Humble Companions (Al-Tufayylîn); Dispositions of the Kings (Akhlûq al-Mulûk); The Judicial Interpretation (Al-Futûhâ); Excellence of the Troops of the Caliphate and Superior Qualities of the Turks (Manâqîb Jund al-Khâlîfah wa-Fadlîl al-Ârâbîl); The Favourites and the Invited (Al-Hâsid wa-al-Mahsûd); Refutation of the Jews; The Pure [Blooded] and the Sons of Slave Mothers (Al-Sûrahâ wa-al-Hujanî); The Blacks and the Whites (Al-Sûrahâ wa-al-Bîchân); Life in the Next World and the Present Life (Al-Ma'âd wa-al-Ma'âsh); Women (Al-Nisî); Comparison between the Arabs and Persians (Foreigners) (Al-Tawsiyyah ba'an al-'Arab wa-al-'Ajam); The Government (Al-Sulûk) and the Dispositions of Its People (Administrators); The Threat (Al-Wâdî); The Towns (Regions); Historical Traditions (Al-Akhbâr); The Demonstration that the Inmamate is a Divine Command (Al-Dalîlah 'âla an al-Imâmah Fardî); Al-Istâ'râh wa-Khalq al-'A'dal; The Artisans (Saddle Makers), Wealth and Craftsmanship (Al-Muqâyûnîn wa-al-Ghânî wa-al-Sanî); Gifts (Al-Hâsâyîn); The Emaciated (The Plagiarized, Al-Manhût); The Brothers (Al-Ikhwân); Refutation of Whoever Has Apostatized, about the Book of Allah (Al-Radd 'âla man Allad fi Kitâb Allâh); What Is the Qur'an? (Ay al-Qur'an); The Amorous: Growing Hot, Growing Cold (Al-'A希q al-Naht al-Mutâshâbi); A Perfume Shop (Hanût 'Aštâr); The Comparison (Al-Tamûlîh); The Excellence of Learning (Faql al-Inîn); Gaity and Earnestness (Al-Mirîh wa-al-Jâdî); The Assembly of Kings (Jamhurat al-Mulûk); Polo Sticks (Al-Sawâlijah); Denouncing Fornication (Dhamm al-Zimâ); Meditation and Consideration (Al-Tawakkîr wa-al-Fâbîrâ); Proof and Prophecy (Al-Hujjâh wa-al-Nabiwâh); to Ibnîm ibn al-Mudabbir about correspondence (al-Mukâtabâh); The Trickery of Force [Employed] against Oppression (Iblât al-Qudrah 'âla al-Zilm); Freed Slave Mothers of Children (Umânâhâl al-Awâlîl); The Doctrine of the Mu'tazilah and Its Excellence Due to Superior Virtue (Al-Fâzîl

For the Turkish buddy-admiration of the caliph, see Histi, Arab, p. 466.

Al-fudhâlîh is man's ability to appropriate a forerained action; see Glossary for references. Khalq al-'A'dal is the divine "creation of actions," before man appropriates them.

'Yâqîn (see n. 131) omits al-'A'dalîh ("the amorous"). The other words mean literally, "increasing and vanishing."

'Yâqîn (see n. 131) has al-mugzâl wa-al-'A'dal, which might be translated as "humorous and serious speech."

Sticks with bent end used for a game of ball on horseback, which was probably the origin of polo.

'Yâqîn (see n. 131) has Al ("family of") instead of ilî ("to") before Ilbirîn.

wa-Fadlîlulu 'an al-Fâdîlûl; Dignities, Ranks, and Professions (Al-Akhîr wa-al-Marîth âla-šinâ'ât); Story of the World (Uplifteth al-Âlam); Refutation of Whoever Supposes that Man Is One Piece (Jâz) and Not Divided (Yarâjîz); Abû al-Najîb and His Reply; The Apple (Al-Fudhâlîh); Social Life and Contentment (Al-Unî wa-al-Salâh); Steadfastness and Resolution (Al-Hâzûm wa-al-'Arzîm); The Great, the Beautiful, and the Ugly (Al-Khâr al-Mustâhsham wa-al-Mustaqbal); Refutation of Medicine (Nasîg al-Tibbî); The Elements of Morals (Urûzir al-Âdîbî); Preserving Possessions (Tâqîn al-Anwâlî); Similes (Proverbs); Superiority of the Horse over the Pack Animal (Faql al-Farâs 'âla al-Hîrâlî)

What Has Been Regarded as an Epistle among the Works of al-jâhîz

His epistle to Abû al-Faraj ibn Nâjah about examining the wise ideas (minds) of the ancients (miqâbîn 'aqîl al-awâli); his epistle to Abû al-Najîb about the land tax (al-šarî'â); his epistle about the pen (sirîp, al-qâlîm); his epistle about excellence in choice of books (faql itnîkhâd al-kuntâb); his epistle about keeping a secret (kumâm al-sirî); his epistle about praise of wine (miqâbîn al-shabîh); his epistle about the reproach of wine (dhamm al-shabîh); his epistle about forgiveness and pardon (al-'aww al-šabîh); his epistle about the offense of drunkenness (ihnân al-sûkî); his epistle about hope and the hoped-for (al-amal al-ma'âmîl); his epistle about ornament (elegance of literary style, al-žîhâlî); his epistle about the reproach of secretaries (dhamm al-kuntâb); his epistle about praise of the victor (al-adim); his epistle about reproaching them; his epistle about who among the poets was named 'Umar; his epistle about the excess of the ignorance of Ya'qûb ibn Idrâsq al-Khîlî; his epistle about generosity (al-karm), addressed to Abû al-Faraj ibn Nâjah; his epistle about the unique (al-yatîmîh); his epistle about the death of Abû Harb al-Sâfîr al-Basrî; his epistle about inheritance (al-mârî).
his epistle about kinniya’ wa-al-kimiyā’;189 his epistle about obstinate arbitrariness and consultation in war (al-istidād wa-al-mushāwarah fi al-harb); his epistle about refutation of the qawwalīyah.190

The Lion and the Wolf (Al-Asad wa-al-Dhiba’);191 The Kings and the Nations: Those Extinct and Those Surviving (Al-Mufakk wa-al-Umam: al-Salīfah wa-al-Baṣira); Judges and Governors (Al-Qudāh wa-al-Wulāh); The Wise and the Ignorant (Al-‘Alīm wa-al-Jāhil); Al-Nard and Chess (Al-Nard wa-al-Shaṭran); Adulteration of the Crafts (Ghishah al-Sīna’āt); Dispute between the Cross-Eyed Man and the Man Blind in One Eye (Khinṣīmat al-Jīl wa-al-Shayr); Stricken by Blyghts (Dhawi al-‘Aḥār); The Singers (Al-Mughanāyāt); The Manners of Those Who Pester Their Friends (Akhlaq al-Shuṭṭār).

I have found written in the handwriting of Ibn al-Farāt, near the epistles of al-Jāhiz, what has not been mentioned and is added to al-Nadīm.194

Epistle to Ahmad ibn Isrā’īl; epistle to Ahmad ibn al-Munajjim,195 about care of speech (ḥifz al-liḥān); another epistle to Ahmad ibn al-Munajjim; epistle to Salāymin ibn Wālīh; epistle to al-Ḥasan ibn Wālīh; epistle to Muhammad ibn ‘Abd al-Malik, about anger and satisfaction (al-ghaḍāb wa-al-talāf); epistle about thanks (pārāž, al-dhukr); epistle about punctuality and justice (al-jimm wa-al-hash); epistle about the description of the important matters concerning the creation of the Qur’ān, about which there are also five other epistles; epistle to Muhammad al-Yazīdī; four epistles to Ibn Najāb [Abū al-Faraj], about the mind, judgment, and other things (al-‘aṣr al-hukm wa-al-ḥisyār); epistle to Abū ‘Amr Ahmad ibn Sa’d, to whom three other epistles were also addressed.

189 Yaqūt (see n. 155) gives Kitāb al-Kīmiyā’ (“The Book of Alchemy”). The repetition of the word kīmiyā’, in the Beatty MS, may be an error in copying, or meant to be “al-kīmiyā’,” or have some other significance. See “al-Kīmiyā’,” Enc. Islam., II, 190.
190 Qawwalīyah is sometimes used for the “multitude,” with its Biblical significance. It may also refer to some sect, which cannot be identified, or else to the uneducated, common people.
191 This second paragraph is a list of book titles.
192 An old game similar to backgammon or checkers. See Chap. III, sect. 3, n. 166.
193 Yaqūt (see n. 115) ends his list at this point, omitting the epistles which follow.
194 This is an attempt to translate what is legible in a marginal note of the Beatty MS. The list which follows was evidently added to the text by some scribe.

Epistle to ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Yaḥyā [ibn Khaqān]; epistle to Ibn Abī Dādīd about the book “Order of the Qur’ān” (Nāma al-Qur’ān); also an epistle addressed to him about the qualities of the book “The Judicial Interpretation” (Al-Furūsī).196 epistle to Abī al-Walīh ibn Ahmad about cautionization (al-kayyār); epistle to Abīābā ibn Abī Ḥarb, to whom he also addressed two other epistles; epistle about the reproach for what is plagiarized;197 epistle to Ahmad ibn Ḥamdūn al-Nadīm about the qualities of a court companion (ṣīfat al-nadīm); epistle to Ahmad ibn al-Mudābbir; epistle to Abī Ahmad ibn al-Mudābbir ‘Awn,198 about guarding a secret and {use of} the tongue (ḥifz al-sirr wa-al-liḥān); epistle to the Commander of the Faithful al-Muntasir bi-Allāh [Muhammad ibn al-Ḥasan]; epistle to Ahmad ibn al-Khaṭīb, which was the last [epistle] that I found [listed] in the handwriting of Ibn al-Farāt.

Ahmad ibn Abī Duvād199

Although no book of his is recorded, we mention Ibn Abī Duvād because he was one of the superior members of the Mu’tazīlah, unsullied, a part of the pure living of the sect, upholding his people and his responsibility for them.200


188 This book and the one preceding it may have been listed as the works of al-Jībīgh. The word translated as “qualities” in this title and the fourth one to follow, it probably means for ṣīfat, although the ši is not given in its long form.
189 “What is plagiarized” is written al-mandāḥā, but perhaps al-mandāḥi is the word meant.
190 In the marginal note in the Beatty MS the name al-Mudābbir is crossed out, and the name Abī ‘Awn is inserted underneath. See Bieg, Index, Abī ‘Awn, Ahmad ibn al-Nājin.
191 Some authorities spell the last element “Duy’d.”
192 The word translated “upholding” is not clear and may have some other significance. A.d. 851, the Caliph al-Mutasimūb returned against the Mu’tazīlah. He became angry with the son of Ahmad and dispossessed the father of his property. This sentence may refer to Ahmad’s fortune at this time.
193 The Beatty MS is not clear; “Quma” is taken from Khallūkūna, L, 61, and Qutaybah, Maṭrīf, p. 34 tobb.
194 The Beatty MS has min (“from”) instead of ibn.
His birth was at al-Baqrah and he was one of the protégés of Yahyâ ibn Aktham, who introduced him to al-Mâ’mûn. Then, through al-Mâ’mûn he became associated with al-Mu’âtaqîn. Among the sons of the people of his kind, there was never seen a more honorable, excellent, or liberal person. It is said that he was adopted by Iyâd, his status being recorded in the book Fudûs (Kitâb al-Mathâlîd). Mussaddad ibn Bakkar said, lampooning him:

With me thou art of Iyâd, this is not mere talk.\(^9\)

An Arab art thou, an Arab in truth, not by coercion.\(^9\)

The hair of your legs and thighs is khuzzânî and zhumâm.\(^9\)

Your chest bones show with moles.

If you make a motion, there will not flee from you even an ostrich, or prolific gazelles with large loins.

What fault of mine is it if people lie about thee?

For verily they say that he is a fåm of the Banû Anbâ’h.\(^9\)

Verily a true Arab art thou in lineage: So farewell.\(^9\)

Al-Jâ’far had a number of sons with Arabized names and surnames. The most distinguished of the group was Abû al-Wâhîd, who served as a judge during his father’s lifetime, but died about a month before his father’s death. Abû al-Wâhîd wrote a number of books about the law, agreeing in point of view with Abû Hamzâh. We will give a thorough account of him in his proper place.

Al-Jâ’far ibn Abû Duvâd died during the year two hundred and forty [A.D. 854/55], during the caliphate of al-Mutawakkîl, due to a paralysis which befell him. No compositions or books of his are known.

\(^{9}\) The phrase translated “this is not mere talk” is literally “there is not a word.”

For the tribe, see “Iyâd,” Enc. Islam, II, 555; Khâlîm, Muqaddâmah (Rosenthal), I, 256; II, 179; III, 143.

\(^{10}\) In this passage there is probably a satirical reference to the fact that the Iyâd tribe, to which Ibn Abû Duvâd claimed to belong, fled to the Byzantines for protection, fought against the army of the early caliphate and only joined Iyâd under compulsion; see “Iyâd,” Enc. Islam, II, 365.

\(^{11}\) Khuzzânî is lavender (Lavandula spicata) and zhumâm is the herb Pumice dichotomum. This simile implied that he was truly an Arab.

\(^{12}\) Ham of the Banû Anbâ’h would be a Nabataean Hamite, and therefore not a true Arab.

\(^{13}\) “In lineage” is a free rendering of Iyâd (“consecutive”). The last word is abbreviated, but evidently meant for al-sâlâm (“peace”), which was often used to say farewell.
extraordinary degree of learning, intelligence, and knowledge, as well as self-control, superiority of purpose, and purity from defilement.

He reached a point of old age not reached by his companions, so that [the Caliph] al-Mu'taṣim, marveling at him with great astonishment, advanced and enriched him. I have been told that when he spoke, he [the Caliph] paid attention to him, while those in the audience kept silence. They did not utter a word until, when he finished, al-Mu'taṣim turned to them saying, "Who can deviate from this opinion and explanation?" He [the Caliph] used to say to him, "Oh, Muhammad, declare this doctrine to the judges [al-mawāli] and inform me about any one of them who refuses [to accept it], so that I may deal with him and take action."188

Al-Ikṣāfi died during the year forty [A.H. 240: A.D. 854/55]. When news of his death reached Muhammad ibn 'Isā Burghīth, he prostrated himself. Six months later he, too, died.

Al-Ikṣāfi was at first a tailor. His father and mother prevented him from going often to seek theology,189 imposing upon him the necessity of earning his living. But Ja'far ibn Ḥārāb took charge of him,190 sending his money twenty silver coins (ṣ, dirham) each month, in lieu of his earnings. Among his books there were:

The Delightful (Al-Laṣīf); The Substitute (Al-Badā); against al-Naẓ̄īm, about the tenet that the two different natures (al-pabriʿ al-mukhtalifayn) are formed together as one agent;191 The Sessions, about giving superiority to 'Ali, for whom may there be peace; Confirmation of the Creation of the Qurʾān (Athbāt Khaṣṣ al-Qurʾān); Refutation of the

Mushabbihat; The Created [the Qurʾān], against the Mujbirah; Explanation of the Obscure (Bayān al-Mushāf), against Burghīth; Explanation of Falsifying, invalidating the book of Ḥafṣ (Bayān al-Tamwīl, nāṣṣ qināb Ḥafṣ); Refutation of the Book of al-Ḥusayn al-Naḥṣīr; Refutation of Whoever Has Denied (Ankār) the Creation of the Qurʾān.

Explanation of the Declarations of the Mujibirah (Sharḥ Aṣqīwī al-Mujbirah); Making Void the Statement of Anyone Who Has Spoken of the Punishment of Infants (Iṣbāl Qawm mān qīl bi-Tādīb al-ʾAfādī); A Compendium of the Dogma of the People of Truth (Jumal Qawm Ahl al-Ḥaqq); Grace (Al-Nūrīn); about what the theologians disagree on; against al-Ḥusayn al-Naḥṣīr about al-ṣirāṭ al-ʿAḥf, The Virtues of 'Ali, for Whom May There Be Peace; Drinks (Al-Āshārib); Al-Qaṭīb192 against Ḥisām;193 Refutation of the Book of Ibn Shabbīb about the Threat (Al-Wāʿid).

Ibn al-Iṣṣāfi

He was Abū al-Qaṣīm Jaʿfar ibn Muhammad al-Iṣṣāfi, a secretary with good literary style, to whom al-Muʾtaṣim assigned one of his government offices and who was superior to many of the secretaries. Among his books there was The Standard of Measure and Balance (Al-Mīyār wa-al-Mawāzanah).

Mention of the Persons among the Muʿtazilah Who Adopted Innovations and Individual Doctrines

Thus saith Muhammad ibn Ḥāṣq [al-Nāṣir]: We mention these men at this point of time, after which we shall return to mentioning the sincere members of the Muʿtazilah, whom we shall record in sequence until our own time. In Allāh is confidence.194

188 The last clause is literally, "so that I will deal with him what I shall do." This passage refers to the inquisition (al-muhaddah), which was begun a.D. 831, but maintained by al-Muʿtaṣim. Any judge who did not subscribe to the doctrine of the creation of the Qurʾān was liable to be discharged from his office. See "Mīhān," Eμ, Iṣlaμ, III, 483; Ḥittī, Arba`, p. 429. As the inquisition was directed especially against the judges and religious authorities, the word al-mawāli is translated "judges," although usually it is used for "masters" and "lords," or else for "slaves" and "proteges."

189 This probably meant that the boy wished to leave his work in the tailor's shop, to attend classes and lectures at some mosque.

190 It was the custom for a scholar to have a boy work for him, in return for some pay and instruction.

191 See Baghdaḍī (Seelye), pp. 139 bottom, 140.
Al-Asām

It is related that Thumāmah once described Abū Bakr [al-Asām] to Al-Maqām with eloquence of portrayal. Thumāmah said [about this incident], "One day I said to him [al-Maqām], ‘Oh, Commander of the Faithful, you are the caliph, whereas he [al-Asām] is a subject. If you should see him, you would treat him generously.’ When he [the caliph] came to al-Ša‘rāq he said, ‘Where is your friend, whom you were describing. Present him, that we may give him patronage.’" Then he went on to relax, ‘I said, ‘He has gone before you, oh, Commander of the Faithful, for he died before your arrival.’"

He was poor, bearing his poverty with great patience. His friends said to him, ‘All have benefited by their companions, who have given property and other worldly things, but we do not give you anything.’ It is related that he replied, ‘By Allah, I have not expected that your companionship would bring me the world!’

In his time he was counted as one of the Mu’tazzīs, but because he turned against the Commander of the Faithful ‘Alī, for whom may there be peace, he was slandered and ruled out from the sincere group of the Mu’tazzīs. He died during the year of the Hijrah two hundred [a.d. 815/16], but it is also said [during the year], one [a.h. 121]. Among his books were:

Commentary on the Qur’ān (Taফtīr al-Qur’ān): Creation of the Qur’ān (Khaḍr al-Qur’ān); Oneness (Al-Tawḥīd); Proof and the Apostles; The Things about Which the Mujibrahs Ask; An Explanation of the Names of Allāh, May His Name Be Glorified; The Imamate; Division of the People and Dissention of the Partisans (Iftīrāq al-Ummah wa-ttkhālīf al-Shī‘a); The Command for Good and Prohibition of Evil (Al-Amr bi-al-Ma‘rūf wa-al-Nāhī ‘an al-Munkar); Refutation of Ḥishām regarding al-Tashāth; The Created [the Qur’ān]; Motions; The Compendium, against the Rāfi‘īs.

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SECTION ONE

Refutation of the Mujibrahs about the created [the Qur’ān]; Refutation of the Daiyyās; against the heretics [al-nilhaṣibā]; Refutation of the Jews; Refutation of the Magians; Knowledge [Al-Ma‘tāfīs]; Epistles of the Imams about Justice (Rasā‘il al-Ummah fi al-‘Aṣl); Refutation of Whoever Has Spoken with the Sword (Al-Sayf); against those who give legal interpretations (‘alā al-dīn al-fu‘ā‘); The Compendium about the Apostles (Al-Mu‘īz fi al-Nuṣul); Refutation of the Zanādiqā; Knowledge of Aspects of Theology (Ma‘rifat Wa‘ūj al-Kalām); What Is Directed by the Book and the Sunnah, with a Description of the Great and the Small.

Al-Fā‘ūfī

He was Ḥishām ibn ‘Amr al-Fā‘ūfī, the second letter being quiescent as is required in Arabic. He was one of the friends (disciples) of Abū al-Hudhāyil, though he deviated from him [his teachings]. The Mu’tazzīs were uncertain with regards to him, and according to what Ibn al-Ikhshād recorded, they turned away from him. He was one of the people of al-Ša‘rāq, but traveled to numerous lands of the sea.

A group of people from the cities accepted his call to the Mu’tazzī doctrine [al-Tizāl]. Ḥishām asserted that Satan does not enter into a man, but whispers to him from outside. Allāh is greater than this, for his whispering reaches the heart of a son of Adam, to test him. Among his books there were:

The Created [the Qur’ān]; Refutation of al-Asām, about rejecting of motions (fi nafy al-‘arabāk); Creation of the Qur’ān; Oneness [Al-Tawḥīd]; Answer of the People of Khurāsān: To the People of al-Ša‘rāq; The Five Sources (Al-Uṣūl al-Kamāl); against the Bākriyā; against Abū al-Hudhāyil, about grace (al-nāmīn).

Dinār ibn ‘Amr

He was surnamed Abū ‘Amr and was one of the persons claimed by the Mu’tazzīs. It is said that it was the custom of Abū Yīnāf, the Book refers to the Qur’ān and “great” and “small” to different types of sins.

Instead of “sea” (al-bahr) this might be “trade” (al-ta‘āb).

The jurist al-Shāfi‘ī adopted four sources for the law: the Qur’ān, the Sunnah, analogy, and consensus of opinion. Al-Fā‘ūfī may have adopted a fifth, such as personal opinion, or this may refer to a theological rather than a legal theory.
the friend of Abū Ḥanīfah, to pass by [the house of] Dirrāʾ when he wished to go to the place of prayer. It happened that when he passed by him, seeking to observe the prayer for the feast on the Day of Sacrifice (Yawm al-Nahr), Dirrāʾ was with the sacrifice (body) of his sheep, which was being skinned. So Abū Yūnif said to him, "Oh, Abū Ḥanīfah, what does this mean, you are slaughtering before the imam (prayer leader) prays?" It is said that Dirrāʾ replied to him, "I thought that the sessions of the scholars (al-ʿulamāʾ) had already educated you, so who is this imam here, for whose prayer should we wait?" Among his books there were:

Oneness (Al-Tawḥīd); Refutation of All the Heretics (al-Muljīfīn); The Created [the Qurʾān]; Contradiction of the Ḥadīth (Tānuqṣ al-Ḥadīth); The Inducement (Al-Madāʾawāḥ); Guidance, about the occurrence of things (Al-Dalālāh, al-ḥadāth al-asyāyā); Refutation of the Heretics (Al-Muljīfīn); combining thirteen books (chapters) about a refutation of the Mushabbiḥs; combining six books about a refutation of the heretics (al-muljīfīn); combining ten books about a refutation of the people of sects (sectarians); Equation (Comparison, Al-Mutawwāḥ); Al-Kharṣāʾī; Confirmation of the Apostles.

Refutation of Aristotle, about essential and accidental properties (al-jawāhīr wa-al-aʿrāq); four epistles about innovators (ahl al-shuʿārā); The Two Governments (Al-Dawlatayn); Incitement and Impulses (Al-Taḥrīr wa-al-Ighrāʾ); to whoever among the Muslims matures (attains knowledge); Friday (Al-Jumāh); Kindness and Gratitude (Al-Maʿṣūf wa-al-Shukr); Commentary on the Qurʾān; Refutation of the Zānādīqīn; The Threat (Al-Waʿrāʾ); The Enemy Who Is a Reconciler (Al-Adw al-Muljīf); Thought about Allāh on the Day of Judgment (Al-Fikr fī Allāh al-ʿāli al-Wāṣiʿāb), which has five books (chapters); against the Murjāʾi, about intercession (al-shafiʿī).

186 For the two men almost certainly referred to in this passage, see Biog. Index, Abū Yūnif Yaʿqūbl ibn Bishām and Abū Ḥanīfah; see also Pellar, Le Milieu islam., p. 91.
187 This word is given as "inducement" which seems to be what is intended, although in the Heaty MS it is written, perhaps incorrectly, as al-madāʾawāḥ, an unidentified form.
188 This is used for leather strips bound together, often in the form of an official briefcase. It might be an unusual form for the plural of "purge."
189 For al-šaʿrāf ("innovators," "unconventional persons"), see Burādī, Muḥāf al-Muḥāf, II, 2004, left side, ll. 4-5.
190 The two governments were almost certainly the Umayyad and 'Abbāsid dynasties.
disagreed with the Mu'tazilah about some points, having particular ideas which he himself invented. Abū 'Ali al-Jubbah i described him as skillful in theology, but then he said, "If it were not for his craziness!"

When 'Abbād was speaking with a Sophist, it is related that the Sophist said to him, "A thirsty man once came to drink what he supposed to be water, but he found it to be something else. How can you deny that this is the way of all suppositions?" 'Abbād replied to him, "If this man, who desired a drink which he supposed to be water but found to be something else, had come to the Tigris, he would have supposed that it also contained that other beverage. But by his experience he would have learned from the Tigris and the water in it what the truth really was, just as he learned previously about that other beverage, recognizing the difference between water and the beverage by his sense perceptions." Thereupon the man stopped [talking].

Among the books of 'Abbād there were:

Denial That Men Create Their Actions (Al-Inkār ann Yakhliq al-Nās Al'Ilāhum); Determining Guidance for Accidents (Tahṣīb Dalālat al- A'rād); Confirmation of the Atom Which Does Not Divide (Tahṣīb al-Juz' al-Ladhi La Yatajizzu).

Abū Sa'id al-Ḥusayn al-Ṣūfi
He was one of the Mu'tazilah, but he confined and invented [doctrines]. Among his books there were:

Oneness (Al-Tawḥīd); Al-Istīlā'ah; The Created [the Qur'ān], against the Mujahirah; Oaths (Al-Aymān); The Virtues (Fāḍilāt) of 'Alī, for Whom May There Be Peace.

Abū Ḥāfaẓ al-Ḥaddād
Although he was one of those who invented new doctrines, he was a Mu'tazilī, among whose books there was Al-Ḥarfūfī in connection with sufficient proofs, concerning which he was refuted by Abū 'Ali al-Jubbah i, al-Khayyāt [Abū al-Husayn], and al-Ḥarīrī al-Warrāq.

Ibē al-Ṣūfī
He was Abū Mūsā 'Isā ibn al-Haytham, who was one of the important members of the Mu'tazilah, but who after a time confessed [his doctrines]. Ibn al-Rāwandi received information from him. He died during the year two hundred and forty-five [A.D. 839/60]. Among his books there were:

Abū ʿĪsā al-Warrāq
Abū 'Īsā Muhammad ibn Hārūn ibn Muhammad al-Warrāq was one of the brilliant theologians who was a Mu'tazilī, but confessed [the doctrines] until his confession caused him to be accused of belonging to the sect of the adherents of dualism. Ibn al-Rāwandi drew upon [his ideas]. Among his books there were:

Discours; The Event (Al-Ḥadad); the large book, The Imamate; the small book, The Imamate; The Unusual Eastern in Rhyne (Al-Gharīb al-Mashraqi fī al-Nawāb), against "The Book of the Animal" (Kitāb al-Ḥayawān); A Recounting of the Sects of the Adherents of Dualism (Iqtīṣād Madhāhib Aḥālī al-Imāmīn), with a refutation of them; the large book, Refutation of the Christians; the medium-size book, Refutation of the Christians; the small book, Refutation of the Christians; Refutation of the Magians; Refutation of the Jews.

Ibn al-Rāwandi
In the book The Virtues of Khurāsān (Maḥṣūsāt Khurāsān), al-Balkhī said, "He was Abū al-Ḥusayn Abū Ḥāfaẓ..."
Rāwandi from among the people of Marw al-Rūz. He was one of the theologians, and during his time there was no one among his peers who was keener than he was in theology or better acquainted with its subtlety and importance.

During the first part of his life he was straightforward, sound in doctrine, and exceedingly modest. Then he was divested of all this because of influences affecting him and because his learning was greater than his intelligence. Appropriate to him was the saying of the poet:

Who developed righteously in his childhood,
But became concealed when repudiated.

A group reported that he repented of what he had been doing, at the time of his death, so that penitence and his confession purified him. He encountered, however, scorn and disdain directed toward him, because of the cruelty of his companions and their expelling him from their meetings.

He wrote most of his heretical books for Abū 'Isā al-Yahūdī al-Alwāzī, and it was at the home of this man that he died. Among the cursed books composed for him, which are known, there are:

The Crown (Al-Ṭā), in which he argues for the eternity of the world; The Emerald (Al-Zunurrad), in which he argues about the apostles and the falsity of apostleship; The Description of Wisdom in the Scripture of Allah, May His Name Be Glorified (Na'r al-Ḥikmah bi-Sif Allah), about requiring from his creation what he has ordered and forbidden

Section One

(fī taḵfīf khalqī amrahu wa-nahayahu) The Striker, in which he speaks ill of the order of the Qur'ān (Al-Dāniāh, yaḵān fihi 'alī nūr nām al-Qur'ān); The Branch, in which he shows that the knowledge of Allah about things is an event, and that He was without knowledge until He created for himself knowledge; The Unique, about accusation of the Prophet (Al-Farid, fi al-qa' n 'alī al-Nabī), for whom may there be peace; The Coral (Al-Marjān); The Pearl, about denial of motions (Al-Luʾluʾuʾah, manāḥi al-ḥarākāt).

Ibn al-Rawandi said:

I passed by a shaykh who was seated with a Qur'ān in his hand. He was reading, "To Allah is the waterspout (al-mizāj) of the heavens and the earth." I saluted and said, "Oh, shaykh, why do you read that the Qur'ān says 'To Allah is the waterspout of the heavens and the earth'?" He said, "This is the rain which you see." Then I said, "A mistake in pronunciation only exists when it is explained. It is not like that, but is the heritage (al-mizāj) of the heavens and the earth." He then said, "Our God is forgiving; for forty years I have read it and in my confusing it it is thus." 814

Ibn al-Rawandi died . Among his books there were:

The Names and the Decrees: The Days of Righteousness (Al-Aanā wa-l-Ajam: Ayyām Sulāb); Commencing and Recommencing (Al-Iktār wa-al-Īdāh); The Imama: Creation of the Qur'ān: Continuation and Annihilation (Al-Baqāʾ wa-al-Fānāʾ); 820 Al-Waqf; 825

Murtadā (ibid) says that this book is about dualism.

Murtadā (ibid) also speaks of this book, and says that it deals with a refutation of the Qur'ān.

In the Beaty MS the title Al-Qaṣāb ("The Branch") has a line through it with some letters inserted after it, but the text is not clear enough to decipher them. In the Qur'ān 2:117, it explains how Allah creates: "When He decrees a matter, He says to it Be and it is." 831 Murtadā, p. 92, says that this book is a refutation of the prophets. In the Beaty MS it is clearly written al-farid ("the unique"), but in Khayyāt, Inājīr (Nādir), p. xxvi and in the Cairo Appendix it is given as al-farand (al-fund), meaning "involved." 832 In the Beaty MS some words are inserted on the margin, but they are not legible.

The word translated "confusing" is given in the Beaty MS as taḵfīf ("mistaking of words").

Although the mystics used the word al-fanā for "ceaseless," it probably means "annihilation" here. See Baghdādī (Seelye), p. 181 bottom.
CHAPTER FIVE


Careful Examination (al-Rawiyyah).259 The Proving (al-Ishâ'ih), addressed to Hîshâm ibn al-Hâkim; Man (al-Insân); The Particular and the Universal (al-Khâs wa-al-Âmîn); Refutation of One Who Has Spoken of Fulfiling a Motion by Its Perception (al-Râ'dî 'âlâm man Qâl bi-Wafi al-Âharakâh bi-Bâzîlih);258 Totals (al-Jumâl); Confirmation of the Apostles (Athâb al-Rasul; Corruption of the Court and Prohibition of Earrings (Fasîd al-Dîr wa-Tâfîn al-Mukâbîlih; Refutation of One Who Has Denied Actions and Accidents (Nafâ al-A'llâ wa-al-A'râd);259 Questions (Al-Ma'âsid), against the Hâkimiyah: The Manner of Proving (Kifayat al-Istidâl); Accidents (al-A'râd); Refutation of the Zanâdiqâh.

An Account of the Statemant (Qawâlî) of Mu'Îmmun 'Îbn 'Abdâd al-Sulami] and His Proof (îkhâ'ih) in "al-Ma'âsid"; Subleste and Answers (al-Nu'kat wa-al-Jawâbir);258 The Method of Consensus and What Its Form Is;258 Confirmation of the Power of the One (Athâb 'Ibrâhîm al-Wâhîd);259 Refutation of the Mu'tazilah, concerning the threat and the middle position (î al-wa'âd wa-al-manâfild bâyin al-manâfilwâyih); Al-Adrâkh (Punishments, The Lowest Hell); Statement about the Defects (al-Ilall) of Hâkim in Connection with Body and Appearance (î al-Jism wa-al-Ru'îyih); Historical Traditions (Al-Akhârîh) and a Refutation

119 If the title which follows refers to the famous Black Stone in the Ka'bah at Makkah, it is possible that the Red Stone refers to the idol of that name at Mount Aîd, worshipped by the Taysî' Tribe; see Kahî, A'mâd, p. 51. This idol was called al-Fâ'il. It was a red stone which protruded from the rock like a human face. As, however, the word translated "corruption" (fasîd) more literally means "decomposition," it is likely that the black and red stones were substances used for alechemy. The term Khâs al-Âhmur was used for the Philosopher's Stone. Black often indicated lead. See "al-Khînîyûh," Enc. Islam, II, 1910.

258 This is perhaps meant to be Vision ("al-Ru'îyih").

259 This title may not be given correctly, as the words in the text are carelessly written. Cf. Baghidid (Seyale), p. 185.

260 If the text al-Adrâkh in this title and in the third one following, can have several meanings other than "accidents.

261 After this title there is the word "against" followed by what looks like "al-Manâfilâh," but is very likely meant to be al-thannârîyih ("the dualists").

262 This title evidently signifies a book describing in what way consensus of opinion is to be used for legal interpretation.

263 Instead of jahar ("power"), especially in connection with preordination, the word may be khârîh ("good") or khâhîr ("information," "knowledge").

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of Anyone Who Has Invalidated Reliable Traditions (al-Tawwût); The Morals of Disputation (Adab al-Jadâl); Refutation of the Book "The Emerald" (Nâqîh Kâtib al-Zumurrud), against himself;264 Refutation of "The Coral" (Nâqîh al-Murjân); Refutation of "The Striker" (al-Dâmîgî) he did not finish it.

Al-Nâshî al-Kabîr.264 Abû 'Abdâb 'Abd Allah ibn Muhammad ibn 'Abd Allah ibn Malik al-Nâshî, known as Shihirî, was once of the people of al-Anbîr. After living in Baghidid he moved to Egypt, where he died. He was a theologian, poet, and deliberative speaker, with good training. He wrote a poem of four thousand verses, each terminating with the same ending and rhyme.260 It was about theology, but in it he pursued the method of philosophy. He fell out with the theologians of his generation, it being said that he was a dualist.

I have read written in the handwriting of al-Îjiâ'î, [surnamed] Abû al-Qâsim:

The reason for this nickname, I mean "al-Nâshî," was his going to a session in which there were persons engaged in disputation. When he spoke as a youth, young in years, about the doctrine of the Mu'tazilah, one of the shaykhs among them approved, interrupting the discussion. Then standing up he raised his head saying, "Oh, Allah, don't let us lose anyone like this one who is mastering (al-mâtî十年), so that he may be among us and that those like him may come266 to us at all times." So Abû al-'Abbâs approved the name and with it he was nicknamed, according to what Ibn al-Jumâyil told me.267

262 This book and the two which follow were written for an unbeliever, Abû Tsâ the Jew. Before he died, Ibn al-Râwîwândî repeated of his heresy and evidently wrote these books to prove his sincere penitence.

263 Al-kahî can mean "the great," but more likely means "the elder." The Cairo Appendix omit the account of al-Nâshî, but adds some of his lines of poetry.

264 For this poem, see Ma'âdî, VII, 88, 89.

265 The word translated "may come" is crossed out in the text and the correction on the margin is not clearly enough written to be sure of its meaning.

266 The Jearty MS ends at this point. After this, there is at least one manuscript page which has been lost from all sources (see following note). Then follows material which is found only in the Tonk MS, from this point until the account of al-Wâṣîlî, where the Fülgel text resumes and MS 1934 begins (n. 266). See Fück, ZDMG, New Ser., XV, No. 2 (1936), 298-311, where the Tonk text is printed.
CHAPTER FIVE

[Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Khayyāt,239—-, against Ibn al-Rawandi; Refutation of “The Emerald” (Naqṣ al-Zumurrud), against al-Rawandi; Refutation of the Book of Aḥḥāt ibn Salmā, about the opposite (al-ḥaṣb),240 Refutation of “The Crown” (Al-Taj), against Ibn al-Rawandi; Refutation of “The Striker” (Al-Dānimīgh), against Ibn al-Rawandi; Refutation of “The Proof” (Al-Burhān).

Al-Bardha‘ī

He was Abū al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Bardha‘ī, whose origin was at Bardhah in Adharbayjān.241 He was one of the great men among the Muʿtażilah of Baghdaḍ.

Al-Shaṭāwī

He was Abū al-Ḥasan Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī al-Shaṭawī, one of the notables among the Muʿtażilah, but over-scrupulous and jealous. He died, strangled, during the year seventy-nine [A.D. 892/903].242 His son and daughter strangled him, because when his daughter asked him to marry her to a man whom she chose, he refused her request, increasing her confinement. So he and his son agreed that they would come with a slaughterer (butcher) from Bāb Muḥāwawl, and they hanged him. He was dwelling at Darb al-Qibīb in al-Karkh.243

239 Between the end of the Beatry MS and this heading, there is at least one page of material lacking from all sources. This may have contained an account of Abū All Muḥammād ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Jahāla, since it would have been unreasonable to omit such a well-known theologian from this section. And the missing material evidently contained an account of Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Khayyāt which is completed by the mention of the following six titles.

The word kitāb (“book”) is omitted from some of the titles, but they evidently refer to books written by al-Khayyāt. Murtadā, p. 92, says that al-Khayyāt wrote books refuting many of those of Ibn al-Rawandi, including The Emerald, The Crown, and The Striker. The famous heretic is sometimes called al-Rawandi and sometimes Ibn al-Rawandi. The first is not always indicated as being long.

239 Perhaps Aḥḥāt ibn Salmā is the name meant, although Murtadā, ibid., does not mention Aḥḥāt as a title in dealing with the books written by that scholar.

240 See Yāsīq, Geog., I, 558.

241 This is probably a mistake for ninety-seven [A.D. 909/10].

242 Bāb Muḥāwawl was west of the Round City of Baghdad, and the Karkh Quarter was south. See Le Strange, Baghdad, pp. 47 map, 65, 146. As the text is not perfectly clear, the translation may not be entirely accurate.

SECTION ONE

Abū al-Ḥāfīth al-Warrāq

In the book Al-Maḥāsin, al-Balkhī244 said, “He was Abū al-Qāsim al-Ḥāfīth ibn ‘Alā‘, one of the inhabitants of Khurāsān and altogether a man of religion, humility, and piety, as well as a chief among the leaders of persons with discernment, with few equals during his period.”

His composition was in good style and he wrote excellent and famous books and refutations of a number of the books of Ibn al-Rawandi. He was a contemporary of Abū ‘Alā‘ al-Jubba‘ī, with whom he had controversies. They met at the Sīq al-Ahwāz.245 It was said that he was a warrāq, who sold books and acted as a warrāq for the people of Qṣr al-Waṣīfī on the left bank.246 Among his books there were:

The Created [the Qur‘ān]; Names and Judgments (Al-Asmā‘ wa-al-‘Aqān); The Imamate; Refutation of “The Striker” (Naqṣ al-Dānimīgh);247 Refutation of “The Emerald” (Naqṣ al-Zumurrud); Refutation of “Arousing Wisdom” (Naqṣ al-Ba‘th al-Hikmāh); Refutation of “The Crown” (Naqṣ al-Taj); Allegorical Interpretation of the Qur‘ān (Mutanāshibhāt al-Qur‘ān); Emergence of the World and Its Evidence (Ilaḥād al-‘Ālam wa-al-Adillah ‘Alayhā).

Abū al-Qāsim [al-Balkhī]

He was Abū al-Qāsim ‘Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Muhāmud al-Balkhī, known as al-Ka‘bī. He was a scholar and dialectic theologian, the leader of the men of his period. He served as secretary to one of the generals, Naṣr ibn Aḥmad, and was acquainted with Aḥmad ibn Sahl [ibn Ḥishām]. When Aḥmad ibn Sahl turned against Naṣr ibn Aḥmad, he lived at Niṣābūr. Then when he [Naṣr] gained control over Aḥmad, he took al-Balkhī along with a

244 This title is not mentioned with the books of either Abū al-Qāsim al-Balkhī or Aḥmad ibn Sahl al-Balkhī.

245 Sīq al-Ahwāz was probably a market street near Qṣr al-Waṣīfī, which was a palace a short distance southeast of the Round City of Baghdaḍ; see Le Strange, Baghdad, pp. 58, 93, 97 map.

246 This man is a good example of a well-educated book dealer, who by selling manuscripts and stationery to the people at the palace was able to make enough money to write books of his own.

247 The books mentioned in this and the three following titles were written by the heretic Ibn al-Rawandi.
group of men, whom he seized and kept in confinement.\footnote{See \textit{Nage b. Amdad}, \textit{Enc. Islam}, III, 871.} When his [al-Balkhi’s] situation became known to ‘Ali ibn ‘Isa, the vizier, he was released from this predicament. This was during the vizierate of Ḥamid ibn al-‘Abbās.

Al-Balkhi went to the session of Abū Āhmād Yahyā ibn ‘Ali, whose sessions were attended by theologians coming together. They elevated and exalted him [al-Balkhi] so that there was no one over whom he did not have authority. It happened that a Jew came in while some of them were theorizing about abrogation of the law (\textit{shar\'a}). When they reached a subject in their discussion about which they were passing judgment on Abū al-Qasim [al-Balkhi], it was the Jew’s turn to speak. So Abū al-Qasim said, “It is for you to speak.” The Jew then said to him, “What do you know about this?” Abū al-Qasim replied to him, “Wait for this! Do you acknowledge that there is a theological session at Baghdād more important than this?” He [the Jew] said, “No.” Then he [Abū al-Qasim] said, “Do you know of anyone among the theologians who does not attend it?” He said, “No.” He [Abū al-Qasim] said, “Have you seen anybody among them who does not rise up for me and exalt me?” He said, “No.” So he [Abū al-Qasim] said, “Do you see them doing this when I am absent?”

Al-Balkhi died on the first day of Sha’bān [eighth Muslim month] during the year three hundred and nine. Among his books there were:


Theologians Contemporary with Abū al-Qasim al-Balkhi
Abū Bakr al-Ḥalqānī.
Abū Ishaq al-Wāhibī.

Al-Šaymārī
He was Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn ‘Umar al-Šaymārī, from the people of al-Šaymārī, and was counted among the Mu’tazilah of al-Baṣrah because he claimed to have learned from Abū ‘Ali al-[al-Jubī‘a]. After the death of Abū ‘Ali, he became the most famous among them. He was of the same age as Abū ‘Ali, or close to it. He died during the year three hundred and fifteen [a.d. 927/28].

It was related about Abū ‘Ali that he said, “Our shaykh is Abū ‘Abd Allāh [al-Šaymārī], from whom the Shaykh Abū Sa‘īd al-Ṣirāfī learned the science of theology, and who was also the...”
teacher of Abū Bakr ibn al-Ṭabarī. Among his books there were: Questions and Answers. He also wrote Refutation of the Book of Ibn al-Rāmah about Temperaments (Innate Qualities, Al-Ṭabarī). Refutation of the Book of al-Balkhi. Known as “The Ultimate in the Right” (Kūrāb al-Nihāyāt fi Al-ṣalhā), against Abū ‘Ali al-Fākhrī.

Al-Bāḥṭī
Abū ‘Umar Muhammad ibn ‘Umar ibn Sa‘īd al-Bāhîtī al-Baṣrī belonged to the Bāḥštī. His birthplace was at al- Başrāh, where there was for him a source of technical excellence in the science of theology, according to the school of thought of the scholars of al- Başrāh.

He was a judge, whose session the theologians attended. It was said that Abū ‘Ali [al-Fākhrī] went to his session, and that because of the excellence of his recounts and the poignancy of his interpretation, the people and the theologians used to weep. Among his books there were:

Sublimity (Tijāy) of the Qur’an; The Sources, about oneness; Oneness, separate from “The Sources.”

Abū al-Ḥasan Abū al-Hasan Abū al-Maṣūr Abū al-Munajjem Abū al-Ḥasan Abū al-Maṣūr Abū al-Yahyā ibn ‘Alī ibn Yahyā ibn ‘Abī Maṣūr al-Munajjem was beautifully cultured and well acquainted with theology, about which he wrote books, in addition to those about other cultural subjects. We have dealt with him thoroughly in the accounts about the court companions. Among his books about theology there were:

Proofs of the Prophecy of Muhammad, for Whom May There Be Peace; Oneness (Al-Tawḥīd) and a Refutation of the Mash’abibāh.

I have read [what was written] in the handwriting of Abū Ḥamīd Yahyā ibn ‘Alī al-Munajjem, that Abū al-Qāsim al-Balkhī said:

After [the time of] Wāḥid ibn ‘Aṣīr, the leaders of the Mu’tazilah who

344 As the Shaykh Abū Sa‘īd al-Ṣāfī was one of the principal teachers of the author of Al-Fihrist and was evidently associated with the heretical scholars, it is likely that al-Nadim also had Mu’tazilī tendencies, even if he was not officially a member of that sect, which had lost some of its popularity by the tenth century.

345 For this tribe, see “Bāhštī,” Enc. Islam, I, 576; Qataybah, Mu’tāfīr, p. 39; Pellat, Le Milieu bāṣrīen, p. 186.

SECTION ONE


The Names of a Group of Theologians
It has not been confirmed whether they belonged to the Mu’tazilah or the Muḥāfīz. They were:

Hūmadī Abū Sa‘īd ibn Bahrīyār, the Theologian Among his books there were:

Creation of the Qur’an, Superiority (Al-Fudūl), about refuting the Mash’abibāh; Denial of the Formation of Matter from God (al-Tajwīd ‘an Allāh). Refutation of Yūḥūb Bakhšī, Maṭrūq Fārīs, Refutation of the Magians; Refutation of Adherents of the Dogma of Material Substances and Their Eternity (al-Akrūm wa-‘Azāliyyatūh) Ḥirrāt Al-Falāk, Proofs of Change in the Ḥadīth (thbbāt al-Talāyīf fi al-Ḥadīth); Correlation of the Sciences (Idāfāt al-‘Ulūm); against the

346 Cf. ibi list of names with Fīrūz, ZDMG, New Ser., XV, No. 2 (1936), 307–8.
347 This was very likely Abū Zafar al-Hudhayl ibn al-Hudhayl.
348 This might also have been the scholar Abū Zafar Muhammad ibn ‘Alī al-Makki.
349 ‘Urūf, p. 93, says that he was the imam of Niṣābūr.
350 This was probably a converted Manichaean, so that the name must be kept separate from the one which precedes it and refers to a scholar of Muslim ancestry named Muhammad ibn ‘Abī al-Wāḥib al-Jabīrī.
351 This name may indicate that Abū al-Qāsim al-Balkhī included his own name in this list of his. For other possibilities, see al-Balkhī and in the Bishop, Index.
352 Cf. Baghīsh (Società), p. 156 top.
353 The words “Maṭrūq Fārīs” are not correctly written in the Tonk MS, but they evidently refer to the metropolitan bishop named Yūḥūb Bakhšī; see Fīrūz, ZDMG, New Ser., XV, No. 2 (1936), 308, 313.
354 The word “ḥaṣāfī” may be a plural form for “rain clouds,” or the word may be some other, such as ḥaṣāfī (“particular times” or “particular conditions”). Abī al-Fākhrī almost certainly means “astronomers.”
Christians, with reference to ease, food, and drink in the hereafter (fi al-na'm wa-al-akl wa-al-shurb fl al-ikhtiraah) and against all speaking in opposition to these things; The Theologians of the People of Islam (Mutakallimin Ahl al-Islam); Answer of the Heir of al-Saqili (Jawāb al-Muḥtad al-Bāšīr), Who Carried the People of the Sects and Sought Islam; How Some of the Muslims Made Innovations in the Qur’anic Readings and Their Significations (Fī al-ʻAḥdāth Ba‘d al-Muslimūn min al-Qir‘āt wa-Wujūhīhā).

Muhammad ibn ‘Abd al-Karīm

He was one of the theologians. Among his books there were:
The Created [the Qur’ān], against Burghāth; Knowledge (Al-Ma‘rīfah).

Abū ‘Affārīn al-Raqqī

His name was ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn Muslim and he was one of the theologians. Among his books there were:
Against Burghāth, about the resemblances (al-musāwāth) between him and the heretics (al-muḥājīn); the questions which arose between him and al-Isfahānī in the session of Ibn Abī Dā‘ūd; Al-Tawallūd, against al-Isfahānī.

Al-Wāṣīṭī

Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muhammad ibn Zayd al-Wāṣīṭī was one of the important and eminent theologians. He learned from Abū ‘Ali al-Jabba‘rī, to whom he was related. In his prime he had a strong voice867 and many associates (pupils). It is said that he was one of the theologians of Baghdād, being counted among them, which is the truth, though he lived at al-Isfahān.888

846 Fück, ZDMG, New Ser., XV, No. 2 (1936), 298–311, omits this title.
847 At this point the Flügel text recommences, after omitting most of Chap. V, sect. 1. MS 1934 also starts at this point. The Tokk MS continues without a break, indicating that it must have been copied before the two halves of Al-Fihrist became separated.
848 Both the Tokk MS and MS 1934 have ʻall, indicating that the voice was "exalted" or "strong."
849 See Yaqūt, Geogr., IV, 431, l. 20, for a region near al-Rayy with this name. It may, however, refer to some now forgotten place near Bagdad.

A refreshment report of his about Naṣūhīyyah was, “Whoever wishes to go to the limit in ignorance, let him learn theology according to the school of al-Nāṣīhī890 law according to the code of Da‘ūd ibn ‘Ali, and grammar according to the system of Naṣūhīyyah.” Then he went on to say, “Naṣūhīyyah presents theology according to the school of al-Nāṣīhī, law according to the code of Da‘ūd and he himself is Naṣūhīyyah, so accordingly he is the consumation of ignorance.”

He died four years later than Abū ‘Ali al-Jabba‘rī died, it is said in the year three hundred and six [A.D. 918/19]. Among his books there were:
Sublimity of the Qur’ān, about its order and composition; The Imamate, which was well done.

Among the Pupils (Aṣlāḥ) of al-Wāṣīṭī
Abū al-Akhras . . . Among his books there was Refutation of the Book "Will Is An Attribute of Being.”723

Ibn al-Ikhsād

He was Abū Bakr Ahmad ibn ‘Ali ibn Ma‘jūr al-Ikhsād,727 one of the Mu‘tazilah. He was honored, virtuous, and pious. He

867 The point of this poem is that sahīf is "saḥīfah," giving the idea of buming, while sahīf signifies "come along."
888 The Flügel edition of Al-Fihrist, p. 172, n. 6, says that this was al-Nāṣīhī al-Akhras.
890 Here there is a word inserted which is very likely confused with the word for "book" (siyāb) preceding the title at the end of the sentence.
891 This was a book written by al-Nāṣīhī; the Flügel edition gives the title clearly.
892 Both forms of spelling, Ikhsād and Ikhsād, are used in connection with the scholar mentioned here. Brockelmann, Islamic Peoples, p. 150, says that al-Ikhsād was an honorary title. Tabari, Annals, Part III, pp. 3184, 3190, 3192, 3196, 3197 Ibn al-Ikhsād was governor of Tus, a.d. 898–900.
owned an estate from which he derived his wealth, over half of its revenue going to learning and its scholars. He had a good literary style and was learned in Arabic and the law, writing a number of books about the law.

His house was by Sāq al-‘Aṭash, on a street known as Darb al-Ikhshid. Because of his love of learning and his piety, he used to say to his estate agent, "Don’t tell me anything about the property, so as to embitter my last breath, for it does not enrich me [for the hereafter]. Let me be, that I may devote myself to learning and the life hereafter."

Abū Bakr died on Sunday, the eighth day before the end of Sha‘bān [the eighth Muslim month], during the year three hundred and twenty-six [A.D. 937/38]. Among his books there were:

Knowledge, about the sources, which he did not finish. The Beginner;
Transcription of the Qur’an; Consensus of Opinion (Al-‘Imām),
Refutation of al-Khālid, about al-‘arjī;
Abridgment of the "Commentary" of al-Tabari.

Al-Ḥusaynī

He was Abū al-Ḥusayn ‘Abd al-Walid ibn Muhammad al-Ḥusaynī, one of the pupils (aṣḥāb) of Abū ‘Ali al-Jubbâ’î, from whom he learned. Among his books there were:

Among the Pupils of Ibn al-Ikhshid

The Names of the Theological Books Which Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Ali ibn ‘Isa Composed

He was al-Rummānī, and as this Abū al-Ḥasan has already been mentioned in the chapter on the grammarians and language students, we shall cite in this passage only the names of his books about theology. Among these there was the book ——,

Among the Mu’taziliyyah about whom we know nothing except his being mentioned there was:
Abū Ishaq ‘Ibrāhīm ibn Muhammad ibn ‘Ayyūb
He was a Mu’tazili. Among his books there was Refutation of the Book of Ibn Abī Bishr, about Elucidation of the Proof.

Al-Ḥasan ibn Ayyūb, One of the Theologians

Among his books there was a book addressed to his brother ‘Ali ibn Ayyūb—a refutation of the Christians, with an exposition of the corruption of their treatise (doctrine) and a confirmation of the prophecy.

Ibn Rabī‘a

Abū ‘Imrān Mūsā ibn Rabī‘a is a theologian of the school of thought of Abū ‘Ali al-Jubbā’ī. He studied under the direction of Abū Bakr Ibn al-Ikhshid of al-Saymārī and other theologians. It is said that he is living in our own time, in a city of Egypt, being over eighty years old. His birth was —— and among his books there are:

Ibn Shiḥāb

Abū al-Ṭayyib ‘Ibrāhīm ibn Muhammad ibn Shiḥāb learned from al-Jubbi and al-Khayyūr, as well as from others in addition to them. He died after three hundred and fifty [A.D. 961/62] of old age. His birth was —— and among his books there was Sessions of the Legal Authorities and Their Controversies, nearly four hundred pages in length.

This was probably the Mu’tazili heretic ‘Ali ibn ‘Isa Abū al-Ḥasan al-Rummānī. He should not be confused with the great viceroy, ‘Ali ibn ‘Isa Abū al-Ḥasan.

This was the name of the great theologian al-’Allār, one of whose well-known books was Elucidation of the Proof ("Ithār al-Burāhīn").

After a break (see p. 274) MS 1934 resumes the text, beginning with Ibn Rabī‘a.
Ibn al-Khallâl al-Qâdi (the Judge)

Abû 'Umar Ahmad ibn Muhammâd ibn Ḥâfîṣ al-Khallâl came from al-Baṣrâh, where he was born. He fell in with al-Ṣaynârî and Abû Bakr ibn al-Ikhshîd, learning from them both. He was judge of the city of Ḥarrâh, which is al-Ḫâdashîh, later there being turned over to him the judgship of Takrit, where he is up to the present time. Among his books there were:

Sources; Allegorical Interpretation.

Abû Ḥâshim and His Pupils

Abû Ḥâshim Abû al-Sâlâm ibn Muhammâd al-Jubbâî arrived at the City of Peace [Baghdâd] during the year three hundred and fourteen [A.H. 926/27]. He was industrious, of good understanding and with penetrating discernment. He was also industrious and capable in theology, defending it. He died during the year three hundred and twenty-one [A.D. 933]. Among his books there were:

The large compendium; the large book, Subjects (Abwâb); the small book, Subjects (Abwâb); the small compendium; Man; Compensation (Al-Iwâd) [or Accident (Al-A’râd)]; Military Questions; Refutation of Aristotle in connection with “De Generazione et Corruptione”; Al-Tabî’î; Legal Interpretation.

Ibn Khallâl al-Baṣrî

Abû ‘Ali Muhammad ibn —— ibn Khallâl was one of the pupils (Asbâb) of Abû Ḥâshim. Going to him at al-’Askar,204 he learned from him and became outstanding among his pupils.

Among Those Who Learned from Abû Ḥâshim, but Have No Books Which Are Known

A man known as Qasîwî,206 whose name was Ibn Sahalwayh, surnamed Abû al-Qâsim, and ‘Abû Allâh ibn Khaṭṭâb, known as “The Camel”207 of Alî.”

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204 For al-Ḫâdashîh and Takrit, see Yâqût, Gorg., I, 861; II, 222; “Ḫâdashî,” Enc. Islam, II, 194.

205 For several places with this name, see “al-’Askar,” Enc. Islam, I, 488; Yâqût, Gorg., III, 675–77. The Flügel edition adds that he wrote a book entitled Sources (Al-’U’d). Qasîwî is a medicine and qasîwî, another possibility, means “skim.”

206 The Tont and 1914 MSS have mumâl or hamîl. Hamîl means “embryo in the womb.” But jamal (“camel”), perhaps having some reference to the battle of the Camel, seems the most likely word.

207 Abû al-Qâsim al-Balkhî. Al-Baṣrî, Known as al-Ju’âl

He was Abû Abû Allâh al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alî —— ibn Ibrâhîm, known as al-Ḵâdîhî,208 and was one of the people of al-Baṣrâh, where he was born. His teacher was Abû al-Qâsim ibn Sahalwayh, nicknamed Qasîwî. He belonged to the school of thought of Abû Ḥâshim, the leadership of whose associates (pupils) culminated with him during his lifetime. He was virtuous, a legal authority and a theologian, lofty in intelligence, exerting enlightened influence, and learned in his school of thought, dispensing mindfulness of God in the districts and cities, especially in Khurasân.

He interpreted the law in accordance with the codes of al-’Irâq, studying under Abû al-Ḫasan al-Karkhi. In this connection we shall mention his books on theology, and later we shall list his books about the law in the chapter on the legal authorities, if Allâh so wills.

He also studied under Abû Ja’far al-Ṣaynârî al-Abbâdî,209 known as ‘-Sahak Lâm.”210 He was a pupil (associate) of Abû ‘Ali ibn Khallâl and studied under Abû Ḥâshim Abû al-Sâlâm ibn Muhammâd. His birth was during the year three hundred and eight [A.D. 920/21] and he died in the City of Peace [Baghdâd] in the year three hundred and sixty-nine [A.D. 979/80]. Among his books there were:

Refutation of the Statement of Ibn al-Râwundî that Substance Cannot Be Created From Nothing; also his refutation of the refutation of al-Râzî, replying to the statement of al-Bakridî211—This was against al-Râzî; Refutation of the Book of al-Râzî, about [the idea that] it would be impossible (not fitting) for Almighty God to act after there was another agent of action; The Reply, concerning the two questions of the Shaykh Abû Muhammad al-Râmahuruzî; statement [on the subject] that God Almighty exists and that there is nothing else besides Him, until He has created the created; The Faith; Confirmation; Knowledge (Al-Ma’rifah).

208 Al-Ḵâdîhî or al-Fâdîhî is “the paper worker.”

209 The Flügel version spells this name al-Abbâdî, apparently an error.

210 The nickname “‘-Sahak Lâm” means “Strong Smell,” given to him because he had a public latrine by his house; see Khalîkîn, III, 629.

211 Flügel gives an incorrect date; see Murađî, pp. 105–6.

212 This was probably Abû al-Qâsim al-Balkhî.
The Second Section of the Fifth Chapter

of the book Al-Fihrist, with accounts of the scholars and the names of the books which they composed. This section includes accounts of the theologians of the Shi'ah, the Imamiyyah, and the Zaydiyyah.

Mention of the Reason Why the Shi'ah Are Called by This Name

Thas saith Muhammed ibn Idāq [al-Nadīm]: When Tulhah [ibn 'Ubayd Allāh] and al-Zabah [ibn al-'Aswām] opposed 'Ali, for whom may there be peace, rejecting the demand [for revenge] for the blood of Uthmān ibn 'Affān, 'Ali, for whom may there be peace, sought them out to fight them, that they might comply with the command of Allāh, may His name be glorified. Those who followed him in this cause were called al-Shi'ah (the Partisans) and he ['Ali], for whom may there be peace, used to say "my partisans," calling them the Pure (al-Asyīya) Company, the Masters (al-Awliya) Company, the Guard of the Five (Shurtat al-Khamis) Company, the Companions (al-Ashāh) Company.

The meaning of Shurtat al-Khamis was that 'Ali, for whom may there be peace, said to his band: "Prove yourselves, for I guarantee for you Heaven. I do not offer you as a condition gold or silver, for

1 In several places the Fligel edition gives different pious epithets, but as the author of Al-Fihrist was a Shi'ah the wording in contradiction with the Shi'ah sects in the Beatty and 1934 MSS, the original manuscript, is undoubtedly the form to follow. The Fligel wording is that of copyists who were probably Sunnites. Fligel gives, "may Allah be well pleased with him." the battle of the Camel. On the margin of the Tonk MS there is a note saying that the passage is a lie, as Tulhah and al-Zabah were Companions of the Prophet. In this passage the pious epithets about 'Ali and his descendants have been interchanged, evidently by a Sunnite copyist. For the expression, "comply with the command of Allāh," see the Qur'ān 49:9.

2 This passage refers to the battle of the Camel. On the margin of the Tonk MS there is a note saying that the passage is a lie, as Tulhah and al-Zabah were Companions of the Prophet. In this version the pious epithets about 'Ali and his descendants have been interchanged, evidently by a Sunnite copyist. For the expression, "comply with the command of Allāh," see the Qur'ān 49:9.
the Formus (Nature); The Old Man and the Young Man (The Shaykh and the Youth); Management (Preeing the Slaves after the Master’s Death); The Scales (Al-Mizân);9 The Field (Al-Maydàn); Refutation of Anyone Who Speaks about the Imamate of the Most Excellent;19 Disagreement of the People about the Imamate.

The Will11 and a Refutation of Whoever Denies It; about compulsion and predestination (al-jabre wa-al-qadar); The Two Arbiters;12 Refutation of the Mu’tažilah in Connection with Tālîhah and al-Zubayr;10 Pronunciation (Dialects); Knowledge (Al-Ma’rifah); Al-Istiqâlah; The Eight Abwâb;13 against Shayṭān al-Ṭaq; Historical Traditions, How They Are Verified, against Aristotle, about oneness (al-tawḥîd); another book about the Mu’tažilah.

Shayṭān al-Ṭaq

He was Abū Ja’far al-Ahwâl, whose name was Muḥammad ibn al-Nu’mân, nicknamed Shayṭān al-Ṭaq, but called by the Shi’ah Mu’min al-Ṭaq. He was a friend of Abū ‘Abd Allâh Ja’far ibn Muḥammad,17 for whom there may be peace. He was an acute theologian, among whose books there were:

The Imamate; Knowledge (Al-Ma’rifah); Refutation of the Mu’tažilah, about the imamate of the more excellent; The Affair of Tālîhah, al-Zubayr, and ‘Aṣîlah.15

1 These were the scales used to weigh souls on the Day of Judgment. See Qur’an 42:17; 55:7–9.

10 The word translated “more excellent” is muṣṭâfîl. Although it usually means “surpassed,” it can also mean “surpassing” or “more excellent.” As al-Nadîm was a Shi’î, he evidently approved of speaking of the Shi’î imams in the latter way.

11 See Glossary.

12 These were Abû Miṣr al-Ashîrî and ‘Amr ibn al-‘As, chosen to arbitrate the quartet between ‘Abî and Mu’âdhqâ; see Ma’dîn, IV, 391; Hîrî, Arâb, p. 181.

13 As these two Companions of the Prophet opposed ‘Abî, they were greatly disliked by the Shi’îs.

14 This probably refers to the first eight Shi’î imams; see Hîrî, Arâb, p. 442.

15 Flügel gives another word, but “verified” is in the Tûnî and 1934 MSS.

16 The Muslims believed in the oneness of the universe, refuting Aristotle’s tenet of the eternity of both the material and spiritual worlds.

17 The 6th Shi’î imam, known as al-Sâdîq.

18 This was the Battle of the Camel; see Glossary. In the Flügel edition the pious phrase “may Allâh be well pleased with them” has been added by some Sufiite scribe. The 1914 MS evidently omits this epistle, as al-Nadîm was a Shi’î, who never would have invoked God’s blessing for the opponents of ‘Abî. These titles should be compared with the passage in Tûnî, p. 338, sect. 698.
concealment his son, and so it will be with his son’s issue, until God consummates his dominion by causing him to appear.”

Abū Ja’far Muhammad ibn ‘Alī al-Shahābī, known as Ibn Abī al-Azzāq, sent to him to summon him to opposition, offering him the miraculous and visions of the supernatural. On the forehead of Abū Sahl there was a bare spot like baldness, so he said to the messenger: “I know of only one miracle, which is that your master should make hair to grow on my forehead; then I can believe in him.” After that the messenger did not return to him.24 Abū Sahl died ———. Among his books there were:27

The Fulfillment, about the imamate; Warning (Prophecy), about the imamate; Refutation of the Ghallā; Refutation of al-Tājū, concerning the imamate; Refutation of ‘Isā ibn Abīn, about legal interpretation;28 Refutation of the Epistle of al-Shāfi‘ī; Ideas; Sessions;29 Knowledge; Confirmation of the Epistle (Confirmation of the Prophetic Mission); Refutation of Those Upholding the Attributes; Emergence of the World;30 Refutation of Whoever Speaks of the Created [the Qur’ān]; The Word, about man;31 The Vanity of Analogy;32 Narrative and What Is Told; Refutation of the Book, “Arousing Wisdom” (Ba‘ith al-Jikmah), against [Ibn] al-Rawandi; Refutation of “The Crown” (al-Tāj), against [Ibn] al-Rawandi; it is known as Kīthāt al-Shibh,33

24 The Tonk MS has “He returned to his master, but did not come back to him,” that is, to Abū Sahl.
25 Compare with the titles in Tūnī, pp. 57–58.
26 Both MS 1934 and the Flügel edition have al-talāb (“clothing”); but Tūnī cited above is almost certainly correct in giving al-talābīd (“legal interpretation”); this form is used in the translation.
27 al-Tājū, pp. 57–58, adds two extra titles: His Sessions with al-Jubbi‘ī and Sessions with Thabit ibn Qurrah.
28 The translation follows the title given by Tūnī, pp. 57–58, Hādīth al-Ālam (“Emergence of the World”), as it seems to be more correct than the title given by Flügel, Hādīth al-Ālam (“New Event of the World”). Al-Tūnī, p. 58, also explains that the title which follows refers to the Jābabiyah.
29 Flügel and MS 1934 have al-talāb (“man”), whereas al-Tūnī, p. 58, has al-ansib (“idle”).
30 The more conservative jurists believed that legal decisions should depend upon the Qur’ān and Hadīth, regarding analogy as not truly authoritative.
31 Al-Tājū, p. 58, makes the form of this title clear. The Book of the Crown (“Kīthāt al-Tāj”) was about the world and eternity. Kīthāt al-Shibh means “The Book of the Whirl” or “The Book of Intanglement,” evidently referring to the constellations. Flügel gives Kīthāt al-Sabk, al-sabk being a word used for the melting of metals.

Refutation of Legal Interpretation by Personal Opinion, against [Ibn] al-Rawandi; Attributes.

Abū Sahl [al-Nawbakhtī] Had a Brother Surnamed Abū Ja’far
He was a theologian of his [al-Nawbakhtī’s] doctrine. Among his books there were: ———.

Al-Ḥasan ibn Mūsā al-Nawbakhtī
He was Abū Muhammad al-Ḥasan ibn Mūsā, the son of the sister of Abū Sahl ibn Nawbakht, a theologian and philosopher. A group of translators of books about philosophy, such as Abū ‘Uthmān al-Dināshqī, Iṣḥāq ibn Hunayn, Thabit ibn Qurrah, and others besides them, used to meet with him. Although the Mu‘azzilah claimed him, the Shi‘ah also claimed him and he inclined towards the Shi‘ah, for the family of Nawbakht was openly known to support the rule of ‘Abbās and his descendants, for whom peace. Accordingly, we mention him in this place.

The collection of books which he transcribed in his own handwriting was very large. He also wrote compositions and made compilations about theology, philosophy, and other subjects. He died ———. Among his books there were:31

Doctrines and Religions, which he did not finish; Refutation of Upholders of Transmigration (al-Tanāsikhl),32 Owners and the Beginning of Causes; Refutation of the Book of Abī ‘Isā about the Unusual Eastern,33 Abridgment of Aristotle’s “De Generatione et Corruptione”; Proof by ‘Umar ibn ‘Abbād and a Defense of His Doctrines;34 The Imamite, which he did not finish.

Al-Suṣanīnī
He was one of the young men [pupils] of Abū Sahl al-Nawbakhtī. His name was Muhammad ibn Bishr. He was surnamed Abū al-Husayn and known as al-Ḥamdānī, because he was related to the Ḥamdān family. Among his books there was Achievement, about the imamate.

32 Cf. Tūnī, p. 98, sect. 208.
34 This was Al-Ghārīb al-Mutannif fi al-Nawb by Abī ‘Isā al-Warrāq.
35 It is not clear whether “proof” is the title of a book by ‘Umar ibn ‘Abbād, or whether it refers to proving something to him.
36 See Khālidī, III, 90–92; Tabarī, Anmāl, Part III, p. 1314 ff.
CHAPTER FIVE

Among the Eminent: 26

Al-Tasharī

He was a Shiʿi whose name was ——. He was converted to the Shiʿi sect. Among his books there was *The Imamate.* 46

Ḥishām [ibn Sālim] al-Jawaliqī 41

Abū Mālik al-Ḥaṣari

Ibn Mūtabl al-Iṣbaḥāni

Abū ʿAbd Allāh ibn Mūtabl al-Iṣbaḥāni was a theologian of the Shiʿa. He held a session (class) with Abū ʿAli al-Jubbaʿi dealing with the imamate and its clarification which Abū Muḥammad al-Qāsim ibn Muḥammad al-Karkhī attended. 45 [His books—:

The Imamate: Rebuttal of the Imamate, against Abū ʿAli [al-Jubbaʿi], which he did not finish.

Abū al-Jaysh ibn al-Khurāsānī

His name was al-Muzaffar and among his books there were:

A Young Man (Pupil) of Abū al-Jaysh

He was ——.

Al-Nāhi al-Saghir

He was Abū al-Ḥusayn ʿAli ibn Waṣīf. He was an excellent poet, dealing with the Abī al-Bayt [members of the Prophet’s family], for whom may there be peace. He was a distinguished theologian, among whose books there were: ——.

SECTION TWO

Ibn al-Muʿallim

He is Abū ʿAbd Allāh, 46 who is living in our own time and with whom culminates the leadership of the Shiʿi theologians. He is preeminent in the science of theology, according to the doctrine of his associates, subtle in intelligence and quick-witted. I have recently seen him. I met him and found him to be distinguished. 46 Among his books there are: ——.

The Zaydiyyah 46

The Zaydiyyah, who claim the imamate for Zayd ibn ʿAli, for whom may there be peace, and then after him support the imamate of anyone of the living descendants of Fāṭimah who meets the conditions of the imamate. Most of the traditionalists of this doctrine, such as Sufyān ibn ʿUyaynah, Sufyān [ibn Saʿīd] al-Thawrī, and Sālīh ibn Ḥayy, together with his sons, and others, too, with accounts of these men. Then with the topics with which I deal, there will be statements about their learning and religion, if Allāh so wills.

Abū al-ʿIrād

Among the scholars of the Zaydiyyah there was Abū al-ʿIrād, surnamed Abū al-Najm, who was Zayd ibn al-Mundhir al-ʿAbīd. 46 It is related that when Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad, for whom may there be peace, was asked about him, he said, “What has Abū al-ʿIrād done? Did he hope that after he had chosen an imam he would not die except in appearance?” Then he said, “May Allāh curse him, for he is blind in heart and blind in vision.” 47

46 The Tawq MS calls him Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn al-Naṣrīn, but for the proper rendering of his name, see the Biographical Index.

47 The Tawq MS adds a number of words which are not in the other Arabic versions, but which have been included in this translation.

48 The first phrase in this paragraph seem to serve as an introduction to the material which follows.

49 For al-ʿAbīd, see “ʿAbd al-Kaʿīb,” Enc. Islam, I, 45 bottom. The Tawq MS gives a different name.

50 Fīgīl adds “ibn ʿAli” to this name. This was the sixth Shiʿi imam. Jaʿfar of course believed that his father was the true fifih imam and heir to the caliphate, rather than his uncle Zayd, whom the Zaydiyyah, among them Abū al-ʿIrād, upheld; see Hitti, *Arabs,* p. 462. Jaʿfar was probably making fun of Abū al-ʿIrād, saying that he hoped Zayd would not die, but would hide and reappear.
Among the Theologians of the Zaydiyah

_Fudayl al-Risān_, who was _ibn al-Zubayr_, and was an associate of _Muhammad ibn 'Ali_; _ʿAbū Khālid al-Wāṣīṭ_; _Munṣūr ibn Ḥāzim_; _ibn Abī al-Aswād_.

_Al-Hasan ibn Ṣāliḥ ibn Ḥayy_.

_Al-Hasan ibn Ṣāliḥ ibn Ḥayy_ was born during the year one hundred _[A.D. 718/19]_ and died in concealment during the year one hundred and sixty-eight _[A.D. 784/85]_. He was one of the important, great, and learned men of the Zaydiyah branch of the Shi'ah, an authority for the law and a theologian. Among his books there were:

Oneness; The Imamate of the Descendants of 'Ali by Fātimah; The Compilation, about the law.

_Al-Hasan_ had two brothers, one of whom was _'Ali_ ibn Ṣāliḥ and the other Ṣāliḥ ibn Ṣāliḥ. They belonged to the school of thought of al-Hasan, their brother, _'Ali_ also being a theologian.

_Thus_ _Munṣūr_ ibn Ḥāzim [al-Nadi]_: Most of the scholars among the authorities on the _Ḥadith_ belonged to the Zaydiyah, as did also a group of jurists and traditionalists such as _Sufyān_ ibn _'Umayyah_, _Sufyān_ ibn _al-Thawri_, and leading authorities on the _Ḥadith_.

_Munṣūr_ ibn Sulaymān

_He_ was one of the Zaydiyah, and also an authority on the _Ḥadith_ and a _Qur'ānic_ reader. He died ———. Among his books there were:

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48 For the person most likely referred to by this name, see _Biog. Index_, _al-Bāgh_ Abī Jaʿfar Muhammad ibn 'Abī._

49 The Arabic might be _al-muddathūn_ ("recent authorities"), but since the two men named _Sufyān_ mentioned in this passage were born in the eighth century, the word is probably _al-muddathūn_ ("authorities on the _Ḥadith_;"), as translated. This phrase very likely refers to men who regarded the _Ḥadith_ as the only authoritative source for the interpretation of the _Qur'ān_, and so used it to formulate legal decisions.
In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate

The Third Section of the Fifth Chapter

of the book Al-Fihrist with accounts of the scholars and the names of the books which they composed, including accounts of the theologians of the Mu'tirah and the Nabiyyah al-Hashmiyyah, with the names of their books.  

Al-Najjar

Abu 'Abd Allah al-Husayn ibn Muhammad ibn 'Abd Allah al-Najjar was a weaver in the factory of al-'Abbas ibn Muhammad al-Fashimi and a leader among the Mu'tirah and their theologians. It was said that he used to make weights, being one of the people of Bannam, and that when he spoke his voice was like the sound of a bat. He was one of the people with discernment, and he held meetings and arguments with al-Nazzi'am.

The death of al-Husayn al-Najjar came about because he met Ibrahīm al-Nazzi'am at the house of some of his intimates (brothers). After al-Husayn had greeted him, Ibrahīm said to him, "Sit down so

1 MS 1934 gives what must be meant to be al-Nabiyyah, whereas Flügel gives al-Hāfiyyah, almost certainly a mistake.
2 Bannam was a Persian city known for its weaving; see Yaqūt, Cong. 1, 377. MS 1934 spells the name incorrectly. The weights which al-Najjar made were probably used for holding the threads fast in weaving.
3 "People with discernment" is in Arabic ash-dawārī; see "Nāqūz," Enc. Islam., III, 888.
4 To understand the dialogue which follows, it is necessary to know something about one of the doctrines held by al-Najjar. He stated that God creates the actions of mankind, both good and bad. Then a man himself can carry out such of these created acts as he chooses. In other words, God creates the actions of a man, but the man himself can appropriate the divine will, so as to perform that which God has created. In this passage the word for "creation" is fāhida, and for "carry out" or "perform," fā'āl. The passage has been translated freely.
5 See Glossary for this doctrine which was upheld by al-Najjar.
6 For previous mention of this title, see translation, Chap. V., sect. 1, n. 272.
7 Probably meaning the voluntary appropriation by man of an act created by God, or the action so appropriated; istislah (see Glossary) is the doctrine which claims this ability for man.
8 MS 1934 leaves a space between these three last titles and the title which precedes them.
9 Abwāl means "doors." It is used for sections of the Qur'an, but here very likely signifies the Shi'ī imams.
Hafiz al-Fard

Hafiz al-Fard was one of the Mujbirah, in fact one of their greatest scholars, equal to al-Najjar. He was surnamed Abū 'Amr, and was one of the people of Egypt who went to al-Baṣrah, where he heard the lectures of] and met with Abū al-Hudhayfī, becoming his equal. Then Abū al-Hudhayfī broke with him.

At first he was a Mu'tazili, and later he subscribed to [the doctrine of] the creation of actions.19 He was nicknamed Abū Yaḥyā. There were among his books, according to [what is written in] the handwriting of the nephew [son of the brother] of al-Īskāfī, the protégé of the Banū Judain.20

Al-Ītāfī: Oneness; The Created [the Qur'ān], against Abū al-Hudhayfī; Refutation of the Christians; Refutation of the Mu'tazili; Abūwā, about the created [the Qur'ān].

Theologians of the Mujbirah of Whom No Book Is Known

Ṣabāḥīn, Nusayyin, Rukān, Al-Husayn ibn Kūrān, all of whom were protégés. Also Abū al-Ḥasan al-Samīrī and Ibn Wāhī al-Bunānī.21

Ibn Kullāb

He was 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Kullāb, the cotton worker (al-qāṭān), one of the Nābiyāt al-Ḥashwiyah. He had controversies with Abū Bākrid ibn Sulaymān and stated that the word (kālim) of Allāh was Allāh, so that 'Abdāl used to say that because of this statement he was a Christian.

Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Baghdāvi related:

We visited Pethāmīn, the Christian, who was in Dār al-Rūm on the West Side [of Bagdad]. The conversation flowed on until I asked him about Ibn Kullāb. Then he said, "God be merciful to 'Abd Allāh. While he

17. For this tribe, see Quraysh, Maṣṭīf, p. 46. The men named al-Īskāfī may be one of the men of that name listed in the Biog. Index.
18. These are unimportant scholars who have not been identified in any source except Al-Fihrist. The first four were evidently non-Arabs.
19. The interpretation of this name is a guess and may not be accurate. Cf. Arabic form given in the Flügel edition, p. 244, l. 9. Dār al-Rūm was a Christian quarter in Bagdad.
20. The saying was probably, "The word of Allāh is Allāh." 21. This probably refers to the belief held by al-Najjar and other heretics that God creates the actions for man to appropriate; see ināfī, Glossary.
22. For this tribe, see Quraysh, Maṣṭīf, p. 32 middle; Durayd, Geneal., p. 105.
23. See n. 45.
24. For this subsect and its relations with the Mujbirah, see Khayyār, Injīl, (Nyberg), main text, pp. 24-25, 126.
of the Qur'an. When he was in the congregational mosque of al-Hasrah on a Friday, he arose from his chair calling out at the top of his lungs:

Whoever has known me has known me and whoever has not known me, to him I make myself known. I am so-in-so, the son of so-in-so, who used to proclaim the creation of the Qur'an and that Allah will not be seen through the eyesight [of men] and that if I do wrong things, it is I who do them. Behold, I am repenting, uprooted, committed to refraining the Mu'azzalah, casting off their disgrace and shameful errors.

About him there was a great deal of jesting and joking. Ibn Abi Bishr died ——. Among his books there were:

Flashes (Al-Lumma); The Abridgment; Elucidation of the Proof; Explanation, concerning theology (nūn al-dīn); Exposition and Analysis Refuting the People of Deceit and Error.

Among His Associates

Al-Dunnāni and Hammauyah, both of whom were from among the people of Sirāf. He [al-Asb'ari] sought their help in connection with reproaches and defamation. Both of them were learned in accordance with his doctrine, but no book of theirs is known.

One of the Mujabirah

Al-Kāshāni, whose name was ———, had discussions with al-Salihī. He wrote a number of books which were in accord with the doctrines of his associates, and among which there were:

Creation of Actions; The Vision.

[the slave] replied, "It was thus that Allah foreordained." So he [Salām] exclaimed, "Thou art free because of thine knowledge of judgment and predestination (al-qadā' wa-al-qadar)," and he married him to the concubine. Among his books there were: ———.

'Abd Allah ibn Dā'ūd

He was one of the Mujabirah. As he was passing by a group of his friends, who happened to know where he was going, they said, "Have you made matters right between so-and-so and so-and-so?" He replied, "We've managed it so that Allah has not been corrupt, may Allah be exalted for that." Among his books there was Judgement and Predestination (Al-Qadā' wa-al-Qadar).

Al-Karābīsī

He was Ābū 'Ali al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Ali ibn Yazīd al-Muhallabī al-Karābīsī, one of the Mujabirah, learned in the Ḥadith and the law. I mention him here as he was more inclined to the ijābah than to other doctrines. When he died there were among his books:

The Untrustworthy in Connection with the Ḥadith; The Imamate, in which he showed malice towards 'Ah, for whom may there be peace.

Among His Young Men

Mustaqīm, whose name was Muhammad ibn 'Ali; Ibn Niṣāfī; and Shamsīyyah. Mustaqīm wrote The Strange in the Ḥadīth and Verification of the Traditions, which he did not finish; it was lengthy.

Ibn Abi Bishr [al-Asb'ari]22

He was Ābū al-Ḥasan 'Ali ibn Ismā'īl ibn Abi Bishr al-Asb'ari, from among the people of al-Hasrah. At first he was a Mu'tazilī, but later he repented of subscribing to justice (al-'adl) and creation

22 It would have been a corrupt event, if God had foreordained that two friends should quarrel with one another.
23 This title is given only in the Tūsī MS.
24 This probably refers to the doctrine of the Mujabirah.
25 This scholar is mentioned here because he started his career as a heretic, although later he became the leading orthodox theologian of the period. He became known as al-Asb'ari, but here is called Ibn Abi Bishr. Cf. Khalikānī, II, 227; "al-Asb'ari," Enc. Isl., I, 480; Nicholson, Literary History of the Arabs, 377-79.
26 See Glossary, Mu'azzalah.
27 This very likely refers to the top step of a pulpit on which the leader sat when conducting the Friday service, but it might also refer to the chair which a professor used when he lectured or taught his class.
28 Compare this title with Al-Bihārī's Uṣūl al-Dīnābah ("Explanations from the Sources of Religion"), the usual form of the title, in the Bibliography.
29 An important city of southern Persia; see Yaqūt, Gog, III, 215.
30 See n. 15. Instead of qḍū ("actions"), Flügel has ṣfēkū ("celestial spheres").
31 This refers to the question of whether or not a believer might have a vision of God in Paradise by means of his own eyesight. See Asb'ari, Theology of al-Asb'ari, Chap. IV.
In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate

The Fourth Section of the Fifth Chapter

of the book Al-Fihrist, with accounts of the scholars and the names of the books which they composed. It includes accounts of the theologians of the Khawārij, with the names of their books.¹

Thus saith Muhammad ibn Ishaq [al-Nadim]: Although the leaders of this group [the Khawārij] were numerous, not all of them composed books. Furthermore, we may not have received information about some of them who, though not known to have written books, did actually write them, for their books were concealed and guarded.

Among Their Theologians: Al-Yamān ibn Rihāb

He was one of the leaders and chiefs of the Khawārij. He started as one of the Thā‘alibah, but later changed to the doctrines of the Bayhaṣiyah.² He was a debator, a theologian, and a writer of books, among which there were:

- The Created [the Qur’an]; Oneness; Judgments of the Believers; against the Mu‘tazilah, about predestination; Discourses; Proofs of the Immaculate of Abū Bakr; Refutation of the Murji‘ah; against the Mu‘tazilah, about predestination; Refutation of Ḥanmād ibn Abī Ḥanifah.

Yahyā ibn Kāmil

Abū ‘Alī Yahyā ibn Kāmil ibn Ṭuhayyib al-Jaḥdari³ was at first an associate of Bishr al-Marrisi and one of the Murji‘ah. Then he

¹ This title follows MS 1934.
² For these sects see the Glossary.
³ This word is not clearly written in the Tont and 1934 MSS, but evidently comes from the Jaḥdār Tribe; see Dusayd, Geneal., p. 213.

SECTION FOUR

changed over to the doctrine of the Ḥādīthyah. Among his books there were:

The questions transmitted from him to Ja‘far ibn Ḥarb, entitled The Magnificent (Al-Jallīlah); The Created [the Qur’an]; Oneness, a refutation of the Ghūlīt and the sects of the Shi‘ah.

Al-Sayrafi

He was Abū ‘Alī Muhammad ibn Ḥarb, one of the theologians of the Khawārij and a Hilālī from the Banū Hilāl.⁴ Among his books there were: ———.

‘Abd Allāh ibn Yazīd al-Ḥādhī

He was one of the greatest of the Khawārij and one of their theologians. Among his books there were:

Oneness; against the Mu‘tazilah; Al-Iṣtiqā‘ah; Refutation of the Ṣa‘īdah.

Ḥāfīz ibn Ashaym

He was one of the Khawārij, among whose books there was Schisms and Their Refutation, quoted from Ja‘far ibn Ghālib.

Among Their Men Who Were Dialectic Metaphysicians

Ṣāliḥ, Da‘ūd, and Ziyād al-A‘sam. They wrote controversial epistles, but no book of theirs is known.

Among the Leaders of the Ḥādīthyah Who Did Write Books

Ibrahīm ibn Ṭuḥayyib al-Ḥādhī, among whose books there were:

Refutation of the Qadariyyah; The Imamate.

Ṣāliḥ al-Ḥādī
de was one of the important men of the Banū Ṣamī‘ah.⁵ Among his books there were:

Oneness; Refutation of Those Who Disagree.

⁴ See Khallikān, I, 241, for this tribe.
⁵ For this tribe, see Dusayd, Geneal., p. 146 bottom; Qutaybah, Mu‘qāṭ, p. 55.
The Fifth Section of the Fifth Chapter

of the book Al-Fihrist, with accounts of the scholars and the names of the books which they composed. It includes accounts of the pilgrims, the ascetics, the devotees, and the Sufis who were theologians by means of mental seizures and hallucinations.\(^1\)

Thus saith Muhammad ibn Ishāq [al-Nadim]: I have read written in the handwriting of Abū Muhammad Ja‘far al-Khuldī, who was one of the leaders of the persons who became Sufis, a pious man and an ascetic, and I have also heard him relate this same statement, the one I read written in his handwriting, and which was as follows:

I took [the following list of ascetics] from al-Junayd Abū al-Qasim ibn Muḥammad, who said to me, "I took it from Abū al-Ḥasan al-Sāri ibn al-Mughāball al-Saqāṭ, and al-Sāri from Ma‘rūf al-Karkhī, Ma‘rūf al-Karkhī having taken it from Farqad al-Sanjī, and Farqad in turn from al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. Al-Ḥasan took it from Anas ibn Mālik. Al-Ḥasan, furthermore, met with seventy of the men who fought at the Battle of Badr."

The Names of the Devotees, Ascetics, and Sufis, as Listed in the Handwriting of Ja‘far ibn Nuṣayr al-Khuldī\(^2\)

\(^1\) The title is taken from MS 1934. The word translated "pilgrimage" is al-najjār, which might also mean persons who travel about, seeking pious exercises. The word translated "hallucinations" might mean "psychological suggestions."

\(^2\) The phrase following the word "Sufis" is not found in the Tonk or 1934 MSS. Instead, they have simply the words "from his handwriting." This list should be compared with the names given by 'Ali b. Uthmān, pp. 88 ff., and 'Abd Allāh, Al-Lam‘ā, pp. 223 ff. Most of the names can also be found in Shamsiyya, Tahāqāt, and 'Aṣāfīr, Memorial des saints.
CHAPTER FIVE

Al-Hasan ibn ‘Ali al-Hasan al-Baqri, already mentioned; Muhammad ibn Sirin; Harin ibn Hayyân; ‘Alqama al-Aswad; Ibrâhim ibn Yazid al-Nakhrâ; al-Shâbî; Malik ibn Dinâr; Muhammad ibn Wâsî; ‘Ata’ al-Sulami; Malik ibn Asas; Sufyân al-Thawri, mention of whom will follow; al-Auwârî, mention of whom will follow; Thâbit al-Bunâni; Ibrahim al-Taymi; Sulaymân al-Taymi, already mentioned; Faqah al-Sabakhî; Ibn al-Sammâlî; ‘Utbah ibn Sallâm al-Ghulâmî; Sâd ibn al-Murri, who was a village; Ibrahim ibn Adham; ‘Abd al-Wâjîd ibn Zayd; Ibn al-Munkâtir; Muhammad ibn Haçib al-Fârisî; al-Rabi’ ibn Khaththâm; Abû Mu’awiyah al-Aswad; Ayyub al-Sakhribîyânî; Yâsîf ibn Anûsî; Abû Sulaymân al-Darûrî; Ibn Abî al-Hawârît; Dâ’ûd al-Tâ’î; Fath al-Mawṣûlî; Shaybân al-Râ‘î; al-Ma’îfî ibn Ibrân; al-Fu’ayl ibn Iyâd.

Yahyâ ibn Mu’âdh al-Râzî

He was one of the ascetics who practiced nighttime prayer and was a devotee with a number of disciples. He died during the year two hundred and six [A.D. 825/26]. Among his books there was Desire of the Desirous (Musâd al-Muardâ).\(^3\)

Al-Yamâni\(^4\) ‘Umar ibn Mu’âmmad ibn ‘Abd al-‘Hakam, surnamed Abû Haçî

He was one of the ascetics who engaged in Sûfî practices. Among his books there was Rising at Night and Nighttime Prayer.

Bishr ibn al-Hârîth

He was a devotee and ascetic who died during the year two hundred and twenty-seven [A.D. 841/42]. Among his books there was Aṣɛcticism.

The Names of the Authors among the Ascetics and Sûfis, with Mention of the Books Which They Composed

\(^3\) In the Flügel edition the title is incomplete.
\(^4\) The Tork MS omits the passage about Al-Yamâni and gives the paragraphs preceding and following in a different order.

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Al-Hârîth ibn Asad

He was [called] al-Mul‘âshibî al-Baghdâdi.\(^5\) He was one of the ascetics and theologians who taught piety with asceticism in the world (worldly affairs). He was also a preacher. He was, moreover, a legal authority and a theologian who produced books about the Hadîth and was acquainted with the schools of thought of the ascetics. He died during the year two hundred and forty-three [A.D. 857/58]. Among his books there was Reflection and Consideration.

Al-Khaṭîb [al-Baghdâdi] said, “He wrote many books about asceticism, the fundamentals of religion, and refutation of the Mu‘azzilah,”\(^6\)

‘Abd al-Azîz ibn Yahyâ al-Makkî

He belonged to the group of al-Hârîth [ibn Asad]. He was ‘Abd al-Azîz ibn Yahyâ ibn ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Muslim ibn Mas‘ûd, a theologian and leader (in the forefront), an ascetic and devotee. He wrote books about theology and asceticism. He died ——. Among his books there was The Turning Aside, about what occurred between him and Bishr al-Marîsî.

Manṣûr ibn ‘Ammâr

He was surnamed Abû al-Sarî and was an irreproachable ascetic. He had the real name Abû al-Sarî and was known as a real name. He held the position of a real name, the position of a real name.\(^7\)

About the concealed; Embellishment (Al-Dhibâ); Description of the Camel;\(^8\) The Way;\(^8\) about mention of death; about the excellence of thought with (knowledge of) Allâh; about the choice and religion;\(^9\)

\(^5\) MS 1594 omits al-Baghdâdi.
\(^6\) In MS 1594 this paragraph is inserted in a different handwriting. It is a quotation from Baghdâdi, Ta’rikh, VIII, 211 l. 18 (see Bibliography). Al-Khaṭîb al-Baghdâdi almost certainly born about twelve years after the death of al-Nâfî in 830 CE. The word mafâsî (‘session’) rather than knôh (‘book’) precedes each title in this list.
\(^7\) This may be al-ahl (‘camel’) or al-sâdî (‘hypocrite’).
\(^8\) Flügel gives al-sâlî (‘way’), whereas MS 1594 has a word like al-nâyî (‘teaching,’ ‘acquiring’) or al-nîsî (‘authentically’). The last two forms also have other meanings.
\(^9\) The word translated as ‘choice’ is al-imān, which has so many meanings that it is impossible to be sure exactly what it signifies in this passage.
about affliction; the Clouds over the People in (of) the Fire; about ‘Wait for us, that we may borrow from your light’; about plunging into the fire; The Assignment to Allāh, Exalted and Sublime; Following Tracks in the Raid; The Covered, about mention of death.

Al-Burjūlānī

He was Muhammad ibn al-Husayn, surnamed Abū Ja‘far. He was one of those who composed books about asceticism and abstention. He died ——. Among his books there were:

- Companionship (Communion); The Enslaved by Love; Bountifulness and Generosity (Al-Jid wa-al-Karam); Holy Aspiration (Al-Himmah); Patience (Al-Šabr); Obedience (Al-Ta‘ā).

‘Ubayh [ibn Sallām] al-Ghulām

He was one of the ascetics, among whose books there was his epistle about rites of the pilgrimage.

Ibn Abī al-Dunyā

His name was ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Muhammad ibn ‘Ubayd, surnamed Abū Bakr. He was from the Quraysh, from the offspring of ——. He served as tutor to al-Muktafi bi-Allāh and was also a devotee and an ascetic, acquainted with historical traditions and quotations. He died on Tuesday during the fourteenth night of Junādī al-Ākhirah [the sixth Muslim month], in the year two hundred and eighty-one [A.D. 894/95]. Among his books there were:

- The Decree of Satan; The Dream (Magnanimity); Understanding (Figū) of the Prophet, for Whom Be Peace; The Reproach of Amusements; The Reproach of Obscenity; Pardon (Compassion); The Reproach of Intoxicating Liquors; Affirmation; The Excellence of the Month of Ramadān; Charity of al-Fitr; The Married of Fātimah, for Whom May There Be Peace; [Qu‘ānic] Reading; Voices (Sounds); Command for Good and Interdiction of Evil; Solitude, Sorrow, and Grief.

- Sincerity and Resolution; Pestilences; Patience and Civilities of Speech; Rare Forms (Unusual Anecdotes); Desired Aims; Followers; Traditions of the Quraysh; Reproach of the World; Description of the Scales (al-Mizān); Description of al-Širat; Al-Mawqūf; The Tree of Tūbā; Sidrāh al-Muntahā; The Noble Qualities of Good Dispositions; Mention of Death and the Tombs; Action of al-Munkar; Piety; The Rituals of the Pilgrimage of Mālik ibn Dinār.

11 The Arabic for “affliction” is al-bāli. For a better understanding of this word, see ‘Allā, ‘Uṣmānīn, p. 388.

12 This evidently refers to Judgment and Hell, but no reference has been found in the Qur’ān to identify the metaphor.

13 This quotation is from the Qur’ān 57:13. In the clause which follows, MS 1934 gives “into the fire.” Flügel erroneously has “into the fire” with “that we may borrow from your light” in the wrong position, and as a separate “session.”

14 “Assignment to” is in Arabic al-ṣā‘īd ‘ārā’il, from MS 1934. It might also mean “payment to.” Flügel gives al-ṣā‘īd ‘ārā’il, which might mean “requisite to,” or one of many other meanings.

15 “Following tracks” is the suggested meaning of an unusual form given by Flügel as al-tag‘īfiyyah. The form given in MS 1934 looks like al-taq‘īfiyyah, an unidentified word. It may be a form implying “poverty” or else in a different sense referring to a camel with a broken back.

16 This refers to the love of God. For the Shi‘ī terms in the four titles which follow, see ‘Allā, ‘Uṣmānīn as follows: al-jūd, p. 317; al-hinnah, pp. 153, 235; al-ṣā‘īd, p. 86; al-ta‘ā, pp. 205, 226, 287.

17 Flügel gives this name in its complete form, as translated. The 1934 and Tonk MSS give the name in complete form except for a blank space after the last ibn, where Flügel includes ‘Ubayd. Taghūrī-Birdī, Part II, p. 86, has ‘Abd Allāh instead of ‘Ubayd Allāh.

18 Flügel gives ulīd (“relationship”), whereas the 1934 and Tonk MSS have wulīd (“offspring”).
Ibn al-Junayd\(^\text{28}\)

His name was ——. Among his books there were: 20

Love (Al-Mahabbah); Fear (Al-Khawf); Abstinence from Evil (Al-Wara); The Pious (Al-Rahbān).

Al-Migri, Abū al-Hasan 'Ali ibn Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Majid

He was by origin from Sāmarrā, but he moved to Egypt, later returning to Baghdad. His birth was at Sāmarrā during the year two hundred and fifty-seven [A.D. 870/71], and there he was brought up. He was pious and an ascetic. He was a jurist acquainted with the Hadith. He died during the year three hundred and thirty-eight [A.D. 949/50]. Among his books about asceticism there were:

The Great Book, which included forty chapters, among which there were: Rising at Night [for prayer]; Bound by Mutual Love; Constant Awareness [of God]; Silence; Fear; Repentance; Patience; Portents and Persons Possessed by Spirits; The Small Compendium for Morals; The Hadith about Asceticism; 26 the new book about reconciliation; Sincerity.

He also wrote [books] about the law:

Rites of the Pilgrimage; Judicial Purification; Prayer; Shares of Inheritance; Intention [probably for prayer]; The Poor Tax; Fasts; Superiority of Poverty over Riches. 28

Another Group of Persons Who Became Sufis

Ghulām Khalil

His name was 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd al-Malik ibn Muhammad ibn Ghulām ibn Khalīd ibn Farās al-Bāhili, known as Ghulām Khalil. 29 He died ——. Among his books there were:

\[\text{28} \] This was not the famous Ibn al-Junayd named Abī al-Qāsim.

\[\text{29} \] To understand the titles, see 'Ali a. 'Uthmān, pp. 137, 178, 305, for al-mahabbah; p. 371 for al-khawf; p. 17 for al-wara'. Al-rahbān means excessively fearful of Hell and is evidently the word intended here rather than al-rabāb ('monks').

\[\text{30} \] The Twok MS has al-rabāb ('monks', 'portents'); MS 1594 does not make the word clear, while Flügel has al-nāsīh ('females').

\[\text{31} \] This probably quoted sayings of the Prophet about renunciation.

\[\text{32} \] For translations of the Arabic terms for these titles, see 'Ali a. 'Uthmān, Index 2, p. 432. Arberry, Sufism, also explains the rites mentioned in this passage.

\[\text{33} \] For ghulām, see Glossary.

Petition (Prayer, Al-Du'a); Attachment to Allāh, May His Name Be Glorified; Prayer (Al-Salāh); Sermons.

Salih al-Tustari

He was 'Abd Allāh ibn Yūnus ibn 'Isā ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Rāfi' at-Tustari. He became a Sūfi. He died ——. Among his books there were:

Moments [Subtleties] of the Lovers [Lovers of Allāh]; Sermons of Those with the Knowledge; 26 The Answers of Men of Conviction.

Fāth al-Mawṣūli

He was by origin a manālīk [white-skinned slave] and was one of the ascetics who became a Sūfi. No book of his is known, but his words are remembered and his expressions are still current.

Abū Hamzah the Sūfi

His name was Muhammad ibn Ibrāhīm. Among his books there were:

Those Who Succeeded among Persons Traveling about Seeking Pity, the Devotees, and Persons Who Became Sūfi— it was quoted by a Sūfi named Abū al-Hasan Ahlād ibn Muhammad al-Dinawarī, and I have seen this as belonging to this man; 29 Substitutes; Abodes of the Devotees.

Muhammad ibn Yahyā

He was al-Azdī or al-Ādami, I am not sure which. Among his books there was Trust, which was quoted by Abū 'Ali Muhammad ibn Ma'n ibn Ḥishām al-Qāri.

Al-Junayd [Abī al-Qāsim]

He was al-Junayd ibn Muhammad ibn al-Junayd, not a descendant of the first one. He was one of the theologians of the Sūfi doctrine, and he lived after three hundred [A.D. 912/13]. 30

\[\text{30} \] See 'Ali a. 'Uthmān, pp. 100, 382, for the Sūfi use of 'ard ('know').

\[\text{31} \] For the word translated "succeeded," Flügel gives al-muntāmin, whereas the Twok MS has the simpler and perhaps more accurate form, al-mustāmin. The word probably signifies those who achieved ecstatic union with the Deity.

\[\text{32} \] The Twok MS gives this version, whereas Flügel repeats the words translated as "and among his books there were."

\[\text{33} \] Although mentioned briefly, this was a well-known mystic and ascetic; see Bagn. Index. The year three hundred is probably an error, as Khalilīn, 1,138-39, says he died A.D. 910.
Statement about the Doctrines of the İsmāʿiliyyah

What Abū ʿAbd Allāh ibn Rūzām said in his book in which he refuted the İsmāʿiliyyah and exposed their schools of thought, I am presenting in Abū ʿAbd Allāh’s own words, so that I can be free from responsibility for the truth and falseness of the matter.

He said that ʿAbd Allāh ibn Maymūn, this Maymūn being known as al-Quddās, was from the people of Quraj al-Abharī near the city of al-ʿAbwāz. His father was Maymūn, to whom was related the group known as al-Maymūnīyyah. This sect seemed to be attached to Abū al-Khaṭṭāb Muḥammad ibn Abī Zaynah, who declared the divinity of Ali ibn Abī Ṭalīb, for whom may there be peace.

“Doctrines” (muṣnād) is taken from the Tonk and 1934 MSS. Flügel gives the singular form, maṣnād. The background of the İsmāʿili sect is as follows: The Shiʿī branch of Bābīs declared that only the direct lineal descendants of the Prophet, through his daughter Fāṭimah and her husband Ali, had the right to be the caliph. The 6th imām or lineal descendant, who died A.H. 765, was Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (see Hitti, Arabic, p. 442, for a list of the imams). Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq had numerous sons. One of the younger of these was regarded as his father’s legal successor. He was Mūsā al-Kāẓīm, whose followers form the main branch of the Shīʿah in Iran, Southern Iraq, and other places. Another son was İsmāʿīl, who died prematurely, but his son known as Muḥammad al-Maktabī claimed the right to the succession for his branch of the family. His followers formed the İsmāʿiliyyah. This group developed a secret underground movement which for a number of generations threatened the existence of the Abbatid caliphate, their headquarters being at Salamiyyah, between Hamah and Palmyra, in Syria. The genius who organized this underground movement was Maymūn. Some scholars think that he was the same person as Muḥammad al-Maktabī, but it is more probable that he was a retainer attached to the descendants of Ali. Maymūn and his son ʿAbd Allāh organized the İsmāʿili conspiracy, which had branches in Persia, al-Yaman, and Fāṭimid North Africa. The representatives of the İsmāʿiliyyah still existing today are the Bohra of India and the Khoja, whose chief is the Ḥūja Ḥusayn. See “İsmāʿiliyyah,” Enc. Islam, II, 549; Shahrastāni (Hascherzick), Part I, p. 219.

As the Tonk MS gives a different spelling and the name is not listed by Yāqūt, this was probably an unimportant village.

The sect following Abū al-Khaṭṭāb was called the Khaṭṭābīyyah, so that this group was perhaps attached to Maymūn to start with and later absorbed by the followers of Abū al-Khaṭṭāb. It is not to be confused with the Maymūnīyyah branch of the Khawārij. See Baghdāḍī (Falṭīn), pp. 32, 62-63, 74; Ṣaḥnūrī, Ibn al-Qaddāb, p. 93 ff.

The Flügel edition gives a different pious epithet: “May Allāh be well pleased with him.” The translation follows the Tonk and 1934 MSS.

Maymūn and his son were Daysāniyyūn and for a long time ʿAbd Allāh [the son] propagated the [İsmāʿīli] doctrine as a prophet. He appeared to work miracles, declaring that the earth would roll up for him, or stretch to wherever he wished in the shortest possible time. He also used to give out news about what was happening in distant places. He had agents in the localities where he wished and, as he was kind to them, they helped him with his intrigues. They had birds which they set free to go from different localities to the place where he was, bringing news from their regions; so in this way he deceived them.

He moved to live at ʿAskar-Mukram, but he was so hard pressed that he fled from there. Two of his houses in a locality known as Sāḥīf Abī Nūr were demolished. One of them was rebuilt as a mosque, but the other is a ruin to this day. Upon going to al-Baṣrah to dwell with a group of the descendants of the Aqīl ibn Abī Ṭalīb, he was again so hard pressed that he fled to Salamiyyah near Hīm, where he purchased estates.

When he dispatched propagandists to Sawād al-Kifāh, there was a favorable response from a man of that district known as Ḥamdān ibn Abī Asʿārī, nicknamed Qarmāt because of the shriveling of his back and leg. This Qarmāt was a farmer and a cattle drover.

This was the sect founded by Ibn Daṣṣān and regarded as very heretical by the Muslims.

The Tonk MS gives this story more clearly than the other versions do. The last word of the paragraph, “them,” refers to the people whom Maymūn deceived and who lived in his immediate neighborhood.

ʿAskar-Mukram was a city of southwestern Persia and Sāḥīf Abī Nūr was probably a street or locality in the city. See Yāqūt, Geog., III, 676; “ʿAskar Mukram,” Enc. Islam, I, 488.

For this tribe, see Durayd, General, p. 39; Qirimākī, Maṣāʾif, p. 102.

The old Salamiyyah or Salamiyyah on the edge of the desert east of Hamah and Hīm and west of Palmyra is still the center of some 33,000 members of the İsmāʿiliyyah.


Sawād al-Kifāh was a region of irrigated lands near the ancient Babylon.

The Arabic word for a propaganda agent is al-dīwān, plural al-dīwān. The word for propaganda is al-dīwān.

For the origin of this name, see Hitti, Arabic, p. 444 n. 3; for the man see Baghdāḍī (Falṭīn), p. 110; “Karmāṭ}, Enc. Islam, II, 767; Silvestre de Sacy, I, chpt. n. 1; chpt.
in a village known as Qass Bahram, or Râs Qarnât. He was a crafty person, who enlisted to take part in his propaganda movement 'Abdân, the [alleged] author of books which were composed and for the most part falsely attributed to him. 48 'Abdân played his part in the propaganda in Sawâd al-Kufâ, while Qarnât stayed at Kalwâdâh. 'Abd Allâh ibn Maymûn also assigned one of his sons to al-Talâqân so he could correspond with him. 49 This was during the year two hundred and sixty-one [A.D. 874/75].

When 'Abd Allâh died, his son Muhammad ibn 'Abd Allâh succeeded him. Then when Muhammad died, there was disagreement among their propagandists and the members of their sect. 50 Some of them thought that his brother Ahmad ibn 'Abd Allâh was the successor, while others believed that the person to follow him was his son, also named Ahmad but nicknamed Abâ al-Shalgâlî or (al-Shalâ'î). 51

Then after that arose in the movement Sa'id ibn al-Hasan ibn 'Abd Allâh ibn Maymûn. This Hasan died while his father was alive, but even previous to the time of Sa'id the [Ismâ'îlî] propaganda had spread among the Banû al-Umayyâ of the Kalb Tribe. 52

After leaving al-Barânah, 'Abd Allâh and his sons continued to press the claim that they were descended from 'Aqîl 53 and had determined the genealogy [of his descendants] at al-Barânah. Due to the sons of 'Abd Allâh the propaganda spread throughout the land, as the agents went to al-Rayy, Tabaristan, Khurâsân, al-Yaman, al-Ahshâ', al-Qaṭîf, and Fâris. 54

48 Qass Bahram was evidently a hamlet at first named for a Christian and later for Qarnat; see Silvestre de Sacy, I, cxvii n. 1.
49 For these books, see text near n. 84.
50 Kalwâdâh was a town east of Baghdad; see Yaqût, Geog., IV, 301. Al-Talâqân was a large city in Khurâsân. See Silvestre de Sacy, III, 492; I, cxvii.
51 MS 1934 and the Tonk MS make it clear that the word translated “sect” is sitlân.
52 Tabari, Annals, III, 2218 ff., in his account about the Ismâ'îlîyyah explains that the tribe of the Banû al-Umayyâ ibn Dâmmân was a branch of the Banû Kalb Tribe.
53 As 'Aqîl was a brother of the Caliph 'Ali, relationship with his offspring gave prestige.
54 Al-Ahshâ' and al-Qaṭîf are on the east coast of Arabia. The 1934 and Tonk MSS give the final word as Fâris, or southwest Persia, rather than al-Quds, written by Flügel.

Then Sa'id went to Egypt, propagating the claim that he was a descendant of 'Ali and Fatîmah, with the name of 'Ubayd Allâh. There he associated with al-Nâsharî [the governor], being honored by the adherents of the sultan. As he consolidated his activities, information about him reached [the Caliph] al-Mu'tasîdî, who ordered his arrest. Accordingly, he fled to al-Maqrîûrî, where his propaganda was successful among two groups of the Berbers, 55 and where he met with experiences that are well known, the country facilitating things for him.

When he saw that the descendant for whom he laid claim was not accepted, he ceased to appear a young man who was a newcomer and whom he asserted to be a descendant of Muhammad ibn Ismâ'îl al-Makîtûn. This was al-Hasan Abû al-Qâsim, who was al-Qâ'im bi-'al-Mirâj, 60 following 'Ubayd Allâh. 57

57 MS 1934 and the Tonk MS give nanazzaq (“consolidated”).
58 This term is used for North Africa, but in this passage refers to what is today Tunisia.
60 This was the title by which he was known in history as the Second Fatimid caliph. It signifies the one rising up in the affair after 'Ubayd Allâh.
61 As the Fatimid, or Ismâ'îlî, caliphate almost wrecked the Sunni regime of Baghdad, numerous authors tried to prove that the Fatimid caliphs were impostors and not true descendants of the Prophet’s daughter Fatimah. Other historians defended the authenticity of the Fatimid lineage, while some, including the author of the Fatimiyyah were neutral. See Khâlid, Maqâlîd al-Sa'an (Rosenthal), I, 41; Khâlid, Histoire des Berbères, I, 265; II, 496, 515, 528; Taghâni-Bîrî, Part IV, p. 75; Yaqût, Geog., IV, 604; Khallâkûn, II, 77; Silvestre de Sacy, I, cccl, translated from al-Nuwayrî; Niçâm al-Mulkî, Stories Named, pp. 289, 288; Baghdîdî (Halkî), p. 117 f.; Maqrî, I, 32, 33. 62 Niçâm al-Mulkî (Halkî), p. 577; Abîrî, Part VIII, p. 212. Other references can be found in Lewis, The Origins of Ismâ’îlîsm, p. 101.
63 The account in Al-Fihrist confines the descendants of Muhammad al-Makîtûn with those of Ismâ’îl. See the Appendix to this translation, which is a table of succession which follows a letter written by Sa'id al-Mahdoll; see Hamdanî, On the Genealogy of the Fatimid Caliphs.
64 As all of these men were pretenders to the throne, they were sought after by the Baghdad police. Muhhammad al-Makîrî may really have been the son of an elder brother named 'Abd Allâh but have pretended to be the son of Ismâ’îl, who had died prematurely, and was therefore not taken seriously by the police. He and his heirs lived in secret, first in Persia and later at Salânâysh in Syria.
65 A great deal of light is thrown on the disputed question of the entrance of Sa'id al-Maqlûb into the line of succession, when it is realized that his father was evidently a younger brother and not the true heir to the imamate. This revealing information is contained in a quotation; see Husayn, Al-Muqaddîs al-Mustanîrîyyah, 34th mujilah. The passage evidently points to Muhammad Abû al-Shalgâlî, who as the elder