

Ibn al-Khallāl al-Baṣrī (d. after 377/988) and His Œuvre on the Problematic Verses of the Qur’ān *Kitāb al-Radd ‘alā al-jabriyya al-qadariyya* (Refutation of the Predestinarian Compulsionists)*

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The Mu‘tazilite theologians paid special attention to the genre of *mutashābib al-qur’ān* (the ambiguous verses of the Qur’ān), partly in an attempt to provide a foundation for the doctrine of ‘*adl*’ (God’s Justice), one of the five principles of Mu‘tazilite theology. The doctrine of ‘*adl*’ can be simply stated as the belief that God, because he is just, does not predestine sins and then punish humans for acting them out. It thus denies predestination and asserts free will, which is upheld by most Mu‘tazilite theologians, who consider the free will creed to be an integral component of the doctrine of ‘*adl*.¹ The Qur’ān does not exclusively endorse either of these two opposing creeds, predestination and free will; it does, however, contain verses that support both creeds, such as, for instance, Qur’ān 7:179 and 18:29, which read respectively:

We have created for Hell many of the Jinns and humans ... (*wa-laqad dhabra’nā li-jahannam kathiran min al-jinn wa-l-ins ...*).²

Say: Here is the truth from your Lord, it is to you to believe [it] or disbelieve [it] ... (*wa-qul al-haqq min rabbikum faman shā’afa-l-yu’min wa-man shā’afa-l-yakfur ...*).

Nevertheless, both predestinarians and believers in free will refused to acknowledge that this is actually the case. They often resorted to the *mutashābib al-qur’ān*³

* I would like to thank the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation for a grant to support this research project, which helped me acquire a copy of the manuscript of Ibn al-Khallāl’s *Kitāb al-Radd*. An edition of the Arabic text is currently under preparation.

¹ Needless to say, prior to the systematization of Mu‘tazilite theology, which started around 850 CE, there were a number of early Mu‘tazilite theologians who did not accept this position, such as, for instance, Dirār b. ‘Amr (d. ca 200/815), who introduced the notion of *kash* (acquisition), which was later elaborated by theologians, including al-Ash‘arī (d. 324/936) and his school: see Josef van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra. Eine Geschichte des religiösen Denkens im frühen Islam* 1-6, Berlin 1991-97, vol. 3, pp. 45-48, and vol. 4, pp. 502-3. For a general overview of the formation and development of Mu‘tazilism, see van Ess, “Mu‘tazila,” in *Encyclopedia of Religion*, vol. 9, pp. 6317-25. For an overview on the development of the concept of *kash* in early Islam, see Michael Schwarz, “‘Acquisition’ (*Kash*) in early *Kalām*,” in *Islamic Philosophy and the Classical Tradition. Essays presented by his friends and pupils to Richard Walzer on his seventieth birthday*, Columbia 1973, pp. 355-87.

² All translations of the Qur’ān are mine.

³ For an overview of the genre of *mutashābib al-qur’ān*, see Leah Kinberg, “*Muḥkamāt* and *Mutashābibāt* (Koran 3/7). Implication of a Koranic Pair of Terms in Medieval Exegesis,”

in order to dismiss any possibility that the Qur'ān might provide legitimacy for their adversaries' beliefs. Thus a predestinarian theologian would declare any verses that might be viewed as sanctioning the belief in free will to be ambiguous (*mutashābih*) and provide, by resorting to other qur'ānic verses, *hadiths*, and lexicographical and grammatical tricks, an interpretation that would make these verses endorse predestination. Similarly, a theologian who upheld the free will creed would categorize any verses that sanction predestination as ambiguous and use a similar approach to assert that they actually imply free will. One such theologian is Ibn al-Khallāl al-Baṣrī, who flourished in the fourth/tenth century. Ibn al-Khallāl, a member of the Mu'tazilite movement, authored a *Kitāb al-Radd 'alā l-jabriyya al-qadariyya fīma ta'allaqū bih min mutashābih āy al-qur'ān al-karīm* (Refutation of the Predestinarian Compulsionists with respect to what they uphold about the ambiguous verses of the glorious Qur'ān). This contribution is a preliminary study of Ibn al-Khallāl and his work.

Life, Education and Career of Ibn al-Khallāl al-Baṣrī

Abū 'Umar Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥafṣ al-Khallāl al-Baṣrī was born in Basra. The principal, indeed the only, source for his biography is *Kitāb al-Fibrīst* by Ibn al-Nadīm (d. 380/990). The information that Ibn al-Nadīm provides is scanty: The author's *nisba* is Ibn al-Khallāl, which indicates that either his father or his grandfather was a seller of vinegar (*khall*). He studied with two notable Mu'tazilite theologians: with Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Ṣaymārī (d. 315/927) in Basra⁴ and with Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. 'Alī Ibn al-Ikhshīd (d. 326/938) in Baghdad.⁵ This suggests that Ibn al-Khallāl started his education in Basra, and later moved to Baghdad. It is also possible that he studied with both teachers in Baghdad, as al-Ṣaymārī moved there towards the end of his life and became a companion of Ibn al-Ikhshīd.⁶

⁴ *Arabica* 35 (1988), pp. 143-72 [repr. in *The Qur'an. Formative Interpretation*, ed. Andrew Rippin, Aldershot 1999, pp. 283-312]; and idem, "Ambiguous," in *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'an*, vol. 1, pp. 70b-77a.

⁵ Al-Ṣaymārī was a student of Abū 'Alī al-Jubbā'ī and replaced him in the leadership of the Mu'tazilite movement in Basra: see Ibn al-Nadīm, *Kitāb al-Fibrīst*, ed. Riḍā Tajaddud, Tehran 1973, p. 219; and al-Dhahabī, *Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'*, ed. Shu'ayb Arnā'ūt [et al.], Beirut 1990, vol. 14, p. 480.

⁶ On Ibn al-Ikhshīd, see Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fibrīst*, pp. 220-21; al-Khatīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, ed. Muṣṭafā 'A.-Q. 'Atā, Beirut 1997, vol. 5, p. 67; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, vol. 15, pp. 217-18; and J.C. Vadet, "Ibn al-Ikhshīd," in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*. New Edition, vol. 3, p. 807a.

⁷ See al-Ḥākim al-Jishmī, *Sharḥ 'Uyūn al-masā'il*, MS Ṣan'ā', al-Ǧāmi' al-Kabīr, al-Maktaba al-Gharbiyya, 'ilm al-kalām no. 99, vol. 1, f. 68a; and Ibn al-Murtadā, *Kitāb Ṭabaqāt al-mu'tazila* [*Die Klassen der Mu'tazila von Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā ibn al-Murtadā*], ed. Susanna Diwald-Wilzer, Wiesbaden / Beirut 1380/1961, p. 96.

The fact that Ibn al-Khallāl is not mentioned at all in the extant Mu'tazilite prosopographies suggests, first, that he was a minor Mu'tazilite figure, and, second, that he was possibly ignored because of his educational background as a student of al-Şaymarī and Ibn al-Ikhshid. In the few surviving Mu'tazilite prosopographies, all of which belong to the school of al-Qādī 'Abd al-Jabbār (d. 415/1024), al-Şaymarī is criticized for disagreeing with his Mu'tazilite peer Abū Hāshim al-Jubbā'i (d. 321/933). According to 'Abd al-Jabbār, al-Şaymarī was pious and virtuous, except for his constantly differing with and criticizing Abū Hāshim (*wa-kāna warī'an ḥasan al-tarīqa illā mā kāna minhu min mu'āmadat Abī Hāshim wa-l-ghulūw fihī*).⁷ He also engaged in refutations of some views propagated by Abu l-Qāsim al-Kā'bī al-Balkhī (d. 319/931).⁸ As for Ibn al-Ikhshid, he does not enjoy a very positive reputation either. His clashes with other notable Mu'tazilite theologians of his day often draw adverse comment. This is precisely the case in *Sharḥ 'Uyūn al-masā'il* by the Mu'tazilite theologian al-Ḥākim al-Jishumī (d. 494/1101), who quotes 'Abd al-Jabbār as having said: "He (Ibn al-Ikhshid) often disagreed [with his peers] and upheld the least endorsed views."⁹ Among those with whom Ibn al-Ikhshid was in disagreement on some theological issues were Abu l-Qāsim al-Kā'bī al-Balkhī and Abū Hāshim al-Jubbā'i.¹⁰

It is important to keep in mind here that such criticism came from theologians of the Bahshamiyya school (named after Abū Hāshim al-Jubbā'i) who disagreed with al-Şaymarī and Ibn al-Ikhshid: 'Abd al-Jabbār was a follower of Abū Hāshim al-Jubbā'i, and al-Ḥākim al-Jishumī belonged to the school of 'Abd al-Jabbār.¹¹ The omission of Ibn al-Khallāl from these particular prosopographies might therefore well have been intentional, reflecting an attempt to sideline some competing trends within the Mu'tazilite movement. This particular point remains speculative, however, and requires further examination.

In matters of jurisprudence, Ibn al-Ikhshid followed the Shāfi'iite school, which suggests that in addition to Mu'tazilite theology, Ibn al-Khallāl also studied Shāfi'iite jurisprudence and legal theory with Ibn al-Ikhshid. Actually, Ibn al-Ikhshid had a positive posthumous reputation among some Sunnite *hadīth* scholars.¹² For

⁷ 'Abd al-Jabbār, "Faḍl al-i'tizāl wa-tabaqāt al-mu'tazila," in *Faḍl al-i'tizāl wa-tabaqāt al-mu'tazila*, ed. Fu'ād Sayyid, Tunis [1974], p. 309. See also al-Ḥākim al-Jishumī, *Sharḥ*, vol. 1, ff. 67b-68a; Ibn al-Murtadā, *Tabaqāt*, p. 96.

⁸ 'Abd al-Jabbār, "Faḍl al-i'tizāl," p. 309.

⁹ Al-Ḥākim al-Jishumī, *Sharḥ*, vol. 1, f. 70a. Ibn al-Murtadā (d. 840/1437), the medieval Zaydite theologian from Yemen, depends for his *Kitāb Tabaqāt al-mu'tazila* entirely on the *Sharḥ* of al-Ḥākim Jishumī; see the entry for Ibn al-Ikhshid in Ibn al-Murtadā's *Tabaqāt al-mu'tazila*, p. 100. There is no entry for Ibn al-Ikhshid in 'Abd al-Jabbār's *Faḍl al-i'tizāl*.

¹⁰ See Vadet, "Ibn al-Ikhshid," in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*. New Edition, vol. 3, p. 807a.

¹¹ On the conflict between the Bahshamiyya and Ikhshidiyya, see Margaretha T. Heemskerk, *Suffering in the Mu'tazilite Theology. 'Abd al-Jabbār's Teaching on Pain and Divine Justice*, Leiden 2000, pp. 21-28.

¹² Interestingly, however, Tāj al-Din al-Subkī (d. 771/1370) does not include in his prosopographical dictionary an entry for either Ibn al-Ikhshid or Ibn al-Khallāl; see *Tabaqāt al-*

instance, in *Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'*, al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1348) praises the scholarship of Ibn al-Ikhshid, saying that “despite his innovation” he “made valuable contributions” (*labu mahāsinun 'alā bid'atihī*).¹³ By “innovation,” al-Dhahabī obviously meant Ibn al-Ikhshid’s upholding Mu'tazilite doctrine.

What we may perhaps conclude from this is that Ibn al-Khallāl followed his teacher’s specialization not only in Mu'tazilite theology but also in Shāfi'iite law; this can also be inferred from the fact that he later served as a judge. According to *al-Fibrīst*, Ibn al-Khallāl occupied the position of chief-judge in the town of al-Ḥadītha, possibly the one near Takrīt.¹⁴ Before that, he was the chief-judge of Takrīt but was dismissed; he was later reappointed to the post after serving his term in al-Ḥadītha, as the comment by Ibn al-Nadīm indicates (*rudda ilayhi qadā' Takrīt*). Ibn al-Nadīm adds that Ibn al-Khallāl was still occupying the post of chief-judge of Takrīt at the time of the composition of *Kitāb al-Fibrīst*,¹⁵ which was completed in 377/988.¹⁶

Ibn al-Nadīm attributes two works to Ibn al-Khallāl. The first is *Kitāb al-Uṣūl*, which seems to be lost now and which very likely addressed the principles of Mu'tazilite theology – Ibn al-Ikhshid is said to have authored a book entitled *al-Ma'ūna fī l-uṣūl*, which, as can be inferred from al-Ḥākim al-Jishumī, was on the principles of Mu'tazilite theology.¹⁷ The second work Ibn al-Nadīm attributes to Ibn al-Khallāl is *Kitāb al-Muṭashābiḥ* (On the Ambiguous Verses of the Qur'ān), the work under examination in this paper.

We do not know the birth or death dates of Ibn al-Khallāl. But we can infer from the death dates of his two principle teachers, al-Saymārī and Ibn al-Ikhshid, that he was born before 300/913. And he was still active around the time that

shāfi'iyya al-kubrā, ed. Muṣṭafā 'A.-Q. 'Atā, Beirut 1999. After all, by the time of al-Subkī, Shāfi'iite scholars had excised out of the Shāfi'iite tradition those Mu'tazilite theologians who, in terms of legal theory and jurisprudence, followed the Shāfi'iite school.

¹³ Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, vol. 15, pp. 217-18.

¹⁴ According to Yāqūt (d. 626/1229), there were two *Hadīthas* in Iraq, one near Mawṣil (Mossul), known as *Hadīthat al-Mawṣil*, and another one near Takrīt known as *Hadīthat al-Furāt*; see *Mu'jam al-buldān*, Beirut 1986, vol. 2, pp. 230-31.

¹⁵ Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fibrīst*, pp. 221-22.

¹⁶ Ibn al-Nadīm probably added a few more notes to his work in the couple of months following its completion in 377/988. But he is not to be accredited with the expanded recension of the *Fibrīst*, which was authored by vizier Abu l-Qāsim al-Husayn b. 'Ali al-Maghribī (370/981-418/1027). For the date of the *Fibrīst* see Rudolf Sellheim and Mohsen Zakeri, “Al-Fehrest,” in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 9, p. 476a. See also J.W. Fück, “Ibn al-Nadīm,” in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*. New Edition, vol. 3, pp. 895a-96b; and F.W. Zimmermann, “On the supposed shorter version of Ibn an Nadim's *Fibrīst* and its date,” *Der Islam* 53 (1976), pp. 267-69. On Abu l-Qāsim al-Maghribī, see P. Smoor, “Al-Maghribī, Banū,” in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*. New Edition, vol. 5, pp. 1210a-12b. See also Devin Stewart, “Emendations of the Legal Section in the *Fibrīst* of Ibn al-Nadīm,” in *'Abbāsid Studies. Occasional Papers of the School of 'Abbāsid Studies, Leuven June-July 2004*, ed. John Nawas (forthcoming).

¹⁷ Al-Ḥākim al-Jishumī, *Sharḥ*, vol. 1, f. 70a; see also al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, vol. 15, p. 218.

Ibn al-Nadīm finished compiling *Kitāb al-Fibrīst*, so it is likely that he died shortly after 377/988.

Ibn al-Khallāl's Kitāb al-Radd

The only manuscript of *Kitāb al-Radd* known to be preserved is in the possession of La Fondazione Caetani (Ms. # 332) at the Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei in Rome, Italy. The title in this manuscript reads *Kitāb al-Radd 'alā I-jabriyya al-qadariyya fīmā ta'allaqū bib min mutashābib īy al-qur'ān al-karīm*. As mentioned earlier, Ibn al-Nadīm gives the work the title of *Kitāb Mutashābib al-qur'ān*. The question that arises therefore is whether we are dealing here with two separate compilations by Ibn al-Khallāl. The answer requires some investigation, especially given that the Twelver Shī'ite scholar Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664/1266) refers in his *Kitāb Sa'd al-su'ūd* to what seem to be two titles that he attributes to Ibn al-Khallāl. The first time he quotes from a *Kitāb al-Radd 'alā al-jabriyya wa-l-qadariyya fīmā ta'allaqū bib min mutashābib al-qur'ān*, and the second time from a *Kitāb Mutashābib al-qur'ān*.¹⁸ This fact led Etan Kohlberg to argue, although cautiously, that Ibn Ṭāwūs could have had two separate works by Ibn al-Khallāl.¹⁹ Was this really the case? Or is it possible that we are dealing with two copies of the same book, under different titles? The evidence indeed suggests that Ibn Ṭāwūs had two copies of the same work – most likely each copy was incomplete – but under different titles and with insignificant variations of the author's name, mostly the result of scribal errors. This might have led Ibn Ṭāwūs to believe that the two manuscripts referred to separate works.

The quote in *Kitāb Sa'd al-su'ūd*, which Ibn Ṭāwūs paraphrases from *Kitāb Mutashābib al-qur'ān*, is found in the Caetani manuscript of *Kitāb al-Radd*. It relates to Qur'ān 2:26:

By it, God leads astray many and guides many. But He only leads astray by it the evil-doers (*yudillu bihi kathiran wa-yahdi bihi kathiran wa-mā yudillu bihi illā al-fasiqin*).

Ibn Ṭāwūs summarizes a section in which Ibn al-Khallāl disputes his opponents' view that God uses the Qur'ān to save some and doom others. It reads:

فَقَالَ الْخَلَّالُ مَا مَعَاهُ أَنْ هَذِهِ الْآيَةُ تَدْلِيْلٌ عَلَى بَطْلَانِ قُولُمْ لِلَّهِ لَوْكَانَ الْقُرْآنُ إِضْلَالًا مَا كَانَ قَدْ سَمَاهُ هَذِيْرُ وَرْحَمَةً وَبِإِنَّا
في مواضع كثيرة.²⁰

¹⁸ Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Kitāb Sa'd al-su'ūd*, Najaf 1950, pp. 21, 241 and 246. See also Etan Kohlberg, *A Medieval Muslim Scholar at Work. Ibn Ṭāwūs and His Library*, Leiden 1992, pp. 292-93 and 312; and Gregor Schwab, Sabine Schmidtko, and David Sklare (eds.), *Handbook of Mu'tazilite Works and Manuscripts (Handbuch der Orientalistik series)*, Leiden (forthcoming), (section on Ibn al-Khallāl).

¹⁹ See Kohlberg, *A Medieval Muslim Scholar*, p. 293.

²⁰ Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Sa'd al-su'ūd*, p. 246.

[Ibn] al-Khallāl said what can be paraphrased in the following manner that this verse proves the futility of their argument because if the Qur'ān leads astray, He (God) would not have called it in many instances a guide, a mercy, and a proof.

The corresponding section in Ibn al-Khallāl's *Kitāb al-Radd* reads:

يقال لهم: إن في هذه الآية التي تظلونَّها حجّة لكم على صحة مذهبكم أكبر الحجج وأظهر البراهين على بطلان قولكم وصحة قول مخالفيكم وذلك أن الله سبحانه وتعالى أراد بقوله: «يضل به كثيراً ويهدي به كثيراً»، يضل بتكذيب من كذب به ويهدي بآمن من آمن به، وذلك أن القرآن لو كان سبباً لضلال والحرية لما وصفه الله تعالى بأنه هدىٌ وبأمان.²¹

They are to be answered that this verse, which you think is evidence of the veracity of your belief, is the most explicit evidence and most manifest proof of the futility of your argument and the veracity of the argument of your adversaries. For God, be glorified and almighty, meant by His saying, *by it, He leads astray many, and by it He guides many*, that He leads astray as a result of the rejection of those who reject it, and He guides as a result of the belief of those who believe in it, because if the Qur'ān was a cause of straying and confusion, God almighty would not have described it as a guide and a proof.

What Ibn al-Khallāl tries to establish here is that the Qur'ān is a guide for those who have already opened their hearts to its message. As for those doomed, they have already made up their minds not to accept it, in which case the Qur'ān is well provided with verses to assure that they remain in falsehood. At any rate, the quotes confirm that both *Kitāb Mutashābih al-qur'ān* and *Kitāb al-Radd* are the same.

The other quote that Ibn Ṭāwūs paraphrases from *Kitāb al-Radd 'alā al-jabriyya wa-l-qadariyya*²² relates to a disputation by Ibn al-Khallāl regarding the patriarch Abraham in Qur'ān 2:128 (*rabbanā wa-ŷahna muslimin laka wa-min dhurriyyatinā ummatan muslimatan laka ...*), which we find in the Caetani manuscript of *Kitāb al-Radd*.²³ Here it is obvious that the work is the same. The only minor variation is in the title.²⁴ Ibn Ṭāwūs adds the particle of conjunction *wa* between *al-Jabriyya* (Compulsionists) and *al-Qadariyya* (Predestinarians). Although there is no significant difference here, the particle *wa* could have resulted from a scribal error, if it was assumed that these were two groups, not the same one. In works on similar topics, some of which are by authors contemporary to Ibn al-Khallāl, the predestinarians are often called *al-Jabriyya al-qadariyya* or *al-Mujbirā al-qadariyya* (predestinarian Compulsionists), or *al-Qadariyya al-mujbirā* (compulsionist Predestinarians).²⁵ It is, therefore, in line with the customary practice among anti-

²¹ Ibn al-Khallāl, *Radd*, ff. 14b-15a.

²² Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Sa'ād al-su'ūd*, pp. 241-42.

²³ See Ibn al-Khallāl, *Radd*, ff. 19b-22b.

²⁴ Actually, there is a minor variation in Ibn al-Khallāl's grandfather's name as well. It is given as *Jafar* (جَفَر) not *Hafṣ* (حَفْصَ), which must be a scribal or editor's error, resulting from misreading *جَفَر* (جَفَر) as *حَفْصَ* (حَفْصَ).

²⁵ See, for example, [pseudo?] al-Qāsim al-Rassī, "Kitāb al-Radd 'alā l-mujbirā," in *Rasā'il al-'adl wa-l-tawhīd* 1-2, ed. Muḥammad 'Imāra, Cairo 1988, vol. 1, p. 172; al-Šāhib Ibn

predestinarian theologians – Mu‘tazilites, Twelver Shi‘ites, and Zaydites – to use both terms to refer to one group. On the basis of this, one can conclude that the particle *wa* in the title as given by Ibn Ṭāwūs was indeed most likely the result of a scribal error.

Ibn al-Khallāl authored the work prior to 377/988, since it is listed in *Kitāb al-Fibrīst*. Moreover, there is an indication in *Kitāb al-Radd* that he dictated it to one of his students. The first refutation by Ibn al-Khallāl is preceded by the following phrase: “*Qāla Abū ‘Umar:*”²⁶ However, we can dismiss entirely the possibility that the small entry on Ibn al-Khallāl could have been added to *Kitāb al-Fibrīst* by the vizier Abu l-Qāsim al-Maghribī (d. 418/1027), who authored the long recension of Ibn al-Nadīm’s *Kitāb al-Fibrīst*,²⁷ for this theory would imply that Ibn al-Khallāl lived, and remained active as a judge, past the age of a hundred. Indeed, the short recension of *Kitāb al-Fibrīst* (MS Şehid Ali Paşa 1934, f. 2b) contains the entry on Ibn al-Khallāl.²⁸

The Manuscript: Its Condition and Provenance:

The manuscript (Ms. # 332) at La Fondazione Caetani belongs to a collection of Arabic manuscripts from Yemen (55 in total) donated by Prof. E. Rossi to the Fondazione in 1938.²⁹ On the title page, following the title and author’s name, it is stated that it was copied by the orders of vizier ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Amr b. ‘Alī b. Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥasan al-Haydānī Abī ‘Amr al-Tamīmī (flourished before the eighth/fourteenth century).³⁰

Usually, the scribe’s name and the date of copying would appear at the end of the manuscript. But in the case of the Caetani manuscript, the text ends at the bottom of folio 173b: the discussion of Qur’ān 72:16-17 is not complete and has a continuation that is lacking from the Caetani text. Two possibilities can be advanced here. Either we are dealing with the loss of a number of folios (proba-

²⁶ Abbād, “al-Ībāna ‘an madhhab ahl al-‘adl,” in *Nafā’is al-makhlūqāt*, ed. Muḥammad H. Āl Yāsīn, Najaf 1952, vol. 1, pp. 21-22; ‘Abd al-Jabbār al-Hamadhānī, *al-Mughnī fi abwāb al-tawḥīd wa-l-‘adl*, ed. Muṣṭafā Hilmī [et al.], Cairo 1961-65, vol. 8, pp. 326-27; al-Sharīf al-Murtadā, “Inqādh al-bashar min al-jabr wa-l-qadar,” in *Rasā’il al-‘adl wa-l-tawḥīd*, vol. 1, p. 296; and al-Ḥākim al-Jishūmī, *Sharḥ*, vol. 1, f. 23b.

²⁷ Ibn al-Khallāl, *Radd*, f. 3a. Abū ‘Umar being the *kunya* (agnomen) of Ibn al-Khallāl.

²⁸ On the two recensions of Ibn al-Nadīm’s *Kitāb al-Fibrīst*, see n. 16 above.

²⁹ I thank Devin Stewart for checking the manuscript and providing me with this information. On the short and long recensions of Ibn al-Nadīm’s *Kitāb al-Fibrīst*, see Stewart, “Emendations of the Legal Section in the *Fibrīst* of Ibn al-Nadīm.”

³⁰ See Renato Traini, *I manoscritti arabi di recente accessione della Fondazione Caetani*, Rome 1967, pp. 40-41.

³¹ The *nisba* al-Haydānī refers to the town of Haydān, 70 kilometers southwest of the city of Sa‘da, in Yemen; see Ibrāhīm al-Maqhfī, *Mu‘jam al-buldān wa-l-qabā’il al-yamāniyya*, Şan‘ā’ 1988, p. 201. Traini identifies al-Haydānī as the scribe who copied the manuscript, which is a mistake; see Traini, *I manoscritti arabi*, p. 41.

bly less than ten, given that Ibn al-Khallāl, as seen in Appendix A, is not systematic in addressing all the Qur'ānic *sūras*),³¹ or the scribe stopped at the end of folio 173b and planned to continue copying the manuscript at a later time, but never did. The only thing we can tell about this copy is that the scribe was commissioned to copy Ibn al-Khallāl's *Kitāb al-Radd* by the vizier al-Haydānī.

Besides the fact that Rossi brought it from Yemen, the manuscript carries a number of ownership notes that also point to a provenance from Yemen, probably from as early as the sixth/twelfth century.³² On the margins of the title page we find the names of at least six individuals who owned the manuscript at one point or another,³³ some of whom were notable Zaydite imāms, such as al-Mahdī li-dīn Allāh 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī (b. 705/1306, d. 773/1371),³⁴ and al-Mutawakkil 'alā Allāh.³⁵

The manuscript comprises 173 folios, with 18 lines per page. But the number of lines increases to 19/20 in folios 135b-144a. Then from folio 144b until the end of the manuscript – folio 173b – another scribe takes over, and the handwriting changes. Thus two scribes worked on copying the text, neither of whom went over the copy a second time to insert the diacritical marks; this seems to have been a practice in Yemen as many manuscripts copied by Zaydites at that time lack most diacritical marks. The handwriting is legible, yet the absence of most diacritical marks – the situation gets worse with the second scribe – makes the reading in some cases hard to decipher.

Style

The style of Ibn al-Khallāl shares certain features with other works on the same topic by Mu'tazilite and Shī'ite theologians, especially *Kitāb Mutashābih al-qur'ān* by 'Abd al-Jabbār (composed between 360/970 and 380/990).³⁶ Ibn al-Khallāl divides his book into sections that follow the order of the Qur'ānic *sūras*, starting from *Sūrat al-Fātiḥa*,³⁷ which we also see in 'Abd al-Jabbār's work.³⁸ He first lists

³¹ For the *sūras* and verses discussed in *Kitāb al-Radd*, see the Appendix.

³² On the date of the manuscript, see also Fuat Sezgin, *Geschichte des Arabischen Schrifttums*, Leiden 1967-82, vol. 1, p. 624.

³³ There are a few other names that are illegible, possibly as a result of intentional effacing.

³⁴ See Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Zabāra, *Tārikh al-ā'imma al-zaydiyya fi l-Yaman hattā l-ṣaṣr al-hadīth*, Cairo 1998, p. 104.

³⁵ The name of al-Mutawakkil 'alā Allāh was effaced; the barely legible part reads: *min kutub mawlānā al-Mutawakkil 'alā Allāh ...* ("Of the books of our master al-Mutawakkil 'alā Allāh ..."). He must be one of several Zaydite imams from Yemen who assumed that title starting in the 9th/15th century; see Zabāra, *Tārikh al-ā'imma al-zaydiyya*.

³⁶ On the date of 'Abd al-Jabbār's *Kitāb Mutashābih al-qur'ān*, see W. Madelung, "'Abd al-Jabbār," in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 1, p. 117b.

³⁷ The only minor exceptions relate to four cases where he lists a verse after having discussed one that follows it in a given *sūra*, viz. *sūra* 5 (v. 13 after v. 14), *sūra* 6 (v. 35 after v. 53, and v. 108 after v. 110), *sūra* 7 (v. 155 after v. 179); see the Appendix.

the qur'ānic verse that his "opponents" use as the basis for their argument, along with their argument, then he follows it with his criticism, which in some cases comprises more than one opinion (*wajh*). Moreover, he often quotes other qur'ānic verses to confirm the accuracy of his peculiar interpretation of the verse under examination. A good example is Ibn al-Khallāl's treatment of Qur'ān 7:179 (*We have created for Hell many of the Jinns and humans ...*):

وَمَا تَعْقَلُوا بِأَيْضًا قَوْلَهُ سَبِّحَانَهُ: ﴿وَلَقَدْ ذَرَانَا لِجَهَنَّمَ كَثِيرًا مِنَ الْجِنِّ وَالإِنْسَنِ لَهُمْ قُلُوبٌ لَا يَقْتَهُونَ بِهَا﴾ (7: 179).
 قالوا: فَاعْلَمُنَا أَنَّهُ خَلَقَ كَثِيرًا مِنَ الْجِنِّ وَالإِنْسَنِ لِلنَّارِ وَلِيُدْخِلُهُمْ جَهَنَّمَ لِأَنَّ الدَّرْزَ هُوَ الْخَلْقُ وَالْإِتَابَةُ وَمِنْهُ الذَّرِّيَّةُ، وَهَذَا مُوجِبٌ لِصَحَّةِ قَوْنَا أَنَّ اللَّهَ خَلَقَ خَلْقًا لِلنَّارِ وَخَلَقَنَا لِلْجَنَّةِ وَمِنْهُ مُبْطِلٌ لِمَذَهِبِ مَخَالِفِنَا أَنَّهُ خَلَقَ الْجَمِيعَ لِلْجَنَّةِ كَافِرُهُمْ وَمُؤْمِنُهُمْ. يَقَالُ لَهُمْ: إِنَّكُمْ لَوْ ضَرَبْتُمْ بَعْضَ الْقُرْآنِ بَعْضًا وَعَلَمْتُمْ مِرَاوِمَهُ مِنَ التَّنَافِضِ وَالْتَّعَارِضِ وَاسْتَدَلْتُمْ عَلَى مِتَابِهِ بِحُكْمِهِ بِمَفْسَرِهِ، لِسَقْطِ تَعْقِلَكُمْ بِهَذِهِ الْآيَةِ وَمَا أَشْبَهُهَا لِتَأْيِيدِ مَذَهِبِكُمْ وَإِبطَالِ قَوْلِ مَخَالِفِكُمْ لِأَنَّ اللَّهَ سَبِّحَانَهُ يَقُولُ: ﴿وَمَا خَلَقْتَ الْجِنِّ وَالإِنْسَنَ إِلَّا لِيَعْبُدُونَ﴾ (51: 56)، وَقَالَ فِي قَصَّةِ فَرْعَوْنَ لِمُوسَى وَهَرَوْنَ عَلَيْهِمَا السَّلَامُ: ﴿فَقُولَا لَهُ فَقُولَا لَنَا لِعَلَمَ يَذَكُّرُ أَوْ يَخْشَى﴾ (44: 20)، وَقَالَ: أَوْعَجَبْتُمْ أَنْ جَاءَكُمْ ذَكْرُ مِنْ رَبِّكُمْ عَلَى رَجْلِ مِنْكُمْ لِيَذَرْكُمْ وَلِتَسْتَعْوِدُ (7: 63)، وَقَالَ: ﴿قَالُوا أَحَجَّنَا لِنَعْبُدَ اللَّهَ وَحْدَهُ وَنَذَرَ مَا كَانَ يَعْبُدُ أَبَاؤُنَا﴾ (70: 70)، فَأَخْبَرَ سَبِّحَانَهُ أَنَّهُ وَجَهَ بِالرَّسُلِ عَلَيْهِمُ السَّلَامَ إِلَى الْكَعْنَارِ وَأَرَادَ مِنَ الْكَعْنَارِ أَنْ يَقْتُلُوْا وَيَعْبُدُوْا اللَّهَ رَبِّهِمْ. وَقَالَ: ﴿ثُمَّ السَّبِيلُ يَسِّرُهُ﴾ (80: 21)، فَذَلِكَ عَلَى أَنَّهُ عَنِ الْكَافِرِ يَقُولُهُ: ﴿كَلَّا لَمَا يَقْضِ مَا أَمْرَهُ﴾ (23: 80)، فَأَعْلَمْنَا أَنَّهُ خَلَقَ الْكَافِرَ مُلْثِلًا مَا خَلَقَ لِهِ الْمُؤْمِنُ مِنَ التَّعْرِضِ لِلْجَنَّةِ وَنِيلِ الْتَّوَابِ. وَفِي قَوْلِهِ: ﴿وَلَقَدْ ذَرَانَا لِجَهَنَّمَ كَثِيرًا مِنَ الْجِنِّ وَالإِنْسَنِ﴾، وَجَهَانُ مِنَ التَّأْوِيلِ أَحَدُهُمَا قَدْ تَقْدَمَ ذَكْرُهُ فِي بَابِ تَأْوِيلِ قَوْلِهِ ﴿إِنَّمَا تَنْهَى لَهُمْ لِيَزْدَادُوا إِثْمًا﴾ (178: 3) وَهُوَ أَنَّهُ الْإِخْبَارُ عَنْ عَاقِبَةِ أَمْرِهِمْ وَأَنَّهُمْ إِلَى النَّارِ يُصْبَرُونَ وَمَا يُوْجِبُ دُخُولُهُمْ يَعْمَلُونَ، وَالْعَرْبُ تَعْبِرُ بِهَذِهِ الْعَبَارَةِ تَرِيدُهَا الْإِخْبَارُ عَنِ الْعَاقِبَةِ لَا أَنَّهَا تَخْبِرُ عَنِ الْإِرَادَةِ لِكُونِهِمْ مَا أَخْبَرْتُمْ عَنْ وَقْعَهُ، كَفَوْلُ اللَّهِ تَعَلَّى: ﴿فَالْقَطْهَ آلُ فَرْعَوْنَ لِيَكُونَ لَهُمْ عَدُوًا وَحَزْنًا﴾ (28: 8)، وَقَدْ نَقْضَنَا مَا يَقُولُ فِي هَذَا آنَفًا وَذَكَرْنَا مَا يَقُولُ فِي الْقُرْآنِ وَالْلُّغَةِ مِنَ الدَّالَّةِ عَلَى مَا ذَهَبْنَا إِلَيْهِ فِيهِ. وَلَوْ حَمَلْنَا هَذِهِ الْآيَةِ عَلَى إِرَادَتِهِ خَلَقَ الْكَافِرَ لِإِدْخَالِهِ النَّارِ لِتَنَافِضَ الْآيَاتِ وَتَكَادِنَتِ الْحِجَّاجُ وَالْبَيْنَاتُ وَخَرَجَتْ بِذَلِكَ عَلَى أَنْ يَكُونَ فِيهَا حِجَّةٌ أَوْ بَيْنَةٌ، وَلَوْ كَانَ اللَّهُ سَبِّحَانَهُ أَرَادَ بِخَلْقِ الْكَعْنَارِ أَنْ يَكْفُرُوا أَوْ يَضْلُلُوا أَوْ يُدْخِلُوْا النَّارَ لِكَانَ إِنَّمَا يَعْثِثُ إِلَيْهِمُ الرَّسُلُ لِهَلَّا كُمُّهُمْ دُونَ نَجَاتِهِمْ وَلِفَسَادِهِمْ دُونَ صَلَاحِهِمْ وَأَنْ يَضْلُلُوا لَا أَنْ يَهْتَدُوا وَكَانَ قَدْ أَتَاهُمْ بِالْعَصَالِ وَالْحَيْرَةِ وَلَمْ يَقُلْ: ﴿إِنِّي جَاهَهُمْ بِالْبَيْنَاتِ﴾ (5: 110)، وَلَمْ يَقُلْ: ﴿وَلَقَدْ جَاهَهُمْ مِنْ رَبِّهِمُ الْمَدِي﴾ (53: 23)، ﴿وَمَا مَنَعَ النَّاسَ أَنْ يَؤْمِنُوا إِذْ جَاهَهُمْ بِالْمَدِي﴾ (94: 17)، وَهَذَا بَيْنَ لَا إِشْكَالَ فِيهِ عَلَى أَحَدٍ. وَالْوَجْهُ الثَّانِي أَنَّهُ أَتَى بِهَذَا الْحِبْرَ بِصِيغَةِ الْمَاضِي وَأَرَادَ الْمُسْتَقْبِلَ كَفَوْلَهُ: ﴿وَنَادَى أَصْحَابَ الْجَنَّةِ أَصْحَابَ النَّارِ﴾ (44: 7)، أَرَادَ أَنَّهُمْ سَيِّنَادُونَ، وَقَوْلُهُ: ﴿إِذْ قَالَ اللَّهُ يَا عِيسَى بْنَ مَرِيمَ أَنْتَ قَلْتَ لِلنَّاسِ اتَّخِذُونِي وَأَمِي الْمَيِّنَ مِنْ دُونِ اللَّهِ﴾ (5: 116)، فَلَمَّا كَانَ اللَّهُ سَبِّحَانَهُ قَدْ أَتَى بِلِفْظِ الْمَاضِي فِي آيَيْ كَثِيرَةٍ وَأَرَادَ الْمُسْتَقْبِلَ مِنْ يَكْرَهُ أَنْ يَكُونَ قَوْلَهُ ﴿وَلَقَدْ ذَرَانَا لِجَهَنَّمَ﴾ أَيْ نَذَرَ أَقْوَامًا لِجَهَنَّمَ لِأَنَّ اللَّهَ تَعَلَّى إِذَا

³⁸ An example of a different organizational system is *Mutashābih al-qur'ān wa-mukhtalifāh* by the Twelver Shi'ite Ibn Shahrashūb (d. 588/1192), where the verses are arranged according to themes.

بعهم من قبورهم فإنما يعيشهم ليجازيهم على أعمالهم ويصبر كلَّ عامل منهم إلى جزاء عمله إن خيراً فخير وإن شرًّا فشر، إذ كان لا تكليف في الآخرة ولا تعرِض لفعل طاعة ولا ترك معصية وإنما يخليقهم ليوصلهم إلى استحقاقاتهم من إثابة أو معاقبة. فالوجهان اللذان أرينا جوازهما في هذه الآية واطراد معناهما يسطران ما ذهب إليه المخالف في

تصحيح مذهبة.³⁹

In his argument against the Compulsionists' interpretation, Ibn al-Khallāl provides two rebuttals, which can be summarized as follows: Firstly, God is telling about the end (*al-‘aqiba*) of these jinns and humans, an end they will attain as the result of their own deeds, "for if the verse in question demonstrates God's will to create the unbeliever in order to make him enter Hell, then all the verses of the Qur'ān would contradict themselves and God's signs and proofs would be false." Secondly, God is using the past tense (*dhara'na*) but actually means the future (*sa-nadhrū'u*), as in *wa-nādā ashāb al-janna ashāb al-nār* (Qur'ān 7:44: the people of Heaven call the people of Hell). For in Qur'ān 7:44, the verb *nādā* is in the past tense, but, since this can only take place in the future, one must read it as *sa-yunādī* (will call): those whose end is in Heaven will call those whose end is in Hell.⁴⁰

Ibn al-Khallāl often quotes poetry (although he does not always name the poets), and in some cases he refers to Arabic semantics by using statements like "according to the speech of the Arabs" (*wa-fī kalām al-‘arab*), and "the Arabs mean by this expression" (*wa-l-‘arab tu‘abbiru bi-hādhīhi l-‘ibāra*).⁴¹ This system is similarly followed by Mu‘tazilite, Twelver-Shī‘ite, or Zaydite authors, such as in *Kitāb al-Najāt* by al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā (d. 325/937), ‘Abd al-Jabbār's *Mutashābib al-qur’ān*, al-Ṣāḥib Ibn ‘Abbād's (d. 385/955) treatise *al-Ibāna ‘an madhbhab abl al-‘adl*, and al-Sharīf al-Murtadā's (d. 436/1044) *Amālī*.

Ibn al-Khallāl's method also involves *tafsīr al-qur’ān bi-l-qur’ān* (interpreting some verses by referring to other verses). As the example discussed above shows, he uses Qur'ānic verses to help him make the case for a particular interpretation of another verse. This method suggests that the Mu‘tazilite approach to *tafsīr* treated the Qur'ān as comprised of themes and units, and when discussing a particular verse, other verses that share the same theme or unit were quoted to make the case.⁴²

³⁹ Ibn al-Khallāl, *Radd*, ff. 87a-88b.

⁴⁰ What Ibn al-Khallāl assumes here is that humans will be ushered into Heaven or Hell only after the Day of Judgment.

⁴¹ Ibn al-Khallāl, *Radd*, ff. 36b and 87b respectively.

⁴² See also the examples from ‘Abd al-Jabbār's *Mutashābib al-qur’ān* cited below.

Sources cited in *Kitāb al-Radd*

Ibn al-Khallāl acknowledges that he used two books as his sources, one by the Mu'tazilite and Zaydite theologian from Baghdad Abu l-Faḍl Ja'far b. Ḥarb (d. 236/850), and the other by Abū 'Alī al-Jubbā'ī (d. 303/916), the leader of the Mu'tazilite school of Basra. He introduces them towards the end of his introduction in the following way:

ووجدت ما أفرد في هذا الباب، أعني الكلام في الآي التي يتعلّق بها الجبرية، كابن جيدن أحدّها لأبي الفضل جعفر بن حرب رحمه الله، والآخر لأبي علي محمد بن عبد الوهاب الجنائي رحمة الله. فاما أبو الفضل فإنّ كتابه يقدم شعباً أخذ بها الناس بعده واسعها تحتاج إلى كشف وإيضاح، وأما أبو علي فإنه أخلاق كتابه من إشباع الكلام من جهة اللغة والإعراب وما لا غنى بالإنسان عنه ليزداد قوّة على المضمّن.⁴³

On this topic, that is, the examination of the verses to which the Compulsionists adhere [to support their views], I came across two good books: one of them is by Abu l-Faḍl Ja'far b. Ḥarb, may God have mercy on his soul, and the other one is by Abū 'Alī Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Jubbā'ī, may God have mercy on both their souls.⁴⁴ As for Abu l-Faḍl, his book discusses wrong views, which were adopted by a large number of scholars [especially] after his time, and issues that require investigation and explanation. As for Abū 'Alī, he devoted his book to a comprehensive examination from the perspective of language, grammar, and what the person needs so that he has command over the opponent.

Both Ja'far b. Ḥarb and Abū 'Alī al-Jubbā'ī were known to have authored works on *mutashābib al-qur'ān*. For instance, Ibn al-Nadīm lists a *Kitāb Mutashābib al-qur'ān* among the books Ja'far b. Ḥarb authored,⁴⁵ and attributes to Abū 'Alī al-Jubbā'ī a book on the topic of *mutashābib al-qur'ān*.⁴⁶ But neither work is extant.

These two works on *mutashābib al-Qur'ān* by Ja'far b. Ḥarb and al-Jubbā'ī are the two sources that Ibn al-Khallāl seems to have used, or at least they are the only sources that he acknowledges having employed in the writing of his own book on the topic.

⁴³ Ibn al-Khallāl, *Radd*, ff. 2a-b.

⁴⁴ He possibly means here Abū 'Alī and his father.

⁴⁵ Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, p. 213; see also p. 39. Al-Ṣāḥib Ibn 'Abbād also names Ja'far b. Ḥarb among those Mu'tazilites who authored on the *mutashābib al-qur'ān*; see his *Risāla fi l-hidāya wa-l-dalāla*, ed. Ḥusayn 'Alī Mahfūz, Tehran 1955, p. 48. See also van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft*, vol. 6, p. 289.

⁴⁶ See Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, p. 39; al-Ṣāḥib Ibn 'Abbād, *Risāla fi l-hidāya wa-l-dalāla*, p. 48; al-Ḥākim al-Jishumī, *Sharḥ 'Uyūn al-Masā'il*, vol. 1, f. 52a; and Schwab, Schmidtke, and Sklare (eds.), *Handbook of Mu'tazilite Works and Manuscripts*, (section on Abū 'Alī al-Jubbā'ī, # 25).

Impact of Kitāb al-Radd:

The real impact of Ibn al-Khallāl's *Kitāb al-Radd* cannot be seriously assessed until the text has been edited. But this does not necessarily mean that one cannot provide initial comments on the role it played and its potential impact on later religious scholars and movements. We have already come across the Twelver Shī'ite theologian and bibliophile Ibn Ṭāwūs, who acknowledged that he consulted two works by Ibn al-Khallāl (though as argued above it was the same work with two different titles), and incorporated arguments from them into at least one of his books. It is clear, then, that *Kitāb al-Radd* helped Ibn Ṭāwūs shape and defend his theological positions, especially the free will doctrine, which he was defending in his own *Kitāb Sa'd al-su'ūd*. One can also deduce from the personal names of Zaydite imams and scholars from Yemen who owned the current extant manuscript at different times (written around the margins of the title page in the Caetani manuscript) that they too considered it a valuable source that defends the doctrine of free will against the predestination creed. To what extent they used it, however, is impossible to establish at the moment.

Distinctiveness of Ibn al-Khallāl's Kitāb al-Radd

It remains to be determined how *Kitāb al-Radd* compares to 'Abd al-Jabbār's *Kitāb Mutashābib al-qur'ān*, which draws on earlier Mu'tazilite sources, among them Abū 'Alī al-Jubbā'i's *Mutashābib al-qur'ān*.⁴⁷ In light of the fact that Ibn al-Khallāl was a disciple of Ibn al-Ikhshīd and al-Šaymārī, whereas 'Abd al-Jabbār mainly followed the teachings of Abū Hāshim al-Jubbā'i, it would be important to establish the degree of variance or congruence between both works, especially given the split between the students of Abū 'Alī al-Jubbā'i: Ibn al-Ikhshīd and his followers versus Abū Hāshim and his followers.

The section below gives 'Abd al-Jabbār's answer to the same question of the problematic Qur'ān 7:179 quoted already above by Ibn al-Khallāl:

مسألة: قالوا ثم ذكر تعالى بعده ما يدل على أنه خلق الكفار لجهنم وللذين أراد بهم ذلك ومنهم فقال: ﴿ولقد ذرنا
لهم كثيراً من الجن والإنس﴾ (7: 179)، ثم حقق ذلك بقوله: ﴿لهم قلوب لا يفهون بها﴾ (7: 179)، فيبين أنه
جعلهم بحيث لا يفهون ولا يصرون ولا يسمعون. والجواب عن ذلك أن ظاهره يقتضي أنه خلقهم وأراد بهم جهنم لأن
المراد المذكور في الكلام وقد علمنا أن ذلك لا يدل على أنه أراد الكفر وسائر ما يُستوجب به جهنم، فظاهره لا يدل

⁴⁷ This is implied from the 33 instances in *Mutashābib al-qur'ān*, where 'Abd al-Jabbār refers to Abū 'Alī al-Jubbā'i; see, as examples, 'Abd al-Jabbār, *Mutashābib al-qur'ān*, pp. 55, 74, and 379. But 'Abd al-Jabbār does not specifically say that Abū 'Alī al-Jubbā'i wrote on *mutashābib al-qur'ān*. There seems to be one reference only to Ja'far b. Ḥarb; see 'Abd al-Jabbār, *Mutashābib al-qur'ān*, p. 379.

على ما قالوه. فلأنّ قال: إذا أراد بهم جهنّم فلا بدّ أن يزيد ما يؤذّي إليها، فذلك غلط لأنّه تعالى يزيد العقاب عندنا وإن لم يزيد ما يستحقّ به كما قد يزيد من الغير التوبّة وإن لم يزيد ما لأجله تجحب التوبّة من المعاشي. وقد يزيد الإمام إقامة الحجّة على السارق والزاني وإن لم يرد السرقة والزنا فلا يمتنع من أن يزيد تعالى بهم العقوبة بشرطة أن يكفروا بعد إقامة الحجّة وإزاحة العلة. ويخالُف ذلك ما قلناه من أنّ قوله تعالى: ﴿وَمَا خَلَقْتِ الْجِنَّةِ وَالإِنْسَانَ إِلَّا لِيَعْبُدُوْنَ﴾ (51:56) يدلّ على إرادته العبادة من جميعهم لأنّ هناك دخلت اللّام على نفس ما أذعنه مراداً له، وفي هذه الآية دخلت على أمر سوى ما زعم المخالف أنّه أراده. ويبين ما نقوله في ذلك أنّ قوله تعالى: ﴿وَمَا خَلَقْتِ الْجِنَّةِ وَالإِنْسَانَ إِلَّا لِيَعْبُدُوْنَ﴾، لا بدّ معه أن يقدر فيه حذف ليس قسم الكلام وهو: ﴿وَمَا خَلَقْتِ الْجِنَّةِ وَالإِنْسَانَ وَمَا أَمْرَنَاهُمْ بِالطَّاعَةِ وَكَفَرُهُمْ إِلَّا بِعِذْبَوْنَ﴾، لأنّ بنفس المثل لا يصحّ تكليف العبادة ومتى قرر ذلك حسن أن يعلق به ليغدوون، فإذا قرر مثله فيما ذكره لم يصحّ لأنّه لو قال تعالى: ﴿وَلَقَدْ ذَرَأْنَا﴾ الخلق وأمرناهم بمحاجنة الكفر وزجرناهم عنه ﴿بِجَهَنَّمَ﴾، لتناقض القول لأنّ ما تقدّم يقتضي أنّ خلقهم لا يحبّهم والثاني يقتضي أنّ خلقهم طا، وهذا في التناقض كما ترى. فيجب أن يُحمل الكلام على أنّ المراد به العاقبة، فكانه قال: ولقد ذرناهم والمعلوم أنّ مصيرهم وعاقبة حا لهم دخول جهنّم لسوء اختيارهم، وهذا كقوله تعالى: ﴿فَاتَّقُهُ إِلَّا فَرْعَوْنُ لَكُونَ لَهُمْ عَدُوٌّ وَحَزْنًا﴾ (28:8)، من حيث كان ذلك هو العاقبة، وإن كانوا إنما التقطوه ليغتروّبوا به ويسروا، وهذا ظاهر في اللغة والشعر.⁴⁸

Clearly, both discussions are very similar. The only difference is that 'Abd al-Jabbār brings up the issue of *hadhf*, which means words that are left out but without which the meaning is incomplete. 'Abd al-Jabbār also takes the opportunity to refute the view that if God approves of the end of some people in Hell, then He must also approve of what leads to Hell (i.e., sins and transgressions). 'Abd al-Jabbār argues that, according to the view of his school, God approves of the punishment only, not what leads to receiving the punishment, similar to the judge who imposes a penalty on the thief and the adulterer even though he disapproves of theft and adultery. As for Ibn al-Khallāl, he introduces the grammatical point regarding verb *nādā*, which, even though it is in the past tense, must refer to the future. He also brings up the issue of God having created the unbelievers, like the believers, to be admitted to Heaven and receive the rewards provided they do the work that leads to that (*khalaqa l-kāfir li-mithl mā khalaqa labu l-mu'min min al-tā'rid li-l-janna wa-nayl al-thawāb*).

A second comparison between Ibn al-Khallāl's *Kitāb al-Radd* and 'Abd al-Jabbār's *Mutashābih al-qur'ān* relates to Qur'ān 6:123. Ibn al-Khallāl presents the following discussion:

وَمَا تَعْلَمُوا بِهِ قَوْلُهُ سَبْحَانَهُ: ﴿وَكَذَلِكَ جَعَلْنَا فِي كُلِّ قَرْيَةٍ أَكْبَارٍ جُحْرِمِهَا لِيَمْكِرُوا فِيهَا وَمَا يَكْرُونَ إِلَّا بِأَنفُسِهِمْ وَمَا يَشْعُرُونَ﴾ (6:123)، فَأَخْبَرَ اللّهُ تَعَالَى كَمَا يَرِي أَنَّهُ جَعَلَ الْأَكْبَارِ فِي القرى لِيَمْكِرُوا وَالْمَكْرُ مُعْصِيَةٌ، فَقَدْ شَاعَ اسْتِدَاعُ اللّهِ تَعَالَى إِلَى الْمُعْصِيَةِ وَالْاسْتِدَاعِ إِلَيْهَا وَالْخَلُقُ طَا وَهَذَا أَحَدُ قَوْلَكُمْ وَخَلَافُ مَذَهْبِكُمْ. يَقَالُ لَهُمْ: قَدْ تَقدَّمَ الْقَوْلُ مِنْتَ فِي

⁴⁸ 'Abd al-Jabbār, *Mutashābih al-qur'ān*, pp. 305-06.

هذا التأويل على نظائر هذه الآية مما لا يدفعه خصم ولا يقصر عن عاقبته قوم والدلالة على ما إليه يُؤلِّ أمرهم ويحتم عليه أحوالهم ذكر مثل هذا. وكذلك يوجد مثل هذا في اللغة وليس هو على معنى أنَّ الله تَعَلَّى أراد مكرهم أو دعى إليه أو أغرى به لَأَنَّه يقول: ﴿وَمَا خَلَقْتَ الْجِنَّ وَالْإِنْسَ إِلَّا يَعْبُدُونَ﴾ (51: 56)، ويقول: ﴿فَقُولَا لَهُ قَوْلًا لِّنَا لَعْلَهُ يَذَكَّرُ أَوْ يَخْشِي﴾ (20: 44)، ويقول تعالى: ﴿وَمَا نَرْسَلُ بِالآيَاتِ إِلَّا تَخْوِفَ﴾ (59: 17)، فأعلمنا الله سبحانه لا يفعل إلا ما يزجر به عن معصيته دون ما يدعوه إليها ويوقع فيها ويحري عليها، ولا يليق بحكمته وفضله ورحمته إلاًّا هذا. وفي القرآن لهذا الكلام من النظائر ما لا يمكن إلاًّا بيان عليه، منه قوله: ﴿فَالْقَطْهَ آلَ فَرْعَوْنَ لَيَكُونَ لَهُمْ عَدُوًّا وَحْزَنًا﴾ (28: 8)، قوله: ﴿وَجَعَلُوْلَهُ أَنْدَادًا لِيَضْلُّوْنَ عَنْ سَبِيلِهِ﴾ (14: 30)، وهو في الحقيقة يريدون الاهتاء بها لقول الله حاكِيًّا عنهم: ﴿مَا نَعْبُدُهُمْ إِلَّا يَقْرُبُوْنَا إِلَيْهِ زَلْفًا﴾ (39: 3)، فعلمنا الله إنما أراد الإخبار عما يُؤلِّ إليه عاقبته هؤلاء الأُكَبَرُ من المكر بالناس والخداع لهم، وعلى هذا يقول القائل:

وَأَمْ سَمَاكَ فَلَا تَجْزُعِي
فَلَلْمُوتُ مَا غَذَتِ الْوَالِدَةُ

وقال آخر:

كَمَا لَخَابَ الدَّهْرُ تَبْنِيَ الْمَسَاكِنَ
فَلَلْمُوتُ تَغْدِيَ الْوَالِدَاتِ سَخَالِهَا

ويقول القائل: إنما يجمع فلان لورثته. فالمعنى في هذا كله مفهوم أنَّه ليس قصد الجامع للمال للورثة، والأولاد للموت، والمساكن للخراب، وإنما أحملنا تكير هذه الآيات وغضبنا الكلام في بعضها لتعي بالقصي هناك عن سائرها وكي لا يظن ظان من المخالفين أنَّ لم يوردها أنا أغلتنا شيئاً مما يتعلّقون به علينا أو يجدون فيه فرجاً في خلافنا.⁴⁹

‘Abd al-Jabbār has the following to say:

مسألة: ثم ذكر تعالى بعده ما يدلّ على أنَّه تعالى يريد المكر مِنْ يَقْدَرُ عليه، فقال تعالى: ﴿وَكَذَلِكَ جَعَلْنَا فِي كُلِّ قَرْيَةٍ أَكَبَرَ بَحْرِمِهَا لِيَسْكُرُوا فِيهَا﴾ (6: 123). والجواب عن ذلك أنَّه تعالى أراد به أن عاقبة أمرهم أنْ يُكَوِّنُوا في القرى التي سَكَنُوهُمُ الله تعالى فيها كَهْوَلَهُ تعالى: ﴿فَالْقَطْهَ آلَ فَرْعَوْنَ لَيَكُونَ لَهُمْ عَدُوًّا وَحْزَنًا﴾ (28: 4)، وكذلك الشاعر:

وَأَمْ سَمَاكَ فَلَا تَجْزُعِي
فَلَلْمُوتُ مَا تَلَدِ الْوَالِدَةُ

ولا يجوز أن يكون تعالى يجعلهم أَكَبَرَ بَحْرِمِهَا ويعصوا وقد قال تعالى: ﴿وَمَا خَلَقْتَ الْجِنَّ وَالْإِنْسَ إِلَّا يَعْبُدُونَ﴾ (51: 56)، يَبْيَنُ ذلك أنَّه متى أَبْرَزَ المخدوف من الكلام وكشف لم يَسْتَمِعْ على ظاهره، فلو قال تعالى: ﴿وَكَذَلِكَ جَعَلْنَا فِي كُلِّ قَرْيَةٍ أَكَبَرَ بَحْرِمِهَا﴾ وأمرناهم أَلَا يُكَوِّنُوا فيها لِيَسْكُرُوا، لكن ذلك ينافض وهذا مما لا بدَّ من تقديره لَأَنَّه لا يجوز أن يكون غرضه تعالى أن لا يُكَوِّنُوا بأن يجعلهم في القرى أَكَبَرَ لَأَنَّه لو لم يُكَلِّفهم لم يَصُحُّ ذلك. فَأَمَّا ما ذُكِرَناه فلو أَبْرَزَ فيه

⁴⁹ Ibn al-Khallāl, *Radd*, ff. 73a-b.

الخذوف لاستقام بأن يقول: ﴿وَمَا خَلَقْتَ الْجِنَّةِ وَالْإِنْسَنَ﴾ وَأَكْلَتْ عَوْطَمْ وَأَمْرَتْهُمْ بِالْعِبَادَةِ ﴿إِلَّا لِيُعَذَّبُوْنَ﴾ ، لاستقام الكلام وانتظم . فعلى هذه الطريقة يجب أن يحمل ما يراد به العاقبة ومقارنته لما يراد به الإقدام على ذلك الفعل، وهذا واضح.⁵⁰

Here too, both discussions are very similar, though Ibn al-Khallāl's is a little longer. One notices the citation of poetry and Qur'ānic verses by both authors – actually the same line is quoted by both of them, as well as the two Qur'ānic verses 28:8 and 51:56. The only difference is that 'Abd al-Jabbār brings up, again, the issue of *al-maḥdūf min al-kalām* (words that are left out).

These two comparisons between the works of Ibn al-Khallāl and 'Abd al-Jabbār demonstrate the distinctiveness of each author, despite the similarities in presentation and style. This suggests that even though they derived some of their views from earlier Mu'tazilite sources – at least one of these sources was common to both of them, namely the *Mutashābib al-qur'ān* of Abū 'Alī al-Jubbā'ī – each author was original in the sense that he rephrased the arguments and presented them in his own language. Yet, these two cases only touch the tip of the iceberg. Needless to say, a more thorough comparison of both texts would be valuable if it enabled us to identify specific variations within Mu'tazilite theology over certain issues, especially regarding some of the views over which Ibn al-Ikhshīd and his school differed from Abū Hāshim and the Bahshamīya school. After all, the works of al-Šaymārī and Ibn al-Ikhshīd have been lost, and our knowledge of their teachings is too general to allow a serious exposition of their thought and contribution to the Mu'tazilite movement. One expects, however, that some of their views would have been preserved by their disciple Ibn al-Khallāl in his *Kitāb al-Radd*. Furthermore, given the fact that Ibn al-Khallāl draws on two sources that are now lost, his work is also of paramount significance as a window into the teachings of Ja'far b. Ḥarb and Abū 'Alī al-Jubbā'ī regarding the *mutashābib al-qur'ān*.

Appendix

Table of Contents of Ibn al-Khallāl's *Kitāb al-Radd 'alā al-jabriyya al-qadariyya*

(*Sūras* and verses are listed in the order they appear in the Caetani manuscript)

Introduction: ff. 1b-2b.

Sūrat al-Hamd (1: Sūrat al-Fātiha), verses 6-7: ff. 2b-5b.

Sūrat al-Baqara (2), verses 1-2, 7, 26, 49, 103, 128, 213, 253, 272, 286: ff. 5b-30a.

Sūrat Āl 'Imrān (3), verses 8, 54, 152, 154, 166, 178: ff. 30a-38a.

⁵⁰ 'Abd al-Jabbār, *Mutashābib al-qur'ān*, pp. 261-62.

Sūrat al-Nisā' (4), verses 78, 88, 129: ff. 38a-43b.

Sūrat al-Mā'ida (5), verses 3, 14, 13, 29, 41, 64: ff. 43b-54a.

Sūrat al-An'ām (6), verses 9, 25, 39, 44, 53, 35, 91, 105, 110, 108, 111, 112, 113, 123, 125, 129, 149: ff. 54a-81a.

Sūrat al-A'rāf (7), verses 16, 30, 89, 146, 179, 155, 182, 188: ff. 81a-92a.

Sūrat al-Anfāl (8), verses 24, 25, 44: ff. 92a-97b.

Sūrat al-Tawba (9), verses 46, 55, 76, 87, 124-125, 127: ff. 97b-103b.

Sūrat Yūnus (10), verses 88 (first part), 88 (second part), 100: ff. 103b-11b.

Sūrat Hūd (11), verses 34, 118-119: ff. 112a-120a.

Sūrat Yūsuf (12), verse 76: ff. 120a-121a.

Sūrat al-Rā'īd (13), verse 16: ff. 121a-124a.

Sūrat Ibrāhīm (14), verses 37 and 40: ff. 124a-126a.

Sūrat al-Hijr (15), verse 11: ff. 126a-127a.

Sūrat al-Nahl (16), verses 17, 25: ff. 127a-130b.

Sūrat Bani Isrā'īl (17), verses 5, 7, 16, 45-46: ff. 130b-138b.

Sūrat al-Kahf (18), verses 23, 28: ff. 138b-140a.

Sūrat Maryam (19), verses 75, 83: ff. 140a-141b.

Sūrat Tāhā (20): Not included.

Sūrat al-Anbiyā' (21), verses 37, 90, 111: ff. 141b-146a.

Sūrat al-Hajj (22), verses 52-53: ff. 146a-148a.

Sūrat al-Mu'minūn (23), verses 55-56, 106-107: ff. 148a-150b.

Sūrat al-Nūr (24), verse 63: ff. 150b-152a.

Sūrat al-Furqān (25), verse 2: ff. 152a-155a.

Sūrat al-Shu'arā' (26): not included.

Sūrat al-Naml (27), verse 50: ff. 155a-156a.

Sūrat al-Qaṣaṣ (28), verse 27: ff. 156a-158a.

Sūrat al-'Ankabūt (29), verse 13: ff. 158a-159a.

Sūrat al-Rūm (30), verses 22, 30: ff. 159a-161a.

Sūrat Luqmān (31): not included.

Sūrat al-Sajda (32), verse 13: ff. 161a-162b.

Sūrat al-Āḥzāb (33): not included.

Sūrat Saba' (34): not included.

Sūrat al-Malā'iqa (35: Sūrat Fātīr), verse 3: ff. 162b-163a.

Sūrat Yāsīn (36), verse 8: folios 163a-165b.

Sūrat al-Ṣāffāt (37), verses 95-96, 102: ff. 165b-167b.

Sūrat Ṣad (38): not included.

Sūrat al-Zumar (39): not included.

Sūrat Ghāfir (40): not included.

Sūrat Fuṣṣilat (41), verse 25: ff. 167b-169a. (this sūra is wrongly identified as Sūrat al-Sajda)

Sūrat al-Shūrā (42): not included.

Sūrat al-Zakhruf (43): not included.
 Sūrat al-Dukhān (44): not included.
 Sūrat al-Jāthiya (45): not included.
 Sūrat al-Āhqāf (46): not included.
 Sūrat Muḥammad (47): not included.
 Sūrat al-Fath (48): not included.
 Sūrat al-Ḥujurāt (49): not included.
 Sūrat Qāf (50): not included.
 Sūrat al-Dhāriyāt (51): not included.
 Sūrat al-Ṭūr (52): not included.
 Sūrat al-Najm (53), verses 43-44: ff. 169a-170a.
 Sūrat al-Qamar (54): not included.
 Sūrat al-Rahmān (55): not included.
 Sūrat al-Wāqi‘a (56): not included.
 Sūrat al-Ḥadīd (57): not included.
 Sūrat al-Mujādala (58): not included.
 Sūrat al-Hashr (59): not included.
 Sūrat al-Mumtaḥana (60): not included.
 Sūrat al-Ṣaff (61), verse 5: ff. 170a-171a.
 Sūrat al-Jumu‘a (62): not included.
 Sūrat al-Munāfiqūn (63): not included.
 Sūrat al-Taghābun (64): not included.
 Sūrat al-Ṭalāq (65), verses 10-11: ff. 171a-172a.
 Sūrat al-Taḥrīm (66): not included.
 Sūrat al-Mulk (67), verses 13-14: ff. 172a-173a.
 Sūrat al-Qalam (68): not included.
 Sūrat al-Ḥaqqā (69): not included.
 Sūrat al-Ma‘ārij (70): not included.
 Sūrat Nūḥ (71): not included.
 Sūrat al-Jinn (72), verses 16-17: ff. 173a-173b. (Here the Caetani text ends)

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Author’s note:

After this article was completed, Gregor Schwab drew my attention to the fact that there exists an additional manuscript of Ibn Khallāl’s *Kitāb al-Radd* which is preserved in Ṣan‘ā’, al-Jāmi‘ al-kabīr, al-Maktaba al-Gharbiyya, *majmū‘a* no. 15, ff. 178-249. (See Ahmād Muḥammad Ḫsawī [et al.], *Fihrist al-makhṭūṭāt al-yamaniyya li-Dār al-Makhṭūṭāt wa-l-Maktaba al-Gharbiyya bi-l-Jāmi‘ al-kabīr*, Ṣan‘ā’ 1-2, Qum 2005, pp. 165, 723.)

I thank Gregor Schwab for this information.

