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THE EPISTLE OF  
SĀLIM IBN DHAKWĀN

*P. Crone and  
F. W. Zimmermann*

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THE EPISTLE OF  
SALIM IBN  
DHAKWAN

PATRICIA CRONE  
AND  
FRITZ ZIMMERMANN

OXFORD  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

# OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

Great Clarendon Street, Oxford OX2 6DP

Oxford University Press is a department of the University of Oxford.  
It furthers the University's objective of excellence in research, scholarship,  
and education by publishing worldwide in

Oxford New York

Athens Auckland Bangkok Bogotá Buenos Aires Kolkata  
Cape Town Chennai Dar es Salaam Delhi Florence Hong Kong Istanbul  
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Nairobi Paris São Paulo Shanghai Singapore Taipei Tokyo Toronto Warsaw

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Published in the United States  
by Oxford University Press Inc., New York

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First published 2001

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British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Salim ibn Dhakwan, 8th cent.

[Sirat Salim ibn Dhakwan. English & Arabic]

The Epistle of Salim ibn Dhakwan / [edited by] Patricia Crone and Fritz Zimmermann. — [1st ed.].

p. cm. — (Oxford Oriental monographs)

Arabic epistle which is here edited, translated, and discussed in full for the first time.

Includes bibliographical references (p. ) and indexes.

1. Ibadites. 2. Kharijites. 3. Murji'a. 4. Islam—Doctrines. 5. Shāh—Doctrines.  
6. Sālim ibn Dhakwān, 8th cent. Sārat Sālim ibn Dhakwān. I. Crone, Patricia,  
1945- II. Zimmermann, Fritz (Fritz W.) III. Title. IV. Series.

BP195.I3 S213 2001

297.8'33—dc21

00-024409

ISBN 0-19-815265-5

Typeset in Ehrhardt  
by Atelier Fluxus Virus  
<http://www.fluxus-virus.com>

Printed in Great Britain  
on acid-free paper by  
Biddles Ltd, Guildford and King's Lynn.

*In memory of Amr Khalifa Ennami*



## PREFACE

*Sīrat Sālim b. Dhakwān* is an early Ibādī epistle directed against Khārijite extremism and Murjiʿism. It is early in the sense of written before c.800, but its precise date is disputed. It was brought to light by Ennami (ʿAmr Khalifa al-Nāmī), an Ibādī scholar from Libya, who found it in an Omani manuscript in his private possession and who cited it extensively in his Cambridge thesis of 1971. Ten years later Cook edited and translated the parts directed against Murjiʿism and discussed the entire epistle, including its date, in his *Early Muslim Dogma*. Since then, Madelung, van Ess, and Calder have offered alternative datings of the epistle, all on the basis of the sections published by Cook, and van Ess has translated the anti-Murjiʿite parts into German. Martin Hinds was working on an edition and translation of the concluding part of the epistle at the time of his death in 1988, but his draft was too incomplete for publication. Since it is clearly desirable to have an edition and translation of the entire epistle, it is by preparing this book that we have chosen to complete his work.

The edition and first two indices are by Zimmermann; the translation was worked out and periodically revised between us, and we have both contributed to the introduction; the rest is by Crone. Our findings build on the researches of Wilferd Madelung, Josef van Ess, and Michael Cook, from whose works, cited time and again in this book, we have derived more information, understanding, and enjoyment than footnotes can indicate, and with whom it has been an equal pleasure to agree and disagree. Michael Cook also read an earlier draft of the entire book and responded with exceedingly helpful comments. So too did Professor Madelung, in the guise of an anonymous reader who went through the typescript with unusual care and pencilled in comments and corrections which greatly improved the book. We should also like to thank Alan Jones for comments on the penultimate draft, Ahmad Ubaydli (ʿUbaydalī) for help on Ibādī matters, Mohamed Ben Madani for procuring a copy of Cuperly's *Introduction* from Algeria (and, while he was at it, sending a copy to the British Library), and Etan Kohlberg for comments on parts of the translation as well as his general enthusiasm about the project.

Our greatest debt is to Ennami who, some twenty-five years ago, passed to Martin Hinds a xerox of the manuscript in his possession which included the epistle of Sālim b. Dhakwān. It is from this xerox that Cook published part of Sālim's epistle and that we are now publishing the whole. We do not know where the manuscript itself is to be found today. Having completed his Cambridge doctorate, Ennami returned to Libya and had

his thesis printed at Benghazi, but the printing was impounded and he left the country to spend the next twenty years or so in exile; when he went back to Libya again, apparently in the early 1980s, he was imprisoned, his library was confiscated, and he died in jail. We should like the book to be seen as a memorial to him.

June 1997

PC and FWZ

#### POSTSCRIPT 1999

Some time after our script had gone to press, Abdulrahman Al-Salmi, a descendant of the Omani scholar al-Sālimī whose name figures so prominently in this book, arrived in this country to read for a Ph.D. at the University of Durham. Upon hearing of our project, he informed us that he had brought with him photocopies of two manuscripts from private collections in Oman both of which included our epistle. We are deeply grateful to Mr Al-Salmi for providing us with copies of the relevant pages, which gave us a much firmer sense of the text as transmitted in modern Oman, and enabled us to incorporate the new evidence while there was still time.

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## A NOTE ON CONVENTIONS

References to *Sīrat Sālim* are usually by part and paragraph, e.g. 'II, 2'. The paragraph numbering is continuous, so the reference to the part is strictly speaking unnecessary, but we have found it helpful to know at a glance which part of the epistle is involved. Sometimes we refer to lines, in the straightforward form 'l. 482' the line numbering being continuous too.

When we refer to both pages and lines in other works we use the form '18.6' or '18.-6' (meaning six lines up). We only identify the first line of the passage in question and frequently do not indicate lines at all. The form '18:6' is used where the reference is to a line or verse within a numbered unit such as a sura or poem. Where references are given in the form 2 = 19, the first figure refers to the edition and the second to the translation.

Dates are normally given in the form 70/689 f, but double dates are not easy to take in and there are times when we prefer to give *hijrī* or Christian dates on their own.

We retain the definite article of Arabic names in the text of the book, but drop it in the notes and bibliographical discussions, except in first references.

We use 'traditionist' for *muhaddith* (a transmitter of *ḥadīth*) and 'traditionalists' for adherents of *ḥadīth* as a prime source of doctrine, whether engaged in its transmission or not.

Conventions specific to the edition and translation are set out at the end of the introduction.



# PART I



# 1

## INTRODUCTION

The Khārijites were the first sect to crystallize in the Islamic world and also the first to leave its heartlands for distant provinces in which they could hold their own against the majority in religious and sometimes in political terms as well. They are traditionally said to have emerged in the first civil war (656–61) and to have split into sub-sects in the second (684–92); their last bid for metropolitan power certainly came in the third civil war (744–50); thereafter, their centre of gravity shifted to the provinces. Even there they mostly died out, but the Ibādī sub-sect survived, primarily in Oman and North Africa. The Ibādīs constitute less than 1 per cent of the total number of Muslims today, but, unlike many other tiny sectarian groups dotted about the landscape of the Middle East, they have a rich literary heritage stretching back to the formative centuries of Islam.

Having formulated their views early and moved into relative isolation soon thereafter, the Ibādīs can be expected to have retained old assumptions and ideas that are no longer to be found in the mainstream tradition; they certainly preserve a considerable number of works said to have been written before *c.*800, when the sources of the mainstream tradition begin to flow freely. Their heritage is thus of great potential importance for the reconstruction of early Muslim thought. This has long been recognized, but the attempt to exploit the Ibādī tradition has been severely hampered by its lack of accessibility; to some extent it still is. Thanks to the Omani Ministry of National Heritage and Culture, which has been publishing Ibādī sources at a steady rate over the last twenty years or so, we are, however, beginning to acquire the wherewithal for the attempt to put the Ibādī heritage to historical use. The present work is a contribution to that endeavour. It makes accessible yet another early source from the Ibādī tradition and seeks to evaluate what it tells us about early thought. The result cannot be described as momentous. It is, however, sufficiently instructive to suggest that continued work on the Ibādī tradition will prove rewarding.

The text in question has come down to us under the title *Sīrat Sālim b. Dhakwān*. In what follows we shall address questions of transmission, authorship, and content, and explain our procedure in the subsequent edition and translation.

## THE MANUSCRIPTS

## A. THE HINDS XEROX

Our text was introduced to Western scholars by the work of Ennami. His doctoral thesis, submitted to Cambridge University in 1971, includes passages translated from two Omani manuscripts of mixed contents which it does not fully describe. Let us call them *B* and *C*. We learn that both were given to him by Omani friends and that both contained *sīras*, in the Omani sense of doctrinal epistles.<sup>1</sup> Among the things we learn about *B* is that it was 426 pages long; carried our *Sīrat Sālim* at and around, for example pp. 204 and 221; and that a xeroxed copy of this manuscript had been given to the Library of the Faculty of Oriental Studies in Cambridge.<sup>2</sup> Among the things we learn about *C* is that it carried a *sīra* by Abū 'l-Mu'thir at and around p. 20.<sup>3</sup>

In 1978 Cook went to the Faculty Library in Cambridge in search of the xeroxed copy of *B*, but no such copy was to be found there. Instead, Cook found a xerox in the possession of Martin Hinds. This copy, which Cook proceeded to call the Hinds Xerox, included *Sīrat Sālim* and so appeared to be a copy of *B*. This is, in fact, what Hinds assumed it to be;<sup>4</sup> but he could not remember how he had come by it,<sup>5</sup> and its pagination does not tally with that of *B* as known from Ennami's thesis: passages translated by Ennami with reference to pp. 204 and 221, for example, are found at pp. 171 and 188 in the Hinds Xerox.<sup>6</sup> For this reason, Cook assumed that the Hinds Xerox was actually a copy of *C*, and that Ennami had left unmentioned the fact that *C*, too, included *Sīrat Sālim*.<sup>7</sup> But the text at and around p. 20 of the Hinds Xerox is not the *sīra* of Abū 'l-Mu'thir cited by Ennami from *C*; indeed, this *sīra* is not found in the Hinds Xerox at all.<sup>8</sup> Moreover, the Hinds Xerox, though ending with a page numbered 393,

<sup>1</sup> 'A. K. Ennami, 'Studies in Ibadism' (Cambridge Ph.D. thesis, 1971), i. 47 nn. 41–2. There are several examples of *sīra* in this sense in the Hinds Xerox; in S. I. Kāshif (ed.), *al-Siyar wa'l-jawābāt* (Cairo (WTQwTh), 1986); and in J. Wilkinson, 'The Omani Manuscript Collection at Muscat, part II', *Arabian Studies*, 4 (1978), 192 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Ennami, 'Studies', i. 20, 25, 47 n. 41. Of *B* we also learn that Ennami's Omani friend held it, clearly incorrectly, to be part of the *Ta'rikh* or *al-Sīra al-kabira* of al-Bīsyāni (whence our siglum).

<sup>3</sup> Ennami, 'Studies', i. 167 and n. 89 thereto.

<sup>4</sup> He identified it as a copy of *B* on the manilla envelope in which he kept it.

<sup>5</sup> He explained to Cook that initially Ennami must have lent him the manuscript itself, for he had taken notes and copied three watermarks from it. 'Presumably I then told Ennami how interesting I found the MS + being the decent man he is he gave me the xerox copy. . . I still have no recollection of the pre-xerox copy stage' (letter to Cook, 5 April 1979).

<sup>6</sup> Ennami, 'Studies' i. 20, 25.

<sup>7</sup> M. A. Cook, *Early Muslim Dogma* (Cambridge, 1981), 4.

<sup>8</sup> As Cook notes, the scribe's table of contents shows that it did once form part of the MS that the Hinds Xerox reproduces. But it was positioned at the end, which had been lost by the time the MS was xeroxed (cf. below, n. 34).

actually has a total of 425 pages (or 426 if one includes the final blank), corresponding to the 426 pages said by Ennami to be the total of *B*. The scribe's pagination is erratic: he inadvertently skipped one number and duplicated another thirty-three (without the text itself being affected).<sup>9</sup> Clearly, Ennami renumbered the pages of the manuscript and referred to his own pagination. He must have done so after it was xeroxed and he must have started his pagination three pages before the table of contents, where the Hinds Xerox begins. The page numbers given by Ennami in references to *Sīrat Sālīm* in *B* are those which the Hinds Xerox would bear if numbered correctly from a starting point of 4.<sup>10</sup> It follows that the Hinds Xerox is a copy of Ennami's manuscript *B*; that *C* in all probability did *not* include *Sīrat Sālīm*; and that the Hinds Xerox contains the only copy of *Sīrat Sālīm* known to exist until recently. A microfilm of the Hinds Xerox has since been deposited in the Cambridge University Library.<sup>11</sup>

### B. THE CONTENTS OF THE HINDS XEROX (HX)

The scribe's table of contents is only slightly less erratic than his pagination. He numbers the items, but omits some and does not always list the others in the order in which they actually appear. We now give a corrected version. The numbers on the left refer to the order in which the items appear, first in our numeration (in parenthesis) and next in the scribe's. The numbers on the right give the pages on which the items appear, first with reference to the scribe's defective pagination and next (in parenthesis) with reference to our own. Unlike Ennami, but like the scribe, we count the first page of the table of contents as '1'. Duplicates in the scribe's pagination are distinguished by superscript numbers (e.g. pp. 171<sup>1</sup>, 171<sup>2</sup>).

(1) 1.	<i>Bāb fī 'l-malāya wa 'l-barā'a</i>	pp. 3–66 <sup>2</sup> (3–85)
(2) 2.	<i>Sīrat Bashīr b. Muḥammad b. Maḥbūb</i> <sup>12</sup>	pp. 66 <sup>2</sup> –79 <sup>2</sup> (85–98)
(3) 3.	<i>Min jawāb Muḥammad b. Rawḥ</i> <sup>13</sup>	pp. 79 <sup>2</sup> –103 (98–122)
(4) 4.	<i>Sīrat Shabīb b. 'Aṭīyya</i> <sup>14</sup>	pp. 103–39 (122–58)

<sup>9</sup> He jumps from 40 to 42; p. 78 is followed by pp. 59–78, followed by two pages numbered 79; p. 159 is followed by pp. 150–9; and there are two pages 161, 315, and 381.

<sup>10</sup> It follows that Ennami's pagination must have gone wrong towards the end: he should have arrived at a total of 428 pages (or 429 counting the final blank) rather than 426. That there were three pages before the table of contents is hypothetical, but there must have been at least one, carrying the title: according to Hinds's notes, the MS called itself *al-siyar al-'umāniyya*.

<sup>11</sup> Or. 1402.

<sup>12</sup> See App. 1, no. 5 (descendants, iv).

<sup>13</sup> This man appears to have flourished in the fourth/tenth cent. cf. al-Sālimī, *Tuhfat al-a'yān bi-sīrat ahl 'Umān* (Cairo, 1961), i. 111–14, where he transmits from Abū 'l-Ḥawārī (late third/ninth to early fourth/tenth cent.); J. Wilkinson, *The Imamate Tradition of Oman* (Cambridge, 1987), 167.

<sup>14</sup> See Bibliogr. Sect. A, s.v. 'Shabīb b. 'Aṭīyya'.

- (5) 5. *Mukhtaṣar min kitāb ṣifat aḥdāth ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān*<sup>15</sup> pp. 139–54<sup>1</sup> (158–73)
- (6) 6. *Sīrat Sālim b. Dhakmān* pp. 154<sup>1</sup>–94 (173–224)
- (7) 7. *Sīrat Muḥammad b. Maḥbūb ilā Abī Ziyād Khalaf b. ‘Udhra*<sup>16</sup> pp. 195–202 (225–32)
- (8) 8. *Sīrat Abī Mawdūd Ḥājib*<sup>17</sup> pp. 202 (232)  
Missing; lacuna noted
- (9) — *Sīrat Munīr b. al-Nayyir al-Ḥaḥlānī ilā ‘l-imām Ghassān b. ‘Abdallāh*<sup>18</sup> Acephalous; title added later pp. 203–19 (233–49)
- (10) 14. *Ḥawāṣi min Mūsā b. ‘Alī ‘anhu wa-‘an Ḥāshim b. Ghaylān ilā ‘l-imām ‘Abd al-Malik b. Ḥumayd*<sup>19</sup> pp. 219–21 (249–51)
- (11) 15. *Li-‘l-imām ‘Abd al-malik b. Ḥumayd min Ḥāshim b. Ghaylān wa-ghayrihi min al-muslimīn*<sup>20</sup> pp. 221–4 (251–4)
- (12) 16. *Min kitāb fihi ḥadīth mukātabat ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib* pp. 224–37 (254–67)
- (13) 17. *Risālat ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib ilā ‘Abdallāh b. al-‘Abbās wa-jawābuhu lahu* pp. 237–8 (267–8)
- (14) 11. *Kitāb Abī ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Maḥbūb ilā imām Ḥaḍramawt*<sup>21</sup> pp. 238–60 (268–90)
- (15) 12. *Sīrat Ḥāshim b. Ghaylān ilā ‘Abd al-Malik b. Ḥumayd*<sup>22</sup> pp. 260–2 (290–2)
- (16) — Untitled acephalous letter of advice to an imam, possibly no. 29 pp. 262–4 (292–4)
- (17) 13. *Kitāb Munīr b. al-Nayyir ilā Ghassān b. ‘Abdallāh*<sup>23</sup> pp. 264–79 (294–309)

<sup>15</sup> See below, Ch. 4, pp. 190 ff.

<sup>16</sup> See App. 1, no. 4 (descendants, iii).

<sup>17</sup> Abū Mawdūd Ḥājib al-Ṭā’ī was a close associate of Abū ‘Ubayda’s, whom he predeceased (cf. App. 1, no. 2). Some extracts from a *sīra* of his are cited at HX, 100 ff (119 ff), at the end of Muḥammad b. Rawḥ’s letter. They may be mangled remains of this item rather than quotations by Muḥammad b. Rawḥ.

<sup>18</sup> See Bibliogr. Sect. A, s.v. ‘Munīr b. al-Nayyir’. For the imam, see App. 2.

<sup>19</sup> Mūsā b. ‘Alī was a leading scholar who died in 230/844 f or the year after (Sālimī, *Tuḥfa*, i. 151; *al-Ḥārithī, al-‘Uqūd al-fidḍiyya fī uṣūl al-‘Ibādīyya* (Beirut, n.d.), 254). For Ḥāshim, see the following n. For the imam, see App. 2.

<sup>20</sup> See Bibliogr. Sect. A, s.v. ‘Ḥāshim b. Ghaylān’. For the imam, see App. 2.

<sup>21</sup> See App. 1, no. 4 (descendants, iii).

<sup>22</sup> See above, n. 20.

<sup>23</sup> See above, n. 18.

- (18) 9. *Kitāb Shabīb b. ‘Atīyya ilā ‘Abd al-Salām, radd ‘alā ‘l-shukkāk wa’l-mur-jī’a*<sup>24</sup> pp. 279–85 (309–15)
- (19) 10. *Min jawāb al-qādi Abī Zakariyyā’ Yahyā b. Sa‘ūd*<sup>25</sup> pp. 285–8 (315–18)  
Breaks off; scribe notes lacuna  
Resumes; breaks off again pp. 289–93 (319–23)
- (20) 18. *Kitāb min Mūsā ilā ‘l-imām* pp. 293–9 (323–9)
- (21) 19. *Sīrat Khalaf b. Ziyād al-Bahrāni*<sup>26</sup> pp. 299–365 (329–96)
- (22) 20. *Kitāb fīhi radd ‘alā ahl al-shakk*<sup>27</sup> pp. 365–81<sup>2</sup> (396–413)
- (23) 21. *Sīrat ‘Abdallāh b. Ibād*<sup>28</sup> pp. 381<sup>2</sup>–93 (413–25)  
Incomplete, manuscript breaks off
22. Left blank
23. *Risālat Abī ‘Ubayda wa-Abī Mawdūd*
24. *Min Abī ‘Ubayda wa-Abī Mawdūd ilā ‘l-Faḍl b. Kathīr*
25. *Wa-min kutub Abī ‘Ubayda*
26. *Min Abī Mawdūd ilā Abī ‘l-Ḥurr*<sup>29</sup>
27. *Wa-hādihā ilā ahl ‘Umān fīhi dhikr Qut[ay]ba (?) b. Dirham*
28. *Sīrat Mūsā b. Abī Jābir*<sup>30</sup>
29. *Naṣīhat Abī Mawdūd li’l-imām Ghassān b. ‘Abdallāh*<sup>31</sup>
30. *Li-Abī ‘Alī*
31. *Hādihā mā yaqūlu ‘l-Ṣalt b. Mālīk*<sup>32</sup>
32. *Min Hāshim b. Ghaylān ilā ‘l-imām ‘Abd al-Malik b. Humayd*<sup>33</sup>

<sup>24</sup> See above, n. 14.

<sup>25</sup> For another epistle by this author, see Kāshif, *Siyar*, ii. no. 21, where his death date is given as 472/1079 f.

<sup>26</sup> See Bibliogr. Sect. A, s.v. ‘Khalaf b. Ziyād’.

<sup>27</sup> See App. 5.

<sup>28</sup> This is the so-called first letter of Ibn Ibād to ‘Abd al-Malik (cf. the Bibliogr. Sect. A, s.v. ‘IBI’).

<sup>29</sup> For items 23–6, see above, n. 17. Abū ‘l-Ḥurr was a participant in the great Ibādī revolt in Arabia in the 740s.

<sup>30</sup> Mūsā b. Abi Jābir al-Dabbī al-Izkawī was one of the carriers of knowledge to Oman and a leading figure in Omani politics down to his death in 181/797 f (Sālimī, *Tuhfa*, i. 105, 108, 110 f; Ḥārithī, *‘Uqūd*, 253 f; Wilkinson, *Imamate Tradition*, index).

<sup>31</sup> This may be the untitled and acephalous piece listed by us as (15). But Abū Mawdūd, i.e. Ḥājib at-Ṭā’i, who died before 158/775 (cf. above, n. 17), obviously cannot have written a letter of advice to this imam, who ruled 192–207/808–23 (cf. App. 2).

<sup>32</sup> For this imam, see App. 2.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. above, n. 20.

33. *Sīrat Abī 'l-Muṭṭhir al-Ṣalt b. Khamīs*<sup>34</sup>
34. *Sīrat al-imām al-Muhannā b. Jayfar ilā Mu'ādh (?) b. Ḥarb*<sup>35</sup>
35. *Kitāb al-muwāzana 'an al-shaykh Abī Muḥammad 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Baraka*<sup>36</sup>
36. *Sīrat al-shaykh Abī Muḥammad 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Baraka*<sup>37</sup>

### C. HX AND MANUSCRIPTS S AND N

Breaking off as it does without a colophon, the Hinds Xerox does not record its date; but Cook, taking expert advice on three watermarks once copied from the manuscript itself by Hinds, established that its paper dated from the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>38</sup> The manuscript was almost certainly written in Oman, and may have been used by the Omani scholar 'Abdallāh b. Ḥumayd al-Sālimī (d. 1332/1914), in whose *Tuhfat al-a'ḡān* Hinds discovered a close parallel to the concluding part of our epistle.<sup>39</sup> Al-Sālimī does not mention his source; but his great-grandson, Abdulrahman Al-Salmī, has since informed us that Ennami was a friend of his family and that it was his grandfather who presented Ennami with manuscripts from the family collection. More important, Al-Salmī provided us with photographs of two further copies of our epistle, one of which — S — is part of a codex in the library of his own family at Bidiya in Oman.

The extract in the *Tuhfat al-a'ḡān* shares two distinctive errors with both HX and S in its first paragraph,<sup>40</sup> and for the rest is slightly closer to S. Presumably, then, S was al-Sālimī's prime source, though he may also have used the very manuscript which was to end up in Ennami's possession. The many differences between his version and ours, which are recorded in our edition, must be regarded as changes made by al-Sālimī to a text much like ours, not as old variants preserved elsewhere. Whole passages have been omitted; one has been transposed; some have been rephrased; and one has been replaced by a passage taken from elsewhere:

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Bibliogr. Sect. A, s.v. 'Abū 'l-Muṭṭhir'. This is the item that figured around p. 20 in Ennami's MS C.

<sup>35</sup> For this imam, see App. 2.

<sup>36</sup> Published from a different MS in Kāshif, *Siyar*, ii. 384–420. For the author, see Bibliogr. Sect. A, s.v. 'Ibn Baraka al-Bahlawi'.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. preceding n.

<sup>38</sup> Hinds told Cook that his notes and watermarks 'certainly belong to the MS from which we now have the xerox copy' (letter of 5 April 1979; cf. above, n. 5). His notes include some from *Sīrat Sālim*.

<sup>39</sup> Sālimī, *Tuhfa*, i. 81–5.

<sup>40</sup> See n. 47 below.

instead of the sentence found at lines 959–61 of our edition, al-Sālīmī's version has thirteen lines taken from an epistle by Wā'il b. Ayyūb.<sup>41</sup> Al-Sālīmī's extract bears no independent witness to the text of *Sīrat Sālim*. No other extracts have come to light so far. For the time being, that leaves us with the testimony of HX, S, and N.

The codex which includes S is entitled *Kitāb al-siyar* and dated 1120/1708. N is included in a codex entitled *Al-Siyar al-Ibāḍiyya* and dated 1141/1728, which belongs to another private collection in Oman, that of Aḥmad b. Naṣir al-Sayfī at Nizwa. Like HX, both codices are anthologies of Ibāḍī epistles, though their contents are not the same. That much we know from Al-Salmī, who is going to describe the two codices more fully in his thesis. Meanwhile, his kindness has enabled us to incorporate the internal evidence of their versions of *Sīrat Sālim*. S and N turn out to be so similar to each other that N, the younger, could almost pass for a straight copy of S. More surprisingly, they are so similar also to the later copy in HX that it, too, could almost pass for a direct descendant of S, possibly through N. The older readings, as one might expect, are better in places, particularly where they preserve a phrase or line lost on the way to HX.<sup>42</sup> Still, they do share some of its baffling little mistakes, thereby clearing its scribe from charges of mindless negligence.<sup>43</sup> The main effect of the new evidence is to confirm the general reliability of HX by showing that most of its peculiarities originated well before its time. Together our three witnesses bear testimony to a scribal tradition so committed to faithful reproduction that even such minor differences as do exist between them tend to suggest a diversity of exemplars.

One striking example of faithful reproduction is the blank in line 912 of our text, which is found in all three manuscripts alike, preceded by a sign of obscure significance, and with nothing to suggest that sign and blank were instituted by the scribe of S. They also share a tendency to reproduce transparent errors. For example, the word *miḥna* plainly intended at lines 560 and 638 is misrepresented as *maḥabba* in all three manuscripts. As such errors cannot have escaped the notice of successive copyists, the scribes of N and HX, at least, must have followed a principle of non-interference in the transmitted text. If the same principle was followed by the scribe of S before them, no shared mistake is particularly likely to have originated in S; and if none of them did, they must go back to an antecedent copy at least one generation older than S, from which they could have passed to N and HX along separate lines. Such a common ancestor is further suggested by individual readings not easily discounted as slips

<sup>41</sup> *Tuhfā*, i. 84.13–85.5; Wā'il b. Ayyūb (on whom, see Bibliog. Sect. A, s.v.) in *Kāshif*, *Siyar*, ii. 46–7.4. Part of the passage in question is cited below, Ch. 7 (nn. 28, 33).

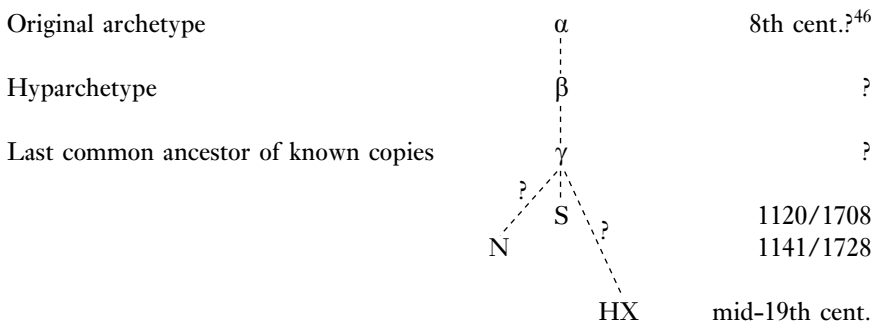
<sup>42</sup> Notably at ll. 292 and 368.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Cook, *Dogma*, 159.

of the pen. For in the light of the editorial restraint noted above, it is hard to explain such variants as the *hudā* 'l-*qurʿān* of N for the *hādihā* 'l-*qurʿān* of S and HX in I, 5,<sup>44</sup> or the *thabāt* of HX for the problematic *niyyāt* of S and N at line 61, as conjectural emendations on the part of their scribes.

Again, where S and N have the *ibtanā* of line 379 fully dotted, the scribe of HX carefully drew a skeleton without dots, no doubt to show us exactly what he found in his exemplar. If that impression is correct, he was copying from an exemplar other than N or S, which may have been independent of both and possibly older. It follows that any special defect of HX could be a legacy from its exemplar. It need not have been he who accidentally skipped the odd phrase or line preserved in S and N; and the demonstratively undotted skeleton at line 379 creates a presumption that orthographical oddities, in particular, are deliberate imitations of what he found in his exemplar. HX not only has more undotted letters than S or N, it is also more sparing in the supply of letters to support *hamza*, and more often omits *alif* from syllables with *ā*.<sup>45</sup> Such seeming archaisms could be residual traits inherited from a very old ancestor. The youngest of our scribes may yet turn out to have been the most studiously conservative of all.

Provisionally, we may picture the transmission of our text as follows.



Some of the question marks may disappear in the light of future discoveries. Further copies of our epistle may yet turn up. What we know now is that the common text of S, N, and HX existed by the early eighteenth century at the latest, and was stably transmitted in Oman thereafter. If, as individual differences seem to indicate, HX is not descended from S, let alone through N, it must have been from an earlier copy  $\gamma$  that they all inherited their shared peculiarities. Here is a short list of tell-tale cruces.

Distinctly garbled words are *al-dhall* for our (conjectural) *alladhī* at line 16; *tūʿazū* where one would expect a word meaning ‘you will be rewarded’

<sup>44</sup> See n. 49 below.

<sup>45</sup> See n. 50 below.

<sup>46</sup> See Ch. 8 below.

(l. 55); *maḥābb* for our *kitāb* (l. 102); *nuṭq* where one would expect a word for 'guilty' (l. 467); *maḥabba* for our *miḥna* (ll. 560, 638); *nikāḥ* for our *nākiḥ* (l. 635); *muṭarīfūn* for our *muftariqūn* (l. 658); *min al-qawm* for our *al-yawm* (l. 729); *ʿsnḥ* for a word meaning 'split up' (l. 755); *illā* for our *al-imām* (802); *jaʿalā* for our *ḥālat* (l. 823); *aʿimma* for our *amr* (l. 838); *ḥattā ghalabahum* for our *khafiya ʿalayhim* (l. 842); *nqfwʿ* for our *naqdhif* (l. 875).<sup>47</sup>

Distinctly garbled sequences of words are marked, for example, in lines 104 f, 167 f, 235, 576.

Some words are distinctly missing. The most notable among the minor lacunae marked in our edition is found at line 47, where an ancestral pen seems to have slipped from one occurrence of the same word to the next. By contrast, the lacuna apparently indicated by the distinctive blank reproduced in line 912 occurs in a sentence where nothing seems to be missing at all.

Finally, certain breaks in style and composition to be considered later will show that  $\gamma$  included some passages of interpolation. For example, the last two paragraphs of what appears to be the original text are separated by three incongruous passages (IV, 139–41) plainly inserted by transmitters. Again, it will emerge from an abrupt transition in line 834 that there must have been an earlier version which either contained the conclusion to the paragraphs preceding the break or lacked the whole section (III, 106–13).<sup>48</sup>

Any copy which may come to light in the future will be recognizable as another member of the family descended from  $\gamma$  if it reflects the same array of problems, in which case it may clarify lines of descent within that family. If such a copy were older than S, it could be  $\gamma$  itself. If it so reflected those problems as to explain some of them, it could be the exemplar of  $\gamma$ . And any copy so free from some of those problems as to have to belong to a separate branch of transmission would enable us to tell old from new in  $\gamma$ ; for anything still shared would then have to be regarded as a feature of an earlier hyparchetype  $\beta$ , possibly the oldest version of *Sīrat Sālim* ever to be transmitted in Oman.

For the time being, we cannot tell where  $\gamma$  departed from  $\beta$  except in matters of spelling. As we suggested earlier, some of its garbled sequences of letters may have served to signal incidental obscurities in its exemplar, that is, the copy representing, sometimes obscurely, our dimly perceived hyparchetype  $\beta$ . In addition, certain inconsistencies within and between our manuscripts distinctly show that successive copyists — including, but not necessarily beginning with, the scribe of  $\gamma$  — occasionally adapted

<sup>47</sup> The last three readings occur in the passage underlying the extract in Sālimī's *Tuhfa* (n. 39 above), where the third is emended while the other two are not.

<sup>48</sup> See pp. 20–3 below.

peculiar spellings to their own standards. Patchily preserved regularities indicate that one of his predecessors consistently wrote *alif* instead of  $yā^2$  at the end of words like *hudā*, *yud'ā*, or *muntahā*; supplied no letter to support *hamza* in words like *ru'ūs*, *shay'an*, *yabra'ūna*, or *mas'ūl*; rarely, if ever, supplied *hamza* above or below *alif*, above  $yā^2$ , or on the line; sometimes used *madda* to mark  $\bar{a}$  as well as  $^2\bar{a}$ ; and rarely, if ever, used vowel signs. Shared departures from those norms would indicate that the scribe of  $\gamma$  occasionally replaced final *alif* with  $yā^2$ , and added the odd *hamza*. In all three manuscripts,  $yā^2$  below *hamza* retains its dots, presumably to indicate that the *hamza* does not belong to the original text. Individual variants show that subsequent scribes made their own little changes and additions.<sup>49</sup> For example, N will sometimes supply superscript *alif*, especially above final  $yā^2$  in cases where  $\gamma$  had retained *alif*; and HX will sometimes add *hamza* above initial *alif*, even below *madda*, or where the vowel is *i*.

None of the ancestral spellings preserved in the text of  $\gamma$  are uncommon in manuscripts of various kinds, regions, and periods back to the Middle Ages, except for a weakly attested tendency to omit *alif* from syllables with  $\bar{a}$ , which could conceivably go back to the original archetype  $\alpha$ .<sup>50</sup> That is hardly enough to encourage the romantic idea that  $\beta$  may have been a direct copy of, or identical with, the original autograph. Yet the fact remains that none of the changes we can see to have happened on the way from  $\alpha$  to  $\gamma$  call for a date beyond the early Middle Ages. As it would be awkward to allow too many intermediate copies between  $\gamma$  and its late descendants in Oman (how often can a transparently garbled reading have been passed on without change?), it is tempting to assume that  $\gamma$  originated in Oman, and late enough to have had some Omani ancestors at the end of its long line of descent from  $\alpha$ . But then, there is nothing to exclude the possibility that  $\gamma$  was a medieval manuscript which, whatever its place of origin, ended up being copied in Oman at a venerable old age. In effect, all we can gather from the descendants of  $\gamma$  about the origins of their ancestors is contained in the lapidary title attested by all three: *Sīrat Sālim b. Dhakwān*.

<sup>49</sup> That goes to show that commitment to faithful reproduction did not entirely preclude minor departures from the transmitted text. In one case, we can see the reason: where S and HX read *hādhā 'l-qur'ān* at ll. 46, 47, and 54, the second letter seems to have carried no dot in the exemplar of N, and the copyist replaced the final *alif* of what he took to be *hudā* with  $yā^2$ , no doubt to distinguish the two words more clearly from the Qur'ānic phrase they ended up as, rightly or wrongly, in other copies.

<sup>50</sup> For example, *alif* is missing from the *mu'āwana* of l. 796 in all MSS, and from the *yuzāhir* of l. 252 in HX; *qiyāma* is always spelt defectively in HX (as in the Qur'ān), and sometimes in N.

SĀLIM B. DHAKWĀN

The putative author of our source is a shadowy figure of the second/eighth century. The Sīstānīs remembered a local boy by the name of Sālim b. Dhakwān who had been captured by the Arabs at Bust in 30/650 f and later risen to prominence among them.<sup>51</sup> The Ibādīs knew a co-religionist of the same name from the letters of Jābir b. Zayd, the first leader of the Basran Ibādīs (d. between 93/711 and 104/722): one of Jābir's letters is addressed to him.<sup>52</sup> But Jābir apart, the first Ibādī to mention Sālim b. Dhakwān seems to be al-Bisyānī, a fourth/tenth-century Omani, who lists him among the scholars of the past in one of his epistles.<sup>53</sup> Of Sālim's epistle, with or without his name, there appears to be no trace in the Ibādī literature down to the fifth/eleventh century.

If the Ibādī Sālim b. Dhakwān is identical with the captive from Sīstān, he not only corresponded with Jābir, but also belonged to his generation. The modern Ibādī author al-Sālimī does in fact place him in the generation of the Successors along with Jābir.<sup>54</sup> But the sixteenth-century al-Shammākhī lists him in the generation of al-Rabī<sup>c</sup> b. Ḥabīb (d. c.170/786), with the comment that actually he belongs to the generation of Abū 'Ubayda (d. between 136/754 and 158/775).<sup>55</sup> This is just compatible with the claim that he corresponded with Jābir,<sup>56</sup> but it would rule out his identification with the Sīstānī captive and place his *floruit* in the late Umayyad or early 'Abbāsīd periods, which is also where al-Bisyānī implicitly seems to place him.<sup>57</sup> Later Ibādī authors list him in close proximity to scholars such as al-Kudamī and al-'Awtabī, implying, possibly unintentionally, that he flourished in the fourth/tenth or fifth/eleventh century;<sup>58</sup> and the modern author al-Samā'īlī explicitly places him in the same *ṭabaqa*

<sup>51</sup> *Tarikh-i Sīstān*, ed. M. Sh. Bahār (Tehran, 1314), 82.ult; tr. M. Gold (Rome, 1976), 65 f (noted by Martin Hinds).

<sup>52</sup> A. K. Ennami, 'A Description of New Ibadī Manuscripts from North Africa', *Journal of Semitic Studies*, 15 (1970), 65.

<sup>53</sup> Kāshif, *Siyar*, ii. 86. For Bisyānī's date, see Bibliogr. Sect. A, s.v.

<sup>54</sup> al-Sālimī, *Jawhar al-niẓām fī 'ilmay al-adyān wa'l-ahkām* (Cairo, 1381), 552.3 (where *najl Dhakwān* is used for Ibn Dhakwān on account of the metre).

<sup>55</sup> al-Shammākhī, *Kitāb al-siyar* (Cairo, 1301), 119: *wa-haqquhu an yudhkar fī ṭabaqat Abī 'Ubayda*. (He also uses this phrase of other people listed in al-Rabī<sup>c</sup>'s generation, cf. pp. 112, 113.) For the dates of Abū 'Ubayda and al-Rabī<sup>c</sup>, see App. 1, nos. 2–3; for Shammākhī's, see Bibliogr. Sect. A, s.v.

<sup>56</sup> Abū 'Ubayda himself is commonly said to have been a pupil of Jābir (see App. 1, no. 2).

<sup>57</sup> Cf. above, n. 53. The list comprises Jābir, Abū 'Ubayda, Ḍumām, Sālim b. Dhakwān, Abū 'l-Ḥurr, al-Rabī<sup>c</sup>, Maḥbūb, Wā'il b. Ayyūb, Khalaf b. Ziyād, and Hilāl b. 'Aṭīyya, in that, faintly odd, order.

<sup>58</sup> al-Izkawī (attrib.), *Kashf al-ghumma*, British Library, Or. 8076, fo. 391b.1; Khamīs b. Sa'īd al-Shaqṣī al-Rustāqī, *Manhaj al-tālibīn wa-balāgh al-rāghibīn* (Oman (WTQwTh), 1979–), i. 625.10; cf. Jumayyil b. Khamīs al-Sa'īdī, *Qāmūs al-sharī'a* (Zanzibar 1297–1301), viii. 308.7, citing the *Manhaj*. Chronologically, these lists are badly jumbled.

as the fifth/eleventh-century al-ʿAwtabī.<sup>59</sup> This is presumably a mistake. But where in the second/eighth century we should place him cannot be determined.

If our Sālīm was captured in Sīstān, he will have passed into the ownership of a Basran and probably continued to live within the Basran sphere of influence (Khurāsān, Sīstān, Kirmān, Fars, Basra, Oman) even after he had been manumitted. Two Ibādī authors unreliably identify him as an Omani.<sup>60</sup> The fact that he communicated with Jābir by letter certainly suggests that he was active outside Basra,<sup>61</sup> but his whereabouts are as uncertain as his dates.

This is all we can say about him. A certain Sālīm al-Hilālī is reputed to have participated in an Ibādī delegation to ʿUmar II,<sup>62</sup> and modern Ibādī scholars identify this man with Sālīm b. Dhakwān.<sup>63</sup> But al-Shammākhī lists Sālīm al-Hilālī and Sālīm b. Dhakwān as separate persons in his *Siyar*,<sup>64</sup> and the former is probably to be identified as Sālīm b. Ḥuṭayʿa al-Hilālī, the author of a book which is cited by al-Barrādī and which had something in common with the epistle of Sālīm b. Dhakwān without being identical with it.<sup>65</sup> Al-Sālimī also identifies al-Muʿtamir b. ʿUmāra, an Ibādī active in Oman in the second half of the eighth century, as a grandson of Sālīm;<sup>66</sup> Aṭfayyish concurs,<sup>67</sup> while al-Samāʿīli makes him a son of

<sup>59</sup> al-Samāʿīli, *Aṣḍaq al-manāḥij fī tamyīz al-Ibādīyya min al-Khawārij*, ed. S. I. Kāshif (Cairo (WTQwTh), 1979), 55.10 (fifth *ṭabaqa*).

<sup>60</sup> Izkawī, *Kashf al-ghumma*, fo. 391b.1; cf. 389b.13 (*wa-min fuqahāʾ ʿUmān*); Shaqṣī, *Manhaj*, i. 625.10, cf. pp. 621.9, 626.5 (drawn to our attention by Dr. A. Ubaydli); Saʿdī, *Qāmūs*, viii. 308.7, cf. pp. 304.–3, 309.4, citing Shaqṣī. Both Izkawī and Shaqṣī have Khurāsānis in their lists of allegedly Omani scholars.

<sup>61</sup> Noted by Cook, *Dogma*, 91, who infers from the prominence of Murjiʿism in his epistle (if his it is) that he may have been a Kufan.

<sup>62</sup> al-Darjīnī, *Kitāb ṭabaqāt al-mashāʾikh biʾil-Maghrib*, ed. I. Tallāy (Constantine, n.d.), ii. 232; Shammākhī, *Siyar*, 79, both citing Abū Sufyān (Maḥbūb): the participants were Jaʿfar b. al-Simāk al-ʿAbdī, al-Ḥubāb/Khubāb b. Kulayb, and Sālīm al-Hilālī. For other lists which omit Sālīm, see Izkawī, *Kashf*, fo. 389a.12; Shaqṣī, *Manhaj*, i. 619.12; Saʿdī, *Qāmūs*, viii. 303.6.

<sup>63</sup> Thus Aṭfayyish in ʿA. Y. Muʿammar, *al-Ibādīyya bayna ʾl-firaq al-islāmīyya*, 2nd printing (Oman (WTQwTh), 1992), ii. 281: the participants in the *wafd* to ʿUmar II included, among others, Jaʿfar b. al-Simāk al-ʿAbdī, al-Ḥubāb b. Kulayb, and Sālīm b. Dhakwān (repeated by Kāshif, *Siyar*, i. 120 n). Cf. Sālimī, *Tuhfa*, i. 105.–8 on al-Muʿtamir b. ʿUmāra b. Sālīm b. Dhakwān al-Hilālī.

<sup>64</sup> He lists Sālīm al-Hilālī in the generation of the *tābiʿūn* and Sālīm b. Dhakwān in that of Abū ʿUbayda (*Siyar*, 79 f, 119).

<sup>65</sup> Cf. al-Barrādī’s list of Ibādī books in ʿA. Ṭalībī, *Ārāʾ al-khawārij al-kalāmīyya* (Algiers, 1978), ii. 283.–4: *wa-kitāb Sālīm b. al-Ḥuṭayʿa al-Hilālī fī ʾl-ʿaqāʾid waʾl-naqd waʾl-iḥtijāj*. This would do as a description of Sālīm’s epistle too. For the quotations, see al-Barrādī, *Kitāb al-jawāhir*, litho. (Cairo, 1302), 52.8, 16, 102.–2, 103.–10, 142.–6: they concern the proper treatment of non-Ibādī Muslims, but are not found in *Sīrat Sālīm*. On Sālīm b. Ḥuṭayʿa al-Hilālī, see also R. Rubinacci, ‘Il “Kitāb al-Ġawāhir” di al-Barrādī’, *Annali dell’Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli*, NS, 4 (1952), 104.

<sup>66</sup> See above, n. 63.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. his note to Sālimī, *Jawhar al-nizām*, 552.

Sālim.<sup>68</sup> But al-Mu‘tamir’s supposed descent from Sālim was unknown to al-Shammākhī.<sup>69</sup>

Jābir’s letter to Sālim b. Dhakwān does not appear to mention the epistle with which the latter is credited,<sup>70</sup> al-Bisyānī’s list of scholars certainly does not refer to it. In fact, it is not mentioned or cited anywhere in the early literature. This is odd because early Ibādī sources often touch on Sālim’s subject (the correct classification of opponents), and they always espouse views identical with his.<sup>71</sup> His absence is particularly striking in an epistle by Abū Sufyān Maḥbūb b. al-Raḥīl (d. c.210/825), who not only deals with Sālim’s subject and shares his views, but who also tells the reader where he can read more about it: in the *sīra* of Hilāl b. ‘Aṭīyya, the *kutub* of Jābir b. Zayd and Khalaf b. Ziyād, and the Muslim *ṣiyar* and *aḥkāṃ* in general.<sup>72</sup> Abū Sufyān would surely have mentioned Sālim’s epistle by name if he had known it. An anonymous *Radd ‘alā ahl al-shakk* preserved in the Hinds Xerox contains a refutation of the ‘first Murjī’ites’ (*al-murjī’a ’l-ūlā*) which is reminiscent of Sālim’s, but it neither quotes nor mentions him, and its date is unknown.<sup>73</sup>

The first author to cite Sālim’s epistle seems to be Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Kindī (d. c.508/1114f), who introduces a section with the heading *min sīrat Sālim b. Dhakwān fī amr ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān* and fills it with a summary of Sālim’s account of ‘Uthmān’s innovations.<sup>74</sup> It is also for his account of ‘Uthmān that Sālim is mentioned by Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. ‘Abdallāh al-Kindī (d. c.557/1162), a younger relative of the preceding, who informs us that the so-called Nizwa party would adduce passages on ‘Uthmān from Hilāl b. ‘Aṭīyya’s epistle, claiming that much the same message was implied by ‘the epistle of Sālim and the epistle of ‘Abdallāh b. Ibād’.<sup>75</sup> Presumably, other citations can be found in the voluminous later literature before al-Sālimī cites the epistle again, without mentioning Sālim as its author;<sup>76</sup> but it does not seem to have acquired prominence in the Ibādī tradition. When later Omani authors list Sālim b. Dhakwān

<sup>68</sup> al-Samā’īlī, *Is‘āf al-a‘yān fī ansāb ahl ‘Umān* (Beirut, 1384), 56.–2.

<sup>69</sup> Shammākhī, *Ṣiyar*, 103 f, 109 f.

<sup>70</sup> Ennami does not give the contents of Jābir’s letter (which is not accessible to us) in his article (cf. above, n. 52); but had it mentioned the epistle, Ennami would surely have said so in his thesis, completed a year after the article was published.

<sup>71</sup> See, e.g., the *sīra* of Wā’il b. Ayyūb, which rehearses the Prophet’s treatment of polytheists, People of the Book, and *bughāt* along lines similar to Sālim’s, but without using his phraseology (Kāshif, *Ṣiyar*, ii. no. 24). The epistle of Abū Qaḥṭān Khālid b. Qaḥṭān also comes close to Sālim’s at times without betraying familiarity with it (ibid. i. 119, 121).

<sup>72</sup> Kāshif, *Ṣiyar*, i. 304.1. For Abū Sufyān’s date, see App. 1, no. 5.

<sup>73</sup> See App. 5.

<sup>74</sup> al-Kindī, *Bayān al-shar‘*, xxviii. (Oman (WTQwTh), 1988), 89.

<sup>75</sup> al-Kindī, *Kiṭāb al-ihtidā’*, ed. S. I. Kāshif (Cairo (WTQwTh), 1985), 51 f. On the Nizwa and Rustāq parties, see Wilkinson, *Imamate Tradition*, 166 ff and *passim*.

<sup>76</sup> Cf. above, n. 39. Sālimī quotes Part IV of the epistle (crossed with that of Wā’il b. Ayyūb) as *‘aqīdat ahl ‘Umān*.

among the scholars of the past, they never call him *ṣāhib al-sīra*, as they do Hilāl b. ʿAṭīyya and other authors of famous epistles,<sup>77</sup> but merely include his name without comment, as al-Bisyānī had done. The epistle does not appear to have passed to North Africa either. It is not listed in al-Barrādī's list of Ibādī books, which has a substantial rubric on eastern items;<sup>78</sup> and though al-Shammākhī has an entry on Sālīm, he does not mention the epistle, only Sālīm's correspondence with Jābir.<sup>79</sup>

One would infer from this that the Ibādīs knew Sālīm b. Dhakwān independently of the epistle he is supposed to have written, which only came to their knowledge at a fairly late stage. Its seemingly sudden emergence in the eleventh- and twelfth-century literature suggests that it was composed outside Oman, where it arrived too late to have much of an impact, and also too late to pass to North Africa. We shall come back to this possibility in Chapter 8.

One would also infer that it does not matter much whether one accepts the ascription of the epistle to Sālīm b. Dhakwān or not. We do not know where he lived, and above all, we do not know precisely when he lived. He belonged to the generation of Jābir or that of Abū ʿUbayda (or even that of al-Rabīʿ); but the problem posed by the epistle is precisely whether we should place it in the generation of Jābir or in that of Abū ʿUbaydā (or even al-Rabīʿ). If we go by the *Tāriḫ-i Sīstān*, Sālīm was born before 30/650–1 and thus likely to have written before 100/718; but if we go by al-Shammākhī, he could have written as late as the 150s/770s, or later still. The dates proposed so far for *Sīrat Sālīm* in the modern literature are 72/691 (Cook), c.82/701 (Madelung), c.100/718 (van Ess), c.130/747 (Cook's second and preferred date), and the early ʿAbbāsīd period (Calder).<sup>80</sup> As things stand, all are compatible with the ascription. Who wrote the epistle, where, and when, are thus questions which have to be answered on the basis of the epistle itself. For the sake of convenience we shall continue to refer to its author as Sālīm, but this is without prejudice to the question of who he actually was.

<sup>77</sup> See, e.g., Saʿdī, *Qāmūs*, viii. 303.ult, 306.13, 310.–3.

<sup>78</sup> Noted by Cook, *Dogma*, 89, with reference to the list in Ennami, 'Studies', 9 f; see now the longer version of this list given in Ṭalībī, *Arāʾ*, ii. 283.

<sup>79</sup> Cf. above, n. 55.

<sup>80</sup> Cook, *Dogma*, ch. 10; W. Madelung, review of Cook in *Journal of Theological Studies*, 33 (1982), 629 f; id., 'The Early Murjiʿa in Khurāsān and Transoxania and the Spread of Ḥanafism', *Der Islam*, 59 (1982) 32 n; J. van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra*, [hereafter, *TG*] (Berlin and New York, 1991–7), i. 171 ff; N. Calder, review of Cook in *Journal of Semitic Studies*, 27 (1983), 183.

## THE EPISTLE

## A. THE FOUR PARTS

Sālim's work consists of four main parts (to be referred to as I, II, III, IV), which we may label 'enjoinder to piety', 'history', 'polemics', and 'doctrinal stance'. The first two parts are preliminary to the main business of the epistle and consist largely of *topoi* well known from other early doctrinal epistles and sermons, in which they often appear in much the same order and similar wording. The last two parts convey the bulk of his message.

## PART I

The epistle has no address and probably never had one, since it is not really a letter at all, but rather a manifesto which occasionally addresses its readers (or listeners) directly. It starts with the obligatory *tahmūd*, which rapidly turns into a *waṣiyya bi'l-taqwā* or 'enjoinder to piety', a common *topos* in early doctrinal epistles and speeches originating in Iraq or within the Iraqi sphere of influence.<sup>81</sup> Medieval lawyers identify it as a component of the Friday *khuṭba*,<sup>82</sup> and this could well be its original *Sitz im Leben*. At all events, letters and speeches attributed to the Prophet and the Rāshidūn are adorned with it,<sup>83</sup> and it regularly features in doctrinal epistles from the mid-Umayyad period onwards: thus the letters of Jābir,<sup>84</sup> the so-called first letter of Ibn Ibād to 'Abd al-Malik,<sup>85</sup> the *Kitāb al-irjā'*,<sup>86</sup> and Abū Ḥanifa's Letter to 'Uthmān al-Battī.<sup>87</sup> It also features in Ibādī epistles from the eighth to the tenth century,<sup>88</sup> and in

<sup>81</sup> Cook, *Dogma*, 6 f; van Ess, *TG*, ii. 14 ff.

<sup>82</sup> N. Calder, 'Friday Prayer and the Juristic Theory of Government: Sarakhsī, Shīrāzī, Māwardī', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 49 (1986), 36.

<sup>83</sup> van Ess, *TG*, ii. 15 f. See also the Prophet in Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā* (Beirut, 1958–60), vi. 28.–2; and Šālih b. Musarriḥ in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḫ al-rusul wa'l-mulūk*, ed. M. J. de Goeje *et al.* (Leiden, 1879–1901), 2nd ser., 882.

<sup>84</sup> These are still unpublished. For a description, see Ennami, 'New Ibadī Manuscripts', 65 f. For the presence of the *topos*, see J. van Ess, 'Untersuchungen zu einigen ibādītischen Handschriften', *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Geschichte*, 126 (1976), 27.

<sup>85</sup> Cf. the western version in Barrādī, *Jawāhir*, 156–67; tr. R. Rubinacci, 'Il califfo 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān e gli Ibādīti', *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli*, NS, 5 (1953), 106–21. For an eastern version, see Kāshif, *Siyar*, ii. 325.

<sup>86</sup> J. van Ess (ed.), 'Das *Kitāb al-irjā'* des Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya', *Arabica*, 21 (1974), §1 = id. (tr.), *TG*, v. 6, §a.

<sup>87</sup> Abū Ḥanifa, '*Risāla ilā 'Uthmān al-Battī*' in M. Z. al-Kawthari (ed.), *Kitāb al-ʿālim wa'l-mutaʿallim* (Cairo, 1368), 34.

<sup>88</sup> For the examples in the Hinds Xerox, see Cook, *Dogma*, 166, n. 17. For other examples, see the letter of Abū Īsā Ibrāhīm b. Ismāʿil al-Khurāsānī to the North Africans in Ibn Sallām al-Ibādī, *Kitāb fihi badʿ al-islām wa-sharāʿ al-dīn*, ed. W. Schwartz and Sālim b. Yaʿqūb (Wiesbaden, 1986), 136.4 and the Omani epistles in Kāshif, *Siyar*, i. 186, 233, 276, 325; ii. 36, 223.

tenth-century Iraq, where treatises had replaced epistles, al-Ash‘arī included it in his *Ibāna*.<sup>89</sup> Some authors limit themselves to the mere phrase *ūshika/nūshikum bi’l-taqwā/taqwā ’llāh*, but others develop the theme, and in Sālim’s epistle the development takes up no less than nine pages. It is a rousing sermon which was surely meant for oral delivery. Its author reveals that he was a Khārijite by some of his phrases,<sup>90</sup> but apart from the fact that he strongly recommends *jihād* (presumably against non-Khārijite Muslims rather than non-Muslim infidels), he does not have a specifically Khārijite agenda here.

## PART II

Part II starts with the *amma ba‘du* with which the author signals that he has finished his *taḥmīd*.<sup>91</sup> It does not, however, signal that he has finished with preliminaries, for he now embarks on the ‘mission topos’.<sup>92</sup> This *topos* is also found in the so-called first letter of Ibn Ibād to ‘Abd al-Malik, the *Kitāb al-irjā’*, al-Walīd II’s letter regarding the designation of his successors, al-Ma‘mūn’s letter on the same subject,<sup>93</sup> Hārūn’s letter to Abū Ḥamza and the latter’s reply to Hārūn,<sup>94</sup> in later Ibādī epistles, and elsewhere,<sup>95</sup> including al-Shāfi‘ī’s *Risāla*.<sup>96</sup>

Again, some writers dwell on the topos at much greater length than others. Some limit themselves to a few remarks about Muḥammad; others start with God’s choice of Islam as his own religion or some similarly primordial event and proceed at leisure: an early tenth-century Ibādī epistle attributed to Abū Qaḥṭān Khālīd b. Qaḥṭān (hereafter Khālīd) spends some four pages on the sacred history from God’s choice of his first

<sup>89</sup> al-Ash‘arī, ‘*Kitāb al-ibāna*’ in *al-Rasā’il al-sab‘a fī ’l-‘aqa’id*, 3rd printing (Hyderabad, 1980), 3.

<sup>90</sup> esp. I, 5: *wa-man ḥakkama al-yawm kitāb allāh*.

<sup>91</sup> According to W. al-Qāḍī, ‘Early Islamic State Letters: The Question of Authenticity’ in A. Cameron and L. I. Conrad (eds.), *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East*, i. (Princeton NJ, 1992), 226, a letter has been preserved intact if it starts with the formula *amma ba‘du*. This is clearly not a reliable rule, though it is true that the preliminaries before this formula are likely to be devoid of interest.

<sup>92</sup> Cf. Cook, *Dogma*, 7; van Ess, *TG*, ii. 13.

<sup>93</sup> Cook, *Dogma*, 7; P. Crone and M. Hinds, *God’s Caliph* (Cambridge, 1986), app. 2 & 4.

<sup>94</sup> *Tārikh-i Sistān*, 162 f, 164 f = 128 f, 130 f; G. Scarcia, ‘Lo scambio di lettere tra Hārūn al-Rašīd e Ḥamza al-Ḥārīḡī secondo il “Ta’rīḡ-i Sistān”’, *Annali dell’Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli*, NS, 14 (1964), 633 f, 635 f = 639 f, 642.

<sup>95</sup> Ṭabarī, 3rd ser., 2166 f (al-Mu‘taḍid’s epistle of 284/897 f); Kāshif, *Siyar*, i. 94 ff, 155 f; cf. also the speech of ‘Abdallāh b. Sallām in Ibn A‘tham, *Kitāb al-futūḡ* (Hyderabad, 1968–75), ii. 223; and that of ‘Uthmān in Sayf b. ‘Umar al-Tamīmī, *Kitāb al-ridda wa’l-futūḡ wa-kitāb al-jamal wa-masīr ‘Ā’isha wa-‘Alī*, ed. Q. al-Samarrai (Leiden, 1995), 162.

<sup>96</sup> al-Shāfi‘ī, *al-Risāla*, ed. A. M. Shākir (Cairo, 1940), 7 ff = M. Khaddurī (tr.), *al-Shāfi‘ī’s Risāla*<sup>2</sup> (Cambridge, 1987), 58 ff. For epistles that lack the topos, see Cook, *Dogma*, 7. Pace Cook (followed by van Ess, *TG*, ii. 13), it is not really to be found in Abū Ḥanīfa’s epistle to ‘Uthmān al-Battī. The account of Muḥammad is here an integral part of Abū Ḥanīfa’s explanation of how one can speak of a *mu‘min ḍāll*, not a preliminary survey of sacred history.

messengers to Muḥammad's death.<sup>97</sup> Sālim's account is also long, for he uses it to prepare the ground for his polemical agenda. Soon after reaching Muḥammad he embarks on a discussion of how the Prophet classified infidels, with a view to showing that he established the rules to which the 'Muslims' (i.e. Ibādīs) adhere and from which the extremist Khārijites have diverged, as he later argues in part III.

Having finished with the Prophet, he starts on a *topos* peculiar to the Khārijites. One might call it the 'caliphs *topos*'. It takes the form of a survey of Muslim sovereigns from the Prophet onwards; it is always done reign by reign, and it is characterized by transition phrases such as 'then God took him unto himself' and 'then there was'. It usually goes to the first civil war (656–61) because its purpose is to establish who 'we' are by rehearsing 'our' view of the past that led to 'our' emergence, but its precise form depends on the agenda of the speech or epistle in which it is found.<sup>98</sup>

Sālim's survey is of the conventional type in that it stops after the first civil war: he displays no interest whatever in the later caliphs, who only figure as anonymous *mulūk* in sections III and IV. But though his aim is primarily to rehearse the events in terms of which the Khārijites identify themselves, he once more has some points to make by way of background to the polemics of part III. Most of the survey is taken up with the misdeeds and death of 'Uthmān (644–56), and Sālim's specific point here is that although it was legitimate to kill him, the believers did not treat his or his followers' families as polytheists by enslaving them, seizing their property, or cutting off relations of inheritance with them (II, 57).

He adds that the Muslim Khārijites who followed one another thereafter did not treat their opponents as polytheists either, but on the contrary adhered to the Prophetic paradigm outlined in the previous section (II, 65). This is the paradigm which Sālim sees the Ibādīs as preserving and

<sup>97</sup> Kāshif, *Siyar*, i. 94–7.

<sup>98</sup> Thus the Khārijites at Nahrawān briefly outlined the history of Muḥammad and the first three caliphs before turning to their disagreement with 'Alī (al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashraf*, ii. ed. M. B. al-Maḥmūdī (Beirut, 1974), 370). Mustawrid b. 'Ullafa, also in the caliphate of 'Alī, confined his survey to the Prophet and the first two caliphs, saying that what happened thereafter was well known (al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Z. Mubārak and A. M. Shākīr (Cairo, 1936–7), iii. 974 f; & ed. W. Wright (Leipzig, 1864–92), 576. Henceforth, refs. will be to the Cairo ed. unless otherwise indicated). Najda b. 'Amir, addressing Ibn al-Zubayr, praised the Prophet and mentioned Abū Bakr and 'Umar in the most appreciative terms, then moved on to 'Uthmān's reign, much like Sālim's Part II (Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, iii. 1026; cf. 'Ubayda b. Hilāl in Ṭabarī, 2nd ser., 515 f). Šāliḥ b. Musarriḥ surveyed the history from Prophet to 'Alī before encouraging his followers to take up arms against the Umayyads in his speech of 76/695 f (Ṭabarī, 2nd ser., 882 ff). Abū Ḥamza al-Ibādī continued his reign-by-reign survey down to Marwān II, the errors of the Umayyad caliphs being what his speech was actually about (no Khārijite is on record as having taken it any further) (Crone and Hinds, *God's Caliph*, app. 3). But in Khālid's epistle (in which there are echoes of Abū Ḥamza) the survey peters out after Mu'āwiya and Yazīd to be replaced by a history of Ibādīsm down to the collapse of the second imamate in Oman (Kāshif, *Siyar*, i. 98–116).

which he defends against the extremists in part III, recapitulating it in part IV.

### PART III

Twenty-nine pages into the epistle, Sālim finally starts his polemics, first against Khārijite extremists, i.e. the Azāriqa, Najadāt, and their ‘splinter groups’ (‘Aṭiyya, Dāwūd, Abū Fudayk), next against the Murjiʿites and a mysterious group whose name is given as the Fatana. All except the Fatana are introduced with *thumma*, and the order is loosely chronological: the Khārijite developments take us into the 690s; the section on the Murjiʿites relates to c.700–20;<sup>99</sup> that on the Fatana, if part of the original epistle (cf. below), presumably refers to a slightly later period.

According to Sālim, the Khārijite extremists misclassify their *qamm* — i.e. what we would call non-Khārijite Muslims (a contradiction in terms to Khārijites) — as polytheists and thus deny them any kind of status under Muslim law, holding that one can take their lives, property, women, and children as one wishes, but not intermarry with them, inherit from them, or otherwise treat them as persons endowed with legal existence.<sup>100</sup> We already know from part II that this is wrong, and Sālim now argues that the extremists contradict the Qurʾān, the *sunna* of the Prophet, the ways of the pious ancestors, and, not least, themselves: there is much reference to the inconsistency between their theory and practice. He shows up their inconsistencies with dilemmatic arguments of the form ‘if they say . . . and if they say’; both positions invariably collapse straight away, without the opponents being put through further disjunctions, though Sālim occasionally deepens their discomfort by pursuing the implications of their inconsistencies. He never uses expressions such as ‘then we say/we shall answer/one says to them’, nor does he ever address his opponents in the second person.

The Murjiʿites offend Sālim on two counts.<sup>101</sup> First, they suspend judgement on the rights and wrongs of the participants in the first civil war, on the grounds that the first civil war took place before their time. That, he argues, means that they cannot declare for or against anyone in the past. Though the Khārijite extremists perverted the ways of the ancestors they professed to follow, they did at least adhere to the principle of association and dissociation, but the Murjiʿites were compromising that very principle. Secondly, he says, most of them refuse to classify their ‘kings’ as infidels even though they agree that their kings are sinners. Their position is based on the claim that one can be a believer and a sinner at the same time, which he flatly rejects as a contradiction in terms.

<sup>99</sup> Cf. below, Ch. 8 (3) and (15).

<sup>100</sup> For details, see the sections on the extremists in Ch. 5.

<sup>101</sup> For details, see the section on the Murjiʿa in Ch. 6.

He finds the Murji'ites to contradict both the Qur'ān and themselves and brings out the contradiction by means of dilemmatic arguments of the same type as those used against the Khārijites.

The Fatana also offend Sālim on two counts.<sup>102</sup> First, they claim that whereas imams are entitled to make war on offending subjects, subjects are not allowed to make war on offending imams. Secondly, they profess not to know whether God will reward or punish kings in the hereafter. They are thus worse than the Murji'ites, for though the latter classified kings as believers, they did at least disown them as sinners in this world and consigned sinners to Hell in the next.<sup>103</sup> Sālim does not use dilemmatic arguments against the Fatana. To their first claim he simply retorts that the law is the same for all. The second claim he formulates in words that enable him to refute it with a simple citation from the Qur'ān.

#### PART IV

Finally, Sālim rounds off his epistle with a summary of where 'we' stand and what 'we' ask of others. He begins by listing the salient points of the ground covered in part III, recapitulating points already made and occasionally adding new ones along the same lines against Khārijite extremists, Murji'ites, and Fatana.<sup>104</sup> Next, he asks the erring parties to mend their ways (IV, 131–7). The parties include some that have not been addressed before. Three of them have been mentioned before (Saba'iyya, kings of our *qawm*, our *qawm*), but one makes its first and last appearance here (Bida'iyya). The formulation of the request neatly takes us back to the *maṣiyya bi'l-taqwā* of the initial sermon (I, 2) and equally neatly culminates in the final, Qur'ānically inspired, declaration that this is our stance: we are the Muslims (IV, 138). Oddly, three paragraphs on other subjects follow before we reach the final *tahmūd*.

#### B. THE QUESTION OF INTEGRITY

The inordinate length of its introductory parts notwithstanding, Sālim's work is a well-composed tract, especially in its polemics against Khārijite extremists. The correct doctrine is set out at length in the account of the Prophet in the first half of part II, briefly reiterated in the account of 'Uthmān in the second half, defended in the polemics of part III, and recapitulated in the doctrinal stance of part IV. These sections, to which we shall refer as the Khārijite parts of the epistle, were clearly composed by the same author. No comparable attempt is made to prepare the polemics against the Murji'a or Fatana in the account of the Prophet, and

<sup>102</sup> For details, see the section on the Fatana in Ch. 6.

<sup>103</sup> Cf. Ch. 6, pp. 221 f, 248 ff.

<sup>104</sup> IV, 114–30, with new points along the same lines at 118, 121. The new points made in IV, 119, 127–8 are internal to the Ibādīs (see the Commentary).

the sections on these two groups could be omitted without affecting the overall coherence of the work. So too could miscellaneous paragraphs of part IV. Sālim's epistle, then, is first and foremost a tract against Khārijite extremism.

The Murji'ite section is, however, so similar in style and language to the preceding polemics as to leave no doubt that it too must have formed part of the original work. Here as there, we have strings of dilemmas as the chief device of refutation; a relentless pounding of the phrase *yudilluhum an(na)*, 'they are proved wrong by the fact that'; and an untiring pursuit of contradictions, or inconsistencies between theory and practice, which serve to show that the parties concerned have abandoned divine guidance: for the Qur'ān is free from inconsistency (*ikhṭilāf*), according to a verse quoted at I, 5 and, again, against the Najadāt, at III, 77. Sālim is likely to have used different sources for the Khārijite and Murji'ite parts, for he consistently uses the tautologous expression *firāq wa-barā'a* (and corresponding verbs) in the Murji'ite section, where only one is used in the Khārijite parts; and he speaks of the first and recent *furqa* in the Murji'ite section (III, 91, 104–5), whereas he refers to the first civil war as the *fitna* in the Khārijite parts (II, 36; IV, 114). But there is no change of author.

The section on the Fatana is more problematic. Unlike other opponents, the Fatana are not introduced by *thumma*, and there is no charge of self-contradiction supported by dilemmatic argument in the rejection of their claims; instead, there is repetition without progression in the presentation of their first doctrine and extreme brevity in the second: Sālim uncharacteristically allows the Fatana to come back with four repetitions of their initial claim after he has rejected it, abstaining from further comment (III, 109–12); and he disposes of their second claim in a mere four lines, leaving the reader with a sense that something is missing (III, 113). A conclusion is also missing. The lines which follow in III, 113 (ll. 834–8), introduced by *thumma*, do not round off the section on the Fatana, but certainly conclude section III, for they connect closely with the stance of part IV. What they say is that we today must follow in the footsteps of 'those guided by God before us', i.e. the *salaf*, leading on to the opening words of part IV, that therefore our stance today accords with that of the Muslims in the past. That does not connect with anything said explicitly against the Fatana. But it does connect with what has previously been said against the Khārijites and Murji'ites: that the Khārijite extremists pervert the ways of the *salaf* whom they profess to follow; and that the Murji'ites have no *salaf* at all because they can neither affiliate to nor dissociate from people in the past (cf. III, 91). The section on the Fatana is

left looking like a later insertion, with an odd beginning, an unusual style of argumentation, and no proper end.<sup>105</sup>

Nevertheless, there is a case for the view that the Fatana were included in the original epistle. If someone inserted the section devoted to them, he must likewise have inserted the paragraph devoted to them in the stance (IV, 135). If so, we would be dealing with something approaching re-writing rather than accidental or casual addition. That is not impossible, of course, but it does not explain the appearance in the stance of the Bida'iyya, who are mentioned immediately after the Fatana and nowhere else in the epistle (IV, 136). We would have to postulate that one and the same part of the stance had undergone *both* re-writing and casual addition, which seems a little excessive. A simpler solution is to assume that there is a lacuna in III, 113: a folio (or several) containing more on the Fatana and a section on the Bida'iyya has dropped out. Both sects figure in the stance because they once figured in the polemics as well; part of the polemics disappeared, but the stance remained unchanged.

Of the two sects labelled Bida'iyya in the heresiographical literature known to date, one is an alleged offshoot of the Azāriqa, the other a quietist sect classified as a sub-sect of the Murji'a. The latter are said to have held the first innovators of the community to be those who accused the imams of dividing the Muslims and suspending their laws; in their opinion nobody was allowed to rebel against an imam even if he ordered something sinful, for the Prophet had ordered that the imam be obeyed: anyone sinning in obedience to an imam was excused.<sup>106</sup> The Fatana, whose name is not attested elsewhere, were also quietists of a Murji'ite or closely related type.<sup>107</sup> In short, it may be that Sālim's Murji'ite section originally dealt with three related sects in loosely chronological order to match the three in the Khārijite part: just as one fundamental error, i.e. misclassification of the *qamm* as polytheists, spawned the Azāriqa, Najadāt, and splinter groups, so another fundamental error, i.e. refusal to pronounce on the rights and wrongs of people, spawned the Murji'ites, the Fatana, and

<sup>105</sup> Cook, *Dogma*, 173 n. 12, also considers the possibility that the section of the Fatana is interpolated, but with a different argument that we cannot accept because it presupposes that the Fatana were Ibādīs.

<sup>106</sup> Al-Nasafī, *Kitāb al-radd 'alā 'l-bida'*, ed. M. Bernard in *Annales Islamologiques*, 16 (1980), 62.1, 123. (On this work see further K. Lewinstein, 'Notes on Eastern Ḥanafite Heresiography', *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 114 (1994).) Their view that nobody may rebel against an imam even if he orders *ma'ṣiya* seems to be formulated as a rejection of the famous tradition *lā ṭā'a li'l-makhlūq fī ma'ṣiyat al-khālīq*, which Nasafī duly adduces against them at p. 124. That the Prophet ordered obedience to every imam may be a reference to the Ethiopian slave tradition (cf. P. Crone, "'Even an Ethiopian Slave": the Transformation of a Sunni Tradition', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 57 (1994), 60 ff).

<sup>107</sup> Their views are found in classical Murji'ism, but Sālim does not treat them as Murji'ites, cf. Cook, *Dogma*, 34 f, who suggests that they were proto-Ḥanafīs in some sense (negating the argument referred to above, n. 105, and, in effect, restoring them to Murji'ism). Proto-Ḥanafīs is not a bad term for what we make of them ourselves (cf. below, Ch. 6).

the Bida'iyya. Each one will have been seen as worse than the last: the Murji'a classified their sinful kings as believers, but did at least disown them and consign them to Hell; the Fatana refused to state whether sinful kings would go to Hell and forbade revolt against them; the Bida'iyya not only forbade revolt, but also deemed it excusable to violate the law at their command. The sections on the Fatana (now incomplete) and the Bida'iyya (now missing) will have concluded with words to the effect that each progressively aggravated the mistake initiated by the Murji'a. The section as a whole will have concluded with words to the effect that both fundamental errors sprang from a refusal to abide by the *sunna* of the Prophet and his followers, culminating in the last lines of III, 113, which lead on to the stance in part IV.

This hypothesis leaves the different polemical style of the section on the Fatana to be explained by a change of source rather than of author. A similarly formulated argument appears in the epistle of Shabīb b. 'Aṭīyya (d. after 751). Here the defenders of sinful kings are known as *ahl al-shakk*: like the Fatana, they argue that imams are entitled to make war on offending subjects, whereas the reverse does not apply; and like Sālim or his impersonator, Shabīb responds that the law is the same for all, without, however, allowing the *ahl al-shakk* to come back with four repetitions of their claim.<sup>108</sup> The repetitions may have been introduced, by our author or someone else, to emphasize the sheer perversity of the claim: no further comment is added because the examples refute themselves. This technique is not used elsewhere in the epistle, but the author certainly sounds much like Sālim himself in the brief refutations.<sup>109</sup>

Unfortunately, however, the paragraph addressed to the Bida'iyya in the stance is too vague to clinch their identification with the Murji'ite quietists. It merely asks them to follow the *sunna* of the Prophet and to make conformance to his *sunna* a condition of affiliation (IV, 136), which can cover any number of deviations. It could easily be directed against the quietism of the Murji'ite Bida'iyya, in which case it would be asking them not to affiliate to kings, let alone sin at their behest. But it could just as easily be directed against the Azraqite Bida'iyya, in which case it would be asking them to accept that the *sunna* of the Prophet prescribes five daily prayers (rather than just the two mentioned in the Qur'ān), and to affiliate accordingly.<sup>110</sup>

<sup>108</sup> Cf. the section on the Fatana below, Ch. 6, where the passage is translated.

<sup>109</sup> The author speaks of 'the kings of their *qawm*' (III, 106, 113), as is the wont of Sālim (III, 98, 102; IV, 119, 131), but otherwise lets the Fatana retain their own word 'imam'. In III, 106 he uses the Qur'ānic phrase *hattā yafī'ū ilā amri 'llāh* in an argument worded much like Sālim's against 'Ali in II, 61 (and, more briefly, against the *kāff mu'tazil* in IV, 117). The Fatana are presented as using the paraphrase *hattā yurāji'ū 'l-ḥaqq* (four times in III, 106, 110 f), and Sālim uses it himself in the form *murāja'at al-ḥaqq* (II, 63; IV, 122).

<sup>110</sup> Cf. the comm. ad IV, 136.

If the Bidaʿiyya of the stance are not the Murjiʿite quietists, they are wholly irrelevant to Sālim's epistle and will have been added by a later hand simply because they were believed to be Azraqites of sorts. The section on the Fatana then loses much of its point, inviting the suspicion that it, too, was added, presumably by another hand, which also added the paragraph on them in the stance (IV, 135). In that case, the section on the Murjiʿites ended with the final lines of III, 113 which form the transition to part IV. On the whole, we find the original presence of both Fatana and Bidaʿiyya in the epistle more plausible than their original absence, but since the question cannot be settled as things stand, we shall keep both possibilities in mind.

There is, however, no doubt that the epistle contains a few minor interpolations of the casual kind. A Prophetic *ḥadīth* cited in III, 71 must be suspected of having been added, probably at first in the margin, simply because no other *ḥadīth* is overtly quoted anywhere else. And the last three paragraphs of part IV before the concluding *tahmīd* (IV, 139–41) are clearly out of place, since they occur after the finale of IV, 138. Moreover, the second introduces a new issue, and the third either rejects *taqiyya*, which the epistle has earlier defended at some length, or (in our emended version) limits its use in an unexpected manner.<sup>111</sup> Setting aside such minor interpolations, we must conclude that what we have is either a slightly incomplete work by a single author or a complete work by a single author with some later additions by others.

### C. THE GENRE BEHIND THE EPISTLE

Sālim's epistle is similar in structure to a much shorter early epistle of disputed date, the *Kitāb al-irjāʿ* (hereafter KI; further similarities will be discussed in Ch. 7 below). Both works consist of an extended *waṣīyya bi'l-taqwā* followed by a mission history, polemics, and a declaration of stance (though part of the stance precedes the polemics in KI). This suggests a common literary genre, which we may dub the 'pulpit manifesto': a genre of manifestos composed for oral delivery to the general public in mosques.

Most *sīras* in the Omani sense of doctrinal epistles are pulpit manifestos (much as St. Paul's epistles will have been), i.e. they are letters written to a congregation setting out what we should or should not believe or do, to be read aloud by a preacher. The sermons with which such *sīras* begin, often quite long, reflect their original *Sitz im Leben*. The name under which they came to be known in Oman has its roots in the later Umayyad period, when *sīra* seems to have been used in the sense of 'doctrinal position' or 'stance'. 'Oh Hind, listen to me, our *sīra* is that we worship God

<sup>111</sup> Cf. the comm. *ad* III, 77; IV, 139–41.

without giving him a partner. We suspend judgement on things when they are doubtful', the Murji'ite poet Thābit Quṭna (d. 110/728 f) said in a famous poem setting out the basic tenets of Murji'ism: *sīra* here means 'doctrinal position'.<sup>112</sup> When the Murji'ite rebel al-Ḥārith b. Surayj was fighting against Naṣr b. Sayyār in Khurāsān, he ordered his secretary Jahm b. Ṣafwān publicly to read *kitāban sayyara lahu [bihi?]* *sīrat al-Ḥārith*, 'a tract in which he put/propagated the *sīra* of al-Ḥārith'. 'Al-Ḥārith wrote his *sīra* and it was read aloud in the streets and mosques of Marw', as another version has it.<sup>113</sup> He 'ordered Jahm . . . to read aloud to people his *sīra* and what he was calling to', as al-Nuwayrī puts it.<sup>114</sup> We are not given a summary of its contents, but it clearly set out al-Ḥārith's position in implicit or explicit contrast with that of the governor Naṣr. The tract in which the *sīra* was recorded was composed for delivery to the public in mosques. In short, it was a pulpit manifesto.

KI is actually short enough to be comfortably delivered as a sermon, so it is likely to be closer to the original genre than Sālīm's work, of which only Part I comes across as suitable for delivery as a public address. Even that part is expansive, and the overall work is much too long for a single sermon. Moreover, some of its extended strings of dilemmas ('if they say this, they are wrong because . . . and if they say the opposite, they are wrong because . . .') are too involved to be taken in by a crowd. What we see in Sālīm's work is the genre on its way to more sustained and specialized forms of literary debate. There are times when it is not far removed from the dilemmatic monoculture of an epistle such as that attributed to al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya (yet another early epistle of disputed date), which is devoted to a single issue of Qur'ānic theology.<sup>115</sup> We may surmise that, in adopting the scheme of earlier pulpit manifestos, Sālīm expanded Part II by incorporating material from historical sources and Part III by following patterns set by tracts of the dilemmatic variety, and perhaps by other kinds as well, if we allow that the section against the Fatana may have formed part of the original epistle.

The dialectical device of dilemmatic exposition was evidently in vogue in Sālīm's time. So too, in circles of progressively specializing scholarship,

<sup>112</sup> Abū 'l-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī, *Kitāb al-aghānī* (Cairo, 1927–74), xiv. 270.4 = van Ess, *TG*, v. 17, no. 3:4.

<sup>113</sup> al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḫ al-rusul wa'l-mulūk*, ed. M. J. de Goeje *et al.* (Leiden, 1879–1901), 2nd ser., 1918.9, 1920 f.

<sup>114</sup> al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-irab fī funūn al-adab*, ed. 'A. M. Bijāwī, xxi. (Cairo, 1976), 523.11.

<sup>115</sup> ed. by J. van Ess in his *Anfänge muslimischer Theologie* (Beirut, 1977); discussed by Cook, *Dogma*, ch. 14. This text, which uses dilemmatic arguments to chart the Qur'ānic evidence in favour of predestination, is almost certainly older than the similar defence (c.800) of the same position by the Ibādī author 'Abdallāh b. Yazīd al-Fazārī (in W. Madelung (ed.), *Streitschrift des Zaiditenimams Ahmad an-Nāṣir wider die ibādītische Prädestinationslehre* (Wiesbaden, 1985)), which is rather more technical.

was theological debate. But though Sālim's epistle is too long and involved for pulpit delivery, its dilemmatic arguments are not particularly technical, and it displays no interest in theology at all. The stance of Part IV is not a creed. It does not include articles on God, angels, prophets, or afterlife, let alone on God's *qadar* and the like. Al-Sālimī had to add thirteen lines from another epistle in order to present it as *ʿaqīdat ahl ʿumān*.<sup>116</sup> The prophets are, of course, covered by two sections of Part II, while the Day of Resurrection is invoked, by way of warning, in the opening sermon and periodically thereafter; but Sālim nowhere goes into issues of theology and eschatology. His concern is with the practical principles of association and dissociation in accordance with the *ḥukm* of the Qurʾān and the precedents set by the prophets, the Prophet, Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, and the Muslim *salaf*, not with matters of strict belief.

It does not follow, however, that he took no interest in theology or knew nothing about it. On one tantalizing occasion he uses a phrase familiar from the epistle attributed to ʿUmar II (yet another early epistle of disputed date) in defence of the thesis that God knows 'what men will do and whither they are bound' (*ilā mā hum ṣāʿirūn*).<sup>117</sup> Sālim says that the Prophet was sent with 'knowledge of whither they are bound' (*bi-ʿilmi mā hum ṣāʿirūn ilayhi*, l. 196), which in the context is likely to mean no more than that each of us is going to be either rewarded or punished in the hereafter, without the determinist implications of ʿUmar's thesis. Sālim could be using a current phrase that did not necessarily conjure up the *qadar* dispute. But given that this dispute was alive throughout the second century,<sup>118</sup> it seems more likely that he knew the phrase from this very context and used it regardless of the determinist overtones it might convey. He says no more about it because he is concerned with quite different issues in this epistle. Similarly, on three separate occasions he mentions the Qurʾānic category of the *kāff muʿtazil* to whom the Prophet would grant temporary safety under conditions of war in return for his neutrality, as would the 'Muslim Khārijites' and as Sālim's people still do, even though the neutralist's belief in an intermediate position (*manzila*) between truth and falsehood is wrong (II, 26, 65; IV, 117). It is hard not to take Sālim's formulation here as a reference to the Muʿtazilite doctrine that the sinner was neither a believer nor an unbeliever but rather in a category in between (*manzila bayna ʿl-manzilatayn*).<sup>119</sup> Sālim is not in the business of refuting Muʿtazilism in this epistle, but here as in the case

<sup>116</sup> Cf. above, nn. 39, 41, 76,

<sup>117</sup> From the Arabic text ed. by van Ess, *Anfänge*, 44.1 f; discussed by Cook, *Dogma*, 127, whose felicitous translation we have adopted.

<sup>118</sup> Cf. van Ess, *TG*, ii. 46 ff and *passim*; *EF*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. 'ḡadariyya'.

<sup>119</sup> Thus also Cook, *Dogma*, 94.

of determinism it seems that he cannot resist hinting at another preoccupation of his, in an aside to the effect that *iʿtizāl* in the classification of sinners is just as misguided as *iʿtizāl* in war, which is his present concern. Though he never allows himself to be sidetracked, the odd hint of a topic beyond his present concerns is suggestive of how much more he could have said. It follows that his epistle is not a work that lends itself to easy arguments *e silentio*.

#### D. SĀLIM AND THE QURʾĀN

Sālim's most important source by far is the Qurʾān. Some hundred and fifty times he settles a point with a quotation marked as such by expressions like *qāla* ('*llāh*). More often still, he invokes further Qurʾānic proof texts by way of paraphrase or allusion. We have charted his use of the Qurʾān in a special section of the footnotes to the Arabic text, where we identify the corresponding lines of the Qurʾān and give the exact words paraphrased by Sālim. Our distinction between quotation and paraphrase is predicated on the assumption that his version of the Qurʾān was as similar to the standard version of today as our late manuscripts suggest. The whole body of quotations (including some lines incorporated verbatim without being marked as quotations) differs from the Egyptian standard edition (ST) in twelve places at most.<sup>120</sup> All the differences are minor, at least in the sense that they make no difference to Sālim's argument; some are minute;<sup>121</sup> all could be copying mistakes.<sup>122</sup> One would not, of course, expect the text used by an eighth-century sectarian to have agreed in every detail with the standard printed version of today. Nor would one expect many variants to have escaped conscious or unconscious correction at the hands of successive copyists in the course of some nine hundred years of transmission;<sup>123</sup> and some of Sālim's quotations could have been extended, others added, by transmitters. But there is no warrant for excessive scepticism. Sālim's insistence that the instructions of the Qurʾān be followed, and his own constant reference to details of those instructions, would make no sense without a canonical text in everyone's

<sup>120</sup> See the variants marked ST in the upper mn. to ll. 9, 15, 37, 201, 219, 220, 223, 229, 244, 510, 739, 744. Not one of them is found among the hundreds of old variants, mostly equally minor, recorded in works of medieval Qurʾānic scholarship as listed by A. Jeffery, *Materials for the History of the Text of the Qurʾān* (Leiden, 1937).

<sup>121</sup> An opening *qul* is once omitted (l. 201) and added twice (ll. 223, 510). Less remarkably still, initial *wa-*, *fa-*, or *la-* is missing in another six places. Such omissions have to be considered as potential variants only because those particles are faithfully reproduced at the beginning of other quotations (e.g. *wa-* at ll. 159, 162).

<sup>122</sup> For example, it is natural to attribute the seeming variant in l. 229 to a slip from one verse into the slightly different wording of another (set out side by side in the lower note to the line).

<sup>123</sup> See below, p. 32, for a quotation in which a transmitter may have corrected a variant preserved in Sālim's antecedent paraphrase.

hands. It would be strange indeed if he had resisted the urge to quote it again and again, and most of the quotations in our text are crucial to his argument, at least in part; none seems to be at odds with what he says. Whether any of the variants offered by our text go back to Sālim's own copy we cannot tell before we know more about the early Ibādī Qur'ān. Meanwhile, it seems reasonable to suppose that Sālim's Qur'ān was similar enough to ST for us to distinguish with some confidence between quotation, paraphrase, and allusion.<sup>124</sup>

The dense Quranicity of Sālim's epistle is apparent already in the first paragraph of its opening sermon (I, 2). It consists of five parallel units beginning with different expressions for 'I enjoin you to . . . /not to' and ending with lines from the Qur'ān, of which one is formally quoted, six are incorporated in the text more or less unchanged, one is freely paraphrased, and a whole lot of others are alluded to in passing. Of the words successively substituted for the initial *amṣā*,<sup>125</sup> one does not occur in the Qur'ān at all (*ḥaththa*, l. 11), while another only occurs in unrelated contexts (*ḥadda*, l. 6). They are not here used to invoke further Qur'ānic evidence, but simply for the rhetorical purpose of varying the expression.<sup>126</sup> But many of his words elsewhere are undoubtedly chosen for their Qur'ānic resonance, even if we discount those long since absorbed into the everyday language of religion, and the volume of verses invoked in passing far exceeds those listed in our notes. For example, upon opening his sermon with the conventional formula *nuṣikum bi-taqwā 'llāh* (l. 2), Sālim first paraphrases and then quotes the verse about God's own *waṣiyya bi'l-taqwā* to 'those given the Book before you and (to) yourselves' (l. 4), as if to remind his public of the Qur'ānic origin of the formula. But his paraphrase focuses on the 'mission *topos*' to which he is going to devote the first two sections of his historical survey in Part II. His words *fī 'l-awwalin wa'l-ākhirin* (l. 3) invoke a host of other verses that touch upon the theme in a variety of words. We have listed only the two verses where 'the earlier' and 'the later' communities or generations are mentioned together or in close succession, and another pair of verses suggesting that even the word *fī* is here being used allusively by Sālim (n. d to l. 3). To keep our annotation

<sup>124</sup> On that assumption, the first clause marked in l. 7 alludes to the Qur'ānic sentence reproduced in n. b to that line, and the second mildly paraphrases the sentence reproduced in n. c: the difference between its *yuwaffī 'l-ṣābirin* and the *yuwaffā 'l-ṣābirūn* of ST is not registered as a variant reading in the upper notes because it appears to be a change made by Sālim to adjust the Qur'ānic clause to the syntax of his sentence. The slight difference registered in n. 7 to l. 15 is also likely to be an adjustment and should probably be taken off our list of potential variants (above, n. 120).

<sup>125</sup> Or *maṣṣā*? The verse quoted at l. 4 has Form II; but Form IV (in the sense of 'enjoin' rather than 'bequeath') also occurs in the Qur'ān (19:31).

<sup>126</sup> Sālim will sometimes refer to the Qur'ān without using its vocabulary: e.g., he readily uses the common legal term *qadhf* for false accusations of unchastity even though the Qur'ān uses the root *rmy* (IV, 121).

within reasonable limits we have concentrated on allusions to particular proof texts in support of particular points, and have not always marked recurrent phrases more than once. Our references still come to one for every three lines of Sālim's text, enough to illustrate his implicit claim that all he has to say rests upon the Qurʾān.

Sālim never discusses his sources. All he tells us about the Qurʾān is what it says about itself: above all, that it is clear (I, 5) and complete (II, 33), and that it must be adhered to (I, 4). He never mentions the name of a sura or, for that matter, the word *sūra* itself. He does not mention the awkward fact that the canonical version was commonly said to have been put together from partial records at the behest of the renegade caliph ʿUthmān; or the claim of the Sabaʿiyya (mentioned in *Kitāb al-irjāʾ*) that nine-tenths of the revelation had been suppressed; or the fact that many details of the text were in dispute. He takes it for granted throughout that the version familiar to him and his audience was a complete and authentic record of God's revelation to Muḥammad. Because God says that the Qurʾān is clear, he also assumes that it must be possible for every believer to know right from wrong when schismatics disagree about its meaning, as the Qurʾān says is their wont (I, 4). Addressing the general public, he does not, however, go into problems of exegesis (*taʾwīl*), except once against the Murjiʿites, whose interpretation of two Qurʾānic passages he rejects as *tahrīf*, a Qurʾānic term for distortion by quotation out of place (III, 103–5). The right *taʾwīl*, he says in passing, is that of the Muslims in the past (IV, 114). But he does hint elsewhere that study comes into it, and that some are more learned (*faqīh*) than others.<sup>127</sup> The implication, presumably, is that believers should take guidance from their *fuqahāʾ*, and that Sālim is taking it upon himself to expound the right *taʾwīl* because he is himself such a *faqīh* — someone who understands the Qurʾān and tradition, i.e. the way (*sabīl*, *sīra*, *sunna*) of the Muslims of the past.

The Qurʾān is complete, not in the sense that it provides detailed instruction for all occasions, but in the sense that it institutes tradition as an additional source of guidance. For it instructs the faithful to follow the example of Muḥammad, and Muḥammad to follow the example of those rightly guided before him (II, 35). Sālim takes that to mean that the Qurʾān's record of guidance and error among 'the earliest and the latest generations', which comes to an end in the time of Muḥammad, must be extended by later Muslims to their own times, so that they may know whose example to follow and whose to avoid. The first section of his own history of guidance and error in part II, on the model behaviour of the prophets before Muḥammad, is based on the Qurʾān, and so is most of the next, on the model behaviour of Muḥammad, in which Sālim reconstructs

<sup>127</sup> Intriguingly, Sālim never uses the word *ʿulamāʾ*.

Muḥammad's actions from the Qurʾān on the assumption that he always carried out its instructions. The rest is based on the testimony (*shahāda*) of the believers, which one must trust because Muḥammad himself did so, as the Qurʾān records (III, 95).

Sālim does not discuss his sources in this connection either. He tells us about a letter sent by the Prophet (II, 29), a letter received by ʿUmar (II, 38), and two letters sent by ʿUthmān (II, 53); but he does not say whether information of this and other kinds — such as the words exchanged between ʿUthmān and his critics — is known to him from archives, books of history, epistles like his own, or from oral accounts passed on within the community, though he does imply that the Prophet's abrogation of the duty of *hijra* is something he has *heard* (*balaghanā*, III, 77). Here, too, one may surmise that Sālim confines himself to telling what he considers to be the truth about the past, without going into problems of historical hermeneutics, because he is addressing the general public.

Once more, we are given to understand that it must be possible for Muslims to know the truth because that is what the Qurʾān demands. The historical survey of Part II, as we saw, ends with the first civil war or 'the Fitna', as it came to be called (thus by Sālim in II, 64 and IV, 114). It can be no accident that its section on Muḥammad closes with a paragraph on the trial or test (*fitna*) which God told him He would put the believers through (II, 36). God's test of a Muslim is not only whether he obeys God's law in private, but also whether he stands up for God's religion in public. Muḥammad passed the test<sup>128</sup> by following the Qurʾān and the example of his predecessors as set out in the Qurʾān (II, 36, 33). In Sālim's view, the Muslims of his day, in order to follow the example of the Prophet, have to follow the example of their own predecessors, his true followers. They therefore have to know who among his would-be followers (the *ahl al-qibla*, as he calls them, or 'the *qawm* of the Muslims') were the Muslims to be followed. And that, we understand, is possible because, in the words of the Qurʾān, 'the way of the sinners will be manifest' to those who are guided by it (II, 20). The Fitna of the past remains a test for the Muslims of the present. When Murjiʿites profess themselves unable, in the face of conflicting testimony from the *ahl al-qibla*, to judge the rights and wrongs of the parties involved (III, 5), they fail the test and stand revealed as unbelievers. For somehow, in the light of the Qurʾān, they ought to know who among those offering conflicting testimony are or were the believers/Muslims who have to be believed. (Sālim uses the terms 'believers' and 'Muslims' interchangeably.)

<sup>128</sup> Cf. I. 324, where we read *najjāhu min al-fitna*, 'it (sc. the Qurʾān) saved him from the test' — not, surely, in the sense that he was *spared* the test, but that he *passed* it.

For Sālim, as for the mainstream, *sunna* in the first place means the case law of the Prophet and his caliphal successors. How *sunna* can complement the legislation of the Qurʾān is indicated in a passage on the caliphate of ʿUmar (II, 38). The precedents (*sunan*) which he set are legally binding on Muslims because ‘the Muslims’ were consulted about his appointment and he himself continued to consult them on how best to follow the Qurʾān and the *sunna* of his predecessors, the Prophet and Abū Bakr. We understand that, in Sālim’s view, none of these conditions were met by caliphs after the Fitna, apostrophized in Parts III and IV as the kings of his *qamm*. We also understand that ʿUmar’s legal decisions are to be regarded as *sunan*, not *bidaʿ* like ʿUthmān’s (II, 40), because they accorded with Qurʾānic principles. Later it transpires that *sunna* not only complemented Qurʾānic law, but also superseded it in at least one case. The Azraqites, Sālim tells us (III, 70, cf. 97), reject the stoning penalty for sexual offences; but they are wrong, for the Prophet once sentenced an offender to be stoned and this has been *sunna* ever since. He does not mention the fact that the Qurʾān prescribes flogging or explain how *sunna* can override the Qurʾān. Perhaps he is embarrassed by the apparent lapse of principle; perhaps the explanation is too technical for present purposes, or too well known to need rehearsing. We can only suppose that his explanation, as in the mainstream of legal thought around him, would have turned on the Qurʾānic concept of abrogation (*naskh*), which he briefly mentions once in a different context (II, 27), though his wording does not suggest that he held the stoning penalty once to have been found in the Qurʾān itself.<sup>129</sup>

On some occasions Sālim hints that he could have said more about the Qurʾānic evidence adduced by his opponents. Thus in defending, against the Azraqites, the principle that hiding one’s true colours in fear of persecution (*kitmān*, *taqiyya*) can sometimes be excused, he claims that the Qurʾān ‘urges’ (*harrada*) believers to practise *taqiyya*, which rather overstates the import of the verse quoted (III, 73). The verb *harrada* occurs twice in the Qurʾān (see n. a to l. 580), both times as an imperative commanding the Prophet to ‘urge’ the believers to fight. Presumably, then, Sālim is implicitly replying to an objection based on those verses, without finding it necessary to go into details. Again, in rejecting the Azraqite institution of a test (*miḥna*) for people wanting to join their cause, he omits to mention the verse in which the Prophet and his followers are instructed to examine (*imtahinū*) the motives of the women who have left their homes in order to join them (III, 69; n. f to l. 560). There must have been some who objected that the verse only related to women, and Sālim may allude to this objection in his remark, against the Najadāt, that they subject (not

<sup>129</sup> Cf. J. Burton, *The Collection of the Qurʾān* (Cambridge, 1977), ch. 4.

only women but also?) men to a *mihna* (III, 82; l. 638). But he seems to have interpreted the verse on examination to mean no more than that women, too, should be admitted if they fulfilled the basic requirements of Islam (III, 69), holding that neither men nor women should be subjected to the kind of ordeal he describes in III, 74. Hence, presumably, he preferred to avoid unnecessary detail by omitting discussion of the *mihna* verse.

Since Sālim's epistle is so deeply rooted in the Qurʾān, it is not easy to characterize its own distinctive style. Among its most striking features, however, are rhetoric of parallelism, balancing repetition and variation on various scales; a predilection for the jussive in conditionals, and for *alladhī* instead of *mā*; and the frequent use of *aḥad* in the sense of 'someone/anyone'.<sup>130</sup> The linguistic analysis of Sālim's text is something we must leave to others. But it is worth noting two characteristic expressions, which only occur in the Khārijite parts: *umūr/ashyāʾ laysa kulluhā tuḥṣā* for 'countless things',<sup>131</sup> and *man/mā shāʾa ʾllāh* in the sense of 'whoever/however long it may have been'. The latter was a common idiom among the Ibādīs of Oman.<sup>132</sup>

#### THE EDITION AND TRANSLATION

Originally, when we had but one manuscript to work from, we reproduced the text exactly as we found it in HX and relegated our textual criticism to footnotes. We also let pages and lines begin and end where they do in HX, numbering each line in the margin for ease of reference. That layout was not something we wished to change when, at the proof stage, we revised the text in the light of the evidence newly available from S and N. But the text now bears the form in which we have translated it, incorporating readings from all three manuscripts as well as conjectural emendations proposed by ourselves and others. We have standardized the orthography, adding diacritics and vowel signs to save readers who do not know their Qurʾān by heart the trouble of looking up Sālim's quotations, and to make plain how we have construed his own words. We have not added to the punctuation provided in our manuscripts by an occasional letter *hāʾ* — which in S tends to be filled in, and in N to be dotted in the middle — at the end of an argument, quotation, or verse within a quotation.

<sup>130</sup> *Laysa yukhālifunā fīhi aḥad illā aḥad huwa dāll* at l. 715 seems so clumsy that one is tempted to delete one *aḥad* with Cook (*Dogma*, 161).

<sup>131</sup> See ll. 407, 585, 637; and cf. 492 (*lā yuḥṣā ʿadaduhā*).

<sup>132</sup> See App. 3.

The footnotes are divided into two sections. The upper division records variant readings, including a representative selection of purely orthographic variants. The lower division identifies Sālim's quotations from the Qur<sup>ʿ</sup>ān and, in cases of paraphrase or allusion, supplies the words invoked. The aim of our edition is to make sense of the text attested by the manuscripts. Words transparently garbled or missing have been restored. In cases of doubt, we have either supplied a tentative emendation, or left a gap, or retained the transmitted reading with a question mark added in the notes to indicate that we perceive a problem but no solution. Needless to say, an obvious solution may sometimes have eluded us. At the same time, it stands to reason that some of the original words may have been obliterated beyond recall in the course of transmission.

Particular readings often remain uncertain, even where the gist is clear, because Sālim has a habit of changing his expression. For example, in calling upon his readers to abide by God's word, he repeatedly tells them to make the Qur<sup>ʿ</sup>ān their *imām*, but only once by means of an imperative of the same root (l. 38). Singular expressions are most vulnerable to corruption; and in deriving emendations from parallel contexts and phrases, it is easier to be sure of the sense than of the letter. At l. 36, Sālim uses the phrase *man tamassaka bihi* where the Qur<sup>ʿ</sup>ānic verse he quotes in the next line has *alladhīna yumassikūna bi'l-kitāb* as in the standard version. It is tempting to infer that Sālim's Qur<sup>ʿ</sup>ān had the verb in Form V, and that a later copyist corrected the quotation but not the paraphrase. An old Qur<sup>ʿ</sup>ānic variant with Form V is indeed on record;<sup>133</sup> and Sālim's phrase recurs at ll. 50 and 312, apparently with Form V. But a variant reading at l. 50 suggests that his usage may have been as flexible in this case as it tends to be in others.

For example, in attacking the Murji'ites for refusing to judge events or people before their time (IV, 91 ff), Sālim uses the key phrases *ghāba ʿanhu*, *ḥadarahu* and *adrakahu* ambiguously. Sometimes it is the would-be judge who is said to have been absent from, present at, or old enough to have experienced, a certain event or person; sometimes it is the event which is said to have occurred in the would-be judge's absence, presence, or lifetime; and sometimes both constructions are possible.<sup>134</sup> Thus, what looks like, for example, *mā adraknā* could just as well be *mā adrankānā* (l. 721). Where the text calls for emendation, both constructions need to

<sup>133</sup> Cf. Jeffery, *Materials*, 133: Ubayy b. Ka'b (d. c.650) is said to have read *massakū*, 'though some said that he read *tamassakū*'.

<sup>134</sup> Like others, Sālim mostly uses *adraka* to say that the subject was old enough to have met a certain man, or simply lived at his time (e.g. in IV, 130, 134; similarly the anonymous epistle against the *ahl al-shakk* quoted in App. 5; IB1, as quoted by Cook, *Dogma*, 60 f). But at l. 785 we find *man adrakathu 'l-furqatu 'l-ūlā*, 'those overtaken by the first schism', as in the Qur<sup>ʿ</sup>ānic phrase *man yudrikuhu 'l-mawt* (Q. 4:78, quoted at ll. 139 f).

be borne in mind. The sense is not affected, but the reading remains in doubt.

Since the reader has the text and translation on facing pages, we have put more effort into making the translation intelligible than into making it literal. We freely replace pronouns and demonstratives (*-hu*, *-hum*, *dhālika*, etc.) by the words to which they refer when the text is unambiguous; insert particles like ‘also’, ‘thus’, or ‘indeed’ without putting them in parenthesis; translate one word by several and vice versa where this appears desirable; and frequently adopt different translations for the same Arabic word in different passages.

Even technical terms such as *walāya*, *barāʿa*, and their cognates, are variously translated, since no English equivalents will serve in all contexts. *Walāya* was the relationship of love, loyalty, and support proper to members of the same community living under the same law; a *walī* was a person with whom one had such a relationship; *tawallā* was to declare oneself to have such a relationship with someone; and *tabarraʿa* was to declare the opposite. The best English translation for *tawallā* and *tabarraʿa* would have been ‘incommunicate’ and ‘excommunicate’. But ‘incommunicate’ does not exist, ‘excommunicate’ has indelible ecclesiastical connotations, and in any case, neither term alerts the reader to the fact that declarations of *walāya* and *barāʿa* were often about figures of the past. It was above all by their choice of righteous forebears that religious communities (or ‘sects’) in early Islam defined themselves. In the absence of a single term we translate *tawallā* as ‘declare for’, ‘give allegiance to’, ‘associate with’, and ‘affiliate to’. *Walāya* we normally render as ‘loyalty’ and *walī* as ‘friend’, ‘ally’, ‘associate’, or ‘co-religionist’. We use ‘God’s allies’ for *awliyāʾ allāh* because the more familiar ‘God’s friends’ (which we retain in quotations from Arberry’s Qurʾān translation) is a Ṣūfī expression with connotations alien to Sālīm. For *tabarraʿa* we normally use ‘disown’, but since it does not give us a noun for *barāʿa*, we also use the conventional ‘dissociate’ and ‘dissociation’. We likewise use the conventional ‘separation’ for the largely or wholly synonymous *firaq*.

*Hukm* in Khārijite parlance is customarily rendered as ‘judgement’, but it cannot be said to be an apt translation. A *ḥukm* is either a law (plural *aḥkām*) or an act of formulating or applying a law — ‘speaking the law’, in archaic parlance. When Khārijites say that only God has *ḥukm*, or that God is the only *ḥakam*, they mean that law can only be issued by God; human *ḥukm* should be a mere application of what God has spoken. Words like ‘legislation’, ‘law’, ‘verdict’, or ‘decision’ spring to mind from case to case, but not ‘judgement’, which is however so entrenched in the literature that we have felt obliged mostly to retain it. When we opt for alternative words, we always alert the reader to the fact that *ḥukm* is the word translated.

*Ḥaqq* is another common term with a standard translation, ‘truth’, which does not always work. Sālim uses it for what is right, both cognitively and morally. He will call upon people who have ‘gone astray by following their own whims’ to revert to *al-ḥaqq* or *ḥaqq allāh*, meaning the rights and duties prescribed for them by God in His law; and in such contexts we have translated *bi’l-ḥaqq* as ‘rightfully’ or replaced ‘the truth’ with ‘(God’s) law’ or ‘what is right’, unless the result proved too cumbersome.

*Qamm*, in the sense of what we would call non-Khārijite Muslims, has been left untranslated throughout.

Though all stylistic similarity disappeared in the course of revision, our translation of the Murjiʿite section was originally based on Cook’s, that of the concluding part on Hinds’s. In fact, without Cook’s pioneering work we would not have dared to tackle the epistle; without Hinds’s draft article it would not have occurred to us to try.

# SIGNS AND ABBREVIATIONS

## TEXT

[2]	beginning of numbered section in facing translation
◦	end of period, verse, or quotation
< >	conjectural addition
< . . . >	something seems to be missing
[ ]	uncertain reading
\	uncertain letter
<sup>1</sup> (etc.)	see upper division of footnotes
<sup>0</sup>	see last of the upper notes on preceding page; from ll. 838 ff: not in Sālīmī (see below)
<sup>a</sup> (etc.)	see lower division of footnotes
<sup>z</sup>	see last of the lower notes on preceding page

## FOOTNOTES

*Upper division: variant readings*

S	codex in the al-Sālīmī collection at Bidiya, pp. 552–76 (dated 1120/1708)
N	codex in the al-Sayfī collection at Nizwa, pp. 84–106 (dated 1141/1728)
HX	Hinds Xerox: copy of a codex from mid-19th cent. Oman, now Cambridge UL, microfilm Or. 1402, pp. 154–60 (ll. 1–100), 150 <sup>2</sup> –9 <sup>2</sup> (ll. 101–290), 160–1 (ll. 291–329), 161 <sup>2</sup> (ll. 330–49), 162–94 (ll. 350–964)
MSS	reading shared by S, N, and HX
ST	Qurʾān according to the Egyptian standard edition (first printed in Cairo 1342/1923)
Sālīmī	extract from ll. 838 ff in al-Sālīmī's <i>Tuḥfat al-aʿyān</i> , i. 81.3–85.8
–S	not in S
+ <sup>ا</sup> N	N additionally has <sup>ا</sup>

S N]	حٰ	HX	the reading of the text is supported by S and N; HX has حٰ instead
Cook			reading proposed by Cook in his edition of ll. 685–787, 927–29, 937–41 ( <i>Dogma</i> , 160–3)
Cook ( )			reading proposed by Cook elsewhere in his <i>Dogma</i>
Madelung			reading suggested to us by W. Madelung

*Lower division: references to the Qurʾān*

36: 82			quotation from Sura 36, v. 82 (according to the division of ST)
cf. 42: 11 ( )			paraphrase of, or allusion to, the words of Sura 42: 11 supplied after the reference
◦			boundary between verses according to ST

*Translation*

[ ]			added section heading; tentative rendering of obscure reading
( )			reference to the Qurʾān; word(s) added in translation for the sake of clarity
< >			conjectural addition
...			something seems to be missing

Quotations from the Qurʾān follow Arberry's translation, with occasional tacit adjustments.

# سيرة سالم بن ذكوان

THE EPISTLE OF  
SĀLIM IBN DHAKWĀN

- 1 سِيرَةُ سَالِمِ بْنِ ذَكْوَانَ<sup>1</sup> هه<sup>2</sup> الحمد لله الذي لا رَبَّ غيره و<sup>a</sup> لا شَيْءٌ<sup>3</sup>  
 2 كَمَثَلِهِ<sup>a</sup> b إِنَّمَا أَمْرُهُ إِذَا أَرَادَ شَيْئًا<sup>4</sup> أَنْ يَقُولَ لَهُ كُنْ فَيَكُونُ<sup>b</sup> ه [2] ونوصيكم  
 3 بِتَقْوَى<sup>c</sup> اللَّهِ الْعَظِيمِ<sup>c</sup> فَإِنَّهَا وَصِيَّةُ اللَّهِ<sup>d</sup> فِي الْأَوَّلِينَ وَالْآخِرِينَ<sup>d5</sup>  
 4 حيث<sup>6</sup> يقول<sup>e</sup> وَلَقَدْ وَصَّيْنَا الَّذِينَ أُوتُوا<sup>7</sup> الْكِتَابَ مِنْ قَبْلِكُمْ وَإِيَّاكُمْ  
 5 أَنْ اتَّقُوا اللَّهَ وَإِنْ تَكْفُرُوا فَإِنَّ لِلَّهِ مَا فِي السَّمَاوَاتِ وَمَا فِي الْأَرْضِ

وكان الله

<sup>1</sup> title vocalized in S      <sup>2</sup> HX ] بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم N      <sup>3</sup> شى S شىي N HX  
<sup>4</sup> شَيْئًا<sup>4</sup> ST شيا S N شيا HX      <sup>5</sup> والآخرين S والآخرين HX      <sup>6</sup> above the line S N ] -HX  
<sup>7</sup> ST ] اتوا S N اتوا HX

<sup>a-a</sup> Cf. 42: 11 (... لَيْسَ كَمِثْلِهِ شَيْءٌ ...)      <sup>b-b</sup> 36: 82      <sup>c-c</sup> Cf. 2: 255  
 (وَكَمْ أَرْسَلْنَا مِنْ نَبِيِّ فِي الْأَوَّلِينَ)      <sup>d-d</sup> Cf. 43: 6 (اللَّهُ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ ... وَهُوَ الْعَلِيُّ الْعَظِيمُ)  
 15: 10; and 56: 49 f (... لَمَجْمُوعُونَ ه لَمَجْمُوعُونَ ...)      <sup>e-z</sup> 4: 131

## 2

# THE EPISTLE OF SĀLIM B. DHAKWĀN

### PART I

1. Praise be to God, beside whom there is no lord and like whom there is no thing (cf. 42: 11). 'When He desires something, His command is simply to say to it "Be" and it is' (36: 82).
2. We enjoin you to fear mighty God, for that is what God enjoined among the earlier and later generations, as He says: 'We have enjoined those who were given the book before you, and you, to fear God. If you disbelieve, to God belongs all that is in the heavens and in the earth.'

- 6 وَكَانَ اللَّهُ غَنِيًّا حَمِيدًا<sup>z</sup> ه وَنَحْضَكُمْ عَلَى شُكْرِ نِعْمِهِ<sup>a</sup> وَالصَّبْرَ لَهُ<sup>a</sup> بِحَقِّهِ<sup>1</sup>
- 7 فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ<sup>b</sup> زَائِدٌ<sup>2</sup> مِّنْ شُكْرِهِ<sup>b</sup> وَيُؤْتِي الصَّابِرِينَ أَجْرَهُمْ بِغَيْرِ حِسَابٍ<sup>c</sup> ه
- 8 وَرَضَى<sup>3</sup> لَكُمْ طَاعَةَ اللَّهِ وَنَسَخَ لَكُمْ مَعْصِيَتَهُ فَإِنَّهُ<sup>d</sup> مَن يُطِيعِ
- 9 اللَّهَ وَرَسُولَهُ يُدْخِلْهُ جَنَّاتٍ تَجْرِي مِنْ تَحْتِهَا الْأَنْهَارُ<sup>4</sup> خَالِدِينَ فِيهَا<sup>4</sup> وَذَلِكَ الْفَوْزُ
- الْعَظِيمُ ه وَمَن يَعَصِ اللَّهَ وَرَسُولَهُ وَيَتَعَدَّ حُدُودَهُ يُدْخِلْهُ
- 11 نَارًا خَالِدًا فِيهَا وَلَهُ عَذَابٌ مُّهِينٌ<sup>d</sup> ه وَنَحْتَمُّ عَلَى ذِكْرِ اللَّهِ وَالْأَخْذِ
- 12 بِأَمْرِهِ فَإِنَّ<sup>e</sup> الذَّاكِرِينَ اللَّهَ كَثِيرًا وَالذَّاكِرَاتِ أَعَدَّ اللَّهُ<sup>5</sup> لَهُمْ
- 13 مَغْفِرَةً وَأَجْرًا عَظِيمًا<sup>e</sup> ه وَرَغَبَكُمْ فِيمَا عِنْدَ اللَّهِ<sup>6</sup> فَإِنَّ<sup>f</sup> مَا<sup>6</sup> عِنْدَ اللَّهِ خَيْرٌ
- 14 وَأَبْقَى لِلَّذِينَ آمَنُوا وَعَلَىٰ رَبِّهِمْ يَتَوَكَّلُونَ<sup>f</sup> وَنَحْذَرُكُمْ عِقَابَهُ اللَّهِ
- 15 وَأَمْنَهُ وَمَكْرَهُ فَإِنَّهُ<sup>g</sup> لَا يُعَذِّبُ عَذَابُهُ أَحَدًا<sup>g</sup> ه<sup>h</sup> وَلَا يَأْمَنُ مَكْرَهُ<sup>7</sup>
- 16 إِلَّا الْقَوْمَ الْخَاسِرُونَ<sup>h</sup> ه [3] فَعَلَيْكُمْ عِبَادَ اللَّهِ بِتَقْوَى اللَّهِ<sup>8</sup> وَالَّذِي
- 17 يَحْكُمُهُ<sup>8</sup> وَالْمَسَارَعَةَ فِي رِضْوَانِهِ وَالرَّغْبَةَ فِيمَا رَغَبَكُمْ اللَّهُ فِيهِ وَ
- 18 الرُّهْبَةَ لِمَا حَذَرَكُمْ مِنْ عِقَابِهِ وَالْمَحَافَظَةَ<sup>9</sup> عَلَىٰ مَا اسْتَحْفَظَكُمْ
- 19 اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ<sup>10</sup> مِنْ كِتَابِهِ<sup>i</sup> فَإِنَّهُ لَيْسَ يَضُرُّكُمْ تَضْيِيعُ شَيْءٍ مِنْ أَمْرِ
- 20 دُنْيَاكُمْ بَعْدَ حِفْظِكُمْ وَصِيَّةَ اللَّهِ فِي التَّقْوَى وَلَيْسَ يَنْفَعَكُمْ
- 21 شَيْءٌ حَافِظْتُمْ عَلَيْهِ مِنْ أَمْرِ دُنْيَاكُمْ بَعْدَ تَضْيِيعِكُمْ وَصِيَّةَ
- 22 اللَّهِ فِي التَّقْوَى ه فَاتَّقُوا اللَّهَ فِي سِرِّكُمْ وَعَلَانِيَتِكُمْ فَإِنَّكُمْ
- 23 مُؤَشَّكُونَ أَنْ تَنْقَطِعَ<sup>11</sup> مُدَدُكُمْ وَتَنْفَدَ<sup>12</sup> أَيَّامُكُمْ ثُمَّ تُفْضُوا إِلَىٰ
- 24 رَبِّكُمْ فَيَحْسَبُكُمْ بِسَعْيِكُمْ<sup>13</sup> وَيَجْزِيكُمْ بِأَعْمَالِكُمْ فِي الدُّنْيَا إِنَّمَا نَخَلَقَهَا

<sup>1</sup> HX بحقه <sup>2</sup> HX زائد <sup>3</sup> S N ونرضا <sup>4-4</sup> ST ]-MSS <sup>5</sup> ST ]-N  
<sup>6-6</sup> MSS; but cf. <sup>7</sup> MSS ] الله مكر <sup>8-8</sup> MSS والذل بحكمه <sup>9</sup> MSS والمجاهدة <sup>10</sup> Cf. 1. 39 below <sup>11</sup> N HX ينقطع <sup>12</sup> MSS وتنفذ <sup>13</sup> N بيغيمك

<sup>a-a</sup> Cf. 74:7 (وَلِرَبِّكَ فَاصْبِرْ) <sup>b-b</sup> Cf. 14:7 (... لئن شكرتم لأزيدنكم ...) <sup>c-c</sup> Cf. 39:10  
 (... إِنَّمَا يُؤْتِي الصَّابِرِينَ أَجْرَهُمْ بِغَيْرِ حِسَابٍ) <sup>d-d</sup> 4:13 f <sup>e-e</sup> 33:35 <sup>f-f</sup> 42:36 <sup>g-g</sup> 89:25  
<sup>h-h</sup> 7:99 <sup>i-i</sup> Cf. 5:44 (... مِنَ كِتَابِ اللَّهِ ...) <sup>j-z</sup> Cf. 67:2 (... أَحْسَنُ عَمَلًا ...)

God is all-sufficient, all-laudable' (4: 131). We urge you to be grateful for His blessings and to (abide) by His law in patient (expectation) of His (judgement), for God will increase those who are grateful to Him (cf. 14: 7) and pay the wages of the patient in full without reckoning (cf. 39: 10). We should like to have you obey God and hate to have you disobey Him, for 'whoso obeys God and His Messenger, him He will admit to gardens underneath which rivers flow <therein dwelling for ever>; that is the mighty triumph. But whoso disobeys God and His Messenger and transgresses His bounds, him He will admit to a fire, therein dwelling for ever, and for him there awaits a humbling chastisement' (4: 13 f). We spur you to remember God and observe His command, for 'men and women who remember God oft — for them God has prepared forgiveness and a mighty wage' (33: 35). We ask you to seek what is with God, for 'what is with God is better and more enduring for those who believe and put their trust in their Lord' (42: 36). We ask you to beware of God's punishment, and not to feel safe from Him and His devising, for 'none shall chastise as He chastiseth' (89: 25), and 'none feels secure against His devising except the people of the lost' (7: 99).

3. So it is for you, servants of God, to fear God and be content with His judgement, to vie for His pleasure, to seek what God has asked you to seek, to be wary of the punishment He has asked you to beware of, and to heed His book, which He has asked you to heed (cf. 5: 44). For if you are neglectful of something in this life, it will do you no harm as long as you have heeded God's injunction to fear Him; and if you are mindful of something in this life, it will not benefit you if you have neglected God's injunction to fear him. So fear God in private and in public, for soon your time will be up and your days will be spent. Then you will pass on to your Lord, who will call you to account for your efforts and requite you for what you did in this world. For He created it

- 25 لِيَبْلُؤُوا<sup>1</sup> فِيهَا الْعِبَادَ أَنَّهُمْ أَحْسَنُ عَمَلًا<sup>z</sup> ه فجعل العمل في الدنيا<sup>2</sup> والجزاء  
 26 به<sup>2</sup> في الآخرة قال أهل نُجُزُونَ<sup>a</sup> إِلَّا مَا كُنْتُمْ تَعْمَلُونَ<sup>a</sup> ه وقال<sup>b</sup> وَأَنْ لَيْسَ<sup>3</sup>  
 27 لِلْإِنْسَانِ<sup>4</sup> إِلَّا مَا سَعَى<sup>5</sup> ه وَأَنْ سَعِيهِ سَوْفَ يُرَى<sup>5</sup> ه ثُمَّ يُجْزَاهُ الْجَزَاءَ  
 28 الْأَوْفَى<sup>b</sup> ه وقال<sup>c</sup> مَنْ يَعْمَلْ سُوءًا<sup>6</sup> يُجْزَ بِهِ وَلَا يَجِدْ لَهُ مِنْ دُونِ اللَّهِ وَلِيًّا  
 29 وَلَا نَصِيرًا<sup>c</sup> ه فتعاهدوا حق ربكم وتقدموا في حظ أنفسكم وفيما أنتم  
 30 مسئولون<sup>7</sup> عنه يوم القيامة<sup>8</sup> فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ قَالَ وَذَقُوا<sup>d</sup> الْحَقَّ<sup>d</sup> فَفُورَتِكُ  
 31 لِنَسْأَلْتَهُمْ<sup>9</sup> أَجْمَعِينَ ه عَمَّا كَانُوا يَعْمَلُونَ<sup>e</sup> ه وقال<sup>f</sup> وَيَوْمَ يُنَادِيهِمْ  
 32 فَيَقُولُ مَاذَا أَجَبْتُمُ الْمُرْسَلِينَ<sup>f</sup> فَلْتَقُصَّنَّ عَلَيْهِمْ<sup>g</sup> بِعَلْمٍ وَمَا كُنَّا غَائِبِينَ<sup>g</sup> ه  
 33 [4] فَإِنْ اسْتَطَعْتُمْ وَلَا قُوَّةَ إِلَّا بِاللَّهِ أَنْ تَقْصُوا<sup>10</sup> عَلَيْكُمْ أَعْمَالَكُمْ حِينَ تَقْصُونَ<sup>11</sup>  
 34 عَلَيْكُمْ وَأَنْتُمْ عَلَى طَرِيقَةٍ حَسَنَةٍ فِي الَّذِي وَكَلَّمَ اللَّهُ بِهِ مِنْ  
 35 عِبَادَتِهِ فَقَدْ أَخَذْتُمْ بِحُطْمِكُمْ مِنْ طَاعَةِ رَبِّكُمْ وَأَزْدَجَرْتُمْ عَمَّا نَهَاكُمْ  
 36 عَنْهُ وَلَزِمْتُمْ الْأَمْرَ الَّذِي أَخْبَرَكُمْ أَنَّهُ مُكْرِمٌ مَنْ تَمَسَّكَ بِهِ وَلَزِمَهُ  
 37 مِنْ عِبَادِهِ<sup>12</sup> فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ يَقُولُ<sup>h</sup> الَّذِينَ<sup>13</sup> يُمَسِّكُونَ بِالْكِتَابِ وَأَقَامُوا  
 38 الصَّلَاةَ إِنَّا لَا نُضِيعُ أَجْرَ الْمُصْلِحِينَ<sup>h</sup> ه فَأَتَمُّوا<sup>14</sup> بَكِتَابِ اللَّهِ وَحَافِظُوا  
 39 عَلَى مَا اسْتَحْفَظْتُمْ اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ<sup>15</sup> فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ إِنَّمَا أَرْسَلَ رَسُولَهُ لِيُطَاعَ  
 40 وَأَنْزَلَ كِتَابَهُ لِيُتَّبَعَ وَيُلْحِكُمْ بَيْنَ النَّاسِ فِيمَا اخْتَلَفُوا فِيهِ<sup>i</sup> فَقَالَ  
 41 اللَّهُ نَوْمًا أَرْسَلْنَا مِنْ رَسُولٍ إِلَّا لِيُطَاعَ بِإِذْنِ اللَّهِ<sup>i</sup> وَكَأَلَّ قَدْرًا أَرْسَلْنَا  
 42 رُسُلَنَا بِالْبَيِّنَاتِ وَأَنْزَلْنَا مَعَهُمُ الْكِتَابَ وَالْمِيزَانَ<sup>16</sup> لِيَقُومَ النَّاسُ<sup>16</sup> بِالْقِسْطِ<sup>k</sup> ه  
 43 وَقَالَ<sup>1</sup> كَانَ النَّاسُ أُمَّةً وَاحِدَةً فَبَعَثَ اللَّهُ النَّبِيِّينَ مُبَشِّرِينَ

ومندرين

سعى<sup>5</sup> N سعى<sup>5</sup> S سعي<sup>5</sup> S HX<sup>5</sup> للإنسان<sup>4</sup> N ليس<sup>3</sup> N والجزاء<sup>2-2</sup> S N ليلوا<sup>1</sup>  
 HX القيمة<sup>8</sup> N القيمة<sup>8</sup> HX مسئولون<sup>7</sup> N مسئولون<sup>7</sup> S مسئولون<sup>7</sup> HX سوء<sup>6</sup> N سوء<sup>6</sup> HX  
 نقص<sup>11</sup> N يقص<sup>11</sup> HX نقص<sup>10</sup> S N نقص<sup>10</sup> ST لنسألنهم<sup>9</sup> HX لنسألنهم<sup>9</sup> S لنسألنهم<sup>9</sup>  
 HX فاتموا<sup>14</sup> S N فاتموا<sup>14</sup> HX Cf. 1. 19 above<sup>15</sup> HX والذين<sup>13</sup> ST عبادة<sup>12</sup> HX  
 16-16 ST ]-HX

a-a 27: 90 b-b 53: 39-41 c-c 4: 123 d-d 6: 73 e-e 15: 92 f f-f 28: 65 g-g 7: 7  
 h-h 7: 170 i-i 2: 213 (cf. 1. 44 below) j-j 4: 64 k-k 57: 25 l-z 2: 213

to try in it His servants which of them is fairest in works (cf. 67: 2). Works He assigned to this world, requital to the next. He says, 'Are you requited but for what you did?' (27: 90). And: 'And that a man shall have to his account only as he has laboured, and that his labouring shall surely be seen, then he shall be requited for it with the fullest requital' (53: 39–41). And: 'Whoever does evil shall be requited for it, and will not find for himself, apart from God, a friend or helper' (4: 123). Be mindful, then, of what is due to your Lord and proceed (in pursuit of) the portion your souls stand to gain and in (anticipation of) the questions you will be asked on the Day of Resurrection. For God says — and 'what He says is the truth' (6: 73) — 'Now, by thy Lord, we shall surely question them all together concerning what they were doing' (15: 92 f). And: 'And on that day when He shall call to them, and He shall say: What answers gave you to the envoys?' (28: 65) — 'We shall relate to them with knowledge; assuredly We were not absent' (7: 7).

4. So if you can (ensure) — but there is no power save with God — that, come the time when He will relate to you what you have done, He will find you well engaged in the worship He has charged you with, (if you can do that) you will have attained your portion (of reward) by obeying your Lord, restraining yourselves from what He has forbidden you and adhering to what He said you should do when He told you that He will honour those of His servants who hold fast and adhere to His command, saying 'Those who hold fast to the Book, and perform the prayer — surely We leave not to waste the wage of those who set aright' (7: 170). Take, then, the Book of God as your guideline and heed what God has asked you to heed. God sent His Messenger to be obeyed and sent down His book to be followed and to judge between people in their disagreements. God says, 'We sent not ever any messenger but that he should be obeyed, by the leave of God' (4: 64). And 'Indeed, We sent our messengers with the clear signs, and We sent down with them the Book and the Balance so that men might uphold justice' (57: 25). And: 'The people were one nation; then God sent forth the prophets, good tidings to bear

44 وَمُنْذِرِينَ وَأَنْزَلَ مَعَهُمُ الْكِتَابَ بِالْحَقِّ لِيَحْكُمَ بَيْنَ النَّاسِ فِيهَا اخْتَلَفُوا فِيهِ  
 45 وَمَا اخْتَلَفَ فِيهِ إِلَّا الَّذِينَ أُوتُوهُ<sup>1</sup> مِنْ بَعْدِ مَا جَاءَتْهُمْ الْبَيِّنَاتُ بَعِيًّا بَيْنَهُمْ<sup>2</sup>  
 46 [5] فَمَنْ اتَّبَعَ هَذَا<sup>3</sup> الْقُرْآنَ كَفَاهُ اللَّهُ مَا سِوَاهُ وَمَنْ ضَيَّعَهُ لَمْ يُقْبَلْ  
 47 مِنْهُ غَيْرُهُ فَلَيْسَ خَيْرَ يَتَّبِعِي<sup>4</sup> إِلَّا فِي هَذَا<sup>3</sup> الْقُرْآنِ > هَادٍ إِلَيْهِ وَلَا شَرَّ يَنْكَرُ إِلَّا فِي هَذَا  
 الْقُرْآنِ < زَاجِرٌ عَنْهُ إِنَّ اللَّهَ  
 48 قَدْ أَظْهَرَ فِيهِ عُدْرَهُ<sup>a</sup> وَبِ[شَهِيدٍ]<sup>b</sup> فِيهِ بِحُجَّتِهِ<sup>b</sup> وَتَقَدَّمَ فِيهِ بِوَعِيدِهِ<sup>c</sup> وَأَنْزَلَهُ<sup>d</sup>  
 49 كِتَابًا فَصْلًا<sup>d</sup> وَحَكْمًا عَدْلًا<sup>e</sup> وَحَدِيثًا صَدَقًا<sup>e</sup> وَقَفْصًا حَقًّا<sup>f</sup> وَنُورًا بَيِّنًا<sup>g</sup>  
 50 وَشِفَاءً<sup>h</sup> نَافِعًا وَجَعَلَهُ عَصْمَةً لِمَنْ تَمَسَّكَ<sup>7</sup> بِهِ وَعِلْمًا لِمَنْ تَدَبَّرَهُ<sup>i</sup> وَنَجَاةً  
 51 لِمَنْ تَبِعَهُ وَمِثْقَالَ لَا اخْتِلَافَ فِيهِ قَالَ اللَّهُ أُولَؤُكَانَ مِنْ عِنْدِي غَيْرِ  
 52 اللَّهُ لَوْجَدُوا فِيهِ اخْتِلَافًا كَثِيرًا<sup>h</sup> هُوَ فَهُوَ كَقِيمٍ<sup>k</sup> لَا عَوَجَ فِيهِ<sup>k</sup> بَيْنَ لَا لِبَسِ  
 53 فِيهِ فَانْتَصَحُوا كِتَابَ اللَّهِ وَاهْتَدُوا بِهِ فَإِنَّهُ<sup>1</sup> مَنْ لَمْ يَهْتَدِ بِهِ لَمْ  
 54 يَهْتَدِ بِغَيْرِهِ<sup>1</sup> فَإِنَّكُمْ لَمْ تَتُومَرُوا<sup>8</sup> إِلَّا بِهَذَا<sup>9</sup> الْقُرْآنِ وَلَمْ يَهْتَدِ<sup>10</sup> نَبِيِّكُمْ إِلَّا بِهِ  
 55 وَلَنْ تُسْأَلُوا<sup>11</sup> إِلَّا عَنْهُ وَلَنْ [تَوْعظُوا]<sup>12</sup> إِلَّا بِهِ فَإِنَّهُ مَنْ حَكَّمَ الْيَوْمَ<sup>13</sup> كِتَابَ  
 56 اللَّهِ وَجَعَلَهُ إِمَامًا وَأَخَذَ فِيهِ بِالْحُجَّةِ الثَّابِتَةِ وَالْأَمْرِ الْبَيِّنِ<sup>m</sup> تَبَّتْهُ  
 57 اللَّهُ بِالْقَوْلِ الثَّابِتِ فِي الْحَيَاةِ الدُّنْيَا وَفِي الْآخِرَةِ<sup>m</sup> وَلَقَاهُ حُجَّتَهُ  
 58 يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ وَأَفْلَحَ يَوْمَ يَقُومُ<sup>14</sup> الْخِصْمُ هُوَ وَمَنْ حَكَّمَ الْيَوْمَ هُوَ  
 59 وَجَعَلَهُ إِمَامًا وَتَرَكَ أَمْرَ اللَّهِ وَضَيَّعَ وَصِيَّتَهُ لَمْ يَضُرَّ إِلَّا نَفْسَهُ  
 60 وَلَمْ يَنْتَقِصْ إِلَّا حَظَّهُ وَلَمْ يَخْسِرْ إِلَّا سَهْمَهُ وَوَجَدَ<sup>n</sup> اللَّهُ غَنِيًّا حَمِيدًا<sup>n</sup> هُوَ

1 HX اتوه 2 -HX 3 هدى N 4 يتبعنا S HX 5 امهد MSS 6 وعدلاً HX  
 7 HX مسك 8 تأمروا HX 9 بهدى N 10 يهد HX 11 تسألوا HX 12 MSS ] ?  
 13 MSS; but cf. the parallel at l. 58 below 14 تقوم N

<sup>a</sup> Cf. 77: 6 (quoted at l. 184 below) <sup>b-b</sup> Cf. 3: 18 (شَهِدَ اللَّهُ); 43: 86 (مَنْ شَهِدَ بِالْحَقِّ);  
 and 6: 149 (invoked at l. 68 below) <sup>c-c</sup> Cf. 50: 28 (... قَدِمْتُ إِلَيْكُمْ بِالْوَعِيدِ) <sup>d-d</sup> Cf.  
 6: 114 (... أَنْزَلَ إِلَيْكُمُ الْكِتَابَ مُفَصَّلًا ...) and 86: 13 (إِنَّهُ لَقَوْلُ فَصْلٍ) <sup>e-e</sup> Cf. 4: 87  
 (إِنَّ هَذَا لَهُوَ الْقَصَصُ الْحَقُّ ...) <sup>f-f</sup> Cf. 3: 62 (... وَمَنْ أَصْدَقُ مِنَ اللَّهِ حَدِيثًا)  
 (هُوَ لِلَّذِينَ آمَنُوا هُدًى وَشِفَاءً) <sup>h</sup> Cf. 41: 44 (... وَأَنْزَلْنَا إِلَيْكُمْ نُورًا مُبِينًا)  
 (أَفَلَا يَتَذَكَّرُونَ الْقُرْآنَ ...) <sup>i</sup> alluding to the beginning of 4: 82 <sup>j-j</sup> continuation of 4: 82 <sup>k-k</sup> Cf. 18: 1 f  
 (... أَنْزَلَ ... الْكِتَابَ وَلَمْ يَجْعَلْ لَهُ عِوَجًا ه قِيمًا ...) <sup>l-l</sup> Cf. 7: 43 (quoted at l. 962 below)  
 (يُبَيِّنُ اللَّهُ الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا بِالْقَوْلِ الثَّابِتِ ...) <sup>m-m</sup> 14: 27, paraphrased at the beginning  
 4: 131 at line 6 above <sup>n-n</sup> Cf.

and warnings, and He sent down with them the Book with the truth (*ḥaqq*), to judge between people in their disagreements; and only those who had been given it disagreed about it, after the clear signs had come to them, being insolent' (2: 213).

5. Those who follow this Qurʾān are dispensed by God from everything else; and from those who neglect it He will accept nothing else. There is no good to be desired without <(words of) guidance to it> in this Qurʾān<sup>1</sup> <and no evil to be shunned without (words of)> deterrence from it <in this Qurʾān>. In it God has manifested His excuse, declared His argument (cf. 6: 149) and advanced His threat (cf. 50: 28); He has sent it down as a decisive book (cf. 6: 114, 86: 13), a just judgement, a true statement (cf. 4: 87), a right account (cf. 3: 62), a clear light (cf. 4: 174), and a beneficent cure (cf. 41: 44). He has made it a (source of) protection for those who hold fast to it, a (source of) knowledge for those who ponder it (cf. 4: 82), a (source of) salvation for those who follow it, and a compact in which there is no inconsistency. God says, 'If it had been from other than God, surely they would have found in it much inconsistency' (4: 82). It is straight, without crookedness (cf. 18: 1 f), and clear without confusion. So let yourselves be advised and guided by the Book of God, for he who is not guided by it will not be guided by anything else. It is through this Qurʾān alone that you have been commanded, by it alone that your Prophet let himself be guided, about it alone that you will be questioned, and according to it alone that you will be requited (?).<sup>2</sup> Those who make the Book of God their judge and imam today, attending to its firm argument and clear command, will be confirmed by God 'with the firm word in this life and the next' (14: 27); they will be given (the benefit of) God's argument on the Day of Resurrection and will be made to prosper on the day the adversaries arise. But those who make their own whim their judge and imam today, disregarding God's command and neglecting His injunction, they will only harm themselves: nothing will diminish except their own portion, nothing will be lost except their own share, and they will find God 'all-sufficient and all-laudable' (cf. 4: 131).

<sup>1</sup> One of the two older MSS has 'in the Qurʾān's guidance' (here and twice again in this paragraph), which could be the original reading. According to sura 41: 44, the Qurʾān is 'a guidance and a cure'.

<sup>2</sup> The MSS, less plausibly, have 'admonished'.

61 [6] فَخُذُوا<sup>15</sup> عِبَادَ اللَّهِ فِي أَمْرِكُمْ كُلِّهِ بِالثَّبَاتِ<sup>16</sup> وَأَدِّخِرُوا <مَنْ> صَالِحِ الْحَجَجِ  
 62 عِنْدَ اللَّهِ لِيَوْمِ تَأْتِي فِيهِ كُلُّ نَفْسٍ مُجَادِلٌ عَنِ نَفْسِهَا وَتُوَفَّى كُلُّ

<sup>15</sup> فَجَدُّوا S N فجدوا HX; but cf. l. 56 above    <sup>16</sup> بِالنِّيَّاتِ S N; but cf. l. 56 above

<sup>o-z</sup> 16: 111, paraphrased at the beginning (يَوْمَ تَأْتِي كُلُّ نَفْسٍ ...)

6. So, servants of God, base your whole stance on the firm ground (of the Qurʾān) and build up a store of sound arguments in your favour with God for the ‘day on which every soul shall come disputing in its own behalf; and every

63 نفس ما عَمَلْتُمْ وَهُمْ لَا يُظَلِّمُونَ<sup>z</sup> هـ وعليكم بالسمت الحسن والسيرة المعروفة  
 64 في الإسلام<sup>1</sup> التي سار بها نبي الله وأولياء الله هـ واعلموا أنه لن يهتدى  
 65 أحد بخلافهم هـ قال الله<sup>a</sup> وَمَنْ يُشَاقِقِ الرَّسُولَ مِنْ بَعْدِ مَا تَبَيَّنَ  
 66 لَهُ الْهُدَىٰ وَيَتَّبِعْ غَيْرَ سَبِيلِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ نُوَلِّهِ مَا تَوَلَّىٰ وَنُصَلِّهِ جَهَنَّمَ  
 67 وَسَاءَتْ مَصِيرًا<sup>a</sup> هـ [7] فليس منكم أيها الناس أحد يكدر في سبيل  
 68 صواب ولا خطأ<sup>2</sup> إلا بعد المعذرة الصادقة<sup>b</sup> والحجج البالغة<sup>b</sup>  
 69 وإلا<sup>3</sup> وهو مسبق بذلك كله إنما تسرون<sup>4</sup> في آثار أسلاف قد<sup>5</sup>  
 70 مضوا بين راشدٍ وعاوٍ وإِنَّمَا الْجَنَّةُ<sup>6</sup> تُؤْتَىٰ مِنْ سَبِيلٍ وَاحِدٍ  
 71 فهو يجمع فرائض الإيمان<sup>7</sup> كلها وتؤتى النار من سبيل شتى وذلك  
 72 قول الله في [حكيمته]<sup>8</sup> <sup>c</sup> وَأَنَّ هَذَا صِرَاطِي مُسْتَقِيمًا فَاتَّبِعُوهُ وَلَا  
 73 تَتَّبِعُوا السُّبُلَ فَتَفَرَّقَ بِكُمْ عَنْ سَبِيلِهِ ذَلِكُمْ وَصَّاكُمْ<sup>9</sup> بِهِ لَعَلَّكُمْ  
 74 تَتَّقُونَ<sup>c</sup> هـ وإِنَّمَا يَدْعُو<sup>10</sup> الْعِبَادَ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ بِإِمَامِهِمْ<sup>11</sup> قَالَ<sup>d</sup> يَوْمَ  
 75 نَدْعُو<sup>12</sup> كُلَّ أَنْسَابٍ بِإِمَامِهِمْ فَمَنْ أُوتِيَ كِتَابَهُ يَمِينًا فَأُولَٰئِكَ يَقْرَأُونَ<sup>13</sup>  
 76 كِتَابَهُمْ وَلَا يُظَلَّمُونَ فَنِيلاً هـ وَمَنْ كَانَ فِي هَذِهِ أَعْمَىٰ فَهُوَ فِي الْآخِرَةِ  
 77 أَعْمَىٰ وَأَضَلُّ سَبِيلًا<sup>d</sup> هـ [8] فاعملوا بالتقوى وتقرّبوا إلى الله  
 78 بولاية أهلها وانظروا فيمن [تجعلوا]<sup>14</sup> ولايتكم فإنكم أولياء من توليتم  
 79 فإياكم<sup>e</sup> وأولياء الشيطان<sup>e</sup> لا تولّوهم<sup>f</sup> ولا تؤادوهم<sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> وَلَا تَتَّبِعُوا  
 80 أَهْوَاءَهُمْ<sup>g</sup> فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ لَمْ يَرْضَ ذَلِكَ لَوْلَىٰ لَهُ وَقَدْ حَذَرَ كَمْ<sup>h</sup> الظَّالِمَةَ  
 81 وَأَخْبَرَكُمْ أَنَّهُ يَبْرَأُ<sup>15</sup> مِمَّنْ تَوْلَاهُمْ إِنْفَلَا تَغْتَرَبْنَ<sup>16</sup> بِاللَّهِ وَلَا تَغْرَبْكُمْ<sup>i</sup> أَكْثَرَ

الناس

MSS انما + 6 MSS فقد 5 MSS يسرون 4 S الا 3 S خطاء 2 HX الإسلام 1  
 MSS يدعوا 10 ST وَصَّيْكُمْ<sup>9</sup> HX وَصَّيْكُمْ<sup>9</sup> ? حَكِيمِهِ 8 HX الأيمان 7  
 ST يَقْرَأُونَ<sup>13</sup> HX يقرون 13 MSS ندعوا 12 HX بأمامهم 11  
 MSS تغتربن 16 S يبرأ 15 ? MSS 14

Cf. 17:71 f d-d 6:153 c-c (قُلْ فَلِلَّهِ الْحُجَّةُ الْبَالِغَةُ ...) b-b Cf. 6:149  
 (لا ... يُؤَادُونَ مَنْ حَادَّ اللَّهَ وَرَسُولَهُ ...) f-f Cf. 58:22 (... فَقَاتِلُوا أَوْلِيَاءَ الشَّيْطَانِ ...) 4:76  
 Cf. ibid. h (... وَلَا تَتَّبِعْ أَهْوَاءَهُمْ وَأَحْذَرُهُمْ ... وَإِنَّ كَثِيرًا مِنَ النَّاسِ لَفَاسِقُونَ) 5:49 g-g  
 Cf. 31:33, 35:5 i-i (... فَلَا تَغْرَبَنَّكُمْ الْحَيَاةُ الدُّنْيَا وَلَا يَغْرَبْكُمْ بِاللَّهِ الْعَرُوفُ) 31:33, 35:5 i-i  
 Cf. 5:49 at note g z-z

soul shall be paid in full for what it wrought, and they shall not be wronged' (16: 111). It is for you to follow the good path and the conduct (*sīra*) approved in Islam, which was followed by God's Prophet and God's allies (*awliyāʾ*). Know that nobody will be guided by acting differently from them. God says, 'But whoso makes a breach with the Messenger after the guidance has become clear to him and follows a way other than the believers', him we shall turn over to what he has turned to and We shall roast him in Gehenna — an evil homecoming!' (4: 115).

7. So not one of you, O people, toils on the right or wrong path without having received a truthful excuse and conclusive arguments (cf. 6: 149), or without having been preceded in all that. You travel in the tracks of predecessors who went their (various) ways, some right, some wrong. But paradise is only reached by one path, which unites all the precepts of the faith, whereas there are several paths to hell, for that is what God says in His wisdom:<sup>1</sup> 'And this is My path, straight, so do you follow it, and follow not diverse paths lest they scatter you from His path. That then He has charged you with; haply you will be God-fearing' (6: 153). It is by their imam that God will call His servants on the Day of Resurrection. He says, 'On the day when We shall call all men by their imam, and whoso is given his book in his right hand — those shall read their book, and they shall not be wronged a single date-thread. And whosoever is blind in this world shall be blind in the world to come, and he shall be even further astray from the way' (17: 71 f).

8. So act with fear of God and draw near unto God by giving allegiance to God-fearing people. Be mindful of whom you give your allegiance to, for you will be allies of those to whom you give it. Beware of the allies of Satan (4: 76): do not give them allegiance, do not love them (cf. 58: 22) and do not follow their whims. God does not approve of that in an ally of His, having warned you to beware of evildoers and told you that He will disown those who give their allegiance to them. Do not be deceived about God and do not let yourselves be deluded (cf. 31: 33, 35: 5) by the great number

<sup>1</sup> *fī hikmatihī*: possibly to be read *fī hukmihi*, 'about His law', or 'in the course of setting out His law', for the words about to be quoted occur in a passage of legislation. God's wisdom is not a subject in this epistle.

- 82 الناس<sup>z</sup> من <...> أنفسمك فإن الناس قد<sup>a</sup> تفرقت بهم<sup>a</sup> الأهواء وتقطعت  
 83 بهم السبل<sup>b</sup> واشترع كثير منهم ما لم يأذن به الله ه قال لمحمد  
 84 صلى الله عليه<sup>c</sup> 1 ثم جعلناك على شريعة من الأمر فاتبعها ولا  
 85 تتبع أهواء الذين لا يعلمون ه إنهم لن يُغنوا عنك من الله شيئاً  
 86 وإن الظالمين بعضهم أولياء بعض والله وئى المتقين ه وقال  
 87 ولو اتبع الحق أهواءهم لفسدت السموات والأرض ومن فيهن<sup>d</sup>  
 88 بل أتيناهم بذكرهم فهم عن ذكرهم معرضون<sup>d</sup> ه [9] فعليكم عباد الله  
 89 بالجد<sup>d</sup> في أداء<sup>3</sup> حق الله عليكم فراقبوه<sup>4</sup> في أموركم كلها سرها و  
 90 علانياتها واعلموا<sup>e</sup> أنه لبالمرصاد<sup>5</sup> لمن عصاه وأنه لا يخفى عليه من أعمالكم  
 91 شئ فامهدوا لأنفسكم<sup>f</sup> من كل خير تجدوه عند الله<sup>g</sup> ه يوم نحسد كل  
 92 نفس ما عملت من خير محضراً وما عملت من سوء تود لو أن<sup>6</sup> بينها  
 93 وبينه<sup>6</sup> أمداً بعيداً ويحذركم الله نفسه والله رؤوف<sup>7</sup> بالعباد<sup>h</sup>  
 94 [10] فاحذروا من الله إنما حذركم من نفسه<sup>i</sup> وتنجوا<sup>8</sup> لما ترون أن الله  
 95 راض<sup>9</sup> به عنكم ولا تشغلنكم عن ذلك<sup>i</sup> دنيا منقطعة كثيراً قليلاً  
 96 وما فيها بائد<sup>k</sup> إلا تبق<sup>i</sup> لمن طلبها ولا يبقى عليها طالبها<sup>1</sup> هى كما  
 97 قال الله<sup>m</sup> لعب وهو وزينه وتفاخر بينكم وتكاثر في الأموال  
 98 والأولاد كمثل غيث أعجب الكفار نباته ثم يهيج فتراه مضفراً  
 99 ثم يكون حطاماً وفي الآخرة عذاب شديد ومغفرة من الله  
 100 ورضوان<sup>n</sup> وما الحياة الدنيا إلا متاع الغرور<sup>m</sup> ه [11] وارغبوا فيما

بالمرصاد<sup>5</sup> MSS وراقبوه<sup>4</sup> HX أداء<sup>3</sup> S N فى الجذ<sup>2</sup> HX وسلم<sup>1</sup> +  
 N HX N بينه وبينها<sup>6-6</sup> ST رؤوف<sup>7</sup> HX رؤوف<sup>7</sup> S رؤوف<sup>7</sup> N تنجوا<sup>8</sup> S N  
 HX راض<sup>9</sup> S N راض<sup>9</sup>

<sup>a-a</sup> Cf. 6: 153 at l. 73 above

<sup>b</sup> Cf. *ibid.*

<sup>c-c</sup> 45: 18 f

<sup>d-d</sup> 23: 71

<sup>e-e</sup> (... وَمَنْ عَمِلْ صَالِحًا فَلِأَنْفُسِهِمْ يَمْهَدُونَ) <sup>f-f</sup> Cf. 30: 44 (إِنَّ رَبَّكَ لَبَلِإِصْرَاد)

<sup>g-g</sup> Cf. 2: 110, 73: 20 (... وَمَا تَقْدُمُوا لَأَنْفُسِكُمْ مِنْ خَيْرٍ تَجِدُوهُ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ ...) <sup>h-h</sup> 3: 30

<sup>i-i</sup> Cf. 3: 28 (... وَتُحَذِّرُكُمُ اللَّهُ نَفْسَهُ ...) <sup>j-j</sup> Cf. 48: 11

(سَيَقُولُ لَكَ الْمُخَلَّفُونَ مِنَ الْأَعْرَابِ شَغَلَتْنَا أَمْوَالُنَا وَأَهْلُونَا ...)

<sup>k</sup> Cf. 18: 35

(... قَالَ مَا أَظُنُّ أَنْ تَبِيدَ هَذِهِ أَبَدًا)

<sup>l-l</sup> Cf. 22: 73 (ضَعُفَ الطَّالِبُ وَالْمَطْلُوبُ)

<sup>m-m</sup> 57: 20

of people <who behave otherwise about what is right for?> yourselves, for people have been led by their whims to go separate ways (cf. 6: 153), which took them to dead ends. Many have adopted laws (*ishtara*<sup>u</sup>) which God has not permitted. God said to Muḥammad: ‘Then We set thee upon an open way (*sharīʿa*) of the Command; therefore follow it, and follow not the whims of those who do not know. Surely they will not avail thee aught against God. Surely the evildoers are friends one of the other; God is the friend of the God-fearing’ (45: 18 f). And: ‘Had the truth (*ḥaqq*) followed their whims, the heavens and the earth and whosoever is in them had surely corrupted. Nay, We brought them their remembrance, but from their remembrance they turned’ (23: 71).

9. So it is for you, servants of God, to strive to render what you owe to God. Fear God in all your affairs, private or public; and know that He is ever on the watch (89: 14) for those who disobey, and that nothing you do escapes Him. So make provisions for yourselves (30: 44) of everything good, and you will find it (all) with God ‘the day every soul shall find what it has done of good brought forward, and what it has done of evil; it will wish if there were only a far space between it and that day. God warns you to beware of Him; and God is gentle with His servants’ (3: 30).

10. Take heed, then, of God’s warning to beware of Him (cf. 3: 28). Turn to where you see that God will be pleased with you for going. Do not let yourselves be distracted by a world so curtailed that plenty of it is but little, and so transient (cf. 18: 35) in all it holds that it will not last for the seeking, and the seeker will not last for the quest (cf. 22: 73). It is, as God says, ‘a sport and diversion, a (show of tawdry) glitter, a cause for boasting among you, and a rivalry in wealth and children. It is as a rain whose vegetation pleases the unbelievers; then it withers, and thou seest it turning yellow, then it becomes broken orts. And in the world to come there is terrible chastisement, and forgiveness from God and good pleasure; and the present life is but the joy of delusion’ (57: 20).

11. Aspire, then,

- 101 رَغِبَكُمْ اللهُ فِيهِ مِنْ نَعِيمِ الْآخِرَةِ وَكَرَامَتِهَا هِ وَأَزْهَدُوا فِيمَا زَهَدَكُمْ
- 102 اللهُ فِيهِ مِنْ الدُّنْيَا وَزِينَتِهَا وَأَثَرُوا [كِتَاب] <sup>1</sup> اللهُ وَطَاعَتِهِ عَلَى هَوَى <sup>2</sup>
- 103 أَنْفُسِكُمْ وَلَيْشْتَدَّ يَقِينَكُمْ بِمَا وَعَدَ اللهُ مَنْ أَطَاعَهُ مِنَ الْكِرَامَةِ وَ
- 104 الرَّحْمَةِ وَبِمَا أَوْعَدَ مَنْ عَصَاهُ مِنَ الْعُقُوبَةِ وَالْعَذَابِ [فَا\|\|\| وَ
- 105 رَغِبْتُمْ] <sup>3</sup> فِي الْعَمَلِ الصَّالِحِ الَّذِي يَجْزِي بِهِ مِنْ عَمَلٍ بِهِ وَيُثِيبُهُمْ عَلَيْهِ
- 106 أَحْسَنَ الثَّوَابِ وَاحْذَرُوا الْعَمَلَ الَّذِي أَخْبِرَكُمْ أَنَّهُ مَعْدَبٌ
- 107 عَلَيْهِ < مَنْ عَمِلَ بِهِ > <sup>a</sup> وَمُتَّقِمٌ بِهِ مِنْهُمْ <sup>a</sup> فَتَيَسَّرُوا لِبِطَاعَةِ اللهِ وَتَهَيَّأُوا لَهَا <sup>4</sup> [وَتَبَّتُوا] <sup>5</sup> لَهَا
- 108 أَنْفُسَكُمْ وَوَطَّنُوا <sup>6</sup> أَنْفُسَكُمْ عَلَى اتِّبَاعِ الْحَقِّ إِنْ وَافَقَ الْحَقُّ أَهْوَاءَكُمْ
- 109 أَوْ خَالَفَهَا فَإِنَّكُمْ لَنْ تُدْرِكُوا مَا تَطْلُبُونَ وَلَنْ تَنْجُوا مِمَّا تَحْذَرُونَ
- 110 إِلَّا بِتَرْكِ مَا تَشْتَهُونَ [12] وَخُذُوا نَصِيحَتَكُمْ مِنَ الْجِهَادِ فِي سَبِيلِ اللهِ
- 111 فَإِنَّهُ أَشْرَفُ الْأَعْمَالِ عِنْدَ اللهِ وَأَفْضَلُهَا ثَوَابًا <sup>7</sup> وَهِيَ <sup>b</sup> التِّجَارَةُ
- 112 الَّتِي لَا تَبُورُ <sup>b</sup> وَالَّتِي <sup>c</sup> تَنْجِي مِنَ عَذَابِ الْبَيْرِ <sup>c</sup> هِ قَالَ اللهُ <sup>d</sup> لَا يَسْتَوِي
- 113 الْقَاعِدُونَ مِنَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ غَيْرَ أُولَى الضَّرَرِ وَالْمُجَاهِدُونَ <sup>8</sup> فِي سَبِيلِ اللهِ <sup>8</sup> بِأَمْوَالِهِمْ
- 114 وَأَنْفُسِهِمْ فَضَّلَ اللهُ الْمُجَاهِدِينَ بِأَمْوَالِهِمْ وَأَنْفُسِهِمْ عَلَى الْقَاعِدِينَ
- 115 دَرَجَةً وَكُلًّا وَعَدَ اللهُ الْحَسَنَى وَفَضَّلَ اللهُ الْمُجَاهِدِينَ عَلَى
- 116 الْقَاعِدِينَ أَجْرًا عَظِيمًا هِ دَرَجَاتٍ مِنْهُ وَمَغْفِرَةً وَرَحْمَةً وَكَانَ
- 117 اللهُ غَفُورًا رَحِيمًا <sup>d</sup> هِ وَقَالَ <sup>e</sup> وَالَّذِينَ قُتِلُوا فِي سَبِيلِ اللهِ فَلَنْ يُضَلَّ
- 118 أَعْمَالُهُمْ هِ سَيَهْدِيهِمْ وَيُصْلِحُ بَالَهُمْ هِ وَيُدْخِلُهُمُ الْجَنَّةَ عَرَفَهَا هُمْ <sup>e</sup> هِ
- 119 وَقَالَ <sup>f</sup> إِنْ اللهُ اشْتَرَى مِنَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ أَنْفُسَهُمْ وَأَمْوَالَهُمْ بِأَنْ لَهُمْ

الجنة

MSS فإنه اشدُّ لو عنتمكم <sup>3</sup> HX هوا N هواء S هواء <sup>2</sup> HX محاب N محاب <sup>1</sup> HX-8-8  
 HX ثوابها <sup>7</sup> HX وطنوا <sup>6</sup> MSS وهبوا [Madelung] <sup>5</sup> HX لما <sup>4</sup>

Cf. <sup>c-c</sup> (...) يَرْجُونَ تَجْرَةً لَنْ تَبُورَ Cf. 35:29 <sup>b-b</sup> (...) فَإِنَّا مِنْهُمْ مُتَّقِمُونَ Cf. 43:41 <sup>a-a</sup>  
 61:10 at l. 128 below <sup>d-d</sup> 4:95 f <sup>c-c</sup> 47:4-6 <sup>f-z</sup> 9:111

to the bliss and honour of the hereafter to which God has asked you to aspire; and abstain from this world and its glitter as God has told you to do. Prefer the Book of God and obedience to it over your own whims. Let yourselves grow ever more certain of the honour and mercy that God has promised those who obey Him, and of the punishment and chastisement with which He threatens those who disobey Him. <Concentrate?> your ambition on the sound works for which He will requite those who engage in them, rewarding them most handsomely; and beware of the kind of works for which God has told you that He will chastise <those who engage in them>, taking vengeance upon them (cf. 43: 41). Let it become an easy thing for you to obey God; shape up to that obedience, fortify yourselves for it, and accustom yourselves to following the truth whether it suits your whims or not; for you will only attain what you seek or be saved from what you are anxious to avoid by forsaking your desires.

12. Make sure of your share (of reward) by participating in the struggle (*jihād*) in God's path, for that is the noblest of works in God's eyes, the work to be rewarded most bounteously, the unflagging trade (cf. 35: 29), the trade which will save (you) from painful chastisement (cf. 61: 10). God says, 'Such believers as sit at home — unless they have an injury — are not the equals of those who struggle in God's path with their possessions and their selves. God has preferred in rank those who struggle with their possessions and their selves over the ones who sit at home; yet to each God has promised the reward most fair; and God has preferred those who struggle over the ones who sit at home for the bounty of a mighty wage, in ranks standing before Him, forgiveness and mercy; surely God is all-forgiving, all-compassionate' (4: 95 f). He says: 'And those who are slain in God's path, He will not send their works astray. He will guide them, and dispose their minds aright, and He will admit them to paradise, that He has made known to them' (47: 4–6). And: 'God has bought from the believers their selves and their possessions against the gift

- 120 الْجَنَّةَ يُقَاتِلُونَ فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ فَيَقْتُلُونَ وَيُقْتَلُونَ وَعَدَاً عَلَيْهِ  
 121 حَقًّا فِي التَّوْرَةِ وَالْإِنْجِيلِ وَالْقُرْآنِ وَمَنْ أَوْفَى بِعَهْدِهِ مِنَ اللَّهِ  
 122 فَاسْتَبْشِرُوا بِنِعْمِكُمُ الَّذِي بَايَعْتُمْ بِهِ وَذَلِكَ هُوَ الْفَوْزُ الْعَظِيمُ<sup>ه</sup>  
 123 وَقَالَ<sup>ا</sup> وَلَا<sup>1</sup> تَحْسَبَنَّ الَّذِينَ قُتِلُوا فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ أَمْوَاتًا بَلْ أحيَاءٌ  
 124 عِنْدَ رَبِّهِمْ يُرْزَقُونَ ه فَرِحِينَ بِمَا آتَاهُمُ اللَّهُ مِنْ فَضْلِهِ وَيَسْتَبْشِرُونَ  
 125 بِالَّذِينَ لَمْ يَلْحَقُوا بِهِمْ مِنْ خَلْفِهِمْ أَلَّا<sup>2</sup> خَوْفٌ عَلَيْهِمْ وَلَا هُمْ يَحْزَنُونَ ه  
 126 يَسْتَبْشِرُونَ بِنِعْمَةٍ مِنَ اللَّهِ وَفَضْلٍ وَأَنَّ اللَّهَ لَا يُضِيعُ أَجْرَ  
 127 الْمُؤْمِنِينَ<sup>ه</sup> وَقَالَ<sup>ب</sup> يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا هَلْ أَدُلُّكُمْ عَلَى تِجَارَةٍ  
 128 تُنَجِّيكُمْ مِنْ عَذَابِ أَلِيمٍ ه تُوْمِنُونَ بِاللَّهِ وَرَسُولِهِ وَتُجَاهِدُونَ  
 129 فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ بِأَمْوَالِكُمْ وَأَنْفُسِكُمْ ذَلِكَ خَيْرٌ لَكُمْ إِنْ كُنْتُمْ تَعْلَمُونَ<sup>ب</sup> ه  
 130 وَقَالَ<sup>ج</sup> وَأُخْرَى تُحِبُّونَهَا نَصْرٌ مِنَ اللَّهِ وَفَتْحٌ قَرِيبٌ وَبَشِّرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ<sup>ج</sup> ه  
 131 وَقَالَ<sup>د</sup> يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا كُونُوا<sup>3</sup> أَنْصَارَ اللَّهِ<sup>3</sup> كَمَا قَالَ عِيسَى بْنُ مَرْيَمَ  
 132 لِلْحَوَارِيِّينَ مَنْ<sup>4</sup> أَنْصَارِي إِلَى<sup>4</sup> اللَّهِ قَالَ الْحَوَارِيُّونَ نَحْنُ أَنْصَارُ اللَّهِ  
 133 فَأَمَنْتَ طَائِفَةٌ مِنْ بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ وَكَفَرْتَ طَائِفَةٌ فَأَيَّدْنَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا عَلَى  
 134 عَدُوِّهِمْ فَأَصْبَحُوا ظَاهِرِينَ<sup>د</sup> ه وَقَالَ<sup>ه</sup> يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا إِنْ  
 135 تَنْصَرُوا لِلَّهِ يَنْصُرْكُمْ وَيُثَبِّتْ أَقْدَامَكُمْ ه وَالَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا فَتَعَسَا  
 136 لَهُمْ وَأَصْلٌ أَعْمَاهُمْ ه ذَلِكَ بِأَنَّهُمْ كَرِهُوا مَا أَنْزَلَ<sup>5</sup> اللَّهُ فَأَحْبَطَ أَعْمَاهُمْ<sup>ه</sup>  
 137 [13] فَأَوْفُوا لِلَّهِ عِبَادَ اللَّهِ بِبَيْعَتِهِ وَالَّذِي بَايَعْتُمُوهُ عَلَيْهِ يُوفِ  
 138 لَكُمْ بِالشَّرْطِ<sup>6</sup> الَّذِي شَرَطَهُ<sup>7</sup> لَكُمْ عَلَى نَفْسِهِ<sup>ف</sup> وَأَعْلَمُوا أَنَّ الْقَعُودَ لَا

1 HX لا 1 2 N ان لا 2 3-3 N انصاراً لله 3 4-4 HX انصار 4 5 HX نزل 5 6 MSS الشرط 6 7 MSS شرط 7

a-a 3: 169-71 b-b 61: 10 f c-c 61: 13 d-d 61: 14 e-c 47: 7-9 f-f Cf. 2: 40  
 (... وَأَوْفُوا بِعَهْدِي أُوفِ بِعَهْدِكُمْ ...)

of paradise: they fight in God's path; they kill and are killed; that is a promise binding upon God in the Torah and the Gospel and the Qur'ān; and who fulfils his covenant truer than God? So rejoice in the bargain you have made with Him; that is the mighty triumph' (9: 111). And: 'And count not those who were slain in God's path as dead, but rather living with their Lord, by Him provided, rejoicing in the bounty that God has given them, and joyful in those who remain behind and have not joined them, because no fear shall be on them, neither shall they sorrow, joyful in blessing and bounty from God, and that God leaves not to waste the wage of the believers' (3.169–71). And: 'O believers, shall I direct you to a commerce that shall deliver you from a painful chastisement? You shall believe in God and His Messenger, and struggle in the path of God with your possessions and your selves. That is better for you, did you but know' (61: 10–11). And: 'And other things you love, help from God and a nigh victory. Give thou good tidings to the believers' (61: 13). And: 'O believers, be you God's helpers, as Jesus, Mary's son, said to the Apostles: "Who will be my helpers unto God?". The Apostles said, "We will be God's helpers". And a party of the Children of Israel believed, and a party disbelieved. So We confirmed those who believed against their enemy, and they became masters' (61: 14). And: 'O believers, if you help God, He will help you, and confirm your feet. But as for the unbelievers, ill chance shall befall them! He will send their works astray. That is because they have been averse to what God has sent down, so He has made their works to fail' (47: 7–9).

13. So servants of God, fulfil your contract (*bay'at*) with God and the conditions you have paid Him allegiance on, and He will fulfil the condition that He has taken upon Himself in your favour (cf. 2: 40). Know that staying at home will not

- 139 يَخْلِدُكُمْ وَلَا يُؤَخِّرُ آجَالَكُمْ إِذَا حَضَرَتْ ه قَالَ اللَّهُ <sup>a</sup> إِنَّمَا تَكُونُوا يُدْرِكُكُمُ
- 140 الْمَوْتُ وَلَوْ كُنْتُمْ فِي بُرُوجٍ مُشِيدَةٍ ه وقال لِنَبِيِّهِ <sup>b</sup> وَمَا جَعَلْنَا لِبَشَرٍ
- 141 مِنْ قَبْلِكَ الْخُلْدَ أَفَإِنْ مِتَّ فَهُمْ الْخَالِدُونَ ه كُلُّ نَفْسٍ ذَائِقَةُ
- 142 الْمَوْتِ وَنَبَلُوكُم بِالشَّرِّ وَالْخَيْرِ فِتْنَةً وَإِلَيْنَا تُرْجَعُونَ <sup>b</sup> ه وقال
- 143 <sup>c</sup> وَلَنْ يُؤَخِّرَ اللَّهُ نَفْسًا إِذَا جَاءَ أَجَلُهَا وَاللَّهُ خَبِيرٌ بِمَا تَعْمَلُونَ ه
- 144 فَأَرْغَبُوا فِي مَا رَغِبَ اللَّهُ فِيهِ مِنْ فَضِيلَةِ الْجِهَادِ فَإِنَّهُ لَا يَدَّ لَكُمْ
- 145 مِنْ مَوْتٍ أَوْ قَتْلِ فَإِنَّ الْجِهَادَ فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ <sup>d</sup> لَا يَنْقُصُ أَعْمَارَكُمْ <sup>d</sup>
- 146 وَلَا يَعَجَلُ لِأَحَدٍ الْمَوْتَ دُونَ أَنْ تَنْقُضِيَ أَيَّامَهُ ه التي كَتَبَ اللَّهُ
- 147 لَهُ ه وقال الله <sup>e</sup> وَمَا كَانَ لِنَفْسٍ أَنْ تَمُوتَ إِلَّا بِإِذْنِ اللَّهِ كِتَابًا
- 148 مُؤَجَّلًا وَمَنْ يُرِدْ ثَوَابَ الدُّنْيَا نُؤْتِهِ مِنْهَا <sup>1</sup> وَمَنْ يُرِدْ ثَوَابَ الْآخِرَةِ
- 149 نُؤْتِهِ مِنْهَا وَسَنْجِزِي الشَّاكِرِينَ <sup>f</sup> ه [14] امَّا بعد فإِنَّ اللَّهَ
- 150 أَصْطَفَى الْإِسْلَامَ دِينًا <sup>g</sup> رَضِيَهُ <sup>h</sup> لِنَفْسِهِ فَجَعَلَهُ <sup>i</sup> دِينَ مَلَائِكَتِهِ
- 151 وَأَوْلِيَائِهِ وَأَصْفِيَاءِهِ مِنْ أَهْلِ السَّمَوَاتِ وَأَهْلِ الْأَرْضِ <sup>i</sup> وَابْعَثَ
- 152 بِهِ رُسُلَهُ كُلَّهُمْ أَوَّلَهُمْ وَآخِرُهُمْ إِلَى أَوَّلِ الْأُمَّةِ وَالْآخِرَةِ <sup>j</sup> وَلَمْ يَبْعَثْ
- 153 اللَّهُ نَبِيًّا بَعْدَ نَبِيٍّ إِلَّا <sup>k</sup> كَانَ <sup>2</sup> حَقًّا عَلَيْهِ <sup>2</sup> تَصَدِيقُ الْأَنْبِيَاءِ <sup>k</sup> الَّذِينَ
- 154 كَانُوا قَبْلَهُ وَالْإِقْتِدَاءُ <sup>1</sup> بِهِمْ [15] وَكَانَ مِيثَاقًا <sup>m</sup> مِنَ اللَّهِ أَخَذَهُ عَلَيْهِمْ
- 155 حِينَ أَنْزَلَهُ إِلَيْهِمْ إِلَّا يَتَفَرَّقُوا فِيهِ وَمَنْ آمَنَ بِهِ فَقَالَ <sup>n</sup> شَرَحَ
- 156 لَكُمْ مِنَ الدِّينِ مَا وَصَّى بِهِ نُوحًا وَالَّذِي أَوْحَيْنَا إِلَيْكَ وَمَا وَصَّيْنَا
- 157 بِهِ إِبْرَاهِيمَ وَمُوسَى وَعِيسَى أَنْ أَقِيمُوا الدِّينَ وَلَا تَتَفَرَّقُوا فِيهِ

كبر على

<sup>1</sup> -HX <sup>2-2</sup> S N عليه حقا

(...) وَمَا يُعَمَّرُ مِنْ مُعَمَّرٍ وَلَا يُنْقِصُ Cf. 35: 11 <sup>d-d</sup> <sup>c-c</sup> 63: 11 <sup>b-b</sup> 21: 34 f <sup>a-a</sup> 4: 78  
 (وَلَوْ يُعَجِّلُ اللَّهُ لِلنَّاسِ الشَّرَّ... لَقُضِيَ إِلَيْهِمْ أَجَلُهُمْ...) Cf. 10: 11 <sup>e-e</sup> <sup>e-e</sup> مِنْ عُمُرِهِ إِلَّا فِي كِتَابٍ (...)  
 Cf. 5: 3 at <sup>h</sup> (...) إِنْ اللَّهُ أَصْطَقَ لَكُمْ الدِّينَ (...) Cf. 2: 132 <sup>g-g</sup> Cf. 3: 145 <sup>f-f</sup>  
 (أَفَعَيِّرَ دِينَ اللَّهِ يَتَّبِعُونَ وَلَهُ أَسْلَمَ مَنْ فِي السَّمَوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ...) Cf. 3: 83 <sup>i-i</sup> I. 308 below  
 (وَلَقَدْ بَعَثْنَا فِي كُلِّ أُمَّةٍ رَسُولًا...) Cf. 16: 36 <sup>j-i</sup> <sup>k-k</sup> For the turn of phrase, see 30: 47  
 (...); for the duty of *taşdiq*, see 3: 81 at I. 163 below <sup>1</sup> Cf. 6: 90  
 at I. 174 below <sup>m</sup> Cf. 33: 7, 3: 81 at II. 159, 162 below <sup>n-z</sup> 42: 13

make you last for ever or postpone your terms when they come. God says, 'Wherever you may be, death will overtake you, though you should be in raised-up towers' (4: 78). He said to His prophet, 'We have not assigned to any mortal before thee to live forever. Therefore, if thou diest, will they live forever? Every soul shall taste of death; and We shall try you with evil and good for a testing, then unto Us you shall be returned' (21: 34 f). And: 'But God will never defer any soul when its term comes. And God is aware of the things you do' (63: 11). Aspire, then, to the virtue of *jihād* in God's path that God has asked you to aspire to. You will have to die or be killed (some time), and *jihād* in God's path will not shorten your lives, for it does not bring forward anyone's death before the days recorded (*kataba*) for him by God have come to an end. God says: 'It is not given to any soul to die, save by the leave of God, at a recorded term (*kitāban mu'ajjalan*). Whoso desires the reward of this world, We will give him of this; and whoso desires the reward of the other world, We will give him of that; and We will requite the thankful' (3: 145).

## PART II

[The prophets]

14. To proceed, God chose Islam as a religion (cf. 2: 132) which He approved (cf. 5: 3) for Himself. He made it the religion of His angels, His allies, and those pure in His eyes among the inhabitants of the heavens and the earth (cf. 3: 83). He sent all His messengers, the first and the last, to bring it to the first and the last of the nations (16: 36). God did not send one prophet after another without making it incumbent on them to confirm the prophets who had gone before them and to follow their example.

15. Part of the compact God imposed on them when He sent His religion down to them was that they and those believing in it should not scatter regarding it (cf. 42: 13); for He says: 'He has laid down for you the religion that He enjoined upon Noah, and which We have revealed to thee, and which We enjoined upon Abraham, Moses, and Jesus. Perform the religion and scatter not regarding it.

158 كَبُرَ عَلَى الْمُشْرِكِينَ مَا تَدْعُوهُمْ إِلَيْهِ اللَّهُ يَجْتَبِي إِلَيْهِ مَنْ يَشَاءُ وَيَهْدِي  
 159 إِلَيْهِ مَنْ يُنِيبُ<sup>z</sup> ه وقال<sup>a</sup> وَإِذْ أَخَذْنَا<sup>1</sup> مِنَ النَّبِيِّينَ مِيثَاقَهُمْ وَمِنْكَ وَمِنْ نُوحٍ  
 160 وَإِبْرَاهِيمَ وَمُوسَى وَعِيسَى ابْنِ مَرْيَمَ وَأَخَذْنَا مِنْهُمْ مِيثَاقًا غَلِيظًا لِيَسْئَلَ  
 161 الصَّادِقِينَ عَنِ صِدْقِهِمْ وَأَعَدَّ لِلْكَافِرِينَ عَذَابًا أَلِيمًا<sup>ه</sup> ه وقال  
 162 وَإِذْ أَخَذَ اللَّهُ مِيثَاقَ النَّبِيِّينَ لَمَا آتَيْتُكُمْ مِنْ كِتَابٍ وَحِكْمَةٍ ثُمَّ جَاءَكُمْ  
 163 رَسُولٌ مُصَدِّقٌ لِمَا مَعَكُمْ لَتُؤْمِنُنَّ بِهِ وَلَتَنْصُرُنَّهُ قَالَ أَأَقْرَضُكُمْ<sup>3</sup> وَ  
 164 أَخَذْتُمْ عَلَيَّ ذَلِكُمْ إِصْرِي قَالُوا أَفَرَزْنَا قَالَ فَأَشْهَدُوا وَأَنَا مَعَكُمْ  
 165 مِنَ الشَّاهِدِينَ ه فَمَنْ تَوَلَّى بَعْدَ ذَلِكَ فَأُولَئِكَ هُمُ الْفَاسِقُونَ<sup>b</sup> ه  
 166 [16] فرعوا وصية ربهم وبلغوا ما أرسلوا به ونصحوا لمن أرسلوا  
 167 إليه وكان حقاً على من أرسلوا إليه تصديقهم<sup>c</sup> وإجابتهم [فُظِّلَ  
 168 رُسلَ الله على سبيل الدين]<sup>4</sup> وكانت شريعتم واحدة<sup>5</sup> وهى عبادة<sup>5</sup>  
 169 الله<sup>d</sup> ولم يكن لهم ولا لمن أرسلوا إليه فى شىء من أمر الله الخيرة<sup>d</sup> ه  
 170 فتتابعوا بالحقّ وعليه صدق<sup>6</sup> بعضهم بعضاً ه [17] ثم بعث الله محمداً  
 171 صلى الله عليه<sup>7</sup> نبياً مصدقاً للأنبياء<sup>8</sup> الذين كانوا قبله يدعو  
 172 إلى كلمة دعا<sup>9</sup> إليها المرسلون قبله قومهم<sup>10</sup> وهى كلمة السوء<sup>e</sup> و  
 173 عصمة الإسلام فاقتدى<sup>11</sup> بمن هدى الله قبله قال<sup>f</sup> وأولئك الذين  
 174 هدى الله فيهداهم اقتده<sup>f</sup> ه وقال<sup>g</sup> فما يُقال لك إلا ما قد قيل للرسل  
 175 من قبلك إن ربك لذو مغفرة<sup>12</sup> وذو عقاب أليم<sup>g</sup> ه و  
 176 أرسله الله شاهداً ومبشراً ونذيراً ه وداعياً إلى الله بإذنه وسراجاً

HX اخذ الله<sup>1</sup>N منكم +<sup>2</sup>S اعقرتم<sup>3</sup> HXMSS فكل رسل (S رسول) الله كل سهل الدين<sup>4</sup>N عباده<sup>5</sup> S عباد<sup>5</sup> HX وصدق<sup>6</sup>S دعى<sup>9</sup> MSS بالأنبياء<sup>8</sup> HX وسلم +<sup>7</sup>S قومه<sup>10</sup> N فاقتدا<sup>11</sup> HXS وذو<sup>13</sup> S N لذو<sup>12</sup>

a-a 33:7 f

b-b 3:81 f

c-c Cf. line 153 above

d-d Cf. 33:36

c-e Cf. (وما كان لمؤمن ولا مؤمنة إذا قضى الله ورسوله أمراً أن يكون لهم الخيرة من أمرهم ...) (قُلْ يَا أَهْلَ الْكِتَابِ تَعَالَوْا إِلَى كَلِمَةٍ سَوَاءٍ بَيْنَنَا وَبَيْنَكُمْ ...) 3: 64 f-f 6: 90 g-g 41: 43

h-z 33: 45 f, paraphrased at the beginning (... يا أيها النبي إنا أرسلناك شاهداً ...)

Very hateful is that for the idolaters that thou callest them to. God chooses unto Himself whomsoever He will and He guides to Himself whosoever turns, penitent' (42: 13). He also says: 'And when We made a compact with the prophets, and with you, and with Noah, Abraham, Moses, and Jesus, son of Mary, We made with them a solemn compact so that He might question the truthful concerning their truthfulness; and He has prepared for the unbelievers a painful chastisement' (33: 7 f). And: 'And when God made a compact with the prophets: That I have given you of books and wisdom; then there shall come to you a messenger confirming what is with you — you shall believe in him and you shall help him. He said: Do you agree? And do you take My load on you on that condition? They said: We do agree. He said: Bear witness so, and I shall be with you among the witnesses. Whosoever turns his back after that — they are the ungodly' (3: 81 f).

16. The prophets heeded their Lord's injunction, delivered the message with which they had been sent and gave sincere advice to those they had been sent to, whose duty it was to believe them and respond to them. God's messengers continued on the path of the religion, their law (*shari'a*) being the same: to serve God. They and those to whom they had been sent had no choice (cf. 33: 36) in God's affair. One after another they brought the truth and confirmed one another accordingly.

[Muḥammad]

17. Then God sent Muḥammad, may God bless him and grant him peace, as a prophet to confirm the prophets who had gone before him, calling to a word to which the envoys before him had called their people, the word of equality (*sawā'*, cf. 3: 64) and the protection of Islam. And so he followed the example of those whom God had guided before him. God said: 'Those are they whom God has guided, so take their guidance as your example' (6: 90). And: 'Naught is said to thee but what already was said to the messengers before thee. Surely thy Lord is a Lord of forgiveness and of painful retribution' (41: 43). God sent him 'as a witness, and good tidings to bear and warning, calling unto God by His leave, and as a light-giving

- 177 مُبِيرًا<sup>z</sup> ه [18] فبعثه الله إلى الأبيض والأسود والعربي والأعجمي<sup>1</sup> والحُرِّ و  
 178 العبد والذَكَر والأُنثى<sup>a</sup> على فِتْرَةٍ مِنَ الرُّسُلِ<sup>a</sup> وانْقِطَاعِ مِنَ الزَّمانِ  
 179 وضلالةٍ مِنَ العِبَادَةِ<sup>2</sup> و**بَعَمَى** مِنَ المَهْدَى<sup>b</sup> وظُهُورِ مِنَ الباطلِ و**تَكْبِيرٍ**  
 180 مِنَ الجَبَابِرَةِ<sup>c</sup> يدَعُو إِلَى أَنْ يُعْبَدَ اللهُ وَحدهُ و**تُخْلِصَ** لَهُ الطَّاعَةَ  
 181 والعِبَادَةَ<sup>d</sup> ه فَاتَّزَلَ اللهُ<sup>3</sup> عَلَيْهِ الكِتَابَ مُصَدِّقًا لِمَا بَيْنَ يَدَيْهِ مِنَ  
 182 الكِتَابِ وَمُهَمِّمًا عَلَيْهِ<sup>e</sup> ف**لِيَحْكُمَ** بَيْنَ النَّاسِ فِيمَا اخْتَلَفُوا فِيهِ<sup>f</sup> [19] ثُمَّ  
 183 حَذَّرَهُ الظَّالِمَةَ أَنْ يفتنوه عنه فقال **وَاحْذَرُوهُمْ** أَنْ يفتنوكَ  
 184 عَنْ بَعْضِ مَا أَنْزَلَ اللهُ إِلَيْكَ<sup>g</sup> ه **حَذَرًا** وَ**تُذَرًا**<sup>h</sup> ه **إِنَّمَا** يَكُونُ لِلنَّاسِ  
 185 عَلَى اللهِ حُجَّةٌ بَعْدَ الرُّسُلِ وَكانَ اللهُ عَزِيزًا حَكِيمًا<sup>i</sup> ه وَلِيَهْلِكَ مَنْ  
 186 هَلَكَ عَنْ بَيِّنَةٍ وَيَحْيَى مَنْ حَيَّ عَنْ بَيِّنَةٍ وَإِنَّ اللهُ لَسَمِيعٌ عَلِيمٌ<sup>j</sup> ه  
 187 [20] ثُمَّ **فَصَّلَ** فِيهِ الآيَاتِ لِتَسْتَبِينَ سَبِيلَ المُجْرِمِينَ<sup>k</sup> ه وَأَنْزَلَ فِيهِ  
 188 ذِكْرَنَا وَذَكَرْنَا مِنْ قَبْلِنَا فَقَالَ **الْقَدْ أَنْزَلْنَا إِلَيْكُمْ كِتَابًا فِيهِ ذِكْرُكُمْ**  
 189 **أَفَلَا تَعْقِلُونَ**<sup>l</sup> ه وَقَالَ **هَذَا ذِكْرٌ مِنْ مَعَى** وَذِكْرٌ مِنْ قَبْلِي بَلْ **أَكْثَرْتُمْ**  
 190 لَا يَعْلَمُونَ الحَقَّ فَهُمْ مُعْرِضُونَ<sup>m</sup> ه وَقَالَ **فَمَنْ أَتَّبَعَ هُدَايَ فَلَا يَضِلَّ**  
 191 **وَلَا يَشْقَى** ه وَمَنْ **أَعْرَضَ** عَنْ ذِكْرِي فَإِنَّ لَهُ **مَعِيشَةً ضَنْكًا**<sup>n</sup> ه [21] **أَتَمَّ**  
 192 فِيهِ نورهُ<sup>o</sup> وَبَيَّنَّ فِيهِ شِرائِعَهُ وَحَدَّ فِيهِ فِرائِضَهُ وَ**فَطَرَ** عَلَيْهِ  
 193 **فِطْرَتَهُ**<sup>p</sup> ه **وَأَتَقَنَ**<sup>q</sup> [أَتَقَنَ]<sup>5</sup> **صُنْعَهُ**<sup>q</sup> ه وَأَحَلَّ فِيهِ مَا رَضِيَ مِنَ الأُمُورِ وَحَرَّمَ  
 194 فِيهِ مَا سَخَطَ فَحَلَّالَ اللهُ حَالِلًا<sup>6</sup> أَبَدًا وَحَرَامَهُ حَرَامًا أَبَدًا<sup>r</sup> لَا مُبَدِّلَ  
 195 لِكَلِمَاتِهِ وَهُوَ السَّمِيعُ العَلِيمُ<sup>r</sup> ه [22] **بَعَثَهُ** اللهُ بِخَيْرٍ<sup>7</sup> مَا كانَ قَبْلَهُ

وَحِكْمَهُ

1 HX حلالا 2 MSS احسن 3 ST او: MSS 4 S 5 MSS العجمي 6 HX حلالا 7 N بخير

a-a 5: 19 b-b Cf. 41: 17 (invoked at l. 854 below) c-c Cf. 11: 59 (... كَذَلِكَ يَطْعُ اللهُ عَلَى كُلِّ قَلْبٍ مُتَكَبِّرٍ جَبَّارًا) and 40: 35 (... وَأَتَّبَعُوا أَمْرَ كُلِّ جَبَّارٍ عَنِيدٍ) d-d Cf., e.g., 39: 2 (... فَأَعْبَدَ اللهُ مُخْلِصًا لَهُ الدِّينَ) e-e 5: 48, paraphrased at the beginning (... وَأَنْزَلْنَا إِلَيْكَ الكِتَابَ بِالْحَقِّ مُصَدِّقًا ...) f-f 2: 213 (fully quoted at ll. 43-45 above) g-g 5: 49 h-h 77: 6 i-i 4: 165 j-j 8: 42 k-k Cf. 6: 55 l-l 21: 10 m-m 21: 24 (from a passage introduced by *qul*) n-n 20: 123 f o-o Cf. 9: 32 (... وَبَيَّنَّا اللهُ إِلَّا أَنْ يُتِمَّ نُورَهُ ...) and 61: 8 (... وَاللَّهُ مُتِمُّ نُورِهِ ...) p-p Cf. 30: 30 (... فَطَرَ اللهُ الَّتِي فَطَرَ النَّاسَ عَلَيْهَا ...) q-q Cf. 27: 88 (... صُنِعَ اللهُ الَّذِي أَتَقَنَ كُلَّ شَيْءٍ ...) r-r 6: 115

lamp' (33: 45 f).

18. God sent him to white and black, Arab and non-Arab, freeman and slave, male and female, 'upon an interval between the messengers' (5: 19), a temporary break when error (had prevailed) over worship and blindness over guidance, when falsehood had come to the fore and tyrants had waxed proud, to call (people to accept) that God alone should be served and that obedience and worship should be devoted exclusively to Him. So God sent down to him the book, 'confirming the book that was before it, and assuring it' (5: 48), 'so as to judge between people in their disagreements' (2: 213).

19. Then He warned Him to beware of the evildoers lest they tempt him away from it, saying, 'And beware of them lest they tempt thee away from any of what God has sent down to thee' (5: 49), 'excusing and warning' (cf. 77: 6), 'so that mankind might have no argument against God after the messengers; God is all-mighty, all-wise' (4: 165), and that 'whosoever perished might perish by a clear sign, and by a clear sign he might live who lived; and surely God is all-hearing, all-knowing' (8: 42).

20. Then He distinguished the signs in it 'that the way of the sinner might be manifest' (6: 55). And in it He sent down our remembrance and the remembrance of those before us, saying, 'Now We have sent down to you a book wherein is your remembrance; will you not understand' (21: 10). And: 'This is the remembrance of him who is with me, and the remembrance of those before me. Nay, but the most part of them know not the truth, so therefore they are turning away' (21: 24). And: 'Then whosoever follows My guidance shall not go astray, neither shall he be unprosperous; but whosoever turns away from My remembrance, his shall be a life of narrowness' (20: 123 f).

21. In it 'He perfected His light' (cf. 9: 32, 61: 8), explained His laws (*sharā'i*), defined His precepts, and after it He fashioned His creation (cf. 30: 30) and perfected His work (cf. 27: 88). In it He has permitted the things that please Him and forbidden those that displease Him. What God has permitted is permitted for ever; what He has forbidden is forbidden for ever: 'No man can change His words; He is the all-hearing, the all-knowing' (6: 115).

22. God sent Muḥammad to tell what had gone before him,

- 196 وَيُحْكِمُهُ بَيْنَ عِبَادِهِ وَيُعَلِّمُهُ مَا هُمْ صَائِرُونَ إِلَيْهِ بَعْدَ الْمَوْتِ ه وَ  
 197 أَمْرَهُ بِاتِّبَاعِ الْقُرْآنِ وَالِدُعَاءِ إِلَيْهِ فَقَالَ <sup>a</sup>ادْعُ<sup>2</sup> إِلَى سَبِيلِ رَبِّكَ  
 198 بِالْحِكْمَةِ وَالْمَوْعِظَةِ الْحَسَنَةِ ه وَقَالَ <sup>b</sup>فَلِذَلِكَ فَادْعُ<sup>3</sup> وَاسْتَقِمْ  
 199 كَمَا أُمِرْتَ وَلَا تَتَّبِعْ أَهْوَاءَهُمْ<sup>b</sup> ه وَقَالَ <sup>c</sup>وَمَنْ أَصْدَقُ مِنَ اللَّهِ قِيلًا ه  
 200 وَقَالَ <sup>d</sup>وَمَنْ أَحْسَنُ قَوْلًا مِمَّنْ دَعَا<sup>4</sup> إِلَى اللَّهِ وَعَمِلَ صَالِحًا وَقَالَ إِنَّنِي مِنَ  
 201 الْمُسْلِمِينَ<sup>d</sup> ه وَقَالَ <sup>e</sup>هَذِهِ<sup>5</sup> سَبِيلِي أَدْعُو إِلَى اللَّهِ عَلَى بَصِيرَةٍ أَنَا وَمَنِ  
 202 اتَّبَعَنِي وَسُبْحَانَ اللَّهِ وَمَا أَنَا مِنَ الْمُشْرِكِينَ ه وَأَمَرَ النَّاسَ بِالْإِجَابَةِ  
 203 فَقَالَ <sup>f</sup>أَسْتَجِيبُوا لِرَبِّكُمْ مِنْ قَبْلِ أَنْ يَأْتِيَ يَوْمٌ لَا مَرَدَّ لَهُ مِنَ اللَّهِ مَا لَكُمْ  
 204 مِنْ مَلْجَأٍ<sup>6</sup> يُؤْمِنُ بِهِ وَمَا لَكُمْ مِنْ نَكِيرٍ<sup>f</sup> ه وَقَالَ <sup>g</sup>أَسْتَجِيبُوا لِلَّهِ وَلِلرَّسُولِ  
 205 إِذَا دَعَاكُمْ لِمَا يُحْيِيكُمْ وَاعْلَمُوا أَنَّ اللَّهَ يَحُولُ بَيْنَ الْمَرْءِ وَقَلْبِهِ وَ  
 206 أَنَّهُ إِلَيْهِ تُحْشَرُونَ<sup>g</sup> ه [23] فَأَطَاعَ مُحَمَّدٌ رَبَّهُ فَخَذَرَ الظُّلْمَةَ وَاتَّبَعَ مَا  
 207 أَنْزَلَ اللَّهُ إِلَيْهِ وَدَعَا إِلَى اللَّهِ كَمَا أَمَرَهُ عَلَى أَدَى شَدِيدٍ يُصِيبُهُ  
 208 مِنْ قَوْمِهِ وَتَكْذِيبٍ فَاشْتَدَّ عَلَيْهِ تَكْذِيبُ قَوْمِهِ إِيَّاهُ وَأَحْزَنَهُ  
 209 كُفْرَهُمْ وَضَلَالَتَهُمْ فَقَالَ اللَّهُ لَهُ وَهُوَ يَعْزِيهِ عَنْهُمْ وَيَصْبِرُهُ عَلَى مَا  
 210 أَصَابَهُ مِنَ الْأَذَى وَالتَّكْذِيبِ <sup>h</sup>لَعَلَّكَ<sup>h</sup> بَاخِعٌ نَفْسَكَ أَلَّا يَكُونُوا  
 211 مُؤْمِنِينَ<sup>h</sup> ه < وَقَالَ > فاعللك باجع نفسك على آثاريهم إن لم يؤمنوا بهذا  
 212 الْحَدِيثِ أَسْفًا<sup>h</sup> ه وَقَالَ نَقِدْ نَعْلَمُ إِنَّهُ لَيَحْزُنُكَ الَّذِي يَقُولُونَ  
 213 فَإِنَّهُمْ لَا يُكَذِّبُونَكَ وَلَكِنَّ الظَّالِمِينَ بَيَّاتٍ اللَّهُ يَجْحَدُونَ ه  
 214 وَلَقَدْ كُذِّبَتْ رُسُلٌ مِنْ قَبْلِكَ فَصَبَرُوا عَلَى مَا كُذِّبُوا وَأَوَدُوا حَتَّى آتَاهُمْ

1 ويعلم N HX

2 ادعوا HX

3 وادعوا HX

4 دعى S N

5 قُلْ هَذِهِ ST

6 ملجاء MSS

a-a 16: 125

b-b 42: 15

c-c 4: 122

d-d 41: 33

e-e 12: 108

f-f 42: 47

g-g 8: 24

h-h 26: 3

i-i 18: 6

j-z 6: 33-6

to judge (in disputes) between His servants, and to teach (them) whither they were bound after death. He ordered him to follow the Qurʾān and call (people) to it, saying ‘Call thou to the way of thy Lord with wisdom and good admonition’ (16: 125). And: ‘Therefore call thou, and go straight as thou hast been commanded: do not follow their whims’ (42: 15). And: ‘And who is truer in speech than God?’ (4: 122). And: ‘And who speaks fairer than he who calls unto God and does righteousness and says, Surely I am of them that surrender (*al-muslimun*)?’ (41: 33). And: ‘This is my way. I call to God with sure knowledge, I and whoever follows after me. To God be glory! And I am not among the idolaters (*al-mushrikūn*)’ (12: 108). He ordered people to respond, saying ‘Respond to your Lord, before there comes a day from God that cannot be turned back; upon that day you shall have no shelter, no denial’ (42: 47). And: ‘Respond to God and the Messenger when He calls you unto that which will give you life; and know that God stands between a man and his heart, and that to Him you shall be mustered’ (8: 24).

23. Muḥammad, obeying his Lord, was wary of evildoers, followed what God had sent down to him and called (people) to God, as God was ordering him, though he suffered great hurt from his people, who called him a liar. When he was pained by his people calling him a liar and saddened by their disbelief and error, God, in order to console him and make him endure the hurtful slander he was suffering, said to him, ‘Perchance thou consumest thyself that they are not believers’ (26: 3). <And:> ‘Yet perchance if they believe not in this tidings, thou will consume thyself, following after them, of grief’ (18: 6). And: ‘We would know indeed that it grieves thee the things they say; yet it is not thee they cry lies to, but the evildoers — it is the signs of God that they deny. Messengers indeed were cried lies to before thee, yet they endured patiently that they were cried lies to, and were hurt, until Our help came unto them.

215 نَصْرُنَا وَلَا مُبَدَّلَ لِكَلِمَاتِ اللَّهِ وَلَقَدْ جَاءَكَ مِنْ نَبَأِ<sup>1</sup> الْمُرْسَلِينَ ه  
 216 وَإِنْ كَانَ كَبُرَ عَلَيْكَ إِعْرَاضُهُمْ فَإِنْ اسْتَطَعْتَ أَنْ تَبْتَغِيَ نَفَقًا  
 217 فِي الْأَرْضِ أَوْ سُلَّمًا فِي السَّمَاءِ فَتَأْتِيَهُمْ<sup>2</sup> بِآيَةٍ وَلَوْ شَاءَ اللَّهُ لَجَمَعَهُمْ عَلَى  
 218 الْهُدَىٰ فَلَا تَكُونَنَّ مِنَ الْجَاهِلِينَ ه إِنَّمَا يَسْتَجِيبُ الَّذِينَ يَسْمَعُونَ  
 219 وَالْمَوْتَىٰ يَبْعَثُهُمُ اللَّهُ ثُمَّ إِلَيْهِ يُرْجَعُونَ<sup>3</sup> ه وَقَالَ<sup>a</sup> أَصْبِرْ<sup>3</sup> كَمَا صَبَرَ  
 220 أُولُو الْعَزْمِ مِنَ الرُّسُلِ<sup>4</sup> ه وَقَالَ<sup>b</sup> اسْتَمْسِكْ<sup>5</sup> بِالَّذِي أُوحِيَ إِلَيْكَ  
 221 إِنَّكَ عَلَىٰ صِرَاطٍ مُسْتَقِيمٍ<sup>b</sup> ه وَقَالَ<sup>c</sup> وَإِنْ كَذَّبُوكَ فَقُلْ لِي عَمَلِي وَ  
 222 لَكُمْ عَمَلِكُمْ أَنْتُمْ بَرِيئُونَ مِمَّا أَعْمَلُ وَأَنَا بَرِيءٌ مِمَّا تَعْمَلُونَ<sup>c</sup> ه وَقَالَ  
 223 قُلْ<sup>d</sup> إِنَّمَا أُمِرْتُ أَنْ أَعْبُدَ رَبَّ هَذِهِ الْبَلَدِ الَّذِي حَرَّمَهَا وَلَهُ  
 224 كُلُّ شَيْءٍ وَأُمِرْتُ أَنْ أَكُونَ مِنَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ ه وَأَنْ أَتْلُو<sup>7</sup> الْقُرْآنَ  
 225 فَمَنْ اهْتَدَىٰ فَإِنَّمَا يَهْتَدِي لِنَفْسِهِ وَمَنْ ضَلَّ فَقُلْ إِنَّمَا أَنَا مِنَ  
 226 الْمُنذِرِينَ ه وَقُلِ الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ سَيُرِيكُمْ آيَاتِهِ فَتَعْرِفُونَهَا وَمَا رَبُّكَ  
 227 بِغَافِلٍ عَمَّا تَعْمَلُونَ<sup>d</sup> ه [24] فَكَثَّ مُحَمَّدٌ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ<sup>8</sup> مَا شَاءَ اللَّهُ  
 228 يَدْعُو النَّاسَ إِلَى الْإِسْلَامِ غَيْرَ مَكْتُوبٍ عَلَيْهِ الْقِتَالُ يَبْشُرُ  
 229 مَنْ أَطَاعَهُ بِجَنَّةٍ عَرْضُهَا السَّمَاوَاتُ<sup>9</sup> وَالْأَرْضُ أُعِدَّتْ لِلَّذِينَ  
 230 آمَنُوا بِاللَّهِ<sup>10</sup> وَرُسُلِهِ ذَلِكَ فَضْلُ اللَّهِ يُؤْتِيهِ مَنْ يَشَاءُ وَاللَّهُ ذُو الْفَضْلِ  
 231 الْعَظِيمِ<sup>e</sup> ه وَيُنذِرُ مَنْ عَصَاهُ وَكَذَّبَهُ<sup>f</sup> فَانَارًا وَقَوَّذَهَا النَّاسُ وَ  
 232 الْحِجَارَةُ عَلَيْهَا مَلَائِكَةٌ غِلَاطٌ شِدَادٌ لَا يَعْصُونَ اللَّهَ مَا أَمَرَهُمْ  
 233 وَيَفْعَلُونَ مَا يُؤْمَرُونَ<sup>f</sup> ه [25] ثُمَّ إِنَّ اللَّهَ كَتَبَ عَلَيْهِ الْقِتَالُ وَأَمَرَهُ

بمزيلة

MSS اولوا<sup>4</sup> ST HX فاصبر<sup>3</sup> HX او تأتيتهم<sup>2</sup> ST نَبَأِي HX نَبَأِي N نَبَأ S نَبَأ<sup>1</sup>  
 ST كَعْرَضِ السَّمَاءِ<sup>9</sup> N HX وسلم<sup>8</sup> + MSS ST اتلوا<sup>7</sup> -ST<sup>6</sup> ST فاستمسك<sup>5</sup> ST  
 MSS ذوا<sup>11</sup> -HX<sup>10</sup>

a-a 46:35

b-b 43:43

c-c 10:41

d-d 27:91-3

e-e 57:21 (... وَجَنَّةٍ عَرْضُهَا كَعْرَضِ السَّمَاءِ ...)

and cf. 3:133 (... وَسَارِعُوا إِلَى مَغْفِرَةٍ مِنْ رَبِّكُمْ وَجَنَّةٍ عَرْضُهَا السَّمَاوَاتُ ...) f-f 66:6

No one can change the words of God; and there has already come to thee some tidings of the envoys. And if their turning away is distressful for thee, why, if thou canst seek out a hole in the earth, or a ladder in heaven, to bring them some sign — but had God willed, He would have gathered them to the guidance. So be not thou one of the ignorant. Only those who hear will answer; as for the dead, God will raise them up, then unto Him will they be returned' (6: 33–6). And: 'Be thou patient, as the messengers possessed of constancy were also patient' (46: 35). And: 'Hold thou fast unto that which has been revealed to you; surely thou art upon a straight path' (43: 43). And: 'If they cry lies to thee, then do thou say: I have my work, and you have your work; you are quit of what I do, and I am quit of what you do' (10: 41). And: 'Say: I have only been commanded to serve the Lord of this territory which He has made sacred: to Him belongs everything. And I have been commanded to be of those that surrender (*al-muslimin*), and to recite the Qurʾān. So whosoever is guided, is only guided to his own gain; and whosoever goes astray, say: I am naught but a warner. And say: Praise belongs to God. He shall show you His signs and you will recognize them. Thy Lord is not heedless of the things you do' (27: 91–3).

24. Muḥammad, may God's blessings and peace be upon him, continued for as long as God wished to call people to Islam without fighting being prescribed for him. To those who obeyed he would bear good tidings of 'a garden the breadth whereof is the heavens and the earth, made ready for those who believe in God and His messengers. That is the bounty of God; He gives it unto whomsoever He will; and God is of bounty abounding' (57: 21). Those who disobeyed and called him a liar he would warn of 'a fire whose fuel is men and stones, and over which are harsh, terrible angels who disobey not God in what He commands them and do what they are commanded' (66: 6).

25. Then God prescribed fighting for him, ordering him

- 234 بِمُزَايَلَةِ الْمُشْرِكِينَ وَمُجَاهَدَتِهِمْ وَإِنَّمَا مُحَمَّدٌ يَوْمئِذٍ وَمَنْ مَعَهُ <sup>a</sup>نَفْرٌ
- 235 [قَلِيلٌ فَصَبْرٌ] <sup>1</sup>لِحُكْمِ اللَّهِ <sup>a</sup>وَاسْتِقَادٍ <sup>2</sup>لِأَمْرِهِ فِيمَا أَحَبَّ <sup>3</sup>أَوْ كَرِهَ <sup>3</sup>فَلَمْ يَمْنَعِ
- 236 مُحَمَّدًا يَوْمئِذٍ قَلَّةً مِنْ مَعَهُ مِنَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ وَكَثْرَةَ عَدُوِّهِ أَنْ يَطِيعَ
- 237 رَبَّهُ إِذْ أَمَرَهُ بِالْقِتَالِ فِي سَبِيلِهِ وَيَحْفَظُ <sup>4</sup>وَصِيَّتَهُ وَيَمْضِي حَكْمَهُ
- 238 فَأَمْرٌ مُحَمَّدٌ بِالهِجْرَةِ إِلَى الْمَدِينَةِ أَصْحَابَهُ فَنَجَّحَ إِلَيْهَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ
- 239 بَعْدَ ذَلِكَ فَقَدِمَ الْمَدِينَةَ فَلَأَوَاهُ الْأَنْصَارُ مِنْ أَهْلِهَا وَنَصَرُوهُ <sup>b</sup>
- 240 وَوَأَسَوْهُ بِأَنْفُسِهِمْ وَأَنْسَوْا بِهِ <sup>c</sup>وَلَمْ يَرْغَبُوا بِأَنْفُسِهِمْ عَنِ نَفْسِهِ <sup>c</sup>
- 241 [26] فَلَمَّا اجْتَمَعَ إِلَى مُحَمَّدٍ مَنْ شَاءَ اللَّهُ أَنْ يَجْتَمَعَ إِلَيْهِ مِنَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ جَعَلَ
- 242 يُقَاتِلُ فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ مَنْ قَاتَلَهُ مِنَ الْمُشْرِكِينَ <sup>d</sup>وَيُؤَمِّنُ مَنْ اعْتَزَلَهُ
- 243 مِنْهُمْ وَكَفَّ عَنْهُ <sup>d</sup>وَيُعَاهِدُ مَنْ عَاهَدَهُ مِنْهُمْ عَلَى أَنْ لَا يَظَاهِرَ عَلَيْهِ
- 244 عَدُوَّهُ <sup>e</sup>وَكَانَ ذَلِكَ أَمْرٌ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي أَمَرَهُ بِهِ يَوْمئِذٍ قَالَ <sup>f</sup>فَقَاتِلُوا <sup>5</sup>
- 245 فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ الَّذِينَ يُقَاتِلُونَكُمْ وَلَا تَعْتَدُوا إِنَّ اللَّهَ لَا يُحِبُّ
- 246 الْمُعْتَدِينَ <sup>f</sup>هَ وَقَالَ <sup>g</sup>فَإِنْ اعْتَزَلْتُمْ فَلَمْ <sup>6</sup>يُقَاتِلُواكُمْ وَأَلْقُوا إِلَيْكُمْ السَّلَامَ
- 247 فَمَا جَعَلَ اللَّهُ لَكُمْ عَلَيْهِمْ سَبِيلًا <sup>g</sup>هَ وَقَالَ <sup>h</sup>لَا يَنْهَأُكُمْ اللَّهُ عَنِ الَّذِينَ لَمْ
- 248 يُقَاتِلُواكُمْ فِي الدِّينِ وَلَمْ يُخْرِجُواكُمْ مِنْ دِيَارِكُمْ أَنْ تَبَرُّوهُمْ وَ
- 249 تُقْسِطُوا إِلَيْهِمْ إِنَّ اللَّهَ يُحِبُّ الْمُقْسِطِينَ <sup>h</sup>هَ فَكُتِّ مَا شَاءَ اللَّهُ
- 250 يَسِيرَ بِهَذَا وَأَشْبَاهَهُ مِنَ الْقُرْآنِ يُقَاتِلُ مَنْ قَاتَلَهُ مِنَ الْمُشْرِكِينَ
- 251 وَيُؤَمِّنُ مَنْ اعْتَزَلَهُ مِنْهُمْ فَكَفَّ عَنْهُ يَدَهُ وَلِسَانَهُ وَيُعَاهِدُ مَنْ عَاهَدَهُ
- 252 مِنْهُمْ عَلَى الْآلِ يَظَاهِرُ <sup>7</sup>عَلَيْهِ عَدُوًّا [27] وَكَانَ <sup>8</sup>الْقُرْآنُ يَنْسَخُ <sup>i</sup>بَعْضُهُ بَعْضًا

ST وقاتلوا <sup>5</sup> N وبحفظ <sup>4</sup> N وكره <sup>3</sup> N واستقاد <sup>2</sup> HX واعدد قصير <sup>1</sup> MSS

S ولم [ST <sup>6</sup> HX يظهر <sup>7</sup> ولو كان <sup>8</sup> S

and 52:48 (... من فئة قليلة غلبت فئة كثيرة باذن الله والله مع الصابرين) <sup>a-a</sup> Cf. 2:249 (... والذين آووا ونصروا ...) <sup>b-b</sup> Cf. 8:72, 74 (...), sim. 68:48, 76:24 (... وأصبر لحكم ربك ...)

<sup>c-c</sup> Cf. 9:120 (... يَرْغَبُوا بِأَنْفُسِهِمْ عَنِ نَفْسِهِ ...) <sup>d-d</sup> Cf. 4:91 (ما كان لأهل المدينة ... أن ... يَرْغَبُوا بِأَنْفُسِهِمْ عَنِ نَفْسِهِ ...)

(سَتَجِدُونَ آخَرِينَ يُرِيدُونَ أَنْ يَأْمَنُواكُمْ ... فَإِنْ لَمْ يَعْتَزِلْكُمْ ... وَيَكْفُوا أَيْدِيَهُمْ فَخَذُّوهُمْ وَأَقْتُلُوهُمْ ...) <sup>e-e</sup> Cf. 9:4 (إِلَّا الَّذِينَ عَاهَدْتُمْ مِنَ الْمُشْرِكِينَ ثُمَّ لَمْ يَنْقُصُواكُمْ شَيْئًا وَلَمْ يُظَاهِرُوا عَلَيْكُمْ أَحَدًا ...)

<sup>f-f</sup> 2:190 <sup>g-g</sup> 4:90 <sup>h-h</sup> 60:8 <sup>i</sup> Cf. 2:106

(ما ننسخ من آية أو ننسها نأت بخير منها أو مثلها ...)

to part company with the polytheists and to engage in armed struggle. At that time Muḥammad and those who were with him were only a small band, but Muḥammad patiently bore God's judgement and submitted to His order whether it was to his liking or not, so the fact that the Muslims with him at the time were few while his enemies were many did not deter him from obeying his Lord when He ordered him to fight in His path, or from heeding His injunction and carrying out His judgement. Muḥammad ordered his companions to emigrate to Medina. Later the Messenger of God moved out there himself. When he came to Medina, the Anṣār among its people gave him refuge and help (cf. 8: 72, 74), shared their means equally with him, and so befriended him as not to prefer their own lives to his (9: 120).

26. When Muḥammad had been joined by the Muslims whom God wanted to join him, he began to fight in God's path against those polytheists who fought him, while granting safety to those who withdrew (*i'tazala*) and restrained (their hand) from him (cf. 4: 90 f), and making treaties with those who would undertake not to support his enemy against him. That was what God was ordering him at the time, saying, 'Fight in God's path with those who fight you, but aggress not: God loves not the aggressors' (2: 190). And: 'If they withdraw from you and do not fight you, and offer you peace, then God assigns not any way to you against them' (4: 90). And: 'God forbids you not, as regards those who have not fought you in religion's cause, nor expelled you from your habitations, that you should be kindly to them, and act justly towards them; surely God loves the just' (60: 8). So he continued, as long as God wished, to proceed on the basis of these and similar passages of the Qur'ān, fighting the polytheists who fought him, granting security to those who withdrew and restrained their hands and tongues from him, and making treaties with those who undertook not to support an enemy against him.

27. Some portions of the Qur'ān would abrogate others (cf. 2: 106),

- 253 <sup>a</sup> لم يُزَلْ حُمْلَةً وَاحِدَةً<sup>a</sup> فإذا<sup>1</sup> أنزلت<sup>2</sup> آية ناسخة للتي قبلها عَمِلَ بالتي
- 254 أنزلت وبلغت الأولى منقطع أجل العمل بها وكان ما عَمِلَ بها طاعةً
- 255 فلما أنزلت<sup>b</sup> براءةٌ مِمَّنْ كان بَيْنَهُ وَبَيْنَ نَبِيِّ اللَّهِ عَهْدٌ<sup>b</sup> وأمره الله
- 256 بِقِتَالِ الْمُشْرِكِينَ كَافَّةً<sup>c</sup> نَزَلَ<sup>3</sup> عَدُوَّهُ بِمَنَازِلَ شَتَّى وَسَارَ فِيهِمْ
- 257 بِسَيْرٍ<sup>4</sup> مُخْتَلِفَةً أَحَلَّ اللَّهُ مِنْ بَعْضِهِمْ أَشْيَاءَ حَرَّمَهَا مِنْ بَعْضِ
- 258 وَجَعَلَ اللَّهُ لِمَنْ نَحَرَّمَ<sup>5</sup> بِشَيْءٍ مِنْ أَمْرِهِ مِنَ الْحَرَمَةِ مَا لَمْ يَجْعَلِ <لِمَنْ لَمْ > يَتَحَرَّمَ<sup>6</sup>
- 259 بِشَيْءٍ مِنْهُ [28] فِدْعَا قَوْمِهِ مُشْرِكِي الْعَرَبِ إِلَى الْإِسْلَامِ وَلِهَذَا كَانُوا يَوْمئِذٍ
- 260 أَبْعَدَ النَّاسِ مِنَ الْحَقِّ<sup>d</sup> هِ وَأَخْبَرَهُمْ أَنَّ مَنْ دَخَلَ مِنْهُمْ فِي الْإِسْلَامِ فَإِنَّ
- 261 اللَّهَ لَا يُؤَاخِذُهُ بِشَيْءٍ كَانَ عَلَيْهِ قَبْلَهُ وَأَنَّهُ يَجِبُ لَهُ مِثْلُ حَقِّ
- 262 الْمُسْلِمِينَ وَعَلَيْهِ مِثْلُ مَا عَلَيْهِمْ وَمَنْ تَرَكَ مِنْهُمْ قَاتِلَهُ وَعِخْمَسَ<sup>7</sup> مَالَهُ<sup>e</sup>
- 263 وَقَطَعَ الْمِيرَاثَ مِنْهُ وَأَنَّهُ لَا يَحِلُّ لِلْمُسْلِمِينَ مَنَاكِحَتَهُمْ وَلَا مَوَارِيثَهُمْ<sup>8</sup>
- 264 وَلَا أَكَلَ ذَبَائِحِهِمْ وَلَا وِفَاءَ بَعُودِهِمْ<sup>9</sup> أَبَدًا حَتَّى يَدْخُلُوا فِي الْإِسْلَامِ
- 265 وَيُظْهِرُوا الرِّضَى<sup>10</sup> بِحُكْمِ الْقُرْآنِ وَأَنَّهُ لَيْسَ لِقِتَالِهِمْ مَدَّةٌ وَلَا مُنْتَهَى<sup>11</sup>
- 266 دُونَ<sup>12</sup> الدِّخُولِ فِي دِينِ اللَّهِ هِ [29] وَأَمَّا الْجُوسُ<sup>f</sup> فَإِنَّهُمْ<sup>g</sup> ادَّعَوْا أَثَارَةً مِنْ
- 267 عِلْمٍ<sup>g</sup> فَكَتَبَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ إِلَى مَنْ كَانَ مِنْهُمْ بِهَجْرٍ بَكْتَابٍ يَدْعُوهُمْ
- 268 فِيهِ إِلَى الْإِسْلَامِ وَأَخْبَرَهُمْ فِي كِتَابِهِ أَنَّهُ مَنْ دَخَلَ مِنْهُمْ فِي الْإِسْلَامِ
- 269 فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ لَا يُؤَاخِذُهُ بِشَيْءٍ كَانَ عَلَيْهِ قَبْلَهُ وَأَنَّهُ يَجِبُ لَهُ مِثْلُ حَقِّ
- 270 الْمُسْلِمِينَ وَعَلَيْهِ مِثْلُ الَّذِي عَلَيْهِمْ وَفَرَضَ<sup>13</sup> <اللَّهُ> عَلَى مَنْ تَرَكَ الْإِسْلَامَ
- 271 مِنْهُمْ<sup>14</sup> أَنْ يُعْطِيَ الْجِزْيَةَ<sup>h</sup> فَيُحَرِّمَ بِهَا دَمَهُ وَيَأْمَنَ بِهَا عَلَى أَهْلِهِ وَمَالِهِ

وليس

- S N بتحریم<sup>6</sup> MSS يحرم<sup>5</sup> MSS بسيرة<sup>4</sup> MSS من<sup>3</sup> + S لعله<sup>2</sup> S فاذا<sup>1</sup>
- S الا<sup>12</sup> N منتها<sup>11</sup> HX الرضا<sup>10</sup> S عهودهم<sup>9</sup> N موارثتهم<sup>8</sup> N خمس<sup>7</sup>
- S على<sup>14</sup> + N; but cf. ll. 279 f below S وعرض<sup>13</sup>

<sup>a-a</sup> Cf. 25:32 (... لَوْلَا نُزِّلَ عَلَيْهِ الْقُرْآنُ جُمْلَةً وَاحِدَةً ...)

<sup>b-b</sup> Cf.

9:1 (بِرَاءَةٍ مِنَ اللَّهِ وَرَسُولِهِ إِلَى الَّذِينَ عَاهَدْتُمْ مِنَ الْمُشْرِكِينَ)

<sup>c-c</sup> Cf. 9:36

(... وَالْأَعْرَابُ أَشَدُّ كُفْرًا وَنِفَاقًا ...) <sup>d-d</sup> Cf. 9:97 (... وَقَاتِلُوا الْمُشْرِكِينَ كَافَّةً ...)

<sup>e-e</sup> Cf. 8:41

(... مَا غَنِمْتُمْ مِنْ شَيْءٍ فَإِنَّ لِلَّهِ خُمُسَهُ وَلِلرَّسُولِ وَلِذِي الْقُرْبَىٰ وَالْيَتَامَىٰ وَالْمَسَاكِينِ وَأُولَىٰ السَّبِيلِ ...)

(إِنَّ الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا وَالَّذِينَ هَادُوا وَالصَّابِئِينَ وَالنَّصَارَىٰ وَالْمَجُوسَ وَالَّذِينَ أَشْرَكُوا) <sup>f</sup> Cf. 22:17

إِنَّ اللَّهَ يَفْصِلُ بَيْنَهُمْ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ ...

<sup>g-g</sup> Cf. 46:4

(قُلْ ... أَتُؤْتُونَ بِكِتَابٍ مِنْ قَبْلِ هَذَا أَوْ أَثَارَةٍ مِنْ عِلْمٍ إِنْ كُنْتُمْ صَادِقِينَ)

<sup>h-h</sup> Cf. 9:29

(for) it was not sent down all at once (cf. 25: 32). When a verse was sent down in abrogation of an earlier one, Muḥammad would act upon it: the validity of the earlier (rule) had expired; obedience demanded that he apply the (new rule). So when it was sent down that those who had a treaty with God's Prophet should be disowned (cf. 9: 1) and God commanded him to fight the polytheists totally (9: 36), he divided his enemy into various categories and treated them in different ways. God allowed things in respect of some (groups) that He prohibited in respect of others; to people entitled to rights by (acceptance of) some of His command he granted a legal status that He did not grant <to people not> so entitled.

28. Thus Muḥammad called to Islam his people, the polytheist Arabs, who at that time were further from the truth than anyone else (cf. 9: 97). He told them that if they joined Islam, God would not hold their former ways against them, and that they would have the same rights and duties as the Muslims. But he would fight those who rejected Islam, treat their possessions as booty, and sever relations of inheritance with them. Muslims would not be allowed to intermarry with them, have relations of inheritance with them, eat their slaughters, or honour their contracts, until they joined Islam and declared themselves content with the judgement of the Qur'ān. The fight against them would never end unless they joined God's religion.

29. The Zoroastrians, on the other hand, claimed some remnant of knowledge (46: 4). So the Messenger of God wrote a letter to the Zoroastrians in Hajar, in which he called them to Islam. He told them in his letter that, if they joined Islam, God would not hold their former ways against them, and that they would have the same rights and duties as the Muslims. For those who rejected Islam <God> had prescribed that they pay *jizya* (cf. 9: 29) so as to gain protection for their lives and safety for their families and property.

272 وليس يحلّ للمسلمين على تحريمهم دماءهم بالجزية مناكحتهم ولا موارثتهم  
 273 ولا أكل ذبائحهم حتى يدخلوا في الإسلام ويظهروا الرضى بحكم القرآن  
 274 وإتّما قبل رسول الله منهم الجزية وردّها على قومه مشركى العرب  
 275 بأنهم<sup>1</sup> ادّعوا أثارةً من علمٍ فجعل لهم رسول الله بالذى<sup>2</sup> تحرّموا به من  
 276 ذلك حرمة ليست لمن لم يدع من قومه بمثل ما ادّعى به الجوس ه  
 277 [30] وأمّا أهل الكتاب فكان يدعوهم إلى الإسلام وإلى التصديق  
 278 بالذى جاء به من الله من الحقّ فَن عرف ذلك منهم وأقرّ به كان  
 279 من المسلمين ووجب له مثل حقّهم وعليه مثل الذى عليهم وفرض  
 280 الله على من ترك الإسلام منهم وكذب مجّداً أن يُعطى الجزية  
 281 إن أحبّ<sup>3</sup> فيحرّم بها دمه ويأمن بها على<sup>4</sup> ماله وأهله<sup>4</sup> فأحلّ  
 282 للمسلمين من أهل الكتاب حين يعطونهم<sup>5</sup> الجزية نكاح  
 283 نساءهم وأكل ذبائحهم وحرّم نكاح رجالهم وموارثتهم ووفاء<sup>6</sup>  
 284 بعهودهم أبداً حتى يدخلوا في الإسلام ويظهروا الرضى بحكم  
 285 القرآن وإتّما أحلّ الله للمسلمين نساء أهل الكتاب وذبائحهم  
 286 وقد حرّم نساء الجوس<sup>a</sup> وعبدة الأوثان<sup>a</sup> وذبائحهم بإقرارهم  
 287 ببعض ما أنزل الله إليهم فجعل لهم بالذى أقرّوا به من كتبهم  
 288 حرمة ليست لمن <لم><sup>b</sup> يدُرْس كتاباً<sup>b7</sup> ولم يتحرّم<sup>8</sup> به من الجوس و  
 289 عبدة الأوثان ه [31] وأمّا المنافقون فكانوا مرّتين<sup>c</sup> في الإسلام  
 290<sup>d</sup> شاكين في البعث<sup>d</sup> يُظهرون أهل الإسلام دينهم<sup>e</sup> ويتحرّمون منهم

S اهله وماله 4-4 HX اجب 3 MSS الذى 2 MSS; but cf. l. 287 below MSS انهم 1  
 MSS يحترم 8 MSS كتابنا 7 MSS ووفاية 6 MSS يعطوهم 5

(إتّما تعبّدون من دون الله أوّثاناً ...) a-a Cf. 29: 17  
 (أمّ لكم كتابٌ فيه تدرّسون) e.g., 68: 37 b-b Cf.,  
 (إتّما المؤمنون الذين آمنوا بالله ورسوله ثمّ لم يرتابوا ...) c Cf. esp. 49: 15  
 (إنّ المنافقين ... يُراؤون الناس ...) d-d Cf. 22: 5  
 (... إن كنتم في ريب من البعث ...) e-e Cf. 4: 142

But though they would gain protection for their lives by (paying) *jizya*, Muslims would not be permitted to intermarry with them, to have relations of inheritance with them, or to eat their slaughters, until they joined Islam and declared themselves content with the judgement of the Qurʾān. The reason that the Messenger of God accepted *jizya* from them but not from his people, the polytheist Arabs, is that they claimed a remnant of knowledge. Because they were entitled to legal rights by such knowledge the Messenger of God granted them a legal status not available to those of his people who made no such claim as did the Zoroastrians.

30. As for the People of the Book, he would call them to Islam and acceptance of the truth he was bringing from God. Those who recognized and professed it were accepted as Muslims and had the same rights and duties as they did. For those who rejected Islam and called Muḥammad a liar God prescribed that they pay *jizya* if they wished (to be left alone?), so as to gain protection for their lives and safety for their property and families. When the People of the Book paid *jizya*, the Muslims were allowed to marry their women and eat their slaughters, but they were forbidden ever to marry their men, to have relations of inheritance with them, and to honour their contracts, until they joined Islam and declared themselves content with the judgement of the Qurʾān. The reason that God permitted the women and slaughters of the People of the Book to the Muslims, when He prohibited those of the Zoroastrians and idolaters, is that they professed some of what God had sent down to them. By virtue of what they professed of their books He granted them a legal status not available to the Zoroastrians and idolaters, who did not study a book and were not entitled to such rights.

31. As for the hypocrites, they had reservations about Islam (cf. 9: 45, 24: 50, 49: 15) and doubted the resurrection (cf. 22: 5), but they would give the appearance, to the people of Islam, of following their religion (cf. 4: 142), and the latter could not touch them because they were entitled to legal rights

- 291 باستقبال قبلتهم فنفعهم ذلك عند المسلمين فناكحهم ووارثوهم<sup>1</sup>
- 292 وأكلوا ذبائحهم ووفوا بعهودهم<sup>2</sup> وقد كانوا يبرؤون منهم ويستحلون
- دِماء كثيرٍ منهم وإِذَا أَحَلَّ اللَّهُ مَنَاكِحَهُمْ وَمَوَارِثَهُمْ<sup>3</sup>
- 293 ووفاء بعهودهم وقد حرّم عليهم مناكحة أهل الكتاب و
- 294 موارثتهم ووفاء بعهودهم بتحريمهم<sup>4</sup> بدين المسلمين واستقبال
- 295 قبلتهم فجعل الله لهم بالذى تحرّموا به من ذلك حرمة أحلّ
- 296 للمسلمين بها مناكحتهم وموارثتهم ووفاء بعهودهم وحرّم عليهم
- 297 بها أخذ الجزية منهم ولم يفعل ذلك يومئذ بأحد من الكفار
- 298 غيرهم ه [32] وكان رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلّم يقتل من حلّ
- 299 عليه القتل ممن يستقبل قبلته ثم لا يسبى ذرّيته ولا
- 300 يخمس ماله ولا يقطع الميراث منه<sup>5</sup> ولا ينكح من المسلمين امرأته
- 301 حتى تعتدّ وتحلّ ه فكانت هذه سيرة رسول الله في المُحدّثين
- 302 من أهل القبلة وسنته التى سنّ فيهم [33] فمضى رسول الله على
- 303 أحسن ما مضت عليه الأنبياء قبله صلوات الله عليهم<sup>6</sup> ورحمته
- 304 <sup>a</sup> وأورثكم الكتاب<sup>a</sup> به هدى المسلمين قبلكم ينطق بجلال الله
- 305 وحرامه ولم يقبض الله نبيّه حتى<sup>7</sup> عرف المسلمون<sup>7</sup> شرائع
- 306 الهدى وعمِل فيهم نبيّهم بأمر الله حتى أكمل الله لهم<sup>8</sup> دينهم
- 307 وأتمّ عليهم نعمته فقال<sup>b</sup> اليوم أكملت لكم دينكم وأتممت عليكم
- 308 نعمتى ورضيت لكم الإسلام ديناً<sup>b</sup> ه [34] فسبيل من أخذ به بعده
- 309 كسبيل من أخذ به [على]<sup>9</sup> عهده وسبيل من كفر به بعده من صاحب

وثن

HX لمناكحتهم اياهم وموارثتهم<sup>3-3</sup> MSS لمناكحتهم اياهم وموارثتهم +<sup>2</sup> MSS وورثوهم<sup>1</sup>  
 HX من +<sup>8</sup> S N عرف المسلمين<sup>7-7</sup> MSS عليه<sup>6</sup> MSS فيه<sup>5</sup> S N بتحريمهم<sup>4</sup>  
<sup>9</sup> MSS ] فى ؟ But cf. بعده at l. 311 below

<sup>a-a</sup> Cf. 35:32 (... ثمّ أورثنا الكتاب الذين اصطفينا من عبادنا ...) <sup>b-b</sup> 5:3

by their use of their *qibla*. That gave them advantages with the Muslims, who would intermarry with them, have relations of inheritance with them, eat their slaughters, and honour their contracts, instead of (Muslims) disowning them (hypocrites) and deeming it lawful to shed the blood of many of them, as they had done before (the hypocrites had converted to Islam). The reason that God permitted the Muslims to intermarry with them, enjoy mutual succession with them, and honour their contracts, when He had forbidden them to intermarry with the People of the Book, to have mutual succession with them, and to honour their contracts, is that they were entitled to legal rights by their (profession of) the religion of the Muslims and their use of their *qibla*. Because they were thus entitled God granted them a legal status by which He permitted Muslims to intermarry with them, to have relations of inheritance with them, and to honour their contracts, while forbidding them to collect *jizya* from them. He did not extend that treatment to any other infidel in those days.

32. The Messenger of God, may the blessings and peace of God be upon him, would kill a user of his *qibla* if he was guilty of a capital offence;<sup>1</sup> but he would not thereafter enslave his offspring, treat his property as booty, sever relations of inheritance with him, or marry his wife to a Muslim before she had completed her waiting period and become lawful. This was the conduct (*sīra*) of God's Messenger with mischief-makers among the people of the *qibla*, (and that is) the precedent (*sunna*) he set for dealing with them.

33. The Messenger of God proceeded in the best manner of the previous prophets, may the prayers and the mercy of God be upon them. He bequeathed to you the book (cf. 35: 32) by which he guided the Muslims before you and which pronounces what is allowed and forbidden by God. God did not take away His Prophet until the Muslims had understood the laws (*sharā'i*) of guidance; and their Prophet applied God's command among them till God had perfected their religion for them and completed His blessing upon them, as He says: 'Today I have perfected your religion for you, and I have completed my blessing upon you, and I have approved Islam for your religion' (5: 3).

34. The path of those who have been embracing Islam since the Prophet's time is like the path of those who embraced it in his time; and the path of those who have been rejecting it in unbelief since his time — idolaters,

<sup>1</sup> Literally, 'killing was permitted against him'; a recurrent phrase evidently meaning that the person concerned was liable to capital punishment under Islamic law.

310 وَتَنِّي أَوْ أَهْلَ كِتَابٍ أَوْ مَنَافِقٍ أَوْ مَنَ حَلَّ عَلَيْهِ الْقَتْلُ مِنْ أَهْلِ قَبْلَتِهِ  
 311 كَسْبِيلٍ مَنْ كَفَرَ بِهِ <sup>1</sup> أَوْ حَلَّ <sup>1</sup> عَلَيْهِ الْقَتْلُ <sup>2</sup> مِنْ أَهْلِ قَبْلَتِهِ بَعْدَهُ وَحُكْمُ  
 312 اللَّهِ عَلَى مَنْ تَمَسَّكَ بِهِ بِعَهْدٍ <sup>3</sup> مَّحْدٍ وَاتَّخَذَهُ دِينًا فِيمَنْ <sup>4</sup> لَمْ يُجِبْ إِلَيْهِ  
 313 فِيهِ الْبِرَاءَةَ مِمَّنْ فَعَلَ ذَلِكَ حَتَّى يَعْرِفَهُ [35] قَالَ اللَّهُ لِمَنْ آمَنَ <sup>a</sup> لَقَدْ  
 314 كَانَ لَكُمْ فِي رَسُولِ اللَّهِ أُسْوَةٌ حَسَنَةٌ لِمَنْ كَانَ يَرْجُو اللَّهَ وَالْيَوْمَ  
 315 الْآخِرَ وَذَكَرَ اللَّهَ كَثِيرًا <sup>a</sup> ه فَأَمَرَهُمْ بِالْإِقْتِدَاءِ بِهِ وَأَمْرَهُ <sup>5</sup> بِالْإِقْتِدَاءِ  
 316 بِمَنْ <sup>5</sup> هَدَى اللَّهُ قَبْلَهُ فَقَالَ فِيهَا أَنْزَلَ عَلَيْهِ آيَةً <sup>b</sup> وَأُولَئِكَ الَّذِينَ  
 317 هَدَى اللَّهُ فِيهِدَاهُمْ أَقْتَدِهِ <sup>b</sup> ه [36] وَأَنْبَأَ اللَّهُ مُحَمَّدًا أَنَّهُ <sup>c</sup> لَمْ يَكُنْ لِيَذَرَ  
 318 الْمُؤْمِنِينَ عَلَى مَا أَنْتُمْ عَلَيْهِ حَتَّى يَمَيِّزَ الْخَبِيثَ مِنَ الطَّيِّبِ <sup>c</sup> ه وَأَنْبَأَهُ  
 319 أَنَّهُ لَمْ يَكُنْ لِيَذَرَهُمْ حَتَّى تَعْرُضَ لَهُمْ <sup>d</sup> فِتْنَةً يَبْلُغُ بِهَا أَخْبَارَهُمْ <sup>d</sup>  
 320 فَقَالَ <sup>e</sup> الْم ه أَحْسِبَ النَّاسُ أَنْ يُتْرَكُوا أَنْ يَقُولُوا آمَنَّا وَهُمْ  
 321 لَا يُفْتَنُونَ ه وَلَقَدْ فَتَنَّا الَّذِينَ مِنْ قَبْلِهِمْ فَلَيَعْلَمَنَّ اللَّهُ الَّذِينَ  
 322 صَدَقُوا وَلَيَعْلَمَنَّ الْكَاذِبِينَ <sup>e</sup> ه فحذر محمد ما أنبأه الله أنه مُبْتَلٍ <sup>6</sup>  
 323 به عبادته من الفتنة فاعتصم بما أنزل الله إليه من كتابه  
 324 فنجاه <sup>7</sup> مِنَ الْفِتْنَةِ وَارْتِضَاهُ لِنَفْسِهِ حَتَّى مَضَى خَائِفًا لِمَا  
 325 <sup>f</sup> حَوْفَهُ اللَّهُ <sup>f</sup> < مِنَ الشَّرِّ > رَاغِبًا فِيهَا رَغْبَةً اللَّهُ فِيهِ مِنَ الْخَيْرِ ه [37] فَلَمَّا تَوَفَّى  
 326 < اللَّهُ > رَسُولَهُ <sup>8</sup> نَظَرَ الْمُؤْمِنُونَ <sup>9</sup> فِي أَمْرِهِمْ فَعَلِمُوا أَنَّ أُمَّتَهُمْ لِدِينِهِمْ وَأَجْمَعَ  
 327 لِكَلِمَتِهِمْ وَأَحْفَظَ لِأَمْرِ اللَّهِ أَنْ يَسْتَحْلِفُوا عَلَيْهِمْ خَلِيفَةً مِنْ  
 328 أَنْفُسِهِمْ يَأْخُذُ بَيْنَهُمْ بَكْتَابِ اللَّهِ وَيَقُومُ <sup>10</sup> بَيْنَهُمْ بِأَمْرِ اللَّهِ فَيُقِيمُ  
 329 حُدُودَهُ وَيَقْضِي بِحُكْمِهِ وَيَقْسِمُ بِقِسْمِهِ فَاخْتَارُوا لِدِينِهِمْ وَأَنْفُسِهِمْ

MSS باقتداء من <sup>5</sup> S N فمن <sup>4</sup> MSS بعد <sup>3</sup> HX القتال <sup>2</sup> MSS واحل <sup>1-1</sup>  
 المؤمنون <sup>9</sup> N رسول الله <sup>8</sup> HX القرآن نجاة at l. 50 above MSS; but cf. الله + <sup>7</sup> MSS مبتلى <sup>6</sup>  
 MSS ويقسم <sup>10</sup> HX

<sup>a-a</sup> 33:21      <sup>b-b</sup> 6:90 (as at ll. 173 f above)      <sup>c-c</sup> 3:179, adapted at the  
 beginning (ما كان الله ليذَرَ ...)      <sup>d-d</sup> Cf. 21:35 (quoted at l. 142 above) and 47:31  
 (وَلَيَبْلُغَنَّكُمْ حَتَّى نَعْلَمَ الْمُجَاهِدِينَ مِنْكُمْ وَالصَّابِرِينَ وَتَبْلُغُوا أَخْبَارَكُمْ)      <sup>e-e</sup> 29:1-3      <sup>f-f</sup> Cf. 39:16  
 (... ذَلِكَ يُحَوِّفُ اللَّهَ بِهِ عِبَادَهُ ...)

scripturalists, hypocrites, or people of his *qibla* guilty of a capital offence — is like the path of those who in his time rejected it in unbelief or incurred the death penalty while adhering to his *qibla*. In Muḥammad's time, God's judgement on those who failed to respond to his call to Islam was that those who adhered to Islam and made it their religion must disown those who (failed to) do so until they acknowledged Islam.

35. God said to those who believed, 'You have been given a good example in God's Messenger for whosoever hopes for God and the last day, and remembers God oft' (33: 21). Thus He ordered them to follow his example, (just as) He ordered him to follow the example of those whom God had guided before him, in (a verse) He sent down to him as a sign, 'Those are they whom God has guided; so take their guidance as your example' (6: 90).

36. God told Muḥammad that He would not 'leave the believers in the state in which you are — rather, He shall distinguish the corrupt from the good' (3: 179). He told him that He would not leave them alone but rather send them a trial (*fitna*) by which to test their tidings (cf. 47: 31), saying, '*Alif Lām Mīm*. Do the people reckon that they will be left to say "We believe" and will not be tried? We certainly tried those that were before them, and assuredly God knows those who speak truly, and assuredly He knows the liars' (29: 1–3). Muḥammad, heeding God's warning of the trial with which He was going to test the believers, held so fast to the book which God had sent down to him that it saved him from the trial; and he was so content with it (as a guide) that he proceeded in fear of what God had asked him to fear (cf. 39: 16) and in pursuit of the good that God had asked him to pursue.

[The caliphs]

37. When <God> had gathered His Messenger to Him, the believers examined their situation and realized that the best way to perfect their religion, remain united, and maintain God's command would be to appoint from among themselves a deputy who would hold office over them and follow the Book of God, carry out His command among them, impose the penalties (*ḥudūd*) fixed by Him, pass sentence according to His judgement, and divide (the revenues) by His division. So they made their choice, in the interest of their religion and for their own sake,

330 لا [يُؤْلُون]<sup>1</sup> عن أقربهم إلى الله وأهل العدل والأمانة فهداهم الله  
 331 ووقفهم [لأقومهم]<sup>2</sup> في الإيمان عملاً وأحسنهم<sup>3</sup> في أمر الله بلائاً وأقدمهم  
 332 لرسول الله صحابةً وصاحبه<sup>4</sup> في الغار إذ خرجوا<sup>5</sup> من مكة<sup>b</sup> مهاجرين  
 333 إلى الله<sup>6</sup> ه فاستخلفوا أبا بكر الصديقَ فاتخذ القرآن إماماً  
 334 واقتدى بسنة نبي الله وعلم أنه لاق<sup>4</sup> ربه و<هو> سائله عما ولاه<sup>5</sup>  
 335 من أمر أمة محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم فعمل فيهم بالحق ولزم فيهم  
 336 العدل<sup>6</sup> فلما جاءه أمر الله نظر في رعيته وأمانته فاجتهد  
 337 نفسه لله ه [38] فاستخلف عمر بن الخطاب عن<sup>c</sup> مشاورة<sup>7</sup> المؤمنين<sup>c</sup>  
 338 فعمل بكتاب الله واقتدى بسنة رسول الله وأخذ بسنة أبي  
 339 بكر ثم نزلت به أمور أخرى لم [يكن فيها]<sup>8</sup> قرآن ناطق ولا سنة  
 340 من رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ولم يستن<sup>9</sup> فيها أبو بكر قبله<sup>10</sup>  
 341 فكان أول من حكم في أشياء من فرائض الميراث وكتب  
 342 إليه عامله بالشام أن الخمر قد كادت تغلب على كثير من الناس  
 343 وأنهم لن<sup>11</sup> يدعوها إلا بنكال شديد فجلد عليها ثمانين جلدة  
 344 لينكل عليها مع أمور كثيرة سنّ فيها عمر بن الخطاب سنناً حين  
 345 نزلت به عن مشاورة<sup>7</sup> المسلمين واجتهاد رأيه حقاً على كل  
 346 مسلم ان يرضى بها ويعمل<sup>12</sup> بها لأن الله يقول<sup>d</sup> أطيعوا الله و  
 347 أطيعوا الرسول وأولي الأمر منكم فإن تنازعتم في شئ<sup>e</sup> فردوه  
 348 إلى الله والرسول<sup>13</sup> إن كنتم تؤمنون بالله واليوم الآخر<sup>13</sup> ذلك خير  
 وأحسن تأويلاً<sup>ه</sup> فكان<sup>14</sup> من ولاة  
 349 الأمر الذين أمر الله المسلمين بطاعتهم و<sup>e</sup>معاونتهم على الحق<sup>e</sup>

يحفظه

MSS وليه<sup>5</sup> MSS لاقى<sup>4</sup> MSS واحسن<sup>3</sup> MSS لاقدمهم<sup>2</sup> MSS يالون [ Madelung ]<sup>1</sup>  
 HX يسر S N يسر<sup>9</sup> MSS تكن في<sup>8</sup> MSS مشورة<sup>7</sup> HX بالعدل<sup>6</sup> MSS  
 HX وكل S N فكل<sup>14</sup> HX -13-13 MSS وعمل<sup>12</sup> S N لم<sup>11</sup> -N<sup>10</sup>

a-a Cf. 9: 40 (... إذ أخرجَهُ الذين كَفَرُوا ثَانِي أَتَيْنِي إِذْ هُمَا فِي الْغَارِ ...) b-b Cf. 4: 100  
 (... وَأَمْرُهُمْ شُورَى بَيْنَهُمْ ...) c-c Cf. 42: 38 (... وَمَنْ يَخْرُجْ مِنْ بَيْتِهِ مُهَاجِرًا إِلَى اللَّهِ ...) d-d  
 (... وَتَعَاوَنُوا عَلَى الْبِرِّ وَالتَّقْوَى وَلَا تَعَاوَنُوا عَلَى الْإِثْمِ وَالتَّعَدْوَانِ ...) e-e Cf. 5: 2

strictly from among those who were closest among them to God and distinguished by justice and trustworthiness. God guided them to success (in choosing) the man most outstanding among them in practising the faith, the one best tried in godliness, and the oldest companion of the Messenger of God, whom he had accompanied in the cave (cf. 9: 40) after they both left Mecca as emigrants to God (cf. 4: 100) — Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq — and him they appointed as caliph. He took the Qurʾān as an imam, followed the *sunna* of God's Prophet, and knew that when he would meet his Lord, who had put him in charge of the community of Muḥammad, may God's blessings and peace be upon him, He would question him about the state (in which he had left it). So he acted rightly (*bi'l-ḥaqq*) and adhered to justice among them. When God's command came to him, he looked at the flock in his care and exerted himself for the sake of God.

38. After consulting with the Muslims, he appointed ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (to succeed him) as caliph. ʿUmar acted in accordance with the Book of God, followed the *sunna* of God's Messenger, and adopted the *sunna* of Abū Bakr. But he was also confronted with cases which were not covered by Qurʾānic pronouncements or prior *sunna*, whether (received) from the Messenger of God, may God's blessing and peace be upon him, or instituted by Abū Bakr. He was the first to settle some matters of inheritance law; and when his governor in Syria wrote to him that many people were about to fall under the sway of wine and would not give it up without a strong deterrent, he (prescribed) eighty lashes as a deterrent. For many other problems, too, ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb instituted precedents (*sanna sunan*) as they arose after consulting with the Muslims; and it is the duty of every Muslim to endorse them and follow them in practice. For God says, 'Obey God and obey the Messenger and those in authority among you. If you should quarrel on anything, refer it to God and the Messenger if you believe in God and the last day; that is better, and fairer in the issue' (4: 59). ʿUmar was one of the wielders of authority whom God has ordered the Muslims to obey and assist in (the practice of God's) truth (cf. 5: 2)

350 بحفظه<sup>1</sup> أمر الله واتباعه في طاعته ومشاورته<sup>a</sup> المؤمنين فيما نزل  
 351 به [39] فعمل بطاعة ربه وسلك سبيل صاحبه وعلم أنه إن يخالفها<sup>2</sup>  
 352 في العمل في الدنيا لا يوافقها في الميزان يوم القيامة ولا تُعني<sup>3</sup> عنه  
 353 صاحبته في الدنيا شيئاً فسك<sup>4</sup> بصنيعها و<sup>b</sup>أفتدى بهما<sup>b</sup> حتى  
 354 توفاه الله على ذلك من الأمر والمؤمنون راضون عنه متولون  
 355 له ه [40] ثم استعمل عثمان بن عفان [عن مشاورة]<sup>5</sup> المسلمين ورضى منهم  
 356 فكث ما شاء الله يعمل بكتاب الله وسنة نبيه ثم إنّه طال عليه  
 357 الأمد ومالت به الدنيا فغير السنة وأحدث البدعة [41] وجعل المال  
 358 بين أقرابه دولة<sup>c</sup> وأعطى مروان خمس إفريقية وأعطى الحارث  
 359 بن الحكم صدقة البحرين وأعطى الوليد بن عقبة صدقة كلب و  
 360 كتب للحكم بثلاثمائة ألف درهم إلى الحارث بن نوفل وكان على  
 361 مكة وما يليها من القرى فتعدى في هذا حكم الله وحكم فيه بغير  
 362 ما أنزل الله وقال الله<sup>d</sup> ومن لم يحكم بما أنزل الله فأولئك هم  
 363 الكافرون<sup>d</sup> ه [42] واستسلف من الله مالا عظيماً فجاءه عبد الله  
 364 بن الأرقم أمين<sup>6</sup> المسلمين على بيت مالهم يتقاضاه فطفق  
 365 يطله ويعلله فلما طال على عبد الله بن الأرقم أنشده الله إلّا  
 366 [أدى ما ما قبله فإتما]<sup>7</sup> هو في<sup>8</sup> الله ومال المسلمين وليس يجلّ لي  
 367 أن أحايبك به فقال عثمان عند ذلك وما لك وهذا المال  
 368 والله لا أقضى منه شيئاً فإن شئت أن تمسك لنا المفاتيح<sup>9</sup> وإن كرهت فادفع  
 369 إلينا مفاتيحنا<sup>10</sup> فدفعت إليه عبد الله بن الأرقم المفاتيح<sup>9</sup> وقال  
 369 والله لا أعمل لك على شيء ما بقيت ه [43] وقدم إليه<sup>11</sup> أبو موسى الأشعري

على مشورة<sup>5</sup> S فتمسك<sup>4</sup> N HX<sup>3</sup> N HX<sup>2</sup> يخلفهما S يخلفهما<sup>2</sup> N HX<sup>1</sup> يحفظه  
 ما ودّى (S أدّى) ما قبله قائماً (S فانما)<sup>7</sup> N HX<sup>6</sup> أمير<sup>6</sup> MSS, but cf. II. 337, 345 above  
 N HX<sup>9-9</sup> -HX<sup>10</sup> S N مفاتيحنا<sup>10</sup> HX<sup>11</sup> عليه<sup>11</sup> MSS  
 S<sup>8</sup> في<sup>8</sup> N HX<sup>9-9</sup> في<sup>8</sup> S في<sup>8</sup> MSS

<sup>a</sup> Cf. 3: 159 (... وشاورهم في الأمر ...) <sup>b</sup> Cf. 6: 90 at II. 174, 317 above <sup>c</sup> Cf. 59: 7 at I. 380 below <sup>d-d</sup> 5: 44

because he kept God's command and followed it in obedience to Him, and because He consulted with the believers (cf. 3: 159) about matters arising.

39. So he acted in obedience to His Lord and followed the path of his two companions, knowing that if his practice differed from theirs in this world, he would not be equal to them on the scales on the Day of Resurrection, and that having been their companion in this world would not profit him at all. So he kept to their deeds and was guided by their example (cf. 6: 90) until God gathered him to Himself in that state, the Muslims being well pleased with him and in allegiance to him.

40. Then ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān was appointed, after consultation with the Muslims and with their approval. For as long as God wished, he continued to act in accordance with the Book of God and the *sunna* of the Prophet. But then he lost sight of the next world and succumbed to this-worldly ambitions, which led him to change the *sunna* and introduce arbitrary innovations (*bidʿa*).

41. He made (God's) property something to be taken in turns (59: 7) among his relations: he gave Marwān the *khums* of Ifrīqiya, al-Ḥārith b. al-Ḥakam the *ṣadaqa* of Baḥrayn, al-Walīd b. ʿUqba the *ṣadaqa* of Kalb, and he wrote (an order) for 300,000 dirhams in favour of al-Ḥakam to al-Ḥārith b. Nawfal, who was governor of Mecca and its environs. In so doing, he transgressed against the judgement of God and judged by other than what God has sent down. God says, 'Whoso judges not according to what God has sent down — they are the unbelievers' (5: 44).

42. He also borrowed an enormous amount of money from God. When ʿAbdallāh b. al-Arqam, the trustee of the Muslims over their treasury, came to him to demand repayment, ʿUthmān tried to fob him off with excuses. When ʿAbdallāh b. al-Arqam tired of it, he beseeched him in the name of God to repay him what he had received. 'It is God's *ḥaq*' and belongs to the Muslims, and I am not allowed to make free with it in your favour'. ʿUthmān replied, 'Why are you making a fuss about this money? By God, I shall not repay any of it. If you wish to keep the keys (of the treasury) for us (stop being difficult); if not, hand our keys over to us'. Whereupon ʿAbdallāh b. al-Arqam handed the keys over to him with the words, 'By God, I shall not hold any office for you for the rest of my life'.

43. When Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī came to him

370 بمال من العراق فطفق يُهْدِيه لبناته وأهله في الصحاف<sup>1</sup> ففاضت  
 371 عَيْنًا أبا موسى دموعًا لما رأى من صنيعه في ذلك المال وذكر ما  
 372 كان يفعل عُمَرَ بالمال إذ جاءه فقال عند ذلك لم تبكي يا أبا موسى  
 373 فَإِنَّ عمر رحمه الله كان<sup>2</sup> يمنع أقاربه<sup>a</sup> ابْتِغَاءَ وَجْهِ اللَّهِ<sup>a</sup> وأنا أعطى  
 374 أقاربي ابتغاء وجه الله هـ وبعض هذا مخالف لبعض وجور  
 375 مَنْ ترك الحق فيه بَيْنَ عند مَنْ يعقل أمر الله ويفهمه هـ كان  
 376 عمر رحمه الله يعطى أقاربه سُهْنَانَهُمْ ويمنعهم سهنان المسلمين<sup>b</sup> ابْتِغَاءَ  
 377 وَجْهِ اللَّهِ والدارِ الآخِرَةِ<sup>b</sup> هـ وإِذَا أعطى عثمان أقاربه سهنانهم  
 378 وسهنان المسلمين إرادة الصنعة للدنيا [44] واشترى بمال الله  
 379 الأرضين<sup>3</sup> وإِثْنَيْ به<sup>3</sup> الرباع وأفاضه على ولده وأهله وقال  
 380 الله كَيْلًا<sup>4</sup> يَكُونُ دَوْلَةً بَيْنَ الْأَغْنِيَاءِ مِنْكُمْ<sup>c</sup> وقضى أَنَّهُ<sup>d</sup> مَنْ لم  
 381 يَحْكَمْ بِمَا أَنْزَلَ اللَّهُ فَأُولَئِكَ هُمُ الظَّالِمُونَ<sup>d</sup> هـ [45] وقتل الوليد  
 382 بن عقبة رجلًا من أهل الكوفة من صلحاء المسلمين فَأَبَى  
 383 أَنْ يقتله وقد قال الله<sup>e</sup> النَّفْسُ بِالنَّفْسِ<sup>e</sup> وقضى أَنَّهُ  
 384 فَمَنْ لم يَحْكَمْ بِمَا أَنْزَلَ اللَّهُ فَأُولَئِكَ هُمُ الْفَاسِقُونَ<sup>f</sup> هـ وشرب  
 385 الوليد بن عقبة الخمر فَأَبَى أَنْ يقيم عليه الحدّ لقربته منه  
 386 وقال الله<sup>g</sup> يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا كُونُوا قَوَّامِينَ بِالْقِسْطِ  
 387 شُهَدَاءَ لِلَّهِ وَلَوْ عَلَى أَنْفُسِكُمْ أَوِ الْوَالِدِينَ وَالْأَقْرَبِينَ إِنْ يَكُنْ  
 388 غَنِيًّا أَوْ فَقِيرًا فَاللَّهُ أَوْلَىٰ بِهَا فَلَا تَتَّبِعُوا الْهَوَىٰ أَنْ تَعْدِلُوا  
 389 وَإِنْ تَلَوُّوا<sup>5</sup> أَوْ تُعْرَضُوا فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ كَانَ بِمَا تَعْمَلُونَ خَبِيرًا<sup>g</sup> هـ [46] وحكى

مواضع

<sup>1</sup> MSS, corrected above the line in S and HX  
<sup>2</sup> -HX  
<sup>3-3</sup> Madelung ]  
 HX تلو<sup>5</sup> N ST كى لا<sup>4</sup> HX واسانه N وابتنا به S وابتنانه

a-a 2: 272 b-b Cf. ibid. and 28: 77 (وَأَبْتَعْ مَا آتَاكَ اللَّهُ الدَّارَ الْآخِرَةَ ...) c-c 59: 7  
 d-d 5: 45 e-e 5: 45 f-f 5: 47 g-g 4: 135

with money from Iraq, he promptly presented it to his daughters and (other) family in bowls. Abū Mūsā's eyes overflowed with tears when he saw what he did with that money, and he mentioned what 'Umar used to do with the money that was brought to him; 'Uthmān replied, 'Why are you weeping, Abū Mūsā? 'Umar, may God have mercy upon him, used to deprive his relatives out of desire for God's face (2: 272); I, out of desire for God's face, give gifts to mine'. One thing here is at odds with the other; but who (of the two) did wrong by abandoning (God's) law (*ḥaqq*) in this case is clear to anyone who will give God's command enough thought to understand it. 'Umar, may God have mercy upon him, used to give his relatives their own shares, but not the shares of the Muslims, because he desired God's face and the next world (cf. 28: 77). But 'Uthmān gave his relatives both their own shares and those of the Muslims because he wanted to act for this world (alone).

44. He bought lands and built housing with God's money, and squandered it on his children and (other) family. But God says, 'so that it be not a thing to be taken in turns among the rich of you' (59: 7); and He rules that 'whoso judges not according to what God has sent down — they are the evildoers' (5: 45).

45. When al-Walīd b. 'Uqba killed a Kufan, a good Muslim, 'Uthmān refused to execute him, for all that God says, 'A life for a life' (5: 45); and He rules that 'whosoever judges not according to what God has sent down — they are the ungodly' (5: 47). When al-Walīd b. 'Uqba drank wine, 'Uthmān refused to impose the fixed penalty (*ḥadd*) on him because he was a relative of his. But God says, 'O believers, be you securers of justice, witnesses for God, even though it be against yourselves or your parents or kinsmen, whether the man be rich or poor; God stands closest to either. Then follow not a whim, lest you swerve; for if you twist or turn, God is aware of the things you do' (4: 135).

46. He also reserved pasture for himself

- 390 مواضع القطر من أهل البادية وأرعى فيها حاشيته وأهله  
 391 وقال الله <sup>a</sup>قُلْ أَرَأَيْتُمْ مَا أَنزَلَ اللَّهُ لَكُمْ مِنْ رِزْقٍ فَجَعَلْتُمْ مِنْهُ حَرَامًا  
 392 وحلالًا قُلْ اللَّهُ! أَذِنَ لَكُمْ أَمْ عَلَى اللَّهِ تَفْتَرُونَ ه وما ظنُّ  
 393 الذين يفترون على الله الكذب يوم القيامة إن الله لَذُو  
 394 فَضْلٍ عَلَى النَّاسِ وَلَكِنَّ أَكْثَرَهُمْ لَا يَشْكُرُونَ ه [47] ومنع الأعراب  
 395 الجهاد مخافة شركهم في الأعطية وقد قال الله <sup>b</sup>قُلْ لِلْمُخَلَّفِينَ  
 396 مِنَ الْأَعْرَابِ سُنُدَعُونَ إِلَى قَوْمٍ أُولَى بِأْسِ شَدِيدٍ تَقَاتِلُونَهُمْ  
 397 أَوْ يُسَلِّمُونَ فَإِنْ تُطِيعُوا يُؤْتِكُمُ اللَّهُ أَجْرًا حَسَنًا وَإِنْ تَوَلَّوْا  
 398 كَمَا تَوَلَّيْتُمْ مِنْ قَبْلُ يُعَذِّبْكُمْ عَذَابًا أَلِيمًا<sup>b</sup> ه وقد دعاهم رسول  
 399 الله ودعاهم أبو بكر وعمر بعده أن يجاهدوا مع المسلمين  
 400 فواسوهم<sup>2</sup> في المال إلا أن يفضلوا <عبدًا على> عبدٍ بقدر منزلته في الإسلام  
 401 وقدمه فترغَّب في ذلك عن سنة رسول الله<sup>c</sup> واتبع<sup>3</sup> فيه غير سبيل  
 402 الهدى وقال الله <sup>d</sup>وَمَنْ يُشَاقِقِ الرَّسُولَ مِنْ بَعْدِ مَا تَبَيَّنَ لَهُ  
 403 الْهُدَى وَيَتَّبِعْ غَيْرَ سَبِيلِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ نُوَلِّهِ مَا تَوَلَّى وَنُصَلِّهِ جَهَنَّمَ  
 404 وَسَاءَتْ مَصِيرًا<sup>d</sup> ه [48] وعزل الفقهاء من أصحاب رسول الله  
 405 واستعمل السفهاء<sup>e</sup> من ذوى قرابته وهم [حديثة<sup>5</sup> أسنانهم<sup>6</sup>] جفافة  
 406 عن الحق جهالة بكثير من السنن في أمور كثيرة من المعاصي  
 407 ليس كلها تُحْصَى اتبع فيها هواه وحكم فيها غير الحق وقال  
 408 الله <sup>f</sup>يَا دَاوُدُ إِنَّا جَعَلْنَاكَ خَلِيفَةً فِي الْأَرْضِ فَاحْكُم بَيْنَ النَّاسِ

MSS خدنته<sup>5</sup> HX من<sup>4</sup> HX واتبع<sup>3</sup> MSS فيواسوهم<sup>2</sup> ST ءالله<sup>1</sup> HX الله<sup>1</sup>

HX اسباهم N اشياهم S اساهم<sup>6</sup>

(وَمَنْ يَرْغَبْ عَنْ مِلَّةِ إِبْرَاهِيمَ إِلَّا مَنْ سَفِهَ نَفْسَهُ ...) Cf. 2: 130 <sup>c-c</sup>

(...) قالوا أنؤمن كما آمن السفهاء ...) Cf. 2: 13 <sup>e</sup> f-z 38:26

d-d 4: 115, as at ll. 65–67 above

in rainwatered places belonging to the bedouin and let his retinue and family graze their animals in it. But God says, 'Say: Have you considered the provision God has sent down for you, and you have made some of it unlawful and some lawful? Say: Has God given you leave, or do you forge against God? What will they think, who forge falsehood against God, on the Day of Resurrection? God is bountiful to men; but most of them are not thankful' (10: 59 f).

47. He excluded the bedouin from holy war because he grudged them a share in the stipends. But God says, 'Say to the bedouin who were left behind: You shall be called against a people possessed of great might to fight them, or they surrender. If you obey, God will give you a goodly wage; but if you turn your backs, as you turned your backs before, He will chastise you with a painful chastisement' (48: 16). The Messenger of God, and after him Abū Bakr and 'Umar, had called upon them to join the Muslims in holy war, and had given them an equal share of the revenues, except that they would favour one man over another in accordance with his standing and seniority in Islam. Here (too) 'Uthmān shunned the *sunna* of God's Messenger and followed a way other than that of guidance. But God says, 'Whoso makes a breach with the Messenger after the guidance has become clear to him, and follows a way other than that of the believers, him We shall turn over to what he has turned to and We shall roast him in Gehenna — an evil homecoming' (4: 115).

48. He dismissed companions of the Messenger of God who understood (the Book and *sunna*) and appointed foolish relatives of his who were young of age (?), insensitive to the truth, and ignorant of many precedents (set by the Prophet, Abū Bakr, and 'Umar). (Those are) among the countless sins which 'Uthmān committed by following his own whim instead of judging rightfully. But God says, 'David, behold, We have appointed thee a caliph on earth; therefore judge rightfully between men

409 بالحقّ ولا<sup>1</sup> تَتَّبِعِ الْهَوَىٰ فَيُضِلَّكَ عَنْ سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ إِنَّ الَّذِينَ يَضِلُّونَ عَنْ  
 410 سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ لَهُمْ عَذَابٌ شَدِيدٌ بِمَا نَسُوا يَوْمَ الْحِسَابِ<sup>2</sup> ه وقال<sup>3</sup> وَمَنْ  
 411 أَضَلُّ مِمَّنْ اتَّبَعَ هَوَاهُ بِغَيْرِ هُدًى مِنَ اللَّهِ إِنَّ اللَّهَ لَا يَهْدِي الْقَوْمَ  
 412 الظَّالِمِينَ<sup>4</sup> ه [49] وكَلَّمَ الْمُؤْمِنُونَ فِيمَا رَكِبَ مِنْ مَعَاصِي اللَّهِ وَرَاجَعُوهُ فِيهَا  
 413 وَنَصَحُوا لَهُ وَأَدَّوْا الَّذِي كَانَ عَلَيْهِمْ مِنَ الْحَقِّ فَاتَّهَمَ نَصِيحَتَهُمْ وَسَفَّهَ  
 414 رَأْيَهُمْ وَشَتَمَهُمْ وَأَذَاهُمْ وَأَخْرَجَ طَائِفَةً مِنْ دِيَارِهِمْ بِغَيْرِ حَقٍّ  
 415 فَأَخْرَجَ<sup>5</sup> أَبَا ذَرٍّ وَأَخْرَجَ عَامِرَ بْنَ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ وَأَخْرَجَ عَبْدَ اللَّهِ بْنَ مَسْعُودٍ  
 416 وَأَخْرَجَ حُذَيْفَةَ بْنَ الْيَمَانِ وَأَخْرَجَ زَيْدَ بْنَ صُوحَانَ وَضَرَبَ  
 417 عَمَّارَ بْنَ يَاسِرٍ حَتَّى فَتَقَ بَطْنَهُ وَقَالَ اللَّهُ<sup>6</sup> وَإِذْ أَخَذْنَا<sup>3</sup> مِيثَاقَكُمْ  
 418 لَا تَسْفِكُونَ دِمَاءَكُمْ وَلَا تُخْرِجُونَ<sup>4</sup> أَنْفُسَكُمْ مِنْ دِيَارِكُمْ ثُمَّ أَقْرَرْتُمْ  
 419 وَأَنْتُمْ تَشْهَدُونَ ه ثُمَّ أَنْتُمْ هُوَلَاءِ تَقْتُلُونَ أَنْفُسَكُمْ وَتُخْرِجُونَ  
 420 فَرِيقًا مِنْكُمْ مِنْ دِيَارِهِمْ تَظَاهَرُونَ عَلَيْهِم بِالْإِثْمِ وَالْعُدْوَانِ  
 421 وَإِنْ يَأْتِوكُمْ أُسَارَىٰ تُفَادُوهُمْ<sup>5</sup> وَهُوَ مُحَرَّمٌ عَلَيْكُمْ إِخْرَاجَهُمْ  
 422 أَفَتُؤْمِنُونَ<sup>6</sup> بِبَعْضِ الْكِتَابِ وَتَكْفُرُونَ بِبَعْضٍ فَمَا جَزَاءُ مَنْ  
 423 يَفْعَلُ ذَلِكَ مِنْكُمْ إِلَّا خِزْيٌ فِي الْحَيَاةِ الدُّنْيَا وَيَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ يُرَدُّونَ  
 424 إِلَىٰ أَشَدِّ الْعَذَابِ وَمَا اللَّهُ بِغَافِلٍ عَمَّا تَعْمَلُونَ ه أُولَئِكَ الَّذِينَ  
 425 أَشْتَرَوْا<sup>7</sup> الْحَيَاةَ الدُّنْيَا بِالْآخِرَةِ فَلَا يُخَفَّفُ عَنْهُمْ الْعَذَابُ وَلَا  
 426 هُمْ يُنصَرُونَ<sup>6</sup> ه [50] وَبَعَثَ جَوَاسِيسَ يَسْتَمْعُونَ لَهُ طَعْنَ النَّاسِ  
 427 عَلَيْهِ فَإِذَا سَمِعُوا الْكَلِمَةَ مِنَ الرَّجُلِ رَفَعُوهَا إِلَيْهِ فَحَرَمَهُ بِهَا حَقَّهُ

من فى الله

1 HX فلا 2 HX واخرج 3 S ST ] اخذ الله N HX 4 N تخرجوا 5 HX تفادوهم  
 6 HX افتأمنون 7-7 N حياة بالدنيا

and follow no whim, lest it lead thee astray from the way of God. Surely those who go astray from the way of God — there awaits them a terrible chastisement, for that they have forgotten the Day of Reckoning’ (38: 26). And: ‘And who is further astray than he who follows his whim without guidance from God? Surely God guides not the people of the evildoers’ (28: 50).

49. The believers talked to him about the sins he was committing against God, remonstrated with him about them and gave sincere advice, and (thus) did their duty. But he was suspicious of their advice, declared their opinion foolish, poured abuse on them, hurt them, and expelled some of them from their homes without justification. He expelled Abū Dharr, ‘Āmir b. ‘Abdallāh, ‘Abdallāh b. Mas‘ūd, Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān, and Zayd b. Šūḥān. And he beat ‘Ammār b. Yāsir until he made his bowels burst. But God says, ‘And when God took compact with you: You shall not shed your own blood, neither expel your own from your habitations; then you confirmed it, and yourselves bore witness. Then there you are killing one another, and expelling a party of you from their habitations, conspiring against them in sin and enmity; and if they come to you as captives, you ransom them; yet their expulsion was forbidden to you. What, do you believe in part of the Book and disbelieve in part? What shall be the recompense of those of you who do that, but degradation in the present life, and on the Day of Resurrection to be returned unto the most terrible of chastisement. And God is not heedless of the things you do. Those who have purchased the present life at the price of the world to come — for them the chastisement shall not be lightened, neither shall they be helped’ (2: 84–6).

50. He sent out spies to listen to people’s criticism of him. When they heard a man say something, they reported it to him, and he would then deprive him of his rightful share

- 428 من فيء الله وعاقب رجالاً في ذلك بانتزاع أموالهم التي في أيديهم
- 429 والجلد والتعزير وقال الله <sup>a</sup> يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا لَا تَأْكُلُوا أَمْوَالَكُم
- 430 بَيْنَكُمْ بِالْبَاطِلِ إِلَّا أَنْ تَكُونَ تِجَارَةً عَنْ تَرَاضٍ مِنْكُمْ وَلَا تَقْتُلُوا
- 431 أَنْفُسَكُمْ إِنَّ اللَّهَ كَانَ بِكُمْ رَحِيمًا ه وَمَنْ يَفْعَلْ ذَلِكَ عَدُوًّا وظُلْمًا
- 432 فَسَوْفَ نُصَلِّيهِ نَارًا وَكَانَ ذَلِكَ عَلَى اللَّهِ يَسِيرًا ه [51] فَلَمَّا رَأَى الْمُؤْمِنُونَ
- 433 تَرْكَهُ حَكَمَ اللَّهُ وَرَغِبْتَهُ عَنْ سَبِيلِ مَنْ هَدَى اللَّهُ قَبْلَهُ <sup>1</sup> فِي تَعْطِيلِهِ
- 434 الْحُدُودِ وَإِدَالَتِهِ الْمَالَ وَحِرْمَانِهِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ حَقَّهُمْ مِنْ فِيءِ اللَّهِ
- 435 الَّذِي أَفَاءَهُ عَلَيْهِمْ وَوَضَعَهُ الصَّدَقَةَ فِي غَيْرِ مَوْضِعِهَا الَّذِي وَضَعَهَا
- 436 اللَّهُ فِيهِ وَإِخْرَاجِهِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ مِنْ دِيَارِهِمْ وَبِلَادِهِمْ <sup>2</sup> سَارُوا مِنْ
- 437 كُلِّ الْأَرْضِ لِيَقَاتِلُوهُ [52] فَلَمَّا نَزَلَ بِهِ أَوْلَاهُمْ وَأَيَقِنُ أَنَّهَمْ مَوَاقِعُوهُ
- 438 أَرْسَلَ إِلَى الْمُؤْمِنِينَ مِنَ الْمُهَاجِرِينَ وَالْأَنْصَارِ إِنِّي أَتُوبُ إِلَى اللَّهِ
- 439 وَأَرَدْتُ الْمِظَالِمَ عَلَى أَهْلِهَا وَأَقِيمِ الْحُدُودَ وَأَعْطَاهُمْ عَلَى ذَلِكَ عَهْدَ اللَّهِ
- 440 وَمِيثَاقَهُ لِأَقْوَمٍ بِمَا أُعْطَيْتُمْ فَقَبِلُوا ذَلِكَ مِنْهُ وَرَجَعَ الْجَيْشُ
- 441 عَنْهُ فَلَمْ يَنْزِعْ عَنْ مَعْصِيَةٍ كَانَ يَعْمَلُ بِهَا وَلَمْ يَرُدُّ <sup>3</sup> مِظْلَمَةً عَلَى
- 442 أَهْلِهَا وَلَمْ يُقِمِ حَدًّا غَيْرَ أَنَّهُ جَلَدَ الْوَلِيدَ بْنَ عَقْبَةَ فِي الْخَمْرِ وَأَبَى
- 443 أَنْ يَقْتُلَهُ بِالرَّجُلِ الَّذِي قَتَلَهُ <sup>4</sup> [53] وَكَتَبَ بَرْوَسٌ <sup>5</sup> الْمُسْلِمِينَ حِينَ رَجَعُوا
- 444 عَنْهُ إِلَى عَامِلِ مَصْرَ إِذْ أَنْكَرُوا عَلَيْهِ مَعَاصِيَ اللَّهِ وَنَهَوْهُ عَنْهَا
- 445 أَنَّهَمْ قَدْ حَارَبُوا اللَّهَ وَرَسُولَهُ فَيَنْهَى مَنْ أَمَرَ بِقَتْلِهِ وَمِنْهُمْ مَنْ أَمَرَ
- 446 بِقِطْعِ يَدَيْهِ وَرِجْلَيْهِ مِنْ خِلَافٍ <sup>b</sup> ه وَكَتَبَ إِلَى مُعَاوِيَةَ أَنْ أَبْعَثْ

N بروس S HX برؤوس <sup>5</sup> MSS قتل <sup>4</sup> HX يرد <sup>3</sup> MSS وبلغهم <sup>2</sup> HX قلبه <sup>1</sup>

إِنَّمَا جَزَاءُ الَّذِينَ يُحَارِبُونَ اللَّهَ وَرَسُولَهُ ... أَنْ يُقْتَلُوا أَوْ يُصَلَّبُوا أَوْ تُقَطَّعَ <sup>b-b</sup> Cf. 5: 33: <sup>a-a</sup> 4: 29 f  
أَيْدِيهِمْ وَأَرْجُلُهُمْ مِنْ خِلَافٍ أَوْ يُنْفَوْا مِنَ الْأَرْضِ ...

in God's *ḥay'* on account of it. Others he punished by confiscating the property they owned, by having them flogged, or by subjecting them to discretionary punishment. But God says, 'O believers, consume not your goods between you in vanity, except there be trading, by your agreeing together. And kill not one another. Surely God is compassionate to you. But whosoever does that in transgression and wrongfully, him we shall certainly roast at a Fire; and that for God is an easy matter' (4: 29 f).

51. When the believers saw how he abandoned God's judgement and shunned the path of those whom God had guided before him by suspending the fixed penalties (*ḥudūd*), turning wealth into something taken in turns, depriving believers of their rights in the booty bestowed on them by God, putting the *ṣadaqa* to uses other than those assigned to it by God, and expelling the believers from their homes and their lands, then they set out from every land to fight him.

52. When the first (contingent) descended on him and he realized that they were coming to attack him, he sent word to the believers from among the Emigrants and Helpers, saying, 'I repent unto God. I will redress the grievances of those who have been wronged and I will apply the *ḥudūd*'. On that he gave them God's oath and compact, (swearing) that he would abide by what he had promised them. They accepted that, so the army turned back. But he did not refrain from any sin that he had been practising, nor did he redress any grievances or apply any *ḥadd*, except that he had al-Walīd b. 'Uqba lashed for drinking wine; he still refused to execute him for the man he had killed.

53. When the Muslims left him to go back, having reproached him for his sins against God and told him to desist, he wrote to the governor of Egypt about their leaders, (claiming) that they had made war on God and His messenger. Some he ordered to be killed, others to have their hands and feet cut off alternately (cf. 5: 33). He also wrote to Mu'āwiya, 'Send

447 إلى أهل الشام على الصعب والذلول فإن أهل المدينة قد كفروا  
 448 وقد خلعوا الطاعة [54] فظهر المسلمون على كتابه إلى عامل مصر مع  
 449 بريد<sup>1</sup> عليه برده وتحتة جملة وعليه وسمه يزعمون أنه أبو  
 450 الأعور السلمي<sup>2</sup> معه رجل من خولان فرجعوا إلى عثمان بالكتاب  
 451 فقالوا ألم ترم أنك ستتوب قال بلى<sup>3</sup> قالوا<sup>4</sup> فما لهذا الكتاب  
 452 قال لا أدري قالوا<sup>5</sup> فإن كنت بريئاً فسأل كاتبك لم كتبه<sup>6</sup> فقد عرفنا خطه  
 453 وأنظر من أعطيت خاتمك يختم به على هذا الكتاب فإن كنت تقول  
 454 استنقش على خاتمي وشبهه بكتابة<sup>7</sup> كاتبي فسأل هذا البريد  
 455 من بعته وسأل صاحب ظهره من أمره أن يدفع إلى هذا البريد  
 456 جملك وسأل البريد من أعطاه بردك فإن أقررت لنا هذا الأمر<sup>8</sup>  
 457 على قراره<sup>9</sup> فقد صدقت [لما ان اخذ]<sup>10</sup> وضاعت عليه المعاذير  
 458 إلا أن يبوء<sup>11</sup> به على نفسه ه قال لا علم لي بهذا كله ولو كان  
 459 من ذلك بريئاً لم يصلح له في دين الله أن يدع هذا الأمر أبداً  
 460 حتى يعلم صاحبه [55] فلما تبين للمؤمنين أنه صاحبه وأنى أن  
 461 يقر به قالوا سنعرض عن هذا إن أنت أقت الحدود ورددت  
 462 المظالم وأمّرت علينا من لا نتهم ولا نخاف على دمائنا فأبى  
 463 عليهم فقالوا فأردد علينا أمرنا فإنه ليس بميراث ورثته  
 464 من أحد من أهلك فلا يحل لنا نزعك منك فنستعمل علينا من لا  
 465 نتهم على ديننا ونجري عليك سهمك مع المسلمين فإن تك بريئاً

مما اتهمناك

MSS بریده<sup>1</sup>    MSS معه<sup>2</sup>    S N بلا<sup>3</sup>    HX قال<sup>4</sup>    HX-<sup>5</sup>    MSS كتب<sup>6</sup>  
 MSS بكتاب<sup>7</sup>    S N لنا +<sup>8</sup>    S N اقراره<sup>9</sup>    MSS ]?<sup>10</sup>    MSS سوا<sup>11</sup>

me the Syrians on (every) camel you have, refractory or docile, for the people of Medina have turned infidel and renounced their obedience’.

54. But the Muslims intercepted his letter to the governor of Egypt as it was being carried by a courier wearing his mantle and riding his camel, which bore his brand. They claim that he was Abū ’l-Aʿwar al-Sulamī, accompanied by a man from Khawlān. So they returned to ʿUthmān with the letter and asked him, ‘Did you not claim that you would repent?’. ‘Yes’, he replied. ‘So what about this letter?’ He said he did not know. They said ‘If you are innocent, then ask your secretary why he wrote it, for we recognize his hand. And try to remember whom you gave your seal to so that he was in a position to seal this letter with it. If you are going to say that someone has forged the seal and imitated your secretary’s handwriting, then ask this courier who sent him; and ask the man in charge of your riding camels who ordered him to hand over your camel to this courier; and ask the courier who gave him your mantle. If you admit to us what is clearly the fact of the matter, (we shall know that) you are telling the truth’. When [. (?) .] he was at a loss for excuses that would not rebound against himself, he said, ‘I know nothing about any of this’. But if he had been innocent, it would not have been right for him, in God’s religion, ever to let the matter rest until he knew who was behind it.

55. When it became clear to the believers that he was behind it himself, and he refused to admit it, they said, ‘We will let this pass if you will apply the *ḥudūd*, redress grievances and appoint over us people whom we do not distrust and (under whom) we will not fear for our lives’. When he refused them that, they said, ‘In that case return our command to us. For it is not an inheritance which has passed to you from a member of your family and which we could not lawfully take away from you; we will appoint over ourselves someone whom we do not suspect (of going against) our religion and give you your share (of the *faʿ*) along with the Muslims. If you are innocent

466 مَّا أَتَهَمْنَاكَ بِهِ فَمَسِيرُكَ اللَّهُ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ وَيَأْجُرُكَ بِرَدِّكَ إِلَيْنَا أَمْرًا<sup>1</sup>  
 467 حِينَ أَتَهَمْنَاكَ وَإِنْ تَكُنْ \\\\ 2<sup>a</sup> فَاللَّهُ حَسِيكَ<sup>3</sup> فَإِنَّهُ قَدْ تَوَلَّى الرَّجُلَ  
 468 الشَّيْءَ مِنْ أَمْوَالِ الْيَتَامَى إِذَا هُوَ لَمْ<sup>b</sup> يُؤْفِرْ عَلَيْهِمْ أَمْوَالَهُمْ<sup>b</sup> وَأَتَهَمُوهُ  
 469 نُزِعَتْ مِنْهُ فُؤُؤَيْهَا غَيْرُهُ وَأَنْتَ قَدْ وُلِّيتَ أُمَّةَ مُحَمَّدٍ وَهُوَ<sup>4</sup> أَكْبَرُ  
 470 مِنْ أَمْوَالِ الْيَتَامَى فَلَمْ تَعْدِلْ فِيهِ فَارْدُدْ إِلَيْهِمْ أَمْوَالَهُمْ فَأَبَى  
 471 عَلَيْهِمْ < ذَلِكَ ><sup>5</sup> [56] فَبَيْنَا هُمْ يَرِاجِعُونَهُ وَتَخْتَلِفُ بَيْنَهُمُ الرِّسَالُ رَمَى رَجُلٌ  
 472 مِنْ آلِ كَثِيرِ بْنِ الصَّلْتِ رَجُلًا مِنَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ مِنْ أَسْلَمَ<sup>6</sup> يُقَالُ لَهُ  
 473 دِينَارُ بْنُ عِيَاضٍ بَسَّهْمٍ فَقَتَلَهُ فَأَرْسَلُوا إِلَيْهِ إِنْ فَلَانًا رَمَى  
 474 دِينَارًا فَقَتَلَهُ فَأَقْدَهُ بِهِ قَالَ لَا عِلْمَ لِي بِقَاتِلِهِ فَأَرْسَلُوا إِلَيْهِ  
 475 نَحْنُ نُنْقِمُ<sup>7</sup> عَلَى قَاتِلِهِ الْبَيْتَةَ فَأَقْرَرُ دَفْعَهُ فَأَبَى عَلَيْهِمْ ذَلِكَ [57] فَلَمَّا  
 476 أَعْذَرَ الْمُؤْمِنُونَ فِي طَلِبِهِمُ الْحَقَّ < مِنْ > قَبْلِهِ فَمَنْعَهُمْ إِيَّاهُ وَحَالَ دُونَهُ  
 477 قَاتَلُوهُ فَقَتَلَهُ الْمُسْلِمُونَ عَلَى ضَلَالَتِهِ غَيْرَ تَائِبٍ مِنْهَا وَقَتَلُوا  
 478 مَعَهُ نَفْرًا مِنْ أَهْلِ الْمَدِينَةِ مِنْهُمْ الْمُغِيرَةُ بْنُ الْأَخْنَسِ<sup>8</sup> عَلَى مِثْلِ  
 479 الَّذِي هُوَ عَلَيْهِ مِنَ الضَّلَالَةِ فَحَكَمُوا فِيهِمْ بِحُكْمِ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ فِيمَنْ  
 480 يَجَلُّ دَمُهُ مِمَّنْ يَسْتَقْبَلُ قَبْلَتَهُ فَلَمْ يَسْبُوا ذُرَارِيَهُمْ وَلَمْ يَخْسُوا  
 481 أَمْوَالَهُمْ وَلَمْ يَقْطَعُوا الْمِيرَاثَ مِنْهُمْ وَلَمْ يَسْتَنْكِحُوا نِسَاءَهُمْ  
 482 حَتَّى اعْتَدَدُوا وَحَلَلْنَ لِلْأَزْوَاجِ ه [58] ثُمَّ إِنَّ الْمُسْلِمِينَ  
 483 بَايَعُوا عَلِيًّا وَأَخَذُوا عَلَيْهِ الْعَمَلَ بِكِتَابِ اللَّهِ وَالِاتِّبَاعِ لِمَا<sup>9</sup> سَنَّ  
 484 نَبِيُّهُمْ وَالْخُلَفَاءُ بَعْدَهُ فَلَمْ يَسْتَطِعْ أَحَدٌ<sup>10</sup> مِنَ النَّاسِ<sup>10</sup> يَوْمئِذٍ أَنْ يَقُولَ إِنَّهُ

1 -HX 2 MSS نطقًا 3 N HX حسيك 4 MSS فهو 5 Cf. I. 475 below

6 MSS اشيم; but see Commentary 7 HX نقم 8 N الاحنش 9 HX لمن 10-10 -HX

a-a Cf. 4:6 (... وَكَتَبَ بِاللَّهِ حَسِيًّا)

b-b Cf. 4:2 (... وَأَتُوا الْيَتَامَى أَمْوَالَهُمْ ...) and 4:6

(... فَأَدْفَعُوا إِلَيْهِمْ أَمْوَالَهُمْ ...)

of what we suspect you of, God will acquit you on the Day of Resurrection and reward you for having returned <our command> to us when we suspected you; and if you are [guilty?], God will take you to account (cf. 4: 6). Suppose that a man has been put in charge of some property belonging to orphans: if he fails to pay over their income (cf. 4: 2, 6) in full and they suspect him, it is taken away from him and placed in the charge of someone else. You have been put in charge of the government of Muḥammad's community, which is more important than the property of orphans, and you have failed to act equitably, so return the command of the Muslims to them'. But he refused them that.

56. While they were remonstrating with him and messengers were going to and fro between them, a man of the family of Kathīr b. al-Ṣalt shot a Muslim of Aslam called Dīnār b. ʿIyāḍ with an arrow and killed him; so they sent word to him that so-and-so had shot and killed Dīnār and that they wanted retaliation. But, he said that he did not know who had killed him. They sent words that they could adduce proof against his killer, so would he confirm that he would be handed over? He refused.

57. When the Muslims had made every effort to persuade ʿUthmān to do what was right and he was still denying them satisfaction and obstructing (justice), they took to fighting him. And so the Muslims killed him for going astray without repenting. With him they killed a number of Medinese, including al-Mughīra b. al-Akhnas, for going astray as he had. They treated them according to the judgement passed by the Messenger of God on people of his *qibla* who had committed a capital offence. Hence they did not enslave their offspring, treat their property as booty, sever relations of inheritance with them, or bed their women before they had completed their waiting periods and become lawful to their (new) husbands.

58. Then the Muslims paid allegiance to ʿAlī, having taken a promise from him that he would act in accordance with the Book of God and follow the precedents set by their Prophet and the two caliphs after him. Nobody at the time could say that

485 جَارٍ فِي حُكْمٍ أَوْ أَضَاعَ حَدًّا أَوْ قَسَمَ فَلَمْ يَعدِلْ [59] وَلَكِنَّ طَلْحَةَ وَالزُّبَيْرَ  
 486 وَأَتْبَاعَهَا<sup>1</sup> لَمَّا أَخْطَأَتْهُمْ الإِمَارَةَ قَامُوا يَتَوَلَّوْنَ عِثَانَ وَيَطْلُبُونَ  
 487 بَدْمَهُ زَعَمُوا وَقَدْ كَانُوا مِنْ [أَحَدٍ]<sup>2</sup> النَّاسِ كُلَّهُمْ عَلَى عِثَانَ حَتَّى قَتَلَ وَ  
 488 أَشَدَّهُمْ<sup>3</sup> نَكَرَةً لَمَّا صَنَعَ وَأَحْرَصَهُمْ<sup>4</sup> عَلَى هَلَاكِهِ فَكَلَّمَهُمُ الْمَسْلُومُونَ يَوْمَ  
 489 الْجَمَلِ وَذَكَرُوهُمْ بِاللَّهِ وَالْإِسْلَامِ إِنْ يَبْغُوا عَلَيْهِمْ<sup>a</sup> وَإِنْ يَعْضُوهُمْ  
 490 قَتَلَهُمْ فَتَعَدَّوْا عَلَيْهِمُ الْحَقَّ وَخَرَقُوا إِلَيْهِمْ حِجَابَ الْإِسْلَامِ وَ  
 491 بَدَّوْهُمْ بِالْقِتَالِ فَنَصَرَ<sup>b</sup> اللَّهُ الْمُسْلِمِينَ وَأَرَاهِمُ مِنْ عَدُوِّهِمُ الَّذِي  
 492 يُحِبُّونَ فَهَزَمُوهُمْ بِإِذْنِ اللَّهِ<sup>c</sup> وَقَتَلُوا سَادَاتِهِمْ وَمَنْ لَا يَحْصِي عَدَدَهُ  
 493 مِنْهُمْ فَحَكَمُوا فِيهِمْ بِحُكْمِ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ فِي الْمُحَدِّثِينَ مِنْ أَهْلِ قَبْلَتِهِ وَ  
 494 بِحُكْمِهِمْ<sup>5</sup> فِي عِثَانَ وَمَنْ قَتَلُوا مَعَهُ [60] ثُمَّ سَارُوا حَتَّى لَقُوا أَهْلَ الشَّامِ  
 495 مُعَاوِيَةَ وَشَيْعَتَهُ مَتَوَلِّينَ لِعِثَانَ رَاضِينَ بِالْأَمْرِ الَّذِي كَانَ  
 496 عَلَيْهِ هَذَا فَدَعَاهُمُ الْمَسْلُومُونَ إِلَى الْحَقِّ وَذَكَرُوهُمْ بِاللَّهِ وَالْإِسْلَامِ  
 497 إِنْ يَبْغُوا عَلَيْهِمْ وَإِنْ يَعْضُوهُمْ قَتَلَهُمْ فَتَعَدَّوْا عَلَيْهِمُ الْحَقَّ  
 498 فَاقْتَتَلُوا بِصِفِّينَ قِتَالًا شَدِيدًا حَتَّى قَرِحَ النَّاسُ وَكَثُرَتِ الْقَتْلَى  
 499 [61] ثُمَّ إِنْ عَلِيًّا رَغِبَ عَنْ سَبِيلِ الْمُسْلِمِينَ الَّتِي مَضُوا عَلَيْهَا فَحُكِّمْ غَيْرَ  
 500 اللَّهِ فِي أَمْرِ قَدْ حَكَّمَ اللَّهُ فِيهِ وَقَالَ اللَّهُ<sup>d</sup> وَاللَّهُ<sup>e</sup> يَقْضِي بِالْحَقِّ وَالَّذِينَ  
 501 يَدْعُونَ مِنْ دُونِهِ لَا يَقْضُونَ بِشَيْءٍ إِنْ اللَّهُ هُوَ السَّمِيعُ الْبَصِيرُ<sup>d</sup> ه  
 502 وَقَالَ<sup>e</sup> أَلَيْسَ اللَّهُ بِأَحْكَمَ الْحَاكِمِينَ<sup>e</sup> ه وَكَانَ حُكْمُ اللَّهِ فِي عَدُوِّهِمْ أَنْ  
 503 يَقَاتِلُوهُمْ<sup>f</sup> حَتَّى يَفْقَهُوا<sup>g</sup> إِلَى أَمْرِ اللَّهِ<sup>f</sup> وَحَتَّى لَا تَكُونَ فِتْنَةٌ وَيَكُونَ الدِّينُ

لِلَّهِ فَعَطَلُوا

N يحكم S بحكم<sup>5</sup> MSS واحرصه<sup>4</sup> MSS اشده<sup>3</sup> MSS اشده<sup>2</sup> MSS واتباعهم<sup>1</sup> HX يحكم  
 HX يفؤ N يفوا S يفئوا<sup>7</sup> HX -<sup>6</sup> HX

وَأَنْ طَائِفَتَانِ مِنَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ اقْتَتَلُوا فَأَصْلَحُوا بَيْنَهُمْ فَإِنْ بَغَتَ إِحْدَاهُمَا عَلَى الْأُخْرَى فَقَاتِلَا الَّتِي تَبَغَى حَتَّى تَنْبَغِيَ إِلَى أَمْرِ اللَّهِ... (ولقد صدقكم الله وعده إذ تحسونهم بإذنه... من بعد ما أراكم ما 3: 152 Cf. above)  
 a-a Cf. 49: 9 (invoked at l. 503 below):  
 b Cf. 61: 13 (quoted at l. 130 above)  
 c-c Cf. 3: 152  
 d-d 40: 20  
 e-e 95: 8  
 f-f Cf. 49: 9 (n. a above)  
 g-z 2: 193, 8: 39

he had judged unjustly, neglected a fixed penalty (*ḥadd*), or divided (revenues) unfairly.

59. But Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr, and their followers rose (up in arms), when the command eluded them, and declared for ʿUthmān, seeking vengeance for his blood — or so they said — they of all people, who had been among the fiercest opponents of ʿUthmān until he was killed, the strongest critics of his deeds, and the persons most bent on his destruction. The Muslims reasoned with them on the Day of the Camel and admonished them in the name of God and Islam not to transgress against them (cf. 49: 9) and not to put them in the position of having to kill them. But they violated their right (not to be attacked by fellow Muslims) and tore the veil of Islam (by charging?) towards them and starting to fight them. God helped the Muslims and showed them of their enemy what they wanted so that they routed them with God’s permission (cf. 3: 152) and killed their leaders along with countless others. They treated them according to the judgement passed by the Messenger of God on mischief-makers among the people of his *qibla* and the judgement applied by themselves to ʿUthmān and the people they had killed along with him.

60. Then they went to meet the Syrians, Muʿāwiya and his party, who had declared for ʿUthmān and approved of his ways. The Muslims called them to what is right and implored them by God and Islam not to transgress against them and not to put them in the position of having to kill them. But they violated their right (to freedom from attack), and so they fought a fierce battle at Ṣiffīn until people were wounded and many were killed.

61. Then ʿAlī abandoned the path the Muslims had followed in the past by making somebody other than God the judge in a case already settled by God. God says, ‘And God shall decide justly, and those that they call on, apart from Him, shall not decide by any means; surely God is the all-hearing, the all-seeing’ (40: 20). And: ‘Is God not the justest of judges?’ (95: 8) God’s judgement concerning their enemy was that they should fight them till they reverted to God’s command (cf. 49: 9) and ‘till there is no *fitna* and the religion

504 <sup>z</sup> فَعَطَّلُوا حُكْمَ اللَّهِ فِي ذَلِكَ وَرَغَبُوا عَنْهُ وَحَرَّفُوا كَلَامَ اللَّهِ  
 505 عَنْ مَوَاضِعِهِ <sup>a</sup> وَتَأَوَّلُوا الْقُرْآنَ عَلَى غَيْرِ مَا أَنْزَلَهُ اللَّهُ وَقَالَ اللَّهُ  
 506 <sup>b</sup> ائْتَحَمَكُمُ الْجَاهِلِيَّةُ يَبْعُونَ وَمَنْ أَحْسَنُ مِنَ اللَّهِ حُكْمًا لِقَوْمٍ يُوقِنُونَ <sup>h</sup>  
 507 [62] وَكَانَ الَّذِي رَضُوا بِحُكْمِهِ وَتَحَاكَمُوا إِلَيْهِ مِنْ عَدُوِّهِمْ وَجَعَلُوا  
 508 حُكْمَ اللَّهِ تَبَعًا لِحُكْمِهِ مِنْ أَشَدِّهِمْ لَهُ عَدَاوَةٌ وَأَحْرَصَهُمْ عَلَى  
 509 هَلَكَتِهِمْ [وَأَحَدَهُمْ] <sup>1</sup> عَلَى <sup>c</sup> إِطْفَاءِ نُورِ اللَّهِ <sup>e</sup> وَقَالَ اللَّهُ لِنَبِيِّهِ  
 510 <sup>d</sup> قُلْ <sup>2</sup> أَفَعَبَّرَ اللَّهُ أَنْتَعَى حُكْمًا وَهُوَ الَّذِي أَنْزَلَ إِلَيْكُمُ الْكِتَابَ  
 511 مُفَصَّلًا <sup>d</sup> ه فَابْتَعَى عَلَى غَيْرِ اللَّهِ حُكْمًا وَحُكْمَ أَهْلِ الْجُورِ فِي دِينِ  
 512 اللَّهِ [63] وَزَعَمَ أَنَّ مَنْ لَزِمَ طَاعَةَ رَبِّهِ فَأَبَى أَنْ يَحْكُمَ غَيْرَ اللَّهِ فِي  
 513 أَمْرٍ قَدْ حَكَمَ اللَّهُ فِيهِ كَافِرٌ بَرَّتْ مِنْهُ الذِّمَّةُ وَأَنَّ اتِّبَاعَ سَبِيلِ  
 514 قَتْلَى <sup>3</sup> الْمُؤْمِنِينَ وَمَوْتَاهُمْ قَبْلَ تَحْكِيمِ الْحَكَمِينَ ضَلَالَةٌ وَهُوَ فِي  
 515 ذَلِكَ يَتَوَلَّاهُمْ وَيَرْجُو لَهُمْ <sup>e</sup> بِالْحَيَاةِ وَالرِّزْقِ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ <sup>e</sup> وَزَعَمَ <أَنَّ>  
 516 مَنْ أَقَامَ عَلَى مَا <sup>4</sup> كَانَ هُوَ عَلَيْهِ نَفْسَهُ يَوْمَ قَتَلَ عِثَانَ وَيَوْمَ  
 517 الْجَمَلِ وَدَعَا أَهْلَ الضَّلَالَةِ إِلَى مَرَاجَعَةِ الْحَقِّ وَإِلَى وِلَايَةِ الْمُسْلِمِينَ  
 518 وَالْبِرَاءَةِ مِمَّنْ مَضَى مِنْ أَيْمَةِ الظُّلْمِ فَإِنْ تَرَكَوْا ذَلِكَ وَأَعْرَضُوا  
 519 عَنْهُ جَاهِدْهُمْ عَلَيْهِ ضَالًّا <sup>5</sup> حَلَالٌ لَهُ دَمُهُ وَهُوَ يَزْعُمُ أَنَّهُ قَدْ  
 520 كَانَ مُسْلِمًا حَرَامَ الدَّمِ <sup>h</sup> [64] فَلَمَّا رَأَى الْمُسْلِمُونَ تَسْفِيهِهِ حُكْمَ  
 521 اللَّهِ وَرَغَبْتَهُ عَنْ سَبِيلِ مَنْ مَضَى مِنَ الْمُهْتَدِينَ وَتَرَكَهُ الْأَمْرَ  
 522 الَّذِي جَاهَدُوا عَلَيْهِ النَّاسَ عِنْدَ نَزُولِ الْفِتْنَةِ وَتَحْكِيمِهِ فِي دِينِ اللَّهِ

S N قتلا <sup>3</sup> -ST <sup>2</sup> HX واحدهم N واخذهم S واحدهم [ Madlung ] وأجدتهم <sup>1</sup> or قتلا  
 HX من <sup>4</sup> MSS ضلال <sup>5</sup> MSS من <sup>4</sup> HX قتل

<sup>a-a</sup> Cf. 2: 75 (... يَسْمَعُونَ كَلَامَ اللَّهِ ثُمَّ يُحَرِّفُونَهُ ...) and 4: 46

(... يُحَرِّفُونَ الْكَلِمَ عَنْ مَوَاضِعِهِ ...) sim. 5: 13, 41 (always of Jews) <sup>b-b</sup> 5: 50 <sup>c-c</sup> Cf. 9: 32

(... يُرِيدُونَ أَنْ يُطْفِئُوا نُورَ اللَّهِ ...) sim. 61: 8 <sup>d-d</sup> 6: 114 <sup>e-e</sup> Cf. 3: 169 at ll. 123 f above

is God's' (2: 193, 8: 39). But they suspended God's judgement in this case, shunning it, and they distorted God's word by taking it out of context (cf. 4: 46 etc.) and interpreted the Qur'ān in a sense other than that in which it was sent down. God says: 'Is it the judgement of paganism, that they are seeking? Yet who is fairer in judgement than God, for a people having sure faith?' (5: 50).

62. The enemy whose judgement they were so happy to accept as to make him their judge, and thus to subordinate God's judgement to his, was among those most hostile to God, most bent on the destruction of the Muslims, and most eager to extinguish the light of God (cf. 9: 32 etc.). God says to His prophet: 'Say: What, shall I seek after any judge but God? For it is He who sent down to you the Book well-distinguished' (6: 114). But 'Alī did seek after a judge other than God, appointing people of injustice as judges in God's religion.

63. He claimed that those who clung to obedience to their Lord and who refused to let anyone but God be their judge of anything already settled by God were infidels who had forfeited their covenant of protection, and that it was misguided to follow the path of the believers who had been slain and died before the appointment of the two judges, though he was still declaring for them and hoping that they would find eternal life and sustenance with God (cf. 3: 169). He also branded as misguided those who upheld the principles on which he himself had acted on the day 'Uthmān was killed and on the Day of the Camel, (in other words those) who had called on the people of error to return to what is right (*haqq*) by siding with the Muslims, disowning past imams of wrongdoing, (warning them that,) if they refused and turned away, they would fight them over it in holy war (*jihād*) — those, he claimed, had forfeited their lives, though he admitted that they had (previously) been Muslims whose lives it would (therefore) have been unlawful to take.

64. When the Muslims saw how he was making a mockery of God's judgement, shunning the path of those who had been rightly guided in the past, abandoning what they had fought for when the *fitna* broke out, appointing someone other than God to be a judge in God's religion,

- 523 غير الله ونزوعه عن الأمر الذى بايعوه عليه<sup>1</sup> من قتاله
- 524 <sup>a</sup>عدوّ الله وعدوّهم<sup>a</sup> حتى تفتى نفسه أو<sup>2</sup> يظهر دينُ الله خلعوه
- 525 وخرجوا يحكّمون القرآن ويرضون بحُكم الله<sup>b</sup> وهو خيرُ الحاكمين<sup>b</sup>
- 526 مفارقين له فى تركه حُكم الله وإقراره بحُكم من كان يشهد أنه
- 527 كافرٌ عدوٌّ لله فتركوا شهوة الدنيا ولذتها وشرّوا الأنفسَ
- 528 ابتغاءَ مرّضة<sup>3</sup> الله<sup>c</sup> [65] ثمّ تتابعت على ذلك خوارج المسلمين
- 529 يحكّمون الله وحده ويرضون سبيل من مضى قبلهم من المسلمين
- 530 لا يقتلون ذرّيّة قومهم ولا يستحلّون فروج نسائهم ولا
- 531 يستعرضونهم ولا يخمسون أموالهم ولا يقطعون الميراث منهم
- 532 ويؤدّون الأمانة إليهم وإلى غيرهم ويوفون بعهودهم [ومن]<sup>4</sup> غيرهم
- 533 ويأمن عندهم<sup>d</sup> الكافئ والمُعترّل من قومهم<sup>d</sup> من غير أن يكونوا
- 534 يُشكّون فى ضلالتهم [ولا يُنزّلون لهم]<sup>5</sup> بين الحقّ والباطل منزلةً و<sup>e</sup>ليس
- 535 بعد الحقّ إلا الضلال<sup>e</sup> ه ويصلّون الرحم<sup>f</sup> ويعرفون<sup>f</sup> حقّ الجار و
- 536 الصاحب واليتيم وابن السبيل وما ملكت أيمانهم<sup>g</sup> ويتولّى ماضيهم
- 537 قاعدتهم<sup>6</sup> <ويعرف قاعدتهم><sup>7</sup> لماضيهم<sup>h</sup> الفضيلة التى أعطاه الله<sup>h</sup> يتحابّون بحبّ الله

1 MSS او يؤمن + 2 MSS [ و Madelung 3 MSS ST مرضات 4 MSS  
(cf. l. 846 below) ] ? 5 S N ولا تخاذلهم 6 HX (thus all MSS at l. 850 below) ولا تخاذلهم  
7 Cf. l. 926 below 8 S N وقاعدتهم 9

<sup>a-a</sup> Cf. 60:1 (n. i below) <sup>b-b</sup> 7:87, 10:109, 12:80 <sup>c-c</sup> Cf. 2:207  
(ومن الناس من يشرى نفسه ابتغاءَ مرّضة الله ...) <sup>d-d</sup> Cf. 4:90 f at ll. 242 f, 246 f  
above <sup>e-e</sup> Cf. 10:32 (... فَمَاذَا بَعَدَ الْحَقِّ إِلَّا الضَّلَالُ ...) <sup>f-f</sup> The Qurʾān  
commends those who maintain blood-ties (13:21 يُوصَلْ به أن يُوصَلْ rather than  
sever them (2:27, 13:25 يُقَطَّعُونَ ما أَمَرَ اللهُ به أن يُوصَلْ and cf.  
8:75, 33:6 (... وَأَوْلُوا الْأَرْحَامِ بَعْضُهُمْ أَوْلَىٰ بِبَعْضٍ فِي كِتَابِ اللَّهِ ...)) <sup>g-g</sup> Cf., e.g., 30:38  
(... فَاتِذَا الْقُرْآنِ يُقْرَأُ وَرَأَيْتَ الَّذِينَ يَخُفُّونَ مِنْهُ فَإِنَّهُمْ مِنَ الْآخِثِينَ الَّذِينَ يَأْمُرُونَ بِالضَّلَامِ وَالْجَبْرِ وَيَكْرَهُونَ الضَّلِيلَةَ). The most comprehensive list of those entitled  
to charity is at 4:36: وَالْجَارِ ذِي الْقُرْبَىٰ وَالْيَتَامَىٰ وَالْمَسْكِينِ وَالْجَارِ ذِي الْقُرْبَىٰ وَالْيَتَامَىٰ وَالْمَسْكِينِ وَالْمَسْكِينِ وَالْيَتَامَىٰ وَالْمَسْكِينِ وَالْمَسْكِينِ وَالْيَتَامَىٰ وَالْمَسْكِينِ ...  
<sup>h-h</sup> Cf. 4:95 at ll. 114-16 above

and betraying the cause in which they had given him their allegiance, namely to fight God's enemy and theirs (cf. 60: 1) till he perished or God's religion prevailed, then they deposed him and went out (to fight), making the Qur'ān their judge, satisfied with the judgement of God, who is the best of judges (cf. esp. 10: 109), and separating from 'Alī because he was rejecting the judgement of God and accepting the judgement of a man he used to declare an infidel and enemy of God. They gave up (all) desire for this life and its pleasure(s) and sold themselves out of desire for the approval of God (cf. 2: 207).

65. Then the Khārijite Muslims followed one another, adhering to that way. They would make God their sole judge and accept the path of the Muslims who had gone before them. They would not kill the offspring of their *qawm* or hold sexual intercourse with their women to be lawful. They would not expose their *qawm* to indiscriminate slaughter, treat their property as booty, or sever relations of inheritance with them. They would discharge their trusts to them and others, and honour their contracts [with them and?] others. Those members of their *qawm* who restrained (their hands and tongue) and withdrew from them would be safe with them, even though (the Muslims) would neither doubt their error [nor grant them?] a position between right and wrong, for there is nothing after truth but error (cf. 10: 32). They would maintain blood ties (cf. 13: 21, etc.) and respect the rights of neighbours, companions, orphans, travellers, and slaves (cf. 4: 36, etc.). Those who went out (to fight) would affiliate to those who stayed at home, <and those staying at home would acknowledge> the superiority which God has granted to those who go out (cf. 4: 95). They would love one another for the love of God

- 538 ويتولّى بعضهم بعضاً ابْتِغَاءَ مَرْضَاةِ اللَّهِ وَيُوَاسِي غَنِيَّهُمْ فَقِيرَهُمْ
- 539 ابْتِغَاءَ وَجْهِ اللَّهِ وَالِدَارِ الْآخِرَةِ إِذَا مَضَتْ مِنْهُمْ طَائِفَةٌ تَرَكَوْا لِمَنْ
- 540 [خَلْفَهُمْ]<sup>8</sup> مِنْ أَوْلِيَائِهِمْ عَلَى عَدُوِّهِمْ<sup>k</sup> الْحُجَّةَ الثَّابِتَةَ<sup>k</sup> عِنْدَ ذَوِي الْعَقُولِ
- 541 وَالْعِلْمِ بِأَمْرِ اللَّهِ فَمَضَى عَلَى هَذَا بَشَرٌ كَثِيرٌ مِنَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ ه [66] ثُمَّ خَرَجَ مِنْ

بعدهم

<sup>8</sup> MSS خلفهم

(... لا تَتَّخِذُوا عَدُوِّي وَعَدُوِّكُمْ أَوْلِيَاءَ تُلْقُونَ إِلَيْهِم بِالْمَوَدَّةِ 1: 60 esp. and 2: 207 (n. c above) Cf. <sup>i-i</sup> ...)  
 ... إن كنتم خرّجتم جهاداً في سبيلي وابتغاء مرضاتي ... <sup>i-j</sup> see II. 376 f above <sup>k-k</sup> see II. 56 f above

and affiliate to one another out of desire for God's approval (cf. esp. 60: 1). The rich among them would share with the poor out of desire for God's face (2: 272 etc.) and the last abode (cf. 28: 77). When a party of them went (out? passed away?), they would leave to the friends they left behind<sup>1</sup> the 'firm argument'<sup>2</sup> against their enemies (that counted) with people of understanding who knew God's command. Large numbers of believers proceeded in this way.

PART III

[The Azāriqa]

66. Then

<sup>1</sup> Reading *khallaḥūhum*. The MSS read *khalafahum* '(the friends who) succeeded them'.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 1. 56.

542 بعدهم ابن الأزرَق وأصحابه فكثوا ما شاء الله يسرون بسيرة  
 543 مَنْ كان قبلهم من الخوارج ثم إنهم<sup>a</sup> جَرَمَهُمْ شَنَّانٌ قَوْمِهِمْ<sup>a1</sup> أن أنزلوهم  
 544 بمنازل عبدة الأوثان فقطعوا الميراث منهم وحرّموا مناكتهم  
 545 وقد ناكحهم من يتولون ووارثهم فإن يكن ذلك هدئ عمل به من  
 546 يتولون فقد خالفوهم فيه ودانوا اليوم بالبراءة ممن عمل به و  
 547 إن يكن ذلك ضلالةً ضلّوا بتولّيهم<sup>2</sup> من عمل به [67] واستحلّوا سبّ  
 548 قومهم واستنكح نسائهم وخمس أموالهم وقتل ذراريهم واستعراضهم  
 549 ولم يكن من يتولون يستحلون شيئاً من ذلك في<sup>3</sup> قومهم فإن يكن  
 550 الذى عمل به من يتولون في<sup>3</sup> قومهم هدئ فقد خالفوهم فيه ودانوا  
 551 اليوم بالبراءة ممن عمل به وإن يكن غير هدئ فقد تولّوهم عليه  
 552 [68] وأبوا أن يُجيروا من استجارهم من قومهم حتى يسمع كلام الله  
 553 وهم يشهدون أنهم بمنازل عبدة الأوثان وقال الله لنبيه  
 554<sup>b</sup> وإن أحد من المشركين استجارك فأجره حتى يسمع كلام<sup>4</sup> الله ثم أبلغه  
 555 مأمنه ذلك بأنهم قوم لا يعلمون<sup>b</sup> ه فقالوا قد سمع قومنا  
 556 كلام الله فلا نجبرهم وقد<sup>5</sup> سمع المشركون الذين أمر الله بجوارهم<sup>6</sup>  
 557 كلام الله فعقالوا قد سمعنا لو نشاء لقلنا مثل هذا<sup>c</sup> ه وقال الذين  
 558 كفروا لا تسمعوا<sup>7</sup> لهذا القرآنِ وألغوا فيه لعلكم تغلبون<sup>d</sup> ه  
 559 وقالوا<sup>e</sup> أتت بقرآن غير هذا أو بدله<sup>e</sup> ه ثم أجارهم نبي الله كما  
 560 أمره [69] وجعلوا للقوم محنة<sup>f8</sup> وأبوا أن يقبلوا ممن أتاهم إقامة

1 S N قوم<sup>1</sup> 2 N بتوليتهم<sup>2</sup> 3 من MSS 4 -HX 5 فقد MSS 6 HX بجوارهم<sup>6</sup> 7 HX تسمعوا<sup>7</sup> 8 MSS محبة [ (96) Cook<sup>8</sup>

a-a Cf. 5:2 (... أن تَعْتَدُوا ...), sim. 5:8 b-b 9:6 c-c 8:31  
 d-d 41:26 e-e 10:15 f Cf. 60:10 (... إذا جاءكم المؤمنات مهاجرات فامتنحنهن ...)

Ibn al-Azraq and his followers went out. They continued for as long as God wished to follow the conduct of the Khārijites before them, but then detestation of their *qawm* (cf. 5:2, 8) moved them to classify the latter as idolaters. They severed relations of inheritance with them and forbade intermarriage, though (the Khārijites of the past) to whom they affiliated had intermarried and maintained relations of inheritance with them. If the practice of those (in the past) to whom they affiliate was right,<sup>1</sup> then they (are wrong to) go against it and (to) make it part of their religion to disown those who practise it today; and if it was wrong, then they are wrong to affiliate to those who used to practise it.

67. They deem it lawful to enslave their *qawm*, bed their women, treat their property as booty, kill their offspring, and slaughter them indiscriminately; yet those (in the past) to whom they affiliate did not deem any of that lawful in their dealings with their *qawm*. If those to whom they affiliate followed the right practice in their dealings with their *qawm*, then they (are wrong to) go against them in this respect and (to) make it part of their religion to disown those who practise it today; and if it was not right, then they (are wrong to) affiliate to them nonetheless.

68. They refuse to grant protection to those members of their *qawm* who ask for protection in order to hear the word of God even though they declare them to be idolaters. Yet God says to His Prophet, ‘And if any of the polytheists seek of thee protection, grant him protection so that he may hear the word of God; then do thou convey him to his place of security — that, because they are a people who do not know’ (9:6). They say that they will not grant protection to their *qawm* because the latter have already heard God’s word, but the polytheists in respect of whom God ordered protection to be given had also heard God’s word; for ‘they said, “We have already heard; if we wished, we could say the like of this”’ (8:31). ‘And the unbelievers said, “Do not give ear to this Qur’ān, and talk idly about it; haply you will overcome”’ (41:26). And, ““Bring a Qur’ān other than this, or alter it”’ (10:15). But even so, the Prophet of God granted them protection, as he had been ordered to do.

69. (Further), they have instituted a test for the *qawm* and refuse to accept those who come to them on the basis of performance

<sup>1</sup> A recurrent phrase literally meaning ‘if that was a guidance practised by those to whom they affiliate’.

- 561 الصلاة وإيتاء الزكاة وإقرارهم بحكمهم وهم يزعمون أنه حكم  
 562 الله وقال الله لِنَبِيِّهِ<sup>a</sup> فَإِنْ تَابُوا وَأَقَامُوا الصَّلَاةَ وَآتَوُا الزَّكَاةَ  
 563 فَخَلُّوا سَبِيلَهُمْ إِنَّ اللَّهَ غَفُورٌ رَحِيمٌ<sup>e</sup> ه [70] وكفروا<sup>1</sup> بِالرَّجْمِ وقد رَجَمَ<sup>1</sup>  
 564 رسولُ الله رجلاً من أسلم ومضت به السنة [71] وبرئوا من كلِّ  
 565 أعرابيٍّ وإن كان يتولّاهم ويشهد لهم بالحياة<sup>b</sup> ويسأل الله  
 566 أن يرزقه مثل الذي رزقهم<sup>b</sup> من جهاد أعدائه وقد قال الله  
 567 وَمِنَ الْأَعْرَابِ مَنْ يُؤْمِنُ بِاللَّهِ وَالْيَوْمِ الْآخِرِ وَيَتَّخِذُ مَا يُنْفِقُ  
 568 قُرْبَاتٍ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ وَصَلَوَاتِ الرَّسُولِ أَلَا إِنَّهَا قُرْبَةٌ لَهُمْ سِذِّخْلَهُمْ  
 569 اللَّهُ فِي رَحْمَتِهِ إِنَّ اللَّهَ غَفُورٌ رَحِيمٌ<sup>c</sup> [72] وكفروا فَعَدَّتْهُمْ<sup>2</sup> واستحلّوا  
 570 دماءهم وأموالهم وحرّموا ولايتهم والاستغفار لهم وتولّوا قومًا  
 571 كانوا يتولّون فعدتهم<sup>3</sup> ويحرّمون دماءهم وأموالهم ويستحلّون  
 572 ولايتهم<sup>4</sup> والاستغفار لهم وقد علموا ذلك منهم فإن يكن ذلك  
 573 هُدًى عمل به مَنْ يتولّون فقد خالفهم فيه وكفروا مَنْ يتولّى  
 574 اليومَ عليه وإن يكن مَنْ يتولّون تولّى كُفْرًا<sup>5</sup> فقد كفروا و  
 575 كفروا هم بولايتهم إيّاهم على تولّى الكفّار [73] فزعموا إنّما يكفّرون  
 576 فعدتهم<sup>6</sup> [بكتمتهم إيمانهم ودينهم]<sup>7</sup> وقد أمرهم الله أن يَبْتُؤُوا<sup>d</sup> فقد  
 577 مكث<sup>e</sup> مُؤْمِنٌ <من> آلِ فِرْعَوْنَ ما شاءَ اللهُ أن يمكثَ كما تَمَّ إِيْمَانُهُ<sup>e</sup> فلم  
 578 يردُّد<sup>8</sup> اللهُ عليه بكتمانه إيّاه وقد قال اللهُ فلا يَتَّخِذُ الْمُؤْمِنُونَ  
 579 الكافرين أولياءَ من دونِ المؤمنينِ وَمَنْ يَفْعَلْ ذَلِكَ فليس منَّ

الله في شيء

N فعدتهم S فعدبهم [Cook (198n63)]<sup>2</sup> HX الرحم وقد رحم N [Cook (199n67)]<sup>1</sup> S N  
 MSS كافرا<sup>5</sup> N موارثهم S HX موارثتهم<sup>4</sup> HX فعدبهم [S N]<sup>3</sup> HX فعدبهم N فعدبهم<sup>6</sup> S  
 MSS يردّه<sup>8</sup> MSS بكفرهم إياهم دونهم<sup>7</sup> HX فعدبهم N فعدبهم<sup>6</sup> S

a-a 9: 5 b For *hayāt* and *rizq* in connexion with *jihād* see allusion to 3: 169 at l. 515  
 above c-c 9: 99 d-d Cf. 8: 45 (... إِذَا لَقِيتُمْ فِئَةً فَأْتِبْتُوا ...) e-e Cf. 40: 28  
 (... رَجُلٌ مُؤْمِنٌ مِنْ آلِ فِرْعَوْنَ يَكْتُمُ إِيمَانَهُ ...) f-z 3: 28

of prayer, payment of alms, and acknowledgement of their jurisdiction (*hukm*), claiming that this is what God has ruled (*hukm*). But God says to His Prophet, 'If they repent, and perform the prayer, and pay the alms, then let them go their way; God is all-forgiving, all-compassionate' (9: 5).

70. They disbelieve in stoning<sup>1</sup> even though the Prophet stoned a man of Aslam and this became *sunna*.

71. They disown every bedouin, even if he declares for them and testifies that theirs is everlasting life, and asks God to grant him the same (heavenly) sustenance through holy war against His enemies that He grants them. But God says, 'And some bedouin believe in God and the last day, and take what they expend for offerings bringing them near to God, and the prayers of the Messenger. Surely they are an offering for them, and God will admit them into His mercy; God is all-forgiving, all-compassionate' (9: 99).

72. They deem those of them who stay at home to be infidels and hold it lawful to take their lives and property, declaring it forbidden to associate with them or to pray for forgiveness for them. Yet they affiliate to people who used to affiliate to their quietists, who deemed it unlawful to take their lives and property, and who held it lawful to associate with them and to pray for forgiveness for them; and they know that these were their views. If the practice of those to whom they affiliate was right, then they (are wrong to) go against them in this respect and (to) brand as infidels those who affiliate on the basis of it today; and if those to whom they affiliate had affiliated to infidels, then they would have become infidels themselves, and so would the Azraqites by affiliating to people affiliated to infidels.

73. They claim that they regard their quietists as infidels because they hide their faith and their religion when God has ordered them to stand firm (cf. 8: 45). But a believer of Pharaoh's folk was, for as long as God wished, hiding his belief (cf. 40: 28), and God did not reproach him for hiding it. God also says, 'Let not the believers take the unbelievers for friends, rather than believers — for whoso does that belongs not to

<sup>1</sup> Or, reading *kaffarū*, 'they declare (people) to be infidels for accepting the stoning penalty'.

580 الله في شيءٍ إلا أن تتَّقوا مِنْهُمْ تُقَاةً<sup>ه</sup> ه فَحَرَّضَ اللهُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ عَلَى<sup>1</sup> التَّيْبَةِ<sup>ه</sup>  
 581 وكيف يَتَّقِي الْمُؤْمِنُونَ الْكُفَّارَ إِلَّا بِأَنْ يُظْهِرُوا لَهُمْ مَا يُحِبُّونَ وَ  
 582 يَكْتُمُوهُمْ دِينَهُمْ [74] مَعَ أَنَّهُمْ إِذَا خَرَجُوا كَانُوا أَكْتَمَ مَا كَانُوا قَطَّ لَدِينِهِمْ  
 583 وَذَلِكَ <أَنَّ> الرَّجُلَ يَأْتِيهِمْ فَيَقُولُ أَعْرِضُوا عَلَيَّ دِينَكُمْ فَيَقُولُونَ لَا إِنَّا إِذْ  
 584 نَكْفَرُ وَلَكِنْ أُخْبِرْنَا أَنْتَ بِهِ فَإِنْ أَخْطَأَ شَيْئًا مِمَّا فِي أَنْفُسِهِمْ قَتَلُوهُ<sup>2</sup>  
 585 فِي<sup>3</sup> أُمُورٍ مِنَ الْمَعَاصِي لَيْسَ كُلُّهَا تَحْصِي مِنْ اسْتِحْلَالِ أَكْلِ الْأَمَانَاتِ  
 586 الَّتِي أَمَرَ اللهُ بِالْوَفَاءِ بِهَا وَأَوْفَى بِهَا الْمُؤْمِنُونَ وَشَهَادَتِهِمْ<sup>4</sup> أَنْ  
 587 النِّفَاقَ قَدْ رُفِعَ وَأَنَّ أَحَدًا لَا يَسْتَطِيعُ أَنْ يَكُونَ مُنَافِقًا وَ  
 588 شَهَادَتِهِمْ<sup>4</sup> أَنَّ اللَّهَ يَغْفِرُ لِلزَّانِي<sup>ب</sup> وَالسَّارِقِ<sup>ج</sup> إِنْ [يَكُونَا مِنْهُمْ]<sup>5</sup> وَلَوْ  
 589 كَانَتْ صِحَابَةٌ تُجْبِرُ مِنَ النِّفَاقِ [لَكَانَتْ]<sup>6</sup> صِحَابَةَ نَبِيِّ اللَّهِ إِنْ قَبِلُوا  
 590 <مَا> دَعَاهُمْ<sup>7</sup> إِلَيْهِ مِنْ إِقَامَةِ الصَّلَاةِ وَإِيتَاءِ الزَّكَاةِ وَهُوَ الْإِسْلَامُ  
 591 <sup>د</sup> وَمَنْ يَبْتَغِ غَيْرَ الْإِسْلَامِ دِينًا فَلَنْ يُقْبَلَ مِنْهُ وَهُوَ فِي الْآخِرَةِ مِنَ  
 592 الْخَاسِرِينَ<sup>د</sup> ه [75] ثُمَّ كَانَ مِنْ بَعْدِهِمْ أَهْلُ الْيَمَامَةِ نَجْدَةٌ وَأَصْحَابُهَا  
 593 فَشَهِدُوا عَلَى قَوْمِهِمْ أَنَّهُمْ بِمَنْزِلَةِ عِبْدَةِ الْأَوْثَانِ ثُمَّ اسْتَحَلُّوا مِنْ  
 594 نِكَاحِ نِسَائِهِمْ وَأَكَلَ ذِبَائِحَهُمْ مَا حَرَّمَ اللَّهُ مِنَ نِسَاءِ الْمُشْرِكِينَ وَ  
 595 ذِبَائِحِهِمْ فَإِنْ قَالُوا إِنَّا نُنزِلُ قَوْمَنَا بِمَنْزِلِ أَهْلِ الْكِتَابِ الَّذِينَ  
 596 أَحَلَّ اللَّهُ لَنَا طَعَامَهُمْ وَنِسَاءَهُمْ فَإِنَّهُمْ يَجْرِمُونَ أَخْذَ الْجَزْيَةِ مِنْهُمْ  
 597 بَعْدَ قَوْلِ اللَّهِ لِلْمُؤْمِنِينَ<sup>ج</sup> قَاتِلُوا الَّذِينَ لَا يُؤْمِنُونَ بِاللَّهِ وَلَا بِالْيَوْمِ  
 598 الْآخِرِ وَلَا يُجْرِمُونَ مَا حَرَّمَ اللَّهُ وَرَسُولُهُ وَلَا يَدِينُونَ دِينَ الْحَقِّ

<sup>1</sup> في MSS <sup>2</sup> Madelung ] قبلوه MSS <sup>3</sup> + شئى MSS, but cf. I. 406 above (Madelung)

<sup>4</sup> MSS ويشهدونهم <sup>5</sup> MSS يكون فيهم <sup>6</sup> MSS اجارت <sup>7</sup> S HX دعاهم

<sup>a-a</sup> Contrast 8: 65 (... على القتال...), sim. 4: 84

<sup>b</sup> Cf.

24: 4 f, after 100 lashes have been prescribed for adultery, and 80 for maligning a chaste woman: ... وَأُولَئِكَ هُمُ الْفَاسِقُونَ ه إِلَّا الَّذِينَ تَابُوا ... فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ غَفُورٌ رَحِيمٌ <sup>c</sup> Cf. 5: 38 f

(والسارقُ والسارقة فاقطعوا أيديهما ... ه فَمَنْ تَابَ ... فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ يَتُوبُ عَلَيْهِ ...)

<sup>d-d</sup> 3: 85

God in anything — unless you have a fear of them' (*tattaqū min-hum tuqātan*) (3:28), thus urging the believers to practise dissimulation (*taqiyya*); and how can the believers dissimulate to infidels except by showing them what they like and hiding their religion from them?

74. Besides, they themselves were more given to hiding their faith than ever when they went out; for so-and-so would come to them and say, 'Tell me what your religion is', to which they would say 'No, we would be found to be unbelievers if we did, so you tell us what it is'. If he misrepresented some of what they believed, they would kill him. (This they did,) among countless other sinful things, such as holding it lawful to appropriate trusts that God has ordered (us) to honour and which the believers honoured (too), or declaring that hypocrisy has been abolished and that nobody can be a hypocrite (any more), or that God will forgive fornication and theft if it is committed by one of them. But if (mere) companionship could grant protection against hypocrisy, it would be companionship of God's Prophet that did so; [yet it did not, unless the companions?] accepted what he called them to in the way of performing prayer and paying alms. For that is Islam, 'and whoso desires another religion than Islam, it shall not be accepted of him; in the next world he shall be among the losers' (3:85).

[The Najadāt]

75. After them were the people of Yamāma, Najda and his followers. They declared that their *qawm* were in the position of idolaters, but held it lawful to marry their women and eat their slaughters even though God has prohibited the women and slaughters of the polytheists. If they say that they classify their *qawm* as People of the Book, whose food and women God has permitted, then (they are inconsistent in that) they prohibit taking poll tax (*jizya*) from them, for God says to the believers: 'Fight those who believe not in God and the last day and do not forbid what God and His Messenger have forbidden — such men as practise not the religion of truth,

599 مِنَ الَّذِينَ أُوتُوا الْكِتَابَ حَتَّى يُعْطُوا الْجِزْيَةَ عَنْ يَدٍ وَهُمْ صَاغِرُونَ<sup>2</sup>  
600 [76] وَأَوْفُوا بِعَهْدِ قَوْمِهِمْ فِي أَهْلِ الذِّمَّةِ وَهُمْ يَشْهَدُونَ بِالشَّرْكِ عَلَيْهِمْ  
601 فَإِنْ يَكُنْ وِفَاءَهُمْ<sup>1</sup> بِعَهْدِهِمْ حَقًّا فَلَيْسَ يُجَلِّ لَهُمْ أَنْ يُزِيلَهُمْ بِمَنَازِلِ  
602 عِبْدَةِ الْأَوْثَانِ وَإِنْ يَكُونُوا بِمَنَازِلِ عِبْدَةِ الْأَوْثَانِ يَضَلُّوا بِوَفَائِهِمْ  
603 بِعَهْدِهِمْ وَذَلِكَ أَنَّ الْمُسْلِمِينَ لَوْ وَجَدُوا عِبْدَةَ الْأَوْثَانِ قَدْ عَاهَدُوا  
604 الْيَهُودَ وَالنَّصَارَى وَالْحِجُوسَ لَمْ يُؤْفُوا بِعَهْدِ أَحَدٍ مِنْهُمْ [77] وَزَعَمُوا أَنَّ  
605 عَلَيْهِمْ هِجْرَةً مِنْ دَارِ قَوْمِهِمْ كَهِجْرَةِ النَّبِيِّ وَأَصْحَابِهِ مِنْ مَكَّةَ وَقَدْ انْقَطَعَتْ  
606 الْمِجْرَةَ عَامَ الْفَتْحِ وَصَارَ الْأَمْرُ إِتْمًا هُوَ جِهَادٌ بَلَّغْنَا أَنَّ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ  
607 صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ قَالَ لَا هِجْرَةَ بَعْدَ الْيَوْمِ وَلَكِنْ جِهَادٌ وَنِيَّةٌ فَرَعَمُوا  
608 [إِتْمًا حَقًّا]<sup>2</sup> عَلَيْهِمْ هِجْرَةَ بَعْدَ هِجْرَةِ [يَصْبِيُونَهَا لِأَمْرِ فِتْنَةٍ]<sup>3</sup> تُبْطِلُ  
609 هِجْرَتَهُمُ الْأُولَى<sup>4</sup> فَهَذَا مِنْ أَمْرِهِمْ وَرَأْيِهِمْ مُخْتَلَفٌ وَقَالَ اللَّهُ<sup>a</sup> وَلَوْ كَانَ  
610 مِنْ عِنْدِ غَيْرِ اللَّهِ لَوَجَدُوا فِيهِ اخْتِلَافًا كَثِيرًا<sup>a</sup> [78] وَاسْتَحَلُّوا فَعَلَ سِبَاءِ  
611 قَوْمِهِمْ وَقَتْلِ ذُرَارِيهِمْ وَخَمْسِ أَمْوَالِهِمْ وَاسْتِعْرَاضِهِمْ وَقَطْعِ الْمِيرَاثِ  
612 مِنْهُمْ<sup>5</sup> وَلَمْ يَحْكَمْ <مَنْ> يَتَوَلَّوْنَ <مِنَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ> يَوْمَ قَتَلُوا عِثْمَانَ وَيَوْمَ الْجَمَلِ وَمَنْ يَتَوَلَّوْنَ  
613 <مِنْ> الْخَوَارِجِ الْأُولَى<sup>4</sup> بِشَيْءٍ مِنْ هَذِهِ الْأَحْكَامِ فَإِنْ يَكُنِ الَّذِي عَمِلَ بِهِ مَنْ  
614 يَتَوَلَّوْنَهُمْ هَدَى فَقَدْ خَالَفَهُمْ فِيهِ وَرَغِبُوا عَنْ سَبِيلِهِمْ وَكَفَرُوا مِنْ اِقْتَدَى  
615 بِهُدَاهُمْ<sup>6</sup> وَإِنْ يَكُنْ غَيْرُ هَدَى فَقَدْ تَوَلَّوْهُ عَلَيْهِ ه [79] فَإِنْ قَالُوا إِنَّ أَوْلِيَاءَنَا  
616 إِتْمًا تَرَكَوْا سَبِيَّ قَوْمِهِمْ بَأْنَهُمْ<sup>7</sup> كَانُوا أَمَّنُوا أَحْيَاءَهُمْ فَإِنَّهُمْ لَمْ يَسْبُوا ذَرْيَةَ  
617 مَنْ قَتَلُوا مِنْهُمْ وَلَمْ يَسْتَنْكِحُوا نِسَاءَهُمْ وَلَمْ يَخْمَسُوا أَمْوَالَهُمْ وَلَمْ يَحْكَمُوا

فِي عِثْمَانَ

وهو على هجرة لامر فتنة يصبيونها<sup>3</sup> HX انها بحق N انها حق S انها تحق<sup>2</sup> MSS وفاء<sup>1</sup>  
HX N بهدايهم<sup>6</sup> MSS لهم<sup>5</sup> HX N الاولا<sup>4</sup> HX وهو على هجره يصبيونها S N  
MSS انهم<sup>7</sup>

being of those who have been given the Book — until they pay the tribute (*jiḏya*) out of hand and have been humbled' (9: 29).

76. They honour the contracts of their *qawm* with *dhimmīs* even though they accuse their *qawm* of polytheism. But if it is right to honour their contracts, they cannot classify them as idolaters; and if they are indeed to be thus classified, they err in honouring their contracts; for if the Muslims were to find that idolaters had made contracts with Jews, Christians, and Zoroastrians, they would not honour the contracts of any of them.

77. They claim that emigration (*hijra*) from the abode of their *qawm*, like that of the Prophet and his companions from Mecca, is a duty; but emigration was abolished in the year of the conquest (of Mecca). Since then there has only been holy war. We have heard that the Messenger of God, may the blessings and peace of God be upon him, said, 'there is no emigration after today, but there is (still) holy war and (good) intention'. They claim that after (any) emigration [they accomplish?] they will be obliged to make another [because of communal strife (*fitna*)?] invalidating the earlier one. This stance and opinion of theirs is inconsistent; and God says, 'If it were from other than God, surely they would find in it much inconsistency' (4: 82).

78. They hold it lawful to enslave their *qawm*, kill their offspring, treat their property as booty, slaughter them indiscriminately, and sever relations of inheritance with them. But <the Muslims to whom> they affiliate did not apply any such laws on the day they killed ʿUthmān or the Day of the Camel, neither did the first Khārijites to whom they affiliate. If the practice of those to whom they affiliate is right, then they (are wrong to) go against them in this respect, (to) shun their path and (to) declare those who follow their guidance to be unbelievers; and if it is not right, then they (are wrong to) affiliate to them in spite of it.

79. If they say, 'the Muslims to whom we affiliate (*awliyāʿunā*) refrained from enslaving their *qawm* because they had granted protection to the survivors', (the reply is that) they did not enslave the offspring of those they had killed either, nor did they bed their women or treat their property as booty; nor did they apply

618 في عثمان ومن قتلوا معه بشيء مما تقولون<sup>1</sup> [80] فإن قالوا إن أولياءنا تنزّهوا  
 619 عن ذلك واستألفوا الناس به فإن المسلمين لم يكونوا ليتنزّهوا عن  
 620 أن يُنفذوا حكم الله الذي أمرهم به وقد علموا <أنه> إنما يقتدى من يقتد <بهم>  
 621 من أوليائهم في ذلك بفعلهم فلم يكونوا ليستألفوا الناس بأحكام  
 622 هي ضلالة لهم ولبن اقتدى بهم من بعدهم من أتباعهم ونعلم بحمد الله  
 623 أنهم لو كانوا يستحلّون سباء قومهم وخمس أموالهم لما<sup>2</sup> تركوا سهان  
 624 مساكين<sup>a</sup> فقرائهم حاجة وفاقه إلى أنصبائهم ولا سهان أبناء سبيل<sup>a</sup>  
 625 [بعيدة]<sup>3</sup> الشقة لم يروا عليهم فيحملوهم منها فيأذنون لهم فيها ولا  
 626 سهان يتامى<sup>a</sup> صغار لم يعقلوا فيأذنون لهم في سهانهم وقد أمرهم  
 627 الله أن يوفروا<sup>b</sup> على اليتامى أموالهم وأن يُحسنوا<sup>b</sup> ولا يتهم [81] فن قال  
 628 منهم كان ذلك منهم<sup>4</sup> جهالة<sup>c</sup> وقصر بصر لا يُضللنا<sup>d</sup> تولينا<sup>e</sup> فكيف  
 629 يزعمون أنه لا يُضللهم تولى قوم يروون اليوم من قوم يعملون بمثل عملهم  
 630 ويشهدون عليهم بالشرك [82] وتولوا الزاني والسارق وشارب الخمر  
 631 و<sup>d</sup>قاذف المحصنة<sup>d</sup> وقاتل النفس التي حرم الله بغير الحق<sup>e</sup> متعمدا<sup>f</sup> و<sup>g</sup>آكل  
 632 أموال اليتامى<sup>g</sup> والرثا على علم<sup>h</sup> وتارك الصلاة وقد علم حكم الله فيها  
 633 والحاكم بغير ما أنزل الله في كتابه آكل الميتة والدم ولحم الخنزير  
 634 وما أهل لغير الله به عن غير ضرورة<sup>i</sup> وهو يعلم أن الله قد حرّمه و  
 635 لناكح<sup>6</sup> أمه وابنته وأخته وعمته وخالته وأمه التي أرضعته وأخته  
 636 من الرضاعة<sup>i</sup> وهو يعلم أن الله قد تقدّم <منه الحكم> في ذلك وسبقت منه فيه

MSS نكاح<sup>6</sup> MSS ان +<sup>5</sup> MSS بهم<sup>4</sup> MSS بعيدى<sup>3</sup> MSS ما<sup>2</sup> MSS يتولون<sup>1</sup>

<sup>a-a</sup> Cf. 8: 41 (note to l. 262 above)

<sup>b</sup> Cf. 4: 36 f, where an injunction to

exercise *ihsān* towards orphans and others (see note to l. 535 above) is followed by a condemnation of miserliness

(إنما التوبة على الله للذين يعملون السوء بجهالة...)<sup>c</sup> Cf. 4: 17 (والذين يزومون المحصنات...)<sup>d-d</sup> sim. 6: 53, 16: 119

(... ولا تقتلوا النفس التي حرم الله إلا بالحق...)<sup>e-e</sup> Cf. 6: 151, 17: 33

(ومن يقتل مؤمنا متعمدا فجزاءه جهنم...)<sup>f</sup> 4: 93 <sup>g-g</sup> Cf. 4: 10

(إن الذين يأكلون أموال اليتامى ظلما إنما يأكلون في بطونهم نارا...)<sup>h-h</sup> Cf. 3: 130

(... لا تأكلوا الرثا...), sim. 2: 275, 4: 161 <sup>i-i</sup> 16: 115, paraphrased at the end

حرمت عليكم (... فمن اضطر... فإن الله غفور رحيم)<sup>i-i</sup> Cf. 4: 23: 2: 173, 5: 3

أمهاتكم وبناتكم وأخواتكم وعماتكم وخالاتكم وبنات الأخ وبنات الأخت وأمهاتكم اللاتي أرضعنكم وأخواتكم من الرضاعة وأمّهات نسائكم وبناتكم اللاتي دخلتم بهن...

to ‘Uthmān and those killed with him any such judgement as you say (should be applied).

80. If they say, ‘Those to whom we affiliate refrained from that in order to reconcile people’, (the reply is that) the Muslims would not have refrained from carrying out a judgement that God had ordered them (to carry out). They knew that (future) co-religionists (*awliyāʾ*) of theirs, who were going to follow their example, would follow it in respect of their actions; so it was not for them to reconcile people by judgements which were wrong, both for them and for their successors who would follow their example in later times. We know, thank God, that if they had deemed it lawful to enslave their *qawm* and treat their property as booty, then they would not have omitted (to secure) the shares due to their indigent poor in dire need of their portions, or the shares due to travellers far from home, whom they would not have passed over, but rather provided for by granting them (their rights) in it, or the shares of young orphans who have not reached the age of reason, to whom on the contrary they would have granted their shares, since God has ordered them to hand over the revenues of orphans in full and to be good guardians to them (cf. 4: 36 f).

81. If some of them say, ‘This (failure of theirs to treat their opponents’ property as booty) sprang from ignorance and lack of perception (of a kind so harmless as) not to make it wrong for us to affiliate to them’, (the reply is,) how can they claim that it is not wrong for them to affiliate to one lot of people (in the past) only to disown and brand as polytheists others today who act as they did?

82. They affiliate to people guilty of fornication, theft, and wine-drinking, of falsely accusing chaste women of fornication (cf. 24: 4, 23), of unlawfully and intentionally taking lives forbidden by God (cf. 4: 93, 6: 151, 17: 33), of appropriating the property of orphans, of taking usury in awareness of what they are doing, of failing to pray in full knowledge of God’s law about it, of judging by laws other than those sent down by God in His book, of eating ‘carrion, blood, pork, and what has been hallowed to other than God’ (16: 115) without being forced by necessity, and knowing that God has prohibited it, and of marrying their mother, daughter, sister, paternal aunt, maternal aunt, foster-mother, and foster-sister (cf. 4: 23) in full awareness that God has long since issued <legislation>

637 المَوْعِظَةُ<sup>4</sup> في أشياء كثيرة ليس<sup>1</sup> كَلَّهَا تَحْصِي من إدالة المال واستحلال  
 638 أكل الأمانة ومحنة<sup>2</sup> الرجال وتحريم ملك الأنثى من نساء قومهم والتقريب  
 639 بالنفاق [لمن]<sup>3</sup> ثقل منهم عن القتال فإن أقرَّ به أمن عليه عندهم  
 640 وحرّموا دمه وإن برئ من النفاق وزعم أنه مسلمٌ استحلّوا دمه فأمن  
 641 عندهم بالذى كان يخاف به عند رسول الله ويحل به دم من فعله  
 642 وخاف عندهم بالذى<sup>4</sup> كان يأمن<sup>5</sup> به عند رسول الله ويحرم به دم  
 643 من فعله لِقَلَّةِ علمهم بالله ولجهاالتهم<sup>6</sup> بكثير من أمره ه [83] ومنها تكفيرهم  
 644 الراجع منهم واستحلالهم دمه وماله وتكفيرهم<sup>7</sup> من<sup>8</sup> تولّاه منهم ثم رجعوا  
 645 هم بعد ذلك إلى ولايته فرجعوا أنّهم يوم برئوا منه وكفروا من تولّاه  
 646 منهم واستحلّوا دمه وماله ويوم رجعوا إلى ولايته ورتّوا ممن كفره  
 647 منهم واستحلّوا دمه وماله مهتدون في المنزلتين كتبتها وقد مضى  
 648 منهم ناس كثير وهم يبرؤون منه وفارقوا الدنيا على ذلك ونعلم  
 649 بحمد الله أنّهم لو كانوا مهتدين يوم برئوا <منه> واستحلّوا دم من تولّاه منهم  
 650 وماله لكانوا اليوم ضالًّا برجوعهم<sup>9</sup> إلى ولايته وأنهم لو كانوا  
 651 اليوم مهتدين<sup>10</sup> برجوعهم<sup>9</sup> إلى ولايته وبتكفيرهم <من برئ منه لصلّوا يوم برئوا منه  
 وكفروا><sup>11</sup> من تولّاه<sup>12</sup> منهم<sup>13</sup>  
 652 ولصلّ من مات منهم وهو يبرأ<sup>14</sup> منه يوم فارقه ه [84] ثم  
 653 فارقه داود وأصحابه وعطيته وأصحابه وأبو فديك وأصحابه  
 654 في أمور نقموها عليه وزعموا أنّه قد ضلّ بها وليس الذى فارقوه  
 655 فيه بأكثر من الذى جامعوه عليه من سباء أهل القبلة وقتل

ذرايرهم

الذى<sup>4</sup> MSS ومن<sup>3</sup> MSS; cf. l. 560 above    محبة<sup>2</sup> MSS; cf. l. 406 above    وليس<sup>1</sup> MSS  
 N HX يرجعوه<sup>9</sup> HX ومن<sup>8</sup> MSS وتكفيره<sup>7</sup> MSS وبجهاالتهم<sup>6</sup> MSS يؤمن<sup>5</sup> MSS  
 HX مهتدون<sup>10</sup>    That something is missing seems to be confirmed by the extra line found  
 in S and N a few words later (n. 13 below), which looks like a one-time marginal addition  
 wrongly inserted and garbled in transmission.    MSS; يتولاه<sup>12</sup>    HX مهتدون +<sup>13</sup> S اليوم +  
 لكانوا ضالًّا بتوليهم آياه وشهادتهم انهم كانوا يبرؤون منه ويستحلون دم من تولاهم منهم مهتدون +  
 HX يبرى N يبرء S يبرء<sup>14</sup> S N

(... وَأَخَلَّ اللَّهُ الْبَيْعَ وَحَرَّمَ الرِّبَا فَمَنْ جَاءَهُ مَوْعِظَةٌ مِنْ رَبِّهِ فَانْتَهَى فَلَهُ مَا سَلَفَ ...) Cf. 2: 275

and admonition about it. (These are some of the sins they commit) among countless others, such as making money something taken in turns, making it lawful to appropriate trusts, subjecting men to a test, making it unlawful to own female (slaves) from among the women of their *qawm*, and making anyone of them who is reluctant to fight confess to hypocrisy. If he confesses to hypocrisy, he is given safety among them on that basis and they deem it unlawful to take his life; but if he protests that he is innocent of hypocrisy and claims to be a Muslim, they will deem it lawful to take his life. So with them he is safe by virtue of an act that would have rendered him fearful under the Messenger of God, for he would have forfeited his life; and among them he is afraid by virtue of an act that would have rendered him safe with the Messenger of God, for his life would have been sacrosanct. So little do they know of God and so ignorant are they of much of His command.

83. Again, they declared anyone of them who went back (*al-rājiʿ*) to be an infidel. They deemed it lawful to take his life and property, and likewise branded as an infidel anyone of them who treated him as a co-religionist. Later they themselves reverted to accepting him as a co-religionist. They claim that they were right in both cases — the day they disowned him and branded as an infidel whoever accepted him as a co-religionist, making it lawful to take the latter's life and property, and (again) the day they reverted to accepting him as a co-religionist and disowned whoever declared him an infidel, making it lawful to take the life and property of the latter. But many of their number passed away while they were disowning the *rā-jiʿ* and parted from the world in that state. We know, thank God, that if they had been right the day they disowned <him> and made it lawful to take the life and property of those who accepted him as a co-religionist, then they would be wrong today in reverting to accepting him as a co-religionist; and if they were right today in reverting to accepting him as a co-religionist and branding as an infidel whoever <disowned him, then they would have been wrong the day they disowned him and branded as an infidel> whoever accepted him as a co-religionist; and those of them who died disowning him on the day they departed from him would likewise have been wrong.

[Dāwūd, ʿAṭīyya, Abū Fudayk]

84. Then Dāwūd and his companions, ʿAṭīyya and his companions, and Abū Fudayk and his companions separated from him (Najda) over things they reproached him for, claiming that he was wrong about them. But the things over which they separated from him were no more numerous than those on which they agreed with him, as regards enslaving people of the *qibla*, killing

- 656 ذراريهم واستنكاح نسائهم وخمس أموالهم واستعراضهم وقطع  
 657 الميراث منهم فكلهم<sup>1</sup> بحمد الله ضالّ تارك للحقّ تابع لهواه بغير هدى  
 658 من الله وهم [مع]<sup>2</sup> ذلك مفترقون<sup>3</sup> فيما بينهم ه وتجمع ابن الأزرق  
 659 وأصحابه ونجدة وأصحابه وداود وأصحابه وعطيّة وأصحابه و  
 660 أبا<sup>4</sup> فديك وأصحابه [فيما تعارفا]<sup>5</sup> من الضلالة مخالفتهم إلى ما ينهون  
 661 عنه وعملهم بما يكفرون عليه ه [85] ويضلّهم مع ذلك<sup>a</sup> تحريفهم في قومهم كلام  
 662 الله عزّ وجلّ عن مواضعه<sup>a</sup> و«يضلّهم»<sup>b</sup> شنان قومهم<sup>b</sup> ويضلّهم خلاف سنة نبيهم  
 663 فيهم وتركهم<sup>6</sup> في قومهم سيرة قوم يتولّونهم ه ويضلّهم تفرّقتهم <فيما> بينهم ه  
 664 ويضلّهم ما أحدثوا من البدع في قومهم بعد أوليائهم ه [86] ومن بدعتهم  
 665 قطعهم الميراث من قومهم إذا خرجوا وأظهروا أمرهم وقد كانوا  
 666 يستحلّون موارثهم ما كانوا بين أظهرهم ه ويضلّهم موارثة قوم  
 667 يستحلّون خمس أموالهم ه ويضلّهم خمس أموال قوم يستحلّون<sup>7</sup>  
 668 موارثهم ه [87] ويضلّهم نكاح نساء قوم مشركين لا يأخذون منهم  
 669 جزيّةً وأكل ذبائحهم ه ويضلّهم ترك الجزية في قوم مشركين يستحلّون<sup>8</sup>  
 670 نساءهم ه [88] ويضلّهم أيضًا <وفاءهم> بعهود قوم مشركين فكلّ هذا من بدعتهم  
 671 مضلّهم إن<sup>9</sup> كانوا مشركين كما يقولون لهم ه ويضلّهم إن كانوا غير  
 672 مشركين شهادتهم بالشرك عليهم [89] ويضلّهم سبائهم<sup>10</sup> <قومهم> ويضلّهم قتالهم  
 673 وذراريهم ويضلّهم استنكاح نسائهم ويضلّهم استعراضهم ويضلّهم  
 674 خمس أموالهم ويضلّهم انتحال الهجرة من دارهم وقد مات فيها  
 675 طوائف من أصحاب نبيهم بعد أن كفّروا قومهم يروّئهم ماتوا على

1 HX وكلهم<sup>1</sup> 2 في MSS 3 MSS معترفون; cf. l. 683 for Form VIII, as against Form V in  
 1. 663 4 ابو MSS 5 Madelung ] وما يعرفوا 6 MSS تركهم 7 MSS يحرّمون 8  
 MSS ونسائهم<sup>10</sup> 9 MSS وان 10 MSS يستنكحون<sup>8</sup>

a-a Cf. II. 504 f above b-b Cf. I. 543 above

their offspring, bedding their women, treating their property as booty, slaughtering them indiscriminately, and severing relations of inheritance with them. All of them, thank God, are wrong and abandon what is right, to follow their own whim without guidance from God, while at the same time they split over what they have in common. What unites Ibn al-Azraq and his companions, Najda and his companions, ʿAṭīyya and his companions, and Dāwūd and his companions, in whatever error they approve of, is that they contradict themselves by doing what they prohibit and by practising the things for which they brand (others) as infidels.

85. On top of that they are wrong because<sup>1</sup> they distort what God, exalted and mighty is He, says about their *qawm* by taking it out of context. They are wrong because they detest their *qawm*. They are wrong because they act against the *sunna* of the Prophet in dealing with them <and> fail to follow the conduct of (past) people to whom they affiliate in their dealings with their *qawm* (today). They are wrong because they split <over what> they have in common. And they are wrong because they have introduced arbitrary innovations in their dealings with their *qawm* after those to whom they affiliate (have set binding precedents).

86. Among their arbitrary innovations is that they severed relationships of inheritance with their *qawm* when they went out and made their cause manifest even though they had deemed it lawful to have relations of inheritance when they lived in their midst. They are wrong to have relations of inheritance with people whose property they deem it lawful to treat as booty; and they are wrong to treat as booty the property of people with whom they deem it lawful to have relations of inheritance.

87. They are wrong to marry the women and eat the slaughters of (alleged) polytheists from whom they do not collect poll tax, and they are wrong not to collect poll tax from polytheists whose women they deem it lawful to marry.

88. They are also wrong <to honour> the contracts of (alleged) polytheists. All these arbitrary practices show them to be wrong if (their *qawm*) are indeed polytheists, as they say they are; and if they are not polytheists, then they are wrong to accuse them of polytheism.

89. They are wrong to enslave <their *qawm*>. They are wrong to kill them and their offspring. They are wrong to bed their women. They are wrong to slaughter them indiscriminately. They are wrong to treat their property as booty. And they are wrong to profess belief in emigration (*hijra*) from their abode when a number of companions of their Prophet died there after declaring their own *qawm* to be infidels and they consider them to have died in

<sup>1</sup> *yudīlluhum*; literally, 'it causes/proves/shows them to be in error that' (they do such-and-such things). Our translation frequently ignores the causative aspect altogether.

676 هَجَرْتَهُمْ مِنْهُمْ عَبْدُ الرَّحْمَنِ بْنِ عَوْفٍ وَعَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ مَسْعُودٍ وَأَبُو ذَرٍّ وَنَاسٌ  
677 كَثِيرٌ مِنَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ فَإِنْ يَكُنْ أَوْلَاكَ مَا تَوَا عَلَى هَجَرْتَهُمْ فَلَيْسَ تَحُلُّ لَهُمُ الْهَجْرَةُ  
678 مِنْ دِيَارِهِمْ وَإِنْ تَكُنِ الْفِتْنُ أَبْطَلَتْ هَجَرْتَهُمْ فَإِنَّهُ لَمْ تُبْطَلْ هَجَرْتَهُمْ إِلَّا  
679 <sup>ه</sup> فِتْنٌ أَضَلَّتْهُمْ <sup>ا</sup> هَ وَإِنْ يَكُونُوا ضَلُّوا <sup>1</sup> فَقَدْ ضَلُّوا هُمْ بِتَوَلِّيهِمْ <sup>2</sup> عَلَى ضَلَالَتِهِمْ  
680 [90] فَكُلٌّ <sup>3</sup> هَذَا مِنْ بَدْعِهِمْ مُضَلَّهِمْ هَ وَيُضَلُّهُمْ <sup>4</sup> إِنْ كَانُوا غَيْرَ مُشْرِكِينَ  
681 مَا ابْتَدَعُوا مِنَ السَّيْرِ <sup>5</sup> فِيهِمْ وَيُضَلُّهُمْ <sup>4</sup> إِنْ كَانُوا [شُرَكَاهُمْ] <sup>6</sup> ظَاهِرًا فَأُحْدِثَتْ  
682 طَائِفَةٌ مِنْهُمْ مِثْلَ إِحْدَاثِ قَوْمِهِمْ الْيَوْمَ <sup>7</sup>  
683 إِنَّ سَيْرَهُمْ هَذِهِ الْمَفْتَرَقَةَ وَبَدْعِهِمْ الْمُحْدِثَةَ إِنَّمَا أَضَلَّتْهُمْ فِيهَا  
684 شَهَادَتُهُمْ بِالشَّرْكِ عَلَى قَوْمِهِمْ ثُمَّ انْتَقَاضُهُمْ شَهَادَتَهُمْ بَعْدُ فِي سَيْرَتِهِمْ هَ  
685 [91] ثُمَّ دَانَ نَاسٌ آخَرُونَ بِالْإِرْجَاءِ لَيْسَ لَهُمْ أَسْلَافٌ يَتَّبِعُونَ <sup>8</sup>  
686 سَبِيلَهُمْ وَلَا أَوْلِيَاءَ يَقْتَدُونَ بِهِدَاهِمُ <sup>9</sup> فَقَالُوا أَمَّا مَا رَأَيْنَا وَحَضَرْنَا  
687 مِنْ أَمْرِ الْفِرْقَةِ الْآخِرَةِ <ف> شَهِدْنَا عَلَيْهِ وَمَا غَابَ عَنَّا مِنْ أَمْرِ الْفِرْقَةِ  
688 الْأُولَى أَرْجَأْنَاهُ لِأَنَّهُ غَابَ عَنْهُمْ لَمْ يَدْرِكُوهُ زَعَمُوا وَقَالُوا مَنْ شَهِدَ  
689 عَلَى أَحَدٍ بِضَلَالٍ <sup>10</sup> يَشْهَدُ بِهِ <sup>10</sup> الْمُسْلِمُونَ فِي أَمْرِ غَابَ عَنْهُ أَوْ لَمْ يَدْرِكْهُ  
690 فَهُوَ ضَالٌّ <sup>11</sup> وَزَعَمُوا أَنَّ هَذَا دِينَ اللَّهِ [92] فَإِنْ يَكُنْ هَذَا مِنْ قَوْمِهِمْ  
691 حَقًّا فَقَدْ كَفَرُوا أَهْلَ الْفِرْقَةِ الْأُولَى أَجْمَعُونَ <sup>12</sup> هَ وَذَلِكَ أَنَّ عَلِيًّا  
692 خَرَجَ إِلَى أَهْلِ الْكُوفَةِ فِدَعَاهُمْ إِلَى فِرَاقِ عِثَانَ وَالْبِرَاءَةِ مِنْهُ وَقِتَالَ  
693 مَنْ طَلَبَ بَدْمَهُ فَأَجَابُوهُ <sup>13</sup> وَلَمْ يَرَوْا عَمَلَ عِثَانَ وَلَمْ [يَحْضُرْهُمْ] <sup>14</sup> إِلَّا مَا بَلَغَهُمْ < مِنْ شَهَادَةِ  
المُسْلِمِينَ >  
694 وَخَرَجَ طَلْحَةُ وَالزُّبَيْرُ إِلَى أَهْلِ الْبَصْرَةِ فِدَعَوْاهُمْ <sup>15</sup> إِلَى مُوَالَاةِ عِثَانَ وَ  
695 الطَّلَبِ بَدْمَهُ وَقِتَالَ عَلِيٌّ وَشِيعَتُهُ فَأَجَابُوهُمَا وَلَمْ يَحْضُرُوا شَيْئًا مِمَّا  
اختلَفوا فيه

1 S N اضلوا 2 MSS بتولييتهم 3 S N فكان HX; but cf. l. 670 above  
4 MSS ان سيرتهم اليوم في قومهم و+ 7 MSS دينهم 6 MSS الشر 5 MSS لو+ 4  
8 Cook S N ] ينتغون HX 9 Cook S N ] بهدائهم HX 10-10 MSS يشهده 11 Cook ]  
12 MSS ضلال 13 Cook ] فاجابه 14 MSS يحضروه 15 Cook ] دعواهم و  
14 MSS يحضروه 15 Cook ] دعواهم و

a-a Cf. 7: 155 (... إِنَّ هِيَ إِلَّا فِتْنَتُكَ تُضِلُّ بِهَا مَنْ تَشَاءُ ...)

a state of emigration: thus ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf, ʿAbdallāh b. Masʿūd, Abū Dharr, and many other Muslims. If those men did indeed die in a state of emigration, then they (the extremists) are not allowed to make another emigration from their own abodes. If, on the other hand, their emigration was invalidated by the trials (*fitan*, of civil war), then it can only have been invalidated by *fitan* that led them astray (cf. 7:155); and if they did go astray, then the extremists are wrong to affiliate to them in disregard of their error.

90. All these arbitrary innovations of theirs are wrong. If their *qawm* are not polytheists, they are wrong because they have adopted deviant procedures in dealing with them; and if their polytheism is manifest (?), then they are wrong (in that) some of them have made the same innovations as their *qawm* today . (?). In these diverse conducts and newfangled innovations of theirs the source of their error is their imputation of polytheism to their *qawm*, and further the contradiction between their declarations and their conduct.

[The Murjiʿa]

91. Then others, who had no predecessors whose path they followed or authorities (*awliyāʾ*) on whose guidance they modelled themselves, propounded the doctrine of suspended judgement. They said, ‘We will pronounce on the recent schism (*al-furqa al-ākhirā*), having seen it and been there; but we suspend judgement on the first schism’ — for they were not there, it happened before their time. This is what they claim. They hold that whoever accuses someone of error on the basis of the testimony of the Muslims concerning something he was not there to see, or which happened before his time, he is himself in error. This, they claim, is God’s religion.

92. But if that doctrine of theirs is right, then all the participants in the first schism were infidels. For when ʿAlī went out to the Kufans and called upon them to separate from ʿUthmān, to disown him, and to fight those seeking vengeance for his death, they responded without having been there to see ʿUthmān’s behaviour and on the sole strength of the testimony of the Muslims who told them (about it). And when Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr went out to the Basrans and called upon them to declare for ʿUthmān and seek vengeance for him by fighting ʿAlī and his party, they responded even though they had not been there to see any of what

696 اختلفوا فيه فقد كفر أهل الكوفة<sup>1</sup> وأهل البصرة<sup>2</sup> حين أجابوا إلى  
697 أمر كانوا عنه غُيِّبًا وأجازوا عليه شهادة من يروونه مسلمًا إن كان  
698 الإرجاء حقًا وكفر على<sup>3</sup> والزيير وطلحة بدعائهم قومًا إلى أمر لم  
699 يحضروه يستحلون عليه دماء المسلمين وبراءتهم ممن لم يُجِب إليه  
700 وذلك أنهم خالفوا الإرجاء إن كان الإرجاء دين الله على من غاب  
701 عنه أمر أو لم يدركه ه وكفرت المرجئة أيضًا بإرجائهم قومًا خالفوا  
702 دينهم [93] فإن يكن قولهم<sup>3</sup> إن من شهد على أحدٍ يستقبل القبلة لم  
703 يدركه بضلالة ضالٌّ فقد شهدوا بشهادة يخالفونها<sup>4</sup> في العمل  
704 وذلك أنهم يدعون ناشئة<sup>5</sup> قومهم إلى فراق معاوية والبراءة منه  
705 فإن تكن شهادة الرجل المسلم على من لم يدرك بشهادة<sup>6</sup> المسلمين  
706 ضلالةً فقد ضلّوا بدعائهم إلى أمرٍ من أجابهم إليه أجابهم إلى ضلالة  
707 وإن تكن شهادة الرجل المسلم على من لم يدرك بشهادة<sup>6</sup> المسلمين  
708 هدىً فقد ضلّوا بشهادتهم أن ذلك ضلالة ه [94] وكلّ هذا بحمد الله  
709 لا مخرج لهم منه<sup>7</sup> ه فإن قالوا إن معاوية ليس كأهل الفرقة الأولى  
710 إن أهل الفرقة الأولى أصحاب رسول الله فإن قالوا ذلك فإن  
711 معاوية ختن رسول الله وكاتبه وإتّما استعمله عمرُ بن الخطاب  
712 على أهل الشام لرغبته فيه وشدة إعجابه به ه [95] فإن قالوا اختلفت<sup>8</sup>  
713 علينا في أهل الفرقة الأولى شهادة<sup>9</sup> أهل القبلة فإن معاوية أيضًا

MSS خالفوها<sup>4</sup>    S الكوفة<sup>2</sup>    S البصرة<sup>1</sup>    MSS (originally حقًا?); om. Cook    في +<sup>3</sup>

MSS اختلف<sup>8</sup>    MSS فيه [Cook]<sup>7</sup>    MSS شهادة<sup>6</sup>    N تاسية [ناشية]    Cook S<sup>5</sup>

S بشهادة<sup>9</sup>

they disagreed about. So if it is right to suspend judgement, (it follows that) the people of Kūfa and Basra were guilty of unbelief when they responded to (calls to take sides over) something that had happened in their absence and on which they accepted the testimony of people they regarded as Muslims. (It also follows) that ʿAlī, al-Zubayr, and Ṭalḥa fell into unbelief when they called upon people to (take sides over) events which these people had not been there to see, but over which they nonetheless deemed it lawful to shed Muslim blood and to disown those who failed to respond; for they acted contrary to (the principle of) suspension of judgement (which would be wrong) if the latter is indeed God's religion regarding cases where one was absent from an event or lived after it happened. And (it also follows that) the Murji'ites are themselves guilty of unbelief when they suspend judgement on people who acted contrary to their religion.

93. If, as they say, it is wrong to charge a user of the *qibla* with error when that person lived before one's time, then they profess a doctrine which they violate in practice: for they call on the younger generation of their *qawm* to separate from Muḥāwiya and to disown him. If it is wrong for a Muslim to accuse someone who lived before his time on the basis of the testimony of the Muslims (at large), then they are wrong in calling (people) to a cause which it would be wrong for them to join; and if it is right for a Muslim to accuse someone who lived before his time on the basis of the testimony of the Muslims (at large), then they are wrong in pronouncing it wrong.

94. From all this, God be praised, they have no way out. If they say that Muḥāwiya is not like the people of the first schism, who were companions of the Messenger of God — if that is what they say, (we answer that) Muḥāwiya was a relative by marriage and a secretary of the Messenger of God, and that ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb only appointed him governor of the Syrians because he so liked and admired him.

95. If they say that they have conflicting testimony from the people of the *qibla* regarding the participants in the first schism (but not about Muḥāwiya, we reply that) on Muḥāwiya too

- 714 قد اختلفت فيه شهادة أهل القبلة فمنهم من يرضاه ومنهم من يسخطه ه  
 715 فإن قالوا إن معاوية ليس يخالفنا فيه أحدٌ إلا أحد<sup>1</sup> هو ضالُّ اليوم  
 716 فلا ينبغي لنا أن نردَّ شهادة المسلمين بقول<sup>2</sup> الضُّلال ه أمرنا الله أن  
 717 نُؤمن للمؤمنين ونهانا أن نُؤمن للضُّلال ه قال الله لرسوله<sup>3</sup> أَيُّمِّنُ  
 718 بِاللَّهِ وَيُؤْمِنُ لِلْمُؤْمِنِينَ<sup>4</sup> ه وقال لآخرين<sup>5</sup> لا تَعْتَدِرُوا لَنْ نُؤْمِنَ لَكُمْ قَد  
 719 نَبَأْنَا اللَّهَ مِنْ أَخْبَارِكُمْ<sup>6</sup> ه [96] فإن قالوا إنَّ مَنْ ندعوه<sup>3</sup> مِنْ [الناشئة]<sup>4</sup> إلى فراق  
 720 معاوية والبراءة منه يعرف ضلالته لما أدركه<sup>5</sup> مِنْ أَثَرِهِ فَإِنَّا بِحَمْدِ اللَّهِ  
 721 نعرف اليومَ ضلالته مَنْ ضلَّ مِنْ أَهْلِ الْفِرْقَةِ الْأُولَى لِمَا أَدْرَكْنَا مِنْ  
 722 آثَارِهِ وَمِنْ بَرَاءَةِ الْمُسْلِمِينَ مِنْهُمْ ه [97] وكيف يعلمون أنَّ أبا بكر وعمر  
 723 مهتديان وهم لا يدرون كما يزعمون مَنْ ضلَّ مِنْ أَهْلِ الْفِرْقَةِ الْأُولَى  
 724 مِمَّنْ اهْتَدَى وَإِنَّمَا كَانُوا بَعْدَهُمَا فَإِنْ قَالُوا إِنَّ أبا بكر وعمر قد اجتمعت  
 725 لهما شهادة أهل القبلة بالهدى فتوليناها لذلك واختلفت في  
 726 أهل الفرقة الأولى فلذلك أرجأناهم فإن احتجوا بذلك فإنَّ أبا  
 727 بكر وعمر قد اختلفت أيضًا فيها شهادة أهل القبلة فبرئ منها  
 728 ناسٌ كثيرٌ مِنَ السَّبَابَةِ<sup>6</sup> فإن قالوا إِنَّا نعرف كذب السَّبَابَةِ<sup>6</sup> على  
 729 أبا بكر وعمر وظلمهم إياهما بما<sup>7</sup> أدركنا اليوم<sup>8</sup> مِنْ ضلالتهم فليعرفوا  
 730 كذب<sup>9</sup> أولياء مَنْ ضلَّ مِنْ أَهْلِ الْفِرْقَةِ الْأُولَى فِيهِمْ أَوْ صَدَقَهُمْ فِيهِمْ  
 731 بما أدركوا <اليوم> مِنْ ضلالتهم أَوْ هُدَاهُمْ فَإِنْ قَالُوا كَيْفَ نَرُدُّ شَهَادَةَ قَوْمٍ

يشهدون

<sup>1</sup> MSS ] om. Cook    <sup>2</sup> Cook ] لقول MSS    <sup>3</sup> Cook ] ندعو ( )    <sup>4</sup> Cook ]  
 MSS ] انما    <sup>5</sup> Cook ]    <sup>6</sup> Cook (159) السبئية = HX; السبابة ] S N    <sup>7</sup> MSS ] ادرك    <sup>8</sup> MSS ] القوم    <sup>9</sup> Cook ] كيف

there is conflicting testimony from the people of the *qibla*. Some approve and some disapprove of him. If they say that these days no one disagrees with them about Mu‘āwiya unless he is himself astray, then (they admit that) it is not for us to reject the testimony of the Muslims (at large) on account of what is said by those who are astray: God has commanded us to believe the believers and forbidden us to believe those who are astray, by saying, addressing His Messenger, ‘He believes in God and believes the believers’ (9: 61). And, addressing others, ‘Do not make excuses, we will not believe you; God has told us tidings of you’ (9: 94).

96. If they argue that the younger generation whom they call upon to separate from Mu‘āwiya and to disown him can tell that he was wrong from the reports of his (conduct) still current in their time, then (we reply that just so) we, thank God, can tell today the error of those who were wrong in the first schism from the reports still current in our time, and from the fact that the Muslims (at large) disown them.

97. How, moreover, do they know that Abū Bakr and ‘Umar were right when they claim not to be able to tell who was wrong from who was right among the participants in the first schism, who were later than those two? If they say that the people of the *qibla* are unanimous in proclaiming Abū Bakr and ‘Umar right, and that this is why they affiliate to them, whereas the people of the *qibla* disagree about the participants in the first schism, and that this is why they suspend judgement on them — if this is what they argue, then (we reply that) on Abū Bakr and ‘Umar too the testimony of the people of the *qibla* is contradictory. Many of the Saba’iyya dissociate from them. If they reply that they can tell the mendacity and injustice of the Saba’iyya regarding Abū Bakr and ‘Umar from the errors they observe in them today, then let them (likewise) tell the mendacity or truthfulness of those who affiliate to the misguided participants in the first schism on the basis of the error or right guidance which they can observe in them (today). If they ask, ‘how can we reject the testimony of people

- 732 يشهدون بشهادتنا ويستقبلون قبلتنا ويصدقون نبينا فكيف  
 733 يردّون شهادة السبابة في أبي بكر وعمر وهم يشهدون بشهادتهم  
 734 ويستقبلون قبلتهم ويصدقون نبينهم وكيف يردّون قول الأزارقة  
 735 في الرجم وهم ممن يستقبل القبلة ه [98] وزعموا أنّ ملوك قومهم مؤمنون  
 736 مسلمون أحلّ الله فراقهم والبراءة منهم وحرّم ولايتهم والاستغفار  
 737 لهم ه فإن يكونوا مؤمنين مسلمين فقد ضلّوا بتحريمهم ولايتهم  
 738 والاستغفار لهم بعد قول الله<sup>a</sup> والمؤمنون والمؤمنات بعضهم  
 739 أولياء بعض<sup>a</sup> ه وقوله<sup>b</sup> استغفر<sup>1</sup> لذنبيك وللمؤمنين والمؤمنات<sup>b</sup> ه  
 740 وإن تكن ولايتهم والاستغفار لهم حراماً من الله على كل مسلم فقد  
 741 ضلّوا بتسميتهم إياهم مؤمنين ه [99] وزعموا أنّهم مؤمنون ضلّال  
 742 لا يعصمهم إيمانهم من الضلالة ولا تُوجب<sup>2</sup> لهم ضلالتهم الكفر  
 743 و﴿لا﴾ تُبرئهم من الإيمان وإتّما الناس كلّهم مؤمنٌ وكافرٌ وقد قضى  
 744 الله<sup>c</sup> ولا خلف لوعده<sup>c</sup> أنه<sup>d</sup> هادى<sup>3</sup> الذين آمنوا إلى صراطٍ مستقيم<sup>d</sup> ه  
 745 وأنّهم مُثبّت<sup>e</sup> الذين آمنوا بالقول الثابت في الحياة الدنيا وفي الآخرة<sup>e</sup> ه  
 746 وإن يكونوا مؤمنين فقد ضلّوا بشهادتهم عليهم<sup>4</sup> بالضلالة وقد  
 747 أخبرهم الله أنه<sup>d</sup> هادى الذين آمنوا إلى صراط مستقيم<sup>d</sup> وليس  
 748 من هداه إلى صراط مستقيم بضالّ ه وإن يكونوا ضلّالاً فقد ضلّوا  
 749 بشهادتهم <لهم> بالإيمان ه [100] ومنهم من يقول أشهد أنّهم<sup>5</sup> كفّار أبرياء<sup>5</sup> من  
 الإيمان

ST 1 واستغفر<sup>1</sup> S يوجب<sup>2</sup> ST 3 لهادى<sup>3</sup> MSS عليه [Cook<sup>4</sup>] Cook S N ]<sup>5-5</sup>  
 HX كفّاراً برياً

a-a 9: 71 (fully quoted at ll. 920 f below) b-b 47: 19 c-c Cf. 22: 47  
 (...), sim. 30: 6 d-d 22: 54 e-e 14: 27 (cf. l. 57 above)

who profess our creed, use our *qibla*, and believe in our Prophet?', then how do they reject the testimony of the Saba'iyya regarding Abū Bakr and 'Umar, when they too profess their creed, use their *qibla*, and believe in their Prophet? And how do they reject what the Azāriqa, who also use the *qibla*, say about stoning?

98. They claim that the kings of their *qamm* are believers and Muslims, but that God has made it lawful to separate from them and to disown them, and unlawful to associate with them and to ask for forgiveness for them. But if they are indeed believers and Muslims, they are wrong in deeming it unlawful to associate with them and to pray for forgiveness for them, given God's words 'The believers, the men and women, are friends of one another' (9: 71), and 'Ask forgiveness for thy sin, and for the believers, men and women' (47: 19). And if God has made it unlawful to associate with them and to pray for forgiveness for them, then they are wrong in calling them believers.

99. They claim that they (the kings) are believers who have gone astray, that their faith does not preserve them from error and that (conversely) their error does not necessarily make them infidels or exclude them from faith. But everyone is either a believer or an infidel. For God, whose promise will come about without fail (cf. 22: 47, 30: 6), has decreed that He will 'guide those who believe to a straight path' (22: 54) and that He will 'confirm those who believe with the firm words in this life and the next' (14: 27). If the kings are believers, the Murji'ites are wrong in saying that they have gone astray, given that God has told them that He will 'guide those who believe to a straight path' (22: 54); for one whom He has guided to a straight path cannot be astray. And if the kings are astray, the Murji'ites are wrong in declaring them believers.

100. Some of them profess that the kings are infidels devoid of faith

- 750 يعرفون ذلك زعموا من القرآن وهم [مع]<sup>1</sup> ذلك يتولّون مَنْ يشهد أنّهم  
 751 مؤمنون أبرياء من الكفر فإن يكونوا كفّارًا كما يقولون أبرياء من الإيمان  
 752 فقد ضلّ مَنْ شهد أنّ الكفّار مؤمنون أبرياء من الكفر وضلّوا هم  
 753 بتولّيهم<sup>2</sup> إيّاهم على شهادتهم وإن يكونوا مؤمنين أبرياء من الكفر  
 754 فقد ضلّ مَنْ شهد أنّ المؤمنين كفّار أبرياء<sup>3</sup> من الإيمان<sup>3</sup> وضلّوا هم بتولّيهم<sup>2</sup>  
 755 إيّاهم على شهادتهم [101] فقد \\\\|<sup>4</sup> أمر المرجئة ويجمعهم من الضلالة أنّهم  
 756 دانوا<sup>a</sup> برأيهم وقدّروا<sup>b5</sup> الأمر من قبل أنفسهم وخالفوا سبيل مَنْ هدى  
 757 الله قبلهم وردّوا شهادة المسلمين بشهادة الضّلال ه [102] وزعموا  
 758 أنّ مَنْ أجاز شهادتهم فيما <لم><sup>6</sup> يدرك ضالًّا فإن يكن هذا من قولهم  
 759 حقًّا يضلّوا بدعائهم ناشئة<sup>7</sup> قومهم إلى فراق مَنْ لم يدركوا ه ويضلّهم  
 760 تحريم ولاية ملوك قومهم وقطع البراءة منهم وفراقهم وترك  
 761 الاستغفار لهم إن كانوا مؤمنين ه ويضلّهم إن كانوا غير مؤمنين  
 762 تسميتهم إيّاهم مؤمنين وتولّيهم<sup>8</sup> من زعم أنّهم مؤمنون<sup>9</sup> ه ويضلّهم  
 763 تولّيهم<sup>10</sup> قومًا يجيبونهم إلى فراق عدوّهم ولا يتولّونهم ما لم يبرؤوا  
 764 منهم ه ويضلّهم اختلاف شهادتهم وسيرتهم ه [103] ويضلّهم تأويل  
 765 كتاب الله على غير ما أنزله الله فأولوا في الإرجاء قول الله  
 766 <sup>c</sup> تلك أمة قد خلت لها ما كسبت ولكم ما كسبتم ولا تُسألون عمّا  
 767 كانوا يعملون<sup>c</sup> ه وسؤال فرعون موسى عن<sup>d</sup> القرون الأولى<sup>d</sup> فتقال

علمها

MSS اسنح<sup>4</sup> Cook S N ] -HX<sup>3-3</sup> MSS بتولّيهم<sup>2</sup> Cook ]<sup>2</sup> MSS في<sup>1</sup>  
 S وتولّيهم<sup>8</sup> N HX تاسية ] Cook S<sup>7</sup> Cook<sup>6</sup> HX تقدروا ] Cook S N<sup>5</sup>  
 S تولّيهم<sup>10</sup> HX مؤمنين ] Cook S N<sup>9</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Cf. 9: 29 at l. 598 above

<sup>b</sup> Cf. 74: 16 f (... إِنَّهُ فَكَّرَ وَقَدَّرَ ...)

<sup>c-c</sup> 2: 134, 141 <sup>d-d</sup> 20: 51 <sup>e-z</sup> 20: 52

and claim to know this from the Qurʾān. For all that, they associate with those Murjiʿites who profess that the kings are believers devoid of unbelief. If the kings are infidels, as they say they are, devoid of faith, then those who declare infidels to be believers devoid of unbelief have gone astray, and those who associate with them despite their profession have gone astray as well.

101. The Murjiʿite cause has thus [split up?], but the error which unites them is that they base their doctrine on their own opinion, decide their stance for themselves, oppose the way of those whom God has guided before their time and reject the testimony of the Muslims for the testimony of people who have gone astray.

102. They claim that it is wrong to admit the testimony of the Muslims on events which happened before one's time. But if that doctrine of theirs is right, they are wrong in calling the younger generation of their *qawm* to separate from people who lived before their time. (Further,) if the kings of their *qawm* are believers, they are wrong in forbidding association with them, in disowning them and separating from them outright, and in omitting to ask for forgiveness for them; and if they are not believers, they are wrong in calling them believers, and in associating with those who claim that believers they are. (Further,) they are wrong in associating with people to whom they will respond<sup>1</sup> when (they call for) separation from their enemy, but with whom they will not associate as long as they are not disowning them. They are wrong in the discrepancy between their declarations and their conduct.

103. They are wrong in interpreting the Book of God in a sense different from that with which God sent it down. For they interpret as references to suspension of judgement the words of God, 'That is a nation that has passed away; there awaits them that they have earned, and there awaits you that you have earned; you shall not be questioned concerning the things they did' (2: 134, 141); and Pharaoh's question to Moses about the former generations (20: 51)

<sup>1</sup> Or 'who will respond to them'.

768 عَلِمْتُهَا عِنْدَ رَبِّي فِي كِتَابٍ لَا يَضِلُّ رَبِّي وَلَا يَنْسَى<sup>z</sup> هـ [104] وَلَعَمْرُ اللَّهِ لَئِن أَنْزَلْنَا  
 769 مَنْ أَدْرَكْتَهُ الْفُرْقَةَ الْأُولَى<sup>1</sup> مِنْ أَهْلِ الْقَبِيلَةِ مَنْزِلَةً هَذِهِ الْأُمَّةَ الَّتِي سَمَّاها  
 770 اللَّهُ قَدْ خَلَّتْ لِنُنزِلْنَهُمْ<sup>2</sup> مَنْزِلَةً رُسُلَ اللَّهِ<sup>a</sup> الْمُصْطَفَيْنَ الْأَخْيَارِ<sup>ه</sup> هـ  
 771 فَمَا هَذِهِ الْآيَةُ مِنَ الْإِرْجَاءِ فِي شَيْءٍ فَإِنَّ<sup>3</sup> هَذِهِ الْأُمَّةُ <هِيَ><sup>4</sup> الَّتِي قَالَ اللَّهُ  
 772 لَمَنْ اختلف فيها مِنْ أَهْلِ الْكِتَابِ<sup>b</sup> أَمْ تَقُولُونَ<sup>5</sup> إِنَّ إِبْرَاهِيمَ  
 773 وَإِسْمَاعِيلَ وَإِسْحَاقَ وَيَعْقُوبَ وَالْأَسْبَاطَ كَانُوا هُودًا أَوْ نَصَارَى  
 774 قُلْ اءاتَمُّ<sup>6</sup> أَمْ أَعْلَمُ<sup>ه</sup> أَمْ اللَّهُ وَمَنْ أَظْلَمُ مِمَّنْ كَتَمَ شَهَادَةَ عِنْدَهُ مِنْ اللَّهِ  
 775 وَمَالَ اللَّهِ يَغَافِلُ عَمَّا يَعْمَلُونَ هـ تِلْكَ أُمَّةٌ قَدْ خَلَّتْ لَهَا مَا كَسَبَتْ وَلَكِنْ  
 776 مَا كَسَبْتُمْ وَلَا تُسْأَلُونَ عَمَّا كَانُوا يَعْمَلُونَ<sup>b</sup> هـ فَمَا نَحْنُ بِحَمْدِ اللَّهِ تُرْجَى<sup>7</sup>  
 777 رُسُلَ اللَّهِ بَلْ نَشْهَدُ أَنَّهُمْ أَهْلُ الدَّرَجَاتِ<sup>c</sup> وَنَتَوَلَّاهُمْ وَنَشْهَدُ  
 778 لَهُمْ بِالْبِرَاءَةِ مِنَ الرَّيْبَةِ<sup>8</sup> وَاللَّذَنَسِ وَلَئِن ضَرَبْنَا مَثَلًا <أَهْلًا><sup>4</sup> الْفُرْقَةَ الْأُولَى  
 779 مِثْلَهُمْ <ف> مَا فِيهِمْ إِذَا مِنْ شَكٍّ وَلَا إِرْجَاءٍ هـ [105] وَأَمَّا سُؤَالُ فِرْعَوْنَ مُوسَى  
 780 عَنِ الْقُرُونِ الْأُولَى فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ أَرْسَلَ نُوحًا وَهُودًا وَصَالِحًا وَإِبْرَاهِيمَ  
 781 وَلُوطًا قَبْلَ مُوسَى فَهَمُّ وَأَتْبَاعُهُمْ وَأَعْدَاؤُهُمُ الْقُرُونِ الْأُولَى  
 782 أَفَيْرَى<sup>9</sup> الْمُرْجُوتُونَ أَنَّ مُوسَى أَنْزَلَهُمْ مَنْزِلَةً وَاحِدَةً مَا فَعَلَ مُوسَى  
 783 ذَلِكَ بَلْ تَوَلَّى إِخْوَانَهُ وَبَرَى مِنْ أَعْدَائِهِمْ فَقَدْ أَخْطَؤُوا<sup>10</sup> وَاللَّهُ مَحْمُودٌ  
 784 وَجَادَلُوا بِغَيْرِ بُرْهَانٍ<sup>d</sup> وَحَرَفُوا مَا تَأَوَّلُوا مِنَ الْقُرْآنِ عَنِ<sup>11</sup> مَوَاضِعِهِ<sup>e</sup>  
 785 وَاعْتَبَرُوا الَّذِينَ بِالْجَمَاعَةِ فَوَاللَّهِ لَئِن كَانَ مَنْ أَدْرَكَتَهُ الْفُرْقَةُ

MSS وان<sup>3</sup> HX لتنزلهنهم<sup>2</sup> Cook S N ] MSS ادركت الفرقة<sup>1-1</sup>

MSS مرجئ<sup>7</sup> ST Cook ] اءاتم<sup>6</sup> MSS ] يقولون<sup>5</sup> MSS Cook<sup>4</sup>

MSS عند<sup>11</sup> Cook ] HX اخطوا<sup>10</sup> MSS افترى<sup>9</sup> HX الرتة<sup>8</sup> Cook S N ]

(وَأَذْكُرُ عِبَادَنَا إِبْرَاهِيمَ وَإِسْحَاقَ وَيَعْقُوبَ ... وَإِنَّهُمْ عِنْدَنَا لَعِنَ الْمُصْطَفَيْنَ الْأَخْيَارِ) 38: 45-47 Cf. a-  
 Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob are all mentioned in the verse (2: 140, quoted two lines down)  
 preceding the one invoked by the Murji'a at ll. 766 f above. b-b 2: 140 f c Cf. 2: 253

(تِلْكَ الرُّسُلُ فَضَّلْنَا بَعْضَهُمْ عَلَى بَعْضٍ مِنْهُمْ مَنْ كَلَّمَ اللَّهُ وَرَفَعَ بَعْضَهُمْ دَرَجَاتٍ ...) d-d Cf.  
 (... يُجَادِلُ فِي اللَّهِ بِغَيْرِ عِلْمٍ ...) 18: 56; 22: 3, 8, 31: 20 (... وَجَادَلُوا بِالْبَاطِلِ ...) 40: 5;  
 (... يُجَادِلُونَ فِي آيَاتِ اللَّهِ بِغَيْرِ سُلْطَانٍ أَتَاهُمْ ...) 40: 35, 56; 2: 111, 21: 24, 27: 64, 28: 75  
 (... هَاتُوا بُرْهَانَكُمْ ...) e-e Cf. ll. 504 f above

to which ‘he replied, “The knowledge of them is with my Lord, in a book; my Lord goes not astray, nor forgets”’ (20: 52).

**104.** By the life of God, if we place the people of the *qibla* involved in the <first> schism in the same category as the nation here described by God as having passed away, then we classify them as chosen, excellent (38: 47) messengers of God. This verse has nothing to do with suspension of judgement. The nation referred to here is the one regarding which God told the people of the Book who disagreed about it, ‘Or do you say Abraham, Ishmael, Isaac, and Jacob, and the tribes — they were Jews or Christians? Say: have you then greater knowledge, or God? And God is not heedless of the things you do. That is a nation that has passed away; there awaits them that they have earned, and there awaits you that you have earned; you shall not be questioned concerning the things they did’ (2: 140 f). We, for our part, thank God, do not propose to suspend judgement on God’s messengers. Rather, we profess that they are distinguished by degrees (cf. 2: 253), and we affiliate to them and testify that they are free from all doubt and blemish. If we compare <the participants in> the first schism to *them*, there can be no occasion for doubt or suspension of judgement about them.

**105.** As for Pharaoh’s question to Moses about the former generations, God sent Noah, Hūd, Ṣāliḥ, Abraham, and Lot before Moses: they and their followers and foes are the former generations. Do the Murji’ites think that Moses put them (all) in a single category? He did not. Rather, he affiliated to his brethren and disowned their enemies. The Murji’ites are mistaken, praise be to God. They argue without proof (cf. 2: 111, etc.) and distort the Qur’ān by quoting it out of context. They take religion to mean communal unity (*al-jamā‘a*). By God, if (all)

786 الأولى من عباد الله كفروا <أجمعون><sup>1</sup> ما عرفوا كفرهم ولئن كانوا تفرقوا على هدى  
 787 وضلالة ما وصلوا<sup>a</sup> حبّهم<sup>b</sup> بجبل واحد من الفريقين<sup>c</sup> ه [106] وزعمت الفتنة  
 788 أن ملوك قومهم<sup>d</sup> قوم سوء<sup>d</sup> مفتونون<sup>e</sup> حرم الله جهادهم وقتالهم  
 789 حتى يراجعوا الحق وينزعوا عما هم عليه من الضلالات وقد أمر الله  
 790 في كتابه لو فقهوا [قول]<sup>2</sup> الله بجهاد أهل البغي<sup>f</sup> حتى يفيئوا إلى أمر الله<sup>f</sup> و  
 791 يقتال أهل الفتنة حتى ينزعوا عنها<sup>g</sup> وحتى لا تكون فتنة<sup>g</sup> فقد  
 792<sup>h</sup> أكذب الله حديثهم<sup>h</sup> ه [107] وزعموا أن الأئمة تهتدى بأمر يضل به الناس  
 793 إن أخذوا في ذلك بمثل ما أخذت به الأئمة<sup>3</sup> ه وذلك أنهم يزعمون  
 794 أن إماماً لو عمل بالحق كله ولزم طاعة ربه في كل شيء نزل به فعبت<sup>4</sup>  
 795 عليه طائفة من الناس أشياء من الحق فاستحلوا دمه إن لم ينزع  
 796 عنها حل<sup>5</sup> للإمام جهادهم وحل<sup>6</sup> للمسلمين معاونته<sup>7</sup> على قتالهم حتى  
 797 يتوبوا ويقروا<sup>8</sup> بما أنكروا من الحق فإن رجع الإمام عن الحق إلى  
 798 المنزلة التي استحل عليها جهادهم حرم عليهم من جهاده حتى  
 799 يتوب الذي حل له من جهادهم حتى يتوبوا<sup>9</sup> وحرّم على المسلمين  
 800 <من> معاونتهم على ذلك الذي حل لهم من معاونة<sup>10</sup> الإمام عليه ه [108] فهذا  
 801 والحمد لله من قولهم باطل<sup>ه</sup> وذلك <أنه> إنما للإمام رجل من الناس ما اهتدى  
 802 به الإمام<sup>11</sup> من شيء اهتدى الناس بمثله وما ضلّ به الناس من شيء ضلّ  
 803 به الإمام إن<sup>12</sup> هو عميل به ه [109] وزعموا أن إماماً لو انتهى إليه حدٌّ من

حدود الله

<sup>1</sup> Cf. I. 691 above    <sup>2</sup> عن MSS    <sup>3</sup> الامّة MSS    <sup>4</sup> فعاب MSS    <sup>5</sup> sic MSS (not لَحَلَّ),  
 as also at II. 805, 811, 818, 824 below    <sup>6</sup> sic MSS (not حَلَّتْ), as also at II. 806, 812, 819, 825  
 below    <sup>7</sup> معونته MSS, but cf. ibid.    <sup>8</sup> او يقروا S N    <sup>9</sup> ياتوا MSS    <sup>10</sup> معاونته MSS  
<sup>11</sup> لا MSS    <sup>12</sup> اذ MSS

<sup>a</sup> alluding to some of the verses listed in the note to I. 535 above?

<sup>b</sup> Cf.

(وَأَعْتَصِمُوا بِحَبْلِ اللَّهِ جَمِيعًا وَلَا تَفَرَّقُوا ...) 3: 103

<sup>c</sup> Cf. 7: 30

(فريقاً هدىً وفريقاً حَقَّ عليهم الضلالة ...) (of Noah's contemporaries)

<sup>d-d</sup> 21: 74 (of Lot's compatriots)

(فَسَبِّحْهُ وَيُصِرُونَ ه بِأَيْكُمْ الْمُفْتُونُونَ)

<sup>e</sup> *mafīūn* occurs only once, at 68: 5 f

The 'Fatana' may have explained it with reference to verses using the words *fitna*, *fatannā*, and synonyms.

<sup>f-f</sup> Cf. 49: 9 (note to I. 489 above), as at

I. 503 above

<sup>g-g</sup> 2: 193, 8: 39 (cf. ibid.)

<sup>h-h</sup> The Fatana may have cited 68: 44

(فَذَرْنِي وَمَنْ يُكَذِّبُ بهذا الحديث سنستدرجهم من حيث لا يعلمون).

the servants of God involved in the first schism were unbelievers, the Murji'ites would not recognize their unbelief; and if they were separated by guidance and error, the Murji'ites would not throw in their lot with either side.

[The Fatana]

106. The Fatana claim that the kings of their people are 'an evil lot' (21: 74, 77) afflicted by (God's) trial (*maftūnūn*, cf. 68: 6), but that holy war and fighting against them till they revert to what is right and desist from their errors have been forbidden by God. Yet in His book, if only they understood God's word, God orders (the believers to wage) holy war on offenders till they revert to His command (cf. 49: 9) and to fight against people of *fitna* till they desist (from causing civil strife) and 'till there is no *fitna*' (2: 193, 8: 39). So God gives the lie to what they say.

107. They claim that imams are right where other people would be wrong if they adopted a course of action like that adopted by the imams. For they claim that if an imam always practised what was right and remained obedient to his Lord in every case he was confronted with, but was (nonetheless) denounced for some of his rightful practices by a group of people who declared it lawful to shed his blood unless he desisted, then it would be lawful for the imam to wage holy war on them, and for the Muslims to assist him in fighting them, till they repented and accepted the rightful things they had rejected. But if the imam lapsed from (being) right to the (same erroneous) position for which it had been lawful to wage holy war against them, then what was lawful for him would be unlawful for them — namely, to wage holy war on him till he repented, as he waged holy war on them till they repented. And it would not (now) be lawful for the Muslims to assist them as it was lawful for them to assist the imam.

108. This doctrine of theirs is false, thank God. For an imam is just an ordinary man. If it is right for the imam to act in a certain way, it is right for ordinary people to act likewise; and if it is wrong for ordinary people to act in a certain way, the imam is (just as) wrong if he does the same.

109. They claim that if (a case calling for) one of the penalties (*hadd*)

- 804 حدود الله فأراد أن يُقيمه لخال بينه وبين ذلك ناسٌ واستحلّوا  
 805 دمه إن أقام ذلك الحدّ على صاحبه حلّ له جهادهم حتّى يُسلموا لحكم  
 806 الله وحلّ للمسلمين معاونته على ذلك فإن فعل الإمام مثل ذلك  
 807 حرم عليهم من جهاده حتّى يسلم لحكم الله الذى حلّ له من جهادهم  
 808 حتّى يسلموا<sup>1</sup> لحكم الله<sup>1</sup> وحرم على المسلمين <من> معاونتهم على ذلك الذى  
 809 حلّ لهم من معاونته الإمام عليه ه [110] وزعموا<sup>2</sup> أنّ إماماً لو<sup>2</sup> منعتة طائفة  
 810 من الناس زكاةً أموالهم واستحلّوا دمه إن قسرهم على الزكاة  
 811 وهو مطيع لله يضع الصدقة <في الموضع> الذى جعلها الله فيه حلّ له جهادهم  
 812 وحلّ للمسلمين معاونته الإمام على ذلك ه فإن الإمام ركب مثل الذى  
 813 استحلّ عليه دماءهم فى منع الصدقة من أهلها حرم عليهم من  
 814 جهاده حتّى يراجع الحقّ الذى حلّ له من جهادهم حتّى يراجعوه<sup>3</sup>  
 815 وحرم على المسلمين من معاونتهم على ذلك الذى حلّ لهم من معاونته  
 816 الإمام عليه ه [111] وزعموا أنّ إماماً لو تحاكم إليه أناس<sup>4</sup> فى موارث  
 817 <sup>a</sup>فحكّم بينهم بالحقّ<sup>a</sup> فأنكروا الحقّ وأبوا أن يقرّوا به واستحلّوا عليه  
 818 دمه حلّ للإمام جهادهم حتّى يراجعوا الحقّ ويقرّوا بما أنكروا منه  
 819 وحلّ للمسلمين معاونته الإمام على ذلك ه وإن الإمام حكم بغير الحقّ  
 820 فاستحلّ دماءهم إن لم يقرّوا به حرم عليهم من جهاده حتّى  
 821 يراجع<sup>5</sup> الحقّ الذى حلّ له من جهادهم حتّى يراجعوه<sup>6</sup> وحرم على المسلمين

1 -N

2 MSS لو أنّ اماماً

3 MSS راجروه

4 S N ناس

5 MSS يراجعوا

6 MSS راجعوا

<sup>a-a</sup> Cf. 38:26 (quoted at II. 408 f above)

fixed by God came before the imam and he wanted to impose it, but was obstructed by people declaring that it would be lawful to take his life if he imposed that punishment on the guilty party, then it would be lawful for him to wage holy war on them till they submitted to God's judgement, and lawful for the Muslims to assist him in it. But if the imam then did something similar, what was lawful for him would be unlawful for them — namely, to wage holy war on him till he submitted to God's judgement, as he made holy war on them till they submitted to God's judgement. And it would not (now) be lawful for the Muslims to assist them as it was lawful for them to assist the imam.

110. They claim that if the imam (had to deal with) a group of people refusing to pay the alms tax (*zakāh*) on their property and declaring it lawful to shed his blood if he forced them to pay it, even though he obeyed God and (always) put the alms tax (*sadaqa*) <to the use> to which God has allocated it, then it would be lawful for him to wage holy war on them, and lawful for the Muslims to assist him in it. But if the imam then committed an act of withholding the alms tax from those entitled to it quite like the (sin) for which it was lawful for him to take their lives, then what was lawful for him would be unlawful for them — namely, to make holy war on him till he reverted to what is right as it was lawful for him to wage holy war on them till they reverted to it. And it would not (now) be lawful for the Muslims to assist them as it was lawful for them to assist the imam.

111. They claim that if people submitted an inheritance dispute to an imam and he judged between them rightly (cf. 38:26), but they rejected what was right, refused to accept it, and declared it lawful to take his life for (judging as he did), then it would be lawful for the imam to wage holy war on them till they reverted to what is right and accepted what they had rejected, and lawful for the Muslims to assist the imam in it. But if the imam failed to judge rightly and declared it lawful to take their lives unless they accepted his judgement, then what was lawful for him would be unlawful for them — namely, to wage holy war on him till he reverted to what is right as he was allowed to wage holy war on them till they reverted to it. And it would not (now) be lawful for the Muslims

- 822 من معاونتهم مثل الذى حلّ لهم من معاونة الإمام عليه ه [112] وزعموا أنّ رجلاً  
 823 لو قتل نفساً عمداً او خطأً فأبى أن يقرّ فيه بالقصاص والدية وحالت<sup>1</sup>  
 824 طائفة من الناس بين الإمام وبينه حلّ للإمام جهادهم حتى يسلموا  
 825 لحكم الله فى ذلك ويقرّوا فيه بأمره وحلّ للمسلمين معاونته على ذلك  
 826 فإن الإمام أصاب مثل ذلك ثمّ لم يقرر فيه بحكم الله  
 827 حرم عليهم من جهاده حتى يسلم لحكم الله فى ذلك ويقرّ فيه بأمره  
 828 الذى حلّ له من جهادهم حتى يسلموا لحكم  
 829 الله ويقرّوا<sup>2</sup> بأمره وحرم على المسلمين <من> معاونتهم على ذلك الذى حلّ لهم  
 830 من معاونة الإمام عليه ه [113] وزعموا أنّ ملوك قومهم قد اظلموا الناس  
 831 ويغوا فى الأرض بغير الحق<sup>3</sup> ولا يدرون أستوجبوا من الله بذلك  
 832 العقوبة أم استوجبوا به الرحمة ه وقد قال الله<sup>b</sup> إنّما السبيل على  
 833 الذين يظلمون الناس ويبتغون فى الأرض بغير الحقّ أولئك لهم  
 834 عذابٌ أليمٌ<sup>b</sup> ه <... ه><sup>3</sup> ثمّ إنّنا لا نرى اليوم شيئاً أفضل ولا أهدى ولا أقرب  
 835 إلى طاعة الله ولا خيراً فيما بعد الموت ولا أوجب للحجة<sup>4</sup> فى الدنيا  
 836 من الرضى بسبيل من هدى الله قبلنا والإقتداء<sup>5</sup> بصالح سنتهم قال الله<sup>6</sup>  
 837 <sup>c</sup>يريد الله ليبين لكم ويهديكم سنن الذين من قبلكم ويتوب  
 838 عليكم والله عليمٌ حكيمٌ<sup>ه</sup> [114] فأمرنا <اليوم> تبع لأمر<sup>7</sup> المسلمين قبل نزول الفتنه  
 839 للمسلمين يوم قتلوا عثمان ويوم الجمل ويوم أنكروا تحكيم الرجال  
 فى دينهم

MSS واقضى<sup>5</sup> N الحجة<sup>4</sup> see Introduction, p. 21 MSS واقروا<sup>2</sup> MSS وجعل<sup>1</sup>  
 6 -HX, + انما MSS لا يمة<sup>7</sup> MSS لائمة<sup>8-0</sup> -Sālimī

<sup>a-a</sup> Cf. the verse (42:42) quoted two lines down in *refutation* of the present claim.  
 If the Fatana did quote that verse themselves, they probably continued with 42:43  
 (ولمّن صبرَ وعَفَرَ إنّ ذلك لَمِنَ عَزْمِ الْأُمُورِ). <sup>b-b</sup> 42:42 <sup>c-c</sup> 4:26

to assist them as it was lawful for them to assist the imam.

112. They also claim that if a man killed someone, intentionally or by mistake, and refused to accept (the imam's sentence of) retaliation or blood money, and a group of people intervened to protect him from the imam, then it would be lawful for the imam to wage holy war on them till they submitted to God's judgement and accepted His command in the case, and lawful for the Muslims to assist him in that. But if the imam inflicted similar (damage) without accepting God's judgement in the case, then what was lawful for him would be unlawful for them — namely, to wage holy war on him till he submitted to God's judgement and accepted His command in the case. And it would not (now) be lawful for the Muslims to assist them as it was lawful for them to assist the imam.

113. They claim that the kings of their *qawm* have wronged people and been insolent in the earth without right (cf. 42: 42), but that they do not know whether they have thereby deserved God's punishment or mercy. Yet God says, 'The way is only open against those who do wrong to people, and are insolent in the earth without right; there awaits them a painful chastisement' (42: 42) . . . Today we see nothing more meritorious, more rightly guided, more in the nature of obedience to God, more beneficial after death, or more compelling as an argument in this world than being content with the path of those whom God has guided before us and following the example of their righteous *sunna*. God says, 'God desires to make clear to you, and to guide you in the institutions (*sunan*) of those before you, and to turn towards you; God is all-knowing, all-wise' (4: 26).

#### PART IV

114. Therefore our stance is like the stance<sup>1</sup> of the Muslims before the *fitna* came upon them on the day they killed 'Uthmān, on the Day of the Camel, and on the day when they rejected the appointment of men to be judges

<sup>1</sup> *taba' li-'amr al-muslimin*: the manuscript reads *taba' li-a'immat al-muslimin*, 'to follow the imams of the Muslims', and so does Sālimī. But, in what follows, *taba'* is used, not to say of a person that he follows the lead of another (in the sense of *ittaba'a*), but rather to say of something that it depends on, and accords with, something else on which it is modelled.

- 840 في دينهم<sup>0</sup> ه ورأينا اليوم<sup>1</sup> لرأيهم تبع<sup>1</sup> يومئذٍ وتأويلنا القرآن اليوم<sup>0</sup>
- 841 لتأولهم يومئذ تبع<sup>2</sup> لسنا ممن يزعم أنه [أقدره اليوم على ما]<sup>3</sup> في القرآن
- 842 والسنة<sup>4</sup> خفي عليهم<sup>4</sup> ه [115] نرى<sup>5</sup> بحق<sup>b</sup> الوالدين وحق<sup>c</sup> ذى القربى وحق<sup>c</sup> اليتامى
- 843 وحق<sup>c</sup> المساكين وحق<sup>c</sup> أبناء السبيل وحق<sup>c</sup> الصاحب وحق<sup>c</sup> الجار وحق<sup>c</sup>
- 844 ما ملكت أيماننا<sup>b</sup> علينا<sup>0</sup> حقاً<sup>0</sup> أبراراً كانوا أو نجاراً [116] وتؤدّى الأمانة إلى
- 845 من استأمننا عليها من<sup>0</sup> الناس كلهم من<sup>0</sup> قومنا او غيرهم ونوفى
- 846 بعهود قومنا<sup>6</sup> [من]<sup>7</sup> أهل الذمة<sup>6</sup> وزدّ على أهل الذمة إن استطعنا الذى
- 847 [ياخذهم به أهل]<sup>8</sup> الظلم من قومنا ومن<sup>9</sup> غيرهم<sup>0</sup> [117] ونجبر من استجارنا<sup>c</sup>
- 848 من قومنا<sup>10</sup> ومن غيرهم<sup>10</sup> ويأمن عندنا منهم<sup>11</sup> حضرة القتال<sup>d</sup> الكاف<sup>د</sup>
- 849 المعتزل<sup>11d</sup> حتى<sup>0</sup> يخلو إليهم الأمر<sup>0</sup> من غير ان<sup>12</sup> نكون نشك في ضلالتهم<sup>12</sup>
- 850 [ولا نُنزل لهم]<sup>13</sup> بين الحقّ والباطل منزلةً وليس بعد الحقّ إلا الضلال<sup>c</sup>
- 851 فإذا خلا إليهم الأمر<sup>0</sup> دعوناهم<sup>14</sup> إلى كتاب الله ومعرفة الحقّ وموالاته
- 852 أهله ومفارقة الباطل ومُعَاداة أهله ه فمن عرف منهم الحقّ وأقرّ به
- 853 وتولّانا عليه تولّيناه وحرّمنا دمه<sup>0</sup> وإن<sup>0</sup> <لم> ينفر معنا<sup>0</sup> ومن أنكر حقّ
- 854 الله منهم واستحبّ العمى على الهدى<sup>f</sup> ومفارقة<sup>15</sup> المسلمين<sup>16</sup> على مجامعتهم<sup>16</sup>
- 855 فارقناه وقتلناه<sup>g</sup> حتى<sup>يبي</sup> إلى أمر الله<sup>g</sup> أو يهلك على ضلّالته
- 856 من غير أن<sup>17</sup> نكون تراهم نزلوا<sup>17</sup> منازل عبدة الأوثان فنستحلّ<sup>18</sup>
- 857 سبأهم وقتل<sup>19</sup> ذراريهم وخمس<sup>20</sup> أموالهم وقطع<sup>21</sup> الميراث منهم [118] ولا نرى

S HX S افاد اليوم علما<sup>3</sup> Sālimī تبع لتأويلهم<sup>2-2</sup> S تبع لرأيهم<sup>1-1</sup> Sālimī - (0-0)

واهل الذمة وغيرهم<sup>6-6</sup> Sālimī ونرى<sup>5</sup> MSS Sālimī حتى غلبهم<sup>4-4</sup> N Sālimī افاد اليوم علما

Sālimī وغيرهم<sup>10-10</sup> S N او من<sup>9</sup> MSS ياخذونهم به من<sup>8</sup> Cf. I. 532 above<sup>7</sup> Sālimī

ولا يتخذهم<sup>13</sup> Sālimī نشك في ضلّالته<sup>12-12</sup> Sālimī الكاف عن القتال المعتزل بنفسه<sup>11-11</sup>

Sālimī وعاندهم<sup>16-16</sup> Sālimī وفارق<sup>15</sup> Sālimī وندعو<sup>14</sup> MSS (cf. I. 534 above)

Sālimī ولا غنيمه<sup>20</sup> Sālimī ولا قتل<sup>19</sup> Sālimī فلا نستحل<sup>18</sup> Sālimī ننزلهم<sup>17-17</sup>

Sālimī ولا قطع<sup>21</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Cf. the allusion at l. 756 above to the Qur'ānic condemnation of *taqdīr* <sup>b-b</sup> Cf. II. 535 f above <sup>c-c</sup> Cf. 9: 6 at II. 554 f above <sup>d-d</sup> Cf. II. 242 f, 246, 251, 533 above <sup>e-e</sup> Cf. 10: 32, as at II. 534 f above <sup>f-f</sup> Cf. 41: 17 (... على الهدى)

<sup>g-g</sup> Cf. 49: 9, as at II. 503, 790 above

of their religion. Our opinion today follows their opinion then; our interpretation of the Qurʾān today follows their interpretation then. We are not among those who claim to be [more capable today (than the Muslims of the past) of determining the meaning of?] Qurʾān and *sunna* where it was concealed from them.

115. We see it as our duty to respect the right of parents, relatives, orphans, poor people, travellers, companions, neighbours, and slaves, whether they are pious or impious.

116. We discharge all trusts entrusted to us by anyone, be he of our *qawm* or not; we honour the contracts of our *qawm* with (?) *dhimmīs*; and we make restitution to *dhimmīs*, if we can, for wrongs they have suffered at the hands of our *qawm* and others.

117. We grant protection to anyone of our *qawm* or anyone else who asks for it. At times of war, anyone who restrains (his hand and tongue) and withdraws is safe with us and will be left alone to think it over, even though we shall neither doubt their error [nor grant them?] a position between right and wrong, for there is nothing after truth but error (cf. 10:32). When they have had time to think it over, we shall call upon them to (follow) the Book of God, to recognize the truth and treat its followers as friends, and to separate from falsehood and treat its followers as foes. If they recognize the truth, acknowledge it, and associate with us on that basis, we shall associate with them and deem it unlawful to take their lives, even if they do <not> campaign with us. And if they reject God's truth, preferring blindness to guidance (cf. 41:17) and separation from the Muslims to union with them, we (in turn) separate from them and fight them till they return to God's command (cf. 49:9) or perish in their error. But we do not hold that they should be classified as idolaters so as to make it lawful for us to enslave them, kill their offspring, treat their property as booty, or sever relationships of inheritance with them.

118. We do not hold with

- 858 الفَتَكَ<sup>1</sup> بقومنا وقتلهم في السرِّ وإن كانوا ضلَّالًا<sup>0</sup> ما دُئنا بين ظهرانيهم
- 859 نُظهِر لهم الرضى بالذى هم عليه<sup>0</sup> وذلك أن<sup>2</sup> الله لم يأمر به في كتابه
- 860<sup>0</sup> ولا نعلم أحدًا ممن مضى من أولياء الله في الأمم الماضية استحلَّ
- 861 شيئًا من ذلك وهو بمثل منزلتنا فنقتدى بسنتهم في ذلك<sup>0</sup> ولم
- 862 يفعلهُ أحدٌ من المسلمين ممن كان بمكة بأحدٍ<sup>3</sup> من المشركين
- 863 فنفعله<sup>4</sup> نحن بأهل القبلة وقد أمر الله نبيّه<sup>5</sup> أن يُبَدَّ إلى من خاف
- 864 منه خيانه فقال<sup>a</sup> وإما تخافن من قوم خيانة فأنبذ إليهم
- 865 على سؤاء إن الله لا يحب الخائنين<sup>a</sup> ه [119]<sup>0</sup> ونكره أن يتكلف أحدٌ من
- 866 المسلمين مع ملوك قومه ما كانوا على ضلالتهم وذلك أن
- 867 الرجل المسلم إذا هو غزًا معهم فدعا <أعداء>هم إلى طاعتهم إنما يدعو
- 868 إلى طاعة قومٍ يشهد أنهم كفارٌ فلا ينبغي له أن يدعو الناس
- 869 إلى طاعتهم فإن أجابوه إليها برئ منهم وإن فارقه
- 870 عليها استحلَّ قتالهم إنما يصير المقاتل معهم على أحدٍ منزلتين
- 871 إما على ولايتهم ورضى بأمرهم وإما على نصرهم وتسديد<sup>6</sup>
- 872 سلطانهم<sup>0</sup> ه [120] وزى أن<sup>7</sup> مناكحة قومنا وموارثتهم لا تحرم علينا
- 873 ما داموا يستقبلون قبلتنا لأن المسلمين قد كانوا يناكحون
- 874 المنافقين ويوارثونهم<sup>0</sup> وهم يعلمون<sup>0</sup> ويظهر منهم<sup>8</sup> من المعاصي
- 875 أكثر مما يظهر اليوم من كثير قومنا ه [121] ولا نرى أن نقذف<sup>9</sup> أحدًا

ممن يستقبل

Sālimi فكيف نفعله<sup>4</sup> HX ياخذ<sup>3</sup> Sālimi لان<sup>2-2</sup> MSS للفتك [Sālimi]<sup>1</sup> Sālimi<sup>0-0</sup> -Sālimi

Sālimi من المنافقين HX لهم<sup>8</sup> -MSS [Sālimi]<sup>7</sup> وتشديد MSS, possibly for HX<sup>6</sup> -HX<sup>5</sup>

MSS نقفوا [Sālimi]<sup>9</sup>

assassinating our *qawm* or killing them in secret, however wrong they may be. As long as we live among them, we show them approval of their ways. For God does not command us to (assassinate or kill in secret) in His book. Neither do we know of anyone among God's allies in the nations of the past who deemed any such thing to be lawful when in a position like ours, so that we would be following their *sunna* in (doing) that. Nor did any of the Muslims in Mecca do it to any of the polytheists, so that we might do it to people (who are not even polytheists but people) of the *qibla*. God ordered his Prophet to dissolve a league with people from whom he feared treachery, saying, 'And if thou fearest treachery any way at the hands of a people, dissolve it with them equally: surely God loves not the treacherous' (8: 58).

119. We disapprove of any Muslim undertaking (to serve) with the kings of their *qawm* as long as the latter continue in the error of their ways. For if a Muslim campaigns with them and thereby calls upon their <enemies> to obey them, he will be calling upon them to obey people he professes to be infidels. But he must not call upon others to obey (the kings), for if they respond and obey them, he will (have to) disown them; and if they separate from him and do not obey them, he will (have to) deem it lawful to fight them. He who fights along with kings is in one of two positions: either he will be siding with them in (full) approval of their cause, or else he will be helping them and strengthening their rule (*sulṭān*) (despite reservations).

120. We hold that we are not forbidden to have relations of marriage and inheritance with our *qawm* as long as they share our *qibla*. For the Muslims used to have relations of marriage and inheritance with the hypocrites, knowing (them for what they were), though the hypocrites could be seen to commit more sins than can be seen (to be committed) by the majority of our *qawm* today.

121. We do not hold with impugning the chastity of

- 876 مَمَّنْ يَسْتَقْبِلُ قَبْلَتَنَا <sup>1a</sup> ثُمَّ لَا عِلْمَ لَنَا بِهِ <sup>2</sup> فَإِنَّ كَثِيرًا مِنَ الْخَوَارِجِ <sup>2</sup>
- 877 يَسْتَحْلُونَ <sup>0</sup> فِي دِينِهِمْ <sup>0</sup> قَذَفَ مَنْ يَعْلَمُونَ أَنَّهُ بَرِيٌّ <sup>3</sup> مِنَ الزَّيْنِيِّ مِنَ قَوْمِهِمْ <sup>4</sup>
- 878 <sup>0</sup> بِفِرَاقِهِمْ زَعَمُوا إِيَّاهُ فَعَلَعَهُمْ <sup>5</sup> لَا يَكُونُوا كَلِمَوْهُ قَطُّ وَلَا أَخْبَرَهُمْ أَحَدٌ
- 879 مَمَّنْ يَتَوَلَّوْنَ أَنَّهُ كَلِمَهُ وَلَا يَدْرُونَ عَلَى مَا هُوَ قَالَ اللَّهُ <sup>b</sup> يَا أَيُّهَا
- 880 اذِينَ آمَنُوا كُونُوا قَوَّامِينَ لِلَّهِ شُهَدَاءَ بِالْقِسْطِ وَلَا يَجْرِمَنَّكُمْ
- 881 شَنَاةُ قَوْمٍ عَلَى الْآلَاءِ <sup>6</sup> تَعْدِلُوا أَعْدَلُوا هُوَ أَقْرَبُ لِلتَّقْوَى وَ
- 882 اتَّقُوا اللَّهَ إِنَّ اللَّهَ خَبِيرٌ بِمَا تَعْمَلُونَ <sup>b</sup> هَ مَعَ أَنَّ مَنْ اسْتَحْلَ ذَلِكَ مِنْهُمْ
- 883 لَوْ أَنَّ بَعْضَ أَوْلِيَائِهِ دَعَاهُ لِغَيْرِ أَبِيهِ لَمْ يَسْتَطِعْ <sup>7</sup> إِذَا
- 884 كَانَتْ أُمُّهُ <sup>8</sup> مِنْ قَوْمِهَا <sup>9</sup> وَإِنْ كَانَ يَعْلَمُ أَنَّ أُمَّهُ <sup>8</sup> مُحْصَنَةً لِفِرْجِهَا <sup>c</sup>
- 885 بَرِيَّةٌ مِمَّا قَذَفَهَا <sup>10</sup> بِهِ هَ وَنَحْنُ نَعْلَمُ بِحَمْدِ اللَّهِ وَنِعْمَتِهِ أَنَّ رَسُولَ
- 886 اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ قَدْ كَانَ يَجِدُ <sup>d</sup> الْمُنَافِقَ وَالْمُنَافِقَةَ
- 887 وَهُوَ يَعْلَمُ أَنَّهَا مُنَافِقَانِ كَافِرَانِ وَإِنَّمَا يَحْمِلُهُ عَلَى ذَلِكَ اسْتِقْبَالُهَا
- 888 الْقِبْلَةَ وَإِظْهَارُهُمَا <sup>e</sup> تَحْرِيمَ الزَّيْنِيِّ فِي دِينِهَا <sup>0</sup> وَالْبِرَاءَةَ <sup>11</sup> مَمَّنْ زَعَمَ أَنَّ
- 889 الزَّيْنِيَّ فِي دِينِهِ حَلَالٌ هَ [122] وَلَا نَرَى اسْتِعْرَاضَ قَوْمِنَا <sup>12</sup> مَا دَامُوا
- 890 يَسْتَقْبِلُونَ الْقِبْلَةَ <sup>0</sup> مِنْ قَبْلِ أَنْ نَدْعُوهُمْ إِلَى مَرَاجَعَةِ الْحَقِّ وَ
- 891 الْأَخْذَ بِهِ لِأَنَّ اللَّهَ رَضِيَ الدَّعَاءَ لِنَبِيِّهِ وَأَمَرَهُ بِهِ وَأَهْلَ الْإِيمَانِ
- 892 وَقَالَ اللَّهُ <sup>f</sup> يَا أَيُّهَا النَّبِيُّ إِنَّا أَرْسَلْنَاكَ شَاهِدًا وَمُبَشِّرًا وَنَذِيرًا هَ
- 893 وَدَاعِيًا إِلَى اللَّهِ بِأَذْنِهِ وَسِرَاجًا مُنِيرًا <sup>f</sup> هَ وَقَالَ <sup>g</sup> أَدْعُ إِلَى سَبِيلِ رَبِّكَ

برى <sup>3</sup> Sālimī خلافا للخوارج الذين <sup>2-2</sup> Sālimī بما لم نعلم انه فعله <sup>1-1</sup> Sālimī -<sup>0-0</sup>  
 S N ان لا <sup>6</sup> HX ولعلمهم <sup>5</sup> Sālimī وهم بذلك مضلون + <sup>4</sup> Sālimī برىء MSS  
 Sālimī ونبراً <sup>11</sup> MSS قذفوها <sup>10</sup> MSS قومها <sup>9</sup> MSS N امة <sup>8</sup> MSS ذلك غير <sup>7</sup>  
 Sālimī بالسيف + <sup>12</sup>

<sup>a-a</sup> Cf. 24: 15 (... وَتَقُولُونَ يَا فَوَهِيْكُمْ مَا لَيْسَ لَكُمْ بِهِ عِلْمٌ ...) <sup>b-b</sup> 5: 8 <sup>c-c</sup> Cf. 21: 91,  
 66: 12 (of Mary): ... الَّتِي أَحْصَيْتَ فَرْجَهَا ... <sup>d</sup> Cf. 24: 4, where flogging is prescribed as a  
 penalty for slandering chaste women <sup>e</sup> Cf. 1. 290 above <sup>f-f</sup> 33: 45 f <sup>g-z</sup> 16: 125

anyone who uses our *qibla* for something we have no knowledge of (cf. 24: 15). Many Khārijites deem it lawful in their religion to impugn the chastity of a member of their *qawm* of whom they know that he has dissociated from *zinā* (as a user of the *qibla*). They will make that claim (simply) because they have separated from him (as an unbeliever). Perhaps they have never spoken with him and no co-religionist of theirs has told them that he has spoken with him, and (as a result) they know nothing about his ways. (But) God says, ‘O believers, be you securers of justice, witnesses for God. Let not detestation for a people move you not to be equitable; be equitable — that is nearer to godfearing. And fear God; surely God is aware of the things you do’ (5: 8). Further, if anyone who deems that lawful were to be called a bastard by one of his co-religionists, he could not [reject the slur?] if his mother were of the *qawm*, even if he knew his mother to be perfectly chaste and innocent of what she was being accused of. We for our part know, thanks to God and His kindness, that the Messenger of God, may God’s blessing and peace be upon him, used to flog hypocrites, men and women, knowing that they were hypocrites and infidels. What moved him to do that was their use of the *qibla*, their overt acceptance of the unlawfulness of *zinā* in their religion and (their?) dissociation from anyone who claimed that *zinā* was lawful in his religion.

122. We do not hold with exposing our *qawm* to indiscriminate slaughter, as long as they use the *qibla*, before we have called upon them to revert to the truth and hold to it. For God liked His Prophet to call (upon people) and ordered him and the believers to do so, saying, ‘O Prophet! We have sent thee as a witness, and good tidings to bear and warning, calling unto God by His leave, and as a light-giving lamp’ (33: 45 f). And: ‘Call thou to the way of thy Lord

- 894 بِالْحِكْمَةِ وَالْمَوْعِظَةِ الْحَسَنَةِ وَجَادِهِمْ بِالتِّي هِيَ أَحْسَنُ إِنَّ رَبَّكَ هُوَ  
 895 أَعْلَمُ بِمَنْ ضَلَّ عَنْ سَبِيلِهِ وَهُوَ أَعْلَمُ بِالْمُهْتَدِينَ<sup>z</sup> ه وقال له<sup>a</sup> قُلْ هَذِهِ  
 896 سَبِيلِي أَدْعُو إِلَى اللَّهِ عَلَى بَصِيرَةٍ أَنَا وَمَنِ اتَّبَعَنِي وَسُبْحَانَ اللَّهِ  
 897 وَمَا أَنَا مِنَ الْمُشْرِكِينَ<sup>a</sup> ه وقال<sup>b</sup> وَلَتَكُنَّ مِنْكُمْ أُمَّةٌ يَدْعُونَ إِلَى الْخَيْرِ  
 898 وَيَأْمُرُونَ بِالْمَعْرُوفِ وَيَنْهَوْنَ عَنِ الْمُنْكَرِ وَأُولَئِكَ هُمُ الْمُفْلِحُونَ<sup>b</sup> ه  
 899 ثُمَّ قَالَ<sup>c</sup> وَمَنْ أَحْسَنُ قَوْلًا مِمَّنْ دَعَا إِلَى اللَّهِ وَعَمِلَ صَالِحًا وَقَالَ إِنَّنِي  
 900 مِنَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ<sup>c</sup> ه [123] ولا نرى قتل صغير<sup>1</sup> من أهل قبلتنا<sup>2</sup> ولا ذنب له  
 901 ولم<sup>3</sup> يعقل <شيئاً> مما<sup>3</sup> اختلف فيه من<sup>4</sup> يستقبل القبلة بينهم بذنب  
 902 آخَرَ كَبِيرٍ قَدْ عَقَلَ<sup>5</sup> أَمْرَ اللَّهِ وَعِلْمَ الْأَمْرِ الَّذِي اختلف الناس فيه  
 903 ثُمَّ جَهَلَ بَعْدَ الْعِلْمِ<sup>d</sup> وَعَمِيَ<sup>e</sup> بَعْدَ الْبَيِّنَةِ<sup>f</sup> <...> وَإِنَّمَا ذَرِيَّةٌ مَنِ يَسْتَقْبِلُ  
 904 الْقِبْلَةَ الْيَوْمَ فِي ذَلِكَ بِمَنْزِلَتِهِمْ وَلَوْ<sup>6</sup> كَانَ عَلَيْهِمْ<sup>g</sup> إِمَامٌ هُدَى<sup>g</sup> يَحْكُمُ  
 905 عَلَيْهِمْ بِطَاعَةِ اللَّهِ فَفَارَقَهُ بَعْضُ آبَائِهِمْ فِي أَمْرٍ شَبَهَهُ<sup>7</sup> فَلَمْ يَعْقِلُوا  
 906 وَوَلَايَتَهُ وَلَمْ يَعْقِلُوا الْبِرَاءَةَ مِنْهُ تَمَّنَّ فَارَقَهُ مِنْ آبَائِهِمْ<sup>0</sup> ه [124]<sup>8</sup> ولا نرى  
 907 أَنْ نَسْتَحِلَّ<sup>8</sup> فَرَجَ امْرَأَةِ رَجُلٍ تَزَوَّجَهَا بِكِتَابِ اللَّهِ وَسُنَّةِ نَبِيِّهِ  
 908 حَتَّى يَطْلُقَهَا زَوْجَهَا أَوْ يُتَوَفَّى عَنْهَا ثُمَّ تَعَدَّدَ عِدَّةَ الْمُطَلَّاقَةِ أَوْ الْمَتَوَفَّى  
 909 عَنْهَا زَوْجَهَا ه [125]<sup>9</sup> وَنَبْرًا مِمَّنْ ظَهَرَ لَنَا مِنْهُ عَمَلٌ هُوَ اللَّهُ مَعْصِيَةٌ وَأَوْعَدَ<sup>10</sup>  
 910 اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ الْعَذَابَ وَأَمْرٌ بِفِرَاقٍ مَنِ عَمِلَ بِذَلِكَ الْعَمَلِ وَالْبِرَاءَةَ  
 911 مِنْهُ<sup>11</sup> وَمَنْ يَتَوَلَّهِ<sup>11</sup> عَلَيْهِ حَتَّى يَنْزِعَ وَتَحَدَّثَ مِنْهُ تَوْبَةٌ<sup>9</sup> ه<sup>12</sup> ولا نرى أَنْ نَتَوَلَّى<sup>13</sup>

احدا

MSS ممن<sup>4</sup> MSS يعمل مما<sup>3-3</sup> Sālimi ولا غيرهم<sup>2</sup> + Sālimi الصغير<sup>1</sup> Sālimi (82. Sālimi<sup>9-9</sup> Sālimi ولا نستحل<sup>8-8</sup> ? فئنة read : N سبهته<sup>7</sup> HX لو<sup>6</sup> N غفل<sup>5</sup> 17f): ونبراً من المصرين على المعاصي من أهل دعوتنا وغيرهم حتى يراجعوا التوبة ويتركوا الإصرار (12.16): Sālimi (82.16):<sup>12-0</sup> MSS او يتولى<sup>11-11</sup> MSS او وعد<sup>10</sup> HX تولى<sup>13</sup> S نولى<sup>13</sup> ولا نرى الولاية إلا لمن علمنا الوفاء بما وجب عليه من دين الله

(... بعد ما جاءهم العلم ...) Cf. 3: 19, 45: 17<sup>d</sup> 41: 33<sup>c-c</sup> 3: 104<sup>b-b</sup> 12: 108<sup>a-a</sup>  
 (... من بعد ما جاءتهم البينة) Cf. 3: 105, 98: 4<sup>f</sup> Cf. 1. 854 above<sup>e</sup> (أئمة يهدون بأمرنا) Cf. 21: 73, 32: 24<sup>g-g</sup> above

with wisdom and good admonition, and dispute with them in the better way. Surely thy Lord knows very well those who have gone astray from His way, and He knows very well those who are guided' (16: 125). And He said to him, 'Say: This is my way; I call to God with sure knowledge, I and whoever follows after me. To God be glory! I am not among the idolaters' (12: 108). And: 'Let there be one nation of you, calling to good, and bidding to what is approved (*ma'rūf*) and forbidding what is reprehensible; those are the ones to prosper' (3: 104). And: 'And who speaks fairer than he who calls unto God and does righteousness and says: "Surely I am of them that surrender"' (41: 33).

123. We do not hold with killing minors from among the people of our *qibla*, who are without sin and understand nothing of the disagreements between the users of the *qibla*. (They should not be killed) for the sin of another person who is an adult (old enough to) understand God's command and to know what it is that people disagree about, but who has turned to ignorance after (receiving) the knowledge (of God's revelation) and to blindness after (receiving) the clear evidence (of God's revelation, cf. 3: 19, 98: 4, etc.). <The Prophet did not kill the offspring of hypocrites?> and the offspring of those who use the *qibla* today are in the same position as they. Even if they were ruled in obedience to God by an imam of guidance, from whom some fathers separated over a dubious matter (*fī amr shubha*), they would not understand (the duty of) loyalty to the imam, nor would they understand (the sin) of disowning him committed by the fathers who had separated from him.

124. We do not hold with deeming it lawful to have sexual intercourse with the wife of a man who has married her according to the Book of God and the *sunna* of His Prophet unless her husband has divorced her or passed away from her and she has completed the waiting period of the divorcee or widow.

125. We disown people if we are aware that they have committed an act of disobedience to God for which God has threatened chastisement, ordering (us) to separate from whoever commits such an act and to disown him and whoever associates with him in spite of it, until they desist and show repentance. We do not hold it right to associate with

- 912 أَحَدًا مِنَ النَّاسِ إِلَّا أَحَدًا ظَهَرَ<sup>1</sup> لَنَا مِنْهُ<sup>2</sup> معرفة حقّ الله
- 913 وعمل بطاعة الله وموالاته لأوليائه ومفارقة لإعدائه<sup>0</sup> ه [126]<sup>3</sup> ولا
- 914 نرى انتحال الهجرة من دار قومنا كهجرة<sup>4</sup> النبي وأصحابه من دار
- 915 قومهم<sup>5</sup> ه ولكن يخرج من خرج منا مجاهدًا في سبيل الله على طاعته
- 916 فإن هو<sup>0</sup> رجع إلى دار قومه تولّيناه إذا كان<sup>6</sup> عارفًا لحقّ<sup>7</sup> الله مقرًا
- 917 به<sup>6</sup> في نفسه وماله<sup>3</sup> ه [127]<sup>0</sup> ونرى أن نتولّى المرأة والمملوك على الخروج
- 918 إذا ما نحن علمنا منها قبل الخروج الرضى بالحقّ والمعرفة له والموالاته
- 919 عليه ولم نُخْرِجْهَا إِلَّا الرغبة في الإسلام والأثرة <له> على ما سواه لأنّ
- 920 الله يقول<sup>a</sup> وَالْمُؤْمِنُونَ وَالْمُؤْمِنَاتُ بَعْضُهُمْ أَوْلِيَاءُ بَعْضٍ يَأْمُرُونَ
- 921 بِالْمَعْرُوفِ وَيَنْهَوْنَ عَنِ الْمُنْكَرِ وَيُقِيمُونَ الصَّلَاةَ وَيُؤْتُونَ الزَّكَاةَ
- 922 وَيُطِيعُونَ اللَّهَ وَرَسُولَهُ أُولَئِكَ سَيَرْحَمُهُمُ اللَّهُ إِنَّ اللَّهَ عَزِيزٌ
- 923 حَكِيمٌ<sup>a0</sup> ه [128]<sup>0</sup> ولا نرى لِلنَّفَرِ<sup>8</sup> من المسلمين أن يبايعوا إمامهم إِلَّا على
- 924 الجهاد في سبيل الله والطاعة<sup>9</sup> في المعروف<sup>9</sup> حتّى يهلكوا على ذلك
- 925 أو يظهروا على عدوّهم<sup>0</sup> فَيُؤَلُّوا الأَمْرَ أَفْضَلَهُمْ وَفَقَهَاءَهُمْ فِي<sup>10</sup> أنفسهم<sup>0</sup>
- 926 [129]<sup>0</sup> ويتولّى<sup>11</sup> ماضيينا<sup>12</sup> قاعدنا<sup>13</sup> ويعرف<sup>14</sup> قاعدنا لماضيينا<sup>15</sup> الفضيلة التي
- 927 أعطاه الله<sup>16</sup> [130]<sup>0</sup> ونتولّى مَنْ لم ندرك من المسلمين ولم نره منهم
- 928 بشهادة المسلمين ونبراً مَنْ لم ندرك من أئمّة الظلم ولم<sup>17</sup> نره
- 929 منهم وأوليائهم<sup>18</sup> بشهادة المسلمين ه [131]<sup>0</sup> ونرضى من ملوك قومنا

0(-) –Sālimī 1-1 S N 2 The word carries an obscure sign in all three MSS, perhaps to indicate that the subsequent blank was found in the exemplar. 3-3 transposed in Sālimī (82.13–16) 4 MSS ] Sālimī لهجرة 5 MSS ] Sālimī قومه 6-6 Sālimī 6-6 Sālimī قائما بحق الله 7 Sālimī 7 Sālimī ونولى 8 Sālimī 8 Sālimī (83.1) ] Sālimī 8 Sālimī بحق 9 Sālimī او قاعدنا 10 Sālimī N HX ] Sālimī وقاعدنا 11 Sālimī 11 Sālimī وممن لم 12 Sālimī N HX ] Sālimī مجاهدنا 13 Sālimī 12 Sālimī ونولى 14 Sālimī S ] Sālimī ونعرف 15 Sālimī S ] Sālimī لمجاهدنا 16-16 Sālimī خصه الله بها 17 Sālimī 17 Sālimī ومن اوليائهم 18 Sālimī 18 Sālimī

anyone unless we are aware that he <fulfils his religious obligations?>, recognizes God's law (*ḥaqq*), acts in obedience to God, supports His friends, and separates from His enemies.

126. We do not hold with professing belief in making a *hijra* from the abode of our *qawm* in the way that the Prophet and his companions emigrated from the abode of their *qawm*. Rather, whoever of us goes out does so in order to fight in the path of God, in obedience to him; and if he returns to the abode of his *qawm*, we associate with him, provided that he recognizes God's law (*ḥaqq*) and accepts that it applies to his own life and his property.

127. We hold that it is right to associate with women and slaves who go out (with us), provided that we know, before we go, that they approve of (God's) law (*ḥaqq*), recognize it, and support (us) in its cause, and that they only want to go out because they desire Islam and prefer (it) to everything else. For God says, 'And the believers, the men and the women, are friends of one another; they bid to what is approved (*ma'rūf*), and forbid what is reprehensible; they perform the prayer, and pay the alms, and they obey God and His Messenger. Those — upon them God will have mercy; God is all-mighty, all-wise' (9:71).

128. We hold that a band of Muslims should pay allegiance to their imam only on (condition that he will wage) *jihād* in the path of God and that they will obey him in what is approved (*ma'rūf*), till they perish in that pursuit or prevail over their enemy. Let them therefore appoint to the command their most excellent men and those among them who understand (God's religion).

129. Those of us who go out associate with those of us who stay at home; but those of us who stay at home acknowledge the superiority which God has granted to those of us who go out.

130. We affiliate to Muslims who lived before our time and whom we have not seen, on the strength of the testimony of the Muslims; and we disown the imams of wrongdoing and their associates who lived before our time and whom we have not seen, on the strength of the testimony of the Muslims.

131. We would like the kings of our *qawm*

930 أن يتّقوا الله ولا يتّبِعوا أهواءهم<sup>0</sup> إذا خالفها الحقُّ<sup>0</sup> ولا يجحدوا  
 931 سنَّةً ولا<sup>a</sup> يصروا على ذنبٍ بعد معرفة<sup>a</sup> ويضعوا<sup>1</sup> الصدقة والنفيء  
 932 حيث أمرهم الله ه [132] ونرضى من السبابة<sup>2</sup> أن يتّقوا الله ولا  
 933 يفارقوا من لم يحكّم إلا الله في أمرٍ قد حكم الله فيه ولا يتولّوا<sup>3</sup> من  
 934 ترك حكم الله رغبةً عنه وحكّم غير الله ه [133] ونرضى من الخوارج  
 935 أن يتّقوا الله ولا يغشموا في دينهم ولا يرغبوا عن<sup>4</sup> سبيل من هدى  
 936 الله قبلهم ولا يتولّوا قومًا ويخالفوا أعمالهم ولا<sup>5</sup> يفارقوا<sup>6</sup> على  
 937 سبيرة<sup>6</sup> قومٍ يتولّونهم [134] ونرضى من المرجئة أن يتّقوا الله ربّهم  
 938 وأن يؤمنوا للمؤمنين في ولاية من لم يدركوا من المسلمين والبراءة  
 939 ممن لم يدركوا من أئمة الظلم فيقولوا<sup>7</sup> بشهادتهم كشهادة من  
 940 يشهدون اليوم عليهم بالضلالة<sup>8</sup> ويسمّون الحكّام بغير ما أنزل  
 941 الله<sup>b</sup> بالأسماء التي سّمّاهم الله بها<sup>8b</sup> ه [135] ونرضى من الفتنة ان يتّقوا  
 942 الله وأن يقرّوا بحكم القرآن وتوقنوا<sup>c</sup> بوَعِيدِهِ<sup>9</sup> وأن يستحلّوا  
 943 من أهل<sup>d</sup> البغى والعداء والظلم<sup>d</sup> ما<sup>10</sup> أحلّ الله من فراقهم وقتالهم  
 944 حتّى يتوبوا ه [136] ونرضى من البدعية أن يتّقوا الله<sup>11</sup> وأن يعملوا  
 945 بسنة رسول الله<sup>12</sup> وأن يتولّوا<sup>12</sup> على العمل بها وإن ضعفوا عنها  
 946 [137] ونرضى من سائر قومنا أن يتّقوا الله ربّهم ولا يجعلوا حكمه  
 947 تبعًا لحكم قومهم وأن لا<sup>13</sup> يمسكوا بعهد<sup>13</sup> قومٍ يعصونه<sup>14</sup> فإنّ الله

لم ياذن

Sālimī Sālimī وهم الشيعة [ MSS (cf. l. 728 above) ]<sup>2</sup> Sālimī وان يضعوا<sup>1</sup> Sālimī –0-0  
 من سار بسيرة<sup>6-6</sup> Sālimī وان لا<sup>5</sup> في N HX<sup>4</sup> N HX<sup>4</sup> تنولى S يتولى [ Sālimī<sup>3</sup>  
 MSS ويسمون ... بالأسم الذي سّمّاهم الله به<sup>8-8</sup> Sālimī MSS فيتولوا<sup>7</sup> Sālimī  
 Sālimī<sup>10</sup> Sālimī MSS بوعدة<sup>9</sup> Sālimī وان لا يسموا الحكام بغير ما أنزل الله من اسمائهم  
 Sālimī صلى الله عليه وسلم ويتولوا S N ويتولوا<sup>12-12</sup> Sālimī ربهم +<sup>11</sup> MSS [ من  
 Sālimī يعصون الله<sup>14</sup> Sālimī يتمسكوا بطاعة ] MSS<sup>13-13</sup>

a-a Cf. 3: 135 (وَلَمْ يُصِرُّوا عَلَى مَا فَعَلُوا وَهُمْ يَعْلَمُونَ) b-b viz. kāfirūn at 5: 44 (l. 363  
 above), zālimūn at 5: 45 (l. 381), and fāsiqūn at 5: 47 (l. 384) c Cf. 5: 50 at l. 506 above  
 d-d Cf. 4: 30 (ʿudwān, zulm), 42: 42 (zulm, baghy), 49: 9 (baghy), at ll. 431, 833, 489 above

to fear God, not to follow their whims when God's law (*al-ḥaqq*) demands otherwise, not to reject a *sunna*, not to persist in sin after recognizing it (for what it is), and to put the *ṣadaqa* and *fay'* to the uses which God has allocated to them.

132. We would like the Saba'iyya to fear God, not to separate from those who make God the sole judge in a matter already settled by God, and not to associate with those who abandon and shun God's judgement, making someone other than God the judge.

133. We would like the Khārijites to fear God, not to make wrongful violence part of their religion, not to shun the path of those whom God guided before them, not to affiliate to people and (at the same time) act contrary to their practice, and not to separate from those who follow the conduct of the people to whom they affiliate.

134. We would like the Murji'ites to fear God, their Lord, and to believe the believers when it comes to affiliating to Muslims who lived before their time and (likewise) when it comes to disowning the imams of oppression who lived before their time, so that they will affiliate on the basis of the believers' testimony, as do those who today testify that the imams of wrongdoing were astray, and who call those who do not judge in accordance with what God has sent down by the names which God Himself applies to them.

135. We would like the Fatana to fear God, to accept the judgement of the Qur'ān so as to be convinced by its threat, and to deem lawful what God has made lawful in dealing with people of oppression, transgression, and wrongdoing, namely to separate from them and to fight them until they repent.

136. We would like the Bida'iyya to fear God, to act in accordance with the *sunna* of the Messenger of God, and to make conformance to it the condition of affiliation even if they are too weak for it.

137. We would like the rest of our *qawm* to fear God, their Lord, not to subordinate His judgement to the judgement of their *qawm* and not to hold on to the compact with a people who disobey him, for God

948 لم يأذن لأحدٍ أن يعطى عهده من يعصى أمره ه [138] <sup>0</sup> فهذا <هو> الأمر الذى  
 949 ندعو إليه والذى نحن عليه <sup>a</sup> إن شاء الله ولا حَوْلَ ولا قُوَّةَ إِلَّا بِاللَّهِ <sup>a</sup>  
 950 <sup>b</sup> نَدْعُو إِلَى اللَّهِ <sup>b</sup> وَنَحْنُ الْمُسْلِمُونَ <sup>c</sup> <sup>0c</sup> <sup>1</sup> وندعو إلى <sup>1</sup> أن يطاع الله فنَجِلَّ <sup>2</sup> حلاله  
 951 ونَحْرَمَ <sup>3</sup> حرامه ونَحْكُمَ <sup>4</sup> بما أنزل الله فى كتابه وتتبع <sup>5</sup> سنة نبيه  
 952 وسنة الصالحين من عباد الله [139] ليس من رأينا بحمد الله <sup>d</sup> العُلُوُّ فى  
 953 دِينِنَا <sup>d</sup> ولا العِشْمَ <sup>6</sup> فى أمرنا ولا العداة <sup>7</sup> على من فارقنا [140] حُكْمَنَا الْيَوْمَ  
 954 فى من ترك قبلتنا ووجهه غيرها حكم نبينا <sup>8</sup> فى من ترك قبلته  
 955 وحكم المسلمين بعده <sup>9</sup> فى من وجهه غير قبلتهم [141] وحلالنا اليوم <sup>0</sup> فى  
 956 دار قومنا حلالنا اذا خرجنا وحرامنا اذا خرجنا حرامنا اليوم <sup>0</sup>  
 957 فى دار قومنا ه نعلم بحمد الله أنه لا يحرم على الخارج منّا شىءٌ هو  
 958 للقاعد <sup>10</sup> حلال ولا يحل للقاعد منّا شىء هو على الخارج حرام  
 959 <sup>11</sup> [ونعلم] <sup>12</sup> أن الله قد رخص لمن كان مقياً بين ظهراى أهل الضلالة  
 960 فى التقيّة ولم يعذر أحداً أعلن الحقّ ودعا إليه فى ان يتقى  
 961 أحداً من أهل الضلالة فى شىء من أمر الله <sup>11</sup> ه [142] فالحمد لله الذى وقّقنا  
 962 لهذا وهدانا له وما كُنَّا لِنَهْتَدِيَ لَوْلَا أَنْ هَدَانَا اللَّهُ لَقَدْ جَاءَتْ  
 963 رُسُلٌ رَبَّنَا بِالْحَقِّ <sup>e</sup> نَسأل الله ان يجعلنا وإياكم من الذين يُنَادُونَ  
 964 أَنْ تَلِكُمُ الْجَنَّةُ أُورِثْتُمُوهَا بِمَا كُنْتُمْ تَعْمَلُونَ <sup>f</sup> هههههه

Sālimī ويحكم <sup>4</sup> Sālimī ويحرم <sup>3</sup> Sālimī فيحل <sup>2</sup> Sālimī ندعو <sup>1-1</sup> Sālimī – (0-0) Sālimī وان يتبع <sup>5</sup> Sālimī  
 HX القسم <sup>6</sup> Sālimī Sālimī التعدى <sup>7</sup> Sālimī بيننا <sup>8</sup> HX Sālimī من بعده <sup>9</sup> Sālimī  
 Sālimī على القاعد <sup>10</sup> MSS القاعد <sup>11-11</sup> Sālimī instead has 13 lines of different origin (see  
 Introduction, p. 7 above) MSS وليس <sup>12</sup>

<sup>a-a</sup> Cf. 18:39 (... ما شاء الله لا قوة إلا بالله ...) <sup>b-b</sup> Cf. 12:108 (quoted at ll. 201, 895 above)  
<sup>c-c</sup> Cf. 41:33 (quoted at ll. 200 f, 899 f above) <sup>d-d</sup> Cf. 4:171 (... لا تغلوا فى دينكم ...) sim. 5:77  
<sup>e-e</sup> 7:43, paraphrased at the beginning (... وقالوا الحمد لله الذى هدانا لهذا ...) <sup>f-f</sup> 7:43, paraphrased at the beginning  
 (... وتودوا أن ...)

has not permitted anyone to give his compact to someone who disobeys His command.

138. This is the stance to which we call and which we take ourselves, God willing. There is no might or power save with God (cf. 18:39). We call to God. We are the Muslims. We call for God to be obeyed so that we can permit what He has permitted, prohibit what He has prohibited and judge according to what God has sent down in His book, and we follow the *sunna* of His Prophet and the *sunna* of the righteous among God's servants.

139. We do not approve, thank God, of extremism in our religion, of wrongful violence in our stance, or of aggression against anyone who separates from us.

140. Our judgement today on whoever abandons our *qibla* to turn elsewhere is the same as that of our Prophet on those who abandoned his *qibla* and as the judgement of the Muslims after him on those who turned to a *qibla* other than theirs.

141. What is lawful for us today in the abode of our *qawm* is (equally) lawful for us when we go out; and what is unlawful when we go out is (equally) unlawful for us today in the abode of our *qawm*. We know, thank God, that nothing which is forbidden to those of us who go out is permitted to those who stay at home; and nothing which is permitted to those of us who stay at home is forbidden to those who go out. [We know (however)]<sup>1</sup> that though God has given leave to those who reside among people of error to practise *taqiyya*, He has not made it excusable for anyone (who goes out to) proclaim and call to the truth to be afraid (*yattaqī*) of any of the people of error in anything concerning God's command.

142. Praise be to God, who enabled us to succeed in (taking) this (stance) and guided us to it. 'Had God not guided us, we had surely never been guided. Indeed, our Lord's messengers came with the truth' (7:43). We ask God to include us and you among those for whom 'it will be proclaimed: "This is our Paradise; you have been given it as your inheritance for what you did"' (7:43).

<sup>1</sup> Reading *wa-naʿlam anna* for *wa-laysa inna*, which does not look right and which results in a contradiction of Sālim's earlier defence of *taqiyya* at II, 73. But our reading also results in a contradiction, this time within the paragraph itself, and it is likely that something is missing.



## COMMENTARY

## PART I

2. **We enjoin you ...** On the *waṣiyya bi 'l-taqwā* topos, see above, Ch. I, 15 f. *wa-nardā lakum ṭā'at allāh wa-naskhaṭu lakum ma'ṣiya-tahu*. Likewise KI, 1. *wa-nahuththukum*. Cf. Muḥammad b. Maḥbūb in Kāshif, *Siyar*, ii. 223.

3. *mā istahfaḥakum Allāh 'alayhi min kitābihi*. Cf. Muḥammad b. Maḥbūb in Kāshif, *Siyar*, ii. 223: *mā istahfaḥakum 'alayhi min amānatihi. it will do you no harm as long as you ... fear Him*. Cf. the letter of Ibrāhīm b. Ismā'īl al-Khurāsānī in Ibn Sallām, *Bad'*, 136.5: *man yattaqī 'llāh fa-huwa al-āmin al-mahfūz alladhī lā yaḍurruhu ma'ā amān allāh shay' min amr al-dunyā wa'l-ākhirā*.

4. *akhadhtum bi-ḥaḥḥikum min ṭā'at rabbikum*. Not 'your share of obedience', but 'your share in the other world through obedience'. Cf. below, ll. 110 (*khudhū naṣibakum min al-jihād*: 'make sure of your portion by participating in holy war') and 565 (*wa-yas'alu 'llāh an yarzuqahu mithl alladhī razaqahum min jihād a'dā'ihi*: 'asks God to provide him (with a portion) through holy war against His enemies on a par with what He gives them').

5. *fa-man ittaba'ā hādihā 'l-qur'ān, etc.* The phrase recurs almost identically in KI, 1, where it is also part of a grand praise of the Qur'ān. Cf. also the so-called first letter of Ibn Ibād to 'Abd al-Malik (hereafter IB1): *lā yahtadī man ihtadā min al-nās illā bi-'ttibā'ihi wa-lā yaḍullu man ḍalla min al-nās illā bi-tarkihī* (Kāshif, *Siyar*, ii. 328.5; similarly the version in Barrādī, *Jawāhir*, 157.16 = Rubinacci 'Califfo', 107). **God has manifested His excuse, declared His argument.** This sounds odd in English, but God has an excuse (*'udhr*) in the sense that He cannot be accused of unfairness: He has explained Himself and His law in the Qur'ān ('declared His argument' (*hujja*)) and made it clear how He will punish those who fail to abide by the stipulations ('advanced His threat' (*wa'id*)). Humans therefore cannot claim to toil 'without having received a truthful excuse and conclusive arguments', as Sālim points out below, II, 7: God's excuse equals the human lack thereof. *wa-man ḥakkama al-yawn kitāb allāh wa-ja'alahū imāman*. Cf. below, I, 7, where the Qur'ānic concatenation of imam and book is quoted; II, 28–30, where accepting Islam equals *al-riḍā bi-ḥukm al-qur'ān*; II, 37, where Abū Bakr *ja'ala 'l-qur'ān imāman*; above, I, 4 (*fa-tammū bi-kitāb allāh*); Ṭabarī, 2nd

ser., 518.13, where Ibn al-Azraq tells his followers that *al-kitāb lakum imām*; the epistle of Shabīb b. ʿAṭīyya, which also has it that *kitāb allāh imāmunā wa-imāmukum* (Kāshif, *Siyar*, ii. 346.–2; reproduced in Sālimī, *Tuhfa*, i. 104); the so-called second letter of Ibn Ibād to ʿAbd al-Malik (hereafter IB2) in Izkawī, *Kashf al-ghumma*, fo. 212a.3, where we are told of Shiʿites who rely on Ḥadīth that *laysa ʿl-kitāb bi-imāmihim*; the letter attributed to Abū Sufyān Maḥbūb b. al-Raḥīl in Darjīnī, *Ṭabaqāt*, ii. 284.–4, on people ‘today’: *laysa al-kitāb lahum bi-imām* (the text has *lahu*). Cf. also the Khārijite creeds of the type *radīnā bi’llāh rabban . . . wa-bi’l-qurʾān imāman* cited below, Ch. 7, 256 f.

7. **truthful excuse and conclusive arguments.** See above, *ad I*, 5.

10. **a world so curtailed.** Sayf b. ʿUmar also characterizes the *dunyā* as *munqatiʿa* in the sense of short lived (*Futūḥ*, 173.–5, in a speech attributed to ʿUthmān).

12. **make sure of your share.** Cf. above, *ad 4*.

13. **staying at home will not . . . postpone your terms.** Cf. Saʿdī, *Qāmūs*, vi. 146: the Muslims (i.e. Ibādīs) say that nobody dies before his *ajal*, contrary to those who claim that people who are killed do not live to their terms. Similarly M. M. Moreno, ‘Note di teologia ibādita’, *Annali dell’Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli*, NS, 3 (1949), 304.

## PART II

14. For the mission topos, see above, Ch. 1, 16 f. **God chose Islam as a religion which He approved for Himself:** Similarly letters by al-Walid II (Ṭabarī, 2nd ser., 1756 f = Crone and Hinds, *God’s Caliph*, 118); Yazīd III (Ṭabarī, 2nd ser., 1843 = Crone and Hinds, *God’s Caliph*, 126); ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Yaḥyā (*Rasāʾil ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Yaḥyā al-kātib*, ed. I. ʿAbbās (ʿAmmān, 1988), 210, no. 17; 274. no. 27); and al-Maʾmūn (Crone and Hinds, *God’s Caliph*, 134). Cf. also Ibn al-Azraq to the Basrans (Mubarrad, iii. 1038). **He sent all His messengers.** Similarly al-Walid II and al-Maʾmūn, above, and ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, 265, no. 22.

16. **confirmed one another.** Similarly al-Maʾmūn (Crone and Hinds, *God’s Caliph*, 134).

17. **to confirm the prophets who had gone before him.** Similarly al-Walid II (Crone and Hinds, *God’s Caliph*, 119).

18. **God sent him to white and black, Arab and non-Arab . . .** Muḥammad was sent to ‘the white, the black, and the red’ according to the eighth-century *ḥadīth al-isrāʾ* cited by al-Suyūṭī, *al-Laʾālī al-maṣnūʿa fī aḥādīth al-mawḍūʿa* (Cairo, 1352), i. 75.–7. Cf. also Sālimī, *Tuhfa*, i. 79,

where the Prophet *daʿā al-ʿarab waʿl-ʿajam ilayhi*, possibly a summary of Sālim’s passage. **upon an interval between the messengers . . . when error had prevailed.** Abū Ḥamza’s mission topos has almost the same formulation (ʿalā fatra min al-rusul wa-ʿnqīṭāʿ min al-ḥaqq: thus Izkawī, *Kashf al-ghumma*, fo. 272a.9). Similarly al-Walīd and al-Maʿmūn (Crone and Hinds, *God’s Caliph*, 119, 134) and ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd (265, no. 22) at varying length and in different words.

19. **so that mankind might have no argument against God.** Cf. al-Maʿmūn: ‘so that He might have the conclusive argument over his Creation’, here too with citation of Q. 8: 42 (Crone and Hinds, *God’s Caliph*, 134). Cf. also van Ess, *TG*, i. 412 f.

23. **people . . . called him a liar.** Cf. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, 266.6: he endured *al-adhā waʿl-takdhīb*. Cf. also KI, 2, on previous prophets: people *kadhhabūhu*. Similarly, al-Walīd II (Ṭabarī, 2nd ser., 1757 = Crone and Hinds, *God’s Caliph*, 119).

24. **for as long as God wished.** This expression is used six times in all in the epistle; cf. below, ll. 241, 249, 356, 542, 577. The expression is extremely common in eastern, non-Kufan Ibādī sources, of which it is close to being diagnostic, cf. App. 3.

25. *kataba ʿalayhi ʿl-qitāl*. Cf. al-Qalhātī, *Kitāb al-kashf waʿl-bayān fī sharḥ iftirāq waʿl-adyān*, British Library, Or. 2606, fo. 52b.10: *thumma kataba ʿllāh ʿalā nabīyyihi al-qitāl*, citing ‘Fight in the way of God those who fight you and do not aggress. . .’ (Q. 2: 190). Cf. Ibn Ishāq, *Das Leben Muhammed’s*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1858–60), 313 f, where God permits him to fight, with the verse ‘Permission is given to those who fight who have been wronged. . .’ (Q. 22: 39). **Later the Messenger of God moved out there himself.** That the Prophet was the last to emigrate is the standard view (cf. Ibn Ishāq, *Leben*, 323; contrast 339, where the ‘emigrants followed one another to join the Apostle (in Medina)’. *wa-naṣarūhu*, etc. KI, 3, has an almost identical phrase. Qalhātī, *Kashf*, fo. 51b.11, probably citing Hilāl b. ʿAṭīyya, has *wa-naṣarūhu wa-wāsamhu* (*Kashf*, fo. 51b.–7).

26. *man shāʿa ʿllāh an yajtamiʿa ilayhi*. Cf. App. 3. *yaqātīlu . . . man qātalahu . . . wa-yuʿamminu man iʿtazalahu minhum wa-kaffa ʿanhu wa-yuʿāhidu man ʿahadahu*. Cf. Hilāl b. ʿAṭīyya: *kāna nabīyy allāh ṣlʿm yuqātīlu man qātalahu wa-yakuffū ʿamman kaffa ʿanhu wa-yuʿāhidu man ʿāhadahu* (Qalhātī, *Kashf*, fo. 53a.2). Cf. also below, II, 65, where the early Khārijites observe this rule; IV, 117, where it is restated as Ibādī doctrine. In ASM too not killing *al-muʿtazil al-kāff* is part of Ibādī doctrine (Kāshif, *Siyar*, i. 229.–6). *fa-makatha mā shāʿa ʿllāh*. Cf. App. 3.

27. **Abrogation.** Qalhātī similarly informs his reader that the Qurʾān was not revealed in one piece and that parts of it would abrogate others

(*Kashf*, fo. 52b.–4). **disowned ... fight the polytheists totally.** Cf. Ṭabarī, 2nd ser., 518, where the Azraqites invoke Q. 9: 1; Qalhātī, *Kashf*, fos. 55b.1, 56b.3, who explains that after Muḥammed had been ordered to fight the polytheists *kāffātan*, the *ahl al-kitāb* were exempted from the general rule with the revelation of Q. 9: 29.

28. *khamasa mālahu*. Literally, ‘take a fifth of his property’, or, in other words, treat his property as booty from which a fifth must be deducted for the imam, the fifth in question being God’s and earmarked for charitable purposes (cf. Q. 8: 41). Later Ibādī sources speak of *ghanm* rather than *kham*s in this context. *qata‘a ‘l-mīrāth minhu*. Taken literally, this only establishes that pagans could not inherit from Muslims, but the *qat‘* was meant to apply both ways: Muslims could only inherit from hypocrites because the latter were overt Muslims themselves (cf. 11, 31). Sālīm duly uses the reciprocal term *muvāratha* in the following paras. and we translate in a reciprocal vein throughout. *al-riḍā bi-ḥukm al-qur‘ān*. Also below, II, 29 f. It is close to synonymous with adoption of Islam here, in accordance with the Khārijite conviction that there is no judgement but God’s. For the overall message of the para., cf. Wā‘il b. Ayyūb, in Kāshif, *Siyar*, ii. 57, who says much the same, adding that Arab polytheists can be slaughtered indiscriminately and debarred from the holy mosque.

29. *athāra min al-‘ilm*. Q. 46: 4 (‘Bring me a Book before this, or some remnant of knowledge’) provided a neat way of making Zoroastrians quasi-People of the Book. **the Messenger ... wrote ... to the Zoroastrians in Hajar.** Cf. Ibn Sa‘d, i. 263 = J. Wellhausen (tr.), ‘Ibn Sa‘d, Die Schreiben Muhammads und die Gesandtschaften an ihn’ in his *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, iv. (Berlin, 1889), 103: ‘the Prophet also wrote to the Zoroastrians of Hajar, offering them Islam. If they refused, they were to pay *jizya*, and one was not to marry their women or eat their slaughters’. Likewise al-Balādhurī, *Futūh al-buldān*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1866), 81; ‘Abd al-Razzāq b. Hammām al-Ṣan‘ānī, *al-Muṣannaf*, ed. Ḥ.-R. al-A‘zamī (Beirut, 1970–2), vi. no. 10025; x. no. 19256. Cf. also Wā‘il b. Ayyūb in Kāshif, *Siyar*, ii. 56 f; M. J. Kister, ‘Social and Religious Concepts of Authority in Islam’, *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 18 (1994), 88 ff; Y. Friedmann, ‘Classification of Unbelievers in Sunnī Muslim Law and Tradition’, *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 22 (1998), 179 ff.

30. Cf. Wā‘il b. Ayyūb in Kāshif, *Siyar*, ii, 56 f, who adds that one cannot intermarry with or eat the slaughters of the People of the Book if they are *ḥarb*, (*sic*, i.e. not *dhimmīs*): in that case one may kill them, enslave their women and children, and take their property as booty. Cf. also Shaqṣī, *Manhaj*, i. 638.10, who applauds a seventeenth-century Ya‘rubī sultan for expelling the Christians (i.e. Portuguese) from Masqaṭ after he

had ‘killed their fighting men, taken their property as booty, and enslaved their women and offspring’.

**32. Mischief-makers.** We adopt this translation for the term *muḥdithūn* in imitation of translators of the Constitution of Medina, which forbids the believers to help or shelter a *muḥdith* (Ibn Ishāq, *Leben*, 342). The Ibādīs duly invoked the *ḥadīth* version of this clause (Kāshif, *Siyar*, i. 35.3) and ‘Uthmān is the paradigmatic *muḥdith*; his misdeeds are invariably called *ahdāth* in both the Ibādī and the Sunnī literature. **not . . . enslave his offspring, treat his property as booty, sever relations of inheritance.** The Prophet did all this to polytheists (cf. above II, 28), but mischief-makers are not polytheists. Cf. below II, 57, 65, on the exemplary behaviour of the early Muslims/Khārijites; III, 67 and *passim* on the extremist divergence from the Prophet’s practice; and IV, 117 on Ibādī practice. **Marry his wife to a Muslim before she had . . . become lawful.** This is a reference to *istinkāh*, which the extremists allowed, cf. below, III, 67 and the comments thereto.

**33. *awrathakum al-kitāb.*** Similarly IB1: *thumma awratha ’llāh ’ibādahu ’l-kitāb* (Kāshif, *Siyar*, ii. 328.4; cf. Barrādī, 157.15 = Rubinacci, ‘Califfo’, 107). **Today I have perfected your religion.** Also cited by Khālīd in Kāshif, *Siyar*, i. 97.8, at the end of an exposition of Muḥammad’s teaching.

**34. *sabīl man kafara bihi . . . min ṣāhib wathan aw ahl al-kitab aw munāfiq aw man ḥalla ’alayhi al-qatl min ahl qiblatihi.*** Here the Zoroastrians have been omitted. They are not, in fact, relevant to the polemics that follow, and one assumes that they were only included for the sake of completeness in the first place.

**36. *fitna.*** The idea that God promised/threatened, or at least foresaw, a *fitna* is also found in KI, 5, and IB1 (Kāshif, *Siyar*, ii. 335.5; Qalhātī, *Kashf*, 84b.7; Barrādī, 161.12 = Rubinacci, ‘Califfo’, 113), as well as other Ibādī sources (cf. below, Ch. 7, 252). Van Ess wonders where God has promised/threatened this *fitna*, and suggests Q. 8:73 (‘Das Kitāb’, 27), but the answer given by Sālim and Ibn Ibād is Q. 29: 1–3 f (noted by Cook, *Dogma*, 12), as well as 3: 179 and 47: 31 in Sālim.

**37. *ittakhadha ’l-qur’ān imāman,*** cf. above, *ad I*, 5. *iqṭadā bi-sunnat nabī allāh.* Similarly, Ṣāliḥ (Ṭabarī, 2nd ser., 883), Abū Ḥamza (Crone and Hinds, *God’s Caliph*, 129, §2) and Khālīd (Kāshif, *Siyar*, i. 98), in different words.

**38. *iqṭadā bi-sunnat rasūl allāh.*** Similarly Ṣāliḥ, Abū Ḥamza, and Khālīd (cf. the previous para.). *qur’ān nāṭiq aw sunna min rasūl al-lāh.* Cf. Abū ’l-Muṭṭhir on *kitāb nāṭiq aw sunna ma’thūra* (Kāshif, *Siyar*, i. 179.2). ‘Uthmān and ‘Alī use the expression *kitāb nāṭiq* in Ibn A’tham, ii. 152.7; Sayf, *Futūḥ*, 251.–5. **the first to settle some matters of**

**inheritance law.** See N. J. Coulson, *Succession in the Muslim Family* (Cambridge, 1971), 45 f, 47, 73 ff. **Eighty lashes** for wine-drinking. This is also mentioned by Abū Ḥamza (Crone and Hinds, *God's Caliph*, 130, §3). According to *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. 'khamr', col. 996b, the governor in question was Khālīd b. al-Walīd. **Obey God and . . . the Messenger and those in authority.** Sālīm takes 'those in authority' to be caliphs or imams, which appears to be the standard Ibādī view (similarly Bisyanī in Kāshif, *Siyar*, ii. 89.3; al-Jannāwunī, *Kitāb al-maḍ*<sup>c</sup>, ed. Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm Aṭ-fayyish (Oman (Maktabat al-Istiḳāma), n.d.), 23).

**39. *ḥattā tawaffāhu 'llāh . . . wa'l-mu'minūn rāḍūn*** *ʿanhu muta-wallūn lahu*. Cf. the formulations used of Muḥammad and Abū Bakr in IB1 (*ḥattā tawaffāhu 'llāh . . . wa-hum ʿanhu rāḍūn . . . ḥattā fūraqa 'l-dunyā wa-ahl al-islām ʿanhu rāḍūn wa-lahu mujāmiʿūn* (Kāshif, *Siyar*, ii. 328.3, 9; Barrādī, *Jawāhir*, 157.–4 = Rubinacci, 'Califfo', 108) and Khālīd (Kāshif, *Siyar*, i. 98 f).

**40. For as long as God wished.** See App. 3. The period in question is usually identified as six years (cf., e.g., al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashraf*, v. ed. S. D. F. Goitein (Jerusalem, 1936), 25.14 (Wāqidī), 26.4 (Hishām b. 'Ammār al-Dimashqī); Mubarrad, iii. 909.2, 946.–2, 1024.7). Later Ibādī authors duly have 'for six years or for as long as God willed' (thus Khālīd in Kāshif, *Siyar*, i. 100.8; Qalhātī, *Kashf*, fo. 84b.–3), or simply 'six years' (thus Izkawī's version of Abū Ḥamza's speech on the caliphs, *Kashf al-ghumma*, fo. 273a.4); but Sālīm does not seem to have known it. *ṭāla ʿalayhi al-amad*. Similarly Sayf, *Futūḥ*, 57.7; and Barrādī, *Jawāhir*, 56.1 (where *amad* has become *amr*). The idea is that he deluded himself into thinking that he had all the time in the world.

**41. Property something to be taken in turns.** Likewise IB1 (Kāshif, *Siyar*, ii. 331.5; Barrādī, *Jawāhir*, 159.15 = Rubinacci, 'Califfo', 110; Qalhātī, *Kashf*, fo. 85a; Izkawī, *Kashf al-ghumma*, fo. 181a). Abū Ḥamza says the same of Muʿāwiya (Crone and Hinds, *God's Caliph*, 130, §6). Sālīm cites the Qurʾānic verse behind the phrase (59: 7) in II, 44 and uses the phrase again in II, 51. **He gave Marwān the *khums* of Ifriqiya.** Similarly Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v. 25.17, 27.ult., 28.4.10., 88.7 (Wāqidī, Abū Mikhnaf, Zuhri); al-Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrikh*, ed. M. Th. Houtsma (Leiden, 1883), ii. 191; Abū 'l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Kitāb al-aghānī* (Cairo, 1927–74), vi. 267 f; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *al-ʿIqd al-farīd*, ed. A. Amīn, A. al-Zayn, and I. al-Abyārī (Cairo, 1940–9), iv. 283 f; Ibn Abī 'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ nahj al-bal-āgha*, ed. M. A.-F. Ibrāhīm (Cairo, 1965–7), i. 198.5; Barrādī, *Jawāhir*, 58.3; Qalhātī, *Kashf*, fo. 85a.8; Izkawī, *Kashf al-ghumma*, fo. 181a.–5. IB1 merely accuses him of having taken the *khums* for himself and his relatives in general terms (Kāshif, *Siyar*, ii. 333.3; Barrādī, *Jawāhir*, 160.15 = Rubinacci, 'Califfo', 112). **al-Ḥārith b. al-Ḥakam the *ṣadaqa* of Baḥrayn.**

Cf. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v. 28.14 (*ibī al-ṣadaqa*); Ibn Abī 'l-Ḥadīd, i. 198.–2 (a market in Medina that the Prophet had made *ṣadaqa*); Barrādī, *Jawāhir*, 58 (100,000 dirhams of the *ṣadaqa* of Baḥrayn); Qalhātī, *Kashf*, fo. 86b.3 (ʿUthmān gave the *ṣadaqa* of Baḥrayn to Ibn ʿĀmir). **al-Walīd b. ʿUqba the *ṣadaqa* of Kalb.** Cf. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v. 28.17 (he gave the *ṣadaqa* of Qudāʿa, not just Kalb, to al-Ḥakam b. Abī 'l-ʿĀṣ, another Umayyad), 31.12 (al-Walīd b. ʿUqba was in charge of the *ṣadaqa* of Taghlib under ʿUmar). IB1 accuses ʿUthmān of having misappropriated the *ṣadaqa* in general terms (Kāshif, *Siyar*, ii. 331 f; Barrādī, *Jawāhir*, 159.–3 = Rubinacci, 'Califfo', 111). **300,000 . . . in favour of al-Ḥakam.** Cf. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v. 28.17 (the same without al-Ḥārith b. Nawfal; *ibid.*, 52.8 (300,000 to al-Ḥārith b. al-Ḥakam), 58.12 (300,000 in favour of another Umayyad when the latter came to Mecca, i.e. via al-Ḥārith b. Nawfal); Qalhātī, *Kashf*, fo. 86b.3 (as here). Other Ibādī sources are much more indignant about ʿUthmān's decision to allow al-Ḥakam b. Abī 'l-ʿĀṣ to return to Medina from the exile into which the Prophet had sent him, a point Sālim omits, though they too mention gifts of money (here 100,000 dirhams) as well (HX, 141.4; Barrādī, *Jawāhir*, 57 f; Kāshif, *Siyar*, i. 101.2; Qalhātī, *Kashf*, fo. 85a.6; Izkawī, *Kashf al-ghumma*, fo. 181a.–8). **he transgressed against the judgement of God**, i.e. he violated the rule laid down in 59:7.

42. **ʿAbdallāh b. al-Arḡam and the loan.** Balādhurī's versions are similar (*Ansāb*, v. 58, 88); cf. also the brief versions in Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Taʿrīkh*, ed. S. Zakkār (Damascus, 1967–8), 195; Ibn Abī 'l-Ḥadīd, i. 199. On the Ibādī side, the *Ṣifa* tells the story almost identically (Barrādī, *Jawāhir*, 61.15; see further, below, Ch. 4, 191). It is one out of many loan stories involving ʿUthmān and/or his governors, cf. A. Noth, *Quellenkritische Studien* (Bonn, 1973), 25 f (tr. M. Bonner (Princeton, 1994), 21 f; add Sayf, *Futūh*, 23 f) and note esp. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v. 30 f, where it is Ibn Masʿūd who throws away the keys to the treasury in disgust.

43. **Abū Mūsā . . . came to him.** Cf. Ibn Abī 'l-Ḥadīd, i. 199.11 (Abū Mūsā brought a lot of money from Iraq and ʿUthmān distributed all of it among B. Umayya); Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v. 38.7 (Abū Mūsā brought a million dirhams from Iraq and ʿUthmān gave 100,000 to Zayd b. Thābit; the poetry cited here is elsewhere said to have been triggered by Marwān's receipt of the *khums* of Ifrīqiya, cf. *Aghānī*, vi. 268; *Iqd*, iv. 283 f.; al-Muṭahhar al-Maqdisī, *Kitāb al-badʿ wa'l-taʿrīkh*, ed. C. Huart (Paris, 1899–1919), v. 200); Ibn Ḥamdūn, *al-Tadhkira al-ḥamdūniyya*, ed. I. ʿAbbās, (Beirut, 1983– ), i. 141 (Abū Mūsā sent the revenues of Iraq with Ziyād and a son of ʿUthmān took an *istidāna* of silver); Barrādī, *Jawāhir*, 58.7 (Abū Mūsā sent a lot of money from the *ṣadaqa* of Basra with Ziyād b. ʿAbbād, and ʿUthmān distributed it among his children and family).

*li-banātihi wa-ahlihi fī 'l-ṣiḥāf*. Cf. Barrādī, *Jawāhir*, 58.9: he distributed it among *wuldihi wa-ahlihi bi'l-ṣiḥāf*. In the non-Ibādī tradition gifts to female relatives figure only in connection with a basket (*ṣifāt*) full of jewels (Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v. 48.7, 88.17; Maqdisī, *Bad'*, v. 202). **Abū Mūsā's eyes overflowed with tears.** In Ibn Abī 'l-Ḥadīd it is Ibn al-Arḡam who weeps; in Ibn Ḥamdūn and Barrādī it is Ziyād. **what 'Umar used to do.** Cf. Barrādī, *Jawāhir*, 58.10, where the weeping Ziyād tells a story of how a little daughter of 'Umar's was forced to hand back a dirham she had taken from money brought from Basra, the inverse of Sālim's story in which 'Uthmān's daughters receive such money. **Why are you weeping . . . to mine.** For 'Uthmān's flippant response, see also Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v. 25.10, 19, 28.21, 88.9; Ibn Ḥamdūn, i. 141.-7; *Iqd*, iv. 280.-4, 305.-6 (here to 'Abd al-Raḥman b. 'Awf, who vows never to speak to him again); Barrādī, *Jawāhir*, 58. Though the formulations vary, the point is always the same.

**44. He bought lands.** Cf. Ya'qūbī, ii. 202; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v. 25.18, 88.7; Ṭabarī, 1st ser., 3037. According to 'Umar Ibn Shabba, *Ta'rikh, al-Madīna al-munawwara*, ed. 'A. M. Dandal and Y. S.-D. Bayān (Beirut, 1996), ii. 133 no. 1782, 'Uthmān was the first to grant and sell lands. *Dūlatan bayna 'l-aghniyā'*. Cf. above, *ad* II, 41.

**45. al-Walīd b. 'Uqba killed a Kufan.** This is a reference to the story of Jundub b. Zuhayr al-Azdī: the latter killed a magician in Kufa, whereupon al-Walīd b. 'Uqba wanted to execute him, but was persuaded to put him in prison instead; impressed by his piety, however, the jailer let Jundub go and was killed by al-Walīd for this deed (thus, Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v. 31 f; according to Ya'qūbī, ii, 190, the jailer was merely flogged; cf. also Qalhātī, *Kashf*, fos. 85b f, and the references in S. Moreh, *Live Theatre and Dramatic Literature in the Medieval Arab World* (Edinburgh, 1992), 18, n. 64). The *Ṣifa* (on which see below, Ch. 4, 190 ff) adds that the Kufans wanted to have al-Walīd executed for killing the jailer, which is unknown to the Sunnī tradition but clearly what Sālim is referring to (Barrādī, *Jawāhir*, 61 f). **al-Walīd b. 'Uqba drank wine.** Cf. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v, 31 ff; Ṭabarī, 1st ser., 2843 f (= Sayf, *Futūh*, 28 ff), 2845, 2848 f Ya'qūbī, ii. 190. IB1 also says that he would lead the prayer drunk, but without mentioning 'Uthmān's refusal to inflict the *ḥadd* on him (Kāshif, *Siyar*, ii. 331.2; Barrādī, *Jawāhir*, 159.14 = Rubinacci, 'Califfo', 110). The *Ṣifa* has both points (Barrādī, *Jawāhir*, 62.-9). For the charge that 'Uthmān suspended the *ḥudūd*, see also G. R. Hawting, 'The Significance of the Slogan *Lā Ḥukmā Illā Lillāh* and the References to the *Ḥudūd* in the Traditions about the Fitna and the Murder of 'Uthmān', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 41 (1978).

**46. He ... reserved pasture for himself.** ʿUthmān is often accused of having set up *ḥimās*, be it for the *ibl al-ṣadaqa* (Ṭabarī, 1st ser., 2963; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v. 38.3, 62.16), or in general (ibid., 53.14; Ibn Shabba, *Madīna*, ii. 116, 189, nos. 1711, 1941, where the accusation is associated with the Ḥarūriyya), or, as here, for his family (Ibn Abī 'l-Ḥadīd, i. 199.2). For the similar formulation in IB1 and the *Ṣifa*, see below, Ch. 4, 192. Khālid also says that he *ḥamā quṭr al-samāʿ* (Kāshif, *Siyar*, i. 101.4); Qalhātī (*Kashf*, fo. 85a.5) and Izkawī (*Kashf al-ghumma*, fo. 181a.–9) have it that he *manaʿa al-quṭr ʿan ʿibād allāh*. **Have you considered the provision...** This verse is also cited in criticism of ʿUthmān's *ḥimās* in Ṭabarī (1st ser., 2963), IB1, the *Ṣifa*, and Khālid, cf. below, Ch. 4, 192.

**47. Bedouin and holy war.** That ʿUthmān excluded bedouin from participation in *jihād* is unknown to the non-Ibādī sources, but also stated in the *Ṣifa* (Barrādī, *Jawāhir*, 64). **Say to the bedouin who were left behind.** As usual, Sālim contrasts ʿUthmān's behaviour with a *ḥukm* of God's, but he is walking on a tightrope here, for the passage is hostile to the bedouin whose rights Sālim wishes to defend. Madelung (echoing the exegetes) holds that 'In Sura 48: 11–16 bedouin Arabs are told that they were left behind on the expedition to al-Ḥudaybiyya because of their lack of motivation and that for the same reason they must also be left behind in the campaign to Khaybar which they would join merely for the prospect of spoils' (W. Madelung, 'Has the *Hijra* Come to an End?', *Revue des Études Islamiques*, 54 (1986), 229). Even without the benefit of *tafsīr*, the passage is hostile to the bedouin. But Sālim cleverly concentrates on the last verse which foretells that they will be called against a mighty people and shifts his ground to the Prophet's *sunna* thereafter.

**48. foolish relatives ... who were young of age.** They are also *sufa-hāʿ* in Abū Mikhnaf's account in Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v. 63.5; Ibn Shabba, *Madīna*, ii. 189, no. 1941; and in numerous Ibādī sources; cf. the *Ṣifa* in HX, 142.7; Barrādī, *Jawāhir*, 59.–5; Khālid in Kāshif, *Siyar*, i. 101.ult.; Qalhātī, *Kashf*, fos. 85a.3, 85b.2; Izkawī, *Kashf al-ghumma*, fo. 181a.10. They are identified as youths in Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v. 46.14, 53.14; *Iqd*, iv. 280.–7, 305.13). **David, behold...** Here, as in the secular Umayyad literature examined by Crone and Hinds (*God's Caliph*), the verse is understood as a reference to the caliphate. Contrast W. al-Qāḍī, 'The Term "Khalifa" in Early Exegetical Literature', *Die Welt des Islams*, 28 (1988), 409: 'The early exegetes in the Umayyad period did *not* equate the Qurʾānic "khalifa" with the head of the Islamic state'.

**49. The believers talked to him.** Cf. the individuals and groups who remonstrate with him in Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v. 26.11, 28.19, 41.8, 46.10, 49.9; Ibn Aʿtham, ii. 153, 180; Ṭabarī, i. 2931 ff, 2995 ff; the *Ṣifa* in HX,

143.1, 146.8; IB1 in Kāshif, *Siyar*, ii. 395; Barrādī, *Jawāhir*, 161.6 = Rubinacci, 'Califfo', 114). **and thus did their duty.** One must ask the imam to repent and mend his way before seeking to depose or kill him. **he . . . declared their opinion foolish.** Cf. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v. 40.21; Ibn Aʿtham, ii, 172.–2, 183.10. **he . . . expelled some of them.** Cf. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v. 36.8, 40.21, 42 f, 46.15, 47.19, 63.6; Ṭabarī, 1st ser., 2858 ff, 2907 ff, 2922 ff; Ibn Aʿtham, ii. 182; IB1 (Kāshif, *Siyar*, ii. 330.6; Barrādī, *Jawāhir*, 159.6 = Rubinacci, 'Califfo', 110); Khālid in Kāshif, *Siyar*, i. 101.1. **Abū Dharr.** See *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. ʿUthmān is said to have exiled him to al-Rabadha (Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v. 53 ff; Ṭabarī, 1st ser., 2858 ff; Ibn Aʿtham, ii. 187.2; *Iqd*, iv. 283.14), though he is also said to have gone there of his own accord (Balādhurī, op. cit., 53.19; Ṭabarī, 1st ser., 2860, 2896). His hostility to, and exile at the hands of, ʿUthmān figure in IB1 (Kāshif, *Siyar*, ii. 330.7; Barrādī, *Jawāhir*, 159.6 = Rubinacci, 'Califfo', 110); the *Ṣifa* (HX, 144.4; Barrādī, *Jawāhir*, 66 ff), Abū ʿl-Muʿthir, Khālid (Kāshif, *Siyar*, i. 81.7, 101.1); Qalhātī (*Kashf*, fo. 85a.–6); and Izkawī (*Kashf al-ghumma*, fos. 181a.–2, 182b.9). **ʿĀmir b. ʿAbdallāh**, i.e. ʿĀmir b. ʿAbd Qays (on whom, see *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v.), a Basran ascetic. According to Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v. 57.18, ʿUthmān had him come to Medina for questioning and then sent him back to Basra; but others have it that he was exiled to Syria (Ibn Saʿd, vii. 108; *Iqd*, iv. 283.15). He is mentioned among the men exiled from Basra in IB1 (Kāshif, *Siyar*, ii. 330.–2; Barrādī, *Jawāhir*, 159.11 = Rubinacci, 'Califfo', 110). **ʿAbdallāh b. Masʿūd.** See *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. 'Ibn Masʿūd'. He is said to have been exiled from Kufa to Medina and to have died there in AH 32 (Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v. 36 f; Ṭabarī, 1st ser., 2894); but he is also said to have died in Medina before ʿUmar was killed (in AH 23) or to have died in Kufa (Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣāba fī tamayyiz al-ṣaḥāba* (Cairo, 1328), ii. 369.–9). ʿUthmān beat him *fa-duqqa ḍilʿuhu* (Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v. 36.18) or *hattā kusira lahu ḍilʿān* (Yaʿqūbī, ii. 197) or *adlāʿuhu* (Ibn Abī ʿl-Ḥadīd, i. 199.–6). He is not mentioned in IB1, but the *Ṣifa* has it that ʿUthmān expelled him from Kufa and *daqqa adlāʿahu* (HX, 145; Barrādī, *Jawāhir*, 75.8); the phrase recurs in Shabīb b. ʿAṭiyya (Kāshif, *Siyar*, ii. 381.–3), Qalhātī (*Kashf*, fo. 85a.–4; Izkawī, *Kashf al-ghumma*, fo. 181b.1). **Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān.** That ʿUthmān exiled this man is unknown to the mainstream tradition, in which he does not even come across as an enemy of his (cf. in particular Sayf, *Futūḥ*, 76, §71; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v. 92.12; also Ibn Saʿd, vi. 15). But in the *Ṣifa* ʿUthmān exiles him to Madāʿin (Barrādī, 79.8, where he is Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamānī). He was a hero to the Shīʿites too. **Zayd b. Ṣūḥān.** ʿUthmān punished him for his outspokenness by sending him to Syria (Ibn Saʿd, vi. 124 f; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v. 41.3, 43.7). He is also mentioned among the men exiled by ʿUthmān in IB1 (Kāshif, *Siyar*, ii. 330.–5; Barrādī, *Jawāhir*, 159.9 (corrupt) = Rubinacci, 'Califfo', 110), and Izkawī, *Kashf al-ghumma*,

fo. 182b.10. **‘Ammār b. Yāsir.** ‘Uthmān beat him *ḥattā aṣābahu ’l-fatq* according to Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v. 49.15, 18; Ibn A‘tham, ii. 154 f, 186 f; *ḥattā fataqa baṭnahu* according to Sālim, the *Ṣifa* (Barrādī, *Jawāhir*, 65.2; HX, 144.3), and other Ibādī sources (e.g. Kāshif, *Siyar*, i. 80.–3, 100.–2; ii. 381.–3; Qalhātī, *Kashf*, fo. 85a.–5).

**50. Spies.** Similarly Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v. 58.1. **deprive him of his rightful share.** He reduces stipends or deprives people of them in Ṭabarī, 1st ser., 2934; IB1 (Kāshif, *Siyar*, ii. 332.5; Barrādī, *Jawāhir*, 160.3 = Rubinacci, ‘Califfo’, 111); Qalhātī, *Kashf*, fo. 85b.2; Izkawī, *Kashf al-ghumma*, fo. 182b.–6). **Confiscations.** This does not seem to be mentioned elsewhere.

**51. When the believers saw...** Similarly Ibn Ishāq and the *Ṣifa*; cf. below, Ch. 4.

**52. I repent unto God.** For ‘Uthmān’s repentance, see also Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v. 46.21; Ṭabarī, 1st ser., 2964, 2972 f, 2996; IB1 (Kāshif, *Siyar*, ii. 335.8; Barrādī, *Jawāhir*, 161.–5 = Rubinacci, ‘Califfo’, 114); the *Ṣifa* (HX, 147.10; Qalhātī, *Kashf*, fo. 85a.–2; Barrādī, *Jawāhir*, 83.–2). **‘ahd allāh wa-mīthāqahu.** Similarly Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v. 64; Ṭabarī, 2964; the *Ṣifa* in HX, 147.11.14; Barrādī, *Jawāhir*, 83, ult. **he had al-Walīd b. ‘Uqba lashed.** This is normally said to have been done at the time of al-Walīd’s dismissal from Kufa (Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v. 33.19, 35.8, 16, 19; Ṭabarī, 1st ser., 2915; Ibn A‘tham, ii. 168.6; the *Ṣifa* (?) in Barrādī, *Jawāhir*, 63.10). But in Ibn Qutayba (attrib.), *al-Imāma wa’l-siyāsa*, 2nd printing (Cairo, 1969), i. 34, ‘Uthmān likewise has al-Walīd flogged after announcing his repentance.

**53. he wrote to the governor of Egypt.** Several versions of the letter are given in Ibn Shabba, *Madīna*, ii. 212, 215 f, nos. 2007 f, 2012 f; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v. 62, 65 f, 66–8; Ṭabarī, 1st ser., 2965 (with the order for alternate cutting of hand and feet, from Ya‘qūb b. Ibrāhīm), 2984 f, 2989, 2992, 2995 f. Ibn A‘tham, ii. 211.10, also has the alternate cutting of hands and feet, as does IB1 (Kāshif, *Siyar*, ii. 335.–3; Barrādī, *Jawāhir*, 162.1 = Rubinacci, ‘Califfo’, 114). The letter is also mentioned in Qalhātī, *Kashf*, fo. 85a.ult., but its wording is not given. **Send me the Syrians...** Thus also Abū Mikhnaf in Ṭabarī, 1st ser., 2985, where the formulation is almost identical.

**54. Abū ’l-A‘war.** Most versions identify the carrier as a *ghulām* of ‘Uthmān’s, but Abū ’l-A‘war is also named in Ibn Ishāq’s version, and here too he is accompanied by a Khawlānī (Ṭabarī, 1st ser., 2984). The *Ṣifa* first names the carrier as Abū ’l-A‘war al-Sulamī accompanied by a Syrian Khawlānī on the authority of Ibn Ishāq and next has the rebels confront ‘Uthmān with the question ‘is this not your *ghulām*?’ (HX, 148; Barrādī, *Jawāhir*, 84 f). **I know nothing about any of this.** Compare

Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v. 66, 68; Ṭabarī, 1st ser., 2965, 2989, 2993, 2995 f; Ibn Shabba, *Madīna*, ii. 212, 215 f, nos. 2007–9, 2012 f; the *Ṣifa* (HX, 148, 151<sup>1</sup>; Barrādī, *Jawāhir*, 85), where similar interchanges ensue.

**55. We will let this pass if . . .** The rebels also give ʿUthmān another chance in Ṭabarī, 1st ser., 2989. **return our command to us.** The rebels also ask him to abdicate in Ṭabarī, 1st ser., 2989 f, 2994, 2996, 3016, 3043 f; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v. 66.10, 89.6, 92.4; and (the *Ṣifa* in?) Barrādī, *Jawāhir*, 89, in far less detail. **the government of Muḥammad’s community . . . is more important than the property of orphans.** Abū Ḥamza makes the same point in criticism of Yazīd II (Crone and Hinds, *God’s Caliph*, 131, §9).

**56. Dīnār b. ʿIyād of Aslam.** This name sounds like a contradiction in terms because Dīnār was a name characteristic of *mawālī*. It is clearly a corruption of Niyār; cf. Ṭabarī, 1st ser., 3001, 3004, 3016; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v. 83.14, 86.9; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, iii. 578 f (Niyār b. ʿIyād/Mukrim al-Aslamī, with role reversal in Balādhurī). We have left it unemended because the misreading seems to have become canonical to the Ibādīs: his name is also given as Dīnār in the *Ṣifa* (HX, 153<sup>1</sup>.7; Barrādī, *Jawāhir*, 91.–8), Qalhātī (*Kashf*, fo. 85b.1), and Izkawī (*Kashf al-ghumma*, fo. 183b.3). **of the family of Kathīr b. al-Ṣalt.** Ṭabarī names three different killers; cf. 1st ser., 3001 (Abū Ḥafṣa al-Yamānī, from Wāqidī), 3004 (Kathīr b. al-Ṣalt al-Kindī), 3016 (Qabath al-Kinānī). The killer is also Kathīr b. al-Ṣalt al-Kindī in the *Ṣifa* (Barrādī, *Jawāhir*, 91.–5; HX, 153<sup>1</sup>.10). **he did not know who had killed him.** Likewise, Ṭabarī, 1st ser., 3002. ʿUthmān gives a different reason for his refusal in Ṭabarī, 3004; the *Ṣifa*, (HX, 153<sup>1</sup>; Barrādī, *Jawāhir*, 91), and Izkawī (*Kashf al-ghumma*, fo. 183b.4).

**57. al-Mughīra b. al-Akhnas.** Similarly, Ṭabarī, 1st ser., 3016. **Hence they did not enslave their offspring,** etc. Likewise Khālid (*fa-lam yaghnām al-muslimūn mālahu wa-lā sabaw dhurriyyatahu*, Kāshif, *Siyar*, i. 103.9, 109.2); Bisyanī, *ibid.*, ii. 126.–6; Qalhātī in polemics against the Azāriqa (*Kashf*, fo. 198a.6), and Izkawī (*Kashf al-ghumma*, fo. 184.8). For details of the practices rejected here, see Part III. For a different view of the behaviour of the rebels, see Ṭabarī, 1st ser., 3020, where they declare his property to be forfeit on a par with his life.

**59. Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr. . . had been among the fiercest opponents of ʿUthmān.** Likewise Ibn al-Azraq to Ibn al-Zubayr: *kāna abūka wa-ʿAlī wa-Ṭalḥa ashadda ʿl-nās ʿalayhi ḥattā qutila* (al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashraf*, xi. (= *Anonyme arabische Chronik*), ed. W. Ahtwardt, (Greifswald, 1883), 82; cf. also Madāʿinī in Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v. 81.17); anon., *Radd ʿalā ahl al-shakk*, HX, 374.10: *kānū ashadda ʿl-nās ʿalayhi qabla dhālika*. **The Muslims reasoned with them.** The passage illustrates the principle that one may only fight *ahl al-qibla* after *al-daʿwa ilā ʿl-ḥaqq*, *iqāmat*

*al-ḥujja*, *iḏhār*, and *indhār*, and then only if the opponents attack (Bisy-ānī in Kāshif, *Siyar*, ii. 191.–4; cf. also ASM, *ibid.* i. 230.7; App. 4). **the judgement . . . on mischief-makers.** For the Prophet's regulation of the treatment of mischief-makers, see above, II, 32. Sālim means that they did not enslave their families, treat their property as booty, and so on, and other sources say so explicitly (Khālid in Kāshif, *Siyar*, i. 109.1; Barrādī, *Jawāhir*, 104.–7; Izkawī, *Kashf al-ghumma*, fo. 184a.8).

**60. The Muslims called them to what is right.** In other words, they played by the rules (cf. the previous para.).

**61. 'Alī . . . making somebody other than God the judge.** See below, Ch. 4, 193 f.

**65. Then the Khārijite Muslims.** The expression suggests that Sālim took *khārijī* to mean a Muslim (i.e. Ibādī) who makes a *khurūj*, a usage also known among later Ibādīs (cf. below, Ch. 8, 277 f) but he proceeds to divide the Khārijite Muslims into 'those of them who went out . . . those who stayed at home'. For details of the practices which are being rejected, see the polemics against the extremists in Part III. For a similar survey of the ideal state up to the emergence of the Azāriqa, see ASM in Kāshif, *Siyar*, i. 207. **They would not kill the offspring of their qawm.** ASM (loc. cit.) says that they did not enslave them. **would not expose their qawm to indiscriminate slaughter; treat their property as booty.** Similarly, ASM: *wa-lā 'taraḍū al-nās bi'l-sayf wa-lā yaghnāmū ahl qiblathim* (loc. cit.). The mainstream tradition disagrees (cf. Ch. 5, 214; App. 4). **Those members . . . would be safe.** For the *kāff* and *mu'tazil*, compare II, 26, above, where this is the Prophet's practice; below IV, 117, where it is restated as Ibādī practice. Sālim's insistence, both here and at IV, 117, that there is no *manzila* between right and wrong looks like a reference to Mu'tazilism (similarly Cook, *Dogma*, 94). **The rights of neighbours, etc.** Cf. below, IV, 115. **Those . . . them who went out.** Cf. below, IV, 129, where this is restated as Ibādī doctrine; Shabīb b. 'Aṭīyya, who also has it as general doctrine (*yatawallā 'alā dhālika al-mādī minhum al-bāqī*, Kāshif, *Siyar*, ii. 348.6, reading *al-mādī* for *al-qāṣī* and deleting the superfluous *wam*); ASM on the early Khārijites (*yatawallā al-qā'id al-khārij wa'l-khārij al-qā'id . . . lam yantahilū hijra*, Kāshif, *Siyar*, i. 207.7); and Abū 'Ammār, *Mūjaz*, ii. 238.–4, where the same point is made. **The rich among them would share with the poor.** Presumably a reference to Q. 59: 7; the *ḥaḍ* belongs to the Prophet, kinsmen, orphans, travellers, and the poor, and should not be something 'taken in turns among the rich of you'; cf. II, 40, 44, 51.

## THE AZĀRIQA

66. **for as long as God wished.** For this formulation, see App. 3. **Idolaters.** Sālim uses this term interchangeably with *mushrikūn*, cf. above II, 28, 34; below, III, 68, 75, 76, 87, 90; IV, 117. Other Ibādī sources, similarly, credit the Azraqites with classifying non-Khārijite Muslims as *mushrikūn* (al-Ash‘arī, *Kitāb maqālāt al-islāmiyyīn*, ed. H. Ritter (Istanbul, 1929–33), 89.6), or *mushrikū* ‘l-‘arab (Mubarrad, iii. 1036), or *ka-kuffār/mushrikī* ‘l-‘arab or *mithl kuffār al-‘arab wa-‘abadat al-awthān* (Mubarrad, iii. 1032; Ibn Abī ‘l-Ḥadīd, iv. 136.–7, 139.2; *‘Iqd*, ii. 398; Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī in K. Lewinstein, ‘The Azāriqa in Islamic Heresiography’, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 54 (1991), 266). The Ibādīs similarly charge the Azāriqa with *tashrik ahl al-qibla* (see, e.g., Kāshif, *Siyar*, i. 300.8; ii. 85.7, 124.–7, 307.–3; Qalhātī, *Kāshf*, fo. 197a.6), and equate *ahl al-shirk*, *ahl al-awthān*, and *mushrikū* ‘l-‘arab (Qalhātī, *Kashf*, fo. 198b.11; Abū Sufyān in Kāshif, *Siyar*, i. 320). As Cook notes, the terminological differences are without doctrinal significance (*Dogma*, 95). **inheritance . . . intermarriage.** On the non-Ibādī side the same point is made by Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, xi. 80; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, iii. 1032; Ibn Abī ‘l-Ḥadīd, iv. 136.–7; Ṭabarī, 2nd ser., 518 f, citing Abū Mikhnaf; Rāzī in Lewinstein, ‘Azāriqa’, 265 f. For Ibādīs making the same point, see Bisyānī in Kāshif, *Siyar*, ii. 124.–6; Qalhātī, *Kashf*, fo. 197a.4, 8; 198a.–2; Izkawī, *Kashf al-ghumma*, fo. 232b.5. All add that the Azāriqa prohibited the *dhabā’ih* of non-Khārijite Muslims; Abū Mikhnaf adds that they would not accept them as witnesses. **though the Khārijites of the past. . .** The contrasting practice of the early Khārijites and the extremists, who, nonetheless, continue to recognize the early Khārijites as their forebears, runs as a refrain through this section. Cf. below, IV, 133, and Ch. 5, 211. Abū Sufyān Maḥbūb explicitly says that Abū Bilāl did not classify people of the *qibla* as idolaters (Izkawī, *Kashf al-ghumma*, fo. 266b.9).

67. *saby qawmihim*. Literally, it means taking them captive, but it is clearly equated with reducing them to slavery and we always translate it as such. Several Ibādī sources describe this as an Azraqite doctrine along with *ghanm amwālihim* (Kāshif, *Siyar*, i. 208.–6; ii. 85.6, 124.–7, 307.–3, cf. also 314.8; Qalhātī, *Kashf*, fo. 197a.6; Izkawī, *Kashf al-ghumma*, fo. 232b.3, cf. 266b.8, where Abū Sufyān says that Abū Bilāl did not engage in it); and countless Ibādī sources reject it along with the taking of booty (*lā sibā’ wa-lā ghanīma*, as they frequently put it): see, e.g., Kāshif, *Siyar*, i. 109, 230, 317.4, 9, 319.–2, 352.–2; ii. 201.8, 308.4, 348.3; Qalhātī, *Kashf*, fos. 198a.5). But, as Cook notes, the heresiographers do not have this point (*Dogma*, 96), though it lies behind the observation that

the Ibādī rejected *saby* of *qibla*-users (Nashwān al-Ḥimyārī, *al-Ḥūr al-ʿim*, ed. K. Muṣṭafā (Cairo, 1948), 173.12); there is also other evidence that it was once well represented in the heresiographical literature (Lewinstein, ‘Azāriqa’, 267 n). At all events, al-Jāḥiẓ knew that Qaṭarī believed in *al-sibāʿ* (*al-Bayān wa’l-tabyīn*, ed. ‘A.-S. M. Hārūn (Cairo, 1948–50), iii. 264), and describes *saby* as a Khārijite practice in general, along with *al-ghanāʿim* (‘Risāla fī ’l-ḥakamayn’, ed. C. Pellat in *al-Mashriq*, 52 (1958), §95). **bed their women.** (*istinkāḥ nisāʾihim*, also at II, 57, 65; III, 79, 84, 87, 89). According to Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab* (Būlāq, 1300–7), s.v. *nkḥ*, *istankaḥa* means to marry (*tazammaja*); and, according to the exegetes *ad Q.* 33: 50, it means to seek in marriage (*wa’l-istinkāḥ ṭalab al-nikāḥ* — thus, e.g. Bayḍawī, Rāzī, Zamakhsharī, *ad Q.* 33: 50). The word seemingly appears in that sense in l. 669, but we take it to be a corruption. Since the Azraqites forbade intermarriage with their *qawm* (III, 66), yet permitted *istinkāḥ*, it cannot mean marriage of the ordinary kind. *Q.* 33: 50 is about women who give themselves to the Prophet, i.e. about marriage *bi-ghayr amr walī wa-lā mahr*, as Qatāda puts it (al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmiʿ al-bayān fī tafsīr al-qurʿān* (Cairo, 1321), xxiv. 14.–11), and though the exegetes do not attach this meaning to the verb *istankaḥa* itself, it does seem to be what it denotes (cf. Nashwān al-Ḥimyārī, *al-Qaṣīda al-ḥimyariyya*, ed. and tr. A. von Kremer (Leipzig, 1865), v. 45; drawn to our attention by Prof. M. Ullmann). It also means marriage without guardian’s consent or dower in the verse adduced by Ibn Manẓūr himself, though here the union is effected by men using force rather than by women giving themselves away: *hum qatalū al-Ṭāʾī . . . Abā Jābir wa-’stankaḥū Umm Jābir*, i.e. they killed the Ṭāʾī and dragged away his wife for sexual use. The verse is by Nābigha al-Dhubayānī (*Dīwān*, ed. Sh. Fayṣal (Damascus, 1968), no. 25: 10; we owe the identification to Prof. Ullmann, who also referred us to an ambivalent passage in ‘Umar b. Abī Rabīʿa, *Dīwān*, ed. P. Schwarz (Leipzig, 1901–9), no. 186: 7). Sālim uses the word in the same sense as Nābigha, his message being that the Azraqites hold it lawful to kill, enslave and despoilate one’s *qawm* and to make sexual use of their women (cf. esp. II, 79). This is what one did to people whom one regarded as devoid of legal protection. ‘Their religion is . . . to take a fifth of your property . . . and to marry your daughters by force’ (*wa-yankuḥu fīkum qasran banātakum*), as Naṣr b. Sayyār says in one version of his famous poem depicting the Hāshimiyya as anti-Islamic aliens (Ibn Aʿtham, viii. 163). When God allowed the Arabs to conquer the Sasanid empire, the latter *istankaḥū nisāʾahum wa-’staraqqū amlādahum*, as Qaḥṭaba says in a speech to the selfsame Hāshimiyya on their way to Iraq in 130/747 (Ṭabarī, 2nd ser., 2005.3), translated ‘took . . . their women and enslaved their children’ by J. A. Williams, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xxvi (Albany, 1985), 110 f. There is no precise English equivalent.

At first sight Sālīm's argument is peculiar. Sunnī theory permits the enslavement of idolatrous women, who may be bedded when they have completed their waiting periods (Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, *Aḥkām ahl al-dhimmā*, ed. Ṣ. al-Ṣāliḥ (Damascus, 1961), i. 16), and no doubt the Khārijites agreed: the issue was whether one could classify one's *qawm* as idolaters. But contrary to expectation, Sālīm does not protest that women of the *ahl al-qibla* cannot be thus classified and that, therefore, they cannot be enslaved or put to sexual use; rather, he ignores their enslavement and devotes his polemics to the extremists' violation of waiting periods: the Prophet did not marry off women of (executed) *ahl al-qibla* to Muslims before they had completed their waiting periods (II, 32); when the Muslims killed ʿUthmān, they did not marry off the women (of the slain) before they had completed their waiting periods (II, 57); for it is not lawful to have intercourse with a married woman until she is widowed or divorced and completes her waiting period (IV, 124); and the early Khārijites did not *yastahillūna furūj nisāʾihim/yastankihū nisāʾahum* (II, 65; III, 79, and cf. 89). Perhaps Sālīm adopts this line of argument because he has already objected to the Azraqite classification of their *qawm* as idolaters. His point now seems to be that even if *qibla*-using women could be enslaved, the Azraqites are violating the law by ignoring the prescribed waiting period.

The term *istinkāḥ* does not recur in other accounts of the Azāriqa, be they Ibādī or other, but the Ibādīs condemn the practice under other names: 'in fighting wrongdoers from the people of the *qibla* it is not allowed to take their property as booty, to enslave or kill their children, to enslave their women, or to marry those who are married already (*wa-lā saby imraʾa wa-lā nikāḥ dhāt baʿl minhum*) (ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm, *Ibādīyya*, 62, citing Bisyanī's Jāmiʿ). Abū ʿl-Muṯthir repeatedly points out that God has made it forbidden to marry *dhawāt al-buʿūla* (Kāshif, *Siyar*, ii. 296, 298.1, 308); and Qalhātī notes that the Azāriqa consider lawful what God has forbidden *min al-dimāʾ waʾl-ammāl waʾl-furūj* (*Kashf*, fo. 199a.7). It is not discussed on the non-Ibādī side. **treat their property as booty.** Ibādī sources commonly describe this as an Azraqite doctrine (see, e.g., Kāshif, *Siyar*, i. 208.–5; ii. 124, 307.–3; Izkawī, *Kashf al-ghumma*, fo. 232b.4, 16); and they regularly reject it, cf. the refs. given above *ad* III, 67, in connection with *saby*. All use the root *ghmm* rather than *khms*. Though the Sunnī heresiographers do not mention it, it is also well known to the mainstream tradition. Ibn al-Azraq characterizes their property as *fayʾ al-muslimin* in his alleged correspondence with Najda (Mubarrad, iii. 1036.ult.; Ibn Abī ʿl-Ḥadīd, iv. 139.5; *ʿIqd*, ii. 398.–4). **kill their offspring.** Similarly Bal-ādhurī, *Ansāb*, xi. 80, 83; Mubarrad, iii. 1031, 1033 f, 1036; cf. 1041.–4; Ibn Abī ʿl-Ḥadīd, iv. 137 ff (cf. 163.7, where they kill both women and children); *ʿIqd*, i. 223.9; ii. 397 f; Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, iii. 264, on Qaṭarī; Nāshīʿ, or more properly pseudo-Nāshīʿ, in J. van Ess (ed.), *Frühe muʿtazilitische*

*Häresiographie* (Beirut, 1971), §119; Ash‘arī, 87.8; Baghdādī, *Farq*, 63.7; al-Shahraṣṭānī, *Kitāb al-milal wa’l-nihal*, ed. W. Cureton (London, 1842–6), i. 90.–7; Nashwān, 178.2 (the last three add the killing of women). It seems to have fallen by the wayside in the Ibādī tradition, though Qalhātī probably meant to mention it: *intahala . . . sibā’ ahl al-qibla wa-qhanm ammālihim wa-sibā’ dhurriyyatihim*, he says, presumably meaning *qatl dhurriyyatihim* since there was no point in mentioning *sibā’* twice (*Kashf*, fo. 197a.5). **slaughter them indiscriminately.** Indiscriminate slaughter is commonly mentioned in both Sunnī and Ibādī sources, cf. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, xi. 80; Mubarrad, iii. 1033.6; *Iqd*, i. 223.8; Nāshī, §119; Ash‘arī, 87; ASM, Bisyānī in *Kāshif*, *Siyar*, i. 208.–6; ii. 85.6; Qalhātī, *Kashf*, fos. 197a.7, 197b.1, 198a.3; Izkawī, *Kashf al-ghumma*, fo. 232b.5.

68. **They refuse to grant protection.** Sālim has forgotten to present the Prophet as applying the Qur’anic instruction on this topic (cf. above, II, 26, where he only deals with the different issue of the *mu‘tazil kāff*), and neither the heresiographical literature nor the later Ibādī sources discuss it. But compare the story in which Wāṣil b. ‘Aṭā’ saves himself and his companions from death at the hands of unspecified Khārijites by claiming to be ‘polytheists seeking protection to hear the word of God’; having been granted protection, he reminds the Khārijites that the verse (9: 6) obliges them to convey them to a place of safety too! (Mubarrad, iii. 891 f; ed. Wright, 528; al-Tanūkhī, *Nishwār al-muhādāra*, ed. ‘A. al-Shālījī (Beirut, 1971–3), ii. 205 f; Ibn Abī ‘l-Ḥadīd, ii. 281; v, 80 f). A similar story is told of Abū Ḥanīfa when surprised by Khārijites in the Friday mosque of Kufa (al-Baghdādī, *Ta’rikh Baghdād* (Cairo, 1931), xiii, 366). Yet another story has non-Khārijites seek protection from Shabīb’s men in 76/695 f: having heard God’s word, they duly convert to Khārijism (Ṭabarī, 2nd ser., 895 f, citing Abū Mikhnaf). This story is told in corroboration of the doctrine that one should, indeed, grant protection to such people: ‘you have acted well and correctly’, Shabīb tells his men. For a less didactic account, see Ṭabarī, 2nd ser., 1907, *sub anno* 127, where the Syrian general Manṣūr b. Jumhūr describes himself to al-Ḍaḥḥāk’s Khārijites as a sinner who wishes to convert and ‘to hear the word of God’. It follows from these stories that, like the Azāriqa, Shabīb and al-Ḍaḥḥāk classified their *qawm* as *mushrikūn* and that Shabīb’s followers had also been reluctant to apply the verse to them. Possibly, they too argued that their *qawm* had heard God’s word already.

69. **test.** Similarly, Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, xi. 78, 80 (*aḥdatha al-miḥna, im-tahana al-muhājir*); Mubarrad, iii, 1032.3; Ash‘arī, 87.4. It is also attested for the Khārijites of al-Ḍaḥḥāk in the third civil war: when Manṣūr b. Jumhūr describes himself to them as a sinner who wishes to convert and hear God’s word, the narrator adds *wa-hiya miḥnatuhum* (Ṭabarī, 2nd ser.,

1907, cf. above, *ad* III, 68). The later Ibādīs rarely mention it, though Izkawī claims that they would flog those who failed their *mihna* (written *mhbthm*, *Kashf al-ghumma*, fo. 247b.10). Baghdādī, *Farq*, 63.4, somewhat unpersuasively asserts that converts were tested by being ordered to kill a former co-religionist and that they would be killed if they refused. The institution was undoubtedly inspired by Q. 60: 9: ‘when believing women come to you as emigrants, then examine them’ (*fa’mtahinūhunna*).

**70. stoning.** That the Azraqites rejected it is also mentioned in Ash‘arī, 89.3; Baghdādī, *Farq*, 64.1; Shahrastānī, i. 90.–7 (adding their explanation that it was not in the Qur’ān); cf. also al-Malaṭī, *Kitāb al-tanbīh*, ed. S. Dederling (Istanbul, 1936), 142; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Tahdhīb ta’rikh Ibn ‘Asākir*, ed. ‘A.-Q. Badrān and A. ‘Ubayd (Damascus, 1911–32), iv, 146, where their view on the matter is reported to ‘Umar II. The later Ibādīs also knew about it, cf. Qalhātī, *Kashf*, fo. 199b.–4; Izkawī, *Kashf al-ghumma*, fo. 247b.–11 (*rhm*). That the Azraqites declared others to be infidels for using the penalty (as the text could be read to say) is not mentioned elsewhere. **a man of Aslam.** Cf. Mālik, *al-Muwatta’* (Cairo, n.d.), 165 f (*K. al-hudūd*, nos. 2–3); Cook, *Dogma*, 100 and nn. 110–11 thereto.

**71. They disown every bedouin.** This is not attested in any other source, be it Sunnī or Ibādī. *ḥayāt wa-rizq*. Cf. Q. 3: 169: ‘Count not those who were slain in God’s way as dead, but rather living (*aḥyā’*) with their Lord, by Him provided (*yurzaqūn*)’, quoted above, I, 12. This is the lot or share one hopes to obtain through holy war (for the construction of *min* here, cf. above, *ad* I, 4) and which one will pronounce the slain to have attained if one sees them as having fallen in one’s own cause (cf. ‘Alī above, II, 63; Ṭabarī, 2nd ser., 517.18). The Bedouin declare themselves supporters of the Azāriqa by pronouncing the Azraqite slain to be alive and provided by God, and they ask God to provide themselves with the rewards of death in holy war. Yet the Azāriqa dissociate from them, undoubtedly because the latter had not made the *hijra*. The Qur’ān twice forbids *walāya* with those who have not emigrated (Q. 4: 89; 8: 72). For further discussion, see Ch. 5, 204 f; Ch. 8, 278 ff.

**72. deem those of them who stay at home to be infidels.** Similarly Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, xi. 80.10 (*bari’a min al-qa’adama-’stahalla qatlahum* with ref. to Q. 9: 90: ‘And the bedouin came with their excuses, asking for leave; those who lied to God and His Messenger tarried (*qa’ada*); there shall befall the unbelievers of them a painful chastisement’); cf. also the correspondence *ibid.* 81 f; Ibn Abī ‘l-Ḥadīd, iv. 136 ff; Mubarrad, iii, 1032 ff; *Iqd*, ii. 397 f; Ash‘arī, 86 f; Baghdādī, *Farq*, 63; Shahrastānī, i. 90, 93; Nashwān, 178.1. Likewise the Ibādīs, cf. ASM in Kāshif, *Siyar*, i. 208.–6; Qalhātī, *Kashf*, fo. 197a.7; Izkawī, *Kashf al-ghumma*, fos. 232b.4 (they dissociate from the *qā’id*), 277b.7 (whoever dies without emigrating

is a *kāfir mushrik*). **forbidden to associate with them or to pray for forgiveness for them.** None of the above sources mentions this, but it follows automatically. Cf. Šāliḥ b. Musarriḥ's in Ṭabarī, 2nd ser., 882: 'Separation from sinners (*firāq al-fāsiqīn*) is a duty on the believers, for God says in His Book, "Do not ever pray for any of them when he is dead, nor stand over his grave; they disbelieved (*kafarū*) in God and His Messenger and died as sinners (*fāsiqūn*)"' (Q. 9: 84; and cf. the preceding v., which shows the context to be *qu'ūd*). **Yet they affiliate to people. . .** Cf. above, *ad* III, 66.

**73. because they hide their faith.** The Azraqite rejection of *taqiyya* is also attested in Mubarrad, iii. 1032.4; Ibn Abī 'l-Ḥadīd, iv. 136.–6; Ash'arī, 89.3; Shahrastānī, i. 90, 93; also in one Ibādī source (ASM in Kāshif, *Siyar*, i. 208.–6), and in the creed of Ibn Fūrak al-Khārijī (below, Ch. 8, 274). *mā shā'a 'llāh*. Cf. App. 3.

**74. they . . . were more given to hiding their faith.** This passage (also tr. in Ennami, *Studies*, i. 28) seems to refer to the Khārijite practice of interrogating opponents: they would not tell members of their *qawm* what they believed, according to Sālim, but would rather quizz them to see how far their views corresponded with their own and kill them if the correspondence was faulty. (Cf. below, App. 4. We owe our understanding of the passage to Prof. Madelung). **appropriate trusts.** Similarly, Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, xi. 83 f; Mubarrad, iii. 1035, 1036; Ibn Abī 'l-Ḥadīd, iv. 136 ff; *Iqd*, i. 223.9; ii. 397 f; Ash'arī, p. 89.5; Baghdādī, *Farq*, 64. Cf. Izkawī, *Kashf al-ghumma*, fo. 266b.8, where Abū Sufyān Maḥbūb says that Abū Bilāl's followers did not appropriate trusts; Kāshif, *Siyar*, i. 229.–6, 230.10, where an anonymous ninth-century Ibādī rejects violation of trusts. Lewinstein takes their refusal to abide by Q. 4: 58 in this matter to go badly with their scripturalist tendencies ('Azāriqa', 258 n. 46), but the Qur'ān does not command the believers to honour the trusts of infidels and idolaters. **hypocrisy has been abolished.** This is unknown to the heresiographers (Baghdādī, *Farq*, 63.6, even has them denounce converts who fail their examination as hypocrites and polytheists!), but cf. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, xi. 81.–2, where Ibn al-Azraq declares that *azhara 'llāh al-dīn wa-qama'a 'l-nifāq*. The later Ibādī sources do not mention it either. Izkawī does credit the Azāriqa and other Khawārij with holding that there is no *munāfiq* in the *dār al-hijra*, but what he has in mind is a Najdite rather than an Azraqite doctrine (*Kashf al-ghumma*, fo. 247b.10; below, *ad* III, 82). **God will forgive fornication, etc.** This is a well-attested point. The Azraqites testify that God will find favour with everyone who openly displays Islam in their *dār al-hijra*, according to Ash'arī, 89.4. They do not declare perpetrators of grave sins in their *dār al-hijra* to be infidels, except for killers of Muslims (i.e. fellow Azraqites), according to Balādhurī,

*Ansāb*, xi, 94; Mubarrad, iii. 1053; Rāzī in Lewinstein, ‘Azāriqa’, 265. Among the Ibādīs, Izkawī makes the same point (*Kashf al-ghumma*, fo. 247b.8), while Qalhātī indignantly explains that they write off co-religionists in what they call *dār al-shirk* as polytheists while at the same time elevating those in what they call *dār al-islām* to people of Paradise even if they commit acts forbidden by God such as bloodshed, fornication, etc. (*Kashf*, fo. 199b.4). On the face of it the doctrine contradicts their rigorist view that a grave sin (*kabīra*) amounts to infidelity for which God will punish the perpetrator for ever (Ash‘arī, 86.2); but they clearly took it to mean that those who opposed them were *ipso facto* guilty of *kabā’ir*, while those who followed them were *ipso facto* innocent of them, except for killers of fellow believers. (Cf. also the discussion in Lewinstein, ‘Azāriqa’, 259). **if . . . companionship could grant protection against hypocrisy.** Does Sālim affect not to understand? The Azraqite position which he himself has reported was that hypocrisy has disappeared and that membership of the sect guards against hellfire, not that hypocrisy can be avoided by companionship/membership of the sect. His objection would have been apter if it had been directed against the Najdiyya, according to whom *nifāq* could be avoided by emigration to a Najdite camp (cf. below, *ad* III, 82). Perhaps it was in this context that he first formulated it. Cf. also above, II, 39, where he makes the point, in connection with ‘Umar, that not even companionship of the Prophet guards against hellfire.

### THE NAJDIYYA

**75. they declared . . . their *qawm* . . . idolaters.** The Sunnī heresiographers do not mention this, and some have information to the contrary (cf. Ch. 5, 206 f). But Ibādī sources agree that Najda followed Ibn al-Azraq in branding his opponents as polytheists (Khālid in Kāshif, *Siyar*, i. 119.7; Bisyānī, *ibid*, ii. 125.–5) and that generally he *sāra sira-tahu* (ASM, *ibid*, i. 208.–4; cf. also Qalhātī, *Kashf*, fo. 200a.7). **lawful to marry their women and eat their slaughters.** This is unknown to the mainstream tradition, but also stated by Bisyānī, who adds that they legalized mutual succession (Kāshif, *Siyar*, ii. 125.–4; cf. below, *ad* III, 78, 86).

**76. They honour the contracts of their *qawm*.** This is not attested elsewhere, and it is contradicted by Abū Tammām in W. Madelung and P. E. Walker (eds. and trs.), *An Ismaili Heresiography*. The “*Bāb al-shayṭān*” from Abū Tammām’s *Kitāb al-shajara* (Leiden, 1998), 22 = 36; Shahrastānī, i. 91.ult., Nashwān, 170.12, probably all citing Ka‘bī, according to whom the Najdiyya held the lives of the *ahl al-‘ahd* in *dār al-taqiyya* to be forfeit, i.e. they did not acknowledge the compact of *dhimma* that their opponents had made with them. But Ash‘arī, 91.2, has *ahl al-muqām*

for *ahl al-ʿahd*, which accords with Ibādī information on the Najdī attitude to stay-behinds (cf. below, *ad* III, 82; Ch. 5). Presumably, then, it was to people staying behind in *dār al-taqiyya* that the passage originally referred.

77. *hijra* is a duty. The doctrine is taken for granted, but not expounded, in Ashʿarī, 91.1; Nashwān, 170.11. Cf. also Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, xi. 135.–4; and below, *ad* III, 82. That the Najdiyya held emigration to be obligatory is also known to the Ibādī tradition; see Khālid and Bisyanī in Kāshif, *Siyar*, i. 119.8; ii. 125.–6; Qalhātī, *Kashf*, fo. 200a.6, –1. *qad inqataʿat al-hijra ʿām al-fath*. . . This is a paraphrase of the tradition that the text proceeds to cite verbatim. On the tradition, see Cook, *Dogma*, 100 f; P. Crone, ‘The First-Century Concept of *Hiğra*’, *Arabica*, 41 (1994), 370 f, 377 ff. As Cook says (*Dogma*, 17), one would assume the verbatim citation to be an interpolation, probably originating as a marginal annotation, for Sālim does not cite any other traditions in the epistle (not even in III, 70, where he refers to the Prophet’s stoning of an Aslamī), and the full citation is in any case superfluous here. The *lā hijra* tradition is commonly cited in the later Ibādī literature. It is adduced by Abū ʿl-Muṭṭhir in Kāshif, *Siyar*, ii. 296; Abū ʿAmmār, *Mūjaz*, ii. 122.–3 (against Ṣufrīs); and by Bisyanī and Qalhātī (against the Azāriqa) along with other traditions in which Meccans wanting to emigrate to Medina are told that *hijra* has come to an end (Kāshif, *Siyar*, ii. 124 f; *Kashf*, fo. 197b.7–198a.2); Khālid observes that the duty of *hijra* was abolished after the conquest of Mecca (Kāshif, *Siyar*, i, 119.9); Izkawī also prohibits *hijra* after the Prophet (*Kashf al-ghumma*, fo. 246b.9); and the creeds of ʿAmir b. ʿAlī al-Shammakhī and al-Jannāwunī state that ‘We hold that there is no *hijra* after the conquest of Mecca’ (Ennami, *Studies*, i. 260; P. Cuperly, *Introduction à l’étude de l’Ibādisme et de sa théologie* (Algiers, n.d.), 334 = 337.–3; id., ‘La profession de foi d’Abū Zakariyyā’ Yaḥyā ibn al-Ḥayr Ibn Abī l-Ḥayr al-Ġannāwunī’, *Bulletin d’Études Orientales*, 32–3 (1982), 53.8). That the Ibādīs do not call themselves *muhājirūn* is noted by Kaʿbī in Shahrastānī, i. 101.ult. and God says. Sālim’s point is that since there is inconsistency in the Najdite stance, it is not from God and thus not part of Islam.

78. All the doctrines with which the Najdiyya are credited in this para. flow from their alleged classification of their opponents as idolaters/polytheists (above, III, 75), and most are mentioned in other Ibādī sources; but the only Sunnī author to agree is Malaṭī (*Tanbīh*, 42). According to him, the Najdiyya ‘killed children, enslaved women, spilt blood, and held it lawful to have intercourse with (captured) women and to take the property (of their opponents)’, which is what Sālim says too. But

Malaṭī's errors in his account of the Khārijites are so gross that it is difficult to take him seriously, except in respect of the Iranian Khārijites of his own time. He presents the Azāriqa as moderates, the Ibāḍīs as extremists, claims that Shabīb's Khārijites rebelled in Oman and conversely that the Ibāḍīs survive in the countryside of Kufa, and thinks that the Ṣufrīs are the followers of al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra! **enslave their *qawm***. Similarly, Khālid in Kāshif, *Siyar*, i. 119.8; Bisyānī, *idid.*, ii. 125.–2; Qalhātī, *Kashf*, fo. 200a (*sibā' al-dhurriyya*). It is also implied by the story of the expedition to Qaṭif led by Najda's son: *fa-qatala wa-sabā wa-ghanama* (Ash'arī, 90.3; Shahrastānī, i. 91.11; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, xi, 131; Qalhātī, *Kashf*, fo. 200b.–3), but, Malaṭī apart, Sunnī sources never seem to make it explicit. **kill their offspring**. This does not seem to be mentioned in other sources apart from Malaṭī, and it is contradicted by Najda's rejection of the legality of killing children in his alleged correspondence with Nāfi' b. al-Azraq (Mubarrad, iii. 1034; Ibn Abī 'I-Ḥadīd, iv. 137 ff; *ʿIqd*, ii. 397 f). **treat their property as booty**. Similarly Khālid and Bisyānī in Kāshif, *Siyar*, i. 19.8; 125.2; Qalhātī, *Kashf*, fo. 200a.8. It is also implied in the story of the expedition to Qaṭif mentioned above, but again the Sunnī sources apart from Malaṭī fail to say so explicitly. **slaughter them indiscriminately**. Mubarrad, iii. 1033.6, implies that Najda rejected *isti'rād*, but Khālid and Qalhātī agree with Sālim (Kāshif, *Siyar*, 119.7; *Kashf*, fo. 200a.8). **sever relations of inheritance**. This is not attested elsewhere, and Bisyānī, seemingly, contradicts it (above, *ad* III, 75). But the contradiction may be more apparent than real (cf. below, *ad* III, 86). **the first Khārijites**. On the term Khawārij as a self-designation, see below, Ch. 8, 275 ff. On their behaviour after the killing of 'Uthmān and the Battle of the Camel, see above, II, 57, and the comments thereto.

79. **nor did they bed their women**. This clearly implies that the Najadāt legalized *istinkāh*, though Sālim has not explicitly said so. It is not explicitly stated in other sources either, except for Malaṭī in different words (above, *ad* III, 78); but it flows from the legalization of *saby* (above, *ad* III, 78).

80. **the Muslims would not have refrained**. Khālid engages in a similar argument: 'If enslavement of and the taking booty from the people of the *qibla* had been lawful, the Muslims would not have abstained from it, for they (never) abandoned a *sunna* of the Prophet' (Kāshif, *Siyar*, 109.3). **they would not have omitted to secure the shares**. The recipients enumerated here are those for whom the *khums* is destined according to Q. 8:41.

81. **this ... sprang from ignorance**. Cf. the Najdite doctrine of ignorance as an excuse (Ash'arī, 90.8; Baghdādī, *Farq*, 67 f; Abū Tammām,

22 = 35 f; Shahrastānī, i. 91.–8; Nashwān, 170.10). See further Ch. 5, 210.

**82. They affiliate to people guilty of fornication.** Sālīm seems to have conflated two points here. First, the Najadāt shared with the Azāriqa the conviction that all members of their ranks were saved: ‘they affiliate to co-religionists guilty of deeds for which *ḥadd* is inflicted and other crimes, saying that they do not know whether God will punish the believers for their sins and that if He does, it will be in a different fire and only in accordance with their sins, not perpetual punishment’ (Ash‘arī, 91.3; cf. Baghdādī, *Farq*, 55.–2, 68.–8; Abū Tammām, 22.10 = 36 (badly misunderstood by the translator); Shahrastānī, i. 92.1; all add that they count the persistent perpetrator of small sins as a polytheist, but the one-off fornicator, wine-drinker, or thief as a Muslim). Secondly, Najda’s innovations included the doctrine that he who falls into error through *ijtihād* is excused by ignorance provided that the error does not concern knowledge of God and other fundamental matters and that no *ḥujja* has been made against him; even if a person ignorantly concluded through *ijtihād* that marrying one’s sister or mother is legal, he would be a believer and excused (Ibn Abī ‘l-Ḥadīd, iv. 133 f; cf. above, *ad* III, 81). Sālīm seems to have padded the list of real sins that the Najdiyya would tolerate in co-religionists aware that they were sinning with the hypothetical abominations they would excuse in a *mujtahid* unaware that he had arrived at sinful conclusions. **money . . . taken in turns.** Normally an accusation levelled at Umayyads, cf. above, *ad* II, 41. **appropriate trusts . . . a test.** Najda is elsewhere said to have rejected both ideas (Mubarrad, iii. 1035.1; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, xi. 80.–2, 126.5); and they are not associated with the Najdiyya in other sources. **unlawful to own female slaves from . . . their *qawm*.** This doctrine is otherwise unknown and incompatible with their legalization of *saby* and *instinkāḥ*, cf. III, 78, 79. Several presumably Muslim women are taken and distributed among their captors in the story of the expedition to Qaṭīf (above, *ad* III, 78). The passage may be corrupt, but the contradiction can in fact be resolved (cf. below, Ch. 5, pp. 209 f). **confess to hypocrisy — *li-man thaqula minhum ‘an al-qitāl*.** Cf. Ash‘arī, 91.1: *wa-man thaqula ‘an hijratihim fa-huwa munāfiq*; Nashwān, 170.11: *man naqala ‘an dār hijratihim fa-huwa munāfiq*, presumably a mistake for *man thaqula*, taken further in Abū Tammām, 22 = 36: *wa-man intaqala min dār hijratihim fa-huwa munāfiq*. It is clear from Sālīm that those who stayed behind forfeited their lives *unless* they acknowledged themselves as hypocrites. Outraged by the idea, Sālīm claims that an acknowledgement of hypocrisy in the Prophet’s time would have had precisely the opposite effect, though this contradicts his normal insistence that the hypocrites of the Prophet’s time were protected by the law on a par with the believers. Cf. also Bisyanī in Kāshif, *Siyar*, ii, 125.–4:

*wa-man aqāma bayna aḥhur qaḥminā mimman yadīnu bi-dīn Najda anza-lahu munāfiqan wa-lam yunzilhu mushrikan.*

83. *al-rāji*<sup>c</sup>, i.e. the one who leaves the camp to go home. Sālīm's information here is unique to him, though Baghdādī is familiar with the issue. According to him, some Bayhasī declared that 'we dissociate from whoever goes back from his *dār al-hijra* and *jihād* to a state of *quḥūd*', whereas others said, 'no, we associate with him because he has gone back to a state that was permitted to him before his *hijra* to us' (*Farq*, 88.–5). **many of their number passed away.** Sālīm is horrified, not by the number of people who have been wrongly excluded from the community, but rather by the number of those who have wrongly branded them infidels. Presumably, his reasoning is that the innocent victims will be compensated in the next world, whereas the guilty accusers will be punished for their sin.

84. **Dāwūd.** Cook (*Dogma*, 89) considers various possibilities and tentatively identifies him with the Dāwūd al-<sup>c</sup>Uklī who appears with Najda in 69/680 f and secedes from him thereafter (Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, xi. 132.ult., 133.–3). He does not figure in the heresiographers, but he does figure in some Ibādī sources. Thus the *sira* of Shabīb b. <sup>c</sup>Aṭīyya says that Nāfi<sup>c</sup> b. al-Azraq *kharaja min al-umma* along with Dāwūd, <sup>c</sup>Aṭīyya, and their likes (Kāshif, *Siyar*, ii. 375.ult.). ASM also has a Dāwūd among his *a'imma ḍullāl*, though he does not associate him with Ibn al-Azraq or Najda (Kāshif, *Siyar*, i. 209.6; cf. 208.11); and Izkawī has a Dāwūdiyya, though no doctrines are specified (*Kashf al-ghumma*, fo. 234a.–3). <sup>c</sup>Aṭīyya. This man is well known to the heresiographers (e.g., Ash<sup>c</sup>arī, 92 f). He broke with Najda and ended up in Kirmān, where he is numismatically attested from 72 to 75 (Balādhurī, op. cit., 135.10; G. C. Miles, 'Some New Light on the History of Kirmān in the First Century of the Hijra' in J. Kritzeck and R. Bayly Winder (eds.), *The World of Islam: Studies in Honour of Philip K. Hitti*, (London, 1959), 90). He figures in Shabīb's epistle, as seen above, and also in AMS, where he has become Najda b. <sup>c</sup>Aṭīyya (Kāshif, *Siyar*, i. 208.12); Qalhātī correctly has him as <sup>c</sup>Aṭīyya b. al-Aswad (*Kashf*, fo. 201a.3), as does Izkawī (*Kashf al-ghumma*, fo. 233a.12). **Abū Fudayk.** He was the killer of Najda and was killed in his turn by <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Malik's troops in 73/692 f (Ṭabarī, 2nd ser., 852 f). He barely figures in the Ibādī tradition, which has an otherwise unknown Ziyād al-A<sup>c</sup>sam (*sic*) instead (ASM in Kāshif, *Siyar*, i. 208.13; cf. Maḥbūb, *ibid.*, 317 f; Qalhātī, *Kashf*, fo. 201a.5; Izkawī, *Kashf al-ghumma*, fo. 233a.–7). Ziyād cannot be identical with Abū Fudayk, whose *ism* is given as <sup>c</sup>Abdallāh b. Thawr (Ṭabarī, 2nd ser., 517.14). **the things over which they separated.** Cf. Ash<sup>c</sup>arī, 92 f, 101.1; Nashwān, 170.–5: <sup>c</sup>Aṭīyya and Abū Fudayk are not known to have instituted any new doctrines apart from their disapproval

of Najda and Ibn al-Azraq. What follows is the usual string of extremist sins. **bedding their women.** Cf. the story that a slave girl belonging to Umayya b. ʿAbdallāh was found to be pregnant by Abū Fudayk when the latter's revolt had been suppressed (Ṭabarī, 2nd ser., 853.11; cf. *ʿIqd*, iv. 47.7). It could also be counted as an instance of *saby* or *khams*.

**86. lawful to have relations of inheritance when they lived in their midst.** In other words, they had treated other Muslims as co-religionists until they rebelled. Bisyanī is not aware that the Najdiyya ever stopped doing so: according to him, they held it lawful to intermarry with their *qawm*, call them to succession and inherit from them, and also to eat their slaughters (above, *ad* III, 75). Sālim presents them as inconsistent, but they probably deemed it lawful to treat other Muslims as co-religionists when they were forced to live among them (whence Bisyanī's impression) and deemed all relations with them to be cut off when they rebelled and emigrated to their own *dār al-hijra* (whence Sālim's impression that they were inconsistent). See further Ch. 5, 209 f.

**87. marry the women.** Though directed against the extremists in general, this para. is clearly about the Najdiyya.

**89. hijra.** We now get a new argument against the extremist insistence on the duty to emigrate. Sālim's point seems to be that a *dār al-hijra* does not cease to be one merely because you declare its inhabitants to be infidels (though in principle this should turn it into a *dār al-kufr* such as Mecca on the eve of the Prophet's emigration); for several worthy men in the time of ʿUthmān declared their *qawm* to be infidels without going to a new place of emigration. If these men died in a state of *hijra* in their abode (Medina), as the extremists themselves accept, then the extremists are not obliged, or, indeed, allowed, to make a *hijra* from theirs (Kufa, Basra, etc.). ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf, etc. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān died in Medina in 32 (Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt*, ed. A. D. al-ʿUmarī, (Baghdad, 1961), 15); so did ʿAbdallah b. Masʿūd, according to most, while Abū Dharr died in al-Rabadha near Medina (cf. above, *ad* II, 49; Khalīfa, *op. cit.*, 16, 31 f). Abū Dharr is a strained example since ʿUthmān 'returned him to bedouinism' by exiling him to al-Rabadha (Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v. 54; cf. Kh. Athāmina, 'Aḡrāb and Muhājirūn in the Environment of the Aṣṣār', *Studia Islamica*, 66 (1987), 11 f; and in the ninth-century epistle of Muḥammad b. Maḥbūb to Abū Ziyād Khalaf b. ʿUdhra we are explicitly told that ʿUthmān *nafāhu min dār al-hijra* (HX, 198.14).

**90. The same innovations as their qawm today.** This is presumably a reference to the point made in III, 86: the extremists treated their *qawm* as co-religionists while they lived among them, but severed all relationships with them when they rebelled. Sālim's argument seems to be that either the *qawm* are polytheists or else they are not. If they are not

polytheists, the extremists have innovated by treating them as such when they rebelled; and if they are indeed polytheists, some of the extremists have innovated by treating them as co-religionists while they lived among them. These innovations (or at least the latter) are as bad as the ones of which they accuse their *qawm*. In other words, Sālim is arguing against double rules. Some of the extremists, including the Najdiyya, did apparently hold it lawful to have different relations with their *qawm* depending on whether they themselves were in a state of *khurūj* or not (see Ch. 5, 209 f).

### THE MURJĪPA

91. **no predecessors.** Similarly KI, 6; *al-Radd ʿalā ahl al-shakk* in app. 5. **the recent schism . . . the first schism.** i.e. the first civil war and a later divisive event which Sālim never identifies. He shares the word *furqa* with KI, 5, and only uses it in his Murjiʿite section, but it is a common synonym of *fitna* elsewhere, see, e.g., Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v, 30.14, 32.3, 45.8, 46.9; Kāshif, *Siyar*, i. 70.–2, 137.4, 159.11, 186.–4, 193.3, 207.–2, 228.–4.

92. For a more tortuous version of the argument here, see App. 5. *fa-qad kafarū . . . ajmaʿūn*. Given that the verb is in the plural, we should perhaps read *wa-kaffarū . . . ajmaʿīn*, ‘they have declared all the participants in the first schism to be infidels’. In any case, Sālim is using his own terminology here. The Murjiʿites have only said that a person who judges on the basis of tradition rather than autopsy is *dāll*, but Sālim takes it for granted that all *dullāl* are infidels. Similarly, in the next para. *firāq . . . waʿl-barāʿa*. The use of both terms where one would do is consistent in the Murjiʿite section. It is not found in the previous parts, but it recurs in IV, 125. *wa-kafarat al-murjiʿa ayydan*. Cf. above, *ad* III, 91, for the use of *kafara* here. Cook makes this sentence the beginning of the next para., but van Ess (*TG*, v. 13) is right that it belongs in this one, where it completes the argument. Sālim’s point is that *if* Murjiʿism is right, then all the participants in the first civil war were in error; and *if* all participants in the first civil war were in error, then the Murjiʿites are wrong to suspend judgement on them: for you must surely dissociate from people who are wrong by your own principles. In other words, Murjiʿism is self-defeating. It forces you to suspend judgement on the very people who act contrary to it; it is one of those tenets which are wrong if they are right (like relativism). The sentence cannot start the next para. because the Murjiʿites are not suspending judgement on people who act contrary to *irjāʿ* in it, but rather acting contrary to it themselves.

**94. not like the people of the first schism.** It is hard to see how this justifies the Murji'ite transmission of attitudes to the next generation. See, further, Ch. 6, 225 ff.

**95. conflicting testimony.** Sālim has not mentioned the unanimity principle in III, 91, and he takes knowledge of it for granted here: the Murji'ites are ready to rely on reports transmitted from the past if they are unanimous. They claim such unanimity not only about Mu'āwiya, but also about Abū Bakr and 'Umar (below, III, 97). Compare KI, 5, where Abū Bakr and 'Umar are accepted on the grounds that the *umma* did not fight or disagree about them. Conversely, the Murji'ite poet Muḥārib b. Dithār suspends judgement on 'Uthmān because some people say nasty things about him while others say that he was an *imām 'adl* who was killed unjustly (Wakīf, *Akhhbār al-quḍāh*, ed. 'A.-'A. M. al-Marāghī (Cairo, 1947–50), iii. 29; tr. in van Ess, *TG*, v. 20; cf. also van Ess, 'Das Kitāb', 47). Cf. also HX, 378, tr. in App. 5. **Unless he is himself astray.** The Murji'ites have now admitted that one cannot rely on autopsy and unanimity alone: when people disagree, one must decide whom to accept as authorities. God Himself says that one should believe some and not others, as he proceeds to point out. *qāla 'llāh li-rasūlihi*. Given that God's statement is a description of the Prophet, it would have come naturally to translate 'God said about His Messenger' (for *qāla li* in the sense of 'say about', see J. van Ess, *Anfänge Muslimischer Theologie* (Beirut, 1977), 61 n; drawn to our attention by Michael Cook). But the continuation *wa-qāla li-ākharin* makes this impossible.

**97. unanimous in proclaiming Abū Bakr and 'Umar right.** They did, in fact, claim unanimity regarding these two caliphs, see KI, 5; cf. also above, *ad* III, 95. **al-Sabbāba/Saba'iyya.** We use the form Saba'iyya without prejudice to what the original word may have been. The text consistently has Sabbāba, which is not necessarily a corruption. The Saba'iyya were mockingly called Sabbābiyya with reference to their slander of the first caliphs (E. Kohlberg, 'Some Imāmī Shī'ī Views on the *Ṣaḥāba*', *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*, 5 (1984), 147). At some point this nickname was corrected to Sabbāba, a proper collective feminine of *sabbāb*, 'slanderer' (cf. Sālimī, *Tuḥfa*, i. 82, where the Sabbāba are glossed as Shī'ites, and Aṭfayyish adds in a note that they were thus known because they slandered the first caliphs and other opponents of theirs, *ad* our IV, 132). The original word may thus have been Sabbāba or, more probably (given that it must be earlier), Sabbābiyya. Our scribe certainly writes it with an *alif*, not always used in Saba'iyya.

Whatever the original word may have been, it seems simply to mean Shī'ites here, not just Rāfiḍīs, let alone *ghulāt*; for if *many* Saba'iyya dissociated from the first two caliphs, it would follow that some of them did

not, meaning that the term included Shīʿites such as the Batri Zaydis. (Cf. also the comments *ad* IV, 132.) That Sabaʿiyya was a broader term than one expects on the basis of the heresiographical literature is rightly noted by van Ess (*Anfänge*, 11). Cf. Ibn Saʿd, vi, 275, where Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaʿī says that he is neither a Murjiʿī nor a Sabaʿī (wrongly Sabalī in the Beirut edn.), presumably meaning neither a Murjiʿite nor a Shīʿite. But in al-Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-islām*, iii, (Cairo, 1368), 358.–6, it means a Rāfiḍī Shīʿite (cf. van Ess, *Anfänge*, 11), which also seems to be its meaning in Ṭabarī, 3rd ser., 29.–2: here Abū ʿl-ʿAbbās identifies the Sabaʿiyya as those who assert that the ʿAlids (left implicit) have a better right to the caliphate than the ʿAbbāsids; and Dāwūd b. ʿAlī continues by asserting that the Kufans had never had a caliph before apart from ʿAlī and Abū ʿl-ʿAbbās, i.e. by concurring with their *rafḍ* but denying that the ʿAlids have a right over and above the ʿAbbāsids (ibid. 33, 37). **they can tell the mendacity.** Once again, the Murjiʿites are made to concede that one has to pick one’s authorities, cf. above, *ad* III, 95. **how do they reject what the Azāriqa . . . say about stoning?** The argument is that they cannot do so without relying on tradition, which in its turn means choosing one’s authorities for one’s view of the past. Neither autopsy nor unanimity can be invoked here.

**98. the kings of their *qawm* are believers.** Sālim cannot understand how anyone can identify a person as a believer (and thus a member of the *umma*) and at the same time deem it lawful to disown that person; as he sees it, the *umma* consists of people who are friends because they agree on how one should live and behave: if one disowns somebody because he departs from that agreement, the latter is by definition excluded from the community and, thus, a *kāfir* rather than a believer. The Murjiʿite dissent from Sālim’s preconceptions is first attested in the *Aghānī*, ix, 139.13, where ʿAwn b. ʿAbdallāh, a Kufan poet, upbraids the Murjiʿa for speaking of a *muʿminun min āli jawrin* and *muʿminun damuhu ḥalāl*, clearly with reference to ‘kings’ and servants of theirs. He either was or had been a Murjiʿite himself, but the notion of a believer whom it is lawful to kill struck him as self-contradictory. (For the verse, see further Cook, *Dogma*, 35 f; van Ess, *TG*, i, 165 f). Cf. the tradition in which Ṭawūs says ‘amazing, our brothers of the people of Iraq call al-Ḥajjāj a believer!’ (Ibn Abī Shayba, *Kitāb al-īmān*, ed. M. N.-D. al-Albānī (Damascus, 1385), 32, no. 95; cited in W. Madelung, ‘Early Sunnī Doctrine Concerning Faith’, *Studia Islamica*, 32 (1970), 242). Thābit Quṭna (d. 110/728 f), a Murjiʿite poet who participated in the revolt of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, presumably also meant to say that both ʿAlī and ʿUthmān were believers when he said that both were servants (of God) who did not ascribe partners to God (*Aghānī*, xiv. 270.–4 = van Ess, *TG*, v. 18: 12 [with a different understanding of ʿ*abdān*]). Both he and Muḥārīb b. Dithār (d. 116/734 f), yet

another Murji'ite poet, denied that *dhanb* makes people polytheists (*Agh-ānī*, xiv. 270.7; Wakīf, *Qudāh*, iii. 30.15 = van Ess, *TG*, v, 18: 7, 21: 31). An Ibādī, of course, would have retorted that it makes them *kāfirūn* of other kinds, but it seems unlikely that the poets in question held the opposite of a *mushrik* to be anything other than a believer.

**99. believers who have gone astray.** Compare Abū Ḥanīfa to 'Uthmān al-Battī: 'it has reached you that I am a member of the Murji'a and say *mu'min dāll*' (*Risāla*, 34.ult. = van Ess, *TG*, v, 25 (c)). Sālim still finds the notion preposterous: you are either a believer or an infidel, he says, meaning that you are either one of us or else you are not. **faith does not preserve them from error . . . error does not necessarily . . . exclude them from faith.** Here we have the Murji'ite distinction between faith and works which the Khārijites were not alone in finding offensive.

**100. Some . . . profess that the kings are infidels.** This was clearly the view of 'Awn b. 'Abdallāh (above, *ad* III, 98), but he seems to reject not only the idea that oppressors should be classified as believers, but also Murji'ism altogether in this verse. It is true that he cannot have done so if the verse dates from the revolt of Ibn al-Ash'ath, for he figures in the Murji'ite delegation to 'Umar II (Ibn Sa'd, vi. 313; cf. Cook, *Dogma*, 36). But van Ess redates the verse to Yazīd b. al-Muhallab's revolt and is thus free to accept the *prima facie* meaning of the verse, namely that 'Awn abandoned Murji'ism (*TG*, i. 165 f). In any case, there are other examples of Murji'ites who classified their kings as infidels, cf. below, Ch. 6 n. 94. **For all that.** Sālim has *fī dhālika* here, as also in l. 658. We have emended both instances to *ma'a dhālika*, which he uses too (l. 661), but the emendations may be unnecessary, for Qalhātī also has *fī dhālika* in the sense of 'for all that' (*Kashf*, fos. 200a.9, 200b.1, 201a.–7); and Sālim may have reserved *ma'a dhālika* for 'on top of that'. **they associate.** One would not have guessed as much on the basis of 'Awn's verse, but van Ess removes this problem by accepting that 'Awn's verse was in fact a denunciation of Murji'ism.

**101. The Murji'ite cause has thus split up.** The verb is uncertain. Cook emends to *fusikha*. We regard the ductus as beyond emendation and base our conjectural translation on the fact that Sālim likes to highlight heretical disunity in conjunction with heretical agreement on error (cf. above III, 84, 90). We have also taken the sentence to start the para. on common errors rather than to conclude the previous one (similarly, van Ess (*TG*, v. 16)).

**102.** The first two points simply summarize what has already been said, cf. above, III, 93, 98–9. **They are wrong in associating with people to whom they will respond.** This is obscure. Sālim is summarizing a point which does not seem to have been made before, unless he is referring

to the group in §100. In any case, the gist of it seems to be that the Murji'ites are wrong to make opportunistic alliances with people they do not normally approve of, but with whom they will sometimes associate in joint *barā'a* from the enemy. **discrepancy between their declarations and their conduct.** Sālim makes the same point in his summary of the polemics against the extremist Khārijites (above, III, 90), and one would have expected the section to end here. Instead, he moves on to a refutation of the Murji'ite invocation of Qur'ānic support.

**103. That is a nation ... The knowledge of them ...** The two Qur'ānic quotations here are both about past nations: you shall not be questioned about the things they did (2: 124, 141); knowledge about them is with God (20: 52, in response to Pharaoh's question). In other words, it is not for us to pass judgement on past events. KI, 6, also cites Moses' answer to Pharaoh's question. There is no citation in either Sālim or KI of Q. 9: 106, the verse in which van Vloten believed the Murji'ites to have found their name (G. van Vloten, 'Irdjā', *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 45 (1891), 164). See further below, Ch. 6, 224 f.

#### THE FATANA

**107. They claim that imams are right where other people would be wrong.** For Shukkāk making the same argument, see the epistle of Shabīb b. 'Aṭīyya in Kāshif, *Siyar*, ii. 357 f; Abū 'l-Mu'thir, *ibid.*, i. 156 f; discussed below, Ch. 6, 245 f.

**108. an imam is just an ordinary man.** Shabīb and Abū 'l-Mu'thir make the same point.

**110.** The argument here seems to be based on the contrasting cases of Abū Bakr and 'Uthmān: if an imam had to deal with people who refused to pay *zakāh* (as the *ridda* tribesmen did in the time of Abū Bakr), then the Muslims would have to help him; but if an imam were to withhold *zakāh* from those entitled to it (as did 'Uthmān), then the Muslims would not be allowed to oppose him in the Fatana's view, though all Khārijites would disagree. (We owe this insight to Prof. Madelung.)

**112.** The sinful imam here could also be construed as 'Uthmān in disguise, since the latter could be described as having 'inflicted similar damage without accepting God's judgement' when he refused to hand over the killer of Dīnār/Niyār (above, II, 56; also drawn to our attention by Prof. Madelung).

**113. they do not know whether ... punishment or mercy.** In other words, they profess ignorance of the fate of the believing sinner in the hereafter.

Large parts of the stance are translated in Ennami, *Studies*, 33–40.

114. *fitna*. The civil war initiated by the killing of ʿUthmān was a *fitna*, trial, in that unanimity disappeared and false claims arose to lead the believers astray. Sālīm’s claim here, and indeed, throughout the epistle, is that the Ibādīs have passed the test and preserve the original religion intact. Abū Ḥanīfa makes the same claim for Murjiʿism in his epistle to ʿUthmān al-Battī (35.2): it is *al-amr . . . kāna ʿalayhi ashābuhu ḥattā tafarraqa ʿl-nās*. **more capable today**. . . Cf. above, III, 81, where some Najdiyya explain the discrepancy between past and present practice by crediting their forebears with ignorance. When the Basran Khārijites pointed out to Ibn al-Azraq that he was introducing institutions which had not been part of the practice of the *salaf*, Ibn al-Azraq similarly explained that *hādhihi ḥujja qāmat ʿalayya wa-lam taqum ʿalayhim* (Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, xi. 78.–5); or the Azāriqa explained that *hādha tabayyana lanā wa-khafīya ʿanhum* (Ashʿarī, 87.5; Abū Tammām, 21 = 35). Against such claims, Sālīm asserts that nothing was concealed from the imams of the past. Consequently, one cannot claim them as one’s forebears without adhering to their practice, as he has said time and again in Part III and reiterates below, IV, 133.

115. **the rights of parents, etc.** Cf. above, II, 65, where the Muslim Khārijites respect the rights of kinsmen, neighbours, companions, orphans, travellers, and slaves. The continuation suggests that the extremists only respected such rights if the persons in question were members of their sects. This is corroborated by ASM, who wishes the Muslims to be ‘a people who . . . do not disregard (*yaqtaʿū*) the rights of the neighbour or traveller, who do not betray a trust, who do not kill the *muʿtazil kāff*, or slaughter people wholesale’, adding ‘Know that the *sīra* of the Muslims before us and before you concerning the people of the *qibla* is to call them . . . if they refuse, fight them . . . but their property is not to be taken as booty, nor their families to be enslaved, one keeps one’s word with them, honours their trust, one respects the bond of kinship with them, honours one’s parents, and keeps good companionship with one’s *rafiq*, wife, what one’s right hand possesses, and the traveller’ (Kāshif, *Siyar*, i. 229.11, 230.7). Respect for the rights in question is also affirmed by Wāʿil b. Ayyūb in Kāshif, *Siyar*, ii. 48.2; Aḥmad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Kindī (d. 557/1162) *al-Muṣannaḥ*, ed. ʿAbd al-Munʿim ʿĀmir and Jād Allāh Aḥmad (Oman, 1979–), i, pt. 2, 226 ff; Cuperly, ‘Profession de foi’, 48.–2; al-Mundhiri in Aṭfayyish, *Majmūʿa*, 275 ff). *abrāran kānū aw fuj-jāran*. The same expression is used in Jannāwunī’s creed in connection with *birr al-wālidayn* (Cuperly, ‘Profession de foi’, 48.–2).

**116. We discharge all trusts.** Cf. above, II, 65, where the early Khārījites do the same; and III, 74, 82, where the Azāriqa and Najadāt hold it lawful to dishonour them. That the Ibādīs honour them is also stressed in ASM, quoted in the comments to the preceding para. **we honour the contracts.** Cf. above, II, 65, on the early Khārījites. According to Sālim, the Najdiyya also honoured the contracts of their *qawm* with *dhimmīs*, though it was inconsistent in their case (III, 76). Presumably, the Azāriqa did not, and he implies that *dhimmīs* had been ill-treated as a result; but he has not actually said so.

**117. We grant protection.** Cf. above, III, 68, where the Azāriqa refuse to grant protection to those members of their *qawm* who ask for it. *al-kāff al-muʿtazil*. Cf. above, II, 26, 65, where the Prophet and the early Khārījites refrain from fighting those who withdraw and restrain their hands from them, as laid down in Q. 4: 90 f. But note that their neutrality can only be temporary: once they have had time to think things over, they have to take sides. That Sālim's rejection of a *manzila* between right and wrong sounds like a reference to Muʿtazilism has already been noted (*ad* II, 65). **even if they do not campaign with us.** Ennami, *Studies*, i. 34, has 'He should struggle on our side', presumably reading *wa[-ʿalayhi] an yanfir* where we have read *wa-in [lam] yanfir*. **idolaters.** Sālim once more rejects both the classification and its consequences (cf. above, III, 66, 75, and *passim*).

**118. Assassinating ... killing ... in secret.** This has not been discussed before. For Khārījites engaging in or resolving on *fatk* of opponents, see al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashraf*, iv.a, ed. M. J. Kister (Jerusalem, 1971), 149.11, 154.14 (Sufyānid Basra); id., *Futūh*, 401 f (al-Manṣūr's Sīstān); Ṭabarī, 3rd ser., 631 (the Jazīra in 178). The issue does not seem to be discussed by the heresiographers. As for secret killing, Balādhurī has it that Ibn al-Azraq was the first who *qatala fī 'l-sirr* (*Ansāb*, xi. 78, where the text wrongly has *fī 'l-siyar*). Qalhātī also knows of it, cf. *Kashf*, fos. 197b.1, 2 (the Azāriqa, some Azāriqa), 201a (the Aʿsamiyya). ASM ascribes the doctrine of killing *sirran wa-ʿalāniyyatan* to the Thaʿlabiyya (Kāshif, *Siyar*, i. 209.4). That the Ibādīs prohibited it is mentioned by Ashʿarī, 104.–3; Baghdādī, *Farq*, 82.ult.; Nashwān, 173.–8; Shahrastānī, i. 100.–7). **we show them approval of their ways.** That is, we practise *taqiyya*, defended above, III, 73. It is said to have been endorsed by Abū Bilāl Mirdās b. Udayya, an early Khārījite whom the Ibādīs acknowledge as their own (Mubarrad, iii. 988.ult.).

**119. serve with the kings.** This is clearly directed against Ibādīs: it is 'Muslims' who should abstain from service with kings, whom they know to be 'infidels'. Though Sālimī does not have this para. it is unlikely to be an interpolation since it speaks of *mulūk* rather than *jabābira*, which had

become the customary Omani term for illegitimate rulers by the ninth century. Here as below, 128, it is clear that Sālim did not live in an Ibādī imamate.

Though it makes no difference, *tasdīd* should perhaps be emended to *tashdīd* (cf. Ibn Abī 'l-Ḥadīd, iv. 134.ult.: *li-tashuddū sulṭānahum*).

**120. relations of marriage and inheritance.** Sālim has made this point many times before, though he has not always made it so clear that he classifies his *qawm* as hypocrites. Cf. above, II, 31.

**121. *qadhf*.** Sālim is starting new polemics against extremists here. The text is difficult, but the meaning is reasonably clear. The extremists would freely accuse their *qawm* of unlawful sexual relations simply because they were *qawm*, in other words polytheists devoid of legal protection. The first example is *qadhf* of men, to which Sālim responds by quoting Q. 5: 8, on acting equitably towards people one detests. (Ennami's translation (*Studies*, i. 36) breaks off at this point. We have rejected the reading *barī' min al-zinā* in l. 877 because it would make the Khārijites slander people they know to be innocent rather than people they know nothing about, defined as the issue in ll. 876, 879.) The second example, if we have understood it correctly, is *qadhf* of women in the form of an insult levelled at a fellow believer: one could accuse a woman of the *qawm* of any kind of lewd behaviour and therefore call her son a bastard even if he was a member of the sect. Sālim responds by invoking the Prophet's treatment of the hypocrites, taking it for granted that the *qawm* should be classified as such. According to him, the Prophet would flog hypocrites (presumably for *qadhf*, cf. Q. 24: 4 in conjunction with 9: 67); in other words, the Prophet held them to be governed by Islamic law. This was because they used the *qibla* and overtly accepted the law (cf. II, 31), including its prohibition of *zinā*. If they can be punished under the law, they must also be protected by it. Hence, it is not lawful for the Khārijites falsely to accuse them of *zinā*. The later Ibādī tradition agrees: it is unlawful to engage in *qadhf* of *muwaḥḥidīn* whether they are people with whom one associates or not (Sa'dī, *Qāmūs*, ix. 51).

Sālim does not use the opportunity to take issue with the Azraqite doctrine that false accusations of *zinā* were punishable by *ḥadd* only if they were directed against women (on the ground that it is only in connexion with women that *qadhf* is mentioned in the Qur'ān: cf. Ash'arī, 89.7; Shahrastānī, i. 90.-6; cf. Izkawī, *Kashf al-ghumma*, fos. 246a.11, 246b.7, who prohibits *qadhf al-muḥsinīn min al-rijāl wa'l-nisā'* in implicit opposition to this doctrine). In principle, an Azraqite could slander his male co-religionists as freely as he could his *qawm* (though he could not call them bastards since this was *qadhf* of their mothers, unless their mothers

belonged to the *qawm*, as Sālim says). Whether Sālim knew the Azraqite doctrine one cannot tell.

122. *istiʿrād*. Cf. App. 4.

123. **killing minors**. All the extremists are presented as holding it lawful to kill the offspring (*dhurriyya*) of their opponents, cf. above III, 67, 78, 84, 89, but this is the first time Sālim uses the term ‘minors’. Ennami (*Studies*, i. 38) translates the second half of this para. as follows: ‘But the state of the descendants of those who face the *qiblah* today would be the same as if they were governed by a rightly-guided imām, ruling them with obedience to God — yet some of the parents had broken away from him (i.e. the imām) on a matter of uncertainty, so that they (the descendants) did not acknowledge either “association” (*malāyah*) with the Imām or yet dissociation (*barāʿah*) from those of their parents who disagreed with the imām’.

124. **intercourse with the wife of a man who has married**. This is directed against *istinkāh*, cf. above, *ad* III, 67. It is remarkable that Sālim kept this para. in his recension. Presumably, he read it as a general statement of marriage law rather than polemics against a specific practice.

125. **disown people if . . . they have committed an act of disobedience to God**. This is presumably directed against the extremist habit of associating with sinners of all kinds within their camp, regarding them as forgiven by God, cf. above, III, 74, 82.

126. *hijra*. Cf. above, III, 77, 89.

127. **women and slaves who go out with us**. Sālim has not discussed *khurūj* of women and slaves before. The issue does not figure in the heresiographical literature either, but cf. al-Jāhiz, ‘Manāqib al-turk’ in G. van Vloten (ed.), *Tria Opuscula* (Leiden, 1903), 32.11, where women and slaves are among the many different people who mix in Khārijite armies. That slaves would fight along with the free does not seem to be mentioned elsewhere, but female participants are mentioned with some frequency, see Mubarrad, iii. 986 ff; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashraf*, iv.b, ed. M. Schloessinger (Jerusalem, 1938), 93.1; v. 143.12, 152.10; cf. also al-Jāhiz, *Kitāb al-hayawān*, ed. ‘A.-S. M. Hārūn (Cairo, 1938–45), v. 590; id., *Bayān*, i. 365, discussed in C. Pellat, ‘Djahiz et les Khārijites’, *Folia Orientalia*, 12 (1970), 202 ff. Abū Bilāl is supposed to have been the first Khārijite to disapprove of, or even forbid, *khurūj al-nisāʿ* (Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, iv.a, 142.12, 156 f, where female rebels are *makhānūth al-khawārij*). Ziyād b. Abīhi reportedly put an end to the participation of women by exposing them naked after he had killed them (ibid. 153.1; Mubarrad, iii. 985.7; Ibn Ḥamdūn, *Tadhkira*, i. 438 f). But they reappeared thereafter. Shabīb b. Yazīd’s troops are reputed to have included 150 women (al-Isfarāʿīnī, *al-Tabaṣṣur fī ʿl-dīn* (Cairo, 1940), 36.4), including his mother and

wife, renowned horsewomen who eventually fell in battle (ibid.; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, ed. C. Barbier de Meynard and A. J. B. Pavet de Courteille (Paris, 1861–77), v. 321 f; ed. C. Pellat (Beirut, 1966–79), iii, §2079), and who are even said to have been recognized as imams (Isfar-ā'īnī, *Tabaṣṣur*, 36.15, 24; cf. 35.–6). The Azāriqa too had female soldiers in their ranks (*Aghānī*, vi. 144.6, 150.8; Ṭabarī, ii. 1018 f), as did the Najdiyya (Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, iv.b, 50.4; cf. 47.15). The sister of Mas'ūd al-ʿAbdī, who raised a Khārijite revolt in Baḥrayn in 105/723 f, was killed in battle; the sister of Muṣ'ab al-Wālibī, an Iraqi Khārijite about the same time, likewise joined her brother (Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī 'l-ta'rikh*, ed. C. J. Tornberg (Leiden, 1851–76), v. 88 f). Nineteen male and one female Khārijites rebelled in Iraq in the reign of Hishām: the woman was executed by Yūsuf b. ʿUmar (M. J. de Goeje (ed.) *Kitāb al-ʿuyūn wa'l-ḥadāʾiq* (Leiden, 1871), 109.12). When al-Daḥḥāk b. Qays entered Kufa in 127/744 f, there were several women in his army (Ṭabarī, 2nd ser., 1901, 1906, 1907 f; Khalīfa, *Ta'rikh*, 570.3). The wife of the Ibādī rebel Abū Ḥamza fought along with him (al-Azdī, *Ta'rikh al-Mawṣil* ed. ʿA. Ḥabība (Cairo, 1967), 79.11, 112.1; *Aghānī*, xxiii. 247.14); and the sister of al-Walīd b. Ṭarīf al-Taghlabī fought with her brother in the Jazīra in 178 (Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, vi. 98). The tenth-century Malaṭī says of eastern-Iranian Khārijites, whom he calls Ḥarūrīs and describes as extremists, that 'their women fight on slender horses, just like their men' (Malaṭī, *Tanbīh*, 42.18; cited in Madelung, *Religious Trends*, 63); and the tenth-century al-Nasafī credits the Khalafīyya with the doctrine that *al-qu'ūd ʿan al-jihād* was forbidden to both male and female believers (*Radd*, 72).

Given that the extremists are on record as having accepted female participation, Sālim's para. cannot be directed against them. On the contrary, he seems to be arguing against fellow-Ibādīs here, for Balādhurī's information that Abū Bilāl disapproved of female participation reflects that of the Ibādīs themselves. Izkawī cites the Basran leader Abū Sufyān Maḥbūb as saying that Abū Bilāl's companions did not include women or slaves, except for one woman of spectacular beauty who was pursued by ʿUbaydallah b. Ziyād and who joined them by way of flight, only to die when they reached Ahwāz, i.e. she did not participate in the fighting and Abū Sufyān approved of this fact (*Kashf al-ghumma*, fo. 266b.9); Qal-hātī stresses that once women and slaves had emigrated to Medina in the Prophet's time, they were not obliged to participate in *jihād* or *khurūj fī qitāl* (*Kashf*, fo. 53b.–2, cf. 54b.2); and Sālimī did not, apparently, find Sālim's para. to his taste either, for it is not included in his text.

**128. imam only on condition that he will wage *jihād*.** Imams seem to be envisaged entirely as military commanders chosen by the *nafar* with whom they go to war 'so that they may perish in that pursuit or prevail over their enemy'. There clearly was no permanent imamate when Sālim

wrote (cf. also above, 119), nor does he envisage *jihād* as leading to the establishment of one. His community is in a state of *kitmān* or, as later North Africans would call it, *shirāʿ*: full-scale revolt against the oppressors would be useless and the bulk of the Muslims live quietly under their rule, but small bands of men (not less than forty) may decide to fight, undertaking not to return to their lands or otherwise desist from their mission until they achieve *al-najāh aw al-qatl* (ʿA. Y. Muʿammar, *al-Ibādīyya fī mamkib al-taʿrikh* (Cairo, 1964–6), i. 94 f, where the other three states are *zuhūr* and *difāʿ*, characterized by a full-scale imamate and a temporary imam for emergency purposes, respectively, and *kitmān*, in which there is no military activity at all. Omani usage was different).

**129. *mādī* and *qāʿid*.** This is directed against the extremists who declare their sit-at-homes to be infidels, or hypocrites at best, cf. above III, 72, 82. The early Khārijites are likewise presented as associating with both goers-out and sitters-at-home, cf. III, 65, where the superiority of the activist is also stressed.

**130. Muslims who lived before our time.** This is directed against the Murjiʿa, who refuse to judge past persons on the basis of tradition unless it is unanimous. Also tr. in Cook, *Dogma*, 26.

**131. kings.** One would have liked to have specific examples of their misbehaviour, but the para. is wholly uninformative. That they mismanage *ṣadaqa* and *fayʿ* is a standard accusation, for which Sālim presumably felt that he had given sufficient evidence in his account of ʿUthmān. Cf. Ḥamza al-Khārijī in *Tārīkh-i Sīstān*, 167.2 = 133; Scarcia, 638.4 = 644.

**132. Sabaʿiyya.** Though Sālim has mentioned them before (above, III, 97), he has not engaged in polemics against them. The term seems to stand for Shīʿites in general (as Sālimī says), for they are simply asked not to separate from those who make God their only judge, i.e. the Ibādīs, and not to associate with those who abandon God’s judgement, i.e. ʿAlī and his party.

**133. Khawārij.** The term clearly means ‘extremists’ here, since they are being asked to stop affiliating to people whose practice they do not follow, i.e. the first Khārijites. For this use of the term, see Ch. 8, 275 ff.

**134. Murjiʿa.** This passage is translated in Cook, *Dogma*, 26. It recapitulates the disagreement set out in the Murjiʿite section of Part III, adding that they should stop calling imams of oppression *muʿminūn* (left implicit), as opposed to what God calls them, i.e. *kāfirūn ḡālimūn* and *fāsiqūn* (5: 44, 45, 47). Wāʿil b. Ayyūb also says that polytheists and *ahl al-ihdāth* must be called by the names which God has given them and by the *milal* to which He has assigned them (Kāshif, *Siyar*, ii. 53.-5).

**135. Fatana.** The threat (*waʿid*) is God’s threat, in the Qurʾān, to punish the malefactors of whose afterworldly fate the Fatana profess ignorance

(above, III, 113). They are asked to take it seriously, and to stop deeming it unlawful to fight against rulers who violate the law.

**136. Bida'īyya.** For the question whether this para. is an interpolation or a residue of a lost part of the epistle, see above, Ch. 1, 21 ff. The heresiographers associate the name of Bida'īyya with two quite different sects, one presented as a subdivision of the Murji'a, the other as an offshoot of the Azāriqa. The former, known only from Nasafī, *Radd*, 62, 123, has already been discussed (above, 21 f). Of the latter we are told that they descended from the Azāriqa via the Khāzimiyya, and that they held all sinners to be unbelievers who would receive the punishments of idolaters whether their sins were great or small (Nāshi<sup>2</sup>, §121), only they themselves being destined for Paradise (al-Khwārizmī, *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, ed. G. van Vloten (Leiden, 1895), 25; Abū Tammām, 24 f = 37). They also claimed that the law only prescribes two (or three) daily prayers (Nāshi<sup>2</sup>, §121; Madelung, *Qāsim*, 128; Abū Tammām, 25 = 37; cf. Q. 11: 114), and that it is prohibited to eat fish which has not been slaughtered (Nāshi<sup>2</sup> and Abū Tammām, loci cit.). Ibn Ḥazm credits the last two doctrines to another alleged offshoot of the Azāriqa known as the Biṭṭīkhiyya or Baṭī-ḥiyya after one Abū Ismāʿīl al-Biṭṭīkhi/Baṭīḥī (*Fīṣal*, iv. 189.8; cf. van Ess, *TG*, ii. 619 ff); but Abū Tammām, who also knows this sect, says nothing about its Azraqite pedigree or its espousal of these two doctrines (45 f = 51 f). The founder of the Bida'īyya is said to have been one Yahyā b. Aṣram (Khwārizmī, *Mafātīḥ*, 25). They shared with the Azāriqa, then, an attitude of exclusiveness and Qur'ānic fundamentalism, and this is presumably why they were given an Azraqite pedigree, in so far as they are not a heresiographical concoction (cf. Madelung, *Religious Trends*, 64; Lewinstein, 'Azāriqa', 263). Precisely what the paragraph asks the Bida'īyya to do depends on which of the two sects one takes them to be (cf. above, pp. 21 f).

**138. *fa-hādihā 'l-amr alladhī nadʿū ilayhi.*** This phrase marks the end in KI, 9, and the para. must have been the last here too. There could be nothing to add to the declaration that 'we are the Muslims', except for the final *taḥmīd* (in IV, 142). The next three paras. nonetheless revert to particulars.

**139. *Ghulūw fī 'l-dīn.*** Sālim has not used this expression before, but it is Qur'ānic (cf. 4: 171; 5: 77) and the entire para. is consonant with earlier charges against the extremists. Only its position is wrong. It may have been dislocated rather than interpolated.

**140. *man taraka qiblatanā.*** It is not clear why Sālim should introduce a ruling on apostasy in his summary. Given that nobody has previously been accused of abandoning the *qibla*, and that there should not have been any particulars here at all, this para. is best rejected as an interpolation.

**141. What is lawful for us today.** The first half of this para. reads like a rejection of the extremist doctrine that it is permitted to treat one's *qawm* as co-religionists for purposes of marriage, succession, and so on while living in a state of *taqiyya*, only to cut off all ties with them when one makes a *khurūj* (cf. Ch. 5, pp. 209 f). But what it leads up to (or what is tacked on to it) is a ruling on *taqiyya*. Unemended, the text rejects *taqiyya* altogether: neither those who stay among their *qawm* nor those who go out may practise it. Since Sālim has previously defended *taqiyya* at length (above, III, 73 f; IV, 118), this would have to be dismissed as an interpolation, and a crude one at that. In our emendation the text merely says that whereas *taqiyya* is permitted to those who stay among the *qawm* it is forbidden to those who go out (compare Muḥammad b. Mahbūb's ruling that *al-imām al-bā'ir* is not allowed to use *taqiyya*: he must fight in the way of God on the basis of ordering what is approved and forbidding what is disapproved, cf. Kāshif, *Siyar*, ii. 243.1). This may be compatible with Sālim's views, but it is an odd continuation to a fervent affirmation that the *qā'id* and the *khārij* are governed by the same law. The text is probably beyond repair, but it is in any case unlikely to be Sālim's. Apart from the fact that it comes in the wrong place and formulates a wrong or odd doctrine, it uses the wrong terminology: Sālim has previously spoken of *al-mādī* rather than *al-khārij* (II, 65; IV, 129).

PART 2

SĀLIM,  
THE MAINSTREAM,  
AND THE  
IBĀDĪ TRADITION

## ‘UTHMĀN AND ‘ALĪ

Sālim b. Dhakwān was an Ibādī, possibly an Omani, and apparently an acquaintance of Jābir, which is to say that he was a sectarian, possibly a provincial, and apparently a very early figure. The discovery of an epistle by such an author ought greatly to increase our understanding of early Islamic history and beliefs, not only because early texts can be expected to contain new information, but also, and more particularly, because they make well-known information come alive by preserving early perspectives. However faithful a tradition may be, it cannot transmit the contemporary view of things because it cannot transmit all the information on which that view is based. It has to be selective. But the world in which the information it selects makes sense will disappear, leaving posterity with dead knowledge, some of which will be shed while the rest will be invested with such meaning as makes sense under the new conditions. Early sources give us glimpses of original preoccupations. We all know the story of ‘Uthmān, but how did Ibādīs think of him some fifty years or a century before the sources on which our knowledge is based set in? Abū Mikhnaf, al-Madā’inī, and others tell us about the Azraqite split, but how did Khārijites who lived through the events perceive them?

The epistle attributed to Sālim b. Dhakwān contains no answers to such questions. Of new information it has little and of new perspectives it has few: as Cook puts it, there is almost nothing to take us by surprise in Sālim’s epistle except the lack of surprises.<sup>1</sup> It does give us a fuller account of Khārijite doctrine on a particular issue than any other source, and in so doing contributes to our understanding of early Khārijite thought; but it cannot be said to make early Khārijism come alive. It is only on early Murji’ism and (in a more enigmatic way) the Fatana that it casts genuinely new light: here one does have a sense of being taken behind the tradition as we know it.

This is the gist of what the reader will learn from the chapters in this section, in which we summarize Sālim’s information on the main topics covered in his epistle and compare it with the mainstream and Ibādī traditions. Our aim is partly to identify his relationship with these traditions and partly to re-examine the topics on which he throws new light. The implications of our findings for the place of origin and date of the epistle will be taken up in the last chapter.

<sup>1</sup> Cook, *Dogma*, 93.

‘UTHMĀN

The first twenty pages of Sālim’s epistle are mostly taken up with generalities which do not add to our understanding of the formative century. His *maṣīyya bi ’l-taqwā* enjoins obedience to God, reminds the believers that they are accountable to God for their deeds, stresses the transience of this world, repeatedly invokes the Day of Judgement, offers a fervent passage in praise of the Qurʾān (to which we shall come back), and concludes by urging the believers to fight holy war: most of this is timeless admonition. His account of the Prophet consists largely of Qurʾānic quotations, and it only contains standard history for the rest, apart from the section on the Prophet’s classification of opponents (which we shall discuss in Ch. 5). The first two caliphs are given short, approving treatment without mention of the Dabā incident in Abū Bakr’s reign which figures in other Ibādī discussions of relations with one’s *qawm*.<sup>2</sup> But the epistle deals at length with the caliphate of ‘Uthmān, so this is where the evaluation must begin.

Sālim’s account is to the effect that ‘Uthmān started well, but eventually (not, in his account, after six years) began to abuse his office for private gain. He appointed his relatives to high office, squandered public wealth on them, refused to apply the *ḥadd* punishments to them, and reserved pastures for himself and his family at the expense of the Muslims. When the Muslims complained, he responded by having some beaten and others exiled. Eventually they went to Medina to ask him to repent or resign, but though he feigned repentance, he did not mend his ways. He wrote a letter to the governor of Egypt telling him to punish the Egyptian contingent on its return, but the Muslims intercepted this letter and went back to Medina where, after further fruitless discussion, they laid siege to him and killed him.

All this is familiar enough from the *akhbārī* accounts preserved in Sunnī sources. Sālim has fewer details, and he omits a number of ‘Uthmān’s misdeeds altogether, notably his collection of the Qurʾān; he also differs here and there, but only in minor ways. His list of people exiled by ‘Uthmān includes Hudhayfa b. al-Yamān, who is neither exiled by ‘Uthmān nor an enemy of his in the Sunnī sources (II, 49). He has some variations on the theme of ‘Uthmān’s preferential treatment of his relatives (II, 41, 45). He

<sup>2</sup> The Omanis are said to have participated in the *ridda* and to have been defeated by Abū Bakr’s troops at Dabā: 10,000 men were killed, their families were enslaved, and their property distributed among the Muslims after deduction of a fifth for Medina. But when ‘Umar became caliph he thought it wrong for Arabs to be slaves, now that the non-Arabs had been conquered, and arranged for the release of the captives (thus Sayf in Ṭabarī, 1st ser., 1979, 2012; cf. also Ibn Sa‘d, vii, 101 f). This incident was adduced by extremist Khārijites to validate enslavement and despoliation of non-Khārijite Muslims and was a problem to the Ibādīs (cf. Sālim b. Ḥuṭayʿa in Barrādī, *Jawāhir*, 52.–8; Khalaf b. Ziyād al-Bahrānī, *Sīra*, HX, 338 ff; Khālid in Kāshif, *Siyar*, i, 109.10; Qalhātī, *Kashf*, fo. 198a.7).

accuses ‘Uthmān of confiscating people’s property, which the Sunnī tradition does not (II, 50). Finally, he associates one of ‘Uthmān’s misdeeds with eastern Arabia and another with bedouin who may be eastern Arabian too: the *ṣadaqa* which ‘Uthmān gave to al-Ḥārith b. al-Ḥakam was that of Baḥrayn, according to Sālīm, whereas the mainstream tradition leaves it unidentified or associates it with Medina (II, 41); and ‘Uthmān refused to let bedouin participate in holy war because he did not want to pay them stipends, which is a charge unknown to Sunnī sources and the only information which is genuinely new from their point of view (II, 47).

Though he barely departs from the mainstream tradition, his version is not identical with, or obviously dependent on, any one of the *akhbārī* works which are extant today. Every now and again his account will agree closely with one of them, and sometimes he will even use similar wording, but only for a sentence or two. The parallels are atomistic.

For example, Sālīm sometimes agrees with Ibn Ishāq, whose account of ‘Uthmān’s murder was the earliest we had until Sālīm turned up with a claim to be earlier still.<sup>3</sup> Ibn Ishāq states that ‘when the people saw what ‘Uthmān was doing’, the Companions of the Prophet in Medina wrote to those in the provinces, asking them to come, and ‘they came from every direction until they killed him’ (*fā-aqbalū min kulli ufq ḥattā qatalūhu*). Sālīm uses the same narrative template: ‘when the believers saw how he abandoned God’s judgement . . . they set out from every land to fight him’ (*sārū min kulli arḍ li-yuqātilūhu*).<sup>4</sup> Both proceed to tell us that ‘Uthmān claimed to repent, whereupon the army turned back. But Sālīm then says that ‘Uthmān did not mend his ways and that the leaders of the Muslims returned, whereupon ‘Uthmān wrote to the governor of Egypt; Ibn Ishāq has ‘Uthmān write to the governor of Egypt as soon as the army had turned back, reserving ‘Uthmān’s failure to mend his ways for later; and when it comes to the wording of the letter, Sālīm has a striking phrase found in other versions too, but not in Ibn Ishāq’s (II, 53). Yet, Sālīm and Ibn Ishāq are agreed that the carrier of this letter was Abū ‘l-A‘war al-Sulamī accompanied by a Khawlānī, whereas other *akhbārīs* identify the carrier as a slave of ‘Uthmān’s (II, 54). Thereafter Ibn Ishāq has a long story about other letters that do not figure in Sālīm’s account: the Egyptians wrote to ‘Uthmān but got no reply, whereupon six hundred of them returned to Medina; the Medinese too wrote to ‘Uthmān; the latter had ‘Alī draw up a letter arranging for a respite of three days, which he used to get together a slave army instead of fulfilling the rebels’ demands; and his failure to mend his ways as promised in this letter now caused the Egyptians to turn back.<sup>5</sup> Instead, Sālīm has him write to Mu‘āwiya

<sup>3</sup> M. Muranyi, *Die Prophetengenossen in der frühislamischen Geschichte* (Bonn, 1973), 63.

<sup>4</sup> Ṭabarī, 1st ser., 2983.8; Sālīm, II, 51.

<sup>5</sup> Ṭabarī, 1st ser., 2986 ff.

for military help, as he also does in Abū Mikhnaf’s version in practically identical words (II, 53). Both Ibn Ishāq and Sālim have it that the letter to the Egyptian governor was intercepted and that ‘Uthmān tried to deny knowledge of it, but so do all other accounts. Thereafter, al-Ṭabarī’s citations from Ibn Ishāq come to an end, making further comparison impossible.

The result would hardly be very different if we compared Sālim with other *akhbārīs*. Several compilers know that a follower of ‘Uthmān shot a Muslim by the name of Niyār b. ‘Iyāḍ al-Aslamī, and Sālim knows this too. According to al-Wāqidi, Niyār was killed by Abū Ḥafṣa al-Yamānī (a fact which he typically purports to know on the impeccable authority of Abū Ḥafṣa himself); but Sālim says that he was killed by a member of the family of Kathīr b. al-Ṣalt, and another report in al-Ṭabarī, similarly, has it that he was killed by Kathīr b. al-Ṣalt al-Kindī. Yet, Sālim agrees with al-Wāqidi that ‘Uthmān refused to hand over the killer on the grounds that he did not know his identity, which is not what he says in the other report.<sup>6</sup> And so one could go on.

Agreement is atomistic because the *akhbārī* accounts on which our modern knowledge of the murder of ‘Uthmān is based are themselves atomistic. All are compilations of set phrases and motifs given in varying forms and joined in varying constellations. By the time the *akhbārīs* were active, history had acquired the characteristics of a kaleidoscope: much the same pieces went into the overall picture however one shook it, and each picture was a variant version of the next. But some pictures were reduced to writing and thereby acquired authoritative status, which made it increasingly difficult to shake the kaleidoscope again thereafter. From the mid-ninth century onwards, scholars would simply excerpt, copy, abbreviate, and amalgamate such visions as were on offer.

It is a striking feature of Sālim’s account that it is based on the same pool of fixed phrases and motifs as that behind the *akhbārī* accounts: he does not give us a fresh glimpse of the past, only another version of a tradition that had stabilized by the time he wrote. But he does appear to be putting his own pieces together. In so far as one can tell, he is not copying, abbreviating, or amalgamating existing compilations, but rather offering a compilation of his own. This is why he will agree with Ibn Ishāq on one point, Abū Mikhnaf on another, and al-Wāqidi on a third.

How, then, does he compare with the Ibādī tradition? Once again, he supplies fewer details than other authors and omits well-known misdeeds of ‘Uthmān’s, such as his collection of the Qurʾān.<sup>7</sup> But his pool of phrases

<sup>6</sup> Sālim, II, 56 and the comm. thereto.

<sup>7</sup> According to the *Ṣifa*, ‘Uthmān burnt the *maṣāḥif* and banned the *qirʾas* of Ibn Masʿūd and Ubayy b. Kaʿb, ordering everyone to recite *‘alā ḥarf wāḥid* (HX, 142.7; Barrādī, *Jawāhir*,

and motifs includes specifically Ibādī items; his whole perspective is Ibādī; and there is one Ibādī work to which he is particularly closely related.

The work in question is *Kitāb ṣifat ahdāth ‘Uthmān*, a book of eastern (as opposed to North African) origin mentioned by al-Barrādī<sup>8</sup> which survives partly in al-Barrādī’s own account of ‘Uthmān’s reign and partly in the *Mukhtaṣar kitāb fihi ṣifat ahdāth ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān*, of which there is a copy in the Hinds Xerox.<sup>9</sup> It cites information from the Kufan Shī‘ite al-A‘mash (d. 148/765 f) and gives verbatim extracts from Ibn Ishāq (d. c.150/767), mostly without acknowledgement, though it does name him on one occasion.<sup>10</sup> The work is, thus, unlikely to have been written much before the 150s/770s. When Sālim departs from the mainstream tradition he is usually in agreement with this work: his only genuinely new information, from a Sunnī point of view, namely that ‘Uthmān prevented the bedouin from participating in holy war, is found in the *Ṣifa* too. And his wording is sometimes similar to that of *Ṣifa*, as the following examples show.

First, the narrative template that Sālim shares with Ibn Ishāq also turns up in the *Ṣifa*, where it is not part of the quotations from the latter. Comparing all three versions, one notes that the two Khārijite formulations are closer to each other than they are to Ibn Ishāq’s.

1. Sālim (II, 51):

فلما رأى المؤمنون تركه حكم الله . . . (and many other misdeeds) . . . ساروا  
من كل الارض ليقاتلوه .

2. *Ṣifa* (Barrādī, *Jawāhir*, 83.–9; HX, 147.3):

فلما رأى المسلمون جور عثمان . . . (and many other misdeeds) . . . ساروا إليه  
من كل افق ليستتبيوه او ليعزلوه او ليقتلوه .

3. Ibn Ishāq (Ṭabarī, 1st ser., 2983.8):

61.3, where a longer extract is given). His *tahrīq* (sometimes *tahrīf*) of the Book of God and prohibition of Ibn Ubayy’s and Ibn Mas‘ūd’s readings are also mentioned in Qalḥātī, *Kashf*, fos. 85a.3, 86a.8, –6; Izkawī (*Kashf al-ghumma*, fo. 181a.6, 10). Other notable omissions are ‘Uthmān’s recall to Medina of al-Ḥakam b. Abī ‘l-‘Āṣ, *ṭarīd rasūl allāh* (cf. the comm. to II, 41), and his refusal to inflict retaliation on ‘Ubaydallāh b. ‘Umar for his murder of al-Hurmuzān and Jufayna (cf. the *Ṣifa* in HX, 139.–5; Barrādī, *Jawāhir*, 56.1, where a longer extract is given; *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. ‘al-Hurmuzān’).

<sup>8</sup> Ṭālibī, *Āwā’*, ii. 283; Ennami, *Studies*, p. 10, item 1.

<sup>9</sup> HX, 139–54<sup>1</sup>. That Barrādī used the *Ṣifa* is clear from a comparison of the *Mukhtaṣar* with his account.

<sup>10</sup> HX, 144.5 (A‘mash), 147–51<sup>1</sup>. (Ibn Ishāq, unnamed, but cf. Ṭabarī, 1st ser., 2984–9); Barrādī, *Jawāhir*, 65.8, 70.12, 73.7, 79.10 (A‘mash), 84.7 (Ibn Ishāq, named).

فَلَمَّا رَأَى النَّاسَ مَا صَنَعَ عِثْمَانٌ . . . (they wrote to each other) . . . فاقبلوا  
من كل افق حتى قتلوه .

The *Ṣifa* also tells the story of ‘Abdallāh b. al-Arqam’s resignation in words almost identical with Sālīm’s.

1. Sālīm (II, 42):

واستسلف من الله مالا عظيما فجاءه عبد الله بن الأرقم امين المسلمين على بيت مالهم يتقاضاه فطفق يمطله ويعلله فلما طال على عبد الله بن الأرقم انشده الله إلا أدي ما قبله فإتما هو فيء الله ومال المسلمين . . . فقال عثمان عند ذلك وما لك وهذا المال والله ما اقضى منه شيئا فإن شئت ان تمسك لنا المفاتيح وإن كرهت فادفع إلينا مفاتيحنا فدفع إليه عبد الله بن الأرقم المفاتيح وقال والله لا اعمل لك على شيء ما بقيت .

2. *Ṣifa* (Barrādī, *Jawāhir*, 61.–9):

واستسلف من مال الله مالا عظيما فأتاه عبد الله بن الأرقم امين المسلمين . . . (gives his former offices) . . . فأتاه يتقاضا منه فجعل عثمان يماطله ويعنيه فلما طال ذلك على عبد الله بن الأرقم ناشده الله إلا اذا ما قبله من فيء الله فقال عثمان ما لك ولهذا المال فوالله ما أوتى منه شيئا ابدا فلما سمع منه ذلك انطلق إلى المفاتيح فأخذها ثم أتى عثمان والناس عنده فقال يا معشر المسلمين هذه مفاتيحك وبيت مالكم ثم قال لعثمان لا الى لك شيئا ابدا .

The agreement between the two sources also goes beyond that of substance in their account of ‘Uthmān’s refusal to let the Bedouin fight holy war.

1. Sālīm (II, 47):

ومنع الأعراب الجهاد مخافة شركهم في الأعطية وقد قال الله . . .  
(follows Q. 48: 16) . . . وقد دعاهم رسول الله ودعاهم ابو بكر وعمر بعده أن يجاهدوا مع المسلمين فيواسوهم في المال إلا أن يفضلوا <عبدا على> عبد بقدر منزلته في الإسلام .

2. *Ṣifa* (Barrādī, *Jawāhir*, 64.1):

وكان ممّا نقموا عليه منعه الأعراب الجهاد ليسقط بذلك سهامهم من الفىء وقد كان دعاهم رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ودعاهم أبو بكر وعمر فجاهدوا مع المسلمين .

Finally, they use almost identical wording in their account of ‘Uthmān’s reserves. The formulation in IB1 is also similar, especially in the western version, and all three seem to be developments of a hyperbolic phrase encountered in the mouth of a Kufan malcontent.

## 1. Sālīm (II, 46):

وحمى مواضع القطر من أهل البادية وارى فيها حاشيته وأهله وقال الله . . .  
 . (follows Q. 10: 59 f)

2. *Ṣifa* (HX, 141 f; Barrādī, *Jawāhir*, 58 f):

وحمى مواطن القطر \ المطر من أرض البادية وارا فيها أهله وخاصته ومنع الناس فكلموه \ كلمه المسلمون فى ذلك فقالوا . . . ولم تذكر قول الله والله يقول . . .  
 . (follows Q. 10: 59)

3. IB1 [western] (Barrādī, *Jawāhir*, 159.–7 = Rubinacci, 110 f):

منع مواضع القطر وحمها لنفسه ولأهله ومنع الرزق الذى انزله الله لعباده . . .  
 وقد قال الله . . . (follows Q. 10: 59 f)

4. IB1 [eastern] (Kāshif, *Siyar*, ii. 331.8):

انطلق إلى الأرض ليحميها لنفسه ولأهله حمى حتى منع قطر السماء وازرق الذى أنزله الله لعباده . . . وقد قال الله . . . (follows Q. 10: 59 f)

## 5. Kufan malcontent to ‘Uthmān (Ibn A‘tham, ii. 182.2):

حميت قطر السماء ونبت الأرض .

Did the author of the *Ṣifa* use Sālīm’s epistle? This is unlikely since he usually has greater detail than Sālīm. For example, it is impossible to tell what Sālīm has in mind when he says that al-Walid b. ‘Uqba killed a Kufan without being penalized for it unless one has read the *Ṣifa*, where the full story is told; and the *Ṣifa* also has ample information on Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān, which explains his appearance in Sālīm’s list of persons exiled by ‘Uthmān (II, 45, 49). Did Sālīm use the *Ṣifa*? That too seems

unlikely. He certainly does not quote it directly. But he must have relied on informants who knew the *Ṣifa* or from whose circles the *Ṣifa* emerged.

‘ALĪ

Sālim’s treatment of ‘Alī’s caliphate is limited to three main points. First, the Muslims called upon Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr, and their followers to revert to the truth and desist from aggression before the Battle of the Camel (II, 59), just as they called upon Mu‘āwiya and his followers before the Battle of Ṣiffīn (II, 60), in accordance with the principle that one must always engage in *du‘ā* before initiating hostilities.<sup>11</sup> Secondly, the Muslims correctly treated the losers in the Battle of the Camel as *muḥdithūn* (cf. below, Ch. 5). And thirdly, ‘Alī made somebody other than God the judge when he accepted arbitration in the Battle of Ṣiffīn (II, 61–4).

This last point illustrates the Ibādī understanding of the slogan *lā ḥukma illā li’llāh*. To Sālim, as to other Ibādī sources, it simply means that all problems on which God has recorded His decision in the Qur’ān must be resolved in accordance with that decision and that humans are only free to decide on their own if no Qur’ānic decision is available. When ‘Alī accepted arbitration, he ignored God’s ruling that one should fight an unrighteous party ‘till it reverts to God’s commandment’ (Q. 49: 9) and ‘till there is no *fitna* and the religion is God’s’ (Q. 8: 39).<sup>12</sup> In other words, Sālim’s view is not that ‘Alī should have fought on until God’s decision showed itself in the outcome of the battle,<sup>13</sup> but rather that God’s *ḥukm* for situations such as ‘Alī’s was that the believers should battle on until the malefactors were defeated.<sup>14</sup> ‘God, mighty and exalted is He, has already given His decision concerning Mu‘āwiya and his party, namely that they shall be killed or return’, as the Khārijites at Ṣiffīn explain in both mainstream and Ibādī sources,<sup>15</sup> claiming that the use of arbitration was comparable to appointing arbitrators in cases of *zinā*, theft, and other crimes for which God has laid down the law in the Qur’ān.<sup>16</sup> But this

<sup>11</sup> Cf. the comm. to II, 58.

<sup>12</sup> Sālim, II, 61; cf. Barrādī, *Ḥawāhir*, 120, 121, 123, 137, 149.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. F. Gabrieli, ‘Sulle origine del movimento Ḥārīgīta’, *Rendiconti della Classe di Scienze Morali e Storiche, Reale Accademia d’Italia*, 7th ser., iii, (Rome, 1941), 115.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. L. Vecchia Vaglieri, ‘Il conflitto ‘Alī-Mu‘āwiya e la secessione Khārīgīta riesaminati alla luce di fonti ibādīte’, *Annali dell’Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli*, NS, 4 (1952), 31 ff.

<sup>15</sup> Ṭabarī, 1st ser., 3351.17; cf. also Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waḡ‘at Ṣiffīn*<sup>2</sup>, ed. ‘A.-S. M. Hārūn (Cairo, 1382), 516. Similarly Abū ‘l-Mu‘thir in Kāshif, *Siyar*, ii, 304 ff.

<sup>16</sup> Abū ‘l-Mu‘thir in Kāshif, *Siyar*, ii, 306; Abū ‘Ammār, *Mūjāz*, ii, 253 f, citing al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī; Barrādī, *Ḥawāhir*, 120.10. Similarly, the Khārījites in Ṭabarī, ii, 3351.10; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ii, 348; al-Khayyāt, *Kitāb al-intiṣār*, ed. and tr. A. N. Nader (Beirut, 1957), 102.13 = 128.1.

certainly does not take us behind the tradition, and its starting point is obscure in the extreme. Sunnīs and Ibādīs alike tell us that the Khārijites opposed the arbitration at Ṣiffīn with reference to Q. 49: 9, yet this verse actually starts by endorsing arbitration, its full text being: ‘if two parties of the believers fight, put things right between them, and if one of them is insolent (*baghat*) against the other, fight the insolent one till it reverts to God’s commandment’. It is a peculiar fact that nobody ever points this out in the sources. When Ibn ‘Abbās tries to persuade the Khārijites to rejoin the fold, he defends the *tahkīm* by invoking Q. 4: 35, on arbitration between quarrelling spouses, and Q. 5: 95, on the appointment of two men to judge cases of violation of the *ḥaram*, but he does not make the obvious point that God tells the believers to put things right between two parties of believers at war in the very verse invoked by the Khārijites.<sup>17</sup> No doubt, Sālīm would have retorted that the Syrians were not a party of believers, but rather of *bāghiya* and infidels, but this was hardly a position shared by Ibn ‘Abbās. Differently put, one would have expected the discussion to turn on the status of the Syrians (*bughāt* or believers?) rather than divine versus human authority (*ḥukm Allāh* or *ḥukm al-rijāl?*).<sup>18</sup> The defenders of *tahkīm* do not deny God’s *ḥukm* at all as the story is told. There must be some doctrinal history behind this oddity,<sup>19</sup> but Sālīm does nothing to explain it. His is the standard interpretation of the slogan, and there is nothing fresh about his presentation. He simply rehearses standard arguments that must have achieved their final form well before he wrote.

<sup>17</sup> Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ii. 360; Khālid in Kāshif, *Siyar*, i. 112 f (cf. also Abū ‘l-Muṭṭhir, *ibid.* ii, 305.3, 306.6); Barrādī, *Jawāhir*, 120.6.

<sup>18</sup> For a tradition which acknowledges this, see Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, iii, no. 403, if they had judged by the Qur’ān, they would have considered *ayy al-fi’atayn abghā*.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Hawting, ‘The Significance of the Slogan’. Cf. also M. Hinds, ‘The Siffin Arbitration Agreement’, *Journal of Semitic Studies*, 17 (1972), 101 f.

## THE KHĀRIJITES

## THE IBĀDĪS

Sālim's account of his own faith is almost entirely concerned with the classification of opponents and the legal consequences which flow therefrom. His fundamental point is that the Prophet divided infidels into the following categories, to which later Muslims must adhere:

1. Arab polytheists (*mushrikū al-ʿArab*), who are equated with idolaters (*ʿabadat al-awthān*). They have no right to exist and thus do not enjoy any legal protection, but must be fought until they are killed or convert. There can be no relations of inheritance or intermarriage between them and the believers, nor may the believers eat their slaughters or honour their contracts with others (II, 28).

2. Zoroastrians (*majūs*). The Prophet granted them limited legal recognition on the ground that they have a trace of knowledge, and they can avoid being the object of perpetual *jihād* by paying *jizya*. But there can be no relations of inheritance or intermarriage between them and the believers, nor may the believers eat their slaughters. The status of their contracts with others is not discussed, but presumably they are regarded as invalid (II, 29).

3. People of the Book (*ahl al-kitāb*). The Prophet granted them more extensive legal recognition because they believed in some of what God had revealed to them. Like the Zoroastrians, they can obtain the right to peaceful existence by paying *jizya*; unlike them, they also have limited *connubium* with the believers, for the latter may marry their women, though not their men. The believers may also eat their slaughters. But there is no inheritance between the two communities, and the believers do not have to honour their contracts with others (II, 30).

4. Hypocrites (*munāfiqūn*). Like all the above, hypocrites are *kuffār*, but because they outwardly profess Islam, they have exactly the same legal status as the believers. All users of the *qibla* may intermarry, enjoy mutual succession, eat each others' slaughters, and all must honour each others' compacts (II, 31).

5. People of the *qibla* whom it is lawful to kill (*man halla ʿalayhi al-qatl mimman yastaqbilu al-qibla*) or, as we have put it, people guilty of a capital offence, who are also described as 'innovators' or, as we have put it, 'mis-chief-makers' (*al-muḥdithūn min ahl al-qibla*) (II, 32). These are people within the community who have transgressed and become unbelievers thereby, and who are deserving of capital punishment. The paradigmatic

example is ‘Uthmān, who forfeited his life by his persistent *ihdāth* and to whom the believers applied the judgement of the Messenger of God regarding those adherents of his *qibla* whom it is legitimate to kill (II, 57).

The moral of the exposition is that no *qibla* users can be treated as members of categories 1, 2, or 3. People of the *qibla* who are *kuffār* rather than Muslims must be placed in categories 4 or 5. Sālim later makes it clear that ‘our *qawm*’, i.e. non-Khārijite Muslims, should be classified as hypocrites (cf. esp. IV, 120, 121).

Consequently, one may live among non-Khārijite Muslims, intermarry with them, and enjoy mutual succession with them (IV, 120); one must honour their trusts and fulfil their compacts with others (IV, 116). One may not kill them in secret or destroy their reputations by falsely accusing them of unchastity (IV, 118, 121). It is permitted to practise pious dissimulation (*taqiyya*) while one lives among them (III, 73; IV, 118), though one should not go so far as to take service with ‘kings’ (IV, 119), and there is no need to emigrate from the abode of one’s *qawm*; indeed, it is forbidden (III, 77, 89; IV, 126). One may go out to fight holy war against non-Khārijite Muslims, and this is more meritorious than staying at home; but going out (*khurūj*) is not the same as making a *hijra*, for it does not amount to a severance of ties: those who go out may return (IV, 126), and those who stay behind remain members of the sect (II, 65; IV, 129). Women and slaves may participate in *khurūj* (IV, 127), and one may elect an imam for such expeditions, though one should not elect one for purposes other than holy war (IV, 128). Those who go out may not engage in indiscriminate killing (*isti‘rād*) of their opponents until they have called them to the truth (IV, 122); they must respect the neutrality of those who withdraw from fighting until the latter have made up their minds which side they are on; and they must grant protection to whoever asks for it (IV, 117). Opponents who wish to convert should be accepted without an examination (*miḥna*) (III, 69), while the rest must be fought until they are killed or convert. One may not, however, kill their children, enslave their families, or make sexual use of their women, though one may marry their women after they have completed the waiting periods of widows or divorcees (II, 65; IV, 117, 123, 124). Among themselves, the Muslims must dissociate from sinners until they repent (IV, 125). These are the principles to which all Muslims adhered until the first civil war (IV, 114). The Muslims whose faith withstood the test continued to adhere to them thereafter (II, 65); and though they were to be afflicted with further schisms (III, 66 ff), they have adhered to them to this day. The Muslims in Sālim’s parlance are the Ibādīs (a term he does not use).

All this is Ibādī doctrine as we know it from other sources, though it is uncommonly detailed. Ibādī sources endlessly rehearse Sālim's subject, which eventually came to be known as *al-milal al-sitt wa-ahkāmuhā*; that is, the rules pertaining to relations with idolaters, Jews, Christians, Zoroastrians, wrongdoers, and Muslims;<sup>1</sup> and they never tire of repeating that wrongdoers from among the people of the *qibla* are infidels in the sense of *munāfiqūn*, not in that of *mushrikūn*, so that they cannot be enslaved or despoliated.<sup>2</sup> Sālim differs from other Ibādī sources only in the length at which he writes, and in some of his terminology. As regards the length, he expounds the scheme and attendant rules with greater coherence, detail, and passion than any other Ibādī author known so far, including Wā'il b. Ayyūb, who likewise puts some energy into its presentation.<sup>3</sup> Later authors merely summarize the scheme for didactic purposes or call it up for use against opponents, taking the scheme itself for granted and putting all their energy into the claim that their opponents are guilty of its violation: thus the early ninth-century epistles of Abū Sufyān Maḥbūb, for example.<sup>4</sup> As regards terminology, Sālim differs from the ninth-century and later authors in that he never uses the term *mumāḥ-ḥidūn* for the Muslims at large, only *ahl al-qibla*, never refers to internal sinners as *ahl al-kabā'ir* or *bughāt*, only as *muhḍithūn*, and never speaks of non-Ibādī Muslims as *mukhālifūn*, only as *qawmunā*; nor does he bandy the term *munāfiq* about with the frequency of later sources: the term denotes a legal status in his work, and clearly had for some time, inasmuch as he takes it for granted; but he does not actually use it as a label. Further, he refers to illegitimate sexual use of captured women as *istinkāḥ*, a rare word which does not seem to be attested anywhere else in the Ibādī tradition, and he always uses the term *khamasa* where later Ibādīs have *ghanama* for treating the opponents' property as booty. In short, his account does have some distinctive features.

Sālim's account of Ibādism is in almost complete agreement with that given in the mainstream tradition. The heresiographers come out as reliable informants as far as this sect is concerned. He does, however, clash with the *akhbārīs* over one minor doctrinal point and with both the *akhbārīs* and the heresiographers over a major one.

<sup>1</sup> See Abū Ḥafṣ, *Kitāb muqaddimat al-tawhīd*, in Abū Ishāq Aṭfayyish (ed.), *al-Majmū'a al-qayyima* (Bahla and Beirut, 1989), 14 ff; al-Sālimī, *Qaṣīdat ghāyat al-murād fī 'l-istiḳād*, *ibid.* 25. Abū Ḥafṣ and Aṭfayyish have six *millas* by counting the Jews and the Christians separately, whereas Sālim lumps them together as *ahl al-kitāb* and has two kinds of wrongdoers instead.

<sup>2</sup> In addition to the works mentioned in the previous n., see e.g., Abū 'l-Mu'thir in Kāshif, *Siyar*, ii, 201, 251, 292 ff, 308; Bisyanī, *ibid.*, 126; the epistles of Maḥbūb b. al-Raḥīl and Hārūn b. al-Yamān in Kāshif, *Siyar*, i, nos. 7–9; al-Jannāwunī, *kitāb al-waḍ'*, ed. Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm Aṭfayyish (Oman (Maktabat al-istiḳāma), n.d.), 17 ff; al-Sālimī, *Talqīn al-ṣibyān mā yalzam al-in-sān*, 28th printing, (n.p., n.d.), 121 f.

<sup>3</sup> In Kāshif, *Siyar*, ii, no. 24.

<sup>4</sup> In Kāshif, *Siyar*, i, nos. 7, 8.

The minor point concerns booty. Sālīm categorically prohibits treating the property of (Muslim) opponents as booty, whereas al-Balādhurī implies that the early Ibādīs only prohibited it until the enemy had been defeated in battle. According to him, Ibn Ibād and the Ṣufriyya blamed Ibn al-Azraq for *istiḥlālahu al-māl qabla 'l-muḥāraba* and told him that the Prophet only deemed it lawful to take the property of his opponents when they raised war against him: apparently, they held it lawful to take the opponents' property as booty if they had been defeated in battle.<sup>5</sup> This is confirmed by Abū Mikhnaf's account of the Ṣufri (?) Ṣāliḥ b. Musarriḥ, who explains, in 77/696 f, that one was free to kill defeated enemies and take their property as *ghanīma*, though one was also free to grant them protection.<sup>6</sup> But though Sālīm agrees that one may kill opponents in or after battle, he is emphatic that one may not take their property as booty at any time: the Muslims did not take the property of their defeated opponents after the murder of 'Uthmān, nor did they do so after the Battle of the Camel, he says (III, 78). The heresiographers similarly report the bulk of the Ibādīs as holding that one could not take the opponents' property as *ghanīma*, except for weapons and horses.<sup>7</sup> Either al-Balādhurī's source (probably al-Madā'inī) had misunderstood the Ibādī position or else it was a point on which there had been divergent views.

The major point concerns the doctrine of *kufr al-ni'ama*. Sālīm classifies his *qawm* as hypocrites, not as *kuffar bi'l-ni'am/li'l-ni'am/al-ni'am*, an expression he does not use,<sup>8</sup> though this is the classification with which Ibn Ibād is said to have dissociated himself from the extremists in the historical sources and with which the Ibādīs are credited by almost all the heresiographers too.<sup>9</sup> The heresiographers do know that the Ibādīs operated with the concept of *nifāq* as well,<sup>10</sup> but where did they get the notion of *kufr al-ni'ama* from? The early Ibādīs do not seem to have used it at all.<sup>11</sup> Muslim opponents are classified as hypocrites in al-Rabi' b. Ḥabīb,

<sup>5</sup> Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, xi, 83 f.

<sup>6</sup> Ṭabarī, 2nd ser., 886. (It is not clear whether there actually was a Ṣufri sect at this stage, cf. K. Lewinstein, 'Making and Unmaking a Sect: the Heresiographers and the Ṣufriyya', *Studia Islamica*, 76 (1992).)

<sup>7</sup> Ash'arī, 104.11; Baghdādī, *Farq*, 83.3; Shahrastānī, i. 100–8.

<sup>8</sup> The nearest he gets to it is his exhortation to *shukr ni'amihī* (I, 2).

<sup>9</sup> For the historians, see below, n. 25. For the heresiographers, see Ash'arī, 110.14; Abū 'l-Qāsim al-Balkhī, also known as al-Ka'bī, in Ibn al-Nadīm, *kitāb al-fihrist*, ed. R. Tajadud (Tehran, 1971), 201; id. (probably) in Abū Tammām, 28 = 39 (cf. Walker's comments at p. 10); id. in Shahrastānī, i. 101.1. Cf. also Abū 'Ubayd, below, n. 37; Abū Ya'lā Ibn al-Farā'ī, *Kitāb al-mu'āmad fī uṣūl al-dīn*, ed. W. Z. Haddad (Beirut, 1974), 189, §341. The Ḥanafī heresiographer Abū Muṭī' al-Nasafī did, however, know that the Ibādīs classified their opponents as hypocrites, though he wrongly held them to treat *kufr* and *nifāq* as alternative categories, cf. his *Radd*, 69.ult.

<sup>10</sup> Ash'arī, i. 105 f; Baghdādī, *Farq*, 85.

<sup>11</sup> First noted by Cook, *Dogma*, 65.

Wā'il b. Ayyūb, and Munīr b. al-Nayyir.<sup>12</sup> The ninth-century Maḥbūb distinguishes *mushrikūn*, who are idolaters and identical with the *mushrikū* 'l-*ʿArab*, from those who acknowledge God, the angels, and so on, and who are either Muslims or *munāfiqūn kuffār dullāl fussāq*; he also speaks of the *munāfiq ḍāll kāfir* who is exempt from *saby al-qawm wa'l-ghanīma* and of *al-kufr wa'l-nifāq wa'l-fisq wa'l-dalāl*, but not of *kufr niʿma*.<sup>13</sup> His contemporary Hārūn similarly speaks of the *kāfir munāfiq muwahḥid*,<sup>14</sup> while Abū 'l-Mu'thir affirms that infidels of that type are not *mushrikūn*, but *kuffār munāfiqūn dullāl fāsīqūn*, again without recourse to the notion of *kufr niʿma*.<sup>15</sup> North African Ibādīs of the same period also seem to operate with *nifāq* alone.<sup>16</sup>

To our knowledge, the term *kufr niʿma* is first attested in an Ibādī source in the epistle of the Omani Khālid b. Qaḥṭān written about AD 900. Here we are told that, after serving God for as long as God willed, Ib-lis *kafara . . . kufr niʿma wa-nifāq, lā kufr shirk*: it was only later that he became a polytheist. But no sooner has Khālid introduced the new concept than he drops it to operate with the familiar concept of *nifāq* on its own.<sup>17</sup> The concept of *kufr niʿma* recurs in a tenth-century Sunnī account of Khārijites of eastern Fārs, who may have been Ibādīs,<sup>18</sup> and in the tenth-century al-Kudamī.<sup>19</sup> In North Africa it is missing from the creed of the eleventh-century North African al-Jannāwunī, which only speaks of *nifāq*,<sup>20</sup> and from the *Mūjāz* of the twelfth-century North African Abū 'Ammār (who says that both the Ibādīs and the Zaydīs classify grave sins as *kufr nifāq*)<sup>21</sup> but it figures in the twelfth-century creed of Abū Sahl.<sup>22</sup> In Oman it recurs in the twelfth-century al-Qalhātī, who says that the 'Ajārīda also use it, and in the seventeenth-century al-Shaqṣī, as well as

<sup>12</sup> al-Rabī' b. Ḥabīb, *al-fāmi' al-ṣaḥīh*, 3rd printing (Jerusalem, 1381), nos. 743–67, 924 ff; Wā'il b. Ayyūb in Kāshif, *Siyar*, ii. 58 f; Munīr b. al-Nayyir, *ibid.*, i. 237.

<sup>13</sup> Kāshif, *Siyar*, i. 317 f, 320.

<sup>14</sup> Kāshif, *Siyar*, i. 331.1, cf. 334.

<sup>15</sup> Kāshif, *Siyar*, i. 157, cf. 179, 261 f ii. 292 ff; (*fī asmā' ahl al-kabā'ir*).

<sup>16</sup> Cf. W. Schwartz, *Die Anfänge der Ibaditen in Nordafrika* (Wiesbaden, 1983), 54 ff, where *kufr al-niʿma* is not mentioned at all.

<sup>17</sup> Kāshif, *Siyar*, i. 90.5, 109, 116.

<sup>18</sup> Madelung, *Religious Trends*, 76, citing Mataṭī, *Tanbih*, 43. Madelung's identification of these Khārijites as Ibādīs rests partly, but not only, on their use of the concept of *kufr niʿma*; Malaṭī (who merely calls them Shurāt) credits them with other Ibādī-sounding views.

<sup>19</sup> Kudamī in Sa'ādī, *Qāmūs*, viii, 295.

<sup>20</sup> Cuperly, 'Profession de foi', 47 ff; cf. also R. Rubinacci, 'La Professione di Fede di al-Ġannāwunī', *Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli*, NS, 14 (1964).

<sup>21</sup> Abū 'Ammār, *Mūjāz*, ii. 117.3.

<sup>22</sup> P. Cuperly, 'L'Ibādisme au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle: La Aqida de Abu Sahl Yahya', *Revue de l'Institut des Belles Lettres Arabes*, 42 (Tunis, 1979), 291; cf. 305. But it is also missing from the creed of the fourteenth-century 'Amir b. 'Alī al-Shammākhi in Cuperly, *Introduction*, app. 2; Ennami, *Studies*, i. 255 ff. (Ennami gives his death date as 592, but this must be a mistake for 792/1389 f, cf. T. Lewicki, 'Une chronique Ibadite, "Kitāb al-Sijar" d'Abū 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad al-Šammāḥī', *Revue des Études Islamiques*, 8 (1934), 63 f.)

the eighteenth-century al-Saʿdī, who say that the Ibādiyya, Ṣufriyya, and Shiʿa all accept it.<sup>23</sup> Twentieth-century Ibādīs take it for granted.<sup>24</sup>

One is thus surprised to learn from Abū Mikhnaf and an anonymous author in al-Balādhurī and al-Mubarrad (probably al-Madāʿinī) that *kufr al-niʿma* was the concept with which the founder of Ibādism distanced himself from other Khārijites.<sup>25</sup> The claim is all the more peculiar in that until the mid-eighth century the early Ibādīs seem to have been as ignorant of Ibn Ibād as they were of the concept with which he is credited in the mainstream tradition.<sup>26</sup> Even Abū Sufyān (d. c.210/825), who was familiar with the term ‘Ibādiyya’ as a label used by outsiders, seems to have known nothing of the man behind the name, for he did not apparently have a rubric on him in his lost work cited by al-Shammākhī,<sup>27</sup> and he conspicuously fails to refer to him in his extant epistles.<sup>28</sup> In Oman, Ibn Ibād makes his first appearance in the anonymous letter to al-Ṣalt b. Mālik (237–72/851–86), which has it that ʿAbdallāh b. Ibād, ʿAbdallāh b. Ṣaffār, Nāfiʿ b. al-Azraq, and *man shāʿa ʿllāh min al-muslimīn* were together at the time of the *furqa*. This is clearly a variant version of al-Balādhurī’s and al-Mubarrad’s account, from which it differs mainly in that Ibn Ibād does not propose the concept of *kufr niʿma* here: all we are told is that the ‘Muslims’ stuck to Ibn Ibād’s doctrine *min al-ʿadl waʿl-ḥaqq waʿl-maʿrūf*. He had clearly been adopted as a founding father by then, and the term ‘Ibādiyya’ duly appears as a self-designation in the very same letter.<sup>29</sup> It is also attested, though possibly not as a self-designation, in a work of the Maghribī author ʿAmrūs b. Faṭḥ, who died in 280/896 f.<sup>30</sup> But, his adoption notwithstanding, Ibn Ibād remained as peripheral to the Ibādīs as did the concept of *kufr niʿma*.

How is this peculiar development to be explained? As regards the *kufr niʿma*, it is a pan-Muslim concept which is attested before Abū Mikhnaf<sup>31</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Qalhātī, *Kashf*, fo. 202b.4; Shaqṣī, *Manhaj*, i. 582.7, 585; Saʿdī, *Qāmūs*, vi. 98 f.

<sup>24</sup> ʿA. Y. Muʿammar, *al-Ibādiyya fī mawḳib al-taʿrīkh* (Cairo, 1964), i. 89 ff; Abū Ishāq Aṭṭafayyish, *ʿNubdhā ʿan al-khawārij* in A. Y. Muʿammar, *al-Ibādiyya bayna ʿl-firāq al-islāmīyya*, second printing (Oman, 1992), ii. 286.–9; Sālimī, *Talqīn*, 124; Samāʿilī, *Aṣḍāq*, 33. Van Ess’s view that the Ibādīs started with *kufr niʿma* and soon replaced it with *kufr al-nifāq*, or *nifāq* on its own, clearly is not tenable (*TC*, ii. 228).

<sup>25</sup> Abū Mikhnaf in Ṭabarī, 2nd ser., 519; anon. in Balādhurī, *Ansūb*, xi. 83; Mubarrad, iii. 1040 f; ed. Wright, 615; cited from Mubarrad in *Tqd*, i. 223 f.

<sup>26</sup> Cook, *Dogma*, 64 f.

<sup>27</sup> Cook, *Dogma*, 65.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. his two letters in Kāshif, *Siyar*, i, nos. 7 and 8; he might have mentioned Ibn Ibād at 302.9, and esp. at 321.4 on *al-salaf al-ṣāliḥ*: Mirdās, Jābir, Ḍumām, Abū Nuḥ, Abū ʿUbayda, and so on.

<sup>29</sup> Kāshif, *Siyar*, i. 207 f, 209.–5.

<sup>30</sup> Ennami, *Studies*, i. 5. That the term is not used as self-designation is stated by Schwartz, *Anfänge*, 22 n. 2.

<sup>31</sup> It occurs several times in the letters of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Yahyā: God meant the Khurāsānis to subdue *ahl al-kufr li-niʿmatihi waʿl-juḥūd li-ḥaqqihi* (*Rasāʿil*, 198.ult.); Marwān II’s

and which may well have been adopted by some Khārijites for the classification of their *qawm*, be it in an experimental vein or on a permanent basis, by the time Abū Mikhnaḥ and the anonymous author cited by al-Balādhurī and al-Mubarrad wrote. If so, outsiders knew that the Khārijites were divided between extremists and moderates, that they were experimenting with ideas of hypocrisy and *kufṛ niʿma*, and (as is clear from Ibādī sources) that they were accusing each other of going too far and falling short;<sup>32</sup> but who was accusing whom, with reference to what idea? According to Abū Mikhnaḥ, the eponymous founder of Ibādism classified his *qawm* as *kuffār al-niʿma*, to which the eponymous founder of Ṣufrism responded, ‘God is quit of you, for you have fallen short, and God is quit of Ibn al-Azraq, for he has gone to extremes’.<sup>33</sup> But according to al-Shahrastānī, it was the eponymous founder of Ṣufrism who operated with the concept of *kufṛ al-niʿma*.<sup>34</sup> According to al-Baghdādī, it was the Najadāt who adopted it for the classification of grave sinners within their own ranks.<sup>35</sup> And according to al-Balādhurī and al-Mubarrad, it was the eponymous founder of the Bayhasiyya who rejected Ibn Ibād’s position with the words, ‘Nāfiʿ [b. al-Azraq] has become an infidel by going to extremes while you have become an infidel by falling short’; this report adds that Abū Bayhas held his opponents to be both polytheists and hypocrites.<sup>36</sup> In short, it may be that the Ibādīs were credited with the concept of *kufṛ niʿma* simply because external observers engaged in a somewhat haphazard pairing of Khārijite positions with Khārijite sects. In so far as there is more to it, it could be that the *kufṛ niʿma* classification was popular in Kufa, both Ibādī and non-Ibādī, for the Zaydīs are said also to have adopted it,<sup>37</sup> and Abū Ḥanīfa is presented as familiar with it.<sup>38</sup> By contrast, *nifāq* was common

son was to fight people (in fact, Khārijites) who *baddalū niʿam allāh kufran* (216.3); and ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd or another scribe writing on behalf of Hismām tells Khālīd al-Qasrī that *mā zahara min kufrika ʿl-niʿma* has made God despair of receiving gratitude from him (322.11).

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Shabīb b. ʿAtīyya on *taqṣīr aw ghuluww* (Kāshif, *Siyar*, ii. 369.1, 375.11), Khalaf b. Ziyād on the same (HX, 302.6), Abū ʿl-Muʿthir claiming that *qaṣara bihim qawm ʿan manāzilihim wa-ghalā qawm fihim* (Kāshif, *Siyar*, i. 157.5), and Jannāwunī’s conviction that Ibādism is the happy medium *bayna ʿl-ghuluww wa ʿl-taqṣīr* (Cuperly, ‘Profession de foi’, 53.7).

<sup>33</sup> Cf. above, n. 25.

<sup>34</sup> Shahrastānī, i. 102.–4.

<sup>35</sup> Baghdādī, *Farq*, 56.4; id., *Uṣūl al-dīn* (Istanbul, 1928), 250.1.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. above, n. 25.

<sup>37</sup> Ashʿarī, 73.14, 463.ult.; Kaʿbī in Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 201. Cf. also Madelung, *Qāsim*, 12 f; van Ess, *TG*, v. 141, 144, where Wāṣil b. ʿAṭāʾ credits the Shiʿa (glossed as Zaydīs by Ibn al-Murtaḍā) with the *kāfir niʿma* classification. Abū ʿUbayd, *Kitāb al-imān*, ed. M. N.-D. al-Albānī (Damascus, 1385), 101.ult., 102.11, says that the Zaydīs share the *kufṛ niʿma* classification with the Ibādīs. Abū Yaʿlā says the same (above, n. 9), as do Shaqṣī and Saʿdī (above, n. 23), and Madelung agrees (*Qāsim*, pp. 60 f; ‘Early Sunnī Doctrine concerning Faith’, 253).

<sup>38</sup> Abū Muqātil al-Samarqandī, *Kitāb al-ʿālim wa ʿl-mutaʿallim*, ed. Z. M. al-Kawtharī (Cairo, 1368), 32.13 = J. Schacht (tr.), ‘An Early Murcīʿite Treatise: the Kitāb al-ʿālim wal-mutaʿallim’, *Oriens*, 17 (1964), §45. Cf. also *al-ḥiqh al-absaʿ* in the same vol., p. 45.9, where the Khārijites themselves are declared guilty of *kufṛ al-niʿam*.

currency in Basra, both Ibādī and non-Ibādī, and may thus have been the only classification to have reached Oman until the tenth century.<sup>39</sup> But there is a problem here in that some Ibādīs claim that the Zaydīs also classified sinners as *munāfiqūn*,<sup>40</sup> and these Ibādīs may well be right, for, unlike *nifāq*, the concept of *kufr niʿma* still has not turned up in an early Zaydī source.<sup>41</sup> The history of that concept remains a puzzle.

The historians' choice of Ibn Ibād as the bearer of the concept is even more puzzling. They probably did not invent him, but there is no obvious reason why they should have made him the founder of the sect. Wilkinson and Cook propose that it has something to do with the suggestion of colour in his name, which is plausible.<sup>42</sup> Van Ess disagrees, proposing that the problem can be resolved on the assumption that Ibn Ibād was a qadarite, but this is more difficult to accept.

According to van Ess, the Ibādīs were not originally opposed to qadarism, but determinism won out under Abū ʿUbayda in the reign of al-Mansūr (754–75). If Ibn Ibād was a qadarite, this would explain (according to van Ess) why the main body of Ibādīs forgot about him and also why he continued to be venerated by the followers of al-Ḥārith b. Mazyad al-Ibādī (c.800?), who were qadarites and acknowledged no imams after Ibn Ibād apart from al-Ḥārith himself: it was their departure from the community tradition which caused them to reject Ibn Ibād's successors. Further, Ibn Ḥazm and al-Kaʿbī explain Ibn Ibād's marginal status among

<sup>39</sup> Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī classified the grave sinner as a *munāfiq*, as did the Bakriyya and, according to a famous story, ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd before his conversion to *al-manzila bayna ʿl-manzilatayn* (Madelung, *Qāsim*, 11 ff; van Ess, *TG*, ii, 45, 111, 229 n, 256 f; v. 141). Ḥasan's views were invoked by the Ibādīs, cf. Shaqṣī, *Manhaj*, i, 585, where he rejects the claim that there is no *nifāq* today.

<sup>40</sup> Abū ʿAmmār, above, n. 21; Jannāwunī, *Wadʿ*, 16.1. Contrast Shaqṣī and Saʿdī, according to whom it is the concept of *kufr niʿma* that the Ibādīs share with the Shiʿa (see the refs. in n. 23).

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Madelung, *Qāsim*, 60, on the anti-Murijite treatise preserved in Berlin, MS Glaser 116 (we are indebted to Michael Cook for a xerox of the passage). This treatise classifies the sinner (*fāsiq*) as an unbeliever who is not a *mushrik*, but rather on a par with *munāfiqūn* (fo. 2b), which is also Sālim's position. That neither this treatise nor the *Majmūʿ* ascribed to Zayd b. ʿAlī uses the concept of *kufr niʿma* is noted by van Ess, *TG*, i, 264. Madelung's first Zaydī attestations of *kufr niʿma* come from the works of al-Hādī (d. 298/911) and al-Nāṣir al-Uṭrūsh (d. 304/917) (*Qāsim*, 161, 164).

<sup>42</sup> J. Wilkinson, 'The Early Development of the Ibādī Movement in Baṣra' in G. H. A. Juynboll (ed.), *Studies on the First Century of Islamic Society* (Carbondale and Edwardsville, 1982), 132; Cook, *Dogma*, 64, with reference to the colours in Ibn al-Azraq/Azraqiyya and Ibn al-Aṣfar/Ṣufriyya. Van Ess objects that in Ṭabarī, the founder of the Ṣufriyya is called Ibn Ṣaffār, which would make him the son of a coppersmith, and that *ibād* has nothing to do with *abyad* (*TG*, ii, 188 n). But Ibn al-Aṣfar/Ṣaffār's name is unstable, suggesting that it was derived from that of the sect rather than the other way round, and some certainly understood the name of the sect as a colour reference (cf. the explanation that it referred to the yellow faces of its adherents). The fact that *ibād* is unrelated to *abyad* does suggest Ibn Ibād was historical, as Cook observes: had they invented him, they would have called him Ibn al-Abyad. But they could well have picked him out because his name was reminiscent of it.

the Ibādīs by claiming that he converted to Muʿtazilism/Thaʿālibī Khārījism, and this could be taken to suggest that he was remembered as an adherent of a qadarite system. According to van Ess, in short, Ibn Ibād was not elevated to the status of sect founder, but, rather, demoted from it because his views lost out.<sup>43</sup>

The trouble with this ingenious theory is that it can be restated as follows: the Ibādīs began to dissociate from a major figure in their past at the very time when *akhbārīs* such as Abū Mikhnaf were beginning to present him as their founder and when outsiders such as al-Manṣūr were beginning to call them Ibādīs.<sup>44</sup> Given these reminders it is not surprising that they still remembered Ibn Ibād, both as their imam and as a qadarite, in AD c.800, when al-Ḥārith al-Ibādī seceded from the main body of Ibādīs in his name. Yet, thereafter they managed to forget him with such rapidity and thoroughness that the Nukkārīs, who also seceded about AD 800, professed never to have heard of him when Ibn Ḥazm interviewed them in Spain,<sup>45</sup> while the rest of the Ibādīs were happy to take him back as one of theirs, and to call themselves Ibādīs too, by the 850s-880s, having heard about him from the Sunnīs. It simply is not credible.<sup>46</sup>

There may well have been a Khārijite by the name of Ibn Ibād in mid-Umayyad Iraq. For all we know he could have been a qadarite too, and he may well have classified his opponents as *kuffār al-niʿma*. But all we can say is that none of this explains why he was singled out as the founder of a sect which did not choose to identify itself in terms of either qadarism or *kufṛ niʿma*.

#### THE AZĀRIQA

Sālim's account of the Azāriqa may be summarized as follows. Unlike the 'Muslims', the Azāriqa classify their *qawm* as polytheists and idolaters (III, 66, 68) and argue that hypocrisy has ceased to exist (III, 74). Since idol-worshippers do not enjoy any legal protection whatever, they may be exposed to indiscriminate slaughter (*istiʿrād*) or enslavement; their children too may be killed, and their women may be bedded without further

<sup>43</sup> Van Ess, *TG*, ii. 189, 202 ff; cf. Baghdādī, *Farq*, 84; Ibn Ḥazm, *Kitāb al-fiṣal*, (Cairo, 1317-21), iv. 191.10; Kaʿbī in Nashwān, 173.7; Cook, *Dogma*, 64.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Abū Sufyān's reporting in Shammākhī, *Siyar*, 91.19.

<sup>45</sup> Cook, *Dogma*, 64.

<sup>46</sup> Besides, the date of al-Ḥārith al-Ibādī is unknown. He could be a contemporary of Abū Sufyān, as van Ess proposes, but he could also be much later, since the first to mention him is Ashʿarī (d. 324/935 f); and the sect's focus on Ibn Ibād could be later still inasmuch as the first to report it is Baghdādī, (who died 429/1037). It is also reported in al-Samʿānī (d. 562/1166), *al-Anṣāb* (Hyderabad, 1962-82), i. 87, no. 27 (drawn to our attention by Michael Cook), but again without indication of when al-Ḥārith was active.

ado whether they are married or not (a practice Sālim calls *istinkāh*, III, 67). They have no rights in their own property, which the 'Muslims' may distribute among themselves as booty, passing a fifth to their imam (*ibid.*); and since they do not have any legal personality, one cannot intermarry with them, inherit from them, or pass property to them (III, 66), but one can freely take anything they may have put in one's trust (III, 74). The Azāriqa prohibit pious dissimulation (*taqiyya*), though they practise it themselves in Sālim's opinion (III, 73–4), and they refuse to recognize as Muslims those co-religionists of theirs who 'sit' at home instead of going out to fight: they will dissociate from such stay-at-homes (*qa'ada*), declaring them to be infidels whose lives and property are forfeit and on whose behalf it is forbidden to pray for forgiveness (III, 72). They also dissociate from bedouin, even when the latter side with them and wish to fight holy war along with them (III, 71). They will not grant protection to any members of their *qamm* if they ask for it in order to hear God's word (cf. Q. 9: 6), because in their view they have heard it already, and they will not accept converts from their ranks without submitting them to a test (*miḥna*) (III, 68–9). But within their own ranks they hold everyone to be saved; even fornicators and thieves are assured of divine forgiveness (III, 74). By way of incidental information we are also told that they reject the stoning penalty (III, 70).

All this is in perfect accord with both the mainstream and the Ibādī traditions, though it omits some well-known points and adds some new information. Of omissions there are three. First, Sālim does not mention that the Azāriqa held *hijra* from the abode of their *qamm* to be obligatory, though this is a key doctrine that one would have expected him to refute at some length. He does, in fact, argue against it, but only in connection with the Najadāt. This is odd, for the Azāriqa certainly believed in the obligatory nature of *hijra*, as the Sunnī and Ibādī traditions are agreed,<sup>47</sup> and it is reflected in two Azraqite doctrines reported by Sālim himself: the reason why stay-at-homes (*qa'ada*) were excluded from membership of the sect is that they had not made the *hijra*,<sup>48</sup> which was a Qur'ānic

<sup>47</sup> On the Sunnī side, see Ash'arī, 86.8, 87.4, 88f; Baghdādī in the following n.; Shahrastānī, i. 90.13; cf. also Crone, 'The First-Century Concept', nn. 133–4. For Ibādī statements that Ibn al-Azraq *intahala 'l-hijra*, see ASM in Kāshif, *Siyar*, i. 208.8; Abū 'l-Mu'thir and Bisyānī, *ibid.*, ii. 85.6, 124.–5, 307.–3; Qalhātī, *Kashf*, fo. 197a.5, 200a.–5; Izkawī, *Kashf al-ghumma*, fo. 232b.3.

<sup>48</sup> The Azāriqa *akfarū al-qa'ada minhum 'an al-hijra ilayhim* (Baghdādī, *Uṣūl*, 332.12; cf. *al-qa'ada . . . 'an al-hijra* in *id.*, *Farg*, 63.1). Ash'arī's distinction between Ibn al-Azraq's dissociation from the stay-at-home and his *ikfār man lā yuhājir ilayhi* reflects an Ibādī informant, as Lewinstein rightly observes ('Azāriqa', 254 n). Unlike the Azāriqa, the Ibādīs distinguished between *khurūj*, of which they approved, and *hijra*, which they rejected (cf. Izkawī, *Kashf al-ghumma*, fo. 266b.7, where Abū Sufyān describes Abū Bilāl as making a *khurūj* without subscribing to the doctrine of *hijra*). Qalhātī cleverly argues that Najda was inconsistent in regarding *hijra* as obligatory while at the same time affiliating to the *qa'id*: if *hijra* had indeed

duty;<sup>49</sup> and it was also because bedouin had not made a *hijra* that the Azāriqa refused to associate with them even when the latter sympathized with their views: their willingness to fight notwithstanding, bedouin who stuck to the desert had no better claim to the status of believers than did other stay-at-homes.<sup>50</sup>

Secondly, Sālīm does not say that the Azāriqa held secret killing to be lawful, though he does know of Khārijites who claimed that it was (IV, 118). According to al-Balādhurī, Ibn al-Azraq was the first to legalize *al-qatl fī 'l-sirr*, and al-Qalhātī says that some Azāriqa adhered to it,<sup>51</sup> but one suspects that Sālīm is right not to identify it as a specifically Azraqite doctrine. Surreptitious killing must have been the last resort of Khārijites who were committed to activism without having the means to rebel: it hardly made sense to engage in such action if one was free to emigrate to a *dār al-hijra* in which everyone was engaged in open warfare against the *qawm*. Since Ibn al-Azraq did not recognize the legality of living among one's *qawm*, it is hard to see why he should have endorsed *al-qatl fī 'l-sirr*, and the doctrine may have been fathered on him for the simple reason that it was extremist, or alternatively because it was adopted by Azraqites after the suppression of their revolt.

Finally, Sālīm does not say that the Azāriqa held it unlawful to eat the slaughters of their *qawm*, but then, that is so obvious a consequence of their classification that he may have found it unnecessary to spell it out.

As for new information, Sālīm is the first source to make the above-mentioned point that the Azāriqa would dissociate from bedouin sympathizers. He is also the first to tell us that the Azraqites deemed it unlawful to pray for forgiveness for their *qawm*, an opinion which Šāliḥ b. Musarriḥ is said to have shared.<sup>52</sup> Sālīm's charge that the Azraqites refused to grant protection to *qawm* who wished to hear God's word is also new. Other Khārijites are said to have insisted on granting such protection,<sup>53</sup> and the refusal of the Azāriqa to do so presumably reflects their sense of being the only righteous people in an utterly corrupt world. As they saw it, they were latter-day People of the Ark while the rest of mankind were sinners scheduled for destruction, if not by a flood, then by

been a duty, Ibn al-Azraq would have been right to dissociate from the stay-at-home (*Kashf*, fo. 200a.-6).

<sup>49</sup> Cf. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, xi. 80, 82; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, iii. 1036; Ibn Abī 'l-Ḥadīd, iv. 138, where Ibn al-Azraq condemns the *qa'ada* with reference to Q. 9: 89 (on the bedouin who stayed behind) and 4: 96 ('was God's earth not wide enough for you to emigrate in it?') in his alleged correspondence with Najda.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. Crone, 'The First-Century Concept', 379 f; below, Ch. 8, 278 f.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. the comm. to IV, 118.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Ṭabari, 2nd ser., 882, where he invokes Q. 9: 83 (Abū Mikhnaf).

<sup>53</sup> See the comm. to III, 68.

massacres at the hands of the Azraqites themselves:<sup>54</sup> there was no point in setting up facilities for the salvation of this or that individual. Their conviction that sinners within their own ranks would be forgiven reflects the same sense of being the righteous few. For the rest, Sālim only has standard heresiographical information.

#### THE NAJDIYYA

Sālim presents the Najdiyya as similar to the Azāriqa. They too classify their *qawm* as idolaters, he says (III, 75), stressing that they consider it obligatory to emigrate as the Prophet emigrated from Mecca (III, 77, cf. 89). They too hold it lawful to expose their *qawm* to indiscriminate slaughter, to kill or enslave their children (III, 78), and to bed their women (III, 79). They too legalize the treatment of their property as booty (III, 78) and the violation of their trusts, and they too have a *mihna* for converts (III, 82). But the Najdiyya diverge from the Azraqites, he says, in that they allow 'Muslims' to marry the women of their idolatrous *qawm* as if the latter were People of the Book (III, 75) and deem it unlawful to keep them as slave girls (or so he seems to say at III, 82, but the passage may be corrupt). They also deem it lawful to eat the slaughters of their *qawm*, again as if they were People of the Book (III, 75), and they will honour their contracts with *dhimmīs* (III, 76). Further, they differ from the Azāriqa in that they acknowledge the existence of hypocrisy, which they use for the classification of their *qa'ada*: though *hijra* is obligatory, persons who stay at home can remain members of the sect by accepting status as *munāfiqūn* (III, 82). People who joined the Najdiyya and then went back home were once declared infidels whose life and property could be taken, but now they too are deemed to be members of the sect (III, 83). Within the sect people will allegedly tolerate sinners of all kinds, even fornicators, pork-eaters, contractors of incestuous marriages, and the like (III, 82), Najdite laxity being even more extreme than that of the Azāriqa if Sālim is to be believed.

Sālim's account agrees with such scraps of information as the Ibāḍīs preserve about them,<sup>55</sup> but not at all with the fuller picture presented in the mainstream tradition. No non-Ibāḍī source claims that the Najdiyya classified their *qawm* as idolaters, and some explicitly say that they classified them as unbelievers as distinct from *mushrikūn*.<sup>56</sup> The non-Ibāḍī sources barely mention the Najdite duty of *hijra* and insist that Najda accepted stay-at-homes as co-religionists. According to them, Najda said

<sup>54</sup> Cf. App. 4.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. the comm. to III, 75, 77, 78.

<sup>56</sup> Baghdādī, *Uṣūl*, 332.13.

*al-qaʿad minnā*<sup>57</sup> and deemed it lawful to stay in *dār al-kufr*;<sup>58</sup> when Ibn al-Azraq disowned stay-at-homes, Najda split off from him and argued against him with reference to the *qaʿada* in Mecca on the one hand, and the Qurʾānic recognition of *qaʿada* on the other;<sup>59</sup> and he declared those who regarded the *qaʿada ʿan al-hijra* as infidels to be infidels themselves.<sup>60</sup> Non-Ibādī sources also insist that Najda endorsed *taqiyya*, which Sālim does not mention;<sup>61</sup> they imply that he opposed *istiʿrād* and explicitly have him reject the killing of children, violation of trusts, and *miḥna* for converts in his alleged correspondence with Ibn al-Azraq.<sup>62</sup> In short, the mainstream tradition presents the Najdiyya as a sect of the same type as the Ibādīs.<sup>63</sup> Further, no non-Ibādī source confirms that the Najdiyya deemed it lawful to marry the women of their *qawm* and unlawful to keep them as slave women, or that they permitted eating their slaughters and held their compacts with *dhimmīs* to be valid. Finally, the heresiographers make much of Najda's doctrine of ignorance, which does not preoccupy Sālim.<sup>64</sup>

How are these discrepancies to be explained? To start with the question of extremism, Sālim is undoubtedly right that *hijra* was a Najdite doctrine, for although the Sunnī sources do not make much of this point, they are familiar with it, and so is the Ibādī tradition.<sup>65</sup> If it was a duty to emigrate from the abode of non-Kharijite Muslims, the latter must have been construed as *kuffār* in the sense of polytheists/idolaters, as Sālim says, not as *kuffār ghayr mushrikīn* or *kuffār niʿma*; and those who failed to emigrate must have been similarly construed even if they subscribed to Najdite beliefs. In fact, this turns out to have been known to the mainstream tradition too: al-Ashʿarī and Ibn Ḥazm report that the Najdiyya 'regard it as lawful to take the lives and property of people who stay behind in the abode of *taqiyya*',<sup>66</sup> They add that those who stayed behind were branded as hypocrites, which sounds contradictory, but which makes sense in the light of Sālim, from whom it emerges that people who stayed

<sup>57</sup> Mubarrad, iii. 1032.-4.

<sup>58</sup> Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, xi. 80.-2.

<sup>59</sup> Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, xi. 80 f, 126.5; Mubarrad, iii. 1033 f, 1035.5; Ibn Abī 'l-Ḥadīd, iv. 136 f, 138.7; Shahrastānī, i. 93.3.

<sup>60</sup> Baghdādī, *Farq*, 67.1.

<sup>61</sup> Mubarrad, iii. 1032.8; Ibn Abī 'l-Ḥadīd, iv. 136.-3; Shahrastānī, i. 93.6; also id., 92.-6, citing Kaʿbī.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. the comm. to III, 78, 82.

<sup>63</sup> Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, iii. 1040.-4; ed. Wright, 615, explicitly says that the Najdiyya were no different from the Ibādīs at the time of the *tafarruq*.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. the comm. to III, 81; Cook, *Dogma*, 97.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. the comm. to III, 77.

<sup>66</sup> Ashʿarī, 91.2; Ibn Ḥazm, *Fiṣal*, iv. 190.5. In Abū Tammām, Shahrastānī, and Nashwān, Ashʿarī's *ahl al-muqām* have been replaced by *ahl al-ʿahd*, no doubt incorrectly (cf. the comm. to III, 76).

behind would forfeit their lives *unless* they acknowledged themselves as hypocrites. In other words, the Najdiyya would only accept stay-at-homes as co-religionists in a qualified sense: Najda 'claimed that *muhājirūn* have the rights of Muslims and that those who agree with their Islam and accept it from them are hypocrites who do not, they claim, have the rights of *muhājirūn*; for all that, they regard their lives and property as protected', al-Qalhātī explains.<sup>67</sup> The convergence between the Sunnī and Ibādī sources here leaves no doubt that the early Najdiyya were extremists.

It follows that the quietist Najdiyya of the Sunnī sources must be a later development. There has been some doubt regarding the very possibility of such a development on the grounds that the Najdiyya must have disappeared shortly after the defeat of their revolt in 73/692 f;<sup>68</sup> but though the eleventh-century Ibn Ḥazm declares them extinct,<sup>69</sup> the evidence that they survived for a couple of centuries after their defeat is substantial. Sālīm himself accuses the Najdiyya of having treated the *rāji'* as an infidel in the past, saying that 'many people have passed away while they were disowning such a person' (III, 83); and though he may stress the number of those who have passed away for polemical purposes, his statement is hard to square with the assumption that they disappeared after their defeat. According to Ibn al-Athīr, a Khārijite by the name of Mas'ūd b. Abī Zaynab al-ʿAbdī rebelled in Baḥrayn and al-Yamāma in 105/724 and was defeated in the same year according to some, though others held him, or his successor Hilāl b. Mudlij, to have controlled Baḥrayn and al-Yamāma for nineteen years.<sup>70</sup> Given the whereabouts of this man and the fact that the Ibādīs know nothing about him, one would assume him to have belonged to the Najdiyya. More importantly, al-Shahrestānī preserves a Najdite statement which was clearly written after the ʿAbbāsīd revolution and which is formulated in a language suggesting a ninth-century date at the earliest.<sup>71</sup> There is thus every reason to believe al-Mubarrad (d. 286/900 or a year earlier) when he says that 'many of them survive to this day' (*ma-qad baqiya min ahlihā qawm kathīr*); and even al-Baghdādī (d. 429/1037) should perhaps be taken at face value rather than assumed to copy an earlier statement when he says that the Najdiyya are divided into

<sup>67</sup> Qalhātī, *Kashf*, fo. 200a.ult. f.

<sup>68</sup> Cook, *Dogma*, 92.

<sup>69</sup> Ibn Ḥazm, *Fīṣal*, iv. 87.7, 190.9.

<sup>70</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, v. 88 f. He was defeated by Sufyān b. ʿAmr al-ʿUqaylī, who had been appointed by ʿUmar b. Hubayra according to Ibn al-Athīr, but who is said by Khalifa to have been governor of the Yamāma under Sulaymān, i.e. before the revolt had even begun (*Taʾrikh*, 430).

<sup>71</sup> al-Shahrestānī, *Kitāb nihāyat al-aqdām fī ʿilm al-kalām*, ed. A. Guillaume (London, 1934), 482 ff, cf. 481.14. The statement reveals itself as Najdite rather than qadarite at p. 484.7–9, and it was written at a time when al-ʿAbbās could be credited with knowledge that his descendants would be caliphs (483.7). For further discussion, see P. Crone, 'A Statement by the Najdiyya Khārijites on the Dispensability of the Imamate', *Studia Islamica*, 88 (1998).

four groups, of which one 'are the Najadāt today'.<sup>72</sup> They must indeed have shed their extremism, then, for their defeat deprived them of their *dār al-hijra* and constrained them to live among their *qawm*, except when they rebelled under men such as Mas'ūd. One would also assume their famous denial of the obligatory nature of the imamate to be a doctrine developed after their defeat.<sup>73</sup>

The proposition that the Sunnīs show us Najdiyya who have modified their doctrine gains in plausibility from the fact that there is evidence of softening in Sālim too. They no longer dissociate from the *rāji'*, he says, implying that they had reduced *hijra* to mere *khurūj*: whoever went out was free to return (cf. Sālim's own position in IV, 126); whether the Najdiyya continued to know the act as *hijra* or not, it did not entail severance of ties with the people one left behind. Sālim also credits the Najdiyya with contradictory doctrines which suggest that they operated with different rules depending on whether they were in a state of *khurūj* or not: they classified their *qawm* as idolaters, yet held it lawful to eat their slaughters; they deemed it lawful to kill and enslave their *qawm*, and to practise *istinkāh* of their women, yet also held it lawful to marry their women and unlawful to have them as slave girls. As a polemicist he feels no urge to explain these contradictions. One way of resolving them, however, is to postulate that the Najdiyya held all ties with their *qawm* to be severed under conditions of revolt, but legalized quasi-normal relations when they were forced to live among them. Double rules of this kind are suggested for other Khārijites too. According to al-Qalhātī, there emerged from among the Azāriqa and Najdiyya a certain Ziyād al-A<sup>c</sup>sam who held his *qawm* to be idolaters and prescribed *hijra* from their abode; he deemed it lawful to enslave, despoilate, or kill them, be it secretly or openly; 'yet he holds it lawful to intermarry with their *qawm*, to have ties of inheritance with them, to eat their slaughters, and to stay among them', al-Qalhātī says, clearly meaning that Ziyād al-A<sup>c</sup>sam held such things to be lawful *while* they stayed among them.<sup>74</sup> According to the twelfth-century Abū 'Ammār, the Ṣufrīs (of North Africa) likewise held their opponents to be polytheists from whom one must make a *hijra* and who may be killed, enslaved, and despoilated, but with whom one may nonetheless have mutual succession, intermarry, pray, eat, and go on pilgrimage; and here too the implication is that one may do all this *until* one makes one's emigration from them.<sup>75</sup> Al-Ka<sup>b</sup>ī's account of Ṣufrī doctrine also makes better sense

<sup>72</sup> Mubarrad, iii. 913.7; ed. Wright, 541; Baghdādī, *Farq*, 69.–2.

<sup>73</sup> Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, vi. 25/iv, §2258; al-Nawbakhtī, *Firaq al-shi'a*, ed. H. Ritter (Istanbul, 1931), 10; Ibn Ḥazm, *Fīṣal*, iv. 87.6, 190.4; Abū 'Ammār, *Mūjaz*, ii. 233.3; cf. Crone, 'A Najdite Statement on the Dispensability of the Imamate', 69.

<sup>74</sup> Qalhātī, *Kashf*, fo. 201a.5.

<sup>75</sup> Abū 'Ammār, *Mūjaz*, ii. 116.–7, 122.–6.

if it is understood as a reference to double rules. According to him, the Ṣufrīs held grave sins to be *kufr* and *shirk*, but deemed it permitted to marry *mushriks*, eat their slaughters, inherit from them, and accept their testimony, as the Prophet did in *dār al-taqīyya*;<sup>76</sup> and he explicitly ascribes double rules to the followers of the (apparently) Ṣufrī al-Ḍaḥḥāk: the latter held it lawful to intermarry with *kuffār qaḥmihim* in the *dār al-taqīyya*, but not in the *dār al-ʿalāniyya*.<sup>77</sup> If our understanding of III, 90, is correct, Sālīm here argues against the double rules adopted by ‘some’ of the extremists, here presumably the Najdiyya, his point being that people are either polytheists or else they are not: they cannot be differently treated depending on circumstances. And the stance contains a (probably interpolated) passage laying down that the Ibādīs do *not* have double rules (IV, 141). That the Najdiyya should have adopted such rules after the suppression of their great revolt is highly plausible.

There remains the problem why Sālīm does not make more of the Najdite doctrine of ignorance. The answer could be that he shared it.<sup>78</sup> Najda operated with a distinction between indispensable and dispensable knowledge: it was obligatory to have knowledge of God, His Prophets, and the unlawfulness of killing, robbing, and violating Muslims, and also to acknowledge God’s revelation in its entirety; but for the rest people were excused if they reached wrong conclusions in ignorance of what was lawful and unlawful.<sup>79</sup> The Ibādīs operated with a similar distinction between matters in which knowledge is required and others in which ignorance is allowed (*mā yasaʿu jahluhu wa-lā yasaʿu jahluhu*), which implies that sins committed in permissible ignorance were excusable.<sup>80</sup> They may well have disagreed with the Najdiyya over details of classification, but Sālīm cannot have disagreed with the principle. Hence, presumably, he limited himself to polemical use of some extreme examples (III, 82).

Overall, Sālīm displays no sign of personal acquaintance with the Najadāt, be they the original lot or the modified survivors. Here as elsewhere, he is working from books or stable oral sources in which the subject matter was described in standard terms and formulations. For example, when he says that the Najadāt would accept an acknowledgement of hypocrisy from people reluctant to fight (*li-man thaqula minhum ʿan al-qitāl*), he is

<sup>76</sup> Nashwān, 177.

<sup>77</sup> Ashʿarī, 111.6; Abū Tammām, 33 = 42; Nashwān, 176.3; Baghdādī, *Farq*, 87.–6.

<sup>78</sup> Cf. Moreno, ‘Note di teologia ibādita’, 302. For the question, see Cook, *Dogma*, 97.

<sup>79</sup> Cf. comm. to III, 81, 82.

<sup>80</sup> See, e.g., Kāshif, *Siyar*, i. 86.ult., 166.6, 187.–3, 190.–6, 194 f, 197 f, 221.10; Saʿdī, *Qāmūs*, vii. chs. 25, 29, and concluding remarks at p. 298 (*tamma ʿl-juzʿ al-sābiʿ fīmā yasaʿu jahluhu min dīn allāh wa-lā yasaʿu jahluhu*); viii, ch. 1; ix. ch. 2, esp. p. 18; Saḥqṣī, *Manhaj*, i. 539, ch. 41, *fī bayān mā yasaʿu jahluhu wa-mā lā yasaʿu jahluhu*; Jannāwunī in Cuperly, ‘Profession de foi’, 47 ff.

using a phrase which occurs elsewhere in the Ibādī literature in discussions of the status of stay-at-homes (*innamā thaqula ‘alayhim amr al-hijra wa’l-khurūj min al-mamṭin*) and which al-Ka‘bī, as cited by al-Ash‘arī and Nashwān, employed as well (*wa-man thaqula ‘an al-hijra fa-huwa mun-āfiq*).<sup>81</sup> He also uses standard responses, such as ‘there is no *hijra* any more’ or ‘the Muslims did not do any of that when they killed ‘Uthmān or after the Battle of the Camel’. But though he does not make lost worlds come alive, he does give us new information which puts the Sunnī picture of the Najdiyya in perspective, and he knows much more about them than the later Ibādī tradition.

## MINOR EXTREMISTS

Dāwūd, ‘Aṭīyya, Abū Fudayk, and their companions are also presented as quasi-Azraqites: they legalize indiscriminate slaughter of their *qamm*, the killing of their children, the enslavement of those whom they do not kill, sexual use of their women, the treatment of their property as booty, and cutting off relations of inheritance. But their disagreements are considered less important than their points of agreement and no further details are offered (III, 84).

Sālim clearly did not know much about their doctrines, nor do any other Ibādī or Sunnī sources. Nowhere is he further from restoring lost worlds than here.

## THE DEVELOPMENT OF KHĀRIJISM

Throughout Sālim’s account runs the conviction that Khārijism was born as a moderate religion and that the extremists had once been moderates themselves: their extremism was an innovation, not a legacy from the past.<sup>82</sup> Other Ibādīs subscribed to the same view, and it is also represented in the Sunnī tradition;<sup>83</sup> but it is not likely to be right.

<sup>81</sup> Shaqṣī, *Manhaj*, i. 583.5; Sa‘dī, *Qāmūs*, vi. 92.–5; comm. to III, 82.

<sup>82</sup> Cf. esp. III, 66: Ibn al-Azraq and his followers *makathū mā shā‘a ‘llāh yasīruna bi-sīrat man kāna qablahum*.

<sup>83</sup> Nāfi‘ and Najda diverged from the Muslims *min ba‘di an kānā ‘alā dīn al-muslimīn* (Khālid in Kāshif, *Siyar*, i. 119); Ibn al-Azraq was the first to diverge from the creed of the *ahl al-istiqāma* (Izkawī, *Kashf al-ghumma*, fo. 232b.2). Cf. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, xi. 78 (where Najda departs from the practice of the *salaf min ahl al-Nahrawān wa-ahl al-qibla* by instituting secret killing and the *miḥna*), 80 (where he is seduced by a *mawlā* of B. Hāshim into adopting *isti‘rād* and *qatl al-atfāl*); Ash‘arī, 87.2 (where he departs from his *salaf* by adopting *ikfār al-qa‘ada* and the *miḥna*); Baghdādī, *Farq*, 62.ult. (where he departs from the first Muḥakkima by classifying his opponents as polytheists rather than infidels); Abū Tammām, 21 = 35 (Nāfi‘ introduced

Khārijite extremism consists of four closely related doctrines. First, non-Khārijite Muslims were not Muslims but rather infidels excluded from the community of believers. Secondly, one cannot live among infidels. To be a Muslim one must make a *hijra* to a Muslim centre and cut off all ties with the infidels that one has left behind. Thirdly, infidels have no legal existence unless they are People of the Book. If they are not People of the Book, they are pagans and one cannot intermarry with them, inherit from them or call them to succession, eat their slaughters, honour their compacts, and so on; on the contrary, one can kill and enslave them as one sees fit and take their property as booty. Fourthly, the existence of pagans is an affront against God because they do not recognize His existence, and they must therefore be either converted or exterminated.

That Khārijism originated as an extremist persuasion is clear from the fact that all Khārijites agreed on the first doctrine and all early Muslims on the remaining three. In other words, all early Muslims, Khārijite or non-Khārijite, were extremists as far as pagans were concerned: all held it impossible to live among them; all regarded them as devoid of legal protection; and all held that they should be combated until they were either killed or converted. All agreed that people who did not recognize God had no right to exist. The Khārijites were extremists only in the sense that they classified other *Muslims* as pagans:<sup>84</sup> the remaining doctrines merely spelt out the consequences.

The Ibādīs rejected extremism by claiming that there were many kinds of infidels, including some to whom the above consequences did not apply: *kuffār munāfiqūn*, hypocrites, did enjoy the legal protection that *kuffār mushrikūn*, pagans, were denied; the Azāriqa and their likes were wrong to place their *qawm* among the latter. But this distinction is secondary. The early law only recognized two categories of people entitled to legal protection, that is believers/Muslims and People of the Book. Since the Khārijites did not regard their *qawm* as either Muslims or People of the Book, they must have regarded them as *kuffār/mushrikūn* in the sense of pagans. Pagans had no right to exist by whatever term they were known. In classical law it is only Arab pagans who are unanimously denied the right to exist and who must, therefore, be converted or exterminated; but the existence of non-Arab paganism was still unknown when the Khārijites

dissociation from quietists and *miḥna*, yet the Azāriqa do not dissociate from their *salaf* among the Khārijites); Cook, *Dogma*, 97 f.

<sup>84</sup> The Sunnī tradition purports to know exactly when this classification was adopted: according to Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, iv.a, 147, the first Khārijite to label the *ahl al-qibla* infidels was Saḥm b. Ghālīb al-Hujaymī, who rebelled in Basra in 44/664 f. This is contradicted, though hardly more reliably, by Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ii. 342.ult.; al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhhbār al-ṭiwāl*, ed. V. Guirgass (Leiden, 1888), 221, where they charge their opponents with *shirk* at the time of their emergence; and by Ṭabarī, 2nd ser., 39, where they charge them with *kufr* in 43/663 f.

emerged, and in any case both they and their opponents were overwhelmingly Arabs.

That the Ibādī distinction between *kuffār* and *mushrikūn* is secondary also follows from the fact that these two terms were interchangeable in early usage. When Abū Ḥanīfa explained to ‘Uthmān al-Battī that an Arab at the time of Muḥammad’s mission was either a believer devoid of *shirk* whose life and property were protected or else an infidel devoid of faith whose life and property could be freely taken (*kāfirān . . . ḥalālān māluhu wa-damuhu*), he equated *shirk* and *kufir* and took it for granted that *kuffār* had no legal rights unless, as he added, they were People of the Book from whom *jizya* could be taken.<sup>85</sup> Conversely, when the Murji’ite poets Thābit Quṭna and al-Muḥārib b. Dithār said that neither ‘Uthmān nor ‘Alī ascribed partners to God and that sin did not make people *mushrikūn*, they took it for granted that the opposite of a *mushrik* was a believer, not a *kāfir* of another kind.<sup>86</sup> From Sālim’s point of view, Abū Ḥanīfa would have made himself clearer if he had spoken of polytheists throughout, while the Murji’ite poets should have spoken of unbelievers; for an infidel was not necessarily a *mushrik* devoid of legal rights, in Sālim’s view, and no Khārijite apart from the extremists had ever said that ‘Uthmān, ‘Alī, and other sinners were *mushrikūn* according to him. But the Khārijites with whom these poets were taking issue clearly had not benefited from Ibādī instruction.

In non-Khārijite parlance, moreover, the term *kāfir* continued to mean a person devoid of legal protection (unless he was a *dhimmī* or a *ḥarbī* granted temporary protection by treaty). The phrase *kāfir ḥalāl al-dam/damuhu* is common in the Sunnī literature;<sup>87</sup> the Mu‘tazilite Hishām al-Fuwaṭī allegedly held his opponents to be *kuffār* whose lives and property could be freely taken; most Mu‘tazilites in al-Baghdādī’s time held areas under Sunnī control to be *dār al-kufir* and deemed it unlawful to eat Sunnī slaughters, while the Sunnīs in their turn deemed it unlawful to eat those of the Mu‘tazila.<sup>88</sup> Even a poet such as Rūmī took it for granted that *kuffār* could be freely killed ‘like wild animals before the arrows or spears’, and that one could take their wives and children.<sup>89</sup> To brand somebody as a *kāfir* was to outlaw him. How could it have been

<sup>85</sup> Abū Ḥanīfa, *Risāla*, 35.8.

<sup>86</sup> Cf. the comm. to III, 98.

<sup>87</sup> See, e.g., Ibn Khuzayma in al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz* (Hyderabad, 1376–7), ii. 728.–4 (*fa-ḥuwa kāfir ḥalāl al-dam wa-kāna māluhu fayʿan*); H. Laoust (ed. and tr.), *La profession de foi d’Ibn Baṭṭa* (Damascus, 1958), 50.13 = 86; Ṭabarī in Ibn Ḥazm, *Fiṣal*, iv. 35.–9 (*kāfir ḥalāl al-dam wa’l-māl*); and another statement by Ṭabarī in D. Sourdel (ed. and tr.), ‘Une profession de foi de l’historien al-Ṭabarī’, *Revue des Études Islamiques*, 36 (1968), 194.–7 = 187.

<sup>88</sup> Shahrastānī, i. 51 f; Baghdādī, *Uṣūl*, 270.8, 340).

<sup>89</sup> Rūmī, *Mathnawī*, ed. R. A. Nicholson (London, 1925–40), i. 204, book I, lines 3318 f.

otherwise? There is nothing self-evident about the proposition that a person could be both excluded from the ranks of the believers and protected by Islamic law.

If all Khārijites originally regarded their opponents as *kuffār*, in the sense of pagans, it follows that they must also have regarded *hijra* from the abode of their opponents as a duty, or at least as commendable. Possibly, their very name is a reference to this duty, since it is a self-designation coined, in Brünnow's view, with reference to Q. 4: 100 (*wa-man yakhruju min baytihi muhājiran ilā 'llāh*, 'he who goes out from his house emigrating to God').<sup>90</sup> Belief in the merit or duty of *hijra* is certainly taken for granted in Sunnī accounts of Khārijite rebels before the Azāriqa and Najadāt;<sup>91</sup> it continued to be accepted by the 'Ajārida (as a meritorious act rather than a duty), the Bayhasīs, and the Ṣufrīs,<sup>92</sup> and it was not apparently until the early 'Abbāsīd period that the Ibādīs rejected it.<sup>93</sup> Nor was belief in the legality of *isti'rād* an Azraqite or Najdite innovation. The *akhbārīs* present the Khārijites as having practised *isti'rād* (and also as deeming their opponents' property to be booty) from the moment of their emergence;<sup>94</sup> and the Ibādīs themselves accept the legality of *isti'rād* in connection with Arab *mushrikūn*: they merely refuse to classify their *qawm* as such.<sup>95</sup>

*Pace* Sālīm, extremism does not come across as an innovation that most Khārijites could ignore, but rather as a legacy that all Khārijites had to confront. From the mid-Umayyad period onwards, practically all were trying to shed it. Though Shabīb and al-Ḍaḥḥāk took it for granted that

<sup>90</sup> Cf. below, Ch. 8 n. 39.

<sup>91</sup> Cf. Ibn Ḥanbal, *Kitāb al-sunna* (Mecca, 1349), 248–6, where a slave of the Kufan Companion 'Abdallāh b. Abī Awfā who has joined the Khārijites encourages his master to emigrate, to which the latter responds *a-hijra ba'da hijratī ma'a rasūl Allāh?*; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, iv. a, 154, where a Khārijite in the time of Ibn Ziyād calls to *khurūj* in response to Q. 16: 110 on those who *hājarū min ba'di mā futinū thumma jāhadū wa-ṣabarū*. Cf. also van Ess, *TG*, i. 404, where the Kufan Shaqīq al-Ḍabbī identifies himself to unspecified Khārijites (possibly Shabīb's, certainly not Azāriqa or Najdiyya) as a *mu'min muhājir wa-muslim mu'āwin* (cf. Mubarrad, iii. 1088.11, where somebody identifies himself as a *mu'min muhājir* to Qatārī). Cf. also the (mostly later) examples cited below, Ch. 8 n. 68.

<sup>92</sup> See Qalhātī, *Kashf*, fo. 202b.3 ('Ajārida); the comm. to III, 83 (Bayhasīs); Abū 'Ammār in Ch. 8 n. 25 (Ṣufrīs). For the pervasiveness of the notion of *hijra* among the Jazīran Khārijites, eventually identified as Ṣufrīs, see also Ch. 8 nn. 9, 68; and cf. the implicit acceptance of *hijra* by all the Khārijites, including the Jazīran al-Ḍaḥḥāk, who accepted *imtiḥān al-muhājir* (cf. the comm. to III, 69).

<sup>93</sup> Cf. below, Ch. 8, 280.

<sup>94</sup> Cf. App. 4. For early Khārijites holding *saby* and *ghanm* to be lawful, see also Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ii. 360; Mubarrad, iii. 976; Baghdādī, *Farq*, 58, where they blame 'Alī for having prevented them from taking captive the women and children of their opponents defeated in the Battle of the Camel even though he allowed them to plunder their camp: 'how can you allow us to take their property without their women and children?'. In the first two sources Ibn 'Abbās confounds them by asking them if they would have enslaved 'Ā'isha after the Battle of the Camel.

<sup>95</sup> Cf. App. 4.

their opponents were *mushrikūn*,<sup>96</sup> the former is presented as distancing himself from *isti'rād* and reminding his followers that they did not *have* to kill defeated enemies or take their property as booty,<sup>97</sup> while the latter is said to have renounced the ban on intermarriage with opponents except when armed revolt allowed the believers to live by their own rules, the position reported for later Ṣufrīs too, as has been seen. The real or alleged A<sup>c</sup>samiyya likewise operated with two sets of rules.<sup>98</sup> Others legalized ties with opponents without qualifications, be it by distinguishing between *kuffār* who are hypocrites and *kuffār* who are polytheists, as did the Ibādīs, or by classifying the Qur<sup>ā</sup>nic hypocrites as polytheists and thus allowing latterday polytheists to be classified as hypocrites too,<sup>99</sup> or by reclassifying them as mere *kuffār ni<sup>c</sup>ma*. All were determined both to preserve the original principle that opponents were *kuffār* and to avoid its drastic implications; and it is clearly these people, not the Azāriqa, who were adopting an innovative approach to new conditions (and rewriting the past in the process). The Azāriqa differed from their predecessors in that they were systematizers who made a grander and more concerted attempt than ever before to practise what they preached; but what they systematized was old thought, and this doomed them to failure. Survival required compromise, and the history of Khārijism is one of relentless attenuation of original doctrines. The Azāriqa may have died with their ideals intact, but the Najdiyya survived to develop into quasi-Ibādīs, while the Ibādīs in their turn survived to develop into quasi-Sunnīs. The *fi<sup>ṣ</sup>ṣa qalīla* still has its adherents in the modern world, but today they incline to the view that they probably did not have anything to do with the killing of ʿUthmān.<sup>100</sup>

The old thought which the Azāriqa systematized was doomed to extinction because it rested on tribal assumptions. That early Khārijism should be seen as a religious restatement of tribal (or more specifically nomadic) values was first proposed by Watt,<sup>101</sup> and though it is difficult to agree with the particular manner in which he develops the idea,<sup>102</sup> he has a point. One of the most striking aspects of early Khārijite thought is that it equated the Khārijite community with the moral universe. When

<sup>96</sup> Cf. the comm. to III, 68.

<sup>97</sup> Ṭabarī, 2nd ser., 886, citing Abū Mikhnaf. In Madā'inī cited by Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, xi. 82 f, the Ṣufrīs reject the legality of *isti'rād* (and intentional killing of children) outright at the time of the Azraqite schism, but Shabīb does not go so far in Abū Mikhnaf's account. Cf. also App. 4.

<sup>98</sup> Cf. above, 209 f.

<sup>99</sup> Thus Abū Bayhas in Mubarrad, iii. 1040.4; cited from Mubarrad in *ʿIqd*, i. 223.9.

<sup>100</sup> Samā'ili, *Aṣḍaq*, 64.2.

<sup>101</sup> W. M. Watt, 'Khārijite Thought in the Umayyad Period', *Der Islam*, 36 (1961); id., *Formative Period*, 34 ff; cf. also K.-H. Pampus, *Über die Rolle der Ḥārīḡīya im frühen Islam* (Wiesbaden, 1980), 40 ff.

<sup>102</sup> Cf. Madelung, *Religious Trends*, 54 f.

the Khārijites said that they were the only believers, they meant, in modern terminology, that they were the only human beings. Only they had rights, duties, and responsibilities; all others were, so to speak, wild animals. Among the Khārijites themselves, legal and moral rules applied; towards others, they could behave in any way they liked, except where protected status had been granted by treaty. Similar thinking is attested for other archaic societies, including that of the early Romans; and in the Muslim case it is likely to be a tribal legacy, not in the sense that each tribe in pre-Islamic Arabia thought of itself as coterminous with the moral universe, but rather in the sense that the Arab tribesmen at large thought of their 'tribal commonwealth' along such lines: non-tribesmen did not count, except in so far as they were protected by treaty.<sup>103</sup> Khārijite thought is also striking for equating community with consensus and conformity. Of course, no community can exist without agreement on fundamentals, but the Khārijite expectation went much further, and this too is likely to be a tribal legacy. The tribesmen of pre-Islamic (and for that matter later) Arabia subscribed to the same values and behaved in accordance with the same rules to a degree that simply cannot be achieved in a complex society. All had the same occupations (agriculturalist or pastoralist), the same outlook on life, and the same code of honour; all those who were different (weavers, tanners, craftsmen, musicians, hunters, and so on) were excluded from tribal membership. The Khārijites apparently took it for granted that the Muslim community would retain this homogeneity and, when it developed differently, applied the time-honoured tribal remedy of going elsewhere to set up on their own and to defend the new community with the sword. Sālim cannot understand how the Murji'ites can dissociate from their kings and still classify them as believers — or, in other words, continue to regard them as members of the Muslim community (III, 99). Nor does he understand how those Murji'ites who classify their kings as believers can live in a state of association with those who classify them as infidels (III, 100): had they been Khārijites, they would have split into rival communities of believers. The notion that the community of believers could encompass a whole spectrum of values and include a wide variety of different groups is alien to him. To Khārijites, believers were all the same, in this world and the next.

Like the early Romans, the Arabs made a transition from tribe to empire, but a great many characteristics of early Islamic thought reflect the fact that the Arabs went through the Roman evolution in reverse. The Romans, who operated with a fundamental distinction between citizens and others (with whom one could not marry or otherwise enter into contractual relations), expanded gradually and coped with expansion by recourse

<sup>103</sup> Cf. P. Crone, *Roman, Provincial and Islamic Law* (Cambridge, 1987), ch. 4.

to treaties which granted a bewildering variety of legal statuses to their non-Roman subjects; centuries later, they swept away all these archaic distinctions, granted universal citizenship, and adopted a universalist religion. But the Arabs started by adopting an (at least implicitly) universalist religion and immediately acquired an empire to go with it, thus landing themselves with the task of working out the statuses that people were to enjoy within it after the event. All the early schools and sects offered answers to this question. The Khārijite answer could not survive, except in a modified form on the tribal fringes, because it refused to concede that an imperial civilization cannot possibly possess the cultural and behavioural uniformity of a tribal world. The Khārijites also had political views that made them increasingly archaic, but it was not for them alone that they were marginalized.



## THE MURJPA AND FATANA

THE MURJI<sup>3</sup>A

Sālim only takes issue with the Murji<sup>3</sup>ites on two points: they suspend judgement on the participants in the first civil war, and they insist that their ‘kings’ are believers. As regards the former point, the Murji<sup>3</sup>ites argue that one can only pronounce on the rights and wrongs of things on the basis of personal observation (autopsy in the original sense) or unanimous testimony (III, 91, 95, 97).<sup>1</sup> Since the first civil war is a disputed event which happened before their time, they cannot tell who was right and who was wrong in it, and Sālim implies that they neither affiliate to nor dissociate from its participants. But they affiliate to Abū Bakr and ‘Umar because the community is unanimous that they were rightly guided caliphs (III, 97); and they dissociate from their ‘kings’ today because they can see with their own eyes that they are misguided (III, 98–9). As regards the latter point, some Murji<sup>3</sup>ites classify their kings as infidels (III, 100), but most accept them as believers on the grounds that ‘their faith does not preserve them from error and their error does not necessarily exclude them from faith’ (III, 99). But though they are believers, one must dissociate from them (III, 98).

This is a substantial account of early Murji<sup>3</sup>ism by the standards at other sources, KI included, and it both amplifies and corrects such information as we already possess. Its contribution may be examined under six headings.

*EARLY MURJ<sup>3</sup>PISM*

Early Murji<sup>3</sup>ism has to be reconstructed on the basis of the poetry of ‘Awn b. ‘Abdallāh (d. 110s/728–30s), Thābit Quṭna (d. 110/728 f), and Muḥārib b. Dithār (d. 116/734 f) in conjunction with KI and *Sīrat Sālim*. Between them, they identify Murji<sup>3</sup>ism as an answer to five questions concerning the status of past and present Muslims, plus belief in predestination. We list the first five questions here to facilitate the subsequent

<sup>1</sup> Calder denies the existence of the unanimity principle, arguing that Cook derives it from ‘the polemical consequentialism of *Sīrat Sālim*’ and that it is not mentioned in KI (review of Cook, 183). But it is hard to miss the unanimity principle in KI, or for that matter Muḥārib b. Dithār (see the comm. to III, 95); and it is a starting point for Sālim, not a polemical deduction (III, 95, 97). Cf. the refutation of the *ahl al-shakk*, where the author first presents the Murji<sup>3</sup>ite doctrine that ‘it is not for him to believe either of the two sides, because of their disagreement’, and next proceeds to *Konsequenzenmacherei* (HX, 378; tr. in App. 5): here too the unanimity principle is a starting point.

discussion, but omit the belief in predestination, which is only attested in Thābit Quṭna.

1. *ahl al-furqa*: right or wrong?

According to the early Murji'ites, one must accept that Abū Bakr and 'Umar were rightly guided caliphs because there is agreement on this point,<sup>2</sup> but one must suspend judgement on the participants in the first *furqa* because one cannot tell who was right and who was wrong in it: one cannot judge disputed events that one has not seen for oneself. *Irjā'* applies *fī-man ghāba 'an al-rijāl aw lam yashhadūhu*, as KI, 5 puts it, or *fī amr ghāba 'anhu aw lam yudrikhu*, as Sālīm says (III, 91). 'We suspend judgement on doubtful things' (*nurjī 'l-umūra idhā kānat mushabbahatan*), Thābit Quṭna declares, presumably meaning the same, while Muḥārib b. Dithār says that he practises *irjā'* of 'Alī and 'Uthmān on the grounds that 'I suspend judgement on hidden matters (*amran khafiyyan*); what do I know about the deeds of men who have gone before me and whom I have not seen?'.<sup>3</sup>

2. *ahl al-furqa*: believers or infidels?

Though the Murji'ites did not presume to know whether 'Uthmān or 'Alī were right or wrong, they affirmed that both were believers, not infidels as the Khārijites would have it. Thābit Quṭna declares that 'Alī and 'Uthmān were *'abdān* who did not ascribe partners to God, i.e. they were believers rather than polytheists. Muḥārib also affirms that they were *'abdān*, now in the sense of ordinary believers rather than prophets whom one knows to be saved, and he adds that 'I do not call anyone a polytheist' (*lam ashhad 'alā qawmin bi-shirkin*), possibly with reference to 'Alī and 'Uthmān alone and possibly to Muslims in general.<sup>4</sup>

3. Today's sinners: believers or infidels?

The Murji'ites affirmed that 'Uthmān and 'Alī were believers because they awarded that status to all users of the *qibla*, be they past or present, sinners or otherwise: sin did not invalidate faith. Thus 'Awn b. 'Abdal-lāh reproached the Murji'ites for speaking of a ruler or governor as 'a believer from the house of oppression' (*mu'minūn min āli jawrin*).<sup>5</sup> Sālīm

<sup>2</sup> See the comm. to III, 95.

<sup>3</sup> *Aghānī*, xiv, 270.5; Wakīf, *Qudāh*, iii. 29, ll. 5 f, 7, 9, 13 of the poem = van Ess, *TG*, v. 17, 19 f (his tr. of Muḥārib's badly edited and frequently obscure poem is most helpful). For an English tr. of Thābit Quṭna's poem and part of Muḥārib b. Dithār's, see now S. S. Agha, 'A Viewpoint of the Murji'ā in the Umayyad Period: Evolution through Application', *Journal of Islamic Studies* 8, (1997), 26 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Aghānī*, xiv, 270.11–12; Wakīf, *Qudāh*, iii. 30, ll. 25–6, 32, of the poem = van Ess, *TG*, v. 18, 21. (Van Ess translates *'abdān* as 'human beings' (*Menschen*) on both occasions, but polytheists and prophets are also humans.)

<sup>5</sup> *Aghānī*, ix. 139.12; for the variant versions, see Cook, *Dogma*, 173, n. 18. The reference is normally assumed to be to al-Ḥajjāj, but van Ess' redating of the poem to the time of Yazīd b. al-Muḥallab's revolt solves an otherwise intractable problem (cf. the comm. to III, 100).

reproaches them for classifying their 'kings' as erring believers (*mu'minūn ḍullāl*) rather than as infidels (III, 99), though he notes that a few did classify them as *kuffār* (III, 100). Thābit Quṭna implicitly classifies all Muslims as believers by denying that sin amounts to *shirk*: 'I do not think that sin makes anyone a polytheist as long as he professes the unity of God (*al-ṣamad*)', he declares. Muḥārib makes the same point with reference to 'Alī and 'Uthmān or the Muslims at large when he observes that the Khārijites equate sin with *shirk*, but that he himself does not call anyone a polytheist.<sup>6</sup>

#### 4. *ahl al-furqa*: saved or damned?

First-century Muslims took it for granted that there was perfect correspondence between this-worldly and other-worldly status: people who were rightly guided in this world were saved in the next, while people who were misguided in this world would go to Hell. If one suspended judgement on the question whether 'Uthmān, 'Alī, and other participants in the *furqa* were rightly guided or misguided in this world, one *ipso facto* suspended judgement on their other-worldly fate as well. Neither Sālim nor KI pays any attention to their other-worldly fate, but Thābit Quṭna and Muḥārib duly profess ignorance of it. Thābit Quṭna says that 'Alī and 'Uthmān will be requited for their efforts (*saʿy*), but that he himself cannot tell where they have gone. Muḥārib suspends judgement on 'Alī and 'Uthmān, saying that he does not know anything about the deeds of past figures or about their future fate: 'What do I know about the deeds of men who have gone before me and whom I have not seen? I do not know of any Qur'ān(ic verse) about their success (in the other world), but neither do I know them to have committed faults (that would damn them)'.<sup>7</sup>

#### 5. Today's sinners: saved or damned?

Given the first-century assumption of perfect correspondence between this-worldly and other-worldly status, one would expect the early Murji'ites to have consigned sinners to Hell. They suspended judgement on the other-worldly fate of the *ahl al-furqa* because they did not know their this-worldly status, but they had no reason to refrain from judgement in the case of people whose sinful status was obvious to them. It is true that they did in the end so refrain. The later Murji'ites were famed, indeed notorious, for affirming not only that sinners were believers, but also that they might be saved: God would punish or forgive them as He saw fit. But the early evidence suggests that they started by regarding sinners as doomed. When Thābit Quṭna says that 'Uthmān and 'Alī will be requited for their efforts though he himself does not know where they have gone, he seems to imply that they will be in Paradise if God has found their

<sup>6</sup> *Aghāni*, xiv. 270.7; Wakī', *Quḍāh*, iii. 30, ll. 29–32 of the poem = van Ess, *TG*, v. 18, 21.

<sup>7</sup> *Aghāni*, xiv. 270.14 f; Wakī', *Quḍāh*, iii. 29, ll. 13 f of the poem = van Ess, *TG*, v. 18, 20.

efforts to be rightly guided and in Hell if He has found them to be sinful, not that they may have been admitted to Paradise however sinful they may have been. He certainly does not say that God may punish or pardon sinners as He sees fit, though one would have expected him to mention this doctrine if he had subscribed to it, given that his poem is in the nature of a catechism. Muḥārib b. Dithār similarly implies that 'Uthmān and 'Alī will be in Hell if they have sinned when he says that 'I do not know of any Qur'ān(ic verse) about their success (in the other world), but neither do I know them to have committed faults (that would damn them)'; and he makes his assumption explicit by adding that if 'Alī and 'Uthmān have perished because of a sin (*halakā bi-dhanbin*), then he has saved himself (by not associating with them), whereas if they have been saved, then he has also been saved thanks to his doctrine of *'adl* (i.e. by not dissociating from them).<sup>8</sup> That the early Murji'ites held sinners to be damned is in line with the fact that they held it lawful to kill sinners under certain circumstances even though they continued to classify them as believers, as we know from 'Awn b. 'Abdallāh (*qālū mu'mininu damuhu ḥalālun*).<sup>9</sup> It also explains why they forbade association with sinners such as kings, and prayers of forgiveness on their behalf, as we know from Sālim (III, 98): for to dissociate from somebody was to declare him wrong in this world and damned in the next, with a view to saving oneself from the same fate; and the Murji'ites can hardly have prohibited prayers of forgiveness on behalf of sinners while at the same time professing belief in the possibility that God might forgive them. In short, the evidence strongly suggests that the early Murji'ites shared the common conviction that going astray meant going to perdition. Sin did not invalidate faith, but it did rule out salvation.

In his discussion of the fates of 'Uthmān and 'Alī, however, Muḥārib b. Dithār adds that 'I do not know of anyone (*fulān*) . . . whether he goes to Paradise to remain there forever or whether you will see him suffocate in Hell when it lights up'. If *fulān* really means 'any believer' here, this is the first attestation of the Murji'ite suspension of judgement on the other-worldly fate of sinners in general (as opposed to that of the *ahl al-furqa* in particular). But it seems more likely that *fulān* is poetic licence for 'Uthmān and 'Alī, for it makes perfect sense that Muḥārib should profess ignorance of their fate, given that he did not know whether they were guilty of a *dhanb* or not, whereas it does not make sense that he should twice link *dhanb* with damnation only to add that he was not sure about this link after all.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>8</sup> *Aghāni*, xiv. 270.14; Waki', *Quḍāh*, iii. 29 f, ll. 14, 26 f of the poem = van Ess, *TG*, v. 18, 20 f.

<sup>9</sup> Above, n. 5.

<sup>10</sup> Waki', *Quḍāh*, iii. 30, ll. 22 f of the poem = van Ess, *TG*, v. 20.

If this is accepted, the Murji'ite suspension of judgement on the other-worldly fate of sinners is first attested in Abū Ḥanīfa, who certainly subscribed to the view that God might punish or forgive sinful believers as He saw fit (assuming his epistle to 'Uthmān al-Battī to be authentic).<sup>11</sup> Sālim's Fatana also assert that they do not know whether their kings have deserved God's punishment or mercy (III, 113). Thereafter, the possible salvation of the sinful believer is standard Murji'ite doctrine.

All in all, early Murji'ism can be reduced to two key propositions: we cannot identify the status of the protagonists in the disputed past, meaning that we cannot base membership of the community on attitudes to them; and all Muslims must be accepted as believers even if they sin, meaning that we cannot exclude people from the community merely because they behave in a way unacceptable to us. Both doctrines are anti-sectarian. The Murji'ites were trying to keep the Muslims together in a single community in the here and now. How God would deal with them in the next world was another question.

#### THE MEANING OF *IRJĀ'*

It should be clear from the above that *irjā'* originally stood for suspension of judgement on the participants in the first civil war, not, as Goldziher and van Vloten believed, on the fate of the erring believer in the hereafter.<sup>12</sup> For one thing, it is only in connection with the *ahl al-furqa* that the early sources use the term (cf. the list above, no. 1); and, for another, the early sources suggest that the Murji'ites did not suspend judgement on anything *except* the error/damnation or otherwise of these figures (cf. the list above, no. 5). But the original meaning of *irjā'* was forgotten because the status of the *ahl al-furqa* ceased to preoccupy the Murji'ites in the course of the ninth century. Many thus took it to mean suspension of judgement on the other-worldly fate of sinners instead.<sup>13</sup> Even Ibn Ḥanbal, a fanatical opponent of Murji'ism, is said to have recommended *irjā' mā ghāba* 'anhu min al-umūr, in the sense of leaving the other-worldly fate of sinners to God,<sup>14</sup> and some duly explained the word as meaning 'holding out hope' for sinners, deriving it from the root *rjw* rather than *rj'*.<sup>15</sup> But this understanding of *irjā'* is clearly secondary.

<sup>11</sup> Abū Ḥanīfa, *Risāla*, 37.4 = van Ess, *TG*, v. 28 (r). A roughly contemporary attestation would be Raqāba b. Maṣqala's statement that the Murji'ites follow the religion of kings, if one could be sure of its authenticity (cf. below, p. 237 f, for its interpretation).

<sup>12</sup> I. Goldziher, *Introduction to Islamic Theology and Law* (Princeton, 1981), 74; van Vloten, 'Irdjā', 164.

<sup>13</sup> Thus the Murji'ite 'Abd al-Majīd b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Abī Rawwād in van Ess, *TG*, ii. 661; al-Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-tawḥīd*, ed. F. Kholeif (Beirut, 1970), 382.

<sup>14</sup> Ibn Abī Ya'la, *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābila*, ed. M. Ḥ. al-Fiḳī (Cairo, 1952), i. 329–3.

<sup>15</sup> For an example, see the ref. below, n. 48. This etymology is rightly rejected by Madelung in *EF*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. 'Murjī'a', col. 605.

It follows that the term *irjā'* is unlikely to have been coined with reference to Q. 9:106, as van Vloten suggested and as everyone has since agreed.<sup>16</sup> This verse is indeed a perfect proof text for *irjā'* as a doctrine regarding the future fate of sinners, for it says that 'others are deferred (*murjawnna*) to God's commandment: either He punishes them or He forgives them'; and the Murji'ites did come to invoke it in van Vloten's vein.<sup>17</sup> But they cannot have coined the term with reference to this verse unless they understood it as a reference to the other-worldly fate of the *ahl al-furqa*, rather than sinners in general, and there is in fact no evidence that the early Murji'ites used it at all. They only adduce passages about past nations in KI and Sālim. Both texts have them invoke Q. 20:51, where Pharaoh asks Moses 'And what of the former generations?', to which Moses replies, 'Knowledge of them is with my Lord, in a book; my Lord goes not astray, nor forgets' (KI, 6; Sālim, III, 103); and Sālim also has them invoke Q. 2:134, 'That is a nation that has passed away; there awaits them that they have earned, and there awaits you what you have earned; you shall not be questioned concerning the things they did' (III, 103).<sup>18</sup> Both passages are excellent illustrations of the doctrine that only God can know the rights and wrongs of disputed events in the past, meaning that we must suspend judgement on them, but the actual term *irjā'* is not to be found in these verses. Even Abū Ḥanīfa fails to adduce van Vloten's verse. He expounds the view that God may punish or forgive the erring believer without reference to the Qur'ān in his epistle to 'Uthmān al-Battī,<sup>19</sup> in Abū Muqātil's *Kitāb al-ʿālim wa'l-mutaʿallim* he invokes Q. 2:31 f, on the angels' refusal to tell God the names of things they did not know, and 17:36, on how one should not speak of what one does not know for sure.<sup>20</sup> Both illustrate the principle that one should not label people on the basis of fallible knowledge, but the verb *arja'a* does not occur in either; and since Abū Ḥanīfa regards *al-murji'a* as an abusive name invented by his opponent, he can hardly have connected the term with a non-abusive Qur'ānic passage.<sup>21</sup>

In short, the term *irjā'* seems to be a non-Qur'ānic coinage which originally meant suspension of judgement on the past and future status of the participants in the first civil war. Suspension of judgement in this sense

<sup>16</sup> Van Vloten, 'Irdjā', 164; van Ess, 'Das Kitāb', 28; Cook, *Dogma*, 31 f; Madelung, 'Murd-ji'a', *ET*<sup>2</sup>, col. 605.

<sup>17</sup> Nashwān, 203.5. But Māturīdī only invokes van Vloten's verse in illustration of the lexical meaning of *irjā'*, without suggesting that the doctrine is derived from it (*Tawhīd*, 381).

<sup>18</sup> This verse is also invoked by Makḥūl in connection with 'Uthmān and 'Alī in al-Sarakhsī, *Sharḥ kitāb al-siyar al-kabīr (li'l-Shaybānī)* (Cairo, 1957), 157.

<sup>19</sup> Abū Ḥanīfa, *Risāla*, 37.4 = van Ess, *TG*, v. 28 (r).

<sup>20</sup> Abū Muqātil, *Kitāb al-ʿālim*, 22 f = Schacht, 'Early Murci'ite Treatise', §28; partly cited by Māturīdī, *Tawhīd*, 282.

<sup>21</sup> Abū Ḥanīfa, *Risāla*, 37 f = van Ess, *TG*, v. 29 (w). For the vv. they adduced in support of their classification of all *ahl al-ṣalāt* as believers, see Nāshī, §28.

is still part of Murji'ism in Abū Ḥanīfa's epistle to 'Uthmān al-Battī, Abū Muqātil's *Kitāb al-ʿālim wa'l-muta'allim*, and Abū Muṭī'c's *al-Fiqh al-absaṭ*,<sup>22</sup> though the actual term *irjā'* does not figure in any of them; and the term is occasionally encountered in its original sense elsewhere.<sup>23</sup> But even Abū Ḥanīfa's view on the *ahl al-furqa* was a diluted version of original *irjā'*, and by the ninth century the Murji'ites had stopped suspending judgement on the *ahl al-furqa* altogether (see below, on *irjā'* and tradition). The heresiographers do not mention *irjā'* in its original sense at all.

### THE SCOPE OF IRJĀ'

When the Murji'ites say that *irjā'* applies *fīmā ghāba ʿanhu wa-lam yudrikhu*, one takes them to mean that one must suspend judgement on any disputed event in the past of which one does not have first-hand experience. In practice, one never hears of *irjā'* of any historical event other than the first schism, but it hardly follows that the Murji'ites divided the past into different epistemological categories as a matter of principle. Sālīm could, however, be taken to imply that they did.

Sālīm accuses the Murji'ites of violating their own principles by calling upon the younger generation of their *qawm* to dissociate from Mu'āwiya. The violation consists in the fact that the younger generation had no personal knowledge of Mu'āwiya (whereas the older generation apparently did). Sālīm then gives the Murji'ites three arguments with which to defend themselves: firstly, 'Mu'āwiya is not like the people of the first schism, who were Companions of the Messenger of God' (III, 94); secondly, the Murji'ites 'have conflicting testimony from the people of the *qibla* regarding the participants in the first schism (but not about Mu'āwiya)' (III, 95); and thirdly, the younger generation can tell that Mu'āwiya was misguided from the reports of his conduct current in their time (III, 96). The first argument denies that Mu'āwiya was a Companion and both the first and the second deny that he was a participant in the first civil war. These denials are startling, and it is not clear why they enable the Murji'ites to dispense with their epistemological principles; but one solution would be that the autopsy and unanimity principles only applied to persons and events relevant to the transmission of the Prophet's guidance — that is the Prophet himself and the first two caliphs (on whom

<sup>22</sup> Abū Ḥanīfa, *Risāla*, 36 = van Ess, *TG*, v. 27 f; Abū Muqātil, *Kitāb al-ʿālim*, 23.7 = Schacht, 'Early Murji'ite treatise', §28 (where it is only alluded to); Abū Muṭī', *al-Fiqh al-absaṭ*, 40 = A. J. Wensinck (tr.), *The Muslim Creed* (Cambridge, 1932), 104 (where it is art. 5 of the supposed *Fiqh Akbar I*, on which see J. van Ess, 'Kritisches zum *Fiqh Akbar*', *Revue des Études Islamiques*, 54 (1986); id., *TG*, i. 207 ff).

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Māturidī, *Tawḥīd*, 384; Ibn Baraka al-Bahlawī in Kāshif, *Siyar*, ii. 389.4, where those who refuse to pronounce on the rights and wrongs of the ninth-century imams al-Ṣalt and Rāshid are deemed to practise 'pure *irjā'*', explained by an exposition of the Murji'ite stance on the first civil war. For an undatable example, see the passage on the 'first Murji'ites' in App. 5.

the Murji'ites claimed unanimity), the *ahl al-furqa* defined as Companions (on whom the Murji'ites suspended judgement because there was disagreement about them), and the recent schism (on which the Murji'ites passed judgement because they had seen it for themselves). If so, the Murji'ite argument is that Mu'āwiya was not a Companion and therefore not a member of the *ahl al-furqa*, but simply a contender, eventually king, on whom one could form and transmit views without reference to the autopsy and unanimity criteria, just as one could on ordinary events in the past. This would make sense not only of the first argument, but also of the third, in which the Murji'ites invoke the historical record which they normally reject. It would not make sense of the second argument, in which their epistemological principles are upheld, but Sālim could have put it in simply to cover all eventualities.

In favour of this interpretation it may be said that the definition of the *ahl al-furqa* as Companions is unremarkable, at least by the standards of the traditionalist literature. It was the fact that the bearers of the Prophet's guidance had fought each other in the first civil war that made this conflict so painful to posterity, and it is invariably as a dispute between the Companions that the traditionalists discuss it. Sālim does not take issue with the definition either: he merely points out that actually Mu'āwiya was a Companion too. But against the interpretation one may note that the denial of Mu'āwiya's Companionship (and thus membership of the *ahl al-furqa*) is so odd that the Murji'ites are unlikely to have made it. It is true that they rarely mention Mu'āwiya among the *ahl al-furqa* on whom one should suspend judgement. The disputed figures are always 'Uthmān and 'Alī, sometimes Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr as well, but not usually Mu'āwiya,<sup>24</sup> and one could dismiss as polemical exaggeration the verses in which the Shī'ite poet al-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī rhetorically asks, in an anti-Murji'ite vein, whether one should 'suspend judgement on 'Alī, the imam of guidance, and 'Uthmān . . . Ibn Ḥarb (i.e. Mu'āwiya) and the violent Khārijites at al-Nahrawān?'<sup>25</sup> The Murji'ites are certainly unlikely to have suspended judgement on the Khārijites at al-Nahrawān (on whom they probably claimed unanimity — among non-Khārijites, that is — and whom they could of course dismiss as non-Companions too). But Abū Ḥanīfa did count Mu'āwiya as a member of the *ahl al-furqa* and suspended judgement on him too: one cannot tell who was right or wrong in the

<sup>24</sup> Thābit Qurṭna and Muḥarib b. Dithār only mention 'Uthmān and 'Alī (cf. the list above, nos. 1, 2, & 4). Al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya adds Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr (Dhahabī, *Ta'rikh al-islām*, iii. 358.10), as does Sālim. Similarly the tradition ascribed to Burayda b. al-Khaṣīb cited below n. 30.

<sup>25</sup> *Aghānī*, vii. 259.11.

conflict between 'Alī and the Syrians, he says.<sup>26</sup> And though Sālim's Murji'ites may well have disagreed with Abū Ḥanīfa, they can hardly have been so ignorant or silly as to deny that Mu'āwiya was a Companion. Maybe Sālim simply credited them with a ridiculous argument to highlight the desperation to which he imagined that his polemics would reduce them: if one pointed out that they could not transmit their views on Mu'āwiya (as king) to the next generation without violating their own principles, they would go so far as to deny that Mu'āwiya belonged to the category of people to whom their principles applied. If this is the correct interpretation, we may take it that the Murji'ites did, indeed, operate with different epistemological categories, though they are unlikely to have gone as far as Sālim would have it.

Another and more plausible interpretation, however, is that Sālim is disposing of a perfectly coherent Murji'ite argument by breaking it into three easily refuted parts. The hypothetical Murji'ite argument would have gone as follows: (1) Mu'āwiya was not like the *other* members of the schism, for he was not a *real* Companion: he was a late and reluctant convert of a family notorious for its enmity to the Prophet and thus not a rightly guided person fit to act as bearer of the Prophet's guidance, though he did of course know the Prophet and received kindly treatment from him; (2) on this there is agreement, whereas there is no agreement on the *other* members of the schism; (3) because there is agreement we accept the historical record in the case of Mu'āwiya but suspend judgement on the other members of the schism, and the next generation can learn the truth about Mu'āwiya from the historical record just as we have ourselves.

In this rendition, the Murji'ites do not deny that Mu'āwiya was a Companion or a member of the *ahl al-furqa*, nor do they operate with different epistemological categories. They merely hold Mu'āwiya to have been so different from the other Companions and *ahl al-furqa* as to be covered by the unanimity rule: one could, indeed, pass judgement on him. This would explain his absence from most accounts of *irjā'* in the original sense. If this interpretation is accepted, Sālim's Murji'ites, unlike Abū Ḥanīfa, dissociated from Mu'āwiya, not just as a king within living experience, but also as a member of the *ahl al-furqa*.

### IRJĀ' AND TRADITION

Sālim's main objection to Murji'ite epistemology is that it is incompatible with tradition. If the status of the Muslims who fought in the first civil war is so uncertain that one can neither associate with nor dissociate from them, then most of the Companions are deleted from the record, with the result that there can be no transmission from the Prophet via

<sup>26</sup> Abū Ḥanīfa, *Risāla*, 36 = van Ess, *TG*, v. 27 f.

them. This is the point which Sālim makes when he accuses the Murji'ā of having no *salaf* (III, 91) and which is made even more forcefully in the anonymous *Radd 'alā ahl al-shakk*: 'whom did they take their religion from?', 'they have no *salaf* to connect them with the Messenger of God'.<sup>27</sup> If, further, one can only pronounce on past events on the basis of unanimous transmission or personal observation (autopsy), then very little of the past survives to serve as the common history of the community: it can no longer be used for the definition of communal membership, and its elimination once again means that there can be no tradition.<sup>28</sup> This is the point Sālim makes when he observes that the Murji'ites violate their own principles by associating with Abū Bakr and 'Umar and by teaching the younger generation to dissociate from Mu'āwiya: for there is, in fact, no unanimity about the status of Abū Bakr and 'Umar (III, 97), and the younger generation has no personal knowledge of Mu'āwiya (III, 93, 96, 102). In both cases the Murji'ite opinion rests on views transmitted from one generation to the next, and in both cases the Murji'ites accept these views because they are transmitted by people whom they regard as trustworthy: why, then, do they claim that it is wrong to accept the testimony of people whom they regard as believers? 'God has commanded us to believe the believers and forbidden us to believe those who are astray', he protests (III, 95). Without authorities there can be no tradition, and without tradition there can be no knowledge of the past. When the Murji'ites invoke Mu'āwiya's *athar* to justify their transmission of views to the younger generation, Sālim responds that it is precisely on the basis of *āthār* that one can judge past events (III, 96); and he concludes his discussion of *irjā'* by rhetorically asking the Murji'ites how they reject the Azraqite position on stoning (III, 97; thereafter the discussion shifts to the status of contemporary kings). His point is that in practice the Murji'ites are incapable of doing without tradition and that this shows their epistemology to be false.

How the Murji'ites themselves viewed the relationship between their epistemology and tradition is more difficult to say. They obviously accepted tradition in the sense of venerable ways of doing things (*sunna*);<sup>29</sup> and if they were pressed to justify it, one assumes that they validated it with reference to agreement within the *umma* and/or the school. To some extent their *sunna* must also have been exemplified in Ḥadīth from the Prophet and others, for some Murji'ites were traditionists and there are plenty of Murji'ite traditions. They are overwhelmingly concerned with

<sup>27</sup> See App. 5.

<sup>28</sup> We fail to understand how Calder can claim that knowledge of the Book and community *sunna* are prerequisites for judgements by autopsy (review of Cook, 183).

<sup>29</sup> Cf. KI, 1, 4.

faith rather than the *furqa*, however,<sup>30</sup> and Prophetic Ḥadīth does not figure prominently in either the legal or the dogmatic *fiqh* of Abū Ḥanīfa, who is presented as hostile to the transmitters of Prophetic tradition in the *Kitāb al-ʿālim wa'l-muta'allim*.<sup>31</sup> But this is hardly what Sālim has in mind. His dissatisfaction seems to arise entirely from the fact that on the crucial issue of the first civil war the Murji'ites refused to be guided by tradition, on the grounds that it was contradictory; and he is right that in so doing the Murji'ites relegated tradition to a secondary role: the key point is that the Murji'ites would not allow tradition to sit in *judgement* of disagreement.

Murji'ite epistemology must have been even more offensive to the proto-Sunnī traditionalists than it was to Sālim. The *ahl al-sunna wa'l-jamā'a* agreed with the Murji'a that one should avoid taking sides in the first civil war; both parties were trying to overcome sectarianism. But the traditionalists held that one should abstain from judgement simply because the protagonists in the first civil war were Companions, that is superior beings, not because the civil war had taken place before one's time. One could not sit in judgement of people elevated above the rest of mankind, but neither could one adopt a neutral attitude to them: because they were Companions one must affiliate to all of them.<sup>32</sup> The traditionalists thus achieved much the same result as the Murji'ites without relegating tradition (be it in the sense of community *sunna* or Prophetic Ḥadīth) to a secondary role; and this is presumably one reason why *irjū'* in the original sense disappeared.

In fact, Sālim's Murji'ites seem to be close to the traditionalist position themselves. When they deny that Mu'āwiya was a Companion or a member of the *ahl al-furqa* (III, 94–5), they imply that they too held the Companions to be superior beings. The Murji'ite principle that one must suspend judgement on all the *ahl al-furqa* here seems to be in competition with the traditionalist principle that one must venerate all of them. In Abū Ḥanīfa's doctrine the fusion of the two principles is complete; for if *al-Fiqh al-absaṭ* is to be trusted, his position was that 'we do not dissociate from any of the Messenger of God's Companions, nor do we associate with one to the exclusion of another; and we refer the matter of ʿUthmān

<sup>30</sup> See, e.g., Madelung 'Early Sunnī Doctrine Concerning Faith'. The only tradition with a Murji'ite tendency on the *furqa* known to us is Burayda b. al-Khaṣīb's prayer of forgiveness on behalf of ʿUthmān, ʿAlī, Ṭalḥa, and al-Zubayr (Ibn Saʿd, iv. 243).

<sup>31</sup> Abū Muqātil, *Kitāb al-ʿālim*, 9, 10 f = Schacht, 'Early Murji'ite Treatise', §§2, 4; cf. p. 101.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Nāshī, §§110, 114; the Ḥaswhiyya in Nawbakhtī, *Firaq*, 15; Ibn Baṭṭa in Laoust, *Profession de foi*, 63 f = 120 f (*fudḍilū ʿalā sāʾir al-khalq*); Ashʿarī, *Ibāna*, 10.–2, tr. in R. J. McCarthy, *The Theology of al-Ashʿarī* (Beirut, 1953), app. 4, §35; Nasafī, *Radd*, 85 f. The traditionalists do not make an exception for Mu'āwiya: he was the brother of Umm Ḥabība, the Prophet's wife, and also *kātib al-mahy*, as Ibn Baṭṭa observes (op. cit., 65 f = 124 f); ʿAlī himself was against cursing him, Nasafī says (*Radd*, 86).

and 'Alī to God'.<sup>33</sup> Like the early Murji'ites, then, Abū Ḥanīfa suspended judgement on the participants in the first civil war; but where the early Murji'ites neither dissociated from nor associated with the *ahl al-furqa*,<sup>34</sup> Abū Ḥanīfa recommended equal association with all of them. Muḥārib b. Dithār had abstained from judgement on 'Uthmān and 'Alī because he could not tell who was right or wrong and did not wish to associate with, and thus share in the *dhanb* of, a party doomed to perdition; but Abū Ḥanīfa abstained from judgement because, fundamentally, all Companions were rightly guided, 'Uthmān and 'Alī included.<sup>35</sup> For practical purposes, his position is thus identical with that of the traditionalists — except, perhaps, for a tendency to *tashayyu'*. His pupils report him as having said that one should give preference to Abū Bakr and 'Umar and love 'Alī and 'Uthmān (in that order).<sup>36</sup> According to al-Nawbakhtī, he, Abū Yūsuf, and other Murji'ites even deemed 'Alī to have been right to fight Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr, and other opponents (presumably including Mu'āwiya), though this is incompatible with his abstention from judgement in *al-Fiqh al-absaṭ*.<sup>37</sup>

The Murji'ites having abandoned *irjā'* of the *ahl al-furqa*, there were certainly some who became outright Shī'ites.<sup>38</sup> But the vast majority exchanged *irjā'* for membership of the *ahl al-sunna wa'l-jamā'a*. 'We profess that the most excellent of this community, after our prophet Muḥammad, is Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq, then 'Umar, then 'Uthmān, then 'Alī', Abū Ḥanīfa is presented as declaring in his alleged (probably ninth-century) *waṣīyya*, this time getting the order right.<sup>39</sup> 'All the Murji'a affiliate to Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān and 'Alī, claiming that Abū Bakr was the most meritorious person after the Prophet, and to Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr, claiming that they repented before they were killed', the ninth-century Pseudo-Nāshī' observes.<sup>40</sup> The original meaning of *irjā'* having disappeared, there were

<sup>33</sup> Abū Muṭī', *al-Fiqh al-absaṭ*, 40 = Wensinck, *Creed*, 104.

<sup>34</sup> This is implicit in Sālim's account and explicitly stated in a dictum attributed to al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya in Dhahabī, *Ta'rikh*, iii. 358.10.

<sup>35</sup> Compare the fact that he adduces 'Alī's precedent in his epistle to 'Uthmān al-Battī (*Risāla*, 37.-7 = van Ess, *TG*, v. 28 (t)). For Muḥārib, see the above list, no. 5.

<sup>36</sup> Thus Yaḥyā b. Naṣr in Baghdādī, *Ta'rikh Baghdād*, xiii. 377; Nūḥ b. Abī Maryam in Sarakhsī, *Sīyar*, 157 f, where al-Sarakhsī does his best to explain away the order. It is presented as the standard Ḥanafī view in Abū Tammām, 84 f = 82.

<sup>37</sup> Nawbakhtī, *Firaq*, 13. Contrast *Akhbār al-dawla al-'abbāsiyya wa-fīhi akhbār al-'Abbās*, ed. 'A.-A. al-Dūrī and 'A.-J. al-Muṭṭalibī (Beirut, 1971), 262.-2, where Murji'ites from Iraq and Ravy speak disapprovingly of 'Alī's bloodshed in Abū Muslim's presence.

<sup>38</sup> See van Ess, *TG*, i. 319 ff.

<sup>39</sup> Abū Ḥanīfa (attrib.), *Kitāb al-waṣīyya*, with a comm. of Ḥusayn b. Iskandar al-Ḥanafī, in *al-Rasā'il al-sab'ā fī 'l-'aqa'id*, 3rd printing (Hyderabad, 1980), 14 = Wensinck, *Creed*, 127, §10.

<sup>40</sup> Nāshī', §109. Cf. also Ibn Baraka in Kāshif, *Sīyar*, ii. 390.1: after having explained the Murji'ite stance on the first civil war he adds that 'even so, they affiliate to all of them'.

even some who took the word to mean deferment of 'Alī to the position of fourth caliph.<sup>41</sup>

### THE DOCTRINE OF FAITH

It is clear from 'Awn b. 'Abdallāh, Thābit Qurṭna, Muḥārib b. Dithār, and Sālim that early Murji'ism consisted partly of the doctrine of *irjā'* and partly of a doctrine regarding faith. The latter doctrine was to the effect that faith and works were separate and that therefore anyone who professed Islam was a believer regardless of his behaviour (cf. the list above, nos. 2–3). This doctrine is also reflected in a tradition in which Ṭāwūs expresses surprise at the fact that 'the people of Iraq call al-Ḥajjāj a believer';<sup>42</sup> it is well known from Abū Ḥanīfa, who defends the concept of the erring believer (*mu'min ḍāll*) in his epistle to 'Uthmān al-Battī, explaining that 'the people of the *qibla* are believers, and I do not exclude any of them from faith on the grounds that they have neglected any of the legal precepts (*farā'id*);<sup>43</sup> and it was what Murji'ism was largely about after Abū Ḥanīfa.

In his entry on Muḥārib b. Dithār, Ibn Sa'd nonetheless claims that the early Murji'ites (*al-murji'a 'l-ūlā*) 'suspended judgement on 'Alī and 'Uthmān without testifying to faith or unbelief', apparently meaning the faith or otherwise of 'Alī and 'Uthmān, though he could be referring to that of all Muslims.<sup>44</sup> Either way, the contention is contradicted by the poetry of Muḥārib himself (cf. the list above, nos. 2–3). It is Ibn Sa'd's claim which lies behind the common assertion that early Murji'ism was a 'political' doctrine concerned with the first civil war whereas later Murji'ism was a 'theological' doctrine concerned with the nature of faith;<sup>45</sup> but though it is, of course, true that Murji'ism became less 'political' as it lost its interest in the first civil war, it had always been 'theological' inasmuch as it was concerned with faith from the moment of its emergence. What it lacked in the days of Muḥārib b. Dithār was not the doctrine of faith, as Ibn Sa'd would have it, but rather the refusal to pronounce on the other-worldly fate of sinners (cf. the list above, no. 5).

As Cook says, Ibn Sa'd's statement is tendentious.<sup>46</sup> The Murji'ite exclusion of works from the definition of faith was as repulsive to the

<sup>41</sup> Shahrastānī, i. 104.3.

<sup>42</sup> See the comm. to III, 98.

<sup>43</sup> Abū Ḥanīfa, *Risāla*, 34.ult., 37.1 = van Ess, *TG*, v. 25 (a), 28 (r).

<sup>44</sup> Ibn Sa'd, vi. 307. The prima-facie meaning is that the early Murji'ites did not pronounce on the faith or otherwise of 'Uthmān and 'Alī, and it is thus understood by Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, x. 50.–3; al-Dhahabī, *Miẓān al-i'tidāl*, ed. 'A. M. al-Bijāwī (Cairo, 1963), iii. 441.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. I. Goldziher, *Muslim Studies* (London, 1967–71; 1st pub. Halle, 1889–90), ii. 91 (of the original pagination); cf. also id., *Introduction*, 75; van Ess, 'Das *Kitāb*', 46. Madelung also distinguishes between a 'politico-religious movement' and a 'theological Murji'a', but makes it clear that the theology of faith was common to both ('Murjī'a').

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Cook, *Dogma*, 83.

traditionalists as it was to the Khārijites, and those who wished to come to terms with the Murji'ites had to render them innocuous by playing down the centrality of their offensive doctrine. Ibn Sa'ḍ did this by postulating that originally Murji'ism was only about suspension of judgement on the first civil war, not about the nature of faith. A certain Abū 'l-Ṣalt achieved the same result by postulating that originally Murji'ism was only about the fate of the believing sinner, not about the nature of faith. This Abū 'l-Ṣalt, who is presumably to be identified as 'Abd al-Sallām b. Ṣāliḥ al-Harawī, a moderate Shī'ite known to have engaged in refutations of Murji'ism in the time of al-Ma'mūn,<sup>47</sup> defended Ibrāhīm b. Ṭahman (d. 163/780), a Harawī traditionalist dismissed by Sufyān b. 'Uyayna as a Murji'ite, on the grounds that 'their *irjā'* was not this odious doctrine that faith is mere words without works and that omission of works does not harm one's faith; rather, their *irjā'* consisted in hoping for (*yarjūna*) forgiveness on behalf of those who had committed major sins, in opposition to the Khārijites and others who consider people to become infidels through sin. They used to hold out hope and not to declare people infidels, and we are like that too; I heard Wakī' [b.] al-Jarrāḥ say that he heard Sufyān al-Thawrī say towards the end of his life: "We hold out hope (*narjū*) for all sinners and people guilty of *kabā'ir* who follow our religion and pray our prayers, whatever they may do". And (he said this even though) he was violently opposed to Jahmism'.<sup>48</sup> Abū 'l-Ṣalt and Ibn Sa'ḍ denied that true/original Murji'ism had anything to do with the doctrine of faith because they found this doctrine repulsive.

Why did the traditionalists find the Murji'ite definition of faith so odious? The Murji'ites excluded works from the definition of faith so as to enable sinners to remain members of the *umma*, universally conceived as a community of believers. They wished to separate the criteria of communal affiliation from the definition of rectitude within it; and to a western reader their doctrine is perfectly innocuous: that faith should be internal conviction (as the Jahmites said), or internal conviction plus verbal declaration (as the majority of the Murji'ites held), to the exclusion of external behaviour seems so self-evident that one is puzzled by the intense hostility with which the traditionalists greeted the proposition. But then, western readers derive their categories from Christianity, an antinomian religion, whereas Islam is centred on a law; and what the traditionalists were saying was precisely that commitment to the law was a precondition for membership of the Muslim community: since the community was defined as one of believers, it followed that belief included acts. Just as Murji'ite empiricism ruled out tradition as the prime source of knowledge, so the

<sup>47</sup> Dhahabī, *Mizān*, ii. 616, no. 5051.

<sup>48</sup> Baghdādī, *Ta'rikh Baghdād*, vi. 109.3.

Murji'ite view of faith as mere conviction or declaration ruled out law as the prime constituent of the *umma*.

To this must be added that the Murji'ite doctrine of faith violated some deeply entrenched notions. To early Muslims, believers were by definition rightly guided persons: they were members of the saving community in this world and *ahl al-janna* in the next; all others were excluded from the community and thus doomed to Hell. This is why non-Murji'ites classified grave sinners as something other than believers, be it as *kuffār*, after the fashion of the Khārijites and early Iraqī traditionalists,<sup>49</sup> or as *fussāq* who were neither believers nor infidels, after the fashion of the Mu'tazila. There could be no such thing as a sinful or a damned believer: a *mu'min ḍāll* was a contradiction in terms.<sup>50</sup>

Further, early Muslims assumed Paradise and Hell to be permanent destinations. All members of the saving community would go to Paradise for ever and everybody else would go to Hell for ever; there was no temporary punishment in Hell for that Murji'ite chimaera, the believing sinner. When Najda b. 'Āmir, the founder of the Najadāt, considered the possibility that the members of his own community might be punished for their deeds, he postulated that their punishment would be both temporary and effected in a 'different fire' — in other words, in a purgatory distinguished from Hell by the fact that all its inhabitants were believers and that all would eventually escape from it:<sup>51</sup> believers could not rub shoulders with infidels in either this world or the next. The Murji'ites might have saved themselves some trouble by adopting this solution. Instead, they started by postulating that sinners remained believers *and* perished for their sins (cf. the list above, no. 5), eventually to argue that God might damn or forgive the believing sinner as He saw fit. Either way, they claimed that believers might indeed rub shoulders with infidels, not in this world, but certainly in the next.

The doctrine that God might punish or forgive the believing sinner as He saw fit was not much of an improvement on the original doctrine, inasmuch as it turned the sinner's afterlife into a kind of Russian roulette: the *mu'min ḍāll* who was in luck went to Paradise for ever while the unlucky sinner went to Hell for ever.<sup>52</sup> Since this was arbitrary in

<sup>49</sup> For the Iraqī traditionalists, see Madelung, 'Early Sunni Doctrine Concerning Faith', 242 f. For an example of popular thinking along the same line, see Ṭabarī, 2nd ser., 160.5, where al-Farazdaq called Ziyād a *kāfir*.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. the comm. to III, 98–9; van Ess, *TG*, i. 196.

<sup>51</sup> Ash'arī, 91.5.

<sup>52</sup> This is what Abū Ḥanīfa's doctrine amounts to (above, n. 11). Van Ess thinks that he envisages the punishment as temporary (*TG*, i. 197 f), but Abū Ḥanīfa does not say so; he does not figure among the Murji'ites who debated whether the punishment of the believing sinner might be eternal or not (Ash'arī, 149 f), and two of his Murji'ite contemporaries are known to have envisaged Paradise and Hell as permanent destinations (van Ess, *TG*, ii. 531).

the extreme, other Murji'ites unsurprisingly opted for the view that God would forgive *all* sinners: He would not damn a believer. Thus 'Ubayd b. Mihrān al-Mukṭib, a contemporary of Abū Ḥanīfa, held that whoever died in a state of *tamhīd* need not fear for his salvation even if he had committed grave sins; 'Umar b. Dharr (d. c.153/770) praised himself for belonging to an *umma* from whom God would only accept good works, overlooking evil ones;<sup>53</sup> Muqātil b. Sulaymān (d. 150/767 or 158/775) apparently taught that true faith inevitably outweighs any offence in the eyes of God;<sup>54</sup> Wakī<sup>c</sup> b. al-Jarrāḥ (d. 197/812) and others took the Murji'ites to affirm that belief outweighed the need for works;<sup>55</sup> Ibn Qutayba presents the Murji'ites as invoking the tradition that whoever professes belief in one God will go to Paradise even if he commits *zinā* or steals;<sup>56</sup> and al-Ash'arī knows of Murji'ites who held that God's threats of punishment were only addressed to polytheists, for, just as good deeds are useless in conjunction with *shirk*, so, bad deeds are harmless in conjunction with *īmān*.<sup>57</sup> In short, the Murji'ites came to be associated with the view that salvation was by faith alone. Differently put, they reverted to the view that believers were *ahl al-janna* while continuing to hold that believers included sinners. There is no evidence that they adopted this view in an antinomian vein, but it naturally reinforced the traditionalist impression that the Murji'ites were out to jettison the law.<sup>58</sup>

Like other Muslims, the Ḥanafīs eventually adopted the concept of temporary punishment in Hell. This enabled them to reject the Murji'ite view that works were irrelevant to salvation. 'We do not say that (the believer) will not enter Hell; nor do we say that he will remain there for ever', the Ḥanafī *Fiqh Akbar* (II, in Wensinck's terminology) declares, adding (with continued rejection of the Murji'ite label) that 'we do not say, as the Murji'ites do, that our good deeds are accepted and our sins forgiven'. The fate of the sinner who died unrepentant was still a gamble in that God might punish him or forgive him 'without punishing him in

<sup>53</sup> Shahrastānī, i. 104.–6; Jāhīz, *Bayān*, ii. 290.3; van Ess, *TG*, i. 157, 212.

<sup>54</sup> Ash'arī, 151.6; cf. Shahrastānī, i. 106.9, where it is denied that Muqātil held this view. Cf. also van Ess, *TG*, ii. 517 (on his death date), 531 (on his doctrine).

<sup>55</sup> M. Talbi, 'De la théologie du salut à Kairouan au III<sup>e</sup>/IX<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Akten des VII. Kongresses für Arabistik und Islamwissenschaft*, ed. A. Dietrich (Göttingen, 1976), 355.

<sup>56</sup> Ibn Qutayba, *Ta'wīl mukhtalif al-ḥadīth*, ed. M. Z. al-Najjār (Cairo, 1966), 4.

<sup>57</sup> Ash'arī, 147.

<sup>58</sup> This point is stressed by Talbi, 'Théologie du salut', 354f. For the Ḥanbalite image of the Murji'ites as destroyers of the belief in other-worldly rewards and punishment without which the world cannot function properly, see Ibn 'Aqīl in Ibn al-Jawzī, *Talbīs al-iblis* (Cairo, 1950), 84.3 = D. S. Margoliouth (tr.), 'The Devil's Delusion of Ibn al-Jauzi', *Islamic Culture*, 9 (1935), 392, where it is even asserted that they would have preferred to deny the existence of the Creator altogether!

any way'; but the temporary nature of the punishment reduced the arbitrariness of the solution.<sup>59</sup> Even grave sinners who died unrepentant would not stay in Hell for ever, al-Nasafī's Māturīdite creed affirmed.<sup>60</sup>

Though the traditionalists abhorred the Murji'ite exclusion of works from the definition of faith, they were well aware that the community had to include sinners and that the final sifting of saved from damned had to be left to God. But unlike the Murji'ites, they achieved this end without violating entrenched notions. They defined communal membership in terms of *islām* rather than *īmān*, identifying the former as a broader category than the latter: all *muslimūn* were members of the community, but only some of them were *mu'minūn* and thus *ahl al-janna*.<sup>61</sup> For the rest, the traditionalists simply declared that nobody should call a member of the *ahl al-qibla* an infidel for his sins, unless there was a tradition to this effect, and that nobody could know his afterlife. 'We do not say of any member of the *ahl al-qibla* that he is in Paradise or Hell, and we do not declare anyone to be an infidel even if he commits grave sins', Ibn 'Ukāsha said.<sup>62</sup> 'We do not testify of any people of the *qibla* that they are in Hell for a *dhanb* or *kabīra* they have committed, unless there is a tradition to this effect . . . nor do we testify that anyone is in Paradise for his upright behaviour or good works, unless there is a tradition to this effect', Ibn Ḥanbal ruled, adding that God might punish or forgive the sinner as He saw fit.<sup>63</sup> It was in this vein that he recommended *irjā' mā ghāba* (*anhu min al-umūr*, meaning that one should leave the fate of sinners to God.<sup>64</sup> Here as in the case of the first civil war, the traditionalists thus rejected the Murji'ite doctrine in order to achieve precisely the same effect.

Fundamentally, the difference between them could be said to be terminological. The traditionalists disliked characterizing themselves as *mu'minūn* without adding 'God willing' because they equated *mu'minūn* with *ahl al-janna*: one could only hope to be one of them. The Murji'ites found the reservation ridiculous because one could not, in their view, doubt one's own faith, but they readily admitted that one could only hope to be a member of the *ahl al-janna*.<sup>65</sup> The choice of terms did have major

<sup>59</sup> Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Maghnisāwī, *Sharḥ al-fiqh al-akbar in al-Rasā'il al-sab'a fi 'l-ʿaqā'id*, 3rd printing (Hyderabad, 1980), 27 f, 29; Wensinck, *Creed*, 192 f.

<sup>60</sup> D. B. Macdonald, *Development of Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence, and Constitutional Theory*, repr. (Beirut, 1965), 312.

<sup>61</sup> Ibn Ḥanbal in Ibn Abī Ya'la, *Ṭabaqāt*, i. 343.5; cf. 27.6; Laoust, *Profession de foi*, 49 f = 82 f; Ash'arī, *Ībāna*, 9; McCarthy, *Theology of al-Ash'arī*, 242 f, §§24/25–6; cf. also *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. 'Islām', sect. 3.

<sup>62</sup> Ibn 'Asākir, *Tahdhīb*, iii. 134, s.v. 'Umayya b. 'Uthmān'.

<sup>63</sup> Ibn Abī Ya'la, *Ṭabaqāt*, i. 26.11; cf. also Madelung, 'Early Sunnī Doctrine Concerning Faith', 248 ff.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. above, n. 14.

<sup>65</sup> Madelung, 'Early Sunnī Doctrine Concerning Faith', 238 ff; cf. also Nasafī, *Radd*, 120.

doctrinal implications in that it forced the Murji'ites to defend a seemingly antinomian concept of communal membership and salvation by faith to the exclusion of works, but it lost these implications as both parties came to include the sinner in the community and to suspend judgement on his other-worldly fate, deeming such punishment as he might undergo to be temporary (a development which awaits proper examination); and though they continued to disagree over the definition of faith, they did so without their former vehemence. Nothing much was at stake any more.<sup>66</sup>

### ACTIVISM AND QUIETISM

Sālim presents the Murji'ites as bitter opponents of the ruling powers, not as the loyal supporters of the Umayyad regime that Goldziher took them to be.<sup>67</sup> Implicitly, he also describes them as activists, not as the quietist endurers of oppression that they were eventually to become, for though he does not explicitly discuss their views on revolt, be it under the label of *jihād*, *al-amr bi'l-ma'rūf*, or otherwise, the sheer fact that he is silent on this point suggests that he had no disagreement with them here: had they been quietists, he would presumably have highlighted their inconsistency in dissociating from rulers while at the same time prohibiting revolt against them. We may take it, then, that Sālim's Murji'ites were both opponents of the regime and believers in the legitimacy of revolt. This is probably Sālim's most startling information, for until Cook drew attention to his epistle,<sup>68</sup> Goldziher's view enjoyed almost axiomatic status, occasional notes of caution notwithstanding.<sup>69</sup>

The early Murji'ites are generally construed as loyalists or quietists on the grounds that (a) *irjā'* was an implicitly or indeed explicitly pro-Umayyad doctrine; (b) it is explicitly described as 'the religion of the kings'; (c) it was coupled with predestination; (d) KI recommends quietism; (e) many Murji'ites explicitly condemned militant action, except in self-defence; and (f) therefore, they were traducing their own principles whenever they engaged in revolt. But the most that can be claimed is that Murji'ism was not by definition a doctrine of opposition.

(a) *Irjā'* was not an implicitly pro-Umayyad doctrine. For one thing, it was only about the past: Murji'ites suspended judgement on uncertain

<sup>66</sup> Cf. Ibn Taymiyya in Laoust, *Profession de foi*, 49 n of the tr. The differences had been further minimized when al-Ash'ari defined faith as *taṣḍīq* (Madelung, 'Murji'a', col. 607b).

<sup>67</sup> Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, ii, 89 ff; id., *Introduction*, 74 f.

<sup>68</sup> Cook, *Dogma*, ch. 6; id., 'Activism and Quietism in Islam: the Case of the Early Murji'a' in A. Cudsi and A. E. H. Dessouki (eds.), *Islam and Power* (London, 1981).

<sup>69</sup> For the notes of caution see van Vloten, 'Irdjā'', 166 f; and, more particularly, J. Wellhausen, *The Arab Kingdom and its Fall* (Calcutta, 1927; 1st publ. Berlin, 1902), 317 n; id., *Die religiös-politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam* (Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, phil.-hist. Klasse, NF 5) (Berlin, 1901), 15 n (with ref. to al-Ḥārith b. Surayj); H. Brentjes, *Die Imamatlehren im Islam nach der Darstellung des Ash'ari* (Berlin, 1964), 45 f.

matters (in the past), but spoke loud and clear about those who acted tyrannically or wilfully (in the present), as Thābit Qaṭna explained.<sup>70</sup> For another thing, the persons on whom judgement was suspended included 'Uthmān, on whom Umayyad legitimacy rested.<sup>71</sup> Modern scholars take it for granted that *irjā'* of 'Uthmān was less offensive to 'Uthmānīs than was *irjā'* of 'Alī to the Shī'ites, and it is true that Shī'ite hatred of Murji'ism is well attested. But then, Shī'ites and Murji'ites were neighbours in Kufa, and our sources are overwhelmingly Iraqi. They simply do not tell us how the supporters of the Umayyads reacted to Murji'ism. But it does not seem likely that they should have welcomed a doctrine that put a question mark over Umayyad legitimacy, and the hypothesis that Murji'ism was actually designed as a formula for making peace with the Umayyads is implausible.<sup>72</sup>

KI, 7, does contain an explicitly pro-Umayyad statement: it accuses the Saba'iyya of *firyā 'alā banī umayya wa-'alā 'llāh*. But this statement is, so to speak, too good to be true. One could, perhaps, envisage al-Ḥajjāj as accusing the Shī'ites of telling lies against the Umayyads and God, in that order; but others would surely have put God first. It might be argued that the passage should be translated 'they tell lies against the Umayyads and (even) against God', but the jump from the Umayyads to God is still too suggestive of al-Ḥajjāj for comfort. In other words, the passage is likely to be corrupt. Cook suggests that *banī umayya* should be read as *nabī allāh*, and van Ess retorts that it is also unusual to put the Prophet first.<sup>73</sup> This is true, but not so problematic if we translate 'they tell lies against the Prophet of God and (even) against God'. Perhaps some wholly different emendation should be considered, but however we tinker with the passage, it does not seem likely that the original statement was a declaration of loyalty to the Umayyads.

(b) Raqaba b. Maṣqala (d. 129/746 f) is credited with the statement that 'the Murji'ites adhere to the religion of the kings' (*wa-ammā 'l-murji'a fa-'alā dīn al-mulūk*).<sup>74</sup> This does not support the thesis that Murji'ism was a pro-Umayyad doctrine, however, for al-Ma'mūn is credited with the similar dictum that 'Murji'ism is the religion of kings' (*al-irjā' dīn*

<sup>70</sup> *Aghānī*, xvi. 270.5 = van Vloten, 'Irdjā', 162: 5; van Ess, *TG*, v. 17, no. 3: 5: *naṣduqu al-qawla fīman jāra aw 'ānada*; (Kh. 'Athamina, 'The Early Murji'a: Some Notes', *Journal of Semitic Studies*, 35 (1990), 125 n. 80, opts for 'we react aggressively'.) Agha, 'Viewpoint', 20 f, takes the line to establish a contrast between *jawr* and other kinds of sin rather than between certain and uncertain *jawr*.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. Crone and Hinds, *God's Caliph*, 31 f.

<sup>72</sup> The hypothesis was proposed by Madelung, *Qāsim*, 229; van Ess, *Anfänge*, 4 ff; cf. id., 'Das Kitāb', 40.

<sup>73</sup> Cook, *Dogma*, 42 f; id., 'Activism and Quietism', 20; van Ess, *TG*, v. 12. (Van Ess also notes that KI does, in fact, use the expression *nabī allāh* rather than the more common *rasūl allāh* elsewhere.)

<sup>74</sup> Laoust, *Profession de foi*, 40 = 67.

*al-mulūk*), and here the reference is to the fact that Murji'ism does not categorically assign unrepentant sinners (such as kings) to eternal Hell.<sup>75</sup> Presumably, then, this is also what Raqaba had in mind. Suspending judgement on the fate of unrepentant sinners obviously facilitated cooperation with kings in that it enabled people to associate with them without thereby dooming themselves to perdition; but in so far as the Murji'ites were loyalists, it was thus *irjā'* in the secondary rather than primary sense that lay behind it. *Irjā'* in its original sense was a doctrine apt to offend all the warring groups whose divisions it tried to transcend, and the only caliphs who were in a position to find it attractive (whether they actually did so or not) were the 'Abbāsids, whose claim to the caliphate was not based on, or at least not closely tied to, the rights and wrongs of the participants in the first *furqa*.

(c) Madelung conjectures that the Murji'ites made up for their excision of 'Uthmān by legitimating the regime in predestinarian terms instead: *wa-mā qaḍā allāh min amr fa-laysa lahu radd, wa-mā yaqḍī min shay' yakūn rashadan*, 'what God decrees cannot be averted, and what He decrees is right', Thābit Quṭna proclaimed.<sup>76</sup> But the notion that determinism legitimated the Umayyad regime is even more problematic than the problem it is meant to solve. What God decrees does of course include the powers that be, such as the Umayyads; but it also includes revolts against them, and should the revolts be successful, then that is what God predetermined with His inexorable decree. Whatever the result of anything turns out to be is what God willed, and since one cannot tell in advance what He will prove to have willed, one can legitimate any course of action or inaction in those terms. The very same Thābit Quṭna who included predestination in his Murji'ite creed rebelled against the Umayyads with Yazīd b. al-Muhallab and fell out with them again over their fiscal policy in Khurāsān under Ashras:<sup>77</sup> God had clearly predetermined that he should be an activist. The fact that the Zaydīs and Ibādīs also subscribed to predetermination should put paid to the idea that this was necessarily a pro-Umayyad stance.<sup>78</sup>

(d) In his article on KI published in 1972 van Ess assumed the concluding paragraph of KI to contain a quietist statement;<sup>79</sup> but his reading

<sup>75</sup> Ibn Ṭayfūr, *Kitāb Baghdad*, ed. M. Z. al-Kawtharī (Cairo, 1949), 51.2 (dictum only); al-Tha'ālībī, *Thimār al-qulūb*, ed. M. A.-F. Ibrāhīm (Cairo, 1965), 185, no. 264 (both dictum and explanation).

<sup>76</sup> *Aghānī*, xiv. 270.10 = van Vloten, 'Irdjā', 163.10; van Ess, *TG*, v. 18: 10. Cf. Madelung, *Qāsim*, 230, 231, where al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya, the putative author of KI, is assumed to have held the same views.

<sup>77</sup> *Aghānī*, xiv. 279.10; Madelung, 'Early Murji'a', 33, citing Ṭabarī, 2nd ser., 1507–10; id., 'Murji'a', col. 606a.

<sup>78</sup> Cook, *Dogma*, 40.

<sup>79</sup> Van Ess, 'Das Kitāb', 39.

of the passage was laborious, and in 1981 Cook proposed a simpler reading which eliminates the quietism and which has since been accepted by van Ess himself.<sup>80</sup> We accept it too and find further support for it in Sālim. As emended by Cook (and in his line numbering), KI, 9 proclaims (1) *fā-hādhā amrunā wa-ra'yunā . . .* (6) *wa-nudhakkiru bihi qawmanā* (7) *wa-man sa'alanā 'an a'immatinā* (8) *fa-yastahillūna/fa'l-yastahillū ba'dahu dimā'anā* (9) *aw yu'arriḍū dimā'ahum lanā*, which Cook translates '(1) This is where we take our stand . . . (6) we bring it to the notice of our people (7) and of whoever asks us concerning our imams. (8) After this they will/let them deem it legal to shed our blood (9) unless they expose their own blood to us [or: on our behalf]'. Van Ess's translation is now similar, except for the last line, which he renders 'or give their own blood in exchange for ours'. Sālim supports Cook's 'expose their own blood to us' in the sense of 'forcing us to kill them'. In II, 59, he says, in wording similar to that of KI, that when the 'Muslims' were confronted by Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr they *dhakkarūhum bi'llāh wa'l-islām an yabghū 'alayhim wa-an yu'arriḍūhum qatlahum*, 'admonished them in the name of God and Islam not to transgress against them and not to put them in the position of having to kill them'. In the light of this, the last lines of the KI paragraph may be translated '(8) After this let them deem it lawful to kill us or (9) expose themselves to killing by us'. The dichotomy between (8) and (9) is more apparent than real since it was precisely by deeming it lawful to kill the Murji'ites that the latter's opponents would put themselves in the position of *bughāt* (in Sālim's Qur'ānic terminology) and thus force the Murji'ites to kill them. But in any case, Cook is right that the overall message is much the same as in *Kitāb al-Safwa*'s declaration that 'on this basis we fight whoever of them fights us'.

(e) Thābit Quṭna makes the same point as KI when he says that 'We only shed blood when others try to shed ours, in accordance with a single, fixed rule'. He does not mean that Murji'ites are only allowed to use the sword when they are attacked, unless 'attacked' is understood in the broadest of senses.<sup>81</sup> What he means is rather that the Murji'ites only fight oppressors (*bughāt*, in Sālim's terminology) and only on the basis of principles: unlike Khārijites, they do not practise wanton *isti'rād* and, unlike government troops, they do not engage in wanton *ʿaṣabiyya*.<sup>82</sup> Similar statements were made by the Ibādīs: 'we only fight those who fight

<sup>80</sup> Cook, *Dogma*, 38 ff; van Ess, *TG*, v. 10 (w). But van Ess's interpretation in *TG*, i. 177, seems to reflect the earlier reading: KI is still taken to recommend restraint (*Zurückhaltung*).

<sup>81</sup> *Aghāni*, xiv. 270.8 = van Vloten, 'Irdjā', 163:8; van Ess, *TG*, v. 18:8. Understood in a quietist vein by Madelung, *Qāsim*, 230; id., 'Murjī'a', col. 606a.

<sup>82</sup> Cf. the followers of al-Hārith b. Surayj who claim that *lā nuqātilu illā man yuqātilunā*, explicitly contrasting it with *ʿaṣabiyya* (Ṭabarī, 2nd ser., 1931.7, 9); and cf. the following n.

us' or 'we only fight those who force us to fight them', Abū Bilāl is reputed to have declared when he rebelled against 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyad;<sup>83</sup> 'we have only rebelled to restrain the people of corruption and to fight those who fight us', Balj b. 'Uqba is said to have proclaimed to the Medinese during the great Ibādī revolt in Arabia in 129.<sup>84</sup> In neither case did the statements amount to a declaration of quietism; on the contrary, they were meant as legitimation of revolt, their message being that the rebels were taking action for good reason. Pseudo-Nāshī<sup>3</sup> has it that most Murji'ites (presumably, before his own time) held it obligatory to wage *jihād* on Quraysh, i.e. the caliphs, if the latter acted tyrannically;<sup>85</sup> and numerous sources declare Abū Ḥanīfa to have been a Murji'ite who believed in armed revolt (*murji'ī yarā 'l-sayf*),<sup>86</sup> which carries greater weight than the fact that he is also presented as a quietist;<sup>87</sup> for, given that not only the Murji'ites but also the Sunnīs of whom he came to be regarded as a founding father eventually settled for quietism, he was bound to be recast as an exponent of the classical position.

(f) It follows that there is no reason to see the Murji'ites as violating their own principles whenever they took up arms,<sup>88</sup> and the sheer frequency with which they did so also makes this implausible. Leaving aside the curious claim that they participated in Ibn al-Zubayr's revolt (before they came into existence),<sup>89</sup> they joined the rebellions of Ibn al-Ash'ath and Yazīd b. al-Muhallab in Iraq in c.82/701 and 101–2/720,<sup>90</sup> flirted with the revolts of Zayd b. 'Alī and Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdallāh in Iraq in 122/740 and

<sup>83</sup> Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, iv.a, 156–3 (where it is coupled with rejection of *isti'rād*); Darjīnī, *Ṭabaqāt*, ii. 219–6; Shammākhī, *Siyar*, 64–4 (the version with force).

<sup>84</sup> *Aghānī*, xxiii. 232.18.

<sup>85</sup> Nāshī<sup>3</sup>, §108; Nawbakhtī, *Firaq*, 10; cf. also Abū Tammām, 80, 85 = 79, 82 f, where the Ghaylāniyya and 'all Murji'ites' are activists while the Ḥanafīs are activists and quietists alike, presumably by conflation of information relating to different periods. Other sources show that the Murji'ites had developed into quietists by the mid-ninth century, at least in Iraq (cf. nn. 101–5).

<sup>86</sup> See, e.g., Baghdādī, *Ta'rikh Baghdād*, xiii. 384 ff; al-Jassās, *Aḥkām al-Qur'ān* (Beirut, 1994), i. 85, *ad Q. 2: 124* (*lā yanālu 'ahdī al-zālimīn*), and other exegetes on the same v.; below, n. 91; Abū Tammām, 85.2 = 82. For other attestations, see M. Cook, *The Voice of Honest Indignation: al-amr bi'l-ma'rūf wa'l-nahy 'an al-munkar in Islamic Thought and Practice*, forthcoming, ch. 1.

<sup>87</sup> Abū Muṭī'c, *al-Fiqh al-absat*, 44.9. Hence, presumably, Madelung's statement that Abū Ḥanīfa was fundamentally opposed to armed revolt ('Murdjī'a', col. 606b). Van Ess's reaction is more sceptical (*TG*, i. 210).

<sup>88</sup> Madelung, *Qāsim*, 232. But he has since accepted that the Murji'ites cannot be described as Umayyad loyalists or quietists ('Murdjī'a', col. 606a).

<sup>89</sup> Thus Abū 'Ubayda in A. A. Bevan (ed.), *The Naḳā'id of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq* (Leiden, 1905–12), i. 118.12, cited by Brentjes, 46 (they assisted Ibn al-Zubayr against the Syrians in 64/683 f).

<sup>90</sup> For the participants in Ibn al-Ash'ath's revolt, see Madelung, *Qāsim*, 232 f. The Murji'ite participants in Yazīd b. al-Muhallab's revolt included Thābit Quṭna (above, n. 77) as well as the Basran Abū Ru'ba, *ra's 'ā'ifa min al-murji'a*, and his companions (Ṭabarī, 2nd ser., 1399.18, 1404.10, 1407.10).

145/762 f,<sup>91</sup> and staged revolts of their own in Khurāsān under al-Ḥārith b. Surayj in 116–28/734–46.<sup>92</sup> Their insistence that even sinners were believers was not meant to imply that sinful behaviour had to be tolerated: they deemed it obligatory to dissociate from sinful believers, as we learn from Sālim, and on occasion even held it lawful to kill them, as we learn from 'Awn.<sup>93</sup> Sālim knows of Murji'ites who went so far as to brand their 'kings' as infidels (III, 100). Several later sources associate such Murji'ites with Ibn al-Ash'ath's rebellion,<sup>94</sup> but this is not to say that crediting kings with faith was incompatible with activism: according to Madelung, the Murji'ites of Khurāsān were notable both for their refusal to include works in the definition of faith and for sponsoring a 'revolutionary reform movement' from the late Umayyad period till the ninth century.<sup>95</sup>

Early Murji'ism thus cannot be said to have been a doctrine of loyalism or quietism. It would, however, also be wrong to claim that it committed its followers to opposition. It is true that it may have done so in the formulation of Sālim's Murji'ites, who arguably dissociated from Mu'āwiya as a participant in the first civil war, thus rejecting the entire Umayyad

<sup>91</sup> Cf. C. van Arendonk, *Les débuts de l'imāmat zāidite au Yémen* (Leiden, 1960), 281 of the original pagination (numerous sources on how Abū Ḥanīfa supported Zayd's revolt financially, though he would not participate personally); Ibn al-Murtaḍā, *Kitāb al-munya wa'l-amal fī sharḥ al-mīlāl wa'l-niḥāl*, ed. M. J. Mashkur (Beirut, 1979), 94 f; also cited in Nashwān, 185 f (the entire *umma*, including Murji'ites, joined Zayd's revolt except for the Rāfiḍa!); Abū 'l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil al-Tālibiyyīn*, ed. A. Ṣaqr (Cairo, 1949), 361, 366 (Abū Ḥanīfa strongly supported Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdallāh's revolt and gave *fatwās* telling people to join it; both he and Mis'ar b. Kidām actively encouraged Ibrāhīm to come to Kufa, promising him help; but the Murji'ites at large were against it); Azdī, *Mawṣil*, 188 (Abū Ḥanīfa publicly supported Ibrāhīm's revolt and told people to join, as he would have done himself if he had been *baṣīran*); al-Fasawī, *Kitāb al-ma'rifa wa'l-ta'riḥ*, ed. A. D. al-'Umari (Baghdad, 1974–5), ii, 788 (Abū Ḥanīfa held that Abū Ishāq al-Fazārī would have done better if he had died in Ibrāhīm's revolt along with his brother instead of [fighting holy war against infidels] in Maṣṣiṣa — drawn to our attention by Michael Cook); Baghdādī, *Ta'riḥ Baghdād*, xiii, 385 (cites Fasawī's account; adds another on how Abū Ḥanīfa encouraged Abū Ishāq al-Fazārī's brother to join Ibrāhīm's revolt, in which he was killed); Jassās, *Ahkām al-Qur'ān*, i, 85 (summarizes all the above); van Ess, *TG*, i, 187 f, 210 (adds that this is probably why Abū Ḥanīfa was thrown into jail).

<sup>92</sup> Cf. *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. 'al-Ḥārith b. Suraydj'. Al-Ḥārith was a Murji'ite according to Ṭabarī, 2nd ser., 1575 (*kāna yarā ra'y al-murji'a*), with ref. to a poem by Naṣr b. Sayyār (the crucial line is at p. 1576.9). This was accepted by van Vloten ('Irdjā'), 167 f, where the poem is translated) and Wellhausen (*Kingdom*, 464 f, 485 f, 498 f, cf. 317 n), but rejected by Madelung, *Qāsim*, 238, on the grounds that his adherents do not seem to have had any interest in the rights and wrongs of the first civil war: Jahm b. Ṣafwān, al-Ḥārith's secretary, shared with the Murji'ites the feature of excluding works from the definition of faith, and this was why Naṣr credited them with *irjā'*. In his 'Early Murji'a', however, Madelung accepts al-Ḥārith as a Murji'ite and his account (summarized in 'Murdji'a' col. 606) is now close to Wellhausen's.

<sup>93</sup> Cf. the comm. to III, 98.

<sup>94</sup> Sa'īd b. Jubayr, a Murji'ite according to some (cf. below, n. 96), exhorted the rebels to fight the oppressors for *khurūjihim min al-dīn* (Ibn Sa'īd, vi, 265), while Dharr b. 'Abdallāh exclaimed *hal hiya illā bard ḥadīda bi-yad kāfir maftūn* (Ibn Sa'īd, vi, 293); and according to Nashwān, 204.2, the Murji'a rebelled with Ibn al-Ash'ath in response to al-Ḥajjaj's question whether the messenger or the deputy is the more noble, saying that he *kafara bi-dhālika* (for the question, see Crone and Hinds, *God's Caliph*, 28 f).

<sup>95</sup> Madelung, 'Early Murji'a', 39.

dynasty on principle (cf. above, on the scope of *irjā'*). They also refused to associate with, or pray for forgiveness on behalf of, 'kings' (III, 98), apparently on the assumption that sinners were doomed to perdition (cf. the list above, 5). But the Murji'ites who suspended judgement on Mu'āwiya along with the other participants in the first schism left the status of the dynasty he founded open. In their view, the legitimacy of the Umayyads (or for that matter the 'Abbāsids) must have depended on the caliphs' performance, and the degree to which they regarded them as tyrants seems to have varied. By the late Umayyad or early 'Abbāsīd period, when they had come to suspend judgement on the other-worldly fate of sinners, they could even serve tyrannical kings without imperilling their souls, but there are examples of collaboration from the beginning. Sa'īd b. Jubayr (a Murji'ite according to some<sup>96</sup>), received appointment from al-Ḥajjāj before rebelling under Ibn al-Ash'ath; 'Awn b. 'Abdallāh, who participated in the same revolt, went on to join Muḥammad b. Marwān in the Jazīra before attaching himself to 'Umar II's court; Thābit Quṭna held office in Khurāsān under Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, and though he rebelled with the latter in Iraq, he returned to service in the Khurāsānī army, to fall out with the Umayyads again on a later occasion; Muḥārib b. Dithār was appointed judge by Khālid al-Qasrī; 'Umar b. Dharr served as judge under Ibn Hubayra, in whose entourage he enjoyed a prominent position;<sup>97</sup> Ibrāhīm b. Ṭahmān frequented the court of al-Manṣūr;<sup>98</sup> al-Qāsim b. Ma'n was *qāḍī* under al-Hādī and Hārūn;<sup>99</sup> and Abū Yūsuf accepted appointment as chief *qāḍī* from Hārūn al-Rashīd.<sup>100</sup> In short, the Murji'ite record is as notable for its instances of collaboration as it is for those of rebellion.

By Abū Yūsuf's time, however, Murji'ism was a quietist doctrine, at least in Iraq. It must have begun to develop in this direction by late Umayyad or early 'Abbāsīd times, for although Abū Ḥanīfa and Mis'ar b. Kidām considered joining the revolts of Zayd b. 'Alī and Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdallāh, the bulk of the Iraqi Murji'ites were against it.<sup>101</sup> Abū Ḥanīfa was soon to be rewritten as a quietist, as has been seen.<sup>102</sup> By the mid-ninth century the Murji'a were well known to al-Jāhīz as adherents of *lā qitāl*,<sup>103</sup>

<sup>96</sup> Thus Abū Ḥanīfa, *Risāla*, 37.10 = van Ess, *TG*, v. 28 (t). Cf. Baghdādī, *Ta'rikh Baghdād*, xiii. 374.11, where Ḥammād b. Zayd observes of Sa'īd that Abū Ḥanīfa *intahalahu fī 'l-irjā'*. Hence, presumably, the fact that he appears as a Murji'ite in Shahrastānī, 108.12; accepted by Madelung, *Qāsim*, 231. He appears as an opponent of Murji'ism elsewhere (e.g. Ibn Sa'd, vii. 228, where he warns somebody against Ṭalq b. Ḥabīb on account of the latter's Murji'ism).

<sup>97</sup> Athamina, 'Early Murji'a', 118 n. 46, with extensive documentation.

<sup>98</sup> Crone and Hinds, *God's Caliph*, 84.

<sup>99</sup> Van Ess, *TG*, i. 215 f.

<sup>100</sup> *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. 'Abū Yūsuf'.

<sup>101</sup> Cf. above, n. 91.

<sup>102</sup> Cf. above, n. 87.

<sup>103</sup> Jāhīz, 'Ḥakamayn', §95.

while the Ibādī Abū 'l-Muṭṭhir thought of *shukkāk*, Murji'ā, and Ḥashwiyya as quietists by so many names;<sup>104</sup> the twelfth-century Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī even knew of Ḥashwiyya and Murji'ā who disapproved of bloodshed to the point that they were willing to do without imams to prevent it.<sup>105</sup> On this issue too, then, the Murji'ites ended up by merging with the *ahl al-sunna wa'l-jamā'ā*.

According to Ibn Ḥanbal, the Khārijites offended the *ahl al-sunna wa'l-jamā'ā* by calling them Murji'ites.<sup>106</sup> The Khārijites were quite right to discern a fundamental identity between the two, and others also noticed it, in both a hostile and a sympathetic vein. Thus the Imāmī Shī'ite al-Nawbakhtī (d. c.300/912) equated the Murji'ā with *al-sawād al-a'zam*, the great and in his eyes misguided majority to which the historical Murji'ites and the traditionalists alike belonged.<sup>107</sup> The Sunnī geographer al-Maqdisī (wrote c.374/985) identified the Murji'ites as ancestral to *al-sawād al-a'zam*, rightly guided in his eyes<sup>108</sup> and the Ḥanafī heresiographer al-Nasafī (d. 318/930) regarded the Ḥashwiyya as a Murji'ite sub-sect.<sup>109</sup> Eleventh-century Mu'tazilites also labelled the *ahl al-sunna wa'l-athar* Murji'ites, though Abū Ya'qūb (d. 458/1066) protested that the label could more appropriately be applied to the Karrāmiyya.<sup>110</sup> By then, the historical Murji'ā had clearly long been dead and gone.

## THE FATANA

The Fatana are mentioned for two doctrines only. First, they say that their kings are evil and *maftūnūn*, but that it is forbidden to rebel against them. If ordinary believers transgress, the imam must wage *jihād* on them and the rest of the Muslims must help him, but the Muslims may not take up arms against an imam who does wrong. This is illustrated with four tedious examples (III, 106–12). Secondly, they say that although the kings of their people have acted wrongly, they do not know whether they have deserved God's punishment or mercy by this (III, 113).

<sup>104</sup> Kāshif, *Siyar*, i. 65.

<sup>105</sup> Nashwān, 150.6 (where the Najdiyya, who also held the imam to be dispensable, are credited with the same motivation).

<sup>106</sup> Ibn Abi Ya'qūb, *Ṭabaqāt*, i. 36.5.

<sup>107</sup> Nawbakhtī, *Firaq*, 6 f, 15, with ref. to the fact that they affiliate to all parties in the first civil war, identify all *ahl al-qibla* as believers and hope that all will be forgiven.

<sup>108</sup> al-Maqdisī, *Aḥsān al-taqāsīm fī ma'rifat al-aqālim*, ed. M. de Goeje (Leiden, 1906), 38 f, where the Murji'ā are those who suspend judgement on the other-worldly fate of sinners.

<sup>109</sup> Nasafī, *Radd*, 62.

<sup>110</sup> Abū Ya'qūb, *Mu'tamad*, 209, §381, where the Mu'tazilites base themselves on the shared refusal to condemn the *fāsiq* to eternal Hell.

The Fatana are not mentioned in any other source, and it has been suggested that their name should be emended to *qa'ada*, but there is a good case for accepting it as it stands, or at the most for emending it to *Fitan-iyya*.<sup>111</sup> 'The Fatana assert that the kings of their people are . . . *maftūnūn*', the opening line of this section states, clearly suggesting that they owed their name to their classification of kings as *maftūnūn*, or, more generally, to the fact that words of the root *fin* were constantly on their lips. 'The Bida'iyya say that the first who *ibtada'a* innovations in this community are those who found fault with the imams of the Muslims', al-Nasafī says in his opening lines on the quietists who may once have figured in Sālim's polemics too. One would also take this to be an explanation of the sect name.<sup>112</sup>

Presumably, the Fatana argued that their rulers were *maftūnūn* in the sense of 'having succumbed to temptation' rather than in that of 'mad'. Q. 5: 49 contains an instruction easily seen as addressed to rulers: 'Judge between them according to what God has sent down, and do not follow their caprices, and beware of them lest they tempt thee (*yafsinūka*) away from any of what God has sent down to thee'. The Fatana would appear to have argued that this is what their rulers failed to do. Why they deemed it unlawful to take up arms against them is not explained.

According to Sālim, the Fatana held their kings to be wrongdoers with reference to Q. 42: 42 on 'those who do wrong to people and are insolent in the earth wrongfully'; but this is somewhat implausible. The Fatana claimed not to know the fate of their rulers in the hereafter, but Q. 42: 42 continues, 'there awaits them a painful chastisement', so that all Sālim has to do in order to refute them is to quote the verse in full (III, 112). The Fatana can hardly have based their position on a verse which made it so obviously untenable. The word *maftūn*, moreover, only occurs once in the Qur'ān, so that the Fatana cannot have declared their kings to be *maftūnūn* without thereby conjuring up Q. 68: 5–7: 'thou shalt see, and they will see, which of you is *al-maftūn*. Surely thy Lord knows best who has gone astray from His path and who are rightly guided (*inna rabbaka huma a'lam bi-man ḍalla 'an sabilihi wa-huma a'lam bi'l-muhtadīn*)'. This passage

<sup>111</sup> The emendation to *qa'ada* is proposed by Madelung in his review of Cook, 630. It has the merit of leaving the word as a *fā'ala* plural, for which Sālim seems to have had a preference (cf. *jahala*, *zalama*, *'abadat al-awthān*). But it seems unlikely that the same corruption should have occurred repeatedly within one section, several pages apart, yet not elsewhere in the epistle (*qa'ada* appear in ll. 569, 571, 576). Besides, Madelung takes his reading to 'indicate a situation of actual revolt . . . since quietists became "sitters" only when others would rise'. But the Fatana were quietists on principle, regardless of whether others were rising or not; and if Sālim was the author of the section on the Fatana, nobody *was* rising at the time of writing: the recent *furqa* is a past event, as we learn from the Murji'ite section (cf. below, Ch. 8, pp. 294 f). Privately, Madelung has now proposed Fit(a)niyya as an alternative, on analogy with Bid(a)'iyya, Qadariyya, etc.

<sup>112</sup> Nasafī, *Radd*, 123.

suggests that God distinguished between misbehaviour that 'thou shalt see and they will see' and fundamental straying from His path (*dalāla*) which He alone was competent to judge. That kings were *maftūnūn* was obvious to everyone, but only God could tell whether they had truly gone astray: hence, perhaps, they declared themselves unable to tell whether their kings would be damned or saved. (We have not, however, found any trace of this interpretation in the exegetical literature.) They must have held their kings to remain believers. We are not told whether they also held ordinary sinners to remain believers or suspended judgement on their fate in the hereafter, but one would assume them to have done so.

Who, then, were the Fatana/Fitaniyya? Their doctrines identify them as Murji'ites or traditionalists, but they clearly were not Murji'ites of the type discussed in Sālim's polemics. Sālim's Murji'ites dissociated from kings in this world and consigned them to Hell in the next (if our understanding of his text is correct), whereas the Fatana forbade revolt against kings and professed not to know their fate in the hereafter. If the section is by Sālim, he did not regard them as Murji'ites at all. They are not identified as such, no attempt is made to play their views against those of the Murji'ites, and they are enumerated separately in the stance (IV, 134–5). But this has no bearing on their identity if they owe their presence in the epistle to interpolation.

Interpolated or otherwise, the Fatana are difficult to pin down because there is so little to distinguish the later Murji'a from the *ahl al-sunna wa'l-jamā'a*, or Ḥashwiyya, as the Ibādīs preferred to call them:<sup>113</sup> both suspended judgement on the participants in the first civil war; both refused to exclude the sinner from the community; both refused to pronounce on the future fate of sinners; and both were opposed to rebellion. The Fatana apparently shared the last two views, but it does not suffice to make them distinctive.

The nearest we have to a clue to their identity is the fact that Shabīb b. 'Aṭīyya, active in Oman between 134/752 and 177/794, argued against opponents of a closely related kind, whom he called the *ahl al-shakk wa'l-ʿamā* and whom one would assume to be Omanis voicing views disseminated from Iraq. They too subscribed to quietist views, and at one point Shabīb has the following to say about them:

Among the things with which God leads them astray and blinds their sights is that they claim that if there were an imam of guidance who upheld justice, and if further a mischief-maker (*muhdith*) did some mischief for which he became liable to a claim or *ḥadd*, and if the imam responded by trying to make him acquit himself of that claim or *ḥadd* and the person owing it refused, then the Muslims would be obliged to help and assist their imam in his fight against the person

<sup>113</sup> The Ḥashwiyya call themselves *al-jamā'a* and *ahl al-sunna*, but they lie, as Bisyanī puts it (Kāshif, *Siyar*, ii. 137).

who refused to acquit himself of the obligation incurred by his mischief, be it a claim or a *ḥadd*; and both the subjects and the imams should go on pursuing him until he either fulfils that claim or God kills him and his followers. But if an imam makes some mischief for which he becomes liable to a claim or *ḥadd* and the subjects ask him to fulfil that claim himself, this being what he owes, and he resists the Muslims, then it is their duty — they claim — to desist from him, not to fight him, not to help those who will fight him until he pays the duty he owes, and not to uphold justice together with others. This suffices to show the error of people who claim that if an imam makes mischief, they should not correct him or go on reproaching him till he returns willingly on his own, nor stand up if he refuses to return and ignores the rights of God and His *ḥudūd* and the rights of those endowed with them. Intelligent people know that the imam is a Muslim like any other, with the same rights and duties as they have. He is not allowed to make forbidden things lawful or to forbid lawful things by virtue of the fact that God has put him in charge of His servants and lands. On the contrary, what he owes to God is magnified by that office. The successor of the Messenger of God Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddiq said, addressing the Muslims, 'I am no better than you, but if I behave well, then help me and if I behave badly, then correct me'.<sup>114</sup>

This is clearly a shorter version of Sālim's account of the Fatana's position, written in a similarly tortuous style and making the same point, that the law is the same for all, against them; Shabīb's comment that 'this should suffice to show the error' could even be taken to suggest that he was familiar with versions which piled example upon example on a par with Sālim's.

Shabīb's *ahl al-shakk* or, as they are more commonly known, Shukkāk, are described in the Ibādī tradition as a party that originated in the first civil war: when 'Uthmān was killed, some people said that he had been killed justly, others said that he had been killed unjustly, but the Shukkāk professed not to know and suspended judgement on the matter, they being Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ, 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar, Muḥammad b. Maslama, and Usāma b. Zayd.<sup>115</sup> They had 'doubts' about 'Alī and Mu'āwiya too,<sup>116</sup> to which they added 'doubts' about fighting tyrants, i.e. they were quietists.<sup>117</sup> They would appear to be what Pseudo-Nāshī' calls Ḥulaysiyya; that is to say, quietist *aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth* who 'today' count as part of the Ḥashwiyya: they too are said to have stood aside in the first civil war under

<sup>114</sup> Shabīb b. 'Atīyya in Kāshif, *Siyar*, ii. 357 f; also in HX, 103 ff; Qalhātī, *Kashf*, fos. 183a f, with minor variations.

<sup>115</sup> Qalhātī, *Kashf*, fo. 139a (with the four names); Bisyānī in Kāshif, *Siyar*, ii. 83; Bahlawī, *ibid.*, 390 f; *Radd 'alā ahl al-shakk* in App. 5.

<sup>116</sup> Cf. Bisyānī in the previous n.

<sup>117</sup> Shabīb in Kāshif, *Siyar*, ii. 352.8; Abū 'l-Mu'thir *ibid.*, 310–4 (*al-shukkāk fī shakkihim fī qitāl al-jabābira*). Abū 'l-Mu'thir notes that they hold it obligatory to fight with the imam against malefactors while at the same time deeming it forbidden to fight against an imam who does wrong (*ibid.*, 297; cf. i. 156 f); he also denounces the quietism of 'the Shukkāk, Murji'a and Ḥashwiyya' (i, 65.10).

the leadership of Sa'īd b. Abī Waqqās, 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar, Muḥammad b. Maslama, and Usāma b. Zayd, though Pseudo-Nāshī<sup>118</sup> explains their neutrality with reference to their quietism rather than their views on 'Uthmān.<sup>118</sup> Al-Qalhātī explicitly identifies Shabīb's *ahl al-shakk* as Ḥashwīyya.<sup>119</sup> They are often mentioned in tandem with Murji'ites,<sup>120</sup> and one could use the argument against the 'first Murji'ites' to refute their position on 'Uthmān, as the anonymous *Radd 'alā ahl al-shakk* informs us.<sup>121</sup> Shabīb does just that in his epistle. When his opponents claim not to know whether 'Uthmān had been killed justly or unjustly, he responds that they have 'witnessed his killing and seen his deeds with their own eyes', i.e. their autopsy argument does not work.<sup>122</sup>

The bulk of Shabīb's epistle is concerned with their quietism, which they defend with much reference to Prophetic Ḥadīth. Their armoury includes the famous *kun 'abd allāh al-maqtūl* tradition (also reported for the Ḥulaysiyya),<sup>123</sup> and the declaration that the *qā'id* in a *fitna* is better than the *qā'im*, *māshi'*, and *rākib*.<sup>124</sup> They admit that the kings of their people (*mulūk qawmihim*) have abandoned the book of God, the *sunna* of the Prophet, and the example of the rightly guided caliphs; but, they say, salvation lies in 'following the *jamā'a* wherever it turns in the way of obedience or disobedience', or in 'following the *sawād al-a'ẓam*, be it in obedience or disobedience (to God)' (which takes us close to the doctrine reported for the Bida'iyya).<sup>125</sup> They interpret a saying of the Prophet to mean that 'the community is with its kings' (*al-jamā'a ma'a 'l-mulūk*).<sup>126</sup> This is why one may not take up arms against them in their view, though one must fight on their side against others who act wrongly, as the Fatana agreed.

<sup>118</sup> Nāshī<sup>2</sup>, §§19, 29.

<sup>119</sup> Qalhātī, *Kashf*, fo. 180a.

<sup>120</sup> Cf. Shabīb's epistle to 'Abd al-Salām in refutation of the Shukkāk and Murji'a (HX, 279.ult.–285); Abū 'l-Mu'thir, above, n. 117; below, n. 127; Bahlawī on the Ḥawshwīyya, Murji'ites, and Shukkāk in *Kāshif*, *Siyar*, ii. 388–91.

<sup>121</sup> See App. 5.

<sup>122</sup> *Kāshif*, *Siyar*, ii. 352.4.

<sup>123</sup> *Kāshif*, *Siyar*, ii. 352.10 (cf. 142.10, where Bisyānī knows the Shukkāk to invoke the *kun 'abd allāh al-maqtūl* tradition); Nāshī<sup>2</sup>, §19, on the Ḥulaysiyya. The latter also quote the Prophet as saying 'when two Muslims meet with their swords, both the killer and the victim are in Hell', and Shabīb quotes his opponents as invoking the same tradition, without, however, specifying that they ascribed it to the Prophet (*Kāshif*, *Siyar*, ii. 356.11).

<sup>124</sup> *Kāshif*, *Siyar*, ii. 353.–6. Traditions on the *qā'id* in a *fitna* being better than the *qā'im*, etc. were also known to Sayf b. 'Umar, who wrote about the same time as Shabīb and who cites two versions with approval, ascribing one of them to the Prophet (*Futūh*, 299, §247 (= Ṭabarī, 2nd ser., 1346), 300, §249).

<sup>125</sup> *Kāshif*, *Siyar*, ii. 355.2, 369.–3, 370 f. Cf. the tradition in 'Abd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaf*, xi, no. 20966, where 'Uthmān tells people to stick to the *jamā'a* 'whenever it is'. For the Bida'iyya, see above, Ch. 1, p. 21.

<sup>126</sup> *Kāshif*, *Siyar*, ii. 355.2.

The Ibādī tradition further credits the Shukkāk with 'doubts' about God's threat, meaning that they did not categorically assign grave sinners to Hell.<sup>127</sup> But on this point Shabīb's *ahl al-shakk* come across as different, for they base their alleged claim that 'the community is with its kings' on a Prophetic prediction that 'God will strengthen this religion with men who have no *khalāq*'.<sup>128</sup> This is presumably a reference to Q. 3: 77 on those who sell God's covenant and their oaths for a little price: 'there shall be no share for them in the world to come (*lā khalāq lahum fī 'l-ākhirā*); God shall not speak to them neither look on them on the Resurrection Day, neither will He purify them; and for them awaits a painful chastisement'.

Apparently, then, Shabīb's opponents were traditionalists who had not come round to suspending judgement on the other-worldly fate of sinners yet: sinful kings had to be tolerated in this world, but they would be punished by eternal hellfire in the next. Perhaps they still held sinners to be unbelievers.<sup>129</sup> They will in that case have owed their nickname Shukkāk to Murji'ite scoffing at their refusal to call themselves believers without the qualification 'God willing', not to the many kinds of doubt with which the Ibādīs explain their name.<sup>130</sup> At all events, they will have been quite distinct from their Murji'ite contemporaries, for on the one hand the Murji'ites were still activists, and on the other hand they no longer professed to know that grave sinners were damned: one had to take up arms against sinful rulers, but even rulers were believers, and God might punish or forgive sinful believers as He saw fit. Abū Ḥanīfa's generation of Murji'ites had adopted the profession of ignorance regarding the fate of sinners in the hereafter to which Raqaba b. Maşqala reputedly referred as 'the religion of kings'.<sup>131</sup>

All this is of interest in that it suggests a context for the Fatana. The Fatana espoused quietism *and* professed ignorance of the other-worldly fate of sinners such as kings: they adhered to 'the religion of kings' in respect of this world and the next alike. The fact that they have a name of their own suggests that they appeared at a time when the combination of these two doctrines was unusual, commonplace though it was to become in later times. Suspension of judgement on the other-worldly fate

<sup>127</sup> al-Kindī, *al-Jawhar al-muqtaṣar*, ed. S. I. Kāshif (Cairo, WYQwTh 1983), 122.12, with ref. to the Murji'ā and Shukkāk.

<sup>128</sup> Kāshif, *Siyar*, ii. 355.2.

<sup>129</sup> Cf. Madelung, 'Early Sunnī Doctrines Concerning Faith', 242 (the Kufan traditionalists and the school of Sufyān al-Thawrī denied the name of believer to the grave sinner, and in particular to the unjust ruler). Cf. the quietist traditions in Nu'aym b. Ḥammad, *Kitāb al-fitān*, ed. S. Zakkār (Mecca n.d.; preface dated 1991), 82, 104, in which those who abstain from action in *fitna* are characterized as believers, those who fight as infidels.

<sup>130</sup> Madelung, 'Early Sunnī Doctrines Concerning Faith', 239. The traditionalists repaid the compliment by calling the Murji'ites Shukkāk with ref. to their stance on the *furqa* (cf. the statement attributed to Maymūn b. Mihrān in van Ess, *TG*, i. 153).

<sup>131</sup> Cf. above, pp. 223, 237 f.

of sinners is well attested in traditionalist circles by the first half of the ninth century.<sup>132</sup> Quietism, still a matter of practicality rather than principle to the Murji'ites of Iraq in the 760s,<sup>133</sup> appears as a well-established Murji'ite principle in al-Jāhīz about a century later.<sup>134</sup> It may thus tentatively be suggested that the Fatana should be placed in an area in which Murji'ites and traditionalists lived cheek by jowl in or around the time of Abū Hanīfa and Shabīb.

That still leaves the question whether the Fatana were traditionalists who had adopted the Murji'ite position on the future fate of sinners or, on the contrary, Murji'ites who had come round to the traditionalist position on revolt. We cannot claim to have found much evidence, but three minor considerations can be adduced in support of Murji'ite origins. First, the word *mafiūn* is actually attested as an epithet of rulers in the mouth of a Murji'ite: 'this is nothing but a piece of cold iron in the hands of a *kāfir mafiūn*', Dharr b. 'Abdallāh is said to have exclaimed at Jamājim, presumably with reference to the menacing sword of al-Ḥajjāj or some soldier of his.<sup>135</sup> Since Dharr evidently belonged to the Murji'ites who held rulers to be infidels (*kāfir mafiūn*) and who approved of revolt against them, he was not a member of either Sālim's Fatana or Shabīb's Doubters, but the passage does at least suggest that classification of rulers in terms of (Qur'ānic?) *fm* was familiar in Murji'ite circles. Secondly, in a poem directed against the Murji'ites who rebelled in Khurāsān with al-Ḥārith b. Surayj, the Umayyad loyalist Naṣr b. Sayyār says that one should kill them, but leave the doubter in his seduced state (*wa-da'ī 'l-murtāba mafiūnā*), presumably with reference to Murji'ites who had not actually taken up arms. Here it is the quietist 'doubter' himself who is described as *mafiūn*, not the ruler (of whom Naṣr approved); and he is probably *mafiūn* in the sense of having succumbed to the blandishments of Murji'ism (which Naṣr depicts as wholly unislamic). It is tempting to read this as Naṣr's way of repaying the Fatana's compliment.<sup>136</sup> Thirdly, the Fatana's quietist argument resembles that attributed by the later Murji'ites to Abū Hanīfa in that both contrast the duty to assist the imam against wrongdoers with the ban on rebelling against the imam when he acts wrongly himself.<sup>137</sup>

<sup>132</sup> Cf. Abū l-Ṣalt, Ibn 'Ukāsha, and Ibn Ḥanbal above, pp. 232, 235.

<sup>133</sup> Cf. the objections of Zufar b. Hudhayl when Abū Hanīfa wanted the Murji'ites to support Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdallāh's revolt (below, Ch. 7, n. 67).

<sup>134</sup> Cf. above, n. 103.

<sup>135</sup> Ibn Sa'd, vi. 293.

<sup>136</sup> Ṭabarī, 2nd ser., 1576.8. K. Y. Blankinship (tr.), *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xxv. (Albany, 1989), 114, takes the *mafiūn* to have been seduced by rebelliousness. This is also possible, though it seems less likely, for Naṣr would hardly have been inclined to spare them if they had in fact rebelled.

<sup>137</sup> Abū Muṭī', *al-Fiqh al-absaṭ*, 44.

If the Fatana had Murji'ite roots, one might have expected Sālim to say so, but he was hardly concerned with their historical origin. On the other hand, if his polemics originally included the Murji'a, Fatana, and Bida'iyya alike, he will have seen them as springing from the same fundamental mistake, and one may well wonder why he did not bring this out by treating them as subdivisions of a single sect, whatever their historical origin. One answer would be that his concern with *mumālāt* and *barā'a* made it impossible for him to classify the three together because the Murji'ites dissociated from their kings whereas the Fatana and Bida'iyya held that community (*jamā'a*) lay with them. Another answer would be that the Fatana and Bida'iyya owe their presence in his epistle to interpolation.

## SĀLIM AND KITĀB AL-IRJĀ

*Kitāb al-irjā'* is a short tract divided by van Ess into nine paragraphs. The first four paragraphs consist of a *maṣiyya bi'l-taqwā* and mission *topos*: the fifth presents the author's doctrinal stance, while the sixth briefly defends it; the seventh and eighth contain polemics against the Saba'iyya; and the ninth reiterates that 'this is our stance'. The component parts, then, are similar to Sālim's.<sup>1</sup> They also have actual phrases in common, and there are parallels between KI and other Ibādī sources. Some of the shared phrases appear in accounts of the early Kufan circles from which both the Khārijites and the Shī'ites emerged, suggesting that they had a long ancestry on the Ibādī side (as well as raising the question how far and how long they remained in use among the Shī'ites). We shall refer to such phrases as early Kufan. What light does all this throw on the date and origin of KI? (The companion question as to the light thrown by KI on Sālim will be considered in Chapter 8).

## THE PARALLELS

The phrases which KI shares with Sālim and other Ibādī sources may be tabulated as follows:

## 1. MISCELLANEOUS IN SĀLIM

- (i) KI, 1: *nuṣikum bi-taqwā 'llāh wa-naḥuththukum 'alā amrihi . . . wa-nardā lakum ṭā'atahu wa-naskhaṭu lakum maṣiyatahu.*

Sālim, I, 2: *nuṣikum bi-taqwā 'llāh al-ʿazīm . . . wa-naḥuḍḍukum 'alā shukri niʿamihi . . . wa-nardā lakum ṭā'ata 'llāh wa-naskhaṭu lakum maṣiyatahu . . . wa-naḥuththukum 'alā dhikri 'llāh.*

- (ii) KI, 1: *man ḥafīẓahu ballaghanu mā siwāhu wa-man ḍayyaʿahu lā yaqbal minhu ghayrahu.*

Sālim, I, 5: *fa-man ittabaʿa hādha 'l-qurʿān kafāhu 'llāhu mā siwāhu wa-man ḍayyaʿahu lam yaqbal minhu ghayrahu.*

- (iii) KI, 3: *wa-minhum man āwā wa-naṣara taʿāsaw bi-anfusihim wa-anisū bihi wa-lam yarghabū bi-anfusihim ʿan nafsihi.<sup>2</sup>*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, Ch. 1, p. 23.

<sup>2</sup> For the reading adopted here, see van Ess, 'Das *Kitāb*', 22 n. 1; id., *TG*, v. 7 n. 13; M. Cook, review of *TG*, v, in *Biblioteca Orientalis*, 53 (1996), 251.

Sālim, II, 25: *fa-āwam al-anṣār . . . wa-naṣarūhu wa-wāsawhu bi-anfusihim wa-anisū bihi wa-lam yarghabū bi-anfusihim ʿan nafsihi.*

(iv) KI, 9: *fa-hādha amrunā wa-raʿyunā wa-nadʿū ilayhi.*

Sālim, IV, 138: *fa-hādhdhā ʿl-amr alladhī nadʿū ilayhi.*

(v) KI, 9: *waʿddakhirū min ṣāliḥ al-ḥujaj ʿinda ʿllāh.*

Sālim, I, 6: *waʿddakhirū ṣāliḥ al-ḥujaj ʿinda ʿllāh.*

There is similarity of diction rather than identity of phrases when KI presents its doctrinal stance: *fa-man arāda an yasʿalanā ʿan am-rinā wa-raʿyinā* (KI, 5), it states, where Sālim simply has *fa-amrunā . . . wa-raʿyunā* (IV, 114). KI uses the expression *ahl al-furqa al-uwal*, while Sālim has *ahl al-furqa al-ūlā* in his account of the Murjiʿa (III, 91, 94–5), but Sālim’s is a more natural expression and probably what KI should be emended to say. Both use the verb *ghāba* in their definition of when one should suspend judgement.<sup>3</sup>

## 2. THE FITNA PROMISED BY GOD

According to KI, God told the believers that they would be afflicted with a *fitna*. This idea is found in quite different wording in Sālim (II, 36) and, in sometimes similar wording, in a number of other Ibādī sources.

KI, 5: *mawʿūd allāh alladhī waʿada min wuqūʿ al-fitna.*

IB1: *mā waʿada allāh min al-fitan.*

Ibn Ḥuṭayʿa: *mā sabaqa fī ʿilm allāh min wuqūʿ al-fitna allatī ḥadhdharahum allāh iyyāhā.*<sup>4</sup>

Unknown source in Qalhātī: *limā sabaqa fī ʿilm allāh min wuqūʿ al-fitna wa-qad ḥadhdharahum allāh iyyāhā.*

Shabīb b. ʿAṭīyya: *thumma waqaʿat al-fitna allatī dhakara[hā] allāh.*<sup>5</sup>

## 3. THE SABAʿIYYA

The polemics against the Sabaʿiyya in KI, 7–8, have no parallel in Sālim, who only makes brief reference to this sect (III, 97; IV, 132); but the Sabaʿiyya are attacked in similar terms in Abū Ḥamza and IB2, with occasional echoes in other Ibādī works.

(i) They throw the book behind their backs (cf. Q. 2: 101; 3: 187):

KI, I, 7: *ṣaharū bi-kitāb allāh.*

Abū Ḥamza: *ṣāharat bi-kitāb allāh*, cf. his *qad nabadhūhu warāʿa zuhūrihim*, of the Umayyads.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Cook, *Dogma*, 27 f.

<sup>4</sup> Barrādī, *Jawāhir*, 53.5, 161.12; cf. Cook, *Dogma*, 12.

<sup>5</sup> Qalhātī, *Kashf*, fo. 84b.7; Kāshif, *Siyar*, ii. 355–8.

IB2: *nabadhū 'l-kitāb warāʿa zuhūrihim.*<sup>6</sup>

Compare Hilāl b. ʿAṭīyya on the *ahl al-kitāb* before the rise of Islam: they erred, among other things, through *nabdhīhim kitāb allāh warāʿa zuhūrihim.*<sup>7</sup>

The phrase is early Kufan: ʿAlī is reputed to have said of the two arbitrators appointed in the first civil war that they *nabadhā ḥukm al-kitāb warāʿa zuhūrihim.*<sup>8</sup>

(ii) They tell lies against God:

KI, 7: *wa-aʿlanū al-fīrya ʿalā banī umayya [nabī allāh?] wa-ʿalā 'llāh.*

Abū Ḥamza: *wa-aʿlanat/aʿlanū al-fīrya ʿalā 'llāh.*

IB2: *fa-lam tabqa fīrya aʿzamu ʿalā 'llāh fīryatan ʿalā rasūl allāh min-hum, cf. wa-ʿazuma firāʾuhum . . . and, in another context, wa-aʿzara 'l-firāʾ ʿalā 'llāh wa-ʿalā rasūlihi.*<sup>9</sup>

Accusations of *fīrya* against God (a Qurʾānic notion) are extremely common in Ibādī sources.<sup>10</sup>

(iii) They follow an Arab family:

KI, 7: *ittakhadhū ahl bayt min al-ʿarab imāman wa-qalladūhum dīnahum.*

Abū Ḥamza: *wa-qalladū ahl bayt min al-ʿarab dīnahum.*

IB2: *ittakhadhū ahl hādha 'l-bayt dīnan.*<sup>11</sup>

(iv) They are obdurate against the Qurʾān:

KI, 7: *jufāt ʿalā al-qurʾān atbāʿ li'l-kuhhān.*

Abū Ḥamza: *jufāt ʿan al-qurʾān atbāʿu kuhhān/jufāt fī l-dīn.*

IB2: *khālafū 'l-qurʾān . . . fa'ttabaʿū 'l-kuhhān.*<sup>12</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Abū Ḥamza in *Aghānī*, xxiii. 242.6, 243.8; in Izkawī, *Kashf al-ghumma*, fo. 274b.-7; in Jāhīz, *Bayān*, ii. 124.10; IB2 in Izkawī, *Kashf al-ghumma*, fo. 211b.6, reproduced in Cook, *Dogma*, 9, cf. the discussion at pp. 11 f.

<sup>7</sup> Qalhātī, *Kashf*, fo. 50.-5.

<sup>8</sup> Ṭabarī, 1st ser., 3368.

<sup>9</sup> Abū Ḥamza in *Aghānī*, xxiii. 243.8; in Izkawī, *Kashf al-ghumma*, fo. 274b.-7; in Jāhīz, *Bayān*, ii. 124.10; IB2 in Izkawī, *Kashf al-ghumma*, fos. 211b.1, 211a.-4, 210a.-7; Cook, *Dogma*, 9 f and n. 34 thereto, cf. the discussion at pp. 36 f.

<sup>10</sup> See, e.g., Shabīb b. ʿAṭīyya to ʿAbd al-Sallām in HX, 282.10, 282 f, 284 f; Hilāl b. ʿAṭīyya in Qalhātī, *Kashf*, fo. 50.10; anon., *Radd ʿalā ahl al-shakk* in HX, 368.4, 14; 369.-4 and ult.; 376.3; 377.-4.

<sup>11</sup> Abū Ḥamza in *Aghānī*, xxiii. 243.14; in Izkawī, *Kashf al-ghumma*, fo. 274b.-2; IB2 in Izkawī, *Kashf al-ghumma*, fo. 211b.2; Cook, *Dogma*, 9.

<sup>12</sup> Abū Ḥamza in Jāhīz, *Bayān*, ii. 124.13; in Izkawī, *Kashf al-ghumma*, fo. 274b.-4; in *Aghānī*, xxiii. 243.14; IB2 in Izkawī, *Kashf al-ghumma*, fo. 211b.3; Cook, *Dogma*, 9.

Sālim has *jufāt* ‘an *al-ḥaqq*, of ‘Uthmān’s relatives (II, 48).

- (v) They hope for a *dawla/baʿth* before the resurrection:

KI, 7: *yarjūna dawla takūnu fī baʿth yakūnu qabla ʿl-sāʿa*.

Abū Ḥamza: *yantazirūna al-duwal fī rajʿat al-mawtā wa-yuʿminūna biʿl-baʿth qabla ʿl-sāʿa*.

IB2: *zaʿamū anna ʿindahum ʿilman . . . fīhi baʿth al-mawtā qabla yawm al-qiyāma . . . wa-yarjūna ʿl-duwal waʿl-zuhūr fī baʿth al-mawtā qabla yawm al-qiyāma*.<sup>13</sup>

- (vi) They open doors closed by God:

KI, 7: *fataḥū abwāban kāna ʿllāh saddahā wa-saddū abwāban kāna ʿllāh fataḥahā*.

IB2 (in another context): *fa-fataḥa li-aṣḥābihi abwāb al-kadhib . . . wa-fataḥa lahum mā lā yasuddu fatqahu aḥad abadan*.<sup>14</sup>

- (vii) They see the *fitna*, but not a way out:

KI, 7: *yubṣirūna fitnatahā wa-mā yaʿrifūna al-makhrāj minhā*.

Abū Ḥamza: *yusirrūna ʿalā ʿl-fitna wa-lā yaʿrifūna al-makhrāj minhā*.

Khalaf b. Ziyād al-Baḥrānī: *amwal man abṣara al-fitna ḥaythu waqaʿat wa-uʿīya l-makhrāj minhā* (in another context).<sup>15</sup>

Shabīb b. ʿAṭīyya: *ḥīna waqaʿat al-fitna fa-zaʿamū annahum la yadrūna al-makhrāj minhā* (of the *ahl al-shakk*).<sup>16</sup>

#### 4. THE CREED

When the author of KI comes to declare his doctrinal stance, he responds with a simple creed and a declaration of Murjiʿism. The creed takes the following form:

KI, 5: *allāh rabbunā waʿl-islām dīnunā waʿl-qurʿān imāmunā wa-muhammad nabīyyunā*.

The basic form of this creed is common to all Muslims, but the particular version found in KI is almost always Khārijite, and indeed early Kufan.

<sup>13</sup> Abū Ḥamza in *Aghānī*, xxiii. 243.11; in Izkawī, *Kashf al-ghumma*, fo. 274b.–3 (second half only); variant in Jāḥīz, *Bayān*, ii. 124.13; IB2 in Izkawī, *Kashf al-ghumma*, fos. 211a.–3, 211b.5; Cook, *Dogma*, 9.

<sup>14</sup> Izkawī, *Kashf al-ghumma*, fo. 210b.8, 9; Cook, *Dogma*, 10.

<sup>15</sup> Abū Ḥamza in Jāḥīz, *Bayān*, ii. 124.12 (where *yusirrūna ʿalā* looks like a scribal improvement on *yubṣirūna*); Khalaf in HX, 336.9; Cook, *Dogma*, 12.

<sup>16</sup> Kāshif, *Siyar*, ii. 351.5.

As van Ess notes, the creed has its roots in the Qurʾānic statement *rabbunā ʾllāh* (Q. 41: 30, 46: 13; cf. 21: 112), or *allāh rabbunā* (Q. 6: 23, 7: 89, 42: 15), which is found in the form of *rabbī ʾllāh* on early Islamic coins.<sup>17</sup> In its bipartite form *rabbī ʾllāh wa-dīnī ʾl-islām* the creed forms part of an inscription from Jabal Usays dated 119/737.<sup>18</sup> In its more common tripartite form it is first encountered in an inscription of 86/705 on the Umayyad mosque of Damascus: *rabbunā ʾllāh waḥdahu wa-dīnunā ʾl-islām wa-nabiyyunā muḥammad*.<sup>19</sup> It occurs in much the same form on a tombstone from Fuṣṭāt dated 250/864, where the deceased testifies that he *raḍiya biʾllāh rabban wa-biʾl-islām dīnan wa-bi-muḥammad nabiyyan*;<sup>20</sup> and it figures in both Ḥadīth and later Sunnī literature too, often as an answer to questioning in the grave.<sup>21</sup>

The Shīʿites were familiar with the tripartite form of the creed, which appears in the mouth of the Hāshimiyya in late Umayyad Khurasan: *raḍ-inā biʾllāh rabban wa-biʾl-islām dīnan wa-bi-muḥammad (ṣlʿm) nabiyyan*.<sup>22</sup> But they preferred to make it emblematic by adding a profession of allegiance to their imams. Thus an odd poem about the arbitration between ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya which starts with the Khārījite statement *raḍ-inā bi-ḥukmi ʾllāhi lā ḥukma ghayrahu* continues in a Shīʿite vein with *wa-biʾllāhi rabban waʾl-nabiyyi wa-biʾl-dhikri wa-biʾl-aṣḥāʿi ʾl-hādī ʿalī im-āmunā*.<sup>23</sup> The Hāshimiyya in Khurāsān used the form *fa-innā qaʾm allāh rabbunā wa-muḥammad (ṣlʿm) nabiyyunā waʾl-kaʿba al-bayt al-ḥarām giblatunā waʾl-riḍā min ahl muḥammad imāmunā*;<sup>24</sup> and in the same vein a later version on a piece of linen includes the twelve imams: *raḍītu biʾllāh rabban wa-biʾl-islām dīnan wa-bi-muḥammad ṣlʿm nabiyyan wa-biʾl-qurʾān kitāban wa-biʾl-kaʿba qiblatan wa-biʾl-aʾimmat al-ithnā ʿashar ʿalayhim al-salām im-āman*.<sup>25</sup>

The Ibādīs also knew the tripartite version, which figures in the ninth-century ASM: *allāh mawlānā wa-muḥammad nabiyyunā waʾl-islām dīnunā*.<sup>26</sup> But they too preferred to make it emblematic, and they did so

<sup>17</sup> Van Ess, *TG*, i. 13 f and n. 18 thereto. We also owe much of the documentation that follows to van Ess.

<sup>18</sup> M. A.-F. al-ʿIshsh, 'Kitābāt ʿarabiyya ghayr manshūra fī Jabal Usays', *al-Abḥāth*, 17 (1964), 290 f.

<sup>19</sup> E. Combe, J. Sauvaget, and G. Wiet (eds.), *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe* (Cairo, 1931-), i. 17, no. 18.

<sup>20</sup> *Répertoire*, ii. 80, no. 513.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. A. J. Wensinck *et. al.*, *Concordance et indices de la tradition musulmane* (Leiden, 1936-69), s.v. ('*Islām*') ('*dīnī islām . . .*'; '*raḍinā biʾllāh rabban wa-biʾl-islam dīnan . . .*'); Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaf*, iii. 377; Suyūṭī, *Laʾālī*, i. 65.7; K. Nakamura (tr.), *al-Ghazālī, Invocations and Supplications* (Cambridge, 1990), 71; van Ess, *TG*, i. 14 n. 27.

<sup>22</sup> Ṭabarī, 2nd ser., 1503.4.

<sup>23</sup> Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, iv. 401/iii, §1710.

<sup>24</sup> *Akhbār al-ʿAbbās*, 287.2.

<sup>25</sup> G. Wiet, *Soieries persanes*, Mémoires de l'Institut d'Égypte, iii (Cairo, 1947), 89.

<sup>26</sup> Kāshif, *Siyar*, i. 231.1.

by identifying the Qurʾān rather than a human being as their imam. The standard Ibādī form of the creed is that which we find in KI.

- (i) ʿAbdallāh b. Yaḥyā:

*al-islām dīnunā wa-muḥammad nabiyyuna wa'l-kaʿba qiblatunā wa'l-qurʾān imāmunā.*<sup>27</sup>

- (ii) Wāʾil b. Ayyūb:

*allāh rabbunā wa-muḥammad nabiyyuna wa'l-qurʾān imāmunā wa-bayt [allāh] al-ḥarām qiblatunā wa'l-islām dīnunā.*<sup>28</sup>

- (iii) Ḥamza al-Khārijī to Hārūn:

*raḍīnā bi'llāh rabban wa-bi'l-islām dīnan wa-bi-muḥammad nabiyyan wa-bi'l-qurʾān imāman wa-ḥakaman.*<sup>29</sup>

- (iv) Abū Sufyān (attrib.):

*allāh rabbunā wa-muḥammad (ʿas) nabiyyunā wa'l-qurʾān imāmunā wa'l-kaʿba qiblatunā.*<sup>30</sup>

- (v) North African Ibādī:

*allāh rabbī wa'l-islām dīnī wa-muḥammad nabiyyī wa'l-qurʾān imāmī wa'l-kaʿba qiblatī.*<sup>31</sup>

- (vi) North African Ibādī:

*allāh rabbunā wa-muḥammad nabiyyunā wa-islām dīnunā wa'l-kaʿba qiblatunā wa'l-qurʾān imāmunā.*<sup>32</sup>

- (vii) al-Sālimī:

*allāh rabbunā wa-muḥammad nabiyyunā wa'l-qurʾān imāmunā wa'l-sunna ṭarīqunā wa-bayt allāh al-ḥarām qiblatunā wa'l-islām dīnunā.*<sup>33</sup>

The Ibādīs frequently make clear that they regarded the Qurʾān as their imam in other ways too. Thus Sālim speaks of *man ḥakkama al-yawm kitāb*

<sup>27</sup> *Aghānī*, xxiii. 226.–6.

<sup>28</sup> *Kāshif, Siyar*, ii. 46.1.

<sup>29</sup> *Tārīkh-i Sistān*, 167 f = 134; Scarcia, 'Scambio', 639 = 645.

<sup>30</sup> *Darjīnī, Ṭabaqāt*, ii. 288 f.

<sup>31</sup> *Kitāb al-jahālāt*, an early Ibādī *kalām* work adduced from an MS source by J. van Ess, 'Nachträge une Verbesserungen', *Arabica*, 22 (1975), 48.

<sup>32</sup> A. de C. Motylinski (ed. and tr.), 'Chronique d'Ibn Saghīr sur les Imams Rostemides de Tahert', *Actes du XIV<sup>e</sup> congrès international des Orientalistes, Algiers 1905* (Paris, 1906–8), iii. 62.1 = 130.–10.

<sup>33</sup> Sālimī, *Tuhfa*, i. 84.13 (an expanded version of Wāʾil's).

*allāh wa-ja'alahū imāman* (l. 55) and affirms that Abū Bakr *ja'ala 'l-qur'ān imāman* (l. 333); Ibn al-Azraq likewise says *al-kitāb lakum imām*, while Shāhib b. 'Aṭīyya says that *kitāb allāh imāmunā wa-imāmukum*; IB2 accuses the Kufans of taking Ḥadīth for their religion, adding that *laysa 'l-kitāb bi-imāmihim*; and Abū Sufyān says of people today that *laysa al-kitāb lahum bi-imām*.<sup>34</sup>

Both the identification of the Qur'ān as imam and the inclusion of this identification in the creed are early Kufan. Sayf has 'Alī give a speech in which he tells the Kufans that people continued *mā shā'a 'llāh* to have Islam as their religion and the book as their imam until 'Uthmān was killed; and version B of the Šiffīn arbitration agreement says that the two arbitrators shall 'take the book as imam'.<sup>35</sup> (Hence, presumably, 'Alī's claim that the arbitrators *nabadhā ḥukm al-qur'ān warā'a zuhūrihim*, cf. above, 3 (i).) Sayf has 'Alī proceed to cite the creed familiar from Khārijite works in the form *wa-'rḍaw bi'llāh rabban wa-bi'l-islām dīnan wa-bi-muḥammad (šl'm) nabiyyan wa-bi 'l-qur'ān ḥakaman wa-imāman* (cf. esp. no. (iii) above); and the *waṣīyya* of al-Rabī' b. Khaytham al-Thawrī, a Kufan who had fought on 'Alī's side at Šiffīn and who died under 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād, is said to have contained the creed either in its common tripartite form or else in a version adding that he was satisfied with 'the Furqān, or maybe he said the Qur'ān, as imam'.<sup>36</sup> Finally, the exegete Muqātil b. Sulaymān has a story about the Kufan Companions 'Ammār b. Yāsir and Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān, who were heroes to the Khārijites and Shī'ites alike, which presents Ḥudhayfa as declaring to the Jews, back in Medina, that *allāh rabbī wa-muḥammad nabiyyī wa'l-qur'ān imāmī*.<sup>37</sup> (Of such material in which early Kufans are presented as using what later became distinctively Khārijite forms there appears to be a fair amount.<sup>38</sup>)

Identifications of the Qur'ān as imam (and even *ḥakam*) are encountered thereafter in the mouths of the caliphs Sulaymān, Hārūn, and al-Ma'mūn, in scholarly statements on *sunna*,<sup>39</sup> and in the *Radd* of the

<sup>34</sup> Cf. the comm. to I, 5.

<sup>35</sup> Sayf, *Futūḥ*, 294, §244 (= Ṭabarī, 1st ser., 3141); Hinds, 'Siffin Arbitration Agreement', 114–6.

<sup>36</sup> Sayf in the preceding n.; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, v. 192 f.

<sup>37</sup> M. Lecker, 'Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān and 'Ammār b. Yāsir, Jewish Converts to Islam', *Quaterni di Studi Arabi*, 11 (1993), 151 n.

<sup>38</sup> In addition to the odd poem (above, n. 22), the identification of the Qur'ān as imam, the creed including this identification and accusations of throwing the Qur'ān behind one's back, see the speech by al-Ashtar in pre-Khārijite Kufa which includes a proto-Khārijite 'caliphs *topos*' and the *mā shā'a 'llāh* expression common in Ibādī literature, and Sayf b. 'Umar's fondness for the same expression in his account of early history (Ibn A'tham, *Futūḥ*, ii. 175; cf. above, Ch. I, p. 17; App. 3, nos. 20 f).

<sup>39</sup> *Uyūn*, 35–4 (Sulaymān tells people to take *kitāb allāh ta'ālā imāman wa-'rḍaw bihi ḥakaman*); Ṭabarī, 3rd ser., 717.8 (Hārūn tells Harthama b. A'yan to make *kitāb allāh imāman fī kullī mā huwa sabīluhu*), 1118.3 (al-Ma'mūn on *al-qur'ān alladhī ja'alahū 'llāh imāman lahum*); N. Calder, 'The Significance of the Term Imām in Early Islamic Jurisprudence', *Zeitschrift für*

tenth-century Sunnī al-Nasafī. The latter even has the creed containing this identification, citing it as a statement recommended by the Prophet in encounters with Jews and Christians.<sup>40</sup> But between al-Rabiʿs *waṣīyya* and al-Nasafī's *Radd* we only know of two possible exceptions to the rule that creeds including the identification of the Qurʾān as imam were Khārijite. The first is the undated tombstone of one Abū Qays Zakhr b. Yahyā b. Zakhr b. al-Sāʾib b. Usayyid b. ʿAdī al-Tamīmī al-Minqarī in Egypt, which states that he is *rādī bi'llāh rabban wa-bi'l-islām dīnan wa-bi-muḥammad nabīyyan wa-bi'l-qurʾān imāman*,<sup>41</sup> and the second is KI. We would infer that Abū Qays was a Khārijite. Given the number of Khārijite phrases in KI it hardly seems unreasonable to infer that, al-Nasafī notwithstanding, the creed in KI is Khārijite too.

Cook, who discovered most of the parallels between KI and Ibādī sources, observed that 'but for its doctrine, we should have little hesitation in classifying the *K. al-irjāʾ* as an Ibādī, not a Murjiʿite text'.<sup>42</sup> This is certainly true. Even the paragraph in which the Murjiʿite doctrine is presented would appear to contain a Khārijite, presumably Ibādī, creed. Though we cannot be sure that the creed is Khārijite, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that, but for its Murjiʿite insertions, KI actually *is* an Ibādī document.

#### THE AUTHORSHIP OF KI

KI is ascribed to al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya (d. c.100/720), who is said to have been the first to propound *irjāʾ* and to have composed KI to disseminate his views.<sup>43</sup> The ascription has been accepted by Madelung, van Ess, and Agha, and rejected by Brentjes, Cook, and Athamina.<sup>44</sup> We would also reject it, for three main reasons.

First, the story of al-Ḥasan does not fit the contents of the epistle. The story says that he wrote KI in explanation of his new doctrine, but *irjāʾ* is not a new doctrine in KI.<sup>45</sup> It has already been criticized: the author

*Geschichte der arabisch-islamischen Wissenschaften*, i. (1984), 259 f (Abū Yūsuf cites a Prophetic order to make the Qurʾān and *sunna* imams; Ibn Ḥanbal made the book an imam in disputes about Prophetic *sunna*).

<sup>40</sup> Nasafī, *Radd*, 62.7, 82.–3.

<sup>41</sup> *Répertoire*, ii. 96 f, no. 536.

<sup>42</sup> Cook, *Dogma*, 15.

<sup>43</sup> Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh*, iii. 358. For full details, see Cook, *Dogma*, ch. 9.

<sup>44</sup> van Ess, 'Das Kitāb'; id., *Anfänge* (but more cautiously in id., *TG*, i. 178); Madelung, *Qāsim*, 229 ff; id., 'Murjī'a', col. 605b; Agha, 'Viewpoint', 9 f; Brentjes, *Imamatslehre*, 47 f; Cook, *Dogma*, ch. 9 (by far the fullest discussion); Athamina, 'Early Murjī'a', 114 f.

<sup>45</sup> Agha, 'Viewpoint', 10, solves this problem by taking the statement that al-Ḥasan was *awwal man takallama fī 'l-irjāʾ* to mean that he was the first to 'theologize' *irjāʾ*, not that he was the first to propound it. But there is no 'theologizing' of *irjāʾ* in KI either.

devotes one of his two paragraphs on *irjā'* to defending it against this criticism (KI, 6). Besides, he does not explain it, but rather takes it for granted that everyone knows what it is, for he merely summarizes it in four lines, defends it in five, and talks about other things for the rest: this is not how new ideas are presented to the world. KI is not in fact a treatise about *irjā'* at all. The question it seeks to answer is not 'what is *irjā'*?', but rather 'where do you stand?': *fā-man arāda an yas'alanā 'an amrinā ma-ray'inā fā-innā qaḥm . . .* (KI, 5). The answer is that we are Murji'ites who dissociate from the Saba'iyya. The unknown to be clarified is not the contents of a particular doctrine, but the stance of a particular group: KI is not a treatise but a manifesto.

Secondly, the story fails to explain why KI should be an Ibādī document in all but one and a half of its nine paragraphs. KI must owe its existence to Murji'ites in close contact with Ibādīs, meaning that it was probably composed in Iraq, not in Medina, where the story of al-Ḥasan's authorship locates it;<sup>46</sup> and something must lie behind its hybrid nature which the story of al-Ḥasan does nothing to explain.

Thirdly, the very fact that the putative author is a son of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya is suspicious. If Madelung and van Ess are to be believed, one son of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya made peace with the Umayyads by renouncing his supposed involvement with al-Mukhtār's Saba'iyya and propagating *irjā'* instead, while another son of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya antagonized the Umayyads by remaining imam of the selfsame Saba'iyya, so that the Umayyads poisoned him, whereupon he bequeathed the imamate to the 'Abbāsids. It is all very colourful, but it is not very plausible.

Al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya and his half-brother Abū Hāshim<sup>47</sup> are two obscure Hāshimites whom posterity made the object of much doctrinal manipulation. The 'Abbāsids at one point claimed that Abū Hāshim had bequeathed the imamate to them;<sup>48</sup> the Murji'ites at some point claimed that al-Ḥasan was their founder; and the two stories are of the same order; that is to say, both are legitimacy. Van Ess finds al-Ḥasan's alleged role in the creation of *irjā'* plausible because 'Awāna says that al-Ḥasan had served as leader of the survivors of al-Mukhtār's revolt who held out at Nisibis: al-Ḥasan would have made peace with the Umayyads by taking up *irjā'* and denouncing the Saba'iyya of whom he had been leader. But though van Ess's theory has the merit of explaining why it is only with the Saba'is that KI takes issue, 'Awāna's story has the demerit of being false. Other sources, including a contemporary observer,

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Cook, *Dogma*, 79 ff; van Ess (*TG*, i, 178) responds by pointing to Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya's alleged involvement with Iraqi Saba'is, but cf. below, n. 49.

<sup>47</sup> For their mothers, see van Ess, *Anfänge*, 2.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. M. Sharon, *Black Banners from the East* (Jerusalem, 1983), 121 ff (where the claim is taken at face value).

show that the Khashabiyya at Nisibis had a leader of their own.<sup>49</sup> It is, in any case, difficult to believe that *irjā'* was meant as a peace-offering to the Umayyads, and the claim that al-Ḥasan was its originator is contradicted by traditions ascribing that role to modest Kufans.<sup>50</sup> In fact, one wonders whether it had an inventor at all: it could well have been a doctrine that simply developed in a certain circle.

Cook suggests that the Murji'ites picked al-Ḥasan as their founder because he endowed them with prestigious Hijāzī origins and because it was a good anti-Shī'ite move to recruit an 'Alid for that role; their rivals responded by casting the purloined 'Alid as an extremist Shī'ite of the worst kind: hence the story in 'Awāna.<sup>51</sup> All this makes eminently good sense. In addition, it could well be that the Murji'ites were making a bid for 'Abbāsīd support. The 'Abbāsīds came to power on a distinctly Khashabī ticket highlighted by their claim to have inherited the imamate from Abū Hāshim, but their Shī'ite legacy soon became embarrassing, partly because they themselves were not 'Alids and partly because the majority of their subjects were not Shī'ites. It would have been a clever move on the part of the Murji'ites to present *irjā'* as a respectable alternative to Khashabism propagated by Abū Hāshim's own brother. However this may be, once the brothers had been set up as rivals, their sphere of competition expanded: having generated the 'Abbāsīd revolution, Abū Hāshim proceeded to become the founder of the Mu'tazila, whereupon al-Ḥasan took up the cause of determinism and made up for his silence on this issue in KI by writing his determinist *Questions*, presumably for a Murji'ite audience yet again.<sup>52</sup> For a pair of obscure Hāshimites, they had come a long way.

#### THE DATE OF KI

KI was written at a time when Murji'ism was sufficiently old to have encountered criticism. When, then, did the doctrine appear? Its putative creators are al-Ḥasan (d. c.100/720), Qays al-Māšīr, and Dharr b. 'Abdallāh, of whom the last two participated in Ibn al-Ash'ath's revolt (80–3/699–703). This suggests a date in the seventies or eighties.<sup>53</sup> Some

<sup>49</sup> 'Awāna in Dhahabī, *Ta'rikh*, iii. 359; cited by van Ess, *Anfänge*, 2 f; rejected by Cook with reference to *Aghānī*, vi. 50.10; Bar Penkaye in A. Mingana (ed. and tr.), *Sources syriaques*, i. (Leipzig, 1907), \*158.10 = \*185 (retranslated in S. P. Brock, 'North Mesopotamia in the late Seventh Century', *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*, 9 (1987), 66) and other sources, cf. *Dogma*, 78 and nn. 105–10 thereto. Rotter harmonizes by presenting al-Ḥasan as a religious figurehead side by side with the non-Arab leader (G. Rotter, *Die Umayyaden und der zweite Bürgerkrieg* (Wiesbaden, 1982), 215).

<sup>50</sup> Cf. Cook, *Dogma*, 80 f.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. Cook, *Dogma*, 78, 80.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Madelung, *Qāsim*, 241; Cook, *Dogma*, ch. 14, esp. p. 144.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. Cook, *Dogma*, 80 f.

sources predictably place the emergence of Murjiʿism in the first civil war itself,<sup>54</sup> and one tradition places it after Ibn al-Ashʿath's revolt.<sup>55</sup> But a doctrine to the effect that one must suspend judgement on the first civil war because it happened before one's time obviously cannot have made its appearance while the civil war was in progress, or indeed before the 70s/690s; and Murjiʿite participation in Ibn al-Ashʿath's revolt seems sufficiently well established for us to accept the early eighties as our *terminus post quem*. KI, 7, accuses the Sabaʿiyya of telling lies against *bani umayya wa'llāh*, which would give us a *terminus ante quem* in 750 if the text were sound; but, as has been seen, *bani umayya* should probably be emended to *nabi allāh*.<sup>56</sup> The fact that *irjāʿ* in KI is about suspension of judgement on the first civil war suggests that it was written before the ninth century, when *irjāʿ* in this sense was disappearing. Apart from that, KI is poorly provided with chronological clues and little can be said with certainty.

Cook tentatively dates KI to the late Umayyad period with reference to the parallels in IB2, which must be an earlier work and which he places in the first half of the second/eighth century.<sup>57</sup> We cannot improve on this argument, except by noting that it implies a date in the late Umayyad period or later. A later date is proposed by Calder, who takes KI to be preoccupied with *uṣūl* and dates it to the early ʿAbbāsīd period, with reference to its supposed defence of community *summa* versus Prophetic Ḥadīth. We have trouble with this argument for reasons set out in the next chapter, but we are sympathetic to a late Umayyad/early ʿAbbāsīd date for reasons of our own.

There is some evidence for the date of KI in the fact that it is a pulpit manifesto. The account of the *sīra* publicized by al-Ḥārith b. Surayj in late Umayyad Khurāsān suggests that such manifestos were associated with periods of civil strife, in which people were impelled to make public declarations of their positions.<sup>58</sup> Such a context would certainly fit KI.<sup>59</sup> If KI was composed in a period of civil strife, one would assume the disturbances to have been associated with Shīʿites. It takes issue with 'Sabaʿīs' and enumerates a number of their reprehensible beliefs: they regard an Arab family as their imams and follow them rather than the Qurʾān, which they misinterpret and of which they claim that the Prophet hid nine-tenths, and they expect a *dawla* before the Day of Resurrection. Their expectation of a *dawla* excludes some Zaydīs, while their claim about the incompleteness of the Qurʾān probably excludes all Zaydīs, but for the

<sup>54</sup> Cf. Athamina, 'Early Murjiʿa', 114; Agha, 'Viewpoint', 6.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. Cook, *Dogma*, 81 and n. 135 thereto.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. above, Ch. 6, p. 237.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. Cook, *Dogma*, ch. 9, esp. p. 70.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. above, Ch. 1, 23 f.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*

rest the charges are unspecific. On the basis of Sālim and other sources, one would assume the Sabaʿīs to be Shīʿites in general and Rāfiḏīs in particular.<sup>60</sup>

Leaving aside Ḥusayn, the Tawwābūn, and al-Mukhtār, all of whom were active before the Ibādīs and Murjiʿites made their appearance, there were Shīʿite disturbances in late Umayyad Iraq under Bayān, Mughīra, Zayd b. ʿAlī, and ʿAbdallāh b. Muʿāwiya, and a further Shīʿite revolt in early ʿAbbāsīd Iraq under Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh. Without its Murjiʿite insertions, KI is an Ibādī manifesto directed against Shīʿites which could have been triggered by any one of these revolts. If it originated with these insertions, the most plausible context for it is the revolt of Zayd b. ʿAlī in 122/740 or that of Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh in 145/762, for we are told that Abū Ḥanīfa, and Miṣʿar b. Kidām almost got the Kufan Murjiʿites embroiled in these uprisings or (given that the stories may be doublets) in one of them.<sup>61</sup> Abū Mikhnaf denies that Zayd's followers included Rāfiḏīs, but he is partisan;<sup>62</sup> and the Ibādī and/or Murjiʿite reaction might in any case well have been to depict their dangerous neighbours as Rāfiḏīs of the worst kind to ram home the message that they had nothing to do with them. The same holds true if we envisage the Sabaʿīs as participants in the revolt of Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh. Al-Manṣūr certainly had no hesitation in writing off the Kufans as 'Khashabi Sabaʿīs' after their support for that rebellion.<sup>63</sup>

But how do we account for the hybrid nature of the document?<sup>64</sup> The most obvious answer is that a Murjiʿite took an Ibādī document and simply inserted a Murjiʿite statement in it.<sup>65</sup> If so, one would assume the Murjiʿite to have been a forger who did not recognize the many Ibādī phrases left in the document. But what was the purpose of the forgery? If the intention was to display al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya in his role of founding father, one would have expected a better match between the contents of KI and the story of how al-Ḥasan came to write it: why does the text fail to expound *irjā'* as if for the first time, at great length and in a didactic vein? The answer could of course be that the forger was inept.

One might however also envisage the document as the product of a meeting between Ibādīs and Murjiʿites. Cook has a suggestive story in which a Kufan traditionist of the late Umayyad period gathers others for

<sup>60</sup> Cf. the comm. to III, 97.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. above, Ch. 6, n. 91.

<sup>62</sup> Ṭabarī, 2nd ser., 1699–701; van Ess, *TG*, i. 311; Madelung, *Qāsim*, 44 f.

<sup>63</sup> Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, iii. 269.13.

<sup>64</sup> The so-called Murjiʿa of the Khawārij were not actually Murjiʿtes and do not come to our help (cf. Ashʿarī, 123.8).

<sup>65</sup> Cf. Cook, *Dogma*, 70.

a dinner party, saying, 'Just look what *fitna* people are engaging in. I have gathered you so that we can write a tract (*kitāb*) which [people] will read after us'.<sup>66</sup> Nothing came of this plan, but the story is interesting partly because the host clearly intended them to produce an open doctrinal letter, or in other words a *sīra*, and partly because his guests were of different politico-religious persuasions, one being a Shī'ite and another a Murji'ite sympathizer: apparently they were meant to bridge their differences. Are we to envisage a Murji'ite-Ibādī dinner party behind KI? Its purpose, one imagines, would not be a desire to end a *fitna*, but rather to advertise non-participation in it, for real or suspected complicity in revolt obviously tended to have dire consequences. 'You don't have the strength required to accomplish this; you are putting ropes around our necks', as Zufar b. Hudhayl told Abū Ḥanifa when the latter wanted the Murji'ites to join Ibrāhīm's revolt.<sup>67</sup> Under conditions of Shī'ite revolt, a joint statement of dissociation from Shī'ites by Murji'ites and Ibādīs might well have been called for, and the result might well have been a scissors-and-paste document such as KI. This is pure guesswork, of course. Perhaps the story behind the document is altogether different. But if we do not simply dismiss KI as a forgery, some kind of story involving Ibādīs and Murji'ites in late Umayyad or early 'Abbāsīd Kufa does seem to be required to explain the hybrid nature of the text.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. Cook, *Dogma*, 81 f, citing Ibn Ḥanbal, *Kitāb al-ʿilal*, ed. T. Koçyiğit and Cerrahoğlu, i. (Ankara, 1963), no. 2623 (ed. W. M. 'Abbās (Beirut and Riyāḍ, 1988), ii. 384 f, no. 2715).

<sup>67</sup> Abū 'l-Faraj, *Maqātil*, 361.6.



## PART 3

## THE DATE OF SĀLIM'S EPISTLE

## THE KHĀRIJITE PARTS

We are now in a position to tackle the question of when, and indeed where, the epistle was written. Since the Khārijite and the Murji'ite parts are based on different sources,<sup>1</sup> possibly of different dates, it seems best to start by treating them separately. Most of the chronological clues are to be found in the Khārijite parts, where many of them were first picked out by Cook. They may be presented as follows.

1. *BIDA'YYA*

The Bida'yya classified by the heresiographers as descendants of the Az-āriqa (via the Khāzimiyya) are first mentioned by Pseudo-Nāshi', probably alias Ja'far b. Ḥarb (d. 236/850), and al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm (d. 246/860), suggesting that they flourished in the ninth century, in so far as they are not a heresiographical concoction. But if the Bida'yya of Sālim's stance (IV, 136) are identified with these sectarians, they were undoubtedly interpolated. The Murji'ite quietists labelled Bida'yya are only mentioned in al-Nasafī (d. 318/930), and their date is unknown. If Sālim's Bida'yya are identified with these sectarians, they probably figured in the original epistle, probably in a loosely chronological order suggesting that they were later than the Fatana; but they could still be interpolated.<sup>2</sup>

2. *TERMINOLOGY*

Sālim's terminology suggests that he wrote before the ninth century. Ninth-century Ibādīs regularly used the terms *mumāḥhidūn*, *ahl al-kabā'ir*, and *mukhālifūn*; and *munāfiq* was by then a standard label. But Sālim never uses the first three terms, and though he classifies his *qawm* as *munāfiqūn*, he does not routinely label them as such.<sup>3</sup> We may take it that he wrote before c.800. But how long before?

3. *NO REFERENCE TO EVENTS AFTER c.72/692*

In Cook's opinion the epistle suggests two different dates; that is, 72–3 on the assumption that it is authentic, and the late Umayyad period on

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, Ch. 1, 20.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, Ch. 1, 21 f.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. above, Ch. 5, 197.

the assumption that it is not.<sup>4</sup> Cook's early date is based on the following considerations.

Sālim mentions the rebellions of the Azāriqa (64–78/683 f–97 f), the Najdiyya (c.66–73/685 f–92 f), and Dāwūd, 'Aṭīyya, and Abū Fudayk (c.70–5/689 f–94 f). The latter rose to leadership by killing Najda, so Sālim must have written after 72/691 f, the year in which this event is usually placed. But he must also have written before 76/695 f, for he does not mention Ṣāliḥ b. Musarriḥ and Shabīb b. Yazīd, whose revolt began in 76, nor does he mention any later events. Since moreover he speaks of the Najdiyya and Azāriqa 'today', he seems to be writing before their revolts had been suppressed, or soon thereafter. The first revolt to be suppressed was that of the Najdiyya in 73. The epistle was thus composed between 72 and 73, or at least between 70 (the earliest date of Abū Fudayk's takeover) and 76 (when Ṣāliḥ rebelled). Alternatively, the epistle is a forgery by somebody pretending to write about that time.<sup>5</sup>

This is difficult to accept. Cook is of course right that the epistle must have been written after 70 or 72, but his *terminus ante quem* is less persuasive. In fact, it is suspicious for its sheer precision. One does not expect a doctrinal work to report current events. If Sālim had written in 73, he would surely not have mentioned Abū Fudayk, who had only just risen to prominence and whose doctrinal significance cannot yet have been clear; or at least he would have mentioned him in different terms. A contemporary would have seen Abū Fudayk as initiating a new phase in the history of Basran extremism, with consequences still to be evaluated, but Sālim is well aware that Abū Fudayk marks the end. He does not know much about Abū Fudayk's doctrinal position, apart from the fact that he was an extremist who split off from Najda, but this is also the only information that the heresiographers have about him, and the reason why both they and Sālim mention him is clearly that it had become conventional to describe the extremists who came out of Basra in the second civil war under the rubrics of Azāriqa, Najadāt, and minor offshoots such as Abū Fudayk and 'Aṭīyya: Sālim's scheme differs from al-Ash'arī's only in that he adds Dāwūd. Moreover, it is clear from his presentation that he is *not* reporting current news: 'Then Ibn al-Azraq and his followers went out . . . After them were the people of Yamāma, Najda, and his followers . . . Then Dāwūd and his companions, 'Aṭīyya and his companions, and Abū

<sup>4</sup> Cook, *Dogma*, ch. 10.

<sup>5</sup> Cook does not explicitly speak of forgery in connection with Sālim's epistle, only of inauthenticity, but it must be forgery rather than false ascription that he has in mind (cf. *Dogma*, 51 ff), for otherwise his points in favour of the early date would be conclusive. If one could not refer to the Najdiyya 'today' after 73, then the epistle was composed, or pretending to have been composed, before 73 regardless of whether the ascription is correct or not; and if the author could have been expected to mention the revolt of Ṣāliḥ and Shabīb, then he wrote before, or pretended to write before, 76 whoever he may have been.

Fudayk and his companions separated from him' (III, 66, 75, 84). This is not how one describes revolts which are still in progress or says that one of them has just undergone a violent change of leadership. What a contemporary observer would have perceived as a confusing welter of allied and rival rebels is here a tidy list of consecutive heresiarchs, all of whom are clearly long dead and gone. This is retrospective heresiography.

It is also difficult to accept the suggestion that Sālim's epistle may be a forgery. It is certainly possible that its ascription to Sālim is false, but whoever its author may have been, he wrote it as his own work, not as that of an earlier authority. There is no trace of pastiche in it. We need not operate with two alternative dates, then: if the evidence suggests that it was written in the 70s/690s, then that is when it was written. But the evidence does not in fact suggest so early a date.

The fact that Sālim does not mention Ṣāliḥ and Shabīb is irrelevant because there is no reason why he should have mentioned them. His epistle is polemical, not historical. He is out to prove that the Azāriqa, Najadāt, and their splinter groups were misguided, not to chronicle the history of all Khārijite communities from the earliest times until his own time (a task no Khārijite author is known to have attempted).<sup>6</sup> He is not even out to record his own history, which he only takes up to the first civil war, and Ṣāliḥ and Shabīb did not in any case belong to that history: they were not Ibādīs and do not figure in surveys of Ibādī history.<sup>7</sup> They do attract brief comments in Ibādī heresiography and polemical literature,<sup>8</sup> and Sālim's work is nothing if not polemical. But he was not taking issue with all and sundry opponents, only with a specific cluster of sects, i.e. the extremists who came out of Basra in the second civil war. Ṣāliḥ and Shabīb were Jazīrans, not Basrans; they emerged after the second civil war; and though they may well have been extremists,<sup>9</sup> the Ibādī heresiographers

<sup>6</sup> 'Is it clear that the author intended to present a complete history of the Khārijite movements to his day?', as Madelung reasonably asks (*Journal of Theological Studies*, 33 (1982), 629).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Kāshif, *Siyar*, i. 302.9, where Abū Sufyān Maḥbūb identifies *salafunā wa-awliyyā'unā wa-a'immatunā* as Mirdās b. Abī Bilāl, 'Abdallāh b. Yaḥyā, al-Mukhtār b. 'Awf (i.e. Abū Ḥamza), and al-Julandā b. Mas'ūd, these being the *salaf* who rebelled; his list at p. 321 includes scholars, but again not Ṣāliḥ and Shabīb. For other surveys of the same kind, see Abū 'l-Mu'thir and al-Bisyānī in Kāshif, *Siyar*, ii. 85 f, 104 f, 313 ff; Izkawī, *Kashf al-ghumma*, fos. 265b ff, 386a ff; Sālimi, *Tuhfa*, i. 86; id., *al-Lum'a al-mardiyya min ashi'at al-ibādīyya*, (Oman, (WTQwTh) 1981), 12 f. See also the early tenth-century *sira* ascribed to Khālid b. Qaḥṭān, in which Ibādī history covers the Prophet, the early caliphs, and the Civil War, the early Umayyad revolts of Mirdās, Qurayb, and Zakhāf, the Azraqite and Najdite secessions, the late Umayyad revolt of 'Abdallāh b. Yaḥyā and Abū Ḥamza, the emergence of the Julandā, and the vagaries of the imamate in Oman until his own time (Kāshif, *Siyar*, i. 117 ff).

<sup>8</sup> Qalḥātī, *Kashf*, fo. 201a.ult.; Izkawī, *Kashf al-ghumma*, fos. 233a.-2, 233b.11; ASM in Kāshif, *Siyar*, i. 208.ult.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. the comm. to III, 68 (*mushrikūn*); App. 4 (*isti'rād*); C. Robinson, 'Early Khārijism in Northern Mesopotamia', forthcoming, in L. Conrad and A. Cameron (eds.), *Patterns of Communal Identity in the Late Antique and Early Islamic Near East (hijra, activism)*.

are only dimly aware of this fact (which escaped the Sunnī heresiographers altogether).<sup>10</sup> It would of course still have been possible for Sālim to include them in his work, especially if he counted them as Ṣufrīs, whom the Ibādīs describe in some detail as extremists;<sup>11</sup> but one cannot postulate that he would have done so with such certainty as to infer from their absence that he must have lived before their time, for what he writes about is a perfectly self-contained subject. A man who engages in polemics against the Azāriqa, Najadāt, and splinter groups without mentioning the Jazīran extremists is not comparable to a man who stops his account of the First World War in 1916: the latter could reasonably be assumed to have died before 1918, but the assumption that the former would have added the Jazīrans if he had known about them is gratuitous.

#### 4. THE NAJDIYYA AND AZĀRIQA 'TODAY'

Sālim's references to the Najdiyya and Azāriqa 'today' are more interesting, but we are not convinced that they are genuine chronological clues. There are six relevant passages. In the first three, Sālim says that, if the practice of the first Khārijites was right, then the Azāriqa are wrong to disown or brand as infidels the moderate Khārijites 'who practise it today' (III, 66, 67) or 'who affiliate on the basis of it today' (III, 72). In the fourth, he asks how the Najdiyya can affiliate to one lot of people in the past while at the same time disowning 'others who today act as they did' (III, 81). In the fifth, he says that if the Najdiyya 'were right today' in accepting the *rāji'* as a co-religionist, then they would have been wrong in the past (III, 83). And in the sixth, he accuses the extremists of having made 'the same innovations as their *qamm* today' (III, 90). Taken literally, all six passages do indeed imply that the extremists were a live presence when Sālim wrote. But Sālim could well be taking the Azāriqa and Najadāt to dissociate from the moderate Khārijites 'today' for the simple reason that this is what they did when they emerged: he could be speaking in the heresiographical present. This is undoubtedly the tense that the ninth-century Pseudo-Nāshī<sup>3</sup> is using when he presents the Khārijites as divided into Azāriqa, Najadāt, Ibādiyya, and Ṣufriyya and adds that

<sup>10</sup> Qalhātī and Izkawī say in identical words that Šāliḥ permitted the same things *vis-à-vis* his *qamm* as did Ziyād al-A'sam, here called Ibn al-A'sam, *min al-qatl wa'l-sibā' wa-ghanimat al-amwāl* (above, n. 8; cf. Ch. 5, p. 209, for Ziyād al-A'sam). ASM mentions Šāliḥ and Shabīb in between Ibn al-Azraq, Najda, and splinter-groups on the one hand, and the Bayhasiyya, Ṣufriyya, Jahmiyya, and other *a'imma ḡullāl* on the other, but neither ASM nor any other Ibādī source seems to associate Shabīb with any doctrine at all. Ash'arī lists Šāliḥ as one of those who *lā lahu madhhab ju'raf bihi* (p. 120–4) and only credits Shabīb with a stance on Šāliḥ and the so-called Rāji'a who had dissociated from the latter over his execution of a prisoner (p. 123.5). As Cook notes, Ash'arī describes the Ibādīs as having sided with Šāliḥ against the Rāji'a (123.1; Cook, *Dogma*, 196, n. 20), suggesting that they once knew more about these Khārijites than their tradition indicates; but the Rāji'a issue was irrelevant to Sālim's preoccupations.

<sup>11</sup> For the Ibādī view of the Ṣufrīs, see below, nn. 25, 27.

'you will not find today any Khārijite who does not affiliate to these four and who does not claim to adhere to their doctrine' — for who adhered to Azraqite doctrine in the ninth century?<sup>12</sup> The tenth-century al-Malaṭī says that not one of the Muhākkima survives today, clearly meaning 'today' in a genuinely chronological sense, but nonetheless adds that 'when one meets this sect of the Shurāt, one says to them "tell us what you mean by your statement that there is no judgement but God's"' and fills almost three pages with instructions on how one should debate with these sectarians.<sup>13</sup> What sectarians said and did in books was far more real to bookish men than what one could observe in the field, if one was given to fieldwork. When the twelfth-century Abū 'Ammār angrily addresses the Ṣufrīs of North Africa in the second person plural, he must also be venting his ire on sectarians whom he only knew from books, for it is highly unlikely that there were Ṣufrīs left in North Africa when he wrote.<sup>14</sup> The suspicion that Sālim is speaking in the heresiographical present is reinforced by the fact that in the first four passages his 'today' stands in contrast with the paradigmatic past from which he sees the extremists as having diverged: in other words, 'today' is simply the imperfect present after the appearance of the extremists, not a particular point in time. For this reason the six passages do not persuade us that the epistle was written, or that its author pretended to write, while the Azraqite and Najdite revolts were still in progress.

##### 5. THE REVOLTS ARE OVER

In fact, several features of the epistle suggest that it was written some time after the revolts had been suppressed. First, Sālim's treatment of the extremists is too close to that of the heresiographers in terms of delineation of the subject matter, doctrines reported, and wording chosen to have been written by a contemporary. His heresiarchs are dead: their total number is known, their order has been sorted out, their doctrines have been systematized, the formulation has been standardized, and the arguments against them are well rehearsed. It is hard to imagine that this was a first response. Secondly, he argues against the Azraqite rejection of *taqiyya* by pointing out, among other things, that their behaviour contradicts their doctrine: *idhā kharajū kānū aktam mā kānū qaṭṭ li-dīnihim*, 'they were more given to hiding their faith than ever when they rebelled' (III, 74). The Azraqite revolt is a past phenomenon here. Thirdly, Sālim's explicit statement that the Najdiyya have changed their mind on the *rāji'*

<sup>12</sup> Cf. below, n. 21.

<sup>13</sup> Malaṭī, *Tanbīh*, 38 ff.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. below, n. 25.

and implicit suggestion that they have adopted double rules would indicate that the Najdiyya have been forced into quiescence too.<sup>15</sup> Fourthly, it hardly seems likely that an author who wrote between 72/691 f and 73/692 f should have been in a position to write a systematic refutation of Murji'ism, given that this doctrine is said first to have been propounded by a man who died in c.100/720 and that its adherents first appear in the historical record in connection with the revolt of Ibn al-Ash'ath in c.82/701.<sup>16</sup> It could of course still be argued that Sālim based his Khārijite section on sources going back to the time of the revolts, but apart from the ambivalent references to the extremists 'today', there is nothing in the epistle to suggest that he did.

#### 6. POLEMICS AGAINST DEAD OPPONENTS

How long after the suppression of their revolts was he writing? Cook finds a *terminus ante quem* in the sheer fact that he wrote against Azāriqa and Najadāt on the grounds that these sects do not seem to have survived the suppression of their revolts, and that even if they did, Sālim's interest in their relations with their *qawm* while in a state of armed insurrection would not make sense if they survived only as mangled remnants.<sup>17</sup> But it is hard to square this argument with Cook's alternative dating of the epistle to the late Umayyad period, for on this particular issue the assumption of inauthenticity does not help: if there was no point in writing against the extremists when they were mangled remnants, there was no point in forging a letter against them then. Let us reconsider the question. How long did the sects survive, and how long after they had disappeared might an Ibādī continue to write against them?

Cook is surely right that the Azāriqa did not survive for long after their suppression: the Azāriqa were a one-camp sect.<sup>18</sup> They are not likely to have been physically exterminated, of course, but their central doctrines became untenable and must have undergone modification or lost adherents or both. If Azraqite revolt was a recurrent phenomenon, as III, 74, could be taken to imply, some sort of modified Azraqism must have survived, and we do hear of scattered survivors. Thus Šubayḥ, who rebelled in the Herat area in the governorship of Junayd (c.112–14/730–2 f), had been sold as a slave as a child when the Azāriqa were defeated, and still adhered to Khārijite, presumably Azraqite, views when he grew up;<sup>19</sup> but no details of his views are given. A twelfth-century author has it that the inhabitants of Alabān between Ghazna and Kābul were descendants, in

<sup>15</sup> Cf. above, Ch. 5, 209 f.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. above, Ch. 6, 261 f.

<sup>17</sup> Cook, *Dogma*, 92 f.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Ibn Ḥazm, *Fīṣal*, iv. 189.ult. (cited by Cook, *Dogma*, 197 n. 32).

<sup>19</sup> de Goeje, *Uyūn*, 108; cf. C. E. Bosworth, *Sistān under the Arabs*, (Rome, 1968), 73.

their own opinion, of Azraqite refugees and that 'they still adhere to the doctrine of their ancestors, except that they are submissive to the government'.<sup>20</sup> But the exception was a major one and it had enabled them to become merchants, scholars, and literati who were friendly with neighbouring Indian kings. It was hardly survivors of this kind that Sālim was writing against. As noted already, Pseudo-Nāshi', presumed to be Ja'far b. Ḥarb (d. 236/850), says that the Khārijites were divided into Azāriqa, Najdiyya, Ibādiyya, and Ṣufriyya and that 'you will not find today any Khārijite who is not affiliated to one of these four and who does not claim to be adhering to their doctrine and who does not dissociate from his opponents among the Khārijites'.<sup>21</sup> But this is unlikely to be more than a vivid formulation of a well-known heresiographical point.<sup>22</sup> Even if it is taken at face value, the people who claimed to be Azraqites would have to be largely or wholly identical with those whom Pseudo-Nāshi' himself and others called Khāzimiyya, 'Ajārīda, and the like, in other words, adherents of extremist Khārijism as it looked (in Iran) after its reformulation and reorganization by later sectarians.<sup>23</sup> Sālim was writing against Azāriqa of the unadulterated kind.

The Najdiyya are a different matter in that they probably did survive in a recognizable form into the ninth century or beyond, as has been seen,<sup>24</sup> and Sālim could be arguing against such survivors. If he was an Omani, he may have encountered them in Arabia.

But the key point is that Sālim is dealing with archetypes, which do not lose their relevance merely because the people who gave rise to them die out. The Ṣufrīs can hardly have survived in twelfth-century North Africa, yet Abū 'Ammār argues against them, and with some passion too, addressing them in the second person plural.<sup>25</sup> There certainly were none in the sixteenth century, yet a certain Dāwūd b. Ibrāhīm, presumably identical with the Abū Sulaymān Dāwūd b. Ibrāhīm al-Talāti who visited the Mzab in 961/1553 f, composed a *Radd 'alā'l-Ṣufriyya wa'l-Azāriqa*,<sup>26</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Yāqūt, *Buldān*, i. 348, s.v. 'Alabān', tacitly citing Abū 'l-Faḥḥ Naṣr al-Iskandarī (cf. v. 32 ff). First noted in Madelung, *Religious Trends*, 70.

<sup>21</sup> Nāshi', §116.

<sup>22</sup> Ka'bi also observes that all Khārijite sects are derived from the four, but without implying that they all survive (Nashwān, 178.8). The same is true of Jāḥiẓ, *Hayawān*, i. 11 f (where Zaydiyya is a mistake for Najdiyya). Nāshi' animates them for literary effect, and so does Jāḥiẓ in his 'Manāqib', 32, where Ḥumayd b. 'Abd al-Ḥamid observes that Khārijites fight for religion, as one can see from the fact that so many different types of people fight for the cause: Sīstānīs, Jazarīs, Maghribīs and Omanīs, Azraqites, Najdites, Ibādis and Ṣufrīs, Arabs and non-Arabs, and so on. Jāḥiẓ indicates sectarian diversity by bringing all four mother sects on stage.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Madelung, *Religious Trends*, 58 ff.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. above, Ch. 5, 208 f.

<sup>25</sup> 'You spilt their blood, took their property, enslaved their children and you believe in *hijra*...' (Abū 'Ammār, *Mūjaz*, ii. 122.10).

<sup>26</sup> Cf. the bibliogr. to Cuperly, 'Profession de foi', 43. The work is extant and available in lithograph, but not within our reach. For the man we take to be the author, see P. Cuperly,

which is likely to have been a North African counterpart to Sālim's epistle: a full-scale Ibādī refutation of Khārijite extremism with the Ṣufriyya as the local variant of the Najdiyya;<sup>27</sup> and Muḥammad Aṭfayyish, the great Ibādī scholar of the Mzab who died in 1914, also wrote a *Radd ʿalā 'l-Ṣufriyya wa'l-Azāriqa*.<sup>28</sup> The Azāriqa and Ṣufriyya were archetypal extremists to the North Africans, just as the Azāriqa and Najdiyya were archetypal extremists to Sālim, and the trouble with archetypes is that they can be called up to order and explain a host of different things on the ground.

What sort of things on the ground may have triggered Sālim's polemics against the Azāriqa and Najadāt, then? We can think of three possibilities. First, he could have written against them in order to persuade outsiders that the Ibādīs were not extremists: this was Aṭfayyish's motivation.<sup>29</sup> But we only mention this possibility in order to discard it, for Sālim does not convey the impression of writing in an apologetic vein. Secondly, he could have been in competition with live descendants of the Azāriqa or Najadāt and responded by attacking their ancestral creeds. Thirdly, he could have been confronted with new extremists within or outside his own ranks and tried to nail them once and for all by refuting the creeds from which, as a bookish man, he would have seen them as having sprung.

On the whole, the second scenario strikes us as more plausible. The Ibādī tradition preserves a creed by a certain Abū 'l-Faḍl ʿĪsā b. Fūrak al-Khārijī,<sup>30</sup> who belonged to the Sistānī sect of Ḥamza al-Khārijī<sup>31</sup> and

'Muḥammad Aṭfayyāš et sa Risāla šāfiya fī ba'ḍ tawārīh ahl wādī Mizāb', *Revue de l'Institut des Belles Lettres Arabes*, 129 (Tunis, 1972), 303 n. 193, with ref. to Mu'ammār, *al-Ibādīyya fī mawḳib al-ta'riḳh*, iii. 157 ff.

<sup>27</sup> For Ibādī perceptions of the Ṣufrīs as extremists, see Abū Sufyān below, n. 49; Abū 'Ammār, *Mūjāz*, ii. 116 ff; Jannāwunī, *Wad'c*, 15; Cuperly, 'Aṭfayyāš', 274–6.

<sup>28</sup> Cuperly, 'Aṭfayyāš', 267.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.* 274 f.

<sup>30</sup> Sa'dī, *Qāmūs*, viii. 285–98 (hereafter S), citing Kindī, *Bayān al-shar'c*, iii. 277–94 (hereafter K). We only have access to vol. xxviii of Kindī's work and are indebted to Professor J. van Ess for sending us a xerox of the pages on the creed.

<sup>31</sup> He associates with the same figures as the Ibādīs up to Abū Bilāl and thereafter with Shu'ayb al-Kirmānī, al-Mahdī, Dāwūd, Muḍar, al-Ḥuṣayn, Mansūr, al-Ḥayḍam, 'Umar b. Marwān, Ḥamza al-Šādiq, Abū Ishāq, and Abū 'Awf, whose *dār* is *dār 'adl* in which Islam is manifest (K, 279; S, 287). All these figures were apparently known to Muḥammad b. Maḥbūb and al-Kudamī, who respond by dissociating from them, but only five of them are known to us. Shu'ayb al-Kirmānī must be the Shu'ayb who dissociated from Maymūn over determinism and founded the Shu'aybiyya, the fifth sect of the 'Ajārida (Ash'arī, 94 f; van Ess, *TG*, ii. 578); Ibn Fūrak dissociates from the Maymūniyya with reference to their doctrine that God *fawḥaḍa 'l-umūr ilaynā* in K, 287; S, 293.11). Al-Ḥuṣayn is the Khārijite rebel al-Ḥuṣayn/Ḥuḍayn of Ūq who was killed in 177/793 and whose followers included Muḥammad b. Rizq and Ḥamza b. Ādharak (Bosworth, *Sistān*, 85, 92; Shahrastānī, i. 96.13). Ḥamza al-Šādiq, whom Muḥammad b. Maḥbūb calls *Ḥamza 'aduww allāh* (K, 290,2; S, 295.–4), is Ḥamza b. Ādharak, better known as Ḥamza al-Khārijī. Abū Ishāq and Abū 'Awf are his two successors, elected in 213/828 and 215/830 respectively (Bosworth, *Sistān*, 104). Later the creed dissociates from Muḥammad b. Rizq, Khalaf, Ibn Dāwūd, and 'those who follow their *kufr* until today' (K, 293.9; S, 298.9). Muḥammad b. Maḥbūb and al-Kudamī respond that they do not know who these people are, but we know two of them. Muḥammad b. Rizq was a follower of al-Ḥuṣayn/al-Ḥuḍayn of

who wrote between 215/830 and 218/833 (or 260/873 at the latest).<sup>32</sup> This creed, which is presented with comments by Muḥammad b. Maḥbūb (d. 260/874) and the fourth/tenth-century Abū Sa'īd al-Kudamī, makes it clear that, contrary to what one might infer from *Tārīkh-i Sīstān*, the Sīstānī Khārījites did not identify themselves as Azraqites: Ibn Fūrak dissociates from them.<sup>33</sup> In heresiographical terms, it emerges, Abū Ḥamza's followers belonged to the Shu'aybiyya,<sup>34</sup> a descendant of the Azāriqa (via the Khāzimīyya) or of the Najadāt (via the 'Aṭawiyya and 'Ajārīda). Altogether, the creed dissociates from the Azāriqa, Najdiyya, Maymūniyya, Bayhasiyya, Shimrākhiyya, Akhnasiyya, and Ibāḍiyya (without mentioning the Ṣufriyya), as well as from various non-Khārījite schools and sects. But the Azāriqa are only condemned for their refusal to admit *taqiyya*, the Najadāt only for their doctrine of ignorance.<sup>35</sup> Of a general disavowal of extremism there is no trace. On the contrary, 'we' dissociate from the Ibāḍīs because 'they claim that our *qamm* are (mere) infidels, not *mushrikūn*, and that it is forbidden to kill them, enslave them and take their property'. The creed adds that the Ibāḍīs present Abū Bakr as one of theirs: 'if we dissociate from him, they dissociate from us; but if we treat the *ahl al-qibla* as he (actually) treated them, then they (also) dissociate from us'.<sup>36</sup> Muḥammad b. Maḥbūb, who has so far commented calmly on the creed, saying that we agree with this, but not with that,

Ūq, as mentioned already, and later dissociated from him (Shahrastānī, loc. cit.). Khalaf was Ḥamza's predecessor, against whom the Khārījites of Sīstān rebelled while Ḥamza was away on pilgrimage, and the founder of the sub-sect known as the Khalafiyya (*Tārīkh-i Sīstān*, 156 = 123; Bosworth *Sīstān*, 88, 92; van Ess, *TG*, ii. 585 f). This suffices to clinch Ibn Fūrak's affiliation.

<sup>32</sup> He mentions Abū Ishāq and Abū 'Awf, who were elected in 213 and 215 respectively (see the previous n.), and dissociates from the caliphs up to Hārūn and 'Abdallāh b. Hārūn, i.e. al-Ma'mūn, suggesting that he wrote before al-Ma'mūn's death in 218 (K, 280 f; S, 288; he does not appear to have noticed the reign of al-Amīn). Since Muḥammad b. Maḥbūb commented on the creed, it must have reached Oman before his death in 260 (cf. App. 1, no. 5 (descendants, no. 3)).

<sup>33</sup> Cf. *Tārīkh-i Sīstān*, 156 = 132, where Ḥamza returns from pilgrimage with supporters of Qaṭarī b. Fuḡā'a; K, 284.5; S, 291.6. Some of the heresiographical information on the Ḥamziyya will also have to be revised in the light of the creed. It confirms that Ḥamza's followers disagreed with Khalaf (whom the heresiographers present as a determinist), but contradicts the claim that they subscribed to Maymūn's doctrine of free will (cf. Ash'arī, 93 f; Baghdādī, *Farq*, 75; van Ess, *TG*, ii. 586; above, n. 31). It also casts doubts on the heresiographers' presentation of the Maymūniyya, Khalafiyya, Shu'aybiyya, and Ḥamziyya as four sects of the 'Ajārīda, for the last two come across as identical in the creed, in which Shu'ayb initiates the separate line of Khārījism to which Ibn Fūrak belongs (above, n. 31); and the creed does not mention Ibn 'Ajrad at all, be it as a founding father or as somebody from whom one must dissociate.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. above, nn. 31, 33; van Ess, *TG*, ii. 578, on Shu'ayb.

<sup>35</sup> K, 284.5, 285–6; S, 291.6, 292.11.

<sup>36</sup> K, 289.10; S, 295.8. By Abū Bakr's treatment of the *ahl al-qibla* Ibn Fūrak undoubtedly means his treatment of the apostates at Dabā (cf. above, Ch. 4, n. 2).

suffers a paroxysm of fury at this point and indignantly restates the position of the Ibādīs on relations with their *qawm*, claiming that Ibn Fūrak misrepresents them (which, as al-Kudamī notes, is not true at all).<sup>37</sup>

Here, then, we have the kind of context to which Sālim could be responding. The Sīstānī Khārijites rejected the central Ibādī doctrines concerning the status of non-Khārijite *ahl al-qibla*; they were sufficiently close to the Ibādīs in ideological terms to speak of the latter's *qawm* as 'our *qawm*',<sup>38</sup> and they were sufficiently close in geographical terms for their views to elicit serious comment and righteous indignation in Oman. The Ibādīs of Khurasan must have felt even more threatened by them. In short, it was not only North African Ibādīs who had reason to write refutations of the archetypal extremists long after the original sects had disappeared.

### 7. ʿUTHMĀN

Sālim's account of ʿUthmān draws on the same pool of fixed phrases and motifs that lies behind the *akhbārī* accounts preserved in Sunnī sources, and he does not have any new angles such as one would expect from an author writing in the mid-Umayyad period. One would thus assume him to have been a contemporary of the *akhbārīs*, of whom the earliest on the subject of ʿUthmān are Ibn Ishāq (d. 157/767) and Abū Mikhnaf (d. 157/774), while al-Wāqidī (d. 203/823) is one of the latest. Some such dating is also suggested by Sālim's affinity with the *Ṣifa*, a work based partly on Ibn Ishāq and partly on sources also used by Sālim.

### 8. KHAWĀRIJ

Another clue is provided by Sālim's use of the term *khawārij*. As mentioned already, this is a self-designation, probably coined with reference to Q. 4: 100 (*wa-man yakhruju min baytihi muhājirān ilā 'llāh*, 'he who goes out from his house emigrating to God').<sup>39</sup> Khārijite poets of the early and mid-Umayyad period use it with pride.<sup>40</sup> Even an author as late as al-Ash'arī knows that it was one of the labels that Khārijites found acceptable.<sup>41</sup> But al-Ash'arī's information must have referred to non-Ibādī

<sup>37</sup> K, 289 ff; S, 295 f.

<sup>38</sup> Contrast Sālim's and Shabīb's *mulūk qawmihim* in connection with the Murji'a, Fatana and *ahl al-shakk* (III, 98, 116, 113; Kāshif, *Siyar*, ii. 355).

<sup>39</sup> Thus R. E. Brünnow, *Die Charidschiten unter den ersten Omayyaden* (Leiden, 1884), 28 f. Differently L. Veccia Vaglieri, 'Sulla denominazione Ḥawārij', *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, 26 (1951), according to whom it only acquired its association with Qur'ānic *khurūj* by way of secondary development in the Umayyad period.

<sup>40</sup> I. ʿAbbās (ed.), *Shi'ar al-khawārij*, (Beirut, 1963), nos. 23: 6; 95: 1; 108: 2.

<sup>41</sup> Ash'arī, 127.14. The fact that the philologist Abū ʿUbayda usually refers to the Khārijites as *khawārij* thus cannot be taken to disprove the claim that he was a Khārijite himself (*pace* W. Madelung, 'Abū ʿUbayda Ma'mar b. al-Muthannā as a Historian', *Journal of Islamic Studies*, 3 (1992), 49).

Khārijites, or alternatively he must have been out of date, for by his time the Ibādīs had rejected the appellation.

IB1 calls himself a Khārijī without reservation. He has to contend with the annoying charge that Khārijites are extremists: 'you wrote to me raising the matter of the Khawārij, asserting that they go to extremes in their religion'. But he reacts by declaring them innocent of the charge, not by disowning the name: 'this is the truth of the Khawārij', he states after outlining their history, and he proceeds to testify that he affiliates to them, 'except that we dissociate from Ibn al-Azraq and his followers'.<sup>42</sup> Shabīb b. 'Aṭīyya, active in Oman in the 750s, also had to cope with the charge that Khārijites were extremists. In his case, they were accused of being *māriqa* and *khārijūn min al-dīn*, with reference to a well-known Prophetic tradition that IB2 was also up against,<sup>43</sup> and he twice responds that the charge fits others better than it does the Khawārij, a name that he too accepts without reservation; but if, he adds, the Prophet specifically intended the *murūq min al-dīn wa-khurūj min al-umma* as a reference to the Khawārij, then the blind enemies of God should know that from the ranks of people of al-Nahr there *marāqa man marāqa min al-dīn and kharaja man kharaja min al-umma*, namely Nāfi' b. al-Azraq, Dāwūd, 'Aṭīyya, and their likes: in other words, if the tradition is about Khārijites, it is only about the extremists.<sup>44</sup>

But the Ibādīs were fighting a losing battle: their *qamm* refused to be persuaded that Khawārij could be moderates, so the Khawārij in their turn refused to be known by that name. Some evidence suggests that in Basra they had disowned it already by the mid- to late Umayyad period. Thus Sālim b. al-Ḥuṭay'a al-Hilālī, the person who participated in a delegation to 'Umar II (717–20), and with whom Sālim b. Dhakwān is sometimes confused, is quoted as speaking of *al-khawārij al-mal'ūna* and of *al-khawārij* in contradistinction to *al-muslimīn*;<sup>45</sup> and a story told about Jābir on the authority of Ḍumām (late Umayyad, early 'Abbasid) equates *al-khawārij* with the Azāriqa.<sup>46</sup> If these testimonia are accepted as authentic, Shabīb b. 'Aṭīyya's usage was archaic, for he was a contemporary of Ḍumām. But it seems more likely that the hostile use of the term Khawārij in these passages is the outcome of revision in the course of transmission,<sup>47</sup> for it is only from the ninth century onwards that the

<sup>42</sup> Kāshif, *Siyar*, ii. 341 f; Barrādī, *Jawāhir*, 164 f = Rubinacci, 'Califfo', 117 f; cf. Cook, *Dogma*, 58 f, who clears up the confusion generated by Rubinacci.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Cook, *Dogma*, 19.

<sup>44</sup> HX, 130 f (for the other versions, see n. 47).

<sup>45</sup> Barrādī, *Jawāhir*, 42, 105. On this Sālim, see above, Ch. 1, nn. 31–2.

<sup>46</sup> Darjīnī, *Ṭabaqāt*, ii. 208 f; Shammākhi, *Siyar*, 76.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. the fact that some versions of IB1 and Shabīb's epistle delete or rewrite all passages in which the term appears as a self-designation. Qalhātī's version of Shabīb's *Sira* omits the first *khawārij* and replaces the next two by *ahl al-nahr* (*Kashf*, fo. 192a). The crucial terms are

rejection of the term is well attested. Thus Maḥbūb b. al-Raḥīl charges his opponent Hārūn b. al-Yamān, in a letter written in Basra or Oman in c.200/815,<sup>48</sup> with 'adhering to the religion of the Khawārij', contrasts *al-khawārij* with *al-muslimūn*, and equates the former with those who call *qibla*-users polytheists and claim that God has obliged them to take their lives, enslave their families, and treat their property as booty, all this being *aḥkām al-khawārij min al-azāriqa wa'l-ṣufriyya*.<sup>49</sup> In the same vein, Hārūn b. al-Yamān speaks of 'the Khawārij and all the people of the *qibla* who oppose us'.<sup>50</sup> The ninth-century Omani authors Hāshim b. Ghaylān and Abū 'l-Muṭṭhir likewise speak of Khawārij in the sense of extremists,<sup>51</sup> and in the later literature too they are those who brand their opponents as polytheists, who hold it lawful to enslave and despoilate them, and who are misguided people from whom one must dissociate.<sup>52</sup> Modern Ibāḍīs likewise insist that the Ibāḍīs are not Khārijites.<sup>53</sup>

But it was not easy to abandon the name altogether, and every now and again the Ibāḍīs acknowledged their Khārijite ancestry, partly by explicitly stating that their forebears were known as Khawārij,<sup>54</sup> and partly by referring to them as *khawārij al-muslimīn*,<sup>55</sup> *khawārij al-muslimīn min aslāfinā*,<sup>56</sup> or *al-khawārij min ahl al-ḥaqq*,<sup>57</sup> and just occasionally they used the name without qualification,<sup>58</sup> interpreting *khawārij* to mean those Muslims (i.e.

also missing in the manuscript used by Kāshif, where the passage is more heavily revised (*Siyar*, ii. 375). The passage in IB1 seems to have been more difficult to revise: most versions retain it intact while al-Bārūnī omits it completely (*Mukhtaṣar ta'riḫ al-Ibāḍiyya*, second printing, (Tunis, n.d.), 20 ff).

<sup>48</sup> For the date, see App. 1, no. 5.

<sup>49</sup> Kāshif, *Siyar*, i. 295, 299, 314, 317, 318.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, i. 334.1.

<sup>51</sup> Hāshim in Kāshif, *Siyar*, 37; Abū 'l-Muṭṭhir, *ibid.*, i. 318; ii. 293.ult., 295.5.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Khālid in Kāshif, i. 109, 110 (reading *khawārij* for *khāwīj*), 119; Kudamī in Sa'ḍī, *Qāmūs*, viii. 288.5; Bisyanī in Kāshif, *Siyar*, ii. 85; Qalhātī, *Kashf*, fos. 52b.3, 231b.5. Cf. also the passage in G. P. Badger (tr.), *History of the Imāms and Seyyids of 'Omān by Salīl-Ibn-Razīk, from AD 661–1856* (London, 1871), 310 (drawn to our attention by Michael Cook).

<sup>53</sup> Cf. Mu'ammār, *al-Ibāḍiyya fī mawḳib al-ta'riḫ*, i. 33 ff; Aṭfayyish, 'Nubdha' in Mu'ammār, *Ibāḍiyya bayna'l-firaq*, ii. 276 ff; al-Samā'ili's pamphlet *fī tamyiz al-Ibāḍiyya min al-Khawārij*; and the examples in Cuperly, *Ibadisme*, 15, n. 9.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. Abū 'l-Muṭṭhir in Kāshif, *Siyar*, ii. 309, 310.

<sup>55</sup> Thus Munīr b. al-Munayyir (Kāshif, *Siyar*, i. 234.–4) and Abū 'l-Muṭṭhir (*ibid.*, ii. 307.–5, 314.10). Khālid cites an early poem saying *al-khawārij muslimūna* (*ibid.*, i. 118 (cf. 'Abbās, *Shi'r*, no. 23: 6, which has *al-khawārij mu'minūna*, as does Izkawī, *Kashf al-ghumma*, fo. 267a.4, where it is ascribed to al-A'shā of Tamīm)); and he speaks of *khawārij al-muslimīn* at pp. 119.–3, 120.4, 121.1, though he usually just calls them *muslimīn*.

<sup>56</sup> Thus Abū 'l-Muṭṭhir in Kāshif, *Siyar*, i. 56, 84.

<sup>57</sup> Thus Bisyanī in Kāshif, *Siyar*, ii. 85.5.

<sup>58</sup> When ASM explains that the Khawārij were called Ḥarūriyya after the village of Ḥarūrā, and expresses fear that the same may befall you as 'the Khawārij before us and before you', he is presumably talking of his own sect (Kāshif, *Siyar*, i. 206.–5, 228.–6), though he opts for *muslimūn* where Sālim has *khawārij al-muslimīn* (*ibid.*, 207.7, cf. Sālim, II, 65). When Khālid says that 'disagreement broke out among the Khawārij thanks to Nāfi' b. al-Azraq and Najda b. 'Āmir, who diverged from the Muslims in their behaviour after having followed the religion

Ibāḍīs) who made a *khurūj*,<sup>59</sup> and relying on context to show that they were not talking of *khawārij al-jawr*.<sup>60</sup>

Sālim speaks of his ancestors as *khawārij al-muslimīn* (II, 65), *al-khawārij al-ūlā* (III, 78), and *man kāna qablahum min al-khawārij* (III, 66), reserving the term *khawārij* on its own for the extremists (IV, 121, 133), so his usage is similar to that of the ninth-century authors and quite different from that of IB1 and Shabīb b. ʿAṭīyya. If Sālim wrote in Oman (or some other province), he must have been later than Shabīb. If he wrote in Iraq, he could perhaps have been a contemporary of Shabīb, or possibly even an earlier author. But he can hardly have written before c.720 wherever he wrote.

### 9. HIJRA

Sālim argues against the extremist concept of *hijra* with reference to the fact that the *hijra* has come to an end, paraphrasing (and possibly even citing) a Prophetic tradition to this effect (III, 77). In so doing he adopts a line of argument that had gained currency in the early ʿAbbāsīd period.

According to Madelung, the duty of *hijra* came to an end twice, first in the time of the Prophet and next, having been revived by ʿUmar, in the time of the early ʿAbbāsīds.<sup>61</sup> A simpler version of this theory is that the Muslims operated with an open concept of *hijra* from the Prophet until the early ʿAbbāsīd period.<sup>62</sup> They did not think of *hijra* as a past movement of migration to a single centre, but rather as a continuing movement of migration to Muslim centres wherever they might be: one could still make a *hijra* to Medina in Umayyad times, and one could make a *hijra* to Kufa, Basra, and other *amṣār* as well. Whatever the destination, one made the *hijra* because all Muslims were obliged to serve the cause, primarily as soldiers fighting *jihād*, though other services were acceptable too. People who refused to emigrate, or who 'went back on' their *hijra* by returning to the desert or settling down as peasants, were denounced as bedouin, backsliders, or even infidels. This concept of *hijra* was bound to disappear as

of the Muslims themselves', he is clearly equating Khawārij with Muslims, though he proceeds to dissociate them from the Muslims in the course of the sentence; by the time we are told that 'the Khawārij also disagreed among themselves', with reference to Ibn al-Azraq and Najda, the term has come to stand for the extremists alone and the Ibāḍīs are *khawārij al-muslimīn* (Kāshif, *Siyar*, i. 119.5, 10, 15).

<sup>59</sup> Cf. Munīr in Kāshif, *Siyar*, i. 234.–5 (*a'immat al-muslimīn wa-qādātuhum wa-khawārijuhum*); Ennami, *Studies*, i. 21. To Ennami, the term *khawārij* means those who came out for *jihād*, though it eventually came to stand for the extremists alone. Izkawī, *Kashf al-ghumma*, fo. 216a.4, and Qalhātī, *Kashf*, fos. 139b.1, 195b.–2, do not even remember that it has anything to do with going out for holy war: they take it to refer to those who *kharaḷū ʿan ʿalī*, an explanation with which most Sunnīs would have agreed.

<sup>60</sup> Bisyānī in Kāshif, *Siyar*, ii. 85.7; Ennami, *Studies*, i. 21 and n. 70 thereto.

<sup>61</sup> W. Madelung, 'Has the Hijra Come to an End?'

<sup>62</sup> Crone, 'The First-Century Concept', on which the following is based.

the Muslims spread out and made themselves at home in the conquered lands. Why should it be impossible to live a good Muslim life as a peasant in the Jazīra or Kirmān? Surely bedouin too could be good Muslims without emigrating to a garrison town? ʿUmar II thought not: he equated the *hijra* of bedouin with their conversion to Islam. Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī is on record as sharing this view, and the open concept of *hijra* is attested till the very end of the Umayyad period, if less densely than in the first half. It is even attested in the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd, in the mouth of a Yemeni provincial.<sup>63</sup> It was in protest against this concept of *hijra* that the Prophet was invoked as telling people that they were emigrants wherever they were, that *hijra* was a purely spiritual act, or that *hijra* in the literal sense of the word had come to an end when Mecca fell: *lā hijra baʿda ʿl-fath*, as he says in the classical tradition. Madelung is undoubtedly right to place the dissemination of this tradition in the early ʿAbbāsīd period.

As might be expected in view of their date, the Azāriqa and Najadāt shared the open concept of *hijra*: a Muslim had to emigrate to a camp to fight for the faith; non-emigrants such as *qaʿada* and bedouin were excluded from membership in accordance with the Qurʾānic injunction not to be friends (*awliyāʾ*) with those who have not emigrated (Q. 4: 89; 8: 73). But they did not accept the Umayyad garrison towns as abodes of emigration; when they affirmed that *hijra* was a duty, they meant that one must leave for a Khārijite *dār al-hijra*, asserting that 'he who dies or is killed in a state of non-emigration (*fī ghayr hijratihim*) is an infidel polytheist'.<sup>64</sup> It is with this notion that Sālim takes issue.

One of his arguments (if the text has been correctly emended) is that a *dār al-hijra* does not lose its status merely because its inhabitants cease to be Muslims: for a number of Companions declared their fellow residents to be infidels, yet stayed where they were until they died, and the extremists themselves admit that these men died in a state of *hijra* (III, 89). This is an odd argument, for it is surely of the essence of a *dār al-hijra* that its inhabitants are believers; and Sālim's choice of Abū Dharr as one of his examples is particularly odd, for one would have expected all Khārijites to deny that he died in a state of *hijra*, given that even the mainstream tradition accuses ʿUthmān of having undone his *hijra* by exiling him to al-Rabadha.<sup>65</sup> But it is a clever argument even so, for all the Companions adduced by Sālim died in or (in Abū Dharr's case) near Medina, and even Khārijite hardliners must have had difficulty in summoning the nerve to declare that Medina itself had become a *dār kufr*; and if one could stay in Medina, one could likewise stay in Basra, Kufa, and so forth. It does

<sup>63</sup> Ibid. 362 f, nos. 48, 51, 56.

<sup>64</sup> Izkawī, *Kashf al-ghumma*, fo. 247b.7; cf. also Crone, 'The First-Century Concept', 379 f.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. the comm. to III, 89.

not, however, give us a chronological clue. Sālim could have adduced this argument at any time in Islamic history.

His other argument, however, is that the duty of *hijra* came to an end with the conquest of Mecca (III, 77), a point routinely made in all Ibādī sources when the extremist concept of *hijra* is broached,<sup>66</sup> and this does give us an indication of when he wrote. His own concept of *hijra* is closed. This makes it unlikely that he should have written as early as *c.*80/700, where Madelung would place his epistle, or in the time of ʿUmar II or al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, where van Ess would place it, for the open concept of *hijra* is densely attested for that period and was accepted by ʿUmar II and al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī themselves.<sup>67</sup> Even in the late Umayyad period it seems unlikely that Sālim could have taken the closed concept for granted. The *lā hijra* tradition may very well have been in circulation by then, but the Khārijites are likely to have clung to the open concept for longer than anyone else because it was intimately linked with the duty of *jihād*, to which all Khārijites remained committed: that one could fight holy war without emigrating was not obvious, as the *lā hijra* tradition concedes by explicitly pointing out that *jihād* continues.<sup>68</sup> What is more, we are explicitly told that the troops of ʿAbdallāh b. Yaḥyā Ṭālib al-Ḥaqq, who rebelled in South Arabia in 129/746, included a group of *muhājirūn*, presumably the Basran contingent.<sup>69</sup> This clearly suggests that it was only in ʿAbbāsīd times that Ibādīs rejected the open concept of *hijra*. ‘They do not call . . . themselves *muhājirūn*’, al-Kaʿbī observes.<sup>70</sup> But the Ibādīs of Jabal Nafūsa seem to have missed out on the doctrinal revision altogether, for even in the tenth century they retained the Khārijite habit of turning the graves of their heroes into abodes of emigration:<sup>71</sup> Ibn Ibād was buried in Jabal Nafūsa, they told Ibn Ḥawqal, and Jabal Nafūsa was their *dār al-hijra*, as

<sup>66</sup> See the comm. to III, 77.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. above, Ch. 1, n. 72; Crone, ‘The First-Century Concept’, 362 f.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. Crone, ‘The First-Century Concept’, 354 f, 364, 371, 381.

<sup>69</sup> Shammākhī, *Siyar*, 99.8.

<sup>70</sup> Shahrastānī, i. 100.ult.

<sup>71</sup> For this habit, see Mubarrad, iii. 1022; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, iv.b, 94.9 (B. Yashkur feared that the Khārijites would make a certain grave a *muhājir*); Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, v. 88 (ʿUqfān al-Ḥarūrī rebelled in 105; Yazīd II wanted to fight him, but it was pointed out to him that if he was killed *bi-hādhā ʿl-bilād itakhadhahā ʿl-khawārij dār hijra*); de Goeje, *ʿUyūn*, 108.–4, 111.–8 (Ṣubayḥ was sent to Hishām, who wanted to kill him until it was pointed out that the Khārijites would make Ruṣāfa a *dār hijra*; the heads of the Khārijites who had rebelled with Bahlūl were sent to Hishām, who sent them back to Iraq because he did not want the Khārijites to choose his whereabouts as a *dār hijra*); Robinson, ‘Early Khārijism’, n. 112, citing Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, MS Reis. 598, fos. 51b and 52b (the authorities were loath to kill a Khārijite in the Jazīra or Syria lest the Khārijites make it a *dār hijra*).

he also learnt.<sup>72</sup> In short, Sālim would appear to have written in 'Abbāsīd times.

### 10. MILITANCY

Sālim lived under 'kings', yet takes it for granted that his co-religionists can and should conduct *jihād*, not under them, but against them. He exhorts the Ibādīs at some length to fight holy war, stresses that it will not shorten their terms, and twice points out that those who go out are superior to those who stay behind, while at the same time reminding them that *khurūj* is not a *hijra*: those who go out must continue to associate with those who stay behind and they are free to return (I, 12–13; IV, 126, 129). Though these exhortations are formulated in general terms, they appear to take the practicability of *jihād* for granted, for Sālim's enjoinder to piety is a sermon that climaxes in exhortations to *jihād*: that the believers should fight is the point to which the rest of it builds up. In IV, 127, moreover, Sālim envisages *jihād* as a small-scale activity conducted by bands of Muslims (*nafar min al-muslimin*), whom he permits to appoint imams for themselves, implying that he does not otherwise approve of imams in (what is elsewhere called) a state of *kitmān* and apparently never contemplating the possibility that the warriors might bring the state of *kitmān* to an end so that a permanent imamate might be established. Here his concept of *jihād* is clearly context-bound. He also approves of women and slaves participating in *khurūj* (IV, 127). For all his acceptance of *taqiyya*, then, Sālim would appear to have lived at a time and place where Ibādī *jihād* was actually being conducted, or, at least, about to be initiated, if only on a small scale.

The Ibādīs are not known to have staged a single revolt from their real or supposed emergence in the second civil war until the great rebellions in Tripolitania under Ibn Mas'ūd al-Tujībī and Ibn Talīd al-Ḥaḍramī in 128–31/745–9 on the one hand,<sup>73</sup> and in Arabia under Ṭālib al-Ḥaqq and Abū Ḥamza in 129–30/746–8 on the other.<sup>74</sup> In what period, then, can we find a context for Sālim's statement on *jihād*? In order to answer this question we need to broaden the discussion to include the problem of where he may have written.

<sup>72</sup> Ibn Ḥawqal, *Kitāb ṣūrat al-ard*, ed. J. H. Kramers, (Leiden, 1938–9), 37.9, 95.2. That the first passage refers to Jabal Nafūsa rather than Mudhaykhira is noted by Cook, *Dogma*, 183 n. 112.

<sup>73</sup> Cf. Schwartz, *Anfänge*, 118 ff; U. Rebstock, *Die Ibāditen im Maghrib (2./8.–4./10. Jh.)*, (Berlin, 1983), 18 ff. The precise dates are uncertain.

<sup>74</sup> Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, iv. 66 f/iv, §2290; *Aghānī*, xxiii. 224 ff; Shammākhī, *Siyar*, 98 f; Wellhausen, *Oppositionsparteien*, 52 ff; T. Lewicki, 'Les Ibādites dans l'Arabie du sud au moyen âge', *Folia Orientalia*, i. (1959), 5 ff.

## A. IRAQ

Cook suggests that the epistle is a Kufan product, with reference to its interest in Murji'ism;<sup>75</sup> its affinities with KI and the *Ṣifa* would suggest the same. Madelung seems to accept Cook's suggestion, as does van Ess in one of his volumes, both on the basis of the anti-Murji'ite polemics published by Cook.<sup>76</sup> But this creates problems with the dating now that the Khārijite parts of the epistle have to be considered too.

No Ibādī can seriously have encouraged his co-religionists to wage *jihād* in Iraq in the 80s/700s, when the Azāriqa and Najadāt had been savagely suppressed and al-Ḥajjāj was in firm control. It was all very well for Jazīran tribesmen such as Shabīb b. Yazīd to engage in small-scale *khurūj* and spectacular feats of horsemanship against al-Ḥajjāj, just as a well-equipped army such as that of Ibn al-Ash'ath could attempt a major revolt against him; but the Ibādī townsmen of Iraq had no choice but to practise *taqiyya* and obey. *Pace* Lewicki, there is no evidence that they joined the revolt of Ibn al-Ash'ath,<sup>77</sup> and Jābir b. Zayd, the leader of the Basran Ibādīs, comes across as anything but rebellious: his letters abound in exhortations to secrecy and fear of the authorities.<sup>78</sup> He is also said (in a doctrinal rather than historical vein) to have prayed behind Ziyād, 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād, and al-Ḥajjāj.<sup>79</sup> By contrast, Sālim merely counsels his co-religionists not to take military service with 'kings' (IV, 119). Of fear of the authorities there is no trace.

Equally, no Ibādī in Iraq (or for that matter elsewhere) is likely to have encouraged his co-religionists to wage *jihād* against 'Umar II, of whom the Ibādīs quite approved<sup>80</sup> and in whose reign they are said to have enjoyed

<sup>75</sup> Cook, *Dogma*, 91.

<sup>76</sup> Madelung's date only makes sense if Sālim's Murji'ites are Iraqis. They are listed as Kufans in van Ess's volume of texts (*TG*, v, 13 ff), but van Ess elsewhere argues that Sālim probably wrote in Iran (*TG*, i, 174, 406; ii, 601).

<sup>77</sup> Cf. Lewicki in *EF*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. 'Ibādīyya', col. 649b. He identifies Bisṭām b. Maṣqala, who participated in the revolt on Ibn al-Ash'ath's side, with a Ṣufri convert to Ibādism of a similar name. But the former is the well-known Bisṭām b. Maṣqala b. Hubayra al-Shaybānī (Ṭabarī, 2nd ser., 1088 f, 1095, 1099, 1100, 1125; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v, 346). He was not a Khārijite. The name of the Ṣufri convert, on the other hand, is given as Bisṭām (originally Maṣqala) b. 'Umar b. al-Musayyab b. Zuhayr al-Ḍabbī and he is not said to have participated in the revolt (Shammākhī, *Siyar*, 111; his *nasab* is somewhat implausible in that al-Musayyab b. Zuhayr al-Ḍabbī is the name of an 'Abbāsīd general).

<sup>78</sup> Ennami, *Studies*, i, 77 f. The quietism of the early Ibādīs is also strongly stressed in Ra-jab Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ḥalīm, *al-Ibādīyya fī Miṣr wa'l-Maghrib wa-'alāqātuḥum bi-Ibādīyyat 'Umān wa'l-Baṣra* (Muscat, 1990), 54 ff.

<sup>79</sup> Maḥbūb b. al-Raḥīl in Kāshif, *Siyar*, i, 291–5, 309–3; al-Ḥārithī, *al-'Uqūd*, 97. Many other refs. to his praying behind al-Ḥajjāj are given by 'Abd al-Ḥalīm, *Ibādīyya*, 16 and nn. 12–15 thereto (with unnecessary polemics against 'A. M. Khulayfāt, *Nash'at al-ḥaraka al-ibādīyya* (Amman, 1978), 91); add Bisyānī in Kāshif, *Siyar*, ii, 139–4.

<sup>80</sup> Cf. Abū Ḥamza in Crone and Hinds, *God's Caliph*, 130, §8; Khālid in Kāshif, *Siyar*, i, 120; and note that the ninth-century Abū 'l-Mu'thir adduces his procedure *vis-à-vis* a Ṣufri as paradigmatic (*ibid.*, 64). Cf. also the accounts of the delegation to 'Umar II in Shammākhī,

good relations with the authorities.<sup>81</sup> ʿUmar II's death was followed by the revolt of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, in which van Ess seems to think that the Ibādīs participated; but there is no evidence for this,<sup>82</sup> nor would Yazīd's revolt provide us with the right context for Sālim's epistle even if they did, for he is writing of small-scale expeditions by Ibādī zealots led by their own imams, not of a general uprising by Ibādīs and others under non-Ibādī leadership.

If Sālim wrote in Kufa, he could perhaps have written in the reign of Hishām (724–43), when minor Khārijite uprisings are recorded with some frequency,<sup>83</sup> or after the outbreak of the third civil war in 126/744, when government control was fragile and eventually collapsed under the impact of al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays al-Shaybānī's attacks.<sup>84</sup> But the suggestion would have been more persuasive if Sālim had been a Ṣufri.<sup>85</sup> If he wrote in Basra about that time, or followed its lead, his devotion to small-scale *khurūj* is problematic. It is true that the sources record a small revolt in the reign of Hishām which could be Ibādī in that it was conducted in the vicinity of Basra; it also fits Sālim's ideas of *khurūj* in that it included a woman.<sup>86</sup> But the Ibādī tradition knows nothing about it. Moreover, the Ibādī literature presents the leader of the Basran Ibādīs in the late Umayyad period, Abū ʿUbayda, as fundamentally opposed to the idea of embroiling his community in revolt, though he was under pressure to do so and eventually gave in by organizing, or rather letting Ḥājib al-Ṭāʿī organize, the great revolt in Arabia.<sup>87</sup> Sālim cannot have written with the

*Siyar*, 79 f; Izkawī, *Kashf al-ghumma*, fo. 388b.–5 ff; Shaqṣī, *Manhaj*, i. 619; Saʿdī, *Qāmūs*, viii. 301 ff. (This delegation has nothing to do with that of Mesopotamian Khārijites to ʿUmar II described in Sunnī sources.)

<sup>81</sup> Lewicki in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. 'Ibādiyya', col. 650a. Cf. *Kashf al-ghumma*, ed. A. ʿUbaydalī (Nicosia, 1985), 247: ʿUmar II's governor of Oman behaved badly, so the Omanis wrote to ʿUmar, who sent another with whom they were satisfied.

<sup>82</sup> Van Ess notes that Abū Ruʿba al-Murjiʿī fought together with a Khārijite in the revolt (*TG*, i. 174, cf. Ṭabarī, 2nd ser., 1386.16, 1399.ult., 1404.10, 1405.8, 1407.10). But the Khārijite is not identified as an Ibādī, only as an Omani.

<sup>83</sup> Cf. Muṣʿab al-Wālibī (Ibn al-Athīr, v. 89); Wazīr al-Sakhtiyānī (ibid., 158; Ṭabarī, 2nd ser., 1628 f; de Goeje, *ʿUyūn*, 111); al-Ṣuhārī b. Shabīb (Ṭabarī, 2nd ser., 1633; de Goeje, *ʿUyūn*, 111; Ibn al-Athīr, v. 158 f); Bahlūl b. Bishr in 119 (Ṭabarī, 2nd ser., 1622 ff; de Goeje, *ʿUyūn*, 109 ff; Ibn al-Athīr, v. 156 ff, ʿAmr al-Yashkurī and al-ʿAnazī/Bakhtarī *sāhib al-ashhab* (Ṭabarī, 2nd ser., 1627 f; Ibn al-Athīr, v. 158), all defeated by Khālid al-Qasrī.

<sup>84</sup> Cf. *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. 'al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays al-Shaybānī'.

<sup>85</sup> Ḍaḥḥāk was a Ṣufri, as were at least three of the rebels mentioned in n. 83: al-Ṣuhārī b. Shabīb was a son of the Ṣufri (?) Shabīb b. Yazīd al-Shaybānī (Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamhara*, 327; Shahrastānī, i. 95.6), and he wanted to avenge a man *min qaʿadat al-ṣufriyya* that Khālid had killed (Ṭabarī, 2nd ser., 1634; Ibn al-Athīr, v. 159); Bahlūl was eulogized by the Ṣufri Ḍaḥḥāk (Ṭabarī, 2nd ser., 1627; Ibn al-Athīr, v. 158); the Ibādī Jābir b. Jabala fought against Bahlūl's followers on his way to Mosul (Azdī, *Mawṣil*, 80 f); and al-ʿAnazī/Bakhtarī was a follower of Bahlūl.

<sup>86</sup> de Goeje, *ʿUyūn*, 109.

<sup>87</sup> Cf. App. 1, no. 2.

Arabian revolt in mind, given that it was a coordinated venture conducted under a fully-fledged imam, ʿAbdallāh b. Yaḥyā Ṭālib al-Ḥaqq, who had received allegiance *ʿalā ʿl-khilāfa*.<sup>88</sup> And thereafter an Iraqi scenario becomes implausible: the Ibādīs hardly encouraged or engaged in *jihād* of any kind in Iraq after the ʿAbbāsīd revolution, when there was scope for political action in Oman or North Africa and when all the evidence suggests that those who stayed in Iraq submitted to ʿAbbāsīd government without demur.

In short, it is not easy to find a context for Sālim's epistle in Umayyad, let alone ʿAbbāsīd, Iraq. One solution to this problem would be to reject IV, 127–8 as an interpolation. This would remove Sālim's highly specific notion of *khurūj* as small-scale revolt under imams elected for the occasion, as well as his conviction that women and slaves may participate, and leave us with an epistle which praises holy war in terms so general that it could perhaps have been written even in quietist Iraq: one could envisage it as part of the pressure put on Abū ʿUbayda, for example. But though both paragraphs can be expunged without affecting the overall argument of the epistle (neither point having been raised before), the paragraph relating to women and slaves can hardly be an interpolation, given that the ninth-century Ibādīs disapproved of female participation in revolt (unless we assume that rival views coexisted);<sup>89</sup> and if this paragraph is retained, then so is the problem: where in the history of Ibādī (as opposed to pre-Ibādī or extremist) Iraq would one place an epistle endorsing female participation in revolt, apparently taking the very conduct of revolt for granted?

Another solution would be to accept that the epistle was written outside Iraq. This solution seems more attractive. If the author had been a Kufan, he would surely have displayed stronger feelings about ʿAlī and argued about him at greater length: Sālim's treatment is short, superficial, and wholly lacking in the passion he displays in his account of ʿUthmān. He does not show any particular interest in the Sabaʿiyya either and does not, in fact, seem to have felt threatened by Shīʿites at all, unlike IB2.<sup>90</sup> Further, his predilection for the *mā/man shāʿa ʿllāh* formulation suggests that he wrote within the eastern Arabian sphere of influence. But if he wrote in Basra, why was he preoccupied with the Murjiʿa rather than the Muʿtazila, and why does he mention the Sabaʿiyya in the stance rather than the ʿUthmāniyya? He seems to have written in a place where Kufan and Basran ideas flowed together rather than where they originated.

<sup>88</sup> Madāʿinī in *Aghānī*, xxiii. 227.ult.; Mūsā b. Kathīr in Azdī, *Mawṣil*, 77.–4.

<sup>89</sup> Cf. the comm. to IV, 127.

<sup>90</sup> Cf. above, Ch. 4; Cook on IB2 in *Dogma*, 54 f.

## B. MOSUL

Mosul was a Kufan province which had a substantial population of Azdīs from Oman as well as an Ibādī community,<sup>91</sup> though most of the local Khārijites must have been Ṣufrīs. It was an area of endemic Khārijites revolt, always small-scale, and women often participated.<sup>92</sup> It was just the kind of area in which Sālim's statements on *jihād* would fit, and all the features that point to Kufa could be taken to suggest the Kufan sphere of influence, while the Azdī presence would account for the author's pre-dilection for the *mā/man shā'a 'llāh* expression.

But it was hardly in Mosul that the epistle was written. In the first place, one would have expected an author writing against extremist Khārijism in that area to have directed his polemics at the Azāriqa and Ṣufriyya rather than the Azāriqa and Najdiyya; and in the second place, the Ibādī community in Mosul comes across as too small to count. We hardly know anything about it. It is mentioned in connection with Ibādī disputes over *qadar*: Ḥamza al-Kūfī was excommunicated by Abū 'Ubayda for his *qadari* views and moved to Mosul, where he tried to convert the weak (i.e. uneducated) members of the Ibādī community.<sup>93</sup> But apart from that, all we know about them is the name of a presumably later jurist who migrated to Oman.<sup>94</sup> *Pace* van Ess, the Ibādī who joined Abū Ḥamza's Arabian revolt along with all the clans of Azd Zahrān did not come from Mosul,<sup>95</sup> but from Basra,<sup>96</sup> though he moved to Mosul after the revolt had been suppressed.<sup>97</sup> Conversely, the Khārijite who rebelled against al-Manṣūr in Mosul in 148/765 was not an Ibādī,<sup>98</sup> and the same is true of two Khārijite

<sup>91</sup> Cf. van Ess, *TG*, ii. 466 ff.

<sup>92</sup> For the revolts, see Robinson, 'Early Islamic Khārijism'; for the women, see the comm. to IV, 127.

<sup>93</sup> Shammākhī, *Siyar*, 120.

<sup>94</sup> Van Ess, *TG*, ii. 469.

<sup>95</sup> Cf. van Ess, *TG*, ii. 467, on Jābir b. Jabala, with ref. to Azdī, *Mawṣil*, 77 f, III, 113.

<sup>96</sup> Azdī, *Mawṣil*, 78.4. Jābir and al-Mukhtār [Abū Ḥamza] were fellow tribesmen *wa-maskinuhumā fī 'l-baṣra*.

<sup>97</sup> Azdī, *Mawṣil*, 80.-3: he hid in Basra after the revolt and left for Mosul in response to a letter from a fellow Salīmī singing its praises. (Cf. p. 113.-7, where he is nonetheless said to have been the first member of B. Salima to settle in Mosul.) On his descendants there, see pp. 78.3, 81.2, 111.6.

<sup>98</sup> Van Ess, *TG*, ii. 468, with ref. to Azdī, *Mawṣil*, 203 ff; Ibn al-Athīr, v. 447 f, on Ḥassān b. Mujālid. According to Azdī (p. 204), he fled to India after his defeat and corresponded with the people of Oman, calling them to his *madhhab* and asking for permission to come to them, but they refused. Ibn al-Athīr's version is similar. 'Abd al-Ḥalīm, *Ibādīyya*, 73, takes it for granted that he was a Ṣufri.

scholars known to have flourished in Mosul in the early ʿAbbāsīd period.<sup>99</sup> Presumably, all three were Ṣufrīs.

### C. IRAN

Another possibility is that Sālim's epistle was composed in eastern Iran, as suggested by van Ess.<sup>100</sup> Khurāsān was a Basran colony which regularly received troops from Kufa too. It was a province which lent itself very well to small-scale warfare against rulers who could not be ousted, but who could still be harassed; and in Khurāsān under caliphal rule it would have been natural to think of imams as leaders of expeditions pure and simple rather than potential heads of state. We also know that some Iranian Khārijites continued to let their women participate in *khurūj* into the tenth century.<sup>101</sup> Eastern Iran was the home of the Sīstānī Khārijites, whose extremist dissociation from the Ibāḍīs had repercussions even in Oman;<sup>102</sup> and the Sīstānīs actually knew about a Sālim b. Dhakwān who is likely to be identical with the person to whom our epistle is ascribed.<sup>103</sup> The *mā/man/haythu shā'a 'llāh* expression will have been at home here;<sup>104</sup> and it is in the mouth of a Khurasānī general of the ʿAbbāsīd revolution that the rare verb *istankaḥa* is attested in the same sense that it has in Sālim.<sup>105</sup> It was also in eastern Iran that a heresiographer wrote of the Bidaʿiyya, in the sense of Murjiʿite quietists, who may have figured in Sālim's polemics.<sup>106</sup>

Where in Khurāsānī history might we place the epistle, then? Madelung's date of *c.*180/700 is clearly too early, given that Ibāḍism only emerged as a separate branch of Khārijism in Iraq in *c.*65/684 (if we accept the traditional date) or about a generation later (as other evidence suggests).<sup>107</sup> Van Ess's date of *c.*102/720 is also too early, for the same reason. Van Ess argues that Muhallabid Khurāsān provides us with a plausible context for Sālim's epistle because Murjiʿites and Khārijites are on record as having interacted there (as attested in the poetry of Thābit Quṭna), and also in the entourage of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab outside Khurāsān (as attested by the fact that a Murjiʿite fought alongside a Khārijite

<sup>99</sup> Cf. van Ess, *TG*, ii. 468 f, on Jubayr b. Ghālib and Ḥaḥṣ b. Ashyam. Ḥaḥṣ was the maternal uncle of the rebel Ḥassān b. Mujālid and belonged to the same Khārijite community (Azdī, *Mawṣil*, 205.–2, 206.6); he transmitted Jubayr b. Ghālib's *Kitāb al-firaq* (Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 234), meaning that Jubayr belonged to the same community too. The sources (all brought to light by van Ess) invariably identify them as Khārijites, not as Ibāḍīs.

<sup>100</sup> van Ess, *TG*, i. 174, 406; ii. 601.

<sup>101</sup> Cf. the comm. to IV, 127.

<sup>102</sup> Cf. above, 273 ff.

<sup>103</sup> Cf. above, Ch. 1, 11.

<sup>104</sup> Cf. App. 3.

<sup>105</sup> Cf. the comm. to III, 67.

<sup>106</sup> Cf. above, Ch. 1, 21 and n. 106 thereto.

<sup>107</sup> Cf. App. 1, nos. 1–2.

in his revolt of 102/720).<sup>108</sup> But Khārijites are not necessarily Ibāḍīs, and the affiliation of the Khārijite who fought in Yazīd's revolt is unknown, while the Khārijites encountered by Thābit Qutna in Muhallabid Khurāsān classified their opponents as polytheists, meaning that Ibāḍīs they were not.<sup>109</sup> Nor is this surprising. There is no evidence that Ibāḍism had reached Khurāsān at all by the 720s, let alone that it had already engendered book learning and *mutakallims* there.<sup>110</sup>

It is only from the late Umayyad period onwards that an Iranian setting becomes plausible. By the late Umayyad and early 'Abbāsīd periods there were certainly Ibāḍīs in Khurāsān, and they were producing scholars too,<sup>111</sup> though the *mutakallims* remain conjectural. There were also plenty of Murji'ites in Khurāsān, who were moreover of the same activist type as that reflected in Sālim.<sup>112</sup> All we lack is explicit reference to Ibāḍī (as opposed to simply Khārijite) uprisings in the area.<sup>113</sup> We do not know whether the Ibāḍīs of Khurāsān remained faithful to the idea of *jihād*, nor do we know when they closed their concept of *hijra* or ceased to call themselves *khamārij*. But assuming that their attitudes were comparable to those of the Omanis, early 'Abbāsīd Khurāsān offers a plausible scenario.

## D. OMAN

Finally, Sālim's epistle could be a product of Oman. The Ibāḍīs of Oman engaged in polemics against the Murji'a from the mid-eighth century onwards,<sup>114</sup> readily used the expression *mā/man/ḥaythu shā'a 'llāh*, and

<sup>108</sup> Cf. above, n. 82.

<sup>109</sup> 'Every Khārijite errs in his doctrine . . . 'Alī and 'Uthmān were servants who did not ascribe partners to God (*lam yushrikā bi'llāh*) after they became (His) servants' (*Aghānī*, xiv. 270, ll. 11 ff; cf. van Ess's tr. in *TG*, v. 18).

<sup>110</sup> Van Ess (*TG*, ii. 601) notes that we incidentally hear about Ibāḍīs in Herāt, but the passage in question refers to the end rather than the beginning of the second/eighth century (Schwartz, *Anfänge*, 52). He further claims that the Ibāḍī Ṣuḥār al-'Abdī came from Khurāsān, and late Ibāḍī authors do indeed describe him as a Khurāsānī (Shaḡṣī, *Manhaj*, i. 627.-2; Sa'dī, *Qāmūs*, viii. 312.-5), but all that means is that he was an Arab who had participated in the conquest of eastern Iran and who had been governor of Herat for a while (Ṭabarī, 1st ser., 2537, 2682, 2707; van Ess, *Anfänge*, 21; according to Ibn Qutayba, *al-Ma'ārif*, ed. Th. 'Ukāsha, 2nd printing (Beirut, 1969), 339, he was not even an Ibāḍī). The conjecture that many of the Azdīs who accompanied Yazīd b. al-Muhallab to Khurāsān were Ibāḍīs does not amount to evidence.

<sup>111</sup> See van Ess, *TG*, ii. 601 f.

<sup>112</sup> Cf. Madelung, 'The Early Murji'a'.

<sup>113</sup> For Khārijite disturbances in the Herāt area under Hishām, see de Goeje, *Uyūn*, 108 f; one (Ṣubayḥ's) is implicitly described as Azraqite, the other is unidentified. Under al-Manṣūr, Ma'n b. Zā'ida killed numerous Khārijites in Sistān and was eventually killed by them, whereupon his son retaliated by slaughtering large numbers (Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, ii. 422 f); presumably, they were the predecessors of Ḥamza al-Khārijī's adherents rather than Ibāḍīs. But the Khārijites on the border between Fārs and Kirmān, who engaged in revolts in the mid-ninth century (*ibid.*, 609), may well have been Ibāḍīs (cf. the refs. given above, Ch. 5, n. 18).

<sup>114</sup> Cf. Shabīb b. 'Aṭīyya's *Radd 'alā 'l-shukkāk wa'l-murji'a* (HX, 279-85).

never stopped waging holy war: like the Iranians they had the right terrain, and in addition they were tribesmen. They hardly suffered from a dearth of extremists to argue against, be they Sīstānīs such as those who brought Ibn Fūrak's creed to Oman or local Najadāt or 'Şufrīs' (whatever that may mean in an Arabian context).<sup>115</sup> The Ibāḍī tradition says that Sālim was an Omani, and Sālim's attention to bedouin grievances (II, 47; III, 71) and the *ṣadaqa* of Baḥrayn (II, 41) could perhaps be taken to suggest eastern Arabian origins. So where in Omani history might we place the epistle?

Madelung's date of *c.*700 remains too early. Ibāḍism hardly existed as a separate branch of Khārijism at that time, still less had it reached Oman.<sup>116</sup> The Omanis certainly had reasons to be militant in *c.*700, for after years of semi-autonomous status they were subjected to direct Umayyad control by al-Ḥajjāj, probably in *c.*86/705 f; but though we owe our knowledge of this fact to Ibāḍī sources, the Ibāḍīs lay no claim to having organized or inspired the resistance he encountered.<sup>117</sup> There was no organized Ibāḍism in Oman until Abū 'Ubayda sent 'carriers of knowledge' there, but from then onwards Ibāḍism seems to have made rapid progress. Oman was left alone under a Muhallabid governor from the death of 'Umar II to the accession of Abū 'l-'Abbās, and when the latter sent a new governor, 'he treated the Ibāḍīyya so gently that they took over the government of Oman',<sup>118</sup> meaning that they elected their own imam, al-Julandā b. Mas'ūd, in 132/750. But the 'Abbāsids defeated and killed the Julandā in battle in 134/752, and thereafter Oman was ruled by 'tyrants' (*jabābira*) until 177/794, when they elected an imam whom they subsequently refused to recognize. They deposed him in 179/796, elevated al-Wārith b. Ka'b al-Kharūṣī to the imamate, and kept the imamate going without major disruptions down to 280/893.<sup>119</sup>

If Sālim wrote in Oman, we can date his epistle with some precision. He wrote at a time when there was no imamate, only 'kings' and imams in the sense of leaders of small-scale revolts. This rules out the time of 'Abdallāh b. Yaḥyā Ṭālib al-Ḥaqq, whose imamate the Omanis recognized<sup>120</sup> and in whose revolt they (including the Julandā) participated.<sup>121</sup> It also

<sup>115</sup> 'Abdallāh b. Yazīd al-Fazārī, the Ibāḍī *mutakallim* from Kufa who went to Yemen towards the end of the second/eighth century, wrote polemics against Şufrism there (van Ess, *TG*, 406 f).

<sup>116</sup> At best it could be argued that al-Ḥajjāj assisted its diffusion in Oman by sending Jābir into exile there, but even that is open to query, cf. App. 1, no. 1.

<sup>117</sup> *Kashf al-ghumma*, 242 ff. The conjectural date is from J. C. Wilkinson, 'The Julanda of Oman', *Journal of Oman Studies*, 1 (1975), 101.

<sup>118</sup> *Kashf al-ghumma*, 247.

<sup>119</sup> For all these dates, see App. 2.

<sup>120</sup> Khālīd in *Kāshif*, *Siyar*, i. 119 f.

<sup>121</sup> The Julandā is said to have been one of his *shurāt* (Sa'dī, *Qāmūs*, viii. 313.8, citing Shaqṣī's *Manhaj*); cf. also the Omani found with Abū Ḥamza in Azdī, *Maṣṣil*, 112.-5.

rules out the imamate of the Julandā himself. Sālim must have written either before 129/746 f, when Ṭālib al-Ḥaqq rebelled, or after 134/752, when the Julandā was killed. But he can hardly have written before the revolt of Ṭālib al-Ḥaqq, given that the latter had *muhājirūn* among his troops whereas Sālim takes the closed concept of *hijra* for granted. That leaves us with the period between 134/752 and 177/794, when the Omanis were trying to re-establish their imamate, and that after 280/893, when the imamate they had re-established collapsed again. In practice, that means that he must have written between 752 and 794. As has been seen, his terminology shows him to have written before the ninth century, and it may be added that ninth-century Omanis referred to illegitimate rulers as *jabābira*, not as *mulūk*. Shabīb b. ʿAṭīyya, who wrote in the second half of the eighth century, speaks of *mulūk* and *jabābira* alike,<sup>122</sup> but even in Basra *jabābira* was the standard term from c.800 onwards.<sup>123</sup> Sālim, however, only uses the term *jabābira* once, with reference to the time before Muḥammad (l. 180); the illegitimate rulers of his own time are *mulūk* (ll. 735, 760, 788; cf. 830, 866, 929, in the Murjiʿite section). Besides, he approves of female participation in *khurūj*, as did Abū Ḥamza, whereas Abū Sufyān and the later Ibādīs of Oman were against it.

But if Sālim wrote in Oman between 752 and 794, three facts do not entirely fit. First, Sālim thinks of imams as leaders of bands 'going out' for holy war and never seems to contemplate the possibility that their activities might result in the establishment of a permanent imamate; but the Ibādīs of Oman never lost sight of that goal. One would also have expected him to fill his introductory *waṣīyya* with warnings against internal dissension. But given that he only mentions the imamate in passing, there is perhaps a limit to the weight that one can place on this point. Secondly, Sālim's epistle does not seem to have been known to the Ibādīs of Oman until the eleventh century,<sup>124</sup> which suggests that the epistle arrived in Oman from somewhere else. Finally, Sālim uses terminology apparently unknown to the Omanis (notably *istinkāh*, also *khams*). This reinforces the suspicion that his epistle was composed outside Oman and establishes a presumption in favour of Iran. The literature of Ibādīs of Khurāsān is wholly lost except in so far as bits of it ended up in North Africa or Oman: Abū Ghānim's *Mudawwana* survived in North Africa, and Hilāl b. ʿAṭīyya al-Khurasānī's epistle survived in Oman (though it is also possible

<sup>122</sup> Kāshif, *Siyar*, ii. 355.3; 356.6, 368.–5, 377.8.

<sup>123</sup> Wāʿil b. Ayyūb denounced Muḥammad b. Abī ʿAffān, deposed in 179/796, as a *jabbār* (Sālimī, *Tuhfa*, i. 111.–7, 112.2 and ult.); Shuʿayb b. Maʿrūf and Abū Sufyān also speak of *jabābira* (Shammākhi, *Siyar*, 109, 112; Darjini, *Ṭabaqāt*, ii. 209.8, 285.4; 287.15, 288.1), never of *mulūk*. There are countless references to *jabābira* in Sālim's *Tuhfa*, though the ʿAbbāsids in the time of al-Muʿtaḍid do appear as *mulūk* (i, 257.–2).

<sup>124</sup> Cf. above, Ch. 1, 13 f.

that Hilāl composed it in Oman). Is Sālim's epistle another example? On balance we are inclined to think so.

Whether the epistle was composed in Oman or Iran, however, all the evidence suggests that it was written in the period 750–800. More precisely, this is when the Khārijite parts of the epistle must have been written. But we still have to consider the rest of the work.

#### THE REST OF THE EPISTLE

### 11. THE INTRODUCTORY PARTS: FORMAL FEATURES

These are not very informative. It is clear that the *waṣīyya bi'l-taqwā* and 'mission topos' had become standard features of doctrinal epistles by the late Umayyad period and that Khārijite epistles were likely to include a 'caliphs topos' too by then.<sup>125</sup> But all three topoi had started earlier and (especially in the Khārijite case) continued for longer, so they only provide us with the broadest chronological limits, which are those of the doctrinal epistle itself: Sālim must have written between *c.*700, where some would place the emergence of the genre, and *c.*900, when the Ibāḍī epistles peter out. The fact that Sālim's mission topos uses themes well attested in official letters of the late Umayyad period, as well as one of al-Ma'mūn's, could be taken to suggest a date around the middle of the eighth century, but this is hardly compelling.<sup>126</sup>

### 12. WAṢIYYA AND MISSION TOPOS

Calder, following Wansbrough, regards all the early doctrinal epistles as disputes about sources of authority (*uṣūl*) and sets out his position with reference to KI. This work, he says, displays concern with God's command in its enjoinder to piety, proceeds to elaborate the twin authorities of Book and Prophet and, next, to depict the emergence of a perfect community in its longest and most significant section (i.e. its mission topos), in which it displays a pervasive concern with the divine law by using a wealth of terms indicative of God's command (*farā'id*, *sharā'i῅*, *manāsik*, *ḥudūd*, *sunna*, *ḥuqūq*). Its insistence on a paradigmatic community implies acceptance of a range of authorities associated with that community, and to Calder this suggests that its polemical agenda was community Sunna versus strictly Prophetic Sunna. Since other epistles have similar introductory parts, Calder suggests that all the 'political' documents used by Cook, i.e. KI, Sālim's epistle, and probably also the letters of Ibn Ibād, 'are disputes about *uṣūl*. Their political colouring is secondary'. This in

<sup>125</sup> Cf. above, Ch. 1, 17.

<sup>126</sup> See the comm. to II, 14–23.

its turn suggests a date to him: 'Such a dispute is inconceivable except, I would suggest, in the period after the death of Abū Ḥanifa'.<sup>127</sup>

Calder's argument is hard to accept. It would after all be difficult to find a doctrinal epistle that does *not* display a concern with God's command in its enjoinder to piety. Nor is there anything remarkable about the wealth of terms relating to God's law in the mission topos: the letters of al-Walid II and al-Ma'mūn similarly speak of *ḥukm*, *ḥudūd*, *farā'id*, *ḥuqūq*, and *sunan* in theirs, and we are hardly to take it that these epistles are really about *uṣūl* and only designate heirs by way of secondary political colouring. Differently put, it does not seem profitable to base one's interpretation on the introductory parts of the epistles, which usually rehearse banalities<sup>128</sup> and which are not likely to be where their main message is to be found. Why should the fact that Sālim, KI, and al-Shāfi'ī all start by broaching similar themes mean that all were concerned with *uṣūl* throughout? One might as well argue that all were really about politics (in Calder's sense of that term) and dismiss the *uṣūlī* parts of al-Shāfi'ī's work as secondary.

The introductory parts rehearse banalities, often at great length, because people liked to hear familiar themes before moving on to new and contentious claims: by allowing their audience or readers to affirm and savour venerable truths the authors put them in a receptive mood. Surveying early history was an effective way of moving from affirmation of common loyalties to identification of the particular perspective from which the message was going to be delivered. God sent Muḥammad: the audience would nod assent and be suffused with a sense of solidarity. Then He deputed the caliphs to take charge of His law (al-Walid II): everyone would prepare himself for a caliphal message. Abū Bakr and 'Umar followed in the footsteps of the Prophet, as did 'Uthmān until he began to deviate (Sālim): all the Ibāḍīs would nod assent and everyone else would prepare himself for Ibāḍī polemics. Formulaic statements about the Qur'ān, Sunna, and the law were part of the preliminary affirmations, and though they may reveal interesting preconceptions to us, it does not follow that they formed the message of the epistle.

What is banal in one context, however, may be contentious in another (that God sent Muḥammad is hardly a banality in debate with non-Muslims); and what Calder could have argued is that some of the banalities in KI, IB1, and Sālim originate in contexts in which they were highly meaningful. Sālim's enjoinder to piety includes the declaration that 'You have not been commanded in any way except through this Qur'ān; your prophet guided through it alone; you will not be questioned about other than it, nor will you be admonished except through it' (I, 5). This

<sup>127</sup> Calder, review of Cook, 182 f.

<sup>128</sup> The word is Cook's (*Dogma*, 7). Calder disagrees, of course (review, 184).

sounds like an affirmation of Qurʾānic fundamentalism, or (as it is more commonly known these days) scripturalism. Do we then have here a reflection of the *uṣūlī* controversies to which Calder would see the entire epistle as a contribution? The answer would appear to be negative.

A scripturalist is a person who regards the scripture as the only authoritative source of law and doctrine, everything else being fallible human reasoning or custom. Sālim was not a scripturalist in this sense. The Qurʾān is certainly the most important source to him, but he invokes the Sunna too with some frequency, equating it now with the example of the Prophet and now with that of righteous people in the past,<sup>129</sup> and though he never discusses the relative authority of Qurʾān and Sunna, he clearly credits the Sunna with a sanctity over and above that of fallible human institutions. The classification of opponents which he attributes to the Prophet and defends at length against the extremists is largely non-Qurʾānic; and unlike the Azāriqa, he accepts the stoning penalty because 'the Prophet stoned a man of Aslam and this became *sunna*' (III, 70).

In the early Islamic world, scripturalism is best known as a reaction to the rise of Ḥadīth. Not all opponents of Ḥadīth were scripturalists, for most of them accepted what Calder calls 'community Sunna', a useful term for doctrines validated by the fact that the community had lived by them ever since it had (or believed itself to have) received them from the Prophet or the pious ancestors: authentication lay in communal practice rather than in *isnāds*. But some did react to the flood of Prophetic Ḥadīth by declaring the Qurʾān the only authoritative source, and others made statements of this kind even though they accepted some Ḥadīth of their own: thus the Ibādī IB2 declares that 'the believer follows only God and His Book' and accuses his Shiʿite opponents of taking Ḥadīth for their religion, but nonetheless adduces a Prophetic saying against them.<sup>130</sup> Sālim could well have been a quasi-scripturalist in the style of IB2, for his Sunna is community Sunna. It is authenticated by the fact that the 'Muslims' have lived by it, and he does not cite a single tradition in the sense of a report consisting of a chain of authorities and a statement with a fixed wording. (Even the interpolated *lā hijra* tradition lacks an *isnād*.) But he displays no interest in the issue of Prophetic Ḥadīth in his epistle. Either he wrote before the issue had come to the forefront or else he saw no reason to address it. There is in fact no reason why he should have addressed it. His epistle is concerned with the classification of opponents, not with *uṣūl*, and he was taking issue with Khārījites and Murjiʿites, not

<sup>129</sup> See, e.g., II, 65 and IV, 118. For all the refs., see the concordance to the Arabic text, s.v. 'sunna'.

<sup>130</sup> Cook, *Dogma*, 18–20; Izkawī, *Kashf al-ghumma*, fos. 207a f, 211a f, 212a; cf. M. Cook, 'Anan and Islam: the Origins of Karaite Scripturalism', *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*, 9 (1987), 168 f, 169 ff.

with Traditionalists. Confronted with a flood of Ḥadīth transmitted by opponents, he might perhaps have reacted with an affirmation of the sole authority of the Qurʾān. But what his opponents confronted him with was scripturalism in the case of the Azāriqa and an epistemology that he took to rule out tradition altogether in the case of the Murjiʿa. Neither called for an attack on Prophetic Ḥadīth.

Why, then, did he include an apparently scripturalist declaration in his enjoinder to piety? Presumably, he inherited it from his sources. Neither he nor his sources, however, are likely to have meant it as a rejection of Prophetic Ḥadīth. When Khārijites identified the Qurʾān as their imam, as they did, for example, in their creed, they would appear originally to have meant that God's command was to be found in the Book rather than the decisions of caliphs or Shīʿite imams.<sup>131</sup> It is true that IB2 contrasts acceptance of the Qurʾān as imam with following Ḥadīth,<sup>132</sup> but this is likely to be a secondary usage. To affirm that the Qurʾān is imam was not very different from saying that judgement belonged to God alone (*man ḥakkama kitāb Allāh wa-jaʿalahu imāman . . .*, as Sālim proceeds to say after his apparently scripturalist declaration (ll. 55 f)); and the slogan *lā ḥukma illā liʾllāh* obviously did not originate in opposition to Ḥadīth. If the Khārijite insistence on the sole authority of the Qurʾān originated as a claim directed against the communal leaders of their *qawm*, it will have been as a statement of 'political scripturalism' that Sālim inherited his declaration.

If so, Sālim's epistle does not reflect (let alone discuss) the *uṣūlī* disputes to which Calder relates it. It is not even clear what sort of chronological clue it would give us if it did. Calder dates the conflict between community Sunna and strictly Prophetic Sunna to after Abū Ḥanīfa's death with reference to the first ten chapters of Schacht's *Origins*; but in chapter 7 of that work Schacht accepts as authentic the ascription to al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, who died in 110/728, of an epistle voicing scripturalist views and dates it to before 86/705 on the grounds that it is addressed to ʿAbd al-Malik.<sup>133</sup> The Azraqites were also scripturalists, and hardly of the 'political' variety alone (unless we are to take it that the stoning penalty was sponsored by caliphs). If there was early scripturalism, it will no doubt have been different from that explicitly directed against Ḥadīth, but we do not know how the two phases were related or when the phase concerned with Ḥadīth began. IB2 apart, this phase is mainly known from al-Shāfiʿī's references to *mutakallims* who reject Ḥadīth, some completely and others partially, and from the systematic attack on Ḥadīth by

<sup>131</sup> Cf. above, Ch. 7, 256 ff.

<sup>132</sup> Izkawī, *Kashf al-ghumma*, fo. 212a; cited in Cook, *Dogma*, 19.

<sup>133</sup> Calder, review of Cook, 182; cf. J. Schacht, *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence* (Oxford, 1950), 74.

al-Nazzām.<sup>134</sup> After al-Nazzām, who died between 220/835 and 230/845, the opponents of Ḥadīth would appear to have conceded defeat, but that does not tell us when the controversy started.

### 13. THE FATANA

The Fatana/Fitaniyya can only be dated in a conjectural vein. They were known for a doctrinal combination which had become commonplace in Murji'ism and traditionalism by the first half of the second/ninth century; one of their doctrines was the Murji'ite suspension of judgement on the other-worldly fate of sinners, which is attested from the 120s/740s onwards; and Sālim's argument against their quietism is closely related to that found in the epistle against the *ahl al-shakk* of Shabīb b. 'Aṭīyya, who wrote between 134/752 and 177/794. Sālim cannot be paraphrasing Shabīb, since his extract is longer: he has five examples of the contention that transgressions by imams must be tolerated where Shabīb only has one. Shabīb, on the other hand, is unlikely to be summarizing Sālim's version, for the verbal correspondences are not close. Presumably, they relied on a common source, written or oral. This is compatible with a dating of the Fatana/Fitaniyya to the mid-second/eighth century, which also fits the assumption that Sālim took issue with the Murji'a, Fatana, and Bida'iyya in loosely chronological order in the original version of his epistle. But the possibility remains that the section on them is interpolated.

### 14. FIRST AND RECENT FURQA

The Murji'ite section reflects a time when people no longer had personal experience of *al-furqa al-ūlā* (III, 91), unmistakably identified as the first civil war (35/656–41/661), so it can hardly be earlier than c.70/690. It was written after a recent schism (*al-furqa al-ākhira*), on which the Murji'ites claimed a right to pass judgement (whether for or against one cannot tell) on the grounds that they had seen it for themselves (III, 91). Van Ess inadvertently turns it into the second schism (*al-furqa al-akhira*),<sup>135</sup> but the text does not number it. It is not even clear what it would be if it were the second. According to al-Barrādī, the second *fitna* was the Battle of the Camel (the first being the murder of 'Uthmān); according to others, it was the Battle of the Harra; 'the *fitna*' without numeration may be the second civil war, the revolt of Ibn al-Ash'ath, the murder of al-Walid II, and more besides.<sup>136</sup> If the older generation of Sālim's Murji'ites had

<sup>134</sup> Cook, 'Anan and Islam'; J. van Ess, *Das Kitāb an-Nakl des Nazzām*, (Göttingen, 1972), esp. 137 f.

<sup>135</sup> Van Ess, *TG*, i. 172, cf. 175, 177; corrected in v. 13.

<sup>136</sup> Barrādī, *Jawāhir*, 106.2 (the third was the *fitna* of Mu'āwiya); 'Abd al-Razzāq, *Muṣan-naf*, xi, no. 20739; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, vi. 423; Abū Zur'ā, *Ta'rikh*, ed. Sh. al-Qawjānī

personal experience of Mu<sup>ʿ</sup>āwiya (cf. below, 15), the recent schism could well be the second civil war, in which the Azāriqa and Najadāt who also preoccupy Sālim's had emerged. But given that he is here reproducing a Murji<sup>ʿ</sup>ite argument, a better guess would be the revolt of Ibn al-Ash<sup>ʿ</sup>ath (80–3/699–703), for it is as participants in this revolt that the Murji<sup>ʿ</sup>ites are first mentioned in the historical literature. Madelung goes so far as to propose that Sālim's epistle (or rather the Murji<sup>ʿ</sup>ite part of it) was written while Ibn al-Ash<sup>ʿ</sup>ath's revolt was in progress, but this is impossible. Madelung's reasoning is that the Murji<sup>ʿ</sup>ites were not normally hostile to the regime and that their hostility in Sālim's epistle thus requires an unusual context, which he takes to be the anti-Umayyad consensus which prevailed in Iraq at the time of Ibn al-Ash<sup>ʿ</sup>ath's rebellion.<sup>137</sup> But for one thing, the Murji<sup>ʿ</sup>ites often seem to have been deeply hostile to the regime; and for another, Sālim makes it clear that the recent *furqa* was over. The kings were in firm control and the Murji<sup>ʿ</sup>ite problem was precisely how to live under erring rulers. Madelung's date could, however, be emended to shortly after Ibn al-Ash<sup>ʿ</sup>ath's revolt. On the other hand, if the Mu<sup>ʿ</sup>āwiya argument is recycled (cf. below, 15), the recent *furqa* could be a later schism such as the revolts of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab and Zayd b. ʿAlī, the ʿAbbāsīd revolution, or the rebellion of Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh.

#### 15. PERSONAL KNOWLEDGE OF MU<sup>ʿ</sup>ĀWIYA

Sālim argues that the Murji<sup>ʿ</sup>a violate their own autopsy criterion by calling upon the younger generation of their *qawm* to dissociate from Mu<sup>ʿ</sup>āwiya. This suggests that the older generation had personal knowledge of Mu<sup>ʿ</sup>āwiya whereas the younger generation did not; and if this is correct, Sālim could hardly be writing much after 100/720, when Mu<sup>ʿ</sup>āwiya had been dead for forty years. This is one of the premises on which the early dates proposed by Cook, Madelung, and van Ess are based. There is a minor textual problem in that the word for 'younger generation' (*nāshi<sup>ʿ</sup>a*) is corrupt in all the three passages in which Sālim makes his point, but Cook's emendation is hard to resist. It is certainly right in the first two passages, which go as follows:

If, as they say, it is wrong to charge a user of the *qibla* with error when that person lived before one's time, then they profess a doctrine which they violate in practice: for they call on the *tāsi<sup>ʿ</sup>a* of their *qawm* to separate from Mu<sup>ʿ</sup>āwiya and to disown him (III, 93).

(Damascus, 1980), i, no. 252; Ibn Sa<sup>ʿ</sup>d, vi. 312; vii. 163, 188, 225; cf. 164, on 'fitan like those of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab and Ibn al-Ash<sup>ʿ</sup>ath'; al-Awzā<sup>ʿ</sup>i in Abū Yūsuf, *al-Radd ʿalā siyar al-Awzā<sup>ʿ</sup>i*, ed. A.-W. al-Afghānī (Cairo, [1357]), 20; G. H. A. Juynboll, 'The Date of the Great *Fitna*', *Arabica*, 20 (1973).

<sup>137</sup> Madelung, review of Cook, 629 f; id., 'The Early Murji<sup>ʿ</sup>a', 32 n.

They claim that it is wrong to admit the testimony of the Muslims on events which happened before one's time. But if that doctrine of theirs is right, they are wrong in calling the *tāsi'a* of their *qawm* to separate from people who lived before their time (III, 102).

The *tāsi'a* must indeed be *nāshi'a*, as Cook proposes; and since the Murji'ites are only said to violate their principles by teaching the younger generation to dissociate from Muḥāwiya, not by doing so themselves, these passages do suggest that the older generation had personal experience of him. It is curious that Sālim singles out the younger members of their *qawm*, since the Murji'ites must also have been at fault for teaching their own children to dissociate from Muḥāwiya, and telling them that they could not even pass on their views to their own children would have been an even stronger point; but perhaps he wished to avoid the counter-argument that there was unanimity within the sect.

The third passage is slightly more problematic, for here Sālim says that the Murji'ites may argue that

those people who call (*man yad'ū min al-nās*) to separate from Muḥāwiya and to disown him can tell that he was wrong from the reports of his (conduct) still current in their time (III, 96).

If this is left unemended, it implies that the older generation also lacks personal experience of Muḥāwiya: the Murji'ites were wrong both in calling to dissociation from Muḥāwiya *and* in teaching the younger generation to do so. But Cook emends the passage to read 'if they argue that a member of the younger generation whom they call (*man nad'ū min al-nāshi'a*) . . .', so that it is once more the younger generation alone that lacks personal experience of him. In view of the first two passages, this should probably be accepted. The text is certainly neater if it is concerned with wrongful transmission of attitudes to the younger generation throughout.

If this is accepted, the Murji'ite part of Sālim's epistle must come from a source written no later than *c.*100/720, unless he is simply recycling an old argument. That the Murji'ites could not transmit their views on Muḥāwiya to the next generation was a strong point against them which is likely to have been repeated long after it had reached its sell-by date.<sup>138</sup> If Sālim wrote after 750, as the Khārijite parts of his epistle suggest, he is indeed repeating it in this fashion. Its value to him lay in its demonstration that Murji'ite epistemology was incompatible with tradition,<sup>139</sup> and from this point of view it did not matter much whether the older generation still had personal experience of Muḥāwiya or not. The question

<sup>138</sup> For a striking example of how long good arguments could be repeated after losing their relevance, see Cook, *Dogma*, 146 f.

<sup>139</sup> Cf. above, Ch. 6, 227 f.

is thus whether the argument was original or recycled in the source on which he based himself.

### 16. ARCHAIC DOCTRINE

That the Mu<sup>ḥ</sup>āwiya argument was original in the source on which Sālim based himself is strongly suggested by the fact that the Murji<sup>ḥ</sup>ite doctrine he presents is early. First, *irjā'* still means suspension of judgement on the participants in the first civil war, not on the other-worldly fate of sinners. Secondly, his Murji<sup>ḥ</sup>ites do not seem to have suspended judgement on the other-worldly fate of sinners at all, but rather doomed them to Hell even though they accepted them as believers. Thirdly, they dissociated from rulers to the point of prohibiting prayers for forgiveness on their behalf and apparently deemed it legitimate to rebel against them, presumably because they held them to be sinners doomed to Hell, or even as straightforward infidels. All three doctrines are archaic in the sense that they had disappeared by the time the heresiographers wrote, and by far the most startling archaism is the second. Unfortunately, it is also conjectural.

As regards the first doctrine, *irjā'* in its original sense disappeared in the course of the ninth century, but we do not know precisely how long it survived. As has been seen, it is diluted already in Abū Ḥanīfa, who suspends judgement on the *ahl al-furqa* without using the term *irjā'* and without accepting the corollary that one should neither associate with nor dissociate from the people in question (assuming his epistle to ʿUthmān al-Battī and his dicta in *al-Fiqh al-absaṭ* to be authentic).<sup>140</sup> But the fact that the Ibādīs of Oman knew the original doctrine under its original name independently of Sālim suggests that other Murji<sup>ḥ</sup>ites retained it for longer.<sup>141</sup> As regards the third doctrine, activism is well attested for Abū Ḥanīfa, and much longer for the Murji<sup>ḥ</sup>ites of Iran.<sup>142</sup> But not a single source explicitly says that the early Murji<sup>ḥ</sup>ites condemned the believing sinner to Hell. Sālim is unique in strongly implying it, and it is only in the light of his account that one can see that Muḥārib b. Dithār implies it too (though he also implies the opposite).<sup>143</sup> Whatever the case of Muḥārib, Abū Ḥanīfa certainly suspended judgement on the fate of the believing sinner (assuming his epistle to ʿUthmān al-Battī to be authentic), and the fact that nobody remembers the Murji<sup>ḥ</sup>ites ever to have done otherwise, apart from Sālim, suggests that the old doctrine was quickly and universally dropped. Indeed, some may dispute its very existence. But if it is

<sup>140</sup> Cf. above, Ch. 6, 225, 229 f.

<sup>141</sup> Cf. above, Ch. 6, n. 23. The anonymous *Radd ʿalā ahl al-shakk* may conceivably be dependent on Sālim, but the same is unlikely to be true of Ibn Baraka.

<sup>142</sup> Cf. above, Ch. 6, 240 f.

<sup>143</sup> Cf. above, Ch. 6, 221 f.

accepted that Sālim's Murji'ites regarded the believing sinner as doomed, there can be no denying that they belonged to the Umayyad period.

### 17. DISSOCIATION FROM MU'ĀWIYA

Sālim implies that the Murji'ites dissociated from Mu'āwiya not only as a king (in which capacity they had personal experience of him), but also as a member of the *ahl al-furqa* (in which capacity he was a disputed person who had lived before their time).<sup>144</sup> Presumably, they refused to suspend judgement on him as a participant in the first civil war because they wished to reject the entire Umayyad dynasty, which owed its legitimacy to its claim that Mu'āwiya succeeded 'Uthmān by acting as his avenger;<sup>145</sup> and their strongly anti-Umayyad attitude could be taken to suggest that they lived in the Umayyad period. It is, however, also compatible with a much later date. According to the Shī'ite al-Mufīd (d. 413/1022), the Mu'tazilites, Khārijites, and certain Sunnīs, namely the Murji'ites and Jabrites, all condemned Mu'āwiya's 'revolt' against 'Alī.<sup>146</sup> A similar attitude to Mu'āwiya is implied by al-Nawbakhtī's account of the alleged view of Abū Ḥanīfa, Abū Yūsuf, and other Murji'ites on 'Alī in the first civil war.<sup>147</sup> Presumably, it was a view current among ninth-century Murji'ites given to *tashayyu'*.

### 18. SĀLIM AND KI

There remains the fact that the hypothetical document behind Sālim's account is reflected in KI as well. As has been seen, KI is probably a late-Umayyad or early-ʿAbbāsīd composition.<sup>148</sup> This means that the source (or sources) shared by the two works is (are) likely to date from the later Umayyad period too.

In short, the doctrine of *irjā'*, the implied activism, the hostility to Mu'āwiya, and the mention of a recent schism are all compatible with a date up to c.800 (or later), and the same is true of the implied familiarity of the older generation with Mu'āwiya if we have recourse to the assumption that this argument is recycled. It would however be gratuitous to regard it as recycled unless it were found in the company of features which positively suggest a late date, and though there are several such features in the Khārijite parts of Sālim's epistle, there is none in the Murji'ite section. Here, all the doctrines which are compatible with a late date are compatible with an early one as well, and two additional features positively

<sup>144</sup> Cf. above, Ch. 6, 225 f.

<sup>145</sup> Van Ess, *TG*, i. 173, denies that the Murji'ites are discussing Mu'āwiya as a participant in the first civil war, but agrees that they reject him as a symbol of the entire dynasty.

<sup>146</sup> al-Mufīd, *La Victoire de Bassora*, tr. M. Rouhani (Paris, 1974), 19.

<sup>147</sup> Cf. above, Ch. 6, 230.

<sup>148</sup> Cf. above, Ch. 7, 261–3.

point in an early direction: the affinities between Sālim and KI suggest an Umayyad date, and the condemnation of the sinner (if such it is) would dictate it. We may thus take the implied familiarity of the older generation with Mu'āwiya as king at face value: the Murji'ite section of Sālim's epistle reflects Murji'ism before *c.*100/720.

How long before? Cook's early date of *c.*72/692 is implausible because there is no evidence for the existence of Murji'ism then. But Madelung's date of *c.*700 is acceptable if it is emended to shortly after the end of Ibn al-Ash'ath's revolt in 703, and so is van Ess's date of *c.*100/720. This is as far as we can get. It would be presumptuous to claim that we could tell the difference between eighth-century texts written within fifteen years of each other, and both Madelung's and van Ess's attempts to relate Sālim's text to a precise context are unconvincing. Van Ess is however right that all the ideas in Sālim's Murji'ite section are in place by the first decade of the second century.<sup>149</sup> More precisely, the arguments of Sālim's (and KI's) Murji'ites slot in so effortlessly with those of Thābit Qutna, Muḥārib b. Dithār, and 'Awn b. 'Abdallāh that one would assume the source(s) shared by Sālim and KI to have been contemporary with these poets, who died between 110/728 f and 116/734 f. We may thus accept that Sālim's Murji'ite section reflects Murji'ism as it looked between *c.*85/705, when Ibn al-Ash'ath's *furqa* had come to an end, and *c.*100/720, when most of those who had lived under Mu'āwiya will have been dead.

#### CONCLUSION

We are now in a position to summarize. The Murji'ite part of Sālim's epistle would appear to be based on a source or sources dating from before *c.*100/720, but the work as a whole must be later. The author of the Khārijite parts, who was the author of the entire epistle (some interpolations apart), would seem to have written after 133/750, judging by his affinities with the *akhbārīs*, the *Ṣifa*, and the classical heresiographers, his closed concept of *hijra*, his use of the term *khawārij*, and his assumption that the Ibādīs were engaged in small-scale revolt. The Fatana and the Bida'iyya would suggest the same if they formed part of the original epistle. But he wrote before *c.*185/800 judging by his terminology, and the dates can be narrowed down to between 134/751 and 177/793 if he wrote in Oman. More probably, however, he wrote in Iran.

Who then was 'Sālim'? What we are looking for is an Ibādī in the style of 'Abdallāh b. Yazīd al-Fazārī, an Ibādī *mutakallim* from Kūfa who went to Baghdad in the second half of the eighth century and from there

<sup>149</sup> Van Ess, *TG*, i. 173 f.

to Yemen, where he disputed with Ṣufrīs and qadarites.<sup>150</sup> 'Sālim' was a *mutakallim* who went to, or came from, Khurāsān or Oman, whether via Baghdad or otherwise, and who disputed with Azāriqa, Najadāt, and Murji'ites. Maybe his name was really Sālim b. Dhakwān, but we are not sure. It was probably in eastern Iran that the author came to be identified as Sālim b. Dhakwān, given that this is where the epistle seems to have been composed and where a Successor of that name was remembered.<sup>151</sup> But the epistle cannot have been written by a Successor.

Ibn al-Nadīm tells us that Ḍirār b. 'Amr wrote a *Kitāb 'alā 'l-Azāriqa wa'l-Najadād/Haddād wa'l-Murji'a*. As Cook says, *Najadād/Haddād* should be emended to *Najadāt*.<sup>152</sup> But Ibn al-Nadīm must be wrong. Ḍirār was not a Khārijite, though one Imāmī source and Ibn Ḥazm present him as such.<sup>153</sup> Why, then, should he have written a refutation of the Azāriqa and Najadāt to the exclusion of other Khārijites? To outsiders, Khārijite sects were so many variations on the same theme, and all would refute the pattern in general, not one or two variations thereof in particular. Ḍirār himself is said to have written a general *radd 'alā 'l-khawārij*.<sup>154</sup> Only Khārijite moderates would refute Khārijite extremists. The treatise ascribed to Ḍirār would thus make better sense if it were reclassified as the work of an unknown Khārijite, probably an Ibādī. It was directed against the Azāriqa, Najadāt, and Murji'a, an unusual combination of targets to which there is no parallel in the *Fihrist*. It was probably written in the style of *kalām*, since it would not otherwise have been ascribed to Ḍirār; and it was presumably written about the time of Ḍirār, whose dates are c.110–200/728–815. The work is now lost. Or is it? We suspect that the epistle against Azāriqa, Najadāt, and Murji'a which turned up in Oman under the title of *Sīrat Sālim* is that very work.

<sup>150</sup> Van Ess, *TG*, i. 406 ff.

<sup>151</sup> Cf. above, Ch. 1 n. 20; Cook, *Dogma*, 154, on Successor epistles.

<sup>152</sup> Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 215.13; J. van Ess, 'Ḍirār b. 'Amr und die "Cahmiyya"', *Der Islam*, 44 (1968), 18; emended by Cook in *Dogma*, 198 n. 42; emendation accepted by van Ess, *TG*, v. 230.

<sup>153</sup> Madelung, *Qāsim*, 243; van Ess, *TG*, iii. 53 n. In general, see also J. van Ess, 'Ḍirār b. 'Amr', *ET*<sup>2</sup>, suppl.

<sup>154</sup> Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 215.10.

# APPENDIX 1

## THE IBAḌĪ LEADERS IN BASRA

Anyone who tries to get into early Ibāḍī studies soon discovers that the dates and works of early Ibāḍī figures are problematic, that primary sources are often inaccessible, and that standard reference works such as the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* only provide partial coverage of Ibāḍī matters. There is no encyclopaedia of Ibāḍī studies to make up for this deficiency. Since it is impossible to discuss Sālim's epistle without a chronological and prosopographical infrastructure, we supply the requisite information partly in the bibliography and partly in the first two appendices.

Ibāḍī sources are agreed that the first centre of Ibāḍism was Basra, where the first leaders were Jābir b. Zayd, Abū 'Ubayda, al-Rabī' b. Ḥabīb, Abū Ayyūb Wā'il b. Ayyūb, and Abū Sufyān Maḥbūb b. al-Raḥīl.<sup>1</sup> We shall deal with them in that order.

### 1. JĀBIR B. ZAYD AL-AZDĪ

Jābir is the one Ibāḍī leader on whom the reader is well served already.<sup>2</sup> He has been well covered partly because he was the first and more particularly because there is information on him in the mainstream literature.

Abū 'l-Sha'thā' Jābir b. Zayd al-Azdī is said to have been born in Farq in Oman in 18 or 21<sup>3</sup> and to have died in 93, 96, 103, or 104.<sup>4</sup> Van Ess prefers the first date, on the grounds that it is attested in old sources such as Khalifa and Abū Zur'a, as well as indirectly in Fasawī (*TG*, ii. 190 n). But these sources are not older than Wāqidi and the problem seems to be beyond resolution.

Jābir moved to Basra as a soldier, possibly via Tawwaj, and settled there in the reign of 'Uthmān,<sup>5</sup> or about AD 60.<sup>6</sup> He became friendly with Yazīd b. Abi Muslim, the *mawla* and scribe of al-Ḥajjāj who was later killed in North Africa and who is said also to have been a Khārijite.<sup>7</sup> Yazīd introduced him to al-Ḥajjāj,

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, Sālimī, *Lum'a*, 12.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *EP*<sup>2</sup>, s.v.; Khulayfāt, *Nash'a*, 86 ff; Sāliḥ b. Aḥmad al-Ṣawāfī, *al-Imām Jābir b. Zayd al-'Umānī wa-āthāruhu fi'l-da'wa* (Oman (WTQwTh), 1981); Yaḥyā Muḥammad Bakkūsh, *Fiqh al-imām Jābir b. Zayd* (Beirut, 1986); van Ess, *TG*, ii. 190 ff).

<sup>3</sup> Barrādī, *Jawāhir*, 155; Shammākhī, *Siyar*, 77.

<sup>4</sup> The first date is advocated, among others, by Barrādī, loc. cit.; Rabī', *Musnad*, ii, no. 742; Khalifa, *Ṭabaqāt*, 210; Abū Zur'a, 241, no. 276; and Bukhārī and others in Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, ii. 38. The second date is given by Shammākhī, *Siyar*, 77; the third by Ibn Sallām, *Bad'*, 108.11; Izkawī, *Kashf al-ghumma*, fo. 266a.-5; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, v. 462/iv, §2213 (where he has become a client of Azd); and Ibn Sa'd, vii. 182, citing Wāqidi. The fourth date is proposed by al-Haytham b. 'Adī in Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, ii. 38.

<sup>5</sup> Ennami, *Studies*, i. 55.

<sup>6</sup> van Ess, *TG*, ii. 190.

<sup>7</sup> Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, iii. 949; ed. Wright, 561.

who offered him a judgeship, which he refused, and who gave him a well-paid sinecure in the *dīwān al-muqātila* instead.<sup>8</sup> When al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī went on campaign, he would delegate the task of giving responsa to Jābir, resuming it when he came back.<sup>9</sup>

At some point Jābir fell out with al-Ḥajjāj, possibly after the latter's break with the Muhallabids, with whom Jābir had close relations.<sup>10</sup> Al-Ḥajjāj is said to have imprisoned him<sup>11</sup> or to have exiled him to Oman along with Abū Sufyān's grandfather.<sup>12</sup> But if he was exiled, he must have returned to Basra later, for he died and was buried there.<sup>13</sup>

The Sunnīs accept him as one of theirs. They do know that he was reputed to be an Ibādī,<sup>14</sup> but they indignantly deny it. They present him as denouncing the Ibādīs<sup>15</sup> and even have two Muhallabid women deny that he had anything to do with the sect.<sup>16</sup> The fact that he should be claimed by both Sunnīs and Ibādīs suggests that Ibādīsm still was not strongly differentiated from non-Khārījite Islam in Basra at the time. Unlike later Ibādī leaders, Jābir certainly had numerous non-Khārījite pupils. But if the so-called first letter of Ibn Ibād to ʿAbd al-Malik (IB1) is by Jābir,<sup>17</sup> one is surprised both by the number of his non-Khārījite friends and pupils and by the Sunnī desire to claim him as their own, for the author of this letter was a clear-cut Khārījite of the moderate variety. Perhaps Jābir's Basran contemporaries generally entertained ideas closer to moderate Khārījism than to proto-Sunnism. More probably, the letter was written by someone else.

## WORKS

Jābir is said to have written a *dīwān*, presumably meaning a collection of *fatāwā*;<sup>18</sup> and two books of his *fatāwā* are extant in North African manuscripts, one on marriage and the other on prayer.<sup>19</sup> The Omani Ministry of Culture has published a collection of his responses under the title *Min jawābāt Jābir*;<sup>20</sup> but, like so many of their publications, it is unavailable to us.

A collection of letters addressed to fourteen friends and followers of Jābir also survives in a North African manuscript, or possibly two;<sup>21</sup> and seventeen letters, possibly the same, are said to be extant in a manuscript in the Islamic Library

<sup>8</sup> Shammakhī, *Siyar*, 74 [*muqābila*]; Darjīnī, *Ṭabaqāt*, ii. 211 f [*muʿāmila*].

<sup>9</sup> Ibn Saʿd, vii. 180; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, ii. 38.

<sup>10</sup> Ennamī, *Studies*, i. 75, 79.

<sup>11</sup> Qatāda in Ibn Saʿd, vii. 80; in Darjīnī, *Ṭabaqāt*, ii. 214.3.

<sup>12</sup> Thus Abū Sufyān in Shammakhī, *Siyar*, 76; queried by Wilkinson, 'Early Development', 135.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. the stories in Darjīnī, *Ṭabaqāt*, ii. 207, 209.–7; Shammakhī, *Siyar*, 77.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, ii. 38.

<sup>15</sup> Ibn Saʿd, vii. 181 f.

<sup>16</sup> Abū Nuʿaym, *Hilyat al-awliyāʾ*, iii, (Cairo, 1932–8), 89.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Cook, *Dogma*, 62 f.

<sup>18</sup> Van Ess, *TG*, ii. 191.

<sup>19</sup> Ennamī, 'New Ibadī Manuscripts', 66 f.

<sup>20</sup> WTQwTh, 1984.

<sup>21</sup> Ennamī, 'New Ibadī Manuscripts', 65; *Studies*, i. 75 f; van Ess, 'Untersuchungen', 27 ff.

in Ruwī, Muscat.<sup>22</sup> Some of these letters are to ʿAbd al-Malik b. al-Muhallab, and Cook suggests that IB1 is, in fact, another letter from Jābir, or one written as from Jābir, to him.<sup>23</sup> These suggestions must remain *sub judice* until Jābir's letters are published, though it may be noted that, unlike IB1, the letters to ʿAbd al-Malik b. al-Muhallab apparently bear Jābir's trademark in that they, or some of them, exhort the addressee to secrecy.<sup>24</sup> Further, Barrādī was familiar with a letter by Jābir to a certain Shīʿite,<sup>25</sup> and Cook conjectures that this letter is extant in the guise of IB2, though he thinks that its ascription to Jābir is as false as that to Ibn Ibād.<sup>26</sup>

## 2. ABŪ ʿUBAYDA

Unlike Jābir, Abū ʿUbayda is only just attested outside the Ibādī tradition. In his time, then, the Ibādīs were becoming a separate community with their own leaders, teachers, and pupils in whom the outside world took no interest, except for purposes of repression: when the young ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Rustum came to Basra, Abū ʿUbayda was teaching secretly for fear of some Basran governor.<sup>27</sup> He has attracted correspondingly less attention among modern scholars.<sup>28</sup>

Abū ʿUbayda Muslim b. Kūdīn/Kūrīn/Abī Karīma was a *mawlā* of Tamīm, more precisely of ʿUrwa b. Udayya.<sup>29</sup> He must have opted for Khārījite Islam thanks to his patron's persuasion. We do not know when he was born, but late informants say that he studied with Jābir.<sup>30</sup> Wilkinson is rightly sceptical about this claim,<sup>31</sup> for an earlier (though still not early) informant merely suggests that he *adraka man adraka Jābir*.<sup>32</sup> He is also said to have studied with Ṣuḥār al-ʿAbdī, Jaʿfar b. al-Simāk, and Ḍumām.<sup>33</sup> He was imprisoned along with Ḍumām by al-Ḥajjāj.<sup>34</sup> Ennami conjectures that he took over the leadership of the Ibādīs on his release from prison in 95/715, when al-Ḥajjāj died.<sup>35</sup> But he cannot have been old enough at the time, nor is he likely to have been leader for over thirty years; and in any case there hardly was an Ibādī community for him to take over: he created it.<sup>36</sup> It was Abū ʿUbayda who began doctrinal policing.<sup>37</sup> It was also he

<sup>22</sup> ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm, *Ibādīyya*, 227, cf. p. 20 and n. 28 thereto.

<sup>23</sup> *Dogma*, pp. 63 ff.

<sup>24</sup> Khulayfāt, *Nashʿa*, 98, on the basis of the letters in the Bārūnī collection, cf. p. 181, s.v. ʿal-Azdiʿ.

<sup>25</sup> Ennami, *Studies*, i. 10; missing from the other versions of his list.

<sup>26</sup> *Dogma*, 55 f.

<sup>27</sup> Abū Zakariyyāʿ, *Kitāb siyar al-aʿimma wa-akhbāruhum*, ed. I. al-ʿArabī (Algiers, 1979), 36.7; cf. Shammākhī, *Siyar*, 124.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. *IE²*, s.v. ʿIbādīyyaʿ; Khulayfāt, *Nashʿa*, 103 ff; van Ess, *TG*, ii. 193 ff.

<sup>29</sup> *Aghāni*, xxiii. 224; Jāhīz, *Bayān*, 347; iii. 265; Shammākhī, *Siyar*, 83.

<sup>30</sup> e.g. Bārūnī, *Mukhtaṣar*, 25.

<sup>31</sup> ʿEarly Developmentʿ, 135.

<sup>32</sup> Saʿdī, *Qāmūs*, viii. 312.11.

<sup>33</sup> Khulayfāt, *Nashʿa*, 103, with numerous refs.

<sup>34</sup> Shammākhī, *Siyar*, 87.

<sup>35</sup> *Studies*, i. 96; Khulayfāt, *Nashʿa*, 103, presents it as fact.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Wilkinson, ʿEarly Developmentʿ, 135, 138 ff.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. van Ess, *TG*, ii. 202 f.

who began to send out missionaries to convert Muslims outside Iraq.<sup>38</sup> The missionaries are presented as natives of the countries to which they were sent: they would come to Basra for instruction and go home with knowledge to disseminate. As Schwartz says,<sup>39</sup> it is not obvious that they were sent out in pursuit of a plan for political takeover, though they may have been and are generally thus presented in the modern literature. The sources describe Abū ‘Ubayda as a quietist. When a certain ‘Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan consulted the *jamā‘a* of Muslims about revolt, Abū ‘Ubayda was against it. When somebody asked him, ‘What prevents you from *khurūj*? If you were to go out, not one would stay behind’, he replied, ‘I do not like it’.<sup>40</sup> Eventually he agreed to take action. According to Madā‘inī, the initiative for the Arabian revolt came from ‘Abdallāh b. Yaḥyā.<sup>41</sup> According to Mūsā b. Kathīr in Azdī, *Mamṣil*, 77, the initiative was Abū Ḥamza’s. In any case, it was Ḥājib al-Ṭā‘ī who did most of the practical work that led to the great Arabian revolt.<sup>42</sup>

According to Shammākhī,<sup>43</sup> Abū ‘Ubayda died after Ḥājib al-Ṭā‘ī in the reign of al-Manṣūr, i.e. between 136 and 158. But Abū Zakariyyā’ says that he died in the imamate of ‘Abd al-Rahman b. Rustum in North Africa, i.e. between 160 or 162 and 168.<sup>44</sup> Abū Zakariyyā’ adds that al-Wārith [b. Ka‘b] was imam in Oman at the time, which does not fit since al-Wārith ruled from 179 to 192; and Masqueray’s French translation duly replaces ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Rustum with his son ‘Abd al-Waḥḥāb (168–208).<sup>45</sup> But Abū ‘Ubayda cannot have died under ‘Abd al-Waḥḥāb and al-Wārith, as is clear from the biographies of his successors al-Rabī‘ and Wā‘il b. Ayyūb. He could have died under ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Rustum, but Abū Zakariyyā’’s reliability is undermined by his faulty synchronisms, and it seems preferable to accept that Abū ‘Ubayda died under al-Manṣūr. If the epistle he wrote on *zakāt* for Abū ‘l-Khaṭṭāb al-Ma‘āfirī was written while the latter was imam (140–4), as the title of its printed version says (see below), he must have died after 140/757 f.<sup>46</sup> He is also known to have taught a North African pupil shortly before 140/757.<sup>47</sup> Wilkinson suggests a death date in the late 150s/760s, which sounds reasonable enough, though it cannot be corroborated.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>38</sup> e.g. Sālimī, *Lum‘a*, 13; F. ‘Umar, *Ta’rīkh al-khalīj al-‘arabī fī ‘l-‘uṣūr al-wuṣṭā ‘l-islāmīyya*, 2nd printing (Baghdad, 1985, 139 f).

<sup>39</sup> *Anfänge*, 114 ff.

<sup>40</sup> Shammākhī, *Siyar*, 84; cf. the dissatisfaction of Abū ‘l-Wazīr at p. 112.

<sup>41</sup> *Aghānī*, xxiii. 224 f; likewise Izkawī, *Kashf al-ghumma*, fo. 270a.–6.

<sup>42</sup> Darjīnī, *Ṭabaqāt*, ii, 248 f; Shammākhī, *Siyar*, 91 f, 114 f; Wilkinson, ‘Early Development’, 139.

<sup>43</sup> *Siyar*, 83, 91.

<sup>44</sup> *Siyar*, 54, cf. p. 53.

<sup>45</sup> E. Masqueray, tr., *Chronique d’Abou Zakaria* (Alger, 1878), 51.

<sup>46</sup> Abū Zakariyyā’, *Siyar*, 38; cf. *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. ‘Abū ‘l-Khaṭṭāb’.

<sup>47</sup> Rebstock, 60.

<sup>48</sup> ‘Early Development’, 247 n. 40.

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Of Abū 'Ubayda's scholarly activities we are not told very much. It is said that he *rattaba rimāyāt al-hadīth*,<sup>49</sup> and, as mentioned already, he is credited with an epistle on *zakāt*, which has been published, though it is not accessible to us: we have its title as *Risālat Ibn Abī Karīma fī 'l-zakāt li'l-imām Abī 'l-Khaṭṭāb al-Ma'āfirī* (Oman (WTQwTh), 1982). Barrādī knew a letter by him and Ḥājib al-Ṭā'ī to the people of North Africa,<sup>50</sup> two letters by him and Ḥājib al-Ṭā'ī, as well as one or several by him alone, once figured in the MS reproduced in the Hinds Xerox.<sup>51</sup>

## NAMESAKES

Abū 'Ubayda had several namesakes with whom he is liable to be mixed up.

(1) Abū 'Ubayda Ma'mar b. al-Muthannā, the famous philologist who was also a *mawlā* of Tamīm, who lived at much the same time and who is also said to have been a Khārijite.<sup>52</sup>

(2) Abū 'Ubayda b. al-Qāsim, known as Abū 'Ubayda al-Ṣaghīr, an Ibādī merchant and scholar who also lived at much the same time, but who was still alive when al-Manṣūr died.<sup>53</sup>

(3) Abū 'Ubayda al-Maghribī, author of a *sīra* to 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Rustum published in Kāshif, *Siyar*, ii, no. 31. He identifies himself as a Maghribī at p. 321.7, and Kāshif (p. 320 n) reasonably identifies him as the Abū 'Ubayda who was 'Abd al-Wahhāb's counter-governor of Tripolitania at the time of the Khalafite schism and whose name was 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Jannāwunī.<sup>54</sup>

## 3. AL-RABĪ' B. ḤABĪB

Abū 'Amr al-Rabī' b. Ḥabīb al-Azdī al-Farāhīdī is known only from Ibādī sources, as is true of all Ibādī scholars from him onwards. *Pace* C. Brockelmann, F. Sezgin, and van Ess,<sup>55</sup> he is not to be identified with the Rabī' b. Ḥabīb listed in Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, iii, 241; Dhahabī, *Miẓān*, ii, no. 2734, and elsewhere, since this man was of Ḥanīfa rather than Azd and had a different *kunya*. It is true that al-Bukhārī splits him into two, the Ḥanafī and another so faceless that van Ess can take him to be our al-Rabī'.<sup>56</sup> But even of the faceless al-Rabī' we are told too much: he transmitted from al-Ḥasan (al-Baṣrī) and Ibn Sīrīn (both d. 110/728), meaning that in Ibādī terms he belonged to the generation of Abū 'Ubayda, not to that of al-Rabī'.

<sup>49</sup> Shammākhī, *Siyar*, 83.

<sup>50</sup> Ennamī, *Studies*, i, 10.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. the table of contents, nos. 23–5.

<sup>52</sup> Jāhīz, *Bayān*, 347; cf. Madelung, 'Abū 'Ubayda', who denies it; M. Lecker, 'Biographical Notes on Abū 'Ubayda Ma'mar b. al-Muthannā', *Studia Islamica*, 81 (1995), 94 ff, who argues in favour of the claim.

<sup>53</sup> Shammākhī, *Siyar*, 94, 105; cf. Lewicki, 'Premiers commerçants', 178 ff.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. 'al-Djanāwani'.

<sup>55</sup> Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur, Supplementbände* (Leiden, 1937–42), i, 259; F. Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, i (Leiden, 1967), 93; and van Ess, 'Untersuchungen', 33.

<sup>56</sup> al-Bukhārī, *al-Ta'rikh al-kabīr* (Hyderabad, 1360–78), ii, part i, p. 253, nos. 945–6.

Al-Rabī<sup>c</sup>'s father, Ḥabīb b. ʿAmr, is said to have been a pupil of Jābir.<sup>57</sup> Some sources claim that al-Rabī<sup>c</sup> himself lived in the time of (*adraka*) Jābir,<sup>58</sup> but, in view of the fact that he died some seventy years after Jābir's death, at the earliest, this is somewhat implausible.<sup>59</sup> Al-Rabī<sup>c</sup> studied with Abū ʿUbayda, Ḍumām, and Abū Nūh.<sup>60</sup> He is famed for having been active as a *muftī* already in Abū ʿUbayda's lifetime.<sup>61</sup> He took over the leadership in Basra when Abū ʿUbayda died, that is in the caliphate of al-Manṣūr (136–58/754–75) and probably after 140/757 f, as has been seen.

Al-Rabī<sup>c</sup> is usually said to have died in 170/786.<sup>62</sup> This is the date given by C. Brockelmann,<sup>63</sup> but it is not to be found in the source to which he refers,<sup>64</sup> and it has been rejected by van Ess<sup>65</sup> with reference to al-Rabī<sup>c</sup>'s role in the life of the second Rustumid imam ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (168–208/784–823). The accession of this imam was disputed and the North Africans reacted by consulting al-Rabī<sup>c</sup>, whom they met in Mecca along with other easterners and whose response was that ʿAbd al-Wahhāb's imamate was valid; but Shuʿayb b. Maʿrūf, who was in Egypt at the time and who disagreed, went to North Africa and joined the opposition, the Nukkār, whereupon al-Rabī<sup>c</sup> and his companions dissociated from Shuʿayb and once more pronounced ʿAbd al-Wahhāb's imamate to be valid.<sup>66</sup> All this, presumably, took place at the beginning of ʿAbd al-Wahhāb's reign and is, thus, compatible with the traditional date, if only just; so too is the information that ʿAbd al-Wahhāb sent money to al-Rabī<sup>c</sup>, who bought Basran goods and books for him,<sup>67</sup> which could even relate to his period as a wealthy merchant before his accession.<sup>68</sup> But we are, further, told that shortly before laying siege to Tripoli ʿAbd al-Wahhāb consulted al-Rabī<sup>c</sup> and the Egyptian jurist Ibn ʿAbbād about his obligation to go on pilgrimage;<sup>69</sup> and the siege of Tripoli took place in 196/811 f, according to both Sunnī and the Ibādī sources.<sup>70</sup> Hence, van Ess dates al-Rabī<sup>c</sup>'s death to between 180/796 and 190/806 or about 190,<sup>71</sup> though what he actually means is probably after 196 — for Abū Zakariyyā<sup>7</sup> says that ʿAbd al-Wahhāb

<sup>57</sup> Ḥārithī, *ʿUqūd*, 150.–2.

<sup>58</sup> Saʿdī, *Qāmūs*, viii. 313.3; Ḥārithī, *ʿUqūd*, 149.

<sup>59</sup> Similarly, Wilkinson, 'Early Development', 246 n. 30.

<sup>60</sup> Shammākhī, *Siyar*, 104; queried by Wilkinson, loc. cit., as far as Ḍumām is concerned; according to van Ess, *TG*, ii. 198, he also studied with Qatāda, but the ref. is wrong.

<sup>61</sup> Shammākhī, *Siyar*, 104; Ibn Sallām, *Badʿ*, 110.6.

<sup>62</sup> Wilkinson, 'Early Development', 142; Kāshif, *Siyar*, ii. 423; ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm, *Ibādīyya*, 61.

<sup>63</sup> *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*<sup>2</sup> (Leiden, 1943–9), i. 156 (of the original pagination).

<sup>64</sup> A. de C. Motylinski, 'Bibliographie du Mzab, I', *Bulletin de Correspondance Africaine*, 3 (Algiers, 1885).

<sup>65</sup> *TG*, ii. 198 f.

<sup>66</sup> Abū Zakariyyā<sup>7</sup>, *Siyar*, 58 ff, 64; Darjīnī, *Ṭabaqāt*, i. 48 ff; Shammākhī, *Siyar*, 145 ff; cf. pp. 104 f, 119; Ḥārithī, *ʿUqūd*, 154 f; Rebstock, 163 ff; van Ess, *TG*, i, 411; ii. 210 ff.

<sup>67</sup> Abū Zakariyyā<sup>7</sup>, *Siyar*, 65; Ibn Sallām, *Badʿ*, 110.10; Shammākhī, *Siyar*, 161 f.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. Shammākhī, *Siyar*, 139.

<sup>69</sup> Abū Zakariyyā<sup>7</sup>, *Siyar*, 76; Darjīnī, *Ṭabaqāt*, i. 66; Shammākhī, *Siyar*, 159.

<sup>70</sup> M. Talbi, *L'Émirat aghlabide* (Paris, 1966), 154 ff; Shammākhī, *Siyar*, 160.

<sup>71</sup> 'Untersuchungen', 32; *TG*, ii. 199; cf. Rebstock, 223 f.

marched on Tripoli as soon as he had despatched the messengers to the east,<sup>72</sup> implying that al-Rabī<sup>c</sup> was still alive when the siege took place. It may be added that in his *Musnad* al-Rabī<sup>c</sup> transmits from men with death dates in the period 180–200, implying that he himself died around 220 or later still.<sup>73</sup>

But al-Rabī<sup>c</sup> obviously did not die in c.220, which would give him a leadership of somewhere in the region of eighty years, making him unbelievably long lived and leaving no room for his two successors; and it would be unwise to take the *isnāds* of the *Musnad* at face value, given that the extant version is a sixth-twelfth-century work (cf. below). But even the more modest date of c.190–6 verges on the incredible and has to be dismissed.

In the first place, it does not leave much room for the leadership of Wāʿil b. Ayyūb, who took over in the reign of ʿAbd al-Wahhāb and died before it was over. This is clear from Abū ʿĪsā al-Khurāsānī’s letter concerning ʿAbd al-Wahhāb’s imamate, in which he says that ‘we have lived in the time of Abū Ayyūb Wāʿil b. Ayyūb and other shaykhs, and after him in that of Maḥbūb Abū Sufyān b. al-Raḥīl, and they approved of him (i.e. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb) and did not reproach him with anything’;<sup>74</sup> and it is confirmed by the information that when the adherents of Khalaf b. Samḥ refused to recognize ʿAbd al-Wahhāb as their imam, they wrote, ‘to Abū Sufyān Maḥbūb b. al-Raḥīl who was the leader of the mission and the foremost man in the east at the time, after the passing of the generation of al-Rabī<sup>c</sup> b. Ḥabīb, Ibn Ghassān, Makhlad b. al-ʿUmar (*sic*), Abū ʿl-Muhājir, and Abū Ayyūb b. Wāʿil’.<sup>75</sup> The Khalafite schism took place between the siege of Tripoli in 196 and the death of ʿAbd al-Wahhāb in 208.<sup>76</sup> But, if al-Rabī<sup>c</sup> was still leader in 196 and Maḥbūb took over some time between 196 and 208, we can barely fit in Wāʿil. Abū ʿĪsā implies that Wāʿil and Maḥbūb covered most of ʿAbd al-Wahhāb’s reign between them.

In the second place, Wāʿil would have been close to a hundred years old when he took over; and though he may well have died at an advanced age, it seems unlikely that he should have taken over the leadership at such an age (see the next entry).

In the third place, it was Wāʿil b. Ayyūb who pronounced on the status of Muḥammad b. Abī ʿAffān, whom the Omanis elected as imam in 177 and deposed in 179:<sup>77</sup> Wāʿil endorsed the Omani action by declaring him a *jabbār*.<sup>78</sup> It was also Wāʿil who was consulted on the reprehensible innovations of Saʿīd b. Ziyād,

<sup>72</sup> *thumma innaʾl-imām ḥīna arsala ilā ʾl-mashriq tawajjaha . . . yurīdu ḥiṣār madīnat tarābulus, Siyar, 76.*

<sup>73</sup> Cook, *Dogma*, 56.

<sup>74</sup> Ibn Sallām, *Badʿ*, 138; Shammākhī, *Siyar*, 164.

<sup>75</sup> Abū Zakariyyāʾ, *Siyar*, 81.

<sup>76</sup> Cf. *EL*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. ‘Khalafīyya’.

<sup>77</sup> Cf. App. 2.

<sup>78</sup> Sālimī, *Tuhfa*, i. 111.–7, 112.2 and ult.

an Omani in the service of Muḥammad b. Abī ‘Affān;<sup>79</sup> and he pronounced on the performance of al-Wārith as imam (179–92) at some unidentified point.<sup>80</sup>

Finally, we are told that al-Rabīʿ moved to Oman towards the end of his life and settled in Ghaḍfān, whence he had originally come,<sup>81</sup> and that Mūsā b. Abī Jābir prayed over him when he died.<sup>82</sup> This may not be correct: the sources are late, their claim is tentative, and it is in Baghdad rather than Oman that we encounter a grandson of al-Rabīʿ by the name of Jaʿfar b. Yaḥyā.<sup>83</sup> But if the claim is right, al-Rabīʿ died before 181, for it was in that year that Mūsā b. Abī Jābir died, aged ninety-four.<sup>84</sup>

All in all, we may thus accept that al-Rabīʿ died about 170, or perhaps around 175, as Massignon concluded on grounds unknown.<sup>85</sup>

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Al-Rabīʿ is credited with a collection of Ḥadīth known as the *Musnad* or *al-Jāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ*.<sup>86</sup> It survives in the *tartīb* of Abū Yaʿqūb Yūsuf b. Ibrāhīm al-Warjlānī (d. 570/1174) and has been aptly described by Wilkinson (‘Ibāḍī Ḥadīth’) as a product of Ibāḍī efforts at ‘normalization’, i.e. emulation of the Sunnis. It is quasi-Sunni in both form and contents, and this is true even of part III, allegedly containing al-Rabīʿ’s own contributions to Ḥadīth: the allegedly Khārījite traditions about the imamate that Wilkinson identified here are perfectly Sunni.<sup>87</sup> A collection of juristic opinions entitled *Āthār al-Rabīʿ* is extant in a North African manuscript, and it was, apparently, this work which was known as *Kitāb Abī Ṣufra* (after its redactor) in Oman.<sup>88</sup>

A letter by al-Rabīʿ concerning ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, Abū ‘l-Muʿarrij, and Shuʿayb was known to al-Barrādī.<sup>89</sup>

### 4. WĀʾIL B. AYYŪB

Abū Ayyūb Wāʾil b. Ayyūb al-Ḥaḍramī is said to have been a pupil of Abū ‘Ubayda.<sup>90</sup> If this is correct, which is far from certain, he must have studied with him in the 120s/740s, for he was back in Ḥaḍramawt at the time of ‘Abdallāh b. Yaḥyā’s revolt in 129–30/746–8.<sup>91</sup> It would place his date of birth in the

<sup>79</sup> Kindī, *Ihtidāʾ*, 224; Abū ‘l-Ḥawārī in Kāshif, *Siyar*, i, 341 f; Sālimī, *Tuhfa*, i, 112 f.

<sup>80</sup> Sālimī, *Tuhfa*, i, 113. ‘From the history of the events preceding [al-Wārith’s] election it is clear that Abū Ayyūb was imam in Baṣra’, Wilkinson rightly notes (‘Early Development’, 247 n. 40).

<sup>81</sup> Shaqṣī, *Manhaj*, i, 621.8; Saʿdī, *Qāmūs*, viii, 304–3.

<sup>82</sup> Ḥārithī, *Uqūd*, 149.

<sup>83</sup> Wilkinson, ‘Ibāḍī Ḥadīth’, 243.

<sup>84</sup> Sālimī, *Tuhfa*, i, 117; Ḥārithī, *Uqūd*, 149, 154.

<sup>85</sup> Cf. *Revue des Études Islamiques* (1938), 410.

<sup>86</sup> This is wrongly described as a historical work in T. Lewicki, ‘Notice sur la chronique ibāḍīte d’ad-Darḡīnī’, *Rocznik orientalistyczny*, 11 (1935), 159.

<sup>87</sup> ‘Ibāḍī Ḥadīth’, 232, with ref. to traditions nos. 817–20; Crone, ‘Even an Ethiopian Slave’, 62.

<sup>88</sup> Wilkinson, ‘Ibāḍī Ḥadīth’, 241 ff.

<sup>89</sup> Ennami, *Studies*, i, 10.

<sup>90</sup> Bārūnī, *Mukhtaṣar*, 25.

<sup>91</sup> Darjīnī, *Ṭabaqāt*, ii, 261; Shammākhī, *Siyar*, 105.

100s/720s at the latest. He was still in Ḥaḍramawt when the Ḥaḍramīs elected a new imam, ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿīd, whom they subsequently deposed in favour of a certain Ḥasan (or Khanbash).<sup>92</sup> One faction held his deposition to be wrong; Wāʿil b. Ayyūb was one of them, and he participated in a delegation that went to consult Ḥājib al-Ṭāʾī about it in Mecca. Ḥājib was loath to take sides, but agreed that an *imām shārī* was better than an *imām dāfi*,<sup>93</sup> and on those grounds Wāʿil's faction won.<sup>94</sup> He was still in Mecca when al-Manṣūr died in 136/775<sup>94</sup> and when the North Africans consulted al-Rabīʿ in Mecca concerning the imamate of ʿAbd al-Wahhāb in or shortly after 168;<sup>95</sup> and he only took over as leader in Basra on the death of al-Rabīʿ in c.170/786. If the claim that he had studied with Abū ʿUbayda is correct, he must have been in his seventies by then, meaning that his tenure is unlikely to have been long. He was consulted about Muḥammad b. Abī ʿAffān (177–9) and the latter's commander Saʿīd b. Ziyād, lived into the imamate of al-Wārith b. Kaʿb (179–92), and died in the reign of the second Rustumid imam ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (168–208), as has been seen;<sup>96</sup> but exactly when he died is unknown. About 190 is the latest credible date.

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Wāʿil b. Ayyūb is said to have debated with Muʿtazilites in Ḥaḍramawt,<sup>97</sup> and Yūsuf b. Muḥammad al-Muṣʿabī (d. 1188/1774 f) preserves an account of one of these debates.<sup>98</sup> Also extant is a small treatise by Wāʿil entitled *Nasab al-islām*, which has been published in Kāshif, *Siyar*, ii, no. 24. Unlike the *nasab al-islām* at the end of Shammākhī's *Siyar*, which is a list of the transmitters of Ibaḍī doctrine, Wāʿil's work is a doctrinal statement.<sup>99</sup> Finally, Lewicki credits Abū Ayyūb with a biographical work entitled *Masālik al-ṣulahāʾ*,<sup>100</sup> but this seems to rest on a misunderstanding. In his entry on Wāʿil b. Ayyūb, which is a florid piece written in rhymed prose, al-Darjīnī says *fā-lahu al-ḥaḥḥ al-amfar fī ṭarīqat al-mutafaqqihīn wa-lahu fī masālik al-ṣulahāʾ rutba wa-qawānīn*.<sup>101</sup> We take this to mean 'he has the most abundant share in the way of those who study the law, and his position in the paths of the righteous is that of the upright ones'.<sup>102</sup>

## 5. ABŪ SUFYĀN MAḤBŪB

Abū Sufyān Maḥbūb b. al-Raḥīl b. al-ʿAnbar/Sayf/Sayyid b. Hubayra was a Qurashī according to Omani sources,<sup>103</sup> but an ʿAbdī according to Darjīnī.<sup>104</sup> Much

<sup>92</sup> Cf. Sālimī, *Tuhfa*, i. 112.6.

<sup>93</sup> Shammākhī, *Siyar*, 92.

<sup>94</sup> *ibid.* 94.

<sup>95</sup> *ibid.* 147.8, cf. also 151.9.

<sup>96</sup> Above, s.v. ʿal-Rabīʿ.

<sup>97</sup> Shammākhī, *Siyar*, 105; not in Oman as van Ess says, *TG*, ii. 206.

<sup>98</sup> Cuperly, *Introduction*, 261.

<sup>99</sup> Cf. Hāshim b. Ghaylān in Kāshif, *Siyar*, ii. 37.7; also cited in Sālimī, *Tuhfa*, i. 139.

<sup>100</sup> Lewicki, 'Kitāb al-Sijar', 72; *id.*, 'Chronique ibāḍite d'ad-Darjīnī', 159.

<sup>101</sup> *Ṭabaqāt*, ii. 278.

<sup>102</sup> Reading *rutbat al-qawwāmīn*, cf. Q. 4: 135; 5: 8.

<sup>103</sup> e.g. Saʿdī, *Qāmūs*, viii. 303.12, 304.–5.

<sup>104</sup> *Ṭabaqāt*, 278; likewise Lewicki, *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. 'Maḥbūb', and elsewhere.

of our information about him goes back to a book of his own (cf. below); but, for all that, his dates are problematic.

According to late sources, Abū Sufyān's great-grandfather Hubayra was a *fāris* of the Prophet;<sup>105</sup> but according to Abū Sufyān himself, he was a contemporary of Jābir, or in other words a Successor: he and Jābir were exiled to Oman by al-Ḥajjāj.<sup>106</sup> Abū Sufyān mentions two of his sons, al-Raḥīl and al-ʿAnbar: they consulted Jābir about their mother, Umm al-Raḥīl, when she was too old to fast.<sup>107</sup> Al-Shammākhī adds that al-ʿAnbar was a pupil of Jābir, which would put him in Abū ʿUbayda's generation. Al-ʿAnbar/Mujabbir's son, who was also called al-Raḥīl, would thus belong to the generation of al-Rabīʿ, which is also where we would expect to find him; for when al-Raḥīl died or divorced his wife, she found a new husband in al-Rabīʿ: a gloss explains that al-Rabīʿ was married to Abū Sufyān's mother;<sup>108</sup> and al-Ḥārithī duly calls him al-Rabīʿs *rabīb*.<sup>109</sup>

Lewicki claims that Abū Sufyān studied with Abū ʿUbayda;<sup>110</sup> but there is no support for this in the sources and it is hard to see how a stepson of al-Rabīʿ could have been a student of Abd ʿUbayda. In fact, Abū Sufyān's information about Abū ʿUbayda is sometimes explicitly said to come from intermediaries such as Wāʿil b. Ayyūb, al-Muʿtamir b. ʿUmāra, or al-Maliḥ.<sup>111</sup> Abū Sufyān also owed his knowledge of the great Arabian revolt to intermediaries. He tells of a meeting in Ḥājib al-Ṭāʾī's house which was, clearly, about the preparation of this revolt: Abū Ḥamza al-Mukhtār b. ʿAwf was present, a message was sent to Balj b. ʿUqba, the meeting was being held at night, and no young men were allowed in; nonetheless, al-Maliḥ managed to get in, and it was he who told the story to Abū Sufyān.<sup>112</sup> Al-Maliḥ, who was thus a young man in the 120s/740s, was Abū Sufyān's *jadd* by *riḍāʿa* and died under al-Rabīʿ.<sup>113</sup> Abū Sufyān also heard about Abū Ḥamza's Basran phase from ʿAbd al-Malik al-Ṭawīl and about another participant in his revolt from another informant, who was very old when he met Abū Sufyān.<sup>114</sup>

Abū Sufyān did, however, reach adulthood before al-Rabīʿ died, for he tells us that he debated *fiqh* with a son of Ḥājib al-Ṭāʾī in the presence of al-Rabīʿ,<sup>115</sup> and that he used to pray with a group of women in his youth when, one day, al-Rabīʿ passed by and compared his performance (unfavourably) with that of Ḍumām, who was clearly dead by then.<sup>116</sup> Given that al-Rabīʿ died in c.170, this suggests that he was born before 140. He is also unlikely to have been a youngster when

<sup>105</sup> Saʿdī, *Qāmūs*, viii, 303.12; *Kashf al-ghumma*, 303.

<sup>106</sup> Shammākhī, *Siyar*, 76.

<sup>107</sup> Darjīnī, *Ṭabaqāt*, ii, 210; Shammākhī, *Siyar*, 95. The name al-ʿAnbar is probably to be read al-Mujabbir, see below on his descendants, no. 1.

<sup>108</sup> Shammākhī, *Siyar*, 118.

<sup>109</sup> ʿUqūd, 154.4, 155.–5.

<sup>110</sup> 'Kitāb al-Sijar', 71; cf. 'Chronique ibādite d'ad-Darġīnī', 159; *EF*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. 'Maḥbūb'.

<sup>111</sup> Shammākhī, *Siyar*, 97, 109 f, 111.

<sup>112</sup> Darjīnī, *Ṭabaqāt*, ii, 248 f; Shammākhī, *Siyar*, 91, cf. p. 111.

<sup>113</sup> Darjīnī, *Ṭabaqāt*, ii, 275. Lewicki takes al-Maliḥ to have been Abū Sufyān's real *jadd* and duly turns him into an ʿAbdī, cf. *EF*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. 'Maḥbūb'.

<sup>114</sup> Darjīnī, *Ṭabaqāt*, ii, 262; Shammākhī, *Siyar*, 100, 108, 118.

<sup>115</sup> Darjīnī, *Ṭabaqāt*, ii, 275.

<sup>116</sup> Shammākhī, *Siyar*, 118.

he took over the leadership himself on Wāʿil b. Ayyūb's death in *c.*190 at the latest.<sup>117</sup>

Unfortunately, the citations from Abū Sufyān's book do not cover the period of Wāʿil's leadership, let alone his own. It is from other sources that we know roughly when he succeeded,<sup>118</sup> but how long did he remain leader? Abū ʿĪsā al-Khurāsānī's letter (cited above, s.v. 'al-Rabīʿ') suggests that he outlived ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, who died in 208/823; and according to al-Sālīmī he had an acrimonious debate with Hārūn b. al-Yamān in the course of which both sides sent letters to the imam al-Muhannā b. Jayfar (226–37/841–52) and the Ḥaḍramīs, and from which Maḥbūb came out as the winner.<sup>119</sup> Al-Sālīmī has him enact this debate in Basra, but he is said to have moved to Oman towards the end of his life (cf. below), implying that he lived for some time after the debate was over. If so, he could hardly have died before the 230s.<sup>120</sup> But this is hard to believe. Wāʿil was an adult participant in the Arabian revolt in *c.*130 and cannot have died later than *c.*190. Abū Sufyān must have been, at the very least, in his forties when he succeeded Wāʿil, and more plausibly he was in his sixties. One would have expected him to die, at the latest, in his eighties in *c.*210, some forty years after the death of his stepfather and some twenty years after he had taken over the leadership. Now he turns out to have outlived his stepfather by some sixty years and to have been leader for some forty. Maybe he took over at an unusually early age, but it is all a bit strained.

His controversy with Hārūn b. al-Yamān should probably be redated. The letters are extant, and Hārūn b. al-Yamān does address one of his to an imam, saying that Maḥbūb b. al-Raḥīl has written to him too;<sup>121</sup> but he does not name the imam, who is only identified as al-Muhannā in the title. Al-Sālīmī cites al-Bisyānī as placing the controversy in the reign of Ghassān b. ʿAbdallāh (192–208/808–23).<sup>122</sup> He disagrees, clearly with reference to Hārūn's letter; but the titles of letters are no more immune to misidentification than other sources, and one suspects that al-Bisyānī is right. If so, the controversy took place in *c.*200, when we know from North African sources that Abū Sufyān was leader in Basra; he would have outlived Ghassān b. ʿAbdallāh just as he outlived ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (both imams died in 208), and we could tentatively place his death in *c.*210/825.

Like al-Rabīʿ, Abū Sufyān is said to have gone to Oman towards the end of his life.<sup>123</sup> He is reported to have settled in Ṣuḥār,<sup>124</sup> where his son Muḥammad was *qāḍī* and died in 260 (see below, descendants, no. 3). It is al-Rabīʿ's and Abū Sufyān's return to Oman that lies behind the idea that 'the *mashāyikh* of Basra transferred themselves to ʿUmān, which thus became the spiritual centre of the

<sup>117</sup> Lewicki in *EF*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. 'Maḥbūb', wrongly has him take over from al-Rabīʿ.

<sup>118</sup> Cf. above, s.vv. 'al-Rabīʿ' and 'Wāʿil'.

<sup>119</sup> *Tuhfa*, i. 157 f.

<sup>120</sup> Cf. Wilkinson, 'Ibādī Ḥadīth', 247.

<sup>121</sup> Kāshif, *Siyar*, i. 326.–3, ult.

<sup>122</sup> *Tuhfa*, i. 122.

<sup>123</sup> Shaqṣī, *Manhaj*, i. 621.8; Saʿdī, *Qāmūs*, viii. 304.–3; accepted by Wilkinson, 'Ibādī Ḥadīth', 247.

<sup>124</sup> Samāʿīlī, *Izāla*, 47.

Ibāḍiyya'.<sup>125</sup> But the sources know nothing whatever about a general exodus from Basra. They are not even sure that al-Rabī<sup>c</sup> or Abū Sufyān returned, merely noting that 'it is said' that they did so. Abū Sufyān's descendants did make their careers in Oman (cf. below), but al-Rabī<sup>c</sup>'s would appear to have stayed in Iraq (cf. the grandson mentioned above, s.v. 'al-Rabī<sup>c</sup>'), and so presumably did most of the Ibāḍīs who had been born there. The reason why the Basran leadership came to an end is not that the Basrans migrated to Oman; nor can Oman be said to have become the spiritual centre of Ibāḍism, for it only took over the leadership of the eastern Ibāḍīs: North Africa was a spiritual centre of its own. The Basran leadership came to an end because the establishment of the imamates meant that Ibāḍism ceased to be a unitary movement. This was not obvious at first, for in the early days of the two imamates the Omanis and North Africans would still submit their differences to the Basran leaders; but in the dispute between Abū Sufyān and Hārūn the roles have been reversed: it is the Basran leaders who submit their differences to the Omani imam, and this neatly illustrates that the leadership in *dār al-taqīyya* was losing its point. Control of the Ibāḍī majority outside Basra had passed into the hands of imams who were local, public, and capable of backing their decisions with military power, and who were thus likely sooner or later to be seen as the highest authorities. The Basrans could well have responded to this development by emigrating, and maybe some did. But there is no evidence to support the conjecture.

## WORKS

The North African imam al-Aflaḥ knew Abū Sufyān as the author of an *ʿahd* to ʿAbdallāh b. Yaḥyā as well as a book.<sup>126</sup> Since Abū Sufyān is unlikely to have been even born at the time of ʿAbdallāh b. Yaḥyā's revolt, he can hardly have addressed a work to him (*pace* Lewicki in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. 'Maḥbūb'). The work survives in Darjīnī's *Ṭabaqāt*<sup>127</sup> and is accepted as an authentic work of Maḥbūb by van Ess, who redates it to the second half of the eighth century and makes it a *Sendschreiben* to the people of Yemen.<sup>128</sup> This hypothesis awaits examination.

The *Kitāb Abī Sufyān* only survives in brief extracts. Two quotations in Barrādī<sup>129</sup> suggest that it included the history of the first civil war. The quotations in Darjīnī and Shammākhī are biographical. Presumably, it provided chronological coverage of the *umma* from the Prophet to the *furqa* and dealt with the 'Muslims' *ṭabaqa* by *ṭabaqa* thereafter. According to Barrādī,<sup>130</sup> it also included *fiqh*, *kalām*, and *ʿaqqāʿid*. The quotations in Darjīnī and Shammākhī relate to the four *ṭabaqāt* from the Companions to al-Rabī<sup>c</sup>. It is not clear whether Shammākhī had independent access to the book or simply copied the extracts in Darjīnī, but the fact that both give the name of Abū Sufyān's grandfather as al-ʿAnbar would suggest the latter (see below on his descendants, no. 1).

<sup>125</sup> Lewicki in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. 'Ibāḍiyya', col. 652b; similarly van Ess, *TG*, ii. 201 f.

<sup>126</sup> Ṭālibī, *Ārāʾ*, ii. 284.

<sup>127</sup> *Ṭabaqāt*, ii. 279 ff.

<sup>128</sup> *TG*, ii. 224.

<sup>129</sup> *Jawāhir*, 105–4, 145–7.

<sup>130</sup> In Ṭālibī, *Ārāʾ*, ii. 284.

Finally, Kindī, *Jawhar*, 125, mentions that sects arose after ʿAbdallāh b. Ibāḍ and proposed doctrines *tajmaʿuhum al-takhtīʿa li-Maḥbūb b. al-Raḥīl*. This *Takhtīʿa* is perhaps the letter that Abū Sufyān wrote to the Khalafites *bi-takhtīʿatihim*.<sup>131</sup> It could well have been preceded by an enumeration of previous errors.

## DESCENDANTS

Abū Sufyān had a brother by the name of Muḥammad b. al-Raḥīl<sup>132</sup> and several sons and other descendants who played a major role in Omani life down to the fourth/tenth century, when one of them became imam.

### (i) Sufyān b. Maḥbūb

He is listed in Shaqṣī, *Manhaj*, i. 621; Saʿdī, *Qāmūs*, viii. 305.7; cf. also Wilkinson, 'Ibāḍī Ḥadīth', 243 and n. 31 thereto. Judging by his father's *kunya*, he was the eldest son. According to Ibn Sallām, *Badʿ*, 109.8, a certain Sufyān b. Maḥbūb al-Kindī ('Abdī according to the index) lived in Mecca with companions, of whom twenty-five were Omanis like himself: during the pilgrimage he had tents at Minā where the pilgrims from Oman would congregate in the days of *tashriq*. This is probably the same man. Ibn Sallām endows him with a *jadd* called al-Mujabbir who had studied with Abū ʿUbayda. The chances are that this is a reference to al-ʿAnbar, Maḥbūb's *jadd*, who did not study with Abū ʿUbayda, but who was of the latter's generation. For some reason Omani sources give the name of Maḥbūb's grandfather as Sayf or Sayyid, but since Abū Sufyān himself gives it as al-ʿAnbar in Darjīnī's and Shammākhī's extracts from his book, the Omanis can hardly be right. Al-ʿAnbar and al-Mujabbir are equally unusual names which happen to look similar in Arabic, but of which only the latter recurs in the family (cf. below, nos. 2, 6), so this is probably the original form.

### (ii) Mujabbir b. Maḥbūb

He is listed together with Muḥammad (below, no. 3) in Shaqṣī, *Manhaj*, i. 621.ult.; Saʿdī, *Qāmūs*, viii, 305.7; but apart from the fact that he was a scholar we know nothing about him.

### (iii) Muḥammad b. Maḥbūb, Abū ʿAbdallāh

Abū Sufyān's most famous son was active under al-Muḥannā b. Jayfar and was *qāḍī* of Ṣuḥār from 249/683 f to 260/873, when he died.<sup>133</sup> He was involved in controversies over the created Qurʾān and the retrospective status of Muḥannā b. Jayfar<sup>134</sup> and also had a dispute with an Ibāḍī *mutakallim* in Mecca.<sup>135</sup> He enjoyed considerable influence under the imam al-Ṣalt b. Mālīk too.<sup>136</sup> His works include a *kitāb* in seventy volumes, which Wilkinson takes to have been a *jāmiʿ* of

<sup>131</sup> Darjīnī, *Tabaqāt*, i. 70.8.

<sup>132</sup> Shaqṣī, *Manhaj*, i. 619.–2; Saʿdī, *Qāmūs*, viii. 303.–10.

<sup>133</sup> Sālīmī, *Tuhfa*, i. 152, 156, 158 ff, 163, 166; Ḥārithī, *ʿUqūd*, 255; Wilkinson, 'Omani Manuscript Collection', 196 f.

<sup>134</sup> Sālīmī, *Tuhfa*, i. 150, 156, 158 ff; cf. Khālīd in Kāshif, *Siyar*, i. 123.

<sup>135</sup> Shammākhī, *Siyar*, 123.

<sup>136</sup> Wilkinson, loc. cit.

his rulings<sup>137</sup> and numerous letters (*siyar*): a *sīra* to al-Muḥannā which is quoted by Kindī;<sup>138</sup> a letter to the people of Maghrib;<sup>139</sup> another to the people of Ḥaḍramawt;<sup>140</sup> a letter to the imam of Ḥaḍramawt, Aḥmad b. Sulaymān, written *ʿan lisān* al-Ṣalt b. Mālik;<sup>141</sup> a response to the imam al-Ṣalt b. Mālik;<sup>142</sup> and a letter to a certain Khalaf b. ʿUdhra.<sup>143</sup> He is frequently mentioned and cited in the sources, and all the further members of the family are his descendants.

(iv) Bashīr b. Muḥammad b. Maḥbūb, Abū ʿl-Mundhir

He is listed as one of the great scholars of Oman in Shaqṣī, *Manhaj*, i. 622.1; Saʿdī, *Qāmūs*, viii, p. 305.8; cf. also *Kashf al-ghumma*, 293, where the text calls him Abū Muḥammad (the *kunya* of no. 5) and makes Abū ʿl-Mundhir a separate person. According to Sālimī, *Lumʿa*, 18, he was the author of *Kitāb al-khiṣāna, al-Bustān fī ʿl-uṣūl*, a *Kitāb al-raṣf fī ʿl-tawḥīd wa-ḥudūth al-ʿālam wa-ghayr dhālika*, and *Kitāb al-muḥāraba*. All seem to be lost. (These works are mistakenly ascribed to Bashīr b. Mundhir, whose *kunya* was also Abū ʿl-Mundhir, by ʿUbaydalī, *Kashf al-ghumma*, 254 n; correctly to Bashīr b. Muḥammad at p. 293 n.) Cf. also Wilkinson, *Imamate Tradition*, 190, 191. A *sīra* of his is preserved in the Hinds Xerox (66<sup>2</sup>-792).

(v) ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Maḥbūb, Abū Muḥammad

He is listed as an Omani scholar in Shaqṣī, *Manhaj*, i. 622.1; Saʿdī, *Qāmūs*, viii. 305.8; *Kashf al-ghumma*, 293 (*kunya* only). He was one of those who dissociated from Mūsā and Rāshid who had deposed the imam al-Ṣalt b. Mālik (Sālimī, *Tuhfa*, i. 197).

(vi) Mujabbir b. Bashīr

Son of no. 4 according to ʿUbaydalī in *Kashf al-ghumma*, 293 n, without reference.

(vii) Saʿīd b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Maḥbūb

Son of no. 5, Saʿīd was elevated to the imamate and went down as the best imam the Omanis ever had, apart from the Julandā.<sup>144</sup> But he fell in battle and the author of *Kashf al-ghumma* confessed not to know when he was elected or how long he ruled, though he had found the date of the battle in which he fell to be 328 (pp. 303 f. Sālimī gives his dates as 320–8/932–9 f<sup>145</sup> and credits him with a book on an unspecified subject.<sup>146</sup>

<sup>137</sup> Barrādī, *Jawāhir*, 218.18; Ṭalibī, *Ārāʾ*, 284, ult.; Wilkinson, 'Ibādī Ḥadīth', 254.

<sup>138</sup> *Bayān*, xxviii. 83 ff.

<sup>139</sup> Ennami, *Studies*, i. 10; printed in Kāshif, *Siyar*, ii. item 29; cf. also Kindī, op. cit., 195 f, 196 f.

<sup>140</sup> Wilkinson, 'Omani Manuscript Collection', 196 f quoted by Khālid in Kāshif, *Siyar*, i. 132; by Kindī, op. cit., 69, 170 f.

<sup>141</sup> Wilkinson, loc. cit.; also in HX, 238–60; quoted in Kindī, op. cit., 195.

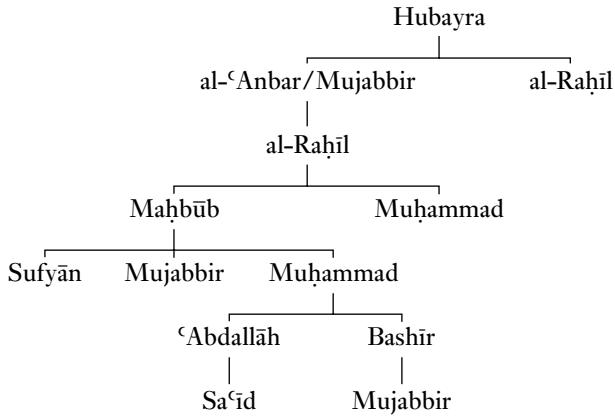
<sup>142</sup> In Kindī, op. cit., 148–50.

<sup>143</sup> HX, 195–202.

<sup>144</sup> Shaqṣī, *Manhaj*, i. 622.3; Saʿdī, *Qāmūs*, viii. 305.10, 314.5.

<sup>145</sup> *Tuhfa*, i. 275, 278.

<sup>146</sup> *Lumʿa*, 19.





## APPENDIX 2

### THE IMAMS OF OMAN TILL 280/893

#### 1. *AL-JULANDĀ B. MAS'ŪD AL-AZDĪ, 132–4/750–2*

The Omani tradition places the accession of the Julandā in 131 and his death in 133;<sup>1</sup> but, as Sālīmī observes, these dates are problematic. The Julandā fell in battle against 'Abbāsīd troops shortly after he had defeated and killed Shaybān b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Yashkurī, the Ṣufrī leader who had fled from the 'Abbāsīds to Oman;<sup>2</sup> and these events are placed in 134 by Ṭabarī, Azdī, and Ibn al-Athīr.<sup>3</sup> Since the Julandā is generally agreed to have ruled for two years and a month, this implies an accession date of 132, which fits the information that he came to power after the accession of Abū 'l-'Abbās.<sup>4</sup> Ṭabarī and Azdī are in any case early sources, so the Omani tradition should undoubtedly be corrected. L. Vecchia Vaglieri strangely places the Julandā's election in 135/752 f and his death in 137/754 f.<sup>5</sup>

#### 2. *MUḤAMMAD (B. 'ABDALLĀH) B. ABĪ 'AFFĀN AL-YAḤMADĪ, 177–9/794–6*

According to *Kashf al-ghumma*, 254, Ibn Abī 'Affān was deposed and replaced by al-Wārith in 177 after ruling for two years and a month. This would place his election in 175. But according to Sālīmī,<sup>6</sup> he was elected in 177 and deposed in 179. Wilkinson follows Sālīmī, presumably because he cites early sources, gives precise dates, and does not have problems with the next reign.<sup>7</sup> We do the same. Differently Vecchia Vaglieri, who does not seem to have used Sālīmī.<sup>8</sup>

#### 3. *AL-WĀRITH B. KA'B AL-KARŪṢĪ, 179–92/796–808*

The dates are from Sālīmī, who adds that he ruled for twelve years and six (or three) months.<sup>9</sup> *Kashf al-ghumma*, 254, 256, says that he ruled from 177 for twelve years and six months, which takes us to 189; but his successor only took over in 192, showing that Sālīmī's chronology is preferable.

<sup>1</sup> Sālīmī, *Tuhfa*, i. 96.–4; cf. Sa'adī, *Qāmūs*, viii. 313.10; *Kashf al-ghumma*, 251; similarly Wilkinson, *Imamate Tradition*, 10, table 1.

<sup>2</sup> Sālīmī, *op. cit.*, 94 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Ṭabarī, 3rd ser., 78 f; Azdī, *Mawṣil*, 155; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, v. 346 f.

<sup>4</sup> *Kashf al-ghumma*, 247.

<sup>5</sup> 'L'imāmato ibāḍita dell'Oman', *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli*, NS, 3 (1949), 255, 257.

<sup>6</sup> *Tuhfa*, i. 111.

<sup>7</sup> *Imamate Tradition*, 10, table 1.

<sup>8</sup> 'Imamato', 258.

<sup>9</sup> *Tuhfa*, i. 114, 121.

4. GHASSĀN B. ʿABDALLĀH AL-FAJHĪ AL-YAḤMADĪ,  
192–207/808–23

See Sālimī, *Tuhfa*, i. 122, 126. *Kashf al-ghumma*, 259, agrees that he died in Dhū 'l-Qa'ḍa 207 after ruling for fifteen years and seven months, which confirms Sālimī's dates. His successor was not elected till Shawwāl 208, almost a year after he is said to have died, yet the sources do not mention an interregnum. Hence Wilkinson conjectures that Ghassān may have died in 208, or alternatively that his successor had already acceded in 207.<sup>10</sup> Some sources do, in fact, place his successor's accession in 207, but they merely create another problem thereby.

5. ʿABD AL-MALIK B. ḤUMAYD AL-AZDĪ, 208–26/824–41

See Sālimī, *Tuhfa*, i. 134, 136; *Kashf al-ghumma*, 259 f, which gives the same accession date and agrees that he was imam for eighteen years and seven months. According to Sālimī, some people held him to have been enthroned in Dhū 'l-Qa'ḍa 207, immediately after the death of his predecessor; but in that case he must either have ruled for nineteen years and seven months or died in 225, and neither seems to be suggested.

6. AL-MUHANNĀB B. JAYFAR AL-FAJHĪ AL-YAḤMADĪ,  
226–37/841–51

See Sālimī, *Tuhfa*, i. 150, 152; *Kashf al-ghumma*, 260, 263.

7. AL-ṢALT B. MĀLIK AL-KHARŪṢĪ, 237–72/851–86

He was appointed on the same day that his predecessor died (in Rabi' II) and was deposed on grounds of senility in Dhū 'l-Hijja 272 after a reign of thirty-five years and seven months.<sup>11</sup> *Kashf al-ghumma*, 264 f, places his deposition in 273, but agrees that he ruled for thirty-five years and seven months, so Sālimī's date must be right.

8. RĀSHID B. AL-NAZAR AL-FAJHĪ, 272–7/886–90

Sālimī, *Tuhfa*, i. 216, 239 ff (he was deposed after ruling for four years); *Kashf al-ghumma*, 264 f (gives his accession date as 273).

9. ʿAZZĀN B. TAMĪM AL-KHARŪṢĪ, 277–80/890–3

Sālimī, *Tuhfa*, i. 243, 259 f; *Kashf al-ghumma*, 265, 272; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, vii. 322. Oman having been in a state of *fitna* since the deposition of al-Ṣalt, ʿAzzān fell in battle in 280 against Muḥammad b. Nūr/Būr/Thawr, al-Muʿtaḍid's governor of Bahrayn, who subjected Oman to ʿAbbāsīd rule. Veccia Vaglieri turns it into 281.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>10</sup> *Imamate Tradition*, 10, table 1.

<sup>11</sup> Sālimī, *Tuhfa*, i. 164, 196.

<sup>12</sup> 'Imamato', 261.

## APPENDIX 3

### MĀ/MAN/ḤAYTHU SHĀʿA ʿLLĀH

On six occasions Sālim uses the striking expression *mā/man shāʿa ʿllāh* in the sense of ‘however long/whatever/whoever it might be’: Muḥammad continued to call people to Islam *mā shāʿa ʿllāh* (l. 227); he was joined by *man shāʿa ʿllāh* (l. 241); he continued *mā shāʿa ʿllāh* (l. 249); ʿUthmān acted in accordance with the book and Sunna *mā shāʿa ʿllāh* (l. 356); the Azāriqa *makathū mā shāʿa ʿllāh yasīrūna bi-sīrat man kāna qablahum* (l. 542); a believer of Pharaoh’s folk *makatha mā shāʿa ʿllāh* hiding his belief (l. 577).

One does not often encounter this expression in the mainstream literature. In fact, neither of us was aware of having come across it before, and, though we did notice it in the mainstream literature thereafter, the attestations remained few and sporadic. By contrast, we were inundated with attestations when we turned to the Ibādī literature of Oman, where we also came across the variant *ḥaythu shāʿa ʿllāh* for ‘wherever’. The Ibādīs of Oman used the expression with great regularity, especially in historical narrative; and, like Sālim, they tended to use it repeatedly within the same work. The Ibādīs of Basra also liked the expression (nos. 1–3, 6), as did, perhaps, those of Khurāsān (cf. no. 4). But we have not found any examples in the probably Kufan IB2, the probably Kufan *Ṣifat aḥdāth ʿUthmān*, or the certainly Kufan Ibādī *mutakallim* ʿAbdallah b. Yazīd al-Fazāri.<sup>1</sup> North African Ibādīs did use the expression, but not with Omani regularity, and many North African attestations are quotations from eastern sources.

Our non-Ibādī attestations are too scattered to suggest a pattern, but it is noteworthy that only two of them use the expression repeatedly: one is the Kufan Sayf b. ʿUmar al-Tamīmī, who here as so often stands out from the crowd (no. 21; cf. above, Ch. 7, n. 37); the other, which has our only non-Ibādī attestation of *ḥaythu shāʿa ʿllāh*, more predictably emanates from the Basran sphere of influence (no. 26).

The interest of all this lies in the fact that there is a clue to geographical provenance here. An Ibādī work which uses the *mā/man/ḥaythu shāʿa ʿllāh* expression once could come from anywhere; but if it has a predilection for the expression and is not simply citing earlier sources, then it is unlikely to come from Kufa or North Africa, as opposed to Oman, Basra, or wherever Omani/Basran Ibādīs went.

### IBĀDĪ ATTESTATIONS

1. IB1 (Basra? Mid- or late Umayyad period?): Muḥammad worked *wa-maʿahu ʿuthmān wa-man shāʿa ʿllāh min aṣḥābihi*; Muḥammad lived *mā shāʿa*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the excerpts from his work in Madelung, *Streitschrift*; Abū ʿAmmār, *Mūjaz*, ii. 154 ff = van Ess, *TG*, v. 121 ff.

'llāh; ʿUthmān ʿamila mā shāʿa 'llāh . . . futiḥa lahu min khazāʿin al-arḍ mā shāʿa 'llāh . . . wa-daraba minhum man shāʿa 'llāh . . . wa-nafāhum fī atrāf al-arḍ man shāʿa 'llāh minhum . . . illā mā shāʿa 'llāh . . . fa-jāmaʿa ahl al-islām mā shāʿa 'llāh.<sup>2</sup>

2. Sālim b. Ḥuṭayʿa al-Hilālī (Basra?, c.720 if authentic): *sārū ilayhim man shāʿa 'llāh min ahl al-kūfa*.<sup>3</sup>

3. Khalaf b. Ziyād al-Bahrānī (Baḥrayn and Basra, d. 752): *fa-ʿqtatalū mā shāʿa 'llāh*.<sup>4</sup>

4. Hilāl b. ʿAṭīyya al-Khurāsānī (Khurasan (?) and Oman, d. 752): In the Jāhiliyya everybody abandoned worship of the true God *illā mā shāʿa 'llāh min al-nās*,<sup>5</sup> so God sent the Prophet *fa-labiṭha bi-makka ʿishrīn sana aw mā shāʿa 'llāh* (fo. 51a.7) . . . *fa-labiṭha al-nabī bi-makka mā shāʿa 'llāh . . . fa-labiṭha nabī allāh (ṣlʿm) mā shāʿa 'llāh thumma unzila ʿalayhi* . . . (fos. 51b.2, possibly no longer Hilāl's epistle).

5. Shabīb b. ʿAṭīyya (Oman, d. after 752): *arbaʿ sinīn aw mā shāʿa 'llāh*.<sup>6</sup>

6. Abū Sufyān Maḥbūb b. al-Raḥīl (Basra, d. c.825): A speaker got up and spoke *mā shāʿa 'llāh*,<sup>7</sup> somebody was *ashaddu ijtiḥādan min hāʿulāʿi illā mā shāʿa 'llāh*.<sup>8</sup>

7. anon. to al-Ṣalt b. Mālik (Oman, ninth century): *wa-man shāʿa 'llāh min al-muslimīn . . . fī-man shāʿa 'llāh min al-ghawghāʿ*.<sup>9</sup>

8. Abū ʿl-Muṭṭhir (Oman, ninth century): Mūsā only took for himself *mā shāʿa 'llāh*,<sup>10</sup> *wa-mūsā fī baytihi wa* (read *aw*) *haythu shāʿa 'llāh . . . wa-imāmuhun fī baytihi aw ḥaythu shāʿa 'llāh . . . wa-bayt al-imām munfasih ʿan al-masjid bimā shāʿa 'llāh* (p. 67.6–6–4); *lā yaʿqilūna illā mā shāʿa 'llāh* (p. 68.6).

9. Khālīd b. Qaḥṭān (Oman, ninth to tenth centuries): *fa-qad ṣaḥibnā abā ʿl-muṭṭhir mā shāʿa 'llāh min al-dahr*,<sup>11</sup> Iblīs worshipped God *mā shāʿa 'llāh* (p. 90.1); *fa-ʿamila ʿuthmān b. ʿaffān sitt sinīn aw mā shāʿa 'llāh* (p. 100.8); *fa-ʿqtatala huwa wa-ʿalī mā shāʿa 'llāh* . . . there fell of the Muhājirūn and Anṣār *man shāʿa 'llāh* (p. 110.8, 9); there escaped so and so many *aw man shāʿa 'llāh* (p. 114.–6); the Umayyads killed of Mirdās' followers *man shāʿa 'llāh* (p. 118.4); Wārith *sāra . . . mā shāʿa 'llāh biʿl-ḥaqq* (p. 122.–3); Mūsā *wa-man shāʿa 'llāh min al-muslimīn* came (p. 123.7); the imam al-Ṣalt b. Mālik *sāra biʿl-ḥaqq . . . mā shāʿa 'llāh* (p. 124.9); *fa-qumtu bi-hādhā ʿl-amr mā shāʿa 'llāh* (p. 128.9); *fa-kataba ilā man shāʿa 'llāh min al-muslimīn* (p. 129.3); Mūsā and Rāshid *labithā fī mulkihim mā shāʿa 'llāh* (p. 134.–6); *wa-qutila man shāʿa 'llāh fī tilka ʿl-waqʿa* (p. 135.6); *fa-ghayyara ahl ʿumān ilā man shāʿa 'llāh* (p. 140.4).

<sup>2</sup> Kāshif, *Siyar*, ii. 327.–3; 328.2.ult.; 329.2, 6, 7; 333.11; 336.2. Fewer occurrences in the western version, cf. Barrādī, *Jawāhir*, 157.9, 13; 158.5, 10.

<sup>3</sup> Barrādī, *Jawāhir*, 104.10, cf. pp. 103.14, 102.–2.

<sup>4</sup> Sālimī, *Tuḥfa*, i. 71 or 79.

<sup>5</sup> Qalhātī, *Kashf*, fo. 50a.–4.

<sup>6</sup> Kāshif, *Siyar*, ii. 374.2.

<sup>7</sup> Shammākhī, *Siyar*, 91.4; Darjīnī, *Ṭabaqāt*, ii. 249.8.

<sup>8</sup> *ibid.*, 283.9 (attrib.).

<sup>9</sup> Kāshif, *Siyar*, i. 208.1, 225.1.

<sup>10</sup> Kāshif, *Siyar*, i. 43.–3.

<sup>11</sup> Kāshif, *Siyar*, i. 148.–5.

10. Abū Zakariyyāʿ (North Africa, eleventh century): Abū Ḥātim entered Tripoli *fa-aqāma mā shāʿa ʿllāh*.<sup>12</sup>

11. Kindī, Muḥammad (Oman, d. 1114 f): *fa-qadā mā shāʿa ʿllāh min al-shuhūr*.<sup>13</sup>

12. Kindī, Aḥmad (Oman, twelfth century): *illā man shāʿa ʿllāh min al-umma . . . illā mā shāʿa ʿllāh minhum . . . illā man shāʿa ʿllāh*.<sup>14</sup>

13. Qalhātī (Oman, twelfth century): The Prophet remained in Mecca *mā shāʿa ʿllāh* until he was instructed to fight the polytheists (fo. 55b.1). God allowed men to have four wives and *mā shāʿa ʿllāh* of slave girls (fo. 54a.8); *fa-ʿamila ʿuthmān al-ḥaqq mā shāʿa ʿllāh [aw] sitt sinīn* (fo. 84b.-3); *bi-thalāthīn sana aw mā shāʿa ʿllāh min dhālika* (fo. 198a.ult.); *fa-labitha muʿāwiya mā shāʿa ʿllāh an yalbath . . . wa-labitha muʿāwiya mā shāʿa ʿllāh khaliʿan* (fo. 107b.-7-3).

14. Barrādī (North Africa, fourteenth to fifteenth centuries): *fa-makatha fi ʿl-khilāfa mā shāʿa ʿllāh . . . fa-makatha ʿuthmān mā shāʿa ʿllāh thumma . . .*<sup>15</sup>

15. Shammākhī (North Africa, d. 1522): Abū Ḥamza stayed in Mecca *mā shāʿa ʿllāh an yuqīm*;<sup>16</sup> Abū ʿl-Khaṭṭāb *ḥāṣara ahlakā mā shāʿa ʿllāh* (p. 128.11); in the hostilities between ʿAbd al-Wahhāb and the Nukkār some people *ʿaskarū ḥaythu shāʿa ʿllāh* (p. 152.10).

16. al-Shaqṣī (Oman, wrote after 1650): Most of them were Basrans *illā mā shāʿa ʿllāh*.<sup>17</sup>

17. Saʿdī (Oman, eighteenth century): *mimmā salafa wa-maḍā illā mā shāʿa ʿllāh*.<sup>18</sup>

18. Izkawī, attrib. (Oman, d. 1728): Salmān al-Fārisī stayed in Amorium *mā shāʿa ʿllāh*.<sup>19</sup> . . . The (Portuguese) non-Arabs were defeated *wa-qutila minhum man shāʿa ʿllāh*.<sup>20</sup>

19. Sālīmī (Oman, d. 1914): *wa-maḍā ʿalā dhālika mā shāʿa ʿllāh min al-zamān . . . fa-labitha mā shāʿa ʿllāh yaghdū ghuduwmahum . . . qāla abū ʿl-ḥasan [al-biṣy-ānī] qāma al-muhannā biʿl-ḥaqq mā shāʿa ʿllāh . . . wa-ghayr dhālika mimmā shāʿa ʿllāh . . .* and many other examples, clearly from older sources.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>12</sup> *Siyar*, 49.9.

<sup>13</sup> *Bayān al-sharʿ*, xxviii. 29.2, citing or paraphrasing Kudamī. *fa-ʿāsha mā shāʿa ʿllāh ayyā-man . . . wa-lā farq fi dhālika li-muḥtāj illā mā shāʿa ʿllāh* (ibid. 148.-9, 171.9, citing Muḥammad b. Maḥbūb).

<sup>14</sup> *Ihtidāʿ*, 30.3, 226.-4; *Jawhar*, 122.7, 8.

<sup>15</sup> *Jawāhir*, 55.-2, 60.16.

<sup>16</sup> *Siyar*, 99 f.

<sup>17</sup> *Manhaj*, i, p. 620.4; also Saʿdī, *Qāmūs*, viii, p. 303.-5.

<sup>18</sup> *Qāmūs*, viii, p. 280.5.

<sup>19</sup> *Kashf al-ghumma*, fo. 71b.7.

<sup>20</sup> *Kashf al-ghumma*, ed. ʿUbaydalī, 332.

<sup>21</sup> *Tuḥfa*, i. 79.-4, 93.-7, 117.3, 150.5, 155.6, 163.7, 198.10, 200.2, 205.12, 206.-6, 210.9, 212.7, 216.-9, 226.7, 11.

## NON-IBĀDĪ ATTESTATIONS

## KUFA TO c.800

20. al-Ashtar (Kufa, 650s): The Prophet *labitha bi-dhālika mā shā'a 'llāh an yalbatha*.<sup>22</sup>

21. Sayf b. 'Umar (Kufa, d. c.796): *fa-qtatalū mā shā'a 'llāh . . . fa-qatalū mā shā'a 'llāh wa-aṣābū mā shā'u* (Ṭabarī, 1st ser., 2696.7); *thumma innahum kharajū wa-man shā'a 'llāh minhum . . . fa-ajāba ilā dhālika man shā'a 'llāh . . . fa-jarā l-nās 'alā dhālika mā shā'a 'llāh*.<sup>23</sup>

22. Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī (Kufa, d. 713–15): *ḥattā yuṣbiḥa aw mā shā'a 'llāh min dhālika*.<sup>24</sup>

23. Kufan tradition (before 894): *fa-yūsa' 'alayhi qabruhu mā shā'a 'llāh*.<sup>25</sup>

## BASRAN SPHERE TO c.800:

24. al-Rabī' b. Anas (Basra, Khurāsān, d. 756–8): *ikhtalaftu ilā 'l-ḥasan [al-baṣrī] 'aṣhar sinīn aw mā shā'a 'llāh*.<sup>26</sup>

25. al-Madā'inī (d. Baghdad, 843): Ibn Abī Bakra in Sīstān *aṣāba min al-ghanīma mā shā'a 'llāh*.<sup>27</sup>

26. Wāsiṭ or Khurāsān, eighth century: The expression is common in the *ḥadīth al-isrā'*, which was generally rejected as a forgery perpetrated by Maysara b. 'Abd Rabbih, a Persian from Basra (d. c.780?), or 'Umar b. Sulaymān al-Dimashqī (d. c.750?), both of whom are denounced as liars. 'Umar claimed to have it from al-Ḍaḥḥāk, generally taken to be al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Ḥumra al-Wāsiṭī (d. c.720?), who is also dismissed as a forger, though one line of transmission upgraded him to the respectable Khurāsānī exegete al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Muzāḥim.<sup>28</sup> Whoever the author may be, he certainly seems to have belonged to the Basran sphere of influence.

*wa-naḥadhat fī 'illiyīn ḥaythu shā'a 'llāh . . . ilā ḥaythu shā'a 'llāh . . . ḥaythu shā'a 'llāh . . . ilā mā shā'a 'llāh . . . tarakanī mā shā'a ('llāh) . . . subḥān alladhī asrā bi-'abdihi laylan min al-masjid al-ḥarām ilā 'l-masjid al-aqṣā thumma ba'ḍa dhālika ḥaythu shā'a 'llāh*.<sup>29</sup>

27. Abū Muṭī' al-Balkhī (Khurāsān, d. 814): *fa-amṣāhu bimā shā'a 'llāh*.<sup>30</sup>

## OTHER

al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays in Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, v. 69/iii, §1827; Ibn al-Kalbī in Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, i. 489.9 (drawn to our attention by Michael Cook); Ja'far al-Ṣādiq in E. Kohlberg, 'Imam and Community in the Pre-Ghayba Period' in S. A. Arjomand (ed.), *Authority and Political Culture in Shi'ism* (Albany, 1988), 28; Ibn Ḥanbal

<sup>22</sup> Ibn A'tham, ii. 175.–5; cf. above, Ch. 7, 257 and n. 38 thereto.

<sup>23</sup> Sayf, *Futūḥ*, 116.11, 132.–6, 294.4; further examples at pp. 78.–3, 100.3, 133.9.

<sup>24</sup> Ibn Sa'd, vi. 276.11.

<sup>25</sup> Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaf*, iii. 377.–10.

<sup>26</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, ii, p. 265.12.

<sup>27</sup> Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, xi. 311.–3.

<sup>28</sup> Dhahabī, *Mizān*, s.vv. 'al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Ḥumra', 'Maysara b. 'Abd Rabbih', 'Umar b. Sulaymān'; Suyūṭī, *La'ālī*, i. 81.

<sup>29</sup> Suyūṭī, *La'ālī*, i. 68.12, 71.–8, –4, 75.4, ult., 80.ult.

<sup>30</sup> *Fiqh absaṭ*, 45.ult.

in Ibn Abī Yaʿlā, *Ṭabaqāt*, i. 27.ult.; al-Shāfiʿī in al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-shāfiʿiyya al-kubrā*, ed. ʿA.-F. M. al-Ḥulw and M. M. al-Ṭannāḥī (Cairo, 1965–76), ii. 121.11; al-Bazdawī, *Uṣūl al-dīn*, ed. H. P. Linss (Cairo, 1963), 162.11; Nuʿmān b. Maḥmūd al-Ālūsī (d. 1317/1899 f), *al-Āyāt al-bayyināt fī ʿadam samāʿ al-amwāt ʿinda ʿl-ḥanafīyya al-sādāt*, ed. M. N.-D. al-Albānī (Beirut, 1982), 105 (drawn to our attention by Etan Kohlberg).



## APPENDIX 4

### IST I ʿ R Ā Ḍ

#### MEANING

According to Pellat, *istiʿrād* is a Khārijite technical term with a complex semantic history. The tenth form of *ʿrḍ*, he says, means ‘to ask someone to display his possessions’ and thus ‘to ask someone to give an account of his opinion’, so the basic meaning of *istiʿrād* is ‘the interrogation to which the enemies of these sectarians were subjected on falling into their hands’. However, he continues, the term was also affected by the eighth form, which has much the same meaning (‘to examine one by one, to pass under review’), but which in addition means ‘to attack someone’, ‘to strike in all directions, indiscriminately’. Since Khārijite interrogation usually resulted in the death of the person interrogated, the term eventually ‘came to imply less inquisition than the execution, by the extremist groups of Khāridjīs, of enemies who were reluctant to join the cause wholeheartedly’.<sup>1</sup> This understanding of the term is accepted by Watt, who states that, ‘Because when they encountered other Muslims they questioned them about their beliefs, the word *istiʿrād*, which properly means “questioning”, came to connote “indiscriminate killing” of theological opponents’.<sup>2</sup> This seems to be the current understanding.

But Pellat’s account is not acceptable. For a start, there is no reason to think that *istiʿrād* ever meant interrogation. The simple verb *istaʿraḍa* can, of course, mean to question (*istaʿriḍ al-ʿarab*, ‘ask whom thou wilt of the Arabs’, as Lane has it<sup>3</sup>), but the technical term with which we are concerned plays on *ʿrḍ* in the sense of randomness: ‘He betook himself to him or it, or he acted with respect to him or it, without any direct aim, at random, indiscriminately’, as Lane explains. This is so whether it is used in the eighth or the tenth form: *istaʿraḍa* *ʿl-nās al-khawārij* and *iʿtarāḍūhum* both mean ‘the people went forth against the Khārijees not caring whom they slew’.<sup>4</sup> When the sources use the terms *istaʿraḍa/iʿtarāḍa* and *qatala* in tandem, we are not to infer that one verb means to interrogate and the other to kill, as Pellat claims, but rather that the meanings of these two words overlap: one stresses the random nature of the act and the other its result. When ʿAlī promises safety to ‘whoever has not killed or committed *istiʿrād*’,<sup>5</sup> he obviously does not

<sup>1</sup> *EF*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. ‘istiʿrād’.

<sup>2</sup> *Formative Period*, 22.

<sup>3</sup> *Lexicon*, s.v.

<sup>4</sup> Lane, loc. cit.

<sup>5</sup> Ṭabarī, 1st ser., 3380.

mean people who have ‘killed and interrogated’; and, where some sources speak of *istiʿrād* and *qatl*, others have *istiʿrād biʿl-qatl*<sup>6</sup> or *istiʿrād biʿl-sayf*.<sup>7</sup>

*Istiʿrād* is indiscriminate killing of any member of a particular group, and, contrary to what Pellat claims, it did not owe this meaning to Khārijites. When a Persian slave killed the caliph ʿUmar, the latter’s son ʿAbdallāh wanted *an yastaʿriḍa* the captives in Medina.<sup>8</sup> When Busr b. Arṭāh conquered Medina for Muʿāwiya, he spent a month *yastaʿriḍu al-nās*: whoever was said to have helped the rebels against ʿUthmān was killed.<sup>9</sup> In Khurāsān in the second civil war ʿAbdallāh b. Khāzim al-Sulamī engaged in *istiʿrād* of the Rabīʿa in Herat.<sup>10</sup> In 104 one of the Sogdians in Saʿīd al-Ḥarashī’s camp feared an *yastaʿriḍahum al-ḥarashī*.<sup>11</sup> When the people of Jurjān planned to attack Qaḥṭaba on his march to Iraq, he reacted by being *mustaʿriḍ al-qawm* and killing 30,000 men.<sup>12</sup> When Mosul rebelled in 132, Abū ʿl-ʿAbbās sent a general of whom it was said that he *iʿtaraḍa al-nās* on the Friday, killing 18,000 Arabs plus their slaves and *mawālī*.<sup>13</sup> No Khārijites are involved in any of these examples, and the meaning of *istiʿrād* in all of them is indiscriminate killing of people belonging to a clearly demarcated group. The randomness of the act lies in the selection of victims within that group: any member that the avengers happen to encounter is killed without being given a chance to exonerate himself or explain, because all are deemed to have forfeited their lives. But, given that all members of the group are deemed to have forfeited their lives, one could with equal justice translate *istiʿrād* in these passages as wholesale or systematic slaughter.

The same holds true of Khārijite *istiʿrād*. It was random within the group which they saw themselves as entitled to exterminate, but systematic in that it was always directed at people whom they classified as infidels devoid of legal protection.<sup>14</sup> Obviously some questioning was required to establish a person’s membership, and Pellat is right that the Khārijites are often depicted as interrogating their victims first.<sup>15</sup> But the interrogation was not known as *istiʿrād*.

Nor, of course, did the Khārijites kill people who were ‘reluctant to join the cause wholeheartedly’, but rather those who did not join it at all. They justified their behaviour, and especially their killing of children, with reference to Q 71: 25 f, where Noah says, ‘My lord, leave not upon the earth of the unbelievers (*al-kāfirīn*) even one. Surely if thou leavest them, they will lead thy servants astray

<sup>6</sup> Bisyānī and Abū ʿl-Muṭṭhir in Kāshif, *Siyar*, ii. 85.6, 298.2; Sālimī, *Tuhfa*, i. 89.3.

<sup>7</sup> Nāshīḥ, §§27, 119; ASM and Bisyānī in Kāshif, *Siyar*, i. 208.9; ii. 126.7; Qalhātī, *Kashf*, fos. 197a.7, 197b.1, 198a.3, etc.

<sup>8</sup> Maqdisī, *Badʿ*, v. 194.

<sup>9</sup> Ṭabarī, 2nd ser., 22.

<sup>10</sup> *ibid.*, 452.2.

<sup>11</sup> *ibid.*, 1444.ult.

<sup>12</sup> *Uyūn*, 193.9.

<sup>13</sup> Yaʿqūbī, ii. 429; similarly Azdī, *Mawṣil*, 147.–2; Khalīfa, *Taʿrikh*, 627.

<sup>14</sup> It thus excluded *dhimmīs*. According to the lexicographers cited by Lane, ‘The Khārijee slays men in any possible manner, and destroys whomsoever he can, without enquiring respecting the condition of anyone, Muslim or other’; but this is contradicted by Ṭabarī, 1st ser., 3423; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, iii. 946; ed. Wright, 559 f; Ibn Ḥazm, *Fisāl*, iv. 189.–5.

<sup>15</sup> Ṭabarī, 1st ser., 3423; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, iv.a, 147 f; cf. also below on Khabbāb.

and will beget none but unbelieving libertines'.<sup>16</sup> Random slaughter, in short, was the Khārijite equivalent of the Flood with which God had exterminated Noah's infidel contemporaries.

### MANNER

Contrary to what Pellat claims, the Khārijites did not engage in indiscriminate slaughter of people who 'had fallen into their hands', if by that he means captives. Rather, they would slay whoever they happened to encounter when they rebelled. *Iṣṭiʿrāḍ* was 'das unterschiedslose Morden jedes nichtcharigitischen Muslims, der des Weges kam', as Wellhausen neatly puts it.<sup>17</sup> When Qurayb b. Murra and (al-)Zahḥāf b. Zahḥ made their *khurūj* in Basra under Ziyād and *iʿ-tarāḍa ʿl-nās*, they 'killed whoever they encountered', 'they didn't pass through any tribe without killing whoever they found', they *istaʿrādā al-nās fī ṭuruqihim bi'l-sayf*.<sup>18</sup> The Azāriqa killed whoever they encountered who did not belong to their own camp, as Ibn Ḥazm says.<sup>19</sup> It is this behaviour which accounts for the image of the early Khārijites in Malaṭī: 'As for the first sect of the Khārijites, they are the Muḥakkima who used to go out with their swords into the markets while people would stand around not realizing what was happening; they would shout "no judgement except God's!" and plunge their swords into whoever they could reach and go on killing till they were killed'.<sup>20</sup>

Because random slaughter was behaviour pertaining to *khurūj*, the alternative to it was not to leave one's opponents in peace, but rather to confront them in a less random manner. This was achieved by calling them to Islam before one attacked them. Thus a participant in the revolt of Ṣāliḥ b. Musarriḥ tells us that when he and others gathered around Ṣāliḥ to plan their *khurūj*, 'my opinion was (that we should practise) *istiʿrād al-nās* . . . so I said to him, Oh Commander of the Faithful, how do you think we should behave with these wrongdoers, should we kill them before calling them or call them before fighting them? . . . I think that we should kill everyone who does not share our view, be he near or far'. This clearly implies that *istiʿrād* consisted in killing them without calling them. Ṣāliḥ responds that they should call them, thus rejecting *istiʿrād*.<sup>21</sup> Sālim is in complete agreement. According to him, the extremists believed in *istiʿrād* (III, 67, 78, 84), but 'we' do not hold with it before we have 'called them to return to the truth' because numerous Qurʾānic passages speak of the virtue of calling (IV, 122). Bisyānī<sup>22</sup> and Qalhātī<sup>23</sup> also credit extremists with belief in *iʿtirād al-nās bi'l-sayf min ghayr daʿwa*; but, Bisyānī says, the Julandā did not legalize *istiʿrādān bi'l-qatl min ghayr daʿwa*,<sup>24</sup> and it is not lawful to fight people of the *qibla*

<sup>16</sup> Nāshiʿ, §27, with ref. to the early Khārijites; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, xi. 80; Mubarrad, iii. 1031.–2, 1036.6; Nashwān, 178.2, *Aghānī*, vi. 142, with ref. to the Azāriqa.

<sup>17</sup> *Oppositionsparteien*, 26.

<sup>18</sup> Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, iv.a, 151; Mubarrad, iii. 984; *Iqd*, i, 220 f; Baghādī, *Farq*, 71.–5.

<sup>19</sup> *Fiṣal*, iv. 189.–6.

<sup>20</sup> *Tanbih*, 38.

<sup>21</sup> Ṭabarī, 2nd ser., 886.

<sup>22</sup> In *Kāshif*, *Siyar*, ii. 126.7.

<sup>23</sup> *Kashf*, fo. 197b.1.

<sup>24</sup> Sālimī, *Tuhfa*, i. 89.3.

until one has called them to the truth.<sup>25</sup> Abū 'l-Muṭṭhir says that the Muslims *lam yaṭariḏū 'l-nās bi'l-qitāl 'alā ghayr daṣwa* and prohibits *istiṣrād al-nās bi'l-qatl min ghayr daṣwa*.<sup>26</sup> The eighteenth-century Thamīnī says the same.<sup>27</sup> The call should presumably be envisaged as a public notification that not only gave people a chance to convert, but also allowed them to prepare themselves for military action if they should decide to spurn the offer. It would thus have functioned as a declaration of war.

## HISTORY

Primary and secondary sources alike associate *istiṣrād* with the Azāriqa and related sects, but, as Wellhausen says,<sup>28</sup> it was old practice. Mainstream sources depict the Khārijites as engaging in it from the start. 'Alī offered *amān* to 'whoever has not killed or committed *istiṣrād*' (above) and blamed the Khārijites for *istiṣrādikum al-nās taqtulūmahum*.<sup>29</sup> Miṣ'ar b. Fadakī was responsible for the most famous example in 37 when he *aqbala yastaṣriḏu 'l-nās* on his way to al-Nahrawān.<sup>30</sup> He and his companions met 'Abdallāh b. Khabbāb, the son of a Companion of the Prophet, leading a pregnant slave girl on a donkey. They asked him who he was and 'what do you say about 'Alī?', to which he gave the wrong reply, whereupon they killed both him and his slave girl in a particularly nasty fashion.<sup>31</sup> In another version the interrogation is much longer and Ibn Khabbāb recites the quietist tradition *kun 'abd allāh al-maqtūl* which his father had heard from the Prophet, whereupon the Khārijites slaughter him.<sup>32</sup> Qurayb and Zaḥḥāf also engaged in *istiṣrād*, and even the early Khārijites are said to have invoked the Qur'ānic verse on Noah, as we have seen.

Though the Ibādīs deny that the early Khārijites engaged in *istiṣrād*,<sup>33</sup> there can be little doubt that the Sunnīs are right, for even the Ibādīs accept *istiṣrād* as a legitimate procedure in connection with polytheist Arabs.<sup>34</sup> In other words, they accept the principle that people devoid of legal protection may be exposed to random slaughter and merely deny that *ahl al-qibla* can fall into that category. The eponymous founder of the Bayhasiyya is said to have endorsed *istiṣrād* on the ground that they could indeed be thus classified: *al-dār dār al-kufr*, he is supposed to have said.<sup>35</sup> The followers of Ṣāliḥ and Shabīb similarly accepted *istiṣrād*, as has been seen, and they too classified their opponents from the *ahl al-qibla* as *mushrikūn*,<sup>36</sup> but Ṣāliḥ is presented as distancing himself from the procedure, and

<sup>25</sup> Kāshif, *Siyar*, ii. 191–4; cf. Ash'arī, 105.1.

<sup>26</sup> Kāshif, *Siyar*, i. 79.–5; ii. 298.2, 308.5.

<sup>27</sup> *al-Ward al-bassām fī riyād al-ahkām* (Oman, (WTQwTh), 1985), 238.

<sup>28</sup> *Oppositionsparteien*, 29.

<sup>29</sup> Dīnawarī, 221.

<sup>30</sup> Ṭabarī, 1st ser., 3368.

<sup>31</sup> Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ii. 367 f; cf. shorter version at p. 362.

<sup>32</sup> Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, iii. 946, ed. Wright, 560; cf. also Ibn Sa'd, v. 254 f Baghdadī, *Farg*, 57, and many other versions.

<sup>33</sup> Sālim, II, 65; ASM in Kāshif, *Siyar*, i. 207.8.

<sup>34</sup> Wā'il b. Ayyūb in Kāshif, *Siyar*, ii. 57.6.

<sup>35</sup> Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, iii. 1041.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. the comm. to III, 68.

Balādhurī has the Ṣufrīs reject it outright,<sup>37</sup> which was clearly the direction in which most Khārijites were moving. The first Khārijite of whom we are told that he rejected *isti‘rāḍ* is Abū Bilāl Mirdās b. Udayya, who rebelled in Basra under ‘Ubaydallāh b. Ziyad,<sup>38</sup> and whom the Ibādīs generally present as an exponent of their principles.<sup>39</sup> This is undoubtedly back projection. But no Khārijites are on record as having accepted *isti‘rāḍ* in connection with *ahl al-qibla* after the disappearance of the Azāriqa, Najadāt, and their splinter-groups.

<sup>37</sup> *Ansāb*, xi. 82 f.

<sup>38</sup> Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, iv.a, 156.–3; *Iqd*, i. 221.1; cf. also Baghdādī, *Farq*, 71.–6.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Abū Sufyān’s account of him in Izkawī, *Kashf al-ghumma*, fo. 266b.



## APPENDIX 5

### AL-MURJI'A AL-ŪLĀ IN THE RADD ʿALĀ AHL AL-SHAKK

Item 20 in the Hinds Xerox is an anonymous refutation of the 'People of Doubt' (pp. 365–381<sup>2</sup>). The Doubters are described as people who accuse 'us' of slandering *al-salaf al-ṣāliḥ* (p. 365) and who were one of the three *firaq* that appeared in the wake of ʿUthmān's murder: the first said that ʿUthmān had been killed justly, the second said that he had been killed unjustly, and the third professed not to know (p. 374). The third party are the *ahl al-shakk*, and the author tells us that one can use anti-Murji'ite arguments against them.

(378) "If they say, 'we do not know which party of them are the aggressors (*al-bāghiya*)', then they have adopted the doctrine of the first Murji'a (*al-murji'a al-ūlā*), and one says to them: Is it not the case that the knowledge of the person who was present in that *fitna*, who saw it with his own eyes (*ʿāyānahā*) and who was not absent from it, makes it proper for (that person) to recognize who the aggressors were and not to remain unaware of their<sup>1</sup> error, while it is proper for the person who was absent from it (*ghāba ʿanhā*), who was not present and who did not see it with his own eyes, to desist and suspend judgement on its participants (*yurjī amr ahlihā*), because he has found that people disagree about it: some say that ʿUthmān was killed as an aggressor and unjust person (*bāghīyan ṣāliman*), while others say that he was killed as a penitent person who was wronged (*tāʿīban maḥḥūman*). So it is not for him to believe either of the two sides, because of their disagreement.

(379) If they say yes, then say: is // the person who was present and saw with his own eyes not astray and causing those who were absent to go astray if he calls<sup>2</sup> [the latter to dissociate, and they] dissociate in a matter they were absent from, putting themselves in the same position as those who saw with their own eyes the errors that they dissociate from?

If they say yes, then say: do you not know that ʿAlī and ʿAmmār b. Yāsir went out<sup>3</sup> with their followers to Kufa and called them to a matter which the Kufans had been absent from (*kānū ʿalayhi ghuyyaban*), and the Kufans believed them and associated with them and their followers and dissociated from their opponents?

If they say yes, then ʿAlī and ʿAmmār were in error when they called<sup>4</sup> people to a matter which the latter were wrong to believe them in and respond to; and the Kufans were in error for believing ʿAlī and ʿAmmār in a matter from which they were absent.

<sup>1</sup> in the dual, presumably meaning ʿUthmān and ʿAlī.

<sup>2</sup> lacuna after *yad...* (unpointed).

<sup>3</sup> the MS has a redundant *waw* both before and after *kharajā*.

<sup>4</sup> reading *bi-duʿāʾihimā* for *bi-dhālika ʿābahumā*.

For God, you claim, regards it as proper for the eyewitness not to be in the same position as the person who was absent. It is not allowed for the former to have doubts concerning the error that he saw with his own eyes; rather, he must know it and those who committed it so that he can dissociate from them for it. And God, you claim, obliges the person who was absent from<sup>5</sup> the error not to be in the same position as the eye-witness (*al-muʿāyin*) concerning knowledge of the error and obliges him to desist from it. He who calls people to a matter which it would be wrong for them to respond<sup>6</sup> to has made them go astray — but he (ʿAlī?) called them to it. And those who responded to them (ʿAlī and his followers?) have also gone astray.

The people of Basra erred when they responded to Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr in a matter which they had been absent from and not witnessed with their own eyes or been present at, for God, you claim, regards it as proper for them to desist from it and not to be in the same position as the person who saw it with his own eyes and who was present; for God deems it proper for the latter to give judgement<sup>7</sup> against those who err and not to have doubts concerning what he has (380) seen with his own eyes and to pursue the third party // which had appeared and which had been present and seen with its own eyes, but which still claimed not to know whether ʿUthmān had been killed unjustly or justly; for they doubted and were sceptical<sup>8</sup> and did not know (whether his misdeeds) amounted to the sin for which God allows the perpetrator to be killed or not.

So (by the Murjiʿite argument) they all went astray, both those who were present and saw with their own eyes and those who were absent and responded to those who had seen with their own eyes and who had been present, though it concerned a dispute they had been absent from, and who thereby engaged in something worse than<sup>9</sup> the dispute they had been absent from.<sup>10</sup> So let them tell us, whom did they take their religion from and from whom did they receive it (*mimman akhadhū dīnahum wa-qabilūhu*)? How can they have doubts when all those who lived in the time of ʿUthmān went astray, according to their claim, be they Muhājirūn, Anṣār and Successors *bi-iḥsān*? They have not lived in the time of (*yudrikū*) anybody apart from erring people receiving<sup>11</sup> error from people of error, and so they (must) have received their religion from erring people. They have no ancestors to connect them to the Messenger of God (*laysa lahum salaf yuwaṣṣiluhum ilā rasūl allāh ṣlʿm*).

If they say (that they accept) Abū Bakr and ʿUmar and those in their time, then we say to them that they did not live in their time (*lam yudrikūhumā*), nor in that of those who were with them. You only lived in the time of people who all went astray after them. How is it allowed for you to receive the religion of God and His laws and obligatory rights from people who have gone astray?"

<sup>5</sup> reading *man ghāba ʿan* for *man ʿāyana*.

<sup>6</sup> reading *bi-ʿstijāba* for *bi-ʿstihlālihi*.

<sup>7</sup> reading *al-batt* (unpointed).

<sup>8</sup> reading *irtābū* for *qad ʿābū*, cf. Sālim, ll. 289 f (*murtābūn . . . shākkūn*, with Qurʾānic ref.).

<sup>9</sup> reading *mimmā* for the dittographical *fīmā*.

<sup>10</sup> reading *ghābū* for *ābū*.

<sup>11</sup> reading *qābil(īna)* for *qātil*.

# BIBLIOGRAPHY

## A. IBĀDĪ SOURCES

For a full list of all the works used in this book, see section B. This section is limited to works written or compiled by Ibādīs in their capacity as Ibādīs (authors such as Ennamī, who wrote as a modern Islamicist, have been excluded). It is meant as a biobibliographical tool.

‘Abbās, *Shi‘r*, see Sect. B.

‘Abdallāh b. Yazīd al-Fazārī, in Madelung, *Streitschrift*, q.v. in Sect. B.

Abū ‘Ammār ‘Abd al-Kāfī (d. before 570/1174), *al-Mūjaz*, ed., with a long introd. and an app. on Barrādī’s list of Ibādī books, by ‘A. Ṭalībī under the title *Ārā’ al-khawārij al-kalāmiyya* (Algiers, 1978).

On the author, a North African, see the editorial introd. pp. 215 ff, and *EP*<sup>2</sup>, suppl. s.v., where other works of his are listed. The new ed. by ‘A.-R. ‘Umayra (Beirut, 1990), seems to be identical. It omits the app. and has no bibl., but it is indexed.

Abū Ḥafṣ, ‘Umar b. Jamī<sup>c</sup> (eighth/fourteenth to ninth/fifteenth century), *Kitāb muqaddimat al-tawhīd* in Aṭfayyish, *Majmū‘a*.

North African scholar: see, further *EP*<sup>2</sup>, s.v.

Abū ‘l-Muṭṭhir al-Ṣalt b. Khamīs al-Kharūṣī (third/ninth century), *Kitāb al-aḥ-dāth wa‘l-ṣifāt* in Kāshif, *Siyar*, i. 23–85.

— *Kitāb al-bayān wa‘l-burhān*, *ibid.* 155–85.

— *Sīra ilā Abī Jābir Muḥammad b. Ja‘far*, *ibid.* 254–75.

— *Sīra*, *ibid.*, ii. 269–319.

Abū ‘l-Muṭṭhir was a member of the council that elected the imam al-Ṣalt b. Mālik in 237/851 in Oman and dissociated from Mūsā and Rāshid, who deposed him; he died some time after the election of the imām ‘Azzān b. Tamīm in 277/890 (Sālīmī, *Tuhfa*, i. 162, 197, 208 f, 243.–7, 254.4). In addition to the above-mentioned works, he wrote a *Tafsīr al-khams mi‘at āya fī ‘l-ḥalāl wa‘l-ḥarām* (Barrādī in Ṭalībī, *Ārā’*, 286.–3).

Abū Qaḥṭān Khālīd b. Qaḥṭān (late third/ninth to early fourth/tenth century), *Sīra*, in Kāshif, *Siyar*, i. 86–154.

Abū Qaḥṭān, *ṣāhib al-sīra al-mashhūra* (Sa‘dī, *Qāmūs*, viii. 306.13) was a younger contemporary of Abū ‘l-Muṭṭhir: *qad ṣāhibnā Abā ‘l-Muṭṭhir mā shā‘a ‘llāh min al-zamān*, he says in his epistle (Kāshif, *Siyar*, i. 148.–5). Like Abū ‘l-Muṭṭhir, he dissociated from Mūsā and Rāshid for their deposition of the imam al-Ṣalt b. Mālik (Sālīmī, *Tuhfa*, i. 197, cf. pp. 202 ff), and he wrote his epistle to make the Omanis ‘understand the error of those who rebelled against al-Ṣalt b. Mālik and deposed him’ (Kāshif, *Siyar*, i. 124 f). But unlike

Abū 'l-Mu'thir, he cannot have been a contemporary of the imam al-Muḥannā b. Jayfar (226–37/841–51), as Kāshif claims (*Siyar*, i. 86 n), for his epistle was written some forty years after Muḥannā's death. It mentions the death in battle of the last imam 'Azzān b. Tamīm, which occurred in 280/893 (p. 139.ult.; cf. App. 2) and refers to the fact that the Omanis paid allegiance to numerous people thereafter, including Abū Sa'īd al-Qarmaṭī (p. 140.–5), i.e. Abū Sa'īd al-Jannābī, who invaded Oman about 290/903 (*ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. 'al-Djannābī'). On the other hand, he also says that 'What I have written to you, O people of Oman, will be familiar to many of you who were with Rāshid [b. al-Nazar] and, after his deposition, with 'Azzān [b. Tamīm]' (p. 151.–8), so it cannot have been written long after 290/903. In addition to his *Sīra*, Khālid b. Qaḥṭān wrote a *Jāmi'* in two vol., presumably a legal work (Sālimī, *Lum'a*, 25.9; Hārithī, *Uqūd*, 279.11).

Abū Sahl, see Sect. B, s.v. 'Cuperly'.

Abū Sufyān Maḥbūb b. al-Raḥīl (d. c.210/825), *Sīra ilā ahl 'Umān fī amr Hārūn b. al-Yamān* in Kāshif, *Siyar*, i. 276–307.

— *Sīra ilā ahl Ḥaḍramawt fī amr Hārūn b. al-Yamān*, *ibid.*, 308–24.

— (attrib.), *Ahd ilā Ṭālib al-ḥaqq* in Darjīnī, *Ṭabaqāt*, ii. 279–89.

For his dates and the *kitāb* quoted by Darjīnī and Shammākhi, see App. 1, no. 5.

Abū 'Ubayda al-Maghribī, 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Jannāwunī(?), (d. 200/815), *Sīra ilā 'Abd al-Waḥhāb b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Rustum min al-mashāyikh*, in Kāshif, *Siyar*, ii. 320–4.

See App. 1, no. 2 (namesakes).

Abū Zakariyyā?, Yaḥyā b. Abī Bakr (fifth/eleventh to sixth/twelfth century), *Kitāb siyar al-a'imma wa-akhbārihum*, ed. I. al-'Arabī (Algiers, 1979); tr. E. Masqueray, *Chronique d'Abou Zakaria* (Alger, 1878).

North African Ibādī, on whom see *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v., and the editorial introd.

ASM = anonymous letter to the imam al-Ṣalt b. Mālik (237–72/851–86) in Kāshif, *Siyar*, i. 186–232.

Aṭfayyish, Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm (twentieth century), *al-Farq bayna 'l-Ibādīyya wa'l-Khawārij* (Oman (WTQwTh), 1980).

— (ed.), *al-Majmū'a al-qayyima* (Bahla and Beirut, 1989).

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North African scholar from the Mzab and nephew of the famous Muḥammad b. Yusūf, on whom see *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. 'Aṭfiyāsh' (*sic*).

Badger, see Sect. B.

al-Barrādī, Abū 'l-Qāsim/Faḍl b. Ibrāhīm (eighth/fourteenth century), *Kitāb al-Jawāhir*, litho. (Cairo, 1302).

— List of Ibādī books: short version in Barrādī, *Jawāhir*, 218–21; in A. de C. Motylinski, 'Bibliographie du Mzab, I', *Bulletin de Correspondance Africaine*, 3 (Algiers, 1885), 43–6 (from an unidentified MS); long version in Ṭālibī, *Ārā'*,

ii. 283–94 (from MS Dār al-Kutub (Cairo), no. 21791); another version partly tr. in Ennami, *Studies*, i. 9–10 (from an MS of al-Barrādī's *al-Baḥṭh al-ṣādiq wa'l-istikshāf fī sharḥ kitāb al-ʿadl wa'l-inṣāf*).

North African Ibādī. See *EP*<sup>2</sup>, s.v.; Sect. B, s.v. 'Rubinacci'.

al-Bārūnī, Sulaymān (d. 1940), *Mukhtaṣar ta'rikh al-Ibādīyya*, 2nd printing (Tunis and Cairo, n.d.).

A member of the famous Bārūnī family of Jabal Nafūsa; see *EP*<sup>2</sup>, s.v.

al-Bisyānī, Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad (fourth/tenth century), *Fī Ḥafṣ b. Rāshid ayyām khurūjīhi 'alā 'l-Muṭahhar b. 'Abdallāh wa-ʿaqdīhi al-amwal* in Kāshif, *Siyar*, ii. 5–8. Also in Sālimī, *Tuhfa*, i. 315.6–316.–2, 317.3–6.

— *Sīrat al-suʿāl*, in Kāshif, *Siyar*, ii. 62–105.

— *Fī 'l-radd 'alā Muḥammad b. Saʿīd [al-Kudamī]*, *ibid.*, 106–12.

— *Sīra*, *ibid.*, 124–222.

Al-Bisyānī, also known as al-Bisyawī (from the village of Bisyā), was among those who dissociated from Mūsā and Rāshid for their deposition of al-Ṣalt. By his time, those who took up this stance had come to be known as the Rustāq party (*al-Rustāqīyya*, Sālimī, *Tuhfa*, i. 197, 212). But what was his time? He is placed at the end of the fourth/tenth and the beginning of the fifth/eleventh century by 'Abd al-Ḥalīm (*Ibādīyya*, 228) and Kāshif (*Siyar*, ii. 62 n), and in the mid-fifth/eleventh century by Wilkinson ('Bio-bibliographical Background', 152; cf. *id.*, 'Omani Manuscript Collection', 194; *id.*, *Imamate Tradition*, 365). But he must belong to the mid-fourth/tenth century.

The view that he lived into the fifth century is based on his responsa *fī Ḥafṣ b. Rāshid*, written at a time when Ḥafṣ b. Rāshid was still alive. Ḥafṣ's imamate is placed in the mid-fifth century by the Omani tradition (*Kaṣḥ al-ghumma*, 312). But, as Sālimī says, Ibn al-Athīr places it a century earlier. According to the latter, *sub anno* 363, 'Aḍud al-Dawla sent his vizier al-Muṭahhar b. 'Abdallāh to Oman to fight the Shurāt who had gathered under an *amīr* called Ward b. Ziyād and a *khalīfa*, later described as imam, whose name was Ḥafṣ b. Rāshid; Ḥafṣ was defeated and fled to the Yemen (*Kāmil*, viii. 475; reproduced in Sālimī, *Tuhfa*, i. 285 f, 318 f). Al-Sālimī protests that Ḥafṣ's imamate was much later, but concedes that the local tradition is generally unreliable and may be confused. Miskawayh confirms that 'Aḍud al-Dawla sent his vizier al-Muṭahhar b. 'Abdallāh to Oman about this time: according to him, al-Muṭahhar had completed his mission and returned in 364/975 (*Tajārib al-umam*, ed. and tr. H. F. Amedroz and D. S. Margoliouth (Oxford, 1920–1), ii. 360 = v. 392 f), and the title of Bisyānī's responsa in Kāshif's ed. explicitly states that they are *fī Ḥafṣ b. Rāshid ayyām khurūjīhi 'alā 'l-Muṭahhar b. 'Abdallāh*. Here too, in other words, Ḥafṣ b. Rāshid is the imam who encountered 'Aḍud al-Dawla's vizier. Al-Sālimī obviously did not know this MS, and al-Muṭahhar is not mentioned in the text itself; but the first question dealt with by Bisyānī is whether Ḥafṣ b. Rāshid can become imam again and the second is whether his imamate was valid, so Ḥafṣ is a former imam, yet alive, which fits Ibn al-Athīr's account.

The confusion seems to have arisen because the Omanis remembered Ḥaḥṣ as the son of an imam called Rāshid without remembering who this Rāshid was. They had the choice between Rāshid b. al-Walīd, who ruled c.328–42 (Sālimī, op. cit., 278.–9, 284.–5), and Rāshid b. Sāʿīd, who died in 445 (*Kashf al-ghumma*, 312); each of them was followed by a son called Ḥaḥṣ. The Omanis opted for the latter, but the Ḥaḥṣ b. Rāshid on whom al-Bisyānī gave responsa was clearly a son of the former. Al-Bisyānī had himself lived in the time of Rāshid b. al-Walīd, in whose reign he was already an adult, as his second responsum shows (Kāshif, *Siyar*, ii. 7.–7; Sālimī, *Tuhfa*, i. 316.–7). There can thus be no doubt that he flourished in the mid-fourth/tenth century.

Al-Bisyānī is also the author of two legal works, *Jāmiʿ Abī ʿl-Ḥasan al-Bay-awī* (Oman (WTQwTh), 1984); and *Mukhtaṣar al-Basyawī*, ed. ʿA.-Q. ʿAṭāʾ and M. ʿA. Zarqa (Oman (WTQwTh), n.d.). The *Mukhtaṣar* was first used by E. Sachau, ‘Muhammedanisches Erbrecht nach der Lehre der ibaditischen Araber von Zanzibar und Ostafrika’, *Sitzungsberichte der Kgl. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, 8 (1894).

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North African Ibādī; see *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v.; Sect. B, s.v. ‘Lewicki’.

Ennami, see Sect. B.

al-Ḥārithī, Sālim b. Ḥamad b. Sulaymān, (wrote 1394/1974), *al-ʿUqūd al-fiddiyya fī uṣūl al-Ibādīyya* (Beirut, n.d.).

Hārūn b. al-Yamān (c.200/815), *Risāla ilā ʿl-imām al-Muḥannā b. Jayfar fī shaʿn Maḥbūb b. al-Raḥīl* in Kāshif, *Siyar*, i. 325–37.

For the date of Hārūn’s debate with Abū Sufyān Maḥbūb, see App. 1, no. 5. He counts as a member of the Ibādī Shuʿaybiyya, which (*pace* Kāshif) has nothing to do with the Shuʿaybiyya of the heresiographers, an offshoot of the ʿAjārida. The Ibādī Shuʿaybiyya developed around Shuʿayb b. Maʿrūf, whose views were adopted by the Nukkār (cf. van Ess, *TG*, ii. 210 ff; Wilkinson, ‘Omani Manuscript Collection’, 205).

Hāshim b. Ghaylān (early third/ninth century), *Sīra ilā ʿl-imām ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ḥumayd* in Kāshif, *Siyar*, ii. 36–8; also HX, 260–2.

His dates are based on the recipient of his epistle, who ruled 208–26/824–41. The epistle itself is famous for its ref. to the spread of Murjiʿism and Qadarism in Ṣuhār. On Hāshim, whose brother ʿAbd al-Malik and son Muḥammad were also known as scholars (Saʿdī, *Qāmūs*, viii. 304), see further Wilkinson, ‘Omani Manuscript Collection’, 193 f. A joint letter by Hāshim and others to this imam is also preserved (HX, 221–4), as in a response to him and others by Mūsā b. ʿAlī (HX, 219–21).

Hilāl b. ʿAṭiyya al-Khurāsānī (d. 134/751 f), *Sīra*, quoted in Qalhātī, *Kashf* fo. 50a, on the Prophet’s mission (it is not clear where the citation comes to an end); also, more briefly, in Kindī, *Ihtidāʿ*, 51, 130, on ʿUthmān.

Sammākhī seems to identify Hilāl as a carrier of knowledge, i.e. on behalf of Abū ʿUbayda (*Siyar*, 119). He fell along with the Julandā in battle against ʿAbbāsīd troops in 134/751 f (Sālimī, *Tuhfa*, i. 95 f). He is not known to

have written anything apart from his now lost *sira*, which is mentioned by Abū Sufyān (Kāshif, *Siyar*, i. 304) as well as later authors (Shaqṣī, *Manhaj*, i. 620.7; Saʿdī, *Qāmūs*, viii. 303.ult.), but which does not appear to be cited by anyone apart from Qalhātī. Whether he wrote it in Khurāsān or Oman is impossible to tell.

Wilkinson thinks that Hilāl was probably a brother of Shabīb b. ʿAṭīyya (‘The Julanda of Oman’, 103; accepted by van Ess, *TG*, ii. 601). But the sources will mention the two in close proximity, calling Hilāl a Khurāsānī and Shabīb an Omani, which suggests that they thought otherwise (e.g. Shaqṣī, Sālīmī, loci cit.; Izkawī, *Kashf al-ghumma*, fo. 250b.–9, –7). There is however some sign of later confusion between them. Izkawī turns both into Khurāsānīs on one occasion (*Kashf al-ghumma*, fo. 389b.1, 9). In a more puzzling vein, a late fourth-/tenth-century *qāḍī* by the name of Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. ʿUmar al-Manḥī (on whom see Sālīmī, *Tuhfa*, i. 317, 330, 338) claims that Hilāl b. ʿAṭīyya had Ṣufri inclinations and was told to go home, which he did, thus remaining in a state of association (Kāshif, *Siyar*, ii. 25). In view of the fact that he died in Oman fighting for the imam, it is hard to see how this can be true. Barrādī knew *min āthār qawminā* that Shabīb b. ʿAṭīyya was a Ṣufri, but found the contents of his epistle against Shukkāk and Murjiʿa to be perfectly orthodox (Ṭalībī, *Ārāʾ*, ii. 283.–3). Given that the accusation originated among the *qamm*, the chances are that the Ibādīs confused the Jazīran Shabīb b. Yazīd with their own Shabīb b. ʿAṭīyya and that the confusion spread from there to Hilāl.

HX = Hinds Xerox, Cambridge University Library, microfilm Or. 1402. Refs. are to the scribe’s pagination unless given in parenthesis where they are to our own corrected pagination.

IB1 = the so-called first letter of Ibn Ibād to ʿAbd al-Malik. Western version in Barrādī, *Jawāhir*, 156–57, tr. Rubinacci, ‘Califfō’; abbr. in Bārūnī, *Mukhtaṣar*, 20–3. Eastern version in Kāshif, *Siyar*, ii. 325–45 (from the MS used by Wilkinson, ‘Omani manuscript collection at Muscat’, item 10 (i); Izkawī, *Kashf al-ghumma*, fos. 199b–206b; HX, 381<sup>2</sup>–93 (breaks off shortly before the end) and (according to Dr A. Savchenko) also in *al-Siyar al-ʿUmāniyya*, Lwów University Library, MS 1082.

For Cook’s suggestion that this originated as a letter (authentic or forged) from Jābir to ʿAbd al-Malik b. al-Muhallab, see App. 1, no. 1.

IB2 = the so-called second letter of Ibn Ibād to ʿAbd al-Malik preserved in Izkawī, *Kashf al-ghumma*, fos. 206b.ult.–212a; summarized in E. Sachau, ‘Über die religiösen Anschauungen der ibaditischen Muhammedaner in Oman und Ostafrika’, *Mitteilungen des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen* 2 (Berlin, 1899), 56–9.

For Cook’s suggestion that this originated as a letter (authentic or forged) from Jābir b. Zayd to a certain Shīʿite see App. 1, no. 1.

Ibn Baraka al-Bahlawī, Abū Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad (fourth/tenth century), *Kitāb al-muwāzana* in Kāshif, *Siyar*, ii. 384–420.

He flourished under the imam Saʿīd b. ʿAbdallāh, who died in 328, according to Lewicki in *EF*<sup>2</sup>, s.v.; Wilkinson disputes it, saying that his floruit must

have fallen in the second half of the fourth/tenth century ('Bio-bibliographical Background', 151 f); but Wilkinson's objection arises from the fact that he regards Ibn Baraka as one of the teachers of al-Bisyānī, whom he places in the fifth/eleventh century. This objection falls now that al-Bisyānī turns out also to have flourished in the fourth/tenth century (cf. above). Ibn Baraka, whose Bahlawī *nisba* refers to the town of Bahlā, wrote several other works which are listed by Lewicki in *ET*<sup>2</sup>. According to Wilkinson, 'Omani Manuscript Collection', 197, the second part of his *Jāmi*<sup>c</sup> has been printed. His *K. al-muwāzana* and *sīra* were once found in the MS reproduced in the Hinds Xerox (cf. the table of contents, nos. 35–6).

Ibn Ibād, see IB1, IB2, above.

Ibn Sallām al-Ibādī (d. after 273/886 f), *Kitāb fihi badʿ al-islām wa-sharāʿi al-dīn*, ed. W. Schwartz and Sālim b. Yaʿqūb (Wiesbaden, 1986). North African Ibādī, on whom see the editorial introd.

al-Izkawī, Sirḥān b. Saʿīd (attrib.), *Kashf al-ghumma al-jāmiʿ li-akhbār al-umma*, British Library, Or. 8076; Damascus, Zāhiriyya, taʿrīkh 346 (our refs. are to the London MS unless otherwise stated). Partially ed. by A. ʿUbaydalī (Nicosia, 1985) (refs. to *Kashf al-ghumma* without author are to ʿUbaydalī's ed.).

Of this work there are many more MSS (in Tunis, Cairo, Milan, and private possession; there is also an abbreviated version in BL, Or. 6568). It is attributed to Sirḥān b. Saʿīd al-Izkawī in an MS that used to be in the possession of Muḥammad al-Sālimī in Dammām, dated 1317, and in a copy (of the same MS?) said to be in Muscat, with comments by Aḥmad b. Saʿīd/Sayf (?) b. Nāṣir al-Kindī and dated 1362, of which R. B. Serjeant had a xerox. We owe this information to Martin Hinds and do not know what has happened to these MSS since their owners died. The *Kashf* was also attributed to Izkawī on the authority of 'certain learned persons at Nezwā' by E. C. Ross, 'Annals of ʿOman, from the early Times to the Year 1728 A.D.', *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 43 (1874), 111. But Wilkinson thinks that Izkawī was only a copyist ('Bio-bibliographical Background', 142); and ʿUbaydalī also rejects the attribution (see his editorial introd.). The work takes the history of Oman to about 1728 and was presumably compiled in the eighteenth century.

Sachau did a useful summary of the *Kashf* on the basis of a copy made in Zanzibar of an MS dated 1312/1895 (E. Sachau, 'Über eine arabische Chronik aus Zanzibar', *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen*, 1 (Berlin, 1898), 3). It must have been on the basis of the same copy that H. Klein edited *Kapitel XXXIII der anonymen arabischen Chronik Kašf al-gumma al-ġāmiʿ li-akhbār al-umma* (Hamburg, 1938) (she described her MS as the property of the Auslandhochschule in Berlin and gives its date as 1312). In 1976 ʿA.-M. Ḥ. al-Qaysī published chs. 4, 33, and 35–8 on the basis of the Damascus and the London MS under the title *Taʿrīkh ʿUmān al-muqtabas min kitāb Kashf al-ghumma al-jāmiʿ li-akhbār al-umma*, 3rd printing (Oman (WTQwTh), 1992). In 1985 ʿUbaydalī republished chapters 4 and 34–8 in a more scholarly ed. on the basis of the same two MSS. The chs. in question deal with the history of Oman from the arrival of the Azd to 1140/1728. Of

the non-historical chs. nothing has been published yet, not even the 'second letter of Ibn Ibād' (cf. above, IB2).

al-Jannāwunī, Abū Zakariyā' Yaḥyā b. Abī 'l-Khayr (sixth/twelfth century), *Kitāb al-waḍ'*, ed. Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm Aṭfayyisih, 6th printing (Oman (Maktabat al-istiḳāma), n.d.).

See *EP*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. 'Abū Zakariyyā' al-Djanāwunī'; Sect. B, s.vv. 'Cuperly'; 'Rubinacci'.

*Kashf al-ghumma*, see Izkawī.

Kāshif, S. I., (ed.), *al-Siyar wa'l-jawābāt li-ʿulamāʾ wa-aʿimmat ʿUmān*, (Cairo (WTQwTh), 1986).

This publication is based on MS 1854, no. 2, in the Library of the Ministry of Culture of Oman, which must be identical with the unnumbered MS described by Wilkinson under the tentative name of *Jawhar al-Muqtaṣir* (sic, 'Omani Manuscript Collection', 192 ff).

Khalaf b. Ziyād al-Baḥrānī (d. after 134/751 f), *Sīra*, in HX, 299–365; briefly cited in Sālimī, *Tuhfa*, i. 71.

Of Khalaf we are told that he grew up in Baḥrayn, went to Basra in search of truth, met Abū ʿUbayda, and converted. From there he went to Oman. He did not participate in the battle against the ʿAbbāsids in which the Julandā fell, which seems to have been a source of embarrassment (we are told that he was ill), but died in Izkī some time thereafter (Sālimī, *Tuhfa*, i. 103, citing Abū 'l-Muṯthir and other; Izkawī, *Kashf al-ghumma*, fo. 389b). He is mentioned without further information in Shammākhī, *Siyar*, 121. Abū Sufyān refers to his *kutub* (Kāshif, *Siyar*, i. 354), but whether the ascription of the epistle is correct remains to be established.

Khālīd, see Abū Qaḥṭān.

al-Kindī, Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm (d. 508/1114 f), *Bayān al-sharʿ*, iii. xxviii (Oman (WTQwTh), 1988).

The date of his death is given in Ḥārithī, *ʿUqūd*, 233. The complete work is said to number 72 or 73 vols. (Sālimī, *Lumʿa*, 19.12).

al-Kindī, Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Nizwānī, (d. c.557/1162), *Kitāb al-ihtidāʾ wa'l-muntakhab min siyar al-rasūl ṣlʿm wa-aʿimmat wa-ʿulamāʾ ʿUmān*, ed. S. I. Kāshif (Cairo (WTQwTh), 1985).

— *al-Jawhar al-muqtaṣar*, ed. S. I. Kāshif (Cairo (WTQwTh), 1983).

— *al-Muṣannaf*, ed. ʿA.-M. ʿĀmir and J.-A. Aḥmad (Oman (WTQwTh), 1979-).

The first two items come from the same MS (Library of the Omani Ministry of Culture, no. 1854, 2) that Kāshif used for her *Siyar*. On the Kindī authors, see Sālimī, *Lumʿa*, 19 f, where further works of theirs are mentioned; Wilkinson, 'Bio-bibliographical Background', 156 f.

al-Kudamī, Abū Saʿīd Muḥammad b. Saʿīd (mid-fourth/tenth century) comments on the creed of Ibn Fūrak in Kindī, *Bayān al-sharʿ*, iii. 277–93, and (from Kindī) in Saʿdī, *Qāmūs*, viii. 285–98.

In his 'Bio-bibliographical Background', 148, Wilkinson places al-Kudamī 'no later than the mid-fifth century', with ref. to Barrādī; in his 'Omani Manuscript Collection', 196, he places him partly in the fourth/tenth century and partly in the fifth on the basis of al-Kudamī's own writings, suggesting that 'his main *floruit* probably coincides with the key figures enunciating the extreme Rustāq party dogma in the fairly early 5th/11th century'. But in fact al-Kudamī's *floruit* must fall in the mid-fourth/tenth century like al-Bisyānī's.

As regards Wilkinson's first date, in his list of Ibādī books Barrādī mentions a work by Abū Sa'īd al-ʿUmānī, clearly al-Kudamī, and proceeds to cite a story from the book of Abū 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Sa'īd, i.e. al-Darjīnī, in which the North African scholar Abū 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Bakr says that he had studied with *al-shaykh sa'īd* (Ṭālibī, *Ārāʾ*, ii. 287.9). Wilkinson takes this to mean that Aḥmad b. Muḥammad had studied with Abū Sa'īd al-Kudamī; and, since Abū 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad flourished in the second half of the fifth century (he died in 504, cf. Darjīnī, *Ṭabaqāt*, ii. 446.12), this would place Abū Sa'īd in the mid-fifth century. But Aḥmad b. Muḥammad says that he studied with *al-shaykh sa'dūn* in Jabal Nafūsa (*Ṭabaqāt*, ii. 445.3; similarly Sālimī, *Lum'a*, 16.–8). North African scholars did not normally study in Oman. Barrādī cites the story because it makes the point that there are too many Ibādī books, including eastern ones, for anyone to keep track of them. It tells us nothing of al-Kudamī's dates.

Wilkinson's second date must be based on the assumption that al-Bisyānī lived into the fifth century. Al-Kudamī was a leading figure of the Nizwa party and wrote his *Kitāb al-istiqāma* to refute the Rustāqiyya (Wilkinson, 'Bio-bibliographical Background', 147; Sālimī, *Tuhfa*, i. 197.6; cf. id., *Lum'a*, 21.2). As has been seen, al-Bisyānī, a leading member of the Rustāqiyya, wrote a *radd* of al-Kudamī. But, as has also been seen, al-Bisyānī flourished in the mid-fourth century, and this is where al-Kudamī belongs as well. He was *khāzin/khazzān* of prisoners for the imam Sa'īd b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Maḥbūb, who died in 328; and by then he had a palm grove, a vineyard, and three wealthy wives who had chosen him for his learning, so he was hardly in his teens (Sālimī, *Tuhfa*, i. 277.3). He is one of Sālimī's informants on the imamate of Sa'īd b. ʿAbdallāh and practically his only informant on that of Sa'īd's successor, Rāshid b. al-Walīd, whose imamate came to an end in 342 (ibid., 280.3, 284.3–4, 285.2); thereafter he ceases to be mentioned. His own *Kitāb al-istiqāma* ends with a sombre description of the state of Oman after the death of Rāshid b. al-Walīd (Wilkinson, 'Omani Manuscript Collection', 207). So ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm is undoubtedly right to place him in the fourth/tenth century (*Ibādīyya*, 231).

In addition to his *Kitāb al-istiqāma* (ed. M. Abū 'l-Ḥasan (Oman (WTQwTh), 1985); analysed by Wilkinson, 'Omani Manuscript Collection', 205 ff), al-Kudamī wrote *Kitāb al-Mu'tabar* (Oman (WTQwTh), 1984), which Sālimī describes as an explanation and amplification of the *Ḥāmi'* of Ibn Ja'far (*Lum'a*, 21); *al-Ḥāmi' al-mufīd min jawābāt/aḥkām Abī Sa'īd* (Oman (WTQwTh), 1986); and *Kitāb ziyādāt al-ishrāf*, an amplified version of the *Kitāb al-ishrāf* of Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Ibrahīm known as Ibn al-Mundhir

al-Naysabūrī, who died in 317 (Sālimī, *Lumʿa*, 21). This last book must be *al-ishrāf ʿalā madhāhib ahl al-ʿilm* of Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Mundhir al-Mundhirī al-Naisabūrī, who had studied with pupils of al-Shāfiʿī in Egypt, but wanted to count as an independent *mujtahid* and who later settled in Mecca (Brockelmann, *Geschichte*, i. 180, where he dies in 318/930). It was presumably in Mecca that al-Kudamī came across his book. Barrādī, who knew al-Mundhirī's book from the recension of Abū Saʿīd al-ʿUmānī, i.e. al-Kudamī, pronounced it different from a work entitled *Kitāb al-ishrāf ʿalā masāʾil al-khilāf* of which he had seen some parts without knowing the author. It was his inability to place this book that prompted him to tell the story of Abū ʿl-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad. The *Ishrāf ʿalā masāʾil al-khilāf* was not in fact an Ibādī book at all, but the work of the Māliki jurist ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Baghdādī (pub. Tunis, n.d.). We too have seen that book, though we have not seen any of Abū Saʿīd's.

Masqueray, see Abū Zakariyyā?

Muʿammar, ʿA. Y. (twentieth century), *al-Ibādīyya bayna ʿl-firaq al-islāmīyya*, 2nd printing (Oman (WTQwTh), 1992).

— *al-Ibādīyya fī mawkib al-taʾriḫ* (Cairo, 1964–6).

Muḥammad b. Maḥbūb (d. 260/873 f), *Sīra*, in Kāshif, *Siyar*, ii. 223–68.

See App. 1, no. 5 (descendants, no. 3).

al-Mundhirī, ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī (wrote 1332/1913 f), *Kitāb mukhtaṣar al-adyān li-taʿlīm al-ṣibyān*, in Aṭfayysih, *al-Majmūʿa*.

The date is given at the end of the work (p. 282). For other works of his, see Schacht, 'Bibliothèques', 393, nos. 103–4.

Munir b. al-Nayyir al-Jaʿfānī (fl. c.200/815), *Sīra ilā ʿl-imām Ghassān b. ʿAbdallāh* in Kāshif, *Siyar*, i. 233–53; in HX, 264–79.

For another epistle of Munir's to the same imam, see HX, 203–19 (acephalous). His floruit is given by the fact that this imam ruled 192–207/808–23. This fits the claim that he was one of al-Rabīʿ's *ḥamalat al-ʿilm* (Sālimī, *Lumʿa*, 12). He is nevertheless also said to have been killed in battle in Oman in 280/893 f, aged 110 (Izkawī, *Kashf al-ghumma*, fos. 389b f, on the jurists of Oman; Sālimī, *Tuhfa*, i. 260, on the battle; added to *Kashf al-ghumma*'s account of the battle by ʿUbaydalī (272.ult) on the basis of Sālimī). This would place Munir's date of birth in 170. But al-Rabīʿ died c.170–5, as has been seen (above, App. 1, no. 3); and Munir is described as a man of note in Oman already at the time of the Julandā (132–4), whose organization he described to Ghassān b. ʿAbd al-Malik (Sālimī, *Tuhfa*, i. 88 f, citing Bisyanī), so something is amiss. *Fī wafāʾihī ikhtilāf fihī baʿḍ al-tanāquḍ*, as Ḥarīthī rightly observes (ʿUqūd, 154; cf. also Wilkinson, 'Omani Manuscript Collection', 193). How is it to be resolved?

It seems unlikely that Munir should have been an adult at the time of the Julandā. The claim may well be a simple inference from the fact that he describes the Julandā's organization in his epistle, which was composed at least sixty years after the event and which is thus unlikely to be based on personal observation. Munir seems to have been a younger contemporary of

Abū 'l-Mundhir Bashīr b. al-Mundhir, who was also one of al-Rabī'c's *ḥamalāt al-ʿilm* (Sālimī, *Lumʿa*, 12), who is also described as having been a man of note in the time of the Julandā, and who died in 178, well before Munīr wrote his epistle (Izkawī, *Kashf al-ghumma*, fo. 389b; Sālimī, *Tuhfa*, i. 88, 113; Hārithī, *Uqūd*, 154). The two are often mentioned together. Bashīr b. al-Mundhir had a grandson (?) of the same name who participated in the election of al-Ṣalt b. Mālik in 237 (Sālimī, *Tuhfa*, i. 162), while Munīr had a son by the name of al-ʿAlāʾ (or al-Muʿallā) who participated in that election (Saʿdī, *Qāmūs*, viii. 313.–5, cf. 307.–4). This second Bashīr b. al-Mundhir was among those who reacted to the troubles after al-Ṣalt's deposition by calling in Muḥammad b. Būr/Nūr/Thawr, the ʿAbbāsīd governor of Baḥrayn who conquered Oman in 280 and in the battle against whom Munīr is said to have died (Sālimī, *Tuhfa*, i. 257; cf. App. 2). If any member of Munīr's family died in that battle, it must have thus been his son al-ʿAlāʾ or al-Muʿallā b. Munīr. The reason why some thought that Munīr himself had fallen in that battle is undoubtedly that his name was associated with that of Bashīr b. al-Mundhir. It is indeed confusing that there were two men of that name.

al-Qalhātī, Abū ʿAbdallāh/Saʿīd Muḥammad b. Saʿīd al-Azdī (sixth/twelfth century), *Kitāb al-kashf wa'l-bayān fī sharḥ iftirāq al-firaq wa'l-adyān*, British Library, Or. 2606.

Of this work there is also an MS in Damascus (Zāhiriyya, taʿriḫ 575, dated 1287), in the Mzab (Schacht, 'Bibliothèques', 392, dated 1294), and in Muscat (Wilkinson, 'Omani Manuscript Collection', 198). It is presumably on the Muscat MS that the ed. by S. I. Kāshif is based (Oman (WTQwTh), 1980, not seen). Al-Qalhātī has been dated by Wilkinson to the end of the sixth/twelfth century on the basis of his *al-Maqāma al-Kilwīyya* ('Omani Manuscript Collection', 198 f; id., 'Oman and East Africa: New Light on Early Kilwan History from the Omani Sources', *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 14 (1981); id., 'The Omani and Ibādī Background to the Kilwan *Sīrah*' in A. K. Irvine, R. B. Serjeant, and G. R. Smith (eds.), *A Miscellany of Middle Eastern Articles in Memoriam Thomas Muir Johnstone* (London, 1988)).

al-Rabī' b. Ḥabīb (attrib.), *al-fāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, 3rd printing, (Jerusalem, 1381).

See App. 1, no. 3.

*Radd ʿalā ahl al-shakk*, Hinds Xerox, 365–81.

See App. 5.

al-Saʿdī, Jumayyil b. Khamīs (thirteenth/eighteenth century), *Qāmūs al-sharīʿa* (Zanzibar, 1927–1301).

The author began his work in 1206/1791 f and apparently managed to write 90 or 92 vols. Complete copies are to be found in both Oman and the Mzab (Wilkinson, 'Bio-bibliographical Background', 162, item 20; Schacht 'Bibliothèques', 385), but the Zanzibar ed. only includes the first ten vols. A new ed. or perhaps just printing, has appeared in Oman (not seen).

Sālim b. Ḥuṭayʿa al-Hilālī (c.102/720) (attrib.?), lost *kitāb* quoted by Barrādī, cf. above, Ch. 1, 12.

al-Sālimī, Nūr al-dīn ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥumayd (d. 1332/1914), *Ḥawḥ al-niẓām fī ʿilmay al-adyān waʾl-aḥkām* (Cairo, 1381).

— *al-Lumʿa al-marḍiyya min ashiʿat al-ibādīyya* (Oman (WTQwTh), 1981).

— *Qaṣīdat ghāyat al-murād fī ʾl-ʾiṭiqād*, in Aṭfayyish, *Majmūʿa*, 22–6.

— *Talqīn al-sibyān ma yalzam al-insān*, 28th printing (n.p., n.d.); (also printed in Aṭfayyish, *Majmūʿa*, 28–125).

— *Tuhfat al-aʿyān bi-sīrat ahl ʿUmān* (Cairo, 1961).

On this remarkable man, who went blind at the age of twelve and died at the age of forty-six, but who nonetheless managed to be an active politician and an outstanding scholar, see Wilkinson, ‘Bio-bibliographical Background’, 141 f, 144; id. *Imamate Tradition*, 253 ff and *passim*.

al-Samāʿilī, Sālim b. Ḥamūd al-Sayyābī (mid-twentieth century), *Aṣḍaq al-manā-hij fī tamyīz al-Ibādīyya min al-Khawārij*, ed. S. I. Kāshif (Cairo (WTQwTh), 1979).

— *Isʿāf al-aʿyān fī ansāb ahl ʿUmān* (Beirut, 1384).

Shabīb b. ʿAṭīyya al-ʿUmānī (d. after 134/751 f, *Sīra*, in Kāshif, *Siyar*, ii. 246–383; in HX, 103–39; in *al-Siyar al-ʿumāniyya*, Lwów University Library, no. 1082 (according to Dr A. Savchenko); in Qalhātī, *Kashf*, fos. 180a-195b (incomplete). Beginning quoted in Sālimī, *Tuhfa*, i. 104 f.

— *Kitāb ilā ʿAbd al-Salām, radd ʿalā ʾl-shukkāk waʾl-Murjiʿa*, HX, 279–85. Known to Barrādī (Ṭālibī, *Arāʾ*, ii. 283.–3).

Shabīb b. ʿAṭīyya, who is held by some Islamicists to have been a brother of Hilāl b. ʿAṭīyya (*q.v.*), was active after the collapse of the first imamate in Oman in 134/751 f: he collected taxes, but was not an imam and his status was disputed: Mūsā b. Abī Jābir (d. 181) consulted al-Rabīʿ about it (Sālimī, *Tuhfa*, i. 105 f). His *Sīra* must have been written after the ʿAbbāsīd invasion, for he says that ‘if the Muslims had not upheld truth and manifest justice, then you would have been obliged (?) in this time to get together to defend your country lest it be invaded by a tyrant like the one you have just seen, who would trample upon you with ignominy and humiliation, spill your blood and take your property, like you have just seen, and violate your sacred things as happened to others’ (349.–6). It is against this background that he tells them to be on their guard against the quietist *ahl al-shakk waʾl-ʿamā*, whom he proceeds to refute at length. He also tells those who do not side with the Muslims to get up and go wherever they want and look for a *dār ghayr dār al-muslimīn* (347.–3), which suggests that Oman was under Ibādī control. We do not know the date of his death, but presumably it took place well before 177/794, when the Omanis elected Muḥammad b. Abī ʿAffān. For the charge that Shabīb was a Ṣufri, see above, s.v. ‘Hilāl b. ʿAṭīyya’.

al-Shammākhī, Abūʾl-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Saʿīd (d. 928/1522), *Kitāb al-siyar* (Cairo, 1301) (all our refs. are to this ed.); republ. in two vols. (Oman (WTQwTh), 1987, 2nd printing 1992; not seen). A superior ed. by M. Ḥasan of the part dealing with North African scholars was published in Tunis, 1995.

Member of a North African family of scholars. See Sect. B, s.v. ‘Lewicki’.

al-Shammākhī, Abū Sākin ʿAmir b. ʿAlī (d. 792/1389 f), *al-Diyānāt*, tr. Ennami, *Studies*, i. 255 ff; Cuperly, *Introduction*, 331 ff.

Member of the same family as the preceding. See Sect. B, s.v. 'Lewicki'.

al-Shaqṣī, Khamīs b. Saʿīd b. ʿAlī al-Rustāqī (wrote c.1060/1650), *Manhaj al-ṭālibīn wa-balāgh al-rāghibīn* (Oman (WTQwTh), 1979–).

He wrote in the imamate of the second Yaʿrubī ruler Sulṭān b. Sayf, whose accession in 1060/1650 he mentions (*Manhaj*, i. 638.7). Further information about him is given by ʿUbaydalī in *Kashf al-ghumma*, 349 n. 1.

*Ṣifa* = *Kitāb ṣifat aḥdāth ʿUthmān*, a now lost work by an unknown author which is mentioned by Barrādī in his list of Ibādī books (Ṭālibī, *Ārāʾ*, 283.8) and of which there are excerpts in his own *Jamāhīr* and in an anonymous *Mukhtaṣar min kitāb ṣifat aḥdāth ʿUthmān* preserved in the Hinds Xerox (139–154<sup>1</sup>). See further above, Ch. 4, pp. 190 f.

Ṭālibī, ʿA., (ed.), *Ārāʾ al-khawārij al-kalāmīyya* (Algiers, 1978). An ed. of Abū ʿAmmār's *Mūjaz* with a long introd. and an app. on al-Barrādī's list of Ibādī books. Cited as Ṭālibī, *Ārāʾ*, when the ref. is not to Abū ʿAmmār's text.

al-Thamīnī, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Ibrāhīm al-Muṣʿabī (d. 1223/1803), *al-Ward al-bas-sām fī riḡād al-aḥkām*, ed. M. al-Thamīnī (Oman (WTQwTh), 1985).

North African author of numerous legal works. There is a brief account on him in the editorial introd. to his *Kitāb maʿālim al-dīn* (Oman (WTQwTh), 1986) (where he is said to have died in 1220).

Wāʾil b. Ayyūb al-Ḥaḍramī, Abū Ayyūb (d. c.190/805), *Sīra*, in *Kāshif, Siyar*, ii. 46–61; in *al-Siyar al-umāniyya*, Lwów University Library, no. 1082, pp. 346–56 (according to Dr A. Savchenko, who also supplied us with a copy).

See further App. I, no. 4.

WTQwTh = *Wizārat al-turāth al-qawmī wa'l-thaqāfa*, the Omani ministry which is systematically publishing the literary heritage of the Omani and to some extent even the North African Ibādīs. Only a trickle has reached western libraries.

## B. OTHER WORKS

This section lists all the works we have used in this book, but only in the form of a cross-reference to Section A in the case of Ibādī sources. Works that we have mentioned, but not seen, are omitted.

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ʿAbd al-Razzāq b. Hammām al-Ṣanʿānī (d. 211/827), *al-Muṣannaf*, ed. Ḥ.-R. al-Aʿzamī (Beirut, 1970–2).

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- Abū 'l-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī, 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn (d. 356/967), *Kitāb al-aghānī* (Cairo, 1927–74).
- *Maqātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*, ed. A. Ṣaqr (Cairo, 1949).
- Abū Ḥafṣ, see Sect. A.
- Abū Ḥanīfa, al-Nu'mān b. Thābit (d. 150/767), *Risāla ilā 'Uthmān al-Battī*, in M. Z. al-Kawtharī (ed.), *Al-ʿālim wa'l-muta'allim* (Cairo, 1368).
- (attrib.), *Kitāb al-maṣīyya*, with a comm. of Ḥusayn b. Iskandar al-Ḥabafī, in *al-Rasā'il al-sab'ā fī 'l-ṣuqū'id*, 3rd printing (Hyderabad, 1980).
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- Abū Muṭī' al-Ḥakam b. 'Abdallāh al-Balkhī (d. 197/812 f or 199/814 f), *al-Fiqh al-absaṭ* in M. Z. al-Kawtharī (ed.), *Al-ʿālim wa'l-muta'allim* (Cairo, 1368).
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- Abū Sufyān Maḥbūb b. al-Raḥīl. See Sect. A.
- Abū Tammām (fl. fourth/tenth century) = W. Madelung and P. E. Walker (eds. and trs.), *An Isma'ili Heresiography. The 'Bāb al-shayṭān' from Abū Tammām's Kitāb al-shajra* (Leiden, 1998).
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307\* 58 55 841 840 484 الْيَوْمِ

651 650 629 607 574 551 546

841 840 834 729 721 715 682

953 940 904 875

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