, S. 39–42. GIL, Die Tustarīs, S. 16 und 63f. Siehe ferner HAGGAI BEN-SHAMMAI, Major Trends in Karaite Philosophy and Polemics in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries, in: Karaite Judaism. A Guide to its History and Literary Sources. Hrsg. von Meira Polliack. Leiden 2003, S. 357f. mit Anm. 105. Drei kurze Textausschnitte aus al-Tustarī's Werken finden sich in W. MADELUNG; S. SCHMIDTKE, Rational Theology in Interfaith Communication: Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's Muʿtazilī Theology among the Karaites in the Fāṭimid Age (Jerusalem Studies in Religion and Culture, 5), Leiden, 2006.

69 Zu 'Abū l-Ḥasan [!] ʿAlī b. Sulaymān siehe SOLOMON L. SKOSS, The Arabic commentary of ʿAlī ben Suleimān the Karaite on the book of Genesis. Philadelphia 1928, S. 28–35. ANDREJ JAKOVLEVICH BORISOV, Das Leben des Karäers ʿAlī ibn Sulaymān: Ort und Zeit (russ.), in: Palestinskij Sbornik 2 (1956), S. 109-114.

70 Zu aš-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā (gest. 436/1044) und seinem Werk siehe WILFERD MADELUNG, ʿAlam al-Hodā, in: Encyclopaedia Iranica Bd. I (1982), S. 791–795. Sein *K. Ǧumal al-ʿilm wa-l-ʿamal* wurde herausgegeben von Rašīd aṣ-Ṣaffār. an-Naǧaf 1378/1967. Dieses in der Imāmitischen (Zwölfer-)Shīʿa einflussreiche Werk bzw. einzelne Teile davon wurden im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert verschiedentlich kommentiert. Siehe dazu meinen oben, Anm. 67 genannten Artikel, S. 77*–82*. Von ʿAlī b. Sulaymān ist auch eine Abschrift von aš-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā's *K. Daḫīrat al-ʿālim wa-baṣīrat al-mutaʿallim* [= *K. aḍ-Ḍaḫīra fī ʿilm al-kalām*] vorhanden (Ms. St. Petersburg, RNL Firk. Arab. 111), kopiert in Fusṭāṭ, Dezember 1079 – Januar 1080. Siehe SABINE SCHMIDTKE, Eine Abschrift von aš-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā's *Kitāb aḍ-Ḍaḫīra*, kopiert in 472/1079-80 (pers.), Maʿārif 20 (1382/2003), S. 68-84.

beziehen [*scil. 'uṣūl ad-dīn*]; der zweite Traktat sollte – dem Modell der *'uṣūl al-fiqh* entsprechend – die Voraussetzungen und Grundlagen des Religionsgesetzes *(aš-šarīʿa)* erläutern; der dritte Traktat sollte in geordneter Weise die wesentlichen Punkte (aller) in der Tora enthaltenen Gebote behandeln, wobei für jene (Gebote) ein Nachweis *(dalīl)* angeführt werden sollte, deren Begründung auf mehr als nur dem *prima facie* Sinn des Schrifttextes *(ẓāhir an-naṣṣ)* beruht, und zudem deutlich unterschieden werden sollte zwischen jenen (Geboten), deren Verpflichtung an einen bestimmten Zeitpunkt und an bestimmte Personen gebunden ist und jenen, deren Pflichterfüllung für alle und zu jeder Zeit gilt.[71]

Der zweite Traktat des Buches, der dem Modell der *'uṣūl al-fiqh* entsprechen soll, ist in folgende zehn Kapitel unterteilt:

II.1. Erläuterung der den Wissenschaften gemeinsamen Methoden *(Bayān aṭ-ṭuruq al-muštaraka lil-ʿulūm)*

II.2. Kapitel über die Inversion von Propositionen *(faṣl fī ʿaks al-qaḍāyā)*

II.3. Kapitel über den Imperativ *(faṣl fī l-'amr)*

II.4. Kapitel über die Prohibitive *(faṣl fī n-nawāhī)*

II.5. Kapitel über die Allgemeinheit und die Partikularität *(faṣl fī l-ʿumūm wa-l-ḫuṣūṣ)*

II.6. Kapitel zur Erörterung des Partikularen *(faṣl fī ḏikr al-ḫāṣṣ)*

II.7. Kapitel über die Klarstellung *(faṣl fī l-bayān)*

II.8. Kapitel über den Umstand, dass alles, was vom Dargelegten verschieden ist, ohne (entsprechende) Evidenz weder auf seiner noch auf einer von ihr abweichenden Grundlage interpretiert werden soll *(faṣl fī 'anna mā siwā l-maḏkūr lā yağibu ḥamluhu ʿalā ḥukmihi wa-lā ʿalā ḫilāfihi bi-ġayr dalāla)*

II.9. Kapitel über die Abrogation und zugehörige Themen *(faṣl fī n-nasḫ wamā yattaṣilu bihi)*

II. 10. Kapitel über den Analogieschluss *(faṣl fī l-qiyās)*

Bereits die Kapitelüberschriften des zweiten Traktats geben Aufschluss über eine Entwicklung, die charakteristisch ist für die karäische Literatur des späten 11. Jahrhunderts und insbesondere die späteren Schriften von 'Abū l-Faḍl Sahl b. al-Faḍl at-Tustarī und 'Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Sulaymān. Bei beiden Autoren, die in einem intensiven intellektuellen Austausch standen, beobachten wir das Bestreben, sich fortlaufend neue Quellen anzueignen. Dieses Bestreben verbindet sich mit einer zunehmenden Bereitschaft, die von ihren Lehrern an der karäischen Akademie in Jerusalem

71 Ms. St. Petersburg, RNL Yevr.-Arab. I:1680, f. 1v–2r.

vertretenen Positionen zu hinterfragen. Über die muʿtazilitischen Primärreferenzen ihrer Lehrer hinaus werden nun insbesondere auch Texte der *falāsifa* kritisch gelesen.

Mehrere Faktoren trugen zu dieser Entwicklung bei: Mit dem Ende der Buyidenherrschaft und dem kontinuierlichen Vordringen der Seldschuken in die zentralen und westlichen Gebiete der islamischen Welt wurde die Muʿtazila – und der *kalām* insgesamt – zunehmend, teilweise mit Brachialgewalt, an den Rand gedrängt und verlor an Einfluss und Bedeutung.[72] Gleichzeitig finden sich im *kalām* des 11. Jahrhunderts vermehrt Spuren einer *falsafa*-Rezeption. Für diese Tendenz steht auf muʿtazilitischer Seite das Werk 'Abū 'l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. aṭ-Ṭayyib al-Baṣrī's (gest. 436/1044) und die von ihm begründete Ḥusaynīya und auf 'ašʿaritischer Seite jenes von 'Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ġazzālī (gest. 505/1111).[73]

At-Tustarī's Werk und die von ihm im *K. al-'Īmā'* vertretene Version der *'uṣūl al-fiqh* lässt sich also durchaus mit Entwicklungen seiner Zeit in Verbindung bringen. Auch in seinem Fall werden jedoch präzisere Quellenstudien erst möglich sein, wenn seine erhaltenen Schriften in kritischen Editionen vorliegen. Im Rahmen dieses Beitrages beschränke ich mich darauf, einen kurzen Textausschnitt in deutscher Übersetzung wiederzugeben.

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72 Siehe hierzu den reich dokumentierten Beitrag von WILFERD MADELUNG, The Spread of Māturīdism and the Turks, in: Actas do IV Congresso de Estudos Árabes e Islámicos, Coimbra-Lisboa 1968. Leiden 1971, S. 109-168, v. a. 114–116, wo auch auf einige sehr begrenzte ḥanafitische „Bastionen" in Ḫwārazm hingewiesen wird, in denen die Muʿtazila ausserhalb der Imāmīya und der Zaydīya überdauerte. Zur Entwicklung der 'Ašʿarīya im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert siehe DANIEL GIMARET, Un document majeur pour l'histoire du *kalām*: Le *Muǧarrad maqālāt al-Aš'arī* d'Ibn Fūrak, in *Arabica* 32 (1985), S. 185-218, v. a. S. 190-194.

73 Der Einfluss der *falsafa* und speziell Ibn Sīnā's auf die Entwicklung des 'ašʿaritischen *kalām* während des elften und zwölften Jahrhunderts wurde jüngst wieder aufgegriffen von ROBERT WISNOVSKY, One Aspect of the Avicennian Turn in Sunnī Theology, in: Arabic Sciences and Philosophy 14 (2004), S. 65-100 und FRANK GRIFFEL, Al-Ġazālī's Concept of Prophecy: The Introduction of Avicennan Psychology into Ašʿarite Theology, in: Arabic Sciences and Philosophy 14 (2004), S. 101–144. Wichtige Einsichten in diese Richtung sind bereits diskutiert worden von MARTIN SCHREINER, Zur Geschichte des Aśʿaritenthums, in: Actes du huitième Congrès International des Orientalistes. Stockholm 1889, S. 81ff. [Neudruck in: IDEM, Gesammelte Schriften. Islamische und jüdisch-islamische Studien. Hrsg. von Moshe Perlmann. Hildesheim u. a. 1983, S. 162ff.]. Zu 'Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī siehe DANIEL GIMARET, Abū'l-Ḥosayn [...] al-Baṣrī, in: Encyclopaedia Iranica Bd. I (1990), S. 322–324. ELIAS GIANNAKIS, The Structure of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's Copy of Aristotle's Physics, in: Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Arabisch-Islamischen Wissenschaften 8 (1993), S. 251–8. S. SCHMIDTKE, "The Karaites' Encounter with the Thought of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī (d. 436/1044). A Survey of the Relevant Materials in the Firkovitch-Collection, St. Petersburg", in: *Arabica* 53,1 (2006), S. 108–42, v. a. 112f., 117f.

Kapitel über die Allgemeinheit und die Partikularität[74]

Allgemeinheit gehört zu den Bestandteilen kommunikativer Rede. Es handelt sich um die linguistische Form, die geprägt wurde, um Inklusivität anzuzeigen, ohne ihr etwas Zusätzliches beizufügen. Wir machen das Nichtvorhandensein von etwas Zusätzlichem deshalb zur Bedingung, weil (eine linguistische Form) dieses nur benötigt, um etwas klarzustellen, was sie (für sich allein) nicht deutlich macht. Für sich allein genommen wäre die linguistische Form dann nicht allgemein. Um zu erkennen, ob eine (linguistische Form) Allgemeinheit ausdrückt, orientiert man sich am Sprachgebrauch der Sprachgemeinschaft. Falls (die Bedeutung einer linguistischen Form) dennoch unklar bleibt, so soll man darin Aufschluss suchen, dass man ihr eine Ausnahme oder Restriktion beistellt bzw. darin, dass man ihr eine Ausnahme oder Restriktion beistellen kann. Beim Aufstellen der Ausnahme soll man genau auf die Umstände achten, damit der Sprechende – wenn die Ausnahme sich nicht mehr auf diese (Umstände) bezieht – weiterhin ausnimmt und nicht stattdessen etwas korrigierend hinzufügt oder glaubt, dies tu zu müssen.

Zu den linguistischen Formen, die Allgemeinheit anzeigen, gehören [erstens] unbestimmte Nomen, die sich, wenn ihnen der bestimmte Artikel beigefügt wird, auf nichts Vorausgehendes beziehen, das sie determinieren würde, und auf die auch keine adjektivische Beschreibung folgt, die für sie determinierende Funktion haben würde. Der bestimmte Artikel zeigt dann Allgemeinheit und Inklusivität an, wie etwa in „Der einen Toten Berührende [= Jeder, der einen Toten berührt]" (Num 19:11).

[Zweitens] gehören dazu (die Vokabel) 'Wer' ['mī'], die sich auf alle vernunftbegabten Wesen bezieht, wie etwa in „Wer ist es, der sich fürchtet" (Dtn 20:8), und (die Vokabel) 'Was' ['mā'], die sich einerseits auf alles nicht Vernunftbegabte beziehen kann, wie etwa in „Was immer Dein Herz begehrt" (I Sam 20:4), andererseits aber auch Vernunftbegabte *und* nicht Vernunftbegabte einbegreifen kann, wie etwa in „Was (Wen) suchst du?" (Gen 37:15).

[Zu den linguistischen Formen, die Allgemeinheit anzeigen], können [drittens] auch jene gezählt werden, die eine verstärkende Funktion haben, wie etwa in „Alle, die gegen Deine Anordnungen verstossen" (Jos 1:18). Diese linguistischen Formen beziehen sich auf all jene, für die die gegebene Beschreibung zutrifft, seien es nun viele oder wenige. Wenn unbestimmte Nomen in der Pluralform stehen, bezeichnen sie in der affirmativen Form das Minimum dessen, was eine Pluralform einbegreift, nämlich drei. In der negativen Form zeigt es die Negation aller an, und zwar aus dem Grund, den wir schon zuvor im Zusammenhang mit der Inklusivität des Prohibitivs erwähnt haben. In der affirmativen Form können sie selbstverständlich auch mehr als

74 Vgl. zum Thema SCHÖCK, Koranexegese. TILLSCHNEIDER, Entstehung.

das Minimum einer Pluralform einschliessen, jedoch ist dies aufgrund der blossen Pluralform nicht bestimmbar.

Zu den Lexemen, die Allgemeinheit anzeigen, gehören [viertens] auch solche, die mit Vielheit und Wenigkeit unverträglich sind, nämlich die Zahlwörter, wie etwa ‚fünf' und ‚zehn'. Obwohl sie etwas bezeichnen, das mehr als eins ist, ist ihre Bezeichnungsweise analog zur linguistischen Form, die sich spezifisch auf etwas bezieht, das ihr allein zukommt. Es ist in der Tat möglich, dass die Bedeutung eines sprachlichen Ausdrucks sich auf mehr als ein Einzelnes bezieht, jedoch nicht aufgrund seiner linguistischen Form.[75]

IV. Schluss: Die jüdische Rezeption der *'uṣūl al-fiqh* ab dem 12. Jahrhundert

Die in diesem Artikel überblicksartig dargestellte Rezeption der islamischen Rechtshermeneutik im jüdischen *kalām* des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts ist nicht zuletzt auch für die nachfolgende Entwicklung des jüdischen Rechtsverständnisses und der jüdischen Rechtsliteratur von Bedeutung. Sowohl im karäischen als auch im rabbinischen Judentum wurde die Rezeption der *'uṣūl al-fiqh* im 12. Jahrhundert und darüber hinaus fortgesetzt.

Wie bereits angedeutet wurde, beschränkte sich die jüdische Rezeption der islamischen Rechtshermeneutik ab dem späten 11. Jahrhundert nicht mehr auf die muʿtazilitische Version der *'uṣūl al-fiqh*. Abgesehen von der systematischen Rezeption peripatetischer Logik wurden nun zunehmend auch rechtshermeneutische Texte anderer Rechtsschulen *(maḏāhib)* gelesen. So finden sich beispielsweise in karäischen Bibliotheken Fragmente aus dem *K. 'Iḥkām al-fuṣūl fī 'aḥkām al-'uṣūl*[76] des Mālikiten 'Abū l-Walīd Sulaymān ibn Ḫalaf al-Bāǧī (gest. 474h/1081) und solche aus dem *K. Minhāǧ al-wuṣūl 'ilā ʿilm al-'uṣūl* des 'Aš'ariten-Šāfiʿiten Nāṣir ad-Dīn 'Abū l-Ḫayr ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar al-Bayḍāwī (gest. 716/1316 ?).[77]

Über die zunehmende Quellenvielfalt hinaus gilt es zu beachten, dass die Entwicklung der jüdischen Rechtsliteratur im westlichen Teil der islamischen Welt teilweise gesonderte Wege ging, wobei hier insbesondere Einflüsse der mālikitischen Rechtsschule zu untersuchen sind. Ein Beispiel wäre hier R. David ben Seʿadya al-Ger's (Granada, Mitte 11. Jahrhundert) *ad-Dīwān al-kabīr al-ḥāwī ʿalā taqyīd al-maʿānī min al-'uṣūl al-fiqhīya wa-taḥrīr mā fī al-qawānīn min al-'uṣūl aš-šarʿīya* („Die grosse Textsammlung, welche eine Auflistung der in den Rechtsprinzipien enthaltenen Begriffe und eine Zusammenstellung der in den Rechtsnormen enthaltenen religionsgesetzlichen Grundlagen umfasst"), ein thematisch geglie-

75 Ms. St. Petersburg, RNL Yevr.-Arab. I:1711, f. 24r–25v.

76 Ms. St. Petersburg, RNL Firk. Arab. 93. Das Fragment ist mit *Bāb 'aqsām 'adillat aš-šar* überschrieben und enthält eine gekürzte Fassung des Textes (vgl. die Ausgabe von ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-Ǧabbūrī. 2 Bde. Beirut 1409/1989, S. 69ff.).

77 Siehe Mss. St. Petersburg, RNL Yevr.-Arab. I:1046, II:62, II:2231. Zum Autor und der Frage seines Todesdatums siehe ETAN KOHLBERG, Bayżāwī, Nāṣer al-Dīn, in: Encyclopaedia Iranica Bd. IV (1990), S. 15.

derter Gesetzeskodex, der sich in fundamentalen Punkten von der rechtshermeneutischen Literatur des jüdischen *kalām* unterscheidet.[78] Die im Titel erwähnten „Rechtsprinzipien" *(al-'uṣūl al-fiqhīya)* bezeichnen hier nicht erkenntnistheoretische und linguistische Grundlagendiskussionen wie sie für die *'uṣūl al-fiqh* innerhalb des *kalām* charakteristisch sind, sondern die Grundlagen und die Ordnungsstruktur der Gesetze. Maimonides benutzt später denselben Ausdruck, wenn er in der 1191 verfassten *Maqāla fī t'ḥiyyat ha-metim* („Abhandlung über die Auferstehung der Toten") die inhaltlichen und formalen Vorzüge seiner Mishne Tora beschreibt:

> Den Wert der Mishne Tora wissen nur rechtschaffene Gelehrte aus Religion und Wissenschaft einzuschätzen, vorausgesetzt ihre intellektuellen Fähigkeiten reichen aus, den Vorzug (ihrer) Kompositionsmethoden zu erkennen und die ungeordnete Verstreuung jener Dinge, die ich gesammelt habe, sowie den Grundsatz ihrer Anordnung zu verstehen. Ich habe in ihr [sc. Mishne Tora] auch alle Grundsätze der Religion und des positiven Rechts *(ǧamīʿ al-'uṣūl ad-dīnīya wa-l-fiqhīya)* erwähnt, in der Absicht [...], dass jene, die *Schüler der Weisen*, *Weise*, *Gaonäer* oder wie auch immer genannt werden, ihre Rechtspraxis *(furūʿuhum)* in den Grundsätzen des positiven Rechts *(al-'uṣūl al-fiqhīya)* gründen und *ihre Thora ihnen* [sc. den Grundsätzen] *gemäss geordnet ist und ihnen der ganze Talmud verfügbar ist* [kursiv = hebr. im Orig.] und all dies wiederum auf den Grundsätzen der Religion *('uṣūl dīnīya)* aufbaut, damit sie nicht die Erkenntnis Gottes *(maʿrifat Allāh)* ihrem Geltungsbedürfnis hintanstellen, sondern ihre immensen Anstrengungen und ihre Gewandtheit für das einsetzen, was ihrer Vollkommenheit förderlich ist und sie ihrem Schöpfer näherbringt und nicht für das, was beim gemeinen Volk *('ind al-ʿawāmm)* für Vollkommenheit gehalten wird.[79]

Das maimonidische Rechtsverständnis und die Kompositionsstruktur seiner Mishne Tora sind bisher nur sehr oberflächlich mit der umfangreichen *'uṣūl al-fiqh* Literatur des 12. Jahrhunderts verglichen worden.[80] Diese Feststellung gilt für die

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78 DAVID E. SKLARE, R. David ben Seʿadya al-Ger und sein Werk al-Ḥāwī (hebr.), in: Encounters in Medieval Judaeo-Arabic Culture. Proceedings of the Fourth Conference of the Society for Judaeo-Arabic Studies. Hrsg. von Joshua Blau et al. Tel Aviv 1998, S. 103–123.

79 *Maqāla fī t'ḥiyyat ha-metim*. Hrsg. von Isaac Shailat. Jerusalem 1998, S. 320:29– 321:9.

80 SARAH STROUMSA, The Politico-Religious Context of Maimonides, in: Die Trias des Maimonides. Jüdische, arabische und antike Wissenskultur, hrsg. von Georges Tamer. Berlin 2005, S. 257–265, hat kürzlich zu zeigen versucht, dass die Kompositionsstruktur und die methodologischen Prinzipien der Mishne Tora sich an einem almohadischen Vorbild orientieren. Siehe auch YOEL KRAEMER, Der Einfluss des muslimischen Rechts auf Maimonides. Die fünf Rechtsqualifikationen menschlichen Handelns *(al-'aḥkām al-ḫamsa)* (hebr.), in: Teʿuda 10 (1996), S. 225–244. Für den Bereich des positiven Rechts ist schon mehrfach auf muslimischen Einfluss auf Maimonides hingewiesen worden. Siehe beispielsweise GIDEON LIBSON, Parallels between Maimonides and Islamic law, in: The Thought of Moses Maimonides. Hrsg. von Ira Robinson et al. New York 1990, S. 209-248 und weitere Beiträge von LIBSON. Zum Verhältnis von traditioneller Rechtshermeneutik und aristotelischer Syllogistik in

Untersuchung jüdischer Rechtskonzeptionen des 12. Jahrhunderts insgesamt. Eine eingehende Studie, welche die Entwicklungen der islamischen Rechtshermeneutik im 12. Jahrhundert unter Berücksichtigung diachroner und regionaler Differenzen mit jenen des Judentums vergleicht, bleibt weiterhin ein Desideratum.

der Einleitung zu Maimonides' Mishnakommentar (*Šarḥ al-Mishnah*) siehe AVIRAM RAVITZKY, "Halakhic Arguments as Dialectical Arguments and Exegetical Principles in Aristotelian *Topoi* in Maimonides' Philosophy", in: Tarbiṣ 73 (2005), S. 197–224.

Theological Semantics in Yūsuf al-Baṣīr's *Risāla fī ma'nā ijāzat al-naskh* *

[Mu'tazilī *uṣūl al-fiqh* and Inner-Jewish Polemics (II)]

Introduction

The pervasive presence of Mu'tazilī *Kalām* in Jewish religious thought of the 10th through 12th centuries and beyond can by now be considered common knowledge among scholars of Jewish and Islamic studies alike.[1] While it is true that Jewish Mu'tazilism is chronologically later to and historically dependent on "*the*" Mu'tazila and intimately related to it inasmuch as it explores the same cluster of conventional topics, utilises its nomenclature, concepts, dialectical techniques and modes of argumentation, and employs similar literary genres, it is neither a mere copy nor a pale imitation of its Muslim *Vorlage*. The Jewish *mutakallimūn* of the eleventh century are deep-read and full-fledged masters of their art and the significance of their contribution to the advancement and elaboration of Mu'tazilī thought can hardly be overstated.

For the historian of Mu'tazilī *Kalām*, the many surviving literary products of Jewish Mu'tazilism offer an additional value inasmuch as they present a greater variety of texts, genres and disciplines if measured against the corpus of Muslim compositions that have come down to us.

The development of Mu'tazilī *Kalām* is grounded in debate and dialectical reasoning.[2] The *mutakallimūn* were a debating society. Many of the *masā'il* that make up Mu'tazilī compositions of *uṣūl al-dīn* and *uṣūl al-fiqh* are the product of inner-school as well as intra- and inter-religious debates which were then carefully moulded into *Kalām*-style arguments.

The sizeable number of extant Mu'tazilī texts from the first half of the fifth/eleventh century by scholars of multiple denominations provide us with a rare opportunity to dissect and compare the different voices in a polyphony of intra- and interdenominational debates and controversies between Rabbanite and Qaraite Jews, Jews and Samaritans, or Jews and Muslims who all share the same theological, terminological and conceptual framework of Bahšamī-Mu'tazilī *Kalām* to defend their diverging viewpoints on issues of theological, juridical and exegetical concern. Among many other things, a comparative study of these debates provides abundant evidence for the pivotal role of dialectical texture and rhetoric effectiveness: the value and weight of arguments is contingent on the identity of the adversary and relative to the issue under debate. An argument, for instance, that is conveniently and successfully employed in debates with Samaritans may be considered unfavourable and inopportune in debates with Muslims and vice versa.

The present article is part of a series of studies that strive to explore the multifacetedness and multiperspectivity of these debates and to demonstrate the central role played by hermeneutical tools developed within *uṣūl al-fiqh* and related disciplines.

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* Except for a few bibliographical updates, this paper was completed and submitted to another forum in 2011 and circulated among several colleagues. Its publication was unduly delayed for reasons beyond the author's control. An edition and annotated translation of the treatise discussed in this article will be part of a collection of unedited Jewish polemical writings against Islam on which I am currently working in collaboration with David Sklare to whom I am also indebted for helpful comments on an earlier version of this paper.

1 For a concise survey see D. Sklare, "Mu'tazili trends in Jewish theology: a brief survey", *Journal of Islamic Sciences / İslâmî İlimler Dergisi* 17,2 (2017), pp. 145–178.

2 L. B. Miller, *Islamic Disputation Theory: The Uses & Rules of Argument in Medieval Islam*, Cham: Springer, 2020 (esp. pp. 3–27); Josef van Ess, "Disputationpraxis in der islamischen Theologie: Eine vorläufige Skizze", *Revue des études islamiques* 44 (1976), pp. 23–59; S. Stroumsa, "Early Muslim and Jewish *Kalām*: the enterprise of reasoned discourse", in *Rationalization in Religions: Judaism, Christianity and Islam*, ed. Y. Friedmann and C. Markschies, Berlin: de Gruyter, 2018, pp. 202–223.

Following the renewed access to the manuscripts of the Russian National Library in St. Petersburg in the late 1980s and the subsequent acquisition of microfilms of the bulk of the Firkóvitch Collections by the Institute of Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts at the National Library of Israel in Jerusalem in 1994-5, Abū Yaʿqūb Yūsuf b. Ibrāhīm al-Baṣīr (d. 429–30/1038–9)[3] was the first author to be granted a *Sample Catalogue* (Jerusalem 1997) describing roughly 120 manuscript fragments of his works extant in the Second Firkóvitch Collection [henceforth SP RNL].[4] The editors of the catalogue did not lay claim to exhaustiveness, as it was perfectly clear at the time that new items will come to light as long as the systematic examination of all fragments in that collection has not come to its conclusion.[5] Unsurprisingly then, the Second Firkóvitch Collection (as well as other Genizot collections around the globe) not only contain additional manuscripts of al-Baṣīr's known works but also fragments of writings that heretofore were only known by title gleaned from numerous (cross-)references in al-Baṣīr's own writings as well as those of his students.

The present article introduces a fragment of one of those hitherto unidentified treatises by Yūsuf al-Baṣīr, gives a rough summary of its contents, and examines selected passages which discuss the relation between Muʿtazilī *uṣūl al-dīn* & *uṣūl al-fiqh* and the interpretation of linguistic expressions.

I. – *Risāla fī maʿnā ijāzat al-naskh: Identification*

The first treatise of al-Baṣīr's comprehensive legal code, *K. al-Istibṣār*, covers circumcision (*al-Maqāla al-ūlā tataḍammanu 'l-kalām fī 'l-khitāna*). In it, the Qaraite author repeatedly touches on issues relating to abrogation (*naskh*)[6], first and foremost in relation to the question of whether or not the prohibition to perform manual labour on Sabbath (Ex 20:8–10) has effect upon, or even overrides and abrogates the (previously revealed) precept of circumcision (Gen 17:10–14), which

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3 On Yūsuf al-Baṣīr see D. E. Sklare, "Yūsuf al-Baṣīr: Theological Aspects of His Halakhic Works," in *The Jews of Medieval Islam*, ed. Daniel Frank (Leiden: Brill, 1995), pp. 249–270; idem and H. Ben-Shammai (eds.), *Judaeo-Arabic Manuscripts in the Firkovitch Collections: The Works of Yūsuf al-Baṣīr. A Sample Catalogue, Texts and Studies* (Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Institute, 1997); G. Schwarb "Yūsuf al-Baṣīr", in *Encyclopedia of Jews in the Islamic World*, ed. N. Stillman, Leiden: Brill. 2010, vol. IV, pp. 651–5. Most works of Yūsuf al-Baṣīr still await critical editions.

4 The *Sample Catalogue* was an indirect hommage to Georges Vajda's long-standing commitment to editing, translating and commenting upon al-Baṣīr's *al-Kitāb al-Muḥtawī*. Vajda was painfully aware of the invaluable manuscript treasures hidden away in St. Petersburg: in 1935 Andrej Jakovlevič Borisov had published his "Заметки о литературном наследии Юсуфа ал-Басира" ["Notes on the Literary Heritage of Yūsuf al-Baṣīr"], in Известия Академии наук СССР. Отделение общественных наук (1935), pp. 273–285 (see also Н.С. Смеловой and Е. О. Шухман, Избранные письма А.Я. Борисова П.К. Коковцову. Из переписки выдающихся русских семитологов ["Selected letters from the correspondence between A. J. Borisov (1903-1942) and P. K. Kokovtsov (1861-1942), the two eminent Russian Orientalists: Introduction and Edition"), in Труды востоковедов в годы блокады Ленинграда (1941–1944) ["Works of (Russian) Orientalists during the Siege of Leningrad (1941-1944)"], ed. I. F. Popova, Moscow, Vostochnaya Literatura Publishers, 2011, pp. 33–69, esp. 44–46 and 59–61 (= Borisov's letter to P. K. Kokovtsov, dated 15th June 1930). Vajda's repeated attempts to gain access to these manuscripts remained unsuccessful (see e. g. Vajda 1985, pp. 8f.) and prevented him from completing his *opus magnum*, edited posthumously in unsatisfactory fashion by D. Blumenthal (Leiden: Brill, 1985). – I have prepared revised editions of al-Baṣīr's *al-Kitāb al-Muḥtawī* and *Kitāb al-Tamyīz* which will be published synoptically with their 11th century Byzantine Hebrew translations by Ṭovia b. Moshe and detailed glossaries and indices.

5 See H. Ben-Shammai, "Foreword", in *Judaeo-Arabic Manuscripts* (n. 3 above), p. 10.

6 The most important points of this issue are included in Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Sulaymān's excerpts from *K. al-Istibṣār* (see ms. SP RNL, Yevr.-Arab. I 1804, ff. 2b–9b). Other important aspects of abrogation are discussed in al-Baṣīr's *K. al-Istiʿāna* (SP RNL Yevr.-Arab. II 915, ff. 15–18).

over time emerged as a point of contention separating Rabbanite from Qaraite Jews.[7] On two occasions, al-Baṣīr refers the reader to a forthcoming treatise which he was planning to write

The more detailed of these two references is found halfway through the 7th quire of ms. SP RNL, Yevr.-Arab. I 1811 (f. 82a)[8], where al-Baṣīr discusses Gen 17:12–13 ("[12] Eight days old every male among you shall be circumcised through your generations, even slaves born in the household and those purchased with silver from any foreigner who is not of your seed. [13] Those born in your household and those purchased with silver must be circumcised, and My covenant in your flesh shall be an everlasting covenant.")[9]:

Just as the prima facie meaning of the first verse [*scil.* Gen 17:12] entails its perpetuity and continuity for [coming] generations as per his saying "Eight days old every male among you shall be circumcised through your generations", the prima facie meaning of this verse [*scil.* Gen 17:13] also entails its perpetuity and makes it an everlasting covenant, as per His saying "an everlasting covenant". Whereas the reiteration implied in the expression "through your generations" is contingent on [the continuous succession of] the generations, the expression עולם ['world'] implies that its reiteration is dependent upon the existence of the world. Both instances follow one and the same pattern, for if their reproduction was interrupted and their generations vanished, [the precept] would cease to have effect, and His saying "shall be circumcised among you" would [only] entail liability and obligation as long as there are generations. Likewise, His saying "My covenant in your flesh shall be an everlasting covenant"

فكما أبّد ما اقتضاه ظاهر النصّ الأوّل وجعله مستمراً في الأجيال حسب قوله [I:1793, f. 8b] وبن שמנת ימים ימול לכם כל זכר לדורותיכם، كذلك أبّد ما اقتضاه هذا النصّ وجعله عهداً في التأبيد بأن قال לברית עולם. غير أنّ لفظ לדורותיכם يقتضي في تكريره بالأجيال ولفظ[10] עולם يقتضي في تكريره تعلّقه[11] بوجود العالم. وكلا الأمرين يجريان مجرى واحدًا[12]، لأنّه، لو انقطع تناسُلهم وذهبت أجيالهم، لَسقط ذلك، ولكان قوله ימול לכם يقتضي اللزوم والوجوب مهما الأجيال باقية. وكذلك [I:1811, f. 82b] قوله והיתה[13] בריתי

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7 The first treatise of *K. al-Istibṣār* (ms. SP RNL, Yevr.-Arab. I 1811) discusses the question of whether or not (or on what terms) performing a circumcision on Sabbath is permitted and how it relates to the abrogation of the Torah and the pre-eternity of legal precepts on ff. 63a–65a (*al-nahy ʿan al-aʿmāl fī 'l-sabt nasakha farḍ al-khitāna*) and in a passage directed against the ʿAnanites (ff. 36b–37a and 40a–41a). – For the rabbinic Halakhah see Shabb. xviii:3–xix:6; Ned. iii:10; BT Shabb. 130a–132b; Maimonides, *Responsa*, ed. J. Blau, vol. 2, Jerusalem 1989, p. 729–32, no. 449. In Qaraite literature the issue is addressed, among others, in Yefet b. ʿEli's commentary on Lev 12:3 (BL, Or. 2472, f. 90a-b) and Ex 20 (BL, Or. 2466, f. 91a-b), in Levi ben Yefet's *Sefer ha-Miṣvot* (RNL Yevr.-Arab. I 903, f. 9a), and most comprehensively in Yeshuʿah ben Yehudah's monumental 'Book of Commandments' (better known as *The Long Commentary on Leviticus* (*al-Tafsīr al-mabsūṭ fī sifr vay-yiqrāʾ*, RNL Yevr.-Arab. I 2135, ff. 127–134 and parallel MSS). Yeshuʿah surveys the history of previous halakhic viewpoints, Rabbanite and Qaraite, from the Mishnah up to Yūsuf al-Baṣīr. In this context he also refers to his *K. al-Tawriya* ('Book of Concealed Ambiguity'), which contains one of the most elaborate discussions on issues relating to abrogation in the whole of Judaeo-Arabic literature (I am currently completing an edition and annotated translation of *K. al-Tawriya*). For later Qaraite legal treatises which largely depend on *K. al-Istibṣār* and *al-Tafsīr al-mabsūṭ*, see e.g. Yefet ben David Ibn Ṣaghīr, *K. al-Farāʾiḍ*, ch. 29 (RNL Yevr.-Arab. I 608, f. 3a: *fī 'l-khitāna fī 'l-sabt wa-fī buṭlān al-naskh wa-fī ʿamal al-pesaḥ fī 'l-sabt*). The link between circumcision, labour restrictions on Sabbath and abrogation is also discussed in Samaritan legal treatises (see e.g. Munajjā b. Ṣadaqa, *Kitāb al-Buḥūth wa-masāʾil al-khilāf fī-mā bayna millatay 'l-Yāhūd wa-'l-Sāmira*: *Faṣl al-kalām fī 'l-khitāna wa-wujūb fiʿlihā fī 'l-sabt wa-ghayrihi min al-aʿyād*) as well as in Christian polemics against Judaism [< John 7v22f.; see, for instance, the citation from Israel bishop of Kashkar's (d. 962) *Masāʾil fī l-radd ʿalā l-Yahūd min al-ʿaql wa-'l-naql* (see ms. Cairo, Coptic Orthodox Patriarchate, Copt. Patr. Hist. 61, ff. 62a–120b) in Muʾtaman al-Dawla Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm Ibn al-ʿAssāl's (d. after 1270) *Majmūʿ uṣūl al-dīn wa-masmūʿ maḥṣūl al-yaqīn*, ed. A. Wadīʿ, Cairo/Jerusalem 1998, vol. 1, p. 132f., §§ 27, 29, 32f.; B. Holmberg, "A Refutation of the Jews by Israel of Kashkar (d. 962)", *Parole de l'Orient* 16 (1990-1), pp. 139–147].

8 In the manuscript represented by fragment SP RNL Yevr.-Arab. I 1811, the first treatise of *K. al-Istibṣār* comprised approximately eleven quires (quinions). According to my reconstruction and transcription, about one sixth of the first treatise is still missing.

9 ובן שמנת ימים ימול ל ם ל ר לדורותי ם יליד בית ומקנת מ ל בן נ ר אשר לא מ רע הוא המול ימול יליד בית ומקנת פ והיתה בריתי בבשר ם לברית עולם

10 Ms.: ולפ ה (Y.-A. I 1793).

11 תעליקה ... [באלאגיאל] תעלקה (Y.-A. I 1811).

12 Ms.: ואחד (Y.-A. I 1793 & 1811).

13 Ms. והיתי (Y.-A. I 1811).

would only be binding as long as we are alive and capable of acting. Should we, however, die and become incapable, it would cease to have effect, even if the world continued to exist. It is as if we said to a fellow being: "Make this your food for ever", because the relation [of this injunction] to perpetuity would be just like the relation to the generations [in the verse mentioned above]; what is meant by it is that the action is reiterated *as long as the conditions of its possibility are met*.

In a treatise that will deal with the meaning of "the permissibility of abrogation" I hope to elucidate the fact that the beneficiality of acts is on a par with the capacity [*to act*] *insofar as a linguistic expression of perpetuity does not imply that it* [*scil. the capacity to act*] *lasts for ever. On the contrary, it allows for the possibility of discontinuity and incapacity, as well as for the fact that the beneficiality of an act may be subject to change. This notwithstanding, the* [*use of a*] *linguistic expression of perpetuity is appropriate*.

בבשרכם לברית עולם إنّما يلزم مهما نحن أحياء قادرون، فلو متنا وعجزنا، لَبطل ذلك، وإن كان العالم موجودًا. وذلك[14] يجري مجرى قول أحدنا[15] لصاحبه «اجعل هذا غذائك أبداً»، فتعليق ذلك بالأبد كتعليق ذلك بالأجيال في أنّه المراد به كون الفعل مكرّرًا ما دام[16] عليه.

ولعلّنا نبيّن في رسالة تتضمّن معنى إجازة النسخ أنّ كون[17] الفعل صلاحاً يجري مجرى القدرة[18] في أنّه لفظ التأبيد لا يوجب دوامها وأنّه قد يجوز الاختزام والعجز مع ذلك وأنّ كون الفعل صلاحاً يجوز أن يتغيّر [I:1793, f. 51a[19]] ولا يمنع ذلك من حسن لفظ التأبيد.

The wider context of this reference and the topics mentioned as components of the planned treatise already give us a clear idea of its contents and scope. It should be noted here that the *Risāla* in question is not identical with a *Mas'ala ʿalā man iddaʿā naskh šarīʿatinā* ("Question and responsum in refutation of those who alleged that our Law has been abrogated") which was referenced a few pages before the above-quoted passage as an already completed text.[20]

A second, less obvious reference to the same *Risāla* is found halfway through the fourth quire of ms. SP RNL Yevr.-Arab. I 1811. For the sake of clarity and completeness, I again quote the reference in its wider context:

Take note that the argument ought to be [addressed to] other people than these [*scil.* the afore-mentioned group of 'Ananites], for they lack the qualification to engage in methodical deliberation. Those, however, who on account of their statements are deemed competent to engage in methodical deliberation, maintain that [the legal force of] a precept containing a linguistic expression of perpetuity must last for ever and therefore will never be abrogated, for [otherwise] the expression [of perpetuity] would be used in a way other than what it was coined for, namely metaphorically, and whatever is used that way ought to be linked to an elucidating statement which prevents its usage from being tantamount to addressing a [Bantu-speaking] inhabitant of Zanzibar in Arabic.[21] This would, so they claim, confute the position of those who license abrogation even in the presence of an expression of perpetuity. Accordingly, they claim that His saying "for your generations" implies that [the precept of] circumcision is

واعلم أن الكلام يجب أن يكون مع غير هؤلاء، إذ كانوا غير أهل نظر، والذي(!) يعتدّ بقولهم من أهل النظر هم الذين يقولون إنّ الفرض، إذا ورد فيه لفظ تأبيد، فيجب استمراره دائماً، فلا يُنسخ، لأن في ذلك استعمال العبارة في غير ما وُضعت له، فتكون مجازاً، ومن حق ما جرى [I:1811, f. 63b] هذا المجرى أن يقارنه بيان يخرج به اللفظ من أن يكون في حكم خطاب الزنجي بالعربية. فيزعمون أنّ الذي به يفسد قول من أجاز تأخير البيان به يفسد قول من أجاز النسخ مع ورود لفظ التأبيد [I:1804, f. 3a]

14 Ms. דל (Y.-A. I 1811).

15 קולנא [קול אחדנא] (Y.-A. I 1811).

16 Ms.: מדאם (Y.-A. I 1793 & 1811).

17 Ms. י ון (Y.-A. I 1811).

18 Ms. אלקדרה (Y.-A. I 1793).

19 Note that in ms. RNL Yevr.-Arab. I 1793, f. 8b is followed by f. 51a.

20 See SP RNL Yevr.-Arab. I 1793, f. 1a; Sklare, *Yūsuf al-Baṣīr*, p. 258, work no. 6 with n. 30, seems to have lumped together the *Mas'ala* and the *Risāla*. The topic addressed in the *Mas'ala* is also discussed in al-Baṣīr's *K. al-Istiʿāna* (n. 6 above; SP RNL Yevr.-Arab. II 916, ff. 5f.).

21 A common phrase in Muʿtazilī literature to refer to unintelligible and futile communicative speech acts.

valid forever. If His saying "You shall do no task" had a [legal] effect on [the precept of circumcision], it would entail abrogation and would either indicate that something occurred to Him which He did not know at the time when He commanded [the precept of] circumcision – and this is what the notion of 'appearance' (*badāʾ*) refers to – or suggest that what He actually meant by it [*scil.* "for your generations"] was "up to the time when He will lead his descendants out of Egypt", even though the linguistic expression was coined [to encompass] more time than that. This, however, would inevitably imply that the elucidation, which clarifies what He intended and meant, has been delayed, and this is morally bad on account of the evidence which proves that it is inadmissible for Him to delay an elucidating statement.[22]

In accordance with their view, it should be considered bad to shave off the hair of the leper on the seventh day, and to cleanse him and to offer his sacrifice on the eighth day [< Lev 14], and also to shave the nazirite and to offer his sacrifice [< Num 6:13-18], and to perform any other time-bound legal obligation which may potentially fall on a Sabbath. For if [any of] this [actions] was permitted, it would entail the abrogation of something whose perpetuity had already been established, namely His saying "And the Israelites shall keep the Sabbath to do the Sabbath for their generations, a perpetual covenant." (Ex 31:16). And yet, no question has been raised by them in this respect. Then again, in keeping with their view, His saying "And on the Sabbath day, two unblemished yearling lambs ..." [Num 28:9f.] would have to be immediately linked to the prohibition of performing manual labour on Sabbath in order to preclude its delay which is tantamount to the delaying of the elucidation which we rejected. I do not know how they defend their position in respect of the Passover sacrifice and the fact that they are obliged to offer it even if it falls on a Sabbath, as per His saying: "When you enter the land, perform this act during this month" [< Ex 13:5]. He made this a perpetual duty [< Ex 13:10] without adding "except if it falls on Sabbath", whereby He would have clarified His intention and particularised the general meaning [of the precept]. In order to abide by [this rule], they equally ought not to present the offering on the first day of the month, and the offerings on the other festival days, and the sin offerings on Sabbath, but to the best of my knowledgde they do not commit themselves to [such a rule].

We take the view that declaring a precept to be perpetual does not prevent it from being abrogated. We make it, however, a duty to carefully examine the miraculous sign of anyone who makes a claim to prophecy after him [*viz.* Moses], peace upon him, all the more so, if he rose with a claim to abrogate his [*viz.* Moses'] Law.

We also hold that the imposition of an obligation does not require that the temporal scope of its application is explicitly stated. What has to be explicitly mentioned, however, is the material scope of its

فزعموا أنّ قوله تعالى لדורותי ם يقتضي تأبيد الختانة، فلو أثّر فيها قوله لא תעשה ל מלא ה، لكان ذلك نسخاً، ولدلّ على أحد أمرين، إمّا ظهور أمر لم يكن عالماً به في وقت أمره بالختانة، وذلك معنى البداء، أو أن يكون قصد بذلك إلى وقت إخراج نسله عليه السلام من مصر، مع أنّ العبارة موضوعة لأزيد من ذلك من الزمان، فيكون لا محالة موخّراً لبيان مقصده ومراده، وذلك يقبح للدلالة الدالّة على أنّه لا يجوز منه تعالى تأخير البيان.

وعلى قولهم فيجب أن يقبح حلق الأبرص في سابعه وتطهيره وتقريب قربانه في الثامن، وكذلك حلق الנ יר وتقريب قربانه، إلى سائر ما علّق بزمان يمكن وقوعه في السبت، من حيث أنّ جواز ذلك يقتضي نسخ ما ثبت تأبيده، وهو قوله تعالى ושמרו בני ישראל את השבת לעשות את [I:1811, f. 64a] השבת לדורותם ברית עולם. فلا سؤال عليهم في ذلك.

ولا بدّ لهم على قولهم من أن يكون قوله تعالى وביום השבת שני בשים וג' مقارناً للنهي عن המלא ות في السبت لئلا يكون تأخيره جارياً مجرى ما منعناه من تأخير البيان. ولست أعلم ما يقولونه في عمل الفسح، والذي يلزمهم في ذلك فعله في السبت، لأنه قال «إذا دخلتم البلد فافعلوه هذا الفعل في هذا الشهر» وأبّد ذلك، ولم يقل «دون أن يكون وقت فعله يوم سبت»، فيكون قد بيّن مراده وخصّص العموم. ولعلّهم يلتزمون ذلك ويلزمهم ألّا يقرّبوا قربان رأس الشهر، وكذلك قرابين سائر الأعياد وח את פורים في السبت، وأظنّهم لا يلتزموا ذلك.

والذي نقول نحن إنّ تأبيد الفرض لا يمنع من نسخه، فنوجب النظر في علم كلّ من ادّعى النبوة بعده عليه السلام، وإن أتى بنسخ شريعته.

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22 On *taʾkhīr al-bayān* see Robert Gleave, "'Delaying the Elucidation' (*taʾḫīr al-bayān*) in Early Muslim Legal Theory: Theological Issues in Legal Hermeneutics", in *Theological Rationalism in Medieval Islam: New Sources and Perspectives*, ed. L. Muehlethaler and G. Schwarb, Leuven: Peeters 2018, pp. 59–80.

application. Accordingly, we do not consider [God's] speech, when it does not explicitly state the temporal scope of application, to be tantamount to speaking Arabic to a [Bantu-speaking] inhabitant of Zanzibar, but we would consider it as such, if it failed to include an elucidating statement about the material scope of application of the imposed obligation.

In like manner, the legally obliged subject does not possess any knowledge that would assure him of his continued existence until the time of performing [a given duty]. God may put an end to his life before [the time of performance]. While his uncertainty about this matter has no effect on the possibility of his performing [the duty], this very possibility is thwarted, if he does not know the material scope of application of the obligation that has been imposed upon him. In such a case, it would amount to the same thing as if He spoke to him in the Bantu-language which he does not understand.

The discussion of this issue will require a separate treatise and it is my hope to dictate something to this end, God willing.

ونقول إنّ التكليف لا يوجب بيان وقته ويوجب بيان صفة ما وقع به التكليف. فلا نعدّ الخطاب، إذا لم يتضمّن بيان الوقت، جارياً مجرى مخاطبة الزنجي بالعربية، ونعدّه كذلك، إذا لم يتضمّن [I:1811, f. 64b] بيان صفة ما تناوله التكليف.

وكذلك لم يعلم المكلّف أنّه لا محالة سيبقى إلى وقت الأداء وجوز أنّه تعالى يخترمه من دونه. فشكّه في ذلك لم يخلّ بصحّة أدائه، وجهله بصفة ما كلّف يخلّ بذلك، فلو خاطبه والحال هذه بالزنجية وهو لا يفهمها لم تزد الحال.

والكلام في هذا الباب يحتاج إلى رسالة مفردة ولعلّنا نُملِئ في ذلك شيئًا بمشية الله.

Until now it remained unclear, whether the *Risāla* referred to in the two afore-mentioned quotations was ever put into writing. In the remainder of this article, I will show that 1) Yūsuf al-Baṣīr indeed implemented his plan and that 2) a sizeable fragment of the treatise is extant in ms. SP RNL, Arab.-Yevr. 160.

The manuscript

The acephalous ms. SP RNL, Arab.-Yevr. 160 (= IMHM mf. #63829) comprises 17 folios, 20x14,7 cm, with 13 [6a], 14 [6b, 7a, 12b, 13a], 17 [7b, 8b, 9b], 18 [3b, 4b, 8a, 10a-b, 13a, 14a, 17b], 19 [1a-b, 2b, 3a, 4a, 5a-b, 9a, 11a-b, 13b, 14b, 16b, 17a], 20 [2a, 12b, 15a-b, 16a], or 23 [12a] lines per page.[23]

Fols. 1–10 amount to a complete quinion; fols. 11–17 are part of the following, incomplete quinion with fol. 11 being its first folio, and fols. 12–17 being the three inner bifolios (11/–/12/13/14/15/16/17/–/–) The manuscript is in Arabic script; scriptural prooftexts and Hebrew terms are given in either Hebrew or Arabic script.[24]

The fragment comprises three chapter headings

فصل في جواز النسخ والفرق بينه وبين البداء، فإنّه ليس من تأخير البيان في شيء [1ظ]

باب في لفظ التأبيد [3و]

فصل في تأخير البيان وما يتّصل بذلك ممّا اقتضى إيراده لفظ التأبيد [12و]

It is likely that the manuscript was copied during al-Baṣīr's lifetime. This is suggested by the fact that the same scribe also copied ms. SP RNL, Firk. Arab. 651 (a *Risāla* on the epistemic status of

[23] I have inspected the original manuscript at the Russian National Library in St. Petersburg. Its legibility is significantly superior to that of the microfilm images available at the Institute of Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts (mf. no. 63829) which can also be viewed online (https://web.nli.org.il/sites/NLIS/he/ManuScript/Pages/Item.aspx?ItemID=PNX_MANUSCRIPTS990001519640205171).

[24] This is a rather common phenomenon in Qaraite manuscripts of the 11th and 12th centuries. The script may even change within one and the same Hebrew expression, as is the case with עד עולם (f. 11b, l. 6) or עולמים ועדות (f. 11b, l. 13). For comparable cases see Judith Olszowy-Schlanger, "Crossing Palaeographical Borders: Bi-Alphabetical Scribes and the Development of Hebrew Script – The Case of the Maghrebi Cursive", in *Studies in Semitic Linguistics and Manuscripts: A Liber Discipulorum in Honour of Professor Geoffrey Khan*, eds. N. Vidro et al., Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2018, pp. 299-319; Esther-Miriam Wagner, "Script-switching between Hebrew and Arabic Scripts in Documents from the Cairo Genizah", *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World* 7,2-3 (2019), pp. 351–380.

sense perception whose author is in all likelihood Yūsuf al-Baṣīr as well) which was completed on 6th Muḥarram 421 (14th January 1030).[25] Given that a manuscript of the first treatise of *K. al-Istibṣār* (RNL Yevr.-Arab. I 1811), completed during Muḥarram 426 (November–December 1034), still has the wording ... ولعلّنا نبيّن في رسالةٍ (f. 82b), one could tentatively infer that both the *Risāla* and its only extant manuscript fragment were written between 1035 and 1040, the *terminus ante quem* of al-Baṣīr's death.[26] If this assumption is correct, our *Risāla* would count among al-Baṣīr's last compositions.

Identification

To establish the authorship of the text extant in ms. SP RNL, Arab.-Yevr. 160, I will first consider a few passages where the author refers his readers to some of his previous writings:

In the opening section of the *Risāla* the author mentions his [*K. al-Naqḍ/al-Radd ʿalā iʿjā*]*z al-Qālūn* [27] stating that he had addressed there a number of issues that are pertinent to the subject matter of the present treatise and that the reader would ideally study both texts together.[28] He then concludes[29]:

فذلك أنّا، إذا بيّنا جواز النسخ مع لفظ التأبيد وبيّنا لزوم الشرع على الدوام والاستمرار ما لم يرد الناسخ بالعَلَم، وثبت ما ذكرناه هناك بطلان ما ادّعى من العجز،

Hence, once we have made clear that it is admissible to abrogate [a divine precept], even if it contains a linguistic expression of perpetuity, and that the Law is binding durably and continuously as long as no one turns up who abrogates it by [virtue of] a miraculous sign, and once the assertion [made by our gainsayers] about the incapacity to imitate the Qurʾān has been shown to be invalid, as we have

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[25] See S. Schmidtke [et al.], "Muʿtazilī Manuscripts in the Abraham Firkovitch Collection, St. Petersburg: a Descriptive Catalogue", in *A Common Rationality: Muʿtazilism in Islam and Judaism*, eds. C. Adang et al., Würzburg: Ergon 2007, pp. 458f., no. 38, where the date of completion is incorrectly and incompletely reproduced. The complete date reads: *yawma ʾl-arbaʿati mustahalli ʾl-Muḥarrami sanata aḥadi wa-ʿishrīni wa-arbaʿimiʾa* (= 14/01/1030).

[26] See *EJIW*, vol. IV, pp. 651–5 (n. 3 above).

[27] See SP RNL, Arab.-Yevr. 160, f. 1b. The first part of the title is not visible in the ms. 'al-Qālūn' (الـ الو, אלקלון < hebr. 'the shame', 'the disgrace') is the most common derogatory codeword designating the Muslim *Qurʾān* in Jewish texts, just as 'al-Pāsūl' (hebr. 'the flawed', 'the disqualified', 'the worthless') is the common codeword for [*Muḥammad*] *al-Rasūl* (see, for instance, the references given in H. Ben-Shammai, "The Attitude of Some Early Karaites Towards Islam", in *Studies in Medieval Jewish History and Literature*, vol. 2, ed. I. Twersky, Cambridge (MA) 1984, pp. 9, 13–23). It is frequently used in al-Baṣīr's *K. al-Naqḍ ʿalā iʿǧāz al-Qālūn* (e. g. RNL Yevr.-Arab. I 2133, f. 1a-b = I 2980, ff. 16a-17a; II 1107, f. 53a and *passim*) and in the anti-Samaritan polemic (*al-Naqḍ ʿalā l-Sāmira*, e.g. SP RNL Yevr.-Arab. I 1681, ff. 19b, 23a, 31b, 56a; see my "Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ṣūrī's *Kitāb fī bāb al-qibla* and its Qaraite refutation", in *Samaritan Languages, Texts, and Traditions*, ed. Stefan Schorch (Studia Samaritana, 8), Berlin: De Gruyter, 2020, pp. 1-32. *Al-qurʾān* (אלקראן), on the other hand, refers in these same texts to either *al-qirāʾa* (reading, recitation, as in *al-qurʾān al-ṭabarānī*) or *al-miqrāʾ* (see J. Blau, *A Dictionary of Mediaeval Judaeo-Arabic Texts*, Jerusalem 2006, p. 537). According to Abu 'l-Faraj Hārūn, *Hidāyat al-qāriʾ*, RNL Yevr.-Arab. I 2390, f. 5a (ed. G. Khan, *The Tiberian Pronunciation Tradition of Biblical Hebrew, Volume II, Including a Critical Edition and English Translation of the Sections on Consonants and Vowels in the Masoretic Treatise* Hidāyat al-Qāriʾ *'Guide for the Reader'*, Cambridge: Open Book Publishers, 2020, p. 31, l. 55), אלקראן refers to all books of the *Tanakh* except the Torah, i.e. *Neviʾim* and *Ketuvim*. For the extant fragments of the *Naqḍ*, which together cover almost the complete text, see Sklare 1997, pp. 100–103 and 1999, p. 151, n. 48. An edition of the *Naqḍ* is currently being prepared by Sklare. According to the original folio numbers in Graeco-Coptic numerals (*ḥurūf al-zimām*) in ms. SP RNL Yevr.-Arab. I 3022, one folio is missing between f. 9 (= f. 228) and f. 10 (= f. 230). These original folio numbers would suggest that in this specific manuscript the *Naqḍ* was part of a *Majmūʿa* containing several works by Yūsuf al-Baṣīr.

[28] *Fa-yajibu an yajmaʿa bayna ʾl-amrayn* (f. 1b). The passage in the *Naqḍ ʿalā iʿǧāz al-Qālūn* to which al-Baṣīr refers here is found in Ms. SP RNL Yevr.-Arab. I 3022, f. 3(222)a, whereby 222 refers to the original Graeco-Coptic folio number. It is, for the rest, very common to link the issues of *naskh* and *iʿjāz al-Qurʾān* (see David E. Sklare, "Responses to Islamic Polemics by Jewish Mutakallimūn in the Tenth Century", in *The Majlis: Interreligious Encounters in Medieval Islam*, ed. H. Lazarus-Yafeh et al., Wiesbaden 1999, pp. 137–161 [150]).

[29] SP RNL, Arab.-Yevr. 160, f. 1b.

ثبت ما قلناه من لزوم شرع آبائنا لنا.

expounded there [*scil.* in the *Naqḍ*], our view that our forefathers' Law is binding for us will have been firmly established.

The author of our *Risāla* readily concedes that linguistic expressions of perpetuity cannot shield a revealed Law from the possibility of its being abrogated, but insists that such an assertion in and of itself does not imply that the Mosaic legislation has indeed been abrogated. To sustain the claim that the Jewish dispensation had been abrogated, one would imperatively require a miracle sign[30], whereas the Muslim claim to the Qur'ān's literary inameliorability (*iʿjāz al-Qurʾān*) is too flimsy to satisfy the conditions of a miracle sign, as he had expounded in the *Naqḍ ʿalā iʿǧāz al-Qālūn*.[31]

Indeed, this argument constitutes one of the cornerstones of the *Naqḍ*[32]:

والثاني هو قولهم إنّ شريعة موسى قد نُسخت بشريعة عيسى وأنّ هٰتين قد نسختا بشريعة فسول. ونحن فنقول إنّه لم يكن لذلك أصل، بل شرعُنا ثابت، لأنّه محال أن ينسخ الله شرعه بشرعٍ آخر ولا يقوم [I:3022, f. 3(222)b] على ذلك دليلاً، ولو كان هٰهنا دليلاً، لوجب أن يُعلَم. فيقولون «هو معلوم» وأنهم محجوجون به، وهو القرآن. فنحتاج أن نطالبهم بوجه الدلالة في ذلك، وهو الغرض المقصود في هذا الكتاب.

The second [point of disagreement between us and our Muslim detractors] concerns their claim that Moses' Law had been abrogated by Jesus' Law and that these two Laws had been abrogated by the Law of the Disqualified. We contend that this [claim] is completely unfounded and that our Law is valid, because it would be absurd for God to abrogate His Law by another Law without providing [incontestable] evidence for that. Then again, if there was such evidence, it ought to be [universally] known. For this reason, they maintain that it [*scil.* the required evidence] is well-known and that they are persuaded by it, 'it' being the Qur'ān. We therefore need to probe them about the evidentiary basis in support of their claim, and this is the very goal of this treatise.

To understand the wider context of this argument it is important to know that Yūsuf al-Baṣīr had already exposed the invalidity (i.e. the insufficient probative force) of all other miracle signs attributed to Muḥammad in prophetological literature in his *K. al-Istiʿāna* (= *al-Naqḍ ʿalā Abī Jaʿfar al-Ṭabarī*) which was written prior to the *Naqḍ ʿalā iʿjāz al-Qālūn*.[33] There was nothing sensational in those arguments, for most Muslim Muʿtazilīs would have questioned or at least downplayed the probative force of these 'minor' miracle signs in their own writings.[34] By arguing, however, that even the evidence provided in support of the foremost and pivotal miracle sign certifying Muḥammad's prophethood, namely the Qur'ān's literary inameliorability (*iʿjāz al-Qurʾān*), was not sufficiently ironclad, he challenged the validity and the grounds of justification of the Muslim allegation that the Mosaic dispensation had been abrogated.

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30 The assertion that God is obliged to identify His messengers to mankind by the manifestation of prophetic miracles was not unanimously shared by all Muslims. See W. Madelung, "'Abd Allāh b. Yazīd al-Fazārī's Rebuttal of the Teaching of Ibn 'Umayr", in *Theological Rationalism in Medieval Islam* (n. 22 above), pp. 9–21.

31 Sklare, *Responses* (n. 28 above), p. 155.

32 Ms. SP, RNL, Yevr.-Arab. I:3022, f. 3(222)a/b.

33 See SP RNL, Y.-A. I:916, ff. 5b–6b besides Sklare, 1995, pp. 257f., n. 28 and the qualified references to *K. al-Istiʿāna* in SP RNL Y.-A. I 3016, f. 14b (*al-Naqḍ ʿalā Shmuʾel b. Ḥofnī*), Y.-A. I:3095, f. 11a = II:2919, f. 7b (*al-Kitāb al-Muḥtawī*); I:1681 (*al-Naqḍ ʿalā l-Sāmira*) and I:1805, f. 35a (*Jawābāt wa-masāʾil*). Note that BL Or. 2569, which previously had been catalogued as a copy of *K. al-Istiʿāna*, contains in fact part of an abridged version of ʿAbd al-Jabbār's *al-Kitāb al-Mughnī*; see G. Schwarb, "Découverte d'un nouveau fragment du *Kitāb al-Mughnī fī abwāb al-tawḥīd wa-l-ʿadl* du Qāḍī ʿAbd Al-Jabbār al-Hamadhānī (d. 415/1025) dans une collection karaïte de la British Library", *MIDEO* 27 (2008), p. 122.

34 For most Muʿtazilites the 'minor' miracles ascribed to Muḥammad were known for the most part only through individual reports (*akhbār al-āḥād*) and hence would not meet the epistemological conditions of a miracle sign that could authenticate Muḥammad's prophecy (see Sklare, *Responses*, p. 150).

A second cross-reference in the *Risāla* refers to the eighth *Maqāla* of *Kitāb al-Istibṣār* (*al-Kalām fī 'l-ṭume'oth wa-'l-ṭoharoth*), chapter 16, *bāb* 1, entitled *al-Bāb al-awwal fī tafṣīl al-khilāf fī ḥukmi ahli 'l-jāliya min ṭame' wa-ṭahor wa-mā yaṭṭaṣilu bi-dhālika.*[35]

وإنّما لم نقُل إنّ أمره [A.-Y. 160, f. 7b] بالفعل الواحد مشروط بكونه صلاحاً من حيث أنّه، لو كان غير صلاح، لم يأمر به، إذ كان عالماً بحاله. فلا معنى ليأمر به على هذا الحدّ، كما لم يجز أن يأمرني بفعل قد علم أنّي لا أقدر بشرط كوني قادراً. وكذلك قلنا إنّ الله سبحانه لم يأمر أهل الجالية بالقرابين من يضرّ منهم، لا بشرط ولا بغير شرط، حسب ما بيّنا ذلك في طما ميث[מא מת].

We do not say that His commanding a single/one-off action is conditioned by its being beneficial, because, if it was not beneficial, He would not have commanded it, given that He is cognisant of its constitution. It is therefore meaningless for Him to command an action in this vein [*viz.* with a benefit-condition attached to it], just as it is inadmissible for Him to impose an action on me "on condition that I will be capable", when He knows that it will be beyond my capacity. Analogously, we said that God does not command people living in the diaspora to offer sacrifices ..., neither conditionally nor unconditionally, as we have made clear in *tame' met*.

Al-Baṣīr then shortly discusses the scope of addressees included in the collective noun בני ישראל and states that he had already shown in the *Treatise on Inheritance*, i.e. in the tenth and final treatise of *Kitāb al-Istibṣār*[36], that the phrase ואל בני ישראל תדבר לאמר ["And speak to the Israelite people as follows" [Ex 30:31; Num 27:8] was not meant to include only those Israelites who were present at Mount Sinai[37]:

وإذا كان الأمر على ما وصفنا، لم يمتنع مثل ذلك في ألفاظ التأبيد /إذا يعلم أنّ الشرع لا بدّ من كونه صلاحاً، فيجوّزه عامّاً في الأزمنة، أعني [...]/ ما لا يتغيّر عن كونه مصلحة، ويجوّزه خاصّاً فيما إلى علّة. فلا يفسد علينا هذا التجويز شيئاً من الأصول، كما لم يفسد علينا ~~هذا التجويز~~ تجوُّزنا كون مجانين منّا خارجين عن قوله «بني يسرايل» شيئاً ولا مذهباً. يبيّن ذلك أنّ قد دلّلنا في مقالة الميراث على أنّ قوله «وال بني يسرايل تدبير ليمور [ואל בני ישראל תדבר לאמר]» لا يختصّ الحاضرين دون الغائبين.

This being as I have stated, the same must equally apply to expressions of perpetuity, inasmuch as it is known that the Law must be beneficial. It may be considered general with regard to its temporal scope, i.e. valid forever, as long as it continues to be beneficial, but it may also be considered particular with regard to its temporal scope, up to the point when it becomes deficient. This concession does not violate any foundational principles, just as our concession that insane people are not included when He addresses "the Israelites" does not violate any matter of principle or school doctrine. This is further clarified by the explanation we gave in the *Treatise on Inheritance* to show that "And to the Israelites you shall speak as follows" [Num 27:8] does not only apply to the attendant audience, but also to those who were not present.[38]

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35 SP RNL Yevr.-Arab. I 680, ff. 87b–89a (Hebrew script) = I 4528, 122b–123a (Arabic script). This very chapter also includes a lengthy analysis of the restricted scope of application of general terms to which al-Baṣīr referred in the third *Maqāla* (SP RNL Yevr.-Arab. I 1793, f. 92a) as *Maqāla ṭame' met*.

36 It is not entirely clear whether *K. al-Mīrāth* (= *al-Maqāla fī 'l-Yerushot*) was originally composed as part of *K. al-Istibṣār*. In several manuscripts of *K. al-Mīrāth*, the chapters are not numbered, unlike those of all other treatises of *K. al-Istibṣār*. However, the colophon of a fragment dated Dhū 'l-Qaʿda 409/11 March – 9 April 1019, namely ms. London, British Library, Or. 2576, fols. 1–15 (cat. Margoliouth, vol. II, pp. 180f., #591) already has the wording *tamma 'l-kalām fī 'l-yerushoth min Kitāb al-Istibṣār fī 'l-farā'iḍ* and the colophon of the 9th *Maqāla* (*fī 'l-ʿarayot*) in SP RNL Yevr.-Arab. II 3217, f. 12b referes to *al-kalām fī 'l-yerushoth* as the following tenth *Maqāla* of *K. al-Istibṣār*. Other fragments of *al-Maqāla fī 'l-Mīrāth* known to me include SP RNL Yevr.-Arab. I 970; I 1039; I 1075; I 4528, fols. 95ff. See, moreover, the quotations contained in *K. al-Mīrāth* by the Samaritan Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm, ed. H. Pohl, *Kitāb al-Mīrāṯ: Das Buch der Erbschaft des Samaritaners Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm, Kritische Edition mit Übersetzung und Kommentar*, Berlin: W. de Gruyter 1974.

37 SP RNL, Arab.-Yevr. 160, f. 10b.

38 Lit.: "does not exclusively apply to those present, at the exclusion of the absentees".

The very same passage of *Kitāb al-Mīrāth* is referenced a few pages earlier[39]:

[...]. It is rather so that the expression בני ישראל includes all generations as we have already expounded elsewhere.

[...]، بل لفظ ‹بني يسرايل›، الشامل لسائر الأجيال على ما قد بيّناه في غير هذا الموضع.

While Yūsuf al-Baṣīr's authorship can be firmly established on the basis of these cross-references, the identification of the *Risāla* rests on the complete agreement between structure and contents of Arab.-Yevr. 160 and the outline of contents given in the the afore-quoted passages from *Kitāb al-Istibṣār*.

II – Structure and contents of the *Risāla*

Like the *Naqḍ ʿalā iʿjāz al-Qālūn*, the *Risāla fī maʿnā ijāzat al-naskh* was written for internal consumption and directed at a Jewish audience.[40] In the *Risāla*, Yūsuf al-Baṣīr relates that some Jews who attended public interreligious disputations (*munāẓarāt*, *majālis*) were unable to cope with the eloquent exposition of the *iʿjāz* doctrine by Muslim discussants, and – in a desperate bid to bolster their own position – rushed into the untenable and indefensible pretension that they had compelling, irresistible (*ḍarūrī*, 'necessary') and hence irrefutable knowledge that the Mosaic legislation would never be superseded.[41]

The main addressees of the *Risāla* were Jews who either defied the very concept of abrogation or approved of the concept, but rejected its applicability to the Torah on scriptural grounds. These very same groups were the main target of Muslim (and for that matter also Christian[42]) texts that aimed at disproving Jews who rejected the Muslim (and Christian) assertion that the Mosaic legislation had been abrogated. In Muslim literature the *loci classici* of such deliberations are 1) sections on prophetology (*Bāb al-nubuwwa – al-Kalām ʿalā l-Yahūd*) in a) books on the principles of religion (*uṣūl al-dīn*) or b) books entirely dedicated to prophetology (*Aʿlām al-nubuwwa*, *Ithbāt/Tathbīt nubuwwat al-nabiʾ*, etc.), 2) sections on the abrogator and the abrogated (*al-Kalām fī l-nāsikh wa-ʾl-mansūkh*) in books on legal methodology (*uṣūl al-fiqh*), 3) polemical and so-called heresiographical works, and 4) commentaries on the Qurʾān (in particular *ad Q* 2[*al-Baqara*]:106) and treatises belonging to the exegetical sub-genre known as *Nāsikh al-Qurʾān wa-mansūkhuhu*.

The *Risāla* is an important document that attests to the shifting argumentation in Jewish replies to the Islamic pretension that the Torah had been abrogated and supplanted by the laws of Islam and evinces how Jewish theology or some of its components were modified over time to answer challenges shaped by discourse and polemics. The process of arguments and counter-arguments was essentially dialectic inasmuch as the Muslim side also adapted its arguments to answer new Jewish objections. In 438/1046, less than a decade after al-Baṣīr's death, this sequence of Jewish responses to Muslim polemics culminated in the sixth part (*al-kalām fī ʾl-naskh*) of Yeshuʿah ben Yehudah's *Kitāb al-Tawriya* ("*Book of Concealed Ambiguities*").[43]

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39 SP RNL, Arab.-Yevr. 160, f. 3a.

40 Similarly, Samuel ben Ḥofnī introduced his *K. Naskh al-sharʿ* as being "Like a weapon in the hands of our compatriots" (*ka-l-silāḥ li-aṣḥābinā*). See T-S Ar. 47.238, f. 1a; ed. D. E. Sklare, *The Religious and Legal Thought of Samuel ben Hofni Gaon: Texts and Studies in Cultural History*, PhD thesis, Harvard University 1992, vol. 2, p. 156:6; Sklare, *Responses* (n. 28 above), p. 146.

41 Arab.-Yevr. 160, f. 3a : واعلم بعـ من ال المتـ لمين لما لت عليـ ما رتـ م في عـ ا الـ ر عد ل ادعا العلم الـ رور من ما الرسو عليـ السلام الـسـ عل شرعـ ير ـاز. Among numerous Muslim compositions referring to this position see, for instance, Rukn al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad al-Malāḥimī al-Khwārazmī (d. 536/1141), *K. al-Fāʾiq fī uṣūl al-dīn*, ed. W. Madelung and M. McDermott, Tehran 2007, p. 359.

42 See, among numerous other examples, the sources quoted in al-Muʾtaman Ibn al-ʿAssāl's *Majmūʿ uṣūl al-dīn* (n. 7 above), vol. 1, ch. 6, pp. 127–47.

43 See n. 7 above.

To put al-Baṣīr's line of argumentation into context, it will be useful to quote, by way of example, the opening lines of the *Chapter on the Abrogator and the Abrogated* in a contemporaneous Muslim Muʿtazilī composition on legal methodology (*uṣūl al-fiqh*)[44]:

حكي عن بعض المتأخرين من أهل الصلاة أن نسخ الشرائع لا يجوز، وهذا خلاف شاذ متروك لسبق إجماع المسلمين بخلافه. وإنما الخلاف في هذه المسألة مع اليهود، لأن جمهورهم ذهبوا إلى الامتناع من جواز نسخ الشرائع. ثم اختلفوا: فمنهم من امتنع من ذلك عقلا، ومنهم من امتنع منه سمعا وادّعوا أن موسى، عليه السلام، أخبرهم بأن شريعته لا تنسخ. وذهب نفر من متأخريهم إلى جواز القول به.

ونحن نورد ما تعلق به من خالفنا في جواز النسخ من اليهود، ومن حكينا خلافه من متأخري أهل الصلاة، ثم ندلّ على جوازه.

It was related in the name of a latter-day scholar that the abrogation of revealed legal precepts is inadmissible. This is, however, a very excentric dissension, given that prior to this Muslims had already reached consensus on the opposite view. In essence, the controversy on this issue is with the Jews, since most of them rejected that the abrogation of revealed legal precepts is admissible. They disagreed, however, about [the underlying reason]: some of them dismissed it on rational grounds, while others rejected it because of a revealed statement and maintained that Moses, peace upon him, had informed them that his Law would not be abrogated. Only a faction of their latter-day scholars considers abrogation to be an admissible concept.

I shall now expound what those Jews who disagreed with us on the admissibility of abrogation as well as the afore-mentioned Muslim scholars who rejected it relied upon, and then adduce reasons which prove that it is admissible.

Muslim discussions on abrogation were first and foremost levelled at the Jews who were depicted as particularly obstinate opponents of the concept. Over the course of the 4th/10th century several Jewish scholars reacted to this allegation by endorsing the Muslim argumentation in support of abrogation. Instead of rejecting the validity of the concept, they now argued that accepting the concept on rational grounds did not by and of itself entail a concession that the Mosaic Law had been abrogated. In defence of their view that the Torah has not been and, indeed, cannot be abrogated they resorted either to linguistic expressions of perpetuity (*alfāẓ al-taʾbīd*) in the (written) Torah or orally transmitted prophetic reports which in their view provided sufficient and unequivocal evidence for the unabrogatability of the Mosaic Law.

Al-Baṣīr's *Risāla* is directed at two groups (*firaq*) of Jews: The first group is identified with the ʿAnanites (*al-ʿĀnāniyya*) who maintained that affirming the concept of abrogation would be equivalent to overturning the cosmological order and the stable system of epistemic and moral values (*qalb al-ashyāʾ ʿammā hiya ʿalayhi ḥattā yaṣīra ʾl-ḥasanu qabīḥ*^{an} *wa-ʾl-ḥaqqu bāṭil*^{an}).

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[44] Abū Ṭālib Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn (d. ca. 424/1032-3), *K. al-Mujzī fī uṣūl al-fiqh*, ed. ʿAbd al-Karīm Jadabān, vol. 1, pp. 375f. [= ms. Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Arabic E 409, f. 61a = ms. Tarīm, Maktabat al-Aḥqāf, fiqh #1019, f. 40b]. Similar statements are found in almost any contemporaneous Muslim composition on *uṣūl al-dīn* and *uṣūl al-fiqh*: see, among many other examples, Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Rāzī al-Jaṣṣāṣ, *al-Fuṣūl fī l-uṣūl*, ed. ʿU. J. al-Nashamī, Kuwait: Maktabat al-Irshād, 1414/1994, vol. 2, pp. 215-220; Abū Ṭālib Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, *K. Ziyādāt Sharḥ al-uṣūl*, ed. C. Adang et al., *Baṣran Muʿtazilite Theology: Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad b. Khallād's* Kitāb al-Uṣūl *and its reception*, Leiden: Brill, 2011, p. 163 together with the texts – of which I had previously prepared a full draft edition – published in C. Adang and S. Schmidtke, "Muʿtazilī Discussions of the Abrogation of the Torah: Ibn Ḥallād (4th/10th century) and His Commentators", *Arabica* 60 (2013), pp. 701–742 (709f.), repr. in eaedem, *Muslim Perceptions and Receptions of the Bible: Texts and Studies*, Atlanta: Lockwood, 2019, pp. 229-248 (233f.); idem, *Jawāmiʿ al-adilla fī uṣūl al-fiqh*, *masʾala* no. 53, ms. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Arab. 205, f. 21a-b = ms. Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Arabic B 49, f. 33a-b; al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā. *al-Dharīʿa ilā uṣūl al-sharīʿa*, ed. Abū l-Qāsim Gorjī, Tehran: Intishārāt-i Dānishgāh-i Tehrān, 1363 [1965], vol. 1, pp. 425f.; al-Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Jabbār, *al-Mughnī fī abwāb al-tawḥīd wa-l-ʿadl*, vol. 16, ed. Amīn al-Khūlī, Cairo 1380/1960, pp. (49)138–142; Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī. *al-ʿUdda fī uṣūl al-fiqh*, ed. Muḥammad Riḍā al-Anṣārī al-Qummī, 2 vols. Qum: Sitāra, 1417/1997, pp. 506–513; Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad Ibn Mattawayh, *al-Majmūʿ fī l-Muḥīṭ bi-l-taklīf*, vol. IV, ms. Jāmiʿat al-Imām Muḥammad b. Saʿūd al-Islāmiyya #8737, ff. 20a–23a. Some valuable citations from early Muʿtazilī texts that are now lost may also be found in later works of the Zaydī-Muʿtazilī tradition.

Accordingly, they championed the position of the pre-eternity of precepts (*qidam al-sharā'iʿ*).[45] Al-Baṣīr readily admits that his rebuttal of this first group is nothing but a digest of the Muslim argumentation against Jews who equated abrogation with God's changing His mind (*badā'*) or with delaying the elucidation (*ta'khīr al-bayān*) and denied the very possibility of abrogation on theological and/or ontological grounds. For a more detailed refutation of positions upheld by this first group he explicitly refers his readers to relevant Muslim compositions.[46]

The bulk of the *Risāla* focuses on the second group (*al-firqa al-thāniya*) which comprises the majority of Jewish scholars of the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries, Rabbanite and Qaraite, from Saadia Gaon to Samuel ben Ḥofnī Gaon and from al-Qirqisānī to Levi ben Yefet.[47] Al-Baṣīr's refutation of this second group once again relies on arguments gleaned from Muʿtazilī treatises on *uṣūl al-dīn/al-fiqh* which are then supplemented with a fundamentally new line of argumentation. Unlike Samuel b. Ḥofnī, who countered the arguments which he had found in Ibn Khallād's *K.* (*Sharḥ*) *al-Uṣūl* and Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Baṣrī's *K. al-Īḍāḥ* by defending the traditional Jewish position[48], Yūsuf al-Baṣīr pursued a more proactive course of argumentation.

In Muslim compositions the typical line of argumentation against the second group runs as follows[49]:

والذي يدل على فساد قول من امتنع من وقوعه من طريق السمع من اليهود، فهو أن العلم المعجز قد دل على صدق نبينا صلى الله عليه ونبوته. وقد أخبرنا بأن شريعته قد نسخت شريعة موسى، عليهما السلام، فعلمنا وقوع النسخ بخبره، عليه السلام، وعلمنا بذلك أيضا كذب هذه الطائفة المدّعية لامتناع النسخ سمعا وبطلان ما يدعونه منه، وهو أن موسى، عليه السلام، قد أخبرهم بأن شريعته لا تنسخ، إذ لو كان ذلك صحيحا، لما جاز أن يخبر

What disproves the position of those Jews who deny the occurrence [of abrogation] on revelational grounds is the fact that the miracle sign has already proven the veracity of our prophet, God's prayer upon him, and his prophecy. He has, moreover, informed us that his Law has abrogated the Law of Moses, peace upon both of them. We thus know by virtue of his report that abrogation has indeed been put into effect and that the claim of this bunch of people who maintain that abrogation must be rejected on scriptural grounds is false, just as their allegation that Moses had informed them that their Law will not be abrogated is invalid. If [these claims] were true, it would be inadmissible for the prophet, peace upon him, to proclaim that [the Mosaic Law] had been abrogated, since prophets stay aloof

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45 F. 1a. Abū Yūsuf Yaʿqūb al-Qirqisānī, *Kitāb al-Anwār wa-'l-marāqib*, ed. L. Nemoy, 5 vols. New York: Alexander Kohut Memorial Foundation, 1939–43, pp. 440f., ascribes this position to the ʿAnanites and some Qaraites; Samuel ben Ḥofnī ascribes it to the Qaraites *tout court*. On *qidam al-sharā'iʿ* see A. K. Reinhart, *Before Revelation: The Boundaries of Muslim Moral Thought*, Albany 1995.

46 *I'lam anna 'l-mutakallimīn* [*aṭnabū*] *fī dhālika al-iṭnāb al-mughnī lanā ʿan dhikr mā yadullu ʿalā ṣiḥḥat mā qulnāhu* (f. 1b). *Wa-naḥnu natakallamu ʿalā mā qālūhu bi-qawli mukhtaṣar* (f. 2a). See also Samuel b. Ḥofnī, *K. Naskh al-Sharʿ*, ch. 7 (T-S Ar. 47.238, f. 2a, l. 13 – f. 2b, l. 13, ed. in Sklare, *Religious and Legal Thought* (n. 40 above), vol. 2, pp. 164f.). See also J. van Ess, *Frühe muʿtazilitische Häresiographie: zwei Werke des Nāšiʾ al-Akbar* (*gest. 293 H.*), Beirut/Wiesbaden, 1971, pp. 64, 74–6; R. Brunschvig, "L'argumentation d'un théologien musulman du Xe siècle contre le judaïsme", in *Homenaje a Millás-Vallicrosa*, vol. 1, Barcelona 1954, p. 232–5. (repr. in *Études d'islamologie*, vol. 1, Paris 1976, p. 270–73).

47 Saʿadyah Gaon, *K. al-Mukhtār fī 'l-amānāt wa-'l-iʿtiqādāt*, ed. Y. Qāfiḥ, Qiryat Ono, pp. 131–143; al-Qiriqsānī, *Anwār* (n. 45 above), pp. 440–470 (for an English summary of their respective positions on abrogation see Daniel Boušek, "The Abrogation of Mosaic Law in Judaism's Medieval Polemic with Islam: Seʿadyah Gaon, Yaʿqūb al-Qirqisānī, Maimonides", in *Jewish Studies in the 21st Century: Prague-Europe-World*, ed. Marcela Zoufalá, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2014, pp. 29–57.); Levi ben Yefet, *K. al-Niʿma*, ed. D. Sklare, "Levi ben Yefet and His *Kitāb al-Niʿma*: Selected Texts," in *A Common Rationality: Muʿtazilism in Islam and Judaism*, ed. C. Adang et al., Würzburg: Ergon, 2007, pp. 210–215; Samuel ben Ḥofnī, *K. Naskh al-sharʿ*, ed. Sklare, *Religious and Legal Thought* (n. 40 above), vol. 2, pp. 155–72. Even though none of these texts is explicitly referred to in the *Risāla*, they are an important point of reference for Yūsuf al-Baṣīr.

48 See *K. Naskh al-sharʿ*, chapters 9 and 10, SP RNL Yevr.-Arab. I 1686, f. 1; I 3024, f. 1–8; I 1686, f. 2.

49 *K. al-Mujzī*, (n. 44 above), vol. 1, pp. 381f. See also Sklare, *Responses* (n. 28 above), p. 147, who refers in this context to al-Bāqillānī's *K. al-Tamhīd*.

from accusing one another of lying.

What they claim on revelational grounds is also shown to be invalid by virtue of the fact that Moses, peace upon him, had he indeed proclaimed such a statement which was then transmitted through multiple chains of transmission which bring about necessary knowledge, its knowledge would be common to them and us, given that we would have heard their reports as they did.

You surely recognise that our prophet, may God bless him and grant him salvation, announced that there would be no prophet after him and that the pilgrimage to the sanctuary and all other pillars of the Law are obligatory. Given that [these reports] were subsequently transmitted from him through multiple chains of transmission, the Jews must know them just as we do.

By contrast, the fact that we have no knowledge of [their reports] proves that they have not been conveyed in a way that would compel [us] to accept them. Either they are fabrications or they contain a term whose meaning has become unclear to them and whose purport is not what they assumed it to be.

النبي، عليه السلام، بأنها قد نسخت، لأن الأنبياء، عليهم السلام، منزهون عن تكذيب بعضهم لبعض.

ويدل أيضا على بطلان ما يدّعونه من السمع في هذا الباب أن موسى، عليه السلام، لو كان أخبر بذلك ونُقل عنه نقلا متواترا يوجب العلم به، لشاركناهم في معرفته، إذ قد سمعنا من أخبارهم مثل ما سمعوه.

ألا ترى أن نبينا، صلى الله عليه، لمّا أخبر بأنه «لا نبي بعده» وبأن حج البيت واجب، وكذلك سائر أصول الشريعة، ونقل ذلك عنه نقلا متواترًا، علم ذلك اليهود كما علمناه.

وفي فقدنا العلم بذلك دليل على أنه لم يرد موردًا يجب قبوله وأنه إمّا أن يكون كذبا أو يكون هناك لفظ قد اشتبه عليهم معناه، ولا يكون القصد به ما ظنوه.

Against this type argumentation al-Baṣīr objects that even if one conceded that the scriptural prooftexts and the transmitted reports on which previous Jewish scholars relied were inadequate to prove that the Mosaic Law cannot be abrogated – by arguing, for instance, that linguistic expressions of perpetuity are prone to hyperbolic interpretation (*mubālagha*)[50] –, this still would not imply that the Mosaic dispensation has indeed been abrogated.

It is this line of argumentation which concurs with the position of "the third group of Jews", a "small group of latter-day scholars" who hold that the Torah is in principle abrogatable. The identity of these latter-day scholars has not been correctly recognised in previous scholarship. Yūsuf al-Baṣīr was clearly not the first Jew to endorse this third position, but may have been the first to present it in a full-fledged and systematic manner.[51] Since the Muslim disagreement with this third group is not related to the concept of abrogation itself, but to the authenticity of the miracle sign confirming Muḥammad's prophethood, the refutation of the pertinent argument is

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50 See, for instance, Abū l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Ṭayyib, *Kitāb al-Muʿtamad fī uṣūl al-fiqh*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥamīd Allāh, Damascus: IFEAD, 1384/1964, p. 414 (قال شيوخنا إن العادة في لفظ التأبيد المستعمل في الأمر المبالغة، لا الدوام).

51 The fact that this 'third position' was considered 'novel' in the late 4th/10th and early 5th/11th century is corroborated by the fact that Muslim scholars who flourished around and shortly after the middle of the 4th/10th century do not mention it. The case of Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad Ibn Khallād al-Baṣrī's *Kitāb* (*Sharḥ*) *al-Uṣūl* and its (super-)commentaries is discussed in Adang/Schmidtke, *Muʿtazilī Discussions* (n. 44 above), pp. 709f.; Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Jaṣṣāṣ al-Rāzī (d. 370/980-1), *al-Fuṣūl fī l-uṣūl*, ʿUjayl Jāsim al-Nashamī, Istanbul: Maktabat al-Irshad, 1414/1994, vol. 2, p. 215–20). On the other hand, Muslim and Jewish religious scholars who flourished from the late 4th/10th century onwards were well aware of the third position (see the references given in n. 44 above and Mānkdīm Sheshdiv, *Taʿlīq ʿalā Sharḥ al-Uṣūl al-khamsa*, ed. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Aī Hāshim, Beirut: Dār Iḥyāʾ al-Turāth al-ʿArabī, 1422/2001, p. 393; Abū l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Ṭayyib, *K. al-Muʿtamad* (n. 50 above), p. 401; al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, *al-Dhakhīra fī ʿilm al-kalām*, ed. Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī, Qum: Muʾassasat al-Nashr al-Islāmī, 1411/1990, pp. 356–364). Samuel b. Ḥofnī writes in his *K. Naskh al-Sharʿ* (T-S Ar. 47.238, f. 2a, ll. 2–13, ed. Sklare, *Religious and Legal Thought* (n. 40 above), vol. 2, p. 164): الفصل السادس: القول [...] في تعديد فرق أمتنا في القول في نسخ شرائع التوراة: فنقول: إنّ النظّارين من أمّتنا افترقوا في ذلك ثلاث فرق، فالفرقة الأولى قالت بالمنع من نسخ شرائع التوراة وأنّه لا يجوز من طريق العقول وأنّه ممتنع فيها، وهذا ما يذهب إليه القائلين بقدم جميع شرائع التوراة وهم الذين يذهبون مذهب عانان ومن تابعهم في ذلك؛ والفرقة الثانية هم الذين جوزوه من طريق العقول ومنعوه بالسمع وهولاء هم أكثر الأمّة؛ والفرقة الثالثة هم الذين أجازوه من الوجهين جميعًا، وهم أقلّ الأمّة عددًا.

usually not found within discussions on abrogation, but rather in chapters establishing and defending the authenticity of Muḥammad's prophethood.[52]

In his refutation of the second group, al-Baṣīr chooses a two-stage approach: in a first stage he argues on the assumption that the position of his Jewish forerunners, who claimed that linguistic expressions of perpetuity imply that the Torah cannot be abrogated, is correct (3a–11a), in a second stage on the premise that their position is incorrect.[53]

The gist of the argument runs as follows: Just as it is rationally imperative for a divine command to be confined to acts that are within the bounds of human capacity, it must be confined to beneficial acts in order to be morally good. Hence, when God says "do this for ever", the condition "as long as it is beneficial [for you]" (*mahmā huwa ṣalāḥ* [*lakum*]) is implied *by default*, even where it is not explicitly stated (*fa-'l-maḥḍūf min ḍālika maqām al-manṭūq bihi*).[54] The categorical imperative that God only commands acts which are beneficial implies that His command to perform an act *in perpetuity* is always subject to this fundamental condition (*fa-ṣāra amruhu iyyānā bi-'l-istimrār ʿalā 'l-fiʿl mashrūṭ*[^{an}] *bi-kawnihi ṣalāḥ*^{an}).[55] The interpretation of any revelational text is bound by this condition. According to al-Baṣīr, this rule is analogous to God's addressing a group of people by use of a collective noun such as "Banū Isrā'īl", which *prima facie* includes all Israelites, but in reality excludes those who are not endowed with reason (*ghayr*^{u} *ʿāqil*^{in}) as well as those who are devoid of the capacity to act (*ghayr*^{u} *qādir*^{in} *wa-ghayr*^{u} *mutamakkin*^{in}) and those for whom the commanded act cannot be beneficial. People falling under any of these reason-based categories of exemption cannot – by definition – be addressees of a divine command.

Analogously, it would be incorrect to infer from God's commanding an act *bi-l-istimrār* that this expression implies perpetual, non-expiring validity (*al-dawām lā ilā ghāya*).[56] Just as a divine command does not imply that the agent will for ever be capable to perform the commanded act, it does not imply that the act will for ever be beneficial. This conditionality is a constitutive feature of divine commands, regardless of whether the condition is explicitly stated or not (*fa-'l-muqaddar min hāḏā 'l-bāb ka-'l-muḥaqqaq*).[57] The only difference between the condition of capacity and the condition of beneficiality consists in the fact that whereas any human agent knows that he/she will most certainly die and thus lose his/her capacity to act, he/she cannot know for certain that every commanded act will cease to be beneficial.

Al-Baṣīr goes on to state that, in principle, linguistic expressions of perpetuity, such as "Keep doing this action and persevere in doing it forever" (*dum ʿalā 'l-fiʿl wa-'stamirr ʿalayihi*), if uttered by

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52 See, among many other examples, al-Ḥākim al-Jishumī, *Sharḥ ʿUyūn al-masā'il*, who writes in the 4th *mas'ala* of part VII (*al-Kalām fī adillat al-sharʿ*), ms. Ṣanʿā', Maktabat al-Jāmiʿ al-Kabīr al-Gharbiyya, *ʿIlm al-kalām* no. 99, f. 317b: [...] فالكلام معهم في موضع آخر [...] ومنهم من جوزها عقلا وسمعا ويزعم أن محمدا صلى الله عليه لم يأت بمعجزة, by which he refers to the 15th *mas'ala* of part VI (*al-Kalām fī l-nubuwwāt*): قد صحت نبوة نبينا صلى الله عليه بمعجزات كثيرة أظهرها القرآن وأنكر ذلك اليهود [وأنكر اليهود النبوة وإعجاز القرآن] (*ibid.* f. 259b).

53 For a similar two-stage-approach as part of an *argumentum a fortiori* see my Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ṣūrī's *Kitāb fī bāb al-qibla* (n. 27 above), p. 14.

54 F. 3b, 4b, 5b, 9a. While the deontological foundation of Muʿtazilī ethics has always been duly emphasised, its teleological side tends to be brushed aside. The view that the validity of a revealed precept is contingent upon its beneficiality is further developed in Muʿtazilī *uṣūl al-fiqh* (see, for instance, *K. al-Mujzī fī uṣūl al-fiqh* (n. 44 above), vol. 1, pp. 378-9).

55 F. 3b. In the 5th treatise of *K. al-Istibṣār* on festivals, ch. 14 (RNL Yevr.-Arab. I 990, f. 53a), Yūsuf al-Baṣīr illustrates the condition of beneficiality with the example of sacrifices (*ta'bīd mā lazama ābā'anā min dūninā min naḥwi 'l-qarābīn wa-mā jarā majrāhā*).

56 SP RNL, Arab.-Yevr. 160, f. 4a.

57 The virtual or implied meaning of an utterance is here a consequence of theological considerations and thus extends the grammatical concept of *taqdīr* ('suppletive insertion', 'virtual meaning'), i.e. the process of restitution of suppressed elements in linguistic utterances, to extra-linguistic areas. See *EALL* IV, pp. 446–9 (*K. Versteegh*); H. Shy, "*Taqdīr* and Its Counterparts in Mediaeval Judaeo-Arabic", in *Genizah Research After Ninety Years: the Case of Judaeo-Arabic*, ed. J. Blau and S. C. Reif, Cambridge 1992, pp. 144–154.

anyone but God, do not even entail that the act is beneficial, let alone that it is beneficial at all times.[58] For example, if I commanded Zayd to look after my house "as long as I am absent" (*mahmā anā ghā'ib*), this would neither imply that I will be absent forever nor would it imply that I will certainly return.[59] Hence, if God commands to perform an act *bi-'l-istimrār*, it only implies that the act *must* be beneficial *at some time* and that it *can* be beneficial *at all times*.

III. Kalām and the interpretation of linguistic expressions

This is not the place to delve into the subtleties of al-Baṣīr's argumentation.[60] In the remainder of this article, I shall confine myself to discussing two passages in the *Risāla* which build on issues that have been touched upon in the two previous sections and bring into focus the inextricable link between theological doctrine and the interpretation of linguistic expressions in revealed texts.

1) The first text explores the semantic scope and range of expressions of perpetuity (*alfāẓ al-ta'bīd*). As we have seen, these expressions are at the core of Jewish-Muslim debates about the abrogation of the Mosaic dispensation[61]:

With regard to the discussion of the second approach[62], I consider עולם, תמיד, לדורותי ם ב ל מושבותי ם, to be expressions of perpetuity in Hebrew, according to their meaning, not according to the wording, even though these expressions originally referred to the generality of places. מורשה קהלת יעקוב ("The legacy of the congregation of Jacob", Deut 23:4) and [other expressions] that are used to refer to a subset may at times be used metaphorically with reference to the totality. It is in my view likely that עולם [was initially coined as] a noun referring to place and related things.[63] This is why some Rabbanites said that God created multiple worlds (עולמות) and also say בורא עולם ("The Creator of the world"). In Scripture we find "the Lord is the god of the world" (אלהי עולם יי; Jes 40:28) which is analogous to His saying "God of the heavens and God of the earth" (אלהי השמים ואלהי האר; Gen 24:3 and par.), and He said "He is a living god and possessor of the worlds" (אלהים חיים ומל עולמים; Jer 10:10). It is different in Arabic. Accordingly, some Arabic speakers claimed that it is a noun referring to a group of people as per their saying "I saw a group of people" (*'ālam*^{an} *min al-nās*)", whereas one would not say "I saw a group of cows (*'ālam*^{an} *min al-baqar*)".

In Hebrew, unlike in Arabic, this noun is also commonly used as referring to time. Since time consists of past and future, they

فأمّا الكلام في الوجه لثاني، فإنّا نقول إنّ ألفاظ التأبيد في العبراني هي ‹عولام›، ‹تاميذ›، ‹لدوروثيخام بخول موشبوثيخام› في المعنى، لا في اللفظ، وإن كان حقيقتها عموم الأماكن. ‹موراشا قهلاث ياعقوب› وما يذكره في البعض ربّما أمكن نقله إلى الكلّ. فنقول إنّ القريب(؟) في ‹عولام› أنّه اسم للمكان وما جرى مجراه، فلهذا ما قال بعض الربّانيين إنّ الله خلق عولاموث كثيرة ويقولوا ‹بوري عولام›، وقد وجدنا في الكتاب ‹الوهي عولام ا لله› الجاري مجرى قوله ‹الوهي هشمايم والوهي هاارص› وقال ‹الوهيم حييم ومالخ عولاميم› وبلا(؟) في العربي. كذلك [بعض] أهل العربية زعم أنّه اسم لمجموع الناس حسب قولهم «رأيت عالَمًا من الناس» ولا يقال «رأيت عالَمًا من البقر».

ففي العبراني صار هذا الاسم أيضًا للزمان دون العربي، ولمّا كان للزمان ماضيًا ومستقبلًا، أدخلوا

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58 According to the Bahshamī Muʿtazila the semantic scope of utterances does not only depend on lexical meanings and linguistic forms, but ultimately and primarily on the speaker's intent. See my "Capturing the Meanings of God's Speech: The Relevance of *uṣūl al-fiqh* to an Understanding of *uṣūl al-tafsīr* in Jewish and Muslim Kalām", in *A Word Fitly Spoken: Studies in Mediaeval Exegesis of the Hebrew Bible and the Qur'ān presented to Haggai Ben-Shammai*, ed. M. M. Bar-Asher, S. Hopkins, S. Stroumsa and B. Chiesa, Jerusalem 2007, p. 123* with n. 48.

59 SP RNL, Arab.-Yevr. 160, f. 6a.

60 These subtleties will be elucidated in the commentary accompanying the critical edition and translation of the *Risāla* (see the opening note of this article).

61 SP RNL, Arab.-Yevr. 160, f. 11a–b.

62 See above before n. 47.

63 See Shamma Friedman, "From Here to Eternity: The Semantic Range of עולם מעולם ועד עולם", *Lěšonénu* 35 (2008), pp. 7-33 [in Hebrew].

introduced for the past a praeposition indicating the starting point, namely *min* (מן/من), and for the future a praeposition indicating the terminal point, namely עד in Hebrew and إلى in Arabic. [For the past] they used מעולם and for the future ועד עולם. In doing so, they did not distinguish between a past with a beginning [in time] and a past without a beginning [in time], just as they did not distinguish between a future with an end [in time] and an infinite future. Instead of עד they would also use the letter *lām* [*scil.* the preposition ל], assigning to לעולם the same meaning as to ועד עולם. They said ומעולם עד עולם אתה אל ("from eternity to eternity You are God"; Ps 90:2) a phrase used for what has no beginning in time and no end in time. They used ומעולם for something that has a beginning in time: מעולם נ תי מראש ("I was set up from everlasting, from the beginning"; Prov 8:23), and לעולם for things that have a limit in time in the future: לעולם לא אש ח פקודי ("I will never neglect Your precepts"; Ps 119:93), ועבדו לעולם ("and he shall then remain his slave for life"; Ex 21:6), וישב שם עד עולם ("he must remain there for good"; 1 Sam 1:22) and as per His saying ואשמרה תורת תמיד לעולם ועד ("I will always obey Your teaching, forever and ever"; Ps 119:44). This already tells us that the meaning of all three expressions is one and the same and that תמיד follows the same pattern as לעולם in that it [denotes] limited temporal continuity. That is why it is possible to use the word עולם in the plural as in תשועת עולמים ("everlasting triumph"; Jes 45:17). If these nouns were exclusively used for things that have no limit [in time], it would not be possible to add to it; this necessitates that this expression refers to the continuity of time and its perpetualness up to a limit [in time]. The communicative value is in both cases one and the same, namely continuity and reiteration.

على الماضي | حرف الابتداء، وهو ‹مِن›، وعلى المستقبل حرف الغاية، وذلك في العبراني ‹עד›، وفي العربي ‹إلى›، وقالوا ‹מע לם›، وقالوا في المستقبل ‹ועד עולם› ولم يفرقوا بين أن يكون الماضي له أوّل وبين أن يكون لا أوّل له. وكذلك لم يفرقوا بين أن يكون المستقبل متناهياً وبين أن يكون غير متناهٍ. وقد أقاموا مقام ‹ עד› اللام، فجعلوا معنى ‹לעולם› ومعنى ‹عد עולם› واحداً، وقالوا ומעולם עד עולם אתה אל، وذلك عبارة عمّا لا أوّل له من الزمان وعمّا لا آخر [له]. وقالوا عمّا له أوّل ‹ומיעולם›، [מעולם] נ תי מראש، وفيما له غاية من الزمان [في] المستقبل ‹לעולם›، [לעולם] לא אש ח פקודי ، ועבדו לעולם וישב שם עד עולם، وقوله ואשמרה תורת תמיד לעולם ועד، وقد أنبأنا ذلك أنّ معنى الثلاثة ألفاظ معنى واحد وأن حكم ‹[تاميرلد› حكم ‹לעולם› في أنّه دوام زمان إلى غاية. ولذلك صحّ جمع ‹עולם› كـ‹تشو عات ע למים›. ولو كان أسماء لِما لا غاية له فقط، لَكان لا يصحّ الزيادة عليه، وذلك يوجب أن يكون هذا اللفظ يفيد استمرار زمان وقوامه إلى غاية، إذ الفائدة على كلا الوجهين واحدة، وهي الاستمرار والتكرير.

2) The second passage discusses the semantic scope of generic, general and collective names, nouns and expressions in divine speech. The principle that all linguistic forms of apparently general expressions, including singular and plural participles with a definite article, by default designate all the individuals in their entire range of denotation and hence must be interpreted as general and inclusive, as long as there is no rational or (con-)textual evidence to the contrary, is a hallmark of Muʿtazilī hermeneutics.[64] Whenever these grammatical forms do not refer to *all* individuals sharing the specific predicate of the designated concept, God "must provide simultaneous and readily apparent evidence of His intent".[65] If generic nouns could refer to less than the entire genus without particularising evidence, "the entirety of [God's] speech would lose

64 For a more nuanced presentation see C. Schöck, *Koranexegese, Grammatik und Logik. Zum Verhätnis von arabischer und aristotelischer Urteils-, Konsequenz- und Schlusslehre*, Leiden: Brill, 2006; D. R. Vishanoff, *The Formation of Islamic Hermeneutics: How Sunnī Legal Theorists Imagined a Revealed Law*, Michigan 2011, pp. 126-129; H.-T. Tillschneider, *Die Entstehung der juristischen Hermeneutik* (uṣūl al-fiqh) *im frühen Islam*, Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2006, pp. 163-175; R. Gleave, *Islam and Literalism: Literal Meaning and Interpretation in Islamic Legal Theory*, passim, and my commentary on the fifth part (*al-Kalām fī l-ʿumūm a-l-ḫuṣūṣ*) of Yeshuʿah ben Yehudah's *K. al-Tawriya*.

65 Vishanoff, *Formation*, p. 127f. Note that rationally deduced evidence has the status of 'simultaneous' evidence and therefore has nothing to do with the notion of 'delaying the elucidation' (*ta'khīr al-bayān*).

its evidentiary value and would become epistemologically useless".[66] Against the backdrop of this principle, Yūsuf al-Baṣīr draws an analogy between the scope of addressees included in a vocative of direct speech and the temporal extension of expressions of perpetuity (*alfāẓ al-ta'bīd*)[67]:

فإن قال: إذا كان عندكم أنّ الألف واللام الداخلة على أسماء الأجناس والفاعلين هي بمعنى ‹الذي› و‹التي›، فلم يكن فرق بين قولكم «الناس الداخلون هذه الدار، [15ظ] ا[ق]تلوهم» وبين قولكم «الذي دخل من الناس» أو «يدخل» أو «من يدخل، فاقتلوه». فقد صارت الألف واللام موضوعة للشمول كلفظة ‹من›.

وقد قلتم إنّه لا يجوز تأخير بيان الخصوص والعموم، وكيف جوّزتم في قوله «أيّه الناس» كونه مخصوصاً من غير بيان حتّى أجريتم قوله «يا بني يسرايل» مجراه في تجويز تخصيصه من غير بيان؟

قيل له: إنّ النداء، وإن ورد بما يقتضيه العموم، فحكمه مفارق لـ‹مَن› وما جرى مجراها، إذ كان ذلك إنّما يكون عامّاً إن أوقعت في موضع شرط وجزاء، وكقول القائل «من دخل داري، أكرمته». فالألف واللام، إذا جرت مجرى ‹مَن› في ذلك، اقتضت العموم حسب قول القائل «السارق، اقطعوه» بمعنى «مَن سرق»، فهذا لا محالة عامّ، فمحال أن يريد البعض دون البعض، فلا يتبيّن، من حيث أنّي لا أعلم قطع من أراد من السراق. وتأخير بيان ذلك يخرجني من أن أفهم المراد بالعبارة مع أنّي مخاطَب بها.

وليس كذلك قوله «يا أيّها الناس» من حيث أنّي وغيري مخاطَب بذلك. فهذا القول جار مجرى «يا زيد» و«يا عمر»، وينبغي أن أفهم مراده بما خاطبني، ولذلك علمت أنّي منادى لما كنت إنساناً، كما أعلم ذلك، لو قال «يا زيد» ولقبي

If [our interlocutor] then said: If in your view the definite article in generic nouns and *nomina agentis* has the same semantic value as the relative pronouns *alladhī* and *allatī*, then it does not make any difference whether you say "the people who enter this house, kill them" or "he of the people who enters, ..." or "will enter, ..." or "whoever enters, ...", "..., kill him!", because the definite article, just like the relative pronoun "whoever", denotes inclusivity and comprehensiveness.

Moreover, you have already stated that delaying the elucidation is inadmissible with regard to particular and general terms. How then could you accept that His saying "O people!" has a non-inclusive meaning in the absence of an elucidating statement, and to go as far as to interpret His saying "O Israelites!" in like manner and to accept its particularisation without an elucidating statement?

He would be told: Even though the vocative may in certain cases imply generality and inclusivity, its semantic value is distinct from من ("whoever") and analogous terms, inasmuch as these [latter lexical items] are only general, if they are used in the protasis of conditional sentences, as for example when you say "whoever enters my house, I will treat him with honour". When the definite article is used in the sense of من ("whoever"), it implies inclusivity and generality, as for instance when someone says "the stealer, arrest him!", in the sense of "whoever steals, ...". [In such cases], it has a general meaning by default. Indeed, it would be absurd for [the speaker] to refer to some of them to the exclusion of others, when this is not made explicit, because I would be kept in the dark about which [subset of] thieves he wanted [me] to arrest. Delaying the elucidation of [the intended scope of application] would preclude me from understanding the intended meaning of the statement, while being its addressee.[68]

His saying "O people!" is different, insofar as I am one addressee among others. It is equivalent to His saying "O Zayd! O 'Umar! [etc.]", and I therefore ought to understand what He means by what He has told me. It is on this account that I also know that I am an addressee of the vocative ["O people!"], because I am a human being, in the same way as I would know that, if he addressed me by saying "O Zayd!", this being my name.

You should, moreover, note that the characteristic quality of the vocative on account of which I know that it is directed at me, does

66 *Ibid.*, p. 138. The common phrase in Bahshamī literature is "[...], it would be tantamount to addressing a [Bantu-speaking] inhabitant of Zanzibar in Arabic" (see the quotations from *Kitāb al-Istibṣār*, SP RNL, Yevr.-arab. I 1811, ff. 63b and 64b, above in the first section of this article).

67 RNL, Arab.-Yevr. 160, ff. 15a–16a.

68 God's speech must by definition have a communicative value, i.e. it must be clear and intelligible in order not to be idle and futile (*'abath*) talk [see Schwarb, *Capturing the Meanings of God's Speech* (n. 58 above), pp. 128–136].

not necessarily imply that I know the status of another person, whether he is included among the addressees or whether there is evidence at his disposal which shows him that he is excluded, or whether there is a condition that occurred to me, but not to him. By virtue of knowing the vocative one knows why one is addressed by it. Hence, the elucidation of what I was told [to do] is not delayed for me, and it is not admissible to say: "I do not understand what He meant, when He addressed my forefathers", because I have understood it. On these grounds, the assessment of [the vocative address] is distinct from His saying "Whoever enters my house, I will kill him", when He means some people to the exclusion of others.[69]

Note that when God ordered me to keep the Sabbath, He also ordered me to put those to death who profane it [< Ex 31:13-14]. In conformance with protasis and apodosis of the conditional sentence, He expressed this in an all-inclusive way. He made this plain in another context which is not related to the Sabbath by saying "[you shall bring them both out to the gate of that town and stone them to death –] the young woman, for her not crying out in the town, and the man, for his abusing his fellow man's wife" [Deut 22:24]. On these grounds it is inadmissible for a judge to rule that His saying "Speak to the Israelites" does not apply to someone who seeks legal advice from him, and asserts that his judgement is in accordance with the requirements of the Law. He cannot argue that someone is excluded due to a reason which is hidden from him. This entails that the legal status of all recipients of the prophetic message is one and the same with regard to the performance and omission of duties and it is therefore valid to command the right and to forbid the wrong with reference to the provisions of the revealed Law. But no one should ponder over the consequences of this and turn it against me.

ذلك.

واعلم أنّ ما تضمّنه النداء مما لأجله حصل متوجّه إليَّ، لا يجب لأجله أن أعرف حال غيري، هل هو داخل تحت الخطاب أو فرد(؟) له بدليل أنّه خارج عنه أو لم يحص[ل له من] الشرط ما حصل لي. وهو العلم بالنداء فلِمَ يكون معنيّاً به. فلم يأخّر عنّي بيان ما خوطبتُ به، ولم يجز أن يقال «إنّي لم أقف على مراده بخطابه آبائي»، لأنّي قد وقفتُ. فحكم ذلك كما ترى مفارق لقوله «من دخل داري، فأ[قتله]»، إذا أراد به البعض دون البعض.

واعلم أنّه سبحانه، لمّا [16و] أمرني بحفظ السبت، أمرني بقتل مبذّلها، فأورد ذلك مورد استغراق حسب ما يقتضيه معنى الشرط والجزاء. وأوضح ذلك في غير السبت بقوله «اث هناعرا عل دبر اشار لا صاعقا باعير واث هاايش عل دبر اشر عنا اث ايشث ريعيهو».[70] فلذلك لم يجز للحاكم في بعض من يرتفع إليه أنّه غير مَعنِيّ بقوله «دبير ال بني يسرايل»[71] وقطع على أنّ حكمه حكمه في لزوم الشرع. فإنّه لم يبيّن له خروجه بما خفي عنه. وهذا يقتضي أنّ حكم من بلغته الدعوة في اللزوم والترك حكم واحد، ولذلك صحّ الأمر بالمعروف والنهي عن المنكر في الشرعيات، فليس لأحد أن يتعقّب هذا الموضع علينا.

For Yūsuf al-Baṣīr, the concept of abrogation is interlocked with the concept of the changing beneficiality of acts imposed by divine revelation.[72] The goodness of revealed injunctions is instrumental to their beneficiality, and since beneficiality is contingent on particular agents, times, places, conditions, and circumstances, the validity or legal force of revealed laws varies in accordance with these conditions. This teleological paradigm is shared by Muslim and Jewish Muʿtazilī scholars, and Yūsuf al-Baṣīr refers to it to show that it is incompatible with the allegation

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69 On this issue (*nidāʾ al-ʿumūm* / *nidāʾ al-khuṣūṣ*) see, for instance, al-Jaṣṣāṣ, *al-Fuṣūl fī l-uṣūl* (n. 44 above), vol. 1, p. 147.

70 את הנערה על דבר אשר לא עקה בעיר ואת האיש על דבר אשר ענה את אשת רעהו

71 דבר אל בני ישראל

72 The idea of changing benefits is also apparent in several other works by Jewish Muʿtazilites; see, for instance, the second part of Samuel b. Ḥofnī's *Treatise on the Commandments*, ed. in David E. Sklare, *Samuel ben Ḥofni Gaon and His Cultural World: Text and Studies*, Leiden: Brill, 1996, p. 152 with n. 39 and p. 188 with nn. 51–52.

that the Mosaic Law has been abrogated wholesale. His point of reference are Mu'tazilī texts such as the following passage in *K. al-Mujzī*[73]:

فقد تبيّن بهذه الجملة أن الدواعي لا يمتنع أن تختلف في الأعيان والأشخاص، وفي شخص واحد أو أشخاص كثيرة على الأوقات. فإذا صح هذا، لم يمتنع أن يكون المعلوم من أحوال قوم من المكلفين أن مصلحتهم متعلقة بقبيل من الفعل فيكلفهم تعالى ذلك، ويكون معلوما أيضا أن غيرهم من المكلفين لا تتعلق مصالحهم بذلك القبيل، وإنما تتعلق بما يخالف ذلك القبيل، حتى أنهم لو كُلّفوه لفسدوا. وكذلك لا يمتنع أن يكون المعلوم من حال مكلف واحد أن فعلا من الأفعال يكون صلاحاً له إلى مدة، ثم يتغير حاله في ذلك فيكون صلاحه في خلافه.

وإذا كانت المصالح يجوز أن تختلف على هذا الحد، فلا بد من تجويز اختلاف التكليف بحسبها، لأنه مترتّب عليها. وهذا يوجب القول بجواز النسخ لا محالة، من حيث كانت العبادة التي تتعلق بها المصلحة لا بد من تكليفها. ومتى تغيرت حالها في كونها صلاحاً بحسب تغاير الأعيان والأشخاص أو تغاير الأوقات في شخص واحد، لا بد من رفعها وإزالتها.

This résumé brings home that the motives [that move someone to perform an action] may differ from one context and one individual to another and change relative to times for an individual as well as for a multitude of people. On this evidence, it is possible to know – based on the [living] conditions of a group of people who are subjects of the Law – that their well-being depends on a certain type of action, and for this reason God imposes this action on them, while it is equally known that the well-being of other subjects of the Law depends not on that, but rather a different type of action, to the point that they would perish, if He were to impose on them [the first type of action]. In like manner, it is possible to know – based on the [living] condition of an individual who is a subject of the Law – that a certain action has a beneficial effect on him for a certain period of time, wherupon his [living] condition changes, so that his well-being will rest on a different [type of action].

Given that what is conducive to the well-being may vary in this vein, one has to allow for the possibility that the obligation imposed [by God] varies accordingly, inasmuch as it is subordinate to it [*scil.* to whatever is conducive to the well-being of those who are subject to the imposed obligations]. This fact inevitably compels [us] to allow for the possibility of abrogation, inasmuch as an act of worship on which the well-being depends is by definition the result of an imposed obligation. Whenever its condition – which determines whether it has a beneficial effect – undergoes a change in keeping with the changing contexts and individuals or the changing times for a given individual, it has to be suspended and abolished.[74]

These and similar texts exemplify the inextricable link between a given theological doctrine and the meaning of the divine discourse. The semantics of revealed texts is essentially a theological semantics and their linguistic analysis is subordinate and ancillary to this theological grid, *ancilla theologiae*.[75] For a Mu'tazilī *mutakallim* like Yūsuf al-Baṣīr, the theological semantics of Scripture/the Law is tightly linked to the necessary beneficiality of its injunctions, which is the

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73 *al-Mujzī fī uṣūl al-fiqh* (n. 44 above), vol. 1, p. 379.

74 From this résumé, the author of the *Mujzī* draws a conclusion that is diametrically opposed to that of al-Baṣīr, for he continues as follows: "If things are as I have just outlined, the benefit of those who were subject to the Law in the times of Moses was bound to the keeping of the Sabbath. From a present-day perspective it is evident that the benefit in keeping it is limited up to a specific time. Thereafter, what is beneficial to those who are subject to the Law undergoes a change. Once that time has come, the corresponding regulation needs to be abolished and abrogated in accordance with wisdom. This has become obvious." (*Mujzī*, *ibid.*).

75 This is comparable to J.J.E. Gracia's conception of theological interpretations of revealed texts as "an understanding of a text in terms of the theology [or: theological principles] the interpreter brings into the interpretive process" [*How Can We Know what God Means*, New York: Palgrave, 2001, p. 202, n. 46] "Theology [...] determines the canon of revelation, the actual interpretation of certain texts, the relative value of these texts and their interpretations, and even the very hermeneutical principles used in interpreting. Theology governs, both epistemologically and ontologically, the interpretation of revealed texts" (*ibid.*, p. 144)".

ultimate utilitarian yardstick of any acceptable interpretation. In his *Risāla fī maʿnā ijāzat al-naskh*, al-Basīr resorts to this yardstick to show that the Muslim claim that the Mosaic dispensation had been abrogated is inconsistent with the ontological foundation and incompatible with the meta-ethical commitments of Muʿtazilī *Kalām* and leaves his Muslim Muʿtazilī fellows caught up in doctrinal self-contradictions.

Sahl b. al-Faḍl al-Tustarī's *Kitāb al-Īmā'*

Gregor Schwarb

Introduction

Al-Shaykh al-Jalīl, Abū l-Faḍl Sahl b. al-Faḍl b. Sahl (Yāshār b. Ḥesed b. Yāshār) al-Tustarī is the preeminent figure among Karaite intellectuals in the latter third of the 11th century.[1] As a descendent of the Tustarīs (*'al-Dasātira/Tasātira'*), the illustrious family of Karaite notables, merchants, financiers and senior officials in the Fatimid court, his name has been familiar to historians of Jewish thought for more than a century.[2] Yet little attention

* I am indebted to S. Butbul, W. Madelung, and the editors of this journal for their critical remarks.

1 In MS London, British Library (hereafter BL), Or. 2572 (Institiute of Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts at the Jewish National and University Library, Jerusalem, microfilm no. [hereafter "IMHM, F"] 6343), f. 5b (cat. Margoliouth, vol. 3, p. 199, no. 896) 'Alī b. Sulaymān calls al-Tustarī "*al-Shaykh al-Jalīl*". In other manuscripts the honorific title "*al-Shaykh al-Fāḍil*" is attributed to him [e.g. St. Petersburg, Russian National Library (hereafter RNL), Yevr.-Arab. I 1671 (IMHM, F 55212), f. 1a; St. Petersburg, RNL, Yevr.-Arab. I 1680 (IMHM, F 56257), f. 1a; St. Petersburg, RNL, Firk. Arab. 630, f. 8a]. Isaiah ben 'Uzziyah gives al-Tustarī the honorific title "ha-Sar ha-Gadol Yashar b. Ḥesed" (see S. Poznański, "Der Karäer al-Mu'allim (oder al-Melammed) Fāḍil und seine Bearbeiter", in *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums* 65 (1921), pp. 134f.).

2 For the Tustarī family see M. Gil, *The Tustaris: The Family and the Sect*, Tel Aviv 1981 [Hebrew]; idem, *A History of Palestine, 634–1099*, Cambridge 1992, p. 964 (index); idem, *Jews in Islamic Countries in the Middle Ages*, Leiden 2004, pp. 269–271, 663–675; S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, vol. 6, Berkeley, etc., 1993, p. 118 (index). For some additional information about the family's economic and political activities see M. Rustow, *Rabbanite-Karaite Relations in Fatimid Egypt and Syria: A Study Based on Documents from the Cairo Genizah*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Columbia University 2004, pp. 337–374. In *A*

has been paid until now to the contents of his works and the contours of his thought,[3] and attempts to study the extant fragments of his literary output have begun only very recently.[4] The absence of previous research was, however, not primarily a result of neglect and inattention, but rather an inevitable consequence of the notorious inaccessibility of the relevant manuscript collections in the former Soviet Union. These circumstances severely restricted serious research for decades.

This article endeavours to reconstruct one of al-Tustarī's major works, *K. al-Īmā' ilā jawāmi' al-taklīf 'ilm*^{an} *wa-'amal*^{an} ("Book Intimating the Ensemble of Theoretical and Practical Components of the Obligation Imposed by God") and to provide a preliminary exploration of its structure and contents.[5] Before turning to the book itself, it may be convenient to summarize the main points of previous research on al-Tustarī's person and work.

Previous research

Because of the limited quantity of primary source material hitherto available containing information about al-Tustarī's life and works, previous research on

History of Palestine, p. 820, Gil asserts that Sahl b. al-Faḍl al-Tustarī was the great-grandson [sic!] of Abū Naṣr al-Faḍl (Ḥesed) al-Tustarī (d. 1049) who was the older brother of the famous Abū Sa'd Ibrāhīm al-Tustarī (d. 1047). For a family tree see Gil, *Tustaris*, p. 116, reproduced in Rustow, *Rabbanite-Karaite Relations*, p. 405.

3 Cf. H. Ben-Shammai, "Major Trends in Karaite Philosophy and Polemics in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries", in *Karaite Judaism: A Guide to its History and Literary Sources*, ed. M. Polliack, Leiden 2003, p. 357, n. 105.

4 See W. Madelung and S. Schmidtke, *Rational Theology in Interfaith Communication: Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's Mu'tazilī Theology among the Karaites in the Fāṭimid Age* (Jerusalem Studies in Religion and Culture, 5), Leiden 2006. This publication includes an edition and annotated translation of three short texts extracted from al-Tustarī's *K. al-Talwīḥ*, *K. al-Taḥrīr* and *al-Maqdisīyāt* (see below).

5 This is the title of the book according to MS ד (for details of the MSS of *K. al-Īmā'* see the table below). MS א gives the title as *K. al-Īmā' ilā jawāmi' al-taklīf fī l-'ilm wa-l-'amal*. Gil, *The Tustaris* (n. 2 above), p. 64 and idem, *Jews in Islamic Countries* (ibid.), p. 271, erroneously read כתאב אלאימא as *K. al-A'imma* (and translated accordingly "Book of the leaders").

this Karaite scholar may be summarized rather briefly. The entry "*Abu'l-Fadhl* ***Sahl*** *b. al-Fadhl b. Sahl al-Dustari*" in M. Steinschneider's *Die arabische Literatur der Juden* is short and riddled with errors.[6] Steinschneider relied exclusively on G. Margoliouth's short description of a manuscript in the M. W. Shapira collection of the British Museum, which comprises — among other texts — excerpts from al-Tustarī's *K. al-Talwīḥ ilā l-tawḥīd wa-l-'adl* ("Book Intimating God's Unity and Justice") and *K. al-Taḥrīr li-kitāb Arisṭū fīmā ba'da l-ṭabī'a* ("Book of Revision of Aristotle's Metaphysics").[7] In an addendum Steinschneider also took note of the relevant information contained in David b. Sa'd'el Ibn al-Hītī's chronicle of Karaite scholars which G. Margoliouth had edited from MS London, British Library, Or. 2402, fols. 188a–190a.[8]

6 M. Steinschneider, *Die arabische Literatur der Juden. Ein Beitrag zur Literaturgeschichte der Araber*, Frankfurt a. M. 1902, p. 113, § 69.

7 MS London, BL (formerly British Museum), Or. 2572, fols. 20a–42b, respectively 43a–67b (IMHM, F 6343). See G. Margoliouth, *Descriptive List of the Hebrew and Samaritan Mss. in the British Museum*, London 1893, p. 67. Margoliouth's more detailed description of this manuscript in the third volume of his *Catalogue of the Hebrew and Samaritan Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London 1909–1915, reprinted 1965), pp. 200f., no. 896/V, was only published after Steinschneider's death. The 'excerpts' (read "*Mawāḍi' muntaza'a min ...*" instead of Margoliouth's "*M. mutafarra'a min ...*") were most probably arranged by al-Tustarī's contemporary Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Sulaymān al-Muqaddasī (see below, notes 20 and 57). Another manuscript containing portions of both texts is St. Petersburg, RNL Firk. Arab. 630, fols. 1–8a (*K. al-Talwīḥ*), respectively 8b–12b (*K. al-Taḥrīr*). Other known MSS of *K. al-Talwīḥ* (also entitled: *K. al-Talwīḥ bi-l-uṣūl fī l-taklīf*) include St. Petersburg, RNL Yevr.-Arab. I 2843, 9 fols. (IMHM, F 55897), St. Petersburg, RNL Yevr.-Arab. I 592, 6 fols. (IMHM, F 54183), and New York, Jewish Theological Seminary (hereafter JTS), ENA 3960, fols. 12–17 (IMHM, F 33240). The latter fragment has recently been identified by Y. Meroz who graciously brought it to my attention.

8 Ed. G. Margoliouth, in *Jewish Quarterly Review* 9 (1897), pp. 432–435. The four lines concerning Sahl b. al-Faḍl al-Tustarī are found on fol. 190a, lines 10–13 = ed. Margoliouth, p. 435, lines 17–20. See Steinschneider (n. 6 above), p. 342 ('*Nachtrag*'). In this addendum Steinschneider also took note of A. E. Harkavy's reference to MS St. Petersburg, RNL Yevr.-Arab. I 3948, 287 fols. (IMHM, F 57949) containing parts of al-Tustarī's commentary on the Torah, in *Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 1 (1881), p. 158. The existence of this commentary was also known due to quotations in later compilations, e.g. MS London, BL, Or. 2498 (cat. Margoliouth, vol. 2, p. 267f., no. 334). Other known manuscripts of this commentary include St. Petersburg, RNL Arab.-Yevr. 21, fols. 104ff.

Besides the above-mentioned *K. al-Talwīḥ*,[9] Ibn al-Hītī recorded a *Radd 'alā l-Fayyūmī* ("Refutation of Se'adyah Gaon"), a *Kitāb fī l-i'tidāl* ("Book on the Equinox"[?])[10] and introductory works on positive law (*wa-kataba kathīr*^{an} *min al-fiqh al-madkhal* [sic!]). In 1903, A. E. Harkavy used extracts from al-Tustarī's works for his reconstruction of 'Anan b. David's *Sefer ha-Miṣvot*.[11] S. A. Poznański, first in his review of Steinschneider's book,[12] later in his "The Karaite Literary Opponents of Saadiah Gaon",[13] then in a Festschrift article,[14] and finally in the draft version of his unpublished *Encyclopedia le-toledot beney Miqra*[15] collected some additional data and dated al-Tustarī to the middle of the 11th century.[16] J. Mann, who insisted that the Tustarīs were Rabbanites, rejected the identification of our Karaite author as a member of the renowned family.[17] Mann was the first to record a manuscript of *K. al-Īmā'* in the private collection of A. E. Harkavy[18] and published some key sections from al-Tustarī's *Maqāla fī l-'arayot* ("Treatise on Incest") including a sharp polemic against Yeshu'ah b.

9 According to the chronicle *K. al-Talwīḥ* deals with "the science of *Kalām*, their [i.e. the Mutakallimūn's] terminology, and their modes of argumentation" (*fī 'ilm al-kalām, fī alfāẓihim wa-barāhīnihim*).

10 S. Poznański, "Die Anfänge des palästinensischen Gaonats", in *Festschrift, Adolf Schwarz zum siebzigsten Geburtstage*, ed. S. Krauss, Berlin/Wien 1917, p. 477, n. 2, suggested that *K. fī l-i'tidāl* might have treated astronomical issues.

11 Harkavy, *Studien und Mittheilungen aus der Kaiserlichen Oeffentlichen Bibliothek* VIII (Likkute Kadmoniot II: Zur Geschichte des Karaismus und der Karäischen Literatur), Erstes Heft: Aus den ältesten Karäischen Gesetzbüchern (von Anan, Beniamin Nehawendi und Daniel Kummissi), St. Petersburg 1903, pp. IXf.; p. 65, n. ד; p. 66, n. ה; p. 75, n. א.

12 *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 8 (1904), p. 315.

13 *Jewish Quarterly Review* 19 (1907), pp. 63–65 (reprinted London 1908 and in P. Birnbaum [ed.], *Karaite Studies*, New York 1971, pp. 183–185, no. 19). See also Margoliouth's review in *Revue des Études Juives* 57 (1909), pp. 313f.

14 Poznański, *Anfänge* (n. 10 above), pp. 477f., repeated in *Revue des Études Juives* 72 (1921), pp. 204f.

15 MS Jerusalem, The Jewish National and University Library, 4^{0} 760.

16 In his *Anfänge* (n. 10 above), p. 478, Poznański suggested that al-Tustarī's birth date was about 1010.

17 J. Mann, *Texts and Studies in Jewish History and Literature*, vol. 2, Cincinnati 1931, p. 40, n. 78.

18 *Ibid.*, p. 142, n. 27. See below, MS ג.

Yehudah with respect to the alleged illegality of the latter's marriage according to the rules of *rikkūv*.[19] A. J. Borisov, who collected some important information about al-Tustarī's aforementioned contemporary 'Alī b. Sulaymān, announced his intention to dedicate a separate article to al-Tustarī on the basis of the St. Petersburg manuscripts,[20] but this article was never published.[21] More recently, H. Ben-Shammai called attention to *K. al-Uṣūl al-Muhadhdhabīya* ("Book on the Principles [of Religion] Dedicated to al-Muhadhdhab") by a certain al-Sayyid al-Fāḍil ha-Sar Yashar b. ha-Sar Ḥesed al-Tustarī. Since the latter was still alive in Dhū al-Ḥijja 587/Dec 1191, he cannot be identified with the author of *K. al-Īmā'*.[22] Other extant literary documents by Sahl b. al-Faṣl al-Tustarī include

19 Ibid., p. 40. The edition of some key passages from MS St. Petersburg, RNL Yevr.-Arab. I 3950, fols. 1–10 (IMHM, F 56977) is found on pp. 99f. According to the colophon al-Tustarī completed this treatise in Jerusalem in Muḥarram 489/January 1096. See also Gil, *History* (n. 2 above), p. 802.

20 See А. Я. Борисов, "Му'тазилитские рукописи Государственной Публиеной библиотеки в Ленинграде" (= "Mu'tazilite manuscripts at the State Public Library in Leningrad"), in *Bibliografiya Vostoka* 8–9 (1935), p. 70, n. 2 [reprinted in Православный палестинский сборник 99 (36) (2002), p. 236, n. 3 and in *The Teachings of the Mu'tazila: Texts and Studies II* (Islamic Philosophy, 116), selected and reprinted by F. Sezgin et al., Frankfurt a. M. 2000, vol. 2, p. 18, n. 2]. On 'Alī b. Sulaymān see idem, О времени и месте жизни караимского писателя Али ивн Сулеймана, in Палестинский сборник 64–5 (2) (1956), 109–114.

21 Borisov's article would most probably have included descriptions of several manuscripts in the Second Firkovich Collection containing collections of al-Tustarī's responsa, some of which are autographs. See S. Schmidtke, *Manuscripts on Dogmatics (kalām), Legal Methodology (uṣūl al-fiqh), Philosophy and Logic in the Abraham Firkovitch Collection ("Arabski-Arabski"), St. Petersburg: A Catalogue* (in preparation). The edition of a short extract from al-Tustarī's *Maqdisīyāt*, i.e. answers to questions by 'Alī b. Sulaymān al-Maqdisī/Muqaddasī, is included in Madelung — Schmidtke, (n. 4 above). Besides the manuscripts described in the aforementioned catalogue, the following MSS contain responsa by al-Tustarī: St. Petersburg, RNL Yevr.-Arab. I 10, 3 fols. (IMHM, F 51427); I 1686, fols. 108f. (IMHM, F 55328); I 1789, 5 fols. (IMHM, F 56245); I 3951, fols. 11f. (IMHM, F 60671); Arab.-Yevr. 21, 213 fols. (IMHM, F 63568); Arab.-Yevr. 238, 4 fols. (IMHM, F 63705), and other fragments in the Arab.-Yevr. series which have not yet been properly catalogued.

22 Cf. H. Ben-Shammai (n. 3 above), pp. 358f. including a short description of the fragment found in MS St. Petersburg, RNL Yevr.-Arab. I 3951, fols. 1–10 (IMHM, F 60671).

his paraphrase of an as yet unidentified work, copied by 'Alī b. Sulaymān.[23] Another manuscript contains a *Mukhtaṣar fī ṣinā'at al-kitāba*.[24] No evidence has been adduced to support the claim that al-Tustarī was the author of a work entitled *K. al-Ishāra fī uṣūl al-tawḥīd wa-l-'adl*.[25]

In 1981 M. Gil dedicated a monograph to the Tustarī family, which included a survey of the relevant Genizah documents. These findings were supplemented in subsequent studies by Gil, in which he also assembled the comparably scanty information about the Karaite community in Jerusalem during the last decades preceding the Crusader invasion.[26] The Jewish communities suffered an important blow already with the conquest of Palestine by the Seljuq armies from 1071 onwards. To the Genizah documents referred to by Gil in connection with Sahl b. al-Faḍl al-Tustarī belongs a letter, dated in the summer of 1100 and presumably written by the leaders of the Karaite community in Alexandria or Tyre, inquiring about the fate of the Jerusalem Karaites in the wake of the Crusader invasion. Gil suggested that one of the captives mentioned in the letter, an eight-year-old boy called Abū Sa'd b. Imra'at al-Tustarī, may have

23 MS London, BL, Or. 2572 (IMHM, F 6343), fols. 1f., respectively 5f. (cat. Margoliouth, vol. 3, p. 199, no. 896/I) includes two paraphrases of the same text arranged by 'Alī b. Sulaymān in 465/1072–3, respectively 486/1093 (*Talkhīṣ fīmā lā yasa'u al-mukallaf tarkuhu min al-'ulūm 'aql*^{an}, respectively *Talkhīṣ fīmā lā yasa'u al-mukallaf tarkuhu min ma'rifati llāh*). The second paraphrase is identical with a text appended to a fragment of *K. al-Talwīḥ* in the JTS manuscript mentioned in n. 7 above, fols. 18f. In BL Or. 2572, fol. 5b 'Alī b. Sulaymān writes that he only realized after completing his paraphrase that al-Tustarī had already prepared his own paraphrase of the same text, and then proceeds by copying from al-Tustarī's paraphrase.

24 St. Petersburg, RNL Firk. Arab. 124, f. 1a.

25 This title is mentioned in an owner's note on the first folio of MS London, BL, Or. 2573 (cat. Margoliouth, vol. 2, p. 180a, no. 589). I do not know on what basis Gil, *The Tustaris* (n. 2 above), p. 63, and idem, *Jews in Islamic Countries* (ibid.), p. 270 attributed this book to al-Tustarī. The manuscripts of *K. al-Ishāra* mentioned by Ben-Shammai (n. 3 above), p. 358, n. 106, are unknown to me. A confusion with the almost synonymous *K. al-Īmā'* and *K. al-Talwīḥ* is likely.

26 See Gil, *The Tustaris* (n. 2 above); idem, *History of Palestine* (n. 2 above), pp. 414–418, 749f., 819f., as well as the relevant chapters in *The History of Jerusalem: The Early Muslim Period, 638–1099*, eds. J. Prawer and H. Ben-Shammai, Jerusalem 1996.

been the son of Sahl b. al-Faḍl al-Tustarī's widow. This would imply that al-Tustarī was already dead at this time.[27]

A public disputation (*majlis*) in Jerusalem

It was J. Drory who first drew Gil's attention to a Muslim source mentioning al-Tustarī.[28] This document deserves a closer look in the context of the present article.

In 485/1092 the sixteen-year-old Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh al-Ma'āfirī Ibn al-'Arabī (468/1076–543/1148), who later became famous as 'Fakhr al-Maghrib', left al-Andalus to embark with his father on a *riḥla* to the East.[29] Such journeys were encouraged in particular by Abū l-Walīd Sulaymān b. Khalaf al-Bājī (d. 474/1081), the most influential Andalusian theologian

27 See MS Cambridge, University Library, T-S 20.113, ed. in M. Gil, *Palestine During the First Muslim Period (634–1099)* [Hebrew], Tel Aviv 1983, vol. 3, p. 447, lines 30–32. Cf. idem, *History of Palestine* (n. 2 above), p. 820. See also S. D. Goitein, "Contemporary letters on the capture of Jerusalem by the Crusaders", in *Journal of Jewish Studies* 3 (1952) 163–168, 171–175; idem, *Palestinian Jewry in Early Islamic and Crusader Times in the Light of the Genizah Documents*, Jerusalem 1980, p. 234 [Hebrew]; idem, *A Mediterranean Society*, vol. 5, Berkeley, etc. 1988, pp. 373f., 377–379.

28 Gil, *The Tustaris* (n. 2 above), p. 66, n. 95; see Drory's book mentioned in n. 35 below.

29 On Ibn al-'Arabī see the article "Ibn al-'Arabī" by J. Robson in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*^{2} (hereafter *EI*^{2}), vol. 3 (1968), p. 707; C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, erster Supplementband, Leiden 1937, pp. 632f., no. 5a; 732f., no. 10; U. R. Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, Beirut 1985, vol. 10, pp. 242f.; 'A. Ṭālibī, *Ārā' Abī Bakr b. al-'Arabī al-kalāmīya*, Algiers 1974, esp. vol. 1, pp. 89–275; V. Lagardère, "Abū Bakr b. al-'Arabī, grand cadi de Séville", in *Revue de l'Occident Musulman et de la Méditerranée* 40 (1985), pp. 91–102; C. Adang, "The Spread of Ẓāhirism in Post-Caliphal al-Andalus: The Evidence from the Biographical Dictionaries", in *Ideas, Images, and Methods of Portrayal: Insights into Classical Arabic Literature and Islam*, ed. S. Günther, Leiden 2005, pp. 297–299 with n. 5; F. Griffel, *Apostasie und Toleranz im Islam. Die Entwicklung zu al-Ġazālīs Urteil gegen die Philosophie und die Reaktionen der Philosophen*, Leiden 2000, pp. 382–385. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Maqqarī (d. 1041/1632) portraits Ibn al-'Arabī in the section of his *Nafḥ al-ṭīb min ghuṣn al-Andalus al-raṭīb* which is dedicated to Andalusian Muslims who travelled to the East (*al-bāb al-khāmis fī l-ta'rīf bi-ba'ḍ man raḥala min al-Andalusīyīn ilā bilād al-mashriq*), Cairo 1936, vol. 6, pp. 58–86 = ed. I. 'Abbās, Beirut 1968, vol. 2, pp. 25–43, no. 8.

of the 5th/11th century apart from the towering figure of Ibn Ḥazm, who spread the fame of the "glorious sciences of the East" in al-Andalus and advised young Andalusian scholars to travel to the East in their quest for a solid theological education.[30] Adverse political conditions in al-Andalus also facilitated the decision to depart. After a rather adventurous journey along the southern coast of the Mediterranean sea Ibn al-'Arabī and his father arrived in Jerusalem, where the son stayed for more than three years (until autumn 1095). His ultimate goal, however, was to study with a young teacher at the Niẓāmīya *madrasa* in Baghdad whose fame had already reached al-Andalus: Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad al-Ghazzālī.[31] Jerusalem was the ideal place for him to acquire the theological knowledge that would prepare him for his studies in Baghdad. The account of his journey, included in the introductory section of his *Qānūn al-ta'wīl*, written forty years after his return to Seville in 495/1101, contains valuable information about the curricula of religious studies in al-Andalus and in the East.[32] It presents a particularly vivid portrait of scholarly and social

30 Ibn al-'Arabī mentions a book-seller in al-Andalus who promoted al-Bājī's books with the slogan "*'ulūm jalīla jalabahā al-Bājī min al-mashriq*" (see I. 'Abbās, "*Riḥlat Ibn al-'Arabī ilā al-Mashriq kamā ṣawwarahā* 'Qānūn al-ta'wīl'", in *Abḥāth* 21 [1968], p. 62). The sciences in question are *'ilm al-kalām* and *uṣūl al-fiqh*. For the famous disputations between al-Bājī and Ibn Ḥazm see A. M. Turkī, *Polémiques entre Ibn Ḥazm et Bājī sur les principes de la loi musulmane. Etudes et documents*, Algiers 1976.

31 Ibn al-'Arabī arrived in Baghdad during the second half of 489/1096. In his *al-'Awāṣim min al-qawāṣim* (ed. 'A. Ṭālibī, Cairo 1417/1997, p. 24) he states that he met al-Ghazzālī in Baghdad in Jumādā II 490/June 1097 after the latter had returned from abroad. If these dates are correct, al-Ghazzālī arrived in Jerusalem only shortly after Ibn al-'Arabī departed for Ashqelon, where he stayed during the first half of 1096. The exact chronology of al-Ghazzālī's journeys during the years 1096–1097 is hard to establish. See G. F. Hourani, "A Revised Chronology of Ghazzālī's Writings", in *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 104 (1984), p. 295 and p. 296 n. 23. All of Ibn al-'Arabī's writings are heavily influenced by al-Ghazzālī's thought. In 503/1109 he was among those who, at the order of the Almoravid rulers, were forced to dispose of their copies of al-Ghazzālī's works. I. 'Abbās, *Riḥlat Ibn al-'Arabī*, p. 68, records a manuscript of 27 folios in the Public Library in Rabat entitled: هذه أجوبة أسئلة ابن العربي رضي الله عنه إذ سأل شيخه الإمام حجة الإسلام أبا حامد الغزالي نفعنا الله بهما

32 The *Qānūn* was composed in 533/1139. It also appears under the title *K. Ma'rifat qānūn al-ta'wīl fī fawā'id al-tanzīl* (see MS Escurial, Arabic, no. 1264, cat. H. Derenbourg, *Les*

life in Palestine on the eve of the first Crusade. The young Ibn al-'Arabī was tremendously impressed by what he encountered and writes with awe about his meetings with illustrious scholars and students from all over the Islamic world who passed through Jerusalem.[33] In connection with his studies under Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Walīd al-Fihrī al-Ṭurṭūshī (born Ṭurṭūsha ca. 451/1059, died Alexandria 520/1126 or 525/1131), a former student of al-Bājī in Saragossa and of Ibn Ḥazm in Seville who had settled in the East,[34] he recounts the following event which apparently still resounded in his memory forty-five years later:[35]

> We[36] used to talk about the Karrāmīya, the Mu'tazila, the Anthropomorphists and the Jews. The Jews had in (Jerusalem) a leading scholar (*ḥabr*) called al-Tustarī who was erudite and well versed in their religion. In (Jerusalem) we had arguments with the Christians, too. The land belongs to them, they cultivate their estates, take care of their monasteries, and build their churches.

manuscrits arabes de l'Escurial, Paris 1928, vol. 3, p. 4). Ibn al-'Arabī's earlier, more detailed account of his journey (*Tartīb al-riḥla lil-targhīb fī l-milla*), in which he had, as he says, omitted the events in Jerusalem, is not extant.

33 See Gil, *History of Palestine* (n. 2 above), pp. 417f. In addition to the scholars mentioned in *Qānūn al-ta'wīl* see al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, Cairo 1936, vol. 6, pp. 61ff. (= ed. I. 'Abbās, vol. 2, pp. 36f.).

34 On al-Fihrī, who was also known as Ibn Abī Randaqa, see the article "al-Ṭurṭūshī, Abū Bakr Muḥammad" by A. Ben Abdesselem, in *EI*^{2}, vol. 10 (2000), pp. 739f.; Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'jam* (n. 29 above), vol. 12, p. 96; al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, ed. Cairo, vol. 6, pp. 222–233 (= ed. I. 'Abbās, vol. 2, pp. 85–90, no. 46). Other prominent students of al-Ṭurṭūshī coming from the 'West' were the eminent tradionist Abū 'Alī al-Ṣafaḍī (d. 514/1120–1), and the future Mahdī of the Almoḥads, Ibn Tūmart (d. 524/1130).

35 Ed. I. 'Abbās, in *Abḥāth* 21 (1968), pp. 81:13–82:11. See also the editor's introduction, p. 65. The edition of *Qānūn al-ta'wīl* by M. al-Sulaymānī (second edition Beirut 1990), was not available to me. The translated passage has been referred to repeatedly: see e.g. Gil, *The Tustaris* (n. 2 above), pp. 65f.; idem, *History of Palestine* (ibid.), p. 417; 802 n. 15; 820 n. 24; H. Ben-Shammai, "The Karaites", in *The History of Jerusalem* (n. 26 above), p. 221. An annotated Hebrew translation of this text is to be found in J. Drory, *Ibn al-Arabī of Seville: Journey to Palestine (1092–1095)*, Ramat Gan 1993, pp. 96, 138–141 (notes) [Hebrew].

36 I.e. Abū Bakr Ibn al-'Arabī and his teacher, al-Fihrī (see n. 34 above).

One day, we attended a huge public debate (*majlis*) in which the (various) religious denominations participated. Al-Tustarī, the leading Jewish scholar, spoke about his religion and said: "We all agree that Moses is a prophet who was confirmed by miracles and taught the Commandments; whoever thinks that someone else is a prophet must provide evidence for that". As is customary in dialectical disputations, he intended to place the *onus probandi* on our side, so that he would comfortably attain (his) desired goal and continue unremittingly with (his) loquacious speech. But al-Fihrī countered: "If you mean the Moses who was confirmed by miracles, taught the Commandments and announced (the coming of the prophet) Aḥmad [= Muḥammad], we are in total agreement with you about him, believe in him and give credence to him; if, however, you mean another Moses, we do not know what he may be". The audience approved of this argument and cheered him excessively. It was a dialectically clever, very witty remark. The opponent [i.e. al-Tustarī] was left speechless and the verdict (as to who had the upper hand in the debate) was decided.

We remained in this disposition until I came — through God's kindness — to know the objectives of the three sciences: the science of *kalām*, *uṣūl al-fiqh* and *masā'il al-khilāf*. These three sciences are the backbone of religion and the ideal preparation for getting acquainted with the rules of the legally obligated people.[37]

37 وكنّا نفاوض الكرامية والمعتزلة والمشبهة واليهود. وكان لليهود بها حبر منهم يقال له التستري لقنا فيهم ذكيا بطريقهم. وخاصمنا النصارى بها، وكانت البلاد لهم يأكرون ضياعها ويلتزمون أديارها ويعمرون كنائسها. وقد حضرنا يومًا مجلسًا عظيمًا فيه الطوائف، وتكلّم التستري الحبر اليهودي على دينه فقال: اتّفقنا على أن موسى نبي مؤيَّد بالمعجزات معلّم بالكلمات، فمن ادّعى أن غيره نبي، فعليه الدليل. وأراد من طريق الجدال أن يرد الدليل في جهتنا، حتى يطّرد له المرام وتمتدّ إطناب الكلام. فقال له الفهري: إنْ أردت بموسى الذي أيّد بالمعجزات وعلّم الكلمات وبشّر بأحمد، فقد اتّفقنا عليه معكم وآمنّا به وصدّقناه، وإنْ أردت به موسى آخر، فلا نعلم ما هو. فاستحسن ذلك الحاضرون وأطنبوا في الثناء عليه، وكانت نكتة جدلية عقلية قوية، فبهت الخصم وانقضى الحكم.

ولم نزل على تلك السجية حتى اطّلعت بفضل الله على أغراض العلوم الثلاثة: علم الكلام وأصول الفقه ومسائل الخلاف التي هي عمدة الدين وطريق المهيّأ إلى التدرب في معرفة أحكام المكلّفين

Whether or not Ibn al-'Arabī faithfully recounts the course of the *majlis* is of secondary importance for our purposes. What is noteworthy is the existence of such public debates in Jerusalem at the very end of the 5th/11th century.[38] Moreover, it is possible that al-Tustarī's debate with al-Fihrī was not confined to exchanging arguments in a polemical debate and we may speculate whether a fragment of an abridgement of al-Bājī's *K. Iḥkām al-fuṣūl fī aḥkām al-uṣūl* in the Second Firkovich Collection may have had its origin in such an encounter.[39]

K. al-Īmā' ilā jawāmi' al-taklīf 'ilm^{an} wa-'amal^{an}

The manuscripts

So far 22 fragments of *K. al-Īmā'* have been identified.[40] These fragments derive from eight distinct manuscripts [א–ח].[41]

38 For some earlier examples of Jewish scholars participating in public sessions for discussion of religious and theological matters, especially in the context of tenth-century Baghdad, see D. Sklare, "Responses to Islamic Polemics by Jewish Mutakallimūn in the Tenth Century", in *The Majlis: Interreligious Encounters in Medieval Islam*, ed. H. Lazarus-Yafeh et al., Wiesbaden 1999, pp. 137–161. Sklare is currently preparing a monographic survey of related texts. In our context we may once more point to a one-page fragment in the handwriting of al-Tustarī's contemporary 'Alī b. Sulaymān in MS London, BL, Or. 2572, fol. 12b (cat. Margoliouth, vol. 3, pp. 199f., no. 896/II), edited by H. Hirschfeld in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 26 (1912), pp. 111–113. The fragment seems to be an extract from a manual intended to guide a Jewish participant of an interfaith polemical *majlis* [*yuqālu li-man yaqūlu inna l-yahūd* ...]. The extract text addresses the Muslim claim that the Jews have forged the existing text of the Torah (*taḥrīf*).

39 MS St. Petersburg, RNL, Firk. Arab. 93. The fragment bears the title *Bāb aqsām adillat al-shar'* and gives an abridged version of the text (cf. ed. 'A. M. al-Jubbūrī, 2 vols., Beirut 1409/1989, pp. 69ff.). al-Fihrī is indeed known to have written abridgements of some of his teacher's works.

40 Two thirds of the fragments have been identified by the staff of the Russian National Library, the Institute of Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts and the Ben Zvi Institute, the rest by myself. Some further fragments may, of course, still be identified in the future. I am grateful to Dr. D. Sklare for providing me with a list of some shorter fragments from the Second Firkovich collection "potentially belonging to *K. al-Īmā'*".

41 MS St. Petersburg, RNL, Yevr.-Arab. I 1272 is evidently not a copy of *K. al-Īmā'* itself, but rather a considerably abridged version of it. Between the first and the last words of fol. 3a

א Moscow, Russian State Library, Guenzburg 1040, 164 fols. (IMHM, F 47570) [= א];[42] Saint Petersburg, Russian National Library (hereafter RNL), Yevr.-Arab. I 1680, 8 fols. (IMHM, F 56257) [= א¹]; St. Petersburg, RNL, Yevr.-Arab. II 974, fols. 86–88 (IMHM, F 59367) [= א²]

ב St. Petersburg, RNL, Yevr.-Arab. I 1711, 76 fols. (IMHM, F 55045) [= ב]; Yevr.-Arab. I 1716, 9 fols. (IMHM, F 56288) [= ב¹]; Yevr.-Arab. II 1058, fols. 61f. (IMHM, F 59400) [= ב²]

ג Jerusalem, private collection (previously Kiev, Vernadsky Library, Harkavy Ph. no. 3), 51 fols.; date: 1345 (IMHM, F 70551) [= ג][43]

ד St. Petersburg, RNL, Yevr.-Arab. I 1671, 28 fols. (IMHM, F 55212) [= ד]; Yevr.-Arab. I 1096, 4 fols. (IMHM, F 54967) [= ד¹]; Yevr.-Arab. I 1299, 1 fol. (IMHM, F 54854) [= ד²]

ה St. Petersburg, RNL, Yevr.-Arab. I 1686, fols. 65–70; 78f.; 95; 107; 110–119; 129–133 (IMHM, F 55328) [= ה]; Yevr.-Arab. I 924, 4 fols. (IMHM, F 54446) [= ה¹]; Yevr.-Arab. II 938, fols. 71f.; 77f. (IMHM, F 59382) [= ה²].

ו St. Petersburg, RNL, Yevr.-Arab. II 3331, fols. 6; 53–61; 81–83; 105–108; 111 (fols. 113–118 not on film!); 121–126; 181–184 (IMHM, F 61986) [= ו]; Yevr.-Arab. I 1025, 4 fols. (IMHM, F 54523) [= ו¹]; RNL Yevr.-Arab. I 4526, fols. 19–25 (IMHM, F 58452) [= ו²]

ז St. Petersburg, RNL, Yevr.-Arab. I 1338, fols. 1; 4–36 (IMHM, F 54675) [= ז]; Yevr.-Arab. I 2258, fols. 1–26; 35–40 (IMHM, F 56889) [= ז¹]; Yevr.-Arab. I 1023, 8 fols. (IMHM, F 54458) [= ז²]; Yevr.-Arab. I 1184, 1

there are no less than 8 folios in MS א (see table of manuscripts, column VIII, MS א, between fol. 107b and 81b).

42 The following quire numbers (in Arabic script) are visible (see bold subscript numerals in table): [ثانية، ثامنة، عاشرة، سابعة عش[رة]، تاسعة [عشرة]، حادية وعش[رون]

43 Apparently, the manuscript consisted originally of two volumes, whereby the lost second volume would have comprised the third *maqāla* of *K. al-Īmā'* [see J. Mann, *Texts and Studies* (n. 17 above), vol. 2, p. 142, n. 27]. The manuscript was copied in 1345 (see colophon on fol. 1b). It belonged to A. Harkavy. According to the online catalogue of the Jewish National and University Library it is now part of an unspecified private collection in Jerusalem.

fol. (IMHM, F 54657) [= ³ד]; Yevr.-Arab. I 882, 1 fol. (IMHM, F 54615) [= ⁴ד].

ה St. Petersburg, RNL, Yevr.-Arab. I 1493, 4 fols. (IMHM, F 55302) [= ה].

The following table synoptically describes the reconstruction of *K. al-Īmā'* on the basis of the manuscripts listed above [ה–א]. It is to be read from the left to the right (columns I–IX). Each field represents one folio of the respective manuscript. Superscript numbers refer to a specific fragment of a manuscript (e.g. 61² in column ב refers to folio 61 of ms. ²ב). Subscript numbers in MS א refer to quire numbers (bold quire numbers are visible in this manuscript). Quires are separated by a bold horizontal line. Numbers in column C (I.1–III.2.x) refer to chapters or thematic units as explained in the second part of the article (see fig. 1 on the following page).

Date and structure

So far, no definite clue has been found that would enable us to determine the exact date of composition of *K. al-Īmā'*,[44] but we may savely class it with al-Tustarī's mature works, written when he was already a well-established scholar (1070s–'90s). When writing *K. al-Īmā'*, he had already completed parts of his commentary on the Torah,[45] while he was still expecting to put others into writing.[46] His work on this commentary is known to have extended over more than two decades.[47] Al-Tustarī mentions some details about the circumstances of the book's composition in its introduction [MSS ¹א/ג/ד, fol. 1b]:

44 In addition to its basic, lexical meaning ('hinting', 'intimation'), "*īmā'*" has some technical meanings: in *uṣūl al-fiqh* it is used in the expression *'īmā' al-ta'līl/al-'illīya'* ('implicit causality') whose complementary expression is *taṣrīḥ al-ta'līl/al-'illīya* ('explicit causality'): cf. al-Ghazzālī's *Shifā' al-ghalīl*, ed. Ḥ. al-Kubaysī, Baghdad 1390/1970–1, pp. 102–106; Q. M. Sano, *Mu'jam Muṣṭalaḥāt uṣūl al-fiqh*, Beirut 1420/2000, pp. 98f.

45 See MS ד, fol. 17a (= MS א, fol. 79b), with regard to Leviticus 15(:11).

46 See MS א, fol. 1a (unspecific); fol. 13a with regard to Leviticus 23(:24); fol. 76b with regard to Lev 13; fol. 152b, with regard to Exodus 21f. A reference to *K. al-Īmā'* is found in a later, undated responsum, MS St. Petersburg, RNL, Arab.-Yevr. 238, fol. 2a (IMHM, F 63705) (see n. 120 below).

47 See MS St. Petersburg, RNL, Arab.-Yevr. 21, fol. 105a (dated Dhū al-Qa'da 460/September 1068), respectively fol. 159a (dated [4]77/1084).

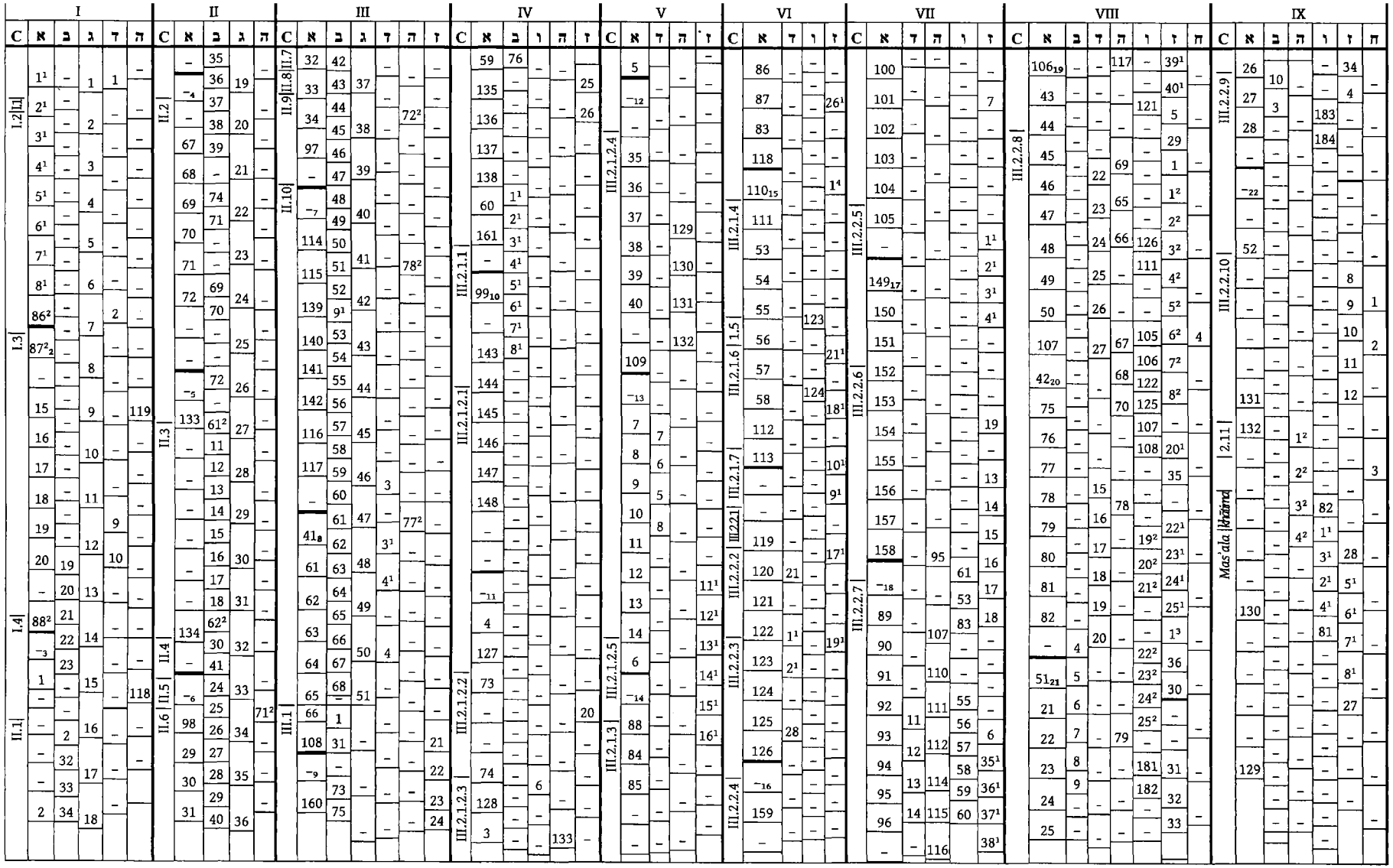

Fig. 1 From the manuscripts to the text

[...] אלחמד ללה אלואחד אלעדל אלדי אנעם עלינא בתעריצנא אלי אלמנזלה אלעליא אלתי לא יחסן אלתפצל במתלהא, ואזאח אלעלה בחית אן חרס פי דלך אלגרץ אלמקצוד נילנא לה,[48] וגעל תכליפנא ינקסם אלי עלם ועמל ליכתר תואבנא פי תחציל דלך ולמא יתבעה מן כתרה[49] אלמשקה פי מטאועה דואעי אלתכליף תבעא למא עלם אסתדלאלא, כלאפא ללחאל פי דלך לו כאן אלעלם צרוריא. פלה אלשכר ואלמנה כתירא.

אמא בעד: פאנ<י>[50] למא וצל כתאב מן אפתרץ חקה ממן לה אלדרגה אלרפיעה פי אלעלום, והו אלשיך אלפאצל אבו אלחסין [!] עלי בן סלימאן[51] אדאם אללה תאיידה, יחת עלי תצניף מכתצר יתצמן אלאימא אלי מגמל אלעלם ואלעמל גארי מגרי מא צנפה אלשריף אלמרתצי פי כתאב גמל[52] אלעלם ואלעמל פי אלאכתצאר בחית אן יכון תלתה מקאלאת:

אלאולי [א[1] 2א] פימא יתעלק באלתוחיד ואלעדל, ואלתאניה[53] פימא תפתקר אלשריעה אליה ותנבני עליה ממא יגרי מגרי אצול אלפקה, ואלתאלתה[54] פי תעדיל אצול אלפראיץ אלמתצמנה פי אלתוראה ואלתנביה [ד] עלי דליל מא יחתאג פי אתבאתה אלי אזיד מן טאהר אלנץ, ותמייז מא יכתץ וגובה בזמאן מכצוץ ובאהלה ומא יעם וגובה פי כל זמאן בעצה מן בעץ, ראית אמתאל מא חדה ואן כאן הו, [ג 2א] חרס אללה מדתה, אלאולי בהדא אלתצניף מני לאקתדארה עלי אלעלום אלעקליה ואלשרעיה ותחרירה[55] דלך אלי חד לא ילחק בה סואה. ואללה סבח' אסל אלאמדאד באלמעונה ואלהדאיה בלטפה.

Praise be to God, the One, the Just, who bestowed upon us His kindness by offering us the most exalted standing, which lies beyond what can be offered out of graciousness. In order to ensure that we reach the intended goal, He removed deficiencies. He divided our imposed obligation into a theoretical and a practical part, to multiply our reward by achieving these (respective goals) and for the sake of the benefit which follows as a result of the great hardship of acting in compliance with the motives of

48 [נילנא לה]: ד ליתא.
49 ד תמרה.
50 א/ג/ד פאן.
51 ג סלימנא.
52 ד אלגמל; ג/א[1] מגמל.
53 ד אלתאניה.
54 ד אלתאלתה.
55 ז ותחדידה.

the imposed obligation owing to an acquired knowledge, as opposed to what would be the case if this knowledge were immediate ('necessary'). To him belong abundant thanks and grace.

To the subject of this book: (I)[56] received a letter from someone whose authority is irrevocable, from someone who has a very high rank in the sciences, namely the distinguished scholar Abū l-Ḥusayn [!] 'Alī b. Sulaymān,[57] may God continue to give him strength. He urged (me) to write a compendium comprising an *aperçu* of the ensemble of theoretical and practical obligations, similar to what al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā did in his "Companion to the Theoretical and Practical (Religious Obligations)", while adhering to the format of a compendium which should include the (following) three treatises:

The first treatise should treat subjects related to God's unity and justice; the second should discuss the premises and underlying principles of the religious law, thereby following the pattern of *uṣūl al-fiqh* (compositions); the third should deal with the foundations of the (individual) ordinances contained in the Torah in a systematic ('equable') way and specify the evidence for (ordinances) which are based on something more than what is explicitly stated in the scriptural text; it should, moreover, distinguish (ordinances) whose obligation applies to a specific time and to specific people from (ordinances) whose obligation is all-inclusive (= applies to everyone) at all times.

I considered it appropriate to comply with his instructions, even though he, may God guard his lifetime, would have been better qualified than I to write such a book, because of his mastery of the rational and religious

56 For the sake of clarity, the translation deviates from the lengthy subordinate clause in the sentence [למא וצל כתאב מן אפתרץ חקה... ראית אמתתאל מא חדה]: "When a letter arrived..., urging..., I considered it appropriate to comply with his instructions...".

57 For Abū l-Ḥasan [!] 'Alī b. Sulaymān see Borisov's article (n. 20 above), which includes references to earlier contributions by S. L. Skoss and D. Z. Baneth. It is not entirely clear who was the older of the two Karaite scholars, but 'Alī b. Sulaymān outlived al-Tustarī by several years.

sciences and his unrivalled accuracy therein. I ask God to grant me His support and guidance through His kindness.

According to this preamble it was al-Tustarī's contemporary and friend Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Sulaymān who sent him a letter urging him to write a compendium (*mukhtaṣar*) comprising a concise synopsis of all theoretical and practical aspects of the divinely imposed obligations according to the view of Karaite Judaism. *Mukhtaṣar* and its related terms *jumal* and *jawāmi'* do not stand here for an abridgement of an already existing, more comprehensive work, but rather for the convenient, handy presentation of a very extensive subject matter, written by an acknowledged expert in the field for readers who are themselves on familiar terms with the specific area of knowledge.[58] The structure of the book and its emphasis on legal hermeneutics and juridical issues would suggest that it was mainly meant to serve as a *vademecum* for legal experts and practising jurists. Al-Tustarī's authorial expertise is accentuated by his remark in the closing section of *K. al-Īmā'*, noting that he had no books at his disposal when writing it, "neither his own books nor those of others".[59] It seems that the book was written in a relatively short period of time as a unified whole.

Al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā in Karaite libraries

The letter cited mentioned al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā's *K. Jumal al-'ilm wa-l-'amal* as a point of reference for what al-Tustarī was meant to compose.[60] This book,

58 See on this point the article "*Mukhtaṣar*" by A. Arazi and H. Ben-Shammai, in *EI*^{2}, vol. 7 (1992), pp. 536–540.

59 [ו 82א, ה' 3ב] "ולם יכן ענדי חין תצניפה שי מן כתבי וכתב גירי לאחאלה אלזמאן ביני ובינהא". "When writing this book, I did not have access to my own books nor the books of anyone else, because the (circumstances of) time separated me from them".

60 For al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (d. 436/1044) see the article "'Alam-al-Hodā" by W. Madelung, in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 1 (1982), pp. 791–795; Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, *Ṭabaqāt a'lām al-Shī'a*, vol. 5 (*al-Nābis fī l-qarn al-khāmis*), Beirut 1391/1971, pp. 120f.; A. Muḥyī al-Dīn, *Adab al-Murtaḍā: min sīratihi wa-āthārihi*, Baghdād 1957; W. Akhtar, "An introduction to Imāmiyya-scholars: Al-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā: Life and Works", in *al-Tawḥīd* 4 (1986), pp. 125–152; A. M. al-Ma'tūq, "*'Amālī al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā: dirāsa naqdīya*", in: *'Ālam*

written at the request of al-Murtaḍā's teacher, al-Shaykh al-Mufīd, was highly regarded and immensely popular during the 5th/11th century, even outside the Imāmite Shī'a. A late source even claims that the great 'Abd al-Jabbār lauded the book with the somewhat double-edged remark: "If al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā had (written) nothing but this compendium, he would have outclassed all other writers".[61] al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā himself later wrote a *Sharḥ* on the theoretical part of his *Jumal*.[62] Among his many illustrious students, who included most of the prominent Imāmite scholars of the following generation, at least three are known to have written commentaries on one or the other part of the *Jumal*.[63] Al-Murtaḍā's preeminent student 'Shaykh al-Ṭā'ifa' Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī (d. Najaf, 459/1067) wrote an extensive *Sharḥ* on the theoretical part of the *Jumal*.[64] Al-Qāḍī Abū l-Qāsim Sa'd al-Dīn 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Nahrīr b. 'Abd al-'Azīz Ibn al-Barrāj al-Shāmī al-Ṭarābulusī (d. 481/1088) commented upon the legal part of the *Jumal*.[65] According to some sources Abū l-Fatḥ Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Karājikī (d. Tyre, 449/1057) is also said to have

al-kutub 26, 1–2 (1425/2004), pp. 70–97, with further references to more recent publications. *K. Jumal al-'ilm wa-l-'amal* (Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, *al-Dharī'a ilā taṣānīf al-Shī'a*, Beirut 1983, vol. 5, p. 144, no. 609) has been edited many times, e.g. ed. R. al-Ṣaffār, al-Najaf 1378/1967 (all references are to this edition); ed. A. al-Ḥusaynī, al-Najaf 1387/1976; ed. M. al-Rajā'ī and A. al-Ḥusaynī, in *Rasā'il al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā*, Qum 1405/1984–5, vol. 3, pp. 9–81.

61 'Abdallāh b. 'Īsā Afandī al-Iṣbahānī (d. ca. 1718), *Riyāḍ al-'ulamā' wa-ḥiyāḍ al-fuḍalā'*, ed. A. al-Ḥusaynī, Qum 1401/1980, vol. 4, p. 62.

62 Al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, *Sharḥ Jumal al-'ilm wa-l-'amal*, ed. Y. al-Ja'farī al-Marāghī, Qum 1414/1994.

63 W. Akhtar, "Major Shī'ī Thinkers of the Fifth/Eleventh Century", in *al-Tawḥīd* IV, 4 (1986), pp. 97–114 [reprinted in *al-Serat* 14 (1988), pp. 28–49].

64 *K. Tamhīd al-uṣūl fī 'ilm al-kalām*, ed. 'A. M. al-Dīnī, Tehran 1362/1983; Ṭihrānī, *Dharī'a* (n. 60 above), vol. 4, p. 433, no. 1922. al-Ṭūsī refers to his "*Sharḥ al-jumal*" at the very beginning of the introduction to his commentary on the Qur'ān, *al-Tibyān fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān*, Beirut 1990, I:3, l. 7. For al-Ṭūsī see the article "al-Ṭūsī, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan" by M. A. Amir-Moezzi, in *EI*^{2}, vol. 10 (2000), pp. 745f.; W. Akhtar, "An introduction to Imāmiyyah scholars: Shaykh al-Ṭā'ifa al-Ṭūsī: Life and Works", in *al-Tawḥīd* 4 (1986–87), pp. 126–167.

65 *Sharḥ Jumal al-'ilm wa-l-'amal*, ed. K. I. Shānehchi, Mashhad 1352/1974; Ṭihrānī, *Dharī'a* (n. 60 above), vol. 13, p. 178, no. 599.

written a commentary on the theoretical part of the *Jumal*.[66] Interestingly enough, the Second Firkovich Collection includes at least three fragments of a copy of an anonymous Muslim commentary on the *Jumal* in Hebrew script.[67] They comprise parts from the end of *abwāb al-tawḥīd* as well as from the beginning and from later sections of *abwāb al-'adl*.[68] This anonymous commentary is clearly dependent upon al-Murtaḍā's own *Sharḥ*. The possibility that these fragments are part of the lost commentary by al-Karājikī cannot be excluded, but it may equally well be a copy of an otherwise unattested commentary.

This commentary is not, however, the only trace of al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā's works in Karaite libraries. A copy of his *K. Dhakhīrat al-'ālim wa-baṣīrat al-muta'allim* (= *K. al-Dhakhīra fī 'ilm al-kalām*) in the handwriting of 'Alī b. Sulaymān is extant in MS St. Petersburg, RNL, Firk. Arab. 111.[69] The

66 Muḥammad b. 'Alī Ibn Shahrāshūb (d. 588/1192), *Ma'ālim al-'ulamā' (Tatimmat K. al-Fihrist lil-Ṭūsī)*, ed. 'A. Iqbāl, Tehran 1353/1934–5, p. 106, lines 2f. mentions al-Karājikī's "*Sharḥ Jumal al-'ilm lil-Murtaḍā*". Ibn Shahrāshūb's entry is quoted by Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥurr al-'Āmilī (d. 1693), *Amal al-Āmil*, Baghdād 1385/1965, vol. 2, p. 287, no. 857. The commentary is, however, not recorded in Ṭihrānī, *Dharī'a*.

67 MSS St. Petersburg, RNL, Yevr.-Arab. II 198, 8 fols. (IMHM, F 58944) [= א]; Yevr.-Arab II 940, 10 fols. (IMHM, F 59329) [= ב]; Yevr.-Arab II 1042/V, 4 fols. (IMHM, F 59491) [= ג]. I owe these references to the kindness of Dr. A. Zysow and Dr. D. Sklare. I have prepared an edition of these three fragments.

68 The 22 folios comprise parts of the following chapters (numbers in square brackets refer to the *Jumal*, ed. al-Ṣaffār, those in parentheses to al-Murtaḍā's *Sharḥ*): [אבואב אלתוחיד]: [...], פצל פי אנה תע' ליס בגסם [31] (73), פצל פי אסתחאלה רויתה תע' באלאבצאר [31] (76), פצל פי אנה תע' ואחד לא תאני לה [31] (78) [אבואב אלעדל]: פצל פי כונה תע' קאדרא עלי אלקביח [32] (83), פצל פי אנה תע' לא יפעל אלקביח [32] (85), פצל פי אנה תע' לא יריד אלקביח [32] (87), פצל פי כונה תע' מתכלמא [32] (89), פצל פי אסתנאד אלאפעאל אלי אלעבאד [33] (92), [...] [33] (95), פצל פי אן אלקדרה מתעלקה באלצדין [33] (96), [...], פצל פי גואז עפו אללה תע' ען אלעקאב [39] (144), פצל פי נפי אלתחאבט בין אלטאעה ואלמעציה [39] (146), פצל פי סקוט אלעקאב ענד אלתובה תפצלא [39] (148), פצל פי אלשפאעה (155) [41].

The correct order of the folios is as follows: א 4א/ב, א 3א/ב, [...], א 5א/ב, [...], א 8ב/א, ב 3א/ב, [...], ג 1א–4ב, ב 4א/ב, [...], א 6א–7ב, [...], א 1א–2ב, [...] ב 1א/ב, ב 5א–10א

69 The manuscript was copied in Fusṭāṭ during Rajab 472/Dec. 1079–Jan. 1080. For further details see S. Schmidtke, "II Firk. Arab. 111 — A copy of al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā's *Kitāb al-Dhakhīra*, completed in 472/1079–80 in the Firkovich-Collection, St. Petersburg" [Persian], in *Ma'ārif* 20 (1382/2003), pp. 68–84. This article includes on pp. 75–77 an edition of sections not included in the edition of A. al-Ḥusaynī, Qum 1411/1990–1. A commentary on

Dhakhīra and the more comprehensive but unfinished *Mulakhkhaṣ fī uṣūl al-dīn*[70] were both written before the *Jumal*.[71] A one-leaf fragment from the Cairo Genizah contains a section of al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā's *Inqādh al-bashar min al-jabr wa-l-qadar* in a paraphrased version by Abū Ja'far al-Ṭūsī.[72]

Bearing in mind that al-Murtaḍā was one of the most acclaimed theologians in Baghdad during the late 4th/10th and early 5th/11th centuries, the familiarity of Karaite savants with his works is not in itself astonishing. Moreover, the main points of his theological doctrine concurred with the teachings of the Bahshamīya, i.e. the branch of the Baṣran Mu'tazila following the doctrine of Abū Hāshim al-Jubbā'ī, and hence with the mainstream of Karaite theological thought during the first half of the 11th century. But al-Murtaḍā was also among the eminent dignitaries to sign in 402/1011–2 the Caliph al-Qādir bi-llāh's document charging the Fatimid caliphs with having forged their 'Alid genealogy. This only added to the continuous tensions between Imāmī Shī'ites and Ismā'īlites. Al-Murtaḍā was hardly among the more widely read authors in the Fatimid empire.[73] There were, however, a few Imāmī Shī'ite communities in Egypt and Palestine, and we may speculate whether the Karaites' familiarity with some of al-Murtaḍā's writings could have been mediated by contacts between Karaite and Imāmī scholars, especially in Ramla, where both movements

K. al-Dhakhīra (Sharḥ al-Dhakhīra fī l-kalām) was written by one of al-Murtaḍā's students, Abū Ṣalāḥ Taqī al-Dīn b. Najm al-Ḥalabī, mentioned by Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Ma'ālim al-'ulamā'* [see Ṭihrānī, *Dharī'a* (n. 60 above), vol. 13, p. 277, no. 1011 and vol. 10, pp. 11f.].

70 *K. al-Mulakhkhaṣ fī uṣūl al-dīn*, ed. M. R. A. Qummī, Tehran 1381/2002. My thanks are due to S. Schmidtke for providing me with a copy of this edition.

71 In the epilogue (*khātima*) of the *Jumal* (ed. al-Ṣaffār, p. 130) al-Murtaḍā refers those readers who would like to acquire a more profound understanding of *uṣūl al-dīn* issues to the *Dhakhīra* and the *Mulakhkhaṣ*.

72 See MS Cambridge University, T-S NS 223.088, 1 folio (IMHM, F 32293); A. Shivtiel and F. Niessen, *Arabic and Judaeo-Arabic Manuscripts in the Cambridge Genizah Collections: Taylor-Schechter New Series*, Cambridge 2006, p. 244. The text is based on al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā's *K. Inqādh al-bashar min al-jabr wa-l-qadar*, ed. A. al-Ḥusaynī, in *Rasā'il al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā* (n. 60 above), vol. 2, pp. 178f.

73 It was only later that his *K. Ghurar al-fawā'id' wa-durar al-qalā'id (Amālī al-Murtaḍā)* became very popular among Ismā'īlī scholars, too.

had important communities.[74] Al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā wrote seven responsa to questions from the Ramla community (*al-Ramlīyāt*)[75] and his aforementioned student al-Karājikī is known to have spent several years in Ramla.[76]

With all that being said, al-Tustarī's *K. al-Īmā'* is by no means meant to be a mere imitation of al-Murtaḍā's *Jumal*. It seems that the *Jumal* is referred to as a model first and foremost because it succeeded in exemplary fashion in covering a very comprehensive subject matter within the handy format of a *Mukhtaṣar*. Already in its basic tripartite structure *K. al-Īmā'* differs from the *Jumal*, which does not comprise anything corresponding to the second treatise of *K. al-Īmā'*.

In the remainder of this article each of the three treatises will be considered separately. A detailed analysis of this very condensed composition would obviously exceed the fomat of the present article. We shall therefore confine ourselves to pinpointing some distinctive facets of the book's structure

74 On the Imāmī community in Ramla see Gil, *History of Palestine* (n. 2 above), p. 426 with n. 94 and p. 312 with n. 80. For some additional names see n. 76 below. Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan b. Mu'ammar al-Raqqī taught *ḥadīth* in Ramla on the authority of al-Shaykh al-Mufīd in Shawwāl 423/Sept. 1032 [see Ṭihrānī, *Ṭabaqāt* (n. 60 above), vol. 5, p. 56].

75 The seven responsa to Ramla (*al-Masā'il al-Ramlīya, al-Ramlīyāt*) are mentioned in an *ijāza* issued by al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā to his student Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Buṣrawī al-Faqīh in Sha'bān 417/Sept.–Oct. 1026 [see Ṭihrānī, *Dharī'a* (n. 60 above), vol. 20, p. 350; Muḥyī al-Dīn, *Adab al-Murtaḍā* (ibid.), pp. 130f.; 164–167]. The *ijāza* is quoted in *Riyāḍ al-'ulamā'* (see n. 61 above), vol. 4, pp. 34–38 (for the *Ramlīyāt*, see p. 37), allegedly relying on a copy in the handwriting of al-Buṣrawī. Al-Murtaḍā writes "*qad ajaztu li-Abī l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Buṣrawī jamī' kutubī wa-taṣānīfī wa-amālīyya*": 1) *Mas'ala fī l-ṣan'a wa-l-ṣāni'*; 2) *Mas'ala fī l-jawhar wa-tasmiyatihi jawhar*^{an} *fī l-'adam*; 3) *Mas'ala fī 'iṣmat al-rasūl 'alayhi al-salām min al-sahw*; 4) *Mas'ala fī l-insān*; 5) *Mas'ala fī l-mutawātirīn*; 6) *Mas'ala fī ru'yat al-hilāl* (published in *Masā'il al-Murtaḍā*, ed. W. Kh. Muḥsin al-Ka'bī, Beirut 2001, pp. 37–39); 7) *Mas'ala fī l-ṭalāq wa-l-īlā'* (published in ibid., pp. 35f.).

76 Al-Karājikī was certainly in Ramla in 410/1019–20, 412/1021–2, 416/1025–6. According to Ṭihrānī, *Ṭabaqāt* (n. 60 above), vol. 5, p. 177 al-Karājikī studied *ḥadīth* in Ramla with al-Sharīf Abū Manṣūr Aḥmad b. Ḥamza al-'Urayḍī (ibid., p. 16), in 410/1019–20 with al-Qāḍī Abū l-Ḥasan Asad b. Ibrāhīm b. Kulayb al-Sulamī al-Ḥarrānī who was also a teacher of al-Najāshī (see ibid., p. 29), in Shawwāl 410/Feb. 1020 with Abū Sa'īd Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Mālīnī al-Harawī [see Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'jam* (n. 29 above), vol. 11, p. 27; *A'yān al-Shī'a*, Beirut 1960, vol. 9, p. 400].

and contents. A comprehensive assessment of al-Tustarī's theological and philosophical thought will have to wait until critical editions of *K. al-Īmā'* and his other writings have been published.

The first treatise

The first treatise, the shortest of the three, is meant to be a concise digest of Mu'tazilite *uṣūl al-dīn*. Accordingly, it includes a discussion of God's unity and justice (*al-Maqāla al-ūlā fīmā yata'allaqu bi-l-tawḥīd wa-l-'adl*). It opens with the following lines [MSS א[1], fol. 2a; ג, fol. 2a]:

> [...] אעלם אן גרצנא פי הדה אלמקאלה אתבאת אללה סבח' ואוצאפה, פיגב אן נדל אולא עלי וגוב אלעלם בה. ודלילה [א[1] 2ב] הו אן אלעקלא יעלמון צרורה אסתחקאק אלדם עלי בעץ אלאפעאל ואלמדח ואלתעטים עלי בעצהא ותפאות מקאדיר מא יסתחק מן דלך ועדי בעצהא מן אסתחקאק שי מן דלך עליה. ולו כאנת אלאמור כלהא מתסאויה פי אן לא עאקבה להא ולא דרך פי בעצהא, למה אכתלפת אחכאמהא הדא אלאכתלאף, ואלדרך ואלעאקבה אנמא יבינא מן קבל פאעל להמא. פקד וגב עלי אלמכלף אלנטר ליעלם אלחאל פי דלך ליכון אלי אלנגאה אקרב וען אלמהאלך אבעד.
>
> Take note that in this treatise we intend to establish the existence of God and His attributes. But first of all we have to give evidence that it is obligatory to know Him. The evidence for that is that rational beings immediately ('necessarily') know that certain actions deserve blame, whereas others deserve praise and exaltation, that there is a gradation with respect to the extent of what one deserves of these things, and that some (actions) are not subject to deservingness at all. If all things were equivalent, inasmuch as they would not entail any evil consequence and in some instances involve attainment, this difference between their judgements would not exist. The attainment and evil consequences (of actions) are distinct only on account of an agent who effects them. That is why the legally obligated person must engage in rational investigation in order to gain knowledge about these things, and in order to get closer to salvation and farther away from the causes of perdition.

After establishing the obligation to know God as a postulate of practical reason, al-Tustarī goes on to give a condensed summary of the principles of religion (*uṣūl al-dīn*). The extant manuscripts (see table above) include three chapter headings for the first treatise (see below 1.2.6; 1.2.7; 1.3.4). They do not reflect the structure of the treatise and seem altogether fortuitous. It seems very likely, indeed, that initially the treatise was written as one unit and that the chapter headings are a later addition. The structure of the treatise may be described as follows:

A. Unity (*Abwāb al-tawḥīd*)

I.1 Evidence for the necessity/obligation to know God (*al-dalīl 'alā wujūbi l-'ilm bihi ta'ālā*) [ג 2א]

I.2 Proving the existence of God and His attributes (*ithbātu llāh subḥānahu wa-awṣāfihi*) [ג 2א–ג7ב]

I.2.1 The necessity of His being eternal (*wujūb kawnihi ta'ālā qadīm*^{an}) [ג 2א–ג4א]

I.2.1.1 The origination of temporals (*ḥidath al-ḥawādith*) [ג 2א]

I.2.1.2 The origination of bodies (*ḥidath al-ajsām*) [ג 2א/3ב]

I.2.1.3 God is the originator of the world (*kawnuhu ta'ālā muḥdith al-'ālam*) [ג 3ב/4א]

I.2.2 The necessity of His being one (*wujūb kawnihi ta'ālā wāḥid*^{an}, *lā thānī lahu*) [ג 4א/ב]

I.2.3 The inconceivability of God's being seen (*istiḥālat al-ru'ya 'alayhi ta'ālā*) [ג 4ב]

I.2.4 The necessity of His being powerful/omnipotent (*wujūb kawnihi ta'ālā qādir*^{an}) [ג 4ב–5ב]

I.2.5 The necessity of His being knowing/omniscient (*wujūb kawnihi ta'ālā 'ālim*^{an}) [ג 5ב–6א]

I.2.6 [The necessity] of His being living (*[wujūb] kawnihi ta'ālā ḥayy*^{an}) [ג 6א]

I.2.7 The necessity of His being self-sufficient (*wujūb kawnihi ta'ālā ghanīy*^{an}) [ג 6ב]

B. Justice (*abwāb al-'adl*)

I.2.8 His being willing and loathing (*kawnuhu ta'ālā murīd^{an} wa-kārih^{an}*) [ג 7א/26ב]

I.2.9 His being wise (*kawnuhu ta'ālā ḥakīm^{an}*) [ג 7א/ב]

I.2.9.1 God does not do evil (*innahu ta'ālā lā yaf'alu l-qabīḥ*) [ג 7א]

I.2.9.2 God does not fail to do what is necessary (*innahu ta'ālā lā yukhillu bi-wājib*) [ג 7ה/ב]

I.3 The imposition of obligation (*al-taklīf*) [ג 7ב–14א]

I.3.1 Deserving reward and punishment / praise and blame (*istiḥqāq al-thawāb wa-l-'iqāb / al-madḥ wa-l-dhamm*) [ג 8א–12א]

I.3.1.1 That it is good to impose obligation on the disobedient and the unbeliever (*ḥusn taklīf al-'āṣī wa-l-kāfir*) [ג 8ב]

I.3.2 Suffering ('Pains') (*al-ālām*) [ג 9ב/10א]

I.3.3 The soul: The obligated person must be a stable, unchanging and inseparable entity: (*al-nafs: wujūb kawn al-mukallaf amr thābit lā mutaghayyir wa-lā mutafarriq*) [ג 12א–13ב]

I.3.4 Repentance (*al-tawba*) [ג 14א]

I.4 Prophecy (*al-nubūwa*) [ג 16א–14ב]

I.4.1 The soundness of the transmitted reports and the Law; the veracity of the prophet (*ṣiḥḥat al-akhbār wa-l-shar'; ṣidq al-nabī*) [ג 16א–14ב]

I.4.2 Abrogation; the permanence of the Law of Moses (*naskh; ta'bīd sharī'at Mūsā*) [ג 16א–15א]

The topics addressed in this first treatise are found in similar arrangements and with various degrees of elaboration in Mu'tazilite compositions on *uṣūl al-dīn* written during the tenth and eleventh centuries.[77] This affinity with

77 The most important extant *uṣūl al-dīn* works of the Bahshāmī branch of the Mu'tazila written before *K. al-Īmā'* include Abū l-Ḥasan 'Abd al-Jabbār b. Aḥmad al-Hamadhānī al-Asadābādī (d. 415/1024–5), *al-Mughnī fī abwāb al-tawḥīd wa-l-'adl, al-Muḥīṭ bi-l-taklīf, al-Uṣūl al-khamsa, Sharḥ al-Uṣūl al-khamsa*; Abū Muḥammad Ḥasan b. Aḥmad Ibn Mattawayh,

contemporaneous Mu'tazilite works does not imply that al-Tustarī confined himself to giving a digest of the doctrine of his Karaite teachers. Recent studies have substantiated the significant impact of the 'philosophized' theology of Abū l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Ṭayyib al-Baṣrī (d. Baghdād, 436/1044) on al-Tustarī's theological thought.[78] Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī — a contemporary of al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā in Baghdad — acquired his philosophical education under the guidance of two prominent scholars of the Christian Aristotelian school of Baghdād, Abū 'Alī b. al-Samḥ (d. 418/1027) and Abū l-Faraj 'Abdallāh b. al-Ṭayyib (d. 435/1043).[79] An important testimony to this education is the famous

al-Majmū' fī l-Muḥīṭ bi-l-taklīf; al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, *Jumal al-'ilm wa-l-'amal, Sharḥ Jumal al-'ilm wa-l-'amal, al-Dhakhīra, al-Mulakhkhaṣ* (see nn. 60, 62, 69, 70 above); Abū Ja'far al-Ṭūsī, *Tamhīd al-uṣūl fī 'ilm al-kalām* (see n. 64 above); al-Imām al-Mu'ayyad bi-llāh Abū l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Hārūn al-Buṭḥānī (d. 411/1020), *al-Tabṣira fī uṣūl al-dīn*; al-Imām al-Nāṭiq bi-l-Ḥaqq Abū Ṭālib Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. Hārūn al-Buṭḥānī (d. ca. 424/1033), *Mabādi' al-adilla fī uṣūl al-dīn, Ziyādāt Sharḥ al-Uṣūl*; al-Imām al-Mustaẓhir bi-llāh, al-Sharīf Abū l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. Abī l-Ḥusayn al-Qazwīnī, Mān(e)kdīm Sheshdīv (d. ca. 425/1034), *Ta'līq 'alā Sharḥ al-Uṣūl al-khamsa*; al-Ḥākim al-Jishumī, Abū Sa'd al-Muḥassin b. Muḥammad b. Karāma (or: Kurrāma) al-Bayhaqī al-Barawghanī (d. 494/1101), *Sharḥ 'Uyūn al-masā'il fī 'ilm al-uṣūl, Taḥkīm al-'uqūl fī taṣḥīḥ al-uṣūl*; earlier Karaite compositions of this type include Levi b. Yefet, *K. al-Ni'ma* and Yūsuf al-Baṣīr, *K. al-Tamyīz, al-K. al-Muḥtawī*.

78 See the article "Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī" by W. Madelung, in *EI*^{2} Suppl. (1980), pp. 25f.; the article "Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī" by D. Gimaret, in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 1 (1985), pp. 322–324; Madelung/Schmidtke, *Rational Theology* (n. 4 above); S. Schmidtke, "The Karaites' Encounter with the Thought of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī (d. 436/1044): A Survey of the Relevant Materials in the Firkovitch-Collection, St. Petersburg", in *Arabica* 53,1 (2006), pp. 108–142, esp. 112f., 117f. For an edition of the extant fragments of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's *K. Taṣaffuḥ al-adilla* ("Scrutiny of the Proofs") in the Firkovitch collections see W. Madelung and S. Schmidtke (eds.), *Abu l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī: Taṣaffuḥ al-adilla*, Wiesbaden 2006. In addition to these, the most important sources for our knowledge of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's theological thought are the works of Rukn al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad al-Malāḥimī al-Khuwārazmī (d. 536/1141): *al-Mu'tamad fī uṣūl al-dīn*, eds. W. Madelung and M. McDermott, London 1991; *al-Fā'iq fī uṣūl al-dīn*, eds. W. Madelung and M. McDermott (forthcoming).

79 Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, *'Uyūn al-anbā' fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'*, ed. A. Müller, Königsberg 1884, vol. 1, p. 240, lines 25–27. Abū l-Faraj 'Abdallāh b. al-Ṭayyib was a student of 'Īsā b. Isḥāq Ibn Zur'a (d. 398/1008) and al-Ḥasan b. Suwār b. al-Khammār (d. 407/1017) who in turn were

codex Leiden, UB, Or. 583, entitled *Sharḥ al-samā' al-ṭabī'ī* ("Commentary on the *Auscultatio Physica*") which contains, besides the Arabic translation of Aristotle's *Physics*, commentaries and glosses by several scholars of the Christian Aristotelian school of Baghdad.[80] It derives not directly, but at one remove from a copy in the handwriting of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī, which was written in twenty-four quires and collated with a copy of Yaḥyā b. 'Adī.[81] A close study of this codex has shown that the comments of Abū Bishr Mattā b. Yūnus al-Qunnā'ī (d. 320/940), Yaḥyā Ibn 'Adī, Abū 'Alī b. al-Samḥ and Abū l-Faraj b. al-Ṭayyib largely depend on Philoponus' (Yaḥyā al-Naḥwī's) commentary on the Physics.[82] As has been stated repeatedly by a number of

students of Yaḥyā b. 'Adī (for additional references see C. Ferrari, *Der Kategorienkommentar von Abū l-Faraǧ 'Abdallāh ibn aṭ-Ṭayyib. Text und Untersuchungen*, Leiden 2006). While Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī received his philosophical education at the Christian Aristotelian school of Baghdad, al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā polemicized against this very same school. He wrote, for instance, *al-Radd 'alā Yaḥyā b. 'Adī al-naṣrānī fīmā yatanāhā wa-mā lā yatanāhā* (see Ṭihrānī, *Dharī'a* [n. 60 above], vol. 10, p. 237, no. 748); *al-Radd 'alā Yaḥyā b. 'Adī fī i'tirāḍihi 'alā dalīl al-mawjūdayn fī ḥudūth al-ajsām* (ibid., no. 749); *al-Radd 'alā Yaḥyā b. 'Adī fī mas'ala sammāhā "ṭabī'at al-muslimīn"* (ibid., no. 750); *al-Radd 'alā man athbata ḥudūth al-ajsām min al-jawhar* [ed. in *Rasā'il al-Murtaḍā* (n. 60 above), vol. 3, pp. 331–334]. Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī wrote refutations of al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā's *K. al-Shāfī* on the imāmate and of *K. al-Muqni'* on the *Ghayba* doctrine. With regard to the relationship between these two eminent scholars see also the testimony in Abū l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī's *Luzūmīyāt* as quoted in S. M. Stern, "Ibn al-Samḥ", in *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1956), p. 32.

80 A. Badawī's edition of the Arabic translation of the *Physics* and the glosses is based on this MS: *Arisṭūṭālīs: al-Ṭabī'a*, 2 vols., Cairo 1964–1965. For a detailed description of the codex see E. Giannakis, *Philoponus in the Arabic Tradition of Aristotle's Physics*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Oxford, 1992; P. Lettinck, "Introduction", in *Philoponus On Aristotle's Physics 5–8 from the Arabic Summary*, Ithaca 1994, pp. 3–18.

81 The scribe of the manuscript, Abū l-Ḥakam al-Ma'arrī al-Maghribī, copied it in 1129–1130. He states that he copied faithfully from an exemplar (*al-umm*) which was copied from the original (*al-aṣl*) in al-Karḫ in Jumāda II 470/1077. The copyist of the *umm* is not identified. The *aṣl* was in the handwriting of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī who wrote it in Ṣafar 395/1004. The fullest form of his name is given in the colophon of Book Four by the anonymous scribe of the *umm* copy: *Tamma ta'līqu l-maqālati l-rābi'ati min al-samā'ī l-ṭabī'ī lil-Shaykh al-Imām al-'Ālim Abī l-Ḥusayn Muḥmmad b. 'Alī al-Baṣrī* (see Giannakis, *Philoponus*, p. 23).

82 Giannakis, *Philoponus*; Lettinck, *Introduction* (n. 80 above). An aspect of Giannakis' thesis

scholars, Philoponus' objections against the doctrines of the eternity of the world and of eternal motion underwent reformulations of various kinds in the *Kalām* treatises in order to establish the contingency of the created world, the finiteness of the body of the universe, and the impossibility of infinite time, infinite motion, and infinite series of accidents.[83] Al-Baṣrī's argument is decisively influenced by the teachings of the Aristotelian school of Baghdād and their critical rephrasing of some of Philoponus' proofs. To a certain extent, al-Tustarī's indebtedness to Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's thought may be described as a legacy of the Christian Aristotelian school of Baghdād.[84] The nuances of such an indebtedness can only be determined after a close reading of all of al-Tustarī's extant works and their comparison with the relevant texts of this school.[85]

is summarized in idem, "The structure of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's copy of Aristotle's Physics", in *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Arabisch-Islamischen Wissenschaften* 8 (1993), pp. 251–258. On Philoponus' objections against the doctrines of the eternity of the world see M. Share, *Philoponus Against Proclus' "On the eternity of the World 1–5"*, Ithaca 2005; H. S. Lang and A. D. Macro (eds.), *Proclus, On the Eternity of the World, De Aeternitate Mundi, Greek text with Introduction, Translation, and Commentary*, Berkeley 2002; Ch. Wildberg, *Philoponus Against Aristotle, on the Eternity of the World*, London 1987, pp. 18–31; idem, "Prolegomena to the study of Philoponus' contra Aristotelem" in *Philoponus and the Rejection of Aristotelian Science*, ed. R. Sorabji, London 1987, pp. 197–209.

83 The problem of 'infinity' is treated in Physics III:4–8, ed. Badawī, vol. 1, pp. 202–270. See M. J. Edwards (tr.), *Philoponus on Aristotle's Physics 3*, Ithaca 1994. Among several other articles we may mention H. A. Davidson, "John Philoponus as a Source of Medieval Muslim and Jewish Proofs of Creation", in *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 89 (1969), pp. 357–391, reprinted with minor modifications in idem, *Proofs for Eternity, Creation and the Existence of God in Medieval Islamic and Jewish Philosophy*, New York and Oxford 1987, pp. 86–153; S. Pines, "An Arabic summary of a lost work of John Philoponus", in *Israel Oriental Studies* 2 (1972), pp. 320–352. See also the article "Yaḥyā al-Naḥwī" by R. Wisnovsky, in *EI*^{2}, vol. 11 (2002), pp. 251–253. A concise account of Philoponus' arguments is found in R. Sorabji, "Infinity and the Creation", in *Philoponus and the Rejection of Aristotelian Science*, ed. R. Sorabji, London 1987, pp. 164–178.

84 See W. Madelung, "Abu l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's Proof for the Existence of God", in *Festschrift Richard M. Frank*, ed. J. Montgomery, Cambridge (forthcoming).

85 With regard to al-Tustarī's *K. al-Taḥrīr* see A. Martin, "La Métaphysique. Tradition syriaque et arabe", in *Dictionnaire des philosophes antiques*, ed. R. Goulet, vol. 1, pp. 528–534 (Paris 1989); C. Martini Bonadeo, "La Métaphysique. Tradition syriaque et arabe: Mise à jour bibliographique", in ibid. Supplément, pp. 259–264 (Paris 2003); A. Bertolacci, *The*

In *K. al-Īmā'* al-Tustarī presents the arguments for the createdness of the world in a rather truncated, or — in keeping with the book's title — 'allusive' form. His main argument concurs with an argument which Yūsuf al-Baṣīr had attempted to refute half a century earlier in his *K. al-Naqḍ* [*'alā Abī l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī*], a sweeping attack against those who deny the existence of accidents (*nuffāt al-a'rāḍ*).[86] Al-Tustarī writes [MSS א[1], fol. 2b; ג, fol. 2b]:

ולואזם אלגסם הי אלחצול פי אלגהה [...]. ואמא אן חצולה פי אלגהה מתגדד פהו אן לא יכלו תבותה פי אלגהה אלואחדה אמא אן יכון תבותא לא [א[1] 3א] אול לה ואמא אן יתואלא עליה אלחצול פי אלגהאת אלי מא לא אול לה, ואמא אן יכון תבותה פי כל אלגהאת מתגדד בחית אן לא יתואלא עליה אלחצול פיהא אלי מא לא אול לה.

ולא יגוז אן יתבת פי אלגהה אלואחדה תבותא לא אול לה לאן כאן ילזם דלך[87] אסתחאלה כרוגה מנהא לאן[88] אלתבות אלדי לא אול לה תבות ואחד לאנה לו כאן אכתר מן תבות ואחד למא כאן תבות לא אול לה ודלך אלתבות ואגב גיר צחיח לאן אלצחה תתנאול אלמסתאנף דון אלמאצי ומא לא אסתינאף פיה לא צחה פיה ואלאזלי לא אסתינאף פיה ולו בטל אלתבות לכאן אלדי בטל הו אלתבות אלאזלי לאן קד ביינא אן לא תגאיר פיה. פאן כאן אלבטלאן ואגבא כאן אלתבות אלאזלי ואגב אלתבות ואלבטלאן והו מחאל אן יתנאול אלוגוב אלשי ונקיצה, ואן כאן גאיז אלבטלאן כאן אלתבות אלאזלי גאיז.[89] לאן אלצחה תתנאול אלטרפין וקד ביינא אן אלתבות אלאזלי ואגב לא גאיז, ומא כאן ליס בואגב ולא גאיז הו מסתחיל פבטלאן אלאזלי מסתחיל פיסתחיל אן יכרג [א[1]3ב] אלגסם מן גהתה וקד עלם תבות כרוגה מן גהתה.

ולא [ג 3א] ימכן אן יתואלא עליה אלחצול פי אלגהאת אלי מא לא אול לה לאן אדא כאן לא חצול פי גהה פיהא אלא מתגדד פלא יגוז אתצאלהא אלי מא לא אול לה לאן

Reception of Aristotle's Metaphysics in Avicenna's Kitāb al-Šifā': *A Milestone of Western Metaphysical Thought*, Leiden 2006. Regarding the concept of contingency within Abū l-Ḥusayn's and al-Tustarī's proof for the createdness of the world see C.-R. Ehrig-Eggert, *Die Abhandlung über den Nachweis der Natur des Möglichen von Yaḥyā b. 'Adī*, Frankfurt a. M. 1990, with an edition of the Arabic text by idem, in *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Arabisch-Islamischen Wissenschaften* 5 (1989), pp. 63–97 (Arabic part).

86 See MS St. Petersburg, RNL, Yevr.-Arab. I 3100, fol. 6b–7a (IMHM, F 56533).

87 ז ליתא.

88 ג ליתא.

89 ז ואגב, ובשוליים נכתב "נס' גאיז".

לא שי מנהא אלא וקד כאן מסתקבלא מתואליא פכמא לא ימכן פי אלמסתקבל אן תתבת אלחואדת ותתצל אתצאלא גיר מתנאהי ויגי מן דלך אתצאלא לא אול לה לאן אלמסתקבל מתל אלמאצי למא כאן כל מאצי קד כאן מסתקבלא ואלגמלה מסתקבלה לאן ליס אלגמלה גיר אלאחאד ולא להא חכם תנפרד בה דון חכם אלאחאד לאן ליס להא בכונהא גמלה תבות ולא חקיקה תחצל להא לאגלה מן אלחכם מא ינאפי חכם אגזאיהא //ולו חצל להא חכם ינאפי חכם אגזאיהא//[א] מע אן לא תבות להא גיר תבות אגזאיהא לכאן קד תבת ללאגזא אלחכם ומא ינאפיה והו מחאל. ואיצא אן גמלה אלחואדת אלמתואליה עלי אלגסם ליס פיהא שי יתבת מע נטירה פיהא לאנהא תנפי בעצהא בעץ ותתעאקב פמא כאן ללגמלה פי וקת מן אלאוקאת תבות יגמעהא לא בזמאן ולא [א[1] 4א] עלי מוצוע לאנהא מנצרפה מנקציה ומא כאן הדא חכמה פלא תבות לגמלתה גיר תבות אגזאיה פלא ימכן אן יכון לגמלתה חכם מנאפי לחכם אגזאיה פיגב אן יכון ללגמלה אול לאנהא הי אלאחאד פיגב אן יכון תבותה פי אלגהאת [ג 3ב] מתגדד ואלגסם מן חית חקיקתה לא ינפך מן אלכון פי[90] אלגהאת פיגב אן יכון מתגדד.

The inherent quality of the body is its occurring in a position in space. [...] The occurrence (of the body) in a position in space is innovated, because its stable existence[91] in space must be in accordance with one of the following possibilities: either it is a stable existence without a beginning, or it occurs in (multiple) positions in space in continuous succession without a beginning, or it is a stable existence which is innovated in each position in space, so that its occurrence in them is not a continuous succession without a beginning.

It is inconceivable that it is stable in one position in space without having a beginning, since this would imply the impossibility of its departing from (this position). This is because stable existence without a beginning is one single stable existence, for if it were more than one stable existence, it would not be a stable existence without a beginning. Such a stable existence is necessary, not possible, since possibility extends to the

90 ג מן.

91 or: 'being stable', 'stability', 'reality'.

future, not to the past. Things which do not entail a beginning in the future have no possibility, and whatever is eternal *a parte ante* entails no beginning in the future. Were (its) stable existence discontinued, the stable existence *a parte ante* would be discontinued, for we have already made clear that it does not entail change. If (its) discontinuation were necessary, (its) stable existence a parte ante would (at the same time) be necessary with regard to stability and discontinuation. It is, however, absurd that necessity would extend (simultaneously) to something and its opposite. If, on the other hand, its discontinuation was possible, its stable existence *a parte ante* would be possible, too, since possibility comprises both sides. We have already explained that stable existence *a parte ante* is necessary, not possible, and what is neither necessary nor possible is impossible. Therefore it is impossible that something which is eternal *a parte ante* would be discontinued, and it is impossible that the body (which is eternal *a parte ante*) departs from its position in space. It is, however, known that (the body) *does* depart from its position in space.

It is also not possible that (the body) occurs in (multiple) positions in space in continuous succession without a beginning, because if only what is innovated can occur in a position in space, it is inconceivable for them to be continuous, for everything of them would be preceded in a continuous succession, just as it is not possible that temporals occur in an infinite continuity in the future, from which one could infer a continuity without a beginning, because the future is analogous to the past insofar as every past thing was (once) a future thing. The whole (the totality) is preceded, because the whole is nothing but (its) components and it has no qualification by which it is set apart from the qualification of (its) components. On account of its being a whole it has neither a stable existence nor a reality because of which it would acquire a qualification contradicting the qualification of its parts. If it had a qualification contradicting the qualification of its parts, even though it

has no stable existence other than the stable existence of its parts, its parts would have (simultaneously) a qualification and its contrary, and this is absurd. Moreover, among the totality of temporals which affect the body successively, nothing is stable in it together with its counterpart, because they exclude each other and follow one after the other. At no point in time does the whole have a stable existence which includes (all of) them, not at a time and not in a subject, because they pass away and elapse. Whatever has this qualification has no stable existence as a whole except the stable existence of its parts, and since it is not possible for the whole to have a qualification contradicting the qualification of its parts, the whole must have a beginning, because it is (its) components. (The body's) stable existence in positions in space is innovated, and the body, by its reality, cannot be separated from being in positions in space. Hence, it must be innovated.

The second treatise

The second treatise discusses "the premises and underlying principles of the religious law, thereby following the pattern of *uṣūl al-fiqh* (compositions)". It includes the following chapter headings:[92]

II.1. Exposition of the (methodological) procedures common to (all) sciences (*bayān al-ṭuruq al-mushtaraka lil-'ulūm*);[93]

II.2. Chapter on the conversion of statements/propositions (*faṣl fī 'aks al-qaḍāyā*);

II.3. Chapter on the imperative/command (*faṣl fī l-amr*);

92 As noted with regard to the first treatise, the discrepancy between the structure as reflected by the chapter headings and the actual arrangement of the contents suggests that the treatise did not originally include chapter headings.

93 The opening section of the second treatise is not given a chapter heading. The first sentence reads: אעלם אנה יגֿב אן נקדם אולא ביאן אלטרק אלמשתרכה ללעלום, ליזכל פיהא טרק אלעלם באלשריעה [MSS ג, fol. 16b; ב, fol. 2a].

II.4. Chapter on prohibitions (*faṣl fī l-nawāhī*);

II.5. Chapter on generality and particularity (*faṣl fī l-'umūm wa-l-khuṣūṣ*);

II.6. Chapter which discusses specifically the particular term (*faṣl fī dhikr al-khāṣṣ*);

II.7. Chapter on the clarifying statement (*faṣl fī l-bayān*);

II.8. Chapter regarding the fact that whatever is not explicitly stated must not be applied to the legal judgement nor its contrary without demonstrative evidence (*faṣl fī anna mā siwā l-madhkūr lā yajibu ḥamluhu 'alā ḥukmihi wa-lā 'alā khilāfihi bi-ghayri dalāla*);

II.9. Chapter on abrogation and related issues (*faṣl fī l-naskh wa-mā yattaṣilu bihi*);

II.10. Chapter on the juridical (inductive) syllogism (*faṣl fī l-qiyās*).[94]

With the exception of the sections II.1–2 all chapter headings concur with major topics discussed in Islamic *uṣūl al-fiqh* compositions predating *K. al-Īmā'*. Since a detailed analysis of the latter subjects is given elsewhere, we propose to focus here on the two introductory sections which comprise a digest of Aristotelian syllogistics.[95]

The introduction of Aristotelian syllogistics into *uṣūl al-fiqh*

It has recently been suggested that the development of *Kalām* might be roughly described as reflecting the various stages of the philosophic reception of the

94 The common translation of the term *qiyās* as 'analogy'/'analogical reasoning' does not adequately reflect the logical procedures designated by it.

95 A survey of the reception of *uṣūl al-fiqh* in Jewish *Kalām* is found in G. Schwarb, "*'Uṣūl al-fiqh* im jüdischen *Kalām* des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts: Ein Überblick", in *Die Rezeption des Orients in der Wissenschaft des Judentums. Akten des 29. Deutschen Orientalistentages, Halle, 20.–24. September 2004* (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes), ed. A. Kuyt et al., Wiesbaden 2006 (forthcoming). A detailed discussion of the classical *uṣūl al-fiqh* topics included in the second treatise of *K. al-Īmā'* is part of my doctoral dissertation which includes the edition and an annotated translation of Yeshu'ah ben Yehudah's *K. at-Tawriya* which mainly follows the pattern of Mu'tazilite *uṣūl al-fiqh* compositions.

Aristotelian *Organon*.[96] In a first phase, which would include approximately the 2nd/8th and 3rd/9th centuries, the *Mutakallimūn* operated with a variety of terms and concepts, including basic terms and preliminary rules of Aristotelian logic, borrowed from surrounding religious communities and from the various intellectual traditions of Late Antiquity. Generally speaking, this period is characterized by a complex form of reception and by diffuse channels of transmission. A second phase, stretching from the early 4th/10th to the late 5th/11th century, coincides with the comprehensive reception of the late antique *Organon* traditions by the *falāsifa* who tended to regard themselves as exclusive guardians of the true demonstrative method as exposed in the *Analytica Posteriora*. Most Mutakallimūn reacted to this attitude by decisively rejecting the *Organon* and other philosophical models. The third phase begins with the late 5th/11th century. Its distincive trait is a continuously growing reception of the philosophical system of Ibn Sīnā among the *Mutakallimūn*.

This description of the reception of the Aristotelian *Organon* by Muslim theologians suffers from the shortcomings of most schematic models proposed to describe historical processes. It disregards many data which would contradict or at least modify the account given of the *Mutakallimūn*'s acquaintance with Peripatetic logic.[97] Nevertheless, even if we adopt the proposed schema with the appropriate caution and reservation, it is obvious that the massive introduction of Aristotelian logic into *'ilm al-kalām* and *uṣūl al-fiqh* was a very new phenomenon in the 11th century. It is commonly associated

96 U. Rudolph and D. Perler, "Einleitung", in *Logik und Theologie. Das* Organon *im arabischen und im lateinischen Mittelalter*, ed. eidem, Leiden 2005, p. 6, cautiously suggest that there may be a fundamental link between the development of Islamic theology and the philosophic reception of the *Organon*: "Denn es scheint so, als könne man jedem Stadium der philosophischen Auseinandersetzung [...] eine Etappe in der theologischen Entwicklung zuordnen".

97 A detailed diachronical study of the integration of *falsafa*-concepts and *falsafa*-terminology into the different *Kalām* schools during the tenth and eleventh centuries still needs to be written. See for now C. Schöck, *Koranexegese, Grammatik und Logik. Zum Verhältnis von arabischer und aristotelischer Urteils-, Konsequenz- und Schlusslehre*, Leiden 2006 (this study focuses on universal quantifiers and indefinite nouns) and some articles in *Logik*

with the person of al-Ghazzālī (d. 1111).[98] Indeed, the distinct presence of logical terminology and arguments in his writings had a profound impact on the subsequent development of Islamic theology and jurisprudence and contributed to the integration of Aristotelian logic into the *madrasa* curriculum from the twelfth century onwards.[99] It would, however, be misleading to depict al-hazzālī as a pioneer or a harbinger of this development. He was one of several Muslim theologians of the eleventh century who — more or less independently — sought to incorporate at least parts of Aristotelian syllogistics into their works.[100] Besides al-Ghazzālī's teacher al-Juwaynī (d. 478/1085), we may recall the name of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī (d. 436/1044) who studied the *Organon* with his Christian teachers in Baghdad; we may also mention Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064) who stressed the usefulness of logic for interpreting the canon of religious texts and for deriving legal ordinances, and himself wrote several treatises on logic.[101]

und Theologie (n. 96 above). For the impact of Avicennian thought on the development of Ash'arite and Māturīdite *kalām* during the eleventh and twelfth centuries see R. Wisnovsky, "One Aspect of the Avicennian Turn in Sunnī Theology", in *Arabic Sciences and Philosophy* 14 (2004), pp. 65–100; F. Griffel, "Al-Ġazālī's Concept of Prophecy: The Introduction of Avicennan Psychology into Aš'arite Theology", in *Arabic Sciences and Philosophy* 14 (2004), pp. 101–144, with references to previous research.

98 See J. Van Ess, *Die Erkenntnislehre des 'Aḍudaddin al-Īcī. Übersetzung und Kommentar des 1. Buches seiner* Mawāqif, Wiesbaden 1966, p. 286; U. Rudolph, "Die Neubewertung der Logik durch al-Ġazālī", in *Logik und Theologie* (n. 96 above), pp. 73–97. According to W. B. Hallaq, "Logic, Formal Arguments and Formalization of Arguments in Sunnī Jurisprudence", in *Arabica* 37 (1990), p. 318, al-Ghazzālī was "the first jurist in Sunnī Islam to have integrated logic into legal theory to a large extent". See also Ibn Khaldūn's account on the integration of logic into Islamic theology in his *Muqaddima*, vol. 3, pp. 113–116, tr. F. Rosenthal, *The Muqaddima: An introduction to history*, vol. 3, London 1958, pp. 143–147.

99 See e.g. R. M. Frank, *Al-Ghazzālī and the Ash'arite school*, London 1994. The significant impact of Avicennian philosophy on Ash'arite *kalām* is already reflected in the curriculum of the Niẓāmīya during the second half of the 11th century.

100 W. B. Hallaq, *Logic* (n. 98 above); I. Madkour, "La logique d'Aristote chez les Motakallimin", in *Collected Texts and Papers on Logic and Language*, eds. M. Mohaghegh and T. Izutsu, Tehran 1974, pp. 29–46.

101 A. G. Chejne, "Ibn Ḥazm of Cordova on Logic", in *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 104 (1984), pp. 57–72; R. Brunschvig, "Pour ou contre la logique grecque chez les

Sahl b. al-Faḍl al-Tustarī may thus be described as the Jewish counterpart of this new development. Even if he was by no means the first Jewish theologian to operate with Aristotelian logical terminology, his attempt is distinctly more systematic and more organically integrated in his system of thought than those of his predecessors, and the textual sources at his disposal are significantly more comprehensive.[102] He is the first Jewish *Mutakallim* to include a concise summary of Aristotelian syllogistics within the framework of legal hermeneutics (*uṣūl al-fiqh*).[103] In this point al-Tustarī also anticipated al-Ghazzālī of whom he must have been aware during the last decade of the 11th century.[104] Of al-Ghazzālī's two works which are of relevance in this context, *al-Mustaṣfā min 'ilm al-uṣūl* was only completed in 1109, while

théologiens-juristes de l'Islam: Ibn Ḥazm, al-Ghazzālī, Ibn Taimiyya", in *Oriente e occidente nel medioevo. Filosofia e scienze* (Atti dei convegni de l'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 13), Roma 1971, pp. 185–209, reprinted in idem, *Études d'Islamologie*, vol. 1, Paris 1976, pp. 303–327.

102 The acquaintance of earlier Jewish authors with Peripatetic logic is almost certainly mediated by doxicographical works circulating in the contemporary Christian milieu. See Dāwūd b. Marwān al-Muqammaṣ, *'Ishrūn Maqāla*, ed. S. Stroumsa, Leiden 1989, pp. 44/45ff. and the editor's introduction, p. 24 with notes 67f. An important attempt to introduce Aristotelian logical terminology into the juridical field is found in al-Qirqisānī's *K. al-Anwār wa-l-marāqib*, IV.5, ed. Nemoy, vol. 2, New York 1940, pp. 354–358. According to al-Qirqisānī the Mutakallimūn made use of the Aristotelian syllogism, e.g. to prove the world's createdness and to deal with other delicate theological subjects. He also writes that some Karaites (*qawm min ahl al-naẓar min aṣḥābinā*), for instance Benyamīn al-Nihāwandī, have employed Aristotelian syllogistics to derive legal regulations. Cf. also G. Vajda, "Études sur Qirqisani", in *Revue des Études Juives* 108 (1948), p. 69.

103 Almost a century later, Yashar b. Ha-Sar Ḥesed al-Tustarī, another scion of the Tustarī family, refers in *K. al-Uṣūl al-Muhadhdhabīya* (cf. n. 22 above) to his "books on logic" (*kutubunā fī l-manṭiq*); see MS St. Petersburg, RNL, Yevr.-Arab. I 3951, fol. 4a, line 21. For other later examples in Jewish literature see A. Ravitzky, *The Influence of Aristotelian Logic on the Understanding of Legal Hermeneutics in the Middle Ages*, Ph.D. thesis, The Hebrew University, Jerusalem 2005 [Hebrew].

104 Al-Tustarī was most probably in Jerusalem, when al-Ghazzālī spent some months in the town in 1096 or 1097 (cf. n. 31 above). It is much less probable that al-Tustarī was familiar with al-Ghazzālī's work, particularly at the time when he wrote *K. al-Īmā'* and *K. al-Talwīḥ*.

the earlier *Mankhūl fī 'ilm al-uṣūl*, written shortly before 1085 under the instruction of his teacher al-Juwaynī, does not include an introduction to Aristotelian syllogistics. On the other hand, it seems very likely that the background for al-Tustarī's effort to render the theology of his Karaite teachers more "philosophical" and "logical", owes — like al-Ghazzālī — much to the philosophical challenge which the Avicennan system presented to all branches of *Kalām*, and Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's philosophized theology to the Bahshāmī Mu'tazila.[105] Aristotelian syllogistics were thus no longer regarded as the exclusive domain of the philosophers, but as an epistemic tool which was applicable to all branches of science and accessible to anyone who mastered it. According to this view Aristotelian syllogistics are constitutive to any science, and consequently the discipline of legal hermeneutics (*uṣūl al-fiqh*) cannot dispense with them either.[106]

Before introducing Aristotelian syllogistics in the second treatise of *K. al-Īmā'*, al-Tustarī maps out the foundations of epistemic processes in general [MSS ב, fol. 2a; ג, fol. 16b]:

> אעלם אנה יגֿב אן נקדם אולא ביאן אלטרק אלמשתרכה ללעלום[107] לידכֿל פיהא טרק אלעלם באלשריעה. ואלטרק אלי אלמעלומאת הי אלאמור אלתי בהא יתוצֿל אלעאקל אלי עלם מא לם יעלמה והדֿה אלאמור הי תסתנד אלי עלום צֿרוריה מן פעל אללה סבחאנה לאן אלעאקל לא יקדר אן יפעל לנפסה אלעלום אבתדא[108] ויגֿב אן תסתנד אלי פאעל לחדותהא. וגירה סבחאנה לא יקדר עלי פעל דֿלך פי סואה. ואסתקרא אלמחסוסאת לא ימכן אסתיעאבהא[109] פינעקד מן דֿלך קצֿיה כליה ובעצֿהא לא יכפי פי אלעלם באלכל.

105 With regard to Ibn Sīnā see D. Gutas, "The Logic of Theology (*kalām*) in Avicenna", in *Logik und Theologie* (n. 96 above), pp. 59–72, with further bibliographical references; with regard to Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī see Madelung and Schmidtke (n. 4 above).

106 Cf. in this regard al-Ghazzālī's statement at the very beginning of the *Mustaṣfā*, ed. M. Abū l-'Ilā, Cairo n.d., p. 16: *wa-ḥājat jamī' al-'ulūm al-naẓarīya ilā hādhihi l-muqaddima ka-ḥājat uṣūl al-fiqh*.

107 ב ללמעלום.

108 ב אבתדאא.

109 ג אסתיעאבה.

> Take note that first of all we have to clarify the methods which are common to (all) sciences, since there are methods for gaining knowledge of the religious law which belong to this category. The methods which lead to objects of knowledge are matters by means of which the rational being gains knowledge of what he did not know. These matters are based on immediate ('necessary') knowledge produced by God, since a rational being by himself does not have the capacity to produce knowledge from nothing (*ab initio*). Since (this knowledge) is originated, it must depend on an agent. No one except God is able to produce such knowledge in someone else. The thorough investigation of sensual objects does not render it possible to understand them comprehensively/completely, so that this would constitute a universal statement, and (the understanding of) parts of (the sensual objects) is not a sufficient basis to gain knowledge of the totality.

Ultimately, all knowledge is anchored in a constitutional knowledge produced by God. Without this divine foundation all epistemic processes would be infinite chains of rational operations. Beyond this foundation, the production of new knowledge is classified according to its various sources, the methods employed, and the epistemic status of the newly acquired knowledge.

The epistemic data which constitute the normative practical knowledge of the religious law are derived from revelational and non-revelational sources. Hence, the second treatise of *K. al-Īmā'* is divided into two parts, the first dealing with the principles of non-revelational sources of normative knowledge which lead to probable particular or certain universal knowledge, the second with the sources of normative knowledge contained in the revealed texts. Aristotelian syllogistics are introduced as the key method of the first part, whereas in the second part they appear as a subtype of the juridical (inductive) syllogism (*qiyās*).

The compendium character of *K. al-Īmā'* did not allow for a detailed exposition of Aristotelian syllogistics. The second treatise merely recalls the

constitutive elements of a propositional statement and the conditions of a sound syllogism and obviously assumes the reader's familiarity with those parts of the *Organon* which are known as "the prolegomena to the demonstrative syllogism, respectively to the 'Analytica Posteriora'" (*Muqaddimāt al-burhān*) up to the assertoric syllogism (*APr* I.1–2 & 4–7).[110] Al-Tustarī first mentions the composition of a single proposition consisting of subject and predicate terms (*al-ṭarafayn*) and then goes on to explain the basic paradigms of the predicative relations between subject and predicate of propositional statements. In terms of quality, the predicate may be said to apply or not to apply to the subject (*mūjib — sālib*); in terms of quantity, the predicate may be said to apply or not to apply universally (*kullī*) or particularly/partially (*juz'ī*) to the subject. He then discusses the valid syllogistical moods and hints at the concept of modality (possibility, necessity) in propositions and syllogisms. In a few sentences he explains the rules for the conversion of propositions used in the assertoric syllogism according to the four possible relations between subject and predicate: universal & affirmative, particular & affirmative, universal & negative, particular & negative, and some rules concerning conflicting (either-or) statements (*'ināḍ*) and rules of preponderance (*tarjīḥ*).

Future research will have to establish whether al-Tustarī's acquaintance with the *Organon* tradition was based on one of the numerous compendia composed in the Baghdadian or Avicennan traditions, or if he had at his disposal a translation of the integral text, as was the case with the *Metaphysics*.[111]

The greater part of the "chapter on the conversion of statements/propositions" (*faṣl fī 'aks al-qaḍāyā*), however, already deals with the juridical signs of the revealed text (*adillat al-shar'*): *akhbār*, *qiyās*, and *ijtihād*. This latter section

110 Cf. J. Lameer, *Al-Fārābī and Aristotelian Syllogistics: Greek Theory and Islamic Practice*, Leiden 1994, pp. 99–108.

111 For a partial list of these texts and compendia see "L'Organon, Tradition syriaque et arabe", in *Dictionnaire des philosophes antiques* (n. 85 above), pp. 502ff.; H. Hugonnard-Roche, "Remarques sur la tradition arabe de l'*Organon* d'après le manuscrit Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ar. 2346", in *Glosses and Commentaries on Aristotelian Logical Texts: The Syriac, Arabic and Medieval Latin Traditions*, ed. C. Burnett, London 1993, pp. 19–28.

includes a rejection of the jurisprudential validity (*laysa bi-ḥujja*) of unit-reports (*akhbār al-āḥād*)[112] and of consensus (*ijmā'*), in both cases directed against the Rabbanite Jews.

Revelation is mediated through language. Its meaning is bound to the various relations between the linguistic signs and the signified objects (*al-dalāla*) which are based on convention (*al-wad' al-lughawī*, *al-muwāḍa'a*) as well as on the intention of the speaker to use the language in conformity with these conventional rules (*al-dalāla tadullu bi-ḥasabi ḥāl al-fā'il lahā wa-hiya qaṣduhu*). Here again, al-Tustarī confines himself to briefly mentioning some basic features of linguistic semantics such as synonyms (*alfāẓ mushtaraka*), antonymy (*ma'ānī mutaḍādda*), normal ('real') and deviative ('metaphorical') meanings (*ḥaqīqa-majāz*).

The third treatise

As mentioned in the preamble of *K. al-Īmā'*, it is the objective of the third treatise "to deal with the foundations of the (individual) ordinances contained in the Torah in a systematic ('equable') way and to specify the evidence for (ordinances) which are based on something more than what is explicitly stated in the scriptural text; it should, moreover, distinguish (ordinances) whose obligation applies to a specific time and to specific people from (ordinances) whose obligation is all-inclusive (= applies to everyone) at all times."

The structure of the third treatise is outlined at the very end of *K. al-Īmā'* [MSS ה[1], fol. 3b; ו, fol. 82a]:

ותרתיב הדה אלמקאלה:

אנני אבתדית פיהא אלתכאליף אלעקליה ואתבעתהא אלסמעיה, ואבתדית פיהא בפרוע אלעבאדה, פאבתדית באלצלוה, תם אוקאת אלעבאדה מן אלסבת, תם רווס אלשהור לוקוף אוקאת אלעבאדאת עליהא, תם אל**אביב** כדלך איצא, תם אל**מועדים** עלי [ה[1] **4א**] תרתיבהא, תם באקי אוקאת אלעבאדאת מן אל**שמטה** ואל**יובל**, תם באקי

112 *naḥnu ghanīyūn 'an al-kalām fīhā li-annahā mafqūda fī uṣūl sharī'atinā wa-furū'ihā* (MS א, fol. 70b = MS ג, fol. 23a).

אלקראבין לאנהא מן אלעבאדאת, ثם תכאליף אל**כהנים** באלקראבין, ثם חקוקהם, ثם אל**לוים** לאכתצאצהם בכדמתהם, ثם [**ו 82ב**] מא יקבח פעלה פי חק אללה סבח' והי **עבדה זרה** ומא יגב מן עבאדאתה ואכראמה[113] ומא יגב פעלה פי אלמעבודאת סואה, ثם אלכתאנה למא כאנת אצל כביר מן אלעבאדאת ואלתכאליף, ثם כראמה אלואלדין וחקוקהם עלי תרתיב אלעשר כלמאת, ואלנהי ען אלקתל ומא יגב פיה, ثם אלכלאם פי אל**ניאוף** ואדכלת פיה אל**ערוות** לשבההא בה, ثם אלסרק ואדכלת פיה אחכאם **ואלה המשפטים** ומא גרי מגראהא מן באקי אל**תורה**, ثם אלכלאם פי אל**מאכלות** עלי תרתיב אלשריעה, ثם אל**טמאות** עלי תרתיבהא כדלך, ثם אל[**ז 28א**]**ירושות** עלי אלתרתיב ולאנהא חקוק ענד אלמות, ثם אלנדור ואלאימאן בתרתיב אלשריעה ולאנהא ואגב משרוט ואלואגב [**ו' 1א**] אלמשרוט יתאכר ען אלמטלק, ثם אל**ציצית** לאנהא מדכרה בגמיע דלך, ثם מא יכץ אל**גלות** מן אלתחץ עלי אלחואדת אלמכתצה בה, ثם מא יכץ אלזמאן אלמנתטר ממא יזיד ען אלחקוק אלמקדם בעינהא. [**ה' 24ב**]

ודכרת הדא אלתרתיב לילתמס מן אראד אלוקוף עלי שי מנה פי מוצעה. ואללה סבח' יופקנא גמיע למא ירציה במנה ולטפה, אן שא אללה תעאלי.

The structure of this treatise (is as follows):

I started in it with the rational obligations [III.1] and let them be followed by the revealed obligations [III.2].[114] (Within the revealed obligations) I started with the regulations concerning the religious services [III.2.1]: In the first place I mentioned prayer [III.2.1.1]; then (follow) the fixed times of the religious service(s) [III.2.1.2], beginning with the Sabbath [III.2.1.2.1] and followed by the first days of the month (new moon) [III.2.1.2.2], since the fixed times of the religious services depend upon them; then (follows) the Aviv for the same reason [III.2.1.2.3]; then (follow) the feasts according to their chronological order [III.2.1.2.4]; then (follow) the remaining fixed times of the religious services, such as the Sabbatical year and the Jubilee year [III.2.1.2.5]; then (follow) the sacrifices, because they are part of the religious services [III.2.1.3]; then (follow) the religious obligations of the priests concerning sacrifices [III.2.1.4.1]; then (follow)

113 [...]ו וכרא.

114 or: " ... and I subordinated to them the revealed obligations".

their (other) duties [III.2.1.4.2]; then (follow the regulations regarding) the Levites, due to the exclusivity of their service [III.2.1.5]; then (follow) evil actions with regard to God, praised be He, namely idolatry, and obligatory acts of worship and reverence, and obligatory acts with regard to objects of worship other than Him [III.2.1.6]; then (follow the regulations regarding) circumcision, because it is an important principle amongst the religious services and obligations [III.2.1.7]; then (follow the regulations regarding) the respect of parents and their rights in keeping with the structure of the Ten Commandments [III.2.2.1], the prohibition to kill and related obligations [III.2.2.2]; then (follows) the discussion of adultery [III.2.2.3]; in it I included the laws of incest because they deal with a similar subject [III.2.2.4]; then (follow the regulations regarding) robbery/theft [III.2.2.5]. I included in it the regulations of "these are the judgements" (Exodus 21:1ff.) and related issues from the rest of the Torah [III.2.2.6]; then (follows) the discussion regarding food regulations in keeping with the order of the Torah [III.2.2.7]; then (follow) the laws of impurity, likewise in keeping with the order of the Torah [III.2.2.8]; then follow the laws of inheritance according to order and because they are regulations (which apply) at the time of death [III.2.2.9]; then (follow the regulations about) vows and oaths in keeping with the order of the Torah and because they are conditional obligations, and conditional obligations come after unconditional obligations [III.2.2.10]; then (follow the regulations regarding the) fringed garment, because it reminds (us) of all this [III.2.2.11]; then (follow the regulations regarding) mourning about events which have to do with the exile [III.2.3]; then (follow the regulations regarding) the time to come (=the Messianic time) which go beyond the previously mentioned ones [III.2.4].

I noted down the structure (of this treatise) so that anyone who wants to study something of it will look for it at the right place. May God help all of us to achieve what gratifies Him through His graciousness and benevolence, if He so wills.

The structure of the third treatise partly reflects the structure of earlier Karaite books of precepts (*kutub al-farā'iḍ*), but deviates from them in other respects.[115] The guiding principle of the structure established by al-Tustarī organizes the precepts from the general and unconditional to the particular and conditional, and from the rational to the revelational. This explains, for instance, why the precepts concerning prayer follow immediately after the rational commandments. Religious services (*'ibādat Allāh*) are rooted in a purely rational imperative, namely the gratitude one owes to the benefactor (*shukr al-mun'im*), and since God is the benefactor *par excellence*, He deserves gratitude beyond comparison. In principle, all religious services are expression of this gratitude, within which "acts of the heart" precede "acts of the limbs", and acts of unrestricted validity precede acts which are limited to specific times, places, circumstances and people.

The understanding of the Ten Commandments as an umbrella of some or all precepts is well-rooted in the Karaite tradition. A similar concept is already implied in the subtitle of Philo's *De Decalogo* and repeated in § 154 of the same treatise (οἱ δέκα λόγοι κεφάλαια νόμων εἰσὶ τῶν ἐν εἴδει παρ' ὅλην τὴν νομοθεσίαν). Philo's viewpoint is reiterated by al-Qirqisānī at the beginning of the sixth book of his *K. al-Anwār wa-l-marāqib* where he mentions it as the last item in a list of twelve statements by Philo concerning the Decalogue: "These Ten (Commandments) are the foundation and the constitutive element of all ordinances. All precepts of the Torah depend upon them and are subsumed within them, just as all individuals and accidents which are originated in the world are subsumed within what was created during the six days of creation".[116]

115 Of course, al-Tustarī was well acquainted with the Karaite legal literature (*kutub al-farā'iḍ*) written by his predecessors. A large fragment of his personal copy of Yūsuf al-Baṣīr's *K. al-Istibṣār* is extant in MS St. Petersburg, RNL, Yevr.-Arab. I 1794, 114 fols. (IMHM, F 55442).

116 MS St. Petersburg, RNL, Yevr.-Arab. I 933, fol. 4a, lines 9–13 = Yevr.-Arab. I 1812, fol. 21a, lines 3–7: אן הדה אלעשרה אצל וענצר לגמיע אלפראיץ, ווצאיא אלתוראה באסרהא מתעלקה בהא ותחתהא דאכלה כמא אן גמיע מא יחדת פי אלעאלם מן אלאשכאץ ואלאעראץ דאכל תחת מא כלק פי ו' איאם אלכליקה. The complete list is only extant in an abridged version of *K. al-Anwār*: see B. Chiesa, "Dāwūd al-Muqammiṣ e la sua opera", in *Henoch* 18 (1996), p. 132 n. 58.

It is in keeping with this view that al-Qirqisānī occasionally characterized his *K. al-Anwār* as a "Commentary on the Ten Commandments".[117] Analogously to al-Tustarī's category of unconditional obligation (*al-wājib al-muṭlaq*), the ninth statement in the same list declares the validity of the Ten Commandments to be unconditioned by time and place (*wājiba fī kulli zamān wa-makān*).[118]

The third treatise is not exclusively concerned with matters of positive law. It also includes several short disgressions into questions of legal hermeneutics, and it opens — like the first and the second treatises — with a propositional, systematic introduction which provides a categorical framework for the ensuing overview of the Law [MSS א, fol. 66b; ב, fol. 1a]:

> למא כאן גרצנא פי הדה אלמקאלאת דכר מא ידכל תחת אלתכליף וכאן אלתכליף יתעלק באלאפעאל מן חית אחכאם מכצוצה וגב אן נביין מעני[119] תלך אלאחכאם אלמכצוצה. ואלאחכאם תאבעה ללאפעאל ותרוכהא, והי תנקסם בחסב דלך. ואלאחכאם קד תתנאפי וקד לא תתנאפי ויעלם תנאפיהא בנואפי לואזמהא והי אלמסתחקאת עליהא. ואלאחכאם פי אלאפעאל תתבע וגוה חסב מא ביינאה. פקד צאר ישתמל [ב 1ב] דלך עלי אפעאל ותרוך וגוה ואחכאם ומסתחקאת.
>
> Since our objective in these treatises is to specify what is part of the imposed obligation, and taking into account that the imposed obligation depends upon actions insofar as they have specific values, we have to explain the notion of these specific values. The values depend upon actions, respectively their absence (i.e. non-actions), and are categorized accordingly. Values (of actions) may be compatible or incompatible with one another. They are known to be incompatible because of the incompatibility of their inherent qualities, namely what one deserves for doing them (= their deservingness). With respect to actions values are concomitant to types, as we explained. (This entire complex) consists therefore of actions, non-actions, types, values and deservingness.

117 Ibid., pp. 130f. n. 45.

118 MS St. Petersburg, RNL, Yevr.-Arab. I 933, fol. 4a, line 1.

119 א ליתא.

The third treatise is by far the most comprehensive of the three treatises of *K. al-Īmā'*: in MS א it occupies 14 of 22 quires. This proportion gives weight to our earlier assumption that the compendium was first and foremost designed for practising jurists. Despite its relative length, al-Tustarī asserts towards the end of the book that the third treatise is no more than an incomplete summary of the entire legal complex [MS ה[1], fol. 3a]:

> וקד אגתהדת פי דכר מא קדרת עלי דכרה מן גמלה אלמצוות ולסת [ה[1] 3ב] אקדר עלי חצרהא לאן תרכיבאתהא לא תנחצר ולא טרק אלאסתכראג תנצבט ותנחד, ואנא מעתרף בתקצירי ען דלך, ובחסבה קאל אלמשכיל: **רחבה מצותך מאוד**.
>
> Of the entire complex of precepts I endeavoured to take into account whatever I could. However, I cannot be exhaustive, because it is impossible to encompass (all of) its structural components and to give a precise and definitive description of (all) the inferential procedures. I admit that I am unable to achieve that (= exhaustiveness). It is in this respect that the savant said: "Your precepts are very comprehensive indeed" (Psalms 119:96).

A more detailed discussion of specific legal questions is to be found in al-Tustarī's commentary on the Torah and in his numerous responsa to questions addressed to him by various Karaite scholars and communities. In one question, submitted to al-Tustarī by Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Sulaymān, the latter refers to a specific passage in the third treatise of *K. al-Īmā'* and to another responsum which al-Tustarī had previously dedicated to the same issue:[120]

> السؤال [...] إنني وقفتُ في المقالة الثالثة من كتاب الإيماء على ما يتعلّق **بماحراث هشباث**

120 MS St. Petersburg, RNL, Arab.-Yevr. 238, fol. 2a (IMHM, F 63705). The passage referred to is found in section III.2.1.2.4 of *K. al-Īmā'*, MS א, fol. 109 – fol. 9 (for the correct order of the folios see column V in the table of manuscripts above). For the halakhic problem addressed in this question and the points of controversy with the Rabbanite interpretation of the underlying biblical text see e.g. Y. Erder, *The Karaite Mourners of Zion and the Qumran Scrolls: On the History of an Alternative to Rabbinic Judaism*, Tel Aviv 2004, pp. 132–135, 184–187 [Hebrew].

[...] **لسفيرث هاعومر**، فرأيتُ المسلك الذي ذكره أدام الله علاه، هو جمل ما كان ذكره في المسألة المفردة في ذلك، [...]

Question:
From the third treatise of *K. al-Īmā'* I read the section regarding "the day after the Sabbath" (Lev 23:15) which determines "the Counting of the Sheaf", and I saw that the procedure you ('he') mentioned, may God make your ('his') greatness lasting, is a summary of what you ('he') mentioned in a separate responsum on that subject.

Conclusion

K. al-Īmā' is a most important source for our understanding of the development of Karaite theology and jurisprudence during the latter half of the eleventh century. It evinces the dynamic creativity of religious thought among the generation of Karaite scholars that witnessed the destruction of the Jewish communities and centres of learning in Palestine.

The preliminary findings of this article have shown that Sahl b. al-Faḍl al-Tustarī did not hesitate to challenge major elements of his teachers' theological doctrine and drew upon new sources to buttress his own contested positions. A critical edition of his book will lay the necessary foundations for a more nuanced appreciation of al-Tustarī's contribution to the enhancement of Karaite religious thought.

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QĀḌĪ ʿABD AL-JABBĀR AL-HAMADHĀNĪ (D. 415/1025)

DÉCOUVERTE D'UN NOUVEAU FRAGMENT DU *KITĀB AL-MUGHNĪ FĪ 'ABWĀB AL-TAWḤĪD WA-L-ʿADL* DU QĀḌĪ ʿABD AL-JABBĀR AL-HAMADHĀNĪ DANS UNE COLLECTION KARAÏTE DE LA BRITISH LIBRARY*

by

Gregor SCHWARB

La présence d'œuvres mu'tazilites d'auteurs musulmans dans les bibliothèques juives de l'Orient médiéval, et particulièrement dans les bibliothèques karaïtes, est un fait bien connu des chercheurs en études judéo-arabes. Les efforts de collectionneurs passionnés, notamment au cours du dix-neuvième siècle, sont parvenus à arracher à l'oubli et à la déréliction une fraction de ces collections recelées dans des *Genizot* ou des bibliothèques privées, ou enfouies dans quelque cimetière. Ces fragments forment aujourd'hui la base de plusieurs collections précieuses disséminées dans une poignée de bibliothèques occidentales.

Deux de ces collections présentent un intérêt tout particulier pour l'étude de la littérature Mu'tazilite[1]:

* Je tiens à remercier Dominique Akhoun et Sabine Schmidtke pour leur relecture attentive de cet article.

1. Pour une liste des autres bibliothèques possédant des manuscrits (judéo-) arabes d'origine karaïte, voir D. SKLARE, «A Guide to Collections of Karaite Manuscripts», in *Karaite Judaism: A Guide to its History and Literary Sources*, éd. M. Polliack, Leiden: Brill, 2003, p. 893-924; parmi ces autres bibliothèques, on peut tout particulièrement mentionner la Bibliothèque Centrale de l'Université de Bag-

L'une d'elles est la «Seconde Collection Firkovitch», constituée d'environ quinze mille fragments manuscrits acquis par Abraham ben Samuel Firkovitch (1787 – 1874) lors de son deuxième voyage en Orient en 1863 – 65[2]. La Bibliothèque Impériale Russe acheta en 1876 cette collection qui fait aujourd'hui partie de la Bibliothèque Nationale Russe à Saint-Pétersbourg[3]. À peu près 9 600 de ces manuscrits sont en langue arabe, et quatre-vingt cinq pour cent de ceux-ci sont en caractères hébraïques[4].

L'autre collection est celle de Moses Wilhelm Shapira (1830 – 1884), un juif converti au protestantisme et devenu missionnaire, qui s'est rendu célèbre sur le marché des antiquités et manuscrits anciens à Jérusalem[5]. Cette collection, qui rassemble 145 volumes manuscrits d'origine karaïte, fut rachetée par le British Museum en Juillet 1882[6], un an avant que l'Affaire Shapira n'éclate, et que Shapira lui-même ne se suicide dans un hôtel de Rotterdam un peu plus tard, en mars 1884. Ces volumes se trouvent à présent à la British Library sous les cotes *Or. 2459 – 2602*[7]. À quelques exceptions près, ces manuscrits sont des œuvres karaïtes, pour la plupart des commentaires bibliques ou des copies karaïtes de la Bible.

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dad et la Bibliothèque Vernadsky à Kiev dont le contenu est à peine connu et qui pourraient renfermer des copies karaïtes de manuscrits mu'tazilites. Quant aux fragments de textes mu'tazilites provenant de la Genizah Ibn Ezra du vieux Caire, se référer à G. KHAN, «The Arabic Fragments in the Cambridge Genizah Collections», *Manuscripts of the Middle East* 1 (1996), p. 54-60, et aux entrées 'Philosophy, mu'tazilite' et 'Theology' dans l'index de C. F. BAKER et M. POLLIACK, *Arabic and Judaeo-Arabic Manuscripts in the Cambridge Genizah Collections, Arabic Old Series (T-S Ar. 1a-54)*, Cambridge: CUP, 2001, p. 614-6, et de A. Shivtiel et F. Niessen, *Arabic and Judaeo-Arabic Manuscripts in the Cambridge Genizah Collections: Taylor-Schechter New Series*, Cambridge: CUP, 2006, p. 763 et 772. Se reporter aussi au projet de recherche en cours mentionné dans la note 4 de l'article de Schmidtke/Hamdan de ce volume.

2. Sur Abraham Firkovitch, voir T. HARVIAINEN, «Abraham Firkovich», in *Karaite Judaism* (cf. n. 1), p. 875-892. Pour une description de ce voyage, lire Z. ELKIN et M. BEN-SASSON, «Abraham Firkovitch et les *Genizot* du Caire à la lumière de ses archives personnelles» (en hébreu), *Pe'amim* 90 (2002), p. 59-80.
3. Quelques manuscrits de cette collection se trouvent également à l'Institut d'Études Orientales de l'Académie Russe des Sciences à Saint-Pétersbourg.
4. Pour les chiffres exacts, voir SKLARE, *art. cit.*, p. 907s.
5. Sur M. W. Shapira, voir Irit SALMON, «The Life and Times of Moses Wilhelm Shapira», in *Truly Fake: Moses Wilhelm Shapira, Master Forger*, Jerusalem: The Israel Museum, 2000, p. 4-8.
6. En 1877, Shapira avait déjà vendu au British Museum une collection de quarante manuscrits en provenance du Yémen (*BL Or. 1451-1490*). Les manuscrits *BL Or. 2398-2458*, quant à eux, n'ont pas été procurés par Shapira comme l'indique SKLARE, *art. cit.*, p. 896 et 899.
7. Le manuscrit *BL Or. 2581* consiste en deux volumes (A/B), ce qui explique pourquoi nous n'avons que 144 cotes pour 145 volumes.

Ces deux collections présentent des traits communs, parmi lesquels la sulfureuse réputation de faussaires de leurs acquéreurs respectifs, réputation qui ne fait cependant pas justice à l'ensemble de leur œuvre[8].

Une des autres similarités de ces collections réside dans le fait qu'elles puisent aux même sources, nommément: la Genizah attachée à la synagogue R. Simḥa (synagogue de la communauté karaïte au Caire)[9], et les manuscrits provenant de la communauté karaïte à Hīt en Iraq[10]. Ces «réservoirs» communs expliquent que nous puissions trouver dans l'une et l'autre collection non seulement des manuscrits transcrits par le même copiste, mais également différentes parties d'un même manuscrit. C'est précisément le cas du codex *BL Or. 2569* qui nous intéresse ici, dont certains cahiers se trouvent à Saint-Pétersbourg et d'autres à Londres[11].

Deux chercheurs se sont particulièrement intéressés aux manuscrits muʿtazilites de ces deux collections. A. J. Borisov a décrit, en 1935, treize des manuscrits muʿtazilites de la Seconde Collection Firkovitch, tandis que H. Ben-Shammai a décrit, en 1974 – 75, quelques copies karaïtes de manuscrits muʿtazilites appartenant à la collection Shapira[12].

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8. À propos des contrefaçons de Firkovitch, voir HARVIAINEN, *art. cit.*, p. 888-890. Quant à l'affaire Shapira, un dossier regroupant diverses études a été relié en un volume («M. W. Shapira and the Shapira Fragments») par le département hébraïque des *Asia, Picific & Africa Collections* à la British Library, 1996 (cote: ORW.1986.a.3188). Voir aussi *BL Add. 41293/4* et les références bibliographiques dans C. SIRAT, «Les fragments Shapira», *Revue des Études Juives* 143 (1984), p. 95-111, ainsi que Fred N. REINER, «C. D. Ginsburg and the Shapira Affair: A Nineteenth-Century Dead Sea Scroll Controversy», *The British Library Journal* 21,1 (1995), p. 109-127.

9. Cf. SKLARE, *art. cit.*, p. 896 et ELKIN/BEN-SASSON, *art. cit.*, p. 76s. avec note 80 et p. 68-71 pour la description et la localisation de la synagogue karaïte. On peut rappeler que suite à l'invasion Croisée en 1099 et la dissolution des communautés juives de Palestine qui s'ensuivit, un certain nombre de leurs manuscrits furent transférés en Égypte. Cf. G. KHAN, *Karaite Bible Manuscripts from the Cairo Genizah*, Cambridge: CUP, 1990, p. 19 et notes 61s.

10. Sur la communauté karaïte de Hīt, qui se situe au bord de l'Euphrate à environ deux cents kilomètres au nord-ouest de Baghdad, voir G. KHAN, «The Arabic dialect of the Karaite Jews of Hīt», *Zeitschrift für Arabische Linguistik* 34 (1997), p. 53; T. HARVIAINEN, «Abraham Firkovich, the Karaites in Hīt and the Provenance of Karaite Transcriptions of Biblical Hebrew into Arabic Script», *Folia Orientalia* 28 (1992), p. 181s.

11. Il existe également des connections similaires entre les collections de Firkovitch et de Shapira, et certains fragments provenant de la Genizah située dans le toit de la Synagogue Ibn Ezra ou provenant du cimetière *al-Basātīn* près de Fusṭāṭ au Caire (ces fragments sont aujourd'hui dispersés entre Cambridge, Oxford, Manchester, New York, Paris et différentes autres collections). Les chercheurs ont suggéré différentes explications à ces relations; lire à ce propos KHAN, *Karaite Bible Manuscripts*, p. 3s., 16, 19, et ELKIN/BEN-SASSON, *art. cit.*, p. 78s.

12. Voir les références en notes 5 et 6 de l'article de SCHMIDTKE/HAMDAN et H. BEN-SHAMMAI, «Some Judaeo-Arabic Karaite Fragments in the British Museum Collection», *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 38 (1975), p. 126-132 (*BL Or. 2582*, nº 3, 4, 14). Borisov avait limité ses descrip-

La longue liste de textes mu'tazilites mentionnés et cités dans les œuvres karaïtes ainsi que la quantité de manuscrits mu'tazilites non identifiés dans la Seconde Collection Firkovitch et ailleurs, laissent toutefois penser que beaucoup reste encore à découvrir.

Mettre au jour des œuvres mu'tazilites dans les bibliothèques de Saint-Pétersbourg — dont l'accès fut restreint pour les chercheurs occidentaux plusieurs décennies durant — n'aurait donc en soi rien de surprenant[13]. En revanche, qu'on puisse encore faire de telles découvertes dans la collection Shapira à la British Library — qui fut l'objet de l'attention constante des spécialistes du sujet pendant maintenant plus d'un siècle — est tout à fait étonnant.

Le manuscrit British Library, Or. 2569:

La première description de ce manuscrit anépigraphe est de la main de M. W. Shapira lui-même[14]. Sa liste manuscrite contient une description de l'ensemble de la collection qu'il s'apprêtait à vendre au British Museum et selon laquelle ce manuscrit serait le *K. al-Isti'āna* du savant karaïte Yūsuf al-Baṣīr[15], mentionné dans son *Muḥtawī*[16].

Les descriptions de ce manuscrit anépigraphe qu'on peut trouver dans les différents catalogues de la British Library sont peu étoffées. Dans le *Register of Orien-*

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tions aux manuscrits de plus de 30 folios: les treize manuscrits décrits forment ainsi un total de 1060 folios; cf. BORISOV, *art. cit.*, p. 71 (réimp., p. 220). Il est à noter que les cotes de plusieurs manuscrits décrits par Borisov ont été altérées, ce qui a échappé à l'attention de A. Treiger, «Andrei Iakovlevič Borisov (1903-1942) and his Studies of Medieval Arabic Philosophy», dans *Arabic Sciences and Philosophy* 17 (2007), p. 186-188.

13. Au cours de l'année 2005-6 un nombre important de manuscrits mu'tazilites de la Seconde Collection Firkovitch a été identifié par le groupe de recherche 'Mu'tazilism within Islam and Judaism' (dirigé par S. Schmidtke et W. Madelung), qui séjournait à l'*Institute for Advanced Studies* de l'Université Hebraïque à Jérusalem. Voir aussi S. Schmidtke, «Mu'tazilī Manuscripts in the Abraham Firkovitch Collection, St. Petersburg: A Descriptive Catalogue», dans C. Adang et al. (éds.), *A Common Rationality. Mu'tazilism in Islam and Judaism*, Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2007, p. 377-462.

14. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Or. fol. 1342 (= mf. Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire Juive de Jérusalem, *IMHM*, #1811), p. 333, neuvième rubrique thématique (K9) 'Philosophy/Theology', #8.

15. Dans la marge du folio 46r de ce manuscrit on trouve une glose en hébreu, ajoutée au crayon. L'auteur de cette note, très probablement M. W. Shapira, avance l'hypothèse que ce texte est le «Sefer al-Isti'āna» de Yosef Ha-Ro'eh (= Yūsuf al-Baṣīr).

16. See Georges VAJDA, *'Al-Kitāb al-Muḥtawī' de Yūsuf al-Baṣīr. Texte, traduction et commentaire,* Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1985, p. 756:16. Dans sa traduction annotée de ce passage Vajda fait référence à ce manuscrit (p. 523, n. 122). Pour la traduction hébraïque de ce passage voir S. PINSKER, *Lickute Kadmoniot: Zur Geschichte des Karaismus und der karäischen Literatur*, deuxième partie, p. 196:29 et l'édition plus récente de Yosef AL-GAMĪL: *Sefer ha-Ne'imot*, Ashdod, 2004, p. 335:2.

tal Mss., New Series (catalogue non publié), p. 83, rédigé en l'an 1882, ce manuscrit est décrit de la manière suivante: «An extensive philosophical work relating chiefly to the doctrine of reward and punishment, probably by the same author [c'est-à-dire Yūsuf al-Baṣīr, puisque le ms. *BL Or. 2568* est un fragment de son *K. al-Manṣūrī / al-Tamyīz*][17]. Imperfect 12th cent. Paper: Sm. 4». Cette description a été traduite en français par Hartwig Derenbourg dans l'article «Les manuscrits judaïques entrés au British Museum de 1867 à 1890[18]».

Dans une liste non publiée des manuscrits karaïtes de la British Library, élaborée par Reinhart Hoerning en 1889, le ms. *BL Or. 2569* est décrit comme suit (p. 31): «A large portion of an extensive philosophical work, possibly the «Kitāb al-Istiʿāna» of Yūsuf al-Baṣīr; of the XIIth cent. *Arabic.* Paper, ff. 190. Sm. 4». Cette description fut publiée peu plus tard dans une *Descriptive List of the Hebrew and Samaritan Mss. in the British Museum*[19]. C'est la dernière description en date de ce manuscrit et cela explique pourquoi on la retrouve sous la rubrique «littérature juive» du *Subject Guide to the Arabic Manuscripts in the British Library*[20].

Le catalogue de l'Institut des Microfilms de Manuscrits Hébraïques à la Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire Juive de Jérusalem, qui possède des microfilms de toute la collection Shapira, mentionne simplement le manuscrit *BL Or. 2569* comme étant une «composition philosophique en langue arabe[21]».

Au vu du caractère sommaire de ces notices, une description plus détaillée de ce manuscrit s'impose.

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17. Voir Yūsuf al-Baṣīr, *Das Buch der Unterscheidung*, Judäo-arabisch/Deutsch, übersetzt und eingeleitet von Wolfgang von Abel, Freiburg, etc.: Herder, 2005, p. 90-2.
18. *Revue des Études Juives* 23 (1891), p. 288.
19. Éd. G. Margoliouth, London: The British Museum, 1893, p. 67. Le fait que Margoliouth n'ait pas inclu la description de ce manuscrit (ainsi que celle de *BL Or. 2599-2602*) dans son *Catalogue of the Hebrew and Samaritan Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London: The Trustees of the British Museum, 1909-1915, repr. 1965) sous la rubrique 'Philosophy' (vol. III, p. 172-233), laisse à penser qu'au moment de sa rédaction, il ne souscrivait plus à l'opinion selon laquelle ce texte serait de Yūsuf al-Baṣīr comme son prédecesseur Hoerning l'avait suggéré. Margoliouth a exclu de ce catalogue les manuscrits contenant des textes qui étaient à la fois en écriture arabe *et* d'auteurs musulmans (il y a inclu, par contre, les textes d'auteurs musulmans transcrits en écriture hébraïque ainsi que les œuvres juives écrites en caractères arabes).
20. Éd. C. F. BAKER, London: The British Library, 2001, p. 424. La description de Margoliouth fut par ailleurs copiée par Moritz STEINSCHNEIDER, *Die arabische Literatur der Juden*, Frankfurt, 1902, p. 90, §50, no. 9.
21. H. Ben-Shammai, dans un compte-rendu de l'édition du *Muḥtawī* par G. Vajda publié dans *Ḳiryat Sefer* 62 (1988-9), p. 412, n. 14, avait bien souligné que ce manuscrit était un texte théologique musulman, sans pouvoir cependant l'identifier.

Description du manuscrit

Cote: *BL Or. 2569* [BL, Microfiche # 38161 – 4; Jerusalem, *JNUL*, *IMHM*, film # 44519]

Copie anonyme et non datée, du XIème siècle, provenant de différents volumes du *Mughnī fī ʾabwāb al-tawḥīd wa-l-ʿadl* du Qāḍī l-quḍāt ʾAbū l-Ḥasan ʿAbd al-Jabbār b. ʾAḥmad al-Hamaḏānī al-Asadābādī (m. 415/1025).

190 folios; papier oriental, non filigrané, non-numéroté; 175 x 140 mm; vergeures verticales.

Écriture: *Nasḫī;* graphie rapide; encre brune; texte peu ponctué et vocalisé; omission régulière du *hamza*; écrit sans réglure; la plupart des pages contiennent 12 lignes par page; quelques pages contiennent 11, 13 et 14 lignes; raturage fréquent, additions marginales et surlinéaires; notes marginales ع (*ʿūriḍa*), صح (*ṣaḥīḥ*)[22].

À l'exception des folios 1 à 7 (mutilés), 155 à 162 (incomplets au coin supérieur gauche/droit du recto/verso) et des quelques derniers feuillets, le manuscrit est en très bonne condition; quelques galeries de vers peu importantes.

Cahiers: Le volume contient 20 quinions; folios 1 à 7 proviennent d'un ou deux cahiers au début du volume qui porte le numéro 13 (voir ci-dessous). Les quinze cahiers suivants (f. 8 à 154) sont numérotés en chiffres indiens et en toutes lettres avec indication du numéro du volume (13 – ثالث عشر) dans la marge supérieure au recto du premier feuillet de chaque cahier; à l'exception du cahier 13/3, où il manque un bifeuillet, et du cahier 13/17 où il manque un feuillet, ces quinze cahiers sont complets et en ordre consécutif:

f. 8r: ~~١٥~~ [!] – 3 – ثالثة من ثالث عشر

f. 16r: 13 – 4 – رابعة من ثالث عشر

f. 26r: ~~١٥~~ [!] – 5 – خامسة من ثالث عشر

f. 36r: 13 – 6 – سادسة من ثالث عشر

f. 46r: [13] – 7 – سابعة من ثالث عشر

f. 56r: 13 – 8 – ثامنة من ثالث عشر

f. 66r: 13 – 9 – تاسعة من ثالث عشر

f. 76r: 13 – 10 – عاشرة من ثالث عشر

f. 86r: 13 – 11 – حادية عشر من ثالث عشر

f. 96r: 13 – 12 – ثانية عشر من ثالث عشر

22. Voir A. GACEK, *The Arabic Manuscript Tradition. A Glossary of Technical Terms and Bibliography*, Leiden, Brill, 2001, p. 82 et 98.

f. 106r: 13 – 13 – ثالثة عشر من ثالث عشر
f. 116r: 14 – 13 – رابعة عشر من ثالث عشر
f. 126r: 13 – 15 – خامسة عشر من ثالث عشر
f. 136r: 13 – 16 – سادسة عشر من ثالث عشر
f. 146r: 13 – 17 – سابعة عشر من ثالث عشر

Les folios 155 à 162, mutilés dans la marge supérieure, constituent quatre bifolios d'un cahier du *Kitāb at-Taklīf* (volume XI de la version yéménite imprimée du *Mughnī*); les folios 163 à 184 forment trois cahiers incomplets et non numérotés (f. 163 -170: bifolio extérieur manquant; f. 171-176: deux bifolios extérieurs manquants; f. 177-184: bifolio extérieur manquant); les feuillets 185 à 190 sont des (bi)folios isolés (185, 186/187, 188, 189/190).

Reliure: Comme la plupart des manuscrits de la British Library, *BL Or. 2569* a reçu, après restauration, une reliure rigide moderne.

Note d'acquisition: «B[ough]t of Shapira 6 July 1882».

Titres de chapitre:

Les folios 1 à 154 appartiennent au même volume du *Mughnī* que le manuscrit RNL Firk. Arab. 105, f. 14 – 92 et prennent place immédiatement avant les cahiers 13/18 à 13/25 (voir la description chez Schmidtke/Hamdan et SCHMIDTKE, *art. cit.*, p. 387-391); De toute évidence le volume 13 de la version karaïte couvre les volumes 18 (*Kitāb al-Waʿd wa-l-waʿīd*) et 19 (*Kitāb al-'Asmā' wa-l-aḥkām = K. al-Manzila bayna l-manzilatayn*) perdus dans la version yéménite[23]).

[5ظ] فصل في حقيقة الشكر وشروطه
[8و] فصل في بيان ما يستحق به الشكر وذكر شروطه وما يتصل بذلك
[11ظ] فصل في حقيقة العبادة
[13و] فصل في بيان ما يستحق به العبادة وما يتصل بذلك
[14ظ] فصل في حقيقة الحمد وما يتصل بذلك
[15و] فصل فيما يضاد الشكر وما يتصل بذلك

23. Le volume 7 de la version karaïte lui aussi couvre deux volumes de la version yéménite imprimée, à savoir les volumes 11 (*Kitāb al-Taklīf*) et 12 (*Kitāb al-Naẓar wa-l-maʿārif*). De toute évidence (cf. RNL Firk. Arab. 104, f. 14-19) le volume 6 de la version karaïte couvre les volumes 9 (*Kitāb al-Rawlīd*) et 10 (*Kitāb al-Istiṭāʿa*).

[16ظ] فصل في حقيقة المدح وما يتصل بذلك
[17ظ] فصل في بيان حال ما يستحق به الذم والمدح وما يتصل بذلك
[21و] فصل في بيان معرفة التعظيم والإجلال والاستخفاف والإهانة وما يتصل بذلك
[24و] فصل في بيان الموالاة والمعاداة وما يتصل بذلك
[26ظ] فصل في بيان الرضا والسخط والراضي والساخط وما يتصل بذلك
[28و] فصل في بيان الحب والبغض والمحب والمبغض وما يتصل بذلك
[29ظ] فصل في بيان معنى الدعا للغير وعليه وحقيقة اللعن وما يتصل بذلك
[30ظ] فصل في بيان معنى الوعد والوعيد وما يتصل بذلك
[32ظ] فصل في الترغيب والتحذير والتخويف والزجر وما يتصل بذلك
[34ظ] فصل في بيان حقيقة الثواب وما يتميز به من غيره
[35ظ] فصل في بيان حقيقة العقاب وما يتصل بذلك
[37و] فصل في أن الثواب يستحقه المكلف بما يتكلفه من الواجب والانتهاء عن القبيح
[40ظ] فصل في أن المكلف يستحق الثواب على الله تعالى وإن كان يستحق المدح على الله وعلى العباد
[42و] فصل في أن ما يستحق به الذم من فعل القبيح وترك الواجب يستحق به العقاب
[47و] فصل في أن العقاب لا يستحق من جهة العباد وأنه يستحق من قبله تعالى
[53ظ] فصل في أن الذي يستحقه المطيع من الثواب ليس هو المدح فقط وما يتصل بذلك
[56ظ] فصل في أن العقاب الذي يستحقه العاصي ليس هو الذم فقط
[57ظ] فصل في أن الثواب من قبيل هذه المنافع المعقولة والعقاب من قبيل الآلام
[60ظ] فصل في أن من حق الثواب أن يصفو ويخلص من كل شائب وما يتصل بذلك
[63ظ64/و] فصل في أن من حق العقاب أن يخلص مضاره من كل لذة وروح
[65ظ] فصل في أن من حق الثواب أن يكون مستحقا وكذلك العقاب وما يتصل بذلك
[67ظ] فصل في فائدة وصفنا لهما بأنهما مستحقان وهل يتفق فيهما أو يختلف

[68ظ] فصل في أن التفضل بمثل الثواب لا يحسن وكذلك الابتداء بمثل العقاب
[72و] فصل فيما يبين به الثواب من سائر المنافع وسائر المضار وما يتصل بذلك
[77و] فصل في أن الثواب والعقاب يستحقان دائما وما يتصل بذلك
[83ظ] فصل في أن دوام العقاب والثواب لا يمنع من صحة استحقاقهما
[87ظ] فصل في بيان ما يدوم من الثواب والعقاب وما يتصل بذلك
[92و/ظ] فصل في أن المعاصي كلها متفقة في أنه يستحق بها العقاب الدائم والطاعات كلها متساوية في استحقاق الثواب الدائم بها
[102ظ] الكلام في ابتداء وقت استحقاق الثواب والعقاب وابتداء وقت فعلهما وما يتصل بذلك
[104و] فصل في بيان ما نقوله ونذهب إليه فيما بيننا الخلاف فيه
[106و] فصل في أن استحقاق الثواب والعقاب لا يتعلق بالموافاة وما يتصل بذلك
[109ظ110/و] فصل في أن من حق الثواب والعقاب أن يستحقا على الفعل، كان المعلوم أنه يوافي به أو كان المعلوم أنه لا يوافي به
[112ظ] فصل في أن من حق المستحق أن يكون معدوما مقدورا وما يتصل بذلك
[116و] فصل في أن ما يستحقه المكلف من الثواب والعقاب مؤخر فعله إلى الآخرة غير معجّل في الدنيا
[117و] فصل في أنه لا يحسن منه تعالى تعجيل الثواب الذي يستحقه المؤمن والعقاب الذي يستحقه الكافر وأن تأخيرهما واجب
[118ظ] فصل في بيان ما له وجب تأخير الثواب والعقاب إلى الآخرة
[120ظ] فصل في أن ما يتأخر عن المكلف من الثواب والعقاب لا بد من أن يؤخره تعالى عليه في الآخرة وما يتصل بذلك
[122ظ] الكلام في التعظيم والتبجيل والاستخفاف والإهانة وذكر فصولها
[123ظ] فصل في ذكر أقسام التعظيم وأقسام الاستخفاف وما يتصل بذلك
[124ظ] فصل في ذكر أسباب التعظيم والتبجيل وشروط حسنهما وأسباب الاستخفاف وما يتصل بذلك
[126و] فصل في الدلالة على أن قدر منه لا يحسن إلا على جهة الاستحقاق وما يتصل بذلك
[128و] فصل في أن ما قدمنا ذكره يحسن لكونه مستحقا وما يتصل بذلك
[130و] فصل فيما يحسن فعله من التعظيم والاستخفاف من دون استحقاق وما يتصل بذلك

[134ظ] الكلام فيما يزول به الثواب والعقاب وما يتصل بذلك
[135ظ] فصل في أن سقوط المستحق من الثواب والعقاب وزوالهما لا يستحيل ولا يمتنع
[137و] فصل في أن استحقاق الثواب والعقاب جميعا لا يصح
[148ظ] فصل في إبطال قولهم إن الإحباط والتكفير يؤثران في فعل أحدهما في الدنيا
[149ظ] فصل في إبطال القول بأن التكفير إنما يقع بأن يصير العقاب منقطعا في الآخرة
[150ظ] فصل في الرد على عبّاد في إثباته الفرق ونفيه الإحباط والتكفير
[152و] فصل في أن المكفر للعقاب هو الثواب دون الطاعة والمحبط للثواب هو العقاب دون المعصية وما يتصل بذلك

Suit le manuscrit RNL Firk. Arab. 105, f. 14 – 92.

Le cahier suivant (f. 155 à 162) se rattache au *Kitāb at-Taklīf* (volume XI de la version yéménite imprimée)[24]:

[156ظ] فصل في الوجه الذي له يستحق الإنسان الذم والمدح
[158و] فصل في ذكر الوجوه التي يستحق بها المدح والذم
[160ظ] فصل في ذكر الشروط التي لها يستحق الذم والمدح على ما قدمناه من الوجوه

Les trois cahiers suivants peuvent être rattachés au *Kitāb al-Tawlīd* (f. 171 à 176)[25] et *Kitāb al-Istiṭāʿa* (f. 163 à 170, f. 177 à 184) du *Mughnī* [26].

[163و] فصل في إبطال القول بأن كون القادر قادرا هو نفس القادر أو بعضه وجنسه
[165و] فصل في أن القادر إنما هو الجملة دون كل بعض منه أو كل محل وأن لها بكونها قادرة حال

24. Cf. vol. XI, p. 502:19-514-5:5 avec des différences importantes entre la version karaïte et la version yéménite imprimée, la version karaïte étant par endroit considérablement abrégée (la relation entre cette version et ce que les Karaïtes ont appelé «*Nukat al-Kitāb al-Mughnī*» [cf. ms. Firk. Arab. 104, f. 281b] reste à déterminer). La comparaison des différentes versions nécéssite une étude séparée que nous avons l'intention d'entreprendre prochainement.

25. Cf. vol. IX, p. 116: 21-127: 9 se référer aussi à J. Katz HECKER, *Reason and Responsibility*: *An Explanatory Translation of* Kitāb al-Tawlīd *from* al-Mughnī fī Abwāb al-Tawḥīd wa-l-ʿAdl *by Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Jabbār al-Hamadhānī, with Introduction and Notes*, Ph.D., University of California, 1975, p. 335-364.

26. Cf. la description des passages parallèles dans mss. RNL Firk. Arab. 104 et 105 chez Schmidtke/Hamdan.

[168و] فصل في أن القادر منا لا يصح أن يكون قادرا لنفسه ولا لا لنفسه ولا لعلة وأنه إنما تقدر بمعنى

[172و] فصل في ما يفعله تعالى متولدا، أيصح أن يبتدئه أم لا؟

[173ظ174/و] فصل في بيان ما لا يصح أن يفعله القادر منا إلا متولدا، وما لا يصح أن يفعله إلا مباشرا، وما يصح أن يفعله من كلى [!] الوجهين

Les feuillets 185 à 190 sont des (bi)folios isolés dont certains comblent les lacunes des précédents cahiers: f. 185 pourrait se rattacher au volume I-III (cf. RNL Firk. Arab. 104. f. 222-231); f. 186 et 187 appartiennent au même cahier du *Kitāb al-Tawlīd* que f. 171-176: f. 186 précède f. 171, f. 187 est la suite de f. 176[27]; f. 188 appartiennent au *Kitāb al-Istṭāʿa* (cf. RNL Firk. Arab. 104, f. 19, 31-38, 67-72, 81-84; Firk. Arab. 105, f. 4-13) le bifolio 189-190 probablement aux volumes I-III.

[185ظ] فصل في أن الشيء لا يجوز أن يكون موافقا لغيره ومخالفا له

[188و] فصل في كلام له على أن القدرة لا تتعلق إلا بجزء واحد من جنس واحد في محل واحد في وقت واحد

[189و] فصل في أنه لا يصح إثبات محدث للأحكام غير القديم تعالى

[190و] فصل في ذكر ما يصح الاستدلال به على القديم تعالى

La découverte de ce manuscrit supplémentaire du *Mughnī* constitue un événement remarquable et apportera sans aucun doute un nouvel éclairage à cette œuvre majeure de la pensée mu'tazilite[28]. Cette première description du manuscrit *BL Or. 2569*, pour être rapide, ne se veut être qu'une étape préliminaire à son édition complète que nous entendons mener à terme très prochainement.

27. Cf. vol. IX, p. 115: 21-116: 21 et 127: 9-129: 13 et KATZ HECKER, *op. cit.*, p. 332-335 et 364-370.

28. Sur les sujets abordés dans ce volume jusqu'à l'heure inédit du *Mughnī*, voir la monographie récemment publiée par Sophia Vasalou, *Moral Agents and Their Deserts: The Character of Mu'tazilite Ethics*, Princeton University Press, 2008, et notre compte-rendu à paraître.

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Short Communication: A Newly Discovered Fragment of al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā's *K. al-Mulakhkhaṣ fī uṣūl al-dīn* in Hebrew Script

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Abstract

A newly discovered fragment of al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā's *K. al-Mulakhkhaṣ* in Hebrew script further substantiates that the works of this pre-eminent Imāmī scholar were of paramount importance to the circle of scholars associated with the Qaraite *Dār al-ʿilm* in 11th century Jerusalem.

Keywords

al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā – *K. al-Mulakhkhaṣ fī uṣūl al-dīn* – Jewish Muʿtazilism – Qaraite reception of Shīʿite thought – Dār al-ʿilm – Būyid institutions of higher education – Arabic writings of non-Jewish authors transmitted in Hebrew script

In previous articles I have highlighted the particular importance of the works of the Imāmī Sharīf ʿAlam al-Hudā Abū l-Qāsim ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Mūsā al-Murtaḍā (d. 436/1044) and some of his students to Qaraite scholars associated with the Qaraite Compound of Learning (*Dār al-ʿilm*) in Jerusalem in the early 5th/11th century.[1] I also pointed to the likely connection between this *Dār*

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1 Schwarb, "Sahl b. al-Faḍl al-Tustarī," pp. 77*–82*. In addition to the literature mentioned there, n. 60, see now also Abdulsater, *The Climax of Speculative Theology*.

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al-ʿilm and "homonymous Būyid institutions of similar scope and predominantly Muʿtazilite learning" in al-Baṣra, Rāmahurmuz, Baghdad, and other centres under Būyid dominion.[2] It bears particular mentioning that a similar institution was founded at Baghdad in 383/993–994 by the Zaydī vizier of Bahāʾ al-Dawla, Abū Naṣr Shābūr b. Ardashīr (d. 416/1025), who contracted for the marriage of his daughter with al-Sharīf al-Raḍī Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Sharīf al-Raḍī (d. 406/1016), the younger brother of al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā.[3] Several years after Shābūr's death the academy passed under the control of al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā.[4] The academy—situated in the Karkh quarter on the western bank of the Tigris, whose inhabitants were predominantly Jewish and Shīʿite—went up in flames in the sectarian violence at the end of 451/1059. Another Imāmī Shīʿite *Dār al-ʿilm* worth mentioning in the context of contacts between Qaraite Jews and Imāmī Shīʿites was located in al-Ramla (Ramle), the capital of Jund Filasṭīn, where both groups had sizeable communities.[5]

Shortly after the publication of my afore-mentioned survey of al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā's works in Jewish libraries, I came across a fragment in Hebrew script of his *Kitāb al-Mulakhkhaṣ fī uṣūl al-dīn* whose presence in Jewish libraries was previously unaccounted for. It is the only known copy of the book apart from the incomplete 17th century codex in the Majlis library in Tehran (ed. Muḥammad Riḍā Anṣārī Qummī, Tehran: Markaz-i nashr-i dānishgāh, 1381[/2002]) and one of many texts that will eventually have to be added to previously published inventories of "Arabic writings [by non-Jewish authors] in Hebrew [script] manuscripts" which are still far from being complete.[6]

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2 Schwarb, "Muʿtazilism in the Age of Averroes," p. 277; idem, "Yūsuf al-Baṣīr," p. 652. For a detailed account of the Būyid *Dūr al-ʿilm* see Eche, *Les bibliothèques arabes*, pp. 67–161.

3 Donohue, *Buwayhid Dynasty*, pp. 181 f., 333. This is only one of several examples for high officials of the Būyid dynasty entering marriage alliances with Alids during the last quarter of the 4th/10th century.

4 Bosworth, "Ghars al-Niʿma [b.] Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ's *Kitāb al-Hafawāt al-nādira*," p. 139; Capezzone, "*Madrasa* sunnite versus *Dār al-ʿilm* Chiite?" pp. 117–130. The possibility that some Jewish scholars were given access to al-Murtaḍā's large private library cannot be reject out of hand (see Donohue, *Buwayhid Dynasty*, p. 333; Abdulsater, *Climax of Speculative Theology*, pp. 23 f.).

5 For further details on these communities see Schwarb, "Sahl b. al-Faḍl al-Tustarī," pp. 80 f. with nn. 74–76 and Madelung's contribution to this volume. Al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā maintained close relations with the Imāmī community in Ramla.

6 Steinschneider, "Schriften der Araber in hebräischen Handschriften"; Langermann, "Arabic Writings in Hebrew Manuscripts: A Preliminary Relisting"; idem, "Arabic Writings in Hebrew Manuscripts: Suhrawardī, Ibn Sīnā, and Ibn al-Ṭayyib".

The fragment in question is a bifolio from the Second Firkovitch Collection at the National Library of Russia in Saint Petersburg, Ms. Yevr.-Arab. I 3034, ff. 11–12 (14×18,2 cm, 20 lines per page). On palaeographical grounds it should be dated to the 11th or early 12th century CE. In the very preliminary catalogues of that collection available so far, the fragment had been misidentified as part of ʿAbd al-Jabbār b. Aḥmad al-Hamadhānī's (d. 415/1025) *Kitāb al-Muḥīṭ* for the simple reason that ff. 1–10 of the same call number contain fragments from two quires of a shortened version of the *Muḥīṭ*.[7]

The text of the bifolio corresponds to pp. 464, l. 13–466, l. 18 of the edition. It comprises the end of the chapter expounding the view that every single and discrete act is by necessity related to one single agent and one instance of capacity. The latter part of the chapter shows why a single and discrete effect of an act can never be the product of two or multiple distinct instances of the capacity to act, while the beginning of the following chapter explains why the capacity of an agent to act exclusively relates to the generation of an act as against all of its other attributes (*faṣl fī anna kawn al-qādir qādir*^{an} *lā yataʿallaqu illā bi-ḥudūthi l-fiʿl dūna sāʾir ṣifātihi*).

From the fact that the text of the bifolio is continuous we may conclude that it is the innermost bifolio of a quire, most likely a quinion (quire consisting of five bifolios). The passage covered by the fragment is from close to the end of the edited part of *al-Mulakhkhaṣ*. The fragment thus likely belongs to the last quire of its manuscript. The Tehran manuscript underlying the edition lacks one fifth of the first codicological fascicle (*juzʾ*) and breaks off with the end of the third *juzʾ*. A note at the beginning of the fourth *juzʾ* indicates that it is the beginning of *K. al-Dhakhīra* (*awwal al-kalām al-mabsūṭ min al-Kitāb al-mawsūm bi-l-Dhakhīra*).[8]

Variant readings in Yevr.-Arab. I 3034, ff. 11–12 (// pp. 464, l. 13–466, l. 18)

[ص. ٤٦٤]: ١٥ ينحصر] תנחצר (< تنحصر) (4:א11) | ١٦ حيّ] חי אבר (< حي
آخر) (6:א11) | فإن قيل] – (6:א11) | ١٨ يختصّ] תכתץ (< تختص) (8:א11) | ٢٢

7 The two quires (quinions) have the following codicological structure: 1/2/-/-/3/4/-/-/5/6 and 7/9/-/-/-/-/-/-/10/8. An edition of all extant fragments of ʿAbd al-Jabbār's *K. al-Muḥīṭ* as well as his *Sharḥ al-Muḥīṭ* (which was previously thought to be lost) is currently being prepared by Omar Hamdan and myself.

8 See ed. M.R. Anṣārī Qummī, pp. 33 f., 476, n. 1; *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 1, p. 795. A completion (*tatmīm*) of *K. al-Mulakhkhaṣ* is ascribed to Abū Yaʿlā Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Salār al-Daylamī (d. 463/1071), a student of al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, *Dharīʿa*, vol. 3, p. 343 f., no. 1236; al-Lajna al-ʿIlmiyya fī Muʾassasat al-Imām al-Ṣādiq, *Muʿjam al-turāth al-kalāmī*, vol. 2, p. 160, no. 3223).

يحرز (خ يحرس)] נחרס (< نحرس) (11ב:15) | ٢٢ من أن] אן (< أن) (11א:15) || [ص. ٤٦٥]: ١ من الأكوان مخصوص (خ من الألوان مخصوص)] מן אלאכואן או גנס מן אלאלואן (< من الأكوان أو جنس من الألوان) (11א:16–17) | ٤ أن يمتنع] לם ימתנע (< لم يمتنع) (11ב:3) | ٧ عدم تعلّقه به] תעלקהא בה (< تعلقها به) (11ב:8–9) | ٨ تكون] יכון (< يكون) (11ב:10) | ١٠ والأخرى إن [كان] متعلّقة به] ואלאכרי אלמתעלקה בה (< والأخرى المتعلّقة به) (11ב:12–13) | ١٤ واستحالته] ואסתחאלה (< واستحالة) (11ב:18) | ١٦ لتلك] תלך (12א:1) (تصحيح فوق السطر) | ١٧ يكون] תכון (< تكون)، مع تصحيح فوق السطر) יכון (< يكون) (12א:3) | ٢٢ مقدور القدرتين واحد] מקדורא לקדרתין ואחדא (< مقدورًا لقدرتين واحدًا) (12א:10) || [ص. ٤٦٦]: ٤ بالقادرية] באלקאדר בה (< بالقادر به) (12א:16) | ٤ نعلم [به] נעלם (< نعلم) (12א:17) | ٦ الفعل] ללפעל (< للفعل) (12א:19) | ٩ نقوله] יקולה (< يقوله) (12ב:4) | ٩ من [أنّ] מן אן (< من أن) (12ב:4) | ١١ أُخر] אכרי (< أخرى) (12ב:7) |

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Vestiges of Qaraite Translations in the Arabic Translation(s) of the Samaritan Pentateuch*

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Abstract

This article examines various types of evidence that might corroborate or confound a direct influence of Qaraite Arabic translations of the Pentateuch on Arabic translations of the Samaritan Pentateuch. This question has barely been addressed in previous research. In a first step I will summarise the little we know about the emergence of the earliest Arabic translation of the Samaritan Pentateuch and adduce four reasons to explain why the influence of Qaraite translations has not been considered so far and why some scholars argued for a strong, even though well-camouflaged influence of Saʿadyah Gaon's *Tafsīr* on the earliest versions of the Samaritan translation. In a second step I will highlight a few instances of literary contacts between Qaraites and Samaritans during the 11th through 13th centuries which might strengthen the case for a Qaraite influence on Samaritan translations. Thirdly, I will pick out some distinguishing features of the Old Arabic Translation of the Samaritan Pentateuch (OATSP) as laid down in previous studies and compare them with the primary features of Qaraite Arabic translations. A synoptic presentation of Gen 24:1–34 and some other texts in Samaritan and Qaraite translations and Saʿadyah's *Tafsīr* will help to illustrate the relationship between these translation traditions and to reach some preliminary and tentative conclusions.

Keywords

Qaraites, Samaritans, Arabic translations of the Samaritan Pentateuch, Qaraite Arabic translations of the Pentateuch, Samaritan and Qaraite adaptations of Saʿadyah Gaon's *Tafsīr*, translation techniques, literary encounters between Samaritans and Qaraites, the status of biblical glosso- and lexicography

Introduction

The emergence of the Arabic translation of the Samaritan Pentateuch and the historical circumstances under which this translation came about have

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occupied a good number of scholars from the mid- 17th century to this day.[1] These quests culminated in a number of studies by Haseeb Shehadeh, namely his doctoral dissertation of 1977 and a series of ensuing articles, which together offer the most comprehensive study of the subject to date,[2] and above all else his critical edition of *The Arabic Translation of the Samaritan Pentateuch* published by the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities in 1989 (Genesis, Exodus) and 2002 (Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy).[3]

The Arabic translation of the Samaritan Pentateuch exists in several distinct versions, none of which has ever been designated as the official or standard version of all Samaritan communities.[4] In his studies Shehadeh distinguished between five main types of Arabic translations of the Samaritan Pentateuch:[5]

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1) For a useful summary of the research history and the pertaining bibliographical references see Shehadeh, *Prolegomena*, vol. 1, pp. 51–74, and Jamgotchian, *Recently Discovered*, pp. 18–40, esp. 29–34. The latter also refers to some important studies by Soviet/Russian scholars not mentioned by Shehadeh (see also the article by D.A. Morozov in this issue). The most important non-Samaritan scholars contributing to the study of the Arabic translation of the Samaritan Pentateuch include [numbers in square brackets refer to entries in Crown/Pummer, *Bibliography*; see also the forthcoming *Bibliography of Arabic Bible Translations* compiled by Adam McCollum and Ronny Vollandt to be published in the *Biblia Arabica* series, Leiden: Brill]: Edmund Castell (1606–1685 [904–907]); Johann Heinrich Hottinger (1620–1667 [2325–2332]); David Durell (1728–1775 [1423]); Jacob Jonas Björnståhl (1731–1779 [581]); Willem van Vloten (1740–1809 [5118]); Andreas Christian Hwiid (1749–1788 [2357]); Christian Friedrich Schnurrer (1742–1822 [4270]); Antoine-Isaac Silvestre de Sacy (1758–1838 [4450–4458]); Theodoor Willem J. Juynboll (1802–1861 [2496–2498]); Raphael Kirchheim (1804–1889 [2644–2646]); Abraham Kuenen (1828–1891 [2730–2731]); Abraham E. Harkavy (1835–1919 [2111–2115]); Samuel Kohn (1841–1920 [2688–2694]); Abraham Drabkin (1844–1917 [1397]); Isaak Rosenberg (1847–1914 [4098]); Josef Samuel Bloch (1850–1923 [598]); Moses Gaster (1856–1939 [1730–1774]); Arthur E. Cowley (1861–1931 [1056–1066]); Leopold Wreschner (1865–1935 [5302]); Paul Kahle (1875–1964 [2505–2532]); Edward Robertson (1879–1964 [4047–4061]); John William Lightley (1881–1954 [2875–2877]); Itzhaq Ben-Zvi (1884–1963 [464–506]); Max Katten (1892–1956 [–]); Abraham S. Halkin (1904–1990 [2065–2076]); Lea Goldberg (1911–1970 [1908]); Ze'ev Ben-Ḥayyim (1907– [394–457]), Pinkas Rudolf Weis (1909–1995 [5203–5205]); Selig Joachim Miller (1913- [3329]); Bleddyn Jones Roberts (1906–1977 [4039–4045]); Ayala Loewenstamm (1918–1986 [2899–2915]); Rudolf Macuch (1919–1993 [2997–3027]); José Ramón Díaz ([3914–3919]); Alan D. Crown (1932–2010 [1108–1176]); Haroutun Sizefrovich Jamgotchian (1934- [2426–2443]); Haseeb Shehadeh (1944- [4405–4425]); Simon Hopkins (1950- [–]).

2) Shehadeh, *Prolegomena*. For a list of Shehadeh's most important studies on the subject see Crown/Pummer, *Bibliography*, nos. 4405–4425.

3) Shehadeh (ed.), *Arabic Translation*. The third *Introductory Volume* referred to in the title, which will correspond to the third volume of Tal's edition of the Samaritan Targum of the Pentateuch, has not yet been published. For a well-rounded appraisal of Shehadeh's edition see Hopkins, "A Complete Edition".

4) This verdict also applies to the Samaritan Targum and in a much more restricted sense even to the Samaritan Hebrew Pentateuch.

5) Shehadeh, *Prolegomena*, vol. 1, pp. 158–164, 273–335; idem, "Groups".

1) The so-called *Old Arabic Translation of the Samaritan Pentateuch* (OATSP) which is based on bilingual (Hebrew-Arabic) and trilingual (Hebrew-Aramaic-Arabic) vellum or paper codices written in Samaritan script and copied before the middle of the 13th century;[6]
2) The revised Arabic translation of the Samaritan Pentateuch (ASRT) by Abū Saʿīd b. Abī l-Ḥusayn b. Abī Saʿīd who was active in Egypt during the second half of the 13th century.[7]
3) Composite or mixed versions of OATSP and ASRT one the one hand and of OATSP/ASRT and versions of Saʿadyah's *Tafsīr* on the other;[8]
4) Arabic translations of the Samaritan Pentateuch which are primarily based on one or the other version of Saʿadyah's *Tafsīr*;[9]
5) More recent versions of Arabic translations of the Samaritan Pentateuch which are primarily based on modern Christian Arabic translations.[10]

Since none of these versions has ever been officialised as standard version, the production of newer and revised versions did not necessarily result in the elimination or replacement of earlier versions. Versions of the OATSP, for instance, were still being copied after the 13th century. Of the forty-six manuscripts

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6) The four main representatives of the OATSP are mss. Nablus/Shechem, Synagogue no. 6 (trilingual, 601/1204), Nablus/Shechem, Synagogue no. 18 (bi-lingual, 612/1215), Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, Add. 714 (bi-lingual, 616/1219–1220), and Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barberini Or. 1; for a description of these mss. see Shehadeh, *Prolegomena*, vol. 1, pp. 273–285. Jamgotchian, *Recently Discovered*, pp. 90 f. has argued that some of these codices were copied from a *Vorlage* in Arabic script.

7) On Abū Saʿīd and his works see Shehadeh, *Prolegomena*, vol. 1, pp. 119–147; Ben-Ḥayyim, *The Literary and Oral Tradition*, pp. 34–39. In Shehadeh's edition ASRT is based on MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Arabe 5, copied before 1514; the oldest known MS of this group is London, British Library, Or. 2688, copied in 1323/4. The two non-critical editions by ʿAbd al-Muʿīn Ṣadaqah and Aḥmad Ḥijāzī al-Saqqā of 1978 are based on MS London, British Library, Or. 10754, another representative of ASRT (see Shehadeh, "A New Unknown Version," pp. 303–327, esp. p. 311).

8) Shehadeh, *Prolegomena*, vol. 1, pp. 327–330; idem, "New Group," p. 278. According to Shehadeh an early example of an OATSP&ASRT mixed version would be the trilingual codex Shechem, Synagogue no. 4, copied before 1485.

9) Representatives of this group include first and foremost MS London, British Library, Or. 7562, a trilingual vellum codex of the 13th/14th century (MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Or. Qu. 1082 is a transcription of the British Library manuscript into Arabic script made in 1326/1908 on behalf of P. Kahle); mss. St. Petersburg, Russian Natonal Library, Firk. Sam IIa 178, ff. 2/3 (Deut. 28:11–42 resp. 29:4–30:1) and IIa 179 (Gen. 9:22–10:25) as well as Manchester, John Rylands Library, Sam. 73 (= Gaster 2106/3) are four fragments which originally belonged to the British Library codex; the Saʿadianic section (Deut. 11:2–26:14) in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Or. 139 (= MS Usserius II) was restored on the basis of MS BL, Or. 7562; see Tal, *Samaritan Targum*, vol. 3, pp. 17–21; Jamgotchian, *Recently Discovered*, pp. 40–45.

10) See Shehadeh, "New Group". This article discusses a group of seven manuscripts "dependent in varying degrees on modern Christian Arabic translations" (p. 278).

examined in Shehadeh's *Prolegomena* nineteen represent the OATSP, twenty-two the ASRT, three a mixed version and two an adaptation of Saʿadya's *Tafsīr*. Shehadeh's edition only takes account of the OATSP and the ASRT. A number of inconsistencies in Shehadeh's edition indicate that his classification is not watertight. MS London, British Library, Or. 1450, for instance, is classified with the manuscripts of the ASRT in the *Prolegomena*, while in the edition it is used as a representative of the OATSP.[11] Among the manuscripts representing the OATSP MS Manchester, JRL, Sam. 2, stands out against all others by its numerous Saʿadianic features and it is unclear why it has not been classed with the mixed versions. On account of the wide scope of translation variants in the manuscripts representing the OATSP the Armenian scholar H.S. Jamgotchian even called into question the pertinence of Shehadeh's division of the Arabic translations of the Samaritan Pentateuch into OATSP and ASRT. In his view the process of revision, emendation and adaptation, change in spelling and vocabulary should be considered gradual and continuous, while Abū Saʿīd's contribution to this process was comparatively small.[12]

These reservations notwithstanding the present article will focus on the text versions of OATSP and ASRT as given in Shehadeh's edition and investigate various types of evidence that might corroborate or refute a direct influence of Qaraite Arabic translations of the Pentateuch on them. This question has hardly been addressed in previous studies.[13] To this end I will first give a condensed account of the little we know about the emergence of the OATSP and set forth

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11) See Shehadeh, *Prolegomena*, vol. 1, pp. 163, 170, 174, 187, 319f. (no. 14) where MS Or. 1450 is grouped with the manuscripts of the ASRT and assigned the siglum ט in the sample edition of Lev 1–10 (ibid., vol. 3, pp. 9, 38–95), whereas in the edition it is the tenth manuscript (י) of the OATSP (see also Shehadeh, "The Arabic Translation," p. 516). Of the ten manuscripts used for the edition of the OATSP it is by far the youngest (1172–1173/1758–1759) and the only one written in Arabic script.

12) See Jamgotchian, *Recently Discovered*, p. 149. In the same publication Jamgotchian also offers a comprehensive list of dated and undated manuscripts of the Arabic translation of the Samaritan Pentateuch (pp. 46–56) which are then classified into five types based on script, writing material (vellum/paper) as well as on their being mono-, bi-, or trilingual codices (pp. 56–59). An analogous typology is then applied to the fragments in sections IIa, IIb, and III of the Firk. Sam. collection at the Russian National Library (pp. 60–84). Most importantly, Jamgotchian points to several fragments in that collection which originally belonged to codices underlying Shehadeh's edition (pp. 85–111); sooner or later this and other material from the Firk. Sam. collection will have to be published in an appendix volume to Shehadeh's edition (see Appendix II).

13) Shehadeh very rarely refers to Qaraite translations (e.g. *Prolegomena*, vol. 1, p. 183), even though he was well aware of A. Loewenstamm's studies. In his review of Shehadeh's edition ("A Complete Edition") S. Hopkins pointed to the importance of comparing the early Samaritan translations with the so-called "pre-Saʿadian" translations on the one hand and the post-Saʿadian Qaraite translations on the other (pp. 220f.); see also Halkin, "Relation," p. 273f.; Polliack, *Karaite Tradition*, pp. 9, 288.

four reasons to explain why the influence of Qaraite translations has not been examined and why some scholars argued for a strong, albeit somehow oblique influence of Saʿadyah's *Tafsīr* on the earliest versions of the OATSP. In a second step I will highlight a few instances of literary contacts between Qaraites and Samaritans during the 11th through 13th centuries which might strengthen the hypothesis of a Qaraite influence on OATSP and ASRT. Thirdly, I will summarise the distinguishing features of the OATSP as laid down in Shehadeh's studies and compare them with the primary features of Qaraite Arabic translations as outlined in the studies of M. Polliack and others. Before examining the validity of a presumed Qaraite influence on the basis of selected textual examples, I will address some methodological issues to emphasise the preliminary character of my inquiries and the tentative nature of my conclusions.

The Emergence of the Arabic Translation of the Samaritan Pentateuch

In the absence of primary documentary evidence describing the circumstances under which the various Samaritan communities started to adopt Arabic as a spoken and literary language, we have to content ourselves with indirect, circumstantial evidence. It is reasonable to assume that the community in Damascus alongside with other urban communities played a leading role in this transition process, while smaller, more rural communities, including the one in Shechem/Nablus, followed suit.[14]

An increasing number of Arabisms in later versions of the Samaritan Targum of the Pentateuch which date to the tenth century are one indicator for an incipient Arabicisation of Samaritan literature. L. Goldberg suggested that these Arabisms originated in marginal notes of earlier, now lost manuscripts of the Aramaic Targum which over time were incorporated into the body of the Targum text.[15] The fact that no single version of the Samaritan Targum received the stamp of formal recognition facilitated this development. Goldberg also pointed to several instances where the Arabic translation of the Samaritan Pentateuch clearly depends on the Samaritan Targum or on inner-Samaritan interpretative traditions as against all Jewish Targumim and Midrashim.

Two recensions of a lexicographic-exegetical work on the recitation of the Torah by Ṭabiʿah ben Darthah (Ghazzāl b. Darthā), *Qānūn Ibn Darthā fī* (*tartīb*)

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14) Shehadeh, "A New Unknown Version," pp. 303–327, esp. p. 304.

15) Goldberg, *Der samaritanische Pentateuchtargum*, pp. 36–39; see alslo the detailed description of the manuscripts in Tal, *Samaritan Targum*, pp. 70–92 (English part) and pp. 73–91 (Hebrew part). The manuscript with the greatest frequency of Arabic loanwords and interpolations is the bi-lingual MS Shechem, Synagogue no. 3 (= MS A in Tal's edition; see ibid., pp. 22–29, 92 f., 105 and Kohn, *Zur Sprache, Literatur und Dogmatik der Samaritaner*, pp. 124–126).

al-miqrāʾ, which has alternately been dated to the early or late 10th century, attest to the use of Arabic in the realm of biblical studies.[16] An anonymous trilingual lexicographic composition, which was edited by Zeʾev Ben-Ḥayyim under the title *Ha-Meliṣ*, may be another early witness to the process of Arabicisation, even if parts of the Arabic column were added later on.[17]

The first comprehensive Samaritan legal, exegetical and theological compositions in Arabic date to the first half of the eleventh century. In 433/1041 Muhadhdhab al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Salama b. Yūsuf al-ʿAskarī completed his *Kitāb al-Kāfī li-man kāna bi-l-maʿrifa li-kitābi llāh muwāfī*, a compilation of Samaritan law in thirty-two chapters.[18] Al-ʿAskarī grew up in a village close to Nablus and later moved to Ashqelon. The *Kāfī* refers to the recitation of certain prayers related to ritual purity in Arabic[19] and includes in the seventeenth chapter on the pilgrim (*al-bāb al-sābiʿ ʿashar fī l-ḥājj*) eight biblical verses in an Arabic translation that is similar to or identical with what we find in some manuscripts representing the OATSP, but also includes a couple of features that are only found in the ASRT.[20] Only a critical edition of *K. al-Kāfī* will show to what extent later scribes would have harmonised the translation of these verses with translations of the Pentateuch familiar to them. On a few occasions al-ʿAskarī also refers to his own *Sharḥ* in Arabic on the Samaritan Pentateuch.[21]

Abū l-Ḥasan (Ab Ḥisdāh) al-Ṣūrī, the most eminent and prolific Samaritan scholar of the 11th century, was most probably active in Damascus.[22] As in the case of al-ʿAskarī's *K. al-Kāfī*, al-Ṣūrī's works contain here and there biblical verses in Arabic translation.[23] Based on a comparison of twenty such verses

16) Ben-Ḥayyim, *Literary and Oral Tradition*, vol. 1, pp. 49–57 and vol. 2, pp. 340–373; Shehadeh, "When Did Arabic".

17) Ben-Ḥayyim, *Literary and Oral Tradition*, vol. 1, pp. 29–41 and vol. 2, pp. 435–616; Shehadeh, *Prolegomena*, vol. 1, pp. 106–108; see also the introduction to Vatad, *"Hameliṣ"*. For traces of an alleged Saadian influence on *Ha-Meliṣ* see Jamgotchian, *Recently Discovered*, pp. 42 f.

18) See, for instance, ʿAbd al-ʿĀl, *Comparative Study*; Bóid, *Principles*, pp. 32–37, 67–85, 134–136, 147–157, 195–196; Cohn, *Die Zarâath-Gesetze der Bibel*; Noja, *Il* Kitāb al-Kāfī *dei Samaritani*.

19) See Shehadeh, *Prolegomena*, vol. 1, p. 76 f. Florentin, *Late Samaritan Hebrew*, p. 38, rightly stresses that these prayers are said in private and are not intended for use in the synagogue.

20) Shehadeh, *Prolegomena*, vol. 1, pp. 103–105. The following eight verses are translated in the *Kāfī*: Gen 12:8, Gen 28:10–12/16–17, Deut 14:22–23[a].

21) Shehadeh, *Prolegomena*, vol. 1, p. 102 f. and vol. 2, p. 52, n. 549.

22) The *nisba* 'al-Ṣūrī' probably refers to a village in the vicinity of Nablus which may have been the place of origin of Abū l-Ḥasan himself or of one of his ancestors. For a detailed account of Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ṣūrī's life and work see Shehadeh, *Prolegomena*, vol. 1, pp. 13–118; for his connection with Damascus see ibid., vol. 2, p. 44, n. 472 and MS Jerusalem, The National Library of Israel, Sam. 8°6, fols. 19 f. In this article I will challenge the reliability of some information provided by Shehadeh, first and foremost the 'evidence' he gives regarding al-Ṣūrī's lifetime.

23) Shehadeh, *Prolegomena*, vol. 1, pp. 90–101, 104 f.

included in *K. al-Ṭabākh* ("Book of Insight") and *K. al-Maʿād* with the translation found in the manuscripts representing the OATSP on the one hand and Derenbourg's 'edition' of Saʿadyah's *Tafsīr* on the other, Shehadeh concluded that they are (a) decidedly distinct and independent from Saʿadyah's *Tafsīr* and (b) evidently based on the Samaritan Pentateuch and very similar to the Samaritan translations, though not exactly identical with any of the extant manuscript versions.[24]

The Arabic translation of biblical verses contained in al-Ṣūrī's work are of particular interest, as he has traditionally been associated with the composition (i.e., putting into writing) of the OATSP. Scholars have held differing opinions on the trustworthiness of this attribution. Halkin, for instance, tended to accept its validity "unless evidence to the contrary is produced, stronger than the scholiast's [*scil.* Abū Saʿīd's] prejudiced reluctance to admit that a venerated compatriot could have been the author of a work which is in such need of revision, the belief of those who ascribed it to him cannot be reasonably dismissed";[25] other scholars, such as R. Macuch, adopted a more sceptical position and argued that "[t]he problem of the author of the ancient version of the Samaritan translation of the Pentateuch is very complicated, and there is no decisive solution", comparing Abū l-Ḥasan's alleged authorship of the OATSP with a "general tendency to compensate for the lack of written information by ascribing all important achievements to the greatest man of the epoch".[26] Shehadeh's view on this issue has shifted over the years from a position close to Halkin's to one similar to Macuch's.[27]

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24) Shehadeh, *Prolegomena*, vol. 1, p. 100 claimed that mss. Oxford, Bodleian Or. 139 (= MS Usserius II, copied in 1524) and Bodleian Or. 345 (= MS J. Taylor, copied in 1479/80) are closest to Abū l-Ḥasan's translation. Halkin's verdict that the translated verses in the works of al-Ṣūrī and al-ʿAskarī "are sufficiently divergent to indicate independent contributions to the production of an Arabic Bible" does not tally with Shehadeh's and my own findings (see Halkin, "Relation," p. 279).

25) Halkin, "Relation," p. 278 with nn. 41 and 88; similarly, Bloch, *Die samaritanisch-arabische Pentateuchübersetzung*, p. 16.

26) Macuch, "On the Problems," pp. 149 and 155 f.

27) Compare Shehadeh, *Prolegomena*, vol. 1, p. XI "There is good reason to assume that Abū Alḥasan translated the Samaritan Pentateuch (SP) into Arabic, in Damascus, at the end of the 11th or beginning of the 12th century" (and similarly, ibid. pp. 80 f.) with idem, "Groups," p. 211 f. "[...] we are unfortunately unable to approve [read: prove] or disapprove [read: disprove] with any certainty the attribution of the old SATP (OSATP) to Abû al-Ḥasan al-Ṣūrī. Nevertheless, we have to ask who could have made such a great accomplishment in the XI–XIIth century in Greater Syria, if not Abû al-Ḥasan", and idem (ed.), *Arabic Translation*, p. 502: "The attribution of the authorship of the old Arabic translation of the Samaritan Pentateuch (OATSP) to Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ṣūrī is an assumption yet to be proven", and an explicit "modification" of his view in "A New Unknown Version," p. 308, n. 17.

Either way, on the basis of the available historical data it seems reasonable to assume that some version(s) of the OATSP was/were available in writing in the 1030s when al-Ṣūrī and al-ʿAskarī wrote their major compositions. To what extent there may have been multiple local oral translations and glossaries in the 10th century remains for the time being a matter of speculation.[28]

OATSP/ASRT and Saʿadyah's *Tafsīr*

There are four main reasons why the possibility of a Qaraite influence on OATSP and ASRT has barely been considered over the course of almost four centuries of research on the Arabic translation of the Samaritan Pentateuch and why it was rather the influence of Saʿadyah's *Tafsīr* that captured scholarly attention:

1) The first reason rests on a mis- or over-interpretation of Abū Saʿīd's preface to his revised version (ASRT) as it is found in mss. Paris, BNF, Ar. 5 and 6.[29] For a long time this was the primary source yielding a minimum of 'historical' information about the early stages of the Samaritan translation. A Latin translation of this preface was first published by Jacques Le Long in his *Bibliotheca Sacra* (Paris 1723, p. 117). In 1790 Antoine-Isaac Silvestre de Sacy first published the Arabic text with a new Latin preface and then in 1808 both versions of the preface (< mss. Paris, BNF, ar. 5&6) with a revised Latin translation;[30] in 1851 Abraham Kuenen included both versions in his *Specimen e literis orientalibus, exhibens librum Geneseos*.[31]

In this preface as well as in some of the sixty-three glosses attached to the revised translation (esp. ad Ex 4:24; Num 27:18–20; Deut 32:17) Abū Saʿīd imputed to the influence of Saʿadyah's *Tafsīr* the occurrence of—according to Samaritan doctrine—unacceptable renderings in the Arabic translations of the Samaritan Pentateuch prevalent among his Egyptian coreligionists in the middle of the 13th century and denounced the widespread opinion that Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ṣūrī was the translator of these passages as malicious and ignorant.

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28) Shehadeh, *Prolegomena*, vol. 1, pp. 95, 101 and 105 with vol. 2, p. 54, n. 564. A.S. Halkin assumed that the first written version of the OATSP was preceded by a lengthy period of oral tradition of translations into Arabic which "undoubtedly varied from locality to locality or perhaps even from one teacher to the other, but [they] certainly preserved its original characteristics of slavish literalness and a horror of anthropomorphisms" ("Relation," p. 280).

29) For the text and an English translation see Shehadeh (ed.), *The Arabic Translation*, pp. 492–495 and idem, "A New Unknown Version," p. 305f.

30) Silvestre de Sacy, "Abu Said, Verfasser der arabisch-samaritanischen Übersetzung des Pentateuchs" (in the same year, Schnurrer, *Dissertationes*, pp. 501–504 published the second version of the preface); idem, *Mémoire*.

31) Kuenen, *Specimen*, pp. 2–3 (Arabic part).

It is important to understand that Abū Saʿīd's statement neither implies that the (or some) Samaritan communities in Egypt had adopted Saʿadyah's *Tafsīr* nor does it imply that Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ṣūrī could not have had his hand in an earlier translation of the Samaritan Pentateuch. It seems to me that these statements are better understood, if we recognise that Abū Saʿīd used Saʿadyah, his Jewish bogeyman, as a proxy to justify his emendation of translations that were well-entrenched in the Samaritan community, but which, in his view, entailed misguided and unacceptable interpretations of the Mosaic Torah.[32] Abū Saʿīd's tactics of scapegoating Saʿadyah's *Tafsīr* for inadequate translations found in the OATSP was on the one hand prompted by a wider diffusion of the *Tafsīr* among various denominations in 13th century Egypt and grounded in the fact that there *are* distinct traces of a Saʿadian influence on the OATSP, even if they are far more discreet than he pretended they were.

2) For European Orientalists, Semitic philologists and biblical scholars from the 16th century onwards Saʿadyah's *Tafsīr* was by far the most prominent and readily accessible of all Arabic translations of the Pentateuch.[33] For many of them it was not *a*, but *the* Arabic translation of the Pentateuch and it was therefore nothing but obvious that the Arabic translation of the Samaritan Pentateuch would in the first place be compared with Saʿadyah's *Tafsīr*. At least since 1657, when eighty pages of *Variae Lectiones Arabicae Veteris Testamenti* collected by Edward Pocock (1604–1694) were printed in the London Polyglot, European scholars were equally aware that there existed multiple recensions and adaptations of the *Tafsīr*. This awareness increased further when Jakob Georg Christian Adler published a synoptic sample edition of Gen 4:7–8 based on three distinct adaptations (the London Polyglot, MS Vat. Borg. Ar. 129, and MS Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Or. 112), when Paul de Lagarde published in 1867 a partial edition of MS Leiden, University Library, Or. 377 and finally when Paul Kahle included a synoptic edition of a short passage (Ex 4:20–26) from Saʿadyah's *Tafsīr* in his chrestomathy of 1904.[34] Derenbourg's

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32) As Shehadeh has shown, the translation of Ex 4:24 which Abū Saʿīd rejected and for which he blamed the influence of Saʿadyah's *Tafsīr* is well-grounded in the Samaritan Targum (ed. Tal, vol. 1, p. 234f.). It is noteworthy that the two alternative readings of Ex 4:24 are never discussed in the works of Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ṣūrī and Yūsuf al-ʿAskarī; see Shehadeh, *Prolegomena*, vol. 1, pp. 83–86; idem (ed.), *The Arabic Translation*, p. 499.

33) It is found in the tetraglot *Pentateuchus Hebraeo-Chaldaeo-Persico-Arabicus* (Constantinople, 1546) and in the Polyglots of Paris (1628–1645) and London (1653–1657).

34) Lagarde, *Materialien*; Hughes, *De Lagardes Ausgabe*; Kahle, *Die arabischen Bibelübersetzungen*, pp. VIII, 13–23; Jamgotchian, *Recently Discovered*, pp. 38–45; idem, "Fragments inconnus". For more details see Vollandt, *Christian-Arabic Translations*, pp. 182–204; idem, *Transmission*, pp. 89–96 gives a synoptic edition of Gen 1 based on six adaptations of Saʿadyah's *Tafsīr*.

edition of 1893 on the other hand clearly was a step backwards and fell way short of taking stock of this multitude of adaptations.

The availability of Saʿadyah's *Tafsīr* in various adaptations and scripts may partly explain why its comparison with the OATSP/ASRT led to diametrically opposed conclusions.[35] While for some scholars the Samaritan translation was little more than a camouflaged plagiarisation of Saʿadyah's *Tafsīr*, others thought that the two translations were fundamentally different and that the points of contact were sporadic and well-measured.[36] While there is unanimous agreement that Abū Saʿīd was well acquainted with Saʿadyah's *Tafsīr* and made considerate use of it when he revised his *Vorlage* of the OATSP, the relation of the OATSP to Saʿadyah's *Tafsīr* is more complex and has been subject to continuous debate, although more often than not on the basis of speculation and imagination rather than clear-cut documentary evidence.[37] Considering that there is a gap of about two centuries separating the earliest Arabic translations of the Samaritan Pentateuch from the earliest extant manuscripts, it is problematic to extrapolate from Saʿadianic traces in these manuscripts to a Saʿadianic influence on the very earliest Arabic translations of the Samaritan Pentateuch without adducing complementary evidence.

3) A third reason is related to the discovery of manuscripts containing a Samaritan adaptation of Saʿadyah's *Tafsīr*. At first sight these manuscripts seemed to

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35) Shehadeh, *Prolegomena*, vol. 1, pp. 210–221 and vol. 2, pp. 89–92 recapitulates the evaluations of twenty-eight scholars and distinguishes between ten distinct types of conclusions.

36) Bloch, *Die samaritanisch-arabische Pentateuchübersetzung*, p. 20 f.: "Die Abhängigkeit unserer Übersetzung von Saadia ist schon von d[e] S[acy] ([*Mémoire sur la version Arabe*] S. 63–84) nachgewiesen, aber zugleich auch auf das richtige Mass beschränkt worden. Der ganze Stil hat schon durch den engen Anschluss an das Hebräische—während Saadia sich weit mehr Freiheiten gestattet—ein ganz anderes Gepräge, so dass es meist nur Worte und Auffassungen sind, die er dort entlehnt; daher ist Juynboll entschieden viel zu weit gegangen, wenn er S. 120 sagt, unser Übersetzer sei, wo keine Abweichung des Sam. Pentat. vom masoret. Text vorlag, Saadia meist gefolgt". Bloch refers here to Silvestre de Sacy, *Mémoires*, p. 64: "Quant à moi je suis persuadé que quiconque comparera sans prévention la version d'Abou-Saïd avec celle de Saadias, demeurera convaincu que ce sont deux versions différentes, faites l'une et l'autre sur le texte original, mais qu'Abou-Saïd avait sous les yeux la version de Saadias, et que souvent il l'a consultée et prise pour guide."

37) An example of such unfounded speculation is Robertson, "Relationship," p. 174: "If there were any other Arabic texts than Saadya's in use amongst the Samaritans prior to Abu Saʿid's time, which seems doubtful, they too were superseded by his translation". Similarly unwarranted statements are found in Macuch, "On the Problems," p. 157, Jamgotchian, "Fragments inconnus"; idem, *Recently Discovered*, pp. 40–46; idem, "Earliest Known Manuscripts"; Dikken, "Some Remarks," p. 61 with nn. 50 f.; against all overwhelming evidence to the contrary presented by Shehadeh, Dikken claims like Kahle that the OATSP "gives evidence that the Samaritans had taken over Saʿadya's version and in due time made changes to it".

corroborate the position of those scholars who argued for a Saʿadianic basis of the earliest Samaritan translations. The most important representative of these manuscripts, a trilingual vellum codex entirely written in Samaritan script and tentatively dated to the 13th or 14th century, was acquired by the British Museum in 1910. The Arabic column consists of a Samaritan adaptation of Saʿadyah's *Tafsīr*, while the Aramaic column contains one of the earliest known recensions of the Samaritan Targum.[38] Based on this manuscript and kindred material Paul Kahle, who was personally involved in the acquisition of Or. 7562, concluded that

> [t]he Samaritans know very well that they first used the Arabic version of the Pentateuch made by Saʿadya Gaon. We know quite a number of MSS and fragments in which we find this text written in Samaritan letters. One fragment of it had already been described by Silvestre de Sacy [Paris, BNF, Ar. 8]; another one, from Leningrad, has been published by Harkavy [RNL, Firk. Sam. IIa 179]. Further fragments I found in Oxford [Oxford, Bodleian, Or. 139 (= Codex Usserius II); Deut. 8:13–26:14] and in a MS now in Manchester [Manchester, JRL, Sam. 2]. But the most important MS of this text is a Triglot of the Pentateuch in Hebrew, Samaritan and Arabic from the twelfth century; I saw it in Nāblus in 1906 and 1908. Since 1910 it has been kept in the British Museum as MS Or. 7562. [...] [T]he Samaritans soon began to deviate from Saʿadya's version. We have a number of MSS which show in an interesting way how this translation was altered more and more by the Samaritans until finally the *textus receptus* of Abū Saʿīd resulted.[39]

Kahle's overhasty conclusions were based on several mistaken assumptions which have since been disproved by Shehadeh's studies and edition. Shehadeh highlighted many fundamental differences between the two translations and showed that the traces of Saʿadyah's *Tafsīr* in the earliest extant mss. of the OATSP are fairly limited.[40] Moreover, most of the fragments listed by Kahle are

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38) MS J in Tal's edition of the Samaritan Targum; see vol. 3, pp. 17–21 for Tal's description of "the most important manuscript of the Samaritan Targum known to our generation" (p. 17). Jamgotchian, *Recently Discovered*, pp. 41f., 53f., 87–89 thought that the antiquity of the Aramaic text version in Or. 7562 would be indicative of the antiquity of its parallel Arabic translation and that the Samaritan adaptation of Saʿadyah's *Tafsīr* would only have escaped the fate of destruction because of the status and authority of trilingual codices.

39) Kahle, *The Cairo Geniza*, pp. 54f. Kahle's statements were somewhat more circumspect before he came across the Or. 7562 codex. See his *Die arabischen Bibelübersetzungen*, pp. X–XIII.

40) Shehadeh, *Prolegomena*, vol. 1, pp. 189–198; idem, "Groups," p. 214 writes: "The contention that the Samaritans used S[aʿadia's] *T*[*afsīr*] initially, and that they knew specifically that it was S[aʿadia's] *T*[*afsīr*], is not upheld by the manuscripts we studied. S[aʿadyah's] *T*[*afsīr*] in Samaritan letters appears, almost entirely, in small fragments, in manuscripts which are not among the earliest known to us. The oldest known manuscript, Shechem n°6, mentioned above, is based entirely on the S[amaritan] P[entateuch], and it is totally unlike S[aʿadia's] *T*[*afsīr*]". Unfortunately, Shehadeh, who based all his comparisons with Saʿadyah's *Tafsīr* on the Derenbourg edition, ought

directly or indirectly related to or dependent on the British Library (formerly Museum) Codex (Or. 7562).[41] Some scholars have conjectured that the adaptation of Saʿadyah's *Tafsīr* in these Samaritan manuscripts is closer to Qaraite or Coptic adaptations of the *Tafsīr* in Arabic script[42] than to Judaeo-Arabic versions in Hebrew script,[43] and that the Samaritan adaptation of the *Tafsīr* would be based on either the Christian or the Qaraite branch of transmission in Arabic script.[44] To underpin this assumption these scholars pointed to the undisputed evidence for an exchange of manuscripts between Samaritans and Copts in Cairo and Damascus during the 13th and 14th centuries, when both communities enjoyed a period of cultural florescence and increased literary activity. Silvestre de Sacy, for instance, had already shown that MS Paris, BNF, Ar. 8 (= Ancien fonds 12) is a faithful copy of Abū Saʿīd's revised translation (ASRT) which was later restored in several places by a Coptic priest on the basis of

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to be blamed for a number of inconsistent statements on this very issue: occasionally, he seems to imply that the OATSP is closer to Saʿadyah's *Tafsīr* than the revised version (e.g. *Prolegomena*, p. 88), and once even writes that "[i]t is probable to assume that the Samaritans in the tenth century used a sort of S[aʿadyah]'s T[afsīr] adapted to their Pentateuch" (Shehadeh, *The Arabic Translation*, p. 502). On related inconsistencies in Shehadeh's edition see my remarks in the introduction to this article.

41) See above n. 9.

42) E.g. MS Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Or. 112 or MS London, British Library, Harley 5475; see Rhode, *Arabic Versions*; Vollandt, *Transmission*, pp. 70–78; idem, *Christian-Arabic Translations*, pp. 189–198.

43) Above all MSS St. Petersburg, RNL, Yevr. II C:1 and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Pocock 395–396.

44) Blau, *Emergence*, pp. 39 f.; Vollandt, *Transmission*, pp. 28 f., 73, 77; Jamgotchian, *Recently Discovered*, pp. 38–45, 88 f.; idem, "Samaritans," p. 148; idem, "Fragments inconnus," p. 242. According to Vollandt, *Transmission*, p. 77, "it is possible that the Copts only found access to Saadiah's translation by intermediation of the Karaites". This hypothesis, which deserves a separate study, is firmly corroborated by the comparative material collected during my research. Indeed, the earliest Coptic adaptations of the *Tafsīr* represented by manuscripts such as Florence, BML, Or. 112 and London, British Library, Harley 5475 are replete with translation features and specific renderings and phrases that either derive from or have exact parallels in Qaraite translations and/or the OATSP/ASRT and reflect a Qaraite or Samaritan endeavour to readjust Saʿadyah's *ad sensum* translations to their respective Hebrew source text. More or less simultaneously, towards the middle of the 13th century (639/1242) some Coptic scholars called on the expert knowledge of a member of the Jewish Babylonian Rabbanite community in Cairo in an effort to re-establish the integrity and stylistic elegance of the "original" version of Saʿadyah's *Tafsīr* (see the introduction to Paris, BNF, Ar. 1, ed. and tr. Schnurrer, *De Pentateucho Arabico Polyglotto*, pp. 7–38, reprinted (with new pagination and layout) in idem, *Dissertationes*, pp. 197–225). The role of Jewish converts to Christianity should also be considered in this trans-denominational transmission process: According to *The History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church of Alexandria* Abū Fakhr Ibn Azhar al-Mutanaṣṣir, a Jewish scholar who in the early 13th century coverted to Coptic Christianity, quickly learned the Coptic language, while continuing to speak Hebrew(!) with his former coreligionists (see den Heijer, "Les patriarches coptes," p. 60 f.). MS Paris, BNF, ar. 172, ff. 90^{v}–166 (dated 1291; *GCAL*, vol. 2, pp. 435 f.) contains part of Abū l-Fakhr's correspondence with the Jewish goldsmith Abū ʿAlāʾ (al-Ṣāʾigh), known as "brother of Dawūd, the tiler" (Akhū Dāwūd al-Ballāṭ).

Saʿadyah's *Tafsīr*.[45] However, a close comparison of the Samaritan with the Coptic adaptations of the *Tafsīr* clearly shows that they are largely independent of each other and that the Samaritan adaptation in Or. 7562 is better characterised as an idiosyncratic Samaritanisation of a *Vorlage* that exhibits conspicuous similarities with MS St. Petersburg, RNL, Yevr. II C:1, one of the earliest and most authoritative Judaeo-Arabic recensions of Saʿadyah's *Tafsīr*.[46] Even if the possibility that some Samaritans in the late 10th and early 11th centuries were acquainted with Qaraite transcriptions and adaptations of Saʿadyah's *Tafsīr* into Arabic script or may even have produced similar adaptations themselves cannot be rejected out of hand, we presently lack conclusive evidence to substantiate such an assertion.[47]

4) The fourth reason why the influence of Qaraite translations and glossaries/lexica on OATSP/ASRT has been neglected results from an insufficient firsthand knowledge of and access to the various Qaraite Bible translations, the so-called pre-Saʿadianic translations included. Even after the acquisition of manuscripts containing (fragments of) Qaraite Arabic translations and glossaries/lexica of the Pentateuch by major European libraries (the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, the Imperial Public Library in St. Petersburg, the Reichsbibliothek in Berlin, the British Museum in London, etc.) over the course of the 19th century, they have only rarely been compared with those of Samaritan origin.[48] Besides, only a very small fraction of the major Qaraite translations of the Pentateuch by Sahl b. Maṣliaḥ, David ben Boʿaz, Yefet ben ʿEli, Yeshuʿah ben Yehudah and Abū l-Faḍl Sahl b. al-Faḍl al-Tustarī is available in reliable critical editions, not to mention a number of as yet unidentified Qaraite translations.

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45) Silvestre de Sacy, *Mémoires*, pp. 105 ff. esp. 118–121, Rhode, *Arabic Versions*, p. 57 and Schnurrer, *De Pentateucho Arabico Polyglotto*, pp. 13–15, where the adaptor of the Coptic version of Saʿadyah's *Tafsīr* in MS Paris, BNF, ar. 1 refers to his use of various Arabic translations of the Bible and biblical commentaries by Rabbanite and Qaraite Jews, Samaritans, and Christians.

46) An ongoing detailed study and edition of MS London, BL, Or. 7562 and related manuscripts (see above n. 9) by Prof. Tamar Zewi (University of Haifa) is likely to shed further light on this and related issues. For MS St. Petersburg, RNL, Yevr. II C 1/2 see Blau, "Studies"; Schlossberg, "Towards a Critical Edition".

47) On the Qaraite adaptations of Saʿadyah's *Tafsīr* in Arabic script see Vollandt, "Some Observations"; idem, *Transmission*, pp. 43–68. A close study of fragments of Saʿadyah's *Tafsīr* in the Second Firkovitch Collection at the Russian National Library (e.g. Yevr.-Arab. I 129, I 4635, etc.) will help to clarify this issue. Also relevant to such a study would be a valuable old manuscript of Saʿadyah's *Tafsīr* acquired by the Scottish missionary John Wilson (1804–1875) from the Qaraites in Cairo in 1843; see Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, vol. 1, pp. 99f., 380. My attempts to locate this manuscript have not been successful so far.

48) Kahle's chrestomathy of 1904 contains a very short extract of Yefets translation of Gen 8:1–22 and 9:18–28 (pp. 29–31) based on MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Or. Qu. 828 without any comparison to the Samaritan translation.

Literary Contacts between Samaritans and Qaraites during the 11th through 13th Centuries

Before engaging in a closer comparison of Samaritan and Qaraite translations, I would like to highlight a few instances of literary contacts between Qaraite Jews and Samaritans during the 11th through 13th centuries which might strengthen the hypothesis of a Qaraite influence on the OATSP/ASRT and disprove the view that "[i]t is [...] questionable whether the relationship between the two communities was so close that they exchanged their literary heritage, particularly since the Samaritan chronicles contain many anti-Jewish polemics and, from the mainstream Jewish dogmatic point of view, heretical positions."[49]

Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ṣūrī

Shehadeh dated Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ṣūrī, the alleged author of the OATSP, to the late 11th and the first half of the 12th century.[50] His argument rested on:[51]

1) A personal letter, dated 20/10/1974, from the Samaritan High Priest El'azar Ṣedaqah Yiṣḥaq who confirmed that Abū l-Ḥasan's *ism* was Yiṣḥāq/Isḥāq (> Abū l-Ḥasan *Isḥāq* al-Ṣūrī). Support for this information he later found in a manuscript containing a Samaritan commentary on Deut 32 (*Ha'azinu*) and a treatise on the Samaritan laws of incest (*Faṣl al-kalām fī l-'irbå*).[52] The latter text invokes at the very beginning the authority of "*al-Shaykh al-Fāḍil Abū l-Ḥasan Isḥāq al-Ṣūrī*" (f. 20^{v}) and adds "*wa-kadhālika al-Shaykh al-Fāḍil Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm waladuhu* [...]" (f. 21^{r}); similarly, on f. 21^{v} the author writes "*fa-'lladhī 'araftu min al-Shaykh al-Fāḍil Abī l-Ḥasan wa-min*

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49) Niessen, "A Judaeo-Arabic Fragment," p. 233. To support his sceptical assessment Niessen, ibid., n. 83, pointed to the fact that only three Samaritan fragments have been discovered in the Taylor-Schechter Genizah collection at Cambridge University Library: T-S 16.317 (Samaritan Targum to the Pentateuch: Aramaic and Judaeo-Arabic version of Gen 21:33–22:7; see Tal, *Samaritan Targum*, vol. 3, p. 50f.); T-S 8.267 (Samaritan liturgical poem) and T-S Ar.1a.136 (Arabic translation Genesis 4:4–15, including Gen 4:9a in Samaritan script). T-S Ar.41.122 is clearly not of Samaritan origin (Vollandt, "Some Observations," p. 15*, n. 29). MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Heb. d. 64/24, f. 84 is a fragment of a Samaritan Bible commentary (Ex 9:5–13) in Arabic.

50) For Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ṣūrī see in addition to the references given in n. 22 above 'Abd al-'Āl, *Comparative Study*; Wedel, *Kitāb aṭ-Ṭabbāḫ des Samaritaners Abū l-Ḥasan aṣ-Ṣūrī*, pp. 6–13, and the publications by Florentin, Halkin, and Wedel mentioned below, esp. nn. 60, 64–66.

51) *Prolegomena*, vol. 1, pp. 18–20.

52) Shechem/Nablus, Library of the High Priest 'Omram ben Isḥāq and his nephew El'azar b. Ṣedaqah Isḥāq in Nablus, no. 2, dated 749/1348 (photostat Institute of Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts, The National Library of Israel); see Shehadeh, *Prolegomena*, vol. 1, p. 19.

al-Shaykh al-Fāḍil Abī Isḥāq Ibrāhīm waladihi". Based on this evidence Shehadeh concluded that Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ṣūrī was the father of Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm.[53]

2) A certain Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm, who occasionally bears the designation of '*al-Muṣannif*' or '*al-Ṭabīb*',[54] is known as author of two extant works: 1) *K. al-Tawṭi'a fī naḥw al-lugha al-ʿibrāniyya* ("Introduction to the Grammar of the Hebrew Language")[55] and 2) *K. al-Mīrāth* ("Treatise on Inheritance").[56] The editors of these works, Ze'ev Ben-Ḥayyim and Heinz Pohl, proposed to identify this Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm with al-Ḥakīm Ibrāhīm, a Samaritan physician known in his time as *Shams al-ḥukamā'* and mentioned in Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa's *ʿUyūn al-anbā' fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'* as the teacher of Muhadhdhab al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Abī Saʿīd b. Khalaf al-Sāmirī (d. 624/1227), the most eminent Samaritan physician. According to Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa "Shams al-ḥukamā' Ibrāhīm" served al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf (d. 589/1193), the founder of the Ayyūbid dynasty, in Damascus.[57]

Based on this evidence Shehadeh concluded that Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ṣūrī was the father of Shams al-ḥukamā' Ibrāhīm [b. Abī Isḥāq Ibn Faraj/Marḥīb Ibn Mārūth(!)] and therefore must have lived in the late 11th and first half of the 12th century. There is, however, abundant evidence to attest that Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ṣūrī was active during the first half of the 11th century and that the afore-mentioned argument no. 2) has to be rejected.[58]

First, we have at our disposal two extracts from Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ṣūrī's legal writings in the handwriting of Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Sulaymān al-Muqaddasī, who was active between 436/1045 and 486/1093. This fact alone rules out the possibility that Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ṣūrī was the father of al-Ḥakīm Ibrāhīm mentioned by Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, even if we considered an extreme case of late fatherhood.[59]

Secondly, in the chapter on moonsighting (*al-Kalām fī ruʾyat al-hilāl*) and the new crescent moon (*bādiʾ al-ahilla*) included in *K. al-Ṭabākh* Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ṣūrī writes:

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53) *Prolegomena*, vol. 1, p. 20.

54) See, for instance, MSS St. Petersburg, Firk. Sam. IV 31, f. 5^{r} (*Faṣl fī 'l-Mīrāth*) and Firk. Sam. IV 51, f. 1^{v}.

55) Ed. Ben-Ḥayyim, *Literary and Oral Tradition*, vol. 1, pp. לד–ל and 3–127 (edition).

56) Pohl, *Buch der Erbschaft*.

57) Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-anbā'*, pp. 721–723.

58) For further details see my "Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ṣūrī's *Kitāb fī bāb al-qibla*".

59) See MSS St. Petersburg, RNL, Arab.-Yevr. 175 and London, British Library, Or. 2572, f. 13.

وممّا يُستدلّ به أيضًا على فساد رأي من يعتمد على أنّ من جعل استدلاله مجرّد الهلال كان مُخِلاًّ بقوله في فصل الخليقة عن الأنوار [illegible] وكثر تعجُّبي من أبي يعقوب وموافقته إلى [!] عانان في هذا الرأي، لأنّه مُحَقِّق نظَّار، وذلك أنّه لم يوجد له في اليهود كلام في القبلة حتى أنّه، لمّا وقف على الكتاب الذي صنّفتُه في باب القِبلة، التمسوا [!] منه اليهود الجواب عنه ووعدهم بالجواب مدافعةً، ومات، فلم يظهر عنه جواب. وهذه الجملة كافية في الاستدلال على فساد رأي من يعتمد على الاستدلال على أوّل الشهر بظهور الهلال ومشاهدته، والسلام.

This passage, which originally may have been part of a responsum, has been invoked by several scholars, but none of them was able to identify this Abū Yaʿqūb.[60] As I have shown elsewhere in more detail, Abū Yaʿqūb is none other than the eminent Qaraite scholar Abū Yaʿqūb Yūsuf b. Ibrāhīm al-Baṣīr (d. before 1040) who taught at the Qaraite "Compound of Learning" (*Dār al-ʿilm*) in Jerusalem during the first four decades of the 11th century.[61] Al-Ṣūrī refers here to the third treatise (*al-Kalām fī 'Yehi me'orot'*) of al-Baṣīr's *magnum opus* of Qaraite law, *K. al-Istibṣār*.[62]

From this passage we may infer that

1) Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ṣūrī was acquainted with at least part of al-Baṣīr's *K. al-Istibṣār* and considered him a brilliant and authoritative scholar (*muḥaqqiq naẓẓār*).
2) Al-Baṣīr had first-hand knowledge of al-Ṣūrī's treatise on the *qibla* (*K. fī bāb al-qibla*) and promised to write a refutation of it.
3) Al-Baṣīr died before he was able to deliver on his promise.

As I have shown in a separate study, the greater part of Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ṣūrī's *K. fī Bāb al-qibla* is extant together with its Qaraite refutation in two large fragments amounting to 15 quinions (150 folios) of one and the same manuscript.[63] Since

60) Weis, "Abū'l-Hasan al-Sūrī's Discourse," p. 153; Halkin, "Samaritan Polemics," pp. 18f.; Shehadeh, *Prolegomena*, vol. 1, p. 109f. states "that his efforts to identify Abū Yaʿqūv did not yield satisfactory results". See also Wedel, "Muʿtazilitische Tendenzen," p. 362, n. 46; idem, "Abū l-Ḥasan aṣ-Ṣūrī," p. 263f., n. 7; idem, "Religionsgespräche," p. 367.

61) On Yūsuf al-Baṣīr see Sklare, "Yūsuf al-Baṣīr"; idem and Ben-Shammai, H. (eds.), *Judaeo-Arabic Manuscripts*; G. Schwarb "Yūsuf al-Baṣīr," in *Encyclopedia of Jews in the Islamic World*, ed. N. Stillman, Leiden: Brill. 2010, vol. 4, pp. 651–655.

62) For the relevant passage of *K. al-Istibṣār* see mss. RNL Yevr.-Arab. I 1793, f. 69ᵛ and RNL Yevr.-Arab. II 1230, ff. 27ᵛ–28ᵛ.

63) See above n. 58.

K. fī bāb al-qibla was itself written in response to arguments of a Jewish gainsayer, the manuscript preserves at least three layers of a continuous controversy between Jews and Samaritans about the correct Mosaic *qibla* on the one hand and the authenticity of biblical prophets postdating Moses and Joshua on the other. In that article I have also adduced some evidence suggesting that the beginning of the Qaraite refutation originated with Yūsuf al-Baṣīr and was posthumously completed by one of his students, most probably Yeshuʿah ben Yehudah. The Qaraite refutation also contains additional, previously unknown information about al-Ṣūrī's work and confirms that al-Ṣūrī was not only well familiar with Jewish, but also with Muslim literature of his time, in particular Muʿtazilī *kalām*. M. Florentin, who edited some of Abū l-Ḥasan's extant Hebrew and Aramaic liturgical poetry, had already documented to what extent al-Ṣūrī was familiar with Jewish literature and phraseology and made full use of it to enrich the Hebrew of his own compositions.[64]

Since we know that Yūsuf al-Baṣīr died before 1040 it is likely that al-Ṣūrī wrote his *Book on the qibla* in the 1030s. This dating lends some credence to the traditional Samaritan view according to which al-Ṣūrī completed *K. al-Ṭabākh* in 431/1039–1040.[65] A similar date was proposed by P.R. Weis who, relying on the astronomical data for the calculation of the date of the equinox found in the afore-mentioned chapter on moonsighting, concluded that their accuracy was limited to a period of about 35 years between 995 and 1030.[66] However, since *K. al-Ṭabākh* clearly has the character of a posthumously collected anthology of al-Ṣūrī's legal, exegetical and theological works and responsa, it is more likely that Gaster's "between 1030 and 1040" either generally refers to the heyday of al-Ṣūrī's literary activity or specifically to the composition of one of his genuine works.[67] In line with this information al-Ṣūrī's date of birth would likely be before the turn of the 2nd millenium CE. He would thus be an older contemporary of Abū l-Faraj Furqān b. Asad (Yeshuʿah ben Yehudah), the preeminent student of Yūsuf al-Baṣīr, with whose literay œuvre he has quite a few things

64) Florentin, "The Prayer"; idem, "Another Prayer"; idem, *Late Samaritan Hebrew*, pp. 25 f., 40–58; see also Ben-Ḥayyim, "Baqqasha of Saadia Gaon", pp. 1*–38*, esp. 5* f.

65) See Ab Ḥasdah's "List of [44] Arabic works amongst the Samaritans" in MS Manchester, JRL, Sam. 326 (= Gaster 1960). This list, written in Samaritan minuscule, was compiled at the request of Gaster. The 44 titles on the list are printed in Robertson, *Catalogue*, cols. 247 f. and col. 283, no. 5, where *K. al-Tabākh* is dated 431/1039; see also Gaster, Moses, "The Samaritan Literature" [Supplement to the author's article 'Samaritans'], in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam, Volume IV*, Leyden: E.J. Brill, 1934, p. 3.

66) Weis, "Abū'l-Hasan al-Sūrī's Discourse," pp. 144–158, esp. p. 151 f.

67) See Wedel, "Abū l-Ḥasan aṣ-Ṣuri's Kitāb aṭ-Ṭabbaḫ," p. 307. Unlike al-ʿAskarī's *K. al-Kāfī* which is mentioned in the Tulida (ed. M. Florentin, Jerusalem: Yad Izhaq Ben-Zvi, 1999, p. 181), there is no mention of *K. al-Ṭabākh* in the Samaritan chronicles.

in common.[68] Indeed, it cannot be excluded that a Samaritan adaptation of Yeshuʿah ben Yehudah's commentary on Gen 1–28, which is extant in a 14th century manuscript, originated in encounters between Samaritan and Qaraite scholars in the 11th century.[69]

Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm

If we accept that Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm (b. Faraj b. Mārūth) was a son of Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ṣūrī, his two afore-mentioned works, *K. al-Tawṭiʾa fī naḥw al-lugha al-ʿibrāniyya* and *K. al-Mīrāth* (*KM*), should be re-dated to the second half of the 11th century. Like his father, Abū Isḥāq was well acquainted with Jewish literature. In *K. al-Tawṭiʾa* he demonstrates his familiarity with some concepts and the terminology of the *Diqdūqiyyūn*, the Jewish experts of minute 'grammatical' Bible exegesis,[70] and in *K. al-Mīrāth* he cites no less than five Qaraite legal treatises and Bible commentaries:[71]

1) Al-Qirqisānī, *KM* 31:4 ff. (69); 31:8 (69); 32:13 (70); 33:8 (71); 33:12 (71); 43:7 ff. (79); 44:14 (80); 71:14 ff. (103); 72:4 (103); 72:4 (103); 73:1 (104), *K. al-Anwār wa-l-marāqib* [> al-Dāmaghānī (= Daniel al-Qūmisī), *KM* 55:7 ff. (89); 58:4 (91); 72:5 (103)];
2) "Al-Raʾīs Abū Saʿīd" (= David b. Boʿaz), *KM* 47:3 ff. (81); 52:4 (86); 54:9 (88); 100:11 (128), unspecified (*Sharḥ/Tafsīr*);
3) "Al-Muʿallim Abū Saʿīd" (= Levi b. Yefet), *KM* 20:6 ff. (60); 25:7 ff. (65); 26:4 (65); 27:12 (66); 29:3 (67); 29:12 (68); 31:4 ff. (69); 31:14 (69);33:1 (70); 33:10 (71); 34:1 (71); 35:5 (72); 36:14 (74); 38:9 (75); 40:4 (76); 63:1 ff. (95); 65:11 (97); 66:15 (98); 68:6 (100); 100:11 (128), *Sefer Miṣvot* / *K. al-Farāʾiḍ*;

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68) Both Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ṣūrī and Yeshuʿah ben Yehudah wrote a treatise on the laws of incest, a commentary on the Ten Commandments and treatises along the lines of Muʿtazilī *uṣūl al-dīn* and *uṣūl al-fiqh*; they also shared the distinction of being accomplished writers in three languages (Arabic, Hebrew and Aramaic).

69) On this Samaritan adaptation, which is extant in MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Oppenheimer Add. Qu. 99, see Loewenstamm, "Karaite Commentary" and "Yeshuʿah b. Yehudah" (these articles are reprinted in eadem, *Karaite and Samaritan Studies*, pp. 159–201 and 202–206). Previously to Loewenstamm's studies, in the wake of Adolf Neubauer's "Un commentaire samaritain inconnu", in *Journal Asiatique* 7th series, vol. 1 (1873), pp. 341–368, the commentary was mistaken to be of Samaritan origin.

70) Ed. Ben-Ḥayyim, p. 123, ll. 7–10; Florentin, *Late Samaritan Hebrew*, pp. 50 f.; *ahl al-diqdūq* is also mentioned in mss. St. Petersburg, RNL, Firk. Sam. III 38, f. 6^{v} and IV 9, f. 80^{v}.

71) See ed. Pohl (above n. 56), p. 191. Pohl fittingly speaks of the author's "intimate familiarity with Qaraite exegesis" and a "close intellectual bond linking Samaritans and Qaraites" (pp. V f.). See in this context also the reviews by J. Blau in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 38 iii (1975), pp. 627–629 and L. Nemoy in *The Jewish Quarterly Review* (N.S.) 66 i (1975), pp. 62–65.

4) "Abū Yaʿqūb al-Ḍarīr" (= Yūsuf al-Baṣīr), *KM* 101:1 ff. (128), *K. al-Istibṣār*;
5) "Abū l-Faraj b. Asad" (= Yeshuʿah ben Yehudah), *KM* 20:6 (60), 100:11 (128), unspecified (*al-Tafsīr al-mabsūṭ fī sifr wa-yiqrāʾ*).

The fact that Yeshuʿah ben Yehudah, whose work dates to the second third of the 11th century, is the last authority cited by Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm, would also suggest that Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm wrote his treatises during the last four decades of the same century.

Abū l-Faraj Munajjā b. Ṣadaqa

That the 12th century Samaritan scholar Abū l-Faraj Munajjā b. Ṣadaqa b. Gharūb al-Dimashqī was well acquainted with Jewish Qaraite and Rabbanite legal and *kalām* literature is abundantly documented in his *Kitāb al-Buḥūth fī(/wa-)masāʾil al-khilāf fī-mā bayna millatay l-Yahūd wa-ʾl-Sāmira*. L. Wreschner, A.S. Halkin and I.R.M. Bóid, who studied (some sections of) the second part of the *K. al-Buḥūth*, have already pointed to the pertinent passages, even though the Qaraite primary sources available to them were rather limited.[72] Wreschner also suggested that the anti-Saʿadian polemic in *K. al-Khilāf* was taken over from the Qaraites.

Ṣadaqa b. Munajjā b. Ṣadaqa (d. after 620/1223)

Ṣadaqa b. Abī l-Faraj Munajjā b. Ṣadaqa is another prominent Samaritan physician who served the Ayyūbid ruler al-Malik al-Ashraf Mūsā b. al-ʿĀdil who in 596/1199 was appointed lord of Diyār Muḍar and between 597/1201 and 626/1229 resided in al-Raqqa and Ḥarrān where Ṣadaqa died after 620/1223. Apart from his philosophical, theological and medical writings (including an unfinished commentary on the Hippocratic Aphorisms and answers to medical questions by the Jewish client al-Asʿad al-Muḥallī) he also wrote a commentary (*sharḥ*) on the Pentateuch.[73] Even a superficial analysis of the published parts of this commentary shows that he was not only familiar with Qaraite Bible commentaries (including Abū l-Faraj Hārūn's *K. al-Talkhīṣ* and/or ʿAlī b. Sulaymān's abridgement thereof) and other Jewish sources, but in all likelihood also with Christian exegesis.[74] Future studies on the Samaritan exegetical

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72) Wreschner, *Samaritanische Traditionen*, pp. VIII–XII, 33; Halkin, "Controversies"; Bóid, *Principles*, pp. 7, 17, 249–263, 327, 361 (index); I am currently working on a reconstruction of the incompletely preserved first part of *K. al-Buḥūth*.
73) Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ*, pp. 717–721.
74) Loewenstamm, "From the Commentary"; Schnurrer, "Probe". These partial editions are exclu-

literature in Arabic will no doubt uncover further cases of Qaraite-Samaritan crosspollination.

Abū Saʿīd b. Abī l-Ḥusayn b. Abī Saʿīd

In this brief aperçu of literary encounters between Qaraites and Samaritans I may finally refer to one of Abū Saʿīd's 63 glosses (*ḥawāshī*) accompanying his ASRT.[75] In the gloss on parashah (*sūra*) Ex 20:18–26, i.e. the verses following the Ten Commandments, Abū Saʿīd notes:[76]

وقفت لأبي الفرج هٰرون، قابله الله، في شرح هذه السورة على كلام لا يصدُر عن أَبْلَهِ الصبيان، وذلك أنه قال بلسانهم ما ترجمته بالعربي «من الله كانوا خائفين ولالهاتهم كانوا عابدين»، وذلك بعد قوله «إنّ هذا الكلام ورد في أمر السمرة»، فما يكون في الكلام أسقط من هذا ولا في البُهت والكذب الصراح أبلغ منه وإنما حمله على ذلك الهوى المعمّى البصائر بالنصّين المحكمين وهما «إن الرّشا يعمّي عيون البصراء» [Ex 23:8]، «إن الرّشا يعمّي أبصار الحكماء» [Deut. 16:19]، وإنّما يفعل ذلك بكونه يحمل على الهوى لا غير والمراد بالأعين والأبصار في المكانين البصائر وهي العقول.

Abū Saʿīd refers to the following passage in Abū l-Faraj Hārūn's *K. Talkhīṣ*:[77]

לא תעשון [אתי אלהי כסף ואלהי זהב לא תעשו לכם (Ex 20:23)] קאל דלך בעד קו׳ לא תעשה־לך פסל וכל־תמונה [אשר בשמים ממעל ואשר בארץ מתחת ואשר במים מתחת לארץ (Ex 20:4)] לזיאדה פאידה והי אלנהי ען פעל מעבוד אכר מעה וישרכאן פי אלעבאדה אד קו׳ אתי יפיד דלך פנהי ען אלשרך בה כמא פעל אלסאמרה אלמקול ענהם את יי׳ היו יראים ואת אלהיהם היו עובדים. וקיל: בל עני בה אלנהי ען עמל דלך פי קדסה מן חית קאל בעדה מזבח מזבח אדמה תעש׳ לי.

Beyond these literary contacts there is a long list of polemical exchanges between Qaraites and Samaritans which has its *locus classicus* in chapters on the *qibla* within the section on prayer in legal treatises and in prayer books.[78]

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sively based on MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hunt. 301 (Gen 1:2–50:5); other mss. include SP, RNL, Firk. Sam. III 5 (fragment) and III 14 (Gen 1:4–49:16). See also Shehadeh, "Ṣadaqa al-Ḥakīm"; idem, "Linguistic Components".

75) See already Wreschner, *Samaritanische Traditionen*, p. X, who writes that "die Karäer Abu'l' Farag' Harun und Abu'l' Farag' ibn Asad vom Scholiasten des Abu Said ausdrücklich genannt [werden]"; see also Geiger, "Die gesetzlichen Differenzen," p. 569.

76) Ed. Kuenen, p. 213, n. 1.

77) MS St. Petersburg, RNL, Yevr.-Arab. I:4785, f. 240^{r}, ll. 13–19; on *K. al-Talkhīṣ* see Goldstein, *Karaite Exegesis in Medieval Jerusalem*.

78) See, for instance, *al-Bāb fī l-qibla*, the fifth section in the chapter on prayer (*al-Kalām fī l-ṣalāh*) in Levi ben Yefet's *Sefer Miṣvot*, mss. St. Petersburg, RNL, Yevr.-Arab. I 928, f. 144^{r} // I 930, f. 23^{r}; Yefet

It is, moreover, noteworthy that some features, which at times have been claimed to be defining characteristics of Qaraite literature, are equally found in Samaritan literature: 1) Just as the Qaraites were used to writing both Hebrew and Arabic in either Arabic or Hebrew script, the Samaritans too were used to writing both Hebrew and Arabic in either Arabic or Samaritan script; 2) like the Qaraites, the Samaritans perceived Moses as the divinely inspired *mudawwin* of the Torah.[79]

The OATSP/ASRT and Qaraite Translations

What exactly do we compare when we compare the OATSP and ASRT with Qaraite translations? Given the gap of about two centuries (or more) separating the earliest Arabic translations of the Samaritan Pentateuch from the earliest known manuscripts of the OATSP which date to the early 13th century we have to allow for the possibility of a prolonged and/or repeated contact between the OATSP and Qaraite translations. The Qaraite and the Samaritan translations were living translations and therefore subject to alterations and modifications for which the influence of other translation traditions was but one among many other factors. In other words: identifying vestiges of Qaraite translations in the OATSP based on early 13th century manuscripts will not in and by itself be indicative of Qaraite influences on the OATSP *in statu nascendi*. To bridge this gap we may refer to early Samaritan lexicographical works or Arabic translations of biblical verses found in 11th and 12th century Samaritan literature, but only if we assume that this material has not been tampered with. In the absence of critical editions this can hardly be ascertained.

A sample comparison of this early Samaritan material and the OATSP with a number of so-called 'pre-Sa'adian' biblical glossaries and fragments of early anonymous translations of the Pentateuch does reveal occasional congruities, but they seem to be accidental and are insufficient to leap to premature conclusions about *historical* points of contact.[80] The congruities in vocabulary are far

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Ibn Ṣaghīr, *K. al-Farā'iḍ, al-Maqāla al-sābi'a fī wujūb al-ṣalāh wa-shurūṭihā, al-faṣl al-tāsi' fī makān al-qibla*, RNL, Yevr.-Arab. I 901, f. 14^{r}; Isaiah ben 'Uzziah ha-Kohen, *Siddur*, MS Paris, BNF, heb. 582, f. 20^{r} (*al-Kalām fī l-qibla wa-kawnihā ilā jiha makhṣūṣa wa-l-qaṣd bihā*); Eliyahu ben Aharon Ibn 'Abd al-Walī, *K. Uṣūl al-dīn*, RNL, Yevr.-Arab. I 611, f. 6^{v} // I 1063, f. 1^{v} and see I 934, f. 3^{r}.

79) See e.g. Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ṣūrī, *al-Khuṭba al-jāmi'a*, i.e. his commentary on Deut. 32 (*Ha'azinu*), ed. A.S. Halkin, in *Leshonenu* 32 (1968), p. 210; *K. al-Ṭabākh*, MS London, British Library, Or. 12,257, p. 119, ll. 6–7. On the concept of the *mudawwin* see Ben-Shammai, *Mudawwin*; Goldstein, *Karaite Exegesis in Medieval Jerusalem*, pp. 119–138; Zawanowska, *Arabic Translation and Commentary*, pp. 140–153.

80) I compared the OATSP with the translation of Gen 35:26–40:14 as published in Tobi, "On the Antiquity", Gen 2:15–3:17 and Deut 30:18–31:16 in idem, "Pre-Sa'adianic Translation" and Gen

outweighed by incongruities which would rather point to the existence of two largely independent translation traditions. In light of the problematic nature of this early fragmentary material and given the limited scope of this article the focus will be laid on traces of the major Qaraite translations by Sahl b. Maṣliaḥ,[81] David ben Boʿaz, Yefet ben ʿEli, Yeshuʿah ben Yehudah and Abū l-Faḍl Sahl b. al-Faḍl al-Tustarī[82] and the major biblical lexica by David ben Abraham al-Fāsī and Abū l-Faraj Hārūn in the earliest manuscripts of the OATSP.[83] After a comparison of longer manuscript fragments of each single Qaraite translation with the OATSP I further decided to narrow down my analysis to the translations of David ben Boʿaz, Yefet ben ʿEli and Yeshuʿah ben Yehudah.

To highlight some characteristic similarities and differences between the Samaritan and the Qaraite translation traditions I will present the Hebrew text of Gen 24:1–34 with Saʿadyah's *Tafsīr* and some selected Samaritan and Qaraite translations in a synoptic table. Column (1) gives the Masoretic text with the variant readings of the Samaritan Pentateuch in the apparatus; columns (2) and (3) reproduce Shehadeh's edition of OATSP and ASRT with occasional references to the lexicographical work *Ha-Meliṣ* (M) and text versions of the Samaritan Targum (ed. Tal); column (4) reproduces Zawanowska's edition of Yefet ben ʿEli's translation[84] with occasional references to al-Fāsī's *Jāmiʿ al-alfāẓ* (DAF); column (5) gives the translation of Yeshuʿah ben Yehudah based on MS London, British Library, Or. 2544, ff. 5^{r}–12^{v} with some variant readings in MS St. Petersburg, RNL, Yevr.-Arab. I 3204, ff. 101^{v}–103^{r}; column (6) reproduces Saʿadyah's *Tafsīr* of the Derenbourg edition (D)[85] with variant readings of mss. St. Petersburg RNL Yevr. II C:1 (SP), London, British Library, Or. 7562 (Sam = Samaritan adaptation), and London, British Library, Harley 5475, ff. 28^{r}–29^{v} (H = Coptic adaptation). Four underline styles highlight parallels and differences between the various translations: a) a double underline refers to parallels with

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49:25–Ex 1:19 (with gaps) in idem "Another Popular". See also the compilation of various glossaries in Kizel, "A Hebrew-Arabic Dictionary".

81) MSS St. Petersburg, Yevr.-Arab. I 1458, I 3181, I 4633, I 4760.

82) RNL, Yevr.-Arab. I 4634 and BL, Or. 2493.

83) We are still a long way from an exhaustive survey of all Qaraite translations. A considerable number of unidentified translations still needs to be dated and identified. A comparison of the Arabic translation glosses in the extant fragments of Daniel al-Qūmisī's commentary on the Pentateuch will require a separate study. It is, however, noteworthy that in MS St. Petersburg, RNL, Yevr.-Arab. I 4634, f. 287^{r} al-Qūmisī is said to have been influenced by Samaritans and Christians in his surroundings (*wa-hādhā l-madhhab fī ṭame' goy ibtadaʾahu al-Qūmisī fī balad* (!, *viz. bilād*) *al-Shām ʿind mujāwaratihi ʾl-Sāmira wa-l-Naṣāra, wa-kadhālika fī isqāṭ ruʾūs al-mazāmīr fī l-tʿhillah wa-taghyīr al-Kitāb bi-l-ziyāda wa-l-nuqṣān*).

84) Zawanowska, *Arabic Translation and Commentary*, pp. 243*–259*.

85) *Version arabe du Pentateuque*, pp. 84–86.

the Samaritan translations; b) a double wave underline refers to partial parallels with at least one of the Samaritan translations; c) a dash underline refers to specific parallels with Saʿadyah's *Tafsīr*; d) a thick underline refers to syntactical and lexical peculiarities of one translation or a translation tradition.

From a purely phenomenological perspective the OATSP/ASRT and the various Qaraite translations have many characteristics in common which have been studied in detail by Shehadeh and Polliack.[86] Suffice it here to mention the most salient syntactical and lexical features shared by both translation traditions in contrast to Saʿadyah's *Tafsīr*.[87] Both traditions may be characterised by what Polliack called the "converging tendencies", i.e. the attempt to mirror the syntactic structure of the translated Hebrew source text and to preserve as many of its lexical, semantic, formal and at times even phonemic features as possible. There are, however, considerable differences between the imitative tendencies displayed within the two translation traditions. In the extreme case the preservation of the form of the original would take precedence over the preservation of its meaning in the target language; the translator would emulate the complete form of the source language even at the expense of conveying its basic meaning. This type of strict imitative translation, which is representative of early Qaraite translations and the OATSP, is characterised by a Middle Arabic substandard with a high percentage of colloquial features (e.g. (*wa-*)*ham* in Gen 24:14, 25) which may be indicative of an oral translation background.[88] In both traditions we perceive a clear tendency to loosen the priority and strictness of imitation over time and to find a balance "between the need to produce an intelligible and grammatically sound translated text on the one hand, and the need to preserve as many formal elements of the source text on the other hand".[89] At no point, however, did Qaraite and Samaritan translations become as geared to the target language and its stylistic and rhetorical standards as Saʿadyah's *Tafsīr*.

The rendering of the Hebrew infinitive absolute and construct in Qaraite and Samaritan translations is one of the most distinctive trademarks setting these translations apart from Saʿadyah's *Tafsīr* and exemplifies their tendency to preserve and mirror one particular formal aspect of the Hebrew source text (e.g. Gen 24:5).[90] Another characteristic feature of both translation traditions is the

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86) Shehadeh, *Prolegomena*, pp. 177–251; Polliack, *Karaite Tradition*.

87) Shehadeh, *Prolegomena*, vol. 1, pp. 177–198 (OATSP) and 199–252 (ASRT); Polliack, *Karaite Tradition*, esp. pp. 102–241. For their comparison of the Samaritan respectively the Qaraite translations with Saʿadyah's *Tafsīr* Shehadeh and Polliack relied almost exclusively on the highly problematic Derenbourg edition.

88) Shehadeh, *Prolegomena*, vol. 1, p. 183 with further examples on pp. 178ff.; Blau, *Dictionary*, p. 735.

89) Polliack, *Karaite Tradition*, p. 249; Shehadeh, *Prolegomena*, p. 227 f.

90) Polliack, *Karaite Tradition*, pp. 121–126 and 252–254.

translation of the particle *nā* as *al-ān* ('now', 'immediately' < aram. (שבי/<)שוי; Gen 24:2, 12, 14, 17, 23).[91] A further good example for "converging tendencies" common to both translation traditions is the tendency to preserve the lexical pattern of the Hebrew source text and to repeat the same Arabic root when translating two source words with an identical root (e.g. Gen 24:33).[92]

Other convergent tendencies, however, are peculiar to only one of the two translation traditions. The consistent postposition of the demonstrative pronoun in OATSP and ASRT to mirror the word order of the Hebrew source text is one well-known example (e.g. in Gen 24:7, 9).[93] Also with regard to other syntactic peculiarities in the Hebrew source text the Samaritan translation tradition proved much more reluctant to relinquish slavishly imitative translations than the Qaraite tradition; it also shuns the use of alternate renderings which are a hallmark of pre-Sa'adianic and Qaraite translations alike. The OATSP, in particular, manifests a strong tendency to emulate co-ordinate asyndetic clauses of the Hebrew source text in the target language, prefering artificial imitative over functional translations (e.g. Gen 24:10, 20).[94] The attempt to use, whenever possible, an Arabic cognate to the Hebrew word of the source text, on the other hand, is far more apparent in Qaraite than in Samaritan translations where this feature is comparatively infrequent.[95]

Both the Qaraite and the Samaritan translations of the Pentateuch are grounded on a basis of largely independent traditions of bi- or trilingual glossography and lexicography (*sharḥ/tafsīr alfāẓ al-tawrāh/al-miqrā'*). At least part of this lexical tradition became virtually binding and authoritative; a basic stock of lexical cognates may even have enjoyed a quasi-canonical-status over several centuries and over time evolved into a distinctive trademark for an entire translation tradition.[96] The affinity of some early glossaries with al-Fāsī's *Jāmi' al-alfāẓ* and Qaraite translations of the 10th and 11th centuries suggests that the former should be considered precursors of the latter. However, only a detailed analysis of all known glossaries will allow us to assess more precisely the degree as well as the spatial and temporal scope of authority and canonicity for specific glosso- and lexicographic traditions and to establish a chronology and reliable

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91) Polliack, *Karaite Tradition*, pp. 120, 136; Shehadeh, *Prolegomena*, pp. 184f.; Tal, *A Dictionary of Samaritan Aramaic*, p. 881; Schulthess, *Lexicon Syropalaestinum*, p. 202b (> ܫܒܝ); Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Judean Aramaic*, p. 82.

92) Polliack, *Karaite Tradition*, pp. 173, 213.

93) Shehadeh, *Prolegomena*, p. 223.

94) See Polliack, *Karaite Tradition*, pp. 102–118 for similar features in Yefet ben 'Eli's translation.

95) Polliack, *Karaite Tradition*, pp. 170–173; Shehadeh, *Prolegomena*, pp. 183f., 228–230. In this regard there are, however, considerable differences between the manuscripts representing the OATSP.

96) While Sa'adyah, too, would avail himself of glossaries and translations of the 9th and early 10th centuries, he did not consider them authoritative.

criteria for a meaningful classification. The presence of an authoritative lexical tradition is also apparent in OATSP and ASRT. Their stock of a peculiar Samaritan lexicon largely overlaps with the Arabic column of *Ha-Meliṣ*, which is as a rule closely related to the underlying version of the Aramaic Targum, and lends credence to Halkin's view that "much, perhaps most of it, was probably genuine Samaritan tradition which antedated not only the Samaritan reviser, but possibly even the penetradition of Saadia's text [and the Qaraite translations] into Samaritan circles."[97] A few of these lexical peculiarities are also apparent in the translation of Gen 24:1–34:

	Samaritan translations	Qaraite translations
שם/שמה	هناك	ثم
אחרי/אחריך	تبعي/تبعك	وراي/وراك
לפני	بين يدي	قدامي
עם	قوم (M 548)	شعب (DAF II:403)
צמידים	أسورة[98] (M 577)	دمالج (DAF II:515)
הלך	سار (M 452)	مضى (DAF I:165)
שלח	ارسل	بعث
כלה	انتهى	فرغ
רץ	نهض	حاضر
עֹמֵד	قائم (M 548)	واقف (DAF II:404)

All the afore-mentioned affinities between the Samaritan and the Qaraite translations are *phenomenological* in nature and by themselves insufficient to make a compelling case for *historical* contacts and influences. Accordingly, Polliack has argued that "they are better understood in the light of the oral transmission background [...] and the common translation methods this background engenders".[99] However, the similarity of the contextual background in which these translations emerged does neither imply that they were isolated from each other and impervious to external influences nor is it an adequate explanation for the full range of parallel phenomena and common translation techniques. Beyond the above-mentioned instances of literary encounters between Samaritans and Qaraites there is textual evidence to strongly suggest that in addition to a comparable context of origin there were also recurrent instances of direct contact between the two translation traditions (within Gen 24:1–34

97) Halkin, "Relation," p. 283. However, these lexical traditions were not impermeable and there are several exceptions to this rule. Within Gen 24:1–34 one may point to the translation of נִצָּב in Gen 24:13: *Ha-Meliṣ* (p. 522) and MS Cambridge, CUL, Add. 714 render it, like the Qaraites, as *muntaṣib*, while all other mss. of the OATSP and ASRT have *qā'im*.

98) In his translation of Gen 24:22 Yefet ben 'Eli mentions both translation (*aswira wa-qīla damālij*).

99) Polliack, *Karaite Tradition*, p. 288.

see, for instance, Gen 24:10 (< YbE), 24:13 (< YbE&YbY), 24:18 (< YbE), 24:30 (< YbE) or Gen 24:1 in MS London, British Library, Or. 1450 (< YbE)).

Consider, for instance, the following translations of Gen 2:17:

ومن شجرة المعرفة الخير والشر لا تاكل منها حيث في يوم اكلك منها موتًا تموت

(OATSP, MS Shechem, Synagogue no. 6)

ومن شجرة المعرفة الخير والشر لا تاكل منها اذ في يوم اكلك منها عقوبة تعاقب

(OATSP, MS London, British Library, Add. 19,011)

ومن الشجرة المعرفة بالخير والشر لا تأكل منها ان في يوم اكلك منها عقوبة تعاقب (ASRT)

ومن شجرة المعرفة حسن وسمج لا تاكل منه فان في يوم اكلك منه تستوجب الموت (YbE)

من شجرة المعرفة بالجيد والردي لا تاكل فانك في يوم اكلك منها تعاقب عقوبة أو يحكم عليك بأن تموت موتًا (YbY)

ومن شجرة معرفة الخير والشر لا تاكل فانك في يوم تاكل منها تستحق الموت

(Saʿadyah, MS SP, RNL, Yevr. II C:1)

The assumption that the peculiar rendering of מות תמות in MS London, British Library, Add. 19,011 (= MS ז in Shehadeh's edition of the OATSP) and Abū Saʿīd's revised translation (ASRT) is dependent on Yeshuʿah ben Yehudah's translation is corroborated by the generally frequent agreement of these two Samaritan translations with Yeshuʿah against all or most other manuscripts representing the OATSP.[100] These agreements are typically confined to individual words and phrases and small interpretative units rather than to entire verses or sentences and their syntactic structure.

Parallel identifications of names and localities in Qaraite and Samaritan translations as against Saʿadyah may serve as another example, as for instance in Gen 11:2:[101]

وكان عند رحيلهم من الشرق وجدو بقعه في ارض العراق وسكنو هناك (OATSP)

وكان عند رحيلهم من الشرق وجدوا بقعة بـارض العراق وسكنوا هناك (ASRT)

وكان عند رحيلهم من الشرق وجدو بقعه في ارض العراق فجلسو ثم (YbE)

100) Another example in the same chapter would be Gen 2:25 where the manuscripts of the OATSP translate ולא יתבששו as ولم يستحيا, or ولم يخزيان, whereas MS BL, Add. 19,011 and the ASRT translate with the Qaraite translations ولم يحتشيا.

101) See also Gen 14:1 and further parallels. In these cases one should, however, take into account the possibility of common sources, including earlier Jewish and Christian translations and glossaries.

وكان عند رحيلهم من الشرق او بعد رحيلهم من الشرق ان وجدو بقعه في ارض العراق ويقال ارض الشينور فاقامو ثم (YbY)

ولما رحلو من المشرق وجدو بقيعا في بلد الشينور فاقامو ثم (Sa'adyah)

Generally, however, the manuscripts representing the OATSP and the ASRT are best characterised as versions of a translation that consists of a carefully selected combination of Qaraite and Sa'adian components added onto a firm and distinctly Samaritan foundation, as in the following example (Gen 26: 1–3):

وكان (/ثم حدث ג) نفاق (/جوع ב-ט) في الارض سوى النفاق (/الجوع ב-ט) الاول الدي كان في ايام ابرهيم وسار (/فمضى בגהז) اسحق الى ابومالك ملك فلسطين الى الخلوص. وتجلى له الله (ملك الله ג) وقال له لا تنحدر الى مصر اسكن في الارض التي اقول لك. استجر (/جاور בגז) في الارض هده واكون معك وابارڪك ان لك ولنسلك اعطي كل الارضين هده واثبت القسامه التي اقسمت لابرهيم ابيك. (OATSP)

وكان جوع في الارض سوى الجوع الاول الذي كان في ايام ابرهيم فسار (/فمضى KJHC) اسحق الى ابي مالك ملك فلسطين الى الخلوص. فتجلى ملاك الله وقال لا تنحدر الى مصر اسكن في الارض التي اقول لك. استجر في الارض هذه واكون معك وابارڪك ان لك ولنسلك اعطي كل الاراضي (/الارضين J) هذه واثبت القسامة التي اقسمت لابرهيم ابيك. (ASRT)

وكان جوع في الارض غير الجوع الاول الذي كان في زمان ابرهم فمضى اصحق الى ابيملك ملك فلشطيم الى خلوص. وتجلى اليه رب العالمين وقال لا تنحدر الى مصر اسكن في الارض الدي اقول لك. جاور في هذه الارض حتى اكون في معونتك وابارڪك فان لك ولذريتك اعطي جملة هذه الاراضي واثبت القسامة الذي قسمت لابرهم ابيك. (YbE)

وحدث جوع في الارض سوى الجوع الاول الذي كان في ايام ابرهيم فمضى اسحق الى ابيملك ملك فلشطيم الى الخلوص. فترايا له ملك الله وقال له لا تنحدر الى مصر بل اسكن في الارض التي اقول لك. جاور في هذه الارض فاني اكون معك وابارڪك لان لك ولنسلك اعطي جميع هذه الارضين واثبت معك القسم الذي اقسمت لابرهيم ابيك. (YbY)

ثم كان جوع في البلد سوى الجوع الاول الذي كان على عهد ابرهيم ومضى اسحق الى ابيملك ملك فلسطين الى الخلوص. فتجلى له الله فقال لا تنزل الى مصر اقم في البلد الذي اقول لك. وبالعاجل اسكن هذا البلد واكون معك وابارك عليك فاني لك ولنسلك اعطي هذه البلدان وافي بالقسم الذي اقسمت لابرهيم ابيك. (Sa'adyah)

Some Tentative Conclusions

Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ṣūrī, (one of) the alleged author(s) of the OATSP, and Abū Saʿīd b. Abī l-Ḥusayn b. Abī Saʿīd who prepared a revised version of the Old Samaritan translation (ASRT) were both acquainted with one or several Qaraite translations of the Pentateuch.

Vestiges of Qaraite translations are discernible to varying degrees in manuscripts representing the OATSP and to a greater extent in the ASRT. They concern first and foremost words, short phrases and small interpretative units and much less frequently entire sentences and verses and their syntactic structure. Among the manuscripts of the OATSP there are distinct nuances inasmuch as some of them show closer affinities with Qaraite translations than others. On the evidence of random samples it appears that textual overlaps with the translations of Yefet ben ʿEli and Yeshuʿah ben Yehudah are more frequent than with other Qaraite translations.

Since the earliest manuscripts of the OATSP date to the early 13th century, it will remain a daunting task to establish a definite chronology of these Qaraite influences. By all appearances we have to proceed on the assumption that there was a repeated contact between Samaritan and Qaraite translations from the early 11th century onwards.

Several key features shared by Samaritan and Qaraite translations contrast with features of Saʿadyah's *Tafsīr*. It stands to reason that some of these contrasting features were carefully cultivated, *because* they stood out against Saʿadyah's translation. The translator(s) and adapters of the OATSP/ASRT and the 10th and 11th century Qaraite translators shared a critically prudent and discreet use of Saʿadyah's *Tafsīr* and its distinct vocabulary. Future research will have to determine to what extent vestiges of Saʿadyah's *Tafsīr* in Samaritan translations may have been mediated by Qaraite translations.

Future research will also have to examine the possibility of a Qaraite acquaintance with early Samaritan translations. The Qaraite scholar Yeshuʿah ben Yehudah was in all likelihood familiar with an early version of the OATSP. Some alternate renderings embedded in his translation of the Pentateuch and peculiar renderings which differ from all other Qaraite translations as well as Saʿadyah, but concur with Samaritan translations, are presumably taken from an early Samaritan translation. Yeshuʿah's familiarity with Samaritan law lends further support to this assumption.

Appendix (Fragments of Vellum Codices of the ATSP in the Firk. Sam. Collection)

According to Jamgotchian, *Recently Discovered*, pp. 60–65, 85–111, some vellum fragments in the Firk. Sam. collection (section IIa) of the Russian National Library can be allocated to trilingual and bilingual vellum codices in other manuscript collections:[102]

- Shechem, Synagogue, no. 6, dated 1204: Firk. Sam. IIa 178.1 (1 fol., Gen. 1:24–2:17).[103]
- London, British Library, Or. 7562: Firk. Sam. IIa 179 (1 fol., Gen. 9:22–10:24^{a}), Firk. Sam. IIa 178.2 (1 fol., Deut. 28:11^{a}–42), IIa 178.3 (1 fol., Deut. 29:1^{b}–30:1^{a}), Manchester, John Rylands Library, Sam. 73 = Gaster 2106/3 (Deut. 28:45–29:1).[104]
- London, British Library, Or. 5036, f. 24 (Gen. 1:15–2:3): This Genizah fragment apparently belonged to the same trilingual vellum codex as Firk. Sam. IIa 177 (1 fol., Gen. 1:1–10) and Firk. Sam. IIa 178.4 (2 fols., Deut. 32:38–34:12). On this MS see also Tal, *Samaritan Targum*, vol. 3, p. 50.
- Shechem, Synagogue, no. 4 (dated before 1485): Firk. Sam. IIa 197 (1 fol., Gen. 1:5–11) presumably belonged to the same codex.
- Cambridge, University Library, Add. 714, dated 1219/20 (OATSP, MS ג): Firk. Sam. IIa 193 (4 fols., Deut. 30:12–32:43), were the last folios of this codex, as already mentioned by P. Kahle in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete* 16 (1901), p. 83.
- Shechem, Synagogue no. 8 (OATSP, MS ו): Fragments Firk. Sam. IIa 198 (1 fol., Gen. 5:7–24), IIa 199.1 (2 fols., Gen. 12:19–14:14), IIa 199.2 (3 fols., Gen. 18:14–19:29), IIa 200.1 (6 fols., Deut. 28:57–31:12), IIa 200.2 (1 fol., Deut. 31:21–32:2), IIa 201 (1 fol., Deut. 32:2–20) and IIa 196 (1 fol., Deut. 32:42–33:5) presumably belonged to the same bilingual vellum codex and fill some of its *lacunae* (Gen. 1:1–7:2; Gen. 12:19–14:14, 18:14–19:29; Deut. 14:19–16:12, 28:44–34:12).
- London, British Library, Add. 19,011 (OATSP, MS ז): Firk. Sam. IIa 190 (1 fol., Num. 35:15–36:4) exactly fills a *lacuna* of this codex.
- Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Or. fol. 534 (ASRT, MS K): To this codex belonged Firk. Sam. IIa 191.1 (12 fols., Gen. 1:4–11:4).

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102) See also Crown, "Studies" [repr. in idem, *Samaritan Scribes*, pp. 384–466].

103) See Jamgotchian, *Recently Discovered*, p. 174, fig. 1.

104) See Tal, *The Samaritan Targum*, vol. 3, p. 21.

– Cambridge, Westminster College R. 15.1, (Gen. 6:21–Deut. 31:4), dated 1504: the handwriting of this codex is identical with Firk. Sam IIa 187 (Gen 1:1–10), IIa 186.1 (Gen 1:10–6:21) and IIa 186.2 (Deut 31:21–34:8).

Fragments of vellum codices which have not yet been allocated to their original codex:

– Firk. Sam. IIa 185 and Firk. Sam. IIa 189.1–3 (Gen 9:19–10:19, 12:18–14:20; Deut. 23:7–27:10) are in the same handwriting and presumably belonged to the same bilingual vellum codex (ca. early 13th century).
– Firk. Sam. IIa 191.2 (1 fol., Deut. 25:9–26:4), IIa 191.3 (1 fol., Deut. 27:12–28:8), IIa 192 (1 fol., Deut. 29:22–30:10): As indicated by Bloch, *Die samaritanisch-arabische Pentateuchübersetzung*, pp. 29, 36; fols. 1–10 of MS London, British Library, Add. 17,553 (Gen. 1:29–10:3) also belongs to this codex or to ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Or. 4° 534.
– Firk. Sam. IIa 188 (1 fol., Gen. 5:1–6:29), IIa 194 (2 fols., Ex. 14:5–15:16).
– Firk. Sam. IIa 195 (Num. 34:27–35:14; Deut. 3:18–4:12, 4:32–8:1, 8:16–9:8, 11:11–25, 12:20–13:3; 15:2–16:8, 17:14–19:2, 22:14–28, 23:17–24:22).

For fragments of paper codices in the Firk. Sam. collection (sections IIb/III) containing the Arabic translation of the Samaritan Pentateuch see Jamgotchian, ibid., pp. 65–84.

Gen 24:1–34	OATSP	ASRT	Yefet ben ʿEli	Yeshuʿah ben Yehudah	Saʿadyah Gaon
1 ואברהם זקן בא בימים ויהוה ברך את אברהם בכל:	1 וابرهيم شيخ طاعن فى السن والله بارك ابرهيم فى الكل	1 وابرهيم شيخ طاعن في السن والله بارك ابرهيم في الكل	1 وابـرهم شـيخ داخـل في الايام ورب العالمين بارك على ابرهم في جميع الأشياء	1 لما صار ابرهيم شيخا طاعنا في السن وكان الله قد بارك ابرهيم في كل شيء	1 ولما شاخ ابرهيم وطعن في السن وباركه الله في كل شي
2 ויאמר אברהם אל עבדו זקן ביתו המשל בכל אשר לו שים נא ידך תחת ירכי:	2 وقـال ابـرهيم لعبـده شـيخ بيته المستولي على كل ماله اجعل الان يدك تحت وركي	2 وقال ابرهيم لعبده شيخ بيته المستولي على كل ما له اجعل الان يدك تحت وركي	2 فقال ابرهم لعبده شيخ منزله السلطان في جميع ما يملكه اجعل الان يدك تحت وركي	2 قال ابرهيم لعبده شيخ منزله المتسلط على جميع ماله اجعل الان يدك تحت وركي	2 قال ابرهيم لعبده شيخ منزله المسلّط على جميع ما له اوم بيدك الى عهدي
3 ואשביעך ביהוה אלהי השמים ואלהי הארץ אשר לא תקח אשה לבני מבנות הכנעני אשר אנכי יושב בקרבו:	3 واسـتحلفك بالله اله السـما واله الارض حتى لا تاخد امراه لابني من بنات الكنعاني الذي انا ساكن في جملته	3 لاحلفك بالله خالق السماوات وخالق الارض ان لا تاخد امرأه لابني من بنات الكنعاني الذي انا ساكن في جملته	3 حتى استحلفك برب العالمين اله السما واله الارض الذي لا تزوج ابني من بنات الكنعني الذي انا ساكن في وسطه	3 حتى احلفك بالله اله السما واله الارض ان لا تاخد امراه لابني من بنات الكنعني الذي انا مقيم في وسطه	3 واحلفـك بالله رب السـماوات و[-]الارض الا تاخذ زوجة لابني من بنات الكنعانيين الذين انا مقيم فيما بينهم
4 כי אל ארצי ואל מולדתי תלך ולקחת אשה לבני ליצחק:	4 بـل الى ارضي والى مـولدي تمضي وتاخد امراه لابني اسحق	4 بـل الى ارضي والى مـولدي تسـير وتاخد امرأه لابني اسحق	4 بـل تسـير الى ارضي والى عشـيرتي وتاخذ زوجة لابني ليصحق	4 بـل الى ارضي والى مـولدي تمضي وتاخد من ثم امراه لابني اسحق	4 الا الى بلدي ومولدي تمضي وتاخذ زوجة لابني اسحق
5 ויאמר אליו העבד אולי לא תאבה האשה ללכת אחרי אל הארץ הזאת ההשב אשיב את בנך אל הארץ אשר יצאת משם:	5 وقـال له العبـد يجـوز ان لا تهـوى الامراه للمسير تبعي الى الارض هـده هل اعاده اعيد ابنك الى الارض التي خرجت من هناك	5 فقـال له العبـد لعـل لا تهـوى المـرأة للمسير تبعي الى الارض هذه هل اعادة اعيد ابنك الى الارض التي خرجت من هناك	5 فقـال له العبـد لعـل لا تشـا الامـراة للمسير وراي [-] هـل ارداد ارد ابنـك الى الارض التي خرجت من ثم	5 فقال له العبد فلعل ان لا تشآء الامراه المسير ورآي الى هـده الارض هـل ردًّا ارد ابنك الى الارض التي خرجت من ثم	5 فقـال له العبـد لعـل لا تشـا المـراة ان تتبعني الى هذا البلد هل اردّ ابنك الى البلد الذي خرجت منه

SamHeb **3** יושב] ישב **4** כי] כי אם

OATSP **1** طاعن…السن] داخل في الايام י (= YbE) | والله…الكل] ויהוה ברך יח אברהם בכלה | الكل] 486 M **2** شيخ] كبير י | شيخ بيته] חכים ביתה | المستولي] דשליט، תמשל = تظفر تتولى 512 M | ماله] ما له בהוז، الذي له י، **בכל דלה** **3** واستحلفك] لاستحلفك בהוז، لاحلفك וט، واقسم عليك י، **ואשבענך** | السما] السماوات **הוחטי** | حتى] ان **בגהזחי** | حتى لا] الا וט | امراه] زوجه י | الكنعاني] الكنعني ה | ساكن] مقيم ג **4** بل] الا **חז** | الى…تمضي] تمضي الى بلدي ومولدي ג | تمضي] تسير **חי** | وتاخد] وتاخد منه ג، ولتاخد י | اسحق] لاسحق גהוט، لاسحاق י **5** يجوز ان] **نعسي בגהוט**، لعل **חי** | تهوى] **תתרחי** | الامراه] المراه ח | للمسير] 498 M | الارض هذه] هذه الارض ז | هل] -- **בגהח** | هل اعاده] لاعاده ד، اعودا י | من هناك] منها ג، **מתמן**

ASRT **2** ما له] ماله G F **3** لاحلفك] لاستحلفك KJHC | خالق] اله G-L, EDC | والارض] والارض GC **4** بل] بل - C، الا JH | تسير] **تمضي** KJHC | اسحق] لاسحق JH **5** لعل] فعسى KJHC | تهوى] **تتحرحي** | المراة] الامراة IGEA | تبعي] معي H | الارض[1]] ارض L | هل] KJG - | اعادة اعيد] **عاور اعوز** | خرجت] اخرجت G

YbE **1** ورب العالمين] 97:I DAF **2** السلطان] المتسلط، 236:II DAF **3** استحلفك] احلفك פ[2] | ساكن] جالس ל[1]

YbY **5** ان لا تشآء الامراه] الامراه لا تشا

Saadia **1** ولما] لما D | وباركه] بارك Sam | وبارك الله] وبارك الله لابرهيم H **2** قال] فقال Sam | ابرهيم] SP - المسلّط] المتسلّط H | ما له] ماله SP، Sam | اوم] **احعل الان** H، اوم الان D | الى عهدي] **تحت وركي** H **3** واحلفك] واحلف لي Sam | و-الارض] **والأرضين** Sam | الا] ان لا H | الكنعانيين] الكنعانيه Sam | الذين] الذي Sam | مقيم] **ساكن** Sam **4** الا] **بل تمضي** H | ومولدي] مولدي D | اسحق] لاسحق H **5** لا…المراة] المراه لا تشآء H | تشا] **تهوي** Sam | المراة] الامراه D | هذا البلد] **هذه الارض** H | ارد] اردد Sam | البلد[2]] الارض H | الذي] التي H | منه] منها H

Gen 24:1–34	OATSP	ASRT	Yefet ben ʿEli	Yeshuʿah ben Yehudah	Saʿadyah Gaon
6 ויאמר אליו אברהם השמר לך פן תשיב את בני שמה:	6 فقال له ابرهيم احدر كيلا تعيد ابني الى هناك	6 فقال له ابرهيم احذر ان تعيد ابني الى هناك	6 فقال له ابرهم احترز لك من ان ترد ابني الى ثم	6 فقال له ابرهيم احترز من ان ترد ابني الى ثم	6 قال له ابرهيم احذر ان ترد ابني الى ثم
7 יהוה אלהי השמים אשר לקחני מבית אבי ומארץ מולדתי ואשר דבר לי ואשר נשבע לי לאמר לזרעך אתן את הארץ הזאת הוא ישלח מלאכו לפניך ולקחת אשה לבני משם:	7 الله اله السما الدي اتخدني من بيت ابي ومن ارض مولدي والذي خاطبني والدي اقسم لي قولا لنسلك اعطي الارض هده هو يرسل ملاكه بين يديك وتاخد امراه لابني من هناك	7 الله خالق السماوات الذي اخذني من بيت ابي ومن ارض مولدي والذي خاطبني والدي اقسم لي قولا لنسلك اعطي الارض هذه هو يرسل ملاكه بين يديك وتاخذ امرأة لابني من هناك	7 رب العالمين اله السما الذي اخذني من بيت ابي ومن ارض عشيري والذي وعدني والذي قسم لي قولا لذريتك اعطي هذه الارض هو يبعث رسوله قدامك حتى تاخذ زوجة لابني من ثم	7 فاني ارجو من الله اله السما الدي اخدني من بيت ابي ومن ارض مولدي والدي وعدني والدي حلف لي قولًا لنسلك اعطي هده الارض انه هو ينفد ملكه قدامك فتاخد امراه لابني من ثم	7 الله رب السما الذي اخرجني من بيت ابي ومن ارض مولدي والذي قال لي واقسم لي قائلًا لنسلك اعطي هذا البلد هو يبعث بملاكه بين يديك فتاخذ زوجة لابني من ثم
8 ואם לא תאבה האשה ללכת אחריך ונקית משבעתי זאת רק את בני לא תשב שמה:	8 وان لم تهوى الامراه للمسير تبعك فتبروا من قسامتي هده بل ابني لا تعيد الى هناك	8 وان لم تهو المرأة المسير تبعك فتبرأ من قسامتي هذه بل ابني لا تُعد الى هناك	8 وان لم تشا الامراة للمسير وراك فانت تبرو من قسامتي هذه خاص ابني لا ترد الى ثم	8 فان لم تشأ الامراه المسير ورآاك حينئد تبرا من يميني هده الا فيما احلفتك عليه خصوصًا على كل وجهٍ بان لا تردّ ابني الى ثمّ	8 وان لم تش المراة ان تتبعك فانت بريّ من يميني هذه عدا ابني لا ترده الى ثم
9 וישם העבד את ידו תחת ירך אברהם אדניו וישבע לו על הדבר הזה:	9 وجعل العبد يده تحت ورك ابرهيم مولاه واقسم له على الامر هدا	9 وجعل العبد يده تحت ورك ابرهيم مولاه واقسم له على الامر هذا	9 حينيذ جعل العبد يده تحت ورك ابرهيم مولاه وحلف له على هذا السبب	9 فجعل العبد يده تحت ورك ابرهيم مولاه وحلف له على هدا الشيء او على هدا الشرط	9 فاومى العبد بيده الى عهد ابرهيم مولاه وحلف له على هذا الامر

SamHeb **8** משבעתי] משבועתי | תשב] תשיב

OATSP **6** ابرهيم] ابرهم א، ابراهيم י | احدر] احدر لك בי | كيلا] ان ב-י **7** السما] السماوات חי | اتخدني] اخدني הוזט | والذي خاطبني] ודמלל לי | خاطبني] وعدني הוזט، דבר = خاطب 445 M | الارض هده] هده الارض ז | يرسل...يديك] ישלח שליחה לקדמיך، ישגר מלאכה לקמיך | ملاكه] ملكه בגהוזט | وتاخد] لتاخد בהוזט **8** تهوى] תתרחי | الامراه] المراه ח، الزوجة י | للمسير] للسلوك ח | فتبروا] بريت הוזט | قسامتي] حرجتي ח **9** واقسم] ואשתבע، ואמין | واقسم له] واستحلفه ח | الامر هدا] هدا الامر ז

ASRT **6** احذر] احذر لك KJ | تعيد] תעזר **7** خالق] اله EDC، G-L | اخذني] اتخذني LIGED | والذي خاطبني] ודמלל לי | خاطبني] وعدني KJHC | ملاكه] ملكه KGEDC **8** المرأة] الامراه KIHGEDC | فتبرأ] تبريت KJHC **9** واقسم له] وحلّفه G

YbE **7** وعدني] اوعدني פ² | قسم] اقسم ל¹ | لذريتك] لنسلك ל¹ **8** تبرو] تبرا ל¹، تبري פ²، ר¹ | خاص] 626:II DAF **9** السبب] الامر ל¹

Saadia **6** ثم] هناك Sam **7** السما] السموات H، السماوات والارضين Sam | الذي] - Sam | اخرجني] اخذني SP، Sam | ارض] بلد Sam | والذي] الذي D | قال...لي²] اقسم لي Sam | لي¹] - H | هذا البلد] هذه الارض H | بملاكه] بملكه SP | بين يديك] معك Sam فتاخذ] وتاخد Sam | زوجة] /امراه/ Sam | ثم] هناك Sam **8** لم تش] لا تشا H، لم توافق D | تش] تهوا Sam | المراة] الامراه D | ان تتبعك] المجي خلفك D | فانت...هذه] فتبرو من ذلك اليمين D | بريّ] بريا Sam | هذه] هدا Sam | عدا...ثم] عدا انك لا ترجع ابني ثم D، بل لا ترد ابني الى ثم H | ثم] هناك Sam **9** فاومى] فجعل H | بيده] يده H | الى عهد] تحت ورك H | هذا الامر] هذه الامور H

Gen 24:1–34	OATSP	ASRT	Yefet ben ʿEli	Yeshuʿah ben Yehudah	Saʿadyah Gaon
10 ויקח העבד עשרה גמלים מגמלי אדניו וילך וכל טוב אדניו בידו ויקם וילך אל ארם נהרים אל עיר נחור:	10 واخد العبد عشره جمال من جمال مولاه وسار وكل خير مولاه بيده وقام وسار الى ارم نهريم الى مدينه نحور	10 واخذ العبد عشرة اجمال من جمال مولاه وسار وكل خير مولاه بيده وقام وسار الى ارم النهريم الى مدينة ناحور	10 واخذ العبد العشر جمال من جمال مولاه وسار وكل خير مولاه بيده وقام ومضى الى ارم نهريم الى مدينة نحور	10 ثم اخد العبد عشره اجمال من جمال سيده وسار مع كل خير جعله مولاه بيده او مع ما راى اخده من خير مولاه في جملته وقام ومضى الى ارام ناهرايم الى مدينه ناحور	10 ثم اخذ العبد عشرة جمال من جمال مولاه ومضى وكل خير مولاه معه وقام ومضى الى ارم نهريم الى قرية نحور
11 ויברך הגמלים מחוץ לעיר אל באר המים לעת ערב לעת צאת השאבת:	11 وابرك الجمال خارج المدينه على بير الما في وقت العشا وقت خروج المستقيات	11 وأبرك الجمال خارج المدينة على بئر الماء في وقت الغروب وقت خروج المستقيات	11 وابرك الجمال خارج المدينة على بير الما في وقت المسا وقت خروج المستقيات	11 وعند وصوله أبرك الجمال في ظاهر المدينة على بير المآ في وقت المسآء في وقت خروج المستقيات	11 فاناخ الجمال خارج القرية على بير ما وقت عشا وقت خروج النسا يستقين
12 ויאמר יהוה אלהי אדני אברהם הקרה נא לפני היום ועשה חסד עם אדני אברהם:	12 فقال يالله اله مولاي ابرهيم وفق الان بين يدي اليوم واصنع احسانا مع مولاي ابرهيم	12 وقال اللَّهمَّ يا اله مولاي ابرهيم وفّق الآن بين يدي اليوم واصنع احسانا مع مولاي ابرهيم	12 وقال يا ربّ العالمين يا اله مولاي ابرهم وفق الان قدامي اليوم واعمل فضل مع مولاي ابرهم	12 ثم قال يا ربّ يا اله سيدي ابرهيم وفق الان قدامي اليوم الامراه التي تراها لابنه وافعل بداك احسانا وتفضلًا مع مولاي ابرهيم	12 فقال اللهم يا اله مولاي ابرهيم وفّق بين يدي اليوم واحسن بذلك الى مولاي ابرهيم
13 הנה אנכי נצב על עין המים ובנות אנשי העיר יצאת לשאב מים:	13 هانا قايم على عين الما وبنات اهل المدينه خارجات لاستقى الما	13 هوذا انا قائم على عين الماء وبنات رجال المدينة خارجات لاستقاء الماء	13 هوذا انا منتصب على عين الما وبنات اهل المدينة خارجات لاستقا الما	13 ها انا منتصب على عين المآء وبنات اهل المدينة خارجات لاستقا مآءٍ	13 هانا واقف على عين الما وبنات اهل القرية يخرجن ليستقين مما
14 והיה הנער אשר אמר אליה הטי נא כדך ואשתה ואמרה שתה	14 فتكون الفتاة التي اقول لها ميلي جرتك واشرب فتقول اشرب وهم	14 فتكون الفتاة التي اقول لها ميّلي الان جرتك لأشرب فتقول اشرب وايضا	14 فتكون الجارية التي اقول لها ميلي الان جرتك حتى اشرب فتقول اشرب	14 فاريد ان تكون الجاريه التي اقول لها مَيّلي الان جرتك حتى اشرب فتقول	14 فاية الجارية اقول لها ميّلي قلتك حتى اشرب فتقول اشرب وايضا جمالك اسقي

SamHeb **11** אל] על **12** הקרה] הקרא **13** יצאת] יצאות **14** הנער] הנערה | כדך] כדיך

OATSP **10** جمال[1]] اجمال בוט | وكل] ومن كل הוזט | خير] خير من عند ג، احسان י | وسار[2]] ومضى בהוזט، ואזל، 498 M | نهريم] النهرين ב، ה-י | نحور] ناحور בהוטי **11** وابرك] وبرك ח | بير] عين ה | العشا] الغروب בגחי، غروب 541 M، غراب 546 M **12** يالله] اللهم ב-י | اله] يا اله בחי، الله اله ג، ياله וט | مولاي[1]] - ג | وفق] احضر הוזט | واصنع] صنع، اصنع 541 M | واصنع احسانا] ועבד חסד، חסד = احسان 464 M **13** هانا] هودا انا הזחי | قايم] منتصب ג، מתקומם، קעם | اهل] رجال הזחי | لاستقى] للاستقا ג، لاستقا י | الما[2]] ما בגהוזט **14** الفتاة] الجارية וט، רביתה، الفتاة 522 M | ميلي] ميلي الان ב-ז، י، اعطيني الان ח | جرتك] قلتك 489 M | واشرب] لاشرب ב، ה-י، حتى اشرب ג | وهم] وايضا חי

ASRT **10** اجمال] جمال KJHDC | وسار[2]] ومضى KJHC **11** الغروب] العشا JHC **12** اله] - H **13** هوذا] - L | عين] بئر G | الماء[1]] ما KJHC **14** وايضا] وهم KJHDC

YbE **10** العشر] عشرة ל[1] י ר[1] | بيده] في يده ל[1] **11** وابرك] وبرك ל[1] **12** واعمل] وافعل | مولاي[2]] سيدي ל[1] **13** منتصب] 496:II DAF | خارجات] خارجة פ[2] | الما[2]] ما ל[1]

YbY **11** في[2]] عند

Saadia **10** العبد] - SP | عشرة] عشر Sam | جمال[1]] اجمال H | معه] بيده H | ومضى[2]] فمضى SP | ارم] ارام H | ارم نهريم] نهر الانهار | قرية نحور] مدينة ناحور H، قرية ناحور Sam **11** القرية] المدينة H | ما] ماء H، الما D | عشا] عشاء H، العشا D | خروج النسا] خروجهم Sam | النسا يستقين] المستقيات H | يستقين] ليستقين **12** يا اله] ياله SP | اله] رب Sam | واحسن...الى] واصنع احسانا مع H | بذلك] بداك Sam **13** هانا] هوذا انا H، ها انا SP، Sam | ليستقين] لتستقين | مما] ماءً H، الما SP، Sam **14** فاية] فايت Sam | فاية الجارية] فاية جارية D، فتكون الجارية التي H | الجارية] الجارية التي Sam | ميّلي] ميلي الان D، املي Sam | قلتك] جرّتك H D | فتقول] فتقول لي Sam | وايضا] وهم Sam | وايضا...اسقي] واسقى ايضا جمالك H، وايضا اسق جمالك SP

Gen 24:1–34	OATSP	ASRT	Yefet ben ʿEli	Yeshuʿah ben Yehudah	Saʿadyah Gaon
וגם גמליך אשקה אתה הכחת לעבדך ליצחק ובה אדע כי עשית חסד עם אדני:	جالك استقي اياها وفقت لعبدك اسحق وبها اعلم ان صنعت احسانا مع مولاي ابرهيم	جالك استقي ايّاها وفّقت لعبدك لاسحق وبها اعلم ان صنعت احسانا مع مولاي ابرهيم	وايضا لجمالك استقي اياها التي اوضحت لعبدك يصحق وبها اعلم انك عملت فضل مع مولاي	اشرب انت وايضًا لجمالك استقي هي التي اوضحت صلاحها لعبدك اسحق وبها اعلم انك صنعت احسانا مع مولاي	فقد وفقتها لعبدك لاسحق وبها اعلم انك قد احسنت الى مولاي
15 ויהי הוא טרם כלה לדבר והנה רבקה יצאת אשר ילדה לבתואל בן מלכה אשת נחור אחי אברהם וכדה על שכמה:	15 وكان هو قبل ان ينتهي للمخاطبه في سره وهودا ريقه خارجه التي ولدت لبتوال بن ملكه زوجه نحور اخي ابرهيم وجرتها على كتفها	15 وكان هو قبل انتهاء حديث قلبه وهوذا ريقه خارجة التي ولدت لبتوال بن ملكة زوجة ناحور اخي ابرهيم وجرّتها على كتفها	15 وكان هو قبل فرغ من التخاطب وهوذا ريقه خارجة الذي ولدت لبتوال ابن ملكه زوجة نحور اخو ابرهم وجرتها على منكبها	15 فكان هو قبل ان فرغ من الكلام وادا ريقه خارجه من المدينه وهي التي ولدت لبتوايل بن ملكا امراه ناحور اخي ابرهيم وجرتها على منكبها	15 فهو قبل ان يفرغ من كلامه فاذا بريقه قد خرجت التي ولدت لبتوال بن ملكه زوجة نحور اخي ابرهيم وجرتها على كتفها
16 והנער טבת מראה מאד בתולה ואיש לא ידעה ותרד העינה ותמלא כדה ותעל:	16 والفتاه حسنه المنظر جدا عدرا ورجل لم يعرفها وانحدرت الى العين وملت جرّتها وصعدت	16 والفتاة حسنة المنظر جدّا بتول ورجل لم يعرفها فانحدرت الى العين وملأت جرّتها وصعدت	16 والجارية حسنة المنظر جدا عاتق ورجل لم يعرفها فانحدرت الى العين وملت جرتها وصعدت	16 والجاريه حسنة المنظر جدا عاتق ولم يعرفها رجل فانحدرت الى العين وملات جرّتها وصعدت	16 والجارية حسنة المنظر جدّا بكر ورجل لم يعرفها فنزلت الى العين وملات جرتها وصعدت
17 וירץ העבד לקראתה ויאמר הגמיאיני נא מעט מים מכדך:	17 ونهض العبد للقائها وقال جرعيني الان قليل ما من جرتك	17 فنهض العبد للقائها وقال جرّعيني الآن قليل ماء من جرتك	17 فحاضر العبد للقاها وقال اجرعيني الان قليل ما من جرتك	17 فحاضر العبد قاصدًا لقآها وقال اجرعيني الان قليل مآء من جرّتك	17 فحاضر العبد تلقاها وقال اسقني قليلا من ما من جرتك
18 ותאמר שתה אדני ותמהר ותרד כדה על ידה ותשקהו:	18 فقالت اشرب يا مولاي واسرعت واحدرت جرتها على يدها واسقته	18 فقالت اشرب يا مولاي واسرعت واحدرت جرّتها على يدها وسقته	18 فقالت اشرب يا سيدي واسرعت واحدرت جرتها على يدها واسقته	18 فقالت اشرب يا مولاي واسرعت في ان حدرت جرتها على يدها واسقته	18 قالت اشرب يا سيدي واسرعت وانزلت جرتها على يدها واسقته

SamHeb הכחת] הוכחת | אדני] אדני אברהם **15** לדבר] לדבר אל לבו **16** והנער] והנערה | טבת] טובת | העינה] העין **17** הגמיאיני] הגמיני | מכדך] מכדיך **18** ותרד] ותורייד

OATSP وفقت] اعددت בגהוזט | اسحق] لاسحق בהוזטי **15** هو] - הוזחט | قبل] لما ח | ان ينتهي] فراغه مي ב، يفرغ مي ג، ان يفرغ مي הוזט، انتهى من ח، انتهايه י | ينتهي] אסכם، אתסכם، حسم-كمل-فرغ-انتهى-انقرض 486 M | للمخاطبه] حديث ב-ט، لمخطاب י | في سره] قلبه ב-ט | سره] 499 M | وهودا] فاذا בהוזט | نحور] ناحور בגהוחטי | كتفها] منكبها ב، كتفه **16** عدرا] بتول ב-י، בתולה، בתולתה | ورجل] وانسان ח | يعرفها] يتلها וט **17** ونهض] ורעט **18** واسرعت] فبادرت ג | واحدرت] واوردت י | واسقته] وسقته חי

ASRT وفّقت] اعددت GE | لعبدك] لعبد L | لاسحق] اسحق GFED | وبها] وبهادا KJHC | ان] اد L **15** قبل] وقت L | انتهاء] انتهى A، أن يفرغ من KJHC، انتها من L | لبتوال] لابتول LKDA، لابتول IGFE **18** واحدرت] واخذت HC | يدها وسقته] يديها واسقته KJHC

YbE **14** التي[2] - א[2] | يصحق] ليصحق ל[1] פ[2] ר[1] | اعلم] اعرف ל[1] **15** التخاطب] المخاطبة פ[2] | ابن] بن ל[1] **16** والجارية] والفتية ל[1] | فانحدرت] وانحدرت ל[1]، פ[2] **17** فحاضر] وحاضر ל[1] פ[2] ר[1]، 623:II DAF | وقال] فقال ל[1] פ[2] ר[1] **18** فقالت] وقالت ל[1]

YbY **14** اسقي] استقي **18** حدرت] احدرت

Saadia فقد] وهي التي Sam | فقد وفقتها] قد وفقها | لاسحق] اسحق SP، Sam | قد] - H | مولاي] مولاي /ابرهيم/ Sam **15** فهو] وكان Sam | فهو ... يفرغ] فكان قبل فراغه H | فاذا] وادا Sam | فاذا ... خرجت] اذ خرجت ريقا H | لبتوال] لبتوايل H، لبكير Sam | ملكه] ملكا H | نحور] ناحور H | اخي] اخا Sam **16** بكر] - Sam | ورجل ... يعرفها] لم يعرفها رجل H، ورجل لم يعرفها بزيجة Sam | الى] على H، - SP، Sam | وصعدت] فصعدت Sam **17** فحاضر] فاحضر H | تلقاها] للقابيها H، بلقاها Sam | وقال] وقال لها H | اسقني ...] اجرعيني الان قليلا H، اسقيني قليل ماء D، اسقني قليل ما Sam **18** قالت] فقالت H، وقالت Sam | واسرعت] وسارعت SP، Sam | وانزلت] فانزلت Sam | واسقته] وسقته H

Gen 24:1–34	OATSP	ASRT	Yefet ben ʿEli	Yeshuʿah ben Yehudah	Saʿadyah Gaon
19 ותכל להשקתו ותאמר גם לגמליך אשאב עד אם כלו לשתת:	19 وانتهت من سقيه وقالت هم لجمالك استقي حتى ينتهون للشرب	19 وانتهت من شربه وقالت ايضا لجمالك استقي الى ان ينتهوا شربا	19 وفرغت لاسقاه وقالت ايضا لجمالك استقي الى ان يكون قد فرغوا من الشرب	19 فلما فرغت من اسقايه قالت ايضا لجمالك استقي الى ان تكون قد فرغت من شربها	19 ولما فرغت من سقيه قالت ايضا لجمالك استقي الى ان يكمل شربهم
20 ותמהר ותער כדה אל השקת ותרץ עוד אל הבאר לשאב ותשאב לכל גמליו:	20 واسرعت واحدرت جرتها على المسقا ونهضت ايضا الى البير للاستقى وملت لكل جماله	20 واسرعت واحدرت جرّتها على المسقى ونهضت ايضا الى البئر للاستقاء وسقت كل جماله	20 واسرعت وفرغت جرتها الى المسقا وحاضرت زادة الى البئر لالاستقا واستقت لكل جماله	20 ثم اسرعت ففرّغت جرتها الى المستقاه وحاضرت ايضًا الى البئر للاستقآءِ واستقت لكل جماله	20 فاسرعت وفرغت جرتها في الساقية واحضرت ايضا الى البير لتستقي حتى استقت لجميع جماله
21 והאיש משתאה לה מחריש לדעת ההצליח יהוה דרכו אם לא:	21 والرجل متاملها ومصمت ليعلم هل انجح الله طريقه ام لا	21 والرجل متأمّل لها ومُصمت ليعلم هل منجح الله طريقه ام لا	21 والرجل متحيّر منها ساكت لمعرفة يعرف هل أنجح رب العالمين طريقه ام لا	21 وكان الرجل مستسقيًا لها او منتظرًا ما يكون من تمام فعلها او متحيّرًا من فعلها ساكتًا ليعلم هل أنجح الله طريقه ام لا	21 والرجل مستسق لها ممسك ليعلم هل انجح الله طريقه ام لا
22 ויהי כאשר כלו הגמלים לשתות ויקח האיש נזם זהב בקע משקלו ושני צמידים על ידיה עשרה זהב משקלם:	22 وكان لما انتهت الجمال من الشرب اخد الرجل شنف دهب نصف مثقال وزنه وجعل على وجهها وسوارين على يديها عشره مثاقيل وزنها	22 وكان كما انتهت الجمال من الشرب اخذ الرجل شنف ذهب نصف مثقال وزنه وجعل على انفها وسوارين على يديها عشرة ذهبا وزنها	22 وكان من فروغ الجمال من الشرب اخذ الرجل شنف من الذهب نصف مثقال وزنه وزوج اسورة وقيل دمالج على يديها عشره ادنانير وزنها	22 وكان عندما فرغت الجمال من الشرب أن اخد الرجل شنف دهبٍ نصف مثقال وزنه وسوارين او دملجين او دستينجين دهبًا جعلهما على يديها ووزنهما عشره مثاقيل	22 فلما فرغ الجمال من شربهم اخذ الرجل شنفا من ذهب وزنه نصف مثقال فاعطاها وجعل سوارين على يديها وزنهما عشرة مثاقيل ذهبا

19 SamHeb להשקתו] להשקותו | לשתת] לשתות **20** ותער] ותוריד | אל השקת] על השקות **21** משתאה] משתה | מחריש] ומחריש | ההצליח] הצליח **22** משקלו] משקלו וישם על אפה

19 OATSP وانتهت] فلما فرغت בגהוזט، ואסכמת، ואתסכמת | سقيه] شربه חי | هم] ايضا גחי | استقي] اسقي בגחי | حتى ينتهون] עד אם אסכמו. סעד הן יסכמו | ينتهون] يكتفوا בגי، تكتفي הוזט | للشرب] شربا ב-ט **20** واسرعت] فبادرت ג | واحدرت] ونكبت הוזט، واوردت י، ואעתת، ואחתת | المسقا] المسقاه ב، المساقي גהוזט، المستقا ח | ونهضت] ורעטת | للاستقى] واستقت בג، للانتشال י | وملت] واسقت בגט، حتى استقت ה، واستقت ו، حتى اسقت ז، وسقت חי، ומלת | لكل] كل חי **21** متاملها] متفرسها בהוזט، متامل لها חי | متاملها ومصمت] שאם לה ושתק، שתיו מנה ומשתק | ومصمت] وصامتًا י | ليعلم] للعلم הוזט | انجح] منجح חי **22** لما] كما הזי | انتهت] اكتفت בהוזט، فرغت ג | من الشرب] للشرب י | نصف...وزنه] وزنه نصف הוזט | وجعل] وجعله ג | وجهها] انفها ה-י، אפה، אנפה، מנשמה، צלמה | مثاقيل] دهب חי

19 ASRT وانتهت...شربه] فلما فرغت من سقيته KJHC | استقي] اسقي KJIHGDC | الى...شربا] حتى يكتفي شربها KJHC **20** المسقى] المستقى FA، المساقي KJHC | للاستقاء] للمستقي A، للاستسقى H | وسقت كل] حتى اسقت لكل KJHC **21** ليعلم] لعلمه KJHC | هل] لهل KJC | منجح] انجح KJHC **22** كما انتهت] لما اكتفت KJHC | نصف...وزنه] وزنه نصف JC، نصف وزنه H، وزنه نصف /مثقال/ K | وجعل] جعل KJHC | وسوارين] اسورة 577 M | عشرة] عشرة /مثاقيل/ A | ذهبا] مثاقيل KJHC

19 YbE لاسقاه] من اسقاه ל¹ واسقته פ²، ר¹ | استقي] اسقى ל¹ **20** زادة] ايضا ל¹ | واستقت] واستقات א²، واسقت ל¹ פ¹ **22** فروغ] فرغ א³ | اسورة] اساور ל¹ | يديها] يدها פ² | ادنانير] دنانير ל¹ ל² פ² א³

19 YbY تكون قد فرغت من شربها] يكونوا فرغوا من شربهم **22** دستينجين] ms. London, British Library, Or. 5560c (Ziesel, 2011, p. 36)

19 Saadia ولما] فلما Sam | ايضا...استقي] اسقي ايضا جمالك H، لجمالك ايضا استقي SP، Sam **20** فاسرعت] فسارعت Sam | وفرغت] واخفت SP، وانزلت Sam | الساقية] المسقاه H | واحضرت] وحاضرت D، Sam | الى البير] البير Sam | لتستقي] لتسقي H، Sam حتى استقت] الى ان سقت H، حتى اسقت Sam | لجميع] جميع H، لكل D **21** والرجل...ممسك] وبقى الرجل متحيّرًا ممسكًا H، والرجل متامل لها وممسك **22** فرغ] فرغت H | شربهم] شربها H | شنفا] شنف D | ذهب] الذهب H | وزنه...مثقال] نصف مثقال وزنه H | فاعطاها] واعطاها Sam | فاعطاها...سوارين] وسوارين H | على] في SP | وزنهما...ذهبا] عشر متاقيل وزنها Sam | عشرة] عشر H | ذهبا] من ذهب H، ذهب D

Gen 24:1–34	OATSP	ASRT	Yefet ben ʿEli	Yeshuʿah ben Yehudah	Saʿadyah Gaon
23 ויאמר בת מי את הגידי נא לי	23 וقال بنت من انتي خبريني الان	23 وقال بنت من انت اخبريني الآن	23 بعد قال لها ابنة من انتي اخبرينا	23 بعد ان قال لها ابنة من انت خبّريني	23 بعد ما قال لها اخبريني ابنة من انت
היש בית אביך מקום לנו ללין:	هل يجد في بيت ابوك موضع لنا للميت	اموجود ببيت ابيك موضع لنا للميت	الان هل ايس في منزل ابوك موضع لنا للمبات	الان وهل في دار ابيك مكان لنا للمبيت	هل اجد في بيت ابيك موضعا لنا نبيت فيه
24 ותאמר אליו בת בתואל אנכי	24 فقالت له بنت بتوال انا بن ملكه	24 فقالت له بنت بتوال انا ابن ملكة	24 فقالت له ابنة بتوال انا ابن ملكا الذي	24 فقالت له ابنة بتوايل انا ابن ملكا	24 فقالت له انا ابنة بتوال بن ملكه الذي
בן מלכה אשר ילדה לנחור:	الذي ولدت لنحور	التي ولدت لناحور	ولدته لنحور	الذي ولدته لناحور	ولدته لنحور
25 ותאמר אליו גם תבן גם	25 فقالت له هم تبن هم قضيم كثير	25 وقالت له ايضا تبن ايضا قضيم كثير	25 ثم قالت ايضا تبن ايضا قت عندنا	25 ثم قالت وان عندنا تبنًا وقتًا او وعلفًا	25 ثم قالت التبن والقت كثير عندنا
מספוא רב עמנו גם מקום ללון:	عندنا وهم موضع للميبت	عندنا وايضا موضع للميبت	كثير ايضا موضع للمبات	كثيرًا وايضًا لنا مكان لمبيت الضيف	وايضا موضع للمبيت
26 ויקד האיש וישתחו ליהוה:	26 وخر الرجل وسجد لله	26 فخر الرجل وسجد لله	26 ثم خر الرجل وسجد لرب العالمين شاكرا له	26 فخر الرجل وسجد لله	26 ثم خر الرجل وسجد لله
27 ויאמר ברוך יהוה אלהי אדני	27 وقال تبارك الله اله مولاي ابرهيم	27 وقال تبارك الله اله مولاي ابرهيم	27 وقال مبرّك الرب اله مولاي ابرهم	27 وقال تبارك الله اله سيدي ابرهيم	27 وقال تبارك الله اله مولاي ابرهيم
אברהם אשר לא עזב חסדו	الذي لم يترك احسانه وجميله عن	الذي لم يترك احسانه وجميله عن مولاي	الذي لم يسيّب فضله وامانته من عند	الذي ما ترك احسانه وما اقتضاه وعده	الذي لم يخل فضله واحسانه من مولاي
ואמתו מעם אדני אנכי בדרך נחני	مولاي ابرهيم انا في الطريق اقادني الله	ابرهيم انا في الطريق قادني الله الى بيت	مولاي ابرهم انا في الطريق سيرني رب	الحق من عند مولاي فانا في الطريق وقد	وسيرني في طريق مستقيم الى بيت اخي
יהוה בית אחי אדני:	الى بيت اخي مولاي	اخي مولاي	العالمين الى بيت اخوة مولاي	سافني الله الى بيت اقارب مولاي ويقال اخوة سيدي	مولاي
28 ותרץ הנער ותגד לבית אמה	28 ونهضت الفتاه وخبرت لال امها	28 ونهضت الفتاة واخبرت بيت امّها	28 وحاضرت الجارية في منزل امها [-]	28 ثم حاضرت الجارية وخبّرت لمن في	28 ثم احضرت الجارية واخبرت اهلها
כדברים האלה:	كالخطوب هذه	بالخطوب هذه	مثل هذه الخطب	بيت امها بمثل هذه الاشيآء او الخطوب	بهذه الامور
29 ולרבקה אח ושמו לבן וירץ	29 ولربقه اخ واسمه لبن ونهض لبن الى	29 ولربقة اخ واسمه لبن ونهض لبن الى	29 ولربقه اخ اسمه لبن فحاضر [-] الى	29 ولربقه اخ واسمه لابان فحاضر لابان	29 وكان لربقه اخ يسمى لبن فاحضر الى
לבן אל האיש החוצה אל העין:	الرجل خارجا الى العين	الرجل خارجا الى العين	الرجل الى خارج المدينة الى العين	الى الرجل الى برا المدينه الى عند العين	الرجل الى برا الى العين

SamHeb **23** את] אתי | בית] בֵּבית **25** מספוא] מספה | גם] וגם | ללון] ללין **26** וישתחו] וישתחי **27** אדני[2]] אדני אברהם **28** הנער] הנערה | ותגד] ותגיד

OATSP **23** خبريني الان] اخبري الان لي **חי** | هل يجد] اموجود بذا، ايوجد **הודט**، هل موجود **ח** **24** لنحور] لناحور **בנהוחטי** **25** هم[1]] ايضا **חי** | قضيم] علف **בח**، **כסה** | وهم] وايضا **חי** **27** يترك] ترك **בהי**، **يزل** **וט** | احسانه وجميله] **טובה ואימנותה**، **חסדה ואימנותה**، **טבואתה וקשטה** | اقادني] قادني **חי**، **נגדני** **28** ونهضت الفتاة] **וידעטת רביתה** | واخبرت بيت **חי** | كالخطوب] الخطوب **ה**، بالخطوب **וט** | كالخطوب هذه] **לאהדה الخطوب ז**

ASRT **23** اخبريني] خبريني KJHC | اموجود] ايوجد KJHC **24** بتوال] ابتول IE، بتول G | ابن] - ED | لناحور] لنحور C **27** يترك] يزل E **28** واخبرت] وخبرت الى KJHC | بالخطوب] كالخطوب KJHC **29** ولربقة] ولرفقه C

YbE **23** منزل] بيت **ל**[1] | موضع] مكان **ל**[1] **26** حر] حذ(!) Edition **27** مبرّك] مبارك **ל**[1] | ابرهم[1]] ابرهيم **פ**[2] | وامانته] < aram **ואימנותה** **28** مثل] واخبرت مثل **פ**[2] | هذه الخطب] هذا الخطاب **פ**[2] **29** اسمه] واسمه **ל**[1] **ל**[2]

Saadia **23** ما] ذلك H | اخبريني ... انت] ابنة من انت اخبريني SP، ابنت من انتي اخبريني | ابنة] بنت H | احد] موجود SP، Sam | موضعا] موضع SP، Sam **24** ابنة بتوال] ابنت بكير Sam | بتوال] بتوايل H | ملكه] ملكا H | ولدته] ولدت Sam | لنحور] لناحور H **25** ثم قالت] فقالت له Sam | قالت] قالت له H | والقت] والقضيم H | وايضا] ولنا ايضا H **26** وسجد] فسجد SP، ساجدا Sam **27** وقال] قال Sam | فضله واحسانه] احسانه وفضله Sam | مولاي[2]] مولاي ابرهيم Sam | وسيرني ... مستقيم] وسيرني الله في طريق مستقيم H، انا في طريق مستقيم سيّرني الله D | اخي] - Sam **28** احضرت] حاضرت D، Sam | واخبرت اهلها] فاخبرت في منزلها Sam | اهلها] في منزل امها D، بيت امها H **29** وكان لربقه] ولربقه D، وكان لربقا H | يسمى] اسمه D | لبن] لابان H، حوران Sam | فاحضر] فحاضر D، Sam، فاحضر لابان H | الى برا] - Sam | برا] خارج H

Gen 24:1–34	OATSP	ASRT	Yefet ben ʿEli	Yeshuʿah ben Yehudah	Saʿadyah Gaon
30 ויהי כראת את הנזם ואת הצמדים על ידי אחתו וכשמעו את דברי רבקה אחתו לאמר כה דבר אלי האיש ויבא אל האיש והנה עמד על הגמלים על העין:	30 וכאן עבד נצרה השנף והשוארין על יבי אחתה וענד שמאה חטוב ריקה אחתה קולא הכדי חאטבני הרגל וגא אל הרגל והוזא קאים עלי הגמל על העין	30 וכאן עבד נצרה השנף והשוארין על יבי אחתה וענד שמאה חטאב ריקה אחתה קולא הכדי חאטבני הרגל פאק אל הרגל והוזא קאים חול הגמאל עלי העין	30 וכאן עבד נטר השנף והאסורה על יבי אחתה וענד שמאה חטב ריקה אחתה קולא כדא חאטבני הרגל פגא [-] הרגל ואדאה ואקף מע הגמאל עלי העין	30 וכאן דלך בעד נטרה השנף והאסורה על יבי אחתה וענד שמאה חטב ריקה אחתה קולא כדא חאטבני הרגל פגא [-] הרגל ואדאה ואקף מע הגמאל עלי העין	30 ולמא ראי השנף והשוארין פי יבי אחתה וסמע כלאמהא קאילה כדא קאל לי הרגל צאר אליה פאדא הו ואקף עלי הגמאל עלי העין
31 ויאמר בוא ברוך יהוה למה תעמד בחוץ ואנכי פניתי הבית ומקום לגמלים:	31 וקאל אדכל תבארך אללה למ תקף פי אלבר ואנא פרגת אלבית וממוצע לגמאל	31 פקאל אדכל יא מבארכ מן אללה למ תקף פי אלבר ואנא פרגת אלבית וממוצעא לגמאל	31 פקאל אדכל יא מבארך מן רב אלעאלמין למאדא תקף מן ברא ואנא פקד פרגת אלבית וצלחת מוצע לאגמאל	31 פקאל לה אדכל יא מבארך מן רב אלעאלמין תקף ברא ואנא קד עזלת אלדאר ופרגת לך מכאנא לגמאל	31 פקאל אדכל יא מבארך אללה למ תקף ברא וענא קד נגלת אלבית ואצלחת מוצעא לגמאל
32 ויבא האיש הביתה ויפתח הגמלים ויתן תבן ומספוא לגמלים ומים לרחץ רגליו ורגלי האנשים אשר אתו:	32 ודכל אלרגל אלי אלבית ופך עני אגמאל וגעל תבנא וקצים לגמאל ומא לגסל רגליה וארגל אלרגאל אלדין מעה	32 פדכל אלרגל אלי אלביט ופך עני אגמאל וגעל תבנא וענלפא לגמאל ומאע לגסל רגליה וארגל אלרגאל אלדין מעה	32 ודכל אלרגל אלי אלמנזל וחלّ עני אגמאל וגעל תבן וקת אלי אגמאל ומא לגסל רגליה ורגלי אלאנאסי אלדי מעה	32 פדכל אלרגל אלי אלדאר וחלّ לאבאן עני אגמאל וגעל תבנا وعلفا للجمال واحضر مآ لגסל רגליה וארגל אלרגאל אלדין מעה	32 פדכל אלרגל אלמנזל וחלّ עני אגמאל וטרח להא תבנא וקתא واعطاه מא יגסל רגליה וארגל אלקום אלדין מעה
33 ויושם לפניו לאכל ויאמר לא אכל עד אם דברתי דברי ויאמר דבר:	33 וגעל בין ידיה טעאמא פקאל לא אכל חתי אכאטב כטובי פקאלוא כאטב	33 וגעל בין ידיה טעאמא פקאל לא אכל חתי אנתּ כטאבי פקאלוא כאטב	33 וגעל בין ידיה לאכל פקאל לא אכל אלא אן אכון כאטבת כטאבי פקאל אכטב מא תריד	33 ثم جعل قدّامه الطعام للأكل فقال لا آكل الا اذا تكلّمت بكلامي فقال له لابان تكلّم	33 ثم صيّر بين يديه طعاما ليأكل فقال لا اكل حتى اقول كلامي قال تكلّم
34 ויאמר עבד אברהם אנכי:	34 וקאל עבד אברהם אנא	34 פקאל אני עבד אברהם	34 פקאל אני עבד אברהם	34 فقال اني عبد ابرهيم	34 قال انا عبد ابرهيم

30 SamHeb כראת] כראותו | הצמדים] הצמידים | אחתו¹] אחותו | אחתו²] אחתו **31** בוא] בא **32** ומספוא] ומספה **33** ויאמר²] ויאמרו

30 OATSP וענד] ובעד ג | כטוב] כטאב | כטאב] כטאב בהה, כלאם גוט | קולא] קאילא ח | הכדי] כדא הז, כדלך וט | כאטבני] קאל לי בגהוט | והו] והודא חי | קאים] واقف בג، קעם | על¹] مع ב-ד، ט، חול י **31** וקאל] פקאל לה ג | אדכל] - ג، את ח | תבארך] יא מבארך בהוט، יא מבארך מן חי | למ] לם ذا בג | תקף] תקף הוט | הבר] הכארכ י | פרגת] قد فرغت בג، عزلت ח **32** ודכל] פחא ג | ופך עני] وعرى ב، ה-ט، وحلّ عن ג | וקצים] وعلفا ב-י، וכסה | ומא] واحظر ما ג | לגסל] לחסים ח | ורגלי] وارجلي ב-י **33** וגעל] וכעל ח | טעאמא] טעאם ג، טלאכל י | כאטבי] כטאבי | אנת ב، ה-ט، אתכלם ג، אן אכאטב י | כטאבי] כטאבי בהוט، كلامي ג، כטאבי חי | כאטב] נט ב، تكلم ג، קל הוט

30 ASRT כאטבני] קאל לי KJHC | פאקי] וגא KJHC | והודא] והו KJHC | כול] מע KJHC **31** מבארכ] מבארכא /سبحان الله/ C، מבארך /يا سبحان الله/ K **32** ופך עני] وعرى C-L **33** חתי] עד ان LI | אנתּ] אנתּ I | כטאבי] כדיתי KJHC | כאטב] קל KJHC

30 YbE כאטבני] כאטבה פ² | ואדאה] ואד הו פ² **31** מן¹] - ל¹ **32** אלי אלגמאל] לגמאל ל¹ | ורגלי] ורגלין ל¹ | אלאנאסי] אלרגאל ל¹ **33** אכאטב] כאטב ל¹ | מא תריד] - ל¹ **34** אני] אנא ל² פ² | אברהם] אברהים פ²

30 Saadia ולמא] למא Sam | ולמא راى] بعد نظره H، لما راى SP | בדי] ايدي Sam | וסמע] ולמא سمع Sam | כלאמהא] بعد سماعه ريقا اخته H (< YbY) | כלאמהא] כלאם /ريقه اختيه/ Sam | כדא] כדי Sam | קאל לי] خاطبني H | אלי הרגל] الى الرجل H | פאדא הו] פאדאה SP، ואדאה Sam | על¹] مع H (YbY/YbE) **31** יא מבארך] /متّ/بارك Sam | אללה] لله SP | נכלת] افرغت Sam | ואצלחת] - H | מוצעא לגמאל] موضعا للحمال H، Sam | אלמנזל] المنزل Sam **32** ודכל] ودخل Sam | וחלّ] وحلّ Sam | ופך] وفك Sam | וקתא] /وعلفا للحمال/ Sam | واעטאה] واعطاها D | מא] ماءً H | יגסל] ليغسل D، يغسل به H، فغسل Sam **33** סיר ...טעאם] صيّر الطعام بين يديه H، صير بين يديه D | טעאמא] /طعما/ Sam | אכל] اقدر Sam | אקול כלאמי] اتكلم بكلامي H | קאל] فقال له H **34** קאל] فقال D

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Gregor Schwarb

Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ṣūrī's *Kitāb fī bāb al-qibla* and its Qaraite Refutation

In an as yet unedited chapter of *K. al-Ṭabāḫ*,[1] the 11th century Samaritan scholar Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ṣūrī expounds differences between Samaritans, Qaraite and Rabbanite Jews regarding the determination of the beginning of the lunar month (*Faṣl al-kalām fī-mā bayna aṣḥābinā al-Sāmira, kaṯṯarahum Allāh taʿālā, wa-bayna ṭāʾifatay l-Yahūd al-qarāʾiyyīn wa-l-rabbāniyyīn [min al-ḫilāf] fī-mā yustadallu bi-hi ʿalā [ma]bādiʾ al-ahilla, wa-hiya awāʾil al-šuhūr]*).[2] The chapter concludes with the fourth and last argument against the Qaraites who determine the beginning of the lunar month on the basis of the appearance of the new crescent moon and the possibility of its [actual naked-eye] sighting (*iʿtamadū ʿalā ẓuhūr al-hilāl wa-ṣiḥḥat al-mušāhada*):[3]

وممّا يُستدلّ به أيضًا على فساد رأي من يعتمد على الرؤيا أنّ من جعل استدلاله مجرّد الهلال كان مُخِلًّا بقوله في فصل الخليقة عن الأنوار והיו לאותות ולמועדים ולימים ושנים. وكثر تعجّبي من أبي يعقوب وموافقته إلى[!] عانان في هذا الرأي، لأنّه مُحَقِّق نظّار. وذلك أنّه لم يوجد له في اليهود كلام في القبلة حتى أنّه، لمّا وقف على الكتاب الذي صنّفتُه في باب القِبلة، التمسوا[!] منه اليهود الجواب عنه ووعدهم بالجواب مدافعةً، ومات، فلم يظهر عنه جواب.

وهذه الجملة كافية في الاستدلال على فساد رأي من يعتمد على الاستدلال على أوّل الشهر بظهور الهلال ومشاهدته.

1 *K. al-Ṭabāḫ* ('Book of Insight/Soundness') is a posthumously collected anthology of al-Ṣūrī's legal, exegetical and theological works and responsa. Other scholars prefer to read the book title as *K. al-Ṭabbāḫ* ('Book of Slaughtering'). Only the first part of *K. al-Ṭabāḫ* has been edited so far: WEDEL, Gerhard: *Kitāb aṭ-Ṭabbāḫ des Samaritaners Abū l-Ḥasan aṣ-Ṣūrī. Kritische Edition und kommentierte Übersetzung des ersten Teils*. Dissertation im Fach Arabistik, Freie Universität Berlin, Fachbereich Altertumswissenschaften, 1987. Wedel's edition breaks off just before the chapter on the determination of the beginning of the lunar month.

2 The chapter opens with a few lines against the method applied by the Rabbanites ("The Rabbanites relied on intercalation [*al-ʿibbūr*] which was transmitted from Ezra who coerced them to rely on it and to put into practice what it entails [...]"). The bulk of the chapter is dedicated to a refutation of the Qaraite position. The subsequent chapter presents the Samaritan position (*wa-ammā mā iʿtamadū ʿalayhi ǧamāʿat al-Sāmira min al-istidlāl ʿalā awwal al-šahr bi-l-iǧmāʿ, fa-huwa l-maḏhab al-ṣaḥīḥ [...]*).

3 The text is based on mss. St. Petersburg, RNL, Firk. Sam. IV:11, f. 16b and IV:12, f. 1a. A corrupt version of the passage, based on ms. Manchester, JRL, Ryl. Sam. 9, f. 122a–b, is contained in ʿABD AL-ʿĀL, Dorreya Mohammed: *A Comparative Study of the Unedited Work of Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ṣūrī and Yūsuf Ibn Salamah*. Ph.D. thesis, Leeds University, 1957, vol. 2, 645f.

> "The view of those who rely on the sighting [of the new crescent moon in order to determine the beginning of the lunar month] is also proved to be incorrect inasmuch as those who consider the new crescent moon to be the only evidence in this regard defy God's saying about the luminaries in the Account of Creation that 'they shall serve as signs for the set times, the days and the years' (Gen 1:14).[4] I was therefore greatly astonished to see that Abū Yaʿqūb [Yūsuf al-Baṣīr], who is a meticulous and perspicacious scholar, agreed with ʿAnan's view on this issue. It must be borne in mind that there exists no treatise among the Jews on the [determination of the] *qibla*. When he studied the book which I had written on the subject of the *qibla*, they urged him to write a rejoinder. He promised them to do so in order to defend [the Qaraite position], but passed away before he could deliver on his promise.
> This summary account suffices to show that the view of those who determine the beginning of the month based on the appearance of the new crescent moon and its sighting is incorrect."

In what follows I shall provide evidence to the effect that the "book on the subject of the *qibla*" (*Kitāb fī bāb al-qibla*),[5] to which Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ṣūrī refers in the above-quoted passage, survives in at least two distinct formats:

1) A summary of the treatise, prepared by a later Samaritan scholar (presumably Munaǧǧā b. Ṣadaqa in the late 12th century), has been preserved in several Samaritan manuscripts.

2) Lengthy quotations from the treatise are embedded in a detailed Qaraite rebuttal of it (*al-Naqḍ/al-Radd ʿalā l-Sāmira*). This work has come down to us in two large fragments deriving from one and the same manuscript.

The focus of the present article is on passages that are common to the Samaritan summary and the Qaraite refutation. With the identification and reconstruction of al-Ṣūrī's *K. fī bāb al-qibla*, I would like to exemplify the benefit of combining the study of medieval Samaritano-Arabic and Judaeo-Arabic literature. In future research, the combined and comparative study of both textual corpora should be adopted as a methodological standard.[6]

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4 The interpretation of Gen 1:14 is one of the focal points of Qaraite-Rabbanite polemics and abundantly discussed in legal and exegetical literature.

5 It goes without saying that *Kitāb fī bāb al-qibla* is not the actual title of the treatise, but rather a description of its contents.

6 For a few representative examples of literary contacts between Samaritans and Qaraite Jews during the 11th through 13th centuries see my *Vestiges of Qaraite Translations*. IHIW 1 (2013), 128–135; many more examples could be quoted, most notably in the realm of legal and exegetical literature. Zewi, Tamar: *The Samaritan Version of Saadya Gaon's Translation of the Pentateuch: Critical Edition and Study of MS London BL OR7526 and Related MSS*. Leiden: Brill 2015, presents

1 MSS containing the Samaritan summary of al-Ṣūrī's treatise on the *qibla*

The summary of al-Ṣūrī's treatise on the *qibla* has been transmitted as "Chapter on what Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ṣūrī, may God sanctify his spirit, set forth concerning the determination of the *qibla*" (فصل يتضمّن ما ذكره الشيخ الفاضل[7] أبو الحسن الصوري، قدّس الله روحه، في إثبات القبلة).

I am currently aware of three manuscripts containing this summary: In ms. Sassoon 726 [ס] it is part of a collection of legal and exegetical texts.[8] According to Crown, the ms. "belongs to the era between 1374 and 1450, probably close to the earlier date".[9] Sassoon erroneously described it as a "Fragment of a Commentary on Abu el-Ḥasan el-Ṣuri's Treatise el-Ṭabbakh."[10] The 24 folios of this fragment comprise the following three texts:

1) ff. 1a–6a: A digest (*ḫulāṣa*) by Munağğā b. Ṣadaqa ("*Munağğā b. al-Šāʿir, Šāriḥ al-Kitāb al-Šarīf al-wasīṭ al-wağīz wa-l-basīṭ*")[11] of his own treatise on

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further evidence to substantiate the exposure of Arabic translations of the Samaritan Pentateuch to influences of Jewish and Christian provenance.

7 Ms. ס: الشيخ العالم الشيخ.

8 The present location of the ms. seems to be unknown; see Richler, Binyamin: *Guide to Hebrew Manuscript Collections. Second Revised Edition*. Jerusalem: The Israeli Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 2014, 300. I had access to a British Library microfilm of the manuscript (Or. mic. 2864) [= National Library of Israel, IMHM, F 9766].

9 Crown, Alan David: *Samaritan Scribes and Manuscripts*. Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 2001, 234 with figure 49 on 242; see also Bóid, Iain Ruairidh Mac Mhanainn: *Principles of Samaritan Halachah*. Leiden: Brill, 1989, 32.

10 Sassoon, David Solomon: *Ohel Dawid: Descriptive Catalogue of the Hebrew and Samaritan Manuscripts in the Sassoon Library, London*, vol. 2. Oxford: Oxford University Press / London: Humphrey Milford, 1932, 593, no. 726. Sassoon's description still appears in the online catalogue of the Institute of Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts at the National Library of Israel; see also Bóid, *Principles*, 31; Shehadeh, Haseeb: *The Arabic Translation of the Samaritan Pentateuch. Prolegomena to a Critical Edition* (in Hebrew). 3 Vols. (Ph.D. thesis Jerusalem: The Hebrew University), 1977, vol. 1, 47 with n. 323 (vol. 2, 34). The *qibla*–related chapters of *K. al-Ṭabāḫ* present a very small selection of the arguments advanced in *K. fī bāb al-qibla*.

11 I.e. Abū l-Faraǧ Munağğā b. Ṣadaqa b. Ġarūb al-Dimašqī, the well-known author of *K. al-Buḥūṯ wa-masāʾil al-ḫilāf fī-mā bayna millatay l-Yahūd wa-l-Sāmira*. The existence of three distinct formats (*wasīṭ*, *waǧīz*, *basīṭ*) of Munağğā's commentary on the Pentateuch is confirmed by references in *K. al-Buḥūṯ* (see Wreschner, Leopold: *Samaritanische Traditionen mitgeteilt und nach ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung untersucht*. Berlin: H. Itzkowski, 1888, XXf. with n. 31) as well as references in the more famous Pentateuch commentary by his son, Ṣadaqa b. Munağğā b. Ṣadaqa (d. 1223). Our fragment is most likely an extract of Munağğā's commentary on Deut

levirate marriage (*Maqāla fī l-yibbūm*) and incest laws (Lev 18).[12] It is worth mentioning that the extant section of this digest includes quotations from the commentaries of Saʿadyah Gaon (f. 2a, ll. 2ff.–f. 3a, l. 18)[13] and al-Qirqisānī (f. 3a, l. 18 and f. 4a, l. 17) on Lev 18:6.[14]

2) ff. 6a–14a: A summary of Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ṣūrī's *Kitāb fī bāb al-qibla*, i.e. the treatise which concerns us here. A gap in the text corresponding to one missing folio (between f. 9 and f. 10) may be filled on the basis of ms. St. Petersburg, RNL, Firk. Sam. IV:6 (see below).

3) ff. 14a–24b: An epitome (*talḫīṣ*) of Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ṣūrī's commentary on the pericope ועתה ישראל (Deut 10:12ff.) with supplements by the author of the epitome.[15]

Two further manuscript fragments of the summary are found in the fourth section of the Firkóvitch collection of Samaritan manuscripts (Firk. Sam. IV:6 and IV:13)

25:5–10 (laws concerning the levirate marriage). A comparison with the as yet unedited manuscript of Munaǧǧā's commentary on Deuteronomy recorded in BAILLET, Maurice: *Quelques manuscrits Samaritains*, Semitica 26 (1976), 143–166 (153, no. 9) could confirm or confute this assumption. The existence of Munaǧǧā's *Treatise on levirate marriage* (*Maqāla fī l-yibbūm*) has been overlooked in previous secondary literature. For a brief survey of Samaritan exegetical literature see WEIGELT, Frank: *Die exegetische Literatur der Samaritaner*, in: Voigt, Rainer Maria (ed.), „Durch Dein Wort ward jegliches Ding!": zum Gedenken an Rudolf Macuch (1919–1993), Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2013, 343–390 (357f. [Munaǧǧā b. Ṣadaqa] and 357–62 [Ṣadaqa b. Munaǧǧā b. Ṣadaqa]).

12 F. 1b, ll. 21f.: *fa-innanī kuntu ʿamaltu fī l-yibbūm maqālat*^{an} *[...], fa-anqulu ḫulāṣatahā ilā hāhunā.*

13 *"al-Shayḫ Abū Saʿīd al-Fayyūmī, wa-huwa ʿālim al-Yahūd al-Rabbāniyyīn".*

14 A comparison with an extant fragment of Saʿadyah's commentary on Lev 18:16 (New York, JTS, ENA 4100.1, ed. Y. Ratzhavi, "Mi-peruš Rav Saʿadyah le-Sefer vay-yiqrāʾ", Sinai 126 [2000-1], 75–77 [Hebrew]) confirms the correctness of these quotations: ms. Sassoon 726, f. 2a, ll. 10–13 // ed. Ratzhavi, p. 76, ll. 30–33; ms. Sassoon 726, f. 2a, ll. 15f. // ed. Ratzhavi, p. 77, ll. 2f.

15 The correct folio order is 14–18, 24, 19–23. It is worth mentioning that an independent commentary (*šarḥ*) on ועתה ישראל has been ascribed to Munaǧǧā b. Ṣadaqa (see Wreschner, *Samaritanische Traditionen*, p. XXI). This could lend further support to the assumption that Munaǧǧā is not only the author of text no. 1, but also the one who epitomised Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ṣūrī's commentary on Deut 10:12ff as well as his *K. fī bāb al-qibla*. The epitome is introduced as follows: سألني بعض إخوان الدّين أن ألخّص ما ذكره الشيخ الفاضل أبو الحسن الصوري، رحمه الله، من شرح فصل وعتة ישראל، وأوضح ما أشكل على الفهم من معانيه، ثم أتمّم شرح ذلك على منهاج ما ذكره. فأجبته إلى ذلك متّكلًا على الله تعالى.

at the Russian National Library in St. Petersburg.[16] Both shelfmarks include fragments in various hands deriving from multiple texts and codices.

Firk. Sam. IV:6 [א] comprises 44 folios. Fols. 14–32, 35–42 and 44 originally belonged to a codex containing – among other texts – the summary which concerns us here. They measure 18x26 cm with 15 lines per page. Except for a few isolated words in Samaritan script, both the Arabic and Hebrew texts are rendered in Arabic characters. The presence of folio numbers in Graeco-Coptic numerals (*ḥurūf al-zimām*) and of written-out quire signatures in Arabic enable us to reconstruct the correct order of the extant folios and to determine their relative position within the original manuscript.[17] The two visible quire numbers indicate that the original manuscript was made up of quinions (quires of five bifolios): Firk. Sam. IV:6, f. 22 is numbered 41 and has the quire number 'fifth' (*al-ḫāmisa*); f. 30 is numbered 71 and has the quire number 'eighth' (*al-ṯāmina*).

Most of these folios derive from a manuscript of *Kitāb al-Farā'iḍ*, a comprehensive commentary on the 613 precepts, 248 commands (*awāmir*) and 365 prohibitions (*nawāhī*),[18] by a certain Nafīs al-Dīn b. Ibrāhīm who in the secondary

16 On this collection see SHEHADEH, Haseeb: דין וחשבון ראשוני על אוסף כתבי היד השומרוניים בסאנט פיטרסבורג. A. B. Ḥadashot ha-Shomronim 591–594 (20.8.1993), 19–31; id.: *A Preliminary Report on the Samaritan Manuscript Collection in St. Petersburg*, in: Proceedings of the Eleventh World Congress of Jewish Studies, Division D. Volume I (The Hebrew Language, Jewish Languages). Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1994, 61–64; VIL'SKER, L. Ch.: *Самаритянские документы Государственной публичной библиотеки имени М.Е. Салтыкова-Щедрина. Каталог* ("Samaritan Documents in the M.E. Saltykov-Shchedrin State Public Library: A Catalogue", in Russian). Санкт Петербург: Государственная публичная библиотека имени М.Е. Салтыкова-Щедрина, 1992; BORISOV, Y. Y.: *Собрание самаританских рукописей А. Фирковича*. Палестинский сборник 15 (78) (1966), 60–73; HARVIAINEN, Tapani: *Abraham Firkovich and the Karaite Community in Jerusalem in 1864*. Manuscripta Orientalia 4,2 (1998), 66–70; id. / Shehadeh, Haseeb: *How did Abraham Firkovich Acquire the Great Collection of Samaritan Manuscripts in Nablus in 1864?* Studia Orientalia 73 (1994), 167–192, (repr. in *A. B. The Samaritan News* 633–636 (13.04.1995), 180–158[!]); id.: *The Acquisition of the Samaritan Collection by Abraham Firkovich in Nablus in 1864: An Additional Document*. Studia Orientalia 97 (2003) [= *Remota Relata: Essays on the History of Oriental Studies in Honour of Harry Halén*], 49–63.

17 For a similar case see BAILLET, Maurice: *Commandements et lois (Farâ'iḍ et Tûrot) dans quatre manuscrits samaritains*, in: Rothschild, Jean-Pierre / Sixdenier, Guy Dominique (eds.): Études samaritaines. Pentateuque et Targum, exégèse et philologie, chroniques (Actes de la table ronde: «Les manuscrits samaritains. Problèmes et méthodes» (Paris: Institut de Recherche d'Histoire des Textes, 7–9 octobre 1985). Louvain: Peeters, 1988, 260f. with n. 4.

18 See LOEWENSTAMM, Ayala: *On the question of the 613 precepts among the Samaritans* (in Hebrew), Tarbiz 41 (1972), 306–312, repr. in Blau, Joshua (ed.): *Karaite and Samaritan Studies: Collected and Posthumous Papers*. Jerusalem: The Academy of the Hebrew Language, 2008, 148–

literature has commonly, but not conclusively been identified with Nafīs al-Dīn Abū l-Faraǧ b. Isḥāq (ibn) al-Kaṯṯār (*fl.* late 13th and early 14th centuries).[19] Three bifolios belong to the fourth quire: bifolio 14–19 corresponds to fols. 32–37 of the original manuscript, bifolio 15–18 to 33–38, bifolio 16–17 to 34–39. Both the innermost and the outermost bifolios of this quire are missing (–/32/33/34/–/–/35/36/37/–). Of the fifth quire only the outermost bifolio is extant: f. 22 is numbered 41, f. 23 is numbered 50. Ff. 20–21 are numbered 92 and 99 and thus correspond to the second outermost bifolio of the tenth quire; f. 35, numbered 100, is the last folio of this quire. Four bifolios belong to the 14th quire which still has its basting thread attached to it: bifolio 24–29 corresponds to fols. 133–138 of the original manuscript, bifolio 25–28 to 134–137, bifolio 26–27 to 135–136, bifolio 31–32 to 132–139 (–/132/133/134/135/136/137/138/139/–). Of the following 15th quire only two folios have been preserved: f. 40 corresponds to folio 147 of the original manuscript, f. 41 to folio 144. The folio numbers of the remaining folios (36–39, 42 and 44) are only partly visible or entirely faded. A colophon on the reverse side of f. 44 concludes the epitome of Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ṣūrī's commentary on ועתה ישראל (Deut 10:12ff.) which – as in ms. Sassoon 726 – immediately follows the summary of al-Ṣūrī's treatise on the qibla. The latter starts on f. 31a (= f. 132a of the original manuscript). According to Baillet's manuscript no. 13, both summaries form part of the 73rd commandment of K. al-Farāʾiḍ.

Of the 50 folios included in Firk. Sam. IV:13 [ב] only f. 18 pertains to our summary. The remaining 49 folios once again consist of randomly piled up single folios and bifolios of similar size (ca. 21.5x16 cm) deriving from several legal compositions and codices written in various hands. Several folios once belonged to a codex containing Muhaḏḏab al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Salama b. Yūsuf al-ʿAskarī's *Kitāb al-Kāfī li-man kāna bi-l-maʿrifa li-kitābi Llāh muwāfī*, the important compilation of Samaritan law completed in 433/1041.[20] The almost complete sixth quire of that

154; HALKIN, Abraham: *The 613 precepts among the Samaritans* (in Hebrew), in: Löwinger, Samuel / Scheiber, Alexander / Somogyi, József (eds.): Ignace Goldziher Memorial Volume, vol. 2. Jerusalem: R. Maas, 1958, 86–100; BAILLET, *Commandements et lois*, 264–265.

19 For further mss. of *K. al-Farāʾiḍ* (Sassoon 719 and Manchester, JRL, 172) see BÓID, *Principles* 42f.; BAILLET, *Quelques manuscrits*, 154–155, nos. 12–13; id.: *Commandements et lois*, 259–266. Note that *K. al-Farāʾiḍ* abounds with references to Jewish (Qaraite and Rabbanite) legal and exegetical literature.

20 See ʿABD AL-ʿĀL, *Comparative Study* (above n. 3); BÓID, *Principles*, 32–37, 67–85, 134–136, 147–157, 195–196; COHN, Naphtali: *Die Zarâath-Gesetze der Bibel nach dem Kitāb al-Kāfī des Jûsuf ibn Salâmah. Ein Beitrag zur Pentateuchexegese und Dogmatik der Samaritaner*. Frankfurt a.M.: J.

manuscript (9/10/11/12/13/14/15/16/17/–) contains the end of the section on ritual ablution and cultic purity (*Bāb al-wuḍūʾ wa-l-ṭahāra*) and the beginning of the section on prayer (*Bāb al-ṣalāt wa-ḏikr tartīb aḥkāmihi fī dawrinā wa-ayyāminā*).[21] F. 18, which contains the beginning of the summary, clearly belonged to the very same codex. Whilst it is not a direct continuation of the preceding folio (f. 17), it was in all likelihood appendixed to the section on prayer in *K. al-Kāfī* which addresses several issues related to the determination of the *qibla*. In legal treatises the section on prayer is the *locus classicus* for discussions related to the *qibla* and appendant polemical exchanges between Jews and Samaritans.

2 The Qaraite refutation of al-Ṣūrī's treatise on the *qibla*

Two fragments of a manuscript containing an anonymous Qaraite refutation of al-Ṣūrī's treatise on the *qibla* are extant in the Second Shapira collection of Qaraite manuscripts at the British Library in London (Or. 2523, ff. 1–46)[22], and the Second Firkóvitch Collection at the Russian National Library in St. Petersburg (Yevr.-Arab. I 1681).[23] The codicological reconstruction of the manuscript, which was evidently copied from a Vorlage in Arabic script, is displayed in the following table:[24]

Kauffmann, 1899; NOJA, Sergio: *Il Kitāb al-Kāfī dei Samaritani*. Naples: Instituto Orientale di Napoli, 1970 (reprinted from Annali dell'Instituto Orientale di Napoli 18 (1968), 253–288; 19 (1969), 17–44, 333–360; 20 (1970), 167–207, 447–481).

21 See the section title in red ink on f. 15b.

22 A first collection of manuscripts, including manuscripts of Qaraite and Yemenite provenance, was acquired from M.W. Shapira on 23 July 1881. The Second Shapira Collection (Or. 2459–2602), comprising "138 Jewish Mss from the town of Hīt on the Euphrates", was acquired from Shapira on 8 July 1882 for £700. For a short description of ms. Or. 2523 see MARGOLIOUTH, George: *Catalogue of the Hebrew and Samaritan Manuscripts in the British Museum*, London: The Trustees of the BritishMuseum, 1909–1915 (repr. 1965), vol. 3, 512f., no. 1098. Ff. 47–88 contain fragments of a Qaraite treatise on the month of *aviv* with arguments in support of the interpretation of *aviv* as referring to the ripening barley crop.

23 SKLARE, David E.: *Yūsuf al-Baṣīr: Theological Aspects of His Halakhic Works*, in Frank, Daniel (ed.): *The Jews of Medieval Islam*. Leiden: Brill, 1995, p. 257, n. 27 suggested BL Or. 2523 (not 2528!) to be a ms. of al-Baṣīr's *Radd ʿalā l-Sāmira* (not *samāra*!) and RNL Yevr.-Arab. I 1681 a ms. of a book by a student or follower of al-Baṣīr.

24 Each field in the codicological table represents one folio of the respective manuscript. Superscript numbers refer to quire numbers; underlined quire numbers are visible in the ms. Note that

Codicology of mss. BL, Or. 2523 (quires 1-5) & RNL, Yevr.-Arab. I 1681 (quires 6-15)									
quire 1 [BL]	—	quire 4 [BL]	27^{4}	quire 7 [RNL]	73^{7}	quire 10 [RNL]	75^{10}	[quaternion] quire 13 [RNL]	85^{13}
	—		28		1		76		86
	1		29		2		77		87
	2		30		3		78		88
	3		31		4		79		89
	4		32		5		80		90
	5		33		6		81		91
	6		34		7		82		92
	—		35		8		83	quire 14 [RNL]	53^{14}
	—		36		74		84		54
quire 2 [BL]	7^{2}	quire 5 [BL]	37^{5}	quire 8 [RNL]	9^{8}	quire 11 [RNL]	19^{11}		55
	8		38		10		20		56
	9		39		11		21		57
	10		40		12		22		58
	11		41		13		23		59
	12		42		14		24		60
	13		43		15		25		61
	14		44		16		26		62
	15		45		17		27	quire 15 [RNL]	43^{15}
	16		46		18		28		44
quire 3 [BL]	17^{3}	quire 6 [RNL]	71^{6}	quire 9 [RNL]	33^{9}	[binion] quire 12 [RNL]	29^{12}		45
	18		63		34		30		46
	19		64		35		31		47
	20		65		36		32		48
	21		66		37				49
	22		67		38				50
	23		68		39				51
	24		69		40				52
	25		70		41				—
	26		72		42				—

The London fragment contains quires 1–5 of the manuscript with quire 1 lacking the two outermost bifolios, including the title page and part of the introduction;

this is one of several examples where one part of a manuscript is found in the Second Shapira collection at the British Library in London, the other in the Second Firkóvitch Collection at the Russian National Library in St. Petersburg; for further details see SCHWARB, Gregor: *Découverte d'un nouveau fragment du Kitāb al-Mughnī fī abwāb al-tawḥīd wa-l-ʿadl du qāḍī ʿAbd al-Jabbār al-Hamadhānī dans une collection karaïte de la British Library*. MIDEO 27 (2008), 119–130.

the St. Petersburg fragment comprises quires 6–15, whereby the original order of the folios has been considerably disturbed.

The work consists of quotations of various length from al-Ṣūrī's treatise on the *qibla* which are followed by detailed comments and objections by the Qaraite author of the refutation. The quotations are headlined by the phrase "And [then] the author of the book said" (*[ṯumma] qāla [Ṣāḥib al-kitāb]*), while the rejoinder is introduced as "Statement against him on this" (*al-kalām ʿalayhi fī ḏālika*).

The alternation of quotation and rejoinder is only interrupted by the insertion of a lengthy excursus discussing the veracity of prophetic missions after Moses and the reliability of transmitted reports about their deeds and miracles. This excursus, which assumes the form of a treatise within the treatise, spans over more than six quires (ms. RNL, Yevr.-Arab. I 1681, ff. 72b–44a) and amounts to one of the most substantial tracts on prophetology in the whole of Judaeo-Arabic literature.[25] In contrast to the remainder of the text, the Samaritan viewpoints are not introduced here as quotations from a book, but rather as statements and queries by an anonymous interlocutor.

A conspicuous feature of the excursus are the recurrent references to Abū Yaʿqūb [Yūsuf b. Ibrāhīm al-Baṣīr] (d. before 1040 CE) and some of his writings, including *K. al-Hidāya ilā ṣiḥḥat naql muʿǧizāt Mūsā* (Yevr.-Arab. I 1681, f. 30b), *K. al-Istiʿāna, wa-huwa al-Naqḍ ʿalā Abī Ǧaʿfar al-Ṭabarī* (*ibid.*), and *al-Naqḍ ʿalā iʿǧāz al-Qālūn* (*ibid.*, ff. 23a, 31b).[26] It is striking that all these references occur in a relatively short section of the excursus which by all appearance has been added to the original composition. By themselves, they are insufficient evidence to discard al-Baṣīr as author of the Qaraite refutation.[27] The assumption that Yūsuf al-Baṣīr was the original author of the refutation which was left unfinished at his

25 The excursus begins on f. 72b (*iʿlam annahu yanbaġī l-ittisāʿ fī l-kalām ʿalā mā awradahu fī hāḏihi l-nubuwwa ʿalā wuǧūh, aḥaduhā [...]*) and ends on f. 44a (*wa-aʿūdu baʿda ḏālika ilā ḥikāyat baqiyyat qawl Ṣāḥib al-kitāb [...]*).

26 On these works by Yūsuf al-Baṣīr see SKLARE, *Yūsuf al-Baṣīr*, 249–270; id. / BEN-SHAMMAI, Haggai (eds.), *Judaeo-Arabic Manuscripts in the Firkovitch Collections. The Works of Yūsuf al-Baṣīr. A Sample Catalogue, Texts and Studies*. Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Institute, 1997; SCHWARB. Gregor: *Yūsuf al-Baṣīr*. Encyclopedia of Jews in the Islamic World. IV (2010), 651–655; id.: *Theological Semantics in Yūsuf al-Baṣīr's Risāla fī maʿnā ijāzat al-naskh*, in: Gallego, María Ángeles / Monferrer-Sala, Juan Pedro (eds): The Semitic Languages of Jewish Intellectual Production. Memorial Volume for Dr. Friedrich Niessen. Leiden: Brill, forthcoming.

27 Indeed, the purpose of these references may have been part of the attempt to add a flavour of authenticity to the completion of al-Baṣīr's unfinished work.

death and posthumously completed by one of is students[28] is not only supported by Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ṣūrī's statement cited at the beginning of this article, but also by the fact that Yūsuf al-Baṣīr refers to a *Rebuttal of the Samaritans* in his refutation of Samuel b. Ḥofnī Gaon's *ʿAšar masāʾil* (*al-Radd ʿalā Šᵉmuʾel raʾs al-maṭība*).[29] Further supporting evidence may be drawn from the inventory of a book repository managed by a Qaraite bookseller which includes the titles *al-Qibla: Radd ʿalā l-Sāmira* and *al-Kalām fī l-qibla* next to other titles by Yūsuf al-Baṣīr.[30]

Since Yūsuf al-Baṣīr is known to have died shortly before 1040, it stands to reason that al-Ṣūrī completed his *K. fī bāb al-qibla* over the course of the 1030s. This would concur with the date 431/1039-40 mentioned in Samaritan sources for the completion of al-Ṣūrī's *K. al-Ṭabākh*.[31] Given, however, that *K. al-Ṭabākh* is the title of a posthumously arranged selection of al-Ṣūrī's theological, exegetical and legal works, this date can only be meaningful, if it is taken to refer to the completion of one of al-Ṣūrī's genuine works such as *K. al-Išārāt* or *K. al-Uṣūl*.[32]

Irrespective of whether or not my assumptions about the authorship of the Qaraite refutation will stand the test of time, both texts – i.e. al-Ṣūrī's *Kitāb fī bāb al-qibla* and the Qaraite refutation – provide abundant evidence for an intense

28 The only likely candidate to have completed and supplemented an unfinished draft of al-Baṣīr's *al-Radd ʿalā l-Sāmira* would be his preeminent student Yeshuʿah ben Yehudah (Abū l-Faraǧ Furqān b. Asad) who was, moreover, well acquainted with Samaritan law and literature and whose literay œuvre shares many commonalities with that of Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ṣūrī (see SCHWARB, *Vestiges of Qaraite Translations*, 131f. with nn. 68f.).

29 RNL, Yevr.-Arab. I 3025, f. 27a (par. I 3026, f. 2a-b; II 1089, f. 104a). *Al-Kalām ʿalā l-Sāmira* is referred to as part of a collection of Responsa (*masāʾil*).

30 Ms. Oxford, Bodl., Heb. f 22, fols. 30b and 36a, ed. in ALLONY, Nehemiah: *The Jewish Library in the Middle Ages. Book Lists from the Cairo Genizah* (in Hebrew), Frenkel, Miriam / Ben-Shammai, Haggai (eds.). Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Institute, 2006, 162, l. 144 and p. 167, l. 249; SKLARE, *Yūsuf al-Baṣīr* (above n. 23), p. 257, n. 27. Both titles appear next to al-Baṣīr's *Naqḍ Kalām [Šᵉmuʾel] ben Ḥofnī*.

31 See also the references in SCHWARB, *Vestiges of Qaraite Translations*, 128–132 where I adduce further evidence in support of my suggestion that the heyday of al-Ṣūrī's literary prodcutivity should be dated to the first half of the 11th century.

32 The beginning and several chapters of *K. al-Išārāt* (or *K. al-Išāra*) are incorporated into *K. al-Ṭabāḫ. K. al-Uṣūl* – which is in all likelihood identical with *K. al-Išārāt [fī l-uṣūl]* – is twice mentioned in the Qaraite refutation of *K. fī bāb al-qibla*: BL, Or. 2523, f. 45b (in the context of arguments against the reliable transmission of the Masoretic text of the Torah) and RNL, Yevr.-Arab. I 1681, f. 72a (regarding the question of whether or not the Samaritans should be counted among the *Banū Isrāʾīl*). These topics blend in well with Munaǧǧā b. Ṣadaqa's reference to *K. al-Išārāt* in his above-mentioned *Talḫīṣ* of Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ṣūrī's commentary on ועתה ישראל in ms. Sassoon 726, f. 16a: وقد استوفى الشيخ الردّ على مخالفينا في كتاب الإشارات، فطالعه من هناك.

and sustained exchange between Samaritan and Qaraite scholars at the time.[33] Recurrent references to works by Jewish and Muslim authors (e.g. al-Qirqisānī's *K. al-Anwār*, ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār al-Hamaḏānī's *al-Kitāb al-Muġnī [fī abwāb al-tawḥīd wa-l-ʿadl]* and *Šarḥ al-ʿUmad [fī uṣūl al-fiqh]*, Abū Bakr al-Rāzī's *al-Ḥāwī [fī l-ṭibb]*, al-Mutanabbī's *Dīwān*) – with the consistent implication that they were equally familiar and accessible to both sides of the debate – testify to a significant overlap of their intellectual interests and a substantial congruence of their educational canons. The presence of a shared intellectual background is particularly palpable

33 See SCHWARB, *Vestiges of Qaraite Translations*, 128–135, where I disprove statements to the contrary in previous research literature. Several scholars succumbed to the logical fallacy of concluding from an apparent absence of evidence for the existence of X to the evidence of the non-existence of X: BARON, Salo Wittmayer: *A Social and Religious History of the Jews. Vol. 5: High Middle Ages. Religious Controls and Dissensions*. New York: Columbia University Press, ²1957, 261; GIL, Moshe: *A History of Palestine, 634–1099*. Cambridge: CUP, 1992, 824. Excerpts from al-Ṣūrī's works in Qaraite manuscripts further corroborate that Qaraite scholars were acquainted with and interested in the literary output of this eminent Samaritan scholar. Two excerpts from his writings, both in the hand of Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Sulaymān, are found among the Qaraite manuscripts in London and St. Petersburg (BL, Or. 2572, f. 13 and RNL, Arab.-Yevr. 175). The first fragment contains a gloss (*taʿlīq*) concerning divine attributes and the ontological status of created beings; the second fragment contains an extract from a responsum about incest laws. It should be noted here that ṢEDAQAH, Benyamim: *History of the Samaritans in the Islamic Period (634–1099 CE)*. A.B. Samaritan News 822–823 (15.08.2002), 71, erroneously fabricates a meeting of Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ṣūrī with Qaraite savants in Jerusalem in the year 424/1033 [נודע על החכם הזה כי היה בא לשכם וישב עם כהניה וחכמיה וכי בשנת אלף ושלשים ושלש (1033) למחשב הערלים היא שנת ארבע מאות וארבע ועשרים (424) למחשב בני ישמעאל בא אב-חסדה לעיר ירושלים ונשא ונתן על דיני השמרים עם חכמי עדת הקראים שם.]. This misinformation is in turn based on Ytzhak BEN-ZVI's *Sefer ha-Shomronim*, Tel Aviv: H.A.Y. Shatival, 1935, 172. Ben-Zvi, following Adolph Neubauer (*Un commentaire samaritain inconnu*. Journal Asiatique 7/1, 1 (1873), 341–368, with a fatal misprint of 1033 instead of 1053 on p. 343) misidentified the Qaraite Abū l-Ḥasan Dāʾūd b. ʿImrān b. Levi who is mentioned in the introduction to ms. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Oppenheimer Add. Qu. 99 with Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ṣūrī (the Bodleian ms. was later shown to contain a Samaritan adaptation of Yeshuʿah ben Yehudah's commentary on Gen 1–28; see LOEWENSTAMM, Ayala: *The Karaite Yeshuʿah b. Yehudah: The Author of a Commentary on the Book of Genesis in Samaritan Disguise* (in Hebrew). Tarbiz 41 (1972), 183–187, repr. in eadem, *Karaite and Samaritan Studies* (above n. 18), 202–206). We thus see how a typographical error (1033 instead of 1053) is at the origin of a historiographical claim that lacks any factual or documentary basis. Note, however, that the fictitiousness of the meeting between Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ṣūrī and Qaraite savants in Jerusalem in 424/1033 does not derogate from the possibility and plausibility that their encounter was not confined to a mere literary acquaintance.

with respect to Muʿtazilite *Kalām*.[34] Indeed, for large parts of the debate the terminology and the modes of argumentation employed by the two parties can only be appreciated on the understanding that both sides were deeply immerged into the study of Muʿtazilite *uṣūl al-dīn* and *uṣūl al-fiqh*.

A detailed exposition of the pervasive Muʿtazilite bedrock would go far beyond the constraints of the present article and must be deferred to another occasion. Here and now I shall confine myself to briefly outlining the structure and contents of Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ṣūrī's treatise on the *qibla* on the basis of the Samaritan summary and the quotations embedded in the Qaraite refutation and then go on to synoptically present samples of textual overlaps between the summary and the quotations.

3 The Structure of Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ṣūrī's "*Kitāb fī bāb al-qibla*"

Al-Ṣūrī's treatise on the *qibla* exhibits the dialectical structure typical of *kalām*-treatises and testifies to a long-standing tradition of polemical exchange between Jews and Samaritans about the permanent location of the sanctuary, the determination of the *qibla*, post-Mosaic prophecy and related topics.[35] The position of the generic Jewish opponent is typically introduced by phrases such as *[fa-]in qīla*

34 See my *Vestiges of Qaraite Translations*; Wedel, Gerhard: *Muʿtazilitische Tendenzen im Kitāb aṭ-Ṭabbāḫ des Samaritaners Abu l-Ḥasan aṣ-Ṣūrī*, in: Adang, Camilla / Schmidtke, Sabine / Sklare, David E. (eds.): A Common Rationality. Muʿtazilism in Islam and Judaism. Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2007 (Istanbuler Texte und Studien; 15), 349–375; id.: *Abū l-Ḥasan aṣ-Ṣūrī and His Inclinations to Muʿtazilite Theology*, in: Zsengellér, József (ed.): Samaria, Samarians, Samaritans. Studies on Bible, History and Linguistics. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011 (SJ; 66 / StSam; 6), 261–286; id.: *Religionsgespräche bei den Samaritanern und der islamische Einfluss auf die Entwicklung und Formulierung einer samaritanischen Theologie. Der Theologe Abū l-Ḥasan aṣ-Ṣūrī und der Chronist Abū l-Fatḥ*, in: Frey, Jörg / Schattner-Rieser, Ursula / Schmid, Konrad (eds.): Die Samaritaner und die Bibel. Historische und literarische Wechselwirkungen zwischen biblischen und samaritanischen Traditionen / The Samaritans and the Bible. Historical and Literary Interactions between Biblical and Samaritan Traditions. Berlin / Boston: de Gruyter, 2012 (SJ; 70 / StSam; 7), 355–418.

35 Traces of Samaritan-Jewish polemics relating to the location of the sanctuary are still apparent in modern research literature; see, for instance, Eshel, Hanan: *The Development of the Attribution of Sanctity to Mount Gerizim* (in Hebrew), in: Stern, Ephraim / Eshel, Hanan (eds.): The Samaritans. Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2002, 192–209.

("if someone were to say/ask/object: ..."), *fa-in qālū* ("if they were to say/ask/object"), *fa-in qultum* ("if you were to say/ask/object") and further developed by means of following-up questions: *wa-li-qāʾil an yaqūl* ("Should someone then say/reply/object: ..."), *wa-li-l-ḫaṣm an yaqūl* ("Should the opponent then say/reply/object: ..."); the Samaritan reply or rejoinder is introduced by *[kāna] ǧawāb[uhu]*, *wa-[/fa-]ǧawābuhu* ("he would be replied: ..."; "the answer [to his question] would be: ...").

The summary of al-Ṣūrī's treatise states at the outset that it consisted of two parts corresponding to two distinct types or modes of arguments (*[ʿalā] ṭarīqayn/ṭarīqatayn*) that should evince the identity of Mount Gerizim with the chosen place (*ha-maqom ha-muvḵar*, *al-mawḍiʿ al-muḫtār*) and the permanent location of the sanctuary (*al-quds*)[36]: According to the summary, the first part would present and review traditional arguments advanced by previous Samaritan scholars together with appendant counter-arguments and objections (*ḥuǧağ al-salaf wa-l-radd ʿalayhim*), while the second part would set forth al-Ṣūrī's own arguments (*tarkīban min nafsihi*).[37]

The division into two parts is confirmed by the first extant quotation from al-Ṣūrī's treatise in the Qaraite refutation (BL, Or. 2523, f. 1a) which renders the last few lines of the preface (*muqaddima*) containing an abstract of the book's contents.[38] The remaining lines of this preface refer to subject matters that were discussed in both parts of the book (*li-ǧamīʿihi taʿalluq bi-kiltā l-ṭarīqayn*): 1) the question of whether ritual practices (*ʿibādāt*) imposed by revelation whose performance is linked to the sanctuary, such as the pilgrimage or the Passover sacrifice, should be suspended in the present time; 2) the question of whether the controversy between Samaritans and Jews (*mā yataʿallaqu bi-l-ḫilāf baynanā wa-baynahum*) regarding their conflicting reading of the so-called Centralization Formula in Deut 12:4–5 (בחר versus יבחר) has any effect on the answer to question no. 1.

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36 המקום המבחר refers to [י]בחר יהוה [לשים/לשכן את שמו שם] המקום אשר which appears 21 times in Deut 12:5,11,14,18,21,26; 14:23–25; 15:20; 16:2,6f.,11,15f.; 17:8,10; 18:6; 26:2; 31:11; see ESHEL, Esther / ESHEL, Hanan: *The Date of the Samaritan Pentateuch in the Light of the Biblical Scrolls from Qumran* (in Hebrew), in: Stern, Ephraim / Eshel, Hanan (eds.): The Samaritans. Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2002, 129–152.

37 In ms. Sassoon 726 the second part begins on f. 11b, l. 8: لمّا انتهى الشيخ، رحمه الله، من استدلال السلف على إثبات القبلة ووجهة النقوض على حججهم، استخرج من نفسه حجة، وهي [...].

38 As mentioned above, the first extant folio (BL, Or. 2523, f. 1) corresponds to the third folio of the first quire. The two first folios of this quire are missing. In the first extant comment by the Qaraite author, this introduction is termed *muqaddima*: اعلم أنّ هذا الفصل من كلامه هو مقدّمة لما وعد بأنّه يحتجّ به.

Later in the book it becomes manifest that the difference between the two parts of al-Ṣūrī's treatise is first and foremost a difference of method. It specifically relates to the fact that the discussion in the second part proceeds on the assumption that the Jewish text version of the Pentateuch is valid, too (*ʿalā mūǧib nusḫat al-Yahūd*).[39] It serves as an *a fortiori* argument which aims at proving that the soundness of the Samaritan position concerning the *qibla* can be sustained on the basis of *both* text versions (*fa-qad ṣāra l-naṣṣān, wa-in iḫtalafā, lā taḫtalifu dalālatuhumā ʿalā anna Har Gerizim huwa l-quds*).[40]

As in the summary, the beginning and the end of both parts are clearly demarcated in the quoted passages. The introduction concludes with a transitional sentence leading over to the first part of the book:

> "We shall begin by discussing [the first] of the two [approaches] as far as it can be discussed with the opponent (*al-ḫaṣm*) and then turn to the second approach. May God grant us success in this endeavour."

Based on the quotations in the Qaraite refutation, the first part of al-Ṣūrī's treatise closes with a debate about the correct interpretation of the phrase לשכן/לשום את שמו שם. The concluding sentence reads as follows:[41]

> فهذه جملة كافية في بيان الطريقة الأولى، وسيأتي ما يزيد ذلك وضوحًا بمشيئة الله. وأنا [عند ذ]لك صائر إلى الكلام في بيان الطريقة الثانية، بتوفيقه سبحانه.

> "This summary account is a sufficient outline of the first approach. God willing, things will become clearer in what follows. We now proceed with the exposition of the second approach."

The second part of the treatise opens as follows[42]:

> القول في ذلك: اعلم أنّا قد نعتمد فيها على وجهين: أحدهما يقارب ما اعتمدناه في الطريقة الأولى، والثاني بخلافه. فالأوّل – لمقاربته ما تقدّم من الطريقة – نشير إليه إشارةً، لأنّ ما سلف قد بيّن سبيله.

> "Discussion thereof: Note that in our exposition of the second approach we will proceed on two grounds: The first will proceed on an assumption which is similar to that underlying the first approach, whereas the second will start from a different assumption. Given that the

39 BL, Or. 2523, f. 42a, l. 8.

40 BL, Or. 2523, f. 43b, ll. 11–13.

41 BL, Or. 2523, f. 33b, ll. 16–19. The following rejoinder of the Qaraite refutation closes by stating (ibid., f. 36a, ll. 5–7.): ثم أخذ من بعد ما ذكره من الطريقة الأولى فيما زعمه أن يذكر الطريقة الثانية ("Following the exposition of the first appproach, he set out to present the second approach, as previously announced.").

42 *ibid.*, f. 36a, ll. 7–10.

first method is comparable to that employed in the exposition of the [first] approach, we will only treat it in a cursory manner. Its way of proceeding is apparent from the aforegoing presentation."

The close affinity between the approach chosen for the first part and the first method of the second part along with the fact that most biblical proof texts are discussed in both parts explains several discrepancies between the summary and the Qaraite refutation regarding the partition of al-Ṣūrī's treatise and the allocation of particular text passages. Passages which in the Qaraite refutation are allocated to the first part correspond to texts attributed to the second part in the summary and vice versa:

Qaraite refutation	Samaritan summary
BL, Or. 2523, ff. 16b–18b (1st part)	Sas. 726, f. 12a (2nd part)
BL, Or. 2523, f. 20a-b (1st part)	Sas. 726, f. 12b (2nd part)
BL, Or. 2523, f. 21a (1st part)	Sas. 726, f. 12b (2nd part)
BL, Or. 2523, f. 32a-b (1st part)	Sas. 726, f. 13a (2nd part)
BL, Or. 2523, ff. 36a-b, 38a (2nd part)	Sas. 726, f. 13a-b (2nd part)
BL, Or. 2523, f. 38a (2nd part)	Sas. 726, f. 8b (1st part)
RNL, Yevr.-Arab. I 1681, f. 63a (2nd part)	Sas. 726, f. 9a-b (1st part)
RNL, Yevr.-Arab. I 1681, f. 72a-b (2nd part)	Sas. 726, f. 10a (1st part)

Another noticeable difference between the summary and the quotations embedded in the Qaraite refutation concerns the fact that the former summarises in the first part a number of proof texts from the Samaritan Pentateuch which had previously been adduced by Samaritan scholars to vindicate the identification of Mount Gerizim with the chosen place. Several of these prooftexts were considered problematic or inconclusive (*lā yadullu tamām al-dalāla*) by al-Ṣūrī himself and were thus discarded in the Qaraite refutation.[43]

43 RNL, Yevr.-Arab. I 1681, f. 15b, ll. 3–7 واعلم أن صاحب الكتاب قد قوّى غير ما تقدّم ذكره من احتجاجات أصحابه على أن הר גריזים מקום מבחר بما لا طائل في حكايته لظهور فساده ولأن فيه كثير ممّا يخالف ما في توراتنا، فلا حجّة فيه علينا، فلذلك رأيت حذفه ("It should be noted that the author of the book enhanced further arguments – other than the ones just mentioned – which his coreligionists had adduced to prove that Mount Gerizim was the chosen place. Given that they mostly rely on (text versions) which contradict the text version of our Torah, it is pointless to discuss them here. They have no probative force against us, and I therefore deemed it best to leave them out"). Cf. BL Or. 2523, f. 32b: وخرج بما أبدعه من ذلك عن طريقة أصحابه في استدلالاتهم التي حكاها عنهم وأضعفها لكونها عنده غير دالة.

1) The first of these proof texts is taken from the Samaritan version of the Decalogue in Exod 20:13[a–f] and Deut 5:17[a–g] and the closely related passage in Deut 27:2–7 of the Masoretic and the Samaritan versions "whereby in their version (*ʿindahum*) [of Deut 27:4] Mount Gerizim has been replaced with (*ʿuwwiḍa*) Mount Ebal." The latter text is extensively discussed in the second part of the treatise.

2) The second proof text cited is Gen 12:6–8: "Abram passed through the land as far as the site of Shechem [עד מקום שכם], at the terebinth of Moreh. The Canaanites were then in the land. The Lord appeared to Abram and said, 'I will assign this land to your heirs.' And he built an altar there [שם] to the Lord who had appeared to him. From there he moved on [ויעתק משם] to the hill country east of Beth El and pitched his tent, with Beth El on the west and Ai on the east; and he built there an altar to the Lord and invoked the Lord by name [ויבן שם מזבח ליהוה ויקרא בשם יהוה]." Beth El is here identified with a place of worship in Nābulus/Shechem and the mountain east of Beth El with Mount Gerizim. To counter the objection of those who consider this proof text inconclusive, it is argued that ויעתק specifically means "to move to a nearby location" (*intiqāl ilā makān qarīb*).

3) The third proof text cited in the summary is Gen 22:2–4 (the Binding of Isaac): "And He said, 'Take your son, your favored one, Isaac, whom you love, and go to the land of Moriah, and offer him there as a burnt offering on one of the heights [על אחד ההרים] that I will point out to you.' So early next morning, Abraham saddled his ass and took with him two of his servants and his son Isaac. He split the wood for the burnt offering, and [on the third day][44], he set out for the place of which God had told him. [On the third day] Abraham looked up and saw the place from afar [וירא את המקום מרחק]." The Samaritans, including the Dositheans (*al-Dustān*), are said to interpret "*one* of the heights" as meaning "*the most special and singular one* of the heights" (*aḫaṣṣ al-ǧibāl*) and identify the place of the Sacrifice with the pilgrimage site (*mawḍiʿ al-taqrīb huwa mawḍiʿ al-ḥaǧǧ*). According to Exod 34:24 (ב[ה]עלותך) the latter has to be located on a high elevation and therefore cannot be identified with the Jewish sanctuary (which the Samaritans derogatively denote as 'House of Pounding' [בית מכתש]) which is situated in a valley and cannot be seen from afar as required by Gen 22:4 and is, moreover, far to close to

44 According to the Samaritan reading ביום השלישי belongs to v. 3, according to the Masoretic division it opens v. 4.

require a three-day journey to catch sight of it as implied by the Jewish partition of Gen 22:3–4.

4) The fourth proof text relates to Jacob's dream in Gen 28:16–22: "Jacob awoke from his sleep and said: 'Surely the Lord is present in this place, and I did not know it!' Shaken, he said: 'How awesome is this place! This is none other than the abode of God [בית אלהים], and that is the gateway to heaven.' Early in the morning, Jacob took the stone that he had put under his head and set it up as a pillar and poured oil on the top of it. He named that site Beth El; but previously the name of the city had been Luz."

4 Synopsis of textual parallels

Apart from these secondary and partly discarded proof texts, the debate about the Samaritan contention that Mount Gerizim ought to be identified with the chosen place and the sanctuary (*al-quds*) essentially revolves around a number of Deuteronomic core texts, above all Deut chs. 11, 12 and 27.

According to the Samaritan version, Deut 27:4 reads: "Upon crossing the Jordan, you shall set up these stones, about which I charge you this day, on Mount Gerizim, and coat them with plaster." The Masoretic text – which al-Ṣūrī refers to as "the black version" (*al-nusḫa al-sawdā'*) – reads 'Mount Ebal' in place of 'Mount Gerizim'. Moreover, Deut 12:13f. and parallels confine the sacrifice of burnt offerings for the time after the settlement in the land to a specific location, namely "the place that the Lord has chosen [/will choose] in one of your tribal territories"; the fact that burnt offerings were sacrificed on Mount Gerizim after the settlement entails that Mount Gerizim is identical with the chosen place. This conclusion is borne out by the provision which confines the sacrifice of burnt offerings to the entrance of the Tent of Meeting (Lev 1:1–9) which by implication must be located on Mount Gerizim.

In Deut 11:27 and 27:12 Mount Gerizim is identified with the mountain of blessing: "See, this day I set before you blessing and curse: blessing, if you obey the commandments of the Lord your God that I enjoin upon you this day; and curse, if you do not obey the commandments of the Lord your God, but turn away from the path that I enjoin upon you this day and follow other gods, whom you have not experienced. When the Lord your God brings you into the land that you are about to enter and possess, you shall pronounce the blessing at Mount Gerizim and the curse at Mount Ebal. — Both are on the other side of the Jordan, beyond the west road that is in the land of the Canaanites who dwell in the

Arabah — near Gilgal, by the terebinths of Moreh" (Deut 27:26–30). The Samaritans connect these passages to Deut 12:5 and establish a direct link between the place where the blessing is pronounced and the determination of the *qibla* (*iṯbāt al-qibla yarǧiʿu ilā l-mawqiʿ al-maʾmūr fīhi bi-tilāwat al-baraka*).[45]

As stated at the outset, this is not the place to delve into the details of the intricate and elaborate debate between al-Ṣūrī and the Qaraite author of the refutation. Both texts are replete with exegetical and doctrinal nuances and subtleties that will require detailed annotation and elucidation. The purpose of this article is confined to establishing a link between the Samaritan summary of al-Ṣūrī's treatise on the *qibla* and the body of that treatise as it has been preserved in the Qaraite refutation. The following synopsis presents a selection of passages which are common to both texts with a view to illustrating the correlation between the original composition and its summary. In order to facilitate the comparison between the two texts, both will be rendered in Arabic script with scriptural quotations in Hebrew script.

Sassoon 726, f. 13a–14a // Firk. Sam. IV:6, f. 41b	**BL, Or. 2523, f. 36a–38a**
دليل على أنّ השכם(!) إليها توجّه القبلة، وهي المكان المقدّس:	
إنّه، سبحانه، أمر أن يكتب בהרגריזים عندنا وبהר עיבל عند القوم نصوص شريعة الله، سبحانه، تعالى، المشتملة على اسمه، عزّ وجلّ، على حجارة قد اتّخذت منذ عبور الأردن، وكتب عليها هذه النصوص بأعيانها	إنّه، سبحانه، أمر أن يكتب בהר גריזים عندنا وبהר עיבל عند القوم نصوص شريعة الله، سبحانه، المشتملة على اسمه، عزّ وجلّ، على حجارة قد اتّخذت مذ عبور الأردن، وكتب عليها هذه النصوص بأعيانها كتابة متقدّمة على أحد محتملي النصّ حسب ما يأتيك بيانه
قوله והיה ביום אשר תעברו את ה[י]רדן אל הארץ אשר יה[וה] אלהיך נתן לך והקמת לך אבנים גדלות ושדת אתם בשיד. וכתבת עליהן את כל דברי התורה הזאת בעברך وقوله והיה בעברכם את הירדן תקימו את האבנים האלה אשר אנכי מצוה אתכם היום בהרגריזים، وتمامه.	كقوله، سبحانه، והיה ביום אשר תעברו את הירדן אל הארץ אשר יי׳ אלהיך נותן לך והקמות לך אבנים גדלות ושדת אתם בשיד. וכתבת עליהן את כל דברי התורה הזאת בעברך، وقوله והיה בעברכם את הירדן תקימו את האבנים האלה אשר אנכי מצוה אתכם היום בהר גריזים ושדת אתם בשיד. ובנית שם מזבח ליי׳ אלהיך מזבח אבנים.
	ثم قال في آخر الفصل: וכתבת על האבנים את כל דברי התורה הזאת، فإن رجع التعريف في האבנים إلى الحجارة المتّخذة عند العبور، وهو الأولى، كانت الكتابة مكرّرة

45 Ms. Sassoon 726, f. 11b.

Sassoon 726, f. 13a–14a // Firk. Sam. IV:6, f. 41b	BL, Or. 2523, f. 36a–38a

والمكتوب عليه واحد، وإن ردّ إلى حجارة المذبح والمكتوب واحد، فالمكتوب عليه متغاير. إلّا أنّه، كيف كانت الحال في ذلك، فلا بدّ من كتابتَين مشتملتَين على كتاب الله، سبحانه، المتضمّن اسمه العظيم.

فإذا ضمّ إلى هذا النصّ أمره، سبحانه، بقصد الموضع الذي أمر بأن يثبت فيه اسمه، جلّ وعزّ، بالعبادات والقرب وسائر ما تعلّق بمقום מבחר حسب ما سلف ذكره في قوله כי אם אל המקום אשר בחר יי׳ אלהיכם מכל שבטיכם לשום את שמו שם וג׳، حصل من مجموعه أنّ הר גריזים يجب أن يكون هو القدس على نصّنا، وأنّ הר עיבל يجب أن يكون القدس على نصّهم. فلا يبقى خلاف في أنّ بلد نابلس هو القدس.

وإنّما يبقى النظر في حال الجبلين على موجب النسختين وتصحيح الصحيح منهما، وذلك بمعزل ممّا قصدناه هاهنا، وسيجيء ما يتعلّق بذلك مع اطّراح الكلام في الخلاف. إلّا أنّ هذا الكلام إنّما يصحّ متى جعل[نا] לשום مفيدًا للجعل في المكان الذي إنّما يصحّ في الاسم المكتوب دون الملفوظ ممّا قد بيّنّا من قبل أنّه أدون المحتملين، وأنّ الشرح أولى به، وإن كنّا قد أجزناه مع ذلك. وأكثر ما يمكن أن يورد على هذه الطريقة من الأسئلة قد سلف ذكره، فلا وجه لإعادته.[49]

وممّا يمكن أن يقوى به أنّ في قوله في الحجارة תקימו את האבנים האלה كما يحتمل الإنصاب، فكذلك يحتمل التثبيت الأوّل، كقوله ולא תקים לך מצבה بمعنى الإنصاب، والثاني كقوله וקם הבית אשר בעיר וג׳، وهذا هو معنى الإسكان. فإذا صحّ ذلك، صحّ أن يشار إليه بقوله، عزّ وجلّ، אשר בחר לשכן את שמו שם. وإذا صحّ هذا ولا مانع منه، وجب القضاء بصحّته. وباقي ما يمكن

فإذا ضمّ هذا النصّ الأمر الذي أمر بقصد الموضع الذي أمر بأن يثبت فيه اسمه، جلّ وعزّ، بالعبادات وسائر ما يتعلّق بمقום מבחר حسب ما ذكره سلف في قوله כי אם אל המקום אשר בחר יהוה אל[היכם] מכל שבטיכם לשים את שמו שם وتمامه، حصل من مجموعه أن הרגריזים مقום מבחר، هو القدس على نصّنا،

והר עיבל هو القدس على نصّهم. فلا يبقى[46] الخلاف في أنّ بلد نابلس هو القدس.

ما يبقى[47] الخلاف في حال الجبلين على مقتضى הרגריזים، והר עיבל يجب أن يكون هو القدس على نسختهم.

46 ms. ينفي(!).

47 ms. ينفي(!).

49 Here follows an objection by the Qaraite author (*al-kalām ʿalayhi fī ḏālika*). The quotation from *K. fī bāb al-qibla* resumes on f. 36b, l. 23.

BL, Or. 2523, f. 36a–38a	Sassoon 726, f. 13a–14a // Firk. Sam. IV:6, f. 41b
أن نورد على هذا الكلام نستوفيه فيما يأتي، إن شاء الله.[50]	
فأمّا الوجه الثاني، فأقول فيه إنّه أيضًا يحتمل من الدلالة وجهين: أحدهما أنّه، سبحانه، أمر أن يقرّب بهر גריזים עולות ושלמים بقوله והעלית עליו עלות ליי׳ אלהיך וזבחת שלמים ואכלת שם، ونهى عن تقريب شيء من القرابين بعد دخول الديار إلّا في الموضع المختار بقوله לא תעשון כן ליי׳ אלהיכם بعد ذكر عبادات الأصنام في كل المواضع، واستثنى بمקום מבחר كقوله: לא תעשו ככל אשר אנחנו עשים פה היום וג׳، كما سلف بيانه، وبقوله השמר לך פן תעלה עולותיך בכל מקום אשר תראה כי אם במקום אשר בחר יי׳ וג׳،	دليل آخر: أمر، سبحانه، أن يقرّب בהרגריז[ים] עלות ושלמים لقوله، تعالى، והעלית עליו עלות ליהוה אלהיך. וזב[חת] של[מים] ואכלת שם وتمامه، ونهى عن تقريب شيء من القرابين بعد دخول الديار إلّا في الموضع المختار لقوله לא תעשו כן ליהוה אלהיכם بعد ذكر عبادات الأصنام في كل المواضع، واستثنى במקום מבחר لقوله לא תע[שו] ככל אשר אנחנו עשים פה היום وتمامه،
وما أمر بتقريبه بהר גריזים، فهو بعد دخول الديار. فوجب أن يتناوله النصوص المذكورة، وذلك يقتضي وجوب كونه مقرّبًا بمקום מבחר، فהר גריזים إذًا هو המקום המבחר.	وما أمر بتقريبه בהרגריזים، فهو بعد دخول الديار، وذلك يقتضي كونه מבחר، فهرجريزيم[48] מקום מבחר، والله أعلم.

BL, Or. 2523, f. 39a-b	Sassoon 726, f. 8b // Firk. Sam. IV:6, ff. 26b–27a
ثم قال: و[الوجه] الثاني أنّ העלה והשלמים اسمين شرعيين، ومن تفسيرهما كون كلّ منهما مقرّبًا بحضرة باب אהל מועד، وهو مسكن الله، سبحانه، كقوله في העלה: אם עלה קרבנו מן הבקר זכר תמים יקריבנו אל פתח אהל מועד יקריב אתו، وكقوله في השלמים: ואם זבח שלמים קרבנו אם מן הבקר הוא מקריב אם זכר אם נקבה תמים יקריבנו לפני יי׳، وقوله من بعد في بعضه ושחט אתו	إنّما[51] قلنا ذلك، لأنّ אלעלות והשלמים إنّما يقرّبا(!) بحضرة باب אהל מועד، وهو משכן יהוה. أمّا העלה[52]، فقول الكتاب الشريف אם עלה קרבנו إلى قوله אל פתח אהל מועד. وقال في זבח שלמים[53]

48 Arabic script in the ms.

50 Here follows another objection by the Qaraite author (*al-kalām ʿalayhi fī ḏālika*). The quotation from *K. fī bāb al-qibla* resumes on f. 38a, l. 10.

51 إنّا ס.

52 العله ס.

53 ואם זבחים ס [זבח שלמים.

BL, Or. 2523, f. 39a-b	Sassoon 726, f. 8b // Firk. Sam. IV:6, ff. 26b–27a
لفني אהל מועד، وفي بعضه ושחטו פתח אהל מועד. وإذا صحّ ذلك، فالأمر بتقريب העלות والשלמים בהר גריזים يقتضي إقامة אהל מועד فيه، وإلّا، فلا يصحّ(!) القرابين المذكورة. وما لا يتمّ الواجب إلّا به، فهو واجب كوجوبه. وإذا ثبت ذلك وكان النصّ المقتضي وجوب تعمير هذا المذبح وقبح تخريبه وقطع ذكر الله بحضرته، كما بيّنّاه من قبل في قوله بعد الأمر بتخريب المواضع التي عبدت فيها الأصنام ونقض مذابحها لإبادة ذكرها من تلك المواضع، ناهيًا عن مثل ذلك في موضع عباداته بقوله לא תעשון כן לי״י אלהיכם. فقد وجب إدامة التقريب عليه. وإذا وجب ذلك، وجب استقرار السكينة به، وهذا هو غاية ما يمكن أن يكون مرادًا بقوله سبحانه המקום אשר בחר י״י אלהיכם בו לשכן שמו שם على كلّ مذهب، فوجب القضاء بكون الجبل المذكور هو القدس، كما قلنا، وذلك واضح بحمد الله.	ושחטו פתח אהל מועד. فالأمر بتقريب עלות ושלמים בהרגריזים[54] يقتضي אהל מועד فيه، وإلّا، فلا يصحّ تقريب القرابين المذكورة. وإذا وجب ذلك، وجب استقرار السكينة به، وهذا غاية ما يمكن أن يكون مراده بقوله המקום אשר בחר יהוה אלהיכם בו לשכן את שמו שם على كلّ مذهب، فوجب القضاء بكون الجبل المذكور هو القدس.

BL, Or. 2523, ff. 41a-b, 42a	Sassoon 726, ff. 8b–9a // Firk. Sam. IV:6, f. 27a-b
فإن قيل: لِمَ لا يجوز أن يكون(!) قرابين الله، سبحانه، بأسرها مقرّبة في מקום מבחר ويتعبّد مع ذلك بتقريب قرابين في הר גריזים، ولا يجب أن يكون מקום מבחר، بل مستثناة من النصّ العامّ، كما قد جاز أن ينصّ على تقريب سائر القرابين على מזבח העלה، ثمّ ينصّ على تقريب قرابين ما على מזבח אבנים بالنصّ الذي أوردتموه؟ فالجواب أنّ استثناء العموم يجوز بدليل ويمتنع بغير دليل، وإلّا[58] لم يصحّ أن يثبت للخطاب من الحكيم سبحانه وجه يدلّ عليه. وما ذكرته في المذابح، فالدليل دلّ على صحّته. وما سألت جوازه في القرابين المأمور	فإن قيل: لِمَ لا يجوز أن تكون قرابين الله، سبحانه وتعالى، بأسرها مقرّبة في מקום מבחר ويتعبّد مع[55] ذلك بتقريب قرابين في הרגריזים، ولا يجب أن يكون[56] מקום מבחר، بل مستثناة من النصّ العامّ، كما جاز أن ينص على سائر تقريب القرابين על מזבח העלה، ثمّ ينصّ[57] على تقريب قرابين ما في מזבח אבנים بالنصّ الذي أوردتموه؟ فالجواب أنّ استثناء العموم يكون بدليل ومنعه بدليل(!) وإلّا، لم يصحّ أن يثبت الخطاب(!) وجهٍ(!) يدلّ عليه.

54 ס فهو הרגריזים.
55 ס om.
56 ס]ولا يجب أن يكون ولا يكون.
57 ס نصّ.
58 ms. لولا ذلك، وإلّا.

Sassoon 726, ff. 8b–9a // Firk. Sam. IV:6, f. 27a-b	BL, Or. 2523, ff. 41a-b, 42a
وهاهنا لا وجه يقتضي التخصيص، فلا يعدل عن عمومه، فوجب دخول הרגריזים تحت تلك النصوص العامّة.	بها في הר גריזים واجب دخولها تحت تلك النصوص العامّة بظاهرها ولا استثناء ولا دليل يدلّ على التخصيص، فوجب صحّة ما قلناه ومفارقة حاله لما سألتَ عنه.[59]
ثمّ يرد هذا السؤال على مقتضى نسخة اليهود أكثر، لأنّ הר עיבל قرّب(!) عليه هذه القرابين الخاصّة مستثناة من النصّ العامّ المقتضي لتقريب سائر القرابين على מקום מבחר، وقد يثبت بالدلالة الأولى | أنّ הרגריזים מקום מבחר، فوجب تقريب القرابين عليه لتغاير الجبلين.	وإنّما يصحّ هذا السؤال على قود دلالات هذه النصوص واختلافها على موجب نسخة اليهود، لأنّ الطريقة الأولى، كما بيّنّا، تدلّ على كون القدس הר גריזים، والثانية التي قلنا إنّها تدلّ على أنّه ينبغي أن يكون הר עיבל على نسختهم يصحّ دخول هذا السؤال عليها بأن يقول القائل: إذا صحّ بالدلالة الأولى وجوب كون القدس הר גריזים، فلِمَ لا يكون(!) هذه القرابين المأمور بتقريبها في הר עיבל لا يجب أن تكون مقرّبة بמקום מבחר، بل مستثناة من النصّ العام المقتضي كون سائر القرابين ينبغي أن يقرب(!) بمקום מבחר، إذ قد ثبت تغاير هذين الجبلين، وأنّ هذه القرابين المخصوصة مفترضة بהר עיבל، فلا يصحّ مع تقدّم دلالة تلك الطريقة على كون הר גריזים هو القدس ثبوت دلالة الطريقة الثانية عليه بהר עיבל أيضًا. وهذا الوجه زائل عنّا نحن، لأنّ مدلول الأولى والثانية يتّفق ولا يختلف بموجب نصّنا، فلا يصحّ أن يلزم على قوده ما سألتَ عنه.[60]
	وعلى هذا الوجه لا تصعب الإجابة عن سؤال من سأل فقال: أرأيتم، لو صحّ نصّ اليهود، أما كانت الأدلّة على القدس تتنافى، لأنّ أحدها يقتضي كون הר גריזים هو القدس وباقيها يقتضي كونه הר עיבל؟ فعلى أيها ينبغي أن يعوّل؟ أيجب القطع على كون الجبلين معًا القدس، فنكون مخيّرين أيّهما شيئنا إسكان אהל מועד به وتقريب القرابين وغير ذلك ممّا هو من فرائض القدس، أم لا نكون مخيّرين؟ فلا وجه يصحّ معه الجمع بين دلالاتها ولا يكون وجهًا لصحّة التعبّد، لأنّا نقول: إذا صحّ تقدّم دلالة ما دلّ منهما على أنّ הר גריזים هو القدس، وهو ما ذكرناه من النصّ الذي انعقدت الدلالة فيه بمجموعهما حسب ما تقدّم بيانه، وجب أن يكون ما يأتي من بعد من النصّ على القربن بהר עיבל مستثنى ممّا يجب تقريبه في القدس، فلا يجب كونه مقرّبًا بمקום מבחר حتّى يقطع بذلك على أنّه هو ينبغي أن يكون מקום מבחר. وإذا صحّ

59 Here follows an objection by the Qaraite author of the refutation (*al-kalām ʿalayhi fī ḏālika*). The quotation from *K. fī bāb al-qibla* resumes on f. 42a, l. 7.

60 Here follows another objection (*al-kalām ʿalayhi fī ḏālika*). The quotation from *K. fī bāb al-qibla* resumes on f. 43a, l. 22.

Sassoon 726, ff. 8b–9a // Firk. Sam. IV:6, f. 27a-b	BL, Or. 2523, ff. 41a-b, 42a
[فإن قيل: لو دلّ بالنصّ المقتضي تقريب עלות ושלמים בהר גריזים على وجوب إدامة التقريب בהרגריזים وإسكان سكينة الله [به]، لَوجب مثل ذلك في كلّ موضع نزلت به السكينة في البرية والديار حتى وصلت إلى הרגריזים، وفي ذلك ثبوت القدس غير واحد، بل مواضع لا تحصى، وذلك باطل. جوابه: إنّ النصّ المقتضي وجوب تعمير المواضع المؤهّلة لعبادات الله سبحانه إنّما اقتضى ذلك بعد دخول الديار لقوله כי אתם עברים، وقوله أيضًا אלה החקים והמשפטים وتمامه.][61]	ذلك، فقد صار النصّان، وإن اختلفا، لا تختلف دلالتهما على أنّ הר גריזים هو القدس، [بحـ]مد الله.[62] فإن قيل: لو دلّ النصّ المقتضي تقريب עולות ושלמים بـהר עיבל، معما ركّبتموه عليه من النصّ المقتضي للمنع من تعطيل موضع عبادات الله سبحانه وإخلائها منها على وجوب إدامة التقريب بـהר גריזים وإسكان سكينة الله به، لوجب مثل ذلك في كلّ موضع تركت(! <ىرلت) به السكينة وحلته في البرية والديار حتّى الوصول إلى הר גריזים، وفي ذلك كون القدس غير واحد، بل مواضع لا تحصى، وذلك باطل. فالجواب: إنّ ما أوردته بعيد جدًّا، وذلك أنّ النصّ المقتضي وجوب تعمير المواضع المؤهّلة لعبادات الله سبحانه، وقبح إخلائه منها إنّما اقتضى ذلك بعد دخول الديار. ألا تراه مشروطًا بذلك لقوله سبحانه כי אתם עברים את הירדן לבוא לרשת את הארץ וג׳، إلى قوله אלה החקים והמשפטים אשר תשמרון לעשות בארץ אשר יי׳ אלהי אבותיך נותן לך וג׳. وإذا كانت هذه حاله، فكيف يتوجّه منه كون المواضع التي سألت عنها خارج الديار قدسًا وهي فلا يصحّ تناول النصّ المذكور لها لمجانبتها لمضمونه. فأمّا الداخلة في الديار إلى حين الوصول إلى הר גריזים، وإن كانت من البلد، فإنّ النصّ المذكور يخصّ وجوب التعمير بالقرابين وغيره ممّا تضمّنه بالموضع الذي اختار من أسباطنا شرح اسمه به أو إثباته على ما سلف بيانه. وليست هذه حالة المواضع المذكورة، فزالت الشبهة عمّا أوردناه على كلّ وجه.[64] فإن قيل: فإن كان النصّ المذكور مشروطًا في الدلالة بدخول الديار كما ذكرتم من فاتحته، فمن أين صحّة تناوله لمن لا يصحّ فيه الشرط من غير الداخلين إليه من الصدر الأوّل من أجيال بني إسرائيل وفي ذلك اختصاص مضمونه بهم حتّى لا يصحّ تعدّيه إلى سواهم؟

61 The paragraph in square brackets corresponds to ms. Sassoon 726, f. 9b // Firk. Sam. IV:6, f. 28a. As stated above, the text order of the summary differs here and elsewhere from the text order in the Qaraite refutation.

62 Here follows another objection (*al-kalām ʿalayhi fī ḏālika*). The quotation from *K. fī bāb al-qibla* resumes on f. 46a, l. 21.

64 Here follows another objection which comprises the last lines of ms. BL, Or. 2523, f. 46b with a direct continuation on ff. 71a–b and 63a of ms. RNL, Yevr.-Arab. I 1681 (see the codicological table above). The quotation from *K. fī bāb al-qibla* resumes on f. 63a, l. 5.

Sassoon 726, ff. 8b–9a // Firk. Sam. IV:6, f. 27a-b	BL, Or. 2523, ff. 41a-b, 42a
جواب: إنّ النصّ المذكور لم نقل بأنّه شرط، بل هو عندنا خبر عن الدخول، والموروث والسكنى والكون في الديار لا يختصّ كما اختصّ ذلك بالدخول، فوجب أن لا تكون دلالته مقصورة على بعض دون بعض، على أنّه، لو كان شرطًا، لما ضرّ، لأنّه إنّما كان يثبت شرطًا في البداية، لا لاستمرار، لأنّه، سبحانه، بيّن لزوم هذه الفرائض ما استمرّت الحياة والمقام في البلدة لقوله כל הימים אשר אתם חיים על האדמה، فصار محصول دلالته[63] أنّ هذه الفرائض لازمة لكم مذ تدخلون على طول الأيّام واستمرار الحياة.	فالجواب: إنّا لم نقل إنّ النصّ المذكور مشروط دلالته بالديار ودخولها، لأن قوله כי אתם עברים וג׳ ليس بشرط/.../، بل هو خبر عن الدخول والمورد والسكنى/.../، بل إنّما قلنا ذلك من حيث أنّ ما تضمّنه من أمر ونهي مقصور على البلدة والمقام بها، كقوله في فاتحة الأمر فيه אלה החקים והמשפטים אשר תשמרון לעשות בארץ אשר נתן יי׳ אלוהי אבותיך וג׳. وإذا كان كذلك، والكون في الديار لا يختصّ كما اختصّ ذلك الدخول المعيّن، وجب أن لا يكون(!) دلالته مقصورة على بعض دون بعض كما ظننته. وإنّما ذكر ذلك ليعلم الصدر الأوّل الذين كانوا خارج البلد أنّهم ممّن تتوجّه إليهم هذه الفروض المتعلّقة بها. وعلى أنه، لو كان شرطًا، لَما ضرّ، لأنّه إنما كان يثبت شرطًا في البداية، لا في الاستمرار، ولأنّه، سبحانه، [بين] لزوم هذه الفرائض ما استمرّت الحياة والمقام بالبلدة كقوله כל הימים אשר אתם חיים על האדמה فصار محصول دلالته أنّ هذه [الفرائض] لازمة لكم مذ تدخلون على طول الأيّام واستمرار الحياة، فلا يجب. تكرار حصول الدخول من بعد بوجه من الوجوه.

The last sample text of this synopsis appears in the Qaraite refutation as part of a "chapter on the fact that there exists no particularising [statement/evidence] to show that the cited proof texts signify the identification of the sanctuary with Mount Gerizim (*Faṣl fī annahu lā muḥaṣṣiṣ li-dalālat al-nuṣūṣ al-maḏkūra ʿalā kawn al-quds huwa Har Gerizim*). It is this passage which provides the springboard for the aforementioned excursus on the authenticity and validity of post-Mosaic prophecy. The excursus is subdivided into five topical sections each of which aims at refuting a specific assertion made by al-Ṣūrī in the paragraph quoted below:

1) The assertion that the Samaritans mingled with the Jews, were earwitnesses of their reports and read their Scriptures/books (RNL, Yevr.-Arab. I 1681, f. 73a-b).
2) The allegation that well-educated Jews cast doubt on the prophecy of post-Mosaic prophets (RNL, Yevr.-Arab. I 1681, f. 1a-b).

63 لدلالته ס.

3) The allegation that the multitude of common believers among the Jews who accept as valid the prophecy of post-Mosaic prophets are unable to present compelling arguments in support of this assumption (RNL, Yevr.-Arab. I 1681, ff. 1b–2a).
4) The contention that there exists no particularising evidence to sustain the identification of Jerusalem with the location of the sanctuary (RNL, Yevr.-Arab. I 1681, ff. 2a–15b).
5) The claim that Jews provided invalid evidence to substantiate the authenticity of post-Mosaic prophets (RNL, Yevr.-Arab. I 1681, ff. 15b–44a).

RNL, Yevr.-Arab. I 1681, f. 72a-b	Sassoon 726, ff. 10a // RNL, Firk. Sam. IV:6, ff. 32a-b
فإن قالوا: فما تنكرون من كون ما بأيدينا من النصّ على ירושלם مقتضي للتخصيص؟	فإن قيل: التخصيص ما ورد بأيدينا[65] من النصوص الدالّة على أنّ ירו שלם[66] تقتضي التخصيص من كلام الأنبياء.
فالجواب: إنّه، لو كان له صحّة، لوجب أن يصحّ أن نعلمه على الحدّ الذي يجوز بمثله تخصيص نصّ التوراة، وإلّا كان سبحانه قد لبّس علينا مراده، تعالى عن ذلك علوًا كبيرًا. وأنتم تعلمون أنّ الحال بخلاف ذلك، فيجب أن لا يكون الأمر فيه على ما ادّعيتم.	فجوابه:
ألا ترى أنّكم تختلفون في ذلك، فمنكم من لا يرتضي النبوات المقتضية لما ذكرتم مع التديُّن بالشريعة، وهم الحذّاق منكم، ومنكم – وهم الجم الغفير – من يصحّحه ويتعذّر عليه إيراد الحجّة فيه.	إنّكم مختلفين(!) في ذلك، فمنكم[67] من لا يرتضي النبوات المقتضية لما ذكرتم، وهم الحذّاق، ومنكم[68] الجمّ الغفير من يصحّحه.
فلو كان ما اعتقده هؤلاء صحيحًا، لكان حذّاقهم وأئمّتهم بمعرفته مع شدّة الحرص عليه أولى. فلمّا ظهر منهم التشكّك فيه، وجب أن لا يعتبر بما عليه الجمهور.	فلو كان ما اعتقده[69] هؤلاء صحيحًا، لكان حذّاقهم وأئمّتهم بمعرفته أولى[70]، فلمّا ظهر منهم الشكّ فيه، وجب أن لا يعتبر بما عليه الجمهور.
وإذا كنتم أنتم مع شدّة التمسّك بذلك لا سبيل لكم إلى الحجّة فيه، فنحن مع شدّة المباعدة منه بذلك أحرى	
على أنّ المرجع في النبوات إلى ظهور الأعلام على المدّعي النبوة، والمرجع في العلم بالأعلام لغير من يشاهدها إلى أخبار أهل التواتر، وهم الجماعات لتي لا يجوز على مثلها [تع]مّد الكذب	وإيضًا أنّ النبوات المرجع فيها إلى ظهور الآيات والأعلام على المدّعي النبوة، والمرجع بالعلم والأعلام[71] لغير من يشاهدها إلى أخبار متواترة[72]، وهم الجماعة التي لا يجوز على مثلها تعمّد الكذب ولا

65 א add.: وذلك باستقراء ما ورد في الكتاب الشريف.
66 א ياروشلم.
67 ס om.
68 ס ومنهم.
69 ס اعتقدوه.
70 ס اولًا.
71 ס om. [على المدّعي النبوة والمرجع بالعلم والأعلام
72 א أخبار المتواترة, ס أخبار أهل.

RNL, Yevr.-Arab. I 1681, f. 72a-b	Sassoon 726, ff. 10a // RNL, Firk. Sam. IV:6, ff. 32a-b
والتواطؤ والتشاعر. وأخبار من هذه حاله يجب(!) أن يكون(!) طريقًا للعلم بمخبرها لجميع من يسمعها من العقلاء متى زال اللبس، كان السامع من أهل ملّة أولائك المخبرين أم لا، وسواءً كان العلم بمخبر الخبر ضروريًا أم استدلاليًا.	التواطؤ والتشاعر. وأخبار من هذه حالته[73] تجب أن تكون طريقًا للعلم بجميع من سمعه من العقلاء، كان من أهل الملّة التي هٰؤلائك[74] المخبرون[75] من[76] أهلها أم لا، وسواءً كان العلم بمخبر الخبر[77] ضروريًا أم استدلاليًا[78]، لا سيما من يرى أنّ العلم بمخبَر الخبر[79] استدلاليًا.
وإذا صحّ ذلك وكنّا خلفاء عن [سـ]لف [الجماعة لا] يجوز أن تتّفق على الكذب،	وإذا ثبت ذلك وكنّا[80] خلفاء عن سلف الجماعة لا يجوز أن تتّفق على الكذب، فوجب أن نعلم ما تعلموه من حالها ضرورةً، ونحن لا نعلم شيئًا من ذلك،
لا نعلم [شيئ]ا ممّا [.....] على مثلنا أن يظهر بلسانه ما يعلم من نفس[ه .]رك [..]ارا [..]عفه هذا، لو لم يكن إلّا مجرّد انتفاء العلم بصحّة ما تقولون عنّا فقط، فكيف بها، إذا انضاف إليه ما تعلمون من حالنا من أنّا معتقدون ضدّه وأنّه لا حقيقة لما تذكرون من أعلام من تدّعون نبوته ممّن نصّ على قدسكم مع مخالطتنا لجماعتكم وسماعنا لأخباركم وقراءتنا لكتبكم المتضمّنة ما تسندون إليهم من غير سبب للتلبيس،. فوجب إذًا القطع على أنّه لا حقيقة له.	بل نعتقد ضدّه، وأنّه لا حقيقة له مع مخالطتنا[81] لجماعتكم[82] وسماعنا أخباركم وقراءتنا لكتبكم[83] المتضمّنة ما تسندون إليهم من غير سبب للتلبيس،. فوجب إذًا القطع على أنّه لا حقيقة له[84].

The remaining quotations from al-Ṣūrī's treatise on the *qibla* which follow the afore-mentioned lengthy excursus continue to revolve around the subject of post-Mosaic prophecy, prophetic miracles, and abrogation. This final part of the book is only preserved in the Qaraite refutation and has no counterpart in the summary. The final paragraph of the book reads as follows:[85]

73 صفته ס.
74 أؤلائك ס.
75 المخبرين א.
76 om. ס
77 بذلك ס [بمخبر الخبر.
78 واستدلاليًا ס [أم استدلاليًا.
79 بمخيّر الخير ס [بمخبَر الخبر.
80 وكما ס.
81 بمخالطتنا ס [مع مخالطتنا.
82 بجماعتكم ס.
83 كتبكم ס.
84 om. ס [المتضمّنة ... لا حقيقة له
85 ms. RNL, Yevr.-Arab. I 1681, ff. 49a-b and 51a.

ثم نقول لهم: أليس المعلوم أنه لا أحد من سائر من ادّعى في إسرائيل نبوة بعد سيّدنا موسى، عليه السلام، ادّعى أنه ناسخ لشريعته ولا لشيء منها، بل المعلوم أنه لا أحد منهم ظهر إلّا مؤكّدًا لها وباعثًا على العمل بها عندما كان ظهر من بني إسرائيل شيء من مخالفتها، كعبادة الأصنام وغيرها، حتّى يكون سبب ظهوره غلبة الفساد فيهم؟ فلا بدّ من ‹نعم›.

وهو المعلوم من دين اليهودية حتّى أنهم يظهرون أن كل من أجاز نسخ شريعة النبي، عليه السلام، فإنه كالخارج عن الملة. فلا يجوز أن يتشدّدون في ذلك، ومن يعتقدون نبوته، فقد نسخ شريعته، عليه السلام، عن علم منهم. والحال في ذلك ظاهر جدًّا.

فإذا صحّ ذلك وكان من ادّعى النبوة التي بها اعتقدوا أن ירושלם القدس، قد علم من حاله أنّه لم ينسخ شيئًا من شريعته، عليه السلام، لم يجز أن يجعل بين أقواله، لو صحّت، وبين نصوص التوراة معارضة، بل يجب أن تحمل في دلالتها على أنها مبنية على سلامة مقتضاها. وإذا صحّ ذلك، وجب أن يكون المعوّل على ما يدلّ نصّ التوراة وتأويل ما جاؤوا به على ما لا ينافيها. وهذا واضح مع تسليم صحّة جميع ما يدّعون.

على أنّ النصّ على ירושלם أنّها قدس غير مانع من كون غيرها كذلك. فإن لم يعد القوم إلّا إلى هذا القدر، لم يصحّ أن تكون فيه حجّة – مع تسليم أصولهم – في المنع عمّا نقوله. على أنّ هذه النبوات، وإن بنينا الكلام على تسليم صحّتها، فإنّها لم تثبت على حدّ يصحّ معه العلم بحال أربابها في ادّعاء البعثة إلى الأجيال على التأبيد ولا أنّهم مبعوثون إلى غير من ظهروا فيه من أهل زمانهم، بل ليس فيهم من له شريعة جملةً. ومن كان هذا حاله، فغاية أمره أن يحمل على أنّه كالداعي إليه، عزّ وجلّ، والصارف عن سواه، حتّى يجري في هذا الباب مجرى أهل الزهادة والنسك الآمرين بالمعروف والناهيين عن المنكر. وقد اختلف أهل العلم في جواز ظهور الآيات على من هذه حاله، فأكثر المحصّلين على المنع منه وأنّه لا يجوز ظهورها إلّا على أصحاب الشرائع، ومن هذه صفته لا يجوز أن نجعل أقاويله معارضةً لقول صاحب الشريعة الذي قد قطعنا بأقاويله واضطررنا إلى كثير من أغراضه فيما يتعلّق بتكليفنا، بل لا يجوز العمل بها لو ثبتت حجّة إلّا فيما لم تكن فيه معارضة لقوله بتةً.

وإذا صحّ ذلك، فقد تبيّن أنّه لا يجوز أن يكون في سائر ما بأيدي القوم من هذا الشأن ما يمكن أن يكون معارضًا لما أوردناه، بحمد الله ومنّه.

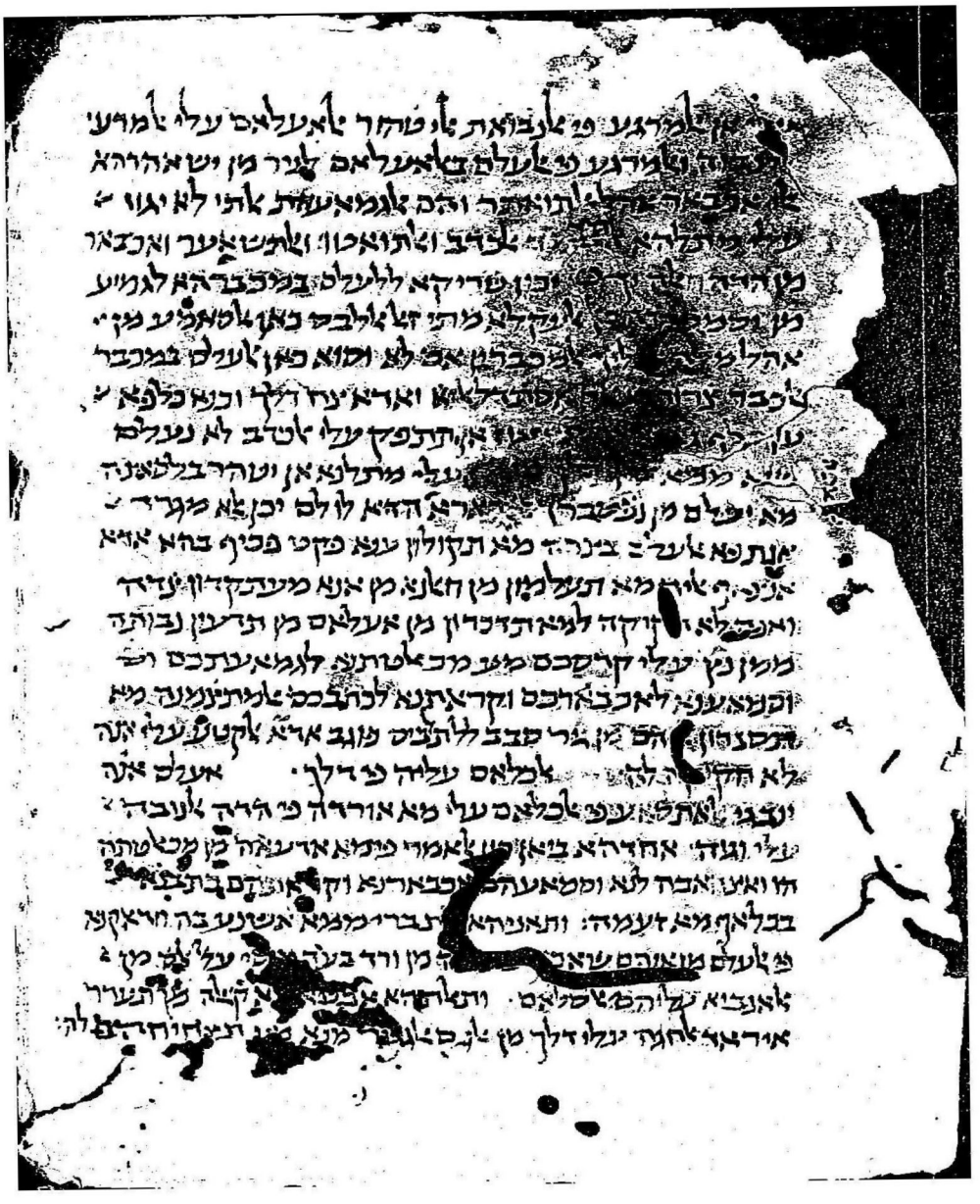

Fig. 1: MSS RNL Yevr.-Arab. I 1681, f. 72b (Image used with permission).

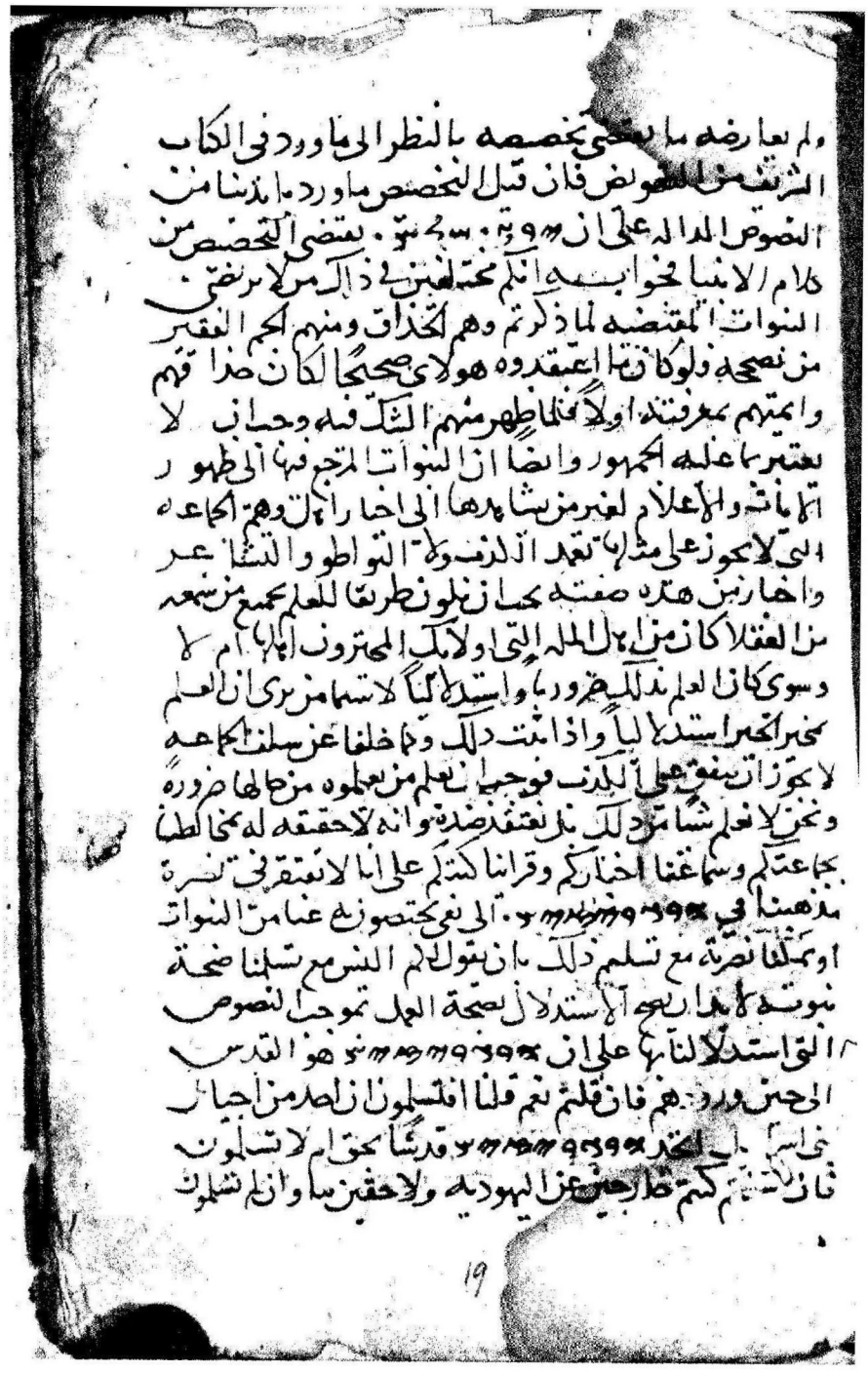

Fig. 2: MS Sassoon 726, f. 10a (Image used with permission).

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CHAPTER 31

EXCURSUS III

The Coptic and Syriac Receptions of Neo-Ashʿarite Theology

GREGOR SCHWARB

I Introduction

The large-scale adoption of works by contemporaneous non-Christian authors from various disciplines of knowledge, their integration into the established body of authoritative texts and the composition of encyclopedic *summae* offering a new synthesis of philosophico-theological and philosophico-scientific knowledge are three salient features of the so-called 'Syriac Renaissance' of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and of the 'Renaissance of Copto-Arabic literature' of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (Teule 2010; Sidarus 2010a).* For Syriac and Coptic Christianity these 'Renaissances' marked periods of profound literary and cultural flowering which took place on the eve and in the course of politically turbulent times with far-reaching geo-political changes in the Islamic world: the emergence of the Mongol Il-Khanate in Persia and Iraq, the disintegration of Ayyūbid and the transition to Mamluk rule in Egypt, Syria, the Ḥijāz, and parts of south-eastern Anatolia, the presence of the Crusader armies occupying strategic points along the Eastern Mediterranean coast and the following collapse of the Crusader States (Teule 2012a, b).

The factors contributing to the 'Golden Age' of Syriac and Copto-Arabic literature were manifold (Sidarus 2010a: 328–32; Swanson 2010: 83–4):

- The Ayyūbid rule was a period of relative political stability and thus provided favourable conditions to a florescence of the socio-cultural life among Muslims and non-Muslims. The educational policy of the Ayyūbids furthered the expansion of a

* I would like to thank A.Y. Sidarus for his valuable comments on an earlier version of this article.

network of teaching institutions and libraries and the circulation of texts. Over the course of the sixth/twelfth and seventh/thirteenth centuries the rational sciences became an integral part of the traditional educational curriculum of the Sunnī *madāris*.

- Of particular significance to the Renaissance of Copto-Arabic literature was the unification of Egypt, Bilād al-Shām, and Yemen under one single political power. This territorial continuity helped to strengthen the long-standing historical relations between Copts and Syrian Orthodox Christians and facilitated the exchange of ideas, texts, and artefacts between the two regions (Fiey 1973; Den Heijer 2004). The Coptic community in Damascus was steadily growing and gathering strength and until the middle of the thirteenth century had assumed sufficient political power to defy the authority of the Coptic patriarch in Cairo (*MTQ* 5: 152–4). As we shall see, almost all protagonists of the Renaissance of Copto-Arabic literature during the thirteenth century resided for shorter or longer intervals in Damascus and maintained close relations with the Coptic community there.
- Within the Coptic church, the language shift from Coptic to Arabic, which was a precondition of the Copto-Arabic Renaissance, was only completed during the twelfth century (Rubenson 1996; Zaborowski 2008; Swanson 2010: 61–81; Sidarus 2013b). Towards the middle decades of the twelfth century there existed a sufficient number of Coptic monks and lay scholars who had received an appropriate formation to access an ample corpus of religious and scientific literature in Arabic and to engage in intensive literary activity. This aptitude was coupled with a widening breadth of interest and an increased willingness to draw on sources from outside the Coptic tradition.
- The driving force behind the Copto-Arabic Renaissance was a class of highly educated Coptic notables who had the means and the capacity to lavish patronage on Coptic scholars and artists (Sidarus 2013a). During the Fāṭimid and Ayyūbid eras several Coptic families became an integral part of the governmental bureaucracy and staffed the *dawāwīn* of the Ayyūbid regime over several generations. Most scholars associated with the Copto-Arabic 'Renaissance' belonged to or were closely associated with these families of State officials. Similarly, the foremost scholars of the Syriac Renaissance benefited from the patronage of local rulers and church institutions (Eddé 1995).

The main exponents of the Syriac and Copto-Arabic Renaissances were scholars of profound erudition who exhibited conspicuous intellectual openness to various linguistic and religious traditions. Besides the scholastic and ecclesiastic literature of Eastern Christian communities, the Church Fathers, and Graeco-Arabic philosophy, they also studied works by contemporaneous Jewish and Muslim men of letters (Schwarb 2007, 2014a). Many of them had extensive private libraries and developed the passionate skill of bibliophiles to track down manuscripts of rare and neglected texts. A vivid and

characteristic description of this inquisitive scholarly attitude is given by al-Muʾtaman Ibn al-ʿAssāl in the preface of his *Majmūʿ fī uṣūl al-dīn* (1: 20f., §16):

> Whenever I found someone who owned a book [relevant to a certain subject matter], I would buy it from him in order to study it thoroughly and to examine it carefully; if someone was not willing to sell it, I would borrow it to make a copy of it (or: to have it copied) and then summarise its main goals and commit them to memory. I collected these books from all religious and confessional denominations as well as from any party/group having knowledge and cognisance of it (*min kulli niḥlatin waṭāʾifatin wa-min kulli jamāʿatin ʿālimatin bihi wa-ʿārifatin*); I persisted in studying [these books] with the perseverance of a rational animal that looks for reasoning and reflection.

The Coptic and Syriac Renaissances affected virtually all disciplines of scientific-literary production, including philosophy, logic, sciences, theology, jurisprudence, literary theory and criticism, historio- and chronography, grammar and lexicography. In the domain of religious thought the process of 'appropriation' of new non-Christian sources was mainly a reaction to preceding developments in Islamic *kalām* and *falsafa* following the spectacular ascendancy of Avicennian thought and its amalgamation with Ashʿarite *kalām* and the ensuing emergence of a new type of philosophical theology (Endress 2006; Eichner 2009).

It is needless to recall that Christian scholars were well acquainted with various intellectual trends of late antiquity as well as with early Islamic theology well before the thirteenth century. The works of Greek and Syrian Church Fathers, which were part and parcel of the curriculum in Christian schools and monasteries during the first centuries of Islam, are imbued with terms and concepts derived from Greek and Hellenistic philosophy, logic, medicine, and rhetoric (Becker 2006). The foremost Christian *mutakallimūn* writing in Arabic from the ninth to eleventh centuries, among them Theodore Abū Qurra (d. *c.*830; *GCAL* 2: 7–26; *CMRBH* 1: 439–91; Coquin 1993: 61f.), ʿAmmār al-Baṣrī (d. *c.*845; *GCAL* 2: 210f.; *CMRBH* 1: 604–10; Coquin 1993: 70), Ḥabīb b. Khidma Abū Rāʾiṭa (d. *c.*855; *GCAL* 2: 222–6; *CMRBH* 1: 567–81; *CC* 70f.), Moses bar Kepha (d. 903; *GCAL* 2: 229–33; *CMRBH* 2: 98–101; Coquin 1993: 71), Qusṭā b. Lūqā (d. 912; *GCAL* 2: 30–2; *CMRBH* 2: 147–53; Coquin 1993: 62), Yaḥyā Ibn ʿAdī (d. 974; *GCAL* 2: 233–49; *CMRBH* 2: 390–438; Coquin 1993: 71f.), Sāwīrus Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ (d. *c.*1000; *GCAL* 2: 300–18; *CMRBH* 2: 491–509; Coquin 1993: 75), Elias of Nisibis (d. 1043; *GCAL* 2: 177–84; *CMRBH* 2: 727–41; Coquin 1993: 68), Abū l-Faraj ʿAbd Allāh Ibn al-Ṭayyib (d. 1043; *GCAL* 2: 160–76; *CMRBH* 2: 667–97; Coquin 1993: 68), had first-hand knowledge of contemporaneous trends in *falsafa* and *kalām* and in many cases established personal ties with Muslim *mutakallimūn* and *falāsifa*.

For the exponents of the Syriac and Copto-Arabic Renaissances of the thirteenth century these earlier authors of Christian-Arabic literature were central points of reference and figure prominently in their writings. Indeed, some of their writings were effectively 'rediscovered' during this period (Sidarus 2010a: 331). Now, however, these

earlier authors were read in conjunction with the more recent proponents and detractors of Avicennian thought. From the vantage point of many Christian scholars of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries these new intellectual trends were strongly reminiscent of their own Hellenic and Hellenistic heritage of theological discourse; to some extent they even conveyed the impression of returning to a familiar, though completely overhauled and refurbished home. This sentiment was aptly captured by Barhebraeus in his *Chronography* (*Chronography*, 1: 91f.; vol. 2, fo. 98a–b):

> And there rose among them (*scil.* the Muslims) philosophers, mathematicians, and physicians who surpassed the ancient [sages] by the precision of their knowledge. The only foundations on which they set up their buildings were Greek houses; the buildings of wisdom which they erected were great by reason of their highly polished diction, and their greatly skilled investigations. Thus it has happened that we, from whom they (*scil.* the Muslims) have acquired wisdom through translators, all of whom were Syrians, find ourselves compelled to ask for wisdom from them.

It was precisely this supposedly Christian complexion of the new philosophizing tendency in Islamic theology and the traditional affinity of Christian theology with the legacy of ancient and late ancient philosophical doctrines that prompted some Muslim *mutakallimūn* of the late eleventh and twelfth centuries to oppose it, because they feared that it would lead to a creeping Christianization of Islamic religious doctrine and

> pervert Islam into something like what Christianity became in relation to the religion of Jesus. The leading proponents [of the Christian doctrine] were inclined towards the Greeks in philosophy, to the point that they modelled the religion of Jesus upon (the docrines of) the philosophers. (Rukn al-Dīn Ibn al-Malāḥimī, *Tuḥfa*, 4)

II The Christian Reception of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī in Ayyūbid Syria and Egypt

The reception of an Avicennizing Islamic theology among Syriac and Coptic Christians was mediated first and foremost through the works of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210). For scholars of all religious denominations they became templates for a new philosophico-theological discourse and structural and conceptual models on which they would form their own philosophico-theological compositions (Schwarb 2014b: 144–8). In this respect 'the son of the orator from Rayy' (*Ibn Khaṭīb al-Rayy*), as he would be called by his contemporaries, clearly outweighed the role played by the works of

earlier representatives of a 'philosophizing' Ashʿarite theology, including Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazzālī (d. 505/1111).

Already during his lifetime Rāzī was perceived as an outstanding mediator who brilliantly succeeded in creating a synthesis of two purportedly incompatible systems of thought, Avicennian philosophy and the science of *kalām*. Over the course of the thirteenth century he emerged as 'the pre-eminent figure among modern scholars and the master of the intellectual vanguard' (*afḍal al-muta'akhkhirīn wa-Sayyid al-ḥukamā' al-muḥdathīn*; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn*, 2: 23) of all religious denominations. His writings would now figure prominently in many private and public libraries of Muslims and non-Muslims. For though several *mutakallimūn* before Rāzī had pointed to the benefit of logic and select *philosophoumena* for solving aporias inherent in the *Kalām* system, it was his extensive critical exposition of Avicennian thought that served as an ultimate catalyst for the introduction of Peripatetic logic, *falsafa*, and sciences into the curriculum of the *madrasa*; it made theologians and jurists read, refute, defend, or refine the works of Ibn Sīnā and his epigons and showed how they could be assimilated with the fundamentals of their creed and theological doctrine (Endress 2006; Schwarb 2014c).

The fostering of a Shāfiʿite-Ashʿarite alliance under the Ayyūbids was another decisive factor for the spread of Ashʿarite *kalām* and the diffusion of Rāzī's works in Syria, Egypt, and Yemen. Two of our principal sources for the intellectual life during the Ayyūbid era, Barhebraeus's *Tārīkh mukhtaṣar al-duwal* (254.14–17) and Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa's *ʿUyūn al-anbā'* (2: 29.31–2), point to multiple Ayyūbid connections with Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī and his intellectual legacy. Rāzī's *Ta'sīs al-taqdīs* (= *Asās al-taqdīs*), a treatise on the rationalist interpretation (*ta'wīl*) of the Qurʾān, was commissioned by al-Malik al-ʿĀdil (r. 596/1200–615/1218), the brother of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, and accordingly opens with a dedication to the Ayyūbid ruler (Rāzī, *Asās*, 339). Some of Rāzī's students became prominent scholars in the entourage of Ayyūbid rulers. Shams al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. ʿĪsā al-Khusrawshāhī (d. 652/1254), who according to Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa counts among Rāzī's most eminent disciples (*min ajalli talāmidhatihi*), instructed al-Malik al-Nāṣir Dāwūd (d. 624/1227), the Ayyūbid sultan of Kerak and later Damascus, in the rational sciences (*al-ʿulūm al-ḥikmiyya*) and played a major role in promoting Ibn Sīnā's and Rāzī's writings among Shāfiʿī jurists in the Ayyūbid domain (*ʿUyūn*, 2: 173.1–174.7; Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij*, 4: 206). Significantly, al-Khusrawshāhī's promotion of Rāzī's work came at the expense of his arch-rival, Sayf al-Dīn al-Āmidī (d. 631/1233), who had been a favourite of al-Nāṣir's father, al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam ʿĪsā (r. 597/1201–615/1218 resp. –624/1227) and prior to Khusrawshāhī's arrival was regarded as the principal teacher of logic, natural philosophy, and philosophical theology in Damascus. Al-Āmidī, who had studied Avicennian philosophy with Jewish and Christian teachers in the Karkh quarter of Baghdad, was a renowned critique of Fakhr al-Dīn whom, in Khusrawshāhī's view, 'he was unable to match'.

Another influential student of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī who promoted his teacher's work in Egypt was Afḍal al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Nāmawār al-Khūnajī (d. 646/1249) (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn*, 2: 120f.; *GAL* I^2: 607; *GAL* S 1: 838). In Ayyūbid

Yemen, too, the reception of Ashʿarite *kalām* in general and the works of Fakhr al-Dīn in particular gained currency over the seventh/thirteenth century not only among the Shāfiʿites of Lower Yemen, but also among Rāzī's Zaydī detractors in the highlands of northern Yemen. Shams al-Dīn al-Baylaqānī, who taught logic and Ashʿarite *uṣūl* at the Manṣūriyya *madrasa* in ʿAden, was a direct student of Fakhr al-Dīn.

In Iraq, it was Kamāl al-Dīn ibn Yūnus's (d. 639/1242) teaching of Avicennian philosophy and Rāzī's works which was of paramount importance to Syrian Christians. After his studies at the Niẓāmiyya *madrasa* in Baghdad Ibn Yūnus spent his life teaching at a succession of colleges in Mosul. To his students belonged not only many leading figures of thirteenth-century intellectual history, such as Athīr al-Dīn al-Mufaḍḍal b. ʿUmar al-Abharī (d. 660–3/1263–5) and Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 672/1274), but also several Jews and Christians to whom he apparently taught not only the works of al-Fārābī, Ibn Sīnā, Abū l-Barakāt al-Baghdādī and Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, but also the philosophical exegesis of Torah and Gospels (Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, 5: 312.19–313; Barhebraeus, *Tārīkh*, 273.4–17; Takahashi 2002b: 148 n. 3).

In what follows I will allege a few examples for the reception of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī during the Renaissance of Syriac and Copto-Arabic literature. It is but a first step towards a more comprehensive source analysis of this literature (Schwarb forthcoming), but sufficient to demonstrate the significance of Christian religious thought to an adequate understanding of parallel developments in Islamic theology during the post-classical period.

(a) Awlād al-ʿAssāl

The protagonists of the 'Renaissance' of the Copto-Arabic literature were four (half-) brothers of a prestigious Coptic family from Old-Cairo (Wadīʿ 1997a; Sidarus 2013a). For several generations it provided secretaries and high-level officials in the administration (*Dīwān al-Daraj, al-Inshāʾ, al-Juyūsh*) of the Ayyūbid state and played an active role in the civic, cultural, and ecclesiastical life of the Coptic community, leading the faction of New Cairo against the conservative demeanour of the clerical establishment in Fusṭāṭ-Miṣr (Wadiʿ 1985). The exact order of the half-siblings remains a matter of dispute, but the available data would suggest that al-Asʿad Abū l-Faraj and Ṣafī l-Dawla Abū l-Faḍāʾil were sons from their father's first marriage and thus born in the late 1180s and 1190s, while al-Amjad Ibn al-ʿAssāl (d. *c.*1260) and Muʾtaman al-Dawla Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm were born into the second marriage (for alternative views see Wadīʿ 1985: 31–79; 1997a: 81–89.124; Samir 1985: 9–22). Three of the four brothers became scholars of great renown, while the fourth (al-Amjad) occupied senior positions in the Ayyūbid administration and became an important patron of his brothers and their entourage and the Coptic community as a whole. For most exponents of the Copto-Arabic Renaissance the libraries of the ʿAssāl brothers in Cairo and Damascus became important resources of knowledge. The library of al-Asʿad (*al-Khizāna al-Asʿadiyya*), for instance, was also used by Abū Shākir Ibn al-Rāhib and Abū l-Barakāt Ibn Kabar (Wadīʿ 1997a: 91f. nn. 41–3).

Al-Amjad owned at least two precious libraries, one in his multi-storey house in Ḥārat Zuwayla (New Cairo), the other in his Damascus residence. Both libraries renownedly contained many rare manuscripts, in particular works by East- and West-Syrian and Melkite authors (Wadīʿ 1997a: 66 n. 73). Numerous manuscripts in al-Amjad's library were copied by Gabriel, a monk of Syrian origin, who for over fifteen years had served as his private scribe. He was also the private tutor of al-Amjad's son, Fakhr al-Dawla, and assisted the scholarly projects of his patron's brothers. In the 1250s and 60s Gabriel was the candidate of the ʿAssāl brothers and the notables of New Cairo for the Patriarchate, but it was not until 1268 that he was consecrated as Patriarch Gabriel III (Sidarus 1975: 23; Samir 1985: 624–8; Swanson 2010: 97–100; Wadīʿ 1997a: 66 n. 73).

(b) Al-Asʿad Abū l-Faraj Hibat Allāh Ibn al-ʿAssāl (d. before 1259)

Al-Asʿad socialized with the highest echelons of the Ayyūbid government and is likely to have occupied an official position within the state administration. This would help to explain his frequent travels to Syria and Yemen which afforded him with opportunities to purchase manuscripts (Wadīʿ 1997a: 89–96). Al-Asʿad is best known for his translation of the four Gospels from Coptic into Arabic, which he completed in Damascus in 650/1252–3 (ed. Moawad 2014). His aforementioned library (*al-Khizāna al-Asʿadiyya*) contained many manuscripts written in his hand (Sidarus 1975: 172; 2010b: 143f.; Wadīʿ 1997a: 91f.). At the behest of his brother al-Amjad he composed in 628/1231 a *Maqāla fī l-nafs*, an abridgement of which was later incorporated into the sixtieth chapter of *Majmūʿ uṣūl al-dīn* by his half-brother al-Muʾtaman (see Section II.d). The treatise offers a typology and doxographical summary of philosophical and theological views on the subject of the soul. Among al-Asʿad's sources figure Ibn Sīnā, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, and Maimonides (Wadīʿ 1997a: 93f.; Schwarb 2007:14–15; 2014a: 118–23).

(c) Ṣafī l-Dawla Abū l-Faḍāʾil Mājid Ibn al-ʿAssāl (d. *c.*1260)

Al-Ṣafī was the most prolific and prominent figure of the Awlād al-ʿAssāl (*GCAL* 2: 388–403; *CMRBH* 4: 538–51 with further references; Samir 1985; 1987; Wadīʿ 1985, 1987, 1997a: 97–116). Most, if not all of al-Ṣafī's theological, philosophical, and polemical works as well as his *Nomocanon* (*al-Majmūʿ al-Ṣafawī; Majmūʿ al-qawānīn*), the influential legal compilation of the Coptic church, were written in the late 1230s and 1240s during the Patriarchate of Cyril (Kīrillus) III (Dāʾūd b. Yuḥannā al-Fayyūmī) Ibn Laqlaq (1235–43; *CMRBH* 4: 320–4; Swanson 2010: 83–95; Werthmuller 2010) and the ensuing seven-year vacancy (1243–50; Swanson 2010: 88–95). Al-Ṣafī was an arduous

copyist; several works by earlier Christian and Muslim authors have only survived on account of his excerpts and summaries (*GCAL* 2: 240f., 247; Wadīʿ 1997a: 108–15; Samir 1987: 174f.). To many of these excerpts he would later add glosses and explanatory notes (*al-Ḥawāshī al-Ṣafawiyya*) which became an important source for his later works and are frequently quoted in the *Majmūʿ* of his younger half-brother al-Muʾtaman (see Section II.d). Like his brothers he was a passionate collector of rare manuscripts. In the 1230s he resided over a longer period in Damascus to collect source material for his *Nomocanon* which displays definite influence from Islamic law in terminology, structure, and conceptualization. His manuscript collection included several autograph copies of Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī's writings as well as Ibn ʿAdī's copy (dated 311/923) of al-Nāshiʾ al-Akbar's (d. 293/906) *K. al-Awsaṭ fī l-Maqālāt* (ed. van Ess 1971: 76–87; Thomas 2008: 35–77; *CMRBH* 2: 85–8; Wadīʿ 1997a: 120f., §§ 52–3). Ibn ʿAdī, whom al-Ṣafī used to call 'Shaykhunā' (e.g. *Ṣaḥāʾiḥ*, 5, 20), occupies a very special position in his writings. It is worth recalling here that Ibn ʿAdī was an eminent detractor of Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ashʿarī's thought and as such was also well known to and quoted by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (*CMRBH* 2: 390–438; Endress 1977: 57f., 73–81, 89f.; Platti 2004; Wisnovsky 2012: 321–4). The ubiquitous presence of Rāzī in al-Ṣafī's writings can be illustrated with the following two examples:

al-Ṣaḥāʾiḥ fī jawāb al-naṣāʾiḥ (= *al-Ṣaḥāʾiḥ fī l-radd ʿalā l-naṣāʾiḥ*, *CMRBH* 4: 542–4; Graf 1910: 64–70; Wadīʿ 1997a: 104f.) was written in refutation of *K. al-Radd ʿalā l-Naṣārā* by Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Sahl Rabbān al-Ṭabarī (*c.*780–*c.*860), the famous East-Syrian physician who late in his life converted to Islam (*CMRBH* 1: 669–74). The treatise comprises fifteen chapters. The first introductory chapter mentions the main sources of the *Ṣaḥāʾiḥ*, including Ibn Sīnā and Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, chapters two and three advance ten methodological and doctrinal principles; the remaining twelve chapters comprise the refutation proper which follows the order of al-Ṭabarī's *Radd* (Wadīʿ 1997a: 104; Samir 1983). In the eighth methodological principle (ed. 20) al-Ṣafī refers to Rāzī as 'one of the most perspicacious of modern savants' (*min aṣdaq al-mutaʾakhkhirīn ʿilm*^{an}), while Plato is accorded the honour of being 'one of the most exquisite philosophers of antiquity' (*min afḍal al-mutaqaddimīn falsafat*^{an}). In chapter 3 (ed. 30) al-Ṣafī quotes a short passage from Rāzī's refutation of the Christian doctrine (*al-faṣl al-thāmin fī l-radd ʿalā l-Naṣārā*) in *K. Nihāyat al-ʿuqūl wa dirāyat al-uṣūl* (*hākadhā qāla Ibn al-Khaṭīb fī Kitāb Nihāyat al-ʿuqūl*), introducing Rāzī as 'one who writes on philosophical topics as well as on the fundamentals and branches of their religious doctrine' (*wa-huwa muṣannif fī l-falsafa (wa-)uṣūl dīnihim wa-furūʿihi*). In response to Rāzī's critique of the trinity doctrine he writes:

> Just as it is possible to say of a person that he is perceiving, thinking and speaking without that this turns him into three separate beings and just as philosophers like Ibn al-Khaṭīb say of God that He is being, knowing and omnipotent, the Christians cannot be blamed for describing the divine as being Father, Son and Holy Spirit. There is a difference in wording (*lafẓ*), but not in meaning (*maʿnā*).

Nahj al-sabīl fī takhjīl muḥarrifī l-injīl (= *al-Radd ʿalā l-Jaʿfarī*; *CMRBH* 4: 548f.; Wadīʿ 1997a: 104f.) comprises a summary and refutation of *K. Takhjīl muḥarrifī l-Injīl* (= *Takhjīl man ḥarrafa l-Tawrah wa-l-Injīl*) by Taqī al-Dīn Abū l-Baqāʾ Ṣāliḥ b. al-Ḥusayn al-Jaʿfarī (d. 668/1270) which draws on ʿAlī b. Rabbān's aforementioned *K. al-Radd* as well as on other early Muslim literature on Christianity and had a significant impact on later Muslim authors writing on Christianity (*CMRBH* 4: 480–5). The *Nahj* was written at the behest of the patriarch Cyril III and consists of a preface (*muqaddima*) and five *qawāʿid* which correspond to five arguments against the Christian doctrine adduced in the *Takhjīl* that had only been touched upon in the *Ṣaḥāʾiḥ*. Within the refutation of the third *qāʿida* al-Ṣafī quotes at length from his otherwise lost refutation of the aforementioned chapter against Christianity (*al-Faṣl al-thāmin fī l-radd ʿalā l-Naṣārā*) in Rāzī's *Nihāyat al-ʿuqūl* (*Jawāb al-radd ʿalaynā fī kitāb Nihāyat al-ʿuqūl, wa-hādhihi nuskhatuhu: […]*) (*Nahj*, 34–6). The citation comprises two short lemmata from the *Nihāya* (ed. Fūda i:554) followed by the corresponding replies. In reply to Rāzī's claim that there was no difference between Christ and other prophets with regard to miracles, al-Ṣafī first refers to his refutation of al-Nāshiʾ al-Akbar (*Jawāb al-Nāshiʾ al-Akbar = Jawāb ʿAbd Allāh al-Nāshiʾ fī l-Maqālāt = al-Radd ʿalā K. al-Maqālāt lil-Nāshiʾ = Ijābat al-Nāshiʾ*) and then to his summary of Rāzī's *K. al-Arbaʿīn* (*Mukhtaṣar K. al-Arbaʿīn*). A summary and refutation of the ninth *masʾala* of *K. al-Arbaʿīn* (*al-masʾala al-tāsiʿa fī annahu taʿālā yastaḥīlu an taḥulla dhātuhu fī shayʾin wa-yastaḥīlu an taḥulla ṣifatun min ṣifātihi fī shayʾin*) is found in an appendix of some manuscripts of the *Ṣaḥāʾiḥ* (Mss. Vat., BAV, Ar. 38, fos. 118^{v}–125^{v}; Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Or. 299, fos. 131^{r}–141^{r}; *CMRBH* 4: 547; Wadīʿ 1997a: 105 with n. 82, p. 186, § 21) and quoted in full in chapter 40 of al-Muʾtaman's *Majmūʿ* (*al-shakk al-wārid (/al-shukūk al-wārida) min al-imām Fakhr al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb (raḥimahu llāh) ʿalā l-ittiḥād wa-jawāb al-shaykh (/al-akh al-fāḍil) al-Ṣafī (raḥimahu llāh) fī l-masʾala al-tāsiʿa min Kitāb al-Arbaʿīn*). Al-Ṣafī's reply is divided into eight paragraphs which aim at establishing Christ's divinity and the necessity of God's incarnation in Christ on rational and scriptural grounds.

(d) Muʾtaman al-Dawla Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm Ibn al-ʿAssāl (d. after 1270)

The honorific title 'Muʾtaman al-Dawla' suggests that the younger half-brother of al-Asʿad and al-Ṣafī occupied some official position in the Ayyūbid administration (*GCAL* 2: 407–14; *CMRBH* 4: 530–7; Wadīʿ 1998, no. 51; 1997a: 125–76, 184–9). During the patriarchate of Cyril III Ibn Laqlaq (1235–43) he apparently acted as the patriarch's secretary (Wadiʿ 1997a: 65, 101, 104). For longer periods of time he resided in Damascus (Wadiʿ 1997a: 131). He was also in Damascus in 658/1260, the year which marks the end of the Ayyūbid control over the city, when his library was looted in the course of anti-Christian riots (Wadiʿ 1997a: 138–45). In that year he wrote *K. al-Tabṣira al-mukhtaṣara* (= *Maqāla mukhtaṣara fī uṣūl al-dīn*), an apologetical enchiridion defending the fundamental Christian doctrines for use of his co-religionists in Damascus (*CMRBH* 4: 532f.;

Wadiʿ 1997a: 170–3). In the preface to this treatise (*Tabṣira*, 101–4) he refers to his plan to dedicate a more comprehensive work to these subjects. This plan was implemented in his *opus magnum*, entitled *K. Majmūʿ uṣūl al-dīn wa-masmūʿ maḥṣūl al-yaqīn*, a comprehensive theological *summa* in five parts and seventy chapters, which he completed between 1265 and 1275 (Wadīʿ 1997a: 177–89; Sidarus 2008: 350). The work draws on a plethora of Christian and non-Christian sources (Wadiʿ 1997a: 184–9; 1990–1). While many of them are explicitly mentioned and acknowledged, the book also contains numerous unmarked quotations and paraphrases. '*al-Imām al-ʿālim Fakhr al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb*' is by far the most cited non-Christian author in the *Majmūʿ* (Wadīʿ 1997a: 188, § 27). The following conspectus lists but the most important quotations from Rāzī's works:

Chapter 2 offers an introduction to the basics of logic which is mainly based on Najm al-Dīn al-Kātibī's *al-Risāla al-Shamsiyya*, but also includes quotations from Rāzī's *K. al-Maʿālim* (e.g. 1: 47f., §§ 4f.; 1: 68–70, §§ 122–9).

Chapter 3 on God's essence and divine attributes largely consists of extracts from *K. al-Arbaʿīn* (e.g. 1: 71–5, §§ 4–22) and Abū l-Barakāt al-Baghdādī's *K. al-Muʿtabar* (1: 80–94, §§ 48–104).

In Chapter 4 on the createdness of the world al-Muʾtaman quotes *K. (al-Masāʾil) al-Khamsīn* (1: 109–111, §§ 67–79); *K. al-Arbaʿīn* (1: 102–4, §§ 36–42; 1: 104–7, §§ 44–59; 1: 107f., §§ 60–3).

Chapter 5 on intellect and soul, form and matter, and human agency (*fī l-ʿaql wa-l-nafs wa-l-jism wa-l-ṣūra wa-l-hayūlā wa-afʿāl al-insān*) contains a lengthy quotation from *K. al-Maʿālim fī uṣūl al-dīn* VIII:9 (1:121, §§ 32–37) and two long passages from *K. al-Arbaʿīn* (1: 116–20, §§ 11–29; 1: 124f., §§ 52–7). Rāzī's deterministic concept of human agency is rejected, whereas the rival Muʿtazilī doctrine is said to be identical with the correctly understood Christian position (Schwarb 2014c). A century later the same passage (i.e. *masʾala* no. 22 of *K. al-Arbaʿīn*) was incorporated into a chapter (*fī l-qaḍāʾ wa-l-qadar*) of *K. al-Ḥāwī al-mustafād min badīhat al-ijtihād* by al-Makīn Jirjis Ibn al-ʿAmīd (the younger). In the *Majmūʿ* the quotation is followed by a cross-reference (1: 125, § 58) to chapter 56 (2: 330–69; *Bāb al-qaḍāʾ wa-l-qadar*).

Chapter 6 deals with issues of abrogation and quotes among others *K. al-Arbaʿīn* (1: 127, § 3) and *K. al-Maʿālim fī uṣūl al-fiqh* (1: 140–4, §§ 70–88).

Chapter 7 adduces arguments based on reason and Scripture to establish the authenticity of the Christian tradition and quotes Rāzī's definition of *al-khabar al-mutawātir* from *K. al-Arbaʿīn* (1: 151f., §§ 16–18) and *K. al-Maʿālim fī uṣūl al-fiqh* (1:161f., §§ 59–66).

Chapter 17 cites the ninth *masaʾla* of *K. al-Masāʾil al-khamsīn* (1: 354, § 8) and *K. al-Mabāḥith al-mashriqiyya* (1: 354f., §§ 9f.) which he ranks among Rāzī's most splendid works (*min ajalli kutubihi*).

Chapter 18 includes a short quotation from *Nihāyat al-ʿuqūl* (1: 377, § 15).

Chapter 40 cites al-Ṣafī's aforementioned summary and refutation of Rāzī's *K. al-Arbaʿīn* (2: 142–50, §§ 3–33).

Two long sections in Chapter 51 on angelology are quotations from *K. al-Arbaʿīn* (2: 248–57, §§ 37–64, 73–99).

Chapter 54 on repentance incorporates a quotation from *K. al-Maʿālim* (2: 319f., §§ 77–81).

K. al-Arbaʿīn is again a central source for matters of eschatology. In chapter 62 (2: 423–6, §§ 4–14), for instance, he quotes *masʾala* 30 (*fī l-maʿād*).

(e) Al-Rashīd Abū ʿl-Khayr Ibn al-Ṭayyib (d. after 1270)

Al-Rashīd was a contemporary and confidant of al-Muʾtaman in Damascus where he acted as priest and physician and as secretary of a certain al-Tiflīsī (*GCAL* 2: 344–8; *CMRBH* 4: 431–7; Khouzam 1941; Schwarb 2007: 24–39; 2014a: 127–41; Wadīʿ 1997b; Zanetti 2003).

The exact use of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's works in the *Tiryāq al-ʿuqūl fī ʿilm al-uṣūl al-musammā bi-Kashf al-asrār al-khafiyya min asbāb al-Masīḥiyya* (*GCAL* 2: 345; Khouzam 1941) and in *Khulāṣat al-īmān al-masīḥī* still awaits close analysis (Schwarb 2014b: 146; Schwarb forthcoming). Previous research has focused on citations from *K. al-Maʿālim* and Maimonides's *Guide* found in the annex to several manuscripts of the *Tiryāq*. In a postface to the *Khulāṣa* Abū l-Khayr writes that 'this entire book has only been written in response to those Muslims and Jews who inquired after the Christians' creed about God' and then adds that in order to explain to Jews and Muslims the underlying rationale of the doctrines of incarnation and trinity

> it seemed natural to me to quote against the followers of both religious communities statements by their most important authorities to confront (or: defeat) them with it, … so that by virtue of the statements of the most important authority of their nation they will realise that the Christian religion tallies with the divine intentions in spiritual matters and rational methods.

While Maimonides was rated as 'the most important authority' of the Jews, his Muslim equivalent was Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī. Both authors are extensively quoted in both the *Tiryāq* and the *Khulāṣa* which essentially depend on their works, though allegedly only for the sake of his pedagogical objectives. At times, his critique of Rāzī and Maimonides is but a fig-leaf for forthright anti-Muslim and anti-Jewish polemic.

Rāzī is also the main source of al-Rashīd's *Risālat al-Bayān al-aẓhar fī l-radd ʿalā man yaqūl bi-l-qaḍāʾ wa-l-qadar* (= *Risāla fī l-maʿād*) (ed. Khouzam, 1938). Al-Muʾtaman Ibn al-ʿAssāl inserted a summary of this treatise in chapter 56 of his *Majmūʿ* (*al-qawl fī l-qaḍāʾ wa-l-qadar, Majmūʿ*, 2: 338–47, §§ 36–72). Both al-Rashīd and al-Muʾtaman fail to acknowledge that the treatise is nothing but a summary and critique of the first *masʾala* of the third part (*al-Kalām fī l-afʿāl*) of Rāzī's *K. al-Muḥaṣṣal* supplemented with scriptural prooftexts that are meant to bolster his position (Schwarb 2014b: 150–64). In this *masʾala* Rāzī discusses human agency and factors affecting the freedom and autonomy of human actions, scathingly criticizing the Muʿtazilī position. In many respects al-Rashīd's critique of Fakhr al-Dīn amounts to a defence of the Muʿtazilī position.

(f) Nushūʾ al-Khilāfa Abū Shākir ibn al-Sanāʾ Abī l-Karam Buṭrus al-Rāhib Ibn al-Muhadhdhab (*c.* 1210–95)

Ibn al-Rāhib belonged to the Banū l-Muhadhdhab, another prominent and powerful Cairene Coptic family of notables, clergies, and officials of the Ayyūbid administration (*CMRBH* 4: 471–9; Sidarus 1975, 2013a). His father, al-Shaykh al-Sanāʾ [Abū l-Majd Buṭrus b. al-Muhadhdhab] al-Rāhib, was twice in charge of the State finances and enjoyed a high standing among Muslim notables. For several decades he was a key manipulator of ecclesiastical politics within the Coptic community and during a nineteen-year vacancy of the Patriarchate (1216–35) he de facto acted as interim patriarch and played an active role in the conflict surrounding the election of patriarch Cyril III ibn Laqlaq (1235–43; Swanson 2010: 83–95; Werthmuller 2010). Abū Shākir started his ecclesiastical career as deacon of the *Muʿallaqa* church in Old Cairo around the middle of the century. At about the same time he occupied a high position in one of the Ayyūbid *dawāwīn* and for a period acted as official representative (*raʾīs*) of the Christian communities vis-à-vis the Ayyūbid government. He was a close associate of the ʿAssāl brothers whom he sided with against his father in the quarrels for the Patriarchate. The period of his literary activity was limited to the years between 1257 and 1271.

Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī is again a key source of Ibn al-Rāhib's theological works, including *K. al-Shifāʾ fī kashf mā statara min lāhūt sayyidinā l-masīḥ wa-khtafā*, a comprehensive christological-exegetical work, written in 1267–8, *Maqāla fī ḥadath al-ʿālam wa-qidam al-Ṣāniʿ* (Sidarus 2011a, b), and most importanly *K. al-Burhān fī l-qawānīn al-mukmala wa-l-farāʾiḍ al-muhmala*, an extensive philosophico-theological compilation in fifty *masāʾil* (Sidarus 1975, 2006, 2009, 2010b) which draws on a large variety of Muslim sources (Sidarus 2010b: 151–6, §§ 21–6), including al-Fārābī (*ʿUyūn al-masāʾil*), Ibn Sīnā (*ʿUyūn al-ḥikma*), al-Ghazālī (*Maqāṣid al-falāsifa, Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*), al-Khūnajī (*Mūjiz*), al-Kishshī (*Muqaddima fī l-ḥikma wa-l-manṭiq*).

A long section of thirteen *masāʾil* on the divine attributes (*mas.* 28–40; Ms. Vat., BAV, ar. 104, ff. 119^{v}–183^{r}) consists of a patchwork of rearranged and partly rephrased excerpts from Rāzī's *K. al-Arbaʿīn fī uṣūl al-dīn* supplemented with Ibn al-Rāhib's own comments and insights (*al-jawāb/al-tafsīr li-muṣannifihi*). These chapters amount to a comprehensive attempt at construing Christian trinitarianism in terms of the *kalāmic* doctrine of God's unicity (*tawḥīd dhātihi wa-tathlīth ṣifātihi*) and evincing the compatibility of the two doctrines. In the majority of cases Ibn al-Rāhib gives the precise reference to the passage cited from *K. al-Arbaʿīn*, indicating the number of the *masʾala* and at times also the number of the subsection (*faṣl/nawʿ*) (Sidarus 1975: 104–7, 134f.). Occasionally, these citations from *K. al-Arbaʿīn* include second-hand quotations from works by other Muslim *mutakallimūn*, as for instance in *masʾala* 33 (*fī kawnihi taʿālā ḥayy*^{an}, Ms. Vat., BAV, ar. 104, f. 157^{v}) where Ibn al-Rāhib quotes from *masʾala* 14 of *K. al-Arbaʿīn* (*Arbaʿīn*, 1: 218) which in turn 'cites' the famous Muʿtazilī scholar Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī (d. 436/

1044) (Sidarus 1975: 135, n. 50; misidentified as an East-Syrian Christian scholar in *GCAL* 2: 177; *BDIC* 1976: 202f.; *CMRBH* 2: 665–6).

Apart from *K. al-Arbaʿīn*, which is the main source of several other chapters in *K. al-Burhān*, Ibn al-Rāhib also cites Rāzī's *al-Āyāt al-bayyināt* (*fī ʿilm al-manṭiq*) (Sidarus 2010b: 154–6). A large number of Muslim authors are also quoted in Ibn al-Rāhib's *K. al-Tawārīkh* (Sidarus 2013).

(g) Shams al-Riʾāsa Abū l-Barakāt Ibn Kabar (d. 1324)

Abū l-Barakāt likewise belonged to a renowned and wealthy family of Coptic notables and state officials (*GCAL* 1: 389 and 2: 438–45; *CMRBH* 4: 762–6; Saleh 1982). On several occasions he occupied the position of personal secretary of the Emir Rukn al-Dīn Baybars al-Manṣūrī (d. 1325). Presumably as a consequence of an anti-*dhimmī* edict issued by al-Malik al-Ashraf in 1293 he had to abandon his public functions and applied himself to the study of Coptic philology and religious sciences. In 1300 he was ordained priest at the *Muʿallaqa* Church, assuming the priestly name 'Barṣawmā'. His influential *K. Miṣbāḥ al-ẓulma fī īḍāḥ al-khidma* (ed. Samir, Cairo 1971), a monumental and systematic ecclesiastical compilation, was most probably written during the last three decades of his life. Only the first four (out of twenty-four) sections (*abwāb*) of the *Miṣbāḥ* are dedicated to the Christian doctrine and sacred history. They are partly based on works by al-Ṣafī and al-Muʾtaman Ibn al-ʿAssāl and al-Rashīd Abū l-Khayr Ibn al-Ṭayyib and contain several indirect quotations from Rāzī's writings. Such secondary quotations may also be found in *K. al-Jawhara al-nafīsa fī ʿulūm al-kanīsa*, a significant exposition of Coptic ecclesiology in 115 chapters, written towards the end of the same century by Yūḥannā b. Abī Zakariyyā Ibn Sabbāʿ (*CMRBH* 4: 918–23). The *Jawhara* frequently quotes from Ibn al-Rāhib's *K. al-Burhān*.

(h) al-Makīn Jirjis Ibn al-ʿAmīd (the younger)

He is a grand-nephew of the namesake, but better-known historian of the thirteenth century, al-Makīn Jirjis Ibn al-ʿAmīd (the elder) (1206–92; *CMRBH* 4: 566–71), with whom he has often been confused. The Banū l-ʿAmīd were a wealthy Coptic family of merchants of Syrian origin (Sidarus 2013a). By the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries the social context of the Coptic aristocracy had changed insofar as many of its members had by then coverted to Islam to preserve their social privileges (El-Leithy 2005; Little 1990; Wadīʿ 1997a: 89f. n. 35). To these 'Muslim Copts' belonged Jirjis's brother, al-Asʿad Ibrāhīm, who served as a *kātib* in the Mamlūk *Dīwān al-Juyūsh*. Jirjis himself was a physician and Coptic priest (*GCAL* 2: 450–3; Coquin 1993: 86; *CMRBH* 5; Sidarus in press; Wadīʿ 1999: 5–24). His main work, *K. al-Ḥāwī al-mustafād min badīhat al-ijtihād = Mukhtaṣar al-bayān fī taḥqīq al-īmān* (Cairo, 1999–2001) has been characterized as a loosely structured 'philosophico-theological reflection on a great spectrum

of religious questions, highly speculative and dialectic, at times apologetic, at others polemic, then again merely exegetical or hermeneutic' (Sidarus 2008: 348).

On a few occasions the *Ḥāwī* quotes from Rāzī's works (Swanson 2014). A lengthy unmarked quotation from the 22nd *masʾala* (*fī khalq al-afʿāl*) of *K. al-Arbaʿīn* (*Arbaʿīn*, 1: 319–21), which—as we have seen—had already been quoted in chapter 5 of al-Muʾtaman Ibn al-ʿAssāl's *Majmūʿ* (1: 124f., §§ 52–7), is incorporated in the lengthy chapter on *al-qaḍāʾ wa-l-qadar* (*Ḥāwī*, 1: 168–85). In this passage (*Ḥāwī*, 1: 180–2) Rāzī refers to Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ashʿarī and some major exponents of the early Ashʿariyya, such as al-Bāqillānī and Abū Isḥāq al-Isfarāʾīnī (misread by the editor as 'al-Istiqrāʾī'), and, once again, to the Muʿtazilī Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī. The reception history of this chapter can be traced up to the twentieth century when the Coptic hegumen Daniel Dāʾūd (d. 1961) inserted a long quotation of it in his *K. al-ʿUqūd al-luʾluʾiyya fī sharḥ ʿaqāʾid wa-afḍaliyyat al-masīḥiyya*. The *Ḥāwī* also contains a long marked quotation from Rāzī's *K. al-Maʿālim* (*nubayyinu baʿḍa mā dhakara Fakhr al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb*) in the section on the soul (*taḥqīq wujūd al-nafs al-ʿāqila min jihat al-taḥqīq al-naẓarī*, *Ḥāwī*, 2: 15–19).

III The 'Syriac Renaissance'

Similar to the Copto-Arabic Renaissance, the slightly earlier upsurge of literary activity in Syriac during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, which affected East and West Syrians alike, was characterized by the growing influence of the surounding Islamic and Arabic literature and culture (Teule 2010: 23–8). The protagonists of the Syriac Renaissance, such as Patriarch Michael I (d. 1199), Dionysius Bar Ṣalībī, Jacob Bar Shakkō, Ishoʿyahb Bar Malkon, Barhebraeus, and ʿAbdishoʿ of Nisibis were driven by the endeavour to create a new type of scientific literature in Syriac and to forge the older Syriac materials with the more recent philosophical and scientific works written in Arabic.

(a) Jacob Bar Shakkō (Yaʿqūb b. Sakkā)

The work of Jacob (Severus) Bar Shakkō (d. 1241) had long been overshadowed by the fame of his younger contemporary, Gregory Barhebraeus (see Section III.b). Bar Shakkō lived in the monastery of Mar Mattay near Mosul. In Mosul he was one of several non-Muslim students of Kamāl al-Dīn Mūsā b. Yūnus who was renowned for his teaching of Avicennian philosophy and the works of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (see Section II). According to Barhebraeus, Bar Shakkō had an extensive private library which after his death was transferred to the public treasury/library of the governor of Mosul (*CMRBH* 4: 240–4).

The two most important of his extant works clearly display his thorough acquaintance with a wide range of philosophical and scientific literature by Muslim authors: the *Book of Treasures* (*Ktābā d-sīmāṭā*), a theological compendium with apologetic outlook,

contains several sections which are shaped on the model of parallel discussions in Muslim works (Teule 2007), while the *Book of Dialogues* displays his close familiarity with the scientific literature of his time, including Rāzī's *K. al-Mabāḥith al-mashriqiyya*, Abū l-Barakāt al-Baghdādī's *K. al-Muʿtabar*, and presumably the writings of al-Abharī (Takahashi 2006).

(b) Barhebraeus

Barhebraeus (ar. Jamāl al-Dīn Abū l-Faraj Ghrīghūriyūs b. Tāj al-Dīn Hārūn al-Malaṭī al-ʿIbrī, syr. Bar ʿEbrāyā, 1226–86; *CMRBH* 4: 588–609; Takahashi 2005) is the scholar who more than anybody else epitomizes the Syriac Renaissance and the familiarity of Syriac authors with Arabic and Muslim culture. He was exposed to Muslim philosophical and scientific literature early on when he studied logic and medicine in Tripoli. In 1264 he was appointed maphrian (representative of the patriarch for the eastern territories) of the Syrian Orthodox Church. While his official maphrianate residence was the monastery of Mar Mattay near Mosul where Bar Shakkō had lived, he travelled extensively and frequently stayed in Marāgha, Tabrīz, Baghdad, and Takrīt. In Marāgha he established personal ties with Muslim scholars in the ambit of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī and possibly with Ṭūsī himself.

In the fields of philosophy and exact sciences Barhebraeus was largely influenced by Ibn Sīnā (Takahashi 2003), al-Ghazālī (Takahashi 2002b), Abū l-Barakāt al-Baghdādī (Takahashi 2002b), Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, and Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī. He translated long sections and entire works of Muslim scientific, philosophical, and spiritual works into Syriac (Takahashi 2005: 27ff., 96ff.). His *Candelabrum Sanctuarii* (*Mnārat quḏshē*) is full of passages translated from Ibn Sīnā and Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (Takahashi 2002a, b). His *Cream of Wisdom* (*Butyrum sapientiae*) is manifestly based upon Ibn Sīnā's *Shifāʾ* and contains numerous references to Ibn Sīnā, Rāzī, and Ṭūsī. Of Rāzī he says (*Chronography*, 1: 366) that

> by him and by the great number of books which he composed the Arabs throughout the world have been enlightened and they are to this day. For I would compare this man [*scil.* Rāzī] to Origen, through whose books the doctors of the Church have become rich and illustrious, and they have turned round and called him a 'heretic'. Thus it is also with the Arabs, who call this man an 'infidel', and an adherent to Aristotelian doctrine.

(c) Dionysius Bar Ṣalībī, Ishoʿayb Bar Malkon, and ʿAbdishoʿ of Nisibis

For many other prominent representatives of the Syriac Renaissance, such as Dionysius Bar Ṣalībī (d. 1171; *CMRBH* 3: 665–70), Ishoʿayb Bar Malkon (d. 1246; *CMRBH* 4: 331–8),

or ʿAbdishoʿ of Nisibis (ʿAbdishoʿ Bar Brikhā, ʿAbdishoʿ Ṣūbāwī, d. 1318; *CMRBH* 4: 750–61), a detailed source analysis of their extant writings is still pending.

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The 13th Century Copto-Arabic Reception of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī: Al-Rashīd Abū l-Khayr Ibn al-Ṭayyib's *Risālat al-Bayān al-aẓhar fī l-radd ʿalā man yaqūlu bi-l-qaḍāʾ wa-l-qadar*

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Abstract

This article (re-)introduces *Risālat al-Bayān al-aẓhar*, a short and by all appearances unfinished treatise by the Coptic scholar al-Rashīd Abū l-Khayr Ibn al-Ṭayyib (d. after 1270), to exemplify the pivotal role played by the works of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī during the 'Renaissance' of Copto-Arabic literature in the 13th and 14th centuries. Rāzī's œuvre left its mark on both content and form of systematic religious thought in Eastern Christianity. Whilst the *Risāla* is available in a partial edition since 1938, it has never been studied so far. As we shall see, Ibn al-Ṭayyib's critique of Rāzī's deterministic concept of human agency as outlined in the *Muḥaṣṣal* came in an attempt to counteract what he perceived as a detrimental effect of the mounting popularity which Rāzī's works enjoyed among contemporaneous Christian readers. The critique is based on a rich patchwork of sources that is characteristic of 13th century Copto-Arabic encyclopaedism.

Keywords

Al-Rashīd Abū l-Khayr Ibn al-Ṭayyib – *Risālat al-Bayān al-aẓhar* – Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī – *K. Muḥaṣṣal al-afkār* – Copts in Ayyūbid Egypt and Syria – 'Renaissance' of Copto-Arabic literature – Christian reception of the Avicennian tradition, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, Ashʿarite and Muʿtazilite *Kalām* – (in)determinism of human agency – 'preponderance' (*tarjīḥ*) – *al-murajjiḥ al-muṭlaq*

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The Status of Rāzī's Œuvre and Its Reception among 13th Century Coptic Scholars

Towards the end of the 6th/12th and in particular over the course of the 7th/13th century Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210) emerged as "the pre-eminent figure among modern scholars and the master of the intellectual vanguard".[1] Several of his writings would now figure prominently in public and private libraries of Muslims and non-Muslims alike and serve as templates and conceptual models for a new philosophico-theological discourse.[2] This development was facilitated by the official endorsement of his thought by key representatives of the Ayyūbid dynasty in Syria, Egypt and Yemen. Some of Rāzī's direct students served as court philosophers of Ayyūbid rulers and in this capacity were instrumental in propagating Rāzī's intellectual legacy.[3] Similarly, Rāzī's works became

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covering Theological Rationalism in the Medieval World of Islam" (http://tiny.cc/RTRMWI). It is part of a larger project on the reception of Maimonides and Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī in Christian-Arabic literature. This project is designed as a case-study of trans-denominational theologico-philosophical thought. It proposes to describe "intellectual paradigm shifts", i.e. the modification and transformation of established, domestic-denominational theological systems in the face of ascendant extra- or non-denominational philosophical and theological paradigms. To what extent did a shift in philosophical and conceptual basis give rise to novel philosophical and theological problems or prompt the re-conceptualisation of traditional philosophico-theological issues and lead to innovative re-interpretations of long established core texts?—The project includes a critical edition of all three extant works by Abū l-Khayr Ibn al-Ṭayyib, i.e. *Tiryāq al-ʿuqūl fī ʿilm al-uṣūl*, *Khulāṣat al-īmān al-masīḥī*, and *Risālat al-Bayān al-aẓhar*.—For previously published studies of this project I refer to the bibliography at the end of this article.

1 Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ*, vol. 2, p. 23 (*afḍal al-muta'akhkhirīn wa-Sayyid al-ḥukamāʾ al-muḥdathīn*). On Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī see Shihadeh, *Teleological Ethics*; Griffel, "Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's life"; ʿIrāqī, "Zindigī-yi Fakhr Rāzī".

2 For a detailed survey of the reception of Rāzī in Christian Arabic and Syriac literature see Schwarb, "Coptic and Syriac Receptions". Some aspects of this reception are discussed in the articles by Takahashi, Roggema, Swanson, and Awad in the present volume. Examples for a Jewish reception of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī are mentioned in Freudenthal/Zonta, "The Reception of Avicenna," p. 228; Schwarb, "ʿAlī b. Ṭaybughā"; idem, "A Jewish adaptation of *K. al-Maʿālim fī uṣūl al-fiqh*".

3 Barhebraeus, *Tārīkh mukhtaṣar al-duwal*, p. 254, ll. 14–17; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ*, vol. 2, p. 29, ll. 31f., pp. 173, l. 1–174, l. 7 (Shams al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. ʿĪsā al-Khusrawshāhī, d. 652/1254), and pp. 120 f. (Afḍal al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Nāmawār al-Khūnajī, d. 646/1249); Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij al-kurūb*, vol. 4, p. 206. Schwarb, "Coptic and Syriac Receptions"; Griffel, "Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's Life".

a central point of reference for scholars based at Marāgha, Tabrīz and other intellectual centres of Ilkhanid Iraq and Iran.[4]

This official endorsement in conjunction with Rāzī's thorough critical revision of Avicennian thought served as an ultimate catalyst for the introduction of Peripatetic logic, *falsafa* and sciences into the curriculum of the *madrasa*. By showing how logic and select *philosophoumena* could contribute to solving aporias inherent in the *Kalām* system and how they could be assimilated with Ashʿarite creed and doctrine, he prompted *mutakallimūn* and jurists to read, review, refute, or refine the philosophical system of Ibn Sīnā and his epigons.[5]

In the context of the 13th century Copto-Arabic 'Renaissance' the reception of Rāzī's works was a constitutive feature of a more comprehensive adaptation of works by Christian and non-Christian authors that previously, i.e. before the Arabicisation of Coptic Christianity had come to its conclusion towards the end of the 12th century, were not part of an established body of school texts.[6]

The driving force behind the Copto-Arabic Renaissance was a class of Coptic notables and State officials who had the means and the capacity to lavish patronage on Coptic scholars.[7] All exponents of this period of cultural flowering belonged to or were closely associated with families that staffed the *dawāwīn* of the Fāṭimid and Ayyūbid administration over several generations. Some of them became known for their extensive private libraries and their passionate skill of bibliophiles to track down manuscripts of rare and forgotten texts.[8]

It is hardly surprising that these included translations of patristic texts and the works of the foremost Christian *falāsifa* and *mutakallimūn* writing in Arabic from the 9th through 11th centuries who figure prominently in their writings.[9] The 'appropriation' of new texts by non-Christian authors, on the other hand, reflected the desire of these Coptic scholars to assimilate contemporaneous developments in *kalām* and *falsafa* following the spectacular ascendancy

4 A *Fihrist* of Rāzī's books copied from an autograph of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī is extant in ms. Istanbul, Pertev Pasha 617 (http://ansari.kateban.com/entry2008.html [consulted 22/10/2013]).

5 Endress, "Reading Avicenna," pp. 397–410; Eichner, *Post-Avicennian Philosophical Tradition*.

6 The decisive factors and conditions contributing to the 'Golden Age' of Syriac and Copto-Arabic literature are summarised in Schwarb, ibid.; Sidarus, "Renaissance copte," pp. 328–332; Swanson, *Coptic Papacy*, pp. 83–84. Besides Rāzī, often-quoted non-Christian authors include, among others: al-Fārābī, Ibn Sīnā, al-Ghazālī, Abū l-Barakāt al-Baghdādī, al-Shahrastānī, Maimonides, al-Khūnajī, al-Kātibī al-Qazwīnī. See, for instance, Sidarus, "Les sources," pp. 151–156; Awad, *Dirāsa*, pp. 180, 184–189; Schwarb, "Coptic and Syriac Receptions".

7 Sidarus, "Families of Coptic Dignitaries".

8 Schwarb, "Coptic and Syriac Receptions".

9 Sidarus, "Renaissance copte," p. 331.

of Avicennian thought and its amalgamation with Ashʿarite *kalām* and the ensuing emergence of a new type of philosophical theology whose pivotal figure was "Ibn Khaṭīb al-Rayy". It was the integration of these new texts that paved the way for Coptic scholars to remodel their own philosophico-theological discourse and to come up with new syntheses of philosophico-scientific knowledge presented in comprehensive encyclopaedic *summae*.[10]

It is worth noting here that for many of its Christian advocates this new intellectual trend was strongly reminiscent of their own late antique heritage of theological discourse and to some it even conveyed the impression of returning to a familiar, though completely overhauled and refurbished home.[11]

The *Muḥaṣṣal* and Its Status

The interest of 13th century Coptic scholars in Rāzī's thought focused on four of his most influential and widely read compositions merging *kalām* with *falsafa*: *Nihāyat al-ʿuqūl fī dirāyat al-uṣūl*, *K. al-Arbaʿīn fī uṣūl al-dīn*, *K. Muḥaṣṣal afkār al-mutaqaddimīn wa-l-mutaʾakhkhirīn min al-ʿulamāʾ wa-l-ḥukamāʾ wa-l-mutakallimīn*, and *K. al-Maʿālim* (*fī l-uṣūlayn*).[12] Within this quartet the *Muḥaṣṣal* occupied a very special position and it is this work that takes centre stage in Ibn al-Ṭayyib's *Risālat al-Bayān al-aẓhar*.[13]

As indicated by its title ("Compendium of the Thoughts of Ancient and Modern Scholars, Philosophers and Mutakallimūn") the *Muḥaṣṣal* is a highly

10 Sidarus, "Encyclopédisme et savoir réligieux"; idem, "Renaissance copte". Remarkably enough, most of these texts have so far slipped the attention of historians of mainstream Arabic philosophy.

11 See, for instance, Barhebraeus, *Chronography*, vol. 1, p. 91 f.; vol. 2, f. 98[a–b]. This impression is shared by Muslim detractors of this new philosophising interpretation of Islam: see, for instance, Ibn al-Malāḥimī, *Tuḥfa*, p. 4.

12 Apart from this influential quartet, the Copts occasionally cite *K. al-Khamsīn* (= *al-Masāʾil al-khamsūn fī uṣūl al-dīn*), *K. al-Mabāḥith al-mashriqiyya*, as well as (anonymously) *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb* (*al-Tafsīr al-kabīr*). For further details see Schwarb, "Coptic and Syriac Receptions".

13 In Ibn al-Ṭayyib's other works (viz. *Tiryāq al-ʿuqūl* and *Khulāṣat al-īmān al-masīḥī*), the *Muḥaṣṣal* is quoted alongside other writings of Fakhr al-Dīn. See, for instance, ms. Vat. BAV, arab. 119, ff. 59[v], 61[v] (*Muḥaṣṣal*), 62[r] (*Nihāyat al-ʿuqūl*), 91[v] (*al-Mabāḥith al-mashriqiyya*) and Schwarb, "Coptic and Syriac Receptions", where I also refer to other discussions of *al-qaḍāʾ wa-l-qadar* in Copto-Arabic literature based on Rāzī's *K. al-Arbaʿīn*. The central role of Rāzī's *Muḥaṣṣal* in Barhebraeus' *Candelabrum of the Sanctuary* is discussed by H. Takahashi in the present volume.

eclectic work. It includes discussions of a rich mixture of views and for most of the subjects broached in the book synoptically and comparatively presents the concepts and arguments of *mutakallimūn* and *falāsifa* side by side. Rāzī conceived it as a *Mukhtaṣar fī ʿilm al-kalām* that should be confined to authoritative statements by pre-eminent scholars (*ulū l-albāb*), *mutakallimūn* and *falāsifa*, on fundamental and cardinal issues (*aḥkām al-uṣūl wa-l-qawāʿid*) and dispense with the discussion of derivative and subsidiary issues.

The fact that such an unprecedented[14] compilation of doctrinal views could enjoy such great popularity and gain centre stage in the curriculum of religious scholars was only grudgingly accepted by many scholars. A punchy version of such strident criticism is found in the introduction to Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī's *Talkhīṣ* of the *Muḥaṣṣal*:[15]

> Nowadays, the ambition to reach the truth through accurate methods has been relinquished [...]. Of the books on which the students used to base their study of the *uṣūl*, none is left except the *Muḥaṣṣal* whose title does not correspond to what it contains and whose elucidations do not live up to what it proclaims. Yet, people consider it sufficient to study that science [scil. *uṣūl al-dīn*] and think that it helps to cure the disease of erroneous beliefs and uncritical parroting. In truth, however, it is full of half-baked and unpolished stuff, and whoever relies on it to find certainty will fail to achieve his objective. It is rather so that the one who seeks after the truth by studying [the *Muḥaṣṣal*] is like the thursty who reaches the mirage and the one who lost his orientation and is driven to despair about the task of finding the correct path.
>
> I therefore deemed it right to rip off the mask from the face of the half-baked thoughts embedded in his intoxicating discourse, to lay bare the latent flaws of its objections, to point out its unpolished crudity, and to clarify which of its doubts and certainties are worth looking into.—Even though some scholars have already done their best to elucidate [the *Muḥaṣṣal*] and to write commentaries on it, while others have made an

14 Eichner, *Post-Avicennian Philosophical Tradition*, pp. 355 and 361 f., identifies the *Muḥaṣṣal* as the earliest representative of a new type of *kalām*-treatises that follow an ontological rather than the classical theological structure. The influence of this new type of *kalām*-compositions was momentous and—among others through the concise template of Rāzī's *K. al-Mulakhkhaṣ fī l-ḥikma*—became the structural model of a whole range of subsequent philosophico-theological treatises.

15 Ed. A. Nūrānī, Tehran 1359/1980, pp. 1 f.

effort to refute its underpinnings and to invalidate the book, most of them did not stick by the principle of impartiality, so that their elucidations are not free of unobjective inclination and biased presentation.[16]

This introduction to Ṭūsī's *Talkhīṣ*, completed in 669/1271, bears striking resemblance to the preamble of Ibn al-Ṭayyib's *Risālat al-Bayān al-aẓhar* which predates the *Talkhīṣ* by at least a decade. Before turning to the *Risāla*, however, we should briefly introduce its author.

Al-Rashīd Abū l-Khayr Ibn al-Ṭayyib (/al-Mutaṭabbib) (d. after 1270)

There is no need here to give a detailed account of Ibn al-Ṭayyib's life and work. The available data have been compiled and published on several occasions by Father Wadi Awad (Wadīʿ ʿAwwād).[17] Ibn al-Ṭayyib was priest and physician and a prominent member of the Coptic community in Damascus where he acted as a secretary to a certain Tiflīsī, in all likelihood a Christian merchant of Georgian origin.[18] In Damascus he was closely associated with other influential figures of

16 Ṭūsī likely refers here to Quṭb al-Dīn (Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlī) al-Miṣrī's (d. 618/1221) *Sharḥ al-Muḥaṣṣal*, extant in Ms. Istanbul, Raghib Pasha, no. 792, and the earliest extant Muʿtazilī refutations of the *Muḥaṣṣal* by ʿIzz al-Dīn Abū Ḥāmid ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Hibatillāh Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, (d. 656/1258), *Taʿlīqāt ʿalā l-Muḥaṣṣal* resp. *Naqḍ al-Muḥaṣṣal fī afkār al-mutaqaddimīn wa-l-mutaʾakhkhirīn*, Ms. Istanbul University, no. 3297, ff. 375–441 (see Atay, *Dirāsa muqārina*, pp. 38–52). According to Ṭūsī there circulated several commentaries on and refutations of the *Muḥaṣṣal* by the time he was writing his *Talkhīṣ*. Only a few of these early commentaries/refutations have survived. Most of the extant commentaries and supercommentaries on the *Muḥaṣṣal* (most eminently Najm al-Dīn ʿAlī b. ʿUmar al-Dabīrān al-Kātibī al-Qazwīnī (d. 675/1277), *al-Mufaṣṣal fī sharḥ al-Muḥaṣṣal*, Ms. Istanbul, Damad Ibrahim Pasha, no. 821 (autograph); Saʿd b. Manṣūr Ibn Kammūna (d. 683/1284), *Fawāʾid min Talkhīṣ al-Muḥaṣṣal* [670/1272], Ms. London, British Library, Add. 7517, ff. 67^{r}–104^{v}; Abū Zayd ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Khaldūn, *Lubāb al-Muḥaṣṣal fī uṣūl al-dīn* [Tunis, 752/1351], which depends on earlier Maghribī scholars such as Abū l-Qāsim b. Zaytūn and Abū ʿAbdallāh b. Shaʿīb al-Dukkālī) as well as works that extensively draw on the *Muḥaṣṣal* (e.g. Bayḍāwī's *Ṭawāliʿ al-anwār* and Ījī's *Mawāqif*) post-date Ṭūsī's *Talkhīṣ*.

17 Awad, *Al-Rašīd Ibn al-Ṭayyib*; idem, *Al-Rashīd Abū l-Khayr ibn al-Ṭayyib wa-kitābātuh*; idem, *Al-Rashīd Abū l-Khayr*, pp. 431–437. Gabra, *Historical Dictionary of the Coptic Church*, pp. 24, 291. For further references see Schwarb, "Die Rezeption Maimonides'," pp. 24f.; idem, "Reception of Maimonides," p. 20, n. 81.

18 Awad, *Al-Rašīd Ibn al-Ṭayyib*, pp. 273, 277; Ibn al-Wāsiṭī, *Radd ʿalā Ahl al-Dhimma*; Graf, *Geschichte*, vol. 2, pp. 344–348.

the Coptic community, including Muʾtaman al-Dawla Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm Ibn al-ʿAssāl and several members of the Banū l-ʿAmīd.[19]

His literary activity roughly stretches over the second third of the 13th century CE. A *terminus post quem* for *K. Khulāṣat al-īmān al-masīḥī* is given by the fact that it cites al-Ṣafī b. al-ʿAssāl's adaptation of a Christian refutation of Abū l-Manṣūr b. Fatḥ al-Dimyāṭī's *al-Lumʿa al-muḍīʾa* (*fī l-radd ʿalā l-Naṣārā*).[20] This summary was written shortly before 1240.[21] A reliable *terminus ante quem* for the composition of *Risālat al-Bayān al-aẓhar* is given by the fact that it is quoted in chapter 56 of Muʾtaman b. al-ʿAssāl's *Majmūʿ uṣūl al-dīn wa-masmūʿ maḥṣūl al-yaqīn*[22] where Ibn al-Ṭayyib is said to be coeval with the author (*muʿāṣir li-munshiʾ hādhā l-kitāb*). The *Majmūʿ* was completed soon after 1260, most likely between 1262 and 1265.[23] There are, moreover, good reasons to suspect that Ibn al-Ṭayyib was wrapped up in the composition of an anti-Islamic pamphlet entitled *al-Sayf al-murhaf fī l-radd ʿalā l-Muṣḥaf* which has been imputed to al-Muʾtaman b. al-ʿAssāl.[24] This pamphlet is mentioned by Shihāb al-Dīn Ghāzī

19 Sidarus, *Families of Coptic Dignitaries*; al-Wāsiṭī, *Radd ʿalā Ahl al-Dhimma*, pp. 408 f. See also Swanson's article in the present volume. On al-Muʾtaman see Awad, *Dirāsa*, pp. 125–176.

20 For Ṣafī's adaptation see *CMRBH*, vol. 4, pp. 449–451. "Abū ʾl-Manṣūr b. Fatḥ al-Dimyāṭī", the author of *al-Lumʿa al-muḍīʾa* according to ms. Cairo, Coptic Patriarchate, theol. 83, ff. 51^{r}, is likely to be identified with the Egyptian Shāfiʿite Najīb al-Dīn Abū l-Manṣūr Fatḥ b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Khalaf al-Saʿīdī al-Dimyāṭī (d. 606/1209) rather than with Sharaf al-Dīn al-Dimyāṭī (*CMRBH*, vol. 4, pp. 695 f.): see *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿiyya al-kubrā* (ed. M.M. al-Ṭanāḥī, Cairo 1413[/1992–1993]), vol. 8, p. 346, no. 1242; *Tārīkh Ibn al-Furāt*, ed. Ḥ.M. al-Shammāʿ (Baṣra: Dār al-Ṭibāʿa al-Ḥadītha, 1390/1970), vol. 5.1 (600–615 AH), pp. 99 f.

21 See Ms. Cairo, Coptic Patriarchate, theol. 83, ff. 51^{r}–89^{r}[97^{r}], ed. Kh. Samir, in *al-Manāra* 24,2 (1983), pp. 275–286, 367 f.; 25,3 (1984), pp. 497–508, 587–588; 26,3 (1985), pp. 407–420, 505–507; 29 (1988), pp. 73–86, 145–147.

22 Ed. Wadīʿ [Awad], vol. 2, pp. 338–347.

23 Awad, *Dirāsa*, pp. 182–184.

24 Ibn al-Wāsiṭī, *Radd ʿalā Ahl al-Dhimma*, p. 408, ll. 21–23. See Schwarb, "Die Rezeption Maimonides'," pp. 39–41; idem, "Reception of Maimonides," pp. 35–37, and, dependent on it, Demiri, *al-Sayf al-murhaf*, pp. 662–665; eadem, *Muslim Exegesis*, pp. 34, 37–42. Substantial parts of *al-Sayf al-murhaf* are preserved in form of lengthy quotations interpolated in two works by the Ḥanbalī Najm al-Dīn Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Qawī al-Ṭūfī (d. 716/1316), *al-Intiṣārāt al-islāmiyya fī kashf shubah al Naṣrāniyya* (ed. Sālim b. Muḥammad al-Qarnī, Riyadh 1999), written in response to *al-Sayf al-murhaf*, and his slightly earlier commentary on the Bible (*al-Taʿlīq ʿalā l-Anājīl al-arbaʿa wa-l-taʿlīq ʿalā l-Tawrāt wa-ʿalā ghayrihā min kutub al-anbiyāʾ*), ed. and tr. L. Demiri, *Muslim Exegesis*, pp. 94–527. According to these quotations the author of *al-Sayf al-murhaf* was not only acquainted with the Qurʾān and *ḥadīth*, but also quotes from the writings of Aristotle, Ibn Sīnā (*Tanbīhāt*), al-Ghazālī

b. Aḥmad Ibn al-Wāsiṭī (d. 712/1312) in connection with some infamous incidents that took place in Damascus in 658/1260 and in which Ibn al-Ṭayyib and his Coptic peers played a central role.[25] As I have argued elsewhere, there is evidence to suggest that Abū l-Barakāt Ibn Kabar (d. 1324) refers to the very same pamphlet in his *Miṣbāḥ al-ẓulma fī īḍāḥ al-khidma* where he links "al-Qiss al-Rashīd Abū l-Khayr al-Mutaṭabbib" with the composition of a polemic and slanderous book.[26]

Risālat al-Bayān al-aẓhar fī l-radd ʿalā man yaqūlu bi-l-qaḍāʾ wa-l-qadar

The *Risāla* is extant in a single manuscript housed at the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (BAV, arab. 119).[27] It comprises 35 pages (113^{v}–130^{v} according to the

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(*Kīmiyāʾ al-saʿāda*, *al-Maqṣad al-asnā*, *Risālat al-tawfīq*), al-Zamakhsharī (*Kashshāf*), Ibn ʿAṭiyya (*Tafsīr*), al-Suhrawardī (*al-Tanqīḥāt* [sic!]), Ibn Rushd (commentary(?) on Aristotle's *K. al-Asbāb* [sic!]), and Maimonides (*Dalālat al-ḥāʾirīn*). See Demiri, *Muslim Exegesis*, p. 39.

25 A few months after the Mongol sacking of the city (Jumādā II 658/April 1260), which marked the end of Ayyūbid control, Christians became for three days (27–29 Ramaḍān 658) the target of popular unrest, rioting and looting. During these riots the library of al-Muʾtaman Ibn al-ʿAssāl was ravaged, while he and some other Copts (including Ibn al-Ṭayyib?) were apparently imprisoned for a short while. See M. Raḥīm (ed.), *Die Chronik des ibn Wāṣil: Ǧamāl ad-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Wāṣil, Mufarriǧ al-Kurūb fī Aḫbār Banī Ayyūb: kritische Edition des letzten Teils (646/1248–659/1261) mit Kommentar: Untergang der Ayyubiden und Beginn der Mamlukenherrschaft*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010, p. 212; Awad, *Dirāsa*, pp. 138–145; R.S. Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols: the Ayyubids of Damascus, 1193–1260*, New York 1977, pp. 358–360.

26 "*wa-ṣannafa kitāb*^{an} *li-yarudda ʿalā kitāb*^{in} *li-aḥad al-mukhālifīn wa-qaṣara ʿan hādhihi l-martaba wa-waqaʿa fī l-malāmati wa-l-ʿatabati wa-rumiya bi-fasād al-raʾy fī l-muʿtaqad*" (*Miṣbāḥ al-ẓulma fī īḍāḥ al-khidma*, ed. Samir 1987, p. 320; ed. Riedel, pp. 661 f.; tr. Riedel, p. 698); see Schwarb, "The Reception of Maimonides," pp. 36 f. If my assumption that Ibn al-Kabar refers here to *al-Sayf al-murhaf* is correct, the "*Kitāb li-aḥad al-mukhālifīn*" would have to be identified with the Qurʾān.—Note that according to Ibn al-Wāsiṭī, *Radd*, p. 409, l. 20, al-Muʾtaman b. al-ʿAssāl, who was initially taxed with its composition, denied to have written its *musawwadāt* (*lam takun bi-khaṭṭī*). Ṭūfī stresses that the identity of the author was unknown to him and that it was a well-guarded secret, even though the book was well-known to his contemporaries. The arguments urged by Demiri, *Muslim Exegesis*, p. 39, in favour of al-Muʾtaman's authorship apply *a fortiori* to Ibn al-Ṭayyib.

27 Graf, *Geschichte*, vol. 2, p. 348; idem, "Zum Schrifttum," p. 140. A second manuscript of the *Risāla*, attributed to al-Shaykh al-Raʾīs Shams al-Riʾāsa Abū l-Barakāt b. al-Shaykh

original foliation in Coptic numerals, 109^{v}–126^{v} according to the modern foliation in Arabic numerals) and is dated to Wednesday, 15 Amshīr 1050AM, 4 Jumādā II 734AH (= 9 February 1334CE).[28] It is the third and last item in the manuscript which was copied by the Coptic physician Ghabriyāl b. Farajillāh b. Jirjis; it is preceded by Ibn al-Ṭayyib's two major works: 1) *Jalāʾ al-ʿuqūl fī ʿilm al-uṣūl al-mulaqqab bi-Kashf al-asrār al-khafiyya fī asbāb al-Masīḥiyya* (ff. 3[1]^{v}–62[58]^{v})[29] and *Khulāṣat muʿtaqad al-milla al-masīḥiyya wa-l-radd ʿalā ṭāʾifatay l-Islām wa-l-Yahūdiyya min mawḍūʿātihim wa-uṣūl madhāhibihim* (63[59]^{r}–113[109]^{r}).[30]

The *Risāla* was edited by Mīkhāʾīl Ṣalīb Khuzām (Michel Khouzam) in 1938, in three successive issues of *Majallat al-Ṣalāḥ*, the official journal of the Coptic Catholic church in Cairo.[31] Selected passages from the *Risāla* were paraphrased in Khouzam's French doctoral dissertation of 1941.[32]

In the preface to his edition Khouzam states to have faithfully reproduced the text of the manuscript "without changing any letter and without adjusting it to conventional spelling rules".[33] Unfortunately, this assertion is anything but accurate. In fact, Khouzam altered the text and skipped words almost at will. The edition deviates from the manuscript in more than fifty instances.

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al-Asʿad *al-maʿrūf bi-*bn Kabar, is mentioned in Sbath, *Fihrist*, vol. 1, p. 21, no. 126 as part of the collection of the Greek Catholic priest Mīkhāʾīl Shaḥḥūd in Aleppo. The present whereabouts of this collection is unknown.

28 *Kāna l-farāgh min naskh hādhā l-kitāb bi-yad al-maskīn al-ḥaqīr* [...] *Ghabriyāl al-Mutaṭabbib b. Faraj Allāh b. Jirjis* [...] *fī yawm al-arbaʿāʾ al-thāmin ʿashar min Amshīr, aḥad shuhūr sanat alf wa-khamsīn lil-shuhadāʾ al-abrār al-muwāfiq lil-rābiʿ min shahr Jumādā l-ākhira, aḥad shuhūr sanat sabʿimiʾa arbaʿa wa-thalāthūn(!) lil-hijra.* The colophon of *K. Jalāʾ al-ʿuqūl*, the first text in the manuscript (f. 62[58]^{v}), is dated to the last Tuesday of the month Ṭūba in 1050 *anno martyrum* (= 25 January 1334). See also Mai, *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio*, vol. 4, pp. 242 f. The folio range given by W. Awad in his recent entry on 'Al-Rashīd Abū l-Khayr Ibn al-Ṭayyib', *CMRBH*, vol. 4, p. 436, is incorrect.

29 Better known under the title *Tiryāq al-ʿuqūl fī ʿilm al-uṣūl*.

30 As indicated at the beginning of this article, a critical edition of all three texts contained in this manuscript is currently being prepared by the present writer. For a survey of other extant mss. see Awad, *al-Rashīd Abū l-Khayr Ibn al-Ṭayyib*; idem, *CMRBH*, vol. 4, pp. 433–437. With regard to alternative renderings of the book titles as well as alterations of the author's name see Awad, *Al-Rašīd Ibn Al-Ṭayyib*, p. 283; idem, *Muqaddima*, p. 472, § 37.

31 I am grateful to Krisztina Szilágyi for her help in getting hold of a copy of *Majallat al-Ṣalāḥ* through the Interlibrary Loan Services at Princeton University Library.

32 Khouzam, *L'illumination des intelligences*, pp. 115–139.

33 *naqalnāhā bi-amāna dūna taghyīr ḥarf aw waḍʿ*.

Moreover, several segments of the text have been jumbled up in the edition, most likely due to a blunder made by the editor or the typesetter of *Majallat al-Ṣalāḥ*.[34] On top of it all, Khouzam nowhere mentions that his edition is incomplete and covers just about two fifths of the *Risāla*.[35]

The latter flaw has partially been remedied thanks to Father Wadīʿ Awwād's edition of al-Muʾtaman Ibn al-ʿAssāl's *K. Majmūʿ uṣūl al-dīn wa-masmūʿ maḥṣūl al-yaqīn*. This comprehensive theological *Summa* incorporates a good third of the first part of our *Risāla* in its 56th chapter (*al-qawl fī l-qaḍāʾ wa-l-qadar*)[36] where it precedes lengthy excerpts from chapters 30–43 of Nemesius of Emesa's *K. Ṭabīʿat al-insān*.[37]

Similar to the introduction of Ṭūsī's *Talkhīṣ al-Muḥaṣṣal*, the preamble of the *Risāla* resorts to a common literary topos by deploring the current negligence of religious studies combined with widespread ignorance, misbelief and moral decadence. It is the objective of the *Risāla* to forestall further damage:

> I saw fit to compile suchlike opinions (*tilka l-ārāʾ*),[38] because they lead astray those who advocate them and cause the perdition of those who put

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34 The correct order of the edited text runs as follows: I) p. 131–p. 135, l. 25 (... *wa-lā yakhḍaʿūna li-l-ḥaqq, bal*); II) p. 136, l. 24 (*yattabiʿūna l-bāṭil wa-l-ithm* ...)–p. 137, l. 20 (... *lakinna llāh, idha*); III) p. 135, l. 26 (*shaʾa an yabtadiʾa* ...)–p. 136, l. 23 (*li-ahli l-bilādi, ʿāqaba man*); IV) p. 137, l. 21 (*yastaḥiqqu l-ʿuqūba* ...)—end.

35 The edition terminates on f. 120[116]^{r}, l. 20, and omits no less than 60 per cent (21 manuscript pages) of the text.

36 See above, p. 149, n. 21. The quotations in the *Majmūʿ* correspond to the following sections in manuscript and edition: f. 114^{r}, ll. 2–8 [= ed. p. 132, ll. 4–11]; ff. 117^{v}, l. 5–119^{r}, l. 8 [= ed. pp. 323–327, l. 10]; ff. 120^{r}, l. 20–120^{v}, l. 12 [not in edition]; f. 121^{r}, ll. 4–11 [not in edition]; 121^{v}, ll. 2–16 [not in edition]; 122^{v}, ll. 5–8 [not in edition]; 122^{v}, l. 17–123^{r}, l. 1 [not in edition]; 123^{r}, ll. 3–15 [not in edition].

37 *K. Ṭabīʿat al-insān* (<*Περὶ φύσεως ἀνθρώπου*), first and foremost the chapters cited in the *Majmūʿ*, is of utmost importance to the subject matter of *qaḍāʾ wa-qadar* in the Christian tradition and beyond. For the Arabic tradition of the text see Haji-Athanasiou, *Le Traité de Némésius d'Emèse*; Samir, *Les versions arabes*; *Dictionnaire des philosophes antiques*, vol. 4, pp. 652–654. In the wake of Isḥāq b. Ḥunayn's translation it has erroneously been attributed to Gregory of Nyssa (a confusion with the latter's *Περὶ κατασκευῆς ἀνθρώπου*, *K. Khilqat al-insān*). On the significance of *K. Ṭabīʿat al-insān* and kindred texts for the early *kalām*-tradition see my forthcoming "Early *Kalām* and the medical tradition", in *Philosophy and Medicine in the Islamic World*, ed. P. Adamson and P. Pormann, London: The Warburg Institute, 2014.

38 He specifically refers to *al-ārāʾ al-muʿīna ʿalā nayl al-ladhdhāt wa-l-ʿaqāʾid al-mufsida li-niẓām al-diyānāt*.

them into writing, and shall now refute them in a way that is accessible to people without an advanced philosophical education (*al-qāṣirūn*).

In the sole extant manuscript of the *Risāla* only two such opinions (or: doctrinal views) are discussed: The first opinion (ff. 113[109]^{v}–123[119]^{r}) represents those who advocate universal causal pre-determinism of human agency (*man yaqūlu bi-l-qaḍāʾ wa-l-qadar*), the subject matter denoted in the title of the *Risāla*; the second opinion (ff. 123[119]^{v}–130[126]^{v}) represents those who claim that Christ's humanity is unoriginated and atemporal (*innahu laysa bi-muḥdath wa-lā zamanī min jihati insāniyyatihi*). The exposition of the second opinion exclusively consists of scriptural prooftexts and quotations from patristic literature and thus conveys the impression of being no more than the skeleton of an unfinished chapter.[39] All this seems to indicate that the extant part of the *Risāla* is just the beginning of a project that initially was planned to be more comprehensive and to discuss further controversial 'opinions', but—for one reason or another—had to be abandonned.

In the present article we are exclusively concerned with Ibn al-Ṭayyib's refutation of the first opinion, i.e. universal causal pre-determinism.[40] The wording of this doctrinal position consists of an unmarked quotation from the beginning of the third part (*al-qism al-thālith fī l-afʿāl*) of the third 'basis' (*al-rukn al-thālith fī l-ilāhiyyāt*) of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's *Muḥaṣṣal*:

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39 The quotations from the Church Fathers and other ecclesiastic authorities (*mā warada min aqwāl al-rusul al-aṭhār wa-l-ābāʾ al-baṭārika wa-l-asāqifa al-urthuduksiyyīn min al-iʿtirāf bi-l-Masīḥ annahu bn wāḥid li-llāh taʿālā* ...; f. 125[121]^{v}, l. 18–130[126]^{r}, l. 19) are mainly extracted from the patristic florilegium known as *Iʿtirāf al-ābāʾ* ("Confession of the Fathers"), a compilation of texts from 53 authors which occupies a significant position within the theological literature of the Miaphysites (see Graf, *Geschichte*, vol. 1., p. 415; vol. 2, pp. 321–323; idem, "Zwei dogmatische Florilegien," pp. 345–402; on the tradition of christological florilegia in general see Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition*, vol. 2.1, pp. 51–77). They include: Mystagogia (< Didascalia); Irenaeus of Lyons (d. 200); Dionysius of Alexandria (d. 264); (Pseudo-)Athanasius of Alexandria; St. Ephraem the Syrian (d. 373); Gregory of Nazianzus (d. 389); Cyril of Alexandria (d. 444); Theodosius of Alexandria (d. 566); Severus of Antioch (d. 538); Benjamin of Alexandria (d. 665); John of Antioch (d. 648); Abū Rāʾiṭa al-Takrītī (d. ca. 835).

40 Central components of this debate between universal causal determinism (represented by Rāzī) and partial causal indeterminism (Ibn al-Ṭayyib) can be traced back, through several intermediate stages, to the debate between Stoic determinism and the opposing Peripatetic position represented by Alexander of Aphrodisias or Nemesius of Emesa. The diachronic side of this debate lays outside the scope of the present article. I refer, instead, to Frede, *A Free Will*, pp. 95–101; Bobzien, "The Inadvertent Conception", pp. 137 ff.; Sorabji, *Philosophy of the Commentators*, vol. 1, pp. 305–318.

Muḥaṣṣal	*Risālat al-Bayān al-aẓhar*
ed. Atay, p. 455; ed. Sa'd, p. 194; ed. Nūrānī, p. 325	MS Vat., BAV, ar. 119, f. 114^{r}, ll. 2–3 (ed. Khouzām, p. 132; *Majmūʿ*, vol. 2, p. 338)
مسألة: زعم أبو الحسن الأشعري، رضي الله عنه، أنّه لا تأثير لقدرة العبد فى مقدوره أصلًا، بل القدرة والمقدور واقعان بقدرة الله تعالى.	الرأي الأوّل قولهم «إنّه لا تأثير لقدرة العبد على مقدّره أصلًا، بل القدرة والمقدور واقعان بقدرة الله تعالى».

> The first opinion is their saying: "the power of the human (agent to act) has no bearing whatsoever on what he is able to do. It is rather so that both the power and the effect of the power occur by means of God's power/omnipotence".

Following this quotation from the *Muḥaṣṣal* the exposition of the first opinion continues as follows:

> Furthermore, God does not act upon humans according to what they deserve and what they are entitled to, but randomly (*kayfa 'ttafaqa*). He may thus lead some people to well-being and others into calamity, not because of a reason that would necessitate such a differentiation (*imtiyāz*), but solely because of the unrestricted power/decree (*li-mujarradi l-amri l-muṭlaq*).

"This opinion", Ibn al-Ṭayyib continues, "entails that all movements and acts of humans are from God, regardless of whether they are imposed by the Law, as for example fasting, praying, compassion, and good deeds, or prohibited and penalized by it, as for instance fornication, theft, murder, adultery, and so forth".

The fact that thediscussion of *qaḍā' wa-qadar* is introduced with an unmarked quotation from the *Muḥaṣṣal* does neither imply that the *Risāla* attacks a specific *Islamic* doctrine,[41] nor does it mean that it was written to specifi-

41 I take issue with W. Awad who states in *CMRBH*, vol. 4, p. 436: "Although neither Islam nor any Muslim author is explicitly mentioned, the treatise is evidently directed against Islamic teachings that support predestination at the expense of free will. This is confirmed

cally refute Rāzī's *Muḥaṣṣal*.[42] In the lengthy section immediately following the above-quoted exposition of the first opinion it becomes blatantly clear that the *Risāla* was directed at a Christian readership.

This following section attacks Christian proponents of determinism who buttress their position with scriptural prooftexts from the ninth chapter of the *Epistle to the Romans* and in particular with verses from the Torah embedded in that chapter together with the centuries-long exegetical tradition related to these texts.[43] Ibn al-Ṭayyib contrasts their putative scriptural evidence with what he considers to be the correct interpretation of these texts which can only be reached by means of adequate hermeneutical premises. In his view the *Epistle to the Romans* addressed new Christians who were enticed away from their new belief by Jews who adduced scriptural passages to argue that the eschatological promises of Scriptures were confined to a specific ethnic group (*khaṣīṣ bi-Banī Ibrāhīm wa-nasli Isrā'īl alladhīna ʿamalū bi-sunnat al-Tawrāh wa-ntaẓarū majī' al-Masīḥ*) and that their ascetic lifestyle would therefore be vain endeavours to qualify for the benefits of these promises.

After having confuted the validity of scriptural evidence cited by his coreligionists in favour of *qaḍā' wa-qadar* Ibn al-Ṭayyib proceeds to peruse the rational arguments advanced in support of determinism (*ammā l-jawāb al-ʿaqlī fa-...*). This section stretches over the following nine pages of the manuscript (117[113]^{v}–121[117]^{v}) and may be divided into seven subsections, each one consisting of an argument typically raised by proponents of determinism and Ibn al-Ṭayyib's corresponding rejoinder (*fa-in qulta/qultum ... qultu/qulnā*):

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by the copious use of Islamic expressions and rational proofs that Muslims would find familiar". This statement is mistaken in at least two respects: 1) Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī is explicitly mentioned in the *Risāla*; 2) The treatise was clearly directed at Christian readers who advocated a Rāzian determinism.—It would be a serious mistake to reduce debates about determinism versus indeterminism and human free will in Christian-Arabic literature to inter-religious debates between Islam and Christianity, as though Islam essentially represented a deterministic world view, while Christianity would unequivocally vouch for indeterminism and human autonomy (see Griffith, *Free Will*, p. 81 with n. 8).

42 Whilst there are several Christian-Arabic refutations of specific sections in Rāzī's writings (*al-Jawāb / al-Radd / al-Shukūk ʿalā Fakhr al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb fī ...*; see Schwarb, *Coptic and Syriac Receptions*), this is not the case of *Risālat al-Bayān al-aẓhar*.

43 *Wa-stashhadū ʿalā dhālika bi-qawl al-rasūl Būluṣ naql*^{an} *ʿammā warada fī l-Tawrāh* (f. 114[110]^{r}). This section corresponds to the list of scriptural prooftexts in support of determinism (*al-āyāt al-dālla ʿalā anna jamīʿ al-afʿāl bi-qaḍā'i llāh wa-qadrihi*) adduced in the *Muḥaṣṣal* (ed. Nūrānī, pp. 328–332) and—depending on the position endorsed by the commentator—in support of either determinism or indeterminism in the corresponding sections of the commentaries.

The first subsection resembles a succinct Muʿtazilī *ʿaqīda*: God's *ḥikma* and *ʿadl* prevent Him, *al-ʿādil al-muṭlaq*, from acting arbitrarily (*kayfa yashāʾ*), futilely (*ʿabath*^{an}) and unjustly (*jawr*^{an}).

The second subsection is introduced by a second, yet again unmarked quotation from the *Muḥaṣṣal*:[44]

Muḥaṣṣal	*Risālat al-Bayān al-aẓhar*
ed. Atay, p. 456; ed. Saʿd, pp. 194 f.; ed. Nūrānī, p. 325	MS Vat., BAV, ar. 119, ff. 117^{v}, l. 18–118^{r}, l. 1 (ed. Khouzām, p. 324; *Majmūʿ*, vol. 2, p. 339)

قال المشكّكون: لا يخلو العبد في حال نهوض عزمه لفعل ما أن يمكنه الترك لذلك الفعل أو لم يمكنه. فإن كان الثاني، فقد ثبت قول القائلين بالجبر. وإن أمكنه، فلا يخلو أن يفتقر في ترجيح الفعل على الترك أو ترجيح الترك على الفعل إلى مرجّح أو لا يفتقر. فإن افتقر، فلا يخلو أن يكون ذلك المرجّح من فعله أو لم يكن. فإن كان من فعله، عاد التقسيم، | ولا يتسلسل، بل لا بدّ أن ينتهي إلى مرجّح ليس من فعله، وهو المطلوب.

إنّ العبد حال الفعل إمّا أن يمكنه الترك أو لا يمكنه. فإن لم يمكنه الترك، فقد بطل قول المعتزلة. وإن أمكنه، فإمّا أن لا يفتقر ترجيح الفعل على الترك إلى مرجّح، وهو باطل، لأنّه تجويز أحد طرفَي الممكن على الآخر لا لمرجّح، أو يفتقر. وذلك المرجّح، إن كان من فعله، عاد التقسيم، ولا يتسلسل، بل ينتهي إلى مرجّح لا محالة، لا يكون من فعله.

The gainsayers say: "At the very moment when a human (agent) sets out to do something, it must either be possible for him/her to refrain from performing the act or not. If the latter is the case, the view of those who uphold determinism is correct. If, however, it is possible (for a human agent to refrain from performing the act), he/she either necessar-

44 According to the text version cited in the *Majmūʿ* this quotation from the *Muḥaṣṣal* introduces "the second opinion" (*al-raʾy al-thānī*).

> ily requires a preponderator (*murajjiḥ*) in order to preponderate action over non-action or non-action over action, or he/she does not require (such a preponderator). If he/she does require a preponderator, that preponderator must either derive from his/her agency or it does not. If it derives from his/her agency, this dichotomic division goes on and on. However, there cannot be an endless chain (of preponderators) and it must by necessity end with a preponderator which does not derive from his/her agency, and that is precisely what we were after."[45]

The concept of the 'preponderator' (*murajjiḥ*) rests upon the assumption that the power (*qudra*) to act is "in equal parts" suitable for the act and the failure to act (*al-fiʿl wa-tarkuhu*). In and of itself the power to act is but passive potentiality, a general two-sided capacity of doing something as well as its opposite, and thus insufficient to cause an act to occur. The act comes only about, when the power to act combines with a motive or impulse (*dāʿī* < ὁρμή).[46] Power and motive combined act as an efficient cause which—in the absence of impediments—necessarily brings the act into being. The disagreement between determinists and indeterminists is essentially about the adequate understanding of the 'preponderating motive' (*al-dāʿī al-murajjiḥ*), whether or not (or: to what extent and under what conditions) it is "up to us" and whether or not it is based on deliberate and rational choice and the freedom to do otherwise.

As a technical term in theories of action *murajjiḥ* is derived from its prevalent usage in discussions about the probative force of presumptive knowledge (*ẓann*, *ghālib al-ẓann*) and the weighing of conflicting evidence within legal methodology (*uṣūl al-fiqh*).[47] By Rāzī's time the term was well-established in an ontological context, too, to designate the preponderator who for all things contingent gives preponderance to existence over non-existence or vice versa.[48]

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45 *al-maṭlūb*, lit. the "sought for", desired conclusion.

46 On the reception of this essentially Aristotelian doctrine in early *Kalām* see Schöck, *Möglichkeit und Wirklichkeit*.

47 See, for instance, Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Rāzī al-Jaṣṣāṣ, *al-Fuṣūl fī 'l-uṣūl*, ed. ʿU.J. al-Nashamī, Istanbul: Maktabat al-Irshād, 1414/1994, vol. 4, pp. 203–214.

48 For the usages of *tarjīḥ/murajjiḥ* in *Kalām* and Avicennian philosophy see Wolfson, *The Philosophy of the Kalam*, pp. 447 f.; Madelung, "The Late Muʿtazila", pp. 250–257; Gimaret, *Théories de l'acte humain*, pp. 134–153; Griffel, *al-Ghazālī*, pp. 170 f.; Shihadeh, *Teleological Ethics*, pp. 13–44.

Ibn al-Ṭayyib's reply to Rāzī's *murajjiḥ*-argument runs as follows:

> Yes, indeed, (the human agent) requires a preponderator, but that preponderator is the intellect which overflows from the Bestower of forms (*wāhib al-ṣuwar*). On account of (the intellect) he/she is capable of free choice and because of it, it is possible to command, prohibit, praise and blame him/her. There is no disagreement that the intellect which is perfect with respect to conceptual forms (*al-ʿaql al-kāmil al-maʿānī*) is preponderated from the First Preponderator (*al-murajjiḥ al-awwal*), exalted be He, for He did only overflow it on humankind in order for their acts to occur in accordance with it. However, sometimes (the intellect) gets the upper hand over the animal faculties and restrains them, so that (the human agent) acts in conformance with what distinguishes him by nature (viz. the intellect). (His) reward will be calculated on this basis. At other times, however, (the intellect) preponderates, but is not obeyed, so that the (animal) faculties act in keeping with their natural qualities, after having disobeyed (the intellect), and against the counsel of (the intellect). On this account he will be punished.[49] For all these reasons the fact that human acts depend on the counsel of the preponderator does not entail that all of them derive from it.
>
> What this all comes down to is that humans must either be requited favourably for their good deeds and unfavourably for their evil deeds, or not. If they are requited, they must have the capacity of acting on their own terms (*al-istiṭāʿa*) and freedom of choice (*al-ikhtiyār*) as well as the ability to proceed with an action after considering matters that derive from their own selves (*al-umūr al-ṣādira ʿan dhawātihim*), and not matters that reach them from outside ([*al-umūr*] *al-wārida alayhim min al-khārij*).[50] For this reason it is appropriate that the ordinances of the Law are expressed in terms of command and prohibition that are only

49 lit. "punishment will be applied to him".

50 Note that *istiṭāʿa* (and not *qādir bi-nafsihi* as suggested by Wolfson, *The Philosophy of the Kalam*, p. 620, or *tafwīḍ* as suggested by Seale, *Muslim Theology*, pp. 29 f., or *qadar* as suggested by Griffith, *Free Will*, p. 91) renders gr. τὸ αὐτεξούσιον ("what is in one's own power") and/or τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ("what is up to us") in the sense these terms are used in Alexander of Aphrodisias's *Maqāla fī l-istiṭāʿa* (περὶ τοῦ ἐφ' ἡμῖν; Bobzien, *The Inadvertent Conception*, pp. 164–167; Schöck, *Möglichkeit und Wirklichkeit*, pp. 87 f., 100) and in various patristic texts by Gregory of Nyssa, Nemesius of Emesa, Maximus the Confessor, Anastasios of Sinai, John of Damascus, and others; *ikhtiyār* renders προαίρεσις ("deliberate choice").

> addressed to whom is capable of acting on his own terms (*al-mustaṭāʿ*) and no one else. If (human agents) have the capacity of acting on their own terms as well as freedom of choice, the acts which originate from them cannot depend on a preponderator other than themselves, and that is what we wanted to prove.

A similar pattern of argument is applied in the third subsection to refute an argument based on the ontological modality of contingent beings. According to this argument the existence of all contingent beings depends on a preponderator that preponderates their existence over their "in equal measure" possible nonexistence. As a composite whole all human beings are contingent beings. Since all acts emanating from contingent beings are themselves contingent, all human acts are necessarily contingent and depend as such on a preponderator. And since an endless chain of preponderators is inconceivable, it must end in an ultimate preponderator, this being the Necessary of Existence. This Avicennian argument is rejected as follows:

> I would reply: There is no disagreement about the fact that the foundational and universal aspects of actions (*uṣūl al-afʿāl wa-kulliyyātuhā*) are contingent and that their existence depends on the First Mover (*al-muḥarrik al-awwal*) who is the necessary of existence in itself (*wājib al-wujūd li-dhātihi*). By "foundational and universal aspects" I mean the natural and animal faculties (*al-quwā al-ṭabīʿiyya wa-l-ḥayawāniyya*) which God has arranged as natural qualities(*ṭibāʿ*) inasmuch as they are faculties for the purpose of replacing what has become deprived and missing at the level of individuals and species. However, the control over their particular movements (*ḥarakātuhā al-juzʾiyya*) He delegated to the counsel of the intellect so that (the human agent) may use them in an appropriate way.
>
> On these grounds we say that there is no disagreement about the fact that everything which derives from the human faculties and which is (guided) by the counsel of the intrinsically perfect intellect (*al-ʿaql al-kāmil fī dhātihi*), refined by the ordinances of revealed and man-made rational laws (*muthaqqaf bi-l-sharāʾiʿ wa-l-nawāmīs*), depends on the unconditioned preponderator (*al-murajjiḥ al-muṭlaq*) who is the necessary of existence, as has been proven by way of revealed texts and reason.
>
> There is also no disagreement about the fact that elementary and universal (*kullī*) types of action, i.e. actions related to reproduction and subsistence (*fiʿl al-tawlīd wa-l-taghdhiya*), depend on the unconditioned preponderator (*al-murajjiḥ al-muṭlaq*) who is the necessary of existence,

> because they are faculties for that purpose by their very nature, despite the fact that the may strain the intellect.
>
> However, the fact that (a human agent) may use the mechanisms of reproduction to commit fornication and the mechanisms of subsistence to eat what belongs to others is something that depends on him/her and not on the unconditioned preponderator, because he/she acts counter and in opposition to the preponderator and dismisses its counsel, because God created the natural faculties in humans to replace individuals that have become raddled and exhausted (*li-ikhlāf al-mutakhallil min al-shakhṣ*) and to restore a defective and degenerate species (*wa-l-taʿwīḍ min al-nawʿ al-fāsid*).[51] However, the control and regulation of their (*scil.* the natural faculties) particular movements He delegated to the intellect to make use of them at appropriate times and in appropriate ways, not otherwise, a use by choice, however, not by compulsion (*istiʿmāl mukhayyar, lā mujbar*). On these grounds He promised bliss for using them as one ought to and hellfire for using them to contrary effects and for neglecting them.

The fourth subsection serves to clarify the distinction between the elementary and universal faculties of acting (*aṣl al-quwā al-kulliyya*), which depend on the unconditioned preponderator (*al-murajjiḥ al-muṭlaq*), and the particular actions of these faculties (*afʿāluhā al-juzʾiyya*), which depend on the human agent, by means of a parable comparing the human agent to a gardening landscape contractor commissioned to build a recreational park for the king.[52] The conclusion of this parable resumes the preceding argument:

> God left the reins of authorityto the intellect to make use of those natural faculties in accordance with His intention [...] Inasmuch as the human agent is endowed with intellect, he/she has the capacity of freely choosing how to use them (*huwa mālik al-ikhtiyār fī stiʿmālihā*), except that he/she becomes careless and negligent, with the result that the reins of action are loosened and handed over to the unbounded and unchanneled impetus of the natural faculties (*ilā ḥaythu nahaḍat al-quwā l-ṭabīʿiyya*). [...] And even though these actions derive from the natural faculties, it is the (one)

51 Later on these two universal and constitutive types of actions are attributed to 1) *shahwat al-ghidhāʾ li-ikhlāf al-mutakhallil min al-shakhṣ* and 2) *shahwat al-jimāʿ li-ikhlāf al-mafqūd min al-nawʿ*.

52 For a French paraphrase of this parable see Khouzam, *L'illumination des intelligences*, p. 121.

> who is endowed with intellect[53] who has to assume liability for their misuse and negligence, not (these faculties).
>
> It has thus become blatantly clear that the Creator, exalted, created in human beings elementary (universal) motives (*dawāʿī kulliyya*), while leaving the reins to control them to the intellect.

The ensuing objection, which opens the fifth subsection, brings us back to the starting point:

> If you then said: This preponderator, namely the intellect, from which human actions originate, either requires (another) preponderator or it does not. If it does require (another preponderator), (the sequence of preponderators) must end with a preponderator that does not require another one, and this is the necessary of existence, and this (once again) leads to the desired conclusion.
>
> We would reply: There is no disagreement about the fact that human acts depend on the counsel of the preponderator, namely the intellect, but this counsel is sometimes obeyed and sometimes disobeyed. Acts which originate from the intellect that is perfect with respect to its conceptual forms (*al-ʿaql al-kāmil bi-maʿānīhi*) are in keeping with the view of the Creator, exalted. The fact, however, that (the perfect intellect) was designed to assess all (acts) does not imply that all acts emanate from it, whenever it so wills, for if that was the case, the view of those who uphold pre-determination would be compelling. However, the assessor only counsels and does not coerce and the one who counsels is sometimes obeyed and sometimes disobeyed, and that is precisely the case of the (natural) faculties vis-à-vis the intellect. Hence, not all of what human agents do emanates from the preponderator so that all acts could be related to it. Hence we say that righteous acts are from God, meaning that they emanate from the intellect which God appointed as custodian and judge whose will corresponds to God's will. Evil acts, on the other hand, derive from human agents, because they emanate from the natural faculties in a way that contravenes the intellect.

In the sixth subsection the intellect is further specified as *forma specifica* (*ṣūra nawʿiyya*), i.e. the form which 'governs' the (human) species (*al-ṣūra al-mustawliya ʿalā l-nawʿ*).

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53 I read here (*lāzima*) *li-l-ʿāqil.* instead of ms. (*lāzima*) *li-l-ʿaql.*

The last 'rational' argument in favor of determinism is once again made up of an unmarked quotation from Rāzī's *Muḥaṣṣal*:

Muḥaṣṣal	*Risālat al-Bayān al-aẓhar*
ed. Atay, p. 471; ed. Saʿd, p. 199; ed. Nūrānī, p. 333	MS Vat., BAV, ar. 119, f. 121^{r}, ll. 4–5 (missing in Khouzām's edition; *Majmūʿ*, vol. 2, p. 344)
[والجواب: إنّ هذه الإشكالات واردة على المعتزلة لأنّ] ما علم الله تعالى أنّه يوجد كان واجب الوقوع، وما علم الله تعالى أنّه لا يوجد كان ممتنع الوقوع.	قالوا: «ما علم الله تعالى أنّه يوجد كان واجب الوقوع، وما علم أنّه لا يوجد كان ممتنع الوقوع».

> They say: "Whatever God knows that it will exist, must by necessity come about, and of whatever He knows that it will not exist, is impossible to come about (cannot come about by necessity)".

To this argument in favour of universal causal determinism Ibn al-Ṭayyib replies:

> We respond: We readily concede that, but the fact that He knows that someone will die as a believer and that someone else will die as an unbeliever does not entail that He wills it and that he causes that person to act accordingly. For there is a difference between knowing something and willing it. Evidence for the intensity of His disapproval of evil things and of actions which are not permitted, neither according to the Law nor according to reason, is that He describes Himself as exempt from it and devoid of the knowledge that it is going to happen, as per His saying: "They have done things (*scil.* committed crimes) which I never commanded, and which never came to my mind"; "they have built shrines [to Baal] to put their children to the fire as burnt offerings to demons, something I have neither decreed nor censured, but they have done it on their own accord" (Jer 19:5).

It is obvious that His disregard for these vicious acts and His denial to have knowledge of them does not mean that He does not know them in a general way, highly exalted be He above that. His purpose is rather not to rush people

into the conclusion that whenever He knows something it must inevitably come about, and He wanted to let us know that the knowledge of what He does not will does not count as knowledge for Him; it is rather as if He did not know it.

At this point Ibn al-Ṭayyib gets on to discuss the epistemic status of the foreknowledge of angels, demons, astrologers, fortune tellers, and the like. Just as they inform about things that will inevitably come about without being their cause and without willing them, so it is with the Creator, exalted.

> If you then objected by saying: "You must distinguish between knowledge by essence and knowledge by accident", we would dispense with the astrologers, fortune tellers and make a comparison with angels and demons. Indeed, (even) the sages and the philosophers have invoked the angels' knowledge of events. The venerable Fakhr al-Dīn mentioned this (view) in the *Muḥaṣṣal*, when he says:

Risālat al-Bayān al-aẓhar	*Muḥaṣṣal*
MS Vat., BAV, ar. 119, f. 121^{r}, ll. 18–21 (missing in Khouzām's edition; not quoted in the *Majmūʿ*)	ed. Atay, pp. 532–534; ed. Saʿd, pp. 221 f.; ed. Nūrānī, p. 375
وقد استشهد على علم الملائكة بالحادثات الحكماء والفلاسفة، وأورده الشيخ فخر الدين في المحصّل، وذلك بقوله: «الملائكة صور مجرّدة كمالاتها حاضرة لنا بالفعل محيطة بالأمور الغائبة عنّا مطّلعة على مستقبل الأحوال، لأنّ علومهم كلية نظرية أمينة من الغلط، لا كعلوم البشر»	إنّ الروحانيات صورة[/صور] مجرّدة كمالاتها حاصلة[/ظاهرة] بالفعل [...] [الروحانيات فضلت الجسمانيات لقوى العلم والعمل. أمّا العلم]، فلإحاطتها بالأمور الغائبة عنّا، واطّلاعهم على مستقبل الأحوال الجارية علينا، ولأنّ علومهم علوم كلّيّة، وعلوم الجسمانيات جزئية وعلومهم فعلية. وعلوم الجسمانيات انفعالية، وعلومهم نظرية أمينة من الغلط. وعلوم الجسمانيات كسبية متعرضة للغلط.

> The angels are mere forms whose completeness becomes present (or: appears) to us through praxis (or: by doing things). They comprehend things which are absent to us and are cognisant of future conditions, for their knowledge is universal-theoretical knowledge, devoid of error, unlike the knowledge of humans.

It is striking that the only acknowledged quotation from the *Muḥaṣṣal* in *Risālat al-Bayān al-aẓhar* is taken from a chapter on the superiority of prophets over angels, a topic that is only remotely linked to the main issue of our treatise, namely *qaḍā' wa-qadar*. It is, moreover, no coincidence that Ibn al-Ṭayyib does not contradict al-Rāzī on this point, contrary to all the previously cited unmarked quotations from the third part of the third *rukn* of the *Muḥaṣṣal*.

This last quotation from the *Muḥaṣṣal* also marks the end of Ibn al-Ṭayyib's consideration of rational arguments pro and contra universal causal determinism. The following section (121[117]^{v}–123[119]^{r}) offers a list of scriptural prooftexts (*wa-ammā l-dalīl al-sharʿī, fa-...*) which could be adduced to corroborate the rational arguments brought forward to prove that human beings are endowed with the capacity of acting on their own terms as well as with the freedom of choice. A short summary presenting the gist of Ibn al-Ṭayyib's argument concludes the discussion of the "first opinion".

Conclusion

Risālat al-Bayān al-aẓhar provides us with an excellent example to illustrate the central role played by the works of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī during the 'Renaissance' of Copto-Arabic literature. At first reading the isolated reference to the *Muḥaṣṣal* seems to be inconspicuous and coincidental, but on closer examination it becomes apparent that this influential text runs like an invisible thread through the entire treatise.

The *Risāla* is directed at a Christian readership that is well familiar with the Rāzian style of writing. Indeed, Ibn al-Ṭayyib seems to specifically address those among his coreligionists who became passionate readers of Rāzī's books and got carried away by their fascination with the intellectual appeal of Ibn al-Khaṭīb's novel discourse, to the point that they fell for his deterministic concept of human agency.

Ibn al-Ṭayyib's criticism of Rāzī's Avicennised Ashʿarism is in many respects reminiscent of Muʿtazilite responses to the *Muḥaṣṣal*, such as Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd's *Naqḍ al-Muḥaṣṣal*, and even more so of the 'philosophically enhanced' Muʿta-

zilism as found in Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī's *Talkhīṣ al-Muḥaṣṣal*. Ibn al-Ṭayyib's discussion of *qaḍā' wa-qadar* differs from that of his like-minded Muslim contemporaries owing to the greater variety of source texts at his disposal, patristic texts in particular and several earlier Christian-Arabic writings on the subject. By blending the novel Avicennian-Rāzian discourse into the established corpus of Christian doctrinal tradition in Arabic he expedites the process of its adaptation. The source-critical and comparativistic aspects of *Risālat al-Bayān al-aẓhar* will, however, require a separate study which I hope to undertake on a future occasion.

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Gregor Schwarb

The Reception of Maimonides in Christian-Arabic Literature[1]

Introduction

There is no dearth in studies on the intricate reception history of the works of Maimonides (Abū ʿImrān Mūsā b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. Maymūn al-Qurṭubī, d. 601/1204-5) in the subsequent history of thought. An exhaustive bibliography of the subject area would comfortably fill several hundred pages.[2] However, such a bibliography would not only document the overwhelming quantity of previous studies, but also demonstrate that most of the research hitherto focussed on the 'influence' of *translations* (into Hebrew, Latin and other languages) of Maimonides' writings in the European intellectual history.[3] Studies on the reception of his works in Arabic literature are comparatively scarce. The remarkable number of conferences and symposia organised in 2004/5 in commemoration of the 800th anniversary of Maimonides' death has hardly impaired the validity

[1] This study was prepared within the framework of the ERC Advanced Grant Project "Rediscovering Theological Rationalism in the Medieval World of Islam" (http://tiny.cc/RTRMWI). Note that this article was submitted to the editors in 2010. Where possible, I have added references to more recent studies in the footnotes. I am grateful to Alexander Treiger and the anonymous reviewer who offered some helpful suggestions and corrections. A preliminary version of this contribution was read to the 12th Conference of the Society of Judaeo-Arabic Studies, University of Ḥaifa, 25th–28th July 2005 (כתבי הרמב"ם בספרות הקופטית־הערבית מן המאה הי"ג). For a shorter German version of this article see Schwarb 2007. I am currently preparing a book length study (Schwarb, Reception) on the reception of Maimonides and Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210) in Christian-Arabic literature which will cover further documents not discussed here and include an annotated critical edition of several texts only accessible in manuscript (see below nn. 17, 65, 67, 92, 94, 96, 136, 138).

[2] Besides the relevant monographs that contain bibliographies on the reception of Maimonides in the non-Arabic (Hebrew, Latin, etc.) literature, see the various thematic bibliographies by Dienstag 1987; 1988.

[3] This excludes, of course, the *Mishne Tora* as well as several letters and responsa, originally written in a Hebrew characterised by numerous Arabisms. The *Mishne Tora* was first translated into Arabic in the early 14th Century; see Tobi 1991. The edition of Tanḥūm ben Yosef ha-Yerushalmī's (d. Fusṭāṭ, 1291) Arabic Lexicon on the *Mishne Tora*, *al-Murshid al-kāfī*, has recently been published by Shy 2005.

of this verdict. Symptomatically, a recently published collection of articles on the "religious, scientific, and philosophical *Wirkungsgeschichte*" of Maimonides' writings "in different cultural contexts", contains a single, re-published contribution on the reception of Maimonides in Arabic literature.[4]

While a good number of studies have shed some light on the reception of Maimonides' writings in Judaeo-Arabic literature,[5] many important research and editorial projects are still pending.[6] On the reception of his writings in non-Jewish Arabic literature there exists no substantial study until now,[7] and the reception in Christian-Arabic literature remains virtually unstudied.[8] In consequence, "the medieval Christian reception of Maimonides" has generally been reduced to and equated with the Latin Maimonides.[9] It is by no means the intention of this article to play down the importance of the reception of Maimonides amongst Christian thinkers in Europe;[10] indeed, measured by its intensity Maimonides would deserve the status of a 'church father', as Yellin and Abrahams facetiously

4 Hasselhoff & Fraisse 2004. The contribution by P.B. Fenton on the reception of Maimonides' writings amongst his descendants in 13th and 14th century Egypt and Syria (Fenton 2004b) is a slightly revised version of his previously published articles (1991; 2004a). Contrary to the editors' introductory statement (p. 10) the volume includes close to nothing on "the repercussions of the Maimonidean rationality in an Islamic context". M. Zonta adduces in his contribution some evidence to corroborate Maimonides' autorship of a *Maqāla tashtamilu ʿalā fuṣūl min K. al-Ḥayawān li-Arisṭū* (see *GAL*, Suppl. vol. 1, p. 894, no 25:13; *GAS*, vol. 3, p. 351), while at the same time drawing attention to "evident traces of the intervention of the copyist, a certain ʿAbdullāh Muḥammad ibn al-Mukarram". The question whether or not this scribe is identical with the homonymous *Kātib* and author of the *Lisān al-ʿArab* (d. 711/1311; *GAL* II, 2nd ed., p. 25; *EI²*, vol. 3, p. 864) who is well-known for his numerous extracts, has not been raised by Zonta. According to the catalogue (Hitti & al., 1938, p. 335) the manuscript dates 'probably' to the 14th century. A palaeographic comparison with other extant manuscripts copied by the same scribe could bear out this assumption (see *GAL*, Suppl. 3, p. 704 [index]).

5 The main contributions are mentioned in Schwarb 2004. For the reception of Maimonides in the writings of Ibn Kammūna (d. 683/1284) see Pourjavady & Schmidtke 2006, p. 9, n. 43 and below n. 114.

6 Y.T. Langermann is currently preparing a monograph on the reception of Maimonides in Judaeo-Arabic literature. See for now Langermann 2009; 2009a.

7 For a non-exhaustive summary account of the reception of Maimonides in Muslim-Arabic literature see *Appendix 1*.

8 Relevant studies will be mentioned in this article.

9 Hasselhoff & Fraisse 2004, p. 10; Dienstag 1990.

10 Hasselhoff & Fraisse 2004, pp. 173–208, 239–269, 449–478; Hasselhoff 2004; see also the review by Wilkes 2006.

suggested.[11] The purpose of this article is to show that the reception of Maimonides in Christian-Arabic literature is of no less interest, having its own distinctiveness and originality.

I. Maimonides' Works in Arabic Script

The reception of Maimonides' Arabic works in non-Jewish Arabic literature was normally, but – contrary to a widely held opinion – not necessarily dependent upon the existence of manuscripts in Arabic script.[12] Those of Maimonides' medical works that were dedicated to Muslim dignitaries were submitted in Arabic script, while others that were exclusively written for private use or for didactic purposes were written in Hebrew script.[13] The *Dalāla* (*Dalālat al-ḥā'irīn*, 'Guide for the Perplexed') is one of a few texts of medieval Judaeo-Arabic literature to survive in at least three different types of notation.[14] Maimonides wrote

[11] Yellin & Abrahams 1903, p. 157.

[12] See al-As'ad Abū al-Faraj Hibat Allāh Ibn al-'Assāl, *Maqāla fī al-nafs*, as quoted below *apud* n. 55. For the inaccurate view that the non-Jewish reception of Judaeo-Arabic literature in general and of Maimonides' Arabic works in particular invariably depended on manuscripts in Arabic script, see Hopkins 2005, pp. 91 ("The fact that his Arabic works were written in Hebrew script (i.e. in Judaeo-Arabic) made them, of course, inaccessible to Muslim and Christian readers"), and 97 ("[T]he use of Hebrew script put Maimonides's Judaeo-Arabic works beyond the reach of Arabic-speaking Muslims and Christians"); Sirat & Di Donnato 2011, p. 60 ("Les copies en caractères hébreux n'étaient lues que par les Juifs"). The reception of the *Mishne Tora* in non-Jewish Arabic literature was dependent upon an Arabic translation (see above n. 3 and Schwarb, Ibn Ṭaybughā).

[13] Bos 2002, pp. xxxviii f.; Langermann 1996, p. 139. As has been shown by Fenton 1990, p. 465, Hopkins 1994, p. 128, and Isaacs 1994, pp. x, 9, 47, 113, on the basis of some autographs, it is safe to assume that Maimonides drafted all his medical writings in Hebrew script – most of which were later transposed into Arabic script, most likely by a professional scribe. Autographs of Maimonides in Arabic script are very rare (see Hopkins 1994, p. 128, n. 17 and Hopkins 2005, p. 90, nn. 21f.).

[14] For a very provisional list of manuscripts of the *Dalāla* see Sirat 1991 (supplemented by Langermann 2000). Many more fragments have been identified over the last few years. The *Dalāla* is not the only Judaeo-Arabic text to have survived in three different notations (Hopkins 1985, pp. 712f.). Several Karaite texts of the 10th and early 11th centuries are also preserved in three graphic varieties (Khan 1990, p. 2, nn. 16f.). Some of these Karaite manuscripts represent a fourth, 'mixed' type of notation, inasmuch as Hebrew quotations are partly written in Arabic and partly in Hebrew script (see, for instance, several manuscripts of Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb b. Isḥāq al-Qirqisānī's *K. al-Anwār wa-al-marāqib* or of Abū al-Faraj Furqān b. Asad's (Yeshu'a ben Yehuda's) *Tafsīr Tōrāh ṣiwwāh lānū* as well as several fragments of Sa'adia's *Tafsīr* presented in Vollandt 2009).

the work in Hebrew letters, and in this form it is found in the editions of S. Munk, M. Joel and J. Qāfiḥ.[15] Some Genizah fragments give the Arabic text in Arabic script and the Hebrew text in Hebrew script.[16] In a fragment of an abridged version of the *Dalāla* (in Arabic script) arranged by a Coptic Christian in the 13th or 14th century, most (but not all) Hebrew quotations have been translated into Arabic.[17] Another manuscript of the *Dalāla*, copied in 882-3/1477-9 in Ṣaʿda by the Zaydī scribe Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Nihmī and preserved in Istanbul gives both the Arabic text and the Hebrew quotations in Arabic script resp. transcription.[18] A large fragment of a Samaritan copy of the *Dalāla* gives the Arabic text in Arabic script and the Hebrew and Aramaic quotations in Samaritan script.[19] Statements

15 For the preserved autograph fragments of the *Dalāla* see Sasson 1990, plates XLVI–LI; Sirat 1991, p. 12; Hopkins 1987; Hopkins 1994, p. 128, n. 16; Outhwaite & Nielsen 2006; all these fragments have now been edited and described by Sirat & Di Donnato 2011. Against all evidence, Samir 2001, p. 43, writes: "Nous avons des preuves philologiques établissant, par example, que le *Guide des égarés* (de son titre arabe original *Dalâlat al-ḥâ'irîn*) de Maïmonide, a été écrit originellement en caractères arabes" [sic!].

16 These fragments, which so far have neither been codicologically analysed nor edited, include: Cambridge University Library, T-S NS 306.252 (Jefferson & Hunter 2004, p. 282; Sirat & Di Donnato 2011, p. 62); T-S AS 178.222 (*ibid.*, p. 344); T-S AS 178.228 (*ibid.*); T-S Ar. 18(1).141 (*ibid.*, p. 132); T-S Ar. 42.42 (*ibid.*, p. 151); Misc. 24.85 (*ibid.*, p. 172); West. Coll. Ar. I.133 (*ibid.* 371). These seven fragments apparently belong to one single manuscript, as do probably New York, Jewish Theological Seminar, ENA 3916.19; ENA 3920.5 (see <http://www.genizah.org/>). See Hopkins 1985, pp. 712f.; Hopkins 2005, p. 92, n. 30; Hopkins, p. 2, n. 17; Fenton 1990, p. 462, n. 2; Fenton 1995, p. 409, n. 2.

17 Ms. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, arabe no. 205/12, fols. 113^{r}–135^{v} (Troupeau 1972, p. 205, no. 205/12); Vajda 1960. Some Hebrew quotations have merely been transcribed, often incorrectly (cf. *ibid.*, pp. 118f., 123). According to Vajda (*ibid.*, p. 123f.) it is likely that the manuscript was copied from a *Vorlage* in Arabic script (which in turn may have been copied from a *Vorlage* in Hebrew or mixed script). For an edition and detailed analysis of this manuscript see Schwarb, Reception.

18 Ms. İstanbul, Jārullāh 1279, fols. 189b–301a. The *Dalāla* is here part of a *Majmūʿ* comprising 410 folios (see Rosenthal 1955; for the *Dalāla* see p. 20, no. XVI). H. Atay based his edition of the *Dalāla* (Ankara 1974) on this manuscript, but translated the Hebrew quotations into Arabic and displaced the transcribed quotations of the manuscript to the footnotes. The numerous marginal glosses contained in this manuscript are still unedited (Langermann 2009, p. 79, n. 34 refers to a forthcoming article including an edition and study of selected glosses, in cooperation with A. Kasher). In the 17th century (1644/5) the *Dalāla* was transposed into Arabic script by the Moroccan Jew Saʿadia Ha-Levi on behalf of Prof. Jacobus Golius (1596–1667) in Leiden [MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Marsh 186; 396 fols.; cat. Neubauer, c. 438, no. 1240; Suppl.-Vol. (M. Beit-Arié), c. 202].

19 This manuscript (RNL, Firk. Sam. III 35), which I identified during a recent visit to the Russian National Library in St. Petersburg, will be discussed in a forthcoming article on the reception of Maimonides in the Arabic literature of the Samaritans.

that can be interpreted to the effect that copies in Arabic script of (at least parts of) the *Dalāla* were being circulated already during Maimonides' lifetime have been repeated numerous times since Salomon Munk's study of 1842.[20]

II. Jews and Christians in Cairo and Fusṭāṭ (Old Cairo)

Information about relations between Jews and Christians[21] in the various areas of everyday life in al-Fusṭāṭ (Fusṭāṭ Miṣr, Old Cairo) and al-Qāhira (Cairo) has frequently been mentioned in the research literature.[22] In Fusṭāṭ and Cairo, there were areas with mixed Jewish and Christian population, particularly around the Roman fortress 'Bābalyūn' (*Qaṣr al-Sham'*) in Fusṭāṭ and Ḥārat Zuwayla in Cairo.[23] At least one of the synagogues in Old Cairo was formerly a Melkite church (*Kanīsat al-Mal'ak Mīkhā'īl*) until the early 8th century when it was taken over by Coptic

[20] Munk 1842, p. 27, n. 1. Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a (d. 668/1270), *'Uyūn al-anbā' fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'* (ed. Müller, p. 205:31; ed. Riḍā, p. 687) quoted from an autograph of the autobiography of Muwaffaq al-Dīn 'Abd al-Laṭīf b. Yūsuf al-Baghdādī (557/1162–629/1231) as follows: وعمل كتابًا لليهود سمّاه كتاب الدّلالة، ولعن مَن يكتبه بغير القلم العبراني. ووقفتُ عليه فوجدتُه كتاب سوء يفسد أصول الشرائع والعقائد بما يظنّ أنّه يصلحها. Note, however, that this statement does not necessarily imply the existence of a ms. in Arabic script! In spring 1205, Samuel Ibn Tibbon suspected that a faulty copy of the 3rd part of the *Dalāla*, from which he was working, had been prepared, directly or indirectly, from a *Vorlage* in Arabic script ([הנוסחא] הראשונה כאשר הודעתי אל כבוד אדוננו נראה ממנה שנכתבה מספר כתוב ערבי או מספר שנכתב הוא מספר כתוב ערבי ולזה רבו טעיותיו כאשר יראה בה אדוננו), see Diesendruck 1936, p. 352, ll. 28–31 of the Hebrew text; Hopkins 2005, p. 91, n. 27; Sirat & Di Donnato 2011, pp. 60f. Fraenkel 2007, p. 72, conjectured that this faulty copy might have originated in Alexandria. Some book inventories list copies of the *Dalāla* in Arabic script (Sirat & Di Donnato 2011, p. 61). The information in Shailat 1988, pp. 517–519, is incomplete.

[21] Apart from the Coptic Christians there were in 12th century Fusṭāṭ and Cairo smaller groups of Melkite, West-Syrian (Jacobite), Armenian, Ethiopian and European Christians; see e. g. Dodoyan 1996, with further references; Youssef 1998/9; Martin 2004; Timm 1979, particularly pp. 24–45 ('Cairo') and pp. 34–6 ('Kirchen in Miṣr al-Qadīma') and the related maps of the *Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients*: B VII 14.1 (Cairo), B VIII 2, B VIII 5; Timm 1984/92; Grossman 2002. On the relationship between Karaite and Rabbanite Jews in Fāṭimid times see Rustow 2008.

[22] Mann 1920, vol. 1, pp. 211–213; Ashtor 1944/70, vol. 3, p. 182 (index); Goitein 1967/93, vol. 6, p. 23 ('Christians', 'Churches'); Gil 1983, vol. 3, p. 729 (index); Cohen 1980, pp. 50–78, 374 (index). The latter study also draws on Copto-Arabic sources. Among the non-Jewish sources the historiographical works of the Fāṭimid, Ayyūbid and Mamlūk periods figure most prominently [see the overview in the introduction to A.F. Sayyid's edition of al-Maqrīzī's *Mawā'iẓ* (2002/4), vol. 1, p. 8*–30*; Den Heijer 1996.

[23] See Behrens-Abouseif 1986 (Fusṭāṭ, pp. 119–121; Cairo, pp. 122–132); Timm 1979, pp. 29, 34–6; Den Heijer 2008.

Christians. Towards the end of the 9th century it was bought by Jews and turned into a synagogue.[24] The documents from the Cairo Genizah and the Basātīn cemetery in Fusṭāṭ include several fragments in Coptic language, magical texts, for example, as well as fragments of Christian-Arabic texts.[25] However, very few documents provide evidence for an intellectual exchange between Christians and Jews during the Fāṭimid and Ayyūbid periods, apart from the fact that Jewish and Christian physicians worked for the same institutions, the Bīmāristān al-Nāṣirī for example, and served as officials in the various government ministries (*dawāwīn*).[26] In a recently published study by J. Kraemer on the 'intellectual milieu' of Maimonides in Fusṭāṭ-Cairo not even one Copt is mentioned by name.[27] Reverberations of Fāṭimid intellectual life in Maimonides' thought have generally been traced back to Neoplatonic traits in Ismāʿīlī thought.[28] This led some scholars to assume that there were no intellectuals among the Copts in the time of Maimonides.[29] One should, however, bear in mind that the Coptic Christians of the 12th and 13th centuries – prior to

[24] See Maqrīzī 2002/4 (d. 845/1442), vol. 4,2, pp. 940:1–8, 1004:14, 1086:11; Ibn Duqmāq 1894 (d. 809/1406), vol. 4, p. 108. As shown by Goitein 1967/93, vol. 1, p. 398, n. 42; vol. 2, pp. 148f. and n. 15 (p. 551), the information provided by al-Maqrīzī and Ibn Duqmāq refers to the synagogue of the Babylonian (Iraqi) Jews (*Kanīsat al-ʿIrāqiyyīn*), and not to the Ibn Ezra Synagogue of the Palestinian Jews (*Kanīsat al-Shāmiyyīn – Maʿbad Ibn ʿIzra*). See also Reif 2000, p. 10. Other scholars still maintain that the Ibn Ezra synagogue was originally built as a church: Hunt 1996, with further references on pp. 46f., n. 7; Coquin 1974, pp. 173–176 (with further sources); Ashtor 1944/70, vol. 1, pp. 243f.; Butler 1884, vol. 1, p. 169.

[25] Bohak 1999; Bohak 2005; Bohak 2008, where he announces the edition (with F. Niessen) of T-S 10K9.2, a fragment of *Kitāb Yūḥannā, Ṣāḥib al-Injīl al-dhahabī* (i. e. The life and lamented departure (*niyāḥa*), of St. John of the Golden Gospel), a central piece of Coptic hagiography and the Coptic Synaxarion; Szilágyi 2006.

[26] See Kraemer 2004, p. 20, n. 59, Sidarus, Dignitaries, and the Coptic physicians mentioned in Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa's *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ*, including Maimonides' contemporaries Muwaffaq al-Dīn Abū Shākir b. Abī Sulaymān (d. 1216) and his brother Abū Saʿīd b. Abī Sulaymān (see Kraemer 2004, vol. 2, pp. 122–124; Kraemer 2004a; Le Coz 2006). For the early Fāṭimid period see also Samir 1996.

[27] Kraemer 2004a; 2008.

[28] Ivry 1995 (with references to earlier literature); Ivry 2005; Kraemer 2008, pp. 3–9, 37; Beltrán, Ismaʿīlī. However, the overwhelming presence of Gnostic and Neo-platonic traditions in the context of Egyptian Christianity is often overlooked. See e. g. van Den Broek 1996 and below n. 127. The development of Ismāʿīlī theology is tightly linked to this context.

[29] Thus, Khouzam 1941, p. 7, writes: "De fait l'Eglise végétait misérablement et l'ignorance du clergé dépassa parfois les limites de la vraisemblence." For a telling counter-example (Jirjis ibn Bakhūm al-Mutaṭabbib) see Sidarus 2006.

the systematic mass conversions of the 14th century – were anything but a minority group in Fusṭāṭ and Cairo.[30]

Compared to the literature of other Christian groups in the Islamic world, the Arabicisation of Coptic literature started late (in the late 10th century). However, the transition from the use of the Coptic to that of the Arabic language happened in a relatively short period of time and was very thorough, even if it did not take place everywhere at the same pace.[31] In view of this development, Copto-Arabic literature has conveniently been divided into three phases: The first phase includes the early translations from Coptic into Arabic as well as the first works written in Arabic until the middle of the 11th century. During this phase, Coptic remained the dominant written language of the Copts.[32] The second phase concurs with the systematically planned translations of larger collections of Coptic literature into Arabic during the second half of the 11th century and ends with the so-called 'Renaissance' of Copto-Arabic literature in the early 13th century. The third phase overlaps with the 'Golden Age' of Copto-Arabic literature in the 13th and early 14th centuries.[33] Proficient command of the Coptic language was by now limited to a small group of experts.

The comprehensive reception of non-Christian Arabic literature in general and the works of Maimonides in particular occured during the late second and third phase of Copto-Arabic literature. The literary activity of Maimonides was parallel to the outgoing second phase. The question of whether or not Maimonides was familiar with part of the

30 Zabarowski 2005; El-Leithy 2005. The forced conversions under the administration of al-Ḥākim (386/996–411/1021) had a much more limited impact on the continuity of the Christian and Jewish communities and culture than the later mass conversions under the Mamlūks; see Lev 1988.

31 See Rubenson 1996; MacCoull 1985; 1989; Papaconstantinou 2007; Zabarowski 2008; Davis 2008, pp. 201ff.; Iskander 1998; Richter 2004; 2009; Sidarus 2007; Sijpesteijn 2010; Swanson 2010, pp. 59–95. Valuable reports on the current state of research in the field of Copto-Arabic studies are included in the proceedings of the quadrennial Congress of the *International Association for Coptic Studies* (*IACS*): Den Heijer 1999; Swanson 2004; 2006; 2009. For important studies published before 1993 see Coquin 1993; Sidarus 2007.

32 The Arabicisation of the Coptic literature was an overdue reaction to an earlier Arabicisation of the spoken language.

33 On the 'Golden Age of Copto-Arabic literature' see Sidarus 2010; Swanson 2010; Schwarb, Excursus.

Copto-Arabic literature of the first and second phases, and of whether he could have engaged in theological and philosophical discussions with the Coptic Christians of his surroundings has hardly been raised in research literature. In this article, too, this issue will only be dealt with en passant.[34] My focus here is on the reception of Maimonides in the works of Coptic authors of the third phase (i.e. the 13th and 14th centuries) who were contemporaries of Maimonides' son Abraham (1186–1237), and his grandsons, David (1222–1300) and ʿObadia (1228–1265).

III. Previous Research

Fifty years ago G. Vajda published his article *Un abrégé chrétien du* 'Guide des égarés' *de Moïse Maïmonide* in which he described the fragment of a Coptic abridged version of the *Dalāla* (Ms. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, arabe no. 205/12, fols. 113a–135b).[35] Vajda's study built on a long footnote in the above-mentioned article by S. Munk of 1842, whose details he corrected and supplemented.[36] The contributions of Munk and Vajda are essentially limited to the description of the Paris manuscript and a reference to quotations from the *Dalāla* found in the annex of a Copto-Arabic text.[37] Aside from these two articles the reception of Maimonides in Christian-Arabic literature was met with little interest among experts of Judeo-Arabic literature.[38]

Scholars specializing in Christian-Arabic literature have only incidentally referred to a reception of Maimonides.[39] In G. Graf's *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur* Maimonides is mentioned four times, each

[34] See below nn. 125–127.

[35] See above n. 17. This fragment of the *Dalāla* includes the following chapters (as is well-known, the chapter numbers of the *Dalāla* did not originate with Maimonides. The chapter numbers in the Coptic *Mukhtaṣar* [in brackets] differ from those introduced by Samuel Ibn Tibbon): II:30[32]–41 [43]; II:44[46]–48[50]; III:0[1]–4[5]; III:17[18]–24[24] (in the abridged version III:19 is not counted as separate chapter). See also Shailat 1988, p. 534, n. 17; Jospe 1988, pp. 392f.

[36] Munk 1842.

[37] See below nn. 81–83.

[38] When scholars of Jewish studies referred to a reception of Maimonides in Christian-Arabic literature they did so on the authority of S. Pines rather than Graf 1953! Thus, Sirat 1991, p. 14, n. 18, wrote: "Selon S. Pinès, il existe d'autres manuscrits d'origine copte citant le *Guide des Égarés*."

[39] See the literature mentioned in the remaining part of this article. Typical examples for such incidental references are Sidarus 2007, p. 194, n. 7, or Davis 2008, pp. 244f., 259.

time in connection with works of Coptic authors of the 13th century.[40] Of these four texts only one is available in a critical edition,[41] another has been printed in an uncritical edition, while the two remaining texts are still unedited. In what follows I shall introduce these four texts along with other examples of Coptic texts pertinent to the reception of Maimonides. An annotated edition of these texts, only briefly discussed here, will be part of a forthcoming monograph.[42]

IV. Bar ʿEbrāyā

The best known mention of Maimonides in Christian-Arabic literature is not found in the writings of Coptic Christians, but in the *Taʾrīkh mukhtaṣar al-duwal* of the West-Syrian (Jacobite) Bar Hebraeus (1226–1286).[43] However, Bar ʿEbrāyā, borrowed a great part of the entry 'Mūsā b. Maymūn' in the *Taʾrīkh* from al-Qifṭī's (d. 646/1248) *K. Ikhbār al-ʿulamāʾ bi-akhbār al-ḥukamāʾ* (*Taʾrīkh al-ḥukamāʾ*).[44] An often-quoted and significant exception to this rule is Bar ʿEbrāyā's remark that Jews, who criticised the content of the *Dalāla*, used to call it *Ḍalāla* (misguidance).[45]

[40] Graf 1953, vol. 5 (index), p. 100. All these references (Graf 1953, vol. 2, pp. 345, 347, 383, 404) concern works authored by representatives of the 'Renaissance of Copto-Arabic literature'.

[41] Ibn al-ʿAssāl 1998/9.

[42] Schwarb, Reception.

[43] Bar ʿEbrāyā 1997, pp. 208f. On Bar ʿEbrāyā – whose name derives from the village ʿEbrā on the Eastern bank of the Euphrates in the Anatolian province of Malatya (corresponds to the location of the Turkish village İzollu, which since the construction of the Karakaya Dam [1987] is submerged in water), and not from an alleged Jewish descent – see Takahashi 2005, pp. 9–11; *CMRBH* IV, pp. 588–609. On *Tārīkh mukhtaṣar al-duwal* [*Mukhtaṣar fī tārīkh al-duwal*] see Takahashi 2005, pp. 75f., no. 20 and pp. 301–313, no. B20 with a list of known manuscripts).

[44] Qifṭī 1903, pp. 317–319. For Bar Hebraeus' dependence on *Ikhbār al-ʿulamāʾ bi-akhbār al-ḥukamāʾ* see the synoptic presentation and analysis of Samir 2003, pp. 566–571. At the beginning of the 19th century Bar ʿEbrāyā's *Mukhtaṣar* was quoted by the eminent Zaydī scholar al-Shawkānī 1975 (d. 1255/1839) in his polemical work *Irshād al-thiqāt ilā ittifāq al-sharāʾiʿ ʿalā al-tawḥīd wa-al-maʿād wa-al-nubuwwāt [raddan ʿalā al-khabīth Mūsā b. Maymūn al-Andalusī al-Yahūdī]*; see Fenton 1995, p. 409, n. 2.

[45] For *dalāla* versus *ḍalāla* see Samir 2003, p. 570, nn. 35f., and M. Steinschneider 1902 (hereafter *ALJ*), p. 204. Bar Hebraeus refers here to encounters he had in Anṭākiya (Antioch) and Ṭarābulus [al-Shām] (Tripoli) with "some Jews from barbarian Europe" (*jamāʿa min yahūd bilād al-firanj al-ghutm*), who cursed Maimonides as an 'infidel' (*kāfir*) (see Samir 2003).

V. Al-Asʿad Abū al-Faraj Hibatullāh Ibn al-ʿAssāl (d. before 1259)

The beginning of the reception of Maimonides in Christian Arabic literature approximately coincided with his earliest reception in the Latin West.[46] The earliest recorded date is the year 1231 when al-Asʿad Abū al-Faraj Hibatullāh Ibn al-ʿAssāl (died before 1259) wrote his *Maqāla fī al-nafs* (Treatise on the soul). Al-Asʿad and his brother Ṣafī al-Dawla Abū al-Faḍāʾil Mājid Ibn al-ʿAssāl (d. ca. 1260) were sons from the first marriage of their father Fakhr al-Dawla Abū al-Mufaḍḍal Asʿad al-ʿAssāl and thus were the two older siblings of the Awlād al-ʿAssāl.[47] Together with the two younger half-brothers, they formed, according to Graf, "the apogee of the Golden Age of Coptic literature in the 13th century".[48] Abū al-Faraj al-Asʿad, the owner of a major library (*al-Khizāna al-asʿadiyya*) and copyist of numerous manuscripts, is above all known for his translation of the four Gospels from Coptic into Arabic. This translation was completed in 650/1252/3 in Damascus.[49] The *Treatise on the Soul* was written more than twenty years earlier, between Jumādā II and 1 Shaʿbān 628 (April–June 4, 1231)[50] at the behest of his younger half-brother al-Amjad Abū al-Majd

[46] Hasselhoff 2004, pp. 37, 62, 91. An anonymous partial translation of the third part of the *Dalāla*, chapters 29–49 (excluding chapter 31 and with an expanded chapter 44) was completed during the last year of the pontificate of Pope Honorius III (1226-7) (Ms. Paris, Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne, no. 601, fols. 1a–16b). It may have been the earliest theological reception of Maimonides amongst Christian readers. The first translation mentioning Maimonides as author was the *Liber de uno Deo benedicto* (*ibid.*, p. 318), which comprised the 26 propositions and the opening chapters of the second part of the *Dalāla*. It dates to the late 1230s or early 1240s. The translation of the entire *Dux neutrorum* was probably made between 1240 and 1246 in Paris (*ibid.*).

[47] See the family tree of the Awlād al-ʿAssāl in Wadīʿ 1997, p. 124 and Sidarus, Dignitaries. Opinions differ with regard to the precise relationship between the four brothers. According to Samir 1985, p. 622, Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm and possibly al-Amjad would have been children from the father's first marriage, al-Asʿad and al-Ṣafī from the second. Wadīʿ 1997, pp. 81–89, whose studies on the Awlād al-ʿAssāl are based on a much broader range of sources, inverts the order and convincingly argues for a solution similar to Graf 1953 (vol. 2, pp. 387f.). Wadīʿ also considers the possibility of a fifth Ibn al-ʿAssāl (*ibid.*, pp. 89f., n. 35). For a bibliography of earlier studies on the Awlād al-ʿAssāl see Wadīʿ 1985, pp. 31–79 and Samir 1985, pp. 9–21.

[48] Graf 1953, vol. 2, p. 387.

[49] On al-Asʿad see Wadīʿ 1997, pp. 89–96, with detailed information on his frequent journeys; Wadīʿ 1998, pp. 466–465[!], no. 49; Graf 1953, vol. 2, pp. 403–407; Coquin 1993, p. 83; Graf 1932; Atiya [1991], vol. 1, pp. 282f.; Samir 1978; Abullif 1991; Abullif 2006. On the *Maqāla* see Wadīʿ 1997, pp. 93f.; Graf 1940.

[50] For the date of composition of the *Majmūʿ* see Ibn al-ʿAssāl 1998/9, vol. 2, p. 400; Graf 1940, pp. 375f.

Faḍl Allāh, who was less of a writer than an influential politician and patron.[51] So far, only a single, incomplete manuscript of the treatise has been identified with certainty.[52] An abridged version (*mukhtaṣar*) of the treatise has been incorporated in the 60th chapter of the *Majmūʿ uṣūl al-dīn wa-masmūʿ maḥṣūl al-yaqīn* by his second half-brother Muʾtaman al-Dawla Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm Ibn al-ʿAssāl (see below).[53] The treatise discusses a wide range of views on the state of the soul after its separation from the body (*ḥāl al-nafs baʿd mufāraqatihā badanahā*), a core issue of eschatology, whose theological and philosophical implications were often and controversially discussed in *kalām* and *falsafa*.[54] Is there a soul separate from the body? If so, how does it exist? Is it exposed to reward and punishment immediately after the physical death or only after a waiting period, etc.? Before offering his own answers, al-Asʿad ascribes the diverse types of answers given to such questions to various groups (*firaq*). The first group comprises those who deny the existence of the rational soul (*fī anna al-nafs al-nāṭiqa lā wujūda lahā*); a second group consists of those who affirm its existence, but hold that it ceases to exist simultaneously with the physical death (*al-insān, idhā māta, mātat nafsuhu kamā yamūtu jasaduhu*); a third group represents those who believe that only some souls continue to exist after the physical death, whereas all others disappear. Among this third group al-Asʿad reckons "most Jews and some (one) philosopher(s)" (*aktharu al-yahūd wa-baʿḍu al-falāsifa*) and writes (Ms. Vat, BAV, ar. 145, fols. 4a:6–4b:9):[55]

أمّا اليهود، فإنّني اجتمعتُ ببعض الربّانيين في اليمن، ورأيتُه يسخر كثيرًا ممَّنْ يعتقد عموم القيامة، لأنَّ في ظواهر العتيقة ما يدلّ على قيامة الصّالحين فقط. وكنتُ أيضًا قد وقع لي شيء، قيل إنّه [٤ظ] من كلام موسى بن ميمون، ذكر من جملته شيئًا ممَّا نحن بسبيله، وخطّه عبراني

51 See on him Wadīʿ 1997, pp. 116–123. He was *Kātib al-darj* under al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn (1239-1249).

52 Ms. Vat., BAV, ar. 145, fols. 1a–28a; Mai 1831, p. 271, pars I. Further manuscripts are listed by Graf 1940, p. 374, n. 1; Graf 1953, vol. 2, p. 404; Sbath 1938, p. 53, no. 409–412. According to Wadīʿ 1997, p. 93, n. 48 it is, however, likely that these manuscripts have the short version of the *Maqāla* as found in the *Majmūʿ* of his half-brother.

53 Ibn al-ʿAssāl 1998/9, vol. 7a, p. 401, par. 8 up to p. 411, par. 56 (*hādhā ākhir al-jawāb al-asʿadī ʿan al-suʾāl al-amjadī*).

54 On Maimonides' stance, see Stroumsa 1998; Stroumsa 1998a.

55 This passage is not included in the short version of the *Majmūʿ* (Ibn al-ʿAssāl 1998/9, vol. 7a, p. 402, par. 13). The quotation was highlighted by Graf 1940, p. 377, and is partially quoted in Wadīʿ 1997, p. 86, n. 24.

ولفظه عربي، إلاّ الاستشهادات، فإنّها عبرانية خطًّا ولفظًا. فنقلتُ بعض العربي ولم أتمكّن من نقل الاستشهادات، وإلى الآن لم أجد مَن ينقلها لي. لكنّ الذي يلوح لي من نفسه هو هذا، أنّ النَّفس تبقى ببقاء معلومها، فإذا علمتْ النَّفس ما يجب أن تعلم من أمر الباري تعالى، بقيت ببقائه، لأنّ سبب بقائها هو إدراك ما له، كما تبيّن في الفلسفة الأولى، وهذا هو الخير العظيم.

As for the Jews, I met in Yemen a Rabbinite Jew and saw how he scoffed at those who believe in the resurrection of all the dead, as there are passages in the Old Testament which according to their *prima facie* meaning clearly state that only righteous people are subject to resurrection. Moreover, I came across a text, which is said to be by Maimonides, dealing with things that are pertinent to our topic. The text is in Hebrew (script), but in Arabic language, with the exception of the scriptural prooftexts, whose language is Hebrew. I have transposed part of the Arabic text (into Arabic script), but was unable to translate the scriptural prooftexts (into Arabic), and until now I have not found someone who would translate them for me. Judging from the Arabic text the position of Maimonides seems to be as follows: (After the physical death) the soul continues to exist in accordance with its knowledge, and if it knows what it has to know about its creator, may He be exalted, it continues to exist as corollary of His continuous existence. For the grounds of its continuous existence is its capturing God's [attributes], as was proven in the 'First Philosophy',[56] and this is the *summum bonum*.

This short quotation is noteworthy for several reasons: Firstly, we have here an early evidence for the fact that a non-Jew read an Arabic text by Maimonides in Hebrew characters.[57] The wording of the quoted passage

[56] Similar to the Aristotelian *ἡ πρώτη φιλοσοφία* (*Met* 4, 1004 a 4) *al-falsafa al-ūlā* designates here the entire discipline of Metaphysics, even though it is at times also used in a more narrow sense for the non-theological parts of Metaphysics only. See Bertolacci 2006, pp. 601f.

[57] The fact that some Coptic scholars were familiar with Hebrew characters may also be derived from occasional Hebrew glosses in Coptic Bible manuscripts. Better known is the acquaintance of Coptic scholars in the entourage of the ʿAssāl-brothers with Arabic texts by Jewish authors written in Arabic script, including the bible commentaries by the Karaites David b. Boʿaz, Yefet b. ʿElī, and Yeshūʿa b. Yehuda or the Yosippon (Schnurrer 1780, p. 15; Schnurrer, 1790, p. 204; Graf 1953, vol. 1, pp. 222f.). It is also likely that the Copts gained access to a Karaite adaptation of Saʿadia's *Tafsīr* by intermediary of Karaite scholars in Cairo (Schwarb 2013, p. 126, n. 44). In 639/1242 some Coptic scholars called on the expert knowledge of Abū al-Majd b. Abī Manṣūr b. Abī al-Faraj al-Isrāʾīlī, a *ḥazzan* of the Jewish Babylonian Rabbanite community in Cairo, in an effort to re-establish the integrity and stylistic elegance of the 'original' version of Saʿadia's *Tafsīr* (see the colophon in ms. Cairo, Coptic Orthodox Patriarchate, Bibl. 21, f. 147r and the introduction to ms. Paris, BNF, Ar. 1, ed. and tr. Schnurrer 1780, pp. 10–13 and Schnurrer 1790, pp. 200–202; for further details see

would suggest that al-Asʿad did not come across a text by Maimonides for the first time, but we lack the documentary evidence to confirm such an assumption. Since al-Asʿad's reading of Maimonides is mentioned in connection with a journey to Yemen, one may wonder whether the Copts came first upon Maimonides' writings by the intermediary of Yemenite Jews rather than through contacts with Maimonides' descendants in Fusṭāṭ-Cairo.[58]

Secondly, it is not difficult to determine to which text of Maimonides al-Asʿad refers in the above quotation. What at first glance reads like a rough paraphrase of Maimonides' eschatological views is in fact an almost *verbatim* quotation from Maimonides' commentary on the first Mishna of the tenth chapter of the treatise *Sanhedrin* (better known as *Pereq Ḥeleq*):[59]

ובקא אלנפס כמא וצפנא אלי מא לא נהאיה כבקא אלבארי גל תנאוה אלדי הו סבב בקאיהא לאדראכהא לה כמא יבין פי אלפלספה אלאולי, והדא הו אלכיר אלעטים אלדי לא כיר יקאס בה ולא לדה ימתל בהא.

Vollandt, Coptic). Jewish converts to Christianity also contributed to this trans-denominational exchange of texts: According to *The History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church of Alexandria* Abū al-Fakhr Ibn Azhar al-Mutanaṣṣir, a Jewish scholar who in the early 13th century coverted to Coptic Christianity, quickly learned the Coptic language, while continuing to speak Hebrew (!) with his former coreligionists (see Den Heijer 2004, pp. 60f.). Abū al-Fakhr wrote a *History of the Jews Based on the Transmission of the Torah* (*Taʾrīkh al-yahūd min naql al-tawrāh bi-khaṭṭ Abī al-Fakhr al-Mutanaṣṣir*); ms. Paris, BNF, ar. 172, ff. 90ᵛ–166 (dated 1291; Graf 1953, vol. 2, pp. 435f.) contains part of Abū al-Fakhr's correspondence with the Jewish goldsmith Abū ʿAlāʾ (al-Ṣāʾigh), known as 'brother of Dawūd, the tiler' (Akhū Dāwūd al-Ballāṭ). Knowledge of Hebrew script is also attested of Muḥammad b. Ḥasan-Nihmī, the Yemeni scribe of Ms. İstanbul, Jārullāh 1279 (see Rosenthal 1955, pp. 15f.). *ALJ*, p. 219 refers to *al-Mukhtaṣar fī akhbār al-bashar* of Abū al-Fiḍāʾ (d. 732/1331; *EI²*, vol. 1, pp. 118f.), p. 34: 22–25 and p. 50:19–21), where the author states that for the sake of correctly spelling biblical names he consulted with someone who knew both Hebrew and Arabic. See also Adang 1996, pp. 110–138.

58 The Awlād al-ʿAssāl used their various journeys to complement their considerable library holdings; see Wadīʿ 1997, pp. 91, 94, 97–99, 120–122; Schwarb, Excursus.

59 Shailat 1992, p. 366. Note that in his introduction to *Pereq Ḥeleq* Maimonides also argued in favour of the resurrection of the righteous alone (*lākinnahā lil-fuḍalāʾ*, *ibid.*, p. 367). As a prooftext he did not, however, invoke the Hebrew Bible, but *Bereshit Rabba* 13:6 (ותחיית המתים לצדיקים בלבד), even though the wording better fits BabT *Taʿnit* 7a. The early 15th century *Commentary to the Thirteen Principles* of Maimonides by the Yemenite Manṣūr Sulaymān al-Dhamārī (ed. Blumenthal 1974, pp. 182f.) very well fits this context; see also Goldfeld 1986, p. 26, nn. 82f. I am grateful to A. Treiger for this last reference.

> The soul continues to exist for ever – as we have stated – just like the eternal existence of the Creator, praised be He. He is the ground for its eternal existence, inasmuch as it apprehends Him, as demonstrated in the 'First Philosophy'. This is the *summum bonum*, which no [other] good can be measured against, and no [other] pleasure compared with.

The relevance of the above quotation consists finally in the fact that a non-Jewish source contains information about the famous controversy between various factions of Yemenite Jews. In this connection it is significant that Maimonides is mentioned a second time in al-Asʿad's *Treatise on the Soul*, namely in connection with the questions of whether time exists in the afterlife (*wujūd al-zamān hunāk*) and of whether there is suffering for the righteous in the Hereafter (*al-ṣāliḥīn, [hal] yaṣiḥḥu ʿalayhim al-alam hunālika maʿ wujūd al-māniʿ minhu?*):[60]

> فأنا أذكر هنا ما بلغني أنّ موسى ابن ميمون الإسرائيلي قاله في رسالة كتب بها إلى اليمن من أنّ النفوس، وإن كانت مستغنية عن إقامة أجسادها، لكنّها تقام لبعض النّاس على سبيل المعجز، لِتشهد أيّام المسيح المنتظر بزعمه.

> I mention here what I was told in regard to a statement of the Jew Maimonides in a letter which he sent to Yemen, namely that the souls, notwithstanding the fact that they exist independently of the bodily resurrection, would be miraculously resurrected [in conjunction with their bodies] to witness the days of the Messiah, the 'expected', as he claims.[61]

The letter to the Jewish community in Yemen which is referred to in this quotation is not to be identified with the well-known *Epistle to Yemen* (*Risāla ilā al-yaman*; *Iggeret Teman*) of 1172, but with the *Treatise on Resurrection* (*Risāla/Maqāla fī tĕḥiyyat ha-metim*), which Maimonides wrote before mid-1191, one year after completing the *Dalāla*.[62] The inner-Jewish polemics about the resurrection of the dead was in essence a power

[60] Ms. Vat. ar. 145, fols. 26b:11–27a:3.

[61] On the 'miraculous resurrection', to which al-Asʿad is alluding here, see Maimonides' *Maqāla fī tĕḥiyyat ha-metim*, ed. Shailat 1988, pp. 331:26ff., 335:5ff., 336:21–338:6; cf. Friedberg 2003. The text triggering the controversy was *Mishne Tora, Hilkhot Tĕshuva*, 8-9.

[62] Shailat 1988, pp. 247, 315; Stroumsa, *Épitre*. It is not without significance that Ibn al-Qifṭī refers to this epistle as *Risāla fī ibṭāl al-maʿād al-sharʿī*, while Bar ʿEbrāyā (depending on the manuscript) and al-Shawkānī mention as its title *Risāla fī ibṭāl al-maʿād al-jusmānī*. Maimonides' first epistle to the Jewish communities in Yemen in the matter of the Resurrection controversy, written in 1189-90, is not extant. See Langermann 2001, pp. 41, 43; Langermann 1996, p. 152.

struggle between the Babylonian center, represented by the head of the local academy, Samuel b. ʿElī, on one side and Maimonides and his supporters on the other side. In Samuel's perspective, the controversy was designed to contain Maimonides' growing influence on the Jews in the *diaspora* in general and the Jews of Yemen in particular. The chronology of this polemic debate and the documents related to it have been thoroughly discussed in scholarly publications and do not need to be repeated here.[63] Al-Asʿad Ibn al-ʿAssāl's *Treatise on the Soul* provides evidence that even forty years after Maimonides' *Treatise on Resurrection*, the controversy among Yemenite Jews had not been settled.

VI. Muʾtaman al-Dawla Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm Ibn al-ʿAssāl (d. after 1270)

A second significant example for the reception of Maimonides in Christian-Arabic literature is the above-mentioned *K. Majmūʿ uṣūl al-dīn wa-masmūʿ maḥṣūl al-yaqīn* by Muʾtaman al-Dawla Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm Ibn al-ʿAssāl (d. after 1270), completed after 1260.[64] Along with *K. al-Burhān fī al-qawānīn al-mukmala wa-al-farāʾiḍ al-muhmala* by Nushūʾ al-Khilāfa Abū Shākir Ibn Buṭrus al-Rāhib (d. 1290/5) the *Majmūʿ* is the main theological *Summa* written during the 'Golden Age' of Copto-Arabic literature. Unlike *K. al-Burhān*, the *Majmūʿ* is now available in a critical edition. Both works draw on a plethora of Christian and non-Christian sources.[65]

The *Majmūʿ* contains two long passages which are attributed to Maimonides (*Ṣāḥib al-Dalāla*). Even though these quotations are all taken from the first part of the *Dalāla*, there is no doubt that Abū Isḥāq was familiar

[63] Stroumsa 1999; Langermann 2001, pp. 39-94, esp. 41-44; Friedman 2002, pp. 84–146 (with further literature) [in Hebrew]; Tobi 1998; Tobi 2005.

[64] On Muʾtaman al-Dawla see Wadīʿ 1998, no. 51; Wadīʿ 1997, pp. 125–176, 184–189; Graf 1953, vol. 2, pp. 407–414; Atiya [1991], vol. 6, pp. 1748f.; *CMRBH* IV, pp. 530–537. For the *Majmūʿ uṣūl al-dīn* see Ibn al-ʿAssāl 1998/9 and Wadīʿ 1997, pp. 177–197; Steinschneider 1877, pp. 86f.

[65] See above n. 39. The sources of of the *Majmūʿ* are discussed in Wadīʿ 1997, pp. 184–189 (for Maimonides, p. 188); Wadīʿ 1990/1; for the dating of the work see Wadīʿ 1997, pp. 182–184. For Ibn al-Rāhib see the references in *CMRBH* IV, pp. 471–479; for *K. al-Burhān* and its sources see Sidarus 1975; Sidarus 1997; Sidarus 2009; Sidarus 2010a. Among the main sources of *K. al-Burhān* figure the writings of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, above all *K. al-Arbaʿīn fī uṣūl al-dīn*, and Maimonides; see below n. 96; Schwarb, Excursus; Schwarb, Reception.

with the entire work, as were his (half-)brothers.[66] Apart from these explicit quotations, there are a number of other passages dependent on the *Dalāla* which the author has not marked as such. This is, for instance, the case with yet another paraphrase of *Dalāla* I:46 in *Majmūʿ* 11:27–33 which differs from the above-mentioned paraphrase of the same chapter in *Majmūʿ* 22:22-23.[67] This difference is explained by the fact that the main part of Chapter 11 (11:2-69) consists of a lengthy *verbatim* quotation from *K. al-Ṣaḥāʾiḥ fī jawāb al-naṣāʾiḥ [fī al-radd ʿalā Kitāb al-Dīn wa-al-dawla li-ʿAlī b. Rabbān al-Ṭabarī]* (completed in 1236) by his older half-brother Ṣafī al-Dawla Abū al-Faḍāʾil Mājid Ibn al-ʿAssāl (died around 1260) who also quotes the *Dalāla*.[68] In several cases Abū Isḥāq draws on elements of Maimonides' scriptural hermeneutics to explain Christian *Theologoumena*.

VII. Ibn Kātib Qayṣar (d. ca. 1266/7)

Another notable example for the reception of Maimonides in Christian-Arabic literature is the commentary on the Apocalypse of John ('The Book of Revelation'; *Tafsīr/Sharḥ Sifr al-ruʾyā*) by ʿAlam al-Riʾāsa Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. al-Shaykh al-Nafīs Abī al-Thanāʾ b. al-Shaykh Ṣafī al-Dawla Abī al-Faḍāʾil Ibn Kātib Qayṣar (d. ca. 1266/7).[69] In the uncritical edition of

[66] *Majmūʿ* 11:71 (vol. 6a, p. 269)<*Dalāla* I:17, ed. Munk/Yoel, p. 29:1–2.3–8; *Majmūʿ* 11:72 (vol. 6a, p. 269)<*Dalāla* I: Introduction, ed. Munk/Yoel, p. 6:20–24; *Majmūʿ* 11:73–77 (vol. 6a, pp. 269–271)<*Dalāla* I:Introduction, ed. Munk/Yoel, pp. 3:2-6.14-16.17-21; 3:23-4:5. 12-17.17-23; *Majmūʿ* 22:22 f. (vol. 7a, p. 53)<*Dalāla* I:46, ed. Munk/Yoel, pp. 66:9–67:13.

[67] *Majmūʿ* 11:29f. (vol. 6a, pp. 258f.) < *Dalāla* I:46, ed. Munk/Yoel, p. 66:9–28.

[68] See Wadī' 1997, p. 186, § 21 and p. 104, § 35 with n. 80. *Majmūʿ* 11:2–69, vol. 6a, pp. 252-269. *Majmūʿ* 11:29–33 (pp. 258–260) is identical with *Ṣaḥāʾiḥ* (ed. Marqus Jirjis, Cairo 1927, pp. 10:17–12:15) with several *verbatim* quotations from the *Dalāla*, e. g. *Ṣaḥāʾiḥ* 11:8–18 (<*Dalāla* I:46, ed. Munk/Yoel, pp. 66:9-67:13) and the entire passage beginning with *wa-al-sharīʿa innamā hiya taʿlīm al-ilāh lil-nās al-umūr al-ilāhiyya* (*Ṣaḥāʾiḥ* 10:17–12:15); see also below n. 112. For al-Ṣafī see the references in *CMRBH* IV, pp. 538–551; on the *Ṣaḥāʾiḥ* see Samir 1983. For a more detailled account of the reception of Maimonides in the works of al-Ṣafī Ibn al-ʿAssāl and a synoptic presentation of the relevant texts see Schwarb, Reception.

[69] For the author see Graf 1953, vol. 2, pp. 380–384 (for the references to Maimonides see p. 383); Davis 2008. This commentary was first published in 1898 (Ibn Kātib Qayṣar 1898) and reprinted in 1939. My references are to Ibn Kātib Qayṣar 1994. On Ibn Kātib Qayṣar see, moreover, Sidarus 2001, pp. 67f. According to Sidarus 1993, p. 453, Ibn Kātib Qayṣar was "probablement le plus grand exégète de la nation copte". On his year of death see van der Akker 1972, pp. 20–22; Graf 1953, vol. 2, pp. 380f. writes: "Für gewiss darf gelten, dass die Abfassung des Werkes, das mit der Erklärung von Apk 20, 4 abbricht, um das J. 1266/7 (983 Mart.) geschrieben ist, wie der Vfr. selbst zu

this work Maimonides is mentioned three times as a major Jewish authority of scriptural interpretation.[70] The first reference is to be found in the commentary on the throne vision (*Apoc.* 4f.), where Ibn Kātib Qayṣar reverts to interpretations of the throne vision in Ez 1 and 10.[71] In this context he mentions that Maimonides rendered אופנים (Ez 1:15ff.; 10:6ff.) as وجوه.[72] In the commentary on *Rev.* 6:16 he refers to some parallel texts and takes the occasion to criticise Maimonides' interpretation of Isaiah 13:9f. in *Dalāla* II:29.[73] A third reference to Maimonides is found in the commentary on *Rev.* 15:3. Here Ibn Kātib Qayṣar rejects the Jewish interpretation of Deut. 18:18-20, verses which – in the view of Muslim scholars – figure among the standard testimonies predicting the coming of the prophet Muḥammad, whereas in the Christian exegetical tradition they have usually been given a christological interpretation. He writes:[74]

ومذاهب المفسّرين في هذه النبوة ثلاثة: أوّلها أنّها في يشوع بن نون، خليفة موسى النبي على الخصوص، وثانيها مذهب جماعة من علماء التلموذ، وتابعهم موسى بن ميمون عليه، أنّها في النبي على الإطلاق، أيّ نبي كان، لا نبيًا بعينه، وثالثها، وهو مذهب جمهور علماء اليهود [!] وعلماء النصارى أنّها في السيد يسوع المسيح المُخلّص المنتظر، واستشهد بها لوقا في كتاب الإبركسيس[75] حكاية ما قاله بطرس الرسول.

There are three interpretations among the commentators regarding this prophecy: According to the first interpretation, it refers specifically to Joshua, the son of Nūn, the deputy of the prophet Moses. A second interpretation is

11, 1f. angibt. Vielleicht ist dieses auch das Todesjahr des Vfrs., da der Kommentar unvollendet blieb". On the place of the 'Apocalypse' in the Copto-Arabic tradition, see van Lent 1998; 2007; Suermann 2004.

70 This edition is based on an incomplete manuscript. The missing passages and in particular the latter part (*Rev.* 20:6 onwards) have been replaced with the commentary of Būlus al-Būshī (ca. 1170–1245). This commentary is an often quoted source of Ibn Kātib Qayṣar's commentary (see the editor's introduction, pp. 8f.). I have compared the edition with Ms. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, arabe 67, 312 fols. (Troupeau 1972, p. 45).

71 Ibn Kātib Qayṣar 1994, p. 114=Ms. Paris, BN, ar. 67, fol. 63a:15.

72 In the Coptic short version of the *Dalāla* (Chapter III:2) אופן is, indeed, consistently rendered as وجه (see Ms. Paris, BN, ar. 205, fol. 128b). This rendering rests upon *Dalāla* III:2, ed. Munk/Yoel, p. 301:10–15.

73 Ibn Kātib Qayṣar 1994, p. 157=Ms. Paris, BN, arabe 67, fol. 98b:6. Cf. *Dalāla*, ed. Munk/Yoel, p. 236:17–23. *Dalāla* II:29 is not extant in the fragment of the Coptic short version (cf. above n. 35). Ibn Kātib Qayṣar gives these verses an eschatological twist, Maimonides reads them historically.

74 Ms. Paris, BN, arabe 67, fol. 219b; Ibn Kātib Qayṣar 1994, p. 297. I have adopted the version of the manuscript.

75 > πράξεις ἀποστόλων.

advocated by a group of Talmudic scholars – and in this point Mūsā b. Maymūn followed their suit – who held that it refers to prophecy in general – whoever the prophet is – and not to a particular prophet.[76] According to the third interpretation, which is espoused by most Jewish and Christian scholars, it refers to the Lord Jesus Christ [or, in the Jewish view] the expected savior. In the *Acts of the Apostles* Luke used (this verse) as scriptural prooftext, when he related what Peter, the apostle was saying.[77]

As mentioned above, the available edition of Ibn Kātib Qayṣar's commentary differs in several places from the manuscript. A comparison with Ms. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, arabe 67 shows that there are further references to Maimonides. On fol. 220b we read:[78]

ومثل ذلك قول موسى لله تعالى ‹أرني طرقك›، وذهب بعض علماء اليهود إلى أنّ المراد بقوله ‹أرني طرقك›، ‹أرني ذاتك›، وليس بصحيح، لأنّ موسى أجلّ من أنْ يلتمس ما ليس ممكن له، ودليله تغطية وجهَه عند التجلي بالعليقة.

This is like Moses saying to God: "Show me your ways" (Ex 33:13). One (some) Jewish scholar(s) maintained that "Show me your ways" is tantamount to "Show me your essence/self". This is incorrect, since Moses is elevated upon asking for something that is impossible for him. This is made obvious (by the fact) that he covered his face when God manifested himself in the burning bush.

Ibn Kātib Qayṣar probably invokes here a misunderstood reading of *Dalāla* I:54 (comp. III:54), where the two requests of Moses in Ex 33:13 ("Let me know Your ways") and 33:18 ("Let me see your glory") are contraposed, whereby the 'ways' of the first request are equated with God's attributes of action (*ṣifā fiʿliyya*), while the 'glory' of the second request is identified with God's essence (*dhāt*). This distinction would, according to Maimonides, explain why Moses' first request was accepted, but not the second.[79]

[76] Maimonides explicitly excludes the prophecy of Moses (see *Dalāla* II:34, ed. Munk/Yoel, p. 258:7-25). For the parallel passage in the Coptic short version of the *Dalāla* see ms. Paris, BN, ar. 205, fol. 115a:10–115b:5.

[77] Deut. 18:18 is quoted twice in the *Acts of the Apostles* (3:22, 7:37). In the first case Peter attempted to persuade the crowd gathered in the temple that Jesus was the expected Messiah. For Muslim interpretations of Deut. 18:18f., see Lazarus-Yafeh 1992, pp. 104–106; Adang 1996, pp. 21, 144–148, 158, 160, 264, 269.

[78] Cf. Ibn Kātib Qayṣar 1994, p. 299.

[79] *Mishne Tora*, *Hilkhot Yesode ha-Tora* I:10.

Like Muʾtaman Ibn al-ʿAssāl in the *Majmūʿ*, Ibn Kātib Qayṣar occasionally drew on the *Dalāla* without acknowledging it. This is probably the case with the classification of the various degrees of prophecy (*aqsām al-nubuwwa*) or with his interpretation of the visions of Ezekiel and the Book of Daniel.[80] Conspicuously, Maimonides is only mentioned by name whenever his view is rejected, while Ibn Kātib Qayṣar keeps quiet about his source whenever he embraces Maimonides' interpretation, a practice also attested to in the Latin reception of Maimonides.

VIII. Al-Rashīd Abū al-Khayr Ibn al-Ṭayyib (d. after 1270)

When in previous research literature mention was made of a reception of Maimonides in Christian-Arabic literature, it generally was in conjunction with one or two quotations from the *Dalāla* found in the annex to several manuscripts of Abū al-Khayr's *Tiryāq al-ʿuqūl fī ʿilm al-uṣūl al-musammā bi-Kashf al-asrār al-khafiyya min asbāb al-masīḥiyya.*[81] Munk was the first to draw attention to these quotations in his article of 1842;[82] Vajda in turn included them in the above-mentioned article on the Coptic short version of the *Dalāla.*[83] In this article he criticised earlier considerations by Graf who assumed that the quotations from the *Dalāla*

80 Ibn Kātib Qayṣar 1994, pp. 30f., 74f., 85, 102–105.

81 On Abū al-Khayr and his *Tiryāq* see Graf 1933; Graf 1953, vol. 2, pp. 344–348; Khouzam 1941, pp. 17–32; *CMRBH* IV, pp. 431–437; Wadīʿ 1997a, esp. p. 283, for alternative titles given to the *Tiryāq*; Wadīʿ 1998, p. 472, § 37. Zanetti (2003) has prepared an excellent edition of chapters 20 and 21; the *Khātima* of the *Tiryāq* was published by Sbath under the title *Maqāla fī al-radd ʿalā [...] al-Muslimīn*, (Sbath 1929, pp. 176–178, text no. 18; cf. esp. p. 178, n. 2). Some thematically arranged short quotations from the *Tiryāq*, based on Ms. Paris, BN, arabe 178, can be found in Khoury 2004; 2004/7. I presently prepare a critical edition of the *Tiryāq*, previously announced by Wadīʿ 1998, p. 472. For the two quotations from the *Dalāla* appended to most manuscripts of the *Tiryāq* see Munk 1842, p. 27, n. 1; Steinschneider 1902, p. 218, n. 12; Kaufmann 1898, p. 158, n. 3; Vajda 1960, pp. 124–131. Depending on the manuscript the annex contains either one or two quotations from the *Dalāla*. For the remaining texts included in the appendix (depending on the manuscript between nine and seven), see Vajda 1960, pp. 126–128 (incomplete). Wadīʿ 1997a, pp. 273, 277, suggested to identify Abū al-Khayr with al-Rashīd (*al-maʿrūf bi-*) Kātib al-Tiflīsī mentioned in Shihāb al-Dīn Ghāzī b. Aḥmad Ibn al-Wāsiṭī's (d. 1312; *GAL*, Suppl.-Bd. I, pp. 686, 769; Ashtor 1944/70, vol. 1, pp. 104–116) *Radd ʿalā ahl al-dhimma wa-man tabiʿahum* (ed. Gottheil 1921). If this identification is correct, the author of the *Tiryāq* would have lived around 1260 in Damascus working as secretary of a certain Tiflīsī (see, however, Graf 1953, vol. 2, p. 344, n. 1).

82 See above n. 20.

83 Vajda 1960, pp. 124–131.

and Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's *K. al-Maʿālim* were a legitimate criterion for determining a *terminus post quem* for the *Tiryāq*'s date of composition.[84] Vajda argued, however, that these quotations could not be ascribed to the author of the *Tiryāq*, as explicitly stated in several manuscripts, and were therefore unsuited to serve as *terminus post quem*.[85] The fact that in the extant manuscripts the *Tiryāq* is attributed to various authors seemed to back Vajda's scepticism.

In an *Addendum* to his article Vajda declared his conviction that Kahle had detected a more reliable piece of evidence to determine the *Tiryāq*'s date of composition.[86] Kahle presented his arguments in the enlarged second edition of his *The Cairo Geniza*, which had appeared a few months prior to Vajda's article.[87] Kahle's deliberations, however, were not new. He merely repeated – without acknowledgement – arguments brought forward by A.J.B. Higgins in an article of 1943, arguments which Graf had already rejected as untenable.[88] Like Higgins, Kahle argued as follows: Ms. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Arabic e163, dated 1805, contains three texts: 1) An introduction to the four Gospels, 2) the *Tiryāq*, and 3) the Arabic version of the Diatessaron. The colophon of the manuscript reads:[89]

[84] Graf 1953, vol. 2, pp. 345f., provided further arguments to buttress his dating of the *Tiryāq* which Vajda failed to consider. In the short entry, 'al-Qiss al-Rashīd Abū al-Khayr al-Mutaṭabbib', in the 7th chapter of his *K. Miṣbāḥ al-ẓulma fī īḍāḥ al-khidma*, Shams al-Riʾāsa Abū al-Barakāt Ibn Kabar (d. 1324) (1971, p. 320; Cairo 2003, p. 189) may have mixed up two people of similar name; in chapter 56 (56:34-61) of his *Majmūʿ* (Ibn al-ʿAssāl 1998/9, vol. 7a, pp. 338–344; vol. 7b, pp. 260–265) Ibn al-ʿAssāl quotes from Abū al-Khayr's *Khulāṣat al-īmān al-masīḥī*, noting (vol. 7a, p. 338) that its author was his contemporary (*al-Qiss al-ajall al-raʾīs al-ḥakīm al-fāḍil al-ʿālim al-ʿāmil al-rashīd Abī al-khayr al-mutaṭabbib, al-muʿāṣir li-munshiʾ hādhā al-kitāb*) which would provide an important criterion for determining a *terminus ante et post quem* (some manuscripts have *al-muʿāḍid* (assistant), instead of *al-muʿāṣir*; cf. vol. 7b, p. 260, n. 246).

[85] In several manuscripts the appended quotes are introduced with the following note: "It is obvious that it was not (added) by the author" (*wa-ẓāhir al-ḥāl annahu lam yakun lil-muṣannif*). See Vajda 1960, p. 125. Vajda had access to three manuscripts of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (see Wadīʿ 1997a, pp. 278–280, nos. 6/10/13) and – by the intermediary of S.M. Stern – to two manuscripts of the Bodleian Library in Oxford (*ibid.*, nos. 7/9).

[86] See Vajda 1960, p. 134: "Les indications de Graf, dans *GCAL* et dans son travail antérieur [...] doivent être rectifiées à l'aide de la mise au point du Pr Paul E. Kahle, *The Cairo Geniza*, 2e édition, Oxford, 1959, p. 305-307".

[87] Kahle 1959, pp. 305–307.

[88] Higgins 1943; see Graf's criticism of Higgins (1953, vol. 2, p. 346, n. 1).

[89] For the Arabic text of the colophon see Wadīʿ 1997, p. 84, n. 19.

> The *Vorlage* from which this manuscript was copied, is in the handwriting of the outstanding scholars, the Awlād al-ʿAssāl [...]. It is dated 18th Rajab of the year 500 [15th March 1107].

From this colophon Higgins and Kahle derived two things: 1) that there existed a group of Coptic scholars called 'Awlād al-ʿAssāl' in the early 12th Century and 2) that the *Tiryāq* was written before 1107.

The second part of Higgins' and Kahle's argument was based on the fact that the epilogue (*khātima*) of the *Tiryāq* contains a reference to *al-Radd al-jamīl li-ilāhiyyat ʿĪsā ʿalā ṣarīḥ al-Injīl* (The elegant rebuttal of the Divinity of Jesus based on the explicit text of the Gospel) attributed to al-Ghazālī which according to Kahle was composed in Alexandria in 1101.[90] On these grounds and other subsidiary arguments Higgins and Kahle concluded – and Vajda followed suit – that the *Tiryāq* was written in the early 12th century in direct response to (Pseudo-)al-Ghazālī's polemical work.[91]

If there is a bottom line to Higgins', Kahle's and Vajda's argumentation, it is the disconcerting sensation that none of these three eminent scholars can actually have read the *Tiryāq*. Had they read the entire text and not just the epilogue and the appended quotations, it could not have escaped their attention that the entire fourth chapter of the *Tiryāq* (*al-Faṣl al-rābiʿ fī taʾlīl al-ittiṣāl bi-nāsūt al-masīḥ*, 'Fourth Chapter explaining [God's] union with the human nature of Christ') is nothing but an adapted quote from *Dalāla* III:32.[92] Since the chapter is quintessential to the overall structure

[90] As has been shown by Lazarus-Yafeh 1975, pp. 458–487 (esp. pp. 463f., 481) and Reynolds 1999, *al-Radd al-jamīl* cannot be considered an authentic work by al-Ghazālī. It probably is the work of a Coptic Christian who converted to Islam. Moreover, it is very likely that al-Ghazālī never stayed in Egypt (see Hourani 1984, p. 296 and Caspar 1976, pp. 199f., no. 21.11). El-Kaisy Friemuth (2007 and *CMRBH* III:367) has recently tried to rehabilitate al-Ghazālī's authorship. To me, her arguments are unconvincing.

[91] Some manuscripts of the *Tiryāq* mention as its author 'Abū al-Khayr known as Ibn al-Ghayb' who wrote it in 1052 in Ḥims (Emesa, Syria): see De Slane 1883/95, p. 45; Steinschneider 1902, pp. 218f., n. 12). For alternative attributions and datings see Wadī 1997, pp. 84–86; Wadī 1997a, pp. 274–282.

[92] As mentioned above some manuscripts of the *Tiryāq* include an abstract (*ḥāṣil*) of *Dalāla* III:32 appended to the main text (see Vajda 1960, pp. 129f.). The text version of this annex differs from that in the fourth chapter of the *Tiryāq* resp. in the fifth chapter of the *Khulāṣa* (for a synoptic presentation of all parallel texts I refer to Schwarb, Reception). The corresponding chapter is not preserved in the fragment of the Coptic *Mukhtaṣar al-Dalāla* (Ms. Paris, BN, ar. 205). It is worth reminding here that

of the work, it cannot be a later addition.[93] Moreover, the fourth chapter of the *Tiryāq* is almost identical with the fifth chapter of *Khulāṣat al-īmān al-masīḥī* (*Summa* of the Christian faith) which Abū al-Khayr wrote between 1240 and 1260: *al-Faṣl al-khāmis fī bayān wajh al-ḥikma fīmā yastalzimu ẓāhiruhu al-shanāʿāt min waṣf al-masīḥ bi-al-ilāhiyya wa-bi-qabūl al-ālām* (Fifth chapter explaining the rationale of what, according to its *prima facie* meaning, implies reprehensible things, inas-much as Christ is described by [the two mutually exclusive attributes of] 'divinity' and 'suffering of pains').[94]

The use of the *Dalāla* in the *Tiryāq* and the *Khulāṣa* is interwoven and inconsistent. The structure and argumentation of both works are clearly influenced by the *Dalāla*, to the extent that Abū al-Khayr's program would best be characterised as 'Maimonidean Christology' or 'Maimonidean Trinitarianism'.[95] At the same time, both works have a distinctly polemical agenda, whereby the anti-Jewish polemic primarily appears under the guise of a polemic against Maimonides.[96] Of the multifaceted

the first part of *Dalāla* III:32 is a quote from Galen's *K. Manāfiʿ al-aʿḍāʾ* (see *GAS* III, pp. 106–108) which is the most likely immediate source for Maimonides' concept of *talaṭṭuf*, even if he may have linked it to the concept of *luṭf* in Alexander of Aphrodisias' *Fī Mabādiʾ al-kull*.

93 Of the 32 known manuscripts of the *Tiryāq* (see Wadīʿ 1997a, pp. 277–282), I have been able to consult seventeen so far. The references are to the earliest extant manuscript (13th cent.), namely, Ms. Vatican, BAV, ar. 105. Zanetti 2003, pp. 674f., has assigned the nine manuscripts used for his edition of chapters 20 and 21 to three distinct manuscript families. A late, low quality manuscript of the *Tiryāq* is available for download from (http://www.coptmanuscripts.com).

94 See above n. 84. I am currently preparing a critical edition of the *Khulāṣa*. In Ms. Vatican, BAV, ar. 119, fol. 59a, a longer version of the title of the *Khulāṣa* is given as: *Khulāṣat muʿtaqad al-milla al-masīḥiyya wa-al-radd ʿalā ṭāʾifatay, al-islām wa-al-yahūdiyya, min mawḍūʿātihim wa-uṣūl madhāhibihim* (*Summa fidei* of the Christian religious community and refutation of the two religious groups, Islam and Judaism, based on their fundamental tenets and the principles of their doctrines). Whereas in the *Tiryāq* the quotation is introduced anonymously (*qāla [...] kabīr aḥbārihim*), in the *Khulāṣa* Maimonides is mentioned by name ([...] *al-Raʾīs Mūsā Ibn Maymūn, kabīr aḥbārihim wa-mutawallī al-riʾāsa ʿalayhim bi-al-diyār al-miṣriyya*). For a synoptic presentation of *Dalāla* III:32, the fourth chapter of the *Tiryāq* and the fifth chapter of the *Khulāṣa* see *Appendix 2* of the present article as well as Schwarb, Reception, where I will also include a study of Abū al-Khayr's *Risālat al-bayān* (1938).

95 Both the *Tiryāq* and the *Khulāṣa* are replete with quotes from the *Dalāla*.

96 Similarly, the polemic against Islam takes the form of a criticism of Fakhr al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb [al-Rāzī] (d. 606/1210). The relationship with Fakhr al-Dīn is again ambivalent and inconsistent, inasmuch as the theology of the Coptic Christians of the 13th century extensively draws on al-Rāzī's works (including *K. al-Arbaʿīn*, *K. al-Khamsīn*, *K.*

reception of the *Dalāla* in the works of Abū al-Khayr I will here only point to some of its more salient features.

It is the explicit purpose of both chapters (and the two works as a whole) to explain to Jews and Muslims the underlying rationale of the doctrines of incarnation and trinity, which they consider a flagrant violation of the principle of God's uni(ci)ty (*tawḥīd*).[97] The core of Abū al-Khayr's argument is based on the third part of the *Dalāla*, chapters 26–49. In these chapters Maimonides explains the function and purpose of the statutory provisions contained in the Torah against the backdrop of the historical conditions and pedagogical needs of its subjects at the time of legislation. God, in his divine wisdom (*al-talaṭṭuf al-ilāhī*),[98] was mindful of these circumstances when he legislated the Torah. In this 'divine pedagogy', the historically rooted *ratio legum* (*ʿillat al-sharāʾiʿ*), Maimonides recognised the secondary intention (*al-qaṣd al-thānī*) of the *lex dei*, while its primary and principal intention (*al-qaṣd al-awwal*) was the eradication of all forms of idolatry and the unmitigated knowledge of God, i. e. scientific and metaphysical knowledge.[99]

The lasting impact of these chapters on medieval Hebrew and Latin thought and 'modern' historiography has been thoroughly documented in research literature.[100] G.G. Stroumsa emphasised their impact on the

al-Maʿālim, K. al-Mabāḥith al-mashriqiyya, K. Nihāyat al-ʿuqūl, K. al-Mulakhkhaṣ, K. Muḥaṣṣal al-afkār). For a preliminary overview of the reception of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī in Christian-Arabic and Syriac literature see Schwarb, Excursus; for a more detailed study see Schwarb, Reception; Graf 1953, vol. 2, pp. 345 (*Tiryāq*), 347 (*Khulāṣa*), 390 (al-Ṣafī Ibn al-ʿAssāl, *Ṣaḥāʾiḥ* and *Nahj al-sabīl*), 431 (Ibn al-Rāhib, *Burhān*), 452 (al-Makīn Jirjis Ibn al-ʿAmīd (the younger), *al-Ḥāwī al-mustafād - Mukhtaṣar al-bayān fī taḥqīq al-īmān*); Sidarus 1975, pp. 104–107, 118, 134f.; Wadīʿ 1997, pp. 104f., n. 82 (cf. p. 186, § 21); p. 115, n. 110; p. 180; p. 188, § 27; Takahashi 2005, p. 98, n. 372; Samir 1987, pp. 176–8; Endress 2006, pp. 386–389, 397–410.

97 See *Khulāṣa*, Ms. Vatican, BAV, ar. 105, fol. 66b; Ms. Vatican, BAV, ar. 119, fol. 59a (*lammā ʾltamasa minnī jamāʿa min al-aṣḥāb al-ʿulamāʾ al-fuḍalāʾ fī madhhabay al-islām wa-al-mutamassikīn bi-al-sharīʿati al-yahūdiyyati an adhkura lahum mā ʿindī min khulāṣati mā taʿtaqiduhu [!] al-Naṣārā*).

98 Cf. *Dalāla* III:32, ed. Munk/Yoel, p. 385:10.

99 Cf. *Dalāla* III:26, ed. Munk/Yoel, p. 368:24f., 369:7 (*al-sharāʾiʿ kulluhā muʿallala*); III:29, p. 377:11f.; III:32, p. 387:7; III:34, p. 391:21 (*al-qaṣd al-awwal*); III:32, p. 385:19; 387:6 (*al-qaṣd al-thānī*).

100 Stroumsa 1999a; Harvey 1995; Pines 1970. For the reception of Maimonides in the Latin literature see Hasselhoff 2004, pp. 61ff.; Schenker 1993; Funkenstein 1970; Bobichon 2011 and above nn. 10 and 46. Elukin (2002) explored the reverberations of

development of a new 'scientific' discourse on religion among 17th-century European intellectuals;[101] A. Funkenstein went as far as to see in Maimonides' historicising reconstruction of the *lex dei* "a genuine medieval precursor of the revolution of historical reasoning [in the 16th and 17th centuries]".[102] The radicality of its implications made it a central point of contention in the various controversies over the authority and interpretation of Maimonides' works.[103]

Other scholars have in turn pointed to 'parallels' of Maimonides' principle of divine accommodation in 'pagan', Jewish, Christian and Islamic sources before Maimonides, particularly to the patristic concept of 'divine condescension' or 'divine considerateness' (*συγκατάβασις*, ar. *talaṭṭuf*), which gained currency among the Cappadocian Fathers and in the Antiochene school of biblical exegesis following John Chrysostom, and to the concept of God as supreme *παιδαγωγός* as it was advocated by Philo Judaeus and key exponents of Alexandrian Christianity such as Clement and Origen who reinterpreted the revealed Laws as pedagogical-political programs and conceived of the philosopher-prophets as *παιδαγωγοί* and *προτρεπτικοί* whose task was to guide humankind as close as possible to true knowledge and a perfectly good life.[104]

Funkenstein and Stroumsa contended in turn that Maimonides' view

Maimonides' Sabians in European historiography on the origin of Mosaic monotheism from the 17th century onwards; see, moreover, Stroumsa 2001; 2010.

101 Stroumsa 2010, esp. pp. 45–48, 87–105.

102 Funkenstein 1993, p. 146 (the fifth chapter, pp. 131–155, examines the religious philosophy of Maimonides); Funkenstein 1986, pp. 233f. The 'Maimonidean Theory of History' plays a prominent role in most of Funkenstein's writings (see Biale 1999) and was recently the focus of a debate on the 'theological roots of historicism' (see Socher 1999; 2006; Moyn 2003). Most of these contributions have been reprinted in Westman & Biale 2008. This volume also includes 'A Bibliography of the Published Works of Amos Funkenstein' (pp. 328–337).

103 Funkenstein 1993, p. 146 n. 48; Levinger 1968, pp. 282ff.

104 Khouzam 1941, p. 84; Pines 1976; Stroumsa 2002; Funkenstein 1986, pp. 243–261; Funkenstein 1993, pp. 144f. Benin 1993, *passim* (for Maimonides see pp. 147–162); Dreyfus 1984; Brändle 1996; van Den Kerchove 2007; Petropoulou 2008; Stroumsa 2009; Stroumsa 2010, pp. 89–94; Fraenkel 2012, pp. 87–143. Similar arguments are used in discussions on abrogation (*naskh al-sharāʾiʿ*) in Jewish, Christian and Islamic texts of the *uṣūlān* (*uṣūl al-dīn* and *uṣūl al-fiqh*); see, for instance, Bar-Asher 1999, pp. 68–70; Schwarb, al-Baṣīr. For Arabic translations of the works of Clement, the Cappadocian Fathers and Chrysostom (Yūḥannā al-Dhahabī al-Fam) see Graf 1953, vol. 1, pp. 306, 319–335, 337–355; Sidarus 2010a, pp. 132–134. For the use of *talaṭṭuf* resp. *luṭf* in Galen and Alexander of Aphrodisias see above, n. 92.

of the history of religion differs in crucial points from these alleged 'parallels' and should therefore be considered novel and original.[105] They argued, for instance, that Maimonides was the first to turn the historicising reconstruction of the original meaning of the Mosaic legislation into a methodological principle.[106] In their view, Maimonides' use of 'pagan' and Hermetic sources for the sake of evincing God's divine wisdom that governs the development of religion, would show that his approach was not meant to be a historical and particular model, but rather a phenomenological and universal one, to explain the religious development of humankind.

In Abū al-Khayr's perception of the history of religion, too, the Sabians represented a universal phenomenon and embraced the whole of humankind (*ḥukamāʾ al-Ṣāba alladhīna ʿammat ʿibādatuhum jamīʿ al-aqṭār / al-ʿālam bi-kamālihi*).[107] The universality of the Sabian type of religion in the *Dalāla* made it easier for the Coptic theologian to adapt Maimonides' perception of the history of religion and to employ it for his own goals. For him, the Maimonidean concept not only provided a convenient interpretative framework for a historical explanation of the rationale underlying the doctrines of incarnation and trinity, but also the polemic means to show that Maimonides himself, had he thought his theory through to the end, would have had no choice but to accept the Christian version of divine revelation as the most accomplished materialisation of the 'divine pedagogy' and the most refined form of 'God's divine wisdom'.

Abū al-Khayr developed his concept in the third and by far longest chapter of the *Tiryāq*. The entire chapter is an adaptation and refinement of Maimonides' concept of the history of religion and is interwoven with phrases extracted from the *Dalāla*.[108] The chapter opens with the Maimonidean question:[109]

[105] Stroumsa 2004.

[106] Funkenstein 1993, p. 145.

[107] Ms. Vatican, BAV, ar. 105, fol. 10a-b.

[108] *Al-faṣl al-thālith yataḍammanu taʿlīl waṣfihi taʿālā bi-al-ab wa-al-ibn wa-al-rūḥ al-qudus* (Chapter Three, in which the description of God as Father, Son and Holy Spirit is explained). Out of a total of 30 chapters the third chapter covers about one fourth of the entire *Tiryāq*. Cf. Khouzam 1941, pp. 22, 58–77.

[109] Ms. Vatican, BAV, ar. 105, fol. 8b; cf. *Dalāla* II:25, ed. Munk/Yoel, p. 230:5–13 and III:49, p. 449:28.

أفما قد ثبت أنه تعالى حكيم، والحكيم لا يصنع شيئًا عبثًا، فما وجه الحكمة والسياسة في وضع شريعة ليجذب بها جميع الأمم إلى عبادته تعالى بواسطة وصفه لذاته بالألفاظ الشنيعة والأوصاف الغريبة مثل قوله للرسل: أمضوا وتلمِذوا كلّ الأمم وعمّدوهم بسم الأب والابن والروح القدس، ولم يقل عمّدوهم باسم الإله الواحد المحض الذي لا يمكن أن يكون أكثر من واحد.

Has it not been proven that God is wise, and that the wise does not generate vain things? What then is the element of wisdom and wise guidance in enacting a law (*sharīʿa*) through which all nations are induced to worship God by describing his essence in reprehensible terms and weird attributes, as for instance when he says to the apostles: "Go and make disciples of all nations, baptising them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit" (Mt 28:19), instead of saying: "baptising them in the name of the one and sole God of whom there cannot be more than one"?

Like the question, the answer is borrowed from Maimonides, too:[110]

اعلم أنّ الشريعة هي سياسة إلاهية ورئاسة ربّانية تجذب الناس إلى الإقرار بوجود الخالق تعالى، كلّ قوم بما يألفون أن يرجعوا إليه تعالى اختيارًا.

Take note that the Law is divine guidance and divine conduction which induces people to affirm the existence of the Creator, each nation by means of what they are used to when turning to God on their own accord.

In keeping with this principle, Abū al-Khayr subdivided religions into three basic 'phenotypes' (*uṣūl*), corresponding to their notion of God and their worship of God. The first type of religion is represented by the early philosophers (*al-falāsifa al-aqdamūn*), the second by Zoroaster (*mā dhahaba ilayhi Zarādusht, ṣāḥib sharīʿat al-majūs*), the third by the Sabians (*ḥukamāʾ al-ṣāba*). While the first two types are handled in a few lines, the greater part of the third chapter is dedicated to the third type.[111] As for Maimonides, the laws (*nawāmīs*) of the Sabians are in Abū al-Khayr's view the key to understanding the language of the Tora and the historical circumstances for the legislation of the Mosaic Law. However, he then goes one step further and analogously applies the Maimonidean model to the Christian Bible, too, thereby effectively combining it with the doctrine of progressive revelation and continuous refinement of religious

[110] Ms. Vatican, BAV, ar. 105, fol. 9b:5–7<*Dalāla* III:32, ed. Munk/Yoel, pp. 385:10–386:7 and III:36, pp. 394:18–395:21.

[111] Ms. Vatican, BAV, ar. 105, fol. 9b:13–22.

beliefs inherent in the Chrysostomian notion of 'divine condescension' (*συγκατάβασις*):[112]

ما ورد فاتحة إنجيل يوحنا مخاطبًا لأهل أفسس الذي كان لهم من أحبار الصابة وحكمائهم وفلاسفتهم وهياكل معبوداتهم ما هو مسطور ومشهور، فأرشده الله إلى سياستهم من حيث يعلمون واجتذابهم من حيث لا ينفرون. فافتتح إنجيله قائلا: في البدئ كان [!] الكلمة [...]
ثم ما أورده بولص لأهل مدينة كولاصائيس التي هي مدينة الصابة وحداق الفلاسفة الذين وصفوا أساس عباداتهم على أن علة العلل فاض عنها عقلا أولا وأن جميع الموجودات صدرت عن العقل الأول وأن هذا العقل المذكور مستحق العبادة مع العلة الأولى ومع النفس، كما شهر في عقائدهم.

The introduction to the Gospel of John is directed towards the residents of Ephesus, who included, as documented and well-known, the learned men of the Sabians, their men of science and their philosophers, who had there their places of worship. Therefore, God provided them with appropriate guidance (or: a way of life suitable to them), through which they would gain understanding, and with what is appealing to them, so that they would not be averted. For this reason the Gospel opens as follows: "In the beginning was the Word [...]."
Moreover, what Paul conveyed to the residents of the city of Colossae, which is a Sabian city and a stronghold of the philosophers, who described the foundation of their religious practice as a first intellect overflowing from the *causa causarum*, and all existing things as originating from the first intellect;

[112] Ms. Vatican, BAV, ar. 105, fol. 12b–13a; see Ibn al-ʿAssāl 1927, pp. 12:15–15:20, which is quoted in Muʾtaman al-Dawla, *Majmūʿ*, 11:33–48 (Ibn al-ʿAssāl 1998/9, vol. 6a, pp. 260–263); see above n. 68. Al-Qirqisānī 1939–43, vol. 1, pp. 43:17–44:8, tr. Chiesa & Lockwood 1984, pp. 136f., quotes Dāwūd b. Marwān al-Muqammaṣ' (whose floruit is about the middle of the 9th century) *K. al-Ḍarāʾa* where the latter summarises the Chrysostomian doctrine of *συγκατάβασις* (see above n. 104) as follows: "Present-day Christian philosophers (*al-muḥdathūn min falāsifat al-naṣārā*) assert that the laws of the Tora were presented to the Children of Israel in wrath, and that they have chosen them for themselves, because of their resemblance to the laws of the Sabians (*li-annahā mushābiha li-farāʾiḍ al-ṣābiʾīn*). This was because they had become accustomed to the practices of the Egyptians (*kānū qad alifū madhāhib al-miṣriyyīn*) when they lived among them, and these latter are of the same type as the practices of the Sabians. They assert that the doctrine that the great and glorious Creator is a substance of three hypostases is a secret (*sirr*) which God revealed to none of the men of old, because the minds of men could not then grasp it, until Jesus came and there arose people whose minds could grasp it and it was revealed and taught to them. They assert that the word of God is co-eternal with Him. One of the arguments on which they base this is the fact that John says at the beginning of his Gospel, which is one of the four Gospels: 'In the beginning [was] the Word and the Word [was] with God, and God was the Word'".

this very intellect was therefore entitled to be worshipped along with the first cause and the soul, as it was made explicit in their articles of faith.

In accordance with the characteristics and habits of each nation, the divine wisdom prepared the most appropriate antidote (*tiryāq*), which would bring them closer to recognising the true God.[113]

In the same (third) chapter of the *Tiryāq*, Abū al-Khayr gives a list of 'Sabian codes of law' (*asfār nawāmīs al-Ṣāba*), from which he says to have derived his knowledge about the Sabian type of religion. This list is similar to Maimonides' list in *Dalāla* III:29, but not identical with it:[114]

1. *K. al-Filāḥa al-nabaṭiyya li-ibn Waḥshiyya* (see Ullmann 1972, pp. 440–443; *GAS* IV, pp. 318-329; VII, pp. 319f.; Hämeen-Anttila 2006).
2. *K. al-Iṣṭamāṭīs fī al-sirr al-maknūn (alladhī wajadahu Hirmis al-kabīr fī al-khazā'in wa-fassarahu Arisṭūṭālīs al-ḥakīm lil-Iskandar)* (Ullmann 1972, p. 375; *GAS* IV, p. 40, no. 13; IV, p. 102, no. 2; VII, p. 57, no. 27; van Bladel 2004, p. 324, no. 5.2.B; van Bladel 2009, pp. 101, 178f.; Weisser 1979, p. 636; Weisser 1980, pp. 68f.; Ms. London, British Library, Del. Ar. 1946c, fols. 32b–52b).
3. *K. al-Istamākhīs li-Hirmis* (Ullmann 1972, pp. 374f.; *GAS* IV, p. 102, no. 1; VII, p. 66, n. 3; van Bladel, *ibid.*, pp. 323f., no. 5.2.A; Ms. London, BL, Del. Ar. 1946a, fols. 1b –21a).
4. *K. al-Ustūṭās* [ms. *Ushnūṭās*] (Ullmann 1972, p. 375; *GAS* IV, pp. 35, 40, no. 13; IV, p. 102, no. 2; VII, p. 57, no. 27; Ms. London, BL, Del. Ar. 1946e, fols. 85b–92b).
5. *K. al-Mad(h)āṭīs li-Hirmis* (Ullmann 1972, pp. 168, 375; Ms. London, BL, Del. Ar. 1946b, fols. 21b–32a) [>in some Mss. *K. Dīmūqrāṭīs li-Hirmis*!].

[113] One is reminded here of More's *An Antidote against Idolatry* (1669). The term '*Tiryāq*'/'*Diryāq*' ('antidote', 'counter-poison') is not only prominent in medicine (see Lev & Amar 2008, p. 569 and the famous codex Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ar. 2964, copied in 595/1199 in Iraq, which includes a summary of the history of *tiryāq* compositions), but also widely used in the so-called 'occult sciences'. An even more conspicuous link to the occult sciences is established by the subtitle of the *Tiryāq*, namely *Kashf al-asrār al-khafiyya*.

[114] Ms. Vatican, BAV, ar. 105, fol. 17b:4-9; cf. *Dalāla* III:29, ed. Munk/Yoel, p. 380:9-15; Ibn Kammūna 1967, pp. 37f., draws on this very passage. See also van Bladel 2004, pp. 117–123; van Bladel 2009, pp. 100–104; Stroumsa 2009b, pp. 99f., with references in n. 81 to a similar list in *Ghāyat al-Ḥakīm* and *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*. Most of these works are already mentioned in Ibn al-Nadīm's *Fihrist* (2009), vol. II/1, pp. 445f.

6. *K. Ṭumṭum al-hindī* (Ullmann 1972, pp. 298f., 381; *GAS* VII, pp. 96f.).
7. *K. Daraj al-falak* (=*K. Tinkalūshā al-bābilī*; Ullmann 1972, pp. 329f. n. 7; *GAS* VII, pp. 23f., 96, no. 1), *wa-ghayr dhālika min asfār nawāmīs al-ṣāba.*
8. *K. Daʿwat zarādusht, ṣāḥib millat al-majūs* (cf. Ullmann 1972, p. 294; *GAS* VII, pp. 81–86 ; van Bladel, *ibid.*, p. 48, n. d.), *wa-amthālihi.*[115]

Whereas Maimonides qualifies *The Nabatean Agriculture* as his main source, Abū al-Khayr tags the pseudo-Aristotelian *K. al-Iṣṭamāṭīs* as his primary reference work and quotes it at length.[116] The fact that Abū al-Khayr's knowledge about the Sabians was not only derived from the *Dalāla* is significant for various reasons: Firstly, it is one of his explicit concerns to prove his originality and independence from Maimonides;[117] secondly, it is worth mentioning that the reception of pseudo-Aristotelian and Hermetic texts in Abū al-Khayr's works is not an isolated case in Copto-Arabic literature.[118] In the seventh chapter of his *K. Miṣbāḥ al-ẓulma* Ibn Kabar (d. 1324) classified *K. Zajr al-nafs* (=*K. Muʿādhalat/Muʿātabat al-nafs*), the best known Arabic work attributed to Hermes, among the Christian writings.[119] The same text is quoted by al-Muʾtaman Ibn al-ʿAssāl in *Majmūʿ uṣūl al-dīn* and by Abū Shākir Ibn al-Rāhib in the *quaestiones* 7 and 43 of his *K. al-Burhān.*[120]

[115] *EI²*, vol. 5, pp. 1110–1118; *GAS* IV: *passim*; VII, pp. 50ff.; van Bladel 2009, pp. 303–333. The third chapter of the *Tiryāq* refers to other Hermetic treatises, not included in this list.

[116] Cf. Khouzam 1941, pp. 28–32; on *The Nabatean Agriculture* see Hämeen-Anttila 2006. On *K. al-Iṣṭamāṭīs* and related texts of the 'Talismanic Pseudo-Aristotelian Hermetica', which were composed before the middle of the 9th century, see van Bladel 2009, pp. 322–5; Burnett 1986, pp. 84–96; Burnett 2001, pp. 179–184.

[117] See below nn. 128 and 130.

[118] See below nn. 125 and 127.

[119] Ibn Kabar 1971, p. 297; see also Graf 1953, vol. 1, p. 389; *CMRBH* IV, pp. 762–766. On the *K. Zajr al-nafs* see Ullmann 1972, p. 378, where the book is ranged among the 'philosophical-theological Hermetica'; *GAS* IV, p. 43; van Bladel 2004, pp. 319f., no. 4.1. van Bladel 2009, pp. 226–229, suggests that the text may have originated with the Persian philosopher Bābā Afḍal al-Dīn Kāshānī (d. ca. 1213). Fragments of this text from the Cairo Genizah have been studied and partially edited by Eliyahu 2005, where its reception in the Copto-Arabic literature has not been considered.

[120] *Majmūʿ*, ch. 5, §§ 30f. (Ibn al-ʿAssāl 1998/9, vol. 6a, p. 120). For the quotations in *K. al-Burhān* see Sidarus 1975, p. 127, n. 34; Sidarus 2010, pp. 157f., no. 29, with further references. Occasionally, the *K. Zajr al-nafs* figures in Christian-Arabic compilations, e.g. in Ms. Paris, BN, arabe 49/5, fols. 142–203 (Troupeau 1972, vol. 1, p. 35), or arabe 4811/3, fols. 80–129 (*ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 48).

Whereas the significance of Hermetic, Gnostic and Manichaean traditions in the non-Arabic (Greek, Coptic, Armenian) literature of Egyptian Christianity has long since been recognised, especially since the discovery of the Nag Ḥammādī (نجع حمّادي) Library in 1945, the transmission of this heritage into Christian-Arabic literature has hardly been explored.[121] Before its Arabicisation, the literature of Egyptian Christianity was characterised by its very ambivalent relationship with Gnostic thought and Hermetic trends, oscillating between strong affinity and sharp demarcation.[122] The presence of 'pagan' and Hermetic ideas in Egyptian Christianity has not been obliterated in the wake of its Arabicisation. Its traces have been preserved in established customs and traditions as well as in libraries of educated people.[123] Thus, a fragment from the Cairo Genizah mentions a Christian scholar from Alexandria who is described as "the master of Christian scholars, the luminary among those who know, well-read in Hermetic literature, translator of Coptic and Arabic" (*Sayyid al-ʿulamāʾ al-masīḥiyyīn, shams al-ʿārifīn, [...], al-mutaʾaddib bi-al-ādāb al-hirmisiyya, mutarjim al-lughāt al-qibṭiyya wa-al-ʿarabiyya*).[124]

In previous scholarship on Maimonides this heritage has been largely ignored. When scholars sought to identify possible sources for Maimonides' acquaintance with pseudo-Aristotelian and Hermetic literature, they usually highlighted his Andalusian heritage, above all *K. Ghāyat al-Ḥakīm* (lat. *Picatrix*), written after 442/1051, or the *Epistles of the Brethren*

[121] See Robinson 2009. Thematic bibliographies which survey recent research literature are included in the conference proceedings of the International Association of Coptic Studies ('Greek Papyri and Coptic Studies', 'Hermetism, Gnosticism and Manicaeism'). For a complete edition of the Nag Ḥammādī texts see Robinson 2000. The title of this edition is misleading, because the Nag Hammadi Library includes several non-Gnostic Christian texts, Hermetic writings, a passage from Plato's *Politeia*, and so forth. Among the numerous studies on the Nag Hammadi texts, see Tröger 1974; Krause 2002; van den Broek 1996; Hedrick & Hodgson 1986, esp. pp. 287–307; van Den Kerchove 2006; Camplani 2000; Mahé 1978, 1982; Meyer & Smith 1999; Fowden 1993, esp. pp. 179–181; van Bladel 2004, pp. 8, 14, 27, 47–56, 97–99, 106, 144, 149f., 184–186; van Bladel 2009, pp. 12, 90.

[122] Bilabel & Grohmann 1934; Canaan 1937/8; Abd El-Saheed 1995; Khosroyev 1995, pp. 120–135; van Den Kerchove 2007a.

[123] See Martin 2004.

[124] Ms. New York, Jewish Theological Seminar, ENA 3917.2, fol. 1a, ed. Szilágyi 2006, pp. 156*f., no. VI, with facsimile on p. 158*. The fragment has to be assigned to the second phase of Copto-Arabic literature (see above, n. 32).

of Purity (*Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*).[125] When Maimonides writes in his letter to the Jewish community of Montpellier that he read and thoroughly studied all pertinent texts which had been translated into Arabic,[126] the presence of such texts in Copto-Arabic literature should no longer be discarded.[127]

As mentioned above, Abū al-Khayr is anxious to give proof of the originality and independence of his thought and to obviate claims that he is merely emulating Maimonidean concepts. This endeavour is bolstered by his attempt to deny Maimonides' originality.[128] For this purpose he inserts, for instance, a longer passage into the aforementioned quotation from *Dalāla* III:32 in the fifth chapter of the *Khulāṣa* (see *Appendix* 2), in order to provide evidence for his claim that Maimonides' view of the history of religion is well-rooted in pre-Maimonidean Christian thought. To this end he quotes Aġrīġūrīs Ra'īs Asāqifat al-Arman (Gregory the Illuminator) and *K. al-Bayān [al-mukhtaṣar fī al-īmān]*, erroneously attributed to Sāwīrus Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ.[129] At the end of the *Khulāṣa* he writes:[130]

واعلم أيّها الناظر في كتابنا هذا أنّا إنّما أوردنا عن صاحب الدلالة ما تقدَّم من الأقوال، وهو رجل يهودي المذهب، لا للاحتياج إلى ذلك الإيراد والقصور عن الإتيان بمثله، بل لنخصم به من يقف عليه من المقيمين على الملّة الإسرائيلية وليتّضح له من أقوال كبير قومه مطابقة

[125] See, for instance, Stroumsa 2002. Steinschneider 1862, pp. 3–12, 28–51.

[126] Shailat 1988, p. 481:3–5: שלא נשאר חיבור בעולם בעניין זה בלשון ערבי, שהעתיקו אותו משאר לשונות, עד שקראתי אותו והבנתי ענייניו וירדתי לסוף דעתו.

[127] The presence of Hermetic texts in Copto-Arabic literature has been largely ignored so far. References to this literature are missing in Ullmann 1972; Burnett 1986; Burnett 2001; and van Bladel 2004, esp. pp. 328–333 ('Citing Hermes in Arabic') and pp. 334–339 ('Medieval Arabic Hermetic Tradition'), except perhaps for van Bladel 2009, p. 229. That being said, it is beyond debate that Abū al-Khayr also relied on non-Christian sources. Given the importance of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's writings in Copto-Arabic literature of the 13th century (see above n. 96), it may be worth investigating a possible reception of his *K. al-Sirr al-maktūm fī mukhāṭabat al-nujūm*; cf. Ullmann 1972, pp. 388–390.

[128] Statements disputing the originality of Maimonides' thought are equally found in Muslim literature. Thus, al-Gharnāṭī 1911 (d. 745/1344) writes in his Qur'ān commentary (*al-Baḥr al-muḥīṭ*) *ad Q* 40 (*Ghāfir*):53 (p. 472:13f): *wa-ṣannafa lahum taṣānīf wa-minhā kitāb Dalālat al-ḥā'irīn, wa-innamā 'stafāda mā 'stafāda min mukhālaṭat ʿulamā' al-andalus wa-tawaddudihi lahum.*

[129] Ms. Vatican, BAV, ar. 105, fols. 72b:17–73b:18. See Graf 1953, vol. 2, p. 312; Khouzam 1941, pp. 199–207. According to M.N. Swanson the attribution of *K. al-Bayān* to Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ is spurious; he dates the work, which in fact is an epitome of a work by the 9th cent. Usṭāth al-Rāhib (al-Mashriqī), to the late 11th century; see Sidarus 2010a, pp. 146f., and nn. 56–58.

[130] Ms. Vatican, BAV, ar. 105, fol. 120a.

المذهب المسيحي للمقاصد الإلهية في الأمور الروحانية والمناهج العقلية وليظهر له أنَّ جزئيات شريعة التوراة إنّما شُرِّعَت لا لذاتها، بل لتُوَصِّل إلى شريعة الكمال الآتية بعدها، ليعلم ذلك ويعمل به، وأيضًا لمَّا كان جملة هذا الكتاب إنّما جُمعت على طريق الجواب لمن سأل عن اعتقاد المسيحيين في الله من المسلمين وأصحاب الملّة اليهودية، تَوَجَّهَ أن نورد على المتمسّكين بالملَّتَيْن ما ورد من أقوال كبار قومهم، لنخصمهم بذلك.

O you, who read this, our book: Be aware that I did not quote the author of the *Dalāla*, who adheres to the Jewish doctrine, because it was indispensable to do so, or because (I) would have been unable to write something equivalent, but rather to confront those members of the Jewish community who base themselves on his authority, so that by virtue of the statements of the most important authority of their nation they will realise that the Christian religion tallies with the divine intentions in spiritual matters and rational methods,[131] and that it will become manifest to them that the legal provisions of the Tora have not been stipulated for its own sake, but to lead to the perfect law, which comes after it, so that they will understand and act accordingly. Moreover, since this entire book has only been written in response to those Muslims and Jews who inquired after the Christians' creed about God, it seemed natural to me to quote against the followers of both religious communities statements by their most important authorities to confront (or: defeat) them with it.

Abū al-Khayr offers here a Christian reading of Maimonides, a Christian being – in his view – a fully accomplished Jew, a representative of *Verus Israel*, thus implying that he understands better than his Jewish forerunner, a representative of *Vetus Israel*, what it means that God has revealed himself and his will gradually.[132] While Moses offered a religion truer than that of the Sabians, Jesus permitted the perfect and most refined way of serving God and thus rendered the ritual laws of Moses obsolete. On this point the Coptic theologian may be considered a precursor of John Spencer (1630–93) who made similar use of Maimonides' concept of idolatry in his *De legibus hebraeorum ritualibus et eorum rationibus, libri tres*.[133]

Owing to the reception of the *Tiryāq*, Maimonides' concept of the history of religion left its traces in subsequent Christian Arabic

[131] For the notion *al-Maqāṣid al-ilāhiyya*, see above, n. 99.

[132] Note that Abū al-Khayr's Christian reading of Maimonides is in many ways similar to Clement's and Origen's Christian reading of Philo Judaeus in 2nd and 3rd centuries Alexandria; see Fraenkel 2012, pp. 87–103, 128.

[133] Stroumsa 2001, pp. 20f.; Stroumsa 2010, pp. 94–100.

literature.[134] An early example for the reception of the *Tiryāq* is *K. al-Jawhara al-nafīsa fī ʿulūm al-kanīsa*, a significant exposition of Coptic ecclesiology in 115 chapters, written by Yuḥannā b. Abī Zakariyā b. Sabbāʿ towards the end of the 13th century.[135] Chapters 19 (*fī dhikr madhāhib al-ṣāba ʿabadat al-kawākib*) and 20 (*fī dhikr muqābalat āyāt Allāh qubālata al-āyāt al-mansūba ʿan al-kawākib*) contain lengthy quotations from the third chapter of the *Tiryāq*, which by and large depends on the *Dalāla*, as has been shown above.[136]

A later, yet closer and more intriguing adaptation of Abū al-Khayr's 'Maimonidean trinitarianism' is to be found in the anonymous and hitherto unidentified West Syrian Karshūnī Ms. Birmingham, Mingana, Syr. 142, fols. 48a–61b, tentatively dated to the late 17th century.[137] What Mingana described as "a rather strange work [...] about amulets [... with] many apocryphal quotations [...] from Aristotle" is in actual fact nothing but a considerably abridged version of (or: excerpts from) chapters three and nine of the *Tiryāq*.[138]

IX. An Anonymous Christian Polemic against Islam

To conclude, I would like to refer to a quotation from the *Dalāla* in an anti-Islamic treatise (*al-Sayf al-murhaf fī al-radd ʿalā al-muṣḥaf*) by an unnamed

[134] Dates and places of the 32 manuscript copies of the *Tiryāq* are mentioned in Wadīʿ 1997a, pp. 277–282.

[135] Khouzam 1941, p. 32. For the author see *CMRBH* IV, pp. 918–923; Graf 1953, vol. 2, pp. 448f.; Wadīʿ 1998, pp. 459f., no. 65; Atiya 1991, vol. 4, p. 1272. The *Jawhara* was first printed in Cairo 1902. Later editions include: (1) Perier 1922 (with French translation); (2) Mistrīḥ 1966. Zakhary 2007 discusses the sources of the *Jawhara* on pp. 155–178, but fails to mention Maimonides. A new edition of the *Jawhara* by Zakhary together with a French translation is forthcoming in *Patrologia Orientalis*; see the review of Zakhary 2007 by Luisier 2008. A late manuscript of the *Jawhara* (dated 14 Hatūr 1597/ 10 Nov 1880) is available for download from (http://coptmanuscripts.com/).

[136] For a synoptic presentation of the two texts see Schwarb, Reception.

[137] Mingana 1933, cols. 323f.

[138] After a short introduction, the quotation from the *Tiryāq* begins on Ms. Birmingham, Mingana, Syr. 142, fol. 48a:18 (*wa-ammā, yā ikhwatanā, millat al-ghurabāʾ kānat maʿbūdātuhum al-aṣliyya thalātha*), which is parallel to Ms. Vatican, BAV, ar. 105, fol. 10b:4. The quotation from chapter three ends on fol. 59b:17 (parallel to Ms. Vatican, BAV, ar. 105, fol. 23a:17). After a very short transition in red ink (fols. 59b:18–60a:1) the Karshūnī text continues (fol. 60a:1ff.) with a quotation from chapter nine (*fa-ṣāra Mūsā*) (parallel to Ms. Vatican, BAV, ar. 105, fol. 33a:15). The last extant section of the incomplete Karshūnī text (fol. 61b:3–19) is parallel to Ms. Vatican, BAV, ar. 105, fol. 34a: 15–21. For a synoptic presentation of that text and the *Tiryāq* see Schwarb, Reception.

Christian author of the 13th century. To the best of my knowledge it went unnoticed in the scholarly literature. Currently, this treatise is only preserved in the form of lengthy quotations interpolated in a Muslim refutation of it (*al-Intiṣārāt al-islāmiyya fī kashf shubah al naṣrāniyya*) by Najm al-Dīn Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Qawī al-Ṭūfī (d. 716/1316).[139] As part of his deliberations on the indispensible qualities of a person who lays legitimate claim to prophecy, the Christian author quotes from *Dalāla* II:40, where Maimonides stresses the renunciation and disdain of physical pleasures (*iṭṭirāḥ al-ladhdhāt al-badaniyya wa-al-tahāwun bihā*) as central virtue of a prophet, thereby resorting to a classic motif in the polemic directed against the Prophet of Islam.[140] This "view of philosophers such as Maimonides and Aristotle" (*qawl al-falāsifa ka-Mūsā b. ʿUbayd allāh wa-Arisṭū*) is then extensively criticised and put into perspective by al-Ṭūfī.[141]

Al-Ṭūfī, a native of Ṭūfā near Baghdad, completed *K. al-Intiṣārāt* on 7 Rajab 707/2 January 1308, and later added minor revisions and additions, which were completed on 11 Shawwāl 708/24 March 1309. He wrote it in Cairo, where, since 705/1305-6, he held the position of Teaching Assistant (*muʿīd*) at the Manṣūriyya and the Nāṣiriyya. Considering, on the one hand, that the reception of Maimonides in Christian Arabic literature was essentially confined to Copto-Arabic literature and that, on the other hand, we have information concerning al-Ṭūfī's contacts with Christians in Egypt, it is plausible to identify the author of *al-Sayf al-murhaf* as a well-educated Coptic Christian of the 13th century.[142] According to al-Ṭūfī, no one knew his identity, despite the fact that the book was well-known to his contemporaries.[143]

[139] For al-Ṭūfī see *EI²*, 10, p. 588; *CMRBH* IV, pp. 724–731; Demiri 2013. For *K. al-Intiṣārāt* see Ṭūfī 1999; *GAL* Suppl. II, p. 134, no. 2:11; *Islamochristiana* 4 (1978), p. 256, § 31.23, no 1; *CMRBH* IV, pp. 729–731; Demiri 2007, pp. 295–313; Shihadeh 2006 (Maimonides is mentioned on p. 2). Demiri 2008, pp. 65–67, refers to quotations from *al-Sayf al-murhaf* in al-Ṭūfī's *al-Taʿlīq ʿalā al-anājīl al-arbaʿa wa-al-taʿlīq ʿalā al-tawrāt wa-ʿalā ghayrihā min kutub al-anbiyāʾ* which was written before *al-Intiṣārāt*. On the *Taʿlīq* see Demiri 2013; my findings concerning *al-Sayf al-murhaf* are also presented in *CMRBH* IV, pp. 662–665.

[140] Ṭūfī 1999, p. 265:6–9<*Dalāla* II:40, ed. Munk/Yoel, p. 272:1–10; Shamir 1974, pp. 220f. A comparison with the parallel passage in *Mukhtaṣar al-Dalāla*, ms. Paris, BN, arabe no. 205/12, fol. 120b:3–7, shows that the quotation is based on the original text, not on the Coptic short version. For the polemical theme, see Khouri 1972, pp. 304ff.

[141] Ṭūfī 1999, p. 268.

[142] See Demiri 2007, pp. 302f.

[143] Cf. Shihadeh 2006, p. 2, and n. 7 (p. 20); Demiri 2008, p. 65.

Of the authors mentioned in this article, two stand out as particularly gifted writers of anti-Islamic polemic: Ṣafī al-Dawla Ibn al-ʿAssāl and Abū al-Khayr.[144] In his *Radd ʿalā ahl al-dhimma wa-man tabiʿahum* Shihāb al-Dīn Ghāzī b. Aḥmad Ibn al-Wāsiṭī (d. 1312) imputes al-Muʾtaman (Abū al-Faḍāʾil) Ibn al-ʿAssāl with his involvement in a few infamous events in Damascus around the year 658/1260.[145] Among other things he accuses him of being the author of an anti-Muslim pamphlet entitled *al-Sayf al-murhaf fī al-radd ʿalā al-muṣḥaf*. In this very context al-Wāsiṭī introduces ʿal-Rashīd, known as Kātib al-Tiflīsīʾ as a prominent companion of al-Muʾtaman in Damascus and it is very tempting, indeed, to establish a link between *al-Sayf al-murhaf* and what Abū al-Barakāt Ibn Kabar writes concerning Abū al-Khayr in the seventh chapter of his *Miṣbāḥ al-ẓulma*: "He wrote sermons and a book on the principles of religion (*uṣūl al-dīn*). It was related that he composed a book to refute a book by an adversary, but was not up to the task, and hence fell prey to slander and vituperation and was declared heterodox".[146]

A comparison of the quotations from *K. al-Sayf al-murhaf* contained in al-Ṭūfī's *Intiṣārāt* and *Taʿlīq* with several anonymous polemical treatises by Coptic authors may help to answer this question.[147]

Appendix 1: The Reception of the *Dalāla* in Muslim-Arabic Literature

According to Vajda 1968, "there are almost no traces of any use of the 'Guide' by Muslim scholars." The following list is an attempt to rectify this impression, without laying claim to exhaustiveness. Incomplete, partly obsolete, yet still indispensable information about the manuscripts of Maimonides' writings in non-Jewish possession as well as about entries in biographical dictionaries is found in Steinschneider 1902, pp. 199–221, § 158; Brockelmann 1897/1949, vol. I, pp. 489f.; vol. I^2, pp. 644–646, no. 24; Suppl. vol. I, pp. 893f., no. 25 (with *Addendum* in Suppl. vol. III, p. 1243);

144 Cf. Wadīʿ 1997a, p. 274, n. 5, and above, n. 91.

145 Gottheil 1921, pp. 407–410; Wadīʿ 1997, pp. 174f., n. 40.

146 *Miṣbāḥ al-ẓulma fī īḍāḥ al-khidma* (see above, nn. 84, 119), ed. Samir 1987, p. 320: *wa-qīla innahu ṣannafa kitāb*^{an} *li-yarudda ʿalā kitābi radd*^{in} *li-aḥad al-mukhālifīn, wa-qaṣara ʿan hādhihi al-martaba wa-waqaʿa fī al-malāmati wa-al-ʿatabati wa-rumiya bi-fasād al-raʾy fī al-muʿtaqad.*

147 See Graf 1953, vol. 2, pp. 472f., § 146, esp. Ms. Vat., BAV, ar. 162, fols. 20a-32a (see Mai 1831, p. 303).

Suppl. vol. II, p. 1031, no. 42 (with *Addendum* in Suppl. vol. III, p. 1320); Kaḥḥāla 1961, vol. 13, pp. 48f.; Kaḥḥāla 1985, p. 806; Ziriklī 1970, vol. 8, p. 284 (=Beirut 1980, vol. 7, pp. 329f.); Sezgin 1970, vol. III: *Medizin - Pharmazie - Zoologie - Tierheilkunde bis ca. 430 H.*, pp. 30, 49, 77f., 98, 106, 110, 120f., 298, 317, 320, 351, 388, 429 (index) (see, moreover, vol. V, p. 141; vol. VI, pp. 36, 141); Topaloğlu & al. 1999, vol. 20, pp. 194–197; Bujnūrdī 1993, vol. 5, pp. 2–14.

In addition to the biographical dictionaries with entries on 'Mūsā b. Maymūn al-Qurṭubī' recorded in *GAL*, Kaḥḥāla 1961 and Ziriklī 1970 the following references should be added (see also Kraemer 2004): Shihāb al-Dīn Ghāzī b. Aḥmad Ibn al-Wāsiṭī (d. 1312), *Radd ʿalā ahl al-dhimma wa-man tabiʿahum* (ed. Gottheil 1921; see Nemoy 1972); al-Dhahabī 1988 (d. 748/1348; *EI²*, vol. 2, pp. 214–216), *Tārīkh al-islām wa-wafayāt al-mashāhīr wa-al-aʿlām*, vol. 1, p. 349, no. 555; al-Kutubī 1973 (d. 764/1363; *EI²*, vol. 5, pp. 570f.), *Fawāt al-wafayāt*, vol. 4, pp. 175f., no. 538; cf. Mazor 2007; al-Gharnāṭī 1911 (d. 745/1344; *EI²*, vol. 1, p. 126; cf. above n. 128); Abū Ḥayyān was acquainted with Badr al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī Ibn Hūd (see below); al-Ṭūfī (see above n. 139) studied grammar with him. Al-Maqrīzī (2002/4, vol. 4.2, p. 952:14f., and n. 3) writes that "[the Jews] adhere to the position of Maimonides and act upon what is written in the *Dalāla* and his other writings; they follow his position until today." In addition to that, the various biographical sources on al-Andalus must be taken into account; see Ávila & Marín 1997.

Secondary literature: Munk 1842, p. 27; Kaufmann (1898, pp. 158-160) wrote on the reception 'bei den Muhammedanern'; Steinschneider 1893, pp. 415–420, § 243, esp. n. 344 (p. 416); Steinschneider 1902, pp. 218f., n. 12.

The most conspicuous example of a non-Jewish Arabic reception of the *Dalāla* mentioned in previous research literature is the Persian physician, astronomer and musician Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad al-Tabrīzī (d. 677/1278; al-Tabrīzī 1950, pp. 22f.; *GAL*, Suppl. vol. I, pp. 866f.; Kaḥḥāla 1961, vol. 9, p. 117), who wrote a commentary on the 25 philosophical premises at the beginning of the second part of the *Dalāla* (*Sharḥ al-muqaddimāt*). Al-Tabrīzī was a student of Quṭb al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥārith(/Isḥāq) Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlī al-Sulamī al-Miṣrī (d. 618/1221) who in turn was an eminent student of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī and a

renowned master and critic of Avicennian philosophy (Kaḥḥāla 1961, vol. 1, pp. 67f.; Endress 2006, p. 405). Vajda (1968) erroneously wrote that "this commentary has incidentally survived only in the Hebrew version"; the edition of al-Kawtharī (al-Tabrīzī 1950) was reprinted in Atay's edition of the *Dalāla* (1974, pp. 231–267) and in *Tabrīzī's Commentary on the Twenty Five Premises from the Guide of the Perplexed by M. Maimonides*, ed. M. Mohaghegh, Tehran 1981, pp. 9–65, followed by a separately paginated introduction and an annotated Persian translation by S.J. Sajjadi (pp. 1–150).

Apart from the manuscripts used by al-Kawtharī, the following fragments contain the Arabic text in Hebrew script: St. Petersburg, Russian National Library, Yevr.-Arab. I 4808 (6 fols.), II 846, II 988 (4 fols.), II 2390 (2 fols.), II 2762 (16 fols.), II 2835 (6 fols.), II 3035 (2 fols.). For the Hebrew translations of this commentary, see Steinschneider 1893, pp. 361–363, § 207 and http://aleph500.huji.ac.il/F/?local_base=nnlmss.

Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad Ibn Sabʿīn (d. 668/1270), *al-Risāla al-nūriyya*, in Ibn Sabʿīn 1965, p. 157 (to conclude from this isolated and non-specific mention of *Ṣāḥib Dalālat al-ḥāʾirīn* that "the *Guide* was studied in the school of Ibn Sabʿīn" (Kraemer 1992, p. 72), is more than questionable; Akasoy 2006, p. 79 and *passim*, refers to several superficial parallels between Ibn Sabʿīn and Maimonides, but adduces no convincing argument to support a direct influence.

For Badr al-Dīn Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Yūsuf Ibn Hūd al-Judhāmī al-Mursī (d. 699/1300) who belonged to the 'school' of Ibn Sabʿīn, and under whose guidance Jews are said to have studied the *Dalāla*, see al-Ṣafadī 1979 (d. 764/1363; *EI*², vol. 8, pp. 759f.), *al-Wāfī bi-'l-wafayāt*, vol. 12, p. 157: 13f.; al-Kutubī 1973, vol. 1, p. 346:12f.; for additional evidence see Kraemer 1992, pp. 59–73, esp. p. 67, nn. 25, 27, and earlier studies: Goldziher 1894; Goitein 1953, pp. 39f. Pouzet (1986, p. 326) points to possible relations between Maimonides' family and the family of Ibn Hūd in al-Andalus.

Joseph ben Abba Mari Ibn Kaspi (En Bonafoux del'Argentières, d. 1340), states in the 15th chapter of his *Sefer ha-Musar* (*Yore deʿa*), which he wrote in 1332 in Valencia (Abrahams 1926, I, p. 154, ll. 6–12): "The Jews despise and neglect the *Moreh* nowadays, despite the fact that this book only aims at adducing proofs for the existence of God and His unity. The Christians hold it in high esteem and have translated it, not to mention

the Muslims in Fez and other areas who established there study groups (*midrashot*) to read the *Guide* with Jewish savants" (cf. *ibid.*, pp. 149f.).

Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī Ibn Ṭaybughā (d. 793/1391?) refers in his commentary on *Mishne Tora, Sefer ha-Madda*ʿ, *Hilkhot Yesode Ha-Tora,* I–IV several times to the *Dalāla* (Schwarb, Ibn Ṭaybughā). For Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn Khaldūn see Pines 1970. Around 1430, Simon b. Ṣemaḥ Durān (רשב"ץ) wrote in his *Maghen Avoth* that Muslim scholars (*piqḥehem*) spoke approvingly of the *Dalāla*, except for the prophetology (Munk 1842).

At the beginning of the 19th century, the eminent Zaydī scholar Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Shawkānī (d. 1839) polemicised against Maimonides' 'denial of resurrection' in his *Irshād al-thiqāt* (Shawkānī 1975; Fenton 1995) and described him as "that cursed, heretic Jew" (*dhālika al-yahūdī al-malʿūn al-zindīq*); see above nn. 18, 44.

On the dissemination and reception of Maimonides' medical works in the non-Jewish Arabic world there exists no detailed study so far. In the general introduction to *The Complete Medical Works of Moses Maimonides* (Bos 2002, pp. xxiv-xxxix) this question remains altogether unconsidered. The *Sharḥ asmāʾ al-ʿaqqār* (Maimonides 1940), for example, was only known in Arabic script. For sporadic information about the dissemination of Maimonides' medical works in non-Jewish circles, see *GAL*, *GAS*, vol. 3 (see above), Ullmann (1970, pp. 167–169, 348 [*Addendum*], and 356 [indices]) and the catalogues of the relevant manuscript collections, for example, Şeşen 1984, pp. 92–95, no. 64; Karabulut 2005, vol. 3, pp. 1603f., no. 5474 (which list as no. 7 a *Risāla fī dhikri umūr*^{in} *allatī yalzamu an yaqdira ʿalayhā al-ṭabīb*, Ms. İstanbul Üniversitesi, no. 4917/2, ff. 36–43); Serikoff 2005, pp. 173–175, WMS 425/1 (fols. 1a-31b; date: 1090/1679: *al-Maqāla fī tadbīr al-ṣiḥḥa al-afḍaliyya*); Savage-Smith 2011, pp. 15–18 (*Sharḥ fuṣūl Abuqrāṭ*), 401–405 (*K. al-fuṣūl fī al-ṭibb*), 424–426 (*Risāla fī al-jimāʿ*), 488–492 (*Maqāla fī bayān baʿḍ al-aʿrāḍ wa-al-jawāb anhā=al-Maqāla al-afḍaliyya*), 544–546 (*Risāla fī al-bawāsīr*), 575–578 (*Maqāla/Risāla fī tadbīr al-ṣiḥḥa al-afḍaliyya*), 718–721 (*Maqāla fī al-sumūm wa-al-mutaḥarriz min al-adwiya al-qattāla=al-Maqāla al-fāḍiliyya*), 832 (Appendix II: Concordance by author); Arberry 1962, p. 6, no. 4014f.; Ḥaddad & Biesterfeldt 1984, pp. 45, 78–80, no. 13, 45f. For Maimonides' personal copy of Ibn Sīnā's *Qānūn*, see Endress 2006, p. 389, n. 60.

Appendix 2: A Synopsis of *Tiryāq al-ʿuqūl* (ch. 4), *Khulāṣat al-īmān al-masīḥī* (ch. 5), and *Dalālat al-ḥāʾirīn* (III:32)

ترياق العقول في علم الأصول [Ms. Vatican, BAV, ar. 105, fols. 23^{r}:20–24^{v}:18]	**خلاصة الإيمان المسيحي** [Ms. Vatican, BAV, ar. 105, fols. 71^{v}:21–75^{r}:5]
الفصل الرابع في تعليل الاتصال بناسوت المسيح	**الفصل الخامس في بيان وجه الحكمة فيما يستلزم ظاهره الشناعات من وصف المسيح بالإلهية وبقبول الآلام** [٧٢و]
فإن قيل: فما وجه الحكمة والسياسة والتدبير بما استلزم ظاهره من الشناعات من وصفه تعالى بالاتصال بناسوت المسيح المعبَّر عنه تارةً بالحلول وتارةً بالاتحاد. [٢٣ظ]	فإن قيل: فما وجه الحكمة والسياسة في التدبير بما استلزم ظاهره الشناعات، ويحتاج من البحث وتدقيق النظر إلى ما يفوق طاقة البشر.
قلت: الجواب عن ذلك من ثلاثة أوجه: الأول مراعاته تعالى للطبيعة البشرية في نقلها من التعبّد لغيره من المخلوقات إلى عبادته بتدريج واجتذابها بالمألوف المعتاد لا بالمنافي الغريب كما شهر من لطيف حكمته وسياسته في جميع براياه.	فقلت: الجواب عن ذلك من ثلاثة أوجه: الأول مراعاته تعالى للطبيعة الإنسانية في سياستها ونقلها من التعبد لغيره إلى عبادته بتدريج واجتذابها بالمألوف المعتاد، لا بالمنافي الغريب.
وقبل الشروع في إثبات ذلك ينبغي أن نقدّم مقدمة من جواب غيرنا عن مثله، لنُعين على فهمه كما ينبغي. وذلك أنه، لما سأل بعض اليهود كبير أحبارهم بمصر قائلا: وإذا كان الباري تعالى كاملاً من جميع الجهات وغير متأثّرٍ ولا منفعلٍ ولا محتاج إلى شيءٍ البتة، فما وجه الحكمة في أمره لنا بذبح الحيوانات وتقتير الشحوم ورفع القرابين وغير ذلك مما افترضه علينا من خدمٍ مخصوصةٍ وتعبّداتٍ مخصوصةٍ في أوقاتٍ معينة وهو غني عن جميع ذلك؟	وقبل الشروع في إثبات ذلك كما ينبغي يتوجه علينا أن نقدم مقدمة من جواب غيرنا عن مثله من سياسة الخالق تعالى، لنُعين على فهمه كما يجب. وذلك أنه، لما سأل بعض اليهود **الرئيس موسى ابن ميمون، كبير أحبارهم ومتولّي الرئاسة عليهم بالدّيار المصرية**، وقال: وما الحاجة بذبح الحيوانات وتقتير الشحوم وغير ذلك مع غناء الباري تعالى عن أمثالها.
فقال مجاوبًا له: لو نظرت، يا هذا، نظرًا ثاقبًا إلى جميع أفعاله تعالى وسياسته لكل واحدٍ من المخلوقات بحسب ما تقتضيه طبيعته وشكله ومزاجه المخصوص،	**دلالة الحائرين**، الفصل الثاني والثلاثون من الجزء الثالث إذا تأمّلت الأفعال الإلهية، أعني الأفعال الطبيعية، يبيّن لك منها تلطُّف الإله وحكمته في خلق الحيوان وتدرُّج حركات الأعضاء ومجاورة بعضها لبعض. وكذلك	قال الرئيس موسى مجاوبًا له: إذا نظرت إلى الأفعال الإلهية وفعلها في سياسة الأمور الطبيعية، فسوف تقف على لطيف حكمته تعالى في التعبّد بمثل ذلك.

لوقفت على لطيف حكمته تعالى في التعبّد له بمثل ذلك: أوّل ذلك في خلق الحيوان وتدبير حركات أعضائه ومجاورة بعضها لبعضٍ وكونه تعالى خلق مقدم الدماغ ليّنًا لينبت منه أعصابًا ليّنة تصلح أن تكون آلة للحس. ثم درّجه إلى اليبس قليلاً قليلاً حتى صار مؤخر الدماغ صُلبًا لينبت منه أعصاب صُلبة تصلح أن تكون آلة للحركات. ثم درّجها إلى الوثاقة قليلاً قليلاً لحاجة الأعضاء البعيدة إلى عصبٍ فيه فضل صلابه ليسلم في ممرّه من الآفات وليقدر على تحريك عضو أكبر، وقد كان تعالى قادرًا أن ينبت من الصُلب ليّنًا ومن اللّين صُلبًا ويجعل العصب اللين الرخو لا ينقطع.

يتبيّن لك حكمته وتلطُّفه في تدريج حالات جملة الشخص، حالة بعد حالة. مثال ذلك في تدريج حركاته ومجاورة الأعضاء الدماغ: مقدّمه ليّن كثير اللّيْن ومؤخّره أصلب والنخاع أصلب منه. وكلما امتدّ صلب. والعصب هو آلة الحسّ والحركة. فالعصب الذي احتيج إليه في إدراك الحواسّ فقط، أو في حركة يسيرة المأونة، كحركة الجفن والخدّ أُنشئ من الدماغ. والعصب الذي احتيج إليه في تحريك الأعضاء أُخرج من النخاع. ولما لم يمكن في العصبة للّيْنها، ولو النخاعية أن تُحرّك مفصلاً تُلطّف في ذلك بأن لُيّفت العصبة، ومُلئ ذلك الليف لهما، وصارت عَضلة. ثم تخلّصت العصبة من طرف العضلة وهي قد صلبت، وقد خالطها شظايا من الرباط، وتصير وترًا، ويتّصل الوتر بالعظم ويلزق به، وحينئذ تقدر العصبة أن تُحرّك العضو على هذا التدريج.

وإنما ذكرت لك هذا المثال الواحد لكونه أظهر تلك العجائب التي بُيّنت في منافع الأعضاء التي هي كلها واضحة بيّنة معلومة لمن تأمّلها بذهن ذكي.

أول ذلك خلق الحيوان وتدبير حركات أعضائه ومجاورة بعضها لبعضٍ وكونه تعالى خلق مقدم الدماغ ليّنًا لينبت منه أعصاب ليّنة تصلح للحس. ثم درّجهُ إلى اليبس قليلاً قليلاً حتى صار مؤخر الدماغ صُلبًا لينبت منه أعصاب صُلبة تصلح أن تكون آلة للحركات. ثم درّجها إلى الصلابة قليلاً قليلاً لحاجة الأعضاء البعيدة والكبيرة الحجم إلى عصبٍ فيه فضل صلابه ليسلم في ممره من الآفات ويقدر على تحريك عضو كبير، وقد كان قادرًا أن ينبت من الصُلب ليّنًا ومن اللين صُلبًا ويجعل العصب اللين الرخو لا ينقطع.

وكذلك في تدبير غذاء الأطفال، فجعله أولاً ليّنًا معتدلَ المزاج رطبهُ ليكون موافقًا لرطوبة أمزجتهم. ثم نقلهم إلى الأغذية اليابسة بتدريج بحسب انتقال أمزجتهم، وكذلك فعل في تعاقب فصول السنة [٢٤و] إذ جعلها متنقلة بعضها إلى

وكذلك تلطّف الإله في كل شخص من أشخاص الحيوان الذي يرضع لكونه عندما يولد في غاية اللين. ولا يمكن أن يغتذي بغذاء يابس، فاعدّت له الثديان لتوليد اللبن ليغتذي بغذاء رطب قريب من مزاج أعضائه حتى تجفّ وتصلب أعضاؤه أوّلاً أوّلاً على تدريج. وبمثل هذا التدبير بعينه، ومن ذلك

وكذلك فعل في تدبير غذاء الأطفال فجعله أولاً ليّنًا معتدل المزاج رطبه ليكون موافقًا لرطوبة أمزجتهم. ثم نقلهم إلى الأغذية اليابسة بتدريج بحسب انتقال أمزجتهم من اللين إلى الصلابة، وكذلك فعل في تعاقب فصول السنة، إذ

بعضٍ بتدريج حكمي يليق بطبائع الحيوان كله [!]، إذ النُقلة من الضدّ إلى الضدّ دفعةً مع بقاء الطبائع على حالها غير ممكن في طبائعها،
فكذلك لا يتسع بحسب طبيعة البشر النقلة عن المألوف المعتاد إلى المنافي الغريب دفعةً.

وذلك أنه، لما كانت السيرة المشهورة في العالم كله التي نشأنا عليها وألفتها النفوس وأنست إليها الطبائع هي تقريب الحيوانات في تلك الهياكل المصوّرة المصنوعة للأفلاك والكواكب والسجود لتلك الصور وإطلاق البخور بين يديها وإقامة النساك لخدمتها، لم تقتضي [!] حكمته تعالى وتلطّفه الظاهر في خلقه عند الرجوع إلى عبادته أن يشرع لنا شريعة تقتضي رفع هذه العبادات كلها، إذ كان ذلك مما لا يتصوّر

المُدبِّر جل وعلا، جاءت أشياء كثيرة في شريعتنا. وذلك أنه لا يمكن الخروج من الضدّ إلى الضدّ دفعةً. فلذلك لا يتّسع بحسب طبيعة الإنسان أن يترك كل ما ألفه دفعةً.

فلما بعث משה רבנו ليجعلنا מַמְלֶכֶת כֹּהֲנִים וְגוֹי קָדוֹשׁ بمعرفته تعالى، كما بيّن، وقال: אַתָּה הָרְאֵתָ לָדַעַת וגו׳, וְיָדַעְתָּ הַיּוֹם וַהֲשֵׁבֹתָ אֶל־לְבָבֶךָ וגו׳, ولننقطع لعبادته كما قال: וּלְעָבְדוֹ בְּכָל־לְבַבְכֶם. وقال: וַעֲבַדְתֶּם אֵת יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם, وقال וְאֹתוֹ תַעֲבֹדוּ.

وكانت السيرة المشهورة في العالم كله المألوفة حينئذ والعبادة العامّة التي نشأنا عليها، إنما كانت تقريب أنواع الحيوان في تلك الهياكل التي تُقام فيها الصور والسجود لها وإطلاق البخور بين يديها، والعُبّاد والنُسّاك إنما كانوا حينئذ الأقوام المنقطعين لخدمة تلك الهياكل المعمولة للكواكب كما بيّنا، لم يقتض حكمته تعالى وتلطُّفه البيّن في جميع مخلوقاته أن يشرعنا برفض هذه أنوع العبادات كلها، وتركها وإبطالها، لأن هذا كان حينئذ ما لا يتصوّر قبوله بحسب طبيعة الإنسان التي تأنس أبدًا للمألوف.
وكأن يكون مثال هذا حينئذ مثل ما

جعلها متنقلة بعضها إلى بعض بتدريج حكمي يليق بطبائع الحيوانات كلها، [٧٢ظ] إذ النقلة من الضدّ إلى الضدّ دفعةً تعمل في فساد أمزجتها، وإذا كان الخروج من الضدّ إلى الضدّ دفعةً مع بقاء الطبائع على حالها غير ممكن في طباعها، فكذلك لا يتسع بحسب طبيعة الإنسان أن ينتقل عن المألوف المعتاد إلى المنافي الغريب دفعةً.

وذلك أنه، لما كانت السيرة المشهورة في العالم كله المألوفة التي نشأنا عليها هي تقريب الحيوانات في تلك الهياكل المصوّرة والسجود لها وإطلاق البخور بين أيديها وإقامة النساك لخدمتها، أعني الهياكل المعمولة للكواكب كما بيّنا، لم تقتضي [!] حكمته تعالى وتلطّفه الظاهر في خلقه عند الرجوع إلى عبادته أن يشرع لنا شريعة تقتضي رفع هذه العبادات كلها، إذ كان ذلك مما لا يتصوّر قبوله بحسب طبيعة

قبوله بحسب طبيعة البشر.	لو جاء نبي في هذه الأزمنة يدعو لعبادة الله ويقول: قد شرعكم الله بأن لا تصلّوا له ولا تصوموا ولا تستغيثوا له عند مُلِمّة، وإنما تكون عبادتكم فكرة دون عمل أصلا.	الإنسان.
فلذلك أبقى الله أنواع العبادات مثل بنيان الهياكل وتصويرها وتشكلها وإطلاق البخور وذبح الحيوانات وتقدمة القرابين وغير ذلك ونقلها من كونها للمخلوقات ولأشكال لا حقيقة لها إلى اسمه تعالى، ليُسهل انعطافنا إليه بواسطة الأشياء المألوفة عندنا من العبادات.	فلذلك أبقى تعالى تلك أنواع العبادات ونقلها من كونها لمخلوقات ولأمور خيالية لا حقيقة لها لاسمه تعالى، وأمرنا بفعلها له تعالى، فأمرنا ببنيان هيكل له וְעָשׂוּ לִי מִקְדָּשׁ وأن يكون المذبح لاسمه מִזְבַּח אֲדָמָה תַּעֲשֶׂה־לִּי وأن يكون القربان له אָדָם כִּי־יַקְרִיב מִכֶּם קָרְבָּן לַיהוָה والسجود له والبخور بين يديه، ونهى أن يفعل شيء من هذه الأفعال لغيره זֹבֵחַ לָאֱלֹהִים יָחֳרָם וגו׳, כִּי לֹא תִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה לְאֵל אַחֵר. وأفرد כהנים لخدمة المقدس وقال וְכִהֲנוּ לִי, ولزم أن تُفرَض لهم حقوق، ولا بد تكفيهم لاشتغالهم بالبيت وقد ابينه، وهي حقوق اللויים والכהנים. فحصل بهذا التلطّف الإلهي أن امتحى ذكر עבודה זרה وثبتت القاعدة الكبرى الحقيقية في اعتقادنا، وهي وجود الإله ووحدانيته، ولم تنفر الأنفس ولا استوحشت بتعطيل العبادات التي ألفت، ولم يُعلم ثم عبادة سواها.	فلذلك أبقى الله أنواع العبادات ونقلها من كونها للمخلوقات ولأمور لا حقيقة لها إلى اسمه تعالى، فأمرنا ببنيان الهيكل وذبح الحيوانات ورفع البخور وإقامة الكهنة ليُسهل انعطافنا إليه بواسطة الأشياء المألوفة عندنا من العبادات.

The following passage is only fo250und in *K. Khulāṣat al-īmān al-masīḥī* and has no parallel in *K. Tiryāq al-ʿuqūl*

هذا آخر كلامه. وكذلك يقول المصنّف لهذا الكتاب، وكما نقلهم من شريعة عبادات الأوتان إلى عبادته تعالى بتدريج وبتوسط التعبّد له بتلك الأشياء المألوفة المشهورة عندهم، إذ الطبع البشري غير قابل للنقلة من المألوف المعتاد إلى المنافي الغريب دفعة.

Here follows a section of 575 words (Ms. Vatican, BAV, ar. 105, fols. 72b:17–73b:18) inserted into the quotation from the *Dalāla* (see above n. 129)

فصل. فإن قلت: وإذا كان هو الخالق تعالى للكلّ، فما الحاجة إلى أن يظهر لعبيده مثل هذا الظهور الداعي إلى الاستغراب والاستنكار وعظم الشناعة على القائلين به الموجب لذوي الفكرات السليمة الحيرة في الاستدلال على صحته كما ينبغي.
قلت: ليجذبهم بتوسط الأشياء المحسوسة المألوفة عندهم جاريًا على المعتاد من لطيف حكمته كما تقدم.

فإن قلت:

فإذا كانت القرابين والذبائح وإطلاق البخور وتقتير الشحوم وبنيان الهياكل وإقامة الكهنة وغير ذلك ليس هو بمقصودٍ لذاته، وإنما هو موصل إلى غيره فقط، أفهذه حيلة احتالها تعالى علينا لينال قصده الأول بتوسّط فعلى هذه الأمور كلها، وأيّ مانع منعه من أن يشرع لنا القصد المطلوب لذاته بغير واسطة ويجعل لنا قدرة على قبوله، ومسارعة إلى العمل به من غير حاجة إلى فعل هذه الأمور كلها.

وأنا أعلم أنه ستنفر نفسُك من هذا المعنى ضرورةً بأول خاطر ويعظم عليك هذا وتسألني بقلبك وتقول لي:
كيف تجيء أوامر ونواهٍ وأفعال عظيمة محرّرة جدًا مؤقّتة، وهي كلها غير مقصودة لذاتها، بل من أجل شيءٍ آخر، كأن هذا حيلة احتالها الله لنا، لينال قصده الأول.
وأي مانع عنده تعالى من تشريعنا بقصده الأول ويجعل لنا قدرة على قبول ذلك، ولا حاجة كانت لهذه التي زعمت أنها على جهة القصد الثاني.

فإن عطفت قائلا: أفما كان يمكن أن ينقل طباعهم إلى القبول لأوامر المرسلين؛ [٧٤و] أجبتك أولا بما أجاب به صاحب الدلالة لتلميذه جوابًا عن قوله.

وإذا كانت القرابين والذبائح وتقتير الشحوم وإقامة البيت وغير ذلك ليس هو مقصودًا لذاته، وإنما هو موصّل إلى غيره فقط، أفهذه حيلة احتالها تعالى علينا لينال قصده الأول بتوسّط فعل هذه الأمور كلها، وأيّ مانع منعه من أن يشرع لنا القصد المطلوب لذاته بغير واسطة ويجعل لنا قدرة على قبوله ومسارعة إلى العمل به من غير حاجة إلى فعل هذه الأمور كلها.

فاسمع جوابك الذي يزيل عن قلبك هذا المرض ويكشف لك حقيقة ما نبهتك عليه، وهو أن نصّ التوراة قد جاء في مثل هذه القصة سواء، وهو قوله: וְלֹא־נָחָם אֱלֹהִים דֶּרֶךְ אֶרֶץ פְּלִשְׁתִּים כִּי קָרוֹב הוּא וגו׳, וַיַּסֵּב אֱלֹהִים אֶת־הָעָם דֶּרֶךְ הַמִּדְבָּר יַם־סוּף.

قال مجيبًا له:
اسمع جوابك الذي يُزيل عن قلبك هذا المرض ويكشف لك حقيقة ما نبهتك عليه أولاً، وهو أن نصّ التوراة قد ورد في هذه القضية بعينها وهو قوله: ولم يسوقهم الله إلى طريق الفلسطينيين دفعةً، وأدار الله القوم.

فكما حيّر الله بهم عن الطريق الجادة التي هي المقصودة أوّلا من أجل توقع ما لا طاقة لأجسامهم به بحسب الطبع إلى طريق أخرى حتى يصح القصد الأول، كذلك فرض هذه الشرائع التي ذكرنا من أجل توقع ما لا طاقة للنفس بقبوله بحسب الطبع حتى يحصل القصد الأول.

ومعنى هذا الكلام أنه لم يسوقهم في الطريق المستقيم إلى تلك الأرض سريعًا، بل طاف بهم تائهين أربعين سنة لما تقتضيه حكمته، وهو توقع ما لا طاقة لهم به بحسب الطباع البشرية،

وهو إدراكه تعالى واطّراح עבודה זרה. فإنه كما أن ليس في طبيعة الإنسان أن يربّى على خدمة العبودية في الطين واللبن وما شابههما، ثم يغسل يديه من مرثتهما لحينه، ويحارب ילידי הענק دفعة. كذلك ليس طبعه أن يُربَّى على أنواع كثيرة جدًا من العبادات وأعمال مألوفة قد أنست بها النفس حتى صارت كالمعقول الأول فيتركها كلها دفعة، وكما تلطّف الإله بتحييرهم في البرية حتى تشجعت أنفسهم على ما قد علم من أن التبرّر وشعث الجسم يوجب الشجاعة، وضد ذلك يوجب الجبن. وولد أيضا قوم لم يألفوا الذل والعبودية. وكل ذلك كان بأوامر إلهية على يدي משה רבנו, עַל־פִּי יְהוָה יַחֲנוּ וְעַל־פִּי יְהוָה

إذ ليس يُسهَل على من تربّى في العبودية والذُلّ أن يغسل يديه من عمل اللبن ويتقدّم لحرب الجبابرة. وكذلك ليس في طبعه أن يُربَّى على أنواع كثيرة من العبادات وأفعال مألوفة قد أنست إليها النفوس حتى صارت كالمعقول الأول، ويُدْعَى إلى تركها دفعة. وكما تلطّف الإله في استدراجهم في البرية أربعين سنة حتى تشجعت نفوسهم بمشاهدة الآيات والعجائب وولد لهم أولاد لم يألفوا الذُلّ والعبودية فقدروا على قتال أولئك كما هو مشهور،

יִסָּעוּ אֶת־מִשְׁמֶרֶת יְהוָה שָׁמָרוּ עַל־פִּי יְהוָה בְּיַד־מֹשֶׁה.

كذلك جاءت هذه الجملة من الشرائع بلطف إلهي حتى يبقوا مع نوع العمل المعتاد كي يصح الاعتقاد الذي هو القصد الأول.

كذلك جاءت هذه الجملة من من الشرائع بسياسةٍ إلهية، وهو نقلهم من المعتاد إلى المعتاد لكي يصح القصد الأول الذي هو الاعتراف بربوبيته تعالى. [٧٤ظ]

وسؤالك أي مانع كان الله من تشريعنا بقصده الأول ويجعل لنا قدرةً على قبول ذلك؟ يلزمك بهذا السؤال الثاني: يقال لك: وأي مانع كان لله من أن يسلكهم דֶּרֶךְ אֶרֶץ פְּלִשְׁתִּים؟ ويجعل لهم قدرة لملاقات الحروب ولا حاجة لهذه الدورة יוֹמָם בְּעַמּוּד עָנָן לַנְחֹתָם הַדֶּרֶךְ וְלַיְלָה בְּעַמּוּד אֵשׁ לְהָאִיר לָהֶם.

وكذا يلزمك سؤال ثالث عن سبب تفصيل الوعد والوعيد على جملة الشريعة، ويقال لك: إذ وقصد الله الأول وإرادته هو أن نعتقد هذه الشريعة ونعمل أعمالها لأي شيء لم يجعل لنا قدرة على قبول ذلك دائمًا، والعمل به، ولا يحتال لنا بأن ينعم علينا أن أطعناه وينتقم منّا أن عصيناه، ويفعل تلك النعم كلها وتلك النقم كلها. فإن هذه أيضا حيلة احتالها لنا حتّى ينال منّا قصده الأول، وأي مانع عنده من أن يجعل إتيان أعمال الطاعة تاتي أرادها واجتناب المعاصي التي كرهها طبيعة مركوزة فينا.

فإن عطفت عليّ قائلا: وإذا كان قصد الله وإرادته هو أن نعتقد هذه الشريعة ونعمل أعمالها فلأيّ شيء لم يجعل لنا قدرة على قبول ذلك دائمًا، وأيّ مانع منعه من أن نجعل أعمال الطاعة المطلوبة منّا مركوزة في طباعنا من غير حاجة إلى التمسّك بهذه الجزئيات كلها؛

قلت:

أجبتك بما يُزيل عن قلبك هذا المرض ويكشف لك حقيقة ما نبهتك عليه أولاً، وهو أن فعل المعجزات كلها، وإن كان محصورًا

الجواب عن هذه الأسئلة الثلثة، وكل ما هو من قبيلها جواب واحد عامّ، وهو أن المعجزات كلها، وإن كانت تغيُّر طبيعة موجود من أشخاص الموجودات، فإن طبيعة

الجواب عن هذه المسائل وجميع ما هو من نوعها جواب واحد عامّ للكل، وهو أن فعل المعجزات كلها، وإن كان محصورًا

في تغيير طبائع المخلوقات عن عاداتها، فإن طبيعة البشر لا يغيرها الله بوجهٍ على جهة المعجز[٢٤ظ].

لا لأنّ ذلك يعتاص عليه تعالى، لكنّه ما شاء قط هذا ولا يشاؤه بحسب القواعد الشرعية، إذ لو تغيرت طبيعة البشر، لبطلت الشرائع وإرسال الرسل، لأنها إنما شرعت لذلك المزاج المخصوص. لكن المألوف المعتاد من حكمته تعالى هو التلطّف في سياستهم من حيث تقتضيه طباع البشر، وإن كنت ذاكرًا لجميع أجزاء الشريعة، فإنك ستجد الأمر الصادر عنه تعالى جاريًا على هذا النظام حتى في الاستدلال على وجوده. فإنه حيث علم تعالى أنهم لا يعتمدون في تحقيق وجود الأشياء إلا على الحواس أرشدهم إلى وجوده بتخييل الجسمانية، وإلى أنه حي بتخييل الحركة، إذ لم يَرَ الجمهور شيئًا متمكّن الوجود لا ريب فيه إلا الجسم. وأما ما ليس بجسم ولا في جسم فليس هو عندهم موجود البتّة في بادي النظر الإنساني.
ولذلك وصفته الشريعة

أشخاص الناس لا يغيرها الله بوجه على جهة المعجز، ومن أجل هذا الأصل العظيم قال: מי יתן והיה לבבם זה להם וג׳? ومن أجل هذا جاء الأمر والنهي والجزاء والعقاب. وقد بيّنّا هذه القاعدة بدلائلها في عدة مواضع من تآليفنا. وما قلنا هذا من أجل أنّا نعتقد أن تغيّر طبيعة أحد أشخاص الناس معتاص عليه تعالى، بل ذلك ممكن واقع تحت القدرة لكنه ما شاء قط فعل هذا ولا يشاءه أبدًا بحسب القواعد الشرعية التوراتية. ولو كان من مشيئته تغيّر طبيعة كل شخص من الناس لما يريده تعالى من ذلك الشخص لبطل بعثة الأنبياء والتشريع كله.

[for the remainder cf. *Dalāla* I:46]

لمّا دعت الضرورة لإرشادهم أجمعين لوجوده تعالى، وأن له الكمالات كلها، اعني أنّه ليس موجودًا فقط، كما الأرض موجودة والسماء موجودة، بل موجودًا حيًا عالمًا قادرًا فاعلاً وسائر ما ينبغي أن يعتقد في وجوده وسيبين ذلك. فأرشدت الأذهان لأنّه موجود بتخيل الجسمانية، ولأنّه حيّ بتخيل الحركة، إذ لا يرى الجمهور شيئًا متمكّن الوجود صحيحًا، لا ريب فيه، إلاّ الجسم، وكل [...] ما ليس بجسم ولا في جسم، فليس هو شيئًا موجودًا بوجه في بادئ تصوّر الإنسان.
[...]

في تغيير طبائع المخلوقات عن عوائدها، فإن طبائع البشر لا يغيرها الله بوجهٍ على جهة المعجز

لا لأن ذلك بمعتاص عليه تعالى، لكنّه ما شاء قط فعل هذا ولا يشاؤه بحسب القواعد الشرعية، إذ لو تغيرت طبائع البشر، لبطلت الشرائع وإرسال الرسل والأنبياء.
لكن المألوف المعتاد من حكمته تعالى التلطّف في سياستهم من حيث تقتضيه الطباع البشرية، لا بغير ذلك. وإن كنت ذاكرًا لجميع أجزاء الشريعة، فإنك ستجد الأمر الصادر عنه تعالى جاريًا على هذا النظام حتى في الاستدلال على وجوده. فإنه حيث علم تعالى أنهم لا يعتمدون في وجود الأشياء إلا على حواسّهم، أرشد الأذهان إلى وجوده بتخييل الجسمانية، وإلى أنه حي بتخييل الحركة إذ لم يَرَ الجمهور شيئًا متمكّن الوجود صحيحًا لا ريب فيه إلا الجسم. وأما ما ليس بجسم ولا في جسم فليس هو عندهم شيء موجود البتّة في بادي التصوّر الإنساني.
ولذلك وصفته الشريعة

بأوصاف الأجسام ولوازم الإنسانية فوصفته من حيث هو ناطق بآلات الكلام ومن حيث هو حي بتخييل الحركة ومن حيث هو سميع بصير بآلات السمع والبصر قصدًا في الإرشاد بهذه الاستعارات إلى أنه تعالى موجود، حي، فاعل لجميع ما سواه. ولهذا، لمّا سألوا موسى سماع كلام الباري تعالى لتطمأن قلوبهم بوجوده، أسمعهم الخطاب بالعشرة كلمات. ثم قال لموسى: كذلك تقول لآل يعقوب: إنّكم قد رأيتم الآن من كلمكم من السماء، فلا تصنعوا لكم آلهةً من ذهبٍ ولا من فضّةٍ، أيّ قد وجب عليكم أن تستدلوا من وجود الخطاب على وجود المخاطِب، وإن تتمسّكوا بوصاياه وتعرضون عن التعبد لجميع ما سواه.
هذا آخر كلامه.

فيكون إرشاد تلك الاستعارات كلّها للتقرير عندنا أن ثم موجودًا حيًا فاعلاً لكلّ ما سواه.

וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל־מֹשֶׁה כֹּה תֹאמַר אֶל־בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אַתֶּם רְאִיתֶם כִּי מִן־הַשָּׁמַיִם דִּבַּרְתִּי עִמָּכֶם: לֹא תַעֲשׂוּן אִתִּי אֱלֹהֵי כֶסֶף וֵאלֹהֵי זָהָב לֹא תַעֲשׂוּ לָכֶם: [שמות כ, כב-כג]

بأوصاف الأجسام ولوازم الإنسانية فوصفته من حيث هو ناطق بآلات الكلام ومن حيث هو حي بتخييل الحركة ومن حيث هو سميع بصير مدرك بآلات ذلك، قصدًا في الإرشاد بهذه الاستعارات كلها إلى أنه تعالى موجود حي فاعل لكل ما سواه. ولهذا، لمّا سألوا موسى سماع كلام الباري تعالى لتُطمأن القلوب بوجوده [٧٥و] وأسمعهم الخطاب بالعشرة كلمات. قال الله لموسى: كذلك تقول لآل يعقوب: إنكم قد رأيتم الآن من كلمكم من السماء، فلا تعملوا لكم آلهة من فضّةٍ ولا ذهبٍ، أيّ فقد وجب عليكم أن تستدلوا من وجود الخطاب على وجود المخاطِب وتتمسّكون بوصاياه وتعرضون عمّا سواه كما ينبغي.
هذا آخر كلامه.

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Gregor Schwarb

Eine maimonidische Trinitätslehre?

Zur Maimonidesrezeption in der koptisch-arabischen Literatur*

► Ayyūbiden ► Fatimiden ► Genisa ► Ibn al-ʿAssāl ► Kopten ► Mischna ► Rabbinisch ► Sabäer ► Zoroastrianism

Die Werke Maimonides': Sprache und Schrift

Maimonides schrieb seine philosophisch-theologischen Schriften in arabischer Sprache. Wie die meisten seiner jüdischen Zeitgenossen notierte er diese Texte in hebräischen Lettern. Sie richteten sich an jüdische Leser arabischer Muttersprache. In aller Regel handelte es sich dabei um Männer, die von Kindesbeinen an im Rahmen einer soliden religiösen Grundausbildung in die hebräische Schrift eingeführt worden waren. Die arabischen Schriftzeichen beherrschten sie dagegen oft nur passiv.[1]

Aus der Genisa der Ibn Ezra Synagoge in Fusṭāṭ-Miṣr (Alt-Kairo) und der Privatbibliothek seines Ururenkels David b. Joshuʿa (gest. 1415) in Aleppo sind uns von Maimonides mehrere Dutzend Holografen, d. h. Originalschriftstücke aus seiner Hand, erhalten geblieben.[2]

* Dies ist eine geringfügig überarbeitete Fassung eines am 9. Juni 2013 im Jüdischen Museum Berlin gehaltenen Vortrages. Eine detaillierte Darstellung der hier skizzierten Rezeption Maimonides' in der koptisch-arabischen Literatur findet sich in den folgenden Beiträgen: Gregor Schwarb, »Die Rezeption Maimonides' in der christlich-arabischen Literatur«. JUDAICA: Beiträge zum Verstehen des Judentums, 63 (2007), S. 1–45; ders., »The Reception of Maimonides in Christian Arabic Literature«. Y. Tobi (Hg.), Ben ʿEver la-ʿArav: Contacts between Arabic Literature and Jewish Literature in the Middle Ages and Modern Times. Volume 7: Maimonides and His World: Proceedings of the Twelfth Conference of the Society for Judaeo-Arabic Studies, Haifa: The University of Haifa, 2014, S. 109–175.

1 Judith Olszowy-Schlanger, Learning to Read and Write in Medieval Egypt: Children's Exercise Books from the Cairo Geniza, in: *Journal of Semitic Studies,* 48, 1 (2003), S. 47–69.

2 Colette Sirat/Silvia Di Donato, Maïmonide et les brouillons autographes du Dalâlat al-ḥâ'irîn (Guide des Égarés). Paris 2011; Solomon David Sasson, A Comprehensive Study of the Autograph Manuscript of Maimonides' Commentary on the Mishnah, Jerusalem 1990; Simon Hopkins, A New Autograph Fragment of Maimonides's Epitomes of Galen (De Locis Affectis), BSOAS 57, 1994, S. 126–132.

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Abb. 1: Holograf (Schriftstück in Maimonides' eigener Handschrift) eines Entwurfs des »Führers der Unschlüssigen«, Teil I, Schluss des Kapitels 64 und Anfang des Kapitels 65 (Quelle: Cambridge University Library, T–S 10Ka4.1, f. 1^{v})

Einen Spezialfall bilden die medizinischen Werke Maimonides'. Auch diese hat er in arabischer Sprache und hebräischer Schrift verfasst. Einige davon entstanden jedoch als Auftragsschriften für Exponenten der muslimisch-ayyūbidischen Obrigkeit in Kairo und mussten so vor der Übergabe an den Auftraggeber von einem speziell für solche Zwecke ausgebildeten Schreiber der jüdischen Gemeinde in die arabische Schrift transponiert werden. Diese Schriften zirkulierten gewissermaßen von Geburt an in nichtjüdischen Kreisen.

Wie aber kam es, dass auch die arabischen Originale seiner nicht-medizinischen Schriften und insbesondere seiner religionsphilosophischen Haupt-

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Abb. 2: Titelseite einer Abschrift des Führers (»Führer der Unschlüssigen und Wegmarkierung für jene, die unterwegs sind« – Kitāb Dalālat al-ḥā'irīn wa-talḥīb manāhiğ as-sā'irīn) in der Handschrift des jemenitischen Zayditen Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Nihmī, Ṣa'da (Jemen), 882–3 A.H./1477–9 C.E. (Quelle: Istanbul, Jārullāh [Efendi] 1279, f. 189ᵛ. Foto © Süleymaniye Yazme Eser Kütüphanesi, Istanbul)

schrift »Dalālat al-ḥā'irīn« (»Führer der Unschlüssigen«) von nicht-jüdischen (christlichen und muslimischen) Lesern rezipiert werden konnten? Ein Erklärungsansatz ist wohl bekannt: Mehrere Dokumente belegen, dass schon sehr bald nach der Vollendung des Textes im Jahre 1190 Handschriften in arabischer Schrift im Umlauf waren.

Bis vor kurzem ist die Möglichkeit einer nichtjüdischen Rezeption des »Führers der Unschlüssigen« an die Existenz solcher Abschriften in arabischer Schrift geknüpft worden. Ein alternativer Erklärungsansatz, wonach

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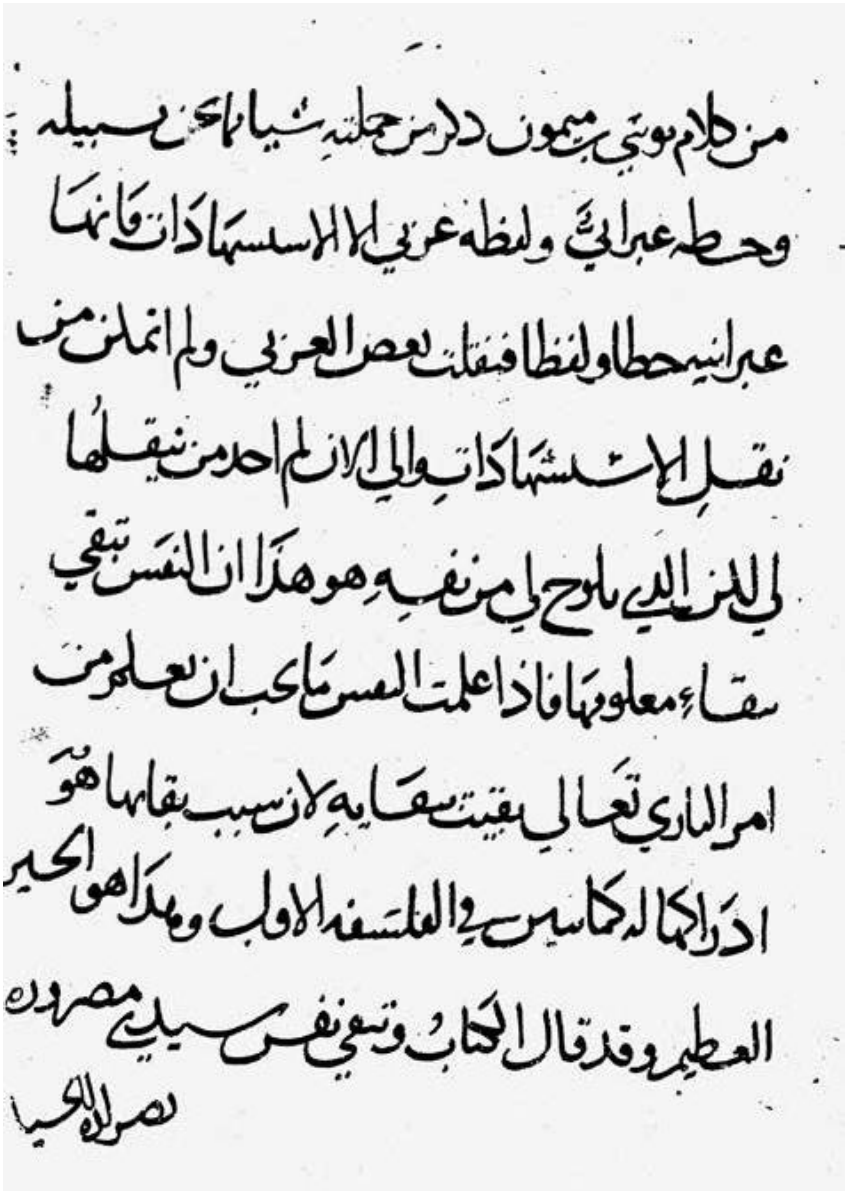

Abb. 3: Ausschnitt aus dem »Traktat über die Seele« (April – Mai 1231) des Kopten al-As'ad Abū l-Farağ Hibatullāh (gest. vor 1259) mit einem Zitat aus Maimonides' Kommentar zum zehnten Kapitel (Pereq Ḥeleq) des Mischna-Traktats Sanhedrin (Quelle: Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, arab. 145, f. 4^{v}. Foto © 2014 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana)

es durchaus auch nichtjüdische Leser gab, die in ausreichender Weise mit dem hebräischen Alphabet vertraut waren, um arabische Texte in hebräischer Schrift lesen zu können, wurde in der bisherigen Forschung als äußerst unwahrscheinlich verworfen. Interessanterweise führt uns jedoch genau dieses Szenario zum frühesten bisher bekannten Beleg einer christlich-arabischen Rezeption Maimonides'.

Er findet sich in einem noch unveröffentlichten »Traktat über die Seele« aus dem Jahre 1231, der in einem Unikat der Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana vorliegt (Ar. 145). Al-As'ad Abū l-Faraj Hibatullāh Ibn al-'Assāl, der Autor die-

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ser kleinen Schrift, entstammte einer einflussreichen Familie der koptischen Aristokratie im ayyūbidischen Kairo. In der Einleitung, in der er die ihm geläufigen Auffassungen über die Seele typologisch klassifiziert und zusammenfassend darstellt, schreibt er:

»Was die Juden betrifft, so begegnete ich im Jemen einem rabbinischen Juden und beobachtete, wie er sich über jene lustig machte, die an die Auferstehung aller Toten glaubten; dabei gäbe es doch im Alten Testament mehrere Textstellen, deren Wortsinn deutlich mache, dass nur rechtschaffene Menschen auferstehen würden. Zudem bin ich auf einen Text gestoßen, der Mūsā b. Maimūn (Maimonides) zugeschrieben wird, und Dinge betrifft, die zu unserem Thema gehören. Dieser Text ist in hebräischer (Schrift), jedoch in arabischer Sprache geschrieben, mit Ausnahme der Schriftzitate, deren Sprache Hebräisch ist. Ich habe einen Teil des arabischen Textes (in die arabische Schrift) transkribiert, war aber außerstande, die hebräischen Schriftzitate (ins Arabische) zu übersetzen und habe bisher auch niemanden gefunden, der sie für mich übersetzen würde.«

Bei besagtem Text, den der koptische Gelehrte offenbar während einer Reise in den Jemen zu Gesicht bekam, handelt es sich nicht etwa um einen Abschnitt aus dem »Führer der Unschlüssigen«. Vielmehr transkribierte er einen Ausschnitt aus Maimonides' berühmtem und ebenfalls auf Arabisch verfassten »Kommentar zur Mischna«, jener Schrift also, der auch der Wahlspruch der Akademie des Jüdischen Museums Berlin – »Höre die Wahrheit, wer sie auch spricht« (*wa-smaʿ al-ḥaqq mimman qālahu*) – entnommen ist.

Im selben Traktat über die Seele berichtet Ibn al-ʿAssāl auch von Gesprächen mit jemenitischen Juden. Diese hatten ihn auf eine Passage in einem Sendschreiben aufmerksam gemacht, welches Maimonides vierzig Jahre zuvor, also im Jahre 1191, an die jüdischen Gemeinden im Jemen gerichtet hatte.

Die Passage ist der berühmten »Abhandlung über die Auferstehung der Toten« (*Risāla/Maqāla fī tᵉḥiyyat ha-metim*) entnommen, die Bestandteil eines über Jahre anhaltenden Prestigekampfes zwischen Maimonides und Samuel b. ʿElī, dem Vorsteher der alten jüdischen Akademie in Bagdad, war. Letzterer hatte Maimonides der Leugnung der körperlichen Auferstehung bezichtigt, da diese in der »Mischne Tora« unerwähnt bleibt.

Die koptisch-arabische Kulturblüte des 13. Jahrhunderts

Al-Asʿad Ibn al-ʿAssāl, der Autor des »Traktats über die Seele«, gehörte, wie gesagt, einer prominenten Familie koptischer Geschäftsleute und Regierungsbeamter an. Die ʿAssāliden und weitere koptische Familien, welche in der

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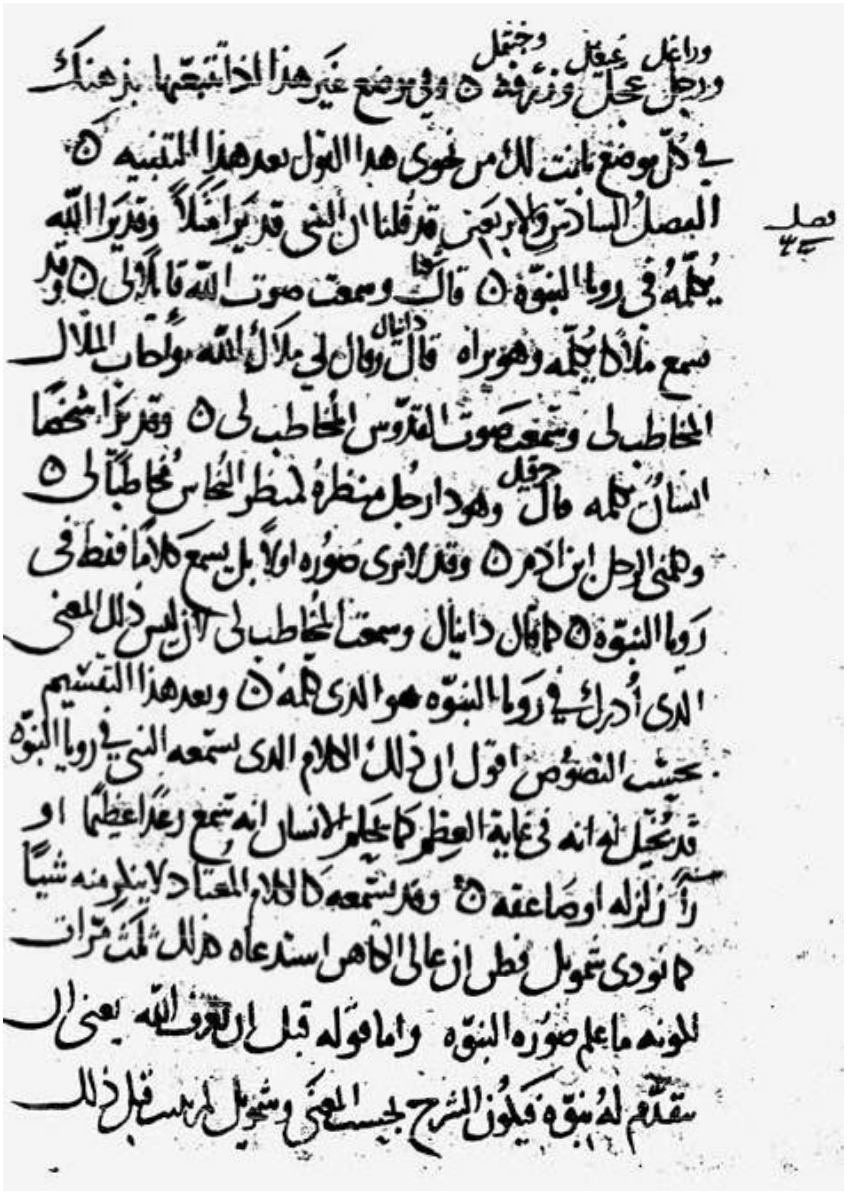

Abb. 4: Ausschnitt aus einer koptischen Kurzfassung des »Führers der Unschlüssigen«, Teil II, Ende des Kapitels 43 und Anfang des Kapitels 44 (Ende des Kapitels 45 und Anfang des Kapitels 46 gemäss der koptischen Zählung) (Quelle: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, arab. 205, f. 121v. Foto © BnF)

fāṭimidischen und ayyūbidischen Staatsadministration über mehrere Generationen hohe Ämter bekleidet hatten, waren Mäzene und treibende Kraft der im 13. Jahrhundert einsetzenden koptisch-arabischen Kulturblüte. Al-As'ad Ibn al-'Assāl und andere machten sich einen Namen als Bibliophile und Handschriftensammler. Zahlreiche Dokumente und Handschriftenkolophone belegen, dass sie keinen Aufwand scheuten, um an Abschriften seltener Texte heranzukommen. Insbesondere in Kairo, Alexandria und Damaskus entstanden zwischen 1220 und 1270 mehrere bedeutende Privatbibliotheken, deren Bestände nicht nur arabische Texte der diversen christ-

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lichen Gemeinschaften, sondern auch zahlreiche Werke namhafter jüdischer und muslimischer Autoren umfassten.

Es darf in diesem Zusammenhang daran erinnert werden, dass die Arabisierung der koptischen Literatur und des koptischen Klerus erst gegen Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts abgeschlossen war. Zwar gab es bereits im 8. Jahrhundert christliche Beamte, deren Zwei- oder Dreisprachigkeit (Griechisch-Koptisch-Arabisch) für die Funktionsfähigkeit der neuen muslimischen Verwaltungsadministration unverzichtbar waren; solange aber die koptischen Christen die klare Bevölkerungsmehrheit stellten, gab es keinen zwingenden Grund, die beiden bestehenden Kultursprachen (Griechisch und Koptisch) zugunsten der arabischen Schriftsprache aufzugeben.[3]

Die Arabisierung der ägyptischen Christen war ein langwieriger Prozess mit großen regionalen Unterschieden. In den städtischen Zentren geschahen die entscheidenden Entwicklungen im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert, als die koptische Sprache kontinuierlich an Boden verlor und größere Bestände koptischer Texte ins Arabische übersetzt wurden.

Der Abschluss dieser Übergangsphase war gleichzeitig Voraussetzung der koptisch-arabischen Kulturblüte und ihrer eigenständigen Rezeption der arabischen Bildungsliteratur, zu der auch die Werke jüdischer und muslimischer Autoren gehörten.

Die Rezeption der Schriften Maimonides' durch koptische Autoren des 13. Jahrhunderts war also Bestandteil einer umfassenderen kulturellen Öffnung, die sich unter anderem in der Aneignung einer neuen philosophisch-theologischen Diktion manifestierte.

Gelegentlich führte diese aufgeschlossene Haltung auch zu intensiven persönlichen Kontakten zwischen christlichen und jüdischen Gelehrten. Auch vereinzelte Übertritte gebildeter Juden zum koptischen Christentum hatten im Laufe des 13. Jahrhunderts zu einem verstärkten Kulturaustausch beigetragen.

Ar-Rašīd Abū l-Ḫayr Ibn aṭ-Ṭayyib

Zu den Exponenten der koptischen Kulturblüte im 13. Jahrhundert gehörte auch Abū l-Ḫayr Ibn aṭ-Ṭayyib. Er lebte in Damaskus, wo er als koptischer Priester, Arzt und Privatsekretär eines georgischen Christen wirkte. Einige wenige Dokumente mit Informationen zu seiner Person weisen darauf hin, dass er als spitzzüngiger Querdenker und Autor umstrittener Pamphlete wiederholt in Konflikt mit den politischen Behörden und der kirchlichen Obrigkeit geriet.

3 Arietta Papaconstantinou (Hg.), The Multilingual Experience in Egypt, from the Ptolemies to the Abbasids. Farnham, Ashgate 2010.

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Seine beiden Hauptwerke, welche für die koptische Rezeption der Schriften Maimonides' besonders interessant sind, können in die Zeit zwischen 1240 und 1260 datiert werden:

1) Das Gegengift der Vernunft im Bereich der Fundamentaltheologie oder die Enthüllung der dem Christentum zugrunde liegenden verborgenen Geheimnisse (*Tiryāq al-ʿuqūl fī ʿilm al-uṣūl al-musammā bi-Kašf al-asrār al-ḫafīya min asbāb al-Masīḥīya*)
2) Die Quintessenz des christlichen Glaubens und die Widerlegung der beiden Religionsgemeinschaften Islam und Judentum anhand ihrer Grundsätze und Fundamentallehren (*Ḫulāṣat muʿtaqad al-milla al-masīḥīya wa-'l-radd ʿalā ṭā'ifatay 'l-Islām wa-'l-Yahūdiyya min mawḍūʿātihim wa-uṣūl maḏāhibihim*).

Beide Werke, deren Edition der Autor dieser Zeilen zur Zeit vorbereitet, verfolgen ein ähnliches Ziel:

In der Einleitung zum »Gegengift der Vernunft« schreibt Abū l-Ḫayr:

»Mein Schirmherr und Gönner hat mich gebeten, für ihn eine kleine Abhandlung über die Grundlagen der Religion zu schreiben, in welcher die Glaubensgrundsätze der diversen christlichen Konfessionen dargestellt und deren Aussagen zur christlichen Glaubenswahrheit bewiesen werden sollen. Er hat mich zudem gebeten, mich zu einigen Punkten zu äußern, nach denen sich ein Repräsentant der muslimischen Obrigkeit erkundigt hatte, der gerne verstehen möchte, was die Christen mit der Formel ›Einheit der Substanz und Dreiheit der Hypostasen‹[4] meinen und wie es zulässig sein könne, dass Christus (dem Messias) das Attribut der Göttlichkeit beigefügt wird, wo doch die Indizien seiner Menschlichkeit so deutlich und klar seien. – Ich habe seinen Anweisungen Folge geleistet und alles mir Mögliche getan, um seinem Wunsch zu genügen.«

Gemäß der Einleitung zur zweiten Schrift, der »Quintessenz des christlichen Glaubens«, soll sich eine Gruppe muslimischer und jüdischer Gelehrter mit der Bitte an ihn gewandt haben,

»all das festzuhalten, was er zum Wesenskern des christlichen Glaubens an einen Schöpfergott sagen kann, und zu erklären, was die Christen mit der Glaubensformel ›Einer ist er‹ (*innahu wāḥid*[un]) meinen, wenn sie doch gleichzeitig die Formel ›der Vater, der Sohn und der Heilige Geist‹ verwenden, und wie es für Christen akzeptabel sein könne, Christus das Attribut der Göttlichkeit beizufügen, wo er doch ein Mensch sei, gebo-

4 *tawḥīd al-ǧawhar wa-taṯlīṯ al-aqānīm* < μία οὐσία, τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις. Gemeint ist die trinitarische Formel, welche die kappadozischen Väter im späten vierten Jh. in Erwiderung auf die Doktrin des Neo-Arianers Eunomius von Cyzicus entwickelt hatten und welche dem miaphysitischen Glaubensbekenntnis der syrisch-orthodoxen und koptischen Kirche zugrunde liegt.

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ren von Maria, deren Genealogie wohl bekannt ist, und einer, der gemäß ihren eigenen Aussagen gegessen und getrunken hat, hungrig und durstig war, festgenommen und inhaftiert wurde, Schmerzen litt und gestorben ist, und so weiter und so fort.«

Die beiden Werke Ibn aṭ-Ṭayyib's ähneln sich nicht nur in ihrer Zielsetzung, sondern auch in ihrer Struktur. Einige Kapitel der »Quintessenz« sind wenig mehr als Kurzfassungen der Parallelkapitel im »Gegengift der Vernunft«. Beide Werke beginnen mit einem Kapitel zur christlichen Auffassung des Schöpfergottes. Ibn aṭ-Ṭayyib zufolge stimmt diese im Wesentlichen mit jener der Juden und Muslime überein. Diese Sichtweise wird dadurch verdeutlicht, dass sich das Kapitel weitgehend aus Zitaten jüdischer und muslimischer Werke zusammensetzt.

Die darauffolgenden Kapitel behandeln all jene Aspekte der christlichen Doktrin – Schriftzitate und theologische Lehrsätze –, welche die im ersten Kapitel verfochtene Einheit Gottes scheinbar beeinträchtigen: die trinitarische Formel, die Unvereinbarkeit von Christi Göttlichkeit und Menschlichkeit, Vaterschaft und Sohnschaft Gottes, Inkarnationslehre, die Vorstellung eines leidenden Gottes, und so weiter.

Den Grund dieser vermeintlichen Widersprüche erkennt Abū l-Khayr einerseits in der semantischen Unterbestimmtheit und Mehrdeutigkeit der christlichen Offenbarungstexte und andererseits im kulturellen Hintergrund der Adressaten dieser Texte. In der Einleitung zur »Quintessenz des christlichen Glaubens« betont er ausdrücklich, diese Erklärungsansätze in Büchern muslimischer und jüdischer Gelehrter gefunden zu haben, allen voran Faḫr aḍ-Dīn ar-Rāzī (st. 606/1210) und Maimonides.

Die Legitimität und Rationalität der christlichen Lehre ließe sich also mit Argumenten beweisen, deren Gültigkeit auch von den größten Lehrautoritäten des Judentums und des Islams bestätigt worden sei. Besonderes Gewicht wird dabei dem maimonidischen Akkommodationsprinzip beigemessen, wie es im dritten Teil des »Führers der Unschlüssigen« entwickelt wird.

Das maimonidische Akkommodationsprinzip

Im »Gegengift der Vernunft« und in der »Quintessenz des christlichen Glaubens« zitiert Abū l-Ḫayr längere Passagen aus den Kapiteln 26–49 des dritten Teils des »Führers der Unschlüssigen«, wobei nicht alle Zitate als solche gekennzeichnet sind. In diesen Kapiteln erklärt Maimonides Zweck und Funktion der gesetzlichen Bestimmungen der Tora aus den historischen Bedingungen und pädagogischen Bedürfnissen der ursprünglichen Adressaten, denen der gesetzgebende Gott in seiner gnädigen Klugheit Rechnung trug. In dieser

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›göttlichen Pädagogik‹ erkannte Maimonides die sekundäre Absicht der *lex dei*, während ihre eigentliche, primäre Absicht auf die Abschaffung der Idolatrie und die Erkenntnis Gottes abzielte.

Das Rational der göttlichen Pädagogik liegt nach Maimonides darin begründet, dass für Menschen eine abrupte und unvermittelte Abkehr von tief verwurzelten Angewohnheiten, Grundhaltungen, Gesinnungen oder Überzeugungen unmöglich sei. Der Mensch sei von Natur aus unfähig, seine Gewohnheiten auf einen Schlag aufzugeben. Deshalb, so fährt Maimonides fort, sei es das Ziel sämtlicher Gebote und Verbote, schritt- und stufenweise auf die Unterbindung der Idolatrie und all dessen hinzuwirken, was mit ihr in Verbindung steht, zu ihr hinführt oder ihr zugeschrieben werden kann. Der offensichtliche Nutzen der Gebote bestehe darin, den Menschen sukzessive von jenen ungesunden Praktiken und Ideen zu befreien und damit das Erreichen seines körperlichen und seelischen Idealzustandes zu fördern.

»Die Bedeutung vieler Gebote und der Grund ihrer Legislation wurde mir durch das Studium der Lehren, Meinungen und Praktiken der Sabäer einsichtig. Du wirst verstehen, was ich meine, wenn ich die Gründe jener Gebote erläutern werde, von denen gemeinhin angenommen wird, dass es keinen Grund für sie gibt. Ich werde Dich auf die Bücher hinweisen, aus denen Dir alles ersichtlich werden wird, was ich über die Lehren und Meinungen der Sabäer weiß, so dass Du Dich vergewissern kannst, dass das, was ich als Gründe für diese Gebote anführen werde, korrekt ist.«

Auf dieses Verständnis der Religionsgeschichte greift nun Abū l-Ḫayr Ibn aṭ-Ṭayyib zurück, um die Legitimität und Rationalität der christlichen Glaubenslehre im Allgemeinen und der Trinitätslehre im Besonderen zu beweisen.

»Nachdem Du nun gehört hast, wie sehr die Christen auf der Einheit und Einzigkeit Gottes bestehen und davon absehen, ihm Eigenschaften der körperlichen Welt zuzuschreiben, solltest Du alles daran setzen, die befremdenden Beschreibungen Gottes, die in den Offenbarungstexten zu finden sind, zu verstehen, denn Gott ist weise und der Weise schafft nichts Nutzloses. […] Worin also liegt die Weisheit und die kluge Lenkung, ein Gesetz (*šarīʿa*) zu erlassen, durch welches alle Völker dazu bewogen werden, Gott zu verehren, indem sie Ihn mit verwerflichen Ausdrücken und befremdlichen Attributen beschreiben, wie etwa, wenn er zu den Aposteln sagt: ›Geht hin und macht alle Völker zu Jüngern; tauft sie auf den Namen des Vaters und des Sohnes und des Heiligen Geistes‹ (Mt 28,19) und nicht etwa: ›Tauft sie im Namen des einen, einzigen Gottes, von dem es nicht mehr als einen geben kann‹?«

Die Antwort auf diese Frage besteht nach Abū l-Ḫayr darin, dass das offenbarte Gesetz göttliche Lenkung und göttliche Führung sei, »welche die Menschen dazu bewegt, die Existenz des Schöpfers zu bejahen, jedes Volk mit (den Mitteln), durch die es Gewohnheit hat, sich Gott aus freien Stücken zuzuwenden.«

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Seines Erachtens richten sich die neutestamentlichen Schriften an drei verschiedene Gruppen von Adressaten: 1) die Anhänger der griechischen Philosophie, 2) die Anhänger Zarathustras (Zoroasters) und 3) die Sabäer. Bis auf wenige Ausnahmen kann die gesamte Menschheit diesen drei epistemischen Paradigmen zugeordnet werden. Für jede dieser drei Wissensformationen hat die göttliche Weisheit ein angemessenes Gegengift (*Tiryāq*) bereitgestellt, welches sie der Erkenntnis des wahren Gottes näher bringen soll.

Wie Maimonides nennt Abū l-Ḫayr nun einige Bücher, aus denen er sein Wissen über die drei Religionstypen bezogen hat. Während Maimonides die »Nabatäische Landwirtschaft« als seine wichtigste Quelle hervorhebt, sind es bei Abū l-Ḫayr die pseudo-aristotelischen Hermetica und insbesondere der »Kitāb al-Isṭamāṭīs«, die als zentrale Referenzschriften ausgewiesen und ausführlich zitiert werden.

In diesen Büchern sei er unter anderem auf die Trinitarier (al-muṯalliṯa), eine Gruppe von Sabäern, gestoßen, die den Schöpfergott als Geist der Himmelssphäre bezeichnen, aus dem der Intellekt und die Seele hervorgegangen seien, die beide zur einen Substanz des Schöpfergottes gehören. Sie hätten deshalb an jedem Kultort drei Tempel gebaut. Die trinitarische Formel der christlichen Offenbarung sei ein durch göttliche Weisheit bewirktes Gegengift gegen solcherlei Vorstellungen und Praktiken entwickelt worden. Während vorchristliche Offenbarungen und insbesondere die Tora ausschließlich auf Gottesvorstellungen reagierten, die auf Sinneswahrnehmung beruhten, sei die christliche Offenbarung als Gegengift gegen falsch konzipierte philosophisch-universalistische Gottesbegriffe und damit verbundene Kultpraktiken zu verstehen.

»So richtet sich die Einleitung zum Evangelium des Johannes an die Bewohner von Ephesus, zu denen bekanntermaßen die führenden Köpfe der Sabäer, ihre Gelehrten und Philosophen gehörten, die (dort) ihre Kultstätte hatten. Deshalb führte Gott sie zu einer ihren Bedürfnissen angemessenen Lebensform hin, durch die sie zu wahrer Erkenntnis gelangen konnten. Diese Lebensform zöge insbesondere Verhaltensweisen in Betracht, die auf sie attraktiv wirkten, damit sie sich nicht abwenden würden. Aus diesem Grund beginne das Johannesevangelium wie folgt: ›Im Anfang war das Wort […]‹.«

Ähnliches gilt für den Brief des Paulus an die Bewohner der Stadt Kolossai. Kolossai sei eine Stadt der Sabäer und ein Hort der Philosophen gewesen. Sie hätten das Fundament ihrer religiösen Praxis so beschrieben, dass aus der *causa causarum* ein erster Intellekt überströmte und dass alle existierenden Dinge aus dem ersten Intellekt hervorgingen. Ihrer Lehre nach stehe es dem besagten Intellekt zu, zusammen mit der ersten Ursache und der Seele verehrt zu werden, wie es in ihren Glaubensgrundsätzen festgehalten wurde.

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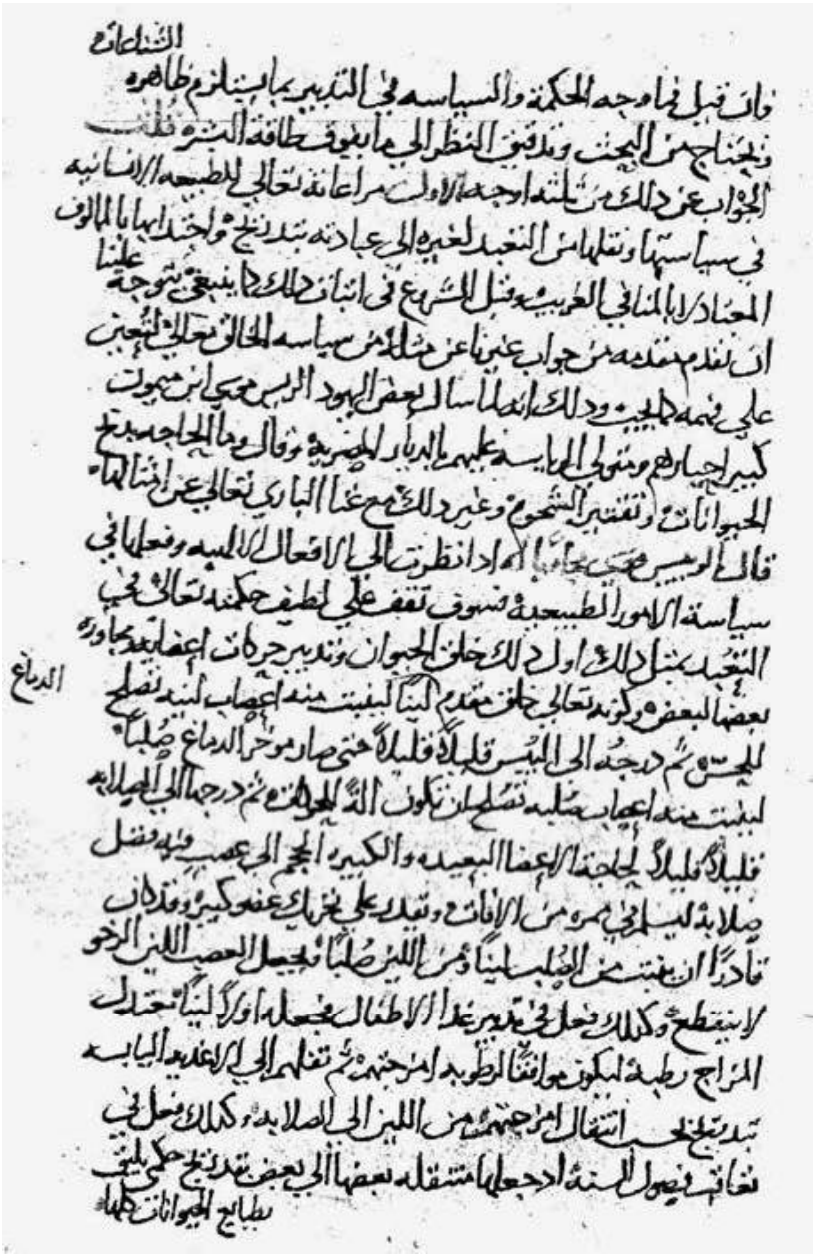

Abb. 5: Ausschnitt aus der »Quintessenz des christlichen Glaubens« des Kopten ar-Rašīd Abū l-Ḫayr ibn aṭ-Ṭayyib mit dem Beginn eines längeren Zitats aus Maimonides' »Führer der Unschlüssigen«, Teil III, Kapitel 32 (Quelle: Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, arab. 105, f. 72r. Foto © 2014 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana)

Abū l-Ḫayr legte grossen Wert darauf zu betonen, dass seine Anlehnung an das maimonidische Konzept des religionsgeschichtlichen Fortschritts nicht als Abhängigkeit missverstanden werden soll. So beschließt er die »Quintessenz des christlichen Glaubens« mit den Worten:

»Merke wohl, der Du dieses Buch einsiehst, dass ich den Verfasser des *Führers* – der ja die jüdische Lehre vertritt – in den bisherigen Ausführungen nicht deshalb zitiert habe, weil es unentbehrlich war oder weil ich unfähig wäre, etwas Gleichwertiges zu

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schreiben, sondern um jenen Angehörigen der jüdischen Religionsgemeinschaft entgegenzutreten, die sich auf ihn berufen, damit ihnen durch die Aussagen des wichtigsten Vertreters ihrer Religionsgemeinschaft klar wird, dass die christliche Religion mit den göttlichen Absichten im Bereich der geistlichen Dinge und rationalen Methoden übereinstimmt, und damit ihnen klar wird, dass die gesetzlichen Einzelbestimmungen der Tora nicht um ihrer selbst willen erlassen wurden, sondern um hinzuführen auf das vollkommene Gesetz, das nach ihr kommt, damit sie dies begreifen und dementsprechend handeln. Zudem wurde dieses gesamte Buch nur als Antwort auf die Frage von Muslimen und Anhängern der jüdischen Religionsgemeinschaft geschrieben, die nach dem christlichen Gottesglauben (wörtl. »nach der Überzeugung der Christen von Gott«) fragten, so dass es sich anbot, gegen die Anhänger der beiden Religionsgemeinschaften das anzuführen, was ihre wichtigsten Exponenten gesagt haben, um ihnen damit entgegenzutreten.«

Außerdem verweist der Kopte auf vergleichbare Konzepte in Werken der Kirchenväter, beispielsweise den Begriff συγκατάβασις, der ab dem späten 4. Jh. in den Schriften Chrysostomos' und der kappadozischen Väter Verbreitung fand. Der Begriff ist der späthellenistischen Rhetorik entlehnt und bezeichnet die Anpassung (oder »Herablassung«) des Redners an das Niveau der Zuhörerschaft.

Diese knappe Darstellung zweier Werke des koptischen Gelehrten Abū l-Ḫayr ibn aṭ-Ṭayyib sollte hinlänglich gezeigt haben, dass die christliche Rezeption Maimonides' mitnichten auf den lateinischen Maimonides reduziert oder mit ihm gleichgesetzt werden kann. Dass Maimonides über die Stoßrichtung der christlich-arabischen Rezeption seiner Werke erfreut gewesen wäre, darf bezweifelt werden. Wie jedoch Sokrates in einer berühmten Passage des »Phaidros« (275 A) richtig festgestellt hat, entzieht sich der einmal niedergeschriebene Text der Kontrolle des Autors und treibt sich überall herum, gleichermaßen bei denen, die ihn verstehen, wie auch bei denen, die ihn missverstehen. Wie im vorliegenden Fall kann die Produktivität einer Wirkungsgeschichte durchaus auch aus dem absichtlichen Missverstehen eines Textes hervorgehen. In diesem Sinne möchte ich diese kurzen Ausführungen zur koptisch-arabischen Rezeption des Maimonides' mit einem leicht abgewandelten Nietzsche-Zitat beschließen: »Wir dürfen es tragen, falsch zu verstehen, um mehr zu sehen als da ist«.

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Abstract
A Maimonidean Trinitarianism?
On the Reception of Maimonides in Copto-Arabic Literature

Even though Maimonides' philosophico-theological works were written for Jewish readers, they aroused the interest of several exponents of Copto-Arabic literature during its 'Golden Age' in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. This little-known Christian-Arabic reception of Maimonides is presented by the example of two works by the Coptic theologian Abū 'l-Khayr Ibn al-Ṭayyib written around 1250 in Damascus. The Copt availed himself of Maimonides' concepts of 'divine wisdom' and 'divine pedagogy', according to which the revelation of religious knowledge accommodates itself to the historical conditions and educational needs of the respective audience. Based on this 'principle of accommodation', Abū l-Khayr developed his historical explanation of the Christian doctrines of incarnation and trinity, and thought he could thus prove the rationality and superiority of the Christian faith.

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Early Kalām and the Medical Tradition

Gregor Schwarb

Enquiries into the relation between early kalām and the medical tradition – first and foremost the Galenic tradition – are but one aspect of a broader investigation into the relation between early *kalām* and the various intellectual strands of the late antique Byzantine and Sasanian Empires. The physical and theological doctrines of the early *mutakallimūn*, which at times are 'fundamentally opposed to one another in some of their most basic presuppositions',[1] are characterized by their coexistence and engagement with divergent religious, philosophical and scientific trends, whereby the identification of specific textual and non-textual sources and of exact channels of transmission remains notoriously difficult and more often than not elusive.[2]

On the face of it, the stance of the early *mutakallimūn* on Galenic medicine and the medical profession is largely marked by antagonism, tension, and polemics. The close alliance of medical formation with Greek philosophical education, of Galenism with an Aristotelianized Platonism,[3] and of the medical profession with a Christian or Sabian

1. R. M. Frank, 'Remarks on the Early Development of the *Kalām*', in *Atti del terzo Congresso di studi arabi e islamici*, ed. A. Cesàro et al., Naples, 1967, pp. 315–29 (316), repr. in id., *Philosophy, Theology and Mysticism in Medieval Islam. Texts and Studies on the Development and History of Kalām*, Vol. 1, ed. D. Gutas, Aldershot, 2005, no. VI. The diversity of early kalām cosmologies, theologies and anthropologies is masterfully expounded in J. van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra. Eine Geschichte des religiösen Denkens im frühen Islam*, 6 vols, Berlin, 1991–7 (hereafter *TG*). An English translation of vols I–IV of this *magnum opus* (*Theology and Society in the Second and Third Centuries of the Hijra. A History of Religious Thought in Early Islam*) is currently being published (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming).

2. For some methodological reflections on alleged 'hidden channels of transmission' and the so-called '*voie diffuse*' (Pierre Thillet) accounting for affinities between components of *kalām* thought and specific doctrines in the 'lesser' Hellenistic schools of philosophy see D. Gutas, 'Pre-Plotinian Philosophy in Arabic (other than Platonism and Aristotelianism): A Review of the Sources', in *ANRW* II, 36.7, ed. W. Haase and H. Temporini, Berlin, New York, 1994, pp. 4939–73 (4944–9, 4959–62).

3. Galen described his own approach to philosophy as 'selective' and consistently refused to commit himself to a specific philosophical school (see R. J. Hankinson, 'Galen's Philosophical Eclecticism', in *ANRW* II, 36.5, ed. W. Haase and H. Temporini, Berlin, New York, 1992, pp. 3505–22; P. N. Singer, 'Galen and the Philosophers: Philosophical Engagement, Shadowy Contemporaries, Aristotelian Transformations', in *Philosophical Themes in Galen*, ed. P. Adamson et al., BICS Suppl., 114, London, 2014, pp. 7–38). Though for him Plato assumes the role in philosophy which Hippocrates plays in medicine (see his *On the Doctrines of Hippocrates and Plato*; P. De Lacy, 'Galen's Platonism', *American Journal of Philology*, 93, 1972, pp. 27–39), Galen's engagement with Aristotle and the Peripatetic tradition was far more intense than what he himself would admit (see P. van der Eijk, 'Aristotle! What a thing for you to say! Galen's Engagement with Aristotle and Aristotelians', in *Galen and the World of Knowledge*, ed. C. Gill, T. Whitmarsh, J. Wilkins, Cambridge, 2009, pp. 261–81; P. van der Eijk and S. Francis, 'Aristoteles, Aristotelismus und antike Medizin', in *Antike Medizin im Schnittpunkt von Geistes- und Naturwissenschaften: Internationale Fachtagung aus Anlass des 100-jährigen Bestehens des Akademievorhabens Corpus Medicorum Graecorum/Latinorum*, ed. C. Brockmann, W. Brunschön and O. Overwien, Berlin, New York, 2009, pp. 213–33). The ideal fusion of Hippocratic physician and (eclectic) philosopher in Galen's 'iatrophilosopher' is expounded in *That the Best Doctor is also a Philosopher* (Ὅτι ὁ ἄριστος ἰατρὸς καὶ φιλόσοφος = *Kitāb fī anna l-ṭabīb al-fāḍil faylasūf*; M. Ullmann, *Die Medizin im Islam*, Leiden, 1970, p. 38, no. 2; G. Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum: Bibliographie der galenischen und pseudogalenischen Werke. Erweiterte und verbesserte Ausgabe 2015/09* [see the online resource at http://cmg.bbaw.de], no. 3).

('pagan') affiliation, as well as the frequent association of physicians with materialist or mechanistic worldviews of 'Sempiternalists' (*al-Dahrīya, Ahl al-dahr*) and proponents of (four) elemental qualities (*Aṣḥāb al-ṭabāʾiʿ*) played a part in portraying their culture of knowledge as incompatible with and even inimical to the theological and cosmological doctrines which the early Muslim *mutakallimūn* were about to develop.[4] All these antagonisms convey an impression of mutual intellectual estrangement between adherents of the 'Seal of the Prophets' (*ḫātam al-anbiyāʾ/al-nabīyīn*)[5] and proponents of the 'Seal of the Physicians' (*ḫātam al-aṭibbāʾ*).[6]

The disparity of educational canons and the lack of a common discursive framework is reflected in the relative scarcity of social mobility between the two camps, regardless of scattered reports about personal acquaintances between *mutakallimūn* and physicians.[7] Early *mutakallimūn* who are said to have been physicians themselves or had a keen interest in medical subjects were usually acquainted with non-Galenic medicine and practitioners of indigenous medical traditions. Particularly noteworthy are recurrent reports about contacts with physicians of Indian origin.[8] Those, however,

4. See, for instance, the 'Rebuttal of Medicine' (*Naqḍ al-ṭibb*) compositions by Muʿtazilī authors (al-Ǧāḥiẓ, al-Nāšiʾ al-akbar, Abū ʿAlī al-Ǧubbāʾī) recorded in Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, ed. A. F. Sayyid, London, 2009, vol. II/2, p. 738 (index); Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbāʾ*, ed. N. Riḍā, Beirut, 1965, p. 422, and the texts mentioned in F. Rosenthal, 'The Defense of Medicine in the Medieval Muslim World', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 43, 1969, pp. 519–32; id., 'The Physician in Medieval Muslim Society', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 52, 1978, pp. 475–91, repr. in id., *Science and Medicine in Islam: A Collection of Essays*, Aldershot, 1990, nos VIII and X); P. Crone, 'Ungodly Cosmologies', in *The Oxford Handbook of Islamic Theology*, ed. S. Schmidtke, Oxford, 2016, pp. 103–29.

5. *Qurʾān* 33:40. For the concept of 'Prophetic Medicine' (*al-ṭibb al-nabawī*) see P. E. Pormann and E. Savage-Smith, *Medieval Islamic Medicine*, Washington, 2007, pp. 71–6 with further references.

6. Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ* (n. 4 above), ed. Riḍā, p. 109. Antagonistic tendencies between the Greek medical tradition and prophetic Ḥadīṯ are discussed in J. van Ess, *Der Fehltritt des Gelehrten: Die 'Pest von Emmaus' und ihre theologischen Nachspiele*, Heidelberg, 2001, pp. 295–305; G. Strohmaier, 'Die Ansteckung als theologisches und medizinisches Problem', in id., *Hellas im Islam*, Wiesbaden, 2003, pp. 118–27.

7. For a survey account of the social milieu of the early *mutakallimūn* see van Ess, *TG* (n. 1 above) vol. IV, pp. 731–7; for the social milieu of the physicians see J. C. Bürgel and F. Käs, *Ärztliches Leben und Denken im arabischen Mittelalter*, Leiden, 2016. Examples of personal acquaintances between *mutakallimūn* and physicians include the friendship between Zurqān (Abū Yaʿlā Muḥammad ibn Šaddād al-Mismaʿī) and Ibn Māsawayh, the not so smooth relationship between al-Ǧāḥiẓ and his patron Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Malik ibn al-Zayyāt (d. 847–8; see J. E. Montgomery, *Al-Jāḥiẓ: In Praise of Books*, Edinburgh, 2013, pp. 230–4, 582 [index]); the relationship between Abū l-Qāsim al-Balḫī (d. 931) and Abū Zayd al-Balḫī (d. 934) or the friendship between the Buṯḥānī brothers (i.e. the Zaydī imāms al-Muʾayyad bi-Llāh Abū l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad [d. 1020] and al-Nāṭiq bi-l-Ḥaqq Abū Ṭālib Yaḥyā ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Hārūn [d. 1033]) and Abū l-Faraǧ Ibn Hindū (d. ca. 1031), himself a Šarīf (see S. Khalifat, *Ibn Hindū: sīratuhū, ārāʾuhū al-falsafīya, muʾallafātuhū: Dirāsa wa-nuṣūṣ* [*Ibn Hindu: Biography, Philosophy and His Works: A Critical Edition with Studies*], 2 vols, Amman, 1995, vol. 1, pp. 7, 50–53, 191).

8. Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist* (n. 4 above), vol. II/1, pp. 224, 315 f.; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ* (n. 4 above), pp. 473–6 (*ʿulamāʾ al-Hind*); S. Pines, 'A Study of the Impact of Indian, mainly Buddhist Thought on some Aspects of *Kalām* Doctrines', *JSAI*, 17, 1994, pp. 182–203; M. Shefer-Mossensohn and K. Abou Hershkovitz, 'Early Muslim Medicine and the Indian Context: A Reinterpretation', *Medieval Encounters*, 19, 2013, pp. 274–99 (277–82); F. Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums* (hereafter *GAS*), *Bd. 3: Medizin, Pharmazie, Zoologie, Tierheilkunde, bis ca. 430H*, Leiden, 1970, pp. 187–202; Ullmann, *Die Medizin* (n. 3 above), pp. 105, 324; Pormann and Savage-Smith, *Medieval Islamic Medicine* (n. 5 above), p. 20; H. Daiber, *Das theologisch-philosophische System des Muʿammar Ibn ʿAbbād as-Sulamī (gest. 830n. Chr.)*, Beirut, Wiesbaden, 1975, pp. 4–5, 11 with n. 1, 76–8, 311, 407–409; van Ess, *TG* (n. 1 above), vol. II, pp. 20 f. (on the Sumanīya and Indian physicians in Baṣra and at the court of Hārūn al-Rašīd), pp. 397 f. (al-Aṣamm's contact to Indian physicians and an alleged journey to India); ibid., p. 487 and vol. III, p. 373 (Ǧaʿfar al-Ṣādiq's conversation with Indian

who – as for instance al-Naẓẓām (d. ca. 836), al-Ǧāḥiẓ (d. 869), or Abū l-Qāsim al-Balḫī (d. 931) – had frequent opportunities to swap ideas with physicians and by all accounts also gained a fair amount of doxographical and even first-hand knowledge of Galenic medicine, rhetorically disowned it and challenged some of its fundamental principles.[9] Conversely, a *mutakallim* like Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī (d. 1044), who in the late tenth and early eleventh century studied some theoretical and practical Galenic medicine as well as Aristotelian logic and physics with exponents of the Christian Peripatetics in Baghdad, was disparaged by his fellow Muʿtazilites as maverick dissenter who had fouled the nest of his *kalām* teachers.[10] Physicians and *falāsifa* on their part were quick to make patronizing and sneering remarks about the *mutakallimūn*'s deficient methods and their lack of sophistication and perspicacity.[11]

physicians); vol. VI, p. 161. Al-Ǧāḥiẓ, *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān*, ed. A. M. Hārūn, Cairo, 1938–45, vol. 2, p. 140, refers to a group of *mutakallimūn* such as Maʿmar (Muʿammar) Abū l-Aškʿaṭ (van Ess, *TG* [n. 1 above], vol. II, pp. 37–41), Abū Ǧaʿfar Muḥammad ibn al-Ǧahm al-Barmakī (ibid., vol. III, pp. 204–8) and Ibrāhīm ibn al-Sindī (ibid., pp. 65 f.) who are dubbed 'the physicians who are the philosophers among the *mutakallimūn*' (*al-aṭibbāʾ, wa-hum falāsifat al-mutakallimīn*). All three entertained contacts to physicians of Indian origin (ibid., vol. II, pp. 21, 37) and clearly represent non-Galenic medical traditions. Unusual are *mutakallim*-physicians of the sort of Abū Aḥmad al-Ḥusayn al-Kātib ('Ibn Karnīb'), mentioned in Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist* (n. 4 above), vol. II/1, p. 198.

9. See van Ess, *TG* (n. 1 above), vol. IV, p. 1048 (index 'Galen'). For al-Naẓẓām see Job of Edessa (Ayyūb al-Ruhāwī al-Abraš, d. 835; *GAS* [n. 8 above], vol. III, pp. 230 f.), *Book of Treasures* (*Keṭābā ḏe-Sīmāṭā*), ed. A. Mingana, Cambridge, 1935, pp. 388–92 (Syr.), 153–9 (transl.); van Ess, *TG* (n. 1 above), vol. III, pp. 333, 352 f.; vol. VI, pp. 81–83 (text XXII 93), pp. 86–94 (texts XXII 98–104); Y. T. Langermann, 'Islamic Atomism and the Galenic Tradition', *History of Science*, 47, 2009, pp. 277–95 (286–8, with nn. 48–60, pp. 294 f.); D. Bennet, 'The Spirit of Ahypokeimenonical Physics: Another Side of *Kalām* Natural Philosophy', PhD diss., University of California, 2011, pp. 60 f.; Isḥāq al-Isrāʾīlī, *Kitāb al-Usṭuqussāt/al-Ǧawāhir* (see references in Langermann, 'Islamic Atomism', pp. 287 f., 294); Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn Sahl Ibn Rabban al-Ṭabarī, *Firdaws al-ḥikma*, ed. M. Z. Siddiqi, Berlin, 1928, pp. 522 f. (*Bāb fī l-radd ʿalā man abṭala l-ṭibb*). For al-Ǧāḥiẓ see *al-Radd ʿalā l-Naṣārā*, in *Rasāʾil al-Ǧāḥiẓ*, ed. M. Hārūn, Cairo, 1964, vol. 3, p. 314; J. E. Montgomery, 'Speech and Nature: al-Jāḥiẓ, *Kitāb al-Bayān wa-l-tabyīn*, 2. 175–207, Part 4', *Middle Eastern Literatures*, 12, 2009, pp. 213–232 (p. 228, n. 15); id., *Al-Jāḥiẓ: In Praise of Books* (n. 7 above), pp. 315 f., 383–7. Note that all references to Muʿtazilī scholars of the *Miḥna*-period in *GAS* (n. 8 above), vol. III ('Medizin') are found in the section on zoology and veterinary medicine: Bišr ibn al-Muʿtamir (ibid., p. 359); al-Naẓẓām (ibid., pp. 360 f.); al-Ǧāḥiẓ (ibid., p. 368). For Abū l-Qāsim al-Balḫī see R. El Omari, *The Theology of Abū l-Qāsim al-Balkhī/al-Kaʿbī (d. 319/931)*, Leiden, 2016, pp. 147 f., 176–81.

10. For Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī see W. Madelung, 'Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī', *Encyclopaedia of Islam Three*, Leiden, fasc. 2007–1, pp. 16–19; D. Gimaret, 'Abu 'l-Ḥosayn Baṣrī', *Encyclopædia Iranica*, New York, 1985, vol. I, pp. 322–4. Al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī, *Šarḥ ʿUyūn al-masāʾil*, MS Leiden, Cod. arab. 2584A, fol. 130r. The tacit assumption that Abū l-Ḥusayn is identical with Abū l-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (see *GAS* [n. 8 above], vol. III, p. 340; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ*, ed. Riḍā [n. 4 above], p. 327), whose book on dietetics is repeatedly quoted in Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Tamīmī's (d. after 1000; *GAS* [n. 8 above], vol. III, pp. 317 f.), *Ṭibb al-ʿarūs wa-rayḥān al-nufūs*, ed. L. Qārī, Cairo, 1435/2014, p. 325 (index), is doubtful and still pending conclusive proof, despite assertions to the contrary. Another physician, Abū Muḍar Maḥmūd ibn Ǧarīr al-Ḍabbī al-Iṣfahānī (d. 1114), later introduced Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's philosophical theology to Ḫurāsān and Ḫwārazm.

11. This feeling is given articulate expression in Rukn al-Dīn al-Malāḥimī's lengthy quotation from Abū l-Faraj ibn Hindū's *Epistle of Sincere Advice* (*al-Risāla al-nāṣiḥa*) in the closing pages of his *Gift to the Theologians in Refutation of the Philosophers* (*Tuḥfat al-mutakallimīn wa-l-radd ʿalā l-falāsifa*), ed. H. Ansari and W. Madelung, Berlin, Tehran, 2008, pp. 213, l. 18–219, l. 18. Al-Malāḥimī characterizes Ibn Hindū's *Epistle* as a powerfully written piece of good advice for the haughty philosopher and a rare example of an unpretentious philosopher-physician who shows his respect for Muslim scholars and the religious sciences (*wa-kāna Abū l-Faraǧ hāḏā min al-mutaqaddimīn fī ʿilm al-falsafa ... fa-innahu lā yazdarī bi-ʿulamāʾ al-muslimīn wa-lā yaḥtaqiru ʿulūm al-islām*). Ibn Hindū also wrote a (lost) *kalām*-style treatise (*Kitāb al-Bulġa*) and was on good terms with several Muʿtazilī *mutakallimūn* in Rayy (see above n. 7) where he belonged to the scholarly circle around al-Ṣāḥib ibn ʿAbbād between 979 and 985.

All this being said, it would be altogether wrong to infer a lack of attention and interest from this distance and dissociation. Quite the contrary, it appears that central components of early *kalām* cosmology and anthropology evolved from a critical engagement with philosophical worldviews and physical theories championed by proponents of medical science. As S. Pines aptly observed, the complexity and heterogeneity of early *kalām* cosmological doctrines 'presuppose an intense theoretical interest in philosophy and science ... over a long period of time'.[12] Even if the engagement with doctrines from the medical milieu was seldom, if ever, based on a close reading of Galenic texts and more often than not motivated by refutation and a purposeful endeavour to present alternative explanations for the phenomena of the world, components of the contested doctrines were repeatedly appropriated and preserved, above and beyond the recurrent use of medical themes, metaphors, imagery and analogies in theological arguments.[13] Moreover, the rich and variegated doxographical and heresiographical material circulating in the medical milieu was for the early *mutakallimūn* an invaluable source for their own heresiographical narrative, as may be gleaned from works such as Abū ʿĪsā l-Warrāq's (d. after 864) *On the Doctrines of People and their Differences* (*Kitāb Maqālāt al-nās wa-ḫtilāfihim*),[14] Zurqān's (d. 891–2) *Book of Doctrines* (*Kitāb al-Maqālāt*),[15] Abū l-ʿAbbās ʿAbdallāh ibn Muḥammad al-Anbārī's ('al-Nāšī al-akbar', d. 906) *Book of Religious Practices* (*Kitāb al-Diyānāt*),[16] Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan ibn Mūsā al-Nawbaḫtī's (d. after 922), *Book of Opinions and Religious Practices* (*Kitāb al-Ārāʾ wa-l-diyānāt*)[17] and similar compositions

12. S. Pines, *Studies in Islamic Atomism*, transl. M. Schwarz, Jerusalem, 1997, p. 108. Pines (ibid., pp. 23, 108) as well as A. Dhanani, *The Physical Theory of Kalām: Atoms, Space, and Void in Basrian Muʿtazilī Cosmology*, Leiden, 1994, p. 20 forcefully reject Maimonides's depiction of *kalām* as 'a goal-directed belief-system' (Langermann, 'Islamic Atomism', [n. 9 above], p. 278) and argue that the interest of early *mutakallimūn* in science cannot be explained by theological motives alone.

13. Van Ess, *TG* (n. 1 above), vol. III, p. 333 fittingly writes with regard to al-Naẓẓām: '[Er ist] in der Terminologie und im Denkansatz stark von seinen Gegnern geprägt; gerade dies machte es ihm so leicht, sie zu widerlegen. Sie waren ja auch nur in gewissen Punkten seine Gegner. Denn sie traten ihm nicht nur als „Dahriten" usw. gegenüber, sondern auch als Intellektuelle, mit denen er Tag für Tag verkehrte. Wenn er die Astronomen zitiert oder sich mit der galenischen Medizin auseinandersetzt, redet er vermutlich wieder von dem gleichen Milieu. Auch die Alchimisten dürften noch hierher gehören; die Querverbindungen zur *Turba philosophorum* oder zum *Corpus Ǧābirianum* sind frappant, wie auch immer man über die Zeitstellung dieser Texte denken mag. Sogar indische Parallelen finden sich ab und zu; wir wissen nur vorläufig nicht, wie wir sie bewerten sollen'. The dialectical relationship between *kalām* cosmology and the medico-philosophical tradition is subject of A. I. Sabra, '*Kalām* Atomism as an Alternative Philosophy to Hellenizing *Falsafa*', in *Arabic Theology, Arabic Philosophy: From the Many to the One: Essays in Celebration of Richard M. Frank*, ed. J. E. Montgomery, Leuven, 2006, pp. 199–272.

14. J. van Ess, *Der Eine und das Andere: Beobachtungen an islamischen häresiographischen Texten*, Berlin, 2011, vol. 1, pp. 167–79; id., *TG* (n. 1 above), vol. IV, pp. 289–94.

15. Van Ess, *Der Eine und das Andere* (n. 14 above), pp. 181–3; id., *TG* (n. 1 above), vol. IV, pp. 119–21.

16. Id., *Der Eine und das Andere* (n. 14 above), pp. 197–204; id., *TG* (n. 1 above), vol. IV, pp. 141–6. *Kitāb al-Diyānāt* contained a chapter dedicated to the ancients (*al-qudamāʾ*).

17. Van Ess, *Der Eine und das Andere* (n. 14 above), pp. 219–30. For lengthy quotations in Muʿtazilī literature see, among others, ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār, *al-Kitāb al-Muġnī fī abwāb al-tawḥīd wa-l-ʿadl*, vol. 5 (*al-firaq ġayr al-islāmīya*), ed. M. M. al-Khudayrī, Cairo, 1958, pp. 9 f.; Rukn al-Dīn ibn Muḥammad al-Malāḥimī, *Kitāb al-Muʿtamad fī uṣūl al-dīn*, ed. W. Madelung, Tehran, 2012, pp. 599–603, 648–83.

by authors who entertained close ties with the Muʿtazila.[18]

In previous scholarship several cross-pollinations and phenomenological or terminological similarities between early *kalām* doctrines and Galenic concepts or non-Galenic ideas transmitted via the medical literature have been mooted. In-depth investigations of the relevant topics, however, are still pending. Suffice it here to point to the most salient themes:

(1) Semeiology/semiotics: One of the most striking commonalities between physicians and *mutakallimūn* is their shared preoccupation with signs (σημεῖον/σημεῖα; τεκμήριον/τεκμήρια *dalīl/adilla*; *ʿalāma/ʿalāmāt*; *amāra/amārāt*), signification (*dalāla*) and sign-interpretation (*istidlāl*). In *kalām*, signs and indicators play a central role in *uṣūl al-dīn* (notably prophetology), legal methodology (*uṣūl al-fiqh*), jurisprudence and Qurʾanic exegesis. In Galen's works the most important places for a discussion of signs are the introduction to *On the Sects* (*Fī firaq al-ṭibb*), which discusses the position of sign-based knowledge (*ʿilm al-ʿalāmāt wa-l-dalāʾil / al-ʿilm bi-l-adilla*) within the medical science, the second part of *Ars medica* (*al-ṣināʿa al-ṣaġīra/al-ṭibbīya*, esp. chapters 6–22)[19] which in Latin translations bears the section title *De Signis*, and the *Commentary on Hippocrates' 'Prognostic'*.[20] A sub-branch of semeiology is symptomatology (τέχνη σημειωτική; *ʿilm al-ʿilal wa-l-aʿrāḍ*), symptoms ('things happening', 'characteristics', 'attributes') being a special category of signs.[21] The evaluation of possible points of contacts between medical semeiology and the interpretation of signs in *kalām* cosmology, theology, legal and scriptural hermeneutics will require a comprehensive study.[22]

(2) Theories about the relation between signs, the signified and sign interpretation are intrinsically linked to epistemology. Questions about various degrees of certainty, probable knowledge and probabilism are another key topic common to *kalām* treatises and Galen's works.[23] A close comparison of similar terms and concepts such as 'preponderance' (*tarǧīḥ*),

18. Al-Ǧāḥiẓ, *al-Radd ʿalā l-Naṣārā*, in *Rasāʾil al-Ǧāḥiẓ* (n. 9 above), vol. 3, pp. 320 f. ; van Ess, *Der Eine und das Andere* (n. 14 above), p. 574. The medico-philosophical origin of non-Islamic heresiographical material is still palpable in sections dedicated to non-Islamic religious groups (*al-firaq al-ḫāriǧa ʿan al-Islām*); see, for instance, ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār, *al-Kitāb al-Muġnī*, vol. 5 (n. 17 above) or al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī, *Šarḥ ʿUyūn al-masāʾil*, MS Ṣanʿāʾ, Maktabat al-Ǧāmiʿ al-Kabīr al-Ġarbīya no. 657, fols 1v–10r; MS Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Or. 2584 A, fols 1r–14r.

19. For a synoptic view of Greek text (ed. C. G. Kühn) and Arabic translation (ed. M. S. Sālim) see http://www.graeco-arabic-studies.org/texts.html (accessed 31/10/2015).

20. N. Palmieri, 'La Théorie de la médecine des Alexandrins aux Arabes', in *Les Voies de la science grecque. Etudes sur la transmission des textes de l'antiquité au dix-neuvième siècle*, ed. D. Jacquart, Geneva, 1997, pp. 122–33.

21. T. A. Sebeok, 'Galen in Medical Semiotics', in id., *Global Semiotics*, Bloomington, 2001, pp. 44–58.

22. See, for instance, Montgomery, *Al-Jāḥiẓ: In Praise of Books* (n. 7 above), pp. 383–7; G. Schwarb, 'Capturing the Meanings of God's Speech', in *A Word Fitly Spoken: Studies in Mediaeval Exegesis of the Hebrew Bible and the Qur'ān presented to Haggai Ben-Shammai*, ed. M. M. Bar-Asher, S. Hopkins, S. Stroumsa and B. Chiesa, Jerusalem, 2007, pp. 111*–156* (140*–3*).

23. J. van Ess, *Die Erkenntnislehre des ʿAḍudaddīn al-ʿĪcī: Übersetzung und Kommentar des ersten Buches seiner Mawāqif*, Wiesbaden, 1966, pp. 221–9, 492 (index); J. Allen, *Inference from Signs: Ancient Debates About the Nature of Evidence*, Oxford, 2001; M. Frede, 'On Galen's Epistemology', in *Galen: Problems and Prospects*, ed. V. Nutton, London, 1981, pp. 65–86; R. J. Hankinson, 'Epistemology', in *The Cambridge Companion to Galen*, ed. R. J. Hankinson, Cambridge, 2008, pp. 157–83. For context and sources of Galen's probabilism see R. Chiaradonna, 'Galen on What is Persuasive (*pithanon*) and What Approximates to Truth', in *Philosophical Themes in Galen* (n. 3 above), pp. 61–88.

'preponderant presumption' (*ġālib al-ẓann*), 'equivalence of (conflicting) evidence' (*takāfu' al-adilla*), etc. will also demand a separate in-depth study. This also applies to the ἀναλογισμός, the 'inference of something hidden from something visible' (*al-istidlāl bi-l-šāhid ʿalā l-ġā'ib*) of the *mutakallimūn*[24] and Galen's 'inference of something hidden from something apparent' (*al-istidlāl bi-mā ẓahara ʿalā mā ḫafiya / al-qiyās bi-l-ẓāhir ʿalā l-ḫafī*).[25]

(3) Structural resemblances between Muʿtazilī and Stoic theories of language usage (utterance-analysis) and meaning have at times also been explained as being mediated through medical literature.[26] An investigation of these supposed affinities will once again require a separate study.[27]

(4) Similarities between Muʿtazilī theories of 'the optimum' (*al-aṣlaḥ*), namely that God knows and does 'what is best' for his creatures and that He does nothing in vain (*ʿabaṭan*), and Galen's 'best of all possible worlds' which combines the providential demiurgy of the *Timaeus* with Aristotelian teleology, has repeatedly been invoked.[28] It goes without saying that many terminological overlaps may conceal substantial conceptual differences between medical and *kalām* texts.[29]

Some further facets of the *mutakallimūn*'s possible indebtedness to Galenism have recently been explored by Y. Tzvi Langermann who suggests that central tenets of

24. C. Schöck, *Koranexegese, Grammatik und Logik. Zum Verhältnis von arabischer und aristotelischer Urteils-, Konsequenz- und Schlusslehre*, Leiden, 2006, pp. 342–72; van Ess, *Erkenntnislehre* (n. 23 above), pp. 383–7; id., *TG* (n. 1 above), vol. IV, p. 665; J. Lameer, *Al-Fārābī and Aristotelian Syllogistics: Greek Theory and Islamic Practice*, Leiden, 1994, pp. 226–31.

25. See e.g. R. Walzer, *Galen on Medical Experience*, London, 1944, pp. 22 f., 58–66 and *passim*, where this type of inference is depicted as characteristic of the medical rationalists (*aṣḥāb al-qiyās*). For the Aristotelian background see *Prior Analytics*, II. 27, 70a7–8.

26. K. Versteegh, *Greek Elements in Arabic Linguistic Thinking*, Leiden, 1977, pp. 178–90 (ch. X: 'The Stoic Component in the Theory of Meaning'); R. B. Edlow, *Galen on Language and Ambiguity: an English Translation of Galen's 'De captionibus (On fallacies)' with Introduction, Text and Commentary*, Leiden, 1977; Sabra, '*Kalām* Atomism' (n. 13 above), pp. 207–9; B. Morison, 'Language', in *The Cambridge Companion to Galen*, ed. R. J. Hankinson, Cambridge, 2008, pp. 116–56.

27. J. van Ess, 'The Logical Structure of Islamic Theology', in *Logic in Classical Islamic Culture*, ed. G. von Grunebaum, Wiesbaden, 1970, pp. 27 f. (regarding the hypothetical syllogism); F. Kudlien, '*Endeixis* as a scientific term: (A) Galen's usage of the word (in medicine and logic)', in *Galen's Method of Healing*, ed. R. J. Durling and F. Kudlien, Leiden, 1991, pp. 103–11, with an appendix by I. Cassells, 'A Brief Note on Arabic Equivalents to Galen's ἔνδειξις', ibid., pp. 114–6. For Galen's complex relation to Stoicism see T. Tiele-mann, 'Galen and the Stoics, or: the Art of Not Naming', in *Galen and the World of Knowledge*, ed. C. Gill, T. Whitmarsh, and J. Wilkins, Cambridge, 2009, pp. 282–300; D. Nickel, 'Stoa und Stoiker in Galens Schrift *De foetuum formatione*', in *Galen und das hellenistische Erbe*, ed. J. Kollesch and D. Nickel, Stuttgart, 1993, pp. 79–86.

28. R. Brunschvig, 'Muʿtazilisme et optimum (*al-aṣlaḥ*)', *Studia Islamica*, 39, 1974, pp. 5–23; G. Vajda, 'La Finalité de la création de l'homme selon un théologien juif du IXe siècle', *Oriens*, 15, 1962, pp. 61–85 (72–4); van Ess, *TG* (n. 1 above), vol. III, p. 406, n. 26 (critical); ibid., vol. IV, pp. 506–12, 1000 (index); E. L. Ormsby, *Theodicy in Islamic Thought: The Dispute Over Al-Ghazali's Best of All Possible Worlds*, Princeton, 1984, pp. 45–51, 217–58; El Omari, *Theology* (n. 9 above), pp. 136–148; R. J. Hankinson, 'Galen and the Best of all Possible Worlds', *Classical Quarterly*, 39, 1989, pp. 206–27. The gist of the debate between Abū l-Qāsim al-Balḫī (*Kitāb al-Nihāya fī l-aṣlaḥ ʿalā Abī ʿAlī al-Ǧubbā'ī*) and the Baṣran Muʿtazila (esp. Abū ʿAlī and Abū Hāšim al-Ǧubbā'ī) is summarized in ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār's *Muġnī* (n. 17 above), vol. 14, pp. 56–110. A relation between the *aṣlaḥ* of the *mutakallimūn* and Galenic teleology is established in Ibn al-Nafīs's *al-Risāla al-Kāmilīya fī l-sīra al-nabawīya* (= *Kitāb Fāḍil ibn Nāṭiq*), ed. M. Meyerhof and J. Schacht, in *The Theologus Autodidactus of Ibn al-Nafis*, Oxford, 1968, pp. 32 f., 9–11 (ed.), 43–46 (transl.).

29. See, for instance, the term 'habit', 'custom' (*ʿāda*); F. Klein-Franke, 'The Arabic Version of Galen's Περὶ ἐθῶν', *JSAI*, 1, 1979, pp. 125–50.

kalām atomism, which over the course of the ninth century emerged as the predominant among several competing *kalām* theories of the physical world, are 'best understood in the context of a response to Galen's rejection of atomism'.[30] His argumentation is specifically based on the following observations:

(1) The Galenic tradition – in particular Galen's *On the Elements* and its satellite literature – contains the richest bank of discussions and refutations of atomism available in Arabic.[31]

(2) For some *mutakallimūn*, Galen and his school – rather than the Peripatetic tradition – 'represented the authoritative voice of those who ... view the natural world as self-contained system functioning under its own laws',[32] that is 'the type of world-view that they had to reject'.[33] These *mutakallimūn* may have adopted atomism as a 'plausible alternative' to the Galenic world-view, *because* Galen was so careful to reject it.

(3) The core of Galen's refutation of atomism in *On the Elements* revolves around 'the argument from pain'.[34] It relies on the assumption 'that what is to suffer pain must be capable of alteration and of sensation'[35] and therefore 'presupposes a kind of multiplicity or alterity'.[36] Since atomism posits homogeneous and qualityless particles which are incapable of alteration and affection, it fails – in Galen's view – to provide an adequate explanation for the phenomenon of pain. Against this backdrop, Muʿtazilī 'attempts at articulating a biophysical theory of pain are a direct response to Galen's

30. Langermann, 'Islamic Atomism' (n. 9 above), p. 277 and repeated in id. and G. Bos, 'An Epitome of Galen's *On the Elements* Ascribed to Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq', *Arabic Sciences and Philosophy*, 25, 2015, pp. 33–78 (46 f.).

31. For a synoptic view of Greek text and Arabic translation see http://www.graeco-arabic-studies.org/texts.html (accessed 31/10/2015). As Galen himself mentions in *De ordine librorum suorum* (περὶ τάξεως τῶν ἰδίων βιβλίων, *Kitāb fī marātib qirāʾat kutubih*, ed. Boudon-Millot, Paris, 2007, p. 93, ll. 9–15) the fullest discussion of his theory of elements, including a refutation of atomism, was to be found in Books 5 and 6 of *On the Opinions of Asclepiades* (lost) and in Book 13 of *On Demonstration*. A critical account of Epicurean atomism (*aǧzāʾ Afiqūrus allatī lā tataǧazzaʾu*) and the associated view that everything happens by chance and randomly (*bi-l-baḫt wa-l-ittifāq*) is also found in Book 11 of *On the Usefulness of the Parts of the Body* (see MS Paris, BNF, ar. 2853, fol. 196r, ll. 3 f.) and the summarizing commentary by Yaḥyā al-Naḥwī al-Iskandarānī (see G. Strohmaier, 'Der Kommentar des Johannes Grammatikos zu Galen, *De usu partium* (Buch 11) in einer unikalen Gothaer Handschrift', in id., *Hellas im Islam* [n. 6 above], pp. 109–12). Langermann erroneously holds that *On the Elements* was 'the first of the sixteen Galenic works that formed the "core curriculum" for medical students in late Antiquity' ('Islamic Atomism' [n. 9 above], p. 278). As correctly stated in Ibn Riḍwān's commentary on the book, it actually is 'the first book to be studied by the person who wishes perfection in the art of medicine' (ibid., p. 282) after having completed the study of the four (or five or six) isagogic writings (see Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq's *Risāla*, ed. G. Bergsträsser, in id., *Ḥunain ibn Isḥāq über die syrischen und arabischen Galen-Übersetzungen*, Leipzig, 1925, pp. 9–10 (ed.), pp. 7–8 (transl.); A. Z. Iskandar, 'An Attempted Reconstruction of the Late Alexandrian Medical Curriculum', *Medical History*, 20:3, 1976, pp. 235–58 (esp. pp. 238, 250, 258).

32. Langermann, 'Islamic Atomism' (n. 9 above), p. 277.

33. Ibid., p. 291.

34. For a more elaborate analysis of this argument see now D. Leith, 'Galen's Refutation of Atomism', in *Philosophical Themes in Galen* (n. 3 above), pp. 213–34 (216 f.); I. Kupreeva, 'Galen's Theory of Elements', in ibid., pp. 153–96 (esp. 162 f.). See also Abū Bakr al-Rāzī, *al-Šukūk ʿalā Ǧālīnūs*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ġanī, Cairo 1426/2005, p. 110, ll. 15 f.; Abū l-ʿAlāʾ Ibn Zuhr, *Kitāb al-Bayān wa-l-tabyīn fī ḥall šukūk al-Rāzī ʿalā kutub Ǧālīnūs*, MS Mašhad, Kitābḫāna-yi Markazī-yi Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī, no. 13997 (mf. Tehran, Dānišgāh, no. 3269), fols 41v f.

35. Leith, 'Galen's Refutation' (n. 34 above), p. 219.

36. Ibid., p. 216.

refutation of atomism'[37] and 'can only be understood in terms of their coming to grips with Galen's anti-atomism'.[38]

In the following first part of this article I will take up the thread of Langermann's hypotheses and use it as a convenient starting point to elaborate on a few additional factors which have a bearing on the relation between *kalām* and the medical tradition.

(1) Galen's staunch anti-atomism should be viewed in conjunction with his more sceptical and agnostic statements about the foundations of the created world, the createdness or uncreatedness of the world, the nature of the Demiurge-Creator, the substance (οὐσία) of the soul, etc. While he considered his general physical theory of elemental qualities and the ensuing criticism of atomism as 'necessary or useful' (ἀναγκαῖον ἢ χρήσιμον) to explaining the structural and functional principles of bodies and hence as requisite know-how for physicians, he at the same time conceded that these foundations, like all fundamental assumptions of physics and speculative philosophy (ἡ θεωρητικὴ φιλοσοφία), are indemonstrable and conjectural and therefore 'continue to baffle even the best of philosophers up to the present day'.[39] Galen's agnosticism finds its most elaborate expression in *On My Own Opinions*, a 'spiritual testament' of sorts, in which he distinguishes between 'things that he knows to be certain, things that he regards as plausible but as yet unproven, and things on which he cannot (yet) make up his mind'.[40] The last group, which comprises the nature of the soul and its relation to the body and the ultimate constituents of matter, 'he dismisses as irrelevant and inessential both to medical practice and to ethics'.[41] Admitting to such indifference, however, effectively entailed that contrary explanations, such as Epicurean and Democritean atomism, which Galen had rejected in *On the Elements*, *On Demonstration* and elsewhere, could not conclusively be refuted.[42] The criticism engendered by Galen's agnostic statements in al-Rāzī's *Doubts* or al-Fārābī's

37. Langermann, 'Islamic Atomism' (n. 9 above), p. 291.

38. Ibid., p. 286.

39. P. van der Eijk, 'Galen on the Nature of Human Beings', in *Philosophical Themes in Galen* (n. 3 above), pp. 89–134 (119), quoting from Book 2 of *On Mixtures*. Similar statements are recorded in M. Frede, 'Galen's Theology', in *Galien et la philosophie*, ed. J. Barnes and J. Jouanna, Geneva, 2003, pp. 75–81. For a discussion of Galen's scepticism with respect to questions of speculative and theoretical philosophy that are without relevance to medical practice see Frede, 'On Galen's Epistemology' (n. 23 above); R. J. Hankinson, 'Galen on the Limitations of Knowledge', in *Galen and the World of Knowledge*, ed. C. Gill, T. Whitmarsh and J. Wilkins, Cambridge, 2009, pp. 206–42.

40. See Galen, *On My Own Opinions* 14.2–5, ed. V. Nutton, Berlin, 1999, pp. 110–16 together with Nutton's introduction (ibid., p. 47) and commentary (ibid., pp. 206–11); V. Boudon-Millot and A. Pietrobelli, 'Galien ressuscité: édition *princeps* du texte grec du *De propriis placitis*', *Revue des études grecques*, 118, 2005, pp. 168–213 (esp. 172 f., 178 f., 187 f. [ed.]; 191 f., 198 f., 210 f. [transl.]). Rāzī, *Šukūk* (n. 34 above), p. 45, ll. 4–7 notes that Galen wrote *On My Own Opinions* after his thoughts had been consolidated and stabilised and that it was the last of his books and compositions. See also the passage from *Ṣiwān al-ḥikma* as quoted by Nutton (above), pp. 37 f.

41. Nutton, *Introduction* (n. 40 above), p. 48, referring to *On My Own Opinions* 14,5, p. 114 (ὅσα τὴν μὲν γνῶσιν οὐκ ἀναγκαίαν ἔχει πρὸς ὑγίειαν σώματος ἢ τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς ἠθικὰς ἀρετὰς). See also *On the Doctrines of Hippocrates and Plato* IX, 9–12, ed. P. De Lacy, Berlin, 1984, vol. 2, pp. 588 f., 494–6) where Galen also states that these questions are inconsequential to practical sciences (8.3.2.6–7 ἄχρηστον ἰατρῷ σκέμμα, 'useless to the physician'; 8.3.3.3–8.3.4.1 πρὸς τὰς τῶν νόσων ἰάσεις οὐδὲν συντελεῖ, 'contributes nothing to the healing of diseases').

42. See *On My Own Opinions* (n. 40 above), p. 112 with commentary on pp. 206–8.

Rebuttal of Galen further enhanced the renown of *On My Own Opinions*, which in the ninth century circulated in two Syriac translations by Job of Edessa and Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq and three Arabic renderings by Ṯābit ibn Qurra, ʿĪsā ibn Yaḥyā and Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq.[43] It is unlikely that the gist of Galen's agnosticism remained hidden from the *mutakallimūn*.[44]

(2) The *mutakallimūn* of the early ʿAbbāsid period were aware of non-Galenic medical theories that proved compatible with various forms of atomism, be they of Indian, Dualist (e.g. Bardaisanite) or other origin.[45]

(3) The refutation of Greek atomism was a recurrent topic in patristic literature, first and foremost in Hexaemeron compositions and commentaries on the Book of Genesis.[46] Greek atomism was equated with a philosophical system which does not recognize a creator-God and views creation as a product of chance rather than divine providence.[47] By way of example, I may refer here to one of the oldest and most detailed arguments against Epicurean atomism from a Christian point of view which is found in an extract from *On Nature, in Answer to the Epicureans* (Περὶ φύσεως πρὸς τοὺς

43. Ḥunayn, *Risāla* (n. 31 above), pp. 46 f. (ed.), 38 (tr.), no. 113; R. Degen, 'Galen im Syrischen: Eine Übersicht über die syrische Überlieferung der Werke Galens', in *Galen: Problems and Prospects*, ed. V. Nutton, London, 1981, pp. 131–66 (155, no. 98); P. Kraus, *Jābir Ibn Ḥayyān: Contribution à l'histoire des idées scientifiques dans l'islam. Volume II: Jābir et la science grecque*, Cairo, 1942, p. 327, no. 6 mistakenly refers to a Syriac translation by Sergius of Rēshʿaynā. Galen's agnostic views clearly facilitated the critical reception of his works among Christian readers as will be shown further below with the example of Nemesius of Emesa's *On the Nature of Man*. In the 3rd/9th century Israel of Kashkar [the elder] (d. 872) invokes Galen's agnosticism in his *Treatise on the Unity and Trinity of God* (ed. B. Holmberg, *A Treatise on the Unity and Trinity of God by Israel of Kashkar (d. 872)*, Lund, 1989, p. 17) with regard to the doctrine of the soul (see Nutton's introduction to *On My Own Opinions* [n. 40 above], pp. 39 f.). For the reception of *On My Own Opinions* in medico-philosophical circles see also E. Wakelnig, *A Philosophy Reader from the Circle of Miskawayh*, Cambridge, 2014, pp. 26 f.; ead., 'Fragments of the Hitherto Lost Arabic Translation of Galen's *On My Own Opinions* in the Philosophy Reader MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Oriental Collection, Marsh 539', in *Medieval Arabic Thought: Essays in Honour of Fritz Zimmermann*, ed. R. Hansberger et al., London, 2012, pp. 221–38.

44. See, for instance, Montgomery, *Al-Jāḥiẓ* (n. 7 above), p. 294 with n. 22 (p. 506). S. Menn, 'The *Discourse on the Method* and the Tradition of Intellectual Autobiography', in *Hellenistic and Early Modern Philosophy*, ed. J. Miller and B. Inwood, Cambridge, 2003, pp. 141–91 (158–66) argued that al-Ghazālī modelled the account of his sceptical crisis in *al-Munqiḏ min al-ḍalāl* on Galen's autobiographical model. See also A. El Shamsy, 'The Wisdom of God's Law: Two Theories', in *Islamic Law in Theory: Studies on Jurisprudence in Honor of Bernard Weiss*, ed. A. K. Reinhart and R. Gleave, Leiden, 2014, pp. 19–37 (32).

45. A. Dhanani suggested that the Epicurean doctrine of minimal parts may have come to the attention of the *mutakallimūn* via Manichaean factions or Bardaisanite Dualism ('Dayṣānīya'). See his *The Physical Theory of Kalām* (n. 12 above), pp. 182–7; id., 'Kalām Atoms and Epicurean Minimal Parts', in *Tradition, Transmission, Transformation: Proceedings of Two Conferences on Pre-Modern Science held at the University of Oklahoma*, ed. F. J. Ragep, S. P. Ragep, with S. Livesey, Leiden, 1996, pp. 157–71 (169 f.). On Bardaisanite cosmology see the references given in J. Teixidor, 'Bardesane de Syrie', in *Dictionnaire des philosophes antiques II: Babélyca d'Argos à Dyscolius*, ed. R. Goulet, Paris, 1994, pp. 54–63, no. 11; van Ess, *TG* (n. 1 above), vol. I, pp. 426–30. For possible connections between Indian theories of atoms and *kalām* atomism see Pines, *Studies in Islamic Atomism* (n. 12 above), pp. 117–41 and the references given above in n. 8. On atomism in pre-Galenic ancient medicine see R. A. Horne, 'Atomism in Ancient Medical History', *Medical History*, 7, 1963, pp. 317–29; M. C. Nannini, 'La teoria atomistica nella filosofia e nella storia della medicina', *Minerva Medica*, 54, 1963, pp. 1265–8.

46. Pines, *Studies in Islamic Atomism* (n. 12 above), pp. 114 f.

47. See, for instance, the references given in U. Possekel, *Evidence of Greek Philosophical Concepts in the Writings of Ephrem the Syrian*, Louvain, 1999, pp. 120–6; B. Pullman, *The Atom in the History of Human Thought*, Oxford, 2001, pp. 91 f. A similar line of argumentation against the anti-teleological, haphazard strain (κατὰ τύχην – *bi-l-baḫt wa-l-ittifāq*) of Epicurean atomism comes to the fore in Book XI of Galen's *On the Usefulness of the Parts of the Body* (see above n. 31).

κατ' Ἐπίκουρον) by Origen's student Dionysius of Alexandria (d. after 265) and which has been preserved in Eusebius of Caesarea's *Preparation for the Gospel.*[48] Ephrem the Syrian (d. 373), who counts among the most widely read Church Fathers in both the West-Syrian and the East-Syrian churches,[49] dedicated several paragraphs of his *Discourse against Mani* to a refutation of Bardaisan's atomistic cosmogony.[50]

(4) A search for points of contact between *kalām* and the Galenic tradition should attach greater weight to indirect channels of transmission of Galenic ideas and place special emphasis on the fact that Galen and Galenism were assimilated to both Christian and 'pagan' systems of religious thought well before the rise of Islam. While Langermann rightly emphasizes the multiple lines of transmission of Galenic works and ideas into Arabic, his reflections mostly relate to Arabic translations of Galen's works and the milieu of professional physicians.[51] This focus on the medical curriculum, the 'Alexandrian Canon' of Sixteen Books, or the *Alexandrian Summaries* tends to overrate their importance for the reception of Galenic ideas in Arabic literature in general and among the *mutakallimūn* in particular.[52] There is, in fact, little to no evidence suggesting that the acquaintance of early *mutakallimūn* with Galenic ideas was in any way shaped by the medical curriculum.

To correctly gauge the reception of Galenic ideas in *kalām* circles it is far more pertinent to explore their role and place in contemporaneous speculative thought (physical theory, theology, psychology, anthropology) of Christian and 'pagan' (Ṣābians, Dahrīya, Jābirians, etc.) scholars outside of the strictly medical domain. Such an investigation will demonstrate that the Galenic ideas which carried greatest weight in these milieus mostly derived – directly or indirectly – from Galen's medico-philosophical works of which many were not part of the mainstream medical curriculum, notably *On Demonstration*, *On the Usefulness of the Parts of the Body*, *On the Doctrines of Hippocrates and Plato*, *On My Own Opinions*, and *That the Faculties of the Soul Follow the*

48. Ed. K. Mras, XIV 23.1.1–XIV 27.12.5, Berlin, 1956 (²1983), pp. 324–337. *The Letters and Other Remains of Dionysius of Alexandria*, ed. C. L. Feltoe, Cambridge, 1904, pp. 127–64; *St. Dionysius of Alexandria: Letters and Treatises*, transl. C. L. Feltoe, New York, 1918, pp. 24–6; 91–8; *Dionysius von Alexandrien: Das erhaltene Werk*, transl. W. A. Bienert, Stuttgart, 1972, pp. 63–74, 116–8; W. A. Bienert, *Dionysius von Alexandrien: Zur Frage des Origenismus im dritten Jahrhundert*, Berlin, 1978, pp. 109–15; S. J. Bouma, *Dionysius van Alexandrië*, Purmerend, 1943, pp. 2 f., 188–90; E. Junod, 'Denys d'Alexandrie', in *Dictionnaire des philosophes antiques II: Babélyca d'Argos à Dyscolius*, ed. R. Goulet, Paris, 1994, pp. 721–3, no. 81.

49. B. ter Haar Romeny, 'Les Pères grecs dans les florilèges exégétiques syriaques', in *Les Pères grecs dans la tradition syriaque*, ed. A. Schmidt and D. Gonnet, Paris, 2007, pp. 63–76.

50. *S. Ephraim's Prose Refutations against Mani, Marcion, and Bardaisan, vol. II: The Discourse Called 'Of Domnus' and Six Other Writings*, ed. and transl. C. W. Mitchell, A. A. Bevan and F. C. Burkitt, London, 1921, pp. 217–20 (ed.), pp. ciii–civ (transl.). See, moreover, Possekel, *Evidence* (n. 47 above), pp. 116–20; I. Ramelli, *Bardaisan of Edessa: A Reassessment of the Evidence and a New Interpretation*, Piscataway, 2009, pp. 21, 176.

51. According to Ḥunayn's *Risāla* (n. 31 above), written between 855 and 863, 129 Galenic writings had been translated by his time into either Syriac or Arabic or both.

52. On the 'Alexandrian Canon', the Sixteen Books, and the *Alexandrian Summaries* see Ḥunayn, *Risāla* (n. 31 above), pp. 4–18 (ed.), 3–15 (transl.); Iskandar, 'An Attempted Reconstruction' (n. 31 above); V. Boudon-Millot, *Galien: Introduction générale*, Paris, 2007, pp. cxiv–cxxvi (see cxvii for the fact that the term 'Canon' does not properly reflect actual school practice); G. Strohmaier, 'Die christlichen Schulen in Bagdad und der alexandrinische Kanon der Galenschriften: Eine Korrektur in Ḥunains Sendschreiben an ʿAlī ibn Yaḥyā', *Oriens*, 36, 2001, pp. 268–75, repr. in id., *Hellas im Islam* (n. 6 above), pp. 180–5; Ullmann, *Die Medizin* (n. 3 above), pp. 65–7, 343.

Mixtures of the Body.[53] From among the 'canon' of Sixteen Books they mainly comprised the first three books of the advanced cursus, namely *On the Elements According to Hippocrates*, *On Mixtures*, and *On the Natural Faculties*.

A certain predilection for Galen's medico-philosophical writings is already apparent in some extant fragments of his works on papyrus.[54] It becomes even more tangible, if we consider their role in what we may call 'Christian Galenism', the by no means uncritical appropriation, adaptation and integration of medical knowledge in general and Galenism in particular into the body of Christian thought from the third century onwards.[55] This process of appropriation gained currency over the course of the fourth through seventh centuries, when several Church Fathers demonstrate remarkably detailed medical knowledge and acquaintance with at least some of Galen's works,[56] and continued over the first centuries of the Islamic era when we find many

53. See, for instance, R. W. Sharples and P. J. van der Eijk, *Nemesius: On the Nature of Man*, Liverpool, 2008, pp. 12 f., 242–6 for a list of Galenic works mentioned and/or quoted in Nemesius of Emesa's *On the Nature of Man*. This list bears striking similarities to the quasi hierarchical arrangement of Galenic works scrutinized in al-Rāzī's *Šukūk ʿalā Ǧālīnūs* (see G. Strohmaier, 'Bekannte und unbekannte Zitate in den *Zweifeln an Galen* des Rhazes', in *Text and Tradition: Studies in Ancient Medicine and Its Transmission presented to Jutta Kollesch*, ed. K. D. Fischer, D. Nickel and P. Potter, Leiden, 1998, pp. 263–87; repr. in G. Strohmaier, *Zwischen Islamismus und Eurozentrismus: Mosaiksteine zu einem Bild arabisch-islamischen Erbes*, Wiesbaden, 2012, pp. 98–115). The investigation of commonalities between Christian Galenism and Rāzī's *Doubts* (as well as between certain strands of patristic thought and his *Spiritual Medicine*) merits a separate in-depth study. See, moreover, V. Boudon, 'Galien de Pergame', in *Dictionnaire des philosophes antiques III: d'Eccélos à Juvénal*, ed. R. Goulet, Paris, 2000, pp. 440–66 (454–65), no. 3, and the Galenic works listed in Wakelnig, *A Philosophy Reader* (n. 43 above), pp. 26–8, 513 f. (index). For Galenic works cited in the *Corpus Jābirianum* see Kraus, *Jābir Ibn Ḥayyān* (n. 43 above), vol. 2, pp. 326–30; *GAS* (n. 8 above), vol. III, pp. 70–4, 107, 220–23, 424 (index).

54. Boudon-Millot, *Galien* (n. 52 above), pp. cxi f.

55. G. Strohmaier, 'Galen in den Schulen der Juden und Christen', in *Judaica; Beiträge zum Verstehen des Judentums*, 62, 2006, pp. 140–56 (155 with nn. 77–82); R. Walzer, *Galen on Jews and Christians*, Oxford, 1949, pp. 75–7; Sharples and van der Eijk, *Nemesius* (n. 53 above), p. 13 with n. 77; R. M. Grant, 'Paul, Galen and Origen', *Journal of Theological Studies*, 34, 1983, pp. 533–6; O. Temkin, *Galenism: Rise and Decline of a Medical Philosophy*, Ithaca, 1973, pp. 55–61. Eusebius of Caesarea (d. ca. 340) cites in his *Church History* (V 28.14) an unnamed source from the first half of the 3rd century wherein the excommunication of a group of adoptionists, represented by Theodotus of Byzantium and Victor of Rome, includes the following statement: 'To study Euclid is for some of them a labour of love; Aristotle and Theophrastus are admired; aye, Galen in like manner by some is even worshipped' (Γαληνὸς γὰρ ἴσως ὑπό τινων καὶ προσκυνεῖται). N. P. Shok [Н. П. Шок], Античная традиция и раннехристианское мировоззрение в теории и практике медицины Римской империи I–III веков (*Ancient Tradition and Early Christian Worldview in the Theory and Practice of Medicine of the Roman Empire from the First to the Third Centuries*), PhD diss., Tomsk State University, 2014, argues for a direct dependence of Dionysius of Alexandria on Galen's teleology (http://www.dslib.net/istoria-techniki/ antichnaja-tradicija-i-rannehristianskoe-mirovozzrenie-v-teorii-i-praktike-mediciny.html, accessed 31/10/2015).

56. *Les Pères de l'église face à la science médicale de leur temps*, ed. V. Boudon-Millot and B. Pouderon, Paris, 2005; G. B. Ferngren, *Medicine and Health Care in Early Christianity*, Baltimore, 2009; M. Dörnemann, *Krankheit und Heilung in der Theologie der frühen Kirchenväter*, Tübingen, 2003; C. Schulze, *Medizin und Christentum in Spätantike und frühem Mittelalter*, Tübingen, 2005; C. Flügel, *Spätantike Arztinschriften als Spiegel des Einflusses des Christentums auf die Medizin*, Göttingen, 2006; H. J. Frings, '*Medizin und Arzt bei den griechischen Kirchenvätern bis Chrysostomos*', PhD diss., Universität Bonn, 1959; Shok, *Ancient Tradition* (n. 55 above); W. Mayer, 'Medicine in Transition: Christian Adaptation in the Later Fourth-Century East', in *Shifting Genres in Late Antiquity*, ed. G. Greatrex and H. Elton, Farnham, 2015, pp. 11–26; E. Fiori, 'Un intellectuel alexandrin en Mésopotamie: Essai d'une interprétation d'ensemble de l'œuvre de Serge de Resh'ayna', in *De l'antiquité tardive au moyen âge: Études de logique aristotélicienne et de philosophie grecque, syriaque, arabe et latine offertes à Henri Hugonnard-Roche*, Paris, 2014, pp. 59–90. See, moreover, the references in Sharples and van der Eijk, *Nemesius* (n. 53 above), p.

Christian physicians who received an advanced theological training as well as several clerics well-versed in theoretical medicine.[57] By the end of the first millenium the assimilation of Galenism to Christian thought was pervasive enough for Abū l-Ḥasan al-Masʿūdī (d. 956) to portray Galen as a pious Christian.[58]

At a time when Christianity was gradually consolidating its position as a major cultural and political force, it often characterized its relation to and assimilation of the rich 'pagan' body of scientific, philosophical and religious knowledge in medical imagery as a 'therapy' (ἰατρικὴ θεραπεία) which should help to remedy the 'inverted beliefs' of adherents of Hellenic religions.[59] The Christian God was depicted as *Deus* (or *Christus*) *medicus* (Χριστὸς ἰατρός) and His prophets as (assistant) physicians.[60] Galen was at once object and instrument of this therapeutic process. For the early Christian recipients of his medico-philosophical writings their attraction rested on the one hand on a similar Platonic frame story describing the creation of the universe and its artistic Craftsman-Creator based on the model of the demiurgic creation theology of the *Timaeus* and its commentaries[61] and sustaining a sharp distinction between the ontological realms of immaterial principles and sensible, created entities, and on the other hand on a pervasive Aristotelian teleology which depicted in great detail the purposive

12, n. 63. For Stephen of Alexandria and John Philoponus see the references in van der Eijk and Francis, 'Aristoteles, Aristotelismus und antike Medizin' (n. 3 above), pp. 217, 225 and van der Eijk, 'Galen on the Nature of Human Beings' (n. 39 above), p. 132, n. 105.

57. Many pertinent examples up to the 7th/13th century are recorded in Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa's *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ*. See, furthermore, G. J. Reinink, 'Theology and Medicine in Jundishapur: Cultural Change in the Nestorian School Tradition', in *Learned Antiquity: Scholarship and Society in the Near East, the Greco-Roman World, and the Early Medieval West*, ed. A. A. MacDonald, M. W. Twomey and G. J. Reinink, Leuven, 2003, pp. 163–74 (166 f., 169); L. I. Conrad, '*Varietas Syriaca*: Secular and Scientific Culture in the Christian Communities of Syria after the Arab Conquest', in *After Bardaisan: Studies on Continuity and Change in Syriac Christianity in Honour of Professor Han J. W. Drijvers*, ed. G. J. Reinink and A. C. Klugkist, Leuven, 1999, pp. 85–105; P. Bruns, 'Schnittpunkte zwischen Christentum und Medizin im spätantiken Sasanidenreich', *Oriens Christianus*, 93, 2009, pp. 41–58; N. Allan, 'Christian Mesopotamia and Greek Medicine', *Hermathena*, 145, 1988, pp. 39–58; S. Stroumsa, 'Philosophy as Wisdom: On the Christians' Role in the Translation of Philosophical Material into Arabic', in *Exchange and Transmission Across Cultural Boundaries: Philosophy, Mysticism and Science in the Mediterranean World*, ed. H. Ben-Shammai, S. Shaked and S. Stroumsa, Jerusalem, 2013, pp. 276–93 (292); A. H. Becker, *Fear of God and the Beginning of Wisdom: The School of Nisibis and Christian Scholastic Culture in Late Antique Mesopotamia*, Philadelphia, 2006, pp. 85–105 (90, 92, 94–6); Degen, 'Galen im Syrischen' (n. 43 above).

58. *Kitāb al-Tanbīh wa-l-išrāf*, ed. M. J. De Goeje, Leiden, 1894, p. 131, ll. 8–11 .

59. See, for instance, Y. Papadogiannakis, *Christianity and Hellenism in Fifth-Century Greek East: Theodoret's Apologetics Against the Greeks in Context*, Harvard, 2012, pp. 31–51.

60. Schulze, *Medizin und Christentum* (n. 56 above), pp. 155–62. Ἰησοῦς, the Greek form of Joshua, has often been related to ἰατρός, Ἰασώ, ion. Ἰησώ (the goddess of healing and health) and other derivatives of the verb ἰάομαι (to cure). The comparison of prophets with physicians and of *šarīʿa/šarāʾiʿ* with medicine is common in *kalām* literature; see, for instance, Sadīd al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn ʿAlī al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī (d. after 1204), *al-Munqiḏ min al-taqlīd*, Qum, 1412–14/1991–3, vol. 1, p. 421: 'The status of the magnificent acts of divine service which the prophets put forth in their revealed Laws is equivalent to the status of the bitter and distasteful drugs which the physicians prescribe to the patients. ... The prophets, peace upon them, are physicians of the religious communities in the same way as the physicians are physicians of the bodies.'

61. C. Köckert, *Christliche Kosmologie und kaiserzeitliche Philosophie: die Auslegung des Schöpfungsberichtes bei Origenes, Basilius und Gregor von Nyssa vor dem Hintergrund kaiserzeitlicher Timaeus-Interpretationen*, Tübingen, 2009; M. W. Champion, *Explaining the Cosmos: Creation and Cultural Interaction in Late-Antique Gaza*, Oxford, 2014; *Plato's Timaeus and the Foundations of Cosmology in Late Antiquity, the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. T. Leinkauf and C. G. Steel, Leuven, 2005; *Plato's Timaeus as Cultural Icon*, ed. G. J. Reydams-Schils, Notre Dame, 2003; D. T. Runia, *Philo of Alexandria and the Timaeus of Plato*, Leiden, 1986.

and perfect design of the created world and the human being based on up-to-date anatomical and physiological knowledge.

The work which represented this Platonic-Aristotelian hybrid more than any other was *On the Usefulness of the Parts of the Body (UPB)*.[62] As Galen writes in *On My Own Books*, his detailed exposition of the all-embracing purposiveness apparent in God's creation of the human body made *UPB* soon very popular with contemporary Peripatetics, 'because Aristotle had himself written the same type of work'.[63] The Platonic theological scheme of the treatise in turn greatly facilitated its dissemination among Christian readers to the extent that it soon became a master repository of evidence satisfying the monotheist quest for signs asserting the perfect design of divine conception and providing an arsenal of potent arguments in anti-Dualist polemics.[64]

Galen calls *UPB* a 'sacred discourse' (ἱερὸν λόγον; *qawl ẓāhir muqaddas*)[65] which he composed 'under the order of some divinity[/angel]' (... τις ἐκέλευσε δαιμόνων...; *amaranī malak min al-malāʾika*),[66] 'as a true hymn of praise to our Creator' (τοῦ δημιουργήσαντος ἡμᾶς ὕμνον ἀληθινόν; *tasabbuḥ wa-taqdīs ḥāliṣ li-ḫāliqinā*)[67] and considers the 'Treatise (arab. Science) of the Usefulness of Bodily Parts' (ἡ περὶ χρείας μορίων πραγματεία; *ʿilm manāfiʿ al-aʿḍāʾ*) to be 'the source of perfect theology, which is a thing far greater and far nobler than all of medicine', (θεολογίας ἀκριβοῦς ἀληθῶς ἀρχὴ ..., πολὺ μείζονός τε καὶ πολὺ τιμιωτέρου πράγματος ὅλης τῆς ἰατρικῆς; *mabdaʾ li-l-kalām al-ḥaqq fī l-rubūbīya, wa-hāḏā amr aǧall kaṯīran wa-afḍal min al-ṭibb kullihī*).[68]

> I consider that I am really showing Him reverence ... when I myself first learn to know His wisdom (σοφία/*ḥikma*), power (δύναμις/*qudra*) and goodness (χρηστότης/*ǧūd*), and then make them known to others. I regard it as proof of perfect goodness that one should will to order everything in the best possible way, not grudging benefits to any creature, and therefore we must praise Him as good. But to have discovered how everything should best be ordered is the height of wisdom, and to have accomplished His will in all things is proof of His invincible power.[69]

62. Περὶ χρείας μορίων, ed. C. G. Kühn, *Claudii Galeni Opera Omnia*, vol. 3, Leipzig, 1822; ed. G. Helmreich, *Galeni De Usu Partium Libri XVII*, 2 vols, Leipzig, 1907–9; Arabic transl.: *K. Manāfiʿ al-aʿḍāʾ*, MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, arab. 2853; Ḥunayn, *Risāla* (n. 31 above), pp. 27 f. (ed.), pp. 22 f. (tr.), no. 49; *GAS* (n. 8 above), vol. III, pp. 106–8, no. 40; Ullmann, *Die Medizin* (n. 3 above), pp. 41, no. 15; Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum* (n. 3 above), no. 17; Degen, 'Galen im Syrischen' (n. 43 above), p. 137, no. 15; English translation: Galen, *On the Usefulness of the Parts of the Body*, transl. M. T. May, Ithaca, 1968.

63. Referring, above all, to Aristotle's biological works *On the Parts of Animals* (Περὶ ζῴων μορίων), which is repeatedly cited in *UPB*, *On the Generation of Animals* (Περὶ ζῴων γενέσεως), *On the Progression of Animals* (Περὶ πορείας ζῴων). See also G. Strohmaier, 'Galen als Vertreter der Gebildetenreligion seiner Zeit', in *Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte der Alten Welt, Bd. 2*, ed. B. C. Welskopf, Berlin 1965, pp. 375–9 (377), repr. in G. Strohmaier, *Von Demokrit bis Dante. Die Bewahrung antiken Erbes in der arabischen Kultur*, Hildesheim, 1996, pp. 94–8 (96).

64. G. Karamanolis, *The Philosophy of Early Christianity*, Durham, 2013, pp. 60–65.

65. *UPB* (n. 62 above) Book III, iii 237.12; MS BNF arab. 2853, fol. 55v; transl. May (n. 62 above), p. 189; Ormsby, *Theodicy* (n. 28 above), pp. 45 f., 211.

66. *UPB* Book X, iii 814.11; MS BNF arab. 2853, fol. 182v; transl. May, p. 491.

67. *UPB* Book III, iii 237.13; MS BNF arab. 2853, fol. 55v; transl. May, p. 189 (cf. May's introduction, p. 10).

68. *UPB* Book XVII, iv 360.14–17; MS BNF arab. 2853, fols 299v–300r; transl. May, p. 731.

69. *UPB* Book III, iii 237.12–238.6; MS BNF arab. 2853, fols 55v–56r; transl. May, p. 189.

Nature appears in *UPB* as divine subject assuming the creative role of Plato's Demiurge who is to be praised and worshipped as God.[70] She is industrious, skillful, wise and just, does nothing superfluous, nothing in vain and nothing without a reason;[71] she is the quintessential attestation of the Creator's providential wisdom and benevolence.[72]

> In fact, she is equally careful to make nothing insufficient and nothing in excess. For a deficiency in construction renders the work to be accomplished defective, and a superfluity, by imposing an extra burden, hinders parts that are strong enough in themselves to function and thus causes injury.[73]

By Book XII of *UPB* Galen holds the evidence accumulated thus far to be sufficiently overwhelming to solemnly declare that 'if by this time there is any reader who does not believe that Nature does nothing in vain, what I have written up to this point has been written in vain'.[74]

With respect to the Christian reception of *UPB* it is worth reminding here that the first attempts at rapprochement between Galen's providential teleology of creation and analogous Jewish and Christian conceptions has its beginning in the Galenic work itself. The passage which represents this accommodation process more than any other is a famous section in Book XI of *UPB* where Galen juxtaposes two opposing

70. On the concept of 'Nature' in Galen see F. Kovačić, *Der Begriff der Physis bei Galen vor dem Hintergrund seiner Vorgänger*, Stuttgart, 2001; J. Jouanna, 'La Notion de nature chez Galien', in *Galien et la philosophie* (n. 35 above), pp. 229–62 (English transl. in id., *Greek Medicine from Hippocrates to Galen: Selected Papers*, ed. P. van der Eijk, Leiden, 2012, pp. 287–311); R. J. Hankinson, 'Philosophy of Nature', in *The Cambridge Companion to Galen*, ed. R. J. Hankinson, Cambridge, 2008, pp. 210–41; P. Moraux, 'Galien comme philosophe: la philosophie de la nature', in *Galen: Problems and Prospects*, ed. V. Nutton, London, 1981, pp. 87–116; R. Flemming, 'Demiurge and Emperor in Galen's World of Knowledge', in *Galen and the World of Knowledge*, ed. C. Gill, T. Whitmarsh and J. Wilkins, Cambridge, 2009, pp. 59–84. In *On Mixtures* i 635.17–636.5 (cf. *On the Natural Faculties* ii 15.5–16, *On Semen*, iv 611.1–17) Galen speaks of 'the shaping capacity that is present in nature and that is like a craftsman and shapes the parts consequently with the character traits of the soul. Regarding this capacity, indeed, even Aristotle raised the question as to whether it might, in fact, be from some more divine source, and not just in accord with the hot, the cold, the dry and the wet' (ὅτι τῆς διαπλαστικῆς ἐν τῇ φύσει δυνάμεως οὐ μέμνηνται τεχνικῆς τ' οὔσης καὶ τοῖς τῆς ψυχῆς ἤθεσιν ἀκολούθως διαπλαττούσης τὰ μόρια. περὶ ταύτης γάρ τοι καὶ ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης ἠπόρησε, μή ποτ' ἄρα θειοτέρας τινὸς ἀρχῆς εἴη καὶ οὐ κατὰ τὸ θερμὸν καὶ ψυχρὸν καὶ ξηρὸν καὶ ὑγρόν); see van der Eijk, 'Galen on the Nature of Human Beings' (n. 39 above), pp. 118–25 (here 118 f.).

71. The Aristotelian notion that 'Nature does nothing in vain' is ubiquitous in *UPB* and other Galenic works. See, for instance *UPB*, Book XI, iii 857.4, MS BNF arab. 2853, fol. 191v, transl. May, p. 511: μάτην μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως γίγνεται; *fa-innahu laysa fī l-ḫilqa šayʾun ǧuʿila bāṭilan wa-lā ʿabaṯan*; Book XIII, iv 78.8, MS BNF arab. 2853, fol. 230r, transl. May, p. 588: μάτην μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἡ φύσις ἐργάζεται; *fa-innahu lam yuǧʿal fī l-ḫilqa šayʾun ʿabaṯan*; Book XIII, iv 112.6–7; MS BNF arab. 2853, fol. 237v; transl. May, p. 604: μάτην μὲν γὰρ ἡ φύσις οὐδὲν ἐργάζεται; *iḏ kāna lam yuǧʿal fī l-ḫilqa šayʾun bāṭil*; Book XV, iv 240.19, MS BNF arab. 2853, fol. 267r, transl. May, p. 669: οὐδὲν δ' ἡ φύσις ἐργάζεται μάτην; *wa-laysa fī l-ḫilqa šayʾ ʿumila bāṭilan wa-faḍlan*.

72. Ibid., Book X, iii 813.1–2, MS BNF arab. 2853, fol. 182r, transl. May, p. 491: ἔργον μέγα τῆς εἰς τὰ ζῷα προνοίας αὐτοῦ; *al-fiʿl al-ʿaẓīm allaḏī yadullu ʿalā ʿināyat al-ḫāliq bi-l-ḫilaq*.

73. Ibid., Book I, iii 83.19–84.1; MS BNF arab. 2853, fol. 21r, ll. 13–15; transl. May, p. 109: περίεργον δ' οὐδὲν ἡ φύσις ἐργάζεται·μέλει γὰρ ἴσον αὐτῇ περὶ τοῦ μήτ' ἐνδεῶς μηδὲν μήτε περιττῶς δημιουργεῖν; *wa-l-ḫāliq lā yafʿalu šayʾan ʿanhu ʿabaṯan, li-anna ʿināyatahū bi-an lā yaḫluqa šayʾan nāqiṣan miṯla ʿināyatihī bi-an lā yaḫluqa šayʾan faḍlan*.

74. Ibid., Book XII, iv 56.14–16; MS BNF arab. 2853, fol. 225r; transl. May, p. 577.

concepts of the relation between Creator and creation, one being by 'Plato and the other Greeks who follow the right method in natural science' and hold 'that certain things are impossible by nature and that God does not even attempt such things at all but that he chooses the best out of the possibilities of becoming'[75], the other being 'by Moses for whom it seems enough to say that God simply willed the arrangement of matter and it was presently arranged in due order; for he believes everything to be possible with God'.[76] It is but one of the passages in *UPB* which attracted a fair amount of attention and debate among Jewish, Christian and Muslim intellectuals in the Islamicate world.[77]

The reception history of *On the Usefulness of Bodily Parts* and other Galenic texts in Christian thought from the third century onwards is paradigmatic for the progressive accommodation of 'pagan' theological categories in Galen's work to a monotheistic discourse. The Syriac and Arabic translations of *UPB* are an integral part of this process of appropriation as is evident from the examples just quoted.[78] The fact that Ḥunayn's

75. Galen refers here to what he calls 'the matter-intrinsic principle' (ibid., Book XI, iii 905.9–10 [cf. *Ad Thrasybulum* v 859.2]; MS BNF arab. 2853, fol. 203r) ἡ ἐκ τῆς ὕλης ἀρχή; *al-mabdaʾ allaḏī min al-mādda*, which is distinguished from 'the Creator-intrinsic principle' (ibid. Book XI, iii 905.8–9) ἡ ἐκ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ ... ἀρχὴ γενέσεως ἐν ἅπασι τοῖς γεννητοῖς; ... *Allāh, ǧalla ismuhu, huwa mabdaʾ ḫalq kulli maḫlūq*; see Flemming, 'Demiurge and Emperor' (n. 70 above).

76. Ibid., iii 905.18–906. 5; transl. May, p. 533: καὶ τοῦτ' ἔστι, καθ' ὃ τῆς Μωσοῦ δόξης ἥ θ' ἡμετέρα καὶ ἡ Πλάτωνος καὶ ἡ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν παρ' Ἕλλησιν ὀρθῶς μεταχειρισαμένων τοὺς περὶ φύσεως λόγους διαφέρει. τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἀρκεῖ τὸ βουληθῆναι τὸν θεὸν κοσμῆσαι τὴν ὕλην, ἡ δ' εὐθὺς κεκόσμηται πάντα γὰρ εἶναι νομίζει τῷ θεῷ δυνατά. The Arabic translation (MS BNF arab. 2853, fol. 203v, ll. 4–6) reads as follows:
والفرق فيما بين إيمان موسى وإيماننا وأفلاطون وسائر اليونانيين هو هذا: موسى يزعم بأنّه يكتفي بأن يشاء الله أن يزيّن المادّة ويُهيّئها ليس إلّا فتتزيّن وتتهيّأ على المكان، وذلك أنّه يظنّ أنّ الأشياء كلّها ممكنة عند الله.
For a discussion of this passage see R. Walzer, *Galen on Jews and Christians* (n. 55 above), pp. 11–3 (text), 23–37 (discussion); G. Strohmaier, 'Galen in den Schulen der Juden und Christen' (n. 55 above), pp. 140–56 (142–5).

77. See, for instance, the Arabic translation of Yaḥyā l-Naḥwī l-Iskandarānī's summarizing commentary on this passage in MS Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, Orient. A 1906, fols 52r–56v; Strohmaier, *Der Kommentar des Johannes Grammatikos* (n. 31 above), pp. 109–12 (111). Maimonides quotes and discusses this passage in the 25th Aphorism of his *Medical Aphorisms* (*Fuṣūl Mūsā fī l-ṭibb*), ed. J. Schacht and M. Meyerhof, in 'Maimonides Against Galen, on Philosophy and Cosmogony', *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts of the University of Cairo*, vol. v, part I, 1939, pp. 53–88 (p. 82, ll. 14 f. [ed.], p. 70, ll. 4 f. [transl.]); *Maimonides: Medical Aphorisms, Treatises 22–25*, ed. and transl. G. Bos, Provo, 2016, p. 72, par. 62 [ed.], pp. 98 f. [transl.]). Early examples for references to this and other passages from *UPB* in the Islamic theological tradition include Ps.-Ǧāḥiẓ, *Kitāb al-ʿIbar wa-l-iʿtibār*, ed. Ṣ. Idrīs, Cairo, 1994, pp. 91–3; al-Mufaḍḍal ibn ʿUmar al-Ǧuʿfī (attrib.), *Kitāb Tawḥīd al-Mufaḍḍal*, Beirut, 2003, pp. 40 f. (according to the Imāmī tradition this work was dictated to al-Mufaḍḍal ibn ʿUmar by Ǧaʿfar al-Ṣādiq); the latter text is quoted and commented upon in Muḥammad Bāqir al-Maǧlisī's *Biḥār al-anwār, Kitāb al-Samāʾ wa-l-ʿālam*, Bāb 34 (*Bāb al-maʿādin wa-aḥwāl al-ǧamādāt wa-l-ṭabāʾiʿ wa-taʾṯīrātihā wa-'nqilābāt al-ǧawāhir wa-baʿḍi l-nawādir*), Tehran, 1376–94/1956–74, vol. 60, pp. 191–4.

78. The most conspicuous feature of this process of appropriation is the consistent rendering of φύσις ('Nature') in the subject position with *ḫāliq* ('Creator'). On the Christian interpretation of Galenic 'pagan' theological terms and concepts and their translation into Syriac and Arabic see F. Rosenthal, 'An Ancient Commentary on the Hippocratic Oath', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 30, 1956, pp. 52–87 (84 f.); G. Strohmaier, 'Die griechischen Götter in einer christlich-arabischen Übersetzung: Zum Traumbuch des Artemidor in der Version des Hunain ibn Ishak', in *Die Araber in der Alten Welt*, ed. F. Altheim and R. Stiehl, Berlin, 1968, vol. 5/1, pp. 127–62, repr. in id., *Von Demokrit bis Dante* (n. 59 above), pp. 227–62; id., 'Galen the Pagan and Ḥunayn the Christian: Specific Transformations in the Commentaries on *Airs, Waters, Places* and the *Epidemics*', in *Epidemics in Context: Greek Commentaries on Hippocrates in the Arabic Tradition*, ed. P. E. Pormann, Berlin, New York, 2012, pp. 171–84. *UPB* was first translated into Syriac in the sixth century by Sergius of Rēshʿaynā (see Degen, 'Galen im Syrischen' [n. 43 above], p. 137, no. 15).

Arabic translation of *UPB* is replete with terms and phrases borrowed from the theological discourse of early ninth century Muslim and Christian *mutakallimūn* further facilitated the reception of Galenic ideas in the *kalām* milieu.[79]

The weighty contribution of *UPB* and other Galenic texts to expositions of God's purposive and providential design of His creation in Christian and Muslim compositions of the early ʿAbbāsid period has recently been surveyed in J. E. Montgomery's two-volume introduction to the writings and textual world of Abū ʿUṯmān al-Ǧāḥiẓ.[80] Montgomery takes the 'obsessive interest' of ninth century intellectuals in what he calls the 'Design Complex' to be 'one of the primary reasons behind [their] interest ... in the works of Galen, Hippocrates and Aristotle'.[81] He depicts their shared preoccupation with nature and physical theory as 'a contact zone and a site of polemical contestation where thinkers ... from different traditions and creeds converged, shared, borrowed, stole, argued with, rejected, contested and appropriated each other's position ...,while actually claiming it as their own'.[82] In line with this view, he characterizes al-Ǧāḥiẓ's *Book of Living* (*Kitāb al-Ḥayawān*), whose 'nearest analogue' he considers to be Galen's *Compendium of Plato's Timaeus*, as 'a salvific ... and... proselytizing work' which was designed to appeal 'to all theists, dualists, monotheists and henotheists' with the intention of 'reclaim[ing] the scientific study of nature for Islam' and 'reduc[ing] non-Muslims to silence by depriving them of any pretensions to the reading of nature'.[83]

The most remarkable example for an early Muslim appropriation of what I termed 'Christian Galenism' is a succinct hymnodic homily by an anonymous Christian author who sings praise to the perfection and purposiveness of God's design apparent in His creation.[84] Among Muslim readers this text circulated in at least two versions and under varying titles and was most frequently ascribed to al-Ǧāḥiẓ.[85] In the preface to

79. The impact of late eighth and early ninth century *kalām* treatises on translations from Greek or Syriac into Arabic remains a neglected topic in the field of Graeco-Arabic studies. A bi- or, to the extent deemed possible, trilingual (Greek-Syriac-Arabic) edition of *UPB* with an analysis of theologically motivated modifications of the original text would clearly be a worthwhile undertaking.

80. Montgomery, *Al-Jāḥiẓ: In Praise of Books* (n. 7 above), ch. 5.1 ('Governance of the Cosmos'), pp. 277–318. On pp. 304–10 Montgomery peruses some pre-eminent Christian Arabic compositions on the 'Design Complex' (by Theodore Abū Qurra, Job of Edessa and ʿAmmār al-Baṣrī) which were evidently known to Muslim *mutakallimūn*. A. El Shamsy, 'Galen's Influence on Islamic Theology', unpublished paper presented at the 222nd meeting of the American Oriental Society, Boston, March 17, 2012 discusses the 'significant but hitherto overlooked influence [of *UPB*] on Islamic thought' and cites as example texts by Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, Avicenna, al-Ġazālī, Averroes, Faḫr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, Ibn al-Nafīs, Ibn Taymīya, and Ibn Qayyim al-Ǧawzīya. I am grateful to the author for sending me a copy of his paper.

81. Montgomery, *Al-Jāḥiẓ: In Praise of Books* (n. 7 above), p. 297.

82. Ibid., pp. 311, 315.

83. Ibid., pp. 315 f.

84. Ibid., pp. 297–303; El Shamsy, 'Galen's Influence' (n. 80 above), pp. 4 f. H. A. R. Gibb, 'The Argument from Design: A Muʿtazilī Treatise Attributed to al-Jāḥiẓ', in *Ignace Goldziher Memorial Volume, Part 1*, ed. S. Löwinger and J. Somogyi, Budapest, 1948, pp. 150–62. Montgomery proposes to ascribe the text to Israel of Kaškar [the elder] (d. 872).

85. Montgomery, *Al-Jāḥiẓ: In Praise of Books* (n. 7 above), p. 297 erroneously states that M. R. al-Ṭabbāḫ's edition of *The Book of Signs and Paradigms* (*Kitāb al-Dalāʾil wa-l-iʿtibār*, Aleppo, 1928, with numerous reprints) is the 'only printed version to date' and seems to be unaware of Ṣābir Idrīs's edition (*Kitāb al-ʿIbar wa-l-iʿtibār*, Cairo, 1994) which is based on MS London, British Library, Or. 3886 (see Idrīs's introduction, ibid., pp. 19 f.). For an annotated Italian translation based on the British Library manuscript and MS Milano, Biblioteca

one of these Pseudo-Ǧāḥiẓian versions (*Kitāb al-ʿIbar wa-l-iʿtibār*) the anonymous author explicitly creates a Christian textual genealogy for his cosmogonic hymn by referring to four Christian thinkers who previously composed works belonging to the same genre (*wa-qad allafa miṯla kitābinā hāḏā ǧamāʿa min al-ḥukamāʾ al-mutaqaddimīn*): Ǧibrīl ibn Nūḥ al-Anbārī, Diodorus of Tarsus, Theodoret of Cyrus, and Išoʿbōḵt (MS Išoʿyahb) of Fars.[86] Yet, for all these Christian paragons, it is the unnamed Galen who comes to the fore as one of the foremost sources of inspiration, especially in the section on human anatomy which draws heavily on *UPB*.[87]

The 'appropriation' of 'Christian Galenism' in early Muslim *kalām* is but the beginning of a gradually increasing reception of Galen's 'sacred hymn of praise to the Creator' in subsequent Islamic theologies. The history of this reception still remains to be written.[88]

Another outstanding example for an indirect transmission of Galenic ideas into the Islamicate world will help us to point out an additional aspect of the early Muslim reception of 'Christian Galenism'. I am referring to Nemesius of Emesa's *On the Nature of Man* (Περὶ φύσεως ἀνθρώπου; *K. Ṭabīʿat al-insān*).[89] This influential treatise is of paramount importance to correctly capture the vantage point from which 'Galenism' and 'Hellenizing *falsafa*' can be said to represent the type of world-view which the *mutakallimūn* were keen to reject.

On the Nature of Man likely dates from the last decade of the fourth century. '[N]o other Christian author earlier than the fifth century can be shown to follow Galen so closely, often verbatim, and to possess such detailed knowledge – whether directly or indirectly – of a considerable number of Galen's works'.[90] The importance of *On the*

Ambrosiana, ar. E 205, see A. Caruso, *Il libro dei moniti e della riflessione: Un testo 'apocrifo' jahiziano. Introduzione, analisi e traduzione*, Napoli, 1991.

86. Ed. Idrīs (n. 85 above), pp. 29–30; MS London, BL, Or. 3886, fols 4r–4v; MS Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, ar. E 205, fol. 3v; transl. Caruso (n. 85 above), pp. 124 f. For a discussion of these references see Caruso, ibid., pp. 26–33; Montgomery, *Al-Jāḥiẓ: In Praise of Books* (n. 7 above), pp. 300–2 with notes (pp. 508 f.); J. van Ess, 'Early Islamic Theologians on the Existence of God', in *Islam and the Medieval West: Papers Presented at the Ninth Annual Conference of the Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies State University of New York at Binghamton*, ed. K. I. Semaan, Albany, 1980, pp. 64–81; H. Daiber, 'Possible Echoes of *De mundo* in the Arabic-Islamic World: Christian, Islamic and Jewish Thinkers', in *Cosmic Order and Divine Power: Pseudo-Aristotle,* On the Cosmos. *Introduction, Text, Translation and Interpretative Essays*, ed. J. C. Thom, Tübingen, 2014, pp. 169–80.

87. Ed. Idrīs (n. 81 above), pp. 78–98; transl. Caruso (n. 81 above), pp. 171–84. El Shamsy, 'Galen's Influence' (n. 76 above), p. 4, highlights the fact that some of the Arabic terms used in *Kitāb al-ʿIbar* differ from those employed in Ḥunayn's translation of *On the Usefulness of the Parts of the Body*.

88. El Shamsy, 'Galen's Influence' (n. 80 above) is an important first step in this direction.

89. *Nemesii Emeseni De natura hominis*, ed. M. Morani, Leipzig, 1987; *Patrologia Graeca*, ed. F. Matthaeus, Paris, 1863, vol. 40, cols 504–817. See the data recorded in M. Geerard, *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, Turnhout, 1974, vol. 2, pp. 282 f., no. 3550. References to the Arabic translation refer to M. Haji-Athanasiou, 'Le Traité de Némésius d'Emèse *De natura hominis* dans la tradition arabe', PhD diss., Université de Paris I, 1982. Note that Περὶ φύσεως ἀνθρώπου (*Kitāb Ṭabīʿat al-insān*) is also the title of a Hippocratic treatise commented upon by Galen; see Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum* (n. 3 above), nos 90 and 8.

90. Sharples and van der Eijk, *Nemesius* (n. 53 above), p. 12: 'Nemesius mentions Galen's name six times – once calling him the marvellous physician' (ed. Morani [n. 89 above], 37:10: ὁ θαυμάσιος ἰατρός; ed. Haji-Athanasiou [n. 89 above], 74:9: *al-ṭabīb al-ʿaǧīb*]) – and he refers explicitly to Galen's works *On Mixtures*, *On Simple Medicines*, *On the Usefulness of the Parts*, *On the Doctrines of Hippocrates and Plato* and *On Demonstration*; he seems well aware – without mentioning the treatises by name – of the contents of Galen's *That the Faculties of the Soul follow the Mixtures of the Body*, *On the Elements according to Hippocrates*, *On the Affected Parts*, *On the*

Nature of Man for an indirect transmission of Galenic ideas into the Islamicate world not only rests on its numerous quotations from and references to Galen's works and other medical literature, but also on its massive and still grossly underappreciated reception history in various languages (Greek, Syriac, Armenian, Arabic, Georgian)[91] and denominations as well as in its status as one of the most authoritative and influential expositions of Christian psychology and anthropology, characterized by its eclectic blending of Platonic, Aristotelian, Stoic, Galenic, and Patristic sources.[92]

The fact that several Greek manuscripts as well as most Syriac, Armenian, Arabic and Latin translations attributed the treatise to Gregory of Nyssa enhanced its prestige and furthered its wide distribution among all Christian denominations.[93] The earliest extant manuscript fragment of the Greek original derives from the Syro-Palestinian monastic milieu of the late seventh or early eighth century.[94] The fragmentarily

Natural Faculties, *On Semen*, *On the Movement of the Muscles* and *On the Usefulness of Respiration*' (ibid., pp. 12 f.). See also the detailed indices in ibid., pp. 242–6.

91. M. Morani, *La tradizione manoscritta del 'De natura hominis' di Nemesio*, Milan, 1981 (for the most important testimonies of the massive reception history of *On the Nature of Man*, which can be substantially augmented, see part III ('La tradizione indiretta'), pp. 101–50: Maximus the Confessor, Anastasiuss of Sinai, John of Damascus, *Bilawhar wa-Būḏāsaf*, etc.); H. Brown Wicher, 'Nemesius Emesenus', in *Catalogus translationum et commentarium: Mediaeval and Renaissance Latin Translations and Commentaries, Annotated Lists and Guides*, ed. F. E. Cranz et al., Washington, 1986, vol. 6, pp. 31–72. For the presence of *On the Nature of Man* in patristic *florilegia* see, for instance, the *Opuscula theologica et polemica*, 26 (*Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, no. 7697) in *Patrologia Graeca*, ed. J.-P. Migne, vol. 91, pp. 9–37 (13–16), and pp. 276–80 (277 C-D).

92. For the rich variety of sources used by Nemesius see the copious notes, references, and indices in Sharples and van der Eijk, *Nemesius* (n. 53 above). The influence of *On the Nature of Man* on Christian psychology and anthropology in Syriac Christianity is traced in H. Hugonnard-Roche, 'La Question de l'âme dans la tradition philosophique syriaque (VIe–IXe siècle)', *Studia graeco-arabica*, 4, 2014, pp. 17–64 (21, 24–6, 51 f.) and in G. Klinge, 'Die Bedeutung der syrischen Theologen als Vermittler der griechischen Philosophie an den Islam', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 58, 1939, pp. 346–86 (363–8).

93. On the status of the Cappadocian Fathers in Syriac literature and Christian curricula see D. G. K. Taylor, 'Les Pères cappadociens dans la tradition syriaque', in *Les Pères grecs dans la tradition syriaque* (n. 49 above), pp. 43–61; ter Haar Romeny, 'Les Pères grecs dans les florilèges exégétiques syriaques' (n. 49 above), pp. 64, 70, 73. The attribution to Gregory of Nyssa may partly be due to a confusion with his Περὶ κατασκευῆς ἀνθρώπου (*Kitāb Ḫilqat al-insān*). An excerpt of chs 2 and 3 of *On the Nature of Man* has been transmitted as a treatise by Gregory of Nyssa *On the Soul* (*Patrologia Graeca*, ed. J.-P. Migne, vol. 45, pp. 187–222). The earliest Arabic, the Georgian and the 11th century Latin translation by Alfanus of Salerno correctly ascribe the treatise to Nemesius, bishop of Emesa/Ḥimṣ.

94. It is found in the famous palimpsest codex Vat. Sir. 623 whose second half (fols 105–227) consists of reused folios extracted from several codices of varying dates and linguistic settings (Greek, Aramaic, Syriac, Armenian, Arabic); see F. D'Aiuto, 'Graeca in codici orientali della Biblioteca Vaticana (con i resti di un manoscritto tardoantico delle commedie di Menandro)', in *Tra Oriente e Occidente: scritture e libri greci fra le regioni orientali di Bisanzio e l'Italia*, ed. L. Perria, Roma, 2003, pp. 227–96 (esp. 269–72, 277). D'Aiuto currently prepares a detailed study and edition of these fragments to be published in the 'Studi e testi della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana' series (see ibid., p. 271, n. 114). The upper layer of this palimpsest, a collection of Syriac texts, was copied in AD 886. Two fragments of Περὶ φύσεως ἀνθρώπου (sections from chs 25 and 43) are preserved on two bifolios (fols 211–18, 212–17) as the intermediate text of a double palimpsest (*bis rescriptus*; see D'Aiuto, ibid., plate no. 13 for a UV image of fol. 211v). The majuscule script of this copy dates to the late 7th or early 8th century. For other texts contained in this palimpsest, including a fragment of Menander's *Dyskolos* and probably *Titthe* and at least one folio (fol. 227) of an early Syriac translation (most likely by Sergius of Rēshʿaynā) of Galen's *De simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis et facultatibus*; see also D. Vania Proverbio, 'Theonis Alexandrini fragmentum pervetus arabice. Sul più antico manoscritto del *Commentarium parvum* di Teone Alessandrino. Notizia preliminare', in *Rendiconti* (*Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*), serie ix, vol. 13.3, 2002, pp. 373–86 (374, 379 f.); G. Cavallo, 'Qualche

preserved Syriac translation of *On the Nature of Man* likely dates from the sixth century,[95] the Armenian from the early eighth,[96] while the earliest Arabic translation is datable to the last two decades of the eighth century.[97] In a letter dated 781 to his former teacher Rabban Mar Pethion, Timothy I, the Catholicos of the East-Syrian church (780–823), mentions *On the Nature of Man* among seven books which he had prioritized for translation into Arabic and asks his confidant to search for copies of the Greek original or a Syriac translation of the missing 'second part' of *On the Nature of Man*.[98] A paraphrastic translation of *On the Nature of Man*, chapters 1–30, dating from the late eighth or very early ninth century, in which all reminiscences to its Christian authorship have diligently been removed, is preserved in the pseudo-Apollonian *Book of the Secret of Creation and the Art of Nature* (*Kitāb Sirr al-ḫalīqa wa-ṣanʿat al-ṭabīʿa*, also known as *Kitāb al-ʿIlal*, *Kitāb al-Ǧāmiʿ li-l-ašyāʾ*) which represents an idiosyncratic amalgam of late antique physical speculations with theological concerns that are indicative of an early ʿAbbāsid stage of intellectual fermentation.[99] This paraphrastic and condensed translation

riflessione sulla "collezione filosofica"', in *The Library of the Neoplatonists*, ed. C. D'Ancona, Leiden, 2007, pp. 155–65 (165, n. 35).

95. M. Zonta, '*Nemesiana Syriaca*: New Fragments from the Missing Syriac Version of the *De Natura Hominis*', *Journal of Semitic Studies*, 36, 1991, pp. 223–58; id., 'Iwānnīs of Dārā's *Treatise on the Soul* and its Sources: A New Contribution to the History of Syriac Psychology around 800 AD', in *De l'antiquité tardive au moyen âge: Études de logique aristotélicienne et de philosophie grecque, syriaque, arabe et latine offertes à Henri Hugonnard-Roche*, Paris, 2014, pp. 113–22 (121); id., 'Iwānnīs of Dārā On Soul's Virtues. About a Late Antiquity Greek Philosophical Work among Syrians and Arabs' [sic], *Studia graeco-arabica* 5, 2015, pp. 129–43; A. Zanolli, 'Sur une ancienne traduction syriaque du Περὶ φύσεως ἀνθρώπου de Némésius', *Revue de l'orient chrétien*, 20, 1915–17, pp. 331–3; J. Reller, 'Iwannis von Dara, Mose bar Kepha und Bar Hebräus über die Seele, traditionsgeschichtlich untersucht', in *After Bardaisan: Studies on Continuity and Change in Syriac Christianity* (n. 57 above), pp. 253–68; Morani, *La tradizione manoscritta* (n. 91 above), pp. 97–101; Hugonnard-Roche, 'La Question de l'âme' (n. 92 above).

96. M. Morani, 'La traduzione armena di Nemesio di Emesa. Problemi linguistici e filologici', in *Autori classici in lingue del vicino e medio oriente*, ed. G. Fiaccadori, Rome, 1990, pp. 21–31; id., *La tradizione manoscritta*(n. 91 above), pp. 186–98.

97. Haji-Athanasiou, 'Le traité de Némésius d'Emèse' (n. 89 above); S. K. Samir, 'Les versions arabes de Némésius de Homs', in *L'Eredità classica nelle lingue orientali*, ed. M. Pavan and U. Cozzoli, Rome, Rome, 1986, pp. 99–151; M. Ullmann, *Wörterbuch zu den griechisch-arabischen Übersetzungen des 9. Jahrhunderts, Supplement Band I: A-O*, Wiesbaden, 2006, pp. 33–5 and *Supplement Band II: Π-Ω*, Wiesbaden, 2007, pp. 12–17 (where Ullmann ascertains beyond any doubt that Isḥāq ibn Ḥunayn is the translator of the later version); M. Chase, 'Némésius d'Émèse, vi. La Tradition arabe', in *Dictionnaire des philosophes antiques IV: de Labeo à Ovidius*, ed. R. Goulet, Paris, 2005, pp. 652–4; Morani, *La tradizione manoscritta* (n. 91 above), pp. 90–96. A revised edition of Isḥāq ibn Ḥunayn's translation is currently being prepared at the University of Warwick in cooperation with S. K. Samir.

98. Ed. M. Heimgartner, Leuven, 2012, p. 68; id., *Die Briefe 42–58 des ostsyrischen Patriarchen Timotheos I.: Einleitung Übersetzung und Anmerkungen*, Leuven, 2012, pp. 47–52 (51 f.). See S. Brock, 'Two Letters of the Patriarch Timothy from the Late Eighth Century on Translations from Greek', *Arabic Sciences and Philosophy*, 9, 1999, pp. 233–46 (237, no. 7, 243); id., 'L'apport des Pères grecs à la littérature syriaque', in *Les Pères grecs dans la tradition syriaque* (n. 49 above), pp. 9–26 (22 f.); J. W. Watt, 'Les Pères grecs dans le curriculum théologique et philologique des écoles syriaques', in *Les Pères grecs dans la tradition syriaque* (above), pp. 27–41 (37). In the same letter Timothy announces the completion of the Arabic translation of Aristotle's *Topika* commissioned by the Caliph al-Mahdī.

99. *Buch über das Geheimnis der Schöpfung und die Darstellung der Natur (Buch der Ursachen) von Pseudo-Apollonios von Tyana*, ed. U. Weisser, Aleppo, 1979, pp. 537–632; U. Weisser, *Das 'Buch über das Geheimnis der Schöpfung' von Pseudo-Apollonios von Tyana*, Berlin, 1980, pp. 63–8. Regarding the much-debated dating of the two recensions of *Kitāb Sirr al-ḫalīqa* see the important review of Weisser's study by F. W. Zimmermann, *Medical History*, 25, 1981, pp. 439 f.; Kraus, *Jābir Ibn Ḥayyān* (n. 43 above), vol. 2, pp. 278–80; U. Rudolph, '*Kalām*

– which in both vocabulary and style differs markedly from the later translation by Isḥāq ibn Ḥunayn[100] – is a testimony of paramount importance for the early reception of *On the Nature of Man* in the milieu of Muslim *mutakallimūn*.[101]

The pervasive influence of *On the Nature of Man* on late antique Christian thought in Greek and Syriac and its demonstrably early reception in a non-Christian Arabicized milieu is part of the evidence corroborating my aforestated contention that the treatise should serve as a benchmark to correctly capture the vantage point from which 'Galenism' and 'Hellenizing *falsafa*' can be said to represent the type of world view which the *mutakallimūn* were keen to reject.[102]

From a medico-philosophical (Platonic-Peripatetic-Galenic) and, indeed, Christian patristic viewpoint, one of the most conspicuous and contentious features of ninth and tenth century *kalām* cosmology and anthropology consisted in its gradual disposing of the concepts of 'Nature' and 'Soul' in a purposeful and persistent attempt to offer an alternative and exhaustive cosmology and ontology of the created world under the premise of rejecting the existence of any non-physical, self-subsisting creative agency other than God.[103] While several eminent *mutakallimūn* of the ninth and early tenth centuries (e.g. Muʿammar, al-Ǧāḥiẓ, al-Ḫayyāṭ, Abū l-Qāsim al-Balḫī, al-Māturīdī) clung to a restrained notion of natural elements and elemental qualities (*ṭabāʾiʿ*),[104] the vast

im antiken Gewand: Das theologische Konzept des *Kitāb Sirr al-Ḫalīqa*', in *Proceedings of the 14th Congress of the Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants, Part One*, ed. A. Fodor, Budapest, 1995, pp. 123–36 (126); S. N. Haq, *Names, Natures and Things: The Alchemist Jābir ibn Ḥayyān and His Kitāb al-aḥǧār (Book of Stones)*, Dordrecht, 1994, pp. 29 f.; van Ess, *TG* (n. 1 above), vol. II, p. 714. As shown by R. Hansberger, 'Ticklish Questions: Pseudo-Proclus and Job of Edessa on the Workings of the Elemental Qualities', *Oriens*, 42, 2014, pp. 140–219, some sections of *Sirr al-ḫalīqa* represent 'a specific strand of the *Problemata physica* tradition' (146) which is closely related to parallel sections in Job of Edessa's *Book of Treasures* and the pseudo-Proclean *Masāʾil fī l-ašyāʾ al-ṭabīʿīya*. For Job of Edessa the speculations about the foundations of the natural world have a decidedly theological purpose, for 'it is only by knowing the created world that we can in any way know its Maker, and it is only by knowing him in this way that we can draw close to him'. (Job of Edessa, *Book of Treasures*, as quoted ibid., pp. 145 f.).

100. See Ullmann, *Wörterbuch* (n. 97 above); Haji-Athanasiou, 'Le Traité de Némésius d'Emèse' (n. 89 above).

101. Rudolph, 'Kalām im antiken Gewand' (n. 99 above), argues for a close connection between the theological doctrines advocated in *Sirr al-ḫalīqa* and early ninth century anti-Muʿtazilī (Jahmite?) strands of *kalām*. A 10th century example for an anonymous reception of *On the Nature of Man* in medico-philosophical circles is found in MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Oriental Collection, Marsh 539A which contains several unmarked and partly modified quotations from *Fī Ṭabīʿat al-insān*. See E. Wakelnig, *A Philosophy Reader* (n. 43 above), pp. 33 f., 515 (index). The reconstruction of an indirect and anonymised reception of *On the Nature of Man* in non-Christian Arabic literature definitely deserves a separate study.

102. Cf. Klinge, 'Die Bedeutung der syrischen Theologen' (n. 92 above), pp. 363–8.

103. For the felicitous description of the *mutakallimūn*'s speculative inquiry as a comprehensive 'ontography of phenomena' see Montgomery, *Al-Jāḥiẓ: In Praise of Books* (n. 7 above), p. 340. For the rejection of a non-physical, self-subsisting soul in *kalām* see A. Shihadeh, 'Classical Ashʿarī Anthropology: Body, Life and Spirit', *The Muslim World*, 102, 2012, pp. 433–77; W. Madelung, 'Ibn al-Malāḥimī on the Human Soul', *The Muslim World*, 102, 2012, pp. 426–32.

104. See the valuable historical overview in M. Bernand, 'La Critique de la notion de nature (*ṭabʿ*) par le *kalām*', *Studia Islamica*, 51, 1980, pp. 59–105; D. Perler and U. Rudolph, *Occasionalismus: Theorien der Kausalität im arabisch-islamischen und im europäischen Denken*, Göttingen, 2000, pp. 28–51; R. M. Frank, 'Notes and Remarks on the *ṭabāʾiʿ* in the Teaching of al-Māturīdī', in *Mélanges de l'islamologie*, ed. P. Salmon, Leiden, 1974, pp. 137–49, repr. in R. M. Frank, *Classical Islamic Theology: The Ashʿarites. Texts and Studies on the Development and History of kalām. Vol. III*, ed. D. Gutas, Aldershot, 2008, text no. XII; Daiber, *Das theologisch-philosophische System* (n. 8

majority of the Baṣran Muʿtazila after Abū ʿAlī al-Ǧubbāʾī came to consider nature as an unintelligible concept (*al-ṭabʿ ġayr maʿqūl*; *al-ṭabʿ lā yuʿqal*).[105] Al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī (d. 1101) summarizes the Muʿtazilī position as follows:

> People were in disagreement over the elemental qualities (*al-ṭabāʾiʿ*). Some denied them categorically and deemed that efficacies (*taʾṯīrāt*) must either be related to a choosing agent (*fāʿil muḫtār*), or a (necessitating) cause (*ʿilla*) that depends on an agent, or a secondary cause (*sabab*) generated by an agent. This is the position of our school authorities.[106]
>
> Our school authorities were in agreement that nature is unintelligible (*ittafaqa mašāʾiḫunā anna l-ṭabʿ ġayr maʿqūl*).[107] Abū l-Qāsim [al-Balḫī]... held that the world is composed of natural elements/elemental qualities (*al-ṭabāʾiʿ*), but that God had the power to create it out of something other than these (*lā min hāḏihi l-ṭabāʾiʿ*); he also held that bodies have natural qualities (*ṭabāʾiʿ*) and that every thing has a property (*ḫāṣṣīya*) which God created for it. The philosophers held that the world and what is in it is composed of the four elemental qualities (*al-ṭabāʾiʿ al-arbaʿ*), namely heat, coldness, moisture and dryness, that every thing has its own property (*ḫāṣṣīya*) and nature (*ṭabīʿa*), whereas the celestial sphere lies outside the realm of these elemental qualities. It was related that Galen thought the world to be the product of these elemental qualities. However, I have already explained that nature is not intelligible, and even if it were intelligible, it would be inconceivable to ascribe agency to it.[108]

The negation of the concepts of nature and soul also entailed that the material composition of a body could not be regarded as an independent determinant that fully conditions its physical and mental faculties. Even though all vital and cognitive functions of man were conceived in purely physicalist terms, the physical and psychical powers of a body were not seen as merely following the mixture of the body.[109]

> The philosophers and the physicians were of the opinion that the capacity to act (*al-qudra*) is (tantamount to) the balance of the bodily mixture (*iʿtidāl al-mizāǧ* < εὐκρασία) and the equilibrium of the elemental qualities (*istiwāʾ al-ṭabāʾiʿ* < ἡ τῶν στοιχείων ἰσομοιρία). In our opinion, however, it is an ontologically discrete entity (*maʿnā*)[110] other

above), pp. 283–91; 568 (index *ṭ-b-ʿ*); H. A. Wolfson, *The Philosophy of the Kalam*, Cambridge, MA, 1976, pp. 559–78; R. El Omari, *Theology* (n. 9 above), pp. 85 f., 166–81.

105. Among the many *kalām* compositions dedicated to the refutation of (proponents of) elemental qualities see Ǧaʿfar ibn Ḥarb, *al-Radd ʿalā aṣḥāb al-ṭabāʾiʿ*; Dirār ibn ʿAmr, *al-Radd ʿalā aṣḥāb al-ṭabāʾiʿ*; Hishām ibn Ḥakam, *al-Radd ʿalā aṣḥāb al-ṭabāʾiʿ*; Abū Hāšim al-Ǧubbāʾī, *Naqḍ* (*ʿalā aṣḥāb*) *al-ṭabāʾiʿ*, Abū Rašīd al-Nīsābūrī, *Naqḍ ʿalā aṣḥāb al-ṭabāʾiʿ*, etc.

106. al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī, *Šarḥ ʿUyūn al-masāʾil*, MS Riyadh, Ǧāmiʿat al-Malik Saʿūd 7783, fol. 60r.

107. 'Unintelligible' means according to *Šarḥ ʿUyūn al-masāʾil*, ibid., fol. 60v, 'that it cannot be known by either necessary/immediate or inferential knowledge' (*wa-min al-dalīl ʿalā annahū lā yuʿqalu annahū lā yuʿrafu ḍarūratan wa-lā istidlālan*).

108. al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī, *Kitāb al-ʿUyūn*, MS Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, ar. B66, fol. 111v.7–16 (see also fols 19r–19v and the corresponding section in *Šarḥ ʿUyūn al-masāʾil* (n. 106 above), fols 60r–62v; Mānkdīm Šešdīv, *[Taʿlīq] Šarḥ al-Uṣūl al-ḫamsa*, ed. A. ʿUṯmān, Cairo, 1965, pp. 120, 365; ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār, *Muġnī* (n. 17 above), vol. 9, pp. 28 f.).

109. The position ascribed to Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī in al-Malāḥimī's *Gift to the Theologians* (n. 11 above), p. 158, ll. 8–10 comes very close to the position which al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī ascribes in *Kitāb al-ʿUyūn* to the physicians, philosophers and the Baġdādī Muʿtazila: *ʿind iʿtidāl mizāǧihi wa-ṣiḥḥatihi yaṣiḥḥu an yadruka wa-yaʿlama wa-yaqdira, wa-ʿind fasād iʿtidāl mizāǧihī wa-ṣiḥḥatihī yabṭulu ǧamīʿ ḏālika ʿalā ṭarīqa wāḥida.*

110. *maʿnā* refers to accidents qua *irreducible* ontological grounds of attributes (*ṣifāt*) and properties (*aḥkām*). In order to give a coherent and comprehensive account of the totality of phenomena (events,

> than these ... For them, 'the balance of the bodily mixture' is an expression denoting the four elemental qualities, but these are contraries (*mutaḍādda*) and contrary things cannot necessitate one single attribute.[111]

In the minimalist ontography of the Baṣrian Muʿtazila the two constituent entities of homogeneous, space-occupying atoms (*ǧawāhir*, which are the only material substrate) and immaterial accidents (*aʿrāḍ*) 'bear the explanatory burden for all the phenomena of the world, whether they be physical or psychological, as well as for the relationships between them'.[112] The mechanisms of the material world and the activities of animate beings which in the medico-philosophical tradition were construed as faculties of nature and soul were understood by the *mutakallimūn* as distinct types and configurations of immaterial accidents inhering in atomic substrates and bodily structures (*binya/ǧumla*).[113]

The conversion of natural and psychic faculties into ontologically discrete immaterial accidents inhering in atoms is an integral part of the meaningful suggestion to view *kalām* cosmology as an 'alternative philosophy', that is as a deliberate attempt to advance a counter-discourse to 'Hellenizing *falsafa*' in general and to (Christian) Galenism in particular. Yet, as I have noted at the outset of this article, it would be a misapprehension to reduce the advancement of an 'alternative world view' to a gesture of negation and rejection. It should more adequately be understood as the result of a complex and dialectic process in which substantial components of the opposing world view have been appropriated and preserved.[114] To the extent that the

experiences, sensations, activities, etc.) in the world, it is necessary to posit the existence of these discrete accidental entities. Without them, the associated phenomena would lack an ontological ground (*'lā budda li-amrin mā'*).

111. Al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī, *Kitāb al-ʿUyūn* (n. 108 above), fol. 127v, ll. 11 f. and the corresponding section in *Šarḥ ʿUyūn al-masāʾil*, MS Riyadh, Ǧāmiʿat al-Malik Saʿūd 7783, fol. 136r: *al-qudra maʿnan siwā l-ṣiḥḥa wa-l-salāma, wa-qāla Abū l-Qāsim: al-qudra ṣiḥḥat al-badan wa-l-salāma, wa-ḥakāhā fī l-Maqālāt ʿan Ġaylān wa-Ṯumāma wa-Bišr wa-ǧamāʿa*. See also *Kitāb al-ʿUyūn* (n. 108 above), fol. 124v and *Šarḥ ʿUyūn al-masāʾil*, MS Riyadh (above), fol. 121v: *al-ḥayāt maʿnan zāʾid ʿalā ṣiḥḥat al-badan wa-iʿtidāl al-mizāǧ ḫilāfan li-l-aṭibbāʾ*.

112. Dhanani, *The Physical Theory of Kalām* (n. 12 above), p. 17.

113. The distinction between faculties/activities of the soul and faculties/activities of nature are recurrent in Galen (see the references in Sharples and van der Eijk, *Nemesius* (n. 53 above), p. 160, n. 814, and *On the Nature of Man*, ch. 27; ψυχικαὶ/φυσικαὶ δυνάμεις – *al-quwā/al-afʿāl al-ṭabīʿīya, al-quwā/al-afʿāl l-nafsānīya*; ἡ κατὰ λόγον τῶν τε ψυχικῶν καὶ φυσικῶν ἔργων διάγνωσις *al-tafrīq bayna l-afʿāl al-nafsānīya wa-l-afʿāl al-ṭabīʿīya* (ed. Haji-Athanasiou [n. 89 above], p. 167, ll. 6–16); *Sirr al-ḫalīqa*, ed. Weisser (n. 99 above), pp. 622 f.: *qūwat/ʿamal al-ṭabīʿa – qūwat/ʿamal al-nafs*. This distinction is faintly reminiscent of, but clearly not identical with the *kalām* distinction between *afʿāl al-jawāriḥ* and *afʿāl al-qulūb*.

114. The numerous seeming and factual similarities between the conception of individual accidents in *kalām* cosmology and anthropology on the one hand and homonymous physical or psychical faculties and elemental qualities in the medico-philosophical tradition and in Christian Galenism on the other hand, require a number of separate in depth studies (e.g. *al-ḥarāra* – τὸ θερμόν / ἡ θερμότης; *al-burūda* – τὸ ψυχρόν / ἡ ψυχρότης; *al-ruṭūba* – τὸ ὑγρόν / ἡ ὑγρότης; *al-yubūsa* – τὸ ξηρόν / ἡ ξηρότης; *al-alwān* – τὰ χρώματα; *al-ṭuʿūm* – οἱ χυμοί; *al-rawāʾiḥ* – αἱ ὀσμαί; *al-aṣwāt* – αἱ φωναί; *al-šahwa* – ἡ ἐπιθυμία / τὸ ἐπιθυμητικόν; *al-laḏḏa* – ἡ ἡδονή; *al-alam* – τὸ ἄλγημα, and so forth). It goes without saying that such comparisons should never come at the expense of exploring other pertinent points of intellectual contact (Manichaeism, Zoroastrianism, Indian atomisms, etc.). Previous studies on *kalām* atomism by Pines, Frank, Daiber, van Ess, Ben-Shammai and Dhanani centre upon the concept of the atom and do not offer a systematic and comprehensive analysis of all types of accidents. The second part of this article is a modest contribution towards the implementation of such a desideratum with regard to the accidents of desire-aversion and pleasure-pain.

alternative *kalām* philosophy engages with the medico-philosophical tradition and late antique Christian thought which are characterized by a customized Timaean-demiurgic cosmology and an eclectic Platonic-Peripatetic-Galenic anthropology and psychology, Nemesius's *On the Nature of Man* represents a reference text of paramount importance which – better than the Galenic texts themselves – helps to cast light on the nuances of the dialectic process of rejection and appropriation.[115]

A case in point is the fifth chapter ('On the Elements'; Περὶ στοιχείων; *Fī l-usṭuqussāt*) of *On the Nature of Man* which contains a concise version of the 'argument from pain' against atomism in Galen's *On the Elements*, the argument that in Langermann's view prompted the *mutakallimūn*'s preoccupation with the physiology of pain. The following table juxtaposes Isḥāq ibn Ḥunayn's translation of the 'argument from pain' with its paraphrase as it is found in the *Secret of Creation*:

ed. Matthaeus, pp. 167ff.; ed. Morani, pp. 53 f.	ms. Aleppo, Sbath 1010, ff. 81b:7–82b:3; ed. Haji-Athanasiou, p. 99, ll. 1–17	*Sirr al-ḫalīqa*, ed. Weisser, p. 577, ll. 7–13
Πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἓν μόνον λέγοντας εἶναι στοιχεῖον, ἢ τὸ πῦρ ἢ τὸν ἀέρα ἢ τὸ ὕδωρ, ἀρκέσει τὰ παρὰ Ἱπποκράτους εἰρημένα·	فأمّا الذين يقولون إنّ الأسطقس واحد، وهو إمّا النار وإمّا الأرض وإمّا الهواء وإمّا الماء، فقد كان يكتفي في الردّ عليهم بما قال بقراط في ذلك، وهو أنّه قال:	وأمّا الذين قالوا إنّ الطبائع إنّما هي طبيعة واحدة، إمّا نار وإمّا هواء وإمّا أرض وإمّا ماء، فإنّما يكفينا أن نقول لهم:
εἰ ἓν ἦν ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὐδέ ποτε ἂν ἤλγεεν οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν ἦν ὑφ' οὗ ἀλγήσειεν ἂν ἓν ὄν·εἰ δὲ καὶ ἤλγεεν ἓν ἂν ἦν τὸ ἰώμενον.	«لو كان الإنسان شيئًا واحدًا، لم يكن يألم أصلًا، وذلك أنّه لم يكن يوجد ما يؤلمه، إذا كان واحدًا، وكان إذا ألم، كان | المشفي من الألم واحدًا».	لو أنّ الخِلَق تكوّنوا من طبيعة واحدة، إذًا لم يمرض أحد من أجل أنّه ليس له طبيعة أخرى سوى التي فيه تغيّره أو تصرّفه إلى المرض. ولو أنّه كان مريضًا كان شفاؤه من شيء واحد، ولكنّا نرى غير ذلك، لأنّ الإنسان، إذا مرض، لم يكن شِفاؤه من شيء واحد، ولكنّ من أشياء كثيرة، فلذلك لا نقول إنّ الإنسان من طبيعة واحدة.

115. Note in this context the close connection between Christian doctrines of the soul and the refutation of atomism in Nemesius's *On the Nature of Man* and Moses bar Kephā's *Treatise on the Soul* as emphasized by Klinge, 'Die Bedeutung der syrischen Theologen' (n. 92 above), pp. 369 f. – Unlike many other Christian texts that have been invoked as potential reference points for early *mutakallimūn* in previous scholarship (see among various other examples S. Pines, 'Some Traits of Christian Theological Writing in Relation to Moslem *Kalām* and to Jewish Thought', *Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities*, 5, 1976, pp. 104–25, repr. in *The Collected Works of Shlomo Pines, vol. III: Studies in the History of Arabic Philosophy*, ed. S. Stroumsa, Jerusalem, 1996, pp. 79–99; R. M. Frank, '*Kalām* and Philosophy: A Perspective from One Problem', in *Islamic Philosophical Theology*, ed. P. Morewedge, Albany, 1979, pp. 71–95 (84–6); F. W. Zimmermann, '*Kalām* and the Greeks', in *Islamic Cultures, Islamic Contexts: Essays in Honor of Professor Patricia Crone*, ed. A. Q. Ahmed et al., Leiden, 2014, pp. 343–63, the pertinence of Nemesius's *On the Nature of Man* is supported by cumulative historical data.

Δεῖ γὰρ τὸ μέλλον ἀλγεῖν ἐν μεταβολῇ γενέσθαι μετ' αἰσθήσεως εἰ δὲ ἓν μόνον ἦν τὸ στοιχεῖον οὐκ ἦν εἰς ὃ μεταβληθείη·μὴ τρεπόμενον δὲ ἀλλὰ μένον ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ οὐκ ἂν ἤλγησεν, εἰ καὶ αἰσθητὸν ἦν·	وذلك أنّ الشيء الذي يقبل الألم يحتاج إلى شيئين اضطرارًا، أحدهما الاستحالة والآخر الحسّ. فلو كان الأسطقس واحدًا فقط، لم يكن يوجد ما يستحيل إليه، وإذا لم يستحل وبقي على حاله، لم يألم، ولو كان حساسًا.	
ἀνάγκη δὲ καὶ τὸ πάσχον ὑπό τινος πάσχειν· εἰ δὲ μόνον ἓν ἦν τὸ στοιχεῖον οὐκ ἦν ἂν ἑτέρα ποιότης παρὰ τὴν τοῦ ἑνὸς στοιχείου ὑφ' ἧς ἔπαθεν ἂν τὸ ζῷον εἰ δὲ μήτε μεταβληθῆναι μήτε παθεῖν ἐδύνατο, πῶς ἂν ἤλγησεν;	وأيضًا فقد يجب اضطرارًا أن يكون المنفعل يقبل الانفعال من غيره يفعل فيه. ولو كان الأسطقس واحدًا، لم يكن يوجد كيفيةٌ أخرى غير كيفيته، وذلك الأسطقس لا ينال للحيوان بها انفعال، وإذا لم ينال للحي تغيّر ولا انفعال، فكيف يمكن أن يألم؟	
δείξας οὖν τοῦτο ἀδύνατον κατὰ συγχώρησιν ἐπάγει· εἰ δὲ καὶ ἤλγεεν ἓν ἂν | ἦν τὸ ἰώμενον νῦν δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν ἓν τὸ ἰώμενον ἀλλὰ πολλά. Οὐκ ἄρα ἓν ἦν ὁ ἄνθρωπος.	فلمّا تبيّن أنّ ذلك غير ممكن، أنزل أنّه ممكن ونقضه. فقال: «وكان لو ألم، كان شفاؤه شيئًا | واحدًا، وقد ترى الشفاء لا يكون بشيء واحد، لكنّ بأشياء كثيرة. فإذًا ليس الإنسان شيئًا واحدًا».	

It is instructive to compare these two versions of Galen's 'argument from pain' with an early *kalām* refutation of that argument in al-Ḥasan ibn Mūsā al-Nawbaḫtī's (d. after 922) *Book of Opinions and Religious Practices* as it is quoted in the chapter against the 'Sempiternalists' (*Bāb al-kalām ʿalā l-Dahrīya*) of Rukn al-Dīn al-Malāḥimī's (d. 1141) *Kitāb al-Muʿtamad fī uṣūl al-dīn*:[116]

> Galen claimed that Hippocrates was the first to have said that there are four elemental qualities (*ṭabāʾiʿ*) arguing that the evidence for this consists in the fact that if the human being were made up of *one* elemental quality (*ṭabīʿa wāḥida*), he could not get sick (*mā ʿtalla*); and if he were to get sick, there would be only one thing to cure him.
>
> On this al-Nawbaḫtī made the following comment: He should be told: Why would you deny that he is made up of *one* elemental quality which then undergoes changes and that this accounts for the fact that diseases occur and that what cures them varies in accordance with the changes it undergoes?
>
> [al-Nawbaḫtī also] said: They would also be told: Do not human beings fall sick with more than four diseases and are there not more than four drugs to cure them? Admit then that there are more than four elemental qualities! – Hence, what brought them to

116. Rukn al-Dīn ibn Muḥammad al-Malāḥimī, *Kitāb al-Muʿtamad fī uṣūl al-dīn* (n. 17 above), p. 602 (= ed. W. Madelung, London, 1991, p. 556). For al-Nawbaḫtī's *Book of Opinions and Religious Practices* see above n. 17.

argue that the world is composed of four elemental qualities is nothing but allegations, and on these grounds we have abandoned [this position].

ABŪ BAKR MUḤAMMAD IBN ZAKARĪYĀ AL-RĀZĪ (d. 925) IN TENTH AND ELEVENTH CENTURY MUʿTAZILĪ THOUGHT

Al-Rāzī's thorough engagement with the doctrines of the *mutakallimūn* is evident from the content of his extant writings as well as several titles of his lost works and has received due attention in scholarly literature.[117] It has even been suggested that 'much of al-Rāzī's philosophical output can be understood as a reaction to Muʿtazilism'.[118] The most salient expression of his preoccupation with tenets of Muʿtazilī thought is a prolonged written exchange (*'munāẓara ṭawīla'*) with Abū l-Qāsim al-Balḫī 'al-Kaʿbī' (d. 931),[119] the figurehead of the Baġdādī Muʿtazila, which touched on a variety of subjects, including the concept and definition of time, the world's pre-eternity/createdness, void, prophetology and prophetic miracles, psychology, metempsychosis, and bodily resurrection.[120] Substantial extracts of this debate have been preserved in a number of later works, first and foremost in Faḫr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's *The Paramount Issues of the Divine Science (Theology, Metaphysics)* (*al-Maṭālib al-ʿāliya min al-ʿilm al-ilāhī*).[121]

117. For a list of the relevant works see Pines, *Studies in Islamic Atomism* (n. 12 above), p. 104, nos 11–16; H. Daiber, 'Abū Bakr ar-Rāzī', in *Philosophie in der islamischen Welt. Band 1: 8.–10. Jahrhundert*, ed. U. Rudolph and R. Würsch, Basel, 2012, pp. 267–71; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ*, ed. Riḍā (n. 4 above), pp. 421–7. Among them figure two treatises, not presently known to be extant, written in response to pamphlets against medicine (see nn. 4 and 105 above) by al-Ǧāḥiẓ (*al-Radd ʿalā l-Ǧāḥiẓ fī naqḍ al-ṭibb*) and al-Nāšiʾ al-akbar (*al-Radd ʿalā l-Nāšiʾ fī naqḍihi al-ṭibb* [*= fī masāʾilihi al-ʿašar fī naqḍ al-ṭibb*]); see Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist* (n. 4 above), vol. II/1, pp. 308, 310; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ*, ed. Riḍā (n. 4 above), p. 422; Rosenthal, 'The Defense of Medicine' (n. 4 above), p. 532, n. 22. Rāzī's engagement with various aspects of Muʿtazilī doctrine is discussed in M. Mahdi, 'Remarks on al-Rāzī's Principles', *Bulletin d'Études Orientales*, 98, 1996, pp. 145–53; M. Rashed, 'Abū Bakr al-Rāzī et le *kalām*', *MIDEO*, 24, 2000, pp. 39–54; id., 'Abū Bakr al-Rāzī et la prophétie', *MIDEO*, 27, 2008, pp. 169–82; P. Adamson, 'Platonic Pleasures in Epicurus and al-Rāzī', in *In the Age of al-Fārābī: Arabic Philosophy in the Fourth/Tenth Century*, ed. P. Adamson, London, 2008, pp. 71–94 (repr. in id., *Studies on Early Arabic Philosophy*, Aldershot, 2015, text VI); id., 'Abū Bakr al-Rāzī on Animals', *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie*, 94, 2012, pp. 249–73 (repr. in id., *Studies on Early Arabic Philosophy* [above], text VII); L. E. Goodman, 'How Epicurean was Rāzī?' *Studia graeco-arabica* 5, 2015, pp. 247–80.

118. Adamson, 'Abū Bakr al-Rāzī on Animals' (n. 117 above), p. 252, where 'the case of animals and their suffering is offered as a small piece of evidence in this direction'.

119. On him and his works see Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist* (n. 4 above), vol. I/2, pp. 613–5; *Faḍl al-iʿtizāl wa-ṭabaqāt al-Muʿtazila*, ed. F. Sayyid, Tūnis, 1974, pp. 46, 49 f., no. 3; J. van Ess, 'Abu'l-Qāsem al-Balḫī al-Kaʿbī', in *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (n. 10 above), vol. I, pp. 359–62; id., *Der Eine und das Andere* (n. 14 above), pp. 328–75; D. Gimaret, 'Pour servir à la lecture des *Masāʾil* d'Abū Rašīd al-Nīsābūrī', *Bulletin d'Études Orientales*, 60, 2011, pp. 11–38; El Omari, *Theology* (n. 9 above), pp. 21 f., 36 f., 215 (index); *ʿUyūn al-masāʾil wa-l-ǧawābāt li-Abī l-Qāsim al-Balḫī l-Kaʿbī (273–319)*, ed. A. S. Kurdī and Ḥ. Ḫānṣū, Amman, 1435/2014, pp. 11–28 (26).

120. The treatises belonging to this debate are listed in Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist* (n. 4 above), vol. 1/2, p. 615, vol. 2/1, pp. 308–13 and in the secondary literature given in n. 117. The repeated back and forth of the debate is well reflected in the title of al-Rāzī's *Kitāb ilā Abī l-Qāsim al-Balḫī fī l-ziyāda ʿalā ǧawābihi wa-ʿalā ǧawāb hāḏā l-ǧawāb* (Pines, *Studies in Islamic Atomism* [n. 12 above], p. 104, no. 15). For the development of the controversy between the two see P. Kraus, *Rasāʾil falsafiya li-Abī Bakr Muḥammad ibn Zakarīyā al-Rāzī*, Cairo, 1939, pp. 166–8.

121. Rashed, 'Abū Bakr al-Rāzī et le *kalām*' (n. 117 above), p. 41 characterizes the passages in the *Maṭālib* as being 'la source [la] plus étendue, la plus riche et très vraisemblablement la plus objective en vue d'une reconstitution de la doctrine métaphysique d'al-Rāzī'. The most important passages are found in *Maṭālib*, ed. A. Ḥ. al-Saqqā, 9 vols, Beirut, 1987, vol. 3, pp. 318–20; vol. 4, pp. 402–420, 427; vol. 7, p. 201; vol. 8, pp. 29–33, 51 f.; see

Less known is the fact that the debate between Abū l-Qāsim al-Balḫī and Abū Bakr al-Rāzī aroused a great deal of interest among several generations of Muʿtazilī scholars over the tenth and eleventh centuries.[122] Two counter-refutations of Abū Bakr al-Rāzī's rebuttal of al-Balḫī's positions are ascribed to Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Baṣrī,[123] a third one (*Naqḍ [al-ʿilm] al-ilāhī al-kabīr*) to Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm ibn ʿAlī al-Naṣībī(nī) (fl. 980) who in turn was a student of Abū ʿAbdallāh.[124]

A passage in al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī's *K. al-ʿUyūn* suggests that Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Baṣrī made use of the *munāẓara* in his teaching sessions:[125]

مسألة: المُدّة والزمان والدهر اسم للمعدود من حركات الفلك عندنا، وقال ابن زكريا إنّه غير الفلك والعالم، وهو قديم. وقد نقض شيخنا أبو القاسم عليه. وتكلّم على الكتابين الشيخ أبو عبد الله. لنا أنه اسم للمعدود من حركات الفلك ولأنهم يوقّتون الأفعال بالزمان والدهر والمدة كما نوقّت حركات الفلك. والدليل على أنّ المدة حادثة أنّ التوقيت يصحّ به والتوقيت بالباقي والقديم محال.

[Another] topic of debate: according to our school-doctrine, 'duration', 'time' and 'eternity' are terms referring to the measurable movements of the celestial sphere.[126] Ibn Zakarīyā [al-Rāzī] held the view that [time] is not [dependent on the existence of] the celestial sphere and the world and that it [scil. time] is pre-eternal. Our revered Abū l-Qāsim al-Balḫī wrote a refutation against him[127] and Abū ʿAbdallāh [al-Baṣrī] commented on the two books. In our opinion [time] is a term referring to the measurable movements

also P. Vallat, 'Can Man Assess God's Goodness? A Controversy Between Abū Bakr al-Rāzī (d. 925) and Muʿtazilī Theologians', *MIDEO* 31, 2016, pp. 213–51; id., 'Between Hellenism, Islam and Christianity: Abū Bakr al-Rāzī and His Controversies with Contemporary Muʿtazilite Theologians as Reported by the Ashʿarite Theologian and Philosopher Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī', in *Ideas in Motion in Baghdad and Beyond: Philosophical and Theological Exchanges between Christians and Muslims in the Third/Ninth and Fourth/Tenth Centuries*, ed. D. Janos, Leiden, 2016, pp. 178–220.

122. See Rashed, 'Abū Bakr al-Rāzī et le *kalām*' (n. 117 above), p. 49: 'Même si les adversaires les plus directs de Rāzī ont sans doute été les Muʿtazilites de Bagdad, il est cependant probable que leurs collègues de Bassorah ne sont pas restés totalement indifférents à la polémique.' Among numerous other references to these debates see ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār(?), *Taṯbīt dalāʾil al-nubūwa*, ed. A. ʿUṯmān, Beirut, 1386/1966, p. 374; Mānkdīm Šešdīv, [*Taʿlīq*] *Šarḥ al-Uṣūl al-ḫamsa*, (n. 108 above), pp. 71, 530; ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Daylamī, *Taʿlīq Šarḥ al-Uṣūl*, MS London, BL, Or. 8613, fol. 16v, l. 15 – 17r, l. 9 (see Rashed, 'Abū Bakr al-Rāzī et la prophétie' [n. 117 above], p. 179); Rukn al-Dīn al-Malāḥimī, *Kitāb al-Fāʾiq fī uṣūl al-dīn*, ed. W. Madelung and M. McDermott, Tehran, 2007, pp. 315 f. (on which depends Maḥmūd ibn ʿAlī al-Ḥimmaṣī, *al-Munqiḏ min al-taqlīd*, [n. 60 above], vol. 1, pp. 418 f.); Rukn al-Dīn al-Malāḥimī, *Tuḥfat al-mutakallimīn* (n. 11 above), pp. 159, 175 (*Bāb al-qawl fī l-iʿāda*).

123. Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist* (n. 4 above), vol. II/1, p. 629, ll. 11–13; Rashed, 'Abū Bakr al-Rāzī et le *kalām*' (n. 117 above), p. 49, n. 22.

124. Faḫr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Nihāyat al-ʿuqūl fī dirāyat al-uṣūl*, ed. S. A. Fūda, Beirut, 1436/2015, vol. 3, p. 413 mentions that al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (d. 1044), who studied with al-Naṣībī, approvingly referred to his teacher's *Naqḍ al-Ilāhī al-kabīr* in his *Kitāb fī Iṯbāt al-ṣarfa*. For al-Naṣībī(nī), whose name has often been associated with unconventional and idiosyncratic views, see J. L. Kraemer, *Humanism in the Renaissance of Islam: The Cultural Revival During the Buyid Age*, Leiden, 1986, pp. 184 f. with nn. 199–200; al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī, *Šarḥ ʿUyūn al-masāʾil*, in *Faḍl al-iʿtizāl wa-ṭabaqāt al-Muʿtazila* (n. 119 above), p. 383. Owing to the shared *kunya* (Abū Isḥāq), al-Naṣībī has at times been confused with Ibn ʿAyyāš al-Baṣrī in the primary sources.

125. MS Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, arab. B 66, fol. 164r (my translation). The quotation is from the concluding *masʾala* of *Bāb masāʾil mutafarriqa* which closes the second section on divine justice (*Kitāb al-ʿAdl*). For the corresponding passage in al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī's *Šarḥ ʿUyūn al-masāʾil* see MS Riyadh, Ǧāmiʿat al-Malik Saʿūd, no. 7783, fol. 256r. The topic discussed here is parallel to Faḫr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Maṭālib* (n. 121 above), vol. 5, pp. 21 f. In the parallel section of Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā ibn al-Murtaḍā's *Kitāb Dāmiġ al-awhām* (MS BL, Or. 3807, fol. 243v, ll. 15–25) Abū Bakr al-Rāzī has been confounded with Faḫr al-Dīn al-Rāzī.

126. On Rāzī's use of these three terms and their late antique sources see Pines, *Studies in Islamic Atomism* (n. 12 above), pp. 57–64.

127. I.e. *Kitāb al-Naqḍ ʿalā l-Rāzī fī l-ʿilm al-ilāhī [ʿalā raʾy Aflāṭūn]* or *Kitāb al-Intiqād fī l-ʿulūm al-ilāhīya ʿalā Muḥammad ibn Zakarīyā*. See works nos 4, 6, 13–16 in Pines, *Studies in Islamic Atomism* (n. 12 above), pp. 103 f.

> of the celestial sphere. Indeed, they themselves measure acts in terms of 'time', 'eternity' and 'duration' much in the same way as we measure the movements of the celestial sphere. What indicates that duration is non-eternal (*ḥādiṯa*) is the fact that time measurement pertains to it, while it does not pertain to things which are lasting and eternal.

In spite of the evidence that at least some Muʿtazilīs faced up to Rāzī's thought and criticism, only few scholars have ventured the opinion that it had a bearing on tenth century Muʿtazilī thought.[128] The attitudes towards Rāzī and his thought in tenth and eleventh century *kalām* circles were indeed rather double-edged: on the one hand we find a good number of purely polemical anecdotes and *ad hominem* arguments; they continue a long tradition of compositions in refutation of medicine (*Naqḍ/Ibṭāl al-ṭibb*) and aim at undermining the soundness and reliability of medicine and the professional integrity of individual physicians. On the other hand there are several texts reflecting a continuing debate about issues of substance, some of which had been the subject of Rāzī's controversies with Abū l-Qāsim al-Balḫī. To give the reader a vivid sense of the argumentative strategies and rhetorical devices employed, both facets of the Muʿtazilī reception of Rāzī will be exemplified with translations of longer passages from relevant source texts.

An outstanding example for a medicine-bashing *kalām* text is found in *Confirming the Evidence of Prophecy* (*Taṯbīt dalāʾil al-nubūwa*), a major Muʿtazilī treatise on prophetology.[129] Recently, doubts have been raised about the authorship of this work, which has traditionally been ascribed to ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār al-Hamaḏānī.[130] Some doctrinal and historical considerations suggest that the actual author could have been Abū Aḥmad ʿAbdallāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī ʿAllān, himself a student of Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Baṣrī, who later became chief Qāḍī of Ahwāz. Even in the primary literature the two chief judges have at times been confused.[131] The section of the *Taṯbīt* which concerns us here is found close to the end of the book.[132] It consists of a series of anecdotes, stories and pseudo-scientific considerations delegitimizing and stultifying the medical science and individual physicians and perfectly fits the style of compositions against medicine lambasted by Ibn Hindū in the second chapter of his *Key to Medicine and Curriculum for the Students* (*Miftāḥ al-ṭibb wa-minhāǧ al-ṭullāb*).[133] The section opens with a number of

128. Pines, ibid., p. 91: 'It is possible that some mutakallimûn accepted the existence of the void in the course of a debate that was begun by al-Râzî, [b]ut we can offer little more than a guess on this matter.'

129. *Taṯbīt dalāʾil al-nubūwa* (n. 122 above).

130. H. Ansari, 'The Author of *Taṯbīt dalāʾil al-nubūwa*', http://ansari.kateban.com/entry2236.html, accessed 31/10/2015.

131. Abū ʿAbdallāh Ḥumayd ibn Aḥmad al-Muḥallī 'al-Šahīd' (d. 1254), *Kitāb al-Ḥadāʾiq al-wardīya fī manāqib aʾimmat al-Zaydīya*, ed. al-Murtaḍā ibn Zayd al-Maḥaṭwarī al-Ḥasanī, Ṣanʿāʾ, 1423/2002, vol. 2, pp. 126 f.; Šihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Ṣāliḥ Ibn Abī l-Riǧāl (d. 1681), *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr wa-maǧmaʿ al-buḥūr (fī tarāǧim riǧāl al-Zaydīya)*, ed. A. M. M. Ḥaǧr, 4 vols, Ṣanʿāʾ, 1425/2004, vol. 3, pp. 11–12. For Ibn Abī ʿAllān see al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī, *Šarḥ ʿUyūn al-Masāʾil*, in *Faḍl al-iʿtizāl wa-ṭabaqāt al-Muʿtazila* (n. 119 above), p. 378; Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā ibn al-Murtaḍā, *al-Munya wa-l-amal fī Šarḥ al-Milal wa-l-niḥal*, ed. M. J. Maškūr, Beirut, 1979, p. 205; al-Ḥasan ibn Aḥmad ibn Mattawayh, *al-Taḏkira fī aḥkām al-ǧawāhir wa-l-aʿrāḍ*, ed. D. Gimaret, Cairo, 2009, pp. 82, 103; I. Goldziher, 'Aus der Theologie des Fachr al-dīn al-Rāzī', *Der Islam*, 3, 1912, pp. 214, 235 f., n. 6.

132. *Taṯbīt* (n. 122 above), pp. 615–41.

133. '*Al-Bāb al-ṯānī fī iṯbāt ṣināʿat al-ṭibb*', ed. S. Khalifat, in *Ibn Hindū* (n. 7 above), pp. 579–92 [= ed. M. Mohaghegh and M. T. Danisgpazuh, Tehran, 1368/1989, pp. 7–20; ed. A. al-Manṣūrī, Beirut, 1422/2002, pp.

prophetic *ḥadīṯ*s relating to healing and medication and culminates in the slogan that God is the only agent having the power to heal (*wa-l-šifāʾ lā yafʿaluhū illā Llāh ... wa-lā yaqdiru ʿalayhi siwāhu*).[134]

Quite a few passages in this section of the *Taṭbīt* relate to Rāzī. The first belongs to a compilation of hearsay gossip slandering the professional competence of Christian and pagan physicians who suffered from all kinds of ill health:[135]

> You are well-informed about the condition of their predecessors who lived before your time, the likes of Qusṭā ibn Lūqā, Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq, and his son Isḥāq, and their unbridled devotion to heresy. You are also well acquainted with the revelations about Ibn Zakarīyā al-Rāzī, for he was a Christian, son of a Christian, who used Christianity as a fig-leaf (*yatasattaru bi-l-Naṣrānīya*) to indulge in the doctrines of the infidels. Later on he embraced Islam for the sake of appearance and took on the name Muḥammad, while his [real baptismal] name was Yūḥannā (John).[136] He only did this as an act of deception in order to vilify Islam.
>
> He held the view that it would be absurd for God to have the power to create a human being other than through sexual reproduction and to bring his rational and physical potential to perfection instantaneously, for had He the power to do so, He would have done it, but, as we can see time and again, He has never done it.[137]
>
> But, do not people endowed with reason observe that a chick leaves its egg plumed and self-reliant, getting along without the support of its father, its mother or another member of its species, or that a baby goose starts swimming as soon as it leaves [its egg] without needing a swimming instructor as humans do? What the bees build, what the spider and the silkworm weave, all this happens instantaneously. He forgot that God created the heavens, the earth, and the mountains as well as the white of cotton, birds, and horses and other things whose colour He created instantaneously. The same applies to their tastes and smells.
>
> He [scil. Rāzī], however, denied [that God has] the power to create grapes and the like instantaneously and claimed that they are necessarily unripe [sour] and green at first, while sweetness and blackness emerge in them only later on. And about the white hair he said that it is caused by the mouldiness of moisture in the hair roots.
>
> In return it should be said to him: There are horses, birds, and other creatures which are white from the very beginning without the presence of moisture.

21–33]. On this chapter and parallel texts see F. Rosenthal, 'The Defense of Medicine' (n. 4 above), pp. 519–32. Given the proximity in time between the composition of the *Taṭbīt* (995) and Ibn Hindū's *Miftāḥ*, we might suggest an even closer relationship between the two texts. Ibn Hindū spent a few years in Ahwāz from 1003 onwards (see Khalifat, *Ibn Hindū*, pp. 38 f.). In the *Miftāḥ* he also refers to a group of medicine-bashers in Persia who were at feud with his teacher, the Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī-student Ibn al-Ḫammār (d. after 1017; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ*, ed. Riḍā [n. 4 above], p. 429).

134. *Taṭbīt* (n. 122 above), p. 616.

135. Ibid., pp. 623 f. (my translation).

136. See G. Reynolds, *A Muslim Theologian in the Sectarian Milieu: ʿAbd al-Jabbār and the Critique of Christian Origins*, Leiden, 2004, pp. 187 f. To the best of my knowledge this allegation is unknown from other sources and has been passed over in silence in most studies on Abū Bakr al-Rāzī. The possibility that al-Rāzī was indeed born to a Christian family cannot be rejected out of hand. Al-Ǧāḥiẓ jibes in his *Radd ʿalā l-Naṣārā* (in *Rasāʾil al-Ǧāḥiẓ* [n. 9 above], vol. 3, pp. 315 f.) at Christians who adopted Muslim names to protect their status. Yūḥannā was the *ism* of several Christian physicians, notably Abū Zakarīyā Yūḥannā ibn Māsawayh.

137. This argument is closely linked to Galen's discussion of 'the matter-intrinsic principle' in Book XI of *On the Usefulness of the Parts of the Body* and elsewhere (see above n. 75) as well as to a passage in al-Rāzī's *Doubts* quoted below at n. 158.

> [al-Rāzī] also said: 'God takes no gratification (*niʿma*) in creating them and in creating bodily soundness (*ṣiḥḥa*), [the senses of] hearing and sight, speech, skin,[138] desires and in the pleasures (*laḏḏāt*) [His creatures] may experience.' He also said that 'people who hold such convictions are fools, indistinguishable from donkeys. It is rather so that the pleasure (*laḏḏa*) they experience is relief from a pain (*rāḥa min alam*)[139] in them or from an achiness which afflicts them, analogous to the case of someone who finds relief from a strong urgency to defecate and urinate when he finally clears out the bowels, or someone who scratches a rash or puts ointment on his wound or his lesion.'
>
> Yet, any person endowed with reason does make a distinction between things he takes pleasure in and the medicine he takes to treat an injury. He hopes that his desirousness, youthfulness and fortitude will last and wishes to protect them and he is driven to despair when it wanes and cries and weeps about it as he would cry about the loss of his dearest ones or the loss of his hearing and eyesight, hoping that it would be returned to him. He thus consults the physicians to prescribe for him what strengthens the desire and restores it, but does neither yearn for a rash in order to scratch himself, nor for a wound and an injury in order to get medical treatment, nor for a strong urgency to defecate and urinate in order to sit down and relieve himself. This is obvious nonsense which is known by sense-perception. One may then marvel at the fact that the medical treatises of Ibn Zakarīyā contain various sections dedicated to the preservation of desirousness, physical soundness, youthful vigour, fortitude and strength, where he prescribes the most accomplished medications for these purposes.
>
> They thus discard objects of perception, reject compelling facts and are exasperated about people who hold these things to be a blessing of God who promised analogous things for the hereafter. Meanwhile, they fool themselves and those who follow their presumption to believe that *they* heal them and perpetuate their bodily soundness and fortitude.

The association of physicians with hybris, pretentiousness and corruption has been a leitmotiv of anti-medical literature since antiquity. In the *Taṯbīt*, the allegations against Rāzī's professional integrity is substantiated with an anecdote involving Abū l-Qāsim al-Balḫī:[140]

> One day, the governor of Balḫ[141] came down with some disease. Ibn Zakarīyā al-Rāzī prescribed him the requisite [medicine] and even went to visit him. On that occasion he asked the governor to submit a query to Abū l-Qāsim al-Balḫī, may God have mercy upon him, so that he may answer it. The governor acceded to his request and obliged Abū l-Qāsim [to answer]. He thus replied and wrote to Ibn Zakarīyā as follows: first of all, [let me tell you] that I have never seen a person more foolish than you. Ibn Zakarīyā then replied: This does not blend in well with your moral standards, for you are characterized as a man of gentleness and good manners. Abū l-Qāsim then wrote in return: Let me explain this to you: You deny what Muslims and people who adhere to revealed Laws

138. Reading *ǧild* (skin), here probably referring to the sense of touch. *ǧalad* as an attribute of physical strength (sturdiness, fortitude) appears in conjunction with *ṣiḥḥa* further below.

139. For Rāzī's definition of pleasure see below apud n. 150.

140. *Taṯbīt* (n. 122 above), pp. 624 f. (my translation). Yet another anectode about Rāzī visiting the King of Buḫārā is related on pp. 631 f. A similar anecdote is quoted in *The Spiritual Physick of Rhazes*, transl. A. J. Arberry, London, 1950, pp. 3–6.

141. Probably referring to Aḥmad ibn Sahl ibn Hāšim al-Kāmkārī (d. 920) who appointed Abū l-Qāsim al-Balḫī vizier in the year before the failed rebellion in 919. See also Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ*, ed. Riḍā (n. 4 above), pp. 418 f.; El Omari, *Theology*, (n. 9 above), p. 10; L. Marlow, 'Abū Zayd al-Balkhī and the *Naṣīḥat al-mulūk* of Pseudo-Māwardī', *Der Islam*, 93, 2016, pp. 35–64 (38, 43).

> affirm concerning the deity and prophetic missions and consider [what they believe] to be ignorance; they, in turn, consider what you advocate to be blasphemy and think that the blood of those who promote and endorse [such views] should be spilled. Meanwhile, you mingle with them and they are with you and around you over long distances. You openly express your opinion and engage in debates about it without assuming recompense and reward for this neither in this world nor in the hereafter, because you do not believe in the world to come and in reward and punishment. This is point number one. Secondly, you assert the validity of alchemy and your [ability to] turn stone and clay into gold and silver; you have written books about this in which you affront people who reject this and contest [the validity of alchemy]. In spite of all that, your wife had to sue you to make you pay alimonies for her and your [joint] child; you left her no other choice but to bring you before the judges so that they would impose [the payment of alimonies] on you, something that usually only happens with the poorest and the most destitute people. Thus far the second point. Thirdly, it is quite obvious what saves you from debilitation and relieves you of an incurable disease. You, however, arrogate to yourself the science of elemental qualities (*ʿilm al-ṭabāʾiʿ*) as well as proficiency and a vanguard role in medicine; you deride the physicians who preceded you, such as Ibn Māsawayh and others, as well as your contemporaries.

This anecdote is followed by yet another which is meant to illustrate that the medical knowledge of ordinary people outstrips the competence of professional physicians. According to this story, al-Rāzī had lost his eyesight and was unable to find a physician who knew how to cure it. But then, a woman happened to visit his wife and told her about the correct treatment:

> Likewise, Galen often tells about medications for which he benefited from [the experience of] midwives, peasants and sailors. How many diseases the great physicians have already encountered which have never been seen and how many patients have died of some undiagnosed disease?

To buttress his allegation that physicians are incompetent and incapable of treating many diseases, the author of the *Taṭbīt* also adduces supporting evidence from the medical literature:[142]

> The drugs of different nations (*adwiyat al-umam*) differ from each other and are not identical. Thus, the medicine of the Indians (*ṭibb al-Hind*) differs from the medicine of the Arabs, the medicine of the Byzantines differs from the medicine of the Persians, the medicine of the urban population differs from the medicine of the rural population, and the medicine of the rural population differs again from the medicine of the Bedouins, the mountain population and the nomads. Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq wrote a book in which he lists many drugs which were unknown to Hippocrates and Galen and remained undocumented, among them [drugs against] smallpox and measles.[143] It was claimed that [Galen] did not know [these drugs] until Ibn Zakarīyā al-Rāzī said: It seems that he already knew them. ... The book of Galen which is known as *Kitāb al-Mayāmir*,[144] which is his trademark and

142. *Taṭbīt* (n. 122 above), pp. 617–20 (my translation).

143. Possibly a reference to Ḥunayn's commentary on Ps.-Galen's *Kitāb al-Adwiya al-maktūma* (*GAS* [n. 8 above], vol, III, p. 129, no. 102 and p. 256).

144. *Kitāb al-Mayāmir* or *Kitāb fī Tarkīb al-adwiya bi-ḥasab al-mawāḍiʿ*; Ullmann, *Die Medizin* (n. 3 above), p. 48, no. 50a; *GAS* (n. 8 above), vol. III, pp. 70 f., 118–20, no. 64; Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum* (n. 3 above), pp. 54 f., nos 80 f.

> [contains] the results of his collected experiences in curing his patients, is not consulted by physicians [nowadays]; they do not prescribe [the drugs described in this book] to anybody. The same holds true with many of his [other] books. Abū l-Ḥasan ibn Zahrūn[145] the Sabian from Ḥarrān, the figurehead and chief of medical science in Baghdad, strove to disprove and ridicule Galen in the science of medicine based on what we have just mentioned about his medical treatments. Abū l-Ḥasan ibn al-Nafīs, who is one of the chief physicians and the teacher of the aforementioned Ibn Baks, and others came out in defence of Galen arguing that drugs do not work pursuant to one invariable pattern and that they may be beneficial [to cure] certain diseases at one time, while having noxious effects when applied to the very same diseases at other times ... drugs may vary just like diets.[146] ...
>
> Medicine is not a science (*ʿilm*), but something which is found by trial and error. But then these experiments do not remain [valid] and do not apply uniformly. Indeed, they vary significantly and differ as you have seen and heard. These are signs and evidences of God's oneness (*āyātu Llāh wa-dalāʾil tawḥīdihī*). He made them follow the habitual course (*al-ʿādāt*) rather than causing them to permanently and consistently follow one single pattern for ever (*wa-lā yudīmuhū ʿalā ṭarīqa wāḥida*). [At times] He adds to it, [at others] He diminishes it; He effectuates it at times, but not at others, in order to safeguard the truth (*ḥirāsatan li-l-ḥaqq*), so that things which are not evident are not mistaken for evidence, for God does not act according to misconception and deception. We say that medicine is not a science, because if it were a science, [the knowledge obtained by it] would not be subject to change, as is the case with the knowledge that there is no action without an agent and that [the capacity to act] exists prior to the act and that [the agent] must be living and capable in order for his act to follow a plan and a concept (*munassaqan wa-muḥkaman*).

Aside from these polemical texts we also find a number of more substantial engagements with specific aspects of Rāzī's thought in several *kalām* treatises.[147] A paramount example in this respect are Muʿtazilī discussions about pleasure (*laḏḏa*) and pain (*alam*), inasmuch as they illustrate quite vividly how over the course of the tenth century some of al-Rāzī's philosophical views effectively prompted certain Muʿtazilī scholars to get to the bottom of the concepts championed by their school-authorities.[148] On a number of occasions the revision of these concepts gave rise to inner-school controversies.[149]

Al-Rāzī's conception of pleasure may be characterized as a constrained version of Plato's theory of pleasure.[150] It largely depends on the *Timaeus* (64 A 2–65 B 3)[151] where

145. I.e. Ṯābit ibn Qurra (*GAS* [n. 8 above], vol. III, pp. 260–3).

146. In *uṣūl al-dīn* and *uṣūl al-fiqh* treatises the concept of abrogation, i.e. the time-limited benefit and validity of certain revealed legal regulations, as well as the epistemological status of jurisdiction based on *iǧtihād* are frequently compared with the temporal and context-dependent effectiveness of drugs or nutritional regimens. See, among numerous other examples, Abū Ṭālib Yaḥyā ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Hārūnī, *Ziyādāt Šarḥ al-uṣūl*, ed. C. Adang et al., in *Baṣran Muʿtazilite Theology: Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad ibn Ḫallād's* Kitāb al-Uṣūl *and Its Reception*, Leiden, 2011, p. 163; idem, *Kitāb al-Muǧzī fī uṣūl al-fiqh*, ed. A. Ǧadbān, Ṣanʿāʾ, 2013, vol. 4, pp. 159–215; E. G. Price, 'The Medicine of the Prophets: *Maṣlaḥa* in the Baṣran Muʿtazilī defence of prophecy and the revealed law', M.Phil diss., Oxford University, 2015, pp. 41, 56 f., 64 f., 80.

147. See the examples mentioned in n. 122 above.

148. ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār, *Muġnī* (n. 17 above), vol. 9, p. 59; vol. 13, p. 261; Abū l-Qāsim al-Bustī, *Kitāb al-Baḫṯ ʿan adillat al-takfīr wa-l-tafsīq*, ed. W. Madelung and S. Schmidtke, Tehran, 2003, p. 24 (*al-alam laysa bi-maʿnan*); al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī, *Kitāb al-ʿUyūn*, MS Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, ar. B66, fol. 115r (*Bāb al-alam wa-l-laḏḏa*); Rukn al-Dīn al-Malāḥimī, *Kitāb al-Fāʾiq fī uṣūl al-dīn* (n. 122 above), pp. 256–65 (257 f.); id., *Kitāb al-Muʿtamad fī uṣūl al-dīn* (n. 17 above), pp. 432 f.

149. See n. 111 above and the translated texts appended to this article.

150. Adamson, 'Platonic Pleasures' (n. 117 above); M. M. Bar-Asher, 'Quelques aspects de l'éthique d'Abū-Bakr al-Rāzī et ses origines dans l'œuvre de Galien', *Studia Islamica*, 69, 1989, pp. 5–38 (1st part) and *Studia*

pleasure and pain are confined to mere physical or physiological processes and discards Plato's considerably more nuanced treatment in *Republic* 9 and especially in *Philebus* which he only knew by title. Rāzī thus disregards the Platonic notion of 'pure' and 'intellectual' pleasures and construes all pleasures as bodily pleasures. Central to both Plato's and Rāzī's understanding of bodily pleasures is the idea of replenishment as leading towards the restoration of the natural or normal state (τὸ κατὰ φύσιν; *al-ḥāl al-ṭabīʿīya*).[152] The process of replenishment, however, can only be called 'pleasure', if it is perceived and experienced as such, and it is only perceptible, if the replenishment is 'overwhelming and sudden' rather than 'gentle and gradual'. For Rāzī the idea of replenishment implies that 1) there is no genuine pleasure without preceding harm and that 2) the extent of pleasure one perceives will always be commensurate to the extent of preceding harm.[153] Since pleasure only exists as restoration and replenishment, it is at best a return to the original or natural state of the body which is the best possible physical state, i.e. bodily health (which includes psychic well-being) and the optimal balance of the bodily mixture. This natural state is defined as 'the state in which there is neither pleasure nor pain'.[154] It is at once starting point and normative goal. From the vantage point of the natural state, any pursuit of pleasure is futile, because the desire for pleasure only arises in a state of lack, deficiency, or unhealthiness.

An additional aspect of Rāzī's understanding of pleasure comes to the fore in a short passage of his *Doubts against Galen* where his definition of pleasure is linked

Islamica, 70, 1989, pp. 119–47 (2nd part); see also Pines, *Studies in Islamic Atomism* (n. 12 above), p. 81 with n. 100 and the references given there.

151. For divergent opinions about the level of al-Rāzī's acquaintance with the *Timaeus* see Adamson, 'Platonic Pleasures' (n. 117 above), p. 83, n. 33. At the very least he had access to Arabic versions of Galen's *Compendium of the Timaeus* (see *Plato Arabus, I: Galeni compendium Timaei Platonis*, ed. R. Walzer, London, 1951, pp. 18 f., par. xiv) and Galen's *Commentary on the Timaeus*. See Pines, *Studies in Islamic Atomism* (n. 12 above), p. 86, n. 116; id., 'Nouvelles études sur Awḥad al-Zamān Abu'l-Barakāt al-Baghdādī', Paris, 1955, pp. 60 f., repr. in *The Collected Works of Shlomo Pines, vol. I: Studies in Abu'l-Barakāt al-Baghdādī, Physics and Metaphysics*, Jerusalem, 1979, pp. 147 f.; A. R. Das, 'Galen and the Arabic Traditions of Plato's *Timaeus*', PhD diss., University of Warwick, 2013, pp. 96–146. See ibid., p. 100, for the suggestion that al-Rāzī's alleged super-commentary on Plutarch's *Commentary on the Timaeus* may be the result of a conflation of two separate compositions, namely a commentary on a book of Plutarch [*Kitāb Tafsīr kitāb Flūṭarḫus*, i.e. the *De placitis*] and some treatment of a commentary on the *Timaeus* [*Fī tafsīr kitāb Ṭīmāwus*].

152. For further details see D. Wolfsdorf, *Pleasure in Ancient Greek Philosophy*, Cambridge, 2012, pp. 41–102; G. van Riel, *Pleasure and the Good Life: Plato, Aristotle, and the Neoplatonists*, Leiden, 2000, pp. 40–2; H. Lorenz, *The Brute Within: Appetitive Desire in Plato and Aristotle*, Oxford, 2006, pp. 95–110. The conception of pleasure as replenishment is consistently criticized in the Peripatetic tradition (see G. Pearson, *Aristotle on Desire*, Cambridge 2012, pp. 92–100; van Riel, *Pleasure and the Good Life* (above), pp. 48–50). In ch. 18 of *On the Nature of Man* Nemesius of Emesa refers to those who define pleasure as 'a perceptible process of becoming a natural state, a definition which seems to be of bodily pleasure only' (ed. Morani [n. 89 above], p. 78; Arabic transl. in *Sirr al-ḫalīqa*, ed. Weisser [n. 99 above], p. 607, where ἡδονή is rendered as *šahwa*, ἐπιθυμία as *ištihāʾ*; ed. Haji-Athanasiou [n. 89 above], p. 142), and rejects the idea that every pleasure is replenishment of a deficiency (ed. Morani [n. 85 above], p. 78; Arabic transl. in *Sirr al-ḫalīqa*, ed. Weisser [n. 99 above], p. 607; ed. Haji-Athanasiou [n. 89 above], p. 143). See also the reference to Miskawayh's *Fī l-laḏḏāt wa-l-ālām*, ed. M. Arkoun, 'Deux épitres de Miskawayh', *Bulletin d'Études Orientales*, 17, 1961/2, p. 4, ll. 9–10; Adamson, 'Platonic Pleasures' (n. 117 above), p. 91.

153. See *al-Ṭibb al-rūḥānī*, ed. P. Kraus, in *Rasāʾil falsafīya* (n. 120 above), p. 37, ll. 5–10, as quoted in Adamson, 'Platonic Pleasures' (n. 117 above), p. 85.

154. *Kitāb al-Laḏḏa*, ed. P. Kraus, in *Rasāʾil falsafīya* (n. 120 above), pp. 148, l. 6 – 149, l. 2 and p. 153, l. 2, as quoted in Adamson, 'Platonic Pleasures' (n. 117 above), p. 84; Wolfsdorf, *Pleasure* (n. 152 above), pp. 41 f.

with Galen's matter-intrinsic principle which we have briefly encountered in connection with a famous passage from Book XI of *On the Usefulness of the Parts of the Body*.[155] In the *Doubts*, the topic is broached in reference to a contentious statement in Book III of *On the Usefulness* which immediately follows the passage wherein Galen characterizes the treatise as 'a sacred discourse which I write as a true hymn of praise to our Creator'.[156]

> وقال في آخرها: ليس ينبغي أن تختصّ الإنسان بخلقته إذا نظرت إلى الشمس والقمر والكواكب، فإنّ الحكمة والعناية فيما في الأرض مساوية لما في تلك، غير أنّه ينبغي لك أن تتفكّر في عنصر كلّ واحد من الأشياء ولا تطمع في أنه يمكن أن يكون من دم الطمث والمني حيوان لا يألم ولا يموت كالشمس.
>
> At the end of [the third treatise] Galen says: 'You should not conceive of humans as representing a distinct type of entity, for when you consider the sun, the moon and the stars, the wisdom and providence relating to them is on a par with that relating to things on earth. You should rather examine the material substance of each entity for itself and should not expect that it is possible that out of menstrual blood and semen emerges a living being which – like the sun – does neither experience pain nor pass away.'[157]

As Rāzī remarks, this statement could be deemed theologically problematic inasmuch as it undermines God's omnipotence, wisdom and equity, as well as the purposive

155. See above apud n. 76.

156. See above apud n. 67 and al-Rāzī, *al-Šukūk ʿalā Ǧālīnūs*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ġanī (n. 34 above), pp. 72, l. 15 – 73, l. 7; Abū l-ʿAlāʾ ibn Zuhr, *Kitāb al-Bayān wa-l-tabyīn* (n. 34 above), fol. 16v, ll. 20–8. The section titles are given in Ibn Zuhr's treatise. The section relating to *On the Usefulness of the Parts of the Body* begins at fol. 14r, l. 3 which corresponds to ed. ʿAbd al-Ġanī [n. 34 above], p. 66, l. 12). It is the second of Galen's works scrutinised in the *Šukūk* after *Kitāb al-Burhān* which al-Rāzī considers 'the most noble and useful of all books after the revealed scriptures' (*kāna aǧalla l-kutub wa-anfaʿahā baʿda kutubi Llāh al-munazzala*), ed. ʿAbd al-Ġanī, pp. 43 f.

157. *Šukūk*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ġanī (n. 34 above), pp. 72, ll. 2–7; Ibn Zuhr, *Kitāb al-Bayān wa-l-tabyīn* (n. 34 above), fol. 16v, ll. 11–15, paraphrasing *UPB* Book III, ed. Kühn (n. 62 above), p. 238, ll. 5–14; ed. Helmreich (n. 62 above), vol. I, pp. 174, l. 19–175, l. 7; transl. May, p. 189 (see Strohmaier, 'Bekannte und unbekannte Zitate' [n. 53 above], p. 281): μὴ τοίνυν, ὅτι καλῶς ἥλιός τε καὶ σελήνη καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἄστρων ὁ χορὸς ἅπας διατέτακται, θαυμάσῃς, μηδ' ἐκπλήξῃ σε τὸ μέγεθος αὐτῶν ἢ τὸ κάλλος ἢ τὸ τῆς κινήσεως ἀκατάπαυστον ἢ ἡ τῶν περιόδων τάξις, ὥστε τὰ τῇδε παραβάλλοντα σμικρὰ δοκεῖν εἶναι καὶ ἀκόσμητα· καὶ γὰρ σοφίαν καὶ δύναμιν καὶ πρόνοιαν ὁμοίαν εὑρήσεις ἐνταυθοῖ. σκόπει γάρ μοι τὴν ὕλην, ἐξ ἧς ἕκαστον ἐγένετο, καὶ μὴ μάτην ἐλπίσῃς ἐκ καταμηνίου καὶ σπέρματος ἀθάνατον δύνασθαι συστῆναι ζῷον ἢ ἀπαθὲς ἢ ἀεικίνητον ἢ λαμπρὸν οὕτω καὶ καλόν, ὡς ἥλιον.

The Arabic translation of the corresponding passage in *UPB* is found in MS Paris, BNF, ar. 2853, fol. 56r, ll. 9–14 and is – with a few variant readings – fully quoted in Abū l-ʿAlāʾ Ibn Zuhr's *Kitāb al-Bayān wa-l-tabyīn* (n. 34 above), fol. 17r, ll. 16–24. Ibn Zuhr quotes Galen verbatim with a view to exposing al-Rāzī's substantial interference with the Galenic text:

> فأقول: إنه ليس ينبغي لك أن تعجب من حسن ترتيب مواضع الشمس والقمر وسائر الكواكب ولا يتعاظمك عظم مقاديرها وبهائها واتّصال حركتها واستوائها وانتظام الحركات بعضها ببعض، حتى يكون إذا أنت قِستَها إلى ما دونها مما عندنا تظنّ أن التي عندنا صغيرة حقيرة غير محكمة التقدير، وذاك أنّك تجد الحكمة والقدرة والعناية عندنا مساوية لما يوجد في تلك، وقد ينبغي لك أن تتفكّر في عنصر كلّ واحد من الأشياء ولا تطمع نفسك في الباطل أنه يمكن أن يكون من دم الطمث والمني حيوان لا يموت أو لا يألم أو دائم الحركة أو يتزاهى كالشمس.

According to the Arabic version of *On the Usefulness of the Parts of the Body* the last bit of Rāzī's citation should be translated as:

> 'You should, however, consider the material substance of each entity [separately] and should not fool yourself into expecting the inadmissible, namely that it would be possible that out of menstrual blood and semen emerges a living being which does not pass away or does not experience pain, or is moving eternally, or shining brightly like the sun.'

design of His creation. If the properties of bodies and their parts are co-determined and co-regulated by the composition of their material substrate, the creative power of the wise Creator (δημιουργός, *ḫāliq*) is substantially confined and curtailed.[158]

> I say: With this statement Galen has made it explicit that matter is not part of the creation of the Giver of forms (*al-muṣawwir*) and that the Giver of forms can only bring into being in each matter what it is disposed for in and of itself. But if this is the case, why would this Giver of forms be wise and considerate, if it is not possible for Him to generate from any matter a living being which does neither suffer pain nor pass away? Would not wisdom and deliberation suggest to Him that He should refrain for ever from bringing it into being in order to spare it from pain, death, distress and misfortune?[159]
>
> If someone wondered whether according to Galen's view the amount of pleasure a human being experiences over the course of his lifetime exceeds the amount of pain that afflicts him or is equal to it, he should know that Plato and all the natural philosophers were in agreement that pleasure is [tantamount to] returning to the natural state (*ruǧūʿ ilā l-ṭabīʿa*)[160] by being relieved from a source of pain (*bi-l-rāḥa min muʾlim*)[161] and that it would not be in accordance with wisdom and deliberation that the Creator would create a natural disposition which is inextricably linked to pain. But hasn't He relieved it from pain, if it was free from it initially?[162]
>
> However, this statement contradicts what he and all philosophers say with respect to the improvement of character traits (*iṣlāḥ al-aḫlāq*), namely that the Good, which is sought for its own sake, consists of pure pleasure. It is obvious that such an assertion would clash with the contents of Galen's book *On Character Traits*[163] and particularly with the contents of Plato's books[164] as well as with all the other venerable philosophers.

The discrepancy which Rāzī detects here between Galen's concept of matter and the ontological underpinnings of Galen's moral philosophy is closely linked to his narrow concept of pleasure. For if all pleasure is bodily pleasure and all bodily pleasure is restorative and inextricably linked with some kind of deficiency, pleasure cannot serve as a reliable benchmark, let alone constitute the ultimate goal in pursuit of the most complete life. Being a kind of cure, restorative pleasure is contingently good, but never

158. For a thorough discussion of some of the underlying philosophico-theological issues see van der Eijk, 'Galen on the Nature of Human Beings' (n. 39 above), pp. 89–134.

159. This recalls *Tim.*, 30 A 1–3: 'wise men will tell you ... that this ... was the pre-eminent reason for the world's coming to be: the divine wanted everything to be good and nothing to be bad *so far as that was possible*' (βουληθεὶς γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ἀγαθὰ μὲν πάντα, φλαῦρον δὲ μηδὲν εἶναι *κατὰ δύναμιν*) (italics mine).

160. The definition of pleasure as 'returning to the natural state' and of pain as 'departing from the natural state' is also ascribed to the natural philosophers in *al-Ṭibb al-rūḥānī*, (n. 153 above), p. 37, ll. 3–4 (*ḥadd al-laḏḏa ʿindahum huwa annahā ruǧūʿ ilā l-ṭabīʿa*); see Adamson, 'Platonic Pleasures' (n. 117 above), p. 84.

161. See also Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ*, ed. Riḍā (n. 4 above), p. 422.

162. Initially: *Fī ḥālatihī l-ūlā*, i.e. in its initial, pristine condition.

163. One may refer, for instance, to Galen's statement in *On Character Traits* 34.4–11 (transl. D. Davies, in *Galen: Psychological Writings*, ed. P. N. Singer, Cambridge, 2013, p. 149): 'Whoever chooses pleasure rather than the beautiful as his goal chooses to be like a pig rather than to be like an angel ... Someone who in his nature and his act makes [the attainment of] this pleasure his goal is like a pig, whereas someone whose nature and act loves the beautiful follows the example of the angels. The [last], therefore, deserve to be called 'godlike', and those who pursue pleasures deserve to be called 'beasts'. On the Platonic concept of 'pure pleasure', i.e. pleasure that is unmixed with (i.e. not preceded by) pain, and the distinction of grades of pure pleasure see Adamson, 'Platonic Pleasures' (n. 117 above), p. 77; Wolfsdorf, *Pleasure* (n. 152 above), pp. 102, 124; van Riel, *Pleasure and the Good Life* (n. 152 above), pp. 8, 15f., 17–36.

164. Rāzī obviously has the *Timaeus* in mind.

a good in itself.[165] At the very most it is indicative of a body's approaching its natural condition or a state of bodily soundness.

The *mutakallimūn* agree with Rāzī on that pleasure is confined to physical or physiological processes and inextricably linked with desire and need. In Ibn Mattawayh's *Kitāb al-Taḏkira*, the section *On Pains and Pleasures* opens with the following definition:[166]

> Pain is an ontologically discrete entity (*maʿnā*)[167] which is generated in the living being of our species (*fī l-ḥayy minnā*) when incision takes place (*ʿind al-taqṭīʿ*) and aversion (*al-nifār*) is linked to it. It [viz. pain] belongs to the perceptibles (*al-mudrakāt*); it is impossible to deny the reality[168] of an ontologically discrete entity that is perceived.[169] ... The case of pleasure runs parallel to that of pain: [it is an ontologically discrete entity which is generated when incision takes place and desire (*al-šahwa*) is linked to it].[170]

Strictly speaking, this definition of pleasure and pain not only precludes the existence of 'pure' or intellective pleasures, it actually confines the experience of pleasure and pain *qua* ontologically discrete entity (*maʿnā*) to tactile perception.[171] All pleasurable and painful experiences that trigger the occurrence of an ontologically discrete entity relate to incision (*taqṭīʿ*) and separation (*tafrīq*) and hence to an

165. See Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* 7.14, 1154b17–20; A. A. Akasoy and A. Fidora (eds.), *The Arabic Version of the Nicomachean Ethics*, Leiden, 2005, p. 421 (*laḏīḏ bi-nawʿ al-ʿaraḍ, lā bi-l-ṭabīʿa/bi-ḏātihī*); Nemesius, *On the Nature of Man*, ed. Morani (n. 89 above), p. 78: [αἱ ἡδοναὶ] κατὰ συμβεβηκὸς οὖν εἰσιν ἀγαθαὶ καὶ οὐ καθ' ἑαυτὰς οὐδὲ φύσει... (*Sirr al-ḫalīqa*, ed. Weisser [n. 99 above]: *laysat hāḏihī l-šahawāt ṣāliḥatan min ṭabīʿatihā wa-lākinnahā ibāḥatan li-šifāʾ faqr al-aǧsād*). ed. Haji-Athanasiou (n. 89 above), p. 143: *hāḏihī l-laḏḏāt ... laysat ḫayran fī ḏātihā wa-lā bi-l-ṭabʿ, lākinnahā ḫayr bi-l-ʿaraḍ.*

166. Ed. Gimaret (n. 131 above), p. 163.

167. My rendering of *maʿnā* as 'ontologically discrete entity' is explained in n. 110 above.

168. Lit. 'it is impossible to refrain from positing', 'it is impossible not to posit as a given'.

169. For sense perception as a primary and unwavering source of knowledge in Bahšamī *kalām* see, for instance, *Muġnī* (n. 17 above), vol. XIII, p. 230: *fa-iḏā ḥaṣala l-šayʾ mudrakan, fa-l-wāǧib fī iṯbātihī an yakūna aṣlan wa-an yastaġniya ʿan dalīl.*

170. The explicative addition in square brackets is found in *Šarḥ al-Taḏkira*, ms. Tehran, Mahdavi Codex 514, fol. 48r, in *An Anonymous Commentary on Kitāb al-Tadhkira by Ibn Mattawayh. Facsimile Edition of Mahdavi Codex 514 (6th/12th Century)*, Tehran, 2006, p. 93; my edition and translation of this passage is appended to this article. The exclusive association of pleasure with the desiring soul (*al-nafs al-šahwanīya*) is also found in the Arabic translation of Galen's paraphrase of the *Timaeus* (see Adamson, 'Platonic Pleasures' [n. 117 above], p. 84). As mentioned above n. 152, some early Arabic translations of Greek texts render ἡδονή as *šahwa* rather than *laḏḏa*. Thus, ch. 18 (περὶ ἡδονῶν) of Nemesius of Emesa's *On the Nature of Man* is rendered '*fī l-šahawāt*' in the earliest paraphrastic translation (*Sirr al-ḫalīqa*, ed. Weisser [n. 99 above], p. 605, ll. 6 f.), whereas ἐπιθυμία (τὸ ἐπιθυμητικόν), which is usually translated as *šahwa* (*al-šahwānī*), is rendered as *ištihāʾ* (ibid., p. 603, ll. 12 f.). Desire and pleasure are thus united under the same root **š-h-w*.

171. See *Taḏkira* (n. 131 above), p. 168 (*wa-innamā yuṯbatu l-alam wa-l-laḏḏa fīmā yaḥṣulu ḥādiṯan ʿind al-taqṭīʿ faqaṭ*). This qualified position is ascribed to Abū Hāšim al-Ǧubbāʾī. In his view the experience of pleasure and pain based on non-tactile sense perception does not involve the occurrence of a *maʿnā* (*lā yastanidu ilā maʿnā*); see *Sharḥ al-Taḏkira* (n. 170 above), p. 98, l. 22. According to his father, Abū ʿAlī, the occurrence of this *maʿnā* can be related to any of the five senses (*fī kulli mā yudraku bi-l-ḥawāss aǧmaʿ*). For tactile pleasures as a distinct category of pleasures in Aristotle see Pearson, *Aristotle on Desire* (n. 152 above), pp. 96–100. In *Nicomachean Ethics* 10.3 (1173b14–30) Aristotle argues that the replenishment view of pleasure is – strictly speaking – restricted to tactile pleasures that are tied to the animal's survival (food, drink, sex) and presuppose a painful disruptive state of the body.

infraction of the specific arrangement of homogenous atoms which make up the structure (*binya*) of a living being.[172]

The close association of pleasure with physical processes, desire and need also explains why the topic is broached in treatises on religious fundamentals (*uṣūl al-dīn*) in the context of discussions about divine self-sufficiency (*ġanāʾ*).[173] A self-sufficient God is by definition free of need. If all pleasure arises from desire and all desire strives for the replenishment of a lack and, by implication, quantitative change of some sort, desire and pleasure cannot be ascribed to Him. Like Rāzī, the *mutakallimūn* were therefore adamant not to associate God with pleasure and desire:[174]

> Evidence corroborating [the aforementioned prove for God's self-sufficiency, to wit that God is devoid of need, that need only applies to beings which are subject to desire (*šahwa*) and aversion (*nifār*), that desire and aversion only apply to things which are subject to growth/increase (*ziyāda*) and diminution/deficiency (*nuqṣān*), and that growth and diminution only apply to corporeal entities] is the following consideration by Abū Hāšim: Whenever we perceive what we desire, our body grows [or acquires something additional] and derives benefit from it (*yazdādu ǧismuhū wa-yaṣiḥḥu badanuhū ʿalayhi*).[175] By contrast, whenever we perceive what our natural disposition (*ṭabīʿa*) abhors, [our body] sustains damage to the point that it may look skinny and feeble. This proves that growth and diminution are characteristic properties of desire and aversion.

The criticism which the *mutakallimūn* levelled against Rāzī's conception of pleasure did not concern the fact that it was confined to bodily pleasures, but rather his understanding of pleasure and pain as being related to *deviations* from the body's *natural* and *normal* condition. Rāzī's notion of a 'natural state' is echoed in the medical definition of health as

172. *Šarḥ al-Taḏkira* (n. 170 above), p. 98, l. 21. Inasmuch as pain relates to incision and separation, even inanimate and insentient beings could be said to be in a nonperceptible kind of pain, according to Abū Hāšim (see *Taḏkira* [n. 131 above], p. 172). Al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī (d. 1326), *Nihāyat al-marām fī ʿilm al-kalām*, ed. Fāḍil al-ʿIrfān, Qum, 1430/2009, vol. 2, pp. 299–300 contrasts the position of Galen, who like Aristotle ascribes to each of the five senses a distinct scale of pain/pleasure sensation (*lams>ḏawq>šamm>samʿ>baṣr*), with that of Avicenna who in *Kitāb al-Nafs* of the *Ṭabīʿīyāt* of the *Šifāʾ* (ed. Qum 1984, vol. 2, p. 61) distinguishes between sight (*baṣr*) and hearing (*samʿ*), which lack the sensory perception of pain and pleasure, and sensory pains and pleasures (*ālām/laḏḏāt ḥissīya: šamm, ḏawq, lams*). Direct perception of pain in the sense of *tafarruq al-ittiṣāl* is limited to the sense of touch.

173. See ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār, *al-Kitāb al-Muġnī* (n. 17 above), vol. 11, p. 80 (with cross-references on pp. 108, 117). ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Baġdādī (d. 1038), *Kitāb Uṣūl al-dīn*, ed. N.N., Istanbul, 1336/1928, p. 45, ll. 3–4 refers to Abū Hāšim al-Ǧubbāʾī's definition of *laḏḏa* as being 'the attainment of the desired'. The Ismāʿīlī Dāʿī Aḥmad Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī (d. 1020), *al-Aqwāl al-ḏahabīya fī l-radd ʿalā mā warada fī kitāb al-ṭabīb Abī Bakr Muḥammad ibn Zakarīyā al-Rāzī allaḏī ṣannafahū fī l-ṭibb al-rūḥānī*, ed. M. Ġālib, Beirut, 1977, p. 61, quotes al-Rāzī's definition of *laḏḏa* as follows: *inna l-laḏḏa laysat šayʾan siwā iʿādat mā aḥrağahu al-muʾḏī ʿan ḥālatihī tilka allatī kāna ʿalayhā*. References to Abū Bakr al-Rāzī's notion of *laḏḏa* are particularly widespread in Faḫr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's works: *Kitāb Muḥaṣṣal afkār al-mutaqaddimīn wa-l-mutaʾaḫḫirīn mina l-ḥukamāʾ wa-l-mutakallimīn*, ed. Ḥ. Atay, Cairo, 1991, p. 257 (*al-laḏḏa ʿibāra ʿan al-ḫalāṣ ʿan al-alam*); id., *Šarḥ al-Išārāt*, ed. A. R. Najafzādah, Tehran, 2006, vol. 2, p. 552 (*zawāl al-alam*); id., *al-Mabāḥith al-mašriqīya*, ed. Qum 1411/1990–91, vol. 1, p. 387 (*zaʿama Muḥammad ibn Zakarīyā anna l-laḏḏa ʿibāra ʿan al-ḥurūǧ ʿan al-ḥāla al-ġayr(!) ṭabīʿīya*); al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī (d. 1326), *Nihāyat al-marām fī ʿilm al-kalām* (n. 172 above), vol. 2, pp. 276 f., 285 f. The question of whether or not intellectual pleasure can be ascribed to God (*kawn al-bāriʾ taʿālā multiḏḏan bi-mā lahū min al-kamāl wa-l-ǧamāl*) becomes a central issue in post-classical *kalām*; see, for instance, Faḫr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Nihāyat al-ʿuqūl* (n. 124 above), vol. 3, pp. 221–31 (224).

174. Mānkdīm Šešdīv, *[Taʿlīq] Šarḥ al-Uṣūl al-ḫamsa*, (n. 108 above), pp. 213 f.

175. As suggested in the following paragraph, the notion of *ziyāda* (growth, augmentation) relates here to the intake of food.

'the balance of the bodily mixture' (*iʿtidāl al-mizāǧ* < εὐκρασία) and 'the equilibrium of the elemental qualities' (*istiwāʾ al-ṭabāʾiʿ* < ἡ τῶν στοιχείων ἰσομοιρία).[176] Over the course of the tenth century this definition was embraced by several *mutakallimūn*, including Abū l-Qāsim al-Balḫī, Ibn ʿAyyāš al-Baṣrī, and Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī. The arguments which the *mutakallimūn* advanced against the replenishment model of pleasure and in support of their view that pleasure and pain represent an ontologically discrete entity were therefore not only directed against Rāzī, but also against important representatives of their own school tradition. This comes clearly to the fore in the opening chapter of the section on pains and pleasures in Ibn Mattawayh's *Taḏkira* and its commentaries where the Bahšamī conception of pleasure is defended against positions ascribed to Rāzī and Ibn ʿAyyāš al-Baṣrī (d. 996):[177]

> The venerable Abū Isḥāq ibn ʿAyyāš denied that pain is an ontologically discrete entity (*maʿnā*) in accordance with the definition which we are going to validate. Instead, he held the opinion that it is nothing other than 'the body's departing from its state of balance' (*ḫurūǧ al-ǧism*[178] *ʿan ḥadd al-iʿtidāl*) and conceived of pleasure as 'the attainment of balance in the body' (*ḥuṣūl al-iʿtidāl fī l-ǧism*) and getting rid of those of its parts that were tantamount to carrying a heavy burden. This position also led him to deny that aversion (*nifār*) is an [ontologically discrete entity]; by implication he was then also forced to deny that desire (*šahwa*) represents an [ontologically discrete entity], since we regard it[179] to be pleasure in some respect. Ibn Zakarīyā in turn conceived of pleasure as 'relief from a source of pain' (*rāḥa min muʾlim*) or 'departing from a source of pain' (*ḫurūǧ min muʾlim*).

It is remarkable that most of the arguments which the *mutakallimūn* levelled against Rāzī's and Ibn ʿAyyāš's conceptions of pleasure and pain relate to types of non-tactile pleasures which according to the Bahšamīya do not involve the occurrence of

176. *Iʿtidāl al-mizāǧ/al-amziǧa* (< εὐκρασία) is frequently referred to in *kalām* literature as the medical definition of health or physical soundness (*ṣiḥḥa*); it was adopted by Abū l-Qāsim al-Balḫī and a minority of the Baṣran Muʿtazila, including Ibn ʿAyyāš al-Baṣrī; see, for instance, Mānkdīm Šešdīv, *[Taʿlīq] Šarḥ al-Uṣūl al-ḫamsa* (n. 108 above), pp. 154, 392; al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī, *Šarḥ ʿUyūn al-masāʾil*, MS Riyadh (n. 106 above), fol. 136r (*qālat al-aṭibbāʾ: al-qudra hiya iʿtidāl al-mizāǧ wa-stiwāʾ al-ṭabāʾiʿ*); Ibn al-Malāḥimī, *Muʿtamad* (n. 17 above), pp. 432 f. For Ibn ʿAyyāš see M. T. Heemskerk, *Suffering in the Muʿtazilite Theology: ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār's Teaching on Pain and Divine Justice*, Leiden, 2000 pp. 74, 79–81; al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī, *Kitāb al-ʿUyūn* (n. 104 above), fol. 115r; *Šarḥ ʿUyūn al-masāʾil*, (n. 106 above), fol. 76r–76v (*al-ṣiḥḥa mašrūṭa bi-salāmat al-binya, fa-iḏā ḏahabat al-ṣiḥḥa iḫtalla šarṭ al-salāma, fa-alama*). In *Tuḥfat al-mutakallimīn* (n. 11 above), p. 158, the medical definition of *ṣiḥḥa* is ascribed to Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī, who held that physical soundness and balance (*ṣiḥḥatuhū wa-iʿtidāl mizāǧihī*) are a *conditio sine qua non* (*al-muqtaḍī*) of a person's perceiving, knowing, and having the capacity to act. For Ibn ʿAyyāš's definition of pain see ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār, *Muġnī* (n. 17 above), vol. 9, p. 59, ll. 8 f., and the corresponding translations in Heemskerk, *Suffering* (above), pp. 79 f. and J. K. Hecker, 'Reason and Responsibility: An Explanatory Translation of *Kitāb al-tawlīd* from *al-Mughnī* with introduction and notes', PhD diss., University of California, 1975, p. 154: 'A living being feels pain when physical health ceases and life ebbs away from his body in that place [where a wound exists]. He feels pain upon the occurrence of this just as he feels pain when he perceives bitterness'; similarly, *Muġnī* (n. 17 above), vol. 4, p. 29.8–9; vol. 13, pp. 261, ll.4–5; Ibn al-Malāḥimī, *Fāʾiq* (n. 122 above), p. 257 (*tafrīq binyat al-ḥayāt*); al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī, *Nihāyat al-marām* (n. 172 above), vol. 2, pp. 285 f.

177. Ibn Mattawayh, *Taḏkira* (n. 131 above), p. 163. On Ibn ʿAyyāš, the first Muʿtazilī teacher of ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār in Ḫūzistān, see D. Gimaret, 'Ebn ʿAyyāš', *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (n. 10 above), vol. VIII, p. 1; *GAS* (n. 8 above), vol. I, p. 624, no. 19; Heemskerk, *Suffering* (n. 176 above), p. 32.

178. *Šarḥ al-Taḏkira* (n. 170 above): *al-ḥayy*.

179. According to the editor (D. Gimaret) of the *Taḏkira* (n. 131 above), the 'it' refers here to pain (p. 163, n. 3).

an ontologically discrete entity (*maʿnā*).[180] While some of these arguments may have been the product of inner-school debates, most of them were borrowed from the philosophical and medical literature.[181]

The discussion of pleasure and pain is inextricably linked to that of desire (*šahwa*) and aversion (*nifār/nafra*). Pleasure and pain are said to be properties of someone who perceives one and the same ontologically discrete entity which occurs in the living being as a result of incision (*taqṭīʿ*) with either desire or aversion.[182] The detailed exposition of the concepts of desire (*šahwa*) and aversion (*nifār/nafra*) in *kalām* treatises once again exhibits multiple connections with the medical and philosophical literature. One such connection is again associated with a divergent position advocated by Ibn ʿAyyāš al-Baṣrī who challenged the view of his Bahšamī fellows that desire and aversion represent an ontologically discrete entity and rejected Abū Hāšim's contention that 'desire is inextricably linked with things that are beneficial to the body of the one who desires'.

> Abū Isḥāq ibn ʿAyyāš objected to this line of reasoning and advanced the following counter-argument: We may at times have a very strong desire for [a mixture of] mud and cheese (*šahwat al-ṭīn wa-l-ǧubn*), even though it is extremely harmful for us and our body becomes deficient as a result of it. The same holds true for intercourse which is linked with a strong desire, even though it is not conducive to our [health]. On these grounds, the physicians said about it what they said.[183] Conversely, we may derive a very strong and evident benefit from ingesting some distasteful and abhorrently bitter medication, despite our natural aversion and abhorrence for it. Abū Hāšim may talk his way out of this objection by saying that the desire for mud and cheese is not a correct desire (*šahwa ṣādiqa*), but rather a false desire (*šahwa kāḏiba*).[184] [He may also argue that] medications neither yield an advantageous effect nor do they cause the body's recovery, but that they actually harm us and bring about feebleness and loss of weight whereupon the body recovers owing

180. See n. 171 above and the opening chapter of the section on pleasures and pains in *Šarḥ al-Taḏkira* (n. 170 above). My edition and translation of this chapter is appended to this article.

181. Some of these arguments are brought up in Rāzī's writings, others go back to the Aristotelian critique of the replenishment model of pleasure, first and foremost in books 7 and 10 of the *Nicomachean Ethics* (*NE* 7.14, 1154a8–1154b20; 10.3, 1173b20–30). Once again, the earliest Arabic translation of Nemesius's *On the Nature of Man* (see nn. 99, 152 and 165 above) should be mentioned as an important witness for the early Arabic reception of this material, a fact which is unaccounted for in recent survey articles on the Arabic reception of the *Nicomachean Ethics*: A. Akasoy, 'The Arabic and Islamic reception of the Nicomachean Ethics', in *The Reception of Aristotle's Ethics*, ed. J. Miller, Cambridge, 2012, pp. 85–106; J. Hayes, 'The Arabic reception of the Nicomachean Ethics', in *Aristotle and the Arabic tradition*, ed. A. Alwishah, J. Hayes, Cambridge, 2015, pp. 200–213.

182. Ibn Mattawayh, *Taḏkira* (n. 131 above), pp. 163, 412.

183. See, for instance, Abū Bakr al-Rāzī, *Kitāb al-Madḫal ilā ṣināʿat al-ṭibb*, ed. M. de la Concepción Vázquez de Benito, Salamanca, 1979, p. 37: *wa-l-ǧimāʿ yuḫaffifu l-badan lā maḥālata wa-yunaqqiṣu min ḥarāratihī l-ġarīzīya*. For al-Rāzī's distinct philosophical and medical perceptions of the beneficial and harmful effects of sex see P. E. Pormann, 'Al-Rāzī (d. 925) on the Benefits of Sex: A Clinician Caught between Philosophy and Medicine', in *O Ye Gentlemen: Arabic Studies on Science and Literary Culture, in Honour of Remke Kruk*, ed. A. Vrolijk and J. P. Hogendijk, Leiden, 2007, pp. 115–27.

184. The Baṣran Muʿtazila considers desire (*šahwa*) to be good irrespective of the moral value of what is desired (ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār, *Muġnī* [n. 17 above], XI, p.150: *inna l-šahwata ḥasana wa-in taʿallaqat bi-l-qabīḥ*), while the Baghdādī Muʿtazila considers the moral value of desire to be equivalent with the moral value of what is desired (Abū Rašīd al-Nīsābūrī, *al-Masāʾil fī l-ḫilāf bayna l-Baṣrīyīn wa-l-Baġdādīyīn*, ed. M. Ziyāda and R. al-Sayyid, Ṭarāblus, 1979, pp. 368 f. : *al-ẓāhir min maḏhab al-Baġdādīyīn anna šahwata l-qabīḥ takūnu qabīḥatan*).

> to the wholesome and salubrious food we ingest thereafter. However, this line of reasoning cannot be sustained, for the body only grows and diminishes as a result of nourishment and medication, because God lets things take their customary course.[185]

The distinction made in this passage between a correct/true desire (*šahwa ṣādiqa*) and a false/deceptive desire (*šahwa kāḏiba*) is well-known from the medical[186] and philosophical literature. It recalls Plato's distinction between true and various types of false and untrue pleasures or pains (ἀληθεῖς/ψευδεῖς ἡδοναὶ ἢ λῦπαι)[187] as well as Aristotle's conception of the object of desire as the 'apparent good' (τὸ φαινόμενον ἀγαθόν)[188] and other attempts to capture the relation between physical and mental soundness, desire and the correct or incorrect perception of values.[189]

In Ibn Mattawayh's *Taḏkira*, Abū Hāšim's contention that "desire is inextricably linked with things that are beneficial to the body of the one who desires" is defended against Ibn ʿAyyāš's objections by claiming that its validity is restricted to the healthy body alone. The association of correct desire with physical and mental health and of false desire with a defective physical and mental constitution is reminiscent of Aristotle's view that "things that are in truth wholesome are wholesome for bodies which are in good condition, while for those that are diseased other things are wholesome."[190] While every desire is for something that appears good,

185. Mānkdīm Šešdīv, *[Taʿlīq] Šarḥ al-Uṣūl al-ḫamsa*, (n. 108 above), p. 214.

186. The concept of *šahawāt ṣādiqa/kāḏiba* is frequently employed in the context of nutritional medicine; see, for instance, Abū Zayd al-Balḫī, *Maṣāliḥ al-abdān wa-l-anfus*, ed. M. Miṣrī, Cairo, 1426/2005, pp. 402 f.; Abū Bakr al-Rāzī, *al-Manṣūrī fī l-ṭibb*, ed. Ḥ al-Bakrī al-Ṣiddīqī, Kuwait, 1987, pp. 205–8 (*al-Maqāla al-rābiʿa fī ḥafẓ al-ṣiḥḥa - fī tadbīr al-maṭʿam*); id., *Fī Tartīb tanāwul al-aġḏiya* (see Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ*, ed. Riḍā [n. 4 above], p. 674; *GAS* [n. 8 above], vol. III, p. 287, no. 19).

187. *Philebus* 36 C8–9, 42 C–51 A: *Republic* 9 (583B–588A); see D. Frede, 'Rumpelstiltskin's Pleasures: True and False Pleasures in Plato's *Philebus*', *Phronesis*, 30, 1985, pp. 151–80; Wolfsdorf, *Pleasure* (n. 148 above), pp. 63–102, where the difference between false and untrue pleasures is also discussed. *Meno* 77 B 8–C 1 distinguishes between 'desiring good things' and 'desiring bad things'. In the *Phaedo* (esp. 81 B f.) 'bad desires' are identified with bodily desires (αἱ κατὰ τὸ σῶμα ἐπιθυμίαι) induced by the polluted soul. In the early 9th century Arabic summary of Nemesius's *On the Nature of Man* Plato's true and false pleasures are rendered as *šahawāt ṣādiqa/kāḏiba* (*Sirr al-ḫalīqa*, ed. Weisser [n. 99 above], p. 606). See also Miskawayh, *Fī l-laḏḏāt wa-l-ālām*, ed. M. Arkoun (n. 148 above), p. 2, ll. 2–5, as cited in Adamson, 'Miskawayh on Pleasure', *Arabic Sciences and Philosophy*, 25, 2015, pp. 199–223 (217); id., 'Platonic Pleasures' [n. 117 above], p. 90 with nn. 53, 55. For the use of *laḏḏāt ṣādiqa/ḥaqīqīya* in Neo-Platonic psychology see, for instance, the pseudo-Platonic/Hermetic *Kitāb Muʿāḏalat (/Zaǧr/Muʿātabat) al-nafs [li-Aflāṭūn/li-Hirmis]*, ed. A. Badawī, in id., *al-Aflāṭūnīya al-muḥdaṯa ʿind al-ʿArab*, Kuwait, 1977, pp. 53–116 (61 f.) which was particularly popular with Jewish, Christian, and Ismāʿīlī readers; see D. De Smet, 'La Providence selon le 'Livre de la réprimande adressée à l'Âme' d'Hermès Trismégiste. Un document néoplatonicien arabe oublié', in *Fate, Providence and Moral Responsibility in Ancient, Medieval and Early Modern Thought: Studies in Honour of Carlos Steel*, ed. P. d'Hoine and G. van Riel, Leuven, 2014, pp. 421–39; G. Schwarb, 'The Reception of Maimonides in Christian-Arabic Literature', in *Ben ʿEver la-ʿArav: Contacts between Arabic Literature and Jewish Literature in the Middle Ages and Modern Times*, 7, ed. Y. Tobi, Tel Aviv, 2014, pp. 109–75 (137 with n. 119).

188. Pearson, *Aristotle on Desire* (n. 152 above), pp. 62–87; J. Moss, *Aristotle on the Apparent Good: Perception, Phantasia, Thought, and Desire*, Oxford 2012. The 'apparent good' refers to something that appears good, even though it *may* not in fact be good (Pearson, *ibid.*, p. 10). 'Good' should be understood in the broad sense as including both the good and the pleasant (ibid., p. 71).

189. Aristotle holds that pleasure is value-perception without involving the intellect; see Moss, *Aristotle on the Apparent Good* (n. 188 above), p. 29.

190. *Nicomachean Ethics* 3.4, 1113a23–25 (Arabic translation in Akasoy, Fidora [n. 165 above], p. 205, ll. 8 f.). Cf. *NE* 10.3, 1173b31–1174a11 (Arabic translation, ibid., p. 537, ll. 9–13): 'We must not suppose that things

pleasant or advantageous to the one who desires it, the value judgement is only accurate (i.e. identical with what is truly good or pleasant), if the one who desires is in good health. Only healthy animals will get what is actually good for them by going for what they desire.

The afore-discussed passages well exemplify the nature of the *mutakallimūn*'s engagement with terms, arguments and concepts derived from the medico-philosophical tradition. They clearly do not suggest that *kalām* scholars were thoroughly acquainted with the medical and philosophical literature. Yet, even if their engagement with this literature was limited to isolated ideas which had been extracted from their medico-philosophical context and condensed into memorable phrases and accessible watch-words, it left its distinctive marks and scars in school-internal debates and had a significant impact on systematic expositions of *kalām* doctrines.

A new phase in the relationship between *kalām* and the medico-philosophical tradition is generally associated with what has been labelled 'the Avicennian pandemic', namely the rapid spread and contagious appeal of Avicennian thought during the sixth/twelfth and seventh/thirteenth centuries.[191] Among proponents of the various *kalām* schools the emergence of this new intellectual trend elicited a wide spectrum of reactions ranging from outright hostility over well-measured criticism to fervent embracement of Avicenna's works and philosophical system.[192] With the reform of the *madrasa* curricula over the course of the eleventh and twelfth centuries under the Seljuqs and their Zanǧid and Ayyūbid heirs, selected components of the Avicennian system found their way into the educational programme at institutions of legal and theological learning.[193] From it emerged a new class of philosophically and scientifically learned jurists and *mutakallimūn* who spawned the development of a novel philosophico-theological discourse and introduced a new type of compositional templates.[194]

that are pleasant to those whose constitution is defective [...] and things which in the eyes of a sick person are wholesome, sweet or bitter, actually are so'; *Eudemian Ethics* 7.2, 1235b30–1236a6: 'What is advantageous to a body in health is absolutely good [or pleasant] for a body, but not what is good for a sick body, such as drugs and the knife. Similarly, things absolutely pleasant to a body are those pleasant to a healthy and unaffected body'. For a thorough discussion of these passages see Moss, *Aristotle on the Apparent Good* (n. 188 above), pp. 106–10; 158–61 and Pearson, *Aristotle on Desire* (n. 152 above), pp. 77, 81 f.

191. J. R. Michot, 'La pandémie avicennienne au VIe/XIIe siècle: Présentation, *editio princeps* et traduction de l'introduction du *Livre de l'advenue du monde* (*Kitāb ḥudūṯ al-ʿālam*) d'Ibn Ghaylān al-Balkhī', *Arabica*, 40, 1993, pp. 287–344; G. Endress, 'Reading Avicenna in the *Madrasa*: Intellectual Gene-alogies and Chains of Transmission of Philosophy and the Sciences in the Islamic East', in *Arabic Theology, Arabic Philosophy. From the Many to the One: Essays in Celebration of Richard M. Frank*, ed. J. E. Montgomery, Leuven, 2006, pp. 371–422 (384–6, 391 f.); A. Shihadeh, 'From al-Ghazālī to al-Rāzī: 6th/12th Century Developments in Muslim Philosophical Theology', *Arabic Sciences and Philosophy*, 15, 2005, pp. 141–79.

192. A. Shihadeh, 'A Post-Ghazālian Critic of Avicenna: Ibn Ghaylān al-Balkhī on the *Materia Medica* of the *Canon of Medicine*', *Journal of Islamic Studies*, 24, 2013, pp. 135–74; id., *Doubts on Avicenna: A Study and Edition of Sharaf al-Dīn al-Masʿūdī's Commentary on the Ishārāt*, Leiden, 2015.

193 P. Lewicka, 'Medicine for Muslims? Islamic Theologians, Non-Muslim Physicians and the Medical Culture of the Mamluk Near East', in *History and Society during the Mamluk Period (1250–1517)*, ed. S. Conermann, Goettingen, 2014, pp. 83–106 (89). As noted by Pormann and Savage-Smith, *Medieval Islamic Medicine* (n. 5 above), p. 83, the '*madrasah*s constituted venues for medical education only occasionally and not before the thirteenth century'.

194. The most influential expression of this new development were the works of Faḫr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 1210) and his students.

Medicine and the medical oeuvre of Avicenna were an integral part of the Avicennian pandemic. The sources refer to a good number of philosopher-theologians who over the course of the twelfth century studied introductory texts to medicine, first and foremost Avicenna's *Canon of Medicine* (*al-Qānūn fī l-ṭibb*) and its theoretical part, the *Generalities* (*al-Kullīyāt*), together with a growing body of appendant glosses, epitomes, handbooks, and commentaries. In northern Iran it was Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Īlāqī (d. 1141), a third-generation student of Avicenna, who played a pivotal role in promoting the proliferation of the Avicennian legacy among philosopher-theologians.[195] His epitome of the *Generalities* (later known as *al-Fuṣūl al-Īlāqīya*) became very popular with students of Islamic law and theology and was instrumental to the transmission of the *Qānūn* into Zanǧid and Ayyūbid Syria and Egypt.[196] Other philosopher-theologians studied the *Qānūn* and its growing satellite literature in Baghdad under the instruction of Amīn al-Dawla Abū l-Ḥasan Ṣāʿid ibn Hibatillāh ibn al-Tilmīḏ (d. 1165), the 'Nestorian' chief physician of the ʿAḍudī hospital in Baghdad.[197]

It will be the task of future research to determine the contribution of Avicenna's medical works (particularly the *Generalities* of the *Canon*) to the transformation of *kalām* theology in the post-classical period.[198] Be that as it may, there can be no doubt that the changing relationship between *kalām* and the medical tradition represents a significant feature of this transformational development.

* * *

195. Shihadeh, 'A Post-Ghazālian Critic of Avicenna' (n. 192 above), p. 139.

196. A. H. al-Rahim, 'The Creation of Philosophical Tradition: Biography and the Reception of Avicenna's Philosophy from the 11th to the 14th Centuries AD', PhD diss., Yale University, 2009, pp. 88, 108.

197. A. Z. Iskandar, *A Descriptive List of Arabic Manuscripts on Medicine and Science at the University of California, LosAngeles*, Leiden, 1984, p. 13. According to Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ* (n. 4 above), p. 402, Ibn al-Tilmīḏ and Faḫr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Salām al-Māridīnī (d. 1198) jointly arranged a revised edition (*taṣḥīḥ wa-taḥrīr*) of Avicenna's *Canon*.

198. The interesting case of Ibn Ġaylān al-Balḫī's critical gloss on the *Book of Simple Drugs* of the *Qānūn* exemplifies how a post-Ġazālian theologian made use of his familiarity with the *Qānūn* to demonstrate the unreliability of Avicenna's works by pointing to a long list of alleged inconsistencies, discrepancies, and contradictions; see Shihadeh, 'A Post-Ghazālian Critic of Avicenna' (n. 192 above).

APPENDIX

The following pages contain an edition and translation of two chapters from Abū Ǧaʿfar Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī Mazdak's commentary (*Šarḥ*) on Ibn Mattawayh's *K. al-Taḏkira fī aḥkām al-ǧawāhir wa-l-aʿrāḍ*: The first is the opening chapter of the section on pleasures and pains (*al-qawl fī l-ālām wa-l-laḏḏāt*),[199] the second is taken from the section on desire and aversion (*al-qawl fī l-šahwa wa-l-nifār*).[200] A full presentation of these chapters will provide the context for some of the issues broached in the article and clarify lines of reasoning and patterns of arguments. It will also serve to underscore the necessity of studying the *Taḏkira* in conjunction with its earliest commentary.[201]

199. *Šarḥ al-Taḏkira* (n. 170 above), pp. 95–8 (fols 48r–49v), which comments on *Taḏkira* (n. 131 above), pp. 163–7.

200. *Šarḥ al-Taḏkira* (n. 170 above), pp. 228 f. (fols 114v–115r), which comments on *Taḏkira* (n. 131 above), pp. 421 f.

201. A later commentary on the *Taḏkira* is *Kitāb Dāmiġ al-awhām fī šarḥ Riyāḍat al-afhām fī laṭīf al-kalām* (n. 125 above) by the 9th/15th century Zaydī imām al-Mahdī li-dīni Llāh Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā Ibn al-Murtaḍā (d. 1436–7). For a synoptic table of the relevant texts see G. Schwarb, 'MS Munich, Bavarian State Library, Cod. arab. 1294: A Guide to Zaydī *Kalām*-Studies during the Ṭāhirid and Early Qāsimite Periods (Mid-15th to Early 18th Centuries)', in *The Yemeni Manuscript Tradition*, ed. D. Hollenberg et al., Leiden, 2015, pp. 179–82.

القول في الآلام واللذات[1]

ثم قال، رحمه الله: «الألم هو معنى يحدث في الحيّ منا عند التقطيع، ويتعلق به النفار»، إلى آخره. [تذ ١٦٣:٢]

قال، أيّده الله: اعلم أنّه، رحمه الله، عطف الكلام في اللذات والآلام على الكلام في الحرارة والبرودة والطعوم والروائح والجواهر والألوان لما جريا مجرى تلك الأجناس في كونها مُدرَكةً. والذي يجب تحصيله هاهنا أن الألم هو المعنى الذي يحدث عند التقطيع على وجه يتعلّق به النفار، ولا شبهة في ثبوت معنى مدرَك. وإنما يقع الكلام في إثباته مفصَّلاً.

والحال في اللذة تجري هذا المجرى، فإنها المعنى الذي يحدث عند التقطيع على وجه تتعلق به الشهوة. فإنّ النوع واحد لا اختلاف فيها، وإنما تفرق[2] الحال[3] بحسب ما يقترن به: إن اقترنت به الشهوة سمّي ‹لذّةً›، وإن اقترن[4] به النفار سمّي ‹ألماً›.

[تذ ١٦٣:٥-٧] وهذا المعنى الذي أثبتناه ألماً ولذّةً على هذا الحدّ نفاه شيخنا أبو إسحٰق بن عيّاش، رحمه الله، فلم يجعل الألم غير خروج الحيّ[5] عن الاعتدال،[6] وكذلك فلم يجعل اللذة أكثر من حصول الاعتدال[7] وزوال أجزاء[8] كانت بمنزلة ثقيل يحمله. فأدّاه هذا القول إلى نفي النفار، ويلزمه نفي الشهوة، إذا جعلناه[9] لذّةً على بعض الوجوه.

[تذ ١٦٣:٨] وأمّا ابن زكريّا فقد جعل اللذّة راحة من مؤلم، ويجب على هذه القاعدة أن يقول في الألم أنّه راحة من مُلِذّ وخروج منه، كما قاله في الألم.

[تذ ١٦٣:٩-١٦] والذي يدلّ على إثبات هذا المعنى الذي هو الألم على التفصيل أنّ الواحد منا عند وقوع الضرب عليه يدرك في محلّ حياته الذي أصابه الضرب شيئاً يتألّم به على وجه يقع له الفصل بين الموضع الذي وقع عليه الضرب وبين الموضع الذي لم يقع عليه ذلك. فلا بدّ من أمرٍ ينصرف إليه إدراكه للألم. والذي تشتبه الحال فيه أن يقال: إن ذلك إنما هو الخشبة التي حصل بها الضرب، أو يقال: إنه هو التأليف الذي هو الصكّة، أو يقال: إنه ما يكون فيه من الثقل، أو يقال: إنه

1 خ ٤٨و:١٦
2 يفترق **تذ**
3 الحال فيهما **تذ**
4 اقترنت **خ**
5 الجسم **تذ**
6 عن حدّ الاعتدال **تذ**
7 الاعتدال في الجسم **تذ**
8 أجزاء عنه **تذ**
9 أي الألم

الأكوان التي هي التفريق. فهذه الأمور يجوز أن تشتبه الحال فيه. فإذا بطل أن يكون الذي يدركه شيئاً من هذه الأمور، لم يبق بعد ذلك إلّا أن يكون الذي يدركه المضروب معنىً على حِدةٍ يعبَّر عنه بالألم.

فإن قيل: لِمَ لا يجوز أن يكون الألم الذي يدركه إنما هو الخشبة التي بها حصل الضرب؟

قيل له: لأنّا نعلم أن الخشبة تزايله وتفارقه وحاله في التألّم وقد زايلته الخشبة كحاله في التألّم ولما زايلته. ولو كان المرجع بما يدركه إلى تلك الخشبة، لوجب أن يزول تألّمه بمزايلة الخشبة عنه، وقد عرفنا خلافه. فدلّ ذلك على المرجع بما يدركه إلى أمرٍ زائد على تلك الخشبة.

فإن قيل: لِمَ لا يجوز أن يكون المدرَك الذي يدركه المرجع به إلى التأليف الذي هو الصكّة؟

قيل له: لأن التأليف غير مدرَك على ما نبيّنه في باب التأليف. وإذا كان كذلك وكان الألم مدرَكًا، فما يُدرَك يجب أن يكون غير الذي لا يُدرَك. وبعد: فإن ذلك التأليف الذي نقوله يبطل بالمزايلة وحاله في الألم كما كانت، ولو كان تألّمه لمكان ذلك التأليف، لكان يجب أن يزول ما يدركه لزوال التأليف، وقد عرفنا خلافه.

فإن قيل: لِمَ لا يجوز أن يكون المرجع به إلى ما فيه من الثقل؟

قيل له: لأن حاله في الثقل قبل الضرب كحاله بعده، فلو كان المرجع بما يدركه إلى الثقل الذي فيه، لكان يجب أن لا يقف إدراكه وتألّمه على الضرب، لأن الذي له ولأجله يتألّم حاصل في الحالين جميعاً.

فإن قيل: لِمَ لا يجوز أن يكون المرجع بذلك إلى الأكوان التي هي التفريق؟

قيل له: لأنّها غير مدركة ومعلوم أنه يدرك شيئاً، فلا يجوز أن يكون المرجع بما يدركه إلى ما يستحيل إدراكه، ويجب أن يرجع ذلك إلى أمرٍ آخر وراء الكون. وبعد، فلو كان الألم هو الكون، لوجب في الواحد منا، إذا انتقل من جهة إلى جهة، أن يألم بما يحدث فيه من الأكوان، وقد عرفنا خلافه. فإذا بطل أن يكون الألم راجعًا إلى شيء من هذه الوجوه، لم يبق بعد ذلك إلّا أنه معنى على حِدة.

[تذ ١٦٤:١-٢] الكلام في إثبات اللذّة يجري على هذه الطريقة، لأن الحاكّ لجربه[10] يجد لذّةً ويدركها. فإذا لم يجز أن يكون المرجع بها إلى الاعتماد الذي يفعله ولا إلى ما يفعله من الأكوان التي هي التفريق، وجب أن يكون راجعًا إلى معنى مدرَك، وهو الذي يعبَّر عنه بالألم. فصحّ بهذه الجملة إثبات الألم على التفصيل.

[تذ ١٦٤:٣] ثمّ وهما من جنس واحد لا اختلاف بينهما. وإنما قلنا ذلك، لأنهما مدرَكان بمحلّ الحياة، وذلك يُنبئ عن اشتراكهما في أخصّ أوصافهما، فيجب تماثلهما لاشتراكهما في الصفة الخاصّة. وإنما تختلف العبارة بحسب ما يقرن بهما من المعاني، فإذا اقترنت به النفرة، سمّي ‹ألماً›،

10 جربه تذ

وإذا اقترنت به الشهوة، سمّي ‹لذّةً›. وعلى هذه الطريقة [٤٨ظ] لو وجد هذا المعنى ولم تقترن به[11] شهوة ولا نفرة، لم يكن يسمّى ‹لذّةً› ولا ‹ألماً›. فصح بهذه الجملة أنه ليس بألم ولا لذّة لجنسه، وإنما هو ألم ولذة لِما يقترن به وينضمّ إليه من الشهوة والنفار. وهذا هو قول شيخنا أبي القٰسم،[12] رحمه الله، حيث قال «إن اللذة ليست بمعنى». فإنه لم يعنِ أنه ليس بمعنى أصلاً، وإنما أراد به أنه ليس بمعنى غير ما ندركه فيكون ألماً وغير ما ندركه فيكون لذّةً بحسب ما يقترن به وينضاف إليه من الشهوة والنفرة. وهذه الجملة التي قد تقرّرت تقتضي أنّ هذا المعنى لا يجوز أن يسمّى ‹لذّةً› ولا ‹ألماً› وهو معدوم، ولا أن يوصف بذلك، لأن وصفه بذلك يقتضي الوجود من طريق[13] المعنى، فتستحيل تسميته ‹لذّةً› و‹ألماً›، لأن مقارنة الشيء لغيره تتفرّع على الوجود وتترتّب على الحصول، وهذا لا يتصوّر في حال العدم، فلا يجوز إجراء هذين الوصفين عليه وهو معدوم، وإنما يجوز إجراؤه من الأسامي على المعدومات ما لا يقتضي فيها الوجود ولا يفيد[14] فيها الحصول، لا لفظاً ولا معنىً.

فثبت بهذه الجملة فساد ما ذهب إليه شيخنا أبو إسحٰق من نفي هذا المعنى.

[١ - تذ ٨:١٦٤] وأما ما يدلّ على فساد ما ذكره محمد بن زكريا الرازي حيث جعل اللذة راحة من مؤلِم وخروجًا عنه وأنه بمنزلة طرح ثقيل، فهو أن الواحد منا قد يلتذّ بإدراك صوت أو صورة ولم يكن من قبل متألّماً.[15] فكيف يقال إنّ لذّته راحة من مؤلم وخروج عنه مع أنه لا يخطر له ذلك بالبال فضلًا عن أن يكون متألّماً به؟ فبطل قول من يجعل اللذّة راحة من مؤلم ووجب أن تكون اللذة أمرًا زائدًا على ما ذكره.

[٢] وجه آخر، وهو أنّ الواحد منا قد يلتذّ بإدراك بعض الأشخاص ومشاهدته له، ولا يلحقه بفقده ألم. فلا يمكن أن يقال والحال هذه إنّ اللذة خروج من مؤلم، إذ لو كان كذلك، لكان يجب، إذا فقده، أن يتألم، وقد عرفنا خلافه.

[٣] وجه آخر: وهو أن اللذة، لو كانت راحة من مؤلم، لم يكن[16] الواحد منّا يختار[17] طعامًا على طعام ولا مشروبًا على مشروب ولا منكوحةً على منكوحة، إذ ليس الغرض إلّا إزالة الجوع والشبق، وذلك يحصل بأي مأكول كان وبأي منكوحة كانت، فيصير بمنزلة المقرور في أنه، لما كان الغرض إزالة البرد، لم يختر[18] صِلاءً على صلاء. فلما عرفنا أنه يُؤْثِر منكوحةً على منكوحة ويختار مأكولاً دون مأكول، دلّنا ذلك على أن اللذة أمر آخر وراء الخروج من مؤلم يلتذّ له ولمكانه

11 بها **خ**
12 أبي هاشم **تذ**
13 من حيث **تذ**
14 تفيد **خ**
15 ابتداءً **تذ**
16 يكن **خ**
17 يؤثر **تذ**
18 يؤثر **تذ**

ولإدراكه.

[٤] وجه آخر: وهو أن اللذة، لو كانت راحة من مؤلم، لوجب أن لا يستحسن العقلاء بعقولهم التداوي بالأدوية الكريهة ليلتذّوا من بعد بتناول الأطعمة، وذلك لأنه والحال هذه يتنزّل منزلة من يجرح نفسه، ثم يأسوها. وفي علمنا بأن العقلاء كافةً يستحسنون بعقولهم التداوي بالأدوية الكريهة التي تنفر عنها الطِباع، دلالة على أن هاهنا معنى هي لذة مطلوبة غير الخروج من مؤلم. ولا يمكن أن يقال: «هلا حسن منهم هذا الصنيع كما يحسن منهم تحمّل المشاق وتكلّف الشدائد بالسَفَر طلبًا للأرباح والمنافع؟»، وذاك لأنّا نقول: إنه إنّما يحسن منهم ذلك، لأنهم يرجون بذلك منافع تصل[19] إليهم وعوائد تعود عليهم ولذّات تحصل لديهم، ولو لم يكن[20] في ذلك إلّا الخروج من المؤلم كما تقوله، لكنّا نقضي بقبح ذلك أيضًا كما نقضي بحكم الأوّل، لو كان الأمر فيه على ما تزعمونه، لأنه والحال على ما وصفتم لا يكون في معالجة مَن ضعفت شهوتُه إلّا التوصّل إلى الخروج من مؤلم. فكان يجب أن يقبح جرح النفس لإسواها وكسر اليدين والرجلين لجبرهما، وقد عرفنا خلاف ذلك. فوجب القضاء بأن اللذة معنى من المعاني غير ما قاله.

[٥] وجه آخر: وهو أن الواحد منا يدرك اللذة على حدّ ما يدرك الألم، فلو كانت اللذة خروجًا من مؤلِم، لوجب في الألم أن يكون خروجًا من مُلِذّ، وقد عرفنا خلافه، فبطل ما ذهبتَ إليه.

[٦] وجه آخر: وهو أن الواحد منا يدرك اللذّة، فيجب أن تكون غير الخروج من مؤلِم، لأن الإدراك إنّما يتعلّق بشيء ثابت[21] حاصل ولا يصح فيه أن يتعلّق بزوال الشيء وانقطاعه.

[٧] وجه آخر: وهو أنه كان يلزم أن تكون الشهوة ألماً، إذا جُعِل نَيلُ المشتهى زوال الألم والخروج منه، ومعلوم خلافه، لأن الواحد منّا قط لا يتألم بالشهوة. فبطل أن تكون اللذة خروجًا من مؤلم وراحة عنه.

[٨] وجه آخر: وهو أن الواحد منا كان لا يجوز أن تتزايد حاله في التذاذه بالشيء، لأن اللذة والحال هذه راجعة إلى النفي. وإذا كان كذلك، لم يجز وقوع التزايد في الالتذاذ، لأن النفي لا يقع فيه التزايد، بل كان يجب أن لا يقع التزايد في التألم، لأنه والحال على ما وصفه في اللذة يكون راجعًا إلى النفي من حيث أنه يكون خروجًا من مُلِذّ، فكان يجب أن يستحيل وقوع التزايد في التألم، وفي علمنا بصحّة وقوع التزايد في الالتذاذ والتألم دلالة على أنهما يرجعان إلى معنيَين،[22] لا إلى ما ذكره.

[٩] وجه آخر: وهو أنه[23] نفصل بين إدراك الطعوم الشهيّة وبين إلقاء الأحمال الثقيلة عن الأظهر، ولو كانت اللذة راحة من مؤلم، لاستحال وقوع هذا الفصل وثبوت هذا التمييز. وفي علمنا بوقوع

19 تحصل **تذ**
20 تكن **خ**
21 موجود **تذ**
22 معنيان **خ**
23 أنّا **تذ**

الفصل بين الموضعين ما يدلّ على أن اللذة لا تكون خروجًا من مؤلم وراحة عنه.
فهذه الوجوه كلها تدل على بطلان قول ابن زكريا.
[١٠ - تذ ٧:١٦٥] وشبهته في ذلك هي أن الواحد منا قد ثبت أنه، إذا اشتدّ به العطش لزيادة شهوته للماء البارد، ثم شربه، التذّ به غاية الالتذاذ، ولم يكن الوجه في التذاذه بشربه إلّا أنه كان في ألم من حرارة العطش، فالتذّ لخروجه من ذلك الألم حين شرب الماء.
[١١] والجواب أنّ الذي يشتهيه الواحد منا في هذه الحالة إنما هو الماء البارد وإدراكه له، لا الخروج من العطش أو الألم، وإنما كان يخلص له ما قاله إلّا وبطل[24] أن يكون المرجع باللذة هاهنا إلى غير ما قالوه. فأما ولم تبطل صحة رجوع الالتذاذ إلى غير ما ذكروه، فمن أين يجب أن يكون مشتهياً للخروج من المؤلِم؟
[١٢] شبهة أخرى: وهو أن الواحد منا عند شهوته للجماع يكون منه في ألمٍ، فإذا جامع وخرج الماء منه بالشهوة، التذّ به جدًّا فوجب القضاء لمكان هذا بأنّ اللذة يجب أن تكون خروجًا من مؤلم وراحة عنه.
[١٣] والجواب عنه من وجهين: أحدهما أن التذاذه ليس لما قالوه، وإنما هو لإدراكه عضوًا من غيره بعضوٍ من نفسه. فإذا جاز صرف ذلك الالتذاذ إلى هذا الوجه، فلا يمكنه أن يتعلّق بما قاله.
والثاني: وهو إنما يلتذ لإدراكه مع الشهوة معنىً يحدث في مجرى الماء متولّدًا عن التفريق الذي يحصل عند خروج الماء على وجه الدفق، فيكون التذاذه بذلك كالتذاذ الحاكّ للجرب بحكّه. فهذا الوجه الذي ذكرناه هو الذي لمكانه يقع الالتذاذ، لا لخروجه عن مؤلم. يبين صحة ما ذكرناه أن[25] الواحد منا يجد عند المجامعة ما يشبه الدغدغة، وليس ذلك إلا لما يحصل من المضاغطة واصطكاك[26] الماء بعضه ببعضٍ عند خروجه على وجه الدفق والشهوة. فدلّ ذلك على أن الالتذاذ الواقع عند الجماع راجع إلى إدراك معنى متولّد عن التفريق، لا إلى الخروج من المؤلِم.
[١٤] فصحّ بهذه الجملة بطلان مذهب ابن زكريا وصحّ ما أردناه من ثبوت اللذة معنىً على حِدة. والطريقة في أن الألم لا يجوز أن يكون خروجًا من مُلِذّ تجري مجرى هذه الطريقة، ولعلّ الحال في الألم أظهر وأجلى وعِزّ الشبهة أبعد.
[١٥ - تذ ١٤:١٦٥] فأمّا شبهة الشيخ أبي إسحٰق، رحمه الله، فيما ذهب إليه من نفي الألم واللذة، هي أنه، لو كان هاهنا معنى يولّده الكون يعبَّر عنه بالألم غير زوال الصحة والاعتدال، لوجب في قادرين، إذا كان أحدهما أقوى من الآخر، متى غرزا في بدن الحيّ إبرة أن لا تتساوى[27] حاله في التألّم عن كل واحد من الغرزين، ولَوجب أن يكون تألّمه بغرز الأقوى أشدّ وأكثر من تألّمه بغرز الأضعف، [٤٩و] لأن ما فعله الأقوى من الأكوان المولِّدة للألم أكثر ممّا فعله الأضعف منها. وفي

24 الوّبطل خ
25 هو أن خ
26 واصطاكّ خ
27 يتساوي خ

علمنا بتساوي حاله في إدراك الألم دلالة على أن لا معنى هاهنا يعبَّر عنه[28] بالألم زائد على زوال الصحّة وبطلان الاعتدال.

[١٦ - تذ ١٦٥:١٨] وهذا الشيء اشتقّه[29] من كلام شيخنا أبي هاشم، رحمه الله، فإنّه حيث دلّ على أن الألم معنىً وأثبته وجعله متولّدًا عن الكون، سأل نفسه فقال: «لو كان الألم متولّدًا عن الكون، لما جاز أن تتساوى حال الواحد في إدراك الألم، إذا غرز في بدنه قادران أحدهما أشدّ قوة من الآخر، بل كان يجب أن يكون تألّمه بغرز الأقوى والأقدر أشدّ من تألّمه بغرز الأضعف الأهون، لأن ما يفعله الأقوى من الأكوان أكثر ممّا يفعله الأضعف».

[١٧] ثم أجاب عن ذلك بأن قال: «إنما تتساوى[30] حاله في التألم عن الغرزين، لأن الكون يولّد الألم بشرط، وهو انتفاء الصحة. فإذا كان الغرز واحدًا في الموضعين، فانتفاء الصحة أيضًا عن الموضعين لا بد من أن يكون على حدّ واحد. وإذا كان كذلك، فلِتساوي انتفاء الصحّة عن بدنه تتساوى حاله في إدراك الألم والتألم، وذلك لأن ما يكون من فعل الأقوى من الأكوان لا يجتمع كلها على التوليد، بل تولّد بعضًا دون بعض على قدر انتفاء الصحة، وهذا لا اعتماد عليه، إذ ليس بعض تلك الأكوان بالتوليد أولى من البعض.

[١٨ - تذ ١٦٥:٢٠] ولما رأى أبو اسحٰق بن عيّاش ضعف هذا الجواب وعلم أنّه لا يمكن أن يقال إنّ بعض ما يفعله الأقوى من الأكوان يولّد الألم دون البعض، إذ لا اختصاص له،[31] جعل ذلك شبهةً في نفي الألم.

[١٩ - تذ ١٦٥:٢٢] والذي يمكن أن يجاب به عمّا قاله هو أن الدلالة قد دلّت على ثبوت الألم معنىً، وما أورده أمر محتمَل يجوز أن يكون الأمر فيه على ما قدّره ويجوز أن يكون بخلافه. فلا يجوز أن يُترَك ما لا يصحّ دخول الاحتمال فيه لِما يصح فيه دخول الاحتمال، بل يجب أن يُترَك ما يدخله الاحتمال ويسوغ فيه التأويل لمكان ما لا يسوغ فيه الاحتمال من الدلالة العقلية. فإن أمكننا أن نبيّن علّة تحصل بها الموافقة بينه وبين ما هو المحتمل فذاك، وإلّا فالواجب أن نتوقّف فيه ولم نعدل عمّا لا يدخله الاحتمال إلى ما هو بمعرض الاحتمال وصدده. ويصير ذلك بمنزلة ما نقوله في الشبه التي تورد علينا في نفي الجزء وثبوت الطفر، لأنّا نقول هناك إنها معرضة للاحتمال، ودلالة إثبات الجزء ونفي الطفر بعيدة عن الاحتمال، فلا يجوز العدول عنها إلى ما هو بصدد الاحتمال وبمعرض التأويل، بل إن عرفنا الجواب عنها، فذاك، وإن لم نعرف، توقّفنا وتمسّكنا بما أوضحه البرهان ودلّ عليه البيان. فهذه الطريقة هي التي يمكن الاعتماد عليها في الجواب عن هذا السؤال.

[٢٠ - تذ ١٦٦:٥] وقد قيل في الجواب عن ذلك أن تساوي ألمه إنما هو لتساوي ما يفعله من الأكوان، وذلك لأن أحدهما، وإن كان أقوى من الآخر، فإن أحدهما يفعل الكون في أقل قليل

28 عنها خ
29 استقاه خ
30تساوي خ
31 اختصاص خ

الأوقات، والآخر يفعله في أزيد من تلك الأوقات. وهذا لا يستقيم، لأن لقائل أن يعترضه فيقول: ليس يجب أن تتساوى حال ما يفعلانه أبدًا، حتى لا يقع التفاضُل بين فعلهما أبدًا أصلاً. فإنّه، وإن كان كذلك في الغالب، كان لا يمتنع في بعض الأوقات أن يتزايد ما يفعله الأقوى على ما يفعله الأضعف، فتتزايد حاله في التألّم عن أحد الغرزين دون الآخر.

[٢١] وقد قيل أيضًا إنّا لا نتمكّن من القطع على أن قدر الغرْز واحد، فكيف يدّعي ذلك؟ وهذا لا يصح أيضًا، لأنّه، رحمه الله، لم يلزم ذلك في الغرز، وإنما ألزم ذلك في الأكوان وما يرجع إلى قلّتها وكثرتها، فمنعه من العلم بمقدار الغرز وكميته لا يؤثّر في كلامه ولا يعصم من إلزامه.

[٢٢ - تذ ١٠:١٦٦] وقد قيل أيضًا في الجواب عنه: إنه إنما تتساوى[32] حاله مع ما يفعله الضعيف فيه وحاله مع ما يفعله القوي في باب التألّم، لأن الله، تعالى، يفعل فيه عند غرز الضعيف فيه آلاماً تتساوى الآلام التي يفعلها[33] القادر الأقوى، فيكون تألّمه بغرز كلّ واحد منهما على سواء لهذه العلة التي ذكرناها.

[٢٣] وهذا أيضًا فيه نظر، وإلّا فلو كان الأمر في ذلك على ما قاله، لكان حصول تلك الآلام على حدّ حصول ما يفعله الأقوى من الأكوان بمجرى العادة من فعل الله، تعالى، فكان يجوز الانخرام فيه حتى يجد في بعض الأوقات من غرز الأضعف آلامًا هي دون ما يجده منها لغرز الأقوى، لأن هذا هو الواجب فيما يكون وقوعه على سبيل العادة. وفي علمنا باستمرار حاله في تألّمه بالغرزين دلالة على أن لا تحصل عند غرز الأضعف آلام من فعل الله، تعالى، [وإلا] لما كان يحسن من العقلاء أن يلوموا الضعيف على تلك الآلام كلها، وقد عرفنا خلافه.

[٢٤] شبهة أخرى في نفي هذا المعنى وتحريرها وهو أنه، لو كان الألم معنىً زائدًا على زوال الاعتدال يحصل عند التقطيع، لصح تعلّق النفار به ولصح تعلّق الشهوة أيضًا به بدلاً من النفار. ولو كان كذلك، لكان يصح في الواحد منّا أن يشتهي قطع الأوصال في بعض الأحوال، وهذا محال، [و]ما أدّى إليه كان فاسدًا، وهو القول بكون الألم معنىً حادثًا عند التقطيع.

[٢٥ - تذ ١٥:١٦٦] والجواب أنّ هذا لا يصحّ، وذلك لأن القطع لا تتعلّق به الشهوة أصلاً، وإنما الذي تتعلّق الشهوة به هو المعنى الحاصل عند التقطيع، وهذا المعنى يصح تعلّق الشهوة والنفار به على سواء لا يختلف. ولكن الانتفاع به لا يحصل[34] لأن الضرر الذي يتعقبه يُوفي على تلك اللذّة المطلوبة وتصير مغمورةً فيه، فيصير ذلك كالالتذاذ بالخبيص المسموم. فكما أنه لا يحصل هناك الانتفاع بالخبيص لمكان ما فيه من السمّ الذي يُوفي ضرره على نفع الخبيص، فكذلك لا يحصل الانتفاع هاهنا بقطع الأوصال، لأن الضرر الذي يخلقه يوفي على لذّته بذلك المعنى. وعلى هذه الطريقة قلنا: لا يكاد يصح وقوع الالتذاذ بالحكّ للجرب،[35] لأنّ اللذّة التي تحصل عنده تصير

32 يتساوي خ
33 يفعله خ
34 يصحّ تذ
35 بحكّ الجرب تذ

مغمورةً فيما يتعقبه من الضرر.

[٢٦] وبهذه الجملة يبطل قول من ينصر مذهبه وينصر طريقته من أنه، لو كان الألم معنىً زائدًا على ما ذكرنا، لصحّ من الواحد منّا أن يتوصّل إلى تحصيل الجرب لتحصل له اللذة بحكّه، لأنّ الألم المتعقّب للحكّ يوفي على لذّته بذلك المعنى، فيصير بمنزلة من يعدوا على الشوك ليتنزّه بالخضرة التي وراه، فكما أنّ هذا لا يحسن، فكذلك ما يقوله.

[٢٧ - تذ ٢٠:١٦٦] شبهة أخرى: وهو أنّه، لو كان هاهنا معنىً يولّده الكون على ما تقولونه، لوجب في الجرح، إذا اندمل، أن يجد الواحد منّا الألم بعد الاندمال كما كان يجده قبل الاندمال، لأن ذلك الكون الذي يولّده حاصل والمحل محتمل ولا مانع، فلمّا عرفنا خلاف ذلك، كان العلم به دلالة على أن لا معنى هاهنا يولّده الكون يعبَّر عنه بالألم.

[٢٨ - تذ ٢٢:١٦٦] والجواب عن ذلك أن هذا لا يصحّ، وذاك لأن الكون، وإن كان يولّد الألم، فإنما يولّده بشرط انتفاء الصحّة، فإذا اندمل الجرح، لم يوجد شرط توليده له، وهو انتفاء الصحّة، فلا يجب أن يولّده لا محالة والحال هذه. وإن كان هو حاصلاً في الوقتين، فمن أين أن الشرط، لو كان حاصلاً، لكان لا يحصل هذا المعنى متولّدًا عنه؟ فبطل ما اعتمده عليه هذا الجواب.

[٢٩ - تذ ٢٣:١٦٦] وجواب آخر وهو أن نقول: إنّ الجرح، إذا كان منفتحًا، كان الدم منفجرًا فيه، فجرية الدم فيه وانفجاره يولّد الألم. وإذا اندمل الجرح، فلا انفجار للدم فيه حتى تولّد جريته الألم فيه. فلهذا لم يحصل الألم عند الاندمال، وإن كان يحصل قبله. وإذا كان كذلك، لم يجب فيما ذكره أن يكون دلالةً على نفي الألم.

[٣٠ - تذ ١:١٦٧] شبهة أخرى وتحريرها، وهو أن الألم، لو كان معنىً حادثاً، لما جاز أن تتغيّر حاله بتغيّر المحالّ على ما ثبت في الحلاوة. ألا ترى أنّها، إذا أُشتُهيت في موضع ومحلّ، أُشتُهيت في كلّ محلّ وموضع ولم تتغيّر حاله باختلاف محالّها. فلو كان الألم معنىً كما أن الحلاوة معنىً، لكان يجب أن تكون الحال فيه كالحال فيها حتى لا تتغيّر الحال باختلاف محالّها، فكان يجب أن يتألّم به في كلّ موضع ولم يكن يصحّ فيه أن يوجد في محلّ فيكون ألماً مرّةً ويوجد في محل آخر فيكون لذّةً مرّة. فلمّا كان الحال عندكم بخلاف هذا، ألزمكم أن تنفوا هذا المعنى.

[٣١ - تذ ٤:١٦٧] والجواب أنّ هذا لا يصحّ، لأن اختلاف الحال في التألّم والالتذاذ بهذا المعنى [٤٩ظ] إنما هو لمقارنة الشهوة والنفرة به. فإذا أدركه في موضع مع الشهوة، التذّ به، وإذا أدركه في موضع آخر مع النفار، تألّم به. ولا يمتنع اختلاف الشهوة والنفار بحسب اختلاف المواضع المدركة. فإنك تعلم أن سواد الحدقة يستحلى ويستحسن، وبمثله، لو حصل في الوجه، لم يستحسن مع أن الجنس واحد. فهكذا لا يمتنع في اللذّة والألم أن يكونا من جنس واحد ومع ذلك يختلف في إدراكه بحسب اقتران الشهوة والنفرة به.

[٣٢] وبعد، فالبياض الخالص في الأسنان يستنيم إليه الطباع وتميل إليه النفوس، ومثله، لو كان في الوجه والبدن، لَتكرّهته النفوس وتنفر عنه الطباع مع أن الجنس واحد. إذًا لا يمتنع مثله في مسألتنا أن يميل إليه الطبع تارةً وينفر عنه أخرى بحسب ما يقرن به وينضاف إليه.

[٣٣ - تذ ٧:١٦٧] فإن قيل: لو كان الألم معنًى، لوجب أن يعرف أخصّ أحكامه عند إدراكه، لأن هذا واجب في كل ما يُدرَك. فلمّا لم يعرف حكمه الأخصّ عند الإدراك، دلّ ذلك على أن لا معنى هاهنا تتعلّق الشهوة والنفرة به سوى ما نذكره.

[٣٤ - تذ ٨:١٦٧] الجواب عن ذلك: إنّك مجاب إلى ما سألت ومسلِّم ما ذكرت، وذلك لأن الواحد منّا عندما يدركه، يعرفه على ما هو عليه في ذاته على الجملة، كما أنه، إذا أدرك اللون في المحلّ، عرف ما هو عليه في ذاته على الجملة، ومتى أراد تفصيل العلم بما هو عليه في ذاته، كان من حقّه أن يرجع إلى طريقه، فيقول: إنّ هذا المعنى أدركه في محلّ الحياة بمحلّ الحياة، فيجب أن يكون مختصًّا بصفة لكونه عليها يثبت هذا الحكم فيه وصحّة التألّم به لاقتران النفار به، وصحّة التلذّذ لاقتران الشهوة به.

[...] [١١٤ظ] [...]

فصل

[٣٥ - تذ ١٤:٤٢١] «وممّا يقوله أبو هاشم، رحمه الله»، إلى آخره.

قال أيده الله: أورد، رحمه الله، هذا الفصل والغرض به بيان مذهب آخر لأبي هاشم في الشهوة. وجملة القول في ذلك أن الشيخ أبا هاشم كان يقول: «إنّ الشهوة إنما تتعلق بما يصلح عليه بدن المشتهي ويزداد بتناوُله وينتقص بفقده». وجعل هذا طريقًا إلى المنع من جواز الشهوة على الله تعالى وقال: «لو جازت الشهوة عليه، تعالى، لصحّ عليه الزيادة والنقصان، لأن ذلك من حكم الشهوة. فإنها تتعلق بما يصلح عليه بدن المشتهي، فيزداد بتناوله وينتقص بفقده».

[٣٦] والشيخ أبو إسحٰق، رحمه الله، اعترض هذه الطريقة وقال: «إنّ الزيادة والنقصان في بدن لحيّ عند الغذاء ليس بمُوجَب عن تناول ما يتناوله، لأنا لا نقول بإيجاب الطبع أو غيره لهذه الأمور، وإنما هي من فعل الله تعالى بمجرى العادة، ولهذا[36] يثبت صلاح البدن بعد تقضّي الشهوة». وإذا كان كذلك، لم يصح الاعتماد على ما ذكره أبو هاشم من الدلالة على استحالة الشهوة على الله، تعالى، وأن يكون المعتمد من الدليل على ذلك ما نبيّنه، إن شاء الله، في موضعه.

[٣٧ - تذ ١:٤٢٢] قال الشيخ أبو محمد: «والذي يمكن أن نذكر في بيان مذهب الشيخ أبي هاشم هو أنّا قد عرفنا أن الشهوة لا تتعلق إلا بما[37] إذا أدركناه مخلَّصًا عن غيره صلح[38] الاغتذاء به على طريقة واحدة، ومتى نِلناه[39] وهو غير مغمور بما سواه، اغتذينا به والتذذنا بإدراكه، ومتى صار مغمورًا بغيره تعلقت الشهوة بغير ما صار مغمورًا به، ولم تخرج من أن تكون متعلقة به. فإن

36 فلهذا **تذ**

37 - (سقطت من **خ**)

38 صحّ **تذ**

39 قلناه **خ**

الصَبِر، إذا لُطِخ السكّر به، فإن الشهوة متعلقة بالأجزاء التي فيها حلاوة،[40] لكنها مغمورة بغيرها، ولو أدركها مخلَّصًا عن غيره، لم يخرج من صحة الاغتذاء به إذا ناله». فحصّل من ذلك أنه، إذا أدرك المشتهَى على الحدّ الذي اشتهاه، صحّ الاغتذاء به وصلح عليه بدن المشتهي.

[٣٨ - تذ ٤:٤٢٢] والذي يدلّ على ذلك أن الشهوة لا بد من أن يكون لها حكم من الأحكام فيما يرجع إلى ذاتها،[41] وتتميّز به عن غيرها، لأن هذا واجب في كل ذات نثبته(!). فإذا لم تمكن الإشارة إلى حكم سوى ما ذكرناه من تعلّقها بما يصلح عليه بدن المشتهي، وجب أن نجعل ذلك من حكمها الأخصّ الذي تتميّز به عن غيرها.[42] يبيّن ما[43] ذكرناه أن أحدنا على الحقيقة لا يشتهي إلّا ما هذا سبيله من الأغذية الشهيّة الطيّبة، لأنه يغتذي بها ويصلح جسمه عليها. ولا يشتهي الحنظل والتراب وما شاكلهما، لأن ذلك لا حظّ له فيما ذكرناه من الغذاء ولا يقع بها صلاح البدن.

[٣٩ - تذ ٩:٤٢٢] فإن قال قائل: كيف تقولون إن تعلّقها بما يصلح عليه بدن المشتهي من أخصّ أحكامها ومعلوم أن بدن الحيّ قد يصلح على ما ينفر طبعه عنه من الأدوية المرّة الكريهة؟ فلو كان الأمر على ما قلتم، لوجب أن يشتهي الأدوية المرّة الكريهة، إذا تعلّق صلاح البدن بها.

[٤٠] الجواب: لا يجب أن يشتهي شرب الأدوية الكريهة، لأنه لم يصلح عليها البدن بمجرّدها. وعلى هذا فإنه، لو أدام شربها، أتلفه، ولو أدام من(!) تناويل(!) الأغذية اللطيفة، لالتذّ بها وصلح عليها جسمه. ثم وتأثير الدواء إنما هو في زوال رطوبات عن البدن وغيرها، فإذا زالت تلك الرطوبات تكامل الانتفاع بالاغذية الطيبة الشهية، فيعود الأمر إلى أنّ صلاح بدن المشتهي إنما هو لتناوله ما يشتهيه، ولكن هذا لا يتمّ إلّا بزوال تلك الرطوبات والموادّ وغيرها عن بدن الحيّ، فلا يخرج ما ذكرناه من أن يكون أخصّ أحكامها.

[٤١ - تذ ١١:٤٢٢] وعلى هذه الطريقة التي ذكرناها جعل الأطبّاء علامة الصحة وخروج المعلول عن العلة عود الشهوة للطعام، وعلى ذلك لا يعدلون عن الأغذية اللطيفة الموافِقة إلى الأدوية المرة الكريهة إلّا عند الضرورة وشدّة الحاجة إليها.

[٤٢] فصحّ بهذه الجملة صحة ما ذهب إليه الشيخ أبو هاشم من أن الذي هو من حكم هذه الشهوة تعلّقها بما يصلح عليه بدن المشتهي، فتسلم الدلالة التي ذكرها في المنع من جواز الشهوة على الله تعالى. فإذا ثبت أن ذلك من أخصّ أحكام الشهوة، وجب في النفار الذي هو ضدّ لها[44] أن يتعلّق بما يفسد عليه جسم الحيّ وينتقص اعتبارًا لذلك بسائر ما ينفر طبعه عنه من حنظل وغيره. فإنه إذا تناولها(!)، فسد عليه جسمه وانتقص على طريقة واحدة حتى يجب أن يكون تعلق النفار بما يفسد عليه بدن الحيّ من أخصّ أحكام النفرة، كما أن تعلق الشهوة بما يصلح عليه بدنه من أخصّ أحكام

40 حلاوة ثابتة تذ

41 ذاته خ

42 غيره خ

43 صحّة ما تذ

44 له خ

الشهوة.

[٤٣ - تذ ١٥:٤٢٢] قال: واعلم أن هذه الجملة التي ذكرناها لنصرة مذهب أبي هاشم يُعترض عليها بوجوه كثيرة، فيقال: كيف يصحّ ما ذكرتم والشهوة قد تتعلق بما لا يصلح عليه بدن المشتهي، وذلك نحو شهوة المناظر وغيرها من المدرَكات، فإن الشهوة التي تسمّى ‹عِشقًا› تتعلق بما لا يصلح عليه بدن المشتهي، وقد يكون من الأصوات الطيبة المطرِبة ما إذا أدركه مع الشهوة، لم يصلح عليها(!) جسمه. وكذلك شهوة المريض تتعلق بما لا يصلح عليه جسمه، بل تتعلق بما، إذا ناله، أضرّ به وفسد عليه جسمه. وكذلك فقد تقوى الشهوة للطين، ومتى أدركه، لم يصلح عليه جسمه، بل انتقص بتناوله، وكذلك مشتهي الجبن وما أشبه ذلك. فثبت أنها تتعلق بما يُضِرّ بالمشتهي ولا تؤثر في صلاح بدنه. فكيف تقولون بأنّ تعلّقها بما يصلح عليه بدن المشتهي أخصّ أحكامها؟

[٤٤ - تذ ١٧:٤٢٢] والجواب عند ذلك أن في الجبن والطين أجزاء لم تتعلق الشهوة بها، فلم يصلح [١١٥و] عليهما جسمه لمكان ما ذكرناه. ولو أدرك منهما ما تعلقت به شهوته مخلَّصًا عن غيره، لصلح عليه جسمه ولم يقع الاستضرار بتناوله.

[٤٥] وأمّا المريض، إذا اشتهى ما يضرّه، فشهوته كاذبة غير صادقة، وهو إنما يظنّ أنه مشتهٍ وهو في الحقيقة غير مشته. ولهذا، متى قدّم إليه ما ظنّ شهوته له، لم يستلذّ به، بل تكرّهه حتى لو كانت شهوته صادقة، لصلح جسمه على ما يتناوله مما تعلّقت الشهوة به. وعلى ذلك فلا يمنع الطبيبُ المريضَ من تناول ما تصدق[45] شهوته إليه. ولنا أن نقول في ذلك بمثل ما قلناه في تناول الجبن والطين: إنّ فيما اشتهاه أجزاء لم تتعلّق شهوته بها،[46] وإنما تعلّقت شهوته بأجزاء هي مغمورة بما لم يشتهيه، حتى أنه، لو أدركها مخلّصةً عن ما لم يشتهِه، لصلح عليها جسمه كما في تناول الجبن والطين.

[٤٦] وأمّا ما ادّعاه من أنه لا يصلح بدن المشتهي بسماع الأصوات الطيبة المطربة، وإن أدركها مع الشهوة، فليس كذلك، بل يصلح بدنه على سماعها[47] وإدراكها، وإن[48] لا يتبيّن ذلك من أنفسنا.

[٤٧] قال: فأمّا الشهوة التي تسمّى ‹عِشقًا›، فتعلّقها بما لا يصلح عليه بدن المشتهي، بل يفسد وينتقص، فقد علّق القول فيه ووقفه[49] على النظر.

45 يصدق خ
46 به خ
47 سماعه خ
48 انا خ
49 وقفه خ

TRANSLATION (*NB – the first section of the Arabic is summarized in the main article and is not translated here*)

Ibn Zakarīyā held the view that pleasure is 'relief from a source of pain' or 'departing from a source of pain'.[50] ... The claim that pleasure is 'departing from a source of pain' and that it is tantamount to throwing off a heavy burden from oneself is unsound in many respects:

1) We may take pleasure in perceiving a sound or an image straight away, without experiencing pain prior to this.[51] How then is it possible to say that our pleasure is relief from a source of pain and departing from it, when such a thought would not even cross our mind, let alone that we would experience pain by it? The claim of those who say that pleasure is relief from a source of pain is therefore false. It is rather the case that pleasure has to be something in addition (*amr zāʾid*) to what he mentioned.

2) We may also take pleasure in seeing a person and looking at someone without that his/her absence is connected with the experience of pain.[52] This being the case, it is not possible to say that pleasure is 'departing from a source of pain', for if it were so, we would have to experience pain when that person is absent, but we know [from our own experience] that this is not the case.

3) If pleasure were relief from a source of pain, it would not be possible for us to choose one meal over another or one drink over another or one woman over another, considering that the goal [of the respective action] is confined to assuaging hunger or a sexual desire which is satisfied by any food or any woman. This is analogous to someone who, when feeling cold, does not choose one bonfire over another, when his [only] goal is to get rid of the coldness. However, the fact that we know that he has a predilection for one woman over another and chooses one food rather than another shows us that pleasure is something else, over and above the (*amr*^{un} *āḫar, warāʾ*) 'departing from a source of pain', because of which and as a result of its perception one experiences pleasure.

4) If pleasure were relief from a source of pain, people endowed with reason would not accept to be treated with distasteful drugs in order to experience thereafter pleasure in ingesting meals. If it were so, they would be equivalent to someone who

50. The introductory paragraph follows the text version of the *Taḏkira* (n. 131 in main article), pp. 163 f.. *Šarḥ al-Taḏkira* (n. 170 in main article), p. 95 (fol. 48r) adds: 'and according to this rule he should also say that pain is relief from a source of pleasure and departing from it' (*wa-yağibu ʿalā hāḏihī l-qāʿida an yaqūla fī l-alam innahū rāḥa min al-muliḍḍ wa-ḫurūğ minhū*).

51. *Taḏkira* (n. 131 in main article), p. 164: *ibtidāʾan*; *Šarḥ al-Taḏkira* (n. 170 in main article), fol. 48v: *wa-lam yakun min qablu mutaʾalliman*. Plato refers to certain pleasures of hearing and sight as pure, analgesic pleasures in *Philebus* 51 B–51 E to argue against 'those who say that all pleasures are relief from distress'. 'These things are not, as other things are, beautiful in a relative way, but are always beautiful in themselves, and yield their own special pleasures quite unlike those of scratching' (ταῦτα γὰρ οὐκ εἶναι πρός τι καλὰ λέγω, καθάπερ ἄλλα, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ καλὰ καθ' αὑτὰ πεφυκέναι καί τινας ἡδονὰς οἰκείας ἔχειν, οὐδὲν ταῖς τῶν κνήσεων προσφερεῖς). Rāzī deals with this kind of counter-argument in *Laḍḍa* (n. 154 in main article), p. 155.

52. See al-Rāzī, *ibid.*, as quoted in Adamson, 'Platonic Pleasures' (n. 117 in main article), p. 88: 'when one takes pleasure in seeing a beautiful face, this is simply because one has been spending time with ugly people!'

injures himself in order to then nurse himself. Our knowing, however, that any person endowed with reason rationally sanctions to be treated with distasteful drugs which [his] natural disposition finds repulsive, indicates that there exists an ontologically discrete entity (*maʿnā*), i.e. that there is a pleasure which is required (*laḏḏa maṭlūba*) over and above the 'departing from a source of pain'. One cannot object [to this argument] by saying: 'Does not this conduct [of ingesting distasteful drugs] behoove them in the same way as it is appropriate for them to put up with difficulties and to endure hardship when they travel in quest of profits and benefits?', for we would then reply: 'This [conduct] is only appropriate for them, because they anticipate that thereby they will yield benefits, obtain a return and experience pleasures which will be granted to them. If all this was confined to the 'departing from a source of pain', as you claim, we would condemn all this as inappropriate, and we would do likewise in the first case, if things were as you claimed them to be. For if things were as you have described them, the treatment of someone whose desire has become weak would merely be conducive to the 'departing from a source of pain'. This would inevitably imply that it is [not][53] inappropriate to injure oneself in order to then nurse [one's injury][54] and to break one's hands and feet to then set the fracture. We know, however, that this is not the case and must therefore conclude that pleasure is an ontologically discrete entity and not what [al-Rāzī] claimed it to be.

5) We perceive pleasure in the same way as we perceive pain. If pleasure was the 'departing from a source of pain', then pain would have to be the 'departing from a source of pleasure'. We know, however, that this is not the case. His view is therefore mistaken.

6) We perceive pleasure [in a way] that is distinct from the 'departing from a source of pain'. Perception only relates to things which are stable and actual and hence cannot relate to their vanishing and termination.

7) If the attainment of something desired was identified with the elimination of pain and the departing from it, then desire would have to be pain. It is, however, well-known that this is not the case, since we never experience pain in desire. The view that pleasure is the 'departing from a source of pain' or 'relief from it' is therefore unsound.

8) Under the premises of [his definition of pleasure], it would not be possible that the pleasure we take in something grows, because the experience of pleasure in his view depends on privation (*nafy*). Given, however, that there can be no growth in privation, the experience of pleasure which is related to that privation cannot grow either. [His definition] would also imply that there is no growth in the experience of pain, because – if his conception of pain was analogous to his conception of pleasure – it [viz. pain] would [likewise] depend on privation inasmuch as it would be 'the departing from a source of pleasure'. It would therefore not be possible for a pain we experience to grow. From our own experience we know, however, that our feeling of pleasure and pain may grow, which shows that both [pleasure and pain] relate to two ontologically discrete entities (*maʿnayayn*) rather than to what he propounded.

53. The negation is missing in *Šarḥ al-Taḏkira* (n. 170 in main article), p. 96, l. 18.
54. MS لاسواها (*ibid.*, p. 96, l. 18) should be read as either *li-aswihā* or *li-asāhā* ('in order to treat it').

9) We make a distinction between the perception of pleasant tastes and the unloading of heavy burdens from our backs. If pleasure were relief from a source of pain, there would be no such difference and it would not be possible to maintain this distinction. Our knowing, however, that there is a difference between the two cases indicates that pleasure is not the departing and relief from a source of pain.

All these counter-arguments prove that Ibn Zakarīyā [al-Rāzī's] understanding [of pain and pleasure] is unsound.

10) If he objected to [our line of argumentation] by saying that 'it is well-known that when our thirst gets stronger because of our ever increasing desire for cold water, we experience the utmost pleasure when we finally drink it. The only reason for the fact that we take pleasure in drinking it lies in the pain caused by the intensity of the thirst. We thus experience pleasure, because we are delivered from that pain as soon as we drink the water.'

11) [Our] response would be [to say]: 'What we desire in this situation is the cold water and the perception of it, not the deliverance from thirst or pain. His argument only supports his case, if what they claimed to be the source of pleasure is the only [source] possible. It is, however, not impossible to attribute the experience of pleasure to something other than what they maintained. Why then would it be necessary that we [only] desire in order to depart from a source of pain?'

12) Another objection of his was to say: 'When we feel a sexual desire, we are in pain because of it. Then, as soon as we have intercourse and ejaculate in accordance with our desire, we take great pleasure in it. We thus have to infer that pleasure must be the departing and relief from a source of pain.'

13) [Our] response [to this objection] would be twofold: First, the experience of [sexual] pleasure is not a result of what he claimed it to be, but rather a result of the fact that we perceive with our own organ the organ of someone else. If the experience of [sexual] pleasure can be attributed to this, [al-Rāzī] cannot attribute it to what he claimed [to be the source of pleasure]. Secondly, we only experience pleasure, because we perceive with desire an entity (*maʿnā*, viz. an ontologically discrete entity) generated by the flow of the fluid and prompted (*mutawallid*) by the separation [of adjacent atoms] which happens as a result of the outpouring liquid. The pleasure we thereby experience is like the pleasure we experience when we scratch an itch.[55] The experience of pleasure is thus the result of what we have just mentioned, not the result of a 'departing from a source of pain'. The correctness of our view is confirmed by the fact that we feel during intercourse something like a tickle which only occurs as a result of compression and the collision of the fluids when they pour out in desire. This indicates [once more] that the pleasure we experience during intercourse is due to the perception of an ontologically discrete entity (*maʿnā*) which is prompted by the separation (*tafrīq*) [of adjacent atoms], not due to the departing from a source of pain.

14) With these summary explanations Ibn Zakarīyā [al-Rāzī]'s conception (*maḏhab*) [of pleasure and pain] has been proven invalid. We have thus achieved our goal of

55. See Plato, *Philebus*, 46 A 8–10 and 46 D 7–E 1.

ascertaining that pleasure is an ontologically discrete entity in its own right (*al-laḏḏa maʿnan ʿalā ḥidatin*). The line of reasoning which shows that pain cannot be conceptualized as the departing from a source of pleasure runs analogously; indeed, the case of pain may even be clearer and more obvious, just as the cogency of [potential] counter-arguments would be even more questionable.

15) The objection raised by the venerable Abū Isḥāq [ibn ʿAyyāš], may God have mercy upon him, to support his denial of pain and pleasure [*qua* ontologically discrete entities] runs as follows:[56] If there were an ontologically discrete entity called 'pain' prompted by the accident of location (*al-kawn*)[57] over and above the termination of [bodily] soundness and balance (*ġayr zawāl al-ṣiḥḥa wa-l-iʿtidāl*), it would entail that when two agents of unequal strength[58] prick a needle in the body of a living being, the pain which [the latter] feels as a result of each of the two pinpricks will be of unequal [intensity]. It would entail that the pain he experiences owing to the prick of the stronger [person] would be more intense and greater than the pain he experiences owing to the prick of the weaker [person], /49^{r}/ because the stronger [person] would produce more pain-prompting accidents of location than the weaker [person]. Our knowing, however, that [the pricked body] perceives [in both cases] an equal amount of pain indicates that there exists no ontologically discrete entity called 'pain' which comes in addition to the termination of [bodily] soundness and balance.[59]

16) [Ibn ʿAyyāš] derived this from [scil. read this into] a statement of our venerable Abū Hāšim,[60] may God have mercy upon him, when [the latter] pointed out and ascertained that pain is an ontologically discrete entity and determined that it is prompted by the accident of location. He then marvelled and asked himself: if pain was prompted by the accident of location, it would not be possible for someone whose body is pricked by two agents of whom one is stronger than the other to perceive an equal intensity of pain. He would rather experience a more intense and greater pain upon the pinprick of the stronger and taller [person] than what he would experience

56. The parallel account in ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār's *Muġnī* (n. 17 in main article), vol. 13, pp. 262–9 is summarized in Heemskerk, *Suffering* (n. 176 in main article), pp. 79–81.

57. This refers to the aforementioned definition of pain as 'an ontologically discrete entity that is prompted by the separation [of adjacent atoms]' (*maʿnā mutawallid ʿan al-tafrīq*). *Kawn* ('accident of location') is an umbrella term comprising the 'coming-into-being' (*kawn faqaṭ*), 'motion' (*ḥaraka*), 'rest' (*sukūn*), 'adjacency/tangency' (*muǧāwara*), and 'separation' (*mufāraqa/mubāʿada*) of atoms (see *Taḏkira* [n. 131 in main article], p. 237). On the difficulty of translating *kawn*, pl. *akwān* (accident of location, accident of spatial relationship, accident of referential position, location vector) see Sabra, '*Kalām* Atomism' (n. 13 in main article), pp. 209–15 who makes the *akwān* doctrine the cornerstone of what he calls 'the *Kalām* ontology of events'; see, moreover, Heemskerk, *Suffering* (n. 176 in main article), pp. 74 f.

58. Lit.: 'of whom one is stronger than the other'.

59. On 'the problem of the two needle-pricks' see Heemskerk, *Suffering* (n. 176 in main article), pp. 98–102; Langermann, 'Islamic Atomism' (n. 9 in main article), pp. 290 f. Langermann argues for a direct link between the Muʿtazilī preoccupation with pinpricks in inquiries about the physiology of pain and Galen's use of the Hippocratic 'argument from pain' (see in main article n. 34) – which also refers to the pricking of fine needles – in his refutation of Democritean and Epicurean atomism, even though the scope of the question is rather dissimilar in both cases.

60. I.e. Ibn ʿAyyāš presented and justified his position as being based on an explicit statement by Abū Hāšim al-Ǧubbāʾī, the ultimate school authority of the Bahšamīya.

upon the pinprick of the weaker and smaller [person] inasmuch as the stronger would generate more accidents of location than the weaker.

17) Abū Hāšim anticipated this potential objection [and] answered it as follows: The pain which [the body] experiences as a result of the two pinpricks is only equal, because the accident of location only prompts pain if it occurs in conjunction with the privation of [bodily] soundness. If the needle is in both cases the same and [bodily] soundness is in both cases absent, [the intensity of the pain] must inevitably be equal. Whenever this is the case, the equality with regard to the privation of [bodily] soundness corresponds to an equal perception and experience of pain. This is so, because not all accidents of location generated by the act of the stronger partake in the prompting [of pain]; some of them do prompt pain, while others do not, depending on the extent of the privation of [bodily] soundness and the kinetic impetus, since none of those accidents of location is more suitable to prompt [pain] than others.

18) When Abū Isḥāq ibn Ayyāš recognized the weakness of [Abū Hāšim's] reply and realised that it is not possible to say that some accidents of location generated by the stronger [person] prompt pain, while others do not, inasmuch as they lack [a corresponding] specification, he turned this into an argument against the existence of pain [*qua* ontologically discrete entity].

19) A possible reply to his objection would be to say that evidence has already ascertained that pain is an ontologically discrete entity, whereas his statement is merely hypothetical *(amr muḥtamal)*, which means that the facts may either conform to what he hypothesized or not. It is, however, not admissible to abandon [certain, evidence-based knowledge] which is not subject to hypothesis in favour of [knowledge] which is purely hypothetical (*fa-lā yağūzu an yutraka mā lā yaṣiḥḥu duḫūl al-iḥtimāl fīhi li-mā yaṣiḥḥu fīhi duḫūl al-iḥtimāl*).[61] Rather, one should abandon [knowledge] which is hypothetical and open to interpretation (*mā yadḫuluhū l-iḥtimāl wa-yasūġu fīhi l-taʾwīl*) in favour of rational evidence (*al-dalāla al-ʿaqlīya*) which is not hypothetical. If we can find a reason (*ʿilla*) owing to which hypothetical knowledge can be shown to be compatible with [certain, evidence-based knowledge], so be it. Otherwise, we ought to suspend judgement, but not abandon [certain knowledge] which is not subject to hypothesis in favour of [probable knowledge] which belongs to the realm of hypothesis. This is analogous to what we say with regard to the objections that have been raised against us with regard to the denial of the existence of atoms and the affirmation of the existence of leaps (*nafy al-ǧuzʾ wa-ṯubūt al-ṭafr[a]*), because we also argued in that context that these objections are based on probable knowledge, whereas the evidence provided for the existence of atoms and the non-existence of leaps (*dalālat iṯbāt al-ǧuzʾ wa-nafy al-ṭafr[a]*) is untainted by probable knowledge [viz. it is certain]. It is therefore not admissible to abandon [such certain knowledge] in favour of something which pertains to the realm of hypothetical

61. I.e. It is not admissible to abandon a doctrine which is based on certain knowledge in favour of another doctrine which is only based on probable knowledge; cf. van Ess, *Erkenntnislehre* (n. 23 in main article), pp. 237 f.

knowledge and is open to interpretation. If we know the answer to [one of these objections], we go by it, if not, we refrain from making a judgement and stick to what has been elucidated by proof and shown by evidence. In answering [the present] question we can rely on this procedure.

20) It has also been said in reply to this [objection] that the equal [intensity] of pain is a consequence of the equal number of accidents of location generated [by each of the two agents], save that one of them generates them in fewer instances of time, the other in more. This answer is not sound, for someone may object and argue: nothing implies that what the two agents generate will ever be equal, and it may even be incomparable in principle. Even if this were so in the majority of cases, it could not be excluded that the stronger [person] will at times generate more [accidents of location] than the weaker, so that the pain experienced through one of the two pinpricks will be greater than through the other.

21) It has also been argued that we cannot determine that the intensity of the pinprick is identical in both cases. But why should one make such a claim? It also misses the point, because [Abū Isḥāq ibn ʿAyyāš], may God have mercy upon him, does not make this claim with respect to the pinprick, but with respect to the accidents of location [generated by the pinprick] and their large or small number. Hence, the impossibility of knowing the intensity and magnitude of the pinprick does not pertain to what he says and does not disprove his argument.

22) It has, moreover, been argued in reply to [Ibn ʿAyyāš's objection] that the intensity of pain which [the pricked body] experiences due to [the accidents of location] generated by both the weaker and the stronger [agent] is equal in both cases, because God produces [additional] units of pain [in the body], when it is pricked by the weaker person in order to make it equal to the pain generated by the stronger person and that [the body] therefore experiences the same intensity of pain resulting from the pinprick of either of the two agents, as we have mentioned.

23) This [argument] also warrants further examination, for even if things were as delineated, the occurrence of those [additional] units of pain in accordance with the accidents of location generated by the stronger person would still be within the bounds of God's customary course of action (*bi-maǧrā l-ʿāda min fiʿli Llāh*).[62] This being the case [the occurrence of these additional units of pain] may also fall short [of the required number], so that the units of pain produced by the pinprick of the weaker [person] may at times fall short of the units of pain produced by the stronger [person], for this is a necessary implication of things which happen according to custom (*li-anna hāḏā l-wāǧib fī-mā yakūnu wuqūʿuhū ʿalā sabīl al-ʿāda*). Our knowing, however, that [the body's] experience of pain resulting from the two pinpricks is *invariably* the same, indicates that the pinprick of the weaker agent is not bound up with the occurrence of [additional] units of pain produced by God. Otherwise, it would be inappropriate for

62. On the notion of *ʿāda* see Perler and Rudolph, *Occasionalismus* (n. 104 in main article), pp. 41–6. 'Custom' implies that the relation between a specific act or event and its effect is non-necessary and variable. Inasmuch as this custom relies on a choosing agent (*fāʿil muḫtār*), it can never function as a necessitating cause (*ʿilla*).

people endowed with reason to blame the weaker agent for the totality of those pains. We know, however, that the opposite is true.

24) Another objection [raised by Ibn ʿAyyāš] against the existence of [pain qua] ontologically discrete entity runs literally as follows: 'If pain were an ontologically discrete entity above and beyond the termination of the balance [of the bodily mixture] (*zawāl al-iʿtidāl*) which occurs as a result of incision (*taqṭīʿ*), it would be no less conceivable for us to desire it than to have an aversion to it. If this were correct, it would be conceivable for us to link desire to the amputation of [our] limbs under certain circumstances. This is absurd, [and] whatever implicates an [absurd] position such as this, is untenable. This also applies to the claim that pain is an ontologically discrete entity which occurs as a result of incision.'

25) The reply [to this objection would be to say]: This is inconceivable, because desire is never linked to the amputation [of our limbs]. It is rather linked to an ontologically discrete entity which occurs as a result of incision. Both desire and aversion can be linked to this ontologically discrete entity in equal measure and indiscriminately. However, no benefit derives from [the amputation of our limbs], because the damage resulting from it would completely cancel out the expected pleasure (*al-laḏḏa al-maṭlūba*) and [the pleasure] would be outweighed by [the damage inflicted upon the body]. This would be tantamount to taking pleasure in eating a poisoned sweet, for just as no benefit derives from the sweet because of the poison it contains and whose harm cancels out the benefit of the sweet, no benefit derives in the case at hand from the amputation of limbs, because the inflicted damage cancels out the pleasure one may take from that ontologically discrete entity. In accordance with this line of thought we said that it is hardly ever the case that one takes pleasure from scratching an itch, because the pleasure [which the scratching] affords will be outweighed by the damage it causes.

26) With this summary account the position of those who champion [Ibn ʿAyyāš's] conception [of pleasure and pain] and follow his line of reasoning has been invalidated. I am referring to their claim that 'if pain were an ontologically discrete entity above and beyond what we have mentioned, it would be conceivable for us to intentionally scar ourselves in order to then take pleasure in scratching [the scar]'. [This is not true], because the pain which follows upon the scratching cancels out the pleasure prompted by the ontologically discrete entity. It would be like someone who climbs over thorns in order to take a walk in the meadow which lies on the other side. [Ibn ʿAyyāš's] conception [of pleasure and pain] is just as inadequate as this.

27) Another objection [by Ibn ʿAyyāš runs as follows]: 'If there were an ontologically discrete entity prompted by the accident of location as you claim, we would have to feel the same [intensity of] pain from a wound before and after its cicatrization, because the accident of location which prompts [the alleged ontologically discrete entity of pain] is actual and [its] substrate in place and there is no impediment [that could prevent its occurrence]. We know, however, [from our own experience] that the opposite is the case. This knowledge indicates that there is no such thing as an ontologically discrete entity called 'pain' which is prompted by the accident of location.'

28) The reply to this [objection would be to say]: this is not correct, because the accident of location which prompts the pain does only do so on condition of the [concomitant] privation of health (*intifāʾ al-ṣiḥḥa*). As soon as the wound is cicatrized, this condition, i.e. the privation of health, is not met any more. Hence, [the accident of location] does not prompt [the ontologically discrete entity of pain] anymore, despite the fact that it is actual in both moments. But why should it not be conceivable that the ontologically discrete entity [of pain] is prompted by [the accident of location] whenever the condition [of concomitant privation of health] is met? With this reply the basis of his [objection] has been invalidated.

28) An alternative reply [to the same objection] would be to say: as long as the wound is open, blood gushes out of it. It is the flow and the gushing out of the blood which prompt the pain. As soon as the wound is cicatrized, the blood does not gush out any more so that its flow could prompt in it the [ontologically discrete entity of] pain. That is why there is no actual pain when [the wound] is cicatrized, whereas it is actual before its cicatrization. This being the case, his argument does not provide compelling evidence against the existence of pain [*qua* ontologically discrete entity].

30) Another objection runs literally as follows: 'If pain were an ontologically discrete entity which comes about, its condition (*ḥāluhū*) could not change as a result of changing substrates in keeping with what has been established with regard to sweetness. Do you not recognize that if [sweetness] is desirable in one location and in one substrate, it will [likewise] be desirable in all substrates and all locations? Its condition does not change as a result of changing substrates. If pain were an ontologically discrete entity just like sweetness, its condition ought not to change as a result of changing substrates as is the case with the condition [of sweetness]. It would therefore be necessary that one experiences pain as a result of its presence in every location, and it would not be conceivable that it exists in one substrate as pain on one occasion, and then exists in another substrate as pleasure on another occasion. Given that according to your position the opposite is the case, [this argument] forces you to deny the existence of this ontologically discrete entity.'

31) The reply to this [objection would be to say]: This is incorrect, because the difference between the condition (*ḥāl*) of pain and the condition of pleasure in relation to [one and the same] ontologically discrete entity only exists by virtue of the desire and the aversion which are alternately linked to it. Thus, when someone perceives it in one location with desire, he takes pleasure in it, while when he perceives it in another location with aversion, he experiences pain because of it. That is why one can never rule out the possibility that desire will alternate with aversion as a result of changing locations of perception. You know, for instance, that the blackness of the pupil is considered appealing and beautiful. Yet, when the same [blackness] is found on a face, it is not considered beautiful, even though the type (*ǧins*) [of blackness] is one and the same. Analogously, nothing precludes that pleasure and pain relate to the same type [of ontologically discrete entity] and that they alternate depending on whether the perception [of the ontologically discrete entity] is linked with desire or aversion.

32) Another [example would be] the pure whiteness of teeth which has a reassuring effect on [our] natural disposition (*al-ṭibāʿ*) and appeals to [us]. Yet, when the same [whiteness] is found on a face or on a body, the aesthetic instincts dislike it and the natural dispositions are repulsed by it, even though the type [of whiteness] is one and the same. Similarly, nothing precludes that our natural disposition (*al-ṭabʿ*) has affection towards someone of our species on one occasion, while having an aversion to him on another occasion depending on whether [desire or aversion] is linked with his preception and related to it.

33) If someone argued: 'If pain were an ontologically discrete entity, one would have to discern its most distinctive property (*aḫaṣṣ aḥkāmihī*) as soon as it is perceived, for this is a necessary feature of anything perceived (*li-anna hāḏā wāǧib fī kull mā yudrak*). If the most distinctive property of something is not discerned upon its perception, it indicates that there is no ontologically discrete entity to which desire and aversion could be linked over and beyond what we have mentioned [scil. the termination of health and bodily balance].

34) The reply to this [objection would be to say]: You shall be granted an answer. Let us concede that what you have just said is correct. Whenever we perceive a thing, we discern its distinctiveness (*mā huwa ʿalayhi fī ḏātihī*)[63] in a general way (*ʿalā l-ǧumla*). For instance, when we perceive a colour in a substrate, we discern its distinctiveness in a general way. If we then want to understand this distinctiveness in more detail, we should follow a method (*ṭarīqa*).[64] Thus, we determine that this ontologically discrete entity [scil. pleasure and pain] is perceived in reference to a substrate of living and in the substrate of living (*fī maḥall al-ḥayāt bi-maḥall al-ḥayāt*);[65] hence, there must be a distinctive attribute owing to which a thing is said to possess this property and owing to which it has the capacity to experience pain in it when aversion is linked to it or experience pleasure when desire is linked to it.

Chapter[66]

35) [Abū Ǧaʿfar Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī Mazdak], may God grant him strength, said: [Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan ibn Aḥmad ibn Mattawayh], may God have mercy upon

63. In *kalām* ontology and epistemology *ḏāt* refers to a concrete entity, not to an 'essence' or 'quiddity' of a thing in the philosophical (esp. Aristotelian) sense of the word. Accordingly, *mā huwa ʿalayhi fī ḏātihi* does not refer to the quiddity of a thing, but rather to its distinctiveness, i.e. a singular property which makes it distinguishable from any other entity; see Dhanani, *The Physical Theoryof Kalām* (n. 12 in main article), pp. 25–33; Shihadeh, 'Classical Ashʿarī Anthropology' (n. 103 in main article), p. 438.

64. The method in question consists of a classification tree which results from an ordered sequence of evaluative and classificatory questions which help to determine the properties and attributes of a thing (see *Taḏkira* [n. 131 in main article], pp. 2–8). It proceeds on the assumption that the order and structure of knowledge often inverts the order and structure of the known object (ibid., p. 523: *inna l-ʿulūm lā tanbaġī muṭābaqatuhā li-l-maʿlūm fī kulli mawḍiʿ*).

65. This expression denotes the property (*ḥukm*) or the type-specific, generic attribute (*ṣifat al-ǧins*) of pleasure and pain; see *Taḏkira* (n. 131 in main article), p. 167.

66. *Šarḥ al-Taḏkira* (n. 170 in main article), pp. 228 f. (fols 114v, l. 14 – 115r, l. 7) which comments on *Taḏkira* (n. 131 in main article), p. 421 f.. The editor renders the chapter heading as follows: 'Chapter on the question of whether it would be correct to say that desire is [inextricably] linked with what is beneficial to the body of the one who desires' (*inna l-šahwa mutaʿalliqa bi-mā yuṣlaḥu ʿalayhi badan al-muštahī*).

him, included this chapter with a view to clarifying an alternative conception of desire by Abū Hāšim [al-Ǧubbāʾī]'s (*maḏhab āḫar li-Abī Hāšim fī l-šahwa*).[67] The gist of this position is Abū Hāšim's contention that desire is inextricably linked with things that are beneficial to the body of the one who desires: when he ingests them, [his body] grows (*yazdād*), when he lacks them, it becomes deficient (*yantaqiṣ*). [Abū Hāšim] employed this argument to show that it is inadmissible [to ascribe] desire to God. He argued that if it was admissible [to ascribe] desire to Him, it would be conceivable for Him to be subject to growth/increase (*ziyāda*) and diminution/deficiency (*nuqṣān*), for this is a property of desire (*min ḥukm al-šahwa*). [Desire] is [inextricably] linked with things that are beneficial to the body of the one who desires: when he ingests them, [his body] grows, when he lacks them, it becomes deficient.

36) Abū Isḥāq [ibn ʿAyyāš] objected to this line of reasoning and argued that growth and diminution of the living body in association with nourishment are not a necessary consequence of the food one assimilates, because we do not advocate the position that nature or something else necessitates these processes. They are rather the effect of God's sustaining the customary course [of events]. For this reason the well-being/benefit (*ṣalāḥ*) of the body is only established once the desire has vanished. This being the case, one cannot build on Abū Hāšim's line of reasoning to prove that it is inconceivable to ascribe desire to God. God willing, we are going to expound a more solid argument for this at its proper place.[68]

37) Abū Muḥammad [ibn Mattawayh] said: what we can adduce to elucidate Abū Hāšim's position is our knowledge that desire only relates to things on which[69] we can subsist consistently (*ʿalā ṭarīqa wāḥida*) to our benefit,[70] when we perceive them unmixed with other things (*iḏā adraknāhu muḫallaṣan ʿan ġayrihī*), and [to things] on which we can subsist consistently, when we ingest them unmixed with other things (*iḏā nilnāhu wa-huwa ġayru maġmūrin bi-mā siwāhu*)[71] and in which we take pleasure when we perceive them. However, when they are mixed with other things, desire does not relate to what they have been mixed with, but still relates to it [separately, as if it were unmixed]. When, for example, [bitter] aloe is splashed with sugar, desire relates to those parts in which there is actual sweetness (*ḥalāwa ṯābita*), despite the fact that it has been adulterated by something else. If we perceived it unmixed with other things, we would still be able to subsist on it, when we ingest it. The gist of all this is [the understanding] that if the object of desire (*al-muštahā*) is perceived just as it has been desired, it is possible to subsist on it and the body of the one who desires derives benefit from it.

38) Evidence for that is [found in the fact] that desire must have a property (*ḥukm min al-aḥkām*) which is specific [i.e. belongs exclusively] to it and on account of which

67. Or: an alternative approach to desire by Abū Hāšim.

68. As noted by the editor (D. Gimaret) of the *Taḏkira* (n. 131 in main article), p. 421, n. 69, this alternative argument is not found in the rest of the book, but in Ibn Mattawayh's *Kitāb al-Maǧmūʿ fī l-Muḥīṭ bi-l-taklīf*, ed. U. S. ʿAzmī, Cairo, 1965, pp. 214 f.

69. The text version of the *Šarḥ* is corrupt here and should be corrected in accordance with *Taḏkira* (n. 131 in main article), p. 422, l. 1: ... *illā bi-mā iḏā* ... .

70. *Taḏkira* (n. 131 in main article): *ṣaḥḥa*; *Šarḥ al-Taḏkira* (n. 170 in main article): *ṣallaḥa*.

71. *Taḏkira*: *iḏā nilnāhu*; *Šarḥ al-Taḏkira*: *matā qulnāhu* (!).

it is distinguishable from any other entity (*fī-mā yarǧiʿu ilā ḏātih[ā] wa-tatamayyazu bi-hī ʿalā ġayrihā*), for this is [a] necessary [condition] for all entities whose existence we posit (*li-annā hāḏā wāǧibun fī kulli ḏātin nuṯbituhū*[!]).[72] Now, if we cannot point to a property other than the aforementioned fact that it [*scil.* desire] relates to things which are beneficial to the body of the one who desires, we cannot but identify this as its most specific property (*ḥukmuhā al-aḫaṣṣ*) in virtue of which it is distinguishable from [any] other entity.

What we just said is clarified by the fact that we only desire in the true sense of the word (*ʿalā l-ḥaqīqa*) wholesome and salubrious nourishments that are compatible with this [property], because we subsist on it and because our body derives benefit from it. We do not desire bitter apples, mud and such things, because this does not belong to the type of nourishment mentioned above and because our body does not derive benefit from it.

39) If someone objected: How can you possibly claim that the most specific property of [desire] is the fact that it is [inextricably] linked with things that are beneficial to the body of the one who desires, when it is well-known that a living being may at times benefit from things which its nature abhors, such as distasteful and abhorrently bitter medications (*al-adwiya al-murra al-karīha*)? If it were as you claim, we would have to desire [these] distasteful and abhorrently bitter medications, since the benefit [or: healthy condition] of the body (*ṣalāḥ al-badan*) depends on it.

40) [We would] reply: We do not need to desire the drinking of distasteful medicine, because the body does not derive benefit from them alone (*li-annahū lam yaṣluḥ ʿalayhā al-badan bi-muǧarradihā*). For if we ingested [this medicine] continuously, it would harm [our body], while we take pleasure in the continuous ingestion of wholesome food and our body derives benefit from it. Moreover, the effect of the medicine is limited to the discharge of moisture (*zawāl al-ruṭūbāt*) and other things from the body. As soon as this moisture has been discharged, the advantageous effect (*intifāʿ*)[73] [of the medication] is complemented and accomplished by the [ingestion of] wholesome and salubrious food. The process [as a whole] is therefore reducible to the fact that the benefit of the body of the one who desires does only relate to the ingestion of what he desires, but this only comes about by the discharge of those moistures, substances and other things from the body of the living being. All this does therefore not preclude that the most specific property of [desire] is what we said.

41) In conformance with the aforementioned procedure, the physicians determined the recovery of appetite (*ʿawd al-šahwa lil-ṭaʿām*) to be indicative of health (*ʿalāmat al-ṣiḥḥa*) and of the end of a patient's state of sickness. For this very reason, they only suspend [the ingestion of] wholesome and customary nourishment for the sake of bitter and distasteful medication, when it is necessary and absolutely inevitable.

42) Based on this summary account, Abū Hāšim's conception [of desire], namely [the view] that the specific property of desire consists in the fact that it relates to

72. For this fundamental principle of *kalām* ontology see n. 63 of this translation.

73. The text distinguishes here between *intifāʿ*, which relates to temporary, circumstantial advantages, and *ṣalāḥ* which relates to the aspired and stable benefit of physical and psychic well-being.

things which benefit the body of the one who desires, has been proven to be correct. Therefore, his proof is also a legitimate way of arguing against the admissibility of [ascribing] desire to God. Having established that this is the most specific property of desire, aversion (*nifār*) – which is its counterpart – must accordingly relate to things which cause the body of the living being to become deficient and corrupted. This consideration applies to everything which its natural disposition (*ṭabʿuhu*) abhors, such as bitter apples and the like. Whenever [the living being] ingests these things, its body is corrupted and becomes deficient consistently and invariably (*ʿalā ṭarīqa wāḥida*). Thus, the most specific property of aversion consists in the fact that it relates to things by which the body of the living being is corrupted, just as the most specific property of desire consists in the fact that it relates to things which are beneficial to its body.

43) [Abū Ǧaʿfar Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī Mazdak] said: Note that many objections have been raised against this summary account which we have brought up in defense of Abū Hāšim's position. Thus, it has been asked: How can your account be correct, when desire may at times also relate to things which are not beneficial to the body of the one who desires, as for example the desire for magnificent views (*šahwat al-manāẓir*) and other objects of perception?[74] Neither does the desire called *ʿišq* [passion/ passionate love] relate to things which are beneficial to the body of the one who desires. There are also nice and pleasant sounds which are not beneficial to the body, even when they are perceived with desire. Likewise, the desire of the sick (*šahwat al-marīḍ*) relates to things which are not beneficial to his body and may even relate to things which harm him, if he ingests them, and have a detrimental effect on his body. Similarly, some people may have a strong desire for mud (*šahwat al-ṭīn*),[75] but when they ingest[76] it, it is not beneficial to their body and will even harm it. The same applies to people who desire cheese[77] and the like. It has thus been established that [desire] relates to things which harm the one who desires them and have no beneficial effect on his body. So, how can you claim that its most specific property consists in the fact that it relates to things which are beneficial to the body of the one who desires?

74. This objection seems to allude to the existence of pure, unmixed, non-bodily pleasures (as in Plato's *Rep.* 9 and *Phil.* 51B–52B), i.e. pleasures which are not coupled with bodily deficiency, pain, need and replenishment (see n. 152 in main article). The *Philebus* distinguishes three kinds of pure pleasure: 1) olfactory, 2) visual and auditory, 3) intellectual. See the pertinent discussion in Adamson, 'Platonic Pleasures' (n. 117 in main article), pp. 76 f. and Wolfsdorf, *Pleasure* (n. 152 in main article), pp. 73–6, 97–9.

75. *Šahwat al-ṭīn* is still used in contemporary medicine to refer to the pica disorder, the persistent and compulsive cravings to eat non-food items.

76. Reading *tanāwalahū* instead of *adrakahū* which is obviously incorrect here (and see the parallel passage in *Šarḥ al-Taḏkira* [n. 170 in main article], fol. 115r, l. 4).

77. In similar contexts cheese (*ǧubn*) is usually used in conjunction with *ṭīn*. The mixture of the two is described as inedible (see *Taḏkira*, [n. 131 in main article], p. 422; Šešdīv, *[Taʿlīq] Šarḥ al-Uṣūl al-ḫamsa* [n. 108 in main article], p. 214). Oddly enough, the author of *Šarḥ al-Taḏkira* turns *ǧubn* into an independent example of an inedible substance. The MS renders the word with a *šadda* (*ǧabban[?]*) the meaning of which remains obscure. For the nutrimental properties of cheese according to Galen see *De alimentorum facultatibus* (Περὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς τροφαῖς δυνάμεων; *Kitāb Quwā l-aġḏiya = Kitāb fī l-aṭʿima*), ed. J. Wilkins, Paris, 2013, pp. 211–14; *Galen: On the Properties of Foodstuffs*, ed. and transl. O. Powell, Cambridge, 2003, pp. 123–31.

44) Response: In [the mixture of] cheese and mud there are part(icle)s to which desire does not relate. Hence, in keeping with what we just said, they are not beneficial to the body. If out of the two he only perceived what his desire relates to unadulterated by other things, his body would derive benefit from it and he would not harm himself by ingesting it.[78]

45) As for the sick, when he desires what harms him, his desire is false, not correct (*fa-šahwatuhū kāḏiba, ġayru ṣādiqa*).[79] He only believes to be desiring, while in actual fact he is not (*wa-huwa innamā yaẓunnu annahū muštahin wa-huwa fī l-ḥaqīqa ġayru muštahin*).[80] Thus, when something is offered to him of which he believed that he would desire it, he does not take pleasure in it, but rather abhors it. If his desire were correct, his body would benefit from ingesting those [part(icle)s of the mixture] to which his desire relates. For this very reason the physician does not prevent the patient from ingesting what he correctly desires (*wa-ʿalā ḏālika lā yamnaʿu l-ṭabību l-marīda min tanāwuli mā taṣduqu šahwatuhu ilayhi*).[81] We say about this exactly the same as what we have said about the ingestion of cheese and mud, namely that in the thing which he desires there are part(icle)s to which his desire does not relate; his desire only relates to part(icle)s which are mixed with things which he does not desire; if he perceived them in unadulterated form, unmixed with things which he does not desire, his body would derive benefit from it, analogous to the ingestion of cheese and mud.

46) As for the claim that the body of someone who listens to nice and pleasant sounds does not derive benefit from it, even though he perceives them with desire, this is not correct. It is rather so that his body does benefit from listening to them and perceiving them, even if it is not clearly recognizable for us.

47) He then said: As for the desire which is called *ʿišq* [passionate love] and the fact that it relates to things which are not beneficial to the body of the one who desires them, and by which it may even be corrupted and become deficient, [Ibn Mattawayh] left it open and abstained from discussing it for the benefit of [further] examination.[82]

78. A later Yemenite source, *Kitāb al-Miʿrāǧ fī šarḥ al-Minhāǧ* by the Zaydī imām al-Hādī li-Dīn Allāh ʿIzz al-Dīn ibn al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī ibn al-Muʾayyad (d. 1494–5), notes that 'their claim that the desire for mud and cheese is an incorrect desire (*šahwa kāḏiba*) is a rather arbitrary response and not backed up with further arguments'.

79. See Abū Ṭālib Yaḥyā ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Hārūnī, *Ziyādāt Šarḥ al-uṣūl* (n. 146 in main article), p. 217, l. 17.

80. The argument becomes rather circular at this point.

81. MS *yaṣduqu*.

82. *Taḏkira* (n. 131 in main article), p. 422: *fa-hāḏā mawḍiʿ naẓar*.

C. Concluding remarks: Reception and recent research developments

The objective of the present dissertation is to demonstrate that religious thought in the pre-modern world of Islam is inextricably trans-denominational. To this end, I have outlined a historiographical approach that is geared to dealing with the intertwined condition of its object of investigation.

Traditional accounts of the history of religious thought are typically confined to the boundaries of a particular religion or denomination. They thus insinuate that religions represent self-referential and self-contained entities. This tendency is bolstered by the phenomenon of scholarly communitarianism which entails that historians of religious thought relate primarily to data that are internal to their own specialist community. Faced with the prospect of ongoing cuts in the number of positions at humanities departments, the rigidity of the compartmentalisation between denominational disciplines and the corporatist defense of the fenced-in domain of each subfield may even have been strengthened. The structure of educational systems and the fragmentation of specialist disciplines within the humanities provide comparatively few incentives and opportunities to engage in sustained trans-disciplinary collaboration and dialogue.

The introductory essay and the fourteen case studies contained in this dissertation have laid out ways to overcome these structural and self-imposed impediments in a consistent and systematic manner. In the introductory essay I have established a conceptual framework that is capable of accommodating and elucidating phenomena of religious thought across and beyond entrenched boundaries of religious denominations and scholarly disciplines. It draws on recent methodological approaches employed in the historical sciences, the social sciences, and anthropology, which emphasise transcultural relationality, entanglement, interconnectedness, and multifaceted interaction. By adapting the conceptual apparatus of these research methods to the field of religious thought, it was my aim to evince that it is as relevant to speculative reasoning and cognitive activities as it is to material and popular culture or economic transactions. It identifies and accentuates trans-denominational connections of religious thought that remain unnoticed by historiographies which are fixated upon a mono-denominational approach.

The trans-denominational approach to religious thought is a quest for multiperspectivity. It points to new critical perspectives of the cultures and structures of historiography and aims at disturbing disciplinary boundaries and transforming the mental maps of historians of religious thought in conjunction with the underlying structures of scholarship. Ultimately, this goal can only be achieved by means of significant changes in institutional structures to encourage new academic work modes and support new landscapes of sustained trans-disciplinary scholarly collaboration.

Each of the fourteen case studies included in this dissertation is designed to illustrate particular aspects of the trans-denominational approach to religious thought. Most of these studies have been quoted and discussed in research literature published over the past fifteen years. An overview of this literature affords us the opportunity to recapitulate recent developments in scholarship that is related to the three thematic clusters of this dissertation and has some bearing on the trans-denominational approach to religious thought in the pre-modern world of Islam.

Most recent studies dealing with the presence of Muʿtazilī thought in Jewish contexts were written by scholars who were members of or associated with research groups and initiatives in which I participated. A recent survey article by David Sklare offers a useful digest of scholarship on the subject.[1] Several studies on the topic formed part of a thematic issue of the journal *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World* on the "Jewish and Christian Reception(s) of Muslim Theology", edited by Sabine Schmidtke and myself.[2] Some of them are directly tied to my own studies and pick up where I left off. The contribution by Sarah Stroumsa reviews the evidence regarding the presence of Muʿtazilī thought among Jews and Muslims in al-Andalus, which was briefly discussed in article no. 101 (pp. 280–282).[3] Building on my study in article no. 105 (pp. 77*–82*), Sabine Schmidtke examines the Jewish reception of Twelver Shīʿī *kalām* and describes a manuscript fragment of al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā's (d. 436/1044) *Kitāb al-Dhakhīra fī uṣūl al-dīn* copied by the Karaite scholar ʿĀlī b. Sulaymān al-Maqdisī.[4] Wilferd Madelung draws on the same article to consider the possibility that the Karaite scholar Levi ben Yefet had studied with the Imāmī Shīʿī scholar Abū l-Fatḥ al-Karājikī.[5] (These and other recurrent connections between Shīʿī and Jewish thought were subsequently summarized in a survey article by Ehud Krinis.)[6] A survey of the Jewish and Muslim reception of ʿAbd al-Jabbār al-Hamadhānī's *Kitāb al-Jumal wa-'l-ʿuqūd* by Jan Thiele is entirely based on my own compilation of the source material.[7] The contribution by David Sklare describes how Muʿtazilī ideas percolated into Jewish culture above and beyond the narrow circle of religious scholars.[8]

In line with articles nos. 104 and 105 of this dissertation, some recent publications serve the purpose of introducing newly identified and reconstructed texts of Jewish Muʿtazilism.[9] Dozens of Jewish Muʿtazilī compositions still await reconstruction and thorough examination.

Analogous to articles nos. 106 and 107, a compilation of textual materials from the Second Firkovitch Collection at the National Library of Russia in Saint Petersburg comprises editions of

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1 David Sklare, "Muʿtazili Trends in Jewish Theology: A Brief Survey", *Journal of Islamic Sciences / İslâmî İlimler Dergisi* 17, no. 2 (2017): 145–178.

2 Sabine Schmidtke and Gregor Schwarb, "Introduction", *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World* 2 (2014): 1–6.

3 Sarah Stroumsa, "The Muʿtazila in al-Andalus: The Footprints of a Phantom", *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World* 2 (2014): 80–100.

4 Sabine Schmidtke, "Jewish Reception of Twelver Shīʿī *kalām*: A Copy of al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā's *Kitāb al-Dhakhīra* in the Abraham Firkovitch Collection, St. Petersburg", *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World* 2 (2014): 50–74.

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

6 Ehud Krinis, "Directions in Jewish-Shīʿī Studies", *Shii Studies Review* 3 (2019): 187–214.

7 Jan Thiele, "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 (2014): 101–121.

8 David Sklare, "The Reception of Muʿtazilism among Jews Who Were Not Professional Theologians", *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World* 2 (2014): 18–36.

9 Haggai Ben-Shammai, "*Al-Uṣūl al-Muhaḏḏabiyya*: A Joint Theological Project of a Karaite Scholar and a 'Chief Justice' in Fāṭimid Egypt Revisited", *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World* 8 (2020): 224–232; David Sklare, "Epistemology in the Service of Polemic: Yūsuf al-Baṣīr's *Kitāb al-Istiʿānah*: Text and Translation", in *Polemical and Exegetical Polarities in Medieval Jewish Cultures Studies in Honour of Daniel J. Lasker*, ed. Ehud Krinis, Nabih Bashir, Sara Offenberg, and Shalom Sadik (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2021), 97–134.

several Muʿtazilī compositions by Muslim authors, some of them identified by myself, that were held at Jewish Qaraite libraries in Palestine and Egypt.[10]

My research on the reception of legal methodology (*uṣūl al-fiqh*) in Jewish legal literature, which is the subject of articles nos. 102–105, has been invoked in a number of seminal studies on linguistic theory, legal methodology, and hermeneutics. Most of them are, however, restricted to the Islamic milieu.[11] A trans-denominational perspective on legal methodology comes to fruition in two doctoral dissertations which partly build on my own studies to explore the reception of legal methodology in late Geonic literature and the juridical works of Maimonides.[12] Mention should also be made of three studies that analyse the juridical syllogism in the legal code of the tenth-century Karaite scholar al-Qirqisānī.[13]

The presence of Muʿtazilī thought in Samaritano-Arabic literature, which I explored in articles nos. 108 and 109, has been further investigated in a follow-up study of mine[14] and is briefly referred to in articles by Frank Weigelt and Stefan Schorch.[15]

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[10] Camilla Adang, Bruno Chiesa, Omar Hamdan, Wilferd Madelung, Sabine Schmidtke, and Jan Thiele, *Jewish-Muslim Intellectual History Entangled: Textual Materials from the Firkovitch Collection, Saint Petersburg* (Cambridge: Open Book Publishers, 2020).

[11] Aron Zysow, *The Economy of Certainty: An Introduction to the Typology of Islamic Legal Theory* (Exeter: Lockwood, 2013); David Vishanoff, *The Formation of Islamic Hermeneutics: How Sunni Legal Theorists Imagined a Revealed Law* (New Haven: American Oriental Society), 2011; Robert Gleave, *Islam and Literalism: Literal Meaning and Interpretation in Islamic Legal Theory* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012); Rachel Anne Friedman, *Clarity, Communication, and Understandability: Theorizing Language in al-Bāqillānī's Iʿjāz al-Qurʾān and Uṣūl al-Fiqh Texts*, PhD thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 2015; eadem, "Significant Intersections Between Legal and Rhetorical Theories: Lessons from an Interdisciplinary Reading of al-Bāqillānī's Theory of Language", *Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies* 16 (2016): 99–123; Ahmad El Shamsy, "Bridging the Gap: Two Early Texts of Islamic Legal Theory", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 137 (2017): 505–536; Mohamed Yunus Ali, "Reclassification of Linguistic Meaning: An Integrated Approach", in *Philosophy and Language in the Islamic World*, ed. Nadja Germann and Mostafa Najafi (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2020), 275–305; Hakkı Arslan, "Sprachspiele in den klassisch-ḥanafitischen *uṣūl al-fiqh*-Werken", *Hikma: Journal of Islamic Theology and Religious Education / Zeitschrift für Islamische Theologie und Religionspädagogik* 4 (2013): 10–33.

[12] Marc Daniel Herman, *Systematizing God's Law: Rabbanite Jurisprudence in the Islamic World from the Tenth to the Thirteenth Centuries*, PhD thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 2016; Ezra Blaustein, *Cataloging Revelation: Echoes of Islamic Legal Theory in Maimonides'* Sefer ha-Mitsvot [*Book of Commandments*], PhD thesis, University of Chicago, 2019.

[13] Ramadan Ibrahim Mohamed Mohamed, "Los orígenes y uso del método del *qiyās* en el ámbito jurídico dentro del islam y el judaísmo", *Bandue: Revista de la Sociedad Española de Ciencias de las Religiones* 12 (2020): 177–202; Aviram Ravitsky, "Yaʿqūb al-Qirqisānī on Human Intellect, Legal Inference, and the Meaning of the Aristotelian Syllogism", *The Journal of Jewish Thought and Philosophy* 26 (2018): 149–173; idem, "Logic and Epistemology in the Karaite Legal Methodology of Yaʿqūb al-Qirqisānī: A Hebrew Translation of *Kitāb al-Anwār wa-'l-Marāqib*, Treatise 4, Chapters 1–8, with Introduction and Notes" (Hebrew), *AJS Review* 41, no. 2 (2017): 1–32 (Hebrew section).

[14] Gregor Schwarb, "Debating the Deuteronomic Centralisation Formula in 11th Century Palestine", in *Perspectives sur l'histoire du karaïsme / Perspectives on the History of Karaism*, ed. Guillaume Dye (Brussels: Éditions de l'Université de Bruxelles) = *Problèmes d'histoire des religions* 28 (2022): 93–179.

[15] Frank Weigelt, "Samaritan Bible Exegesis and Its Significance for Judeo-Arabic Studies", in *Senses of Scripture, Treasures of Tradition: The Bible in Arabic among Jews, Christians and Muslims*, ed. Miriam Lindgren Hjälm, (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 198–239; Stefan Schorch, "An Unknown and Unique Samaritan Arabic Introductory Prayer by

The articles included in the second cluster of case studies have mostly been cited and discussed by scholars specialising in Christian Arabic literature. This field of study continues to place a very strong emphasis on polemical and apologetical aspects of inter-religious encounters which is naturally fixated on denominational boundaries.[16] Incipient stages of a trans-denominational approach to religious thought in Eastern Christian communities is most clearly discernible in studies dedicated to the main figures of the Coptic and Syriac renaissances in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, such as Bar Hebraeus, ʿAbdīshōʿ of Nisibis, or al-Makīn Jirjis Ibn al-ʿAmīd 'the younger', who took a keen interest in the philosophico-theological discourse of their time.[17] On the whole, these studies pursue a similar approach to the one employed in articles nos. 201 and 202 of this dissertation. An additional manuscript of Ibn al-Ṭayyib's *Risālat al-Bayān al-aẓhar*, which is discussed in article no. 202, has recently been discovered by Jawdath Jabbour and will facilitate the planned preparation of a critical edition.[18]

My studies on the reception of Maimonides in Christian Arabic literature have attracted wide interest among experts of Jewish thought who have supplemented my data with additional information about the Muslim reception of Maimonides.[19] Ronny Vollandt has shown that the

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Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ṣūrī (11th Century)", in *The Samaritans in Historical, Cultural and Linguistic Perspectives*, ed. Jan Dušek (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018), 131–162; idem, "Is a *Qibla* a *Qibla*? Samaritan Traditions about Mount Garizim in Contact and Contention", in *Near and Middle Eastern Studies at the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton: 1935–2018*, ed. Sabine Schmidtke (Piscataway: Gorgias, 2018), 95–100; idem, "The Allographic Use of Hebrew and Arabic in the Samaritan Manuscript Culture", *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World* 8 (2020): 1–38.

16 Marek Nasiłowski and Diego R. Sarrió Cucarella, "Medieval Muslim Polemics against the Christian Creed: The Critique of Ṣāliḥ b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ǧaʿfarī (d. 668/1270)", *Islamochristiana* 42 (2016): 71–102; Wadi Abullif Malik Awad, "Towards a New Edition of al-Ṣafī Ibn al-ʿAssāl's Apologetic Works", *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World* 2 (2014): 227–240; Alexandra Cuffel and Ophira Gamliel, "Historical Engagements and Interreligious Encounters – Jews and Christians in Premodern and Early Modern Asia and Africa", *Entangled Religions* 6 (2018): 2–33; Mohammad Abu Shareea, *The Impact of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's Intellectual Project on His Views on Christianity*. PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2022.

17 Hidemi Takahashi, "Reception of Islamic Theology among Syriac Christians in the Thirteenth Century: The Use of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī in Barhebraeus' *Candelabrum of the Sanctuary*", *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World* 2 (2014): 170–192; Bert Jacobs, "Unveiling Christ in the Islamicate World: Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's Prophetology as a Model for Christian Apologetics in Gregory Bar ʿEbrōyō's *Treatise on the Incarnation*", *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World* 6 (2018): 187–216; Fedor Benevich, "Bar Hebraeus on Evil: Christian Philosophy between Arabic Neoplatonism and Islamic Theology", *Journal of Eastern Christian Studies* 73 (2021): 191–218; Salam Rassi, *Christian Thought in the Medieval Islamicate World: 'Abdīshōʿ of Nisibis and the Apologetic Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022); Mark N. Swanson, "Christian Engagement with Islamic *kalām* in Late 14th-Century Egypt: The Case of *al-Ḥāwī* by al-Makīn Jirjis Ibn al-ʿAmīd 'the Younger'", *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World* 2 (2014): 214–226; Cyrill Zeus Wellnhofer, *Die Kalām-Theologie im* Kitāb al-Burhān *von Ibn al-Rāhib (13. Jh.): Edition, Übersetzung, Rezeption und Quellen* (Córdoba: UCO Press, 2018).

18 Jawdath Jabbour, "Le manuscrit Arabe 202 de la Bibliothèque nationale de France et la découverte d'une nouvelle copie du *Bayān al-aẓhar* d'al-Rašīd Abū al-Ḫayr Ibn al-Ṭayyib", *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 67 (2018): 505–518.

19 Sarah Stroumsa, *Maimonides in His World: Portrait of a Mediterranean Thinker* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009); Amir Mazor, "Maimonides in the Qurʾān Commentary of Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī" (Hebrew), *Peʿamim* 162 (2020): 81–90; idem, "Maimonides as Muslim Theologian: Al-Kawtharī's Edition of al-Tabrīzī's Commentary on Maimonides' *Guide for the Perplexed*", *Zutot* 19 (2022): 93–102; Liran Yadgar, *"All the Kings of*

reception of Maimonides among the Copts was part of a close-knit network of collaborative projects involving Jewish and Coptic savants in Cairo.[20]

The study of cross-connections between *kalām* and the Galenic tradition, which is the subject of the third thematic cluster of the present dissertation, has resonated with scholars specialising in the history of late antique and early Islamic medical and philosophical thought.[21] Elvira Wakelnig and Michael Chase have called attention to additional examples of Galenic concepts that have been employed in Christian trinitarian thought.[22] Two recent monographic studies by Peter Adamson and Pauline Koetschet cast important new light on Abū Bakr al-Rāzī's thorough engagement with Muʿtazilī thought in his medico-philosophical works.[23]

As this brief survey attests, the case studies included in this dissertation have elicited lively responses in the scholarly research literature of various disciplines. In several instances they instigated follow-up studies on points that I had only touched upon. In all subject areas covered by the fourteen case studies, there is ample room for further research and plenty of source material to elaborate and refine the trans-denominational approach to religious thought outlined here.

Arabia Are Seeking Your Counsel and Advice": Intellectual and Cultural Exchange between Jews and Muslims in the Later Middle Islamic Period, PhD thesis, University of Chicago, 2016; idem, "Medieval Arabic References to Maimonides Sourcebook & Bibliography with Appendices on Abraham Maimonides and Joseph ben Judah Ibn Shamʿūn, and Jewish References to the Muslim Interest in Maimonides", August 2017, https://www.academia.edu/34309839.

[20] Ronny Vollandt, "Flawed Biblical Translations into Arabic and How to Correct Them: A Copt and a Jew Study Saadiah's *Tafsīr*", in *Heirs of the Apostles: Studies on Arabic Christianity in Honor of Sidney H. Griffith*, ed. David Bertaina, Sandra Toenies Keating, Mark N. Swanson, and Alexander Treiger (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 56–92.

[21] Elaine van Dalen "The Qurʾān and Medicine", in *The Routledge Companion to the Qurʾān*, ed. George Archer, Maria M. Dakake, and Daniel A. Madigan (New York: Routledge, 2021), 433–441; Tugay Taşçi, "Galen'in Element Teorisi ve Acı Argümanı Bağlamında Antik Atomcu Teoriye Getirdiği Eleştiriler", *Tasavvur / Tekirdağ İlahiyat Dergisi* 7 (2021), 673–709.

[22] Elvira Wakelnig, "What Does Aristotle Have to Do with the Christian Arabic Trinity? The Triad 'Generosity-Wisdom-Power' in the Alexandrian Prolegomena and Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī", *Le Muséon* 130 (2017): 445–477; Michael Chase, "The Triad of Goodness, Power, and Wisdom. Pagan, Christian, and Muslim Authors in Search of Authorities", unpublished conference paper presented in November 2018, https://www.academia.edu/39325365.

[23] Peter Adamson, *Al-Rāzī* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021); Pauline Koetschet, *Abū Bakr al-Rāzī, "Doutes sur Galien": Introduction, édition et traduction* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2019). See also Koetschet, "Ouvrir une brèche: Les *Doutes sur Galien et leur Solution*", in *Contre Galien: Critiques d'une autorité médicale de l'Antiquité à l'âge moderne*, ed. Antoine Pietrobelli (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2020), 77–97; eadem, "What Level of Certainty Can Medical Sign-Inference Reach? A Discussion of Galen's Demonstrative Method in the Islamic World", in *Galen's Epistemology: Experience, Reason, and Method in Ancient Medicine*, ed. R. J. Hankinson, Matyáš Havrda (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022), 275–289.

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