

The Arabian Peninsula

There is a great contrast between Iran and the Arabian Peninsula; the region from which Islam came was at the same time the one in which it was subject to the smallest foreign influence. Of course, Arabia was not entirely secluded from events in the “Old World”; we need only consider the frescoes and statues in Qaryat al-Fā’w¹ or the Sasanid occupation of Yemen.² Still, it is likely that religion was able to grow undisturbed and according to its own laws there, just as society still preserves pure ancient Arabian traits to this day. Research is complicated by the fact that we possess only few indigenous and reliable sources; even Mālik b. Anas’ *Muwattaʿa*’ survives only in non-Hijazi recensions.³ The reason for this was that the Arabian Peninsula moved into a marginal political position as early as the first century; ‘Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr was the last to try to restore its importance. Our account begins at a point when the loss of importance was already established fact, when even the Khārijites who had first appeared in Arabia had found another target region. Politics was determined by governors about whose activities we know little;⁴ and scholarship was dominated by men whose images we find in the biographies in Iraq or the Maghreb. Thus while the contours are blurred, three regions can be distinguished as individual cultural provinces: the Hijaz with its two centres Mecca and Medina, Yemen, and Oman with Ḥaḍramawt.

1 Cf. the images in A. R. al-Ansary, *Qaryat al-Fau*, p. 104 and 135ff.

2 See p. 787 below.

3 Cf. Schacht in EI² VI 264.

4 Regarding the administration of the Hijaz in the first centuries cf. Ş. A. al-‘Alī in: *Abhath* 21/1968, issue 2–4, 3ff.

4.1 The Hijaz

4.1.1 Mecca

Once a year, during the pilgrimage, Mecca was the meeting place of the great wide world. Ordinary people came, too, as well as those who did not have much money, such as scholars, their elation occasionally dampened by the avarice of the locals. A building boom under Mu'āwiya had limited the space available in the city; visitors had to pay for lodgings. This did not seem to the pious to be compatible with the prophet's teachings; and a hadith debate erupted on whether it was in fact permitted at all to let houses in Mecca.¹ Furthermore the crush was such that during the *tawāf* men and women were close to one another in a not very decorous fashion; the governor Khālīd al-Qasrī was the first to take action and separate the sexes.² Al-Mahdī censured the Meccans' bad morals, namely usury and an easy-going lifestyle, in an official letter.³ People in the city were certainly no less pious than elsewhere, only more care-free and inclined to pleasure. The governor had little reason to intervene, and if he did it was usually because political turmoil elsewhere extended as far as his city. When Ḥajjāj persuaded Khālīd al-Qasrī to surrender the Iraqi scholars who had taken part in Ibn al-Ash'ath's uprising,⁴ some Meccans were arrested as well: the Quranic exegete Mujāhid b. Jabr (d. 103/721 or 104/722) as well as the jurists 'Aṭā' b. Abī Rabāḥ (d. 114/732) and 'Amr b. Dīnār (d. 126/743).⁵ Later, Hishām would revoke the inhabitants' *'aṭā'* for a year because they had leaned towards Zayd b. 'Alī.⁶

Two of the three Meccan scholars were soon released, only Mujāhid remaining in prison for some months until Ḥajjāj's death;⁷ he had in fact been present at Dayr al-Jamājim.⁸ We do not know why the other two had been troubled. Maybe they had only given shelter to their colleagues, or protested against their arrest; 'Amr b. Dīnār was reported to have abused a guardsman when the latter

1 Cf. in more detail Kister in: JESHO 15/1972/86ff. (= *Studies in Jāhiliyya and Early Islam*, no. 11).

2 Wüstenfeld, *Chroniken* IV 148.

3 Extant as an addition by Khuzā'ī to Azraqī's *Akhbār Makka* (Wüstenfeld, *Chroniken* IV 164ff.).

4 Cf. vol. I 181 above.

5 Ṭabarī II 1262, 6ff.; quoted in TT V 32, 5ff. Ibn Sa'd talks of ten prisoners in all (VI 184, 15). The event took place in 94/713, the same year in which persecution started in Medina, too (see p. 744 below).

6 *Agh.* VII 22, 3ff.

7 Thus according to the original text in Ṭabarī; Ibn Ḥajar quotes Ṭabarī differently.

8 Fasawī I 711, -4ff.

arrested a “Qadarite”, afraid that the same fate might befall him.⁹ Searching for deeper reasons meets with difficulties. Madelung assumed that they, like the Iraqis arrested with them, were Murji’ites,¹⁰ but the Murji’a was not really established in the Hijaz.¹¹ Furthermore, two of them, Mujāhid and ‘Amr b. Dīnār, were claimed by the Ibādites.¹² The latter was a Qadarite as well,¹³ and in addition was thought to have ties to the Shī’a.¹⁴ And while Kufan jurists visited ‘Atā’ b. Abī Rabāḥ, it was not for his theological but his legal opinions;¹⁵ he was also quoted as having spoken out against the Basran Qadariyya.¹⁶

The only text that promises greater certainty compared to these not easily verifiable speculations is Mujāhid’s *Tafsīr*. It is available in a printed edition¹⁷ which, however, will require more in-depth scrutiny as it has clearly been revised and castigated.¹⁸ Even without this edition, G. Stauth reached the conclusion that “Mujāhid’s *Tafsīr* is impossible to reconstruct on the basis of the extant sources”. This verdict refers to the linguistic appearance; before AH 150 tradition permitted a “largely free approach to the text as long as the meaning was conveyed correctly”.¹⁹ Which gives rise to the question of whether this “free” approach might have resulted in corrections to the substance – such as omissions – as well. The question must, as we shall see, be answered in the affirmative, but a detailed analysis is yet to be undertaken. It must always

9 Qāḍī ‘Abd al-Jabbār, *Faḍl* 337, 14ff. > IM 135, 1ff., after Muḥammad b. Yazdādih’s *K. al-maṣābiḥ*. Cf. also Wüstenfeld, *Chroniken* IV 150.

10 *Qāsim* 233.

11 See p. 739ff. below.

12 Ash’arī, *Maq.* 109, 14f.

13 Thus Yahyā b. Ma’in (cf. Ka’bī 81, 7, and 82, 7f. > *Faḍl* 337, 15), but maybe due simply to the anecdote mentioned above.

14 Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Kifāya* 125, 11. He was a friend of Muḥammad al-Bāqir’s (Fasawī I 704, 6f., where this fact is taken as proof of his distance to the Qadariyya).

15 See vol. I 228. Regarding ‘Atā’ b. Abī Rabāḥ as a jurist cf. Schacht, *Origins* 250ff., and Motzki, *Die Anfänge der islamischen Jurisprudenz* 157ff. and 219ff.; he was an authority on pilgrimage rites (cf. Juynboll in: JSAI 10/1987/100).

16 HT 167f.; also Index s. n.

17 Vol. 1–2, ed. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ṭāhir Muḥammad al-Sūrtī; Islamabad (ca. 1980).

18 It is essentially Warqā’ b. ‘Umar’s redaction after Ibn Abī Najīḥ, expanded by ‘Ādam b. Abī Iyās al-Khurāsānī (d. 220/835; cf. GAS 1/37 and 102; also p. 77 above and p. 722 and 730 below). ‘Atā’ b. Abī Rabāḥ also gave exegetic lectures the contents of which came down to Ṭabarī (GAS 1/31); but they are even more in need of reconstruction (cf. Cerrahoğlu in: İlah. Fak. Dergisi 22/1978/17ff.; also id., *Tefsīr tarihi* I 163ff.).

19 *Die Überlieferung des Korankommentars Muḥāhid b. Ḡabrs* (PhD Gießen 1969), p. 225 and 223; cf. also Leemhuis in: *Proc. IX. Congress UEAI Amsterdam* 169ff., and *Approaches to the History of the Interpretation of the Qur’an* 19ff.

be borne in mind that in the case of an early “author” like Mujāhid, as with Muqātil b. Sulaymān, later approaches to a problem do not necessarily apply and that he should not be linked to a particular camp because of one isolated remark. Goldziher pointed out the differences in his treatment of popular religious concepts. On the one hand Mujāhid modified them with metaphoric exegesis,²⁰ on the other he interpreted the “praiseworthy rank” or “honourable place” (*maqām maḥmūd*), to which Muḥammad will be awakened by God according to sura 17:79, to mean quite literally that on the Latter Day God would have Muḥammad sit on the throne beside him. Other exegetes favoured the interpretation that this indicated Muḥammad’s intercession, even if they were not usually inclined to metaphorical exegesis.

In the same place (*Richtungen der Koranauslegung* 107ff.) Goldziher also looked at the subsequent fate of the latter of Mujāhid’s exegeses. It is not found in the printed version of his commentary where it is replaced by the more common *shafā’a* interpretation (I 369, 2ff.). This is not, in fact, an entirely new interpretation as the earlier one, too, presumed that the prophet would use his position sitting beside God to intercede on behalf of his community. The attendant circumstances were not mentioned in order to avoid criticism (cf. ch. D 1.2.1.5). In the third century this kind of evasive tactics led to a quarrel among the *aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth* in Baghdad. Muḥammad b. Ismā’il b. Yūsuf al-Tirmidhī (d. Ramadan 280/Nov.–Dec. 893), a traditionist from eastern Iran who had studied in Kufa under Faḍl b. Dukayn among others and later enjoyed great renown in the capital (cf. TB II 42ff. no. 435), told Ibn Ḥanbal in a letter that in his view someone who did not continue to transmit Mujāhid’s view was a Jahmite (!) and dualist. This angered Ibn Ḥanbal, already an old man at the time, and he urged his pupil Abū Bakr al-Marrūdhī to refute the claim (Khallāl, *Musnad* 77, –6ff. and earlier; also 86, –8ff.). Ibn Baṭṭa, too, took Ibn Ḥanbal’s part (*Ibāna* 61, 1ff.), later also Dhahabī (*‘Ulūw* 156, –5ff., and 211, –4ff.). Dhahabī also included information according to which Mujāhid’s interpretation was attributed to ‘Abdallāh b. Mas‘ūd and Ḍaḥḥāk b. Muzāḥim (ibid. 119, 9ff., and 166, 5ff.), which tells us that it was also known in Kufa as well as Khorasan. Ṭabarī considered it scandalous, as would Wāḥidī later whom Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī quoted extensively (*Mafātīḥ al-ghayb* XXI 32, 9ff.). Ṭabarī met with militant opposition from the Ḥanbalites

20 Thus e.g. the statement in sura 2:65 that those who do not keep the Sabbath would be turned into apes (cf. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr* ³II 172, –5ff.; cf. transl. Cooper I 372f.), and especially sura 75: 22f., the famous instance of seeing God (cf. Qāḍī ‘Abd al-Jabbār, *Mughnī* IV 212, 9ff. > Malāḥimī, *Mu’tamad* 465, apu. ff., after non-Mu’tazilite sources).

and consequently expressed himself diplomatically in his *Tafsīr* (2xv 145, –10ff.; cf. Andrae, *Person Muhammeds* 270ff.); he felt compelled to publish a separate text stressing his orthodoxy (Yāqūt, *Irshād* vi 436, 2ff.; probably his *K. šariḥ al-sunna*, ed. Sourdel in: REI 36/1968/177ff.). Shortly after his death in 317/929 there were riots in Baghdad fired by this issue (Goldziher, *Richtungen* 101f.; also Rosenthal in: *The History of al-Ṭabarī* 1, Introduction 71ff. and 149ff., and Gilliot, *Exégèse, langue et théologie en Islam* 250ff.). For later opinions cf. Huitema, *Voorspraak* 17, n. 6).

It may have been this matter that led to Mujāhid being accused of basing his teachings on the ideas of the “people of the book”. The OT has sitting on the throne together as a symbol of shared rule (Job 36:7; Ps. 110:1, quoted in Mt. 22:44); the son of man will sit on the right hand of “power” (Mt. 26:64). But the idea may just as well have come from Arab culture; we read repeatedly how a ruler or governor invites a pious man – the righteous man, in Biblical terms – to sit on the throne beside him (Balādhurī, *Ansāb* IV₁ 242, –6 ‘Abbās; Abū Nu‘aym, *Ḥilya* v 140, 5f.; Dhahabī, *Siyar* IV 461, –6f.).

4.1.1.1 The Qadarites

Mujāhid imagined that when God “sealed” the hearts, he did so gradually and in the wake of human sin.¹ This idea was pleasing to Qadarite ears, and in fact Mujāhid was occasionally listed among the Qadarites,² as were several of his pupils and their pupils, the first of whom edited his exegetic lectures:

Abū Yasār ‘Abdallāh b. Abī Najīḥ Yasār,

d. before the great pestilence, in 131/748,³ according to other sources in 132/749.⁴ His father Abū Najīḥ (d. 107/727) had been a *mawlā* of the Thaḳīf,⁵ while he himself moved his allegiance to the Makhzūm.⁶ The family possessed some wealth and could allow themselves the luxury of scholarly activity. The father transmitted traditions and was close to Ṭāwūs b. Kaysān (d. 106/725 in Mecca).⁷

1 Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr* 31 258f. no. 300f.; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Quṣṣāṣ* 53f. no. 101.

2 *Faḍl* 338, 8 > IM 135, 9; but cf. his alleged criticism of Ghaylān al-Dimashqī (Ibn Waḍḍāḥ, *Bida’* IX 14).

3 IS v 355, 17f.; Khalīfa, *Ṭab.* 707 no. 2561, and *Ta’rīkh* 603, 17.

4 IS 355, 18f.; Shīrāzī, *Ṭab.* 71, 1 after Wāqidi; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma’ārif* 469, 5.

5 IS 348, 22.f. More precisely, according to Bukhārī III₁ 233 no. 767, and IAH II₂ 203 no. 947: *mawlā* of Akhnas (b. Sharīq b. ‘Amr) al-Thaḳafī. Regarding him cf. Ṭabarī, Index s. n., and p. 169 above.

6 *Ma’ārif* 469, 1.

7 AZ 516 no. 1375.

The mother's brother, Sulaymān b. Abī Muslim al-Aḥwal, of whom we know hardly anything else, was also a traditionist.⁸ Ibn Abī Najīḥ's sister Fāṭima married al-Qāsim b. (Nāfi' b.) Abī Bazza (d. 124/742), the only one to have heard Mujāhid's entire *Tafsīr* from the author.⁹ He came from a humble background; his father Nāfi' had been sold as a slave in his youth. His son 'Abdallāh, however, Ibn Abī Najīḥ's nephew, married a great-great-granddaughter of Bādhān's, the Sasanid governor in Yemen in the prophet's day.¹⁰ Together with his brother Nāfi' this 'Abdallāh b. Qāsim inherited the house Ibn Abī Najīḥ had built "on the rock", i.e. in al-Ṣafā, the well-known hill near Mecca. Ibn Abī Najīḥ was survived by a minor daughter who died soon afterwards. The kinship ties are shown on the family tree below.¹¹

Ibn Abī Najīḥ received the notes of Mujāhid's lectures first hand, from his brother-in-law. On the whole the *riwāyāt* do not consider that the latter was the only one who could claim genuine *samā'* from the author and ought to be marked as an intermediate link. On the other hand, tradition did not forget that other authorities adduced by e.g. Ṭabarī in addition to Ibn Abī Najīḥ, such as the two Kufans Layth b. Abī Sulaym (d. after 140/757)¹² and al-Ḥakam b. 'Uṭayba (d. ca. 115/733),¹³ but also Ibn Jurayj,¹⁴ took this "fundamental text" as their starting point.¹⁵ It is doubtful whether Ibn Abī Najīḥ also wrote a commentary of his own, as Sezgin assumed.¹⁶ Sezgin himself believed that this work was based on Mujāhid's *Tafsīr*, but it would seem more straightforward to assume that Ibn Abī Najīḥ added some of his own explanations in the redaction.¹⁷ In his commentary Ṭabarī copied these in full in around 700 places,¹⁸ and referred to them in his history as well.¹⁹ However, we must assume further

8 Fasawī II 22, 7f.; cf. also IS V 355, 21f., and TT IV 218 no. 368. According to Ka'bī 84, 13ff., he, too, was a Qadarite.

9 Fasawī II 154, 5ff. (regarding the form of the name cf. Dhahabī, *Mushtabih* 56, 6; IS V 352, 16ff.; IAH III₂ 122 no. 697. The MS has here as well as at I 703, pu. ff., *Burda* instead of *Bazza* every time.

10 Regarding him cf. EI² Suppl. 115f. s. n.; also p. 787 below.

11 Cf., also for the preceding, the passage in Fasawī I 704, 8ff.

12 *Mizān* no. 6997; slightly confused TT VIII 465ff. no. 833.

13 Dāwūdī II 306, -7. Regarding him see vol. I 278ff. above.

14 Regarding him see GAS 1/91.

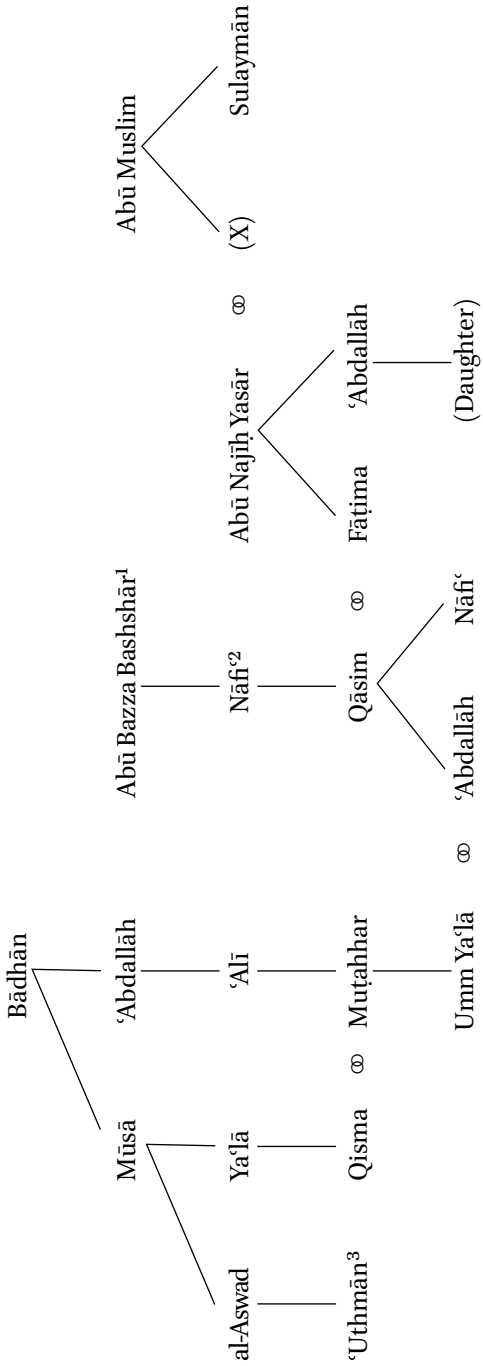
15 Cf. e.g. Fasawī II 154, 5ff.; for Ibn Abī Najīḥ also Bukhārī III₁ 233, 9f., and *Mizān* II 515, 3f. – Concerning the issue cf. Abbott, *Arabic Papyri* II 98, and Stauth 71f. and 226f.; also 131. The term *Grundwerk* "fundamental text" is Stauth's.

16 GAS 1/20.

17 References in Stauth 97ff.

18 H. Horst in: ZDMG 103/1953/296f.; in detail Stauth 105ff.

19 Cf. *Ta'rikh*, Index s. n.



1 Cf. IAH III, 2, 122, 14. Fasawī I 704, 9 to be corrected accordingly.

2 According to IS v 352 Nāfi' would be the same person as Abū Bazza, but Fasawī's tradition contradicts this. According to the latter, Abū Bazza was a client of 'Abdallāh b. al-Sā'ib al-Makhzūmī (cf. Khalifa, *Tab.* 695 no. 2506), while his son was a client of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Surāqa of the Kināna who had bought him from 'Abdallāh b. al-Sā'ib's daughter Fātima and later freed him.

3 Also known as 'Uthmān b. al-Aswad al-Jumahlī because of his clientage (d. 150/767; Fasawī I 704, -5, and IS v 361, if.). He was a traditionist as well and took Qāsim's two sons under his wing (Fasawī I 705, 1).

intermediate stages; ʿIsā b. Maymūn²⁰ and Warqāʾ b. ʿUmar (d. ca. 160/776) for instance based their work on Ibn Abī Najīḥ's text one generation after him.²¹

Like many other Quranic experts of the time Ibn Abī Najīḥ applied his knowledge practically as a jurist. During his last years, after ʿAmr b. Dīnār's death (126/743), he was the leading jurisconsult (*mufṭī*) in Mecca, more highly regarded than Ibn Jurayj.²² The Kufan *qāḍī* Ibn Shubruma (d. 144/762), who was greatly esteemed at the time, respected him and is said to have sought his advice regarding pilgrims' rites (*manāsik*).²³ Ḥajjāj b. Artāt, whom the Abbasids appointed *qāḍī* in Basra immediately after the revolution, also came to see him.²⁴ Abū Yūsuf quoted him in his *K. al-kharāj*,²⁵ and Sufyān b. ʿUyayna (d. 196/812) was proud to have heard him as a child.²⁶

Such prestige was not possible without knowing community tradition and hadith. In this area, too, he transmitted from Mujāhid among others, and to Warqāʾ b. ʿUmar.²⁷ He was said to have claimed to always transmit text exactly as he heard it.²⁸ Ismāʿīl b. ʿUlayya (d. 193/809) owned material from him which contained salient features (*aṭrāf*) of traditions.²⁹ Despite his conservative attitude³⁰ he does not seem to have minded Ibn Abī Najīḥ being a Qadarite, although this was known throughout Iraq³¹ and would soon begin to cause offence. In Mecca, criticism was said to have arisen among the family of Ibn Abī Najīḥ's nephew, the – presumably distinguished – descendants of Bādhān;

20 Regarding him see p. 727 below.

21 Cf. GAS 1/37 and, in general, 1/29; Stauth 2ff. and 69ff. Also Azmi, *Studies* 206; Cerrahoğlu in: İlah. Fak. Dergisi 23/1978/40f.

22 Who was considerably younger; he died 150/767, or 151/768 (GAS 1/91). Cf. AZ 451, 1ff. = 514, 15 = 558, 1f.; Fasawī I 702, 9ff. = II 25, 11ff.; I 703, 9f. Also Kaʿbī 83, 6f. after Sufyān b. ʿUyayna. General information in Shīrāzī, *Ṭab.* 70, ult. ff.

23 Wakīʾ III 54, –4ff.; cf. also Fasawī I 703, 11ff.

24 AZ 557 no. 1522. Regarding him see p. 177 above.

25 *Kharāj* 140, 5, and 175, 3.

26 Fasawī II 158, –4f.

27 Khaṭīb, *Kifāya* 215, 4ff.; Azmi, *Studies* 69 and 203. Further authorities in Cerrahoğlu in: İlah. Fak. Dergisi 23/2978/39.

28 Wakīʾ III 55, 1 (read *aqūdu* for *aqūlu* in accordance with Fasawī I 703, 14; probably also *uḥaddithuka* instead of *akhadhtuka*).

29 Fasawī II 134, 6ff. = 242, 4ff.; regarding *aṭrāf* see p. 411 above.

30 See p. 474f. above.

31 Cf. IS V 355, 20; Ibn Qutayba, *Maʿārif* 469, 2, and 625, 11, as well as *Taʾwīl* II, 4ff. = 10, 5ff./transl. 9 § 17, and 102, 6 = 85, 12f./transl. 95 § 122; Fasawī II 207, 2f. (after Abū Yūsuf); IAII II 2, 203, 14; Kaʿbī 83, 2ff. > *Faḍl* 337, apu. ff. > IM 135, 5f.; Dhahabī, *Mizān* no. 4651, and *Taʾrīkh* V 269, 10ff.; TT VI 54 no. 101; *Hady al-sārī* II 140, 1f.; Suyūṭī, *Tadrīb* I 329, 2; also HT 65.

‘Amr b. Dīnār – who was a client of Bādhān’s (or rather, his descendants)³² – was resented for getting involved with Ibn Abī Najīḥ.³³ Ibn Ishāq, who was considerably younger, was subject to the same accusation.³⁴ In Iraq it was said that Ayyūb al-Sakhtiyānī, who died in the same year as Ibn Abī Najīḥ, expressed his regret that the Qadarites had “spoiled” such an excellent man.³⁵ Ibn al-Madīnī (d. 234/849) tried to detract from his scholarly achievement: the Kufan Maṣūb b. al-Mu‘tamir al-Sulamī (d. 132/750), a confirmed predestinarian,³⁶ he said, had had much greater insight into Mujāhid’s legacy than Ibn Abī Najīḥ.³⁷

The same Ibn al-Madīnī also bluntly called him a Mu‘tazilite.³⁸ He based his verdict on the Basran Yahyā b. Sa‘īd al-Qaṭṭān (d. 198/813) who had regarded Ibn Abī Najīḥ as one of the “chief propagandists”.³⁹ The reason for this was a story Mu‘ammal b. Ismā‘īl (d. 206/821–22) had heard from a certain Ḥasan b. Wahb al-Jumaḥī⁴⁰ and which Ibn al-Madīnī had had the latter confirm afterwards: Ibn Abī Najīḥ had invited him and at breakfast, after he had spent the night in prayer at his house, made “announcements regarding *qadar*” and called him to follow “Ḥasan’s teachings”, but he refused to be drawn in. Later he met him by the Ka‘ba, where Ibn Abī Najīḥ asked him how he should respond to someone who said that the Abū Lahab verses were not part of the Quran.⁴¹ This was a *topos*,⁴² but in this case it may have aimed at his connection with ‘Amr b. ‘Ubayd whose lectures Ibn Abī Najīḥ was believed to have attended.⁴³ We have no tradition confirming that he went to Basra to this end, but then ‘Amr b. ‘Ubayd went on the pilgrimage a number of times.⁴⁴ It is not impossible that Ibn Abī Najīḥ was converted to Mu‘tazilism by an envoy from Wāṣil b. ‘Aṭā; in any case he, like Wāṣil, died too early.

32 IS V 353, 4.

33 Fasawī I 703, pu. ff.; Umm Ya‘lā, the nephew’s wife, recalled a conversation between her parents.

34 Ibid. II 26, 4f. with a similar expression. Is it a doublet with different names? It is true that Ibn Ishāq was close to the Qadarites (see p. 756ff. below).

35 Ka‘bī 83, 3f. = Fasawī II 154, pu. f.

36 HT 43 and 188.

37 Fasawī II 638, II = III 15, 3f.

38 Ibid. II 154, pu. = III 33, 11ff. After which probably Bukhārī (in ‘Uqaylī, *Ḍu‘afā’* II 317, 4f.) and Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Kifāya* 125, 12.

39 Ka‘bī 83, 2f. and ‘Uqaylī II 317, 15f. > *Mizān* II 515, 8f. Cf. also the dictum transmitted in slightly corrupted form in Ka‘bī 83, 7f.

40 He may have been a son of the poet Abū Dahbal al-Jumaḥī (regarding him GAS 2/419).

41 ‘Uqaylī II 317, –7ff.; cf. also Ka‘bī 83, 5f.

42 See p. 82, 124 and 341 above.

43 ‘Uqaylī 317, 14: after Ibn Ḥanbal.

44 See p. 336f. above.

The Qadarites who gathered around him are named in a remark by Ibrāhīm b. Ya‘qūb al-Jūzajānī (d. 256/870 or 259/873);⁴⁵ Ka‘bī, too, collected the relevant names.⁴⁶ We will list them briefly in the following.

Abū Dāwūd Shibl b. ‘Ubād (or ‘Abbād?),

ca. 70/689–148/765 or later.⁴⁷ So far Jūzajānī is our oldest witness of his Qadarite tendencies; around the same time Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī (d. 275/889) mentioned them to his pupil Abū ‘Ubayd al-Ājurri.⁴⁸ Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī joined them in the fifth century⁴⁹ and later works adopted the verdict.⁵⁰ It is worth noting that Ka‘bī did not include the name in his list.⁵¹ Shibl’s true achievements were on the field of Quran recitation. He was a member of the circle around Ibn Kathīr (d. 120/738);⁵² Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib al-Qaysī quoted him comparatively frequently in his *Kashf ‘an wujūh al-qirā’āt al-sab‘*.⁵³ His son Dāwūd continued this tradition.⁵⁴ He also transmitted Muḡāhid’s *Tafsīr* which he had heard from Ibn Abī Najīḡ;⁵⁵ al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī as well as Tha‘labī used this edition of that work.

Cf. GAS 1/35. This note conveys the impression that it was an entirely independent work, but the *isnāds* going back to Ibn Abī Najīḡ or even usually to Muḡāhid are in the majority (cf. e.g. Ṭabarī, *Ta’riḡh* I 103, 4f.; 341, 3f.; 379, 14f.; Wakī‘ I 2, pu. f., and 54, 7f.; also Horst in ZDMG 103/1953/298. Only up to Ibn Abī Najīḡ e.g. Ṭabarī, *Ta’riḡh* I 313, ult. f.). Cf. Stauth 108ff. and 153f.; summary 134. Tha‘labī also mentioned a *Tafsīr Shibl* and did not trace the *riwāya* back beyond him (*Kashf*, Intro. 44, 1f.). Shibl probably published his selection of Ibn Abī Najīḡ’s works.

45 Dhahabī, *Mizān* II 515, 10f. He composed works on *jarḡ wal-ta’dīl* that do not survive (Kaḡḡāla, *Mu‘jam* I 129; GAS 1/135). But see his *K. Aḡwāl al-rijāl*.

46 *Maq.* 83, 12ff.

47 Regarding the dates cf. Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt al-qurrā’* no. 1414.

48 TT IV 305f. no. 522; cf. vol. I 70 above.

49 *Kifāya* 125, 13; TB XIII 486, 19.

50 Besides TT cf. *Hadī al-sārī* II 133, –8f., and 179, 19f.; as well as Suyūṭī, *Tadrīb* II 329, 1.

51 Nothing in IAH II, 380f. 1659.

52 Regarding him cf. GAS 1/7.

53 Cf. Muḡyī al-Dīn Ramaḡān’s edition (Damascus 1394/1974), Index s. n.

54 Ibn al-Jazarī no. 1254.

55 Dāwūdī, *Ṭabaqāt al-mufasssīrīn* II 308, 10; GAS 1/29.

Abū Sulaymān Sayf b. (Abī?)⁵⁶ Sulaymān al-Makhzūmī,

d. 156/773 in Basra, where he spent the last years of his life.⁵⁷ He was a *mawlā* of the Makhzūm.

He was a Qadarite according to Abū Yūsuf (cited in Fasawī II 207, 2), Ibn Maʿīn (cited in Kaʿbī 83, apu. > *Faḍl* 338, 3 > IM 135, 7) and Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī (cited in Ājurī > TT VI 294, 13). Also in ʿUqaylī, *Ḍuʿafāʾ* II 173, –4f.; Khaṭīb, *Kifāya* 125, 13; *Mizān* no. 3636; *Hady al-sārī* II 133, 12ff.; *Tadrib* I 328, ult. Al-Faḍl b. Ghassān al-Ghalābī (d. 245/859; regarding him cf. Kaḥḥāla VII 71) apparently called him a Ghaylānite (Kaʿbī 83, pu.; cf. *Anfänge* 245).

Abū Mūsā ʿĪsā b. Maymūn al-Jurashī al-Makkī, known as Ibn Dāya,

d. between 150 and 160⁵⁸ or between 160 and 170,⁵⁹ yet another exegete who does not seem to have made his mark on the field of hadith. He transmitted Mujaḥid's *Tafsīr* in Ibn Abī Najīḥ's recension; Ṭabarī used the entire work with this *riwāya*.⁶⁰ He also seems to have written another "small" *Tafsīr* of his own in which he collated material from Mujaḥid, Ibn Abī Najīḥ and Qays b. Saʿd (d. 119/737).⁶¹ Like his colleagues he followed Ibn Kathīr's Quranic reading.

It was once again Ājurī after Abū Dāwūd who claimed that he was a Qadarite, but Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī had also been of this opinion (TT VIII 235, ult. ff.). It was then adopted by Dhahabī (*Mizān* no. 6619, and *Taʾriḥ* VI 367, iff.) and Ibn Ḥajar. There are no references in Bukhārī III₂ 401 no. 2780, IAH III₁ 287f. no. 1596, and ʿUqaylī III 387f. no. 1427.

56 Thus Khalifa, *Ṭab.* 710 no. 2579. Mentioned as a variant in IS v 362, 22 and in later works.

57 TT IV 294, –4f. Elsewhere we merely read that he was still living in 150/767 (IS v 362, 22f.; Fasawī I 135, 12; Kaʿbī 83, ult., after Ibn Maʿīn).

58 Thus according to Dhahabī, *Taʾriḥ* VI 367, iff.

59 Thus according to Ibn Ḥajar, *Taqrib* II 102, no. 925.

60 Cf. Horst in: ZDMG 103/1953/297; after him GAS 1/20 and 29; also Stauth 107f. Cf. also *Fihrist* 36, 17 (where *Ibn* must be added before *Abi Najih*).

61 Another Meccan. He continued ʿAṭāʾ b. Abī Rabāḥ's circle after his death (IS v 355, iff.) and probably also transmitted his Quranic commentary.

Zakariyyā' b. Ishāq al-Makkī,

a pupil of Ibn Abī Najīḥ's, whose reputation rested on his having known the latter.⁶² He was probably considerably younger and died after 160/776. Abū Yūsuf⁶³ and Ibn Ma'īn⁶⁴ called him a Qadarite. Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī expressed only a suspicion to Ājurri.⁶⁵ Dhahabī used the term *ṣāhib 'Amr*, pointing in the same direction as Ibn Abī Najīḥ. An interesting piece of information, which can unfortunately not be substantiated further, came from his pupil Rawḥ b. 'Ubāda al-Qaysī (d. 205/820–1 at over eighty years of age) who had heard it from him directly, that an unnamed governor (*amīr*) of Mecca had a town crier announce that it was prohibited to attend Zakariyyā's lectures because of his Qadarite tendencies.⁶⁶ The event may have taken place during the late Umayyad era. Rawḥ appears to have been the one who transmitted the largest amount of material from him.⁶⁷ Zakariyyā' dictated hadith from written notes.⁶⁸ When Zakariyyā's memory became unreliable, Ibn al-Mubāarak (d. 181/797) requested his notes from him.⁶⁹

Abū Khālid Muslim b. Khālid b. Sa'd b. Jurja al-Zanjī,

mawlā of the Makhzūm, d. 179/795 or 180/196 at the age of 80.⁷⁰ Later Mu'tazilite sources name him as a Ghaylānite,⁷¹ but this may simply be due to the fact that immediately after his name, Ka'bī quoted his authority's opinion of the entire Meccan group, that they "adhere to the teachings of Ghaylān, Wāṣil and 'Amr'.⁷² It is remarkable that Muslim b. Khālid came from Syria.⁷³ He was Ibn

62 IS v 362, 14f., and Fasawī II 26, 4ff. (to be completed after IS).

63 Fasawī II 207, 2f.

64 Ka'bī 83, 12ff. > *Faḍl* 338, 1f. > IM 135, 6f. (with *Ibn* missing before *Abī Najīḥ*; pointed out by Fück in OLZ 59/1964/374); also TT III 329, 6.

65 TT III 328, apu. Cf. also Dhahabī, *Mizān* no. 2870 and *Ta'rikh* IV 178, –4ff.; *Hady al-sārī* II 127, pu. ff.; Suyūṭī, *Tadrib* I 328, ult. Nothing in IS v 362, 13ff.; IAH I₂ 593 no. 2684.

66 TT III 329, 7f.

67 Cf. e.g. Ṭabarī I 114, 4ff.; 1246, 17f.; 1263, 3ff.: mainly after 'Amr b. Dīnār.

68 Azmi, *Studies* 181.

69 IS 362, 14ff.; Fasawī II 26, 5ff. (wrongly identified). Ibn Abi Ḥātim, loc. cit. confirms that Ibn al-Mubāarak transmitted from him.

70 The "round" number is found in IS v 366, 7, and Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif* 511, 5.

71 *Faḍl* 253, 15 > IM 129, 12f., and 43, 2f.; without the designation *Faḍl* 338, 6, and IM 135, 8. Cf. also *Anfänge* 244f.

72 *Maq.* 84, 8ff.

73 IS v 366, 2.

Abī Najīḥ's pupil in Mecca.⁷⁴ Orthodox sources note his Qadarite leanings only late,⁷⁵ but then Ibn Ḥajar added that he even circulated pro-Qadarite hadith.⁷⁶

The reason why we know a little more about him than about his fellow believers mentioned before is that he was one of Shāfi'ī's teachers.⁷⁷ He had visited Mālik during his early period in Medina "when the *tābi'ūn* were still attending his lectures",⁷⁸ but not even the Malikite tradition concealed the fact that he embraced his own Meccan tradition different from that of the great Medinan jurist, who, coincidentally, died in the same year as he.⁷⁹ After Ibn Jurayj's death (150/767 or 151/768) he, rather like Ibn Abī Najīḥ before him, was considered to be the leading jurisconsult (*muftī*) in the city.⁸⁰ He was not, however, without competition; some favoured Sa'īd b. Sālīm al-Qaddāḥ, another *mawlā* of the Makhzūm.⁸¹ When the caliph al-Mahdī led the pilgrimage in 160 he requested an expert opinion from Muslim b. Khālid according to which the oath confirming the succession of his cousin 'Īsā b. Mūsā nearly thirty years before was invalid.⁸² Shāfi'ī was still a young man when he went to visit Muslim b. Khālid. Muslim b. Khālid greatly appreciated that Shāfi'ī, who came from a distinguished background (he was a Quraysh and distant relation of the prophet), studied with him, a mere *mawlā*, and that he should be interested in jurisprudence at all.⁸³

Despite his sobriquet he was not black. He had been called "black one" (*zanjī*) as a child, because his skin was reddish-white.⁸⁴ His ascetic lifestyle was well-known; he was said to fast excessively.⁸⁵ Like Shibl b. 'Ubād he studied Quran

74 Ka'bī 84, 11.

75 *Mizān* no. 8485 after Zakariyyā' b. Yahyā al-Sājī (d. 307/920), probably his *K. al-du'afā'* (GAS 1/349f.). Nothing in IS v 366, 1ff.; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif* 511, 1ff.; Bukhārī IV₁ 260 no. 1097; TH 255 no. 241, etc.

76 TT x 129, -5.

77 Bayhaqī, *Manāqib al-Shāfi'ī* I 97, -5ff. + 338, -4ff.; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Manāqib al-Imām al-Shāfi'ī* 50, 9; Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ, *Tartīb al-madārik* I 383, 8f., and 386, -5ff.

78 Bayhaqī I 517, 10ff.

79 Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ I 140, 14ff.

80 Shirāzī, *Ṭab.* 71, 10.

81 Shāfi'ī, *Jimā' al-'ilm* 61, 2ff. = *Umm* VII 257, 3; transl. Schacht, *Origins* 7. Regarding Sa'īd b. Sālīm see p. 742 below.

82 Cf. Moscati in: *Orientalia* 15/1946/160.

83 Shirāzī 72, 2ff.

84 IS v 366, 5; according to Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif* 596, 3f., a designation *per antiphrasin*, just like Ethiopians were given the *kunya* Abū l-Bayḍā'. Or it may refer to the colour of black people's palms or lips. A further, probably secondary explanation, in TT x 129, 6ff.

85 IS v 366, 6f.

recitation under Ibn Kathīr.⁸⁶ He had in his possession some of Ibn Abī Najīh's *Tafsīr* notes of Mujāhid's tradition which are still extant.⁸⁷ They mainly cover legal issues, but in one instance quote 'Amr b. 'Ubayd whom Zanjī asked for Ḥasan al-Baṣīr's opinion on a certain passage.⁸⁸ It is interesting that he transmitted 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar's exegesis that sura 4:116 implied that even a murderer might expect forgiveness from God.⁸⁹ This was aimed at the Bakriyya;⁹⁰ clearly, he was not an adherent of excessively strict views. Even so we are surprised to find that he was also a pupil of Ḥafṣ al-Fard's, who not only was by no means a Qadarite but also rather younger than he.⁹¹ Maybe Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, who recorded this information,⁹² misunderstood the tradition.

A parallel list compiled by 'Uqaylī adds⁹³

Ibrāhīm b. Nāfi' al-Makhzūmī,

(d. before 170/787) a pupil of 'Aṭā' b. Abī Rabāḥ's,⁹⁴ to the others.⁹⁵ He, too, was part of the exegetic tradition of Mujāhid via Ibn Abī Najīh.⁹⁶ Wakī' b. al-Jarrāh claimed, among others, that he was a Qadarite.⁹⁷

We are obviously looking at an interconnected group. They were all *mawālī*. While we do not know anyone's profession, they were all linked to the Makhzūm clan and consequently close to the Quraysh nobility.⁹⁸ They also have in common that they were all involved in some way with the *Tafsīr* of Mujāhid or Ibn Abī Najīh; furthermore, Mujāhid, too, was a client of the Makhzūm.⁹⁹ The question is how these observations can be linked to their Qadarite views. It is improbable that they were a "Mu'tazilite" conspiracy grown up around Ibn

86 Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭab*. no. 3601.

87 GAS 1/38. The *riwāya* is every time: *Muslim b. Khālid 'an Ibn Abī Najīh 'an Mujāhid*. If this is the same text Tha'labī called *Tafsīr Mujāhid, ṭarīq Ibn Abī Najīh (Kashf 27, 6ff.)*, this would be a good example of the word *Tafsīr* not necessarily referring to a complete work.

88 Fol. 123b, 1.

89 *Mīzān* IV 102, 4ff.

90 See p. 130f. above.

91 See p. 816ff. below.

92 Rāzī, *Manāqib al-Shāfi'ī* 50, 9.

93 *Ḍu'afā'* II 173, apu.

94 *Mīzān* I 40, 4.

95 Ṣafadī, *Wāfi* VI 152 no. 2599.

96 Ṭabarī I 1165, 4, and 1793, 13.

97 TT I 174 no. 318; cf. also *Faḍl* 338, 5 > IM 135, 8. Regarding him also IS v 364, 2; Khalifa, *Ṭab*. 718 no. 2594; Bukhārī I, 332f. no. 1047; IAH I, 140f. no. 458.

98 Regarding the Makhzūm cf. M. Hinds in: EI² VI 137ff. s. v. *Makhzūm*.

99 IS v 343, 9; also Staught 18f.

Abī Najīḥ during the last years of Umayyad rule, as there is no evidence of this. It does not seem likely that the entire tribe of the Makhzūm could have been Qadarites, either; none of those mentioned was a free Arab. It is much more likely that exegetic tradition was the decisive criterion. After all, the verdicts reported in the sources are not usually based on genuinely Meccan information but come from later Iraqi scholars. There is nothing to suggest that they were any better informed concerning Meccan local politics of the second century than we are. They did have Mujāhid's *Tafsīr* and, as the *isnāds* in Ṭabarī show, were able to distinguish between the different redactions of the work. Thus the Meccan "Qadariyya" probably owed its presence in our sources to a retrospective critical assessment of the literary material. So far we have not been able to determine where exactly the doubts concerning the dogma started; Mujāhid's *Tafsīr* has not been studied under that aspect. It is even possible that the relevant passages have been lost forever as Warqā' b. 'Umar, who brought Ibn Abī Najīḥ's recension to Iraq, was a Murji'ite,¹⁰⁰ and his contemporary Sufyān al-Thawrī was also said to have "corrected" Mujāhid's *Tafsīr*.¹⁰¹

This does not mean that everything has been explained. It would have to be proven that Mujāhid deliberately interpreted the Quran in a Qadarite fashion. Ibn Abī Najīḥ, on the other hand, is a different matter, as he was lecturing at a time when people were more likely to wear their hearts on their sleeves. We should also like to know how much external influence was involved. In a city like Mecca it would have to be expected, and *mawālī* were often, whether by choice or through circumstances beyond their control, immigrants. We have seen that the Basran Qadarite Ismā'īl b. Muslim, who was known as al-Makkī in his home city, had received his training in the law from Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, while he studied Quran recitation under Ibn Kathīr in Mecca.¹⁰² We know of another, similar case:

'Abbād b. Kathīr al-Thaqafī.

His path took the opposite direction: he came from Basra and settled in Mecca.¹⁰³ He was highly respected there, apparently becoming *qādī* once and even being elected governor by the population after a revolt.¹⁰⁴ Unfortunately we are unable to date this event, and have no means of determining whether it is a true

100 TB XIII 486, 19; regarding him see ch. C 1.1 below.

101 IAH II, 203, 9. Regarding Sufyān al-Thawrī's position in the Mujāhid tradition cf. Horst 304 and Stauff 119ff. Regarding his own *Tafsīr* see vol. I 260f. above.

102 See p. 74f. above.

103 Fasawī III 140, 9.

104 Ka'bī 93, iff.

report.¹⁰⁵ However, Ṭabarī tells us that in 158/775 ‘Abbād was one of the dignitaries of the city, together with Ibn Jurayj and Sufyān al-Thawrī.¹⁰⁶ Maṣṣūr was leading the pilgrimage at the time and had sent the order from Medina¹⁰⁷ to Mecca that these three persons, together with an anonymous ‘Alid, should be arrested. The governor, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī, son of Ibrāhīm al-Imām and nephew of the caliph, had doubts afterwards and secretly released the three, angering the caliph severely.¹⁰⁸ Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm lost his position,¹⁰⁹ the caliph died in an accident in Mecca. ‘Abbād b. Kathīr appears to have been advanced in years by that time.¹¹⁰ In 145/762, during al-Nafs al-zakiyya’s uprising, he had already possessed great prestige: he had dared to request the release of a partisan of the vanquished ‘Alid, the Qadariite Muḥammad b. ‘Ajlān, from the governor of Medina Ja‘far b. Sulaymān who was al-Maṣṣūr’s cousin.¹¹¹

This allows us to conclude that he had not compromised himself. When the Mu‘tazilite sources – and only they – call him a Qadariite,¹¹² they were clearly not referring to his political commitment. When he was arrested in 158, the other two scholars, Ibn Jurayj and Sufyān al-Thawrī, had no ties to the Qadariyya either. The fact that an ‘Alid was being persecuted as well indicates that Maṣṣūr thought he, as well as the two others, was sympathetic to the *ahl al-bayt*; apparently with good reason.¹¹³ Ka‘bī, on the other hand, based his opinion on that of Yaḥyā b. Ma‘īn who, being a traditionist, probably recalled the hadiths transmitted by ‘Abbād. There were some praising the intellect,¹¹⁴ and he also wrote a *K. al-zuhd*.¹¹⁵ He demonstrated his ascetic conviction by wearing hair-shirts,¹¹⁶

105 There is no trace anywhere of ‘Abbād b. Kathīr’s term in office as *qāḍī*. Might he have been confused with ‘Abbād b. Maṣṣūr, the *qāḍī* of Basra in Ibrāhīm b. ‘Abdallāh’s time (regarding him see p. 380f. above)? The remark that Ayyūb al-Sakhtiyānī was acquainted with him at this time (Ka‘bī 93, 5) would also indicate Basra. The report, however, clearly mentions Mecca.

106 *Mīn ‘uyūn al-nās* (III 386, 9).

107 Ibid. 387, 11.

108 Ibid. 385, 17ff.

109 Khalifa, *Ta’rikh* 673, 9.

110 The biographical sources that were unaware of this report in Ṭabarī say only that he died “after 150” (*Mīzān* no. 4134).

111 Ṭabarī III 259, 3ff. (autobiographical account by ‘Abbād); cf. p. 762 below.

112 Ka‘bī 93, 1ff. > *Faḍl* 342, 5 > IM 137, 15f.

113 Kashshī seems to count him among the Butrites (*Rijāl* 391, ult.; although we would have to assume that the heading in the MS is incorrect).

114 Ibn Ḥibbān, *Rawḍat al-‘uqalā’* 4, 8; cf. also *Anfänge* 57.

115 *Faḍā’il-i Balkh* 135, ult. f.

116 Fasawī III 140, 9f.

which led Ja'far al-Šādiq to accuse him of pride.¹¹⁷ His dicta were paraenetic in character: those who do not quarrel with God when a daughter is born to them will be given divine blessing by an angel descending from heaven on a ladder of light. Or: the self-important Quran reciters are worse than worldly rulers.¹¹⁸ He also attempted to buttress liturgical usage with hadith: those who speak the formula *lā ilāha illā llāh* loudly and with a drawn-out voice will go to the "house of sublimeness" where they will see God face to face; those who do not believe this will be punished more than all others in the afterlife.¹¹⁹

It is possible that people disagreed with the substance of what he said; but it was the form that was criticised most: 'Abbād was said to have passed on a sheet of hadith notes that had only come into his hands by chance,¹²⁰ and to have advised a pupil not to try and profit from paraenetic material (*fi'l-raghā'ib*) as the experts had refused to accept it.¹²¹ The verdict was unanimous: "people gave him a wide berth" (*tarakūhu*).¹²² Of course, this was only in Iraq, and presumably only retrospectively; in Mecca he met with barely any suspicion.

He was also liked in Balkh; all the jurists of that city were said to have studied under him.¹²³ This does not necessarily tell us that he went there himself; maybe the Transoxianans went to find him during the pilgrimage, believing him to be the most competent scholar in Mecca. Abū Muṭī' al-Balkhī certainly met him in that city;¹²⁴ he heard him speak approvingly of Muqātil b. Sulaymān,¹²⁵ and he is the one reporting that the population elected him governor. In fact 'Abbād does not seem to have had any connection with Abū Ḥanīfa's doctrine that was just gaining ground in Balkh due to Abū Muṭī's efforts; he was even said to have debated with Abū Ḥanīfa.¹²⁶ People were impressed by his asceticism; Shaqīq al-Balkhī attended his lectures and heard his *K. al-zuhd* from him.¹²⁷

117 Kashshī 392 no. 737 > *Bihār* XLVII 361 no. 72.

118 *Mizān* II 373, 12ff., in part after Ibn Ḥibbān, *Majrūhīn* II 169, 11f.

119 Ibn Ḥibbān II 168, -4f. > *Mizān* II 373, 1ff.

120 Fasawī II 797, 8ff.

121 *Ibid.* I 434, 13ff.

122 Bukhārī III₂ 43 no. 1642; IAH III₁ 84f. no. 433; 'Uqaylī, *Du'afā'* III 140f. no. 1124. Cf. also Muslim, transl. Juynboll in: JSAI 5/1984/280.

123 Ka'bī 93, 8.

124 *Ibid.* 93, 2.

125 *Fazā'il-i Balkh* 91, 8f.

126 TB XIII 371, 21ff. This is, of course, a motif found in the context of more than one person (cf. Text II 6 with commentary).

127 *Fazā'il-i Balkh* 129, 8, and 135, ult. f.; also p. 546 above. This may have been the source of the hadith in Suyūṭī, *La'ālī* I 213, 7ff.

4.1.1.2 The Khārijites

The Khārijites, too, had their chief witness among the Meccan exegetes, the client 'Ikrima who had originally been Ibn 'Abbās' slave and then been freed by the latter's son 'Alī.¹ He had travelled widely, maybe on business for his master. It has been assumed that he came across Khārijite ideas in Basra,² but there would have been many opportunities across the Arabian peninsula, and the Khārijite ideal of equality – as long as its adherents were not radicalised – would have seemed to a slave to be the straightest path to true Islam. 'Ikrima's convictions left their mark on his exegesis; he was accused of having spread lies about Ibn 'Abbās.³ This, however, was a matter of opinion. 'Alqama in Kufa reviled him as an unbeliever,⁴ in Mecca Mālik frowned while quoting him in his *Muwatta'* all the same,⁵ and in Basra Qatāda believed him to be the best exegete of the older generation.⁶

Later, people would not know how to label him. The individual branches of the Khārijites had not yet separated. Ibn al-Madīnī thought him a Najdite at one time,⁷ and an Ibādīte at another.⁸ There is something to be said for the former view, as Najda b. 'Āmir corresponded with Ibn 'Abbās concerning legal issues.⁹ 'Ikrima did not, however, take part in his military enterprises, which is why he appeared to be an Ibādīte in the eyes of later generations. He barely features in Ibādīte tradition. While Jābir b. Zayd took some notes of his material via Ibn 'Abbās in Basra,¹⁰ in Muḥkim al-Hawwārī's *Tafsīr*, which is in use among the Ibādītes in the Maghreb to this day, Meccan exegesis is represented

1 Regarding him cf. Schacht in EI² III 1081f. s. n.

2 Rebstock, *Ibādīten im Magrib* II. Juynboll regarded 'Ikrima as a Basran, but did not examine his Khārijite tendencies (*Muslim Tradition* 55, n. 203).

3 Ka'bī, *Qabūl* 69, –4ff., and Fasawī II 5, 9f.; Ṭabarī III 2483, ult. ff. This may be a reference to traditions such as the one in Ibn Khuzayma, *Tawhīd* 130, 2ff., according to which he expressed doubt in conversation with Ibn 'Abbās as to whether the prophet could have seen God. In general Juynboll 56f.

4 Fasawī II 12, 1.

5 Mālikī, *Riyāḍ al-nufūs* 92, 8ff./I 145, 5ff.

6 Fasawī I 701, pu. ff.; in general also Cerrahoğlu, *Tefsīr tarihi* 158ff.

7 Ibid. II 7, 4.

8 Ibid. II 12, 2; also Ka'bī, *Qabūl* 70, 8.

9 Abū Yūsuf, *Kharāj* 104, 5ff.

10 He marked it with the abbreviation 'Ayn (Fasawī II 10, 4ff.).

by Mujāhid.¹¹ In North Africa, Šufrite tribes establishing a Khārijite community in the Sijilmāsa region referred to him, which is why he is frequently listed among the Šufrites as well.

Thus in Ka'bī, *Qabūl* 70, pu. f. after Ibn Ma'īn; also Ṭabarī III 2484, 10 = *Dhayl al-mudhayyal* 633, apu. f. The ancestor of the Midrār dynasty of Sijilmāsa was said to have attended his lectures in Qayrawān (Bakrī, *Mughrib* 149, 6f./transl. de Slane, *Description* 284). This presumes that he did visit that city. Schacht viewed this journey with scepticism (EI² III 1081). Lewicki's suggestion (in: *Cahiers de l'histoire mondiale* 13/1971/84ff., adopted by Khulayfāt, *Nash'at al-ḥaraka al-Ibāḍiyya* 113f.), that he was among the scholars sent to the Maghreb by 'Umar II, is not unproblematic. The fact that it was possible to view the place where he sat in the mosque in Qayrawān does not, of course, mean much (Abū I-'Arab, *Ṭabaqāt 'ulamā' Ifrīqīya* 83, 1f.). There are certain indications outside literature from the Maghreb as well (e.g. Fasawī II 7, 1ff.). In the Maghreb this tradition was a serious problem for the Ibāḍites, and they published a counter-report according to which 'Ikrima travelled there with a certain Salam b. Sa'd (or Sa'īd), a Basran (!) of Ḥaḍramite origin, on the same camel – in a two-man litter – sharing the missionary work with the latter, who was a true Ibāḍite. This is probably an aetiological legend; unlike 'Ikrima, Salama is not mentioned in non-Ibāḍite sources such as Mālīkī's *Riyāḍ al-nufūs*. Cf. Rebstock 11f. and Schwartz, *Anfänge der Ibāḍiten* 96ff.; less sceptical once again Lewicki in EI² III 653b and *Cahiers* 74 and 86, and Khulayfāt, loc. cit.; in detail also Talbī, *Etudes d'histoire ifrīqiyenne* 27ff.

4.1.1.2.1 *The Ibāḍites*

Around the middle of the third century Mecca was home to an Ibāḍite community of around 150 “men” 25 of whom came from Oman. Every year during the pilgrimage one of the Omanis pitched tents in Minā in which he accommodated, and presumably entertained, his fellow-countrymen. “Men” should probably be counted as families, in which case their percentage of the entire

11 Cf. ZDMG 126/1976/42f. I have since discovered that there are more MSS extant besides the two mentioned by Schacht (in: *Revue Afr.* 100/1956/379): one in the possession of Shaykh BalḤajj in Mzāb (vols. 2–3 of the text) and another one on Djerba (vol. 4). I have not been able to view these textual witnesses; I am relying on information given me by Shaykh Sulaymān b. Dāwūd from al-'Aṭf.

population would be rather more considerable.¹ It is difficult to say how far back its beginnings might date; this community certainly had nothing to do with 'Ikrima. What is noticeable is that Abū Ḥamza Mukhtār b. 'Awf was able to take Mecca without a fight when he marched from Yemen on the holy cities on Ṭālib al-Ḥaqq's orders in 129/747. This would not have been quite so easy without support from the local population; he met with much more resistance in Medina. Like his second-in-command Balj b. 'Uqba he was born in Oman.² Both had spent some time in Basra,³ and it seems that there were numerous young men from Iraq among their troops.⁴ The take-over may well have been planned there, in Abū 'Ubayda al-Tamīmī's circle.

Regarding Ṭālib al-Ḥaqq's uprising cf. Wellhausen, *Oppositionsparteien* 52ff.; Lewicki in FO 1/1959/5f. and EI² III 651b; Pellat, *Milieu basrien* 211ff.; Laoust, *Schismes* 43f.; Khulayfāt, *Nash'a* 117ff.; Chelhod, *Arabie du Sud* II 27f.; also Aḥmad 'Ubaydilī's introduction to *Kashf al-ghumma*, p. 162ff. The most important sources are Madā'inī's account in *Aghāni* XXIII 224ff. and (shorter) Khalīfa, *Ta'rikh* 582, 10ff. and 592, 6ff.; also Ṭabarī II 1942, 13ff., and Azdī, *Ta'rikh al-Mawṣil* 77, 4ff.; 101, 12ff.; 108, 4ff. Cf. also *Kitāb Ibn Sallām* 112, 1ff.; Shammākhī, *Siyar* 98, –5ff.; Darjīnī, *Ṭab.* 258ff. (with Lewicki in: RO 11/1935/165f.); Fāsī, *Faḍā'il Makka* in: Wüstenfeld, *Chroniken* II 179, 6ff. The *khuṭba* Abū Ḥamza preached after entering the city is often transmitted separately (transl. in Pellat, *Milieu* 212ff.; J. Alden Williams, *Islam* 215ff.; Crone/Hinds, *God's Caliph* 129ff.). When comparing the different versions it is important to consider that Abū Ḥamza preached such a sermon not only in Mecca but apparently in Medina as well (cf. the sources in Lewicki, FO 12/1970/205; Crone/Hinds, loc. cit.; also Werkmeister, *Quellenuntersuchungen zum K. al-'Iqd* 441).

When the enterprise failed, a noble Arab who had collaborated with Abū Ḥamza met his end in Mecca:

- 1 *Kitāb Ibn Sallām* 109, 6ff. This also lists some names of scholars, but we do not know who they were. Regarding the date cf. 109, ult.
- 2 Wilkinson in: *Studies in the First Century* 142f.
- 3 Regarding Abū Ḥamza cf. *Agh.* XXIII 227, 16; regarding Balj b. 'Uqba cf. Shammākhī, *Siyar* 91, 2, where he appears in the circle of Ḥājib al-Ṭā'ī (regarding him see p. 226f. above).
- 4 Khalīfa, *Ta'rikh* 582, 13; *Agh.* XXIII 238, 14 = Ṭabarī II 2010, ult. f.; Darjīnī, *Ṭab.* 226, 5ff. Regarding an Ibādīte free corps from Mosul see p. 528 above.

Abū l-Ḥurr ‘Alī b. al-Ḥuşayn b. Abī l-Ḥurr Mālik b. al-Khashkhāsh al-‘Anbarī.

He, too, was a Basran, an uncle of ‘Ubaydallāh b. al-Ḥasan al-‘Anbarī’s, who was *qādī* and governor of Basra under Manşūr.⁵ As was to be expected in this family, he was very wealthy and received a regular allowance from Basra.⁶ When in the past the Ibādites had sent a delegation to ‘Umar II, he had been among them;⁷ presumably he was still living in his home city at that time. In Mecca he had a teaching circle,⁸ and we are told that he held *dhikr* every Monday and Thursday.⁹ He had been arrested once before the uprising, probably because he was believed to be a go-between.¹⁰ This may be why he in particular later advised Abū Ḥamza to be severe.¹¹ When it was all over, he was smoked out at the house of a Quraysh to which he had fled, and afterwards fell in battle. His corpse was left hanging on the cross next to Abū Ḥamza’s for years and only taken down after the Abbasid revolution.

Agh. 248, iff. Regarding him cf. also Fasawī II 215, 7ff.; Bukhārī III₂ 267f. no. 2367; Dhahabī, *Mizān* no. 5828 and *Ta’rikh* v III, 7ff.; *Mizān* no. 5823 probably refers to the same person. – One might wonder whether the ‘Amr b. al-Ḥuşayn al-‘Anbarī who lamented the death of Abū Ḥamza and his followers was his brother (cf. *Agh.* XXIII 250. 8ff. after Madā’inī; ‘Abbās, *Shi’r al-Khawārij* 84ff. no. 165). However, there he is described as a **client** of the ‘Anbar, and elsewhere his name is given as ‘Amr b. al-Ḥasan al-Kūfī.

5 See p. 179ff. above; also Darjīnī, *Ṭab.* 251, 2.

6 Darjīnī 269, –7ff. = Shammākhī 101, 5ff.; the passage in Shammākhī 108, 8f. probably refers to Mecca.

7 Khamīs b. Sa’īd, *Manhaj al-ṭālibīn* I 617, 8ff.

8 Darjīnī 271, ult.; also Shammākhī 102, 4.

9 Ibid. 270, –9 = Shammākhī 101, –5f. During the hajj he once asked Abū ‘Ubayda al-Tamīmī to teach there; the latter recommended Ḍumām b. al-Sā’ib. The fact that Abū l-Ḥurr did not know him suggests that he did not have close links to Basra (Shammākhī 88, 7ff.).

10 Ibid. 262, apu. ff. = Shammākhī 100, 2ff.

11 *Agh.* XXIII 233, 10ff., and 247, iff.; Khalifa, *Ta’rikh* 592, ult. ff.; Azdī, *Ta’rikh al-Mawṣil* 108, pu. ff.

‘Alī b. al-Ḥuṣayn had had friends in the city. After his first arrest they snatched him back from the government troops. Fourteen men set out to ambush them; a certain ‘Īsā b. ‘Umar or ‘Īsā b. Abī ‘Amr told the historian Abū Sufyān about it in his old age.¹² However, there is no more substance to help us get a more concrete idea of his following. The Ibādīte sources name only one other person:

Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh al-Qurashī.

He was a member of the Banū ‘Adī,¹³ but once again we do not know for certain whether he belonged to an old-established family. It may be possible that

Ṣadaqa b. Yasār

belonged among these people as well, as he was said to have loved Mukhtār more than his own parents.¹⁴ This may have been Mukhtār b. ‘Awf and not the Kufan Shī‘ite, as Ṣadaqa was an Ibādīte.¹⁵ Later he would break off contacts with the Khārījites;¹⁶ consequently the Ibādīte source did not consider him worth mentioning. He came originally from the Jazīra but had moved to Mecca and settled among the *abnā’*,¹⁷ presumably in Bādhān’s family circle like Mujāhid, from whom he transmitted.¹⁸ He might have been a Qadarite.

4.1.1.3 The Murjī‘ites

The Murjī‘ites of whom we hear in Mecca were all immigrants, *mujāwirūn*. The oldest among them was

12 The former form of the name is found in Darjīnī (262, apu.), the latter in Shammākhī (100, 2). A certain Abū ‘Amr died during the uprising with one of his sons (Shammākhī 101, 1f.).

13 *Kitāb Ibn Sallām* 112, 5f.; Shammākhī 102, 12f.

14 ‘Uqaylī, *Ḍu‘afā’* II 208 no. 740; *Mizān* no. 3883.

15 Thus according to Ka‘bī, *Qabūl* 215, 4f.; who may be relying on Karābīsī here; the latter was a Khārījite himself (see ch. C 6.3 below).

16 IS v 357, 3ff.; AZ 526 no. 1414 = Ibn Ḥanbal, *ʿIlal* 153 no. 961; TT IV 419, 722.

17 IS, *ibid.*; Khalifa, *Ṭab*. 709 no. 2572. Cf. also Bukhārī II₂ 293 no. 2872; IAH II₁ 428 no. 1884.

18 AZ 678 no. 2057. Regarding the *abnā’* in Mecca see p. 722f. above. ‘Uqaylī’s regarding him as a Kufan was probably due only to the Mukhtār quote.

Abū Umayya ‘Abd al-Karīm b. Abi l-Mukhāriq Qays al-Mu‘allim,

a Basran who seems to have left his home city early in the second century and became a schoolteacher in Mecca.¹ He attended the lectures of ‘Ikrima and Ṭāwūs b. Kaysān (d. 106/725).² He did not agree with the Basran style and had been unable to get along with Ḥasan al-Baṣrī or Ibn Sīrīn.³ In Kufa, on the other hand, he was regarded as an authority: Abū Ḥanīfa quoted him in his letter to ‘Uthmān al-Battī, and Mis‘ar b. Kidām referred to him as well. Both these cases concerned Murji’ite matters: Abū Ḥanīfa quoted him in a saying by Ibn ‘Abbās according to which God alone knows everything about the diverging opinions of the companions of the prophet,⁴ and Mis‘ar heard the divergent interpretation of an anti-Murji’ite formula in a hadith from him.⁵ He also transmitted from Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al Ḥanafīyya, characteristically via the Murji’ite Qays b. Muslim al-Jadalī.⁶ Consequently it comes as no surprise that Ibn Ḥanbal had already listed him as a Murji’ite – also, it is true, as a good jurist.⁷ Often, however, people focussed on criticising his hadith: he was said to have adopted it without naming the intermediaries.⁸ This may be linked to the fact that he wrote hadith down.⁹ He probably died around 140/757.¹⁰ –

1 IAH III₁ 59 no. 311; following which Ibn Ḥanbal, *‘Ilal* 130 no. 801 *taraka* must be corrected to *nazala*. Also Jāhīz, *Bayān* I 251, 4; *Mizān* no. 5172.

2 ‘Uqaylī, *Ḍu‘afā’* III 62ff. no. 1027; Fasawī II 713, 7ff.

3 ‘Uqaylī II 64, 9ff.

4 Text II 5 t.

5 Cook, *Dogma* 78; cf. vol. I 209 above.

6 Cf. Cook 221 after Ṣan‘ānī, *Muṣannaf* no. 8325 and 8461. Regarding Qays b. Muslim see vol. I 205f. above.

7 *‘Ilal* 346 no. 2278; also Ka‘bī, *Qabūl* 216, 9f.; ‘Uqaylī, loc. cit.; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Majrūhīn* II 144, pu.; Dhahabī, *Ta’rīkh* v 103, 12ff. and TH 140, –6ff. Regarding his juristic competence only Wakī’ I 332, if. It is sometimes said that Mālik respected him greatly; this, however, mistakes him for a contemporary, Abū Sa‘īd ‘Abd al-Karīm b. Mālik al-Jazarī (d. 127/745; AZ 551 no. 1500–1; also Suyūṭī, *Is‘āf al-mubatta’* 27, –9ff.). Cf. also Motzki, *Anfänge der islamischen Jurisprudenz* 202ff.

8 *‘Ilal*, ibid.

9 Azmi, *Studies* 61 and 109. Cf. also the remark in Fasawī II 714, –6ff.

10 When Bukhārī III₂ 89 no. 1797 or Ibn Ḥibbān, *Majrūhīn* II 144, pu., give the date as 126 or 127, this is probably due to the mistake mentioned in n. 7.

Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Abī Rawwād,¹¹

whose clientage of Mughīra b. al-Muhallab¹² showed that he came from Khorasan, was considerably younger. Nishapur claimed him,¹³ but he probably spent the major part of his life in Mecca. He transmitted from Meccan authorities¹⁴ and worked as a jurisconsult;¹⁵ he also died in Mecca in 159/776 or slightly earlier. His Murjī’ite views were beyond doubt.¹⁶ He regarded everyone’s relationship with Abū Ḥanīfa as a criterion of “Sunni” belief.¹⁷ The Basran Khuwayl b. Wāqid, son-in-law of Shu‘ba b. al-Ḥajjāj, claimed to have heard him say that the faith of everyone on earth was the same, but that distinctions would be made in paradise, presumably on the basis of actions.¹⁸ He disliked Basra altogether; his attitude was anti-Qadarite,¹⁹ but he did not like Ayyūb al-Sakhtiyānī and his followers, either, because they “doubted” faith.²⁰ His response to Ḥasan’s *munāfiq* theory was the question whether Joseph’s brothers had been *munāfiqūn* as well.²¹ Sufyān al-Thawrī made a point of not praying over his bier as he considered him to have been heterodox.²² Still, he did not withhold his appreciation altogether as ‘Abd al-‘Azīz was a pious man preaching trust in God and surrender to his will without expecting self-castigation or hair shirts.²³ There were even people who saw his son

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- 11 His father’s name is usually given as Maymūn, but ‘Amr b. Badr has also been transmitted (Ibn Ḥibbān, *Majrūhīn* II 136, 9).
- 12 Khalīfa, *Ṭab.* 711 no. 2582, and *Ta’rīkh* 669, 13.
- 13 Khalīfa-i Naysābūrī, *Talkhīṣ-i Tārīkh-i Naysābūr* 16, 9. Going by his *nisba* his nephew ‘Uthmān b. Jabala b. Abī Rawwād lived in Marv (TT VII 107f. no. 230).
- 14 Thus e.g. from ‘Ikrima and Nāfi’, Ibn ‘Umar’s *mawlā* (d. 117/735). If the *nuskha* in the latter’s possession was considered a falsification (cf. Ibn Ḥibbān II 137, –5f.; Azmi, *Studies* 97), this was probably because of its subject matter.
- 15 Fasawī I 725, –7f.
- 16 Cf. e.g. IS v 362, 20; *Ma’ārif* 625, 3 (read *Rawwād* for *Dāwūd*); Bukhārī III₂ 22 no. 1561; IAH II₂ 394 no. 1830; Ka’bī, *Qabūl* 216, 13; ‘Uqaylī III 6ff. no. 963; Ḥakīm al-Naysābūrī, *Ma’rifā* 136, 12ff., and 139, apu.; Sulaymānī (d. 404/1014) in *Mizān* no. 8470; *Mizān* no. 5101; TT VI 338f. no. 650.
- 17 Ṣaymarī, *Akhbār Abī Ḥanīfa* 79, apu. f.
- 18 Ibn Ḥibbān II 137, 6ff. > *Mizān* II 629, 8. Only Ibn Ḥibbān gives Khuwayl’s name, but he does not identify him, either; regarding him cf. my *Trad. Pol.* 25.
- 19 ‘Uqaylī III 8, –10ff.
- 20 Ibid. 10, 8ff.; once again after Khuwayl b. Wāqid.
- 21 Ibid. 7, –6ff.
- 22 Ibid. 6, 9ff.; also Ibn Ḥibbān II 136, –4f. > *Mizān*, loc. cit.; Dhahabī, *Ta’rīkh* VI 241, 5ff.; Madelung, *Qāsīm* 238.
- 23 Gramlich, *Ġazzālīs Lehre von den Stufen zur Gottesliebe* 733; cf. also the long hadith in Suyūṭī, *La’ālī* II 321, –9ff., the wording of which recalls phrases of the New Testament.

Abū ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd²⁴ ‘Abd al-Majīd b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Abī Rawwād,

d. 206/821, as the true villain.²⁵ It was said that he converted his father to *irjā’*.²⁶ In Balkh people quoted a saying by Ibn ‘Abbās that he transmitted, in which he gave out marks in a heresiographical fashion: “The Qadarites are unbelievers, the Shī‘ites doomed, the Ḥārūrītes innovators. Truth is (preserved) only among the Murjī‘ites”.²⁷ In a parallel, *irjā’* was actually defined, in an entirely traditional way, as the attitude of “people who leave to God’s decision everything they do not understand in the world”.²⁸ It goes on to say “. . . and who leave their affairs in God’s hands and who know that everything that happens is decreed and determined by God”.²⁹ *Irjā’* and determinism thus came from the same root, for “God will condemn those who claim that there is another one beside God who decrees and determines, who gives sustenance or disposes in his favour over what is good and beneficial, over death or life or resurrection. He will stop their tongues and blind their eyes; he will make their prayers and their fasts go up in smoke; he will take their every opportunity (of living) and throw them down on their faces into the fires of hell.”³⁰ When it came to the Shī‘ites, ‘Abd al-Majīd did not even tolerate the Kufan traditionists’ *tashayyu’*.³¹ When Wakī‘ b. al-Jarrāḥ caused a scandal in the city with his graphic description of Muḥammad’s abandoned body (the descendants of Abū Bakr and ‘Umar, whose negligence was implicitly criticised here, still lived in the Hijaz), he pleaded with Hārūn al-Rashīd, who was in Mecca for the pilgrimage, for capital punishment.³² He was very well versed in Ibn Jurayj’s (d. 150/767) hadith, but had learnt it only from his teacher’s books.³³ –

24 Khalifa, *Ṭab.* 720 no. 2601.

25 Fasawī I 700, 2ff.; also III 52, 6ff.

26 Ibn Ḥibbān II 161, 2 > *Mizān* no. 5183; Lālakā‘ī, *Sharḥ uṣūl i’tiqād ahl al-sunna* 1004f. no. 1848f.

27 Ibn Ḥibbān II 161, 4ff. > *Mizān*, loc. cit.; also Madelung, *Qāsim* 2233, n. 23. He is named as a Murjī‘ite in IS V 367, 3; *Ma‘ūrif* 625, 3f.; Bukhārī III₂ 112 no. 1875; ‘Uqaylī III 96 no. 1068; TB IX 143, 8f.; *Mizān*, loc. cit.; TT VI 381ff. no. 721.

28 See vol. I 195f. and 199f. above.

29 Lālakā‘ī 696 no. 1287 (read *arja’u* for *alja’ū*). Maybe *fi l-umūr* should be corrected to read *min al-umūr*: “those who leave the decision to God in matters that are hidden from them”.

30 Ibid. 698 no. 1292.

31 Cf. vol. I 270f.

32 *Mizān*, loc. cit.; cf. ch. C 1.4.2 below. The event cannot be dated precisely; Hārūn led the pilgrimage a number of times, especially during the seventies.

33 *Mizān*, loc. cit.; also Azmi, *Studies* 114. Regarding him cf. also IAH III₁ 64f. no. 340.

Another one who had moved to Mecca from Khorasan or Kufa³⁴ was

Saʿīd b. Sālim b. Abī l-Hayfāʾ al-Qaddāh.

He had assimilated enough to have entered into clientship with the Makhzūm.³⁵ He combined Shīʿite and Murjiʿite sympathies at a time when this had already become impossible in Kufa. Shīʿite *rijāl* works link him to Jaʿfar al-Šādiq, although he did not play a major part.³⁶ Sunnite *jarḥ wal-taʿdīl* literature simply saw him as a Murjiʿite.³⁷ He was known to have borne witness against a “Jahmite” together with a colleague, putting the “Jahmite” into an invidious position; the victim claimed that he had made his statement against his better judgment.³⁸ He made “propaganda” for his convictions; consequently his hadith was disliked later.³⁹ It is all the more surprising that Shāfiʿī attended his lectures;⁴⁰ clearly, he was not shunned during his lifetime. As he transmitted from Ibn Jurayj,⁴¹ he probably died during the second third of the second century.⁴²

Abū Muḥammad Khallād b. Yaḥyā b. Šafwān al-Sulamī,

finally, came from Kufa. He died in Mecca in 212/827 or slightly later.⁴³ His “embracing slightly Murjiʿite views”, as Ibn Ḥanbal put it, seems probable as he transmitted from Misʿar b. Kidām and ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Ayman, who had circulated Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya’s missive in Mecca in his youth.⁴⁴ – Presumably even the “Jahmite” mentioned above was closer to the Murjiʿa than to the Qadarites, differing from the former in his image of God, not in his definition of faith. He was

34 Ibn Ḥibbān, *Majrūhīn* I 320, 10; TT IV 35 no. 54.

35 Khalifa, *Ṭab.* 719 no. 2600.

36 Ardabili, *Jāmiʿ* I 360a, where he is listed as a Meccan.

37 ʿUqaylī II 108 no. 579; *Mizān* no. 3186; TT, loc. cit. Cf. also IAH II, 31 no. 128.

38 Fasawī III 51, ult. ff.; regarding the Jahmites see below.

39 Ibid. III 54, –5f.

40 *Mizān*, loc. cit.; see also p. 729 above.

41 He possessed written notes by him (Azmi, *Studies* 115).

42 The date of “before 200” in TT, loc. cit., is probably inferred, too.

43 *Mizān* no. 2526; TT III 174f. no. 331. Cf. also Bukhārī II, 189 no. 638; IAH I, 2 368 no. 1675.

44 Regarding him see Cook, *Dogma* 1f.; also regarding the issue of the chronological distance between the persons mentioned. Cf. also Text II 1, commentary.

Sālim b. Muslim al-Khashshāb al-Kātib,

who, like his opponent Saʿīd b. Sālim, transmitted from Ibn Jurayj. He was a *mawlā* of the ʿAbd al-Dār⁴⁵ and, going by his *laqab*, an official. We do not, however, learn anything else about him.⁴⁶ – The distaste many locals felt for the Murjīʿite doctrine was expressed most strongly by Sufyān b. ʿUyayna. People recalled that when asked during a lecture in 170 he had rejected the doctrine that faith could neither increase nor decrease with strong words.⁴⁷ ʿAbd al-Majīd Ibn Abī Rawwād counted him among the “doubters” for this reason.⁴⁸ He had attended ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd’s lectures in his youth, although his father had forbidden him to go there.⁴⁹ When he died in 196/812, Aṣmāʿī composed a mourning poem lamenting that no-one paid attention to hadith any more, and that the “heretics (*zanādiqa*) whom Jahm leads to divine wrath and the punishment of hell” were gaining ground.⁵⁰ This, however, was the Iraqī view of the situation.⁵¹ After all, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Kinānī, who would become the hero of an anti-Jahmite legend, also came from Mecca.⁵²

4.1.1.4 The Shīʿites

We know very little about Shīʿites in Mecca. While the ʿAlid uprisings did spread here as well, the members of the prophet’s family lived in Medina. The Quraysh’s dislike of everything to do with ʿAlī continued for a long time. ʿAbbād b. Kathīr, who was acquainted with Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq,¹ was originally from Basra. The only one for whom the Sunni sources had room was

45 Fasawī II 38, 8ff.

46 He is listed as a Jahmite in Samʿānī, *Ansāb* v 129, 12ff.; *Mīzān* no. 3547.

47 Ajurrī, *Sharīʿa* 103, 9ff.; interestingly the inquirer was a stranger, probably a Kufan. Cf. also *ibid.* 116, –4ff.

48 ʿUqaylī II 108, 6f.

49 Fasawī II 259, 11ff.; see also p. 345 above. Regarding him in general see GAS 1/96; his traditions were mainly collected by Ḥumaydī in his *Musnad*.

50 Ibn Qutayba, *ʿUyūn* II 135, 7ff.

51 Regarding Aṣmaʿī see p. 98 and 423 above.

52 In the *K. al-Ḥayda*; more details in ch. C 3,3,6 below.

1 See p. 733 above; also *Biḥār* XLVII 360 no. 70, and 368f. no. 86.

Ma'rūf b. Kharrabūdh,

who, like the Kufan Zurāra b. A'yan, was closely acquainted with Muḥammad al-Bāqir. In the Sunnites' eyes he was a traditionist,² while the Shī'ites regarded him as a jurist.³ He also transmitted the Hudhaylite *Dīwān*;⁴ Ja'far al-Ṣādiq was not impressed with this frivolity.⁵ Maybe he was a Qadarite like Zurāra.⁶

4.1.2 *Medina*

Medina displayed more rebellious spirit. Not only were the 'Alids a constant opposition, the scholars were often blunt as well. Mālik b. Anas recalled that two of his teachers, Rabī'at al-ra'y¹ and Muḥammad b. al-Munkadir,² but before them also the eminent jurist Sa'īd b. b. al-Musayyab,³ had been punished because of their *amr bil-ma'rūf*; their beards had been shaved or they had been forced to wear dishonourable clothing.⁴ Ibn al-Ash'ath found support here, and Ma'bad al-Juhanī is said to have circulated his ideas in the city.⁵ When the refugees from Iraq had to be handed over in both Mecca and Medina, the governor 'Uthmān b. Ḥayyān al-Murrī made himself deeply unpopular with the population. Some families had sheltered the "pious men" (*ubbād*) from Iraq; the governor had to publicly threaten sanctions. It seems that old business ties

2 'Uqaylī IV 220f. no. 1810; Bukhārī IV₁ 414 no. 1816; IAH VI₁ 321 no. 1481; *Mizān* no. 8655; TT x 230f. no. 421.

3 Kashshī 238 no. 431; cf. the biography *ibid.* 211f. no. 373ff., which emphasises only his pioussness. Cf. also Ardabīlī, *Jāmi'* II 246f.; *Biḥār* VII 267 no. 31.

4 IAH, loc. cit.

5 Kashshī 211f. no. 375.

6 If indeed he was the same as the Ma'rūf b. Abī Ma'rūf whom Ka'bi lists among the Meccan Qadarites (*Maq.* 84, 5ff.). This is, however, quite doubtful. Regarding a Qadarite named Ma'rūf b. Abī Ma'rūf in Mosul see p. 528 above.

1 Regarding him cf. GAS 1/406f. and Giffen in: Eliran I 356f. s. n. *Abū 'Oṭmān Rabī'a*; also vol. I 215 above.

2 Regarding him cf. Khalifa, *Ṭab.* 670 no. 2389; TH 127f. etc.; also p. 774 below.

3 Regarding him GAS 1/276; also Hāshim Jamīl 'Abdallāh's remarkable collection of material, *Fiqh al-Imām Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab* (1–4; Baghdad 1394/1974–1395/1975).

4 Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī, *Jāmi'* 155, pu. ff.

5 *Festschrift Meier* 51. The story in Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif* 441, 7ff., according to which 'Aṭā' b. Yasār al-Hilālī, who worked in Medina as a *qāṣṣ*, had ties to Ma'bad al-Juhanī and expressed his outrage at the rulers freely in front of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, probably refers to the Basran Qadarite 'Aṭā' b. Abī Maymūna (see p. 62f. above).

also played a part, as we hear that he “did not suffer a single Iraqi in the city, whether he was a merchant or not”.⁶

‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, who had prevented this step until then, was regarded as the *mahdī* in the city. Originally people had hoped for a successor to ‘Umar I from the male line, but in the end they settled for the namesake, even though ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz was an Umayyad.⁷ One of the oldest ascetics we know was close to him, a client of the Makhzūm named Ziyād b. Abī Ziyād; he did not eat meat and wore woollen clothing.⁸ Mālik later recommended wearing coarse cotton: it was not as noticeable but just as cheap.^{8a} *Kalām* seems to have existed in the city early on; one of Mālik’s teachers, Abū Bakr ‘Abdallāh b. Yazīd b. Hurmuz al-Aṣamm, was said to have refuted the heretics (*ahl al-ahwā’*).⁹ This assumption would become certainty if Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya’s anti-Qadarite *quaestiones* could be proved to be genuine; the text’s most likely home would be Medina.¹⁰

Cultural life was enhanced by wealth and leisure. Poetry blossomed;¹¹ ‘Umar b. Abī Rabī‘a, originally from Mecca, had settled in Medina.¹² A school of grammarians was founded early on.¹³ The abovementioned ‘Abdallāh b. Yazīd al-Aṣamm was one of its members, as was a Persian of the name of Bashkast who joined the Ibāḍite Abū Ḥamza and was executed after the uprising.¹⁴ There may even have been *zanādiqa*, but none of the reports have been examined sufficiently as yet.¹⁵ One of ‘Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr’s sons was suspected of practising “occult sciences”; ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz had him flogged and doused with cold water in 93/712 on Walīd’s orders. He died as a consequence, as he was made to

6 Cf. the account in Ṭabarī II 1258, 8ff.; a later reflection is found in Dhahabī, *Ta’rīkh* III 328, 1ff., which tells us that ‘Uthmān b. Ḥayyān had some people flogged because of their *nahy ‘an al-munkar*. He had taken office in late Shawwāl 94/late July 713 (Ṭabarī II 1258, 4f., and 1254, 17f.). Regarding this event cf. also Arazi in: JSAI 5/1984/190ff.

7 Cf. Madelung in EI² V 1231b.

8 IS V 225, 1ff.; Dhahabī, *Ta’rīkh* V 73, 7ff.; also Goldziher, *Vorlesungen* 152, and *Ges. Schr.* IV 173ff. He would later visit the caliph in Damascus (Fasawī I 596. 1ff.).

8a Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī, *Jāmi‘* 225, 7ff.

9 Fasawī I 652, 4f.; Qiftī, *Inbāh* II 172, pu. ff.; Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt al-naḥwīyyīn* 20, 3ff. Regarding him in general cf. Fasawī I 651ff.; Shīrāzī, *Tab.* 66, 8ff.; IAH II 2, 199 no. 924; Dhahabī, *Ta’rīkh* V 98ff.

10 Cf. *Anfänge*, passim; Cook, *Dogma* 137ff.

11 Cf. GAS 2/241ff.

12 Ibid. 415.

13 Cf. Talmon in: BSOAS 48/1985/224ff.

14 Ibid. 231f.; cf. *Agh.* I 290, 4ff.

15 See p. 700, above regarding ‘Abdallāh b. Mu‘āwiya; also vol. I 494, and p. 772 below.

stand by the entrance of the prophet's mosque in wintry weather afterwards.¹⁶ As in Mecca, the authorities ensured over time that men and women could not meet as freely as before. Ḥasan b. Zayd, 'Alī's grandson, whom Maṣṣūr appointed governor of the city in 149/766,¹⁷ prohibited women from entering mosques; during Ramadan only old women were permitted to attend prayers.¹⁸

4.1.2.1 The Khārijites

The Ibāḍite Abū Ḥamza was not received with rejoicing in Medina. The distinguished families saw his followers – who came from Ḥaḍramawt – as uncouth Bedouins.¹ Consequently battle erupted close to the city, near Qudayd, and many Medinans died.² The names of only very few Ibāḍite scholars survive from the following years: a certain Ishāq b. Ma'dhīr³ or Ibn 'Abbād al-Madanī.⁴ The community does not seem to have been very large, and it met with considerable hostility. Mālik b. Anas was of the opinion that Ibāḍites could be executed if they did not convert.⁵ Maybe he was referring to their militant phase under Abū Ḥamza.

There were other Khārijites in the city as well, 'Ikrima's pupils from whom even Mālik transmitted hadīth. Interestingly, they were Qadarites, but despite this double motivation they were no rebels and did not take part in Abū Ḥamza's uprising. Ibn Ḥibban says this explicitly of

Abū Sulaymān Dāwūd b. al-Ḥuṣayn al-Umawī,

d. 135/752–3; he was not a “propagandist”.⁶ Later, it would be impossible to avoid him in any case, as not only Mālik transmitted from him,⁷ but all six canonical

16 Ṭabarī II 1255, 1ff.; Dhahabī, *Ta'rikh* III 363, 9ff. The causal link is not entirely certain.

17 Khalīfa, *Ta'rikh* 682, 8f.; also EI² III 244f.

18 Zubayr b. Bakkār, *Muwaffaqiyyāt* 337, ult. f. no. 188. Regarding the development of Medina during the Umayyad and early Abbasid eras cf. Arazi in: JSAI 5/1984/177ff.; Blachère assumed that the city was cleansed of worldly tendencies during the first quarter of the second/eighth century (EI² II 1031a). Regarding the topography of the city cf. Šāliḥ al-'Alī in: IC 35/1961/65ff.

1 *Agh.* XXIII 238, 14 = Ṭabarī II 2010, ult. f.

2 Cf. the sources named on p. 736 above; also Abū l-'Arab, *Miḥan* 238ff.; a list of the fallen in Khalīfa, *Ta'rikh* 692, 6ff.

3 Sic! *Kitāb Ibn Sallām* 114, ult.

4 Lewicki in: EI² III 651a with further names.

5 Saḥnūn, *Mudawwana* (Cairo 1323/1905–6) II 47, –5ff.; also Ibn Qudāma, *Mughnī* x 59, pu.

6 *Thiqāt* VI 284; adopted in *Miẓān* no. 2600.

7 Suyūṭī, *Is'āf al-mubatta'* 12, 18ff.

collections named him as an authority. It is true that he was not an ideal revolutionary; being a client of one of 'Uthmān's grandsons, he had to be circumspect. After the Abbasids came to power the first governor, Dāwūd b. 'Alī, entrusted his sons' education to him.⁸ 'Ikrima sought refuge with him shortly before his death when the governor was after him because of his Khārijite sympathies; and he died in his house.⁹ 'Ikrima also gave him historical information about the prophet,¹⁰ and also about 'Uthmān,¹¹ most of which had come down to him from Ibn 'Abbās; Ibn Ishāq would profit from this information.¹² Later sources in particular claimed that he was a Qadarite,¹³ as do the Mu'tazilites whose earliest witness, Ka'bī, relied on Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Shāfi'.¹⁴ The Medinan Qadarite Ibrāhīm b. Abī Yahyā¹⁵ possessed a booklet (*nuskha*) with hadith notes by his hand.¹⁶ The hadith he transmitted from 'Ikrima was considered unusual, namely that the dream of adolescence (*ḥulm*) was sent by Satan, which was why the prophet was spared this experience;¹⁷ an expression of the strong emphasis on the ritual purity and increasing idealisation of the prophet. – The same constellation applies to

Thawr b. Zayd al-Dilī (or Du'alī),

who may have died in the same year;¹⁸ Ibn Ishāq transmitted traditions on the prophet's biographies from him, too.¹⁹ The Mu'tazilites tell us that he was a Qadarite,²⁰ as do some later, but relevant, sources.

8 Ka'bī, *Qabūl* 70, 13ff.; cf. also Khalīfa, *Ṭab.* 648 no. 2274.

9 Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif* 457, if. The governor might have been 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. 'Abdallāh al-Naḍrī, who took office under Yazid II in 104. (Khalīfa, *Ta'rikh* 482, 5f., and Ṭabarī II 1449, 13).

10 Ṭabarī I 149, 14ff.; 1129, 18ff.; 1191, 2ff.; 1248, 10ff.; 1351, 16ff.

11 Ibid. I 3038, 9ff.

12 Cf. e.g. Ṭabarī I 149, 14f.

13 Dhahabī, *Ta'rikh* v 241, 9ff.; Suyūṭī, *Tadrīb* I 328, pu. f.; Ibn Ḥajar, *Hady al-sārī* 120, 20. Nothing in Bukhārī, *Ta'rikh* II, 231 no. 779, and 'Uqaylī II 35f. no. 459. TT III 182, 1 and 4, and *Hady al-sārī* II 127, –7ff. only point out his Khārijite tendencies.

14 *Maq.* 77, 6 > *Faḍl* 335, 6.

15 Regarding him see p. 781ff. below.

16 Azmi, *Studies* 126.

17 *Mizān* II 6, iff.

18 Cf. e.g. Suyūṭī, *Is'āf al-mubaṭṭa'* 9, iff.; Khalīfa has 140/757 as the date of his death (*Ṭab.* 671f. no. 2399); this may be because it is a round number.

19 Cf. Ṭabarī I 1329, 3ff., and 1371, 6ff.; after a different authority ibid. I 1584, 13ff.

20 Ka'bī 79, 5ff. > *Faḍl* 336, 4 (corrupt) > IM 134, 5 (with misspelling, see below).

Ibn Ḥajar, TT II 31 no. 55 and *Hady al-sārī* II 120, 17ff.; Suyūṭī, *Tadrib* I 328, apu. Nothing in Bukhārī I₂ 181 no. 2125, and IAH I₁ 468 no. 1903. It must be said that his name gave rise to a number of misidentifications and misspellings. Ibn al-Murtaḍā has *Nūn b. Zayd* rather than *Thawr b. Zayd*; Ibn Qutayba probably confused him with the Syrian Thawr b. Yazīd al-Kalā'ī (cf. *Ma'ārif* 625, 13 and the correction in Ibn Rusta, *A'lāq* 221, 1). The latter was a notorious Qadarite (see vol. I 131ff. above), and Dhahabī consequently believed that this was the only reason why the Medinan had the same reputation (*Mizān* no. 1404). Ibn Ḥanbal seems to make a similar distinction (*Ilal* 240 no. 1512). These assessments may be due to the fact that nothing much was known about the intellectual atmosphere in second-century Medina.

We know of one Ibāḍite who left the city around this time:

Abū Muḥammad al-Walid b. Kathīr al-Makhzūmī.

He had been a client of the Makhzūm, but then went to live in Wāsiṭ, where Sufyān al-Thawrī visited him and stayed in his house.²¹ Later he went to Kufa, where he died in 151/768.²² 'Uqaylī²³ as well as Ka'bi²⁴ tell us that he was a Qadarite. The interest in *maghāzī* Ibn Abī Ḥātim ascribed to him is not mentioned in the literature.²⁵

4.1.2.2 The Murji'a

Mālīk apparently did not allow Murji'ites to attend his lectures.¹ One of them, a certain Abū l-Juwayriya, stopped him on his way to the mosque and challenged him to a debate. He clearly was a true *dā'iya*, as he believed that the loser must convert to his opponent's view. Mālīk declined, outraged; forced disputation (*judāl*) had no place in religion.² This may well be an exemplary anecdote without much claim to historicity. Dawlābī's dictionary of *kunyas* identifies Abū

21 'Uqaylī, *Du'afā'* IV 320, 7ff.; cf. also *Mizān* no. 9397.

22 TT XI 148, 12.

23 *Du'afā'* IV 320, 5.

24 *Maq.* 80, 6ff. > *Fadl* 336, 7 > IM 134, 7f.

25 IAH IV₂ 14 no. 62. Ṭabarī quoted him only once (I 2746, 7); in that passage he is transmitting from Muḥammad b. 'Ajlān (see p. 761ff. below).

1 See p. 611 above.

2 Qāḍi 'Iyāḍ, *Tartīb al-madārik* I 170, 5ff.; Ājurri, *Sharī'a* 56, -5ff.; also REI 44/1976/46.

l-Juwayriya: his name was ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd b. ‘Imrān and he was a Kufan living in Medina,³ which is all we know about him. We do, however, know a certain Abū l-Ḥuwayrith or Abū l-Ḥuwayritha⁴ whom Abū Dāwūd also listed among the “Murji’ites of Medina” and of whom Mālik did not approve; his name was ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mu‘āwiya.⁵ The *kunya* may simply have been misread.⁶ It is furthermore not entirely true that no Murji’ites at all studied under Mālik,⁷ but we can still say that their school did not have very many followers in Medina.⁸

4.1.2.3 The Qadarites

The Qadariyya, on the other hand, had been established in the city for some time, and was reasonably well-respected. Ṣāliḥ b. Qaysān, who had taught ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz’ sons when he was governor, as well as supervising the construction of the prophet’s mosque, was said to have had ties to it.¹ He praised Ibn al-Ash‘ath’s followers for the courage they had shown at Dayr al-Jamājim;² in an account of the conquest of Ḥīra he displayed the kind of egalitarian pathos expected of a client.³ When Ghaylān al-Dimashqī accompanied the caliph Hishām on the pilgrimage in 106/725, he and Rabī‘at al-ra’y were said to have had a debate in Medina.⁴ According to the account by Mālik, after the end of the debate Sa’d b. Ibrāhīm, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Awf’s grandson who held the office of *qāḍī* in the city at the time,⁵ obtained the notes of Ghaylān’s

3 Dawlābī I 139, 8ff.

4 Regarding the latter form cf. Fasawī II 644, 12, and Dawlābī I 161, 2 (which has Abū l-Ḥuwayriya instead).

5 TT VI 272f. no. 539; regarding him cf. also ‘Uqaylī, *Du‘āfā’* II 344f. no. 945, and *Mizān* no. 4979.

6 He is, however, believed to have died as early as 128/746 or 130/748 (TT, loc. cit.).

7 Cf. vol. I 159.

8 I do not know who the Murji’ite Ibn Abī Dāwūd was of whom Sufyān b. ‘Uyayna warned (‘Uqaylī, *Du‘āfā’* I 62, 3f.).

1 TT IV 399, 4f. and TH 148, pu.; Ṭabarī II 1193, 15ff. Regarding his Qadarism cf. Ka’bī 80, 10ff. > *Faḍl* 336, 7 > IM 134, 8; Suyūṭī, *Tadrib* I 329, 1; *Mizān* no. 3823 (where the suspicion is rejected). According to Fasawī I 568, 6ff., he had already been ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz’ own tutor. For more information see TTD VI 378.

2 Ṭabarī II 1092, 1ff.

3 Ibid. I 2016, 15ff. and 2017, 9ff.; cf. also Abū Bakr’s speech transmitted by him, which he was said to have given on his deathbed (I 2139, 6ff.).

4 In more detail *Anfānge* 204ff. Regarding the date cf. ibid. 225; Hishām was in Medina during Muḥarram/May 725.

5 Wakī‘ I 150ff.: from 104/722 onwards with interruptions until his death in 127/745 (thus according to Wakī‘ I 164, 2f.) or 128/746 (thus after Khalifa, *Ta’rikh* 577, 9).

address (*maqāla*) and revised them.⁶ This led Ibn Qutayba to believe that he was a Qadarite,⁷ which was given as the reason why Mālik would not transmit from him.⁸ When Ghaylān's ideas became the official line under Yazīd III, they probably found some support in Medina; certainly some people found themselves in hot water when reaction began under Marwān II. One of them was

‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Iṣḥāq b. ‘Abdallāh al-‘Āmirī al-Qurashī,

who had settled “by the water” in Medina after Walīd’s death, and now had to flee to Basra.⁹ This is the only definite report. The name alone is confusing enough. Ibn Ḥanbal believed ‘Abd al-Raḥmān was also called ‘Abbād;¹⁰ according to Bukhārī, this was the form customary in the west, presumably Spain.¹¹ Some later authors listed him twice because of this.¹² Instead of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Iṣḥāq b. ‘Abdallāh one definitive *isnād* has ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Iṣḥāq b. al-Ḥārith,¹³ which is probably an abbreviation, as we learn that ‘Abd al-Raḥmān also transmitted from his father, who apparently was Iṣḥāq b. ‘Abdallāh b. al-Ḥārith al-‘Āmirī,¹⁴ son of ‘Abdallāh b. al-Ḥārith b. Nawfal, named Babba, who had ruled in Basra in 64/684 for a year on behalf of ‘Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr. He was a Hāshimid, and connected to the Umayyads on his mother’s side; because of this noble descent he had previously already held official positions. Towards the end of his life he joined Ibn al-Ash‘ath,¹⁵ which may have influenced his grandson’s Qadarite interests. It also explains why the latter fled to Basra: the

6 Ka’bī 76, 4ff. after Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Shāfi‘ī, who referred to Mālik via his own teacher Shāfi‘ī > *Faḍl* 334, –5ff. > Ḥākīm al-Jushamī > al-Manṣūr billāh, *Shāfi‘ī* I 151, 11ff.

7 *Ma‘ārif* 625, 12, the name to be corrected in accordance with Ibn Rusta, *A‘lāq* 220, 7.

8 Ka’bī 76, 11f. (corrupt) > *Faḍl* 334, pu. f. > IM 133, 9ff.; also TT III 465, 9ff. Nothing in Wakī, in TTD VI 80 and *Mizān* no. 3133.

9 ‘Uqaylī, *Du‘afā’* II 322, 1f. > *Mizān* no. 4811 (with a better reading); TT VI 137ff. The Mu‘tazilites also name him as a Qadarite (Ka’bī I 106, 4 > *Faḍl* 343, 11ff. > IM 139, 3f.), as does Suyūṭī (*Tadrīb* I 329, 3). Regarding the “water” cf. Samhūdī, *Wafā’ al-wafā’* II 200, 13 and –4.

10 *Ilal* 372, 17f.

11 *Ta’rīkh* III 258, 7f. According to Dāraquṭnī, *Du‘afā’* 338f. no. 341, on the other hand, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān was the form used in Basra.

12 Thus Dhahabī, *Mizān* no. 4811 and 4109. On the other hand the same author claims in his *Ta’rīkh al-Islām* that ‘Abbād was ‘Abd al-Raḥmān’s brother (VI 93, 3ff.).

13 Fasawī I 454, 3. Thus also Bukhārī III 258f. no. 834, and IAH II 212f. no. 1000.

14 TT I 238f.; Khalifa, *Ṭab.* 507 no. 1742.

15 Regarding him cf. Madelung in: JNES 40/1981/292f. and 297ff.

family is likely to have had considerable support there.^{15a} They also owned a house in Mecca.¹⁶ Should we assume that the unusual Maghrebin form of the name, which appears to have been a hypocoristic, could be explained with 'Abd al-Raḥmān's fleeing to Spain from the Abbasids because of his close ties to the Umayyads?

The *rijāl* texts show his position as an intermediary: he was important for Medinan hadith,¹⁷ but had pupils in Basra as well.¹⁸ Ibn Abī Ḥātim notes that he was close to Ibn Iṣḥāq,¹⁹ the latter, too, had been a Qadarite in his youth and consequently not liked by the authorities.²⁰ – A connection with Basra is also clearly visible in the case of

Abū Naṣr²¹ Yaḥyā b. Abī Kathīr Yasār²² al-Ṭā'ī al-Yamāmī,

a *mawlā* of the Ṭayyī',²³ who had also moved between cities, but in the opposite direction. He came from Basra and allegedly left the city because he could not get along with Qatāda,²⁴ sometime before 117/735; from then onwards he lived in the Yamāma.²⁵ Walīd II's lifestyle was not to his liking; he transmitted that in 125/743 the world had lost its jewel.²⁶ Maybe he refused to pay homage to him or his sons; he was said to have been interrogated because of this crime, and then beaten and his head shaved.²⁷ He died towards the end of the Umayyad era, in 129/747 or 132/750.²⁸

15a See also p. 182 above.

16 Madelung, loc. cit. 298.

17 Ibn al-Madīnī, *ʿIlal* 81, 1; 87, 7; 88, 1; also 84, 5.

18 Ibn Ḥanbal, *ʿIlal* 372 no. 2467; also Wakī', *Akhbār* I 46, apu. f.

19 IAH II₂ 213, 1f.

20 See p. 756f. below.

21 Or *Abū Ayyūb* (IS v 404, 9). He had several sons besides Naṣr: Kathīr (IS v 404, 7), 'Abdallāh (AZ 448, apu., and Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif* 218, 7), and 'Āmir (Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān* III 212, 7).

22 Cf. Khalīfa, *Ṭab.* 514 no. 1780; IS v 404, 3f.; IS v 404, 15, has *Dīnār* instead.

23 IS v 404, 6. In Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif* 218, 3f., *Ṭayyī'* is corrupted to read *ʿAlī*.

24 See p. 158 above.

25 Fasawī I 621, 11f.

26 Suyūṭī, *La'ālī* II 390, 13ff.; also vol. I 96f.

27 Thus Abū l-'Arab, *Miḥan* 316, 7ff.; in general Dhahabī, TH 128, 15f., and *Ta'rikh* v 180, pu. f. because of criticising the Umayyads.

28 The date of 129 is more frequent; 132 is an inference from the report that he survived Ayyūb al-Sakhtiyānī (see p. 391 above) by a year (Bukhārī IV₂ 301, 6f.).

He had been well-respected in Basra. Ayyūb al-Sakhtiyānī held him in great esteem,²⁹ and Hishām al-Dastuwā'ī transmitted much from him.³⁰ Ibn al-Madīnī would later name him the greatest traditionist of his generation besides Qatāda.³¹ He was also well-versed in Medinan and Hijazi hadith; only Zuhri surpassed him.³² Ṭabarī shows him as knowledgeable concerning the prophet's biography.³³ In his view the Sunna was superior to the Quran – and maybe not exclusively because it contributed to explaining the Quran, as people would claim later.³⁴ He insisted on being given hadith material in writing, so it would not be lost,³⁵ and he transmitted hadith in writing as well.³⁶ Later critics considered this important only because oral confirmation might be lacking in some cases.³⁷ The great number of those who transmitted from him serves as proof that his method was entirely acceptable in his lifetime.³⁸

Ibn Ḥajar testified to his great piousness.³⁹ He may have inferred this from statements like his son 'Abdallāh's that he was always sad – meaning concerned for his salvation.⁴⁰ Together with his political views this would make him a good Qadarite, but that is a claim we do not find anywhere. Not even Ka'bi listed him. Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār, on the other hand, tells us that 'Amr b. 'Ubayd went to visit him, and mentions in this context that they were both Mu'tazilites.⁴¹ This does not seem to agree with those among his hadiths that could be used against the Qadarites.⁴² We are unable to solve the case. – Political commitment might be assumed in the case of

29 IS v 404, 10f., and Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif* 218, 5f.

30 AZ 452 no. 1142.

31 Fasawī I 621, 7ff; IKh VI 140, 10ff.

32 Ibid. I 621, 10f. after Ayyūb al-Sakhtiyānī.

33 Cf. Index s. n.; he transmitted mainly from Abū Salama b. 'Abd al-Rahmān (d. 104/722–3), in whose hand he possessed a *nuskha* (Azmi, *Studies* 63).

34 Ibn Qutayba, *Ta'wīl* 250, 8ff. = 199, 8ff./transl. Lecomte 222 § 216d; cf. Juynboll in: JSAI 10/1987/109f.

35 Khaṭīb, *Taqyīd* 110, 16ff.

36 Ibn Ḥanbal, *ʿIlal* 196, 3f.

37 Azmi, *Studies* 176.

38 Ibid. 176f.

39 TT XI 269, 5f.

40 AZ 448, apu. f. Of his other son Naṣr it was even said that he could walk on water or fly in the air (Abū Ya'la, *Mu'tamad* 164, 12ff.).

41 *Faḍl* 343, 1ff. > IM 138, 9 (giving the name only).

42 HT 127 and 164.

Abū Muḥammad Ismā'īl Muḥammad b. Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ,

d. 134/751–2,⁴³ a member of the Medinan aristocracy whose father had taken part in Ibn al-Ash'ath's uprising and was executed on Ḥajjāj's orders after being taken prisoner near Herat in 82/701.⁴⁴ The son, Ka'bī tells us, was known for his Qadarite views in the city.⁴⁵ Other sources do not confirm this, but then we know very little indeed about this grandson of the well-known general. According to Ibn Qutayba he was one of the *fuqahā'* of the Quraysh.⁴⁶ He appears a number of times as Ṭabarī's source of historical information up to 'Uthmān's time, with precise chronological data in several instances;⁴⁷ Ibn Ishāq also quotes him once.⁴⁸ – Other Medinan Qadarites of this time are less concrete. One of them was a member of an ancient family,

al-Qāsim b. al-'Abbās b. Muḥammad al-Lahabī.

He was a descendant of Abū Lahab and consequently probably rather biased;⁴⁹ his great-grandfather Mu'attib had become a Muslim in the year of the conquest of Mecca.⁵⁰ He himself died in the battle of Qudayd in 130/748, or was murdered by the Khārijites in Medina shortly afterwards.⁵¹ The Mu'tazilites were the only ones to note his Qadarite views.⁵²

Abū Mawdūd 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Abī Sulaymān

was a *mawlā* of the Hudhayl who worked as a *qāṣṣ* in Medina. He was believed to be an ascetic; Ibn Sa'd called him a *mutakallim* who preached to the

43 Khalifa, *Ta'rikh* 627, 13; TT I 329f. no. 592.

44 Khalifa, *Ta'rikh* 367, 12, and 368, 5ff.; also Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh* 264, 11ff., and Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamhara* 129, –4f.

45 *Maq.* 76, 13ff. > *Faḍl* 335, 1f. > IM 133, 13.

46 *Ma'ārif* 244, 4.

47 Cf. Index s. n., esp. I 2726, 10ff.

48 *Sīra* 587, 9f.

49 His family is not mentioned either in Zubayrī or in Ibn Ḥazm's *Jamhara*.

50 Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Istī'āb* 1430 no. 2459.

51 Most sources have 131 as the year of his death; only Bukhārī has 133, after 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Shayba. This may be a copyist's error; TT VIII 320, 2f., has 130 after the same source.

52 Ka'bī 76, 1f. > *Faḍl* 335, 3 > IM 133, 1f. (incorrect *al-Laythī* here). Nothing in Bukhārī IV₁ 168 no. 748; IAH III₂ 114 no. 658; *Mizān* no. 6810; TT VIII 319f. no. 576.

people.⁵³ Ka'bi based his view of him as a Qadarite on Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Shāfi'.⁵⁴

Abū 'Abdallāh Ṣafwān b. Sulaym al-Zuhrī,

d. 132/749–50,⁵⁵ a *mawlā* of Ḥumayd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf who later appears to have forged ties with the Banū Zuhra,⁵⁶ had in his youth, during Mu'awiya's caliphate, trained the officials (*kuttāb*) in Medina, but increasingly turned to devotional exercises. He spent his nights in prayer and tried to reduce his need for sleep. He did not use a pillow and made his bed, against the usual custom, on the roof in winter, and inside the house in the summer. He slept sitting up, his head on his knees, supported by a strap (*hubwa*) tying his knees to his chest, preserving his ritual purity in this way.⁵⁷ His actions were noted with great respect and considered unusual.⁵⁸ There is an early report that names him as a Qadarite;⁵⁹ Ibn Ḥajar quotes it,⁶⁰ as do the Mu'tazilite sources.⁶¹ It did not deter Mālik b. Anas from attending his lectures.⁶² – According to Wāqidī,

Abū l-Mughīra 'Abdallāh b. Abī Labīd al-Thaqaḥī

died at the beginning of Maṣṣūr's caliphate, in 136/754 or shortly afterwards, according to Wāqidī.⁶³ He may have inferred this from an anecdote of undoubtedly fictional content.⁶⁴ It would be too late in any case, if it should be correct that the abovementioned Ṣafwān b. Sulaym refused to say the prayer

53 *mutakallim ya'izu*; cf. TT VI 340 no. 653. The original passage is not extant in the printed version of *Ṭabaqāt* which has a few gaps in vol. v in particular. *mutakallim* does not necessarily mean "theologian" here (see vol. I 57f. above).

54 *Maq.* 80, apu. ff. > *Faḍl* 336, 8 (once corrected) > IM 133, 8 (corrected by Fück in OLZ 59/1964/374).

55 Thus after Khalifa, *Ṭab.* 653 no. 2304, and *Ta'rikh* 613, 4; also TH 134 no. 120, and TT IV 425 no. 734. According to Ibn 'Asākir, however, already 124/742 (TTD VI 433, 13f.).

56 Khalifa, *Ṭab.*, and AZ 641, 7.

57 TTD VI 433, 15ff.; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Ṣifa* II 86ff.; cf. also the prayer AZ 429, 1. Only if one stretches out while sleeping at night does one have to perform the ablution in the morning (cf. Text XXII 257 with commentary). Regarding the *hubwa* see p. 204 above.

58 Ka'bi 78, if., and in more detail Fasawī I 661, 2ff.: after Sufyān b. 'Uyayna.

59 TTD VI 434, 4; also Ka'bi 77, ult. f.

60 TT, loc. cit.

61 Ka'bi 77, ult. f. (after Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Shāfi') > *Faḍl* 335, 15f. > IM 133, 16f. Nothing in IAH II 423f. no. 1858.

62 Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ, *Tartīb al-madārik* I 127, –5; Suyūṭī, *Is'āf al-mubatta'* 19, 9ff.

63 TT V 372, 15.

64 Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār, *Faḍl* 335, 11ff.

of the dead over him.⁶⁵ They were both pietists, but Abū l-Mughīra's Qadarite views are much better documented, e.g. by Ibn Ḥanbal⁶⁶ as well as Fasawī.⁶⁷ The reason for this is probably that he once travelled to Iraq, transmitting hadith in Kufa where Sufyān al-Thawrī attended his lectures.⁶⁸

Abū 'Abdallāh Sharīk b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Nimr al-Laythī,⁶⁹

d. after 140/757–8 but before al-Nafs al-zakiyya's uprising,⁷⁰ was a true Arab. His grandfather Abū Nimr had fought with the Meccans at Badr.⁷¹ Ka'bi, quoting Dāwūd al-Iṣfahānī,⁷² and a number of other sources list him as a Qadarite.⁷³ Mālik b. Anas transmitted from him all the same.⁷⁴ – Interestingly even an uncle of Mālik's belongs in this group:

Abū Suhayl Nāfi' b. Mālik b. Abī 'Āmir al-Aṣḥāḥī, also known as Ibn Abī Anas,⁷⁵

who had joined the Taym b. Murra as a confederate (*ḥalīf*). His father Abū Anas Mālik b. Abī 'Āmir died in 112/730,⁷⁶ he himself during Saffāḥ's caliphate (132/749–136/754).⁷⁷ The family was of Southern Arabian origin and commanded some respect, as demonstrated by the fact that he transmitted from 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz and consequently must have been in the latter's circle when he was governor.⁷⁸ The Medinan jurist Ibn Abī Yaḥyā, quoted by Shāfi'ī, listed him

65 Cf. e.g. 'Uqaylī, *Du'afā'* II 292, 12ff, and Bukhārī III₁ 182, 5; after 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Muḥammad al-Darāwardī (d. 186/802).

66 *Iḥl* 130 no. 807, and 273 no. 1761.

67 II 697, 4f.; also Bukhārī III₁ 182, 4; 'Uqaylī II 292 no. 866; *Mizān* no. 4529; *Hadī al-sārī* II 139, 21ff.; Suyūṭī, *Tadrib* I 329, 2; Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār, *Faḍl* 335, 7ff. > IM 133, 14. Dhahabī expresses doubts: *Ta'rikh* V 267, –4ff. Nothing in IAH II₂ 148 no. 684.

68 Cf. also Azmi, *Studies* 109.

69 Regarding this *nisba* cf. Khalifa, *Ṭab.* 665 no. 3264.

70 Khalifa, *Ṭab.*, loc. cit., and *Ta'rikh* 642, 3; also IAH II₁ 363 no. 1592.

71 Bukhārī II₂ 236, pu. f.

72 *Maq.* 78, pu. ff. > *Faḍl* 336, 3 > IM 134, 5.

73 TT IV 337f. no. 578; *Hadī al-sārī* II 134, 8ff.; *Tadrib* I 329, 1. Nothing in IAH II₁ 363f. no. 1592, or in *Mizān* no. 3696. Not to be confused with the Kufan Sharīk b. 'Abdallāh al-Nakha'ī (see vol. I 246 above).

74 Suyūṭī, *Is'af al-mubatta'* 18, –7ff.

75 Cf. Fasawī I 406, 6ff.

76 Qāḍī 'Iyāq, *Tartīb* I 107, –7f.

77 TT X 409ff. no. 737.

78 Bukhārī IV₂ 86 no. 2276; also IAH IV₁ 453 no. 2072.

as a Qadarite;⁷⁹ while he was well-informed, he was probably also biased. He did not agree with Mālik.⁸⁰

Abū Sahl Saʿd b. Saʿīd b. Abī Saʿīd al-Maqburī

was slightly younger. Sufyān b. ʿUyayna had named him as a Qadarite.⁸¹ He transmitted from his brother ʿAbdallāh who, while not a Qadarite, would end up with the worse reputation of the two.⁸² Their father, on the other hand, Saʿīd al-Maqburī, a client of the Banū Layth, was much respected. He died around 125/743.⁸³ – The last one worth mentioning in the context of the early Qadariyya is

Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. Yasār,

the well-known author of the *Sīra*, d. 150/767, or shortly afterwards. He spent only the first half of his life in Medina; moving to Baghdad in the thirties, where he established contact with Manṣūr.⁸⁴ His biography and his works have been studied a number of times;⁸⁵ consequently I can limit myself to what is relevant to the present context. The suspicion that he was a Qadarite is clearly of Median origin. A certain Ḥumayd b. Ḥabīb claimed to have seen Ibn Ishāq flogged under the governor Ibrāhīm b. Hishām because of his Qadarite involvement.⁸⁶ This would have had to be during his youth; Ibrāhīm b. Hishām b. Ismāʿīl al-Makhzūmī ruled Medina from 106/725, shortly after Hishām came

79 Kaʿbī 82, 3ff. > *Faḍl* 336, 18ff. > IM 134, 11f.

80 See p. 783f. below.

81 ʿUqaylī, *Ḍuʿafāʾ* II 117 no. 593; *Mizān* no. 3110; TT III 469f. no. 875.

82 Regarding him ʿUqaylī II 258f. no. 810; *Mizān* no. 4353 etc.

83 Regarding him TH 116f. no. 101; TT IV 38ff. no. 61 etc.

84 Cf. in detail J. Fück, *Muḥammad b. Ishāq* (PhD Frankfurt 1925) and, with a different interpretation, R. Sellheim in: *Oriens* 18–19/1965–66/33ff.; cf. also Schacht in: *Arabica* 16/1969/81.

85 Cf. EI² III 810f. s. n., and GAS 1/288ff.; also the studies, composed independently of one another, by H. R. Idris, *Réflexions sur Ibn Ishāq*, in: SI 17/1962/23ff., and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Dūrī, *Dirāsa fī sīrat al-nabī wa-muʿallifihā Ibn Ishāq* (Baghdad 1385/1965), as well as Sadun Mahmud al-Samuk's dissertation *Die historischen Überlieferungen nach Ibn Ishāq. Eine synoptische Untersuchung* (Frankfurt 1978), all with further references. Also Dūrī, *Rise* 33ff.; Guillaume, *The Life of Muhammad*, Intro. xiiiif., and Newby, *The Making of the Last Prophet* 5ff.

86 *Mizān* III 472, pu. f.

to power,⁸⁷ onwards, and lost the position in 114/732.⁸⁸ The information is problematic for several reasons. We are unable to identify the source with any certainty;⁸⁹ and in those days – when Ghaylān al-Dimashqī was probably still living – Qadarite views were not fraught with danger, at least not in Syria. Most importantly, another source explains the flogging as having been because of Ibn Ishāq's womanising.

Yāqūt, *Irshād* VI 400, 13ff., after Wāqidī. In order for the story to make any sense at all, one would have to read *Ibrāhīm b. Hishām al-Makhzūmī* for *Hishām al-Makhzūmī* (who was governor between 82/701 and 86/705), as Horowitz already pointed out (in: IC 2/1928/169; also Idris, p. 28). Cf. also the reports in Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* 105, 4ff., and Abū l-'Arab, *Miḥan* 378, 4ff.; neither of these gives the governor's name. Abū l-'Arab says that Ibn Ishāq was exiled at the time; a parallel account (*ibid.* 377, 8ff.) claims that Ibn Ishāq knew too much about genealogy and revealed some scandal about every family.

Even so, the accusation might have had a concrete cause, as it is possible that Ibn Ishāq found himself in trouble with the authorities once again, and this time because of his Qadarite leanings after all. He was surrounded by his pupils when he was arrested; a dream vision having revealed him his fate shortly before.⁹⁰ However that may have been, his reputation in Medina was ruined for the rest of the century, more than a generation after his death.⁹¹ The sources hastened to add, with reference to Sufyān b. 'Uyayna, that this had nothing to do with his hadith, but was solely due to his Qadarite views.⁹² Whether this was indeed the case will have to remain unanswered; we do hear that he transmitted hadith "on the attribute" (*fi l-ṣifa*, explained as "on the attributes of God") and caused offence – whatever the strange phrase may in fact have

87 Khalifa, *Ta'rikh* 544, 7f., and Wakī', *Akhbār al-quḍāt* I 168, 10ff.

88 Wakī' I 171, 3f.

89 Might he have been Ḥumayd b. Ḥabīb al-Lakhmī who would later support Yazīd III (Ṭabarī II 1792, 6).

90 Thus TB I 225, 11ff.; once again it was a later transmitter who pointed out the link to the *qadar* issue (regarding him cf. Sam'ānī, *Ansāb* VI 323, 1ff.). Without this remark also Yāqūt, *Irshād* VI 401, 1ff. – Idris believes this to be merely a doublet of the previously mentioned tradition (*loc. cit.*, p. 28).

91 Cf. TB I 226, 14ff., with reference to the year 193/809. Entirely negative also the synopsis in Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fihrist* 105, 3ff.).

92 Fasawī II 27, 9f.; Ka'bī 81, 10ff.; 'Uqaylī, *Du'afā'* IV 26, 7f.; also TB I 224, 19.

meant.⁹³ We do know that he used Ḥasan al-Baṣrī's *Tafsīr* in 'Amr b. 'Ubayd's redaction.⁹⁴

Mālik b. Anas was said to have been ill-disposed towards him for the same reason.⁹⁵ We are unable to confirm this; other reasons are given as well.⁹⁶ It does seem exaggerated that Mālik b. Anas should have been able to bully him out of town, as at that time – more than forty years before his death – Mālik simply did not command the respect for such a course of action.⁹⁷ Ibn al-Madīnī would later claim that Mālik did not know Ibn Iṣḥāq well at all.⁹⁸ This is not really true, either; but there can be no doubt that they did not like each other. Ibn Iṣḥāq tried to attack Mālik's social position – he was not a native Medinan but originally from Yemen – by claiming that he was not an ally (*ḥalīf*) of his Medinan clan, but merely a *mawlā*.⁹⁹ He also made derisive comments about his achievements as a jurist.¹⁰⁰

His Qadarite leanings were confirmed outside the Hijaz, too. Awzā'ī did not think much of him for that reason.¹⁰¹ In the east, Ibn Ma'īn (d. 233/848),¹⁰² Hārūn b. Ma'rūf (d. 231/846)¹⁰³ and Sulaymān b. Dāwūd al-Shādhakūnī (d. 234/848)¹⁰⁴ agreed with this view, later also Ibn Qutayba.¹⁰⁵ Mu'tazilite sources adopted Ibn Ma'īn's assessment.¹⁰⁶ The Kufan Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Numayr (d. 234/848), on the other hand, tried to absolve him of the accusation.¹⁰⁷ This rehabilitation, like the other claims, would frequently be repeated by later

93 Fasawī I 137, 7ff. = III 366 apu. ff. > TB I 226, 3ff.; also *Mizān* III 474, –4ff. Might these have been anti-anthropomorphic considerations of the kind the Ibāḍiyya quoted Ibn 'Abbās as having said?

94 See p. 339f. above. Also Dūrī, *Dirāsa* 24.

95 AZ 538 no. 1455.

96 Cf. EI² III 811a.

97 The tradition appears to have been extrapolated from a remark by Mālik himself that, if genuine, says more about his great self-confidence than about the actual course of events (TB I 223, 12).

98 TB I 229, 3.

99 Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ, *Tartīb* I 106, 3ff.; more detail in U. F. 'Abdallāh, *Mālik's Concept of "Amal" in the light of Maliki Legal Theory* (PhD Chicago 1978), p. 39ff., and p. 755 above.

100 Fasawī III 32, 1ff. > TB U 223, 9ff.; 'Uqaylī IV 24, –7ff.

101 TTD III 384, 5ff.

102 Ka'bi 81, 5ff.; 'Uqaylī IV 28, 14f.

103 TB I 225, 19f.

104 Yāqūt, *Irshād* VI 400, 8f.

105 *Ma'ārif* 625, 14f.

106 Ka'bi 81, 4ff. > *Faḍl* 336, 11ff. > IM 134, 9.

107 TB I 225, ult. f.; regarding his father see vol. I 271 above.

authors.¹⁰⁸ However, Abū Dāwūd even went so far as to suggest that Ibn Ishāq was a “Qadarite and Mu‘tazilite”.¹⁰⁹

4.1.2.3.1 *Al-Nafs al-zakiyya's Uprising*

In the generation before Mālik, Qadarite involvement was no more shocking in Medina than in Basra, but the Qadarites were more widely scattered throughout society, a number of aristocrats being among them. This was probably due to there being more dissatisfaction in the noble families of Medina, or possibly more boredom. While the ‘Alid Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh knew to use these sentiments in favour of his uprising in 145, the Qadarite component was much less relevant than in Basra: intellectuals of all schools were gripped by revolutionary zeal. Mālik b. Anas, too, was involved in the affair, having published a *fatwā* that declared the oath of allegiance to Maṣṣūr not to have been binding, for which he would afterwards be flogged.¹ Maṣṣūr took great care not to repeat the error of the battle on the Ḥarra, and did not create martyrs. He did, however, close the sea route to the Hijaz for many years in order to bring the wealthy Quraysh to heel.² He also stopped the Medinans’ pensions,³ but did not occupy the city, which would have been unwise as shortly after the uprising had failed the black slaves rebelled.⁴ For this reason, there were fewer individual punishments than in Iraq. Among the Qadarites who took part in the uprising was

108 *Mizān* no. 7197 (a very detailed article); TH 172ff. no. 167; TT IX 38ff. no. 51. Nothing in IAH III₂ 191ff. no. 1087 nor, surprisingly, in Ka‘bī, *Qabūl* 139, 7ff., where a number of other negative reports were collected. Ibn Sa‘d VII₂ 67, 16f., has only a general observation.

109 Quoted in *Mizān*, probably after Abū Dāwūd’s responses to Ājurri’s questions (see vol. I 70 above).

1 Cf. Schacht in EI² VI 263b; also ‘Abdallāh, *Mālik’s Concept of “Amal”* 93f. Further instances in Muth, *Der Kalif al-Manṣūr* 397, n. 1737. If an oath of allegiance to Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh was really given during the “meeting at Abwā” (see p. 335 above), this would have been a weighty event for a jurist, and presumably better known and verifiable in Medina than elsewhere.

2 Cf. Arazi in: JSAI 5/1948/205.

3 It was not until more than a decade later that al-Mahdī restored it (F. ‘Umar in: Arabica 21/1974/140; in more detail Ṣāliḥ al-‘Alī in: MM¹I 20/1970/32f.).

4 Ṭabarī III 265, 14ff. Was this revolt the result of hunger in the wake of the first blockade? Cf. Arazi, *ibid.* 205f., and Pipes, *Slave Soldiers* 133f.

Abū Ja‘far⁵ ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Ja‘far b. ‘Abdallāh b. al-Ḥakam al-‘Anṣārī,

d. 153/770;⁶ an ally of the Aws and descendant of Fityawn, a Jewish prince in pre-Islamic Medina.⁷ His father Ja‘far b. ‘Abdallāh b. al-Ḥakam b. Rāfi‘ b. Sinān had already transmitted hadith.⁸ The *ḥilf* association probably dated back to Rāfi‘ b. Sinān, who had converted to Islam under the prophet.⁹ ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd was a member of Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh’s intimate circle, commanding his police force¹⁰ and later, in battle, his lancers (*ḥarba*).¹¹ It was said that he, together with some others, induced Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh to attack (prematurely);¹² he himself claimed that later, when the Iraqi forces approached, he had advised him to flee to Egypt.¹³ Although his advice was not taken, he remained faithful;¹⁴ finding that there were about as many as had fought the heathen in the battle of Badr: a little over 300 men.¹⁵ He appears to have been left in peace after the uprising, and despite his Qadarism, his traditions continued to be valued. Sufyān al-Thawrī was the only one to resent his attitude.¹⁶ – Another man who took part in the uprising was

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- 5 This is the only *kunya* to have been transmitted with certainty; it is found in a direct address in the context of a historical account (Ṭabarī III 228, 1, and *Maqātil al-Ṭālibīyyīn* 268, 1f.). Khalifa b. Khayyāt has “Abū l-Faql” instead – as, indeed, do most of the later sources (Ṭab. 682 no. 2450); Bukhārī in his *Ta’rīkh* (III 2, 51 no. 1676) “Abū Ḥafṣ”.
- 6 Khalifa, *Ṭab.*, *ibid.*, and *Ta’rīkh* 662, 3.
- 7 Khalifa, *Ṭab.*, *loc. cit.*; regarding Fityawn cf. Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqāq* 436, 1ff.; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamhara* 373, 4ff.; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Asmā’ al-mughṭālīn*, in: *Nawādir al-makḥṭūṭāt* II 136f. A Hebrew etymology of the name has not yet come to light (Horowitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen* 163). H. P. Rüger, Tübingen, suggested that *pidyōn* (“redeeming”) might be considered despite the divergent dental, as a variant of P^edāyā “Yahweh redeemed”. Regarding the use of this word as a proper name cf. *Pesiqta de Rab Kahana* 37b Buber; *Pesiqta Rabbati* 62b Friedmann; Natan ben Jehī’el, *Arūkh* s.v. *zhl* etc.
- 8 TT II 99 no. 147.
- 9 Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *Istī‘āb* 481 no. 730; Mizzi, *Tuḥfat al-ashraf* III 162f.
- 10 Ṭabarī III 199, 4ff.; also van Arendonk, *Opkomst* 285.
- 11 Ṭabarī III 193, 13f.
- 12 *Ibid.* III 190, 14ff. = Abū l-Faraj, *Maqātil* 261, 2ff.
- 13 *Ibid.* III 227, 17ff. = *Maqātil* 267, pu. ff.; Lassner, *Shaping of Abbasid Rule* 69f.
- 14 *Ibid.* III 260, 2f. = *Maqātil* 286, 4.
- 15 *Maqātil* 284, 2f.
- 16 ‘Uqaylī III 44f. no. 1000; *Mizān* no. 4767; also Fasawī I 427, 4ff., and II 458, apu. f. He is listed as a Qadarite in Ka’bī 77, 1ff. (after Yahyā b. Ma’in) > *Faql* 335, 4f. > IM 133, 12; Dhahabī, *Ta’rīkh* VI 221, 6ff.; TT VI III no. 223. Nothing in IAH III, 10 no. 46.

Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad b. ‘Ajlān al-Qurashī,

d. 148/765, a client of Fāṭima bt. ‘Utba b. Rabī‘a,¹⁷ the daughter of a well-respected Quraysh who had fought on the Meccan side at Badr and died in the battle, and Mu‘āwiya’s mother’s sister.¹⁸ According to Wāqidī, he was a respected jurist who taught at the prophet’s mosque, transmitting hadith as well as giving expert opinions.¹⁹ He had studied under Zayd b. Aslam (d. 136/753),²⁰ and Mālik b. Anas seems to have known him well.²¹ It was said that his mother was pregnant with him for three years and that he had teeth when he was born. The same was said about Mālik – in both cases as evidence of their unusual precocity and intelligence. Later, people would remember that this kind of biological improbability had already been challenged by a dictum of ‘Ā’isha’s, and Mālik himself was required to confirm the truth of this story.²² Consequently he is often viewed in a positive light;²³ Sufyān b. ‘Uyayna (d. 196/812) in particular praising him.²⁴ When he went to visit Kufa, he triumphed over some presumptuous young scholars, among them Yūsuf al-Samtī,²⁵ who tried to trick him with some mixed-up *isnāds*.²⁶

A child born with teeth is also able to speak immediately. In this way the idea described is linked with the *topos* of the talking baby applied to Jesus in the Quran (sura 19:29f.), and also found in the so-called *Alphabet des Ben Sira* (Steinschneider, *Alphabetum Siracidis*, Berlin 1858, fol. 17a; Eli Yassiv, *The Tales of Ben Sira in the Middle Ages*, Jerusalem 1984, p. 199). In the Islamic world it is also applied to the Egyptian saint Aḥmad al-Badawī (Littmann, *Aḥmed el-Bedawī* 68ff. vv. 1ff.), and the Quranic

17 Khalifa, *Ṭab.* 676 no. 2421, and *Ta’rīkh* 655, 9.

18 Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh* 152, 9ff., and Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamhara* 76, pu. ff.

19 Abū l-Faraj, *Maqātil* 289, 1ff.

20 Fasawī I 675, 2ff.; regarding Zayd b. Aslam cf. GAS 1/405f. Based on him Jāhiz transmitted an opinion of Zayd’s on the question of whether it was permitted to eat eggs after young people had used them for games of chance, similar to our Easter customs (*Ḥayawān* II 292, 4ff.; Rosenthal, *Gambling* 61f.). Cf. also Ṭabarī I 2746, 7ff.

21 Fasawī I 651, 7ff., and 675, 6ff.

22 Jāhiz, *Ḥayawān* VII 124, 10ff.; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma‘ārif* 595, 1ff.; Dhahabī, *Mizān* III 646, –5ff., and TH 165, –5ff.; Šafadī, *Wāfi* IV 92, 12ff. (after Ya‘qub b. Shayba’s (d. 262/875) *Musnad ‘Alī*). Regarding Mālik cf. also EI² VI 263 a.

23 Cf. e.g. Fasawī II 173, 5; also TH 165f. no. 161.

24 Fasawī I 698, 13f.; Ibn Ḥanbal, *‘Ilal* 213 no. 1325.

25 Regarding him see p. 173ff. above.

26 *Mizān* III 645, 5ff.

exegete Ḍaḥḥāk b. Muzāḥim, whose name is explained in this way: as he had teeth, he was able to smile as soon as he was born (*Fazā'il-i Balkh* 62, 5ff.; regarding him see p. 572ff. above). For general information, cf. Mach, *Zaddik* 69f., and Gramlich, *Wunder der Freunde Gottes* 148f.

Still, we know only very little about him. Shīrāzī, for instance, does not mention him at all in *Ṭabaqāt al-fuqahā'*. Ibn al-Jazarī does not tell us anything, either, although he is occasionally apostrophised as a Quran reciter,²⁷ and apparently commented on related matters, too.²⁸ This seems to be due mainly to the dominant position Mālik b. Anas occupied in the subsequent generation. It was said that despite the difference in their ages, the latter took the wind out of his sails in a legal question;²⁹ he was also said to have spoken dismissively of 'Ajlān's knowledge of hadith.³⁰ His connection with al-Nafs al-zakiyya, on the other hand, does not seem to have hurt him. He had worked enthusiastically in al-Nafs al-zakiyya's interest, believing him to be the *mahdī* predicted by tradition.³¹ Two Quraysh who had committed treason according to a letter by al-Manṣūr had been flogged on his orders and then claimed that while in prison they had been bound in such a way that they were unable to perform the prayer.³² 'Ajlān had even gone to battle, although he really did not know much about fighting – he was only a *mawlā*, after all – and people made fun of him;³³ later they recollected that he had ridden a mule.³⁴ After the uprising had failed, he was faced with punishment, but the city's notables – and also 'Abbād b. Kathīr from Mecca³⁵ – spoke up for him and ensured his release.³⁶

He had probably had ties to the Shī'a previously as well. He appears in the – admittedly apocryphal – tradition according to which the 'Alid dignitaries, among them Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, went to pay their respects to Wāṣil b. 'Aṭā' when he

27 Cf. e.g. Ṣafādī, *Wāfi* IV 92, 10.

28 Cf. Makkī al-Qaysī, *Kashf 'an wujūh al-qirā'āt al-sab'* I 21, 2ff.: concerning the question of why sura 9 does not start with a *basmala*.

29 Qāḍī 'Iyāq, *Tartīb* I 225, 8ff.

30 'Uqaylī IV 118, 10ff.; *Mizān* III 644, apu. ff.

31 Abū l-Faraj, *Maqātil* 289, 8f.

32 Ṭabarī III 227, 2ff.

33 Ibid. III 251, 18ff. = *Maqātil* 281, –5f.; also 292, pu.

34 *Maqātil* 282, 1.

35 Regarding him see p. 731f. above.

36 *Maqātil* 289, 3f.; abridged in Ka'bī 78, 13ff. 'Abbād b. Kathīr's part is emphasised in the autobiographical account in Ṭabarī III 259, 3ff. = *Maqātil* 282, 2ff. – Cf. also van Arendonk, *Opkomst* 285f., and Muth, *Der Kalif al-Manṣūr* 438, n. 2097.

visited Medina.³⁷ He was known as an authority reaching back to Muḥammad al-Bāqir's time (d. 117/735),³⁸ although he was not a Rāfiḍite, as he had great respect for 'Umar.³⁹ As for hadith, he cultivated the traditions of Abū Hurayra, another one who did not have a good reputation among the Shī'ites of Kufa; he had them in his possession in notes by Sa'īd al-Maqburī,⁴⁰ and had also heard them from his father.⁴¹

Only Mu'tazilite sources state that he was a Qadarite, and even Ka'bī, to whom they refer, only implied it.⁴² Whether this was based on more than his participation in the uprising is impossible to say. He was inclined to *amr bil-ma'rūf*; even after the uprising he was unable to refrain from criticising a governor during Friday worship for not adhering to the puritanical dress regulations and allowing his robe to drag on the floor.⁴³ Interestingly he transmitted the hadith stating that Adam was created in the image of God; Mālik would later criticise this.⁴⁴ – The third name we come across in this context is

Abū l-Ḥārith⁴⁵ Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Mughīra b. al-Ḥārith Ibn Abī Dhī'b al-'Āmirī al-Qaysī,

b. 80/699⁴⁶ or 81/700,⁴⁷ d. 159/776.⁴⁸ His case is the opposite of Muḥammad b. 'Ajlān's: his Qadarism was recorded early and comparatively reliably by 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Ṣan'ānī (d. 211/827)⁴⁹ and Ibn Qutayba⁵⁰ as well as the Mu'tazilite

37 Qādī 'Abd al-Jabbār, *Faḍl* 239, iff.; cf. p. 287 above.

38 Ardabilī, *Jāmi' al-ruwāt* II 148b., 2f.

39 Fasawī I 457, iff., and 461, 10ff.

40 Azmi, *Studies* 38; regarding him see p. 756 above.

41 Jāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān* IV 294, 7. Regarding the father cf. TT VII 162 no. 324.

42 Ka'bī 78, 11ff. > *Faḍl* 335, –7ff. > IM 134, 3. Nothing in Bukhārī I₁ 196f. no. 603, or 'Uqaylī IV 118 no. 1677.

43 Abū l-'Arab, *Miḥan* 413, –6ff.; also Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Ādāb al-Shāfi'ī* 48, 5ff., where *bayān* should be corrected to *thiyāb*.

44 TD ('Abdallāh) 282, 3ff.

45 Only Ibn al-Nadīm has, possibly mistakenly, "Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān" (*Fihrist* 281, –7).

46 The date was calculated based on a famous flash flood (*sayl*) in Mecca (cf. e.g. Bukhārī I₁ 152f. no. 455; Fasawī I 146, 2 > TB II 297, 10ff.).

47 Thus after Wāqidī, who was acquainted with Ibn Abī Dhī'b (Ṭabarī II 1063, 7f.; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamhara* 168, 15).

48 Thus after Khalifa, *Ṭab.* 684 no. 2459, and *Ta'riḥ* 669, 7f., and many other sources. Concerning a contrary report see n. 82 below.

49 Fasawī II 400, if.

50 *Ta'wīl mukhtalif al-ḥadīth* II, 8 = 10, 8/transl. Lecomte 9 § 17, and 102, 6 = 85, –6/transl. 95 § 122.

sources.⁵¹ During Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh’s uprising, however, he stayed in the background. He may have been among those advising the ‘Alids to attack,⁵² but when Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh took action, he stayed at home.⁵³ According to a remark in *K. al-Aghānī* his opinion of the Hāshimids was low.⁵⁴ He was a Quraysh himself, but from a different and apparently less prestigious branch.⁵⁵ Zubayrī and Ibn Ḥazm recorded his genealogy. He bore the name Ibn Abī Dhi’b after his great-grandfather⁵⁶ Hishām b. Shu’ba b. ‘Abdallāh b. Abī Qays, also known as Abū Dhi’b, who travelled to Byzantine territory in pre-Islamic times and was falsely accused and imprisoned there until his death.⁵⁷ ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb knew him, but does not seem to have esteemed him. His grandson, Ibn Abī Dhi’b’s father, recollected the caliph’s remark;⁵⁸ Ibn Abī Dhi’b would consequently have had to be a late child. This is confirmed by his referring to his brother for this report; maybe he himself did not get to know his father. His mother, Burayha bt. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Abī Dhi’b, came from the same clan.⁵⁹ He transmitted hadith from her brother Ḥārith b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān (d. 129/747).⁶⁰ He was a member of the tribe of the ‘Āmir b. Lu’ayy; all the information we have, proves Khalifa b. Khayyāṭ’s claim⁶¹ that he was their *mawla* to be incorrect.

He developed an interest in the application of the law in Medina early on; some of his surviving recollections go back to the last decade of the first

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- 51 Ka’bī 78, 5ff. (after a verdict by Mālik b. Anas transmitted by Shāfi’ī, and after Yaḥyā b. Ma’in) > *Faḍl* 335, 17ff. > IM 134, 1f. (misspelt as *Ibn Abī Dhu’ayb*). TB II 301, 9f. after an early source; nothing in IAH III₂ 313f. no. 1704.
- 52 If indeed we may emend the parallel traditions in Ṭabarī III 190, 15ff. and Abū l-Faraj, *Maqātil* 261, 2ff. against one another and read *Ibn Abī Dhi’b* in both passages for the corrupted names.
- 53 TH 192, 6. *Ibn Ḥasan* probably refers to al-Nafs al-zakiyya. Van Arendonk (*Opkomst* 286) interprets this, presumably in accordance with Zaydite sources, as moral support. Madelung (*Qāsim* 72f.) mentions, more generally, participation in the uprising.
- 54 *Agh.* XIV 129, 6f.
- 55 Cf. the remark *ibid.* 9f.
- 56 Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh* 423, 7f.
- 57 *Ibid.* 422, ult. ff.; also Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamhara* 168, 13, and Ibn Qutayba, *Ma’ārif* 485, 12. Regarding the genealogy also IKh IV 183 no. 566; Ibn Khallikān’s claiming that the prisoner was Ibn Abī Dhi’b’s father is a mistake.
- 58 Ibn Ḥanbal, *ʿIlal* 264 no. 1702.
- 59 Zubayrī 423, 10.
- 60 *Ibid.* 423, 10f.; also Ibn Ḥanbal, *ʿIlal* 264, 6f., and *Mizān* no. 1629.
- 61 *Ṭab.*, loc. cit. Ka’bī 78, 6, calls him a “brother” (*akhū*) of this tribe, but this is probably misread for *aḥad* (thus IAH III₂ 313, ult.).

century.⁶² The sources begin to take notice of him only during Manşūr's rule. He seems to have been quite well-respected in the city at the time. While he did not become *qādī*, as Ibn al-Nadīm claimed,⁶³ the governors remunerated him or paid him a salary. Ja'far b. Sulaymān, who ruled between 146/763 and 149/766, once sent him 100 dinars; his successor Ḥasan b. Zayd paid him five dinars a month.⁶⁴ Under Ja'far b. Sulaymān he spoke up for Muḥammad b. 'Ajlān, who had heckled the governor at that time.⁶⁵ At one point – not, however, more closely pinpointed – he and Mālik were the only two men allowed to give expert legal opinions in the city.⁶⁶

When the caliph himself appeared in Medina during one of his pilgrimages, Ibn Abī Dhi'b was received in an audience. People believed that he did not hold back in his conversation with the caliph. As in the case of 'Amr b. 'Ubayd,⁶⁷ this spurred their imagination and accounts of the event were continually embellished. This is obvious as the date soon became problematic. Most of the versions are set during the time when Ḥasan b. Zayd was governor,⁶⁸ in which case the pilgrimage would have been that of 152/769 which we know al-Manşūr led himself.⁶⁹ A parallel version, however, refers to 'Abd al-Şamad b. 'Alī who held the position from 155 onwards;⁷⁰ in that case we would be looking at the hajj of 158 during which the caliph unexpectedly lost his life.⁷¹ The narrator of this version is Ḥasan b. Zayd himself, unable to hide his glee at Ibn Abī Dhi'b's criticism of his successor – in the other versions this was directed at himself. There is also an imaginative back story: when a noble Quraysh was imprisoned

62 Waki' I 145, iff. The report *ibid.* I 132, pu. ff., goes back even beyond 87/706; he himself states that he was a child at the time.

63 *Fihrist* 281, –6.

64 TB II 304, 18ff. > TH 192, 6ff.; regarding the date cf. Khalifa, *Ta'rikh* 682, 5ff.

65 See p. 762f. above.

66 Shīrāzī, *Tab.* 68, 4f.; cf. p. 776 below.

67 See p. 327ff. above.

68 The most detailed one is found in Azdī, *Ta'rikh al-Mawṣil* 176, iff. (where it appears in the year 142 and Ibn Abī Dhi'b is misprinted as Ibn Abī Dhu'ayb); Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Ādāb al-Shāfi'* 45, 5ff. is closely related = Ḍabbī, *Bughyat al-multamis* 392, apu. ff., each with criticism of Abū 'Amr Ghifār's clan, of the governor, and of the caliph himself; thus also TB II 298, 14ff. > TH 192, 13ff., but with a different narrator. Different again TB II 298, 21ff., criticising the caliph only, but with concrete points of complaint. Cf. also the versions in Abū l-'Arab, *Miḥan* 399ff., and Ibn 'Abdrabbih, *'Iqd* I 56, iff. (after Aşma'ī). In most versions the narrator is Shāfi'ī's uncle Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Muṭṭalibī. A short note (maybe the nucleus of the whole story?) in Fasawī I 686, –6ff.

69 Khalifa, *Ta'rikh* 660, 2.

70 *Ibid.* 682, 14.

71 *Ibid.* 667, 2; also Moscati in: *Orientalia* 15/1946/156f.

by the governor, one of his relations complained to the caliph and demanded that Ibn Abī Dhi'b and some other Medinan scholars should inspect the conditions in which he was kept. While all the others attempted diplomatically to get out of a clear answer, Ibn Abī Dhi'b did not hold back with his criticism. When al-Manṣūr himself came to Medina, he is said to have referred to this criticism.⁷² As with the anecdotes about 'Amr b. 'Ubayd, we could either assume that there were two audiences, or believe some, if not all, of the transmitted material to be literary fiction. The latter is more probable, not least because the accounts of the first group are difficult to reconcile as well. The second version might have been circulated in response to the first one, in order to exonerate Ḥasan b. Zayd. 'Abd al-Ṣamad b. 'Alī clearly did not think highly of Ibn Abī Dhi'b;⁷³ there is no record of him having supported him financially in the way his predecessors did.

Similar to the stories around 'Amr b. 'Ubayd, a statement on the heir to the throne al-Mahdī is woven into these stories as well.⁷⁴ In addition later tradition says that Ibn Abī Dhi'b did not rise when al-Mahdī entered the mosque of the prophet when he led the pilgrimage (presumably in 153/770),⁷⁵ stating that this kind of honour (in this place) was due to God only.⁷⁶ Once Mahdī had become caliph, he called Ibn Abī Dhi'b to Baghdad, although it is not clear why. Ibn Ḥazm says absurdly that al-Mahdī appointed him his successor (*istakhlafahū*),⁷⁷ but the correct reading is probably *istakhlafahū* "he had him swear to his innocence" – namely, that he was not a Qadarite, and did not intend to criticise the state. We learn that during a prosecution some Qadarites fled to Ibn Abī Dhi'b's house;⁷⁸ this, too, might have been at the beginning of al-Mahdī's caliphate in 158/775 or 159/776, and thus been a reason for Ibn Abī Dhi'b's hearing.⁷⁹ The story had a happy ending: the caliph left the old man in peace and made him a

72 TB II 299, 7ff.; in addition a further, glorifying conclusion *ibid.* 300, 16ff. A comparison of the two versions may be found in Werkmeister, *Untersuchungen zum Kitāb al-'Iqd* 222ff.

73 Cf. the anecdote in Ibn al-Jawzī, *Ṣifat al-ṣafwa* II 98, –6ff.

74 Negative in Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Ādāb al-Shāfi'ī* 48, 1f.; positive *'Iqd* I 96, 14f.

75 Khalifa, *Ta'rikh* 661, 2.

76 TB II 298, 10ff. > TH 192, apu. ff.

77 *Jamhara* 168, 15.

78 TB II 301, 10ff.

79 Maybe the audience with al-Manṣūr was not in fact as great an honour as the sources would have us believe. In that case the persecution of the Qadarites could have begun under 'Abd al-Ṣamad b. 'Alī, giving the abovementioned back story greater importance.

gift of 1000 dinars.⁸⁰ Ibn Abī Dhi'b died on the way home in Ḥīra⁸¹ or, as most sources simplify, in Kufa.⁸²

People remembered Ibn Abī Dhi'b's adherence to *amr bil-ma'rūf*;⁸³ it was probably an expression of his Qadarism. A hadith against the lust for power spreading through the Muslim community had a similar tone,⁸⁴ as did, on a different level, the tradition that one should not kill frogs (because they are harmless creatures not deserving of punishment).⁸⁵ However, this connection was dismissed very early on. Wāqidi, who had known Ibn Abī Dhi'b in person, reported that the latter rejected the Qadarite doctrine, but looked out for everyone who needed his help;⁸⁶ Zubayrī, too, claimed that the impression was due to him protecting the Qadarites.⁸⁷ These are probably the arguments Ibn Abī Dhi'b presented in his defence in Baghdad. This interpretation, in which Ibn Abī Dhi'b gained *'adāla* in the eyes of hadith critics, was not adopted by later sources.⁸⁸ Shāfi'ī respected him greatly.⁸⁹ For understandable reasons Ibn Ḥanbal, too, was a great admirer of Ibn Abī Dhi'b's unruliness, ranking him higher than Mālik b. Anas because, while both of them came in contact with the authorities, only Ibn Abī Dhi'b expressed his criticism freely.⁹⁰

Ibn Ḥanbal was probably thinking of the audience and its back story. Mālik was also among those who inspected the Quraysh's prison and were later summoned by al-Manṣūr, but he was said to have wisely kept his mouth shut. Ibn Abī Dhi'b was older than Mālik, and it is consequently not surprising that

80 TB II 304, 21f. > TH 192, 9f.

81 Ibid. II 305, 9.

82 Cf. e.g. Zubayrī 423, 8f.; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamhara* 168, 15 etc. If one source says Ibn Abī Dhi'b died in the year in which al-Mahdī became caliph (TB II 304, 10f.), and then infers the date of 158/775 (ibid. 304, 13), this must be incorrect considering other events. Still, it is probably the inference that is wrong, rather than the information itself. After all, al-Manṣūr died during the pilgrimage, at the end of 158; the year in which al-Mahdī became caliph must have referred to 159.

83 Cf. e.g. Zubayrī 423, 9.

84 Jāhiz, *Bayān* II 25, 1ff. It was probably for a similar reason that he reported Anas b. Mālik being punished by al-Ḥajjāj (Ṭabarī II 854, ult. ff.).

85 Jāhiz, *Ḥayawān* v 537, 7ff., and Fasawī I 285, 9ff. (with parallels in n. 2); cf. also p. 60 above, and *Conc.* III 514b.

86 TB II 301, 17ff.

87 Ibid. 301, 10ff.; Lālakā'ī, *Sharḥ* 724 no. 1336.

88 Dhahabī, *Mizān* no. 7837 (after Wāqidi), and *Ta'riḫ* VI 282, 2ff., and 284, 1ff.; TT IX 305, 10ff.; similar *Hady al-sārī* II 161, ult. Cf. also the anecdote in Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ, *Tartīb al-madārik* I 219, 7ff.

89 Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Ādāb al-Shāfi'ī* 29, 1f.

90 *Iḥal* 179 no. 1113; in more detail Fasawī I 686, 8ff.

he criticised the latter's juristic position, at least in a certain matter.⁹¹ Later Mālikite tradition did not like to be reminded of this. While it was not possible to get rid of the tradition,⁹² there were attempts at neutralising it with accounts exhibiting the opposite tendency: the governor Ḥasan b. Zayd preferred Mālik's opinions over those of his older colleague,⁹³ as the governor did not think much of Ibn Abī Dhi'b in any case.⁹⁴ And, contradicting this: during the audience al-Manṣūr inquired after the great scholars of the city, and Mālik mentioned Ibn Abī Dhi'b among others.⁹⁵ This conveyed the idea that Ibn Abī Dhi'b had not yet come to the caliph's notice, and not been invited to an audience. Furthermore, al-Manṣūr was claimed to have had such high expectations of Mālik's *Muwattaʿa*' that he asked him to compose it in such a way that it could be used as a generally binding codex.⁹⁶

In reality the relationship between the two scholars was rather different. Ibn Abī Dhi'b appears to have relied firmly on prophetic tradition, not admitting any doubts.⁹⁷ In the matter in which he clashed with Mālik the latter based his argument of the consensus of the Medinan *'ulamā'*, declaring the hadith Ibn Abī Dhi'b considered definitive, to be isolated.⁹⁸ Ibn Abī Dhi'b composed a *K. al-sunan* that appears to have contained mainly hadiths arranged according to legal topics.⁹⁹ If we are to believe the slightly unreliable Ḥumaydī, this work circulated in Spain under the title *Muwattaʿa*', like Mālik's great compilation. It was transmitted by Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl b. Abī Fudayk (d. 199/814–5), another Medinan,¹⁰⁰ and is still documented in the fourth century with a certain Yūsuf b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Istijī from Ecija southwest of Cordoba, who

91 Fasawī I 686, 8ff. > TB II 302, 8ff.; TB I 224, 2f. confirms that Ibn Abī Dhi'b criticised Mālik.

92 Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ, *Tartīb* I 82, 6f. and earlier.

93 Ibid. I 126, pu. ff. (read Ḥasan b. Zayd for Ḥasan b. Yazīd); regarding another disagreement ibid. 128, 7ff. = 227, 10ff.

94 Ibid. I 196, 6ff.

95 Fasawī I 685, –7ff.; Shīrāzī, *Ṭab.* 67, 3ff. and passim.

96 Cf. e.g. Pseudo-Ibn Qutayba, *Al-imāma wal-siyāsa*, ed. Ṭāhā Muḥammad al-Zaynī (Cairo 1967) II 149, 10ff., including a revealing incorrect date (during the hajj in 163, i.e. when al-Mahdī was already caliph). The event was in fact linked to al-Manṣūr as well as al-Mahdī, and also al-Rashīd (cf. Schacht in EI¹ III 224b, and Crone/Hinds, *God's Caliph* 86f.; less critical Cottart in EI² VI 278q).

97 Schacht, *Origins* 55.

98 Ibid. 64f.

99 Cf. Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* 281, –5f.; also Bağdatlı Paşa, *Hadiyyat al-'arīfīn* II 7, –5f.

100 Regarding him cf. IS V 324, 10ff.; also Khalifa, *Ṭab.* 693 no. 2501, where the name is misspelt (correct in Akram Ḍiyā' al-'Umarī's edition, Baghdad 1387/1967, p. 276, apu.).

was *mu'adhdhin* at the great mosque in Cordoba and died around 400/1010.¹⁰¹ Shāfi'ī frequently mentioned him in his *Risāla*, but always via another authority; he furthermore doubted his reliability.¹⁰²

Thus we cannot doubt that Ibn Abī Dhi'b wrote hadith down. Wāqidī's saying that he did not have a book means simply that he did not use a book during his lectures because he knew everything by heart.¹⁰³ Information concerning his method is not entirely unanimous. One source says he did not dictate but let his students memorise the material;¹⁰⁴ another one quotes Ibn Ma'īn (d. 233/847) as an authority that he read his book to the students while they copied it down without checking the text against the original.¹⁰⁵ Ibn Ḥanbal quotes someone who did have Ibn Abī Dhi'b check his notes after all.¹⁰⁶ Like Muḥammad b. 'Ajlan he looked after the Abū Hurayra tradition, but he seems to have paid more attention to the *isnād*, inserting a further authority between Sa'īd al-Maqburī (d. ca. 125/742) and the famous companion of the prophet who died around 58/678.¹⁰⁷ The traditions he had heard and preserved from Zuhri were particularly controversial. Some doubted whether he had attended his lectures at all,¹⁰⁸ but those were merely retrospective attempts at evading the problem. There is no doubt that he did meet Zuhri.¹⁰⁹ What caused the controversy was the subject matter of some hadiths he had received in this way. Shu'ba b. al-Ḥajjāj was upset at certain ritual extravagances recommended;¹¹⁰

101 Ḥumaydī, *Jadhwat al-muqtabis* 344 no. 770 > Ḍabbī, *Bughyat al-multamis* 488 no. 1435, with complete *riwāya*. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr knew this recension (*Tamhīd* VIII 17, 10ff.). Regarding Yūsuf cf. also Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila* 637 no. 1490; he was born 326/938. Also Azmi, *Studies* 152; and Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.* II 220 (with an incorrect date of death). Local tradition already noted that in those days numerous *Muwaṭṭa'* texts were compiled in Medina (Muranyi, *Ein altes Fragment medinensischer Jurisprudenz* 35; cf. also Schacht in EI² VI 264a). Examples by Muranyi in ZDMG 138/1988/132, n. 9; see also p. 782 below, and regarding Egypt cf. 'Abdallāh b. Wahb's work (GAS 1/466).

102 Schacht, *Origins* 256, n. 6.

103 TB II 302, 6f.

104 Ibn Ḥanbal, *ʿIlal* 179, 12f.

105 Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Kifāya* 239, 5ff.

106 *ʿIlal* 179, 13f. The "book" of Ibn Abī Dhi'b mentioned in another report of Ibn Ḥanbal's is probably also a collection of pupils' notes (ibid. 109, 5f. = 374, 6f.).

107 Cf. Ibn al-Madīnī's examples in *ʿIlal* 78, 3ff.; 84, 6ff.; 84, ult. ff.

108 Ibn Ḥanbal, *ʿIlal* 231 no. 1452; an overview of the entire discussion is provided in TB II 303, 1ff.

109 Cf. the passages in Jāhīz, *Ḥayawān* I 179, 1ff., and Ṭabarī I 1167, 9ff., and 1596, 10ff., where he asks Zuhri questions.

110 Ibn Ḥanbal, *ʿIlal* 347 no. 2287.

elsewhere the prophet is quoted as saying the astonishing words ‘I do not know whether Ezra was a prophet or not, whether Tubba‘ is cursed or not, and whether a *ḥadd* punishment expiates the sinner (‘s respective crime) (in the afterlife) or not’.¹¹¹ In his old age Ibn Abi Dhi‘b regretted having developed an interest in hadith not until comparatively late, having been a genealogist in his youth.¹¹²

His piousness and scrupulousness ensured him a place in Ibn al-Jawzī’s *Ṣifat al-ṣafwa*.¹¹³ Like many others at that time he fasted on alternate days.¹¹⁴ He wore the same clothes in summer and in winter;¹¹⁵ he did not dye his hair in his old age.¹¹⁶ In the house his family owned on the “rock” (*ṣafā*) in Mecca, he collected the rent himself.¹¹⁷ The image is probably, as, indeed, it always is, idealised, but it goes back to one of his brothers.

We know two of them by name: Mughīra (TB II 296, 17) and Ḥārith (Ibn Ḥanbal, *Ilal* 264, 6f.). Two whole centuries after his death Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh al-Raba‘ī (d. 379/989) wrote about him in Damascus; these *Akhbār Ibn Abi Dhi‘b* are preserved on three folia in a collective manuscript in the Zāhiriyya (GAS 1/203). Regarding him cf. also A. Yaḥyābādī in GIE II 651f.

4.1.2.3.2 *Later Developments. Resistance against the Qadariyya*

It was probably not only due to the tangled political situation that the mood in the city gradually turned against the Qadariyya. Unlike in Mecca there had always been active opposition against the Qadarites. The early Quranic commentator Muḥammad b. Ka‘b al-Quraṣī (d. between 108/726 and 120/738), a *qāṣṣ* and descendant of two formerly Jewish tribes in Medina, the Qurayza and the Naḍīr, appears to have embraced the predestinarian exegesis.¹ In Medina, the idea that Adam’s sin had been written before creation and was consequently

111 Bukhārī I, 152f. no. 455. This is a tendentious tradition against hadiths like those collected by Ibn Māja, Tirmidhī and Dārimī under the heading of *al-ḥadd kaḥfāra* (*Conc.* VI 38a). Regarding the problem see p. 669 above.

112 TB II 302, 4ff.

113 *Ṣifa* II 98f.

114 TB II 301, 21ff.; also p. 407 above.

115 *Ibid.* II 302, 3f.

116 TH 192, 5f.

117 *Ibid.* 192, 5. He probably had no intention of offering it rent free during the pilgrimage (see p. 718 above).

1 HT 59 and 82f. Of course, Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya’s *quaestiones* should also be mentioned in this context because of their nearly purely exegetic content. Zayd b. ‘Alī

predestined, was first expressed in the form of a hadith;² One of the transmitters, the jurist and Quranic exegete Zayd b. Aslam (d. 136/753),³ was linked to anti-Qadarite arguments elsewhere as well.⁴ Resistance spread especially among the legal scholars. We have already mentioned Rabīʿat al-raʿy speaking out against Ghaylān. While the arguments cited as Rabīʿa's were stereotypical, this does not mean the event itself did not take place; and even if it did not, it is certain that Rabīʿa would be remembered by posterity as an opponent of the Qadarites.⁵ Mālik composed a refutation of the Qadarites that Qāḍī ʿIyād considered to have been “one of the best works in this field”;⁶ he also appears to have written to his pupil ʿAbdallāh b. Wahb⁷ on the subject.⁸ His *Muwattaʿa* included a special chapter on the issue.⁹ Among his older acquaintances was a certain Muslim b. Abī Maryam, a *mawla* described as a severe opponent of the Qadarites;¹⁰ he died during Maṣṣūr's caliphate.¹¹

A genuine persecution took place under al-Mahdī; Qadarites were beaten and exiled from the city.¹² The command may have come from above, as the caliph had ordered his governor Jaʿfar b. Sulaymān b. ʿAlī, who resided in Medina from 160/777 to 166/783,¹³ to send some prominent citizens to the court in Baghdad to be investigated. Four names are mentioned: Abū l-Walīd ʿIsā

was said to have composed a refutation of the Qadarites “based on the Quran” (Baghdādī, *Uṣūl al-dīn* 307, 12f.). It might be worth considering whether this refers to the same text.

2 HT 165f.

3 Regarding him GAS 1/405f.; p. 761 above.

4 *Anfänge* 211.

5 Ibid. 205. It is not contradicted by a version preserved in Yaḥyā b. ʿAwn al-Khuzāʿī's (d. 298/911) *K. al-Ḥujja* which does not mention Ghaylān's interlocutor (cf. M. Talbī in: *Revue Tunisienne de Sciences Sociales* 12/1975/48 and 77f.). Regarding the versions with the Syrian theologian Maymūn b. Mihrān cf. *Anfänge* 203ff.; subsequently entirely restructured in Muḥammad b. Yūsuf Aṭṭīyāsh, *Sharḥ al-daʿāʾim* (Lith. 1325) I 158, 10ff. – It was also said that during his stay in Medina Ghaylān met Muḥammad b. Kaʿb al-Quraḏī (*Anfänge* 225f.).

6 *Tartīb al-madārik* I 204, 8f.

7 Regarding him EI² III 963, and GAS 1/466.

8 If, indeed, the two texts are not identical; Qāḍī ʿIyād mentions one immediately after the other. Talbī doubts the authenticity (loc. cit., 66). In this context the remark by the Mālikite Abū Bakr al-Abḥarī is significant: that Mālik recognised the ambiguity of the term *qadarī* and the opponents' primacy when using it (Ibn Mattōya, *Muḥīt* II 409, apu. ff.).

9 P. 898ff.; although this contains one single clearly anti-Qadarite tradition only (HT 60).

10 Ibn Qutayba, *ʿUyūn* II 141, ult. f.

11 Suyūṭī, *Isʿāf* 38, 14ff.

12 TB II 301, 10f.

13 Khalifa, *Taʾrīkh* 671, 4, and 694, 6f.

b. Yazīd b. Bakr b. Dāb al-Laythī, ‘Abdallāh b. Yazīd b. Qays al-Hudhalī, known as Ibn Funṭus, ‘Abdallāh b. Abī ‘Ubayda b. Muḥammad b. ‘Ammār b. Yāsir, and Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Usāmī. Nothing more is known of the motive. It seems that the mood in al-Mahdī’s entourage was not favourable to the Qadarites in general,¹⁴ but if he intervened in Medina particularly, there must have been specific reasons. The ancient affinity between the Qadarites and the ‘Alids continued to exist; Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Abī Yaḥyā best represents this trend in the second half of the second century.¹⁵

Only Ṭabarī names those who were summoned to Baghdad under al-Mahdī in this context;¹⁶ the biographical sources barely register the event, at least not with regard to these persons, not even mentioning two of the four. The first one, an expert in poetry and genealogy, was considered to be harmless and was respected by al-Hādī in particular; the second one was suspected of *zandaqa* according to Bukhārī. This tells us that if the event was noticed in Iraq at all, then only with regard to locally relevant criteria (*zandaqa!*).

Regarding Abū l-Walīd ‘Īsā b. Yazīd b. Bakr Ibn Dāb al-Laythī, d. 171/787, cf. Jāhīz, *Bayān* I 51, 1ff., and 324, 1ff.; TB XI 148ff. no. 5845; Yāqūt, *Irshād* VI 104ff.; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamhara* 181, 13ff.; Ṭabarī, Index s. n.; IAH III₁ 291 no. 1615; ‘Uqaylī, *Ḍu‘afā’* III 391 no. 1430; *Mizān* no. 6625; *Lisān al-Mizān* IV 408ff. no. 1250; Ziriklī V 298. The involuntary sojourn in Baghdad appears to have been his springboard to success; once he had been cleared of suspicion al-Mahdī thought highly of him (*Irshād* VI 105, 2ff.), and his son al-Hādī even more so (cf. also Ṭabarī III 589, 1ff., and 592, 15ff.). His literary knowledge and his style were in his favour; he brought not only genealogical expertise but also ancient Arabian love stories from Medina (*Fihrist* 103, 7ff., and 365, 16; the focus in GAS 2/392 is too limited on *Laylā and Majnun* only). His father had been knowledgeable about the ancient Arabs and their poetry (*Bayān* I 323, 10ff.); the son would also compose a text praising ‘Alī (Nagel, *Rechtleitung* 390ff.; cf. also ch. C 1.4.3.1.1.4 below). The material he employed was of Hijazi origin and consequently comparatively moderate; even so he was suspected of fabricating information out of bias in favour of the Hāshimids (*Irshād* VI 109, 7; Suyūṭī, *Muzhir* II

14 T. Nagel, *Rechtleitung und Kalifat* 109f.

15 See p. 781f. below. The first of the four, Ibn Dāb, circulated an account according to which Manṣūr humiliated himself before al-Nafs al-zakiyya, calling him the *mahdī* (Abū l-Faraj, *Maqātil* 239, 1ff.).

16 *Ta’rikh* III 534, 1ff.

414, iff.; Fück, *Arabīya* 38f.; also Ibn Munādhir's and Khalaf al-Aḥmar's poems of vilification in *Irshād* VI 108, 5ff. and 14ff.). He probably simply knew far too much Medinan family gossip; a fragment preserved by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī recounts quarrelling among the Quraysh (*Maḥṣūl* II₁ 487, ult. ff.). These polemics do not, however, mention an interest in Qadarism.

Regarding 'Abdallāh b. Yazīd b. Qays al-Hudhalī cf. Ibn Ḥanbal, *ʿIlal* 57 no. 327; Bukhārī III₂ 227 no. 741; IAH II₂ 197f. no. 919; 'Uqaylī II 316 no. 901; *Mīzān* no. 4694; *Lisān al-Mīzān* III 377f. no. 1508; as a transmitter also Ṭabarī I 3048, iff. He was the teacher of Ibn Abī Dhī'b, among others.

'Abdallāh b. Abī 'Ubayda b. Muḥammad b. 'Ammār b. Yāsir appears a number of times as a *rāwī* in Ṭabarī (cf. Index s. n.) and the *K. al-Aghānī*; he was an expert in poetry and was familiar with Kuthayyir's *Dīwān*, among others (GAS 2/409). His father was a well-known genealogist; his grandfather Muḥammad, son of the well-known "Shī'ite" companion of the prophet, was persecuted in 60/680 in Medina for being a follower of 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr, and killed six years later in Kufa by Mukhtār for being "the murderer of Ḥusayn" (Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamhara* 406, 1f.; cf. Ṭabarī II 224, iff., and 667, 8ff.). His father appears as an authority of Ibn Iṣḥāq's (cf. Ṭabarī I 1336, 5f.; and 1682, 3).

It is possible that Mahdī's animosity towards the Medinan Qadarites was stoked by a Medinan whom he had called to his court in Baghdad, and of whose polemic writings several comparatively lengthy ones are extant:

Abū 'Abdallāh 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Salama al-Mājashūn,

d. 164/780.¹⁷ He came from a respected family of scholars whose ancestor was a man from Isfahan named Abū Salama. His actual name was not known for certain later; Maymūn and Dīnār were mentioned, as well as Yūsuf.¹⁸ Only a nickname was recalled besides the *kunya*: Mājashūn "rose-coloured"; Ḥusayn's daughter Sukayna was believed to have thought of it.¹⁹ It referred to Abū

17 Regarding him cf. the summary in Ziriklī, *A'lām* IV 145f.; Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'jam* V 251; Muranyi, *Ein altes Fragment medinensischer Jurisprudenz* 30ff.; briefly id. in GAP II 312, all with more precise information on the sources. I occasionally diverge from these accounts in some details.

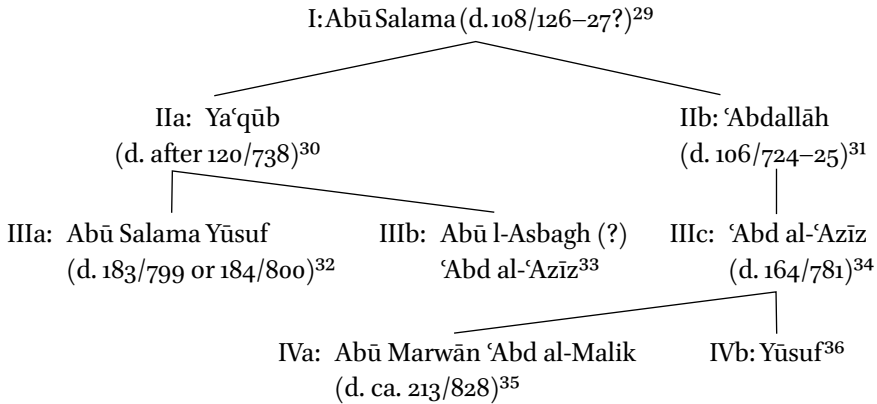
18 Cf. TB X 436, 1; TT XI 388, 11; Zabīdī, *Tāj al-'arūs* IV 348, 6f. Regarding his origins in Isfahan see Fasawī I 429, 11f.; Sam'ānī XII 6, ult.; Abū Nu'aym, *Dhikr akhbār Iṣbahān* II 124, 15ff.

19 Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* 252, 6f. Sukayna died in 117/735 (Khalifa, *Ta'rikh* 514, 14).

Salama's ruddy cheeks, possibly implying that he looked as if he wore make-up.²⁰ He had probably been a slave, maybe travelled on business;²¹ there certainly was no older recollection of him in Isfahan.²² He must have been manumitted quite soon, as his sons Ya'qūb and 'Abdallāh were already known as traditionists and legal scholars.²³ Ya'qūb was friendly with 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz when the latter was governor of Medina;²⁴ he was the first of the "decent people" to have an understanding of singing.²⁵

The speed with which the emancipation took place was probably due to the fact that the master to whom Abū Salama was tied in clientage, Munkadir b. Hudayr of the Taym Quraysh, was himself a pious man. He had three sons with an *umm walad* he had allegedly bought with a donation from 'Ā'isha; all three of them made a name for themselves,²⁶ especially Muḥammad b. al-Munkadir (d. 130/748), who is ranked among the early ascetics.²⁷ Rabī'at al-ra'y was a *mawlā* of this family, too.²⁸ The name Mājashūn, or Ibn al-Mājashūn, passed to the following generations, which could lead to confusion as the names as well as the *kunya* were repeated several times. A family tree will help clarify the most important kinship relations:

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- 20 Regarding *mājashūn* – *muwarrad* cf. Sam'ānī XII 5, apu.; Qāḍī 'Iyād, *Tartīb al-madārik* I 360, 10 etc. The word was of Persian origin; it was in use in Medina as a colour term. Arab scholars disagreed regarding the etymology (cf. Qāḍī 'Iyād, loc. cit.). The most like one is *may-gūn* "wine-coloured" (thus TB X 436, ult. f.); *māh-gūn* "like the moon" is also suggested a number of times (thus *Qāmūs* II 287, 13, and IV 270, 9 > *Tāj al-'arūs* IV 348, 8, and IX 341, 17). However, the latter would only work as a metaphor of Abū Salama's beauty – and is indeed explained as such – not as the basis of the colour term. There was also a folk etymology for the name (Fasawī I 429, 12f.; Qāḍī 'Iyād, loc. cit.).
- 21 Maymūn and Dīnār are typical slave names. Yūsuf may have been his original name, used later by his grandson (see below). Could he have been from a Jewish or Christian family?
- 22 This is clear from the information Abū Nu'aym provides. However, people pointed with pride to the lane in Medina named after the family.
- 23 Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif* 462, 3ff.
- 24 IKh VI 376, 8ff.
- 25 TD ('Abdallāh) 275, 5ff.
- 26 Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh* 295, 6ff.
- 27 TH 127f. no. 114; Ziriklī VII 333 with further sources. It is surprising that the father should have been so poor considering that Abū Bakr was also a member of the Taym Quraysh. His brother Rabī'a b. Hudayr had also been a legal scholar (Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif* 461, 8).
- 28 Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif* 462, 10f.; regarding relations between him and Abū Salama's son Yūsuf cf. TD ('Abdallāh) 275, 5f.



This reconstruction of a genealogy follows the usual sources, but is not above all doubt. The long gaps in the chronology between the second and third generations are particularly noticeable, but the occasional deviations appear to be mistakes rather than genuine alternatives. Qāḍī 'Iyād doubles IVa's line of ancestors behind IIIc, omitting IIb instead: 'Abd al-Malik b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abd al-Malik b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Abī Salama (*Tartīb* I 360, 5ff.). Immediately afterwards (360, –5), however, he mentions IIb as his grandfather (or ancestor: *jadd*). Sam'ānī, *Ansāb* XII 5, 9, inserts a further 'Abdallāh between IIa and I (but not in all MSS), as does Zabīdī, *Tāj*, loc. cit., where I has IIIa's line of ancestors instead. According to IKh VI 377, 14f., IIa died as late as 164/780; this, however, mistakes him for IIIc. IIIb is attested only weakly; he is said to have left only three hadiths. The *kunya* Abū l-Asbagh is usually accorded to his namesake IIIc, but he already had one of his own.

29 The date is noted in Zabīdī, *Tāj al-'arūs* IV 348, 6f.

30 Khalifa, *Ṭab.* 671 no. 2394; IAH IV₂ 207 no. 863; summarised in IKh VI 376f., and TT XI 388f. no. 749.

31 TT V 243 no. 421; IAH II₂ 70 no. 331.

32 TT XI 430f. no. 837.

33 Sam'ānī XII 6, 1ff.

34 The scholar discussed here.

35 Regarding him see p. 780 below.

36 Witnessed by Qāḍī 'Iyād, *Tartīb* I 360, apu.

‘Abd al-‘Azīz Ibn al Mājashūn (IIIc) was rather well-respected as a jurist in Medina, certainly a town crier named his office together with that of Mālik b. Anas as the best in the city when the pilgrims arrived there in 148/765.³⁷ He was not on good terms with his rival; he mocked Mālik, who did not hold back with derogatory remarks, either.³⁸ He was able to impress al-Manṣūr and his son al-Mahdī who visited Medina during the hajj. He flattered Mahdī during an audience with a – not exactly original – paean,³⁹ maybe in 153/770, when he led the pilgrimage.⁴⁰ Later it was said that al-Manṣūr appointed him his son’s adviser in religious matters when they set out on their way home from the hajj.⁴¹ This would have had to have happened in 152/769,⁴² but in fact Ibn al-Mājashūn was summoned to Baghdad in writing, probably only after al-Mahdī inherited the throne in 158/775.⁴³ Now Mālik was the only one in Medina, as Ibn al-Mājashūn would stay in Iraq until his death. He enjoyed great prestige there; after his death Mahdī said the prayer over him and had him buried in the cemetery of the Quraysh, whose *mawlā* he had remained formally all his life.⁴⁴

He never felt at home among the Iraqi scholars in the few years left to him in Baghdad. It upset him that they had given his friend Rabī’a b. Abī ‘Abd al-Raḥmān the sobriquet Rabī‘at al-ra’y,⁴⁵ as it was aimed at him, too; he was a jurist of the old school. If people requested hadith from him to confirm a legal opinion, he could be quite gruff: “We are the ones giving the opinion!”⁴⁶ In a recently edited fragment of his *K. al-ḥajj* he quoted the Quran verbatim, but the prophet only according to his meaning; he did not use a complete *isnād*, either.⁴⁷ This was normal in Medina; the report is confirmed by other fragments

37 TB X 437, 10ff.

38 Fasawī I 429, –4f., and 683, 6ff.; also 685, 7ff. In Mālikite tradition as preserved e.g. by Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ, this has been balanced out; Ibn al-Mājashūn’s respect for Mālik is emphasised (*Tartīb* I 140, 10ff., and 166, 8f.; further passages cf. Index s. n. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Abī Salama).

39 Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ I 284, 6ff.

40 See p. 766 above.

41 TB X 437, 14ff.

42 See p. 766 above. When al-Manṣūr led the hajj again in 158, he died in Mecca (see p. 732 above).

43 Fasawī I 685, 3f.

44 IS V 307, 3f.; TB X 438, 18ff.

45 Fasawī I 672, –6ff.

46 Ibid. I 429, apu.

47 Muranyi, *Ein altes Fragment medinensischer Jurisprudenz aus Qairawān* (Stuttgart 1985); cf. the summary ibid. 85.

preserved among the ancient parchments in the chief mosque of Qayrawān.⁴⁸ Some of his expert opinions remained common knowledge in the Maghreb, Ibn Ḥazm recording, for instance, that Ibn al-Mājashūn considered someone who deliberately omitted a prescribed prayer to be an apostate.⁴⁹

In Iraq, on the other hand, the focus of interest was on his theological opinions. At that time it was much less common there to refer to hadith as well as the Quran in this field; his pronouncements may also have met with official support. No fewer than three of them are still extant: a *fatwā* on the teachings of the Jahmiyya,⁵⁰ and two texts on the issue of *qadar*.⁵¹ They were all collected by one single author, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Athram (d. 261/875) from Baghdad, a pupil of Ibn Ḥanbal's, who included them in his *K. al-sunna*, from where Ibn Baṭṭa knew them in whose work we find them to this day.⁵² This raises the question of where they were composed: still in the Hijaz, or not until Ibn al-Mājashūn's later phase in Baghdad. It is not easy to answer. On the one hand we have the *riwāya*, undisputed since Athram, on the other the fact that the two *qadar* texts ultimately go back to one Egyptian only, Abū Ṣāliḥ 'Abdallāh b. Ṣāliḥ (137/754–223/838), the secretary of Layth b. Sa'd.⁵³ This might argue in favour of Medina, as relations between Egypt and the Hijaz were very close, especially among jurists. On the other hand we do know that Abū Ṣāliḥ visited Baghdad together with his employer. They set out in 161/778,⁵⁴ which means that they would have met Ibn al-Mājashūn at the height of his influence. Of course, this does not rule out his having brought the texts with him from Medina.⁵⁵ What is certain is that the Iraqi Athram brought them back from Egypt.

There is no reason to doubt that they are genuine. The *fatwā* against the Jahmiyya shares its wording with the first text against the Qadariyya saying that those "who are firmly rooted in knowledge" (*al-rāsikhūna fī l-'ilm*) stop

48 Thus according to information provided by Dr. Muranyi. The edited fragment was transmitted by the predestinarian Abū Ḍamra Anas b. 'Iyād among others (p. 20). It was probably part of an extensive *Muwatta'* work (ibid. 34f.).

49 *Fiṣal* III 229, pu. ff.

50 In more detail p. 785 below.

51 In more detail my short article in: WO 16/1985/131ff.

52 In his *Ibāna al-kubrā*; cf. the abovementioned article. Riḍā b. Na'sān Mu'tī's incomplete edition (1–2, Riyadh 1409/1988) unfortunately does not include the text with the exception of a fragment on p. 533f. cf. now Riyadh 1994, II 2 240ff. nr. 1852. Regarding Athram's father Muḥammad b. Hānī' see p. 806 below.

53 Regarding him GAS 1/104; regarding Layth b. Sa'd see p. 806 below.

54 TB XIII 4, 8ff.; also IX 478ff. no. 5110.

55 Abū Ṣāliḥ also transmitted the *K. al-hajj* that was certainly composed in Medina (Muranyi, *Fragment* 14).

where their knowledge reaches its limit.⁵⁶ This characterises Ibn al-Māʾjashūn's attitude. He was not a theologian; he thought it was not necessary to discuss (*jadāl*) or delve deeply into (*ta'ammuq*) the issue of *qadar*, as that would only lead us astray. It was sufficient to read the Quran, and especially those verses talking of war, such as the battle of Badr. If these events had really depended on humans, everything would have turned out quite differently. Ibn al-Māʾjashūn does not interpret one single passage, but interweaves a number of entirely diverse passages: sura 9:14f., 3:154, 3:140, 8:17, 8:48 etc. His conclusion is the same every time: humans are tools in God's hand. God has no need of them even so, as he can bring punishments without them. He annihilated Sodom with stones hailing down from the sky. In other cases he used ruses (*makr*), leading the evildoers gradually to their doom (*istidrāj*). The weakest can become strong with God's help; after all, Moses started in a wicker basket.

The reference to the battle of Badr recalls an argument used in Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya's *Quaestiones* which links suras 3 and 8 in this context as well.⁵⁷ Where Ibn al-Māʾjashūn begins to use theological terms, however, we find certain similarities with the anti-Qadarite *Risāla* attributed to 'Umar II.⁵⁸ This is not surprising in an author whose uncle, as we have seen, was close to this very caliph; presumably the concept of the text, however genuine, had already been formulated by that time.^{58a} *Qadar*, Ibn al-Māʾjashūn says, is God's royal power (*mulk, tamalluk*);⁵⁹ humans are merely "empowered" (*maqḍūr 'alā*):

(God) grants him a good deed (*razaqahū l-ḥasana*) and then praises him for it, or he decrees a transgression for him (*qaddara 'alayhi l-khaṭ'ra*) and criticises him for it. Because he praises and criticises him, you believe that power is granted him (*annahū mumallak*); but you are forgetting that God claims the decreeing for himself, because he grants power.⁶⁰ (God) does not dismiss him from his royal power by praising or criticising, and he

56 Regarding this and the following cf. wo 16/1985/133ff.

57 *Anfänge* 64ff.

58 Cf. vol. I 155f. above.

58a Possibly without the attribution to 'Umar II (see p. 641 above).

59 Cf. the use of the verbal forms *malaka* and *mallaka/mullika* in 'Umar II's *Risāla* (*Anfänge* 117, also 140 and 167; cf. also Cook, *Dogma* 149).

60 *nasīta intihālahū l-qadar li-annahū mumallik*. The pronominal reference is anything but clear; *intahala* seems at least unusual expressed by God. However, with regard to the following, it is also difficult to refer *qadar* to humans.

does not excuse a transgression with the reason that he decreed it himself. He created him in such a way that he is (always) looking for his own way;⁶¹ (man) knows this and criticises himself if he ignores it. (God) gives him knowledge of the faculty of action (*‘arrafahū l-qudra*), and (man) believes in this and relies on it. His desire is directed at God, to give him success, as he is aware of his royal power and has the certainty that it is in his hands. Then, however, his aims make him commit a transgression, and he retracts it by criticising himself. . . .

God, we discover, has “mixed” (*khalāṭa*) the way humans for which humans are searching and the predestination. Consequently when doing good one hopes for God’s help and accompanies one’s actions with words such as “there is no power and no force but God”. When doing evil, which is after all decreed by God as well, one assumes responsibility and says “I have no excuse for acting contrary to God’s wishes”. When doing good, one describes oneself as weak, when doing evil, as strong.

In the second text Ibn al-Mājashūn avoids these deliberations, but the basic tendency is the same. He makes quite clear from the outset that all this talk about *qadar* is only “innovation”. Like the ancestors, one should abide by the Sunna (*luzūm al-sunna*). “Delving deep” is wrong, as they avoided it, too. If one is tempted to ask “And how about the following Quranic verse?” or “And why did God say this or that?”, one must remember that they, too, recited these verses and understood them better than their descendants nowadays. They acknowledged predestination, accepting responsibility for their sins at the same time. The emphasis on the fideistic aspect in this text is probably linked to the fact that we are looking not at a *fatwā* but at a letter of admonition; Ibn al-Mājashūn says at the beginning that his intention is to offer advice to the addressee (*innī mūṣīka*). As nothing is said about the latter’s identity, this may well be literary form only.

Even if all this was written in Iraq, it is very much in the Medinan spirit. The Qadarite approach retains a certain validity, at least subjectively. Maybe this was why Yaḥyā b. Ma‘īn claimed that Ibn al-Mājashūn was a Qadarite originally and abandoned this belief only later.⁶² His legacy was not entirely lost in the Hijaz, as he had a son who achieved eminence in Medina:

61 *khalāqahū ‘alā l-ṭalab bil-ḥīla*. Cf. the usage of *ḥīla* in sura 4:98.

62 TB X 438, 6ff.; Ka‘bī, too, mentions a “Mājashūnī” who was a Qadarite (*Qabūl* 215, 3).

Abū Marwān ‘Abd al-Malik b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz (Ibn) al-Mājashūn,

d. ca. 213/828 at over sixty years of age, having known his father only in his youth. He may not even have accompanied him to Baghdad. In his home city he adapted to circumstances, keeping on good terms with Mālik’s school. Consequently Mālikite tradition quotes him frequently as a representative of Medinan legal thought;⁶³ Bāqillānī occasionally agreed with him on *uṣūl al-fiqh*.⁶⁴ He debated with Shāfi‘ī, but their discussions were difficult to follow as they had both grown up in the desert.⁶⁵ As for theology, the front had shifted slightly, and he wrote a “Refutation of those who believe in the createdness of the Quran and the faculty of action (*istitā‘a*, of men)”, i.e. presumably the Mu‘tazilites,⁶⁶ and he railed against Bishr al-Marīsī.⁶⁷ On the other hand he admonished Saḥnūn (d. 240/854) in a letter to show restraint in matters concerning the image of God (*tashbih*) and the Quran.⁶⁸ This probably explains the doctrine Ash‘arī linked to him: that the Quran was half created, and half uncreated⁶⁹ – not so much as a firm theological opinion, but as cautious reticence making allowances for both sides, similar to his father’s comments on *qadar*. He was, for instance, unable to imagine that the text of sura 112 was created.⁷⁰

We must bear in mind that this idea was probably formulated at a time when the *khalq al-Qur‘ān* had not been formally proclaimed; Dhahabī’s account is dated to 209/824–5. Ash‘arī’s information could have been found in slightly more detail already in a doxographical text by Sulaymān b. Jarīr al-Raqqī (see p. 546 above). Furthermore, he only says “Ibn al-Mājashūn”, which might just as well refer to the father, although the son is more probable. Ritter already identified the name in the index as his (p. 625f.). Regarding him cf. IS v 327, 18ff.; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* 252, 6; Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ, *Tartīb* I 360ff. (the form of the name is probably incorrect; see p. 776 above); Shīrāzī, *Ṭab.* 148, 1ff.; IKh III 166f.; *Mīzān* no. 5226; Dhahabī, *Sīyar* x 359f.; Ibn Farḥūn, *Al-dibāj al-mudhahhab* II 6, 4ff.; Zirīklī, *A‘lām* IV 305; Turki in: Bāji, *Ihkām al-fuṣūl* 858; also the witty anecdote in Ibn al-Jawzī, *Adhkiyā’* 194, 3ff.

63 Cf. Muranyi, *Ein altes Fragment* 5f., and *Materialien zur mālikitischen Rechtsliteratur* 26 and 87f.

64 Bāji, *Ihkām al-fuṣūl* 249 no. 162, and 276 no. 214.

65 Shīrāzī, *Ṭab.* 148, 2ff.; but cf. Bayhaqī, *Manāqib al-Shāfi‘ī* II 344, 1ff.

66 Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ, *Tartīb* I 362, pu. f.

67 Ibid. 363, 1f.; Dhahabī, *‘Ulūw* 210, pu. f.

68 Ibid. 363, 4ff.

69 *Maq.* 586, 5f.

70 Dhahabī, *‘Ulūw* 210, –6ff.

The development we are able follow from father to son here is observable in a similar form on the opposing side. Among the Medinan Qadarites Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Shāfi'ī mentions a certain

Abū Ibrāhīm (Abū 'Abdallāh) Muḥammad b. Abī Yaḥyā Sam'ān al-Aslamī,⁷¹

d. ca. 145/762,⁷² who like his father and his two brothers Anīs and 'Abdallāh was a client of 'Amr b. 'Abdnihm of the Aslam.⁷³ The family may have come from Basra.⁷⁴ His son,

Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Abī Yaḥyā al-Aslamī,

d. 184/800, was an arrant heretic; he was named as a Qadarite, a Mu'tazilite, a Jahmite and a Shī'ite.⁷⁵ Ibn Sa'd did not like him.⁷⁶ He may have been the Mu'tazila's contact in Medina; he was said to have studied under 'Amr b. 'Ubayd.⁷⁷ 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Ṣan'ānī (d. 211/827) claimed to have asked him in later years to confirm that he saw himself as a Mu'tazilite, and gave that as the reason why he did not follow him to the mosque.⁷⁸ The Mu'tazilite report that Ibn Abī Yaḥyā invited Wāṣil b. 'Aṭā' into his house, however, is faced with chronological difficulties; it can only refer to his father, and is found in a rather apocryphal context in any case.⁷⁹ It is noticeable that the same context links him to the 'Alids of Medina, which appears to be based on a correct recollection. After all, Ibn Ishāq, Muḥammad b. 'Ajlān and others had been close to the Shī'a, as was 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Ṣan'ānī although he distanced himself from him elsewhere.⁸⁰ In the case of Ibn Abī Yaḥyā this affinity went far enough for Ṭūsī to include him in his *Fihrist*; the Shī'ites approved of his great expertise in the

71 Ka'bī, *Maq.* 80, 1ff. > *Faḍl* 336, 4.

72 144 after Khalīfa, *Ta'riḫh* 647, 12; 145 after Khalīfa, *Ṭab.* 677, 8f.; 146 or 157 after TT IX 523, 2f.

73 Khalīfa, *Ṭab.* 677 no. 2427-9; also IAH III₂ 282 no. 1522. Ibn Ishāq also transmitted from 'Abdallāh, interestingly a tradition with a Shī'ite tendency (Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waq'at Ṣiffīn* 448, 8ff.; cf. also Ṭabarī II 227, 10f.). Regarding his father cf. TT IV 238 no. 405.

74 Among Mālik's alleged pupils Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ mentions a certain Muḥammad b. *Yaḥyā* (rather than *Abī Yaḥyā*) al-Aslamī al-Baṣrī.

75 Fasawī III 55, 1ff., and 138, apu. f.; 'Uqaylī, *Ḍu'afā'* I 62ff. no. 59; Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *Ma'rifa* 135, 11, and 136, 14f.; *Mizān* no. 189; TT 158ff. no. 284. Baghdādī even achieved the feat of appointing him head of a group of anthropomorphists (*Farq* 216, -4ff./228, 6ff.).

76 IS V 314, 12.

77 Thus after Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār, *Faḍl* 253, 9f.

78 Presumably because it was attended by Mu'tazilites and he did not wish to pray behind one of them (Ibn Ḥibbān, *Majrūḥīn* I 106, ult. ff.).

79 *Faḍl* 239, 1ff. = 335, -6ff. > IM 33, 3ff; cf. p. 287f. above.

80 Cf. GAS 1/99.

traditions of Muḥammad al-Bāqir and Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq.⁸¹ All the same, he was no Imāmite; he only – like Ibn Ishāq believed ‘Alī outranked ‘Uthmān.⁸² In his old age he paid homage to Yaḥyā b. ‘Abdallāh while the latter was planning his uprising in Daylam around 175/791–92.⁸³ The accusation that he was a Jahmite might go back to Nu‘aym b. Ḥammād (d. 228/843), a committed anti-Jahmite and a not always conscientious traditionist, who claimed to have burnt several of Ibrāhīm b. Abī Yaḥyā’s books because of his Qadarite and “Jahmite” teachings.⁸⁴ Maybe this combination of ‘Alid, Qadarite and “Jahmite” sympathies was exactly what people at the time imagined a Mu‘tazilite to be.

This negative image is cast into doubt by Shāfi‘ī’s having attended his lectures as a young man and attesting him great veracity, even including some of his traditions in his own works.⁸⁵ There are other casual remarks which tell us that he was not entirely without prestige: he corresponded with the caliph al-Mahdī⁸⁶ and was said to have conducted a legal debate before Hārūn al-Rashīd with Abū Yūsuf, in which he proved to be superior to the latter.⁸⁷ Ṭūsī mentioned a book divided in chapters concerning permitted and prohibited things following Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq.⁸⁸ He also claimed to have learnt, from an

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- 81 Ṭūsī, *Fihrist* 16, 4f.; Najāshī, *Rijāl* with a commentary by Muḥammad ‘Alī al-Abṭaḥī (Najaf 1389), p. 240ff.; Māmaqānī, *Tanqīḥ al-maqāl* I 30, 2ff. no. 169, and 33 no. 194; Ardabili, *Jāmi‘ al-ruwāt* I 30f. One example of these traditions presumably in HT 20: with a hadith in the Qadarite (!) style. Kulīnī, Mufid and Ibn Bābōya also referred to him (cf. Abṭaḥī, *Commentary* 243, 4ff.). For Nasā‘ī, this was the very reason why he must have had the reputation of being one of the greatest falsifiers of hadith (cf. Suyūṭī, *La‘ālī* II 473, 12f., and IKh v 256, 17ff.).
- 82 Yāqūt, *Irshād* v1 400, 6ff.; Madelung, *Qāsim* 132. Even the Imāmites had their doubts (Māmaqānī I 30, 12ff.).
- 83 van Arendonk, *Opkomst* 290f.; also Madelung, *Qāsim* 74. Regarding the uprising see p. 534f. above and ch. C 1.4.1 below.
- 84 *Mizān* I 61, 1ff. The accusation would be more understandable if it were true that Ibrāhīm b. Abī Yaḥyā had originally been an Ibāḍite, as Ka‘bī claimed (*Qabūl* 215, 3f.); in the Ibāḍiyya the metaphorical explanation of anthropomorphic divine attributes, which would later become characteristic of the Jahmiyya, was widely accepted (see p. 238f. above). What is most important is that he circulated traditions against the vision of God (see p. 786 below); Nu‘aym was very sensitive regarding this point (see p. 618 above).
- 85 *Faḍl* 253, 13f.; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Majrūḥīn* I 105, 11; *Mizān* I 58, 1ff. Also Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Ādāb al-Shāfi‘ī* 178, 5ff.
- 86 Jāhīz, *Bayān* II 74, 2ff.; also Ṣafwat, *Jamharat rasā’il al-‘Arab* III 168 no. 111.
- 87 *Faḍl* 253, 10ff.
- 88 *Fihrist* 16, 8ff.

unnamed Sunnite source, that Wāqidi (130/747–207/823) appropriated some of Ibrāhīm b. Abī Yaḥyā's writings and circulated them under his own name.⁸⁹ The work of jurisprudence is probably identical with Ibn Abī Yaḥyā's *Muwattaʿ*, said to have greatly outshone his older contemporary Mālik b. Anas' work of the same name.⁹⁰ This competition with Mālik could not have helped his posthumous fame. While the Mālikites tried to integrate him, claiming that he transmitted from Mālik,⁹¹ it was known that he had apostrophised Mālik, who was very proud of his descent from the Southern Arabian princely house of Aṣbaḥ, as their *mawlā*, thus incurring his enduring hostility.⁹² His desire to outshine Mālik explains why Shāfiʿī referred to his texts: he was pursuing the same aim.

Shāfiʿī was well aware of Ibn Abī Yaḥyā's controversial reputation;⁹³ he omitted his name in the *isnāds*, replacing it with anonymous *man lā attahimu (min ahl al-Madīna)*.⁹⁴ Ibn Ḥibbān's attempt at explaining the quotations was that Shāfiʿī, when he wrote books in Egypt towards the end of his life, did not have access to any reliable (read: Iraqi) hadith collections and therefore relied on his memory.⁹⁵ However, Ibn Abī Ḥātim confirmed that he did tolerate Ibn Abī Yaḥyā's Qadarism,⁹⁶ and was probably just considering the sensibilities of his non-Medinan reading public. Scholars like the Kufan historian ʿAbbād b. Yaʿqūb al-Rawājīnī (d. 250/864) continued Ibn Abī Yaḥyā's tradition.

89 He was unable to discover this for himself (*Fihrist* 16, 6ff.; quoted GAS 1/254, but incorrect *Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā*).

90 *Mizān* I 59, –4ff. after Ibn ʿAdī; also ḤKh 1907, apu. ff., with incorrect date. Goldziher, *Muh. Studien* II 220, n. 2, quoted a commentary by Abū Bakr Ibn al-ʿArabī after this passage, but it actually refers to Mālik's *Muwattaʿ*.

91 Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ, *Tartīb* I 257, pu.; cf. also the story *ibid.* I 244, –4ff.

92 *Faḍl* 253, 12f. Ibn Ishāq made a similar claim concerning Mālik (see p. 758 above).

93 Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Ādāb al-Shāfiʿī* 223, 2; he called him a Qadarite.

94 *Risāla* 448, 1, and 450, 1; regarding the identification Khadduri, *Muslim Jurisprudence* 273 after Bayhaqī, *Manāqib al-Shāfiʿī*. Cf. also Māwardī, *Ādāb al-qāḍī* 401, pu. ff., with 402, n. 1.

95 See n. 85 above.

96 *Ādāb al-Shāfiʿī* 223, 3f.

Cf. Prozorov, *Arabskaja istoričeskaja literatura* 109; GAS 1/316f. with further sources. Ṭūsī called him *‘ammī al-madhhab* (*Fihrist* 176, 8). – Ibn Abī Yaḥyā probably died at the age of not quite 70. We can infer this from the fact that he had a brother named ‘Abdallāh, called Saḥbal, who was ten years older than he (IS v 314, 10f.) and died in 162/779 (thus according to IS v 311, 5ff.) or slightly later (according to TT VI 20 no. 26) at the age of 57; consequently he would have been born around 115/733. Cf. also Ibn Ḥanbal, *‘Ilal* 178 no. 1108. In *Ma‘rifa* III 55, 1ff., Fasawī mentioned two further brothers, Muḥammad and Anīs, but presumably meant his father and his uncle. His name was often abbreviated to read Ibrāhīm b. Abī Yaḥyā (thus e.g. Jāḥiz, *Bayān* II 74, 2; AZ 307/7; Fasawī III 55, 1f.; *Faḍl* 253, 9f.; also Ṣafadī, *Wāfi* VI 165, 5ff.). Later biographers consequently do not always avoid the mistake of noting him in two different places (for instance Māmaqānī, loc. cit.). Ṭūsī’s claim that he was the client of a certain Aslam b. Afṣā is probably an error in view of the information we have concerning his father. At the time the *nisba* al-Aslamī was generally derived from this name (but cf., later, Sam‘ānī, *Ansāb* I 238 no. 156). Regarding him in general see also IS v 314, 10ff.; Bukhārī I₁ 323 no. 1013; IAH I₁ 125 no. 390; Ibn Ḥanbal, *‘Ilal* 178 no. 1108; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Majrūhīn* I 105, 9ff.; Dhahabī, *Siyar a‘lām al-nubalā’* VIII 45off., and TH 246f. no. 233; Ka‘bī 80, 4f.; Kaḥḥāla, *Mu‘jam* I 96; GIE II 452f.

We do not hear much about Qadarites of the old school any more. A certain Ishāq b. Ḥāzīm died sometime after the middle of the second century; ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Maḥdī (d. 198/813)⁹⁷ transmitted from him.⁹⁸ Ishāq b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Musayyabī died in 206/821–22.⁹⁹ He was by far the most respected Quran reciter of his time in Medina.¹⁰⁰ In spite of his *nisba* he was no direct relation of Sa‘īd b. al-Musayyab, but he was a member of the same clan, the Makhzūm. With him our tradition on the Medinan Qadariyya ends.

97 He was probably a Qadarite himself; see p. 89 above.

98 A Qadarite according to *Mizān* no. 745 and TT I 229 no. 426; nothing in IAH I₂ 216 no. 740.

99 A Qadarite according to *Mizān* no. 791 and TT I 249 no. 467.

100 Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭab*. I 157f. no. 734.

4.1.2.4 The Jahmiyya

There is just as little to report about the Jahmiyya in Medina as about the Murji'a. Still, we do have the abovementioned expert opinion by Ibn al-Mā'jashūn.¹ He may have written it in Baghdad, but the case of Ibn Abī Yaḥyā shows that a generation after him, Jahmite tendencies were found in Medina, too. So far the point at issue was not the Quran but the image of God. Ibn al-Mā'jashūn comments especially on the vision of God: those who deny it deny the greatest honour God accords humans; but then Ibn al-Mā'jashūn also accepted those hadiths according to which God laughs or places his foot onto hell. One must not inquire into the "how" (*kayfa*), as this would be meaningful only with regard to changeable things.² He is even more averse to theoretical deliberations here than in the issue of *qadar*, appearing to reject not only the Jahmites but also the theologising anthropomorphists. "If God claims an attribute for himself or has it named by the mouth of the prophet, we, too, call him thus, but we do not labour to find other attributes for him, not this and not that one. We neither deny the attributes he claims, nor do we labour (*na-takallafu*) to perceive something he has not claimed as an attribute".³ Even if he shows himself in all his beauty to the believers in the afterlife, this does not detract from his sublimity; humans are given new eyes to perceive God as He wills it.⁴

Especially when it came to the question of *ru'ya* it does indeed seem as though there had been a "Jahmite" climate in the Hijaz of the heretic nature of which people were ignorant for a long time. As we have seen, Mujāhid was believed to have interpreted *wujūhun yawma'idhin nāḍira* ✱ *ilā rabbihā nāzira* in sura 75:22f. metaphorically.⁵ Ibn 'Abbās had already been reported to have held similar views.⁶ Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab seems to have believed this, too.⁷ Ibn Abī Dhī'b transmitted a hadith from 'Ā'isha which rejected emphatically that

1 It is extant in Ibn Taymiyya's *Fatwā Ḥamawīyya*, who found it in Ibn Baṭṭa's works (Cairo 1387/1967, p. 28, -5ff.; also *Majmū' fatāwā* v 42, 4ff.). Dhahabī quotes part of the text in *Ulūw* 177, 2ff., as does Lālakā'ī (*Sharḥ* 502f. no. 873). It was brought to light in its entirety by M. Schreiner (in: ZDMG 53/1899/74ff.).

2 *Fatwā Ḥamawīyya* 29, 2ff.; his view of God's sitting on the throne is found in Ibn Taymiyya, *Sharḥ ḥadīth al-nuzūl* 126, -4ff. (after Ibn Abī Ḥātim).

3 Ibid. 30, 13ff.; also 29, 1f. Regarding the problem cf. Gimaret, *Les noms divins en Islam* 43ff. and earlier.

4 Dhahabī, *Ulūw* 119, 4ff.

5 See p. 720, n. 20 above.

6 Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār, *Mughnī* IV 213, 10ff.; Malāḥimī, *Mu'tamad* 466, pu. ff.

7 Malāḥimī 466, -5ff.

it was suitable for anyone to look upon God; as the speaker was the prophet, this included him and his journey to heaven.⁸ Ibrāhīm b. Abī Yaḥyā passed on comparable traditions to the Basran Mu‘tazilites ‘Abd al-Karīm b. Rawḥ and Abū ‘Āmir al-Anṣārī.⁹ The Iraqi “Jahmite” Muḥammad b. Shujā‘ al-Thaljī transmitted from Ibn Abī Dhi‘b.¹⁰

8 Ibid. 488, 4ff.; regarding an ‘Āisha tradition with similar content cf. *Anfänge* 37.

9 See p. 478f. above.

10 Regarding him see ch. C 6.3.2 below.

4.2 Southern Arabia

4.2.1 Yemen

Yemen, like Medina, was among the losers during early Islamic history. The cultural potential of the country was great, but the importance of the Yemenis came into its own in Ḥimṣ and in Kufa.¹ The region emerged from the shadows for a brief period only, when Bādhān, the chief of the Persian garrison, entered into negotiations with the prophet and converted to Islam. When the Yemeni tribes rose up against the Ethiopian occupation around 570 they had asked the Sasanids for support; there had been an Iranian contingent in Ṣan‘ā’ ever since. The soldiers had married into local families; their descendants were known as *abnā’*. Their position became increasingly precarious with the decline of the Sasanid Empire during Heraclius’ campaigns; this was probably why they sought to align themselves with the new power to the north. Insofar as the *ridda* did affect Yemen, it started with other forces; after all, the tribes are not greatly interested in Ṣan‘ā’ politics to this day. For a time, the *abnā’* were the mainstay of Islam in the area surrounding the city.²

Under Dhū Nuwās, whose anti-Christian measures had caused the Ethiopian intervention, the Hamdān living in the area around Ṣan‘ā’ had converted to Judaism. This was the religious group with whom Islam had to come to terms above all. When an opposition movement emerged in Yemen during ‘Alī’s caliphate, the Hamdān renounced Islam; their leaders were killed and burnt as a consequence.³ Some converts became a significant influence on emerging religious ideas. Ka‘b al-aḥbār was only one example; he probably died in Ḥimṣ.⁴ The influence of midrashic tradition is also unmistakable in the case of another eminent Yemeni of the first century,

1 See vol. I 127f. and 172 above.

2 Cf. Caetani, *Annali dell’Islam* IV 415f.; Chelhod, *Arabie du Sud* II 17ff.; Shoufany, *Al-Ridda* 35ff.; M. Fayda, *Islāmiyyetin Güney Arabistan’a Yayılışı* 66ff.; ‘Abd al-Muhsin Maḍ‘aj M. al-Maḍ‘aj, *The Yemen in early Islam* 8ff.; Serjeant in: CHAL I 130; Bosworth in: Elran I 226ff. s. v. *Abnā’*. Regarding preceding events see Crone, *Meccan Trade* 46ff.; regarding Ṣan‘ā’ in the early Islamic period cf. G. R. Smith in: Serjeant/Lewcock, *Ṣan‘ā’* 51f.

3 Ibn al-Kalbī, *Aṣnām* 10, pu. f.; Serjeant/Lewcock 391.

4 Regarding him EI² IV 316f.

Abū ‘Abdallāh Wahb b. Munabbih b. Kāmil,

d. early 114/732.⁵ He was a member of the *abnā’* and combined Isrā’īliyyāt with accounts of the ancient south Arabian past;⁶ he has been called the “Manetho of the Southern Arabs”.⁷ He was a Qadarite, but probably on the basis of a simple practical piety that had not learnt to see this as a problem. His views would still be known later, although orthodox tradition spared no effort to remove their every trace. I have collated and examined the relevant material elsewhere.

Cf. *Anfänge* 221f.; also regarding relevant biographies. I regret having relied too much on later sources; the accounts I found in Dhahabī’s *Ta’rikh al-Islām* are already documented in Fasawī (including a separate, albeit brief, biography at 11 29f.). This might also be said of the deliberations in Khoury, *Wahb ibn Munabbih* 1 189ff. and 270ff.; the author approaches the subject matter with not enough method. Regarding the family tree cf. Khoury 201 and Faruqi, *Historiography* 94; also the family tradition in Ibn Ḥanbal, *‘Ilal* 400 no. 2680, and the material in Aḥmad b. ‘Abdallāh al-Ṣan‘ānī al-Rāzī’s (ca. 460/1068) *Ta’rikh Ṣan‘ā’* (p. 369ff., although it has to be said that Rāzī has barely any old and independent information). To the anecdotes I mentioned which were spread in an attempt to temper Wahb’s Qadarite activity we must add Fasawī 1 524, –6ff., where he reports that Ibn ‘Abbās advised a group of debating men in Mecca to steer clear of *qadar* (regarding Ibn ‘Abbās cf. also HT 116f., and Index s. n.). It is not, in fact, certain that Ḥasan al-Baṣrī’s companion in one of the stories I adduced *Anfänge* 221f. was indeed the Medinan ‘Aṭā’ b. Yasār as I simply assumed there; the sources only call him ‘Aṭā’, without giving the full name. For the parallel passage in Fasawī 11 29, 5ff., the editor suggests ‘Aṭā’ b. Abī Rabāḥ, which is more likely considering the area: the story takes place during the hajj, and Ibn Abī Rabāḥ was a Meccan (see p. 718f. above). Wahb has also been linked to ‘Aṭā’ al-Khurāsānī (see vol. 1 113 above; cf. Khoury 270).

5 The date of his death is given thus precisely by Bukhārī IV₂ 164 no. 2565. Wahb was believed to have lived to eighty. Regarding his grave in Ṣan‘ā’ cf. Serjeant/Lewcock 311.

6 These are extant in *K. al-tijān*; cf. Nagel, *Alexander der Große* 9ff. and 40ff. Cf. also Duri, *Rise of Historical Writing* 30ff. and 122ff.; Faruqi, *Early Muslim Historiography* 92ff.

7 Cf. CHAL I 385.

His prestige as a scholar appears to have suffered from the *abnā'*'s precarious social position. When 'Urwa b. Muḥammad al-Sa'dī, governor of Yemen since Sulaymān's caliphate,⁸ appointed him *qāḍī* of Ṣan'ā',⁹ he was not well-received by the people. He was in a similar situation to Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, and the phrase used to express his lack of success is indeed the same: he "won no praise" (*lam yuḥmad*).¹⁰ Soon afterwards, in 103/721–2, he was dismissed again.¹¹ Later generations, however, focussed on the fact that he had held the office during 'Umar II's time; they even had him correspond with the caliph.¹² It was also reported that he had already been a *qāṣṣ* in an official capacity for a few years until 75/696 under 'Abd al-Malik, while Ḥajjāj's brother Muḥammad was governor.¹³ It might have been during this time that al-Mughīra b. Ḥakīm, a member of the *abnā'*,¹⁴ forbade him to take action against the Khārījites¹⁵ – presumably in 71/690–91, when the latter were invading Ṣan'ā' under Qudāma b. al-Mundhir.¹⁶ Towards the end of his life he appears to have been sent to prison;¹⁷ the governor at the time, Yūsuf b. 'Umar al-Thaqafī, unlike 'Urwa b. Muḥammad al-Sa'dī a foreigner, was said to have had him beaten to death.¹⁸ At his funeral, the thronging masses had to be pushed back with whips.¹⁹

If we are to believe Ibn Ḥanbal, Wahb's Qadarite statements were found in his '*K. al-ḥikma*' in which he spoke of the sins of humans and denied that God

8 Cf. Khalifa, *Ta'riḫ* 428, 11; 464, 14 regarding 'Umar II's time; 482, 13 regarding Yazīd II's time. In more detail Eisener, *Zwischen Faktum und Fiktion* 50.

9 Ibn Ḥanbal, *Ilal* 400, –4f., after an account by Wahb's great-nephew. The event mentioned in Khoury 197 belongs in this context; Khoury, following Horowitz, assumes it much too early.

10 Ibn Ḥanbal 142 no. 881; similarly Wakī' III 303, pu. ff. = Fasawī II 49, 6ff.; cf. p. 49 above. We have no further information; the short passage in Ibn Samura, *Ṭabaqāt fuqahā' al-Yaman* 57, iff., depends entirely on older sources.

11 *Ta'riḫ Ṣan'ā'* 377, 2f. It is altogether improbable that he should have held his office until his death, as Yāqūt claimed (*Irshād* VII 232, 16).

12 Marzubānī, *Nūr al-qabas* 348, ult. ff.; cf. Khoury 196.

13 *Ta'riḫ Ṣan'ā'* 375, 2ff.

14 Regarding him Khalifa, *Ṭab.* 732 no. 2651; IS V 396, 19f.

15 *Ta'riḫ Ṣan'ā'* 440, 2f.

16 Cf. Ibn Samura, *Ṭabaqāt fuqahā' al-Yaman* 53, 2f. with n.

17 Abū l-'Arab, *Miḥan* 309, 5ff.

18 Khoury 198.

19 Ibn Ḥanbal, *Ilal* 137 no. 846 after the eyewitness account of a certain Abū Yūsuf Muḥammad b. Wahb of the *abnā'* provided when he was 91 years of age. The detail is intended to illustrate Wahb's popularity, rather than recall troubles with sympathising Qadarites.

was responsible for them.²⁰ A passage quoted by Abū Muṭī‘ Makhūl al-Nasafī tells us how this would have sounded: ‘Abraham, the friend of the compassionate one, said: O Lord, I have read a passage (*ḥarf*) on the “sheets” (*ṣuḥuf*) the meaning of which I do not know. God revealed: O Abraham, at the end of time there will be people who will say that God predestined the sins of humans in such a way that they are forced to commit them. God says: They lie. Woe to him who inquires into my secret!’²¹ On the other hand there are some plainly predestinarian phrases attributed to him as well, for instance in Abū ‘Ammār ‘Abd al-Kāfī’s *Mūjaz*.²² It is possible that the two positions merely reflect a later difference of opinion,²³ but just as possible that Wahb simply did not yet perceive the contradiction; after all, the “Qadarite” passage calls the problem “God’s secret”.²⁴ It is probably pure legend when Wahb is said to have composed a separate text on the issue of *qadar* entitled *K. al-qadar*; it may have been inferred from an (apocryphal) anecdote in which ‘Amr b. Dīnār is talking to Wahb about something the latter “wrote about *qadar*”.²⁵

Regarding Wahb’s works cf. Khoury 203ff. and GAS 1/306f. with secondary sources; also Abbott in: JNES 36/1977/103ff. Wahb’s “*Ḥikma*” is quoted frequently, but it is difficult to grasp and presumably impossible to reconstruct (regarding the problem cf. Khoury 263ff.). Only a thorough analysis of its contents would be able to discover whether the material traced back to it differs from that in Wahb’s alleged history of the pre-Islamic prophets (*K. al-mubtada’*) or not. – Concerning Wahb’s *Tafsīr* (Khoury 205 and 272f.) it is advisable to consult MS Ankara, Saib 4216, to which Ḥibshī, *Maṣādir* 14 refers; according to Ḥibshī the entire work was incorporated into Ṭabarī’s commentary. Concerning the *K. al-mubtada’* (Khoury 222f.) Hermosilla (in: al-Qanṭara 6/1985/43ff.) refers to a diverging version in a Madrid MS. A passage on the prophet’s biography several pages long appears to be extant in Ṭabarānī’s (d. 360/971) *Muʿjam al-kabīr* (thus Azmi, *Studies* 104f.). This must be compared to the *Risāla fī sīrat al-nabī* which Khoury edited in: Mashriq 64/1970/591ff. Cf. also Kister in CHAL I 356f.

20 Khoury 271 after Abū Bakr al-Khallāl’s (d. 311/923) *K. al-jāmi‘ lil-‘ulūm*; cf. GAS 1/511f. Thus also Laoust in: *Mélanges Massignon* III 20.

21 *Al-radd ‘alā l-bida’* in: Ann. Isl. 16/1980/105, 4ff.

22 II 64, pu. ff.; once again as a *ḥadīth qudsī*.

23 In the *Ta’rīkh Ṣan‘ā’*, for instance, all hints at Qadarite tendencies have been deleted.

24 Cf. HT 153f.

25 Fasawī II 281, gff.; also Khoury 271. Khoury’s remarks concerning the *K. al-qadar* on 270ff. and 314f. are far too amorphous; and the references in GAS 1/935 are not helpful either.

One of Wahb's pupils named Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. al-Hayṣam b. Muḥammad al-Baghdādī composed a *K. al-mustaḍī* one chapter of which is extant in the MS Selimağa 587, fol. 176a–177b; it concerns ‘Uzayr.

Ka‘bī’s counting Wahb among the Qadarites was based on Jāḥiẓ; presumably his *K. al-amṣār*. Besides Wahb Jāḥiẓ also listed his brother **Hammām b. Munabbih** (*Maq.* 85, 4f. > *Faḍl* 338, 16ff. > IM 135, 12ff.). However, it is not possible to put this information in more concrete terms. Some of the hadiths found in his extant *ṣaḥīfa* would later be drawn into the *qadar* debate (cf. HT 57f.), but this does not mean that he himself occupied a firm standpoint. The hadiths under discussion allowed different interpretations (e.g. the examples *ibid.* p. 101ff., p. 163, p. 99, and even p. 90), and the fundamental question to be asked would be whether material someone transmitted always had to reflect that person’s own position. As we know, several divergent dates were transmitted for Hammām’s death (GAS 1/86). However, the records of a later date, between 131/749 and 133/751, are more probable; according to a remark by Wahb’s great-nephew Ghawth b. Jābir b. Ghaylān b. Munabbih Wahb was the eldest of four brothers, and thus not younger than Hammām, as claimed by Ibn Sa‘d (cf. Ibn Ḥanbal, *Ḥal* 400, –5, and IS v 396, 8ff.; also Fasawī II 30, 2f.; Marzubānī, *Nūr al-qabas* 351, 8ff., according to which Hammām was the last of the brothers to die). The first Abbasid governor in Ṣan‘ā’ was said to have said the prayer of the dead over him (*Ta’riḫ Ṣan‘ā’* 421, 2ff.).

4.2.1.1 The Qadarites

The fundamental question to be asked when Wahb is described as a Qadarite is of course whether this is indeed a judgment on his person, or whether it relies mainly on the texts and traditions attributed to him. It is more than probable that, similar to the circle around Ibn Abī Najīḥ in Mecca, it is inferred mostly from this material, and consequently depends on its authenticity which, in fact, is anything but assured. The majority of Khoury’s studies ran aground amid uncritical collector’s zeal. The counter-traditions mentioned initially may well be directed against a personality who could already be a purely literary image. In that case they might have to be dated slightly later; they are probably not authentic in any case. Even so there are reasons why we should not embark on radical scepticism. We hear that according to Mu‘tazilite tradition Wāṣil’s messenger to Yemen met with interest among certain of Wahb b. Munabbih’s followers, who recruited themselves from among the *abnā’*.¹ The movement appears to have collapsed even before the Abbasid revolution; thus this is unlikely to be an image of history thought up by later Yemeni Mu‘tazilites. Much

¹ See p. 354f. above.

more likely is that Wahb had pupils who carried on his Qadarite convictions after his death. Their origin among the *abnā'* may indicate that they were dissatisfied with the existing social order: Qadarite vocabulary would have been a suitable means of expression in that case. Interestingly they were then drawn into Ṭālib al-ḥaqq's uprising.²

Some confirmation comes from the biographical sources. They mention a few more Yemeni Qadarites, among them an alleged pupil of Wahb's. This is not very much, but we must bear in mind that our information on the intellectual history of Yemen at that time is incomplete anyway. In the present case this is illustrated by the different versions of the name. In a remark preserved by Fasawī³ 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Ṣan'ānī lists three Qadarites known to him: the Syrian Makhūl, the Meccan Ibn Abī Dhī'b and a certain Bakkār al-Yamāmī. Now we do know that a certain Bakkār transmitted from Wahb;⁴ a comparison of the texts tells us that he was called Bakkār b. 'Abdallāh,⁵ and Dhahabī does indeed call him Bakkār b. 'Abdallāh al-Yamāmī.⁶ If the *isnāds* are correct, he can only have met Wahb in his youth, as the quotations in Abū Nu'aym show us that he transmitted to Ibn al-Mubārak (d. 181/797) and even to 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Ṣan'ānī (d. 211/827). Of course the local scholars noticed this as well; Bukhārī⁷ as well as Ibn Abī Ḥātim⁸ noted it. Ibn Sa'd completed the name, speaking of

Bakkār b. 'Abdallāh b. Sahūk,

a member of the *abnā'* living in Janad. Ibn Sa'd has him after Wahb in the *ṭabaqa*.⁹ However, this more precise information presents us with a further problem, for elsewhere we come across a Yemeni named

² In more detail ch. C 7.2 below.

³ II 400, 2.

⁴ IAH IV₂ 24 no. 110.

⁵ Cf. e.g. *Hilya* IV 33, 5ff.; 48, 7ff.; 51, -6ff. and pu. ff.; 52, -9ff. etc.; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Ṣifa* II 165, 13 and 20.

⁶ *Mizān* no. 1259.

⁷ *Ta'rikh* I₂ 121 no. 1901.

⁸ IAH I₁ 408f. no. 1608. His *nisba* being *al-Yamāmī* rather than *al-Yamānī* in both these sources should not present a problem; it may even be the correct form.

⁹ IS V 398, 6ff.

Bakr b. (al-)Sharūd al-Ṣanʿānī,

who was a Qadarite according to Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (d. 277/890);¹⁰ Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Jabbār took note of this and added his name to Kaʿbī's list.¹¹ He lived around the same time, transmitting from Mujāhid's son ʿAbd al-Wahhāb¹² and from Sufyān al-Thawrī (d. 161/778), from Mālik b. Anas and from ʿAbd al-Razzāq's teacher Maʿmar b. Rāshid.¹³ The reading of the name is not always consistent, with *Sharwas* being used instead of (*al-*)*Sharūd* occasionally.¹⁴ More important, however, is this: Ibn Abī Ḥātim emends the name to read Bakr b. ʿAbdallāh b. Sharwas or Sharūd; Rāzī's *Taʾrīkh Ṣanʿā* clearly has Bakr b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Sharūd;¹⁵ which leads us to the question of whether we are simply looking at a doublet. In that case *Bakr* would have been the defective spelling of *Bakkār*; and the transition between *Sahūk* and *Sharūd* does not really pose any problems considering the duct of the papyri.¹⁶ It is not said anywhere that Bakr heard hadith from Wahb; we must be prepared for the possibility that the information about him was inferred from reliable *isnāds* and that *Bakkār* = Bakr was assumed to have been a pupil of Wahb's based on an incomplete chain of transmitters.

The mistake would not be so easy to explain if we had to read *Sharwas* instead of *al-Sharūd*, but it is possible that this variant only emerged because one of Wahb's pupils was a certain Abū l-Miqdām Ismāʿīl b. *Sharwas* al-Ṣanʿānī (IS V 397, 10ff.; Bukhārī I, 359 no. 1138; IAH I, 177 no. 597; *Mizān* no. 895). One of his traditions is preserved in Ṭabarī I 778, pu. ff. (where *Sharwas* is once again written incorrectly as *Sadūs*).

Ibn al-Sharūd was a Quran reciter; he had studied under Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbdallāh b. Qusṭantīn (ca. 100/718–170/786) in Mecca, and probably also under Shibl

10 *Mizān* no. 1286.

11 *Faḍl* 339, 1ff. > IM 135, 15 (incorrectly *al-Sharīd* instead of *al-Sharūd*, as also in Ḥākim al-Jushamī).

12 Wakīʿ I 54, 9ff., where we also learn that he had a son named Ḥasan and a grandson named ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz.

13 Bukhārī I₂ 90 no. 1794; IAH I, 388 no. 1510; *Mizān* no. 1286. Cf. also Qāḍī, *Bishr b. Abī Kubār al-Balawī* 42.

14 Fasawī III 41, 5, and 53, apu. > *Mizān* no. 1285 as well as 1286.

15 P. 303, 11, and 307, 11; thus also ʿUqaylī, *Ḍuʿafāʾ* I 149 no. 185. A brother of his named ʿAbd al-Rahmān is presumably mentioned in Sahnī, *Taʾrīkh Jurjān* 377, 9f.

16 Cf. Abbott, *Rise of the North-Arabic Script*, plate v.

b. ‘Ubād,¹⁷ and in Medina under ‘Īsā b. Wardān (d. probably around 160/777).¹⁸ He was a recognised authority in his field in Ṣan‘ā’; we are told of a pupil he had there.¹⁹ He might have adopted his Qadarite ideas from Shibl b. ‘Ubād, but then they were presumably still so widely held at that time that there was no need to adopt them.

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Ātash

is mentioned as well. He transmitted from Hammām b. Munabbih among others, and was a member of the *abnā’*; his grandfather still bore a Persian name.²⁰ Other Yemeni Qadarites were active in Syria, apparently working closely with Ghaylān. The most important one was al-Waḍīn b. ‘Aṭā’.²¹

4.2.2.1 Other Trends

Just how strong the Qadariyya was in Yemen, and how much remained of it by the second century is difficult to say. If we are to believe Jāḥiẓ, Ma‘mar b. Rāshid al-Azdī, who died in Ṣan‘ā’ in 154/770, was a Qadarite, too.¹ He had moved there from Basra six or seven years before his death and transmitted Ḥasan al-Baṣrī’s Qadarite creed among other things in his *K. al-jāmi’*.² However, the material he collected survives only in his pupil ‘Abd al-Razzāq b. Hammām al-Ṣan‘ānī’s (d. 211/827) redaction,³ which shows him in a different light. The extensive *Bāb al-Qadar* ‘Abd al-Razzāq included in his *Muṣannaf*⁴ contains hadiths in support of the belief in predestination as well as others that qualify or even negate

17 Cf. *Ta’rīkh Ṣan‘ā’* 303, 6ff., where *Suḥayl* should probably be corrected to read *Shibl*. Regarding Shibl see p. 726 above; regarding Ismā‘īl b. ‘Abdallāh b. Quṣṭanṭīn cf. Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt* I 165f. no. 771.

18 *Ta’rīkh Ṣan‘ā’* 307, 4; regarding him Ibn al-Jazarī I 616 no. 2510.

19 *Ta’rīkh Ṣan‘ā’* 306, pu. ff.

20 A Qadarite according to ‘Uqaylī IV 57 no. 1608; *Mīzān* no. 7386; Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl* no. 1187; TT IX 113f. no. 155. Nothing in Bukhārī I, 68 no. 156, and IAH III, 226f. no. 1252.

21 See vol. I 92f. above.

1 Qāḍī ‘Abd al-Jabbār, *Faḍl* 344, 1> IM 139, 8f.

2 See p. 54f. above. Regarding him Faruqī, *Historiography* 271ff.; Qāḍī, *Balawī* 48ff.; Schoeler in: *Der Islam* 66/1989/219; Motzki in: *Der Islam* 68/1991/9f. and earlier.

3 In vols. X–XI of his *Muṣannaf*, but elsewhere, too; cf. GAS 1/290f. and 99, as well as Ḥibshī, *Maṣādir* 37ff.

4 Vol. XI 111ff.

it.⁵ Presumably Qadarite doctrine was not as controversial in Yemen as it was in Iraq at the time. Consequently when it comes to ‘Abd al-Razzāq, people did not note his views in this matter, but rather that he was a Shī‘ite. He was thought to have been converted by the Basran Ja‘far b. Sulaymān al-Ḍubaī to this denomination;⁶ later, he would himself convert others.⁷ His brother ‘Abd al-Wahhāb had the same convictions; but as he was rather less well-known, people did not look for reasons, nor did they have qualms about calling him an “extremist”. He was also a predestinarian.⁸

All of this shows that the ties between Yemen and Iraq were comparatively close, closer maybe than with the Hijaz. Among the scholars who travelled to Yemen were Shāfi‘ī from Medina, as well as the Iraqis Yaḥyā b. Ma‘īn, ‘Alī b. al-Madīnī and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and the Persian Ishāq b. Rāhōya.⁹ Shāfi‘ī’s school was unable to take root for a long time; when Muqaddasī visited Yemen towards the end of the fourth century, the Ḥanafites ruled the mosques in Ṣan‘ā’ as well as Ṣa‘da.¹⁰ A century earlier the Zaydites under al-Hādī ilā l-ḥaqq had gained a foothold in the north of the country, bringing Mu‘tazilite ideas with them. We do not know whether they could build on the ancient Qadarite tradition, nor whether ‘Abd al-Razzāq al-Ṣan‘ānī’s Shī‘ism paved the way for them, but as far as we can see, al-Hādī was not opposed because he was a Qadarite or a Shī‘ite, but for political reasons and because of his merciless implementation of religious law.¹¹ Over time, Shāfi‘ites and Zaydites would become the two main influences within the world of Yemeni scholarship.

5 E.g. XI 113 no. 20070; 114 no. 20072, and especially 119 no. 10086.

6 *Mizān* I 409, 8ff, and II 611, –7ff.; regarding him see p. 480 above. Regarding ‘Abd al-Razzāq’s dislike of Mu‘āwiya cf. *Mizān* II 610, –4f.

7 Kohlberg in: JSAI 7/1986/146f. He allegedly transmitted Qays al-Hilālī’s *aṣl* from Ma‘mar b. Rāshid (Nu‘mānī, *Ghayba* 68ff. no. 8–12/245ff.; cf. GAS 1/525f.). Regarding his legal sources cf. esp. H. Motzki, *Die Anfänge der islamischen Jurisprudenz*, p. 56ff.; a preliminary summary in: JNES 50/1991/1ff.

8 Regarding him cf. ‘Uqaylī, *Ḍu‘afā’* III 74f. no. 1039; *Mizān* no. 5329; *Lisān al-Mizān* IV 93f. no. 174.

9 Qāḍī, *Balawī* 45ff.; regarding Shāfi‘ī cf. ead., *Riḥlat al-Shāfi‘ī ilā l-Yaman bayna l-usṭūra wal-wāqī’*, in: Festschrift Ghul 127ff.

10 *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm* 96, 6; in more detail Halm, *Ausbreitung* 270ff.

11 Cf. D. Th. Gochenour, *The Penetration of Zaidi Islam into Early Medieval Yemen* (PhD Harvard 1984). The author explains the Zaydites’ success as being mainly due to their being able to transcend the traditional tribal structures. Interestingly, besides numerous coins al-Hādī ilā l-ḥaqq had minted in Ṣa‘da, there is also one from Ṣan‘ā’; it is being kept in the Tübingen coin collection.

4.2.2 *Oman and Ḥaḍramawt*

The intellectual history of the regions of Oman and Ḥaḍramawt would be even more difficult to write than that of the Yemen. However, with regard to the time under discussion here, at least we now have access to texts on which we can draw.¹ Initial studies have also been undertaken.² The texts are of Ibāḍīte origin; they are our only source for the information that there were at times members of other “denominations” in this corner of the Islamic world as well.³ Their focus is entirely on political theory, the question of *imāma*; there is not much information on theology as such. It is also noticeable that they include barely any quotations from the early Basran period; it seems that in Oman the Ibāḍīyya felt much less culturally dependent than in the Maghreb.

The reason for this was that the Basran community had originally come from Oman, and later merely returned to its homeland.⁴ Furthermore the Southern Arabian Ibāḍīyya had achieved political independence early on under the pretender Ṭālib al-ḥaqq, a member of the Kinda, who moved against Ṣan‘ā’ from Ḥaḍramawt and finally captured the holy places in the Hijaz.⁵ In Yemen, there had been a split at the very beginning, when Ṭālib al-ḥaqq was reluctant to let a certain ‘Abdallāh b. Ṭarīf, who served in his army, marry his daughter, because he was only a *mawlā*. This was not only a personal insult, but also in clear contradiction to the officially proclaimed egalitarian principles.⁶ The dissension was apparently fuelled by the fact that the Ṣufrītes had earlier spread through Yemen; the tribes who adhered to their doctrine would only later convert to the Ibāḍīyya.⁷ A Nukkārite, a certain Hārūn b. al-Yamān, also found followers

1 *Al-sīyar wal-jawābāt li-‘ulamā’ wa-a’immat ‘Umān*, ed. Sayyida Ismā‘īl Kāshif, 1 (Cairo 1406/1986).

2 Especially J. C. Wilkinson’s studies, e.g. his book *The Imamate Tradition of Oman* (Cambridge 1987); cf. also W. Rotholz’ essay in: *Orient* 27/2986/206ff., and S. I. Kāshif’s booklet *‘Umān fī fajr al-Islām* (Cairo [1399/1979]). A traditional interpretation may be found in Sālim b. Ḥammūd al-Sayyābī, *Al-ḥaqīqa wal-majāz fī ta’rīkh al-Ibāḍīyya bil-Yaman wal-Ḥijāz* (Oman 1980).

3 See p. 237 above. Lewicki studied the geographical distribution of the Ibāḍīyya in Southern Arabia in: *FO* 1/1959/12ff.

4 See p. 2 and 231f. above.

5 See p. 736f. above; also Wellhausen, *Oppositionsparteien* 51ff., and Mad’aj, *The Yemen in early Islam* 164ff.

6 *Al-sīyar wal-jawābāt* 1 209, apu. ff. Wilkinson, *Imamate Tradition* 342, n. 13, stood the facts on their head; in addition Wilkinson reads *Turayf* instead of *Ṭarīf* for reasons unknown to me. Cf. also Lewicki, loc. cit. 15.

7 Al-Nāṣir li-dīn Allāh, *Najāt* 56, 2ff.; also Madelung in the introduction 5, n. 10a.

here;⁸ while ‘Abdallāh b. Yazīd, who was believed to follow the same doctrine, retired in the region.⁹ Ibāḍites who were determinists like him ruled the region around Ḥajja until the beginning of the fourth/tenth century.¹⁰ These early interdenominational quarrels do not appear to have played a part in Oman and Ḥaḍramawt, where it was the political disagreements that were incisive; at every change of power, letters containing recriminations and justifications travelled back and forth.¹¹

It was admitted that the theological impulses originated in Basra. The *ḥamalāt al-‘ilm* who had swarmed forth from there at the time of Abū ‘Ubayda al-Tamīmī had also gone to Oman; ‘Awtabī was still able to list their names.¹² They do not tell us much; the only one with whom we are acquainted more closely is Rabī’ b. Ḥabīb. As we have seen,¹³ he moved back to Oman for good at the end of his life. A close friend of his, Abū Ayyūb Wā’il b. Ayyūb al-Ḥaḍramī, took the same step,¹⁴ “debating” with a Mu‘tazilite in Oman¹⁵ and joining in the public debate with his *Sīra*.¹⁶ Another *Sīra* was composed by one of Rabī’^os pupils named Munīr b. al-Nayyir al-Ja‘lānī; it was a missive dealing with matters of history and political philosophy for the imam Ghassān b. ‘Abdallāh al-Yaḥmūdī who reigned from 192/808–207/822–23.¹⁷ The most influential man among those following Rabī’ was Abū Sufyān Maḥbūb b. al-Raḥīl.¹⁸ He lived in Basra, and raised his voice when Hārūn b. al-Yamān and his Nukkārite views came to the fore in Southern Arabia; two letters he sent to Oman and to Ḥaḍramawt are still extant today.¹⁹ Hārūn in his turn complained about him, also in writing, to the imam al-Muhannā b. Jayfar (r. 226/840–237/851).²⁰ Maḥbūb’s son Muḥammad (d. 260/874)²¹ also commented on theological

8 See p. 244 above.

9 See vol. 1 477f. above.

10 Lahjī, *Sīrat al-Nāṣir li-dīn Allāh* 9, 12ff. Madelung. It seems that they wrote in a particular duct (ibid. 10, –5f.).

11 Regarding the tribal organisation in Oman cf. Wilkinson, *Imamate Tradition* 73ff.

12 F. ‘Umar, *Al-khalij al-‘arabi* 115; cf. also ibid. 181.

13 See p. 230 above.

14 Regarding him see Darjīnī 278, 1ff., and Shammākhī 105, 7ff.

15 See p. 237 above. This designation might also refer to a Basran Murji’ite; the ‘Ghaylāniyya’ may have taken roots in Oman (ibid. n. 38).

16 Noted by Wilkinson in: *Arabian Studies* 4/1978/193.

17 *Al-siyar wal-jawābāt* 1 233ff. Regarding Munīr b. al-Nayyir cf. Sayyābī, *Izālat al-wa‘thā’* 43f.

18 Regarding him see p. 232 above.

19 *Siyar* 276ff. and 308ff.; regarding the controversy see p. 244 above.

20 Ibid. 325ff.

21 Regarding the date cf. ibid. 268, n. 2.

matters with great authority; he appears to have lived in Oman all the time, where he transmitted Rabīʿ b. Ḥabīb's *Musnad* from his father.²² However, when he declared in a circle of scholars that the Quran was created, he met with criticism and had to recant publicly;²³ it is likely that he believed in the createdness of the names of God and drew the until then customary conclusion.²⁴ The majority of scholars believed that it was better not to touch on this topic, as it had no basis in the Quran.²⁵ Of his two sons Abū l-Mundhir Bashir and Abū Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh, the former wrote a *K. al-muḥāraba* which was seventy “volumes” long.²⁶ Even at the end of the fourth/tenth century Muqaddasī noted the influence of his teachings in the al-Maʿāfir area.²⁷

In 237/851, Muḥammad b. Maḥbūb had paid homage to al-Ṣalt b. Mālik al-Kharūṣī²⁸ who had taken over the imamate as Muhannā b. Jayfar's successor. He lived to a high old age and lost the position only in 272/886, possibly because the duties of office became too much for him.²⁹ This event caused uproar in the community; people had to come to terms with the question of whether an oath of allegiance, and with it the *walāya*, could be annulled at all.³⁰ Abū l-Muʿaththir al-Ṣalt b. Khamīs discussed this issue in two lengthy treatises, one *K. al-aḥdāth wal-ṣifāt* and one *K. al-bayān wal-burhān*;³¹ a certain Abū Qaḥṭān Khālid b. Qaḥṭān argued against him.³² The latter in particular adduced numerous examples from history. Abū l-Muʿaththir also wrote on

22 Bishr b. Ghānim, *Al-mudawwana al-kubrā* II 306, 2.

23 Khamīs b. Saʿīd al-Shaqāṣī, *Manhaj al-ṭālibīn* I 204, –4ff.; cf. Wilkinson in: *Ar. Stud.* 4/1978/193f., and *Imamate Tradition* 165.

24 Regarding the view he held after his “conversion” cf. Khamīs b. Saʿīd, *Manhaj* 212, –5ff.; regarding his image of God in general *ibid.* 337, pu. ff. He denied the vision of God in the afterlife and considered the literal interpretation of anthropomorphist attributes to be *shirk* (*ibid.* 348, 1f., and 393, –4ff.). Regarding the problem within the Ibādiyya see p. 213 above and p. 808 below.

25 *Siyar* I 383, –5ff.

26 *Kashf al-ghumma* 293, 10f., with n.

27 *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm* 96, 7 (read *Abī l-Mundhir* for *Ibn al-Mundhir*). Regarding al-Maʿāfir cf. EI² v 895.

28 *Siyar* 25, 4f.

29 Cf. Wilkinson, *Imamate Tradition* 166ff.

30 Regarding the dissent cf. *Kashf al-ghumma* 283ff.

31 *Siyar* 23ff. and 155ff. Regarding him in general *Kashf al-ghumma* 293, 1ff.; he was blind (Khamīs b. Saʿīd, *Manhaj* I 622, apu. f.).

32 Regarding him see ʿUbaydīlī in *Kashf al-ghumma* 263, n. 1; his edited treatise: *Siyar* 86ff. This has the simple title *Sīra*; regarding criticism of Abū l-Muʿaththir cf. p. 148, –7ff.

other legal issues.³³ He appears to have witnessed the Qarāmiṭa invade Oman from Bahrain and drove the imam ‘Umar b. Muḥammad b. Muṭarrif out,³⁴ for he published a *fatwā* sanctioning burning down the houses of those who had joined them.³⁵ When it came to theology, he was a true determinist; he thought that even a human’s “acquisition” (*kasb*) was created by God.³⁶ We do not have a biography of him, or of other Omani scholars of the period.³⁷

His pupil Abū l-Ḥawārī Muḥammad b. al-Ḥawārī composed a *Tafsīr khamsmī‘at āya* that was printed in facsimile in Beirut in 1394/1974, but this work is structured more like a legal treatise in accordance with its objective (see p. 589f. above). It does not cite any sources. The *Tafsīr* by this Abū l-Ḥawārī, who came from the Nazwā region, must not be confused with that by Hūd b. Muḥkim al-Hawwārī, who lived in the Maghreb during the same time (see p. 734f. above).

33 *Sīyar* 254ff.

34 Cf. *Kashf al-ghumma* 278, 3ff.; this has probably no direct connection to Ibn Ḥawshab’s *da‘wa* (cf. Halm in: WO 12/1981/107ff.).

35 *Sīyar* I 360, –5ff.

36 Khamīs b. Sa‘īd, *Manhaj* I 436, 10ff.

37 A list of names, including those of a younger date, may be found in Khamīs b. Sa‘īd I 621, 1ff.