

THE ROLE OF AL-‘AQL
IN EARLY ISLAMIC WISDOM
WITH REFERENCE TO IMAM JA‘FAR AL-ṢĀDIQ

DOUGLAS S. CROW

Crow

Dissertation Presented to
The Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
In Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy.

INSTITUTE OF ISLAMIC STUDIES
MCGILL UNIVERSITY, MONTREAL P.Q.

February 1996

Reader:

(Date)



Douglas Cron

Ph.D. May 21, 1996

THE ROLE OF AL-'AQL
IN EARLY ISLAMIC WISDOM

WITH REFERENCE TO IMAM JA'FAR AL-ṢĀDIQ

Copy # 1

(in two parts)

Final Copy

ABSTRACT

The Role Of al-ʿAql In Early Islamic Wisdom, With Reference To Imām Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq.

One major trajectory of early ʿaql traditions is scrutinized: the Aqbil/ Adbir/ creation narrative "lammā khalāqa llāhu l-ʿaqla When God had created the intelligence...". In Part I early Sunnī and Shīʿī transmission and reception of the varying texts dominates the discussion, with analysis of chief motifs. Then successive transformations are traced, with attention devoted to ideas of 'first creation'. The original context of the Aqbil/ reports is convincingly explained within the thought forms of 1st & 2nd century theological ideas of voluntarism or predestination, without recourse to Goldziher's "neo-Platonic element". The late neo-Platonising form "awwalu mā khalāqa llāhu l-ʿaqlu The first (thing) God created is the intellect...", is shown to be not earlier than the mid-3rd/9th century.

In a related class of narratives, ʿaql pre-exists in the realm of the divine Throne. The focus is the notion of the divinely provisioned innate trait of 'intelligence' or 'wisdom' as a "light in the heart" inequitably apportioned among humanity. Part II examines the creative manner in which the sixth Shīʿī imam Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (d.148/765) transforms the Aqbil/ tradition by integrating this heavenly sapiential ʿaql with the 'Adam-Iblīs' conflict into a binary listing of the character traits (akhlāq, khaṣāl). His myth of the creation, empowerment, and opposition between ʿaql and jahl (intelligence & ignorance, or wisdom & folly) propounds a psycho-ethical scheme for the inner purgative struggle, wherein ʿaql operates as chief of the character traits. Jaʿfar stresses the cognitive function (maʿrifah) in the perfection of ʿaql peculiar to the inner circles of humanity (prophets, saints\Imāms, the faithful). An assessment is given of the repercussions of al-Ṣādiq's contribution for continuing Shīʿī and Ṣūfī enrichments of the ʿaql creation narratives (eg. with al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī).

THE ROLE OF al-'AQL IN EARLY ISLAMIC WISDOM.
WITH REFERENCE TO IMĀM JA'FAR AL-SĀDIQ.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface	iii
Introduction: Spectrum of "al-'Aql" in Early Ḥadīth	ix
Abbreviations	xxix

PART I - THE CREATION OF al-'AQL.

Chapter 1. The Creation of al-'Aql (Texts).-----	1
I. The Aqbil! Adbir! Reports	3
I.A. Sunnī Transmission	6
I.B. Shī'ī Transmission	28
Notes	38
Chapter 2. Salient Motifs.-----	86
I.A. The 'Setting'	86
I.B. The 'Testing'	87
I.C. The 'Encomium'	93
I.D. The 'Listing'	95
I.E. Summary	96
II. Qalam and 'First Creation'	98
II.A. The 'Pen' Against al-'Aql	99
II.B. The Twins: First Qalam then 'Aql	101
Notes	107
Chapter 3. 'Aql as 'First Creation'.-----	125
I. Priority of Creation?	125
I.A. Ṣūfīs, Philosophers, & Mu'tazilah	128
II. First Creation: 'Aql, Rūḥ, Nūr Muḥammad	135
III. Ibn Taymiyyah's Critique	139
Notes	143

Chapter 4. Light and al-'Aql.-----	164
I. The Throne and al-'Aql	165
II. Bulūgh 'Maturity' and al-'Aql	171
III. Summary of Part I	175
Notes	178

PART II - THE POWERS OF al-'AQL.

Chapter 5. The Seventy-Five Powers of 'Aql and Jahl.----	189
I.A. The Myth of the Troops of al-'Aql and al-Jahl	192
II. Analysis of al-Ṣādiq's Myth	199
II.A. The 'Spirituals' and First-Born Wisdom	200
II.B. Spiritual Combat or Cosmic Warfare?	205
II.C. The Triumph Obtained by Ma'rifat al-'Aql	210
Notes	214
Chapter 6. The Heavenly Anthropic 'Aql.-----	248
I. Seventy-Five Pairs & Tables of Virtues Vices	248
I.A. A Likely Parallel: the <u>Sacra Parallela</u>	249
I.B. Later Parallels (al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī)	253
II. Light and Intercession	261
III. Empowerment by 'Aql	267
Notes	273

Afterword.-----	292
-----------------	-----

Addenda — 303a

Bibliography: I. Arabic	304
II. Non-Arabic	330

PREFACE

An explanation is necessary to understand how this dissertation assumed its present shape after fifteen years. When working on the thought of Ja'far al-Ṣādiq in preparing a Masters Thesis, I was struck by his report on the seventy-five troops of 'Aql and Jahl, sensing that it held one key for unlocking a central aspect of his teaching. At the time I was learning how to swim in the ocean of Shī'ī ḥadīth literature, while studying Islamic theology and philosophy, Ṣūfīsm, Ismā'īlism, as well as Gnosticism. Goldziher's 1908 article "Neoplatonic and Gnostic Elements in Ḥadīth" turned my attention to late Hellenistic thought and its reception in Islam. I took up the topic of 'aql in al-Ṣādiq's teaching as my focus of doctoral study.

As I collected and arranged Twelver Shī'ī reports concerning 'aql, I began to read more widely in Sunnī collections. I found a surprisingly large common ground shared between the two bodies of 'tradition' when it came to the 'aql notions, particularly within the early corpus of non-canonical Sunnī reports and among certain Ṣūfī authors. However much I explored Neoplatonic thought, and the theological and philosophical trends of Classical Islam, the early ḥadīth materials grew increasingly recalcitrant and unintelligible. Everything I wrote missed the mark, and my translations of key terms failed to convey real meaning. Greek 'intellect' did not appear the best way to bring them into focus. I broadened my range of inquiry to explore

linkages or ruptures between pre-Islamic ideas, the Qur'ān, and the ḥadīth; while refreshing my acquaintance with Rabbinic, Patristic, and Zoroastrian teachings relevant to the Islamic 'aql reports of the first two centuries AH (7th & 8th centuries CE).

This finally led me four years ago to a study of the Wisdom speculations known from Biblical writings, the pseudepigraphic literature of the inter-testamental period, certain Hellenistic texts, and Pahlavi literature. At last I could begin to comprehend my ḥadīths when re-reading and re-translating them, and to draw connections and contrasts between seemingly unrelated texts. Doubts assailed me; critical secondary literature was almost devoid of any confirmatory studies. 'How could this have escaped previous critical attention?', I asked myself. This presented a dilemma, since I was often met by incomprehension when pointing to the 'Wisdom dimension' of the 'aql notions. The 'Neoplatonic element' clouded the view.

I deepened my acquaintance with the complex sciences of Muslim ḥadīth criticism (isnād analysis, the riḡāl, & text variants), in order to achieve a measure of precision in assessing discrete reports. This threw much needed light on the reasons for the Sunnī Traditionalist rejection of 'aql reports, eg. their condemnation of the notorious Kitāb al-'Aql by the Iraqi Ṣūfī Dāwūd b. al-Muḡabbar (d.206/821). Yet the literary evolution of wisdom sayings into more complex genres did not easily lend themselves to such rigorous

treatment. The philological hurdles were not any less of a challenge when handling archaic sayings. I hoped that a detailed presentation of the rise of Islamic Wisdom teachings placing 'aql at its center, would clear the view and establish beyond dispute the lost 'Wisdom dimension'.

My manuscript underwent pruning, re-writings and revisions, swelling to an ungainly fourteen chapters of ca. 900pp. including a long methodological introduction and a lengthy appendix. It consisted of three closely interwoven studies: 1) the unfolding and content of Islamic Wisdom (*Hikmah*) during the first two centuries AH; 2) the status of tradition narratives treating the notion of 'aql in the context of early Muslim *Ḥadīth* transmission; and 3) a textual survey of the employment of 'aql attempting to clarify the notions embraced by this term in *Ḥadīth*. It provided objective documentation for the process of linguistic and conceptual transformation of meanings in the employment of the term 'aql found in early Muslim tradition reports.

I had behaved foolishly in disregarding the prime directive enunciated in Islamic Wisdom: to only say as much as will help others understand your meaning, and to know when not to say anything. Who in today's academic world has the leisure or the inclination to read such a dense and complex study? Therefore, I have chosen two chapters from the original manuscript to stand alone, reformatting them with endnotes and inserting appropriate minor additions to replace previous cross-references. A terse summary of the

linguistic employment and range of meanings for the term 'aql in early ḥadīth now forms the introduction.

If this work succeeds at all, then it is largely due to the real help provided by family, friends, and colleagues over many years. Special gratitude is due my advisor Professor Hermann Landolt for his long standing support and careful critique of this work. The same is true of the staff at McGill's Institute of Islamic Studies and its Director, Professor Üner Turgay. Warm thanks goes to Majd & Fayṣal Abū 'Izz al-Dīn, and to Kinza & Philip Schuyler, for their encouragement, as well as Professor Mahmoud Ayoub. Those who assisted in providing necessary materials include Drs. Pierre Cachia, Jeanette Wakin, Azyumardi Azra, Matthew Gordon, as well as Father Isaac Crow and Mulla 'Alī Asghar (London\Najaf). I must thank Dr. George Atiyah (Library of Congress, Washington D.C.) for his extraordinary intervention ensuring access to Ibn Abī l-Dunyā's al-'Aql wa Fadluḥ.

Thanks goes to those who read drafts of parts of my work and offered criticism or linguistic aid, in particular Professors Issa Boullata, Hind Nassif, Mohammed Sawaie, Wen Chin Ouyang, William C. Chittick, A. Kevin Reinhart, Wadād al-Qāḍī, as well as Drs. Basil Samara, Paul Hubers, and Mr. Kamal Boullata. A special debt is owed to the kindness of Professors Etan Kohlberg (Hebrew University) and Josef van Ess (Universitāt Tübingen) for detailed critiques and comments which saved me from a number of errors.

The system of transliteration of Arabic letters employed is that of the Library of Congress, with modifications. The *tā' marbūṭah* is written as soft -ah, or as hard -at in construct. There is no regard for the tongue's elision of the definite article. Nor is any distinction made between the final alif *mamdūdah* and alif *maqṣūrah* (both -ā). Eulogies after the name of the Prophet Muḥammad ("ṣallā llāhu 'alayhi wa sallama") or a prophet and imam ("‘alayhi l-salām") are represented by Ṣ and a.s. respectively. In personal names, *ibn* is normally written as "b.", save for instances where the person is known by his agnate forbears (Yaḥyā b. Ma‘īn, but Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal), or when using a brief form (Ibn al-Mubārak). All quotations from the Qur'ān are primarily based on the translation by Malik Ghulām Farīd, Qur'ān Majīd\The Holy Qur'ān [Lahore 1969], while verse numberings are those of the Khedivial Cairo edition. Biblical citations are taken from The New English Bible [Oxford 1972]. A number of terms are accepted as Anglicisms, including place names (eg. Mecca, Medinah) or words such as Caliph or imam. When employed with a specific connotation relevant to context, certain terms are capitalized and/or bold-letter (eg. Imām, rather than imam).

The signs employed are as follows: for translations —
 () = words intended in the text necessary for meaning;
 [] = reconstructions, or suggested meanings helpful for comprehension, or to insert explanatory comments. A single

Arabic term may be transposed into English by melding two words with an asterisk ('aql 'intelligence*comprehension'), or a notion expressed by use of the back-slash (jahl 'ignorance\folly'). The asterisk * is also used for marking the divisions within poetic verses. In an isnād 'chain of transmission', the ascending links to a higher authority in the chain are indicated by }, eg. Abān b. Abī 'Ayyāsh } Anas b. Mālik } the Prophet. The use of > in references indicates the same text repeated in later sources.

Cross-references are given by chapter & section numbers, eg. ch.3 §II, or by translated report number, eg. ch.2 #15. Since we concentrate on the transformations within one main trajectory of traditions in early Islamic thought, namely the approximately thirty ḥadīth about the creation of al-'aql herein termed the "Aqbil report", these traditions are numbered consecutively throughout the six chapters.

INTRODUCTION

SPECTRUM OF THE NOTION OF al-'AQL IN EARLY ḤADĪTH.¹

The notion of 'aql was complex in the Jāhiliyyah and in early Islam. There exists a host of differing post-Islamic definitions and contradictory pronouncements (qawl, pl. aqwāl), yielding meanings which diverge or overlap. Early Muslim employment may be roughly divided into two groupings. In the first group at least three concurrent usages reflect an archaic stage of employment stemming from Jāhili Arabia. The second grouping covers domains of usage reflecting first and second century AH Islamic employment. Qur'ānic usage bridges the two groupings. Particular meanings may exhibit a continuum of significance, while others are ruptures or oscillate between poles. During the first two centuries AH, certain meanings dwindle or increase.

OLD-ARAB EMPLOYMENT :

ONE. Concrete & material: Centering on 'Restraint & Protection'. 'Aql was traditionally held to be derived from the hobbling cord ('iqāl), ie. the physical act of binding the camel ('aqaltu l-ba'īra); syns. qayyada, ḥabasa, mana'a. The infinitive 'aqlun denotes the bloodwit (diyah): "'aqaltu l-qatīla I gave the bloodwit for the slain man" [or "I

1. Only the chief lines of meaning for the term 'aql are given to clarify the comprehension of our study. Certain labels assigned to particular meanings for 'aql are not very satisfactory. References are absent or kept to an absolute minimum; see the Bibliography (I. Arabic) for full sources.

prevented the slain victim from avenging himself on me or my kin"], & "'aqaltu 'an fulān I gave the bloodwit in his [my kinsman the slayer's] stead"; cf. the institutions of *diyyāt* & 'āqilah in early *fiqh*. This ancient etymological interpretation may not be very relevant to the range of abstract meanings which became common by the second century AH.

An allied meaning appears to be that of 'Ascent', connoting 'high*lofty' (*raf'*): infinitive 'aqlun = inaccessible high peak or mountain fort (*ḥiṣn*; eg. 'Āqīl = Mt. of the Kinda kings in central Najd²); & 'āqīl = ibex (+ his ma'qīl\ 'aql 'refuge*asylum' in a *jabal*). Perhaps supported by the simultaneous emergence of an abstraction of meaning in the sense of 'ideal, eminent, choice, precious': 'aqīlat al-baḥr = pearl; 'aqīlat al-qawm & 'aqīl = chief; 'aqā'ilu l-kalām = excellent speech.

[The following two old-Arab abstract meanings possess dimensions reflecting ancient Near Eastern Wisdom experience. There is a strong likelihood these 'aql-notions already possessed elements of 'moral' significance, ie. the value system exemplified among the Jāhilī Arabs.]

TWO. Abstract: (basically) 'Mind*intelligence', the practical worldly-wisdom & prudent conduct of life affairs involving *tadbīr* 'foresight', and *iṣlāḥ al-māl* 'proper disposition of wealth*property'. This extended to include decorum & sociability (*mudārāt al-nās* & *mujāmalah* 'comely behavior'). A corollary meaning was 'cunning intelligence'

2. G. Olinder, "The Kings of Kinda of the Family of Akil al-Murār," Lunds Universitets Årsskrift NS 1/23/6 (1927).

or skillful-ingenuity (*dahā'*, *zakin*) in the pursuit of self-interest, even involving guile & deceit; and the notion that the 'āqil 'sagacious*intelligent man' does not let himself be deceived in commercial transactions (ie. *ghabn al-‘aql* 'defraudation of intelligence').

This employment is imprecise and shifting. Differing views were expressed on "nature vs. nurture": over the degree to which 'aql is inborn, instinctive & natural (*jib^{il}lah*, *ṭab'*, *sajīyyah*, ...; cf. *fiṭnah* 'native sagacity'), or is acquired & tempered by experience (eg. the old maxim "*al-‘aqlu bi-l-tajārib* 'wisdom*understanding' is gained by repeated trials"). 'Aql is often synonymous or parallel with human apprehending and perceptive functions, being linked with particular bodily organs (brain, heart, ear, tongue). Various dimensions include:

- a. 'consciousness' or sane-reason & right-mind possessed by all mature adults (*bulūgh al-‘aql* 'age of majority'), subject to diminution or increase and waning in old age.; cf. *muṣāb* & *junūn* 'insanity'; & *dhahāb al-‘aql* 'loss of reason*consciousness'; + *ziyādah fī l-‘aql* 'increase in intelligence\sound-mind'.
- b. 'mental-acuity', or sound reasoning and judgement, syns. *ra'y*, *dhakā'*, *faṭīn* (sometimes in the brain); also sound deliberation (*j^{aw}_ādat al-rawiyyah*), and discernment (eg. *khayru l-sharrayn* choosing the best of two evils). This meaning embraces a form of basic 'empirical-logic', eg. *al-iṣābatu bi-l-*

ẓann 'hitting the mark by thoughtful-considering'.

c. 'adamant-mind' or firm resolve & strength of purpose, syns. 'azm & ḥazm; 'uqḍah. This involves the subordination of wayward emotions & desires to one's will, and was thought to be weak in most women (dubbed nāqīṣāt al-'uqūl 'deficient in prudential-mind' to refrain from what allures them).

d. 'nobility of mind-character', as a mark of eminence, thus serving as a parallel or replacement for ḥilm 'forebearing-mind'. It was linked with the 'causes of glorying' (ma'ālī) & chiefly-dignity (su'dad); also associated with outward marks of distinction (eg. fancy appearance/hay'ah, & noblebearing/nubl).

e. 'Aql possessed an important link with 'eloquence', eg. bayān & ẓarf (+ mulah 'witticisms'); cf. the maxim "jamāl al-rijāl fī 'uqūlihim men's beauty lies in their minds". The nexus of tongue + heart (lisān & 'aql\qalb, eg. the ancient maxim "al-mar' bi-aṣgharayhi lisānuhu wa qal-buhu\ma'qūluhu Man comprises his two smallest parts, his tongue and his heart*mind" = the moral of Luqmān's classic wisdom tale), shades off into a corollary usage where 'aql connoted 'ideal-mind*person' (parallel with the notion of al-mar' & murū'ah 'Man-hood'³).

3. That is, murū'ah as a physical quality denoting bodily & material circumstances, and/or as a moral quality connoting 'character' & one's manifestations towards others; see B.Fares, "Murū'a", E.I.² VII 636-8. Thus al-Ṣādiq } Prophet: "man lam yuḥsin waṣiyyatahu 'inda l-mawt kāna naq-ṣan fī murū'atihi wa 'aqlih One who did not properly prepare his will upon his impending death is deficient in his 'body' and 'mind' [ie. physical condition & ideal character]"; Furū' VII 2 #1.

[Cf. the nexus of 'aql with hearing and sight (sam' & baṣar), as when alcohol overcomes or wipes out one's senses and sensible conduct (wine = "khāmara l-'aql"; & al-khamr = "taḥdimu murū'atahu", Furū' VI 243 #1). Also the ḥadīth: "murū'atu l-mu'min\l-rajul 'aqluhu A man's ideal 'mode-of-outward-behavior' lies in his 'ideal mind*character'"; Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, Makārim al-Akhlāq #1; Ibn Hibbān, Rawdat al-'Uḡalā' 229; & B.Fares, E.I.² VII 637a. Or the early qawl: "lā murū'ata li-man lā 'aqla la-hu There is no 'ideal-character' for one without 'comely-behavior'"; imam al-Kāzīm, in Tuḥaf 287.

Compare 'aqīlah 'chaste noble-woman', ie. ideal woman embodying ideals of chastity & fidelity (= nobility & beauty + moral character); cf. J. Chelhod, "al-Mar'a - 2. the Arab woman in customary law and practice", E.I.² VI 475a & 478a).]

This close association of good behaviour + good character, together making up 'intelligence*mind', clearly exhibits the old Wisdom character of this 'aql-notion wherein the rectitude of the wise and their seemly behavior brings worldly and social success.

An important nexus of terms centers on the equivalence of the plurals aḥlām, albāb, 'uqūl (dhawū l-aḥlām\ 'uqūl), where the Heart = 'mind' or inner-person. Al-Shāfi'ī quotes the early maxim: "al-labīb al-'āqil al-faṭīn al-mutaghāfil;" here al-labīb al-'āqil = 'the sensible intelligent person', ie. one of sound sense and good character. The background to this notion is visible in the qawl by the first Umayyad Caliph Mu'āwiyah (probably repeating an old maxim): "al-

'aqlu mikyālun thulthāhu fiṭnah wa thulthuhu taghāful
'Proper-decorum'\good manners is a finite measure, 2/3
sagacity*intelligence and 1/3 purposeful-unmindfulness."

THREE. Heeding*comprehending meaning of speech

(cf. ancient wisdom nexus of tongue & ear + heart).

Exemplified in the hearing-formula (German 'weckruf'):
"Listen and Understand!" (Isma' qawlī wa i'qil 'annī), "Be
Heedful and Bear in Mind!" (Iḥfazū wa 'ū), employed by the
orators, sages, and diviners; syns. fahm, fiqh, ḥifz, sam',
wa'y. This is a less ambiguous more precise signification:
paying attention + grasping meaning. In sapiential contexts
it demands the acceptance of instruction, chastisement, or
exhortation offered by the ḥukamā'/sages ('aql as internal
zājir 'chider, restrainer'; ie. conscience). This entails
applying-acting on the instruction or reproof: to hear is to
obey (sam'an wa ṭā'atan!). Here, 'aql is centered in the
heart and is often linked with alert silence\listening.
Ma'qūl 'mind*understanding' or comprehending faculty of the
whole human person (as a maṣḍar mīmī), was said to be
synonymous for this sense of 'aql, though this was disputed.

4. Taghāful as 'forbearance' in the face of other's
unseemly behavior; here 'aql is aligned with the old-Arab
notion of 'forebearing-mind' (ḥilm) esteemed by the nobility
as a mark of leadership. The meaning of Mu'āwiyah's qawl
finds support in al-Ṣādiq's form of the saying: "ṣalāḥi ḥālī
l-ta'āyush wa l-ta'āshur mil'u mikyālīn thulthāhu fiṭnah wa
thulthuhu taghāful The amelioration*rectitude of the circum-
stances of sociable life and of consorting with one's fel-
lows is a quantity whose measure is..."; Tuhaf 264. Compare
early maxims of the type "muḥāmalatu\mudārātu l-nāsi niṣ-
fu\thulthu l-'aql courteous-amiability towards people is
half\ a third of good manners*decorum."

QUR'ĀNIC EMPLOYMENT :

In certain respects (a.) the Qur'ānic usage bridges the two groupings (old-Arab — post-Islamic); while in other respects (b.) the Qur'ān represents an interruption and re-orientation. The verbal form *ya'qilūna* played an important role in the Qur'ānic arsenal of polemic & persuasion.

(a). Suasion (Two aspects). 1) Condemnation: you obstinately refuse to 'hear\understand'. This applies to the *kāfir* lacking comprehension or adequate intelligence (as beasts are deaf & dumb); and to a scoffing refusal to apply one's intelligence in comprehending revelation, accepting guidance, and changing behavior ("*a-fa-lā ta'qilūna?!*").

2) Approbation: those who 'take heed' and correctly 'cognise', grasp meaning and take it to heart\bear it in mind. This aspect of 'suasion' amplifies and extends old-Arab usage, esp. the hearing-formula. In this sense, the Qur'ān employs *ya'qilūna* in conjunction with key terms (*'ilm*, *sam'* & *baṣar*, *īmān*, *dhikr*, *yaqīn*), which opens out onto its doctrine of :

FOUR. (b). The Divine *Āyāt* 'Signs*Symbols' involving God's providential rule in creation and the demand placed on humans accompanying revelation (ie. the evidentiary role of the *āyāt*; cf. the increasingly important notion of God's *ḥujjah* 'decisive argument' against man). '*Aql* here connotes 'Mind*Understanding', within the perspective of revealed guidance and the religious distinction between this present

worldly life vs. the Hereafter. This aspect clearly represents a rupture with old-Arab employment, and is to be viewed as part of a continuum with Biblicist thought, in particular the 'creation theology' of Wisdom teachings (eg. the prominence of the 'argument from design' in the Qur'ān). Further dimensions of the doctrine of the Āyāt include:

a. The notion of a cognitive elite, the *ulū l-albāb* "intelligent persons, possessors of understanding" (= *dhawū l-'uqūl*, *qawm ya'qilūna*, & *ulū l-abṣār*), properly heeding and responding to (obeying) divinely revealed initiative and guidance. They are distinguished from others by their knowledge, wisdom, and God-mindfulness (*'ilm*, *ḥikmah*, *taqwā*).

b. The existence of a cognitive scale forming a hierarchy of response and of understanding on the part of the faithful (*tafakkur* & *tadabbur* → *'aql* → *dhikr* & *yaqīn*, pondering → comprehending → remembrance & certitude), and privy to knowledge and special grace here and in the Hereafter. Stress is placed on the cognitive dimension of faith (*īmān*).

- [The early Successor & convert from Judaism Ka'b al-Aḥbār termed the Qur'ān to be "*fahmu l-'aqli* the comprehending by the intelligence" (?).² Later second

5. Opaque in meaning; seemingly to be taken as "*al-fahamu fī l-'aqli* the quick-grasping-of-meaning by [taking place in] the intelligence", within the context of God's revelation addressed to humans. This *idāfah* may be variously construed: "comprehension comprising the intelligence", & "comprehending produced by the intelligence". Taking this *idāfah* simply as qualitative & possession ("comprehension possessed by/belonging to *al-'aql*") may align it with the immediately following description in Ka'b's saying of the Qur'ān as *nūru l-ḥikmatī wa yanābī'u l-'ilm*... "the light of wisdom, and the well-springs of knowledge". It is difficult to align *'aql* here alongside of *ḥikmah* & *'ilm* as a quality of God; rather the three terms reflect benefits accruing to humans when they "take upon themselves the Qur'ān"; see al-Muḥāsibī, *Fahm al-Qur'ān* 288; al-Dārimī, *Sunan* II 433-4 #1.

century Iraqi Qadarī reports state that the Qur'ān was "revealed in accordance-with-the-requirements-of [or 'through-the-agency-of'] 'aql (bi-l-'aql)", and that the Prophet was "dispatched bi-l-'aql". Here, 'aql should probably be read as 'wisdom*understanding'.]

Within certain circles, the Qur'ānic employment was immediately succeeded by a deepening process of abstraction and spiritualisation of the spectrum of 'aql-notions, prompted mainly by #3 & #4 and matched by increasing input from extra-Muslim teachings (mainly Biblicist & Iranian).

POST-ISLAMIC EMPLOYMENT :

FIVE. 'Moral Intelligence': involving both good-manners & good-upbringing (murū'ah & adab), as well as the divinely bestowed innate character traits (ḥusn al-khuluq). A defining basis of this 'aql-domain may be characterized as: 'Knowledge - Virtue - Action' (= Being).

This dominating range of meaning had been partly prepared or anticipated within old-Arab usage: specifically in the pronouncements of certain Jāhilī poets and ḥukamā' (eg. Aktham b. Ṣayfī, or the "Luqmān" corpus). It was reinforced by Qur'ānic employment, and massively supported and extended with Biblicist & Near Eastern Wisdom teachings. So this ethical significance represents both a measure of continuity, and a rupture integrating many fresh elements, primarily through the medium of ḥadīth.

a. Early on 'aql had been linked with pre-eminence & glory (karam, ḥasab, su'dad) within the Muslim displacement of old-Arab values. Increasingly, in numerous aqwāl of Successors and Companions, 'aql ceases to be defined in terms

of worldly wisdom or glory, meanings which nevertheless persisted well into the second century. A significant cluster of parallel supporting notions dramatically expand the ethical dimension, being glorified in the "Praise of 'Aql": eg. the basic polarity of 'aql vs. hawā 'appetitive*desire'; "ḥusn al-'aql the goodliness of Mind*character;" and "faḍl al-'aql the surpassing-merit of moral-intelligence."

b. The 'fool' or ignoramus (aḥmaq > jāhil) now became defined by religious-ethical criteria centering on faith, obedience, and the Hereafter. An important dimension is the polarity of kayyis & 'āqil vs. mughtarr & jāhil (dupes of this world pursuing wealth & power), or the morally wise vs. the morally stupid. Lack of 'aql could be viewed as an unfortunate natural shortcoming (al-Bāqir: "lā muṣībata ka-'adam al-'aql", Tuhaf 208), or on a par with sin (al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī: jāhil = munāfiq & fājir).

c. The center-of-gravity of early Islamic ethical teachings was the cultivation of the virtuous character traits (akhlāq, khiṣāl, maḥāsin, faḍā'il). The infinitive 'aql becomes ubiquitous in the sense of an essential inborn trait of human character (aql, ṭab', gharīzah, sajiyyah, jib^{il}lah) infused into the mind by God. In fact, 'aql as a khuluq & khaṣlah was the chief of human traits ("afḍalu mā u'tiya l-insān the best thing given to humans"), and the prime-glory or 'adornment' (zīnah) of the human person. This echoes the ancient motif of Wisdom as a robe of glory, or 'tie\bond' & 'yoke', as well as the sum of virtues.

d. 'Aql was commonly associated in three-numerical sayings in a trio of qualities such as 'modest-diffidence' & 'faith-obedience' (ḥayā' & dīn); or 'lenient-forbearance' & knowledge (ḥilm & 'ilm); or 'abstemiousness' & certainty (wara' & yaqīn); and with certain cardinal virtues including alert silence (ṣamt), moral discrimination\discernment (baṣīrah), renunciation (zuhd), longsuffering (ṣabr), and God-fearingness (khawf)⁶. The intimate nexus with the akhlāq was amplified in decadic Listing of the traits (Islamic decalogues) offering didactic summaries of the virtues in the reformation of character. These lists were expanded to depict 'aql as the chief of the traits ("amīr junūdih commander of his troops") at war with the corresponding evil traits (here 'aql = 'dispassion', vs. jahl, nafs, hawā), offering a basic ethic of purgative psychology.

e. 'Aql early on came to serve as the pivot/quṭb of the individual religious enterprise, namely that expression of Muslim spirituality stressing the personal relationship to God in worshipful ritual and service ('ibādah) and interior disciplines of knowledge-training promoting the reformation of character and integrity of being. Thus the ḥikmah slogan "mā 'ubida llāhu bi-shay'in afḍala min al-'aql\fiqhīn fī dīn God is not worshipped by anything more surpassing than intelligence*understanding (with regard to faith*obedience)"

6. Eg. imam Mūsā al-Kāzīm instructing Hishām b. al-Ḥakam: "lam yakhaf Allāha man lam ya'qil 'an Allāh Whoever does not fear God does not understand-of-God"; *Tuhaf* 286; + Zayn al-'Abidīn's statement, below n.13. Cf. the ancient maxim: "God-fearingness is the 'first-part'\beginning of wisdom (ra'su l-ḥikmah)."

[later countered by the guardians of Tradition in their maxim "mā 'ubida llāhu bi-shay'in afḍala min al-ḥadīth"⁷]. 'Aql as denoting 'Moral Intelligence' actively contributes to faith, certainty, and self-understanding (= "'aql dīnī" - first used by al-Muḥāsibī\al-Anṭākī in K. al-Khalwāh), indicating willingness & alacrity in accepting guidance, warning and self-transforming chastisement, seen as comprising true 'intelligence'.

f. 'Aql is the locus of examination of conscience and self-scrutiny (muḥāsabat al-nafs, the second of the 'Four Moments' of the 'Aql in Wahb b. Munabbih's popular compilation of Hikmat Āl Dāwūd\The Wisdom of the Family of David). It is the primary faculty upon which the salvational outcome of human affairs revolves ("awwalu umūri l-'ibād", "ra'su l-umūr"). By means of 'aql, paradise is attained (al-Ṣādiq: "...mā uktusiba bi-hi l-Jinān"). It functions as man's 'guide' and 'support' or 'overseer' (dalīl, qiyam & qayyim) قیام in his inner religious life, sometimes portrayed at once as the Way, the Goal and the Guide.

g. 'Aql is divinely created and inequitably distributed in allotted shares (qisam, aṣḥum, ḥuḏūz; + the notion of traits as manā'ih 'bestowals', divine gifts). This aspect became extended to indicate a divinely bestowed merit*grace (faḍl, whether this-worldly and/or other-worldly), in particular as the surpassing token of the ethical and cognitive

7. The Kufan tradent al-Wakī' b. al-Jarrāh (d.197/812-3), in al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, Sharaf Aṣḥāb al-Ḥadīth 81 #174.

elite. The widespread notion of surpassingness & dissimilarity in people's 'uqūl (tafḍīl & tafāḍul, tafāwut) represents an early Islamic transformation or mitigation of deeply rooted predestinarian ideas (eg. the unequal or capricious apportioning of arzāq & ājāl). This 'tafḍīlī' motif was developed by Wahb in the 1st century, being subscribed to by both predestinarians and by moderate partisans of qadar (= man's capacity to effect his own acts implicated in determinism vs. voluntarism).⁸ Endowment with 'aql is both a special token of the human condition as well as a responsibility entailing consequences (reward & punishment).

h. A central dynamic continued to be the human response to divine address ('comprehension of meaning').⁹ This lies

8. The focus of debate in first century theological disputes over qadar was "the question of the origin and responsibility for man's evil actions"; J. van Ess, "Early Development of Kalām" 113. Van Ess summarizes early Qadarī teaching, deduced from the rebuttal by al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyyah written ca. 75 AH, as holding that 'aql "reason is therefore given to everybody, as fiṭra, as his nature by which he becomes a priori aware of God's existence and of his own createdness" (*ibid.* 114). See text in Van Ess, Anfänge muslimischer Theologie 35f., + analysis 12f.; + his remarks in "The Beginnings of Islamic Theology" 87f.; & "Qadariyya", E.I.² IV 359a.

9. Eg. the 1st century Successor 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn defined the right due to the seeker-of-counsel (al-mustansīḥ) incumbent on the counsellor (al-nāṣiḥ) to be: "...that you render sincere counsel to him in accordance with the proper manner which you consider to be in his best interest to bear, that you offer (advice) at the appropriate time [or: in an agreeable manner/yukhrīju al-mukhrīja] which is smooth to his ear, and that you address him with speech which his 'aql can endure*sustain/mā yuṭīquhu 'aqluh. For every 'aql there is a category of speech which makes (one's 'aql) to acknowledge, (or) which alienates him (inna li-kulli 'aqlin ṭabaqatan min al-kalāmi yu'arrifuhu [ya'rifuhu?] wa yajtanibuhu). And let your procedure be one of sympathetic understanding/al-rahmah"; Tuhaf 193.

behind the widespread motto "‘aḡala ‘an Allāh comprehending of God", wherein ‘aql represents human intelligence heeding divine guidance through acting in obedience ("man ‘amila bi-ṭā‘ati llāhi"). A fundamental motif involved the weight to be assigned to divine initiative or human initiative in heeding Truth or responding to the call of revelation. This motif experienced a rich elaboration when ‘aql became infused with issues of theological controversy, as displayed by the elaborations of the "Aḡbil! Adbir!" reports on God's creation of ‘aql. The divinely provided endowment of ‘aql functioned as God's 'decisive-argument' (ḥujjat Allāh) against humans in a forensic eschatological context (eg. al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī; & with varying emphasis, al-Bāqir & al-Ṣādiq). Only those possessing heart-cognition truly 'hear & obey', even if they do not exceed others in outward deeds. Here, the divisive issues of qadar, of theodicy, of reward and punishment (ṭhawāb & ‘iqāb), of works and faith, as well as prophetology, were swept up into the enlarging sphere of the ‘aql-notions (eg. the Qadarī formula "man ‘amila bi-ṭā‘ati llāh" = "ma‘ṣiyat Iblīs disobeying the Devil").

SIX. (a wisdom dimension): 'Intelligence*Understanding' (syns. fahm, fiqh, ma‘rifah); also 'Perceptive-Insight'. This range of meanings partially overlaps #4 & #5 above, and leads into #7 below.

The primary focus of this employment was by the ḥukamā' 'mystic-sages' (also ḥulamā', ‘uḡalā' & ‘āqilūn; later awliyā' God's 'Friends') among the early ṣāliḥūn and zuhhād

'ascetic*mystics' (later "ṣūfī", particularly Iraqi); and by the Ḥusaynid 'Alid Imāms of the Shī'ah. These circles constituted the cognitive elite of early Muslim generations, and possessed their own comprehension of knowledge ('ilm & ma'rifah¹⁰) and of praxis ('amal). Often they were at odds with competing trends laying claim to knowledge\authority: the legists (fuqahā'), tradents (aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth), or dogmatic theologians (mutakallimūn).

Fresh themes were introduced through the medium of aqwāl many of which became elevated into prophetic ḥadīth, as well as in more complex genres (teaching-tales, wisdom discourses, & mythic narratives) marked by an intensifying spiritualisation of the 'aql-notions. Not surprisingly, the fresh motifs are largely Biblicist in inspiration (eg. "grains of sand"; 50 gates of understanding; Throne, Angel, & Light); yet Hellenistic and Zoroastrian elements also surface, indicative of the expanding Islamic cultural synthesis. These motifs embrace :

a. 'Aql provides Saving knowledge ('ilm & baṣar; + najāt 'deliverance') of ultimate benefit (naḥ') for human striving (ijtihād). The practise of knowledge benefits one's self as well as others; without it 'ilm can be injurious. 'Aql as Insight and Understanding is simultaneously the guide, the path (al-maḥajjat al-wāḍiḥah), and the goal of the aspirant,

10. Cf. Wahb: the mu'min "...zahada fī kullī fānin fa-stakmala l-'aqla wa raghiba fī kullī shay'in bāqin fa-'aqla l-ma'rifata he forsakes every transitory thing and so perfects the understanding, and he covets every thing of lastingness and thus comprehends true realization"; 'Aql 64-5 #97 > Hilyat IV 68 (better text).

over and above assiduous outward works springing from blind-faith or zealous literalism (al-ṣā'im al-qā'im bi-l-layl).

b. The salvific guiding function of 'aql entails hierarchical levels of attainment of paradisiacal degrees (darajāt, qurbah), matched by an infinite gradation of human endowment ("lā ghāyata la-hu"), or of divine grace (faḍl). One widespread motif was the material distribution of discrete shares of 'aql in varying measures, with Prophets (& Imāms) allotted the weightiest portion. This entails the sanctifying activity of 'aql, linked directly with Divine Wisdom*Intelligence present in creation¹¹, and/or with God's Throne. The identification of the salvific Guide with the Prophet Muḥammad, who received the largest share of 'aql outstripping all previous prophets, was enriched in Shī'ī

11. Thus Wahb b. Munabbih reports that the angel who spoke to 'Uzayr (Ezra) said: "God the Exalted crowned His 'wise rule*government' with 'understanding', and granted it [ie. al-'aql] an adornment and an 'order*rule' (...kallala ḥukmahu bi-l-'aql [ḥukm = Wisdom?, or kallala ḥilmahu bi-l-'aql, supported by several Mss.), wa ja'ala la-hu zīnatan wa nizāman..."); al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī, Sīrat al-Awliyā', ed. Radtke in Drei Schriften 128 S158 lines 8-10. Wahb appears to align 'aql as the surpassing virtue marking the truly obedient in every age, with God's providential rule & wise design (or with God's ḥilm 'Mind'). In Biblicist prophetic-apocalyptic tradition where the theme of the rejection and vindication of God's wisdom is developed in texts such as I Enoch 42, the 'Q' materials, & John 1:1-18, Wisdom has been present since the foundation of the world through its representatives linking all generations. Wisdom sends the prophets and the wise and is in turn vindicated by them, not replacing human agency.

Contrast the theological-rationalist meaning in the question posed of God by 'Uzayr, found in an exegesis ascribed by the 2nd century Imāmī theologian Muḥammad b. Abī 'Umayr to ...} Ibn 'Abbās: "yā rabb innī naẓartu fī jamī'i umūrika wa aḥkāmihā fa-'araftu 'adlaka bi-'aqlī..."; al-Rāwandī, Qīṣaṣ 240 #281.

Imāmology (a'immah = ḥujaj Allāh), becoming subsumed within the Ṣūfī notion of the hierarchy of Saints.

Contrary to Goldziher's influential view (ZA XXII/1908/317f.), the 2nd century Syrian and Iraqi Qadarīs did not construe 'aql in terms of a Neoplatonic 'First Emanation'. For that matter nor did the early Mu'tazilah theologians, with the possible exception of certain ghālī Mu'tazilis touched by extremist Shī'ī currents. Such an employment of 'aql belongs to the 3rd-4th century Falāsifah (al-Kindī, Isaac Israeli, & al-Fārābī), and to popular Neoplatonising circles (Ismā'īlism, the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'). Far more prevalent during the 2nd century was the impact upon 'aql of pre-creation Wisdom (ḥokhmāh & sophia; & Iranian xrad).

Increasingly significant during the 2nd century is :

SEVEN. Spiritual*Noetic¹² : 'Mind' or 'cognitive prehension', involving the instinctive, affective, and intellectual parts of the whole human person yet not confined to them, being greater than the sum of their parts.

A relatively early formulation is found in the notion of 'aql as "a Light in the Heart nūrun fī l-qalb" discerning truth from falsehood\vanity (+ cf. Q al-Ḥajj 22:46). 'Aql is also "a lamp (sirāj) in the midst of the body", and is depicted as man's "illuminator mubṣiruhu". The most meaningful precedent appears to be the Patristic-ascetic

12. Perhaps Gk. *nepsis* 'attentiveness*watchfulness', 'conscious-awareness', or 'mindfulness', offers a more adequate concept for what is intended here: 'Spiritual*Neptic', more rarified than the density of reason or 'thought', & conveyed partly by 'intellect' (*noús*).

teaching on *noús* as the luminous "eye of the heart*soul" linked with *theoria* 'vision' (yet cf. Persian *cašm ī jān*, the organ for vision of *mēnōg* 'invisible-spirit' as the supreme religious achievement). This discloses an illuminative cognition (*ma'rifah*) arising where divine and human volition intersect. This light-motif allied with an 'anthropic' aspect represents a burgeoning trajectory fruitful for later spiritual teachings.

**

The sixth imam of the *Shī'ah*, *Ja'far al-Šādiq* (d.148/765), inherited all of the above domains of 'aql-notions, and assisted in propelling the *ḥikmah*-employment of 'aql beyond dogmatic theological issues into the sphere of purgative mysticism centered on the ethical traits and the redirection of the passions. *Al-Šādiq* discriminates between two basic aspects of *al-khuluq* 'innate trait', one being intentional (*niyyah*) and the other inborn (*sajjiyyah*), with *niyyah* surpassing *sajjiyyah* since it entails going against one's given nature¹³ and intentional suffering.

13. "...The *ṣāhib al-sajjiyyah* is naturally disposed towards a 'course-of-behaviour' (*majbūlun 'alā amrin*) which he is incapable of doing otherwise; while the *ṣāhib al-niyyah* constrains himself to patiently suffer obedience (*yataṣabbara 'alā l-tā'ati taṣabburan*), and this is more surpassing"; *Tuhaf* 275.

Cf. the description by his grandfather *Zayn al-'Ābidīn* of the 'aql resisting the desire to eat his fill (*qaswat al-biṭnah & sukr al-shab'*) and training his self by hunger, as a race horse is conditioned by being underfed for forty days (*taḍmīr al-khayl*) enabling it to outstrip others: "...anna l-'aql 'an Allāh al-khā'if min-hu al-'āmil la-hu la-yumarrinu nafsahu wa yu'awwiduhā l-jū'a ḥattā mā tashtāqa ilā l-shab', wa kadhālika tuḍammiru l-khayl li-sibāqi l-rihān"; *ibid.* 196.

His transformation of the *Aqbil* report on the creation, opposition, and empowerment of 'Aql & Jahl (intelligence & ignorance, or wisdom & folly) brings into intimate relation with 'aql the complex of ideas on *ma'rifah*, Light and Throne, prophetology, and most significantly the Adam-Iblīs myth.¹⁴ Integration of this anthroposophic dimension within the 'aql creation-narrative inaugurates a trajectory with significant ramifications for later teachings (eg. the 3rd century *Ṣūfī al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī*). The profoundly self-reflective anthropological character of Ja'far's wisdom teaching extends from the individual to the organization of the community, and emphasizes the multiple functions of the 'Imām of Guidance'.

In other materials assigned to al-*Ṣādiq*, 'aql is aligned with spirit (*rūḥ*) in the synergy of divine and human energies, as in the notion of 'divine support' (*ta'yīd al-'aql*). This buttressing of human 'aql facilitates access to a higher faculty of 'enlightened Mind*consciousness' in a process of co-operation with divine intelligence (cf. the 'Omni-Intelligence' al-'aql al-akbar of al-*Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī*). The purification of one's cognition brings in its train a pentad of higher perceptive faculties.

14. In the Iraqi *Ṣūfī* conventicle on 'Abbādān island in the *Shaṭṭ al-'Arab* founded by pupils of al-*Ḥasan al-Baṣrī* around the mid-2nd century, 'aql was aligned with *ma'ṣiyat Iblīs* and with Throne light (eg. reports in *Dāwūd b. al-Muḥabbar's Kitāb al-'Aql*). Yet its explicit and central identification with Adam in the Throne-realm appears to be original with Ja'far, being consonant with major facets of early *Shī'ī* religious thought as enunciated within circles around imams al-*Bāqir* and al-*Ṣādiq*.

The most rich and significant early Muslim employment of 'aql to connote "noús" — not construed as 'reason' or 'intelligence' (*logiki & dianoia; ratio*), but rather with a sense cultivated by Monastic spirituality in Greek and Syriac, as well as in Oriental Hellenistic mysticism, namely 'Mind' or 'conscious-awareness' [= 'cognitive prehension'] — appears to be that by Ja'far al-Ṣādiq.

ABBREVIATIONS

(Full particulars are found in the Bibliography.)

- 'Aql = Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, al-'Aql wa Fadluh, ed. M.S. Ibrāhīm.
Concordance = A.J. Wensinck, et.al., Concordance et indices de la tradition Musulmane.
E.I.² = The Encyclopaedia of Islam New Ed., Leiden, 1960- .
E.Ir. = Encyclopaedia Iranica, ed. Ehsan Yarshater.
F.Nadīm = Ibn al-Nadīm, al-Fihrist, ed. Riḍā Tajaddud.
F.Ṭūsī = Abū Ja'far al-Ṭūsī, al-Fihrist.
Furū' = al-Kulaynī, al-Furū' min al-Kāfī, ed. al-Ghaffārī.
GAL = C. Brockelmann, Geschichte des arabischen Litteratur.
GAS = F. Sezgin, Geschichte des arabischen Schriftums.
Hilyat = Abū Nu'aym al-Iṣbahānī, Hilyat al-Awliyā'.
Huffāz = al-Dhahabī, Tadhkirat al-Huffāz, 4th ed.
'Ilal = Ibn Bābawayh al-Ṣadūq, 'Ilal al-Sharā'i'.
I'tizāl = Abū al-Qāsim al-Balkhī, al-Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār, & al-Hākim al-Jushamī, Faḍl al-I'tizāl wa Tabaqāt al-Mu'tazilah.
Jarh = Ibn Abī Ḥatim al-Rāzī, al-Jarh wa al-Ta'dīl, I-IX.
Kāmil = 'AbdAllāh Ibn 'Adiy, al-Kāmil fī Du'afā' al-Rijāl.
Lexicon = E.W. Lane, An Arabic-English Lexicon.
Mahāsin = Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Barqī, al-Mahāsin.
Majrūhīn = Ibn Hibbān al-Bustī, Kitāb al-Majrūhīn.
Maṭālib = Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalānī, al-Maṭālib al-'Aliyyah.
Mizān = al-Dhahabī, Mizān al-I'tidāl.
R.Kishshī = al-Kishshī al-Ṭūsī, Ikhtiyār Ma'rifat al-Rijāl.
R.Najāshī = al-Najāshī, al-Rijāl.
R.Ṭūsī = Abū Ja'far al-Ṭūsī, al-Rijāl.
Sifat = Ibn al-Jawzī, Sifat al-Safwah, 2nd ed.
SEI = The Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam.
Tahdhīb = Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalānī, Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb.
Tanqīh = al-Māmaqānī, Tanqīh al-Maqāl fī 'Ilm al-Rijāl.
Tawhīd = Ibn Bābawayh al-Ṣadūq, Kitāb al-Tawhīd.
Tanzīh = Ibn 'Arrāq al-Kinānī, Tanzīh al-Sharī'ah al-Marfū'ah.
T.Baghdād = al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, Ta'rīkh Baghdād.
Theologie = Josef van Ess, Theologie und Gesellschaft.
Thiqāt = Ibn Hibbān al-Bustī, Kitāb al-Thiqāt.
Tradition = G.H.A. Juynboll, Muslim Tradition.
Tuḥaf = Ibn Shu'bah al-Harrānī, Tuḥaf al-'Uqūl.
Usūl = al-Kulaynī, al-Usūl min al-Kāfī, ed. al-Ghaffārī.
Zwischen = J. van Ess, Zwischen Hadīt und Theologie.

FOR LAURE AND RALPH

WITH GRATITUDE

(Ja'far al-Ṣādiq): The Messenger of God ﷺ never spoke to mankind with the utmost degree of his understanding (bi-kunhi 'aqlih); but then the Messenger of God ﷺ said,

"We, the Company of the Prophets,
were bidden to speak to people
according to their measure of understanding
(‘alā qadri ‘uqūlihim)."

— Uṣūl I 23 #15 (cf. Maḥāsin 195 #17).

"Perplexity is the cause of research
al-ḥayrah ‘illatu l-baḥth."

— Shiblī Shumayyil

PART I

THE CREATION OF al-'AQL.

1. The Creation Of al-'Aql (Texts).
2. Salient Motifs.
3. 'Aql As First Creation.
4. Light And al-'Aql.

Chapter 1

THE CREATION OF AL-‘AQL (TEXTS)

And if God had known any good in them, He would certainly have made them to understand/la-asma‘ahum; and if He (now) makes them heed/law asma‘ahum, they will turn away in aversion. Q al-Anfāl 8:23.

Undoubtedly the most influential yet controversial ‘aql report in Islamic tradition is the "Aqbil! Adbir! Come forward! Go back!" (or "Turn forward & Turn back", "Face forward & Face back")¹ report depicting God's creation and testing of ‘aql. Since this report aroused deep felt and widely varying reactions among Muslims both in the past and the present, and due to the confusing assessment of it by Occidental scholars, the earliest transmitted versions known to us shall be examined in some detail. In the first section of his article published in 1908, Ignaz Goldziher (1850-1921) pointed to the importance which one form of this report assumed for esoteric and Hellenistic philosophically-tinged movements in Islamic thought.² The Hungarian savant quoted this report in a version often found in later Islamic literature: "Awwalu mā khalāqa llāhu l-‘aqlu The first (thing) God created is al-‘aql".³ He awarded this form priority as the primitive or 'original' text ("seiner ursprünglichen Form"), treating as secondary the widely

attested verbal proposition: "Lammā khalāqa llāhu l-‘aqla
When God had created al-‘aql",⁴ which he deemed to be an
attempt by orthodox critics to disguise or mitigate the
original form.⁵

Interpreting the meaning of the "Awwalu mā khalāqa"
form, and similar early reports, Goldziher observed :

"One can not doubt that this saying stands under the
influence of the notion of the 'Universal Intellect'
(Weltintellekt) as the first intellectual substance
emanating from the divine essence." (319, & cf. 318)

By translating ‘aql in this report as "intellect", Goldziher
placed it within the ambience of Neoplatonic teachings which
were received and propagated by so-called "free-thinkers",
the Ikhwān al-ṣafā', the Ismā‘īliyyah, and ṣūfīs, who
imported their Plotinian construction into Islam (320:
"ihren Islam plotinistisch konstruierten"). Yet he took
care to note that the origin of this report was not actually
derived from these circles, without offering a specific
provenance or route through which this Plotinian notion
infiltrated into early Islam.

A fundamental consideration which persuaded Goldziher
and those following him to equate ‘aql = 'intellect' in this
report was its perceived incompatibility with the Qur'ānic
creation accounts wherein ‘aql plays no direct role, and its
being seen as out of harmony with prevailing Islamic teach-

ings of the early period.⁶ A decade before Goldziher, Isaac Eisenberg had suggested viewing a similar report in sapiential perspective against the background of Biblical Wisdom teachings, specifically Jewish mystical *Ḥokhmāh* speculations.⁷ Both interpretations have merit with respect to the form "*ʿAwwalu mā khalāqa*", yet Goldziher's 'neoplatonic element' has been more widely invoked over the course of this century than Eisenberg's thesis.⁸ Nevertheless, one is continually confronted with a certain uneasy vagueness or hesitancy⁹ when scholars seek to translate or interpret the term *ʿaql* in this and similar reports.

SI. THE *AQBIL! ADBIR!* REPORT

By examining the early *riwāyāt* and *mutūn* of this report culled from *Sunnī* and *Shīʿī* literature, it will become evident that the earlier form(s) all agree without exception on the verbal proposition: *Lammā khalāqa llāhu l-ʿaqla*. Furthermore, a persuasive case may be made that its meaning is quite in harmony with the modes of thought and expression prevailing around the turn of the 1st\2nd century AH, as well as with the religious and speculative concerns of that era. While the details of its elaboration and continuing adaptation over the course of the second century are intricate and often ambiguous, the basic outlines of its development can be sketched with fair probability. In order to

grasp these developments one must delve into the technicalities of ḥadīth transmission in early Islam.

Anticipating our results, this 'aql report is properly to be seen as the meditation of circles around key first century Successors — notably Kurayb mawlā Ibn 'Abbās (Medinah), al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (Medinah & Baṣrah), and Muḥammad al-Bāqir (Medinah & Kūfah). Its ascription to the Prophet is extremely improbable, technically a 'lie' (kaḏhib) or a falsified ascription (mawḏū') in the terminology of the traditionist critics. Very little can be said about its alleged attribution to certain Companions, other than their symbolic function of legitimation. Nevertheless, a definite link to the late first century Ḥijāz is not to be dismissed. It is both possible and plausible that the early form(s) of this report reworked several archaic 'aql sayings of the wisdom type (ḥikam) reflecting old-Arab, Qur'ānic, and Biblicist elements.

Early second century Syrian and Iraqi circles received it and 'improved' it, adapting it to their own contemporary concerns. The most significant enrichments of meaning were accomplished by Basran ascetics (ṣālīḥūn, zuhhād), many of whom upheld a moderate form of the qadar doctrine, and particularly by Kufan Shī'ī partisans of the Ḥusaynid 'Alid imams al-Bāqir, al-Ṣādiq, and al-Kāzim, many of whom held a mitigated form of predestinarian teaching. In the late sec-

ond century a group of Damascene Murji'ī tradents combined it with a rival teaching about al-qalam 'the Pen' as first creation. In the opening decades of the third century certain radical Mu'tazilī exponents in Baghdad adapted it in support of their extravagant doctrines; while it continued to be invoked by the important Baghdadi Ṣūfī al-Muḥāsibī (who opposed the Mu'tazilah) and the Central Asian master al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī. The nominal form "Awwalu mā khalaqa" can not be earlier than the mid-third century (below ch.3). Finally, imputing a Greek Neoplatonic emanationist meaning to 'aql in the second century forms of this report is unfounded. Rather, the creation of 'aql should be placed in the context of pre-creation Wisdom in the Throne realm.

Before turning to the texts themselves, it will assist the reader's comprehension of meaning if we sketch the structure of the report(s). Almost all the versions quoted below are consistent in having four parts. 1) The 'setting' consisting of the temporal clause "When God had created al-'aql", with no mention of 'aql as first creation. 2) God's 'testing' of 'aql by commanding him to face forward and face back (the iqbāl & idbār of 'aql). 3) The 'encomium' of 'aql consisting of God's swearing an oath ("By My Power!") and eulogizing 'aql as the most cherished and worthiest of created things to Him. 4) God's 'listing' the reasons why 'aql is worthy of His high praise, normally a peroration

comprising pairs of complementary or opposing traits characterizing 'aql's function within humans and between man and God. Of these four parts, the first and third display the least variability amongst the several versions to be examined, while the second and fourth contain the widest alternatives or differences, pointing to the differing intent of the adaptors. (Yet in later re-workings of this report, it is the 'setting' and sometimes the 'encomium' which exhibit the greatest transformation; see Part II below.) The following list of versions is not meant to imply any definite priority in chronology. For the most part the underlying principle determining the order of presentation is the movement from simplicity to complexity in textual details. In keeping with the explicit personification of 'aql in the report(s), we translate the pronominal suffixes *hu* & *ka* as 'him' and 'thee'. After presenting the successive versions, the significance of their chief features shall be reviewed (ch.2).

SI A. SUNNĪ TRANSMISSION

#1) 'AbdAllāh b. Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal (d.290/903), in the *zawā'id* to his father's Kitāb al-Zuhd, ed. M. Jalāl Sharaf [Alexandria 1984] II 300.

IGNĀD 'Alī b. Muslim al-Ṭūsī¹⁰ (d.253/867) } Sayyār b. Ḥātim al-'Anazī¹¹ (d.199 or 200/815) } Ja'far b. Sulaymān

al-Duba'ī¹² (d.178/794-5) } Mālik b. Dīnār¹³ (d. 127/745)

} al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d.110/729) } marfū' :

Lammā khalāqa llāhu l-‘aqla qāla la-hu "aqbil!"
fa-aqbala, thumma qāla la-hu "adbir!" fa-adbara,
fa-qāla "mā khalāqtu khalqan¹⁴ aḥabba ilayya min-ka,
bi-ka ākhudhu wa bi-ka u‘ṭī."

When God had created intelligence, He said to him,
"Come forward!" so he drew near. Then He said to him,
"Go back!" so he retreated. (God) said, "I did not
create 'a creature' dearer to Me than thee. By means
of thee I receive, and by means of thee I bestow."

COMMENTS A Baghdadi-Basran riwāyah of ascetic-Qadarī
provenance, seemingly a qawl of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī 'raised'
to the Prophet, though possibly showing the touch of the
ascetic qāṣṣ Mālik b. Dīnār. Both Mālik and his disciple
the Shī‘ī zāhid Ja‘far b. Sulaymān, were known to hold
Qadarī views. This form is quite close to a primitive ver-
sion. The 'encomium' is lacking any divine oath of approba-
tion. God's praise of ‘aql ("I created no creature dearer
to Me than thee") may have been in circulation early on as a
separate saying or prophetic ḥadīth.¹⁵ This praise appears
to echo a popular wisdom saying extolling the merit of
'innate intelligence*wisdom' of the "faḍlu l-‘aql" type
assigned to the premier pre-Islamic sage Luqmān, or repeated
by a number of early authorities:

"God is not worshipped by anything more
surpassing than al-‘aql."¹⁶

Several later Sunnī critics referred to this particular *riwāyah* of the *Aqbill* report in support of their view that it had validity, despite being *mursal*.¹⁷ This minority position keeps on reappearing over the centuries of intense critical debate on the 'correctness' of this report's attribution to the Prophet.

The final sentence or short form of the 'listing' is problematic depending on how one construes the preposition *bi-*, with the pair of transitive verbs *ākhudhu* & *u'tī* (1st Sgl. with God as subject). The problem centers on the unstated object of these verbs, since *bi-* is used with a transitive verb to specify the relation between the act and its omitted proper object; or figurately, 'aql as the object through\by means of which God realizes the act. A casual reading glides over the complexities buried in this brief sentence, or imputes unfounded meaning.¹⁸ Our rendering "by means of thee I receive, and by means of thee I bestow", takes *bi-* as indicating agency or instrumentality, ie. God's employing 'aql as an aid or instrument.¹⁹ The implied meaning is:

a. <Through the agency of a person's 'aql God receives man's obedience\accepts his deeds; and in accordance with the degree of a person's 'aql God grants recompense for man's obedience\good works [or: bestows surpassing rank and 'grace' in the Hereafter].>

This interpretation is partly based on the linguistic data and the Qur'ānic employment of the verbs *akhadha* and *a'tā*,²⁰ as well as what is known about al-Ḥasan's thought (see H. Ritter, Der Islam XXI 1-83; M. Schwarz, Oriens XX 15-30; van Ess, Theologie II 48-50). One is reminded of the *qawl* by Mu'āwiyah b. Qurrah al-Muzanī (d.113/731) that: "people perform good (deeds), however they receive their recompense on Resurrection Day in proportion to the measure of their intelligence/...*yu'tawnū ujūrahum yawma l-qiyāmati 'alā qadri 'uqūlihī*".²¹ Mu'āwiyah's saying admits the relevance of innate inequities (*tafḍīl* or *tafāḍul*) with respect to discrete dissimilarities in human 'aql, reflecting first century views on the divine parcelling out of the 'uqūl.

It must be pointed out that other meanings for "*bi-ka ākhudhu wa bi-ka u'tī*" are possible. We mention several with little comment so as not to distract the reader with Arabic minutia. They are to be borne in mind when comprehending the successive versions of the report.

b. reason or cause, *li-l-ta'līl*: <On thy account I punish or censure²² (men for their sins\disobedience); on thy account I grant (remission for sin, or bestow reward for obedience).>

c. measure, 'to the amount of': <According to thy measure*amount I take away*remove (men's fortune in this world, or grace in the Hereafter); by the amount of thy measure I bestow (*faḍl* upon men in worldly fortune, or otherworldly degree).>

This latter meaning requires a predestinarian reading of the report (cf. *akhdhun* 'seizure, removal'), or at least a "*tafḍīlī*" sense: God 'takes away' or withholds the natural endowment of 'aql from some while providing it in abundance to others, thus determining human fortune or virtue. This interpretation has much to commend it, and is in tune with widespread first century AH notions.

It may be said that God's giving and taking in *ākhudhu* & *u'tī*, however the unstated objects are construed, involves either recompense in the Hereafter²³ for qualities or works initiated by 'aql on his own; or a this-worldly and other-worldly bestowal on account of something due to divine initiative (predestination). Thus the meaning we construe to be al-Ḥasan's or Mālik b. Dīnār's (above a) might have signalled a departure from an originally more predestinarian intent.

Critics noted that an almost identical version as a *qawl* of al-Ḥasan was included by al-Bayhaqī (d.458/1066) in his Shu'ab al-Imān [not seen; quoted in La'ālī I 129-30], via Ibn 'Adiy, on the *isnād*:

... the Basran Qadarī 'UbaydAllāh b. Muḥammad b. Ḥafṣ al-'Ā'ishī²⁴ (=Ibn 'Ā'ishah, d.228/842-3) } the Basran qāṣṣ & Qadarī zāhid ṣāliḥ al-Murri²⁵ (d.172/788-9 or 176/792-3) } al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī.

Al-Bayhaqī's version included an extra element in the 'listing' that highlights its Qadarī intent: "*innī bi-ka u'badu*

wa bi-ka u'rafu by means of thee am I worshipped, and by means of thee am I known" (see below reports #6 - #8).²⁶

#2) Ibn Abī l-Dunyā (d.281/894), 'Aql 31-2 #15.

²⁶ENAD Muḥammad b. Bakkār²⁷ al-Ruṣāfī (d.238/852-3) }
'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Abī l-Zinād²⁸ (d.174/790) } Muḥammad b.
'Uqbah²⁹ } Kurayb b. Abī Muslim³⁰ (d.98/716-7) :

Lammā khalāqa llāhu l-'aqla When God had created al-'aql, He said to him, "Come forward!" so he drew near. Then He said to him, "Go back!" so he retreated. (God) said, saying (this) knowing best about (al-'aql)³¹, "By My Power and My Majesty! I shall not place you/lā aj'aluka save in one whom I love, and I did not create a thing/shay'an³² dearer to Me than thee!"

COMMENTS A Baghdadi-Medinese riwāyah presented as a qawl of Kurayb mawlā Ibn 'Abbās; deemed by van Ess (Zwischen 122, & Theologie II 170) as perhaps the oldest form of the report(s). This version has some unique features: the 'encomium' and 'listing' are merged; 'aql is referred to as a shay' 'thing'; and God is a 'lamu bi-l-'aqli.

What is the significance of God being the one best acquainted with al-'aql? Qur'ānic usage shows that the expression a'lamu bi- predicated of God covers: i) what men hide or conceal within themselves — Q 3:167, 5:61, 11:31, 29:10; ii) the actuality of men's faith — 4:25, 60:10; iii) what men do*work — 22:68, 26:188, 39:70; and iv) who is unjust\corrupt or led astray vs. who is rightly

guided — 6:58 & 117, 28:56 & 85, 17:25 & 84, 53:30. If this is the proper context against which to comprehend this expression, then we may construe its meaning as revolving around God's awarding the surpassing 'merit' or 'grace' (*faḍl*) of al-ʿaql to humans, giving it only to those He favors,³³ in the same way He gives his 'grace' to whomever He wishes.³⁴ God's ʿilm is thus His determining fore-knowledge of future events. The predestinarian message of this report points to the theme of divine apportioning of the created 'measures' of ʿaql. Thus, God knows best who received an abundant share of ʿaql and who was denied such a share, namely who shall be saved and who damned.

If this indeed represents the most archaic recoverable form of the *Aqbil!* report, then it may have started its existence enunciating the old Arab notion of the predestined lots of human intelligence in an Islamic religious context. On the other hand, was it a response to an earlier voluntarist form (+ see report #4) intended to counter its employment by Qadarī exponents?

#3) Al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī (d.295/907...310/922),
Maʿrifat al-Asrār, ed. Juyūshī [Cairo 1977] 38 (no isnād) :

...anna llāha ʿAzza wa Jalla lammā khalāqa l-ʿaqla God
Mighty and Majestic, when He had created al-ʿaql, He
said to him, "Come forward!" so he drew near. Then He
said to him, "Go back!" so he retreated. Then God the
Exalted said, "I did not create a creature dearer to Me

than thee. On thy account I reward/bi-ka uthību, and on thy account I punish/wa bi-ka u'āqibu.³⁵ And thee I blame/wa 'alayka u'ātibu.³⁶ To whomever I bestow thee, I thereby honor him; and from whomever I deprive thee, I thereby curse him."³⁷

COMMENTS Since al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī is quoting this report without isnād, his wording "...wa dhālika anna llāha...lammā khalaqa" reflects the original, "Lammā khalaqa llāhu l-'aqla".³⁸ The 'listing' contains a significant element: "thee I blame," or "according to your standard do I blame/u'ātibu." God's displeasure or friendly anger is directed towards al-'aql, reproving him for blameworthy conduct while desiring him to return to what will please God.³⁹ The final sentence is reminiscent of report #2. God's honoring the one gifted with 'aql ("man aḥdaytuka ilayhi akramtuhu"), and His cursing the one deprived of it, clearly suggests a predestinarian meaning (fortunate vs. unfortunate). Yet the fact that 'aql bears the blame for man's recompense in the Hereafter (reward & punishment) suggests a complementary emphasis on a voluntarist meaning of human moral responsibility. The conjunction of both ideas is compatible with "tafḍīlī" notions of the inequitable distribution of the 'uqūl.

#4) Abū l-Faraj 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Jawzī⁴⁰
(d.597/1201), Akhbār al-Adhkiyā' 7; and Dhamm al-Hawā 8 :

ISNĀD ... Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm⁴¹ } al-Haytham b.
 'Adiy⁴² (d.206/821) } Sulaymān b. Mihrān al-A'mash⁴³
 (d.148/765) } 'Amr b. Murrah al-Jamalī al-Murādī⁴⁴
 (d.116/734 - 120/738) } 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Sābiṭ⁴⁵
 (d.118/736) } 'AbdAllāh Ibn 'Abbās (d.68/687 - 70/689) :

Lammā khalaqa llāhu l-'aqla When God had created al-'aql, He said to him, "Go back!" so he retreated. Then He said to him, "Come forward!" so he drew near. (God) said, "By My Power! I never created any creature better than thee/*mā khalaqtu khalqan qaṭṭu aḥsana min-ka*. According to thy measure do I bestow, and according to thy measure do I take away,⁴⁶ and on thy account I punish/*bi-ka u'āqibu*."

COMMENTS A Kufan-Meccan isnād of predestinarian and Murji'ī intent, originating within the Meccan circle of pupils of Ibn 'Abbās of the late first century. The fact that the avid Ḥanbalī scholar Ibn al-Jawzī chose to quote this particular version in his moralizing and didactic works is noteworthy, since one of his missions in life was to purify the body of ḥadīth from falsities and weak reports.⁴⁷ Besides his *Dhamm*⁴⁸ and *Adhkiyā'*, he treated the subject of *faḍl al-'aql* at length in his *Minhāj al-Qāsidīn*.⁴⁹ He quotes this (*Adhkiyā'* 7) after a report that God first created the Pen.⁵⁰ His isnād for our report was rarely commented on by critics.

The fact that the *idbār* comes first might be significant,⁵¹ also the reversal "*bi-ka u'ṭī wa bi-ka ākhudhu*".

This perhaps reflects a re-working of the text performed for polemical purposes, since it is known that Kufan-Ḥijāzī predestinarian circles related anti-Qadarī reports. This consideration shapes our translation. The final phrase "bi-ka u'āqibu" may be understood in various ways (eg. "In proportion to thee I punish").

#5.a) Sulaymān b. Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī (d.360/971), al-Mu'jam al-Kabīr [Baghdad 1980-4; 2nd pr. Mawṣil 1985] VIII 283 #8086; & his al-Mu'jam al-Awsat;²² also in al-Muttaqī al-Hindī, Kanz al-'Ummāl III 220 #1931 :

ISNĀD ... Al-Walīd b. Shujā' al-Sakūnī²³ (d.243/857-8)
 } Sa'īd b. al-Faḍl al-Qurashī²⁴ } 'Umar b. Abī Šālih²⁵ al-
 'Atakī } "Abū Ghālīb"²⁶ [= Khazawwar] } Abū Umāmah al-
 Bāhalī (d. ca. 81/700) } marfū' :

Lammā khalāqa llāhu l-'aqla When God had created al-'aql, He said to him, "Come forward!" so he drew near. Then He said to him, "Go back!" so he retreated. Then He said, "By My Power! I did not create a creature more pleasing/a'jaba to Me than thee. By means of thee I receive, and by means of thee I bestow. The reward is thine/la-ka l-thawāb²⁷, and the penalty is against thee/wa 'alayka l-'iqāb."

COMMENTS A Baghdadi-Kufan-Syrian-Basran riwāyah, this problematic isnād was dismissed by critics; Mawḍū'āt I 175, & La'ālī I 129 — both relying on al-'Uqaylī, Du'afā', tarjamah of 'Umar b. Abī Šālih: "lā yutāba'u 'alā ḥadīthih wa

lā yathbutu fī hādha l-matni shay'un fa-huwa mawḍū'." Yet the text is close to an early form. The final sentence seemingly shifts the intent towards a voluntarist stance, with 'aql being held responsible for human merit or demerit in the Hereafter; ie. <"You earn the reward, and you suffer the penalty">. However, this may be reading too much into the text. In keeping with the signification of the iqbāl & idbār of the personified 'aql as obedience (adherence & avoidance), here li- may signify advantage rather than mere possession, opposed to 'alā indicating injury.²⁰ Thus, "la-ka al-thawāb wa 'alayka al-'iqāb" may simply be rendered: <"The reward is to your credit, and the penalty discredits you">. This may also apply to the following three versions.

Al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī in his al-Akyās wa l-Muḡhtarrīn (ed. al-Sā'ih as Tabā'i' al-Nufūs, on 24 - no isnād) gives a version which combines elements of al-Ṭabarānī's #5.a, with "thee I blame" (#3 above):

#5.b) ...fa-inna llāha Tabāraka wa Ta'ālā khalaqa l-'aqla fa-qāla la-hu, fī-mā ruwiya 'anhu [ya'nī 'an al-Nabi]: "aqbil!" fa-aqbala thumma qāla la-hu "adbir!" fa-adbara, fa-qāla, "wa 'izzatī mā khalaqtu khalqan aḥabba ilayya min-ka, fa-bi-ka ākḥudhu wa bi-ka u'ṭī, wa iyyāka u'ātibu, wa la-ka l-thawābu wa 'alayka l-'iqāb."²¹

Al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī quotes this in the context of treating the prohibition of alcoholic drink (hādha l-sharābi lladhī

yudhhibu l-'uqūl), explaining that God confers al-dhihn (worldly 'mind') to ordinary men, whereas He grants al-'aql (religious 'mind') to those who truly confess God's Unity enabling them to discriminate good practices from evil ones ("bi-l-'aqli yumayyizu l-muwaḥḥidūna min al-maḥāsin wa l-masāwi").

#6) Ibn Tāwūs, al-Malāḥim wa l-Fitan [Najaf 1972, rpr. Beirut] 105, quoting the Kitāb al-Fitan of Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Salīlī (b. Aḥmad b. 'Īsā b. al-Shaykh al-Ḥasā'ī\Ḥassānī)^{eo}.

... 'Abd al-A'lā b. Ḥammād al-Narsī^{ea} (d.237/851-2) } Ḥammād b. Salamah^{ez} (d.167/783-4) } al-Ḥajjāj b. Artāt al-Nakhā'ī^{eo} (d.145/762) } Abū l-'Abbās al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Abī Mālik al-Hamdānī^{ea} (d.125/743 or 127/745) } Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Qāsim b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān^{eo} (d.112/730) } Abū Umāmah al-Bāhalī } marfū' :

Lammā khalaqa llāhu l-'aqla When God had created al-'aql, He said to him, "Go back!" so he retreated. Then He said to him, "Come forward!" so he drew near. Then God Blessed and Exalted said, "I did not create a creature dearer to Me than thee, nor more esteemed by Me/akrama 'alayya than thee. By means of thee I receive, and by means of thee I bestow. And by means of thee am I known/bi-ka u'rafu. The reward is thine and the penalty is against thee."

COMMENTS A Basran-Kufan-Damascene riwāyah of Syrian Qadarī provenance, probably imported into Iraq either by al-Walīd Ibn Abī Mālik or by al-Ḥajjāj. The chief features of inter-

est are the *idbār* preceding the *iqbāl* in the 'testing' of 'aql (cf. #4), and the inclusion of the phrase "wa bi-ka u'rafu" in the 'listing'.

This element, that man 'knows*acknowledges' ('arafa) God by reason of God's gift of 'aql to him, constituted an important theme in second century Islam, when the notion of "ma'rifatu llāh knowledge of God" came to be widely understood as covering human acknowledgement or recognition of God's existence as Creator, Revealer, and Law Giver.⁶⁶ Since 'aql was seen to be an inborn trait (*sajiyah*, *gharīzah*) and as "the most surpassing thing given to man"⁶⁷ with which man is endowed by God, present in man from birth (*fiṭrah*) and leading him to acknowledgement of God's existence and His creation and direction of the world and man, so man comes to know God by reason of God's gift of 'aql.⁶⁸

This notion may have had some connection to the early Qadarī notion reputedly enunciated by the Syrian *mawlā* Ghaylān al-Dimashqī in his theory of 'aql and *fiṭrah*, in the sense of innate necessary knowledge and man's power of decision.⁶⁹ One must be careful to distinguish between 'aql as a natural disposition for knowledge of God equally inherent in all humans (cf. the Hellenistic notion of *noús* & *dianoia*), or as a God-given ability or direct gift (*mawhūb*, *mawhibah*), varying in degree of intensity or allotment, and leading to salvation (as in Biblicist teachings and early

Muslim religious thought). These differing notions are at the heart of a telling exchange (found in al-Dhahabī, Huffāz I 147)⁷⁰ between Ghaylān and the Basran predestinarian faqīh Dāwūd b. Abī Hind⁷¹ (d.140/757). Dāwūd asked, "What is the most excellent thing given to man?", to which Ghaylān replies, "al-'aql". Then Dāwūd asks:

"Tell me about al-'aql, is it a thing open to everyone/mubāḥ li-l-nās, whoever wishes obtains it and whoever wishes relinquishes it; or is it a thing apportioned between them/magsūm baynahum?" ...
[Gh. refuses to reply, so D. supplies the answer]:

"(Al-'aql) is cut/unquṭi'a [into varying individual portions], so likewise has God apportioned faith and the 'modes of obedience'/kadhālika qasama llāhu l-īmān wa l-adyān.⁷² Thus, 'There is no power [for man to act] but by means of God'!"

The Mu'tazilah later developed their doctrine of taklīf 'moral responsibility' springing from ma'rifah or 'ilm 'natural knowledge' as independent of revelation.⁷³ The phrase "bi-ka u'rafu" may possibly involve the theological meaning given to ma'rifah in the so-called Murji'ī thought of the Qadarī-Ghaylāniyyah.⁷⁴

#7) Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, 'Aql 31 #14; & in al-'Uḡaylī, Du'afā' III 175; Kāmil II 797-8, & VI 2040; Mīzān I 564 #2135, II 331 #2655, & III 356 #6740.

ISNAO (*) Muḥammad b. Bakkār al-Ruṣāfī (d.238/852-3, above #2) } Ḥafṣ b. 'Umar⁷⁵ qādī Ḥalab (fl. ca. 150/767) }

al-Faḍl b. 'Īsā al-Raḡāshī⁷⁶ (d. ca. 132/750) } Abū 'Uthmān
 al-Nahdī⁷⁷ (= 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mull, d. before 100/719) }
 Abū Hurayrah (d.59/679) } *marfū'* :

Lammā khalāqa llāhu Ta'ālā l-'aqla When God the
 Exalted had created al-'aql, He said to him, "Stand
 up/*qum!*" so he stood up. Then He said to him, "Go
 back!" so he retreated. Then He said to him, "Come
 forward!" so he drew near. Then He said to him,
 "Sit/*uq'ud!*" so he sat down. Then God Mighty and
 Majestic said, "I did not create a creature better than
 thee, nor more esteemed than thee, nor more surpassing
 than thee, nor more goodly than thee."⁷⁸ By means of
 thee I receive, and by means of thee I bestow. [By
 means of thee am I glorified/*bi-ka u'azzu.*⁷⁹] By means
 of thee am I known/*u'rafu*, and thee alone do I
 blame/*wa iyyāka u'ātibu.*⁸⁰ The reward is thine/*la-ka*
*l-thawāb,*⁸¹ and the penalty is against thee."

COMMENTS - The *Isnād*: A Baghdadi-(Syrian)-Basran transmis-
 sion of Qadarī & Murji'ī provenance (viz. al-Faḍl al-
 Raḡāshī); critique in Ibn al-Jawzī, *Mawḍū'āt* I 174, & al-
 Suyūṭī, *La'ālī* I 129 [both via Ibn 'Adiy's *Kāmil*]. See
 Goldziher, *ZA* XXII 323; *Zwischen* 121-2; *Theologie* II 170
 ("probably a fairly early development"); & Gilliot, *Exégèse,*
Langue, et Theologie 261.

The presence of the Syrian *qāḍī* Ḥafṣ in an Iraqi *isnād*
 would not normally raise suspicion, save for the fact that
 much confusion exists over the name "Ḥafṣ b. 'Umar\ 'Amr"
 (see eg. *Jarḥ* III 179-85, & IX 361 #s 1640-2 & 410 #s 1986-

8; Mizān I 560-7 #s 2128-2159). Furthermore, al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (Mūdiḥ II 47) observed that Muḥammad b. Bakkār al-Ruṣāfī also transmitted from the Kufan Qur'ān reader Abū 'Umar Ḥafṣ b. Sulaymān al-Bazzāz²² (d.180-90/796-806). One might question whether specifying "qāḍī Ḥalab" in the isnād was tadlīs²³ meant to disguise the presence of Ḥafṣ b. Sulaymān, by intentionally confusing him with the somewhat earlier Ḥafṣ b. 'Umar b. Thābit al-Anṣārī al-Ḥalabī.²⁴ Against such speculations is the fact that the reputable Syrian traditionist-faqīh Yahyā b. Ṣālīḥ al-Wuḥāzī²⁵ (d.222/837) also transmitted the identical report from } "Ḥafṣ b. 'Umar qāḍī Ḥalab" } al-Faḍl al-Raqāshī... (see Kāmil II 797-8, & Mizān I 564, III 356). It appears that Syrian Murji'ī circles were receptive to this report, perhaps construing it in an anti-Qadarī sense. Also recall that al-Faḍl al-Raqāshī was in touch with Kufan Murji'īs.

(*) An alternative Kufan isnād for this version was provided by al-Dāraquṭnī (per Mawḍū'āt I 174 > La'ālī I 129) :

the Baghdadi al-Ḥasan b. 'Arafah al-'Abdī al-Mu'addib (d.257/871) } the Kufan-Baghdadi 'llar' Sayf b. Muḥammad Ibn Ukht al-Thawrī²⁶ } the Kufan Sufyān al-Thawrī (d.161/778) } the Kufan Shī'ī al-Faḍl al-Fuḍayl b. 'Uthmān²⁷ } "Abū Hurayrah" } marfū'.

It is difficult to determine whether the attribution here to al-Thawrī is the invention of Sayf, or if Sayf's contribu-

tion to the isnād lay in 'raising' it from al-Faḍl b.

ʿUthmān to the Prophet through Abū Hurayrah.

- The Matn: Here the 'testing' of ʿaql is elaborated into four postures in tune with his personification: standing, facing, turning back, and sitting. All these are mute outward actions, wherein ʿaql's unhesitating obedience to God's commands (ie. his alacrity in comprehending the divine address) is thereby underlined. Could the intent have been to further highlight certain facets; eg. the sitting ʿaql as politico-ideological *irjāʾ*? This possibility appears unlikely. The 'encomium' lacks God's oath of approbation, yet is far more emphatic in praise. The 'listing' covers the familiar ground of ʿaql being the agency of God's accepting & granting, as well as his earning merit or demerit in the Hereafter (*thawāb* & *ʿiqāb*), or of being alone blameable. Other elements surface as well: ʿaql as the agency for worshipping (or glorifying) God; and for man knowing God ("bi-ka u'rafu", in the theological-Murji'i sense that faith consists in knowledge of God?).⁸⁸

#8.a) Al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī, Nawādir al-Uṣūl 242, aṣl #206 [also La'ālī I 130; & Kanz al-'Ummāl III 220 #1930].

ISNĀD (*) 'Abd al-Raḥīm b. Ḥabīb⁸⁹ } Dāwūd b. al-Muḥabbar⁹⁰ (d.206/821) } al-Ḥasan b. Dīnār⁹¹ (d. ca. mid 2nd/8th century) } al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī } "a number of the Prophet's Companions" } *marfūʿ* :

Lammā khalāqa llāhu l-‘aql When God had created al-‘aql, He said to him, "Come forward!" so he drew near. Then He said to him, "Go back!" so he retreated. Then He said to him, "Sit!" so he sat down. Then He said to him, "Speak/unṭuq!" so he spoke.²² Then He said to him, "Be silent!" so he was silent. Then (God) said, "By My Power and My Majesty! I did not create a creature dearer to Me than thee, nor more esteemed by Me than thee. By means of thee am I known/u‘rafu, and by means of thee am I praised/uḥmadu. By means of thee am I obeyed/uṭā‘u. By means of thee I receive, and by means of thee I bestow. And thee alone do I blame. And the reward is thine, and the penalty is against thee."²³

COMMENTS A Baghdadi-Basran isnād of moderate ascetic Qadarī provenance, attributed to the Prophet through the device of a collective *irsāl*; possibly a *qawl* of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī reworked by al-Ḥasan b. Dīnār and/or Dāwūd b. al-Muḥabbar. Clearly this version is related to report #7, and the 'encomium' and 'listing' largely echo it. Here the 'testing' contains five elements: advancing, retreating, sitting, speaking, & silence. ‘Aql is no longer mute. The speaking ‘aql may be understood against the background of the association of *lisān* and ‘aql familiar from old Arab times and in first century Islam,²⁴ yet invested with an Islamic religious aura; thus ‘aql praises God. A similar enrichment of meaning is observable in the silent ‘aql, also a common feature of Near Eastern Wisdom (the guarding of the tongue by

the wise).²⁰ This emphasis on speaking and silence is quite consonant with the fundamental meaning of 'aql as 'comprehension-of-meaning' exemplified in the sapiential hearing formula. These motifs are pressed into the service of an Islamic 'narrative-theology' found in early *aqwāl* or *ḥadīth* of a didactic religious purpose (*qīṣaṣ*, *raqā'iq*, *zuhd*), what van Ess terms "implicit theology".

Some of the details in report #8.a resemble the form given by al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī in his work Ghawr al-Umūr (ed. W.A. 'AbdAllāh as al-A'dā' wa l-Nafs, on 152), such as the 'sitting' 'aql, and "by means of thee am I obeyed/*uṭā'u*". However, the piece in Ghawr displays a far greater complexity joined with a different trajectory wherein the Adam \ Iblīs myth has been integrated into an elaborate light-mysticism (see ch.6 SI.B.c.). A closer parallel to report #8.a is the *Aqbāl* version in Persian provided by Rashīd al-Dīn Maybudī (d. after 520/1126) in his esoteric Qur'ānic commentary Kashf al-Asrār wa 'Uddat al-Abrār²¹, giving five elements in the 'testing' (stand, sit, come, go, see!), yet merely two for the 'listing' ("through you I shall be worshipped and through you I shall be obeyed [...*uṭā'u*]"). Maybudī's version comes equipped with a unique supplement stressing the insufficiency of 'aql to rely on its own power and its tendency for self-conceit, for behind him looms an

even more beautiful form: *tawfīq*, the saving-grace provided man by God.⁹⁷

(*) Al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī also provides an alternative and very lame (mu'dal 'choked') Syrian isnād of Murji'ī tint for version #8.a:

al-Faḍl⁹⁸ } the Damascene Hishām b. Khālīd al-Azraq⁹⁹
(d.249/863) } Baqīyyah b. al-Walīd (d.197/812) } 'Abd
al-Rahmān b. 'Amr al-Awzā'ī (d.158/774) } marfū'.

#8.b) Furthermore, al-Muḥāsibī (d.243/857-8), in his *al-Nasā'ih* (ed. 'A.-Q.A. 'Atā, in *al-Wasāyā* [Beirut 1986] 59-215, on 130), invokes yet another version of this elaborate voluntarist form, without an isnād ("bal aghana' anna llāha 'azza wa jalla, lammā khalāqa l-'aqla..."), wherein the 'testing' presents seven elements: retreating, advancing, gazing, speaking, silent-listening,¹⁰⁰ hearing-understanding,¹⁰¹ and comprehending (*adbir, aqbil, unzur, takallam, inṣit, isma', ifham!*). Al-Muḥāsibī's version represents a deeper interiorization in harmony with a Ṣūfī intent.¹⁰² The 'encomium' is even more elaborate: "wa 'izzatī wa jalālī wa 'aḡamatī wa sulṭānī wa qudratī 'alā khalqī!"¹⁰³ This last phrase ("by My Omnipotence over My creatures") may have been aimed against the Mu'tazilah. The 'listing' is essentially the same as al-Ḥasan's report #8.a. Clearly reports #8.a-b and their related versions represent a particular trajectory within 2nd century Iraqi Ṣūfī

meditation with continuing enrichments over the following two centuries in Central Asia. (See Addendum A.)

**

Other Sunnī Isnāds: There exist several additional lines of transmission of closely related or derivative *mutūn* for the "*lammā khalāqa llāhu*" form of the *Aqbīlī* report. Sunnī traditionist critics noted some of them in their works on the 'weak' transmitters and the 'defective' *riwāyāt*. They relied heavily for the *ṭuruq* & *mutūn* and for critical judgements on: al-'Uḡaylī (d.322/934), al-Du'afā' al-Kabīr; Ibn 'Adiy (d.365/976), al-Kāmil fī Du'afā' al-Rijāl; and works by al-Dāraquṭnī (d.385/995, see GAS I 207-8), Gharā'ib Mālik, al-Afrād, & al-'Ilal al-Wāridah fī l-Aḥādīth al-Nabawiyah [al-Riyāḍ 1985; his famous *responsa* published by his pupil al-Burḡānī]; as well as on comments gleaned from various Su'ālāt, Ta'rīkh, 'Ilal or Du'afā' works derived from third century authorities. After the 4th/10th century almost nothing of value was added by critics about this report or its *ṭuruq*.¹⁰⁴

The traditionist critics most often confined themselves to *isnād* analysis, and to repeating the blanket denunciations of 'aql reports, in particular of the *Aqbīlī* report in its (later) "*awwalu mā khalāqa llāhu*" versions. In particular they repeated the famous statement by al-Dāraquṭnī¹⁰⁵ and of later critics¹⁰⁶ purporting to give the pedigree of

forged works on 'aql by Maysarah b. 'Abd Rabbih, Dāwūd b. al-Muḥabbar, and other 2nd/8th century figures. Generally they little cared to carefully distinguish between the "lammā khalāqa" and the "awwalu mā khalāqa" forms, indiscriminately jumbling the two together in their discussion of the ṭuruq of the reports. This despite their vaunted detailed knowledge of ḥadīth. Obviously this was done for a reason. The only real exception to this was the iconoclastic Ḥanbalī scholar and avid polemicist Abū l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Ḥalīm Ibn Taymiyyah (d.728/1328), whose critique went far beyond mere details of isnāds and riḡāl (below ch.3 SIII).

Twentieth century discussion of the report(s) has continued in a lively manner,¹⁰⁷ especially due to the renewed interest in, and prestige awarded in the eyes of some modern Muslim intellectuals to, the contribution of the Mu'tazilah in the early history of Muslim speculative and religious thought. This has something to do with the political and cultural challenge of Western powers and ideologies. The rising interest in this topic is attested in the numerous reprintings of standard works dealing with 'aql in recent decades.¹⁰⁸ Another important factor for a revived interest in the 'aql reports is the increasing recognition of their role in the unfolding of Islamic esoteric traditions (the Imāmī Shī'ah,¹⁰⁹ the Ismā'īliyyah, and Ṣūfism¹¹⁰). But in

truth, the interest and the controversy over this report has never really waned since the second century of Islam.

SI B. SHĪ'Ī TRANSMISSION (TEXTS)

The following six reports are all drawn from one of the ancient literary monuments of the Twelver Shī'ah compiled shortly after the mid-3rd/9th century, the Qummī adīb-traditionist Abū Ja'far Aḥmad al-Barqī's al-Mahāsin [ed. Jalāl al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī al-Muḥaddith al-Urmawī, Tehran 1370/1950].¹¹¹ Mahāsin was a comprehensive muṣannaf-type collection incorporating *adab*, *fiqh*, *ta'rīkh*, *tafsīr*, 'ilm al-ḥadīth, *zuhd*, as well as *ḥikmah* & scientific materials, partly similar to the Sunni collections of 'Abd al-Razzāq b. Hammām al-Ṣan'ānī (d.211/827) or Abū Bakr Ibn Abī Shaybah (d.235/849). The muṣannaf format early gave way to the *musnad* & *sunan* types in Sunnī circles, but retained popularity during the third century among Imāmī scholars (eg. al-Kulaynī's Kāfī).

Unfortunately, only about a sixth of this encyclopaedic compilation is extant, the bulk apparently lost (of 70+ titles, only 12 counting his Riḥāl). Among the titles listed in its contents is a separate book by al-Barqī, Kitāb al-'Aql. Due to the conflicting testimony of the bio-bibliographic sources¹¹² it is possible that this title actually refers to the extant chapter "bāb al-'aql" heading

the *kitāb maṣābīḥ al-ẓulam*, which was drawn upon by al-Kulaynī¹¹³ (d.329/940-1) in the opening chapter of his *Uṣūl*, *kitāb al-‘aql wa l-jahl*. Yet al-Barqī's *bāb al-‘aql* contains only twenty-two reports, and judging from what is known about the contents of ‘aql books by Dāwūd b. al-Muḥabbar, Sulaymān b. ‘Īsā, and Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, it is probable that al-Barqī did compile a *Kitāb al-‘Aql* containing not only Shī‘ī ḥadīth from the imams, but *aqwāl & akhbār* dealing with aspects of ‘aql.¹¹⁴ His *bāb al-‘aql* may thus have been a selection of such reports chosen on the basis of their transmission on the authority of the imams and their relevance to the themes treated in *kitāb maṣābīḥ al-ẓulam* (= *Mahāsin* 191-296). Furthermore, the question whether al-Barqī's father Abū ‘AbdAllāh Muḥammad b. Khālīd¹¹⁵ (fl. 1st half of third century) had a hand in the compilation of parts of *Mahāsin* is not to be entirely dismissed.¹¹⁶

**

SOURCE Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khālīd al-Barqī (d.274/887-8 or 280/893-4), *Kitāb al-Mahāsin*, *kitāb maṣābīḥ al-ẓulam*, *bāb al-‘aql*, 192 #s 4 - 8, & 194 #13 > al-Majlisī, *Biḥār* I 96-7 #s 1, 3-6, 9; & 92 #23.

#9) [#4] IBNĀD Muḥammad b. ‘Alī¹¹⁷ } Wahb b. Ḥafṣ¹¹⁸
 } Abū Baṣīr¹¹⁹ } al-Ṣādiq (d.148/765) :

Inna llāha khalāqa l-‘aqla Truly, God created al-‘aql, and then He said to him, "Come forward!" so he drew

near. Then He said to him, "Go back!" so he retreated. Then He said to him, "By My Power and My Majesty! I did not create a thing dearer to Me than thee. The reward is thine and the penalty is against thee/la-ka l-thawāb wa 'alayka l-'iqāb."

COMMENTS A Qummī-Kufan-Medinan isnād; there is little reason to question this attribution to al-Ṣādiq. The 'listing' lacks the element *bi-ka ākhudhu wa bi-ka u'tī*, yet the final sentence recalls reports #5 - #8.a-b; compare it to report #1.

With respect to the role of 'aql as recipient of both *thawāb* & *'iqāb*, recall al-Ṣādiq's version of the tale of the hermit who wished for God's donkey (Uṣūl I 11-2 #8), where God says: "...inna l-thawāba 'alā qadri l-'aql the reward is in proportion to the measure of one's 'aql." And compare the final sentence of al-Kulaynī's introduction to his Kāfī (Uṣūl I 9): "...al-'aqlu huwa l-quṭbu lladhī 'alayhi l-dār wa bi-hi yaḥtajju wa la-hu l-thawāb wa 'alayhi l-'iqāb the 'comprehending-intelligence' is the pivot upon which (everything concerning the ultimate felicity of humans) revolves, and (God) adduces ('aql) as evidence [for His ḥujjah 'compelling-argument' against humans], and the reward is ('aql's) and the penalty is against ('aql)." ¹²⁰

#10) [#5] ¹²¹ isnād al-Sindī b. Muḥammad ¹²¹ } al-'Alā' b. Razīn ¹²² } Muḥammad b. Muslim ¹²³ (d.150/767) } imams al-Bāqir (d. ca. 117/735) ¹²⁴ and al-Ṣādiq ¹²⁵ :

Lammā khalaqa llāhu l-‘aqla When God had created al-‘aql, He said to him, "Go back!" so he retreated. Then he said to him, "Come forward!" so he drew near. Then He said, "By My Power and My Majesty! I did not create a creature better than thee/aḥsana min-ka. Thee alone I command and thee alone I forbid/īyyāka āmuru wa īyyāka anḥā. Thee alone I reward and thee alone I punish/wa īyyāka uthību wa īyyāka u‘āqibu."

COMMENTS A Kufan-Medinan isnād. Al-Kulaynī reports this text through a differing riwāyah, Uṣūl I 26 #26 :

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan¹²⁶ } Sahl b. Ziyād al-Ādamī al-Rāzī¹²⁷ } Ibn Abī Najrān¹²⁸ } al-‘Alā’ b. Razīn }
Muḥammad b. Muslim } imam al-Bāqir.

Here the qawl is assigned to al-Bāqir alone, and is taken from al-Ṣaffār rather than al-Barqī. Muḥammad b. Muslim was said to have lived in Medinah for four years studying under his teacher al-Bāqir, and boasted of having audited 30,000 ḥadīths from his master.¹²⁹

The 'testing' has the idbār first. The final sentences bring to mind Q 1:5, the most oft repeated prayer in Islam. "Thee alone I reward and thee alone I punish" is partially paralleled in the Sunnī versions: cf. bi-ka u‘āqibu\uu‘ātību or bi-ka uthību wa bi-ka u‘āqibu (above #s 3, 4, 7, 8.a-b). The 'listing' also contains an element not explicitly found as such in the Sunnī versions: "Thee alone I command and thee alone I punish." While this reinforces the stress on ‘aql's obedience to divine command or prohibition, and his

bearing responsibility for human deeds, it appears to include a corresponding emphasis upon man's 'capacity' *istiṭā'ah* to accomplish deeds. This was probably the contribution of Muḥammad b. Muslim.

#11) [#6] Also in Uṣūl I 10 #1 (via al-Barqī on the same *isnād*); Ibn Bābawayh al-Qummī, al-Amālī [Qumm 1373] 251, *majlis* 65; & pseudo-Qudāmah b. Ja'far al-Kātib, Naqd al-Nathr¹³⁰ [Cairo 1933] 4 (without *isnād*).

isnād al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb¹³¹ (d.224/839) } al-'Alā' b. Razīn } Muḥammad b. Muslim } al-Bāqir :

*Lammā khalaga llāhu l-'aqla*¹³² When God had created al-'aql, He interrogated him/*istantaḡahu*.¹³³ Then He said to him: "Come forward!", so he drew near. Then He said to him: "Go back!", so he retreated. Then He said to him: "By My Power and My Majesty! I did not create a creature dearer to Me than thee. I do not make you perfect/*wa lā ukmiluka*¹³⁴ save in one whom I wish (to do so). Truly, Thee alone I command and thee alone I forbid. Thee alone I reward and thee alone I punish."¹³⁵

COMMENTS A Kufan-Medinan *riwāyah* presented as a *qawl* of al-Bāqir. This is the very first *ḥadīth* of al-Kulaynī's opus. By now the conjunction al-'Alā' b. Razīn } Muḥammad b. Muslim is familiar. The explicit element of interrogation in the 'testing' repeats a well established motif common in the first century (see n.133) of testing a person's 'aql by questioning him and weighing his replies. This motif is met

with in early Muslim tales concerning the 'succession of Solomon', depicting how David tested his son Solomon for wisdom (*fahm* & *'aql*).¹³⁶ The use of "*instantaḡahu*" is itself an argument for the antiquity of this version, and its probable placement with al-Bāqir. The other noteworthy point is God's perfecting or completing of *'aql* in those whom He favors. This evokes the "*tafḍīlī*" motif of the unequal apportioning of the created measures of intelligence in report #2 above.

#12) [#7] *isnād* 'Alī b. al-Ḥakam¹³⁷ } Hishām¹³⁸ }

al-Ṣādiq :

Lammā khalāḡa llāhu l-'aqla When God had created al-*'aql*, He said to him, "Come forward!" so he drew near. Then He said to him, "Go back!" so he retreated. Then He said to him, "By My Power and My Majesty! I did not create a creature dearer to Me than thee. By means of thee I receive and by means of thee I bestow. And on account of thee I reward/wa *'alayka uthību*."¹³⁹

COMMENTS A Kufan-Medinese *isnād* presented as a *qawl* of al-Ṣādiq. This version appears close to early form(s) of the report. Notice the reappearance of God's receiving and bestowing missing in the previous three reports. The minor variant "*'alayka uthību*" may not be significant, though perhaps its intent was to counter the stress on *'aql* as recipient of blame (ie. "*'alayka u'ātibu*", see nn.37 & 40).

#13) [#8] ^{isnād} Muḥammad b. Khālīd¹⁴⁰ [al-Ash'arī al-Qummī] } 'AbdAllāh b. al-Faḍl al-Nawfalī¹⁴¹ } his father¹⁴²
) al-Ṣādiq :

"The Messenger of God ﷺ said:

Khalāqa llāhu l-'aql God created al-'aql, and then He said to him, "Go back!" so he retreated. Then He said to him, "Come forward!" so he drew near. Then He said, "I did not create a creature dearer to Me than thee."

(al-Ṣādiq) said:

Thus God bestowed upon Muḥammad ﷺ ninety-nine parts (of al-'aql), then He apportioned (the remaining) one part among mankind."

COMMENTS A Qummī-Medinese *riwāyah*. Here al-Ṣādiq 'raises' this familiar report to the Prophet, placing the *idbār* first, quoting up to the 'encomium', and omitting the 'listing'. Then al-Ṣādiq connects it with a separate teaching about Muḥammad being the most abundantly endowed with 'aql (a hundred, or one thousand, created measures).¹⁴³ Sunnī critics would dismiss the ascription to the Prophet (*mursal*, if not *mu'dal*). Most Shī'ī partisans would have accepted the Imām's utterance as a valid attribution, ie. the particular credence awarded the Imām's *irsā* through the Ḥusaynid 'Alid's family *isnād*.

The impression is given that the *Aqbil* report being so well known to his hearers that quoting it in full is redundant; its citation serves only to introduce the further

piece about the 'aql of the Prophet. Nevertheless, the combination of the two pieces is quite significant, linking God's creation of al-'aql with the fullness of Muḥammadan 'aql. Al-Ṣādiq displays a creative adaptation of familiar elements, already hatching the seed of a fresh idea (below ch.3 SII, for Muḥammad as first creation).

#14) [#13] *ISNĀD* "One of our companions" } who
'raised' it } He { probably 'Alī al-Riḍā d.203/818 }¹⁴⁴
said :

"The person of this religion who does not possess 'aql is not to be deemed of any worth."¹⁴⁵ I said, "May I be your ransom! We come across a group of people from among those who extol*acknowledge 'this affair',¹⁴⁶ of whom we find nothing objectionable, (yet) who do not possess such 'uqūl ?"

Then (the imam) said:

"Those are not among the ones whom God addressed/ *khāṭaba llāhu* in saying: 'Yā Ulī l-Albāb O Possessors of Understanding'.¹⁴⁷ [Aren't you aware that:]

Inna llāha khalāqa l-'aqla God created al-'aql, then He said to him, "Come forward!" so he drew near. Then He said to him, "Go Back!" so he retreated. Then He said, "By My Power and My Majesty! I did not create a thing/*shay'an* better than thee, nor dearer to Me than thee. By means of thee I receive, and by means of thee I bestow." "

COMMENTS Compare this version with report #1. The linkage with the Qur'ānic *ulū l-albāb* affirms the familiar nexus of

'aql with *qalb*. God addressed parts of revelation only to those endowed with understanding (*lubb* and 'uqūl). The issue here echoes that fundamental facet of *sam'* & 'aql involving comprehension of meaning (ie. *fahm al-bayān*), linked with *taklīf* and the role of 'aql as God's *ḥujjah*.¹⁴⁰ Within the Shī'ī context of the 'elite' vs. the 'outsiders' (*khāṣṣ* \ 'āmm), a further distinction is being drawn between levels within the elite; only those elect 'initiates' possessed of 'aql 'comprehending-intelligence' are worthy of grasping the truth of the Imām's teaching. This should warn one that placing too much emphasis on the Imām's division of the Muslim community into the partisans who accepted the *walāyah* 'juridical-spiritual authority' of the Family of the Prophet¹⁴¹ in contrast to those who did not, may not have been by itself a mark of distinction when it came to human endowment of intelligence.

There remains at least one more early text of the *Aqbil* report (see ch.2 report #15). These parallel versions permit one to better seize the intent and function of this famous tradition. Significantly, there are only a few essential disparities between the various *Sunnī* and *Shī'ī* versions, pointing to the common matrix of 'tradition' they shared during the early period. It is already apparent that the language and thought-forms of the *Aqbil* report(s) are

not foreign to early Islamic notions, and may be adequately explained from within the confines of the revealed monotheistic faiths.

NOTES

1. See below ch.2 'Salient Motifs', for more on the *iqbāl* & *idbār* of 'aql.

2. "Neuplatonische und gnostische Elemente im Ḥadīṭ", ZA XXII/1908/317-44, on 317-24 & 341-3; reprinted in Gesammelte Schriften, ed. J. Desomogyi [Hildesheim, G.Olms, 1967-73] V 107-34; French summary by G.H. Bousquet, "Études Islamologiques d'Ignaz Goldziher: Traduction Analytique, I", Arabica VII/1960/1-29, on 8-9.

3. ZA XXII 319, reading it as a nominal proposition: "Das erste, was Gott erschuf, ist der 'aql, der Intellekt"; evidently citing al-Ghazālī, Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn [Beirut 1982] I *kitāb al-'ilm*, 83. The particle *mā* may also be understood as *maṣḍariyyah*, rendering the nominal proposition as: "The first of God's creation is\was al-'aql" (this reading is due to the kindness of E. Kohlberg).

4. The temporal clause "*lammā khalaga llāhu*" (*lammā* + the perfect verb), expresses the *futurum exactum*; see Simon Hopkins, Studies in the Grammar of Early Arabic [Oxford 1984] 249 #307. Eg. the ḥadīṭh recommending earning wealth by commerce and livestock, via ...} the Kufan exegete Jābir b. Sa'īd al-Azdī } al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Muzāḥim } Ibn Mas'ūd } the Prophet: *lammā khalaga llāhu 'Azza wa Jalla l-ma'īshata ja'ala l-ma'īshata fī l-ḥarṭhi wa l-ghanam*; Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, Islāh al-Māl 284 #295.

5. ZA XXII 322-4, including his mention of Ibn Taymiyyah's linguistic critique reading *awwalu...al-'aqlu*

with *naṣḥ*: "awwala mā khalāqa llāhu l-ʿaqla At first when God created...".

6. ZA XXII 319 & 320; & eg. A. Hartmann, "Sur l'édition d'un texte arabe médiéval...", Der Islam LXII/1985/94. Nevertheless, the Qur'ān constantly links verbal *yaʿqilūna* to contemplation of and pondering upon God's providential created order, within the evidentiary function of the *āyāt*.

7. In his 1898 Berne dissertation, Die Prophetenlegenden des Muḥammad b. ʿAbdAllāh al-Kisāʾī xxf. See al-Kisāʾī, Qisāṣ al-Anbiyāʾ, ed. Eisenberg [Leiden 1922-3] I 11, for the report attributed to Kaʿb al-Aḥbār. He was followed by T. Fahd, "La Naissance du Monde selon l'Islam", Sources Orientales I [Paris 1959] 264. Fahd, while again noting the lack of a Qur'ānic basis for *ʿaql* = first creation, comments: "Elle est certes inspirée de la littérature sapientielle de l'Ancien Testament et surtout de spéculations haqqadiques très développées, sur la *Ḥokhmā*"; *ibid.* Perhaps a Patristic scholar may have adduced a Christian model. Both Eisenberg and Fahd ignore the "*lammā khalāqa llāhu*" form.

8. Eg. T.J. De Boer & F. Rahman, E.I.² I 341b; J. van Ess, Zwischen 122: "das berühmte Ḥadīṭ verbreitete, wonach der *ʿaql* ('Verstand', hier aber vielleicht auch *Logos*) von Gott vor allem andern geschaffen worden sei..."; Ḥ. al-Quwwatli's intr. to al-Muḥāsibī, Al-ʿAql wa Fahm al-Qurʾān [Beirut 1971, repr. 1978] 138 (without specifically citing Goldziher, yet describing the "*lammā khalāqa*" form as an alteration of the prior "*awwalu mā khalāqa*" version, the latter being clearly tinged with Gnosticism & Stoic physics); A. Hartmann, Der Islam LXII/1985/94-6 (on the *awwalu* form: 94 n.47 "l'origine grecque du ḥadīṭ sur le

'aql"; & 96, on the lammā form as "la version modérée" which traditionist-theologians "l'écritèrent et y apportèrent une légère modification"); al-Shahrastānī Milāl > D. Gimaret, Religions I 226 n.30; Cl. Gilliot, Exégèse, Langue, et Théologie [Paris 1990] 261: "...certains courants qadarites pour lesquels le 'aql (intelligence ou logos?) a été créé en premier", + 261 n.5; & van Ess, Theologie II 170-1.

9. Thus in 1975 van Ess wrote (Zwischen 122): it "is difficult to decide" whether 'aql in al-Faḍl al-Raḡāshī's report (below #7) signifies 'understanding' or 'logos', remarking that "if Goldziher was correct with his supposition that this originally reproduced a Neoplatonic notion, then probably Faḍl no longer understood this development." Recently in his Theologie II 170 n.31, he concludes that 'aql in al-Faḍl's report should not be construed as 'logos', with Neoplatonic implications occurring only a century later with Ibn Khābiṭ & Faḍl al-Ḥadithī.

10. A Baghdadi deemed acceptable, he transmitted from Hushaym b. Bashīr (d.183/799), Ibn al-Mubārak, and 'Abd al-Ṣamad b. 'Abd al-Wārith, and was an informant for Ibn Ma'īn, al-Bukhārī, & Ibn Abī l-Dunyā; Ḥuffāz II 548; T.Baghdād XII 108-9 #6548; Tahdhīb VII 382-3 #622.

11. A Basran ascetic and informant for Ibn Ḥanbal, he was blamed for manākīr (= reportage from Ja'far b. Sulaymān al-Ḍubā'ī), and noted for collecting al-raḡā'iq like his teacher al-Ḍubā'ī. The Basran-Baghdadi critic 'UbaydAllāh b. 'Umar al-Qawārīrī (d. ca. 235/849) felt he lacked perspicacity in ḥadīth (lam yakun la-hu 'aql), yet stopped short of calling him a 'liar'; Jarḥ IV 257 #1111; Mīzān II 253-4 #3626; Tahdhīb IV 290 #497.

12. Abū Sulaymān, mawlā of Banū al-Ḥarīth\Ḥarīsh, an illiterate Basran *zāhid* and Qadarī well known for his commitment to Shī'ism, and a specialist in *raqā'iq* as well as the *faḍā'il* of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. Ja'far transmitted from Thābit al-Bunānī, Mālik b. Dīnār, Abū 'Imrān al-Jūnī, the Qadarī 'Awf b. Abī Jamīlah al-A'rābī (d.146/763), and Ibn Jurayj. Among his pupils were Ibn al-Mubārak, 'Abd al-Razzāq b. Hammām al-Ṣan'ānī, and Dāwūd b. al-Muḥabbar (eg. Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, Samt 267 #119). Critics deemed him trustworthy despite his Shī'ī leanings (eg. Ibn 'Adiy), save for the Basrans Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd al-Qaṭṭān and Sulaymān b. Ḥarb, who boycotted Ja'far's reports. See Jarḥ II 481 #1957; Thiqāt VI 140-41; Kāmil II 567-72; Mizān I 407-11 #1505; Huffāz I 241 #227; Tahdhīb II 95-8 #145; al-Mizzī, Tahdhīb al-Kamāl V 43f. He was an associate of both al-Ṣādiq and al-Kāẓim; R.Ṭūsī 162 #19 & 345 #2; Tanqīh I 216 #1783. Compare the almost identical *isnād* for a different *matn* in Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, Samt 507-8 #513: Hārūn al-Ḥammāl (d.243/857) } Sayyār } Ja'far } Mālik b. Dīnār } al-Ḥasan } *marfū'*: mā min 'abdin yakḥṭubu khuṭbatan illā llāhu sā'lluhu 'anhā yawm al-qiyāmati, "mā aradta bi-hā?", with Ja'far al-Ḍuba'ī adding that Mālik wept as he related this to him.

13. The eloquent *qāṣṣ* and pupil of al-Ḥasan; the name Dīnār invariably denoted a slave or mawlā, often of Nabatī ethnic origin. See I'tizāl 96 & 341 (for his Qadarī reputation); Thiqāt V 383-4; Tahdhīb X 14-5 #15; Ch. Pellat in E.I.² VI 226b-7a; & Theologie II 91-3. Ibn Abī l-Dunyā composed a Kitāb Zuhd Mālik b. Dīnār (F.Nadīm 237). Mālik was said to transmit from the early Qadarī Ma'bad al-Juhanī, see Jarḥ VIII 280 #1282, & Zwischen 93 n.22. 'AbdAllāh b. Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal sometimes employs this *isnād* to report from Mālik in his *zawā'id*; see Ibn Ḥanbal, Zuhd II 299-313 *passim*. (A good portion of the *zawā'id* to Ibn Ḥanbal's Zuhd is derived from Ja'far al-Ḍuba'ī } Mālik.) But in most instances he

employs the chain: his father } Sayyār } Ja'far } Mālik; & several times the alternative form: ukhbirtu 'an Sayyār } Ja'far... . For other reports by Ja'far } Mālik, see Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, Samt 216 #48, 508 #515, & cf. 267 #119 (Dāwūd b. al-Muḥabbar } Ja'far al-Ḍubā'ī); idem, Dhamm al-Dunyā #s 17, 39, 57, 76, 132, 133, 362, 461; and al-Kharā'itī, Makārim al-Akhlāq (al-Silafī's muntaqā) 96 #210.

14. Reading *khalq* here, though the meaning *khuluq* 'a natural disposition' is plausibly implied. See below ch.2 SI for why *khalq* in these reports continually evokes *khuluq*.

15. "Mā khalāqa llāhu khalqan aḥabba ilayhi\akrama 'alayhi min al-'aql"; al-Muḥāsibī [or al-Anṭākī?], Kitāb al-Khalwah, ed. 'A.I. Khalīfah, al-Mashriq XLVIII/1954/189-91, XLIX/1955/43-54 & 451-90, on 451; al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī, Nawādir al-Uṣūl [Istanbul 1876] > al-Ghazālī, Iḥyā' I 86; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-'Iqd al-Farīd [Cairo 1940] II 245; al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, al-Mufradāt fī Gharīb al-Qur'ān [Karachi 1961] 346. Van Ess (Gedankenwelt 75) once saw it as gnostic in tone. It is quite possible that such a "ḥadīth" may originally have been an early *ṭaraf* or abbreviation invoking the *Aqbil! Adbir!* report. Compare the report by the Syrian Baqīyyah b. al-Walīd al-Kalā'ī (d.197/812-3) via } al-Ḥasan: "mā khalāqa llāhu mithla l-'aql"; N. Abbott, Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri [Chicago 1957-72] II 222 lines 12-3.

For a differing emphasis on the rarity of 'aql being more precious than the philosophers' stone, see the report ascribed to Mu'ādh b. Jabal } marfū': "mā khalāqa llāhu fī l-arḍi shay'an aqalla min al-'aql wa inna l-'aqla fī l-arḍi aqallu min al-kibrīti l-aḥmar"; al-Muttaqī al-Hindī, Kanz al-'Ummāl III 218 #1912 (from Ibn 'Asākir, & the Musnad of Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Hārūn al-Rūyānī d.307/919-20); & Tanzīh

I 244 #146.

16. "Mā 'ubida llāhu bi-shay'in afḍala min al-'aql", normally prefacing the famous 'aql-decad of character traits assigned to Luqmān by Wahb b. Munabbih ("...wa mā yatimmu 'aqlu imra'in ḥattā yakūna fī-hi 'ashru khiṣālin..."); extracted as a separate maxim in Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, 'Aql 35 #21; Hilyat IV 40-1; Ibn al-Jawzī, Akhbār al-Adhkiyā', ed. M.M. al-Khulī [Cairo 1970] 8. And as an anonymous maxim in Ibn Qutaybah, 'Uyūn al-Akhbār [Cairo 1924-30] I 280 > 'Iqd al-Farīd II 251: qāla ba'ḍu l-ḥukamā', "mā 'ubida llāhu bi-shay'in aḥabba ilayhi min al-'aql". Note the version on the family isnād of the Basran Bishr b. 'Ubayd al-Darīsī >> his grandfather: "mā 'ubida llāhu bi-shay'in mithla l-'aql"; Mizān I 320 #1205. This maxim also occurs with the wording "...bi-shay'in afḍala min fiḥin fī dīn", where fiḥ ('understanding*comprehension' regarding 'faith*obedience') is synonymous with 'aql; see Hilyat II 192-3. Compare the saying of the Basran Qadarī Muṭarrif b. 'AbdAllāh Ibn al-Shikhkhīr (d. 87/706 or 95/713-4), in Ibn Abī Shaybah, Muṣannaf [Bombay 1979-83] XIII 482 #16988 > Hilyat II 203.

For versions of this decalogue assigned to imams 'Alī or al-Ṣādiq, see Abū Ja'far al-Ṭūsī, al-Amālī [Najaf 1964-5] I 152-3; & Usūl I kitāb al-'aql wa l-jahl, 18-9. And as a prophetic ḥadīth, in Ibn Bābawayh, 'Ilal, bāb 96, 115-6 #11, on a non-Imāmī isnād; *idem*, al-Khiṣāl > al-Majlisī, Bihār al-Anwār [2nd ed. Beirut 1983] I 108 #4, via al-Bāqir } 'raised' to the Prophet. Also as a saying of Ibn Mas'ūd, in al-Hakīm al-Tirmidhī, al-Akyās wa l-Muḥtarrīn, ed. A.'A.-R. al-Sā'ih as Tabā'i' al-Nufūs [Cairo 1989] 64.

17. Eg. Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d.911/1505), al-Durar al-Muntathirah fī l-Aḥādīth al-Mushtahirah [Cairo 1307, on margin of Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī, al-Fatāwā l-Ḥadīthiyyah]

197-8; & ed. M. 'Abd al-Qādir 'Atā [Cairo 1987] 352-3 #342: "la-hu aslan ṣāliḥan... mursal jayyid (al-isnād)", ie. al-Suyūṭī was inclined to accept al-Ḥasan's irsāl. Also Muḥammad al-Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī (d.1205/1790), Ithāf al-Sādat al-Muttaḡina bi-Sharḥ Asrār Ihya' 'Ulūm al-Dīn [Cairo 1311, & Beirut 1409/1989] I 455 & 474, rebutting the assertion that all the ṭuruq of the Aqbil/ Adbir/ report are 'weak' made by 'Abd al-Raḥīm b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥāfiẓ al-'Irāqī in his al-Muḡhnī 'an Haml al-Asfār fī l-Isfār fī Takhrīj mā fī l-Ihyā' min al-Akḥbār [on margin of Ihyā']. This version of the report did not escape Goldziher's attention; see ZA XXII 322, & 323 n.1, invoking Kāwaqjī, al-Lu'lu' al-Maṣnū' fī-mā lā Asla la-hu aw bi-Aslihi Mawdū' [Cairo n.d.] 64: "wa ḥaythu ukhtulifa fī-hi lā yaḥsunu l-ḥukmu 'alayhi bi-l-waḍ'".

18. Compare Goldziher's gloss on this sentence (ZA XXII 319), "ie. My whole rule is accomplished by means of thee". His reading is a bit too broad, since 'aql here is not the demiurge.

19. In this respect, a number of reports depict 'aql as the chief 'tool' or 'instrument' (ālah, 'uddah, & cf. maṭiyyah 'expedient') by means of which man accomplishes his religious duties; eg. Matālib III 14 #2746 > Tanzīh I 219 #116 (from Dāwūd b. al-Muḥabbar's K. al-'Aql).

20. God as al-Mu'tī in the broadest sense, Q 20:50 "alladhī a'tā kulla shay'in khalqahu He Who gave unto everything its proper form"; or more particularly the unrestricted divine gift of fortune in this world, 11:3 yu'tī kulla dhī faḍlin faḍlahu (& 11:108, 17:20); or in the Hereafter, 17:21 "faḍḍalnā ba'dahum 'alā ba'din wa la-l-ākhiratu akbaru darajātin wa akbaru tafḍīlan We have exalted

some of them over others (in this world); and surely the Hereafter shall be greater in degrees (of rank) and greater in surpassingness (than their excelling each other in this world)".

21. As a qawl of Mu'āwiyah b. Qurrah, in 'Uyūn al-Akhbār I 279; 'Aql 34 #19; also Hilyat II 300 > Sifat III 179 (listing the superogatory deeds); Ibn al-Jawzī, Adhkiyā' 8, & Dhamm al-Hawā' 10. Further, 'Aql 28-9 #11 (raised to the Prophet) > Matālib III 12-3 #2741. This saying is paralleled by a teaching of the Medinan 'Alid imam Muḥammad al-Bāqir (transmitted from al-Bāqir by the predestinarian Zaydī Abū Jārūd Ziyād b. al-Mundhir; see Theologie I 254-5), pointing to the idea's widespread currency; see Mahāsīn, kitāb maṣābīḥ al-zulam, bāb al-'aql, 195 #16 > Uṣūl I 11 #7.

22. Literally, "through thee I take [seize for sin]". Form I akhadha may mean III ākhadha 'chastise, blame, punish' (for sins); cf. Q 29:40 "akhadhnā bi-dhanbihi We seized for his sin", & 3:11, 40:21. Compare al-Bāqir's form of the ancient wisdom tale about the hermit and his wish for God's donkey (Mahāsīn 193 #10), where God says: "anā u'ākhidhu 'ibādī 'alā qadri mā a'taytuhum min al-'aql I shall punish my servants in proportion to (the measure) which I granted them of al-'aql".

23. See the report from the Musnad of Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī (d.203/818-9), ascribed to Abū Hurayrah: "ya'tī l-Islāmu yawma l-qiyāmati fa-yaqūlu llāhu 'azza wa jalla: anta l-Islāmu wa Anā "l-Salām", al-yawma bi-ka u'tī wa bi-ka ākhudhu"; Matālib III bāb al-Islāmi shartun fī qabūli l-'amal, 52 #2855.

24. Jarḥ V 335 #1583; Tahdhīb VII 45-6 #83.

25. Abū Bishr, a famous *qāṣṣ* and *bakkā'* 'weeper' transmitting from Thābit al-Bunānī, al-Ḥasan, and Qatādah. Ṣāliḥ was a disciple of the Basran 'ābid 'Aṭā' al-Salīmī (an associate of Mālik b. Dīnār), of whom Ibn 'Adī remarks, "wa la-hu kalām daqīq fī l-zuhd"; al-Maqrīzī, Mukhtaṣar al-Kāmil 611 #1527. Condemned as weak and *munkar al-ḥadīth*, Ṣāliḥ's personal piety (ṣāliḥ) did not spare the critics from warning against his reports, said to be riddled with errors such as 'raising' reports from al-Ḥasan or Thābit to Anas b. Mālik (sometimes employing 'collective' isnāds), or attributions to Abū Hurayrah. Such *manākīr* attributed to reliable authorities troubled the critics, despite their reluctance to discard his *riwāyah* entirely. See Jarḥ IV 395-6 #1730; F.Nadīm 235; al-Dāraquṭnī, Du'afā' 106 #287; Kāmil IV 1378-81; T.Baghdād IX 305-10 #4845; Mīzān II 289-90 #3773; Tahdhīb IV 382-3 #641; I'tizāl 95; Zwischen 158-9; Theologie II 68-9.

26. A maxim of al-Ṣādiq defined 'aql as: "mā 'ubida bi-hi l-Raḥmān wa uktusiba bi-hi l-Jinān that by which the All-Merciful is worshipped, and by which Paradise is earned"; Uṣūl I kitāb al-'aql wa l-jahl, 11 #13, on a very meagre isnād. A form of al-Ṣādiq's saying is reworked into the composite waṣīyyah of the Prophet to 'Alī; Ibn Bābawayh, Man Lā Yaḥduruhu l-Faqīh [Najaf 1957] IV 267.

27. A Baghdadi deemed trustworthy or *ṣaḍūq*, yet said to transmit from weak authorities; Jarḥ VII 212 #1174; Thiqāt IX 88; T.Baghdād II 100-1 #496; Tahdhīb IX 75-6 #92 (= #93 ? al-'Ayshī, a Basran Murji'ī).

28. The Medinan 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'AbdAllāh b. Dhakwān al-Qurashī; son of the reputable Successor and faqīh Abū l-Zinād 'AbdAllāh (d.130/747-8). Several of his teachers were

predestinarians who combatted Qadarī views, eg. Suhayl b. Abī Ṣāliḥ (d.138/755-6) and his colleague Mu'ādh b. Mu'ādh al-'Anbarī (d.196/812); see Zwischen 61, 85, 91, 94, & 145. 'Abd al-Raḥmān later moved to Baghdad, where his reportage was said to have been corrupted by Baghdadis through talqīn (insinuating others' reportage into his materials), while his Medinese riwāyah was deemed ṣāliḥ. Learned in the Qur'ān, akhbār, fiqh & laws of inheritance (farā'id), he transmitted a Kitāb Ra'y al-Fuqahā' al-Sab'ah (on the differing rulings of the 'seven jurists' of Medinah, F.Nadīm 282) from his father, which his rival the Medinan faqīh Mālik b. Anas disparaged. See Jarḥ V 252 #1201; T.Baghdād X 228-30 #5359; Tahdhīb VI 170-3 #353; Tradition 125-6.

29. A mawlā of the Zubayrid family in Medinah, and the elder brother of the important Medinan historian-faqīh Mūsā b. 'Uqbah (d.141/758-9; Tahdhīb X 360-2 #638, R.Tūsī 307 #430, & A.A. Duri\Conrad, Rise of Historical Writing 32 n.j). Deemed trustworthy or shaykh, ṣāliḥ, he was an informant for Mālik b. Anas & Sufyān al-Thawrī. See Jarḥ VIII 35 #159; Thiqāt VII 409; Mizān III 649; Tahdhīb IX 345-6 #569; R.Tūsī 295 #247 (associate of al-Ṣādiq).

30. Mawlā of Ibn 'Abbās; Jarḥ VII 167 #956; Thiqāt V 339; Tahdhīb VIII 433 #783; Fallātah, Al-Waḍ' fī l-Hadīth II 16. Kurayb transmitted from Ibn 'Abbās, Mu'āwiyah, 'Ā'ishah, and several women of Banū Hāshim, while serving as an informant for the Banū 'Uqbah (the three brothers Muḥammad, Ibrāhīm, & Mūsā the akhbārī), al-Zuhrī, and Makhūl. Kurayb's sons Rishdīn & Muḥammad (both 'weak': Tahdhīb III #527, IX #688, & Jarḥ III #2318 & VIII #307) transmitted his books. Mūsā b. 'Uqbah and his brothers reportedly took possession of a camel load of books from Kurayb (waḍa'a 'indana Kurayb ḥimla ba'īrin min kutub Ibn 'Abbās), with 'Alī b.

'AbdAllāh b. al-'Abbās requesting copies of them from Mūsā; al-Khaṭīb, Taqyīd al-'Ilm 136 > Tahdhīb VIII 433.

31. "Qāla, yaqūlu wa huwa a'lamu bi-hi..."; unless the text is disturbed, this interjection represents a unique element in these reports.

32. Or: "I created nothing more pleasing to Me...".

33. Compare the version found in Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, Iqd II 244 > below #15 (where God creates both 'aql and ḥuṣṣ): "wa lā waḍa'tuka illā fī aḥabbi l-khalqī ilayya". Further, al-Muḥāsibī, Mā'iyyat al-'Aql 201-2: huwa gharīzatun waḍa'ahā llāhu subḥānahu fī akthari khalqih.

34. See Q 3:73, 5:54, 57: 21 & 29, 62:4 — the refrain *dhālika faḍlu llāhi yu'tīhi man yashā'u*, referring to divine guidance and forgiveness (*huwa wāsi'un 'alīmun*), provided by God to whom He knows. Compare the prophetic ḥadīth given by al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī depicting God's pre-cognising the saved and the damned among Adam's progeny on the Yawm al-Mīthāq as He sprinkles His light upon them (...fa-qad 'alima man yuṣībuhu wa man yukḥṭi'uhu... thumma istanṭaqahum yawma'idh); Adab al-Nafs, ed. al-Sā'iḥ [Cairo 1993] 93.

35. Taking bi- in this pair as 'reason or cause'. Or should one comprehend bi- here as 'amount' (above #1.c): "According to thy measure do I reward, and according to thy measure do I punish" ?

36. The preposition 'alā here indicates something like: "according to your standard, on the basis of your performance". Contrast the phrases in other versions: wa 'alayka

u'āgibu; or iyyāka u'ātibu.

With regard to 'alayka u'ātibu, verb 'ātaba\yu'ātibuhu 'he blamed*reproved him' may be construed as mutual friendly anger*reproach born out of reciprocal love, ie. the 'act of disciplining & rectifying evil habits & accepting reproof', involving a regaining of mutual favour [Lexicon 't.b.]. Cf. reports #7 & 8.a; & below n.39.

37. "Man ahdaytuka ilayhi akramtuhu, wa man haram-tuka/harramtuka 'alayhi la'antuhu"; see the form of reports #2 & #15; & above #1.c. Al-Hakīm al-Tirmidhī links this version with the theological notion of kasb (man 'acquiring' his deeds, which are created by God), adding after it: "thumma l-'uqūlu mawāhibu llāhi Subhānahu wa Ta'ālā, wa l-tā'ātu makāsibu l-'ibādi wa lā tunālu l-makāsibu illā bi-l-mawāhibi Thus the 'uqūl are God's gifts, and acts-of-obedience are the acquisitions of men, and the acquisitions are not conferred save by means of the gifts"; Ma'rifat al-Asrār 38. Further, al-Muḥāsibī, Al-Qaṣd wa l-Rujū' ilā llāh, ed. H. al-Quwwatī [Malta 1988] 135.

38. Similarly when he quotes a different version of it without isnād in his al-Akvās wa l-Muḥtarrīn: "fa-inna llāha Tabāraka wa Ta'ālā khalāqa l-'aqla fa-qāla Al-mā ruwiya 'an-hu [ya'nī 'an al-nabī], "aqbīl!"..."; see #5b below.

39. Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī gave as exegesis of Q al-Baqarah 2:197 wa ittaqūnī yā ulī l-'albāb and fear Me (alone) O men of understanding!: "innamā 'ātabahum li-annahū yuḥibbuhum (God) blamed them because He loves them"; 'Aql 53-4 #64. →

See the verse sometimes attributed to the Basran poet Bash-shār b. Burd: *wa laysa 'itābu l-mar'i li-l-mar'i nāfi'an * idhā lam yakun li-l-mar'i 'aqlu yu'ātibuhu*; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, Eahjat al-Majālis [Cairo 1962] I 539.

40. For his life and works see GAL I 540 & SI 748; & S. Leder, Ibn al-Ğauzī und seine Kompilation wider die Leidenschaft [Beirut 1984] 15-42.

41. Uncertain, probably Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm al-Marwazī, whom Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī deemed a 'liar'; Jarḥ VIII 16 #72; Tahdhīb IX 315 #518. Or possibly al-Rāzī, an informant for al-Nasā'ī; Jarḥ VIII 17 #73; Tahdhīb IX 314-5 #517.

42. The akhbārī scholar & genealogist, author of one of the earliest *riḡāl* works Tabaqāt al-Fuḡahā' wa l-Muḡaddithīn, whom critics had a low opinion of (Ibn Ma'īn: a 'liar'; Abū Ḥātim: *matrūk al-ḡadīth* like al-Wāḡidī); Jarḥ IX 85 #350; Kāmil VII 256?-3; T.Baqḡdād XIV 50-4; GAS I 272; Ch. Pellat, E.I.² III 328. His father 'Adiy b. 'Abd al-Raḡmān al-Ṭā'ī was said to transmit a *nuskhah* from the Basran predestinarian Dāwūd b. Abī Hind (Jarḥ VII 3 #10).

43. A reputable Kufan scholar and ascetic with marked Shī'ī inclinations, both Ḥusaynid and Ḥasanid. Versed in the Qur'ān and the *farā'id*, he was held to be an expert in *riḡāl* of ḡadīths, and was a leading figure among the Kufan anti-Murji'ī predestinarians. Among many others he transmitted from were the Kufans 'Amr b. Murrah al-Jamalī and his son 'AbdAllāh b. 'Amr b. Murrah. See Jarḥ IV 146-7 #630; Tahdhīb IV 222-6 #376; R.Ṭūsī 206 #72 (associate of al-Sādiq); Tanqīḡ IIa 65-6 #5255; E. Kohlberg, E.Ir. I 926-8; Theologie I 237-9.

44. A highly regarded Kufan successor deemed trustworthy and noted for *faḍl*. He held Murji'ī and predestinarian views, transmitting from Sa'īd b. Jubayr, Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī, Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab, and was known for his *irsāl* on Ibn 'Abbās. Among his pupils were counted Sufyān al-Thawrī, Shu'bah b. al-Ḥajjāj (who lauded 'Amr for not performing *tadlīs*), al-A'mash, al-Awzā'ī, & his son 'AbdAllāh b. 'Amr. See Jarḥ VI 257 #1421; Tahdhīb VIII 102-3 #163; Theologie I 179.

Given 'Amr's Shī'ī inclinations, perhaps it is his son 'AbdAllāh (Jarḥ V 119 #546, Tahdhīb V 340 #581) who is named as an associate of Muḥammad al-Bāqir; R.Ṭūsī 131 #70. A scrutiny of this *isnād* suggests that al-A'mash may have transmitted this report from 'AbdAllāh b. 'Amr rather than his father; perhaps a case of *tadlīs* which al-A'mash was known for (E.Ir. I 926a).

45. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'AbdAllāh Ibn Sābiṭ, a Meccan Successor whose *irsāl* on leading Companions was popular, he belonged to the circle of Ibn 'Abbās in Mecca (*fī fuḡahā' min ṣaḥāb Ibn 'Abbās*); Jarḥ V 240 #1137 & 249 #1191; Tahdhīb VI 180-1 #361.

46. "Bi-ka u'tī wa bi-ka ākhudhu"; taking bi- here as 'measure'. Alternatively bi- as 'reason, cause': "On account of thee do I bestow, and on account of thee do I take away [man's *faḍl* in this-worldly fortune and/or provision of 'aql, & other-worldly rank]".

47. Eg. in his Mawdū'āt I 271-7, ten 'aql reports are treated significantly in the chapter *kitāb al-mubtada'* 'Beginning (of creation)'. He also combed al-Ghazālī's Iḥyā' to purge it of all objectionable reports, in his I'lām al-Iḥyā' bi-Aḡhlāt al-Iḥyā' (cf. Goldziher, Muslim Studies

II 146, 249; & ZA XXII 320-1). In his omnibus of ascetic*mystic personalities Ṣifat al-Safwah, he often ignored the material collected by Abū Nu'aym in the Hilyat. This conforms to the plan of his Ṣifat, intended to offer a 'corrected' or purified' version of Abū Nu'aym's book. Thus Ibn al-Jawzī specifically criticized Abū Nu'aym for having included specious materials from the early Ṣūfī teachers al-Hārith b. Asad al-Muḥāsibī and Aḥmad b. 'Āsim al-Anṭākī (see Ṣifat I 3), two figures who provide important treatments of 'aql in their teaching.

48. Dhamm al-Hawā, written between 560/1165 - 566/1171, covers not only the akhlāq, but the topic of love (ḥubb & 'ishq) from a moralizing traditionist perspective; see the studies by J.N. Bell, Love Theory in Later Hanbalite Islam [Albany 1979] 11-45; & Leder, Ibn al-Ḡauzī. Ibn al-Jawzī drew upon zuhd materials he assembled in his Ṣifat al-Safwah, as well as from Abū Nu'aym's Hilyat & al-Sulamī's Tabaqāt al-Sūfiyyah, for the ethical part of Dhamm. Perhaps Dhamm is the same work sometimes referred to as Ṣawlat al-'Aql 'alā l-Hawā (not mentioned in GAL I 659-6 & S I 914-20).

49. Mentioned in his Adhkiyā' 9; Ibn Qudāmah made an abbreviation, Mukhtaṣar Minhāj al-Qāsidīn [see Addendum B.]. Interesting materials related to the notion of 'aql occur in his Akhbār al-Ḥumqā wa l-Mughaffalīn, and Kitāb al-Mudhish. These writings have remained extremely popular in Islamic culture until today.

50. His form of the Adbir! Aqbil! report in Dhamm 8, follows after a number of reports belonging to Dāwūd b. al-Muḥabbar which he admits are 'weak' (Dhamm 7); apparently Ibn al-Jawzī implies that Ibn Sābiṭ's version is more reli-

able. In his Rūḥ al-Arwāḥ [Cairo 1309] 32-3, 50f. (Aqbil!), & 69, Ibn al-Jawzī exemplifies one manner in which later predestinarian notions on qadar, the lawḥ & qalam, and qalb & 'aql had become inextricably mingled.

51. However, the early 11th/17th century Ḥanbalī scholar of Palestine and Egypt Mar'ī b. Yūsuf al-Karmī, who reproduces Ibn al-Jawzī's opening section on 'aql from Dhamm al-Hawā in his Munyat al-Muḥibbīn, cites this version of the Aqbil! report but returns the iqbāl of 'aql to its prior place, seemingly with an eye to the text of report #1; see J.N. Bell, Love Theory 188, where this Aqbil! report is translated (reference by kindness of E. Kohlberg). Bell remarks that Mar'ī cites al-Suyūṭī's favorable opinion of the Aqbil! report (see above n.17) despite Ibn Taymiyyah's rejection of it, probably as an oblique way of dissenting from the prevailing Ḥanbalī consensus on the report's weakness (ibid. 188-9).

52. Not published; critics specified that al-Ṭabarānī's Awsaṭ contained the same matn attributed to Abū Umāmah, and on two other 'weak' isnāds to Abū Hurayrah. See al-Suyūṭī, Durar al-Muntathirah [Cairo 1987] 353 (mawṣūl min ḥadīth Abī Umāmah); & 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Muḥammad b. al-Ṣiddīq, Al-Taḥānī fī l-Ta'aqqub 'alā Mawdū'āt al-Ṣaḡḥānī [Cairo n.d.] 38. Al-Ṭabarānī's Awsaṭ was compared in scope and erudition to al-Daraqutnī's Al-Afrād. Al-Dhahabī remarks that he said of his Awsaṭ: "hādḥā l-kitāb ruḥī", fa-annahu ta'iba 'alayhi wa fī-hi kullu nafīsin wa 'azīzin wa munkar (Ḥuffāz III 913). The fact that al-Ḥafīẓ al-'Irāqī identified the report in Awsaṭ with the version quoted by al-Ghazālī (Ihyā' I 83 n.3, "awwalu mā khalāqa") probably reflects the habitual or intentional inability of most critics to distinguish between the two basic forms of the report; cf. apparatus in al-

Mu'jam al-Kabīr VIII 283 (quoting al-Haythamī, Majma' al-Zawā'id VIII 28: rawāhu l-Ṭabarānī fī l-Kabīr wa l-Awsat).

53. Abū Hammām, Ibn Abī Badr; a slightly controversial Kufan-Baghdadi with wide contacts deemed ṣadūq. Ibn Ma'īn defended him (laysa la-hu bakht mithi abīhi); Jarh IX 7 #28; Mizān IV 339-40 #9374; Tahdhīb XI 135-6 #226. His father Abū Badr Shujā' b. al-Walīd (d.205/820-1), a Kufan 'ābid and wārī' living in Baghdad, was regarded favorably by Ibn Ḥanbal (ṣadūq in shā' Allāh; shaykh ṣāliḥ) to the point of receiving exhortations from him, while Yahyā b. Ma'īn called him a liar to his face but later had a change of mind; Jarh IV 378-9 #1654; Thiqāt VI 451; T.Baghdād IX 247-50 #4826; Mizān II 264 #3668; Huffāz I 328 #312; & Tahdhīb IV 313-4 #536.

54. Jarh IV 55 #242; a Basran mawlā who lived for a time in Damascus, deemed munkar al-ḥadīth by Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī. Any connection to the Basran-Damascene Qadarī, Sa'īd b. Bashīr al-Azdī (Theologie I 118-20)?

55. Mizān III 206 #6146; Ibn Ḥajar, Lisān IV 360-1 #1745 (quoting al-'Uqaylī); deemed majhūl & munkar al-ḥadīth.

Given his shadowy status, other possibilities may include: eg. the Damascene "Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Ash'arī" al-Azdī or al-Anṣārī (Tahdhīb XII 130-1 #s 607 & 608); & or the Basran-Damascene noted for manākīr, Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar b. Ṣāliḥ al-Azdī (Jarh VI 116 #628, Majrūḥīn II 87, Thiqāt VIII 443, Mizān III 205-6 #6145). And cf. the Medinan 'Umar b. 'AbdAllāh mawlā Ghufrah (d.145\6), known for irsāl on Companions and qīṣaṣ & raqā'iq.

56. The Basran Successor Abū Ghālīb ṣāḥib Abī Umāmah, whose name is given as Khazawwar. Variouslly ṣāliḥ, weak, or

trustworthy, he also transmitted from Anas b. Mālik, and served as an informant for Basran Qadarī pupils of al-Ḥasan such as Mālik b. Dīnār, al-Rabī' b. Ṣabīḥ, & Hammād b. Salamah. See Ibn Ma'īn, Ma'rifat al-Rijāl II 81 #186 & 91 #232; Jarḥ III 315 #1411; Kāmil II 860-1; Tahdhīb II 244 #445 & XII 197-8 #905 (& cf. XII #s 906-7, + Jarḥ VIII 455 #2086). Sometimes confused (?) with the Basran, Nāfi' al-Rāfi' al-Khayyāṭ al-Bāḥalī mawlā Khālīd al-Qasrī.

57. Both La'ālī I 129 and Kanz read "bi-ka l-thawāb by means of thee is the reward".

58. Cf. W. Wright, A Grammar of the Arabic Language [3rd ed., Cambridge University Press, 1967] II 53,b: "that his intelligence and his knowledge may not become an argument against him/'aqluhu wa 'ilmuhu ḥujjatan 'alayhi"; & 59,b: "learning is the soul's cognizance of what is for its good and for its hurt/mā la-hā wa mā 'alayhā".

59. In his Nawādir al-Uṣūl (new ed. by Muṣṭafā 'Abd al-Qādir 'Aṭā [Beirut, Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 1991] I 133), al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī quotes this same version, giving only the 'encomium' and 'listing' ("wa 'izzatī mā khalaqtu khalqan..."), again without isnād. He does so in the context of explicating the ancient maxim "al-'aqlu dalīl al-mu'min intelligence is the guide of the faithful"; & see below n.68. Thanks to E. Kohlberg for alerting us to this.

60. The Sunnī author Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Salīlī fl. early 4th/10th century; the grandson of 'Isā b. Shaykh b. al-Salīl (d.269/882-3), his father Aḥmad b. 'Isā (d.285/898) was briefly ruler of Diyār Bakr. For the author and his Fitan see Aghā Buzurg al-Ṭihirānī, Al-Dharī'ah ilā Taṣānīf al-Shī'ah XVI 112 #174; & E. Kohlberg, A Medieval Muslim

Scholar at Work, Ibn Tawūs and his Library [Leiden 1992] 169 #155. Ibn Tawūs drew heavily from al-Salīlī's Fitan in compiling his Malāḥim, relying on a Mss. dated 307/919-20 based on the author's copy found in a school in Wāsiṭ.

61. A trustworthy Basran in touch with Ḥijāzīs, he transmitted from Mu'tamir b. Sulaymān and Wuhayb b. Khālīd, serving as an informant for al-Bukhārī, Muslim, Abū Dāwūd, and Mūsā b. Hārūn al-Ḥammāl; Jarḥ VI 29 #154; Tahdhīb VI 93-4 #196.

62. Abū Salamah, the Basran faqīh, qur'ān-reader and grammarian known for nusk, but blamed for reports on ṣifāt Allāh, or for manākīr. Like a number of other Basran grammarians (eg. al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad & Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā'), Ḥammād was known as an opponent of the Qadariyyah-Mu'tazilah (Thiqāt VI 217; & Theologie II 85), yet he associated with the neo-Manichaeen zindīq Ibn Abī l-'Awjā'. He transmitted from his maternal uncle Ḥumayd al-Ṭawīl (d.142/759-60), Thābit al-Bunānī, Qatādah, and many other leading Basrans. His pupils included Sufyān al-Thawrī, Ibn Jurayj, Shu'bah, Ibn al-Mubārak, and Dāwūd b. al-Muḥabbar. See Jarḥ III 140-2 #623; Thiqāt VI 216-7; Kāmil II 670-82; Mīzān I 590-5 #2251; al-Qiftī, Inbāh al-Ruwāt I 329-30 #220; Tahdhīb III 11-6 #14; Zwischen 112f.; GAS IX 43; Theologie II 376f.

63. A noble Arab Kufan who despised the mawālī, he was qāḍī in Kufah and briefly in Basrah, where he imported Medinan reports (from 'Atā' b. Abī Rabāḥ, al-Zuhrī, & 'Amr b. Shu'ayb), as well as from the Syrian Qadarī Makhūl and the Medinan-Yamāmī Qadarī Yahyā b. Abī Kathīr. He died in Rayy in the service of the 'Abbāsīd prince al-Mahdī. An associate of al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq, and a colleague of the akhbārī Muḥammad b. Ishāq, he was noted for irsāl & tadlīs,

and for altering wordings (*taghyīr al-alfāz, ziyādāt*).

Esteemed by Shu'bah, critics deemed him *ṣadūq* & not a 'liar', though Yahyā al-Qaṭṭān & Ibn al-Mubārak dropped his reports. See Jarḥ III 154-6 #673; Tahdhīb II 196-8 #365; R.Ṭūsī 119 #55, 179 #241; Tanqīh I 254 #2321.

64. A late Damascene Successor deemed acceptable who moved to Kufah where he died (*kāna maktabuhu bi-l-Kūfah*). Al-Walīd transmitted from the Damascene *qāṣṣ\qāḍī* Abū Idrīs al-Khawlānī (d. ca. 80/700) & al-Qāsim b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, and served as an informant for the Qadarī of Ḥimṣ Thawr b. Yazīd al-Raḥabī (d.153/770, Theologie I 114-7), & the Kufan Murji'ī Mis'ar b. Kidām (d.152/769 - 155/772, Theologie I 182-3). See Jarḥ IX 19 #78; Thiqāt V 493; Mīzān IV 567 #105587; al-Mizzī, Tahdhīb al-Kamāl XXXI 40-2 #6716; Tahdhīb XI 139 #233.

His brother Yazīd (d.130/747-8) was a reputable *faqīh* serving as *qāḍī* for 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz near Damascus, pupil of the Basrans Anas & Ibn Sīrīn, the Meccan 'Aṭā', & Abū Idrīs al-Khawlānī; and teacher of al-Awzā'ī, and the Qadarīs Sa'īd b. Abī 'Arūbah & Sa'īd b. Bashīr al-Azdī (who said of Yazīd: "*kāna ṣāḥib kutub*", *ya'nī annahu kāna balīghan*).

65. *Ṣāḥib Abī Umāmah*; a pious and prolific Damascene *faqīh*, *mawlā* to the Umayyad family of Khālīd b. Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah (per al-Bukhārī), who boasted of having met forty Companions present at the battle of Badr, but was recognized for his *irsāl* (Ibn Ḥibbān: *rawā 'an aṣḥābi l-Nabiy ṣ al-mu'ḍalāt*). Most critics admitted his contact with Abū Umāmah and many deemed him 'trustworthy', although Ibn Ḥanbal was convinced to the contrary and felt such reports were al-Qāsim's inventions; a number of later critics held him to be 'weak'. The widely varying critical opinions may be

explained by his Qadarī links. See Jarh VII 113 #649; Maj-rūhīn II 211; Mizān III 373-4 #6817; Tahdhīb al-Kamāl XXIII 383-91 #4800; Tahdhīb VIII 322-4 #581.

Al-Mizzī's notice listing his pupils (Tahdhīb al-Kamāl XXIII 384-5) is crawling with Syrian and Yamanī militant Qadarīs who were partisans of Ghaylān al-Dimashqī and/or were involved in the failed revolt of Yazīd III in 126/744, including Ḥafṣ b. Ghaylān (Theologie I 80-1), Thawr b. Yazīd, Thābit b. Thawbān (ibid. 96) & his son 'Abd al-Rahmān (ibid. 102-5), 'Utbah b. Abī Ḥakīm al-Hamdānī (ibid. 109), al-'Alā' b. al-Ḥārith (ibid. 101-2), al-Waḍīn b. 'Aṭā' (ibid. 81-2), and Yazīd b. Yazīd b. Jābir (ibid. 97-9); further, ibid. I 123-9, & van Ess, "Les Qadarites et la Ḡailāniya de Yazīd III", Studia Islamica XXXI/1970/273-4.

66. For the notion of ma'rifah in general and the problem of man's knowledge of God, one may begin with Rosenthal, Knowledge Triumphant 129-42; al-Shahrastānī\Gimaret, Religions I, index s.v. "connaissance [de Dieu par l'homme]"; & Arnaldez, E.I.² VI 568b-9a. Thus the assertions by Ibn 'Abd Rabbih ('Iqd II 244): "wa bi-l-'aql adraka l-nāsu ma'rifata llāhi 'azza wa jalla wa lā yashukku fī-hi aḥadun min ahli l-'uqūl"; and by Ibn al-Jawzī (Adhkiyā' 3): inna ajalla l-ashyā'a mawhibata l-'aqlu fa-innahu l-ālatu fī taḥṣīli ma'rifatī l-ilāh...". This major theme held that "ma'rifah of God" comes from God and is present in man from birth, which inborn knowledge enables man to recognize God as Existent and Creator and Director of the cosmos. Another major line of development assumed that the knowledge provided by 'aql as the faculty discriminating between true and false consisted of the religious commands and prohibitions; eg. 'Iqd II 248, "bi-l-'aql 'urifa l-ḥalālu wa l-ḥarāmu wa 'urifat sharā'i'u l-islāmī wa mawāqī'u l-aḥkām"; & al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, Al-Dharī'ah ilā Makārim al-Sharī'ah [Cairo 1985] 199f.

67. 'AbdAllāh b. al-Mubārak, when asked what was the best thing given to man (*afḍalu mā u'tiya l-raḡulu*), replied: "*gharīzatu 'aqlin*"; Ibn Ḥibbān, Rawḡat al-'Uḡalā' 17 (twice, once on Wahb's nephew 'Aḡīl b. Ma'ḡil b. Munabbih); & Ibn al-Jawzī, Dhamm al-Hawā 10. Cf. the answer given by the Meccan ra'y expert from the circle of Ibn 'Abbās' pupils, 'Aṡā' b. Abī Rabāḡ (d.114/732): "*al-'aḡlu 'an Allāḡ comprehension of God*"; Rawḡat al-'Uḡalā' 18. The early Basran ascetic Muṡarrir b. 'AbdAllāḡ Ibn al-Shikḡḡḡr (d.87/706 or 95/713-4) invoked an anonymous wisdom saying:

"The servant is not given anything more surpassing/*afḡalu min*, in addition to faith in God the Exalted, than *al-'aḡl*. It has been said/*yuḡālu*: < A man's *dīn* 'obedience*faith' is not perfected until he perfects his '*aḡl*.> God only consigned '*aḡl* to a man in order that He shall deliver him by means of it some day [=Resurrection Day]." (Waṡwāṡ al-Kutubī, Ghurur al-Kḡṡā'is al-Wāḡihah 8. + First sentence in Ibn Abī Shaybah, Muṡannaf XIII 482 #16988; Hilyat II 203; Ibn al-Jawzī, Aḡḡiyā' 8; ṡifat III 146. + Second sentence as an ancient *ḡawl* attributed to several Companions or the Prophet, eg. to al-ḡasan in '*Aḡl* 34 #18, 63 #93; & cf. al-Māwardī, Adab I 20.)

Another common reply was *khuluḡun ḡasan*, in several ḡadīṡh wherein a bedouin asks the Prophet "*mā afḡalu mā u'tiya l-insān?*"; see eg. al-Kḡṡīb al-Baḡhdādī, Mūḡih Awhām al-Jam' wa l-Taḡrīḡ II 110; further, Ibn Abī Shaybah, Muṡannaf VI *kitāb al-adab*, *bāb ḡusn al-khuluḡ*, 87-8 #s 1-3, 90 #10; Yanz al-'Ummāl III 5 #s 42 & 43, 8 #s 81 & 82. This points to an old meaning of '*aḡl* as 'good manners', ie. 'wise and prudent behavior' (= moral-intelligence).

68. Eg. al-Muḥāsibī's treatment of this theme in Mā'iyyat al-'Aql 202: "...innamā 'arrafahum Allāhu bi-l-'aqli min-hu, fa-bi-dhālika l-'aqli 'arafūhu wa shahidū 'alayhi bi-l-'aqli lladhī 'arafūhu bi-hi min anfusihi bi-ma'rifati mā yanfa'uhum wa ma'rifati mā yaḍurruhum". Al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī portrays 'aql as created from the light of God's splendor, whose locus is the brain and whose rays are in the heart (fī l-ṣadri bayna 'aynayi l-fu'ād), guiding man to acknowledgement and recognition of God as Creator and Lord of existence: "fa-l-'aqlu khalqun makhluqun min nūri l-bahā'i maqsūmun bayna l-muwaḥḥidīna min ladun Ādama..., fa-huwa mudabbirun li-amrihi wa āmirun wa zājirun wa mumayyizun wa dalīlun wa hādīn wa muṣṣirun, fī-hi 'arafa rabbahu wa bi-hi 'alima rubūbiyyatahu wa bi-hi naẓara ilā tadbīrihi wa ilā mā aẓhara li-khalqihī min mulkihi wa 'ajā'ibi qudratihi wa ṣan'ihī, wa bi-hi 'arafa jawāhira l-umūri min amri l-dīn wa l-dunyā"; Nawādir al-Uṣūl, 405 aṣl #279. Further on 'aql as a 'light in the heart', below ch.4, & ch.6 §III.

69. See Zwischen 106, & 101-14 generally for his discussion of the *fiṭrah* notion in early ḥadīth; & van Ess, Anfänge 13, 16, 45, 56, & 202; Theologie I 73-5 (on Ghaylān's political involvement), 97, 102, 125 (on the Ghaylāniyyah). Van Ess characterizes Ghaylān's *qadarī* beliefs: "...men are determined above all by their reason ('aql) in the direction of freedom of action"; E.I.² IV 370. He also points to its appropriation by the early Mu'tazilah, and with the Baghdadi Ṣūfī al-Muḥāsibī; Zwischen 114, *fiṭrah* identified with 'aql as God-given in *mīthāq*; & see al-Muḥāsibī, Fahm al-Qur'ān 264.

70. Referred to by van Ess in Zwischen 158, & Anfänge 45 & 202. The incident is reported from Dāwūd by the Basran Sa'īd b. 'Amir al-Ḍubā'ī (122/740 - 208/823-4), and

allegedly took place in Syria. It is a good example of what van Ess terms "actualized kalām".

71. A reputable pupil of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, and avid opponent of the proto-Mu'tazilī 'Amr b. 'Ubayd; Jarh III 411-2 #1881; Huffāz I 146-8 #140; Tahdhīb III 204-5 #388.

72. The term *adyān* (sing. *dīn*) is open to other renderings, eg. 'piety', 'mode of conduct or behavior', or 'recompense'. It is best construed here in the archaic meaning *dīn* = 'faith*obedience'.

73. See M. Bernand, "Le 'ilm chez les premiers Mu'tazilites", Studia Islamica XXXVI/1972/23-45 & XXXVII/1973/27-56, *passim* & (1972) 24-5; & eg. al-Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār al-Hamdānī, Al-Mughnī [Cairo 1965] XI al-Taklīf 375-87 (*fī bayān mā'īyyati l-'aql wa mā yattaṣilu bi-hī*), also 481-501, 511-515 (on *kamāl al-'aql*).

74. While most of the early Murji'ah were generally strict predestinarians, the Qadarī school of Ghaylān's followers in Basrah were sometimes said to hold an extreme Murji'ī doctrine equating *īmān* with *mā'rifah fī l-qalb* 'knowledge in the heart', a view also associated with the early theologian Jahm b. Ṣafwān; W. Madelung, "Murjī'a", E.I.² VII 606; T. Izutsu, Concept of Belief in Islamic Theology [Tokyo 1965] 103f.; & the discussion by van Ess in Theologie I 130-2. Was the association of qadar with *irjā'* behind the designation of al-Faḍl al-Raḡāshī's circle as the "Faḍliyyah"?; see van Ess, Zwischen 121-2, & Anfänge muslimischer Theologie 243-4.

75. Deemed weak & munkar al-ḥadīth, a number of Medinan

and Basran authorities were his informants; Jarh III 179-80 #773; Majrūhīn II 17; Kāmil II 797-8; Mīzān I 563-4 #2135 & III 356 #6740; Lisān II 326f.; & Tradition 224.

76. The Basran qāṣṣ and Qadarī theologian-propagandist holding Murji'ī views; a pupil of al-Ḥasan, Anas, and of his uncle Yazīd b. Abān al-Raqāshī, he was close to Ghaylān al-Dimashqī. See eg. al-Jāhiz, Bayān I 290-1 & 306-8; Abū Zur'ah al-Rāzī, Du'afā' II 338-9; Jarh VII 64-5 #367; Kāmil VI 2039-40; Hilyat VI 206; Mīzān III 356 #6740; Tahdhīb VIII 283-4 #519; I'tizāl 96 & 342; al-Shahrastānī\Gimaret, Religions I 426 n.54; Zwischen 121-2; & Theologie II 167-74. Later critics dubbed him a Mu'tazilī, probably because he was an informant for 'Amr b. 'Ubayd.

77. The Basran ascetic, a mukhaḍram who accepted Islam during 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb's Caliphate and fought in the wars of conquest in Iran, settling in Kufah then abandoning it for Basrah after the murder of al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī. He transmitted from important Companions and was deemed trustworthy, though blamed for changing wordings of reports (Ibn Ma'īn, Ma'rifat al-Rijāl II 228 #784). His death date is sometimes given as early as 75/694-5; Jarh V 283-4 #1350; Thiqāt V 75; Tahdhīb VI 277-8 #546.

78. "Mā khalaqtu khalqan khayran min-ka wa lā akrama min-ka wa lā afḍala min-ka wa lā aḥsana min-ka". The conjunction of khayr, karam, faḍl, & ḥusn in this 'encomium' lends support to viewing khalq through the lens of khuluq; see ch.2 §I.C.

79. However, since al-'Uqaylī, Ibn 'Adiy, Ibn al-Jawzī's Mawdū'āt I 174, & al-Suyūṭī's La'ālī I 129, do not include this phrase when quoting this version, its presence in Ibn

Abī l-Dunyā's 'Aql may be questioned. Most probably his text has suffered *tahrīf* or editorial redaction by a later transmitter or copyist. A likely solution is to emend the text of 'Aql at this point to "wa bi-ka u'badu and by means of thee am I worshipped", followed by "wa bi-ka u'rafu", as in the version of report #1 given by al-Bayhaqī via Ṣāliḥ al-Murrī } al-Ḥasan. Yet this is not supported by the texts in sources later than Ibn Abī l-Dunyā.

If Ibn Abī l-Dunyā indeed preserved an original feature of al-Faḍl al-Raḡāshī's report, which became excised in later sources for ideological motives, then the verb 'azza\ya'izzu, passive yu'azzu, may be: 1) intransitive, <God is exalted or cherished through the agency of man's 'aql>; 2) transitive 'azzahu\ya'uzzuhu bi-, <God is strengthened*aided by means of man's 'aql> (perhaps fitting with al-Faḍl al-Raḡāshī's particular Qadarī views; see Theologie II 169-70); or 3) grammatically possible, ya'uzzu 'to overcome in argumentative contest' (cf. Q 38:22 "wa 'azzanī fī l-khiṭāb he has been overbearing to me in his speech", + the old-Arab proverb "man 'azza bazza He who overcomes takes the spoil" [Lexicon '.z.z]), <God overcomes in argument through man's 'aql> — in tune with the notion of 'aql = al-ḥujjah God's 'conclusively overwhelming argument'.

80. Ibn al-Jawzī, Mawḍū'āt, instead reads "bi-ka u'āqibu by means of thee I punish"; while the two places in Kāmil & in La'ālī have "iyyāka u'āqibu thee alone I punish". Cf. above report #5.b n.36; & #10 below.

81. Following the unanimous readings of al-'Uqaylī, Ibn 'Adiy, Ibn al-Jawzī, & al-Suyūṭī. The text of 'Aql has "wa bi-ka l-thawāb by means of/on account of thee is the reward"; compare reports #5 & #8.

82. Dubbed Ḥufayṣ, also known as Ḥafṣ b. Abī Dāwūd; he passed down the Qur'ān readings of his step-father 'Āsim b. Bahdalah (d.128/745-6). Deemed ṣāliḥ, or even thiḡah by the Kufan Wakī' b. al-Jarrāḥ, yet generally 'weak' & matrūk al-ḥadīth, he was labelled a 'liar' by Ibn Ma'īn. Shu'bah (عَوْر) blamed him for copying books without samā' (Jarḥ III 173: *kāna yasta'īru kutuba l-nās*), and critics pointed to his *manākīr* & *bawāṭil* (inverting isnāds & 'raising' mursal reports). See Jarḥ III 172 #741 & 173-4 #744; Mizān I 558; al-Mizzī, Tahdhīb al-Kamāl VII 10f.; Tahdhīb II 400-2 #700; R.Ṭūsī 176 #181 (associate of al-Ṣādiq: *asnada 'anhu*); Tan-qīh I 352 #3072.

83. The transformation of "Ḥafṣ Abū 'Umar" into "Ḥafṣ ibn 'Umar" could represent a typical case of *tadlīs*, if not simply *taqallub* or mere *khaṭa'*. Any connection with the Basran Murji'ī qāḍī Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar b. 'Āmir al-Sulamī (Jarḥ VI 126-7 #689; Tahdhīb VII 466-7 #775; Theologie II 166)? Or with Ḥafṣ b. Sālim (Salm\Aslam?), the dā'ī of Wāṣil b. 'Aṭā' to Khurāsān (I'tizāl 241; Mizān I 555 & 557) ?

84. Jarḥ III 178-9 #770 & 180 #775; Tahdhīb XII 108 #504. Or even with another Basran, eg. Jarḥ III 177 #764, 184 #794; Tahdhīb II 409-10 #716; & Mūdh II 46-7.

85. From Ḥimṣ, a pupil of Mālik b. Anas, the Ḥanafī jurist Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī, Ibn Abī l-Zinād, & 'UbaydAllāh b. 'Amr al-Raqqī; he belonged to a group of Syrian jurist-traditionists who promoted *irjā'*, and opposed Qadarī notions. See Jarḥ IX 158 #657; Mizān IV 386 #9545; Tahdhīb XI 229-31 #371 (*ṣāḥib ra'y, jahmī*); GAS I 103; & Theologie I 139.

86. An ascetic & ṣāliḥ, known for blatantly falsifying

reports and dubbed a 'liar' by Ibn Ma'īn & Ibn Ḥanbal; Jarḥ IV 277 #1193; Majrūḥīn I 346; Mīzān II 256; al-Mizzī, Tahdhīb al-Kamāl XII 328f.; Tahdhīb IV 296-7 #508.

87. Probably identical with the Shī'ī Kufan faqīh Abū Muḥammad al-Faḍl al-Fuḍayl b. 'Uthmān al-A'war al-Murādī al-Anbārī, a leading partisan of al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq, also referred to as "al-Fuḍayl al-A'war"; Jarḥ VII 70 #s 400, 401 ('an-hu l-Thawrī), & #403?; R.Ṭūsī 132 #3, 270 #1, 272 #24; F.Ṭūsī 126 #s 557 & 558; R.Najāshī II 169-70 #839; Tanqīh Iib 14 #s 9509 & 9510. He was an associate (R.Kishshī 190-1 #333) of the Shī'ī theologian Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Nu'mān "Mu'min al-Shayṭān al-Ṭāq", for whom see Theologie I 336-42.

88. But cf. van Ess' suggestion concerning al-Faḍl's employment of 'aql as derived from Ghaylān's notion of *fiṭrah*, involving man's power of decision; Theologie II 170.

89. Uncertain; perhaps the 'Abd al-Raḥīm Abū 'Amr al-'Abdī listed by B. Radtke, Al-Ḥakīm at-Tirmidī 19 #16. Possibly to be identified with 'Abd al-Raḥīm b. Yaḥyā al-Dabīlī (Mīzān II 608 #5040), the pupil of Abū Sa'īd 'Uthmān b. 'Umārah (disciple of the Qadarī Ṣūfī 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. Zayd), and an informant for Ibn Abī l-Dunyā (eg. Makārim al-Akhḫāq 11 #51, & Dhamm al-Dunyā 118 #s 303-4).

90. Abū Sulaymān, al-Ṭā'ī al-Bakrāwī, the Basran-Baghdadi who authored one of the earliest compilations of 'aql reports, his notorious Kitāb al-'Aql. Dāwūd's ancestors were not Arabs of the Bakrāwī nobility in Basrah, but apparently descendants of a Persian mawlā Qaḥdham attached to the Bakrāwī clan; see Abū Nu'aym al-Iṣbahānī, Dhikr Akhbār Iṣbahān [New Delhi 1985] II 165. Dāwūd col-

lected ḥadīth in Iraq early in life, then went into seclusion on 'Abbādān island joining the group of Ṣūfīs gathered in the conventicle (ribāṭ) established by the pupil of al-Ḥasan, 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. Zayd. Late in life Dāwūd moved to Baghdad and transmitted his stock of pious reports to the ahl al-ḥadīth, being blamed by the critics for errors and textual blunders (*kāna yukhtī'u kathīran wa yuṣahḥifu*) and for *manākīr*. See al-Bukhārī, Ta'rikh II.1, 244 #837; Abū Zur'ah al-Rāzī, Du'afā' II 509-10 & 615 #97; al-'Uqaylī, Du'afā' II 35 #458; Jarḥ III 424 #1931; Majrūhīn I 286-7; Kāmil III 965-7; al-Dāraqutnī, Du'afā' 87 #208; T. Baḡhdād VIII 359-62 #4459; Mīzān II 20 #2646; Tahdhīb III 199-201 #381; al-Mizzī, Tahdhīb al-Kamāl VIII 443-9; & Theologie I 226, & II 119-20.

The critical view that Dāwūd was a 'liar' who falsified and stole ḥadīth was repeatedly asserted, yet Yaḥyā b. Ma'īn defended his integrity as a traditionist ("laysa bi-kadhḥāb", Kāmil III 965 & al-'Uqaylī, Du'afā' II 35). Over time the image of him became cemented in place as a "Mu'tazilī" (ie. the *aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth*'s way of designating 2nd/8th century Qadarī Ṣūfīs) whose reportage was totally to be rejected. Yet his 'aql reports continued to be exploited by Ṣūfīs as well as by certain of the Shī'ah for centuries. The texts of thirty-eight Prophetic ḥadīths transmitted by Dāwūd dealing with 'aql may be examined in Ibn Ḥajar, Maṭālib al-'Āliyyah [Kuwayt 1973] III 13-23, 214-6; and in Ibn 'Arrāq al-Kinānī, Tanzīh al-Sharī'ah al-Marfū'ah [Cairo 1378] I 213-20. We are preparing a monograph on this individual and his importance for later Islamic thought.

91. Abū Sa'īd al-Ḥasan b. Wāṣil al-Tamīmī, a Basran *mawlā* of Banū Sullayṭ and reputed Qadarī deemed a liar or weak. He transmitted a large number of *gharīb* reports which were coolly received by Iraqi tradents; Ibn al-Mubārak abandoned his reports in conformity with the consensus of

his Basran associates. See Jarḥ III 11-2 #37; Kāmil II 710-7; Mizān I 487-9 #1843; Tahdhīb II 275-6 #502; I'tizāl 91, 103, 342; & Theologie II 60.

92. The text of La'ālī I 130 has "inṭaliq! fa-inṭalaqa", which may mean "Break out in speech!...".

93. The text of Kanz concludes by appending an otherwise unattested sentence: "wa mā akrāmtuka bi-shay'in afḍala min al-ṣabr I did not confer upon thee anything more surpassing than 'long-suffering'". Early wisdom sayings often linked 'aql with ṣabr, as well as with the traits of ḥilm, wara', & yaqīn.

94. Eg. the ancient maxim "al-mar'u bi-aṣgharayhi qal-buhu wa lisānuhu Man consists of his two smallest parts, his heart and his tongue"; invoked by 'Amr b. Ma'dīkarib al-Zubaydī, in A.Z. Ṣafwat, Jamharat Khutab al-'Arab I 63; & versions by Ḍamrah b. Ḍamrah al-Tamīmī and Aktham b. Ṣayfī, *ibid.*, 66 & 137. The Umayyad Caliph Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik (rg. 96/715 - 99/717) cited anonymous verses ('Iqd al-Farīd II 241): "wa mā l-mar'u illā l-aṣgharāni lisānuh wa ma'qūluh [= 'aql] wa l-jismu khalqun muṣawwaru". Echoed in verses by the Basran zindīq fond of ḥikmah, Ṣāliḥ b. 'Abd al-Quddūs (executed 167/783-4), in Bahjat al-Majālis I 539, & T.Baqhdād IX 304. The wisdom background of 'tongue & heart' is obvious; cf. the classic tale about Luqmān dressing a sheep for his master, in Ibn Abī Shaybah, Muṣannaf XIII 214 #16141; Ibn Ḥanbal, Zuhd I 167; & cf. Heller & Stillman, E.I.² V 812 (parallels to Aesop).

95. Eg. the early maxim often attributed to al-Ḥasan, "mā 'aqala dīnahu man lam yaḥfaẓ lisānahu"; Ibn al-Mubārak, Zuhd 131 #390; Ibn Ḥanbal, Zuhd II 237-8; Abū Bakr Aḥmad b.

'Amr al-Shaybānī, Zuhd [Beirut 1988] 24 #40; Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, Samt 207-8 #34.

96. Ed. 'A.A. Hikmat [Tehran, Dānishgāh 1331-39/1952-60] I 442 (no isnād, apparently a "lammā khalāqa" form, in the context of Q 2:164); translated in Sachiko Murata, The Tao of Islam [Albany 1992] 212-3. We quote this version in Murata's translation. Maybudī drew heavily on his teacher the Khurāsānian master Khawāja 'AbdAllāh al-Anṣārī (d.481/1089), who could have been his source for this version. Al-Anṣārī's teaching claimed descent from the classical Baghdadi Ṣūfīs of the 3rd & 4th centuries AH.

97. Maybudī comments (ibid.) that 'aql is the fetter ('iqāl) of the heart, and that it "is the precondition for being addressed by God, but its existence does not mean that God will necessarily address a person. ... The servant's obedience is earned, but obedience cannot be put in order without that [divine] gift [of 'aql], and that gift cannot function without God's bestowal of success/tawfīq"; trans. Murata, Tao of Islam 212b.

The notion of tawfīq played a role in theological debates in which 'aql played a role from the first century, where people are either guided by God to the good, or freely choose the good based on an innate 'capacity' and resulting just reward from God; see van Ess, Anfānge 13, 54-6. Compare al-Muḥāsibī's formulation stressing the nexus of 'aql with 'saving-grace': "li-kulli shay'in jawharun wa jawharu l-insāni l-'aqlu, wa jawharu l-'aqli l-tawfīq everything has an 'essential constitution', and the essential constitution of the human is intelligence, while the essential constitution of intelligence is (God's bestowal of) saving-grace"; T. Baghdād VIII 213.

98. Probably the Naysābūrī Abū Muḥammad al-Faḍl b. Muḥammad al-Bayhaqī al-Shaʿrānī (d.282/895-6), rather than the Kufan al-Faḍl b. Dukayn (d.219/834); see B. Radtke, Al-Hakīm at-Tirmidī 22. For the former, a dedicated Shīʿī (ghālī) unknown to Twelver bio-bibliographic sources, see Jarḥ VII 69 #393; Mizān III 358 #6747.

99. Mawlā banī Umayyah, a muftī deemed ṣadūq; Jarḥ IX 57 #235; Tahdhīb XI 37-8 #77. Hishām was the pupil of the leading Syrian tradents Baqīyyah b. al-Walīd & al-Walīd b. Muslim, and of Damascene Murjiʿīs such as al-Ḥasan b. Yaḥyā al-Khushanī (see below ch.3 report #16) and Muḥammad b. Shuʿayb b. Shābūr al-Qurashī of Beirut (d.200/816, see Theologie I 138). Ibn ʿAdī al-Jurjānī (see Kāmil II 736-7) was in possession of a juzʿ by Hishām b. Khālīd containing his reports on } al-Ḥasan al-Khushanī.

100. Conforming to the Mss. reading "inṣit! fa-naṣata Hearken! so he fell quiet, listening", rather than the emendation of the editor who reads form IV anṣit! fa-anṣata.

101. Taking ismaʿ! fa-samīʿa in the Qurʾānic sense where samʿ & ʿaql converge; eg. IV asmaʿahu 'he made him to understand', as in the verses cited at the beginning of this chapter.

102. See Margaret Smith, Al-Muhāsibī: An Early Mystic of Baghdad [London 1935, repr. Amsterdam 1974] 93-4, quoting his Naṣāʾih and Kitāb al-Mustarshid; & van Ess, Die Gedankenwelt des Ḥārīt al-Muhāsibī [Bonn 1961] 75.

103. Interestingly, the version quoted without isnād by Miskawayh (d.421/1030) in his Fī l-ʿAql wa l-Maʿqūl (ed. M

Arkoun in Arabica XI/1964/80-7, on 83; & trans. Gr. Cuvelier, Arabica XXXVII/1990/115-22), offers a version of the report al-Muḥāsibī cited in Naṣā'ih, including a form of this elaborate 'encomium' ("...wa qadarī 'alā khalqī"); but giving only the four elements of the 'testing' as in al-Faḍl's report #7 (qum!), and with some variants in the 'listing' ("bi-ka u'rafu wa bi-ka u'badu"). Arkoun doubts the authenticity of this first part of Miskawayh's epistle containing ḥadīths on 'aql, perhaps unnecessarily given this moral philosopher's deep concern with ḥikmah and ethics.

104. Ibn al-Jawzī (d.597/1201), Mawḍū'āt I 174-5, & see Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī (d.748/1347), Tartīb al-Mawḍū'āt [Cairo 1986] 56-7 #73; Abū l-Faḍā'il al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Ṣaghānī (d.650/1252), al-Mawḍū'āt [Beirut 1985] 9 #26, + its useful 14th/20th century critique by 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Muḥammad b. al-Ṣiddīq, al-Tahānī fī l-Ta'aqqub 'alā Mawḍū'āt al-Ṣaghānī [Cairo n.d.] 36-9; al-Suyūṭī (d.911/1505), La'ālī I 129-30; 'Alī b. Muḥammad Ibn 'Arrāq al-Kinānī (d.963/1556), Tanzīh I 203-4 #64; Muḥammad Ṭāhir b. 'Alī al-Hindī al-Fatanī (d.986/1578), Tadhkirat al-Mawḍū'āt [Beirut & Damascus, n.d.] 28-9; Nūr al-Dīn 'Alī b. Muḥammad = Mullā 'Alī al-Qārī al-Marawī (d.1014/1605-6), al-Asrār al-Marfū'ah fī l-Akhbār al-Mawḍū'ah (= al-Mawḍū'āt al-Kubrā) [Beirut 1985] 188 #s 732 & 733, 317 #1220; *idem*, al-Maṣnū' fī Ma'rifat al-Ḥadīth al-Mawḍū' (= al-Mawḍū'āt al-Ṣuḡhrā) [Aleppo 1969] 205-6 #s 456-7; Muḥammad Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Albānī, Silsilat al-Aḥādīth al-Da'īfah wa l-Mawḍū'ah [3rd pr., Damascus 1392-] I 11f.

Works [not seen] of interest: Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Asākir (d.571/1176), Ta'rīkh Madīnat Dimashq; al-Suyūṭī, Dhayl al-Mawḍū'āt I 1-13 (= texts + isnāds of reports from the 'aql books by Dāwūd b. al-Muḥabbar & Sulaymān b. 'Isā al-Sijzī).

105. See T. Baḡhdād VIII 360 (tarjamah of Dāwūd b. al-Muḡabbar), quoted by al-Khaṭīb al-Baḡhdādī as a remark reported to him by his teacher from Tyre, Abū 'AbdAllāh Muḡammad b. 'Alī al-Ṣūrī (d. 441/1049-50 in Baḡhdad), which al-Ṣūrī had heard in Sidon from his teacher, the Egyptian traditionist-critic Abū Muḡammad 'Abd al-Ghaniy b. Sa'īd al-Azdī (d. 409/1018-9) directly from al-Dāraquṭnī. Repeated in slightly abbreviated form by al-Dhahabī (Mizān II 20), Ibn al-Jawzī (Mawdū'āt I 176), and al-Suyūṭī (La'ālī I 128). The fuller form is quoted by al-Mizzī (Tahdhīb al-Kamāl VIII 447) and Ibn Ḥajar (Tahdhīb III 200). Ignaz Goldziher was the first Occidental scholar to discuss it (ZA XXII 319-20 & 341-3). More recently it has been discussed by three Arab scholars; Ḥusayn al-Quwwatī, intro. to his ed. of al-Muḡasibī, al-'Aql wa Fahm al-Qur'ān 127f.; Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid, al-Islām wa l-'Aql [Beirut 1974] 30f.; & Maḡmūd 'Alī al-Jūzū, Maḡhūm al-'Aql wa l-Qalb fī l-Qur'ān wa Sunnah [Beirut 1980] 136f. Also see S. Ḥasan Abdul Ghaffār, Criticism of Ḥadīth Among Muslims with Reference to Sunan Ibn Māja [London 1986] 209-10.

106. This is an oft-repeated refrain met with in late ḡadīth criticism when the topic concerns 'aql. Eg. it is echoed by the Damascene pupil of Ibn Taymiyyah, Muḡammad b. Abī Bakr Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah (d. 751/1350) in al-Manār al-Munīf fī l-Ṣaḡīḥ wa l-Da'īf [Aleppo 1970] 66-7: "aḡḡadīth al-'aql kulluhā kadhib", then quoting al-Dāraquṭnī's famous pedigree of the kutub al-'aql, and referring to similar views by al-'Uḡaylī, Abū l-Faṡḡ al-Azdī (d. 367 or 374), and Ibn Ḥibbān al-Bustī. See Ṣ.-D. al-Munajjid, al-Islām wa l-'Aql 29.

107. Notably the works by al-Munajjid, al-Shaykh al-Jūzū, al-Quwwatī (see above n.105), and al-Quwwatī, al-

Tasawwuf al-'Aqlī fī l-Islām [Malta, Dar Iqrā' 1988] intr. 5-33. We have not seen the critical work of the Lebanese scholar Dr. Karīm 'Azqūl, al-'Aql fī l-Islām [Cairo, Maktabat Jādir, n.d.], focusing on al-Ghazālī's notion of 'aql (gratitude to maestro Jihād 'Azqūl for this reference).

Other 20th century works treating the problem of 'aql in ḥadīth in one way or another include: the former *Shaykh al-Islām* of the Ottoman empire, Muṣṭafā Ṣabrī, Mawqif al-'Aql wa l-'Ilm wa l-'Ālim min Rabb al-'Ālamīn wa 'Ibādihi al-Mursalīn [Cairo, 'Īsā l-Bāb al-Ḥalabī, 1950 = 4 vols.]; the former rector of al-Azhar al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥalīm Maḥmūd, al-Islām wa l-'Aql [Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Ḥadīthah, 1966]; 'Alī Shalaq, al-'Aql fī l-Qur'ān [Beirut, Dār Ib'ād li-l-Tibā'ah, 1984].

108. Eg. Muṣṭafā 'Abd al-Qādir 'Aṭā's popular reissue of the sections on 'aql from al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyā'* & al-Muḥāsibī's *Mā'iyyat al-'Aql*, in: Sharaf al-'Aql wa Māhiyyatuh [Beirut, Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 1st pr. 1986].

109. Recently Professor M. 'A. Amir-Moezzi has treated early Twelver 'aql reports in his remarkable work Le Guide Divin dans le Shī'isme Originel [Lagrasse 1992] 15-33 & passim, > trans. D. Streight, The Divine Guide in Early Shī'ism, The Sources of Esotericism in Islam [Albany 1994] 6-13. It is a pity that he studied the Shī'ī reports in isolation from the wider materials available from the corpus of Sunnī Ḥadīth, particularly the so-called ḍa'īf or munkar traditions preserved in early Zuhd and Akhlāq writings or in ḥikam, outside of the Six canonical collections. This leads him to ignore their theological import and to misconstrue their meaning in places in favor of a cosmogonic or more occultist reading. See our review in Tahqīqāt-i Islāmī [Tehran, Journal of the Encyclopaedia Islamica Foundation]

IX/1994/221-38; also reviewed by E. Kohlberg in Arabica XLII/1995/285-8.

110 See eg. Ḥusayn al-Quwwatlī, al-Taṣawwuf al-‘Aqlī fī l-Islām 5-106; and the continuing and deepening interest in the thought of al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī in publications from Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, and Germany.

111. We have not seen the later Najaf edition (1385/1964) by Muḥammad Ṣādiq Baḥr al-‘Ulūm. For Aḥmad al-Barqī: F.Nadīm 276-7; R.Najāshī I 204-7 #180; F.Ṭūsī 20-2 #55; R.Ṭūsī 398 #8 & 410 #16; Ibn Shahrāshūb, Ma‘ālim al-‘Ulamā’ [ed. ‘A. Iqbāl, Tehran 1353Q] 9-10; al-Mas‘ūdī, Murūj al-Dhahab [Beirut 1966-79] I 13 (ref. to al-Barqī's Kitāb al-Tibyān); Ch. Pellat, E.I.² § 127a-8a; Jalāl al-Dīn al-Muḥaddith's intro. to his edition of Mahāsin, jīm f.; & Mīzān I 150 #588 (kadhḥāb, wa kāna yafhamu l-ḥadīth). An associate of the 10th imam al-Hādī (d.254/868), and said to have been in touch with the 11th imam al-‘Askarī, he was blamed for marāsīl and reporting on 'weak' authorities (al-Najāshī: thiqatun fī nafsih yarwī ‘an al-ḍu‘afā’ wa i‘tamada l-marāsīl), a charge prompted perhaps by his transmitting from non-Imāmī scholars. A glimpse of the Shī‘ī circle he belonged to is given in R.Kishshī 557-8 #1053; al-Najāshī mentions his Kitāb Akhbār al-Aṣamm, which may reflect his theological interests. For a rather differing assessment of Aḥmad al-Barqī's significance for Twelver tradition, see Amir-Moezzi, Guide Divin 54; & idem, in Journal Asiatique CCLXXX/1992/240.

112. His Kitāb al-‘Aql is mentioned in F.Ṭūsī 20, & Ibn Shahrāshūb, Ma‘ālim 10, & Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, Mu‘jam al-Uḍabā’ [3rd ed. Beirut 1980] IV 133; but is absent from F.Nadīm & R.Najāshī. Ibn Shahrāshūb and Yāqūt appear to rely on Abū

Ja'far al-Ṭūsī in their listing of Mahāsin's contents. Both al-Najāshī and al-Ṭūsī rely on the Fihrist of another pupil of Aḥmad al-Barqī, the leading Qummī-Baghdadi scholar, Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Ja'far Ibn Baṭṭah al-Mu'addib; whose Fihrist was said to be riddled with errors (*kāna kathīra l-adab wa l-faḍl wa l-'ilm, yatasāhalu fī l-ḥadīth wa yu'alliqu l-asānida bi-l-ijāzāt, wa fī Fihrist mā rawāhu ghalat kathīr*; R.Najāshī II 282 #1020). Ibn al-Nadīm's much briefer listing is taken from one who transmitted the Mahāsin from al-Barqī, Abū 'Alī Muḥammad b. Hammām al-Kātib al-Iskāfī (for whom see R.Najāshī II 295-7 #1033; T.Baghdād III 365).

113. For him see W. Madelung, E.I.² V 362b-3b.

114. This is an educated guess, based also on titles of other lost works of Aḥmad al-Barqī (cf. R.Najāshī & F.Ṭūsī): Kitāb al-Fahm, K. Jadāwil al-Ḥikmah [The Tables of Wisdom], K. al-Amthāl, K. Makārim al-Akhlāq, K. al-Zuhd wa l-Mawā'iz, K. Adab al-Nafs, K. Khalq al-Samawāti wa l-Ard, K. Mā Khāṭaba llāhu bi-hi Khalqahu, & K. al-Mawāhib wa l-Ḥuḏūz [Yāqūt, Mu'jam IV 134]. Clearly al-Barqī's interests were ecumenical, if not eclectic; could reliance on non-Imāmī *riwāyāt* have contributed to the loss of the bulk of Mahāsin? Ibn Shu'bah al-Harrānī included a number of reports in his Tuhaf al-'Uqūl drawn either from al-Barqī's lost K. al-'Aql or derived from the compilations by Sulaymān b. 'Īsā & Dāwūd b. al-Muḥabbbar; similarly with al-Karājakī, Kanz al-Fawā'id, and al-Ṭūsī, Amālī.

115. A Qummī scholar of an old Shī'ī Kufan family; F.Nadīm 276; R.Najāshī II 220-1 #899 (*da'ifan fī l-ḥadīth wa kāna adīban ḥusna l-ma'rifah bi-l-akhbār wa 'ulūm al-'arab*); R.Ṭūsī 386 #4 & 404 #1; F.Ṭūsī 148 #628; Tanqīh III 113-4 #10659. Associate of imams al-Riḍā (d.203/818) and al-Jawād

(d.220/835), he had theological interests (eg. his book Fī 'Ilm al-Bāri'; R.Najāshī II 221) and was a pupil of Muḥammad Ibn Abī 'Umayr (d.217/832) & Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Abī Naṣr al-Bazantī (d.221/836); see R.Kishshī #s 290, 374, & 1034. The latter two were pupils of the Imāmī theologian Hishām b. Sālim al-Jawālīqī (below n.138).

116. See Ch. Pellat, E.I.² S 127a-8a; & E. Kohlberg, Ibn Tawūs 273 #411, & 308-9 #491 (on the Kitāb al-Mubtada' or Qisaṣ al-Anbiyā' of Abū 'AbdAllāh Muḥammad al-Barqī).

117. Probably the companion of the tenth imam al-Hādī, Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Isā al-Ash'arī al-Qummī; R.Tūsī 422 #12; F.Tūsī 155 #692?; Tanqīh III 158 #11123. Not the extremist/ghālī Abū Sumayyah Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Ṣayrafī al-Kūfī, a companion of imam al-Riḍā who was condemned by the Qummī scholars.

118. Abū 'Alī Wuhayb b. Ḥafṣ al-Jarīrī, *mawlā* of Banū Asad, a (Kufan?) companion of al-Ṣādiq and al-Kāẓim who authored reliable works yet was a *Wāqifī*; R.Najāshī II 393 #1160; R.Tūsī 328 #27; F.Tūsī 173 #758; Tanqīh III 282 #1273; & cf.? Jarḥ IX 27 #119 (Wahb b. Ismā'īl al-Asadī).

119. Abū Baṣīr Layth b. al-Bakhtarī al-Murādī, a famous blind companion of al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq with theological interests; R.Najāshī II 193 #874; F.Tūsī 130 #574; R.Kishshī 169-74 #s 285-298, & index s.v.; Theologie I 331-2. However, the kunyā "Abū Baṣīr" may also refer to several other blind persons, eg. Yahyā b. al-Qāsim al-Asadī; cf. Tanqīh III 308-11 #12975.

120. Contrast this with the characterization of 'ilm &

adab by Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, 'Iqd al-Farīd II 27: "innahumā l-quṭbānī l-ladhānī 'alayhimā madāru l-dīn wa l-dunyā wa farqun mā bayna l-insānī wa sā'iri l-ḥayawān..., wa humā mādḍatu l-'aqlī wa sirāju l-badani wa nūru l-qalbi wa 'imādu l-rūḥ." Al-Kulaynī's formulation is more in harmony with the intent enunciated by al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī (above n.68). The issue here involves what was termed "'aql dīnī faith mind" by al-Muḥāsibī (or by Aḥmad b. 'Āsim al-Anṭākī?) in the Kitāb al-Khalwāh; see al-Mashriq XLIX/1955/on 45 .

121. His name is Abū Bishr Abān b. Muḥammad al-Bajalī, identical with the Abān b. Muḥammad al-Bajalī, dubbed "Sindī al-Bazzāz". An associate of the tenth imam al-Hādī, a leading Kufan scholar & nephew of Ṣafwān b. Yaḥyā, he authored a Kitāb al-Nawādir; R.Najāshī I 82-3 #10 & II 421 #495; R.Ṭūsī 416 #6; F.Ṭūsī 81 #331; Tanqīh I 8-9 #33. Is he also identical with the Kufan-Baghdadi al-Sindī b. Rabī' b. Muḥammad (R.Najāshī II 421 #494; R.Ṭūsī 378 #8, 431 #1, 476 #11; F.Ṭūsī 81 #s 331 & 333; Tanqīh IIa 71 #5331), an informant for al-Ṣaffār?

122. Al-'Alā' b. Razīn al-Qallā', a Kufan *mawlā* of Thaqīf and companion of al-Ṣādiq. Deemed trustworthy, he transmitted from al-Mufaḍḍal b. 'Umar al-Ju'fī, was a pupil-colleague of Muḥammad b. Muslim (al-Najāshī: *ṣaḥība Muḥammad b. Muslim wa faqiha 'alayhi*), and an informant for al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb al-Sarrād (who transmitted his books) & for Yūnus b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān (eg. R.Kishshī #s 211, 214, & 552). See R.Najāshī II 153-4 #809; R.Ṭūsī 245 #355; F.Ṭūsī 112-3 #488 (four lines-of-transmission of his writings); Tanqīh IIa 256-7 #8037.

123. Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Muslim al-Awqaṣ al-Ṭaḥḥān al-Ṭā'ifī, a Kufan *mawlā* of Thaqīf. A disciple of al-Bāqir

& companion of al-Ṣādiq, he was a learned faqīh with theological interests who had controversies with the followers of ahl al-ra'y in Kufah. As a member of the circle around the Shī'ī theologian Zurārah b. A'yan, he upheld the latter's teaching on istiṭā'ah 'human capacity'. His work "Four Hundred Questions (on fiqh)" was relayed via al-Sindī b. Muḥammad } al-'Alā' b. Razīn } Muḥammad b. Muslim. See R.Najāshī II 199-200 #883; R.Tūsī 135 #1, 300 #317, 358 #1; R.Kishshī 161-9 #s 272-84; Tanqīh III 184-6 #11371; & Theologie I 330. Van Ess is perhaps correct in not identifying him with the (Meccan? or Kufan) quasi-Qadarī Muḥammad b. Muslim b. Suways\Susan [Sunsun?] al-Ṭā'ifī; Jarh VIII 77 #322, Tahdhīb IX 444-5 #729.

124. Per W. Madelung, E.Ir. III 725a-726b for his death date; yet Twelver authorities most often give the year 115.

125. This type of isnād is not uncommon in Twelver riwāyah, the attribution usually being to one of al-Bāqirayn or al-Ṣādiqayn, reflecting reports with a similar or identical content relayed from father or son, al-Bāqir and/or al-Ṣādiq.

126. Probably the Qummī scholar Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Farrūkh al-Ṣaffār (d.290/902-3), author of the precious early collection of reports dealing with the 'ilm of the Imām, Baṣā'ir al-Darajāt [Tabriz 1960]. See the information on him collected by M. A. Amir-Moezzi in Journal Asiatique CCLXXX/1992/221-50. Note that this report does not occur in the printed edition of Baṣā'ir, curiously bare of 'aql reports.

127. Of Qumm then Rayy, a controversial associate of the 9th, 10th, & 11th imams. Around 255/869 he was expelled

from Qumm by the leading Twelver scholar Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Īsā al-Ash'arī (see report #9 above), on account of accusations of *ghuluww* 'extremism'. Sahl was an informant for al-Barqī, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaffār, and al-Kulaynī, three of the most important 3rd century Imāmī compilers. See R.Ṭūsī 401 #1, 416 #4, 431 #2; F.Ṭūsī 80 #329; R.Najāshī I 417-8 #488; R.Kishshī 566 #s 1068 & 1069; Tanqīh IIa 75-6 #5396.

128. The Kufan Abū l-Faḍl 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Amr [= Abū Najrān] b. Muslim al-Tamīmī, an associate of the 8th & 9th imams. Deemed highly reliable, he authored numerous works dealing with *fiqh*, and a Nawādir. See R.Najāshī II 45-6 #620; R.Ṭūsī 380 #9, 403 #7; F.Ṭūsī 109 #464; Tanqīh IIa 139 #6339; & ? Jarḥ V 267 #1258.

129. R.Kishshī 167 #280, + 162 #273, where al-Ṣādiq is reported saying of Ibn Muslim: "annahu qad samī'a min abī wa kāna 'indahu wajīhan"; further Theologie I 330 n.82.

130. This is the Kitāb al-Burhān fī Wujūh al-Bayān by Ibrāhīm b. Wahb al-Kātib.

131. Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb al-Sarrād, a Kufan *mawlā* of Bajīlah and associate of imams al-Kāẓim & al-Riḍā; F.Nadīm 275 & 276; R.Kishshī index s.v.; R.Ṭūsī 347 #9, 372 #11; F.Ṭūsī 46-7 #151; Tanqīh I 304-5 #2710. A highly trustworthy scholar of law, he is said to have related from sixty companions of al-Ṣādiq, and written numerous works, including a Kitāb al-Nawādir.

Not to be confused with the slightly later Basran al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad (dubbed 'Maḥbūb') b. al-Ḥasan al-Qurashī; Jarḥ III 38 #164, & see Tahdhīb IX 119-20 #164.

132. The text of Naqd al-Nathr, in quoting this report anonymously, varies the phrasing of the 'setting': "inna llāha 'Azza wa Jalla lammā khalāqa l-khalqa, thumma l-'aqlu ba'dahum, istanṭaqahu...". This is clearly a making explicit of the fact that reports of the "lammā khalāqa llāhu l-'aqla"-type were not to be understood as depicting 'aql as first creation, and exhibits a sensitivity to the (later) controversy over the "awwalu mā khalāqa llāhu l-'aqlu" form. Immediately following this quote, pseudo-Qudāmah invokes two statements by the imams about 'aql as the ḥujjah; cf. Uṣūl I 25 #22 [al-Ṣādiq], & I 16 > Tuhaf 285 [al-Kāzīm to Hishām].

133. Or: 'he examined*tested him'. This unique element makes explicit the 'testing' intended by the iqbāl & idbār of 'aql. The same term occurs in the tale of Caliph Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah's infatuation with the singing girl 'Umārah, where Yazīd tests the sagacity & oratory of his Iraqi interlocuter (described as 'āqil) he has selected to aid him in a ruse to win 'Umārah from her 'Alid owner: "fa-lammā dakhala 'alayhi istanṭaqahu fa-ra'ā bayānan wa ḥalāwatan wa fiqhīn [= 'aql]..."; Ahmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī, Al-Mahāsin wa l-Masāwi', ed. M. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm [Cairo 1961] I 224. And Caliph Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik tests someone by questioning: "arāda an yakhtabirahu li-yanzura a-'aqluhu 'alā qadri kalāmihi am lā..."; Iqd al-Farīd II 241; & 'Aql 51-2 #58: "...arāda Sulaymānu an ya'rifa 'aqlahu".

134. Ibn Bābawayh's Amālī agrees with Mahāsin, yet some Mss. of Mahāsin read the energetic lā ukmilannaka. Both Uṣūl and Naqd have the perfect akmalatuka, "I have only perfected you in those whom I wish (to do so)".

135. Naqd concludes by adding: "wa bi-ka ākhudhu wa bi-

ka u'ṭī". Does this reflect an alternative form of this riwāyah?

136. Eg. the report from imam Mūsā al-Kāzīm in Maḥāsīn, kitāb maṣābīḥ al-ẓulam, bāb al-'aql, 193 #9: "...David did not appoint Solomon as his successor until he tested his 'aql/ḥattā ikhtabara 'aqlahu...". See the versions by Wahb on Ibn 'Abbās, and by Ka'b al-Aḥbār, found in Ibn Wathīmah al-Fārisī, Bad' al-Khalq, ed. R.G. Khoury [Wiesbaden 1978] 127f.; & partly paralleled by Sa'īd b. Jubayr, in al-Nuwayrī, Nihāyat al-Arab III 235, & al-Kutubī, Ghurar al-Khaṣā'is 85-6. Further, the prophetic ḥadīth concerning the light sprinkled upon Adam's progeny in the Yawm al-Mīthāq cited by al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī, Adab al-Nafs, ed. al-Sā'ih [Cairo 1993] 93-4: "inna llāha khalāqa l-khalqa fī ẓulmatin thumma rashsha 'alayhim min nūrihi..., thumma akhrajahum yawma l-mīthāq bīḍan wa sūdan thumma istanṭaqahum yawma'idh...".

137. 'Alī b. al-Ḥakam b. al-Zubayr al-Nakha'ī, of Kufa (and/or from al-Anbār), and companion of the 8th imam al-Riḍā and/or al-Jawād. Deemed reliable, he authored a book relayed via Abū Ja'far Aḥmad al-Barqī and Muḥammad b. al-Sindī. See R.Najāshī II 109 #716; R.Tūsī 382 #30, 403 #12; F.Tūsī 87 #366; Tanqīh IIa 285-6 #s 8250-8254. He was the pupil of the Imāmī theologian Abū Aḥmad Muḥammad Ibn Abī 'Umayr al-Azdī (d.217/832; R.Kishshī 570 #1079, & see Theologie I 384-6).

138. Probably the Kufan Imāmī theologian Abū Muḥammad Hishām b. Sālim al-Jawālīqī; R.Najāshī II 399 #1166; F.Tūsī 174 #760 ('Alī b. al-Ḥakam transmitted the aṣl-book of al-Jawālīqī); W. Madelung, "The Shiite and Kharijite Contribution to Pre-Ash'arite Kalām", Islamic Philosophical Theol-

ogy, ed. P. Morewedge [Albany 1979] 120-39, on 129 n.9, 131 n.26, 134 n.43; & Theologie I 342-8. This important follower of al-Ṣādiq and al-Kāzim was a rival of another key disciple of both imams, Hishām b. al-Ḥakam.

Note that Ibn Abī 'Umayr belonged to the school of al-Jawālīqī; given that Hishām b. al-Ḥakam was also a teacher of Ibn Abī 'Umayr (see F.Ṭūsī 174-5 #761), the possibility that "Hishām" in this *isnād* = Hishām b. al-Ḥakam, cannot be discounted (see R.Kishshī 415 #785; & Madelung, art. cit. 134 n.43).

139. This final phrase may be contrasted with other versions given above: *la-ka al-thawāb; bi-ka uthību; iyyāka uthību*. Perhaps 'alayka may be construed as: "Upon thee do I requite", with the *thawāb* taken in the absolute sense of compensation for both good and evil; yet most often *thawāb* denotes requital of obedience to God.

140. He authored a Kitāb al-Nawādir, which Abū Ja'far Aḥmad al-Barqī transmitted; R.Najāshī II 235 #926 ("qarību l-amr"); F.Ṭūsī 153 #676; Tanqīh III 112-3 #10657. Not Abū 'AbdAllāh Muḥammad b. Khālīd al-Barqī, the father of the compiler of Mahāsin, invariably referred to by: 'an abīhi.

141. Abū Muḥammad 'AbdAllāh b. al-Faḍl b. 'AbdAllāh b. al-Ḥārith [= "Babbah"] al-Nawfalī al-Hāshimī, who was a descendant of Nawfal b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib (for Babbah: Tahdhīb V 180-1 #310). A Qurashī Arab known to have relayed many interesting reports from al-Ṣādiq; his book was transmitted from him by Ibn Abī 'Umayr; R.Najāshī II 25 #583; Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Ardabīlī, Jāmi' al-Ruwāt [Qumm 1331] I 499; Tanqīh IIa 202 #7004. But see the next note.

142. Twelver bio-bibliographical sources make no mention

of "al-Faḍl b. 'AbdAllāh al-Hāshimī al-Nawfalī"; this isnād might have been 'inverted' in some way in Mahāsin's text and "abīhi" lost its true place, but Bihār I 97 #6 has the same.

Possibly the isnād should be: ...al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl (b. Ya'qūb b. Sa'īd b. Nawfal b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib) al-Hāshimī al-Nawfalī } his father } al-Ṣādiq; see eg. Mahāsin, kitāb al-ṣafwah wa l-nūr, 152 #75. For this associate of imam al-Riḍā, al-Ḥasan\Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Nawfalī, see R.Najāshī I 159-60 #111, or 169 #130; Tanqīh I 309 #2745, & 343 #3053 (quoting from a Mss. of R.Najāshī differing considerably from the several published versions: rawā 'an nuskhati abīhi 'an Abī 'AbdAllāh..., la-hu kitābun kabīr); and said to have authored the account of al-Riḍā's debates with leaders of other religious confessions (majālīs al-Riḍā ma'a ahli l-adyān). Further on this family of akhbārīs, see Ch. Pellat, "al-Nawfalī", E.I.² VII 1045a-6a.

143. Such a notion may have first been broached by the Kufan mawla and faqīh Sa'īd b. Jubayr (executed 95/714 by al-Ḥajjāj), a leading pupil of Ibn 'Abbās and an associate of 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn Zayn al-'Ābidīn. See the report in Ibn Wathīmah al-Fārisī, Bad' al-Khalq 128:

"It has reached me that al-'aql was divided into a thousand parts/anna l-'aqla qusima 'alā alfi juz'in. Muḥammad ṣ was granted 999 parts, and his community was given only one part. Likewise the prophets before him, save that whch God excelled Muḥammad ṣ with. For God elected the prophets on account of their 'aql. ..."

The fact that Sa'īd retells an earlier piece ("balaghanī") points to the currency of this notion within certain circles in early Islam. This motif of the prophets being the 'weightiest' in understanding (most wise of their contemporaries), with its conception of the materiality of 'aql

having a definite mass or measure, was developed in some detail in terms of "grains of sand" (cf. 1 Kings 4:29) representing the infinite gradations of the created measures of 'aql; see eg. Wahb's statement in Hilyat IV 26-7 (via Dāwūd b. al-Muḥabbar).

The proper context against which to view this notion is the possibility of extraordinary endowment with the divine gift of wisdom given to special men found in Biblicist Wisdom writings of the Hellenistic era. Rabbinic Wisdom taught that Moses was the greatest of sages having received forty-nine of the fifty created measures of Wisdom*Understanding (bīnāh), except that of Divine Wisdom itself (the midrashic notion in Babylonian Talmud, Rosh ha-Shanah 21b); see eg. L. Ginzberg, Legends of the Jews III 141, IV 130. More to the point is B.Qid., 49b: "Ten kab (measures) of wisdom came down into the world; the land of Israel received nine, and the rest of the nations were given one"; trans. U. Wilckens, "Sophia", in G. Kittel, ed., Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, trans. Bromily, VII 506-28, on 507.

144. The identical isnād occurs nearby in Mahāsin 193 #11 (on the ulū l-albāb). Given that al-Kulaynī (Uṣūl I 11 #5, & 27-8 #32) reports two versions of very similar reports on an isnād through Abū Ghālib al-Ḥasan b. al-Jahm b. Bukayr b. A'yan al-Zurārī } imam Abū l-Ḥasan al-Riḍā; then al-Barqī's report #13, with its almost nonexistent isnād, may be taken as a qawl of the eighth imam al-Riḍā or possibly of his father Mūsā al-Kāẓim.

→

For al-Hasan b. Jahm, who compiled a work of masā'il on his master al-Riḍā, see: R.Najāshī I 158 #108; F.Tūsī 47 #152; R.Tūsī 347 #10 (associate of al-Kāzim), 373 #28 ("al-Rāzī" = al-Zurārī); Tanqīh I 271 #2496. For the family of A'yan b. Sunsun, descendants of a Greek monk from Aleppo, and its role in Imāmī intellectual life, see: F.Nadīm 276, & Theologie I 322-3.

145. *Mā yu'ba'u min ahli hādihā l-dīn bi-man lā 'aqla la-hu.* Cf. Usūl I 27 #32; & Q al-Furqān 25:77. Al-Majlisī defuses the implications of this statement by recourse to the theological notion of taklīf: *alladhīna ghayra kāmilīna fī l-'aql, wa in ḥurimu 'an faḍā'il ahli l-'aql lākin takālīfuhum ayḍan aṣhalu wa akhaffu, wa aktharu l-mukhāṭabāti fī l-takālīfi l-shāqqati l-ulī l-albāb; Bihār* I 92.

146. "Mimman yaṣifu hādihā l-amr"; the 'affair' denoting Shī'ī partisanship and following the Imām's religious authority. Compare Usūl I 11 #5: "*'indanā qawman la-hum maḥabbatun wa laysat la-hum tilka l-'azimah yaqūlūna bi-hādihā l-qawl?*"

147. The report in Usūl I 11 #5 has: "*fa-i'tabirū yā ulī l-abṣār*". Recall that Aḥmad al-Barqī included in his Maḥāsin a work entitled K. Mā khāṭaba llāhu bi-hi khalqahu (above n.114).

148. Eg. Ibn 'Abd Rabbih ('Iqd al-Farīd II 249): *min jalālāti qadri l-'aql anna llāha lam yukhāṭib illā dhawī l-'uqūl; or pseudo-Qudāmah, Nagd 3. See the development of this notion in al-Muḥāsibī, Fahm al-Qur'ān 266f. A separate study of the development of the notion of ḥujjah in the early period would throw much light on these theological and*

spiritual ideas in relation to 'aql.

149. See H. Landolt, 'Walāyah", Encyclopedia of Religion, ed. M. Eliade, XV 319-21.

Chapter 2
SALIENT MOTIFS

SI. "WHEN GOD CREATED 'AQL "

This chapter first examines the major themes embedded in the *Aqbil'* report(s), and then reviews a rival body of early tradition which placed 'the Pen' (*al-qalam*) at the beginning of creation.

SI A. The 'SETTING'.

The most invariable detail in all the above versions is the near total unanimity in the wording: "When God had created *al-'aql*" (*lammā*, 'having created', 'at the time that God created'). Clearly the temporal clause *lammā khalāqa* should not be understood as specifying a first, primordial, or 'pre-creation' cosmogonic divine creation. Rather it depicts the divine gift of the human faculty of 'intelligence*understanding' or innate wisdom. We use the word 'faculty' loosely, signifying a trait of the human constitution endowed with ethico-religious dimensions which is gifted by God (*mawhūb*); perhaps this is covered by the term *shay'* occurring in some of the reports.¹ This fact needs to be stressed in light of Goldziher's influential supposition that the form "*lammā khalāqa*" was a later deformation or mitigation of the original "*awwalu mā khalāqa*" form. While

other second century reports employing this clause make clear that "lammā khalāqa llāhu" was met with in popular moralizing traditions,² the phrasing of some was perhaps modeled on the 'setting' of the *Aqbil* report itself.

SI B. The 'TESTING'.

The second unanimous feature is God's making trial of 'aql by commanding him to advance and retreat, or face forward and back. The motif of testing one's comprehension was seen to be indigenous to early Muslims (ch.1 n.133). The imagery of turning forward and back is rooted in the old Arab and early Arab-Muslim lexical pairing of *iqbāl* & *idbār*, *muqbil* & *mudbir*, a widespread 'Janus' conception.³ This conceptual pair was connected with increasing vs. declining fortune: " *iqbāl al-dunyā* the being fortunat "; & "dabara ba'da *iqbāl*in his fortune became evil after having been good" [Lexicon d.b.r.].⁴ Recall that in the old Arab and early Muslim view, good fortune (*ḥazz* & *jadd*) in one's livelihood (*rizq*) was aligned with stupidity (*ḥumq*), the opposite with 'aql.⁵ This notion may lie behind the (possibly primitive?) predestinarian form of the 'testing' in this *Aqbil* report. A first century *qawl* attributed to leading personalities seems to echo old Arab usage :⁶

"I am more inclined to grant the request of the intelligent man who turns away (in disdain)/*al-‘āqil al-mudbir*, than the fool who thrusts his face for-

ward/al-aḥmaq al-muḡbil (seeking satisfaction of his need)."

The Qur'ān contrasts the positive human response to divine command or prohibition against the wilful disregarding or scornful 'turning away' from divine guidance; see eg. Q 8:23 "...wa law asma'ahum la-tawallaw wa hum mu'riḡūna And if He makes them hear, they will turn away in aversion".⁷ Another conceptual pair of Qur'ānic terms is clearly relevant, namely qaddama & akkhara (eg. Q 75:13 & 48:2 > per sins of omission and commission). Al-Muddaththir 74:37-8 gives a warning: "to him among you who wishes to advance/an yataqaddama (in virtue) or hang back/yata'akkhara. Every soul is pledged for what it has earned."⁸ God puts man to trial, with reward and punishment necessarily deserved by acts or by omissions which are within man's capability.⁹ God's 'testing' of 'aql enters into this dynamic. The motif met with in tales about the 'Succession of Solomon' (ch.1 n.136), where the 'āqil is tested to determine how abundant is his endowment of understanding clearly plays a part here.

A complementary theme from the first century on was the spurning of this world (al-dunyā) and its capricious bestowal of fortune, and concentrating upon the Hereafter (al-ākhirah). Al-Ṣādiq invokes Luḡmān's admonition to his son wherein improper iqbāl & idbār vitiate 'aql 'reason' :¹⁰

Since I came into this world, I turned away (from it)
and turned to face the Hereafter. My dear boy, do not

pursue the affair [of worldly fortune] when it declines (*mudbiran*)¹¹, and do not relinquish [worldly fortune] when it presents itself (*muqbilan*). For that makes the *ra'y* 'sound-sense*judgement' to err, and makes *al-'aql* contemptible.

Luqmān's meaning should be construed as counselling indifference to the ups-and-downs of material circumstances, over which one has no control.

All religious matters are said to possess both an *iqbāl* and an *idbār*,¹² an ebb and a flow. An interesting *qawl* assigned to the second Caliph 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb links the three faculties of *dhihn* 'mental-acuity', '*aql* 'intelligent-comprehension', and *ḥifẓ* 'retentiveness-of-mind', with the heart.¹³ 'Umar asked a group of his associates :

"What do you say concerning the man whom at times his *dhihn* is not present with him/*lā yaḥḍuruhu*, nor his '*aql* nor his *ḥifẓ*; and at times his *dhihn* and '*aql* are present with him? ... [They confess ignorance.]

The heart has a 'darkening-cover' like the clouds obscuring (the light of) the moon/*inna li-l-qalbi ṭakhā'an ka-ṭakhā'i l-qamar*. So when that (covering) envelopes the heart/*ghashiya dhālika l-qalba*, then his '*aql* and *ḥifẓ* depart from him/*dhahaba min-hu*. And when it [the 'darkening-cover'] is dispelled from his heart, his *dhihn*, '*aql*, and *ḥifẓ* are brought (back) to him."

'Umar's nexus of *dhihn*, '*aql*, and *ḥifẓ* suggests the overlapping qualities of mental-acuity, of intelligence, and of 'attention*consciousness', being located in the heart as the

seat of awareness likened to the light of the moon. The heart (*qalb*), as the main anthropological term for the inner totality of perception, has an organic ebb and flow. This saying involves the widespread notion of *dhahāb al-‘aql* 'loss of reason' (cf. *ghushiya ‘alayhi* 'lose consciousness, faint'), and explains the cause of episodic intervals of inattention or mental vacuity in human awareness.

This theme of contrasting 'times' of intensity for the functioning of human faculties receives a differing emphasis in several reports attributed to ‘Alī and to Ibn Mas‘ūd specifying that man's heart is 'two-faced', characterized by periods of eager-longing and susceptibility to good works, countered by periods of feeble laxity and aversion when it must not be overly tasked.¹⁴ This notion appears to parallel the Zoroastrian teaching concerning the timely governing of two types of virtue through innate wisdom (*xrad*), the two modes of action being 'forward-inclined' and 'backward-inclined' (*frāz-āhangīg* & *abāz-āhangīg*), with human virtues and vices falling into both of these two categories in a double binary system.¹⁵

These several dove-tailing motifs provide an indigenous context in which to comprehend the *iqbāl* & *idbār* of ‘aql. At a certain level the 'testing' demonstrates ‘aql's obedience/ṭā‘ah to the divine injunction, his readiness to heed the divine address by performing obligatory deeds &

refraining from prohibited things. 'Aql is 'two-faced' in an even more fundamental way, when it comes to comprehension of meaning. God's 'testing' of 'aql essentially consists in His addressing him directly (*khāṭabahu*), and 'aql's hearing-and-obeying the divine address. This basic feature expands upon the Qur'ānic givens (*sam'*, *fahm*, *ulū l-albāb*, "*ya'qilūna*"; + see ch.1 report #14). His *iqbāl* is the proper response to the demand to pay attention & understand: 'Listen!'. His *idbār* is the turning a deaf ear to all temptations which deflect his reception of guidance, warning, or reproach. For the Qadarī reading of our report, the *idbār* of al-'aql is a metaphor for disobeying Iblīs (*ma'ṣiyat Iblīs*). The *idbār* may also be viewed as stopping short at limits imposed by God or inherent in 'aql's nature, a theme favored by later Ṣūfīs, playing on the etymological derivation of 'aql from the camel's binding cord (*al-'iqāl*).¹⁶

Thus the *iqbāl* & *idbār* of 'aql represent a considerable refinement of the ancient wisdom motif of the wise man's turning toward, and the fool's turning away, from counsel or admonition.¹⁷ This motif is basic to the sapiential address formula (*isma' qawlī wa i'qil 'annī!*; *iḥfazū wa 'ū!*) where hearing-and-obeying (ie. acting on what one hears) comprise the twin facets of understanding and comprehension (French 'entendement').¹⁸ The process or event of understanding in the hearer's consciousness was indicated by 'aqala 'an\min,

and involves the equivalence of *fahm* and 'aql in relation to *sam'* and *galb*. This fundamental significance of the role of 'aql is clearly evident in a unique form of the *lammā* *khalāqa* report :¹⁹

#15) God Mighty and Majestic, when He had created al-'aql 'intelligence', He said, "Come forward!" so he drew near. Then He said to him, "Go back!" so he retreated. Then He said, "By My Power and My Glory! I did not create a creature dearer to Me than thee, and I shall certainly not put thee save in the most beloved of creatures to Me." And when He had created al-ḥumq 'stupidity', He said to him, "Come forward!" so he retreated. Then He said to him, "Go back!" so he drew near. Then he said, "By My Power and My Glory! I did not create a creature more hateful to Me than thee, and I shall certainly not put thee save in the most detested of creatures to Me."

The predestinarian intent is clear: 'aql leads to fortunate happiness, wise and prudent conduct of life, and salvation; ḥumq ends in misfortune, ignorance, and damnation.

Stupidity is the inverse or mirror opposite of 'aql 'intelligence*wisdom' since it refuses to listen and perversely fails to comprehend God's address. The archaic tone of this piece is more in tune with old-Arab notions ('aql \ ḥumq) than the voluntarist versions examined above. For those who must seek an original *Ur-text*, this is a good candidate (the ancient paradigm of wisdom vs. folly, or 'aql vs. *nafs* & *hawā*).

Beyond this fundamental sense, 'aql's 'two-faced' nature points to his withdrawal from immersion in wordly gratification and vice and a corresponding dedication to virtue and otherworldly verities (zuhd). His heedful compliance to the divine address supplies the pretext for the divine approbation heaped on 'aql in the encomium. This kind of obedience*hearing, of paying attention & heeding,²⁰ is what constitutes true 'intelligence' or wisdom, itself made possible through God's provision. Ultimately the *iqbāl* & *idbār* of 'aql represents an Islamic valorization of the sapiential address formula, extended into a narrative creation tale loaded with theological weight. The 'testing' was elaborated to vehicle the particular concerns of the circles adapting the report (eg. ch.1 reports #7 & #8.a).

SI C. The 'ENCOMIUM'.

Some variation is found in the praise God awards to 'aql. It falls into two parts, God's oath (lacking in #s 1, 3, 6, 7, & 13); and God's praise of 'aql as the most cherished thing to Him. The oath most often consists in God's vowing by His Power or Might (*wa 'izzatī*!), or His Power and Glory. This emphasis on the divine potency and majesty highlights the special status of 'aql among created things (cf. *faḍl al-'aql* the surpassing merit of 'aql). While two reports lacking the oath (#1 & #3) may be open to predestinarian interpretation, it is likely that the heart

of the issue was the motif of *tafdīl* — the inequities or innate variations in human endowment of moral understanding.

God's praise expresses the cherished (*aḥabba ilayya*), even distinguishing (#5 *a'jaba*, #6 & #7 *akrama*), esteem He has for 'aql, whom He created nothing better than (*aḥsana min*). The phrase "*mā khalagtu khalqan... I did not create a creature*" (or "*I created no creature*"), effects a personification of 'aql as one of God's *khalq* 'created beings'. Normally 'khalq' is taken as equivalent to 'mankind, human',²¹ though other beings are so referred (angels, the *jinn*).²² The personification of 'aql was not unusual in early Muslim thought, as the almost poetic saying of an anonymous bedouin implies :²³

If al-'aql were to be 'fashioned (in human form)' (*law ṣuwwira l-'aqlu*), then the sun would be made dark next to him; and if al-ḥumq were to be so 'fashioned', then the night would shine brightly next to him.

Early *ḥadīth* contain several charming tales featuring the semi-personified 'aql, such as the ancient wisdom tale about Gabriel offering Adam a choice of 'aql over the traits of *ḥayā* 'organic-shame' (or *ḥusn al-khuluq* 'goodliness of innate disposition') and *dīn* 'faith*obedience'.²⁴

Significantly, early Islamic sayings make an explicit personification of *ḥusn al-khuluq*.²⁵ Often a person's *khalq* 'physical form' and their *khuluq* 'innate constitution' are

compared.²⁶ Al-Ṭabarānī quoted a 'prophetic' saying via the Companion 'Ammār b. Yāsir: "ḥusnu l-khuluq is the greatest created-being of God".²⁷ Given the extremely widespread and important nexus of 'aql and the akhlāq (a topic deserving of separate detailed treatment), it is justified to construe the meaning of khalq in the Aqbil reports as revolving primarily around its nature as chief among the created traits of human endowment. The term khalq thus depicts 'aql as the most essential or chief distinguishing glory of humans as a gift from God upon which one's salvation hinges. The occurrence of shay' 'thing' in several versions supports this (ch.1 #2, #9, #14). That 'aql is depicted as created/makhlūq, and one among other created traits is never in doubt.²⁸ Yet this was no obstacle to viewing 'aql as much more than a mere trait of human nature, and placing it in the supernal realm of God's Throne, ie. 'aql as Heavenly Wisdom, prototype\counterpart to the human inborn trait.

SI D. The 'LISTING'.

Here we meet with the widest range of variability among the report(s). Often the meaning is clouded by textual variants which may profoundly alter the sense, even by a single letter, and the possibility of taḥrīf & taṣḥīf is constantly present. Although we are attempting to trace trajectories of meaning focused on a single term, for reasons of economy we cannot explore the significance of the

differing versions beyond the brief comments following each report.²⁹ Clearly these differences reveal the continuing evolution and enrichment of meaning contributed by the circles handling the report. It is most evident in the variety of phrasings dealing with reward and punishment: #4 *bi-ka u'āqibu*; #3 *bi-ka uthību wa bi-ka u'āqibu*; ## 5-9 *la-ka l-thawāb wa 'alayka l-'iqāb*; #10 & #11 *iiyāka uthību wa iyyāka u'āqibu*; #12 *'alayka uthību*.

Most notable among these enrichments were the moderate Qadarī circles in Basrah stemming from the disciples of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (Mālik b. Dīnār, al-Faḍl al-Raḡāshī, al-Ḥasan b. Dīnār, Ṣāliḥ al-Murri); and the Kufan Shī'ī appropriation clustered around the figures of the imams al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq (Muḥammad b. Muslim, Abū Baṣīr, Hishām al-Jawālīqī). In Part II we shall see that the Shī'ī development of this report in some ways went well beyond the Basran-Baghdadi stream, involving an expansion of the 'setting' intended to combat Dualistic teachings, and a wealth of detail in the 'listing' based on the psycho-ethical role of the *akhlāq*, preparing the way for later Ṣūfī psychological *adab*.

SI E. SUMMARY :

Such intense creative enrichment among Iraqi schools pursuing increasingly independent paths throughout the second century, must not distract one from appreciating the roots of this report. The versions attributed to the

Medinan Kurayb (#2), to the Meccan Ibn Sābiṭ (#4), and that found in 'Iqd (#15), are clearly predestinarian in intent. They present a problem in judging whether the report started out by reflecting predestinarian notions about 'aql, particularly in light of the currency among the old Arabs & early Arab Muslims of the notion that 'aql was part of the predestined allotment varying in measure with every individual. This possibility cannot be easily dismissed. The fact that early in the second century this report was received and elaborated by both pro-Qadarī Sunnī and anti-Qadarī Shī'ī circles in Iraq (with both largely subscribing to the notion of *tafḍīl al-'aql*, innate dissimilarities in people's 'uqūl) reveals that it had an earlier history, unrecoverable from our sources.

This report was in circulation during the last third of the first century, either in the Ḥijāz and/or in Syria and Iraq, as a saying by key Successors enunciating the notion of *faḍl al-'aql* 'the surpassing merit of intelligence', with its implications for *taklīf* 'moral responsibility'. It may possibly have been known earlier in some form as a wisdom narrative of predestinarian intent. Eventually it became 'raised' into a *qawl* of famous Companions. Probably at the same time this 'raising' took place, it began to be 'improved' so as to reflect the concerns and preoccupations of the Basran and Kufan and Damascene circles who embraced

it, since it was open to both Qadarī and predestinarian interpretations. Only during the course of the second century (ca. the 2nd third?) did it assume the guise of a Prophetic ḥadīth. One may cautiously assert that in some form, this report was part of the teaching of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and of Muḥammad al-Bāqir, both of whom flourished in the last third of the first century AH. If one accepts this assertion, one must also accept that the Aqbilī report is an expression of basic Islamic teachings.

SII. QALAM AND 'FIRST CREATION'

Despite the fact that the Aqbilī report says nothing about a first creation, during the era of its early unfolding Muslim thinkers evinced an interest in God's first created thing. Among the natural or celestial things named as a 'first creation' are mentioned: Water, Spirit,³⁰ God's Throne,³¹ the Letters,³² and al-Qalam 'the Pen' by which God inscribed His predestined decrees of Fate upon the Preserved Tablet (al-lawḥ al-maḥfūz)³³ for the universe He planned to create. Second century Shī'ī thinkers also entertained the idea of Muḥammad and the Imāms as a type of primordial spiritual creation (arwāḥ), or 'pre-creation' light bodies (later Nūr Muḥammad).³⁴ We are not aware of any ḥadīth or qawl before the 3rd/9th century explicitly stating that al-'aql was God's first creation.

An indication of the differing notions current from an early period is reflected in the query put to al-Bāqir by an anonymous learned Syrian (min ahli l-Shām min 'ulamā'ihim) who asked him about "the first thing God created of His creation 'an awwali mā khalāqa llāhu min khalqihī".³⁶ This Syrian referred to three prevailing views among Muslims on the first thing created: Spirit/al-rūḥ, Pen/al-qalam, and al-qadar.³⁶ Al-Bāqir responded by arguing for a creation ex nihilo, then asserting that God first created Water, from which everything else was created.³⁷ Similar creation schemes were popular in the first two centuries, especially among the quṣṣās.³⁸ Since reports depicting the Pen as first creation came to be entwined with the Aqbil! report, they shall be treated first before following further developments of "lammā khalāqa llāhu" and its mutation into "awwalu mā khalāqa llāhu l-'aqlu".

SII A. THE 'PEN' QALAM, AGAINST AL-'AQL

J. van Ess identified the main lines of transmission of "naive predestinarian sayings" about the Pen cast in the form of ḥadīths.³⁹ Taking their cue from Q 68:1 "By the inkstand and the Pen and by that which they write", a famous qawl was elaborated whose basic form asserts :⁴⁰

Awwalu mā khalāqa llāhu l-qalamu⁴¹ The first thing God created is\was the Pen.⁴² Then He said to it, "Write!" So (the Pen) wrote what came to pass and what will come to pass⁴³ until the Day of Resurrection.⁴⁴

(However, the form of the "Ibn Jubayr } Ibn 'Abbās" report found in al-Ṭabarānī, Mu'jam al-Kabīr XII 54 #12500, reads: "Lammā khalaqa llāhu l-qalam qāla la-hu...".) As van Ess has shown (Zwischen 78-9), the chief witness to early forms of this qalam report as a qawl of Ibn 'Abbās came from Kufan predestinarian circles of the last decades of the first century, in touch with the Meccan school of pupils of Ibn 'Abbās (eg. Sa'īd b. Jubayr d.95/714, Mujāhid d.104/722, & al-Qāsim b. Abī Bazzah⁴⁶ d. ca.115/733).

It quickly became 'raised' into a prophetic ḥadīth at the hands of later Kufans such as Sulaymān b. Mihrān al-A'mash (d.148/765), as Gilliot suggests (Arabica XL 367-9). In its prophetic form it was employed as an effective device against Qadarī circles of the Ḥijāz, Syria, but especially those of Basrah during the first half of the second century. Thus, one version makes a telling point against proto-Mu'tazilī views concerning certain verses in the Qur'ān as they related to God's foreknowledge and justice :⁴⁷

The first thing God created is\was the Pen. Then He ordered it, so it wrote what came to pass. And among what was written, it wrote: "Perish the two hands of Abū Lahab" [Q 111:1].⁴⁷

Whether the earliest versions of the qalam report enunciated the notion of 'first creation' is uncertain (cf. the "lammā khalaqa" form above). However, such a form of the qalam-

notion would clearly be easier to link with Qur'ānic vocabulary than the infinitive 'aql. Yet its center of gravity appears at first to have revolved around asserting predestinarian views over and against Qadarī or merely voluntarist notions.

SII B. THE TWINS: FIRST QALAM, THEN 'AQL

Around the late second or early third century AH, the "awwalu mā khalāqa llāhu l-qalamu" report converged with or was grafted onto a predestinarian version of the "lammā khalāqa llāhu l-'aqla" report. The marriage of the two resulted in a peculiar offspring intended to effect some sort of harmonization or reconciliation between two originally incompatible families. Or the intent may have been to mitigate the perceived baleful consequences of the more radically Qadarī versions of the Aqbil report. We give two examples of this offspring, both with a tripartite structure.

#16) Kāmil VI 2272-3 (= al-Suyūṭī, La'ālī I 130-1, from Ibn 'Adiy, & al-Dāraquṭnī's Gharā'ib Mālik; partially quoted in Mīzān IV 61 #8298, & Tahdhīb IX 506) :

ZENAD ... al-Rabī' b. Sulaymān al-Jīzī⁴⁰ (d.256/870) ;
Muḥammad b. Wahb al-Dimashqī⁴¹ ; al-Walīd b. Muslim⁴²
(d.195/810) ; the Medinan faqīh Mālik b. Anas (d.179/795) ;
Sumay⁴³ (d.130/747-8 - 135/752-3) ; Abū Sāliḥ Dhakwān al-
Sammān⁴⁴ (d.101/719-20) ; Abū Hurayrah (d.59/679) ; marfū'.

[Note the variant *riwāyah* with shorter text in Ibn al-Jawzī, Adhkiyā' 7: ... } Ja'far b. Muḥammad al-Firyābī (d.301/913-4) } Hishām b. Khālīd al-Azraq²³ (d.249/863) } al-Ḥasan b. Yaḥyā al-Khushanī²⁴ (d. after 190/806) } "Abū 'AbdAllāh mawlā banī Umayyah" } Abū Ṣāliḥ } Abū Hurayrah } *marfū'* :

"awwalu shay'in khalāqahu llāhu l-qalamu..., thumma khalāqa l-'aqla wa qāla, wa 'izzatī la-ukmilannaka...";
cf. ch.1 report #8.a.]

The text in Kāmil & La'ālī begins: *i* "awwalu mā khalāqa llāhu l-qalamu, thumma khalāqa l-Nūn the 'inkwell'", with the Pen writing all that has and that shall come to pass, "min 'amalin aw ajalīn aw atharīn"²⁵. Once the Pen completed writing, it falls silent forever. *ii* Suddenly: "thumma khalāqa l-'aqla Then (God) created al-'aql". Omitting the 'testing' completely, the text moves directly to the 'encomium', "mā khalāqtu khalqan a'jaba ilayya min-ka!". Then to a 'listing' of predestinarian intent, "la-ukmilannaka fī-man aḥbabtu wa la-unqīṣannaka fī-man abghaḍtu": whomever God favors is granted a complete share of 'aql, and whomever He despises is granted a diminished portion (cf. ch.1 #2, #3, & above #15). *iii* The report concludes by appending a Prophetic saying defining what *kamāl al-'aql* and *nuqṣān al-'aql* consist of: performing acts of obedience, either to God or to the Devil.

The critical discussion centered on the identity of Muḥammad b. Wahb al-Dimashqī, most often pointed to as mid-wife for this report. Ibn 'Adiy dismissed it as *bāṭil* & *munkar*, while al-Dāraquṭnī remarked that it had no corroborating support from known reports of Mālik or Sumay, and without pinpointing blame suggested that one of its transmitters had unintentionally conflated two separate *ḥadīths* into one (*dakhala 'alā ba'dihim ḥadīthun fī ḥadīthin*; La'ālī I 131). The *isnād* discloses the role of several Damascene Murji'ī figures known for expertise in *fiqh* (students of al-Awzā'ī or Mālik b. Anas), and active propagators of *ḥadīth* at the turn of the 2nd\3rd century, who mingled theological *irjā'* with predestinarian views.⁵⁶ Its attribution in this misshapen 'twin' form to Mālik and the Ḥijāz is untenable; more plausible is an Iraqi Murji'ī input. Yet al-Walīd b. Muslim (above n.50), who was in contact with Ḥijāzī and Iraqi authorities, conceivably assisted at the birth of this report. It is possible that the older Syrian Qadarī trend exploited by Makḥūl and Ghaylān, and perhaps associated with Murji'ī views on faith and deeds, may have eased the way to this pairing of *qalam* and *'aql* (see Theologie I 129).

The other report takes a different route from Syria back to Medinah on a contrived *isnād* through some shadowy figures to Zayd b. 'Alī ... } 'Alī. Its tripartite format represents basically the same text as report #16, yet with

interesting variants such as the form of the 'testing' (cf. ch.1 #10, *istantṭagahu*). It was probably imported into Baghdad by the same Damascene Murji'ī (later "jahmī") circles.

#17) La'ālī I 131-2 (from al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī) :

...Abū Ja'far Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Naṣr al-Qāḍī }
 Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Razaqī } Mūsā b. 'AbdAllāh b. al-
 Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib } Fāṭimah bint
 Sa'īd b. 'Uqbah } her father Sa'īd b. 'Uqbah b. Shaddād al-
 Juhanī } Zayd b. 'Alī (d.122/740) } his father } & grand-
 father (al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī) } 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib } marfū' :

"The first thing God created is the Pen. Then He created the inkwell/al-ḍawāḥ, and this is His saying, [Q 68:1] "Nūn wa l-qalam", the nūn is the inkwell. Then He created for the Pen the inscription/khaṭṭ of what will come to pass of created-beings or livelihood or life-term or actions until the Final Hour arrives; and (He created the inscription of) what will come to pass of (assignment to) Paradise or Hellfire until the Final Hour arrives.

Wa khalāqa l-'aqla fa-istantṭagahu And He created al-'aql, then He interrogated him, so (al-'aql) answered Him. Then (God) said to him, "Idhhab Depart!" so he went. Then He said to him, "Come forward!" so he drew near. Then He interrogated him, and (al-'aql) answered him. Then He said, "By My Power and My Glory! I did not create anything dearer to Me than thee, nor better than thee. Certainly I shall place you in the one whom I love, and certainly I shall make you lacking/la-unqīṣannaka⁶¹ from the one whom I hate."

Then the Prophet *ṣ* said, "The most perfect of people in 'aql are the most obedient of them to God/aṭwa'uhum li-llāhi, and the most performing-of-deeds in obeying Him/a'maluhum bi-tā'atīhi. While the most defective of people in 'aql are the most obedient of them to Satan, and the most performing-of-deeds in obeying him."

The theme that abundance of 'aql leads to obedience to God while its deficiency leads to obeying the Devil was cultivated in Kufan Murji'ī circles. This notion has an older pedigree rooted in first century debates over *qadar*, ie. whether men's evil acts are pre-ordained by God, or are brought about by his own disobedience (= his obeying Satan).⁶² The predestinarian view generally held that man is not able to effect his own salvation by his own power. Thus the Syrian Murji'ī of Ḥimṣ Baqiyyah b. al-Walīd (d.197/812-3) transmitted a report from } Muḥammad Ibn Abī Jamīlah } Nāfi' } Ibn 'Umar } marfū' : "If God had wished not to be disobeyed, he would not have created Iblīs."⁶³

A literary critic might object to the artless and heavyhanded manipulation of these disparate traditions, crudely stitched together for polemical purposes. Compared to the terse power of the language in the *Aqbilī* reports, they lack poetry and subtlety. The curious reconciliation between *qalam* and 'aql attempted in reports #16 & #17 is clearly at the expense of the latter. The Pen is the first

created thing (or "the first of God's creation"), and what is written by it cannot be cancelled. Yet 'aql still plays a role as the next thing created. Was it this combination which smoothed the way for 'aql being placed "In the Beginning" of creation in the following centuries?

NOTES

1. Thus the philosopher al-Fārābī referred to the common notion of 'aql held by the generality of people: al-shay' alladhī bi-hi yaqūlu l-jumhūru fī l-insāni annahu 'āqilun; Risālah fī l-'Aql, ed. M. Bouyges [Beirut 1938] 3 §1.

2. Eg. al-Ṭabarānī, al-Mu'jam al-Kabīr XI 148 #11439, on the isnād ... Baqiyyah } Ibn Jurayj } 'Aṭā' } Ibn 'Abbās } marfū': "lammā khalāqa llāhu Jannata 'Adnin, khalāqa fī-hā mā lā 'aynun ra'at wa lā udhunun sami'at wa lā khuṭira 'alā qalbi basharin, thumma qāla la-hā: "takallamī!", fa-qālat: "qad aflaḥa l-mu'minūn". And its version via the Kufan Shī'ī Yahyā b. Salamah b. Kuhayl al-Haḍramī (d.172/788-9 or 179/795) } his father (d.121/739) } Mujāhid } Ibn 'Abbās } marfū': "inna llāha khalāqa Jannata 'Adnin min yāqūtatin ḥamrā', fa-qāla la-hā..."; Mīzān IV 382 (from al-Khaṭīb, T.Baqhdād). Also see 'Uthmān b. Sa'īd al-Dārimī, Radd 'alā l-Marīsī 551 via: Aḥmad b. Yūnus } al-Thawrī } al-A'mash } the Medinan Successor Abū Ṣāliḥ Dhakwān } Abū Hurayrah } marfū': "lammā khalāqa llāhu l-khalqa, kataba bi-yadihi 'alā nafsihi: inna raḥmatī taghlibu ghaḍabī". And al-Tha'labī, 'Arā'is al-Majālis 6: "lammā khalāqa llāhu ta'ālā l-arḍa..."; & 15 (on Ka'b al-Aḥbār): "lammā khalāqa llāhu ta'ālā l-'arsha qāla...". & See above ch.1 n.4.

3. Aqbala 'he approached, came facing'; vs. adbara 'he retreated, turning his back (to depart)', syn. wallā (cf. Q 9:25 & 74:36). Thus qubul & dubur, the anterior & posterior portions of human anatomy. Note the expression, "ʿarafa qabīlahu min ḍabīriḥ he distinguished his obedience from his disobedience" [Lexicon d.b.r.].

4. Eg. Ka'b al-Aḥbār's report (God to Moses): "...al-ghinā muqbilan, & al-faqr muqbilan"; al-Fārisī, Bad' al-Khalq 215. The discourse of the Medinan qāṣṣ Abū Ḥāzim Salamah b. Dīnār to the Caliph Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik, treats the theme of the utility of man's ḥīlah 'ruse' in compensating for paucity of rizq: "...fa-kamā mana'anī rizqa ghayri ka-dhālika mana'a ghayrī rizqī, fa-'alā mā aqtulu nafsī fī l-iqbāli wa l-idbār?!" ; pseudo-Ibn Qutaybah, al-Imāmah wa l-Siyāsah [Cairo 1967] II 77.

5. Reflected in a saying attributed to 'Alī by imam Zayn al-'Ābidīn: "al-rizq 'fortune' is entrusted to al-ḥumq 'stupidity', al-ḥirmān 'ill-fatedness' is entrusted to al-'aql 'intelligence*wisdom', and al-balā' affliction is entrusted to al-ṣabr 'patient-endurance'"; al-Kulaynī, al-Rawḍah min al-Kāfī 221 #277. Cf. as a prophetic ḥadīth, in 'Iqd al-Farīd II 247-8, variant: "...wa wak_ala l-rizqa bi-l-jahl li-ya'tabira l-'āqilu fa-ya'lamu an laysa la-hu fī l-rizq ḥīlah"; & 'Ilal, bāb 83, 92-3 #1 (on al-Ṣādiq); cf. the sayings in al-Kutubī, Ghurar 118.

See verses in Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, Bahjat al-Majālis I 546: "...fa-adbartu 'an al-'aqli wa aqbaltu 'alā l-ḥumq; also ibid. 532 (God to Moses), and 533 ('Alī); and verses in al-Kutubī, Ghurar 139: "lā tanẓuranna ilā l-jahālati wa l-ḥijā * wa unẓur ilā l-idbāri wa l-iqbāl, kam min ṣaḥīḥi l-'aqli akḥṭa'ahu l-ghinā * wa 'adīmu 'aqlin fāza bi-l-amwāl."

6. "Anā li-l-'āqili l-mudbiri arjā minnī li-l-aḥmaqi l-muqbil"; found in 'Iqd al-Farīd II 245 (al-Aḥnaf b. Qays); Ibn Ḥibbān, Rawḍat al-'Uqalā' 123 (al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī); Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, 'Aql 57 #73 (al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf quoting Caliph 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān); al-Rāghib al-Iṣbahānī, Muḥādarāt al-Uḍabā' [Beirut 1961] I 6 (a qawl of al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf). Very possibly it should be construed differently: al-'āqil

al-mudbir as the intelligent man of paltry worldly fortune, vs. al-aḥmaq al-muqbil as the fool who enjoys worldly abundance.

cf. Q 70:17 (describing Hellfire): wa tad'ū man adbara wa tawallā

7. ^Y The faithless ingrate threatened with Hellfire is depicted as slyly calculating: Q 74:23 "thumma adbara wa stakbara then he turned away and was disdainful". In 79:21-2 Pharoah rejects Moses and the truth, "turning away/adbara, devising schemes". In contrast, as Moses approached the burning bush, he was afraid: 28:31 "he turned back retreating/wallā mudbiran and did not look back"; God called out to him, "Come forward/aqbil! and fear not!".

8. See the employment of Q 74:37-8 by al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (Risālah, ed. Ritter, Der Islam XXI/1933/70 line 8f.), linking it with human capacity to perform deeds and God's Justice: "...because God has given them capability/qudrah by which they advance or hang back so that he who does good should deserve Paradise and he who does evil should deserve Hellfire".

9. See the remarks by M. Schwarz, Oriens XX/1967/28.

10. Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāwandī, Qisṣa 193 #242: "Anā mundhu saqaṭtu ilā l-dunyā istadbartu[hā] wa istaqbaltu l-ākhirah; yā bunayya lā taṭlub min al-amri mudbiran wa lā tarfuḍ minhu muqbilan, fa-inna dhālika yuḍillu l-ra'ya wa yuzrī bi-l-'aqli." Cf. Luqmān, in Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, Dhamm al-Dunyā, ed. E. Almagor [Jerusalem 1984] 57 #153 > al-Ghazālī, Ihyā' III 181. Its meaning finds a parallel in another Luqmānic saying to the effect that all of man's efforts and stratagems are powerless to change his worldly fortune or lack thereof: "khallatāni a'yat l-ḥīlah fī-himā, idbāru l-amri idhā aqbala wa iqbāluhu idhā adbara"; Ibn Fātik,

Mukhtār al-Hikam 277. And compare Aktham b. Ṣayfī:
 "yashtabihu\yatashābahu l-amru idhā aqbala fa-idhā adbara
 'arafahu l-aḥmaqu wa l-kayyis"; Abū l-Shaykh al-Iṣbahānī,
al-Amthāl fī l-Hadīth al-Nabawiy, ed. 'A.-'A. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd
 [Bombay 1982] 251.

11. Or perhaps in the sense of one's negligence or inattention (adbara 'an al-amr). May one construe the meaning here to involve spurning this world (idbār li-l-dunyā)? See a converging statement by al-Ṣādiq dealing with dunyā's fortune in relation to man's iqbāl & idbār (muqbilatun 'alayhi & mudbiratun 'an-hu); 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭabrisī, Mishkāṭ al-Anwār [Najaf 1370] 269. The early Companion 'Amr b. 'Utbah b. Farqad al-Sulamī is said to have beseeched God: "in yuzahhidanī fī l-dunyā fa-mā ubālī mā aqbala wa mā adbara", Tahdhīb VIII 75.

12. Maṭālib IV 334-5 #4539 (from Musnad of Aḥmad b. Manī' al-Baghawī d.244/858): "inna li-kulli shay'in iqbālan wa idbāran, wa inna li-hādhā l-dīn iqbālan wa idbāran...".

13. Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, al-Ishrāf fī Manāzil al-Ashrāf, ed. M.S. Ibrāhīm [Cairo 1990] 20-1 #5, on the isnād ... the Basran Jarīr b. Ḥāzim d.175/791-2 } the Palestinian Yūnus b. Yazīd Ibn Abī l-Najjād al-Aylī d.159/776 } Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī (d.125/743) } 'raised' to 'Umar. Yūnus' grandfather was a mawlā of Mu'āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān; he was generally deemed thiḡah or ṣāliḡ and known for his expertise in reports from his teacher al-Zuhrī (Ibn 'Ammār: 'ārifun bi-ra'yihī; Ibn al-Mubārak: kitābuhu ṣaḡīḡ); yet Ibn Ḥanbal blamed him for munkarāt in his Zuhrī reports; Tahdhīb XI 450-2 #769; & Ibn Ma'īn, Ma'rifat al-Rijāl I 120-2 #s 591-4 & 596, II 192 #s 637-8.

14. Ibn Hibbān, Rawdat al-ʿUḡalāʾ 31, Ibn Masʿūd: "inna li-hādhihi l-qulūb shahwatan wa iqbālan, wa inna la-hā fatratan wa idbāran; fa-khudhūhā 'inda shahwatihā wa iqbālihā wa da'ūhā 'inda fatratihā wa idbārihā" (note the positive sense of shahwah here); & al-Ṭabrisī, Mishkāṭ al-Anwār 131, 'Alī: "...inna li-l-qulūb iqbālan wa idbāran, fa-idhā aqbalat fa-ḥmilūhā 'alā l-nawāfilī wa idhā adbarat fa-qṭaṣirū bi-hā 'alā l-farā'id." And the version without iqbāl & idbār of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī in the zawā'id to Ibn Hanbal, Zuhd II 234 & 249: "inna l-qulūba tamūtu wa taḥyā (tuḥyā?)...fa-idhā hiya uḥyiyat fa-addibūhā bi-l-taṭawwu"; (see Q 6:122, often glossed as God's granting the light of guidance or of intelligence). Cf. 'Aql 63-4 #94, 'Alī: "inna hādhihi l-qulūba tamallu kamā tamallu l-abdānu fa-ltamisū la-hā min al-ḥikmatī ṭurafan." Further, the reports in Ibn al-Jawzī, Akḥbār al-Ḥumqā [Cairo 1983] 11-3.

15. For the Iranian background to this notion, see especially Shaul Shaked, "Paymān: An Iranian Idea in Contact with Greek Thought and Islam", Studia Iranica, Cahier 5 [Paris 1987] 217-40, on 219-20, 230, 233-6 > Shaked, From Zoroastrian Iran to Islam [Variorum 1995] VIII. The erudite Israeli focuses on two passages from the Pahlavi encyclopedia Dēnkard III §68 [two contrasting lists of sixteen pairs of virtues \ vices] & §286, and suggests ("Paymān" 230-1) that this Iranian notion finds "some feeble repercussions" in the Mu'tazilī al-Nazzām's conception of the 'two impulses' occurring to the person within (al-khāṭirānī: one 'advancing'/al-iqdām, the other 'desisting'/al-kaff). However, the (earlier?) materials adduced in our previous note provide a more plausible parallel to this Iranian notion, although lacking contrasting pairs; thus Shaked's assessment may need revision (233: "it was certainly never prominently absorbed into any widely recognized system of ethical thought in Islam"). Further, see

J.P. de Menasce, Une encyclopédie mazdéenne: Le Dēnkart [Paris 1958] ch.2 *passim*; & *idem*, Le troisième livre du Dēnkart [Paris 1973] 73-4, 281-3, 388.

16. As with Maybudī's treatment of the Aqbilī report (ch.1 #8.a); and see Murata, Tao of Islam 165; W.C. Chittick, The Sufi Path of Knowledge [Albany 1989] index, 'aql. For two contrasting developments of the theme of iqbāl & idbār, see the 7th/13th century Baghdadi Ṣūfī 'Umar al-Suhrawardī: A. Hartmann, Der Islam LXII/1985/86; and the Shī'ī Ṣafawid scholar Muḥsin-i Fayḍ-i Kāshānī (d.1090/1679), Qurrat al-'Uyūn fī l-Ma'ārif wa l-Hikam [2nd ed. Beirut 1979] 352-3, 355-6.

17. For the universality of this sapiential theme in the ancient Near East, see eg. Proverbs 1:20-33, Wisdom's reproach describing the fate of the foolish who disregard reproof, concluding with the contrast: "For the simpleton turns a deaf ear and comes to grief, and the stupid are ruined by their own complacency. But whoever listens to me shall live without a care...". Or the well known piece of popular Hellenistic moral philosophy Cebes' Tablet, whose teaching takes the form of an exegesis of an inscription in the Temple of Cronos; see The Tabula of Cebes, trans. J.T. Fitzgerald & L.M. White [Chico, CA 1983] §3.1. For a penetrating analysis of this aspect of ancient Near Eastern Wisdom, see Walter Zimmerli, "Concerning the Structure of Old Testament Wisdom", ZDMG X/1933/177-204 > trans. in Studies in Ancient Israelite Wisdom, ed. J.L. Crenshaw [New York 1976] 175-207, on 178-84; & cf. L. Kalugila, The Wise King [Lund 1980] 38f.

18. Note that one archaic meaning for the English noun 'intelligent' is "a hearer"; The Oxford English Dictionary,

s.v. The verbal occurrences of 'aqala & i'qil in early Muslim traditions connoting 'comprehending the meaning of what one audits' (ie. *fahm al-bayān*) are abundant; see eg. Concordance IV 299a - 300a, 'aqala with prepositions 'an & min. A good example is found in an early version of the Prophet's farewell sermon given by Ibn Ishāq: "...fa-i'qilū ayyuhā l-nās qawlī..., ayyuhā l-nās isma'ū qawlī wa i'qilūhu O people, Listen to my words and Understand them!"; Ibn Hishām, al-Sīrat al-Nabawīyyah, ed. M.F. al-Sarjānī [Cairo 1978] IV 603-4.

Such prefatory formulae were part of the conventions of the orator when publicly proclaiming, and of the sage/*ḥakīm* when dispensing wisdom admonitions; see examples in *Ṣafwat*, Khutab al-'Arab I 38, 39, 73, 129, 134-5; al-Maydānī, Majma' al-Amthāl II 183; Ibn Abī Shaybah, Muṣannaf XIII 315-6 #16456. It also played a role in the oracular intercourse between the *Jāhilī* diviner or mantic priest (*kāhin*) with his familiar spirit-demon (*tābi'*); see Khutab al-'Arab I 88 [from al-Qālī, al-Amālī I 133], on Khunāfir b. al-Taw'am al-Himyarī; & Abū Nu'aym al-Iṣbahānī, Dalā'il al-Nubuwwah [2nd ed., Beirut 1986] 112 #62, on Sawād b. Qārib al-Dawsī.

19. Ibn 'Abd Rabbih (d.328/940), Iqd al-Farīd II 244, unfortunately without isnād ("fī ba'di l-ḥadīth"); cf. ch.1 reports #2 & #3.

20. Again we meet with the intimate conjunction of *sam'* and *'aql*; thus "*isma' wa i'qil*!" represents the interior corollary to "*sam'an wa tāt'atan*".

21. Eg., al-Ṣādiq's recounting God's colloquy with Moses (Uṣūl II 61-2 #7): "*Yā Mūsā b. 'Imrān, mā khalaqtu khalqan aḥabba ilayya min 'abdī l-mu'min.*"

22. R. Arnaldez observes that in Qur'ānic usage the verb *khalaga* is applied inter alia to all creation, day & night, sun & moon: "God's every action on one of his creatures can be called creation"; E.I.² IV 981b.

23. Ibn Qutaybah, 'Uyun al-Akhbār I 280 > al-Nuwayrī, Nihāyat al-Arab III 235. *Ṣuwwira* here literally connotes 'sculptured into an image*figure'. The conjunction 'aql + light \ ḥumq + darkness, may well reflect old-Arab imagery of 'the light of the face' as emblematic of the inner person. The wisdom tale by Ibn al-Muqaffa' in his Yatīmat al-Sultān, wherein 'aql 'wisdom' appears to the sage in the form of a richly adorned youth ("tamaththala la-hu l-'aqlu 'alā ṣūratī shābb") with sun-like face, derives from Iranian wisdom tradition; Rasā'il al-Bulaghā', ed. Kurd 'Alī [Cairo 1946] 169f.; & see Shaked, "Paymān" 229-30.

24. The version reported from 'Alī b. Abī Tālib by al-Aṣbagh b. Nubātah, is found in Mahāsin, k. *maṣābiḥ al-zulam*, bāb al-'aql, 191 #2 > Uṣūl I k. al-'aql wa l-jahl, 10 #2 > Ibn Bābawayh, Mawā'iz 72, & Man Lā Yaḥduruhu l-Faqīh IV 299. Another version given by Ibn Abī l-Dunyā ('Aql 37-8 #26) reaches back to the Syrian Successor Abū 'Uthmān Sharāhīl b. Marthad al-Ṣan'ānī (pupil of Salmān al-Fārisī & Ka'b al-Aḥbār) } "Ḥammād rajul min ahli Makkah", giving ḥusn al-khuluq in place of ḥayā'. Also see Ibn al-Jawzī, Ḥamm al-Hawā 9; al-Kutubī, Ghurar al-Khaṣā'is 86; & 'Aql 38 #27 (= a third version with 'aql, dīn, & 'ilm). There is no reason to emend the text of Mahāsin & Uṣūl from ḥayā' to ḥayāt 'life', as Amir-Moezzi (Guide Divin 24 n.26 > Divine Guide 144 n.26) prefers; the conjunction of dīn with ḥayā' is commonplace in the literature of akhlāq and zuhd. Eg. Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, Makārim al-Akhlāq 21-2 #98, & 24 #111.

25. Al-Kharā'itī, Makārim al-Akhlāq, ed. 'A. b. Ḥajjāj [Cairo n.d.] 6 #36 > Kanz al-'Ummāl III 7 #63: "law kāna ḥusnu l-khuluqī rajulan yamshī fī l-nās la-kāna rajulan ṣāliḥan." The same is predicated of al-ḥayā' 'organic-shame'; Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, Makārim al-Akhlāq 19 #89 > Kanz III 72 #649 & 73 #654.

26. Al-Kharā'itī, Makārim 2 #s 7 & 9; Kanz al-'Ummāl III 4 #30, 7 #s 64 & 70, 11 #110. One definition of the art of firāsah, foretelling the secrets of characters and minds on the basis of physiognomy and external traits, was given as: "al-istidlāl bi l-khalq al-ẓāhir 'alā l-khulq al-bāṭin"; see T. Fahd, "Firāsa", E.I.² II 916a-7a, on 916a.

27. Kanz al-'Ummāl III 3 #13: "ḥusnu l-khuluqī khalqu llāhi l-a'zam."

28. This point was made by Ibn Taymiyyah with regard to the praise in the 'encomium'; see Minhāj al-Sunnat al-Nabawiyyah fī Naqd Kalām al-Shī'ah wa l-Qadariyyah [Cairo 1321-2] IV 147: "...fa-l-murād bi-hi annahu khāṭabahu ḥīna khalaqahu lā annahu awwalu l-makhlūqāt... fa-dalla 'alā annahu khalaqa qablahu ghayrahu"; & idem, Majmū' Fatāwā Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Taymiyyah [al-Riyāḍ 1381] XVIII 337.

That 'aql is makhlūq and apportioned among people by God (maqsūm) was the general opinion among Muslims from a very early era. This is abundantly substantiated in early reports; see also van Ess, Anfänge muslimischer Theologie 52; & Theologie II 46-8 (al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī's position).

29. Those wishing to better apprehend the differing lines of development may re-read the reports in ch.1 while consulting van Ess' works, esp. Zwischen and Theologie und Gesellschaft I - III.

30. Eg. Ibn Abī Shaybah, Muṣannaf XIV kitāb al-awā'il, 114 #17777, on Wakī' b. al-Jarrāh (d.197/812) } Mūsā b. 'Ubaydah al-Rabadhī (d.152/769) } Muḥammad b. Ka'b al-Qurazī: "khalāqa llāhu l-arwāḥa qabla an yakhlūqa l-ajsāda fa-akhadha mīthāqahum God created the Sprits before He created the Bodies, then He took their covenant"; cf. Q 7:172, & Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, Jāmi' al-Bayān ed. Sa'īd 'Alī et al [Cairo 1954-7] XIII 244. To al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī was ascribed the saying: "awwalu mā khalāqa llāhu l-arwāḥu"; Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir al-Maqdisī, al-Bad' wa l-Ta'rīkh [Paris 1899] I 147, & 150, on Wahb: "inna llāha lammā arāda khalqa l-khalqi khalāqa l-rūḥ, thumma khalāqa min al-rūḥ al-hawā'."

31. Mujāhid: "bad'u l-khalqi l-'arshu wa l-mā'u wa l-hawā', wa khuliqat al-arḍu min al-mā'"; Ibn Abī Shaybah, Muṣannaf XIV 106 #17743; & al-Maqdisī, al-Bad' wa l-Ta'rīkh I 147, also Ibn 'Abbās ("awwalu mā khalāqa llāhu l-'arshu wa l-kursī"). Cf. al-Tha'labī, 'Arā'is al-Majālis 15, on Ka'b al-Aḥbār: "lammā khalāqa llāhu Ta'ālā l-'arsha qāla...".

32. Eg. the Asl book of Durūst b. Abī Maṣṣūr, where al-Sādiq informs Zurārah b. A'yan: "innī la-a'lamu awwala shay'in khuliqa: ...al-ḥurūf"; al-Uṣūl al-Sittah 'Ashar [Tehran 1371q] 160; cf. Uṣūl I bāb ḥudūth al-asmā', 112 #1. See G. Vajda, "Les lettres et les sons de la langue Arabe d'après Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī", Arabica VIII/1961/113-30, on 119-21, > Études de théologie et de philosophie arabo-islamiques [Variorum, London 1986] IV. Further, I. Goldziher, "Mélanges Judéo-Arabs: XXIV La Création des Lettres", Revue des Études Juives C/1905/188-90; Moshe Idel, Kabbalah, New Perspectives [New Haven 1988] passim; & Theologie I 401.

33. A.J. Wensinck & C.E. Bosworth, "Lawḥ", E.I.² V 698,

noting the ultimate connection with the Babylonian 'tablets of fate', and the conjunction of ideas about the heavenly tablets as the originals of revelation & as "the record of the decisions of the divine will" in both the pseudepigraphical books (Jubilees, Enoch) and the Qur'ān (85:22; + exegesis of 97:1).

34. Uri Rubin, "Pre-existence and Light. Aspects of the Concept of *Nūr Muḥammad*", Israel Oriental Studies V/1975/62-119; *idem*, "Prophets and Progenitors in the Early Shī'ī Tradition", JSAI I/1979/41-64; E. Kohlberg, "Imām and Community in the Pre-Ghayba Period", in Authority and Political Culture in Shī'ism, ed. S.A. Arjomand (Albany 1988) 25-52, on 31. It should be stressed that what has been taken for 'pre-existence' in some reports, may have to do merely with God's foreknowledge, ie. all the souls predestined for bodies, emphasizing divine foreknowledge in a pre-destinarian framework.

35. Or "the original 'thing' from which God created His creation"; al-Kulaynī, al-Rawḍah min al-Kāfī, ed. 'A.A. al-Ghaffārī [2nd ed. Tehran 1389] 94-5 #67, on a problematic *isnād* in its higher links. This report comes from a book of the Imāmī compiler al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥasan b. Sa'īd al-Ahwāzī (fl. late 2nd - first third of 3rd cent.; F.Nadīm 277, R.Najāshī I 171-6 #135, F.Tūsī 58-9 #220), who reports it from ...} Muḥammad b. 'Aṭīyyah } al-Bāqir. Possibly this "Muḥammad b. 'Aṭīyyah" is the Kufan associate of al-Ṣādiq referred to as "al-Ḥannāṭ", whose book was transmitted by Ibn Abī 'Umayr (R.Najāshī II 255 #953, R.Tūsī 295 #246, Tan-qīh III 150-1 #11064).

36. Either 'Fate' in the sense of *dahr* (?), or God's determining decree*measure. A report from pseudo-Ibn

Qutaybah, al-Imāmah wa l-Siyāsah II 74 (see Hilyat IV 15, & Zwischen 93), has the Successor Tāwūs b. Kaysān al-Yamanī (d.106/725) ask the Caliph Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik (rg. 96-99/715-7), "mā awwalu shay'in khuliqa what is the first thing created?", answering his own query with 'the Pen':

"...The first thing (God) wrote was 'In the Name of God, the Merciful the Compassionate', then He wrote al-qadar, its good and its bad till the Resurrection Day".

See T.Baghdādī IX 59 #4639, ... } the Kufan Shī'ī 'AbdAllāh b. Mūsā al-'Absī (d.213/828) } al-A'mash (d.148/765) } the Kufan Successor Abū Ḥabīb al-Ḥusayn b. Jundub\Jundab (d.90/709) } Ibn 'Abbās: "inna awwala mā khalaqa llāhu l-qalamu, fa-qāla la-hu uktub! ... uktub al-qadar wa mā huwa kā'in min dhālika l-yawmi ilā yawmi l-qiyāmah...". Further, for God's creating 'happiness' and 'misery' (al-sa'ādah wa l-shaqā', ie. al-qadar) before all else at the start of creation, see eg. Mahāsīn, k. maṣābīḥ al-ḥalāl, bāb al-sa'ādah wa l-shaqā', 279-80 ## 405 & 406, & bāb bad' al-khalq, 281-3 ## 412 & 413; Uṣūl I 152-3 #1, & II 6-7 #1.

37. Rawḍah 94-5 #67: "...wa khalaqa l-shay'a lladhī jamī'u l-ashyā' min-hu wa huwa l-mā'u lladhī khalaqa l-ashyā' min-hu". The imam then gives an account (reaching back to Genesis 1.) whereby the universe is created from water, then from water came wind/rīḥ (whose stirring of water formed the froth of ideal Earth), and from water came fire/nār (whose steam yields the Heavens); finally God created the material universe/al-khalq. Al-Bāqir gives pride of place to rīḥ as jundu llāhi l-akbar (= 'Spirit'), over both mā' & nār. For parallel versions of this creation

scheme with differing details (eg. Earth from the ashes of fire) reported by al-'Alā' b. Razīn } Muḥammad b. Muslim (ch.1 n.123) } al-Bāqir, see Rawḍah 95 #68 & 153 #142; & Ibn Bābawayh, Tawhīd 66-7 #20. The term *shay'* has a particular technical meaning in these reports.

38. A vast topic; see eg. al-Maqdisī, Bad' I 147f., & 150 on 'AbdAllāh b. Salām (nūr > zulmah > nūr > mā': "yukhlagu min dhālika l-mā'i l-ashyā' kulluhā"); ibid. on Wahb (rūḥ > hawā' > nūr & zulmah > mā' > nār & rīḥ); al-Kisā'ī, Qisaṣ al-Anbiyā' I 8-11, on Ka'b (includes the Aqbilī report); al-Tha'labī, 'Arā'is 15-6; pseudo-Ibn al-'Arabī, Muḥāḍarat al-Abrār wa Musāmarat al-Akhyār [Beirut n.d.] II 203-4, on Ibn 'Abbās (nūr > zulmah > nūr > mā' > rīḥ > 'arsh > kursī > qalam > lawḥ). Further, T. Fahd, "La Naissance du Monde selon l'Islam", Sources Orientales I [Paris 1959] 237-79; & R. Arnaldez, "Khalk", E.I.² IV on 983b-5a.

39. Zwischen 75-9, noting the pre-Islamic background in the notion of *dahr* & *manīyah* 'Fate' and its possible adaptation to Qur'ānic terminology (77).

40. See Zwischen 78-9; we render the version in 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Qummī, Tafsīr, ed. al-Jazā'irī [Najaf 1966-8] II 198 (on Q 34:3 *fī kitābin mubīnin*) via Ibn Abī 'Umayr } Hishām al-Jawālīqī } al-Ṣādiq; & cf. ibid. II 379-80 (Q 68:1): "inna llāha khalāqa l-qalama min shajaratīn fī l-jannatī yuqālu la-hā l-khuld". Further, see the Ibn 'Abbās reports in Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, Jāmi' al-Bayān XXIX 14-15; discussed by Cl. Gilliot, "L'Opus Magnum de J. van Ess", Arabica XL/1993/345-402, on 367-9.

41. The nominal proposition must be the proper reading,

rather than a verbal statement with *naṣb* of *awwalu* & *al-qalamu*; ie. "*awwalu mā khalaqa llāhu (huwa) l-qalamu, fa-qāla la-hu...*". The placement of "*fā'*" also demands a nominal sense, otherwise one would expect to read: "*awwala mā khalaqa llāhu l-qalama qāla*". This point should also be kept in mind when reading the later *Aqbil* reports.

42. Or again, with *mā* understood as *maṣdariyyah*, rendering the nominal proposition as: "The first of God's creation is\was the Pen".

43. "*Kataba mā kāna wa mā huwa kā'in*", or "what is in being and what will be"; cf. W.M. Watt, The Formative Period of Islamic Thought [Edinburgh 1973] 105.

44. Similar versions: Concordance II 71b (al-Tirmidhī, *qadar* #17, & Abū Dāwūd, *qadar* #10, both on Syrian chains: "*awwalu mā khalaqa...*"); Ibn Abī Shaybah, Muṣannaf XIV kitāb al-awā'il, 114 #17771 (via a Syrian chain on 'Ubādah b. al-Walīd b. 'Ubādah b. al-Ṣāmit, on his grandfather } *marfū'*: "*awwalu shay'in khalaqa llāhu l-qalamu, fa-qāla ijrī! fa-jarā tilka l-sā'ah bi-mā huwa kā'in*"); Ibn Ḥibbān, Rawḍat 157 (via a Yamanī-Meccan chain ... } Sa'īd b. Jubayr } Ibn 'Abbās } *marfū'*: "*awwalu mā khalaqa llāhu l-qalamu thumma amarahu...*"); al-Ṭabarī, Jāmi' al-Bayān XXIX 16; Hilyat VIII 181 ("*awwalu [awwala?] kulli shay'in khalaqa llāhu al-qalamu, fa-amarahu...*"); 'Uthmān al-Dārimī, Radd 'alā l-Marīsī 353-4; Maṭālib III 78 #2928 (from Musnad of Abū Ya'lā al-Mawṣilī d.307/919-20).

45. This Meccan *mawlā* was a noted Qur'ān reader and pupil of Sa'īd b. Jubayr, Mujāhid, & 'Ikrama *mawlā* Ibn 'Abbās. Ibn Ḥajar quotes Ibn Ḥibbān's remark: "Al-Qāsim was the only person to directly audit *tafsīr* from Mujāhid, and

whomever transmitted the tafsīr from Mujāhid actually took it from al-Qāsim's book/*akhadhahu min kitābi l-Qāsim*"; Tahdhīb VIII 310.

46. As a *qawl* of Ibn 'Abbās; T. Baqhdād XIV 205 #7491 (*tarjamah* of Abū Ṣāliḥ Yaḥyā b. Wāqid al-Ṭā'ī). Yaḥyā's *isnād*: } Abū Mu'āwiyah Hushaym b. Bashīr (d.183, of Wāsiṭ) } Maṣṣūr [b. Zādhān] (d.128-131, ascetic of Wāsiṭ) } al-Ḥakam b. 'Uṭaybah (d.113-115, Kufan Shī'ī faqīh) } Abū Zabyān } Ibn 'Abbās. Often we find a slightly differing *qalam* report mentioning the inkstand as well, given on the Kufan chain: ...al-A'mash } Abū Zabyān } Ibn 'Abbās: "*awwalu mā khalaqa llāhu l-qalamu, thumma khalaqa l-nūn...*"; Ibn Abī Shaybah, Muṣannaf XIV 101 ## 17722-3 (& cf. 132 #17852, on 'Aṭā' } Sa'īd b. Jubayr } Ibn 'Abbās); & T. Baqhdād IX 59 #4639 (Sulaymān b. Muḥammad al-'Absī).

47. Abū Lahab ('Father of Flame', the nickname of 'Abd al-'Uzzah b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib) was the Prophet's uncle and fierce enemy, one of the rare persons mentioned by name in the Qur'ān; see J. Barth, SEI 11. The point here is that Q 111:1 is an integral part of the *lawḥ al-maḥfūz*, something which the Mu'tazilī 'Amr b. 'Ubayd (d.144/761) denied in order to uphold God's justice. See van Ess, Traditionistis- che Polemik gegen 'Amr b. 'Ubaid [Beirut & Wiesbaden 1967] 16f., text 10 §3 (=T. Baqhdād XII 171); & Zwischen 167-8.

48. A *mawlā* of Azd from a town on the Nile close to Fustāt, he was a reputable faqīh transmitting from al-Shāfi'ī; Jarḥ III 464 #2082; Tahdhīb III 245 #472.

49. Muḥammad b. Wahb b. 'Aṭiyyah al-Sulamī; a Damascene deemed trustworthy or ṣāliḥ, transmitting from al-Walīd b. Muslim, Baqiyyah b. al-Walīd, and the Syrian Murji'ī Muḥam-

mad b. Shu'ayb b. Shābūr (d.200/816). See Jarh VIII 114 #508 (+ 48-9 #2257); Kāmil VI 2272-3; Mīzān IV 61 #8298; Tahdhīb IX 505-6 #831. Al-Dhahabī, following Ibn 'Adiy, assigns responsibility for this *qalam* report to him, while distinguishing him from the 'weak' Damascene Muḥammad b. Wahb b. Muslim al-Qurashī. Ibn Ḥajar (Tahdhīb IX 506 #832, & Lisān al-Mīzān V 475-6 #1380), following Ibn 'Asākir and al-Dāraquṭnī, instead assigns responsibility for it to Ibn Muslim al-Qurashī, and equates the two men.

50. *Mawlā banī Umayyah*, a prolific Damascene traditionist & pupil of al-Awzā'ī, he imported Iraqi & Ḥijāzī materials into Syria; generally ṣāliḥ but well known as a *raffā'* & for *tadlīs* on recognized 'liars'; Jarh IX 16-7 #70; Mīzān IV 347-8 #9405; Tahdhīb XI 151-5 #254.

51. The Medinan *mawlā* of Abū Bakr b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith al-Makhzūmī, Sumay was a pupil of Abū Ṣāliḥ Dhakwān and an informant for Mālik; Tahdhīb IV 238-9 #407.

52. A Medinan *mawlā* whose business took him often to Kufah, said to be a pupil of Abū Hurayrah & other Companions. Deemed trustworthy, he served as an informant for leading Ḥijāzīs and Kufans; Jarh III 450-1 #2039; Tahdhīb III 219-20 #417.

53. The *muftī* of Damascus whom we met in ch.1 n.97.

54. An ascetic Damascene Murji'ī sometimes deemed reliable or *ṣadūq*, but frequently condemned as *matrūk* & *munkar al-ḥadīth* or even a 'liar'. A pupil of al-Awzā'ī and leading Ḥijāzīs including Mālik b. Anas & the Meccan Murji'ī 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Abī Rawwād; he was an informant for his

colleague al-Walīd b. Muslim, and the Damascene Murji'īs Marwān b. Muḥammad al-Ṭāṭarī (d.210/825), Hishām b. 'Ammār al-Sulamī (d.245/859), & Hishām b. Khālīd al-Azraq. See Jarḥ III 44 #186; Kāmil II 736-7; Mīzān I 525; Tahdhīb II 326-7 #567.

55. Athar 'footsteps', ie. every action of man is predetermined; or figuratively 'effects' in the sense of what man 'leaves behind' as predestined punishment of his evil living; eg. Q 36:12 *wa naktubu mā qaddamū wa athārahū* We write down [as reward for good] that which they send forward, and [as punishment for evil] that which they leave behind.

56. See Theologie I 138-40; despite the reputation some had for ascetic life-styles, several were hostile to Ṣūfīs. The conjunction of predestinarian and Murji'ī views had been common from the late first century; Madelung, E.I.² VII 606b.

57. Reading al-Razaqī in place of "al-Raqqī": not M. b. al-Ḥasan b. Yazīd al-Raqqī (T.Baqhdād II 198 #627), but M. b. al-Ḥasan b. Mas'ūd al-Anṣārī of Medinah, pupil of Mūsā b. 'AbdAllāh al-'Alawī; T.Baqhdād II 185-6 #601.

58. Son of the Ḥasanid 'Alid, 'AbdAllāh al-Mahḍ (d.145/762), he was imprisoned twice by the 'Abbāsīd Caliph al-Manṣūr for involvement in the revolt of his brother al-Nafs al-Zakiyyah, then later released by al-Mahḍī (rg. 158/775-169/785). See Jarḥ VIII 150 #678; Kāmil VI 2345; T.Baqhdād XIII 25-7 #6986; Ibn Ḥajar, Lisān VI 144 #8662; R.Ṭūsī 307 #429 (associate of al-Ṣādiq), & 361 #357; Tanqīh III 257 #12260.

59. [Sic] unknown; perhaps son of the Kufan 'Uqbah\ 'Utbah b. Shaddād b. Umayyah (Tahdhīb VII 241-2 #437, al-'Uqaylī: munkar al-ḥadīth); or a Basran, Sa'īd b. 'Uqbah al-Hudādī, Jarh IV 53 #233.

60. Khaṭṭ here connotes 'prescription' by which God maps out & determines the future course of everything.

61. Or "la-unqīṣannaka I shall certainly diminish*reduce thee...".

62. In his polemics against his Qadarī opponents written ca. 75 AH, al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyyah (d.99/717) attacked their view that man possesses a power or capacity to increase or decrease what was provided him by God (eg. rizq, ajal, & 'aql). He upheld the predestinarian position that both guidance/al-ḥudā and error/al-ḍalāl are from God, and argued that disbelievers were incapable of 'hear-ing*understanding' the truth by divine determination, for God had created them deficient in 'aql. See van Ess, Anfānge, text of al-Radd 'alā l-Qadariyyah 17 §12 lines 1-15, & 29 §30 (exegesis of Q al-Anfāl 8:21-22 ...al-ṣummu l-bukmu lladhīna lā ya'qilūna); & analysis by van Ess on 52-3, 55. Compare the basic Qadarī stance of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī in his letter to Caliph 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān; text in Ritter, "Studien zur Geschichte der islamischen Frömmigkeit, I. Ḥasan al-Baṣrī", Der Islam XXI/1933/69-71, 76, 78, & 82.

63. Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī, 'Ilal al-Ḥadīth [Cairo 1343-4] II 435 #2809. For Ibn Abī Jamīlah, see Jarh VII 224 #1239 ('an Nāfi', 'an-hu Baqiyyah, majhūl), & Mizān III 503 #7328. Any connection with the Basran Qadarī Shī'ī and pupil of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, 'Awf Ibn Abī Jamīlah al-A'rābī (d.146/763, see Theologie II 55-6) ?

Chapter 3

'AQL AS 'FIRST CREATION'

Readers familiar with Islamic thought who are attentively following this excavation into early Muslim tradition may well entertain strong misgivings about the process of 'enrichment of meaning' being depicted. They will have noted that we rarely employ the term 'intellect'. We experienced the same doubts over these results, but were forced by the nature and weight of the evidence to the picture drawn here.

§1. PRIORITY OF CREATION ?

Abū Nu'aym al-Iṣbahānī (d.430/1038-9) provides in his Hilyat VII 318 (=the final report in section pp.270-318 on Sufyān b. 'Uyaynah), a composite ḥadīth of tripartite matn, whose first part consists of an early form of the Aqbil! report (eg. ch.1 #1 & #14). The whole piece claims to derive from the Meccan tradent Abū Bakr 'AbdAllāh b. al-Zubayr al-Asadī al-Ḥumaydī¹ (d.219/834), as a report from the Prophet's wife 'Ā'ishah. Abū Nu'aym heard it from his teacher Abū Bakr 'AbdAllāh b. Yaḥyā b. Mu'āwiyah al-Ṭalḥī, who further specified that al-Dāraquṭnī notified him about it (afādanīhi). In the isnād, al-Dāraquṭnī (?) supplies the date 289/902, the year it was narrated by :

#18) ¹ENAD Abū l-Faḍl Sahl b. al-Marzubān b. Muḥammad al-Tamīmī al-Fārisī² } al-Ḥamaydī } Sufyān b. 'Uyaynah³ (107/725 - 198/814) } Maṣṣūr⁴ (b. al-Mu'tamir d.132/750) } Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri⁵ (d.124/742) } the Medinan Successor 'Urwah b. al-Zubayr (d.92/711...101/720) } 'Ā'ishah (d.58/678):

"The Messenger of God ﷺ related to me/haddathanī :

"inna awwala mā khalaqa llāhu l-'aqlu, fa-qāla aqbil! fa-aqbala, thumma qāla adbiri! fa-adbara, thumma qāla mā khalaqtu shay'an aḥsana min-ka, bi-ka ākhudhu wa bi-ka u'tī.

The first thing God created is\was al-'aql. Then He said, "Come forward!" so he drew near. Then He said, "Go back!" so he retreated. Then He said, "I created nothing better than thee. By means of thee I receive, and by means of thee I grant."

[The text continues: "thumma qāla rasūlu llāhi ﷺ...", giving two separate statements by the Prophet urging humility, obedience, and zuḥd in material things, without further mention of 'aql.]

When the particle inna after ḥaddathanī is removed, it reveals the first sentence to be: "Awwalu/The first thing God created [or: The first of God's creation] is\was al-'aqlu". One then expects after this nominal proposition a pause in the flow of meaning, before the following verbal "fa-qāla aqbil!..."^e

The particle fa- is indeed present in the notoriously faulty printed edition of Hilyat, yet absent in al-Suyūṭī's

quotation of this text (La'ālī I 130). Short of examining the manuscripts of Hilyat, little can help us in deciding whether its presence is merely a commonplace instance of minor textual disturbance passed down over centuries, or an accurate reflection of what Abū Nu'aym (or al-Dāraqūṭnī, or al-Ḥumaydī...) intended to write. Here, we are reminded of the linguistic critique made by Ibn Taymiyyah (the question of the *naṣb* of *awwalu* & *al-'aqlu*, below §III). The only considerations of real help in properly construing the meaning of the first sentence are first, the critical comments appended by Abū Nu'aym at the end of the entire report; and secondly, any supporting evidence from third century or earlier reports concerning the creation of 'aql.

Abū Nu'aym comments on this ḥadīth (Hilyat VII 318) :

"It is *gharīb* 'solitary' [ie. it has only a single transmitter at the weakest point in its chain; and/or singular in both *isnād* & *matn*]. I know of no other transmitter for it on the authority of al-Ḥumaydī except Sahl, and in my opinion he misconstrued its real meaning\wording (*arāhu wāhiman fī-hi*)."

This judicious comment from an erudite savant of ḥadīth points to the person responsible for the report in this wording: "*awwalu mā khalāqa llāhu l-'aqlu*". We hazard that Abū Nu'aym intended to convey something like: < This ḥadīth attributed to al-Ḥumaydī, which is the well known 'aql report about "When God had created intelligence*wisdom", is

transmitted in this wording only by Sahl, who even if he indeed audited it from whom he claims, wrongly imagined that its meaning should be construed as "The first thing which God created is intelligence [? the Intellect]".> This appears to be the most likely thrust of Abū Nu'aym's remark.

Thus in the late 3rd/9th century, a certain Sahl b. al-Marzubān al-Fārisī interpreted the *Aqbīl* ḥadīth in terms of 'aql = God's first creation, perhaps in a Neoplatonising vein. What of parallel or complementary evidence from the third century or earlier that sheds light on *awwalu mā khalāqa* or *lammā khalāqa*? There are several.

SI A. ṢUFĪS, PHILOSOPHERS, & MU'TAZILAH

i. AL-MUHĀSIBĪ

The seminal Baghdadi Ṣufī master al-Ḥārith b. Asad al-Muḥāsibī⁷ (d.243/857), whose psycho-ethical teaching stressed examination of conscience expressed in intellectually sophisticated language sensitive to theological implications, quoted only the "*lammā khalāqa*" version of our report. In several other places in his writings al-Muḥāsibī refers to 'aql in terms so evocative of the *Aqbīl* report, both conceptually and linguistically, that it is difficult to escape the conclusion he was directly alluding to this famous tradition.⁸ Neither in his monograph devoted to 'aql, Mā'iyat al-'Aql wa Haqīqat Ma'nāh, nor in his other writings can he be said to uphold a Neoplatonising

doctrine of 'aql as first creation in terms of an 'Ideal' principle at the root of the cosmos.⁹ The most relevant materials for comprehending al-Muḥāsibī's emphasis on 'aql appears to be the stream of Basran ascetic*mystic traditions stretching back to al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī in which 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. Zayd and Dāwūd b. al-Muḥabbar participated.¹⁰

ii. AL-KINDĪ

Almost at the same time and place, the first significant Muslim faylasūf/philosopher Ya'qūb b. Ishāq al-Kindī¹¹ (d. shortly after 256/870?), who absorbed Neoplatonic and Aristotelian teachings into his eclectic system while remaining close to the theological concerns of certain early Mu'tazilah thinkers, taught that a transcendent being communicated actual thought directly to the human intellect, ie. that actual human thought requires an 'actual intellect' as its cause. He wrote in his epistle Fī l-'Aql¹² about

"the First Intellect that is the specificality¹³ of things al-'Aql al-Awwal alladhī huwa naw'iyyatu l-ashyā'".

This primary noetic Intellect, which is always in actuality (*bi-l-fi'li abadan*), "supplies" (*mufīd*) what the human soul "acquires" (*mustafīd*), and the product is: "intellect acquired (*mustafād*) by the (human) soul from the first intellect (*al-'aql al-awwal*)".¹⁴ Thought was thus depicted

as acquired from the transcendent intellect, just as with Plotinus. Al-Kindī equated the 'ONE' ("al-Wāḥid al-Ḥaqq al-Awwal"), who created the First Intellect, with the Qur'ānic Deity.¹⁵ Here we finally meet a "Neoplatonic element",¹⁶ but not in the form of ḥadīth.

Nowhere in his extant writings¹⁷ does al-Kindī invoke as a precedent in support of his philosophical doctrines the well known Aqbilī report. While this only reflects the irrelevance of ḥadīth for the philosopher, one may argue that if the "awwalu mā khalaga" version indeed circulated during the first half of the third century, then al-Kindī could have been tempted to invoke it as confirmation of his perceived harmony between Greek and Islamic teaching. Later Muslim hellenizing thinkers were made to do precisely this by their followers in order to anchor Greek concepts onto an Islamic base (eg. Miskawayh d.421/1030, and Ibn Sīnā d.428/1037).¹⁸

iii. MU'TAZILAH

During the lifetimes of both al-Muḥāsibī and al-Kindī, a circle of radical Mu'tazilah in Baghdad who were renegade pupils from the circle of the Basran theologian Ibrāhīm b. Sayyār al-Nazzām¹⁹ (d.221/836), employed esoteric ta'wīl of the Qur'ān and of ḥadīth, including the Aqbilī report, in support of their extravagant doctrines embracing both metempsychosis (tanāsukh, transmigration from animal to

human bodies & vice versa)²⁰ as well as an exaggerated glorification of Christ as 'Aql ('intellect*spirit'). Aḥmad b. Khābiṭ\Ḥābiṭ (executed under the Caliph al-Wāthiq rg. 227/842 - 232/847) and his colleague Faḍl al-Ḥadathī²¹ shocked and scandalized their Basran-Baghdadi peers who had studied under al-Nazzām, by advocating dualist teachings. Though their doctrine of *tanāsukh*²² owed something to al-Nazzām's concept of *rūḥ*,²³ both Ibn Khābiṭ and Faḍl appear to have been infected with extremist Shī'ī notions (*ghuluww*) about *karrah*²⁴ (bodily reincarnation for punishment), and of the 'Two Gods'²⁵ (a God in Heaven, & a 'god' on earth = the Imām), involving *rubūbiyyah* 'godmanship'. They blended all this with Christian and Manichaeen or Dayṣānī²⁶ teachings, perhaps even Ṣūfī ideas (Theologie III 435-6), into their unique compost.

'Abd al-Qāhir al-Baghdādī (d.429/1037), treats of Ibn Khābiṭ and Faḍl al-Ḥadathī in his Farq in conjunction with upholders of *tanāsukh* among the Qadariyyah and the Shī'ī *ghulāt*, probably for good reason. Ibn Khābiṭ and Faḍl taught that "al-Masīḥ ibnu llāhi Christ is the son of God" by adoption, that Adam was created by Christ in Christ's image, who is a 'pure-intelligence' or 'spirit'²⁷ within a corporeal body (Farq 277). They held that this Christ-spirit was the demiurge who created the material world.²⁸

Among the ḥadīths they cited as proof texts for this idea was a form of our report :²⁹

#19) Inna llāha Ta'ālā khalāqa l-'aqla, fa-qāla la-hu, aqbil!... Truly, God created al-'aql. Then He said to him, "Come forward!" so he drew near. He said to him, "Go back!" so he retreated. Then He said, "I did not create a 'being' more esteemed than thee/khalqan akrama min-ka. By means of thee I grant, and by means of thee I receive." [cf. ch.1 #1 & #14]

The two are then quoted as saying: "The Messiah put on a body/tadarra'u jasadān, and before putting on (a body) he was (pure) 'aql 'intelligence*spirit'" (Farg 277).

This form of the report is close to early versions. Although "awwalu mā khalāqa" is not present, the idea of 'aql = Christ*Word or Spirit*Pure-Thought, is so omnipresent that one cannot escape the conclusion: here 'aql = First Created being, by whom all other beings are created. But this is not the 'aql of the reports examined above (ch.1 - 'aql as the inborn human 'intelligence*understanding' forming the basis of ethical action), nor is it al-Kindī's neo-plotinian al-'Aql al-Awwal. So many currents have jelled together here that separating the various strands only destroys the object being dissected. Yet the non-Arab, non-Islamic components (Christian dualist christology + ghālī gnosticism) outweigh anything we have become familiar with till now. At best the 'aql of Ibn Khābiṭ and Faḍl may be

said to be a partial 'Neoplatonic element' (see Theologie II 170 n.31, III 437).

Al-Shahrastānī (d.548/1153) followed al-Baghdādī closely in his description of the doctrines of Ibn Khābiṭ and Faḍl (Milal I 92). When reproducing this ḥadīth, al-Shahrastānī unconsciously makes one crucial change, a very natural one considering his deep acquaintance with philosophical teachings, and in view of the almost explicit meaning of Ibn Khābiṭ's exploitation of this report. He quotes it in the form: "awwalu mā khalāqa llāhu l-'aqlu", setting up his citation by mentioning the First Intellect/al-'Aql al-Awwal, which is "awwal mubda' the First Originated-Being", or "al-'aql al-fa'āl the Agent Intellect". This is intended to prepare his reader for the 'aql report and to help in comprehending Ibn Khābiṭ's equation of Christ = pure intelligence. All these terms are al-Shahrastānī's gloss.³⁰ In a similar vein, when discussing the equivalence between God's 'ilm with His essence established by the early Basran Mu'tazilī Abū l-Hudhayl al-'Allāf³¹ (d. ca. 227/841), al-Shahrastānī dresses it in more philosophically systematic language: he likened it to the philosophical notion that God is pure intellect.³²

The doctrines of these Mu'tazilī zindīqs repelled their contemporaries, and they were shunned by the rest of al-Nazzām's school, serving as whipping boys for opponents of

the Mu'tazilah. Whatever the reaction of their peers, their radical exploitation of the Aqbil report must have further propelled it towards its final form. If Ibn Khābiṭ and Faḍl did indeed construe this report in Neoplatonic terms, this might make its absence from al-Kindī and his school more to be remarked. However, the notion of the Christ-ʿaql (+ of the Imām-ʿaql ?) should perhaps be comprehended sapientially (see ch.4, pre-creation Wisdom).

Still within the third century the Ṣūfī al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī (ch.1 #3, #5.b, & #8) only knows this ḥadīth in its "lammā khalāqa" versions.³³ Since the older edition of his Nawādir al-Uṣūl [Istanbul 1293/1876; rp. Beirut n.d.] is said to be an abbreviation one-third the length of the original,³⁴ he may have employed other versions. He could well be alluding to this report in his work on sainthood :³⁵

"wa mā l-ʿaqlu l-akbaru lladhī qasama\qassama l-ʿuqūla min-hu li-jamīʿi khalqih What is the 'omni-ʿaql' [the all-inclusive or most-great intelligence] of which (God) distributed*portioned the [individual measures of] intelligences to all His creatures?"³⁶

His expression "al-ʿaql al-akbar" should not be equated with a Kindian Neoplatonism.³⁷ The word al-akbar may also be construed as 'most eminent' or 'greatest level'. This expression refers to the divinely created glorified ʿaql which is apportioned among humans in varying 'measures',³⁸

thus endowing them with their individual aptitude or 'scope-of-perceptivity*understanding' enabling each individual to grasp a greater or lesser measure of truth. Saints are provided with the fullest measure of such 'aql. Al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī also employed the phrase "al-'aql al-awwal"³³ which is depicted as impervious to Satanic depredations. (And see below ch.6 SI #27 : 'aql as "nūr 'ala nūr" created out of God's light.) This glance at al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī's important treatment of 'aql does not pretend to be adequate.

SII. FIRST CREATION : 'AQL, RŪḤ, NŪR MUḤAMMAD

In the century following al-Muḥāsibī and al-Kindī, Shī'ī ḥadīth evidences an increasing employment of the form "awwalu mā khalāqa" in the Aqbilī report. Abū l-Qāsim 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Kūfī⁴⁰ (d.352/962 near Shiraz) quotes it in his al-Ādāb wa Makārim al-Akhḷāq [Cairo, Dār al-Kutub MS #21474b, f 64v lines 6-8], without isnād on the Prophet :

#20) Awwalu lammā [sic] khalāqa llāhu l-'aqlu, fa-qāla la-hu aqbilī ... bi-ka ākhudhu wa bi-ka u'ṭī, wa bi-ka uthību wa bi-ka u'āqibu.

This appears closest to ch.1 report #4. The reading "awwalu lammā khalāqa" may be merely a copyist's slip of the pen for "awwalu mā khalāqa The first thing God created\The first of God's creation...";⁴¹ unless Abū l-Qāsim intended to mediate between earlier and later forms of the 'setting', or unless we misconstrue his meaning. The evidence of this text is

not clear. In the 4th/10th century Shī'ī author Ibn Shu'bah al-Harrānī's version of the 'Century of al-'Aql' (in Tuhaf 19-25 > Bihār I 117-9)⁴², a version of the *Aqbil* piece occurs, yet with an inconclusive form of the 'setting'.⁴³

An unambiguous instance of 'first creation' occurs in a long composite report presented as a wisdom testament (*waṣiyyah*) of the Prophet to 'Alī, which enjoyed some popularity among Imāmī traditionists during the second third of the fourth century AH. The piece is clearly a mosaic of earlier *ḥikam* and *aqwāl* stringing together ethico-religious counsels, including 'aql sayings. The *waṣāyā* genre of "Muḥammad to 'Alī" was a fertile arena for wisdom constructions of this type. It occurs in two works by Muḥammad b. 'Alī Ibn Bābawayh al-Qummī⁴⁴ (d.381/991-2), who was active in the Shī'ī centres of Kufah, Baghdad, Rayy and Central Asia. Ibn Bābawayh transmits it simultaneously from two informants, Ḥammād b. 'Umar and Anas b. Muḥammad,⁴⁵ both via: Anas' father } al-Ṣādiq } his family *isnād* } 'Alī } *marfū'* :

#21) "Yā 'Alī: inna awwala khalqin khalaqahu llāhu 'Azza wa Jalla l-'aqlu, fa-qāla la-hu *aqbil! fa-aqbala* ... *bi-ka ākhudhu wa bi-ka u'tī, wa bi-ka uthību wa bi-ka u'āqibu.*"

Apart from its unique 'setting', this version is almost identical with that of Abū l-Qāsim al-Kūfī (#20). Since

they both date from the same era, we may adduce this form, "awwalu khalqin khalagahu llāhu...l-'aqlu The first creation that God created is al-'aql", in support of our understanding of Abū l-Qāsim's text.

Abū Nu'aym's report from Sahl b. al-Marzubān of the late third century (#16) apparently marks the appearance of the "awwalu mā khalaga" form in Sunnī transmission. Considering the limited quantity of extant and published materials, this may not be saying much.⁴⁶ At some point around or before the mid-fourth century, Twelver Shī'ī traditionists had accommodated the "awwalu mā khalaga" form of our report.⁴⁷ This was facilitated by their having ready at hand a wide spectrum of traditions relayed on the authority of their imams over the preceding two centuries depicting the primordial pre-existence of the Light-bodies of the Prophet & 'Alī and the Imāms (*ashbāḥ nūr, arwāḥ nūr, ajsād nūrāniyyah*).⁴⁸ Among the manifold dimensions of this rich material we may mention the notion of the primal 'substance*matter' or 'spiritual clay' (*ṭīnāh*),⁴⁹ and a Throne cosmological setting.⁵⁰ Such materials assisted various Islamic currents in assimilating differing notions into *Nūr Muḥammad* 'Muḥammadan Light' at the root of the cosmos in a metaphysic of light.⁵¹

The key to understanding the meaning and intent of circles employing the Aqbilī report in its "awwalu mā khalaga" version must lie in the speculative and religious currents

during the third and early fourth centuries. This era witnessed the apogee of the Mu'tazilī schools of Basrah and Baghdad, the spread of Islamic Hellenistic sciences (the philosopher Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī²² d.339/950 in Damascus), the elaboration of Ismā'īlī cosmological systems, the Epistles of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā',²³ the consolidation of Twelver school dogma with Mu'tazilī elements, and the spread of Ṣūfī exponents. This takes us far away from our primary focus.

Beyond the factors prompting the shift from lammā to awwalu suggested above (eg. the Pen as "awwalu mā khalaqa"), it may well be that the chief impulse lay in the conjunction of Islamic religious and metaphysical ideas enunciated by Ismā'īlī thinkers or groups like the Ikhwān. There were few or only incipient Neoplatonic ingredients in Ismā'īlī thought before the turn of the 3rd\4th century, while the preceding 'mythologising' system was distinctly gnostic.²⁴ By the time al-Ghazālī (d.505/1111) wrote his Ihyā' (I 83: "awwalu mā khalaqa llāhu l-'aqlu..."; + its ṭaraf in III 4),²⁵ the shift in the 'setting' of the report had become so widespread that very few differentiated it from "lammā khalaqa llāhu l-'aqla". This is reflected in the fact that later critics treated the report in chapters covering the 'beginning of creation' (eg. Ibn al-Jawzī). Yet its original nexus with the akhlāq and adab was never entirely covered over; thus its listing in Kanz al-'Ummāl III kitāb

al-akhhlāq 220 #1930 & #1931, and the constant placing of an introductory *bāb al-‘aql* in ethical works of 'religious' *adab*. The unconventional jurist of Damascus & Cairo Ibn Taymiyyah (d.728/1328) was a notable exception.

SIII. IBN TAYMIYYAH'S CRITIQUE

His critique is detailed and heated, a reflection of the important role long assigned to *‘aql* among the Mu‘tazilah, the Ismā‘īliyyah, and especially the Falāsifah, whom Ibn Taymiyyah despised above all others as rank heretics. In his zeal to combat what he saw to be an insidious conspiracy against Islam (first Jewish & Magian, now Greek and Bāṭinī) he equated Ṣūfī speculations, Shī‘ī metaphysics, and Hellenistic philosophy as faces of the same enemy.⁵⁶ He singled out the *‘aql* reports as prime examples of this conspiracy, pinpointing the *Aqbil* report as particularly subversive.⁵⁷

His criticism falls into three main parts. First: that all competent Traditionist critics agreed that the "*awwalu mā khalāqa llāhu*" report is a forgery and a 'lie' (*kadhīb mawḍū‘*) which no self-respecting muḥaddith would transmit. He asserts it was forged by 'peripatetic' philosophers, and they were followed in turn by esoteric Shī‘īs (*Ikhwān al-Ṣafā‘*, Ismā‘īlīs), Ṣūfīs (Ibn al-‘Arabī & Ibn Sab‘īn), and rationalist theologians.⁵⁸ They twisted its wording by refusing to read the key terms with *naṣb*, since it should be

construed as depicting the beginning of God's creation of 'aql, not that 'aql is the first creation.⁵⁹

Secondly, the 'weak' form transmitted as "lammā khalāqa llāhu" indicates that other creations existed before 'aql, for it states: "I created no creature more precious to Me than thee". Thus 'aql cannot be the philosophical 'First Intellect' prior to whom nothing was created. Here he may ~~✗~~ have been inspired by al-Ghazālī's theological alignment of 'aql & 'ilm.⁶⁰

And thirdly, the functions of 'aql given in the 'listing' ("bi-ka ākhudhu...") point to 'aql being an 'accident' — not 'self-subsistent' in itself as an essential substance (jawharun qā'imun bi-nafsih) like the philosophical Intellect.⁶¹ (Again, Ibn Taymiyyah may have followed al-~~✗~~ Ghazālī, who posed the same question when rebutting the falāsifah.⁶²) He argues that the common-sense meaning of 'aql in Arabic is a gharīzah, or a knowledge/'ilm, or an acting-on-knowledge. Also, the faculties predicated of 'aql in the 'listing' are human qualities (hādhā yuqālu fī 'aqlī banī Ādam). His final sarcastic rhetorical barb is that the Prophet addressed people in Arabic, not in Greek.

~~✗~~ Not having seen his Bughyat, the following remarks are provisional. Ibn Taymiyyah's first criticism presupposes the validity of the Ḥadīth guild's isnād critique. His point about naṣb is plainly linguistic equivocation for

(~~✗~~ See Addendum C.)

polemical purposes.⁶³ Yet his assigning of responsibility for the "awwalu" version may not be totally unfounded, although it grossly simplifies a complex process. Recall that philosophers like al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā were made to repeat this report in apocryphal works (above n.18). Yet the early ḥadīth critics never assigned it to philosophers, but to second century Qadarīs or Shī'īs, and they always had in mind the "lammā khalāqa" form. The second and third points are only relevant if one accepts that the "awwalu" form is the original one, which is clearly not the case.

Ibn Taymiyyah seems to imply that the "lammā" version has more validity (recall al-Suyūṭī's judgement on report #1: *mursal* but not *mawḍū'*). His obsession with refuting "al-mutafalsifatu l-bāṭiniyyah" prevents him from stating whether the "lammā" report might be acceptable as 'weak'; rather he invokes the authoritative consensus that all 'aql ḥadīth are forged (invoking al-Dāraquṭnī, Ibn Ḥibbān, & Ibn al-Jawzī). Even here he gives with one hand what he takes away with the other, by adducing arguments against the rationalists based on the wording of the *lammā* form itself. In another work, Ibn Taymiyyah even supplies what he labels as the 'correct' (al-ṣaḥīḥ) version from a certain "Abū Bakr al-Shibāl\Shabbāl", which gives a unique form of the 'testing' involving 'aql's attestation of *tawḥīd* and God endowing him with light ("...fa-kaḥḥalahu bi-nūri l-waḥdāniyyah").⁶⁴

His remarks on the linguistic meanings of 'aql tend to confirm what we have come to know in the course of this study.

**

Ibn Taymiyyah's treatment of the Aqbil! report(s) has remained influential among Sunnī Muslims until today.⁶⁵ Goldziher may well have been prompted by this long Sunnī tradition of distrust towards 'foreign' Hellenistic inspiration imputed to this 'aql report, when he placed the "awwalu" version prior to the "lammā" form. He did so within a context of a German scholarly tradition greatly influenced by classicism and neo-Hegelianism, and which inclined to various syncretistic hypotheses marked by an over-emphasis on Hellenisation in explaining the higher development of Semitic religions.⁶⁶ During the first two centuries of Islam 'aql was generally understood as a God created thing (*makhlūq*), an inborn trait divinely instilled in varying measures (*maqsūm*), and the chief glory of man (*zīnah*). This is not to deny that the way had already been prepared for viewing al-'aql as 'first-born' Wisdom in a Throne-creation setting from a very early era.

NOTES

1. Known for his long association with Sufyān b. 'Uyaynah (Abū Ḥātim: *ra'īs aṣḥāb Ibn 'Uyaynah*), his Musnad [ed. H.R. al-A'zamī, Beirut & Cairo 1380-2] is one of the earliest works of that genre; Jarh V 56-7 #264; Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Ghaniy Ibn Nuḡṭah, al-Taḡyīd li-Ma'rifat al-Ruwāt wa l-Sunan wa l-Masānīd [Hyderabad 1983-4] II 41-3 #373; Tahdhīb V 215-6 #372.

2. Seemingly not the Iṣfahānī-Naysābūrī adīb and poet Abū Naṣr Sahl b. al-Marzubān mentioned by al-Ṣafadī, al-Wāfī bi-l-Wafayāt [ed. W. al-Qādī, Beirut & Wiesbaden 1982] XVI 21-2 #24. Might he be the teacher of al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī, "Abū Naṣr b. Sahl" (Radtke, Al-Ḥakīm at-Tirmidī, Ein islamischer Theosoph des 3./9/ Jahrhunderts [Freiburg 1980] 20 #29) ?

3. A long lived Kufan with wide contacts who moved to Mecca, deemed by the *rijāl* critic Aḥmad b. 'AbdAllāh al-'Ijlī (d.261/875) as *min ḥukamā' aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth*. Ibn 'Uyaynah was considered to have played a major role in passing down materials from key Hījāzīs and from his teachers Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī & 'Amr b. Dīnār; R.Najāshī I 426 #504 (*la-hu nuskhātun 'an Ja'far b. Muḥammad a.s.*); Tahdhīb IV 117-22 #205; Tanqīh II 39-40 #4959; & Tradition index s.v.

4. A Kufan Patrī Zaydī who served as an informant for Ibn 'Uyaynah (see Tahdhīb X 313), unlike the Wāsiṭī ascetic Maṣṣūr b. Zādhān (d.128...131). An 'ābid and 'weeper' with wide contacts, he was deemed among the more trustworthy Kufan tradents despite his Shī'ī inclinations and involvement

in 'Alid revolts. He held Murji'ī and predestinarian views, being an associate of Sa'īd b. Jubayr, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, & al-A'mash; Jarh VIII 177-9 #778; Huffāz I 142f. #135; Ṣifat III 61-3; Tahdhīb X 312-5 #546; R.Ṭūsī 137 #48 & 312 #530; Tanqīh III 250 #12177; Zwischen 43, 188.

5. Yet Ibn 'Uyaynah was said to also report directly from al-Zuhrī (Tahdhīb IV 118); yet cf. Ibn Ma'īn, Ma'rifat al-Rijāl I 121 #592; & Tradition 41 n.150, 156.

6. As with the predestinarian version collected by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Rūdānī (d.1094/1683), Jam' al-Fawā'id min Jāmi' al-Uṣūl wa Majma' al-Zawā'id [Cyprus & Cairo n.d.] II 680 #6\9174, on the authority of Ibn Mas'ūd } marfū': "awwalu mā khalāqa llāhu al-'aqlu, fa-qāla la-hu aqbil! fa-aqbala, wa adbir! fa-adbara, fa-qāla, mā khalāqtu khalqan aḥabba ilayya min-ka, wa lā urakkibuka illā fī aḥabbi l-khalqi ilayya". This is taken from al-Tajrīd fī l-Jam' bayn al-Ṣiḥāh al-Sitta of the Andalusian-Meccan tradent Abū l-Ḥasan Razīn b. Mu'āwiyah al-'Abdarī al-Saraqustī (d.524/1129 or 535/1140). Razīn's Tajrīd al-Ṣiḥāh was a source for Majd al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr's Jāmi' al-Uṣūl; see M. Fierro, "Razīn b. Mu'āwiyah", E.I.² VIII 479a-80a.

Compare the opening of the report in Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, Makārim al-Akhlaq 69-70 #275, a qawl of 'AbdAllāh b. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ (d. 65/684): "awwalu mā khalāqa llāhu 'azza wa jalla min al-insāni farjuhu, thumma qāla: hādhihi amānatī 'indaka fa-lā taḍa'hā illā fī ḥaqqihā...".

7. L. Massignon, Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane [2nd ed., Paris 1954] 120f., 242-54; M. Smith, An Early Mystic of Baghdad; J. van Ess, Die Gedankenwelt des Ḥārith al-Muḥāsibī [Bonn 1961]; 'Abd al-Ḥalīm Maḥmūd, Ustādh al-Sā'irīn, al-Ḥārith b. Asad al-

Muḥāsibī [Cairo 1973]; & R. Arnaldez, E.I.² VII 466b-7b.

8. See eg. al-Qaṣd wa l-Rujūʿ ilā llāh, ed. Quwwatī [Malta 1988] 135; Fahm al-Qurʿān 264, 312; & (?) Kitāb al-Khalwah, in al-Mashriq (1955) 451.

9. Van Ess, Gedankenwelt 67-78; al-Muḥāsibī, al-ʿAql & Fahm al-Qurʿān, ed. Ḥusayn al-Quwwatī [Beirut 1971, 2nd ed. 1978] text 201-38, & intr. 114-91. Van Ess points out the nexus of ideas al-Muḥāsibī brings to bear in his treatment of ʿaql (nūr, rūḥ, ḥujjah, gharīzah*sajīyyah), his emphasis on fahm as opposed to the Muʿtazilī conception of maʿrifah as human capacity, while also noting the echo of Hellenistic conceptions filtered through Christian teachings. He also suggests that Māʿiyyat is perhaps an early work of al-Muḥāsibī forged out of engagements with Muʿtazilī thought (Abū l-Hudhayl? vide the notion of gharīzah); Gedankenwelt 67 & 72.

10. Smith, An Early Mystic 66-74; van Ess, Gedankenwelt 24-8, 73-4, 142-3, & 188-9. Van Ess remarks (74): "However one comes to maintain an opinion over his originality, his ʿaql-theory is, in its cautious approach to Muʿtazilī ideas, unparalleled in the theology of the ahl al-ḥadīth...". The same may hold for his mentor-colleague Aḥmad b. ʿĀṣim al-Anṭākī. Of course, second century Muʿtazilī thinkers like Abū l-Hudhayl did not have a monopoly on the notions of ʿaql as gharīzah or ḥujjah.

11. J. Jolivet & R. Rashad, E.I.² V 122-3, giving 252/866 as his death date.

12. Ed. J. Jolivet, L'Intellect Selon Kindī [Leiden

1971] text 159 > trans. 3. See Jolivet's discussion of the Risālah 6-30, on 17-20 & 22-5; and 107-16 for the links with Mu'tazilī thought. Cf. Aristotle, Metaphysics Λ §1072b: the First Cause of the universe is called "Intellect-Intelligence" and "Life".

13. The translation "specificity of things" is taken from A. Altmann & S. M. Stern, Isaac Israeli, a neoplatonic philosopher of the early tenth century [Oxford 1958] 35 line 2, & 36 line 35 (see 37 n.1, & cf. 83-4); which term Isaac derived from al-Kindī (see 37-40). The Jewish Egyptian physician-sage Ishāq b. Sulaymān al-Isrā'īlī (d. before 344/955-6) incorporated al-Kindī's account of intellect into a Neoplatonic emanationist hierarchy of Creator < Intellect < Soul < Nature.

14. H.A. Davidson, Alfarabi, Avicenna, and Averroes, on Intellect [New York & Oxford 1992] 15-16, who observes that what al-Kindī means by "first intellect al-'aql al-awwal" is the 'cause' of "all intelligible thoughts and secondary intellects" — not that the active intellect is identical with the cosmic First Cause. Rather al-Kindī uses the term al-'aql al-awwal "for the intellect that is the second hypostasis in the Neoplatonic hierarchy" (16), ie. the Neoplatonic cosmic Intellect. Among the considerations in support of this, Davidson invokes the Jewish philosopher Isaac Israeli's employment (Altmann & Stern, Isaac Israeli 35-8, 46-7), and the fact that in Islamic popular Neoplatonism both the terms 'first intellect' and 'active intellect' were used for the cosmic intellect of the Neoplatonic hierarchy, eg. in Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Safā' [Beirut 1957] III 386.

15. Jolivet, L'Intellect Selon Kindī 106-9.

16. R. M. Frank, "The Neoplatonism of Ġahm ibn Ṣafwān", Le Muséon LXXVIII/1965/395-424, suggested that Jahm's thought represents "the first clearly defined attempt to adapt an identifiable Greek philosophical system to an islamic theology" (396), in particular his use of the term *shay'* in the technical sense of 'being', and in identifying God's act of Knowing and His Power with the Plotinian Nous and World Soul (406-13). Since Jahm was executed in Khurāsān in 128/746, he would have preceded by a century "the formal introduction of neoplatonism into Islam" of The Theology of Aristotle writing and al-Kindī (396).

However, W. Madelung cautions that the issue of Jahm's views concerning God's 'ilm is problematic due to his ideas being viewed through the lens of later kalām developments, and "the idea of divine attributes subsisting outside of God as spiritual beings is indeed so foreign to...early Islamic thought in general", that Frank's hypothesis is a projection; "The Shiite and Kharijite Contribution to Pre-Ash'arite Kalām", in Islamic Philosophical Theology, ed. P. Morewedge [Albany 1979] 120-39, on 134-5 n.45. Further, al-Shahrastānī\Gimaret, Religions 293 n.8.

17. Ed. M. Abū Raḍā^y, Rasā'il al-Kindī al-Falsafiyyah [Cairo 1950]. Also see Michel Allard, "L'Épître de Kindī sur les Définitions", BEO XXV/1972/47-83, text 57 "al-'aql = jawharun basīṭun mudrikun li-l-ashyā'i bi-ḥaqā'iqihā" > trans. Jolivet, L'Intellect 24 "substance simple qui perçoit les choses dans leur vérité". For further discussion of 'aql in early Islamic philosophy, see Jamīl ṣalībā, "Ma'ānī l-'aql fī l-falsafati l-'arabiyyah", Majallat al-Majma' al-Luḡhat al-'Arabiyyah bi-Dimashq XXIX/1954/496-511, on 498f.

18. Yet we saw that Miskawayh quoted only the "lammā khalāqa" form in his Fī l-'Aql wa l-Ma'qūl (above ch.1

n.103). For Ibn Sīnā's alleged use of it, see the text published by A.F. al-Ahwānī, al-Risālah fī Ma'rifat al-Nafs al-Nāṭiqah wa Ahwāliḥā [Cairo 1952] 181-92, on 189 > trans. J.R. Michot, "L'Épître sur la connaissance de l'âme rationnelle et de ses états, attribuée à Avicenne", Revue Philosophique de Louvain LXXXII/1984/479-99, on 492 ("awwalu mā khalāqa", otherwise basically an early form). Michot (480-1) deems the work as written over a century after Ibn Sīnā, perhaps by a later commentator of Ibn al-'Arabī. ♣

Compare the curious work of pseudo-al-Fārābī, Maqālat al-Rafī'ah fī Uṣūl 'Ilm al-Tabī'ah, ed. Aydin Sayili, TTKB LVII/1951/on 105-6 (Aqbil!), & 114-6 (Nūr Muḥammad). If it is indeed from al-Fārābī, it finds him in Ismā'īlī mode.

19. Van Ess, E.I.² VII 1057a-8b; *idem*, E.Ir. I 275-80; & Theologie III 296f. A vigorous defender of Islam in debates with Christians, Jews, Dualists, and Materialists/Dahrīyyah, he was keenly interested in the epistemological and scientific ground of theology (thus his disputations with the Shī'ī thinker Hishām b. al-Ḥakam). Van Ess observes that his interest in Hellenistic ideas was unusual among the *mutakallimīn*.

20. For early Muslim ideas of bodily transformation into animals as punishment for sin, see the articles by Ch. Pellat, "Maskh", E.I.² VI 736b-8b; & "Ḥayawān", E.I.² III, on 305b-6a; R. Freitag, Seelenwanderung in der islamischen Hāresie [Berlin 1985] *passim*; & Theologie III 428-30. On Muslim refutations of *tanāsukh*: G. Monnot, "La Transmigration et l'Immortalité", Islam et Religions [Paris 1986] XII 279-95. The issue of whether animals suffer reward and punishment in the afterlife was a serious topic of discussion among Muslim thinkers, who were alive to its implications for moral responsibility/*taklīf* and freedom. Al-

♣ However, Ibn Sīnā may possibly be referring to the *Aqbil!* report in his Risālah fī Sīrat al-Qadar, where he alludes to the "*ḥadīth al-Thawāb wa l-'iqāb*"; see G.F. Hourani, "Ibn Sīnā's 'Essay in the Secret of Destiny'", BSOAS XXIX/1966/28.

Nazzām held that animals could earn reward in Paradise (ie. were subject to taklīf); van Ess, E.Ir. I 279b.

For the importance of this theme for early Shī'ī views about *raj'ah* & *karrah* (bodily return, 'recurrence'), see E. Kohlberg, "*Radj'a*", E.I.² VIII 371b-3b; & our "The Death of al-Husayn b. 'Alī and early Shī'ī views on the Imāmate", Alserāt [al-Sirāt] XII/1986/71-116, on 88f., 94-101; & Theologie III 433 n.37, 435 n.51.

21. The available information on them, and their colleague-pupil Aḥmad b. Ayyūb b. Mānūs, was summarized by Charles Pellat, "Deux Curieux Mu'tazilites: Aḥmad b. Ḥābiṭ et Faḍl al-Ḥadathī", Mélanges de l'Université St. Joseph L/1984/483-94; & van Ess, E.Ir. I 280a; E.I.² I 280; al-Shahrastānī\Gimaret, Religions 223 n.11; and now esp. Theologie III 430-44. Note that Faḍl al-Ḥadathī probably came from a village on the Euphrates, al-Ḥadīthah, one of the centers of radical Shī'ī experience.

22. Al-Baghdādī, al-Farq bayna l-Firaq, ed. M.M.-D. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd [Cairo 1964] 228, 273-5, 277-8.

23. For al-Nazzām, the *rūḥ* 'soul' as a 'body' entirely permeating the corporeal person is identical with 'man', & the 'mixture' of all one's senses, being the subject of taklīf; see the erudite discussion in Theologie III 369-74. The Mu'tazilah generally understood taklīf 'moral responsibility' as a natural obligation incumbent on every mature adult (*bāligh al-'aql*) apart from revelation, since the moral imperative to pursue good \ shun evil is seen to be part of human innate (*ḍarūrī*) knowledge. The modality of taklīf was at the heart of the thought of Ibn Khābiṭ and Faḍl al-Ḥadathī.

24. In al-Baghdādī's description of Ibn Khābiṭ's ideas occurs the notion of *karrah* (Farq 275: "al-rūḥ lā yalzalu fī hādhihi l-dunyā yatakarraru fī qawālība wa ṣuwar mukhtalifah"); and of Ibn Mānūs, who however differed with Ibn Khābiṭ by rejecting *taklīf* for animals (*ibid.* 276: *thumma karrarahum fī l-ashkhāṣ wa l-qawālīb*). However Pellat considers their notion of *kurūr* 'incarnation in animals', as due neither to Indian or Pythagorean influence, but their own innovation; art. cit. 493. Van Ess points to proto-Ismā'īlī or Jābirian parallels; Theologie III 433 n.37. The idea also had a Jewish (Manichaean?) input in early Islam: see al-Fārisī, Bad' al-Khalq 276-9 (a seven year ordeal of *maskh* endured by *Ḍukht Naṣar* in animal forms > Daniel 4); & our "Death of al-Ḥusayn" 99.

25. Al-Baghdādī, Farq 277: "za'ama anna li-l-khalqī rab-bayni wa khāliqayni aḥaduhumā qadīmūn wa huwa llāhu Sub-ḥānahu, wa l-ākhar makhlūqun wa huwa 'Isā b. Maryam." The Qur'ānic proof texts they invoked were the same used by the early Saba'iyyah or *ghulāt al-Kaysāniyyah* of Kufah in the first century, who held that imam 'Alī would 'return' in a theophany riding the clouds; *ibid.* 277 (Q 2:210 & 89:22); & Theologie III 434 n.48.

The Kufan and Basran partisans of the Kufan Shī'ī gnostic Abū Maṣṣūr al-'Ijlī (executed 120/738...126/744) swore oaths "By the Word! a-la wa l-Kalimah!", since Abū Maṣṣūr taught that the first being created by God was Jesus and the next 'Alī, with the rest of mankind being composed of light and darkness; al-Shahrastānī, Milal I 377-9 = Gimaret, Religions I 519-21, refs. 519 n.80 & n.83; Ibn Taymiyyah, Minhāj al-Sunnah I 238; W. Madelung, E.I.² VI 441b-2a. Abū Maṣṣūr's son al-Ḥusayn led a wing of the sect till his execution under Caliph al-Mahdī (rg. 158/775 - 169/785). Further on 2nd century Shī'ī-ghālī notions deifying Muḥammad & 'Alī: E. Kohlberg, "Muḥammadiyya", E.I.² VII 459a-61a; & S. Wasser-

strom, "Mughīra b. Sa'īd's Islamic Gnosis and the myths of its Rejection", History of Religions XXV/1985/1-29, on 17-8, 20 ('Alī as cosmic demiurge).

26. On the role of the Manichaeans, the Dayṣāniyyah, and Zindīqs in the second century, see the overview by van Ess, Theologie I 416-56. In the cosmology of Bardaysān, after the assault by Darkness rising up, the Lord sent His 'Word' (=logos or Christ) to separate Darkness from the pure beings, driving it back into the abyss and undoing their previous mingling; the 'Word' then made this world; P.O. Skjærvø, "Bardesanes", E.Ir. III 782a, & 784a: "in Bardesanes' system it is the Word of Thought (Logos, Christ) sent by God that creates the visible world". Further H.J.W. Drijvers, Bardaisan of Edessa [Assen 1966] 98-105.

27. Pellat renders 'aql as "esprit", sensitive to the incarnationist dimensions of Christ's embodiment, which may well be appropriate from the vantage of al-Nazzām's teaching on rūḥ; art. cit. 487. Compare van Ess, Gedankenwelt 70 (per Massignon), & Theologie III 437-40, for the equation of light & 'aql with rūḥ in the thought of Hishām b. al-Ḥakam and of Abū l-Hudhayl, and the possible connection with Dayṣānī ideas.

28. Al-Khayyāt, Kitāb al-Intisār, trans. A. Nader [Beirut 1957] text 107 #98: "anna l-Masīḥa huwa lladhī khalaga l-'ālam wa huwa rabbu l-awwalīna wa l-ākharīn"; & al-Baghdādī, Farq 277.

29. Farq 277. Mentioned by: van Ess, Gedankenwelt 76; Zwischen 122; al-Shahrastānī\Gimaret, Religions I 226 & n.30; Pellat, art. cit. 487; Theologie III 437.

30. As Gimaret notes: "Le tour philosophique néoplatonicien donné ici à leurs conceptions...est très probablement de l'invention de Shahrastānī"; Religions I 225-6 n.28; & see Theologie III 438 n.77. Al-Shahrastānī seems to be giving either an Avicennian or Ismā'īlian tint to Ibn Khābiṭ's ideas.

31. Van Ess, E.Ir. I 318-22; more of an atomist in viewing created beings as ultimately corporeal than his nephew al-Nazzām; the two agreed on the Mu'tazilī basics of the natural knowledge of God & the innate perception of good and evil involving taklīf.

32. From his Nihāyat al-Aqdām fī 'ilm al-Kalām, ed. A. Guillaume [Oxford 1934] 180; cited by Gimaret, Religions I 191 n.10.

33. See also B. Radtke, Al-Ḥakīm at-Tirmidī 68, pointing to al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī's citation of the Aqbīl report in his al-Akyās wa l-Muhtarrīn > Ṭabā'i' al-Nufūs, ed. al-Sā'ih, 24.

34. Al-Kattānī, Risālah al-Mustatrafah 57; see GAS I 653-9, on 655 #9. Nawādir represents his most extensive and detailed treatment of ḥadīth and aqwāl. We have seen only a few pages of the new edition by Muṣṭafā 'Abd al-Qādir 'Aṭā [Beirut 1992-].

35. Ed. by B. Radtke as Sīrat al-Awliyā', in his Drei Schriften des Theosophen von Tirmid [Beirut & Stuttgart 1992] I, text 22 §40 line 15; cf. Radtke, Al-Ḥakīm at-Tirmidī 68, where al-'aql al-akbar is rendered "allVernunft". And ed. by O. Yahyā as Khatm al-Awliyā'

[Beirut 1965] 196: "wa mā l-‘aqlu l-akbaru lladhī qusimat min-hu l-‘uqūlu li-jamī‘i khalqih?" Also see Radtke's introd. to Drei Schriften I 15 #43 > appendix, 56 #39, the extracts from the Andalusian Ṣūfī Ibn al-‘Arabī's commentary on al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī's Awliyā' work entitled al-Ajwibah wa l-As'ilah, as well as from Ibn al-‘Arabī's al-Futuhāt al-Makkiyyah [Cairo 1329, rpr. Beirut 1968] II 66, where "al-‘aql al-akthar" also appears (?).

36. See Khatm al-Awliyā', ed. Yaḥyā, on 196-8, quoting relevant remarks by Ibn al-‘Arabī's Ajwibah (or al-Jawāb al-Mustaqīm) concerning our ḥadīth: "...fa-innī ‘alā yaqīnin min ‘ilmi l-qismah wa kayfiyyatihā, mā anā ‘alā ‘ilmin min ṣiḥḥati l-khabar min ḥaythu naqlu l-lafẓ khāṣṣatan". For Ibn al-‘Arabī's appropriation of "‘ilm al-qismah" see Futuhāt II 66-7, his treatment of taqṣīm al-‘uqūl, tafāwut al-‘uqūl\tafāḍul al-nās fī l-‘uqūl, and Light with al-‘aql al-awwal (67 "fa-innahu awwalu mā khalaga llāhu l-‘aqlu") in terms of varying aptitudes or degrees of apprehension according to the preparedness for receptivity of Light & purity of heart, and where God's rūḥ (= al-‘aql al-akbar) is the source of the individual al-‘aql al-gharīzī. Further, see the comments by W.C. Chittick with respect to these passages (Futuhāt II 63f.) and to chapter 14 of Ibn al-‘Arabī's Fuṣūṣ al-Hikam, dealing with the "mystery of the measuring out/qadar"; Faith and Practice of Islam [Albany 1992] 213-4. One may discern a continuous unfolding of enrichment from earlier ‘aql reports (eg. below ch.4 #22 & #23) through al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī, feeding into Ibn al-‘Arabī's grand synthesis.

37. Further occurrences of "al-‘aql al-akbar" in Sīrat al-Awliyā', text 34 §48 lines 2, & 7 (quoting the famous ḥadīth qudsī: "mā taqarraba ilayya ‘abdī...fu‘ādahu lladhī

bi-hi ya'qilu"): the saint is beloved of God so that he perceives by means of God, "<...biy a ya'qilu>, fa-hādhā 'abdun qad khamada\khumida 'aqluhu li-l-'aqli l-akbar", ie. the saint's 'aql becomes allayed\subsides into the 'omni-'aql'. In this manner, the saint becomes susceptible to revelatory disclosures (=muḥaddath); see the less explicit treatment of the same ḥadīth in al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī, Adab al-Nafs 42-6, eg. on 44: "basaṭa la-hu l-nūr wa madda la-hu fī l-asbāb wa alhamahu wa fahhamahu wa sayyarahu min ʿilī l-albāb fa-in naṭaqa naṭaqa bi-ḥikmatin..."; further idem, Nawādir al-Uṣūl 239.

38. Above n.36 for the 'ilm al-qismah. See al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī, Ma'rifat al-Asrār, ed. al-Juyūshī, 38: "wa l-'aqlu ajzā'uḥu min 'adadi l-ramli wa l-tharā, yu'tī llāhu li-jamī'ihim 'alā qadri maṭṭibihim, fa-man kāna min Allāhi aqraba kāna ḥaẓẓuhu min al-'aqli awfara." The chief saint or imām al-awliyā' (= al-majdhūb) is depicted as endowed with an extra-ordinary measure of 'aql ("aẓīmu l-ḥaẓẓi min al-'aql"); Sīrat al-Awliya' 104 §133 line 7. These notions apparently draw upon the materials adduced below, ch.4 reports #22 & #23.

39. In his al-'Aql wa l-Hawā, ed. Furat, 120; and ed. W.A. 'AbdAllāh (in the same ed. of al-A'dā' wa l-Nafs) 185. 'AbdAllāh links the expression "al-'aql al-awwal" with the "awwalu mā khalāqa" form of the Aqbilī report; ibid. 185 n.1. Compare the comments by Sāmī Naṣr Luṭf in the introd. to his edition of al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī's 'Ilm al-Awliyā' [Alexandria 1983] 77-81.

40. GAL SI 320; GAS I 492-3 & 543; L. Giffen, E.Ir. I 364; at first an Imāmī Shī'ī, then adopting extremist Mukhammisah views, this erudite scholar of philosophy, theology

and law wrote works in rebuttal of the Ismā'īliyyah, Zaydiyyah, Mu'tazilah, and Aristotle; including a Kitāb Mīzān al-'Aql (R.Najāshī II #689, on 97). This title seemingly evokes that of a work ascribed to the legendary Shī'ī gnosticizing alchemist (sometimes linked to the Mukhammisah) Jābir b. Ḥayyān [Latin Geber], Maydān al-'Aql; see Paul Kraus, Mukhtār Rasā'il Jābir b. Ḥayyān [Paris & Cairo 1935] 214f.

41. But if one takes into account Abū l-Qāsim's opposition to metaphysical Ismā'īlī and Arabic Aristotelian teachings with their speculations on al-'Aql al-Awwal, it may be argued that the reading "awwala" with naṣb is preferable. Note that his Ādāb work is replete with Greek gnomologic wisdom as well as Arab-Muslim ḥikmah.

42. This is a wisdom discourse modelled partly on the Christian literary genre of one hundred sayings or topics. The piece in Tuḥaf is cast in the form of the masā'il 'Questions & Answers' of a Christian holy man Sham'ūn to the Prophet concerning the cultivation of moral traits and the perfection of virtue, giving one hundred khiṣāl for al-'aql.

This 'Century' was also integrated into another piece ascribed to Wahb b. Munabbih (quoting "Jewish" sages) portraying the creation of Adam's psychic body and giving a physico-affective theory of harmonious development based on Galenic humoral pathology, probably indebted to the Gnostic work Apocryphon of John, as well as the mystico-medical writings of the Eastern Fathers (eg. the 5th century CE John the Solitary, Jōḥannān Ḥīdāyā). For Wahb's piece, see: Ibn Bābawayh, 'Ilal, bāb 96, 110-3 #9; and Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Safā' I 300-2 (9th risālah, faṣl fī khalq Ādam); & partially in Ibn Abd Rabbih, 'Iqd al-Farīd VII 221-2. We have prepared a detailed translation and analysis of this inter-

esting text of Islamic Wisdom, which provides an important parallel to al-Ṣādiq's myth of the Seventy-Five Powers of 'Aql & Jahl (ch.5).

43. Tuḥaf 19 > Bihār I 117: "inna llāha khalāqa al-'aqla... Verily, God created al-'aql". Its 'listing' contains an element perhaps suggestive of Ismā'īlī ideas: "bi-ka abda'u\ubda'u wa bi-ka u'īdu\ā'ūdu [sic], wa la-ka l-thawāb wa 'alyaka l-'iqāb With thee I begin, and I restore [back to life] on thy account..." (cf. Q 34:49). See al-Majlisī's comments, Bihār I 124: God restores creatures for judgement and for reward & punishment (= taklīf). Most likely, this form of the 'listing' is a later transformation of the widely attested "bi-ka ākhudhu wa bi-ka u'ṭī".

44. Man Lā Yaḥduruhu l-Faḡīh [Najaf 1957] IV 254-71 (the closing report, a moralizing capstone to the whole work), on 267; and in his Kitāb al-Mawā'iz [Beirut 1992] 16-36, on 31. The same piece was extracted by Abū Naṣr al-Ḥasan b. al-Faḡl b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭabrisī (fl. mid 6th/12th century), Makārim al-Akhlāq [Tehran 1376], on 516 for this report.

45. This Anas and his father are unknown outside of this single riwāyah; Tanqīh I 155 #1073. The same is true of Ḥammād. Obviously with such an untenable isnād, Ibn Bābawayh expects lenient indulgence from the critical reader, on account of the ethically uplifting content of the piece.

46. Al-Maqdisī, Bad' [written 255/966] I 147, in discussing differing accounts of 'first creation' such as Throne, Light & Darkness..., comments: "wa ruwīnā khilāfa dhālika kullihī 'an al-Ḥasan (al-Baṣrī) annahu qāla: awwalu mā khalāqa min shay'in al-'aqlu". This only demonstrates

that shortly before al-Maqdisi's era, the "lammā khalāqa" form was circulating in the guise of "awwalu" among Sunnī circles. Yet we saw that al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī apparently does not know the "awwalu" form.

47. Other Imāmī versions, reworkings, or expansions of the Aqbilī report shall be examined in chs. 5 & 6. They fall into the period between the mid-2nd to mid-4th centuries. Later elaborations of this report are well worth studying; eg. Bihār I 97 #8 (from Ghawālī l-La'ālī); or Raḍī al-Dīn Rajab b. Muḥammad al-Bursī (d. ca. 843/1411), Mashāriq Anwār al-Yaqīn fī (Kashf) Asrār Amīr al-Mu'minīn [Beirut 1379/1959-60, repr. 1978] 30: "awwalu mā khalāqa llāhu l-'aqlu, wa hiya l-ḥaḍratu l-Muḥammadiyyah, min qawlihi: "awwalu mā khalāqa llāhu nūrī". Further, ch. 5 n. 85.

48. Eg. Usūl I 440-2 #s 3-10; eg. 442 #10, al-Bāqir: "inna llāha awwala mā khalāqa, khalāqa Muḥammadan ṣ wa 'itratahu l-hudāta l-muhtadīn...", created as 'light-phantoms'/ashbāḥ nūr comforted by the Holy Spirit/Rūḥ al-Qudus, and referred to as ḥulamā' 'ulamā'. Or Ibn Bābawayh, 'Ilal, bāb 7, 5-6 #1, al-Riḍā...Prophet: "mā khalāqa llāhu khalāqan afḍala minnī wa lā akrama 'alayhi minnī..., li-anna awwala mā khalāqa llāhu 'azza wa jalla khalāqa arwāḥanā..."; & ibid. bāb 385, 593-8 #44, al-Riḍā... 'Alī: when asked about awwalu mā khalāqa llāhu?, replies khalāqa l-nūr. Further: Goldziher, ZA XXII 324-30; U. Rubin, "Nūr Muḥammad"; & Amir-Moezzi, Guide Divin 73-112.

Al-Maqdisī comments (Bad' wa l-Ta'rīkh I 150): "samī'tu ba'da l-shī'ah yaz'umūna anna awwala mā khalāqa llāhu nūru Muḥammadin wa 'Aliyyin, wa yarwūna fī-hi riwāyatan wa llāhu a'lamu bi-ḥaqqihā."

49. Eg. al-Barqī, Mahāsīn, kitāb al-ṣafwah wa l-nūr wa

l-rahmah, 131-8 chs. 1-8; al-Ṣaffār, Baṣā'ir 34-9, 466; Usūl II 2-10. For the context, see H.A. Wolfson, "Arabic and Hebrew Terms for Matter and Element with especial reference to Saadia", Jewish Quarterly Review XXXVIII/1947/47-61; G. Vajda, "Sa'adya Commentateur du 'Livre de la Création'", École Pratique des Hautes Études, sciences religieuses, 1959-60 [Paris 1960] 315f., repr. in Saadia Gaon, ed. S.T. Katz [New York 1980]; and cf. Theologie I 397-403 (Jewish gnosis & Stoic elements).

50. Eg. Abū Ja'far al-Ṭūsī, Amālī II 155-6 (the creation of 'aql from primordial light, trans. below ch.6 SII_A^{#28}); & see Amir-Moezzi, Guide Divin 79-80. The Shī'ah did not have a monopoly on such material, as like reports were circulated among the group of Damascene Murji'īs met with in ch.2 SII. Thus Ibn al-Jawzī, Mawdū'āt I 291, ... } Muḥammad b. 'AbdAllāh b. Ibrāhīm al-Ushnānī [Mizān III 604, Lisān V 228] } Hishām b. 'Ammār al-Sulamī (d.245/859) } Wakī' b. al-Jarrāḥ }: Gabriel delivers God's message to Muḥammad, "...wa kasawtu ḥusna wajhika min nūr 'arshī, wa mā khalagtu khalqan aḥsana min-ka yā Muḥammad." Or the Kufan reports where Adam, upon God's inspiring the rūḥ into him, views the name of 'Muḥammad' inscribed on the Throne ("akramu l-khalqī 'alā llāhi"); eg. Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, al-Ishrāf fī Manāzil al-Ashrāf 29-30 #23 & #24.

51. Goldziher, ZA XXII 329-41; L. Massignon, "Nūr Muḥammadi", SEI 452; T.J. de Boer, "Nūr", SEI 451-2; G. Böwering, The Mystical Vision of Existence in Classical Islam [Berlin 1980] 149, 157, 217; U. Rubin, "Nūr Muḥammad"; Ibn Wathīmah al-Fārisī, Bad' al-Khalq 341-4; Ibn Hishām, Sīrat I 164-6; & eg. 'Alī b. Burhān al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī, al-Sīrat al-Ḥalabiyah [Bulāq 1320] I 8 & 147.

52. R. Walzer, E.I.² II 778b-81a. He went beyond al-Kindī in his emanationist cosmic hierarchy, see his Risālah fī l-'Aql; R. Walzer, Al-Fārābī on the Perfect State (Oxford 1985); & Davidson, Alfarabi, Avicenna, and Averroes, on Intellect 44-73. Al-Fārābī's formation took place at the hands of the Baghdad school of Christian Aristotelianism, and Walzer characterizes his intellectual roots "to lie in a pre-Plotinian platonizing tradition" (E.I.² II 780a).

53. S. Diwald connects the Ikhwān's employment of 'aql with Greek *noús* as well as spirit, reason\ration, & intelligence, in the context of the Neoplatonic and Neopythagorean tradition of an emanational cosmic hierarchy; Arabische Philosophie und Wissenschaft [Wiesbaden 1975] 45, 53 ('aql = *jawhar rūḥāniy*), 63-4, 138 (al-'aql al-kullī); see Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Safā' III ch.41, 185f.

54. W. Madelung depicts it as "an entirely fresh, essentially Islamic and Shī'ī adaptation of various widespread gnostic motives"; see "Shiism - Ismā'īliyyah", Encyclopedia of Religion [New York 1987] XIII 249. Bear in mind that during the late 2nd to mid-3rd century, *bāṭinī* Shī'ī groupings, among them the future Ismā'īliyyah, shared many notions in common. For orientation see the bibliographies in: B. Radtke, "Bāṭen", E.Ir. III 859-61b; H. Halm. "Bāṭenīya", E.Ir. III 861b-63; & references in E. Kohlberg, "Muḥammadiyya", E.I.² VII 460b-61a.

55. Al-Ghazālī drew for 'aql reports in his *kitāb al-'ilm of the Iḥyā'*, upon the Musnad of the Wāsiṭī-Baghdādī tradent al-Ḥārith b. Muḥammad Ibn Abī Usāmah al-Tamīmī (186/802 - 282/895), and upon al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī. Another indication that by the late 5th/11th century the ineluctable shift from *lammā* to *awwalu mā khalāqa* was complete is the

form quoted by the Shāfi'ī al-Rāghib al-Iṣbahānī (d.502/1108-9), al-Dharī'ah ilā Makārim al-Sharī'ah, ed. Abū l-Yazīd al-'Ajamī [Cairo 1985] 167: "awwalu mā khalaqa llāhu Ta'ālā l-'aqlu..." (otherwise close to an early version); ⁴ and see al-Nuwayrī, Nihāyat al-Arab III 230.

Al-Ghazālī drew heavily upon al-Rāghib's ethical work Dharī'ah in his Mīzān al-'Amal [Cairo 1328] (see 139 for Aqbil!), and in the k. al-'ilm of Ihyā'. Al-Rāghib was a precursor for al-Ghazālī's synthesis of philosophical ethics and traditional religious scholarship; his Dharī'ah is an original adaptation of Greek ethics as found in al-Fārābī, Miskawayh, and the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā', married to the Qur'ānic ethic; see E.K. Rowson, "al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī", E.I.² VIII 389b-90b; & H. Daiber, "Sa'āda", E.I.² VIII on 659a.

56. Yet Ibn Taymiyyah was not anti-Ṣūfī as such; see Th.E. Homerin, "Ibn Taymiyya's al-Sūfiyah wa l-Fuqarā'", Arabica XXXII/1985/219-44.

57. In his [not seen] Buḥyat al-Murtād fī ¹⁻ Radd 'alā l-Mutafalsifah wa l-Qarāmitah wa l-Bāṭiniyyah [Cairo 1329; & GAL SII 123 #83] on 1-52, he dwelt at length on this report, summarily repeating his main points in many other works: al-Radd 'alā l-Mantiqiyīn [Lahore 1976] 275-6; Minhāj al-Sunnat al-Nabawiyyah IV 147; Majmū' Fatāwā Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Taymiyyah XVIII 122-3 & 336-8; Tafsīr Sūrat al-Ikhlās ed. Ṭahā Y. Shahīn [Cairo n.d.] 81; al-Furqān bayna Awliyā' al-Rahmān wa Awliyā' al-Shayṭān [Cairo 1981] 72-3. Further, see A. Hartmann, Der Islam LXII/1985/ 95 n.48, 96 n.51. He issued his fatwah in response to the query: 1) is the report ṣaḥīḥ on a valid isnād?, & 2) what is its correct wording (hal hādihā l-lafẓ huwa lafẓu l-ḥadīth, aw fī-hi taḥrīf aw ziyādah aw naqṣ?); Majmū' Fatāwā XVIII 336.

⁴ and in his Tafṣīl al-Nash'atayn [Cairo 1961] 8;

58. "Lākin al-mutafalsifah al-qā'ilīna bi-qidami l-'ālam atbā' Aristū, hum wa man salaka sabīlahum min bāṭiniyyati l-shī'ah wa l-mutaṣawwifah wa l-mutakallimah, rawāhu "awwalu mā khalaqa llāhu l-'aqlu" bi-l-ḍammi, li-yakūna dhālika hujjatan li-madhhabihi fī an^{na} awwala l-mubda'āti huwa l-'Aqlu l-Awwal; wa hādhā l-lafẓ lam yarwihi bi-hi aḥadun min ahli l-ḥadīth"; Majmū' Fatāwā XVIII 337. One must grant Ibn Taymiyyah this last point.

59. Their 'forgery' would thus consist of voicing two vowels differently! That is why all the 'correct' wordings of the "awwalu" report which Ibn Taymiyyah repeats in various places lack the crucial particle fā' (or thumma) after the initial temporal clause, requiring one to read it thus: "awwala mā khalaqa llāhu l-'aqla qāla la-hu aqbil! At the moment that God created al-'aql He said..." [+ see eg. al-Nuwayrī, Nihāyat III 230]. Can we trust Ibn Taymiyyah to have impartially recorded the correct lafẓ, despite all the evidence from much earlier sources to the contrary? His argument about the pretended naṣb of the first word is rather flimsy and tendentious, but is complicated by the frequent appearance of inna & anna preceding awwalu/a.

60. Iḥyā' III 4: "...inna l-'ilma 'araḍun lā yutaṣawwaru an yakūna awwala makhlūqin bal lā budda wa an yakūna l-maḥallu makhlūqan qablahu aw ma'ahu." The Mu'tazilah and then the Ash'arite school took 'aql lexically as a noun (ism or ṣifah) rather than an infinitive (maṣdar), in the sense of the 'knowledge' achieved by man at the basis of moral responsibility ("ismun li-'ulūm idhā ḥaṣalat li-l-insāni ṣaḥḥa taklīfuh"; al-Nuwayrī, Nihāyat III 233); see al-Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār, Mughnī XI 371-87.

61. "Inna l-'aqla fī lughati l-muslimīna 'araḍun min al-

(✕ See Addendum C.)

a'rād qā'imun bi-ghayrih wa huwa gharīzatun aw 'ilmun aw 'amalun bi-l-'ilm, laysa l-'aqlu fī lughatihim jawharan qā'iman bi-nafsih...", Majmū' Fatāwā XVIII 338. See Minhāj al-Sunnah IV 147 ("wa l-'aql fī lughati l-muslimīna 'araḍun qā'imun bi-ghayrih"); & Furqān 72. Recall al-Kindī's definition of 'aql as "jawharun basīṭun mudrikun li-l-ashyā'i bi-ḥaqā'iqihā" (above n.17). Ibn Taymiyyah again exploits the older theological debate over whether the term 'aql is a jawhar or lexically a noun/ism, rather than a maṣḍar; see eg. the Shāfi'ī Maṣṣūr b. Muḥammad al-Sam'ānī (d.489/1096), Qawāti' al-Adillah fī l-Uṣūl, in Majallat Ma'had al-Makhtūtāt al-'Arabiyyah, new ser. Kuwayt, I (1402/1982) 249 [by kindness of Dr. Kevin Reinhart].

✕ 62. Ihyā' I 83: "fa-in qulta, fa-hādhā l-'aqlu in kāna 'araḍan fa-kayfa khuliqa qabla l-ajsām? wa in kāna jawharan fa-kayfa yakūnu jawharun qā'imun bi-nafsihi wa lā yataḥayyazu?"

63. For other critical opinions on this point, see the remarks quoted by al-Hindī al-Fatānī, Tadhkirat al-Mawḍū'āt 28-9.

64. See his al-Aḥādīth al-Da'īfah wa l-Bāṭilah, ed. Majdī Fathī al-Sayyid [Ṭanṭā 1984] 13-4. Who is this "Abū Bakr"? This version of the Aqbil report belongs to a late 2nd - 3rd century esoteric trajectory known to al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī; see ch.6 §I.B.c. #27.

65. Eg. his disciple Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah, and with al-Dhahabī and Mullā 'Alī al-Qārī; see al-Munajjid, al-Islām wa l-'Aql 45-8. The contemporary Lebanese Shaykh Muḥammad 'Alī al-Jūzū follows Ibn Taymiyyah in basics, but with some refinements of nuance. See his Mafhūm al-'Aql 135-84, echo-

ing the mistrust of alien or 'foreign' Greek sources; & esp. 140-2 & 146-51, condemning al-minhaj al-falsafī to be "taqdīs al-‘aql", while distinguishing the Aqbilī report & those by Dāwūd b. al-Muḥabbar from acceptable ḥadīth employing ‘aql in a 'proper' religious sense (149-53 "al-‘aql al-dīnī", & "fī tamjīdi l-‘aql").

Contemporary Twelver Uṣūlī criticism of Shī‘ī ḥadīth remains open to this report; eg. in Muḥammad al-Bāqir al-Bihbūdī's selection Ṣaḥīḥ al-Kāfī [Beirut 1981] I 1-2: among the three reports from al-Kulaynī's k. al-‘aql deemed valid is the report from al-Bāqir (ch.1 #11).

66. See eg. the remarks of H. Jaeger, "The Patristic Conception of Wisdom in the Light of Biblical and Rabbinical Research", Studia Patristica IV/1961/90-106, on 91-3.

Chapter 4
LIGHT AND AL-'AQL

The *Aqbil!* report was not the only class of narrative myth depicting the creation of 'aql in early Islam. The following 'aql reports expand upon a number of early motifs common during the late 1st - early 2nd centuries AH. Several interrelated themes concerning 'aql mentioned previously may be seen to coalesce or melt together in fresh ways in vehiculing the concerns of particular circles. These reports are representative of the manner in which 'floating' elements become attached at new points, and display the creative use of literary conflation and composite materials in the construction of wisdom narratives. Yet they possess an internal consistency of their own. Moving away from the alleged Neoplatonic element towards the widely influential and deeply cultivated Biblicist and Iranian teachings about Wisdom's role in Creation as contributing factors or catalyst, these 'aql narratives set the stage for apprehending al-Ṣādiq's exploitation of the *Aqbil!* report studied in Part II.

SI. THE THRONE AND 'AQL

#22) Dāwūd b. al-Muḥabbar, Kitāb al-'Aql (see ch.1 n.90). Text in: Matālib III 19-20 #2764 > Tanzīh I 219-20 #117. Extracts in: al-Tirmidhī, Nawādir al-Uṣūl 242 > al-Ghazālī, Ihyā' I 88-89; & Goldziher, ZA XXII 319.

IBNĀD ... Anas b. Mālik¹ (d.91/710 ... 93/712) }

'AbdAllāh b. Salām² (d.43/663) } the Prophet :

Ibn Salām came to the Messenger of God ﷺ and said:
 "O Messenger of God, I want to question you about moral traits/khiṣāl that God did not disclose (to anyone) other than Moses son of 'Imrān. If you know them, then (you) are that one."³ If not, then it is a thing God conferred upon Moses son of 'Imrān (and no one else)."

So the Messenger of God ﷺ said:

"O Ibn Salām, if you wish, ask me; or if you wish, I shall tell you." He said, "You tell me."

Then the Messenger of God ﷺ said:

" Truly, the near angels did not fully comprehend the creation of the Throne, nor do they have knowledge of it, nor do its Bearers who carry it. God Mighty and Majestic, when He had created the Heavens and the Earth/*lammā khalaga l-samāwāti wa l-arḍ*, the angels said: "Our Lord, did you create a creation greater than the Heavens and the Earth?" (God) said: "Yes, the Seas." They said: "Did you create a creation greater than the Seas?" He said: "Yes, the Throne." They said: "Did you create a creation greater than the Throne?" He said: "Yes, al-'aql." They said: "Our Lord, what degree is attained by the 'measure' of al-'aql and the grandeur of its nature?"⁴

He said: "How far wrong you are! Knowledge of it cannot be fully comprehended! Do you have knowledge of the number (of grains) of sand?!"⁶ They said: "No."

He said: "Truly I created al-ʿaql as diverse sorts/aṣnāfan shattā like the number of grains of sand. Of that I give some people a single grain/uṭṭī min dhālika ḥabbatan wāḥidatan, and to some of them two or three or four grains. To some I give an (entire) sack/farq; and I give to some of them one camel's load/wasq, to some two loads, and to some more.⁶ And then likewise (for another) up to what God wills of redoubling/al-taḍʿīf."

Ibn Salām said: "Who are those (who receive compounded measures), O Messenger of God?" He said: "Those who labor in accordance with obedience to God, (were given measures of ʿaql) in proportion to their deeds and their diligence and their certitude,⁷ (and in proportion to) the light God placed in their hearts. Their 'custodian'/qayyim [or qiyam 'main-stay'] in all of that is al-ʿaql, which God provided them. Thus, in proportion to that [finite measure of al-ʿaql given them by God], the worker among them labors, and rises in degrees/yartafiʿu fī l-darajāt."

Then Ibn Salām said: "By Him Who sent you with the truth as a prophet! You did not diminish a single (word) from what I found in the Torah. Moses was the first to describe this quality/ṣifat, and you are the second." (The Prophet) said: "You speak truly, O Ibn Salām."

COMMENTS The inter-confessional polemic thrust of the frame story is obvious (the 'Question & Answer' genre). This tale adopted the well known motif of the Jewish convert

Ibn Salām attesting to the truth of Muḥammad's prophecy, in order to convey particular 'aql motifs. 'Aql is greater than the primordial cosmic entities of Water or Throne. 'Aql has no limit like the number of grains of sand, and the scale of its material distribution is depicted. It is a *khaṣṣah* as well as a light in the heart. Its allotment determines obedience and *yaqīn* 'certainty' in performance of deeds, enabling one to advance in degrees. Most significantly, there is a direct proportion between the efforts of the individual who receives understanding and the measure of understanding received. 'Aql is a person's 'custodian' in all of this.

The notion that 'aql is a person's 'main-stay' or support (*qiwām*, & *di'āmah*) is commonly met with in early wisdom sayings, such as one Dāwūd b. al-Muḥabbar related as a saying of the Meccan *mawlā* Ibn Jurayj (d.150/767) :¹⁰

Man's 'main stay' is his 'aql.

There is no 'faith'¹⁰ for the one who has no 'aql.

Qiwāmu l-mar'i 'aqluh wa lā dīna li-man lā 'aqla la-hu!

One may also read *qawwām* 'keeper, custodian'. This latter meaning may be supported by a saying of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī describing the role of 'aql as conscience :

"The man of faith is his own keeper, he calls himself to account on behalf of God Mighty and Majestic.

*al-mu'minu qawwāmun 'alā nafsihi yuhāsibu nafsahu li-llāhi 'Azza wa Jalla."*¹¹

Dāwūd also provides a ḥadīth where the Prophet declares:¹²

"For everything there is a 'support'/di'āmah, and the support of the man-of-faith is his 'aql; thus his worship of his Lord is in proportion to his 'aql...".¹³

What manner of support is clarified in a report from Sulaymān al-Sijzī's lost 'aql book,¹⁴ where ma'rifat Allāh 'cognizance of God' is singled out as the support of faith-religion, along with 'certainty' and al-'aqlu l-nāfi 'the intelligence put to profitable use', further equated with obedience to God and desisting from disobedience.¹⁵

Al-Sijzī's Tafdīl al-'Aql included a prophetic ḥadīth¹⁶ ascribed to the pro-'Alid Kufan Zayd b. Wahb al-Juhanī (d.96/715), in which the second Caliph 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb questions the Companion 'AbdAllāh b. Mas'ūd (d.32-3/652-3) about a statement by the Prophet praising 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib ("...one man of my community, on account of one word of his glorification and his praise of God, his weight/waznahu weighs more heavily than anybody!"). Ibn Mas'ūd assures 'Umar that "among the faithful is he whose deed in a single day weighs more heavily than the Heavens and the Earth", and when pressed to explain, Ibn Mas'ūd states :

"God apportioned things to his servants in proportion to what He wished/inna llāha qasama l-ashyā' li-'ibādihi 'alā qadri mā aḥabba. When He created al-'aql, He swore by His Might/lammā khalāqa l-'aqla aqsama bi-'izzatihi that (al-'aql) is the most

cherished of His creatures to Him, and the dearest of them to Him, and the most excellent of them in His sight.¹⁷ The weightiest of His servants in deed is the best in 'aql; and the best of them in al-'aql is the one in whom are three moral traits/thalāth khiṣāl: sincere God-fearing reserve/ṣidq al-wara', sincerity of certainty/ṣidq al-yaqīn, and sincerity of aspiration for righteousness and God-mindfulness/ṣidq al-ḥirs 'alā l-birr wa l-taqwā."

A constant theme in the reports by Dāwūd b. al-Muḥabbar and Sulaymān al-Sijzī is that human deeds assume merit and worth only when performed by one possessed of sufficient 'aql, while the same deeds performed by the ignorant-fool (jāhil & aḥmaq) are worthless.¹⁸ The devotee who devotes himself to religious observances and willingly suffers in pursuance of obedience (ṭā'ah), without the necessary share (qismah) or portion of 'aql, only deludes himself by expending his energy in futile hope of future reward. He is a 'stupid saint'. Noteworthy is the emphasis on the faithful person (mu'min) performing acts of obedience in God's service, who "labors in accordance with obedience to God 'amila bi-ṭā'ati llāhi". This stress on moral reformation, repentent self-struggle and the interior ethical or spiritualizing virtues, was characteristic of the pietist ascetic circles, eg. around al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī¹⁹, or in so-called 'quietist' Shī'ī circles around the Ḥusaynid 'Alid Imāms.

#23) Sulaymān b. 'Īsā al-Sijzī, Kitāb Tafdīl al-'Aql.

Text in: Tanzīh 222 #134.

رَبَّنَا ... Abū Umāmah al-Bāhalī } the Prophet :²⁰

Inna llāha lammā khalāqa When God had created the Heavens and the Earth and the mountains and the tracts of sand and the Seas, He weighed them/*wazanahā* all together against *al-‘aql*, and then *al-‘aql* was weightier than (all of) them and more surpassing/*arjaḥa minhum wa afḍal*. Furthermore, when He created the Jinn and mankind, and the birds and the wild animals and beasts of prey and venomous reptiles and livestock, and the denizens of the Earth and of the Seas and all the beings God created in the abode of this world, He gauged (all of) them in relation to *al-‘aql*, *qāsa dhālika bi-l-‘aql*. Thus *al-‘aql* was weightier than them (all) and more surpassing. Then He gauged the entirety of (all the above creations against *al-‘aql*), as well as of all the angels in Heaven and what belongs to God of creatures and land, from the places of sunrise of the Earth to its sunsets, and so *al-‘aql* outweighed them in their entirety. So the Lord said to *al-‘aql*:

"By My Might! I did not create a creature more highly esteemed by Me than thee."²¹ Then He said: "The most prized of My creatures in My sight, and the most excellent of them in My judgement, is the best of them in *‘aql*; and the best of them in *‘aql* is the best of them in deeds."²²

COMMENTS Here it is not difficult to view *‘aql* as pre-existing the creation of both the celestial and physical world and of all forms of created life in heaven and earth (mankind, Jinn, & Angels). The thrust of the report

involves the magnitude of 'aql's 'materiality', which outweighs the combined totality of all else. The image is of God weighing (wazana) or measuring (qāsa 'judged by comparison') the worth of 'aql against all of His creation. In effect, 'aql is greater than the sum of all the parts of creation. This fact prompts God's lavish encomium (oath & praise). The greater endowed with 'aql a person is, the more surpassing they are, and the best among them are "the best of them in deeds". The direct connection of faḍl al-'aql with human deeds comprises the epitome of the report.

The implication is inescapable that this glorious 'aql is indeed something primordial at the root of Creation (as in report #22: 'aql greater than God's Throne). Yet the intimate connection with human intelligence in an ethical religious context is never out of sight. To comprehend 'aql here in the context of Heavenly Wisdom²³ reflected within the human trait of 'intelligence*understanding', yields a more satisfactory and plausible meaning than the Neoplatonic 'First Intellect'. Yet this did not impede later Islamic mystics and theosophers from taking precisely that step.

SII. BULŪGH (MATURITY) AND AL-'AQL

The motifs of 'aql as a 'light in the heart' sourced in the celestial realm and pre-existing before any individual human intelligence, are brought into connection with the well-known religious role 'aql plays as a necessary condi-

tion for adult mental capacity, legal responsibility, and the reception of knowledge. *Bulūgh al-ʿaql* was an integral part of human moral responsibility, and seen as essential for the reality of God's justice. Views differed over whether this ʿaql requisite for taklīf was God-given, or 'natural' as with the *Muʿtazilah*.²⁴ This report depicts ʿaql as a drop of light cast into the human heart by the Angelic ʿAql.

#24) Ibn Bābawayh, ʿIlal, bāb 86, 98 #1 > Bihār I 99 #14; & al-Fayḍ al-Kāshānī, al-Nawādir fī Jamʿ al-Aḥādīth 4.

ṢENĀD Aḥmad b. Muḥammad²⁵ } Abū ʿAbdAllāh Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Asbāṭ²⁶ } Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ziyād al-Qaṭṭān²⁷ } Abū l-Ṭayyib Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdAllāh²⁸ } ʿIsā b. ʿAbdAllāh²⁹ (al-ʿUmarī, d. late 2nd cent.) } his fathers³⁰ } ʿUmar b. ʿAlī³¹ } ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib [ʿAlī questioned the Prophet] :

"From what did God/*mimmā* *khalāqa llāhu*, may His Splendour be exalted, create al-ʿaql?"
(The Prophet said) :

"God created (al-ʿaql) as an Angel/*khalāqahu malakan* having heads to the number of mankind/*bi ʿadadi l-khalāʿiq*, those who are created and those who shall be created till the Day of Resurrection. For every head there is a face, and for every human-being/*ādamī* there is a head from among the heads of al-ʿaql. The name of that human is written on the face of that head, and upon every face is a curtain draped, which veil is not

raised from that face until this newborn infant is born and attains the term of manhood or of womanhood.

Thus, when (a human) attains (the term of maturity), (God) throws open that curtain, and then a light drops into the heart of this human/*fa-yaga'u fī qalbi hādhā l-insān nūrun*. Thereupon, he comprehends/*yafhamu* the religious duties and the *sunnah* [legal precedents established by the Prophet], and the (legally) approved and the disapproved/*al-jayyid wa l-radī'*.³² Truly, the likeness of *al-'aql* in the heart is like the lamp (shining) in the middle of the house."

COMMENTS This report represents an 'Umarī-'Alid line of transmission (Iraqi-Medinan), distinct from that of the Husaynid-'Alid preferred by Twelver tradents. R.Najāshī II 146, mentions that the Kufan-Baghdadi scholar Muḥammad b. Sālim\Salm Ibn al-Ji'ābī³³ (d.355/966) actually collected the reports of 'Isā b. 'AbdAllāh al-'Umarī into written form. This report probably was included in Ibn al-Ji'ābī's Musnad 'Umar b. 'Alī b. Abī Tālib (R.Najāshī II 320). Also transmitting like reports from 'Isā al-'Umarī was the Kufan-Baghdadi Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf b. Mūsā al-Qaṭṭān³⁴ (d.253/867). The report seemingly dates from the 2nd half of the second century in Kufah, and may be assigned to 'Isā al-'Umarī, though his father or grandfather may well have handled an earlier form. Many Twelver reports ascribed to 'Alī circulating in Iraq from the 2nd-third of the second century, employ similar language and imagery.³⁵

The Islamic motif of a multi-headed or many-faced angel ultimately derives from Jewish teachings.³⁶ Here the Angelic 'Aql is created by God as a heavenly analogue to the totality of human intelligences. Nothing is said about 'aql as first creation, but as a spiritual or celestial reality preceding individual existence. A predestinarian outlook permeates this report, with the number of future human individuals already determined. This implies of course that there exists a pre-set amount of 'aql in creation. The issue concerns the moment when human intelligence achieves the age of legal majority (*rushd*, *bulūgh al-'aql*), making an individual subject to *taklīf* and to knowledge of religious obligations (what to undertake & to avoid). An individual's mature 'aql is precipitated by divine action: the unveiling of the angelic 'face' causes the light of the 'aql to subsist in a person's heart (cf. the *ḥadīth*: "*al-'aqlu nūrun fī l-qalb...*"³⁷), as if mirrored from the Angel-'Aql above. Is this report aimed against particular Mu'tazilī notions of *bulūgh* as the basis for *taklīf* being 'natural' and not dependent on divine action? 'Aql burns in the body as a lamp illuminates a house.³⁸ Here is an explicit metaphor of 'aql ('reason' or the adult understanding) as a divine endowment enabling comprehension/*fahm*. Nothing is said about inequities or variations in human intelligence.

SIII. SUMMARY OF PART I

From these trajectories of development of the *Aqbil* report and the deepening enrichments of meaning over three centuries of Islamic experience, one may begin to appreciate its intricate complexity. Almost from its inception in the first century, forces were at work pushing it towards its final form "*awwalu mā khalāqa*". This form in turn came to serve as food for thought in later speculative and spiritual teachings wherein 'aql was comprehended in terms of *Nūr Muḥammad*, or as the Plotinian First Intellect, or in a cosmic metaphysic of *Lawḥ, Qalam, & Rūḥ*. These forces included: moderate Qadarī notions of 'aql as the crux of human moral responsibility; esoteric Shī'ī notions of the pre-existent light spirits or 'bodies' of the Prophet and Imām in a throne creation setting; the predestinarian Murji'ī pairing of *qalam* over 'aql in a first-creation setting; the demiurgic Spirit as 'pure-thought' or Word (*logos*Christ*) of *ghālī* Mu'tazilis receptive to both Shī'ī and Christian gnosticism; and Islamic popular Neoplatonism including the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'* and *Ismā'īlī* metaphysics.

The (earlier) first and second century forms of this report "*lammā khalāqa llāhu*" experienced significant extensions of meaning in Kufah with the Shī'ah and in Basrah with the Qadariyyah, eliciting at the same time a predestinarian reaction both in the *Ḥijāz* and Iraq, and later in Damascus.

These Iraqi enrichments centered on the fundamental notion of 'aql 'intelligence*reason' as an inborn trait of human constitution (cf. 'innate wisdom'), whose tonal centre wavered around the providential inequities in distribution of native intelligence, and 'aql as recipient of divine address in the operation of moral responsibility tied to its function as God's ḥujjah, as well as the worth of human deeds in meriting reward or punishment or advancement in degrees. These themes constituted the *raison d'être* of most of the "lammā khalāqa" versions, and formed part of the legacy that third century Ṣūfīs received and built upon. It may be said without exaggeration that these notions express crucial insights of early Islamic teaching. The rejection by Sunnī Traditionists of this report obscured this fact. The idea that during the second century certain Qadarīs entertained the notion of 'aql in terms of the Neoplatonic first emanation should be laid to rest. Hellenistic and Gnostic notions about 'aql had a greater impact on al-Ṣādiq and certain Shī'ī currents.

The other major early motif related to the creation of 'aql was the Heavenly or Angelic 'Aql of Light pre-existing the rest of creation in the realm of God's Throne. This glorified 'aql ultimately owes something to Biblicist teachings about first-born Wisdom and its role in creation. It was intimately connected with the notion of God's gift of

'aql as the most eminent human moral trait (*khuluq*, *khaṣlah*, *gharīzah*) enabling man to attain knowledge of religion and practice of virtue. Undoubtedly in certain circles it was understood that the heavenly sapiential 'aql and the 'aql which God addressed and tested in the "*lammā khalāqa*" report were one and the same.

The enrichments of meaning sparked by the *Aqbīl* report during the second century have not yet been exhausted. There remains the mode in which Ja'far al-Ṣādiq handled it, aligning it with the conflict between Adam and Iblīs in the spiritual realm of God's Throne. His alignment of 'aql with Throne Light, with the Adam creation myth, and with *ma'rifah* 'cognition', reverberated in significant ways among certain third century Ṣūfīs, in particular al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī.

NOTES

1. The Prophet's valet who settled in Basrah; Tahdhīb I 376-9 #690; A.J. Wensinck & J. Robson, E.I.² I 482a; Tradition index s.v.

2. A Medinan Jewish convert and Companion, Q 46:10 is sometimes said to refer to him; al-Mizzī, Tahdhīb al-Kamāl XV 74-5 #3327; GAS I 304.

3. *Fa-huwa dhāka*, "that one (predicted to come)"; ie. the second Moses, the eschatological prophet foretold by Moses in Deuteronomy 18:18. Muslim tradition identified him with Muḥammad (cf. Q 7:157).

4. "Wa mā balagha _____ min qadri l-‘aql wa ‘īzami khalqih [khulqih?]" Qadri l-‘aql may also be rendered: 'degree, rank, standing' of al-‘aql.

5. For Solomon's understanding being "as wide as the sand on the seashore" (1 Kings 4:29), and the metaphoric use of 'grains of sand' as a trope for 'an untold number', see L. Ginzberg, Legends of the Jews index s.v. 'sand'.

This notion that ‘aql has no limit occurs in a saying reported by the Basran Qadarī Sa‘īd Ibn Abī ‘Arūbah (d. ca. 156/773), from the Kufan faqīh and leading pupil of Ibn ‘Abbās, Sa‘īd b. Jubayr (executed 95/714):

"To everything there is a limit and an utmost degree and an end/*ḥadd wa ghāyah wa muntahā*, yet al-‘aql has no utmost degree to it, nor any limit or end. However, people surpass one another in their 'understand-

ings'/yatafaḍḍalūna fī 'uqūlihim, and they differ between themselves in 'understanding' as much as the distance between the sky and the earth. For the Qur'ān was revealed in accordance with the requirements of al-'aql/unzila l-Qur'ānu bi-l-'aqli, and the prophets were dispatched according to the requirements of al-'aql/bu'ithat al-anbiyā'u bi-l-'aqli, and they surpassed in their 'understandings' the communities (to whom they were sent)/wa faḍḍalū 'alā l-umami bi-'uqūlihim." (al-Fārisī, Bad' al-Khalq 129f.)

Further, ibid. 221 (Wahb); Theologie II 64; al-Nuwayrī, Nihāyat al-Arab III 233; Ibn al-Jawzī, Adhkiyā' 8 (Dāwūd b. al-Muḥabbar...} Wahb) > idem, Dhamm al-Hawā 9; Kanz al-Ummāl III 10-1 #105; & Wahb's statement in Hilyat IV 24-5.

6. The partial version in al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī (Nawādir 242) gives a more detailed sequence of increasingly larger dry measures: ḥabbah, ḥabbatayn, mudd, sā', farq, and wasq. For their volumes, see J. Burton-Page, "Makāyīl & Mawāzīn", E.I.² VI 117a-122a, on 118a: the early Ḥijāzī measures of capacity based on the mudd (402 grams = a Meccan raṭl of wheat) measured by grains of wheat/ḥabbah, with one sā' = 4 mudds, & a wasq = 60 mudds; and al-Mubārak b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Athīr, al-Nihāyah fī Gharīb al-Hadīth wa l-Āthār [Cairo 1963-5] V 185. Al-Tirmidhī thus preserved a detail of the original form of Dāwūd's report included by al-Ḥārith in his Musnad (see editor's comment in Matālib III 20 n.2), and confirmed by Tanzīh I 219, as well as by al-Qazwīnī, 'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt, ed. Fārūq Sa'd [4th pr., Beirut 1981] 380-1.

7. "Al-'ummāl bi-tā'ati llāhi 'alā qadri a'mālihim wa jiddihim wa yaqīnihim". Another report from Dāwūd's book stresses the link between assiduous diligence/jidd or striv-

ing/*ijtihād*, and obedience: Matālib III 16 #2750 > Tanzīh I 218 #111 (= Ihyā' I 84; & al-Fayḍ al-Kāshānī, Mahajjat I 172), via } al-Barā'a b. 'Azib } the Prophet :

"The angels diligently strove and exerted themselves in obedience to God by means of al-'aql/jadda l-malā'ikah wa *ijtahadū fī ṭā'ati llāhi bi-l-'aql*; and the faithful among mankind diligently strive and exert themselves in obedience to God in proportion to (the measure of) their 'aql/'alā qādrī 'uqūlihim. So the greater of them in acts of obedience to God is the more amply endowed with 'aql/a'maluhum bi-ṭā'ati llāhi awfaruhum 'aqlan." [only Matālib has a'lamuhum bi-/the most knowledgeable in].

8. In 'Aql 61 #85 (Ibn Jubayr); and as a prophetic ḥadīth via Jābir b. 'AbdAllāh al-Anṣārī in Matālib III 15 #2747; also 'Iqd II 249, & Kanz al-'Ummāl III 217 #1907. Is its primitive form the anonymous qawl, "lā murū'ata li-man lā 'aqla la-hu"; 'Iqd II 252. The astute Basran faqīh & qāḍī 'UbaydAllāh b. al-Ḥasan al-'Anbarī (d.168/784-5, Tahdhīb VII 7-8 #12) declared: "ḥumqu l-rajuli yufsidu dīnahu, wa lā dīna li-man lā 'aqla la-hu!", and he refused to admit the legal testimony of the chaste idiot, al-aḥmaq al-'afīf; 'Uyūn al-Akhhbār I 17 > Bahjat al-Majālis I 537.

9. *Qiwām*, or perhaps *qawām* 'subsistence'.

10. Again, taking *dīn* as obedience to God ('religion'), leading to salvation in the Hereafter; see al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad, 'Ayn VIII 73 (al-dīn = al-ṭā'ah, al-madīn = al-'abd). Thus al-Ṣādiq: "man kāna 'āqilan kāna la-hu dīn, wa man kāna la-hu dīn ḍakhala l-jannah"; Uṣūl I 11 #6. Or the anonymous wisdom saying: "man lā 'aqla la-hu lā dīna la-hu, wa man lā dīna la-hu lā akhīrata la-hu"; al-Kutubī, Ghurur 118. See Mahāsīn, k. maṣābīḥ al-zulam, 217 #113, ("kayfa dīnuh?", in

the same sense as *kayfa 'aqluh*); & the saying by 'Alī recounted by al-Ṣādiq: "*aṣlu l-insāni lubbuhu wa 'aqluhu dīnuhu wa murū'atuhu ḥaythu yaj'alu nafsahu...*"; Ibn Bābawayh, Amālī > Bihār I 82 #2. Dīn and 'aql are actively linked in the maxim repeated by al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī: "*mā 'aqala dīnahu man lam yaḥfaz lisānahu*"; Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, Samt 207-8 #34.

11. Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, Muḥāsabat al-Nafs [Beirut 1986] 60 #17. Several reports by Dāwūd b. al-Muḥabbar employ similar terms, eg. the 'aql-decad in Matālib 14 #2746 > Tanzīh I 219 #116 (& Ihyā' I 84-5 > Mahajjat I 172; + al-Karājakī, Kanz > Bihār I 95 #44): "...di'āmatu l-dīn al-'aql, ...wa gayyimi buyūti l-ṣiddiqīna l-'aql". Compare al-Ṣādiq: "al-'aql is the guide of the faithful/*dalīlu l-mu'min*"; Usūl I 25 #24 > al-Karājakī, Kanz I 199.

12. Matālib III 17 #2754 > Tanzīh I 215 #93; & Ihyā' I 84. Unfortunately these sources do not preserve the isnāds of Dāwūd's reports, and since al-Ḥārith Ibn Abī Usāmah's Musnad remains unpublished, the higher criticism of the *riwāyah* is impeded. Perhaps al-Suyūṭī, Dhayl al-Mawḍū'āt I 5-10 [not seen] includes the isnāds.

13/Dāwūd's report then goes on to invoke the bitter remorse of the *fājir* in Hellfire, Q al-Mulk 67:10 ("*law kunnā nasma'u aw na'qilu...*"). See al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī's gloss on the same verse, "*kānū qawman luddan lā 'aqala la-hum they were a contentious people lacking understanding*"; Jawāb al-Masā'il...Ahl Sarakhs, ed. Radtke in Drei Schriften, 142-3 §4, & ed. 'A. 'A. Barakah, Ādāb al-Murīdīn 45; & cf. *idem*, Ādāb al-Nafs 94.

14. Tanzīh I 222 #133: "*di'āmatu l-bayt asāsuhu wa*

di'āmatu l-dīn wa asāsuhu l-ma'rifatu bi-llāhi wa l-yaqīn wa l-'aqlu l-nāfi'", ...mā l-'aqlu l-nāfi'? qāla [al-nabiy Ṣ], "al-kaffu 'an ma'āṣī llāhi wa l-ḥirṣu 'alā ṭā'ati llāhi". For Abū Yaḥyā Sulaymān b. 'Isā al-Sijzī (d. late 2nd or early 3rd century?), and his Tafdīl al-'Aql, see Jarḥ IV 134 #586; Kāmil III 1136-8; Mizān CO 218-9 #3496; Lisān III 99-100 #333; Goldziher, ZA XXII 342-3; & Theologie II 121.

15. Various third century Ṣūfī definitions of ma'rifah place it above demonstrative and speculative knowledge as a form of "illuminative cognition" (not necessarily an esoteric vision), while some link it with 'ilm not admitting of doubt as well as with fear of God; see R. Arnaldez, "Ma'rifa", E.I.² VI on 569-70.

16. Al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī, Nawādir al-Uṣūl 242-3; & Tanzīh I 221 #126.

17. The parallel to the 'setting' and 'encomium' of the Aqbil report is evident. Here "Ibn Mas'ūd" is made to consciously evoke that (earlier) report. For the primacy of this praise of 'aql see ch.1 nn.15 & 16.

18. A good example is Dāwūd's report in Matālib III 22 #2769 > Tanzīh I 217 #107 (with variants), wherein the Meccan Successor Mujāhid b. Jabr (d.104/722) questions Ibn 'Abbās whether pilgrims to the Ka'bah are adversely affected by their paucity of 'aql. Ibn 'Abbās quotes the Prophet:

"The servant does not obey his Lord by (performing) anything — neither 'utmost-exertion'/jihād nor anything from his own doing of the varieties of devout acts — if he does not understand it [variant: if he does not act on the strength of 'aql]. If an ignorant-

fool/jāhil excelled in devotions over the diligent-workers, then what he perverts is more than what he rectifies (within himself of corrupt traits)."

The key verbal construction in this report occurs in two forms, providing a clue how to properly construe it: lam yakun ya'qiluhu, ie. lam ya'mal bi-'aqlin. The verbal force of the infinitive 'aql is uppermost in these parallel expressions (ya'qiluhu = ya'malu bi-'aqlin): "acting according to, on the strength of 'aql", or "performing*operating (one's) 'aql"; ie. performing deeds and working with understanding. The verb ya'malu bi- may in fact be read to yield an even more plausible meaning as stem IV yu'milu bi- "he makes use of\employs (as an instrument his) 'aql".

19. Madelung, "Amr Be Ma'rūf", E.Ir. I 993a; & Theologie II 41f. & 87-121.

20. As usual, the full isnād is not given in Tanzīh; it may be in al-Suyūṭī, Dhayl al-Mawdū'āt I 10-3.

21. "Mā khalāqtu khalqan huwa akramu 'alayya min-ka." This praise lavished on al-'aql is likely taken from the 'encomium' in the earlier Aqbīl report; or it may attest to its existence as a separate ḥadīth (ch.1 n.15).

22. "Akramu khalqī 'alayya wa afḍaluhum 'indī aḥsanuhum 'aqlan wa aḥsanuhum 'aqlan aḥsanuhum 'amalan."

23. The 'hypostasis' or personification of Wisdom as a heavenly pre-existent entity alongside of God (Proverbs

3:19, 8:22-31; Job 28; Ben Sira 24:3-12; Wis.Sol. 7:25f.; Eth.Enoch 42, & 94:5f.; ...) was rooted in Israelite theological reflection upon ancient oriental myths of the goddess\angel Wisdom hidden with God before the creation of the world; eg. see J.M. Lindenberger, The Aramaic Proverbs of Ahīqār (Baltimore & London 1983) 68 §13. It was coordinated in Biblical teaching with the mythical concept of Heavenly Wisdom seeking a resting place on earth, a dwelling and union with man. In Biblicist Prophetic & Apocalyptic tradition the theme of the rejection and vindication of God's Wisdom was merged with notions of the primal man, and fed into early Christology (the 'Q' materials, Gos.Thomas, & John I:1-18) and the Gnostic Sophia. Wisdom has been present since the foundation of the world through its representatives linking all generations. Wisdom sends the prophets and the wise and is in turn vindicated by them, not replacing human agency. G. Fohrer remarks that the point of such reflective theology is that Wisdom "shows its patent of nobility: the older the nobility the higher it is in rank, and similarly, the older wisdom is, the more normative it is... Thus the weight and authority of the address to man are enhanced"; "sophia", Kittel's TDNT VII 476-96, on 491.

For the creation role of āsn xrad 'innate wisdom' in Iranian Wisdom, see eg. the Pahlavi text Mēnōg-I Xrad, trans. West (Pahlavi Texts III) ch.I.11-3, 49-50, & ch.LVII.4-18 (+ cf. LVII.19 "And every man whose participation in wisdom is much, his share of heaven is then much more."); & de Menasce, Le troisième livre de Dēnkart passim. Further, cf. Shaul Shaked, "A facetious recipe and the two wisdoms: Iranian themes in Muslim garb", Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam IX/1987/24-35 > From Zoroastrian Iran to Islam IX (on innate & acquired wisdom, 'aqlāni).

24/See eg. al-Jāhiz, Hujaj al-Nubuwwah, in Rasā'il al-Jāhiz, ed. 'A.-S.M. Hārūn [Cairo 1965-79] III 237-9 (on the

ṭabā'i' and gharīzatu l-'aql); & al-Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār, Mughnī XI 371f.

25. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Īsā..., a descendant of the fourth imam 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Sajjād.

26. Any one of several persons; see Tanqīh IIa 55-57; & Jarḥ VII 186 #1059 (the Kufan-Egyptian Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Asbāṭī).

27. Tanqīh I 85 #502. See Ibn Ḥibbān, Majrūḥīn II 119, for the role of several Qaṭṭānīs in relating this type of material.

28. Possibilities include Tanqīh I 88 #s 513 & 514; & Jarḥ II 71 #129 (...Ibn Abī Bazzah mu'adhdhin masjid al-ḥarām, 'weak').

29. The printed text of 'Ilal has: 'Īsā b. "Ja'far b. Muḥammad b." [sic] 'AbdAllāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. An extra element in the name has crept in. Rather he is 'Īsā b. 'AbdAllāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. 'Alī (a great-grandson of 'Alī's son 'Umar). His compilation of reports on his forefathers was relayed by a number of others; Kāmil IV 1883-5; Mizān III 315; Ibn Ḥajar Lisān IV 461-2; R.Ṭūsī 257 #554 (associate of al-Ṣādiq); F.Ṭūsī 116 #507; R.Najāshī II 146-7 #797; & Tanqīh IIa 362 #9316. Sunnī opinion of 'Īsā's family riwāyah was rather negative (Ibn 'Adiy: 'āmmatu mā yarwīhi lā yutāba'u 'alayhi; al-Dāraquṭnī: *matrūk al-ḥadīth*); Jarḥ VI 280 #1554.

He is the same 'Īsā b. 'AbdAllāh al-'Umarī, dubbed 'Īsā al-Mubārak, whose mother was Umm al-Ḥusayn bint 'AbdAllāh b. Muḥammad al-Bāqir (Ja'far al-Ṣādiq's neice); & cf. Uṣūl I

bāb al-naṣṣ 'alā Abī l-Ḥasan Mūsā, 309 #7.

30. For 'Isā's father, the Medinan 'AbdAllāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar (d. during al-Manṣūr's reign): Jarḥ V 155 #713; Tahdhīb VI 18 #22; R.Ṭūsī 223 #7 (associate of al-Ṣādiq). He transmitted from his father as well as his maternal uncle al-Bāqir; his mother was Khadījah bint 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn.

For 'Isā's grandfather, Abū 'AbdAllāh Muḥammad b. 'Umar (killed 145/762 in Medinah): Jarḥ VIII 18 #81; Tahdhīb IX 361 #599; R.Ṭūsī 101 #6 (al-Sajjād) & 279 #1 (al-Ṣādiq); Tanqīh III 165 #11187 (ṣāhib al-maghāzī). Not to be confused with the Ḥusaynid, son of 'Umar al-aṣghar: Abū Ḥafṣ Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī (d.171/787-8).

31. Dubbed 'Umar al-akbar, he was reputedly the last of 'Alī's sons to die, living till the days of the Caliph al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik (rg. 86/705 - 96/715); Jarḥ VI 124 #676; Tahdhīb VII 485 #806; & for his mother, R.Kishshī 72 #128.

32. Or "the good and the bad qualities*traits", in the sense of the akhlāq; ie. after the farā'id & sunnah, follows the cultivation of virtues & purification from vices. The stress on 'light in the heart' strongly suggests this, placing the akhlāq above the outward acts and obligatory duties of religion, a very important theme of the 'aql reports.

33. For Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. Sālim\Salm Ibn al-Ji'ābī: R.Najāshī II 319-20 #1056; R.Ṭūsī 505 #79 & 513 #118; Tanqīh III 165-6 #11190; T.Baqhdād III 28-31; al-Dhahabī, Siyar A'lām al-Nubalā' XVI 88-92 #69; Mīzān III 670-1. A qāḍī of Kufah and Mawṣil famed for phenomenal ḥifẓ and perspicacity in ḥadīth sciences, he was

a specialist in the ṭuruq of 'Alid reports, and had particular theological leanings (Zaydī?).

34. Jarh IX 231 #969; Kāmil V 1884; T.Baghdād XIV 304-5 #7615; Tahdhīb XI 425 #830; & cf. Majrūhīn II 119 = six reports from a compilation by Yūsuf b. Mūsā } 'Īsā al-'Umarī. Of Ahwāzī origin, Yūsuf lived successively in Kufah, Rayy, & Baghdad; he was deemed trustworthy or ṣaḍūq, transmitting from the Kufans Wakī' b. al-Jarrāḥ, Sufyān b. 'Uyaynah, & the Shī'ī Kufan predestinarian 'UbaydAllāh b. Mūsā al-'Absī (d.213/828). He served as an informant for five of the six major Sunnī compilers. For other rāwīs on 'Īsā al-'Umarī, see Tanqīh IIa 362 #9316.

35. For the context of some aspects of early Imāmī thought relevant to motifs in this report, see Theologie I 397-403; & Amir-Moezzi, Guide Divin 124-7.

36/Eg. the materials on the Angel of Wisdom in Ginzberg, Legends of the Jews I 139 (Enoch translated in the seventh heaven beholds an enthroned colossus = Metatron with 365,000 eyes & "the prince of wisdom and the prince of understanding are at his service" — & cf. Hebrew Enoch); II 309 (ascension of Moses who sees the angel Zagzagel in the seventh heaven as prince of Torah & of Wisdom); & VI 246 n.12 (Michael as prince of Wisdom). The shekīnah is also involved in Rabbinic employment of Biblical references to wisdom and its part in creation; see eg. H. Jaeger, "Patristic Conception of Wisdom" 94-6; & U. Wilckens, "sophia", Kittel's TDNT VII 496-528, on 507-9.

37. Eg. 'Iqd al-Farīd II 248; al-Māwardī, Adab al-Dunyā wa l-Dīn I 23-4; Ibn al-Jawzī, Dhamm al-Hawā 5. See the treatment by F. Rosenthal on 'aql as a light in the heart

and its connection with 'ilm, Knowledge Triumphant 155f., 253, 273 n.3; further D. Gutas, Greek Wisdom Literature in Arabic Translation: a Study of the Graeco-Arabic Gnomologia [New Haven 1975], text 122-5 #D 15 (Plato).

Compare Ben Sira 3:25, the fool who refuses to acquire knowledge can never acquire wisdom: "Where the pupil of the eye is missing, there is no light, and where there is no knowledge [da'at], there is no wisdom." Rosenthal links 'aql as "a light thrown into the heart" with philosophical epistemology (Aristotle's reference to *noús* as "a light kindled by the deity in the soul"); Knowledge Triumphant 155-6 (& cf. 35-40). Further, H. Conzelmann, "phōs", Kittel's TDNT IX 310-58, for the ethical domain of light & wisdom.

38. Note the wisdom saying by the Kufan-Antiochian devotee who buried his books in dedication to a higher form of knowledge, Yūsuf b. Asbāṭ al-Shaybānī (d.195/810-11): "al-'aqlu sirāju mā baṭana\buṭina wa milāku mā 'aluna wa sā'isu l-jasadi wa zīnatu kulli aḥad..."; 'Aql 55 #69, via the Kufan ascetic 'AbdAllāh b. Khubayq al-Anṭākī ("kāna yuqālu..."); also in al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, Al-Faqīh wa l-Mutafaqqih II 21; Ibn al-Jawzī, Phamm al-Hawā 10.

In the tradition of "mystics of light" dominant in the Christian East, the *noús* 'intellect' was commonly seen to be the "eye of the heart" ruling there as sovereign. This notion had been anticipated in Hellenistic mysticism where *noús* brings knowledge and insight, and man can know God only through the *noús* in an illuminative revelation rather than by reason or investigation (eg. Corpus Hermeticum V.10, & X.4 "my mind's eye").

PART II

THE POWERS OF al-'AQL.

5. The Seventy-Five Powers Of 'Aql And Jahl.
6. The Heavenly Anthropic 'Aql.

Chapter 5

THE SEVENTY-FIVE POWERS OF 'AQL AND JAHL

"The Spirit is the animation of the Body,
and al-'aql is the animation of the Spirit." - 'Alī.¹

" 'Aql is the commander of the mu'min's troops
(amīr junūdih)." - al-Ṣādiq (Uṣūl II 47 #1).

This chapter resumes several issues raised in Part I, and could serve as a prologue to a future study of Ja'far al-Ṣādiq's handling of the notion of 'aql. A common feature in wisdom lists of human qualities is the listing of paired opposites often subsumed under a primary opposition: "intelligence vs. ignorance", or "dispassion vs. passion" ('aql vs. jahl, & 'aql vs. hawā). This motif of opposing pairs of virtues and vices remains a universal characteristic of human ethical practice. A number of Near Eastern religious traditions emphasized the radical cosmic and ethical implications of such dualism, especially Zoroastrianism, Gnosticism, and Manichaeism. Yet the Semitic monotheistic faiths made ample room for psychological or ethical dualism in their spiritual life and apocalyptic teachings, eg. the Rabbinic 'Two Inclinations'², the Essene 'Sons of Light' vs. 'Sons of Darkness', or the 'unseen combat' of Christian monastic spirituality.

Early Shī'ism was saturated with apocalyptic messianic thinking employing themes of predestinarian election, with these aspects being integrated into an esoteric spiritual teaching.³ Every authentic esoteric teaching makes a division between the 'exoteric | esoteric', while simultaneously addressing the importance of a middle ground moving from the one to the other, a 'mesoteric' level of thought and practice. These remarks may suffice to introduce the narrative by al-Şādiq portraying the struggle between 'light | darkness', 'virtues | vices', or 'Intelligence | Ignorance'.

§1. SOURCES FOR THE TEXT

This Imāmī ḥadīth is a widely quoted piece from the teaching of al-Şādiq. It occurs in the earliest extant compilations of Twelver literature, and became especially favored by the gnostic-theosophic wing of Shī'ī thought.⁴ It has been commented on until the present century.⁵ There is little reason to question its attribution to al-Şādiq. The following translation is based on the two earliest literary compilations where it occurs: primarily al-Barqī's Maḥāsin, with comparisons to al-Kulaynī's Uṣūl al-Kāfī.

1. Maḥāsin kitāb maṣābīḥ al-ẓulam, bāb al-'aql, 196-8 #22 [= final report of the chapter]; eighty-one opposing pairs of troops are listed. This is our base text.
2. Uṣūl I kitāb al-'aql wa l-jahl, 20-3 #14; listing seventy-eight pairs.⁶ Al-Kulaynī transmits it from } "a number of our companions"⁷ } al-Barqī... .

The fact that these two earliest sources for the text transmit differing numbers of *jund* 'troops', either eighty-one or seventy-eight, reveals the parallel existence of two recensions both of which incorporated additional pairs as later interpolations, six with al-Barqī, or three with al-Kulaynī. The literal sense of 'seventy-five' pairs of troops must have been original, and should not be rejected (below n.63).

The following 4th/10th century works were also consulted:

3. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Mas'ūdī^e (d.345/956), Ithbāt al-Wasiyyah [Najaf n.d.] 9-11. Written ca. 332/934, there is no decisive reason to deny the attribution to al-Mas'ūdī.^e Al-Mas'ūdī inaugurates this work on the salvation-history of the Imāms (*ḥujaj Allāh*) with this report, introducing the myth on the authority of "ʿālim ahli l-bayt the learned-authority from the Family of the Prophet", a cautious way of indirectly referring to either al-Ṣādiq or al-Kāẓim among Shīʿī scholars. Al-Mas'ūdī's text provides a unique arrangement of the seventy-five troops, successively in two separate lists. He informs the reader at the start that this arrangement follows the order which the imam specified. The poor quality of the Najaf edition of Ithbāt detracts from the value of its readings, listing 79 troops for *ʿaql* and 83 (?) for *jahl*.

4. Ibn Bābawayh, 'Ilal bāb 96, 113-5 #10, reported via Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaffār } al-Barqī...; 78 pairs of troops are listed (= the number in Uṣūl).

5. Ibn Bābawayh, al-Khiṣāl abwāb al-sab'īn wa mā fawqahu, 555-7 #13, who relates it through his father on both Sa'd b. 'AbdAllāh al-Ash'arī al-Qummī and 'AbdAllāh b. Ja'far al-Ḥimyarī } al-Barqī... (whence > al-Majlisī, Bihār I bāb 'alāmāt al-'aql wa junūduh, 109-11 #7, + his commentary 112-116); 81 pairs are listed (= the number in Mahāsin).

6. Ibn Shu'bah al-Ḥarrānī, Tuhaf 295-97, as the conclusion to the 'Instruction' of imam Mūsā al-Kāẓim to Hishām b. al-Ḥakam;¹⁰ the Najaf/Beirut edition lists only 70 pairs (but 71 in the printed text of Bihār I 158-59).

Two later works may be mentioned from among many others:

7. Abū l-Faḍl 'Alī al-Ṭabrisī (6th-7th century A.H.), Mishkāṭ al-Anwār bāb 6, faṣl 8, 252-254, quoting Mahāsin.

8. Muḥsin-i Fayḍ-i Kāshānī (11th century A.H.), al-Mahajjat al-Bayḍā' fī Tahdhīb al-Iḥyā', ed. 'A.A. al-Ghaffārī [Tehran 1339-42] I kitāb al-'ilm, bāb 7, 174-77, quoting from Uṣūl. (& His al-Wāfī [Tehran 1906] I k. al-'aql, opening pages, also from Uṣūl.)

SI A. THE MYTH OF THE TROOPS OF AL-'AQL AND AL-JAHL

#25) ^{IBNĀD} Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khālīd al-Barqī }

'Alī b. Ḥadīd¹¹ (fl. 1st-third of 3rd century?) }

Samā'ah b. Mihrān¹² :

[Samā'ah was a silk merchant who traded at Ḥarrān, resided in the Kindah quarter of Kufa (where the mosque of the S. Arabian Ḥaḍramiyyūn was located), and died in Medinah allegedly after al-Ṣādiq had foretold his approaching demise. Al-Najāshī related from a written source (Ibn al-Ghaḍā'irī?) that Samā'ah died during the lifetime of al-Ṣādiq in 145/762 aged ca. sixty, yet noted that this is inconsistent with the perception that he also related from Mūsā al-Kāẓim. Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī records that Samā'ah transmitted from the Kufan Murji'ī tradent Abū 'AbdAllāh 'Amr b. Murrah al-Jamalī al-Murādī (d. ca. 118/736; see ch.1 n.44), and served as an informant for Sufyān al-Thawrī (d.161/777-8), which may be consistent with a death date in 145 AH. His book of reports from al-Ṣādiq was considered utterly trustworthy by Twelvers and had a wide diffusion. Al-Shaykh al-Mufīd praised his probity, and many important Imāmī thinkers relayed traditions from Samā'ah (eg. Jamāl b. Darrāj, Ibn Abī 'Umayr, Hishām b. Sālim, and Muḥammad b. Sinān).

This isnād may have hidden links, eg. al-Barqī may have taken it from his father's books; or 'Alī b. Ḥadīd may have received it from a son of Samā'ah, or simply found it (wijādah) in Samā'ah's book.]

TEXT I was with Abū 'AbdAllāh (al-Ṣādiq) a.s., and with him were a number of his 'close-supporters'.¹³ And mention of al-'Aql wa l-Jahl 'Intelligence and Ignorance' [or: Wisdom & Folly¹⁴] occurred. Then Abū 'AbdAllāh a.s. said :

" Know al-'Aql and his troops, and know¹⁵ al-Jahl and his troops! Thus shall you be rightly guided."

Samā'ah said: "May I be your ransom! We know only what you make us know."¹⁶ Thereupon Abū 'AbdAllāh a.s. said :

"Inna llāha khalāqa l-'aqla God created al-'Aql 'Intelligence', and (al-'Aql) is the first creature He created among the 'spiritual*immaterial beings' (al-rūḥāniyyīn) on the right side of the Throne, from its light.¹⁷ Then He said to him, "Go back!" and he retreated. Next He said to him, "Come forward!" and he drew near. So God Mighty and Majestic¹⁸ said, "I created thee as a sublime creature/khalqan 'aẓīman,¹⁹ and I esteem²⁰ thee above all My creation."

Then He created al-Jahl 'Ignorance' from the darkful brackish sea.²¹ So He said to him, "Go back!" and he retreated. Next He said to him, "Come forward!", but he did not draw near. Then God said to him, "Art thou become full of self-pride?!",²² and He cursed him.

Thereupon He appointed seventy-five jund 'troops' for al-'Aql. When al-Jahl saw what God had ennobled al-'Aql with, and what He had given him, he harbored enmity against him. So al-Jahl said, "O Lord! This (al-'Aql) is a creature like myself. You created him and exalted him and empowered him/gawwaytahu [with troops]; and I am his adversary/didduhu,²³ yet I have no power against him.²⁴ So give

me troops equal to what you gave him." Then God said, "Certainly, and if thou rebel after that, I shall exclude thee and thy troops from My Mercy." (al-Jahl) said, "I am agreeable." Thereupon (God) gave (al-Jahl) seventy-five troops. Among the seventy-five troops that God granted al-'Aql were:

1. al-Khayr Good, and it is the assistant/wazīr²⁵ of al-'Aql. And He appointed al-Sharr Evil as its adversary, and it is the assistant of al-Jahl.

[Troops of al-'Aql]	[Troops of al-Jahl]
2. al-Īmān Faith, its adversary al-Kufr Unfaith ²⁶	
3. al-Taṣdīq Assent of faith ²⁷	al-Juḥūd Denial of faith
4. al-Rajā' Hope	al-Qunūt Despair
5. al-'Adl Justice	al-Jawr Injustice
6. al-Riḍā Contentment	al-Sukhuṭ Discontent
7. al-Shukr Gratitude	al-Kufrān Ingratitude
8. al-Ṭama' Hopefulness [?]	al-Ya's Hopelessness ²⁸
9. al-Tawakkul Reliance ²⁹	al-Ḥirṣ Cupidity ³⁰
10. al-Ra'fah Kindly pity	al-'Izzah Scornful Disdain ³¹
11. al-Raḥmah Loving Compassion	al-Ghaḍab Angry unkindness
12. al-'Ilm Knowledge	al-Jahl Ignorance*Folly
13. al-Fahm Comprehension	al-Ḥumq Stupidity
14. al-'Iffah Chasteness	al-Hatk Disgrace ³²
15. al-Zuhd Abstinence	al-Raghbah Craving
16. al-Rifq Gentleness	al-Khurq Roughness ³³
17. al-Rahbah Fear with Caution	al-Jarā'ah Boldness ³⁴
18. al-Tawāḍu' Humility	al-Takabbur Arrogance ³⁵
19. al-Tu'adah Unhurried Deliberateness	al-Tasarru' Rash Haste

20. al-Ḥilm Forbearance	al-Safah Foolish Impatience
21. al-Ṣamt Alert Silence ³⁶	al-Hadhar Idle Prattle
22. al-Istislām Submission, Resignation to truth	al-Istikbār Haughtiness, Prideful arrogance
23. al-Taslīm Unquestioning Acceptance	al-Tajabbur Insolence ³⁷
-24. al-ʿAfw Beneficence	al-Ḥiqd Malice
-25. al-Riqqah Tender-hearted Amiability	al-Shaqwah Wretchedness
-26. al-Yaqīn Certainty	al-Shakk Doubt
27. al-Ṣabr Steadfast Patience	al-Jazaʿ Restless Impatience
28. al-Ṣafḥ Forgiveness	al-Intiqām Vengeance
29. al-Ghinā Freedom from Want	al-Faqr Disquieting Needs ³⁸
30. al-Tafakkur Considered Reflection ³⁹	al-Sahw Inattentive Distractedness
31. al-Ḥifẓ Mindful Attention ⁴⁰	al-Nisyān Forgetfulness
32. al-Taʿaṭṭuf Benevolent Sympathy	al-Qaṭīʿah Alienation, ⁴¹ Estranging Aloofness
33. al-Qunūʿ Contentment	al-Ḥirṣ Greediness ⁴²
34. al-Muʿāsāh Consoling Beneficence	al-Manʿ Meanness, Withholding Charity
35. al-Mawaddah Friendliness	al-ʿAdāwah Enmity
36. al-Wafāʾ Loyal Fidelity	al-Ghadr Perfidy
37. al-Ṭāʿah Obedience, Compliance	al-Maʿṣiyah Disobedience, Rebelliousness
38. al-Khuḍūʿ Humble Deference	al-Taṭāwul Overbearing Presumptuousness
39. al-Salāmah Sound Welfare, Freedom from Distress	al-Balāʾ Distress, Misfortune ⁴³
40. al-Ḥubb Love	al-Bughḍ Hatred ⁴⁴
41. al-Ṣidq Truthfulness	al-Kadhib Deceit
42. al-Ḥaqq Truth	al-Bāṭil Falsehood*Vanity ⁴⁵
43. al-Amānah Trustworthiness, Fidelity ⁴⁶	al-Khiyānah Unreliability
44. al-Ikhlāṣ Sincerity	al-Shawb Insincerity
45. al-Shahāmah Astuteness,	al-Balādah Idiocy,

Perspicacity	Dull-Wittedness
-46. al-Fahm Sharp-minded Acumen ⁴⁷	al-Ghabāwah Naivety, Simple-Mindedness
-47. al-Ma'rifah Acknowledgement, Recognition of Truth	al-Inkār Rejection, Denial of Truth
48. al-Mudārāh Affability, Conciliatoriness ⁴⁸	al-Mukāshafah Display of Open Hostility
49. Salāmat al-Ghayb Guile- lessness, Sincerity ⁴⁹	al-Mumākarah Guile* Cunning
50. al-Kitmān Secrecy, ⁵⁰ Concealment of Knowledge	al-Ifshā' Divulging, Disclosure of Knowledge
51. al-Ṣalāt Prayer	al-Idā'ah Omitting prayer
52. al-Ṣawm Fasting	al-Iftār Breaking Fast
53. al-Jihād Striving, Strenuous Endeavour	al-Nukūl Shirking* Recoiling from Exertion
54. al-Hajj Pilgrimage (to the Ka'bah)	Nabdh al-Mīthāq Forsaking the Covenant (of hajj) ⁵¹
55. Ṣawn al-Hadīth Discretion, Safeguarding one's Private Conversations with others	al-Namīmah Divulging one's Private Conversations Maliciously
56. Birr al-Wālidayn Reverence for Parents	al-'Uqūq Irreverence for Parents ⁵²
57. al-Ḥaqīqah Being Real, Behaving Authentically ⁵³	al-Riyā' Dissemblance, Behaving Hypocritically
58. al-Ma'rūf Performing Beneficent Deeds	← al-Munkar Performing the Reprehensible ⁵⁴
59. al-Sitr Veiling, Humility ⁵⁵	al-Tabarruj Showing off
60. al-Taḥiyyah Discretion, Prudent Preservation	al-Idhā'ah Disclosing, Indiscreet Publicizing ⁵⁶
61. al-Inṣāf Equity of mind, Cool-headedness	al-Hamiyyah Violent Tempered Hot-headedness ⁵⁷
62. al-Taḥyī'ah Accord twixt a Group & their Leader	al-Baghyu Seeking Power, Aggression, Injustice ⁵⁸
63. al-Nazāfah Cleanliness	al-Qadhārah Filthiness ⁵⁹
64. al-Ḥayā' Organic-Shame, Modest Diffidence	al-Khal' ⁶⁰ Shameless* Brazen Display of the Private Parts
65. al-Qaṣd Moderation, Keeping within Due Bounds	al-'Udwān Exceeding Proper Limits, Injurious Conduct

66. al-Rāḥah Repose, Rest	al-Ta'ab Toil, Fatigue
67. al-Suhūlah Ease, Facility ⁶¹	al-Ṣu'ūbah Hardship, Difficulty
68. al-Barakah Blessedness, Thrive in Good Fortune	al-Maḥq Thwarting, Denial of Blessings
-69. al-'Āfiyah Vitality, Vigorous Well-Being ⁶²	al-Balā' ⁶² Affliction by Decrepitude, Deterioration
70. al-Qawām Probity, Rectitude	al-Mukātharah Strife in the Pursuit of Surplus ⁶⁴
71. al-Ḥikmah Curbing desires	al-Hawā Natural desire ⁶⁵
72. al-Waqār Gravity, Sober & Dignified Deportment	al-Khiffah Levity*Frivolity
73. al-Sa'ādah Felicity, Happy Good Fortune	al-Shaqāwah ⁶⁶ Misery, Wretched Misfortune
74. al-Tawbah Repentance, Contrition ⁶⁷	al-Iṣrār Perverse Wilful- ness
75. al-Istighfār Seeking Forgiveness	al-Ightirār Heedless Inconsiderateness ⁶⁸
76. al-Muḥāfaẓah Safeguarding, Upholding (truth)	al-Tahāwun Neglect, Indifference (to truth)
77. al-Du'ā' Supplication, Invocation (of God)	al-Istinkāf Spurning, Disdaining (to invoke God)
78. al-Nashāṭ Alacrity, Ardor	al-Kasal Indolence
79. al-Farah Gladness, Exhilarating Joy	al-Ḥuẓn Sadness, Grief Tinged with Keen Regret
80. al-Ulfah Amity, Sociable Familiarity	al-'Aṣabiyyah Zealous Clannishness ⁶⁹
81. al-Sakhā' Munificence	al-Bukhl Niggardliness.

"These traits of the troops of al-'Aql are not entirely completed⁷⁰ save in a prophet, or a vicegerent/waṣīy of a prophet [the Imām], or in a 'man-of-faith' whose heart God has purified for faith.⁷¹ As for the rest of those among Our close-supporters/muwālīnā⁷² [in whom is not completed the entirety of the powers of al-'Aql], any one of them is

not without the presence within him of some of these troops (of al-'Aql),⁷³ so that he seeks to perfect al-'Aql [by completing the assembly of its traits lacking in him], and guards against al-Jahl.⁷⁴ At that moment [on completing the traits], he shall be in the highest rank/fī¹⁻darajati l-'ulyā along with the prophets and the vicegerents. However, he obtains the triumph/al-fawz only by 'knowing' al-'Aql [bi-ma'rifati l-'Aql = through cognizance of al-'Aql⁷⁵] and his troops, and through shunning al-Jahl/bi-mujānabati l-Jahl and his troops. May God grant (both) Us and you success in achieving His obedience and His good pleasure."

SII. ANALYSIS OF AL-ṢĀDIQ'S MYTH

Several key terms and concepts contained in this piece will be examined first, then observations on its structure and literary genre shall be given. Taken together, both areas may demonstrate the purpose of al-Ṣādiq's report and throw light on the manner he set about refashioning elements available to him in his environment so as to vehicule his particular teaching. As Rosenthal remarks, "true creative originality is found only where there is meaningful continuity."⁷⁶ One should bear in mind the methodological distinction of a 'myth-ology' or a "trajectory of reflective mythology"⁷⁷, where mythological language is developed in dialogue with various mythic elements within the thought-

contexts of a particular era. Such exploitation of myth for theological reflection may illuminate certain features of early Muslim thought, in conjunction with the notion of a "sectarian milieu" put forward by J. Wansbrough.⁷⁶

Just as we saw when examining the reports on the creation of 'aql in Part I, a process of infusion or enrichment of meaning of the notion of 'aql is underway. The Aqbīl report provides the basic frame for this piece, but it has been transformed by the fundamental polarity of the two opposing principles (aḍḍād) of Light-Throne-Spirit | Darkness-Saltwater-Devil*nafs enveloped within the figures of 'Aql & Jahl. The setting is radically different, the testing and encomium still present, but the listing is an expansion of the paired lists of opposites known from the ancient polarity of 'aql | hawā-nafs-jahl. A major function of this opposition is the replacement of one set of qualities with their opposing traits, a process portrayed as 'purifying' or 'shunning' (yattaqī\yunaqqā min, yatakhallaṣu min, ṣafā min) the troops of jahl, the mujānabat al-jahl wa junūdih. This process constitutes the reciprocal half of the completion or perfecting of 'aql.

SII A. THE 'SPIRITUALS' AND FIRST-BORN WISDOM

How should one construe the remarkable assertion that God created al-'Aql as "the first creature" from among the rūḥāniyyūn, those beings existing on the right side of God's

Throne, and that God created al-'Aql from Throne light? We translated al-rūḥāniyyīn as "the spiritual*immaterial beings". Is one to understand this term in the sense of the extradeical pre-existent eternal Spirituals, in the Platonic sense of the Ideals? In Sabian (Neoplatonic?)⁷⁹ cosmology, the rūḥāniyyūn 'Spirituals' are incorporeal beings charged with governing the totality of corporeal existents, in the first rank coming the seven planets.⁸⁰ On the other hand, the term rūḥāniyyūn is linked semantically with the roḥānāyé of Syriac monastic literature, referring to the 'bodiless hosts' or ArchAngels Michael, Gabriel, and Rafael.

H.A. Wolfson, noting the use of the term rūḥāniyyah as equivalent to 'aqliyyah 'intellectual' in Arabic philosophical texts, referred to a statement by the 4th century AH Egyptian Rabbi Sa'adyā Ga'ōn (d.331/942) concerning Jewish thinkers who identified these "eternal spiritual things" with the pre-existent Wisdom in Proverbs 8:22.⁸¹ Sa'adyā refuted the identification of pre-existent Wisdom with the Platonic ideas "only on the ground that the wisdom in that verse is not eternal and is not something out of which the world was created".⁸² Wolfson supports the reading of rūḥānī in the sense of 'subtle, fine, tenuous', judging that the circles referred to by Sa'adyā did not take 'Wisdom' to refer to Platonic ideas.

Early Imāmī reports contain references to a class of beings termed *al-rūḥāniyyūn*, sometimes in the sense of ArchAngels or 'bodiless hosts',⁸³ or at other times identified with 'light-essences' of angelic and prophetic beings.⁸⁴ In the ambience of this myth by al-Ṣādiq, there is no compelling reason to identify the *rūḥāniyyūn* or *al-ʿAql* with the Platonic Ideas, nor with ideal matter (*ṭīnah*, see ch.3 n.49), in terms of a cosmogonic principle engendering physical creation. This does not prevent a number of later interpreters from making such an identification.⁸⁵ Thus Fayḍ-i Kāshānī (*Qurraṭ al-ʿUyūn* 352) took *al-ʿaql* to be the 'Muḥammadan Light':

"*jawharun malakūtiyyun nūrāniyyun ... bi-hi aqāma l-samāwāti wa l-arḍ ʾīna wa mā fī-hinna* a luminous heavenly essence ... by means of which (God) established the heavens and the earths and all they contain."

One might look for an analogy in the thought of Hishām b. al-Ḥakam, who aligned the *rūḥ* as the faculty of sensation and estimation, identifying it with the heart and a light.⁸⁶

However, Twelver ḥadīth literature does turn up reports ascribed to al-Ṣādiq where *ʿaql* appears to be endowed with a cosmic dimension evoking the Neoplatonic Intellect. An example is the statement attributed to Jaʿfar mentioning four things out of which *ʿaql* was created :⁸⁷

#26) "*Khalāqa llāhu l-ʿaqla min arbaʿati ashyāʾin* :

min al-‘ilm wa l-quḍrah wa l-nūr wa l-mashī'ati
bi-l-amr, fa-ja‘alahu qā'iman bi-l-‘ilm dā'iman
fī l-malakūt.

God created al-‘aql consisting of four things:
Knowledge, Power, Light, and the Volition of the
Affair [? the causing to be by God's amr/command?].
Thus, (God) made him performing knowledge [? undertak-
ing \ overseeing knowledge] eternally in the Celestial
Kingdom."

This statement portrays ‘aql (here "Intellect") as compris-
ing four attributes normally taken to belong to God Himself,
unless we misunderstand it. The terminology and thrust of
this unique statement is at odds with almost all the early
reports depicting the creation of al-‘aql being examined
here. It probably reflects later terminological and con-
ceptual developments of the 3rd/9th century. We ignore here
further materials assigned to al-Ṣādiq dealing with the
creation of man's psychic body in a physiological-affective
scheme wherein al-‘aql plays a leading role, eg. four
faculties or powers of ‘aql (da‘ā'im 'Supports': fiṭnah,
fahm, ḥifẓ, & ‘ilm)²², or the linkage of ‘aql & nūr with
five human powers (‘ilm, ḥifẓ, dhakā', fiṭnah, & fahm; see
ch.6 §III report #30).

The details on the creation of al-‘Aql found in Ja‘far's
myth point more to the heavenly pre-existent or 'first-born'
Wisdom of Biblical (Jewish & Christian) speculations: par-

ticularly the details of "the right side of the Throne"²⁰, and from the Throne-light. This does not exclude a second-hand Platonic input, since the 'hypostasis' of Wisdom had integrated important Hellenistic elements long before Islam: well known eg. from Philo or Wisdom of Solomon, and from early Christian and Gnostic literature on Sophia, as well as in Patristic Christology. This is one reason for construing al-'Aql here as the 'hypostasis' of Heavenly Wisdom.²¹ In using the term 'hypostasis' one risks falling into the morass of controversies surrounding the figure of personified Wisdom in ancient Near Eastern, Biblical, Rabbinic, and Patristic wisdom traditions, and the long running debate over whether to view pre-creation Wisdom in technical theological and philosophical terms as a cosmological speculation under Hellenistic influence. (A separate chapter would be required to summarize the chief lines of development preceding Islam relevant to pre-existent Wisdom, which could throw light on the issues at hand.)

Suffice it to say that by 'hypostasis' we intend the religious function of pre-creation Wisdom as a manifestation of the personal presence of God (cf. 'Spirit' & 'Word') in a homiletic atmosphere. Al-'Aql may be equated with personified 'Wisdom' to the extent that it embraces the continuity of God's active presence within man as the light of insight, understanding, and self-examination; it points to a

religious experience comprising ethical and spiritual dimensions.²² Al-'Aql derives from light and spirit in the Throne realm (recall ch.4 reports #22 - #24). Opposed to it is al-Jahl as a 'hypostasis' of Ignorance, evoking the widespread contrast between personified 'wisdom' and 'folly' in ancient Near Eastern Wisdom.²³ Here, al-Jahl is a metaphor for the Devil, while al-'aql encompasses a prophetic dimension.

SII B. SPIRITUAL COMBAT, OR DUALISTIC COSMIC WARFARE?

The combat between 'Aql & Jahl is between two evenly matched 'hosts' or *jund\junūd* 'troops', employed in the sense of invisible armies or powers. One may be reminded of Sham'ūn's asking the Prophet to describe the *ṭawā'if* 'companies' of al-'aql (Tuhaf 19) in one version of the Century of al-'aql, but in that piece the traits of 'aql & jahl are not explicit pairs of matching opposites. The term *junūd* to connote 'hidden armies' is of course a Qur'ānic notion, eg. Q 9:40 "ayyadahu bi-junūdin lam tarawhā aided him with hosts which you did not see",²⁴ often interpreted as angels; also the term "*junūd Iblīs* the hosts of Iblīs": Q 26:95 "wa junūdu Iblīsa ajma'ūna". Second century Muslim traditions often spoke of the *junūd Iblīs*,²⁵ and human spirits/*arwāḥ* are likened to troops drawn up in ranks in a famous *ḥadīth*.²⁶ Al-Ṣādiq's myth describes the struggle between two hosts led by angelic-light and demonic-dark principles within man, each being supplied to him by God.

However, certain details of this myth evoke the dualist teachings of Iran, or of Dayṣānī and gnostic Manichaeism, which invested dualism with both cosmological and spiritual-ethical significance by the doctrine of the co-existence from eternity of two opposing principles of light and darkness, located respectively in the heights and the depths. The term *ḡidd* 'adversary' used to depict the relationship between the opposing 'troops' as two armed camps in strife is one such detail.⁹⁷ The 'agreement' struck between God and al-Jahl is perhaps another one.⁹⁸ The source of al-'Aql in Throne light and of al-Jahl in the darkness of the briny abyss, is certainly more than a coincidental parallel to dualist cosmological teachings, as Amir-Moezzi rightly perceives.⁹⁹

In Zoroastrian ethical and religious writings in Pahlavi, the conceptions of *mēnōg* 'spiritual' vs. *gētīg* 'material world\form', simultaneously bear cosmic roles and function as an individual person's soul power. But as Shaked has shown, while these two opposed realms coexist, creation (being the act of the good god, Ahura Mazda) only takes place in the *gētīg* world, while Ahreman exists in the *mēnōg* world.¹⁰⁰ The *gētīg* world is at the same time an expression of the *mēnōg*; thus evil has no material being, and the combat against the Devil is a fight against a non-material part of oneself.¹⁰¹ In effect, the good god

creates the gētīg world as a trap for the evil god — thus evil is trapped in a good universe. Certain Pahlavi texts extoll the concept of xrad 'Wisdom' as an independent divine hypostasis equal to or higher than the six divine entities (the Amahraspands) serving as the companions to Ahura Mazda; eg. chapters I & LVII of Mēnōq-ī Xrad 'The Spirit of Wisdom' (see ch.4 n.23).

Yet the dualism of al-Ṣādiq's piece is a mitigated one subsumed under the authority of God who empowers both of the antagonists.¹⁰² The 'assistants in battle' of 'Aql & Jahl are Good and Evil respectively. Al-Jahl is awarded a certain capacity and independent action by God, and exercises a perverse self-will of his own when "he did not draw near". The figure of al-Jahl is clothed with elements normally associated with Iblīs in Islamic tradition, man's true adversary.¹⁰³ These include Jahl's arrogant pride and disobedience, his enmity or jealousy towards 'Aql, his being granted a kind of respite by God through his empowerment with troops, and being denied God's Mercy. However, the fact that here al-'Aql is created and empowered first, before al-Jahl, reverses the order often met with in early reports describing the creation of Adam, where Iblīs was empowered before man.¹⁰⁴

Conversely, the figure of 'Aql is brought into relation to prophets and saints (al-awṣiyā'), the exemplars of per-

fectured humanity. The real dualism is between 'Adam' and 'Iblīs' representing warring parts of human nature ('aql & rūḥ vs. hawā & nafs), belonging to that widespread stream of ontological-ethical dualism quite indigenous to Semitic monotheism — which also came to embrace subordinate dualistic cosmic-soteriological aspects.¹⁰⁵ In brief, whatever weight one assigns to the dualism undoubtedly present in this piece, it lacks any overt cosmogonic function, and is clearly subsumed under a prevailing ethico-psychic dualism with eschatological overtones. One should also make allowance for the propensity of the Arabic tongue to express ideas through bi-polarities, coloring the imagery and terminology of this piece.¹⁰⁶ The conceptual distance separating the ethical dualism of al-Ṣādiq's myth from the dualism of antithetic parallelism in eg. Proverbs 10 - 15, or the Essene polarity 'Sons of Light \ Darkness', is not as great as the distance separating its ethical dualism from Iranian or Manichaeian cosmogonic dualism — unless one chooses to ignore the purpose of the prologue about the creation of 'Aql & Jahl, namely to introduce the list of virtues and vices and outline a system for ethico-spiritual perfection leading to triumphant paradisial glory.

The dualism of Ja'far's narrative is best viewed as essentially an Islamic monotheist response to the threat posed by rival dualist systems in the spiritual sphere,

generally to Christian Gnosticism and specifically to the resurgence of Manichaeism teaching under Islam in the first half of the second century. Al-Ṣādiq was noted for meeting the polemical attacks of dualist opponents head on, as were several of his peers (eg. Wāṣil b. 'Aṭā' d.131/748, who wrote al-Alf Mas'alah fī l-Radd 'alā l-Mānawīyyah),¹⁰⁷ as well as many of al-Ṣādiq's pupils and a number of the early Mu'tazilah. If this piece indeed accurately reflects al-Ṣādiq's own teaching, then it shows him adapting selected elements of either Zoroastrian, Manichaeism, or Dayṣānī dualism to his purpose. This would indicate how seriously gnostic dualism was perceived as a threat by leading Muslim thinkers in the first half of the second century. It may also have been a reflection of the composition of al-Ṣādiq's circle of disciples to whom he propounded this teaching: mawālī from Mesopotamia in contact with active centers of Dayṣānī teaching in Kufah, or of Manichaeism practice in eg. al-Madā'in [home of 'Alī b. Ḥadīd], or pagan-Neoplatonic centers in eg. Ḥarrān [Samā'ah's commerce took him there].¹⁰⁸

Viewing al-Ṣādiq's myth of 'Aql & Jahl as a creative response to Manichaeism or Dayṣānī dualism is consistent with what is known about the impact these teachings had during his life, and finds support in the trend of anti-Manichaeism polemics before and during his lifetime.¹⁰⁹ The dualistic

setting and portrayal of opposing 'light | dark' principles in his myth is a rather striking example of what Stroumsa characterizes as "the Muslim interiorization of the Manichaean ethical challenge".¹¹⁹ Al-Ṣādiq's originality is displayed by the manner which his ethical and theological interests shaped the mythic language and elements he appropriated and accentuated. This exemplifies a process of 'reflective mythology' where the background and parallels with other traditions must not be seen as defining the content nor the intent of his teaching.

SII C. THE 'TRIUMPH' OBTAINED BY MA'RIFAT AL-'AQL

Other terms and motifs found in this myth tie it directly to teachings concerning 'aql known in early Islam. The theological significance inspiring the transformation of the Aqbil report in this myth revolves around a balance between God's determining the human traits of 'Aql & Jahl before their physical existence (eg. the two wazīrs: Good and Evil), and individual efforts to rectify and 'improve upon' one's endowment through knowledge and growth in purity of heart. The imam's exhortation in the opening and in the concluding section for his followers to "know*cognise the troops" of both 'aql & jahl is the central issue justifying the detailed listing of the pairs of troops. For it is by means of such 'cognizance' (ma'rifah) that the completion (istikmāl) of the powers of al-'Aql and simultaneous

purification from the powers of al-Jahl is achieved. Perfection of al-'Aql becomes an appropriation or recovery of a condition of 'being' present at the beginning.

Once the purified-of-heart possessed of faith complete the entirety of their traits of al-'Aql, they obtain the 'great triumph' of otherworldly victory, attaining "the highest rank/al-darajat al-'ulyā" on the same degree as the prophets and the saints.¹¹¹ This doxology echoes the type of thought known in early Islam, enunciated eg. by Sa'īd b. Jubayr (d.95/714), that the prophets were provided with knowledge and spiritual perception (al-'ilm wa l-baṣar) :

"...on account of the 'surpassing-excellence' of their 'aql. So whomever renounced worldly pleasures and persevered in the truth, he has perfected al-'aql (istakmala l-'aql), and he is in the closest of stations and their utmost (degree)/fī adnā l-manāzil wa aqṣāhā. For the servants are victorious/fāza through self-exertions/ijtihād."¹¹²

While less explicit than al-Ṣādiq's report, Ibn Jubayr's statement holds out the possibility for an individual to reach the highest level of paradisial degrees, once they have made their 'aql perfect*complete, just as the prophets. This is accomplished through *ijtihād* (al-nafs) 'self-struggle', the inner cleansing opening the way for knowledge and spiritual perception. In Dāwūd b. al-Muḥabbar's report where 'aql is a light in the heart (ch.4 #22), 'aql is

awarded men "in proportion to their deeds and their diligence and their certitude", thus rising in degrees. Significantly, al-Ṣādiq concludes by invoking divine help to achieve the *fawz*, both for himself and his disciples.

Al-Ṣādiq distinguishes between the one "whose heart God has purified for faith"¹¹³ being at the highest degree along with prophets and saints, and between those of his disciples who, while possessing some of the traits of al-ʿAql, still require to complete its remaining traits by ridding themselves of the corresponding traits of al-Jahl. "Knowing al-ʿAql and his troops" is reciprocally the reverse of "shunning al-Jahl and his troops"; both may be said to mutually constitute the process of *maʿrifat al-ʿAql* ushering the faithful into the highest degree. This 'knowing' is nothing else than the cultivation of the virtues and the extirpation of vices from within the self, demanding that one be well acquainted with both; ie. self-knowledge and purification of heart, or virtue as the knowledge of good and evil.¹¹⁴

The ethical scheme portrayed here (a listing of opposing qualities on a binary basis) has nothing in common with the Hellenistic doctrine of the "mean between extremes" inherited by later Islamic philosophical ethics.¹¹⁵ Nor does the Iranian concept of *paymān* 'right-measure' as a tool for defining virtues¹¹⁶ appear to fully approximate the intent of Jaʿfar's listing. Rather, it has much in common

with Biblicist spirituality, particularly the disciplines centered on the 'unseen combat' against the 'enemy' typical of monastic spirituality.¹¹⁷ The basic scheme was present in primitive Islam, glimpsed in a *qawl* attributed to Abū Hurayrah: "The heart is a ruler and it has 'troops'; when the ruler is upright his troops are righteous, and when the ruler is corrupt his troops are depraved".¹¹⁸

Parts of the above analysis may mislead one by diverting attention from the real significance of al-Ṣādiq's report, namely the pairs of traits sketching the basis of a purgative mysticism. The final chapter brings the listing of the troops of al-ʿAql & al-Jahl back onto center stage.

NOTES

1. Al-rūḥu ḥayātu l-badani wa l-'aqlu ḥayātu l-rūḥ; Saj' al-Ḥamām, from Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, al-alf al-mukhtārah of Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah.

2. The 'evil inclination' (yēser ḥā-rā') and the 'good inclination' (yēser ḥā-tōv); see Ephraim E. Urbach, The Sages, their Concepts and Beliefs, trans. I. Abrahams [Jerusalem 1975; Cambridge & London 1979] 472-83.

3. For a recent presentation of early Shī'ī esoteric spirituality, see Amir-Moezzi, Guide Divin. The works of Henry Corbin are particularly rich for appreciating the later working out of Imāmī and Ismā'īlī esoteric ideas.

4. To name only two: the great Ṣafavid savant Mullā Ṣadrā (d.1050/1641), Sharḥ Uṣūl al-Kāfī [Tehran, lithograph 1283/1865] 65-104; and his pupil (also an Akhbārī), Muḥsin-i Fayḍ-i Kāshānī (d.1090/1679), Qurrat al-'Uyūn fī l-Ma'ārif wa l-Hikam, ed. Ibrāhīm al-Miyānjī [2nd pr., Beirut 1979] 351-56, "fī intishā' al-makhlūqāt min al-'aql On the origination of created-beings out of al-'aql". For Fayḍ-i Kāshānī, see W. Chittick, E.I.² VII 475b-6b; & M. Aghena, E.I.² § 305.

5. Two recent examples: by al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Taqiy b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib al-Ḥusaynī al-Tunukābunī, Risālah fī l-'Aql wa Bayān Iqbālīhi wa Idbārihi (extracted from his larger Subul al-Salām fī Ma'ālim al-Islām); see Āghā Buzorg al-Ṭihirānī, al-Dharī'ah ilā Taṣānīf al-Shī'ah XII 134 #910, XV 300 #1922 & #1924. And by al-Sayyid Ḥasan

al-Ṣadr (d.1354/1936), Hidāyat al-Najdayn wa Tafdīl al-Jundayn; mentioned by Muḥammad Bāqir Kamara'ī in the introduction to his edition of Uṣūl al-Kāfī [Tehran: Maṭba'at al-'Ilmiyyah, 1382] I 20, amongst his useful listing of commentaries, marginal supercommentaries and monographs on special problems related to al-Kulaynī's opus (18-22).

6. There is another English translation of Uṣūl's text made by the World Organization For Islamic Services (WOFIS), Al-Kāfī [Tehran 1398/1978] vol. I part 1 "The Book of Reason and Ignorance", on 49-55. See also S. Murata, The Tao of Islam 239-41.

7. For the identity of the traditionists embraced by "ʿiddatun min aṣḥābinā", see Kamara'ī, ed., Uṣūl I 26. This initial link in al-Kulaynī's isnād refers to his Imāmī colleagues and teachers from the school of Qumm; he frequently introduces his riwāyah with this phrase to specify that a report was related identically by several of his informants. W. Ivanow posits that the reason for such uniformity is that "the tradition was copied from one and the same source either because all the rawis concerned wrote at the same dictation, or, more likely, copied the tradition from one and the same source"; Ibn al-Qaddāh, the Alleged Founder of Ismāʿīlism [2nd ed. Bombay 1957] 17. It is clear from the primary links in the isnād in all the written sources where this report occurs that the written source was al-Barqī's Maḥāsin, rather than the original Aṣl work of Samāʿah b. Mihrān.

8. For this great historian, see the fine work by Ahmad Shboul, Al-Masʿūdī and his World. A Muslim Humanist and his interest in non-Muslims [London 1979]; & Ch. Pellat, "al-Masʿūdī", E.I.² VI 784-9.

9. Mainly due to the fact that al-Mas'ūdī nowhere refers to it in his other two surviving works; see eg. T. Khalidi, Islamic Historiography: the Histories of Mas'ūdī [Albany 1975] 138 n.2, 163-4; & Amir-Moezzi, Guide Divin 57 n.117. Sometimes identified with al-Mas'ūdī's al-Bayān fī Asmā' al-A'immat al-Qitt'iyvah min al-Shī'ah (written before 332/943); which seems improbable. Charles Pellat has discussed this work and its attribution to al-Mas'ūdī in "Mas'ūdī et l'Imāmisme", in the Strasbourg colloquim Le Shī'isme Imāmite, ed. T. Fahd [Paris 1970] 69-80. In E.I.² VI 787b, Pellat summarizes the reasons for doubting its authenticity, but affirms that "the question remains open".

10. Al-Kāẓim's 'Instruction' and/or the 75 jund have been discussed inter alia by: Bāqir Sharīf al-Qurashī, Hayāt al-Imām Mūsā b. Ja'far [Najaf 1389/1970] I 181-223; 'AbdAllāh Ni'mah, Hishām b. al-Ḥakam 242-6; S. Waḥīd Akhtar, Early Shī'ite Imāmiyyah Thinkers [New Delhi 1988] 33-5; van Ess, Theologie I 354 & 368; Amir-Moezzi, Guide Divin 23-4; and by E. Kohlberg, "Mūsā al-Kāẓim", E.I.² VII 648a, & in his forthcoming contribution to E.Ir., "Evil in Shī'ism".

11. 'Alī b. Ḥadīd b. Ḥakīm al-Sābātī, a mawlā of Azd active in Kufah, a companion of the 8th and 9th imams al-Riḍā & al-Jawād; originally from al-Madā'in, where he maintained his residence. See Abū Ja'far al-Barqī, Rijāl 55-56; R.Najāshī II 108-9 #715; R.Ṭūsī 382 #24 & 403 #11; F.Ṭūsī 89 #372; Ibn Dāwūd, Rijāl 482 (specifying he held Fathīyyah views); Tanqīh IIa 275 #8207. His family had been associated with the Ḥusaynid 'Alids for several generations (eg. R.Ṭūsī 285 #78: his uncles Muḥammad & Muzāḥim). Deemed weak by Abū Ja'far al-Ṭūsī, his tradition-book was relayed by al-Faḍl b. Shādhān. Yet see the reports in R.Kishshī #499 & #951 (the 8th and 9th imams express confidence in him), #s

220, 449, & 908 (where he relates concerning the heretics Abū l-Khaṭṭāb and Muḥammad b. Bashīr), and #955 (where al-Kishshī criticizes the Qummī traditionists who accused 'Alī b. Ḥadīd of being a partisan of Yūnus b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, or secretly nurturing a preference for the teaching of Hishām b. al-Ḥakam).

12. Abū Nāshirah (or Abū Muḥammad) Samā'ah b. Mihrān b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, a Kufan *mawlā* of 'Abd b. Wā'il b. Ḥujr al-Ḥaḍramī, or a *mawlā* of Khawlān of Ḥaḍramawt; al-Barqī, Rijāl 44 & 48; R.Najāshī I 431-3 #515; R.Ṭūsī 214 #196, 351 #4 (associate of al-Ṣādiq & al-Kāẓim); Tanqīh IIa 67-8 #5271; & Jarḥ IV 324 #1416 (Abū Ḥātim's cautious approval: *shaykh Kūfī, arā ḥadīthahu mustaqīman*). There does not appear to be any mention of Samā'ah's father in the sources.

He was sometimes confused with the grandfather of the Kufan banker and prolific compiler, the strident *Wāqifī* Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Samā'ah b. Mūsā b. Ruwayd b. Nashīṭ al-Ḥaḍramī al-Kindī (d.263/877; R.Najāshī I 140-3 #83, "*min shuyūkh al-Wāqifah*"; R.Ṭūsī 51-2 #182; Tanqīh I 307-8 #2738), resulting in the allegation that Samā'ah himself held *Wāqifī* beliefs (cf. Ibn Dāwūd, Rijāl 460; R.Kishshī 477 #904). But this error was long ago noted (R.Kishshī 469 #894), and he does not appear to be related to al-Ḥasan's father, the Kufan *faqīh* & associate of al-Ṣādiq who compiled legal works, Abū 'AbdAllāh Muḥammad b. Samā'ah b. Mūsā al-Ḥaḍramī al-Ṣayrafī (R.Najāshī II 211 #891; R.Ṭūsī 290 #164; Tanqīh III 123-4 #10816, + see #10817). This confusion may have led to Abū Ja'far al-Ṭūsī's claim that Samā'ah b. Mihrān was a *Wāqifī* who transmitted from al-Kāẓim. Yet the possibility that Samā'ah died in the second half of the 2nd century is not to be dismissed entirely.

13. 'Iddatun min muwālīhi; Uṣūl has: jamā'atun min muwālīhi. We render muwālīhi (pl. of muwālīn) his 'followers, close-friends, disciples', namely those who recognize the Imām as their personal religious guide and submit to his walāyah 'spiritual authority' (syn. mutashayyi'ūn, muḥibbūn). See Mahāsin k. al-ṣafwah wa l-nūr, bāb al-muwālāt fī llāhi wa l-mu'ādah, 165 #s 120 & 121; & E. Kohlberg, "Imām and Community" 32. If read mawālīhi (pl. of mawlā), the meaning would be his 'clients, freedmen', ie. non-Arab Muslims allied to the Qurashī clan of Hāshim or Ja'far's family.

The possibility that mawālī is to be read here, in the sense of "walā' al-muwālāt" 'contractual clientage' ("contractual agreement distinct from the act of conversion" struck between a Muslim patron and a freedman without walā'; P. Crone, "Mawlā", E.I.² VI 881b-2a), is quite unlikely.

14. See the discussion below §II.A, for how best to construe 'aql & jahl in this report.

15. I'rifū! 'Be cognizant of' or 'Be acquainted with'; the second repetition is lacking in Uṣūl.

16. "Lā na'rifu illā mā 'arraftanā"; cf. Q 2:32, where the angels reply to God's request that they name the Names He had taught Adam ("No knowledge have we except what Thou has taught us..."). The Imām is sole source of knowledge for those under his spiritual authority (walāyah). This phrase itself indicates that the ambience of this report is al-ṣādiq's personal instruction to disciples.

17. The relative clause "khalaqahu (which) He created" is absent from Uṣūl. Yet Mahāsin, Ithbāt, 'Ilal, & Khiṣāl agree on this reading: "huwa awwalu khalqin khalaqahu min

al-rūḥāniyyīn 'an yamīni l-'arshi min nūriḥ"; ie. from the light of the Throne, not from God's light, as van Ess (Theologie I 354: "erstes Geistwesen rechts vom Thron aus Gottes Licht geschaffen"), and Amir-Moezzi (Guide Divin 19: "...et le faisant proceder de Sa propre Lumière"), and S. Murata (Tao of Islam 240: "...from His light on the right side of His Throne") all interpret. While the reading "God's light" is certainly a natural one, we shall adduce reason why "Throne light" is more plausible. (But see Addendum D. for the issue of Throne and 'aql.)

18. Whereas Uṣūl has: "Blessed and Exalted".

19. Reminiscent of Q 68:4 "wa innaka la-'alā khuluqin 'aẓīmin And certainly you [Muḥammad] possess sublime moral qualities". This evocation of the Qur'ānic context juxtaposes the terms *khalq*/creature, and *khuluq*/innate moral disposition; compare eg. al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī, Bayān al-Kasb 183.

20. "Akramtuka 'alā jamī'i khalqī", or "I have ennobled thee..."; while Ithbāt & Uṣūl have *karramtuka* "I have exalted thee above...".

21. "Min al-baḥri l-ujāji l-zulmāniy"; Ilal, Ithbāt & Tuhaf agree here with Mahāsin, while Uṣūl & Khiṣāl have: "al-baḥri l-ujāj zulmāniyyan full of darkness from the brackish sea." Al-Ṣādiq may be drawing upon al-Bāqir's theme of the 'Two Waters', upper\sweet and lower\salt, out of which the blessed and the damned are created.

22. "Istakbarta?"; see Q 38:75, where the reference is to Iblīs, who disobeyed God's command to prostrate to Adam. Thus al-Jahl by his own self-will has insolently held him-

self above obeying God.

23. In Islamic tradition, Iblīs is never the adversary/ḍidd of God, but always of man; see T. Fahd, "Angeles, Démons et Djinns en Islam", in Sources Orientales VIII, Genies, Anges, et Démons [Paris 1971] 155-214, on 180-1, observing that God empowers both the Devil and man against each other. Ibn Abī l-Dunyā ('Aql 62 #89) gives an anonymous early exhortation from "one of the wise" where al-'aql & al-hawā are 'two adversaries' ḍiddān:

"Take heed and pay attention/iḥfaẓū wa 'ū! Every single person has two internal rulers/qāḍiyāni bāṭināni, one of whom is a sincere counsellor/nāṣiḥ, the other a deceiver/ghāshsh. The sincere counsellor is al-'aql, while the deceiver is desire/al-hawā. The two are 'adversaries'; whichever one of the two you side with, the other is enfeebled."

Cf. above n.2.

24. "Wa lā quwwata lī bi-hi"; the final pronoun referent is to al-'aql.

25. "Wa huwa wazīr al-'aql", ie. in battle. The term wazīr was originally synonymous with anṣār and ashya' (shī'ah), to mean "helper, propagandist" (Q 25:35, & 20:29-32 - Aaron's role for Moses); see M. Bravmann, The Spiritual Background of Early Islam [Leiden 1972] 222. For the Shī'ah, 'Alī was wazīr to Muḥammad. The context is clearly the image of man's helpers popular in early wisdom maxims: "al-'aqlu amīrun wa l-'ilmu naṣīrun wa l-ḥilmu wazīrun" (al-Karājaki, Kanz al-Fawā'id II 33, qawl ba'd 'ulamā'i li-l-'arab); & the famous maxim on the 'assistants' of faith ('ilm, ḥilm, rifq, & ṣabr), eg. al-Ṣādiq } the Prophet:

"ni'ma wazīru l-īmāni l-'ilm..." (Uṣūl I 48 #3).

26. Or 'unbelief'. On this most fundamental pair, see the remarks by Bravmann, Spiritual Background 26-31 & 76f., stressing both the purely religious inner attitude and the social relationships embraced by both terms.

27. For the close link twixt īmān and taṣdīq, see ibid. 27.

28. But see the 4th pair above; Murata renders this pair as "desire \ disheartenment" (Tao of Islam 240). Despite the agreement of all texts on the order of this polarity, it appears certain that the pair was reversed very early on, and al-ya's 'resignation' (renouncing one's gratification of appetitive cravings) should be a recruit of al-'Aql, opposed to al-ṭama' 'greed, coveting' as a recruit of al-Jahl. Compare the saying of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb: "al-ṭama'u faqrūn wa l-ya'su ghinan Greed brings poverty, and despairing (of gratifying one's desire) is a cause of freedom from want" (trans. Lexicon t.m.'.); further, cf. Mahāsin, k. al-ashkāl wa l-qarā'in, 16 #46; & Kanz al-'Ummāl III 272 #s 2449-2457 (al-ṭama' among the akhlāq madhmūmah), esp. #2454.

29. Al-tawakkul signifies confidence that one's needs will be met; it may be rendered "Trust in God".

30. Or 'avarice' in the sense of an anxious endeavour to satisfy one's wishes, or taking pains to acquire one's needs.

31. As in 'izzatu l-nafs 'scornful self-exaltation'. Yet 'Ilāl and Khiṣāl have al-ghirrah 'heedlessness' or

'inadvertency'; whereas Uṣūl has al-*qaswah* 'mercilessness, cruelty' (as adversary of al-*ra'fah*).

32. Al-*Hatk*, eg. the shame and dishonour brought on one by ravishing a woman. Uṣūl & Khiṣāl have al-*tahattuk* 'shameless immorality'.

33. *Khurq* in the sense of clumsiness or awkwardness in doing or making something, used as the antonym of *rifq*. From its root meaning of 'unskillfulness in work and in affairs' it is extended to connote 'foolishness, stupidity', as well as 'deficiency, unsoundness in understanding'. Note the maxim attributed to the Jāhilī sage al-Aktham b. Ṣayfī: "al-jahlu quwwatun li-l-khurq [al-khariq?] wa l-khurq quwwatun li-l-ghaḍab"; Abū l-Shaykh al-Iṣbahānī, Amthāl 257.

34. Uṣūl has al-*jur'ah*, with no change in meaning.

35. Uṣūl has al-*kibr* 'arrogant pride'.

36. A quality long associated with 'aql, just as loose talk was deemed the mark of the fool. Yet eloquent speech was also deemed the mark of the wise; see the anonymous maxim invoked by a certain Abū Ḥasanah al-'Ābid: *kāna yuqālu "al-ṣamt nawmu l-'aqli wa l-mantiq yaqḍatuhu"* ('Aql 66 #102). Cf. Caliph 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān: "al-ṣamt nawmun wa l-nuṭq yaqḍah"; 'Idḍ al-Farīd II 305 > Bahjat al-Majālis I 55.

37. Uṣūl has al-*shakk* 'doubt, uncertainty', as the opponent of al-*taslīm*. However Maḥāsin (also 'Ilal & Khiṣāl) follows this 23rd pair by three pairs absent from Uṣūl (= #24 - #26), suggesting either that they crept into

al-Barqī's text after al-Kulaynī's era, or more likely attesting to the early transmission of two basic versions of the traits.

38. Taking *faqr* (pl. *fuqur*) in the sense of anxious or disquieting wants or circumstances aroused by craving material things. Recall the early maxim "lā māla a'wadu min al-'aql, wa lā faqra ashaddu min al-jahl". Like many other pairs in this list, there is a subtle transposition of the 'normal' polarity between the opposing traits towards a more interior vista.

39. Some Mss. of Usūl have al-tadhakkur 'recollected attentiveness, remembrance', which perhaps better serves as the antonym of al-sahw 'forgetfulness, neglectfulness'; both Kamara'ī, Usūl II 32, and 'Ilal 114, prefer this reading.

40. In a work written by the Ḥijāzī adīb Abū l-Walīd 'Īsā b. Yazīd Ibn Da'b (fl. under Caliph Mūsā al-Hādī rg. 169/785 - 170/786), listing seventy virtuous qualities/khaṣlah of imam 'Alī with their detailed sharḥ (many of which are similar to al-Ṣādiq's 75 jund), ḥifẓ is aligned with 'aql in the sense of 'hearing attention': "wa l-ḥifẓ wa huwa lladhī tusammīhi l-'arabu l-'aqla ḥattā sanmā udhunan wa 'īyatan"; al-Mufīd, Ikhtisās 144-60, on 145.

41. Both terms of this pair concern relations towards one's kin or group; qaṭī'at al-raḥim 'severance of blood ties' was a cardinal sin for the old Arabs, eg. Ibn al-Mubārak, Zuhd 252 #724. Contrast the 80th pair below.

42. See the 9th pair above: al-ḥirṣ opposed to al-tawakkul. Al-Qunū' here connotes a temperate satisfaction

or frugality, as opposed to avarice.

43. Bravmann, Spiritual Background 84 n.2: *balā'* as "what one experiences, suffers, endures".

44. The doctrine of Love and Hate for God's sake was an important feature of the teaching of al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq; see our M.A. thesis (1980), "The Teaching of Ja'far al-Ṣādiq", 158-9 n.128.

45. Cf. Q 2:42, 8:8, 17:81. Al-Ṣādiq stressed the dichotomy in history of two realms: *dawlat al-ḥaqq* / *dawlat al-bāṭil* (Crow, "The Teaching of Ja'far al-Ṣādiq" 169 n.147).

46. Bravmann, Spiritual Background 30: "The relationship between the offer of security and the feeling of security resulting from it is a reciprocal one, and so we see that the term *amān* or *amānah* comprises both 'security' ('freedom from fear') and 'promise of security, protection'...".

47. Kamara'ī, ed. Uṣūl II 32, notes that this pair and the next (#s 46 & 47) are absent in some Mss. of Uṣūl. See the 13th pair: *al-fahm* is opposed to *al-ḥumq* ('stupidity', ie. 'incapacity to comprehend'). Here, *al-fahm* ('ready-witted insight') opposes *al-ghabāwah* ('stupid simple-mindedness'); cf. the 45th pair.

48. *Al-mudārāh* connotes a sociability intended to gain the good-will of others through actions which induce friendly feeling, while *al-mukāshafah* is the naked display of enmity resulting in ill-feeling and estrangement. *Al-mudārāh* thus implies *ḥilm*, and *al-mukāshafah* implies *jahl*.

Recall Luḡnān's dictum: "mudārātu l-nās niṣfu l-ʿaql friendliness towards people comprises half of al-ʿaql [= 'good-manners, decorum']"; Ibn Fātik, Mukhtār al-Ḥikam 273; cf. similar statements by al-Ṣādiq and al-Kāẓim in Uṣūl II 243 #s 2, 4, & 5.

49. In the same sense as *salāmat al-nīyah*. *Al-ghībah* denotes 'slander, calumny'; cf. the expression *bi-zahr al-ghayb* 'back-biting'; and see Ibn al-Mubārak, Zuhd 252 #723 & 245 #704, for the Prophet's definition of *ghībah*.

50. *Al-kitmān* denotes self-restraint in the suppression of knowledge. When the knowledge being suppressed is damaging to others, then *kitmān* is praiseworthy (eg. keeping quiet about another's fault); or *kitmān* may be viewed as a cardinal virtue synonymous with *ḥifẓ al-sirr* 'not divulging one's private secrets to others'; see Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, Samt 449-53 #s 407 & 409. But when knowledge suppressed is true and obligatory, then hiding it is a blameworthy trait (eg. *kitmān al-shahādah*, not speaking out as a witness if what one knows will help an innocent person).

Perhaps al-Ṣādiq hints at a cardinal tenet of the early Shīʿah, *kitmān al-sirr* 'concealment of the secret' [ie. of Shīʿī beliefs], in the sense of suppressing the esoteric teaching from those incapable of understanding and accepting it; see I. Goldziher, "Das Prinzip der Takijja im Islam", ZDMG LX/1906/213-26, on 218-24, where he invokes al-Ṣādiq on the marks of the true shīʿah (221: "...wa kitmān sirrihi jihād fī sabīli llāhi"). For the difference between *kitmān* and *taqiyyah* 'dissimulation', see E. Kohlberg, "Taḳiyya in Shīʿī Theology and Religion", in Secrecy and Concealment, ed. H.A. Kippenberg & G.G. Stroumsa [Leiden 1995] 345-80, on 346, & 351-68.

51. During the Pilgrimage, the pilgrim kisses the Black Stone set into the eastern corner of the Ka'bah, symbolically renewing the covenant which Abraham, the first builder of the temple, made with God.

52. Al-'uqūq denotes the breaking of ties and renouncing of one's duties to one's blood-kin; its antonym is barra or waṣala l-raḥima (Bravmann, Spiritual Background 77). Cf. the 32nd pair. An esoteric reading might construe the wālidān as Muḥammad and 'Alī, the two spiritual 'fathers' of the Shī'ah. Ṣilat al-raḥim was often placed at the head of the akhlāq in the genre of religious adab; eg. al-Bukhārī, al-Adab al-Mufrad, & al-Bayhaqī, al-Ādāb.

53. Al-Ḥaqīqah in the sense of outer manifestations according with one's actual reality; al-riyā' connoting 'simulation', making a show before people, thus hypocrisy. Cf. imam al-Kāẓim's statement in his Instruction to Hishām: "... the one whose words agree with his deeds, and his secret thoughts are in accord with his outward manifestations"; Tuhaf 286 > Biḥār I 139. Or the final trait of the akhlāq al-ḥakīm listed by Luqmān: "...yuwāfiqū sirruhu 'alāniyyatahu wa qawluhu fi'lahu"; Mukhtār al-Hikam 268; and al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī's reported praise of 'Amr b. 'Ubayd; al-Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār, Tabaqāt > I'tizāl 245.

54. The well-known pair of opposites reiterated in the Qur'ān (eg. 22:41), and taken as a primary duty in Islam; see W. Madelung, "Amr Be Ma'rūf", E.Ir. I 92f. Munkar often is synonymous with majhūl, denoting any action disapproved of or disallowed by sound minds.

55. Al-Sitr connotes 'hiding or concealing one's merits', involving a form of self-constraint; it is used as

a synonym for al-'aql (satura 'he was\became intelligent'); while al-tabarruj is 'conspicuous ostentation'.

56. See the 50th & 55th pairs above; for the specifically Shī'ī connotations of taqiyyah / idhā'ah, see Goldziher, "Das Prinzip der Takijja" 216 n.3; and E. Kohlberg, "Some Imāmī-Shī'ī views on Taqiyya" JAOIS XCV/1975/395-402; & idem, "Taqiyya in Shī'ī Theology and Religion".

57. Cf. Q 48:26, where the ḥamiyyat al-jāhiliyyah of the disbelievers is contrasted with the self-restraint and God-mindfulness (al-taqwā) of the Prophet and the faithful. Al-Inṣāf involves self-restraint; eg. "inṣāf al-nās min nafsika interacting with people equitably by deflecting from them the wayward reactions of one's outer manifestations".

58. Cf. Q 9:47 "la-qad ibtaghū l-fitnata They seek (to stir up) discord".

59. Uṣūl has al-qadhar.

60. The printed texts of 'Ilal & Khiṣāl agree with Mahāsin (& with some Mss. of Uṣūl) in reading al-khal' or khala', the immodest and brazen display of one's private parts by divesting one's garments; cf. khala'a 'idhārahu 'he threw off his restraint and acted in a shameful and provocative manner towards others'. The printed text of Uṣūl reads al-jala' 'impudent shamelessness'. Both are proper antonyms for al-ḥayā', the self-restraint underlying the attitude of modest reserve or pudency, a trait very commonly linked with 'aql ('proper decorum' or moral-intelligence) in the literature of the akhlāq.

61. Often contrasted with ḥuzūnah 'rough, difficult'; here al-Suhūlah does not appear to carry the meaning of musāhalah 'acting with gentleness towards others'. Compare al-Ṣādiq's saying: "min ziyyi l-īmāni l-fiqhu, wa min ziyyi l-fiqhi l-ḥilmu, wa min ziyyi l-ḥilmi l-rifqu, wa min ziyyi l-rifqi l-līnu, wa min ziyyi l-līni l-suhūlah"; Abū Ja'far al-Ṭūsī, Amālī I 192.

62. See the 39th pair above.

63. Kamara'ī (ed. Uṣūl II 33) notes that this 69th pair is lacking in some Mss.; as well as the 46th & 47th pairs (above n.47). He is thus able to count "seventy-five" pairs by reckoning these three pairs as later interpolations into the text of Uṣūl. When coupled with the fact that pairs #24 - #26 found in Mahāsin are also absent from Uṣūl (above n.37), this might adequately explain the differing numbers in the two basic versions.

64. Some Mss. of Uṣūl have al-mukāsharah 'jeering, mocking, scoffing', instead of al-mukātharah. Al-mukātharah connotes "contending with others in order to amass the chattels of this world in excess of the prerequisite amount" [Lexicon k.th.r.]. Thus, al-qawām here signifies 'integrity in one's dealings with others in the pursuit of livelihood or sustenance'.

65. Al-Ḥikmah 'wisdom, intelligence' (a synonym for al-'aql), in the sense of constraining one's natural inclinations; cf. verbs ḥakama & aḥkama 'to prevent, restrain', & ḥakamah 'bit' of a horse's bridle. Both Mahāsin & Khisāl agree in reading al-Hawā 'blameable desire, unchecked inclination'; Uṣūl has al-hawā', which is either an alternative script for al-hawā, or a corruption for the plural al-

ahwā' 'natural desires, blameable inclinations'. 'Ilal's al-naqāwah 'purity', is a misprint or mistranscription.

66. The printed text of Khiṣāl has al-shaqā'.

67. Al-Tawbah connotes forswearing*renouncing sin and turning penitently to God. While al-Iṣrār connotes self-willed persistence in committing sin or disobedience, and an obstinate refusal to turn contritely to God or to admit the wrongfulness of one's actions; eg. "aṣarra 'alā l-dhanbi he persisted in the act of sin".

68. Al-Ightirār signifies negligence in seeking pardon or forgiveness, being boldly inconsiderate; cf. ghirratun bi-llāhi 'boldness against God'.

69. Ithbāt & Maḥāsin agree in reading al-'Aṣabīyyah, that fanatic partisanship among members of a separate group inculcating hostility towards outsiders. Uṣūl (also 'Ilal & Khiṣāl) has as the opponent of al-Ulfah its antonym al-Furqah 'disunion, separation', ie. abandoning unity with the larger congregation. Yet Fayḍ-i Kāshānī, Mahajjat I 176 (following closely the text of al-Kulaynī) has al-'Aṣabīyyah as the adversary of al-Ulfah. Al-Ṣādiq is known to have repeatedly urged his followers not to withdraw from the unity of the Muslim community, and to maintain amicable relations (*mudārāt*, *mujāmalah*) with the persecutors and enemies of 'Alid rights; see E. Kohlberg, "Taḳīyya in Shī'ī Theology" 363-4.

70. "Wa lā takmulu hādhihi l-khiṣāl kulluhā min ajnādi l-'aql"; while Uṣūl reads: "fa-lā yajtami'u ... (God) does not assemble". Yet the edition of Uṣūl by Kamara'ī (also

?

'Ilal, Khiṣāl, & the 'Instruction' of al-Kāẓim) reads: "fa-lā tajtanī'u These traits are not assembled entirely...".

71. "Mu'min qad imtaḥana llāhu qalbahu li-l-īmān ...whose heart God has 'purified' [afflicted with trials & tribulations so as to test] for faith." See Q 49:3 "they whose hearts God has purified for righteousness/imtaḥana llāhu qulubahum li-l-taḡwā".

72. "Wa ammā sā'ir dhālika min muwālīnā"; thus in Mahāsin, Uṣūl, 'Ilal, & Khiṣāl. However, the version in the Instruction of imam al-Kāẓim, and that quoted by al-Mas'ūdī (Ithbāt 11), employ the term mu'minīna 'the faithful' in place of muwālīnā. Is al-Ṣādiq referring to those of his followers not present, thus including his listeners among the mu'minūn of purified hearts? مولى = مؤمن

73. Al-Kāẓim's Instruction makes it explicit: "without the presence in him of some of these troops from the army of al-'Aql".

74. "Ḥattā yastakmila wa yattaqī min al-jahl", (and so 'Ilal); while Uṣūl & Khiṣāl have: "...wa yunaqqi min junūdi l-jahl and is purified of the troops of Folly". However, the Instruction is more explicit: "ḥattā yastakmila l-'aqla wa yatakhallaṣa min junūdi l-jahl"; while Ithbāt has "ṣafā min".

75. "Wa innamā yudriku al-fawza bi-ma'rifati l-'aql"; this may also be rendered: "But the triumph is obtained/yudraku al-fawzu..."; cf. "al-fawzu l-'azīmu the mighty triumph", in Q 4:13, 6:16, 9:88, & 40:9. Khiṣāl agrees with Mahāsin in reading al-fawz; while Uṣūl has:

"yudraku\yudriku dhālika bi-ma'rifati l-'aql that is reached\he attains that [ie. completion of his traits] only by knowing al-'Aql." 'Ilal alone reads: "yudriku al-ḥaqqā he attains true possession [or: 'The Real\God'?]".

76. Knowledge Triumphant 23. With respect to the problem of determining originality vs. banality, M. Foucault points out that assessing the merit of the 'originality' of a text can have meaning "only in very precisely defined series" whose limits and domains are established in "sufficiently homogeneous discursive fields"; Archaeology of Knowledge [New York 1972] 143-4. It is in this context (the trajectory of enrichment of meanings of the Aqbil! reports) that 'originality' is used here.

77. The term is Elisabeth S. Fiorenza's, in her study "Wisdom Mythology and the Christological Hymns of the New Testament", in R.L. Wilken, ed., Aspects of Wisdom in Judaism and Early Christianity [Notre Dame 1975] 17-41, on 26-30. "'Reflective mythology' is not a living myth but is rather a form of theology appropriating mythical language, material, and patterns, motifs, and configurations for its own theological concerns. Such a theology is not interested in reproducing the myth itself or the mythic materials as they stand, but rather in taking up and adapting the various mythical elements to its own theological goal and theoretical concerns" (29). This notion better explains what many scholars studying the development of Wisdom traditions often refer to as the "mixing of motifs" or "mythical revision" in terms of background or influence, yet which is more profitably to be viewed as "theological reflection using the language and features of myth in the mode of 'reflective mythology'" (ibid. 30).

78. The Sectarian Milieu [Oxford 1978]. Yet the use of his model to construct a hypothetical Arab monotheism of the first century AH (alongside of the general Judaeo-Christian sectarian environment), from whose "prophetical logia" the Qur'ān was later canonized after 150 AH, requires a dogmatic distrust of the value of a critical use of Islamic literary sources that is unjustified in our experience. An example of this hypothesis would be Yehuda D. Nevo, "Towards a Prehistory of Islam", JSAI XVII/1994/108-41. Let us not discard the quilt for fear of bedbugs.

79. If one accepts the closely argued hypothesis of Michel Tardieu, "Sabiens Coraniques et <Sabiens> de Ḥarrān", Journal Asiatique CCLXXIV/1986/1-44, that the site of Ḥarrān, a well-known center of late paganism in Parapotamia, was also the last holdout of the Platonic academy of Athens being the place where the Neoplatonist philosopher Simplicius finally settled. For the role of Ḥarrān, see Theologie II 442-9.

80. Eg. al-Shahrastānī, Milal I 676. The Rasā'il of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' mentions spiritual beings (rūḥāniyyūn) and angels (amlāk) who have the divine mission of maintaining the world and turning the spheres and course of the stars (star-sphere = inwardly an angel); S. Diwald, Arabische Philosophie und Wissenschaft 75. Ibn al-Nadīm (F.Nadīm 402) ascribes to Bar Dayṣān several writings, including a Kitāb al-Nūr wa l-Zulmah "Book on Light and Darkness", and a Kitāb Rūḥāniyyat al-Haqq "Book on the Spiritualacy of 'Truth\The Real'" (?); cf. P.O. Skjærvø, E.Ir. III 780b; Theologie I 427.

81. Repercussions of the Kalām in Jewish Philosophy [Cambridge, MA 1979] 128-29, citing the Ga'ōn's Emunot wē-

De'ot (al-Mukhtār fī l-Amānāt wa l-I'tiqādāt, ed. S. Landauer [Leiden 1880]), I.3 p.70; & trans. S. Rosenblatt, The Book of Beliefs and Opinions [Yale Judaica Series I, New Haven 1948].⁵³⁻⁵ For Sa'adyā, see P.-B. Fenton, E.I.² VIII 661a-2a. Did such thinkers belong to the circle of the Neoplatonist Isaac Israeli, or to the Tiberian and Iraqi circles within which Sa'adyā studied? Or did their conception of the "rūḥāniyyūn" = Wisdom have any links with schismatic Islamic movements (eg. Shī'ī thinkers), whose impact on Rabbinical Judaism of the time Sa'adyā opposed?

82. Repercussions 128. Sa'adyā argues that the priority assigned to Wisdom in Prov. 8:22 is that of a created thing, not a coeternal hypostasis, ie. that Wisdom is one of God's creatures. Further, see Sa'adyā's translation-commentary on Job 40:19, in L.E. Goodman's trans. from the Arabic text, The Book of Theodicy [Yale Judaica Series XXV, New Haven 1988] 403 ("The Lord possessed me [wisdom] first among His ways' means that God created it first"), & 405 n.8. Yet long before, the Hellenistic Jewish Philo of Alexandria had linked sophia and logos together in an illuminative mysticism where the content and the means of saving knowledge are identical, but this precedent had more significance for Gnostic and later Patristic thought than Rabbinic.

83. Thus in al-Bāqir's report on the creation of Adam's body, both the Archangels Isrāfīl, Mikhā'īl, & Jibrā'īl whom God places amidst the heavens (fī-mā bayna aṭbāqi l-samāwāt, ie. beneath the Throne realm), and below them the Jinn, are referred to as winged rūḥāniyyūn; Qutb al-Dīn al-Rāwandī, Qisṣa al-Anbiyā', ed. Gh.-R. 'Irfāniyān Yazdī [Mashhad & Beirut 1989] 35-40 #1, on 36.

84. See Amir-Moezzi, Guide Divin 18 n.8, 85 + n.178:

"al-rūḥāniyyūn min ahli l-samāwāti wa l-arḍ" as the 'shadow-bodies' of the future inhabitants of heaven and earth, including Prophets, Imāms, and the mu'minūn. The link between the 'faithful' and nūr is an early feature; eg. Mahāsin, k. al-ṣafwah wa l-nūr, bāb khalāqa llāhu l-mu'mina min nūrih, 131-2 (eg. #2, al-Bāqir: "Allāh...ajrā fī l-mu'mini min riḥa rūḥi llāhi..."), & #3 (al-Mufaḍḍal b. 'Umar } al-Ṣādiq: "Allāh...khalāqa l-mu'mina min nūr 'aḏamatihi wa jalāli kibriyā'ihī..." = Mahāsin, k. 'iqāb al-a'māl, 100 #70). Is al-Ṣādiq's depiction of the faithful-elect created out of the light of God's 'aḏamah & kibriyā', consistent with al-'Aql created of Throne light, or does this point to their creation out of God's own light?

85. Mullā Ṣadrā, Sharḥ Uṣūl al-Kāfī 65, glossed al-rūḥāniyyīn in al-Ṣādiq's myth to be: "al-jawāhir al-nūrāniyyat allatī wujūdihā ghayru muta'alliqīn bi-l-ajsām the luminous essences which are not conditioned by bodies". For the general tone of later Imāmī philosophical treatments of the non-materiality of Intellect ('Aql), where al-'Aql al-Awwal as First Emanation is not body, matter, form, soul, nor accident, see eg. Ḥasan b. Yūsuf b. al-Muṭahhar al-'Allāmah al-Ḥillī (d.726/1325), Kashf al-Murād fī Sharḥ Taj-rīd al-I'tiqād [Qumm n.d.] part II, ch. 4.

86. For Hishām, 'man' is both spirit and body, the body itself being inanimate, while the spirit is a light which comprises the faculty of acting (al-fā'ilah), of perception (al-darrākah), and of sensation (al-ḥassāsah); al-Ash'arī, Maqālāt al-Islāmiyyīn, ed. Ritter [2nd pr., Wiesbaden 1963] I 61 & II 331; al-Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār, Mughnī XI 310 (wa l-rūḥ huwa l-fa'ālu l-mudriku li-l-ashyā' wa huwa nūrun min al-anwār); & van Ess' treatment in Theologie I 365-9, esp. on 368. M.A.M. DeAngelis, "The Collected Fragments of

Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam" [PhD. New York University 1974] 94 n.14, cautions that "the sources do not seem to connect the discussion on sense and estimation to intellect, nor is there any separate discussion of functions of the soul"; see her notes to fragments #s 34a, 37, & 38.

87. Al-Mufīd, Ikhtisās > Bihār I Kitāb al-ʿaql, 98 #12 (without isnād). How best to construe min here is unclear; perhaps in the sense of 'pertaining to' or 'including'; construing it as li-l-taʿlīl (to assign the reason) seems forced and intended to escape objectionable implications (see ibid. n.1).

88. The theory of Amr (identified with God's Will and the Kalimah 'Word') acting as intermediary between the Creator God and the First Intellect, is found in the Arabic original of the long version of the so-called Theology of Aristotle, as well as among classical Ismāʿīliyyah thinkers; see S. Pines, "Amr", E.I.² I 449b-50a.

89. See the reports in ʿIlal, bāb 96, 107-8 #5 > Ibn Bābawayh, Khiṣāl 207 > Tuhaf 260-1, & extract in al-Mufīd, Ikhtisās 109; and ʿIlal, bāb 96, 108-9 #6 > Tuhaf 260. The four powers might evoke the Hermetic "four faculties of thought, consciousness, memory, and foresight [animus, sensus, memoria, providential] by means of which he knows all things divine" (Asclepius §10-11). Or they may ultimately reach back to platonising-Neopythagorean teachings; eg. Iamblichus identified four powers of the soul (intellect, science, opinion, & sensation); see Dominic J. O'Meara, Pythagoras Revived: Mathematics and Philosophy in Late Antiquity [Oxford 1989], Appendix I 218-29 "The Excerpts from Iamblichus' On Pythagoreanism V-VII in Psellus", text 224 > trans. 225.

90. Eg. Hebrews 4:14f., Jesus is seated at God's right hand on the throne of Grace; in Eth.Enoch 45:3 it is the 'son of man' who sits on the throne of judgement; in Wis.Sol. 9:4 wisdom itself occupies the throne. While for the Rabbis the throne is a pre-cosmic work, 'throne' also connotes the highest class of angelic powers (eg. Slav.Enoch 20:1); see O. Schmitz, "thronos", Kittel's TDNT III 160-7. On the theme of the superiority of the 'right', see J. Chelhod, "A Contribution to the Problem of the Pre-eminence of the Right, Based upon Arabic Evidence", in Right & Left: Essays on Dual Symbolic Classification, ed. R. Needham [Chicago 1973] 239-62.

One report from Muḥammad b. Muslim al-Thaqafī } al-Bāqir } 'raised' to the Prophet, describes the shī'at 'Alī as celestial folk on the right side of God's Throne seated on 'pulpits of light': "inna 'an yamīni l-'arshi qawman wujūhuhum min nūrīn 'alā manābir min nūrīn yaghbiṭuhum al-nabiyyūna (wa l-mursalūna) laysū bi-anbiyā'a wa lā shuhadā'a... ūlā'ika shī'atu 'Aliyyin wa 'Alī imāmuhum"; Maḥāsin, k. al-ṣafwah, bāb shī'atinā aqrabu l-khalqi min Allāh, 181-2 #s 175 & 176 (cf. above n.84). This early Muslim eschatological motif of the saints enthroned on 'pulpits of light' in heaven being envied by the prophets, was of course not confined to the Shī'ah. حديث الغيبة =

91. See above ch.4 n.23. Van Ess identifies al-'Aql in al-Ṣādiq's myth as a 'hypostasis' of "Reason-Understanding" (Verstand), and al-Jahl as "Ignorance" (Unwissenheit); Theologie I 354. He distinguishes this meaning from the sense in which 'aql is employed throughout the Instruction of al-Kāzīm to Hishām, involving 'ilm and intelligence in human choice and acts; ibid.: "die hohe Rolle der Vernunft ('aql) für das menschliche Handeln".

92. See in particular H. Jaeger, "Patristic Conception of Wisdom" 95-6.

93. An early example (after 350 B.C.E.) of such a personification of abstract notions is 'Lady Wisdom' and her counterpart 'Lady Folly' in Proverbs 9:13 & 16. One of the main trajectories of this contrast was in the internalized sapiential ethical dualism of the Two Spirits of 'truth' vs. 'deceit', as found in Qumran or in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs; see below n.105, & ch.4 n.23. The early Wisdom Christology of the 'Q' materials, Gospel of Thomas, and certain New Testament traditions (eg. in Matthew's Gospel) represents a trajectory employing personified Wisdom which stands closer to Wis.Sol. than to Philo.

94. See al-Ṣādiq's comment on this verse, quoted from al-Sulamī's Haqā'iq al-Tafsīr by P. Nwyia, "Le Tafsīr mystique attribué à Ḡa'far Ṣādiq", MUSJ XLIII/1968/181-230, on 198: "this refers to the 'troops' of al-yaqīn wa l-thiqatu bi-l-llāhi wa l-tawakkul 'alā llāh"; and Nwyia's comments on al-Ṣādiq's interiorisation of this theme of 'invisible hosts' in Exégèse Coranique et Language Mystique (Beirut 1970) 161.

95. T. Fahd, "Anges, Démons et Djinns" 180f.; see al-Bukhārī, bāb ṣifat Iblīs wa junūduh; & for Twelver traditions see Bihār, k. al-samā' wa l-'ālam, bāb dhikr Iblīs, LXIII 131-347. The title of a lost book from al-Barqī's Maḥāsin was K. Aḥādīth al-Jinn wa Iblīs (R.Najāshī I 206; but F.Ṭūsī 21 = K. Bad' Khalq Iblīs wa l-Jinn).

Some reports place Iblīs after his expulsion from heaven as enthroned either on the waters, or in the seventh\lowest earth, where at determined times he receives the reports of his troops (Ka'b al-Aḥbār: "...ya'tīhi junūduhu bi-l-akhbār

wa la-hu zamānun yursilu fī-hi"); Matālib III k. bad' al-khalq 265-6 #3447 (from al-Ḥārith's Musnad). For this prolongation of the myth of Sabaoth see al-Mas'ūdī, Murūj al-Dhahab I 29; pseudo-Mas'ūdī, Akhbār al-Zamān [Cairo 1938] 34, 41, & 71; Ibn Shahrāshūb, Manāqib Āl Abī Tālib IV 257; & G. Vajda, "Judaéo-Arabica - 3", Revue des Études Juives CI/1937/94-5 ("Le Diable dans la Mer", eg. Ḥilyat II 29).

96. Eg. al-Bukhārī, al-anbiyā', bāb 2: "al-arwāḥu junūdun mujannadah..."; & Concordance I 385.

97. C. Colpe, "Anpassung des Manichäismus an den Islam (Abū 'Īsā al-Warrāq)", ZDMG CIX/1959/82-91, on 83f. Compare the Pahlavi term petyārag 'adversary' commonly employed for ethical and religious contrasts between virtues and vices in Iranian wisdom; see Dēnkard VI > Shaul Shaked, Wisdom of the Sasanian Sages (Dēnkard VI) [Boulder, CO 1979] §§ 5, 24b, A4, & B14-B46. Yet cf. above n.23.

98. Shaked observes that the Zoroastrian creation myth "is based on an implicit assumption that the devil, Ahreman, is true to his word: once he has concluded an agreement with Ohrmazd, he is incapable of breaking it"; Dualism in Transformation, Varieties of Religion in Sasanian Iran [London 1994] 24.

99. Amir-Moezzi detects "troubling" similarities between these aspects of 'aql & jahl in al-Ṣādiq's myth, and the late Zoroastrian notion of the perpetual combat between 'innate wisdom' (āsn-xrad) and 'ignorance' (dūs-āgāhīh); Guide Divin 20 n.13. While he discusses al-Ṣādiq's myth under the rubric "la dimension cosmogonique du 'aql", he distinguishes the notion of 'aql present in this myth from the Greek conception of Intellect, "où nulle substance ni

même nulle disposition n'est opposée à l'intellect et où l'ignorance est simplement l'absence de forme dans ce dernier" (*ibid.*). Amir-Moezzi further perceives ethical and soteriological points of similarity between Greek ideas and al-Ṣādiq's myth.

Compare the personification in Pahlavi sources of 'Evil Mind' or 'disobedience' (Akōman, the fiendish opposite of Wahman 'Good Mind'), who comes from darkness and is among the first to be created by Ahreman, being opposed to Vohu Manō in battle; J. Duchesne-Guillemin, *E.Ir.* I 728b-30a; & Shaked, *Dualism in Transformation*, Appendix D "Some Terms Relating to Man in Pahlavi" 146f. *Dēnkard VI* states that the body and vital soul of Ahreman is from 'ignorance' (dūs-āgāhīh); Shaked, *Sasanian Sages* §E40. Similarly, in *al-Adab al-Ṣaghīr* attributed to the gifted Persian mawlā and secretary for 'Abbāsīd Caliphs, 'AbdAllāh Ibn al-Muqaffa' (d. ca. 137/755), the Devil is opposed to 'ilm, and his spirit and body said to be composed of ignorance ("ḥayātu l-shayṭān tarku l-'ilm wa rūḥuhu wa jasaduhu l-jahl"); ed. M. Kurd 'Alī, *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā'*, on 25. For the Zoroastrianism of Ibn al-Muqaffa' before his conversion to Islam, see Shaked, "From Iran to Islam: notes on some themes in transmission", *JSAI* IV/1984/31-67, on 50f. > *Zoroastrian Iran to Islam VI*.

100. "The Notions Mēnōg and Gētīg in the Pahlavi Texts and their Relation to Eschatology", *Acta Orientalia* XXXIII/1971/59-107 > *Zoroastrian Iran to Islam II*.

101. See Shaked, "Some Notes on Ahreman, the Evil Spirit, and His Creation", in *Zoroastrian Iran to Islam III*. This aspect of Mazdean thought forms a basic contrast to the Manichaean identification of matter with evil and their 'material' conception of spirit; see *Shkand-Gumānīq-Wizār*, trans. E.W. West in *Pahlavi Texts III*, ch. XVI p.243f.

102. This feature is not consonant with the teaching of Bar Dayṣān (d.222 CE) as found in Arabic literary sources, stressing "the inactive quality of darkness" as "lifeless and inactive" and constrained by its very nature to evil, unlike the Light which chooses good freely and intentionally; Skjærvø, E.Ir. III 781a & 784a. Further: F.Nadīm 402; al-Shahrastānī, Milal I 638-42 > trans. G. Monnot, Religions I 667-8; G. Vajda, "Le Témoignage d'al-Māturīdī sur la doctrine des Manichéens, des Dayṣānites et des Marcionites", Arabica XI/1964/1-38 & 113-28, on 28-30; & W. Madelung, "Abū 'Īsā al-Warrāq über die Bardesaniten, Marcioniten und Kantaer", Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Vorderen Orients, Festschrift B. Spuler [Leiden 1981] 210-24, on 213.

In contrast, Mani "represents darkness as something evil and active, full of strife, which of itself rises and...sees the light and wants to possess it and so attacks it"; E.Ir. III 784a. In al-Shahrastānī's account of Zoroastrian dualism, a number of creation myths are reviewed, including non-orthodox and Zurvanic, which give an active role to the Devil\evil; see Milal I 569-82 > trans. Monnot, Religions I 633-41; & trans. Shaked, "Some Islamic Reports Concerning Zoroastrianism", JSAI XVII/1994/43-84, on 52-59.

103. Esoteric Shī'ī teachings cast in the form of wisdom discourses by al-Ṣādiq to his chief disciple al-Mufaḍḍal b. 'Umar al-Ju'fī contain explicit statements equating Iblīs with al-jahl; see al-Haft al-Sharīf, ed. 'Ārif Tāmīr [Beirut 1964], 53: "inna Iblīsa wa dhurriyyatahu jāhilūna khuliqū min al-jahl wa l-ma'siyah... wa khalaqa l-mu'minīna min rūḥi l-ḥayāt"; & 70 "wa ma'nā Iblīs fī nafsihi huwa al-jahl." Ṣūfī tradition has al-Ṣādiq speak of the *iqbāl* & *idbār* of al-jahl; see the 'century' of scholia assigned to al-Ṣādiq = Misbāḥ al-Sharī'ah wa Miftāḥ al-Haqīqah [Beirut 1980] 75: "al-jahlu ṣūratun rukkibat fī banī Ādama iqbāluhā zulmah wa

idbāruhā nūr..." (per the reading in Bihār I 93 #25). For more about Iblīs, see P. Awn, Satan's Tragedy and Redemption: Iblīs in Sūfī Psychology [Leiden 1983].

104. Eg. the Imāmī reports where Adam pleads with God to grant him powers enabling man to withstand the powers God had previously granted to Iblīs; see 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Qummī, Tafsīr I 42 (Adam: "mā a'tāhu min al-quwwah!"); & al-'Ayyāshī, Tafsīr I 276 (yet cf. 387: Adam given three khiṣāl in his progeny, and Iblīs demands equal empowerment).

Al-Hakīm al-Tirmidhī's treatment of the conflict between Adam and Iblīs emphasizes the priority of Adam's empowerment with one hundred akhlāq: "fa-lammā a'tā [Allāhu] Ādama...al-mi'ata khuluqin wa qīla la-hu, "hādhā jund min junūdi llāhi ista'milhā 'alā 'adu^wika Iblīs", fa-sa'ala Iblīsu rabbahu an yu'ti^{ya}hu aqdādahā kay yuḥāribahā bi-hā"; Ghawr al-Umūr > Al-A'dā' wa l-Nafs 165.

105. See the distinctions between different dualist schemes provoked by attempts to assess the Qumran motif of the war between the 'Sons of Light' vs. 'Sons of Darkness': P. Wernberg-Møller, "A Reconsideration of the Two Spirits in the Rule of the Community (1Q Serek III:13 - IV:26)", Revue de Qumran III/1961-2/413-41 (views it as totally on the psychological level); J.H. Charlesworth, "A Critical Comparison of the Dualism in 1Q S III,13 - IV,26 and the 'Dualism' Contained in the Fourth Gospel", New Testament Studies XV/1968-9/389f. (includes 'physical', 'metaphysical', & 'soteriological' dualism, and minimizes 'psychological' dualism in favor of a modified cosmic dualism); J.G. Gammie, "Spatial and Ethical Dualism in Jewish Wisdom and Apocalyptic Literature", Journal of Biblical Literature XCIII/1974/356-85; B. Otzen, "Old Testament Wisdom Literature and Dualistic Thinking in late Judaism", Supplements to

Vetus Testamentum XXVIII/1975/146-57 (questions tracing back Qumran dualism to Iranian cosmic or eschatological dualism, & stresses a "psychological and ethical dualism" with cosmic-eschatological connotations underlying Apocalyptic texts). Further, the observations by Ugo Bianchi, Selected Essays on Gnosticism, Dualism and Mysticism, Supplements to Numen 38 [Leiden 1978], "Le Dualisme en Histoire des Religions" 27f.; and by Shaked, Dualism in Transformation, "Cosmogony and Dualism" 5-26.

106. See in particular L. Gardet, "La Dialectique en Morphologie et Logique Arabe", in L'Ambivalence dans la Culture Arabe, ed. J.-P. Charnay [Paris 1967] 116-23, esp. 121f. the remarks on the "corrélatif d'opposition" as native to the semantic genius of Arabic, and its relevance to Ṣūfī analysis of spiritual states.

107. G. Monnot, "Les Écrits Musulmans sur les Religions Non-Bibliques", in Islam et Religions [Paris 1986] 39-82, on 50.

108. On Ḥarrān and its speculative milieu, see Theologie II 442-9. For the question of the impact of Manichaean ideas on Islamic thought in the 2nd/8th century, see: M. Guidi, La lotta tra l'Islām et il Manicheismo [Rome 1927]; reviewed by H.S. Nyberg, "Zum Kampf zwischen Islam und Manichäismus", Orientalistische Literaturzeitung XXXII.6/1929/426-41, esp. 427-30; G. Vajda, "Les Zindīqs en Pays d'Islam au début de la Période Abbaside", Rivista degli Studi Orientali XVII/1937/173-229, on 175-81, 191-6 (Ibn Abī l-'Awjā'), & *passim* > Études de théologie et de philosophie arabo-islamiques [Variorum 1986] XIII; van Ess, Theologie I 418-23, 436-41, & see II 449-60 on the impact of Ḥarrānian Sabians on Islam.

→

In a rather far-flung hypothesis M. Gil has recently argued for a formative influence of Manichaeism on early ḥanīf circles (= the ṣābi'ūn) among the Arab tribes even before the mission of the Prophet, which impacted upon primitive Islam; "The Creed of Abū 'Āmir", Israel Oriental Studies XII (1992) 9-57. For more details on the Manichaean proselytization of the Arab tribes before Islam, see G.G. Stroumsa, "Gnostics and Manichaeans in Byzantine Palestine", Studia Patristica [Kalamazoo, Michigan] X/1985/273-8.

109. For some aspects, see eg. G.G. Stroumsa, "Titus of Bostra and Alexander of Lycopolis: A Christian and a Platonic Refutation of Manichaean Dualism", in Neoplatonism and Gnosticism, ed. R.T. Wallis [Albany 1992] 337-49; and S. & G.G. Stroumsa, "Aspects of Anti-Manichaean Polemics in Late Antiquity and under Early Islam", Harvard Theological Review LXXXI/1988/37-58. In this latter article the Stroumsas emphasize that the Manichaean challenge to early Islam was more "on ethical rather than purely theological issues" (58), involving anthropological notions in their theodicy, materialism, and ethics, over their theological dualism (45-55).

110. S. & G.G. Stroumsa, "Anti-Manichaean Polemics" 55. As an example of what this challenge was, see the report giving the 'occasion of revelation' for Q al-An'ām 6:1, found in Ibn Ḥibbān's Thiqāt VIII 308, via the Basran 'ābid al-'Alā' b. Ziyād al-'Adawī [d.94/713; Jarh VI 355 #1961; Tahdhīb VIII 181-2 #326] } 'raised' to the Prophet: jā'a l-nāsu ilā l-Nabiy Ṣ, wa qālū: "yā Muḥammad, Allāhu khalāqa l-nūra wa khalāqa l-Shayṭānu l-ẓulmah?", fa-anzala llāhu: "al-ḥamdu ll-llāhi lladhī khalāqa l-samāwāti wa l-arḍa [wa jā'ala l-ẓulumāti wa l-nūra" = Q 6:1].

111. The phrase "fī l-darajāti l-'ulyā" occurs in a ḥadīth with a Basran-Syrian isnād through ...} al-Mughīrah b. Qays [Jarh VIII 227-8 #1026; Mīzān IV 165 #8721] } Makḥūl } 'Iyād b. Ghanam al-Fihri [Jarh VI 407 #2275] } marfū', describing the contemplative rapture of the elect whose spirits remain in this world while their 'uqūl roam in the otherworld; Hilyat I 16-7. See the ḥadīth given by al-Muḥāsibī (Fahm al-Qur'ān 293) concerning the paradisial status of Qur'ān readers ("fī a'lā darajati l-jannāti"); and the employment by al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī, Sīrat al-Awliyā', ed. Radtke, 94 lines 13-4 ("a'lā darajāti l-awliyā'"), & Jawāb al-Masā'il...Ahl Sarakhs, ed. Radtke, 144 line 20 ("a'lā l-darajāti fī l-jannah"). Yet for al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī, the darajāt 'degrees' are reached by the medium of the qalb, not by 'amal 'works', and touches upon the mystery of the 'ilm al-qismah: "anna l-darajāta bi-waṣā'ili l-qulūb wa qismatu mā fī l-darajah bi-l-a'māl..., fa-l-jannah li-l-a'māli lā li-l-darajāti wa l-darajāt li-l-qulūb"; Sīrat 125 lines 1 & 12-3. Cf. above ch.1 n.37.

112. Ibn Wathīmah al-Fārisī, Bad' al-Khalq 128-9. The isnād reaches Ibn Jubayr through: the late Successor 'Uthmān b. 'Amr b. Sāj al-Jazarī (d.180/796, a Murji'ī qāḍī of Ḥarrān) } the Basran Qadarī Sa'īd b. Abī 'Arūbah (d. ca. 156/773, see GAS I 91f., Theologie I 119 & II 62-5) } an unnamed person } Ibn Jubayr.

113. Recall that al-īmān 'Faith' is the second of 'Aql's recruits.

114 Similarly, al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī specifies that, unlike the ordinary worldly 'mind' (dhīhn), the true confessors of God's Unity possess al-'aql discriminating twixt good and evil traits of character, "wa bi-l-'aqli yumayyizu l-

muwaḥḥidūna min al-maḥāsin wa l-masāwi'"; Al-Akyās wa l-Muḥtarrīn > Tabā'i' al-Nufūs, ed. A. 'A.-R. al-Sā'ih & al-Sayyid al-Jumaylī [Cairo 1989] 24.

115. See W.F.R. Hardie, "Aristotle's Doctrine that Virtue is a 'Mean'", Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society 1964-5, repr. in Articles on Aristotle, ed. J. Barnes, et.al. [London 1975-9] II 33-46. This is not to say that the 'Mean' was unknown to ethical lists in early ḥadīth. An example where the ethical 'Mean' is clearly evoked, from 'Alī's 'khuṭbat al-wasīlah' [= an interesting example of a composite Ḥikmah discourse] via } the Kufan Shī'ī 'Amr b. Shimr } Jābir b. Yazīd al-Ju'fī } al-Bāqir } 'Alī, found in al-Kulaynī, Rawḍah 18-30 #4, on 21. Partially extracted in Ibn Bābawayh, Tawḥīd 72-4 #27; and in 'Ilal, bāb 96, 109 #7, via al-Barqī } his father } Muḥammad b. Sinān... :

"The most remarkable thing in man is his heart. It has 'wellsprings*resources' of wisdom, and opposites contrary to (wisdom)/*la-hu mawāddun min al-ḥikmah wa aḍḍādun min khilāfiḥā*. Thus when hope/*al-raǧā'* presents itself to (the heart), then avidity/*al-ṭama'* conquers it... [listing thirteen opposing pairs wherein the baneful trait corrupts its contrary]. Hence every insufficiency is injurious to (the heart), while every excess perverts (the heart)/*fa-kullu taqṣīrin bi-hi muḍirr wa kullu ifrāṭin bi-hi mufsid*."

Further, cf. Shaked, "Paymān: An Iranian Idea in Contact with Greek Thought and Islam" 229 (citing al-Jāḥiẓ, Bayān II 50), & 230; Shaked deduces much interesting material.

Theurgic Neoplatonism, however, taught that wisdom (as the 'Hexad' = the perfect virtue of the Creator God) is not a mean, unlike the rest of the virtues. Pseudo-Iamblichus

wrote: "alone among all the virtues, wisdom is a divine and perfect true extreme — that is, it is not a mean, but has just one thing simply opposed to it (its lack, ignorance) which is not opposed by excess or deficiency. Nor is wisdom absent from any other virtue, but it accompanies all of them..."; The Theology of Arithmetic, trans. R. Waterfield [Grand Rapids 1988] 82.

116. As Shaked points out ("Paymān" 229): "The notion of the Mean entered Arabic literature not necessarily through the mediation of Middle Persian, but from Greek sources, and it is not always easy to distinguish between the Aristotelian concept of the middle way and that which may have come to Arabic from Iran." He distinguishes the notion of *paymān* as it was developed by Sasanian thinkers in theological and philosophical directions "which tends to regard virtues and vices as human qualities rather than as divine or demonic powers", from the "traditional" ethical view where "the old concepts of human qualities with a divine or demonic aspect are predominant" (232). Cf. above ch.2 n.15.

117. See below ch.6 §I.A. For an introduction to wilderness monasticism in Palestine and further east, see D. Chitty, The Desert a City [Oxford 1966]; & on the spectacular growth of monasticism in Syria and Mesopotamia during the 4th & 5th centuries CE, consult A. Vööbus, History of Asceticism in the Syrian Orient [Louvain 1958-88] I 209f., II 70f., III 195f.

118. "Al-qalbu malikun wa la-hu junūdun fa-idhā ṣalaḥa l-maliku ṣalaḥat junūduhu wa idhā fasada l-maliku fasadat

junūduh..."; 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Ṣan'ānī, Muṣannaf XI 221. Similarly the saying attributed to Ka'b al-Aḥbār by Sa'īd b. Abī 'Arūbah (Ibn Wathīmah al-Fārisī, Bad' al-Khalq 130):

"The heart is the king of the body/maliku l-jasadi, its two messengers are its two hands, its two wings are its ears, and its eyes are its two sentries. Thus when the heart is upright, the limbs of the body are upright, and when the king is upright, his troops are fit for service/ṣalaḥat junūduhu."

The 2nd century Baghdadi ḥakīm 'Alī b. 'Ubaydah al-Rayḥānī depicted 'aql as ruler over virtuous traits (al-Kutubī, Ghurar al-Khaṣā'iṣ 90): "al-'aqlu malikun wa l-khiṣālu l-ḥasanah ra'īyyatuhu fa-idhā ḍa'uḥa 'an al-qiyāmi 'alayhā waṣala l-khalalu ilayhā". This formulation could also be consistent with Sasanian wisdom teachings.

Chapter 6

THE HEAVENLY ANTHROPIC 'AQL

This chapter examines the psycho-ethical and affective dimensions of Ja'far's seventy-five Powers, and then follows the further enrichment of this scheme among the later Shī'ah and certain ṣūfīs.

§1. SEVENTY-FIVE PAIRS & 'TABLES OF VIRTUES | VICES'

The significance of al-Ṣādiq's report lies as much or more in the listing of the 'troops' as in the inaugural myth of light and darkness. The lengthy succession of human traits represented by the 'troops' of 'Aql & Jahl forming the physiognomy of man's inner affective life may no longer appeal to modern readers as worthy of careful attention. The reverse was the case in the past, when lists detailing human ethical traits were closely studied in theory and cultivated in practice.¹ This phenomenon was not limited to any one culture or tradition: whether the 'Seven Deadly Sins' & 'Seven Graces';² or the thirty-two opposed pairs of virtues|vices subsumed under *wehīh* 'Goodness' in the Pahlavi wisdom collection Dēnkard VI;³ or the zodiacal twelve vices ("irrational torments of matter") purged by the arrival of a decad of powers giving birth to 'mind' in Corpus Hermeticum XIII.7-12; or the tables of twelve or fifteen virtues and

vices common to men and animals quoted by the Ikhwān al-Safā' III 20, and found in both forms of the Sirr al-Asrār ascribed to Aristotle.⁴ But why 'seventy-five' precisely (see ch.5 n.63), and does this number provide any indication of a model Ja'far may have relied on in this instance?

The recurrence in popular reports of multiples such as 75,000 angels protecting the person who performs a good deed, may not be particularly apposite.⁵ One report from Luqmān listing approximately seventy-five roughly contrasting *akhlāq* for the *aḥmaq* and the *ḥakīm* bears some faint resemblance to al-Ṣādiq's listing. Luqmān concludes with this exhortation to his son :⁶

"My dear boy, try to comprehend 'wisdom' and (all of) its character-traits, and make them your chief occupation, and empty your self so as to make room for them...".

Although the parallel here between *ḥikmah* and 'aql in relation to the *akhlāq* is evident (+ see ch.5 n.115), the fact that the number 'seventy-five' is not explicitly cited, nor are the traits given as opposing pairs but merely listed successively in two blocks, detracts from Luqmān's piece serving as a valid structural precedent.

SI A. A LIKELY PARALLEL: THE SACRA PARALLELA

Taking our cue from what is known about the environment in which al-Ṣādiq worked, and the convergence or confluence

of traditions occurring within his lifetime, a likely model for tables of seventy-odd virtues and vices may be sought in the flourishing literary genre of the ethical florilegia among Near Eastern Christians. These anthologies of extracts from earlier texts, and especially of citations from Biblical Wisdom writings, represent a Christian parallel to the *midrāshīm* of Judaism, and were "a continuation in the Christian tradition of the wisdom literature of the Old Testament".⁷ During the 6th - 8th centuries CE the florilegium constituted a vibrant style of religious literature which served multiple purposes including homiletic, intra-confessional, doctrinal, and spiritual functions. Several other genres also received abundant dissemination during the same period, including the 'Disputation' and 'Question & Answer' writings,⁸ prompting close parallels in early Islamic literature.⁹ It appears that the same was true of the ethical florilegium.

By Islamic 'literature' one must include early *ḥadīth* and *akhbār* narratives, such as Ja'far's narrative here being studied.¹⁰ Archaic *mawḍū'āt* are properly to be included among the early 'literature' (eg. Dāwūd's *Kitāb al-ʿAql*), no matter how naïve their literary form may strike one. The *masā'il* 'Questions & Answers' of the monk "Sham'ūn" to the Prophet which contained a version of the Century of *al-ʿaql* (ch.3 n.42) are a good example of such confluence or trans-

ference of genres between rival traditions, made possible by the unique social and political circumstances obtaining in the early Islamic period in Muslim Syria and Iraq. In the 1st - 2nd/7th - 8th centuries, Christians writing in Greek in the Eastern Byzantine provinces of Palestine and Sinai were particularly fertile in the production of these various genres,¹¹ and many were at once translated for wider dissemination into Syriac. The interpenetration of Greek and Syriac\Aramaic mediating a common religious *koiné* was displaced by the emergence of the new religious *koiné* employing Arabic, a process occurring first in Palestine with the shift from Umayyad to 'Abbāsid rule from ca. the middle of the 2nd/8th century.¹² Jews, Christians, and Muslims were now expressing themselves in a common language.

Working in the monastery of Mar Saba outside Jerusalem, St. John of Damascus (d. ca. 132/750) produced a massive florilegium in Greek, his Hiera or the Sacra Parallela in three books.¹³ The first two books treat God and man respectively, where Biblical¹⁴ and patristic citations are systematically presented in alphabetic order. Book 3, after a short introduction, treats ca. seventy opposed pairs of virtues and vices, with every pair having a scholium treating that particular virtue\vice.¹⁵ Since the Sacra's number and order for the pairs vary, and the study of the different Damascene florilegium spawned by St. John's Hiera is not far

advanced, any conclusions based on such details are all uncertain. Yet given the plethora of versions deriving from this work, and its utility as an encyclopedic treasury of learning and tradition, it is plausible to posit that it may have had almost immediate repercussions within the lifetime of al-Ṣādiq. This could have occurred in the process of cultural diffusion or osmosis within contacts between the Arabs and Hellenized Christian civilization in the conquered provinces of the Byzantine empire,¹⁶ or between Muslims and Eastern Syrian Christianity in the former provinces of the Sasanian empire.

From whence St. John of Damascus took his plan of 'seventy' opposed pairs to convey ethical and spiritual teaching is not known (possibly Philo's dialectic of 'coupling of opposites' developed in lists of virtues|vices?). The congruence discernible between the structure and intent of Book 3 of Sacra and the seventy-five troops of 'Aql & Jahl may indicate an older model behind both. The idea that the conditions of time, place, and literary-religious convergence may have facilitated the appropriation of this particular genre within Islamic tradition appears plausible. However, a Sasanian Zoroastrian model is not improbable, although the evidence is not perfectly parallel;¹⁷ while the Luqmānic precedent is difficult to ignore entirely, since Ja'far was fond of citing at length from Luqmān's corpus.

SI B. LATER PARALLELS (al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī)

a. The structure of al-Ṣādiq's seventy-five powers does not appear to have served as a direct model for the third century Central Asian Ṣūfī al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī's treatise on al-ʿAql wa l-Hawā, wherein fifty opposing pairs of virtues|vices are listed.¹⁰ The number fifty could reflect a 'half-century' derived from Christian monastic literary models. From the ca. one-third of al-Ḥakīm's text extant it is evident that the structure of his work revolves around an exposition of the physiognomy of al-ʿaql in his Ṣūfī teaching. It opens: "al-ʿaql has fifty 'assistants' (khamsūna ʿawnan), and al-hawā has fifty 'assistants'...". Then immediately follows a listing of al-ʿaql's fifty helpers: ʿaql, fahm, baṣar, maʿrifah, yaqīn... .

Al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī distinguishes between what he twice refers to as "al-ʿaql al-awwal",¹⁰ and al-ʿaql as the first of its fifty 'assistants', apparently denoting by the former the primary or root all-comprising faculty (a 'higher ʿaql'). This term "al-ʿaql al-awwal" occurs only in his discussion of the first 'assistant' (= the lower ʿaql), which serves as a shackle/ʿaql for man holding one back from reprehensibles and the guiles of Satan who is never able to ensnare the higher ʿaql. Following this come the successive disquisitions on the individual 'assistants' of al-ʿaql, each scholia containing a brief etymology of the term, and

giving either three or six elements which it comprises, occasionally sprinkled with supporting ḥadīth. Only after this is the opposing 'assistant' of al-hawā named, separately under each 'assistant' of al-'aql. His standard phrase employed for the opposing trait is "ḍidd adversary" (eg. *wa ḍiddu l-fahmi l-wahmu*).

Al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī's list offers instruction to the Ṣūfī disciple and concentrates on inner disciplines for those pursuing the path.²⁰ Despite its different structure and literary nature, a scrutiny of al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī's list of the 'assistants' of al-'aql reveals a fair degree of congruence with the 'troops' given by al-Ṣādiq. Nineteen are identical (including four opposing pairs), while eight come very close;²¹ ie. roughly half may be said to be the same as those listed by al-Ṣādiq. However, this is best seen as a not unexpected coincidence, given the popularity of these traits in wisdom lists, and their constant association with 'aql as all-embracing chief of the character-traits in a variety of ethico-psychological schemes.

b. A more apt comparison might be made between al-Ḥakīm's list in his al-'Aql wa l-Hawā, and the list of twenty-two virtues and seventy-nine vices given by al-Muḥāsibī in his Kitāb al-'Ilm when treating of the interior heart knowledge linked with the practice of virtues.²² Both

al-Muḥāsibī and al-Tirmidhī provide a three-fold division of knowledge corresponding to exoteric, mesoteric, and esoteric; the second type of knowledge is interior resulting in 'heart-worship'; eg. al-Muḥāsibī, 'Ilm: aḥkām al-ākhirah = al-'ibādat al-bāṭinah, & contrasting ajzā' al-ḥalāl & ajzā' al-ḥarām. Al-Ṣādiq's list appears to be more encompassing than the 'assistants' of al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī's 'Aql, with basic social and personal virtues ranged alongside of more rarified qualities befitting its 'mesoteric' teaching.²³ Others have emphasized either the cosmogonic aspect of the seventy-five jund, or its sketching the path to human spiritual perfection.²⁴ It is certainly true that the ma'rifat al-'aql urged by al-Ṣādiq is on a par with the second type of interior knowledge discussed by al-Muḥāsibī and al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī, a knowledge firmly based on the sincere cultivation of virtues and avoidance of vices. Bernd Radtke has pointed to the centrality of this science of applied self-knowledge in Ṣūfī ethics, which forms the necessary basis for higher apprehension or cognition within the interior planes of disclosure.²⁵

g. Another work by al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī offers a striking structural parallel to al-Ṣādiq's myth. In Ghawr al-Umūr (ed. W.A. 'AbdAllāh under the title al-A'dā' wa l-Nafs, 151-66), the creation of 'aql from the awesome Light of

(⌘ See Addendum E.)

God's Sublime Glory is described which integrates a form of the Aqbil report, followed by successive listings of one hundred *junūd* for 'aql (also termed *akhlāq*) opposed to one hundred for *Iblīs*hawā* — integrated within his particular theosophical *Ṣūfī* 'psycho-anthropology'. Al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī states that he received this piece on 'aql's creation (Ghawr\A'dā' 151-2 *bāb ṣifat al-'aql*) as a narrated report or teaching ("*ḥuddithnā bi-dhālika*"), without giving any indication of its source.

#27) The 'setting' is dramatically expanded. God created "'aql" from the light of 'Awesome-Dignity' or 'reverential-fear' ("*inna llāha khalaqa l-'aqla min nūri l-Haybah*"), comprising three letters: ع'ayn - قqāf - لlām, with the letters 'ayn & qāf having each five 'meanings' (*ma'ānī*), and the letter lām containing a progression through six 'meanings' (from *al-luṭf* to *al-ḥubb*). ... The two letters of lām's final word "*ḥubb/love*" حُب (as locus of *ma'rifah*), in turn form double layers enfolding the human body and the heart: "ḥā'" = *ḥayāt* life, *ḥayā'* diffident-reserve, *ḥilm* understanding, & *ḥikmah* wisdom; while "bā'" = *bīrr* 'righteous-obedience' by which worldly blessings are bestowed, & *bahā'* 'splendor' by which man competes with the angels. This elaborate esoteric *ta'wīl* of the letter-meanings for <'q.l.> is probably susceptible to inner dis-

closures through esoteric letter-number correspondences.

The 'setting' continues (Ghawr\A'dā' 152):

...In his ṣūrah/form, ('Aql) is the best creation and the most adorned; furthermore in his apparel/libās he is the best clad and most distinguished. (God) filled him/ḥashāhu with the lights of Unity, Singularity and Grandeur (bi-anwāri l-Waḥdāniyyah wa l-Fardiyyah wa l-Kibriyā'); and clad him in a tunic/kisā' of the light of Beauty/nūr al-Jamāl, the light of Splendor/al-Bahā', the light of Sublimity/al-Jalāl, the light of Excellence/al-Ḥusn, the light of Exaltedness/al-'Azamah and the light of 'Awesome-Dignity'/nūr al-Haybah.

['testing'] Then when (God) completed ('aql's) creation, He said to him, "Come forward!" and he drew near. Then He said to him, "Go back!" and he retreated. Then He said, "Sit/uq'ud!" and he sat\abided.

['encomium'] Then (God) said, "By My Power! I created no creature better than thee, nor more beautiful, more eminent, or more noble than thee. I created thee of light, filled thee with light, clad thee with light, sheathed thee with light, I aid thee with light/amudduka bi-l-nūr, and I made thee inhabit the source of light/ma'din al-nūr. For I Am Light, and the cognition of Me is light/ma'rifatī nūr, My speech is light, and thou art of the light of Light /anta min nūri l-nūr. I clad thee with light, filled thee with light, lodged thee in the light — so thou art Light upon Light/anta nūrun 'ala nūr. I guide to My light whomever I will of My servants."²⁶

Next He said to him, "Who am I ?" ('Aql) said, "Thou art God, there is no God save Thee!"

['listing'] qāla:²⁷ So the Lord said, "By means of thee am I obeyed, and by means of thee am I praised, and by means of thee I receive.²⁸ Thine is the reward and the reckoning is upon thee/wa 'alayka l-ḥisāb."

This heavily re-worked version of *Aqbil! Adbir!* is followed by the listing of one hundred troops of 'aql (p.152-3 = count one hundred and two in the text), and then a brief depiction of each of their functions (p.153-4). Many are reminiscent of al-Ṣādiq's 75 *jund*: "al-'ilm wa l-ḥilm fa-humā wazīrā l-'aqlī, wa l-yaqīn qā'imu l-jaysh..." (p.153). Next comes a discussion of Iblīs and his significance as the opponent of 'aql (*bāb ṣifat Iblīs wa ṣifat al-hawā wa ṣifat junūdih*, p.154f.), leading up to the complementary listing of the one hundred troops awarded Iblīs as a match for what God had given Adam in their combat (p.165-6 = count one hundred and five in the text): *kufr, jahl, kibr, ḥasad, ḥiqd, makr, khidā'*...²⁹ *Hawā* is opposed to *ma'rifah* as the warring 'kings' of Iblīs and Adam respectively.

The structure of the *Aqbil!* report in *Ghawr* has been stretched with great liberty. The 'setting' is stuffed with a *gematria* forming a detailed creation-psychology of 'aql. It radiates a light-mysticism stressing 'aql's sublime light dimension from *nūr al-Haybah* (linked by al-Ḥakīm with God's *Jalāl* 'Supreme Greatness'³⁰), being further emphasized in the 'encomium'. Among third century *Ṣūfī* masters *ma'rifah*

'cognition' is linked to various conditions, in particular *haybah* 'reverential-fear' and the heart-vision.³¹ This blinding concentration upon the light of 'aql harks back to al-Ṣādiq's narrative where 'aql is created from the Throne light. In report #27 we find al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī handling it in the context of his own particular teaching integrating not only esoteric Shī'ī components (here *Ismā'īlī* ?), but apparently Neoplatonic ideas as well.³²

The 'testing' may be compared with al-Faḍl al-Raḡāshī's version (ch.1 #7: "Sit!"; + #8.a.), yet here it has merely three elements with the stress placed on the 'sitting' 'aql. Since it is this final action on the part of 'aql, his 'abiding' at God's behest, which provokes the lavish divine encomium, this 'sitting' must have a special significance in the context of report #27 (see ch.2 n.16). Another striking feature is the depiction of God filling 'aql with "the lights of Unity/*al-Waḥdāniyyah*, Singularity and Grandeur". This is matched by 'aql's reply to God's query "Who am I ?", in which he attests to the divine Oneness by repeating a form of the first part of the *shahādah*: "There is no God save Thee/anta!" There appears to be some linkage here with the form of the *Aqbil!* report approved of by Ibn Taymiyyah, where God endows 'aql with the light of His Unity ("...*fa-kaḥḥalahu bi-nūri l-waḥdāniyyah*"; ch.3 n.64).

The integral conjunction of the Aqbil report with century-listings of the troops of 'aql*Adam and of hawā*Iblīs lends support to our interpretation of the center of gravity of al-Ṣādiq's myth (ch.5 SII). Within this anthropic dimension, 'aql achieves a form of apotheosis through his elevation to the Heavenly realm and intimate association with divine Light. In this trajectory of meaning, the Prophetic status mediated by the perfection of 'aql (cf. al-Ṣādiq's "al-darajat al-'ulyā")³³ does attain a cosmic dimension, though perhaps not a cosmogonic one.

The comparison of early wisdom lists such as the Century of al-'aql and al-Ṣādiq's 75 jund, with later Ṣūfī systems of adab 'character-training' and knowledge-practice at the heart of self-transformation (ie. 'psychomachia'), is a topic requiring more intensive study. This is an important lesson which the study of the 'aql reports provides, namely the continuity of teaching within Islamic Ḥikmah from an early period through to major Ṣūfī theoreticians of the 3rd/9th century,³⁴ focused upon the role of al-'aql as chief of the akhlāq & khiṣāl in a practice of knowledge,³⁵ and opening onto a noetic cognition of Truth closely joining 'aql with light and ma'rifah.

d. A later work worthy of mention is the Bustān al-Uqūl by the 6th/12th century Yamanī Rabbi Nathanael Ibn al-

Fayyūmī,³⁶ for his list of seventy pairs of good and evil qualities bears a strong resemblance to al-Ṣādiq's seventy-five opposites. Written in Ṣan'ā' in 560/1165, the Bustān relies heavily on the Rasā'il of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'. Possibly Ibn al-Fayyūmī drew upon sources deriving from Ja'far al-Ṣādiq.

SII. LIGHT AND INTERCESSION

In yet another piece transmitted from imam al-Kāẓim } al-Ṣādiq, the Aqbil report is reconstructed and combined with other archaic elements, but fulfils different theological functions. The 'setting' has the creation of al-'Aql from supernal light associated with divine foreknowledge beyond the comprehension of prophets or arch-angels. It includes a heptad of qualities comprising the being of al-'aql, as well as a decad of virtuous traits with which he is empowered. Next comes an expanded version of the 'testing' wherein al-'Aql affirms God's Unity, followed by a lavish 'encomium', then a 'listing' stressing the theme of intercession. This piece evokes the Angel-'aql (ch.4 #24).

#28) Ibn Bābawayh, Ma'ānī l-Akhbār, ed. 'A.A. al-Ghaffārī [Tehran 1959] 312-13; also in Abū Ja'far al-Tūsī, al-Amālī II 155-56;³⁷ & al-Majlisī, Bihār I 107.³⁸
 ١٥٨٥ [three links] ... Muḥammad b. 'Aṣim al-Ṭurayfī³⁹ }
 'Ayyāsh b. Yazīd b. al-Ḥasan\Ḥusayn b. 'Alī al-Kaḥḥāl mawlā

Zayd b. 'Alī } his father⁴⁰ } Mūsā al-Kāzīm } al-Ṣādiq }
 (on his family isnād) } 'Alī } the Prophet :

God Blessed and Exalted created al-'aql from a treasured light hidden in His foreknowledge [min nūrīn makhzūnīn maknūnīn fī sābiq 'ilmīh/out of a concealed treasured light which He had previously determined], which is not disclosed to a Messenger Prophet nor to a Near Angel. Then He made

1. al-'ilm knowledge to be his soul,
2. al-fahm comprehension to be his spirit,
3. al-zuhd abstention to be his head,
4. al-hayā' organic-shame to be his two eyes,
5. al-hikmah wisdom to be his tongue,
6. al-ra'fah tender-pity to be his mouth,⁴¹ and
7. al-rahmah loving-compassion to be his heart.

Then He clad him and empowered him with Ten things:

1. al-yaqīn certainty
2. al-īmān faith
3. al-ṣidq veracity⁴²
4. al-sakīnah inner-tranquility
5. al-ikhlāṣ sincerity
6. al-rifq friendly kindness
7. al-'aṭiyyah liberal gift-giving
8. al-qunū' contentment⁴³
9. al-taslīm acceptance
10. al-shukr gratitude.

Then He said to him, "Go back!" and he retreated.
 Next He said to him, "Come forward!" and he drew near.
 Then He said: "Speak!", so (al-'aql) said:

"Praise be to God for Whom there is no opponent/dīdd nor peer/nidd, no likeness/shibh\shabah nor resemblance

/shabīh. (He has) no equal/kufu' nor match/'adīl, no similitude/mithl nor analogy/mathīl;⁴⁴ whom everything to His Sublimity is submissive and abject."

Then the Lord, Blessed and Exalted, said:

"By My Power and My Glory! I did not create a creature better than thee, nor more obedient or higher or more illustrious, or more cherished⁴⁵ than thee! By means of thee am I declared to be One/bi-ka uwahhādu, and through thee am I worshipped/wa bi-ka u'badu,⁴⁶ and by means of thee am I called upon/wa bi-ka ud'ā (in supplication), and by means of thee am I hoped for/wa bi-ka urtajā, and by means of thee am I sought/wa bi-ka ubtaghā,⁴⁷ and by means of thee am I feared/wa bi-ka ukhāfu, and by means of thee am I warned against/ wa bi-ka uḥadhdharu.⁴⁸ By means of thee is the reward (earned)/wa bi-ka al-thawāb,⁴⁹ and by means of thee is the punishment (merited)/wa bi-ka al-'iqāb."

Thereupon al-'aql fell down prostrate, and remained in prostration one thousand years. After that the Lord, Blessed and Exalted, said:

"Lift thy head! Ask! and it shall be granted thee. Intercede thou! Thou shalt have thine intercession accepted."⁵⁰ Al-'aql raised his head and said:

"My God, I ask of Thee that Thou grant me the right of intercession for the one in whom Thou created me."

God Blessed and Exalted said to His angels:

"I bear witness to you⁵¹ that I made (al-'aql) to be an intercessor for the one in whom I created him."

This piece may owe its final form to the associate of imam al-Kāẓim, Yazīd b. al-Ḥasan the descendant of a mawlā

of Zayd b. 'Alī; or it might possibly be assigned to al-Kāzim. In its present form it probably dates no earlier than the 2nd half of the second century. In the 'setting', 'Aql's creation from a hidden divine light as part of God's foreknowledge should be linked with the main thrust of the report: the forensic role of 'aql as advocate for man before God on Judgement Day (ie. as ḥujjah). The elevation of this light beyond the prophets and angels hints at the intercessory role 'aql is meant to play in God's plan for creation, and at the Heavenly light-'Aql. Yet there is no explicit mention of any 'first creation'. This report provides a sample of the further enrichments experienced by the Aqbil report after al-Ṣādiq's era, perhaps evidencing one link in a trajectory leading up to the version quoted in Chawr al-Umūr by al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī (report #27).

The seven attributes forming the being of 'aql stress his knowing and perceptive faculties ('ilm, fahm, ḥikmah) equally with moral virtues (zuhd, ḥayā', raḥmah). This heptad is to be aligned with the seven qualities located in man's psychic body moving from inside outwards portraying a macro-anthropos, known eg. from Gnostic writings.²² Yet here only a few of the details evoke the order and the qualities known from ancient models.²³ The decad with which 'aql is empowered bears a faint resemblance to the decalogue of the makārim al-akhlāq given by al-Ṣādiq.²⁴ The above

decad represents a fairly typical sample of the religious and social virtues commonly associated with 'aql as the chief of human ethical traits. The motif of empowerment links it with the seventy-five *jund* report, as well as with the motif of *ta'yīd al-'aql* (below report #29).

Is there any significance to the *idbār* preceding the *iqbāl* in this report (& see ch.1 #10)? The 'testing' has 'aql utter a theologically sophisticated attestation to divine unity, which earns God's lavish praise ("*bi-ka uwaḥ-ḥadu*") and expansive 'listing' of nine merits and risks which 'aql entails. The theological credo in the 'testing' bears strong conceptual and terminological affinities to more or less developed Twelver school theology expressed in reports assigned to 'Ali and other imams.²² This is one reason for dating this report around the turn of the 2nd\3rd century, though the heptad and decad are archaic components which have been taken up into the *Aqbil* frame. The rest of this piece introduces the new element of *shafā'ah* 'intercession', seemingly unique in the repertoire of the *Aqbil* reports. The stress on the head of 'aql may be intentional (above n.53); ie. the locus of 'aql 'reason' is in the brain. The only parallel to the thousand year prostration offered up by 'aql in grateful humility or entreaty, may be as a reversal of *Iblīs*' expulsion from heaven (*sujūd Iblīs*) earning him a respite from God's punishment.²³

The theme of intercession is well attested in the Qur'ān and early ḥadīth, almost always in an eschatological context with strong theological overtones.⁸⁷ Early Muslim ḥadīth emphasized the role of the Prophet as chief advocate on behalf of man, even for the inmates of Hell or those who committed grave sins, provided they attested to God's Unicity.⁸⁸ Early Shī'ism further stressed the intercessory role of the Imām-martyr on behalf of his devoted partisans as a living presence beyond the grave.⁸⁹ Here 'aql is divinely appointed to play the part of advocate for man on Judgement Day, at least for those in whom 'aql was fixed by God. A definite predestinarian element is present, consonant with the thought of the Ḥusaynid 'Alids. This intercessory theme is not inconsistent with the basic concerns addressed by the Aqbil reports: moral responsibility & reward and punishment. Yet the fixtures of the heptad and decad give this report features in tune with materials found in Islamic 'aql 'decalogues' and in reports on the 'body of Adam', as if it intended a summary of some typical motifs.

Something more may be hinted at as well. Does the linking of the Heavenly light-'aql with shafā'ah (a function reserved for the Prophet & Imām in Shī'ism), suggest a nexus between 'aql and the Imām? For example, in al-Ṣādiq's myth of seventy-five jund, when al-Jahl disobeys by refusing to

come forward, Q Ṣād 38:75 is partially quoted, where God reprimands Iblīs: "Art thou become full of self-pride, or art thou of the 'High-exalted Ones'/min al-‘ālīna?". An Imāmī report offers a ta'wīl of the term al-‘ālīna in the guise of a prophetic ḥadīth, identifying them as the five members of the Prophet's Family who two thousand years before Adam's creation sang God's praises in the pavilion of the Throne (fī surādiqi l-‘arsh), and to whom Iblīs had the arrogance to aspire.²⁰

SIII. EMPOWERMENT BY ‘AQL

Finally we may mention yet another version of the Aqbilī report assigned to al-Ṣādiq, with a unique stress on God's aiding the person He favors through His endowment of ‘aql. This refers to the power and assistance divinely provided to man through al-‘aql, expressed in the notion of "ta'yīd al-‘aql the 'strengthening*aiding' of al-‘aql".

#29) al-Mufīd, al-Ikhtisās 244 > Bihār I 98 #11.²¹

inna llāha Tabāraka wa Ta‘ālā lammā khalāqa l-‘aqla qāla la-hu "Aqbilī" fa-aqbala, thumma qāla la-hu "Adbirī" fa-adbara, fa-qāla, "wa ‘izzatī wa jalālī! mā khalaqtu khalqan a‘azza ‘alayya min-ka, u‘ayyidu man aḥbabtuhu bi-ka."

God Blessed and Exalted, when He had created al-‘aql, He said to him, "Come forward!" so he drew near. Then He said to him, "Go back!" so he retreated. So God said, "By My Power and My Majesty! I did not create a

creature more cherished by Me than thee. I shall 'strengthen' the one whom I love by means of thee." The single point of interest is the 'listing', otherwise this version resembles early forms (ch.1 #1 & #14). The assertion that God renders assistance (renders victorious) those whom He loves may evoke the predestinarian readings of the *Aqbil* report encountered previously, ch.1 #2, #3 (+ #4?), & ch.2 #15. The fact that several of those overtly determinist versions were circulated among non-Shī'īs for the polemical purpose of countering Qadarī ideas gives pause for thought. The majority of versions assigned to al-Ṣādiq (ch.1 ## 9, 10, & 12) can be construed in a more nuanced manner, ie. as supporting a *tafdīlī* view. More likely, the theme of *ta'yīd* may be connected with the widespread notion of *tawfīq* (God's success, 'saving-grace').

Help is found in a summary statement from the imam. It forms the conclusion to this study. Al-Kulaynī (Usūl I 25 #23) reports it from } al-Barqī } "mursalan" } al-Ṣādiq :⁶²

#30) "Dī'āmatu l-insāni l-'aqlu Man's chief-support is al-'aql 'intelligence*understanding', and from 'aql comes al-*fiṭnah* astuteness, al-*fahm* comprehension, al-*ḥifẓ* attentiveness [or memory], and al-'ilm knowledge. By means of al-'aql (man) becomes perfected/*yukammalu*, and it is his guide/*dalīluh*, his illuminer/*mubṣiruh*, and the key to his affair.

If the 'strengthening' of his 'aql is through light, then he becomes knowing, attentive, 'mindful' [or

'acute-of-perception'⁶³], sagacious, and 'quick-of-understanding' (kāna 'ālīman ḥāfīzan dhākīran [dhakiyyan] faṭīnan fahīman). Then he 'perceives' /'arafa with (these five faculties) the 'how', the 'why', the 'whence'; and he perceives whomever sincerely counsels him and whomever deceives him. When he perceives (these things), then he perceives his proper course, what connects him, and what separates him;⁶⁴ and he is pure and clear in (confirming) Oneness of God and establishing obedience (to God).

If he accomplishes that, he becomes a redresser of past defects and a recipient of what is yet to come,⁶⁵ perceiving what he is about, and for what purpose he is here, and from where it reaches him, and to what end he is proceeding. All of this accrues (to him) from the 'strengthening' of al-'aql."

The opening words strike a chord with earlier wisdom maxims about 'aql as man's di'āmah. The same is true of other features such as 'aql as man's guide (eg. the saying "al-'aqlu dalīlu l-mu'min"), or the capacity to discriminate counsel from deceit (here, divine aid from demonic leading astray). Yet the religious aura of such 'discrimination' places it well beyond the old Arab and early Arab Muslim notion of the clever man who is too smart to be tricked by others. Rather it is in harmony with the fundamental religious insight that the faithful are not 'duped' by worldly motives (ie. al-mughtarrūn), and keep their aim fixed on the Hereafter. Further, the ability to recognize the true Guide may be hinted at (ma'rīfat al-imām), a cardinal tenet of Ja'far.

'Aql encompasses four or five primary perceptive faculties ('ilm, ḥifẓ, dhakā', fiṭnah, & fahm) leading to man's acquisition of saving knowledge and true monotheist faith. The perfection of one's cognitive ability is accomplished through the illumination of 'aql when it is 'buttressed*aided' through light ('aql as one's illuminator, *mubṣiruhu*). Light is the source of perceptive faculties collectively constituting the powers of 'aql (cf. the metaphor of the 'eye of the heart').⁶⁶ This is consonant with al-Ṣādiq's portrayal of the creation of al-'aql from Throne light, the Heavenly 'Aql being the 'intelligence*wisdom' at the source of every individual's 'aql, termed by al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī "al-'Aql al-Akbar the Omni Intelligence*Mind". Light emanates from above, beaming divine succour and bounty (ie. *faḍl* 'grace'), aiding and guiding the individual portions of 'aql 'installed' in each person. Allowance is made for dissimilarity and surpassingness in individual endowment of 'aql, provided in abundance to the perfect whom God loves (see the use of *yukammalu* in #29; cf. ch.1 #11).

The five powers of 'aql, as well as *ma'rifah* itself, should be viewed as divine aid or grace, not of man's own doing (above n.63). This idea may be co-ordinated with al-Ṣādiq's motif of the essential nature of purified humanity equated with celestial light in the Throne realm ('bodies of light'), a topic only referred to in passing in our study.

Yet in this particular piece more weight is placed on *ma'rifah* as the mode of 'grasping*perceiving' one's course in the conduct of life and one's final goal. The meditation upon and cognition of the ultimate questions ('whence?') allows man to attain pure monotheism and proper obedience to God. 'Aql is presented as crucial to the religious enterprise and as actively contributing to true faith and self-understanding.

Al-Ṣādiq's statement in report #30 constitutes an elaborately interiorized form of the widespread 'praise of 'aql' ubiquitous in early Islamic Wisdom. He once gave a concise formulation when asked to define what 'aql is :

"Mā 'ubida bi-hi l-Rahmān wa uktusiba bi-hi l-Jinān.

(Al-'aql is) that by which the All-Merciful is worshipped, and by which Paradise is earned."⁶⁷

Here the verb 'ubida bi-hi denotes worshipful service to God in the sense of 'rendering obedience to'. The significance of uktusiba bi-hi is best viewed in terms of Qur'ānic usage; eg. Q 2:286, speaking of the *nafs*/soul: "*la-hā mā kasabat wa 'alayhā mā iktasabat* It shall have (the reward) it earns, and it shall get (the punishment) it incurs". Al-Ṣādiq's brief utterance eloquently captures the gist of several of the above themes. It relates two fundamental aspects of 'aql, the human and the divine sides of a single reality. Man earns reward and enters Paradise by means of 'aql, and

God is best worshipped by man (ie. man truly obeys God) through the faculty of 'aql with which He endowed humans.

Clearly Ja'far has invested the ancient 'glorification of Wisdom' with themes central to his own anthropology: the combat between Adam and Iblīs, the pentad of cognitive faculties, light, ma'rifah, and especially guidance. The Imām of guidance, as the inheritor of prophetic 'ilm and guardian of revelation, enunciates Divine Wisdom in executing his task.

NOTES

1. Contemporary science is groping towards a recovery of the recognition of the fundamental importance of human emotions for intelligence, as in the field of neuro-biology when studying physiological responses and the emotional "somatic markers" of human experience involved in decision making. The neurologist Antonio R. Damasio remarks that "emotion is part and parcel of what we call 'cognition'. If there is severe impairment of the emotions, we cannot have rationality"; Descartes' Error: Emotion, Reason, and the Human Brain [New York, Grosset/Putnam 1994] 9. The recent work by Daniel Goleman, Emotional Intelligence [New York, Bantam 1995] puts in question the prevailing assumptions about what 'intelligence' really comprises. The merit of these works lies in collating neurological and behavioral research pointing to the cramped view of the human person in contemporary science.

2. See Gerard Mussies, "Catalogues of Sins and Virtues Personified", in Studies in Gnosticism and Hellenistic Religions for G. Quispel [Leiden 1981] 315-35, who reviews some of the better known tables of opposites, and observes that "catalogues of sins or virtues, in the proper sense, are not found in the Old Testament, and apparently they are likewise absent from Talmud and Midrashim" (319). The catenary listing of virtues was commonly employed as a Hellenistic rhetorical device, and occurs in literature primarily from the 1st century BCE and the first two centuries CE. Thus 2 Peter 1:5-7 contains several virtues that frequently occur in Stoic lists (arete 'moral excellence', gnosis 'knowledge', egkrateia 'self-control', eusebeia 'piety'); to this are added the distinctly Christian virtues of faith, per-

severance, godliness, brotherly affection, and love.

Also see the extremely pertinent remarks on the "two-column scheme" listing the oppositions in a dual symbolic classification, by Rodney Needham in his introduction to Right & Left xxiv-xxx.

3. See Shaked, Sasanian Sages §§ B14 - B46, + notes on p.284-88; 'goodness' representing the 'right-measure' (paymān) between excesses (virtues) and deficiencies (vices). On this passage, see further J. de Menasce, Une encyclopédie mazdéenne. Le Dēnkart 40f. Cf. above ch.2 n.15 (Dēnkard III §68).

4. M. Manzalaoui, "The pseudo-Aristotelian Kitāb Sirr al-Asrār, Facts and Problems", Oriens XXIII-XXIV/197 /147-257, on 176-9 & 196-201; & M. Grignaschi, "L'Origine et les Métamorphoses du 'Sirr al-Asrār'". Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Age XL/1976/7-112, on 14-9 (+ Appendix I), who muses that this set of tables in Arabic gnomological texts may ultimately derive from an Arabic summary of Galen's De Moribus. In his Tahdhīb al-Akhlāq, Yahyā b. 'Adīy gives a table of twenty-one opposing virtues and vices seemingly drawing more on Christian teachings than Platonic or Aristotelian; see M. Fakhry, Ethical Theories in Islam [Leiden 1991] 102-4, & 112 n.24.

5. Eg. al-Bāqir's report in Ibn Bābawayh, Musādaqāt al-Ikhwān [Tehran n.d.] bāb al-sa'y fī ḥawā'ijī l-ikhwān, 38-40: "Who ever walks to fulfill the need of his brother muslim, God will overshadow him with 75,000 angels, and he does not lift a foot save that God records a good deed and decrease from him an evil deed". Compare its version attributed to both Abū Hurayrah & Ibn 'Umar } marfū' in al-Kharā'itī, Makārim al-Akhlāq 16-7 #91 & #92, + #93 (via al-

Ḥasan } Anas } the Prophet, but mentioning only seventy). And Seth leads the funeral prayers for Adam's burial at the head of 75 ranks of angels; al-Mas'ūdī, Ithbāt al-Waṣīyah 75.

6. Ibn Fātik, Mukhtār al-Ḥikam 266-9, on 269: "yā bunayya tafahham al-ḥikmah wa akhlāqahā kullahā wa ij'alhā la-ka shughlan wa farrigh nafsaka la-hā...". Compare Luq-mān's "tafahham al-ḥikmah wa akhlāqahā!" with al-Ṣādiq's "i'rifū l-'aqla wa junūdahu!".

7. G.J. Brooke, "Florilegia", A Dictionary of Biblical Interpretation, ed. R.J. Coggins & J.L. Houlden [Philadelphia 1990] 235-7, on 237. Further, the useful overviews by H.M. Rochais, et al, "Florilèges Spirituelles", Dictionnaire de Spiritualité Ascétique et Mystique [Paris 1962] V cols. 435-512, esp. Marcel Richard on the "Florilèges Grecs" 475-512; and Henry Chadwick, "Florilegium", Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum [Stuttgart 1969] VII 1131-60.

8. See the articles by Averil Cameron: "Disputations, Polemical Literature and the Formation of Opinion in the Early Byzantine Period", in Dispute Poems and Dialogues in the Ancient and Mediaeval Near East, ed. G.J. Reinink, et al., [Leuven 1991] 91-108; "The Eastern Provinces in the 7th Century A.D., Hellenism and the Emergence of Islam", in 'Hellenismos': Quelques Jalons pour une Histoire de l'Identité Grecque, ed. S. Said [Leiden 1991] 287-313; "New Themes and Styles in Greek Literature", in The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East I, ed. A. Cameron & L.I. Conrad [Princeton 1992] 96-106. For the role of monastic *apophthegmata* (collections of sayings modeled on Wisdom books) and the 'Question & Answer' format, see the contribu-

tion by J. Haldon to the volume edited by Cameron & Conrad, "The Works of Anastasius of Sinai: A Key Source for the History of Seventh-Century East Mediterranean Society and Belief" 107-47; Haldon notes the need to co-ordinate Arabic and Ethiopic materials with the Greek or Syriac, stressing points of cultural continuity.

9. The parallels of the 'disputation' and 'question & answer' genres with early ḥadīth, their utility for inter-confessional polemic and for reassuring cultural identity or self-definition, are well known; eg. J. Haldon, "Works of Anastasius of Sinai" 116-25 & 143-7. Concerning when a genre in one tradition finds close parallels in another (whether by connection or contrast), or merely shares a common heritage, see the illustrative case by S.P. Brock, "A Dispute of the Months and Some Related Syriac Texts", Journal of Semitic Studies XXX/1985/181-211.

10. This is not the place to enter into the complicated problem of the literary basis for the transmission of early Muslim ḥadīth narratives, involving the reciprocal interplay of samā' & qirā'ah with kitābah necessary for accurate transmission. The presumed oral-aural primacy of samā' 'audition' from an early period has been generally overrated by Occidental scholars, with a resulting scepticism towards the authenticity of early texts. This can be gleaned from references in the riḡāl literature to 'ṣaḥīḥ al-kitāb' vs. 'ḥifz', and the techniques of wifāḍah & munāwalah, among the early transmission techniques in the practice of Islamic teaching. See F. Sezgin's introduction to his Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums I (1967), along with the important re-assessment of the 'dichotomy' between the oral & written transmission of texts accomplished by Gregor Schoeler (Der Islam LXII/201-30, LXVI/38-67, LXVI/213-51,

LXIX/1-43); and the studies by Harald Motzki on 'Abd al-Razzāq's Muṣannaf (Journal of Near Eastern Studies L/1-21, & Der Islam LXVIII/1-44); as well as the recent overview by C.H.M. Versteegh, Arabic Grammar and Qur'ānic Exegesis in Early Islam [Leiden 1993] 43-61.

11. R.P. Blake, "La Littérature grecque en Palestine au VIII^e siècle", Le Muséon LXXVIII/1965/367-80; A. Cameron, "Hellenism and the Emergence of Islam", 299-302; idem, "New Themes and Styles in Greek Literature", 96-103; & G.G. Stroumsa, "Religious Contacts in Byzantine Palestine", 25-34.

12. Studied by Sidney Griffith; see his articles collected in Arabic Christianity in the Monasteries of 9th-Century Palestine [Variorum 1992], esp. chaps. II, III, VII, & VIII.

13. We rely in particular on M. Richard, "Florilèges Grecs", Dict. de Spiritualité V 475-86 (for the Damascene Florilegia). Richard draws on the textual study of K. Holl, Die Sacra Parallela des Johannes Damascenus [TU 16,1 (N.F. 1,1) Leipzig 1897, not seen], particularly 204-6 & 283-302 (on the scholia of the index to MS. Vat.gr. 1553, permitting one to establish the list of the seventy parallels of the long recension of Bk. 3). One text of Sacra was published by Migne, Patrologie Grecque XCV 1069-1588, & XCVI 9-442. The work has not been preserved integrally, but gave birth to a series of collections derived from it, allowing partial reconstruction of varying recensions.

14. The category 'Biblical' included frequent extracts in Sacra from the writings of Philo, and from the Alexandrian Jewish writing Wisdom of Solomon (written ca.

mid-1st century B.C.E.) commonly cited in patristic literature and in the florilegium. See C. Larcher, Le Livre de la Sagesse où La Sagesse de Salom (Paris 1983) I 58-60. pointing to the exceptionally heavy use the Sacra made of this seminal Wisdom text, "exploité d'une façon plus continue et plus systématique".

Wisdom of Solomon, which glorifies the Heavenly First-born *Sophia* of light in Stoic & Middle-Platonic language, had been influential in Eastern Christian circles for centuries (Coptic-Sahidic, Ethiopic-Ge'ez, various Syriac, and later Arabic versions), and was sometimes placed among the books of the New Testament in Greek. The Ethiopian version (like the Armenian) was taken to be part of the Old Testament. The Rabbis ignored it. See C. Larcher, op. cit. 65-74; idem, Études sur le Livre de la Sagesse (Paris 1969) 36-63 (for its role in patristics); D. Winston, The Wisdom of Solomon (New York 1979 = Anchor Bible #43) 65-8; & M. Gilbert, "Sagesse de Salomon", Dictionnaire de la Bible, Supplément XI 58-119.

15. M. Richard, "Florilèges Grecs" 479-80 (following K. Holl), suggests a reconstruction of the order and number of the opposing pairs. One family of versions places 'faith', 'charity*love', & 'hope' as the beginning three virtues with their respective vices. The longer recension begins with the pair 'virtue|vice', then social functions, family morals, social morals, inner virtues, God's injunctions, the theological virtues, ending with reward & punishment. As Richard stresses, the original order and even the number of "seventy" pairs, are all uncertain.

16. During the first century of Muslim rule the Arabs had to rely on Christian scribes to handle the caliphal and provincial archives (eg. St. John of Damascus & his father),

and slightly later also on Persian mawālī in the state chancery (dīwān al-rasā'il). During the same period, Christians were often asked to instruct Muslim children in reading and writing, and were prominent as copyists of the Qur'ān (warrāqūn) for their Muslim patrons. See eg. Versteegh, Arabic Grammar and Qur'ānic Exegesis 29, citing the canons of Jacob of Edessa (d.708 CE).

17. See the material on ethical lists of opposing qualities on a binary basis in texts explicitly derived from Iranian sources, adduced by Shaked, "Paymān" 228-9 nn.31 & 32. Eg. the speech attributed to Hurmuzd b. Kisrā comprising more than sixty pairs of "falsely related qualities", from pseudo-Aṣma'ī, Nihāyat al-Arab; Dinawārī, Akhbār al-Tiwāl, ed. V. Guirgass [Leiden 1898] 77f.; & cf. Miskawayh, Jāwidān Khirad/al-Hikmat al-Khālīdah, ed. 'A.-R. Badawī [Cairo 1952] 33, 49. Nevertheless, these materials do not give prominence to the figure of Heavenly Wisdom as chief trait in the manner of al-Ṣādiq's narrative. The Mēnōq-ī Xrad is being freshly translated and studied by Touraj Daryaei (University of California, Los Angeles); could aspects of this work have been a response to Islamic ideas?

18. First published by Ahmed Subhi Furat in Šarkīyat Meçmuası [Edebiyat Fakültesi, Istanbul University] V/1964/95-133, text on 119-33; 119 = primary list of fifty 'assistants' of 'aql, & 119-33 = successive scholia for each of 'aql's first seventeen 'assistants' [+ 127-9: three extra 'assistants' absent from the primary listing are interpolated]. Also ed. W.A. 'AbdAllāh, appended to al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī's al-A'dā' wa l-Nafs [Alexandria 1991] 183-210; 183 = primary list, & 84-210 = scholia. Further, see O. Yahya, "L'oeuvre de Tirmidī (essai bibliographique)", in Mélanges Louis Massignon [Damascus 1957] III 411-80, on 422-3 #9; &

B. Radtke, Al-Hakīm at-Tirmidī 42.

19. al-‘Aql wa l-Hawā, ed. Furat, 120; & ed. ‘AbdAllāh, 185. Compare his employment of "al-‘aql al-akbar" in his Awliyā work (above ch.3 SI.A.iii).

20. For more on al-Hakīm al-Tirmidhī's approach to akhlāq, see ‘Abd al-Fattāh ‘AbdAllāh Barakah, Fī l-Taṣawwuf wa l-Akhlāq, dirāsāt wa l-nuṣuṣ [3rd ed., Cairo 1989] 87-97. Genevieve Gobillot signals that al-Hakīm al-Tirmidhī was well-acquainted with Shī‘ite traditions stemming from al-Ṣādiq; "Un Penseur de l'Amour (Ḥubb), Le Mystique Khurāsānien Al-Hakīm Al-Tirmidhī (m. 318/930)", Studia Islamica LXXIII/1991/25-44, on 27 + n.13.

21. Following the order of al-Hakīm's primary listing (al-‘Aql wa l-Hawā on p.119\183), the four pairs are [numeration per the numbering in al-Ṣādiq's 75 fund, c..5 above]: ## 26, 18, 81 [=interpolated order], & 7; the remaining fifteen identical traits: ## 13, 47, 20, 44, 48, 18, 15, 80, 40, 31, 41, 9, 66, 30, 39.

22. Al-Muḥāsibī, Kitāb al-‘Ilm, ed. & trans. L. Librande, "Islam and Conservation: The Theologian-Ascetic Al-Muḥāsibī", Arabica XXX/1983/125-146, text on 141 line 13f. > trans. 135-6. Also ed. M. al-‘Ābid Mazālī [Tunis & al-Jazā'ir n.d.] text 81-99, on 83-5. Further: the discussion by F. Rosenthal, Knowledge Triumphant 177-9, & 179-81 on al-Hakīm al-Tirmidhī's Bayān al-‘Ilm and his dependence on al-Muḥāsibī. See in particular the tabular presentation of qualities given by Mazālī in his edition of al-Muḥāsibī's ‘Ilm 131-5, comparing al-Muḥāsibī's virtues & vices with the similar lists in al-Hakīm al-Tirmidhī's al-Akyās wa l-Muhtarrīn, and with al-Ghazālī's kitāb al-‘ilm of Iḥyā. →

Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī (d.412/1021) gives sixty-eight base qualities/'ayb & sins/dhanab of the nafs (the human personality), each with its opposing remedy, in his popularizing Ṣūfī adab work 'Uyūb al-Nafs wa Mudāwātuhā, ed. E. Kohlberg [Jerusalem 1976] §4 - §72.

23. When introducing al-Muḥāsibī's 'Ilm, Librande places it against the background of the 75 *jund* of al-Ṣādiq ("Islam and Conservation" 129-30), describing al-Ṣādiq's report as: "a highly practical form of knowledge equivalent to the moral virtues and specific patterns of behaviour". *Ja'far's list includes most of the five pillars (#3, 51-54).*

24. Amir-Moezzi prefers to accentuate its cosmogonic aspect, which he views as a doctrinal development within Shī'ī thought "qui brise les cadres des définitions coraniques et fait de lui [*'aql*] une sorte de Morale cosmique prototype métaphysique de la morale humaine, en guerre contre l'Immoralité cosmique"; Guide Divin 21. W. Chittick points to the seventy-five *jund* and to the Century of *'aql* as "prototypes for the later discussions of the *maqāmāt* or 'stations' of spiritual perfection in Ṣūfīsm" (E.Ir. I 195b); he is followed in this by S. Murata (Tao of Islam 239).

25. See B. Radtke, "Psychomachia in der Sufik", Studia Iranica, Cahier 11 (1992) 135-42. This reference is due to the kindness of Professor J. van Ess.

26. See Q al-Nūr 24:35 (the famous light verse), & cf. 24:40.

27/The occurrence of "*qāla*, *fa-qāla* l-rabb" points to the 'ḥadīth'-format of this piece, with *qāla* being a *rāwī*'s for-

mula introducing speech-quotations; here probably "the Prophet\Imām said:..." was intended.

28. "Bi-ka uṭā'u wa bi-ka ushkaru wa bi-ka u'ṭā"; or perhaps u'ṭī "by means of thee\on thy account I bestow". Alternatively, one may construe bi-ka here as: "in proportion to thee, according to thy measure".

29/See also Ghawr\A'dā' 82 & 106-7, for the empowerment of Adam and Iblīs with one hundred akhlāq; and al-Hakīm al-Tirmidhī's mention of one hundred khuluq as the perfection of the murū'ah of Muḥammad (with reference to Q al-Qalam 68:4 "wa innaka la-'alā khuluqin 'azīmin"), in his Bayān al-Kash, ed. 'A.-F.'A. Barakah [Cairo 1976] 182-3.

Al-Hakīm al-Tirmidhī says in introducing the junūd of Iblīs (Ghawr\A'dā' 155): "la-hu akhlāqu l-sū'i mi'atun, wa kamā annna malika l-ma'rifati l-'aqlu kadhālika l-hawā malikuh". This should probably be corrected to "malika l-'aqli l-ma'rifatu" or "malika l-ma'rifati li-l-'aqli", in keeping with ibid. 165: "fa-ja'ala [Allāhu] l-hawā malikan [li-Iblīs] wa ja'ala mā u'ṭiya tābi'an la-hu wa a'wānan wa junūdan kamā ja'ala [li-] l-'aql mā u'ṭiya junūdan wa a'wānan". Compare his treatment of hawā as the earthly jawharatu l-nafs ("li-kulli shay'in nafsun wa nafsu l-nafsi l-hawā") inclined to pleasure and desires which only ma'rifah can subdue, in his Adab al-Nafs 114-7; + cf. above ch.5 n.103, on esoteric Shī'ī views of Iblīs.

30/Eg. Sīrat al-Awliyā', in Radtke, Drei Schriften, 63 §87 line 3, & 93 §120 line 11; and Ma'rifat al-Asrār 84 & 88. One might compare the report from al-Ṣādiq that God created the mu'minūn from "nūr 'aḥamatihi wa jalāl kibriyā'ihī", ch.5 n.84. Yet exact comparisons are difficult to draw, and one would have to cast a much wider net than the slender

indications provided here.

31/Arnaldez, "Ma'rifa", E.I.² VI on 569; Arnaldez stresses the modality of 'knowing' conveyed by the term ma'rifah as an "illuminative cognition" (570a) operating a "loss of consciousness of the self" or "an absence of self at the level of the heart and the spirit" (569b), in contrast to "gnosis unitive vision".

32. We have not seen the study by Yves Marquet, Al-Hakīm at-Tirmidī et le néoplatonisme de son temps [Dakar 1976].

33. Murata observes of Ja'far's narrative on the seventy-five jund: "Implicit to this discussion is the fact that the attributes of intellect pertain to the prophets, while those of ignorance pertain to Iblīs and his followers" (Tao of Islam 239). She points out that "intellect is the prophet's microcosmic analogue", invoking the remarks of Fayḍ-i Kāshānī in his Ā'īna-yi Shāhī: "Intellect is a revealed law [Sharī'ah] with the human being, ... the source of all good qualities and the origin of all perfections is the intellect" (Tao 139-40). Cf. al-Rāghib al-Isfahānī, Taḥṣīl al-Nash'atayn 41-3.

34. A number of significant 'aql sayings are reported of the seminal Ṣūfī Dhū l-Nūn al-Miṣrī (d.246/860); see eg. Hilyat IX 378 (on the Prophet: "innamā l-'āqil man 'aqala 'an Allāh..."); Sifat IV 287-8-9; Ibn al-Jawzī, Adhkiyā' 12.

35. See Radtke, "Psychomachia in der Sufik" 135f; & the comments by E. Kohlberg in his introd. to al-Sulamī's 'Uyūb al-Nafs 16-7, depicting this work as sharing a middle ground between ḥadīth, adab, & akhlāq/ethics, serving a popular didactic function as well as basic guidance to the Ṣūfī

novice. Kohlberg notes that the traits cultivated in Ṣūfī adab of the type found in 'Uyūb were characteristic of the early zuhhād. Further, G. Bowering, "The Adab Literature of Classical Sufism", in Moral Conduct and Authority, ed. B.D. Metcalf [Berkeley & Los Angeles 1984] 62-87.

36. Ed. & trans. D. Levine, The Bustān al-Ukūl \ The Garden of Wisdom [New York, Columbia University Press 1908]; see 15-17 for his listing of seventy opposed pairs. Also ed. J. Kappah [Jerusalem 1954, not seen]. On al-Fayyūmī see Shlomo Pines, "Nathanael ben Al-Fayyūmī et la théologie ismaélienne", Bulletin des Études Historiques Juives I (Cairo 1946) 7-22.

37. This report is placed by al-Ṭūsī as a peroration capping the long wisdom testament of the Prophet to Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī (Amālī 138-156), a significant piece of Islamic Wisdom which includes key elements on al-'aql. It would be interesting to compare al-Ṭūsī's version with the multiple Sunnī forms of this wisdom piece.

38. Al-Majlisī indicates that he extracted this report from two works of Ibn Bābawayh: al-Khiṣāl (?) and 'Ilal al-Sharā'i' (yet it is not in the printed edition of 'Ilal edited by Muḥammad Ṣādiq Baḥr al-'Ulūm). He provides the same isnād as in Ma'anī l-Akḥbār; while al-Ṭūsī only gives an abbreviated chain via al-Ṣādiq... } the Prophet.

39. Is he the associate of the 8th imam al-Riḍā, mentioned once in Twelver literature in R.Kishshī 457 #864 (reprimanded by al-Riḍā for consorting with the al-Wāqifah)?

40. The father is mentioned by Abū Ja'far al-Ṭūsī as an

associate of al-Kāzim, in R.Ṭūsī 364 #20: Yazīd b. al-Ḥasan al-Kaḥḥāl mawlā Zayd b. 'Alī; strangely absent from Tanqīh. His son 'Ayyāsh (or 'Abbās) is apparently unknown in Twelver bio-bibliographic literature. Compare the identical isnād in Ibn Bābawayh, Tawhīd, bāb 32, 234-6 #2: ... M. b. 'Āsim al-Ṭurayfī } Abū Zayd 'Abbās b. Yazīd b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Kaḥḥāl mawlā Zayd b. 'Alī } abīhi } al-Kāzim } al-Ṣādiq...; & bāb 34, 238-41 #1: ...Abū Zayd 'Ayyāsh b. Yazīd...; & bāb 41, 288-9 #7, on ma'rifaṭ Allāh [some Mss. read al-Ḍaḥḥāk in place of al-Kaḥḥāl]. These reports indicate that Ibn Bābawayh drew from a written source.

Might he be the same "Yazīd b. al-Ḥusayn" mentioned as compiler of a K. al-Nawādir in: R.Najāshī II 432 #1227; F.Ṭūsī 182 #793; Tanqīh III 325 #13121. Any connection with the close disciple of al-Kāzim, "Yazīd b. Sulayṭ al-Zaydī" (R.Ṭūsī 363 #3; Tanqīh III 326-7 #13128), whose nasab was said not to indicate any partisanship to the Zaydiyyah Shī'ah?

41. Following the text of Ma'ānī : wa l-ra'fah famuhu. Bihār & Amālī have instead: "tender-pity to be his mind/hammuhu"; al-hamm or al-himmah 'understanding', in the sense of high-minded aspiration or noble ambition.

42. Thus Ma'ānī & Bihār, while Amālī has al-taṣḍīq "assenting to truth".

43. Thus Ma'ānī & Bihār, while Amālī has al-qanā'ah.

44. These qualities of pure monotheism bear some resemblance to a report defining ma'rifaṭ Allāh, on a problematic isnād... } the Basran Muḥammad b. Sinān al-'Awaqī (d.223, Tahdhīb IX 205-6 #322) } the Kufan Murjī'ī Muḥammad b. Ya'lā al-Sulamī zunbūr (d.205, Jarḥ VIII 130-1 #587, T.Baqhdād III

447-8, Mizān IV 70-1, Tahdhīb IX 533-4 #875) } Juwaybir b. Sa'īd al-Azdī (d.140-50, Tahdhīb II 123-4 #200) } al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Muzāḥim } Ibn 'Abbās } marfū'; included by Ibn Bābawayh, Tawhīd, bāb 40, 284-5 #5.

45. Rendering "a'azza min-ka" thus, rather than "more powerful than thee".

46. Thus Ma'ānī & Biḥār, but Amālī has instead "wa bi-ka uḥāsibu by means of thee I call to account".

47. But Amālī has instead "wa bi-ka uttaqā by means of thee am I dreaded".

48. Cf. Q 3:28,30 "wa yuḥadhdhirukumu llāhu nafsahu God cautions you against Himself\His punishment".

49. Amālī has instead "wa bi-ka l-dhanb by means of thee is the misdeed". Recall that bi-ka in this 'listing' may be construed as "in accordance with thy measure...".

50. "Ishfa' tushaffa'!", ie. <Petition on behalf of someone (that he be forgiven), for your petition shall be accepted and your intercession on his behalf shall elicit God's mercy>. This is also known in the form of a ḥadīth; cf. Q 2:255 "Who is he that dare intercede with Him save by His permission?"; & Q 4:85. The act of petitioning\intercession on behalf of another is effected when the petitioner joins himself to another and becomes a partner (shafī') in good or evil; thus he partakes with him in procuring the benefit or the harm of the deed [Lexicon, sh.f.'].]

51. Amālī has instead: "You are witnesses to the fact that...".

52. K. Rudolf, "Ein Grundtyp Gnostischer Urmensch-Adam Spekulation", Zeitschrift für Religions und Geistesgeschichte IX/1957/1-20; and R. van den Broek, "The Creation of Adam's Psychic Body in the Apocryphon of John", Studies in Gnosticism and Hellenistic Religions for G. Quispel, ed. R. van den Broek & M.J. Vermaseren [Leiden 1981] 38-57, who observes that the seven-fold order of "the components of Adam's psychic body correspond to those of the carnal body in [Plato's] Timaeus" (45). For the passage in Apoc. John, see the translation by F. Wisse in The Nag Hammadi Library in English, ed. J.M. Robinson [3rd ed., Leiden 1988] 104-23, the passage in question on 113 [=NHC II,1. 15:1-21].

The ancient notion that the seven planets create a psychic body was linked in AJ with the doctrine that the soul during its descent from heaven assumed an astral body, the 'pneumatic vehicle' of the rational soul taught eg. by the Chaldaean Oracles & the Syrian philosopher Numenius, & developed in great complexity by the Neoplatonists in their teaching on the ochema 'chariot'. This vehicule of the soul was held to exhibit the vital and psychic faculties it received during its descent through the planetary spheres. AJ was still in use among certain Gnostic circles (eg. the Audians, linked with Daysānites) in Mesopotamia as late as the 8th century CE.

The passage in AJ may lie behind the depiction of the creation of Adam's body in one version of the Century of 'Aql attributed to Wahb b. Munabbih which portrays a heptad moving progressively outward (brain, kidney, liver, heart, lungs, spleen, & face); see ch.3 n.42.

53. Eg. in AJ the seven archons or aspects of the

androgynous planetary rulers each create a particular element of Adam's psychic body starting with Ennoia 'insight' as the marrow-soul (=brain) ... to Sophia 'wisdom' as the hair-soul [in short version in NHC III,1:22f.]; see NHC II,1:15 - 30 > trans. Wisse, Naq Hammadi Library 113; & R. van den Broek, "Creation of Adam's Psychic Body" 46. In the Alexandrian Gnostic On the Origin of the World (in NHC II,5:101.24 - 102.1 > trans. H.-G. Bethge & B. Layton, Naq Hammadi Library 174), the names of the seven androgynous beings creating Adam progress from Pronoia 'foresight' ... 'wisdom'. The wisdom element thus crowns the endeavour.

54. Usūl II kitāb al-īmān wa l-kufr, 56 #2 > Abū l-Faḍl al-Ṭabrisī, Mishkāṭ al-Anwār 238. These ten are: yaqīn, qanā'ah, ṣabr, shukr, ḥilm, ḥusn al-khuluq, saḥā', ḡayrah, shajā'ah, murū'ah. See our treatment of the genre of 'aql decades, "Islamic Decalogues in Sapiential Perspective", Numen (forthcoming).

55. For a good sampling of such materials in translation, see A Shī'ite Anthology, trans. W. Chittick [London 1980] 27-39.

56. See Q 7:14, 15:36f., & 38:79f.; and the reports in al-Mas'ūdī, Ithbāt al-Waṣiyyah 13-4, on "al-'ālim" (al-Ṣādiq?): one sajdah of 4,000 years on earth after his fall, whereby Iblīs concedes he will not lead astray the mu'minūn. Also 'Ilal bāb 305, 525-6 (two reports from al-Ṣādiq): #1, two rak'ahs in heaven of 2,000, or 4,000 years [+ al-Qummī, Tafsīr I 42]; & #2, rak'atān of 7,000 years. In a tale about Iblīs and John the Baptist recounted by al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī, Iblīs regrets his expulsion from heaven where he used to prostrate for 40,000 years; Ghawr\A'dā' 161.

57. A.J. Wensinck, "Shafā'a", SEI 511-2, who points to the Qur'ānic passages crediting the power of intercession to the angels (21:28, 40:7, 42:5), and that shafā'ah is only possible with God's permission (Maryam 19:87 *lā yamlikūna l-shafā'ata illā man ittakhadha 'inda l-Raḥmān 'ahdan*). Notice how in al-Kāẓim's report God consults the angels when granting the power of intercession to 'aql.

58. Ibid. 512; denied by the Mu'tazilah for the ahl al-kabā'ir/perpetrators of grave sins.

59. Crow, "Death of al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī", 89f. & 116.

60. Ibn Bābawayh, Faḍā'il al-Shī'ah, ed. H. Fashāhī [Tehran n.d.] 7 #7. There is a nexus between al-'ālīna and al-rūḥāniyyīn, both linked to the Throne; see above ch.5 nn.83, 84, & 90; & Uṣūl I k. al-ḥujjah, bāb nādir jāmi' fī faḍl al-imām, #2 on 204 > al-Mas'ūdī, Ithbāt 179 ("...zillan qabla khalqi nasamatin 'an yamīni 'arshih"). Further, J. Horowitz & R. Paret, "'Illīyyūn", E.I.² III 1133a ('illīyyūn < Hebrew 'elyōnīm 'heavenly beings'); Kohlberg, "Imām and Community" 31, & 48 n.48 ('illīyyūn as both a place & a substance); & cf. Amir-Moezzi, Guide Divin 79-80 ('arsh), 99-100 ('illīyyūn & Throne).

61. This report is found in the edition of Ikhtisās by M.M. al-Kharsān [Najaf, al-Ḥaydariyyah 1390/1971] 237, again without isnād, introduced simply by "wa qāla al-ṣādiq, a.s.", and with the identical text. Gratitude to Professor 'Īsā Boullata for confirming this reading.

62. This vague type of isnād earned al-Barqī the disapprobation of the critics.

63. Though Uṣūl has *dhākiran* 'recollected' or 'mindful', the parallel pieces on al-Ṣādiq in ʿIlal, *bāb* 91, 103 #2, and in *bāb* 96, 108-9 #6 > Tuḥaf 260, instead read *dhakiyyan* 'mentally-acute' or 'quick-of-apprehension'. This reading may well be correct, since one treatment of the same pentad of perceptive powers by al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī gives: *fahm*, *dhihn*, *dhakā'*, *ḥifẓ*, & 'ilm as comprising *nūr al-ma'rifah* inspired within the 'Clay' of Adam (*rūh*, & *nūr al-ḥayāt*), with *ma'rifah* = *min fa'li l-'abd* & the five powers as God's gift ("*hunna min Allāhi li-'abdihi wa laysa ilā 'abdihi min-hinna shay'*"); see Ghawr \A'dā' 111-3.

Compare similar schemes in al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī, Jawāb al-Masā'il...Ahl Sarakhs, ed. Radtke, Drei Schriften, 139 §2 lines 5-6: "*wa quwwatu l-qalbi min al-ma'rifah wa l-'aql wa l-'ilm wa l-fahm wa l-dhihn wa l-fiṭnah wa l-ḥifẓ...*"; & 168 §20 lines 4-5: "*wa yaḥtāju l-'abdu ilā an ya'taṣima bi-llāhi wa yujāhida nafsahu bi-quwwati mā u'tiya min al-'ilm wa l-'aql wa l-fahm wa l-ḥifẓ wa l-dhihn wa l-mawā'iz...*"; [also ed. 'A. Barakah, Ādāb al-Murīdīn 37 & 107]. Al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī includes among his list of the forty-six 'parts' of prophecy/nubuwwah, the traits of 'aql, fahm, fiṭnah, & *dhakā'*; Ma'rifat al-Asrār 68.

64. "*'Arafa majrāhu wa mawṣūlahu wa mafṣūlahu*"; evidently to be construed in terms of his relation to God, although a more interior meaning may be read.

65. *Kāna mustadrikan li-mā fāta wa wāridan 'alā mā huwa āta*; perhaps to be rendered - "a repairer of the past and a preparer of the morrow".

66. Much valuable material from Twelver literature on the topic of *al-ru'ya bi-l-qalb* is gathered by Amir-Moezzi, Guide Divin 112-45 "*la vision par le coeur*" > Divine Guide

44-55.

67. Uṣūl I kitāb al-ʿaql wa l-jahl, ll #3, on a very meagre isnād. A form of al-Ṣādiq's saying is reworked into the composite waṣiyyah of the Prophet to ʿAlī; Ibn Bābawayh, Man Lā Yahduruhu l-Faqīh IV 267.

٢

AFTERWORD

"Without feeling and instinct, as every man with a normal reason must know, the real understanding accessible to man cannot be formed."

- G. I. Gurdjieff

"Spirit is simply mind at its purest."

- Antonio Morales Baca

We have been tracing the unfolding of a fundamental idea in early Islamic thought and practice, the notion of 'aql 'intelligence*reason' as an inborn trait of the human constitution, divinely created and installed within every individual person in varying measures. God's gift of 'aql as the most eminent human moral trait empowers the person to achieve knowledge of the Creator (*ma'rifat Allāh*), of revealed guidance, and the practice of virtue. This endowment, so cherished by God that He lauds it extravagantly in the 'encomium' of the *Aqbil* reports as the dearest thing to Him, must be seen as central to His providential design of the universe He crafted to meet man's every need. Islamic Wisdom teachings certainly viewed 'aql to be the leading light of humans, their chief adornment and glory.

The intelligence is the recipient of divine address in the operation of moral responsibility, being tied to its function as God's *ḥujjah* 'decisive argument' against man. In this sense it operates much like the 'conscience' (cf. *zājir* internal 'chider'), instrumental in self-reproach and

self-examination. Yet it may also function as an intercessor on behalf of the individuals in whom it is placed, pleading their case before God as an advocate (ch.6 §II #28). The double-faced nature of intelligence able to turn towards, or turn a deaf ear away from, the calling of Truth,¹ reflects an integral aspect of moral responsibility. This remains true at a basic level where 'aql plays a legal religious role as a necessary condition for adult mental capacity, legal responsibility, and the reception of knowledge (bulūgh al-'aql 'age of majority'; cf. adrās al-'aql 'wisdom teeth'). This is essential for the reality of God's justice (eg. thawāb & 'iqāb).

★

In following the permutations of this class of reports on the creation of 'aql, the large common ground between the Sunnī and the Shī'ī handling of it will not have escaped the attentive reader. The matrix of 'tradition' shared by these two primary wings of the early Muslim community expresses itself in a similar, and sometimes the same, way. However, there is an obvious gulf separating the forms and the intent of the (Sunnī & Shī'ī) reports in ch.1, from those reports on the Heavenly Sapiential 'Aql in ch.4 §§ 22 - 24, and the Aqbil versions in chs.5 - 6. Our final remarks focus on the parallels and divergencies existing among this latter group (§§ 22 - 29), and attempt to discern what these more

embellished reports may teach one about the enrichment of meaning of the 'aql-notions during the second century AH.

In Dāwūd's report #22 (via... Anas } Ibn Salām } M.) the creation of 'aql is portrayed as greater than God's Throne. When the angels ask the Lord, "what degree is attained by the 'measure*rank' of al-'aql and the grandeur of its nature (wa mā balagha min qadri l-'aqli wa 'izami khalqih?)", God declares that 'aql's measure is greater than the number of 'grains of sand' in the world, and its comprehension is beyond the grasp of the angels. The thrust of Dāwūd's report is that those who receive compounded measures of 'aql are people who "labor in obedience to God" in proportion to the light God placed in their hearts. The divine provision of 'aql functions as their 'custodian' (qayyim), and in proportion to that provision they strive and "rise in degrees". In another of Dāwūd's reports (ch.4 n.7) a similar stress is put on 'assiduous diligence' (jidd) and 'striving' (ijtihād), for "the greater of them in acts of obedience to God is the more amply endowed with intelligence (awfaruhum 'aqlan)". Regretfully the isnāds for these reports are lacking, but they may safely be placed within Basran ascetic circles of ca. the mid-2nd century, probably part of the teaching of the 'Abbādānī ṣūfīs.

Similarly in Sulaymān al-Sijzī's report #23 (via... Abū Unāmah } M.; again stemming from the same circles as Dāwūd's

reports), 'Aql outweighs the entirety of God's creation, and the magnitude of 'Aql's materiality is stressed. This report includes the divine 'encomium' lauding the eminence of 'aql ("mā khalaqtu khalgan..."), and asserts that "the best of them in 'aql is the best of them in deeds". Despite the glorification of the Heavenly Sapiential 'Aql, the close connection with the innate trait of human intelligence is never lost sight of. This emphasis on the intimate linkage between the Heavenly 'Aql as the glorious khalq of God, with the human khuluq present in people's constitutions, is explicit in the Shī'ī imam al-Kāẓim's report (ch.6 #28), where the Heavenly 'Aql is created from a treasured light ("min nūrin makhzūnin maknūnin..."). The heptad of qualities with which this 'Aql is empowered indicates the range of functions provided man's psychic being, while the decad of traits points to 'aql's ethical and affective role. We suggested that al-Kāẓim's report may be placed in the end of the 2nd century with his disciple Yazīd b. al-Ḥasan al-Kaḥḥāl (ch.6 n.40), and clearly draws on earlier elements.

The report given by the Shī'ī scholar Ibn Bābawayh on a Kufan-Medinese isnād of 'Umarī-'Alid provenance (ch.4 #24) depicts the human trait of 'aql as a drop of light cast into a person's heart by the Angelic 'Aql, the Heavenly analogue to the totality of human minds. God raises the curtain veiling each face of the heads on the Angelic 'Aql only when

the human individual reaches the term of legal majority, a person's 'aql being a ray of light extending from the Angel 'Aql above. Again, the locus of 'aql is the heart, the divine endowment of the inborn trait shining as a lamp in the midst of the body. The materiality of 'aql is implied in the notion of a pre-set amount of 'aql in creation. This multi-headed and multi-faced Angel-'Aql evokes the Angel of Wisdom known from Jewish tradition (Metatron, Zagzagel, + the *shekīnah*; & cf. the Jewish-Christian 'angel*Christ'), a figure often depicted as enthroned in the Heavenly court (ch.4 n.36). A scrutiny of the *isnād* for report #24 likely places it with 'Īsā al-Mubārak ('Īsā b. 'AbdAllāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Ḍakbar, d. ca. late second century). This descendant of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib was closely associated with the Ḥusaynid 'Alid imams,² and report #24 likely reflects notions at home in mid-to-late second century Shī'ī Iraqi or Ḥijāzī circles.

Coming to al-Ṣādiq's transformation of the *Aqbil* report (ch.5 #25), it is evident that his placing the Heavenly 'Aql created from light in the Throne realm is not unique, and is matched by developments within his contemporary stream of Basran ascetic*mystic spirituality found in Dāwūd's reports. The crucial concept at the root of this light motif is expressed in the *ḥadīth* that 'aql is "a light in the heart *nūrun fī l-qalb*". Like Ja'far, the Iraqi Ṣūfīs fastened on

the *Aqbil* report to vehicle their particular concerns (see eg. ch.1 #8.a-b.). Ja'far himself felt free to integrate elements from the common stream of tradition into the framework of the *Aqbil* report (eg. see ch.1 #13, the one hundred created measures of 'aql). Iraqi ascetic*agnostics of the late first and 1st half of the second century highlighted the importance of 'aql for true obedience ("man 'amila bi-tā'atī llāhī") and salvific guidance (naḡāt), joining this with its corollary of 'disobeying the Devil' (ma'siyat Iblīs, a pro-Qadarī formula). This Ṣūfī stream, deriving in large part from circles around al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, may thus be seen to have at least implied the Adam \ Iblīs dichotomy in the context of 'aql's creation.

But the mode in which al-Ṣādiq expands upon the *Aqbil* framework in portraying God's empowerment of both 'Aql & Jahl, and his integrating the listing of seventy-five powers in binary opposition, exceeds any enrichment of this framework known among second century Sunnī circles.⁹ Further elements given prominence in his seventy-five *jund* are the stress on ma'rifah 'cognition' in the process of perfecting 'aql, and the achievement of paradisial 'degrees' of perfection ranking alongside of the prophets and the saints (here *awṣiyā'*, the inheritors of the prophets). In placing the anthropic dimension (both Adam*'aql and Iblīs*jahl) at center stage in his creation narrative, al-Ṣādiq made a lasting

contribution, exemplified by the manner al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī received this trajectory in Ghawr\A'dā' (ch.6 #27).

Another key element in Ja'far's narrative centers on the Heavenly Sapiential 'Aql as "the first creature God created among the 'spiritual*immaterial beings'/al-rūḥāniyyīn on the right side of the Throne, from its light." The confluence in this report of Prophetic perfection, Throne light, and the First Spiritual Being is pregnant with implications for the emergence of the idea of the 'Muḥammadan Light' (al-nūr al-muḥammadī), the pre-existence of the spirit of the Prophet Muḥammad (ch.3 nn.48, 50, 51; + cf. ch.1 #13). What concerns us here is the impetus early Muslim notions of the Heavenly Sapiential 'Aql may have contributed to this key notion of Islamic spirituality, in the era before Muslims were studying Neoplatonic treatises in translation.

The Biblical pre-existent Heavenly Wisdom in the Throne realm had been the product of theological reflection upon ancient myths of an Angel (goddess) Wisdom hidden with God before His creation of the world (ch.4 n.23). Apocalyptic (Jewish & early Christian) and Gnostic enrichments had merged this figure with notions of the primal man, and this anthropic dimension was instrumental for the development of early christology and Gnostic sophia-logy. At the same time, 'second-hand' Middle-Platonic elements had an input into such speculations, and the 'hypostasis' of Heavenly

Wisdom had assimilated certain Hellenistic features with Philo, the Wisdom of Solomon, Valentinian Gnosis, and in the christology developed by the Christian Patristic Apologists. Furthermore, Iranian teachings on the 'Spirit of Wisdom' may well deserve more attention than we have devoted to them.

One may recall the refutation by Sa'adyā Ga'ōn of a Neoplatonising interpretation of the term *rūḥānī* in the context of Proverbs 8:22 (ch.5 §II.A). We understand the 'hypostasis' of 'Aql in al-Ṣādiq's narrative of the seventy-five *jund* in terms of the function of pre-existent Wisdom as the manifestation of God's personal presence and guidance within the individual, linking this with the divine provision of 'aql as a *khuluq* or *khaṣlah* (ie. a *gharīzah* 'innate trait'). The Neoplatonic implications may be merely incipient, or a diffuse shadow reflected from the previous mingling of Biblicist and Hellenistic traditions long before Islam. Yet it is difficult to deny the presence of enough latent potentiality towards a 'Neoplatonic element' which provides foundational supports for future constructions ("*awwalu mā khalaqa llāhu l-'aqlu*").

Like his peers among the Iraqi Ṣūfīs, al-Ṣādiq saw 'aql to be God's most precious creation, linked with the divine Throne-light. This 'higher 'aql' is greater than the sum of mankind's endowment. It is the source of all the individual portions measured out among humanity, and is possessed in

fullest measure only by perfected humanity, the Prophets and saints (Imāms). A corollary idea is that of the providential inequities in distribution of native intelligence (cf. ch.4 #22), enunciated in the notion of *tafḍīl\tafāwut al-ʿuqūl* 'dissimilarities in intelligences'. In one sense, this idea conveys that inequality is necessary for man's evolution and that without inequities and suffering human perfection would be meaningless. Through cognition (*maʿrifah*) and by the 'buttressing' of one's 'aql through light (*taʿyīd al-ʿaql*, ch.6 #29), man grasps and perceives ultimate verities and pursues the course intended for him to traverse. Through *maʿrifah* and the empowerment supplied by 'aql (ch.6 #30), man may attain paradisial exaltation, and join the company of perfected humanity ('prophetic-man'). This was the thrust of the enrichment of meaning which the *ḥukamā'* or 'wise ones' ('uqalā') infused into their notion of 'aql. It represents one cornerstone in the foundation for Islamic esoteric spirituality.

★★

When one stops to consider a single most outstanding or characteristic feature of essential Islamic teaching, the notion of 'ilm 'knowledge' commonly springs to mind, or perhaps *tawḥīd* the assertion of God's Unity. Rarely would an informed person offer 'aql as a candidate. Yet during the first two centuries of Islam, the mystic-sages (*ḥukamā'*) or

the ascetic*agnostics (ṣāliḥūn & zuḥḥād) may well have come forward with such an offering. This cognitive elite of the early generations of Muslims held that 'Intelligence' or 'Understanding' was the most surpassing human faculty by which to worship God, to render obedience to Him, and to acquire the knowledge of virtue: the knowledge of good and evil. This sapiential knowledge teaches the cultivation of good traits and the extirpation of vices, the struggle against one's own nature and the purification of one's true self. Without this practice of knowledge, no higher understanding is possible.

✓

NOTES

1. Almost all versions of the *Aqbil* report have 'aql perform both an *iqbāl* and an *idbār* at God's request, demonstrating his hearing-obedience. Yet the (archaic?) version in ch.2 #15 makes *ḥuṣṣ* 'stupidity' perform the mirror opposite of 'aql's motion. Al-Ṣādiq has *Jahl* perform the *idbār* correctly, but not the *iqbāl*, when addressed by God; ch.5 #25. Again, this is an indication of Ja'far's originality in handling the tradition by integrating it together with the Adam-Iblīs cycle. In the Iblīs cycle of tales, he disobeys God in a conceited effort to obey Him according to his own (mistaken) notion of obedience; Iblīs is therefore depicted as 'one-eyed'. Ja'far's *Jahl**Iblīs is thus a reverse model for the 'fallen' 'aql, refusing to 'hear' and 'comprehend' the invitation to face forward.

2. 'Īsā's mother was al-Ṣādiq's niece (the daughter of al-Ṣādiq's brother 'AbdAllāh); 'Īsā's father was an associate of al-Ṣādiq and was said to have transmitted from al-Bāqir; 'Īsā's grandfather Muḥammad (killed in Medinah in 145/762 at the orders of the 'Abbāsid Caliph al-Manṣūr) was an associate of al-Ṣādiq and also said to have been an associate of imam al-Sajjād. The family lived in Medinah, and 'Īsā seems to have settled in Kufah or Baghdad; see ch.4 nn.29-31.

3. The only possible exception known to us is the form of the 'Century' of 'aql attributed to Wahb b. Munabbih by his descendent 'Abd al-Mun'im b. Idrīs b. Sinān b. Umm Salamah bint Wahb (d.228/842 in Baghdad at an advanced age). This interesting piece integrates Galenic humoral pathology,

Neopythagorean elements, and Gnostic teachings on Adam's psychic body of the type known from the Apoc. John, with the Christian monastic genre of one hundred topoi, and might be dated as early as the mid-to-late 2nd century AH. But it lacks any connection with the Aqbil trajectory of reports; see ch.3 n.42.

4. Recall that the ascetic*mystics deemed the Sages (ḥukamā') to be the true heirs of the prophets; see Rosenthal, Knowledge Triumphant 38.

?

ADDENDA¹

→ A. Later Ṣūfī versions of the Aqbilī report:

<for ch.1 p.13 #3> The Persian moralist poet Sa'dī (d. between 691/1292 ... 695/1296), who was strongly attached to Ṣūfī ideals and doctrines, and had studied with both Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar al-Suhrawardī and Abū l-Faraj Ibn al-Jawzī, invokes the Aqbilī report as a prophetic ḥadīth with "awwalu mā khalaqa" for the 'setting', in a form very close to the version quoted by al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī in Ma'rifat al-Asrār (#3), yet lacking the final phrases ("wa bi-ka u'āqibu..."). This is found in Sa'dī's brief essay Risāla dar 'aql wa 'ishq, ed. Muḥammad 'Alī Furūghī in Kulliyāt-i Sa'dī [Tehran: Amīr Kabīr, 1987] 888-91, on 888. Sa'dī is responding to a query about which of these two means of knowledge has priority (Reason or Love). 'Aql is treated as a way for knowledge and self-purification (just as with al-Ghazālī), being a light which shows the path to the last stage — Love. For Sa'dī's views on 'aql, see Homa Katouzian, "Sufism and Sa'dī, and Sa'dī on Sufism", in The Legacy of Mediaeval Persian Sufism, ed. L. Lewisohn [London & New York: Khaniqahi Nimatullahi Publications, 1992] 191-201, esp. 199-200.

<for ch.1 p.22-26 #8a & #8b> The Ṣūfī teacher Shihāb al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar al-Suhrawardī (d.632/1234), in his 'Awārif al-Ma'ārif [2nd pr., Beirut: 1983] chapter 56 p.454-5 when treating the dichotomy of nafs and rūḥ, and the subtle centers within man of rūḥ & sirr beyond the heart/qalb, mentions al-'aql :

1. These additional materials were uncovered too late for inclusion in the main body of our text or the notes, and are briefly sketched here. A number of sources were brought to my attention by Professor Hermann Landolt. Discussions with him, and his intimate knowledge of Ṣūfī literature, have helped clarify important points.

"As for the intellect/al-‘aql, it is the tongue of the spirit and the interpreter of 'inner-perception' (lisānu l-rūḥ wa turjumānu l-baṣīrah); and the 'inner-perception' in relation to the spirit has the same abode as the heart (wa l-baṣīrah li-l-rūḥ bi-mathābatī l-qalb), while the intellect [in relation to the spirit] has the same abode as the tongue."

He immediately goes on to quote the prophetic ḥadīth with an "awwalu mā khalāqa" setting,² followed by five ‘aql reports ultimately derived from Dāwūd b. al-Muḥabbar's Kitāb al-‘Aql (on p.455; perhaps taken from al-Ghazālī's Iḥyā’, or directly from the Musnad of al-Hārith).

Al-Suhrawardī's form of the Aqbil! report belongs to that trajectory of versions deriving from Basran Qadarī Sūfī circles attested to by al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī in Nawādir al-Uṣūl and al-Muḥāsibī in al-Naṣā’ih. Its 'testing' comprises the same five elements of report #8a (...Sit, Speak, Be Silent!). However its 'encomium' is close to that of report #8b (as well as the form provided by Miskawayh in Fī l-‘Aql wa l-Ma‘qūl - see ch.1 p.69 n.103) : "wa ‘izzatī wa jalālī wa ‘aḥamatī wa kibriyā’ī wa sulṭānī wa jabarūtī, mā khalāqtu khalqan...". The 'listing' is almost identical with that in #8a, save for a final element consummating the report: "wa mā ukrimtuka bi-shay’in afḍala min al-ṣabr."

<for ch.3 §II p.138, & p.159-60 n.55> Al-Ghazālī also quotes the "awwalu mā khalāqa" form of the Aqbil! report in: Mi‘yār al-‘Ilm, ed. Sulaymān Dunyā [Cairo: Dār al-Ma‘ārif, 1969] 292. When discussing ‘aql al-kull & al-‘aql al-kullī 'the Universal Intellect', al-Ghazālī points to two accepted significations: the first being the totality of intellectual essences of which the last emanation is the Agent Intellect (al-‘aql al-fa‘āl); the second being the uppermost celestial

2. Reproduced in the Persian paraphrase-sharḥ of the ‘Awārif by Maḥmūd-i Kāshānī, Miṣbāḥ al-Hidāyah 102.

3. For which see ch.1 p.65 n.90.

body (al-jirm al-aqṣā) or ninth sphere as the greatest of created things, incorporeal, and mover of all, said by some of the falāsifah (Ibn Sīnā?) to be signified by 'Throne' and to be intended by the prophetic report "The first thing which God created was the Intellect...".

Faysal al-Tafrighah bayna l-Īmān wa l-Zandaqah [Cairo: Maṭba'at al-Taraqqā, 1319] 8f. > + in the collection al-Quṣūr al-'Awālī, ed. Muṣṭafā Abū 'Aṭā, I 128. Al-Ghazālī adduces the "awwalu mā khalaqa" report in support of God's non-materiality (against the anthropomorphists), and that God accomplishes His deeds through a spiritual medium such as Angels, of which 'aql is one:

...wa llāhu Ta'ālā yu'tī wa yamna'u bi-wāṣitati l-malā'ikah kamā qāla (l-nabiy) a.s., "awwalu mā khalaqa llāhu l-'aqlu fa-qāla, bi-ka u'tī wa bi-ka amna'u"; ...yakūnu 'ibāratan 'an dhāti malakin min al-malā'ikah yusamma 'aqlan min ḥaythu ya'qilu l-ashyā'a bi-jawharihi wa dhātihi min ḡayri ḥājatin ilā ta'allum.

For the issue of al-Ghazālī's mystical neoplatonism, see H. Landolt, "Ghazālī and 'Religionswissenschaft', Some Notes on the *Mishkāt al-Anwār*", *Asiatische Studien* XLV (1991) 19-72.

→ B. <for ch.1 p.52 n.49> Ibn al-Jawzī's Minhāj al-Qāsidīn was his intended correction/replacement for al-Ghazālī's Iḥyā'. Ibn Qudāmah's abbreviation Mukhtaṣar Minhāj al-Qāsidīn is now edited by 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Mahdī [Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabī, 1995]. Apparently whatever discussion of 'aql Ibn al-Jawzī had included in the Minhāj was fastidiously excised by Ibn Qudāmah in his Mukhtaṣar (yet see p.373f. on innate disparities in love).

→ C. <for ch.3 p.139-142, & p.161-2 nn.60-62>

See the edition of Ibn Taymiyyah's Bughyat al-Murtād fī l-Radd 'alā l-Mutafalsifah wa l-Qarāmiṭah wa l-Bāṭiniyyah Ahl al-Ilhād min al-Qā'ilīna bi-l-Hulūl wa l-Ittiḥād, ed. Mūsā b.

Sulaymān al-Duwaysh [1st pr., n.p. (Kuwayt, or al-Riyād?): Maktabat al-'Ulūm wa l-Hukm, 1408/1988; 615pp.] text = 169-531. Written in 709 A.H. during Ibn Taymiyyah's eight month forced confinement in the fortress of Alexandria; the title Bughyat al-Murtād... was prefixed by a later copyist, the work being known either as al-Masā'il al-Iskandarāniyyah (fī l-Radd 'alā l-Ittiḥādīyyah wa l-Hulūliyyah), or as (al-Radd 'alā) l-Sab'īniyyah⁴.

Over half of this text is devoted to a detailed rebuttal of al-Ghazālī (particularly Mishkāṭ al-Anwār, also Jawāhir al-Qur'ān & Faysal al-Tafrīḡāh), then of Ibn al-'Arabī and Ibn Sab'īn. It constitutes an important treatment of the clash between sharī'ah and falsafah in Islamic thought focused on the notion of 'aql, with its value increased ten-fold by the meticulous labors of the editor and of the printer. The treatments of the 'aql reports found in Ibn Taymiyyah's other writings discussed above in ch.3 §III, and many of his pungent views on philosophical mysticism, are paraphrases or summaries from this work. For the Aqbil report, see the extensive discussion by al-Duwaysh (introduction 90-7), and in Ibn Taymiyyah's text (171f., & 243f.).

<ch.3 §III p.140, & p.151 n.60> The positions of al-Ghazālī and of Ibn Taymiyyah on 'aql & 'ilm :

Al-Ghazālī argues against the theologians who held that 'aql was an accident ('araḍ) and who identified it with knowledge. For al-Ghazālī, 'aql is an 'essential-substance' (jawhar) and 'ilm an accident; 'aql is the 'locus' (maḥall) in which 'ilm inheres, and must necessarily precede 'ilm.⁵

4. Eg. in his al-Radd 'alā l-Mantiqīyyīn [Lahore: 1396/1976] 275, Ibn Taymiyyah refers to this work as al-Sab'īniyyah; while in his Kitāb al-Nubuwwāt [al-Riyād: Maktabat al-Riyād al-Ḥadīthah, 1346] 82, it is given as al-Radd 'alā Ibn Sab'īn wa Ahl al-Waḥdah. See Bughyat, editor's introduction, 53-7.

5. See Ihyā' III 4 (= above, ch.3 p.161 n.60). Thus in his Faysal al-Tafrīḡāh 8 (quoted by Ibn Taymiyyah in Bughyat 197), after invoking the "awwalu mā khalāḡa" report, al-Ghazālī asserts: "...wa lā yumkinu an yakūna l-murādu bi-dhālika l-'aqli 'araḍan kamā ya'taqīduhu l-mutakallimūna, idh

Our misreading of al-Ghazālī's dialectical query in Ihyā' I 83 (= above p.162 n.62) should be corrected; rather, this is a rhetorical objection which does not represent his own view. Ibn Taymiyyah, on the contrary, adheres to the position that 'aql is an accident, not an 'essential-substance' (see above p.161-2 n.61); ie. 'aql is an accident which is not self-subsistent (*huwa 'araḍun qā'imun bi-ghayrihi*, Bughyat 274). Thus he explicitly contradicts al-Ghazālī, and our misreading of Ibn Taymiyyah's position (p.140 mid-page) should be corrected accordingly.

These issues are detailed in Bughyat 251-74, wherein Ibn Taymiyyah invokes and reacts to the views of early fuqahā' like al-Shāfi'ī ("al-'aqlu ālatu l-tamyīz"), or Ibn Ḥanbal ("al-'aqlu gharīzah wa l-hikmah fiṭnah..."); and to theological views of classical Shāfi'ī and Ḥanbalī uṣūl al-dīn where 'aql was often defined as a form of axiomatic knowledge (*ḍarḥun min al-'ulūmi l-ḍarūriyyah*) requisite for moral responsibility (*manāṭ al-taklīf*). Here, Ibn Taymiyyah draws upon a wide range of sources, particularly the work of al-Qāḍī Abū Ya'lā Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn Ibn al-Farrā', al-Mu'tamad fī Uṣūl al-Dīn, ed. Wadī' Zaydān Ḥaddād [Beirut: Dār al-Mashriq, 1974] 101-2.⁶ Ibn Taymiyyah's threefold defini-

lā yumkinu an yakūna l-'araḍu awwala makhlūqin.... Al-Ghazālī comes close to the position of the *falāsifah* in accepting that accident is subordinate or secondary to 'locus' (*al-'araḍ tābi'un li-l-maḥall*); see al-Ghazālī, Maqāsid al-Falāsifah, Muqaddimat Tahāfut al-Falāsifah, ed. Sulaymān Dunyā [2nd ed., Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1960] *al-maqālat al-ūlā min al-muqaddimat al-thāniyah* 143.

6. See Bughyat 258-70; & cf. Ibn al-Jawzī, Dhamm al-Hawā 5-6. Ibn Taymiyyah drew upon an unabridged copy of Abū Ya'lā's al-Mu'tamad, since the published edition is only a *mukhtaṣar*. It is through the Mu'tamad that Ibn Taymiyyah is able to quote from the Kitāb al-'Aql of the Ḥanbalī uṣūlī Abū l-Ḥasan 'Abd al-'Azīz b. al-Ḥārith b. Asad al-Tamīmī d.351/962 (see Bughyat 257, & 258 — al-Tamīmī: "(al-'aqlu) laysa bi jismīn wa lā ṣurah wa lā jawhar wa innamā huwa nūrun fa-huwa ka-l-'ilm"); or the views of early Ḥanbalīs such as Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Barbahārī d.329/940-1 (*ibid.* 258: "laysa l-'aqlu bi-iktisāb innamā huwa faḍlun min Allāh"). Ibn Taymiyyah's rebuttal of Ash'arī views is largely aimed at Abū Bakr al-Bāqillānī (d.403/1013) and Abū

tion of 'aql as a human instinctive faculty (*gharīzah*, ie. "al-quwwatu llatī ya'qilu bi-hā"), as knowledge⁷, and as the practice of knowledge ("al-'amal bi-l-'ilm"), appears to be indebted to Abū Ya'lā Ibn al-Farrā' (see Bughyat 259-60). Curiously, Ibn Taymiyyah's position at several points approaches that of al-Ghazālī's four-fold division as outlined in Ihyā' I kitāb al-'ilm, bāb sharaf al-'aql; see eg. the translation by Nabih Amin Faris, The Book of Knowledge [Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1962] 226-8.

→ D. <for ch.4 §I p.165f.; ch.5 p.205, p.219 n.17; ch.6 p.259 & p.270; p.296 & p.298-9> 'Aql, Light, & Throne :

We maintained in a number of places that in al-Ṣādiq's creation narrative of the Seventy-Five *jund* in ch.5, al-'aql may have been created from the light of God's Throne, rather than from God's Light. The most compelling factor for this assertion is our locating the creation of 'aql within the context of Biblicist Wisdom speculations preceding and contemporaneous with second century Islam (p.183-4 n.23). It was shown that certain motifs in the 'aql creation narratives indeed derive from such Wisdom teachings (eg. "grains of sand", p.82-3 n.143, & p.178 n.5) In other words, such 'aql narratives exemplify early Islamic Wisdom speculations about pre-creation wisdom in the Throne realm.

However, the issue is not so clear-cut, and the real possibility that al-Ṣādiq's intent was to portray the heavenly

Bakr Ibn Fūrak al-Iṣbahānī (d.406/1015).

7. Including both the 'ulūm *darūriyyah* requisite for *tak-līf*, and the acquired knowledge ('ulūm *muktasibah*) which invites men to beneficial deeds and to abandon unworthy manifestations ("alladhī yamtanī'u bi-hi min fi'li l-qabīḥ" = view of Ibn Fūrak). Ibn al-Farrā' depicts this latter type of intelligence as "*manāṭ al-najāt wa l-sa'ādah wa huwa l-'aqlu l-mamdūḥ alladhī ṣunnifat al-kutubu fī faḍlihi*" (Bughyat 259).

sapiential 'aql, God's First Creation among the rūḥāniyyūn next to the Throne, as being created from God's Light, needs to be re-examined. As Professor Landolt reminded us, the Sunnī reports in ch.4 #22 & #23 do not derive 'aql from the Throne, rather 'aql is greater than the Throne (or than the sum of all God's creations). A conscientious appraisal of this question would have to ponder a number of issues:

1. The identity of the 'spiritual*immaterial beings' (al-rūḥāniyyūn) and why they are on the right side of the Throne (cf. ch.5 p.233-4 nn.83-85; + p.236 n.90). The highest rank of Angels (often identified with the seraphim, or the karūbiyyūn/cherubim², and/or the Throne-bearers³), springs to mind. Recall Ch.4 report #24 depicting God's creation of the angel 'aql, aligning it with a "light in the heart"¹⁰; +

8. Exegetes sometimes distinguished between the karūbiyyūn as belonging to al-'ālam al-Jalāl, and the rūḥāniyyūn who belong to al-'ālam al-Jamāl; see eg. Bughyat 230.

9. Generally thought to be the highest among the Near Angels (al-malā'ikah al-muqarrabūn). In a report via al-Dahḥāk b. Muzāḥim purporting to give the exegesis of Q al-Ḥāqqah 69:17 ("And the angels will be on its borders, and above them on that day eight will bear the Throne of thy Lord"), Ibn 'Abbās is asked about the view that "eight" here refers to a rank among the nine ranks of angels (ajzā' min tis'ah), and he affirms that the karūbiyyūn are the Throne-bearers. See Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān Ibn Abī Shaybah (d.297/909-10), Kitāb al-'Arsh wa Mā Ruwiya fī-hi, ed. Muḥammad b. Ḥamad al-Ḥammūd [Kuwayt: Maktabat al-Mu'allā, 1986] 65 #27; & Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī (d.358/969), al-Asmā' wa l-Sifāt, ed. Muḥammad Zāhid al-Kawtharī [Cairo: 1358/1939] 505, on a different isnād.

10. An Ibn 'Abbās report from Ibn Abī Shaybah's al-'Arsh (85-7 #75) depicts the angel Isrāfīl [Seraphel?] as guardian of the Preserved Tablet higher in rank than Michael, Gabriel, or the Angel of Death, with seventy fiery lights separating him from God (baynahu wa bayna l-Rabb sab'ūna nūran). Likewise, in a qawl of the Basran devotee Abū Ḥājib Zurārah b. Awfā al-Ḥarashī (d.93/711-12), Gabriel tells the Prophet that he has not seen the Lord since seventy veils of light (sab'īn hijāban min nūr) intervene between Gabriel and God; ibid. 87 #77; 'Uthmān b. Sa'īd al-Dārimī, al-Radd 'alā l-Marīsī 172; & cf. Abū Nu'aym al-Iṣbahānī, Hilyat V 55. On the role of Isrāfīl, see Landolt, "Ghazālī and 'Religionswissenschaft'" 47, & 48 n.112.

cf. p.187 n.36. The abundant Shī'ī materials linking the Prophet and Imāms with Throne and light (eg. al-'ālīna) are also significant (see ch.6 §II p.267, & p.289 n.60).

2. The place of the Throne in priority of creation (see ch.2 §II p.98 & p.116 n.31, + ch.3 p. 158 n.50). The Qur'ān only implies the existence of God's Throne before the creation of heaven and earth, but does not refer to its creation as such (eg. Q Hūd 11:7 "And He it is Who created the heavens and the earth in six days, and His throne was on the water..."). This verse ("wa kāna 'arshuhu 'alā l-mā'") was continually invoked in early ḥadīth about the beginning of creation (*bad' al-khalq*), often in a context stressing divine providential pre-determination.¹¹ Ibn Taymiyyah (Bughyat 285-99) discusses these reports about creation and the Throne, in the context of converging reports about Qalam as First Creation, arguing that the Throne existed before the Pen (*qadara l-maḡādīra wa 'arshuhu 'alā l-mā'i qabla an yakhluga l-samāwāti wa l-arḍ*). He does so in refuting the notion of philosophical mysticism that the Pen is al-'aql al-fa'āl or al-'aql al-awwal.¹²

3. The significance of light in relation to both the Throne and to 'aql. Because this issue experienced profound elaborations in later Islamic philosophical and theosophical teachings, it is difficult to work one's way back to the thought-world of the mid-second century A.H. Those who are intimately acquainted with the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'* (see ch.5

11. For such reports see eg.: al-Bukhārī, k. *bad' al-khalq* III 1165f.; Muslim, k. *al-qadar, bāb hiḍ ḍj āj Ādam wa Mūsā* IV 2044; Ibn Abī Shaybah, *al-'Arsh* passim; al-Bayhaqī, *al-Asmā' wa l-Sifāt* 374-5, 378-9, 383-4; al-Ḥākim al-Naysāburī, Mustadrak II 341.

12. Ibn Taymiyyah quotes from al-Ghazālī's Jawāhir al-Qur'ān [Beirut: Dār al-Āfāq al-Jadīdah, 1973] 29f.; see Bughyat 277-9.

p.232 n.80), with Ibn Sīnā's thought and its reception by Suhrawardī *shaykh al-ishrāq* in his illuminationism with its Zoroastrian-based angelology, as well as the reception by al-Ghazālī of Islamic neoplatonism (see H. Landolt, "Ghazālī and 'Religionswissenschaft'"); and with the inextricable mingling of philosophy and Ṣūfism in mediaeval Persia, may apprehend certain premonitions in al-Ṣādiq's myth of 'aql & jahl, and in al-Kāẓim's portrayal of the light-'aql as greater than the angels in ch.6 §II #28. The glorified 'aql of light found in Ghawr al-Umūr (ch.6 p.255f.; see below Addendum E.) clearly identifies 'aql with God's Light (both *Jamāl* & *Jalāl*; as well as "*nūrun 'alā nūr*").¹³

However one chooses to comprehend the nexus of 'aql, light, and Throne, we must not lose sight of the central opposition of 'aql / jahl and the anthropic dimension of both (Adam | Iblīs). If one aligns al-Ṣādiq's 'aql narrative with the notion of *Nūr Muḥammad*, there may be some support in other 2nd century reports linking the Muḥammadan Light with the Throne; see above ch.3 p.158 n.50, & Uri Rubin, "Pre-existence and Light. Aspects of the Concept of *Nūr Muḥammad*", Israel Oriental Studies V (1975) 62-119.

→ E. <for ch.6 p.255f.> Concerning the question of the ascription of Ghawr al-Umūr to al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī, see:

G. Gobillot, "Un penseur de l'Amour (*Ḥubb*), le mystique khurāsānien al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī (m. 318/930)", SI LXXIII (1991) 25-44, on 27 n.11.

B. Radtke, Al-Ḥakīm at-Tirmidī [Freiburg: 1980] 51 & 70.
 _____, "Theologen und Mystiker in Ḥurāsān und Transoxanien", ZDMG CXXXVI (1986) 536-69, on 555; (points to

13. Al-Ghazālī aligns 'aql with "*nūr al-samāwāti wa l-arḍ*", and with an angel ("*jawāhir nūrāniyyah sharīfah 'āliyyah*"); eg. Mishkāt al-Anwār, ed. Abū l-'Alā' 'Afīfī [Cairo: Dār al-Qawmiyyah, 1964] 44f., 59f., 67f., & 76f. Cf. Ibn Taymiyyah, Buḥyāt 205-6 & 375-6.

terminological inconsistencies with al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī's other known works).

_____, "Psychomachia in der Sufik", on 137-8 & nn.14, 19; (suggests the possible authorship of Ibn al-ʿArabī).

_____, "Tirmidiana Minora II: Ibn al-ʿArabī's Kommentar zu al-Ḥakīm at-Tirmidī's *Sīrat al-awliyāʾ*", einige filologische Bemerkungen", Oriens XXXIV (1994) 277-98, on 279 n.140.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

(Encyclopedia & Dictionary articles are not usually listed.
Death dates are in Lunar Hijrī unless specified CE.)

I. ARABIC

'Abd al-'Azīz b. Muḥammad b. al-Ṣiddīq. Al-Tahānī Fī l-Ta'aggub 'Alā Mawdū'āt al-Saḡhānī. Cairo: Dār al-Anṣār, 1982.

'Abd al-Bāqī, Muḥammad Fu'ād. Al-Mu'jam al-Mufahras li-Alfāz al-Qur'an al-Karīm. Cairo: Dār al-Sha'b, 1945.

'Abd al-Jabbār b. Aḥmad al-Hamdānī, Abū l-Ḥasan al-Qāḍī (d.415). Al-Muḡhnī Fī Abwāb al-Tawhīd wa l-'Adl, ed. Muḥammad 'Alī al-Najjār, et. al. Cairo: Dār al-Miṣriyyah li-l-Ta'līf wa l-Tarjamah, 1965.

'Abd al-Raḥīm b. Aḥmad al-Qāḍī. Daqā'iq al-Akḥbār Fī Dhikr al-Jannah wa l-Nār. Cairo: n.d.

'Abd al-Razzāq b. Hammām al-Ṣan'ānī (d.211). Muṣannaf Fī l-Hadīth, ed. Ḥabīb al-Raḥmān al-A'zamī. Johannesburg: al-Majlis al-'Ilmī, 1970-71.

'Abd al-Tawwāb, Ramaḍān. Al-Amthāl al-'Arabiyyah al-Qadīmah (= revised & expanded trans. of R. Sellheim, Die Klassisch-arabischen Sprichwortsammlungen). Beirut: Dar al-Amānah, 1971; repr. 1984.

Abū al-Qāsim 'AbdAllāh b. Aḥmad al-Balkhī, al-Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār & al-Ḥākim al-Jushamī. Faḍl al-I'tizāl wa Tabagāt al-Mu'tazilah, ed. Fu'ād Sayyid. Tunis: 1974.

Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī, Sulaymān b. al-Ash'ath (d.275). Sunan, ed. Muḥyi l-Dīn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd. Cairo: 1920.

Abū Khaythamah Zuhayr b. Harb al-Nasā'ī (d.234). Kitāb al-'Ilm, ed. Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Albānī. In Min Kunūz al-Sunnah, Rasā'il Arba'a, 105-49. Damascus: 1385.

Abū l-Qāsim al-Kūfī, 'Alī b. Aḥmad (d.352). Al-Ādāb wa Makārim al-Akhlaq. Cairo, Dār al-Kutub - MS #21474b.

Abū l-Shaykh al-Iṣbahānī, Abū Muḥammad 'AbdAllāh b. Muḥammad b. Ja'far (d.369). Al-Amthāl Fī l-Hadīth al-Nabawiy, ed. 'Abd al-'Alīy 'Abd al-Ḥamīd. Bombay: Dār al-Salafiyyah, 1982.

Abū Nu'aym al-Iṣbahānī, Aḥmad b. 'AbdAllāh (d.430). Dalā'il al-Nubuwwah, ed. Muḥammad Rawwās Qal'ajī & 'Abd al-Barr 'Abbās. 2nd ed., Beirut: Dār al-Nafā'is, 1986; repr. 1991.

----- . Dhikr Akhbār Isbahān. New Delhi: Dār al-'Ilmiyyah, 1985.

----- . Hilyat al-Awliyā' wa Tabaqāt al-Asfiyā'. Cairo: Maṭba'at al-Sa'ādah, 1938; repr. Beirut: 1967.

Abū Sa'īd al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn al-Sukkarī (rāwī). Sharḥ Ash'ār al-Hudhaliyyīn, ed. 'Abd al-Sattār Aḥmad Farrāj & Maḥmūd Muḥammad Shākīr. Cairo: Maktabat Dār al-'Urūbah, 1963-5.

Abū Tammām Ḥabīb b. Aws b. al-Ḥārith al-Ṭā'ī (d.231). Dīwān al-Hamāsah (riwāyah of Abū Maṣṣūr al-Jawālīqī), ed. 'Abd al-Mun'im Aḥmad Ṣāliḥ. Baghdad: Dār al-Shu'ūn al-Thaqafiyyah al-'Ammah, 1987.

Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām (d.224). Gharīb al-Hadīth. Hyderabad: 1964-67.

----- . Al-Khutab wa l-Mawā'iz, ed. 'Abd al-Tawwāb Ramaḍān. Cairo: Maktabat al-Thaqāfah al-Dīniyyah, 1986.

----- . Kitāb al-Amthāl, ed. 'Abd al-Majīd Qaṭāmish. Beirut: Dār al-Ma'mūn li-l-Turāth, 1980.

Abū Zur'ah al-Rāzī, 'UbaydAllāh b. 'Abd al-Karīm (d.264). Al-Du'afā' wa l-Kadhdhābīn, with the Masā'il of his pupil Sa'īd b. 'Amr al-Bardha'ī; ed. Sa'dī al-Hāshimī. In Abū Zur'ah al-Rāzī wa Juhūdih v.II.

Adab al-Mulūk Fī Bayān Haqā'iq al-Tasawwuf (anonymous), ed. B. Radtke. Ein Handbuch zur Islamischen Mystik aus Den 4./10. Jahrhundert. Beirut & Stuttgart: 1991.

al-'Ajamī, Abū l-Yazīd Abū Zayd. Al-Akhlāq Bayna l-'Aql wa l-Naql. Cairo: Dār al-Thaqāfat al-'Arabiyyah, 1988.

Akhbār al-'Abbās wa Wuldih = Akhbār al-Dawlat al-'Abbāsiyyah, ed. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Dūrī & A.J. al-Muṭṭalibī. Beirut: Dār al-Ṭalī'ah, 1971.

al-Albānī, Muḥammad Nāṣir al-Dīn. Silsilat al-Aḥādīth al-Da'īfah wa l-Mawḍū'ah. 3rd pr., Damascus: 1392.

-----, ed. Min Kunūz al-Sunnah, Rasā'il Arba'. Damascus: 1965; repr. Kuwait: Dār al-Arqam.

'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn Sayyid al-'Abidīn (d.95). Al-Sahīfat al-Kāmilah. Text with trans. by William Chittick, The Psalms of Islam. London: 1988.

'Alyān, Rushdī Muḥammad 'Irsān. Al-'Aql 'Inda l-Shī'at al-Imāmiyyah. Baghdad: Maṭba'at Dār al-Salām, 1973.

Amīn, Aḥmad. Fajr al-Islām. 10th pr., Cairo: Maktabat al-Nahḍat al-Miṣriyyah, 1965.

al-Anbārī, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim (d.330). Al-Adḍād Fī l-Luḡḡah, ed. Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm. Kuwayt: al-Turāth al-'Arabī, 1960.

al-Anṣārī, Khawājah 'AbdAllāh al-Harawī (d.481). Manāzil al-Sā'irīn. See S. de Laugier de Beaurecueil, Étapes Des Itinerants; + al-Anṣārī, Ṣaḍ Maydān.

al-Antākī, Aḥmad b. 'Āsim (d. ca. 239). Kitāb al-Khalwah wa l-Tanaqqul Fī l-'Ibādah wa Darajāt al-'Ābidīn, ed. 'Abduh Khalīfah. Al-Mashriq XLVIII (1954) 189-91, XLIX (1955) 43-54 & 451-90. (Also assigned to al-Muḥāsibī).

Antiochus, Monk of Palestine (7th cent. C.E.). Expugnatio Hierosolymae A.D. 615; recensiones arabicae. Louvain: CSCO, 1973.

'Aqā'id al-Salaf, ed. 'Alī Sāmī al-Nashshār & 'Ammār Jum'ī al-Tālibī. Alexandria: 1971. See 'Uthmān al-Dārimī, Radd 'alā l-Marīsī; & al-Bukhārī, Khalq Af'al al-'Ibād.

'Ārif Tāmīr, ed. Al-Haft al-Sharīf. Beirut: 1964.

Asad b. Mūsā (d.212). Kitāb al-Zuhd, ed. R.G. Khoury. Wiesbaden: 1976. (= Codices Arabici Antiqui II).

al-A'shā, Maymūn b. Qays (d. ca.6). Dīwān al-A'shā. Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1972.

al-Ash'arī, Abū l-Hasan 'Alī b. Ismā'īl (d.324). Maqālāt al-Islāmiyyīn wa Ikhtilāf al-Muṣallīn, ed. Helmut Ritter. 2nd pr., Wiesbaden: 1963.

al-'Askarī, Abū Hilāl al-Ḥasan b. 'AbdAllāh (d.382). Taṣḥīfāt al-Muḥaddithīn, ed. Aḥmad 'Abd al-Shāfī. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 1988.

'Atā, Muṣṭafā 'Abd al-Qādir, "ed.". Sharaf al-'Aql wa Māhiyyatuh. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 1986. = text of al-Muḥāsibī, Mā'iyat al-'Aql; & al-Ghazālī, Iḥyā', kitāb al-'ilm, bayān sharaf al-'aql.

al-'Ayyāshī, Muḥammad b. Mas'ūd al-Samarqandī (d.^{ca.}320). Tafsīr, ed. Hāshim al-Rasūlī al-Mahallātī. Qumm & Tehran: Maktabat al-'Ilmiyyah al-Islāmiyyah, 1960.

al-Azharī, Abū Manṣūr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad (d.370). Tahdhīb al-Luḡḡah, ed. Muḥammad 'Abd al-Salām Ḥārūn & Muḥammad 'Alī al-Najjār. Cairo: Dār al-Kātib al-'Arabiy, 1964-67.

**

al-Baghdādī, Abū Manṣūr 'Abd al-Qāhir b. Tāhir (d.429). Al-Farq Bayna l-Firaq, ed. Muḥammad Muḥyi l-Dīn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd. Cairo: Maṭba'at al-Madani, 1964.

al-Bihbūdī, al-Shaykh Muḥammad al-Bāqir. Ṣaḥīḥ al-Kāfī. Beirut: Dār al-Islāmiyyah, 1981.

Bālīnūs (pseudo-Apollonius of Tyana, 1st cent. CE). Sirr al-Khalīqah wa San'at al-Tabī'ah. Aleppo: Institute for the History of Arabic Science, 1979.

Bāqir Sharīf al-Qurashī. Ḥayāt al-Imām Mūsā Ibn Ja'far. Najaf: Maṭba'at al-Ādāb, 1970.

Barakah, 'Abd al-Fattāḥ 'AbdAllāh. Fī l-Tasawwuf wa l-Akhlāq, dirāsāt wa l-nuṣūs. 3rd ed., Cairo: 'Ālam al-Fikr, 1989. And see al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī, Makr al-Nafs.

al-Barqī, Abū Ja'far Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khālīd (d.274 or 280). Riḡāl, ed. Sayyid Kāzīm al-Mūsawī al-Miyāmawī. Tehran: University of Tehran, 1383.

----- . Al-Maḥāsin, ed. Jalāl al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī al-Urmawī al-Muḥaddith. Tehran: Dār al-Kutub al-Islāmiyyah, 1950; repr. Qumm: n.d.

al-Bayhaqī, Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn (d.458). Al-Ādāb, ed. Muḥammad 'Abd al-Qādir Aḥmad. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 1980.

al-Bayhaqī, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad (4th cent.). Al-Maḥāsin wa l-Masāwi', ed. Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm. Cairo: 1961.

al-Bukhārī, Abū 'AbdAllāh Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl (d.256). Al-Adab al-Mufrad (riwāyah of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Bazzār), ed. Muḥammad 'Iyād al-Ḥimsī. Cairo: 1349; repr. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 1977.

----- . Al-Jāmi' al-Ṣaḥīḥ. 1st pr. Cairo: 'Isā al-Bāb al-Ḥalabī,

----- . Khalq Af'al al-'Ibād. In 'Aqā'id al-Salaf, ed. S. al-Nashshār & 'A.J. al-Ṭālibī.

----- . Al-Ta'rīkh al-Kabīr. Hyderabad: Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif al-'Uthmāniyyah, 1942-60.

al-Damīrī, Muḥammad b. Mūsā (d.808). Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān al-Kubrā. Bulāq: 1875.

al-Dāraqutnī, Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. 'Umar al-Dāraqutnī (d.385). Al-Du'afā' wa l-Matrūkīn, ed. Ṣubḥī al-Badrī al-Sāmarrā'ī. 2nd pr., Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Risālah, 1986.

----- . Al-'Ilal al-Wārīda Fī l-Ḥadīth al-Nabawiyyah, ed. Maḥ-fūz al-Raḥmān Zayn Allāh al-Salafī. al-Riyād: Dār Tībā, 1985.

----- . Akhbār 'Amr ibn 'Ubayd. See J. van Ess, Polemik.

al-Dārimī, 'AbdAllāh b. 'Abd al-Rahmān (d.255). Sunan, ed. M.A. Dahmān. Damascus: 1930; repr. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, n.d.

al-Dārimī, 'Uthmān b. Sa'id (d.282). Al-Radd 'Alā Bishr al-Marīsī al-'Anīd. In 'Aqā'id al-Salaf, ed. 'A.S. al-Nashshār & 'A.J. al-Ṭalibī; 357-565.

Dāwūd b. al-Muḥabbar al-Qaḥdhamī (d.206). Kitāb al-'Aql. See Ibn Hajar, al-Matālib al-'Āliyyah III 13-23 & 214-16; Ibn 'Arrāq al-Kinānī, Tanzīh al-Sharī'ah I 213-220; & al-Suyūṭī, Dhayl al-Mawdū'āt I 5-10.

al-Dhahabī, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Uthmān (d.748). Mīzān al-I'tidāl Fī Naqd al-Rijāl, ed. 'Alī Muḥammad al-Bijāwī. Cairo: 'Isā al-Bāb al-Ḥalabī, 1963.

----- . Siyar A'lām al-Nubalā', ed. Shu'ayb al-Arna'ūt. Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Risālah, 1985-88.

----- . Tartīb al-Mawdū'āt li-Ibn al-Jawzī, ed. 'Abd al-Baṣīr Khalīfah Ḥasan. Cairo: Dār al-Ṭibā'at al-Muḥammadiyyah, 1986.

----- . Tadhkirat al-Huffāz. 4th ed., Hyderabad: 1968-70.

Durūst b. Abī Maṣṣūr al-Wāsiṭī (d. before 180?). Asl. In al-Uṣūl al-Sittat 'Ashar. Tehran: 1371q; 158f.

Fallātah, 'Umar b. Ḥasan 'Uthmān. Al-Wad' Fī l-Ḥadīth. Damascus: Maktabat al-Ghazālī, 1981; & Beirut: Mu'assasat Manāhil al-'Irfān.

al-Fārābī, Abū l-Naṣr Muḥammad Ibn Tarkhān (d.339). Risālah Fī -'Aql, ed. M Bouyges. Beirut: 1938.

al-Fārābī (pseudo-). Maqālāt al-Rafī'ah Fī 'Ilm Uṣūl al-Ṭabī'ah, ed. Aydin Sayili. TTKB LVII (1951) 103f.

al-Fatānī, Muḥammad Ṭāhir b. 'Alī al-Hindī (d.986). Tadhkirat al-Mawdū'āt or Qānūn Fī Dabt al-Akhbār al-Mawdū'ah. Beirut & Damascus: 1967.

Fayḍ-i Kāshānī, Mawlā Muḥsin, Muḥammad b. Murṭaḍā (d.1091). Al-Mahajjat al-Bayḍā' Fī Tahdhīb al-Iḥyā', ed. 'Alī Akbar al-Ghaffārī. Tehran: Maktabat al-Ṣadūq, 1339-42sh.

----- . Nawādir al-Uṣūl or Nawādir Fī Jam' al-Aḥādīth. Qumm: Maṭba'at al-Shahīd, 1983-4.

----- . Qurrat al-'Uyūn Fī l-Ma'ārif wa l-Hikam & al-Haqā'iq fī Mahāsīn al-Akhlāq, ed. Ibrāhīm al-Miyanjī. 2nd. ed., Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabī, 1979.

al-Fīrūzabādī, Majd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb (d.817). Al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīt. Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1983.

Furāt b. Ibrāhīm al-Kūfī (d.300). Tafsīr, ed. Muḥammad 'Alī al-Gharawī al-Urdabālī. Najaf: Ḥaydariyyah, 1935.

Furayḥah, Anīs. Aḥiqār: Ḥakīm min al-Sharq al-Adnā al-Qadīm. Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1962.

al-Ghazālī, Abū Ḥāmiḍ Muḥammad b. Muḥammad (d.505). Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn. Beirut: Dār al-Ma'rifah, 1982.

----- . Mīzān al-'Amal. Cairo: Maṭba'at Kūrdistān al-'Ilmiyyah, 1328.

al-Ghurayfī, Muḥyi l-Dīn al-Mūsawī. Qawā'id al-Ḥadīth. Qumm: Maktabat al-Mufīd, 1388.

al-Ḥakīm al-Naysābūrī, Muḥammad b. 'AbdAllāh (d.405). Ma'arifat 'Ulūm al-Ḥadīth, ed. Ijnat iḥyā' al-turāth al-'arabiy. 4th pr., Beirut: Dār al-Āfāq al-Jadīdah, 1980.

----- . Mustadrak 'Alā l-Ṣaḥīḥayn. Hyderabad: 1334-42.

al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī, Abū 'AbdAllāh Muḥammad b. 'Alī (d. ca. 320). Adab al-Nafs, ed. Aḥmad 'Abd al-Raḥīm al-Sā'ih. Cairo: Dār al-Miṣriyyat al-Lubnāniyyah, 1993.

----- . Al-A'dā' wa l-Nafs (= Ghawr al-Umūr), ed. Wajīh Aḥmad 'AbdAllāh. Alexandria: Dār al-Ma'rifat al-Jāmi'iyyah, 1991.

----- . Al-Akvās wa l-Muḥtarrīn. = Tabā'i' al-Nufūs, ed. Aḥmad 'Abd al-Raḥīm al-Sā'ih & al-Sayyid al-Jumaylī. Cairo (al-Azhar): al-Maktab al-Thaqāfī, 1989.

----- . Al-Amthāl Min al-Kitāb wa l-Sunnah, ed. 'Alī Muḥammad al-Bijāwī. Cairo: Dār Nahḍat Miṣr, 1975.

----- . Al-'Aql wa l-Hawā, ed. Aḥmad Ṣubḥī Furāt. Şarkiyat Meçmuası - Edebiyat Fakültesi, Istanbul University, V (1964) 95-133. & Ed. Wajīh Aḥmad 'AbdAllāh (with al-A'dā' wa l-Nafs); Alexandria: 1991; 183-210.

----- . Asrār Mujāhadat al-Nafs, ed. Ibrāhīm al-Juyūshī. Cairo: Maktabat al-Salām al-'Ālamiyyah, 1984.

----- . Bayān al-Kash, ed. 'Abd al-Fattāḥ 'AbdAllāh Barakah. Cairo: Maṭba'at al-Sa'ādah, 1976.

----- . 'Ilm al-Awliyā', ed. Sāmī Naṣr Luṭf. Alexandria: Maktabat al-Ḥurriyyah al-Ḥadīthah, 1983.

----- . Jawāb al-Masā'il allatī Sa'alahu Ahl Sarkhas 'An-hā, ed. B. Radtke, Drei Schriften, 135-168. & Ed. 'Abd al-Fattāh 'AbdAllāh Barakah as: Ādāb al-Murīdīn (with Bayān al-Kasb). Cairo: Maṭba'at al-Sa'ādah, 1976.

----- . Jawāb Kitāb Min al-Rayy, ed. B. Radtke, Drei Schriften, 169-205.

----- . Makr al-Nafs, ed. 'Abd al-Fattāh 'AbdAllāh Barakah. In Barakah, Fī l-Taṣawwuf wa l-Akhlāq 279-91.

----- . Manāzil al-'Ibād Min al-'Ibādah or Manāzil al-Qāsidīn, ed. Ibrāhīm al-Juyūshī. Cairo: Dār al-Nahḍah, 1977.

----- . Ma'rifat al-Asrār, ed. Ibrāhīm al-Juyūshī. Cairo: Dār al-Nahḍat al-'Arabiyyah, 1977.

----- . Al-Masā'il al-Maknūnah, ed. Ibrāhīm al-Juyūshī. Cairo: Dār al-Turāth al-'Arabī, 1980.

----- . Nawādir al-Uṣūl Fī Ma'rifat Ahādīth al-Rasūl, under Muṣṭafā b. Ismā'il al-Dimashqī. Istanbul: 1293/1876. [New ed. by Muṣṭafā 'Abd al-Qādir 'Aṭā; Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 1992- .]

----- . Sīrat al-Awliyā', ed. B. Radtke, Drei Schriften, 1-134. & Ed. Othman I. Yahya as: Khaṭm al-Awliyā'. Beirut: 1965.

----- . Thalāthatu Muṣannafāt li-l-Hakīm al-Tirmidhī\Drei Schriften Des Theosophen Von Tirmid, I texts, ed. Bernd Radtke. Beirut & Stuttgart: 1992.

al-Ḥalabī, 'Alī b. Burhān al-Dīn (d.). Al-Sīrat al-Halabiyyah. Bulāq: 1320.

al-Ḥamdānī, al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad (d.333). Al-Iklīl I, ed. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Akwa'. Cairo: Maṭba'at al-Sunnat al-Muḥammadiyyah, 1963.

ḤamīdAllāh, Muḥammad. Majmū'at al-Wathā'iq al-Siyāsiyyah. 3rd. ed., Beirut: Dār al-Irshād, 1969.

al-Harawī, Abū 'Ubayd Aḥmad b. Muḥammad (d.401). Al-Gharībayn Gharībay al-Qur'ān wa l-Hadīth, ed. Muḥammad A. Aḥmad. Hyderabad: 1936-9.

al-Ḥārith b. Muḥammad Ibn Abī Usāmah (d.282). Musnad. See Ibn Hajar, Maṭālib, passim.

al-Ḥāshimī, Sa'dī. Abū Zur'ah al-Rāzī wa Juhūdahu Fī l-Sunnat al-Nabawiyyah. 2nd pr., al-Manṣūrah (Egypt) & Medinah: Dār al-Wafā' & Maktabat Ibn al-Qayyim, 1989. II = Ajwibatuhu 'alā as'ilati l-Bardha'I. + See Abū Zur'ah, Du'afā'.

al-Haythamī, Nūr al-dīn 'Alī b. Abī Bakr (d.807). Mawāriq al-Zam'ān Ilā Zawā'id Ibn Hibbān, ed. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Razzāq b. Hamzah. Medinah: al-Maktabat al-Maḥmūdiyyah, 1351.

al-Hillī, al-'Allāmah Ḥasan b. Yūsuf b. al-Muṭahhar (d.726). Kashf al-Murād Fī Sharḥ Tajrīd al-I'tiqād. Qumm: n.d.

al-Hilmī, Muṣṭafā. Al-Akhlāq Bayna l-Falāsifah wa Ḥukamā' al-Islām. Cairo: Dār al-Thaqāfat al-'Arabiyyah, 1986.

Hishām b. al-Ḥakam (d. ca.179). See M.A.M. DeAngelis, "Collected Fragments"; & J. van Ess, Theologie V.

al-Ḥumaydī, Abū Bakr 'AbdAllāh b. al-Zubayr (d.219). Musnad, ed. Ḥabīb al-Raḥmān al-A'zamī. Beirut & Cairo: 1380-2.

Ḥunayn b. Ishāq (d.873 C.E.). Al-Masā'il Fī l-Tibb li-l-Muta'allim Questions on Medicine for Scholars, ed. P. Ghalioungui. Cairo: 1980.

al-Ḥusnī, 'AbdAllāh Kānūn. Lugmān al-Ḥakīm. Cairo: 1969.
**

Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, Abū 'Amr Yūsuf b. 'AbdAllāh al-Andalusī (d.463). Adab al-Mujālasah wa Ḥamd al-Lisān wa Fadl al-Bayān wa Dhamm al-'Iyy, ed. Samīr Ḥalabī. Tanṭā: Dār al-Ṣaḥābah li-l-Turāth, 1989.

----- . Bahjat al-Majālis wa Uns al-Mujālis, ed. Muḥammad Mursī al-Khulī & 'Abd al-Qādir al-Qutt. Cairo: 1962; repr. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub li-l-Malāyīn, 1982.

Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, Abū 'Umar Aḥmad b. Muḥammad (d.328). Al-'Iqd al-Farīd, ed. Aḥmad Amīn, et. al. Cairo: Maṭba'at al-Ta'llīf wa l-Tarjamah, 1940.

Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī, Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Idrīs (d.327). 'Ilal al-Ḥadīth. Cairo: 1343-4.

----- . Al-Jarḥ wa l-Ta'dīl. Hyderabad: Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif al-'Uthmāniyyah, 1952-3. (v.I = taqdimah).

Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, Abū Bakr 'AbdAllāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Ubayd (d.281). Al-'Aql wa Fadluḥ, ed. Majdī al-Sayyid Ibrāhīm. Cairo: Maktabat al-Qur'ān, 1988. [& Text of al-Zāhiriyyah MS. ed. Muḥammad Zāhid al-Kawtharī; Cairo: Maktabat Nashr al-Thaqāfah, 1946.]

----- . Al-Awliyā'. In Majmū'at Rasā'il li-l-Ḥāfiz Ibn Abī l-Dunyā 113-47, ed. Aḥmad Nash'at Rabī'. Cairo: Jam'iyyat al-Nashr al-Azhariyyah, 1354/1935; repr. Beirut: Dār al-Nadwat al-Islāmiyyah & Cairo: Maktabat al-Kullīyat al-Azhariyyah, 1987.

- . Dhamm al-Dunyā, ed. Ella Almagor. Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1984.
- . Al-Hilm, ed. Majdī al-Sayyid Ibrāhīm. Cairo: Maktabat al-Qur'ān, 1986. [+ In Majmū'at Rasā'il, 23-46.]
- . Al-Ishrāf Fī Manāzil al-Ashrāf, ed. Majdī al-Sayyid Ibrāhīm. Cairo: Maktabat al-Qur'ān, 1990.
- . Islāh al-Māl, ed. Muṣṭafā Mufliḥ al-Qudāt. Al-Manṣūrah: Dār al-Wafā', 1990.
- . Al-'Iyāl, ed. Najm 'Abd al-Raḥmān Khalaf. al-Dammām, Saudia Arabia: Dār Ibn al-Qayyim, 1990; & Beirut: Dār al-Ṣaḥābah.
- . Makārim al-Akhlāq, ed. & trans. James Bellamy = The Noble Qualities of Character By Ibn Abī d-Dunyā. Wiesbaden: 1973. [Text repr. Cairo: Maktabat Ibn Taymiyyah, 1990.]
- . Kitāb al-Manām, ed. Leah Kinberg. = Morality in the Guise of Dreams. Leiden: 1994.
- . Muḥāsabat al-Nafs wa l-Izrā' 'Alayhā, ed. al-Musta'ṣim bi-llāhi Abī Hurayrah & Muṣṭafā b. 'Alī b. 'Iwāḍ. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 1986.
- . Al-Qanā'ah wa l-Ta'affuf, ed. & trans. Stefan Weninger, Qanā'a (Genügsamkeit) in der arabischen Literatur. Berlin: 1992.
- . Al-Ṣamt wa Ādāb al-Lisān, ed. Najm 'Abd al-Raḥmān Khalaf. 1st pr. Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmiyy, 1986.
- . Al-Wara', ed. al-Ḥāfiẓ 'Azīz Bayk. Hyderabad: Maṭba'at al-'Azīziyyah, 1988.
- . Al-Yaqīn, ed. Majdī al-Sayyid Ibrāhīm (with Al-'Aql wa Fadluḥ, 87-125). Cairo: 1988.
- Ibn Abī l-Hadīd, 'Abd al-Hamīd b. Hibat Allāh (d.656). Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah, ed. al-Shaykh Ḥasan Tamīm Qaḍī Beirut. Beirut: Dār Maktabat al-Ḥayāt, 1963-4. (V 903-968 = 'Alī's al-f ḥikam.)
- Ibn Abī Shaybah, Abū Bakr 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-'Absī (d.235). Kitāb al-Imān, ed. Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Albānī. In Min Kunūz al-Sunnah, 1-46.
- . Al-Muṣannaf Fī l-Aḥādīth wa l-Āthār, ed. 'Amir al-'Umarī al-A'zamī, Mukhtār Aḥmad al-Nadwī, et. al. Bombay: Dār al-Salafiyyah, 1979-83. & Ed. Sa'īd al-Laḥḥām. Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1989 (= VI kitāb al-adab).
- Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah, Aḥmad b. al-Qāsim (d.668). 'Uyūn al-Anbā' Fī Tabaqāt al-Atibbā'. Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1956-7.

Ibn 'Adiy al-Jurjānī, Abū Aḥmad 'AbdAllāh (d.365). Al-Kāmil fī Du'afā' al-Rijāl, ed. Iajnat min al-mukhtaṣṣin. 2nd pr., Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1985.

Ibn al-'Arabī, Muḥyi l-Dīn (d.638). Al-Futuhāt al-Makkiyyah. Bulāq: 1329; repr. Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1968.

----- . Al-Kawkab al-Durrī Fī Manāqib Dhī l-Nūn al-Miṣrī. See R. Deladriere, Vie Merveilleuse.

----- (pseudo-). Muhādarat al-Abrār wa Musāmarat al-Akhyār. repr., Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1972.

Ibn al-Ashtarkūnī, Abū Tāhir Muḥammad b. Yūsuf (d.538). Al-Musalsal Fī Gharīb Luḡhāt al-'Arab, ed. Muḥammad 'Abd al-Jawād. Cairo: Maktabat al-Khānjī, 1981.

Ibn al-Athīr, Abū l-Sa'ādāt al-Mubārak b. Muḥammad (d.606). Al-Nihāyah Fī Gharīb al-Hadīth wa l-Āthār, ed. Maḥmūd Muḥammad al-Tanāhī & Tāhir Aḥmad al-Zāwī. Cairo: 'Isā al-Bāb al-Ḥalabī, 1963-5.

Ibn al-Jarrāh, Wakī' (d.197). Al-Zuhd, ed. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abd al-Jabbār al-Farīwā'ī [Prewail]. Medinah: Maktabat al-Dār, 1984; repr. Medinah: Maktabat al-Qur'ān, 1985.

Ibn al-Jawzī, Abū l-Faraj 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Alī (d.597). Akḥbār Al-Adhkiyā', ed. Muḥammad Mursī al-Khulī. Cairo: al-Maktab al-Sharqī li-l-Nashr wa l-Tawzī', 1970.

----- . Akḥbār al-Ḥumqā wa l-Muḡhaffalīn, ed. Zāhid al-Qudsī. 2nd pr., Cairo: 1983.

----- . Akḥbār al-Zirāf wa l-Mutamājinīn, ed. Ṭaha 'Abd al-Ra'ūf Sa'd. Cairo: Maktabat al-Kulliyāt al-Azhariyyah, 1977.

----- . Dhamm al-Hawā, ed. Muṣṭafā 'Abd al-Wāhid & Muḥammad al-Ghazālī. Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-Ḥadīthah, 1962.

----- . Al-Mawqū'āt, ed. 'Abd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad 'Uthmān. Medinah: al-Maktabat al-Salafiyyah, 1966-68.

----- . Rūḥ al-Arwāḥ. Cairo: 1309.

----- . Ṣifat al-Safwah, ed. Muḥammad 'Abd al-Mu'īn Khān. 2nd ed., Hyderabad: 1968.

Ibn al-Kalbī, Hishām b. Muḥammad (d. ca.204). Kitāb al-Asnām, ed. Aḥmad Zakī Bāshā. Cairo: 1914.

Ibn al-Madīnī, 'Alī b. 'AbdAllāh b. Ja'far (d.234). Al-'Ilal, ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafā al-A'zamī. 2nd pr., Beirut: al-Maktab al-Islāmiy, 1980.

Ibn al-Mubārak, 'AbdAllāh al-Marwazī (d.181). Al-Zuhd wa l-Raḡā'iq, ed. Ḥabīb al-Raḥmān al-A'zamī. Mālikūn: n.d.

Ibn al-Muqaffa', 'AbdAllāh (d. ca. 137). Al-Adab al-Saghīr, ed. Muḥammad Kurd 'Alī. In Rasā'il al-Bulaghā', 3rd ed. Cairo: 1946; 1-37.

----- Yatīmat al-Sultān. In Rasā'il al-Bulaghā', ed. M.K. 'Alī; 160f.

Ibn al-Nadīm, Muḥammad b. Ishāq (d.438). Al-Fihrist, ed. Riḍā Tajaddud. Tehran: 1971.

Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ al-Shahrūzūrī, Abū 'Amr 'Uthmān (d.643). Al-Muqaddimah Fī 'Ulūm al-Hadīth, ed. 'Ā'ishah 'Abd al-Raḥmān. 2nd ed., Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1990.

Ibn al-Sam'ānī, Abū Muẓaffar al-Manṣūr b. Muḥammad al-Tamīmī al-Shāfi'ī (d.489). Qawāti' al-Adillah Fī l-Usūl, ed. Hītū. Majalat Ma'had al-Makhtūtāt al-'Arabiyyah, new ser. Kuwayt, I (1402/1982) 209-88, (249-51 on 'aql).

Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, Abū Muḥammad Aḥmad (d.314). Kitāb al-Futūḥ. Hyderabad: 1968-76.

Ibn Bābawayh al-Shaykh al-Ṣadūq, Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Qummī (d.381). Al-Amālī or al-Majālis, ed. Muḥammad Mahdī al-Kharsān. Qumm: 1373.

----- Faḍā'il al-Shī'ah & Ṣifat al-Shī'ah, ed. Ḥasan Fashāhī. Tehran: Shams, 1342?

----- 'Ilal al-Sharā'i', ed. Muḥammad Ṣādiq Baḥr al-'Ulūm. Najaf: Ḥaydariyyah, 1966.

----- Al-Khiṣāl, ed. Muḥammad Mahdī Ḥasan al-Kharsān. Najaf: Ḥaydariyyah, 1971.

----- Ma'ānī al-Akhbār, ed. 'Alī Akbar al-Ghaffārī. Tehran: Maktabat al-Ṣadūq, 1959.

----- Man Lā Yaḥduruhu l-Faqīh, ed. Ḥusayn Muḥammad al-Kharshān. Najaf: Ḥaydariyyah, 1957.

----- Al-Mawā'iz, ed. Muḥsin 'Aqīl. Beirut: Dār al-Hādī, 1992.

----- Muṣādaqāt al-Ikhwān, ed. Muḥsin 'Aqīl (with al-Mawā'iz). Beirut: Dār al-Hādī, 1992.

----- Al-Tawḥīd, ed. Ḥāshim al-Ḥusaynī al-Ṭihrānī. Tehran: Maktabat al-Ṣadūq, 1967; repr. Beirut: Dār al-Ma'rifah, n.d.

----- Thawāb al-A'māl. Najaf: 1972.

Ibn Dāwūd al-Ḥillī, al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī (d. after 707). Riḍāl, ed. Jalāl al-Dīn al-Muḥaddith. Tehran: 1342sh.

Ibn Durayd, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan (d.321). Al-Ishtigāq, ed. 'Abd al-Salām Muḥammad Ḥārūn. Cairo: Mu'assasat al-Khānjī, 1958.

----- . Jamharat al-Luḡhah. Hyderabad: 1344-51; repr. Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, n.d.

Ibn Fāris al-Qazwīnī, Aḥmad (d.395). Mu'jam Maqāyīs al-Luḡhah, ed. 'Abd al-Salām M. Ḥārūn. Cairo: 'Isā al-Bāb al-Ḥalabī, 1366.

Ibn Ḥabīb, Abū l-Qāsim al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad (d.406). 'Uḡalā' al-Majānīn, ed. 'Umar al-As'ad. Beirut: Dār al-Nafā'is, 1987.

Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, Aḥmad b. 'Alī (d.852). Al-Isābah Fī Tamyīz al-Sahābah (with Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, al-Isti'āb Fī Ma'rifat al-Ashāb on margin), ed. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥasan al-Fayyūmī. Cairo: al-Maṭba'at al-Bāhiyyah al-Miṣriyyah, 1929-33. [+Ed. 'Alī Muḥammad al-Bijāwī; Cairo: Maktabat al-Dirāsāt al-Islāmiyyah, 1970- .]

----- . Lisān al-Mīzān. Hyderabad: 1329; repr. Beirut: Mu'assasat al-A'lamī, 1971 (differing pagination).

----- . Al-Matālib al-'Āliyyah Fī Zawā'id al-Masānīd al-Thamāniyyah, ed. Ḥabīb al-Raḥmān al-A'zamī. Kuwayt: Wizārat al-Awqāf wa l-Shu'un al-Islāmiyyah, 1973.

----- . Nuzhat al-Nazar bi-Sharh Nukhbat al-Fikar, ed. Muḥammad Kamāl al-Dīn al-Adhāmī. Cairo: Maktabat al-Turāth al-Islāmiy, 1987.

----- . Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb. Hyderabad: 1907-9; repr. Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1968. (= abridgement of al-Mizzī, Tahdhīb al-Kamāl).

----- . Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb, ed. 'Abd al-Wahhāb 'Abd al-Laṭīf. Medinah: 1960; repr. Beirut: 1975.

Ibn Ḥanbal, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad (d.241). Musnad, ed. Muḥammad al-Zuhrī al-Ghamrāwī. Cairo: al-Maymāniyyah, 1895; repr. Beirut: al-Maktab al-Islāmiy, 1978.

----- . Al-Radd 'Alā l-Zanādiqah wa l-Jahmiyyah. Ḥamah: Maktabat Ibn al-Haytham, n.d.

----- . Kitāb al-Wara', assembled by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Athram al-Marwazī (d.261 or 273). Cairo: 1340.

----- . Zuhd I-II, ed. Muḥammad Jalāl Sharaf. Alexandria: Dār al-Fikr al-Jāmi'iy, 1984.

Ibn Ḥibbān al-Bustī, Abū Ḥātim Muḥammad (d.354). Al-Majrūḥīn Min al-Muhaddithīn wa l-Du'afā' wa l-Matrūkīn, ed. 'Azīz Bayk al-Qādirī al-Naqshbandī. Hyderabad: al-Maṭba'at al-'Azīziyyah, 1970-77.

----- . Rawdat al-'Uqalā' wa Nuzhat al-Fuḍalā', ed. Muḥammad Muḥyi l-Dīn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, Muḥammad 'Abd al-Razzāq Ḥamzah, & Muḥammad Ḥamīd al-Fuqay. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 1975.

----- . Ṣaḥīḥ. See al-Haythamī, Mawāriḍ al-Zam'ān.

----- . Kitāb al-Thiqāt. Hyderabad: Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif al-'Uthmāniyyah, 1973-83.

Ibn Hishām, Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Malik (d.219). Kitāb al-Tījān Fī Mulūk Ḥimyar. Hyderabad: 1347.

Ibn Ishāq, Abū Bakr Muḥammad (d.151). Al-Sīrat al-Nabawīyyah (in the recension of 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Hishām). Ed. Muṣṭafā al-Saqā, et. al. Cairo: Muṣṭafā l-Bāb al-Ḥalabī, 1936; 2nd pr. 1955. & Ed. M.F. al-Sarjānī; Cairo: 1978.

Ibn Khallikān, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad (d.681). Wafāyāt al-A'yān wa Anbā' Abnā' al-Zamān, ed. Iḥsān 'Abbās. Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1968-77.

Ibn Mājah, Abū 'AbdAllāh Muḥammad b. Yazīd al-Qazwīnī (d.275). Sunan, ed. Muḥammad Fu'ād 'Abd al-Bāqī. Cairo: 1952-3; repr. Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, n.d.

Ibn Manẓūr, Abū l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. al-Mukarram (d.711). Lisān al-'Arab. Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1955-56.

Ibn Nuqṭah, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Ghaniy (d.629). Al-Taḥqīd Li-Ma'rifat al-Rūwāt wa l-Sunan wa l-Masānīd, ed. Muḥammad 'Azīm al-Dīn. Hyderabad: Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif al-'Uthmāniyyah, 1983-4.

Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah, Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr (d.751). Al-Manār al-Munīf Fī l-Ṣaḥīḥ wa l-Ḍa'īf. Aleppo: 1970.

Ibn Qutaybah, Abū Muḥammad 'AbdAllāh b. Muslim (d.276). Kitāb al-'Arab. In Rasā'il al-Bulaghā', ed. Muḥammad Kurd 'Alī. Cairo: 1365.

----- . Ta'wīl Mukhtalif al-Ḥadīth, ed. FarjAllāh Zakīy al-Kurdī, et.al. Cairo: Maṭba'at al-Kūrdistān al-'Ilmiyyah, 1908; & Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-Islāmiyyah, 1982.

----- . 'Uyūn al-Akḥbār, ed. Aḥmad Zakī al-'Adawī. Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyyah, 1924-30; repr. 1963.

Ibn Qutaybah (pseudo-). Al-Imāmah wa l-Siyāsah. Cairo: 1967.

Ibn Shahrāshūb, Rashīd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Alī (d.588). Ma'ālim al-'Ulamā', ed. 'Abbās Iqbāl. Tehran: Farīdān, 1353.

----- . Manāqib Āl Abī Tālib, ed. Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Dānīsh al-Ashtiyānī & Ḥāshim al-Rasūlī al-Mahallātī. Qumm: 'Ilmiyyah, 1381.

Ibn Shu'bah al-Harrānī, Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī (4th cent.). Tuhaf al-'Uqūl 'An Āl al-Rasūl, ed. Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn al-A'lamī. Beirut: Mu'assasat al-A'lamī, 1969; repr. 1974.

Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna; d.428). Aḥwāl al-Nafs, ed. A.F. al-Ahwānī. Cairo: 1952. (181-92 = Fī Ma'rīfat al-Nafs al-Nāṭiqah wa Aḥwāliah; see trans. by J.R. Michot, "L'Épître".)

----- . Risālah Fī Sirr al-Qadar, ed. & trans. G.F. Hourani. In "Ibn Sīnā's 'Essay on the Secret of Destiny'". Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies XXIX (1966) 25-48.

Ibn Tāwūs, Radiy l-Dīn 'Alī b. Mūsā al-Hillī (d.664). Kashf al-Mahajjah li-Thamarat al-Muhjah. Najaf: Ḥaydariyyah, 1950.

----- . Al-Malāhim wa l-Fitan. Najaf: Ḥaydariyyah, 1972; repr. Beirut: 1988.

Ibn Taymiyyah, Abū l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Ḥalīm (d.728). Al-Aḥādīth al-Da'īfah wa l-Bāṭilah, ed. Majdī Fathī al-Sayyid. Ṭanṭā: Dār al-Ṣaḥābah li-l-Turāth, 1989.

----- . Al-Furqān Bayna Awliyā' al-Rahmān wa Awliyā' al-Shayṭān, ed. Aḥmad Ḥamdī Imām. Cairo: Maṭba'at al-Madani, 1981.

----- . Majmū' Fatāwā Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Taymiyyah, ed. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muḥammad b. Qāsim al-'Aṣimī. al-Riyāḍ: 1381; repr. Beirut: Maṭbi' Dār al-'Arabiyyah, 1977-8.

----- . Minhāj al-Sunnat al-Nabawiyah Fī Naqd Kalām al-Shī'a wa l-Qadariyyah. Cairo: al-Maṭba'at al-Amīriyyah, 1321-2; repr. 1973.

----- . Al-Radd 'Alā l-Mantiqiyyīn. Lahore: Idārah-yi Tarjamān al-Sunnah, 1976.

----- . Tafsīr Sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ, ed. Ṭāha Yūsuf Shahīn. Cairo: Maktabat Anṣār al-Sunnat al-Muḥammadiyyah, 1969.

al-'Irāqī, al-Ḥāfiz 'Abd al-Rahīm b. al-Ḥusayn (d.806). Al-Mughnī 'An Ḥaml al-Asfār Fī l-Isfār Fī Takhrīj Mā Fī l-Iḥyā' min al-Akhbār. On margin of al-Ghazālī, Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn.

al-Isfarā'īnī, 'Imād al-Dīn Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad (d.471). Al-Tabsīr Fī l-Dīn wa Tamyīz al-Firgah al-Nājiyah 'An Firqat al-Hālikīn, ed. Muḥammad Zāhid al-Kawtharī. Cairo: 1940.

Ishāq b. Bishr, Abū Hudhayfah al-Bukhārī (d.206). Kitāb al-Mubtada'. See F.Nadīm 106; & Ibn al-Jawzī, Adhkiyā' 8 & 13-4.

Israel of Kashkar. A Treatise on the Unity and Trinity of God by Israel of Kashkar (d.872), ed. Bo Holmberg. Lund: 1989.

**

Jābir b. Hayyān (Latin Geber; ca. 2nd-3rd cent.). Mukhtār Rasā'il Jābir b. Hayyān, ed. Paul Kraus. Paris & Cairo: 1935.

al-Jāhiz, Abū 'Uthmān 'Amr b. Baḥr (d.255). Al-Bayān wa l-Tabyīn, ed. 'Abd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn. Cairo: Maktabat al-Khānjī, 1948-50; 2nd pr. 1961.

----- . Dhamm Akhlāq al-Kuttāb, ed. Ch. Pellat. Hespèris XL (1956). & In Rasā'il al-Jāhiz II 185f., ed. 'A.-S.M. Hārūn. Cairo: Maktabat al-Khānjī, 1965-79.

----- . Al-Hayawān, ed. 'Abd al-Salām M. Hārūn. Cairo: 1938-45.

----- . Hujaj al-Nubuwwah. In Rasā'il al-Jāhiz III 223-81.

----- . Kitmān al-Sirr wa Hifz al-Lisān. Ed. P. Kraus & M.T. al-Hājirī, Majmū' Rasā'il al-Jāhiz, Cairo: 1943. See Ch. Vial, Al-Gāhiz, Quatre Essais.

----- . Al-Mahāsin wa l-Aḥdād, ed. 'Alī Fa'ūr, Aḥmad Rammāl, & Ḥusayn Nūr al-Dīn. Beirut: Dār al-Hādī, 1991.

----- . Al-Radd 'Alā l-Naṣārā. Trans. Allouche, Hespèris XXVI (1939) 123-35.

Jālīnūs\Galen. Kitāb al-Akhlāq. Ed. P. Kraus, "Kitāb al-Akhlāq li-Jālīnūs". Majallat Kulliyat al-Adāb bi-l-Jāmi'at al-Miṣriyyah V (1937) 1-51. (= Arabic epitome of Galen's Peri Ethon by Abū 'Uthmān al-Dimashqī.)

Jāsim, Layth Su'ūd. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr al-Andalusī wa Juhūdih Fī l-Ta'rīkh. Beirut: Dār al-Wafā', 1986.

al-Jawharī, Ismā'īl b. Ḥammād (d.393). Al-Sihāh (= Tāj al-Luḡah wa Sihāh al-'Arabiyyah), ed. Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Ghafūr 'Aṭṭār. Cairo: Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabiyyah, 1956; 3rd pr. Beirut: Dār al-'Ilm li-l-Malāyīn, 1984.

Jirjis Jirjis. Badā'i' al-Hikmat al-'Arabiyyah Fī l-Adab al-'Arabiyy al-Qadīm. Beirut: Mukhtārāt, 1991.

al-Jūraqānī, al-Ḥusayn b. Ibrāhīm al-Hamadhānī (d.543). Al-Abāṭil wa l-Manākīr wa l-Sihāh wa l-Mashāhīr, ed. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Farīwā'ī [Prewai]. Benares: Maṭba'at al-Salafiyyah, 1983.

al-Jurjānī, Abū l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad (d.482). Al-Muntakhab Min Kināyat al-Udabā' wa Ishārāt al-Bulaghā', ed. Muḥammad Shams al-Ḥaqq Shams. Hyderabad: 1983.

al-Jūzū, al-Shaykh Muḥammad 'Alī. Mashhūm al-'Aql wa l-Qalb Fī l-Qur'ān wa l-Sunnah. Beirut: Dār al-'Ilm li-l-Malāyīn, 1980; repr. 1983.

**

al-Karājakī, Abū l-Faṭḥ Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Ṭarābulṣī (d.449). Kanz al-Fawā'id, ed. 'AbdAllāh Ni'mah. Beirut: Dar al-Aḍwā', 1985.

al-Kattānī, al-Shaykh Muḥammad Ja'far (d.1345). Al-Risālah al-Mustatrafah li-Bayān Mashhūr Kutub al-Sunnah, ed. Muḥammad al-Muntaṣir al-Zamzamī. 3rd ed., Damascus: Dār al-Fikr, 1964.

al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad al-Farāhīdī (d.170 or 175). Kitāb al-'Ayn (recension of al-Layth b. al-Muzaḥḥab), vol.I, ed. 'AbdAllāh Darwish. Baghdād: Maṭba'at al-'Anī, 1967. + Ed. Maḥdī al-Makhzūmī & Ibrāhīm al-Sāmarra'ī, 8 vols. Qumm: Dār al-Hijrah, 1405; repr. Beirut: Mu'assasat al-A'lāmī li-l-Maṭbū'at, 1988.

al-Kharā'itī, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Ja'far (d.327). Makārim al-Akhlaq wa Ma'ālīhā wa Maḥmūd Ṭarā'iqihā, ed. 'AbdAllāh b. Ḥajjāj. Cairo: Maktabat al-Salām al-'Ālamiyyah, n.d. [incomplete text; cf. al-Silafī, al-Muntaqā]. (New ed. [not seen] by Su'ād Sulaymān Idrīs al-Khandaqāwī & Muḥammad Rashād Khalīfah. Cairo: Maṭba'at al-Madanī, 1991.)

al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. 'Alī (d.463). Al-Faḡīh wa l-Mutafaggiḥ, ed. Ismā'īl al-Anṣārī. 2nd ed., Medinah: Dār Ihya' al-Sunnah al-Nabawiyyah, 1975.

----- . Iqtidā' al-'Ilm al-'Amal, ed. Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Albānī. In Kunuz al-Sunnah, Arba' Rasā'il 157-226.

----- . Al-Kifāyah Fī 'Ilm al-Riwāyah. Hyderabad: 1357.

----- . Mūdiḥ Awhām al-Jam' wa l-Tafrīq, ed. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Yahyā al-Mu'allimī. Hyderabad: 1959-60.

----- . Al-Rihlah Fī Talab al-Ḥadīth. In Majmū'at Rasā'il Fī 'Ulūm al-Ḥadīth, ed. Nūr al-Dīn 'Iṭr. Medinah: 1969; repr. Damascus: 1975.

----- . Sharaf Aṣḥāb al-Ḥadīth, ed. Mehmed Sa'īd Ḥatiboglu. Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Yayınları XCI (1971-2); & Dār Ihya' al-Sunnat al-Nabawiyyah.

----- . Taqyīd al-'Ilm, ed. Yūsuf 'Ishsh. Damascus: 1959; repr. Dār Ihya' al-Sunnat al-Nabawiyyah, 1974.

----- . Ta'rīkh Baghdād aw Madīnat al-Salām. Cairo: Maṭba'at al-Sa'ādah, 1931.

----- . Al-Bukhalā', ed. Aḥmad Maṭlūb, et. al. Baghdād: Maṭba'at al-'Anī, 1964.

al-Khayyāt, Abū l-Husayn 'Abd al-Raḥīm b. Muḥammad (3rd cent.). Al-Intisār wa l-Radd 'Alā Ibn al-Rāwandī al-Mulhid, ed. Albert N. Nader. Beirut: Dār al-Mashriq, 1957.

al-Kinānī, Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad Ibn 'Arrāq (d.963). Tan-zīh al-Sharī'ah al-Marfū'ah 'An Akhbār al-Shanī'ah al-Mawḍū'ah, ed. 'Abd al-Waḥhāb 'Abd al-Laṭīf & 'AbdAllāh Muḥammad al-Ṣiddīq. 1st pr., Cairo: 1378; repr. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 1979 & 1981.

al-Kindī, Ya'qūb b. Ishāq (d. ca. 256). Rasā'il al-Kindī al-Falsafiyyah, ed. Muḥammad Abū Raḍah. Cairo: 1950.

----- M. Allard, ed. & trans., "L'Épître de Kindī sur les Définitions". Bulletin d'Études Orientales XXV (1972) 47-83.

----- Risālah Fī l-'Aql, ed. & trans. J. Jolivet. In L'Intellect Selon Kindī. Leiden: 1971.

al-Kisā'ī, Muḥammad b. 'AbdAllāh (5th cent.). Qisās al-Anbiyā', ed. I. Eisenberg. Leiden: 1922.

al-Kishshī, Abū 'Amr Muḥammad b. 'Umar (d. 4th century). Ma'rifat al-Nāqilīn = Ikhtiyār Ma'rifat al-Rijāl (recension of Abū Ja'far al-Tūsī); ed. Ḥasan al-Muṣṭafawī. Mashhad University: 1348sh/1970.

al-Kulaynī [or al-Kulīnī], Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb (d.329). Al-Furū' Min al-Kāfī (= 2nd part of Al-Kāfī Fī 'Ilm al-Dīn II-VII), ed. 'Alī Akbar al-Ghaffārī. 3rd ed., Tehran: Dār al-Kutub al-Islāmiyyah, 1391.

----- Al-Rawdah Min al-Kāfī (= Al-Kāfī VIII), ed. 'A.A. al-Ghaffārī. 2nd ed., Tehran: Dār al-Kutub al-Islāmiyyah, 1389.

----- Al-Uṣūl Min al-Kāfī (= 1st part of Al-Kāfī I-II), ed. 'Alī Akbar al-Ghaffārī. 3rd ed., Tehran: Dār al-Kutub al-Islāmiyyah, 1388. & Ed. Muḥammad Bāqir Kamarā'ī; Tehran: Maṭba'at al-'Ilmiyyah, 1382.

Kurd 'Alī, Muḥammad. "'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Kātib". Majallat al-Majma' al-'Arabī bi-Dimashq (Revue de l'Académie Arabe du Damas) IX (1929) 513-31 & 577-600.

-----, ed. Rasā'il al-Bulaghā'. Cairo: Lajnat al-Ta'līf wa l-Tarjamah wa l-Nashr, 1365/1954.

al-Kutubī, Abū Ishāq Jamāl al-Dīn al-Waṭwāt (d.718). Ghurar al-Khasā'is al-Wāqihah wa 'Urar al-Naqā'is al-Fādhah. Cairo: 1318/1900; repr. Beirut: Dār Ṣa'b, n.d.

Labīd b. Rabī'ah (d. ca.41). Dīwān Labīd, ed. C. Brockelmann. Leiden: 1891.

Maḥmūd, al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥalīm. Al-Islām wa l-'Aql. Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-Ḥadīthah, 1966.

----- . Ustādh al-Sā'irīn, al-Ḥārith b. Asad al-Muḥāsibī. Cairo: 1973.

al-Majlisī, Muḥammad Bāqir (d.1111). Bihār al-Anwār, ed. al-Sayyid Jawād al-'Alawī & Muḥammad al-Akhundī. Tehran & Qumm: Dār al-Kutub al-Islāmiyyah, 1956-72. 2nd revised ed., Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Wafā', 1983 (slightly different pagination).

----- . Mir'āt al-'Uqūl, Sharḥ Uṣūl al-Kāfī. Tehran: lithograph 1321-5/1903-7 (I 15-17 on the 75 jund). & Ed. Hāshim al-Rasūlī, 2nd ed. Tehran: Maṭba'at al-Ḥaydarī, 1394 (I 65-76).

al-Makkī, Abū Tālib Muḥammad b. Abī l-Ḥasan (d.386). 'Ilm al-Qulūb, ed. 'Abd al-Qādir Aḥmad 'Aṭā. Cairo: Maktabat al-Qāhirah, 1964.

Maksīmūs al-Mu'tarif (Maximos the Confessor, d.662 CE). Al-Mi'awiyāt al-Arba' = Four Centuries on Charity, trans. al-Ab Munīf Ḥimsī. Beirut: Maṭba'at Dakkāsh, 1992.

Mālik b. Anas al-Aṣbaḥī (d.179). Al-Muwatta', ed. Muḥammad Fu'ād 'Abd al-Bāqī. Cairo: 1952-53.

al-Māmaqānī, al-Shaykh 'AbdAllāh. Tanqīh al-Maḡāl Fī 'Ilm al-Rijāl. Najaf: al-Maṭba'at al-Murṭadawīyyah, 1349-52.

al-Maḡdisī, Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir (4th cent.). Al-Bad' wa l-Ta'rīkh, ed. Clement Huart. Paris: 1899-1916.

al-Maqrīzī, Taqiy al-Dīn Aḥmad b. 'Alī (d.845). Mukhtaṣar al-Kāmil Fī l-Du'afā' wa 'Ilal al-Ḥadīth li-Ibn 'Adiy, ed. Ayman b. 'Arif al-Dimashqī. Cairo: Maktabat al-Sunnah, 1994.

al-Mas'ūdī, Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn (d.346). Ithbāt al-Waṣīyyah. 4th pr. Najaf: Ḥaydariyyah, 1955; 5th pr., Qumm, Maktabat Baṣīratī, n.d.

----- . Murūj al-Dhahab wa Ma'ādin al-Jawhar, ed. Barbier de Meynard & Pavet de Courteille, rev. & corr. Ch. Pellat. Beirut: l'Université Libanaise, 1966-79.

al-Mas'ūdī (pseudo-). Akhbār al-Zamān. Cairo: 1938.

al-Māwardī, Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Ḥabīb (d.450). Adab al-Dunyā wa l-Dīn = al-Buḡḡat al-'Ulyā Fī Adab al-Dīn wa l-Dunyā, ed. 'AbdAllāh Aḥmad Abū Zaynā. Cairo: Mu'assasat Dār al-Sha'b, 1979.

Maybudī, Rashīd al-Dīn (d. after 520). Kashf al-Asrār wa 'Uddat al-Abrār, ed. 'A.A. Ḥikmat. Tehran: Dānishgāh 1952-60.

Maṭba'at Majlis

al-Maydānī, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad (d.518). Majma' al-Amthāl, ed. Muḥammad Muḥyi l-Dīn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd. Cairo: al-Maktabat al-Tijāriyyah al-Kubrā, 1959.

Ibn Miskawayh, Abū 'Alī Aḥmad b. Muḥammad (d.420). Fī l-'Aql wa l-Ma'gūl, ed. M. Arkoun. Arabica XI (1964) 80-87. [+ See Gr. Cuvelier, trans.]

-----. Jāwidhān Khirad\al-Ḥikmat al-Khālīdah, ed. 'Abd al-Raḥmān Badawī. Cairo: 1952; repr. Beirut: Dār al-Andalūs, 1983.

-----. Tahdhīb al-Akhlāq wa Taṭhīr al-A'rāq, ed. Constantine Zurayq. Beirut: AUB, 1966. See Traité d'Ethique, trans. M. Arkoun. Damascus: 1969.

al-Mizzī, Abū l-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān (d.742). Tahdhīb al-Kamāl Fī Asmā' al-Rijāl, ed. Bishār 'Awwād Ma'rūf. Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Risālah, 1987.

al-Mubarrad, Abū l-'Abbās Muḥammad b. Yazīd (d.285). Al-Kāmil Fī l-Luḡah wa l-Adab wa l-Nahw wa l-Taṣrīf, ed. Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm & al-Sayyid Shaḥātah. Cairo: Maktabat Nahḍat Miṣr, 1956.

al-Mubashshir b. Fātik (5th cent.). Mukhtār al-Ḥikam wa Maḥāsin al-Kalīm, ed. 'Abd al-Raḥmān Badawī. Madrid: 1958.

Mufaddaliyyāt. Ed. & trans. C.J. Lyall, The Mufaddaliyat. Oxford: 1918-21. & A.A. Bevan, The Mufaddaliyat. Leiden: 1924.

al-Mufīd, Muḥammad Ibn al-Nu'mān (d.413). Al-Ikhtisās, ed. 'Alī Akbar al-Ghaffārī. Tehran: Ḥaydarī, 1959. [Also ed. M.M. al-Kharsān; Najaf: al-Ḥaydariyyah, 1971.]

al-Muḥāsibī, al-Ḥārith b. Asad (d.243). Al-'Aql wa Fahm al-Qur'ān, ed. Ḥusayn al-Quwwatī. Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1971; repr. Beirut: Dār al-Kindī, 1978. = Mā'iyat al-'Aql 201-38. (Also ed. 'Abd al-Qādir Aḥmad 'Aṭā, Al-Masā'il Fī A'māl al-Qulūb wa l-Jawāriḥ wa l-Makāsib wa l-'Aql. Cairo: 'Ālam al-Kutub, 1969; 237-59.) See Riḍwān al-Sayyid, in Majallat al-Fikr al-Islāmiy [Beirut] II #11 (1391) 83-95.

-----. Kitāb al-'Ilm, ed. L. Librande, "Islam and Conservation", Arabica XXX (1983) 125-46. & Ed. Muḥammad al-'Ābid Mazālī. Tunis & al-Jazā'ir: al-Dār al-Tūnisiyyah, n.d.

-----. Al-Nasā'ih, ed. 'Abd al-Qādir Aḥmad 'Aṭā. In al-Muḥāsibī, Al-Wasāyā. Cairo: 1965; repr. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 1986.

-----. Al-Qaṣd wa l-Ru'ū' Ilā Allāh, ed. Ḥusayn al-Quwwatī. In al-Quwwatī, Al-Taṣawwuf al-'Aqlī. Malta: Dār Iqrā', 1988.

-----. Al-Ri'āyah Ilā Huqūq Allāh, ed. Margaret Smith. London: 1941.

----- . Risālat al-Mustarshidīn, ed. 'Abd al-Fattāh Abū Ghuddah. Aleppo: Maktabat al-Maṭbū'āt al-Islāmiyyah, 1964.

----- . Kitāb al-Tawahhum, ed. A. Roman. In Roman, Une Vision humaine des fins dernières. Paris: 1978.

Mullā 'Alī al-Qārī al-Harawī, Nūr al-Dīn 'Alī b. Muḥammad (d.1014). Al-Asrār al-Marfū'ah Fī l-Akḥbār al-Mawḍū'ah = al-Mawḍū'āt al-Kubrā, ed. Muḥammad al-Sa'īd b. Basyūnī Zaghlūl. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 1985.

----- . Al-Masnū' Fī Ma'rifat al-Hadīth al-Mawḍū' = al-Mawḍū'āt al-Suḡhrā, ed. 'Abd al-Fattāh Abū Ghuddah. Aleppo: Maktabat al-Maṭbū'āt al-Islāmiyyah, 1969.

Mullā Ṣadrā. Sharḥ Uṣūl al-Kāfī. Tehran: lithograph, 1865.

al-Munajjid, Salāh al-Dīn. Al-Islām wa l-'Aql 'Alā Paw' al-Qur'ān al-Karīm wa l-Hadīth al-Nabawī. Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-Jadīd, 1974, repr. 1976 & 1986.

Muqātil b. Sulaymān (d.150). Al-Tafsīr, ed. 'AbdAllāh Maḥmūd Shihātah. Cairo: al-Hay'at al-Miṣriyyah al-'Āmma li-l-Kitāb, 1980-87.

Muslim b. al-Hajjāj, Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Naysābūrī (d.261). Ṣaḥīḥ, ed. Muḥammad Fu'ād 'Abd al-Bāqī. Cairo: Dār Iḥyā' al-Kutub al-'Arabiyyah, 1955-56.

Musnad 'AbdAllāh Ibn al-Mubārak. Beirut: 1991.

Musnad al-Imām Mūsā Ibn Ja'far, ed. Ḥasan Maḥdī al-Shirāzī. Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Wafā', 1981.

Muttaqī al-Hindī, 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī b. Ḥusām al-Dīn (d.975). Kanz al-'Ummāl Fī Sunan al-Awāl wa l-Af'āl. 2nd ed., Hyderabad: Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif al-'Uthmāniyyah, 1951-75. [& Muntakhab Kanz al-'Ummāl, on margin of Ibn Ḥanbal, Musnad, Cairo: 1313.]

al-Najāshī, Abū l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. 'Alī (d.450). Asmā' Musannafī l-Shī'ah = Rijāl, ed. Muḥammad Jawād al-Nā'īnī. Beirut: Dār al-Aḍwā', 1988.

al-Nasā'ī, Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān Aḥmad b. Shu'ayb (d.303). Sunan, ed. Ḥasan Muḥammad al-Mas'ūdī. Cairo: al-Maktabat al-Tijāriyyat al-Kubrā, 1930; repr. Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, n.d.

Nathanael Ibn al-Fayyūmī (6th cent.). Bustān al-'Uqūl, ed. & trans. D. Levine. The Bustān al-Uqūl\The Garden of Wisdom. New York: Columbia University, 1908.

Ni'mah, al-Shaykh 'AbdAllāh. Hishām b. al-Hakam. 2nd. ed., Beirut: Dār al-Fikr al-Lubnāniyy, 1985.

al-Nuwayrī, Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb (d.731). Nihāyat al-Arab Fī Funūn al-Aḥab. Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyyah, 1342-74; repr. Beirut: 1965.

★★

al-Qādī al-Nu'mān, Abū Ḥanīfah al-Nu'mān b. Muḥammad (d.363). Da'ā'im al-Islām, ed. Āsif b. 'Alī Aṣghar Fayḍī. Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1963; repr. Beirut: Dār al-Aḍwā', 1991.

al-Qalqashandī, Abū l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. 'Alī (d.821). Subḥ al-A'shā Fī Sinā'at al-Inshā'. Cairo: al-Mu'assasat al-Miṣriyyah al-'Ammiyyah, 1964.

al-Qazwīnī, Zakariyyā' b. Muḥammad (d.682). 'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt wa Gharā'ib al-Mawjūdāt, ed. Fārūq Sa'd. 4th pr., Beirut: Dār al-Āfāq al-Jadīdah, 1981.

al-Qiftī, Jamāl al-Dīn 'Alī b. Yūsuf (d.646). Inbāḥ al-Ruwāt 'alā Anbāḥ al-Nuḥāt, ed. Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm. Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyyah, 1950-73.

Qudāmah b. Ja'far (pseudo). Nagd al-Nathr, ed. Tāha Ḥusayn & 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-'Ubādī. Cairo: 1933. = Kitāb al-Burhān Fī Wujūh al-Bayān of Ibrāhīm b. Wahb al-Kātib.

al-Qummī, 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm (d. after 307). Tafsīr, ed. Tayyib al-Mūsawī al-Jazā'irī. Najaf: Maṭba'at al-Najaf, 1966-68; repr. Beirut: 1968.

al-Quwwatī, Ḥusayn. Al-Taṣawwuf al-'Aqlī Fī l-Islām. Malta: Dār Iqrā', 1988.

★★

al-Rāghib al-Isfahānī, Abū l-Qāsim al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad (d.502). Al-Dharī'ah Ilā Makārim al-Sharī'ah, ed. Abū l-Yazīd al-'Ajamī. Cairo: Dār al-Ṣaḥwah, 1985.

----- . Tafsīl al-Nash'atayn wa Taḥsīl al-Sa'adatayn, ed. Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh al-Sammān. Cairo: al-Maktab al-Fannī li-l-Nashr, 1961.

----- . Al-Mufradāt Fī Gharīb al-Qur'ān. Karachi: 1961.

----- . Muḥādarāt al-Uḍabā' wa Muḥāwarāt al-Shu'arā'. Cairo: Maṭba'at al-'Āmirah, 1326; & Beirut: Manshūrāt Dār Maktabat al-Hayāt, 1961.

Rajab b. Muḥammad al-Bursī (d. ca. 843). Mashāriq Anwār al-Yaqīn Fī Kashf Asrār Amīr al-Mu'minīn. Beirut: 1959-60; repr. 1978.

Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Safā' wa Khillān al-Wafā', ed. Buṭrus al-Bustānī. Beirut: 1957.

al-Rāwandī, Qutb al-Dīn Sa'īd b. HibatAllāh (d.573). Qisas al-Anbiyā', ed. Ghulām Riḍā 'Irfāniyān Yazdī. Mashhad & Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Mufīd, 1989.

al-Rūdānī, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān (d.1094). Jam' al-Fawā'id min Jāmi' al-Uṣūl wa Majma' al-Zawā'id. Cyprus & Cairo: n.d.

**

Sa'adyā ben Yōsēf al-Fayyūmī, Ga'ōn (d.331). Commentary on Sefer Yēzira, ed. M. Lambert. Paris: 1891. [new ed. Kāfiḥ, Jerusalem 1972.]

----- . Al-Mukhtār Fī l-Amānāt wa l-I'tiqādāt\Sefer han-Nibhar ba-'Ēmunot wē De'ot, ed. S. Landauer. Leiden: 1880. [New Arabic\Hebrew ed. by J. Kāfiḥ; Jerusalem: 1970.] Trans. S. Rosenblatt, The Book of Beliefs and Opinions. New Haven: Yale Judaica Series I, 1948.

(& see Commentary on Job, trans. L.E. Goodman.)

Ṣabirī, Muṣṭafā. Mawqif al-'Aql wa l-'Ilm Min Rabb al-'Ālamān wa 'Ibādihi al-Mursalīn. Cairo: 'Isā l-Bāb al-Ḥalabī, 1950.

al-Ṣādiq, Abū 'AbdAllāh Ja'far b. Muḥammad (d.148). Miṣbāḥ al-Sharī'ah wa Miftāḥ al-Haqīqah (ascribed to al-Ṣādiq). Beirut: Mu'assasat al-A'lamī, 1980.

[+ See al-Haft al-Sharīf, ed. 'Ārif Tāmir.]

----- . Paul Nwyia, "Le Tafsīr mystique attribué à Ġa'far Ṣādiq". [ed. from 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Sulamī, Ḥaqā'iq al-Tafsīr] Mélanges de l'Université de St. Joseph XLIII (1968) 181-230.

al-Ṣafādī, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl b. Aybak (d.764). Al-Wāfi bi-l-Wafāyāt XVI, ed. Wadād al-Qāḍī. Beirut & Wiesbaden: 1982.

al-Ṣaffār, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Farrūkh (d.290). Basā'ir al-Darajāt, ed. Mīrzā Kūchebāghī. 2nd ed. Tabriz: ca. 1960; repr. Tehran: Manshūrāt al-A'lamī, 1404/1983-4.

Ṣafwat, Aḥmad Zakī. Jamharat Khutab al-'Arab. 2nd revised ed., Cairo: Muṣṭafā l-Bāb al-Ḥalabī, 1962- .

al-Ṣaghānī, Abū l-Faḍā'il al-Hasan b. Muḥammad (d.650). Al-Mawḍū'āt, ed. 'AbdAllāh al-Qāḍī. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 1985.

Sahl b. Hārūn b. Rāhawayh al-Baṣrī (d.215). Al-Nimr wa l-Tha'lab, ed. & trans. 'Abd al-Qādir al-Māhirī. Tunis: al-Jāmi'at al-Tūnisiyyah, 1973. [On Sahl, see M. Zakeri, E.I.² VIII 838-40]

Saj' al-Ḥamām Fī Hikam al-Imām Amīr al-Mu'minīn 'Alī (omnibus of 'Alī's sayings), collected & ed. 'Alī Jundī, M.A.-F. Ibrāhīm, & M. Yūsuf al-Maḥjūb. Cairo: Maktabat al-Anglū l-Miṣriyyah, 1967; repr. Beirut: Dār al-Qalam.

Ṣalībā, Jamāl. "Ma'ānī l-'Aql fī l-Falsafati l-'Arabiyyah". Majallat al-Majma' al-Luḡhat al-'Arabiyyah bi-Dimashq XXIX (1954) 496-511.

al-Ṣalīh, Ṣubḥī. 'Ulūm al-Hadīth wa Muṣṭalahuhu. Damascus: 1959.

al-Sam'ānī, 'Abd al-Karīm Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr (d.562). Al-Ansāb, ed. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Mu'allimī. Hyderabad: 1963.

al-Shāfi'ī, Muḥammad b. Idrīs (d.204). Al-Risālah. Bulāq: 1321.

al-Shahrastānī, Abū l-Faṭḥ Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm (d.548). Al-Milāl wa l-Nihāl, ed. Muḥammad FaṭḥAllāh Badrān. Cairo: Ma'assasat al-Ḥalabī, 1947-55. 2nd ed. Cairo: Maktabat al-Anglū al-Miṣriyyah, 1956. Trans. D. Gimaret & G. Monnot, Livre Des Religions Et Des Sectes.

-----, Nihāyat al-Aqdām Fī 'Ilm al-Kalām, ed. Alfred Guillaume. Oxford: 1934.

Shākir, Shākir Hādī. Al-Hayawān Fī l-Adab al-'Arabī. Beirut: Maktabat al-Nahḍat al-'Arabiyyah, 1985.

Shalaq, 'Alī. Al-'Aql Fī l-Qur'ān. Beirut: Dār Ib'ād li-l-Ṭibā'ah, 1984.

al-Sharīf al-Murṭaḍā, 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn (d.436). Al-Amālī = Ghurar al-Fawā'id wa Durar al-Qalā'id, ed. Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm. Cairo: 1954; repr. Beirut: 1967.

al-Shawkānī, Muḥammad b. 'Alī (d.1250). Al-Fawā'id al-Majmū'ah Fī l-Aḥādīth al-Mawḍū'ah, ed. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Yaḥyā al-Mu'allimī & 'Abd al-Waḥḥāb al-Laṭīf. Cairo: Maṭba'at al-Sunnat al-Muḥammadiyyah, 1960.

al-Shaybānī, Abū 'AbdAllāh Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan (d.189). Al-Jāmi' al-Kabīr, ed. Abū l-Wafā' al-Afghānī. Lahore: Dār al-Ma'ārif al-Nu'māniyyah, 1981. [= repr. of Hyderabad: 1937.]

al-Silafī, Abū Tāhīr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Iṣbahānī (d.576). Al-Muntaḡā min Kitāb Makārim al-Akhlāq li-l-Kharā'itī, ed. Muḥammad Muṭī' al-Ḥāfiz & Ghazwat Badīr. Beirut & Damascus: Dār al-Fikr, 1986. [= abridgement of al-Kharā'itī, Makārim.]

Sivāsāt al-'Āmmiyyah (pseudo-Aristotle). See M. Grignaschi, in Acta Iranica 6, Monumentum H.S. Nyberg III.

Sufyān b. Sa'īd al-Thawrī (d.161). Tafsīr Sufyān al-Thawrī, ed. Imtiyāz 'Alī 'Arshī. Rampur: 1965; repr. Beirut: 'Ilmiyyah, 1983.

al-Sulamī, Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn (d.412). Jawāmi' Adāb al-Sūfiyyah & 'Uyūb al-Nafs wa Mudāwātuhā, ed. Etan Kohlberg. Jerusalem: The Hebrew University, 1976.

----- . Tabaqāt al-Sūfiyyah, ed. J. Pederson. Leiden: 1960.

Sulaym b. Qays al-Hilālī (d.95). Kitāb al-Asl or Al-Saqīfah, ed. al-'Alawī al-Ḥasani al-Najafī. Najaf: Ḥaydariyyah, 1326.

Sulaymān b. 'Isā al-Sijzī (fl. late 2nd cent.?). Kitāb Tafdīl al-'Aql. See al-Kirānī, Tanzīh I 220-25; & al-Suyūṭī, Dhayl al-Mawdū'āt I 10-13.

al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Abī Bakr (d.911). Al-Durar al-Muntathirah Fī l-Aḥādīth al-Mushtahirah, ed. Muḥammad 'Abd al-Qāhir 'Aṭā'. Cairo: Dār al-I'tisām, 1987.

----- . Al-La'ālī al-Maṣnū'ah Fī l-Aḥādīth al-Mawdū'ah. Cairo: al-Maktabat al-Tijāriyyah al-Kubrā, 1967.

al-Ṭabarānī, Sulaymān b. Aḥmad (d.360). Al-Mu'jam al-Kabīr, ed. Ḥamdī 'Abd al-Majīd al-Salafī. Baghdad: 1980-84; 2nd pr. Mawṣil: 1985.

al-Ṭabarī, Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr (d.311). Jāmi' al-Bayān 'An Ta'wīl al-Qur'ān, ed. Aḥmad Sa'īd 'Alī, Muṣṭafā al-Saqqā, et. al. Cairo: Muṣṭafā l-Bāb al-Ḥalabī, 1954-57. Also ed. Maḥmūd M. Shākir & A.M. Shākir (up to Q Ibrāhīm 14:27). Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1954-69.

----- . Tahdhīb al-Āthār. Musnad 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (IV), ed. Maḥmūd M. Shākir. Cairo: Maṭba'at al-Madani, 1982; Musnad 'AbdAllāh b. 'Abbās I-II, 1982. Musnad 'Umar I-III, 1983.

----- . Ta'rikh al-Rusul wa l-Mulūk, ed. Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm. Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1960-69.

al-Ṭabrisī, Abū l-Faḍl 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Faḍl (fl. late 6th cent.). Mishkāt al-Anwār Fī Ghurar al-Akḥbār, ed. Muḥammad Kāzīm al-Kutubī. 2nd ed., Najaf: Ḥaydariyyah, 1965.

al-Ṭabrisī, Abū Maṣṣūr Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (d. ca. 620). Al-Ihtijāj, ed. al-Sayyid Muḥammad Bāqir al-Kharsān. Najaf: al-Nu'mān, 1966; repr. Beirut: Mu'assasat al-A'lamī, 1983.

al-Ṭabrisī, Raḍiy al-Dīn Abū Naṣr al-Ḥasan b. al-Faḍl (d.548). Makārim al-Akhlāq. Najaf: Ḥaydariyyah, 1971; repr. Beirut: Dār al-Balaghah, 1991.

al-Tahānawī, Muḥammad A'lā b. 'Alī (12th cent.). Kashshāf Istilāḥāt al-Funūn. Calcutta: 1862.

al-Tawhīdī, Abū Ḥayyān 'Alī b. Muḥammad (d. ca.400). Al-Muḡābasāt, ed. Muḥammad Fā'iq Ḥusayn. Baghdad: Maṭba'at al-Irshād, 1970.

al-Ṭayālisī, Abū Dāwūd Sulaymān b. Dāwūd al-Baṣrī (d.203). Musnad, ed. Abū l-Ḥasan al-Amruhu, et. al. Hyderabad: 1321/1903.

al-Tha'ālabī, 'Abd al-Malik b. Muḥammad (d.429). Thimār al-Qulūb Fī l-Mudāf wa l-Mansūb. Cairo: Dār Nahdat Miṣr, 1965.

al-Tha'labī, Abū Ishāq Aḥmad b. Muḥammad (d.427). 'Arā'is al-Majālis or Qisas al-Anbiyā'. 4th revised pr., Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 1985.

al-Thaqafī, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad (3rd cent.). Al-Ghārāt, ed. Jalāl al-Dīn al-Urmawī al-Muḥaddith. Tehran: University of Tehran, 1395.

al-Ṭihrānī, Āghā Buzurg. Al-Dharī'ah Ilā Taṣānīf al-Shī'ah. Tehran & Najaf: al-Ghūrī, 1934-78.

al-Tirmidhī, Abū 'Isā Muḥammad b. 'Isā (d.279). Sunan, ed. Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākir, et. al. Cairo: 1938-40; repr. Beirut: Dār Ihya' al-Turāth al-'Arabī, n.d.

al-Ṭūsī, Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan (d.460). Al-Amālī, ed. Baḥr al-'Ulūm. Najaf: Ḥaydariyyah, 1964-5.

----- Al-Fihrist, ed. Muḥammad Ṣādiq Āl Baḥr al-'Ulūm. Najaf: al-Maktabat al-Murtaḍawiyyah, n.d.; repr. Qumm, Manshūrāt al-Sharīf al-Riḍā.

----- Ikhtiyār Ma'rifat al-Rijāl. See al-Kishshī, Rijāl.

----- Rijāl, ed. Muḥammad Kāẓim al-Kutubī. 2nd ed., Najaf: Ḥaydariyyah, 1961.

'Umārah b. Wathīmah al-Fārisī (d. 289). Kitāb Bad' al-Khalq wa Qisas al-Anbiyā'. ed. R.G. Khoury, in Les Legendes Prophétiques dans l'Islam = Codices Arabici Antiqui III. Wiesbaden: 1978.

al-'Umarī, Akram Diyā'. Mawāriḍ al-Khaṭīb al-Baḥdādī. Damascus & Beirut: Dār al-Qalam, 1975.

al-'Uḡaylī, Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. 'Amr (d.322). Kitāb al-Du'afā' al-Kabīr, ed. 'Abd al-Mu'ṭī Amīn Qal'ajī. 2nd pr., Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 1984.

Wahb b. Munabbih (d.110 or 114). See R.G. Khoury, Wahb.

Wahī al-Faṣāhah Fī Aḥlāb al-Nabīy: Khutab, Rasā'il, Mawā'iz, Hikam, Amthāl, Wasāyā (omnibus of the Prophet's maxims, orations, exhortations, etc.). Collected & ed. 'Alā' al-Dīn al-A'ẓamī. Beirut: Mu'assasat al-A'lamī, 1988.

Yahyā b. 'Adiy (d.363). Le Traité de l'Unité de Yahyā ibn 'Adī (893-974), ed. Khalīl Samīr. Jounieh (Lebanon): 1980.

----- . Tahdhīb al-Akhlāq, ed. Murād Fu'ād Jaqiy. Jerusalem: 1930.

Yahyā b. Ma'īn, Abū Zakariyyā' (d.233). Ma'rifat al-Rijāl (riwāyat of Ibn Muhriz). I, ed. Muḥammad Kāmil al-Qaṣṣār; & II, ed. Muḥammad Muṭī' al-Hāfiẓ & Ghazwat Badīr. Damascus: Majma' al-Lughat al-'Arabiyyah, 1985.

----- . Al-Ta'rīkh wa l-'Ilal, ed. Aḥmad Muḥammad Nūr Sayf. Mecca: 1979.

----- . Min Kalām Abī Zakariyyā' Yahyā b. Ma'īn Fī l-Rijāl (masā'il of 'Uthmān b. Sa'īd al-Dārimī), ed. Aḥmad Muḥammad Nūr Sayf. Damascus: 1400.

Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, Shihāb al-Dīn Yāqūt b. 'AbdAllāh (d.626). Mu'jam al-Uḍabā', ed. A. Farīd al-Rifā'ī. 3rd ed., Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1980.

Yūḥannā, 'Priest-Monk'. Al-Yaqzah wa l-Ṣalāt, trans. al-Ab Munīf Ḥimṣī. Beirut: Maṭba'at Dakkāsh, 1991.

**

al-Zabīdī, al-Sayyid Muḥammad al-Murṭaḍā (d.1205). Ithāf al-Sādat al-Muttaḡina bi-Sharḥ Asrār Ihya' 'Ulūm al-Dīn. Cairo: 1311; & Beirut: 1989.

----- . Tāj al-'Arūs min Jawāhir al-Qāmūs, ed. 'Abd al-Sattār Faraj et. al. Kuwayt: 1965-86.

al-Zajjājī, Abū l-Qāsim 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ishāq (d.340). Al-Amālī, ed. 'Abd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn. 2nd pr., Beirut: Dār al-Jīl, 1987.

Zajr al-Nafs (ascribed to Hermes or Plato), ed. Ph. al-Katīb. Beirut: 1903. & Trans. W. Scott & A.S. Ferguson, Hermetica IV Testimonia (Oxford: 1936) 277-352.

al-Zamakhsharī, Maḥmud b. 'Umar (d.538). Asās al-Malahhah. 2nd pr., Cairo: Maṭba'at Dār al-Kutub, 1973.

----- . Al-Fā'iḡ Fī Ḡharīb al-Hadīth, ed. 'Alī Muḥammad al-Bijāwī. Cairo: 'Isā al-Bāb al-Ḥalabī, 1969-71.

al-Zurgānī, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Bāḡiy (d.). Sharḥ 'Alā al-Muwatta'. Bulāq: 1893. & Cairo: 1936.

II. NON-ARABIC

Abbott, N. Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri, I-III. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1957-72.

Abdul Ghaffar, Sayyid Hasan. Criticism of Hadīth Among Muslims with Reference to Sunan Ibn Māja. London: 1986.

Abou Rida, Mohamed A. "Monotheism in Islam: Interpretations and Social Manifestations". Concept of Monotheism in Islam and Christianity, ed. H. Kochler. Wien: 1982; 40-59.

Akhtar, S. Waheed. Early Shī'ite Imāmiyyah Thinkers. New Delhi, Ashish Publ., 1988.

Allard, M. "Comment Comprendre le Coran selon Muḥāsibī". Bulletin d'Études Orientales XXIX (1977) 7-16.

Altmann, A. & S.M. Stern. Isaac Israeli, a neoplatonic philosopher of the early tenth century. Oxford: 1958.

Amir-Moezzi, M.A. Le Guide Divin dans le Shī'isme Originel, aux sources de l'ésotérisme en Islam. Lagrasse: 1992. Trans. David Streight: The Divine Guide in Early Shī'ism, the Sources of Esotericism in Islam. Albany: SUNY, 1994.

-----, "Al-Ṣaffār al-Qummī (m.290/902-3) et son Kitāb Baṣā'ir al-Darajāt". Journal Asiatique CCLXXX (1992) 221-50.

Anatolius Bishop of Laodicea (3rd cent. CE). On the Decad, trans. R. Waterfield, Alexandria III. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Phanes, 1995.

Anawati, G.C. "Le Néoplatonisme dans la Pensée Musulmane: État Actuel des Recherches". In Anawati, Études de Philosophie Musulmane. Paris: 1974; 155-81.

Andrae, T. In the Garden of Myrtles. Studies in Early Islamic Mysticism, trans. B. Sharpe. Albany: SUNY, 1987.

Anees, M.A. Islam and Biological Futures: Ethics, Gender and Technology. London & New York: 1989.

Ansari, A.I. Zafar. "Islamic Juristic Terminology before Ṣāfi'ī". Arabica XIX (1972) 255-300.

Anṣārī, Khōjā 'AbdAllāh al-Narawī. Ṣaḍ Maydān, ed. Qāsim Anṣārī. Tehran: 1358sh. & Ed. S. de Laugier de Beaurecueil, in Mélanges Islamologiques II (1954) 1-90.

Apocryphon of John, trans. F. Wisse. Nag Hammadi Library in English, ed. J.M. Robinson; 104-23.

Arberry, A.J. Revelation and Reason In Islam. London: 1957.

Aristotle (d. 322 BCE). The Ethics of Aristotle = The Nichomachean Ethics, trans. J.A.K. Thomson, with H. Tredennick & J. Barnes. Penguin Classics: 1976.

----- . The Works of Aristotle, trans. J.A. Smith & W.D. Ross. Oxford: 1910-52.

Arkoun, M. Pour une Critique de la Raison Islamique. Paris: 1984.

----- . "Révélation, Verité et Histoire d'après l'oeuvre de Ġazālī". Studia Islamica XXXI (1970) 53-69.

Athamina, Khalil. "The Early Murji'a: Some Notes". Journal of Semitic Studies XXXV (1990) 109-30.

Āturpāt-ī Ēmētān (9th cent. CE). Dēnkard VI = The Wisdom of the Sasanian Sages (Dēnkard VI), Pahlavi text ed. & trans. Shaul Shaked. Boulder, Colorado: Westview, 1979.

Audet, J.P. "Origines comparées de la double tradition de la loi et de la sagesse dans la proche-orient ancien". International Congress of Orientalists I 352-57. Moscow: 1960.

Awn, P. Satan's Tragedy and Redemption: Iblīs in Sufi Psychology. Leiden: 1983.

Azami [al-A'zamī], M.M. Studies in Hadīth Methodology and Literature. Indianapolis: 1977.

----- . Studies in Early Hadīth Literature. Beirut: al-Maktab al-Islāmiy, 1968.

Bakhtiar, L. Sufi Expressions of the Mystic Quest. London: 1976.

Bar-Asher, M.M. "Quelques Aspects de l'Éthique d'Abū Bakr al-Rāzī et ses Origines dans l'Oeuvre de Galien". Studia Islamica LXIX (1989) 5-38, LXX 119-47.

Bartlett, J.R. "From Edomites to Nabataeans: the Problem of Continuity". ARAM II (1990) 25-34.

Bascom, W. "The Forms of Folklore: Prose Narratives". Sacred Narrative: Readings in the Theory of Myth, ed. Alan Dundes. Berkeley: 1984; 5-29.

Bell, J.N. Love Theory in later Hanbalite Islam. Albany: 1979.

Ben Sira. See P.W. Skehan & A.A. Di Lella.

Bernard, M. "La Critique de la Notion de Nature (Ṭab') par le Kalām". Studia Islamica LI (1980) 59-105.

-----". "Le 'ilm chez les premiers Mu'tazilites". Studia Islamica XXXVI (1972) 23-45, XXXVII (1973) 27-56.

Beulay, R. La Lumière sans Forme: Introduction à l'étude de la mystique chrétienne syro-orientale. Chevetogne, Belgium: Monastere de Chevetogne, n.d.

Bianchi, Ugo. Selected Essays on Gnosticism, Dualism and Mysteriorosophy (Supplements to Numen XXXVIII). Leiden: 1978.

Birkeland, H. "Old Muslim Opposition Against Interpretation of the Koran". Avhand. Utgitt a. d. Norske Viden.-Akademi, H.-F.Kl., #1. Oslo: 1955; 7-43.

Blachere, R. "Contribution à l'étude de la littérature proverbiale des Arabes à l'époque archaïque". Arabica I (1954) 53-83.

Blake, R.P. "La Littérature grecque en Palestine au VIIIe siècle". Le Muséon LXXVIII (1965) 367-80.

Blenkinsopp, J. Wisdom and Law in the Old Testament. Oxford: 1983.

Bonebakker, S.A. "Adab and the Concept of Belles-Lettres". Cambridge History of Arabic Literature II, 'Abbāsid Belles-Lettres, ed. Julia Ashtiany, et. al. Cambridge: 1990; 16-30.

-----". "Early Arabic Literature and the term adab". Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam V (1984) 389-421.

Bouhdiba, A. Sexuality in Islam, trans. Alan Sheridan. London: 1985.

Bousquet, G.H., & P. Charles-Dominique, trans. "Le Kitāb al-Wara' ou Livre du Scrupule Religieux selon l'Imām Ibn Ḥanbal". Hespèris XXXIX (1952) 97-119.

Böwering, G. "The Adab Literature of Classical Ṣūfism". In Moral Conduct and Authority, ed. B.D. Metcalf; 62-87.

-----". The Mystical Vision of Existence in Classical Islam. Berlin: 1980.

Bravmann, M.M. "The Origin of the Principle of 'Iṣmah: Muḥammad's Immunity from Sin". In Bravmann, Studies in Semitic Philology. Leiden: 1977; 455-9.

-----". The Spiritual Background of Early Islam. Leiden: 1972.

Brinner, W.M. "An Islamic Decalogue". Studies in Islamic and Judaic Traditions, ed. W.M. Brinner & S.D. Ricks. Atlanta, Georgia: 1986; 67-84.

Brock, S. "Isaac of Nineveh: Some newly-discovered works". Sobornost [Eastern Churches Review] VIII (1986) 28-33.

------. "Lost and found: Part II of the Works of St Isaac of Nineveh". Studia Patristica XVIII (1983) 230-3.

------. "A Dispute of the Months and Some Related Syriac Texts". Journal of Semitic Studies XXX (1985) 181-211.

Brockelmann, C. Geschichte des arabischen Literatur. 2nd ed., Leiden: 1937-43.

Broek, R. van den. "The Creation of Adam's Psychic Body in the Apocryphon of John". Studies in Gnosticism and Hellenistic Religions (for G. Quispel), ed. R. van den Broek & M.J. Vermaseren. Leiden: 1981; 38-57.

Bultmann, R. Essays, Philosophical and Theological. London: 1955.

Burgel, J.C. "Adab und i'tidāl in ar-Ruhawis Adab at-Tabīb: Studie zur Bedeutungsgeschichte zweier Begriffe". Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft CXVII (1967) 97-102.

Buss, M.J. "The Study of Forms". Old Testament Form Criticism, ed. J.H. Hayes. San Antonio, Texas: 1974; 1-56.

Cameron, A. "Disputations, Polemical Literature and the Formation of Opinion in the Early Byzantine Period". Dispute Poems and Dialogues in the Ancient and Mediaeval Near East, ed. G.J. Reinink, et. al. Leuven: 1991; 91-108.

------. "The Eastern Provinces in the 7th Century A.D., Hellenism and the Emergence of Islam". 'Hellenismos': Quelques jalons pour une Histoire de l'Identité Grecque, ed. S. Said. Leiden: 1991; 287-313.

------. "New Themes and Styles in Greek Literature". The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East, ed. Cameron & L.I. Conrad; 96-106.

Cameron, A.J. Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī: An Examination of his Image in the Hagiography of Islam. London: 1973.

Cambridge History of Arabic Literature. I Arabic Literature to the End of the Umayyad period, ed. A.F.L. Beeston, et. al. Cambridge: 1983. II 'Abbāsid Belles Lettres, 1990.

Caskel, W. Das Schicksal in der altarabischen Poesie. Leipzig: 1926.

Cazelles, H. "Les Origines du Décalogue". Eretz-Israel IX (1969) 14-9.

Chadwick, H. "Florilegium". Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum VII 1131-60. Stuttgart: 1969.

Chaldaean Oracles. See Hans Lewy, Chaldaean Oracles and Theurgy.

Charlesworth, J.H. "A Critical Comparison of the Dualism in 1Q S III,13 - IV,26 and the 'Dualism' Contained in the Fourth Gospel". New Testament Studies XV (1968-9) 389f.

Chelhod, J. Le Sacrifice chez les Arabes. Paris: 1955.

-----, Les Structures du Sacré chez les Arabes. Paris: 1964.

-----, "A Contribution to the Problem of the Pre-eminence of the Right, Based upon Arabic evidence". Right & Left: Essays on Dual Symbolic Classification, ed. Rodney Needham. Chicago: 1973; 239-62.

Chittick, W. "'Aql". Encyclopaedia Iranica I 194-8.

-----, trans. A Shi'ite Anthology. London: 1980.

-----, trans. The Psalms of Islam. See 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn, Sahīfat.

-----, Faith and Practice of Islam. Albany: 1972.

-----, Ibn al-'Arabi's Metaphysics of Imagination: The Sufi Path of Knowledge. Albany: 1989.

Chitty, D. The Desert a City. Oxford: 1966.

Chrysavgis, J. Ascent to Heaven: The Theology of the Human Person according to Saint John of the Ladder. Brookline, Mass.: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1989.

Clark, W. M. "Law". Old Testament Form Criticism, ed. J.H. Hayes. Trinity University Press: 1974; 99-139.

Clements, R.E. "Wisdom". In Clements, It is Written: Scripture Citing Scripture. Cambridge: 1988; 67-82.

Coats, G.W., ed. Saga, Legend, Tale, Novella, Fable: Narrative Forms in Old Testament Literature. Sheffield, England: 1985.

Collins, A.Y. "Numerical Symbolism in Jewish and Early Christian Apocalyptic Literature". Aufstieg und Niedergang Der Römischen Welt, ed. W. Haase, II.21.2, p.1221-87. Berlin & New York: 1984.

Colpe, C. "Anpassung des Manichäismus an den Islam (Abū 'Isā al-Warrāq)". Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft CIX (1959) 82-91.

Cook, M. Early Muslim Dogma. Cambridge: 1981.

Copenhaver, B.P. Hermetica: The Greek Corpus Hermeticum and the Latin Asclepius in a new English translation, with notes and introduction. Cambridge University Press: 1992.

Corriente, F. "From Old Arabic to Classical Arabic through the Pre-Islamic Koine: some notes on the native grammarians' sources, attitudes, and goals". Journal of Semitic Studies XXI (1976) 62-98.

Crenshaw, J.L. "Methods in Determining Wisdom Influence upon 'Historical Literature'". Journal of Biblical Literature LXXXVIII (1969) 129-42. = Studies in Ancient Israelite Wisdom, ed. Crenshaw (New York: Ktav, 1976); 481-94.

----- . Old Testament Wisdom: An Introduction. Atlanta, GA., 1981.

----- . "Wisdom". In Old Testament Form Criticism, ed. J.H. Hayes. San Antonio, Texas: 1974; 225-64.

Crow, D.S. "The Teaching of Ja'far al-Sādiq, with reference to his place in early Shī'ism". Masters Thesis; Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University, 1980.

----- . "The Death of al-Husayn b. 'Alī and Early Shī'ī Views on the Imāmate". Alserat [al-Ṣirāṭ] XII (1986) 71-116.

----- . "Ja'far al-Sādiq". Encyclopedia of Religion, ed. M. Eliade. New York: Macmillan, 1987.

----- . Review-Article of Amir-Moezzi, Le Guide Divin dans le Shī'isme Originel. In Tahqiqāt-i Islāmī [Tehran, Encyclopaedia Islamica Foundation] IX (1994) 221-38.

----- . "Islamic Decalogues in Sapiential Perspective". Numen (forthcoming).

Cuvelier, Gr., trans. "Le "Livre de l'Intellect et de l'Intelligible" de Miskawayh". Arabica XXXVII (1990) 115-22.

Daiber, Hans. Wāṣil Ibn 'Atā' Als Prediger und Theologe. Leiden: 1988.

Damasio, Antonio R. Descartes' Error: Emotion, Reason, and the Human Brain. New York: 1994.

Dar, B.A. "Ethical Teachings of the Qur'ān". In A History of Muslim Philosophy I, ed. M.M. Sharif. Wiesbaden: 1963.

Davidson, H.A. Alfarabi, Avicenna, and Averroes, on Intellect. New York & Oxford: 1992.

DeAngelis, M.A.M. "The Collected Fragments of Hishām ibn al-Hakam Imāmite Mutakallim of the Second Century of the Hegira Together with a Discussion of the Sources for and an Introduction to His Teaching". PhD. Diss., New York University: 1974.

Deladriere, R., trans. La Vie Merveilleuse de Dhū l-Nūn l'Égyptien. Paris: 1988. See Ibn al-'Arabī, Al-Kawkab al-Durrī.

Denny, F.M. "Ethics and the Qur'ān: Community and World View". Ethics in Islam, ed. R.G. Havannisian. Malibu, CA.: 1985; 103-21.

-----, "The Problem of Salvation in the Qur'ān: Key terms and concepts". In Quest of an Islamic Humanism (for Mohamed al-Nowaihi). Cairo: American University in Cairo, 1984; 196-210.

A Dictionary of Biblical Interpretation, ed. R.J. Coggins & J.L. Houlden. London (SCM Press) & Philadelphia (Trinity Press International): 1990.

Diwald, S. Arabische Philosophie und Wissenschaft in der Enzyklopädie Kitab Ihwān as-safā' (III). Die Lehre von Seele und Intellekt. Wiesbaden: 1975.

Dodds, E.R. Proclus: The Elements of Theology. 2nd ed., Oxford: 1963.

Dols, M.W. Medieval Islamic Medicine: Ibn Ridwān's Treatise "On the Preventions of Bodily Ills in Egypt". Berkeley & Los Angeles: 1984.

Donaldson, D.M. Studies in Muslim Ethics. London: 1953.

Dozy, R. Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes. 3rd ed., Paris: 1967.

Drijvers, H.J.W. Bardaisan of Edessa. Assen: 1966.

Duri, A.A. The Rise of Historical Writing Among the Arabs, trans. & annot. L.I. Conrad. Princeton: 1983.

Eisenberg, I. Die Prophetenlegenden des Muhammad b. 'AbdAllāh al-Kisā'ī. PhD., Berne: 1898.

Eliya bar Sinaya, of Nisibis (9th cent. CE). Sentences d'Élie de Nisibé, trans. P. Sbath. Cairo: 1936.

Eliyahu Rabbah (a 10th cent. CE Hebrew midrash) = Tanna d'e-be Eliyahu Rabbah (The Lore of the School of Elijah), ed. & trans. William G. Brande & Israel Kapstein. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1981.

Encyclopaedia Iranica, ed. Ehsan Yarshater. London, Boston, Melbourne, etc.: 1982 - .

Encyclopaedia of Islam, First edition, ed. M. Th. Houtsma, et al. Leiden: 1913-38. Second edition, Leiden: 1960- .

Ess, Josef van. Anfänge muslimischer Theologie. Zwei antigadaritsche Traktate aus dem ersten Jahrhundert der Hira. Beirut & Wiesbaden: 1977.

----- . Die Gedankenwelt des Hārīt al-Muḥāsibī. Bonn: 1961.

----- . "Early Development of Kalām". Studies on the First Century of Islamic Society, ed. G.H.A. Juynboll. Carbondale, Illinois: 1982; 109-23 & 230-41.

----- . "Early Islamic Theologians on the Existence of God". Islam and the Medieval West, ed. Khalil I. Semaan. SUNY: 1980; 64-81.

----- . "Ein unbekanntes Fragment des Nazzām". Der Orient in der Forschung, Festschrift für Otto Spies zum 6 April 1966. Wiesbaden: 1967; 170-201.

----- . "Les Qadarites et la Gailānīya de Yazīd III." Studia Islamica XXXI (1970) 269-86.

----- . "The Beginnings of Islamic Theology". The Cultural Context of Medieval Learning, ed. J.E. Murdoch & E.D. Sylla. Dordrecht: 1975; 87f.

----- . Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra. Eine Geschichte des religiösen Denkens im frühen Islam. Berlin & New York: 1991-93.

----- . Traditionistische Polemik gegen 'Amr b. 'Ubaid. Beirut & Wiesbaden: 1967.

----- . Zwischen Hadīt und Theologie. Studien zum Entstehen prädestinationischer Überlieferung. Berlin & New York: 1975.

Ethiopian Enoch = 1 Enoch, trans. M.A. Knibb. See H.F.D. Sparks, ed., Apocryphal Old Testament.

Evagrius of Pontus (d.399 CE). Praktikos. = Traité Pratique ou le Moine, ed. & trans. Antoine & Claire Guillaumont (Sources Chrétiennes #170 & 171). Paris: 1971.

----- . Gnostikos = Le Gnostique, ed. A. & C. Guillaumont. Sources Chrétiennes #356; Paris: 1989.

----- . Kephalaia Gnostica = Les Six Centuries des "Kephalaia Gnostica" d'Évagre le Pontique, ed. & trans. Antoine Guillaumont. Patrologia Orientalis XXVIII/1 #134, Paris: 1958.

Fahd, T. La Divination Arabe. Leiden: 1966.

----- . "La Naissance du Monde selon l'Islam". Sources Orientales I. Paris: 1959.

----- . "Anges, Démons et Djinns en Islam". Sources Orientales VIII 155-214. Paris: 1971.

Faivre, A. The Eternal Hermes, trans. J. Godwin. Grand Rapids: Phanes Press, 1995.

Fakhry, M. Ethical Theories in Islam. Leiden: 1991.

Fallon, F.T. & R. Cameron. "The Gospel of Thomas: A Forschungsbericht and Analysis". Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt II.25.6; p.4195-4251. Berlin & New York: 1988.

Fares, B. L'Honneur chez les Arabes avant l'Islam. Paris: 1932.

----- . "Makārim Ul-Aklāq ('Les Éminentes Vertus'), Une Formule Prestigieuse de Morale Musulmane Traditionnelle". Rendiconti della Revu Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, series 6 v.XIII (Rome, 1937) 411-25.

Festugière, A.J. "Hermética: 1. Le Bâptême dans le cratere (C.H. IV,3-4)". Harvard Theological Review XXXI (1938) 1-12.

----- . Hermétisme et mystique païenne. Paris: 1967.

----- . La Révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste. Paris: 1950-54.

Finamore, J.F. Iamblichus and the Theory of the Vehicle of the Soul. The American Philological Association: 1985.

Fiorenza, Elisabeth S. "Wisdom Mythology and the Christological Hymns of the New Testament". Aspects of Wisdom in Judaism and Early Christianity, ed. Robert L. Wilken. Notre Dame: 1975; 17-41.

Firestone, R. Journeys in Holy Lands: the Evolution of the Abraham-Ishmael Legends in Islamic Exegesis. Albany: 1990.

Fischel, A.H. "The Transformation of Wisdom in the World of Midrash". Aspects of Wisdom, ed. R.L. Wilken; 67-101.

Foucault, M. The Archaeology of Knowledge, trans. A.M. Sheridan Smith. New York: 1972.

Fowden, G. The Egyptian Hermes: A Historical Approach to the Late Pagan Mind. Cambridge: 1986.

Frank, R.M. "The Neoplatonism of Ġahm ibn Ṣafwān". Le Muséon LXXVII (1965) 395-424.

----- . "Moral Obligation in Classical Muslim Theology". Journal of Religious Ethics II (1983) 204-23.

Freitag, E. Arabum Proverbia. Bonn: 1838.

Fritz, K. von. "NOYΣ, NOEIN, and their Derivatives in Pre-Socratic Philosophy". Classical Philology XL (1945) 223-42, & XLI (1946) 12-34.

Fück, J. "Die Rolle des Traditionalismus im Islam". Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft XCIII (1939) 11-32.

----- . Review of Schacht, Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence. Bibliotheca Orientalis X (1953) 196-9.

Funk, R.W. Parables and Presence: Forms of the New Testament Tradition. Philadelphia: 1982.

Gammie, J.G. "Spatial and Ethical Dualism in Jewish Wisdom and Apocalyptic Literature". Journal of Biblical Literature XCIII (1974) 354-85.

Garcio Gomez, E. "Hacia un 'refranero' arabigoandaluz, V. Version del Libro Sobre Refranes de Al-'Iqd al-Farīd". Al-Andalus XXXVII (1972) ?

Gardet, L. "La Dialectique en Morphologie et Logique Arabe". L'Ambivalence dans la Culture Arabe, ed. J.-P. Charnay. Paris: 1967; 116-23.

----- . "Les noms et les statuts; le problème de la foi et des oeuvres en islam". Studia Islamica V (1956) 61-123.

Gerstenberger, E. "Covenant and Commandment". Journal of Biblical Literature LXXXIV (1965) 38-51.

----- . Wesen und Herkunft des sogenannten 'apodiktischen' Rechts im Alten Testament. Berlin: WMANT, 1961.

Gese, H. "Wisdom, Son of Man, and the Origins of Christology: the Consistent Development of Biblical Theology". Horizons in Biblical Theology III (1981) 23-57.

Gil, M. "The Creed of Abū 'Āmir". Israel Oriental Studies XII (1992) 9-57.

Gilliot, Cl. Exégèse, Langue, et Théologie en Islam, l'exégèse coranique de Tabarī (m.311/923). Paris: 1990.

----- . "Les débuts de l'exégèse coranique". Revue du Monde Musulman et de la Méditerranée LVIII/4 (1990) 82-100.

----- . "L'Opus Magnum de J. van Ess". Arabica XL (1993) 345-402.

----- . "Muqātil, Grand Exégète, Traditionniste et Théologien Maudit". Journal Asiatique CCLXXIX (1991) 39-92.

Gimaret, Daniel. Théories de l'acte humain en théologie musulmane. Paris: 1980.

----- & Guy Monnot, trans. & annot. Livre Des Religions Et Des Sectes I = trans. al-Shahrastānī, Al-Milal wa l-Nihal. Louvain & Paris: Peeters\UNESCO, 1986.

Ginzberg, L. The Legends of the Jews. Philadelphia: 1938.

Gobillot, G. "Un Penseur de l'Amour (Ḥubb), Le Mystique Khurāsānien Al-Hakīm Al-Tirmidhī (m. 318/930)". Studia Islamica LXXIII (1991) 25-44.

Goichon, A.-M. Lexique de la langue philosophique d'Ibn Sīnā. Paris: 1938. [pp. 226-33 for the term 'aql.]

Goitein, S.D. "The Mentality of the Middle Class in Medieval Islam". Studies in Islamic History and Institutions. Leiden: 1966; 242-54.

----- . "The Present-Day Arabic Proverb as a Testimony to the Social History of the Middle East". Islamic Culture XXVI (1952) 1-11. Repr. in Goitein, Studies in Islamic History; 361-79.

Goldziher, I. Muslim Studies, trans. S.M. Stern. London & Chicago: 1966.

----- . "Die Zurechtweisung der Seele". Studies in Jewish Literature (for Kaufman Kohler). Berlin: 1913; 128-33.

----- . "Mélanges Judéo-Arabes: XXIV La Création des Lettres". Revue des Études Juives C (1905) 188-90.

----- . "Das Prinzip der Takiya im Islam". Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft LX (1906) 213-20.

----- . "Neuplatonische und gnostische Elemente im Ḥadīṭ". Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorasiatische Archäologie XXII (1908) 317-44. Repr. Gesammelte Schriften, ed. J. Desomogyi. Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1967-73; V 107-34. French summary by G.H. Bousquet, "Études Islamologiques d'Ignaz Goldziher: Traduction Analytique" I. Arabica VII (1960) 1-29, 8-9.

Goleman, D. Emotional Intelligence. New York: 1995.

Gordon, E.I. "A New Look at the Wisdom of Sumer and Akkad". Bibliotheca Orientalis XVII (1960) 122-51.

Graham, W.A. Divine Word and Prophetic Word in Early Islam...the Divine Saying or Hadīth Qudsī. The Hague: 1977.

Gramlich, R. "Der Urvetrag in der Koranauslegung (zu Sure 7, 172-173)". Der Islam LX (1983) 205-30.

Griffith, S. Arabic Christianity in the Monasteries of 9th-Century Palestine. London: Variorum, 1992.

Grignaschi, M. "La 'Siyāstu-l-āmmiyya' et l'influence iranienne sur la pensée politique islamique". Acta Iranica 6, Monumentum H.S. Nyberg III 33-287 (text ed. 97-197). Leiden, Tehran, & Liege: 1975.

-----". "L'Origine et les Métamorphoses du 'Sirr al-Asrār'". Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Age XLIII (1976) 7-112.

-----". "Le Roman Épistolaire Classique conservé dans la version Arabe de Sālim Abū-l-'Alā'". Le Muséon LXXX (1967) 211-53.

-----". "Quelques Spécimens de la Littérature Sasanide Conservés dans les Bibliothèques d'Istanbul". Journal Asiatique CCLIV (1966) 1-142.

-----". "Les 'Rasā'il Aristātālīsa ilā-L-Iskandar' de Sālim Abū-l-'Alā' et l'activité culturelle à l'époque Omayyade". Bulletin d'Études Orientales XIX (1965-6) 7-83.

Gruenwald, I. "A Preliminary Critical Edition of Sefer Yēzira". Israel Oriental Studies I (1971) 132-77.

Guenon, R. "La Tetraktys et le carré de quatre". Symboles Fondamentaux de la Science Sacrée, ed. Michel Valsan. Paris: 1962; 125-30.

Guidi, M. La lotta tra l'Islam et il Manicheismo. Rome: 1927.

Guillaumont, A. "Les 'arrhes de l'Esprit' dans le Livre des Degrés". Mémorial Mgr. Gabriel Khouri-Sarkis (1898-1968) (= L'Orient Syrien). Louvain: 1969; 107-113.

Gutas, D. "Classical Arabic Wisdom Literature". Journal of the American Oriental Society CI (1981) 49-86.

-----". Greek Wisdom Literature in Arabic Translation: A Study of the Graeco-Arabic Gnomologia. New Haven: 1975.

Haldon, J. "The Works of Anastasius of Sinai: A Key Source for the History of Seventh-Century East Mediterranean Society and Belief". In Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East, ed. R. Cameron & L.I. Conrad; 107-47.

Halm, H. Die islamische Gnosis. Die extreme Schia und die 'Alawiten. Zürich & Munich: 1982.

Hamdani, Abbas. "Shades of Shī'ism in the tracts of the Brethren of Purity". Traditions in Contact and Change, ed. P. Slater & D. Wiebe. Waterloo, Ontario: 1983; 447-60.

-----". "The Arrangement of the Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Safā' and the Problem of Interpolations". Journal of Semitic Studies XXIX (1984) 97-110.

-----". "An early Fatimid source on the time and authorship of the Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Safā'". Arabica XXVI (1979) 62-75.

Hamidullah, M. "Les Voyages du Prophète avant l'Islam". Bulletin d'Études Orientales XXIX (1977) 221-30.

Hardie, W.F.R. "Aristotle's Doctrine that Virtue is a 'Mean'". Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society 1964-5; repr. in Articles on Aristotle, ed. J. Barnes, M. Schofield & R. Sorabji. London: 1975-9; v.II (1977) 33-46.

Hartmann, A. "Sur l'édition d'un texte arabe médiéval: Rasf al-Naṣā'ih al-īmānīya wa Kashf al-Faḍā'ih al-Yūnānīya d'Umar al-Suhrawardī". Der Islam LXII (1985) 71-97.

Hawting, G.R. "The Development of the Biography of al-Ḥārith ibn Kalada and the Relationship between Medicine and Islam". The Islamic World From Classical to Modern Times for B. Lewis, ed. C.E. Bosworth, et. al. Princeton: Darwin Press, 1989; 127-40.

Henninger, J. "La Société bédouine ancienne" & "La religion bédouine préislamique". L'Antica Società Beduina, ed. F. Gabrieli. Rome: 1959; 69-93 & 115-140.

Heritier-Auge, F. "Semen and Blood: Some Ancient Theories concerning their Genesis and Relationship". Fragments for a History of the Human Body III, ed. M. Feher, et. al. = Zone V. New York: 1989.

Hermes. De Castigatione Animae (= Zajr al-Nafs). W. Scott: Hermetica IV Testimonia. Oxford: 1924-36.

Hippolytus (d.236 CE). The Refutation of All Heresies, trans. J.H. MacMahon. The Ante-Nicene Fathers. New York: 1919.

Homerin, Th.E. "Ibn Taymiyya's al-Sūfiyah wa l-Fuḡarā'". Arabica XXXII (1985) 219-44.

Hopkins, S. Studies in the Grammar of Early Arabic. Oxford: 1984.

Horst, H. "Die Entstehung der adab-Literatur und Ihre Arten". Grundriss der arabischen Philologie, Bd. II Literaturwissen-

schaft, ed. H. Gätje & W. Fischer. Wiesbaden: 1987; 208-20. +
Review by Cl. Gilliot, Arabica XXXVII (1990) 130-1.

Hourani, G.F. Reason and Tradition in Islamic Ethics. Cambridge: 1985.

Iamblichus (4th cent. CE). See Theology of Arithmetic, trans. Waterfield.

----- . Life of Pythagoras. See T. Taylor, Iamblichus' Life.

----- . On Pythagoreanism V-VII (per Psellus). See Dominic J. O'Meara, Pythagoras Revived, Appendix I.

Idel, M. Kabbalah: New Perspectives. New Haven: 1988.

Ivanow, W. Ibn al-Qaddāh, the Alleged Founder of Ismā'īlism. 2nd ed., Bombay: 1957.

Izutsu, T. Ethico-Religious Concepts in the Qur'ān. Montreal: McGill University, 1966.

----- . God and Man in the Koran. Tokyō: 1964.

----- . The Concept of Belief in Islamic Theology. Tokyo: 1965.

Jaeger, H. "L'examen de conscience dans les religions non-chrétiennes et avant le christianisme". Numen VI (1959) 175-233.

----- . "The Patristic Conception of Wisdom in the Light of Biblical and Rabbinical Research". Studia Patristica IV (1961) 90-106.

John Klimakos (Sinai, 7th cent. CE). The Ladder of Divine Ascent. Revised trans. of Lazarus Moore (1959). Brookline, Mass.: Holy Transfiguration Monastery, 1978.

John the Solitary [= Jōhannān Ḥīdāyā, or John of Apamea; 5th cent. CE]. Dialogue sur l'Âme et les Passions des Hommes, ed. & trans. I. Hausherr. Orientalia Christiana Analecta #120. Rome: 1939.

----- . Jean D'Apamée: Dialogues et Traités, trans. René Lavenant. Paris: Sources Chrétiennes #311, 1984. [= The eleven texts ed. & trans. by Werner Strothmann, Patristische Texte und Studien, Band II; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1972.]

Jolivet, J. L'Intellect Selon Kindī. Leiden: 1971.

Jones, J.M.B. "The Maghāzī Literature". CHAL I 344-51.

Juynboll G.H.A. "On the Origins of Arabic Prose: Reflections on Authenticity". Studies on the First Century of Islamic Society, ed. Juynboll. Carbondale, Illinois: 1982; 161-75 & 254-59.

----- . Review of Asad b. Mūsā, Kitāb al-Zuhd, ed. R.G. Khoury. Bibliotheca Orientalis XXXVI (1979) 242-4.

----- . "Some Notes on Islam's First Fuḡahā' Distilled from Early Hadīth Literature". Arabica XXXIX (1992) 287-314.

----- . Muslim Tradition: Studies in chronology, provenance and authorship of early hadīth. Cambridge: 1983.

----- . "Nāfi', the mawlā of Ibn 'Umar, and his position in Muslim Hadīth Literature". Der Islam LXX (1993) 207-44.

----- . "Some Isnād-Analytical Methods Illustrated on the Basis of Some Women-demeaning Sayings". Al-Qantara X (1989) 343-84.

Al-Kāfī. = trans. of al-Kulaynī, Usūl. Tehran: World Organization For Islamic Services, 1978- .

Kalugila, L. The Wise King: Studies in Royal Wisdom as Divine Revelation in the Old Testament and Its Environment. Lund: 1980.

Karmalī, Anastās. "Al-Abdāl". Al-Mashriq XII (1909) 194-204.

Khalidi, T. Islamic Historiography: the Histories of Mas'ūdī. Albany: 1975.

Khoury, R.G. "La transmission des textes dans les trois premiers siècles Islamiques". Arabica XXXIV (1987) 181-96.

----- . Les Legendes Prophetiques dans l'Islam. See 'Umārah b. Wathīmah, Bad' al-Khalq.

----- . "Quelques Réflexions sur les Citations de la Bible dans les Premières Generations Islamiques du Premier et du Deuxième Siècles de l'Hégire". Bulletin d'Études Orientales XXIX (1977) 269-78.

----- . Wahb B. Munabbih I - Der Heidelberger Papyrus PSR Heid Arab 23 (= Codices Arabici Antiqui, Band I). Wiesbaden: 1972.

Khuri, F. "Work in Islamic Thought". Al-Abhāth XXI (1968) 3-13.

Kinberg, L. "Compromise of Commerce". Der Islam LXVI (1989) 193-212.

----- . "What is meant by Zuhd". Studia Islamica LXI (1985) 31f.

Kister, M.J. "Al-Ḥīra: Some Notes on its Relations with Arabia". Arabica XV (1968) 143-69.

-----". "Some reports concerning Mecca - from Jāhiliyya to Islam". Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient XV (1972) 61-93.

-----". "Labbayka, Allāhumma, Labbayka..., On a Monotheistic aspect of a Jāhiliyya practice". Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam II (1980) 33-57.

-----". "Legends in tafsīr and ḥadīth Literature: The Creation of Adam and Related Stories". Approaches to the History of the Interpretation of the Qur'ān, ed. A. Rippin. Oxford: 1988; 82-114.

-----". "The Sīrah Literature". CHAL I 352-67.

Kloppenborg, J.S. The Formation of Q: Trajectories in Ancient Wisdom Collections. Philadelphia: 1987.

Koester, H. "Logoi Sophon: On the Gattung of Q". In Koester, Trajectories Through Early Christianity. Philadelphia: 1971; 71-113.

Kohlberg, E. A Medieval Muslim Scholar at Work: Ibn Tāwūs and His Library. Leiden: 1992.

-----". "Imām and Community in the Pre-Ghayba Period". Authority and Political Culture in Shī'ism, ed. S.A. Arjomand. SUNY: 1988; 25-52.

-----". "Some Imāmī-Shī'ī Views on Taqiyya". Journal of the American Oriental Society XCV (1975) 395-402.

-----". "Taqiyya in Shī'ī Theology and Religion". Secrecy and Concealment, ed. H.A. Kippenberg & G.G. Stroumsa. Leiden: 1995; 345-80.

Kopf, L. "Religious Influence on Medieval Arabic Philology". Studia Islamica V (1956) 33-59.

Kraemer, J.L. Philosophy in the Renaissance of Islam: Abū Sulaymān al-Sijistānī and his circle. Leiden: 1986.

LaFargue, J.M. Language and Gnosis: The Opening Scenes of The Acts of Thomas. Philadelphia: 1985.

Lammens, H. L'Arabie Occidentale avant l'Hégire. Beirut: 1928.

Lane, E.W. An Arabic-English Lexicon. Edinburgh: 1863-93; repr. in two vols., Cambridge: The Islamic Texts Society, 1984.

Lapidus, I.M. "Knowledge, Virtue, and Action: the Classical Muslim Conception of Adab and the Nature of Religious Fulfillment in Islam". Moral Conduct and Authority, ed. B.D. Metcalf; 38-61.

Larcher, C. Le Livre de la Sagesse ou La Sagesse de Salomon. Paris: 1983.

----- . Études sur le Livre de la Sagesse. Paris: 1969.

Latham, J.D. "The beginnings of Arabic prose literature: the epistolary genre". CHAL I 154-79.

Laugier de Beaurecueil, S. "La Structure du Livre des Étapes de Khwādja 'Abdallāh al-Anṣārī". Mélanges de l'Institut Dominicain d'Études Orientales XI (1972) 77-125.

-----, ed. & trans. Les Étapes Des itinérants vers Dieu = Manāzil al-Sā'irīn of 'AbdAllāh al-Anṣārī. Cairo: IFAO, 1962. Text repr. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 1988.

Lawlor, R. Sacred Geometry. London: 1982.

Lecomte, G. "Les Citations de l'ancien et du Nouveau Testament dans l'Oeuvre d'Ibn Qutayba". Arabica V (1958) 34-46.

Leder, S. Ibn al-Ğauzī und seine Kompilation wider die Leiden-schaft. Beirut: 1984.

----- . "The Literary Use of the Khabar: A Basic Form of Historical Writing". In The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East, ed. A. Cameron & L.I. Conrad. Princeton: Darwin Press, 1992.

Lentz, W. "What is the Manichaeon Nous?" Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher XXXIII (1961) 101-6.

Lewin, Bernhard. A Vocabulary of the Hudailian Poems. Göteborg: 1978.

Lewy, H. Chaldaean Oracles and Theurgy: Mysticism, Magic and Platonism in the Later Roman Empire, revised ed. Michel Tardieu. Paris: 1978.

Librande, L. "Islam and Conservation: The Theologian-Ascetic Al-Muḥāsibī". Arabica XXX (1983) 125-46.

Liebes, Y. Studies in Jewish Myth and Messianism, trans. B. Stein. Albany: SUNY, 1993.

Lindenberger, J.M. The Aramaic Proverbs of Aḥiqār. Baltimore & London: 1983.

Lings, M. A Sufi Saint of the Twentieth Century. 2nd ed., Berkeley & Los Angeles: 1971.

Louth, A. The Origins of the Christian Mystical Tradition, from Plato to Denys. Oxford: 1981.

Ludin, M. Kabir. "Faith and Intellect in Islam". Islamic Quarterly VII (1963) 90-5.

Madelung, W. "The Sources of Ismā'īlī Law". Journal of Near Eastern Studies XXXV (1976) 29-40.

Madelung, W. "Imāmism and Mu'tazilite Theology". Le Shī'isme Imāmīte, ed. T. Fahd. Paris: 1970; 13-29.

-----, "Shiism - Ismā'īliyyah". Encyclopedia of Religion, ed. M. Eliade (New York: 1987); XIII 24f.

-----, "The Shiite and Kharijite Contribution to Pre-Ash'arite Kalām". Islamic Philosophical Theology, ed. P. Morewedge. SUNY: 1979; 120-39.

-----, "Abū 'Isā al-Warrāq über die Bardesaniten, Marcioniten und Kantäer". Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Vorderen Orients Festschrift B. Spuler, ed. H.R. Roemer & A. Noth. Leiden: 1981; 210-24.

al-Makhzūmī, Hārūn b. al-Ḥusayn (6th cent.). The Fountains of Pleasure, trans. Hatem el-Khalidi, 1970. Repr., New York: Dorset, 1992.

Manzalaoui, M. "The pseudo-Aristotelian Kitāb Sirr al-Asrār, Facts and Problems". Oriens XXIII-XXIV (197) 147-257.

Massignon, L. Essai sur les origines du Lexique Technique de la Mystique Musulmane. 2nd ed., Paris: 1954.

-----, "Le 'Jour du Covenant' (Yawm al-Mīthāq)". Oriens XV (1962) 86-92.

McDermott, M. The Theology of al-Shaykh al-Mufīd. Beirut: 1978.

de Menasce, J. Une encyclopédie mazdéene, Le Dēnkart. Paris: 1958.

-----, trans. Le troisième livre de Dēnkart. Paris: 1973.

Mēnōq-ī Xrad. See E.W. West, Pahlavi Texts III.

Merlan, P. Monopsychism, Mysticism, Metaconsciousness: the problems of the soul in the neoaristotelian and neoplatonic tradition. The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1963; 2nd ed. 1969.

Metcalf, B.D., ed. Moral Conduct and Authority: the Place of Adab in South Asian Islam. Berkeley & Los Angeles: 1984. & "Islamic Reform and Islamic Women: Maulana Thānawī's Jewelry of Paradise", ibid. 184-95.

Mettinger, T.N.D. "The Last Words of David". Svensk exegetisk årsbok XLI-XLII (1976-7) 147-56.

Michot, J.R. "<L'Épître sur la connaissance de l'âme rationnelle et de ses états> attribuée à Avicenne". Revue Philosophique de Louvain LXXXII (1984) 479-99.

Mingana, A. Early Christian Mystics = Woodbrooke Studies VII. Cambridge: 1934.

Miskawayh. Traité d'Éthique, intr. & trans. Mohammed Arkoun. Damascus: 1969.

Modarressi Tabataba'i, H. An Introduction to Shī'ī Law, a bibliographical study. London: 1984.

Monnot, G. "La Transmigration et l'Immortalité". In G. Monnot, Islam et Religions. Paris: 1986; 279-95.

----- "Les Écrits Musulmans sur les Religions Non-Bibliques". In Islam et Religions 39-82.

Morgan, D.F. Wisdom in the Old Testament Traditions. Atlanta, GA.: 1981.

Muhammad b. Ishāq. The Life of Muhammad, trans. A. Guillaume. Oxford: 1951; repr. 1978.

Murad, H. Qasim. "Jabr and Qadar in Early Islam: A Reappraisal of their Political and Religious Implications". Islamic Studies Presented to Charles J. Adams, ed. W.B. Hallaq & D.P. Little. Leiden: 1991; 117-32.

Murata, S. The Tao of Islam: A Sourcebook on Gender Relationships in Islamic Thought. Albany: 1992.

Mussies, G. "Catalogues of Sins and Virtues Personified". In Studies in Gnosticism and Hellenistic Religions (for G. Quispel). Leiden: 1981; 315-35.

The Nag Hammadi Library in English, ed. J.M. Robinson. 3rd ed., Leiden: 1988.

Nasr, S.H. "Revelation, Intellect and Reason in the Qur'ān". In Sufi Essays. London: 1972.

Netton, I.R. Muslim Neoplatonists: An Introduction to the Thought of the Brethren of Purity. London: 1982.

Newby, G.D. The Making of the Last Prophet. Columbia, South Carolina: 1989.

Nielsen, E. The Ten Commandments in New Perspective [Copenhagen: 1965], trans. D.J. Bourke. SBT N.S. #7: 1968.

Nock, A.D. & A.-J. Festugière, ed. & trans. Corpus Hermeticum. 1st ed., 1946-54. Tome I, Traité I-XII. 3rd ed., Paris: Belles Lettres, 1972. Tome II, Traité XIII-XVIII, Asclepius; 1972. Tome III, Fragments extraits de Stobée I-XXII; 1972. Tome IV, Fragments extraits de Stobée (XXIII-XXIX), Fragments divers; 1972. + See W. Scott, Hermetica; & B.P. Copenhaver, Hermetica.

Morris, H.T. "Fables and Legends in pre-Islamic and early Islamic Times". CHAL I 374-86.

Nwyia, P. Exégèse coranique et langage mystique. Nouvel essai sur le lexique technique des mystiques musulmans. Beirut: 1970.

Nyberg, H.S. "Zum Kampf zwischen Islam und Manichäismus" [= review of M. Guidi, Lotta tra l'Islam]. Orientalistische Literaturzeitung XXXII/6 (1929) 426-41.

O'Meara, D.J. Pythagoras Revived: Mathematics and Philosophy in Late Antiquity. Oxford: 1989.

On the Origin of the World = NHC II,5 & XIII,2; trans. H.-G. Bethge & B. Layton. The Nag Hammadi Library in English, ed. J.M. Robinson (1988); 170-89.

Otzen, B. "Old Testament Wisdom Literature and Dualistic Thinking in late Judaism". Supplements to Vetus Testamentum XXVIII (1975) 146-57.

Palacios, M. A. et. "Logia et Agrapha Domini Jesu apud Moslemicos scriptores, asceticos praesertim, u sitata". Patrologia Orientalis XIII/3 #64 (1916) & XIX/4 (1927); repr. Paris: 1974.

Paret, R. "The Qur'ān". CHAL I 186-227.

Pellat, Ch. "Concept of Hilm in Islamic Ethics". Bulletin of the Institute of Islamic Studies VI (1962) 1-12.

----- "Deux Curieux Mu'tazilites: Ahmad b. Hābit et Faḍl al-Hadathī". Mélanges de l'Université de St. Joseph L (1984) 483-94.

----- "Sur la formation de quelques expressions proverbiales en Arabe". Arabica XXIII (1976) 1-12.

Pfeiffer, R.H. Introduction to the Old Testament. 2nd ed., New York: 1952.

----- "Edomite Wisdom". Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft XLIV (1926) 13-25.

Philo of Alexandria (1st cent. CE). The Works of Philo, trans. C.D. Yonge & ed. D.M. Scholer. New ed., Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1993.

Pines, Shlomo & M. Schwarz. "Yahyā Ibn 'Adī's Refutation of the Doctrine of Acquisition (Iktisāb)" (= Al-Risālah Fī l-Mawjūdāt). Studia Orientalia Memoriae D.H. Baneth, ed. J. Blau et. al. Jerusalem: 1979; 49-94.

Pines, Shlomo. "Points of Similarity between the Exposition of the Doctrine of the Sefirot in the Sefer Yēzira and a Text of the Pseudo-Clementine Homilies". Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities VII/3 (1989) 63-142.

-----". "Nathanael ben Al-Fayyūmī et la théologie ismaélienne". Bulletin des Études Historiques Juives [Cairo] I (1946) 1-22.

Popenoe, P. The Date Palm. Miami: 1973.

The Practical Philosophy of the Muhammadan People, trans. W.F. Thompson, of Akhlaq-i Jalālī. London: 1839.

Puech, H.-Ch. "Audianer". Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum I 910-15. Stuttgart: 1950.

Qādī, Wadād al-. "The impact of the Qur'ān on the Epistolography of 'Abd al-Ḥamīd". Approaches to the Qur'ān, ed. G.R. Hawting & A.K.A. Shareef. London & New York: 1993; 285-313.

-----". "The Religious Foundation of Late Umayyad Ideology and Practice". Religious Knowledge and Political Power, ed. Manuela Marin, et. al. Madrid: 1994; 43pp.

-----". "Early Islamic State Letters: the Question of Authenticity". The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East, ed. Cameron & Conrad; 215-75.

Radtke, B. Al-Hakīm at-Tirmidī, Ein islamischer Theosoph des 3./9. Jahrhunderts. Freiburg: 1980.

-----". "Der Mystiker al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidī". Der Islam LVII (1960) 237-45.

-----". "Psychomachia in der Sufik". Studia Iranica [Paris], Cahier 11 (1992) 135-42.

-----, ed. See Adab al-Muluk (anonymous).

-----, ed. Drei Schriften Des Theosophen Von Tirmid, I. See al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī, Thalāthatu Muṣannafāt.

Rāḡib, Y. "L'écriture des papyrus arabes aux premiers siècles de l-Islam". REMM LIV/4 (1990) 14-29.

Räsänen, H. The 'Messianic Secret' in Mark, trans. C. Tuckett. Edinburgh: 1990.

----- . The Idea of Divine Hardening. 2nd ed., Helsinki: 1976.

Richard, Marcel. "Florilèges Grecs". Dictionnaire de Spiritualité Ascétique et Mystique V 435-512. Paris: 1962.

Richter, W. Recht und Ethos: Versuch einer Ordnung des Weisheitlichen Mahnspruchs. München: 1966.

Ringgren, H. Studies in Arabian Fatalism. Uppsala: 1955.

----- . Word and Wisdom: Studies in the Hypostatization of divine Qualities and Functions in the Ancient Near East. Lund: 1947.

Ritter, H. "Studien zur Geschichte der islamischen Frömmigkeit, I. Hasan al-Baṣrī". Der Islam XXI (1933) 1-81.

Robinson, E. "Rain, Dew, Snow, and Cloud in Arab Proverb". Journal of the American Oriental Society LII (1932) 145-58.

Roman, Andre. Une Vision humaine des Fins Dernières. Le Kitāb al-Tawahhum d'al-Muḥāsibī. Paris: 1978.

Rosenthal, Franz. "On the Knowledge of Plato's Philosophy in the Islamic World". Islamic Culture XIV (1940) 387-422.

----- . Review of F. Klein-Franke, Vorlesungen über die Medizin im Islam. Der Islam LXI (1984) 117-9.

----- . Knowledge Triumphant: The Concept of Knowledge in Medieval Islam. Leiden: 1970.

Rubin, U. "Pre-existence and Light. Aspects of the Concept of Nūr Muḥammad". Israel Oriental Studies V (1975) 62-119.

----- . "Prophets and Progenitors in the Early Shī'ī Tradition". Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam I (1979) 41-64.

Rudolf, K. "Ein Grundtyp Gnostischer Urmensch-Adam Spekulation". Zeitschrift für Religions und Geistesgeschichte IX (1957) 1-20.

Rylaarsdam, J.C. Revelation in Jewish Wisdom Literature. Chicago: 1946.

Sa'adyā ben Yōsēf Ga'ōn. Commentary on Job = The Book of Theodicy, trans. from the Arabic by L.E. Goodman. New Haven: Yale Judaica Series XXV, 1988.

Sachedina, 'A.'A. The Just Ruler in Shī'ite Islam. Oxford & New York: 1988.

Saint Ephraim's Prose Refutations of Mani, Marcion and Bardaisan, ed. & trans. C.W. Mitchell. I. London: 1912. II. completed by A.A. Bevan & F.C. Burkitt; London: 1921.

Saint Isaac the Syrian (d. turn of 7th\8th century CE). The Ascetical Homilies of Saint Isaac the Syrian, trans. anonymous. Boston: Holy Transfiguration Monastery, 1984.

Samīr, Kh. "Le Tahdīb al-Ahlāq de Yahyā b. 'Adī (m.974) attribué à Gāhiz et à Ibn al-'Arabī". Arabica XXI (1974) 111-38.

Schacht, J. "An Early Murcī'ite Treatise". Oriens XVII (1964) 97-117. [= Trans. of Kitāb al-'Ālim wa l-Muta'allim by Abū Muqātil Hafṣ b. Salām.]

----- The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence. Oxford: 1950.

Shboul, A. Al-Mas'ūdī and his World. A Muslim Humanist and his interest in non-Muslims. London: 1979.

Schnabel, E.J. Law and Wisdom from Ben Sira to Paul. Tübingen: 1985.

Schoeler, G. "Die Frage der schriftlichen oder mündlichen Überlieferung der Wissenschaften im frühen Islam": Der Islam LXII (1985) 201-30; & "Weiteres zur Frage der schriftlichen oder mündlichen Überlieferung der Wissenschaften im Islam": Der Islam LXVI (1989) 38-67; & "Mündliche Thora und Hadīth: Überlieferung, Schreibverbot, Redaktion": Der Islam LXVI (1989) 213-51; & "Schreiben und Veröffentlichen: Zu Verwendung und Funktion der Schrift in den ersten islamischen Jahrhunderten": Der Islam LXIX (1992) 1-43.

Scholem, G. Origins of the Kabbalah, trans. Allan Arkush. Princeton: 1987.

Schönig, H. Sendschreiben Des 'AbdAlHamīd B. Yahyā (Gest. 132/750) An Den Kronprinzen 'AbdAllāh B. Marwān II. Stuttgart: 1985.

Schuon, F. "The Nature and Arguments of Faith". Islamic Quarterly II (1955) 195-205.

Schwarz, M. "The Letter of al-Hasan al-Baṣrī". Oriens XX (1967) 15-30.

Scott, W., ed. & trans. Hermetica: The Ancient Greek and Latin Writings Which Contain Religious or Philosophic Teachings Ascribed to Hermes Trismegistus. London: 1924-36; repr. London: 1968. vol. IV Testimonia, completed by A.S. Ferguson; 353-576.

Sellheim, R. Die Klassisch-arabischen Sprichwortsammlungen, insbesondere die des Abū 'Ubaid. The Hague: 1954. [See R. 'Abd al-Tawwāb, Al-Amthāl al-'Arabiyyah.]

Sergeant, R.B. "Haram and Hawtah, the Sacred Enclave in Arabia". Mélanges Tāha Husain, ed. 'Abd al-Rahmān Badawī. Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1962; 41-58.

----- . "The Caliph 'Umar's Letters to Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī and Mu'āwiya". Journal of Semitic Studies XXIX (1984) 65-79.

Sezgin, F. Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums. Leiden: 1967-

Shaked, Sh., trans. Wisdom of the Sasanian Sages (Dēnkard VI). Boulder, CO.: 1979. See Āturpāt-ī Emētān.

----- . "The Notions Mēnōg and Gētīg in the Pahlavi Texts and their Relation to Eschatology". Acta Orientalia XXXIII (1971) 59-107.

----- . Dualism in Transformation: Varieties of Religion in Sasanian Iran. London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 1994. (Jordan lectures 1991).

----- . From Zoroastrian Iran to Islam. Studies in Religious History and Intercultural Contacts. London: Variorum, 1995.

----- . "Some Islamic Reports Concerning Zoroastrianism". Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam XVII (1994) 43-84.

Sharif, M.M. "Philosophical Teachings of the Qur'ān". In A History of Muslim Philosophy, ed. M.M. Sharif. Wiesbaden: 1963; I 136f.

Sheppard, G.T. Wisdom as a Hermeneutical Construct. Berlin & New York: 1980.

Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam, ed. H.A.R. Gibb & J.H. Kramers. Leiden: 1961.

Skehan, P.W. & A.A. Di Lella, trans. The Wisdom of Ben Sira [= The Anchor Bible #39]. New York: 1987.

Skinner, S. Terrestrial Astrology: Divination by Geomancy. London: 1980.

Skjærve, P.O. "Bardesanēs". Encyclopaedia Iranica III 78f.

Smith, M. Al-Muhāsibī: An Early Mystic of Baghdad. London: 1935; repr. Amsterdam: 1974.

Solomon, Ann M. V. "Fable". In Narrative Forms in Old Testament Literature, ed. G.W. Coats; 114-25.

Sparks, H.F.D., ed. The Apocryphal Old Testament. Oxford: 1984.

Stamm, J.J. Der Dekalog im Lichte der neueren Forschung [2nd ed. Bern: 1962], trans. M.E. Andrew. The Ten Commandments in Recent Research. SBT N.S. #2: 1967.

Stewart, Columba. 'Working the Earth of the Heart', the Mes-salian Controversy in History, Texts, and Language to AD 431. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991.

Stone, M.E., ed. Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period: Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Qumran Sectarian Writings, Philo, Josephus. Assen, the Netherlands: Van Gorcum: 1984; & Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984.

Stroumsa, S. & G.G. "Aspects of Anti-Manichaean Polemics in Late Antiquity and under Early Islam". Harvard Theological Review LXXXI (1988) 37-58.

Stroumsa, G.G. "Religious Contacts in Byzantine Palestine". Numen XXXVI (1989) 16-42.

-----". "Gnostics and Manichaeans in Byzantine Palestine". Studia Patristica [Kalamazoo, Michigan] X (1985) 273-8.

-----". "Titus of Bostra and Alexander of Lycopolis: A Christian and a Platonic Refutation of Manichaean Dualism". Neoplatonism and Gnosticism, ed. R.T. Wallis. Albany: SUNY, 1992; 337-49.

Suggs, M.J. Wisdom, Christology, and Law in Matthew's Gospel. Cambridge, MA: 1970.

Symeon d.Taibūthā (7th-8th cent. CE). Book of Grace. In Appendix B of Ascetical Homilies of Saint Isaac the Syrian 397-426. [+ See A. Mingana, Early Christian Mystics I.]

The Tabula of Cebes, trans. J.T. Fitzgerald & L.M. White. Chico, CA.: 1983.

Talmon, R. "Schacht's Theory and the Origins of Arabic Grammar". Studia Islamica LXI (1987) 31-50.

Tardieu, M. "Sabiens Coraniques et <Sabiens> de Harrān". Journal Asiatique CCLXXIV (1986) 1-44.

Tayib, A. El-. "Pre-Islamic Poetry". CHAL I

Taylor, Thomas. Iamblichus' Life of Pythagoras. London: 1818.

Teixidor, J. Bardesane d'Edesse la premiere philosophie syriaque. Paris: 1992.

Temkin, Owsei. Galenism, Rise and Decline of a Medical Philosophy. Ithaca, New York: 1973.

Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. In The Apocryphal Old Testament, ed. H.F.D. Sparks. Oxford: 1984.

Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, ed. G. Kittel. Trans. G.W. Bromily. Grand Rapids, Michigan: 1964-76.

The Theology of Arithmetic (attrib. to Iamblichus?), trans. R. Waterfield. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Kairos/Phanes Press, 1988.

Tigay, J.H. "Conflation as a Redactional Technique". Empirical Models for Biblical Criticism, ed. Tigay. Philadelphia: 1985; 53-95.

Tritton, A.S. "Reason and Revelation". Arabic and Islamic Studies in Honor of H.A.R. Gibb, ed. G. Makdisi. Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University, 1965; 619-30.

-----". "Man, Nafs, Rūh, 'Aql". Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies XXXIV (1971) 491-5.

Ullmann, M. Islamic Medicine. Edinburgh: 1978.

Urbach, E. The Sages, their concepts and Beliefs, trans. Israel Abrahams. Cambridge, Mass. & London: 1975 & 1979.

Vajda, G. Études de théologie et de philosophie arabo-islamiques. London: Variorum, 1986.

-----". "Le Diable dans le Mer". Revue des Études Juives CI (1937) 94-5.

-----". "Le Témoignage d'al-Māturīdī sur la Doctrine des Manichéens, des Dayṣānites et des Marcionites". Arabica XI (1964) 1-38 & 113-28.

-----". "Les Lettres et les sons de la langue Arabe d'après Abū Hātim al-Rāzī". Arabica VIII (1961) 113-30.

-----". "Les Zindīqs en pays d'Islam au début de la période abbaside". Rivista degli Studi Orientali XVII (1937) 173-229.

-----". "Sa'adyā Commentateur du 'Livre de la Création'". École Pratique des Hautes Études, sciences religieuses, 1959-60 (Paris: 1960); 315f.. Repr. in Saadia Gaon, ed. S.T. Katz. New York: 1980.

-----, "Observations sur quelques citations bibliques chez Ibn Qutayba". Revue des Études Juives XCIX (1935) 68-80.

Versteegh, C.H.M. Arabic Grammar and Qur'ānic Exegesis in Early Islam. Leiden: 1993.

Vial, Ch., trans. Al-Ġāhiz, Quatre Essais I 103-21 [= 'Amr b. Baḥr al-Jāhiz, Kitmān al-Sirr]. Cairo: IFAO, 1976.

Vlachos, Archimandrite Hierotheos S. Orthodox Psychotherapy: the Science of the Fathers, trans. Esther Williams. Leviaia, Greece: Birth of the Theotokos Monastery, 1994.

Vööbus, A. History of Asceticism in the Syrian Orient. A Contribution to the History of Culture in the Near East. Louvain: Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, Subs. XIV= I (1958), XVII= II (1960), & LXXXI= III (1988).

Waldman, M.R. "The Development of the Concept of kufr in the Qur'ān". Journal of the American Oriental Society LXXXVIII (1968) 442-55.

Waldron, R.A. Sense and Sense Development. London: 1970.

Wallis, R.T. "NOÏS as Experience". The Significance of Neoplatonism, ed. R. B. Harris. Norfolk, Virginia: 1976; 121-153.

Walzer, R. Al-Fārābī on the Perfect State (= trans. of Mabādi' Arā' Ahl al-Madīnah al-Fāḍilah). Oxford: 1985.

Wansbrough, J. The Sectarian Milieu. Oxford: 1978.

Ware, Kallistos T. "The Meaning of 'Pathos' in Abba Isaias and Theodoret of Cyrus". Studia Patristica XX (1987) 315-22.

Wasserstrom, S. "Mughīra b. Sa'īd's Islamic Gnosis and the myths of its Rejection". History of Religions XXV (1985) 1-29.

Watt, W.M. Free Will and Predestination in Islam. London: 1948.

-----, The Formative Period of Islamic Thought. Edinburgh: 1973.

Wensinck, A.J., et.al. Concordance et indices de la tradition musulmane. Leiden: 1936-69.

Wernberg-Møller, W. "A Reconsideration of the Two Spirits in the Rule of the Community (1Q Serek III:13 - IV:26)". Revue de Qumran III (1961-2) 413-41.

West, E.W. Pahlavi Texts III = Sacred Books of the East XXIV. Oxford: 1885; repr. Delhi: 1965. [Trans. of Mēnōq-ī Xrad 1-114; & of Shkand-Gūmānīq-Wizār.]

Winston, D. The Wisdom of Solomon [=Anchor Bible #43]. New York: 1979.

Wolfson, H.A. "Arabic and Hebrew Terms for Matter and Element with especial reference to Saadia". Jewish Quarterly Review XXXVIII (1947) 47-61.

----- . Repercussions of the Kalām in Jewish Philosophy. Cambridge, Mass.: 1979.

----- . The Philosophy of the Church Fathers, I: Faith, Trinity, Incarnation. Cambridge, Mass.: 1964.

Wörterbuch der Klassischen Arabischen Sprache, ed. M. Ullmann. Wiesbaden: 1970- .

Wright, W. A Grammar of the Arabic Language. 3rd ed., Cambridge: 1967.

Yahya, O. "La Condition Humaine en Islam". Normes et Valeurs dans l'Islam Contemporain, ed. J. Berque & J.-P. Charney. Paris: 1966.

----- . "L'oeuvre de Tirmidī (essai bibliographique)". Mélanges Louis Massignon III 411-80. Damascus: 1957.

Yūḥannā b. Māsawayh (d.857 CE). Le Livre des Axiomes Médicaux, trans. D. Jacquart & G. Tropeau. Paris & Geneva: 1980.

Zimmerli, W. "Concerning the Structure of Old Testament Wisdom". Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft X (1933) 177-204; = trans. in Studies in Ancient Israelite Wisdom, ed. J.L. Crenshaw (New York: 1976); 175-207.

وَلِلّٰهِ الْحَمْدُ