باب الشيطان

من

كتاب الشجرة

لابي تمام

محتويات باب الشيطان

بدء الباب: مقدمة المؤلف ١

المذاهب والفرق

الذين قالوا: إنّ الطاعات كلها إيمان: ١٠

أ - مذهب المعتزلة: ١٠

١ - الحسنية ١٤

٢ - الهذيلية ١٤

٣ - النظامية ١٥

٤ - المعمرية ١٧

٥ - البشرية ١٨

٦ - الجاحظية ١٩

ب - مذهب الخوارج: ٢٠

١ - الأزارقة ٢١

٢ - النجدية ٢١

٣ - العجاردة ٢٣

٤ - البدعية ٢٤

٥ - الخازمية ٢٦

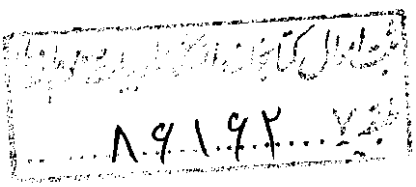
٦ - الثعالبة ٢٦

٧ - الصفرية ٢٧

٨ - الإباضية ٢٨

٩ - الحفصية ٢٩

١٠ - اليزيدية ٢٩



١١ - البيهسية	٣٠
١٢ - الفضيلية	٣١
١٣ - الشمراخية	٣٢
١٤ - الضحاكية	٣٣
ج - مذهب الحديثية:	٣٥
١ - المالكية	٣٦
٢ - الشافعية	٣٧
٣ - الحنبلية	٣٨
٤ - الداودية	٣٩
الذين قالوا: إنّ الشرائع ليست من الإيمان:	٤٢
أ - مذهب الجبر وهم القدرية:	٤٢
١ - الجهمية	٤٢
٢ - البطيخية	٤٥
٣ - النجارية	٤٦
٤ - الضرارية	٤٧
٥ - الصَبّاحية	٥٠
ب - مذهب المشبهة:	٥٢
١ - الكلابية	٥٢
٢ - الاشعرية	٥٣
٣ - الكرّامية	٥٤
٤ - الهشامية	٥٦
٥ - الجواليقية	٦٠
٦ - المقاتلية	٦٢

٧(ا) - النابتة ٦٢
٧(ب) - أصحاب الفضاء ٦٤
٨ - الحبّية ٦٥
٩ - البيانية ٦٧
١٠ - المغيرية ٦٨
١١ - الزرارية ٧٢
١٢ - المنهالية ٧٤
١٣ - المبيّضة ٧٦
ج - مذهب المرجئة: ٧٩
١ - الغيلانية ٧٩
٢ - الصالحية ٨٢
٣ - أصحاب الرأي ٨٤
٤ - الشبيبية ٨٦
٥ - الشمرية ٨٧
٦ - الاجتهادية ٨٩

الذين قالوا: إنّ الإمام بعد رسول الله علي بن أبي طالب: ٩١

أ - مذهب الزيدية: ٩١
١ - البترية ٩١
٢ - الجارودية ٩٣
٣ - الدُكَينية ٩٤
٤ - الخشبية ٩٥
٥ - الخلفية ٩٦
ب - مذهب الكيسانية: ٩٨

١ - المختارية ٩٨
٢ - الكربية ٩٩
٣ - الإسحاقية ٩٩
٤ - الحربية ١٠١
ج - مذهب العباسية: ١٠٣
١ - الخلالية ١٠٣
٢ - الروندية ١٠٤
د - مذهب الغالية: ١٠٥
١ - الكاملية ١٠٥
٢ - السبائية ١٠٦
٣ - المنصورية ١٠٧
٤ - الغرابية ١١٠
٥ - الطيارية ١١١
٦ - البزيغية ١١٢
٧ - اليعفورية ١١٣
٨ - الغَمامية ١١٤
ر - مذهب الإمامية وهم الرافضة: ١٢١
١ - الناوسية ١٢١
٢ - المفضلية ١٢٢
٣ - الشمطية ١٢٣
٤ - الوافقية ١٢٤
٥ - الأحمدية ١٢٥

خاتمة الباب: تعليقات المؤلف ١٢٦

الرموز

ص الاصل

ش مقالات الاسلاميين واختلاف المصلين لابي الحسن الاشعري، تحقيق H. Ritter,

خ مفاتيح العلوم للخوارزمي، مصر، ١٣٤٢هـ

ب مقالات لابي القاسم البلخي، تحقيق فؤاد سيد، تونس، ١٩٧٤

ج شرح عيون المسائل للحاكم الجشمي، المخطوطة Leiden or 2584a

ح الحور العين لابي سعيد نشوان الحميري، تحقيق كمال مصطفى، بيروت، ١٩٨٥

(باب الشيطان)[1]

وأما الشياطين بالقوة فهم القشرية[2] الذين شَطَنوا عن الحق، أي بعدوا، وليس للشياطين أعوان إلاّ على وجه واحد وهي الأبالسة(؟)[3] لأن القشرية لا ينظرون إلاّ على وجه واحد الذي هو الظاهر دون الباطن والقشر دون اللب. ومما يثبت ما قلنا من إثبات الشياطين بالقوة قول الله عز وجل: «وَإِذَا لَقُوا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا قَالُوا آمَنَّا وَإِذَا خَلَوا إِلَى شَيَاطِينِهِم قَالُوا إِنَّا مَعَكُم إِنَّمَا نَحْنُ مُسْتَهْزِئُونَ» [١٤/٢]، وقوله جل ذكره: «وَإِنَّ[4] الشَيَاطِينَ»، يعنى فقهاء القشرية، «لَيُوحُونَ إِلَى أَوْلِيَائِهِم»، أي [٢١٣][إلى تلاميذهم، «لِيُجَادِلُوكُم»، أي ليناظروكم عزمًا منهم على إضلالكم، «وَإِنْ أَطَعْتُمُوهُم إِنَّكُم لَمُشْرِكُونَ» [١٢١/٦]، وقوله: «وَمِنَ الشَيَاطِينِ»، أي من القشرية، «مَن يَغُوصُونَ لَهُ»، يعنى: من يطلبون علم التأويل بغير عهد ولا ميثاق «وَيَعْمَلُونَ عَمَلاً دُونَ ذَلِكَ»، أي ويضلّون الناس بأعمالهم الخبيثة وإنّ أعمالهم دون[5] أعمال الأبالسة المرتدين عن علم التأويل، «وَكُنَّا لَهُم حَافِظِينَ» [٨٢/٢١]، أي عن أن يسمعوا علم التأويل بغير عهد ولا عقد. وقوله تبارك وتعالى: «وَكَذَلِكَ جَعَلْنَا لِكُلِّ نَبِيٍّ عَدُوًّا شَيَاطِينَ الإِنسِ وَالجِنِّ» [١١٢/٦].

فجعل [١١٤أ] جل ذكره الشياطين بالقوة على نوعين، أحدهما شياطين الإنس وهم القشرية الذين لم يسمعوا شيئًا من علم الباطن، والثاني شياطين

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[1] (باب الشيطان): مع القوسين فى الاصل

[2] القشرية: البشرية – ص

[3] الابالسة: الفياعيل؟ – ص

[4] وان: فان – ص

[5] دون: زور – ص

الجن وهم الذين استجابوا ثم نقضوا عهودهم وارتدوا، فهم أشر من القشرية. ثم قال الله عز وجل: «يُوحِي بَعْضُهُمْ إِلَى بَعْضٍ زُخْرُفَ القَولِ غُرُوراً» [٦/ ١١٢]. فلولا أنهم جميعًا شياطين بالقوة لا بالفعل، ‹و›أنهم من جنس واحد، وإلاّ فكيف يجوز أن يوحي بعضهم إلى بعض؟ وقد أوعد الله شياطين الجن الذين هم المرتدون أبلغ مما أوعد [١٤ب] الله شياطين الإنس الذين هم القشرية. وأما وعيده القشرية، فقوله: «وَلَنُذِيقَنَّهُم مِنَ العَذَابِ الأَدْنَى ‹دُونَ العَذَابِ الأَكْبَرِ›»، يعني من عذاب الظاهر، يعني قبل عذاب الجحيم، «لَعَلَّهُم يَرْجِعُونَ» [٣٢/ ٢١]، فلولا أن العذاب الأدنى يكون في الدنيا، وإلاّ لم يكن لقوله «لعلهم يرجعون» فائدة. وأما وعيده المرتدين فقوله: «وَمِمَّنْ[1] حَولَكُم مِن الأَعْرَابِ مُنَافِقُونَ»، يعني القشرية، «‹وَ›مِن أَهْلِ المَدِينَةِ»، يعني المعهودين الذين دخلوا المدينة من بابها، «مَرَدُوا عَلَى النِفَاقِ»، يعني ارتدوا فطابقوا المنافقين، «لا تَعْلَمُهُم نَحْنُ نَعْلَمُهُم [١٥أ] سَنُعَذِّبُهُم ‹مَرَّتَينِ›[2]»، يعني عذاب الظاهر وعذاب الباطن، «ثُمَّ يُرَدُّونَ إِلَى عَذَابٍ عَظِيمٍ» [٩/ ١٠١]، يعني إلى عذاب جهنم.

ومما يؤكد ما قلناه من إثبات[3] الشياطين بالقوة، قول الله عز وجل: «‹كَ›مَثَلِ الشَيْطَانِ إِذْ قَالَ لِلإِنْسَانِ اكْفُرْ» [٥٩/ ١٦]، فكيف يتكلم الشيطان مع الإنسان لولا أنه كان شيطانًا بالقوة في صورة الإنسان الذي يسمى بالفارسية[4] ديو مردم وبالعربية نسناسًا؟ وهذه الآية قد نزلت في شأن اللذين قعدا على كرسي الوصي بعد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله على ‹أن›

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[1] وممن: ومن – ص

[2] لا تعلمهم نحن نعلمهم سنعذبهم ‹مرتين›: لا يعلمهم الجن [نحن – الهامش] لعلمهم سيعذبهم – ص

[3] اثبات: امات – ص

[4] بالفارسية: بالفارسي – ص

ابتزاز[١] الثاني قد غر الأول وأوقعه [٣١٥] في المهلكات الموبقات. وإنما سمى الله الثاني شيطانًا والأول إنسانًا لأن الثاني كفر[٢] هو في ذلك الوقت ولم يكفر الأول إلاّ بعد قبول قول الثاني في ابتزاز حق الوصي ولذلك قال له الثاني وهو يطوف في سكك المدينة: أقيلوا، فإنّ الشيطان لا يقيل[٣]. ومن هاهنا قال الأول في بعض خطبه: إنّ لي شيطانًا يعتريني فإذا رأيتموني تغيرت عن حالي فسدّدُوني. وقد ذكرهما الله عز وجل في آية أخرى: «وَيَومَ[٤] يَعَضُّ الظَالِمُ عَلَى يَدَيه» [٢٧/٢٥]، والظالم هو الأول لأنه وضع نفسه في غير [٣١٦أ] موضعه فهو إذاً يندم يوم القيامة فلا ينفعه الندامة «يَقُولُ يَا لَيتَنِي اتَّخَذْتُ مَعَ الرَسُولِ سَبِيلاً»، يعني يا ليت سبيلي كان مع رسول الله يوم مات، أي[٥] ليتني مت يوم مات وأكون ناجيًا اليوم من عذاب النار، «يَا وَيلَتَى لَيتَنِي لَمْ أَتَّخِذْ فُلاناً خَلِيلاً» [٢٨/٢٥]، يقول: يا ليتني لم أقبل قول الثاني حيث قال: اكفُر، «لَقَد أَضَلَّنِي عَنِ الذِّكْر»، أي عن الأساس لأنه يذكر جميع التنزيل والتأويل وهو ذكر العالمين، «بَعدَ إِذْ جَاءَنِي[٦] وكَانَ الشَيطانُ»، يعني الثاني، «لِلإِنْسَانِ خَذُولاً» [٢٩/٢٥]، يعني الأول، تصدّق [٣١٦ب] هذه الآية الآية الأولى حيث قال عز وجل: «كَمَثَلِ الشَّيْطَانِ»، يعني الثاني «إِذْ قَالَ لِلإِنْسَانِ»، يعني الأول «اكْفُرْ»، «فَلَمَّا كَفَرَ»، أي الإنسان، «قَالَ إِنِّي بَرِيءٌ مِنْكَ»، أي إنّ الثاني يقول للأول يوم القيامة «إِنِّي بَرِيءٌ مِنْكَ إِنِّي أَخَافُ اللهَ رَبَّ العَالَمِينَ» [١٦/٥٩]. فلا يكون الخذلان أكبر من هذا إلاّ أن خوفه في يوم القيامة وبراءته منه لا ينفعه ولا ينجيه من عذاب النار. «وَقَالَ الرَّسُولُ يَا

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[١] ابتزاز: الدرار – ص

[٢] كفر: كان – ص

[٣] يقيل: تقيل – ص

[٤] يوم: سوف – ص

[٥] مات، أي: ما رأى – ص

[٦] اذ جاءني: ادحالى – ص

رَبِّ إنَّ قَومي»، يعني أصحابي، «اتَّخَذُوا هَذَا القُرآنَ مَهْجُوراً» [٢٥/٣٠]، فالقرآن هاهنا دليل على الأساس لأنه مجمع قوى الاثني عشر. ووجه آخر وهو أن [١٧أ] تأويل القرآن مكتوب في قلب الأساس ككتابة تنزيله في المصحف «وكَذَلكَ جَعَلْنَا لكُلِّ نَبِيٍّ»، يعني لكل أساس «عَدُوّاً مِنَ المُجْرِمِينَ وكَفَى بِرَبِّكَ هَادِيًا ونَصِيراً» [٢٥/٣١].

فاليوم الذي يعضّ الظالم على يديه هو اليوم الذي ذكره الله عز وجل في قوله: «يَومَ يُكْشَفُ عَن سَاقٍ» [٦٨/٤٢]، أي عن اللوح لأنه إنما قيل في تأويل قوله «كُلُّ شَيءٍ هَالِكٌ إلاّ وَجْهَهُ» [٢٨/٨٨] إنّ[1] وجه الله هو القلم. ‹ف›ثبت عندنا أن الساق هو اللوح ولذلك قال بعض القشرية: «يُكْشَفُ عَنْ سَاقٍ» العرش لأن العرش دليل على اللوح. وذلك اليوم هو اليوم الذي [١٧ب] ذكره رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله: إنّكم سترون ربكم كما ترون هذا القمر لا تضامون في رؤيته، وتأويل هذا الخبر الشمس للجسمانيين كالقلم للروحانيين والقمر للجسمانيين كاللوح للروحانيين، فأراد صلى الله عليه وآله بقوله: إنّكم سترون ربكم، يعني سترون اللوح الذي يربّيكم بالعلم والتأييد حتى تصيرون روحانيين كما ترون هذا القمر وأنتم جسمانيون لا تضامون في رؤيته، أي في ذلك الوقت لا يكون بينكم وبين التالي حاجز، وهذا كقول الله تعالى «يَومَ يُكشَفُ عَن سَاقٍ»، أي يكشف عن الستور التي بيننا واللوح و [١٨أ] هي هذه السموات السبع والفلكات، «وَيُدعَونَ إلَى السُّجُودِ» [٦٨/٤٢]، أي إلى علم التأويل. وذلك لأن صلاة الفجر دليل على القلم وهي[2] أربع ركعات لأن الأساسين والنفس مبروزة فيه، وصلاة المغرب دليل على اللوح وهي[3] ثلاث ركعات لأن الأساسين مبروزان فيه. فكما أن القلم واللوح لا يرجعان إلى النقصان، كذلك صلاة الفجر وصلاة المغرب لا تنقصان في الحضر والسفر،

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[1] إن: اي – ص

[2] هي: هو – ص

[3] دليل ... هي: دليلة ... هو – ص

والشمس والقمر لا يرجعان[١] إلى النقصان. والسجدتان دليل على الناطق لأن الأساس مبروز فيه، والركوع دليل [٣١٨] على الأساس وهو واحد لأنه ليس مبروزاً[٢] فيه شيء من هذه الأصول الثلاثة. فعلمنا عند ذلك أن إحدى[٣] السجدتين دليل على الأساس الذي هو صاحب التأويل. فثبت بما قلنا أن مراد قوله «وَيُدعَونَ إِلَى السُّجُود» أنهم[٤] يدعون إلى الإقرار بالأساس والتأويل ولم يقل[٥]: إلى السجدتين، لأنهم قد أقرّوا في هذه الدنيا بإحدى السجدتين التي هي دليل على الناطق، «فَلا يَسْتَطِيعُونَ» [٤٢/٦٨]، أي لا يطيقون السجود لأنهم، لما لم يجعلوا الصورة الروحانية في هذه الدنيا مهيِّئةً لقبول آثار العالم العلوي، [٣١٩أ] لا يستطيعون ‹قبول› النعم هناك بل يألمون ويعذبون، كما أن الجنين، لمّا لم تجعل صورته الجسمانية في بطن الأم مهيئة لقبول آثار العالم السفلي، لا تتهيأ[٦] له النعم في الدنيا، «خَاشِعَةً أَبْصَارُهُم تَرهَقُهُم ذِلَّةٌ وَقَد كَانُوا يُدْعَونَ إِلَى السَجُودِ وَهُم سَالِمُونَ» [٤٣/٦٨] في دار الدنيا، يعني مستطيعين لقبول التأويل. فحينئذ يقول القشرية: من منعنا عن قبول التأويل والإقرار بالأساس حيث كنا سالمين؟، قلنا لهم: منعكم عن ذلك نفران شيطان وإبليس تصديقًا لقول الله عز وجل «كَمَثَلِ الشَّيْطَانِ إِذْ قَالَ [٣١٩] لِلإِنْسَانِ اكْفُرْ»، يعني الأول والثاني؛ فعند ذلك تقول القشرية: «رَبَّنَا أَرِنَا اللَّذَيْنَ أَضَلاَّنَا مِنَ الجِنِّ»، يعني من الشياطين وهو الثاني، فقد يسمى الشياطين جنًا في اللغة على التحقيق لأنهم مستورون عن أعين الناس، «وَالإِنْسِ»، يعني الأول والثاني «نَجْعَلْهُمَا تَحْتَ أَقْدَامِنَا»، كما جعلناهما في

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[١] يرجعان: برجون – ص

[٢] مبروزا: مبروز – ص

[٣] احدا: احد – ص

[٤] انهم: لانهم – ص

[٥] يقل: بقبل – ص

[٦] تتهيأ: يتهيأ – ص

اليوم الذي كنّا فيه سالمين لقبول التأييد تحت أقدامنا «لِيَكُونَا مِنَ الأَسْفَلِينَ» [٢٩/٤١]، يقول: ليكونا مع المنافقين في الدرك الأسفل وذلك لأن الله عز وجل قال: «إِنَّ الْمُنَافِقِينَ فِي الدَّرْكِ الأَسْفَلِ مِنَ النَّارِ» [١٤٥/٤].

وقد قال السيد الحميري [٢٠أ] في هذا المعنى: (أو البرقي[١]) [البسيط]

ولا أُسالِمُ مَنْ عادَى أبا حَسَنٍ ... حَتَّى أُوَسَّدَ في لَحدي وأكفاني

ولا أُصَوِّبُ مِنْ آرائكُم خَطَأً ... ولا أقُولُ إِماماكُم إِمامانِ

لله يَوماً ترى فيه الورى دَمَرا[٢] ... بَحٌ الحناجر من صادٍ وظمآنِ

ومن منادٍ ينادي في تَحَيُّرِه[٣] ... أين اللذان هما كانا أضَلاَّني

هناك شاهَت وجوه الدافعَين له [٢٠ب] ... عن الإمامة من غاوٍ وشَيطانِ

وإذ يقول أبو هِرٍّ لصاحبه ... أكل المَضيرة[٤] هذا [لَذَّةُ الجَانِي][٥]

يا لائمًا ساكنَ الدار التي بُنِيَت ... ما ذنْبُ ساكنها [للمُذْنِبِ البَانِي][٦]

لو لم يَجدْ سُلَّمًا ما كان مُرتَقِيًا ... والمرتقي والذي رَقّاه سيّانِ

لولا الصُّهاكيُّ لم يَلعَب بإمرَتِنا ... أرجاسُ هِندٍ ولا أنجاسُ[٧] مَروانِ

وقد روي عن الأئمة سلام الله على ذكرهم أن [٢١أ] جميع ما في سورة الرحمن [سورة ٥٥] «فَبِأَيِّ آلاَءِ رَبِّكُمَا تُكَذِّبَانِ» نزلت في شأن الشيطانين[٨]

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[١] كذا فى الاصل، والصحيح أن الشعر لابو محمد عبد الله بن عمار البرقي.

[٢] دمرا: ذمرا – ص

[٣] تحيره: تخيره – ص

[٤] المضيرة: المصيرة – ص

[٥] في الاصل بياض، والإضافة تقديرية

[٦] في الأصل بياض، والتصحيح عن كتاب مثالب النواصب لابن شهراشوب

[٧] أنجاس: ارجاس – ص

[٨] الشيطانين: الشيطان – ص

اللذين هما الأول والثاني.

ومما يؤكد قولنا من إثبات الشياطين بالقوة ما حدَّثت عن أنس بن مالك عن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله أنه قال: لأنا أشد خوفًا على أمتي من الأئمة المضلين من الشيطان الرجيم. فهل يشك أحد بعدما سمع هذا الحديث أن من دعا إلى الضلالة والمفسدة[١] شيطان بالقوة؟ ومثل ما حدثت عن عبد الله بن مسعود، قال: قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله: [٢١ب] إنّ الصراط المستقيم، يعني مذهب الحق، محتصر، يعني محاط، يحتصره الشياطين، يعني فقهاء القشرية ورؤساءهم، ينادون يا عبد الله هلمَّ إلى هذا الصراط، يعني إلى طريق الضلالة، ليُضلوا عن سبيل الله، فاعتصموا[٢] بحبل الله الممدود بينه وبين عباده، يعني القلم واللوح والجد والفتح والخيال والناطق والأساس والإمام والحجة والجناح. ومما يؤكد هذا الحديث ما حُدثت به عن أمير المؤمنين علي بن أبي طالب صلوات الله عليه أنه قال: خطَّ لنا رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم وآله خطًا فقال: [٢٢أ] هذا سبيل الله والصراط المستقيم، ثم خط لنا خطوطًا يمينًا وشمالاً، ثم قال: وهذه سُبُل[٣] على سبيل شيطان يدعو الناس إليها، ثم قرأ رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله: «وَأَنَّ هَذَا صِرَاطِي مُسْتَقِيمًا فَاتَّبِعُوهُ وَلَا تَتَّبِعُوا السُّبُلَ فَتَفَرَّقَ بِكُمْ عَن سَبِيلِهِ» الآية [٦/١٥٣].

فقد وافق هذه الأحاديثَ الخبر المروي عن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله أنه قال: كذبت اليهود على موسى بن عمران وكذبت النصارى على عيسى ابن مريم وستكذب أمتي عليَّ من بعدي، فمهما رويتم [٢٢ب] عني حديثًا فاعرضوه على كتاب الله، فما وافق كتاب الله فخذوه وما خالف كتاب الله فاتركوه. وروي عنه صلى الله عليه وآله أنه قال: اختلفت بنو إسرائيل بعد موسى على إحدى وسبعين فرقة كلها في النار وواحدة في الجنة، واختلفت أمة

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[١] والمفسدة: والمسيئة (٤) - ص

[٢] فاعتصموا: واعتصموا - ص

[٣] سبل: سبيل - ص

عيسى من بعده على اثنتين[١] وسبعين فرقة كلها في النار وواحدة في الجنة، وستختلف أمتي على ثلاث وسبعين فرقة اثنتان وسبعون في النار وواحدة في الجنة. ولا بد لكل واحدة من هذه الفرق من رئيس أو داعٍ يدعو الناس إلى [٢٣أ] رأيه واعتقاده، وهم الشياطين الذين ذكرهم رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله. فما زاد على قول رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله وما نقص، وذلك أن أهل الظاهر افترقوا على اثنتين وسبعين فرقة، فأما أهل الباطن ‹فإنهم› على حالهم منذ خرج رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله عن هذا العالم، لم يقع بينهم اختلاف ولا تناقض ولا شكوك كما وقع بين أهل الظاهر الذين يلعن بعضهم بعضًا ويتبرأ بعضهم من بعض. فبهذا الدليل صح عندنا أقاويل أهل الباطن وفساد مذاهب ‹أهل› الظاهر [٢٣ب] الذين يلعن بعضهم بعضًا لأن الله عز وجل قال: «وَلَو كَانَ مِنْ عِنْدَ غَيْرِ اللّه لَوَجَدُوا فيه اخْتلافًا كَثيراً» [٤/٨٢]. فعلمنا عند ذلك أن أقاويل أهل الظاهر لو كانت من عند الله لم يختلفوا.

وانا أبين هذه المذاهب والفرق مذهبًا مذهبًا وفرقة فرقة[٢] وأشرح اعتقاد كل فرقة منها على سبيل الإيجاز والاختصار.

فأقول: إنّ أهل الظاهر افترقوا على ثلاثة أقاويل: أحدها القول بأن الطاعات[٣] كلها من الإيمان، وثانيها القول بأن الشرائع ليست من الإيمان، [٢٤أ] وثالثها القول بأن الإمام بعد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله علي بن أبي طالب صلوات الله عليه. ثم اختلفت أهل كل قول من هذه الأقاويل الثلاثة في التوحيد والإمامة والوعد والوعيد والعدل والشرائع والأعمال فيما بينهم. فمنهم من نسب الجور والظلم إلى الله، ومنهم من شبّهه بخلقه، ومنهم من

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[١] اثنتين: اثنين – ص

[٢] وفرقة فرقة: وفرقة وفرقة – ص

[٣] الطاعات: الطاعة – ص

أشرك به، ومنهم من أجاز الخُلف[١] في وعيده، ومنهم من أجاز القياس والاستحسان في الشرائع ومنهم من لم يُجز ذلك وتبرأ ممن أجازه، ومنهم من جعل أبا بكر [٢٤ب] إمامًا مفروض الطاعة بعد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله ومنهم من تبرأ من أبي بكر وصرف الإمامة منه إلى علي بن أبي طالب صلوات الله عليه إلى أن آل أمرهم آخراً إلى أن كفّر بعضهم بعضًا وتبرأ بعضهم من بعض، وظهر من ذلك مذاهب شتّى وأقاويل مختلفة ودعاوى كثيرة. وافترق كل واحدة[٢] من هذه الفرق الثلاثة على أربع وعشرين فرقة تصديقًا لقول رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله: اثنتان[٣] وسبعون فرقة من أمتي في النار.

[١] الخلف: الخلق - ض

[٢] واحدة: واحد - ص

[٣] اثنتان: اثنان - ص

[الذين قالوا: إنّ الطاعات كلها إيمان]

وأما الذين [٢٥أ] قالوا: إنّ الطاعات كلها إيمان، فإنّهم افترقوا على ثلاثة[١] مذاهب تنقسم[٢] جميعًا على أربع وعشرين فرقة، لكل فرقة منهم دعوى على حدة[٣].

[مذهب المعتزلة]

فأحد[٤] هذه المذاهب مذهب المعتزلة، وهو ينقسم على ست فرق. فهذه الفرق الست[٥] مجتمعة على أن الله جل ذكره شيء لا كالأشياء، وأنه ليس بجسم[٦] ولا عَرَض بل هو خالقهما، وأن شيئًا من الحواسّ لا يدركه في الدنيا ولا في الآخرة، والله لا يحصره المكان ولا تحدّه[٧] الأقطار، هو الذي لم يزل <و>لا زمان ولا مكان [٢٥ب] ولا نهاية ولا حد، ثم خلق ذلك الجميع وأحدثه مع

قابل بالمقالات للبلخي ص ٦٣-٦٤: المعتزلة مجمعة على ان الله جل ذكره شيء لا كالاشياء وانه ليس بجسم ولا عرض بل هو الخالق للجسم والعرض وان شيئا من الحواس لا يدركه في دنيا ولا في آخرة، وانه لا تحصره الاماكن ولا تحده الاقطار، بل هو الذي لم يزل ولا مكان ولا زمان ولا نهاية ولا حد ثم خلق ذلك اجمع واحدثه مع

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[١] ثلاثة: ثلاث - ص

[٢] تنقسم: ينقسم - ص

[٣] حدة :حرفه - ص

[٤] فأحد: واحد - ص

[٥] الست: الستة - ص

[٦] بجسم - ب: لجسم - ص

[٧] تحده - ب: يحده - ص

سائر ما خلق لا من شيء، وأنه القديم وما سواه مُحدَث.

وأجمعوا أن الله لا يُحدِث الفساد، ولا يَخلق أفعال العباد، بل العباد يفعلون ما أُمروا به ونهوا عنه بالقُدرة التي خلقها الله لهم وركّبها فيهم ليطيعوا بها ويتركوا المعاصي. وأن أحداً لا يقدر على قبضٍ ولا بسطٍ إلاّ بقدرة الله التي خلقها فيهم، وأن الله هو المالك للقدرة التي في العباد لا يملكها العباد معه ولا دونه يُبقيها فيهم ما شاء ويُفنيها[1] [٢٦] إذا شاء، إلاّ أنه إذا أفناها رفَع التكليفَ والأمرَ والنهيَ لأن الاستطاعة تكون قبل الفعل[2]، وأن الله عز وجل لا يريد ولا يشاء أن يشتم ولا أن يفترى عليه وتُنتهك[3] محارمه، وأنه لو شاء أن يجبر[4] الخلق على طاعته لكان على ذلك قادراً، ولكنه لا يفعل ذلك لما يريد من امتحانهم وتعريضهم[5] للثواب الذي لا يبيد، وأنه وإن كان العباد يقدرون بالقدرة التي خلقها فيهم على أن يفعلوا ما لا

سائر ما خلق لا من شيء وانه القديم وكل ما سواه محدث واجمعوا ان الله لا يحب الفساد ولا يخلق اعمال العباد بل العباد يفعلون ما امروا به ونهوا عنه بالقدرة التي خلقها الله لهم وركبها فيهم فيطيعوا بها ويتركوا المعاصي وان احدا لا يقدر على قبض ولا بسط الا بقدرة الله التي خلقها عز وجل وهو المالك للقدرة التي في العباد لا يملكها العباد معه ولا دونه جل وعز عن ذلك يبقيها فيهم ما شاء ويفنيها اذا شاء الا انه اذا افناها رفع التكليف والامر والنهي وانه تبارك اسمه لا يريد ولا يشاء ان يشتم او يفترى عليه ولا ان بنتهك محارمه وانه لو شاء ان يجبر الخلق كلهم على طاعته لكان على ذلك قادرا ولكنه لا يفعل ذلك الا لما يريد من امتحانهم وتعريضهم للثواب الذي لا يبيد وانه وان كان العباد يقدرون بالقدرة التي خلقها الله فيهم على ان يفعلوا ما لا

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[1] يبقيها . . . يفنيها - ب: يبفيها . . . بفسها(؟) - ص

[2] الفعل: العقل - ص

[3] يفترى ... تنتهك - ب: يفرا ... سنهك(؟) - ص

[4] يجبر: يخير - ص

[5] تعريضهم - ب: تعوضهم(؟) - ص

يرضاه ولا يحبه ولم يأمر به ولا يريده وما يسخطه فليسوا الغالبين له بل هو [٢٦ب] الغالب لهم القاهر لأنه لو شاء لمنعهم عما لا يريد ولأجبرهم على ما يريد ولعاجَلَهُم بالعقوبة، ولكنه حلم عنهم إلى يوم القيامة، وأراد أن يؤمنوا طوعاً لا كَرهاً ليصح المحنة والابتلاء وليستحقوا أفضل درجات الثواب. وأنه لا يكلّف عبادَه ما لا يطيقون ثم يعذبهم على تركه[١]. وأنه لا يفعل بعباده مؤمنهم ولا كافرهم ما دام آمراً لهم بطاعته ناهيًا لهم عن معصيته إلاّ ما فيه صلاح لدينهم الذي أمرهم به وما هو داعٍ لهم إلى طاعته والإيمان به والرجوع عن معصيته إلى [٢٧أ] اتّباع أمره ونهيه عنه، وأنه لا قصور[٢] في خلقه ولا تفاوت في تدبيره، وأنّ كل ما قضاه وقدّره ففيه الخير، والواجبُ على كل مسلم أن يرضى بكل ما قضاه وقدّره ويؤمن به ويترك الإنكار والردّ له[٣] والتكذيب به. وأجمعوا أن الطاعات كلها إيمان، وأنه يزيد ولا ينقص. وأجمعوا جميعًا أنه جل وعز لا يغفر[٤] لمرتكب المعاصي إلاّ بالتوبة، وأن

يرضاه ولا يحبه ولم يامر به ولم يرده وما يسخطه فليسوا بغالبين له بل هو الغالب لهم القاهر لانه لو شاء منعهم ما لا يريد ولا اجبرهم [ولأجبرهم على ما يريد؟] بما لا يريد ولكنه حلم عنهم وامهلهم الى يوم الجزاء والحساب واراد جل وعز ان يؤمنوا طوعا لا كرها لتصح المحنة والابتلاء وليستحقوا افضل درجات الثواب وانه لا يكلف عباده ما لا يطيقوا ثم يعذبهم على تركه ولا يحول بين احد وبين ما امر به بوجه من الوجوه وانه لا يفعل بعباده مؤمنهم وكافرهم ما دام آمرا لهم بطاعته ناهيا لهم عن معصيته الا ما فيه صلاح لدينهم الذي امرهم به وما هو داع الى طاعته والايمان والرجوع عن معصيته الى اتباع امره وانه لا قصور في خلقه ولا تفاوت في تدبيره وان كل ما قضاه وقدره ففيه الخيرة وان الواجب الرضاء بكل ما قضاه وقدره والتسليم لذلك والانكار والرد له والتكذيب به كفر وضلال وهذا هو العدل واجمعوا انه عز وجل لا يغفر لمرتكبي الكبائر الا بالتوبة وهذا هو القول بالوعيد.

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[١] تركه: تركهم – ص

[٢] قصور: نظور – ص

[٣] الرد له: الرذلة – ص

[٤] يغفر: يغتفر – ص

٨٦١٦٢

شفاعة رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله ليست إلاّ للمؤمنين دون غيرهم. وأجمعوا أن من أُدخل جهنم فهو خالد فيها، كلما أرادوا أن يخرجوا [٢٧ب] منها أُعيدوا فيها. وأجمعوا أن المرتكب للكبائر[١] لا يستحق أن يسمى بالاسم الشريف الذي هو الإيمان والإسلام ولا بالكفر بل يسمى بالفسق كما سماه الله تعالى واجتمعت عليه الأمة، وهو القول بالمنزلة[٢] بين المنزلتين.

وأجمعوا[٣] أن الأمر بالمعروف والنهي عن المنكر واجبان[٤] على المسلمين بأي وجه استطاعوهما[٥]، بالسيف فما دونه.

وأجمعوا إلاّ شرذمة منهم أن عليًا كان أفضل جميع الخلق بعد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله إلاّ أن أبا بكر وعمر وعثمان كانوا في أوقات خلافتهم [٢٨أ] منه <أولى>[٦]. ثم هم فيما سوى ذلك مختلفون ومفترقون على ست فرق كما بيناه بدءاً.

واجمعوا ان الفاسق المرتكب للكبائر لا يستحق ان يسمى بالاسم الشريف الذي هو الايمان والاسلام ولا بالكفر بل يسمى بالفسق كما سماه الله واجمع عليه اهل الملة وهذا هو القول بالمنزلة بين المنزلتين واجمعوا ان على المسلمين الامر بالمعروف والنهي عن المنكر واجبان باي جهة استطاعوهما بالسيف فما دونه وهم مختلفون فيما سوى ذلك ....

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[١] للكبائر: الكبائر – ص

[٢] بالمنزلة: في المنزلة – ص

[٣] وأجمعوا: قد اجمعوا – ص

[٤] واجبان – ب: واخبار – ص

[٥] استطاعوهما: ليستطاعوها – ص

[٦] <أولى> بياض في الاصل

[الحَسَنِيَّة]

إحداها[١] الحسنية أصحاب الحسن البصري. قالوا: إنّ من ركب الكبائر منافق، وقالوا: ليس على تارك الصلاة أو[٢] الصوم أداؤها بعد وقتها لأنه مأمور بأدائها في أوقاتها، فإذا فاتته[٣] أوقاتها فليس عليه إلاّ التوبة والإنابة عن ذلك كتوبته عن سائر المعاصي.

[الهُذَيلِيَّة]

والثانية[٤] الهذيلية أصحاب أبي الهذيل محمد بن الهذيل العلاف.[٥] فالذي تفرد به [٢٨ب] أبو الهذيل تجويز فناء القدرة[٦] مع الفعل على حاله، وقال أيضًا: إنّ أهل الجنة مضطرون إلى أفعالهم، حتى سمّته المعتزلة مجبر‹؟›[٧] الآخرة[٨] لهذا السبب. وقالوا أيضًا: إنّ العمل قد يكون طاعة والعامب لا يريد به الله. وقالوا أيضًا: إنّ علم الله هو الله، وكذلك قدرة الله

س ١١ – ص ١٥ س ٣ قابل بالمقالات للبلخي ص ٦٩–٧٠: والذي تفرد به تجويز فناء القدرة على الفعل في حاله وان اهل الجنة مضطرون الى افعالهم وان العمل قد يكون طاعة

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[١] احداها: احدها – ص

[٢] او: و – ص

[٣] فاتته: فاته – ص

[٤] والثانية: والثاني – ص

[٥] محمد بن الهذيل العلاق: مهرازي هلى الهذيل العلاق – ص

[٦] فناء القدرة – ب: فبالقدرة – ص

[٧] مجبر: بياض في الاصل

[٨] الآخرة: الاخر – ص

هو الله، وإنّ لما يعلمه الله جميعًا وكُلاً وإنّ لما يقدر الله عليه نهاية إذا خرج إلى الفعل، ولم يخرج. وقالوا: إنّ حركات أهل الجنة تنقضي[١] فيصيرون إلى سكون دائم يتصل إليهم اللذات وهم لا يتحركون. [١٢٩أ]

[النَظَّامِيَّة]

والثالثة[٢] النظامية، نسبت إلى إبراهيم بن سيّار[٣] النظام. والذي تفرد به النظام أن قال: إنّ الإنسان هو الروح، وإنّه جسم لطيف مداخل لهذا الجسم الكثيف الذي يرى ويحس[٤] وإنّه هو الفعال دون الجسم الكثيف، وإنّ الإنسان مستطيع بنفسه لا باستطاعة، وإنّ اللون والطعم والرائحة والشم وجميع ما يدّعي أصحاب الأعراض أنه عرضٌ أجسامٌ متداخلة، إلاّ الحركة والسكون فإنّهما عرضان عنده، والطول عنده الطويل والعرض عنده العريض والعمق

لله وان العامل لا يريد الله به. وان علم الله هو الله وكذلك قدرة الله هي الله. ... ان حركات اهل الجنة تنقضي فيصيروا الى سكون دائم ثم تصير اليهم اللذات وهم لا يتحركون وان لما يعلمه الله جميعا وكلا وان لما يقدر الله عليه نهاية اذا خرج الى الفعل وان لم يخرج استحال ان يوصف الله بالقدرة على غيره اذ لا غير له

س ٧ - ١٢ قابل بالمقالات للبلخي ص ٧٠: والذي تفرد به انه زعم ان الانسان هو الروح وان الروح جسم لطيف مداخل لهذا الجسم الكثيف الذي يرى ويحس وانه هو الفعال دون الجسم الكثيف وان الانسان مستطيع بنفسه لا باستطاعة واللون الطعم والرائحة والطول والعرض وجميع ما يدعي اصحاب الاعراض انه عرض اجسام متداخلة الا الحركة والسكون فانهما عرضان عنده والطول عنده وهو الطويل والعرض عنده هو العريض.

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[١] يخرج ... تنقضي - ب: تخرج ... ينقضي - ص

[٢] الثالثة: والثالث - ص

[٣] سيار: سنان - ص

[٤] يحس - ب: يحسن - ص

عنده [٢٩ب] العميق[١]، وإنّه قد يجوز الجسمان اللطيفان في مكان واحد على طريق المداخلة، وإنّ الأفعال أفعال الحيوان عنده كلها من جنس واحد، فالحركة من جنس السكون وكذلك الطاعة من جنس المعصية إلاّ أنه قد كان يزعم أنها وإن كانت جنسًا واحداً فالطاعة[٢] خلاف المعصية وضد[٣] لها وكذلك الحركة والسكون، وإنّ السكون لا معنى له في الحقيقة لأن الذي يسمى سكونًا[٤] إنما هو حركة اعتماد لا حركة زوال. وقال: إنّ من خبر الواحد ما يضطرّ على قبوله والإيقان[٥] به <و>إذ ذاك يكون حجة، وقال: [٣٠أ] إنّ الحجة في القرآن إنما هو ما هو فيه من الإخبار عن الغيوب لا النظم والتأليف لأن النظم عنده مقدور عليه لولا أن الله منع عنه. وإنّ الشيء عنده قد يصير[٦] من المكان الأول إلى المكان الثالث من غير أن يمر بالثاني. والمسائل الصعبة عنه في هذا الباب مشهورة معروفة. وإنّه نفى القياس في الأحكام.

قابل بالمقالات للبلخي ص ٧٠-٧١: وانه قد يجوز ان يكون الجسمان اللطيفان في مكان واحد على سبيل المداخلة وان الشيء قد يصير من المكان الاول الى المكان الثالث من غير ان يمر بالثاني وهذا هو الطفرة وان الحجة في القرآن انما هو ما فيه من الاخبار عن الغيوب لا النظم والتاليف لان النظم عنده مقدور عليه لولا ان الله منع منه وان افعال الحيوان كلها من جنس واحد، فالحركة من جنس السكون وكذلك الطاعة والمعصية الا انه قد كان يزعم انها وان كانت جنسا واحدا فالطاعة خلاف المعصية وضد لها وكذلك الحركة والسكون وان من خبر الواحد ما نضطر الى قبوله والايقان به واذا زال [اذ ذاك؟] يكون حجة ... وان السكون لا معنى له في الحقيقة لان الذي يسمى سكونا انما هو حركة اعتماد لا حركة زوال.

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[١] الطول عنده هو الطويل والعرض عنده هو العريض والعمق عنده العميق: الطول في العرض عنده هو العرض والعمق عنده هو العمق - ص

[٢] يزعم أنها ... فالطاعة: عمل بها ... بالطاعة - ص

[٣] ضد - ب: صمد - ص

[٤] سكونا - ب: متكونا - ص

[٥] الإيقان - ب: الانكار - ص

[٦] يصير - ب: مضت - ص

[المُعمَّرِيَّة]

والفرقة الرابعة المعمرية، تنسب إلى أبي عمرو معمَّر بن عبّاد السُلَمي البصري. والذي تفرد به القول بالمعاني[١] وتفسيره أنّ الحركة إنما خالفت [٣٠ب] السكون لمعنى هو غيرها، وكذلك السكون إنما خالف الحركة لمعنى هو غيره[٢] <وأن ذينك المعنيين إنما اختلفا أيضًا بمعنى هو غيرهما ثم كذلك كل معنيين اختلفا بمعنيين غيرهما>[٣] إلى ما لا نهاية له، وإنّ هيآت الأجسام فعل[٤] الأجسام طباعًا. وإنّ الإنسان ليس بجسم، وإنّه يفعل باختيار، وليس بطويل ولا عريض ولا بِذي[٥] أجزاء، ولا يجوز القول بأنه في مكان دون مكان، وإنّه لا فعل له إلا الإرادة، وإنّ الحركة سكون بالحقيقة لأن الجسم على أي حال وجد إنما يوجد في مكان مماسّاً له، وهذا هو عنده معنى السكون. وقالو<ا>: لا يخلو الجوهر من فعل[٦] الأعراض.

قابل بالمقالات للبلخي ص ٧١: والذي تفرد به القول بالمعاني وتفسيره ان الحركة انما خالفت السكون لمعنى هو غيرها وكذلك السكون انما خالف الحركة بمعنى هو غيره وان ذينك المعنيين انما اختلفا ايضا بمعنى هو غيرهما ثم كذلك كل معنيين اختلفا بمعنيين غيرهما الى ما لا نهاية له وان هيآت الاجسام فعل الاجسام طباعا على معنى ان الله هيأها في هيئة وجعل هيأتها طباعا وان الانسان ليس بجسم وانه يفعل باختيار وليس بطويل ولا عريض ولا بذي اجزاء وانه لا يجوز القول بانه في مكان دون مكان وانه لا فعل الا الارادة وان الحركة سكون في الحقيقة لان الجسم على اي حال وجد انما يوجد في مكان مماسا له وهذا عنده معنى السكون.

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[١] بالمعاني: في المعاني – ص

[٢] غيره – ب: غيرها – ص

[٣] < > الاضافة من ب

[٤] فعل – ب: بعد – ص

[٥] بذي – ب: يرى – ص

[٦] يخلو الجوهر من فعل: يحل من رد (؟) – ص

[البِشرِيَّة]

والفرقة [٣١أ] الخامسة تسمى[١] البشرية، نسبوا إلى أبي سهل بشر بن المعتمر البغدادي. قال بشر ومن قال بقوله: إنّ عند[٢] الله لُطفًا لو أتى به الكافرين لآمنوا اختياراً غير اضطرار، وإنّه لا يجوز أن نقول: إنّ الله يفعل بالعباد أصلح الأشياء لهم،[٣] من قبل أنه لا غاية لما عنده[٤] من الصلاح، والله قد فعل جميع ما فيه صلاحهم في دينهم. وقالوا: إنّ ولاية الله للمؤمنين بعد إيمانهم بلا فصل[٥]، وإنّ عداوته[٦] للكافرين كذلك، وإنّ اللون والطعم والرائحة والصوت والشم [٣١ب] والحِس[٧] أعراض وإنّ جوهراً فاعل[٨] لها، وإنّ من الألوان والطعوم والأراييح ما هو فعل العباد على التولد وإنّ الحركة ليست في المكان الأول ولا المكان الثاني ولكن الإنسان يتحرك بها من الأول إلى

قابل بالمقالات للبلخي ص ٧٢-٨٣: ان عند الله لطفا لو اتى به الكافرين لآمنوا اختيارا غير اضطرار وانه لن يجوز ان يقال ان الله يفعل بالعباد اصلح الاشياء لهم من قبل انه لا غاية لها عنده من الصلاح وانه قد فعل بهم جميعا ما فيه صلاحهم في دينهم. ... ان ولاية الله للمؤمنين بعد ايمانهم بلا فضل وكذلك عداوته للكافرين وان من الالوان والطعوم والاراييح ما هو فعل للعباد على التولد ... وان الحركة ليست في المكان الاول ولا المكان الثاني ولكن الانسان يتحرك بها من الاول الى

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[١] تسمى: يسمى – ص

[٢] عند – ب: عبد – ص

[٣] لهم: اليهم – ص

[٤] عنده: عبده – ص

[٥] فصل: فضل – ص

[٦] عداوته: عدوانه – ص

[٧] الحس: المحس – ص

[٨] فاعل: قابلا – ص

الثاني. وقالوا: إنّ الحركة ليست بعرض ولا بجسم لأن العرض يبقى وقتين والحركة لا تبقى وقتين. وقالوا: إنّ المؤمن إذا ارتكب الكبيرة[١] ثم تاب ثم عاد إلى ارتكاب الكبائر فقد يجوز أن يؤخذ[٢] بكبيرته التي كانت قبل التوبة وإن كان قد تاب منها لأنه يجوز أنه قد غفر له تلك [٣٢أ] الكبيرة عند التوبة على شريطة أنه لا يعود إليها ولا إلى مثلها.

[الجَاحِظيَّة]

الفرقة السادسة الجاحظية، أصحاب أبي عثمان عمرو بن بحر الجاحظ. قال الجاحظ ومن قال بقوله: إنّ المعرفة طباع، وهي مع ذلك فعل للعارف وليست باختيار، وهو يوافق ثمامة بن الأشرس[٣] في أنه لا فعل للعباد بالحقيقة إلاّ الإرادة، ولكنه يقول في سائر الأفعال: إنّها تنسب إلى[٤] العباد على أنها وقعت منهم طباعا وأنها وجبت بإرادتهم، و [٣٢ب] ليس يجوز أن يكون أحد يبلغ فلا يعرف الله. والكافر عنده بين معاند وبين عارف قد

الثاني ... وان المؤمن اذا ارتكب كبيرة ثم تاب ثم عاد الى ارتكاب الكبائر قد يجوز ان يؤخذ بكبيرته التي كانت قبل التوبة وان كان قد تاب منها لانه يجوز ان يكون الله انما غفر له تلك الكبيرة عند التوبة بشريطة الا يعود اليها ولا الى مثلها.

س ١٠-١٤ قابل بالمقالات للبلخي ص ٧٣: المعرفة طباع هي مع ذلك فعل للعارف وليست باختيار له وهو يوافق ثمامة في انه لا فعل للعباد على الحقيقة الا الارادة ولكنه يقول في سائر الافعال انها تنسب الى العباد على انها وقعت منهم طباعا وانها وجبت بارادتهم وليس يجوز ان يكون احد يبلغ فلا يعرف الله والكفار عنده بين معاند وبين عارف قد

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[١] الكبيرة: الكبير - ص؛ كبيرة - ب

[٢] يؤخذ: يوجد - ص؛ يؤخذ - ب

[٣] الاشرس: الاشوش - ص

[٤] تنسب الى - ب: ليست على - ص

استغرقه حبُّه بمذهبه وشغفه به وهو لا يشعر بما عنده من المعرفة بخالقه ويصدق[١] رسوله.

[مذهب الخوارج]

ثم يتلو ذكر هذه الفرق المذهب[٢] الثاني، مذهب الخوارج، فهم ينقسمون على أربع[٣] عشرة فرقة.

اجتمعت الخوارج على أن الطاعات كلها إيمان وأن الإيمان يزيد وينقص. وأجمعوا على إكفار عثمان وعلي ويقولون: نتولى الختنين و [٣٣أ] نتبرأ من الصهرين[٤]، أعني علياً وعثمان، وقد أيقنّا بكفر من ارتكب الكبائر، ويرون الخروج على الإمام الجائر، ويرون البراءة من أبي موسى وعمرو وممن حكّمهما ورضي بهما أو يتولى أحداً ممن صوّب الحَكَمَين أو رضي به. وأجازوا الإمامة في أفناء الناس من كان عادلاً عالماً. ثم إنّهم بعد ذلك مختلفون ومفترقون على أربع عشرة فرقة كما ذكرنا.

استغرقه حبه لمذهبه وشغفه به والفه وعصبيته فهو لا يشعر بما عنده من المعرفة بخالقه وتصديق رسله.

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[١] بخالقه ويصدق: يخالفه ويصدق - ص

[٢] المذهب: والمذهب - ص

[٣] أربع: اربعة - ص

[٤] الختنين ... الصهرين: الصهرين ... الختنين - ص

[الأزارِقة]

إحداها[١] الأزارقة، نسبوا إلى نافع بن الأزرق، ونافع هذا أول من أحدث الخلاف بين الخوارج، وكان الذي [٣٣ب] أبدعه البراءة من القَعَد والمحنة[٢] لمن قصد عسكره. والأزارقة لا يتبرأون ممن تقدمها من سلفها من الخوارج في توليهم[٣] القعد وتركهم إكفارهم ويقولون: هذا تبين[٤] لنا وخفي عنهم. والأزارقة يقولون بالجبر المحض على مثال[٥] الذي يقول جهم، وقالوا: إنّ من أقام في دار الكفر فهو كافر لا يسعه إلاّ الخروج. وأجازوا[٦] عذاب الأطفال.

[النَجديَّة]

الفرقة الثانية النجدية، نسبوا إلى نجدة بن عامر الحنفي. قال نجدة و [٣٤أ] من قال بقوله إنّ أطفال المشركين في الجنة وإنّ الله لا يؤلم الأطفال في

س ٤-٥ قابل بمقالات الاشعري ص ٨٦: واول من احدث الخلاف بينهم نافع بن الازرق الحنفي والذي احدثه البراءة من القعدة والمحنة لمن قصد عسكره.

س ٥-٦ بمقالات الاشعري ص ٨٧: والازارقة لا تتبرأ ممن تقدمها من سلفها من الخوارج في توليهم القعدة الذين لا يخرجون ولا تتبرأ ايضا من سلفها من الخوارج في تركهم اكفار القعدة ... ويقولون هذا تبين لنا وخفي عليهم، وبالحور العين ص ٢٣١-٢٣٢.

س٧-٨ بمقالات الاشعري ص ٨٩: ان من اقام في دار الكفر فكافر لا يسعه الا الخروج.

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[١] احداها: احدها - ص

[٢] والمحنة: والمحبة - ص

[٣] توليهم: توليتهم - ص

[٤] ويقولون هذا تبين: وهولون(؟) هذا مبين - ص

[٥] مثال: امثال - ص

[٦] واجازوا: ولا جازوا - ص

الدنيا، واعتلّوا في ذلك بأن الله لا يؤلم أحداً إلاّ باستحقاق لأن الألم عقوبة والطفل غير مستحق لذلك. وإنّهم عذروا[1] بالجهل إذا أخطأ رجل في حكم من الأحكام من جهة الجهل، وقالوا: الدين هو معرفة الله ومعرفة رسوله وحقن[2] دماء المسلمين وأموالهم والإقرار بما جاء من عند الله جملة، فهذا واجب عليه، وما سوى ذلك فالناس يعذرون بجهالته حتى يقهر [٣٤ظ] عليه الحجة وهو جميع الحلال والحرام، فمن استحل شيئًا من طريق الاجتهاد مما لعله محرم فمعذور على حسب ما يقول الفقهاء من أهل الاجتهاد. قالوا: ومن خاف[3] العذاب على المجتهد في الأحكام المخطئ حتى يقهر عليه الحجة فهو كافر. قالوا: ومن انتقل من دار هجرتهم فهو منافق. وإنّهم استحلّوا دماء أهل العهد وأموالهم في دار التقية، وتولوا أصحاب الحدود كلها من موافقيهم،[4] وقالوا: لعل الله لا يعذب المنافقين بذنوبهم وإن فعل ذلك ففي[5]

قابل بمقالات الاشعري ص ٩٠-٩١: وعذروا بالجهالات اذا اخطأ الرجل في حكم من الاحكام من جهة الجهل وقالوا الدين امران احدهما معرفة الله ومعرفة رسله عليهم السلم وتحريم دماء المسلمين واموالهم وتحريم الغصب والاقرار بما جاء من عند الله جملة فهذا واجب وما سوى ذلك فالناس معذورون بجهالته حتى تقوم عليهم الحجة في جميع الحلال فمن استحل شيئا من طريق الاجتهاد مما لعله محرم فمعذور على حسب ما يقول الفقهاء من اهل الاجتهاد فيه قالوا ومن خاف العذاب على المجتهد في الاحكام المخطئ قبل ان تقوم عليه الحجة فهو كافر قالوا ومن نقل عن هجرتهم فهو منافق وحكي عنهم انهم استحلوا دماء اهل المقام واموالهم في دار التقية وبرئوا ممن حرمها وتولوا اصحاب الحدود والجنايات من موافقيهم وقالوا لا ندرى لعل الله يعذب المؤمنين بذنوبهم فان فعل فانما يعذبهم في

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[1] عذروا - ش: عدموا - ص

[2] وحقن: وبحقهم - ص

[3] خاف - ش؛ ح: خالفنا - ص

[4] موافقيهم: موافقتهم - ص

[5] ففي: في - ص

غير النار [ب٣٥] يعذبهم. وزعموا أن من نظر نظرة حرام أو كذب كذبة حرام صغيرة ثم أصرّ عليها فهو مشرك وأن من زنى أو سرق أو شرب الخمر غيرمُصرٍّ فهو مسلم. ولم يجيزوا[١] التخلد في العذاب لموافقيهم[٢].

[العَجارِدة]

الفرقة الثالثة العجاردة[٣]، نسبوا إلى عبد الكريم بن عجرّد[٤]. قالوا: إنّ أطفال المشركين في النار ويتبرأون من أطفالهم ما لم يبلغوا وينتحلوا الإسلام. وينكرون سورة يوسف ويقولون إنّها ليست من [ب٣٥] القرآن لأنها قصص. ويجيزون نكاح بنات البنين وبنات البنات وبنات بني[٥] الأخوات

غير النار بقدر ذنوبهم ولا يخلدهم في العذاب ثم يدخلهم الجنة وزعموا ان من نظر نظرة صغيرة او كذب كذبة صغيرة ثم اصر عليها فهو مشرك وان من زنى وسرق وشرب الخمر غير مصر فهو مسلم، وبالحور العين ص ٢٢٤: انهم قالوا ان المخطئ بالجهل معذور فمن استحل شيئا من طريق الاجتهاد مما هو محرم فهو معذور على جهله قالوا ومن خاف العذاب على المجتهد المخطئ في الاحكام متى تقوم عليه الحجة فهو كافر وقالوا من نقل عن دار هجرتهم فهو منافق وقالوا دماء اهل العهد في دار التقية حلال وبرئوا ممن حرمها وقالوا ان اصحاب الحدود المذنبين منهم غير خارجين من الايمان والمذنبين من غيرهم كفار وقالوا لا ندرى لعل الله يعذب المؤمنين بقدر ذنوبهم في غير النار وقالوا من اصر على نظرة محرمة او كذبة فهو مشرك ومن زنى او سرق غير مصر فهو مسلم.

س ٧-٨ قابل بالحور العين ص ٢٢٥ ومقالات الاشعري ص ٩٣.

س ٩ قابل بمقالات الاشعري ص ٩٦.

[١] يجيزوا: يحبها (؟) - ص

[٢] لموافقيهم: لموافقتهم - ص

[٣] العجاردة: العجاردية - ص

[٤] بن عجرد: عجزد - ص

[٥] بني: بنات - ص

والإخوة ويقولون: إنّ الله حرّم البنات. ويقولون بالعدل[١] على ‹مثال› قول المعتزلة. ويرون قتال السلطان خاصة ومن رضي بحكمه فأما من انكره فلا يرون قتله إلاّ إذا أعان عليهم أو طعن فيهم وفي دينهم. وفي العجاردة[٢] صنف يسمّون الميمونية.

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[البِدعيَّة]

والفرقة الرابعة البدعية، ورئيسهم يحيى بن أصرم. والذي ابتدعوه [أ٣٦] وتفردوا به دون الخوارج كلها، بل دون أهل الملة جميعًا، قطع الشهادة على

ص ٢٣ س ١٠ - س ١ قابل بمقالات الاشعري ص ٩٥: وذكر الكرابيسي في بعض كتبه ان العجاردة والميمونية يجيزون نكاح بنات البنين وبنات البنات وبنات بنات الاخوة وبنات بني الاخوة ويقولون ان الله حرم البنات وبنات الاخوة بنات الاخوات، وبالحور العين ص ٢٢٥: وهم يجيزون نكاح بنات البنين وبنات البنات وبنات بنات الاخوات وبنات بني الاخوة ويقولون ان الله حرم نكاح البنات والاخوات وبنات الاخ وبنات الاخت. بالملل للشهرستاني ص ٩٦: يذكر الحسين الكرابيسي في كتابه الذي حكى فيه مقالات الخوارج ان الميمونية يجيزون نكاح بنات البنات وبنات اولاد الاخوة والاخوات وقال ان الله حرم نكاح البنات وبنات الاخوة.

س ١ قابل بالحور العين ص ٢٢٥: وهم يقولون بالعدل، وبمقالات الاشعري ص ٩٣: من العجاردة الميمونية والذي تفردوا به القول بالقدر على مذهب المعتزلة ....

س ٢ - ٤ قابل بالحور العين ص ٢٢٥: كان عبد الكريم بن العجرد والميمونية لا يرون الا قتال السلطان خاصة واعوانه ومن رضي بحكمه ومن طعن في دينهم، وبمقالات الاشعري ص ٩٤: وانهم يرون قتال السلطان خاصة ومن رضي بحكمه فاما من انكره فلا يرون قتله الا اذا اعان عليهم او طعن في دينهم او صار عونا للسلطان او دليلا له.

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[١] ويقولون بالعدل: ويقول بالعذاب - ص

[٢] العجاردة: العجازدة - ص

أنفسهم وموافقيهم[١] أنهم أهل الجنة من غير شرط ولا استثناء. وقالوا: إنّ أطفال المشركين في النار واحتجوا بهذه الآية: «لا تَذَرْ عَلَى الأَرْضِ مِن الكَافِرِينَ دَيّاراً / إنَّكَ إنْ تَذَرْهُم يُضِلُّوا عِبَادَكَ وَلا يَلِدُوا إلاّ فَاجِراً كَفّاراً» [٧١/٢٦-٢٧]. وقالوا في الجبر[٢] مثل مقالة الأزارقة. ويثبتون[٣] الحج في الأشهر كلها. وقالوا: إنّ الصلاة المفروضة ثلاث صلوات، صلاة الفجر وصلاة المغرب - وهما في طرفَي النهار [٣٦ب] - وفي الليل صلاة العتمة، واحتجوا بقول الله تعالى: «‹و›أقِمِ الصَّلاةَ طَرَفَيِ النَّهَارِ وزُلَفاً مِن اللَّيلِ إنّ الحَسَنَاتِ يُذْهِبْنَ السَّيِّئَاتِ» [١١/١١٤]. وقالوا: إنّ جميع الأخبار المروية عن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله بوجوب الصلوات[٤] الخمس كذب وزور لأنه قد روي عنه صلوات الله عليه «ما أتاكم عني فاعرضوه على كتاب الله، فإن وافق كتاب الله فهو مني وما خالف كتاب الله فليس مني». وقالوا: إنّ الصلاة الوسطى هي صلاة المغرب التي قال الله فيها[٥]: «حَافِظُوا عَلَى الصَّلَوَاتِ والصَّلاةِ [٣٧أ] الوُسْطَى» [٢/٢٣٨]. وهم يحرمون السمك إلاّ أن يذبح[٦].

ص ٢٤ س ٩ - ص ٢٥ س ١ قابل بالحور العين ص ٢٣٢: والبدعية يقطعون بالشهادة على انفسهم وموافقتهم انهم من اهل الجنة من غير شرط ولا استثناء.

س ٦-٩ قابل بالحور العين ص ٢٣٢ وبمقالات الاشعري ص ١٢٦.

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[١] وموافقيهم: وموافقتهم - ص

[٢] الجبر: الخبر - ص

[٣] يثبتون: يدسون - ص

[٤] الصلوات: الصلوة - ص

[٥] التي قال الله فيها: الذي قال الله فيه - ص

[٦] يذبح: تذبح - ص

[الخازِميَّة]

الفرقة الخامسة الخازمية، نسبوا إلى شعيب بن خازم[١]. وهم قالوا بالجبر[٢] مثل مقالة جهم والأزارقة. ومما تفردوا به من القول أن[٣] قالوا: إنّ الولاية والعداوة صفتان[٤] في الذات، وقالوا: من لم يعلم الله بجميع أسمائه فهو جاهل، ومن كان جاهلاً فهو كافر.

[الثَعالِبة]

الفرقة السادسة الثعالبة[٥]، ولهم أقاويل كثيرة تركت ذكرها [٣٧ب] مخافة تطويل الكتاب إلاّ أني ذاكرٌ طرفًا من أقاويلهم. قالوا: إنّ تارك الصلاة كافر وليس من قِبَل تركه ولكنه من قِبَل جهله بالله، وكذلك قالوا في سائر

س ٤-٥قابل بمقالات الاشعري ص ٩٦: قالوا ... بان الولاية والعداوة صفتان لله عز وجل في ذاته، وبالحور العين ص ٢٢٥: ويقولون ان الولاية والعداوة صفتان في الذات.

س ٥-٦ قابل بمقالات الاشعري ص ٩٦: والفرقة السابعة من العجاردة وهي الثانية من الخازمية ويدعون المعلومية والذي تفردوا به انهم قالوا من لم يعلم الله بجميع اسمائه فهو جاهل به، وبالحور العين ص ٢٢٥: ومن الخازمية مجهولية وهم يقولون من لم يعلم الله تعالى بجميع اسمائه فهو له جاهل.

س ١١-١٢ قابل بالحور العين ص ٢٢٦-٢٢٧: ومن الثعالبة مكرمية ... وهم يقولون ان تارك الصلاة كافر وليس من قبل ترك الصلاة كفر ولكن من قبل جهله وكذلك قالوا في سائر

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[١] الخازمية . . . حازم - ص

[٢] بالجبر: بالخبر - ص

[٣] أن: بان - ص

[٤] صفتان - ح؛ ش: صنفان - ص

[٥] الثعالبة: النقالية - ص

الفرائض، وزعموا أن من أتى معصية فقد جهل الله. وقالوا: إنّ الله يوالي عباده ويعاديهم[١] على ما هم صائرون إليه لا على أعمالهم التي هم فيها. وإنّ أطفال الكفار مشتركون[٢] في عذاب[٣] آبائهم لأنهم ركن من أركانهم - يريدون بذلك أنهم كبعض من أبعاضهم. [٣٨أ]

[الصُفريَّة]

الفرقة السابعة[٤] الصفرية، نسبوا إلى زياد بن الأصفر، ولهم أقاويل كثيرة تركت ذكرها مخافة التطويل إلاّ أني أذكر شيئًا منها. من ذلك أنهم قالوا: ما كان من الأعمال التي عليها[٥] حد واقع فليس بكفر ولا أهله به

الفرائض وقالوا من اتى كبيرة فقد جهل الله تعالى وقالوا بالموافاة وهو ان الله انما يتولى عباده ويعاديهم على ما هم صائرون اليه لا على اعمالهم، وبمقالات الاشعري ص ١٠٠: ... من الثعالبة المكرمية ... زعموا ان تارك الصلاة كافر وليس هو من قبل تركه الصلاة كفر ولكن من قبل جهله بالله وكذلك قالوا في سائر الكبائر وزعموا ان من اتى كبيرة فقد جهل الله سبحانه وبتلك الجهالة كفر لا بركوبه المعصية وقالوا بالموافاة وهي ان الله سبحانه انما يتولى عباده ويعاديهم على ما هم صائرون اليه لا على اعمالهم التي هم فيها.

س ٣-٤ قابل بالحور العين ص ٢٢٦: وهم يقولون في الاطفال انهم مشتركون في عقاب آبائهم وانهم ركن من اركانهم وبعض من ابعاضهم، وبمقالات الاشعري ص ١٠٠: ومن قول الثعالبة في الاطفال انهم يشتركون في عذاب آبائهم وانهم ركن من اركانهم يريدون بذلك انهم بعض من ابعاضهم.

س ١٠ قابل بمقالات الاشعري ص ١٠١-١٠٢: طائفة يقولون ما كان من الاعمال عليه حد واقع فلا يتعدى باهله الاسم الذي لزمهم به الحد وليس يكفر بشيء ليس اهله به

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[١] يوالي عباده ويعاديهم: يتولى ... يعاديهم - ش؛ ح؛ موالي عباده ولعاتهم - ص

[٢] مشتركون - ح: مشركون - ص؛ يشتركون - ش

[٣] عذاب: عقاب - ص

[٤] السابعة: السادسة - ص

[٥] التي عليها: الذي عليه - ص

كافرون كالزنا والقذف والسرقة، وما كان من الأعمال التي ليس فيها[1] حد كترك الصلاة والزكاة فهو كفر، وأزالوا اسم الإيمان عن الفريقين في الوجهين جميعًا لأنهم سموا الزاني والقاذف والسارق [٣٨ب] فاسقًا لا مؤمنًا ولا كافراً وتارك الصلاة والزكاة كافراً.

[الإباضيَّة]

الفرقة الثامنة الإباضية، <نسبوا إلى> عبد الله بن إباض. قال بعضهم بالعدل على مثال قول المعتزلة. وزعموا أن مخالفيهم من أهل القبلة كافرو نعمة وليسوا بمشركين، أموالهم وسلاحهم وكراعهم حلال عند الحرب، حرام ما وراء ذلك، حرام سبيهم وقتلهم في السرّ[2]. وزعموا أن الدار دار مخالفيهم دار توحيد إلاّ عسكر السلطان، فإنّه دار بغي. وقالوا: إنّ مرتكبي الكبائر موحدون كفار نعمة وليسوا بمؤمنين، و [٣٩أ] أجازوا تعذيب أطفال المشركين وأجازوا أن يدخلهم الله الجنة بالتفضل.

كافرا كالزنا والقذف وهم قذفة زناة وما كان من الاعمال ليس عليه حد كترك الصلاة والصيام فهو كافر وازالوا اسم الايمان في الوجهين جميعا.

س ٩-١٣ قابل بالحور العين ص ٢٢٧: وجمهور الاباضية يقولون ان مخالفيهم من اهل القبلة كفار وليسوا بمشركين حلال مناكحتهم وحلال غنيمة اموالهم عند الحرب من السلاح والكراع حرام ما وراء ذلك من سبيهم وقتلهم في السر. وقالوا ان الدار دار مخالفيهم دار توحيد الا عسكر السلطان فانه دار بغى وقالوا ان مرتكبي الكبائر موحدون وليسوا بمشركين، وبمقالات الاشعري ص ١٠٤-١٠٥: يزعمون ان مخالفيهم من اهل الصلاة كفار وليسوا بمشركين حلال مناكحتهم وموارثتهم حلال غنيمة اموالهم من السلاح والكراع عند الحرب حرام ما وراء ذلك وحرام قتلهم وسبيهم في السر. وزعموا ان الدار يعنون دار مخالفيهم دار توحيد الا عسكر السلطان فانه دار كفر يعنى عندهم. وقالوا ان كل طاعة

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[1] التي ليس فيها: الذي ليس فيه - ص

[2] السر - ح؛ ش: الشرور - ص

[الحَفصيَّة]

الفرقة التاسعة الحفصية، أصحاب حَفص بن أبي المِقدام. زعموا أن ما بين الشرك والكفر معرفة الله، فمن عرف الله ثم كفر بما سواه من رسول أو جنة أو نار أو شريعة فهو كافر بريء من الشرك، ومن جهل الله وأنكره فهو مشرك. فتبرأت الخوارج من هؤلاء وتبرأوا منهم[1].

[اليَزِيديَّة]

الفرقة العاشرة اليزيدية، [٣٩ب] أصحاب يزيد بن أبي أُنَيسة. قالوا: نتولى المحكّمة الأول ونتبرأ ممن كان بعد ذلك من أهل الأحداث ونتولى[2] الإباضية كلها. وهم خالفوا الحفصية[3] في الكفر والشرك وثبتوا على ولاية

ايمان ودين وان مرتكبي الكبائر موحدون وليسوا بمؤمنين.

س ٣-٦ قابل بالحور العين ص ٢٢٩: وهم يقولون ان ما بين الشرك والكفر معرفة الله فمن عرف الله ثم كفر بما سواه من رسول او كتاب او جنة او نار او عمل جميع الجنايات فهو كافر بريء من الشرك ومن جهل الله وانكره فهو مشرك، وبمقالات الاشعري ص ١٠٢: ... الحفصية كان امامهم حفص بن ابي المقدام زعم ان بين الشرك والايمان معرفة الله وحده فمن عرف الله سبحانه ثم كفر بما سواه من رسول او جنة او نار او عمل بجميع الخبائث ... فهو كافر بريء من الشرك ومن جهل الله سبحانه وانكره فهو مشرك.

س ١١-١٢ قابل بمقالات الاشعري ص ١٠٣: قالوا نتولى المحكمة الاولى ونبرأ ممن كان بعد ذلك من اهل الاحداث ونتولى الاباضية كلها ويزعمون انهم مسلمون كلهم الا من بلغه قولنا.

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[1] منهم: عنهم - ص

[2] نتولى ... نتبرأ ... نتولى: نتولى ... تبرء ... يتولى - ص

[3] الحفصية - ش: المعصية - ص

الإباضية إلاّ من رد منهم[1] قولهم. وزعموا أن الله سيبعث رسولاً من العجم ويُنزل عليه كتابًا من السماء يُكتَب في السماء ثم يُنزل عليه جملةً فيترك شريعة محمد ويأتي شريعة أخرى غيرها، وأن ملته تكون ملة الصابئة وليست هذه الصابئة ‹التي عليها الناس اليوم›[2] ولكن الصابئين الذين [٤٠] ذكرهم الله في القرآن؛ قالوا: ولم يأتوا بعد. وزعموا أن في هذه الأمة شاهدَين عليهم أحدهما يزيد بن أبي أنيسة، وأنهم لا يدرون أمضى الآخر أم هو كائن.

[البَيهَسيَّة]

الفرقة الحادية عشر البيهسية، نسبوا إلى أبي بيهس هيصم بن جابر. قالوا: إنّ دماء مخالفيهم حلال وأخذ أموالهم، ولا يجوّزون الصلاة خلف مخالفيهم ولا يصلون مع السراويل. وقالوا: إنّ الدار دار الكفر والشرك «فاقْتُلُوا الْمُشْرِكِينَ حَيثُ وَجَدْتُمُوهُم» [٣٤] الآية [٥/٩]. وقالوا: إذا كفر إمام الرعية وأشرك صارت[3] الدار دار شرك وأهلها جميعًا مشركون إلاّ من

س ١-٥ قابل بالحور العين ص ٢٢٩: ومنهم اليزيدية امامهم يزيد بن ابي انيسة قال ان الله تعالى سيبعث رجلا من العجم وينزل عليه كتابا من السماء ثم يكتب في السماء وينزل عليه جملة واحدة فيترك شريعة محمد ويأتي بشريعة اخرى وغيرها وان ملته تكون الصابية وليست هذه الصابية ولكن الصابين الذين ذكرهم الله في كتابه قال ولم يأتوا بعد وزعم ان في هذه الامة شاهدين عليها وانه احدهما وانه لا يدرى امضى الآخر ام هو كائن، وبمقالات الاشعري ص ١٠٣-١٠٤: وزعم ان الله سبحانه سيبعث رسولا من العجم وينزل عليه كتابا من السماء يكتب في السماء وينزل عليه جملة واحدة فترك شريعة محمد ودان بشريعة غيرها وزعم ان ملة ذلك النبي الصابئة وليس هذه الصابئة التي عليها الناس اليوم وليس هم الصابئين الذين ذكرهم الله في القرآن، ولم يأتوا بعد.

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[1] من رد منهم : من رد الله منهم – ص

[2] ‹التي عليها الناس اليوم›: الإضافة عن ش، ص ١٠٤

[3] صارت: وصارت – ص

عرفوه بعينه وبالإسلام. واستحلّوا القتل والسبي على ‹كل› حال، وحرموا تزويج نساء المشركين الذين هم المذنبون عندهم، واحتجوا بقول الله تعالى: «وَلا تُمْسِكُوا بِعِصَمِ الكَوافِرِ» [٦٠/١٠] «وَلا تَنكِحُوا المُشْرِكَاتِ حَتَّى يُؤْمِنَّ» [٢/٢٢١]. وقالوا: السكر من كل شيء ‹حلال› الأصل موضوع عمن سكر عنه وكل ما كان من السكر[1] من ترك الصلاة أو شتم الله فهو موضوع لا حد فيه ولا يكفّر أهله [41أ] بشيء من ذلك ما داموا في سكرهم.

[الفُضَيليَّة]

الفرقة الثانية عشر الفضيلية، نسبوا إلى الفضيل[2] بن عبد الله. قالوا: إنّ كل معصية صغرت أم كبرت شرك، وقالوا: إنّ العاصي لا يعرف ربه،

ص ٣٠ س ١٣- ص ٣١ س ١ قابل بالحور العين ص ٢٣٠: ومن البيهسية العوفية وهم يقولون اذا كفر الامام كفرت بكفره الرعية الشاهد منهم والغائب وصارت الدار دار شرك يحل قتل اهلها وسبيهم على كل حال، وبمقالات الاشعري ص ١١٦: قالت طائفة من البيهسية اذا كفر الامام كفرت الرعية وقالت الدار دار شرك واهلها جميعا مشركون وتركت الصلاة الا خلف من تعرف وذهبت الى قتل اهل القبلة واخذ الاموال واستحلت القتل والسبي على كل حال.

س ٤-٦ قابل بالحور العين ص ٢٣٠: وهم يقولون ان السكر من كل شراب حلال الاصل موضوع عمن سكر منه وكل ما كان من ترك صلاة وشتم فهو موضوع عن صاحبه لا حد فيه ولا حكم ولا يكفر اهله بشيء من ذلك ما داموا في حال السكر، وبمقالات الاشعري ص ١١٧: وقال بعض البيهسية السكر من كل شراب حلال موضوع عمن سكر منه وكل ما كان في السكر من ترك الصلاة او شتم الله سبحانه فهو موضوع لا حد فيه ولا حكم ولا يكفر اهله بشيء من ذلك ما داموا في سكرهم.

س ١١، الحور العين ص ٢٣١: وهم يقولون ان كل معصية صغرت او كبرت فهي شرك.

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[1] من السكر: والسكر - ص

[2] الفضيل: الفضل - ص

وقالو‹ا›: إنّ طاعة الشيطان عبادة له وطاعة الهوى عبادة له، واحتجوا بقول الله تعالى ذكره: «أَفَرَأَيتَ مَنِ اتَّخَذَ إِلٰهَهُ هَوَاهُ» [٤٥/٢٣]. وقالوا: لا يكفر ولا يعصي من قال بضربٍ من الحقّ الذي يكون[١] من المسلمين حقاً وإن أراد غير الله، من نحو[٢] قول القائل «لا إله إلاّ الله» [٤١ب] يريد به قول النصارى أن الذي لا إله إلاّ هو الذي له الولد[٣] والزوجة أو يريد صنمًا قد اتخذه إلهًا، وقول القائل «محمد رسول الله» وهو يريد غيره ممن هو حي قائم، وما أشبه ذلك من القول[٤] كله واعتقاد القلب والتوجه إلى غير الله.

[الشِمراخيَّة]

الفرقة الثالثة عشر الشمراخية، نسبوا إلى عبد الله بن شمراخ. قالوا: إنّ دماء ‹قومه›[٥] حرامٌ في السر حلالٌ في العلانية وإنّ قتل الابوين حرام في دار

س ٢-٧ قابل بالحور العين ص ٢٣١: ويقولون انه لا يكفر عندهم من قال بضرب من الحق وهو يضمر غيره نحو ان يقول لا اله الا الله وهو يريد قول النصارى اي الذي له الولد والزوجة او يريد صنما ...؟ ويقول محمد رسول الله وهو يعنى غيره ممن هو حي واشباه ذلك، وبمقالات الاشعري ص ١١٨-١١٩: وقالت الفضلية لا يكفر عندنا ولا يعصى من قال بضرب من الحق الذي يكون من المسلمين واراد به غير الله او وجهه على غير ما يوجهه المسلمون عليه نحو قول القائل لا اله الا الله يريد بها قول النصارى الذي لا اله الا هو الذي له الولد والزوجة او يريد صنما اتخذ الها وكقول القائل محمد رسول الله وهو يريد غيره ممن قال هو حي قائم وما اشبه ذلك من القول كله واعتقاد القلب والتوجه الى غير الله عز وجل. من س ١١ قابل بمقالات الاشعري ص ١٢٠: وذكر اليمان [ابن رباب] ايضا ان صاحب

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[١] الذي يكون - ش ١١٨: التي يكفر - ص

[٢] نحو - ش ١١٨.: يحق - ص

[٣] الولد: الوالد - ص

[٤] من القول - ش ١١٩: في القرآن - ص

[٥] قومه: الإضافة من ش ١٢٠

التقية ودار الهجرة وإن [٤٢أ] كانا مخالفَين[١]. والخوارج يتبرأون منهم. وقالوا بالإرجاء في موافقيهم[٢]، وقالوا: إنّ أطفال المشركين تنال الجنة.

[الضَحّاكيّة]

الفرقة الرابعة عشر الضحاكية، نسبوا إلى الضحاك بن الشاري[٣]. وإنّهم أجازوا أن يزوّجوا المرأة المسلمة عندهم من كفار قومهم في دار التقية كما يسع الرجل منهم أن يتزوج الكافرة[٤] من قومه في دار التقية؛ فأما دار العلانية ودار حكمهم فلا يستحلون ذلك. وقالوا بتحليل الأشربة التي يسكر كثيرها إذا[٥] لم [٤٢ب] يكن الخمر بعينها، وحرموا السكر. وهم لا يتبعون المولّي في

الشمراخية هو عبد الله بن شمراخ كان يقول ان دماء قومه حرام في السر حلال في العلانية وان قتل الابوين حرام في دار التقية ودار الهجرة وان كانا مخالفين والخوارج تبرأ منه.
س ٦-٩ قابل بالحور العين ص ٢٣٠: ومن الخوارج الضحاكية امامهم الضحاك وهم يجيزون ان تزوج المرأة المسلمة عندهم من كفار قومهم في دار التقية كما يجوز للرجل منهم ان يتزوج الكافرة من قومه في دار التقية فاما دار العلانية ودار حكمهم فلا يجوز، وبمقالات الاشعري ص ١١١: فاجازوا ان يزوجوا المرأة المسلمة عندهم من كفار قومهم في دار التقية كما يسع الرجل منهم ان يتزوج المرأة الكافرة من قومه في دار التقية فاما في دار العلانية وقد جاز حكمهم فيها فانهم لا يستتحلون ذلك فيها.
س ٩ وما بعد قابل بالحور العين ص ٢٢٨: وقالت فرقة منهم بتحليل الاشربة التي يسكر كثيرها اذا لم تكن الخمر بعينها وحرموا السكر وهم يرون قتل المشبهة وسبيهم وغنيمة اموالهم ويجهزون على جريحهم، وبمقالات الاشعري ص ١٠٩: وقال بعضهم بتحليل الاشربة التي يسكر كثيرها اذا لم تكن الخمر بعينها وحرموا السكر وليس يتبعون المولي في

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[١] مخالفين - ش ١٢٠: مختلفين - ص
[٢] موافقيهم: موافقتهم - ص
[٣] الشاري: التنادي - ص
[٤] الكافرة: الكافر - ص
[٥] اذا: اذ - ص

الحرب إذا لم يكن من أهل القبلة أو كان[١] من أهل القبلة وكان موحّداً[٢]، ولا يقتلون امرأةً ولا ذريةً، ‹ويرون› قتل المشبّهة[٣] وسبيهم وغنيمة أموالهم. ويتبعون موليهم[٤] ويجهزون على جريحهم. وقالوا:[٥] يجوز أن يكون حكمان مختلفان في الشيء[٦] الواحد بين جهتين، من ذلك أن رجلاً لو دخل زرعًا بغير إذن صاحبه لكان الله قد نهاه عن الخروج منه لأن فيه[٧] إفساد الزرع وقد أمره به لأنه ليس له. وقالوا: من [٤٣] زنى أو سرق أقيم عليه الحدّ ثم استتيب فإن تاب وإلاّ قتل لأنه كافر، وقالوا: إنّ الواجب أن يستتيبوا من خالفهم[٨] في تنزيل وتأويل فإن تاب وإلاّ قتل، كان ذلك الخلاف فيما يسع جهله ‹أو فيما لا يسع جهله›[٩].

الحرب اذا كان من اهل القبلة وكان موحدا ولا يقتلون امرأة ولا ذرية ويرون قتل المشبهة وسبيهم وغنيمة اموالهم ويتبعون موليهم.

س ٣-٦ قابل بمقالات الاشعري ص ١٠٨-١٠٩: وقال جل الاباضية قد يجوز ان يقع حكمان مختلفان في الشيء الواحد من وجهين فمن ذلك ان رجلا لو دخل زرعا بغير اذن صاحبه لكان الله سبحانه قد نهاه عن الخروج منه لان فيه فساد الزرع وقد امره به لانه ليس له، و س ٧-٩، بمقالات الاشعري ص ١٠٧: وقالوا جميعا ان الواجب ان يستتيبوا من خالفهم في تنزيل وتأويل فان تاب والا قتل كان ذلك الخلاف فيما يسع جهله او فيما لا يسع جهله وقالوا من زنى او سرق اقيم عليه الحد ثم استتيب فان تاب والا قتل.

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[١] او كان: وكان - ص

[٢] موحدا - ش ١٠٩: موجودا - ص

[٣] ويرون قتل المشبهة - ش ١٠٩: قتل المسبية - ص

[٤] موليهم - ش ١٠٩: مولاهم - ص

[٥] وقالوا: فقال - ص

[٦] في الشيء: فالشيء، والتصحيح عن ش ١٠٨

[٧] فيه: منه - ص

[٨] الواجب ان يستتيبوا من خالفهم - ش : الجواب لن تستبرء من مخالفتهم - ص

[٩] ‹أو فيما لا يسع جهله›: الإضافة عن ش ١٠٧

[مذهب الحديثيّة]

والمذهب الثالث الحديثية[١] وهو ينقسم على أربع فرق. وهذه الفرق[٢] قد أجمعوا على أن الله على العرش بائن من خلقه بذاته، وأن أهل الجنة يرون ربهم بأبصارهم، وأن الإيمان قول وعمل يزيد وينقص، وأن المؤمن يعقد قلبه على ما يظهر من لسانه ولا [٤٣ب] يشك في إيمانه، ولا يكفّرون أحداً[٣] من أهل التوحيد، ويُرجون ما غاب عنهم من الأمور إلى الله ولا يقطعون بالذنوب العصمة من عند الله، ويقولون: إنّ كل شيء بقضاء الله وقدره من الخير والشر والكفر والإيمان، ولا يُنزلون[٤] أحداً من أمة محمد صلى الله عليه وآله الجنة بعمل حسن عمله ولا النار بذنب اكتسبه حتى يكون الله هو الذي ينزل خلقه كما[٥] يشاء. ويعرفون حق السلف الذين اختارهم الله تعالى لصحبة نبيه[٦] صلى الله اليه وآله، ويقدّمون [٤٤أ] في الإمامة أبا بكر ثم عمر ثم عثمان ويترحمون على أصحاب رسول الله صغيرهم وكبيرهم ويحدّثون بفضائلهم ويمسكون عما شجر بينهم، ويصلون صلاة العيدين والجماعات و‹يغزون› الغزوات مع كل أمير براً كان أو فاجراً، ويمسحون على الخفين في السفر والحضر، ويقولون: إنّ الشراء والبيع والتجارات حلال إلى يوم القيامة على حكم الكتاب والسنة، وإنّ التكبير على الجنائز أربع، ويدْعون لأئمة المسلمين بالصلاح، ولا يخرجون[٧] عليهم بسيوفهم ولا [٤٤ب] يقاتلون في الفتنة

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[١] والمذهب الثالث الحديثية: والمذهب الثاني الحديبية – ص

[٢] الفرق: الفرقة – ص

[٣] احدا: لهم – ص

[٤] ينزلون: يتولوا – ص

[٥] كما: لهم – ص

[٦] لصحبة نبيه – ش ٢٩٤: لمحمد نبيه – ص

[٧] يخرجون: يحرون – ص

ويلزمون بيوتهم ويقولون: كونوا عباد الله المقتولين ولا تكونوا عباد الله القاتلين، ويؤمنون بعذاب القبر ونكير ومنكر والحوض والشفاعة والميزان وإنّ قومًا من الموحدين يخرجون[1] من النار بعدما أحرقوا. وقالوا جميعًا: إنّ النبي صلى الله عليه وآله عرج ‹به› إلى السماء ورأى ربه بعينه وكلّمه، وإنّ الرب ينزل كل ليلة[2] جمعة إلى سماء الدنيا، وقالوا: إنّ الجنة والنار مخلوقان اليوم. وأجمعوا أن الخبر إذا جاء من رجال ثقات معروفين مقبولين [٤٥أ] فالواجب قبوله، فمن رد‹ه› فهو مبتدع ضال[3] فاسق.

وهم فيما بعد ذلك مختلفون على أربع فرق كما ذكرناه بدءاً.

[المالكيّة]

أحدها المالكية، نسبوا إلى مالك بن أنس. قالوا: إنّ الله عالم بعلم[4] وقادر بقدرة وسميع وبصير بالسمع والبصر. وأجازوا إتيان النساء في أدبارهم. وأثبتوا القياس وأنكروا الاستحسان. وقالوا: إنّ الإمام بعد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله أبو بكر لأن الأمة اجتمعت عليه وإنّ النبي [٤٥ب] صلى الله عليه وآله مات ولم يستخلف، ثم من بعده عمر ‹ثم من بعده عثمان› ثم علي لأن النبي صلى الله عليه وآله قال: الخلافة بعدي ثلاثون سنة ثم بعد ذلك ملك. وقالوا: إنّ خير الناس بعد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله عمر واعتلّوا في ذلك بالخبر عن النبي صلى الله عليه وآله: إن وليتم أبا بكر تجدوه قويّاً في دينه ضعيفًا في بدنه وإن وليتموها عمر[5] تجدوه قويّاً في دينه

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[1] يخرجون: اخرجوا - ص

[2] ليلة: ليل - ص

[3] ضال: ضد - ص؛ صاد - ص الهامش

[4] بعلم: لعلم - ص

[5] عمر: عمرا - ص

قوياً في بدنه، فمن كان له قوّتان خير من الذي يكون له قوة واحدة، واعتلوا بقول أبي بكر [٤٦أ] حيث يقول في أول خطبته: وليتكم ولست بخيركم، أنه إنما أراد بذلك عمر لأنه أقرّ له بالفضل يوم سقيفة بني ساعدة حيث قال: إني رضيت لكم أحد هذين الرجلين، وأيضًا بقول[١] رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله: لو لم أبعث فيكم لبعث[٢] عمر، وقوله: اللهم أعزّ الإسلام بأحبّك[٣] بعمر أو بأبي جهل. ولمالك اختلاف كثير مع أصحابه في الشرائع. وهو يقول: الأذان مثنى والإقامة مرة واحدة كلها لأنه يفرد الإقامة، وخالف أصحابَه في ذلك. والاستنشاق عنده في الوضوء فريضة. [٤٦ب] وأجازوا السكوت خلف الإمام عند جهر الإمام بالقراءة.

[الشافعيّة]

الفرقة الثانية الشافعية، أصحاب محمد بن إدريس الشافعي. قالوا: إنّ أفضل الناس بعد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله أبو بكر ثم عمر ثم عثمان ثم علي وإنّهم الخلفاء الأربعة الراشدون. وقالوا: إنّ رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله مات ولم يستخلف، فولّت الأمة على أنفسهم أبا بكر ورأوه أحق بالإمامة من غيره، وقد قال [٤٧أ] رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله: لا تجتمع[٤] أمتي على ضلالة. وأثبتوا القياس والاجتهاد[٥] إلاّ أنهم لا يقرّون بإثبات الاستحسان. وقالوا: إنّ علي بن أبي طالب صلوات الله عليه كان مصيباً في جميع حروبه إلاّ أن طلحة والزبير ومعاوية وعائشة وعمرو بن العاص تأولوا

[١] بقول: يقال – ص
[٢] لبعث: كبعث – ص
[٣] باحبك: باحك – ص
[٤] تجتمع: يجتمع – ص
[٥] الاجتهاد: الاستحسان – ص

لحربه واجتهدوا في ذلك وكلهم[١] في الجنة كما ذكر الله عز وجل: «ونَزَعْنَا مَا فِي صُدُورِهِمْ مِنْ غِلٍّ إِخْوَانًا عَلَى سُرُرٍ مُتَقَابِلِينَ» [١٥/٤٧]، وقالوا: إنّ البهائم تبعث[٢] ثم تصير[٣] ترابًا بأمر الله ويتمنى الكافر حالهم [٧٨ب] حيث يقول: «يَا لَيْتَنِي كُنْتُ تُرَابًا» [٧٨/٤٠]. فأما الأطفال والمجانين فيدخلون برحمة الله تعالى ‹الجنة›. وللشافعي اختلاف كثير في الأحكام والشرائع مع أبي حنيفة وغيره من فقهاء الملة. ومَسُّ الذكر ينقض الوضوء عنده.

[الحَنْبَلِيَّة]

الفرقة الثالثة الحنبلية، وهم الحشوية، نسبوا إلى أحمد بن حنبل. أثبتوا بعض القياس ونفوا[٤] الاستحسان. وقالوا: إنّ الإمام بعد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم أبو بكر وإنّ النبي صلى الله عليه وآله استخلفه على الأمة نصًا، ثم [٤٨أ] استخلف أبو بكر عمر، ثم الإمام بعده عثمان، ثم يقفون ولا يُقرّون بولاية علي بن أبي طالب، ويحتجون بالخَبَر المروي عن عبد الله بن عُمر أنه قال: كنا نقول في حياة رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله: أبو بكر الصديق وعمر بن الخطاب وعثمان. والحنبلية لا يثبتون إمامة علي بن أبي طالب صلوات الله عليه ويقولون: إنّه لم يكن إمامًا لأن الناس لم يجتمعوا عليه، واحتجوا بالخبر عن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وعلى آله أنه لما بنى المسجد وضع عليه حجراً ثم قال: ليضع [٤٨ب] أبو بكر حجراً إلى حيث حجري، ثم قال: وليضع عمر حجراً إلى حيث حجر أبي بكر وليضع عثمان حجراً إلى حيث حجر عمر، ثم قال: هؤلاء الخلفاء من بعدي. وقالوا: إنّ عليًا صلوات الله

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[١] كلهم: كلمهم – ص

[٢] تبعث: شعث – ص

[٣] تصير: يصير – ص

[٤] ونفوا: ويقول – ص

عليه كان على الخطأ حيث آوى قتلة عثمان وأخذ الأمر من غير شورى وقاتل أم المؤمنين عائشة وحواري رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله الزبير وطلحة وخال المؤمنين معاوية، وقالوا:[1] يُجلس الله تعالى معاوية على يمينه يوم القيامة ويغلفه بيمينه ويدخله الجنة من جهة جهده في طلب [٤٩أ] دم عثمان المقتول المظلوم. وقالوا في تأويل هذه الآية «فَلَمّا تَجَلّى رَبُّهُ للجَبَل»: [١٤٣/٧] قال: أرى الجبل إصبعًا من أصابعه. وقالوا: إنّ القرآن كلام الله منه خرج وإليه يعود، ودليلهم على ذلك قوله: «يُرِيدُونَ أن يُبَدِّلُوا كَلامَ اللّه» [٤٨/ ١٥]، وقوله: «حَتّى يَسْمَعَ كَلامَ اللّه» [٦/٩]، وزعموا أن من قال: القرآن مخلوق، فهو كافر لا يصلى خلفه ولا يصلى على جنازته ولا تؤكل ذبيحته.

[الداوديّة]

الفرقة الرابعة الداودية، نسبوا إلى داود بن علي بن خلف الإصبهاني. و[٤٩ب] إنّهم أنكروا القياس فأخذوا بالقرآن أصلاً ونفوه وقالوا: كل من قاس فهو مخطىء فاسق لأن الله جل ذكره لم يدع رطبًا ولا يابسًا إلاّ أودعه كتابه، فأبطلوا القياس وأخذوا بالقرآن والسنة والإجماع فقط، ولم يحكموا إلاّ على ظاهر اللفظ حتى أنهم قالوا: إذا بال أحدهم في الماء[2] الراكد لا يجوز التوضؤ منه وإذا تغوط جاز له ذلك لأن النبي صلى الله عليه وآله قال: لا يبولن[3] أحدكم في الماء الراكد فيتوضأ[4] منه، ولم يقل لا يتغوطن، وعلى هذا القياس أخذوا جميع [٥٠أ] الأحكام[5] والحلال والحرام. وأجازوا بيع أمهات الأولاد

[1] قالوا: قال – ص
[2] الماء: المال – ص
[3] يبولن: تبولن – ص
[4] فيتوضأ: ليتوضأ – ص
[5] اخذوا جميع الاحكام: احدوا جميع والاحكام – ص

وصلاة التراويح في شهر رمضان ثماني ركعات على أربع تسليمات. وقالوا: إنّ الأذان يجب أن يكون بالترجيع كله[١] والإقامة فرد. وقالوا: إنّ السكران إذا طلق امرأته لا يقع بينهما تحريم لأن طلاق السكران هذر[٢]. وقالوا: إنّ الاستنشاق في الوضوء فريضة ‹و›لا يجوز الاستجمار عنده بالروث[٣]، وقالوا: إنّ لمس النساء سواء كان جماعًا[٤] أو غير جماع ينقض الوضوء وكذلك مس الذكر. وقالوا: إنّ رسول الله [٥٠ب] صلى الله عليه وآله استخلف أبا بكر نصًّا حيث أمره بالصلاة، وقالوا: إنّا نَكِلُ أمر علي وعائشة وطلحة والزبير على الله لأنا لا ندري أي الفريقين على الحق غير أنّا نقول: إنّ ‹حال› القاعدين في ذلك اليوم خير من حال الخارجين حال عبد الله بن عمر ومحمد بن مسلمة[٥] وسعد بن أبي وقاص. وقالوا: ليس على تارك الصلاة قضاؤها بعد ما فاته الوقت، واحتجوا[٦] بمثل ما احتج به الحسن البصري. والداودية[٧] يحكون هذا القول عن أبي بكر محمد بن داود الإصبهاني [٥١أ] أن الله خلق آدم على صورة الرحمن بعينه، وقالوا: إنّ الله ينزل كل ليلة جمعة إلى سماء الدنيا ‹و›ينزل ليلة براءة فيقول: هل من تائب فأقبل توبته ومن مستغفر فأغفر له؟. وقالوا: إنّ الله قادر بقدرته وعالم بعلمه ورحيم برحمته وسميع بسمعه وبصير ببصره ومتكلم بكلامه، وإنّ كل واحد من هذه الصفات غير صاحبه، يعنون بذلك أن السمع غير البصر والقدرة غير العلم والكلام غير الرحمة.

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[١] بالترجيع كله: في الرجيع كلها - ض

[٢] هذر: هدر - ص

[٣] بالروث: بالروح - ص

[٤] كان جماعا: جماعا كان - ص

[٥] مسلمة: سلمة - ص

[٦] احتجوا: احتج - ص

[٧] الداودية: الداود - ص

وقد فرغنا من صفة أقاويل الفرق الذين قالوا: [٥١ب] إنّ الطاعات كلها إيمان، واعتقاداتهم على سبيل إيجاز واختصار، والواجب على المستجيب أن يحمد الله على ما هداه بالبيان وأنقذه عن مثل هذه الأقاويل المضلة عند نظره فيه.

باب القول الثاني

[الذين قالوا: إنّ الشرائع ليست من الإيمان]

فأما الذين قالوا: إنّ الشرائع ليست من الإيمان، فإنّهم افترقوا على ثلاثة مذاهب تنقسم على أربع وعشرين فرقة لكل فرقة منهم دعوى على حدة.

[مذهب القدرية]

فأحد[1] هذه المذاهب الثلاثة مذهب الجبر وهم القدرية، ينقسمون [٥٢أ] خمس فرق.

[الجهمية]

الفرقة الأولى الجهمية، نسبوا إلى جهم بن صفوان. قالوا: إنّ الإيمان هو المعرفة والتصديق[2] بالقلب دون الإقرار ودون سائر الطاعات ولو أن رجلاً عاش مائة سنة وصدّق الله وعرفه بالقلب ولم يقرّ باللسان فهو مؤمن. وقالوا: إنّ علم الله مُحدَث ولم يزل الله عالما بأن الشيء سيكون ولا عالِم به قد كان،[3] وإذا كان الشيء، قيل[4] اللهُ عالم به قد كان، فقد ثبت بحدوث العلم

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[1] فاحد: فاما احد – ص

[2] والتصديق: وتصديق – ص

[3] قد كان: قد كان وسيكون – ص

أن[1] <علم> الله هو غيره مثل [٣٥٢] الإنسان والسماء والتوراة والفرقان والإنجيل والأرض وغير ذلك من المخلوقين، و<قال جهم: إنه> لا يقول: إنّ الله لم يزل[2] عالمًا لأنه لو قال ذلك لزمه أن يكون لم يزل معه غيره، وقال: لا يقول: لم يزل عالمًا ولا جاهلًا لأن العلم فعله، فإذا فعل علمًا فهو له علم، وإذا فعل جهلاً فهو كذلك. فمن[3] قوله: إنّ كل جهل في الدنيا وعلم فهو فعله. وقالوا: إنّ الإرادة من الله جميع أفاعيل العباد مثل الطاعة والمعصية على مثال[4] ما قالوا في العلم. وقالوا: إنّ القرآن مخلوق، وإنّ [١٠٣] الله لا يراه أحد في الآخرة. وقالوا: إنّ الله خالق الأشياء ومُبدعها وهو بارىء المخلوقين، فلا يجوز أن يكون أحد من خلقه يفعل شيئًا ويحْدُثه، وإنّ كل ما شاهدنا من الأفعال المنسوبة إلى الحيوان فهو فعل الله فيهم كالشمس والقمر والموت[5]، فإذا قلتَ: كفر الإنسان وآمن وتحرك وعصى وأطاع وزنى وسرق، فهو مثل قولك: غربت الشمس وطلع القمر ومات فلان وطال وقصر ويبست الشجرة، وكل فعل في الدنيا فهو فعل الله. وإنما يعذب الله العباد [٣٥٣] يوم القيامة على ما فعل بهم لا ما فعلوه هم لأنه[6] ليس لهم فعل، ويجوز أن يعذب الله جميع الناس والملائكة المقرّبين ويثيب المنافقين والشياطين ويخلدهم[7] في جنته، وقالوا: ويكون هذا منا معنى الظلم وليس منه بظلم لأنه لا يُشبهنا ولأنّا مماليكه وعبيده ولا يُسأل عن فعله. الدليل على ذلك <أنه> لو جاز أن يكون

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[4] قيل: قبل – ص

[1] ان: لان – ص

[2] لا يقول ان الله لم يزل: ويقول ان يكون لم يزل الله – ص

[3] فمن: من – ص

[4] مثال: امثال – ص

[5] الموت: المدر – ص

[6] لانه: رايه – ص

[7] يخلدهم: يجلدهم – ص

للعباد فعل من حركة أو سكون، لجاز[1] أن يعدلوا السموات والأرضين وإذا جاز هذا طلبوه[2] وهذا مستحيل. وقالوا: إنّ الحركات هي [٤٥أ] أجسام ومحال أن تكون[3] غير جسم من قبل أن غير الجسم هو الله فلا يكون أحد يشبهه. وقالوا: إنّ الله يفعل الظلم والعبث ويكلف[4] ما لا يطيق عباده وليس ذلك منه بظلم ولكنه فضل وإحسان، وإنما كان ذلك ‹من› المأمور والمنهي عنه والله عز وجل لا يؤمر ولا ينهى. وأنكروا عذاب القبر ومنكراً ونكيراً[5] والميزان. وقالوا: لا نقول: إنّ الله شيء ولكنه مُشَيِّء الشيء، ودليلهم[6] على أن الله تعالى مشيّء الشيء لأن الشيء لا يقع إلاّ على مخلوق ومحال أن يكون الله بصفة الخلق. [٤٥ب] ودانوا بالخروج على السلطان الجائر[7] بأي جهة استطاعوا بالسيف فما دونه. وقالوا: إنّ الجنة والنار ليستا بمخلوقتين اليوم إلى أن يجيء حينهما، فتخلقان[8] بعد يوم القيامة، وأنهما لا تدومان[9] بعد أن يخلقهما الله، وأجازوا عليهما الفناء، واحتجوا بقول الله عز

س ٢-٣ قابل بمقالات الاشعري ص ٣٤٦: وحكى زرقان عن جهم بن صفوان انه كان يزعم ان الحركة جسم ومحال ان تكون غير جسم لان غير الجسم هو الله سبحانه فلا يكون شيء يشبهه.

س ٧-٩ قابل بالحور العين ص ٢٠٠: قالوا ولا يجوز ان يقال ان الله شيء ولكنه منشئ الشيء قالوا لانه لم يقع اسم الشيء الا على مخلوق ولا يكون الله تعالى بصفة الخلق.

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[1] لجاز: جاز - ص

[2] طلبوه: طلبوا - ص

[3] تكون- ش، ٣٤٦: يكون - ص

[4] يكلف: تكلف - ص

[5] منكرا ونكيرا: ومنكر ونكير - ص

[6] دليلهم: دليله - ص

[7] الجائر: الجائري - ص

[8] ليستا بمخلوقتين ... فتخلقان: ليسا بمخلوقين ... فيخلقان - ص

[9] تدومان: يدومان - ص

وجل: «هُوَ الأوَّلُ والآخِرُ» [٣/٥٧]، أنه كان أولاً لم يكن ‹معه› شيء وكذلك يكون آخراً لا يكون معه شيء.

[البِطِّيخيّة]

الفرقة الثانية[١] البطيخية، نسبوا إلى إسماعيل البطيخ. وإنّ البطيخية[٢] وافقوا [٥٥أ] الجهمية في جميع أقاويلهم في التوحيد وما دونه، وقالوا بمثل ما قالت الجهمية في أن العباد لا فعل لهم، غير أنهم خالفوهم في ثوابهم وعقابهم. فأما دليله فزعموا أن ‹فعل› الله كله واحد من جنس واحد وإنما سَمَّى بعضه معصية وبعضه طاعةً وبعضه إيمانًا وبعضه كفراً وقد كان جائزاً أن يسمي الطاعة معصية والمعصية طاعة لأنه فعله كله ولا شيء منها أقبح من شيء ولا أحسن[٣] وهو عدل رحيم جواد، فلما كان الفعل فعله لم يجز أن يعذّبهم [٥٥ب] على ما فعل بهم، ولكن خلق دارين سَمَّي واحدة جنة وثوابًا وسَمَّي الأخرى ناراً وعقابًا، معناهما واحد، فيُدخِل أصحابَ الفعل الذي[٤] سماه معصية وكفراً ناره وعذابه، فيكونون يلتذون فيها ويكون[٥] عيشهم ونعيمهم فيها كما جُعل عيش الدود في الخل وحياة السمك في الماء، ويُدخل أصحاب الفعل الذي سماه طاعة وإيمانًا جنته، فأهل الجنة في الجنة يتنعمون وأهل النار في النار يتلذذون ويتنعمون، ولو صار أهل الجنة الى النار

س ١٤ وما بعد قابل بمقالات الاشعري ص ٥٤٣ و ص ٤٧٥: وقال قوم ان اهل الجنة ماتوا

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[١] الثانية: الثالثة – ص

[٢] البطيخية: البطحية – ص

[٣] اقبح ... احسن: افتح ... احبس – ص

[٤] الذي: التي – ص

[٥] يكون: تكون – ص

وهلكوا كما [٥٦أ] أن دود الخل لو ألقي في العسل لهلك والسمك لو ألقي إلى البر لمات والطير لو أدخل في الماء هلك. والدليل على أنهم لا يتألمون في النار أن الله رحيم لا يجوز أن يعذبهم ويؤلمهم بغير ذنب ولا فعل لهم.

[النَجَّارِيَّة]

الفرقة الثالثة النجارية، نسبوا إلى الحسين النجار. قالوا: إنّ الله عالم بذاته وقادر بذاته وسميع بذاته وبصير بذاته، ووافقوا[1] المعتزلة في التوحيد إلاّ في الإرادة فإنّهم جعلوا الإرادة من صفات [٥٦ب] الذات وجعلتها[2] المعتزلة من صفات الفعل. وأجازوا فعلاً واحداً من فاعلَين، وقالوا: إنّ الله خالق لأفعال[3] العباد على الحقيقة وهم فاعلون لها على الحقيقة دون المجاز. وقالوا: إنّ الاستطاعة مع الفعل والأمر مع الفعل <والاستطاعة > التي <بها> يفعل الإيمان هي غير الاستطاعة التي يفعل بها الكفر من قبل أن استطاعة الإيمان توفيق من الله وعصمة وعون واستطاعة الكفر خذلان ولا يجوز أن يكون المؤمن مخذولاً ولا الكافر معصومًا. وقالوا: إنّ الله لا يُرى في [٥٧أ] الدنيا ولا في الآخرة لأن كل مَرئي متناهٍ وكل متناهٍ[4] محدود والله يتعالى عن الحد والنهاية. وقالوا: إنّ خلق الله أفاعيلنا غير أفاعيلنا وكذلك خلق كل

ينعمون فيها وان اهل النار ينعمون فيها بمنزلة دود الخل يتلذذ بالخل ودود العسل يتلذذ بالعسل وهم البطيخية.

س ١٠-١١ قابل بمقالات الاشعري ص ٢٨١، القول للضرارية عند الاشعري.

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[1] ووافقوا: واوقفوا - ص

[2] وجعلتها: وجعلوها - ص

[3] لافعال: الافعال - ص

[4] متناه ... متناه: مشار ... مشار - ص

شيء غير ذلك الشيء. وقالوا: إنّ الإيمان التصديق ولا يكون إلاّ بجارحتين[١] بالقلب وباللسان وهو[٢] معنى واحد، وزعموا أن القلب هو إقرار قبل اللسان. وأنكروا عذاب القبر ومنكراً ونكيراً[٣]، وقالوا بالإرجاء، وقالوا: إنّ الأطفال كلها في الجنة، ورأوا الخروج على السلطان الجائر بأي وجه استطاعوا به[٤]، [٥٧ب] بالسيف وما دونه.

[الضِرارِيَّة]

الفرقة الرابعة الضرارية، نسبوا إلى ضرار بن عمرو. وقالوا كما قالت النجارية بفعل من فاعلَين لها[٥] على الحقيقة. وقالوا: إنّ الاستطاعة قبل الفعل وهي بعض الإنسان المستطيع، ودليله على أنها بعض الإنسان أنه لما رأى الإنسان لا ينفك من لون وطعم ورائحة وسمع وبصر وعجز وقوة وكان اللون بعضه والسمع بعضه فكذلك[٦] القوة بعضه والعجز بعضه. وقالوا: إنّ أفاعيلنا هي خلق الله وخلقها[٧] ليس [٥٨أ] شيئًا[٨] غيرها . . . ودليلهم على

س ١٠-١١ قابل بمقالات الاشعري ص ٢٨١: وكان يزعم ان الاستطاعة قبل الفعل ومع الفعل وانها بعض المستطيع.

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[١] بجارحتين: لجارحين (٤) - ص

[٢] وباللسان وهو: ولا اللسان وهما - ص

[٣] منكرا ونكيرا: منكر ونكير - ص

[٤] به: بها - ص

[٥] بفعل من فاعلين لها: من فعل فاعلين بها - ص

[٦] فكذلك: وذلك - ص

[٧] وخلقها: وحلولها - ص

[٨] شيئا: شئ - ص

ذلك قول الله جل وعز: «وَإِنْ أَحَدٌ مِنَ الْمُشرِكِينَ اسْتَجارَكَ فَأَجِرْهُ حَتَّى يَسْمَعَ كَلامَ اللّه» [٦/٩]، فالقرآن قد سمع من في رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله ولو كان سُمع من النبي غيرُ ما أنزل الله أو كان مثل ما أنزل الله كان ذلك رداً للآية، لأن الله تبارك وتعالى يقول: «قُلْ فَأْتُوا بِسُورَةٍ مِثْلِهِ[١]» [٣٨/١٠]، ومحال أن يؤتَى بمثله، فمن ذلك علمنا أن الفعل من فاعلين صحيح. وقالوا: ما تَوَلَّدَ من فعلنا أيضًا فهو من فعلنا وفعل الله، لأن الله نهاني أن [٣٥٨] أقتل[٢] ومحال أن ينهاني إلاّ عن فعلي[٣] ومحال أن يكون شيء موجوداً إلاّ ولله فيه خلق وفعل. ورأوا الخروج على السلطان الجائر بأي وجه استطاعوا بالسيف فما دونه. وأجازوا الإمامة في أفناء الناس، وقالوا: إنّ العجمي أولى بها من العربي والذليل أولى بها من العزيز لأن إزالته أهون وأيسر إذا ظلم وجار. وقالوا: إنّ الله لا يظلم ولا يعذب الخلق إلاّ بما فعلوا، فهو خلقه وأنشأه وابتدعه ولو لم يخلقه لم يكن، وهم مع هذا يقدرون أن يفعلوا واستطاعوا له [٥٩أ] قبل فعلهم ولا يجوز أن يوجد الفعل منهم إلاّ أن يخلقه فيهم، فالكفر هو خلق الله وهم فاعلوه، وإنّ الذي خلقه[٤] الله فهم فعلوه، وقالوا: والذي سمعناه من النبي صلى الله عليه وآله من الأخبار هو خلق الله وكلامه وكذلك جميع ما نسمعه من القرآن هو خلق الله وكلامه، وفعل الباري جل وعز. وقالوا: إنّ الله يُرَى[٥] ويدرك في المعاد بحاسة سادسة يجعلها الله فيهم. وقالوا: إنّ الجسم أعراض مجتمعة هي أبعاض له وإنّ الأعراض قد

س ١٧-١٨ قابل بمقالات الاشعري ص ٢٨٢ وبالحور العير ص ٢٠٠.

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[١] مثله: من مثله – ص

[٢] اقتل: اقبل – ص

[٣] فعلي: فعل – ص

[٤] فاعلوه ... خلقه: فعلوه ... خلق – ص

[٥] يرى: ينهى – ص

يجوز أن تقلب أجساماً وإنّ الاستطاعة [ب٥٩] بعض المستطيع وإنّ الإنسان قد يفعل الطول والعرض والعمق إن كان ذلك[١] أبعاضاً للجسم، إلاّ أنه يفعلها من جهة أنها فعل وعرض لا من جهة أنها أبعاض، وكذلك أحسبه يقول في سائر الأعراض التي يجوز أن تكتسب[٢]. وحكي عن ضرار أنه كان ينكر قراءة ابن مسعود ويشهد أن الله لم يُنزلها. وكذلك يقول: لا أدري لعل[٣] سر العامة كلها شرك وتكذيب ولو عُرضوا عليّ إنساناً إنساناً[٤] لوسعني أن أقول: لا أدري لعله مضمر على الشرك؛ قال: فكذلك لو سُئلتُ عن الجميع لوسعني [أ٦٠] أن أقول: لا أدري. وكان ينكر الصراط بعد[٥] الحشر وعذاب القبر.

ص ٤٨ س ١٨- ص ٤٩ س ٣ قابل بمقالات الاشعري ص ٢٨١: كذلك الجسم اعراض مجتمعة من لون وطعم و رائحة وحرارة وبرودة ومجسة وغير ذلك وان الاعراض قد يجوز ان تنقلب اجساما ... وان الانسان قد يفعل الطول والعرض والعمق وان كان ذلك ابعاضا للجسم.

س ٤-٥ قابل بمقالات الاشعري ص ٢٨٢: وحكى عنه انه كان ينكر حرف ابن مسعود ويشهد ان الله سبحانه لم ينزله وكذلك حرف ابي بن كعب وانه كان يزعم انه لا يدرى لعل سرائر العامة كلها كفر وتكذيب قال ولو عرضوا عليّ انسانا لوسعني ان اقول لعله يضمر الكفر قال كذلك اذا سئلت عنهم جميعا قلت لا ادرى لعلهم يسرون الكفر.

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[١] ذلك: كذلك - ص

[٢] يقول في سائر الاعراض التي يجوز ان تكيسب: تقول في تباين الاعراض التى يجوز ان يكتسب - ص

[٣] لا ادري لعل: الازدي فعل - ص

[٤] علي انسانا انسانا: انسانا على انسان - ص

[٥] بعد: بمعنى - ص

[الصَبَّاحِيَّة]

الفرقة الخامسة الصباحية، نسبوا إلى رئيسهم أبي صباح بن معمر. قالوا في الأفاعيل مثل قول جهم: إنّ الحيوان كالشمس والقمر والشجر، فإذا قلتَ: كفر الإنسان وآمن، فهو مثل قولك: غربت الشمس وتحركت الشجر. وقالوا: إنّ الله لم يكن فارغًا طرفة عين[١] وذلك لأن الخلق[٢] والأمر لم يزالا[٣] مع الله وإنّهما كانا منه وفيه لا به، وضربوا له الأمثال وقالوا: مَثَلُهُ مَثَلُ النائم [٦٠ب] يحلم بسمرقند ‹بامرأة› يتزوجها ويرى في منامه الشام ومكة وما يطأ[٤] وينكح إنما يحلم[٥] من غير وطءٍ لا نكاح؛ وقالوا: وكذلك الله عز وجل لم ‹يزل› يرى الخلق. قالوا: وإن كان الله قبل كل شيء ‹و›قبل أن يكون عرش أو كرسي أو ماء، فأين كان مقامه ومجلسه لولا أنه كان يرى العرش والكرسي والماء، لأنه لا يكون له بد من مقام؟ وقالوا: لو أن الله لا يرى إلاّ الموجود وغَيْرُهُ لا يرى ‹إلاّ› الموجود، فلا فرق بينهما مع ما أن العبد يرى المعدومات في حلمه[٦]، كذلك وجدنا رؤية الله خلقه قبل كونه[٧]. قالوا: وكذلك لم يزل مع [٦١أ] الله وليُّه وعدوّه فكان رأس أوليائه محمد صلى الله

س ٦-٧ قابل بشرح عيون المسائل للجشمي، ٤٧أ: قالوا الخلق لم يزل مع الله وانه لم يزل يراهم وقالوا الله لم يكن فارغا طرفة عين.

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[١] لم يكن فارغا طرفة عين - ج: لم يكن فكان كطرفة عين - ص

[٢] الخلق: اطاق - ص

[٣] يزالا: يلزم - ص

[٤] يطأ: وطئ - ص

[٥] إنما يحلم: ما يحل - ص

[٦] حلمه: حكمه - ص

[٧] كذلك وجدنا رؤية ... كونه: وكذلك احد ما رويه ... كونها - ص

عليه وآله ورأس أعدائه إبليس. وحرموا ذبائح أهل الكتاب ونكاح نسائهم واحتجوا بأن الله أحل ذلك بين ‹المؤمنين و› اليهود في المدة التي أمر رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله المؤمنين[1] بالصلاة إلى قبلتهم، فلما أن صرفت القبلة إلى الكعبة حرم الله على المؤمنين أكل ذبائحهم ونكاح نسائهم كما حرم الله عليهم الصلاة إلى قبلتهم. وزعموا أن سبي أبي بكر أهل الردة[2] كان خطأً وجَوراً وفتنة، وأن المسلمين أجمعوا [٦١ب] مع أبي بكر على شرك وضلال، وزعموا أن نفراً منهم بعد أبي بكر رجعوا عن ذلك وتابوا على يدي عمر بن الخطاب، وزعموا أن أفضل الناس بعد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله عمر بن الخطاب. وزعموا أن عثمان قُتل مظلومًا وأن القتل لا يحل إلاّ في ثلاث خصال: قتل العمد والزنى بعد إحصان والردة، وزعموا أن قاتل عثمان لعنه الله في النار وعابوا عليًا عليه السلام وعماراً[3] رضي الله عنه في قتالهما من قاتلا، وقالوا: كيف يكون قتلة عمار[4] بغاة وعمار هو الخارج إليهم؟ وهم [٦٢أ] يأمرون الحائض بالصلاة والصيام، وقالوا: هذه عادة النساء

ص ٥٠ س ١٥- ص ٥١ س ١ قابل بشرح عيون المسائل للجشمي، ٤٧أ: وانه لم يزل كان معه وليه وعدوه ورأس عدوه ابليس ولم يزل شيطانا، وحرم ذبائح اهل الكتاب ونكاح نسائهم.

س ٥-٦ قابل بشرح عيون المسائل للجشمي، ٤٧أ-٤٧ب: وزعم ان سبى ابي بكر لاهل الردة كان خطاء وفتنة وقع فيها ابو بكر وان المسلمين اجمعوا مع ابي بكر على الضلال.

س ٩-١٢ قابل بشرح عيون المسائل للجشمي، ٤٧ب: وزعم ان عثمان قتل مظلوما وان القتل لا يحل الا ثلاث بالردة والزنا وقتل النفس وعاب على علي وعمار قتالهما من قاتلا وقال كيف يكون قاتل عمار باغيا وهو الخارج عليهم.

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[1] المؤمنين: والمؤمنين - ص

[2] الردة: الذمة - ص

[3] عمارا: عمار - ص

[4] عمار - ج: عثمان - ص

وبنْيتهن[١] ولا تمنع العادة والبنية عن الطاعات. وإنّهم رأوا اتّباع من غلب من مدعي الإمامة والسلطان ومعونتهم وطاعتهم وترك الخروج عليهم، عدولاً كانوا أو جورة، واحتجوا بأن الله هو الذي ولاهم وسلطهم وقسم لهم ذلك، فمن[٢] عصاهم فقد عصى الله ومن عصى الله فهو فاسق فاجر.

٥

انتهى فصل المجبرة.

[مذهب المشبّهة]

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والثاني[٣] مذهب المشبهة وهو ينقسم على [٦٢ظ] ثلاث عشرة فرقة.

[الكُلاَبيَّة]

الفرقة الأولى الكلابية، نسبوا إلى عبد الله[٤] بن كلاب. قالوا: في ١٥ الأفاعيل والاستطاعة مثل قول حسين النجار، وقالوا: المعرفة مخلوقة خلقها الله تعالى في قلوب المؤمنين ولم يخلقها في قلوب الكافرين. وقالوا: إنّ

س ١-٢ قابل بشرح عيون المسائل الجشمي، ٤٧ب: يرى اتباع كل من غلب ويدعى الامامة.

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[١] بنيتهن: بينهن – ص

[٢] فمن: ممن – ص

[٣] والثاني: وابتدء في – ص

[٤] عبد الله: محمد – ص

القرآن[١] غير مخلوق وإنّه غير مباين من الله جل وعز. وقالوا: إنّ الله عالم بعلم[٢] لا ‹هو› هو ولا غيره ولا قديم ولا مُحدَث، واحتجوا بأن العلم صفة ولا يكون للصفة صفة، وقالوا: [٦٣أ] إنّ الله قادر بقدرة لا ‹هي› هو ولا غيره ولا بعضه ولا قديم ولا محدث، وقالوا كذلك ‹في› السمع والبصر. وقالوا: إنّ الله لم يزل متكلمًا بكلام لا ‹هو› هو ولا غيره ولا بعضه ولا قديم ولا محدث، وكذلك قالوا في سائر صفاته مثل المريد والغافر وأشباههما. وقالوا: إنّ المؤمنين يرون ربّهم في المعاد، وقالوا في الوعيد بالإرجاء. وعبد الله[٣] بن كلاّب رئيسهم هذا كان نصرانيًا قبل إسلامه. وإنّه قال: إنّ الله على العرش لا في مكان ليس في جسم؛ ولا يريد بالعرش الملك. [٦٣ب]

[الأشْعَرِيَّة]

الفرقة الثانية الأشعرية، نسبوا إلى علي بن إسماعيل الأشعري. وهم وافقوا الكلابية في جميع أقاويلهم في التوحيد وفي أفاعيل العباد إلاّ أنهم خالفوهم في العلم والقدرة والسمع والبصر لأنهم قالوا: إنّ علم الله غير الله وهو قديم وكذلك قدرة الله غير الله وسمع الله غير الله وبصر الله غير الله وكلها قُدَماء مع الله. والكلابية والأشعرية متفقون على أن الله ليس بجسم، وقالت الأشعرية في رؤية الله على مثال قول الكلابية: [٦٤أ] إنّ المؤمنين يرونه بأعينهم. وقد ذكر الأشعري في كتابه المسمى كتاب اللُمع: إن عارضونا - ‹أي› خصماؤنا - وقالوا: لما جاز رؤية الله جاز لمسه وذوقه وشمه وسمعه، قلنا لهم: إما أن أردتم بذكر اللمس والذوق أن يحدث الله لكم إدراكًا في

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[١] القرآن: امران - ص

[٢] الله عالم بعلم: الله لعالم لعلم - ص

[٣] عبد الله: محمد - ص

جوارحكم من غير أن يحدث الله فيه معنى أو أردتم حدوث معنى فيه. فإن كنتم أردتم حدوثه فيه، فذلك لا يجوز، وإن كنتم أردتم حدوث إدراك فينا فذلك جائز، والأمر في التسمية إلى الله جل وعز، إن أمر بالتسمية لمسًا [٣٦٤] وشمًا وذوقًا سميناه، فأما السمع فإنّه جائز أن يُسمعَنا البارئ نفسه متكلمًا كما أسمع موسى نفسه متكلمًا. والأشعرية في الفقه ‹على› مذهب أبي حنيفة، والكلابية[1] والأشعرية يقولون بالجبر[2] على مثال قول النجارية الذين يجيزون[3] فعلاً من فاعلين.

[الكَرَّاميَّة]

الفرقة الثالثة الكرّامية، نسبوا إلى محمد بن كرام السجستاني. قالوا:

ص ٥٣ س ١٩ – ص ٥٤ س ٥ قابل بالاشعري، كتاب اللمع، ed. McCarthy, ص ٣٣-٣٤: فان عارضونا بان اللمس والذوق والشم ليس فيه اثبات الحدث ولا حدوث معنى في الباري تعالى قيل لهم قد قال بعض اصحابنا ان اللمس ضرب من ضروب المماسات وكذلك الذوق وهو اتصال اللسان واللهوات بالجسم الذي له الطعم وان الشم هو اتصال الخيشوم بالمشموم الذي يكون عنده الادراك له وان المتماسين انما يتماسان بحدوث مماسين فيهما وان في اثبات ذلك اثبات حدوث معنى في الباري.

ومن اصحابنا من يقول لا يخلو القائل ان يكون اراد بذكره اللمس والذوق ان يحدث الله تعالى له ادراكا في هذه الجوارح من غير ان يحدث فيه معنى او يكون اراد حدوث معنى فيه. فان كان اراد حدوث معنى فيه فذلك ما لا يجوز. وان كان اراد حدوث ادراك فينا فذلك جائز والامر في التسمية الى الله تعالى ان امرنا ان نسميه لمسا وذوقا وشما سميناه وان منعنا امتنعنا. واما السمع فلم يختلف اصحابنا فيه وجوزوا جميعا وقالوا انه جائز ان يسمعنا الباري تعالى نفسه متكلما وقد اسمع موسى عليه السلام نفسه متكلما.

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[1] والكلابية: فالكلابية – ص

[2] بالجبر: بالخبر – ص

[3] يجيزون: يخبرون – ص

إنّ الله جسم ملاصق للعرش[١] وإنّه يُرى[٢] في الآخرة وإنّ القرآن غير مخلوق. وكان محمد بن كرام رجلاً [ب٦٥] يظهر التقشف والزهد[٣] ويزعم أنّه متوكل على الله وقد كان هَمَّ أن يدخل البادية[٤] مع عدة ممن تبعه بلا زاد ولا ماء ولا ظهر[٥] فمنعه السلطان عن ذلك وحبسه وقال: هذا يهلك نفسه وهؤلاء المساكين فواجب[٦] علينا منعه والأخذ على يده[٧]. وقالت الكرامية: إنّ النبي صلى الله عليه وآله لم يكن بحجّة وذلك أنه مات وحجة الله لا تموت[٨]. وزعموا أنه ليس فيما بيننا كلام الله، والقرآن حكاية كلام الله والحكاية هو غير المحكي. وزعموا أنه ليس في قلب أحد من الأولياء والأنبياء [ب٦٥] والمؤمنين إيمان بالله وذلك أن الإيمان عند الله القول دون المعرفة والتصديق وسائر الطاعات، وليس محلّ القول القلب وإنما محله اللسان. وقالوا: إنّ المنافقين مؤمنون بالحقيقة. وقالوا في أفاعيل العباد على مثال[٩] أقاويل النجارية. ولهم عجائب قد تفردوا بها، من هذا[١٠] أنهم قالوا: لا تجوز المرأة <لمن> وطئ[١١] أمها، ومنها أنهم أجازوا لأصحابهم إذا ناظروا المخالفين فيطلب خصمهم منهم[١٢] حديثًا عن النبي صلى الله عليه وآله حذو قولهم أن يضعوا[١٣]

[١] للعرش: بالعرش – ص
[٢] يرى: ينهى – ص
[٣] الزهد: الرمز – ص
[٤] البادية: التادية – ص
[٥] بلا زاد ولا ماء ولا ظهر: بلا نامر ولا ماء ولا طهر – ص
[٦] فواجب: فراحت – ص
[٧] على يده: بيده – ص
[٨] تموت: يموت – ص
[٩] مثال: مثل – ص
[١٠] هذا: هاهنا – ص
[١١] لا تجوز المرأة لمن وطئ: لا يجوز الامرأة وطئ – ص
[١٢] خصمهم منهم: خصمه منه – ص

الحديث اختراعًا منهم في [٦٦أ] ذلك الوقت ويسندوه إلى النبي صلى الله عليه وآله، وحجتهم في ذلك[١] زعموا أن مذهبهم حق[٢] وأن النبي صلى الله عليه والسلام كان يقول الحق ويدعو إليه فإذا رووا عنه صلى الله عليه وآله أنه قال[٣] كذا وكذا مما يعتقدونه فقد صدقوا. وقالوا: إنّ الناس يحشرون في بيت المقدس وإنّ رئيسهم محمد بن كرام قد جمع[٤] من خراسان ونواحيها أكثر من خمسة آلاف أهل بيت فنقلهم إلى بيت المقدس ثم إنّ الخلق يُحْشَرون إليها، فإذا انتقلوا إليها[٥] اليوم كان أهون عليهم يوم القيامة [٦٦ب] وأقرب إلى الحشر. قالوا: إنّ المعرفة خلقها الله في قلوب عباده ولم يخلقها في قلوب بعضهم وإنّها عطية الله عز وجل لا يطيق العباد كسبها. وزعموا أن الاستطاعة قبل الفعل.

[الهِشَاميَّة]

الفرقة الرابعة الهشامية، نسبوا إلى هشام بن الحكم[٦] الكوفي. قالوا: إنّ الله شيء جسم طويل عريض عميق نور من الأنوار له قدر من ‹الأقدار› مُصمت ليس بمجوّف[٧] ولا متخلخل كأنه سبيكة[٨] يتلألأ مثل الدرة التي هي

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[١٣] يضعوا: يصف – ص

[١] ذلك: كذلك – ص

[٢] حق: حقا – ص

[٣] قال: كان – ص

[٤] قد جمع: فبلغ – ص

[٥] اليها: اليه – ص

[٦] بن الحكم: بن عبد الحكم – ص

[٧] قدر من ‹الاقدار› مصمت ليس بمجوف: قدره ليس بصمت – ص

[٨] سبيكة: سبكة – ص

من أطرافها واحدة، هكذا هو من كل نواحيه، وقالوا: [٦٧أ] إنّ الله لون وطعم ورائحة ومجسّة ولونه هو طعمه وهو رائحته ومجسته[١]. وقالوا: كان الله ولا شيء فكان هو لا يعلم شيئًا ولا يجهله ثم حدث العلم، والعلم حركة، وليس العلم هو الله ولا هو غيره، ولم يزل الله ساكنًا، والسكون ليس بمعنى. ودليلهم على أن علم الله حدث أنه[٢] محال أن يكون علم ولا معلوم وضرب ولا مضروب، فلما استحال هذا ثبت أن العلم محدث، ودليلهم على أن علم الله لا يقال غيره أن التغاير لا يقع إلاّ على الأجسام والعلم ليس بجسم فصح عند [٦٧ب] ذلك أن الغيرية لا تصح[٣] على صفات الله. وقالوا: إنّ الله يرى في الآخرة لأنه نور من حيثما جئته رأيته كله. وقالوا: إرادة الله محدثة مثل العلم وهي حركة وإيماء، قالوا: يُحدِثها[٤] على العباد، ولا نقول: أراد[٥] الله الكفر والإيمان قبل أن يكون، ولا يريده لأن[٦] الكفر والإيمان صفة لا يجوز عليها[٧] إرادة، ولكن إذا فعل العبد الكفر والإيمان قلنا: أراده الله أن يكون

ص ٥٦ س ١٥ - ص ٥٧ س ١ قابل بالحور العين ص ٢٠٠-٢٠١: هو شيء جسيم لا طويل ولا عريض نور من الانوار له قدر من الاقدار مصمت ليس بما فوق ولا متخلل وهو كالسنبلة والذرة ويتلألأ من كل نواحيه وبمقالات الاشعري ص ٢٠٧: ان الله جسم محدود عريض عميق طويل طوله مثل عرضه وعرضه مثل عمقه نور ساطع له قدر من الاقدار في مكان دون مكان كالسبيكة الصافية يتلألأ كاللؤلؤة المستديرة من جميع جوانبها، وص ٣٢. س ١-٢ قابل بمقالات الاشعري ص ٣٢: ذو لون وطعم ورائحة ومجسة لونه هو طعمه وطعمه هو رائحته ورائحته هي مجسته، وقابل ايضا ص ٢٠٧.

[١] مجسة ... مجسته: محسته ... محسه(؟) - ص

[٢] أنه: لأنه - ص

[٣] تصح: يصح - ص

[٤] يحدثها: لحدثه - ص

[٥] اراد: ارادة - ص

[٦] يريده لأن: يرده راي - ص

[٧] عليها: عليه - ص

كافراً وأراده الله أن يكون مؤمنًا لأن الإنسان معلول لا يفعل إلاّ بعلة من الله [٦٨أ] وسبب والله لا يأتي بالعلة إلاّ وهو يريد أن يكون الإنسان فاعلاً لما فعل. وقالوا: إنّ حركات العباد فعلهم، والسكون ليس له معنى، والحركة صفة للمتحرك لا هو ولا غيره، ودليلهم على ذلك أن الغيرية إنما تقع[١] بين الأجسام، والحركة ليست بجسم. وقالوا: إنّ القرآن على ضربين، فالمسموع منه خلق الله والصوت المقطوع، وأما المعنى فهو حدث وهو حركة وهو مثل العلم لا هو ولا غيره بأن الغيرية تقع[٢] على الجسم. وقالوا: الاستطاعة قبل الفعل [٦٨ب] مثل سلامة الجوارح والصحة، إلاّ أن الفعل لا يكون إلاّ بأسباب من الله مع الفعل، وهذا السبب غير الاستطاعة، ودليلهم على ذلك أنه قد تكون[٣] الاستطاعة موجودة والفعلُ معدومًا، فعلمنا عند ذلك أنه لا بد للفعل في حال وجوده من سبب يكون واسطة بينه وبين الاستطاعة إذ الفعل لم يكن موجوداً إلاّ مع وجود السبب. وقالوا: إنّ المعارف إنما هي اضطرار بإيجاب[٤] الخلقة ولا تكون[٥] إلاّ عن موجب[٦] وسبب، ومثال ذلك مثل فتح العين لأن فتح [٦٩أ] العين فعلك والإدراك هو فعل الله اضطراراً توجبه الخلقة، قالوا: ولما ثبت <أن> إدراك العين هو فعل الله وهو عن سبب، صح أن كل إدراك فعل

س ٦-٨ قابل بمقالات الاشعري ص ٥٨٢-٥٨٣: وحكى زرقان عنه ان القرآن على ضربين: ان كنت تريد المسموع فقد خلق الله سبحانه الصوت المقطع وهو رسم القرآن واما القرآن ففعل الله مثل العلم والحركة منه لا هو هو ولا هو غيره.

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[١] تقع: يقع - ص
[٢] تقع: يقع - ص
[٣] تكون: يكون - ص
[٤] بايجاب: ايجاب - ص
[٥] تكون: يكون - ص
[٦] موجب: لجب - ص

الله عن سبب قياسًا على هذا. وقالوا: إنّ الله آلم الأطفال بإيجاب خلقتها[١] في الدنيا لا شيء غيره، يعني أنه خلق لها الخلقة التي إذا وقع[٢] شيء تضر منه[٣] أو شيء من الآفات ألمت بإيجاب خلقتها وبنْيتها وإنما اضفناها إلى الله لأن الخلقة له. وقالوا: إنّ الله لا يبعث إلاّ من يستحق الجزاء لقوله تعالى: «اليَومَ تُجْزَى كُلُّ [٦٩] نَفْسٍ بِمَا كَسَبَتْ» [١٧/٤٠]، ولا يكون للأطفال والبهائم والمجانين بعث. وقالوا: إنّ الله كان لا على العرش ثم أحدث العرش ثم استوى عليه <و>العرش مماس له، وأجازوا انتقاله من مكان إلى مكان مثل الصعود والنزول وما يشبهه. وقالوا: إنّ الله تتناهى[٤] ذاته ولا يتناهى مقداره. وقالوا: إنّ الإمام بعد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله علي بن أبي طالب صلوات الله عليه، وهشام بن الحكم كان رافضيًا يقول بالاثني عشر. وقال هشام بن الحكم والروافض كلها: إنّ الإيمان اسم المعرفة [٧٠] والإقرار والأعمال، فمن جاء بذلك فهو مؤمن مستكمل الإيمان ومن ترك شيئًا مما افترض الله عليه غير جاحد فليس بمؤمن ولكنه يسمى فاسقًا تحل[٥] مناكحته وموارثته. وقالوا: إنّ أصحاب الكبائر في النار مخلدين خالدين إلاّ أن عذابهم أخفّ من عذاب الكافرين. وقالوا: إنّ الله خلق إنسانًا وقد علم أنه يعيش عشرين سنة فيجوز أن يميته[٦] في عشر سنين ويجوز أن يعيش أكثر من عشرين سنة، <و>اعتلّوا بقول الله: «يَمْحُوا اللهُ ما يَشاءُ ويُثْبِتُ وَعِنْدَهُ أُمُّ [٧٠] الكِتَابِ» [٣٩/١٣]. وقالوا: ليس على المؤمنين عذاب القبر ولا عذاب النار واعتلوا بقوله عز وجل: «لاَ يَذُوقُون فِيهَا المَوتَ إلاَّ المَوتَةَ الأُولىَ»

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[١] خلقتها: خلقها – ص

[٢] انه خلق لها الخلقة التي اذا وقع: ان خلقته لها الخلقة التي اذا قوي – ص

[٣] تضر منه: كيف منها – ص

[٤] تتناهى: يتناهى – ص

[٥] تحل: يحل – ص

[٦] يميته: تميته (؟)– ص

[٥٦/٤٤]، وأجازوا عذاب القبر للكافرين. وقالوا: إنّ علي بن أبي طالب عليه السلام أحكم الحاكمين، وإنّ التقية تسعه إذا خاف على نفسه واعتلوا بقول الله تعالى: «وَلا تُلْقُوا بِأَيدِيكُمْ إِلَى التَهْلُكَة» [١٩٥/٢]، وبقوله تعالى: «إِلاَّ مَنْ أُكْرِهَ وَقَلْبُهُ مُطْمَئِنٌّ بِالإِيمَانِ» [١٠٦/١٦]، وبقول علي بن أبي طالب عليه السلام: «التقية أوسع مما بين السموات والأرض، لا تحل[١] إلاّ للمضطر»، وبقول محمد بن [٧١] علي عليه السلام: «التقية ديني ودين آبائي». ‹ويزعمون أن الإنسان اسم لمعنيين لبدن وروح فالبدن موات›[٢] والروح حي والروح هي الفعّالة الحسّاسة الدراكة وهي نور من الأنوار، ودليلهم على أن الفعل للروح دون البدن أنّك قد ترى البدن عاجزاً لا[٣] يفعل شيئًا ثم يفعل، فلو كان الفعل له كان متى ما وجدناه فعّالاً، فلما وجدناه فعّالاً في حال وفي حال ليس بفعّال علمنا أن الفعل لغيره[٤].

[الجَواليقيّة]

الفرقة الخامسة الجواليقية، نسبوا إلى هشام بن سالم الجواليقي[٥] بن عمرو. قالوا: إنّ الله نور من الأنوار له ضفيرتان من نور [٧١ب] محاط من

س ٧-٨ قابل بمقالات الاشعري ص ٦٠-٦١: ويزعمون ان الانسان اسم لمعنيين لبدن وروح فالبدن موات والروح هي الفاعلة الدراكة الحساسة وهي نور من الانور هكذا حكى زرقان عن هشام بن الحكم.

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[١] تحل: يحل - ص

[٢] ‹ويزعمون ... موات›: الاضافة عن ش ٦٠-٦١

[٣] لا: الا - ص

[٤] لغيره: غيره - ص

[٥] الجواليقية ... هشام بن سالم الجواليقي: الجوالقية ... ابي هشام الجوالقي - ص

ستة أوجه من خلف وقدام ويمين وشمال وتحت وفوق مماسّ للعرش[١] وله لون وطعم ورائحة ومجسة وحواس، وزعموا أن الحاسة التي يدرك بها اللون لا اللون لا يدرك بها الرائحة، فكل شيء منها يدرك شيئًا على حدة، ودليلنا يدرك بها الصوت والتي يدرك بها الصوت لا يدرك بها اللون والتي يدرك بها على ذلك ما يُعقل وأنه لا يعقل[٢] إلاّ ما كان هكذا. وقالوا: الاستطاعة قبل الفعل ولا يكون الفعل إلاّ أن يشاء الله ذلك. [٧٢أ] وقالوا: الحركات أجسام وهي فعل العباد لأن الله أمرهم بالفعل ولا يفعلون إلاّ ما كان طويلاً أو عريضًا ‹أو عميقًا› وما كان غير طويل ولا عريض ‹ولا عميق›[٣] فليس بمفعول. وقالوا: إنّ المعارف كلها باضطرار وقد يجوز أن يمنعها الله بعض الخلق ويعطيها بعض الخلق مع أنه[٤] يكلفهم الإقرار جميعًا، وقالوا: إنّ كل إدراك في العالم[٥] هو فعل الله عزوجل. وهم يكفرون الأمة[٦] بعد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله إلاّ علي بن أبي طالب وشيعته القائلين في التوحيد مثل قولهم، تعالى الله [٧٢ب] عما يقول الظالمون علواً كبيراً.

س ٦-٩ قابل بمقالات الاشعري ص ٣٤٦: وحكى [زرقان] عن الجواليقية وشيطان الطاق ان الحركات هي افعال الخلق لان الله عز وجل امرهم بالفعل ولا يكون مفعولا الا ما كان طويلا عريضا عميقا وما كان غير طويل ولا عريض ولا عميق فليس بمفعول.

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[١] مماس للعرش: مما بين العرش - ض

[٢] يعقل ... يعقل: يفعل ... يفعل - ص

[٣] ‹ولا عميق›: الإضافة عن ش ٣٤٦

[٤] مع انه: لانه - ص

[٥] كل إدراك في العالم: كل الادراك في العلم - ص

[٦] الامة: الائمة - ص

[المُقاتليَّة]

الفرقة السادسة المقاتلية، نسبوا إلى مقاتل بن سليمان[١]. قالوا: إنّ الله تعالى جسم طويل عريض عميق على صورة الإنسان له لحم ودم، ودليلهم على ذلك قول النبي صلى الله عليه وآله: إنّ الله[٢] على صورة شابّ جعد قطط. وقولهم في العدل والتوحيد والوعد والوعيد والإيمان والإسلام والكفر والشرك والفسق والجنة والنار وعذاب القبر والإمامة وغير ذلك على نحو ما بيّنتُها وشرحتُها ‹في مذهب الحديثية›، وهم [٧٣أ] مختلفون أيضًا في الأحكام والشرائع والحدود على نحو ما لو قصدْتُ إلى بيان ذلك طال كتابي واتّسع[٣] وخرجْتُ عن حد غرضي في تأليف هذا الكتاب إلى غيره مع أني لا أخلي كتابي هذا عن ذكر ذلك مجملاً إن شاء الله.

[النابتة]

الفرقة السابعة النابتة[٤]. قالوا: إنّ الله جل وعز خلق آدم على صورة الرحمن ودليلهم في المعقول أنه[٥] لم يكن معقولاً سميع بصير إلاّ اللحم والدم، وأثبتوا له حواسّ مثل[٦] حواس الإنسان على أن ما يعقلون [٧٣ب] أن كل واحدة منها غير صاحبتها، فالذي يسمع به غير الذي يبصر به وكذلك سائر الحواس. وقالوا: إنّه يجلس على الكرسي ويقوم ويقعد والكرسي موضوع

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[١] مقاتل بن سليمان: سليمان بن مقاتل – ص

[٢] الله: انه – ص

[٣] اتّسع: سمح – ص

[٤] النابتة: التبانية ؟ او البتانية ؟ – ص

[٥] انه: ان – ص

[٦] مثل: من – ص

على العرش وهو ينزل إلى سماء الدنيا كل ليلة جمعة وينتقل من مكان إلى مكان. وقالوا: هو شيء لا كالأشياء من جهة القدم[١] لأنه ‹لو قلنا: إنّه› شيء لا كالأشياء من كل جهة كنّا قد أثبتناه ونفيناه[٢] في وقت واحد وهذا هو التعطيل، لأنّا إذا قلنا: هو شيء، فأثبتناه وإذا ‹قلنا›: لا كالأشياء من كل جهة، فقد نفيناه إذ[٣] أزلنا [٧٤أ] عنه معنى الشيئية الذي هو الإثبات؛ قالوا: وكذلك نقول: هو جسم لا كالأجسام من جهة القدم،[٤] لأنّا لم نر في الشاهد فاعلاً ولا سميعًا ولا بصيراً ولا قادراً ولا عالماً إلاّ جسمًا، فحكمنا بذلك أنّه جسم. وقالوا: إنّ المؤمن لا يدخل النار أبداً وإن ارتكب الكبائر، وبفسقهم[٥] يصيرون إلى الجنة لا محالة، وما كان من المظالم والمعاصي فهو عقوبات في الموقف ثم يصيرون في الجنة، واحتجوا[٦] في ذلك بقول الله: «ثُمَّ أَوْرَثْنَا الكِتَابَ الَّذِينَ اصْطَفَينَا مِن عِبَادِنَا فَمِنهُمْ ظَالِمٌ لِنَفْسِهِ وَمِنهُمْ مُقْتَصِدٌ [٧٤ب] وَمِنهُمْ سَابِقٌ بِالخَيرَاتِ»، الآية [٣٢/٣٥]، فقالوا: هؤلاء المؤمنون وهم أهل الجنة، وقول الله جل وعز: «إِنَّ اللهَ لا يَغفِرُ أن يُشرَكَ بِهِ وَيَغْفِرُ مَا دُونَ ذَلِكَ لِمَن يَشَاءُ» [٤٨/٤]، وكقوله: «يَا عِبَادِيَ الَّذِينَ أَسْرَفُوا عَلَى أَنفُسِهِمْ لاَ تَقنَطُوا مِن رَحْمَةِ اللهِ إِنَّ اللهَ يَغْفِرُ الذُّنُوبَ جَمِيعًا إِنَّهُ هُوَ الغَفُورُ الرَحِيمُ» [٥٣/٣٩]. وقالوا: كما لا ينفع مع الكفر طاعة كذلك لا يضر مع الإيمان معصية. وقالوا: لما[٧] ثبت عندنا في الآيات المنزلة في شأن الوعيد خلود أهل النار في النار صح عندنا أن الله [٧٥أ] لا يُدخل أحداً من أمة محمد صلى

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[١] القدم: القديم – ص

[٢] كنا قد اثبتناه ونفيناه: كما قد بيناه وتعيناه – ص

[٣] اذ: اذا – ص

[٤] القدم: القديم – ص

[٥] بفسقهم: وبنفسهم – ص

[٦] احتجوا: احتج – ص

[٧] لما: انما – ص

الله عليه وآله النار. وقالوا: إنّ أفضل الناس بعد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله أبو بكر ثم عمر ‹ثم عثمان› ثم علي ثم الستة الباقية من الذين بشّرهم رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله بالجنة ثم سائر أصحابه.

[أَصْحاب الفَضاء]

الفرقة السابعة أصحاب الفضاء[1]. وأثبتوا الواحد القديم وأثبتوا حدث العالم وقالوا: إنّ علم الله محدث، واعتلوا في ذلك بعلة جهم[2]. وهم صنفان: أحد الصنفين أصحاب عبد الله بن أبي عبد الله التيمي، وهم يقولون: [٧٥ب] إنّ الله هو الفضاء وهو جسم طويل عريض عميق مكانُ الأشياء، وجميع الأشياء المخلوقة مثل السموات والأرضين وما بينهما وما فيهما وعليهما فيه وهم محتاجون إليه، وإنّه أكبر من كل شيء وإنّه لا يجوز أن يكون شيء أكبر منه. والصنف الثاني أصحاب منصور بن بشر الأموي، وهم يقولون: إنّ الله الفضاء والفضاء ليس بجسم وإنّه ذاهب في جميع الجهات إلى[3] ما لا نهاية

قابل بالحور العين ص ١٩٨-١٩٩: وقالت الفضائية بحدث العالم وان له محدثا وهو الفضاء ثم افترقوا بفرقتين: فقالت فرقة منهم العالم محدث وله صانع وصانعه قديم وهو الفضاء وهو جسم طويل عريض مكان للاشياء والاشياء فيه وتحتاج اليه لانهم لا يعقلون الا ما كان عريضا طويلا وانه اكبر من كل شيء ولا يجوز ان يكون شيء اكبر منه وبعض الاجسام تغيب عن بعض ولا يغيب عنه شيء منها. وقالت فرقة منهم صانع العالم فضاء ليس بجسم والاشياء فيه ودليلهم على انه ليس بجسم ان جميع الاجسام تحتاج الى امكنة وهو لا يحتاج الى مكان ويجوز عليها الزوال والتغيير ولا يجوز عليه، وبمقالات الاشعري ص ٢٠٩: وقال قوم ان مبعودهم هو الفضاء وهو جسم تحل الاشياء فيه ليس بذي غاية ولا نهاية وقال بعضهم هو الفضاء وليس بجسم والاشياء قائمة به.

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[1] اصحاب الفضاء: اصحاب الفضل - ص؛ القضائية - خ

[2] جهم: جهنم - ص

[3] الى: الا - ص

له - جل ذكره - ليس بمتناهي الذات وإنّه خلق جميع الأشياء فيه، ودليلهم على أن [٧٦أ] الفضاء ليس بجسم أنهم وجدوا الأجسام محتاجة إلى الأماكن وهو لا يحتاج إلى مكان. وقالوا بالجبر على مثال قول جهم بن صفوان. وقالوا: إنّ الأنبياء لم يكونوا معصومين. وأجازوا عذاب الأطفال في جهنم، ولم ينكروا عذاب القبر. وقالوا بإمامة أبي بكر بعد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله ثم بإمامة عمر من بعده ثم إمامة عثمان ثم إمامة علي عليه السلام ثم بإمامة من غلب على الخلافة واحداً بعد واحد إلى يوم القيامة. [٧٦ب]

[الحُبَّيَّة]

الفرقة الثامنة الحبية وهم أصحاب الخطرات والوساوس، وقد اشتقّ هذا الاسم، يعني الحبية، من قولهم: إنّا نحب الله ولسنا نعبده خوفًا من عقابه ولا رجاءً لثوابه ولكنا نعبده حبّاً له. وقالوا: إنّ الله جسم على هيئة أُمْرَد حسن الوجه، وإنّهم يرون ربهم في المعاد حين[1] يصيرون أمردين على هيئة الرب، وكذلك قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله: أهل الجنة جرد مُرد مكحولون، يعني يرون ربهم حين يصيرون على صورته [٧٧أ] الأجردية[2] والأمردية، تعالى[3] الله عما يقول الظالمون علواً كبيراً.

س ١١-١٣ قابل بمفاتيح العلوم ص ٢٠: والثامنة الحبية سموا بذلك لزعمهم انهم لا يعبدون الله خوفا ولا طمعا وانهم يعبدونه حبا.

س ١٥ قابل بابن حنبل، المسند، ٥: ٢٣٢ و ٢٤٠ و٢٤٣: يبعث المؤمنون يوم القيامة جردا مردا مكحلين بني ثلاثين سنة.

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[1] حين: حتى - ص

[2] الأجردية: الابدية - ص

[3] تعالى: فتعالى - ص

ولهؤلاء الحبية سرائر فيما بينهم يكتمونها، يدل ذلك على أنهم تجاوزوا[١] قول المقاتلية، وفي ذلك[٢] روي عن أبي الحسن الناشئ، قال: «أخبرني عبد الله بن محمد بن إسحاق بن موسى بن جعفر عن يحيى بن معاذ الرازي وهو مشهور فيهم أنه قال: كنا بالعراق نعمد إلى غلام جميل كأجمل ما يكون من الغلمان فنُقعده على سرير مرتفع من الأرض مزيّن بأنواع الثياب الفاخرة ويضرب فوقه كلّتان ويُرخى [٧٧ب] بيننا وبينه ستور ونقيمه بحيث كان[٣] بستر ثم نرفعه[٤] إذا أمر بذلك، والجميع في بيت حائز[٥] تلك الستور ونقرأ بالألحان المشوقة والأغاني الشجية ونذكر[٦] الحور[٧] العين والجنان وما أعدّه الله فيها لأوليائه من النعيم ونشرب من المطبوخ شوقًا إلى خمور الجنة التي هي لذة للشاربين، فإذا طربنا وبلغنا الغاية في ذلك بذكر زيارة الأولياء لله عز وجل تضرعنا وسألنا أن يأذن لنا في الزيارة وذلك لنستمتع[٨] من ذلك الغلام، فإذا تضرعنا و [٧٨أ] سألنا أمر صاحب الستر فيرفعه، ثم كذلك دأبنا دائبًا ودأبه إلى أن يأذن لصاحب الستر الذي بيننا وبينه برفعه، فإذا رفعه وتراءى لنا على تلك الأريكة خررنا على وجوهنا وتضرعنا وصحنا وانتحبنا، فلا يزال كذلك دأبنا حتى يُغشى علينا إلى[٩] <أن> ينفجر عمود الصبح ثم نفترق. وإنّهم يقولون: إنّ العبد ما لم يحب الله لا تنفعه العبادة خوفًا منه ولا يدخل الجنة

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[١] تجاوزوا: يجاوزو(؟) – ص

[٢] ذلك: لذلك – ص

[٣] كان: كل – ص

[٤] نقيمه ... نرفعه: يقيمه ... يرفعه – ص

[٥] حائز: جائر – ص

[٦] نقرأ ... نذكر: يقرأ ... يذكر – ص

[٧] الحور: حور – ص

[٨] لنستمتع: ليستمتع – ص

[٩] إلى: وإلى – ص

أبداً.

وقد قال بعض الشعراء لرئيس[1] من رؤسائهم: [الكامل]

تَعْصِي الإلَهَ وأنْتَ تُظْهِرُ حُبَّهُ [٧٨ب] هَذا مُحالٌ في القِيَاسِ بَدِيعُ[2]
لَوْ كانَ حُبُّكَ صَادِقًا لأطَعْتَهُ إنَّ المُحِبَّ لِمَنْ يُحِبُّ مُطِيعُ

[البَيانيَّة]

الفرقة التاسعة البيانية، نسبوا إلى بيان بن سمعان. والبيانية طبقة من المشبّهة، وهم يقولون: إنّ الله على صورة إنسان له لحم ودم، واحتجوا في ذلك بأمثال حجج[3] المقاتلية. وأنكروا أن يكون[4] للقرآن تأويل ومعنى غير الذي يؤدي ظاهرُ لفظه، وقالوا: إنّ الله لا يُعْنِت[5] عباده، فلو [٧٩أ] كان للقرآن معانٍ غير التي[6] يؤدي ظاهر ألفاظه كان قد أعْنَتَهم[7]. وقالوا: إنّ الله هو يهلك الخَلْقَ كلّه إلاّ وجهه لقوله: «كُلُّ شيءٍ هالكٌ إلاّ وَجهَه» [٨٨/٢٨]. وقال أبو السَّرِي[8] في قصيدة طويلة يُذُمُّهم: [الخفيف]

زَعَمُوا أنّ ربهم سَوف يفْنى كلُّهُ غيرَ وجهِهِ ذو الجَلالِ

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[1] لرئيس: الرئيس – ص
[2] بديع: يرتع – ص
[3] حجج: الحجج – ص
[4] يكون: يقال – ص
[5] يعنت: يبعث – ص
[6] معان غير التي: معاني غير الذي – ص
[7] اعنتهم: اغنيهم(؟) – ص
[8] السري: التبري – ص. ابو السري هو معدان الشميطي

فلهذا[1] وما يُضارِعُ[2] هذا جَعَلَ اللهُ حظَّهُم في السَفالِ

وقالوا في قوله تعالى «كَتَبَ عَلَى نَفْسِهِ الرَّحْمَةَ»: [٦/١٢] [٧٩ظ] إنّه خطٌّ على وجهه وعينه وجميع جوارحه أنه رحيم. وإنّهم أوجبوا على كل من يقوم إلى الصلاة الوضوء بلا حدث، واحتجوا بقوله: «إذَا قُمْتُم إلَى الصَّلاةِ فَاغْسِلُوا وُجُوهَكُم» الآية [٦/٥]، قالوا: ليس في الآية ذكر حدث إنما فيها ذكر القيام فقط، وإنّ كل من يصلي صلاة الفجر ولم يقعد إلى وقت الظهر ولم يُحْدِثْ فلا وضوء عليه. وقالوا: إنّ بيان بن سمعان[3] كان أعطي اسم الله الأعظم <وإنّه> يدعو <به> الزُهرة فتجيبه[4]. وبيان هذا من بني تميم. [٨٠ظ]

[المُغيريَّة]

الفرقة العاشرة المغيرية، نسبوا إلى المغيرة بن سعيد[5] العجلي، وهم طبقة من المشبهة. قالوا: إنّ معبودهم رَجُلٌ من نور على رأسه تاج وله لباس، فأما

ص ٦٧ س ١٧ - ص ٦٨ س ١ قابل باصول النحل للناشئ ص ٤٠

س ٨-٩ قابل بالحور العين ص ٢١٥: انه يدعو الزهرة باسم الله الاعظم فتجيبه،وبمقالات الاشعري ص ٥: اصحاب بيان بن سمان ... يقولون ان الله عز وجل على صورة الانسان وانه يهلك كله الا وجهه وادعى بيان انه يدعو الزهرة فتجيبه وانه يفعل ذلك بالاسم الاعظم.

س ١٤ قابل بمقالات الاشعري ص ٧: وان معبودهم رجل من نور على رأسه تاج،.وبالحور العين ص ٢٢٢: وان معبوده رجل من نور على رأسه تاج من نور.

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[1] فلهذا - ن: ان هذا - ص

[2] يضارع - ن: يصارع - ص

[3] سمعان: شمعان - ص

[4] فتجيبه: فيحييه - ص، والتصحيح عن ح ٢١٥، ش ٥

[5] سعيد - خ: شعبة - ص

إزاره فهو القرآن المنزل على محمد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله وأما رداؤه فهو الإنجيل المنزل على عيسى عليه السلام وأما قميصه فهو التوراة المنزلة على موسى عليه السلام وأما سراويله فهي الزبور المنزلة على داود عليه السلام وله من الأعضاء والخَلْق مثل ما للرجل، وله جوفٌ تنبُعُ منه [٨٠ب] الحكمةُ. وزعموا أن حروف أبجد على عدد أعضائه وأن كل حرفٍ منها يشبه[١] عضوًا منه، وألف موضع قدمه ‹لاعوجاجها›[٢]، ويصفون سائر الأعضاء على صفة تلك الحروف[٣]، وزعموا أن المغيرة قال لأصحابه عند ذكر الهاء[٤]: لو رأيتم موضعها منه رأيتم أمراً عظيمًا - يعرّض[٥] لهم بالعورة[٦] وأنه قد رآه. وزعموا أن تلك الحروف كلها اسم واحد وأنه اسم الله الأعظم، وزعموا أن المغيرة نبي وأنه كان يعلم ذلك الاسم وأنه كان يُحيي الموتى به ويعمل به [٨١أ] العجائب. وقالوا: قد انطلق المغيرة ببعض أصحابه إلى المقابر وأحيى الموتى وأطعمهم الفواكه في تلك المقابر في الشتاء وأراهم لمعة من نور

س ٤-٩ قابل بمقالات الاشعري ص ٧: له من الاعضاء والخلق مثل ما للرجل وله جوف وقلب تنبع منه الحكمة وان حروف ابي جاد على عدد اعضائه قالوا الالف موضع قدمه لاعوجاجها وذكر الهاء فقال لو رأيتم موضعها منه لرأيتم امرا عظيما يعرض لهم بالعورة وبانه قد رآه لعنه الله، وبالحور العين ص ٢٢٢: وله من الاعضاء مثل ما للرجال وله جوف وقلب ينبع بالحكمة وان حروف ابجد على عدد اعضائه فالف موضع قدمه لاعوجاجها وذكر الصاد فقال لو رأيتم موضع الصاد منه لرأيتم امرا عظيما يعرض لهم بالعورة وانه قد رآه.

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[١] يشبه: نسبه - ص

[٢] ‹لاعوجاجها›: الاضافة عن ش ٧

[٣] تلك الحروف: ذلك الجوف - ص

[٤] الهاء - ش: الامر - ص

[٥] يعرض: فعرض - ص

[٦] لهم بالعورة: له بالعروة - ص، والتصحيح عن ش ٧

من لدن قرنه إلى قدمه وأنه كان يلعب بأصحابه ويسحر[1] بأعينهم من طريق الشعبذة. قالوا: إنّ المغيرة ذكر بدء الخلق فقال: إنّ الله جل وعلا كان وحده لا شيء معه فلما أراد أن يخلق ‹الأشياء›تكلم باسمه فطار كلامه فوقع فوق رأسه فوق التاج، قال: فذلك قوله «سَبِّحِ اسمَ رَبِّكَ الأعْلَى» [٨٧/١]؛ ثم كتب بإصبعه على [٨١ب] كفه أعمال العباد من المعاصي والطاعات، فغضب من المعاصي ففاض عَرَقًا فاجتمع من عرقه بحران مالح مُظلم والآخر عَذب نيّر، ثم اطّلع في البحر وأبصر ظله فذهب ليأخذه فأخذه، وانتزع عينيه[2] فخلق منهما[3] شمسين ومحا من نور القمر، ثم خلق السموات والكواكب من هيئة ظله، ثم خلق الخلق كله من ذينك[4] البحرين فخلق الكفار من المالح المظلم وخلق المؤمنين من العذب النير، وذلك أن الله تعالى، زعموا، خلق في ذلك الوقت أظلّة الناس. و [٨٢أ] كان أول ما خلق الله منها محمداً صلى الله عليه وآله وذلك قوله جل وعز: «قُلْ إنْ كانَ للرَحْمَنِ وَلَدٌ فَأنَا أوّلُ العَابِدِينَ» [٤٣/٨١]، ثم أرسل محمداً إلى الناس كافة وهم أظلة وأمره أن يشهد على أنفسهم بإقرارهم بربوبية الله ورسالة محمد وولاية علي عليه السلام ويحكي قوله:

س ٢ وما بعد قابل بمقالات الاشعري ص ٧-٨: وذكر لهم كيف ابتدأ الله الخلق فزعم ان الله ... كان وحده لا شيء معه فلما اراد ان يخلق الاشياء تكلم باسمه الاعظم فطار فوقع فوق رأسه التاج قال وذلك قوله (سبح اسم ربك الاعلى) قال ثم كتب باصبعه على كفه اعمال العباد من المعاصي والطاعات فغضب من المعاصي فعرق فاجتمع من عرقه بحران احدهما مالح مظلم والآخر نير عذب ثم اطلع في البحر فابصر ظله فذهب ليأخذه فطار فانتزع عين ظله فخلق منها شمسا ومحق ذلك الظل وقال لا ينبغي ان يكون معي اله غيري ثم خلق الخلق كله من البحرين فخلق الكفار من البحر المالح المظلم وخلق المؤمنين من النير العذب وخلق ظلال الناس فكان اول من خلق منها محمدا ... قال وذلك قوله (قل ان كان

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[1] يسحر: يسخر - ص

[2] وانتزع عينيه: وانتزعيني - ص؛ فانتزع عين - ش

[3] منهما: منها - ص

[4] ذينك: ذلك - ص

«‹و›إذْ أخَذَ ربُّكَ مِن بَني آدم» الآية [٧/١٧٢]، ثم عرض على السموات والأرض أن يمنعن علي بن أبي طالب عن الخلافة والإمامة فأبَيْنَ ثم على الجبال فأبَيْنَ ثم على الناس، فقام عمر إلى أبي بكر، وهم حينئذ أظلة [٨٢ب] فأمره أن يتحمّل منعه على أن يغدرا[1] به ففعل ‹ذلك›[2] أبو بكر، وذلك قوله: «إنَّا عَرَضْنا الأمانَةَ عَلَى السَّمَوات وَالأرْض وَالجبال فَأبَيْنَ أنْ يَحْمِلْنَهَا وَأشْفَقْنَ منْهَا وَحَمَلَهَا الإنْسَانُ إنَّهُ كَانَ ظَلُومًا جَهُولاً» [٣٣/٧٢]، ثم قال عمر لأبي بكر: وأنا أعينك على علي عليه السلام لتجعل لي الخلافة بعدك، وذلك قوله: «كَمَثَلِ الشَّيطَانِ إذْ قَالَ للإنْسَانِ اكْفُرْ فَلَمَّا كَفَرَ قَالَ إنّي بَرِيءٌ منْكَ» [٥٩/١٦]، فالشيطان عمر والإنسان أبو بكر. وزعموا أن الأرض تنشق عن الموتى فيرجعون إلى الدنيا. وقالوا: إنّ [٨٣أ] المهدي يخرج في آخر الزمان وجبرئيل وميكائيل يعينانه بين الركن والمقام فيختار تسعة عشر رجلاً يعطي كل رجل منهم كذا حرفًا من اسم الله الأعظم فيهزمون به الجيوش ويملكون الأرض.

للرحمان ولد فانا اول العابدين) ثم ارسل محمدا الى الناس كافة وهو ظل ثم عرض على السموات ان يمنعن علي بن ابي طالب ... فابين ثم على الارض والجبال فابين ثم على الناس كلهم فقام عمر بن الخطاب الى ابي بكر فامره ان يتحمل منعه وان يغدر به ففعل ذلك ابو بكر وذلك قوله (انا عرضنا الامانة على السموات والارض والجبال) قال وقال عمر انا اعينك على علي لتجعل لي الخلافة بعدك وذلك قوله (كمثل الشيطان اذ قال للانسان اكفر) والشيطان عنده عمر وزعم ان الارض تنشق عن الموتى فيرجعون الى الدنيا.

س ١٥-١٧ قابل بمقالات الاشعري ص ٩: وذكر[المغيرة] لهم ان جبريل وميكائيل عليهما السلم يبايعانه بين الركن والمقام ويحيى له سبعة عشر رجلا يعطى كل رجل منهم كذا وكذا حرفا من الاسم العظم فيهزمون الجيوش ويملكون الارض.

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[1] يغدرا: يغدر - ش؛ بعد رأوا - ص

[2] ‹ذلك›: الاضافة عن ش

[الزُّرَارِيَّة]

الفرقة الحادية عشر الزرارية، نسبوا إلى زُرارة بن أعْيَن بن سُنسُن[١]. قالوا: إنّ الله جسم لا كالأجسام ‹و›صورة لا كالصور[٢]، ولم يزل كان غير سميع ولا بصير ولا قادر ولا عليم حتى خلق ذلك كله لنفسه فسمع بسمع [٣٨٣ب] مخلوق وبصر ببصر مخلوق وقدر بقدرة مخلوقة وعلم بعلم مخلوق، وكذلك سائر الصفات من الكلام والحكمة[٣] وغيرها. وقالوا: إنّ الله يبدو له كمن[٤] يستفيد الراي بعد الرأي، وقالوا: إنّ الله لو كان لا يبدو له لكان لجوجًا متعانداً[٥] واللجاج لا يكون إلاّ من العجز عن التصرف، والبداء لا يكون إلاّ فضلاً في القوة وإنّ استبدال الرأي عزم وقوة وإنّ المصيب على الرأي الواحد لا يكون إلاّ عن معلومات؛ وقالوا: لو [١٨٤أ] لم يكن له بداء كان مجبوراً كالنار في إحراقها والشمس في دَوَرانها والحجر في انحداره والماء في سَيَلانه، وفي ذلك يقول شاعرهم يخبر عن علامات ظهور الإمام، وذلك لأنهم طبقة من الرافضة: [الطويل]

فَتلكَ أُماراتٌ تَجيءُ لوَقْتِها وَما لَك عَمَّا قَدَّرَ اللهُ مَذْهَبُ
ولَولا البَدَا سَمَّيْتَهُ غَيرَ صائبٍ وَنَعْتُ البَدَا نَعْتٌ[٦] لمَن يَتَقَلَّبُ
ولولا البَدَا ما كان ثَمَّ تَصَرُّفٌ [٣٨٤ب] وكانَ كَنارٍ دَهْرَهَا تَتَلَهَّبُ[٧]

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[١] سُنسُن: زرارة – ص
[٢] كالصور: كالصورة – ص
[٣] والحكمة: والحكم – ص
[٤] الله يبدو له كمن: الله لو كان لا يبدو له لمن – ص
[٥] متعاندا: متتابعا – ص
[٦] نعت ... نعت: بعث ... بعث – ص
[٧] تتلهب: يتلهب – ص

وكانَ كَضَوْءٍ مُشْرِقٍ وَطَبِيعةٍ وبِاللهِ عَن ذِكْرِ الطَّبَائِعِ نَرْغَبُ

واحتجوا في البداء أيضًا بأن قالوا: إنّ الله جسم وإنّه لا يعلم الشيء إلاّ بعد أن يكوّنه، فإذا كان الشيء على غير ما أراد يبدو له في ذلك فيتركه ويصير إلى خلق[1] غيره، والدليل على ذلك هو أنّه يأمر بشريعة أو بطاعة ثم ينسخها ويدعها ويأمر بغيرها[2]، واحتجوا بقول الله تعالى أيضًا: «يَمْحُو اللهُ مَا يَشاءُ ويُثْبِتُ وَعِندَهُ أُمُّ الكِتَابِ» [٣٩/١٣]، [٨٥أ] وبقوله: «كُلَّ يَومٍ هُوَ فِي شَأْنٍ» [٢٩/٥٥]. وقالوا: إنّ الله بعث جبرئيل إلى محمد صلى الله عليه وآله ثم بدا له في محمد وأراد أن يبعثه إلى علي عليه السلام وكره إزالة نبوّته بعد عقدها لئلا تقول[3] قريش: إنّ رب محمد ليس له معقود، فبعث جبرئيل إلى محمد وقال له: قل: «إنّما أنتَ مُنْذِرٌ ولِكُلِّ قَومٍ هادٍ» [٧/١٣]، يعني أنت منذرهم وهاديهم علي بن أبي طالب عليه السلام، وقل له: «أَفَمَنْ كَانَ عَلَى بَيِّنَةٍ مِنْ رَبِّهِ وَيَتْلُوهُ شاهِدٌ مِنهُ» [١٧/١١]، يعني عليّاً عليه السلام. وأما حجتهم في أن علم الله محدث مخلوق [٨٥ب] فزعموا أن الله لم يزل ولا يزال وكان غير عالم ولا جاهل حتى أحدث لنفسه علماً به علم الأشياء وأنّه لا يعلم الشيء حتى يكوّنه، ويزعمون أن من زعم أنه يعلم الشيء قبل كونه والشيء ليس فقد ‹زعم أنه› علم لاشيء؛ قالوا: والدليل على ذلك قوله عز وجل:

ص ٧٢ س ١٦ - س ١ قابل باللمع في اصول الفقه لابي اسحاق ابراهيم الشيرازي ص ١٦٤: ولولا البدا سميته غير هائب / وذكر البدا نعت لمن يتقلب // ولولا البدا ما كان فيه تصرف / وكان كنار دهرها تتلهب // وكان كضوء مشرق [كصيف مشرف - في شرح اللمع] بطبيعة / وبالله عن ذكر الطبائع يرغب. قابل بشرح اللمع، الجزء الاول ص ٤٨٥.

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[1] خلق: خلف - ص

[2] ينسخها ويدعها ويامر بغيرها: ينسخه وتدعه ويامر بغيره - ص

[3] تقول: يقول - ص

«اذْهَبا[1] إلى فِرْعَوْنَ إنَّهُ طَغَى، فَقُولا لَهُ قَولاً لَيِّنًا لَعَلَّهُ يَتَذكَّرُ أوْ يَخْشَى» [٢٠/٤٣-٤٤]، فلو كان يعلم أنه لا يتذكر لما قال: لعله، فجعلوا كل[2] شيء في القرآن من لعل وعسى على طريق الشك، قالوا: وكذلك قوله: «وَمَا جَعَلْنا [٨٦أ] القِبْلَةَ التِي كُنْتَ عَلَيْهَا إلاَّ لِنَعْلَمَ مَنْ يَتَّبِعُ الرَسُولَ ‹مِمَّنْ يَنْقَلِبُ› عَلَى عَقِبَيه» [٢/١٤٣]، فلو كان يعلم لما قال ذلك، ومثل قوله: «الآنَ خَفَّفَ اللهُ عَنكُمْ وَعَلِمَ أنَّ فِيكُمْ ضَعْفًا» [٨/٦٦]، فقد أخبر أنه إنما علم الشيء حين حدث، ومثل قوله: «وَمَا كَانَ لَهُ عَلَيهِمْ مِنْ سُلْطانٍ إلاَّ لِنَعْلَمَ مَن يُؤْمِنُ بالآخِرَةِ مِمَّنْ هُوَ مِنْهَا فِي شَكٍّ» [٣٤/٢١]، ومثل قوله: «وَلَنَبْلُوَنَّكُمْ حَتَّى نَعْلَمَ المُجاهِدِينَ مِنكُمْ والصَّابِرِينَ ونَبْلُوَ أخْبَارَكُم» [٤٧/٣١]، فلو كان يعلم لما قال ذلك. فكل آية يجدونها[3] في القرآن على هذا المثال فسّروها [٨٦ب] على ما ذُكِر.

[المنْهاليَّة]

الفرقة الثانية عشرة المنهالية، نسبوا إلى المنهال بن ميمون العجلي، وهم طبقة من المشبهة. قالوا: إنّ الله جسم لطيف طويل عريض عميق، وهو قادر على تصريف ذاته في أصناف الصور مثل الجماد والنبات والحيوان والهوام والحشرات[4] والبهائم والسباع واللساعات[5] والإنس والجن والملائكة وغيرها من المخلوقين، وزعموا أنه لو عجز عن تصريف ذاته في أنواع الصور لكان

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[1] اذهبا: اذهب - ص

[2] كل: لكل - ص

[3] يجدونها: تجدونها - ص

[4] الحشرات: الحرشات - ص

[5] اللساعات: الساحات (؟) - ص

عن[١] تصريف غيره [٨٧أ] أعجز[٢]، واحتجوا بالخبر المروي عن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله أن الله تبارك وتعالى ينزل من السماء راكباً على حمار يهرج[٣] فيسأل عن منزل أبي هريرة في سكنى[٤] المدينة ليعوده في مرضه والخبر المروي عنه، قالوا: إنّ الله تعالى خلق الخيل فاجراها[٥] ثم خلق نفسه من عرق ذلك الخيل. وكان المنهال هذا شاعراً داهيًا[٦] وهو يقول في كلمة له: [الطويل]

لَوْ كانَ رَبِّي لا يُصَرِّفُ نَفْسَهُ ... لَكُنت وَرَبِّي في الأُمُورِ سَوا ء [٨٧ب]
فَكَيْفَ[٧] وهَذي الغُولُ تَقْلِبُ[٨] خَلْقَها ... وإبليسُ بَعْدَ النَكْبِ عادَ هَوَا ء
وصار[٩] زمانًا في مثال[١٠] ابنِ جعشم ... لقد زِدْتُماني جُرْأَةً ومَضا ء
وجِبريلُ يَلْقَى مِثْلَ دِحْيَةَ صاحِبًا ... فَهذا شِفا ءٌ إنْ أُرَدتَ شِفا ء

يريد بذلك أن جبرئيل وإبليس والغول[١١] قدروا على تقليب صورهم إلى صور شتى، فلو كان الله لا يطيق تصريف ذاته كان أعجز منهم ولكانوا بربوبيته

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[١] عن: من غير – ص
[٢] اعجز: اعجم – ص
[٣] يهرج: ديرح – ص
[٤] سكنى: شكل – ص
[٥] فاجراها: فاحراها – ص
[٦] داهيا: ذاهبا – ص
[٧] فكيف: وكيف – ص
[٨] تقلب: يغلب – ص
[٩] وصار: وضمار – ص
[١٠] مثال: مثل – ص
[١١] الغول: القول – ص

أولى منه، جل وعز [١٨٨أ] عما يقول الظالمون علواً كبيراً. وهم يرون قتل مخالفيهم[١] على أي جهة أطاقوها، بالخنق والغيلة[٢] فما دونه.

[المُبَيِّضَة]

الفرقة الثالثة عشر المبيّضة، فهم تَبَعُ المقنّع الذي ادعى المهدية واسمه هشام بن حكيم المروزي. قالوا: إنّ الله جسم لطيف طويل عريض عميق، وإنّ الرسل كلهم آلهة أجسادهم رسل الله وارواحهم[٣] نفسه، وإنّ الله إذا أراد أن يكلم الجسمانيين دخل في صورة بعضهم وجعلها رسولاً إليهم ليأمرهم [١٨٨ب] بما يهواه ويريده وينهاهم عما لا يريده ويسخطه، واحتجوا بقول الله عز وجل: «وَمَا يَنْطِقُ عَنِ الهَوَى، إِنْ هُوَ الاَّ وَحْيٌ يُوحَى عَلَّمَهُ شَدِيدُ الْقُوَى، ذُو مِرَّةٍ فَاسْتَوَى» [٥٣/٣-٦]، إلى قوله: «ثُمَّ دَنَا فَتَدَلَّى» [٥٣/٨]، يعنى دنا الرب فتدلى في حذاء محمد صلى الله عليه وآله «فَكَانَ قَابَ قَوْسَيْنِ أَوْ أَدْنَى» [٥٣/٩]، يعني كان أدنى إلى محمد من دماغه وقلبه اللذين[٤] هما بمنزلة السهم والقوس للشجاع، «فَأَوْحَى إِلَى عَبْدِهِ مَا أَوْحَى» [٥٣/١٠]، يعني ألهم محمداً حتى دخل في صورته، «مَا كَذَبَ الفُؤَادُ مَا رَأَى» [٥٣/١١]، يعني ما كذب [١٨٩أ] فؤاد بدنه حين[٥] رآه دخل في جسده، «أَفَتُمَارُونَهُ عَلَى مَا يَرَى» [٥٣/١٢]، أي أفتجادلونه وتحسدونه على ما فضله الله بأن دخل في صورته ولم يدخل في صورتكم؟ وقالوا: إنّ الله <لا> يدخل في صورة الإنسان بعدما دخلها مرة واحدة سنين كثيرة وقروناً طويلة، وزعموا أن

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[١] قتل مخالفيهم: قبل مخالفتهم - ص

[٢] والغيلة: والعلة - ص

[٣] ارواحهم: ازواجهم - ص

[٤] اللذين: الله ان - ص

[٥] حين: حتى - ص

الله لما خلق آدم دخل في صورته ثم قبضه ورجع <إلى> عرشه في السموات، ثم إنّه لما خلق نوحًا حل في صورته ثم قبضه ورجع إلى عرشه، ثم دخل في صورة إبراهيم ثم قبضه ورجع إلى عرشه، [٨٩ب] ثم دخل في صورة موسى ثم قبضه ورجع إلى عرشه، ثم لما خلق عيسى حل في صورته ثم قبضه ورجع إلى عرشه، ثم لما خلق محمداً حل في صورته ثم قبضه ورجع إلى عرشه، ثم لما خلق أبا مسلم حل في صورته ثم قبضه ورجع إلى عرشه، ثم لما خلق المقنّع حل في صورته ثم قبضه ورجع إلى عرشه؛ وهم ينتظرون رجوعه وحلوله في صورة الذي ينتظرونه لإظهار دينهم، تعالى الله عن ذلك علواً كبيراً.

وإنّهم [٩٠أ] استحلوا فيما بينهم النساء، وزعموا أن الميتة والدم ولحم الخنزير والخمر وغير ذلك من المحارم حلال وقالوا: لم يحرم الله ذلك ولا حرم شيئًا وإنما هذه الأسماء أسماء رجال حرم الله ولايتهم، وأسقطوا الفرائض وقالوا أيضًا: هي أسماء رجال أوجب الله ولايتهم، واحتجوا بقول الله: «لَيْسَ عَلَى الذِّينَ آمَنُوا وَعَمِلُوا الصَّالِحَاتِ جُنَاحٌ فِيمَا طَعِمُوا» [٥/٩٣]، وقوله جل وعز: «قُلْ مَنْ حَرَّمَ زِينَةَ اللَّهِ الَّتِي أَخْرَجَ لِعِبَادِهِ وَالطَّيِّبَاتِ مِنَ الرِّزْقِ» [٧/ ٣٢].

ولقد رأيتُ منهم خَلْقاً كثيراً وناظرْتُهُم، وليس لأحد [٩٠ب] منهم معرفة بشيء من أصول دينهم ولا يعرف[١] المقنع ولا زمانه إلاّ حذاقهم[٢]، وليس عندهم إلاّ ترك[٣] الصلاة والصوم وغسل الجنابة، وأنهم يكونون متّقين[٤] لا يُدخلون سواهم فيهم ولا يزوجونه ولا يتزوجون إليهم وهم بالمسلمين مختلطون، وأنهم يبيحون نساءهم ويقولون: المرأة كالريحانة من اشتمّها لم تنقص[٥]، وأن

[١] يعرف: نعرف – ص
[٢] حذاقهم: حداقهم – ص
[٣] ترك: نزل – ص
[٤] متقين: متفقين – ص
[٥] تنقص: ينقص – ص

الرجل منهم إذا أحب أن يخلو بامرأة واحد منهم يدخل منزله ويضع علامة لدخوله على الباب فإذا جاء زوجها وعرف تلك العلامة [٩١أ] لم يدخل وانصرف حتى يفرغ صاحبه من حاجته. وحدثني عمرو بن محمد عن شيخ من أهل بخارى أنه قال: إنّ لكل جماعة من هؤلاء المبيضة رئيسًا يتولى افتضاض نسائهم ليلة الزفاف، ولم ألحقق ذلك، والله أعلم.

ولهم مع هذا كله أمانة ليس عندهم من أسباب الخيانة والسرقة وأذى الناس شيء، وإنّهم يتجنبون[١] سفك الدماء عند سكونهم ويبيحون[٢] إهراقها عند عقدهم راية الخلاف واجتماعهم على الخروج لطلب الثأر[٣]، وإنّ لهم في كل بلد رئيسًا [٩١ب] من أهل الدين يسمونه فرمان سالار[٤] يجتمعون إليه خفيًا ويؤامرونه سراً، ويقولون: إنّ المهدي الخارج في آخر الزمان هو المهدي بن فيروز بن عمران <و>إنّه من ولد فاطمة بنت أبي مسلم، وإنّ لهم رسلاً وسفراء يختلفون فيما بينهم يسمونهم فريشتگان[٥]، أي ملائكة، ولا يصبحون إلاّ على توعُّد بالحركة من يومهم <ولا يُمْسُون> إلاّ على ترقُّب للخروج[٦] في غدهم، وإنّهم ينتحلون الرجعة. وزعموا أن الله لما رجع إلى عرشه بعد خروجه من قالب محمد أرسل روحه إلى [٩٢أ] علي عليه السلام ثم من بعده إلى محمد بن الحنفية ومنه إلى ابنه أبي هاشم[٧] واحداً بعد واحد إلى أن أحلّ الله نفسه في قالب أبي مسلم ثم رجع إلى عرشه بعد خروجه من قالب أبي مسلم

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[١] يتجنبون: يبيحون – ص

[٢] يبيحون: يتوجون – ص

[٣] الثأر: الثواب – ص

[٤] فرمان سالار: فرمى رئيسا لان (؟) – ص

[٥] فريشتگان: فريشته كما راى (؟) – ص

[٦] للخروج: الخروج – ص

[٧] الى ابنه ابي هاشم: افى ابنه اي لقتلهم – ص

فـأرسل روحـه إلى أبي المضـر وأن أبا المضـر هذا لحق[١] بالروم وأن المهـدي بن فيروز يخرج من الروم في آخر الزمان بزعمهم.

[مذهب المرجئة]

باب المذهب الثالث وهم المرجئة ينقسمون على ست فرق.

[الغَيلانيَّة]

أحدها الغيلانية، نسبوا إلى غيلان بن خرشة ‹الضبّي›[٢] وإلى غيلان بن [٩٢ظ] جرير وإلى غيلان بن مروان. فأما قولهم في التوحيد والعدل وأفاعيل العباد فكقول المعتزلة. وقد روي عن غيلان بن خرشة أنه دخل على هشام بن عبد الملك، فقال له هشام: أنت القائل: إنّ الله ما ولأني ولا رضي بما أنا به؟ فقال له غيلان: هل رأيت أميناً ولّى الخائنين أمره أم هل رأيت مصلحاً ولى المفسدين إصلاحه أم هل رأيت حكيماً أراد أمراً ثم عاقب عليه؟ فقال: والله لأقتلنك، فقال له: كفّارةُ يمين هي خيرٌ من قتل مسلم، قال: أما [٩٣أ] والله لأعجّلنّك إلى النار، قال: لو علمتُ أن ذلك بيدك لأحسنتُ عبادتك، فأمر به فضرب عنقه.

وأما قول الغيلانية في الوعيد فكقول المرجئة، والذي اجتمع عليه المرجئة

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[١] لحق: الحق - ص

[٢] خرشة ... الضبي - خ: عيلان بن حرشه - ص

ترك القطع على أصحاب الكبائر[١] إذا ماتوا تائبين أو مُصرّين بعذاب أو ثواب وأرجأوا أمرهم إلى الشك، وأجازوا الخُلْفَ في الوعيد وسمّوا ذلك تفضّلاً وكَرَمًا. ومحمد بن شبيب[٢] وأبو شمر يقولان في التوحيد والوعد والوعيد كقول الغيلانية إلاّ أنهما خالفاهم في الإيمان وفي أشياء أخر. [٩٣ظ] وقالت الغيلانية: الإيمان في اللغة هو الإقرار والإقرار هو التصديق بالله وملائكته وكتبه ورسله، والمعرفة فعل الله وليست من الإيمان في قليل ولا كثير، وإنّ المعرفةَ ‹بالله› هو العلم بأن الأشياء محدَثة مدبَّرة وأن محدثها ومدبِّرها ليس باثنين ولا أكثر من ذلك، وإنّها ضرورة[٣] ليست[٤] باكتساب، وأما الإيمان عندهم فهو العلم بالنبي صلى الله عليه وآله وبجميع ما عنده اكتسابًا، ولم يجعلوا شيئًا من الدين مستخرجًا إيمانًا، وقالوا: إنّ الإيمان لا يزيد ولا ينقص. وقالوا [٩٤أ] وجميع المرجئة: إنّ الأمر بالمعروف والنهي عن المنكر واجبان على المسلمين على أي جهة قدروا عليه، بالسيف فما دونه باللسان واليد والقلب بعد أن لا ينفردوا بأنفسهم في أتباعهم ولا يدخلوا[٥] فيما لا يقدرون على الخروج منه ولا يمكنهم القيام به. وقالوا: إنّ علي بن أبي طالب قتل عثمان بن

س ٥-٦ قابل بمقالات الاشعري ص ١٣٧: وذكر زرقان عن غيلان ان الايمان هو الاقرار باللسان وهو التصديق وان المعرفة بالله فعل الله وليست من الايمان في قليل ولا كثير واعتل بان الايمان في اللغة هو التصديق.

س ٧-١٠ قابل بمقالات الاشعري ص ١٣٦: ان العلم بان الاشياء محدثة مدبرة ضرورة والعلم بان محدثها ومدبرها ليس باثنين ولا اكثر من ذلك اكتساب وجعلوا العلم بالنبي ... وبما جاء من عند الله اكتسابا وزعموا انه من الايمان اذا كان الذي جاء من عند الله منصوصا باجماع المسلمين ولم يجعلوا شيئا من الدين مستخرجا ايمانا.

[١] اصحاب الكبائر: الكفار - ص

[٢] شبيب: حبيب - ص

[٣] ضرورة: صورة - ص

[٤] ليست: ليس - ص

[٥] يدخلوا: يدخلون - ص

عفان، وإنّ رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله مات ولم يستخلف، وإنّ الإمامة شورى بين خيار الأمة وفضلائها يعقدونها[١] لأصحابهم، وأجازوا الإمامة في أفناء الناس [٩٤ب] كلهم بعد أن يكون فاضلاً عالماً عادلاً. وقالوا في الأخبار بمثل قولهم في المعارف: إنّه لا يجوز أن يضطر الله بعض خلقه بالخبر ولا يضطر بعضهم، فمن اضطرّه[٢] الله كلّفه الإقرار ومن لم يضطره لم يكلّفه، وقالوا: إنّا مستطيعون قبل الفعل إلاّ أن هاهنا استطاعة غيرها[٣] مع الفعل، وقالوا: ما كان من الوعيد في القرآن فهو على المستحلين كلهم وأما المحرمون فإن شاء عفا عنهم وإن شاء عذّبهم وإن شاء عذب واحداً وإن شاء عذب الجميع وإن شاء عفا عن [٩٥أ] واحد وإن شاء عفا عن الجميع، ويجوز أن يخلدهم في النار ويجوز أن لا يخلدهم في النار، فإن خلد واحداً خلد الجميع وإن عفا عن واحد عفا عن الجميع. وقالوا: إنّ النبي صلى الله عليه وآله ما عرج إلى السماء قط وإنما عرج من المسجد إلى المسجد وإنّه لم ير ربه قط، واحتجوا بقول الله تعالى: «مَا كَانَ لِبَشَرٍ أَن يُكَلِّمَهُ اللهُ إلاَّ وَحْيًا أَوْ مِنْ وَرَاءِ حِجَابٍ أَوْ يُرْسِلَ رَسُولاً فَيُوحِيَ بِإِذْنِهِ مَا يَشَاءُ» [٤٢/٥١]، واعتلوا أيضًا بما روي عن عائشة أنها قالت: «من زعم أن محمداً رأى ربه فقد أعظم [٩٥ب] الفرية على الله»، وقالوا: إنّ الله لا يراه أحد في المعاد لأن كل شيء مرئي متناهٍ وكل متناهٍ[٤] محدود.

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[١] يعقدونها: يعتقدونها – ص

[٢] فمن اضطره: من اضطراره – ص

[٣] غيرها: غيرنا – ص

[٤] متناه ... متناه: مشار ... مشار – ص

[الصالحيَّة]

الفرقة الثانية الصالحية، نسبوا إلى صالح بن عبد الله المعروف بقُبَة. قولهم في التوحيد والعدل كقول المعتزلة والغيلانية. وقالوا في أفاعيل العباد: إنّا قد علمنا أن الأفاعيل أفاعيلنا من قِبَل أن الله أمرنا به ونهانا عنه وقد نعلم أنه مخلوق لأن الله خالق كل شيء ولسنا ندري إذا قلنا: [٩٦أ] مخلوق والله خلقه، <أ>دليل من جهة التسمية أو من جهة ما قال أصحاب المخلوق، ذلك جائز كله. وقالوا في الوعيد: إنّ الخصوص يجوز في الأمر والخبر وإن خرج مخرج العموم كما جاز في الوعد،[١] فأمر بالأمر عامًا ويقصد به بعضًا دون بعض. وقالوا: إنّ الإدراك مخلوق ويجوز أن يخلق الله القدرة والعلم في إنسان ميت فيكون قادراً عالماً ميتًا إلاّ أنه لم يخلق فيه[٢] إدراك ذلك العلم والقدرة، وقالوا: ويجوز أن يكون بين يدى الإنسان بعوضة وفيل فيرى البعوضة [٩٦ب] ولا يرى الفيل لأن الله لم يخلق فيه إدراك الفيل[٣]. وقالوا: ما تولد عن الفعل[٤] فهو فعل الله، وعلّتهم[٥] في ذلك أن <الفاعل> لا يكون يفعل فعلاً أبداً إلاّ وهو فاعل لتركه[٦]، فلو كان ذهاب السهم فعله جاز أن يرمي ولا يذهب، فلما عجز عن ذلك زعموا أنه فعل الله، فهو إن شاء أذهبه وإن شاء حبسه لأن الفاعل لا يكاد يفعل الشيء إلاّ وقد يقدر على خلافه، وقالوا: يجوز أن يحرق الله إنسانًا بالنار لا يخلق فيه إدراك الألم فلا يألم ويجوز أن يجتمع النار والقطن ولا يحترق لأن الله لم يخلق بينهما [٩٧أ]

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[١] الوعد: الوعيد – ص

[٢] الا انه لم يخلق فيه: لانه لم يجد معه – ص

[٣] الفيل: القتل – ص

[٤] عن الفعل: عن الله – ص

[٥] علتهم: علته – ص

[٦] لتركه: البركة – ص

إحراقًا، ويقيسون[١] على هذا القول في خلق الإدراك جميع الأشياء حتى قيل له: فما تنكر[٢] أن يضع الله الجبال على إنسان فيحملها ولا يجد ثقلها لأن الله لم يخلق فيه إدراك الثقل؟ قال: لا أنكر ذلك، قيل: فما تنكر أن تكون[٣] في هذا الوقت بمكة جالسًا في قُبّة وقد ضربت عليك وانت لا تعلم ‹ذلك› لأن[٤] الله لم يخلق فيك العلم به؟ قال: لا أنكر، فلقب بقبة، وقالوا: يجوز أن يدرك الإنسان ببصره ما وراء الحجاب إذا خلق الله له إدراك ذلك، وقالوا: الرؤيا حق وهي بمنزلة اليقظة [٩٧ب] فإذا رأى الإنسان في المنام كأنّه بالمغرب وهو بالمشرق فقد[٥] اخترعه الله بالمغرب في ذلك الوقت، والدليل على ذلك أنّا قد نرى في المنام مثل الذي في اليقظة، فلو كان ذلك باطلاً لكانت الرؤية باطلة،[٦] وقالوا: إنّ الذي يرى في المرآة[٧] إنما هو إنسان آخر مثله اخترعه الله، ودليله أنه قد نرى شيئين فلو جاز أن يبطل أحدهما جاز أن يبطل الآخر. وقالوا: ليس من آية إلاّ وهي تحتمل الخاص والعام، وليس في القرآن ما يدل على عذاب أهل الصلاة لأنه قد يجوز أن تكون خاصة [٩٨أ] في

س ٣-٥ قابل بمقالات الاشعري ص ٤٠٧: قيل له فما تنكر ان تكون في هذا الوقت بمكة جالسا في قبة قد ضربت عليك وانت لا تعلم ذلك لان الله سبحانه لم يخلق فيك العلم به هذا وانت صحيح سليم غير مأوف؟ قال لا انكر فلقب بقبة.

س ١٠-١١ مقالات الاشعري ص ٤٣٤: فقال قائلون الذي يرى [الراءى] في المرآة انما هو انسان مثله اخترعه الله وهذا قول صالح.

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[١] ويقيسون: ويقسمون - ص

[٢] تنكر: ينكر - ص

[٣] قيل فما تنكر ان تكون: فيه مما ينكر ان يكون - ص

[٤] لان: أن - ص

[٥] فقد: وقد - ص

[٦] الرؤية باطلة: الرؤيا باطلا - ص

[٧] المرآة: المنام - ص

المستحلين ويجوز أن تكون[١] عامة في المحرمين إلاّ أنه يستحيل التخليد في النار.

[أصْحاب الرأي]

الفرقة الثالثة أصحاب الرأي، وهم أصحاب أبي حنيفة النعمان[٢] بن ثابت، وهم أجازوا القياس والاستحسان في الأحكام. وقد قال أبو حنيفة: إنّ لله مائية، على نحو ما قالها ضرار بن عمرو، ودليله على ذلك أنه لا يكون شيء موجود إلاّ <و>له مائية وأنية من قبل <أن> علمك بالمائية غير علمك بالأنية[٣] وذلك أنّك تسمع صوتًا فتعلم أن له مصوّتًا وتجهل ما هو، ثم [٢١٨ظ] يحدث لك علم بما هو، فعلمك[٤] بأنه هو غير علمك بما هو، <و>لو كان شيئًا واحداً كان العلم بهذا هو العلم بهذا. وقال أبو حنيفة وأصحابه: الإيمان لا يزيد ولا ينقص وإنّه اسم لمعنيين للمعرفة والإقرار، ولا يسمى الواحد منهما على الانفراد إيمانًا كمثل[٥] الفرس الأبلق إنما سُمّي باجتماع البياض والسواد ولا يسمي واحد منهما على الانفراد أبلقَ. وقالوا: إنّ الاستطاعة مع الفعل والاستطاعة التي يفعل بها الإيمان هي الاستطاعة التي يفعل بها الكفر. وقالوا: خير الناس بعد رسول الله صلى الله عليه [٢١٩أ] وآله أبو بكر ثم عمر

س ٨-١٢ قابل بالحور العين ص ٢٠٠: وقال ابو حنيفة وضرار بن عمرو ومن قال بقولهما ... لن يكون شيء موجود الا وله انية ومائية وعلمك بالانية غير علمك بالمائية وذلك ان تسمع الصوت فتعلم ان له مصوتا ويجهل ما هو فعلمك بما هو غير علمك بان له مصوتا.

[١] تكون ... تكون: يكون ... يكون - ص

[٢] النعمان: نعمان - ص

[٣] وانية ... بالانية: واينية ... بالاينية - ص

[٤] فعلمك: يعلمك - ص

[٥] كمثل: ومثل - ص

ثم علي، وأثبتوا إمامة عثمان واعتلوا بالخبر عن النبي صلى الله عليه وآله: الخلافة بعدي ثلاثين سنة، وقد قال أبو حنيفة: كان عثمان إمامًا ست سنين أقام ‹الحق› فلما ظلم وجار بطلت إمامته. وكان يقول: السلطان إذا ظلم وجار عُزل وإن لم يعزل ‹يقتل›. وكان يقول: علي بن أبي طالب إمام مَرضِي إلى أن خرج من الدنيا، فمن لم يرض به كان في قلبه مَرَض وغشّ لأنه لم يرض بالعادل ورضي بالجائر. وقالوا: لا تصلح الإمامة [٩٩ظ] إلاّ في قريش عادلاً كان أو غير عادل، وقالوا: إذا كان الإمام من قريش وكان عادلاً كنا معه، فإذا كان أعدل منه نكون[١] معه، فهم يدورون مع الإمام العادل إذا كان من قريش. وقالوا: إنّ طلحة والزبير وعائشة لم يكونوا بفاسقين لأنهم تأولوا فأخطأوا، والمتأول لا يفسق لعلة التأويل من قبل أنه قاس فغلط والفاسق هو المتعمد، فلما كان غير متعمد[٢] لم يلزمه اسم الفسق. وقالوا: إنّ الله على العرش كما وصف نفسه لا على معنى أنه في مكان لأنه لا يجوز أن [١٠٠أ] يكون في مكان دون مكان، وليس[٣] كمثله شيء ومحال انتقاله من حال إلى حال ومن موضع إلى موضع ومن صعود أو نزول أو غيرهما؛ من زعم ذلك فهو كافر برب العزة. وقالوا: إنّ الإسلام والإيمان شيء واحد لأن الإسلام اسم من أسماء الإيمان. وقالوا: إنّ أحكام الجائر إذا وافقت الكتاب والسنة جائزة نافذة وإنّ المخاصمة إليه والغزو معه والصلاة خلفه جائزة إذا وافق ذلك كله الكتاب والسنة وكذلك الدخول في أعماله إذا لم يُكرِه على العمل بالجور وأمر [١٠٠ظ] بالعمل فيها والعدل، وهم مع ذلك يقولون ‹بأن› إزالته[٤] بالسيف فما دونه واجب إذا أمكن ذلك. وقالوا في الوعيد مثل قول الغيلانية. وقالوا: إنّ القرآن بعضه ما هو لفظه مخلوق ومعناه غير مخلوق مثل قوله العزيز الحكيم

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[١] نكون: يكون - ص

[٢] المتعمد ... متعمد: المعتمد ... معتمد - ص

[٣] وليس: فليس - ص

[٤] ازالته: بازالته - ص

السميع البصير لا إله إلاّ هو وما يشبهه، وبعضه ما هو مخلوق لفظه ومعناه مثل قوله: «وَالْخَيْلَ وَالْبِغَالَ وَالْحَمِيرَ لِتَرْكَبُوهَا» [٨/١٦]، وأشباهه. وقالوا: إنّ المطبوخ حلال والسكر منه حرام.

[الشَبِيبيَّة]

الفرقة الرابعة الشبيبية، [أ١٠١] نسبوا إلى محمد بن شَبِيب. قولهم في التوحيد والعدل وصفات الله كقول المعتزلة. فأما في الإرجاء فإنّهم يقولون بتجويز[١] الخصوص، ومعناه أنهم قالوا: إنّ الآي التي جاءت بالوعيد في أهل الكبائر كثيرة مستحلاً[٢] كان أو محرمًا ويجوز أن تكون[٣] خاصة في المستحلين دون المحرمين. وقالوا: إنّ القرآن محدَث مخلوق، وإنما اسم الله غير الله، وقالوا: إنّ الاستطاعة قبل الفعل، وقالوا: إنّ الإمامة لا يستحقها إلاّ الفاضل كيف <ما> كانت الحال ولن يجوز أن [ب١٠١] تصرف[٤] عنه إلى المفضول، وقالوا: إنّ النبي صلى الله عليه وآله نصّ على أبي بكر بما أمره[٥] من الصلاة بالناس وبغيره مما رووه. وقالوا: إنّ الإيمان هو الإقرار بالله والمعرفة بأنه واحد ليس كمثله شيء والإقرار والمعرفة بأنبياء الله[٦] ورسله وبجميع ما جاءت به من عند الله مما نصّ المسلمون عليه ونقلوه عن رسول الله صلى الله

س ١٥ وما بعد قابل بمقالات الاشعري ص ١٣٧: اصحاب محمد بن شبيب يزعمون

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[١] بتجويز: بنحوس – ص

[٢] مستحلا: محلا – ص

[٣] تكون: يكون – ص

[٤] تصرف: يصرف – ص

[٥] امره: امر – ص

[٦] بانبياء الله – ش، ١٣٧: ما بينا الله – ص

عليه وآله من الصلاة والصيام وأشباه ذلك مما لا اختلاف فيه ولا تنازع. وقالوا: إنّ المشبّه كافر والمجبر ليس بكافر لأن [١٠٢أ] المشبه غلط في صفات الله نفسه والمجبر[١] غلط في صفات فعله. وقالوا: إنّ الأطفال كلهم في الجنة يتنعمون. ولهم أقاويل كثيرة تركت ذكرها مخافة التطويل.

[الشِمْرِيّة]

الفرقة الخامسة الشمرية، نسبوا إلى ‹أبي›[٢] شمر سالِم بن شِمر. قالوا: إنّ الإيمان هو الإقرار بالله والمعرفة بجميع ما جاء من عند الله مما اجتمعت عليه الأمة ونص عليه المسلمون نحو الصلاة والصيام والزكاة والحج وتحريم الخمر والميتة ولحم الخنزير وأشباه [١٠٢ب] ذلك، وزعموا أن الخصلة من ذلك إذا انفردت لم تكن[٣] إيمانًا ولا بعضَ إيمان، وذلك مثل الرجل يعرف الله ويجحد النبي صلى الله عليه وآله وكلفه الله المعرفة بهما جميعًا، فلا تكون[٤] معرفته بالله إذا جحد النبي صلى الله عليه وآله إيمانًا، وكمن[٥] يعرف الله ورسوله

ان الايمان الاقرار بالله والمعرفة بانه واحد ليس كمثله شيء والاقرار والمعرفة بانبياء الله وبرسله وبجميع ما جاءت به من عند الله مما نص عليه المسلمون ونقلوه عن رسول الله ... من الصلاة والصيام واشباه ذلك مما لا اختلاف فيه بينهم ولا تنازع.

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[١] المجبر ... المجبر: المخبر ... المخبر - ص

[٢] ‹ابي›: الإضافة عن خ

[٣] تكن: يكون - ص

[٤] فلا تكون: فلا يكون يكون - ص

[٥] كمن: كان - ص

وجميع ما جاء من عنده ويجحد الله، فلا تكون[١] معرفته بقلبه[٢] إذا جحد بلسانه إيمانًا ولا بعض إيمان، ومثل ذلك السواد[٣] والبياض إذا اجتمعا في الفرس سُميا جميعًا بَلَقًا وإذا انفرد [١٠٣أ] أحد منهما لا يسمَّى بلقًا. وقالوا: إنّ المعرفة اكتسابي لا ضروري. وقالوا: إنّ الله بكل مكان وإنّه لا يجوز أن يكون في مكان دون مكان لأن ذلك من صفات الحدث. وهم يقولون في التوحيد والعدل كقول المعتزلة، قالوا: إنّ الله عدل لا يجور ولا يجوز عليه فعل شيء من معاني الجور، هو أرحم بالخلق منهم بأنفسهم لا يكلفهم فوق الطاقة ولا يأخذهم عند الغيرة ولا يثيبهم ولا يعاقبهم إلاّ بما عملت أيديهم فهو الرؤوف. وقالوا: إنّ الخروج على [١٠٣ب] السلطان الجائر فريضة علينا بأي وجه استطعنا بالسيف فما دونه. وقالوا: إذا جاء الخبر في القاتلين والآكلين أموال اليتامى وأشباههم من أهل الكبائر فإنّهم يقفون في عذابهم لقول[٤] الله تعالى: «إِنَّ اللّهَ لاَ يَغفِرُ أَنْ يُشرَكَ بِهِ وَيَغْفِرُ مَا دُونَ ذَلِكَ لِمَنْ يَشَاءُ» [٤/ ٤٨]، فوقفوا لهذا، وقالوا: جائز أن يخبر المخبر الحكيم الصادق بالخبر ثم يستثني فيه فيكون له أن يفعل ما قال ويكون له ألاّ يفعله للاستثناء فيكون صادقًا إن هو فعل وإن لم يفعل ولا يكون مستنكراً في [١٠٤أ] اللغة ولا كذبًا. وقالوا بأن الحجة في الدين من جهة الأخبار لا تثبت[٥] إلاّ بالخبر المتواتر الذي يجيء به المخالف والموافق. وقالوا بإبطال المعقول، ونفوا[٦] أن يكون الله يحتج على أحد <إلاّ> برسوله، واعتلوا بقوله: «وَمَا كُنّا مُعَذِّبِين حتى نَبْعَثَ رَسُولاً» [١٧/ ١٥]، وبقوله: «لِئَلاَّ يَكُونَ لِلنَاسِ عَلَى اللهِ حُجَّةٌ بَعْدَ الرُسُلِ»

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[١] تكون: يكون – ص

[٢] بقلبه: بعمله – ص

[٣] السواد: بالسواد – ص

[٤] لقول: كقول – ص

[٥] تثبت: يثبت – ص

[٦] ونفوا: ويقول – ص

[١٦٥/٤].

[الاجْتِهاديَّة]

الفرقة السادسة الاجتهادية، وهم صنفان: أحدهما أصحاب جَحْدَر بن محمد التميمي. قالوا: إنّ كل مجتهد برأيه مصيب[١] و [٤/١٠٤ظ] إن كان مشبها أو مجبراً، وإنّهم يدخلون الجنة بغير حساب وإن ارتكبوا الكبائر وماتوا غير تائبين، واحتجوا بأن قالوا: كما أنه لا ينفع مع الكفر طاعة كذلك لا يضر[٢] مع الإيمان معصية، واعتلوا بقول الله تعالى: «إنّ اللّهَ لاَ يَغْفِرُ أنْ يُشركَ بِهِ وَيَغْفِرُ مَا دُونَ ذَلِكَ لِمَنْ يَشَاءُ» [٤/٤٨].

الصنف الثاني أصحاب محمد بن زياد[٣] الجليني(؟) المكوع. وهم قالوا: إنّ كل مجتهد ممن آمن بالله وأقرّ بأيسيته مصيب وإن كان لا يؤمن بأحد من الرسل، وقالوا: إنّ الله يُدخل جميع [١٠٥أ] أمة محمد برّهم وفاجرهم الجنة بلا استثناء من غير أن يعاقبهم بشيء مما اكتسبوا وإنّه تبارك وتعالى يدخل جميع من لم يقرّ بأيسيته ولم يؤمن به النار خالداً مخلداً، فأما سائر الناس فهم[٤] داخلون في مشيئته جل وعز[٥] إن شاء أدخلهم الجنة وإن شاء عذبهم في النار، واحتجوا بقول الله تعالى: «وَقَالَتِ اليَهُودُ وَالنَّصَارَى نَحْنُ أَبْنَاءُ اللّه وأحِبَّاؤُهُ قُلْ فَلِمَ يُعذِّبُكُمْ بِذُنُوبِكُم بَلْ أَنْتُمْ بَشَرٌ مِمَّنْ خَلَقَ يَغْفِرُ لِمَنْ يَشَاءُ وَيُعَذِّبُ مَنْ يَشَاءُ» [٥/١٨]، وقالوا: إنّ من عرف الله و [١٠٥ظ] أنكر الرسول فهو عارف

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[١] مصيب: محد مصيب - ص

[٢] لا يضر: لانهم - ص

[٣] زياد: رماد - ص

[٤] فهم: منهم - ص

[٥] جل وعز: خلد غير - ص

بالله[١] منكر للرسول ولا يكون بإنكاره الرسول منكراً لله، وزعموا أنه قد يكون الإنسان مؤمنًا بالله كافراً بالرسول فلا نسميه مؤمنًا لأن فيه كفراً ولا نسميه كافراً لأن فيه إيمانًا لكن نسميه مؤمنًا كافراً، وزعموا أن الكافرين الذين لا إيمان لهم هم الذين لا يؤمنون بالله ولا يقرّون بأيسيته.

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وقد فرغنا[٢] بحمد الله ومنة أوليائه من[٣] وصف مقالة الفرق الذين قالوا: إنّ الطاعة ليست من الإيمان على سبيل إيجاز واختصار. ولولا أن [١٠٦أ] قصدي بتأليف هذا الكتاب كان إلى بيان[٤] كيفية الملائكة والجن والشياطين والأبالسة والإنس دون غيرها من العلوم وإلاّ كنتُ أذكر مقالة كل فرقة من هذه الفرق بأكثر[٥] مما ذكرتُه وحكيتُه وأبين تأويل كل قول من ١٠ أقاويلهم على نحو ما يهدي إلي الصراط المستقيم الذي لا ترى هناك شيطانًا وينفي عن الناظر[٦] فيه الريب والشك، ولا قوة إلاّ بالله.

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[١] بالله:: لله – ص

[٢] وقد فرغنا بحمد الله:وقد فرغنا الله بحمد الله – ص

[٣] من: عنْ – ص

[٤] قصدي بتاليف هذا الكتاب كان الى بيان: قصدي تاليف هذا الكتاب كان الى تاليف بيان – ص

[٥] باكثر: اكثر – ص

[٦] الناظر: الباطن – ص

باب القول الثالث

فأما الذين قالوا: إنّ الإمام بعد رسول الله [١٠٦ظ] صلى الله عليه وآله علي بن أبي طالب عليه السلام فإنّهم افترقوا على خمسة مذاهب تنقسم جميعًا على أربع وعشرين فرقة لكل فرقة منها دعوى على حدة.

[مذهب الزيدية]

فأحد هذه المذاهب الخمسة وهم الزيدية ينقسمون على خمس فرق[١].

[البَتْريَّة]

إحداها البترية، أصحاب[٢] كثير النوّاء والحسن بن حي وسليمان بن جرير. أما كثير النواء وأصحابه فيعَدِّلون أبا بكر وعمر ويقولون: لا نقول فيمن لم يحاربه علي [١٠٧أ] بن أبي طالب عليه السلام في ذلك الوقت إلاّ خيراً، وينكرون رجعة الأموات ويتبرأون ممن ادعاها، ولا يرون لعلي عليه السلام الإمامة ‹إلاّ حين بويع›[٣]، فلقَّبَ المغيرة بن سعيد كثيراً[٤] النواء

س ١٦-١٧ قابل بمقالات الاشعري ص ٦٩: وينكرون رجعة الاموات الى الدنيا ولا يرون لعلي امامة الا حين بويع.

[١] فاحد هذه المذاهب الخمسة فرق ... - زيادة في ص

[٢] احداها البترية اصحاب: احدها البترية احد - ص

[٣] ‹الا حين بويع›: الاضافة عن ش، ٦٩

[٤] كثيرا: كثير - ص

بالأبتر، فلذلك سموا بالبترية.

وأما الحسن بن حي فإنّه قال: إنّ علي بن أبي طالب عليه السلام كان أفضل الناس بعد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله وأولاهم بالإمامة وإنّ بيعة[1] أبي بكر وعمر ليست بخطإ ‹لأن عليّاً ترك ذلك لهما›[2]، ووقف ‹في› عثمان، وشهد على من خالف علياً بالنار، وقال: إنّ [١٠٧ب] مثل علي مع أبي بكر وعمر كمثل رجل كان له قِبَلَ رجلٍ حقٌّ فتركه ولم يستردّه.

وأما قول سليمان بن جرير ومن قال بقوله، فإنّهم قالوا: إنّ علياً عليه السلام كان الإمام بعد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله وإنّ أبا بكر وعمر لا يستحقان اسم الفسق لأنهما تأولا في ذلك، وتبرأوا من عثمان وشهدوا عليه بالكفر. وقالوا: إنّ الله عالم وإنّه شيء وإنّ علمه[3] شيء وإنّه لا يقال لعلمه هو ولا غيره وإنّهما شيئان قديمان، فالدليل على ذلك أنه يستحيل أن يكرن

ص ٩١ س ١٧ – ص ٩٢ س ١ قابل بالحورالعين ص ٢٠٧: وكان المغيرة بن سعد يلقب كثيرا بالابتر.

س ٣–٧ قابل بفرق الشيعة ص ٩: اصحاب الحسن بن صالح بن حي ومن قال بقوله ان عليا عليه السلام هو افضل الناس بعد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله واولاهم بالامامة وان بيعة ابي بكر ليست بخطاء ووقفوا في عثمان وثبتوا حزب علي عليه السلام وشهدوا على مخالفيه بالنار واعتلوا بان عليا عليه السلام سلم لهما ذلك فهو بمنزلة رجل كان له على رجل حق فتركه له، وبالحور العين ص ٢٠٧: فقالت البترية ان عليا عليه السلام كان افضل الناس بعد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم واولاهم بالامامة وان بيعة ابي بكر وعمر ليست بخطاء لان عليا عليه السلام سلم لهما ذلك بمنزلة رجل كان له حق على رجل فتركه له ووقفت في امر عثمان وشهدت بالكفر على من حارب عليا وبمقالات الاشعري ص ٦٨–٦٩.

س ٨–١١ قابل بمقالات الاشعري ص ٦٨: وحكى زرقان عن سليمان بن جرير انه كان يزعم ان بيعة ابي بكر وعمر خطاء لا يستحقان عليها اسم الفسق من قبل التأويل، وبفرق الشيعة

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[1] بيعة – ش، ٦٩: تبعه – ص

[2] ‹لان ... لهما›: الاضافة عن ش، ٦٨ – ٦٩

[3] علمه: عليه – ص

الشيءُ [١٠٨أ] علمَ نفسه، فلما استحال ذلك ثبت أن له علمًا وأنه شيء ولا يكون[١] غيره لأنه لو كان غيره لزمه كون اثنين متغايرين وذلك يستحيل في صفات الله.

وقد اجتمعت البترية على أن عليّاً نص على الحسن[٢] بعد وفاته وأنه الإمام بعد علي عليه السلام ثم[٣] نص الحسن على الحسين، ثم الإمام بعد هذين ليس بمنصوص ‹عليه› ولكن من خرج من هذين الصلبين - يعنون بالصلبين من ولد الحسن والحسين - شاهراً سيفه يدعو إلى سبيل ربه وكان عالماً [١٠٨ب] عادلاً فاضلاً فهو إمام، وأجازوا كون العالم خاليًا عن الإمام، وأجازوا كون إمامين أو ثلاثة أو أربعة أو أكثر من ذلك في العالم في وقت واحد، وقالوا: لما جاز كون العالم خاليًا عن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله كذلك جاز أن يكون خاليًا عن الإمام، وكذلك لما جاز أن يكون في وقت واحد ‹نبيّان أو أكثر كذلك جاز أن يكون› إمامان أو أكثر من ذلك، وأجازوا إمامة المفضول.

[الجارودية]

الفرقة الثانية الجارودية، نسبوا إلى أبي الجارود زياد بن أبي زياد. [١٠٩أ]

ص ٩: وقال سليمان بن جرير الرقي ومن قال بقوله ان عليا عليه السلام كان الامام وان بيعة ابي بكر وعمر كانت خطأ ولا يستحقان اسم الفسق عليها من قبل التأويل لانهما تأولا فاخطئا وتبرؤا من عثمان فشهدوا عليه بالكفر، وبالحور العين ص ٢٠٧.

ص٩٢ س ١٠ - ص ٩٣ س ٣ قابل بالحور العين ص ٢٠٠.

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[١] يكون: يقول - ص

[٢] الحسن: الحسين - ص

[٣] ثم: ممن - ص

الإمام بعد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله ‹علي› ثم من بعده الحسن ثم الحسين ثم علي بن الحسين ثم زيد بن علي ثم عبد الصمد بن زيد ثم خلف بن عبد الصمد ثم محمد بن خلف ثم أحمد بن محمد. وقالوا: إنّ خلف بن عبد الصمد هرب من بني أمية ولحق ببلاد [١١٢أ] الترك، واعتقدوا أنه لا بد أن يكون لأحمد بن محمد بن خلف ببلاد الترك ابنٌ ولابنه ابن إلى أن يكون المهدي الذي يملك الأرض من عقبهم ولكنهم لا يعرفون أسماء الأئمة بعد أحمد بن محمد. وقالوا: إنّ علم الإمام لا يكون اكتسابًا بل إلهامًا وإنّ الإمام يعرف جميع الألسنة واللغات، وإنّ علامة الإمام عندهم أن خلف بن عبد الصمد صنف كتابًا بحروف لا يفهمه أحد ولم يفسره ولم يتبين عليه وذكر أن من خرج من ولده وفسر كتابه فهو إمام. [١١٢ب] وقد أجمع[١] النَسّابون أن عبد الصمد كان مولى لزيد وأن من ادعى أنه ابن لزيد فهو كاذب.

وإنما لا يصفون الباري بما يتهيأ أن يوصف به مخلوق ولا يقولون له عالم ولا لا عالم ولا قادر ولا لا قادر ولا شيء ولا لا شيء ولا محدود ولا لا محدود، ويقولون: الباري، لا من جهة التحقيق ولا من جهة المجاز ‹بل› يقولونه بالتقريب، فإذا سئلوا عن الله أتعرفونه؟ سكتوا ولا يقولون: نعرفه، ولا لا نعرفه، وإنّهم لو عرفوه أحاطت معرفتهم به، ومن عُرِفَ وصار معروفًا [١١٣أ] لعارفه فالمعروف لا يكون إلهًا. وجميع ما في القرآن من صفات الله تعالى على ميزان فَعّال نسبوه إلى الباري جل ذكره وجميع ما فيه على ميزان فاعل ينسبونه إلى ميخائل[٢]، ويقولون: إنّ أول ما خلق الله مَلَك يسمى ميخائل وجعل إليه تدبير الخلق كلهم، ويقولون: إنّ ميخائل نظر إلى ذاته فتولد منه أربعة أملاك، جبرئيل وعزرائيل وميكائيل وإسرافيل، فجعل إلى جبرئيل الوحي والبركات وإلى عزرائيل قبض الأرواح والبليّات وإلى ميكائيل كِتْبة الخير والشر وإلى [١١٣ب] إسرافيل نفخ الصور، ويقولون: إنّ هؤلاء

[١] اجمع: اجتمع – ص

[٢] ميخائل: بيحائل – ص

قالوا: إنّ رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله نص على علي بالوصف والتسمية فكان هو الإمام من بعده ثم الحسن ثم الحسين سبطي رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله بالوصف لا بالتسمية ثم الإمام بعد هؤلاء الثلاثة ليس بمنصوص عليه ولكن من يخرج من ولد الحسن والحسين شاهراً سيفه يدعو إلى سبيل ربه وكان عالماً عادلاً فاضلاً فهو الإمام، فإذا ‹خرج› من هو أفضل منه فهو الإمام، ولا يجوز إمامة المفضول. وزعموا أن العالَم لا يخلو من إمام، وحجة الله على عباده [٢١٠٩] لا تنقطع[١]، وزعموا أنه يستحيل كون إمامين في وقت واحد بل يكون الإمام واحداً بعد واحد، وأجازوا جهل اسم الإمام[٢] ومكانه في حال التقية، وزعموا أن الأمة كلها ضلّت[٣] وكفرت في تركهم بيعة علي بن أبي طالب. وقالوا في التوحيد والعدل والوعد والوعيد وجميع الأشياء كقول المعتزلة، غير أنهم خالفوهم ‹في الإمامة›.

[الدُكَينيَّة]

الفرقة الثالثة الدكينية، أصحاب الفضل بن دكين[٤] وإبراهيم بن الحكم. قالوا: إنّ الإمام بعد رسول الله صلى الله [١١١٠أ] عليه وآله علي بن أبي طالب ثم الحسن ثم الحسين ثم علي بن الحسين ثم زيد بن علي بن الحسين ثم يحيى بن زيد ثم من خرج من ولد الحسن والحسين مستفتحًا للإمامة عادلاً عالماً فهو

س ٣ قابل بالحور العين ص ٢٠٨: ثم الامام بعد هؤلاء الثلاثة ليس بمنصوص عليه.
س ٩-١٠ قابل بفرق الشيعة ص ١٩: وان الامة كفرت وضلت في تركها بيعته.

[١] تنقطع: ينقطع - ص
[٢] الامام: الامامة - ص
[٣] ضلت: صلت - ص
[٤] الدكينية ... دكين: الزكينية ... ذكين - ص

إمام، وكل من خرج منهم يأمر بالمعروف وينهى عن المنكر فيرون الخروج معه، وقالوا: إنّ العالم لا يخلو من إمام، وقالوا: كفرت الأمة بدفعها بعد نبيها علي بن أبي طالب عن الإمامة. وأما قولهم في التوحيد والوعد والوعيد والعدل وغيرها [١١٠ظ] فكقول الجارودية والمعتزلة.

[الخَشَبيَّة]

الفرقة الرابعة الخشبية، ويعرفون في خراسان بصُرخابية، نسبوا إلى صرخاب الطبري، وإنما سموا خشبية لأنهم كانوا خرجوا على السلطان مع المختار <و>لم يكن معهم سلاح غير الخشب. زعموا أن الله خص الإمامة في أولاد فاطمة عليها السلام دون غيرهم وأن علي بن أبي طالب عليه السلام كان وصي رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله مفترض الطاعة ولم يكن بإمام بل كان رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله [١١١أ] أوصى إليه لحفظ الأمانة التي أودعها إياه - وهي الإمامة - أن يؤديها إلى الحسن كما يوصي الرجل وقت وفاته إلى وصيه لحفظ أمواله على أولاده إلى أن يدركوا. وزعموا أن الإمامة محصورة في هذين الصلبين وكل من خرج من أولاد الحسن والحسين، عالماً كان أو جاهلاً، فاضلاً كان أو مفضولاً، صالحًا كان أو فاجراً، عادلاً كان أو جائراً، فهو إمام مفترض الطاعة لا يجوز مخالفته. وقد قال <بعضهم>: إذا وقع بين رجلين من أولاد فاطمة قتال فلا يجوز [١١١ظ] لأحد أن يعاون أحدهما على صاحبه وإن كانا جائرين أو عادلين أو ضدين.

[الخَلَفيَّة]

الفرقة الخامسة الخلفية، نسبوا إلى خلف بن عبد الصمد. وزعموا أن

الخمسة خير الخلائق كلها في السماء والأرض. واختار الباري أيضًا في الأرض من خلائقه خمسة، محمداً وعليّاً وفاطمة والحسن والحسين عليهم السلام، فكما أن محمداً سيد الأربعة الجسمانيين كذلك ميخائل[١] سيد الأربعة الروحانيين. وكذلك جعل الأصابع خمسة، الخنصر والبنصر والسبابة والوسطى والابهام[١] سيدهم، كذلك جعل الإسلام خمسة، الصلاة والصيام والزكاة والحج وعرفان أرباب الدين وسيدهم الصلاة [١١٤أ] بإسباغ الوضوء، <و>كذلك جعل الحواس خمسة، اللمس والذوق والشم والسمع والبصر وسيدهم البصر، وكذلك جعل الصلوات خمسة، الظهر والعصر والمغرب والعتمة والفجر وسيدهم صلاة الفجر، وكذلك الكتب خمسة، صحف إبراهيم وتوراة موسى وإنجيل عيسى وزبور داود وفرقان محمد صلى الله عليه وآله سيدهم صلى الله عليهم أجمعين، وكذلك النجاة في خمسة أشياء، المعرفة والإخلاص والعمل والعلم والشهادة وسيدهم الشهادة، [١١٤ب] وكذلك اختار الله من الشهور خمسة وهي الأربعة الحرم، رجب وذو القعدة وذو الحجة[٢] والمحرم وسيدهم شهر رمضان. ولهم في الشرائع والأحكام تأويلات ومقايسات على هذا المثال الذي بيناه تركت ذكرها مخافة تطويل الكتاب.

وإنما سُميت هذه الفرق الخمسة زيدية لأنهم مجتمعون على أن زيد بن علي كان إمامًا مفترض الطاعة وأن من لا يقرّ بإمامته فهو ضال مضل، وتبرأوا ممن فضل جعفر بن محمد عليهما السلام. [١١٥أ] وإنّ الزيدية كلهم يحرمون المتعة ولا يجيزون الأذان والإقامة إلاّ مع «حي على خير العمل» ولا يرون صلاة التراويح في شهر رمضان ولا التثويب في صلاة الفجر ويجيزون بيع[٣] أمهات الأولاد ولا يجيزون تطليق المرأة إلاّ بطلاق السنة و<يرون> أن الرجل إذا طلق

[١] الابهام: الابهمام – ص

[٢] وذو القعدة وذو الحجة: وذي القعدة وذي الحجة – ص

[٣] بيع: مع – ص

امرأته ثلاث تطليقات مثلاً لا يقع إلاّ واحداً[١]. ولهم كتب كثيرة في الشرائع والأحكام والفقه يعملون عليها، أحدها كتاب المسترشد الذي ألفه الناصر العلوي. والزيدية كلهم لا يرون [١١٥ب] المسح على الخف، والجارودية لا يرون الصلاة إلاّ على الأرض والنبات ولا يجيزون[٢] الصلاة على وبر وجلد ما لا يؤكل لحمه.

[مذهب الكَيْسَانيَّة]

باب المذهب الثاني الكيسانية، وهم على أربع فرق.

[المُخْتاريَّة]

إحداها[٣] المختارية، نسبوا إلى المختار بن أبي عبيد الثقفي[٤]. وكيسان كان مولى لعلي بن أبي طالب، عليه السلام، وقَبِلَ المختار هذه المقالة التى أريد ذكرها منه. وقال المختار ومن قال بقوله: إنّ الإمام [١١٦أ] بعد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله علي بن أبي طالب عليه السلام وإنّ الأمّة ضلت وكفرت ببيعتهم أبا بكر، ثم الإمام بعد علي بن أبي طالب عليه السلام الحسن بن علي ثم الحسين بن علي ثم محمد بن علي المعروفُ أمُّه بالحنفية، ثم من خرج من أولاد هؤلاء الثلاثة وكان شاهراً سيفه يدعو إلى كتاب الله وسنة نبيه فهو إمام. فأما قولهم في التوحيد والعدل والوعد والوعيد فكقول المعتزلة.

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[١] إلا واحدا: منها واحدا – ص

[٢] يجيزون: يجزون – ص

[٣] احداها: احدهم – ص

[٤] عبيد الثقفي: عبد البقعي – ص

[الكَربيَّة]

الفرقة الثانية الكربية [١١٦ب] أصحاب أبي كرب الضرير. زعموا أن الإمام بعد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله علي بن أبي طالب عليه السلام ثم محمد بن الحنفية بعد علي لأن عليًا دفع[١] إليه الراية بالبصرة دون الحسن والحسين عليهما السلام. وزعموا أن محمد بن الحنفية لم يمت وأنه مقيم بجبل رضوى في بئر أسد وهو يأتيه رزقه غدوة وعشيّة إلى وقت خروجه وأنه هو المهدي المنتظر. ثم زعم صنف من الكربية أن السبب الذي من أجله صُيّر على هذه الحال [١١٧أ] ليكون[٢] مُغيَّبًا عن الخلق، ولله عز وجل فيه تدبير لا يعلمه إلاّ الله عز وجل، وزعم صنف منهم ‹أنه› إنما فعل ذلك به عقوبةً لمسيره إلى الشام من مكة قاصداً لبيعة عبد الملك بن مروان وزيارته.

[الإسْحاقيَّة]

الفرقة الثالثة الإسحاقية، نسبوا إلى إسحاق ‹بن عمرو›[٣]. يزعمون أن

س ٦-١١ قابل بمقالات الاشعري ص ١٩: الكربية اصحاب ابي كرب الضرير يزعمون ان محمد بن الحنفية حي بجبال رضوى اسد عن يمينه ونمر عن شماله يحفظانه ياتيه رزقه غدوة وعشية الى وقت خروجه وزعموا ان السبب الذي من اجله صير على هذه الحال ان يكون مغيبا عن الخلق ان لله تعالى فيه تدبيرا لا يعلمه غيره، وبالحور العين ص ٢١١-٢١٢: الكربية اصحاب ابي كرب الضرير ... ان محمد بن الحنفية حي لم يمت مقيم بجبال رضوى بين ملكين في صورة اسد ونمر يحفظانه من عن يمينه وشماله ياتيه رزقه بكرة وعشيا ... وبعض ... تقول انما فعل به ذلك عقوبة له على ركوبه الى عبد الملك ابن مروان وبيعته اياه.

[١] دفع - ش، ١٨: رفع - ص

[٢] صير على هذه الحال ليكون: صير بهذه الحال على هذه الحال فيكون - ص

[٣] ‹بن عمرو›: الاضافة عن خ: بياض في ص

الإمام بعد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله علي بن أبي طالب عليه السلام ثم محمد بن الحنفية ثم أبو هاشم عبد الله[١] بن [١١٧ب] محمد بن الحنفية ثم ابن أخيه الحسن بن علي بن محمد بن الحنفية ثم علي بن الحسن[٢] وعلي مات ولم يعقب. فافترق الإسحاقية بعده فصاروا صنفين: صنف ينتظرون رجوع محمد بن الحنفية ويقولون: إنّه يرجع ويملك الأرض ويملأها عدلاً كما ملئت جوراً وظلمًا، وزعموا أنهم اليوم في التيه والفترة ولا إمام لهم إلى أن يرجع محمد بن الحنفية؛ وزعم الصنف الأخر أن الإمامة محصورة في أولاد محمد بن الحنفية وأن الإمامة رجعت [١١٨أ] بعد موت علي بن الحسن[٣] إلى أولاد محمد بن الحنفية الذين لهم عقب، وزعموا أن إمامهم اليوم في بلاد الترك هاربًا من بني أمية وبني العباس وأنهم يعرفون اسمه ومكانه، وزعموا أن المهدي عليه السلام يخرج من ناحية الترك وأن إمامهم يفسر القرآن بالتركية ويجيب كل ما يسأل عنه بالتركية وبينه وبين الناس ترجمان وأن الترجمان إذا نقص أو زاد ولم يعبر[٤] كيفما[٥] وصف أومأ إليه بأنه ليس كما يقول إلى أن يرجع، <و>لا يتكلم إلاّ بالتركية. أكثر من [١١٨ب] رأيتُ[٦] من هؤلاء الإسحاقية يقولون بالعدل والتوحيد كقول المعتزلة.

س ٦-٧ قابل بمقالات الاشعري ص ٢١: فهم اليوم في التيه لا امام لهم الى ان يرجع اليهم محمد بن الحنفية في زعمهم، وبالحور العين ص ٢١٤: فهم في التيه لا امام لهم بعده الى ان يرجع محمد بن الحنفية.

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[١] ابو هاشم عبد الله: ابوها هاشم ثم عبد الله – ص

[٢] الحسن: الحسين – ص

[٣] الحسن: الحسين – ص

[٤] يعبر: يغير – ص

[٥] كيفما: كيف – ص

[٦] رأيت: مراتب – ص

[الحَرْبيَّة]

الفرقة الرابعة الحربية، نسبوا إلى عبد الله بن عمرو بن حرب. قالوا: إنّ الإمام بعد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله علي بن أبي طالب عليه السلام ثم محمد بن الحنفية ثم أبو هاشم بن محمد بن الحنفية ثم إنّ أبا هاشم أوصى إلى عبد الله بن عمرو بن حرب وإنّ الإمامة خرجت من بني هاشم إلى عبد الله وتحولت روح أبي هاشم فيه. ثم [١١٩أ] إنّ عبد الله لما مات بقيت شيعته[١] متحيرين، فدعاهم عبد الله بن معاوية بن عبد الله بن جعفر بن أبي طالب إلى أن يأتموا[٢] به فاستجابوا له ودانوا بإمامته وادعوا له الوصية من أبي هاشم وادعوا أن العلم ينبت في قلبه كما تنبت[٣] الكَمْأة والعشب وأن الأرواح تتناسخ[٤] وأن روح الله كانت[٥] في آدم ثم تناسخت حتى صارت في عبد الله بن معاوية. وزعموا أن الدنيا لا تفنى[٦] وأن الثواب والعقاب هو تناسخ

قابل بمقالات الاشعري ص ٢٢: الحربية اصحاب عبد الله بن عمرو بن حرب وهي التاسعة من الكيسانية يزعمون ان ابا هاشم عبد الله بن محمد بن الحنفية نصب عبد الله بن عمرو بن حرب اماما وتحولت روح ابي هاشم فيه ثم وقفوا على كذب عبد الله بن عمرو بن حرب فصاروا الى المدينة يلتمسون اماما فلقوا عبد الله بن معاوية بن عبد الله بن جعفر بن ابي طالب فدعاهم الى ان يأتموا به فاستجابوا له ودانوا بامامته وادعوا له الوصية، وبالحور العين ص ٢١٤: وقالت الفرقة الثالثة من اصحاب ابي هاشم وهم الحربية ان ابا هاشم اوصى الى عبد الله بن حرب الكندي وانه الامام بعده وان روح ابي هاشم تحولت فيه ووقفوا على كذبه فرفضوه فذهبوا الى المدينة يلتمسون اماما فلقيهم عبد الله بن معاوية بن عبد الله بن

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[١] شيعته: بسعيه – ص

[٢] يأتموا: ياتوا – ص

[٣] ينبت ... تنبت – خ: ثبتت ... ثبتت – ص

[٤] تتناسخ: يتناسخ – ص

[٥] كانت: كان – ص

[٦] تفنى: يفنى – ص

الأرواح في المحبوب والمكروه، واستحلوا الخمر [٢١١٩ظ] والميتة وغيرهما من المحارم واحتجوا بقول الله عز وجل: «لَيْسَ عَلَى الذِينَ آمَنُوا وَعَمِلُوا الصَّالِحَاتِ جُنَاحٌ فِيمَا طَعِمُوا إِذَا مَا اتَّقَوا وَآمَنُوا» [٥/٩٣].

ثم إنّ الحربية افترقوا بعد موت عبد الله بن معاوية على ثلاثة أصناف: فالصنف الأول قالوا: إنّه لم يمت وإنّه بجبال[1] إصفهان ولا يموت حتى يلي أمور الناس وهو المهدي الذي بشر به النبي صلى الله عليه وآله؛ والصنف الثاني زعموا أنه مات وأن الإمام بعده الحسن بن معاوية وأن الإمامة باقية في أولاد جعفر بن أبي طالب؛ و [١١٢٠أ] الصنف الثالث زعموا أن عبد الله بن معاوية وعبد الله بن عمرو لم يكونا إمامين وأنهما كذبا حين ادعيا الإمامة وأن الإمام بعد أبي هاشم عليُّ بن الحسين بن علي بن أبي طالب ثم محمد بن علي باقر العلم عليه السلام واجتمع هذا الصنف مع الإمامية الاثني عشرية واتفقوا على كلمة واحدة.

جعفر بن ابي طالب فدعاهم الى امامته فاجابوه وقالوا بامامته وادعوا ان ابا هاشم اوصى اليه.

ص ١٠١ س ١٠ – ص ١٠٢ س ٣ قابل بالحور العين ص ٢١٤-٢١٥: وان العلم ينبت في قلبه كما ينبت الكمأة والعشب وان الارواح تتناسخ وان روح الله كانت في آدم ثم نسخت حتى صارت فيه فعبدته شيعته وكفروا بالقيامة وزعموا ان الدنيا لا تفنى واستحلوا الخمر والميتة وغيرهما من المحارم وتأولوا قول الله تعالى (ليس على الذين آمنوا وعملوا الصالحات جناح فيما طعموا).

س ٤-١٢ قابل بمقالات الاشعري ص ٢٢-٢٣: وافترقوا في امر عبد الله بن معاوية ثلاث فرق: فزعمت فرقة منهم انه قد مات وزعمت فرقة منهم اخرى انه بجبال اصبهان وانه لم يمت ولا يموت حتى يقود بنواصي الخيل الى رجال من بني هاشم وزعمت فرقة اخرى انه حي بجبال اصبهان لم يمت ولا يموت حتى يلي امور الناس وهو المهدي الذي بشر به النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم، وقابل بالحور العين ص ٢١٥.

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[1] بجبال: يحتال – ص

[مذهب العَبَّاسيَّة]

باب المذهب الثالث[١]: العباسية، وهم فرقتان.

[الخَلَّالِيَّة]

إحداهما[٢] الخلّالية، نسبوا إلى ‹أبي› سلمة حفص بن سليمان[٣] الخلّال. وقالوا: إنّ الإمام [١٢٠ب] بعد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله علي بن أبي طالب ثم الحسن بن علي ثم الحسين بن علي عليهما السلام ثم محمد بن الحنفية ‹ثم أبو هاشم بن محمد›، ثم إنّ أبا هاشم لما رجع من الشام مات بأرض الشَّراة[٤] فأوصى هناك إلى محمد بن علي بن عبد الله بن عباس وأمر شيعته بالانضمام إليه والانتمام به فكان هو الإمام بعد أبي هاشم، ثم ابنه إبراهيم بن محمد ثم أبو العباس عبد الله بن محمد السفاح وهو أول من استولى على الخلافة من بني العباس، ثم أبو جعفر المنصور [١٢١أ] ثم المهدي ثم موسى الهادي ثم هارون الرشيد ثم محمد الأمين ثم عبد الله المأمون ثم محمد المعتصم ثم[٥] هارون الواثق، ثم يسمونهم واحداً بعد واحد على الولاء إلى وقتنا هذا. وزعموا أن العالم لا يخلو من إمام من بني العباس إلى أن يخرج المهدي من أولاد بني العباس ويجوز أن يكون من أولاد الحسن أو من أولاد الحسين أو من أولاد محمد ين الحنفية.

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[١] باب المذهب الثالث: باب الثالثة – ص

[٢] احداهما: احدهما – ص

[٣] سلمة حفص بن سليمان: مسلمة حفص بن مسلمة – ص

[٤] الشراة: السراة – ص

[٥] ثم: بن – ص

والخلالية فيما بعد ذلك اختلفوا على صنفين: أحدهما أصحاب سليمان بن كثير، وهم يقولون [١٢١ب] بالتوحيد والعدل والوعد والوعيد على مثال قول المعتزلة؛ والصنف الثاني أصحاب[١] خداش بن عباد، وهم يقولون في التوحيد كقول المنهالية. وقالوا: لو عجز الله عن تصريف ذاته في أصناف الصور لكان عن تصريف غيره أعجز. فأكفرهم سليمان الأعمى وبكير بن ماهان[٢]. فإنّ الكيسانية والمتكلمين وأصحاب المقالات يعدّون الخلالية من جملة الكيسانية. وإنّ خداشًا وأصحابه يرون قتل مخالفيهم[٣] بأي جهة استطاعوها، بالخنق والغيلة فما دونه، [١٢٢أ] ويرون قتل الأطفال والمجانين، وإنّ خداشًا مرّ بمجنون فضرب عنقه فقيل له: أتقتل مجنونًا؟ فقال: نعم لأنه لا يلد عاقلاً. وكان خداش هذا أحد دعاة بني العباس في خراسان وأخذه أسد بن عبد الله القَسْري والي خراسان وضرب عنقه ثم صلبه.

[الرَوَنْديَّة]

الفرقة الثانية الروندية، أصحاب القاسم بن روند[٤]. قالوا: إنّ النبي صلى الله عليه وآله مات واستخلف العباس بن عبد المطلب لأنه وارثُه، واعتلوا بقول الله [١٢٢ب] تعالى: «وَأُولُوا الأَرْحَامِ بَعْضُهُمْ أَوْلَى بِبَعْضٍ فِي كِتَابِ اللّه» [٨/ ٧٥ و ٦/ ٣٣]، فالعباس أولى الناس في كتاب الله برسوله لأنه عَصَبَتُه أقربُهم إليه، ودليلهم أيضًا قول رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله: العباس وارثي وصِنْو أبي وخير من أترك لعيالي. وقالوا: إنّ الأمة كفرت بعد محمد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله بدفعهم العباس عن الإمامة، وتبرأوا من

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[١] اصحاب: في اصحاب - ص

[٢] ماهان: بكبرره - ص

[٣] مخالفيهم: مخالفتهم - ص

[٤] الروندية ... روند: الرويدية ... رويد - ص

أبي بكر وعمر وعثمان وغيرهم من الصحابة ممن أعانهم[١] على أفعالهم. قالوا: ثم الإمام بعد العباس ابنه [١٢٣أ] عبد الله بن العباس ثم علي بن عبد الله ثم محمد بن علي ثم إبراهيم بن محمد ثم أبو العباس عبد الله بن محمد السفاح ثم أبو جعفر المنصور ثم محمد المهدي[٢] ثم موسى الهادي ثم هارون الرشيد ثم محمد الأمين ثم عبد الله المأمون ثم محمد المعتصم ثم هارون الواثق ثم جعفر المتوكل ثم محمد المنتصر[٣] ثم أحمد المستعين ثم عبد الله المعتزّ ثم محمد المهتدي[٤]، يسمونهم واحداً واحداً على الولاء. وزعموا أن الأرض لا تخلو من [١٢٣ب] إمام من بني العباس في حال الستر أو الكشف[٥]، وزعموا أن المهدي المنتظر من بني العباس يكون.

[مذهب الغالية]

باب المذهب الرابع[٦] مذهب الغالية، وهم ينقسمون إلى ثماني فرق.

[الكامليَّة]

إحداها[٧] الكاملية، نسبوا إلى أبي كامل. وقالوا: إنّ الإمام بعد رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله علي بن أبي طالب عليه السلام وإنّ الأمة كفروا

[١] اعانهم: اعابهم – ص
[٢] المهدي: الهادي – ص
[٣] المنتصر: المستنصر – ص
[٤] محمد المهتدي: جعفر المنصور – ص
[٥] أو الكشف: والكشف – ص
[٦] باب المذهب الرابع: الباب الرابع – ص
[٧] احداها: احدها – ص

بخلافهم علياً عليه السلام وإنّ علياً عليه السلام كفر بترك القيام والدعاء إلى نفسه، وإنّ الإمام بعد علي عليه السلام الحسن عليه السلام [١٢٤أ] وقد كفر ببيعته لمعاوية، وإنّ الإمام بعده الحسين، وإنّه لم يكفر لأنه دعا إلى نفسه وطلب الخلافة حتى قُتل دونها. وزعموا أن الله جعل الإمامة محصورةً في أولاد فاطمة عليها السلام دون غيرهم، فكل من قعد[١] منهم في منزله ولم يطلب الخلافة ولم يَدْعُ إلى نفسه ‹أ›و إلى غيره من أهل بيته فهو كافر وكل من طلب منهم الخلافة حتى قتل دونها[٢] فهو مؤمن ومن تولاه فهو مؤمن.

[السَّبائيَّة]

الفرقة الثانية السبائية[٣]، نسبوا إلى عبد الله بن سبأ. زعموا أن الإمام [١٢٤ب] بعد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله علي بن أبي طالب عليه السلام وهو المهدي الذي يملأ الأرض عدلاً كما ملئت ظلمًا وجوراً. وقد قال عبد الله بن سبأ للذي جاء بنعي علي بن أبي طالب عليه السلام إلى المدائن: والله لو جئتنا[٤] بدماغ علي سبعين مرة لعلمنا أنه لا يموت حتى يرجع ويسوق

س ١-٢ قابل بالحور العين ص ٢٠٧: وكفر علي ... بترك للقيام والدعاء الى نفسه.
ص ١٠٦ س ١٣ - ص ١٠٧ س ١ قابل بالحور العين ص ٢٠٦: وقال عبد الله بن سبأ للذي جاء بنعي علي عليه السلام الى المدائن: لو جئتنا بدماغه في صورة [صرة؟] لعلمنا انه لا يموت حتى يسوق العرب بعصاه. فقال ابن عباس وقد ذكر له قول ابن سبأ: لو علمنا

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[١] قعد: بعد - ص
[٢] دونها: دونه - ص
[٣] السبائية: السبابية - ص
[٤] جئتنا - خ؛ ن: جئنا - ص

العرب[١] بعصاه. فقال ابن عباس، وذُكِرَ ذلك له: لو علمنا ذلك ما زوجنا نساءه ولا قسمنا ميراثه. ولهم أقاويل سيئة سوى هذا.

[المَنْصورِيَّة]

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الفرقة الثالثة المنصورية، [١٢٥أ] نسبوا إلى ‹أبي› منصور العجلي. قالوا: إنّ الإمام بعد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله علي بن أبي طالب ثم الحسن ثم الحسين ثم علي بن الحسين ثم محمد بن علي، وإنّ محمد بن علي أوصى إلى أبي منصور دون بني هاشم كما أوصى[٢] ‹موسى› إلى يوشع بن نون[٣] ‹دون ولده و›دون ولد هارون، وإنّ الأمر بعد أبي منصور راجع إلى ولد ١٠ علي بن أبي طالب عليه السلام كما رجع بعد ولد يوشع إلى ولد هارون؛ قالوا: وإنما أوصى ‹موسى› إلى يوشع ليكون هو الدال على صاحب الأمر، وكذلك أوصى محمد بن علي [١٢٥ب] إلى أبي منصور ليدل[٤] على صاحب الأمر.

ذلك ما زوجنا نساءه ولا اقتسمنا ميراثه. قابل ايضا بفرق الشيعة ص ١٩-٢٠ وباصول النحل للناشئ ص ٢٢-٢٣.

من س ٦ قابل بمقالات الاشعري ص ٢٤-٢٥: وفرقة اخرى يقال لها المحمدية [من المنصورية] مالت الى تثبيت امر محمد بن عبد الله بن الحسن والى القول بامامته وقالوا انما اوصى ابو جعفر الى ابي منصور دون بني هاشم كما اوصى موسى صلى الله عليه الى يوشع بن نون دون ولده ودون ولد هارون ثم ان الامر بعد ابي منصور راجع الى ولد علي كما رجع الامر بعد يوشع بن نون الى ولد هارون قالوا وانما اوصى موسى عليه السلام الى يوشع بن نون دون ولده ودون ولد هارون لئلا يكون بين البطنين اختلاف فيكون يوشع هو الذي يدل على صاحب الامر، وبالحور العين ص ٢٢٣: وان محمد بن علي اوصى الى ابي منصور دون

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[١] العرب - خ؛ ن، ٢٢؛ فرق الشيعة، ١٩؛ العرق - ص

[٢] أوصى: أوصي - ص

[٣] نون: النون - ص

[٤] ليدل: ليدلا - ص

وقالوا: إنّ ‹أبا› منصور قال: إنّ آل محمد هم السماء والشيعة هم الأرض وإنّه ‹هو› الكسف الساقط[١] من آل محمد. قالوا: وزعم أبو منصور أنه عُرج به إلى السماء فمسح معبوده رأسه بيده ثم قال: يا بني اذهب فبلغ عني، ثم نُزل به إلى الأرض، ويمينُ أصحابه[٢] إذا حلفوا، قالوا: والكلمة. وزعموا أن رسل الله لا تنقطع[٣] أبداً، وكفروا بالجنة والنار وزعموا أن الجنة رجل والنار رجل، واستحلوا النساء، وزعموا أن الميتة والدم والخمر والميسر [١٢٦أ] وغير ذلك من المحارم حلال وإنما هذه الأسماء أسماء رجالٍ حَرَّم الله ولايتهم، وأسقطوا الفرائض وقالوا: هي أيضًا أسماء رجال[٤] أوجب[٥] الله ولايتهم، واستحلّوا خنق المخالفين وأمروا به.

بني هاشم كما اوصى موسى الى يوشع بن نون دون ولده ودون ولد هارون ثم ان الامام بعد ابي منصور يرجع الى ولد علي.

س ١-٢ قابل بمقالات الاشعري ص ٩: وان ابا منصور قال آل محمد هو السماء والشيعة هم الارض وانه هو الكسف الساقط من بني هاشم، وبالحور العين ص ٢٢٣: وقال ابو منصور ان آل محمد هم السماء وشيعتهم الارض وانه هو الكسف الساقط من بني هاشم.

س ٢ وما بعد قابل بمقالات الاشعري ص ٩-١٠: وزعم ابو منصور انه عرج به الى السماء فمسح معبوده رأسه بيده ثم قال له اي بني اذهب فبلغ عني ثم نزل به الى الارض ويمين اصحابه اذا حلفوا ان يقولوا ألا والكلمة وزعم ان عيسى اول من خلق الله من خلقه ثم علي وان رسل الله سبحانه لا تنقطع ابدا وكفر بالجنة والنار وزعم ان الجنة رجل وان النار رجل واستحل النساء والمحارم واحل ذلك لاصحابه وزعم ان الميتة والدم ولحم الخنزير والخمر والميسر وغير ذلك من المحارم حلال وقال لم يحرم الله ذلك علينا ولا حرم شيئا تقوى به انفسنا وانما هذه الاشياء اسماء رجال حرم الله سبحانه ولايتهم ... واسقط الفرائض وقال هي اسماء رجال اوجب الله ولايتهم واستحل خنق المنافقين واخذ اموالهم فاخذه يوسف بن

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[١] الكسف الساقط - خ؛ ش: الكشف الساق - ص

[٢] ويمين اصحابه: وبمنزل صحابه - ص

[٣] تنقطع: ينقطع - ص

[٤] اسماء رجال ... اسماء رجال: اسمان حال ... اسمان حال - ص

[٥] اوجب: حرم - ص

ثم إنّ[١] يوسف بن عمر أمير العراق أخذ أبا منصور هذا وصلبه، فافترق أصحابه بعده على صنفين، صنف تولوا الحسين بن أبي منصور وجعلوا له الخمس مما يرتفع من الخنق[٢] وأدوا إليه زكاتهم ثم قالوا بعد موت الحسين:[٣] إنّ الإمامة رجعت إلى أولاد الحسن والحسين؛ وزعم الصنف الآخر أن [٢٢٦ب] الإمام بعد أبي منصور محمد بن عبد الله بن الحسن بن الحسن بن علي بن أبي طالب عليه السلام ثم بعده أخوه إبراهيم بن عبد الله، ثم قالوا: إنّ الإمام بعد إبراهيم بن عبد الله موسى بن جعفر بن محمد بن علي بن الحسين بن علي بن أبي طالب عليه السلام وصاروا في جملة القطعية الاثني عشرية.

عمر الثقفي والي العراق في ايام بني امية فقتله، وبالحور العين ص ٢٢٣: وقال انه عرج الى السماء فمسح معبوده رأسه بيده ثم قال اي بني اذهب فبلغ عني ثم نزل به الى الارض ويمين اصحابه اذا حلفوا ان يقولوا لا والكلمة وزعم ان عيسى اول ما خلق الله من خلقه ثم علي وان رسل الله لا تنقطع ابدا وكفر بالجنة والنار وزعم ان الجنة رجل والنار رجل واستحل الزنا واحل ذلك لاصحابه وزعم ان الميتة والدم والخمر والميسر وغير ذلك من المحارم حلال وقال ان ذلك اسماء رجال حرم الله ولايتهم واسقط جميع الفرائض مثل الصلاة والزكاة والحج والصيام وقال هي اسماء رجال اوجب الله ولايتهم واستحل خنق المخالفين واخذ اموالهم فامر به يوسف بن عمر فقتل وصلب.

س ٢-٣ قابل بالحور العين ص ٢٢٣: فقالت الحسينية ان الامام بعد ابي منصور ولده الحسين بن ابي منصور وجعلوا له الخمس مما وقع في ايديهم من الخنق.

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[١] ثم ان: وان - ص

[٢] الخنق: الخلق - ص

[٣] الحسين ... الحسين: الحسن ... الحسن - ص

[الغُرابيَّة]

الفرقة الرابعة الغرابية[1]. قالوا: إنّ علم الله محدث وإنّه لا يعلم شيئًا إلاّ بعد أن يخلقه وإنّه يبدو له في الأمور كما لمن [١٢٧أ] يستفيد الرأي بعد الرأي. وزعموا أن الله بعث جبرئيل إلى علي عليه السلام فأتى جبرئيل إلى محمد صلى الله عليه وآله غلطاً منه، فلما رجع جبرئيل إلى ربه قال الله: لولا أن تقول[2] قريش: إنّ رب محمد ليس له معقود رأي، لبعثتُك إلى علي ثانيًا وأخرجتُ محمداً، ولكن ارجعْ إلى محمد وقُلْ له: قد أشركتُ عليّاً معه في النبوة ما داما حيَّين وقل «إِنَّمَا أَنْتَ مُنْذِرٌ وَلِكُلِّ قَوْمٍ هَادٍ» [٧/١٣]»، فلما أتى[3] محمداً وأخبره برسالة ربه قال حينئذ لعلي: أنت مني بمنزلة هارون من موسى [١٢٧ب] إلاّ أنه لا نبي بعدي. وزعموا أنه قد صح في الخبر أن عليّاً كان شريك محمد عليهما السلام في النبوة في حياته كما كان هارون شريك موسى في الرسالة، ولذلك قال عليه السلام: لا نبي بعدي، ولم يقل: لا نبيَ معي، لأن جبرئيل زار اثنيهما[4] جميعًا بالوحي، فلما مات محمد انقطع الوحي عن علي عليه السلام؛ وزعموا أن المنذر هو محمد والهادي هو علي عليهما السلام. واحتجوا أيضًا بقوله تعالى: «أَفَمَنْ كَانَ عَلَى بَيِّنَةٍ ‹مِنْ رَبِّه› وَيَتْلُوهُ شَاهِدٌ مِنْهُ» [١٧/١١]، يعني عليّاً عليه السلام. وزعموا أن [١٢٨أ] الإمامة محصورة في أولاد علي عليه السلام دون غيرهم، وأن أولاد فاطمة وغيرهم من أولاد علي عليه السلام في الإمامة شرع سواء، وزعموا أن كل من خرج من أولاد علي عليه السلام شاهراً سيفه يدعو إلى كتاب الله وسنة نبيه وكان

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[1] الغرابية: العرانية – ص: زيادة في خ – سموا بذلك الاسم لانهم يقولون علي عليه السلام كان اشبه بالنبي من الغراب بالغراب.

[2] تقول: يقول – ص

[3] اتى: اخبر – ص

[4] زار اثنيهما: دان؟ ثانيهما – ص

ثبت اموال کتابخانه ... ٨٦١٦٢ ...

عادلاً عالماً فهو الإمام، وأولاد علي عليه السلام اليوم من خمسة نفر، من الحسن والحسين وعمر والعباس ومحمد. وإنما سميت هذه الفرقة[١] غرابية لأنهم يقولون: إنّ علياً كان يشبه محمداً صلى الله عليهما كما يشبه[٢] الغراب الغراب. [١٢٨ب]

[الطيّارية]

الفرقة الخامسة الطيارية[٣]، وهم أصحاب التناسخ. زعموا أن الأئمة قد اختلفت بالأزمان والأبدان[٤] واتفقت[٥] بالأرواح، وقالوا: إنّ روح القدس من الله كشعاع الشمس من الشمس وإنّه حل في آدم حيث قال «وَنَفَخْتُ فِيهِ مِنْ رُوحِي» [١٥/٢٩ و٣٨/٧٢]، وإنّه كان نبياً إلى الملائكة رسولاً إلى ولده، فلما غيّب الله بدنه انتقل روح القدس إلى شيث، فكذلك انتقل في أبدان الأئمة والرسل إلى أن انتهى إلى محمد صلى الله عليه وآله ثم انتقل منه إلى علي بن أبي طالب، [١٢٩أ] ثم من علي إلى الأئمة بعده واحداً بعد واحد إلى يوم القيامة. وزعموا أن الله على العرش واللاهوت هو روح القدس الذي ينتقل في أبدان الأئمة، ووصفوا الأئمة والرسل كما وصفت النصارى عيسى ابن مريم وقالوا فيهم كقولهم فيه، وزعموا أن الأئمة آلهة واحتجوا بقول الله عز وجل: «وَهُوَ الَّذِي فِي السَّمَاءِ إِلَهٌ وَفِي الأَرْضِ إِلَهٌ» [٤٣/٨٤]، يعني الإمام.

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[١] سميت هذه الفرقة: سمي هذه الفرق – ص

[٢] يشبه ... يشبه: نسبه ... نسبه – ص

[٣] الطيارية: زيادة في خ – نسبوا الى جعفر الطيار

[٤] الابدان: الامكان – ص

[٥] واتفقت: والضعف – ص

[البَزِيغيَّة]

الفرقة السادسة البزيغية، نسبوا إلى بزيغ[1] بن يونس. زعموا أن الإمام [١٢٩ب] بعد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله علي بن أبي طالب عليه السلام ثم الحسن ثم الحسين ثم علي بن الحسين ثم محمد بن علي، فأما جعفر بن محمد فإنّه ليس بإمام بل هو الله نفسه وأنه يأمرهم بعمل أهل السماء وأنه ليس بالذي يُرى ولكنه يتراءى للناس بهذه الصورة، وأن الأئمة بعد جعفر وقبله لم يكونوا بآلهة، وزعموا أن كل ما يحدث في قلوبهم وحي، وأن كل مؤمن يوحى إليه، وتأولوا قول الله عز وجل: «مَا كَانَ لِنَفْسٍ أَنْ تَمُوتَ إِلاَّ بِإِذْنِ اللهِ» [٣/ ١٤٥]، وقوله: «وَأَوْحَى [١٣٠أ] رَبُّكَ إِلَى النَّحْلِ» [٦٨/١٦]، وقوله: «وَإِذْ أَوْحَيْتُ إِلَى الحَوَارِيِّينَ أَنْ آمِنُوا بِي» [١١١/٥]، وزعموا أن فيهم من هو خير من جبرئيل وميكائيل وإبراهيم ومحمد، وزعموا أنه لا يموت منهم أحد وأن أحدهم إذا بلغت عبادته[2] رُفع إلى الملكوت، وادعوا معاينة موتاهم، وزعموا أنهم يرونهم غدوة وعشيّة.

قابل بمقالات الاشعري ص ١٢: والفرقة الثالثة من الخطابية وهي الثامنة من الغالية يقال لهم البزيغية اصحاب بزيغ بن موسى يزعمون ان جعفر بن محمد هو الله وانه ليس بالذي يرون وانه تشبه للناس بهذه الصورة وزعموا ان كل ما يحدث في قلوبهم وحي وان كل مؤمن يوحى اليه وتاولوا في ذلك قول الله تعالى (وما كان لنفس ان تموت الا باذن الله)، اي بوحي من الله وقوله (واوحى ربك الى النحل)، و (واذ اوحيت الى الحواريين)، وزعموا ان منهم من هو خير من جبريل وميكائيل ومحمد وزعموا انه لا يموت منهم احد وان احدهم اذا بلغت عبادته رفع الى الملكوت وادعوا معاينة امواتهم وزعموا انهم يرونهم بكرة وعشية، وبالحور العين ص ٢٢١: وقالت الفرقة الثانية من الخطابية ان جعفر بن محمد هو الله ولكن تشبه للناس في صورة جعفر وزعموا ان كل ما حدث في قلوبهم وحي وان كل مؤمن يوحى اليه وتاولوا قول الله تعالى (واوحى ربك الى النحل) وقوله (واذ اوحيت الى الحواريين)

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[1] بزيغ: يربع – ص

[2] عبادته: عادته – ص

[اليَعْفُورِيَّة]

الفرقة السابعة اليعفورية، نسبوا إلى محمد بن يعفور، وهم يعرفون أيضًا بمعمَّرية. قالوا: إنّ الإمام بعد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله علي بن أبي طالب عليه السلام ثم [١٣٠ظ] الحسن ثم لما بايع الحسنُ معاوية انتقلت الإمامة منه إلى الحسين ثم علي بن الحسين ثم محمد بن علي. وزعموا أن العالم لا يخلو من إمام إلاّ أنهم لا يعرفون أسماء الأئمة بعد محمد بن علي عليه السلام إلا قليلاً منهم، وقالوا: من أنكر الأئمة منهم فهو كافر ومن أقرّ بهم وعرف أسماءهم فهو مؤمن ومن أقرّ بالإمام ولم يعرف اسمه فهو ليس بمؤمن ولا كافر. وزعموا أن معمراً الكوفي ربهم وعبدوه بكرة وعشيّاً، وإنّ معمراً لما مات قالوا فيه كقول النصارى في [١٣١] عيسى ابن مريم عليه السلام. وقالوا بالتناسخ[١]، وزعموا أن الدنيا لا تفنى والجنة هي ما يصيب[٢] الناس من العافية والخير والملك والمال والجاه وأن النار هي ما يصيبهم من الأمراض والأسقام والمشقّات[٣] وتناسخ الأرواح في البهائم والطيور والحشرات[٤]، واحتجوا بقول الله تعالى: «وَمَا مِنْ دَابَّةٍ فِي الأَرْضِ وَلاَ طَائِرٍ يَطِيرُ بِجَنَاحَيْهِ

وزعموا ان فيهم خيرا من جبريل ومن ميكائيل ومن محمد وزعموا انه لا يموت منهم احد وان احدهم اذا بلغ عبادته رفع الى الملكوت وادعوا معاينة موتاهم وانهم يرونهم بكرة وعشيا.

من س ١٠ قابل بمقالات الاشعري ص ١١: والفرقة الثانية من الخطابية وهي الفرقة السابعة من الغالية يزعمون ان الامام بعد ابي الخطاب رجل يقال له معمر وعبدوه كما عبدوا ابا الخطاب وزعموا ان الدنيا لا تفنى وان الجنة ما يصيب الناس من الخير والنعمة والعافية وان

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[١] بالتناسخ: بالناسخ - ص

[٢] يصيب: تصيب - ص

[٣] المشقات: المسقات - ص

[٤] الحشرات: الحرشات - ص

إلاّ أُمَمٌ أَمْثَالُكُمْ» [٣٨/٦]، واستحلوا الزنى والخمر والملاهي وسائر المحرمات، وقالوا: إنّ رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله إنما حرم[١] علينا الملاهي لئلا [١٣١ب] نستوفي ثوابنا بتمامه[٢] فنحتاج حينئذ إلى استئناف الأعمال التي نستحق بها الثواب لئلا تتناسخ[٣] أرواحنا في البهائم والدواب[٤].

[الغَماميَّة]

الفرقة الثامنة الغمامية. قالوا: إنّ الله خلق نفسه في صورة آدم عليه السلام ولذلك قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله: إنّ الله خلق آدم على صورته وإنّه - تعالى عما يقول الظالمون علواً كبيراً - انتقل فى أبدان الأئمة والرسل من بدن إلى بدن إلى أن انتهى إلى محمد صلى الله عليه وآله <ثم> انتقل [١٣٢أ] بعد موته إلى علي بن أبي طالب عليه السلام وإنّه كان الإله الأعظم. ثم إنّ علياً عليه السلام لما قتل رجع إلى ملكوته وعرشه، فليس بعد علي إمام إلاّ بشري من أولاد الحسن والحسين عليهما السلام. وقالوا: إنّ الله

النار ما يصيب الناس من خلاف ذلك وقالوا بالتناسخ ... واستحلوا الخمر والزنا واستحلوا سائر المحرمات ... وهم يسمون المعمرية ويقال انهم يسمون اليعفورية(؟)، وبالحور العين ص ٢٢١: فرقة يقال لها المعمرية عبدوا معمرا الصفار ... وزعموا ان الدنيا لا تفنى وان الجنة هي ما يصيب الناس من العافية والخير وان النار ما تصيب الناس من خلاف ذلك وقالوا بالتناسخ.

س ١٤ وما بعد قابل بمفاتيح العلوم: سموا بذلك الاسم لزعمهم ان الله تعالى ينزل الى

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[١] حرم: جهز - ص

[٢] بتمامه: بتمامها - ص

[٣] نستوفى ... فنحتاج ... نستحق ... تتناسخ: يستوفى ... فتحتاج ... يستحق ... يتناسخ - ص

[٤] والدواب: ثم الدواب - ص

ينزل كل ليلة جمعة إلى سماء الدنيا وإنّه يأتي[١] في كل ربيع فيجلس على الغمام فيطوف في جميع الدنيا ويبارك[٢] لهم في زروعهم، واحتجوا بقوله: يوم «يَأْتِيَهُمُ اللَّهُ فِي ظُلَلٍ مِنَ الغَمَامِ» [٢/ ٢١٠]، ولذلك سُمّوا غمامية، وإذا أراد أن يكون في الدنيا قحط [١٣٢ب] لا ينزل في الربيع ولا يبارك[٣] لهم، فإذا أراد أن يكون القحط في بلد دون بلد لا يطوف حوالي ذلك البلد[٤].

قال صاحب الكتاب: وقد روي عن جابر بن عبد الله أنه قال: إنّ ثلاثة نفر من هؤلاء أتوا عليّاً عليه السلام حين بويع له بالخلافة بعد عثمان فقالوا: أنت أنت، فقال: من أنا؟ فقالوا: أنت ربنا، فأمر بهم فحُبسوا ووكّل عليهم من يلدّهم ويُذْهِنهم[٥] ويداويهم، فلما كان بعد شهر دعاهم فسألهم فقالوا له[٦] مثل مقالتهم الأولى، فأمر علي عليه السلام [١٣٣أ] حينئذ بحفر أخدودين عميقين وجعل بينهما منفذاً ثم أمر بإلقاء هؤلاء في أحد الأخدودين وإيقاد النار في الأخدود الآخر وسد رأسهما حتى يموتوا من الدخان أو يتوبوا ويرجعوا عن قولهم. ففعل بهم، فما زالوا يصيحون يقولون: الآن صح عندنا أنك ربنا وإلهنا حين عذبتنا بعذاب الله، إلى أن ماتوا.

وإياهم عنى السيد بن محمد الحميري بقوله يذمهم، وكان السيد كيسانياً ثم صار إماميّاً: [البسيط]

الارض في غمام كل ربيع فيطوف الدنيا سبحان الله عما يقولون.

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[١] ياتي: مجلس - ص

[٢] يبارك: تبارك - ص

[٣] يبارك: تبارك - ص

[٤] البلد: البلاد - ص

[٥] يلدهم ويذهنهم: بلدهم ومذهبهم - ص

[٦] له: لهم - ص

قومٌ غلوا فيّ عليّ لا أبا لهمُ [١٣٣ب] فأجشموا أنفُسًا في حُبِّه تَعَبا
قالوا هو اللهُ جلّ الله خالقُنا عن أن يكونَ ابن شيءٍ أو يكون أبا
ألم[١] يلد وهو مولودٌ كأنّكُمُ لا تعرفون له صهراً ولا نَسَبا
وجدُّه وأبوه يُعرفان ولا خَلقٌ من الناس أزكى منهما حَسبا
وكان في خِرَق في حِجْرِ مُرضعة[٢] يبكي إذا طلبتْه بعضَ ما طلبا
ما كان إلاّ وصيّاً عالماً[٣] فَهِمًا [١٣٤أ] مستودَعًا مصطفىً للحُكْمِ مُنْتَخَبا
ولا نقول له ربّاً ولا مَلَكًا ولا نبيًا رَسُولاً قولَ مَن كذبا

وقد سأل الطِرِمّاح بن حكيم الطائي الشاعر، وكان خارجياً، الكُميتَ بن زيد الأسدي الشاعر، وكان إمامياً، فقال: ما بال كل من يريد ترويج باطل على الناس يذهب فيتعلق بمذهبكم ليتهيأ له ترويجها؟ فقال له الكميت: بهذا علمْت يقيناً أن أصل مذهب[٤] الشيعة وأقاويلهم ودعاويهم حق لأن بالحق [١٣٤ب] ترويج الباطل كما تتروج[٥] الدراهم المغشوشة بين الدراهم الجيدة.

س ٢-٨، البيتان الاولان قابل بديوان السيد الحميري؛ الابيات ١ - ٧ باصول النحل للناشئ ص ٣٨: قوم غلوا في علي لا ابا لهم / وكلفوا انفسا في حبه تعبا // قالوا هو الله جل الله خالقنا /من ان يكون ابن شيء او يكون ابا // الم يلد وهو مولود كانكم / لا يعرفون له صهرا ولا نسبا // وخاله وابوه يعرفان وما / خلق من الناس اولى منهما حسبا // وكان في خرق في حجر مرضعة / يبكى اذا منعته بعض ما طلبا // ما كان الا وصيا عالما فطنا / مستودعا مصطفى للحكم منتخبا // ولا نقول له ربا ولا ملكا / ولا نقول رسولا فعل من كذبا.

[١] الم: ولم - ص
[٢] مرضعة - ن: موضعه - ص
[٣] ما كان الا وصيا عالما: وكان امرا ضياعا وهاما (؟) - ص
[٤] مذهب: مذهبكم - ص
[٥] تتروج: يتروج - ص

قال صاحب الكتاب: فعند وقوفي على هذه الاختلافات الواقعة بين الأمة تذكرتُ قول الله عز وجل: «وَمَا مُحَمَّدٌ إلاَّ رَسُولٌ قَدْ خَلَتْ مِنْ قَبْلِه الرُسُلُ أَفَإِنْ مَاتَ أَوْ قُتِلَ انقَلَبْتُم عَلَى أَعْقَابِكُم وَمَن يَنقَلِبْ عَلَى عَقِبَيْه فَلَن يَضُرَّ اللهَ شَيئًا وَسَيَجْزِى اللَّهُ الشَّاكِرِينَ» [١٤٤/٣]، ثم بين في موضع آخر أن الشاكرين من أمة محمد قليل وهم الذين لم يرتدّوا بعد محمد ولم يختلفوا فقال: «وَقَلِيلٌ مِنْ عِبَادِيَ [١٣٥أ] الشَكُورُ» [١٣/٣٤]، وتذكرتُ قول محمد صلى الله عليه وآله حيث قال لأمته: ستركبُن سُنَّةَ بني إسرائيل حذو النعل بالنعل والقُذّة بالقُذّة حتى لو دخلوا جُحْر ضَبٍّ دخلتم فيه، فقد صحّ بهذا الخبر أن في هذه الأمة فرقتين تشبهان[١] اليهود والنصارى في بني إسرائيل، فيهود الأمة الخوارج والكرامية والذين فضلوا أبا بكر وعمر وعثمان على علي عليه السلام ونصارى هذه الأمة هم الغالية وأصنافها وذلك أنه روي عن وكيع عن مالك بن الحارث عن أبي صادق عن [١٣٥ب] أبي زمعة بن ماجد عن علي عليه السلام أنه قال: يهلك فيَّ رجلان محب مفرط ومبغض مفترٍ، فالمحب المفرط هم الغالية والمبغض المفتري هم الخوارج. ومما يؤكد ما قلناه ما[٢] روي عن حذيفة بن اليمان أنه قال: قال لي رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله: ادع لي عليّاً، فقال له: يا أبا حسن إنّ مثلك في أمتي كمثل عيسى عليه السلام في بني إسرائيل، أبغضته اليهود حتى بهتوا عليه وأحبّته النصارى حتى جعلوه ربّاً وابن رب. فبهذا الحديث صح أن الخوارج [١٣٦أ] يهود هذا الأمة والغالية نصاراها.

وقد روي عن بعض العلماء أنه قال: مثل المرجئة[٣] والحديثية في هذه الأمة كمثل اليهود والنصارى في بني إسرائيل، وذلك أن الله حكى عنهم فقال: وَقَالَتِ اليَهُودُ لَيْسَتِ النَّصَارَى عَلَى شَيْءٍ ‹وَقَالَتِ النَّصَارَى لَيْسَتِ

[١] تشبهان: يشبهان – ص

[٢] ما: مما – ص

[٣] المرجئة: الغالية – ص

الْيَهُودُ عَلَى شَيْءٍ وَهُمْ يَتْلُونَ الكِتَابَ» [١١٣/٢]، قالت الحديثية ليست المرجئة على شيء وقالت المرجئة ليست الحديثية على شيء وهم يتلون الكتاب، وإنّ اليهود والنصارى كانوا إذا رأوا أحداً يدعوهم إلى الحق وإلى الصراط المستقيم قالوا: «لَنْ يَدخُلَ الجَنَّةَ إلاّ مَنْ [١٣٦ظ] كَانَ هُوداً أو نَصَارَى» [٢/ ١١١]، وكذلك الحديثية والمرجئة[١] إذا رأوا أحداً من مخالفيهم يدعوهم[٢] إلى الصراط المستقيم قالوا: لن يدخل الجنة إلاّ أصحاب الحديث أو أصحاب[٣] الرأي، فكان مثلهم في ذلك كمثل من قال: اصطلحوا فافتضحوا، وكما قالت اليهود «لَنْ تَمَسَّنَا النَارُ إلاّ أيّامًا مَعْدُودةً» [٢/ ٨٠]، كذلك قال هؤلاء: إنّ الفاسق يُعَذَّب على قدر ذنوبه ثم يخرج من النار.

فأما مجوس هذه الأمة فهم القدرية الذين قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله فيهم: القدرية مجوس [١٣٧أ] هذه الأمة. والقدرية المجبرة[٤]، والدليل على ذلك ما روي عن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله أنه قال: سيكون في هذه الأمة قوم يعملون المعاصي[٥] ثم يزعمون أنها من الله هم القدرية وهم مجوس هذه الأمة، فإن مرضوا فلا تعودوهم[٦] وإن ماتوا فلا تشيّعوا[٧] جنائزهم وإن عاندوكم فجاهدوهم كما تجاهدون الروم وفارس. وعن الحسن البصري أنه قال: حدثني محمد بن الحنفية أنه قال: قدم رجل من أهل فارس على رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله فقال له رسول [١٣٧ظ] الله صلى الله عليه وآله: أخبرني عن أعجب شيء رأيت هناك، قال: رأيت قومًا ينكحون أمهاتهم وبناتهم

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[١] المرجئة ... المرجئة ... المرجئة: المرجئية ... المرجئية ... المرجئية - ص

[٢] يدعوهم: يدعونهم - ص

[٣] او اصحاب: واصحاب - ص

[٤] المجبرة: المخيرة - ص

[٥] المعاصي: بالمعاصي - ص

[٦] تعودوهم: يعودوهم - ص

[٧] تشيعوا: تتبعوا - ص

وأخواتهم فإذا قيل لهم لم تفعلون هذا؟ قالوا: قضاء[١] الله علينا وقدره، فقال له رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله: أما إنّه سيكون في هذه الأمة أقوام يقولون مثل مقالتهم فأولئك مجوس أمتي. فقد صح من طريق الأخبار ‹أن› المجبرة هم القدرية وأنهم مجوس هذه الأمة.

فأما من طريق المعقول فإنّ المجبرة هم القدرية لأن النافي للشيء لا يسمى به فإنّ[٢] من [١٣٨أ] نفى الإيمان لا يسمى مؤمنًا ومن نفى الشرك لا يسمى مشركًا والمجبرة[٣] يثبتون القدر في جميع الأشياء والمعتزلة ينفونه فالذين يثبتون القدر أحق بالنسبة إليه من الذين ينفونه. ووجه آخر وهو أن المجبرة لا يحركون إصبعًا ولا يسمعون ضرطة ولا يعملون شيئًا من الطاعة والمعصية إلاّ قالوا: بقدر الله وقضائه، فلكثرة ما جرى اسم القدر على ألسنتهم عُرفوا بهذا الاسم، أعني القدرية، ونسبوا إليه تصديقًا لقول أمير المؤمنين علي بن أبي طالب عليه السلام: من [١٣٨ب] أكثر شيئًا عرف به. ومما يزيد قولنا تأكيداً أنك متى ما نظرت إلى أقاويل المجوس وأقاويل المجبرة الذين هم القدرية بعين الإنصاف تجدها متساوية[٤] لا فرق بينهما. فمن ذلك مقالات المجوس أن نيك الأخوات والبنات والأمهات وشرب الخمر وضرب المعازف وإعطاء النفس لذاتها وجميع الملاهي من الله وفي إرادته. كذلك قالت القدرية: إنّ جميع أفعال المجوس من نيك الأخوات والبنات[٥] والأمهات وجميع المنكر[٦] والفسق من الله وفي إرادته[٧]. ‹و› كما أن المجوس [١٣٩أ] قالوا: إنّ الذي[٨] خلق آدم

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[١] قضاء: قضى – ص

[٢] فإن ... لأن ... فإن: ان ... ان ... لان – ص

[٣] والمجبرة: فالمجبرة – ص

[٤] متساوية: متساويا – ص

[٥] الاخوات والبنات: البنات والاخوات – ص

[٦] المنكر: النكر ص

[٧] وفي ارادته: وفي ذاته – ص

أورمزد وأهرمن فجميع الخيرات تتولد[١] من أورمزد ويستحيل تولُّد الشر منه وجميع الشر يتولد[٢] من أهرمن ويستحيل تولد الخير منه، كذلك قالت القدرية: إنّ الله خلق استطاعتين، إحداهما استطاعة الشر والكفر ويستحيل وقوع الإيمان والخير منها[٣]. وكما أن المجوس قالوا في قول واحد الذي هو الشتم: إنّ الشتم هو من أهرمن والنطق الذي به الشتم من أورمزد[٤]، كذلك قالت القدرية في فعل واحد: إنّ خلقه من الله وكسبه من الإنسان، [١٣٩ب] وأجازوا فعلاً واحداً من فاعلين تشبُّهًا[٥] بالمجوس وتصديقًا لقول رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله فيهم، وكما أن المجوس قالوا: إنّ القتل هو من أهرمن والحركات التي كان القتل بها من أورمزد، كذلك قالت القدرية: إن خلق تلك الحركات من الله وكسبها من العبد. وقد قال بعض الحكماء في هذا المعنى: [البسيط]

نَعُدُّ أفْعالَنا اللاتي نُذَمُّ بها ... إحْدى ثلاث خصالٍ حين نُحْصيها
إمّا تَفَرُّدَ مَولانا بصَنْعتها [١٤٠أ] ... فيَسْقُطُ اللَّومُ عَنّا حين يأتيها
أو كان يَشْرُكُنا فاللَّومُ يَلْحَقُهُ ... إن كان يَلْحَقُنا من لائمٍ فيها
أو لم يَكُنْ للإلاهِ في خليقتِهِ ... فِعْلٌ فما الذَنْبُ إلاّ ذَنْبُ جانيها

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[٨] الذي: الله – ص
[١] تتولد: يتولد – ص
[٢] يتولد: يولد – ص
[٣] منها: منه – ص
[٤] اورمزد: الله ع ج – ص
[٥] تشبها: تشبيها – ص

[مذهب الإماميَّة]

المذهب الخامس مذهب الإمامية، وهم الرافضة[١]، وهم ينقسمون على خمس فرق.

[الناوُسيَّة]

إحداها[٢] الناوسية، نسبوا إلى عبد الله بن ناوس. قالوا بالتشبيه والجبر بل أكثر الإمامية يقولون بالتشبيه و [١٤٠ظ] الجبر[٣] والبداء وأن علم الله محدَث، ويؤمنون بالرجعة وأن الإيمان غير الإسلام. وإنما سميت الإمامية رافضة لرفضهم زيد بن علي وتركهم الخروج معه، وإنما سميت الزيدية زيدية لخروجهم مع زيد بن علي، وإنما سميت الشيعة شيعة لادعائهم أنهم من شيعة أهل بيت رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله وأتباعهم. وقالت الناوسية: إنّ الإمام بعد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله علي بن أبي طالب ثم الحسن ثم الحسين ثم علي [١٤١أ] بن الحسين ثم محمد بن علي ثم جعفر بن محمد عليه السلام، وزعموا أن جعفراً[٤] لم يمت وأنه محبوس في جزيرة من جزائر بحر

س ١٠-١١ قابل بالحور العين ص ٢٣٨: سميت الرافضة لرفضهم زيد بن علي بن الحسين بن علي ابن ابي طالب وتركهم الخروج معه.

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[١] الرافضة: الرافضية - ص

[٢] احداها: احدها - ص

[٣] الجبر ... الجبر: الخبر ... الخبر - ص

[٤] جعفراً: جعفر - ص

المغرب، وهو القائم المهدي المنتظر الذي يملأ الأرض عدلاً كما ملئت جوراً وظلمًا.

[المُفَضَّلِيَّة]

الفرقة الثانية المفضلية، نسبوا إلى المفضل بن عمر[١]، وهم أربعة أصناف.

الصنف الأعظم منهم يقولون: إنّ الإمام بعد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله علي بن أبي طالب ثم الحسن ثم الحسين ثم علي بن الحسين [١٤١ب] ثم محمد بن علي ثم جعفر بن محمد ثم موسى بن جعفر ثم علي بن موسى ثم محمد بن علي ثم علي بن محمد ثم الحسن بن علي ثم محمد بن الحسن، وإنّ محمد بن الحسن لم يمت ولا يموت حتى يخرج فيملأ الأرض عدلاً كما ملئت جوراً وظلمًا، وهم الإمامية الاثنا عشرية.

والصنف الثاني قالوا: إنّ الإمام بعد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله علي المرتضى ثم الحسن المجتبى ثم الحسين المقتول بكربلاء ثم علي سيد العابدين ثم [١٤٢أ] محمد باقر العلم ثم جعفر الصادق ثم موسى الصالح ثم علي الرضا ثم محمد الهادي ثم علي الصابر ثم الحسن الطاهر[٢] ثم محمد المهدي ثم بعده القائم الذي يخرج فيملأ الأرض عدلاً ويملكها وهو المهدي المنتظر، وهم يَعدّون[٣] أنفسهم من الاثنى عشرية ويزعمون أن حساب الأئمة من الحسن لأن عليًا لا يُعَدُّ منهم لأنه أفضل منهم لأنه وصي وإمام.

وزعم الصنف الثالث أن الإمام بعد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله [١٤٢ب] علي بن أبي طالب ثم الحسن ثم الحسين ‹ثم علي بن الحسين› ثم محمد بن

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[١] عمر: عمرو – ص

[٢] الطاهر: الظاهر – ص

[٣] يعدون: لا يعدون – ص

علي ثم جعفر بن محمد ثم موسى بن جعفر ثم أحمد[١] بن موسى بن جعفر ثم علي بن موسى ثم محمد بن علي ثم علي بن محمد ثم الحسن بن علي ثم محمد بن الحسن، ويزعمون أن لا بد أن يكون بعد محمد بن الحسن إمامان تكملة السبعين وأن الرابع عشر من الأئمة هو المهدي المنتظر، وهؤلاء أيضًا يعدون أنفسهم من الاثني عشرية ويزعمون أن الأئمة الاثنا عشر يكونون من أولاد الحسين [١٤٣أ] وأن عليًا والحسن ليسا بمعدودين فيهم.

الصنف الرابع أصحاب عمار الساباطي[٢]، وهم يزعمون أن الإمام بعد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله علي بن أبي طالب ثم الحسن ثم الحسين ثم علي بن الحسين ثم محمد بن علي ثم جعفر بن محمد ثم عبد الله بن جعفر ثم أخوه موسى بن جعفر ثم علي بن موسى ثم محمد بن علي ‹ثم علي بن محمد› ثم الحسن بن علي ثم[٣] محمد بن الحسن ثم الإمامة باقية في أولاد محمد بن الحسن ثابتة إلى أن [١٤٣ب] يخرج المهدي، وليس لأئمتهم عدد ولا نهاية بل قالوا: يجوز بعد ألف سنة وأكثر إلاّ أنّا نعلم لو بقي يوم واحد من أيام الدنيا أطاله الله عليه حتى يخرج المهدي ويملك الأرض ويملأها عدلاً وقسطا كما ملئت ظلمًا وجوراً.

[الشَمْطيَّة]

الفرقة الثالثة الشمطية، نسبوا إلى يحيى بن أبي شَمْط. وزعموا أن الإمام بعد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله علي بن أبي طالب ثم الحسن ثم

الشمطية-قابل بمقالات الاشعري ص ٢٧؛ الحور العين ص ٢١٧؛ وبفرق الشيعة، ٦٤-٦٥.

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[١] أحمد: محمد - ص

[٢] الساباطي: البساطى - ص

[٣] ثم: بن - ص

الحسين ثم علي بن الحسين ثم محمد بن علي ثم جعفر بن محمد ثم [١٤٤أ] محمد بن جعفر عليهم السلام ثم الإمامة في أولاد محمد بن جعفر باقية إلى أن يخرج المهدي فيملك الأرض ويملأها عدلاً كما ملئت جوراً وظلمًا وأن المهدي يكون من أولاد محمد بن جعفر.

[الواقفيّة]

الفرقة الرابعة الواقفية. قالوا: إنّ الإمام بعد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله علي بن أبي طالب ثم الحسن ثم الحسين ثم علي بن الحسين ثم محمد بن علي ثم جعفر بن محمد ثم موسى بن جعفر عليهم السلام، وإنّه [١٤٤ب] سابع الأئمة وإنّه لم يمت ولا يموت حتى يملك الأرض شرقها وغربها وحتى يملأ الأرض عدلاً كما ملئت ظلمًا وجوراً وإنّه القائم المهدي. وإنما سموا الواقفية لأنهم وقفوا على موسى بن جعفر فلم يجاوزوه إلى غيره. وبعض مخالفيهم[1] يسمونهم المطورة، ويقال: إن سبب ذلك أن رجلاً[2] منهم ناظر يونس بن عبد الرحمن، وهو من القطعية، فقال له يونس: لأنتم أهون عليّ من الكلاب المطورة، فلزمهم هذا الاسم. والقطعية هم المفضلية، [١٤٥أ] لأنهم قطعوا على وفاة موسى بن جعفر وقالوا: إنّه مات وإنّ الإمام بعده ابنه علي بن موسى،

س ١٠ وما بعد قابل بمقالات الاشعري ص ٢٨-٢٩: وان موسى بن جعفر حي لم يمت ولا يموت حتى يملك شرق الارض وغربها حتى يملأ الارض عدلا وقسطا كما ملئت ظلما وجورا وهذا الصنف يدعون الواقفة لانهم وقفوا على موسى بن جعفر ولم يجاوزوه الى غيره وبعض مخالفي هذه الفرقة يدعوهم المطورة وذلك ان رجلا منهم ناظر يونس بن عبد الرحمن ويونس من القطعية الذين قطعوا على موت موسى بن جعفر فقال له يونس انتم اهون عليّ من الكلاب المطورة فلزمهم هذا النبز، وبالحور العين ص ٢١٨-٢١٩: وقالت فرقة ان

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[1] مخالفيهم: مخالفتهم - ص

[2] أن رجلا: رجل - ص

وقد سُمّي الأحمدية قطعية أيضًا لأنهم قطعوا على وفاة موسى بن جعفر.

[الأَحْمَدِيَّة]

الفرقة الخامسة الأحمدية، نسبوا إلى إمامهم أحمد بن موسى. قالوا: إنّ الإمام بعد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله علي بن أبي طالب ثم الحسن ثم الحسين ثم علي بن الحسين ثم محمد بن علي ثم جعفر بن محمد ثم موسى بن جعفر ثم أحمد بن [١٤٥ب] موسى، وقالوا: إن الإمامة باقية في أولاد أحمد بن موسى إلى أن يخرج المهدي، وهم اليوم يرجعون إلى عدد كبير، وهم يُحلون المتعة[١]، وأكثر[٢] الإمامية يحلونها.

وقد اجتمعت الإمامية كلها على أن العالم لا يخلو من الإمام، وأن للإمام معجزات كمعجزات الرسل، وأنّه لا يجوز لأحد الخروج على السلطان الجائر أو العادل وإن قُتل في منزله إلى أن يخرج المهدي فيمدّه الله بالملائكة كما أمدّ نبيه يوم بدر، وأن علم الأئمة إلهامي لا اكتسابي، وزعموا [١٤٦أ] أن المتعة حلال إلى يوم القيامة، وأن الحسين قتل وابنه علي ابن سبع سنين وكان في ذلك الوقت إمامًا مفترض الطاعة عالماً بجميع ما يعلمه الأئمة. كذلك قال بعض

موسى بن جعفر حي لم يمت ولا يموت حتى يملأ الارض عدلا وانه القائم المهدي المنتظر عندهم وهذه الفرقة تسمى الواقفة وتسمى ايضا الممطورة لان رجلا منهم ناظر يونس بن عبد الرحمن وهو من القطعية فقال له يونس لانتم انتن عليّ من الكلاب الممطورة.

س ١٦ وما بعد قابل بمقالات الاشعري ص ٣٠-٣١: واختلفت الروافض القائلون بامامة محمد بن علي بن موسى بن جعفر لتقارب سنه ضربا من الاختلاف آخر وذلك ان اباه توفى وهو ابن ... اربع سنين هل كان في تلك الحال اماما واجب الطاعة على مقالتين: فزعم

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[١] المتعة: الميعة - ص

[٢] اكثر: اكر - ص

المفضلية في محمد بن علي بن موسى لأن أباه توفي وهو ابن أربع سنين أنه كان في تلك الحال إمامًا مفترض الطاعة عالماً بما يعلمه الأئمة من الأحكام والحلال والحرام وغير ذلك من الأمور التي يجب[1] استفتاؤه ‹فيها› من الحوادث والائتمام ‹به› ويصلح كما[2] ‹كان› غيره من [٢١٤٦] الأئمة الصادقين الماضين، وزعموا أن تقارب السنّ وتقادمها ليسا[3] من تكامل العلم ونقصه ومن الصلاح للإمامة وعدم الصلاح لها في شيء لأن ذلك عندهم قد يجوز أن يعلم الإمام جميع العلوم في أقرب المدة فضلاً عن أربع سنين. وزعم البعض الآخر أن محمد بن علي في تلك المدة إمام على معنى أن الأمر له وفيه دون سائر أهل بيته وأنه ما يصلح لذلك الموضع في ذلك الوقت أحد غيره، فأما أن يكون اجتمع فيه [١١٤٧] في تلك الحال ما اجتمع في غيره من الأئمة المتقدمين فلا، وزعموا أنه لم يكن يجوز أن يؤمّهم في تلك الحال ولكن الذي يتولى الصلاة وينفّذ أحكامهم في ذلك الوقت غيره من أهل الفقه والدين والصلاة إلى أن يبلغ هو مبلغ من تصلح هدايته.

فهؤلاء الفرق التي قد ذكرناهم قد اختلفوا. فأقول: إنّ علم الفقه

بعضهم انه كان في تلك الحال اماما واجب الطاعة عالما بما يعلمه الائمة من الاحكام وجميع امور الدنيا يجب الاتمام والاقتداء به كما وجب الاتمام والاقتداء بسائر الائمة من قبله وزعم بعضهم انه كان في تلك الحال اماما على معنى ان الامر كان فيه وله دون الناس وعلى انه لا يصلح لذلك الموضع في ذلك الوقت احد غيره واما ان يكون اجتمع فيه في تلك الحال ما اجتمع في غيره من الائمة المتقدمين فلا وزعموا انه لم يكن يجوز في تلك الحال ان يؤمهم ولكن الذي يتولى الصلاة لهم وينفذ احكامهم في ذلك الوقت غيره من اهل الفقه والدين والصلاح الى ان يبلغ المبلغ الذي يصلح هذا فيه.

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[1] يجب: تجب – ص

[2] كما: لما – ص

[3] ليسا: ليستا – ص

والشرائع والأحكام ينقسم على ثلاثة أقسام. فأول قسم[1] منها منسوب إلى الحديثية وهم أصحاب القول بأن الطاعات كلها إيمان، والقسم الثاني منسوب [١٤٧ب] إلى أصحاب الرأي وهم أصحاب القول بأن الطاعات ليست من الإيمان، والقسم الثالث منسوب إلى الشيعة وهم أصحاب القول: إنّ الإمام بعد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله علي بن أبي طالب. وإنّ <أصحاب> هذه الأقسام الثلاثة من الفقه والشرائع والأحكام المختلفين في الفقه والشرائع والحدود والأحكام على أربعة أصناف، أصحاب الحديث وهم الذين اعتقدوا جميع أقاويل رؤسائهم في التوحيد والعدل والوعد والوعيد والفقه والشرائع والحلال والحرام [١٤٨أ] وغيرها ولم يخالفوهم في شيء مما سمعوا عنهم وروي عنهم؛ والصنف الآخر أصحاب الرأي وهم الذين تقلدوا جميع الأقاويل لرؤسائهم في الفقه والشرائع الأحكام والوعد والوعيد والحدود والعدل والتوحيد والإمامة وغير ذلك وكانوا عليها ولم يخالفوهم بشيء مما روي عنهم وسمعوا منهم؛ والصنف الثالث الشيعة وهم الذين اعتقدوا جميع دعاوى أئمتهم ورؤسائهم في الفقه والشرائع والأحكام والتوحيد[2] والعدل والوعد [١٤٨ب] والوعيد ولم يخالفوهم بشيء مما سمعوا منهم ويفتى عنهم؛ والصنف الرابع وهم أصحاب الحق وهم <اعتزلوا> الذين افترقوا على سبعين فرقة، وإنّهم بعدوا عن اعتقاد أقاويل رؤسائهم وساداتهم وآبائهم واجتهدوا في النظر[3] وطلب الحق واختاروا[4] من كل مذهب قولاً يوافقهم ودعوى تتجه في عقولهم واعتقدوا من التوحيد والعدل والجبر والإرجاء والوعد والوعيد والإمامة والبيعة والشرائع والأحكام والحرام والحلال ما أدركها عقول[5] كل [١٤٩أ] فرقة منهم وأوجبها

[1] قسم: كل قسم – ص
[2] والتوحيد: والفقه والتوحيد – ص
[3] النظر: النطق – ص
[4] واختاروا: واختلفوا – ص
[5] عقول: قبول – ص

نظر كل صاحب منهم، واحتجوا بقول الله عز وجل: «فَبَشِّرْ عِبَادِ الَّذِينَ يَسْتَمِعُونَ القَوْلَ فَيَتَّبِعُونَ أَحْسَنَهُ أُولَئِكَ الَّذِينَ هَدَاهُمُ اللَّهُ وَأُولَئِكَ هُمْ أُولُوا الأَلْبَابِ» [٣٩/١٧-١٨]، ونبذوا قول رؤسائهم وآبائهم وراء ظهورهم وقالوا: إنما ذمّ[١] الله الكفار في قوله: «اتَّخَذُوا أَحْبَارَهُمْ وَرُهْبَانَهُمْ أَرْبَابًا مِنْ دُونِ اللَّهِ» [٩/٣١]، وقوله: «إِنَّا وَجَدْنَا آبَاءَنَا عَلَى أُمَّةٍ وَإِنَّا عَلَى آثَارِهِم مُقْتَدُونَ» [٤٣/٢٣]، ليكون لنا توبيخًا وتأديبًا ونهياً عن الاقتداء [١٤٩ب] بهم، ولو قلّدنا مذهب رؤسائنا بلا نظر ولا اجتهاد واعتقدنا أديان آبائنا[٢] بلا إيجاب عقل ولا إلزام حجة كنا قد اقتدينا بالكفار الذين[٣] نهانا ربنا عز وجل عن الاقتداء بهم.

قال صاحب[٤] الكتاب: وإنما قلنا في صدر كتابنا هذا: إنّ أهل الظاهر اختلفوا على ثلاثة أقاويل، أحدها القول بأن الطاعات كلها إيمان وثانيها ‹القول› بأن الطاعات والشرائع والبيعة[٥] ليست من الإيمان وثالثها القول بأن الإمام بعد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله علي بن أبي طالب عليه السلام لأن [١٥٠أ] أصول الدين الذي ذكره الله تعالى في كتابه هي هذه الأقاويل الثلاثة، وذلك قوله عز وجل: «أَطِيعُوا اللَّهَ وَأَطِيعُوا الرَّسُولَ وَأُولُوا الأَمْرِ مِنكُمْ» [٤/٥٩]، فإنّ[٦] الإيمان هو طاعة الله وقبول الشرائع[٧] هو طاعة الرسول والاعتقاد بأن الأرض لا تخلو[٨] من حجةٍ لله على خلقه هو طاعةُ أولي الأمر.

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[١] ذم: دمر - ص
[٢] آبائنا: ارائنا - ص
[٣] الذين: الذي - ص
[٤] قال صحاب: وقال اصحاب - ص
[٥] البيعة: السع - ص
[٦] فان: وان - ص
[٧] الشرائع: للشرائع - ص
[٨] تخلو: يخلو - ص

ثم إنّا لما رأينا المتفقين على أن الطاعات ليست من الإيمان افترقوا على أربع وعشرين فرقة، ثم رأينا أن المتفقين على ‹أن› الطاعات كلها إيمان أربع وعشرين فرقة، ثم [١٥٠ظ] رأينا المتفقين على أن الإمام بعد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله علي بن أبي طالب عليه السلام اختلفوا بعد ذلك في إمامة أولاده أيضًا على أربع وعشرين ‹فرقة›، فقد حكمنا بذلك أن الإمام الحق بعد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله علي بن أبي طالب صلوات الله عليه، وأنه وأولاده هم أولو الأمر من بعد خروج النبي صلى الله عليه ‹وآله›، من هذا العالم إذ كان الاتفاق والاختلاف في أمر الله عز وجل والرسول صلى الله اليه وآله ‹على فرقتين› وفرقة عَلِيٌّ تكون فرقتهما الثالثة[١]، ‹ثم› إنّا لما رأينا [١٥١أ] اختلاف الأمة بدءًا على ثلاثة أقاويل كما بينا في صدر كتابنا هذا علمنا[٢] أن لا بد لها من رابع يتألف الجميع كتألف[٣] الأصول الثلاثة التي هي الأساس والناطق واللوح في[٤] الرابع الذي هو القلم إذ[٥] كانوا جميعًا مبروزين فيه كما أن الأقاويل الثلاثة كانت مبروزة في علم الباطن، وذلك لأن قول من قال: الإيمان قول بلا عمل، صحيح لأنه إذا أراد الوحدة التي هي[٦] علة جميع الخلائق الروحانية والجسمانية[٧]، فكما أن من التصديق ظهر القول والعمل كذلك من الوحدة [١٥١ظ] أبدع القلم واللوح لأن الأشياء المبروزة في القلم خرجت باللوح من حد القوة إلى العمل، والقول مقابل القلم والعمل مقابل اللوح والتصديق مقابل الوحدة، والتصديق ألطف وأخفى من العمل كذلك القلم

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[١] تكون فرقتهما الثالثة: عود فرقهما والثالث - ص

[٢] علمنا: علمه الا - ص

[٣] كتألف: كالف - ص

[٤] في: و - ص

[٥] اذ: اذا - ص

[٦] التي هي: الذي هو - ص

[٧] الروحانية والجسمانية: الروحاني والجسماني - ص

ألطف من اللوح؛ وكذلك قول من قال: الإيمان لا يزيد ولا ينقص، صحيح لأنه أراد بذلك القلم لأنه تام[١] لا يحتمل الزيادة ولا النقصان. ألا ترى أن المعتقد بأن الإيمان لا يزيد ولا ينقص هو المعتقد قولاً بلا عمل؟ فصح بذلك ما قلنا: إنّه أراد القلم وحده [١٥٢أ] دون اللوح؛ وكذلك <قول> من قال الإيمان يزيد ولا ينقص، صحيح لأنه أراد بذلك اللوح لأنه أبداً في الزيادة وهو الزائد وينتهي[٢] يوم ظهور القيامة ليالي النقصان، ومن هاهنا قيل: إنّ نعيم الجنة يزيد ولا ينقص؛ وكذلك قول من قال: الإيمان يزيد وينقص، صحيح لأنه أراد بذلك التأييد الذي هو الجِدّ والفتح والخيال لأنها تزيد في الناطق وتنقص في الأساس والإمام؛ وكذلك قول من قال: القرآن مخلوق، صحيح لأنه أراد بذلك القرآن الذي عبر به [١٥٢ب] رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله بلسان عربي مبين، وقول من قال: القرآن كلام الله ليس بمخلوق، صحيح لأنه أراد بذلك كلمة الله الأولى التي هي مجمع الأيسيات كلها ليس[٣] بخالق لأنه مبدع بالقوة لا بالفعل.

فالسابق إنما[٤] هو المبدَع بالأمر من الباري جل وعز والأمر هو الإبداع والإبداع هو الأزل[٥]، ولولا أن المبدَع هو الأزلي لم يكن ليوجب إذاً الخلود في الأرض إذا اغتذينا في الدنيا من آثاره[٦]، فلما علمنا أن نصير أبديًا يومًا ثبت أنّا نغتذي من آثار الأزل الذي [١٥٣أ] هو أمر الله بواسطة الأزلي الذي هو المبدَع. والفرق بين الأزل والأبَد أن الأزل <يقال> لما تقدم[٧] والأبد لما تأخر،

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[١] تام: تامر – ص

[٢] وينتهي: وسمي – ص

[٣] ليس: ايس – ص

[٤] انما: اذا – ص

[٥] الازل: الازلي – ص

[٦] اثاره: اثارة – ص

[٧] لما تقدم: لما تاخر بقدم – ص

فالمبدَع ليس بخالق، أي ليس منه الإبداع بل هو المبدع، فلا يجوز أن يضاف الإبداع إليه، وليس بمخلوق لأن المبدَع علة لجميع المخلوقات والأيسيات، والأيسياتُ والمخلوقات كلها معلولة به والعلة غير المعلول، فليس هو إذاً بمخلوق لأن الخلق به وقع في الأيسيات كلها. ووجه آخر أن المخلوق الذي هو خلق من شيء فالمبدَع اذاً ليس بمخلوق لأنه أبدع لا من شيء. وقول [١٥٣ب] من قال: القرآن كلام الله وإنّه بين السماء والأرض وإنّه مخلوق، صحيح لأن الخلق في اللغة هو التقدير. قال زهير بن أبي سُلْمَى: [كامل]

ولأنْتَ تَفْرِي ما خَلَقْتَ وبَعْـ/ـضُ القَوْمِ يَخْلُقُ ثُمَّ لا يَفْرِي

فأراد بذلك أن الذي استفاده ‹الناطق› مقدر[١] كما قال الله عز وجل: «وَ‹إِنْ مِنْ شَيْءٍ إلاّ› عِنْدَنَا خَزَائِنُهُ وَمَا نُنَزِّلُهُ إلاّ بِقَدَرٍ مَعْلُومٍ» [١٥/٢١]، ثم إنّ الناطق قدّر الذي استفاده مقدّرا بظاهر ألفاظه الكثيفة وأفاد مَن دونه من حدوده مقدّرا لهم على الأعيان الحقيقية، [١٥٤أ] فهي مقدرة كلها عليها كلمة بكلمة. يصدّق ذلك قوله عليه السلام: ما نزلت عليّ آية إلاّ ولها ظهر وبطن ولكل حرف حدّ ولكل حد مطلع، أي ما استفاد به الناطق شيئًا من البركة اللطيفة إلاّ أبرزه بظاهرألفاظه مقدراً على الأعيان الحقيقية وأنه حد لكل مَن بعده من الأئمة واللواحق[٢] حداً لا يجوزونه وقدّر لهم قدراً[٣] يعرفون به حدودهم المقدّرة[٤]، ولذلك قال أمير المؤمنين علي عليه السلام: ما هلك امرؤٌ عرف قدر نفسه، [١٥٤ب] ألا إنّ الخير كل الخير لفي[٥] من يعرف قدره، وكفى

[١] مقدر: مقدرا – ص
[٢] الائمة واللواحق: الائتمار اللواحق – ص
[٣] قدرا: مقدرا – ص
[٤] المقدرة: المقدورة – ص
[٥] لفي: كفى – ص

بالمرء جهلاً أن لا يعرف قدره، أي أن كل من وقف على تأويل ونال البركة فقُدر منها بحد لا يجوزه. فأصغر الحدود المستجيبون يمر فوقه المأذون ثم الأجنحة ثم اللواحق ‹ثم الأئمة› ثم الأسس ثم النطقاء، فليس لأحَدٍ أن يجوز حَدَّهُ المقدّر له، وإن تعدى ذلك فقد صار في طبقة الهمج الرعاع الجهال الذين لا حدود لهم ولا مراتب مقدرة، وقوله: ولكل حد مطلع، أي كل ذي حد بحده مطلع من دونه على [١٥٥أ] ما يستفيده ممن فوقه على مقدار حده. وقال الله عز وجل: «وَتِلْكَ الأَمْثَالُ نَضْرِبُهَا لِلنَّاسِ وَمَا يَعْقِلُهَا إِلاَّ العَالِمُونَ» [٢٩/ ٤٣]، أي أن الناطق قدَّر ما استفاده من البركة اللطيفة بظاهر ألفاظه على الأعيان الحقيقية للناس من بعده، ولذلك قال الله عز وجل: «نَزَلَ بِهِ الرُّوحُ الأَمِينُ عَلَى قَلْبِكَ»، يعني البركة التي استفادها[١] الناطق من جهة الأصلين «لِتَكُونَ مِنَ المُنذِرِينَ بِلِسَانٍ عَرَبِيٍّ مُبِينٍ» [٢٦/١٩٣-١٩٥]، يعني ما قدّره الناطق بظاهر ألفاظه على الأعيان الحقيقية فلا يعقلها [١٥٥ب] إلا من قصد إليها من الحدود الذين سميناهم دون الجهلة من المستمعين منه، فهم يستنبطون من تلك الألفاظ المقدرة ‹ما› يفيد كل واحد من دونه من المتصلين به على قدر ما قسم لهم في مراتبهم لا يتعدُّون ذلك مقتبسين مما قدره الناطق مؤيدين بالبركة والإلهام تقديراً سويًا حتى تتم الخلقة إلى آخرة الدور. وقول من قال: القرآن بين السماء والأرض وإنّه غير مخلوق، صحيح وإنّه أراد بذلك أن الذي قدره الناطق بظاهر ألفاظه وبالتأييد [١٥٦أ] الجاري من عند الأصلين غير الذي ادعاه الأضداد من دعاويهم الكاذبة الباطلة غير المقدرة المجردة دون الحقائق وغير ما دعوا إليه من مراتبهم التي جعلوها لأنفسهم ظاهراً.

وكذلك جميع الأقاويل التي اختلفت الأمة فيها من التوحيد والعدل والجبر[٢] والاختيار والوعد والوعيد والشرائع والأحكام والحلال والحرام والفرائض والسنن والأمور والمناهي والحدود والقصاص إذا صرفتَها في التأويل

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[١] استفادها: استفاده – ص

[٢] الجبر: الخبر – ص

ونظرتَ فيها بعين الإنصاف و [١٥٦ب] وقفت على حقائقها فقد عدمت الاختلاف فيما بينها[١]، ولذلك قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله: لا تجتمع أمتي على الضلالة. فالأمة هاهنا هم المؤمنون دون المسلمين لأنهم اجتمعوا على الإيمان والإسلام جميعًا وأقرّوا أن جميع أقاويل المسلمين حق وصدق وليس[٢] لاختلافهم فيما بينهم وتكفير[٣] بعضهم بعضًا وتبرئة بعضهم من بعض معنى غير جهلهم بحقائق دعاويهم وأقاويلهم، فهذا الاجتماع آكد من هذا وأبين من اتفاقهم مع كل فرقة [١٥٧أ] من فرق جميع الأمة. وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله: اختلاف أمتي رحمة. <الأمة> هاهنا المسلمون دون المؤمنين لأنه لولا اختلافهم وتبرئة بعضهم من بعض لما طلب أحد الحق الذي يكون به الائتلاف والاتّفاق والاجتماع، ولذلك قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله: طلب العلم فريضة على كل مسلم، ولم يقل: على كل مؤمن، لأن المسلم الذي وقع في الاختلاف والشكوك والمناقضات فأوجب الله عليه طلب العلم الذي يحويه مما وقع فيه، والمؤمن [١٥٧ب] مستغن عن طلبه لأنه قد ظفر بالعروة الوثقى التي لا انفصام لها واعتصم بحبل الله الذي أدناه المستجيب، وأعلاه[٤] العقل وأخذ السلسلة المرسلة في بني إسرائيل إلى من استطاع أخذها وكان من المصدقين.

فلما اتفقت الأقاويل الثلاثة والفرق المتشتتة <و>الأهواء المختلفة والمذاهب المفترقة عند صرفها إلى علوم[٥] الباطن، علمنا أن انشعابها كان منها، فلذلك اتفقت عند رجوعها إليها، لأن العقل كذا يوجب، وذلك أنّا نعلم أن الواحد يكون مجمعًا للكثرة ومركزاً [١٥٨أ] للأعداد، فثبت بما قلنا أن أصل الدين كان

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[١] بينها: بينهما - ص

[٢] ليس: بيست - ص

[٣] تكفير: يكفر - ص

[٤] وأعلاه: وأعلاها - ص

[٥] علوم: علم - ص

واحداً ومنه انشعبت المذاهب والفرق، فمتى ما أصيب الأصل انضم إليه كل ما انشعب عنه وما تشبّه إلاّ بقدره فقد جمع الله بتقديره[١] فيها صورة الشجرة والثمر[٢] والأوراق والقشور، وإذا برز من حد القوة إلى حد الفعل تجده[٣] لا يشبه الأصل[٤] بل قد يفترق أنواعًا مما عددنا إلاّ أنه في آخره يُخرج بذوراً في جوف الثمرة هي[٥] مثل البذرة التي كان ينشأ كلها منها قد جمعت كل واحدة منها ما كانت جمعت [١٥٨ب] الأولى. فدلت هذه الحال الموجودة أن الذي عددنا كلها كانت مستجنّة في البذرة الأولى بعلم صانعها، ودل أن كل شيء يكون تولده من شيء إن اختلف وانشعب في وسط أموره يعود آخراً[٦] إلى أوله الذي كان منه. فبهذا الدليل علمنا أن كل ما حدث فيما بين الأمة من الاختلاف كان ذلك مبذوراً في أصله معلومًا عند مؤلف الشريعة، ولو لم يكن عنده[٧] معلومًا لما قال: ستفترق أمتي على ثلاث وسبعين فرقة. فمن نال علمه من [١٥٩أ] جهة مؤلفه وصل به إلى الائتلاف الذي انتسب عليه كل واحد منها إلى أصله حتى يعود كما كان. وكما قلنا فيما تقدم من كتابنا هذا: إنّه لا بد للأقاويل الثلاثة من قول رابع يتأول الأقاويل الثلاثة، كذلك نقول:[٨] إنّه لا بد للمذاهب الأحد عشر من مذهب ثاني عشر ينبّه بتأليف الجميع إذ كانت تمامية الحساب وانتهت الأشياء في الآفاق والأنفس إلى الحال الثاني عشر كالبروج والجزائر الاثني عشر والأعصار الاثني عشر [١٥٩ب] وغير ذلك مما

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[١] بتقديره: بقدرته – ص

[٢] الثمر: النمو – ص

[٣] تجده: بحده – ص

[٤] لا يشبه الاصل: لا تشبه الفعل – ص

[٥] هي: هو – ص

[٦] آخرا: آخريا – ص

[٧] عنده: عندهم – ص

[٨] نقول: يقول – ص

يطول كتابي هذا بذكره. وكذلك لا بد للفرق الاثنتين[١] والسبعين من فرقة بهم يتألف الجميع ويخرجون من الشرك والحيرة وينجون من الاختلافات والمناقضات. فكما أن الأقاويل الثلاثة ‹هي› المذاهب الإحدى عشر والمذاهب الإحدى عشر ‹هي› الفرق[٢] الاثنتان والسبعون كذلك القول الرابع هو المذهب الثاني عشر والمذهب الثاني عشر هو الفرقة الثالثة وسبعين.

[١] الاثنتين: الاثنين – ص

[٢] الثلاثة ‹هي› المذاهب والاحدى عشر والمذاهب الاحدى عشر ‹هي› الفرق: الثالثة والمذاهب الاحدى عشر هو المذهب الاحدى عشر والفرق – ص

فهرس باب الشيطان

الاعلام والفرق والاماكن

الاباضية ٢٨، ٢٩، ٣٠
ابراهيم ٧٧، ٩٧، ١١٢
ابراهيم بن الحكم ٩٤
ابراهيم بن عبد الله بن الحسن بن الحسن بن علي بن ابي طالب ١٠٩
ابراهيم بن محمد بن علي بن عبد الله بن عباس ١٠٣، ١٠٥
الاثني عشرية ١٠٢، ١٠٩، ١٢٢
آدم ٦٢، ٦٩، ٧٧، ١٠١، ١١١، ١١٤، ١١٩
ابن اباض، عبد الله، ٢٨
ابن اصرم، يحيى، ٢٤
ابن جعشم ٧٥
ابن حنبل ٣٨
ابن دكين، الفضل، ٩٤
ابن سبأ، عبد الله، ١٠٦
ابن عباس ١٠٧
ابن عجرد، عبد الكريم، ٢٣-٢٤
ابن كرام، محمد، ٥٤، ٥٥، ٥٦
ابن كلاب، عبد الله، ٥٢، ٥٣
ابن مسعود ٧، ٤٩
ابن معاذ الرازي ٦٦
ابو بكر ٣، ٥، ٩، ١٣، ٣٥، ٣٦، ٣٧، ٣٨، ٤٠، ٥١، ٦٤، ٦٥، ٧١، ٨٤، ٨٦، ٩٢، ٩٨، ١٠٥، ١١٧
ابن ناوس، عبد الله، ١٢٢
ابو بيهس هيصم بن جابر ٣٠
ابو الجارود زياد بن ابي زياد ٩٣
ابو جعفر المنصور ١٠٣، ١٠٥
ابو جهل ٣٧
ابو حنيفة النعمان بن ثابت ٣٨، ٥٤، ٨٤، ٨٥
ابو زمعة بن ماجد ١١٧
ابو سلمة حفص بن سليمان الخلال، ١٠٣
ابو شمر ٨٠
ابو شمر سالم بن شمر ٨٧
ابو صادق ١١٧
ابو صباح بن محمد ٥٠
ابو كامل ١٠٥
ابو كرب الضرير ٩٩
ابو مسلم ٧٧، ٧٨
ابو المضر ٧٩
ابو منصور العجلي ١٠٧، ١٠٨، ١٠٩
ابو موسى ٢٠
ابو هاشم عبد الله بن محمد بن الحنفية ٧٨، ١١٠، ١٠١، ١٠٢، ١٠٣
ابو الهذيل محمد بن الهذيل العلاف ١٤-١٥
ابو هر ٦
ابو هريرة ٧٥
الاجتهادية ٨٩-٩٠
احمد بن حنبل ٣٨
احمد بن محمد بن خلف ٩٦
احمد بن موسى ١٢٣، ١٢٥

احمد المستعين ١٠٥
الاحمدية ١٢٥
الازارقة ٢١، ٢٥، ٢٦
اسحاق بن عمرو ٩٩
الاسحاقية ٩٩-١٠٠
اسرافيل ٩٦
الاشعري، علي بن اسماعيل، ٥٣-٥٤
الاشعرية ٥٣-٥٤
اصحاب الحق ١٢٧
اصحاب الرأي ٨٤-٨٦، ١١٨، ١٢٧
اصحاب الفضاء ٦٤-٦٥
اصفهان ١٠٢
الامامية ١٢١-١٢٦
انس بن مالك ٧
اهرمن ١٢٠
اهل الباطن ٨
اهل الاجتهاد ٢٢
اهل الظاهر ٨، ١٢٨
اورمزد ١٢٠

البترية ٩١-٩٣
بخارى ٧٨
البدعية ٢٤-٢٥
البرقي، ابو محمد عبد الله بن عمار، ٦
بزيغ بن يونس ١١٢
البزيغية ١١٢
البشرية ١٨-١٩
بشر بن المعتمر ابو سهل البغدادي ١٨-١٩
البطيخ، اسماعيل ٤٥
البطيخية ٤٥-٤٦
بكير بن ماهان ١٠٤

بيان بن سمعان ٦٧، ٦٨
البيانية ٦٧-٦٨
بيت المقدس ٥٦
البيهسية ٣٠-٣١

الثعالبة ٢٦-٢٧
ثمامة بن الاشرس ١٩

جابر بن عبد الله ١١٥
الجاحظ، ابو عثمان عمرو بن بحر، ١٩-٢٠
الجاحظية ١٩-٢٠
الجارودية ٩٣-٩٤، ٩٥، ٩٨
جبرئيل ٧١، ٧٣، ٧٥، ٩٦، ١١٠، ١١٢
جحدر بن محمد التميمي ٨٩
جعفر بن ابي طالب ١٠٢
جعفر بن محمد بن علي بن الحسين ٩٧، ١١٢، ١٢١، ١٢٢، ١٢٣، ١٢٤، ١٢٥
جعفر المتوكل ١٠٥
جهم بن صفوان ٢١، ٤٢-٤٥، ٥٠، ٦٤، ٦٥
الجواليقي، هشام بن سالم بن عمرو، ٦٠
الجواليقية ٦٠-٦١

الحبية ٦٥-٦٧
الحديثية ٣٥-٤٠، ٦٢، ١١٧، ١١٨، ١٢٧
حذيفة بن اليمان ١١٧
الحربية ١٠١-١٠٢
الحسن بن حي ٩١، ٩٢

الحسن بن علي بن ابي طالب ٦، ٩٣، ٩٤، ٩٥، ٩٦، ٩٧ ٩٨، ٩٩ ١٠٣، ١٠٦، ١٠٧، ١٠٩، ١١١، ١١٢، ١١٣، ١١٤، ١٢١ ١٢٢، ١٢٣، ١٢٤، ١٢٥
الحسن بن علي بن محمد بن علي بن موسى بن جعفر ١٢٢، ١٢٣
الحسن بن علي بن محمد بن الحنفية ١٠٠
الحسن بن معاوية ١٠٢
الحسن البصري ١٤، ٤٠، ١١٨
الحسن النجار ٤٦، ٥٢
الحسنية ١٤
الحسين بن ابي منصور ١٠٩
الحسين بن علي بن ابي طالب ٩٣، ٩٤، ٩٥، ٩٦، ٩٧، ٩٨، ٩٩، ١٠٣، ١٠٦، ١٠٧، ١٠٩، ١١١، ١١٢، ١١٣، ١١٤، ١٢١، ١٢٢، ١٢٣، ١٢٤، ١٢٥
الحشوية ٣٨
حفص بن ابي المقدام ٢٩، ٣٠
الحفصية ٢٩، ٣٠
الحنبلية ٣٨-٣٩

الخازمية ٢٦
خداش بن عباد ١٠٤
خراسان ٥٦، ٩٥، ١٠٤
الخشبية ٩٥
الخلال، ابو سلمة حفص بن سليمان، ١٠٣
الخلالية ١٠٣-١٠٤
خلف بن عبد الصمد ٩٥، ٩٦
الخلفية ٩٥-٩٧

الخوارج ٢٠-٣٤، ١١٧

داود بن علي بن خلف الاصبهاني ٣٩-٤٠
الداودية ٣٩-٤٠
دحية ٧٥
الدكينية ٩٤-٩٥

الرافضة، الروافض، ٥٩، ٧٢، ١٢١
الروندية ١٠٤-١٠٥

الزبير ٣٧، ٣٩، ٤٠، ٨٥
زرار بن اعين سنسن ٧١
الزرارية ٧١-٧٤
الزهرة ٦٨
زهير بن ابي سلمى ١٣١
زياد بن الاصفر ٢٧
زيد بن الحسين بن علي ٩٤، ٩٦، ٩٧، ١٢١
الزيدية ٩١-٩٨، ١٢١

الساباطي، عمار، ١٢٣
السبائية ١٠٦-١٠٧
سعد بن ابي وقاص ٤٠
سقيفة بني ساعدة ٣٧
سليمان الاعمى ١٠٤
سليمان بن جرير ٩١
سليمان بن كثير ١٠٤
سمرقند ٥٠
السيد الحميري ٦، ١١٥

الشافعي، محمد بن ادريس، ٣٧-٣٨
الشافعية ٣٧-٣٨

الشام ٥٠، ١٠٣
الشبيبية ٨٦-٨٧
الشراة ١٠٣
شعيب بن خازم ٢٦
الشمرية ٨٧-٨٩
الشمطية ١٢٣-١٢٤
الشمراخية ٣٢-٣٣
شيث ١١١
الشيعة ١١٦، ١٢١، ١٢٧، ١٢٨

الصابئة ٣٠
صالح بن عبد الله المعروف بقبة ٨٢
الصالحية ٨٢-٨٤
الصباحية ٥٠-٥٢
صرخاب الطبري ٩٥
الصرخابية ٩٥

الصفرية ٢٧-٢٨
الصهاكي ٦

الضحاك بن الشاري ٣٣
الضحاكية ٣٣-٣٤
ضرار بن عمرو ٤٧، ٤٩، ٨٤
الضرارية ٤٧-٤٩

الطرماح بن حكيم الطائي ١١٦
طلحة ٣٧، ٣٩، ٤٠، ٨٥
الطيارية ١١١

عائشة ٣٧، ٣٩، ٤٠، ٨١، ٨٥
العباس ١١١
العباس بن عبد المطلب ١٠٤
العباسية ١٠٣-١٠٥
عبد الصمد بن زيد ٩٦
عبد الكريم بن عجرد ٢٣-٢٤
عبد الله بن اباض ٢٨
عبد الله بن ابي عبد الله التيمي ٦٤
عبد الله بن جعفر ١٢٣
عبد الله بن سبأ ١٠٦
عبد الله بن شمراخ ٣٢
عبد الله بن العباس ١٠٥
عبد الله بن عمر ٣٨، ٤٠
عبد الله بن عمرو بن حرب ١٠١، ١٠٢
عبد الله بن كلاب ٥٢، ٥٣
عبد الله بن محمد بن اسحاق بن موسى بن جعفر ٦٦
عبد الله بن محمد بن الحنفية ٧٨، ١١٠، ١٠١، ١٠٢، ١٠٣
عبد الله بن محمد السفاح، ابو العباس، ١٠٣، ١٠٥
عبد الله بن مسعود ٧
عبد الله بن معاوية بن عبد الله بن جعفر بن ابي طالب ١٠١، ١٠٢
عبد الله بن ناوس ١٢٢
عبد الله المامون ١٠٣، ١٠٥
عبد الله المعتز ١٠٥
عبد الملك بن مروان ٩٩
العجاردة ٢٣-٢٤
العراق ٦٦، ١٠٩
عزرائيل ٩٦
علي بن ابي طالب ٣، ٤، ٥، ٦، ٧، ٨، ٩، ١٣، ٢٠، ٣٦، ٣٧، ٣٨، ٥١، ٥٩، ٦٠، ٦١، ٦٤، ٦٥، ٧٠، ٧١، ٧٣، ٧٨، ٨٠، ٨٥،

٩١، ٩٢، ٩٣، ٩٤، ٩٥، ٩٦،
٩٧، ٩٨، ٩٩، ١٠٠، ١٠١،
١٠٣، ١٠٥، ١٠٦، ١٠٧،
١١٠، ١١١، ١١٢، ١١٣،
١١٤، ١١٥، ١١٦، ١١٧،
١١٩، ١٢١، ١٢٢، ١٢٣،
١٢٤، ١٢٥، ١٢٧، ١٢٨،
١٢٩، ١٣١
علي بن الحسن ١٠٠
علي بن الحسين بن علي ٩٤، ٩٦،
١٠٢، ١٠٧، ١١٢، ١١٣،
١٢١، ١٢٢، ١٢٣، ١٢٤، ١٢٥
علي بن عبد الله بن العباس ١٠٥
علي ين محمد بن علي بن موسى بن
جعفر ١٢٢، ١٢٣
علي بن موسى بن جعفر بن محمد
١٢٢، ١٢٣، ١٢٤
عثمان بن عفان ١٣، ٢٠، ٣٥، ٣٦،
٣٧، ٣٨، ٣٩، ٥١، ٦٤، ٦٥،
٨٠، ٨٥، ٩٢، ١٠٥، ١١٥،
١١٧
عمار ٥١
عمار الساباطي ١٢٣
عمر ١١١
عمر بن الخطاب ٣، ٥، ١٣، ٣٥، ٣٦،
٣٧، ٣٨، ٥١، ٦٤، ٦٥، ٧١،
٨٤، ٩٢، ١٠٥، ١١٧
عمرو بن العاص ٣٧
عيسى ابن مريم ٧، ٨، ٧٧، ٩٧،
١١١، ١١٣، ١١٧

الغالية ١٠٥-١١٦، ١١٧
الغرابية ١١٠-١١١
الغمامية ١١٤-١١٥
غيلان بن جرير ٧٩
غيلان بن خرشة الضبي ٧٩
غيلان بن مروان ٧٩
الغيلانية ٧٩-٨١، ٨٢، ٨٥

فاطمة بنت الرسول ٩٥، ٩٧، ١٠٦،
١١٠
فاطمة بنت ابي مسلم ٧٨
الفضل بن دكين ٩٤
الفضيل بن عبد الله ٣١
الفضيلية ٣١-٣٢

القاسم بن روند ١٠٤
القدرية ٤٢-٥٢، ١١٨، ١١٩، ١٢٠
القسري، اسد بن عبد الله، ١٠٤
القشرية ١، ٢، ٤، ٥، ٧
القطعية ١٠٩، ١٢٤، ١٢٥

الكاملية ١٠٥-١٠٦
كثير النواء ٩١
الكرامية ٥٤-٥٦، ١١٧
الكربية ٩٩
الكلابية ٥٢-٥٣، ٥٤
الكميت بن زيد الاسدي ١١٦
كيسان ٩٨، ١٠٤
الكيسانية ٩٨-١٠٢

مالك بن انس ٣٦-٣٧
مالك بن الحارث ١١٧
المالكية ٣٦-٣٧
المبيضة ٧٦-٧٩
المجبرة ١١٨-١١٩

المحكمة ٢٩
محمد بن جعفر ١٢٤
محمد بن الحسن بن علي بن محمد بن علي موسى بن جعفر ١١٢، ١٢٣
محمد بن الحنفية ٧٨، ٩٨، ٩٩، ١٠٠، ١٠١، ١٠٣، ١١٨
محمد بن خلف ٩٦
محمد بن زياد الجليني المكوع ٨٩
محمد بن شبيب ٨٠، ٨٦
محمد بن عبد الله بن الحسن بن الحسن بن علي بن ابي طالب ١٠٩
محمد بن علي بن الحسين ١٠٢، ١٠٧، ١١٢، ١١٣، ١٢١، ١٢٢، ١٢٣، ١٢٤، ١٢٥
محمد بن علي بن عبد الله بن عباس ١٠٣، ١٠٥
محمد بن علي بن موسى بن جعفر ١٢٢، ١٢٣، ١٢٦
محمد بن كرام السجستاني ٥٤، ٥٥، ٥٦
محمد بن مسلمة ٤٠
محمد بن يعفور ١١٣
محمد الامين ١٠٣، ١٠٥
محمد المعتصم ١٠٣، ١٠٥
محمد المنتصر ١٠٥
محمد المهتدي ١٠٥
محمد المهدي ١٠٣، ١٠٥
المختار بن ابي عبيد الثقفي ٩٥، ٩٨
المختارية ٩٨
المدائن ١٠٦
المدينة ٣، ٧٥
المرجئة ٧٩-٩٠، ١١٧، ١١٨
مروان ٦
المشبهة ٥٢-٧٩، ٦٧، ٦٨، ٧٤
معاوية ٣٩، ١٠٦، ١١٣
المعتزلة ١٠-٢٠، ٤٦، ٧٩، ٨٢، ٨٦، ٨٨، ٩٤، ٩٥، ٩٨، ١٠٠، ١٠٤، ١١٩
معمر بن عباد السلمي، ابو عمرو، ١٧
معمر الكوفي ١١٣
المعمرية ١٧، ١١٣
المغرب ١٢٢
المغيرة بن سعيد العجلي ٦٨، ٦٩، ٧٠
المغيرية ٦٨-٧١
المفضل بن عمر ١٢٣
المفضلية ١٢٢-١٢٣، ١٢٤، ١٢٦
مقاتل بن سليمان ٦٢
المقاتلية ٦٢، ٦٧
المقنع ٧٦، ٧٧
مكة ٥٠، ٨٣
الممطورة ١٢٤
منصور بن بشر الاموي ٦٤
المنصورية ١٠٧-١٠٩
المنهال بن ميمون العجلي ٧٤، ٧٥، ٩١
المنهالية ٧٤-٧٦، ١٠٤
المهدي بن فيروز بن عمران ٧٨، ٧٩
موسى بن جعفر بن محمد بن علي بن الحسين ١٠٩، ١٢٢، ١٢٣، ١٢٤، ١٢٥
موسى بن عمران ٧، ٦٩، ٧٧، ٩٧، ١٠٧، ١١٠
موسى الهادي ١٠٣، ١٠٥
ميخائل ٩٦
ميكائل ٧١، ٩٦، ١١٢

الميمونية ٢٤

النابتة ٦٢-٦٤
الناشيء، ابو الحسن، ٦٦
الناصر العلوي ٩٨
نافع بن الازرق ٢١
الناوسية ١٢١-١٢٢
النجارية ٤٦-٤٧، ٥٤
نجدة بن عامر الحنفي ٢١
النجدية ٢١-٢٣
النظام، ابراهيم بن سيار، ١٥-١٦
النظامية ١٥-١٦
نوح ٧٧

هارون ١٠٧، ١١٠
هارون الرشيد ١٠٣، ١٠٥
هارون الواثق ١٠٣، ١٠٥
الهذيلية ١٤-١٥
هشام بن الحكم الكوفي ٥٦، ٥٩
هشام بن حكيم المروزي ٧٦
هشام بن سالم الجواليقي ٦٠
هشام بن عبد الله ٧٩
الهشامية ٥٦-٦٠
هند ٦

الواقفية ١٢٤-١٢٥
وكيع ١١٧

يحيى بن ابي شمط ١٢٣
يحيى ين اصرم ٢٤
يحيى بن زيد ٩٤
يحيى بن معاذ الرازي ٦٦
يزيد بن ابي انيسة ٢٩
اليزيدية ٢٩-٣٠
اليعفورية ١١٣-١١٤
يوشع بن نون ١٠٧
يونس بن عبد الرحمن ١٢٤
يونس بن عمر، امير العراق، ١٠٩

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STUDIES AND TEXTS

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AN ISMAILI HERESIOGRAPHY

The "Bāb al-shayṭān" from Abū Tammām's
Kitāb al-shajara

BY

WILFERD MADELUNG

AND

PAUL E. WALKER

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CONTENTS

Preface vii

Acknowledgements x

Introduction 1
Abū Tammām and His *Kitāb al-shajara* 1
The "Chapter on Satan" and Its Sources 9
The Edition 13
The Translation 15

Translation of the "Chapter on Satan" 17
The Author's Introduction 19
The Divisions and Sects:
Those who maintain that the acts of obedience are a component of faith: 28
Muʿtazila 29
Khawārij 34
Ḥadīthiyya 43
Those who maintain that the laws are not components of faith: 49
Qadariyya 49
The Anthropomorphists 56
Murji'a 77
Those who maintain that the imam after the prophet was ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib: 88
Zaydiyya 88
Kaysāniyya 94
ʿAbbāsiyya 97
Ghāliya 99
Imāmiyya 111
Concluding Statement of the Author 115

Bibliography 125

English Index 129

Arabic Index ١٣٧

Arabic Text of the *Bāb al-shayṭān* ١

PREFACE

The text we are publishing here for the first time is the heresiographical "Chapter on Satan" from a fourth/tenth century Ismaili work called *Kitāb al-shajara.* Its author is known only by the kunya, Abū Tammām, even in the tradition of the *daʿwa* of his own or parallel Ismaili groups who preserve what is left of his book. Nevertheless, from internal evidence, it is clear that Abū Tammām either lived and wrote in Khurāsān or came from there or both. He was also a disciple of the famous Khurāsānī *dāʿī* and philosopher, Muḥammad al-Nasafī, who was executed by Samanid authorities in 332/943 and who is mentioned frequently with special reverence in various places in the *Shajara.*

The work itself certainly had an obscure history both in Ismaili circles and outside. In modern scholarship it first appeared in a truncated version under the title *Kitāb al-īḍāḥ,* attributed to a late Syrian Ismaili author, a certain Abū Firās al-Maynaqī. Later, virtually the same material was published a second time as the *Kitāb shajarat al-yaqīn,* said to be the work of the third/ninth century Ismaili *dāʿī* ʿAbdān. Both of these are, in fact, versions of a later portion, or a second half, or possibly a "Part Two" of the *Shajara.* Whatever the reason behind either of these false attributions, the real author was Abū Tammām all along, as confirmed decisively by the discovery of "Part One" of the same work, although he remains himself, nonetheless, hardly better known for this, even among the later Ṭayyibī Ismailis, who certainly had some acquaintance with, as well as copies of, his *Kitāb al-shajara,* or summaries of it.

One explanation for Abū Tammām's obscurity may be tied in with the fate of another of his works, a book or treatise called the *Kitāb al-burhān.* It was examined personally and rejected by the Fatimid imam-caliph al-Muʿizz whose negative judgment against it was recorded by the well-known jurist-historian, Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān, in his *Kitāb al-majālis wa'l-musāyarāt.* Al-Muʿizz's condemnation was thus generally recognized in that one case and that fact would have been difficult to ignore by members of the *daʿwa* either then or later. Even if the later *daʿwa* continued to preserve Abū Tammām's other writings, this one book ceased to be copied by the Fatimid Ismailis and the personal reputation of the author of the *Burhān* likely suffered

seriously from this criticism of his work by the imam. Moreover, Abū Tammām's affiliation with the Khurāsānī school of al-Nasafī suggests that he was originally, and possibly remained, outside of the "orthodox" Fatimid *daʿwa,* as did many of the early *dāʿīs* in the eastern provinces whom we now broadly class among the Qarmatians. But, despite the possible heterodoxy of his position within Ismailism, there is nonetheless a clear Ismaili provenance for Abū Tammām's *Kītāb al-shajara.*

It is the newly revealed "Part One" that contains the "Chapter on Satan," the importance of which, however, ranges far beyond the Ismaili context from which it derives. While the work as a whole could, it is true, contribute significantly to our knowledge of early Ismaili thought and doctrines, this one portion of it contains by itself a relatively lengthy and complete heresiography of non-Ismaili Islamic sects and that has its own distinct value. Moreover, while the theme of Abū Tammām's "Chapter" is the satans—or more properly the *potential* satans—in Islam who are, for him, the founders and instigators of heretical sects, and is itself couched in quite polemical language, the heresiographical account recorded in this section for each of the individual sects is not necessarily overtly informed by the same hostility. Outside of the introductory and concluding material, the "Chapter on Satan" is simply not Ismaili, nor especially indicative of Ismaili attitudes. Rather, the textual presentation of the specific seventy-two damned or erring sects that were chosen for inclusion in this heresiography is noteworthy instead for its general Shīʿī and Muʿtazilī point of view and is far less polemical on the whole than the author's introduction might suggest.

Using an arrangement of the seventy-two sects grouped into three sets of twenty-four according to a broad doctrinal classification which is thus far unique in Islamic heresiographical writings, Abū Tammām provides us an early witness to a version of this genre which, while itself not isolated (and certainly not simply Ismaili), offers a wealth of new information on many of the sects he covers. His system of classification is, therefore, of interest in and of itself but there is a great deal more in the details given for each sect. In several cases, moreover, his account stands alone at present because there exists currently no other information about the sect in question. Also we can see that the ultimate source of much of this new material was the *Maqālāt* of the highly important and influential Muʿtazilite author, Abu'l-Qāsim al-Balkhī (al-Kaʿbī), whose own heresiography is presently known only

from one published section, that on the Muʿtazila. In the unfortunate absence of the rest of it, Abū Tammām's work assumes special importance since it provides what is likely a distillation of information from it, even though re-arranged here and given a pronouncedly Shīʿī perspective which it cannot have had in its original form.

Initially, my own personal interest in the *Shajara* was limited to the evidence in it of al-Nasafī's seminal *Kitāb al-Maḥṣūl* and other related philosophical texts from the early Ismaili *daʿwa*. An investigation of that problem led, however, to uncovering the true identity of the author and his work. Results of that research first appeared in an article entitled "Abū Tammām and His *Kitāb al-shajara*: A New Ismaili Treatise from Tenth Century Khurasan" in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (114 [1994], pp. 343-352). Later I published an additional study on heresiographical material from the *Shajara*, this time specifically on the content of the "Chapter on Satan." That article, "An Ismaʿili Version of the Heresiography of the Seventy-two Erring Sects" was published in *Medieval Ismaʿili History and Thought*, edited by. F. Daftary (Cambridge University Press, 1996, pp. 161-177).

While the whole Arabic text of the *Kitāb al-shajara* probably ought to be edited and published, the "Chapter on Satan" possesses its own value separate and apart from the rest of the book. Moreover, although one manuscript of "Part One" of the *Shajara* exists and can be examined by scholars, we have no current knowledge of or access to the balance of the text other than in the problematic *Kitāb al-īḍāḥ* and *Kitāb shajara al-yaqīn*, the manuscript sources for either of which are not clear and seem not to be available. Therefore, given the special importance of the heresiographical material contained in the "Chapter on Satan," we have produced a critical edition of the Arabic text of that section alone. The translation that accompanies it here likewise reflects and is based solely on that portion of the *Shajara*.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

As the very existence of Abū Tammām's *Kitāb al-shajara* was not so long ago in doubt, we all owe an obvious debt of gratitude to Prof. Abbas Hamdani for rediscovering "Part One" of it and locating a manuscript copy among the holding of his family. His intimate knowledge of Ismaili texts proved invaluable in this, as in many

previous, cases. Moreover, his friendship, advice and counsel, especially in the early stages of this research, were particularly important. In addition to Prof. Hamdani, throughout my preliminary research into the possible identity of Abū Tammām and the value of his contributions, I was able to consult with Prof. Wilferd Madelung on a fairly constant basis.

However, although certainly wishing from the beginning to draw attention to the new text's importance, it was not my original intention to edit and publish it. Not until my son Adam declared his willingness to learn to type Arabic for the explicit purpose of transcribing Abū Tammām's work did the possibility of the edition seem at all feasible. Even then what we produced was little more than a fairly accurate transcription of the one unique manuscript which, however, we knew to be both badly flawed and full of problems of various kinds. Nevertheless, I was fortunate to find a number of colleagues able to provide significance advice about the investigation of Islamic heresiography and help with portions of the Arabic text. These included Professors James Bellamy, Keith Lewinstein, Everett Rowson, William Tucker, and Josef Van Ess.

My next goal was to locate parallel passages such as the material in the published section on the Mu'tazila from al-Balkhī's *Maqālāt*, which matches that of Abū Tammām almost precisely, or other similar bits and pieces like those in al-Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* or Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī's *al-Ḥūr al-'īn*, which likewise clearly depend on the same textual source as the one evidently used by Abū Tammām. However, despite some progress allowed by this kind of evidence, the text, though slightly improved for it, remained badly in need of further emendation and correction. Real hope of arriving at a properly edited version did not seem feasible until Prof. Madelung consented to apply his considerable skill and knowledge to this project and to accept joint responsibility for the final result. It should be noted that, although he is listed here only as co-editor of the Arabic text, he was actively involved in all phases of this effort as a whole almost from the beginning. He read, for example, a preliminary draft of the translation with great care and its present accuracy owes much to his invaluable advice and suggestions.

At a fairly advanced stage, several persons read and commented on portions of the Arabic text, and among these we need thank Professors Farouk Mustafa and Peter Heath, as well as more especially Prof. Hossein Modarressi Tabataba'i, who provided us with a

number of particularly useful references and textual emendations, and Prof. Ridwan al-Sayyid, who read the whole of the text with knowledgeable thoroughness and likewise contributed a number of suggestions for emendations.

Bruce Craig, Middle East Bibliographer at the University of Chicago library, not only reviewed the whole of the English translation, but he and his staff, notably Mark Stein, provided welcome support for the project, as did Jane Hansen and the Department of Near Eastern Studies at the University of Michigan. Dr. J. J. Witkam, Curator of Oriental Collections, Leiden University, kindly located and provided a photocopy of the passage from al-Jushamī's *Sharḥ ʿuyūn al-masāʾil* relative to the Ṣabbāḥiyya. At the final level Steven Judd read the translation with special care and pointed out several corrections and other ways it might be improved.

After submitting the manuscript to E. J. Brill, Prof. Wadad Kadi, one of the editors of the series in which it appears, kindly examined the text yet again with unusual thoroughness and offered numerous comments, suggestions, possible emendations and alternate readings both for the Arabic and the translation. We would most certainly like therefore also to acknowledge her valuable assistance during the final stage of preparing this work.

Paul E. Walker
Chicago, IL

INTRODUCTION

Abū Tammām and His *Kitāb al-shajara*[1]

The "Chapter on Satan" (*Bāb al-shayṭān*) presented here is one part of a fairly large work called the *Kitāb al-shajara*. It is the composition of a fourth/tenth century Ismaili *dāʿī* known rather vaguely by his *kunya* Abū Tammām. As it exists now, the *Shajara* is available in two distinct yet overlapping portions one of which derives from the second half of the original text and which appeared initially in modern times as the work of a tenth/sixteenth century Syrian Ismaili author by the name of Abū Firās Shihāb al-Dīn al-Maynaqī, under the title *Kitāb al-īḍāḥ*, as edited and published by Aref Tamer. According to the editor, it came to him from a Syrian Ismaili source. Later, another version of the same material was published as the *Shajarat al-yaqīn*, again by Tamer and again from a Syrian source, only this time it was said to be by the famous third/ninth century Ismaili *dāʿī* ʿAbdān.[2] More recently, however, a manuscript of "Part One" of the same original work was located by Prof. Abbas Hamdani in the holdings of his family. In contrast to the two Syrian versions, this portion comes from the modern Ṭayyibī Ismaili community of India and Yemen. Significantly, according to the manuscript's title-page and to the copyist's concluding note, this manuscript bears the title *Part One* (al-juzʾ al-awwal) *of the Kitāb al-shajara*. The two portions are not, however, entirely separate since they overlap for a number of pages. The material published by Tamer, therefore, is not exactly a "Part Two" in relation to the Hamdani manuscript of "Part One." Nevertheless, evidently there once existed a copy of the *Shajara* in two parts, the second volume of which went its own way, quite possibly lacking the name of its author, to survive in the Syrian Ismaili community. Meanwhile, the first portion continued to be preserved as a separate

[1] The comments offer here by way of introduction to the present edition and translation summarize my article entitled "Abū Tammām and His *Kitāb al-shajara*: A New Ismaili Treatise from Tenth-century Khurasan" which appeared in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (114 [1994]: 343-352. For the complete details, citations and background for the problem of locating the author's works and his identity, see that study.

[2] *Kitāb al-īḍāḥ* (Beirut, 1965) and *Shajarat al-yaqīn* (Beirut, 1982).

work among the Ṭayyibīs of Yemen and India who, however, do not seem to know of or possess any longer a "Part Two."[3]

Nevertheless, with the recovery of "Part One," the general structure of the whole treatise and how its parts fit together becomes relatively clear. At the outset, Abū Tammām expresses his intention to explain in this work the following classes of beings: angels (*al-malā'ika*), jinn, satans (*al-shayāṭīn*), devils (*al-abālisa*), and humans (*al-ins*), as they exist both in *potentia* (*bi-l-qūwa*) and in actuality (*bi-l-fi'l*). He says that he will do so in response to a request from a colleague who has become perplexed on this issue from reading a work called *Kitāb al-rāḥa*, about which we have no other information. "Part One" (= the Hamdani manuscript) contains the chapters on the angels (f. 3b to 9a), on the jinn (f. 9a to 12b), on the satans (f. 12b to 183b),[4] on the devils (f. 183b to 208b), and the beginning of the section on humans (f. 208b to 236). The text represented by the two Syrian works commences roughly in the middle of the section on devils but then, of course, continues well beyond the limit of the Hamdani manuscript which ends itself with f. 236. The overlapping pages, however, prove decisively that the text was originally the same for both. Moreover, quotations from the *Shajara* of Abū Tammām, found in a 6th/12th century Ṭayyibī work by ʿAlī b. al-Walīd called the *Ḍiyā' al-albāb*, match passages in the later portions of the Syrian text and thus confirm its true identity.[5]

Although there exists little information about Abū Tammām elsewhere and his position and identity were previously in doubt, recovery of this one book and understanding how its various parts fit together, along with the identification of its author, now provides us with a context for his thought and writing. It allows us to locate him on the basis of his own words as represented in this one text by bringing

[3] For additional details of the exact relationship of the two "Parts", as they now exist in these versions of the text, see my comments and notes in the article "Abū Tammām and his *Kitāb al-Shajara*," 348-49.

[4] This long section itself includes two appendices that run from f. 159b to 171b and from f. 171b to 183b respectively. The second of the two has the title "Bāb ta'wīl al-dīn" and thus might constitute a separate chapter. Both, however, have some relationship to the subject of heresiography which precedes them immediately although neither contributes measurably to the heresiography itself. In general they appear to be simply extra material gathered from another source and inserted by Abū Tammām at this point. As our purpose here is to present the heresiography and not the rest of the *Shajara*, we have left them out of our edition (and also the translation of it).

[5] For detailed citations, see my article cited above p. 346 and note #26.

together the material from it, either in the two versions of its latter half—the *Kitāb al-īḍāḥ* and the *Shajarat al-yaqīn*—or in its first portion available finally in this manuscript from the Hamdani family collection. From this new information, we surmise that Abū Tammām was active from the beginning of the fourth/tenth century until about the middle of it. He wrote, we now know also, at least two major treatises: the *Shajara* and another called the *Kitāb al-burhān*. The former (or at least portions of it) was preserved, excerpted, summarized (both in prose and poetry) by the post-Fatimid Ṭayyibī *daʿwa* in the Yemen and later in India.[6] It was known in the Yemen as well by an important Sunni critic of the Ismailis, a certain Abū Muḥammad.[7] The second work of Abū Tammām, however, seems to have been abandoned once criticized by the imam al-Muʿizz and now to be irretrievably lost. It did not apparently ever reach the Yemen, for example, even among the Ṭayyibīs. Nevertheless, despite having this new source of information, the author of the *Shajara* continues to be generally obscure within the history of the Ismaili *daʿwa* and in the literature of Islamic thought.

On the other hand, one major fact about him contributed by the *Shajara* is its evidence for his obvious loyalty and affiliation with the teachings of the famous Khurāsānī Ismaili thinker, Muḥammad al-Nasafī. The Ismailis of Khurāsān enjoyed an unusual era of success in the earlier decades of the fourth/tenth century. The *daʿwa* there attracted a remarkably gifted group of thinkers and writers, led by al-Nasafī and supported and protected by the Amir Ḥusayn al-Marwazī, who was himself both a powerful figure in the Samanid elite and an active participant in the Ismaili movement. He could and did provide intellectual and financial encouragement as well as a sense of security against the hostility of Sunni and other detractors.

Al-Nasafī was not the first head of the local *daʿwa*; Stern, in an important study of the Ismailis of the region, extracted from the limited sources a list of names of his predecessors.[8] Nevertheless, al-

[6] It was quoted a number of times, for example, by the 6th/12th century writer ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Walīd in his *Ḍiyāʾ al-albāb*, a fact duly noted by al-Majdūʿ as well (see his *Fihrist al-kutub waʾl-rasāʾil*, ed. Munzavi, Tehran, 1966, pp. 229-37.) It was summarized also by an unknown Ṭayyibī author or authors in both prose and in poetry; copies of both exist in the manuscript collection of the Institute of Ismaili Studies, London.

[7] On whom see below.

[8] "The Early Ismāʿīlī Missionaries in North-West Persia and in Khurāsān and Transoxania" in *BSOAS* 23 (1960): 56-90; reprinted in *Studies in Early Ismāʿīlism* (Jerusalem, 1983), pp. 189-233.

Nasafī was surely the most widely recognized exponent of Ismaili thought in his time, most particularly in Khurāsān. This judgment likely indicates as much the critical acclaim of his writings, especially his widely cited *Kitāb al-Maḥṣūl*, as it does any superiority he held in the larger world of the Ismaili organization. In fact most evidence suggests that he never admitted to the leadership, let alone the imamate, of al-Mahdī, who had begun his reign far away in North Africa in his time. For all of al-Nasafī's prominence as head of the *daʿwa* in Khurāsān and his vital contributions to the creation of a philosophical Ismailism, he was and probably remained to his death a Qarmatian—that is, an Ismaili who refused to support the Fatimid imams as imams. An older Ismaili teaching held the imam of the time to be Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl, the grandson of Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq who was, accordingly, then in occultation. Al-Nasafī apparently continued to profess this form of Ismailism. This is also, therefore, likely true for his followers and most of the *dāʿīs* in Khurāsān, as in other eastern provinces. Presumably, this stricture included the Amir al-Marwazī as well as Abū Tammām.

Despite his "unorthodox" concept of the imamate, perhaps the major distinguishing trend in the work of al-Nasafī was his incorporation of Neoplatonic philosophy into the larger framework of Ismaili doctrine. His philosophical interests were undeniable and they appear to represent the earliest manifestation of this approach. His *Maḥṣūl*, which received so much attention from later disciples and critics alike and which is mentioned more than any other Ismaili work of its kind by medieval writers, is, unfortunately, now lost. What we know of it derives from scattered quotations in later works, among them notably the *Shajara* in its later part. It would be hard not to recognize its seminal role. The unmistakable Neoplatonic content in subsequent Ismailism doctrine, particular as witnessed in the books and treatises of Abū Yaʿqūb al-Sijistānī, obviously had its earliest expression, if not its origin, in the *Maḥṣūl* and possibly in other works by al-Nasafī. Nevertheless, others most certainly participated with him in this flourishing during that period of relative safety and creativity. In fact there must have existed around al-Nasafī and al-Marwazī an important circle of scholars and thinkers. One person who may well have belonged to it was al-Sijistānī himself in the earliest part of his own career as a *dāʿī*. Certainly, when al-Nasafī's *Maḥṣūl* later came under attack by another Ismaili *dāʿī*, Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, al-Sijistānī wrote a strong defense of al-Nasafī. Later Ismaili

tradition always considered him to have been a student and disciple of the Khurāsānian master. But, with recovery of the *Shajara*, yet another name—that of its author—can be added to the group around al-Nasafī with even more confidence than is the case for al-Sijistānī. However, although now recognizable as the author of the *Kītāb al-shajara* and an important disciple of al-Nasafī, Abū Tammām appears not to be mentioned at all in the main sources for the history of the *da'wa* in Khurāsān.

It has been understood generally for sometime that al-Nasafī, despite his success as a writer and propagandist at the Samanid court, came to a violent end when a change of ruler in 332/943 left him without protection and exposed to his Sunni enemies. The Amir al-Marwazī had died by then and al-Nasafī, now head of the local *da'wa*, although at first able to convert the older Samanid ruler to Ismailism, eventual lost everything in this major reversal of fortune. He and his Ismaili followers, according to the sources, were thereafter exterminated throughout Khurāsān. A catastrophe so severe as to end the *da'wa* completely, however, cannot have happened despite these reports. Not only did al-Sijistānī continue his mission, by then, however, in Sijistān, not Khurāsān, but Abū Tammām surely also carried on the work of his master, possibly in Khurāsān itself. Moreover, later Ismaili works such as those of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, point back to, among others, the activities of two of al-Nasafī's sons both of whom followed in the footsteps of their father. There existed thus both before and after the martyrdom of al-Nasafī, a school that preserved and developed his legacy. The Zaydī writer al-Bustī, who was remarkably well informed about these figures and their activities, confirms its survival, although he notes that in the subsequent period al-Sijistānī had fallen out with the Khurāsānīs. Al-Sijistānī did, in fact, eventually express his direct support for the Fatimids which the Khurāsānīs, like Abū Tammām, may not have done, but it is not over that issue that al-Bustī reports bitter disagreement. Instead it was, he says, a quarrel about methods for propagating and spreading doctrine. Still, it would be reasonable to conclude from our meager evidence that at least Abū Tammām, along with the sons of al-Nasafī, represented the continuation of the Khurāsānī school as it had been founded by al-Nasafī.

That much seems clear from the slight bits of information in later Ismaili sources and from the *Kītāb al-shajara*, but it still does not tell us a great deal about Abū Tammām himself. It is strange that Ismaili

tradition did not retain more detail about him, as, for example, additional elements of his name, or a firm date for his activities. All that it preserved apparently is the one book and that in two parts which may well have become disconnected long ago, leaving behind one portion (the second half) of unknown authorship. Except for a few comments about his *Kitāb al-burhān*, which, however, do help somewhat to establish a date for his writings since it was rejected by al-Muʿizz and must therefore have existed already in his time, there is nothing else.

One tantalizing possibility of an identification for Abū Tammām in non-Ismaili sources is the Abū Tammām al-Naysābūrī mentioned in the *Ṣiwān al-ḥikma* complex as the author of a *Risāla fi'l-ḥudūd*. He was, we also know, often in trouble because of being Shīʿite. That this Abū Tammām was active in the first half of the fourth/tenth century and was of Khurāsānī origin would fit well with the Ismaili Abū Tammām who wrote the *Shajara*. These facts, even so, alone, although suggestive, are not enough to establish a firm connection between the two.

Another important issue in regard to Abū Tammām is the relationship between his *Shajara* and the *Kitāb al-burhān*, which he clearly also wrote and which he cites frequently in the *Shajara*. In my article announcing the identity and recovery of the *Shajara*, I raised this problem and noted there as well the condemnation of the *Burhān* by the imam-caliph al-Muʿizz. This helps, of course, both to date Abū Tammām as well as to explain why he did not enjoy a better reputation in the later *daʿwa*. Moreover, there is at present no reason to revise the conclusions argued there that the *Burhān* and the *Shajara* were two separate treatises and the fact of the adverse judgment by the imam against the one of Abū Tammām's works did not necessarily apply to the other, but it would be useful nevertheless to learn more about this problem and the subsequent fate of the *Burhān*.

In my initial paper on Abū Tammām, I mentioned an obscure Sunni heresiographer by the name of Abū Muḥammad whose *Mukhtaṣar fī ʿaqā'id al-thalāth wa al-sabʿīn firqa* is an important source of information about Ismaili works available in the Yemen in the middle of the sixth/twelfth century. He was, moreover, the sole non-Ismaili witness to Abū Tammām and his works.[9] Helmut Ritter first

[9] At that point I referred to him via the information about his comments on Ismaili writings contained in Ismail Poonawala's *Biobibliography of Ismaili Literature*. Subsequently, acting on the advice of Prof. William Tucker, I located a film copy of

made this text of Abū Muḥammad known in his article "Philologika III: Muhammedanische Haresiographen" (*Der Islam* 18 [1929]: 34-54, p. 47). The only manuscript is in Istanbul: ʿAtif 1373. Ritter had noticed that the author gives a list of Abbasid caliphs that concludes with the name of al-Muqtafī and the indication that he rules "at this time, the year 504." Al-Muqtafī's reign actually ran from 530 to 555 and, therefore, Ritter suggested that the date 504 must be an error for 540.[10] If his surmise is correct, Abū Muḥammad wrote this work in that year, which is 1145 or 1146 A.D.

Ardently Sunni, at least when he wrote this treatise, Abū Muḥammad composed it as a conventional heresiography of the seventy-two damned sects of Islam and, as a heresiography by itself, it has little significance. However, near the conclusion of his account, after an entry on the *Ismāʿīliyya*, the author disgresses at length about Ismaili symbols and peculiar terms and about their unconventional, and to him outrageous, latitude in the *taʾwīl* of various Quranic passages. Ultimately, his refutation of the Ismailis is thus unusually expansive and, in fact, despite his rampantly polemical attitude, it features more detail concerning Ismaili doctrines than the writings of almost any other anti-Ismaili critic from the medieval period.[11]

This one section commences, moreover, with a precise delineation of the Ismaili books and treatises with which Abū Muḥammad was personally acquainted. A list of this kind is so rare that it assumes special importance accordingly. And, perhaps, it also indicates its time and place. Abū Muḥammad appears, from a number of comments in his work, to be a Yemeni, or, at the least, to have written this book in the Yemen. If so, it comes from a period in Ismaili history near the beginning of the flourishing of the Ṭayyibī *daʿwa*, soon after splitting with the Cairo caliphate and after the occultation

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Abū Muḥammad's *Mukhtaṣar fī ʿaqāʾid al-thalāth waʾl-sabʿīn firqa* in the library of the University of Indiana. As this information is, in part, new it may be useful to add more detail here about what it reveals in regard to Abū Tammām and his works.

[10] f. 36a. Abū Muḥammad correctly records the death of al-Muktafī as 295 and thereafter continues with al-Muqtadir, al-Mustanid, al-Mustarshid, al-Malik, and finally al-Muqtafī in 504. Instead of the twelve Abbasids who ruled between 295 and the advent of the second al-Muqtafī in 530, the text lists only four with no death dates as was the case for rulers prior to 295. Still, it is likely that Abū Muḥammad and his source simply did not have better information and therefore put down only what they could recall on the spur of the moment.

[11] The section in question covers folios 82b to 120a out of a total of 134 for the whole work. Thus almost a third of the treatise was devoted to the Ismailis alone and it is thus radically out of balance in terms of the author's attention to any other sect.

of the imam, al-Ṭayyib, and his descendants. Ṭayyibī scholarship and writing commenced, at that point—i.e., the second quarter of the 6th/12th century—an active phase that saw, among other tendencies, an eclectic attempt to collect, copy, study and preserve earlier Ismaili works from all periods and from several disparate Ismaili movements such as the Qarmatians and the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'. Abū Muḥammad's brief catalog of Ismaili books and treatises significantly includes the *Rasā'il* of the Ikhwān, the *Maḥṣūl* of al-Nasafī (although his name is not there recorded), the *Iṣlāḥ* of Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, along with two works of Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān, three short pamphlets by al-Kirmānī, and three treatises by al-Sijistānī (*al-Maqālīd*, *al-Iftikhār*, and *al-Bishāra*). There are a few others as well. Most importantly for the present purpose, the same list names the *Kitāb shajarat al-dīn* and separately the *Kitāb al-burhān*. Between them on the list there are two unconnected titles (a *Kitāb al-ladhdha* and the *Maḥṣūl*).[12]

Not all of the works named assume explicit significance in the material that follows this list, but several are later quoted directly, some repeatedly. Of particular concern to Abū Muḥammad apparently is the *Iftikhār* of al-Sijistānī and it is likely that al-Sijistānī holds pride of place in his refutation.[13] Nearly equal is Abū Tammām and his *Shajara*, which Abū Muḥammad cites and from which he quotes at least three times. In the first case he begins by saying, "A shaykh of theirs called Abū Tammām [word(s) unclear] maintained in his book (or books)[14] *Shajarat al-dīn wa burhān al-yaqīn*,"[15] following which there is quoted material. In the second, after presenting fairly extensive passages from the *Shajara*, he concludes, "This is the doctrine of Abū Tammām author of the *Kitāb shajarat al-dīn*."[16] Finally, near the end of the whole section, referring to the subject of Iblis(es), he remarks, "...a shaykh of theirs—that is, of the Ismailis—called Abū Tammām, one of their *dāʿīs*, claims in a book which he titled *Shajarat al-dīn wa burhān al-yaqīn* that...."[17] Whether these three citations cover a single work or

[12] One more title is also interesting. Abū Muḥammad cites and quotes from a *Kitāb al-mas'ala wa'l-jawāb* by Abu'l-Ḥusayn al-Nakhshabī (or in one place ibn al-Nakhshabī), f. 84b, 85a, 99b, and 101a. On f. 101a the author is called Abu'l-Ḥusayn b. al-Nakhshabī. Most likely this is a son of the famous al-Nasafī (al-Nakhshabī).

[13] Mentioned explicitly f. 83a, 84a, 85b, 108a, 108b, 111a, and 113a.

[14] The reading in this instance might be *kitābay* although the ms. is smudged and hardly clear.

[15] f. 109a

[16] f. 115a.

[17] f. 120a

two separate items is not certain from this information alone but the two titles were clearly mentioned separately in the earlier list.[18]

Beyond these direct references, there are several other cases where the *Shajara* enters Abū Muḥammad's account indirectly.[19] All in all there can be no doubt that Abū Muḥammad had access to a copy of the *Shajara* and that it was a version of the same work we have now located. Curiously, also, he knew as little of the author as we, referring to him simply as Abū Tammām without either an *ism* or a *nisba*. On the question of how the *Burhān* related to the *Shajara*, he provides mixed evidence—little enough in any case—that appears inconclusive. Significantly, in his own heresiography, Abū Muḥammad seems not to have used Abū Tammām's. His enumeration of the sects is, for example, not at all that of Abū Tammām. Nevertheless, the testimony of Abū Muḥammad readily confirms the importance of the *Shajara* among the Ṭayyibī Ismailis of the 6th/12th century and probably later.

The "Chapter on Satan" and Its Sources

Although the "Chapter on Satan" begins and ends with passages in which the author discusses items of Ismaili doctrine, the intervening heresiographical material shows no sign—at least no overt characteristic—of Ismaili attitudes or sources.[20] Following his introduction of the theme of satans, Abū Tammām sets out, by his own admission, to describe sect by sect the seventy-two heretical movements that had appeared in Islam from the moment of the prophet's death until his own time. He chooses to class the seventy-two into three groups of

[18] I suspect that, like the author of *Ḍiyā' al-albāb*, Abū Muḥammad noticed the frequent references to the *Burhān* in the text of the *Shajara* and employed a single citation for both although, in fact, he had never seen the *Burhān* in actuality.

[19] Provisionally: f. 85a, concerning the seven stages of soul; f. 88b, about talking birds; f. 94a, a discussion of the *Qishriyya*. Most impressive is the diagram given on folio 115a, which is a version of the one Tamer recorded in the *Īḍāḥ* (p. 153). A manuscript rendering of the same occurs on p. 159 of Tamer's *Shajarat al-yaqīn*. To be sure Abū Muḥammad included only a part of this diagram; his covers the heavens to the eighth sphere.

[20] For example, the one earlier Ismaili work that contains a section on Islamic heresiography, a portion of Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī's *Kitāb al-zīna*, which likewise shows no sign of a specifically Ismaili point of view, is not its source either in whole or in part. That section of al-Rāzī's work was edited and published by 'A. S. al-Sāmarrā'ī in his *Al-Ghuluww wa'l-firaq al-ghāliya fi'l-ḥaḍāra al-islāmiyya* (Baghdad, 1972), pp. 228-312.

twenty-four according to three broad doctrinal principles: 1) those who maintain that the acts of obedience are a component of faith; 2) those who state that the laws are not components of faith; and 3) those who insist that the imam after the prophet was ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. Such a division is unknown in the context of the famous declaration by the prophet concerning the seventy-two damned sects of Islamic heresiography. Such a neat scheme of three times twenty-four has, therefore, no parallel elsewhere.

Within the general framework, however, Abū Tammām selected not only a specific list of seventy-two but also an intermediate classification of the whole lot into exactly eleven *madhāhib*: the Muʿtazila, Khawārij, Ḥadīthiyya, Qadariyya, Mushabbiha, Murjiʾa, Zaydiyya, Kaysāniyya, ʿAbbāsiyya, Ghāliyya, and Imāmiyya. At the close of the chapter he will argue that, just as the seventy-two sects demand a seventy-third—the one according to the *ḥadīth* that will enter paradise—so do the eleven require a twelfth to bring them back into natural harmony and reconcile the conflicts that originally caused these heresies to come into existence. Obviously, the seventy-third sect and the twelfth *madhhab*—the one that achieves truth and salvation—is the Ismaili *daʿwa* to which the author of the book belongs.

While Abū Tammām's arrangement of his sect list into three groups of twenty-four is otherwise unknown, there is a precedent both in much of his material on various of the sects and groups, individually and collectively, most particularly for the section on the Muʿtazila, which follows almost word for word the appropriate portions of Abu'l-Qāsim al-Balkhī's *Maqālāt*,[21] and in the list as a whole, which matches that given by al-Khwārazmī in his *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, a secretaries manual written at the Samanid court about 370.[22] There can be no doubt about al-Balkhī's role as the ultimate source for Abū Tammām. Where al-Balkhī's work had its greatest and most immediate influence such as in the heresiographies of al-Ashʿarī[23] and Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī,[24] both of whom explicitly admit this affiliation,

[21] Based on the text located and published by Fuad Sayyid as "Dhikr al-muʿtazila" in *Faḍl al-iʿtizāl wa'l-ṭabaqāt al-muʿtazila* (Tunis, 1974), pp. 61-119. On Abu'l-Qāsim al-Balkhī, see the entry by J. Van Ess in the *Encyclopaedia Iranica*.

[22] Pp. 18-22 of the Cairo printing (1923). On this section of the *Mafātīḥ* see also C. E. Bosworth, "Al-Ḫwārazmī on Theology and Sects, the Chapter on *Kalām* in the *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*" in *Hommage Henri Laoust, Bulletin d'Etudes Orientales* 29 (1977): 88-91.

[23] Abu'l-Ḥasan al-Ashʿarī, *Kitāb maqālāt al-islāmiyyīn*, ed. H. Ritter (Wiesbaden, 1963).

[24] *al-Ḥūr al-ʿīn*, ed. K. Muṣṭafā (Beirut, 1985).

there are numerous passages that correspond with Abū Tammām. The one earlier writer for whom there might have been a separate connection, the Muʿtazilite Zurqān, also mention by both al-Ashʿarī and al-Ḥimyarī, and from whom material in Abū Tammām must certainly come, may have entered also into the sources of al-Balkhī. Indeed it would have been strange if it were not the case since both were Muʿtazilite.

One clear sign, however, of al-Balkhī's overriding role is that, in Abū Tammām's account of the doctrines of al-Jāḥiẓ, he reports without discussion that al-Jāḥiẓ agreed with Thumāma on an item in question. But there is no entry on Thumāma in Abū Tammām's work. Such a comment, therefore, has no antecedent in the "Chapter on Satan" and is thus out of place there. There is, however, ample reason for it in al-Balkhī's work because the entry on al-Jāḥiẓ follows immediately after that for Thumāma.[25] This is evidence both of the close affinity and yet also the difference separating Abū Tammām and al-Balkhī. Much of the material in Abū Tammām's heresiography is derived from the latter but not its sect list; al-Balkhī simply discussed many more figures and groups than appear anywhere in Abū Tammām.[26]

If, then, the sect list—leaving aside the question of the broader division into twenty-fours—matches that of al-Khwārazmī[27] but not that used by al-Balkhī, this fact may point to an intervening source, or possibly to the agency of Abū Tammām himself. However, there are a number of problems in attributing the sect list shared by both al-Khwārazmī and Abū Tammām to the latter. A minor but significant difference occurs in al-Khwārazmī's inclusion of the Ismāʿīliyya

[25] From a different angle, additional evidence of al-Balkhī's role exists in the case of the entry on the fairly obscure sect called the Ṣabbāḥiyya. Van Ess (see his *Theologie*, V, 226-27) had found an important passage about their doctrines in al-Ḥākim al-Jushamī's *Sharḥ ʿuyūn al-masāʾil* (ms. Leiden Or 2584a, f. 47a-b) but he did not note that the information given there was, in fact, taken from Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Jabbār who credits Abu'l-Qāsim al-Balkhī for it. Evidently al-Jushamī's passage depends, as therefore almost certainly does that of Abū Tammām, on al-Balkhī's *Maqālāt* at this point. We would like to thank Dr. J. J. Witkam for his help in locating and filming this passage for us.

[26] Although most of the sectarian groups that appear in Abū Tammām's heresiography are early enough or at least had an earlier manifestation and thus could easily have been represented in the work of al-Balkhī, who died in 319, the one obvious exception is al-Ashʿarī and the Asbʿariyya. Al-Ashʿarī died in 324 making him a contemporary of al-Balkhī and thus seemingly too early to have been considered by him the founder of a sect.

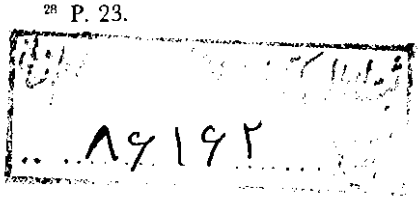
[27] *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, 18-23.

as a ninth sect among the Ghāliyya. More telling is his specific enumeration of only seven *madhāhib* by classing all of the Shīʿa together in one *madhhab*. Moreover, he calls each of the Shīʿī groupings, i.e. the Zaydiyya, Kaysāniyya, ʿAbbāsiyya, Ghāliya, and Imāmiyya, "sects" (*firaq*) and the individual sub-groups "types" (*aṣnāf*). Significantly also, he adds, immediately after his account of the sects, a section on the honorific names of the Twelve Imams of the Imāmiyya.[28] Is it right therefore to understand his intention to be pro-Imāmī? Is he possibly hinting that the seventy-third sect—that is, the saved sect—is Imāmī Shīʿism? We do not know al-Khwārazmī's own religious proclivities and they are not otherwise obvious but this conclusion appears justifiable and possible. By excluding the Ismāʿīliyya from his list, moreover, the number of sects in the preceding list totals seventy-two and one might thus impute a religious meaning to the way he lays out his sect list and follows it by enumerating the Twelve Imams.

But it is also quite unlikely that al-Khwārazmī would have taken his material from an Ismaili source. Instead, almost certainly he, like Abū Tammām, borrowed his heresiographical account from another work—a work, however, which obviously must have been Shīʿite as well as Muʿtazilite, and also probably from Khurāsān. The common Shīʿite and Muʿtazilite sympathies of such a source stand out and can be seen throughout the text of Abū Tammām.

One symptom of its Shīʿism is the use of sectarian poetry such as the lines from al-Barqī near the beginning and other verses from al-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī. In this instance both are Imāmīs. The presence of these poets in the text surely indicates that Abū Tammām borrowed heavily from an Imāmī Shīʿī author who also had solid Muʿtazilī leanings and credentials. If this judgment is correct, it is also likely that much of the "Chapter on Satan" comes from that same source including parts of the opening and closing. Only where the "author of the book" (*ṣāḥib al-kitāb*) speaks, as he does once in the middle of the heresiography and then again at the end of the chapter, are these the words of Abū Tammām alone. Those few passages which are peculiarly Ismaili at the beginning and end must likewise belong to him, but a good deal, perhaps, all of the rest derives from another work and that work itself must have in turn drawn liberally on al-Balkhī's *Maqālāt*.

[28] P. 23.



The one name that occurs in the text that might suggest an appropriate author for this intermediate text is Abu'l-Ḥasan al-Nāshi', who is recognized there as providing information about the Ḥubbiyya. Although famous as a poet, this al-Nāshi', who was called "the Younger" (*al-aṣghar*), was also known as an expert in theology and doctrine. He was born in 271 and lived until 365, though not in Khurāsān.[29] For the moment this must be taken, therefore, only as a suggestion since there exists, as yet, no other specific reason to credit this al-Nāshi'.[30]

The Edition

Our edition of the Arabic text is based on the single manuscript copy obtained by Prof. Abbas Hamdani from his family's collection and provided by him for this purpose in a xerox format. Although he possesses himself many of the manuscripts from this same collection, he does not own the original in this case. In preparing the edition, therefore, we worked from a xerox of this one primary source.

The manuscript, according to the copyist's concluding note, states that it is a copy of a work entitled *Part One* [al-juz' al-awwal] *of the Kitāb al-shajara* by Abū Tammām.[31] This implies that, although another "part" might once have followed, it had ceased to be obtainable within the Ṭayyibī *daʿwa* which had, accordingly, preserve *Part One* as a separate work.

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[29] On him there are several biographical entries in the medieval collections including among them Ibn Khallikān, *Wafiyāt al-aʿyān* (ed. Ihsan Abbas, Beirut, 1968, III, 369-371; trans. De Slane, II, 307-09) and Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabā'* (ed. Ihsan Abbas, Beirut, 1993, pp. 1784-1791).

[30] The conclusions present here in part confirm and in part amend those in my preliminary study of Abū Tammām's heresiography entitled "An Ismaʿili Version of the Heresiography of the Seventy-two Erring Sects" as published in F. Daftary, ed., *Medieval Ismaʿili History and Thought* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 161-77. Two of the sects mention there vaguely and which appeared then possibly to be new to Islamic heresiography, namely the Nābita and the Aṣḥāb al-Faḍā' are, of course, not actually new. I was originally mislead by the manuscript which gave a false reading in both instances. As well we had earlier surmised that the intermediary between Abū Tammām and al-Balkhī might have been Abū Zayd al-Balkhī but that now seems much less likely than Abu'l-Ḥasan al-Nāshi', who is explicitly cited in the text, or possibly another figure like him of similar dates who was both Imāmī Shīʿī and Muʿtazilī.

[31] He says, "waqaʿa al-farāgh min tansikh hādha al-kitāb al-musammā bi'l-juz' al-awwal min al-shajara li-l-Abī Tammām. . . ."

The manuscript contains 236 folios of ten lines per page. It was copied in Shawwāl 1310/May 1891.

It is obvious from the troubled state of the text that the copyist was unfamiliar with the heresiographical material he encountered in the "Chapter on Satan" as well as finding his source frequently difficult, if not impossible, to read because it was itself a much less than perfect copy. A goodly number of words in the manuscript merely convey the copyist's vague impression of what he found in front of him; in other cases he simply preferred to leave a blank, perhaps also following his source. Thus, although his own hand is reasonably clear, he did not or could not provide a sound text to work from and therefore many emendations were necessary.

Some of these could be reliably ascertained on the basis of parallel passages in the existing heresiographical literature. As al-Balkhī's *Maqālāt* was an obvious source for Abū Tammām or, more likely, for his immediate source, where it has been published, namely the section on the Muʿtazila, it offers an extremely useful check on the wording of the manuscript. Abū Tammām's discussion of the Muʿtazila is virtually the same as that of al-Balkhī. Additional parallel passages occur in al-Ashʿarī's *Maqālāt* and in Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī's *al-Ḥūr al-ʿīn* and in such cases, too, al-Balkhī is almost certain to be the ultimate source behind them since both writers explicitly credit him for much of their material. There are a few other examples of such parallels in yet other works, all of which are noted and/or supplied here in the apparatus to the edition. These represent, it should be clear, the close textual parallels that match the wording of Abū Tammām's text, more or less, and not merely sources of additional information about a particular sect or doctrine.

There are two appendices or supplemental sections in the original *Shajara* that the author added between the conclusion of his "Bāb al-shayṭān" and the commencement of the following "Bāb" on the Iblīses. As neither contributes much to the heresiographical discussion of the main portion of the chapter and their exact relationship to the rest is unclear, we have chosen not to include them in the present instance.

The Translation

The purpose of the English translation is to make Abū Tammām's "Chapter on Satan" accessible for those who are unable to consult the Arabic original. His heresiography contains a great deal of valuable information, some sections obviously more so than others, but it is, as a whole, not of special literary significance. Therefore a fairly literal translation seemed most appropriate in this situation. Also, since the information that the various entries contribute to the body of knowledge about early Islamic sects varies considerably depending, in part, on what was known about them previously, there seems little point here in an extensive commentary on all portions of the text. The Mu'tazila section, for example, has been available almost in its entirety for some years and there is a more than ample secondary literature about it. For the section on the Partisans of the Ḥadīth, to cite another example, which covers the main Sunnī legal *madhhabs*—Mālikī, Shāfi'ī, Ḥanbalī, and Dāūdī—the importance of Abū Tammām's account lies not in its details but in the very fact that he covers these groups as if they are mere sects. Here is a description offered by an opponent of each as if they are no more than individual, erroneous sectarian movements among the rest of the seventy-two destined for failure and hellfire. Yet other entries, however, are noteworthy for the lack of any known citation elsewhere to that particular sect. Therefore, in providing references and notes to the translation, I have in the main limited myself to offering citations of the most accessible general account of that sect and its founder, if one exists, most often to an article in the *New Edition* of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, but also to the highly important and comprehensive discussions by J. Van Ess in his *Theologie und Gesellschaft* as well as D. Gimaret's extensively annotated French translation of al-Shahrastānī's *Milal wa'l-niḥal* in which his notes are often more valuable and useful than the translation itself. These and the other examples of secondary literature that I have cited frequently provide the best introduction to the particular subject as well as references to the other primary and secondary discussions about it to be found elsewhere.

TRANSLATION

THE CHAPTER ON SATAN

The satans *in potentia*[1] are those who adhere to the exterior and who are far from [*shaṭanū ʿan*][2] the truth, that is, who stay away from it. The satans have supporters of only one sort, the devils, because those who adhere to exterior realities consider matters from one aspect exclusively and that is from its exterior and not its interior, its shell and not its kernel. Evidence for our assertion regarding the existence of satans *in potentia* is the statement of God, the mighty and glorious: "When they meet those who believe they say, 'We believe'; but when they are alone with their satans they say, 'We are with you, we were only jesting.'"[3] Also there is His statement, glorious is His mention: "But the satans"—which is to say, the legal experts among those who adhere to exterior realities—"ever inspire their friends"—i.e. their students—"to contend with you"— meaning to dispute with you as part of their determination to lead you into error—"and yet if you were to obey them, you would be one of the polytheists."[4] And yet again His statement: "And of the satans"—that is, of those who adhere to exterior realites—"are some who dive for him"—i.e., who search for knowledge of metaphorical interpretation without oath or covenant—"and perform other acts besides these"—namely, to lead the people astray by their abominable actions for truly their actions are as remote from the knowledge of interpretation as the acts of the apostate devils—"and it was We who guarded them"[5]—i.e., from their listening to the science of metaphorical interpretation in the absence of oath or covenant. And His statement, hallowed and high indeed is He: "Likewise did We make satans for each prophet among the men and the jinn as an enemy."[6]

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[1] *In potentia, bi'l-qūwa*, a term drawn from philosophy indicating something that will become something else—something that it is, in its original state, only potentially. The actualization—i.e. when it becomes the thing *in actu, bi'l-fi'l*, that it once was only potentiality—may be a matter of choice, particularly for humans. The satans *in potentia* seem, however, inevitably, according to Abū Tammām's doctrine, to become satans in actuality (*in actu*).

[2] The Arabic verb *shaṭana* and the word *shayṭān* (satan) appear to derive from the same root.

[3] Qur'ān 2: 14

[4] Q 6: 121

[5] Q 21: 82

[6] Q 6: 112

Thus God, glorious is His mention, made the satans *in potentia* of two kinds, one of which are the satans among humans, and they are those who adhere to surface realities and who hear nothing of the knowledge of inner truths; and the other are the satans among the jinn, and they are those who respond positively but subsequently go back on their oath and apostatize. They are worse than those who adhere to the exterior. Thus God, the mighty and glorious, continued the previously cited verse, saying, "inspiring each other with flowery discourses by way of deception."[7] Were it not that they are all satans *in potentia* and not *in actu* and they are all of one species, otherwise how could some of them inspire the others? God threatened the satans among the jinn—those who are the apostates—with greater severity than His threat to the satans among men who are those that adhere to external realities. His threat to the adherents of the exterior was issued in His statement, "And We shall surely let them taste the nearer chastisement before the greater"—meaning thereby the external punishment that is prior to the punishment of hellfire—"in order that they may return."[8] Were it not that the lesser punishment occurs in this world, there would be no point in God's adding, "in order that they may return." As for His threat to those who apostatize, it comes in His statement, "Certain of the Arabs around you are hypocrites"—i.e., the adherents of the exterior—"as well as some of the people of the town"—namely, those who took the oath among the ones who entered the town by its gate—"they are obstinate in hypocrisy"—that is, they have apostatized and joined the class of the hypocrites—"you do not know who they are but We know them and We shall punish them twice over"—meaning here the external punishment *and* the internal punishment—"thereafter they shall be returned to a mighty chastisement"[9]—which is the punishment of Gehenna.

Also, as evidence to affirm our assertion regarding the existence of the satans *in potentia*, there is the statement of God, the mightly and glorious, "Like Satan when he said to man 'disbelieve'".[10] How could Satan have spoken with a human being if it were not that he was a satan in the making having the form of a human being, what is called

[7] Q 6: 112
[8] Q 32: 21
[9] Q 9: 101
[10] Q 59: 16

in Persian *dev-mardum* and in Arabic *nasnās*?[11] This particular verse was reveal in the matter of those who occupied the throne of the Executor [*waṣī*][12] after the messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, to the effect that usurpation by the second [of them] deluded the first and ensnared him in mortal peril. God called the Second [i.e. 'Umar] a satan and the First [Abū Bakr] a human simply because the Second became an unbeliever at that very moment and the First did not become an unbeliever until after acceding to the words of the Second concerning the usurpation of the right of the Executor. In accord with that, the Second once said to him as he was wandering through the alleys of Madina, "release" [me from the caliphate], but Satan does not release. On that point the First stated in one of his sermons, "Truly I have a satan that takes possession of me. If you ever see me altering my course, set me aright." God, the mighty and glorious, has cited the two of them in another verse: "The day that the wrong-doer will bite at his hands." The wrong-doer is the First because he inserted himself into what was not his place and thus he will sorely repent on the day of resurrection but that repentence will not avail him. "He will say, 'Oh! would that I had taken the straight path with the messenger"—which is to say, would that my path had been with the messenger of God on the day he died, meaning, would that I had died on the day he died and that I had been saved that day from the punishment of the fire—"Ah! woe is me! Would that I had never taken such a one for a friend!"—which is as if he said, Ah! woe is me! Would that I had not accepted the word of the Second when he said, 'Be an unbeliever'—"Verily did he lead me astray from the message"—i.e., from the Founder [*al-asās*][13] for he relates the whole of the revelation and the interpretation which is thus an account of both worlds—"after it had come to me! And was satan"—that is, the Second—"but a traitor to mankind"[14]—i.e., the First. This verse verifies the former verse wherein

[11] The *dev-mardum* or the *nasnās* is a small human-figured devil or demon.

[12] The Executor or Legatee (*waṣī*) refers specifically to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. He, and only he, according to the Shīʿa, should have succeeded the prophet and occupied his 'throne'.

[13] *Asās* is a technical term the early Ismaili authors use to designate both the prophet and his executor, his *waṣī*. It indicates the 'founding' of the science of interpretation (*taʾwīl*). Normally it refers specifically to ʿAlī and denotes his role as the instigator of esoteric interpretation—i.e., knowledge of the interior reality of scripture and the law. He is thus called the Founder.

[14] Q 25: 27- 29

God, the mighty and glorious, said: "Like satan"—i.e., the Second—"when he said to man"—namely, the First—"be an unbeliever," and "so when he became an unbeliever"—that is, man, he said, "I am quit of you"—meaning that the Second will say to the First on the day of resurrection, "I am quit of you for I fear God the Lord of the two worlds."[15] There is no treachery greater than this except that his fear on the day of resurrection and his attempt to be quit of him will not avail him nor save him from the punishment of the fire. "Then the messenger will say, 'O my Lord, truly my people"—that is, my companions—"treat this Qur'ān with neglect."[16] The Qur'ān here indicates the Founder because he is the combination of the twelve powers.[17] And in another respect, the interpretation of the Qur'ān is inscribed in the heart of the Founder, just as the revelation is inscribed on the pages of the holy book. "Thus have We made for each prophet" –that is, for each Founder—"an enemy among the sinners but your Lord suffices as a guide and as a helper."[18]

The day wherein the wrong-doer will bite his hand is the day that God, the mighty and glorious, mentioned when He said: "the day when shall be exposed the shin"[19]—which is to say, the Tablet because it is said in the interpretation of God's statement, "Everything will perish except His face,"[20] that the face of God is the Pen [*al-qalam*].[21] In our view it is proven that the shin is the Tablet [*al-lawḥ*][22] and, for that very reason, some adherents of the external meaning say that exposing the shin denotes the throne because the throne indicates the Tablet. That day is the day mentioned by the messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, "Verily you will see your Lord just as you see this moon and you will not be harmed in seeing Him."[23] The interpretation of this report is that the sun is to

[15] Q 16: 59
[16] Q 25: 30
[17] It is not clear what the author means by the "twelve powers."
[18] Q 25: 31
[19] Q 68: 42
[20] Q 28: 88
[21] In Ismaili usage the Pen (*qalam*) refers to the first created being, the Preceder (*al-sābiq*). For some writers the Pen is also the intellect (*al-ʿaql*).
[22] The Tablet (*lawḥ*) indicates the second being, the soul (*al-nafs*) in some texts.
[23] This *ḥadīth*, like many that appear in this text, can be found in one version or another in the main Sunnī *ḥadīth* collections. For exact citations, see A. J. Wensinck, *Concordance et indices de la tradition musulmane*, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1936. What is more remarkable in this instance, however, is use of such *ḥadīth*s here in an Ismaili

bodily beings as the Pen is to spiritual beings and the moon is to bodily beings as the Tablet is to spiritual beings. Accordingly, he, may God bless him and his family, means by saying "truly you will see your Lord," that you will see the Tablet and it will instruct you with knowledge and spiritual support [*taʾyīd*] so that you will become a spiritual being as surely as you see this moon while yet you are a bodily being, even though you are unharmed by seeing it. Which is to say, at that moment, there will be no impediment between you and the Follower [*al-tālī*][24]. This is like God, the most high, saying, "the day wherein shall be exposed the shin" which means, shall be opened the curtains which fall between us and the Tablet and which consists of the seven heavens and the spheres. They "shall be summoned to prostrate"[25]—that is, to acknowledge the science of interpretation. All that is because the morning prayer is an indication of the Pen. It consists of four *rakʿa*s since the two Founders and the soul are manifest in it.[26] The sunset prayer is an indication of the Tablet and it consists of three *rakʿa*s because the two Founders are manifest in it. Just as the Pen and Tablet are not subject to any diminution, similarly the morning prayer and the sunset prayer are not lessened either while at home or while traveling and similarly the sun and the moon are not [?][27] subject to diminution. The two prostrations are an indication of the Speaking-prophet [*al-nāṭiq*][28] since the Founder is manifest in him. The act of making the *rakʿa* is an indication of the Founder who is single because no other of these three root principles are manifest in him. Thus we learn from this that one of the two

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Shīʿī content. Other of the *ḥadīth*s may be more specifically Shīʿī or even, possibly, Ismaili. Little work has been done as yet, however, on what *ḥadīth*s the Ismailis of Abū Tammām's time and place might have accepted as authentic or from what sources, although presumably it included only those related by and from the imams.

[24] The Follower (*al-tālī*) is again the second being, i.e. the Tablet and the soul.

[25] Q 68: 42

[26] The exact meaning of this statement and those that follow immediately is not perfectly clear. Apparently, Abū Tammām indicates here that the morning prayer includes four *rakʿa*s in accord with his own Ismaili practice and that the Pen comprises within itself the functions of itself plus the other three, namely the two Founders and the soul. The sunset prayer [*al-maghrib*] represents the Tablet, i.e. soul, and also the two Founders as well, but not the Pen. Thus the Pen has four functions, the Tablet three, the Speaking-prophet, two, and the *asās-waṣī* only one.

[27] The Arabic text here has the negative but the sense seems to require a positive, i.e. that the sun and the moon *are* subject to diminution and augmentation, rising and setting.

[28] Speaking-prophet (*al-nāṭiq*) is a special term for those prophets that have composed a holy law and issued a scripture.

prostrations is an indication of the Founder, who is the master of interpretation. Accordingly, what we have said confirms that the intent of God's statement "they shall be summoned to prostrate" means that they will be summoned to acknowledge the Founder and the interpretation. He did not say "to the two prostrations" because they have attested in this world to only one of the two prostrations which is the indication of the Speaking-prophet, "but they are not able"[29]—which is to say, they are not able to prostrate because, since they have not acquired in this world the spiritual form that allows for the reception of the effects of the sublime world, they do not have the capacity to receive the bounties there [in the Hereafter] but rather they will suffer pain and punishment. This is like the fetus that does not acquire a bodily form that allows it to receive the effects of the lower world while in the womb of its mother. It will not be prepared for the bounties of this world. "Their eyes will be cast down, ignominy will cover them, seeing that they had been summoned aforetime to bow in adoration while they were yet sound"—in the worldly abode, i. e., while having the capacity to accept the interpretation. At that the adherents of external meanings will ask, "Who prevented us from accepting the interpretation and acknowledging the Founder while we were yet sound?" We say to them, "You were prevented from that by two persons, a satan and an iblīs, and thus confirm the statement of God, the mighty and glorious: "Like satan when he says to man 'become an unbeliever'"—which is to say, the First and the Second. Here the adherents of the external meaning will say, "Our Lord! Show us those who misled us among the jinn"—i.e., among the satans, which means the Second, (the satans have been accurately called jinn lexically[30] for they are concealed from the eyes of people)—"and among the humans"—that is, the First and the Second—"we will crush them beneath our feet"—just as we made the two of them on the day when we were yet safe so as to accept the spiritual support beneath our feet—"that they may be among the lowest"[31]—saying thus that they may be with the hypocrites in the lowest level [of Hell]. This is because God, the mighty and glorious, has stated, "Truly the hypocrites will be at the lowest level of the fire."[32]

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[29] Continuing Qur'ān 68: 42

[30] In Arabic *jinn* means an invisible being.

[31] Q 41: 29

[32] Q 4: 145

Al-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī (or possibly it was al-Barqī)[33] has said in this regard:

I shall not reconcile with one who treated Abū Ḥasan[34] as an enemy
until I am at rest in my grave and my shroud.
Nor will I concur with those views of yours that are wrong
and I will not admit that your two imams[35] are imams.
To God belongs the day wherein you will see all mankind perishing,
Larynxes become hoarse from thirst and desiccation.
Many a caller will be calling out in his confusion,
Where now are those two who led me astray?
There, the faces will be deformed of his two detractors who pushed
him from the imamate, the seducer and the satan.
And when the father of the cat[36] says to his companion
eat the sour milk soup,[37] this is the delight of the gatherer.
O you who reproach the occupant of the house that was built
what is the offense of its occupant in relation to the culprit, the
builder?
If there were no stairs, he would not climb it
and the climber and the one who made him climb are equal.
If it were not for the Ṣihāki,[38] the filthy ones of Hind[39] and the defiled of
Marwān[40]
would not be playing with our reign.[41]

[33] Al-Barqī was, like al-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī, an early Shīʿite poet. The following verses are, in fact, from the reasonably well known *nūniyya* (poem rhyming in *nūn*) by Abū Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmmār al-Barqī who was put to death by the Abbasid caliph al-Mutawakkil because of it in 245/859. See al-Amīnī, *al-Ghadīr fi'l-kitāb wa'l-sunna wa'l-adab*, vol. 4, p. 140. This information and reference were kindly supplied by Prof. Hossein Modarressi.

On al-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī, see the later section describing the Ghamāmiyya where verses by him actually do appear.

[34] i.e. ʿAlī

[35] Abū Bakr and ʿUmar

[36] Abū Hirra or Abū Hurayra.

[37] *maḍīra*.

[38] ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. Ṣihāk was his paternal grandmother. For some of the Shīʿa the situation was, however, more complex and scandalous. See, for example, the views recorded by al-Majlisī in his *Biḥar al-anwār*, vol. 31, Beirut, pp. 98-99, a reference kindly brought to our attention by Prof. Hossein Modarressi.

[39] Hind bint ʿUtba, the mother of Muʿāwiya, famous also for her hatred of Muḥammad.

[40] Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, Umayyad caliph who died 65/685. He is credited with rescuing, through the actions of his son, ʿAbd al-Malik, the dynasty from the rebellion of ʿAbdallāh b. Zubayr and he was the initiator of the Marwanid line of subsequent rulers for which he was later sometimes called by his detractors, the father of tyrants.

[41] The last three lines of this poem are quoted by Ibn Shahrāshūb in his *Mathālib al-nawāṣib* (ms. Qum, f. 190b). Additional lines appear in al-Amīnī's *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 4, p. 140. Again these citations were provided by Prof. Hossein Modarressi.

It has been related on the authority of the imams, may the peace of God be on their mention, that the whole of what is in the Sūrat al-Raḥmān with respect to "So which of the signs of your Lord would either of you two declare false?" was revealed in the matter of the two satans, who were the First and the Second.

Among the things that confirm our claim in respect to proving the existence of satans *in potentia* is what was related to me on the authority of Anas b. Mālik from the messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, that he stated, "I fear more for our community from imams who lead in error than from Satan, the accursed one." Can anyone doubt after hearing this *ḥadīth* that those who summon to error and corruption are the satans *in potentia*? Another example is what was related to me on the authority of ʿAbdallāh b. Masʿūd who said, "The messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, said that the straight path"—i.e., the way of truth,—"is restricted"—i.e., confined—"and the satans restrict it"—that is, the learned scholars of those who adhere to external meanings and their leaders. "They call out, O servant of God, come to this path"—which is the path of error—"in order to lead them away from the way of God; cling rather to the rope of God that stretches from Him to His servant"—namely, the Pen, the Tablet, Jadd, Fatḥ, Khayāl, the Speaking-prophet, the Founder, the imam, the Proof [*al-ḥujja*], and the Wing [*al-janāḥ*].[42] The confirmation of this *ḥadīth* is what has been related to me from the Commander of the Faithful, ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, may the blessings of God be upon him, that he reported, "The messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, drew a line for us and said, 'this is the way of God and the straight path,' and then he drew lines to the right and to the left and said, 'these paths are the ways of Satan who summons the people to them.' At that the messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, recited, 'Verily, this is my path leading straight; follow it; follow not the other ways; they will scatter you about away from His way [thus did He command you]'".[43]

[42] This is the standard hierarchy in Ismaili thought, especially in its eastern manifestations. Jadd, Fatḥ and Khayāl are spiritual beings or angels charged with the responsibility of conveying revelation and sacred knowledege to the prophets. The Proof (*al-ḥujja*) is the highest earthly authority after the imam and the Wing (*al-janāḥ*) is the individual *dāʿī*.

[43] Q 6: 153

These *ḥadīth*s agree with the report related from the messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, in which he said, "The Jews told lies about Mūsā b. ʿImrān, the Christians told lies about ʿĪsā b. Maryam, and my community will tell lies against me after me; whenever you would relate a *ḥadīth* from me, examine it carefully against the book of God; whatever agrees with the book of God, accept; whatever opposes the book of God, reject." It is also related of him, may God bless him and his family, that he said, "The tribe of Israel broke up after Mūsā into seventy-one sects that are in hell except for one that is in paradise; the community of ʿĪsā broke up after him into seventy-two sects that are in hell except for one that is in paradise; and my community will break up into seventy-three sects that will be in hell except for one among them that will be in paradise."[44] Moreover, there is no doubt that, for each one of these sects, a chief or a leader summons the people to his particular opinion and belief. These are the satans that the messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, mentioned. What fits exactly the words of the messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, is the fact that the proponents of external meaning have divided into seventy-two sects while the partisans of inner meanings remain in the same state they were when the messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, departed from this world. There has not occurred among them any breaking up or mutual opposition or irresolution as has occurred among the proponents of external meanings who curse and repudiate each other. In our view this fact establishes the correctness of the doctrines of the proponents of inner meaning and the corruption of the various dogmas held by the proponents of external meaning who curse each other because God, the mighty and glorious, has said: "Had it not been from other than God, surely they would have found in it much disagreement." From this we learn that, if the doctrines of the proponents of external meaning were actually taken from God, they would not now be in disaccord.

I will here spell out these divisions and sects one by one and explain briefly and concisely the beliefs of each of them.

[44] This *ḥadīth* is well known and often cited in this context. See, for example, the comments and works noted by Friedlaender, "Heterodoxies," I, pp. 6-7; Shahrastānī (Gimaret), pp. 108-109.

I hold that the proponents of external meaning separate initially according to three doctrines: one of which states that the acts of obedience are all a component of faith; the second states that the laws are not a component of faith; and the third states that the imam after the messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, was ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, may God's blessings be on him. Thereafter, the proponents of each one of these three doctrines disagree among themselves on issues concerning the transcendent oneness of God, the imamate, the promise and the threat, the justice of God, the laws and deeds. Some of them ascribe injustice and oppression to God; others compare Him to His creation; yet others associate gods with Him. Some of them hold the non-fulfillment of His threat possible. Some tolerate reasoning by analogy [*qiyās*] and discretion [*istiḥsān*] in regard to the law; others will not allow that and repudiate those who do. Some make Abū Bakr the imam subject to obedience following the messenger of God, may God bless him and his family; others repudiate Abū Bakr and take the imamate from him and confer it on ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, may God's blessings be on him. Ultimately they reach such a condition that some declare the others to be unbelievers and some repudiate the others. There have appeared from all this divisions that are fragmented, doctrines in disagreement, and claims that multiply. Each one of these three sectarian groupings, moreover, has separated into twenty-four sects confirming thereby[45] the words of the messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, that "seventy-two sects from my community will be in hell."

[Those Who Maintain That The Acts Of Obedience Are A Component Of Faith]

Those who maintain that the acts of obedience all are a component of faith have broken up into three divisions that subdivide further into twenty-four sects in total, each of which has its own exclusive doctrine.

[45] The author means here that twenty-four times three equals seventy-two.

[The Mu'tazila]

One of these divisions is the Mu'tazila which is further divided into six sects.[46] All six are in agreement that God, glorious is His mention, is a thing not like other things. He is neither a body nor an accident but rather the creator of both. Nothing related to the senses perceives Him in this world or in the next. God is not confined by space nor bounded by locus. He it is who was from eternity, without time or place, and was infinite and without limit. All of that He created subsequently and brought into being along with the rest of what He created out of nothing. He is eternal and all else other than He was brought into being.

They also agree that God does not bring corruption into being nor does He create the actions of the servant but rather the servants do what they are commanded or forbidden by means of a power that God creates for them and equips them with so that they may be obedient and avoid acts of ingratitude. No one has the power to withhold or to spread out except by means of the power of God which He creates for them. God is the possessor of the power that is in the servant; the servant does not possess it with Him and none other than He causes it to persist in them as long as He wants or causes it to disappear whenever He wishes. But, if He should make it disappear, He lifts the imposition of legal capacity and of commands and prohibitions since the ability to act precedes the action. God, the mighty and glorious, does not want nor wish that He be slandered or that fault be found in Him, or His prohibitions violated. If He wished to compel humans to obey Him, He has the power to do it, but He does not do it because of wanting to test them and offer them a reward that will never cease. Even though the servants are able by the power He created in them to do what He does not approve or like and which He did not command be done or intend and what angers Him, they do not have influence over Him but rather it is He who dominates and compels them because, if He so wished, He could prevent them from doing what He does not want. In order to force them to do what He wishes, He could hasten upon them a punishment although He is merciful toward them until the day of

[46] The source of almost all that follows here for the Mu'tazila is the heresiography of Abu'l-Qāsim al-Balkhī (al-Ka'bī). Abū Tammām barely deviates at all as can be seen by comparing the two texts. See above the Introduction and the notes to the edition below.

resurrection. However, He wants that they believe voluntarily, not under compulsion, so as to confirm the trial and tribulation and so that they will deserve the highest degree of reward. He does not impose on His servant an obligation that is beyond their capability and then subsequently punish them for not having fulfilled it. As long as He commands of them obedience to Him and prohibits them from ingratitude to Him, He does with His servants, both those who are believers and those who are not, only that in which there is the greatest benefit for the faith which He commanded them to have and that which he called upon them to obey and have faith in and return from disobedience to Him to the following of that which He either commanded them to do or prohibited them from doing. There is no deficiency in His creating nor disparity in His governing. Everything He determines and decrees has in it only goodness and it is incumbent on every Muslim to approve all that He has determined and decreed and to believe in it and avoid denying, rejecting, or declaring it false. They are in agreement also that the acts of obedience are all a component of faith and that faith increases and does not diminish. They concur altogether that God, the glorious and mighty, will not forgive those who commit acts of disobedience except upon repentance and that the intercession of the messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, applies solely to the faithful and not others. Further, they agree that whoever enters hellfire will reside in it forever; all who want to exit from it will be returned to it. They concede as well that the person who commits major sins does not deserve to be designated by the noble name which implies faith and Islam, nor by unbelief, but rather by the designation of unrighteousness [*fisq*] just as that person was so termed by God, the most high, and about which the community itself is in accord. This is the doctrine of the intermediate position.

In addition they agree that commanding the acceptable and forbidding the reprehensible is obligatory for Muslims by whatever means they possess, by the sword or by what is less.

All agree except a small group of them that, of all the people, ʿAlī was the most worthy after the messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, but that Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, and ʿUthmān were, in the time of their caliphates, more suitable than he. Thereafter, in all other matters, they differed and are divided into six sects as noted earlier.

[The Ḥasaniyya]

The first of them is the Ḥasaniyya who are the followers of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī.[47] They maintain that the person who commits a major sin is a hypocrite.[48] They hold further that whoever omits to pray a prayer or fast a fast is not obliged to perform it after its proper time because he was commandeded to perform it at its specific time. Should its proper time elapse, there is no obligation except contrition and repentance in that instance, as with repentance in the case of other acts of neglect.

[The Hudhayliyya]

The second are the Hudhayliyya, the followers of Abu'l-Hudhayl Muḥammad b. al-Hudhayl al-ʿAllāf.[49] That in which Abu'l-Hudhayl stands alone is admittting the disappearance of the power along with the act in the same instance. He also maintained that the people of paradise are under compulsion in their acts to the point that the Muʿtazila, for that reason, called him the determinist[?][50] of the next life. The Hudhayliyya held also that an act might be one of obedience even though the agent did not seek [to obey] God by it. Again, they insist that God's knowledge is God and likewise God's power is God; and that what God knows has a total and sum and whatever God has power over is limited whether it becomes actual or not. According to them the motion of the people of paradise will terminate and they will then accede to a permanent stillness; pleasures will reach them even while they will not move.

[The Naẓẓāmiyya]

The third is the Naẓẓāmiyya related to Ibrāhīm b. Sayyār al-

[47] Died 110/728. On him see H. Ritter, *EI2*; J. Van Ess, *Theologie*, III, 41-50. There is no entry for him in al-Balkhī.

[48] A *munāfiq*.

[49] Died 226/840-1. On him see H. S. Nyberg, "Abu'l-Hudhayl," *EI2*; J. Van Ess, "Abu'l-Hoḍayl al-'Allāf," *EIranica*; Van Ess, *Theologie*, III, 209-96, V, 367-457; and Shahrastānī (Gimaret), 190-99.

[50] There is a blank at this point in the manuscript but the general principle of determinism in respect to the inhabitants of paradise is well known for Abu'l-Hudhayl. That he was called the Mujbir of the next life thus makes sense as the likely reading here.

Naẓẓām.[51] Al-Naẓẓām stands alone in his doctrine that the human being is the spirit and that it is a subtle body intermingled with this gross body that can be seen and felt. Quite separate from the gross body, it is the activating force. The human possesses ability in and of himself and not by means of an added capacity. Color, taste, fragrance, smell and all those things that the proponents of accidents claim are accidents are in fact intermingled bodies with the exception of motion and stillness which are, in his view, accidents. According to him length is the thing having length, width is the thing with width, depth is the thing having depth. He believed that two subtle bodies could exist in a single place because of commingling. Actions that are the actions of animals, according to him, are all of a single type. Motion is of the same type as rest and likewise acts of obedience are of the same type as acts of disobedience except that he used to insist also that, although they are of the same type, the acts of obedience are opposite to those of disobedience and contrary to them. Similarly, with motion and rest. He said that rest has no meaning in reality because what is said to be at rest is merely a motion of pressure rather than a motion in cessation. He said that there are solitary reports that we must accept and have certainty about and which thus constitute firm proof. And he held that firm proof in the Qur'ān is present only in regard to information about unseen things, not for the order and composition because, in his view, the order is something within capability were it not that God prevents it. A thing, according to him, can go from a first position to a third position without passing through the second. The difficult questions related from him concerning this particular subject are famous and well known. He also denied the use of analogy in regard to legal rulings.

[The Muʿammariyya]

The fourth sect is the Muʿammariyya related to Abū ʿAmr Muʿammar b. ʿAbbād al-Sulamī al-Baṣrī.[52] He stands alone in a doctrine concerning the qualities [*maʿānī*] and in his explanation that motion differs from rest only because of a quality that is other than it.

[51] Died between 220/835 and 230/845. On him see Van Ess's entries "al-Naẓẓām," *EI2*, and "Abū Esḥāq Naẓẓām," *EIranica*, plus his *Theologie*, III, 296-418, VI, 1-204; and Shahrastānī (Gimaret), 200-220.

[52] Died 215/830. On him see H. Daiber, "Muʿammar," *EI2*; Van Ess, *Theologie*, III, 63-88, V, 254-282; and Shahrastānī (Gimaret), 233-40.

Similarly, rest only differs from motion because of a quality that is other than it. These two qualities differ also because of a quality that is other than the two of them. Thereafter, for the same reason, every pair of qualities differs because of a quality other than they until reaching what is without limit.[53] The structures of bodies are the act of the bodies by nature. The human being is not a body and he acts by choice; he does not have length or breadth, nor does he possess parts and one cannot say that he is in one place rather than another and that he has no act except willing. Motion is in reality rest because a body no matter what state it is found in exists solely in a place adjoining it contiguously and this, according to him, is the meaning of rest. They maintain that substance is never isolated from the actions of accidents.

[The Bishriyya]

The fifth sect is called the Bishriyya and is related to Abū Sahl Bishr b. al-Muʿtamir al-Baghdādī.[54] Bishr and those who advocate what he did maintain that there is a grace with God such that, if He brought it to the unbelievers, they would all voluntarily find faith without being forced. It is not allowed for us to say that God does the best things for His servants for the reason that there is no ultimate limit for the goodness that is with Him, although God has done everything that is, with respect to their faith, in their best interest. The friendship of God toward the believers is, after their gaining faith, without delay and His emnity for the unbelievers is likewise. Color, taste, fragrance, sound, smell, and feel are accidents and substance is the agent for them. Certain colors, tastes, and odors are actions of the servant by generation. Motion is not in a first place or in a second place but nevertheless the human being can move by means of it from the first to the second. They insist that motion is not an accident nor a body because the accident persists over two moments of time and motion does not persist for two moments of time. They held that when the believer commits a major sin and then repents but thereafter returns to committing the same sin, it is permitted to hold him accountable for the sin which occurred prior to repentance even though he re-

[53] A line here which is missing from Abū Tammām's text has been restored from that of al-Balkhī.

[54] Died between 210/825 and 226/840. On him see Albert N. Nadir, "Bishr," *EI2*; Van Ess, *Theologie*, III, 107-30, V, 283-328; Shahrastānī (Gimaret), 228-32.

pented of it because it may be that he was forgiven that sin at repentance with the stipulation that he not revert to it or to its like.

[The Jāḥiẓiyya]

The sixth sect is the Jāḥiẓiyya, the followers of Abū ʿUthmān ʿAmr b. Baḥr al-Jāḥiẓ.[55] Jāḥiẓ and those who maintain the same doctrines say that cognizance is natural but it is nevertheless an act belonging to the knower and thus is not voluntary. He was in accord with Thumāma b. al-Ashras[56] to the effect that there is no action on the part of the servant in reality other than willing. But still he held, in regard to the rest of the acts, that they are ascribable to the servant in so far as they flow from him by nature even though they are required by his willing. It is impossible that anyone reach maturity and not acknowledge God. The unbeliever, in his view, falls between the obdurate and the knower whose love and infatuation with his dogmas has totally absorbed him to such an extent he cannot perceive that which is in him of knowledge of his Creator and the truth of His messenger.

[The Khawārij]

The discussion of these sects is then folowed by the second division which are the Khawārij. They themselves further subdivided into fourteen sects. The Khawārij agree together that the acts of obedience are all components of faith and that faith increases and decreases. They are in accord in declaring ʿUthmān and ʿAlī unbelievers and they say: we declare our loyalty to the two fathers-in-law[57] and dissociate from the two sons-in-law, the latter being ʿAlī and ʿUthmān; we are quite certain of the unbelief of whoever commits a major sin. They uphold rebellion against an unjust leader and they

[55] Died 255/868-9. On him see Ch. Pellat, "al-Djāḥiẓ," *EI2*; Van Ess, *Theologie*, IV, 96-116; and Shahrastānī (Gimaret), 255-60.

[56] In al-Balkhī's *Maqālāt*, an entry on this Muʿtazilite authority occurs immediately prior to that for al-Jāḥiẓ (p. 73). Therefore the reference to him at this place in the original text of al-Balkhī makes better sense than in Abū Tammām's version which no longer contains an entry on Thumāma at all. It is, however, solid evidence that Abū Tammām or his immediate source had in front of him the work of al-Balkhī from which he simply copied the material on al-Jāḥiẓ including this statement about his being in accord with Thumāma on this issue.

[57] Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, both fathers-in-law of Muḥammad.

regard appropriate dissociation from Abū Mūsā and ʿAmr and those who appointed these two as arbitrators or who approved of them or associated with anyone who concurred with either of the two arbitrators or approved of him.[58] They allow the imamate in the lowliest of persons who are nevertheless both just and knowledgeable. Thereafter in other issues they differ and have split into fourteen sects as already stated.

[The Azāriqa]

The first is the Azāriqa[59] related to Nāfiʿ b. al-Azraq. This Nāfiʿ was the first to create dissension among the Khawārij. It was he who instigated the dissociation from those who remained at home and the testing of those who attempted to join his army. The Azāriqa do not dissociate from those of the early generation among the Khawārij who came before them and who associated with the quietists and failed to declare them unbelievers. They say instead that this matter has become clear to us but it was hidden from them. The Azāriqa uphold strict determinism in the manner that was taught by Jahm.[60] They maintain further that whoever remains in the territory of unbelief is an unbeliever and nothing avails him but to emigrate away from there. They also sanction the torment of children [in the hereafter].

[The Najdiyya]

The second sect is the Najdiyya[61] related to Najda b. ʿĀmir al-Ḥanafī. Najda and those who adopted his doctrines said that the children of polytheists are in paradise and that God does not inflict hurt on children in this world. They base this view on the notion that God harms no one unless it is deserved and pain is a punishment which children do not deserve. Were a man to make a mistake in applying a legal ruling out of ignorance, they would excuse him on account of ignorance. They maintain that faith is recognition of God and the

[58] Abū Mūsā and ʿAmr were the arbitrators appointed following the Battle of Siffīn by the two sides that had supported ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya.

[59] On the Azāriqa, see R. Rubinacci, "Azāriḳa," *EI2*; Shahrastānī (Gimaret), 374-80; and K. Lewinstein, "The Azāriqa in Islamic Heresiography," *BSOAS* 54 (1991): 251-68.

[60] See the entry on Jahm b Ṣafwān below in the section on the Qadariyya.

[61] Shahrastānī (Gimaret), 381-86.

recognition of His messenger, preventing the shedding of the blood of Muslims and shielding their possessions, and acknowledging summarily what has come from God. This is all obligatory but, in regard to everything beyond that, the people are excused by their ignorance up to the point that firm proof overpowers them. This concerns all things allowed and forbidden. Thus whoever, after personal effort, judges allowable something that might in fact be forbidden is absolved in the same way as held by the learned experts among the defenders of personal judgement in law. They further insist that whoever fears punishment for the person who exercises independent judgement in the matter of erroneous rulings and waits for firm proof instead is an unbeliever. They hold that whoever moves from the abode of their emigration is a hypocrite and they consider licit shedding the blood of the people protected by treaty and their possessions in the abode of dissimulation. As leaders they accept the holders of any and all ranks among those who are in accord with them. They say that possibly God will not punish the hypocrites for their sins but, if He does, He will punish them not in hellfire. In their view, whoever thinks a forbidden thought or tells a small lie which is forbidden, and then persists in doing it, is a polytheist; but whoever commits adultery, theft, or drinks wine, without persisting in it, is a Muslim. They do not accept the possibility of a permanent punishment for any of those who are in agreement with them.

[The ʿAjārida]

The third sect is the ʿAjārida related to ʿAbd al-Karīm b. ʿAjarrad.[62] They maintain that the children of polytheists are in hell and they dissociate from their children who have not reached maturity and accepted Islam. They reject the Sūrat Yūsuf and insist that it is not a part of the Qurʾān because it is merely a story. They permit the marriage of daughters of sons, daughters of daughters, and daughters of the children of sisters and brothers but they say that God made only daughters themselves forbidden.[63] The doctrine of justice they uphold in the manner of the Muʿtazila. They consider licit the killing

[62] On which see W. Madelung, "Khārijism: The ʿAjārida and the Ibāḍiyya," Chapter 5 in *Religious Trends in Early Islamic Iran*, pp. 58-63; Van Ess, *Theologie*, II, 574-76; and Shahrastānī (Gimaret), 394-406.

[63] Reported by Al-Ashʿarī, p. 95, as coming from a book by the early Sunnī jurist-heresiographer al-Karābīsī (died 245/859). See also *Ḥūr*, *225*.

of the ruler specifically and also those who approve of his rule. But the killing of whoever disowns him they do not advocate except if he provides assistance against them or speaks ill of them or of their religion. Among the ʿAjārida there is one subgroup called the Maymūniyya.

[The Bidaʿiyya]

The fourth sect is the Bidaʿiyya whose leader is Yaḥyā b. Aṣram.[64] That which they innovated and for which they stand apart from all of the rest of the Khawārij—in fact, from the whole body of the religious community—is the definitive declaration of the testimony of faith for themselves and those who agree with them, asserting thereby that they are people of paradise without condition or reservation.[65] They maintain also that the children of polytheists are in hell and they prove this by the following verse: "Leave of the unbelievers not a single one on earth, for if You do leave any of them, they will mislead Your servants and they will breed more who are nothing but wicked and ungrateful."[66] Concerning determination their doctrine is like that of the Azāriqa. They assert that the pilgrimage may be performed in any of the months. They further insist that the compulsory prayers are three: the morning prayer [*al-fajr*], the sunset prayer [*al-maghrib*]—these two falling at both ends of the daytime—and in the nighttime the *ʿatama* prayer. For this they draw support from the words of God, the exalted, "And establish regular prayers at the two ends of the day and the nigh of the night, for those things that are good remove those that are evil."[67] According to them all of the reports related from the messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, making five prayers requisite are lies and falsehoods since it is also related from him, may God's blessings be on him, that "whatever is brought to you as coming from me, compare it to the book of God; if it agrees with the book of

[64] On which see Madelung, *Religious Trends*, 64-5; Van Ess, *Theologie*, II, 622; Walker, "An Ismaili Version," 168; and the *Uṣūl al-niḥal* attributed to al-Nāshiʾ, pp. 69-70.

[65] *istithnāʾ*, that is, uttering the formula of exception or reservation, "If God so wills." The Bidaʿiyya evidently believe that in regard to themselves it is not necessary for them to utter the *shahāda* with the added condition "If God so wills" since they are assured of paradise. See also *Ḥūr*, 232 and Shahrastānī (Gimaret) 406, note #102. The text in one manuscript of Shahrastānī contains a statement that runs parallel to that of Abū Tammām at this point.

[66] Q 71: 26-27. This statement was said to God by Noah.

[67] Q 11: 114. Cf. Al-Ashʿarī, 126; *Ḥūr*, 232; and pseudo-Nāshiʾ, 70.

God, it has come from me, but what differs from the book of God is not from me." The middle prayer is, therefore, in their view, the sunset prayer that God spoke of when He said, "Guard carefully your prayers, especially the middle prayer."[68] They consider unlawful fish that have not been slaughtered.

[The Khāzimiyya]

The fifth sect are the Khāzimiyya related to Shuʿayb b. Khāzim.[69] They hold a doctrine of determination like that of Jahm and the Azāriqa. Among the doctrines in which they stand alone is maintaining that friendship and enmity are two qualities in the essence [of God]. Also according to them whoever does not know God in all of His names is an ignorant person and the ignorant person is an unbeliever.

[The Thaʿāliba]

The sixth sect is the Thaʿāliba[70] who have numerous doctrines that I will not mention out of fear of unduly lengthing this book although I will note a few of their tenets. They say that the person who omits to pray is an unbeliever but it is not on account of the omission but is rather due to his ignorance of God. Their doctrine is similar for the rest of the obligatory acts and they claim that whoever commits an act of disobedience has shown ignorance of God. They said that God will treat His servant as a friend or an enemy according to [the end] they will come to, not for the deeds they are presently engaged in. The children of unbelievers will share in the punishment of their fathers since they are one element of them and by that they mean that it is as if they are part and parcel of them.

[The Ṣufriyya]

The seventh sect is the Ṣufriyya[71] related to Ziyād b. al-Aṣfar. They also have numerous doctrines that I will not mention for fear of

[68] Q 2: 238

[69] On which see Madelung, *Religious Trends*, 63-5; Shahrastānī (Gimaret), 400.

[70] Madelung, *Religious Trends*, 59-62; Shahrastānī (Gimaret), 400-01.

[71] Madelung, *Religious Trends*, 71-2; Shahrastānī (Gimaret), 413-14; Lewinstein, "Making and Unmaking a Sect: the Heresiographers and the Ṣufriyya," *Studia Islamica* 76 (1992): 75-96.

extending this book too much although I will again cite a few examples. Among these is their claim that those acts covered by a divinely prescribed penalty [*ḥadd*] are not, when committed, themselves evidence of unbelief nor are the persons committing them unbelievers. Examples of this are adultery, false accusation of adultery [*qadhf*], and theft. But the [reprehensible] actions for which no prescribed penalty applies, such as omitting prayers and almsgiving, constitute unbelief. Nevertheless, they withhold the designation of faith in both of these situations since they term the adulterer, the false accuser of adultery, and the thief an offender [*fāsiq*] rather than either believer or unbeliever whereas the person who omits prayers and almsgiving is an unbeliever.

[The Ibāḍiyya]

The eighth sect is the Ibāḍiyya[72] related to ʿAbdallāh b. Ibāḍ. A portion of this group uphold the doctrine of justice in the manner of the Muʿtazila. They claim that their opponents among the people who pray toward Mecca are infidels by ingratitude [*kāfirū niʿma*] but are not polytheists; their property, their weapons, and their riding mounts are lawful booty during warfare, but what goes beyond that is unlawful and it is forbidden to capture them or to kill them surreptitiously. They further insist that the abode—that is, the abode of their opponents—is an abode of monotheism except for the camp of the ruler which is an abode of inequity. Those who commit major sins they consider monotheists even though infidels because of ingratitude and not believers. The punishment of the children of polytheists is possible in their opinion but they recognize that God might nonetheless enter them in paradise by an act of grace.

[The Ḥafṣiyya]

The ninth sect is the Ḥafṣiyya, the follower of Ḥafṣ b. Abi'l-Miqdām.[73] They claim that what separates polytheism from unbelief is the acknowledgement of God. Whoever acknowledges God but does not believe in anything else such as the messenger or paradise or hellfire or the law is an unbeliever but is free of polytheism. Whoever

[72] Madelung, *Religious Trends*, 71-76; T. Lewicki, "al-Ibāḍiyya," *EI2*; Van Ess, *Theologie*, index; and Shahrastānī (Gimaret), 407-12.

[73] Shahrastānī (Gimaret), 410.

is ignorant of God and denies Him is a polytheist. The Khawārij dissociated themselves from this group and they dissociated themselves as well.

[The Yazīdiyya]

The tenth sect is the Yazīdiyya, the followers of Yazīd b. Abī Unaysa.[74] They say: we associate with the first Muḥakkima [Kharijites] but we disassociate ourselves from those advocates of innovations who came later, although we accept all of the Ibāḍiyya. In the matter of unbelief and polytheism, they oppose the Ḥafṣiyya, standing firm in their association with the Ibāḍiyya except for those among them who reject their doctrines. They claim that God will send a messenger from among the non-Arabs and that He will reveal to him from the heavens a book written in the sky. Thereafter it will be transmitted to him in its entirety and he will cease following the law of Muḥammad and will bring forth another law different from it. His community will be the religion of the Ṣābi'a who are, however, not the Ṣābi'a who exist in this present day but rather the Ṣābi'a whom God mentioned in the Qur'ān, who, they say, have not yet come. In the present community there are, they claim, two witnesses to them, one of them being Yazīd b. Abī Unaysa, but they do not know whether the other has passed away already or whether he will still come.

[The Bayhasiyya]

The eleventh sect is the Bayhasiyya[75] who are related to Abū Bayhas Hayṣam h. Jābir. They maintain that shedding the blood of their opponents is lawful as well as seizing their property. They do not permit praying behind an opponent of theirs; nor do they perform prayers wearing pants. According to them the abode that is the abode of unbelief and polytheism [is subject to the commandment], "kill the polytheists wherever you find them."[76] They also say that, if the leader of a group is an unbeliever and a pagan, his abode is a place of polytheism and all who inhabit it are pagans except for those they know of personally and of their having accepted Islam. In their

[74] Madelung, *Religious Trends*, 75-6; Van Ess, *Theologie*, II, 614-18; Shahrastānī (Gimaret), 411-12.

[75] Van Ess, *Theologie*, II, 594-98; Shahrastānī (Gimaret), 387-93.

[76] Q 9: 5

view killing and capturing is allowed in all situations and they prohibit marrying the womenfolk belonging to the polytheists—that is, those who, in their view, are sinners. They draw confirmation for this from the words of God, the exalted, "Do not hold fast to the ties with unbelieving women,"[77] and "Do not marry unbelieving women until they believe."[78] Intoxication from something lawful in itself, according to them, does not make the one who becomes inebriated liable to punishment. On whatever his inebriation causes him to do, such as omitting prayers or cursing God, there is no prescribed penalty and anyone doing something of this sort does not become an unbeliever so long as the inebriation lasts.

[The Fuḍayliyya]

The twelfth sect is the Fuḍayliyya[79] related to al-Fuḍayl b. ʿAbdallāh. They insist that every act of disobedience, whether minor or major, is polytheism and they say that the disobedient person does not acknowledge God. Obedience to Satan is worship of him and obedience to personal whim is worship of him as well. They draw confirmation for this from the words of God, exalted is His mention: "Then do you not see such a one as takes as his god his own personal whims?"[80] They maintain that whoever utters any truth that the Muslims regard as true will not become an unbeliever nor will he disobey, even if he means something other than God, as in saying 'there is no god but *the* God' but intending by it the doctrine of the Christians that the one whom there is no god except is someone who begets a son and has a wife, or else intends an idol he has adopted as a god, or in the case of saying, 'Muḥammad is the messenger of God,' while meaning someone else who is alive and present, and other statements or belief in the heart similar to these that refer to other than God Himself.

[The Shimrākhiyya]

The thirteenth sect is the Shimrākhiyya who are related to ʿAbdallāh b. Shimrākh.[81] They say that shedding the blood of their own people

[77] Q 60: 10
[78] Q 2: 221
[79] Lewinstein, "Making and Unmaking A Sect," 89-90.
[80] Q 45:25
[81] Van Ess, *Theologie*, II, 622-24; Lewinstein, "Making and Unmaking a Sect," 88-89.

is forbidden if done covertly but is allowed if done openly. The killing of both parents is unlawful either in the abode of precautionary dissimulation or in the abode of emigration, even if both are in opposition. The Khawārij disassociate themselves from this group. They hold a doctrine of deferred judgement in regard to those who agree with them, and they say that the children of the polytheists will attain paradise.

[The Ḍaḥḥākiyya]

The fourteenth sect is the Ḍaḥḥākiyya related to al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. al-Shārī. They consider it lawful to marry a woman who is Muslim in their view to an unbeliever from their own people in the abode of dissimulation, just as a man among them may marry an unbelieving woman from his people in the abode of dissimilation. However, in regard to residence in the abode of openness and in the abode of their own rule, they do not consider that permissible. They regard as lawful a beverage a great deal of which might produce intoxication as long as it is not wine [*khamr*] in and of itself and they only forbid intoxication. They will not pursue in war someone turning away (or fleeing) who is not of those who pray in the direction of Mecca or is one of those who pray in the direction of Mecca and is a monotheist. They do not kill women or children, but they advocate killing the anthropomorphists and capturing them and plundering their property, and they pursue those of them who turn away (flee) and they finish off their wounded. According to them it is possible for there to be two different operating rules such that a single situation is governed from two directions. An example is that of a man who enters a sown field without having the permission of its owner. God prohibits him from leaving it lest he harm the crop and yet He also commands him to do so because it does not belong to him. In their view whoever commits adultery or steals should receive the prescribed punishment and then should be called upon to repent. Unless he repents, he should be executed because he is an unbeliever. They maintain further that they must call to repentence those who disagree with them regarding a revealed text or its interpretation. Unless they repent, they must be executed no matter whether that opposition concerns an issue of which ignorance is permissible or not.

[The Division of the Ḥadīthiyya]

The third division is the Ḥadīthiyya which are further divided into four sects. These sects, however, agree together that God is on the throne distinct in His essence from His creation. The inhabitants of paradise will see their Lord with their eyes. Faith is both word and deed and it increases and decreases. The believer determines in his heart what appears on his lips and his faith must not be doubted. They declare no one among the adherents of God's unity an unbeliever. They defer to God those matters which are hidden from them and do not cut, because of sins, the protection accorded by God. All things that involve good or evil, unbelief or belief, occur, they say, by the decree and ordainment of God. They consign no one from the community of Muḥammad, may God bless him and his family, to paradise because of a good deed he has performed, or to hellfire for a sin he acquired, and thus it will be God who disposes of His creatures as He wishes. They acknowledge the rights of the forebears whom God, the exhalted, selected to be companions of His prophet, may God bless him and his family, and they put first in the imamate Abū Bakr and then ʿUmar and then ʿUthmān. They ask for the mercy of God on the companions of the messenger of God, both the great and lowly among them, and they speak of their virtues and abstain from mentioning the quarrel that occurred between them. They pray the prayers of the two feasts and of the congregational prayers and they go on campaigns under all commanders, both the pious and the profligate. They wipe the soles of their footgear both while traveling and while at home. Buying, selling, and commerce in general are lawful, in their view, until the day of resurrection according to the rule of both the holy book and the Sunna. The *takbīr* at a funeral should be repeated four times. They pray for the well-being of the leaders of the Muslims and refuse to take up arms against them or join in fighting them in times of rebellion. They keep to their homes and declare, "One can be servants of God who are slain, but do not be servants of God who are killers." They believe in the punishment of the grave, in Nakīr and Munkar,[82] in the Pool [*ḥawḍ*], in intercession, the Balance [*mīzān*], and that a group of the monotheists will be taken out of hell after having been burned in it. Unanimously they hold that the prophet, may God bless him and his fam-

[82] Two angels who are said to examine and possibly punish the dead in their graves.

ily, was elevated to the heavens and he saw his Lord with his own eyes and conversed with Him. The Lord descends on the eve of each Friday night to the lowest heaven. They say that paradise and hell are already created. They agree further that if a report comes from trustworthy, well known and acceptable men, it must be accepted; whoever rejects it is an innovator and a wicked deviator.

[The Mālikiyya]

One of the them is the Mālikiyya related to Mālik b. Anas.[83] They maintain that God knows by means of a knowledge, He is powerful because of a power, and He is all-hearing and all-seeing through a sense of hearing and seeing. They permit copulation with women in their rear ends. They affirm reasoning by analogy but deny the principle of judicial discretion. According to them the imam after the messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, was Abū Bakr since the community agreed on him, and the prophet, may God bless him and his family, died and did not appoint a successor. After Abū Bakr came ʿUmar and then after him ʿUthmān and then ʿAlī because the prophet, may God bless him and his family, had said "the caliphate after me will last thirty years and then after that there will be kingship." In their view the best person after the messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, was ʿUmar and, for that view, they rely on the report related from the prophet, may God bless him and his family, "If you appoint as leader Abū Bakr, you will find him strong in his faith but weak in his body; and, if you appoint ʿUmar as leader, you will find him strong in both faith and body." The person who possessed two strengths was better than he who had only one. They also see confirmation in the statement of Abū Bakr when he remarked in the first of his sermons, "I have accepted to rule over you, but I am not the best of you." By that he could only be referring to ʿUmar because he had recognized his having the quality of excellence on the day of the Saqīfat Banī Sāʿida[84] when he said, "Indeed, I approve for you one of these two men." Also they cite the words of the messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, "If I had not been sent to you, ʿUmar would have be sent," and his

[83] Famous jurist of Madina and imam of the Mālikī legal *madhhab* who died in 179/796.

[84] Site of the negotiations leading to the nomination by ʿUmar of Abū Bakr to the caliphate.

statement, "O God, strengthen Islam by the one who is dearer to You, ʿUmar or Abū Jahl." Mālik had numerous differences with his companions in matters of the law. He held that the call to prayer should be repeated but the *iqāma*[85] should be said once through without repetition because he held that the formulae of the *iqāma* are not to be doubled. He opposed his companions[86] on that point. Snuffing water through the nostrils during ritual ablution is, in his view, obligatory. They permit remaining silent behind the imam when the imam performs the recitation in a loud voice.

[The Shāfiʿiyya]

The second sect is the Shāfiʿiyya, the followers of Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-Shāfiʿī.[87] They maintain that the most excellent of people after the messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, was Abū Bakr, then ʿUmar, then ʿUthmān, and then ʿAlī, and that these caliphs are the four who were rightly guided. They say further that the messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, died and did not appoint a successor and that the community appointed for themselves Abū Bakr as leader. According to them he was more deserving of the imamate than anyone else, and the messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, had said, "My community will not agree on an error." They affirm reasoning by analogy and personal endeavor although they do not accept the establishment of a ruling on the basis of discretion. They hold that ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, may the blessings of God be upon him, was right in all of his wars but that Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr, Muʿāwiya, ʿĀʾisha, and ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ argued for fighting him and exerted personal judgement to that end. All of them are in paradise just as God, the mighty and glorious, said, "And We shall remove from their hearts any lurking sense of injury as brothers facing each other on raised couches."[88] They say that beasts will be resurrected and thereafter become dry dust by the order of God and that the unbeliever will want to be in their state when he cries out, "O would that I were become dry dust."[89] As for the chil-

[85] On the *iqāma*, or second call to prayer in the mosque which is the sign to commence formal prayers, see T. W. Juynboll, "Iḳāma," *EI2*.

[86] i.e. his fellow jurists of Madina.

[87] Eponym of the legal *madhhab* named after him. He died in 204/820.

[88] Q 15: 47

[89] Q 78: 40

dren and the insane, they will, by the mercy of God, be entered into paradise. Al-Shāfiʿī had numerous differences with Abū Ḥanīfa and other legal experts in the Islamic community on matters of legal rulings and the law. Handling the penis negates the ablution according to him.

[The Ḥanbaliyya]

The third sect is the Ḥanbaliyya. They are the literalists [the Ḥashwiya], related to Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal.[90] They affirm some elements of reasoning by analogy but reject juridical discretion. They maintain that the leader following the messenger of God, may God bless him and grant him peace, was Abū Bakr, and that the prophet, may God bless him and his family, specifically designated him to lead the community. Thereafter Abū Bakr appointed ʿUmar and the leader following him was ʿUthmān but then they stop and do not recognize the leadership of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. For that they draw support from a report related on the authority of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar in which he said, "We used to say during the lifetime of the messenger of God, may God bless him and his family: Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq, and ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, and ʿUthmān." The Ḥanbaliyya do not admit to the imamate of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, may the blessings of God be upon him, and they insist that he could not have been the imam because the people did not agree to him unaminously. They also draw support from a report related from the messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, that when he was building the mosque he put on its wall a stone and then called for Abū Bakr to put a stone in place next to my stone. Then he called for ʿUmar to put a stone next to the spot where the stone of Abū Bakr lay and for ʿUthmān to put a stone next to the stone of ʿUmar. At that point he stated that these are the caliphs to come after me. Additionally, they hold that ʿAlī, may the blessings of God be upon him, was in the wrong when he gave shelter to the killers of ʿUthmān, assumed command without convening a council, and went to war against the Mother of the Believers, ʿĀ'isha, against the Disciple of the messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, al-Zubayr, against Ṭalḥa, and the maternal uncle of the believers, Muʿāwiya. According to them, God, the exhalted, will seat Muʿāwiya at his right on the day of resurrec-

[90] Died 241/855.

tion, cover him with His right hand, and enter him into paradise because of his effort to seek vengence for the blood of ʿUthmān who was murdered unjustly. As the interpretation of the following verse: "When his Lord revealed Himself to the mountain,"[91] they claim that He said, in fact, that he showed the mountain one of His fingers. The Qur'ān, in their view, is the speech of God and it comes out of Him and to Him it reverts. Their indication of that is His saying, "They wanted to change God's words,"[92] and His commenting, "so that he may hear the words of God."[93] They insist that whoever claims that the Qur'ān was created is an unbeliever; one should not pray behind that person, or over him at his funeral, or eat animals slaughtered by him.

[The Dāūdiyya]

The fourth sect is the Dāūdiyya related to Dāūd b. ʿAlī b. Khalaf al-Iṣfahānī.[94] They reject reasoning by analogy and thus adhere exclusively to the text of the Qur'ān and dismiss reasoning about it. Whoever judges by reasoning, according to them, is mistaken and wicked since God, glorious is His mention, left nothing that is either humid or dry but that He assigned a place for it in His book. Therefore they consider reasoning by analogy to be false and they adhere solely to the Qur'ān, to the Sunna, and to consensus, and they do not rule otherwise than on the most obvious meaning of the phrase even to the point of stating that, if one of them were to urinate in some stagnant water, it would not be allowable to perform ablutions with it and yet, if he had defecated, it would be allowed. This is because the prophet, may God bless him and his family, said, "None of you may urinate in stagnant water and then perform ablutions with it," but did not say, "Do not defecate." They derive all their rulings, what they allow and what they forbid, on the basis of this very analogy. They consider lawful selling the slave mothers of sons, and they hold the *tarāwīḥ* prayers during Ramaḍān to consist of eight *rakʿas* in four *taslīms*. According to them the whole of the call to prayer must be given with *tarjīʿ* repetition and the *iqāma* has no repetition. In their

[91] Q 7: 143
[92] Q 48: 15
[93] Q 9: 6
[94] Founder of the Ẓāhiriyya *madhhab* who died in 270/884. On him see J. Schacht, "Dāwūd b. ʿAlī b. Khalaf al-Iṣfahānī," *EI2* and I. Goldziher, *The Ẓāhirīs: Their Doctrine and Their History*, trans. W. Behn, Leiden, Brill, 1971.

view, if a drunken man should divorce his wife, no legal interdiction comes between them since the divorce uttered by a drunken man is mere idle babble. They say that it is required to snuff water in the nostril during ablution. It is not permitted to use dung in the purification from defecation. They hold that touching a woman, whether involving sexual intercourse or not, invalidates the ablution and similarly handling the penis. They insist that the messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, appointed Abū Bakr to the caliphate by designation when he ordered him to lead prayers and they say, "we entrust the matter of ʿAlī, ʿĀ'isha, Ṭalḥa, and al-Zubayr to God since we do not know which of the two parties is in the right although we can say that the situation of those who remained inactive in that affair was better than those who went out in revolt as was the situation of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar, Muḥammad b. Maslama, and Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ." There is no chance, according to them, for a person who omits a prayer to complete it after its time has passed. They argue for this view in the same way al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī did. The Dāūdiyya related the following doctrine on the authority of Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Dāūd al-Iṣfahānī: God created Adam exactly in the form of the Most Merciful. They claim that God descends on the eve of each Friday night to the heaven of this world and also descends on the night of the Barā'a[95] and announces that, if anyone repents, I will forgive him and, if anyone seeks a pardon, I will grant it. They maintain that God is powerful by means of His power, He is knowing by means of His knowledge, merciful by means of His mercy, all-seeing by His sight, all-hearing by His hearing, and speaking by means of His speech. Each one of these attributes is distinct from the other; they mean that the hearing is distinct from seeing, power is distinct from knowledge, and speech is distinct from mercy.

At this point we have finished describing of the doctrines and beliefs of those sects which hold that all of the acts of obedience are components of faith. We have done so concisely and succinctly. It is now incumbent on the novice to express gratitude to God for His guidance through clear explanation. For even if he should examine it, God preserves him from misleading doctrines the like of these.

[95] *Laylat al-barā'a*, the observance of mid-Shaʿbān.

Chapter on the Second Doctrine

[Those Who State That The Laws Are Not Components Of Faith]

In regard to those who state that the laws are not components of faith, they have split into three divisions subdivided into twenty-four sects, each sect of which has its unique claims.

[The Division of the Qadariyya]

One of the three is the division of Determinists who are the Qadariyya[96] which is subdivided further into five sects.

[The Jahmiyya]

The first sect is the Jahmiyya related to Jahm b. Ṣafwān.[97] They say that faith is cognizance and conviction in the heart rather than confession and excluding the rest of the acts of obedience. If a man were to live a hundred years and acknowledge God and recognize Him in the heart but never confess to this with his tongue, he is nonetheless a believer. They maintained as well that God's knowledge is originated. God knew from eternity that a thing will come into being but did not know it as existing. When a thing has come into existence, it may be said God knows it as having come into existence. That God's knowledge is other than He is proven because of the temporal origination of knowledge. Examples are the humans, the heavens, the Torah, the Furqān [Qur'ān], the Gospels, the earth, and other kinds of created things. Jahm argued that he would not say that God knew eternally because, if he were to say that, it would require that there have been another eternally with Him. He agreed that he would not say He was eternally either knowing or ignorant because knowing is an act of His. When He performs the act of knowing, He has knowledge. If He performs the act of ignorance, He is in fact ignorant. Thus Jahm would say that all ignorance in this world, as well as knowledge, is an act of God. They hold that the will of God [encom-

[96] Shahrastānī (Gimaret), 290-91.

[97] Jahm died in 128/746. On him W. Montgomery Watt, "Djahm" and "Djahmiyya," *EI2*; Shahrastānī (Gimaret), 292-97; and Van Ess, *Theologie*, II, 493-508, V, 212-219.

passes] all the actions of humans, as for example those of obedience and disobedience, in the same way as they maintained is the case with knowledge. They say that the Qur'ān was created, and that God will not be seen by any one in the afterlife. God is the Creator of things, their Innovator, and the Maker of created things. None of His creation can possibly act or bring something into being and all the acts that we witness that are ascribed to the animals are actually due to God's acting through them, as is the case for the sun, the moon, and dying. Therefore, when you say a man became an unbeliever or had faith or moved or disobeyed or was obedient, committed adultery, or stole, that is the same as your saying the sun set, the moon rose, so-and-so died, grew long, grew short, or the tree dried up. All the actions in this world are actually acts of God. God will punish the servants on the day of resurrection for what He did on their behalf, not for what they did for themselves since they have no acts of their own. It is possible that God will punish all of the people and the closest angels and will reward the hypocrites and the satans and preserve them forever in His paradise. They state: this appears to us to be unjust but it is not unjust in regard to God because He is not like us and because we are merely His chattel and slaves who are not to question His actions. The proof is that, if it were possible for humans on their own to have actions, either of movement or of rest, they could adjust the heavens and the earth. If that were possible, they would seek it, but it is impossible. They say further that motions are bodies; it is absurd for them to be non-corporeal for the reason that what is non-corporeal is God Himself and nothing is like Him.[98] They hold that God acts unjustly, capriciously, and imposes a legal burden on His servants which they do not have the ability to fulfill but all that is not, on His part, unjust but rather for Him it is a bounty and a charity. That occurs only on the part of someone under command and prohibition whereas He, the mighty and glorious, is not subject to command and prohibition. They deny the punishment of the grave, Munkar and Nakīr, and the Balance. We do not claim, they say, that God is a thing but rather that He is the Maker of things. Their proof that God, the exalted, is the Maker of things is that thingness applies only to the created and it is impossible that God have any of the characteristics of creatures. They uphold rebel-

[98] Note al-Ash'arī's statement, p. 346, that "Zurqān related of Jahm b. Ṣafwān that he used to claim that motion is a body; it is absurd for it to be other than body because what is not body is God, the exhalted, and there is nothing like Him."

lion against an unjust ruler by any means available to them, by the sword or what is less than it. According to them, paradise and hell have not now been created and will not occur except at their proper time; they will be created following the day of resurrection but they will not endure after God creates them. This group believes that paradise and hell may be annihilated, and they draw support for this from the statement of God, the mighty and glorious, "He is the First and the Last."[99] He was in the beginning when there was nothing and, likewise, He will be at the end when there will be nothing with Him.

[The Biṭṭīḥiyya]

The second sect is the Biṭṭīkhiyya related to Ismāʿīl al-Biṭṭīkh.[100] The Biṭṭīkhiyya agree with the Jahmiyya in all of their doctrines concern God's transcendent unity and in other matters. They maintain, in a manner similar to the doctrines of the Jahmiyya, that the servants have no actions of their own, except that they differ with regard to the servants' reward and punishment. For the indication of this they claim that the acts of God are entirely of one kind; some He referred to as disobedience, obedience, faith, and unbelief but it was possible that He could have termed acts of obedience disobedience and disobedience obedience since they are all God's acts none of which are more reprehensible or more excellent than any other. God is just, merciful and generous. Since the act was God's act, it is not possible for Him to punish humans for an action He did on their behalf but rather He created two habitats, one of which He called paradise and reward and the other fire and punishment, although the meaning is the same for both. Subsequently, He enters those given to acts that are said to be disobedience and unbelief into His fire and punishment wherein they find delight. Their livelihood and happiness there is as natural as that of a larva in vinegar or a fish in water. He enters those given to acts that are said to be obedience and faith into His paradise. The inhabitants of paradise enjoy paradise and the inhabitants of hell take pleasure in hell and find happiness there but, if the inhabitants of paradise were to be put in hell, they would die and be destroyed. It would be as if the vinager larva were to be thrown into

[99] Q 57: 3
[100] Van Ess, *Theologie*, II, 619-21.

honey where it would perish, or the fish were to be cast up on dry land where it would die, or a bird plunged into water where it would be destroyed. For them the proof that they will not be harmed in hellfire is that God is merciful and it is not possible for Him to punish them or harm them without their having sinned but in fact they have not performed any acts on their own at all.

[The Najjāriyya]

The third sect is the Najjāriyya related to al-Ḥasan al-Najjār.[101] They maintain that God knows by His essence, has power by His essence, is all-hearing, all-seeing by His essence. They concur with the Muʿtazila with regard to God's transcendent unity except with respect to the will, which they hold to be one of the attributes of the essence, whereas the Muʿtazila consider it one of the attributes of action. The Najjāriyya accept that a single act may stem from two agents and they say that God is the creator of the acts of humans in actuality and yet they also are the doers of the same acts in actuality, not figuratively. They hold further that the capacity is with the act and the command is with the act. The capacity with which one performs an act of faith is distinct from the capacity with which one performs an act of unbelief for the reason that the capacity for faith is a grace from God and a protection and support, whereas the capacity for unbelief is an abandonment. It is impossible that the faithful be abandoned or the unbeliever be safeguarded. God, they insist, will not be seen either in this world or in the next because everything that can be seen is finite and everything finite is limited. God is too exalted to be confined within boundaries and limits. According to them God's creation of our acts is other than our acts, and likewise the creation of everything is other than that thing. For them faith is assent and cannot exist except by means of two bodily members, the heart and the tongue. It has only a single meaning but they claim that the heart affirms prior to the tongue. They deny the punishment of the grave and Munkar and Nakīr and uphold the postponement of the judgement of sinners. All children, in their view, will be in paradise. They advocate rebellion against an unjust ruler by whatever means they are able, by the sword or by less than it.

[101] Died mid 3rd/9th century. N. S. Nyberg and Khalīl ʿAthāmina, "al-Nadjdjār" and "al-Nadjdjāriyya," *EI2*; Van Ess, *Theologie*, IV, 147-67, VI, 377-392; and Sharastānī (Gimaret), 298-303.

[The Ḍirāriyya]

The fourth sect is the Ḍirāriyya related to Ḍirār b. ʿAmr.[102] They hold that an act may stem from two agents in actuality as do the Najjāriyya. They say further that the capacity precedes the act and that it is part and parcel of the human who has that capacity. His proof that it is part and parcel of the human is that, when one sees a human being, the person seen is not disengaged from color, taste, odor, hearing, seeing, weakness or power. The color is a part of him, and so is hearing, and likewise power and weakness are parts of him. Our acts, they say, are a creation of God and their creation is nothing other than they. . . .[103] Their evidence for that view is the statement of God, the glorious and the mighty: "And if any of the polytheists seek of you protection, offer it to him until he hears the words of God."[104] Thus the Qurʾān was heard from the mouth of the messenger of God, may God bless him and his family. If what was heard from the prophet was something other than what God sent down or what was only similar to what He sent down, that would have been a repudiation of this verse since God, the hallowed and the most high, Himself said, "Say, let them produce a *sūra* like it."[105] But it is impossible to produce anything like it and from that we know that an act stemming from two agents is a reality. Further they hold that what is generated by our acts is a function of our acting as well as God's acting. In that God forbids me to kill, it is absurd for Him to forbid something to me unless it is my act, and, equally, it is impossible that there be anything existing in which God has not created and acted. They advocate rebellion against an unjust ruler by all means available, by the sword or anything below it. According to them the imamate may belong to the lowliest of persons and a Persian is preferable to an Arab and the humble more suitable for it than the powerful since getting rid of them is simpler and easier if they become wicked and unjust. God will not act unjustly or punish the people, in their view, except for a deed they have done; He, however,

[102] On him see the entry by Van Ess in *EI2 Supplement*, pp. 225-27; Van Ess, *Theologie*, III, 32-59, V, 229-251; and Shahrastānī (Gimaret), 304-07.

[103] There must have been here a statement about the Qurʾān that is missing. See al-Ashʿarī, *Maqālāt*, p. 594, 4-13.

[104] Q 9: 6

[105] Q 10: 38

creates, establishes and brings it into being and, if He had not created it, it would not exist. Even so they have the power to act and are capable of it prior to their action, even though it is impossible that there exists an act on their part unless God creates it in them. Thus unbelief is a creation of God even though they are the ones who do it. Because God creates what they do, they maintain that what we hear from the prophet, may God bless him and his family, in the way of *ḥadīth*-reports are actually a creation of God and are His speech. Likewise all that we hear of the Qur'ān is the creation of God. It is His words; it is an act of the Creator, the glorious and the mighty. God, they inisist, will be seen and perceived in the afterlife by means of a sixth sense that He will create in them. In their view body is the amalgamation of the accidents that are its parts. The accidents can be transformed into bodies. Capacity is a part of the one that has the capacity and the human makes length, breadth and depth even though these are parts of the body, except that he produces them in so far as they are an act and an accident, not in respect to their being parts. The same can be taken as his doctrine in regard to the rest of the accidents that it is possible to acquire. It is related about Ḍirār that he used to deny the Qur'ān reading of Ibn Mas'ūd[106] and he swore that God had not revealed it. Likewise he would say I cannot know whether perhaps in private the masses are all guilty of polytheism and disbelief and, if humans passed by me one by one, I would be able to say that I cannot tell whether possibly each is secretly a polytheist. He said further that likewise if I were questioned about the whole lot of them, I would be able to say that I do not know. He used to deny also the bridge across hell after the resurrection [*al-ḥashr*] and the punishment of the grave.

[The Ṣabbāḥiyya]

The fifth sect is the Ṣabbāḥiyya related to their leader Abū Ṣabbāḥ b. Mu'ammar.[107] In a way similar to the doctrine of Jahm, they hold

[106] Noted companion of the prophet who was famous for his version of the Qur'ān and for possible difference in it from the standard 'Uthmānic rescension.

[107] Van Ess, *Theologie*, II, 562-64, V, 226-228. Van Ess (V, 226-27) provides a German translation of an important passage on the doctrines of the Ṣabbāḥiyya from al-Ḥākim al-Jushamī's *Sharḥ 'uyūn al-masā'il* which is quite apparently a shorter version of that given by Abū Tammām. He did not, however, note further than al-Jushamī credits Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār who, in turn, cites Abu'l-Qāsim al-Balkhī for this information.

that, in regard to acts, an animal is like the sun, the moon, or a tree. When you say a human being does not or does believe, it is like your saying that the sun sets and the tree moves. They maintain that God is never idle even for the blink of an eye and that is because creating and commanding are eternally with God; they were from Him and in Him but not by means of Him. For this they have coined the following example. It is like a sleeping man, they say, who experiences in a dream while in Samarqand a woman he will marry and he sees in his dream Syria and Mecca. What he has a sexual experience of and marries is only experienced in a dream without actual intercourse or marriage. Like that, they say, God, the mighty and glorious, saw creation from eternity. Even if God was in existence before everything and before the Throne [*ʿarsh*], the Footstool [*kursī*] and the water existed, yet where would He stand and where would He sit if He had not envisioned the Throne, the Footstool, and the water since He must inevitably have a place to be? They insist that, if God were not to see anything except existing things and yet other beings can only see existing things, there would be no difference between the two, not to mention the fact that humans witness non-existent things in their dreams. Thus we find that God sees His creation prior to its actual coming-into-being. They hold also, in a way similar to this, that there were with God eternally His friends and His enemies. The leader of His friends is Muḥammad, may God bless him and his family, and the leader of His enemies is Iblīs. They consider unlawful meat slaughtered by the Jews and Christians[108] as well as marriage with their womenfolk and they support this by arguing that God allowed this practice between Muslims and the Jews during the period during which the messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, commanded the believers to pray in the same direction they prayed. But, when he was ordered to change the direction of prayer toward the Kaʿba, God forbad the Muslims to consume the meat they had slaughtered or marry their womenfolk in the same way that God forbad them to pray in the same direction as they. The capturing of persons who joined in the *Ridda*[109] by Abū Bakr was wrong, they say, and was an act of tyranny and sedition. The Muslims agreed with Abū Bakr in paganism and error except, they further claim, for certain persons who, after Abū Bakr, turned away from

[108] Cf. Ibn Ḥazm, V, 70.

[109] Wars of apostacy immediately following the death of the prophet.

that and repented of it at the hands of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. They claim that the most excellent of mankind after the Messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, was ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. In their view ʿUthmān was murdered unjustly and killing is unlawful except in three situations: premeditated murder, fornication after and outside the bounds of marriage, and apostacy. According to them the murderer of ʿUthmān, God curse him, is in hell. They fault ʿAlī, on whom be peace, and ʿAmmār [b. Yāsir],[110] may God be pleased with him, for their fighting those they fought. They ask how those who killed ʿAmmār could be accused of being rebels when it was ʿAmmār who attacked them. They command the menstruating woman to perform prayers and the fast by arguing that menstruation is common to women and a part of their make-up. Ordinary and characteristic functions are not an obstruction to acts of obedience. This group advocate following any claimant of the imamate and the rule of whoever dominates; they call for supporting them, obeying them, and abstaining from rebellion against them whether they are just or tyrannical. God, they argue, is the one who appointed them, gave them authority, assigned it to them. Whoever disobeys them, disobeys God; and whoever disobeys God is a wicked and reprehensible person.

End of the section on the Determinists.

[The Division of Anthropomorphists]

The second division comprises the anthropomorphists who are further subdivided into thirteen sects.

[The Kullābiyya]

The first sect is the Kullābiyya related to Muḥammad b. Kullāb.[111] In respect to action and capacity, their doctrine is like that of Ḥusayn al-Najjār, and they say that cognizance is created and that God, the most high, created it in the hearts of the faithful and did not create it

[110] A companion of the prophet and later a prominent partisan of ʿAlī who was killed at the Battle of Siffin in 37/657. On him see H. Rechkendorf, "ʿAmmār b. Yāsir," *EI2*

[111] Died 241/855. On him see Van Ess, "Ibn Kullāb," in *EI2 Supplement*, pp. 391-92; Van Ess, *Theologie*, IV, 180-194, VI, 402-17.

in the hearts of the unbelievers. They hold further that the Qur'ān is not created and that it does not separate from God, the glorious and the mighty. According to them God knows with a knowledge that is not He nor is it other than He and it is neither eternal nor temporally contingent. Knowledge is an attribute, they argue, and an attribute does not have attributes. Also they maintain that God is powerful because of a power that is not He nor other than He and it is not a part of Him nor is it eternal or temporally contingent. Their doctrine with respect to hearing and seeing is similar. They hold that God was eternally speaking by a speech that is not He nor other than He and is not a part of Him nor is it eternal or temporally contingent. They deal with the rest of God's attributes, such as being purposeful and forgiving and the like, in a similar way. The faithful, in their view, will see their Lord in the afterlife and, on the question of the threat, they defer judgement. Muḥammad b. Kullāb, their leader, was a Christian prior to his conversion to Islam.[112] He maintained that God is on the throne but not in a particular place and not in a body. By the throne he did not mean dominion.

[The Ashʿariyya]

The second sect is the Ashʿariyya related to ʿAlī b. Ismāʿīl al-Ashʿarī.[113] They are in agreement with the Kullābiyya in all of their doctrines about God's transcendent unity and the acts of humans with the exception that they differ with them concerning God's knowledge, power, hearing and seeing because they insist that God's knowledge is other than God and is eternal. Similarly, God's power is other than God, His hearing is other than He, His seeing is other than He; and all these are eternals alongside God. The Kullābiyya and the Ashʿariyya both concur that God is not corporeal and the Ashʿariyya hold, in regard to the vision of God, a doctrine like that of the Kullābiyya, namely that the faithful will see Him with their eyes. Al-Ashʿarī had said in his book called *al-Lumaʿ*,[114]

[112] According to Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*, 269, Dodge trans. 448-9), Ibn Kullāb had said that the speech of God is God and for that reason ʿAbbād declared that he was Christian. Abū Tammām makes a more straightforward assertion that, in fact, he had been truly a Christian but prior to his conversion.

[113] Died 324/935-6. On the Ashʿariyya, see Shahrastānī (Gimaret), 314-38 and Watt, "al-Ashʿarī, Abu'l-Ḥasan," *EI2*.

[114] Edited with an Eng. trans. by Richard J. McCarthy in *The Theology of al-Ashʿarī* (Beirut, Imprimerie Catholique, 1953).

> If they, that is, our opponents, should object to our position and themselves claim that, were the vision of God possible, it would be possible to feel Him, taste Him, smell Him, and hear Him. We would answer them, saying, either you intend by mentioning feeling and tasting that God brings into being the perception you have in your organs without God also bringing into being a quality in Himself, or you intended the bringing into being of a quality in Him. If you had intended its being brought into being in Him, that is not possible. If you had intended the bringing into being of the perception in us, that is possible. The determination of a designation belongs to God, the glorious and the mighty; if He orders the designation of feeling, smelling, and tasting, we designate it so. As for hearing, it is possible that the Creator could cause us to hear Himself speaking just as He caused Moses to hear Himself speaking.[115]

In jurisprudence the Ashʿariyya follow the teachings of Abū Ḥanīfa,[116] whereas in the matter of determinism both the Kullābiyya and the Ashʿariyya uphold a doctrine like that of the Najjāriyya who recognize that an act may stem from two separate agents.

[The Karrāmiyya]

The third sect is the Karrāmiyya related to Muḥammad b. Karrām al-Sijistānī.[117] They maintain that God is a body adjoining the throne, that He will be seen in the next life, and that the Qur'ān is uncreated. Muḥammad b. Karrām was a man given to self mortification and asceticism. He claimed that he was a person who relied solely on God and that he had intended to go into the desert with many of those who followed him without provisions, water, or riding mounts. The ruler prevented him from doing that and threw him in prison, saying, "This man will destroy himself and these other poor wretches as well. It is incumbent on us to stop him and to assume control over him." The Karrāmiyya say that the prophet, may God bless him and his family, was never the proof [*ḥujja*] and that was because he died and God's proof will not die. They insist also that there is nothing among us that is the word of God; the Qur'ān is only a narration of the words of God and a narration is not the same as the narrated. They claim further that there is not, in the heart of any of the saints, the prophets, or the

[115] Cf. Arabic text of the *Lumaʿ* itself, pp. 33-34, Eng. trans., pp. 47-8.

[116] Later Ashʿarites were, however, almost always Shāfiʿite.

[117] Died 255/869. On him and the Karrāmiyya, see Madelung, *Religious Trends*, 39-46; Bosworth, "Karrāmiyya," *EI2*; Shahrastānī (Gimaret), 347-61.

faithful, faith in God. That is because faith with God is speech rather than cognizance, assent, or the rest of the acts of obedience. The location of speech is not in the heart but rather solely on the tongue. They maintain that the hypocrites are actually believers. On the matter of the acts of humans, they hold doctrines like those of the Najjāriyya. There are, however, oddities in which they stand alone and among these is their claim that a woman is unlawful to anyone who has had sexual intercourse with her mother. Another is permitting their associates, whenever in the middle of a dispute with opponents and the opponent asks them for a *ḥadīth* from the prophet, may God bless him and his family, in accord with their doctrine, to invent the *ḥadīth* spontaneously for that particular occasion and to attribute it to the prophet, may God bless him and his family, and use it as their proof of that doctrine. Their argument for this is that their doctrines are true and the prophet, may God bless him and grant him peace, would only have spoken the truth and summoned to it. Thus, when they relate of him, may God bless him and his family, that he said this or that in which they believe, they have been quite truthful. According to them the people will be assembled [at the Resurrection] in Jerusalem and their leader Muḥammad b. Karrām gathered from Khurāsān and its vicinity more than five thousand families and moved them to Jerusalem. Thereafter when the people gather to assemble there, having already moved to it at present, it will be easier for them on the day of resurrection in that they will be closer to the assembling point. They hold that God creates conviction in the hearts of His servants although He did not create it in the hearts of some of them. It is a gift from God, the mighty and the glorious, which humans have no ability to acquire on their own. The capacity, they insist, precedes the act.

[The Hishāmiyya]

The fourth sect is the Hishāmiyya related to Hishām b. al-Ḥakam al-Kūfī.[118] They hold that God is a corporeal being with length, breadth, and depth, light of the lights, having measurements, solid with no inner hollowness, and not porous, as if He were an ingot that glistens like a pearl whose sides are all one and He is like that in all His extremities. They maintain further that God has color, taste, fragrance, and is felt; his color is His taste, His fragrance, and His

[118] Died 179/795-6. On him see Madelung, "Hishām b. al-Ḥakam," *EI2*; Van Ess, *Theologie*, I, 349-79, V, 70-100.

palpableness. In their view God existed and there was nothing else. Therefore He knew of nothing nor was He ignorant of it. Then knowledge came into being; knowledge is a motion but knowledge is not God Himself nor is it other than He. God was eternally quiescent but quiescence is not a quality. Their proof that God's knowledge was temporally produced is that it is impossible that there be knowledge and yet no known thing, or a strike without anything struck. Since that is considered impossible, it is proven that knowledge is temporally produced. Their proof that God's knowledge cannot be said to be other than He is that mutual distinctiveness qualifies bodies only and knowledge is not corporeal. Thus, it is correct, for that reason, that otherness cannot validly be predicated of the attributes of God. They say that God will be seen in the next life because He is a light; from wherever He is approached He will be seen totally. According to them God's will is temporally produced like His knowledge and it is a motion and a gesture. They say further that God produces it for humans and we cannot say that God wills either unbelief or faith before it happens or that He intends it because unbelief and faith are attributes to which will does not apply. Rather, when the human performs an act of unbelief or of faith, we say that God wills him to be an unbeliever or that God wills him to be faithful since the human being is caused and does not act except through a cause and a reason that comes from God. God engenders no cause unless He intends that the human be the agent for what He effects. They maintain that the motions of humans are their acts; quiescence is not a quality. Motion is an attribute of the mover but yet it is not He nor other than He. Their proof is that otherness applies solely to bodies and motion is not a body. In their view the Qur'ān is of two kinds: what is heard—the discrete sounds—God created. With respect to meaning, however, it is produced in time and is a motion and is like knowledge which is not He nor other than He since otherness applies solely to bodies.[119] They hold that capacity, such as the soundness and health of the limbs, is prior to the act except that

[119] This opinion of Hishām, according to al-Ash'arī (pp. 582-3), comes from Zurqān. Just before he had mentioned an item given by al-Balkhī but noted in that instance that al-Balkhī had "added" to the previous thought (*wa zāda al-Balkhī*). The sequence here does not indicate with any clarity the relationship of al-Balkhī to Zurqān but one possibility it may suggest is that Zurqān was an important source for al-Balkhī and, although there is no evidence for such a connection in the available section on the Mu'tazila from al-Balkhī's *Maqālāt*, it may have been more obviously in some of the later non-Mu'tazilite parts of it.

the act takes place only through causes that come from God together with the act. This cause is not the capacity. Their proof is that the capacity may exist while the act is yet non-existent. For that reason, we know that there must be some cause for the act when it has come into existence that is an intermediate between it and the capacity, since the act could not exist except upon the existence of the cause. They hold that cognitions are necessitated by the requirement of created nature but do not exist except as due to a necessitating cause. An example is the opening of the eye, since opening the eye is an act of yours, whereas the perception involved is an act of God, being a necessity made requisite by created nature. They say further that, since it is established that the perception of the eye is an act of God and it is due to a cause, it is correct that each perception is an act of God and is due to a cause in analogy with this. In their view God causes pain to children through the requirement of their created nature in this world and not by any other means. This implies that He creates for them an innate nature such that, when something occurs to harm them or cause an infirmity, they feel pain because it is a requirement of their created nature and formation. We only ascribe it to God because created nature goes back to Him. God will resurrect no one, they insist, but those who deserve recompense because of His having said: "Today each soul shall be requited for what it has earned."[120] There will be no resurrection for children, beasts, and the insane. They say also that God was not on the throne and then He brought the throne into being and rose on it and the throne is contiguous to him. They consider it proper that He should move from place to place as in rising and descending and what resemble these. According to them God is finite in His essence but not finite in scope [*miqdār*]. In their view the imam after the messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, was ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, may the blessings of God be upon him. Hishām b. al-Ḥakam was a Rāfiḍī who supported the Twelve Imams.[121] Hishām b. al-Ḥakam and the Rawāfiḍ in general held that faith is a name for recognition, acknowledgement and acts. Whoever does all of that is a believer with complete faith and whoever is deficient in any of the things God requires of him but does not deny is not a faithful believer but is termed

[120] Q 40: 17

[121] I.e. he was an Imāmī Shīʿī, although how he could have been a Twelver is difficult since he died before there were twelve imams. On the term Rāfiḍī see the later entry on the Nāwūsiyya..

instead an offender whose marrying and inheriting is even yet permissible. They hold further that those who are guilty of major sins will remain in hell perpetually but their punishment will be lighter than that of the unbelievers. For them God could have created a man and, although He knew that he would live twenty years, He can cause him to die in ten years or He can make him live more than twenty years. They find support for this in God's statement, "God blots out and establishes what He will and with Him is the mother of the book."[122] They insist there is no punishment of the grave for the believer nor punishment in the fire and they derive this from the statement of God, the mighty and the glorious: "They shall not taste in it of death except the first death."[123] They do, however, recognize the punishment of unbelievers in the grave. According to them ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, upon whom be peace, was the wisest of rulers. Precautionary dissimulation of belief[124] is allowed to him who fears for himself and they take this from the exalted God's statement, "Cast not yourselves by your own hands into destruction,"[125] from His saying, "except him who has been compelled though his heart is at rest in faith,"[126] from the saying of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, on whom be peace, "precautionary dissimulation is wider than what is between the heaven and the earth but is not allowed except to those who are under constraint," and on the basis of a statement by Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, on whom be peace, "precautionary dissimulation is my religion and the religion of my fathers." They claim that human is a term for two qualities: for the body and for the spirit. The body is dead and the spirit is alive. The soul is active, sensing, perceiving and is a light of the lights.[127] Their proof that the soul has action apart from the body is that you see body when it is impotent and unable to do anything and later it acts. If action belonged to body, it would be active wherever we find it. Since, however, we find it active in one state and not active in another, we know that activity itself belongs to something else.

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[122] Q 13: 39
[123] Q 44: 56
[124] *taqiya.*
[125] Q 2: 195
[126] Q 16: 106
[127] A portion of the text here has been adopted from al-Ashʿarī (pp. 60-61) who offers a version of the same original passage, noting that the source is Zurqān.

[The Jawālīqiyya]

The fifth sect is the Jawālīqiyya related to Hishām b. Sālim al-Jawālīqī b. ʿAmr.[128] They hold that God is the light of lights and He has two braids consisting of light. He is surrounded from six sides: behind, in front, to the right, to the left, beneath, and above, and is contiguous with the throne and has color, taste, fragrance, feel and senses. For them the sense with which He perceives color does not perceive sound and that with which He perceives sound He does not perceive color by it. That with which He perceives color is not that by which He perceives fragrance. Thus each perceives what it perceives on its own separately. Our indication is that it can only be conceivable thus. They hold that the capacity precedes the act and that there is no act unless God wills that act. Motions, they insist, are bodies and are an act of the human because God commands them to perform the act and they cannot do what is not long, wide, or deep. What is not long, wide or deep cannot be done.[129] According to them cognitions are entirely compulsory. It is possible that God may withhold them from some people and give them to other people, although He imposes on them the obligation to admit them as a whole. They maintain that each perception in the world is an act of God, the mighty and the glorious. In their view the community became unbelieving after the messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, except for ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, and ʿAlī's followers who held a doctrine concerning God's transcendent unity like theirs. But God is exalted exceedingly high indeed above what the wrongdoers say.

[The Muqātiliyya]

The sixth sect is the Muqātiliyya related to Muqātil b. Sulaymān.[130] They maintain that God, the exalted, is corporeal with length, breadth, and depth in the form of a human having flesh and blood. Their proof is the statement of the prophet, may God bless him and his family, that God has the form of a youth with short curly hair. Their doctrines concerning God's justice, His transcendent unity, the

[128] Van Ess, *Theologie*, I, 342-48, V, 69-70.

[129] Portions related to al-Ashʿarī, 346, and said there to have been recorded by Zurqān.

[130] Died 150/767. See M. Plessner and A. Rippin, "Muḳātil," *EI2*; Van Ess, *Theologie*, II, 516-32.

promise and threat, faith, Islam, unbelief, polytheism, wickedness, paradise, hellfire, the punishment of the grave, the imamate, and other matters is approximately what we have described and explained in regard to the doctrine of the Ḥadīthiyya. They have differences, however, concerning legal rulings, the law, and prescribed punishments that, in effect, if I attempted to expound on them, would unduly lengthen my book and require me to depart from the limit that I had intended in composing it toward something else. I shall not, however, leave my book without mentioning this summarily, God willing.

[The Nābita]

The seventh[131] sect is the Nābita.[132] They maintain that God, the glorious and the mighty, created Adam in the image of the Most Merciful [*al-Raḥmān*] and their proof in reason is that something all-hearing and all-seeing is not intelligible unless it is flesh and blood. They affirm that God has senses like the senses of humans and they consider it reasonable that each one of them is distinct from the others. Thus what He hears with is different from that He sees with and similarly the rest of the senses are mutually distinct. According to them God sits on the Throne, He stands up and sits down, and the Footstool is located on the throne. He descends to the sky of this world on the eve of every Friday night and moves about from place to place. They say that He is a thing not like other things with respect to eternity because, if we were to say that He is a thing not like other things in every respect, we would have both affirmed and denied Him at the same time and that is the denial of all attributes [*ta'ṭīl*]. For us to say that He is a thing is to affirm Him and our saying that He is not like other things in every respect is to deny Him since we would have removed from Him the meaning of thingness which is itself an affirmation. They go on to say, for that reason, we hold that God is a body not

[131] This sect and the following one, the Aṣḥāb al-Faḍā', are both number seven in the original, yet they are distinct sects. There is no explanation as to why there should be two sects numbered seven rather than one; the mistake seems to be Abū Tammām's.

[132] On the Nābita, see Ch. Pellat, "Nābita," *EI2*; Shahrastānī (Gimaret), 291, note #8. The name is commonly misspelled as it is in the ms. of Abū Tammām's text. See, for example, the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm, section on the *Nābitat al-ḥashwiyya*, p. 268-71, Dodge trans., 446-51. Consult also the study by Wadād al-Qādī, "The earliest 'Nābita' and the Paradigmatic 'Nawābit,'" *SI* 78 (1993): 27-61.

like other bodies in respect to eternity since we do not observe in the visible world any active being having hearing, seeing, power, knowledge that is not a body. Accordingly, we judge from this that He is corporeal. They maintain that the believer will never enter into hellfire, even if he commits major sins, and he will, even in his wickedness, go to paradise inevitably. Any acts of injustice and disobedience are [subject to] punishment at the station of the last judgement [*al-mawqif*] after which those who commit them move on to paradise. For this view they rely on the statement of God: "Then We have given the book for inheritance to such of our servants as We have choosen but there are among them some who wrong their own souls, some who follow a middle course, and some who are foremost in good deeds" (to the end of the verse).[133] Here they insist that these are the believers and that they are the inhabitants of paradise. They also cite the statement of God, the glorious and the mighty: "God will not forgive associating other gods with Him but anything less He will forgive to whomever He wishes,"[134] and similarly His words: "O my servants who have transgressed against their own souls, despair not of the mercy of God, for God forgives all sins; He is oft-forgiving and most merciful."[135] They say: just as acts of obedience provide no benefit if accompanied by unbelief, so too acts of disobedience will not cause harm when accompanied by belief. They hold that because, in our opinion, it is proven in the verses revealed in regard to the threat which state that the perpetual residence of the inhabitants of hell is in hellfire, it is correct, according to us, also that God should not enter anyone from the community of Muḥammad, may God bless him and his family, into hellfire. For them the most excellent person after the messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, was Abū Bakr, then ʿUmar, then ʿUthmān, then ʿAlī, then the remaining six of those promised paradise[136] by the messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, and finally the rest of his companions.

[133] Q 35: 32
[134] Q 4: 48
[135] Q 39: 53
[136] The *ʿashara al-mubashshara*, the ten promised paradise, normally include the four persons just mentioned here plus Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf, Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ, Saʿīd b. Zayd, and Abū ʿUbayda b. al-Jarrāh. See "al-ʿAshara," by Wensinck in *EI2*.

[Aṣḥāb al-Faḍā']

The seventh [*sic*] sect are the Aṣḥāb al-Faḍā'.[137] They affirm the One the Eternal and affirm also the temporality of the world. They say that God's knowledge is temporally produced and they make that argument according to the reasoning of Jahm. There are two varieties in this sect: one variation are the followers of ʿAbdallāh b. Abī ʿAbdallāh al-Taymī. These maintain that God is the void and He is corporeal with length, breadth, and depth and is the locus of things. All created things, such as the heavens, the earth, and everything pertaining to them, or in them, or on them, are in Him and they are in need of Him. He is, however, greater than everything; it is not possible that there be anything greater than He. The second variety are the followers of Manṣūr b. Bishr al-Umawī. They say that God is the void but the void is not a body. God extends in all directions without His, glorious is His mention, having any limit; He is infinite in essence and He created all things in Himself. Their proof that the Void is not a body is that they have found that bodies require specific locations and He is not in need of a location. They uphold determinism in the same manner as Jahm b. Ṣafwān. According to them the prophets are not impeccable. They concede the punishment of children in hell and do not deny the punishment of the grave. They uphold the imamate of Abū Bakr after the messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, then the imamate of ʿUmar after him, and next the imamate of ʿUthmān, followed by the imamate of ʿAlī, on whom be peace, and then the imamate of whoever takes possession of the caliphate one after the other until the day of resurrection.

[The Ḥubbiyya]

The eighth sect is the Ḥubbiyya and they are the partisans of inspiration and suggestion. This name, that is, the Ḥubbiyya, derives from their claim that we love God and do not worhip Him out of fear of His punishment nor in hope of His reward but instead we worship

[137] In the manuscript the name here reads *aṣḥāb al-faḍl* whereas in the *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm* it appears as al-Qaḍā'iyya. Thus it might have been *aṣḥāb al-qaḍā'*. However, a sect that held that God is al-Faḍā' was known to the heresiographers al-Ashʿarī and al-Ḥimyarī and a comparison of doctrinal statements recorded for this group by them and by Abū Tammām proves that they are the same. Al-Khwārazmī's text should be corrected accordingly as well.

out of love [*ḥubb*] for Him.[138] They maintain that God is a body having the form of a beardless youth with a beautiful face and that they will see their Lord in the afterlife when they themselves will have become beardless youths having the same form as the Lord. Likewise the messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, stated that the inhabitants of paradise will be hairless, beardless, and dark-eyed, meaning that they will see their Lord when they have changed into the same hairless, beardless form as He. God, however, is exalted high indeed above what the wrongdoers claim.

These Ḥubbiyya have secrets among themselves which they hide but which indicate that they exceed even the doctrine of the Muqātiliyya. About them it is related from Abu'l-Ḥasan al-Nāshi'[139] that he said:

> ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Isḥaq b. Mūsā b. Jaʿfar related to me the following from Yaḥyā b. Muʿādh al-Rāzī[140] who was well known among this group. He said, "We were once in ʿIrāq where we approached a handsome young man who was as comely as any youth to be found. We set him up on a dais raised off the ground attired in various kinds of splendid apparel. Two veils were hung above him and dropped between us and him as curtains. We set him where he would be behind a curtain but then we could lift it when he so commanded. All in the house were holding those curtains and we recited hymns of longing and sang plaintive songs. We mentioned those creatures dark of eye and the gardens of paradise and what God had prepared in them for His friends in the way of bounties. We drank of the decocted beverage in our desire for the wines of paradise which are a delight for those who consume them. When we were overcome by joy and we had arrived at the ultimate limit of all that by recollecting the visit of the saints to God, the mighty and the glorious, we pleaded and begged that we be permitted a visit in order to take our pleasure of that youth. If we pleaded and begged, he ordered the controller of the curtain to raise it. In a similar fashion we persisted tirelessly and he applied himself until giving permission to the controller of the curtain that was between us and him to raise it. When he raised it and he appeared to us on that throne, we fell to the ground on our faces, pleading, calling out, lamenting. Nor did we stop persevering in the same manner to the point of losing consciousness until the first rays of morning broke forth and thereupon we dispersed."

[138] Al-Khwārazmī says of them, "The eighth who are the Ḥubbiyya are called that because of their claim that they do not worship God out of fear or wish for gratification but rather they worship Him out of love." It should be observed that several aspects of the doctrine and activities of this sect correspond to that of the Sufis.

[139] On his possible role in the composition of the text as a whole, see the Introduction.

[140] Van Ess (*Theologie*, II, 637) gives his death date as 258/872.

They maintain that humans who do not love God will not benefit from worshipping out of fear of Him and they will never enter paradise.

A poet recited to one of their leaders:

You disobey God and yet you display love for Him.
This is absurd, unprecedented in analogical reasoning;
If your love had been true, you would have obeyed Him,
For the lover is obedient to the person he loves.[141]

[The Bayāniyya]

The ninth sect is the Bayāniyya related to Bayān b. Samʿān.[142] The Bayāniyya make up one group of the anthropomorphists and they say that God has the form of a human being having flesh and blood. They argue this point by use of examples from the arguments of the Muqātiliyya. For them the Qurʾān has no interpretation or meaning other than that conveyed in the face value of its words. They maintain that God will not afflict hardship on His servants and thus, if the Qurʾān contained meanings that were other than those conveyed in the face value of its phrases, it would constitute a hardship for them. They claim further that God will destroy all creation except His face because of having said, "Everything will perish except His face."[143] Abu'l-Sarī[144] said in a lengthy *qaṣīda* censuring them:

They claim that their Lord will perish
altogether except His face, the possessor of splendor.
Because of that claim and others similar to it
God reserved for them the fate of the lowliest.[145]

In regard to the exhalted God's statement, "He has prescribed for Himself mercy,"[146] they say He wrote on His face, His eyes, and all of

[141] These two lines of poetry are often attributed to Imam al-Shāfiʿī (see his *Dīwān*, Beirut, 1984, p. 76 and note 6), probably because of the mention of *qiyās* in the first of them, but they are more likely verses by Maḥmūd al-Warrāq as indicated by al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil* (ed. W. Wright, Leipzig, 1864), p. 225

[142] Died 119/737. On him see M. G. S. Hodgson, "Bayān b. Samʿān al-Tamīmī," *EI2*; Shahrastānī (Gimaret), 450-52; and William Tucker, "Bayān b. Samʿān and the Bayāniyya," *Muslim World* 65 (1975): 241-53.

[143] Q 28: 88

[144] Abu'l-Sarī Maʿdān al-Shumaytī.

[145] These verses are also found in the *Uṣūl al-niḥal* ascribed to al-Nāshiʾ, ed. Van Ess, p. 40.

[146] Q 6: 12

His limbs that He is the merciful. They require washing of every one upon standing up for prayer even without having incurred impurity and they find support for this in God's statement, "When you stand up to pray, wash your faces," (to the end of the verse).[147] They insist there is no mention in this verse of ritual impurity but only a reference to standing up and no more. All those who pray the morning prayer and do not sit down until the time of the afternoon and have not incurred impurity are not required to perform ablutions. They claim that Bayān b. Samʿān was granted the highest name of God and that with it he summoned Venus and she would respond to him. This Bayān was from the tribe of Tamīm.

[The Mughīriyya]

The tenth sect is the Mughīriyya related to al-Mughīra b. Saʿīd al-ʿIjlī.[148] They make up one group of the anthropomorphists. The object of their worship, according to them, is a man the light on whose head forms a crown and he wears garments. His loincloth is the Qurʾān that was revealed to Muḥammad, the messenger of God, may God bless him and his family; His robes are the Gospels that were revealed to Jesus, on whom be peace; His shirt is the Torah that was revealed to Moses, on whom be peace; and His pants are the Psalms that were revealed to David, on whom be peace. He possesses limbs and a physical constitution like that of a man and has a belly from which flows wisdom. They claim that the letters of the alphabet agree with the number of His limbs and that each letter in it resembles one of His limbs. The *alif* is in the position of His foot because of its curvature. The rest of the members they describe in accord with the description of these letters. They insist that al-Mughīra said to his followers once when speaking of the letter *hāʾ*: if you were to see its place on Him, you would see something awesome. He was hinting at some genitalia of His and that he had seen Him. The Mughīriyya claim that these letters are all a part of one name which is the greatest name of God. In addition they insist that al-Mughīra was a prophet and he knew that name. With it he used to revive the dead and perform other marvels. They report that once al-Mughīra passed

[147] Q 5: 6

[148] Died 119/737. On them see Madelung, "al-Mughīriyya," *EI2*; Shahrastānī (Gimaret), 515-18; and Tucker, "Rebels and Gnostics, Al-Mughīra ibn Saʿīd and the Mughīriyya," *Arabica* 22, pp. 33-47.

through a cemetery with some of his followers and there in that cemetery he revived the dead and fed them fruits in mid-winter. Moreover, he displayed to them a flash of light that ran from the crown of his head to his feet; he toyed thus with his followers and bewitched their eyes with tricks of magic. They also report that al-Mughīra spoke about the beginning of creation. He said that God, the glorious and most high, was once alone and nothing was with Him. When He wished to create things, He spoke His own name. His word flew and landed over His head above the crown. Al-Mughīra said that this was His statement, "Glorify the name of your Lord most high."[149] Then with His finger He wrote on His palm the deeds of humans that are acts of disobedience and obedience and He became angry at the acts of disobedience. His sweat overflowed and two oceans gathered from His sweat, one brackish and dark, the other pure and luminous. Then looking into the ocean, He saw His shadow, so He went forth to seize it. He plucked out its two eyes and created out of them two suns and He blotted out some light from the moon. Then, out of the physical forms of His shadow, He created the heavens and the stars. Next, from those two oceans, He created creation in its entirety: from the dark brackish water, He created the unbelievers; from the pure luminous water, He created the believers. That was on account of God the most high, by what they claim, creating at that moment the shadows of the people. The first among them that God created was Muḥammad, may God bless him and his family, in accord with the statement of God, the glorious and the mighty, "Say: if the Most Merciful had a son, I would be the first of the worshippers."[150] Next, He sent Muḥammad to the people altogether while they were yet shadows and He commanded him to have them bear witness on their own account of their recognition of the lordship of God, the apostleship of Muḥammad, and the guardianship of ʿAlī, on whom be peace, and that he recited His words, "When your Lord took from the tribe of Adam . . ." (to the end of the verse).[151] Then He proposed to the heavens and the earth that they should prevent ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib from assuming the caliphate and the imamate, but they refused. Next He proposed it to the mountains but they refused also. Then He proposed it to the people, whereupon ʿUmar went to Abū Bakr—both were at that moment still shadows—

[149] Q 87: 1
[150] Q 43: 81
[151] Q 7: 172

and he ordered him to take upon himself preventing ʿAlī by both betraying him. Thereafter Abū Bakr did exactly that. All this is in God's statement, "We did indeed offer the trust to the heavens and the earth and the mountains but they refused to undertake it being afraid of it. But man undertook it; he was indeed unjust and foolish."[152] Then ʿUmar said to Abū Bakr, "I will support you against ʿAlī, on whom be peace, so that you can pass the caliphate to me after yourself." That is in God's statement, "Like Satan when he said to man, 'disbelieve' and when he renounced belief, he said, 'I am free of you.'"[153] Here the satan is ʿUmar and the man is Abū Bakr.[154] In their view the earth will disgorge the dead and they will return to this world. The Mahdī will appear at the end of time, they say, and Gabriel and Michael will aid him between the Rukn and the Maqām. He will choose nineteen men and give each one of them a letter of the greatest name of God and by means of it they will defeat all armies and dominate the earth.

[The Zurāriyya]

The eleventh sect is the Zurāriyya related to Zurāra b. Aʿyan b. Sunsun.[155] They say that God is a body not like other bodies, a form not like other forms. He existed eternally without being all-hearing or all-seeing or powerful or all-knowing until He created all these for Himself. Thereafter He hears by means of a created hearing, sees with created sight, has power through a created power, and knows by a created knowledge. The rest of the attributes, such as speech, wisdom and others, are like these. They maintain that new things occur to God like someone who accepts one opinion after another and they say that, if it were not that new things can occur to Him, He would be simply obstinate and obdurate. Obstinacy only exists because of an inability to dispose freely. A new occurrence can only be an enhancement of ability and the revising of an opinion means resolution and strengthening. Achieving the single correct opinion will not happen except as the result of information; if God had nothing new occur to Him, He would be under compulsion like a fire in its caus-

[152] Q 33: 72

[153] Q 59: 16

[154] It is perhaps curious that this attitude is almost exactly that expressed by the author in his own introduction at the beginning of the "Chapter on Satan."

[155] Died 150/768. On him see Van Ess, *Theologie*, I, 321-30; Shahrastānī (Gimaret), 493 and note #100, 537-38.

ing burning or the sun in its daily rotations or a stone in its falling or the water in its flowing. On this subject a poet of theirs recited while reporting on the signs indicating the appearance of the imam (this is because they are a group of the Rāfiḍa [Shīʿa]):

> These are signs which will appear in their own time,
> and you have no escape from what God decrees.
> If no new occurrence happened, you would call Him unsound in His judgement;
> The quality of the new is the mark of one who can change.
> If not for new occurrences, He would not have been free to dispose;
> He would be like the fire that flames at all times,
> and would be like a resplendent light and a nature;
> but in God we seek refuge from any thought of the natural elements.[156]

They argue in favor of the new occurrence by maintaining that God is a body and that He does not know a thing until after He has caused it to come into being. Whenever something is not as He intended, He changes His mind about it, abandons it, and brings about the creation of another. The proof is that He commands a certain law or a certain act of obedience but then abrogates it, ceases to require it, and issues a command in favor of another. They find support also in the statement of God, the exalted, "God blots out and He establishes whatsoever He will; and with Him is the mother of the book,"[157] and in His words, "Every day He is upon some labor."[158] These people say that God sent Gabriel to Muḥammad, may God bless him and his family, but then changed His mind in regard to Muḥammad and wanted to send him to ʿAlī, on whom be peace, but He was loath to cancel Muḥammad's prophethood after having once put it into effect lest the Quraysh say that the Lord of Muḥammad was not firm in His resolve. Thus instead He sent Gabriel to Muḥammad and told him to say: "You are only a warner and for every people there is a guide"[159]—meaning thereby, you are their warner and their guide is ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, on whom be peace, and to say to him: "And as for him who stands on a clear sign from his Lord; there follows him a witness from Him"[160]—meaning, ʿAlī, on

[156] These verses are found in Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlī al-Shīrāzī's *al-Lumaʿ fī uṣūl al-fiqh* (Beirut, 1984), p. 164; see also *Sharḥ al-lumaʿ*, vol. I (Beirut, 1988), p. 485.
[157] Q 13: 39
[158] Q 55: 29
[159] Q 13: 7
[160] Q 11: 17

whom be peace. In regard to their argument that God's knowledge is temporally produced and created, they insist that God was eternally and will continue eternally; He was not knowing and not ignorant until He brought into being for Himself knowledge by means of which He knew things and does not know anything until He caused it to be. They insist that those who claim that He knows something when the thing did not exist—i.e. prior to its coming into existence—are claiming that God knew nothing. The proof, they add, is the statement of God, the glorious and the mighty, "Go to Pharaoh for he has transgressed all bounds; yet speak to him gently that possibly he may be mindful or take fear."[161] If God had known that he would not be mindful, He would not have said, "possibly he." From this they conclude that every instance in the Qur'ān of the words 'perhaps' [*la'alla*] or 'possibly' ['*asā*] connotes doubt. Like that, they say, are God's words: "And We did not determine the direction that you were facing except that We might distinguish those who followed the messenger from those who turned on their heels."[162] If He had known that already, He would not have said this. Another example is His statement, "Now God has lightened it for you, knowing that there is a weakness in you."[163] He has let us know that He knows a thing only when He brings it into being. Yet another example is His statement: "And yet he had no authority over them but that We might know him who believed in the hereafter from him who was in doubt thereof,"[164] and His statement: "And We shall assuredly try you until We know those of you who struggle and are steadfast, and We shall try your reported mettle."[165] If He had known, He would not have said this. Every verse they find in the Qur'ān like these, they explain in the manner mentioned here.

[The Minhāliyya]

The twelfth sect is the Minhāliyya related to al-Minhāl b. Maymūn al-'Ijlī. They make up one group of the anthropomorphists. According to them, God is a subtle body with length, breadth, and width. He has the power to change His essence into various forms such as

[161] Q 20: 43-44
[162] Q 2: 143
[163] Q 8: 66
[164] Q 34: 21
[165] Q 47: 31

solid objects, plants, animals, reptiles, insects, cattle, lions, scorpions, humans, jinn, angels, and other kinds of created beings. They insist that, if He were unable to change His essence into forms of various kinds, He would be even more unable to change others. Here they argue their point by citing a report related from the messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, that God, the most blessed and exalted, descends from heaven riding on a donkey hastening and inquires about the house of Abū Hurayra among the dwellings of Madina in order to visit him in his illness. And citing the report related from him, they say that the exalted God created the horse and set it to run; then He created Himself out of the sweat of that horse. This al-Minhāl was a clever poet who said in one of his pieces:

If my Lord were not able to alter Himself,
I and my Lord would be equal in these matters.
So how could it be that these demons change their own shape
and Iblīs after striking with calamity reverts to thin air,
or he assumes for a time the shape of Ibn Ja'sham?
Indeed you two increase me in boldness and sagacity
and Gabriel met a companion with the shape of Diḥya.[166]
So this is sufficient if you need satisfaction.

He means by this that Gabriel, Iblīs, and the demons have the power to change their forms into various other forms. If God were not able to change His essence, He would be weaker than they and they would be more suited for lordship than He, who is glorious and mighty high indeed beyond what the unjust say. They advocate killing their opponents by whatever means they can, by strangulation and assassination, or any other.

[The Mubayyiḍa]

The thirteenth sect is the Mubayyiḍa. They are the followers of al-Muqanna'[167] who claimed to be the Mahdī and whose real name was

[166] Diḥya b. Khalīfa al-Kalbī, a companion of the prophet who was said to be so handsome that Gabriel adopted his features.

[167] Originally he was a follower of Abū Muslim and then later led his own movement in opposition to the Abbasid al-Mahdī. His own participation in the latter movement, however, ended with his death in 166/783. On him and the Mubayyiḍa see "al-Muḳanna'," by the editors and "Khurramiyya," by Madelung in the *EI2* (especially p. 65 of the latter). Al-Khwārazmī adds here, "They are called this because they wear white clothing in contrast to the black worn by the partisans of the 'Abbasid dynasty."

Hishām b. Ḥakīm al-Marwazī.[168] According to them, God is a subtle body with length, breadth, and depth and all of the messenger-prophets are gods whose bodies are the messengers of God and whose spirits are God Himself. Whenever God wants to speak to bodily creatures, He enters the form of one of them and makes it be a messenger to them, commanding them to do what He desires and intends or prohibiting them from what He does not want and is angry about. They support this by citing the statement of God, the mighty and glorious: "Nor does he say aught of desire; it is no less than an inspiration sent down to him, taught him by one terrible in power and very strong; he stood poised"[169] to His words: "then he approached and let himself down"[170]—which is to say, the Lord approached and let Himself down face to face with Muḥammad, may God bless him and his family—"two bows' length away or nearer"[171]—meaning He was closer to Muḥammad than his own brain and heart which have for the brave the position of the arrow and the bow—"then revealed to his servant what he revealed"[172]—that is, He inspired Muḥammad to the point that He entered into his form—"the heart in no way counted fake what he saw"[173]—which means the heart of his body did not deny when he saw Him enter into his physical frame—"will you then dispute with him concerning what he saw?"[174]—i.e., will you contend with him and be envious that God preferred him by entering into his form and not entering into your form? According to them, God will not assume the form of a human for many years or even several centuries after having entered it once. They claim that when God created Adam, He entered into his form; then He caused him to die and He returned to His throne in the heavens. Later when He created Noah, He descended into his form; then He caused him to die and He returned to His throne. Next He entered the form of Abraham, caused him to die and returned to His throne. Next He entered the form of Moses, then caused him to die, and returned to His throne. Then He created Jesus and descended into his form. Later He caused him to die and He returned to His throne. Next He created Muḥammad and de-

[168] According to al-Khwārazmī, p. 20, his name was Hāshim b. al-Ḥakam.
[169] Q 53: 3 - 6
[170] Q 53: 8
[171] Q 53: 9
[172] Q 53: 10
[173] Q 53: 11
[174] Q 53: 12

scended into his form; then He caused him to die, and He returned to His throne. Later still, when He created Abū Muslim, He descended into his form; then caused him to die, and He returned to His throne. Next He created al-Muqannaʿ and descended into his form; then caused him to die, and returned to His throne. They now await His return and His descending into the form of the one expected by them in order to continue the revelation of their religion. But God is certainly exalted high indeed above anything like that.

They consider women lawful among themselves and claim that carrion, blood, the flesh of pigs, wine, and other things normally forbidden are permitted. God, they maintain, has not forbidden those things nor did He forbid anything else. These names are merely the names of men that God forbad being taken as leaders. Likewise they have abolished the religious obligations and claim that they, too, are the names of men whose leadership God required. They draw support from God's words, "There is no fault in those who believe and do deeds of righteousness for what they ate,"[175] and His statement, "Say 'who had forbidden the ornament of God which He brought forth for His servants and the good things of His providing?'"[176]

I have seen a great number of them and have disputed with them. None of them has much understanding of any of the principles of their faith nor are they acquainted with al-Muqannaʿ and his era except the learned among them. There is nothing with them except the neglect of prayer, fasting, and washing for major ritual impurity. They practice dissimulation and do not allow others to enter among themselves nor do they marry outsiders and or contract marriages with them although they live interspersed with Muslims. They regard their womenfolk permissible for themselves and they say that a woman is like the fragrant shrub that is not diminished by the one who smells it. If one of their men desires to be alone with a woman belonging to another of them, he enters that man's house and puts a marker on the door that signifies his having entered. When her husband comes back and recognizes that marker, he does not enter but goes away until his associate has satisfied his desire. ʿAmr b. Muḥammad related to me a report from a shaykh amoug the people of Bukhara that every group of these Mubayyiḍa has a chieftain who is appointed to deflower their women on the night of the marriage

[175] Q 5: 93
[176] Q 7: 32

procession. That I have not verified myself.[177] Only God knows for sure.

Despite all this they have a certain trustworthiness; they never employ as a means treachery and larceny and the harming of other people. In their state of peacefulness, they avoid the shedding of blood, and permit spilling it only when they tie themselves to the banner of rebellion and when they agree on going to war to seek revenge. In each country they have a chief among the religious people whom they call the *farmānsalār* with whom they meet clandestinely and with whom they confer in secret. They maintain that the Mahdī who will arise at the end of time is al-Mahdī b. Fayrūz b. ʿImrān and that he is a descendant of Fāṭima, the daughter of Abū Muslim. They have various messengers and ambassadors who go back and forth among them that they call *firīshtagān*—that is, angels. They do not rise in the morning except upon a promise of moving on this day[178] and they do not enter into evening except in anticipation of going out on the morrow. They believe in the return of the dead before the resurrection [*raʿja*]. These people claim that, when God returned to His throne after His departure from the shape of Muḥammad, He sent His spirit to ʿAlī, on whom be peace, and after him to Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya, then after him to his son Abū Hāshim, and so on one by one until God incarnated Himself in the shape of Abū Muslim. But then returned to His throne after leaving the shape of Abū Muslim. Next He sent His spirit to Abu'l-Muḍar and this Abu'l-Muḍar entered Byzantium. Al-Mahdī b. Fayrūz will come forth from Byzantium at the end of time according to their claims.

[The Division of the Murji'a]

This chapter which is about the third division covers the Murji'a[179] who are subdivided into six sects.

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[177] In the *Ḥūr al-ʿīn*, p. 214, al-Ḥimyarī reports that the ʿAbbāsiyya broke into two sects one of which he calls the Muslimiyya. They claim that Abū Muslim lives and will not die. They are also called, he continues, the Khurramiyya. Here he adds, "Abu'l-Qāsim al-Balkhī said: 'With us in Balkh there is a group of them who permit unlawful things according to what has reached me concerning them.'" Abū Tammām's first person reference in this instance might possibly be derived from al-Balkhī's original text if this note by al-Ḥimyarī points to a more extensive entry than this brief observation by al-Balkhī.

[178] This refers to their expectation of the Mahdī.

[179] Shahrastānī (Gimaret), 419-33.

[The Ghaylāniyya]

The first of them is the Ghaylāniyya[180] related to Ghaylān b. Kharasha al-Ḍabbī,[181] to Ghaylān b. Jarīr, and to Ghaylān b. Marwān. Their doctrines about God's transcendent unity, His justice, and the acts of humans are like those of the Muʿtazila. It is related about Ghaylān b. Kharasha that he once went to meet Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik[182] and Hishām said to him, "You are the one who says that God did not appoint me leader and does not approve what I am doing." Ghaylān answered him, "Have you ever seen a trustworthy person appoint the treacherous to take command over him, or have you seen a reformer appoint the workers of corruption to take charge of his reform, or did you ever see a wise person issue an order and later inflict punishment for doing it?" At that Hishām said, "By God, we will certainly kill you." To that he replied, "The atonement for breaking an oath is better than the killing of a Muslim." Hishām then said, "By God, I shall surely hasten your entry into hellfire." Ghaylān answered, "If I thought that were within your power, I would be glad to worship you." Thereupon Hishām issued an order that his head be cut off.

The doctrine of the Ghaylāniyya concerning the threat is like that of the Murji'a, who agree together not to declare the perpetrators of major sins certain of either punishment or reward, regardless of whether or not they die repentent or persisting in sin. Thus they postpone their state and leave it in doubt. They allow non-fulfillment in the threat and term it an act of grace and generosity. Muḥammad b. Shabīb and Abū Shimr espoused doctrines concerning God's transcendent unity and the promise and the threat like those of the Ghaylāniyya with the exception that they differ concerning faith and in some other things. The Ghaylāniyya said that faith lexically is affirmation and affirmation is acknowledging God, His angels, His book, and His messengers. Gnosis [*maʿrifa*] is an act of God and is not part of faith in any degree.[183] Gnosis consists of the knowledge that things are temporally produced and regulated and that their pro-

[180] Van Ess, *Anfänge*, 177-245.

[181] The name al-Ḍabbī does not appear in the manuscript which has a blank space at this point but is supplied by al-Khwārazmī. However, see Van Ess, *Theologie*, II, 167, and *Anfänge*, 245.

[182] Umayyad Caliph who ruled from 105/724 to 125/743.

[183] Portions related to Al-Ashʿarī, 137, and there said to be an opinion of theirs related by Zurqān.

ducer and regulator is not double or more than two. Gnosis is compulsory and not by acquisition. Faith, according to them, is acquired knowledge of the prophet, may God bless him and his family, and of everything brought by him. They consider nothing removed from [the totality of] religion as faith; and they hold that faith will not increase or decrease. They and all of the Murji'a maintain that commanding the proper and prohibiting the reprehensible is incumbent on Muslims in whatever way they are able, by the sword or otherwise by the tongue, the hand, in the heart, but not by standing out by themselves from their followers or by engaging themselves in an issue from which they cannot extract themselves and in which there is no possibility of prevailing. In their view ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib killed ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, and the messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, died without appointing a successor. For them the imamate should be determined by a council of the most worthy and most excellent persons in the community who entrust it to one of their number. They allow the imamate in any ordinary person provided that he is virtuous, knowledgeable, and just. Regarding traditional reports, they hold a doctrine like theirs for knowledge. It is not possible that God compel some of His creation by a specific report and not compel others. Whomever God compels, He imposes on him affirmation and whomever He does not compel He does not impose anything on him. According to them, we have the capacity before the act except that there is another capacity with the act. With regard to the threat recorded in the Qur'ān, they contend that it applies to all sinners who declare the forbidden licit. For those who forbid it, if He wishes, He may forgive them; if He wishes, He may punish them; if He wishes, He may punish only one; if He wishes, He may punish all of them; if He wishes, He may forgive one of them; if He wishes, He may forgive all of them.[184] It is possible that He will keep them eternally in hell and it is possible that He will not keep them eternally in hell. If He keeps one, He will keep all; if He forgives one, He will forgive all.[185] They assert that the prophet, may God bless him and his family, did not ascend to the heavens but only traveled from mosque to mosque. He did not see his Lord at all. They draw support for this from the words of God, the exalted, "It belongs not to any mortal that God should speak to him, except by revelation, or

[184] Cf. al-Ashʿarī, 150.
[185] Cf. al-Ashʿarī, 150.

from behind a veil, or that He should send a messenger to reveal with God's permission what God wills."[186] They use as an argument also what was related from ʿĀ'isha that she said, "Whoever claims that Muḥammad saw his Lord has perpetrated the greatest lie against God." God will not show Himself to anyone in the afterlife, according to them, since everything that can be seen is finite in extent and everything finite is confined within limits.

[The Ṣāliḥiyya]

The second sect is the Ṣāliḥiyya related to Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAbdallāh, the one known as the Qubba [pavilion].[187] Their doctrines concerning God's transcendent unity and His justice are like those of the Muʿtazila and the Ghaylāniyya. In regard to the acts of humans, they say that we know that the acts are our acts because God commanded us to do the act or prohibited us from doing it. Yet we know also that it is created because God is the creator of everything. We are not aware, however, when we say that it is created and that God created it, whether the indication in this derives merely from the designation or from what the proponents of the createdness of acts maintain. Both are possible. On the question of the threat, they hold that specificity is possible with respect to the imperative and the statement even though they are expressed in the form of generality, as it is possible also with regard to the promise. Thus He can issue a general command while intending it to apply to some to the exclusion of others. They maintain that perception is created and that it is possible for God to create the power and the knowledge in a dead human so that that person would be powerful, knowledgeable, and dead except that He has not created in him the perception of that knowledge and power. They say further that it is possible that there be, in front of a human, a gnat and an elephant, yet he sees only the gnat and cannot see the elephant because God did not create in him the perception of the elephant. In their view what is generated from an act is the act of God. This argument, in that regard, is that no agent ever does an act but that he can also fail to do it. If the flight of an arrow were his own act, it would be possible for him to shoot it and for it not to take flight. Because he is unable to do that, they insist it is the act of God,

[186] Q 42: 51

[187] Van Ess, *Theologie*, III, 422-28; Shahrastānī (Gimaret), 426 note #57, 430-32.

which implies that, if He wishes, He causes it to take flight, and if He wishes, He can hold it back, since the agent that can most assuredly accomplish something must have the power to do the opposite of it. According to them, it is possible for God to burn a man in hell but not create in him the perception of pain and so he feels no pain. It is possible that fire and cotton are brought together but it does not burn because God has not created burning between them. They reason in analogy to this doctrine about the creation of perception with respect to all things to the point that it was once said to him [Ṣāliḥ Qubba], "would you not deny that God can put mountains on a human and make him carry them and yet he may not feel their weight because God has not created in him the perception of the weight?" He replied: "I do not deny it." Then it was said: "would you not deny that you are at this very moment in Mecca sitting under a pavilion and that it was built around you but you are not aware of it because God has not created in you the awareness of it?" He replied again, "I do not deny it." Thereafter he was given the nickname "Pavilion". They maintain further that it is possible that a human perceive by means of his eyesight what is behind a curtain, if God creates for him the perception of that thing. They hold also that dreams are true and that they are in the category of the wakeful state. Should a man see in a dream that he is in the west while he is in the east, God would have spontaneously created him in the west at that very moment. The proof is that we may witness in the dream state the like of that in the wakeful state. If that were false, vision would be false. What one sees in the mirror is, according to them, merely another man like oneself that God spontaneously creates. The proof is that we may see two things, and if it were possible that one of the two is false, it would equally be possible that the other is false. They also hold that there is no verse that does not admit to both particular and general application and there is nothing in the Qur'ān that indicates the punishment of the people of prayer, since it is possible that it is particular in regard to those who declare the forbidden licit, and it is also possible that it is general regarding those who commit offenses. However, eternal punishment in the fire is inconceivable.

[The Defenders of Personal Opinion]

The third sect are the Defenders of Personal Opinion [Aṣḥāb al-Ra'y] and they are the followers of Abū Ḥanīfa al-Nu'mān b.

Thābit.[188] They allow reasoning by analogy and discretionary preference in legal rulings. On the order of what Ḍirār b. ʿAmr had said, Abū Ḥanīfa held that God has a quiddity [*māʾiyya*]. His proof is that there cannot be an existent thing unless it has both a quiddity and a beingness [*anniyya*] such that your knowledge of the quiddity is distinct from your knowledge of the beingness. That is because you hear a sound and know that there must be something that made that sound although you are ignorant of what it is. Subsequently, knowledge of what it is is brought into being for you and thus your knowledge that it is, is distinct from your knowledge of what it is. If they were the same thing, the knowledge of this would be the knowledge of that. Abū Ḥanīfa and his followers held that faith will not increase or decrease and that it is a term for two qualities: for cognizance and for affirmation. One does not call one of the two by itself faith. It is like the example of a piebald horse that is only known as such because of the mixture of white and black. One cannot designate one of the two alone by the term piebald. They maintain also that the capacity is with the act and the capacity by which one does an act of faith is the capacity with which one does an act of unbelief. According to them, the best of the people after the messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, was Abū Bakr, next ʿUmar, and then ʿAlī. Even so they uphold the imamate of ʿUthmān and rely on the report from the prophet, may God bless him and his family, "The caliphate after me shall last thirty years." Abū Ḥanīfa had said: ʿUthmān was imam for six years upholding the truth. When subsequently he became oppressive and unjust, his imamate was nullified. He used to say also that the ruler, when oppresssive and unjust, should be deposed and, if he is not deposed, he should be killed. About ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, he maintain that he was a fully acceptable imam until he departed from this world. Whoever failed to approve of him had sickness and disloyalty in his heart since he failed to approve of a just man and approved instead of the tyrant. This group argued that the imamate is inappropriate except for someone from the Quraysh, regardless of whether he is just or unjust. If the imam is from the Quraysh and is a just man, we would be with him; if there were someone of greater justice, we would be with him. Thus they support the just imam provided he is from the Quraysh. In their view Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr, and ʿĀʾisha were not iniquitous since they made

[188] Imam of the legal *madhhab* named after him. He died in 150/767.

an interpretation even though it was erroneous. Someone who makes an effort to interpret does not act iniquitously on account of the interpretation in that he has reasoned conscientiously and made a mistake. The iniquitous is the one who does wrong intentionally. If he does not do wrong intentionally, the term iniquitious does not apply to him. They say that God is on the throne just as He describes Himself but not with the implication that He is in a certain place since it is inconceivable that He is in one place to the exclusion of another. There is nothing like Him and His moving from one state to another is absurd or from one position to another or ascending or descending or other conditions like these. Those who assert this doctrine do not believe in the Lord of Might. Islam and faith are the same thing, according to them, since Islam is one of the terms for faith. They say that the rulings of the tyrant, if they agree with the holy book and the Sunna, are lawful and may be carried out, and bringing legal cases before him, military raiding with him, and prayer behind him are lawful when all of these are in agreement with the holy book and the Sunna. Likewise accepting offices under him is allowed as long as he does not coerce one to act unjustly and instead orders one to act properly and justly in that office. Despite this they say that deposing a tyrant by the sword or any other means is obligatory if that is possible. Concerning the threat, they hold a doctrine like that of the Ghaylāniyya. Some parts of the Qur'ān, they insist, consist of a wording that was created but whose meaning was uncreated, such as God's saying, "the All-powerful, the All-wise, the All-hearing, All-seeing," "there is no god but He," and similar phrases. Other parts are those that were created both in wording and in meaning, such as God's statement: "And horses, and mules, and asses, for you to ride,"[189] and others like these. They assert that the fermented beverage is lawful but that the intoxication caused by it is unlawful.

[The Shabībiyya]

The fourth sect is the Shabībiyya related to Muḥammad b. Shabīb.[190] Their doctrines about God's transcendent unity, His justice, and the attributes of God are like those of the Mu'tazila. In regard to the

[189] Q 16: 8

[190] On whom see Van Ess, *Theologie*, IV, 124-31.

postponing of judgement, they maintain the admissibility of specificity—that is, they said that the Qur'ānic verses conveying the threat in respect to those who commit major sins are numerous and, whether the perpetrator declares the forbidden licit or forbids it, it is possible that they apply specifically to those who hold it to be forbidden to the exclusion of those who declare it licit. According to them the Qur'ān is temporally produced and created and the name of God is other than God. They hold that the capacity precedes the act. The imamate, in their view, is deserved only by the most excellent whatever the situation and they do not consider it permissible for it to be removed from that person to someone of less excellence. They say that the prophet, may God bless him and his family, designated Abū Bakr in that he ordered him to lead the people in prayers and in terms of other factors related by them. For them faith consists in the affirmation of God and recognition that He is one, there is no other like Him, and in the affirmation and acknowledgement of the prophets of God, His messengers, and the whole of what was brought by them from God to which the Muslims attest and relate on the authority of the messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, such as prayer and fasting and the like and about which they do not differ or quarrel with one another. The Shabībiyya assert that the anthropomorphist is an unbeliever but the determinist is not an unbeliever because the anthropomorphist is wrong about the attributes of God Himself whereas the determinist is wrong about the attributes of His action. According to them all children will be in paradise enjoying its pleasures. They have, as well, numerous other doctrines that I will resist mentioning out of fear of running on too long.

[The Shimriyya]

The fifth sect is the Shimriyya related to Abū Shimr Sālim b. Shimr.[191] They maintain that faith consists of the affirmation of God and the recognition of all that comes from God of that about which the community has reached a consensus and which has been specifically stipulated by the Muslims, such as prayer, fasting, almsgiving, pilgrimage, the prohibition of wine, carrion, the flesh of pigs, and other items like these. According to them any particular feature of that, if it exists alone, does not itself constitute faith nor even a

[191] Van Ess, *Theologie*, II, 174-80.

portion of faith. That would be like a man who recognizes God but rejects the prophet, may God bless him and his family. God has imposed on him the recognition of both of them together. Thus his recognition of God does not constitute faith, if he rejects the prophet, may God bless him and his family. Or it would be like someone who recognizes God, His messengers and everything that comes from Him, but then denies God. His recognition in his heart is not faith if he denies with his tongue, nor is it partial faith. The example for that is black and white which, if combined in a horse, it is called as a whole piebald. But, if the horse had only one of these colors, it could not be said to be piebald. They insist further that the recognition is an acquisition and is not compulsory. God is in all places, they say, and it is not possible that He be in one place rather than another since that is a characteristic of temporal contingency. These people hold doctrines about God's transcendent unity and His justice like those of the Mu'tazila. They say that God is just and will not act tyrannically. It is not possible for Him to do any act that has the characteristics of injustice. He is more merciful with mankind than they are with themselves and He imposes on them no burden that is beyond their ability nor does He punish them when in a state of indignation. He will not reward them or punish them except for what they have done with their own hands, for He is the Benevolent. For them rebellion against a tyrannical ruler is a duty of ours by whatever means available to us, by the sword or any other. According to them, if a [divine] message arrives concerning[192] murderers or those who appropriate the property of orphans or are perpetrators of other kinds of major sins, they should abstain from judgement about their punishment because of the words of God, the exalted, "God forgives not that there be associated with Him other gods; everything else He forgives if He wishes."[193] For that reason they abstain from judgement. They uphold the possibility that a knowledgeable, truthful informant may convey a message and then express a potential exception; he may then do what he said or he may not do it because of the exception. He will thus be truthful whether he does it or does not do it. This is neither open to disapproval in speech nor does it constitute a lie. They assert that, with respect to reports in religion, a proof cannot be established except on the basis of a continuous multiple

[192] What is meant are verses of the Qur'ān and *ḥadīth*s containing a threat of punishment (*wa'īd*) to these people.

[193] Q 4: 48

report that comes from both those who disagree and those who agree. They reject the evidence of intellectual reason and deny that God establishes an argument against anyone other than through His messenger. For this they rely on His statement: "We never punish until We send forth a messenger,"[194] and His words: "So that the people might have no argument against God after the messengers."[195]

[The Ijtihādiyya]

The sixth sect is the Ijtihādiyya [the Defenders of Personal Effort]. They are of two types one of which are the followers of Jaḥdar b. Muḥammad al-Tamīmī.[196] This group holds that every person who makes a serious personal effort to arrive at his opinions is correct no matter whether he is an anthropomorphist or a determinist. Such persons will enter paradise without an accounting even if they have committed major sins and died without repenting. Their argument in favor of this is to say, just as obedience provides no benefit if joined with unbelief, likewise acts of disobedience do no harm together with faith. They rely further on the exalted God's statement: "God will not forgive the associating of other gods with Him but He will forgive everything else should He so wish."[197]

The second type are the followers of Muḥammad b. Ziyād al-Julaynī(?) al-Mukawwaʿ. They maintain that every person who exerts personal effort among those who trust in God and affirm His existentiality[198] is correct even if he does not believe in any of the messengers. God, they insist, will enter the entire community of Muḥammad, both the pious and the profligate, into paradise without any exception [*istithnāʾ*] and without punishing them for the deeds they have acquired. God, the most gracious and exalted, will enter the entirety of those who have not affirmed His existentiality and do not believe in Him into hellfire to dwell there permanently. With regard to the rest of the people, they fall under the will of God, the mighty and the glorious. If He wishes, He may enter them into

[194] Q 17: 15
[195] Q 4: 165
[196] In al-Khwārazmī, p. 21, this sect is called simply the Jaḥdariyya rather than the Ijtihādiyya.
[197] Q 4: 48
[198] *aqarra bi'l-aysiyyatihi.*

paradise; if He wishes, He may punish them in hell. For this they draw support from the words of God, the exalted, "The Jews and the Christians say, 'we are the sons of God and His beloved ones.' Say, 'Why then does He punish you for your sins? No, you are mortals of His creating; He forgives whom He will and He punishes whom He will.'"[199] In their view whoever recognizes God but denies the messenger, that person is a recognizer of God, a denier of the messenger, and his denial of the messenger does not make him a denier of God. They assert that the person who is a believer in God and an unbeliever in the messenger would not be termed by them a believer because there is in him some unbelief, nor would we call him an unbeliever since there is in him some belief. Rather we would call him a believing unbeliever. For them the unbelievers who possess no faith at all are those who do not believe in God and do not affirm His existentiality.

Here, thanks to God and the grace of His friends, we have completed the description of the doctrines of those who state that the acts of obedience are not a component of faith. Our method was succinct and concise. If our aim in writing this book had not been to explain the manner of being of the angels, the jinn, the satans, the devils, and the humans[200] and thus not other parts of the sciences, we would have reviewed the doctrines of each one of these sects at much greater length than the account we have given and related here. I would have explained in detail the interpretation of each doctrine of theirs with a hope of providing guidance toward the straight path—the one on which you will see no satan—and of banishing all doubt and suspicion from the one who investigates it. And there is no power except in God.

[199] Q 5: 18/20

[200] At this point Abū Tammām notes his original aim in writing the *Kitāb al-shajara* as a whole, which was to cover in turn these five categories of beings. See the Introduction.

Chapter on the Third Doctrine

[Those Who Maintain That the Imam After the Prophet Was ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib]

Those who state that the imam after the messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, was ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, on whom be peace, separated into five divisions that further subdivided altogether into twenty-four sects each of which has its own claims.

[The Division of the Zaydiyya]

The first of the five divisions is the Zaydiyya which separated into five sects.

[The Batriyya]

The first of them is the Batriyya,[201] the followers of Kathīr al-Nawwā', al-Ḥasan b. Ḥayy, and Sulaymān b. Jarīr. In regard to Kathīr al-Nawwā' and his followers, they declare Abū Bakr and ʿUmar just and they maintain that, concerning those against whom ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, upon whom be peace, at the time did not fight, we say only the best. They deny the return of the dead [to life] and they repudiate those who make such a claim. In the case of ʿAlī, on whom be peace, they uphold the imamate only from the moment when he received the pledge of allegiance [*bayʿa*]. Al-Mughīra b. Saʿīd therefore applied to Kathīr al-Nawwā' the nickname al-Abtar[202] and for this reason they were known as the Batriyya.

With regard to al-Ḥasan b. Ḥayy,[203] he held that ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, on whom be peace, was the most excellent of the people after the messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, and the most suitable of them for the imamate. The pledge of allegience to Abū Bakr and to ʿUmar, however, was not wrong since ʿAlī himself relin-

[201] On the Batriyya (or Butriyya), see Madelung's entry in the *EI2 Supplement*, pp. 129-30; Van Ess, *Theologie*, I, 239-52, V, 51-62; and Shahrastānī (Gimaret), 472-73.

[202] The Arabic term *abtar* can mean "mutilated, cut off, curtailed, defective" and its exact connotation in this instance was not previously clear. The explanation given here seems quite plausible. See the discussion by Madelung in the *EI2* article cited above.

[203] Shahrastānī (Gimaret), 472 note #92.

quished it to the two of them. However, in the matter of ʿUthmān, he abstained from judgement but he testified that those who opposed ʿAlī are in hell. He said further that ʿAlī's relation to Abū Bakr and ʿUmar is like that of a man who was owed a debt by another man but who relinquished his claim and did not demand restitution.

The doctrine of Sulaymān b. Jarīr[204] and those who maintain what he did is as follows: they hold that ʿAlī, on whom be peace, was the imam after the messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, and that Abū Bakr and ʿUmar do not deserve to be called iniquituous since they applied an honest interpretation in the matter. They, however, repudiate ʿUthmān and testify to his unbelief. God is omniscient, they say. He is a thing and His knowledge is a thing, and one does not say about His knowledge that it is He nor that it is other than He or that they are two eternal things. The proof is that it is impossible for a thing to be knowledge of itself. Since that is impossible, it is proven, accordingly, that He has a knowledge that is a thing; but it is not other than He since, if it were other than He, that would require the existence of two different things and that is impossible in the attributes of God.

The Batriyya are in agreement that ʿAlī designated al-Ḥasan after his death and that he was the imam after ʿAlī, on whom be peace. Then al-Ḥasan designated al-Ḥusayn. The imam after these two was not choosen by designation but whoever arises from among the descendants of these two—that is, the lines descending from either al-Ḥasan or al-Ḥusayn—unsheathing his sword and summoning to the way of his Lord, if he is knowledgeable, just, and virtuous, he is the imam. They allow that the world might be devoid of an imam, that there might be two imams, or three or four or more at any one time. They argue that, since it is possible for the world to be devoid of the messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, similarly it is possible that it be devoid of the imam. Just as, moreover, it was possible for there to be two or more prophets at one time, similarly it is possible that there be two or more imams. They also uphold the imamate of the person of lesser excellence.

[204] Madelung, "Sulaymān b. Djarīr al-Rakkī," *EI2* and Shahrastānī (Gimaret), 468-71.

[The Jārūdiyya]

The second sect is the Jārūdiyya[205] related to Abu'l-Jārūd b. Abī Ziyād. They maintain that the messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, designated ʿAlī by both description and name. Therefore, he was the imam after him. Then it was al-Ḥasan and next al-Ḥusayn, the two grandsons of the messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, both designated by description but not by name. Subsequently, the imam following these three was not selected by designation but rather whoever arises from the sons of either al-Ḥasan or al-Ḥusayn, unsheathing his sword and summoning to the way of his Lord, if he is knowledgeable, just, and virtuous, he is the imam. Should someone arise who is superior to that one, he is the imam; there cannot be an imamate of the one of lesser excellence. They claim further that the world will never be devoid of an imam and that the proof [*ḥujja*] of God to His servants will never be interrupted. They also consider it impossible that there be two imams at one time; instead the imams occur one after the other, although they allow that one may be ignorant of the imam's name and place of residence during a time of precautionary dissimulation [*taqiya*]. The entire community committed an error and unbelief, they insist, in their failing to give the pledge of allegiance to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. Concerning God's transcendent unity, His justice, the promise and the threat, and other such matters, their doctrine is like that of the Muʿtazila except that they oppose them on the question of the imamate.

[The Dukayniyya]

The third sect is the Dukayniyya, the followers of al-Faḍl b. Dukayn and Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥakam.[206] They maintain that the imam after the messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, was ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, then al-Ḥasan, then al-Ḥusayn, then ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, then Zayd b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, then Yaḥyā b. Zayd, and then whoever arises from among the descendants of either al-Ḥasan or al-Ḥusayn, openly seeking the imamate, if knowledgeable and just, he is the imam. In the case of all of those who arise among them commanding the acceptable and prohibiting the reprehensible, they advocate ris-

[205] Van Ess, *Theologie*, I, 253-67, V, 63-65; Shahrastānī (Gimaret), 464-67.
[206] Madelung, *al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, p. 73.

ing with them. In their view the world will never be devoid of an imam. They declare the community to have fallen into unbelief after the prophet because of its removal of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib from the imamate. Their doctrines concerning God's transcendent unity, the promise, the threat, justice, and others are like those of the Jārūdiyya and the Muʿtazila.

[The Khashabiyya]

The fourth sect is the Khashabiyya who are known in Khurāsān as Ṣurkhābiyya, related to Ṣurkhāb al-Ṭabarī. They were called the Khashabiyya merely because they had risen against the government with al-Mukhtār[207] not having weapons other than pieces of wood.[208] According to them God restricted the imamate to the descendants of Fāṭima, on whom be peace, and not to anyone else but them and ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, on whom be peace, was the legatee of the messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, obedience to whom was obligatory, but he was not an imam. Rather, the messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, had bequeathed to him the guardianship of a trust that he deposited with him. That trust was the imamate which he was to convey to al-Ḥasan in the same manner as a man might by will, at the time of his death, transfer to his trustee guardianship over his property on behalf of his children until they reach majority. The imamate is confined, they insist, within these two lineages and anyone among the descendants of al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn who rises, whether knowledgeable or ignorant, the most excellent or of lesser qualities, righteous or profligate, just or tyrannical, he is the imam and must be obeyed. Opposing him is not permissible. Some of them have said that, should there be fighting between two descendants of Fāṭima, no one is allowed to provide assistance to one of them against the other regardless of whether they are both tyrannical or both just or mutual opposites.

[The Khalafiyya]

The fifth sect is the Khalafiyya related to Khalaf b. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad. They claim that the imam after the messenger of God, may God

[207] On him see below the sect that bears his name.

[208] On the *khashabiyya*, in this sense, i.e. those who possess only weapons make of wood, see C. van Arendonk, "Khashabiyya," *EI2*.

bless him and his family, was ʿAlī, then after him al-Ḥasan, then al-Ḥusayn, then ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, then Zayd b. ʿAlī, then ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. Zayd, then Khalaf b. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad, then Muḥammad b. Khalaf, then Aḥmad b. Muḥammad. According to them Khalaf b. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad fled from the Umayyads and took up residence in the land of the Turks. They believe that without doubt Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khalaf had a son and that his son had a son and that it continues thus among his descendants until reaching the Mahdī who will take possession of the earth but they do not know the names of the imams after Aḥmad b. Muḥammad. For them the knowledge of the imam is not an acquisition but is rather an inspiration and the imam knows all tongues and languages. The distinguishing mark for an imam, according to them, is that Khalaf b. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad wrote a book in letters that no one understands and which he did not explain or expound to anyone. He specified that whoever among his descendants who should rise and explain his book, he will be the imam. However, the genealogists are in complete agreement that ʿAbd al-Ṣamad was a client of Zayd's and that those who claim that he was a son of Zayd are liars.

These people will not describe God with any description that is suitable for created things nor will they say of Him that He is either knowing or not knowing, powerful or not powerful, a thing or not a thing, confined or not confined. They speak about the Creater neither on the basis of reality nor through metaphor but rather they talk about Him by approximation. Thus if they were asked about God, "do you recognize Him?" They would remain silent. They will not say that we recognize Him or that we do not not recognize Him. For them, if they were to recognize Him, their recognition of Him would encompass Him. Someone who is recognized and becomes recognizable to his recognizer cannot be a god. All of what there is in the Qurʾān in the way of attributes of God, the exalted, on the pattern of *faʿʿāl* [indicating intensity] they attribute to the Creator, glorious is His mention, and all that is in it on the pattern of *fāʿil* [indicating mere agency] they attribute to Mīkhāʾīl.[209] They hold that the first that God created was an angel called Mīkhāʾīl and He appointed him to govern the people in their totality. Mīkhāʾīl regarded his own

[209] Here and in the subsequent instances of this name the manuscript is unpointed. Mīkhāʾīl is a reading based, therefore, on conjecture, especially as there is another angel in this set of five with the name Mīkāʾīl which is normally merely an alternate spelling of Mikhāʾīl.

essence and there generated from him four angels: Jibraʾīl, ʿAzrāʾīl, Mikāʾīl, and Isrāfīl. He assigned to Jibraʾīl revelation and blessings, to ʿAzrāʾīl the seizing of spirits and calamities, to Mīkāʾīl the recording of good and bad deeds, and to Isrāfīl the blowing of the trumpet. They maintain that these five are the best of all the creatures in the heavens or on the earth. The Creator also elected five of His creatures on the earth: Muḥammad, ʿAlī, Fāṭima, al-Ḥasan, and al-Ḥusayn, on them all be peace. In the same way that Muḥammad is the lord of the four bodily creatures, Mīkhāʾīl is the lord of the four spiritual creatures. Similarly, God made the fingers five in number: little finger, ring finger, middle finger, index finger, and the thumb which is the master of the rest. Similar, too, is Islam five: prayer, fasting, almsgiving, pilgrimage, and recognition of the lords of religion. The lord of them is prayer along with the integral perfomance of ablutions. Like these also did He make the senses five: feel, taste, smell, hearing, and seeing, with the lord of them being seeing. He also made the prayers five: the midday, the afternoon, the sunset, the night, and the morning prayers, with the morning prayer being the lord of the rest. Similarly, the books are five: the sheets of Ibrāhīm, the Torah of Mūsā, the Gospel of Jesus, the Psalms of David, and the Furqān of Muḥammad, may God bless him and his family, which is lord of the rest, may God bless them all. Yet again salvation comes through five things: recognition, sincerity, works, knowledge, and the testimonty of faith, with the testimony of faith [*shahāda*] being lord of the rest. Similarly, too, God selected out five of the months, four of which are the four sacred months, namely Rajab, Dhu'l-qaʿda, Dhu'l-ḥijja, and al-Muḥarram, and the lord of the rest, the month of Ramaḍān. In matters of law and legal rulings, they have interpretations and reasoning analogous to those we have already explained but which need not be mentioned for fear of overly prolonging this book.

These five sects are called Zaydīs because they all agree that Zayd was the imam entitled to obligatory obedience and that whoever does not acknowledge his imamate is going astray and leading astray. Those who prefer Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad, may peace be upon them both, they repudiate. The Zaydiyya altogether prohibit temporary marriage [*mutʿa*] and do not allow the call to prayer [*adhān*] or the *iqāma* unless it includes the formula "Come to the best of works." They do not uphold the *tarāwīḥ* prayers in the month of Ramaḍān

nor the *tathwīb* in the morning prayer. They permit the selling of slave mothers. They do not consider lawful declaring a wife divorced except by the *ṭalāq al-sunna* and hold that if a man divorces his wife by the three declarations of divorce at once, for example, only one declaration is effective. They have a great many books about the law, legal rulings and jurisprudence that they act on, one of which is the *Kitāb al-mustarshid* that al-Nāṣir al-ʿAlawī composed.[210] The Zaydiyya altogether do not uphold the wiping of the footwear [*al-masḥ ʿalā al-khuff*]. The Jārūdiyya among them allow the prayer to be performed only on the ground or on plants and do not permit prayer on the fur and hides of animals whose flesh may not be consumed.

[The Division of the Kaysāniyya]

Chapter on the Second Division, the Kaysāniyya,[211] covering four sects.

[The Mukhtāriyya]

The first of them is the Mukhtāriyya related to al-Mukhtār b. Abī ʿUbayd al-Thaqafī.[212] Kaysān was a client of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, upon whom be peace. From him al-Mukhtār accepted these doctrines that I will mention. Mukhtār and those who held the same doctrine said that the imam after the messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, was ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, peace be upon him, and that the community fell into error and unbelief by their pledge of allegiance to Abū Bakr. Then the imam after ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, on whom be peace, was al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī, then al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, then Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, the one whose mother was known as the Ḥanafite woman [*al-Ḥanafiyya*]. Subsequently, whoever arises among the descendants of these three, sword unsheathed, summoning to the book of God and the Sunna of his prophet, is the imam. Their doctrines

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[210] There was a *Kitāb al-mustarshid* (or *Kitāb al-mustarshid fi'l-tawḥīd*) written by the Zaydī imam al-Hādī ila'l-Haqq. See Madelung, *al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, 166ff and C. van Arendonk, *Les débuts de l'Imāmat*, 283-87. However, al-Nāṣir al-ʿAlawī would refer not to al-Hādī but to either al-Nāṣir al-Uṭrūsh, a contemporary of al-Hādī, or Aḥmad al-Nāṣir, the son of al-Hādī.

[211] On them see Madelung, "Kaysāniyya," *EI2*.

[212] Died 67/687. On him see G. R. Hawting, "al-Mukhtār b. Abī 'Ubayd," *EI2*; Shahrastānī (Gimaret), 439-45.

concerning God's transcendent unity, His justice, the promise and the threat are like those of the Muʿtazila.

[The Karibiyya]

The second sect is the Karibiyya, the followers of Abū Karib al-Ḍarīr. They claim that the imam after the messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, was ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, on whom be peace, then Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya after ʿAlī because ʿAlī passed the banner to him in Baṣra rather than to al-Ḥasan or al-Ḥusayn, on both of whom be peace. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya has not died, they assert, and he resides now on mount Raḍwā at the well of a lion who brings him food in the morning and the evening until the time of his rising. He is the awaited Mahdī. Subsequently, one faction of the Karibiyya claimed that the reason why he was brought to this state is to conceal him from people. God, the mighty and glorious, has a plan concerning him none know except God, the mighty and the glorious. Another faction believe that God did that with him as a chastisement for his having gone to Syria from Mecca intending to pledge allegiance to ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān[213] and to pay him a visit.

[The Isḥāqiyya]

The third sect is the Isḥāqiyya related to Isḥāq b. ʿAmr.[214] They claim that the imam after the messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, was ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, on whom be peace, then Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya, then Abū Hāshim ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya, then his brother's son al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya, then ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan, but then ʿAlī died and left no issue. Thereafter the Isḥāqiyya split into two factions. One faction expects the return of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya and they maintain that he will return and reign over the earth and fill it with justice as it is now full of inequity and oppression. At present, by their own admission, they are in a state of loss and interregnum, having no imam until Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya returns. The

[213] Umayyad Caliph who ruled from 65/685 to 86/705.

[214] The manuscript gives the name Isḥāq followed by a blank. The whole name Isḥāq b. ʿAmr is supplied by al-Khwārazmī.

other faction claims that the imamate is restricted to the descendants of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya and that it reverted after the death of ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan to those descendants of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya who had issue. Their imam, they insist, is presently in the land of the Turks having fled there from the Umayyads and the Abbasids. They know his name and his place of residence. The Mahdī, on whom be peace, will rise, according to them, from the direction of the Turks and their imam will explain the Qurʾān in Turkish and answer all questions put to him in Turkish, there being between him and the people a translator. Should the translator leave out or add anything or not express accurately what is described, he will indicate to him that that is not what he said until he goes over it again. But he will not speak himself except in Turkish. Most of these Isḥāqiyya that I have seen hold doctrines about God's justice and transcendent unity like those of the Muʿtazila.

[The Ḥarbiyya]

The fourth sect is the Ḥarbiyya[215] related to ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr b. Ḥarb. They say that the imam after the messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, was ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, on whom be peace, then Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya, then Abū Hāshim b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya. Then Abū Hāshim bequeathed the imamate to ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr b. Ḥarb and it departed from the family of Hāshim to ʿAbdallāh and the spirit of Abū Hāshim transferred to him. Later, when ʿAbdallāh died, his partisans remained perplexed and confused. At that point they were summoned by ʿAbdallāh b. Muʿāwiya b. ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib to accept his imamate and they responded positively. Thereafter, they upheld his imamate and claimed that he possessed the bequest from Abū Hāshim and that knowledge grew in his heart as do truffles and herbs. According to them spirits transmigrate; the spirit of God was in Adam and then transmigrated until it entered ʿAbdallāh b. Muʿāwiya. The lower world, in their view, will not disappear and reward and punishment is the transmigration of spirits in loved and hated persons. They consider lawful wine, carrion, and certain forbidden items other than these two and they support this doctrine by the word of God, the mighty and the glorious, "Against those who believe and do deeds of

[215] Madelung, *Religious Trends*, 7.

righteousness, there is no fault for what they eat as long as they are God fearing and pious."[216]

Later, following the death of ʿAbdallāh b. Muʿāwiya, the Ḥarbiyya broke up into three factions.[217] The first faction maintained that he had not died but was then in the mountains of Iṣfahān. Moreover, he will not die until he takes charge of the affairs of the people; he is the Mahdī foretold by the prophet, may God bless him and his family. The second faction claimed that he died and that the imam after him was al-Ḥasan b. Muʿāwiya. The imamate will remain among the descendants of Jaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib. The third faction held that ʿAbdallāh b. Muʿāwiya and ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr had not been imams and that they both lied when they laid claim to the imamate. The imam after Abū Hāshim was ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, then Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Bāqir al-ʿilm, on whom be peace. This faction concurred with the Twelver Imāmiyya; the two are in complete agreement.

[The Division of the ʿAbbāsiyya]

The chapter on the third division, the ʿAbbāsiyya, comprising two sects.

[The Khallāliyya]

The first of the two are the Khallāliyya related to Abū Salama Ḥafṣ b. Sulaymān al-Khallāl.[218] They say that the imam after the messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, was ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, then al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī, then al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, peace be on them both, then Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya, and then Abū Hāshim b. Muḥammad. Thereupon, when Abū Hāshim returned from Syria and died in the land of Sharāt, he bequeathed it there to Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās and ordered his party [*shīʿa*] to rally behind this man and adopt him as the imam. Thus he was the imam after Abū Hāshim, and then his son Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad, then Abu'l-ʿAbbās ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Saffāḥ, who was the first to assume the

[216] Q 5: 93.

[217] al-Ḥimyarī at this point says that there were two sects; al-Ashʿarī says three.

[218] Famous agent, later governor, and finally wazir on behalf of the early Abbasids. On him see S. Moscati, "Abū Salama," *EI2*; R. Bulliet, "Abū Salama Ḥafṣ b. Sulaymān Khallāl," *Elranica*.

caliphate among the Abbasids, then Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr, then al-Mahdī, then Mūsā al-Hādī, then Hārūn al-Rashīd, then Muḥammad al-Amīn, then ʿAbdallāh al-Maʾmūn, then Muḥammad al-Muʾtaṣim, and then Hārūn al-Wāthiq. Thereafter they name them one by one in succession until our present day. They insist that the world will never be devoid of an imam from the family of al-ʿAbbās until the time when the Mahdī from among the descendants of the Abbasids will arise. It is, however, possible that he could be from the lines of al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusayn, or Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya.

On other matters the Khallāliyya divided into two factions. One of the two are the followers of Sulaymān b. Kathīr.[219] They advocate doctrines about God's transcendent unity, His justice, the promise and the threat like those of the Muʿtazila. The second faction are the followers of Khidāsh b. ʿAbbād.[220] Their doctrine concerning God's transcendent unity is like that of the Minhāliyya. According to them, if God were unable to transform His own essence into various forms, He would be even more unable to transform others. Sulaymān al-Aʿmā and Bukayr b. Māhān[221] declared this group unbelievers. The Kaysāniyya, as well as the specialists in theology and the students of doctrinal tendencies consider the Khallāliyya to belong among the Kaysāniyya. Khidāsh and his followers advocated the killing of their opponents by any means within their ability, by strangulation or assassination or any other. They also held licit the killing of children and the insane. Khidāsh, they report, once chanced upon an insane person and cut his head off. At that he was asked, "Do you murder the insane?" He replied, "Yes, because he will not produce intelligent progeny." This Khidāsh was one of the propagandists for the Abbasids in Khurāsān; he was captured by Asad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Qasrī, the governor of Khurāsān, who cut his head off and then crucified him.

[The Rawandiyya]

The second sect is the Rawandiyya, the followers of al-Qāsim b. Rawand.[222] They maintain that the prophet, may God bless him and his family, died and had appointed as successor al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-

[219] On him see P. Crone, "Sulaymān b. Kathīr," *EI2*.

[220] Executed in 118/736. See M. Sharon, "Khidāsh," *EI2*.

[221] An agent of the Abbasids who died 127/744-5. See D. Sourdel, "Bukayr b. Māhān," *EI2*.

[222] Van Ess, *Theologie*, III, 10-17

Muṭṭalib because he was his heir. For this view they rely on the statement of God, the exalted: "But kindred by blood have prior rights against each other in the book of God."[223] Thus according to the criterion of the book of God, al-ʿAbbās was the closest of the people to God's messenger because, among his [surviving] paternal relatives, al-ʿAbbās was the nearest to him. They find proof also in the words of the messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, "Al-ʿAbbās is my heir, the twin brother of my father, and the best of those I leave to my family." In their view the community fell into unbelief after Muḥammad, the messsenger of God, may God bless him and his family, by preventing al-ʿAbbās from assuming the imamate and they repudiate Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, ʿUthmān and the rest of the companions who supported these men in what they did. After al-ʿAbbās they continue the imamate with his son ʿAbdallāh b. al-ʿAbbās, then ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh, then Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, then Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad, then Abu'l-ʿAbbās ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Saffāḥ, then Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr, then Muḥammad al-Mahdī, then Mūsā al-Hādī, then Hārūn al-Rashīd, then Muḥammad al-Amīn, then ʿAbdallāh al-Maʾmūn, then Muḥammad al-Muʿtaṣim, then Hārūn al-Wāthiq, then Jaʿfar al-Mutawakkil, then Muḥammad al-Muntaṣir, then Aḥmad al-Mustaʿīn, then ʿAbdallāh al-Muʿtazz, then Muḥammad al-Muhtadī, thereafter naming them one by one in succession. According to them the earth will never be devoid of an imam from the family of al-ʿAbbās in times either of concealment or of openness. They claim further that the expected Mahdī will come from the family of al-ʿAbbās.

[The Division of the Ghāliya]

The chapter on the fourth division, the Ghāliya, who are divided into eight sects.

[The Kāmiliyya]

The first of them is the Kāmiliyya[224] related to Abū Kāmil. They maintain that the imam after the messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, was ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, on whom be peace, and

[223] Q 8: 75

[224] Van Ess, "Die Kāmilīya: zur Genese einer häresiographischen Tradition," *Die Welt des Islams* 28 (1988): 141-153; *Theologie*, I, 269-72; and Shahrastānī (Gimaret), 511-12.

that the community fell into unbelief because of their opposition to ʿAlī, on whom be peace, and that ʿAlī, on whom be peace, became an unbeliever by not standing up and summoning allegiance to himself. The imam after ʿAlī, on whom be peace, was al-Ḥasan, on whom be peace, but he became an unbeliever by his pledge of allegience to Muʿāwiya. After him the imam was al-Ḥusayn and he did not become an unbeliever since he summoned to himself and sought the caliphate until he was killed before obtaining it. They contend that God restricted the imamate exclusively to the descendants of Fāṭima, peace be upon her, but any of them who sits at home and does not seek the caliphate and does not summon to himself or to another member of the family is an unbeliever. Any of them who seeks after the caliphate even though being killed short of it is a believer and anyone who accepts their leadership is also a believer.

[The Sabāʾiyya]

The second sect is the Sabāʾiyya,[225] related to ʿAbdallāh b. Sabaʾ. They claim that the imam after the messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, was ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, on whom be peace. He is the Mahdī who will fill the earth with justice as it is now full of wrongdoing and oppression. ʿAbdallāh b. Sabaʾ once said to the person who brought to al-Madāʾin the news of the death of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, on whom be peace, "By God, if you brought us the brains of ʿAlī seven hundred times over, we would still know that he will not die until he returns and drives the Arabs with his rod."[226] As a result when this was reported to Ibn ʿAbbās, he remarked, "If we had known that, we would not have married off his womenfolk nor parcelled out his inheritance." They also have a number of evil doctrines other than this.

[The Manṣūriyya]

The third sect is the Manṣūriyya related to Abū Manṣūr al-ʿIjlī.[227] They maintain that the imam after the messenger of God, may God

[225] Shahrastānī (Gimaret), 509-10.

[226] For variations of this report, see Friedlaender's notes ("Heterodoxies," II, pp. 25, 30, 43-4, 95) to Ibn Ḥazm.

[227] See Madelung, "Manṣūriyya," *EI2*; Shahrastānī (Gimaret), 519-21; and Tucker, "Abū Manṣūr al-Ijlī and the Manṣūriyya," *Der Islam* 54 (1977): 66-76.

bless him and his family, was ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, then al-Ḥasan, then al-Ḥusayn, then ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, then Muḥammad b. ʿAlī. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī bequeathed it to Abū Manṣūr thereby excluding the family of Hāshim as similarly Mūsā had bequeath it to Yūshaʿ b. Nūn, thus excluding his own son and the son of Hārūn, on the basis that, after Abū Manṣūr, it should revert to the descendants of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, on whom be peace, just as it reverted after the son of Yūshaʿ to the son of Hārūn. Mūsā only bequeathed it to Yūshaʿ, they say, so that he might be the indicator of the real master of the situtation. Likewise Muḥammad b. ʿAlī bequeathed it to Abū Manṣūr in order to indicate the real master of the situation. They report that Abū Manṣūr claimed that the family of Muḥammad are the heavens and the Shīʿa are the earth and that he himself is the piece that fell [*al-kisf al-sāqiṭ*][228] from the family of Muḥammad. Abū Manṣūr claimed that he had been taken up into the heavens where what he worshipped stroked his head with his own hand and then said, "My son, go out and convey a message from me." Thereafter he was taken down again to earth. The oath of his followers when they swear is to say, "and by the Word." According to them the messengers of God will never stop coming and they refuse to believe in paradise and hell and claim instead that paradise is a man and hell is a man. In their view women are lawful and they claim that carrion, blood, wine, gaming and other kinds of forbidden things are actually allowed. These names are merely names of certain men whose leadership God forbad. Likewise they rescind religious duties and insist also that they are the names of persons whose leadership God made obligatory. They regard as lawful the strangulation of their opponents and they actually order it done.

Eventually, Yūsuf b. ʿUmar, the governor of Iraq,[229] seized this Abū Manṣūr and crucified him. After him his followers split into two factions. One took as their leader al-Ḥusayn b. Abī Manṣūr and gave him the fifth of what had been taken from those who were strangled. They also delivered their alms payments to him. Later, after the death of al-Ḥusayn, they said that the imamate had reverted to the descendants of al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn. The other faction claimed that the imam after Abū Manṣūr was Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, on whom be peace, and then

[228] Q 52: 44

[229] Yūsuf b. ʿUmar al-Thaqafī was governor of Iraq from 120/738 to 126/744.

after him his brother Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh.[230] Next the imam after Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh was Mūsā b. Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, may the blessings of God be upon him. Thus they ultimately became a part of the Twelver Qaṭʿiyya.[231]

[The Ghurābiyya]

The fourth sect is the Ghurābiyya.[232] They maintain that God's knowledge is temporally produced and that He does not know anything until after He creates it. He may change His mind about matters just like a person who acquires one opinion after another. God, they assert, dispatched Gabriel to ʿAlī, on whom be peace, but Gabriel came to Muḥammad, may God bless him and his family, by mistake on his part. When Gabriel returned to his Lord, God said, "Were it not that the Quraysh would say that the Lord of Muḥammad is irresolute, I would send you to ʿAlī once again and I would dismiss Muḥammad. But go instead back to Muḥammad and tell him I am appointing ʿAlī to share prophecy with him as long as both shall live, and say: "But you are only a warner and for every nation there is a guide."[233] When he came back to Muḥammad and informed him of the message of his Lord, he said to ʿAlī at that moment, "You are to me in the position of Hārūn to Mūsā except that there will not be a prophet after me." They claim further that it has been verified in a report that ʿAlī was the partner of Muḥammad, peace be on both of them, in prophecy during his lifetime just as Hārūn was the partner of Mūsā in the apostleship. For that reason he, peace be upon him, said, "no prophet after me" rather than, "no prophet alongside me," since Gabriel visited them both together with the revelation. However, when Muḥammad died, the inspiration was withdrawn from ʿAlī, on whom be peace. For them the warner was Muḥammad and the guide was ʿAlī, peace be upon them both. They draw support also from the words of the Exalted: "Can they be like those who accept a clear sign from their Lord and there follows him

[230] These brothers, Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Nafs al-Zakiyya and Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh, were leaders jointly of a major revolt against the Abbasids in 145/762-63 in the course of which both were killed. On them see F. Buhl, "Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh," and L. Veccia Vaglieri, "Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd Allāh," in the *EI2*.

[231] On the Qaṭʿiyya, see below p. 112 (note # 257) and p. 114.

[232] Briefly mentioned, *Ḥūr,* 206 and 207; Ibn Ḥazm (see Friedlaender, "Heterodoxies," I, 56-57).

[233] Q 7: 13

a witness from Him,"[234] meaning here ʿAlī, on whom be peace. The imamate, they contend, is restricted to the offspring of ʿAlī, on whom be peace, to the exclusion of all others. The descendants of Fāṭima and others of the descendants of ʿAlī, on whom be peace, have all an equal right to the imamate. Any one who rises from among the descendants of ʿAlī, on whom be peace, with sword unsheathed, summoning to the book of God and the Sunna of His prophet, who is just and knowledgeable, he is the imam. The descendants of ʿAlī, on whom be peace, are today the lineages from five persons, from al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusayn, ʿUmar, al-ʿAbbās, and Muḥammad. This sect was called the Ghurābiyya because they said that ʿAlī resembled Muḥammad, may the blessings of God be on both of them, like one raven resembles another raven.

[The Ṭayyāriyya]

The fifth sect is the Ṭayyāriyya and they are the advocates of metempsychosis.[235] They assert that the imams have differed with respect to times and bodies but coincide with respect to spirits. According to them the spirit of holiness is from God like the rays of sunlight from the sun and it became incarnate in Adam when God said: "I breathed into him of My spirit."[236] He was a prophet to the angels and a messenger to his children. When God removed his body, the holy spirit was transferred to Shīth. Similarly, it was transferred into the bodies of the imams and messengers until finally reaching Muḥammad, may God bless him and his family. Then it was transferred from him to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and then from ʿAlī to the imams after him one after the other until the day of resurrection. In their view God [*al-lāh*] is on the throne and His godhead [*al-lāhūt*] is the holy spirit that is transferred through the bodies of the imams. Accordingly, they describe the imams and messengers as the Christians would describe Jesus the son of Mary and their doctrine about them is like that of the Christians about Jesus. They insist that the imams are gods and they argue this on the basis of the words of God, the mighty and glorious, "It is He who is God in the heavens and God on the earth,"[237] meaning the imam.

[234] Q 11: 17

[235] This group is related to or possibly the same as that often called the Janāḥiyya in other heresiographies.

[236] Q 15: 29 and 38: 72

[237] Q 43: 84

[The Bazīghiyya]

The sixth sect is the Bazīghiyya[238] related to Bazīgh b. Yūnus. They claim that the imam after the messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, was ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, on whom be peace, then al-Ḥasan, then al-Ḥusayn, then ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, and then Muḥammad b. ʿAlī. In regard to Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad, they say he was not an imam but was God Himself. He commands of them the acts of the inhabitants of heaven. He is not, however, the person that is witnessed but rather He merely presents Himself to the sight of the people in this form. Nevertheless, the imams after Jaʿfar and prior to him were not gods. They insist that everything that comes into being in their hearts is revelation and that every believer receives revelation. They interpret accordingly the words of God, the mighty and glorious: "Nor can a soul die except by the leave of God,"[239] and His statement: "And your Lord inspired the bee,"[240] and His statement: "And behold, I inspired the disciples to have faith in me."[241] They allege that there are among them some who are better than Gabriel, Michael, Ibrāhīm, and Muḥammad, and that none of them will die. When one of them reaches perfection in his devotion, he is taken up to the heavenly kingdom. They claim to have seen those of them that are deceased; and they assert that they see them in the morning and the evening.

[The Yaʿfūriyya]

The seventh sect is the Yaʿfūriyya related to Muḥammad b. Yaʿfūr. They are also called Muʿammariyya.[242] They maintain that the imam after the messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, was ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, on whom be peace, and then al-Ḥasan. But when al-Ḥasan pledged allegiance to Muʿāwiya, the imamate moved from him to al-Ḥusayn, then ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, and then Muḥammad b. ʿAlī. The world, according to them, will never be devoid of an imam

[238] Shahrastānī (Gimaret), 524.
[239] Q 3: 145
[240] Q 16: 68
[241] Q 5: 111
[242] Al-Ashʿarī, 11, line 15, mentions the Muʿammariyya which is, for him, a part of the Khaṭṭābiyya. Note, however, that it is there, as here, the seventh sect of the Ghāliya. He also comments that they are also known as the Yaʿfūriyya, assuming that the unreadable name in the manuscript of al-Ashʿarī can now be read in conformity with Abū Tammām's text.

but they do not know the names of the imams after Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, on whom be peace, other than a few. Any one who denies the imams is an unbeliever; any who acknowledges them and knows their names is a believer; and any who acknowledges the imam but does not know his name is neither a believer nor an unbeliever. They assert that Muʿammar al-Kūfī is their lord; they do homage to him mornings and evenings. When Muʿammar died they said about him what the Christians say about Jesus the son of Mary, on whom be peace. They uphold a doctrine of metempsychosis and claim that the world will never cease to be. Paradise is whatever befalls the people in the way of well-being, blessings, possessions, money, and fame. Hell is whatever happens to them in the way of diseases, ill-health, hardship, and the transmigration of spirits into the beasts, birds, and insects. They attempt to prove this on the basis of the exalted God's words: "There is not an animal that lives on the earth nor a creature that flys on its wings but forms a community that is like yours."[243] Adultery, wine, amusements, and the rest of the forbidden things they consider lawful and they say that the messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, only proscribed amusements from us lest we regard our reward as already complete in its entirety. Thereupon, however, we would need to resume those deeds by which we come to deserve the true reward lest our spirits transmigrate into beasts and reptiles.

[The Ghamāmiyya]

The eighth sect is the Ghamāmiyya.[244] They maintain that God created Himself in the image of Adam, on whom be peace, and for this reason the messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, said that God created Adam in His own image and that He—may He be

[243] Q 6: 38

[244] al-Khwārazmī adds, "They are called that name because of their claim that God, the exhalted, descends to the earth in the clouds each spring and circulates about the world—may God be hallowed far beyond what they say." See Walker, "An Ismaʿili Version," 170. Al-Ḥimyarī mentions (p. 206) a sect among the Ghulāt that he calls al-Saḥābiyya. He reports that this group believed that ʿAlī as God appears in the clouds. *Saḥāb* in this instance must be a synonym for *ghamām*. Surely they are the same group, since the Ghamāmiyya believe that ʿAlı is God. It would be possible, therefore, for them to claim that he appears in the clouds. Note that al-Ashʿarī mentions (p. 16) a group that may well be the same and he puts them among the Sabā'iyya.

exalted high indeed above what the wicked say—moved Himself through the bodies of the imams and the messengers, from one body to the next, until arriving finally at Muḥammad, may God bless him and his family. Then next, after the death of Muḥammad, He moved to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, on whom be peace. He was the supreme god. Later when ʿAlī, on whom be peace, was murdered, He returned to His heaven and His throne. After ʿAlī there is only a human imam from among the descendants of al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, on whom be peace. According to them each evening of Friday God descends to the heaven of the lower world. He also comes every spring and sits on the clouds. There He circles the whole world bestowing blessings on them for their crops. They argue for this on the basis of God's words, "God comes to them in shadows of the clouds [*al-ghamām*]."[245] For that reason they are called Ghamāmiyya. If God intends that there be a drought in the world, he does not come down in the spring, nor does He bestow blessings on them. If He intends the drought to be in one region and not another, He does not circulate through that particular region.

Says the author of the book: It has been related from Jābir b. ʿAbdallāh[246] that he recounted the following:

> Three persons from this group came to ʿAlī, on whom be peace, when he was receiving the pledge of allegiance after ʿUthmān. They said, "You are You." He replied, "Who am I?" They said, "You are our Lord." At that he ordered them to be thrown into prison. He set someone who would dispute with them forcefully to guard over them, and thus cause them to change their minds and cure them. After a month he summoned them and asked them for their opinion. They replied to him with the same as their first answer. ʿAlī, on whom be peace, thereupon commanded that a pair of deep trenches be dug. Between the two he put a passageway. He order that these three be thrown into one of the two trenches and a fire be lit in the other. He blocked the openings of both so that they would either die from the smoke or recant and renounce their doctrine. However, although that was done to them, they never ceased crying out saying, "Now we know for certain that you are our Lord and our God since you punisb us with God's punishment," up to the moment they died.

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[245] Q 2: 210

[246] Famous companion of the prophet and prolific narrator of *ḥadīths*, who died in 78/697. He was particularly well regarded by the Shīʿa. See M. J. Kister, "Djābir b. ʿAbd Allāh," *EI2*.

It is they that al-Sayyid b. Muḥammad al-Ḥimyarī had in mind when making his statement in censure of them. Al-Sayyid had been a Kaysānī but then became an Imāmī.[247]

A group exaggerated about 'Alī, may they have no father;[248]
They imposed a hardship on some in their love for him.
They said he is God; God our Creator is too glorious
for Him to be the son of something or that He be a father,
Does he not beget and is begotten, as if you did not
know of him either marriage tie or lineage.
But his grandfather and his father are well-known and there are no
people more pure than the two of them in noble descent.
In wrapping clothes in the lap of the wet-nurse, he used to cry
when she sought to take from him some of what he desired.
He was not but the legatee, the knower, the understander,
a depository, chosen to rule, and selected.
We do not call him the lord or an angel
or a prophet and messenger as do those who utter lies.[249]

Al-Ṭirimmāḥ b. Ḥakīm al-Ṭā'ī the poet, who was a Khārijite, once posed a question to al-Kumayt b. Zayd al-Asadī[250] the poet, who was an Imāmī. He asked, "Why is it that anyone who intends to propagate a falsehood on the people sets out and attaches himself to your doctrines in order to make the proper preparation for spreading it?" To which al-Kumayt replied, "From this I know for certain that the foundation of the Shī'a and their doctrines and their claims are true since it is because of the truth that the false is circulated in the same way debased dirhams circulate in the train of those that are perfect." Says the author of this book: upon my discovering these many differences which occur within the community, I recall the statement of God, the mighty and glorious: "Muḥammad is no more than a messenger; many messengers passed away before him. If he had died or were slain, would you then turn back on your heels? If any were to turn back on his heels, not the least harm would he do to God, but God will swiftly reward those who are grateful."[251] Then He made clear, in another place, that those who are grateful within the com-

[247] He died in 173/789 or 179/795. On him see Wadad Kadi, "al-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī," *EI2* and Shahrastānī (Gimaret), 443 note #41.

[248] i.e., may they be cursed.

[249] Lines 1 and 2 of this poem are found in al-Ḥimyarī's *Dīwān*; lines 1 through 7 occur in the *Uṣūl al-niḥal* ascribed to al-Nāshi', p. 38.

[250] Died 126/743. On him see J. Horowitz-Ch. Pellat, "al-Kumayt b. Zayd al-Asadī," *EI2*.

[251] Q 3: 144

munity of Muḥammad are few. They are the ones who did not apostatize after Muḥammad and have not deviated. Thus He says: "But few of My servants are grateful."[252] I recall also the words of Muḥammad, may God bless him and his family, when he said to his community, "You will surely take up the custom of the tribe of Israel with such a precise and identical manner that, if they were to enter the burrow of a lizard, you would enter it yourselves." Based on this report, we have proof that in this community there are two sects that resemble the Jews and the Christians in the tribe of Israel. The Jews of this community are the Khawārij, the Karrāmiyya, and those who preferred Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, and ʿUthmān to ʿAlī, on whom be peace. The Christians of this community are the Ghāliya of various kinds. This is as was related from Wakīʿ from Mālik b. al-Ḥārith from Abū Ṣādiq from Abū Zamʿa b. Mājid from ʿAlī, on whom be peace, who said, "Two men will perish on account of me, one of excessive love and the other of slanderous hatred." The one of excessive love is the Ghāliya and the one of slanderous hatred is the Khawārij. A further confirmation of what we have said here is what was related from Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān who reported: "The messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, once said to me, 'Summon ʿAlī for me.' Then he said to ʿAlī, 'O Abu'l-Ḥasan, your example in my community is that of Jesus, on whom be peace, among the tribe of Israel. The Jews acquired a hatred of him to such a degree they slandered him and the Christians grew to love him so much they made him into a lord god and the son of a lord.'" This *ḥadīth* proves that the Khawārij are the Jews of this community and the Ghāliya are its Christians.

It is also related on the authority of certain learned experts that he said, "The example of the Murji'a and the Ḥadīthiyya in this community is like that of the Jews and Christians among the Israelites." That is because of what God related about them. He said: "The Jews say that the Christians have nothing to stand upon and the Christians say that the Jews have nothing to stand upon, yet they study the same book."[253] The Ḥadīthiyya say that the Murji'a have nothing to stand on and the Murji'a say that the Ḥadīthiyya have nothing to stand on, and yet they study the same book. The Jews and the Christians were wont to say, when they saw someone who sum-

[252] Q 34: 13
[253] Q 2: 113

moned them to the truth and to the straight path, "'None shall enter paradise unless he be a Jew or a Christian."[254] Similarly, when the Ḥadīthiyya and the Murji'a see one of their opponents summoning them to the straight path, they say: no one will enter paradise unless they are advocates of the Ḥadīth or the defenders of personal opinion. They are like someone who says, "make amends!" then "be disgraceful!" As the Jews said: "The fire shall not touch us but for a few numbered days."[255] In a similar way, these people claim that the wicked person will be punished in proportion to his sins but will then exit from the fire.

As for the Magians of this community, they are the Qadariyya about whom the messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, said, "The Qadariyya are the Magians of this community." The Qadariyya are the advocates of the doctrine of compulsion. The proof comes in what has been related from the messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, who said, "There will be in this community a group who perform acts of disobedience and then claim that they are from God. They are the Qadariyya and they are the Magians of this community. If they become ill, do not visit them; if they die, do not participate in their funerals; if they oppose you, wage war against them like you wage war againt the Byzantines and the Persians." From al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī there is a report in which he said that Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya related to me a *ḥadīth* wherein he reported the following:

> One of the inhabitants of Persia came to the messenger of God, may God bless him and his family. The messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, said to him, "Tell me about the strangest thing that you have seen there." The man said, "I saw a group of people who married their mothers, their daughters, and their sisters. When they were asked, why do you do this? They answered, it is the ordainment of God upon us and His decree." The messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, then said to him, "There will be in this community people that maintain a doctrine like this. They are the Magians of my community."

Thus, it is confirmed by way of *ḥadīth* that the determinists are the Qadariyya and they are the Magians of this community.

As for using the method of intellect, the determinists are the Qadariyya because he who denies a thing is not called by that thing.

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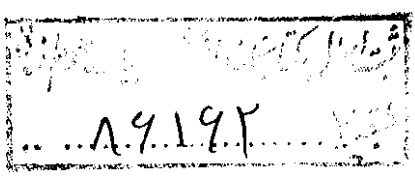
[254] Q 2: 111
[255] Q 2: 80

Thus the one who denies faith is not called a believer and one who denies polytheism is not called a polytheist. The determinists affirm God's predetermination in all matters and the Mu'tazila deny it. Those who affirm determination are more aptly described by it than those who deny it. From another point of view the determinists do not move a finger, hear a fart, or do any sort of obedient or disobedient act without claiming that it was by the decree and ordainment of God. They are thus described by it in verification of the statement of the commander of the faithful, 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, on whom be peace, "Whoever does a thing often is known by it." Something else that increases our certainty about what we say is that, when you examine impartially the doctrines of the Magians and the doctrines of the determinists who are the Qadariyya, you find them quite alike with no difference between them. Among them is the doctrine of the Magians that fornicating with sisters, daughters, and mothers, drinking wine, playing stringed intruments, giving oneself over to pleasures and various kinds of amusements are all from God and within His will. Similarly, the Qadariyya maintain that all the acts of the Magians such as fornicating with sisters, daughters, and mothers, and everything that is reprehensible and abominable are from God and within His will. The Magians say that the one who created Adam was Ahuramazda and Ahriman, and that all good things are generated from Ahuramazda and that it is impossible that evil be generated from him, while all evil is generated from Ahriman and it is impossible that any good generate from him. Similarly, the Qadariyya hold that God created two capacities one of which is a capacity for evil and unbelief and that it is impossible that faith and good deeds happen by means of it. Just as the Magians claim about a single utterance which constitutes a vilification that the vilification itself is from Ahriman and the utterance through which there is vilification is from Ahuramazda, likewise, in reference to one act, the Qadariyya maintain that its creation is by God but its acquisition is by the human being. They accept that one act stems from two agents much as the Magians do. This confirms the statement of the messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, about them. Just as the Magians say that the killing is from Ahriman and the movements by which the killing occurred are from Ahuramazda, so too do the Qadariyya say that the creation of those movements is by God and their acquisition is by the servant.

A wise man has said in this regard:



We consider those acts for which we are rebuked
under one of three conditions when we account for them.
Either our Lord stands alone in having made them
and thus the blame does not fall on us when He commits them;
or He was a participant with us and blame will attach to Him,
if any blame attaches to us in them.
Or among his creatures the Deity has no
act and thus the only fault is the fault of their perpetrator.

[The Division of the Imāmiyya]

The fifth division is the division of the Imāmiyya who are the Rāfiḍa. They are divided into five sects.

[The Nāwūsiyya]

The first of them is the Nāwūsiyya[256] related to ʿAbdallāh b. Nāwūs. They uphold anthropomorphism and determinism and indeed most of the Imāmiyya maintain the doctrines of anthropomorphism, determinism, God's change of mind, and that God's knowledge is temporally contingent. They also believe in the *rajʿa* and that faith is not the same as Islam. The Imāmiyya were called the Rāfiḍa because of their rejection of Zayd b. ʿAlī and their declining to rise in revolt with him. The Zaydīs are called the Zaydiyya because they rose in revolt with Zayd b. ʿAlī. The Shīʿa are called the Shīʿa because of their claim that they are the partisans [*shīʿa*] of the family of the messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, and their followers. The Nāwūsiyya insist that the imam after the messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, was ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, then al-Ḥasan, then al-Ḥusayn, then ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, then Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, and then Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad, on whom be peace. According to them Jaʿfar has not died; he is now imprisoned on one of the islands in the western sea. He is the awaited Mahdī who will rise [*al-qāʾim al-mahdī al-muntaẓar*] and who will fill the earth with justice as it is now full of oppression and wrongdoing.

[256] Shahrastānī (Gimaret), 487.

[The Mufaḍḍaliyya]

The second sect are the Mufaḍḍaliyya related to al-Mufaḍḍal b. ʿUmar.[257] They are of four types.

The most numerous of them are the type who maintain that the imam after the messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, was ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, then al-Ḥasan, then al-Ḥusayn, then ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, then Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, then Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad, then Mūsā b. Jaʿfar, then ʿAlī b. Mūsā, then Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, then ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, then al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī, and then Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan. According to them Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan has not died and will not die until he rises and fills the earth with justice as it is now full of oppression and wrongdoing. These are the Twelver Imāmiyya [*al-Imāmiyya al-Ithnā ʿashariyya*].

The second type say that the imam after the messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, was ʿAlī al-Murtaḍā, then al-Ḥasan al-Mujtabā, then al-Ḥusayn, the martyr at Karbalā', then ʿAlī Sayyid al-ʿĀbidīn, then Muḥammad Bāqir al-ʿilm, then Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq, then Mūsā al-Ṣāliḥ, then ʿAlī al-Riḍā, then Muḥammad al-Hādī, then ʿAlī al-Ṣābir, then al-Ḥasan al-Ṭāhir, then Muḥammad al-Mahdī, and then after him the Qā'im who will rise and fill the earth with justice and take possession of it. He is the awaited Mahdī. Even so they consider themselves among the Twelvers and they claim that the counting of the imams begins from al-Ḥasan because ʿAlī was not among them since he was superior to them in that he was both legatee [*waṣī*] and imam at the same time.

The third type claims that the imam after the messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, was ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, then al-Ḥasan, then al-Ḥusayn, then ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, then Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, then Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad, then Mūsā b. Jaʿfar, then Aḥmad b. Mūsā b. Jaʿfar, then ʿAlī b. Mūsā, then Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, then ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, then al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī, and then Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan. There is no doubt, they maintain, that after Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan there will be two more imams to complete two sevens. The fourteenth of the imams will be the awaited Mahdī. Nevertheless this

[257] The four "types" that follow here are not clearly related to a sect called the Mufaḍḍaliyya except in being a part of the Imāmī Qaṭʿiyya. Al-Khwārazmī says at this point, "Among them is the Mufaḍḍaliyya related to al-Mufaḍḍal b. 'Umar and called the Qaṭʿiyya because they definitely affirm the death of Mūsā b. Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad." Cf. al-Ashʿarī, p. 29.

group also consider themselves Twelvers since they insist that the twelve imams are all from the lineage of al-Ḥusayn and that ʿAlī and al-Ḥasan are not to be counted among them.

The fourth type are the followers of ʿAmmār al-Sābāṭī.[258] They maintain that the imam after the messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, was ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, then al-Ḥasan, then al-Ḥusayn, then ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, then Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, then Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad, then ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar, then his brother Mūsā b. Jaʿfar, then ʿAlī b. Mūsā, then Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, then ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, then al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī, and then Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan. Thereafter the imamate will continue among the descendants of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan permanently until the Mahdī comes forth. There is no fixed number for the imams nor a limit, but rather, according to them, even if a thousand years or more pass, we know that if but one day of the days allotted to this world remains, God will prolong it until the Mahdī comes forth and takes possession of the earth and fills it with justice and equity as it is now full of wrongdoing and oppression.

[The Shamṭiyya]

The third sect is the Shamṭiyya related to Yaḥyā b. Abī Shamṭ.[259] They say that the imam after the messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, was ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, then al-Ḥasan, then al-Ḥusayn, then ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, then Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, then Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad, and then Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar, on them all be peace. Thereafter the imamate remains among the descendants of Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar until the Mahdī comes forth and takes possession of the earth and fills it with justice as it is now full of oppression and wrongdoing. The Mahdī will be a descendant of Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar.[260]

[The Wāqifiyya]

The fourth sect is the Wāqifiyya. They say that the imam after the messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, was ʿAlī b. Abī

[258] Mentioned *Ḥūr*, p. 218. See Shahrastānī (Gimaret), 493; *Firaq al-shīʿa*, index; and al-Ashʿarī, 28.

[259] *Firaq al-shīʿa*, pp. 64-5; Shahrastānī (Gimaret), 490 and notes #78 and #79; and H. Halm, "Shumayṭiyya," *EI2*.

[260] Cf. al-Ashʿarī, 27; *Ḥūr*, 217; and *Firaq al-shīʿa*, 64-5.

Ṭālib, then al-Ḥasan, then al-Ḥusayn, then ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, then Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, then Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad, and then Mūsā b. Jaʿfar, peace be upon them all. Mūsā was the seventh of the imams and he did not die nor will he die until he reigns over the world, both the east of it and the west, and until he fills the earth with justice as it is now full of wrongdoing and oppression. He is the Qāʾim and the Mahdī. They are called the Wāqifiyya because they stop [*waqafū*] with Mūsā b. Jaʿfar and do not go beyond him to any others after him. Some of their opponents call them the Mamṭūra. It is said the reason for that is because once a member of their group debated Yūnus b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān who was from the Qaṭʿiyya. Yūnus at one point said to him, "You people are of less weight to me than rain-soaked dogs," and this term stuck to them thereafter.[261] The Qaṭʿiyya are the Mufaḍḍaliyya because they definitely affirm the death of Mūsā b. Jaʿfar and they say he died and that the imam after him was his son ʿAlī b. Mūsā. The Aḥmadiyya were also called Qaṭʿiyya because they definitely affirm the death of Mūsā b. Jaʿfar.

[The Aḥmadiyya]

The fifth sect is the Aḥmadiyya related to their imam Aḥmad b. Mūsā. They say that the imam after the messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, was ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, then al-Ḥasan, then al-Ḥusayn, then ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, then Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, then Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad, then Mūsā b. Jaʿfar, and then Aḥmad b. Mūsā. According to them the imamate will remain among the descendants of Aḥmad b. Mūsā until the Mahdī comes forth. They amount to a great number today. They consider temporary marriage lawful; and the majority of the Imāmiyya also regard it as lawful.

The Imāmiyya as a whole agree that the world will never be devoid of an imam and that the imam has miracles like the miracles of the prophet. It is not allowed for any one to rebel against the ruler, whether oppressive or just, even if he be killed while in his own house, until the Mahdī comes forth and God extends to him the assistance of the angels just as He gave aid to His prophet at the battle of Badr. The knowledge possessed by the imams comes by

[261] Al-Ashʿarī, 28-29; *Ḥūr*, 218-19; and Shahrastānī (Gimaret), 495 and note #111.

inspiration and not by acquisition. They say that temporary marriage is permissible until the day of resurrection. Al-Ḥusayn was killed at a time when his son ʿAlī was only seven years old but yet at that moment he was an imam, the subject of obligatory obedience, already knowing everything that the imams know. Similarly, some of the Mufaḍḍaliyya claim about Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Mūsā, whose father died when he was only four, that he was in that state an imam, the subject of obligatory obedience, already knowing everything that the imams know in the way of legal rulings, permitted and prohibited things, and other matters about which it is necessary to seek his legal responsa concerning new cases and to follow him. He functioned as suitably as the earlier righteous imams had done. They assert that shortness and length of age are not relevant to the perfection of knowledge or the lack thereof, or to the suitability for the imamate or non-suitability for it in any way because in regard to that, according to them, it is possible for the imam to learn all the sciences in the shortest of time even in four years. Some others claimed that Muḥammad b. ʿAlī was at that moment an imam in the sense that the command belonged to him and rested in him to the exclusion of the rest of the members of his family. None other than he was as suitable for that position at that time. In regard to whether in that state he combined in himself what the previous imams combined in themselves, the answer is no. They claim that it was not allowed for him to act as imam to them in that situation but that those who led prayers and carried out their legal rulings during that period were persons other than he among the experts in jurisprudence, religion, and prayer until he reached the level of maturity that is appropriate for leadership.[262]

About the sects we have mentioned as having divided, I state here that the sciences of jurisprudence, laws, and legal rulings separate them into three categories. The first category pertains to the Ḥadīthiyya; they are the advocates of the doctrine that the acts of obedience are all components of faith. The second category pertains

[262] In the *Maqālāt* of al-Ashʿarī (pp. 30-31) a statement that closely parallels this passage concludes at this point, "Here ends the discussion of the Ghāliya and the Imāmiyya." It is not there, however, the end of the discussion but was instead likely the termiuation of al-Ashʿarī's source up to that point as it must have beeu also for Abū Tammām. Obviously the source here is the same for both Abū Tammām and for al-Ashʿarī.

to the defenders of personal opinion; they are the advocates of the doctrine that the acts of obedience are not a component of faith. The third category pertains to the Shīʿa; they are the advocates of the doctrine that the imam after the messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, was ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. In jurisprudence, laws, and legal rulings, the proponents of each of these three categories separate again on matters of jurisprudence, laws, penalties, and legal judgements into four classes as follows. [The first class are] the advocates of the *ḥadīth* who are those who believe in all the statements of their leaders concerning God's transcendent unity, His justice, the promise, the threat, jurisprudence, laws, the permissible, the forbidden, and other matters. They do not disagree with them in regard to anything they have heard from them or had related on their authority. The next class are the defenders of personal opinion and they are those who adhere to all the doctrines of their leaders concerning jurisprudence, laws, legal judgements, the promise, the threat, penalties, God's justice, His transcendent unity, the imamate, and other matters. They support them and do not disagree with them on anything that has been related on their authority or that they have heard from them. The third class are the Shīʿa and they are those who believe in every claim made by their imams and leaders in matters of jurisprudence, laws, legal judgements, God's transcendent unity, His justice, the promise, and the threat. They do not disagree with them in anything that they have heard from them or that has been given as a legal opinion of theirs. The fourth class are the advocates of the truth. They separated from the seventy-two sects and maintain their distance from belief in the doctrines of their leaders, their masters, and their forefathers. They exert their personal efforts to investigate and search for the truth and they select from each division the doctrines with which they agree and the claims consistent with their intellects. With respect to God's transcendent unity, His justice, determinism [*jabr*], postponed judgement [*irjāʾ*], the promise, the threat, the imamate, the pledge of homage [*bayʿa*], the laws, legal rulings, the forbidden and the permissible, they accept what the best minds of each sect understood and what the investigation by each master among them made obligatory. They support this by the words of God, the mighty and glorious: "So announce the good news to My servants, those who listen to the word and follow the best of it, those are the ones whom God guided and those are the ones endowed with

understanding."[263] The statements of their leaders and forefathers they set aside behind their backs and note that God rebuked the unbelievers in His words: "They take their priests and their monks to be lords besides God,"[264] and His words: "We found our fathers following a certain community and we are guided in their footsteps."[265] That would be for us a reprimand, an admonition, and a prohibition against being led by them. If we were to accept uncritically the doctrines of our leaders without investigation or personal effort and if we were to believe in the religion of our fathers without the necessity of reason or the requirement of proof, we would be guided by the very unbelievers whom our Lord, the mighty and glorious, forbad us from taking as guides.

Says the author of the book:[266] We specified at the beginning of this book of ours that the proponents of exoteric literalism divided according to three doctrines: one of which states that the acts of obedience are all a component of faith, the second of which states that the acts of obedience, the laws, and the oath of homage are not components of faith; and the third of which states that the imam after the messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, was ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, on whom be peace. We said this because the principles of the religion that God, the exalted, mentioned in His book consist of these three doctrines. It is found in the statement of God, the mighty and glorious: "Obey God, obey the messengers, and obey those having command among you."[267] Faith is obedience to God; accepting the law is obedience to the messenger; and believing that the earth will never be devoid of God's proof to His people is obedience to those having command. Thereafter we observed that those who concur that the acts of obedience are not a component of faith have separated into twenty-four sects, and then observed that those who agree that the acts of obedience are all a component of faith are twenty-four sects, and that those who agree that the imam after the messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, was

[263] Q 39: 17
[264] Q 9: 31
[265] Q 43: 23
[266] Apparently the person speaking now is Abū Tammām who is therefore not likely the author of the passage immediately preceeding. It seems thus to belong to Abū Tammām's source rather than to him.
[267] Q 4: 59

ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, on whom be peace, split up after that also into twenty-four sects on the matter of the imamate of his descendants. Accordingly, we must conclude from this that the true imam after the messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, was ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, may the blessings of God be upon him, and that his descendants are those who have command after the prophet's departure from this world, may the blessings of God be upon him and his family. In as much as the agreeement and difference that existed in the matter of God, the mighty and glorious, and the messenger, may the blessings of God be upon him and his family, resulted in two sectarian groups, the sect supporting ʿAlī is a third sect relative to the other two. Thereupon, having observed the separating of the community, previously noted, on the basis of three doctrines, as we have explained at the beginning of this book of ours, we know that there can be no doubt that they must have a fourth that brings them all together, just as the three root principles which are the Founder, the Speaking-prophet, and the Tablet come together in the fourth, which is the Pen since the whole is manifest in it.[268] In the very same way, the three doctrines are manifest together in the science of esoteric meaning. Because the doctrine of those who maintain that faith consists of speech without works is correct since, if it denotes the oneness that is the cause of all spiritual and bodily creatures, then, just as from verification [*taṣdīq*] appear both speech and works, similarly from the oneness originated the Pen and the Tablet because the things manifest in the Pen move, by means of the Tablet, from the stage of potentiality to that of actuality. Speech corresponds to the Pen, the works to the Tablet. Verification corresponds to the oneness. Verification is more subtle and hidden than works. Similarly the Pen is more subtle than the Tablet. In the same way, the doctrine of those who maintain that faith does not increase or decrease is correct since they intend by it the Pen because it is complete and is not susceptible to augmentation or diminution. (Notice that those who believe that faith does not increase or decrease are the same ones who believe in speech without works.) For the reason given above, it is correct that they intend the Pen alone to the exclusion of the Tablet. Likewise, the doctrine of those who say that faith increases but does not decrease are correct since they intend by it the Tablet

[268] It is necessqary here to recall the author's discussion of these matters in his introduction to the "Chapter" as a whole.

because it is always subject to a process of augmentation. It increases and finally, on the day that the resurrection appears, the nights of diminution come to an end and, for this reason, it is said that the blessings of paradise increase and do not decrease. Similarly, the doctrine of those who say faith increases and decreases is correct since they intend the divine support [*ta'yīd*] which is Jadd, Fatḥ and Khayāl because these increase in the Speaking-prophet and decrease in the Founder and the imam. Similarly, the doctrine of those who say the Qur'ān was created is correct since they intend by it the Qur'ān which the messenger of God, may the blessings of God be upon him and his family, expressed in the clear Arabic tongue; and the doctrine of those who say the Qur'ān is the uncreated speech of God is correct since they intend by it the original Word of God which is the assemblage of all essences. Yet it is not a creator because it was originated as a potentiality and not as an actuality.

The Preceder [*al-sābiq*] is the one originated by the Order [*amr*] of the Creator, the glorious and mighty. The Order is the originating [*ibdā'*] and the originating is eternity. If the originated being were not the eternal being, it could not possibly inculcate permanence on earth when we nourish ourselves in the lower world from its effects. Since we know that we will become eternal one day, it is certain that we must take nourishment from the effects of eternity, at the Order of God, through the mediation of the eternal being, i.e. the originated being. The difference between eternity and permanence is that eternity is said of what precedes and permanence of what continues. However, the originated being is not a creator, which is to say, no origination results from it but rather it is itself originated. Originating thus cannot be attributed to it. Nor is it itself created because the originated being is the cause of all created things and essences. The essences and created things are all caused by it and the cause is not the same as its effect. Thus it is not created because creation occurs through it in all other essences. Another aspect of this is that created being is that which is created from something. The originated being is not created because it was originated from nothing.

The doctrine of those who say the Qur'ān is the speech of God, that it is between the heavens and the earth, and that it is created is correct because creation [*khalq*] lexically means "to measure." Zuhayr b. Abī Sulmā has said:

> And you indeed cut what you have measured [*mā khalaqta*]; but some people measure [*yakhluqu*], then do not cut.[269]

They mean by this that what the Speaking-prophet acquires is measured just as God, the mighty and glorious, says, "And there is not a thing but its treasuries are with Us; but We only send down thereof in known measure."[270] Thereafter the Speaking-prophet measures out what he acquired apportioned in the esoteric aspect of his gross phrases and informs those lower than he in the hierarchy that these are measured out to them in so far as they are real individual beings. Thus they are all provided their measures word by word. This confirms the statement of his, peace be upon him, "No sign was revealed to me but that it has an external and an internal meaning, and each letter has a limit; each limit represents a point of ascent." That is to say, the Speaking-prophet acquires no portion of the subtle blessing without his projecting it onto the external form of his phrases, measured out for the true individual beings, and he sets for all those of the imams and Adjuncts who come after him the limit they will not pass beyond. He determines for them the measurement by which they will recognize the limits set for them. For this reason the Commander of the Faithful, ʿAlī, on whom be peace, remarked, "No man who knows his own measure will perish; surely goodness is all goodness in the person who knows his measure; ignorance suffices the man if he does not know his measure." This means that, for every one who cognizes a spiritual interpretation and attains a blessing, a limit is measured out in it beyond which he will not pass. The least rank is that of the novices above which the Ma'dhūn passes. Next are the Wings [*al-ajniḥa*], then the Adjuncts, then the imams, then the Founders, and then the Speaking-prophets. None may pass beyond the limit set for him, for, if he should go beyond it, he will have become a member of the class of ignorant rabble and riffraff who have no rank and no assigned station. The meaning of his words, "every limit represents a point of ascent," is that every holder of rank, by virtue of his position, imparts to those below what he has acquired from those above him in proportion to his rank. For this reason, God, the mighty and glorious, said: "And such are the examples We set forth for the people but only those understand them that have

[269] See Lane, p. 800; Zuhayr b. Abī Sulmā, *Dīwān* (Beirut, 1953), p. 94; *Sharḥ dīwān* (Cairo, 1944), p. 94.

[270] Q 15: 21

knowledge."[271] This means that the Speaking-prophet, in the external forms of his phrases, allots what he acquires in the way of pure blessings to the true individual beings of the people who come after him. For that reason God, the mighty and glorious, said: "With it came down the truthful spirit to your heart"—i.e., the blessings that the Speaking-prophet acquired from the direction of the two root principles—"that you may be one of the warners in a clear, Arabic tongue."[272] This says that, among those who may listen to it, what the Speaking-prophet measures out in the external form of his phrases to the true individual beings cannot be comprehended except by those who aspire after it from the ranks that we have named to the exclusion of the ignorant. The former extract from those apportioned phrases what each of them imparts to those below him who are in contact with him in proportion to the share that he allotted to them in their particular station without going beyond it, partaking thus from what the Speaking-prophet apportioned, supported the blessing and inspiration in equal measurements, so that the creation reaches completion at the end of the era.

The doctrine of those who say the Qur'ān is between the heavens and the earth and that it is not created is correct. They intend by this that what the Speaking-prophet apportions in the external forms of his phrases and in the divine support that flows from the two root principles is not that claimed by the opponents whose doctrines are lies and falsehoods, lacking measure, denuded and devoid of the truths. It is not that to which these people summon from the ranks that they publicly assign to themselves.

Similarly, with all of the doctrines about which the community disagrees, such as matters of God's transcendent unity, His justice, determinism, free choice, the promise, the threat, the laws, legal rulings, the licit, the forbidden, obligations, normative practice, commands, prohibitions, penalties, retaliation, if you subject them to interpretation and if you investigate them impartially, you will discover the true ultimate reality in which there exists no disagreement with respect to any of these issues. For that reason the messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, said, "My community will not agree on an error." The community in this instance are the believers [*mu'minūn*] rather than the Muslims because they agree with respect to both faith and Islam and they acknowledge that all the doctrines of

[271] Q 29: 43
[272] Q 26: 193-5

the Muslims are true and valid. The disagreements among the latter, the declaration by some that others are unbelievers, or the repudiation by some of others, has no significance, therefore, except to demonstrate their ignorance of the true realities within their respective claims and doctrines. Thus this resolution is ultimately more certain than that discord and more intelligible than their individual agreement with this or that particular sect within the whole of the community. The messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, has said, "The disagreement of my community is a mercy." But the community here are the Muslims rather than the believers because, if the disagreements did not exist and some did not repudiate others, none would search for the truth through which there is harmony, concord, and consensus. For that reason the messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, said also, "Searching for knowledge is an obligation for every Muslim." He did not say, "for every believer" because it is the Muslim who falls into disagreements, doubts, and contradictions and it is on him that God imposed the obligation to search for the knowledge that will preserve them all from what he has fallen into. The believer is exempted from having to search for it because he has already taken hold of the firm bond in which there are no cracks. He has clung resolutely to the rope of God the lowest stage of which is the novice and the highest is the intellect. He has grasped hold of the prophetic chain sent to the tribe of Israel. Whoever is able to hold on to it is one of the upholders of the truth.

Since the three doctrinal statements, the separated sects, the divisive tendencies, and the schismatic divisions, once exposed to the sciences of inner meanings, revert to a state of concordance, we know therefore that it was from them they have branched off and, for that reason, they come back into agreement when they return to it, since reason requires that result. Because we know that one is the unifier of the many and is the center of all the numbers, this proves that the origin of religion is one and that, from it, the divisions and sects branched off. When the origin is soundly attained once again, every tendency that has branched off from it is rejoined to it. There is no image that fits this well except in accord with its proper measure—that is, the measures God gave to them. He assembled them in the form of a tree with its fruit, its leaves, and its bark. When it evolves from the stage of potentiality to the stage of actuality, you find that it no longer resembles its source but instead separates into various types such as those we have enumerated. At the end of its existence, how-

ever, it sends forth seeds from the core of its fruits which are exactly like the seed with which its whole existence commenced. Each of them combines in itself all the elements the first one possessed. That state, which is found in the individual, proves that what we have enumerated was, as a whole, once concealed in the first seed by means of its Maker's knowledge. It proves that everything which generates from something else, even though it differs and branches off in the middle phase of its existence, reverts at the end to the origin from which it has come. By this demonstration, we know that all the disagreements that have occurred in the community were originally seeded in it and that they were known to the architect of its law. If he had not been fully aware of this, he would not have said, "My community will divide into seventy-three sects." Thus the person who receives his knowledge from the direction of its architect will, by means of that knowledge, reach the harmony that relates each one of them to its source in order to return it to what it once was. As we stated previously in this book of ours, there is no doubt that the three doctrinal statements have a fourth that harmonizes the three. So we say also that there is no doubt that the eleven schools of doctrine have a twelfth, one that indicates what reunites the whole. The perfection of arithmetic and the full measure of things in the spheres and the souls occurs in twelves, as, for example, in the twelve signs of the zodiac, the twelve regions of the earth, the twelve ages, and other examples the mention of which would prolong this book. In a similar way, it is inevitable that the seventy-two sects have one that reunites the whole and brings the rest out of polytheism and confusion and saves them from disagreement and mutual contradiction. Just as the three doctrinal statements comprise eleven divisions and the eleven schools of doctrine make up seventy-two sects, in the same way the fourth doctrinal statement constitutes the twelfth school of doctrine and it is, therefore, the seventy-third sect.

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Zuhayr b. Abī Sulmā, see ibn Abī Sulmā

INDEX

al-ʿAbbās, 98, 99, 103
Abbasids, 96, 98, 102
ʿAbbāsiyya, 12, 77, 97-9
ʿAbd al-Jabbār, 11, 54
ʿAbdallāh b. al-ʿAbbās, 99
ʿAbdallāh b. Abī ʿAbdallāh al-Taymī, 66
ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr b. Ḥarb, 97
ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad, 113
ʿAbdallāh b. Masʿūd, 26
ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Isḥaq b. Mūsā b. Jaʿfar, 67
ʿAbdallāh b. Muʿāwiya b. ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib, 96-7
ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar, 46, 48
ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān, 95
ʿAbd al-Ṣamad, 92
ʿAbdān, vii, 1
Abraham, Ibrāhīm, 75, 93, 104
al-Abtar, 88
Abū Bakr, 21, 24, 25, 26, 28, 30, 34, 43, 44, 45, 46, 48, 55, 65, 66, 70-1, 82, 84, 88, 89, 94, 99, 108
Abū Bayhas Hayṣam b. Jābir, 40
Abū Firās, see al-Maynaqī
Abu'l-Sarī Maʿdān al-Shumaytī, 68
Abū Ḥanīfa al-Nuʿmān b. Thābit, 46, 58, 81-2
Abū Hāshim b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya, 77, 95, 96-7
Abu'l-Hudhayl Muḥammad b. al-Hudhayl al-ʿAllāf, 31
Abū Hurayra, 25, 74
Abū Jahl, 45
Abu'l-Jārūd b. Abī Ziyād, 90
Abū Karib al-Ḍarīr, 95
Abū Kāmil, 99
Abū Manṣūr al-ʿIjlī, 100, 101
Abu'l-Muḍar, 77
Abū Muḥammad, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9; his *Mukhtaṣar fī ʿaqāʾid al-thalāth was al-sabʿīn firqa*, 6
Abū Mūsā, 35
Abū Muslim, 74, 76, 77
Abū Ṣabbāḥ b. Muʿammar, 54
Abū Ṣādiq, 108
Abū Salama Ḥafṣ b. Sulaymān al-Khallāl, 97
Abū Tammām, vii-ix, x, 1-13, 19, 29, 33, 34, 37, 57, 64, 71, 77, 87, 115, 117; his *Kitāb al-shajara*, vii-ix, 1-9; his *Kitāb al-burhān*, vii, 3, 6-9
Abū Zamʿa b. Mājid, 108
Abū Zayd al-Balkhī, 13
Adam, 64, 70, 75, 103, 105
Adjunct(s), *al-lāḥiq*, 120
Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khalaf, 92
Aḥmad b. Mūsā b. Jaʿfar, 112, 114
Aḥmadiyya, 114
Ahriman, 110
Ahuramazda, 110
ʿĀʾisha, 45, 46, 48, 80, 82
ʿAjārida, 36-7
ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-ʿAbbās, 99
ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, 21, 25, 26, 28, 30, 34, 44, 45, 46, 48, 56, 61, 62, 63, 65, 66, 70-1, 72, 78, 82, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 96, 97, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 106, 107, 108, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 116, 117, 118, 120
ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan, 95, 96
ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, 92, 97, 101, 104, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115
ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Mūsā b. Jaʿfar, 112, 113
ʿAlī b. Mūsā b. Jaʿfar, 112, 113, 114
ʿAlī b. al-Walīd, 2, 3; his *Ḍiyāʾ al-albāb*, 2, 3, 9
al-Amīn, Muḥammad, 98, 99
ʿAmmār al-Sābāṭī, 113
ʿAmmār b. Yāsir, 56
ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, 35, 45
ʿAmr b. Muḥammad, 76
Anas b. Mālik, 26
Angels, 2
Anthropomorphists, al-Mutashabbiha, 56-77
Asad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Qasrī, 98
Aṣḥāb al-Faḍāʾ, 13, 66
Aṣḥāb al-Raʾy, 81-3
al-Ashʿarī, Abu'l-Ḥasan, 57; his *Maqālāt*, x, 10, 11, 14, 60, 66, 104, 105, 115; his *al-Lumaʿ*, 57.
Ashʿariyya, 11, 57-8
Azāriqa, 35, 37, 38

ʿAzrāʾīl, 93

Balance, *mīzān*, 43, 50
Balkh, 77
al-Balkhī, Abuʾl-Qāsim (al-Kaʿbī), viii, 10, 11, 14, 29, 34, 54, 77; his *Maqālāt*, viii, 10, 12, 34, 60
al-Balkhī, Abū Zayd, 13
al-Barqī, Abū Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmmār, 12, 25
Basra, 95
Batriyya, 88-9
Bayān b. Samʿān, 68, 69
Bayāniyya, 68-9
Bayhasiyya, 40-1
Bazīgh b. Yūnus, 104
Bazīghiyya, 104
Bidaʿiyya, 37-8
Bishriyya, 33-4
Bitṭīkhiyya, 51-2
Bukayr b. Māhān, 98
Bukhara, 76
al-Burhān, see *Kitāb al-burhān* and Abū Tammām
al-Bustī, 5
Butriyya, see Batriyya
Byzantium, 77

Christians, 27, 55, 57, 87, 103, 105, 108, 109

al-Ḍabbī, 78
al-Ḍaḥḥāk, b. al-Shārī, 42
Ḍaḥḥākiyya, 42
Dāūdiyya, 15, 47-8
David, 69, 93
Determinists, see Qadariyya
devils, see iblīs(es)
Diḥyā, 74
Ḍirār b. ʿAmr, 53, 54, 82
Ḍirāriyya, 53-4
Ḍiyāʾ al-albāb, see ʿAlī b. al-Walīd
Dukayniyya, 90-1

Executor, legatee, *waṣī*, 21, 22, 23, 24, 26; see also Founder, *asās*.

al-Faḍāʾ, see Aṣḥāb al-Faḍāʾ
farmānsālār, 77
Fatḥ, 26, 119
Fatimids, vii, 5, 7
Fāṭima, daughter of Abū Muslim, 77
Fāṭima, daughter of the prophet, 91, 93, 100, 103
firishtaqān, 77
Follower, *al-tālī*, 23
Footstool, *kursī*, 55
Founder, *al-asās*, 118, 119, 120
al-Fuḍayl b. ʿAbdallāh, 41
Fuḍayliyya, 41
Furqān, 49, 93

Gabriel, Jibraʾīl, 71, 72, 74, 93, 102, 104
Ghāliya, 12, 99-111, 104, 108, 115
Ghamāmiyya, 105-07
Ghaylān b. Jarīr, 78
Ghaylān b. Kharasha, 78
Ghaylān b. Marwān, 78
Ghaylāniyya, 78-80, 83
Ghurābiyya, 102-3
Gimaret, D., 15
Gospels, 49, 69, 93

Hamdani, Abbas, ix, x, 1, 3, 13
al-Hādī, Mūsā, 98, 99
al-Hādī ilaʾl-Ḥaqq, 94
ḥadīth, 22, 23, 54, 59
Ḥadīthiyya, 43-8, 64, 108, 109, 115
Ḥafṣ b. Abiʾl-Miqdām, 39
Ḥafṣiyya, 39-40
Ḥanbaliyya, 15, 46-7
Ḥarbiyya, 96-7
Hārūn, 101, 102
Ḥasan b. ʿAlī, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 97, 98, 100, 101, 103, 104, 106, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115
al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Mūsā, 112, 113
al-Ḥasan b. Muʿāwiya b. ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar, 97
al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, 31, 48, 109
Ḥasaniyya, 31
Hashwiya, 46
al-Ḥimyarī, al-Sayyid, 12, 25, 107
al-Ḥimyarī, Nashwān, see Nashwān
Hind bint ʿUtba 25
Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Mālik, 78
Hishām b. al-Ḥakam, 59, 61
Hishām b. Ḥakīm al-Marwazī, 75
Hishām b. Sālim al-Jawālīqī b. ʿAmr, 63
Hishāmiyya, 59-62
Ḥubbiyya, 13, 66-8
Ḥudhayl b. al-Yamān, 108
Hudhayliyya, 31

Ḥūr al-ʿīn, see Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī
al-Ḥusayn b. Abī Manṣūr, 101
Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 97, 98, 100, 101, 103, 104, 106, 111, 112, 113, 114

Ibāḍiyya, 39, 40
Iblīs(es), devils, 2, 14, 19, 24, 55, 74, 87
Ibn ʿAbbās, 100
Ibn Abī Samṭ, Yaḥyā, 113
Ibn Abī Sulmā, 119
Ibn Abī Uuaysa, Yazīd, 40
Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, Saʿd, 48
Ibn ʿAjarrad, ʿAbd al-Karīm, 36
Ibn al-Aṣfar, Ziyād, 38
Ibn Aṣram, Yaḥyā, 37
Ibn al-Azraq, Nāfiʿ, 35
Ibn Dāūd, Abū Bakr Muḥammad, al-Iṣfahānī, 47, 48
Ibn Dukayn, al-Faḍl, 90
Ibn Ḥanbal, Aḥmad, 46
Ibn Ḥarb, ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr, 96
Ibn Ḥayy, al-Ḥasan, 88
Ibn Ḥazm, 100
Ibn Ibāḍ, ʿAbdallāh, 39
Ibn Jarīr, Sulaymān, 88, 89
Ibn Jaʿsham, 4
Ibn Karrām, Muḥammad, 58, 59
Ibn al-Kathīr, Sulaymān, 98
Ibn Khāzim, Shuʿayb, 38
Ibn Kullāb, Muḥammad, 56, 57
Ibn Maslama, Muḥammad, 48
Ibn Masʿūd, 54; see also ʿAbdallāh b. Masʿūd
Ibu Muʿādh al-Rāzī, Yaḥyā, 67
Ibn al-Muʿtamir, Abū Sahl, 33
Ibn Nāwūs, ʿAbdallāh, 111
Ibn Rawaud, al-Qāsim, 98
Ibn Saba', 100
Ibn Shabīb, Muḥammad, 78, 83
Ibn Shimr, Abū Shimr Sālim, 78, 84
Ibn Shimrakh, ʿAbdallāh, 41
Ibn al-Walīd, see ʿAlī b. al-Walīd
Ibn Yaʿfūr, Muḥammad, 104
Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan, 101, 102
Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥakam, 90
Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-ʿAbbās, 97, 99
Ijtihādiyya, 86-7
Ikhwān al-Ṣafā', 8
Imāmiyya, 12, 97, 111-15
Institute of Ismaili Studies, London, 3
Iraq, 101
Iṣfahān, 97
Isḥāq b. ʿAmr, 95
Isḥāqiyya, 95-6
Ismāʿīl al-Biṭṭikh, 51
Ismāʿīliyya, 7, 11, 12
Isrāfīl, 93

Jābir b. ʿAbdallāh, 106
Jadd, 26, 119
Jaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib, 97
Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad, al-Ṣādiq, 4, 93, 104, 111, 112, 113, 114
Jaḥdar b. Muḥammad al-Tamīmī, 86
Jaḥdariyya 86
al-Jāḥiz, Abū ʿUthmān ʿAmr b. Baḥr, 11, 34
Jāḥiziyya, 34
Jahm b. Ṣafwān, 35, 38, 49, 54, 66
Jahmiyya, 49-51
Janāḥiyya, 103
Jārūdiyya, 90, 91, 94
Jawāḥqiyya, 63
Jerusalem, 59
Jesus, ʿĪsā b. Maryam, 27, 69, 75, 93, 105, 108
Jews, 27, 55, 87, 108, 109
jinn, 2, 87
al-Jushamī, al-Ḥākim, 11, 54

Kaʿba, 55
Kadi, Wadad, (al-Qadi), xi
Kāmiliyya, 99-100
al-Karābīsī, 36
Karbalā', 112
Karibiyya, 95-6
Karrāmiyya, 58-9, 108
Kathīr al-Nawwā', 88
Kaysān, 94
Kaysāniyya, 12, 94-7, 98
Khalaf b. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad, 91, 92
Khalafiyya, 91-2
Khallāliyya, 97-8
Khashabiyya, 91
Khaṭṭābiyya, 104
Khawārij, 34-42, 108
Khayāl, 26, 119
Khāzimiyya, 38
Khidāsh b. ʿAbbād, 98
Khurāsān, vii, viii, 3, 4, 5, 6, 12, 13, 59, 91, 98

Khurramiyya, 74, 77
al-Khwārazmī, 2, 10, 11; his *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, 10, 12, 66, 67, 74, 75, 78, 86, 95, 105, 112
al-Kirmānī, Ḥamīd al-Dīn, 8
Kitāb al-burhān, vii, 3, 6, 8, 9; see also Abū Tammām
Kitāb al-īḍāḥ, vii, ix, 1, 3
Kitāb al-ladhdha, 8
Kitāb al-mustarshid, 94
Kitāb al-rāḥa, 2
Kitāb al-shajara, see Abū Tammām
Kullābiyya, 56-7
al-Kumayt b. Zayd al-Asadī 107

Madā'in, 100
madhhab, madhāhib, 10, 12, 15, 123
Ma'dhūn, 120
Madīna, 74
Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm, see al-Khwarazmı
Magians, 109-110
al-Mahdī b. Fayrūz b. ʿImrān, 77
al-Mahdī, Abbasid caliph, 74
al-Mahdī, Fatimid imam-caliph, 4
al-Majdūʿ, his *Fihrist al-kutub wa'l-rasā'il*, 3
Mālik b. Anas, 44
Mālik b. al-Ḥārith, 108
Mālikiyya, 15, 44-5
Mamṭūra, 114
al-Ma'mūn, ʿAbdallāh, 98, 99
al-Manṣūr, Abū Jaʿfar, 98, 99
Manṣūr b. Bishr al-Umawī, 66
Manṣūriyya, 100-2
al-Maqālāt, Kitāb, see al-Ashʿarī and al-Balkhī
Maqām, 71
al-Marwazī, Amīr, 3, 4, 5
al-Marwazī, Hishām b. Ḥakīm, 75
Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, 25
Maymūniyya, 37
al-Maynaqī, Abū Firās, vii, 1
Mecca, 42, 55, 81, 95
Michael, Mīkā'il, 71, 92, 93, 104
Mīkhā'il, 92-3
al-Minhāl b. Maymūn al-ʿIjlī, 73, 74
Minhāliyya, 73-4, 98
Modarressi, Hossein, x, 25
Moses, Mūsā b. ʿImrān, 27, 58, 69, 75, 93, 101, 102
Muʿammar al-Kūfī, 105
Muʿammar b. ʿAbbād al-Sulamī, Abū ʿAmr, 32
Muʿammariyya, 32-3
Muʿammariyya, 104
Muʿāwiya, 45, 46-7, 100, 104
Mubayyiḍa, 74-7
al-Mufaḍḍal b. ʿUmar, 112
Mufaḍḍaliyya, 112-13, 114, 115
al-Mughīra b. Saʿīd al-ʿIjlī, 69, 88
Mughīriyya, 69-71
al-Muhtadī, Muḥammad, 99
Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan, al-Nafs al-Zakiyya, 101, 102
Muḥammad b. ʿAli al-Ḥanafiyya, 62, 77, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 103, 104-5, 109
Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-ʿAbbās, 97, 99
Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, Bāqir al-ʿilm, 97, 101, 104, 111, 112, 113, 114
Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Mūsā b. Jaʿfar, 112, 113, 11
Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, 112, 113
Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl, 4.
Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad, 113
Muḥammad b. Khalaf, 92
Muḥammad b. Ziyād al-Julaynī al-Mukawwaʿ, 86
al-Muʿizz, vii, 3, 6
Mukawwaʿ, see Muḥammad b. Ziyād
al-Mukhtār, 91, 94
Mukhtaṣar fī ʿaqā'id al-thalāth was al-sabʿīn firqa, see Abū Muḥammad
al-Muntaṣir, Muḥammad, 99
al-Muqanna', 74, 76
Muqātil b. Sulaymān, 63
Muqātiliyya 63-4, 68
al-Muqtafī, 7
Murji'a, 77-87, 108, 109
Mūsā b. Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad, 102, 112, 113, 114
Muslimiyya, 77
al-Mustaʿīn, Aḥmad, 99
al-Muʿtaṣim, Muḥammad, 98, 99
al-Mutawakkil, Jaʿfar, 25 99
Muʿtazila, ix, 10, 11, 14, 15, 29-34, 52, 78, 80, 83, 90, 91, 95, 96, 98, 110
al-Muʿtazz, ʿAbdallāh, 99

Nābita, 13, 64-5
Najda b. ʿĀmir al-Ḥanafī, 35
Najdiyya, 35-6
al-Najjār, al-Ḥasan, 52, 56

Najjāriyya, 52, 53, 58, 59
al-Nakhshabī, Abu'l-Ḥusayn, 8; his *Kitāb al-mas'ala wa'l-jawāb*, 8
Nakīr and Munkar, 43, 50, 52
al-Nasafī, Muḥammad, vii, ix, 3, 4, 5, 8; his sons, 5; his *al-Maḥṣūl*, ix, 4, 8
al-Nāshi', Abu'l-Ḥasan, 13, 67
Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī, his *al-Ḥūr al-'īn*, x, 10, 11, 14, 66, 77, 105
al-Nāṣir al-'Alawī, 94
Nāṣir-i Khusraw, 5.
Nāwūsiyya, 111
al-Naysābūrī, 6
al-Naẓẓām, Ibrāhīm b. Sayyār, 31-2
Naẓẓāmiyya, 31-2
Noah, Nūḥ, 75

Order, *amr*, 119

Pen, *al-qalam*, 22, 23, 26, 118
Persia, 109
Pharaoh, 73
Pool, *ḥawḍ*, 43
Poonawala, Ismail, 6
Preceder, *al-sābiq*, 22, 119
Psalms, 69, 93

Qadā'iyya, 66
Qadariyya, 49-56, 109-110
Qāḍī al-Nu'mān, vii, 8; his *Kitāb al-majālis wa'l-musāyarāt*, vii
Qarmatians, viii, 4, 8
al-Qasrī, Asad b. 'Abdallāh, 98
Qaṭ'iyya, 102, 112, 114
Qubba, see Ṣāliḥ b. 'Abdallāh
Quraysh, 72, 82

Raḍwā, 95
Rāfiḍa, Rawāfiḍ, Rāfiḍī, 61, 72, 111
al-Rashīd, Hārūn, 98, 99
Rawandiyya, 98-99
Ra'y, see Aṣḥāb al-Ra'y
al-Rāzī, Abū Ḥātim, 4, 8, 9; his *al-Iṣlāḥ*, 8; his *Kitāb al-zīna*, 9.
Ridda, 55
Risāla fi'l-ḥudūd, 6
Ritter, Helmut, 6-7
Rukn 71

Sabā'iyya, 100
Ṣabbāḥiyya, 11, 54-6
Ṣābi'a, 40
al-Saffāḥ, Abu'l-'Abbās 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad, 97, 99
Saḥābiyya, 105
Ṣāliḥ b. 'Abdallāh Qubba, 80, 81
Ṣāliḥiyya, 80-1
Samanids, 3, 5
Samarqand, 55
Saqīfat Banī Sā'ida, 44
Satan(s), viii, 2, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, 26, 27, 71, 87
al-Sayyid, Ridwān, xi
Sects, *firaq*, 12, 122-3
Shabībiyya, 83-4
al-Shāfi'ī, Muḥammad b. Idrīs, Imam, 45, 46, 68
Shāfi'iyya, 15, 45-6
al-Shahrastānī, 15; his *Milal wa'l-Niḥal*, 15
al-Shajara, see Abū Tammām
Shajarat al-yaqīn, Kitāb, vii, ix, 1, 3, 9; see also Abū Tammām
Shamṭiyya, 113
Sharāt, 97
Shī'a, 111, 116
Shimrākhiyya, 41-2
Shimriyya, 84-6
al-Shīrāzī Abū Isḥāq, 72
Shīth, 103
Ṣihāk, 25
al-Sijistānī, Abū Ya'qūb, 4, 5, 8; his *al-Maqālīd*, 8; his *al-Iftikhār*, 8; his *al-Bishāra*, 8.
Ṣiwān al-ḥikma, 6
al-Shumaytī, see Abu'l-Sarī
Speaking-prophet, *al-nāṭiq*, 23, 24, 26, 119, 120, 121
Stern, S. M., 3
Sufis, 67
Ṣufriyya, 38-9
Sulaymān al-A'mā, 98
Sulaymān b. Jarīr, 88, 89
Sunni(s), 15
Sūrat Yūsuf, 36
Ṣurkhāb al-Ṭabarī, 91
Syria, 55, 95, 97

al-Ṭabarī, Ṣurkhāb, 91
Tablet, *al-lawḥ*, 26, 118
Ṭalḥa, 45, 46, 48, 82
Tamer, Arefʃ, 1
Tamīm, 69
Ta'wīl, 7

al-Taymī, see ʿAbdallāh b. Abī ʿAbdallāh
Ṭayyāriyya, 103
Ṭayyibīs, vii, 1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 9, 13
Thaʿāliba, 38
Throne, *ʿarsh*, 55
Thumāma b. al-Ashras, 11, 34
al-Ṭirimmāḥ b. Ḥakīm al-Ṭāʾī, 107
Torah, 49, 69, 93
Tucker, William, 6
Turks, 92, 96
Twelve Imams, 12

ʿUmar, 21,24, 25, 26, 30, 34, 43, 44, 45, 46, 56, 65, 66, 70-1, 82, 88, 89, 99, 108
ʿUmar, 103
al-Umawī, see Manṣūr b. Bishr
Umayyads, 92, 96
ʿUthmān, 30, 34, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 56, 65, 78, 82, 89, 99, 106, 108

Van Ess, Josef, x, 11, 15
Venus, 69

Wakīʿ, 108
Wāqifiyya, 113-4
al-Warrāq, Maḥmūd, 68
al-Wāthiq, Hārūn, 98, 99
Wing, *janāḥ*, 26, 120

Yaʿfūriyya, 104-5
Yaḥyā b. Zayd, 90
Yazīdiyya, 40
Yemen, 3, 6, 7
Yūnus b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, 114
Yūshaʿ b. Nūn, 101
Yūsuf b. ʿUmar al-Thaqafī, 101

Ẓāhiriyya, 47
Zayd b. ʿAlī, 90, 92, 93, 111
Zaydiyya, 12, 88-94, 111
al-Zubayr, 45, 46, 48, 83
Zuhayr b. Abī Sulmā, 119
Zurāra b. Aʿyan b. Sunsun, 71
Zurāriyya, 71-3
Zurqān, 11, 50, 60, 62, 63, 78