

Critical Surveys in Islamic Studies

**Islamic Theological Discourses  
and the Legacy of *Kalām***

**Gestation, Movements and Controversies**

*Edited and Introduced  
by Mustafa Shah*

Volume I  
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and Synthesis

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# Introduction

*Mustafa Shah*

Defined by its sophisticated frameworks of analysis and phenomenal literary heritage, the field of classical Islamic theology or *kalām* covers the panoply of discourses deemed requisite to the exposition, synthesis and defence of the doctrines and creeds generated within the context of rational theological discussions. Although originally denoting a type of dialogue in which dialectical constructs were shrewdly employed to pass judgement on the validity of theological premises and statements, *‘ilm al-kalām*, as it came to be known, eventually gained traction as the formal term used to identify the forms of scholarship which fell within the vector of rational theological thought. Over the course of their history, different labels were used to define rational theological discourses, including *uṣūl al-dīn* (the fundamentals of belief), *‘ilm al-naẓar wa’l-jadal* (the science of debate and disputation), *‘ilm al-tawhīd* (the theology of God’s unicity) and even *al-fiqh al-akbar* (the higher comprehension).<sup>1</sup> Certainly, within the early and medieval tradition, there were scholars of a stern religiosity who were known to have disavowed the resort to speculative methods and adversarial arguments when explicating theological matters; indeed, they even developed their own schema for the expression of creeds and doctrines. However, despite their inveighing against the value of rationally based theological discourses, it is ironic that many amongst them were ultimately compelled to immerse themselves in the study of the discipline in order to refute theses and doctrines which they held to be in contravention of their own traditionalist positions. The imposing range of discussions cultivated within theological discourses serves as testimony to their intellectual vigour: *kalām*’s enduring influence can be discerned not only in the discourses of classical disciplines such as Islamic law, Qur’anic exegesis and even Arabic linguistic thought, but also in medieval Jewish and Christian scholastic thought.

The Qur’an abounds with pronouncements which have a theological bearing, including statements about the transcendence of God; divine providence; predestination; freewill and responsibility; rewards and punishments; and eschatological beliefs. Yet, shaped by ideological predispositions, it was the ambitious attempts to broach arguments through rationalised frameworks of analysis that provided a platform for the development of classical theological thought; questions raised by the discussions generated further debate and reflection.<sup>2</sup> Besides, the fact that different theological schools could find in the text of the Qur’an materials to support their respective standpoints confirms the receptivity of the textual sources to a range of interpretation. It also attests to the diversity of competing theological views and perspectives which were examined in the formative years of the Islamic tradition. In due course, the

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<sup>1</sup> Some scholars have referred to distinctions and nuances which are inherent in the use of these formal labels: see Josef van Ess’ discussions in Chapter Two of this volume (p. 29 f/n 2); it is also the case that the term *kalām* did retain pejorative connotations as far as arch-traditionalists were concerned, although, where relevant, their participation in the debates lies within the rubric of classical theological discourses. Moreover, the *kalām* of the late medieval periods has a much more pronounced philosophical countenance: for discussions on all these issues see the introduction to Sabine Schmidtke (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Islamic Theology*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2016 and Khaled El-Rouayheb and Sabine Schmidtke (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Islamic Philosophy*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2017. Also for general surveys see Albrecht Classen *Handbook of Medieval Studies: Terms, Methods, Trends*. vol I. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2010. See the respective chapters on philosophy and theology by Alessandro Cancian, 46-56; and Livnat Holtzman 56-69.

<sup>2</sup> Muhammad Abdel Haleem ‘Qur’an and hadith’, *The Cambridge Companion to Classical Islamic Theology*. Edited by Tim Winter. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008, 19-32. He makes the point that ‘the Qur’an invariably presents arguments based on premises’, p. 31. The implication is that a Qur’anic substrate served as the inspiration for the initial framing and presentation of theological questions.

constellation of subjects which eventually fell within the remit of *kalām* discourses included treatments of topics such as the divine attributes; questions of transcendence and anthropomorphism; the theodicy; predestination and freewill; prophecy; cosmology and ontology; causality; epistemology; Qur'anic inimitability; intercession; moral obligation; caliphal authority; and even the origins of language.<sup>3</sup> Questions from among these subjects were either tackled individually within the format of epistles and apologia, or explored collectively within theological *summae* with super-commentaries being composed on works which were considered especially influential; a rich vein of doxographical literature developed featuring elaborate histories of prominent movements and figures. And theologians also composed polemical treatises and commentaries which fleshed out and addressed doctrinal differences with Judaism, Christianity and Zoroastrianism. These works even had the auspicious effect of inspiring the authorship of a body of literature featuring counter-refutations.

In the classical Islamic context, it is important to distinguish between the disciplines of philosophy and theology as Dimitri Gutas has made evident: 'Arabic philosophy is not Islamic theology, either in the period before Avicenna or after him. Islamic theology may have borrowed concepts and positions from Arabic philosophy (mainly in dialectics and epistemology), just as Arabic philosophy paid attention to some of the subjects at the centre of Islamic theology (like the nature of the prophet's knowledge and of the attributes of the supreme being), but they remained distinct in so far as philosophy argued on the basis of philosophical data about philosophical subjects in demonstrative terms, while theology argued on the basis of revelational data about a largely different set of subjects in dialectical or rhetorical terms.'<sup>4</sup>

In Early Modern Europe the study of Arabic and Islam was entwined with efforts to confute the Qur'an. It was in the twelfth century that Peter the Venerable (d. 1156) commissioned the first Latin translation of the Qur'an for which he recruited Robert of Ketton (*fl.* 1141–57), an accomplished translator of Arabic scientific texts, and over the centuries attempts to refine translations of the text in Latin and various vernaculars continued apace.<sup>5</sup> In the intervening periods interest in the language and the sources in which it was preserved evolved to the extent that it was soon viewed as an essential resource for the pursuit of biblical philology (*philologia sacra*). The quest to accumulate Arabic literary sources to sustain and support such scholarship brought the classical Islamic traditions of learning into sharper focus, including subjects such as theology. Indeed, emphasising the merits of the study of Arabic, Thomas Erpenius (1584–1624), the first Professor of Arabic at Leiden, pronounced in his inaugural oration that notwithstanding the scientific and intellectual reasons for the study of Arabic, the language was an indispensable tool for the philological interpretation of Hebrew and the biblical sources on account of affinities between the two languages. Accentuating a similar approach, it was Albert Schultens (1686–1750), Professor of Oriental Languages at Leiden, who contended that 'the Arabic language surpasses the other Oriental dialects in regard of copiousness and abundance. All the more, it will be successful in returning the rich stores that it has drawn from the Hebrew

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<sup>3</sup> Within the later tradition of *kalām*, cardinal doctrinal discussions were classed as falling within the domain of *jalīl al-kalām*; whereas, *latīf* or *daqīq al-kalām*, concerned itself with less controversial subjects such as definitions germane to cosmological and physical theory. Noor Dhanani. *The Physical Theory of Kalām: Atoms, Space, and Void in Basrian Mu'tazilī Cosmology*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994, pp. 3-4.

<sup>4</sup> Dimitri Gutas 'The Study of Arabic Philosophy in the Twentieth Century: an Essay on the Historiography of Arabic Philosophy' *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 29/1 (2002), 5-25, p. 18. Gutas also questions calling Arabic philosophy 'Islamic philosophy' insisting it is misleading as it 'injects an overpowering religious dimension to it which was not there' (*loc cit.*).

<sup>5</sup> Thomas E. Burman. *Reading the Qur'an in Latin Christendom, 1140–1560*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007.

mother-language by the right of restoration (*postliminium*)<sup>6</sup>. To this end, painstakingly amassing an impressive collection of manuscripts acquired from the Islamic world, Erpenius and his student and successor, Jacobus Golius (1596–1667), helped lay the foundations for the philological and historical study of Arabic primary sources. Preserved among these sources were materials which, over the centuries, were used for the study of classical Islamic theological thought.

(Ludovico Marracci fig. 1)



One classical work which had a tremendous influence on the study of Islamic theology in Early Modern Europe was the seminal survey of the major Islamic theological movements and sects,

<sup>6</sup> J. Eskhult. 'Albert Schultens (1686–1750) and Primeval Language: the Crisis of a Tradition and the Turning Point of a Discourse'. In Gerda Haßler och Angelica Rüter (eds.), *Metasprachliche Reflexion und Kontinuität*. Münster: Nodus Publikationen, 2014, p. 1-19, p. 7. The cited text is Eskhult's translation of Schultens 1769 [1706]. See the introduction to Jan Loop, Alastair Hamilton, and Charles Burnett. *The Teaching and Learning of Arabic in Early Modern Europe*. Leiden; Boston: E. J. Brill, 2017; also P. M. Holt. 'The Study of Arabic Historians in Seventeenth Century England: The Background and the Work of Edward Pococke' *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 19.3 (1957), 444-55. See p. 446 in which he discusses the motives for the study of Arabic.

*al-Milal wa'l-niḥal*, a doxography composed by ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Shahrastānī (d. 548/1153).<sup>7</sup> The *Milal* itself presents an authoritative distillation of the doctrinal teachings and tenets of the various theological and intellectual movements which emerged from the formative years of the Islamic tradition to the era of the author. Following an extended introduction, al-Shahrastānī describes the Mu‘tazila, the movement which dominated the history of rational theological discourses; the various Sunni groups; Khārijī factions; Shī‘ī Imāmī groups (Twelvers, the Zaydīs and the Ismā‘īlīs); and even extremist Shī‘ī parties (*ghulāt*). Confirming the author’s broader interests and command of detail, a substantial part of the *Milal* dissects the doctrinal beliefs of non-Muslim movements. Enumerated among these are Jewish and Christian religious groups, ‘the People of the Book’ or ‘Scripturaries’ (*ahl al-kitāb*); sub-groups of Magians; Dualists; Sabians; the ancient Greek philosophers; the pre-Islamic Arabs and even Indian religion.<sup>8</sup> Despite his nominal Sunni Ash‘arī affiliation, al-Shahrastānī professed doctrinal and methodological positions which betray Ismā‘īlī sympathies and influences. The analysis and materials offered in his work served as pivotal sources for the Early Modern European study of Islamic theology.<sup>9</sup>

The *Milal* was brought to the attention of scholars in Europe through the work of Edward Pococke (1604–1691), a student of the Arabist William Bedwell (1562–1632) and the German scholar Matthias Pasor (1599–1658). Pococke had been previously based in Aleppo, serving as cleric to the Turkish Merchants’ Ministry, where he had over the years managed to acquire a significant number of Islamic manuscripts which he had transferred to the Bodleian Library at Oxford.<sup>10</sup> Renowned for his passion for the language, he was invited by Archbishop William Laud to take up the newly established Chair of Arabic at Oxford, which was set up in 1636.<sup>11</sup> Included among the profusion of materials Pococke had acquired while in Aleppo was a copy

<sup>7</sup> For the influence of al-Shahrastānī in Europe see Dietrich Klein. ‘An der Wiege der islamischen Vernunft: Ash-Shahrastanis Bericht über die Mu‘taziliten und seine protestantischen Deutungen’. In Jörg Lauster and Bernd Oberdorfer (eds.), *Der Gott der Vernunft. Protestantismus und vernünftiger Gottesgedanke*. Tübingen, 2009, 147–68.

<sup>8</sup> For an appraisal of the *Milal* see Diana Steigerwald’s ‘Al-Shahrastānī’s Contribution to Medieval Islamic Thought.’ In Todd Lawson (ed.), *Reason and Inspiration in Islam: Theology, Philosophy and Mysticism in Muslim Thought. Essays in Honor of Hermann Landolt*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2005, pp. 262–273. Also see Adam Gaiser. ‘Satan’s Seven Specious Arguments: al-Shahrastānī’s *Kitāb al-milal wa'l-niḥal* in an Ismā‘īlī Context’. *Journal of Islamic Studies* (2008), 178–195, in which he argues that he was an ‘Ismā‘īlī heresiographer whose sectarian affiliation affected his work’, p. 195. Toby Mayer. Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Shahrastānī. *Keys to the Arcana: Shahrastānī’s Esoteric Commentary on the Qur’an. a Translation of the Commentary on Sūrat al-Fāṭiḥa* from Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Shahrastānī’s *Mafātīḥ al-asrār wa-maṣābīḥ al-abrār* / with the Arabic Text Reproduced from the Edition by M. A. Adharshab. Oxford: Oxford University Press 2009.

<sup>9</sup> Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Shahrastānī. Daniel Gimaret, and Guy Monnot. *Livre des Religions et des Sectes*. Paris: Peeters: UNESCO, 1986.. Other key works include al-Shahrastānī’s *Struggling with the Philosopher: a Refutation of Avicenna’s Metaphysics*. A New Arabic Edition and English Translation of al-Shahrastānī’s *Kitāb al-Muṣāra‘a* by Wilferd Madelung and Toby Mayer. New York, London: I.B. Tauris, 2001. The partial English translation is by A.K. Kazi, and J. G. Flynn (trans.), *Muslim Sects and Divisions: The Section on Muslim Sects and Divisions by Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Karīm Shahrastānī (d. 1153)*. London, Boston, Melbourne and Henley: Kegan Paul International, 1984. *Les dissidences de l’Islam*. By Muḥammad Ibn ‘Abd al-Karīm Al-Shahrastānī. Translated By J. C. Vadet. Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1984. See the review of the translations by Steven Wasserstrom in *History of Religions* 27/4 (1988), 405–11, and his point about the significance of the contribution made by French scholars to the study of the text and its manuscripts.

<sup>10</sup> Alexander Bevilacqua. *The Republic of Arabic Letters: Islam and the European Enlightenment*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2018, p. 37. Also, P. M. Holt. ‘The Study of Arabic Historians in Seventeenth Century England’, p. 452. Pococke’s edition of the larger *Historia compendiosa dynastiarum* appeared later in 1663. Also Josef van Ess. ‘From Wellhausen to Becker. The Emergence of *Kulturgeschichte*’ in *Islamic Studies*. In M. H. Kerr (ed.) *Islamic Studies: A Tradition and its Problems*. Malibu, CA : Tanden Publications, 1980, pp. 27–51. Al-Shahrastānī, ‘Abd al-Karīm. *Al-Milal wa'l-niḥal*, 2 Vols. (ed.), A.F. Muḥammad. Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1992. Al-Shahrastānī, ‘Abd al-Karīm. *Nihāyat al-aqdām fi’l-‘ilm al-kalām*, *The summa philosophiae* of al-Shahrastani: edited with a translation from manuscripts in the libraries of Oxford, Paris, and Berlin by Alfred Guillaume (ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press [1931]-1934. In his *EI2* entry on al-Shahrastānī Guy Monnot described Gulliaume’s edition of al-Shahrastānī’s *Nihāya*, as being flawed.

<sup>11</sup> It was endowed in 1636 and is considered one of the oldest Chairs of Arabic in Europe. In 2016 it was renamed the Abdulaziz Saud AlBabtain Laudian Chair in Arabic in recognition of AlBabtain’s substantial support for the chair. Even following his appointment, Pococke was encouraged by Laud to embark on a further journey to the Middle East with the aim of acquiring more Islamic manuscripts, which he did in 1637.

of the *Milal*. Pococke's *Specimen Historiae Arabum* (1649) featured excerpted Arabic texts from the historical chronicle compiled by the Syriac Orthodox Bishop of Aleppo, Gregory Bar Hebraeus (d. 1286). In the text he included among the profusion of explanatory notes and annotative materials an extended survey of the theological doctrines, dogmas and religious movements of Islam. The *Milal* of al-Shahrastānī (*alShahrefanio*) was one of his principal

sources and he frequently adduced extended passages from the text.

P7413s

SPECIMEN  
HISTORIÆ ARABUM;

AUCTORE EDVARDO POCOCKIO.

ACCESSIT

HISTORIA *VETERUM* ARABUM  
EX ABU'L FEDA:

CURA ANTONII I. SYLVESTRE DE SACY.

EDIDIT JOSEPHUS WHITE, S. T. P.

ÆDIS CHRISTI CANONICUS,  
LINGUARUM HEB. ET ARAB. IN ACAD. OXON. PROFESSOR.



OXONII,

E TYPOGRAPHEO CLARENDONIANO.

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In addition to the *Milal*, Pococke had access to Ibn Khallikān's *Wafayāt al-a'yān*, a biographical dictionary which comprises entries on key theologians and the commentary on the *Kitāb al-Mawāqif fī 'ilm al-kalām* of al-Ījī (d. 756/1355), a popular medieval theological

summa, all of which would have provided coveted sources for the section on theology in the *Specimen*.<sup>12</sup> He even extracted from *al-Mawāqif* the definition which identifies the core purpose of *‘ilm al-kalām* as being ‘a veritable science for the rational defence of religious dogma’ (*theologia scholastica*).<sup>13</sup> It was Pococke’s son, also an Arabist, who edited a Latin translation and Arabic edition of the philosophical novel by the Andalusian scholar Ibn Ṭufayl (d. 580/1185), *Ḥayy ibn Yaqzān*, for which his father wrote the preface. Even for historians of classical philosophy the *Specimen* was considered a prized source as it included Arabic philosophical materials produced in the Islamic world; it was cited by Johann Jakob Brucker (1696–1770), author of the *Historia Critica Philosophiae* and Heinrich Ritter (1791–1869), who compiled the *Geschichte der Philosophie*.

In a study of the work of the Swiss scholar, Johann Heinrich Hottinger (1620–1667), who was one of Golius’ students, Jan Loop has recently drawn attention to the importance of his *Promptuarium sive Bibliotheca Orientalis* (1658). It is a somewhat diffuse bibliographical work in which Hottinger presented brief entries on subjects and the Arabic texts and manuscripts relevant to them. Heavily reliant on Pococke’s *Specimen Historiae* and the sources he cites including the *Milal*, Hottinger’s vaunted aim was to circumscribe the literature of the traditions of thought, encompassing Arabic Christian and biblical sources. The text includes a discursive section on *‘ilm al-kalām*, ‘*Theologia Scholastica*’ in which he mentions classical works on the subject.<sup>14</sup> Among the texts cited are the *‘Uyūn al-anbā’ fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā’* of Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘a (d. 668/1270), a classical dictionary of leading physicians, which preserved anecdotes on the lives and works of natural philosophers and theologians, a text later published by August Müller in 1884;<sup>15</sup> the *Kitāb al-Mawāqif*, the summa utilized by Pococke; and parts of the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm transcribed from a copy owned by Golius.<sup>16</sup> The *Fihrist* was brimming with biographies of leading theologians and listed their literary works. Other works mentioned in the section are the *Kitāb al-arba ‘in fī uṣūl al-dīn*, which presents a synopsis of forty Ash‘arī theological theses composed by one of the most distinguished scholars of his era, al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111); and the theological summa composed by Abū Ḥafṣ al-Nasafī (d. 537/1142), together with its commentary by Ṣa‘d al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī (d. 793/1390).<sup>17</sup> While in Leiden, Hottinger had access to Golius’ manuscripts and transcribed excerpts from the celebrated Qur’anic commentary, *al-Kashshāf ‘an ḥaqā’iq ghāwāmid al-tanzīl wa-‘uyūn al-aqāwīl fī wujūh al-ta’wīl*, authored by al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144), a scholar renowned for his

<sup>12</sup> Hans Daiber. ‘The Reception of Islamic Philosophy at Oxford In the 17th Century: the Pocockes’ (Father And Son) Contribution To The Understanding Of Islamic Philosophy in Europe’. In *The Introduction of Arabic Philosophy Into Europe*. Edited by Charles Butterworth & Andrée Kessel. Leiden: Brill, 1994, pp. 65-82, p. 69 and pp. 70-71. For the importance of the *Mawāqif* see Alnoor Dhanani. ‘*Al-Mawāqif fī ‘ilm al-kalām* by ‘Aḍud al-Dīn al-Ījī (d. 1355), and its Commentaries’. In *The Oxford Handbook of Islamic Philosophy*. Edited by Khaled El-Rouayheb and Sabine Schmidtke. New York: Oxford University Press, 2017, 375-96. Ibn Khaldūn. *Muqaddimat Ibn Khaldūn: Diwān al-mubtada’ wa-l-khabar fī ta’rīkh al-‘Arab wa’l-Barbar wa-man ‘āsarahum min dhawī ‘l-sha’n al-akbār*. 7 vols. Edited by Khalīl Shihāda and Suhayl Zakkār. Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 2000. The distinctly marked fusion of philosophical influences in *kalām* discourses of the era is reflected in the work of Sayf al-Dīn al-Āmidī: see *al-Mubīn fī sharḥ ma‘ānī alfāz al-ḥukamā’ wa’l-mutakallimīn*. Edited by Ḥasan Maḥmūd al-Shāfi‘ī. Cairo: Maktabat Wahba, 2009.

<sup>13</sup> Edward Pococke. *Specimen Historiae Arabum* (1650), pp. 195-286. cf. Also see his discussions on p. 204;

<sup>14</sup> Jan Loop. *Johann Heinrich Hottinger. Arabic and Islamic Studies in the Seventeenth Century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2013, p. 138-140, especially p. 140. *Promptuarium sive Bibliotheca Orientalis*, p. 186. Hottinger met Pococke at Oxford before 1641 and corresponded with him.

<sup>15</sup> Jan Loop. *Johann Heinrich Hottinger*, p. 139. He had access to his *Ihyā’ ‘ulūm al-dīn*, a text offering a creative blend range of legal, theological and mystical discussions. See Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘a. *‘Uyūn al-anbā’ fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā’*. 2 vols. (3 parts). Beirut: Dār al-Thaqāfa, 1981. And Muḥammad Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*. Edited by R. Tajaddud, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn. Beirut: Dār al-Masīra, 1988 (originally 1971). See the discussion in Hans Daiber. ‘The Reception of Islamic Philosophy at Oxford’, p. 66. Jan Loop. ‘Johann Heinrich Hottinger (1620–1667) and the *‘Historia Orientalis*’. *Church History and Religious Culture* 88/2 (2008:88.2), 169-203.

<sup>16</sup> Jan Loop. *Johann Heinrich Hottinger*, pp. 138-9.

<sup>17</sup> Jan Loop. *Johann Heinrich Hottinger*, p. 179; and p. 180. Golius was the author of the *Arabico-Latinum Lexicon*. as Loop notes, he emulates the definition of *kalām* proffered by both Golius and Pococke.

steadfast Mu‘tazilī allegiances. He also reproduced sections from the *Anwār al-tanzīl wa-asrār al-ta‘wīl*, the classical commentary on the Qur’an by the Ash‘arī exegete and theologian al-Bayḍāwī (d. 719/1319) a text replete with theological discussions and arguments. Al-Bayḍāwī was the author of a theological summa, *Ṭawālī‘ al-anwār*, which is briefly mentioned by Hottinger.<sup>18</sup> There are even fleeting mentions of the endeavours of al-Bāqillānī (d. 403/1013) and Ibn Fūrak (d. 406/1015).<sup>19</sup> All these sources would have afforded Hottinger with materials that were germane to a chapter he authored on the subject of Islamic sects and heresies in his *Historia Orientalis* (1651), a text which was described by Loop as ‘one of the most significant contributions to the history of Islam to have been published in the seventeenth century’. Still, during these periods, in Early Modern Europe the level of scholarly engagement with Islamic theological discourses remained exploratory, granting only a measured foretaste of the monumental range of ideas and discussions fostered within the sphere of classical Islamic theological thought.<sup>20</sup>

## The Age of Analysis: the Engagement with *Kalām*

Notwithstanding the pioneering nature of the works of both Pococke and Hottinger and their foundational use of original Arabic texts, it was during the course of the nineteenth century that key strides were made in the systematic study of theological sources. The publication of editions of Arabic manuscripts across a range of literary areas from Qur’an commentaries to biography, grammar, history, philosophy and theology had given new impetus to scholarship as attempts were made to work towards providing an integrated view of the content and design of these texts. This was evident in the work of Franz Delitzsch (1813–1890), who was the author of the *Anekdoten zur Geschichte der mittelalterlichen Scholastik unter Juden und Moslemern* (Leipzig 1841), which made ample use of the relevant materials cited in Pococke’s *Specimen*. Delitzsch also analysed theological materials from primary sources such as Ījī’s *Kitāb al-mawāqif*; the *Sharḥ ‘alā al-‘aqā‘id al-nasafiyya*, written by the Khursānīan scholar al-Taftāzānī and a work entitled *Nūr al-yaqīn fī uṣūl al-dīn*, which was composed by the Bosnian scholar al-Kāfī al-Āqḥiṣārī (d. 1025/1616).<sup>21</sup> Demonstrating the breadth of his interests, Delitzsch also explored features of Jewish *kalām* and the legacy of Maimonides (d. 605/1208). On this latter scholar’s work, Salomon Munk (1803–1867), who was a student of the Arabic philologist Georg Freytag (1788–1861) and the French Arabist Antoine-Isaac Silvestre de Sacy (1758–1838), had translated Maimonides’ *Guide for the Perplexed* (*Guide des égarés*: Paris, 1856–66) and authored the *Mélanges de philosophie juive et arabe* (1857–59), in which he produced an erudite survey of Jewish and Islamic intellectual thought, rehearsing the intersection of philosophical and theological themes. Munk had also travelled to the Middle East and acquired numerous Arabic manuscripts. Other key contributions to the study of theology were made by the impressive Friedrich Heinrich Dieterici (1821–1903), who, notwithstanding his publication of key Arabic grammatical manuscripts, translated some of the

<sup>18</sup> Jan Loop. *Johann Heinrich Hottinger*, p. 139; for al-Zamakhsharī’s theological views see Sabine Schmidtke. *A Mu‘tazilite Creed of az-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144) (al-Minhāġ fī uṣūl ad-dīn)* Edited and Translated. Stuttgart: Steiner, 1997. *Promptuarium sive Bibliotheca Orientalis*, p. 186.

<sup>19</sup> *Promptuarium sive Bibliotheca Orientalis*, p. 188. See Al-Bāqillānī, Abū Bakr Ibn Ṭayyib. *Kitāb Tamhīd al-awā‘il wa-talkhīṣ al-dalā‘il*. Edited by ‘Imad al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Ḥaydar. Beirut: Mu‘assasat al-Kutub al-Thaqāfiyya, 1993. And Ibn Fūrak: Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn Fūrak. *Mujarrad maqālat al-shaykh Abī ‘l-Ḥasan al-Ash‘arī*. (exposé de la doctrine d’al-Ash‘arī) édité par Gimaret, D., Beyrouth : Dar el-Machreq, 1987.

<sup>20</sup> Michael Nahas. ‘A Translation of Hayy B. Yaqzān by the Elder Edward Pococke (1604-1691)’, *Journal of Arabic Literature* (1985:16), pp. 88-90. Hans Daiber. ‘The Reception of Islamic Philosophy at Oxford’, 73- 74.

<sup>21</sup> The text offered a commentary on the creed attributed to the Ḥanafī scholar, al-Ṭahāwī (d. 321/933). See Hans Daiber. *Bibliography of Islamic Philosophy*. 3 Vols. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 1999, pp. xx-xxi (see the discussion in the f/ns n.75); also see Johann Fück. *Die arabischen Studien in Europa bis in den Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts*. Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1955. For al-Taftāzānī see Thomas Würz. *Islamische Theologie im 14. Jahrhundert: Auferstehungslehre, Handlungstheorie und Schöpfungsvorstellungen im Werk von Sa‘d ad-Dīn at-Taftāzānī*. Berlin; Boston: de Gruyter 2016.

works of al-Farābī (d. 339/950–51) into German along with a number of epistles which feature in the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ*, including the *risāla* on logic.

In 1846 William Cureton (1808–1864), who was an assistant keeper of manuscripts at the British Museum and had worked on editing key Syriac documents, produced an edition of al-Shahrastānī's *al-Milal wa'l-niḥal*, using the introduction to the text to commend the role played by Pococke in disseminating the *Milal* in Europe.<sup>22</sup> Drawing attention to its use as a source for the study of theology in Europe, Cureton had pointed out that Ludovico Marracci (1612–1700), George Sale (ca. 1696–1736) and de Sacy all cited from Pococke's *Specimen* and the materials from the *Milal* when considering theological material.<sup>23</sup> Marracci's translation, *Alcorani textus universus* (1698), and his earlier refutation the *Prodromus ad refutationem Alcorani* (1691) were used by Abraham Geiger (1810–1874) and Theodor Nöldeke (1836–1930) in their work on the Qur'an. When Edward E. Salisbury, Professor of Arabic and Sanskrit at Yale University, published his study of the history of the Islamic doctrine of predestination, he relied extensively on al-Shahrastānī's *Milal*, which was the subject of a German translation by Theodor Haarbrücker (1818–1880) in 1851.<sup>24</sup> Reflecting his interest in classical theological Islamic sources, Cureton also produced an edition of Najm al-Dīn al-Nasafī's *Umdat al-'Aqā'id* in 1843, a tract on Māturīdī theological tenets and doctrines.<sup>25</sup>

In 1859 Marcus Joseph Müller (1809–1874) published his *Philosophie und theologie von Averroës* which featured critical editions of works by the philosopher Ibn Rushd (d. 595/1198). These included the celebrated *Faṣl al-maqāl fī taqrīr mā bayna al-shari'ah wa'l-ḥikma min al-ittiṣāl*, together with its supplement, the *Damīma*; and the theological treatise *al-Kaṣf 'an manāḥij al-adilla fī aqā'id al-milla*.<sup>26</sup> Müller obtained the manuscripts while he was in Spain, where he was granted access to texts held at the Escorial. Although Ibn Rushd's legacy had already been the focus of a study by the French scholar Ernest Renan (1823–1892), the

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<sup>22</sup> Cureton was an expert in Syriac. He published editions of manuscripts such as *Spicilegium Syriacum*. London: F. and J. Rivington, 1855 and Ignatius's *Corpus Ignatianum*..... London: F. & John Rivington, 1849. Also: *The Ancient Syriac version of the Epistles of St. Ignatius to St. Polycarp, the Ephesians, and the Romans*.... London: Rivingtons, 1845. Guy Monnot, who along with Daniel Gimaret published the French translation of the *Milal*, described Cureton's edition as being 'semi-critical'.

<sup>23</sup> De Sacy, renowned for his work on Arabic grammar, authored a study of Druze doctrine and dogma in which the *Milal* was cited among his sources. A. I. Baron Silvestre de Sacy. *Exposé de la religion des Druzes*. 2 vols. Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1838. See the introduction LVI and his discussions relating to the transmigration of souls. In 1902 Christian Friedrich Seybold (1859-1921) published an edition of the *Kitāb al-nuqaṭ wa'l-dawā'ir*: 'Das Buch Der Punkte Und Kreise', a text on Druze doctrines.

<sup>24</sup> Edward E. Salisbury. 'Materials for the History of the Muhammadan Doctrine of Predestination and Free Will', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 8/1 (1866), 105–82. He focused on fleshing out ideas which were identified as having a pre-Islamic origin; Qur'anic materials; materials on *qadar* from the collections of *ḥadīth*; and selected passages from the *Milal*.

<sup>25</sup> For more on this tract see Ulrich Rudolph. *al-Māturīdī und die sunnitische Theologie in Samarkand*. Leiden: Brill, 1997: *Al-Māturīdī and the Development of Sunnī Theology in Samarqand*. Translated by Rodrigo Adem. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2015, p. 141 (f/n 95) and Duncan Macdonald. *Development of Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence and Constitution Theory*. New York: Charles Scribner, 1903, p. 308.

<sup>26</sup> Marcus Joseph Müller. *Philosophie und Theologie von Averroës*. München: G. Franz, 1859. The three treatises can be viewed at <https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/001854478> accessed 1<sup>st</sup> of April 2019. See the discussions in Jon Hoover. 'Ibn Taymiyya's Use of Ibn Rushd to Refute the Incorporalism of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī.' In Al-Ghouz, A., *Islamic Philosophy from the 12th to the 14th Century*. Bonn University Press/V&R Unipress. 2018, pp. 469-491 (Chapter Thirty-Nine). Also see Charles E. Butterworth. *The Book of the Decisive Treatise Determining the Connection between the Law and Wisdom: & Epistle Dedicatory*. Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 2001. In the introductory sections to Muḥammad al-Jābirī's edition of the *Faṣl al-maqāl*, Muḥammad 'Abd al-Wāḥid makes the point that the three works edited by Müller were replete with errors and that copies produced in Egypt replicated these. Ibn Rushd, al-Qāḍī Abū Walīd. *Faṣl al-maqāl fī taqrīr mā bayna al-shari'ah wa'l-ḥikmah min al-ittiṣāl* (ed). Muḥammad 'Abid al-Jābirī, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. Beirut: Markaz Dirāsāt al-Wahda al-'Arabiyya: 2007, pp. 79-81. See the excellent work on the editions by the late Marc Geoffroy. 'À Propos de l'almodhadisme d'Averroës: L'anthropomorphisme (*tag̃sīm*) dans la seconde version du *Kitāb al-kaṣf an manāḥij al-adilla*.' In: *Los Almohades: problemas y perspectivas*, ed. Patrice Cressier, Maribel Fierro, and Luis Molina, 2 vols. Madrid: Consejo superior de investigaciones científicas, 2005, vol. 2, 853–94

publication of such texts opened up alluring lines of enquiry.<sup>27</sup> In 1865 the notion that the Mu‘tazila were rational freethinkers was first championed in the work of Heinrich Steiner, *Die Mutaziliten: Als Vorläufer der islamischen Dogmatiker und Philosophen*. Separately, Eduard Sachau (1845–1930) produced several papers researching the theology of the Ibādīs, an offshoot of the Khārijī movement.<sup>28</sup> Some years later in 1875 Martinus Theodoras Houtsma (1851–1943), who was an assistant keeper of manuscripts at Leiden and went on to play a pioneering role as the editor of Brill’s *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, authored the dissertation, *De strijd over het dogma in den Islam*, in which he delved into theological conflicts in the early Islamic tradition.<sup>29</sup> In 1876 Wilhelm Spitta published his *Zur Geschichte Abu’l-Ḥasan Al-Āṣ‘arīs*, a study of the theology of al-Ash‘arī, the eponym of Sunni Islam’s most prominent school of rational theology. He was able to shed light on his accomplishments, referring to Ibn ‘Asākir’s *Tabyīn kadhib al-muftarī fī mā nusiba ilā al-imām Abī’l-Ḥasan al-Ash‘arī*, in which a buoyant defence of the brand of theology espoused by the school’s founder was articulated.<sup>30</sup> General theological and philosophical surveys also appeared such as the 1878 publication of Gustave Dugat’s *Histoire des philosophes et des théologiens musulmans*.<sup>31</sup> Expanding the study of theological sources and ideas, in 1884 the Hungarian scholar Ignaz Goldziher (1850–1921), published a monograph on Zāhirī thought, the school of theology which was famed for its seemingly ‘literalist’ outlook in its approach to the interpretation of law and rejection of analogical reasoning. Goldziher had been one of the students of the philologist Heinrich Fleischer (1801–88) and in recognition of his wide-ranging contributions, he came to be considered the ‘father of Islamic Studies.’<sup>32</sup> Some years later in 1903, Goldziher published his monograph on the North African theologian Ibn Tūmart (d. 524/1130), who had played an important role in the revivification of the study of *kalām* in the Islamic West.<sup>33</sup> Ibn Tūmart was the author of the famous creed, the *Murshida (the Guide)* and the treatise entitled *A‘azz mā uṭlab (the Most Precious Aspiration)*, which offers a synoptic exposition of theological and jurisprudential topics; the question of the ascription of these works and issues concerning their countenance have been broached in a study by Mercedes García-Arenal.<sup>34</sup> Goldziher was a prolific writer whose expertise spanned many areas of Islamic studies: notwithstanding his

<sup>27</sup> Misconceptions abound in such works: see Gutas’ discussion in ‘The Study of Arabic Philosophy in the Twentieth Century: 5-25. Still, historically they represent key junctures in the chronology of the European engagement with the Islamic sources.

<sup>28</sup> Heinrich Steiner. *Die Mutaziliten: als Vorläufer der Islamischen Dogmatiker und Philosophen. Nebst Anhang, enthaltend kritische Anmerkungen zu Gazzali’s Munkid*. Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1865. The view was repudiated by Goldziher.

<sup>29</sup> Eduard Sachau was a prolific scholar who edited al-Bīrūnī’s seminal work on India: al-Bīrūnī Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad. *Alberuni’s India: An Account of the Religion, Philosophy, Literature, Chronology, Astronomy, Customs, Laws and Astrology of India*. London: Trübner, 1887.

<sup>30</sup> Spitta’s works can consulted at:

<http://onlinebooks.library.upenn.edu/webbin/book/lookupname?key=Spitta%2C%20Wilhelm%2C%201853%2D1883>.

Although, Richard Frank has described the text as ‘dated’. For the doctrinal comparisons between Ash‘arī and Māturīdī doctrine made by Spitta see the introduction to Ulrich Rudolph, *al-Māturīdī und die sunnitische Theologie in Samarkand*. Leiden: Brill, 1997. Macdonald did question the quality of his translations of the theological passages in his *Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence Development*. See also George Makdisi, ‘Ash‘arī and the Ash‘arites in Islamic Religious History’ (Part I and II) *Studia Islamica* 17 (1962), 37-80 and 18 (1963), 19-39.

<sup>31</sup> Gustave Dugat. *Histoire des philosophes et des théologiens musulmans: (de 632 à 1258 De J.-C.): Scènes de la vie religieuse en Orient*. Paris: Maisonneuve et Cie, 1878.

<sup>32</sup> Ignaz Goldziher. *Die Zāhiriten, Ihr Lehrsystem und ihre Geschichte: Beitrag Zur Geschichte Der Muhammedanischen Theologie*. Leipzig: O. Schulze, 1884. Translated to English in Ignaz Goldziher, *The Zāhirīs: Their Doctrine and Their History: A Contribution to the History of Islamic Theology*. Translated by Wolfgang Behn with an introduction by Camilla Adang; Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2008; Ignaz Goldziher, *Mohammed Ibn Toumert Et La Théologie De L’Islam Dans Le Nord De L’Afrique Au XIe Siècle*. Alger: P. Fontana, 1903. Goldziher also prepared six American lectures on Islamic law and dogma, following an invitation in 1908. These have been translated: Ignaz Goldziher, *Introduction to Islamic Theology and Law* (Princeton: New Jersey, 1971). Translated by Andras and Ruth Hamouri.

<sup>33</sup> Camilla Adang, Maribel Fierro, and Sabine Schmidtke (eds.). *Ibn Ḥazm of Cordoba: The Life and Works of a Controversial Thinker*. Leiden, The Netherlands: E. J. Brill, 2013. Aparicio Colominas M. *The Religious Polemics of the Muslims of Late Medieval Christian Iberia: Identity and Religious Authority in Mudejar Islam*. Leiden: Brill, 2018.

<sup>34</sup> See Mercedes García-Arenal. *Messianism and Puritanical Reform: Mahdīs of the Muslim West*. Translated from Spanish by Martin Beagles. Leiden: Brill, 2006. pp. 157-92 (Chapter Six), which offers a rigorous appraisal of Ibn Tūmart’s influence and the historical issues concerning his legacy and its presentation; she also deals with the question of authorship.

work on *ḥadīth* and exegesis, he wrote on theological topics, composing a study of the thought of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (‘Aus der Theologie des Fachr al-dīn al-Rāzī’) and he prepared a partial edition of al-Ghazālī’s *Kitāb Faḍā’ih al-bāṭiniyya*, a text which excoriates the Imāmī Ismā‘īlīs.<sup>35</sup> Separately, in 1901 Miguel Asín Palacios (1871–1944), whose works intimate the arresting range and focus of theological thought, had published a work on al-Ghazālī’s thought, *Algazel: dogmática, moral, ascética*. On the fascinating question of early influences and the development of *kalām*, it was Carl Heinrich Becker (1876–1933), founder of the journal *Der Islam* and Professor of Oriental Philology at the University of Bonn, who posited that Christian ideas and influences could be discerned in early Muslim theological thought and were evident in the dialectical techniques used by early theologians.<sup>36</sup> His work set the context for the search for antecedents which continues presently. Whether it relates to the attempts to make available critical editions of theological texts, preparing translations, or attempting to explain the contextual bases of theological ideas and their history, earlier scholarship provided pivotal reference points and arguments that scholars over subsequent decades were to revisit, revise and augment.

## Later Developments and Trends

Notwithstanding the fact that the quest for manuscript sources has an extended history, the markedly increased activity in the acquisition and publication of Arabic manuscript sources during the nineteenth century revolutionized the study of Islamic theology.<sup>37</sup> For example, Eduard Glaser (1855–1908), who was a student of David Heinrich Müller, the renowned authority on south Arabian inscriptions and epigraphy, was granted permission to visit Yemen by the Ottoman authorities and following extended stays during 1882–84, 1885–86, 1887–88 and 1892–94, he returned with a treasure trove of manuscripts which consisted of Zaydī, Shī‘ī and Mu‘tazilī materials. He sold these collections to institutions such as the Königliche Bibliothek zu Berlin, the British Museum and the Austrian National Library.<sup>38</sup> Using manuscripts acquired by Glaser, Martin Schreiner (1863–1926), who was a rabbi in Hungary and later a professor at the liberal rabbinical seminary in Berlin, produced a number of studies which explored the links between Islamic theology and medieval Jewish thought. Additionally, his study of religious movements, the ‘Beiträge Zur Geschichte Der Theologischen Bewegungen Im Islām’, incorporated texts he edited from Ibn Taymiyya’s *Iqtidā’ sirāṭ al-mustaqīm* and Ibn Ḥazm’s doxography, the *Fiṣal*. Goldziher was a profound influence on his life and work.<sup>39</sup> Based at the University of Bonn, a figure who made avid use of the Glaser

<sup>35</sup> I. Goldziher. ‘Aus der Theologie des Fachr al-Dīn al-Rāzī’, *Der Islam* 3: 213–47, 1912; *Streitschrift des Ġazālī gegen die Bāṭiniyya-sekte*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1916, on the Ismā‘īliyya. This was based on the partial manuscript held at that time at the British Museum (BL. OR 7782).

<sup>36</sup> C.H. Becker, ‘Christliche Polemik und islamische Dogmenbildung’ *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete* (1912:26), pp. G. Vajda, *Introduction à la pensée juive du moyen âge*, Paris, 1947. Ritter was also mentored by Theodor Nöldeke, author of the *Geschichte des Qorāns* and Carl Brockelmann, who compiled the *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*.

<sup>37</sup> P. M. Holt. ‘The Study of Arabic Historians’, p. 449. See the various studies in *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts* Leiden: Brill.

<sup>38</sup> Walter Dostal. *Eduard Glaser – Forschungen im Yemen. Eine quellenkritische Untersuchung in ethnologische Sicht*. Wien: 1990. His trips were initially subsidised by the Académie des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres, France. See also collections: <https://artsandculture.google.com/partner/the-digital-bab-al-yemen>; and the discussion in Hassan Ansari and Jan Thiele. ‘MS Berlin, State Library, Glaser 51: A Unique Manuscript from the Early 7th/13th-Century Bahṣamite Milieu in Yemen’. In David Hollenberg, Christoph Rauch and Sabine Schmidtke. *The Yemeni Manuscript Tradition*. Boston: Brill, 2015, 66-81. Glaser copied ancient inscriptions using a distinctive technique.

<sup>39</sup> Moshe Perlmann wrote the introduction to Schreiner’s collected writings: *Gesammelte Schriften: Islamische und Jüdisch-islamische Studien*. Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1983. Perlmann was interested in Islamic-Jewish-Christian polemics and published: *Ibn Kammūna’s Examination of the Three Faiths: A Thirteenth Century Text On Natural Philosophy and Psychology*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971. Martin Schreiner, ‘Beiträge zur Geschichte der theologischen Bewegungen im Islām’. Leipzig: G. Kreyssing, 1899. See the collection of studies in Hassan Ansari and Sabine Schmidtke *Studies in Medieval Islamic Intellectual Traditions* (Lockwood Press, 2017).

materials was the German scholar Max Horten (1874–1945). He produced a paraphrastic summary of the influential *al-Masā'il fī'l-khilāf*, a text which listed doctrinal differences between Basran and Baghdādī Mu'tazilī luminaries.<sup>40</sup> It was composed by Abū Rashīd al-Nīsābūrī (d. 459/1068), who was one of the students of 'Abd al-Jabbār (d. 415/1025), a Mu'tazilī theologian whose *magnum opus*, *Kitāb al-Mughnī fī abwāb al-tawhīd* preserved crucial sources for the academic study of Mu'tazilī theological thought in the twentieth century. Horten's studies covered not only Islamic philosophy and theology, but also their relationship with areas of Islamic mysticism; and he provided a digest of the theological thought of cynosures such as Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 609/1210), Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 672/1274) and Saḍr al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī (d. 1050/1640). Materials from the manuscripts acquired by Glaser and held at Berlin were used to develop some of the pioneering studies of Zaydī, Shī'ī and Ismā'īlī theological thought by Rudolf Strothmann (1877–1960).<sup>41</sup> Today, scholars continue to produce critical editions of the materials that Glaser procured.

It was through the prodigious work of one of Becker's students, Helmut Ritter (1892–1971), whose mentors also included Carl Brockelmann, Nöldeke, Enno Littmann and Paul Kahle, that Islamic Studies was placed on an even firmer footing, especially through his bringing into focus the quality of editions of primary theological sources.<sup>42</sup> His expertise covered a wide range of subjects, from Islamic theology to mysticism, rhetoric, Persian and even the Neo-Aramaic vernacular of the Jacobites of Eastern Anatolia.<sup>43</sup> Following the end of the First World War, he was appointed Chair of Oriental Languages at the University of Hamburg. He had supervised the work of Julian Obermann who studied the philosophy of al-Ghazālī in his thesis, *Der philosophische und religiöse Subjektivismus Ghazalis* (Vienna and Leipzig 1921) and in 1923 he published a German translation of al-Ghazālī's *Kīmīyā' al-sā'ada*.<sup>44</sup> However, Ritter was compelled to relinquish his position in 1925 and a year later he departed Germany for Istanbul, where he eventually became head of the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft's office. He even worked as a full-professor of Islamic Studies at the University of Istanbul.<sup>45</sup> The change in circumstances proved to be portentous as once there he was able to gain access to the wealth of manuscripts preserved in libraries in the capital and other locations.<sup>46</sup> Inspired by his contact with these materials, in 1929 he established the *Bibliotheca Islamica*, a project that sought to make available reliable editions of key Arabic and Persian sources.<sup>47</sup> It was

<sup>40</sup> Racha el-Omari. *The Theology of Abū'l-Qāsim al-Balkhī/al-Ka'bī* (d. 319/931). Boston ; Leiden: Brill, 2016, p. 1 and her remarks on Horten. For the issue of the reliability of manuscript sources and research on the Mu'tazila: Sabine Schmidtke: 'Neuere Forschungen Zur Mu'tazila Unter Besonderer Berücksichtigung Der Späteren Mu'tazila Ab Dem 4./10. Jahrhundert', pp. 379-408. Wilferd Madelung, and Sabine Schmidtke. Abū'l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī. *Taṣaffūh al-adilla*. The extant parts introduced and edited. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006. Horten investigated the significance of intricate theological constructs such as *kumūn* (latency), *ma'ānī* (entities) and *aḥwāl* (states). See Hassan Ansari and Sabine Schmidtke. 'Mu'tazilism after 'Abd al-Jabbār: Abū Rashīd al-Nīsābūrī's *Kitāb Masā'il al-khilāf fī l-uṣūl*'. *Studia Iranica* 39 (2010): 227–78. It explains the importance of a second work: the *Masā'il al-khilāf baynanā wa-bayn al-mushabbihā wa'l-mujbira wa'l-khawārij wa'l-murjī'a*. (MS Maktabat al-Awqāf of the Great Mosque in Ṣan'ā' No. 696). Ansari and Schmidtke indicate that the manuscript is one of the second extant works composed by al-Nīsābūrī and that it covered an exhaustive range of theological areas, serving as 'a systematic theological *summa*'.

<sup>41</sup> Rudolf Strothmann, 'Das Problem der literarischen Persönlichkeit Zaid b. 'Alī'. *Der Islam* 13/1–2 (1923): 1-52. see also <https://albert.ias.edu/handle/20.500.12111/6516>; 'Rudolf Strothmann (1877-1960): Publications'. Compiled by Sabine Schmidtke. *Shii Studies Review* 4 (2019), 284-303.

<sup>42</sup> See the entry on Ritter by Josef van Ess in <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/hellmut-ritter> accessed 1st of April 2019. Also Thomas Lier. 'Hellmut Ritter in Istanbul 1926-1949,' *Die Welt des Islams* 38, 1998, pp. 334-85 Ritter drew attention to flaws in Gustav Flügel's edition of the *Fihrist*: H. Ritter. 'Philologika I: Zur Überlieferung des Fihrist' *Der Islam* 17, (1928), 15-23. and H. Ritter. 'Philologika, III Muhammedanische Haresiographien' (Philologika III), *Der Islam* 18 (1929), 34-55.

<sup>43</sup> See the 'Translator's Preface' by John O'Kane, in H. Ritter. *The Ocean of the Soul*, Leiden: Brill, 2003, xv.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Frank Griffel. *Al-Ghazālī's Philosophical Theology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009, 160f; Obermann analysed the 17<sup>th</sup> discussion in the *Tahāfut al-falasifa* which offers a critique of causality.

<sup>45</sup> See the 'Translator's Preface' by John O'Kane, in H. Ritter. *The Ocean of the Soul*, pp. xi-xxvi, p. xi.

<sup>46</sup> He was convicted of homosexuality and sentenced to a year in prison: 'Translator's Preface', p. xi and the entry on Ritter by Josef van Ess in <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/hellmut-ritter> accessed 1st of April 2019.

<sup>47</sup> For its current work see <https://www.orient-institut.org>; also see the 'Translator's Preface' by John O'Kane, xiii.

within the framework of this project that Ritter himself published the seminal *Maqālāt al-Islāmiyyīn wa-ikhtilāf al-muṣallīn*, the doxographical work of Abū'l-Ḥasan al-Ash'arī (d. 324/935) (1929–33).<sup>48</sup> This publication energized the study of early theology by providing precious new perspectives on the doctrinal propensities and concerns of the early movements and sects. It was a much coveted source as in the introduction to the *Maqālāt* al-Ash'arī passionately declared that he wanted to 'provide an unprejudiced account of the sects and movements of Islam in which he would seek to avoid the denigration of opponents on account of their beliefs'; al-Ash'arī states that 'such approaches were reprehensibly evident in the works of his peers, whereas al-Ash'arī was of the view that there was little to be gained by the raptorial disparagement of one's adversaries.'<sup>49</sup> Pursuing the publication of other seminal early sources on movements and sects, Ritter edited an edition of al-Ḥasan ibn Mūsā al-Nawbakhtī's (d. circa. 300/912) text on Shī'ī groups, *Kitāb Firaq al-Shī'a* (1931); separately, he was also instrumental in initiating work on al-Ṣafadī's *al-Wāfi bi'l-wafayāt*, a voluminous biographical work which supplements Ibn Khallikān's seminal biographical compilation. Ritter later produced an unsurpassed study of the thought of the Persian mystic Farīd al-Dīn al-'Aṭṭār (d. 1230). Significantly, concerned by the quality of critical editions of Arabic texts in Europe, Ritter authored a series of articles under the heading 'Philologika', in which he addressed related issues.<sup>50</sup> In his own contribution to the debates about influences on theology, Ritter authored a study entitled 'Studien zur Geschichte der islamischen Frömmigkeit I. Ḥasan al-Baṣrī' (1933) in which he gauged the historical importance of the epistle attributed to the al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728), *al-Risāla fi'l-qadar*.<sup>51</sup> Notwithstanding the importance of such contributions, Josef van Ess makes the telling point that Ritter's editions of manuscripts 'enhanced the understanding of religious developments in the first centuries of Islam to a higher level, not only because of their contents, but also thanks to his meticulous editing'.<sup>52</sup> His emphasis on the importance of the quality of primary sources anticipated approaches in current studies of Islamic theology. Resonating with the academic values, tone and language of the age in which it was produced, the work of scholars such as Steiner, Müller, Spitta, Horten, Becker, Goldziher, Schreiner, Palacios, Strothmann and Ritter marked historical milestones in the academic study of Islamic theology.<sup>53</sup>

Boosted by the discovery, digitization and publication of manuscripts and their attendant analysis, today, the study of *kalām* continues to flourish.<sup>54</sup> It has succeeded in finding new

<sup>48</sup> Ḡazālī. *Kimīā-ye sa'ādāt*, tr. H. Ritter as *Das Elixir der Glückseligkeit*, Jena, 1923; Düsseldorf, 1959. As van Ess notes he also translated 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī's *Asrār Al-balāghah: The Mysteries of Eloquence*. Istanbul: Government Press, 1954. For more on the *maqālāt* genre see Hassan Ansari. 'Abū Alī al-Jubbā'ī et son livre *al-Maqālāt*,' *A Common Rationality: Mu'tazilism in Islam and Judaism*, ed. C. Adang, D. Sklare, and S. Schmidtke, Würzburg: Ergon, 2007, pp. 21-35.

<sup>49</sup> See the citation in Mustafa Shah (2015) '*Kalām: rational expressions of medieval theological thought.*' *Encyclopedia of Mediterranean Humanism [Encyclopédie de l'humanisme méditerranéen]*. In this the point is made that 'Within the overarching framework of traditionally defined creeds, the elaboration of what is conventionally presented as rational Sunni theological doctrine is to a large degree defined through the dialectics of reactive and generative discourses: doctrinal positions are formulated and anticipated in response to and in light of creedal statements and rational theological theses already in circulation; in specified instances it is a case of orthodoxy defining its doctrines in response to views and positions with which it disagrees or wants to qualify.'

<sup>50</sup> See the Entry on Ritter by Josef van Ess cited above.

<sup>51</sup> Helmut Ritter. 'Studien zur Geschichte der islamischen Frömmigkeit: I. Ḥasan al-Baṣrī', *Der Islam* 21:1 (1933), 1–83. Other scholars also persuaded of the text's authenticity included Obermann and Schwarz: see Julian Obermann. 'Political Theology in Early Islam: Ḥasan al-Baṣrī's Treatise on *Qadar*', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 55:1 (1935), 138–62.

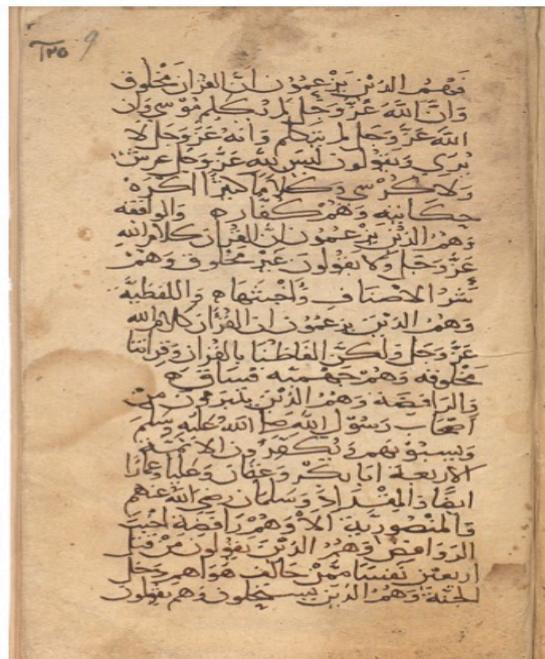
<sup>52</sup> Entry on Ritter by Josef van Ess in <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/hellmut-ritter> accessed 1st of April 2019. And Johann Fück's *Die arabischen Studien in Europa: bis in den Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts*. Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1955. Also the obituary by Richard Walzer, *Oriens* 23/4 (1974:), 1-6.

<sup>53</sup> Despite recognising the importance of his work in the sphere of *ḥadīths*, John Burton suggested that Goldziher's approach suffers 'from a tone of amused condescension appropriate, perhaps, to the age of confident Western political and scientific superiority in which he was nurtured'. John Burton. *Introduction to the Tradition*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000, p. xii.

<sup>54</sup> For manuscript sources see: <https://www.fihrist.org.uk> and <https://www.kff.com/en/King-Faisal-Center-for-Research-Islamic-Studies>; <http://www.islamicmanuscripts.info/index.html> which is maintained by Professor Witkam, Emeritus-

lines of enquiry which have expedited the revision and recasting of some of the prevalent narratives and dated perceptions of the history and development of *kalām*. The sheer volume of unpublished manuscripts that exist relative to all the historical periods of theological thought suggests that prospects for the progression of the study of Islamic theological thought remain promising. Focusing primarily on scholarship devoted to the early and medieval periods, this collection of previously articles places within the compass of discovery a representative selection of studies covering key movements, themes and developments across an assorted range of classical theological topics. The collection affirms the vastness of the subject-matter and the changing paradigms and perspectives which have impressed upon the study of the synthesis of Islamic theological thought.

Fig 2



## Volume One: Islamic Theology in Context – Gestation and Synthesis

The debates about the origins of *kalām* and the authenticity of key *kalām* treatises form the background for Michael Cook’s study (**Chapter One**). His article opens with the confident assertion ‘That the technique of Muslim *kalām* is a borrowing from Christian theology, is no secret’.<sup>55</sup> Focusing on the historical diffusion of the *kalām* technique, Cook questioned the relevance of sources that scholars had hitherto identified as providing possible archetypes used

Professor of Paleography and Codicology of the Islamic world in Leiden University; also British Library <https://www.bl.uk/collection-guides/arabic-manuscripts>

<sup>55</sup> See also Michael Cook. *Early Muslim Dogma*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.

by theologians.<sup>56</sup> Van Ess had produced a number of studies in which he dealt with the subject of origins, including his analysis of a tract discussing ‘human free will *contra* divine predestination’, ascribed to al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīyya (d. c. 100/718).<sup>57</sup> Van Ess had sought antecedents and influences in treatises such as Justin Martyr’s *Dialogue with Trypho* and John of Damascus’ *Dispute of the Saracen and the Christian* (chapter 100 of his book *On Heresies*).<sup>58</sup> Countenancing the idea that the tract could be described as ‘archaic’, Cook judged that the immediate sources of Muslim borrowing were likely to have been Syriac and the purpose of his article was to bring to the notice of ‘Islamicists a Syriac theological text (Syriac Codex Add. 7192) which provides a sustained and close parallel to the dialectical style of al-Ḥasan’s *Questions*.’<sup>59</sup> The value of these early epistles and the origins of the dialectical technique are expounded upon in van Ess’ study of the development of *kalām* (**Chapter Two**). In this he clarifies some of the findings concerning the historical provenance of the use of dialectical arguments which appeared to predate the advent of the Mu‘tazila. In recent reiterations of the question of the origins of *kalām*, it has been emphasised that the issue has yet to be resolved.<sup>60</sup>

The historical importance of the *Risāla fī l-qadar*, attributed to al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728), is assessed in Michael Schwarz’s article (**Chapter Three**). The epistle is said to have been composed in response to a question on the issue of *qadar* raised by the Umayyad caliph ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān (d. 86/705) and in the epistle al-Ḥasan offers a rebuttal of the doctrine of predestination.<sup>61</sup> Defending the epistle’s authenticity, Schwarz’s article was originally based on a chapter of his thesis that he had researched under the supervision of Richard Walzer (1900–1975), the scholar of Greek and Islamic philosophy at Oxford University. The question of the letter’s authenticity has been revisited in a monograph by Suleiman Mourad who presents a circumspect assessment of the reception of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī’s legacy.<sup>62</sup> His close reading of the *Risāla* suggested to him that its theological positions bear a striking resemblance to Zaydī

<sup>56</sup> Josef van Ess. ‘Disputationspraxis in der islamischen Theologie’. *Revue des études islamiques*, xlv, 1976. Van Ess even suggested the technique and methods of *kalām* have their origins in the first century. Josef van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra*, 6 vols. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1991–7. Josef van Ess, *Der Eine und das Andere. Beobachtungen an islamischen häresiographischen Texten*. 2 vols. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2010. Josef van Ess and Hinrich Biesterfeldt. *Kleine Schriften: Collected Short Writings of Josef van Ess*. 3 vols. Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2017. See also the seminal work of Sāmī al-Nashshār, *Nash’at al-fikr al-falsafī fī l-Islām*, 3 vols. Cairo: Dār al-Ma‘ārif, 1977; and his *Manāhij al-baḥth ‘ind mufakkirī al-Islām*. Beirut: Dār al-Naḥḍa al-‘Arabiyya, 1984.

<sup>57</sup> In a further study van Ess picked out a second work attributed to John of Damascus’, *Adversus Nestorianorum haeresim*, along with Origen’s *Contra Celsus*, referring to the analogues they offer for gauging the history of early theological ideas. Despite this, Cook was sceptical of their bearing upon ‘the dialectic form so strikingly exemplified in the tract attributed to al-Ḥasan’.

<sup>58</sup> Peter Schadler. *John of Damascus and Islam: Christian Heresiology and the Intellectual Background to Earliest Christian-Muslim Relations*. Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2017. See pages 218–38 for a recent translation.

<sup>59</sup> The Syriac text in Cook’s article was transcribed by Sebastian Brock, who went on to publish the manuscript in its entirety under the title ‘Two Sets of Monothelete questions to the Maximianists’. (Variorum collection, preface, viii.). Cook indicated in the preface to this collected articles that ‘If I were to research these topics anew and write about them today, the results would be rather different.’ At the end of his article van Ess stated (Chapter-Two): ‘Now, in 1980, reading the proofs, some of what I said in the article looks to me even more dated than at that moment. I have left, however, everything as it was; literature which was published after 1976 has not been incorporated’. Comparatively, this underlines the fact that narratives within the study of classical theological thought tend to fluctuate rather rapidly.

<sup>60</sup> Alexander Treiger. ‘Origins of *kalām*’, In Sabine Schmidtke (ed.). *The Oxford Handbook of Islamic Theology*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2016. Treiger concludes that *kalām* techniques have their origin in ‘Christological debates’.

<sup>61</sup> Van Ess. *Anfänge muslimischer Theologie*, pp. 28–9 and his *Theologie und Gesellschaft*, vol. 2, p. 47.

<sup>62</sup> Suleiman Ali Mourad. *Early Islam between Myth and History: Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110H/728CE) and the Formation of his Legacy in Classical Islamic Scholarship*. Leiden:, 2006, pp. 218–19. Also see the Review Article of Mourad’s work by Mustafā Shah in *Journal of Qur’ānic Studies* (2009:11.2), 93–119. Other early studies of the creeds feature in Arent Jan Wensinck. *The Muslim Creed: Its Genesis and Historical Development*. London: Frank Cass, 1932. L. Gardet and G. Anawati. *Introduction à la Théologie musulmane*, Vrin, Paris 1981. Second edition, (first 1948). Also see Montgomery Watt. *Islamic Creeds*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1994 and Watt’s *The Formative Period of Islamic Thought*. Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 1998, first published in 1973.

theological arguments, particularly those expressed in the thought of al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm al-Rassī (d. 246/860). The epistle is cited in the biographical dictionary of ‘Abd al-Jabbār, *Faḍl al-i‘tizāl*, and in the *Sharḥ ‘uyūn al-masā’il* composed by al-Ḥākīm al-Jishumī (d. 494/1101).

Moving to the area of the gestation of early theological movements, the historical origins of the Mu‘tazila are reviewed by Sarah Stroumsa (**Chapter Four**). Based on her criticisms of the fact that modern scholarship’s portrayal of early Mu‘tazilite history represented ‘speculative reconstructions’ and that it was wrong to view the emergence of Mu‘tazilites in purely political terms, Stroumsa proposes that the flourishing of theological discourses was facilitated by interaction and exchanges between Muslim theologians, and Jewish, Christian, Manichean and Zoroastrian adversaries.<sup>63</sup> Remaining with Mu‘tazilī theological thought, the history of the controversy concerning the adoption of the doctrine of the Qur’an’s created status is examined in the chapter by Wilferd Madelung (**Chapter Five**). Tracing the historical trajectories of the arguments before and after the *miḥna* (inquisition), Madelung investigates how the dynamics of the discussions fluctuated and acquired new significance and nuances. Madelung also explains how assertions about the Qur’an’s eternal status became a corollary of the disputes, particularly among later Ḥanbalī scholars. It is a topic which continues to stimulate debate.<sup>64</sup>

Although the enhancement of Sunni rational discourses is summarily linked to the endeavours of Abū’l-Ḥasan al-Ash‘arī (d. 324/935) and the school of theology named after him, contributions made by early figures such as Ibn Kullāb (d. 258/854), who had taken part in debates during the *miḥna*, and al-Qalānīsī (fl. third/ninth centuries) confirm that the substance of these discourses was significantly advanced at the time of the *miḥna*. Following in the wake of studies by Arent Jan Wensinck, Richard McCarthy and George Makdisi, the work of Richard Frank has provided scholars with a profound sense of the magnitude of al-Ash‘arī’s legacy and the sophistication of classical forms of Ash‘arism.<sup>65</sup> In his chapter Frank illustrates how al-Ash‘arī industriously bound his theological framework to scripture and tradition, explaining how his brand of theology came to be the most influential tradition of systematic theology in Sunni Islam (**Chapter Six**).

Traditional Islamic literary sources identify a political origin for the genesis of *kalām* discourses and in this respect the role of the Khārijīs is considered important. They represent one of the earliest theological movements in Islam and in her chapter Valerie Hoffman (**Chapter Seven**) sheds light on the historical development of one of its last surviving offshoots, the Ibādīs. Hoffman shows there has been a distinct revival of interest in the works and legacy of this movement. The theological and political thought of the Zaydī theological movement (**Chapter Eight**), which forms one of the three major branches of Shi‘ism and has its origins in the mid-second/eighth century, is examined by Najam Haidar.<sup>66</sup> Haidar assesses

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<sup>63</sup> See Shlomo Pines. ‘A Note on an Early Meaning of the Term *Mutakallim*’ *Israel Oriental Studies* 1 (1971), 224-240.

<sup>64</sup> John P Turner. *Inquisition in Early Islam: The Competition for Political and Religious Authority in the Abbasid Empire*. London: I. B. Tauris, 2013. cf. Nimrod Hurvitz. *The Formation of Ḥanbalism: Piety into Power*. Richmond: Curzon Press, 2002.m

<sup>65</sup> See the collection of his studies on Ash‘arism: Richard Frank. *Classical Islamic Theology: the Ash‘arites. Texts and Studies on the Development and History of Kalām* edited by Dimitri Gutas. Aldershot: Ashgate, Variorum, 2008. Also Richard McCarthy. *The Theology of al-Ash‘arī*, The Arabic texts of al-Ash‘arī’s *Kitāb al-Luma’* and *Risālat Istiḥsān al-Khawḍ fi ‘ilm al-kalām* with briefly annotated translations, and appendices containing material pertinent to the study of al-Ash‘arī. (Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique, 1953). He also translated al-Ghazālī’s *Munqidh*. See also Michel Allard, *Le Problème des attributs divins dans la doctrine d’al-Ash‘arī de ses premiers grands disciples*. Beyrouth: Imprimerie Catholique, 1965. For the impact of Avicenna’s thought on al-Ghazālī see Richard Frank. *Creation and the Cosmic System: al-Ghazālī and Avicenna*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter, Universitätsverlag, 1992. and his ‘Ghazālī’s Use of Avicenna’s Philosophy’, *Revue des Etudes Islamiques* (1989:57), 274-75. The issues are restated in Griffel’s monograph. *Al-Ghazālī’s Philosophical Theology*.

<sup>66</sup> Wilferd Madelung. *Der Imām al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm und die Glaubenslehre der Zaiditen*. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1965. Wilferd Madelung. ‘Imām al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm and Mu‘tazilism.’ In *On Both Sides of al-Mandab: Ethiopian, South-Arabian and Islamic Studies Presented to Oscar Löfgren on his Ninetieth Birthday 13 May 1988 by Colleagues and Friends*. Istanbul:

the movement's aggressive and purposeful absorption of Mu'tazilī doctrines and thought, shedding light on the various historical phases over which this was attentively achieved.<sup>67</sup> Much of the work on early Zaydī thought was developed by Wilferd Madelung whose contributions to the examination of their history and development built on the scholarship of his mentor, Rudolph Strothmann. Distinctive contributions to its study presently continue with the work of scholars such as Sabine Schmidtke, Hassan Ansari and Jan Thiele. With the aim of summing up developments in theological discourses, an historical synopsis of the main currents of rational thought and scholarship, spanning the eighth to the fifteenth centuries, is presented by Mohammad Ali Amir-Moezzi and Sabine Schmidtke (**Chapter Nine**). They set out to show the synthesis, definition and amalgamation of ideas among the different schools of thought. Illustrating the directions prevalent in the study of Ash'arī, Mu'tazilī and Shī'ī theological thought, the chapter also considers the reception and arrogation of Islamic ideas in Jewish and Christian scholarship.

The roots of early Imāmī theological doctrines as preserved in separate Imāmī sources are examined by Wilferd Madelung (**Chapter Ten**). Madelung makes the pertinent point that the *Maqālāt al-Islāmiyyīn* of al-Ash'arī offers a wealth of valuable information on the theological views and standpoints presented in early *kalām* debates between Muslim groups and other Imāmī scholars such as Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam (d. 179/795–796). However, he cautions that the theological teachings of the early Imāms do not feature in these sources, but are preserved in separate Imāmī sources and with this in mind he extracts theological arguments and doctrines from the first sections of the *Kitāb al-uṣūl min al-kāfi* composed by Abū Ja'far al-Kulaynī (d. 329/941).<sup>68</sup> On a separate note, some sense of the scale of the achievements of the scholarship from these earlier periods is reflected in the work of al-Nawbakhtī, whose heresiographical text Ritter first published and to whom Ibn al-Nadīm ascribed a plethora of works. Indeed, Madelung notes that his no longer extant *Kitāb al-Ārā' wa'l-diyānāt*, which fused the analysis of theological and philosophical doctrines, was cited by both Sunni and Shī'ī scholars, including the Mu'tazilī author Rukn al-Dīn ibn al-Malāhimī (d. 536/1141), who quoted widely from it in his *Kitāb al-Mu'tamad fī uṣūl al-dīn*.<sup>69</sup>

Sunni Islam's second most prominent school of rational theology, the Māturīdīs, has not received the sort of attention the richness of its theological discourses warrants. The work of scholars such as Wilferd Madelung and Ulrich Rudolph has been hugely influential in exploring the scholarly achievements of this school.<sup>70</sup> Madelung published his influential study on 'The Spread of Maturidism and the Turks' back in 1968 and Ulrich Rudolph's 1997 work,

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Swedish research Institute, 1989. Pp. 39–48. Hassan Ansari. 'The Shī'ī Reception of Mu'tazilism (I): Zaydīs'. In Sabine Schmidtke (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Islamic Theology*, pp. 181–95. Also see Hassan Ansari. 'Un muḥaddith Mu'tazilite Zaydite: Abū Sa'd al-Sammān et ses Amālī', *Arabica* (2012):59. iii–iv, pp. 267–90. Recent work by Hassan Ansari, Sabine Schmidtke and Jan Thiele has drawn attention to the plight of manuscript sources in Yemen due to the tragic conflict there. See [https://www.ias.edu/digital-scholarship/zaydi\\_manuscript\\_tradition](https://www.ias.edu/digital-scholarship/zaydi_manuscript_tradition). Accessed June 2019

<sup>67</sup> See Jan Thiele. *Kausalität in der mu'tazilitischen Kosmologie: Das Kitāb al-Mu'aththirāt wa-miftāḥ al-muškilāt des Zayditen al-Ḥasan ar-Raṣṣāṣ (st. 584/1188)* Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2011. cf. Ibn al-Wazīr, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn al-Murtaḍā. *Izhār al-ḥaqq 'alā'l-khalq fī radd al-khilāfāt ilā al-madhhab al-ḥaqq min uṣūl al-tawḥīd*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1987. Damaris Wilmers. *Beyond Schools: Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Wazīr's (d. 840/1436) Epistemology of Ambiguity*. Leiden: Brill, 2018.

<sup>68</sup> Wilferd Madelung. 'The Shi'ite and Khārijite Contribution to Pre-Ash'arite *Kalām*' *Islamic Philosophical Theology* (1979), 120–139.

<sup>69</sup> See Wilferd Madelung. 'Al-Ḥasan b. Mūsā al-Nawbakhtī on the Views of Astronomers and Astrologers'. In *The Islamic Scholarly Tradition: Studies in History, Law, and Thought in Honor of Professor Michael Allan Cook*. Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2011. Edited by Asad Q. Ahmed et al. , pp. 269–78.

<sup>70</sup> See Ulrich Rudolph's *al-Māturīdī und die sunnitische Theologie* and for a more recent summary of the scholarship see his Ulrich Rudolph. 'Ḥanafī Theological Tradition and Māturīdism.' In *The Oxford Handbook of Islamic Theology*. (ed.) S. Schmidtke, pp. 280–296. Mustafa Cerić. *Roots of Synthetic Theology in Islam: a Study of the Theology of Abū Mansūr al-Māturīdī* (d. 333/944) Kuala Lumpur: International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization, 1995. See also the Māturīdī school in van Ess, *Der Eine und das Andere*, vol. 2, pp. 794–6.

*al-Māturīdī und die sunnitische Theologie in Samarkand*, remains the principal work for the study of al-Māturīdī's legacy. More recently, Angelika Brodersen has published a number of illuminating studies on aspects of al-Māturīdī theological thought, bringing into greater relief and definition the diversity and subtleness of the school's legacy.<sup>71</sup> As noted above, the early European interest in Māturīdī thought was evident from the works of individuals such as Wilhelm Spitta, Franz Delitzsch and William Cureton; even Hottinger had access to Māturīdī theological commentaries which he used sparingly. Intriguingly, al-Shahrastānī made no mention of al-Māturīdī in his *Milal*. In his essay Philipp Bruckmayr (**Chapter Eleven**) sheds light on the history of the spread of Māturīdī *kalām*, seeking to offer new perspectives on the reasons for its preference as a school of theological thought within Ḥanafism. His article identifies not only the principal scholars who promulgated the school's legacy, but also the texts which came to define its theological discourses.

The theoretical foundations of *kalām* are expounded upon in Richard Frank's study (**Chapter Twelve**). Concentrating on the scholarship and accomplishments which straddle the historical periods between al-Ash'arī and al-Ghazālī, Frank is not concerned with arguments about the historical genesis of *kalām*, but rather its epistemological bases and function as a science. Frank makes the apposite point that *kalam* never aspired to have the universality that philosophy has traditionally claimed for itself, but he also draws attention to the fact that the meticulous efforts of scholars such as Ibn Fūrak, Ibn Mattawayhi (d. 469/1076) and Abū Rashīd al-Nīsābūrī, confirm the dexterity and astuteness with which they tackled complex topics. The final chapter in this volume by van Ess probes the major conceptual constructs which inform the logical structure of Islamic theology; in the chapter van Ess guides the reader through the various conceptual mechanisms used within *kalām* with the aim of offering some preliminary musings about the purpose of the forms of logical argumentation deployed in the discipline and their theoretical foundations (**Chapter Thirteen**).

## **Volume Two: *Kalām* – Approaches and Developments**

While the chapters in Volume One focus on providing a general outline and digest of the early history and crystallization of *kalām* discourses and the emergence of theological schools, Volumes Two, and indeed Three, bring together studies of theological thought from a variegated range of contexts, perspectives and subjects. The themes and areas of coverage of each volume are not mutually exclusive and broach topics and issues which inevitably intersect and converge. On the question of concepts, the ontological basis of the *kalām* theory of atomism is introduced in the chapter by Abdelhamid Sabra (**Chapter Fourteen**).<sup>72</sup> Describing this theory as 'an alternative philosophy to Hellenizing *falsafa*', Sabra considers the significance of the Mu'tazilī theory of atomism and supplementary ideas developed by later Ash'arī theologians as they sought to conceptualise the notion of what exists in the world. In his chapter Binyamin Abrahamov examines the significance of the epistemological definitions of types of necessary knowledge and their relevance to the formulation of theological

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<sup>71</sup> See Angelika Brodersen, *Zwischen Māturīdīya Und Aš'arīya: Abū Šakūr as-Sālimi und sein Tamhīd fī bayān at-tauhīd* (Gorgias Press, 2019); and her many articles. See also the forthcoming work: Ayed S. Aldosari, *Ḥanaḥī Māturīdīsm: Trajectories of a Theological Legacy, with a Study and Critical Edition of al-Khabbāzī's Kitāb al-Hādī*. Sheffield: Equinox, 2019.

<sup>72</sup> R. Frank, 'Bodies and Atoms: The Ash'arite Analysis.' In M. E. Marmura (Ed.), *Islamic Theology and Philosophy: Studies in honour of George F. Hourani* (pp. 39–53). Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1984. Shlomo Pines, *Beiträge zur islamischen Atomenlehre*. Berlin, Germany: Heine, 1936. Translated as *Studies in Islamic Atomism*. Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, Hebrew University, 1997. Cf. David Bennett, 'The Mu'tazila Movement (II)'. In Sabine Schmidtke, (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Islamic Theology* and the section on Atomism. Cornelia Schöck, 'Jahm b. Šafwān (d. 128/745–6) and the 'Jahmiyya' and Dirār b. 'Amr (d. 200/815)'. In Sabine Schmidtke (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Islamic Theology*, pp. 55–80.

arguments (**Chapter Fifteen**).<sup>73</sup> Abrahamov concludes that such forms of knowledge were frequently awarded primacy over speculatively derived arguments.

The figure of al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm looms large in the history of early Zaydī theological thought as the founder of the Imāmate in Yemen and it is the question of whether he was influenced by Christian theological ideas which is examined by Madelung (**Chapter Sixteen**). He takes the view that although it has been widely thought that his theology betrays Mu‘tazilī influences, in fact his own doctrinal positions, which can be gauged through his refutation entitled *al-Radd ‘alā al-Naṣāra*, were honed through debates and disputations with adversaries. Staying with Zaydī theology and the question of influence, Maher Jarrar’s study seeks to demonstrate specific types of *imāmī* influences in early Zaydī theological thinking (**Chapter Seventeen**). He underscores the significance of the different strands of thought which were encompassed under the Zaydī label.

The literary works of al-Jāhīz (d. 255/868-9) underline his unassailable status as a distinguished litterateur and a passionate defender of rational theology. The question as to whether his early theological thought shows ‘humanist’ tendencies is explored by van Ess (**Chapter Eighteen**). He argues that al-Jāhīz innovatively sought, albeit unsuccessfully, to place psychology within the vector of *kalām*. Al-Jāhīz was the author of the *Faḍā’il al-Mu‘tazila* (*the Merits of the Mu‘tazilites*), which was the subject of a stinging critique composed by Ibn al-Rawandī (fl. third/ninth century). Outraged by the critique, the Mu‘tazilī luminary, al-Khayyāt (d. ca. 300/913) composed his *Kitāb al-Intisār wa’l-radd ‘alā Ibn al-Rawandī* (*The Book of Defence and Denunciation of Ibn al-Rawandī*).<sup>74</sup>

It was a contemporary of al-Jāhīz, Dāwūd ibn Khalaf al-Zāhirī (d. 270/884), who laid the foundations for the Zāhirī school of thought which espoused a legal and theological approach to law defined as being nominally ‘literalist’. The Andalusian jurist Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064), author of the doxography, *al-Fiṣal (faṣl) fī’l-milal wa’l-ahwā’ wa’l-niḥal* and the manual on the principles of law, *al-Iḥkām fī uṣūl al-aḥkām*, is the school’s most accomplished adherent. Observers of Zāhirī thought have made the indisputable point that the Zāhirī approach to law is ultimately a form of rationalism and a similar peculiarity with regards to doctrinal positions espoused within the school is discerned by Al Makin in his study of influences in Ibn Ḥazm’s theology (**Chapter Nineteen**).<sup>75</sup> Through his gauging of the Zāhirī discussions of the question of ‘The Hand of God’, Al Makin argues that Ibn Ḥazm, who was also an adept logician, actually adopts a metaphorical explanation which contradicts the literalism seemingly espoused by Zāhirīs.

In his treatment of the Ash‘arī teaching on the non-existent and the possible (**Chapter Twenty**), Frank assesses the conceptual intricacy of their teachings on the issue, dismissing the impressionistic views of their thought promulgated by classical Islamic philosophers, who questioned the efficacy of the forms of argumentation they employed and their attitudes towards the use of Aristotelian logic and the value of *burhān*.<sup>76</sup> As Frank has resolutely insisted

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<sup>73</sup> Josef van Ess. Die Erkenntnislehre des ‘Adudaddin al-If, Wiesbaden, 1966. Hansu Hüseyin. ‘Notes on the Term *Mutawātir* and its Reception in *Hadīth Criticism*’, *Islamic Law and Society* 16, (2009:16), 383-408

<sup>74</sup> See the theological discussions in Al-Jāhīz’s *Rasā’il al-Jāhīz*. 2 vols. (ed.), Muḥammad al-Sūd. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 2000.

<sup>75</sup> Adam Sabra. ‘Ibn Ḥazm’s Literalism: a Critique of Islamic Legal Theory’ (I) *al-Qanṭara* (2007: XXVIII.1), 7-40, (10-11). For the relationship between Ibn Ḥazm and the other schools see Sabine Schmidtke. ‘Ibn Ḥazm’s Sources on Ash‘arism and Mu‘tazilism’. In *Ibn Ḥazm of Cordoba: the Life and Works of a Controversial Thinker*, pp. 375-402. Amr Osman. *The Zāhirī Madhhab (3rd/9th-10th/16th Century): A Textualist Theory of Islamic Law*. Leiden: Brill, 2014.

<sup>76</sup> This is the Aristotelian concept of *apodeixis*: namely, providing manifest proofs through demonstration.

‘the *mutakallimūn* treated a wide diversity of philosophical problems and often with considerably greater insight than is commonly recognised or allowed’.<sup>77</sup>

Referring to al-Ghazālī’s ‘assiduous incorporation of basic metaphysical ideas into the central doctrines of Sunni *kalām*’, in the study by Robert Wisnovsky (**Chapter Twenty-One**) an assessment is made of the dynamic of the ‘philosophical turn’ within the medieval discourses of *kalām*. While accepting that the dramatic turn in Sunni *kalām* is ‘Avicennan’ in origin Wisnovsky insists that it was not ‘a lonely struggle by a single genius’ (al-Ghazālī), but that ‘it picked up speed in the first and second generations after Avicenna's death in 1037’ through the work of theologians such as al-Ghazālī’s teacher, al-Juwaynī (d. 1085) and al-Bazdawī (d. 1099). It was the historian Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406) who had characterized *kalām* discourses in later medieval periods as embodying a philosophically driven exercise.

The theological formulations of al-Ash‘arī were preserved in the works of scholars such as Ibn Fūrak (d. 406/1015), whose *Mujarrad maqālat al-shaykh Abī'l-Ḥasan al-Ash‘arī* offers a conspectus of his doctrinal positions across a gamut of subjects and issues. The genuine scale, complexity and scope of these emerging Ash‘arī discourses are demonstrated by the impeccable work of Abū Bakr al-Bāqillānī.<sup>78</sup> In the chapter by Jan Thiele (**Chapter Twenty-Two**), al-Bāqillānī’s theory of human acts is analyzed, revealing its characteristics and influence upon discussions within the Ash‘arī school.<sup>79</sup> It is worth noting that Sabine Schmidtke’s study and partial edition of al-Bāqillānī’s *Hidāyat al-mustarshidīn*, which is reported to be one of his most extensive and final works on theology, explains that in terms of its size the *Hidāyat* was on a par with the voluminous *Kitāb al-Mughnī* of ‘Abd al-Jabbār; this very fact conveys some scale of the sophistication of *kalām* discourses during these early periods.

Al-Ghazālī’s relationship with the Ash‘arī school is the subject of Michael Marmura’s study (**Chapter Twenty-Three**). Frank had supported the thesis that al-Ghazālī’s link to Ash‘arī theology was ‘tenuous in the extreme’, emphasising the existence of doctrinal inconsistencies between the school’s teachings and the positions taken by al-Ghazālī on issues such as causality, occasionalism, and the metaphysics of resurrection.<sup>80</sup> Marmura argues that although al-Ghazālī adopted Avicennan ideas, he rendered them unswervingly consistent with his theology and on this basis his standpoints were not necessarily contradictory with his Ash‘arite credentials.<sup>81</sup> The idea that the study of philosophy declined in the Islamic world, having been supposedly subdued and stagnating as result of al-Ghazālī’s critique of the philosophers through his *Tahāfut al-falāsifa* and his criticism of Avicenna, has long been disavowed.<sup>82</sup>

The production of Arabic versions of the works of Plotinus, Proclus, Aristotle, and other seminal texts rested among the exceptional accomplishments of the philosopher al-Kindī (d. c.

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<sup>77</sup> See Frank’s chapter on *kalām* above.

<sup>78</sup> See his biography in al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāq. *Tartīb al-madārik wa-taqrīb al-masālik li-ma‘rifat a‘lām madhhab Mālik*. Ed. Muḥammad Sālim Hāshim. 2 vols, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1998, vol. 2, pp. 203-13.

<sup>79</sup> Sabine Schmidtke ‘Early Aš‘arite Theology: Abū Bakr al-Bāqillānī (d. 403/1013) and his *Hidāyat al-mustarshidīn*’. *Bulletin d’études orientales* 60 (2011), 39–72. . Daniel Gimaret published the *Kitāb al-tawallud* from the *Hidāyat*.

<sup>80</sup> Richard Frank. *Al-Ghazālī and the Ash‘arite School*. London: Duke University Press, 1994. Frank states that *mutakallimūn* made no ‘formal distinction between theology and philosophy’, p. 19.

<sup>81</sup> The issue has been revisited in Frank Griffel’s monograph on al-Ghazālī in which he explained that he sought to achieve ‘the naturalization of the philosophical tradition into Islamic theology’ and ‘an attempt to integrate Aristotelian logics into the tradition of *kalām*.’ Griffel, 2009, p. 7. Elsewhere, ‘the rise of neo-Ash‘arism’ and the fate of classical Ash‘arism have been discussed in Ayman Shihadeh. ‘Classical Ash‘arī Anthropology: Body, Life and Spirit’, in *Muslim World* 102 (2012), 433-77.

<sup>82</sup> See the collection of studies in Georges Tamer. *Islam and Rationality: The Impact of Al-Ghazālī : Papers Collected On His 900th Anniversary*. Leiden: Brill, 2015.

256/870) and his circle of translators in Baghdad.<sup>83</sup> Using discussions on the divine attributes, creation and the conceptualisation of freedom as frames of reference, Peter Adamson presents an assessment of the credible impact of Mu‘tazilī ideas on these areas of al-Kindī’s thought (**Chapter Twenty-Four**). Staying with the theme of Mu‘tazilism, the significance of the literature produced by scholars in the post 6<sup>th</sup>/12<sup>th</sup> centuries is considered by Gregor Schwarb (**Chapter Twenty-Five**). He criticises the tendency to underestimate the intense activity in the production of literary works during these later historical periods.

The prodigious scholarly output of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī marks a key turning point in the discourses of *kalām*. Underlining the pre-eminence of his intellectual achievements, Ayman Shihadeh deliberates the reasons why his place within the history of *kalām* is so distinguished (**Chapter Twenty-Six**). With reference to his impact, Shihadeh explains al-Rāzī’s legacy rests not only in the strength of his contribution to the discipline, but also in his successfully illustrating that the previous framing and presentation of *kalām* discussions were ‘irrelevant and obsolete’ and lacked the requisite standards of intellectual integrity.<sup>84</sup> The final contribution in this section by Jan Thiele deals with the efforts of al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣāṣ (d. 584/1188) and his active role in promoting Mu‘tazilī ideas within Zaydī theology (Chapter Twenty-Seven). Thiele countenances the view that without the endeavours of al-Raṣṣāṣ and the Zaydīs of Yemen, much of the theological thought and literature cultivated by Basran Mu‘tazilī theologians would not have survived.

### Volume Three: *Kalām* – Encounters and Discourses

Along with the esteem in which his universal history and encyclopaedic Qur’anic commentary were held, Abū Ja‘far al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) is conventionally recognized as being closely aligned with the adoption of a rigidly traditionalist theological outlook. Surveying arguments presented in the *Jāmi‘ al-bayān ‘an ta’wīl ayy al-Qur’ān*, Mustafa Shah (**Chapter Twenty-Eight**) scrutinizes critical aspects of al-Ṭabarī’s treatment of theological topics. He traces the discord between him and members of the *ahl al-ḥadīth* and its implications.<sup>85</sup> Within Sunni

<sup>83</sup> Peter Adamson. *al-Kindī* Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2007. See also Peter Adamson. *Philosophy in the Islamic World: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016; and Peter Adamson and Richard C. Taylor. *The Cambridge Companion to Arabic Philosophy*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

<sup>84</sup> Al-Rāzī, Fakhr al-Dīn. *Kitāb al-Muḥaṣṣal fī uṣūl al-dīn aw muḥaṣṣal afkār al-mutaqaddimīn wa’l-muta’akhhirīn min al-‘ulamā’ wa’l-ḥukamā’ wa’l-mutakallimīn*, ed. Ḥusayn Aṭāwa, 1st edn. Cairo: Maktabat Dār al-Turāth, 1991. Frank Griffel comments that Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210) and the Shī‘ī scholar Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 762/1274) ‘must be considered philosophers as well as theologians’, Frank Griffel. *Al-Ghazālī’s Philosophical Theology* p. 7. For the legacy of al-Ṭūsī: Hassan Ansari and Sabine Schmidtke. ‘Al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī: His Writings on Theology and their Reception’. In F. Daftary and G. Miskinzoda (eds.), *The Study of Shi‘ī Islam: History, Theology and Law.*, in association with The Institute of Ismaili Studies, London: IB: Tauris 2014, pp. 475–97. Also cf. S. Badakhchani. *Contemplation and Action: The Spiritual Autobiography of a Muslim Scholar*. London, I. B. Tauris in association with The Institute of Ismaili Studies, 1998. For different aspects of the type of debates see Ayman Shihadeh. ‘A Post-Ghazālīan Critic Of Avicenna: Ibn Ghaylān Al-Balkhī on the Materia Medica of the Canon of Medicine’. *Journal of Islamic Studies* 24/2 (2013), 135-74. Also see *Idem*. *Doubts on Avicenna: A Study and Edition of Sharaf al-Dīn al-Mas‘ūdī’s Commentary on the Ishārāt*. Leiden: Brill, 2015. Referring to arguments using inference, Shihadeh notes that ‘al-Rāzī is the first to downgrade them wholly, explicitly and systematically in *kalām*, and to replace them definitively with Aristotelian logic, which he began to consider as the standard for certitude.’ Shihadeh makes the significant point that al-Rāzī ‘rather than al-Ghazālī, is responsible for the spread of logic in later *kalām*.’ (p. 277 original) and p. 168. In a broader sense he concludes that al-Rāzī was the first to eschew approaching *falsafa* in an ‘essentially negativist manner’.

<sup>85</sup> Franz Rosenthal. *The History of al-Ṭabarī. General Introduction and Translation From the Creation to the Flood*. New York: Albany, 1989. See Jon Hoover. ‘Ḥanbalī Theology’, In Sabine Schmidtke (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Islamic Theology*, pp. 625-646, although Hoover fails to take into account the significance of al-Ṭabarī’s clash with Ibn Abī Dāwūd al-Sijistānī (d. 316/929) and other members of the *ahl al-ḥadīth* which has its roots in a Ḥanbalī context. Al-Ṭabarī was also in dispute with the founder of the Zāhiri school, Dāwūd Ibn Khalaf (d. 270/884), and had disagreements his son Abū Bakr. Mustafa Shah. ‘Al-Ṭabarī and the Dynamics of *tafsīr*: Theological Dimensions of a Legacy’. *Journal of Qur’anic Studies* 15/2 (2013), 83-139. see also Aron Zysow. ‘Karrāmiyya’. In Sabine Schmidtke (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Islamic Theology*,

thought, the tensions and refractory disputes between arch-traditionalist scholars (*ahl al-ḥadīth*) and advocates of rational theological discourses persisted over extended historical periods, ultimately bequeathing a fecund body of thought and literature.<sup>86</sup> The question of the epistemological authority of Prophetic traditions as a source for arriving at knowledge in Muʿtazilī theory is the subject of a study by Racha el-Omari.<sup>87</sup> Reviewing the overall polemical contexts of the debates among the Muʿtazila and the *ahl al-ḥadīth* apropos these issues, El-Omari (**Chapter Twenty-Nine**) presents a synopsis of classical Muʿtazilite positions and approaches to the *ḥadīth*. Shedding opportune light on the issues at stake in the discussions, she also weighs up the historical significance of a text on the issue authored by al-Kaʿbī (d. 319/913). The chapter probes the processes behind the rejection of *al-khabar al-wāḥid* as a source for theories about the certitude of religious knowledge within the matrices of Muʿtazilī thought.

Under the auspices of the rule of the Alhomads in North Africa and Andalusia, the scholarship of *kalām*, together with learning in the philosophical sciences, witnessed a revival. One figure who played a salient role in promoting the study of rational theology was Ibn Tūmart (d. 524/1130), the subject of Goldziher's 1903 monograph. Espousing the idea that religion was compatible with philosophy (*ḥikma*), Ibn Tūmart posited that both rational reflection and jurisprudential deduction were justified and offered pathways to positive knowledge. Influenced by the works and teachings of key Ashʿarī theologians, including al-Juwaynī and al-Ghazālī, certain biographical sources contended that he was a direct student of this latter scholar. Through an examination of Ibn Tūmart's arguments for the existence of God, Frank Griffel proposes that although not a direct student of al-Ghazālī, his thought betrays influences of the Nizāmiyya school in Baghdad, where Ashʿarism and the philosophical sciences, including Ibn Sīnā's oeuvre, were assiduously promoted (**Chapter Thirty**).<sup>88</sup> From the subject of substrate influences in Ibn Tūmart's arguments for the existence of God to the question of natural causation, the views of al-Ghazālī on the latter have been debated at length.<sup>89</sup> In the chapter by Jon McGinnis al-Ghazālī's perspectives on causality are evaluated (**Chapter Thirty-One**). To this end McGinnis formulates a metaphysical model that he suggests elicits the intricacies of this scholar's abstract understanding of causality and its place within Islamic cosmological frameworks. He reasons that al-Ghazālī's position represents an 'intermediate position between traditional Ashʿarite occasionalism and the *falāsifa*'s theory of efficient causation'.

An examination of the mystical theology of Sufism is presented in Toby Mayer's study (**Chapter Thirty-Two**) in which he explains that while a rich system of theology exists in Sufism, it is entirely unlike the sciences of the speculative theologians. In the words of Mayer it is a 'mystical theology which flows from the transcendent experience of God in the lives of the saints'. Contrasting a range of mystical, theosophical and theological themes, the chapter traces their historical genesis and broader implications. It also looks at the influence of

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pp. 252-62. And Mustafa Shah's review of John P. Turner's, *Inquisition in Early Islam: The Competition for Political and Religious Authority in the Abbasid Empire*. *Ilahiyat Studies* 6/2 (2015), 268-275.

<sup>86</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, Muḥammad ibn Jaʿfar. *Ṣarīḥ al-sunna*. Edited by Badr ibn Yūsūf al-Maʿtūq, 2nd edn. Kuwait: Dār al-Khulafāʾ li'l-Kitāb al-Islāmī, 2005; and his *al-Tabṣīr fī maʿālim al-dīn*, ed. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn ʿAlī al-Shibl. Beirut: Dār al-ʿAṣima, 1996.

<sup>87</sup> Hüseyin Hansu. 'Debates on the Authority of Hadith in Early Islamic Intellectual History: Identifying al-Shāfiʿī's Opponents in *Jimāʿ al-ʿIlm*' *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 136.3 (2016), 515-533.

<sup>88</sup> See Hannah C. Erlwein. *Arguments for God's Existence in Classical Islamic Thought: A Reappraisal of the Discourse*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2019. For an assessment of his legacy see the book by Mercedes García-Arenal, cited above.

<sup>89</sup> Michael Marmura. 'Al-Ghazālī's Second Causal Theory in the 17<sup>th</sup> Discussion of his *Tahāfut*', *Islamic Philosophy and Mysticism*, ed. Parviz Morewedge. New York: Caravan Books, 1981, pp. 85-112. Jules Janssens. 'Al-Ghazālī's *Tahāfut*: Is it Really a Rejection of Ibn Sīnā's Philosophy?', *Journal of Islamic Studies* (2001:12.1), 1-17. Finally see Ulrich Rudolph. 'Occasionalism'. In Sabine Schmidtke (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Islamic Theology*, pp. 347-363.

luminaries such as Wāṣil ibn ‘Aṭā’, al-Junayd, al-Ghazālī and Ibn ‘Arabī and the significance of their evocative language and thoughts on mystical concepts.<sup>90</sup>

The subject of the origin of language (*aṣl al-luġha*) in which the relationship between words and their meanings is pored over had ramifications for a range of theological, legal and philological discussions.<sup>91</sup> Engaging with the historical background of the issues, Shah scrutinizes how and why arguments on this subject were formulated (**Chapter Thirty-Three**). On a somewhat related topic in the study by Taneli Kukkonen, the relationship between words and their meanings, in the context of signification, is appraised with reference to al-Ghazālī’s *al-Maqṣad al-asnā fi asmā’ Allāh al-ḥusnā* (**Chapter Thirty-Four**). In this text al-Ghazālī judiciously employs discussions about the nature of the relationship between the name (*ism*) and the named (*musammā*) and the process of naming (*tasmīyya*) to explicate the nexus between language and reality. The inference is that despite the fact that traditional arguments provided a setting for the elaboration of the discussions, the commentary tradition on Aristotle’s *Peri hermeneias*, in which the issue of how the soul perceptibly reflects outward reality, ostensibly provides al-Ghazālī with paradigms and a framework to couch his arguments.

In the short theological treatise entitled *al-Kashf ‘an manāḥij al-adilla*, a text first edited by Müller, Ibn Rushd included a chapter in which he discussed the doctrine of God’s divine decree, *al-qaḍā’ wa’l-qadar*. In this he examines how advocates of predestinarian and libertarian positions justify their interpretations, discussing their use of textual proofs, before contributing his own thoughts on the subject. Appraising the general tenor of Ibn Rushd’s approach and its conceptual thrust, Catarina Belo ponders whether ‘Ibn Rushd’s proposed solution constitutes a middle way between two opposite positions and solves the perennial problem of determinism’ (**Chapter Thirty-Five**). In her analysis she suggests that despite Ibn Rushd’s exuberant efforts to deprecate the Ash‘arī position, the reality is that ‘his theory of *qadar* in the *Kashf* is both deterministic and predestinarian’.

In al-Ghazālī’s *Tahāfut al-falāsifa* the thesis that God’s knowledge of beings and their classes is restricted to universals (*kulliyāt*) as opposed to particulars (*juz’iyyāt*) was identified as an abject violation of Islamic doctrine. Binyamin Abrahamov examines the discussion of this point as presented by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī in his *Maṭālib al-‘āliya*, and includes a translation of the relevant passages (**Chapter Thirty-Six**).<sup>92</sup> Noting the discretion with which al-Rāzī presents a formidable critique of all the proofs, including Avicenna’s assertion that God’s knowledge of particulars occurs in ‘in a universal way’, Abrahamov pores over four proofs quoted by al-Rāzī to prove God’s knowledge of particulars (*juz’iyyāt*).

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<sup>90</sup> Florian Sobieroj. ‘The Mu‘tazila and Sufism’ in *Islamic Mysticism Contested: Thirteen Centuries of Controversies and Polemics*. Ed. De Jong & B. Radtke. Leiden: Brill, 1999, pp. 68-92. Palacios sought to accentuate Christian influences in al-Ghazālī’s mystical thought. See the discussion in the introduction to Ebrahim Moosa. *Ghazālī and the Poetics of Imagination*. Chapel Hill. University of North Carolina Press, 2005. It was Palacios who identified Islamic antecedents in the themes of Dante’s *Divina Commedia*. Aydogan Kars. *Unsayings God: Negative Theology in Medieval Islam*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019.

<sup>91</sup> Mustafa Shah. ‘The Word of God: The Epistemology of Language in Classical Islamic Theological Thought’. In *Language and Religion*. Robert Yelle, Courtney Handman and Christopher Lehigh, (Eds.), De Gruyter Mouton: Berlin, 2019, 158-192.

<sup>92</sup> Michael E. Marmura. ‘Some Aspects of Avicenna’s Theory of God’s Knowledge of Particulars’, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (1962:82), 299-312; Michael Marmura. *The Incoherence of the Philosophers (Tahāfut al-falāsifa)*: a parallel English-Arabic text/translated, introduced, and annotated by Michael E. Marmura. Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 2000. And Peter Adamson. ‘On Knowledge of Particulars’. *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society* 105/3 (2005), 273–294. Peter Adamson. *Interpreting Avicenna: Critical Essays*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

The views of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī on the doctrine of *jabr* (determinism) are analysed in Livnat Holtzman's study (**Chapter Thirty-Seven**). Outlining the historical contours of the discussions, Holtzman presents the critique of this doctrine by the Ḥanbalī scholar, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (d. 751/1350). The chapter is actually configured around al-Rāzī's doctrinal defence of *jabr*, but in ways which seek to demonstrate that later Ash'arī scholars had seemingly misconstrued, modified, and even manipulated the nuances in al-Rāzī teachings on *jabr*.<sup>93</sup> Elsewhere, Holtzman makes the cogent point that as 'the investigation of his works slowly progresses, it becomes evident that Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya developed his own taste while drawing from different sources of inspiration, not relying solely on his master's literary output'.<sup>94</sup>

The relationship between revelation and reason as presented in Ibn Taymiyya's *Dar' ta'āruḍ al-'aql wa'l-naql*, is assessed in Frank Griffel's study (**Chapter Thirty-Eight**).<sup>95</sup> As he argues, within the text the extrication of Ibn Taymiyya's views from those of his opponents presents readers with a formidable challenge. To this end, Griffel attempts to define the concatenation of theses against which Ibn Taymiyya is arguing in the opening passages of the book and identify their relevance to his arguments. Griffel concludes that 'Ibn Taymiyya's reception of and his reaction to the Ash'arite position on the priority of reason over revelation leads him into a circular argument about the authority of reason and revelation'. It is the device of *ta'wīl* which lies at the centre of the discussions: although originally linked with the process of interpretation or explanation, rational theologians honed its use as a tool to obviate the literal meanings of language when discussing the subject of the nature of God and the divine attributes.<sup>96</sup> Scholars who refrained from proffering opinions on the meaning of theologically sensitive Qur'anic passages and dicta preferred to adopt a strategy referred to as *tafwīd*, which connoted the act of 'delegating' or 'deferring' the explication of such matters. In the text Ibn Taymiyya vitiates not only the Ash'arī use of *ta'wīl*, but also its employment by other rational theologians. One of the propositions advanced by Griffel posits that Ibn Taymiyya's digressive style in the text somewhat obscures the view of the nature of the positions taken by the author.

In the final chapter of the collection, Jon Hoover investigates Ibn Taymiyya's critique of the teachings of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī on the notion of God's incorporealism as presented in the former's *Bayān talbīs al-jahmiyya* (**Chapter Thirty-Nine**). Hoover explains that the

<sup>93</sup> For the primary sources see: Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Al-Maṭālib al-'āliya min al-'ilm al-ilāhī*. 9 vols. Edited by Aḥmad Ḥijāzī al-Saqqa. Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabī, 1987. On the text cited from the section on prophecy, see the notes by Griffel in chapter 38 f/n 49, who, by applying the rule of *lectio difficilior potior*, namely that the textual variant which is more difficult should be given precedence, concludes it is 'distorted'. And al-Rāzī. *Al-Mabāḥith al-mashriqiyya fī 'ilm al-ilāhiyyāt wa'l-ṭabī'iyyāt*. Edited by Muḥammad al-Baghdādī, 2 vols. Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabī, 1990.

<sup>94</sup> Livnat Holtzman. 'Elements of Acceptance and Rejection in Ibn al-Qayyim al-Jawziyya's Systematic Reading of Ibn Ḥazm' in Camilla Adang et al (Eds.). *Ibn Ḥazm of Cordoba*, pp. 601-644, p. 610. She goes on to mention the influence of Ibn Ḥazm. cf. Miriam Ovidia. *Ibn Qayyim Al-Jawziyya and the Divine Attributes: Rationalized Traditionalistic Theology*. Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2018. For more of Holtzman's work see 'Does God Really Laugh? Appropriate and Inappropriate Descriptions of God in Islamic Traditionalist Theology.' In *Laughter in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times*. Edited by Albrecht Classen, Berlin: de Gruyter, 2010, pp. 165-200 and her important monograph: *Anthropomorphism in Islam: The Challenge of Traditionalism (700-1350)*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2018.

<sup>95</sup> See also Jon Hoover and Marwan Abu Ghazaleh Mahajneh. 'Theology as Translation: Ibn Taymiyya's Fatwa Permitting Theology and Its Reception into His *Averting the Conflict between Reason and Revealed Tradition (Dar' ta'āruḍ al-'aql wa'l-naql)*.' *The Muslim World* 108/1 (2018), 40-86. See also Carl Sharif El-Tobgui, 'Ibn Taymiyya on the Incoherence of the Theologians' Universal Law: Reframing the Debate between Reason and Revelation in Medieval Islam.' *Journal of Islamic Studies* 18 (2018), 63-85. And Livnat Holtzman, 'Accused of Anthropomorphism: Ibn Taymiyya's *Miḥan* as Reflected in Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya's *al-Kāfiya al-Shāfiya*.' *The Muslim World* 106/3 (2016), 561-87. Jon Hoover. 'Perpetual Creativity in the Perfection of God: Ibn Taymiyya's *Hadith* commentary on God's Creation of this World'. *Journal of Islamic Studies* 15/3 (2004:), 287-329. Sophia Vasalou. *Ibn Taymiyya's Theological Ethics*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2015 and her Sophia Vasalou. *Moral Agents and their Deserts: The Character of Mu'tazilite Ethics*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2008. Jon Hoover. *Ibn Taymiyya's Theodicy of Perpetual Optimism*. Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2007.

<sup>96</sup> See Mustafa Shah 'Tanzīh and Tashbīh in Classical Islamic Thought'. *Oxford Bibliographies on line* (2018): <https://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780195390155/obo-9780195390155-0251.xml>

framework of arguments utilized by Ibn Taymiyya was derived from materials formulated by Ibn Rushd in his *al-Kashf 'an manāhij al-adilla*, which had stridently disparaged the Ash'arī teaching on God's incorporealism.<sup>97</sup> Making shrewd use of *ta'wīl*, al-Rāzī's own treatment of the topic was presented in his *Ta'sīs al-taqdīs*, in which he ridicules and pours scorn on the claim that God is a body or confined to temporal location. The text in essence encapsulates a censorious denunciation of Ḥanbalī and Karrāmī anthropomorphism.

The discipline of *kalām* was by no means a derivative or static endeavour which vapidly reiterated earlier deliberations and discussions. One of its enduring qualities was its ability to adapt and augment its subject matter, methodologies and modes of thought, making them relevant to developing intellectual issues and concerns. Indeed, the late Richard Frank once asserted that it used to be the prevalent view among many of his orientalist colleagues, and those who were experts in *falsafa*, that *kalām* was a somewhat unsophisticated discipline. Frank's acquaintance with the theological materials preserved in such treatises confirmed to him that *kalām* was 'a rich and largely uncultivated field' and that it warranted critical academic attention. The profusion of publications currently being produced in the field of rational theological thought serves as fitting testimony to the pertinency of Frank's percipient observations.<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>97</sup> For further aspects of the debates see Merlin Swartz. *A Medieval Critique of Anthropomorphism: Ibn al-Jawzī's Kitāb Akhbār al-ṣifāt: a Critical Edition of the Arabic text with Translation, Introduction and Notes*, English & Arabic. Leiden: Brill, 2002.

<sup>98</sup> Richard Frank. *Philosophy, Theology and Mysticism in Medieval Islam: Texts and Studies on the Development and History of kalām*. Edited by Dimitri Gutas. Aldershot: Ashgate, Variorum, 2005. See the review by Mustafa Shah in the *Journal of Qur'anic Studies* 13/1 (2011), 100-107.