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James Weaver

THE SHĪ'A IN IRAQI HERESIOGRAPHY

THE STRUCTURE AND TRANSMISSION
OF THE MATERIAL UP TO AL-ASH'ARĪ
(D. 324/935)



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Asien-Gesellschaft
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WORLDS OF ISLAM
WELTEN DES ISLAMIS
MONDES DE L'ISLAM

DE
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والحسن والحسين وروا

عبد الله ومهمل واليه

نص على الحسن والحسين

وقال اهل البيت

وقرنتها عمت بمنزلة في حجر

الشمس الطالعاتي وقرنتها

ابو عبد الله
له كتاب
المنزلة
التي فيها
المنزلة
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التي فيها

James Weaver

The Shī'a in Iraqi Heresiography

Welten des Islams – Worlds of Islam – Mondes de l’Islam



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James Weaver

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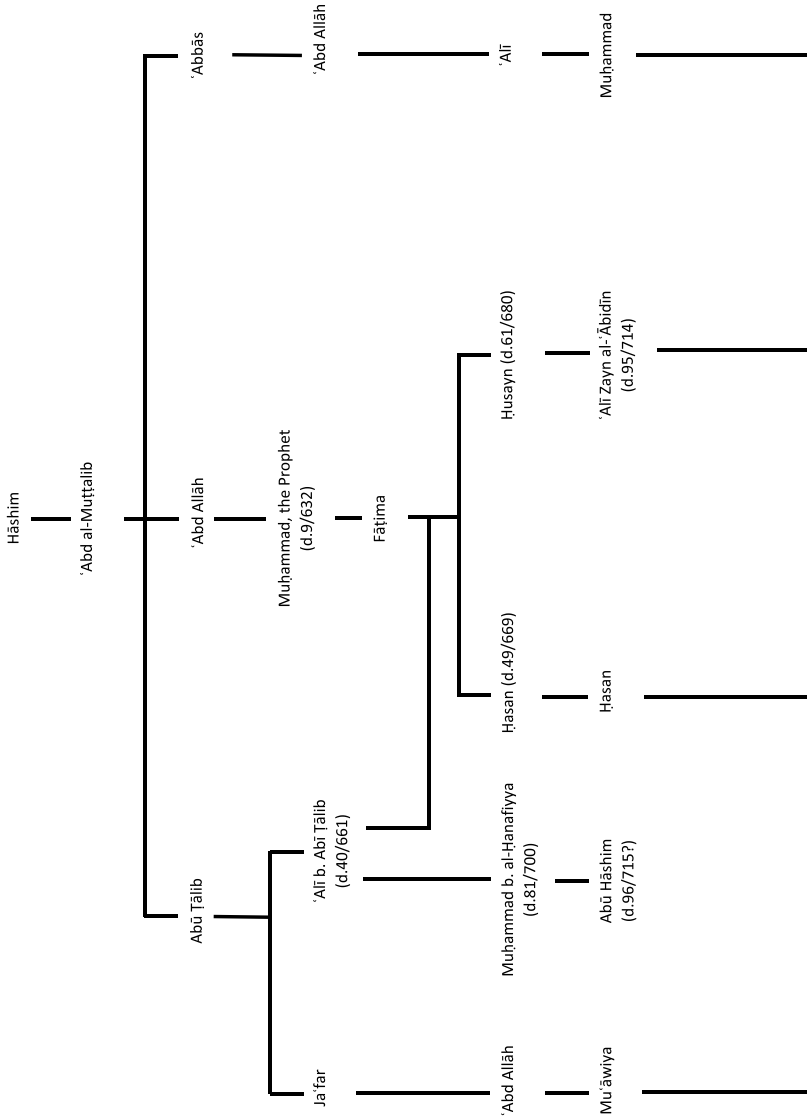
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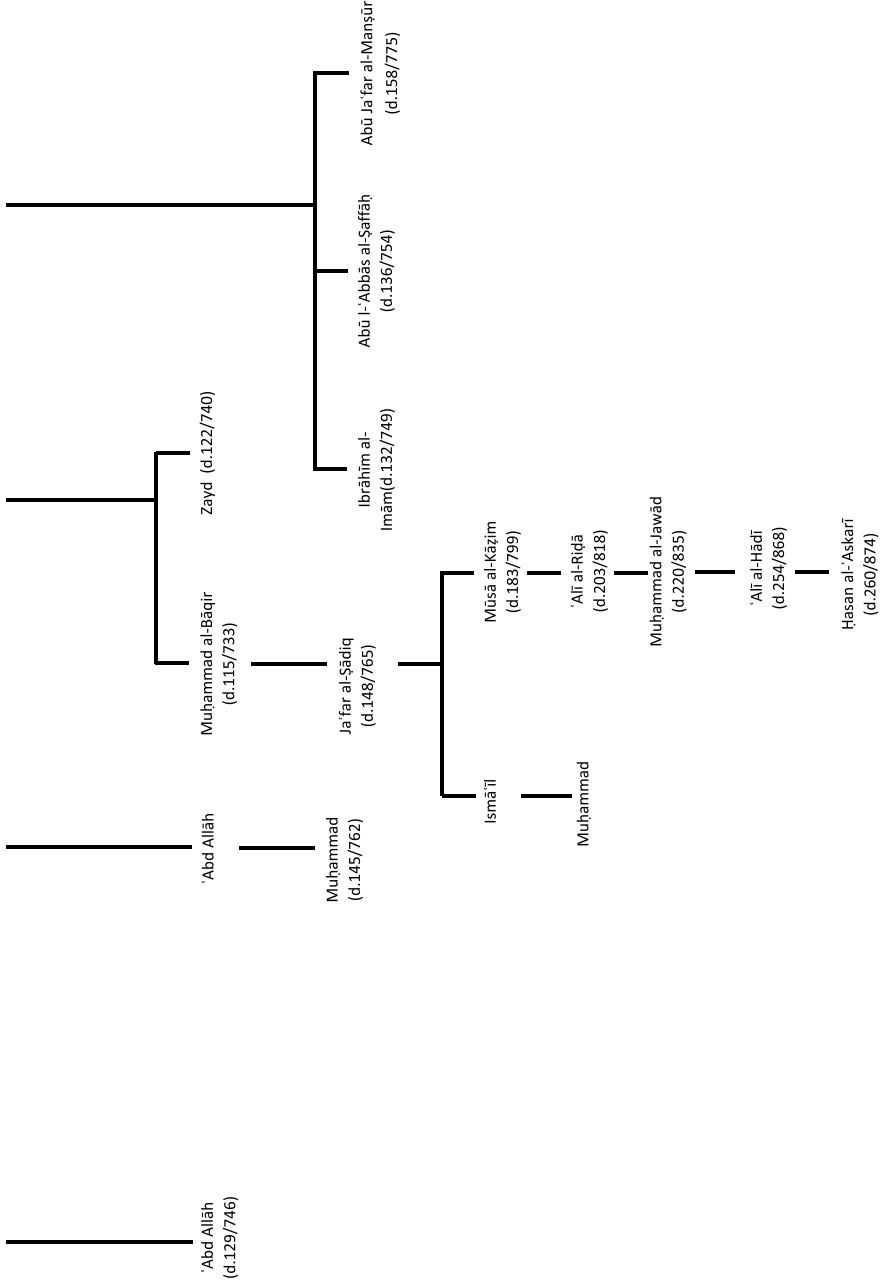
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Selective Family Tree of the Banū Hāshim





Abbreviations

<i>Ansāb.</i>	al-Balādhurī, <i>Ansāb al-ashraf</i>
<i>Akhbār.</i>	Anon., <i>Akhbār al-dawla al-'abbāsiya wa-fihī akhbār al-'abbās wa-wuldihi</i>
<i>Bāb.</i>	Abū Tammām, <i>Bāb al-shaytān</i>
<i>Bad'.</i>	al-Maqdisī, <i>al-Bad' wa-l-ta'rīkh</i>
<i>Bayān.</i>	al-Jāhīz, <i>al-Bayān wa-l-tabyīn</i>
<i>Conc.</i>	Wensinck 1992
<i>Elr.</i>	<i>Encyclopaedia Iranica</i>
<i>EIsl.</i>	<i>Encyclopaedia Islamica</i>
<i>E².</i>	<i>Encyclopaedia of Islam: New Edition</i>
<i>E³.</i>	<i>Encyclopaedia of Islam THREE</i>
<i>Farq.</i>	al-Baghdādī, <i>al-Farq bayn al-firaq</i>
<i>Fih.</i>	Ibn al-Nadīm, <i>al-Fihrist</i>
<i>Fihrist</i>	al-Ṭūsī, <i>Fihrist kutub al-shī'a wa-uṣūlihim</i>
<i>Fir.</i>	al-Nawbakhtī, <i>Firaq al-shī'a</i>
<i>Fiş.</i>	Ibn Ḥazm, <i>al-Fişal fī l-milal wa-l-ahwā' wa-l-niḥal</i> ,
<i>FutūḥK.</i>	Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, <i>al-Futūḥ</i>
<i>Ḥayawān.</i>	al-Jāhīz, <i>al-Ḥayawān</i>
<i>Ḥūr.</i>	Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī, <i>al-Ḥūr al-'īn</i>
<i>Intiṣār.</i>	al-Khayyāt, <i>al-Intiṣār</i>
<i>Kamāl.</i>	Ibn Bābawayh, <i>Kamāl al-dīn</i>
<i>Kāmil.</i>	al-Mubarrad, <i>al-Kāmil fī l-lughā</i>
<i>Kumayt.</i>	al-Kumayt, <i>Hāshimīyyāt</i>
<i>Ma'ārif.</i>	Ibn Qutayba, <i>al-Ma'ārif</i>
<i>Maf.</i>	al-Khwārazmī, <i>Mafātīḥ al-'Ulūm</i>
<i>MaqA.</i>	al-Ash'arī, <i>Maqālāt al-islāmiyyīn</i>
<i>Maqātil.</i>	al-Iṣfahānī, <i>Maqātil al-Ṭālibīyyīn</i>
<i>MaqB.</i>	al-Balkhī al-Ka'bī, <i>Dhikr al-mu'tazila min maqālāt al-islāmiyyīn</i>
<i>MaqQ.</i>	al-Qummī al-Ash'arī, <i>al-Maqālāt wa-l-firaq</i>
<i>Mil.</i>	al-Shahrastānī, <i>al-Milal wa-l-niḥal</i>
<i>Mugh.</i>	'Abd al-Jabbār al-Hamadhānī, <i>al-Mughnī fī abwāb al-tawḥīd wal-l-'adl</i>
<i>Murūj.</i>	al-Mas'ūdī, <i>Murūj al-dhahab</i>
<i>Niḥ.</i>	ps.-al-Nāshī' al-Akbar, <i>Uṣūl al-niḥal</i>
<i>Rasā'il.</i>	al-Jāhīz, <i>Rasā'il</i>
<i>Rasā'ilQ.</i>	al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm, <i>Majmū' kutub wa-rasā'il</i>
<i>Rawḍa.</i>	al-Ḥajūrī, <i>Rawḍat al-akhbār</i>
<i>RijālK.</i>	al-Kashshī, <i>Ikhtiyār ma'rīfat al-rijāl</i>
<i>RijālN.</i>	al-Najāshī, <i>Rijāl</i>
<i>Sharḥ.</i>	al-Ḥākim al-Jishumī, <i>Sharḥ 'uyūn al-masā'il</i>
<i>Sharḥ(Faḍl).</i>	al-Ḥākim al-Jishumī, <i>al-Ṭabaqātān al-hādiya 'ashara wa-l-thāniya 'ashara min kitāb Sharḥ al-'uyūn</i>
<i>ShNB.</i>	Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, <i>Sharḥ nahj al-balāgha</i>
<i>Ṭab.</i>	al-Ṭabarī, <i>Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa-l-mulūk</i>
<i>Ṭabaqāt.</i>	Ibn al-Murtaḍā, <i>Ṭabaqāt al-mu'tazila</i>
<i>Ta'wīl.</i>	Ibn Qutayba, <i>Ta'wīl mukhtalif al-ḥadīth</i>

<i>Tabşira.</i>	Abū l-Muʿīn al-Nasafī, <i>Tabşirat al-adilla fī uşūl al-dīn</i>
<i>Tahrīsh.</i>	Ḍirār b. ʿAmr, <i>Kitāb al-tahrīsh</i>
<i>TG.</i>	van Ess 1991-1997
<i>ʿUyūn</i>	al-Ḥākim al-Jishumī, <i>al-ʿUyūn fī radd ʿalā ahl al-bidaʿ</i>
<i>Uşūl.</i>	al-Baghdādī, <i>Uşūl al-dīn</i>
<i>Zīna.</i>	Abū Hātim al-Rāzī, <i>Faşl al-firaq fī kitāb al-zīna li-abī l-ḥātim al-rāzī</i> , ed. in Berthold 2019:1-90 [Ar.].

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I Introduction

The basic textual problems attending historical sources and their interpretation belong to a phase of work historians typically aim to leave behind; they want to get on with using those sources to write history. This, though, is a book that belongs wholly to that phase, primarily addressing concerns of the type traditionally labelled ‘philological’, ‘source-critical’ or ‘literary’.

The texts it examines are known in English-language scholarship as Islamic heresiographies. These are works that offer inventories of the historical factions of Islam and/or catalogues of disputed questions in the tradition of dialectical theology known as *kalām*. They constitute a major, and oft-problematized source for the history of Muslim doctrine, especially for groups that emerged in the first three centuries after Muḥammad’s death, and above all for those that were later considered to be outside the Sunnī ‘mainstream’. More specifically, this book focusses on the material on the Shī’a in heresiographies composed up to the beginning of the fourth/tenth century in Iraq itself or, more broadly, in the Iraqi tradition. The latest example covered is the famous *Maqālāt al-islāmiyyīn wa-khtilāf al-muṣallīn* of Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ash‘arī (d.324/935).

1 Heresiographies as Historical Sources

There was a time when historians looked upon heresiographies favourably. The publication of William Cureton’s 1842–1846 edition of ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Shahrastānī’s (d.548/1153) *Kitāb al-Milal wa-l-niḥal*, shortly followed by Theodor Haarbrücker’s 1850–1851 German translation, was seen as a major boon for European-language scholarship on doctrinal developments in the first centuries of Islam. Encouraged by the apparent neutrality of Shahrastānī’s accounts, researchers long held it to be an unusually reliable source¹. Over the following decades, the *Milal* was joined by editions of several earlier heresiographies, but the positive reception was not to last.

The classical formulation of the judgement was handed down by William Montgomery Watt in the introduction to his 1973 *The Formative Period of Islamic*

1 On the scholarly reception of Shahrastānī’s *Milal*, see Schmidtke 1998, 384, n.12. Amongst numerous other references, she cites the assessment of Henri Galland in his 1906 *Essai sur les Mo’tazélites*: “Un de ceux qui ont le mieux connu les Mo’tazélites et leur doctrine est un auteur que nous avons déjà cité et en qui, ce semble, nous pouvons avoir pleine confiance: Chahrastānī. Son ouvrage, le *Kitāb al-milal wan-nihal*, est sérieux et impartial. Il est devenu pour ainsi dire le vademecum de tous ceux qui se sont occupés des sectes de l’Islam et de ses écoles philosophiques et qui ont cherché a les connaître dans leurs différentes manifestations” (Galland 1906:44–45).

Thought, where he set out ‘a radical critique of the heresiographical tradition’². Watt argued that the heresiographers, theologians all, were more interested in promoting their own, usually Sunnī, doctrinal agendas than in recording accurate information about the beliefs of others³. He saw them, moreover, to be manic systematisers, obsessed by the attempt to comply with a famous Prophetic tradition predicting the emergence of seventy-two (or seventy-one etc.) errant factions of Islam⁴. The search for these factions, he argued, led the heresiographers to attribute a false coherence to the groups they identified, whilst their theological perspective encouraged them to focus on ‘family resemblances between the doctrines held’, rather than on real ‘historical connections’⁵. In short, for Watt, the heresiographers were thinly disguised polemicists and misleading taxonomists, not reliable sources for the historian at all.

He perceived, however, that there is a further difficulty: if we want to say much about doctrinal developments in the first three centuries of Islam, the heresiographies are hard to avoid. Certainly, at the time he wrote, there were few other sources available that provided relevant information in such an immediately accessible manner. Emboldened by an epistemological optimism born of necessity, Watt went on to argue that the heresiographies can still yield reliable historical data as long as one follows a few ‘procedural rules’⁶. These boil down to focussing on doctrines attributed to individuals rather than groups, being careful about the historicity of the names given to factions (as these, especially, he sees as ‘not objective’), preferring (unidentified) earlier material, and paying attention to the wider political and historical situation⁷. Rules in hand, he wrote much of the rest of *The Formative Period of Islamic Thought* based in large measure on a synthesis of the source-material he had so thoroughly excoriated.

Watt’s critique of the heresiographical tradition has proved influential; his determined sanguinity less so⁸. In the case of Shī‘ī studies, whilst introductory works may have continued to convey a narrative of early Shī‘ism based largely on

2 Watt 1973:1–6. He had previously published three articles on the topic that collectively express essentially the same conclusions: Watt 1971a; Watt 1971b; Watt 1971c.

3 Watt 1973:3.

4 *Ibid.*:3–4. In discussing the seventy-three-factions tradition, he relies on the classic study of Goldziher 1892. On the tradition and its variants, see now van Ess 2011:7–64.

5 Watt 1973:3.

6 *Ibid.*:5.

7 *Ibid.*

8 E.g., all citing Watt: Lewinstein 1991:251 (‘The difficulties which characterize this literature are well known, and hardly need to be rehearsed here: it is late, highly schematic, and frequently hostile to the doctrines and groups which it describes’); Bayhom Daou 2003a:80 (‘Like all heresiographical writing in Islam, Hishām’s work is essentially polemical’); Gaiser 2015:31 (‘Watt long

heresiographical accounts, the dominant trend in primary research has been the attempt to circumvent them wherever possible and to derive more useable information from elsewhere⁹. This book makes no argument against that trend. The more sources, and, more importantly, the greater variety of sources we can bring to bear as historians, the better.

Nevertheless, the heresiographies still remain difficult to evade for long if we want to tackle certain subjects: the Kufan Ghulāt groups up to the period of Abū l-Khaṭṭāb and their putative relationships to the Kaysāniyya, the splits in the Imāmīyya that emerged after the deaths of Jaʿfar al-Šādiq, Mūsā al-Kāẓim and Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī, and the development of dialectical theology (*kalām*) amongst the Imāmīyya and the Zaydiyya in the second half of the second century generally. Even where new sources have become available, it is rare that the heresiographies can be ignored entirely. They are still recruited to date other material beset by its own textual problems¹⁰; their framework for the organisation of Shīʿī history provides a backdrop, however obliquely invoked, against which information from elsewhere is oriented¹¹; and they are used as foils, interlocutors and, wherever possible, as corroborators of alternative accounts of early Shīʿism¹².

In any case, as Watt rightly recognised, the aim of historians is not to exclude rich bodies of early source material, whatever their difficulties. It is, rather, as with all sources, to approach them analytically, i.e., by acquiring as much information as possible relevant to their interpretation. This is true no matter how many new kinds of source-material are discovered. Today, we might be less inclined to think it possible to derive a set of simple rules that enable us to make binary decisions between which elements of heresiographies must be ‘treated with caution’ and which can be interpreted in a straightforwardly positivist manner. Still, even where the latter move has been abandoned, we want as accurate as possible an understanding of what the heresiographical material is and where it comes from. The problem here is that we are left with Watt’s persistently influential but misleading identification of the pathologies of the heresiographers.

ago noted the problems of the heresiographical genre: its late date, rigid taxonomy and openly polemical attitude’).

⁹ See especially the discussion in Haider 2011a:12, 24–53.

¹⁰ E.g., Asatryan 2017:72–73, to date the emergence of certain doctrines and thereby the Ghulāt corpus.

¹¹ E.g., Jafri 1979:235–283 (despite protestations to the contrary at ix); Modarressi 1993:53–105; Lalani 2000:45–57.

¹² E.g., Haider 2011a:192–199. Heinz Halm’s 1982 *Die islamische Gnosis*, until recently and in some ways still the most comprehensive account of the early Ghulāt written in a western European language, consists almost entirely in reproducing the accounts of the heresiographers.

To begin with, there is the great weight Watt places on the notion of theological bias. He is right that many heresiographers operate with a model whereby their own doctrine is depicted as the original and constant norm, whilst all other doctrines are seen as later, epiphenomenal deviations. However, he grossly overestimates the influence of a given author's theological views on the substance of the information conveyed. Whilst heresiographers indeed reshaped material to suit their own priorities in ways both subtle and overt, a simple survey of their presentations of the Shī'a quickly reveals that most of the works composed later than the early fourth century—whether Ash'arī, Mu'tazilī, Zāhirī, Imāmī or Ismā'īlī in origin—predominantly contain the *same* information, and not just the same information, but often some lightly reworked version of the very same textual material¹³. Thus, the main issue from a source-analytical point of view is not that the 'classical' heresiographical tradition presents us with multiple images of the early Shī'a, each independently constructed in accordance with a particular theological perspective. It is, rather, that nearly everyone after the beginning of the fourth/tenth century inherited and redeployed the *same* constellation of reports on early Shī'ī factions. These were funnelled mainly through two major works composed around that time, both essentially Mu'tazilī and both based squarely on the Iraqi tradition, namely Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and Abū l-Qāsim al-Balkhī al-Ka'bī's (d.319/931), *Maqālāt firaq ahl al-qibla*¹⁴. Very few later authors ever reached back to the material upon which Ash'arī and Balkhī depended, let alone stepped outside of the tradition completely. There may be many other reasons to read later heresiographies, but from the point of view of using them as historical sources for the Shī'a in the early period, they are only occasionally of real interest. Moreover, as we will see, even for works composed up to the early fourth century, identifying the perspective of any given body of material on the Shī'a is not a simple matter of pinning down the theological bent of the author of the work in which it appears. Above all, there is

13 The quickest way to see this is via the notes to Gimaret's translation of the *Milal*, which list many of the parallels in other major works of the tradition.

14 On their role as sources of the later tradition, see van Ess 2011:344–75, 691–700. To a lesser extent, the work of another author close to the Mu'tazilī from the same period, namely Ḥasan b. Mūsā al-Nawbakhtī's (d. after 300/912) *Kitāb al-Ārā' wa-l-diyānāt* also played this role. See *Ibid.* 224–230. For a discussion of similar processes in the transmission of historiography, see Crone 1980:10–12. There are some independent streams of heresiographical material on the Shī'a. The most important is the Eastern Ḥanafī tradition, but this is barely recoverable beyond the *Radd 'alā ahl al-bida' wa-l-ahwā'* of Makhūl al-Nasafī (d.318/930). See Lewinstein 1989:155–255 and Lewinstein 1996, also van Ess 2011:428–436 (on Nasafī specifically). There are also a few remains of a Syrian-Egyptian tradition preserved by Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Malaḥī (d.377/987) in his *Kitāb al-tanbīh wa-l-radd 'alā ahl al-ahwā' wa-l-bida'*. See van Ess 2011:636–654 and 297–323.

no simple sense in which most depictions of the Shī'a in the early heresiographical tradition can possibly be labelled 'Sunnī'.

Likewise, whilst Watt's concerns about the systematizing character of heresiographies are valid, he pays little attention to the kinds of systematization they actually indulge in. The *ḥadīth* of the seventy-two or seventy-three sects is indeed cited by later heresiographers, like Shahrastānī in the *Milal* and 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Baghdādī (d.429/1038) in his *Farq bayn al-firaq*. Yet even out of these two (despite Watt's claims to the contrary), only Baghdādī makes a serious attempt to organize his work according to a schema based on the number seventy-two, and his challenge was less to manufacture synthetic factions in order to reach the total and more to control and cut down the much larger number of factions present in the material he had inherited¹⁵. In works dating from the early fourth century and before, especially in the Iraqī tradition, the *ḥadīth* is rarely cited at all and hardly anyone seems to have been much interested in counting factions.

That said, the basic image the *ḥadīth* conveys was still involved at some level. The formulation, "my Community will divide into 73 factions (*firqa*), all bar one of which will end up in Hellfire", sought to ameliorate the present trauma that the Muslim Community was now hopelessly divided by insisting that the division had been predicted by the Prophet from the very beginning; it was all part of the divine plan. It also brought order to the chaotic situation by depicting that division as a fragmentation into a finite number of discrete factions¹⁶. The heresiographers' listing-out and otherwise organizing of those factions, and their furnishing of such lists with pithy descriptions continued the *ḥadīth's* attempt to render the splintering of the Community comprehensible and bring it under control. But the search for precisely, or even roughly, seventy-two was not the main driving force in the earliest presentations¹⁷. For much—but not all—the material on the Shī'a, another notion

¹⁵ On Baghdādī, see the discussion in van Ess 2011:681–710; on Shahrastānī, *Ibid.*:871–878.

¹⁶ The most comprehensive study of the various forms of the *ḥadīth* of the seventy-two sects is now van Ess 2011:7–64.

¹⁷ Admittedly, the *ḥadīth* is cited in the earliest Iraqī heresiography we have: the Mu'tazilī ps-Nāshī's *Uṣūl al-niḥal*, written in the first half of the third/ninth century (see p. 46–49). But ps-Nāshī does not structure his work in accordance with it and it is the only case where it appears. The earliest examples where the *ḥadīth* is cited and 72 factions are then listed are not Iraqī. Malaṭī (see above, n.14) preserves a long citation from a certain Khushaysh b. Aṣram al-Nasā'ī (d.253/867) that employs the *ḥadīth* in this way. Likewise, it is used to structure Nasafī's *Radd 'alā ahl al-bida'* (see above, n.14), composed in an Eastern Ḥanafī milieu. For Nasafī at least, the number 72 and its subdivision into six groups of twelve seems to have some sort of mnemonic-pedagogical purpose (see van Ess 2011:430–431). Notably, the first time material from the Iraqī tradition was organized in accordance with the *ḥadīth* also seems to have been in a text composed in the East: Abū Tammām's *Bāb al-shayṭān* from his *Kitāb al-shajara*, which was probably written towards the middle of the

is of much greater significance: that every faction requires an aetiology and, where possible, one cast in ‘genealogical’ terms connecting them back to the disputes in the years after the Prophet’s death. More generally, the most frequently encountered systematic feature in the heresiographical depiction of the Muslim Community is not the 73-factions *ḥadīth* but the basic conceit that the largest divisions of the community—usually the Shī’a, the Khawārij, the Murji’a, and the Mu’tazila—should be understood as symmetrical and opposing entities, both historically and doctrinally¹⁸.

Many of the problems with Watt’s approach proceed from the scant regard he pays to the historical development of the heresiographical tradition itself, discussing it as if all heresiographers across the ages composed their works according to the same principles and to the same ends, the only variable being theological affiliation. He takes no account of the fact that the texts we group together as heresiographies are diverse kinds of literature, written in different periods and contexts, for quite different purposes. Rather, he focuses on what he calls the ‘the mature form of the heresiographical tradition’, i.e., the relatively late works of Shahrastānī and Baghdādī, which he then takes as paradigmatic for all works classed as heresiographies¹⁹. Moreover, whilst an important keystone of his epistemological optimism is the fact that later heresiographies contain early material, he does not substantiate this. He offers no enquiry into the long processes by which originally heterogeneous textual material of quite different perspectives and provenances was pressed together, then redeployed and reworked in several phases before its appearance in the ‘mature’ works. Without such an enquiry, any source-critical remarks can only function at the most superficial level.

2 Aims

This study is of much narrower focus than Watt’s critique. It looks only at the earliest recoverable phases of the heresiographical tradition, up to Ash’arī’s *Maqālāt* in the early fourth century, and only at material of Iraqi provenance dealing with the Shī’a. Along the lines proposed by Watt, it tries to assemble information relevant to the interpretation of this material as a historical source by examining its literary conventions, the perspectives of its authors, its conceptualizations of the Shī’a and of Shī’ī history, the taxonomic principles it employs, its likely function, and how all these factors affect the presentations of the early Shī’a that it delivers to us. Unlike

fourth/tenth century, although it is possible his immediate source had already done the same (See p. 30–33).

¹⁸ On the concept of the so-called ‘mother-sects’, see van Ess 2011:73–82, and p. 84, 88–95.

¹⁹ Watt 1973:1–2.

Watt, however, it attempts to do this along two axes. One is ‘horizontal’, at the level of any given depiction of the Shī‘a, its relationship to the rest of the text in which it appears, and the immediate context of composition and reception. The other is ‘vertical’, in the sense of trying to provide an account of the transmission of the earlier components that were worked together into the various heresiographical presentations of the Shī‘a composed in this period.

Thus, as well as dealing with extant texts, this study devotes considerable space to examining the earlier sources from which heresiographical material was drawn and its various paths of transmission. This is not done to show that the extant works are merely compilations of excerpts from earlier texts. They are not. Nor is it just about trying to substantiate claims concerning the provenance and dating of certain material, important as this is for its interpretation. The departing assumption is, rather, that the authors of the extant heresiographies were the primary agents in the composition of their works. They are the ones who selected earlier textual material and reworked it; their purposes and circumstances governed the choices they made in doing so. However, when writing about the early Shī‘a, later authors were dependent on what they could obtain from earlier sources. Whatever their potential freedom to do as they wished with it, to mould it to fit contemporary concerns, that earlier material often exerted considerable influence. It came with its own matrices of terminology and taxonomy, and it had been structured according to its own vision of Shī‘ī history and doctrine. In practice, heresiographers in the third century rarely tried to dispense with the older frameworks completely but sought to re-purpose them and integrate them somehow into their own presentations. As a result, the material on the Shī‘a in the extant heresiographies is the result of a kind of ‘dialogue’ between their authors’ own perspectives and purposes, on the one hand, and those of their sources, on the other. The goal here is to be sensitive to both sides of that dialogue²⁰. This requires that we have as well founded an understanding as possible of the source-material behind the extant works.

3 Structure

The heresiographies discussed here are highly modular. The various extant presentations of the Shī‘a from this period are composed out of a small handful of distinct structural-formulaic elements, which themselves consist in arrangements of still smaller, interlinked but discrete component parts. These structural-formulaic

²⁰ Compare the very similar remarks concerning the formation of the ‘Abbāsīd historiographical transition in Borrut 2015:256–257.

elements deal with different thematic aspects of the Shī'a. The two main themes are (1) their historical and contemporary factions and (2) the positions of Shī'i *mutakallimūn* on the various disputed questions of *kalām*. This study is primarily concerned with the first of these themes, which will be addressed in part IV. There is also an array of much smaller structural-thematic elements that will be dealt with there. These treat more minor themes, such as the geographical spread of the Shī'a, the etymologies of certain names of Shī'i sub-divisions, their most prominent scholars, and the rebellions in which the 'Prophet's family' have partaken throughout history. Also closely linked with the theme of factions but large enough to merit separate treatment is the material on the origins of the Shī'a as one of the major divisions (usually *aṣṇāf*, sg. *ṣinf*) of the Muslim Community (*umma*) due to the events that took place between the deaths of the Prophet (d.9/632) and 'Alī b. Abī Tālib (d.40/660). This will be discussed in part III. Before that, however, it is necessary to orient ourselves more precisely in the material on the Shī'a in the extant works by introducing the various structural-formulaic elements in detail and providing an overview of how these elements are combined in each case. This will be undertaken in part II. The other major theme of the heresiographies, namely the positions of Shī'i *mutakallimūn* on the various disputed questions of *kalām*, will be left for a future study.

Before we can proceed on the basis just set out, certain further background information is required. The remainder of this introductory chapter covers some of the key methodological issues confronting this study (I.4), its general relationship to earlier works in the field (I.5), and some terminological issues (I.6). Finally, a survey of the main corpus of heresiographies discussed in this study is provided (I.7).

To invoke a topos, this was not an easy book to write, and much of it may not be easy to read. Especially in part IV, the interpretive discussions that will probably be more immediately useful and interesting to those wishing to better understand the early heresiographical tradition on the Shī'a are prefaced by long, technical examinations of parallels and citation-marking. These are necessary to establish which earlier sources are in use where, but if readers are prepared to take the conclusions of the more technical sections on trust, they can be skipped. To facilitate this, I have separated out the two as far as possible. Moreover, within the more technical chapters, I have routinely added summary overviews and/or interim conclusions in order to bring together the most important results. At the cost of some redundancy, this will hopefully make the conclusions more readily accessible. The interpretive discussions refer back to the technical discussions in a way that should also allow readers (up to a point) to consult them piecemeal, rather than necessarily having to have read them through in advance beforehand.

4 Methodology

The ‘vertical’ axis of this study employs some of the methods of that branch of source-criticism usually referred to by the German loanword *Quellenforschung*, where the focus lies on identifying and evaluating the sources used by an author in composing a work. A cloud of suspicion hangs over this whole enterprise²¹. That is partly because so many major examples from nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Classics and Biblical Studies have been fully or partially discredited that all forms of *Quellenforschung* are sometimes perceived to be equally tainted²². Partly, it is because the positivistic, ‘philological’ approach to texts, of which *Quellenforschung* is one variety, has fallen out of favour more generally²³. Literary studies have long since preferred analytical concepts like ‘intertextuality’, ‘allusion’, and ‘reminiscence’, which seem to imply a more egalitarian relationship between texts than the potentially hierarchical ‘source’ and ‘source-dependency’²⁴. As is often pointed out, however, many disciplines continue to rely on the results of certain pieces of *Quellenforschung*, even whilst its methods are decried²⁵. In many cases, the methods themselves continue to be employed without always drawing attention to the fact. For example, one of the best-regarded and oft-referenced methods in the study of early Islam today is an instance of *Quellenforschung*: the *isnād-cum-matn* analysis of Prophetic *ḥadīth* material promoted most notably by Harald Motzki and Gregor Schoeler to claim we can confidently reconstruct the approximate verbal

21 E.g., Most 2016:933: “Nowadays, *Quellenforschung* is not dead, but it seems moribund. It has moved from the fashionable center of classical studies to the swamps at their periphery; it is practiced by relatively few scholars and seems to be ignored, if not held in suspicion or contempt, by most.” Mansfeld and Runia 1997:3: “But the technique of *Quellenforschung* (hereafter QF) on which Diels’ researches are based has today fallen in bad repute, at least among students of ancient philosophy”.

22 On the situation in Classics, see Mansfeld and Runia 1997:15–21 and the references given there, and Most 2016. The Situation in Biblical Studies is more complicated, but very few still hold to the Graf-Wellhausen documentary hypothesis in anything like its original form. See Römer 2011:25–42; 2016:109–132.

23 Pollock 2009.

24 See the discussion of this transition in Munari 2019.

25 Mansfeld and Runia 1997: 2–4, 17–19. Most 2016:953–954. Whilst the Graf-Wellhausen documentary hypothesis has been largely rejected, almost everyone still agrees that the Pentateuch is the result of a long process of editing and combining originally separate ‘documents’. See, e.g., the various essays collected in Dozeman, Schmid and Römer 2011. For the implications of the Qumran discoveries on our understanding of ancient scribal compositional practice, see Zahn 2014.

content of some of the *ḥadīth* in circulation in the early second or even the late first centuries of Islam²⁶.

A key issue here is that traditional *Quellenforschung* makes use of two quite distinct methods that, although frequently employed together, are of very different epistemological value²⁷. The first is what might be called ‘internal *Quellenforschung*’. This is a set of procedures and assumptions used to break down a single work into its supposed component sources when that work gives no explicit information about them. Examples would be the Graf-Wellhausen documentary hypothesis concerning the sources of the Torah or Karl Lachmann’s analysis of the sources of the *Nibelungen*. The method relies on the identification of stylistic and terminological variations in a text, as well as structural breaks and/or passages that do not fit into the surrounding material for other reasons, e.g., the presence of jarring anachronisms or sudden conceptual shifts. The main assumption is that such variations, breaks and disjunctions can be attributed to reliance on different sources. The principal objection is to the degree of subjectivity involved: no independent evidence is available that can confirm or invalidate the hypotheses. Often, even the identification of the supposed ruptures is itself open to serious challenge. More importantly, authors introduce all kinds of breaks and variations into their works for numerous reasons; there is no hard and fast rule that allows us to determine when this has anything to do with their sources. Even if it is accepted that a particular passage marks a shift to a new source, there is no way to know if the material is being reproduced verbatim or significantly reworked (that is strictly true even when authors mark citations, too, if there is no other witness available). To counter these obstacles, practitioners of this form of *Quellenforschung* must make numerous further unprovable and unfalsifiable (and, in practice, often unlikely) assumptions about the working practices and goals of pre-modern authors generally and specifically²⁸.

Of course, one *possible* reason for ruptures in a text is that an author used different sources at different points. It is also not *prima facie* unlikely that the here-

26 Motzki 2002; Motzki 2003; Schoeler 2011. See also Sadeghi 2010a; Sadeghi 2001b. On the topic of *Quellenforschung* as a method used in regard to Arabic-Islamic historiography, see Günther 2005 (what is referred to in English as *Quellenforschung* is termed *äussere Quellenkritik* by Günther, reflecting more contemporary German usage).

27 The distinction is made well in Most 2016:934–936.

28 Most’s critique of Friedrich Nietzsche’s analysis of the sources of Diogenes Laertius shows up the main problems with this variety of *Quellenforschung*, particularly in terms of the implausible assumptions about the working practices of ancient authors (Most 2016:937–945). It is curious, however, that having recognized (934–6) that *Quellenforschung* consists of two main methods, he then criticizes the whole enterprise (953–954) based on what is obviously an example of only one of them, and clearly the weaker of the two.

siographies discussed in this study were composed in reliance on multiple sources. In some cases, this can even be a more convincing hypothesis than others. But it remains a hypothesis. It should not be made to bear too much weight. Knowing that an author *might* have shifted sources at a certain point can sometimes be relevant to the interpretation of a text. If, for example, otherwise-difficult-to-account-for inconsistencies are accompanied by terminological and conceptual changes, it is important to recognise the possibility. But attempts to *reconstruct* earlier sources or to claim that we have earlier sources preserved intact in extant texts based on these methods are necessarily unverifiable. In this study, we will sometimes draw attention to various kinds of ruptures in certain works that *might* have something to do with their reliance on different sources, but this is not the main approach.

The second method that goes by the name of *Quellenforschung* is ‘comparative *Quellenforschung*’. This is the kind employed, for example, by Motzki and Schoeler²⁹. Here, the method is to identify parallel passages in two or more different texts³⁰. The presence of significant parallel material between any two extant texts (A and B) suggests two basic options:

1. One text is ultimately the source of the other for that material, i.e., possibly via intermediaries, A used B, or B used A.
2. Both texts are reliant on an ultimate common source or sources for that material, i.e., possibly via intermediaries, A and B both used some text C, and possibly also some texts D, E, F . . .etc.

As long as the parallel is sufficiently close, extensive and complex that it cannot realistically be accounted for by coincidence, this conclusion is valid. The two options, although not strictly mutually exclusive, are the only credible explanations of the evidence³¹. As a result, we are far from the chopping up of individual texts by identifying internal ruptures; there is an *external* criterion for the claim that the extant texts are ultimately using a particular source for the passage in question. That does not mean, however, that it is straightforward to do anything with this insight.

²⁹ Elsewhere, Hermann Diels’s reconstruction of various ancient doxographical works in his *Doxographi Graeci*, especially in its more recent overhaul by Mansfeld and Runia is still going strong, as, of course, is comparative *Quellenforschung* in respect of the gospels. See Mansfeld and Runia 1997:16–21.

³⁰ In the case of Motzki and Schoeler, the ‘different texts’ are, of course, the different individual *hadith*, not just the different ‘books’ (i.e., collections of *hadith*) in which they are preserved.

³¹ The likelihood that two identical sentences were composed independently is vanishingly small once the sentence length surpasses more than a few words and a language’s most common collocations and formulaic expressions are excluded. See Coulthard 2004.

To begin with, there is the issue of the identification of the parallel itself. Sustained word-for-word convergence constitutes a parallel independently of the opinions of the observer about it. But, in practice, we are usually faced with two or more passages that exhibit a lot of convergence but also some degree of divergence. That is not surprising. Authors make alterations both small and large to the material they take from their sources all the time. At some point, however, we pass from a level of similarity that can only reasonably be explained by some specific relationship of source-dependency to a level that might indicate something else. Where is that point? Notably, all the texts studied here deal with the same subject matter (Shīī factions and doctrines) in the same language (Arabic) and come from the same time and place, broadly speaking. That raises the chances that similarity can arise by ‘coincidence’ or, rather, because their ‘common source’ is sometimes just a shared discourse with an established vocabulary for the discussion of these topics. We are looking for something beyond this³².

Even as we move away from sustained word-for-word identity, establishing the level of similarity between two passages of text is not strictly a subjective matter, but nor is it simple. An algorithm can find similar passages of text. But a sophisticated algorithm must pay attention to numerous vectors of similarity and the relationship between them. Two passages might communicate the same basic information and contain numerous, highly convergent phrases, but one is half the length of the other. Still, if nearly every phrasal element in the shorter passage is present in the longer passage, and these elements are themselves sufficiently complex, the degree of similarity remains very high. Alternatively, two passages might share only the occasional phrasal element in strict, verbatim parallel, but consistently display a high convergence in the information they convey and in the overall structure and arrangement over a relatively large amount of text. That, too, can be considered a high degree of similarity. The decision over precisely what level of similarity across what vectors should carry what weight in determining that an instance of a parallel cannot reasonably be explained by coincidence is not wholly arbitrary, but it is open to discussion³³.

In practice, however, that is a discussion for the marginal cases. The appropriate methodological response is to stick as far away as possible from what might plausibly be considered marginal. Still, one cannot simply assert parallels. It is important to describe and, to some extent, to demonstrate what sort of parallel we are talking

³² There is a more specific version of the ‘common discourse’ issue. A parallel can result, for example, because the terminology and phraseology of a well-known *ḥadīth* or a Qur’ānic verse might independently inspire two authors to produce passages with striking similarities even if they are not citing verbatim. There is still a common source in this case, of course, but not the kind we are looking for here.

³³ See Coulthard 2004.

about in each case. In general, this study adopts a conservative attitude. Only sustained convergence in wording or very close paraphrase (especially when it takes place within convergent larger structures), or else complex structural convergence alone (e.g., two lists of factions that provide the same factions in the same order, even if one has long descriptions of each and the other is just a simple list) qualifies. Even then, I have tried to take pains to specify how close a parallel is and to flag up cases that are open to doubt. As a result, many more examples are cited in full than some readers will consider necessary. It is also vital to bear in mind that the method is positivistic: parallels provide evidence of a relationship of source-dependency, but the absence of parallels does not provide evidence to the contrary. It is possible for two authors to have relied on the same source but for this not to have resulted in a sufficiently high degree of similarity that this is indicated by parallels.

Identifying parallels is one thing; interpreting them is another. To begin with, there are, of course, all the standard limitations of such comparative methods. If you have identical passages in two texts and no further information, it is impossible in principle to know whether one is ultimately the source of the other or both ultimately have a common source. We also know nothing about the possible intermediaries involved. Usually, there are at least some variations between the passages, but this does not help much: one author could have introduced the variations while working from the other text; one author could have introduced the variations while working from a common source, whilst the other excerpted from the common source without changes; both authors could have introduced variations whilst working from a common source. Sometimes, it might be possible to establish a likely direction of derivation, in the sense that the material in one text is more likely to have been derived from something more like the material in the other. Even if this can be done, it still leaves two options: one text is ultimately the source of the other, or one text has preserved the common source more closely than the other. But, although there are some cases where such a direction of derivation can be established with reasonable confidence, the attempt more often relies on unverifiable assumptions, such as that a simple version is more likely to have been derived from a complex version, or a version that makes less sense is more likely to have been derived from one that makes more sense etc. Usually, the opposite is equally likely.

To make any meaningful progress, we require more than this. Ideally, we want parallels in more than two texts, allowing us to triangulate. Comparison of the various convergences and divergences across three or more texts can, for example, show that the three share a common source at some point in the history of the common material, but cannot rely on each other. Sometimes, it is possible to group parallels into ‘families’ based on common variants. That can potentially reveal something about the relationships of source-dependency in terms of intermediaries as well as ultimate common sources. It can also sometimes permit us, in a

limited sense, to ‘reconstruct’ earlier versions of the material than those preserved in the individual texts.

As well as more than two witnesses, we also want at least some information about the date when the extant works were composed (which rules out some possible relationships of dependency), and some information about the sources of the parallel passages (for example, citation-marking). Thankfully, we often have all of this in the third- and early fourth century heresiographical tradition. Although the dating of texts and the interpretation of citation-marking are themselves delicate undertakings, meaningful progress is often possible. Sometimes, we are even in possession of enough evidence to establish some of the content of lost works with confidence. But there are still many cases where the precise relationship between texts in terms of specific source-dependency is underdetermined. In general, the further back you go, the more underdetermination you encounter.

Once we move to using the methods of comparative *Quellenforschung* to partially reconstruct the contents of lost sources, they become subject to some of the same flaws as their philological cousin, namely ‘Lachmannian’ manuscript stemmatology. To begin with, there is the issue of what is unfortunately labelled ‘contamination’ but could more neutrally be referred to as ‘interference’. If we find parallel between texts A and B, and we have good reason to think that is because they both rely on source Q, we can reconstruct elements of Q wherever A and B converge significantly. However, if we think A used B, and B in turn used Q, we cannot reconstruct Q; all we have is B’s version of material from Q, and A’s version of material from B. The problem is that these possibilities are not mutually exclusive. It is possible that A and B indeed both used Q, but that A also used B. In that case, we cannot know where agreement between A and B represents Q, where it represents B’s version of Q, or even just B. That is ‘interference’, i.e., where separate lines of transmission from a source come together. To use the method of comparative *Quellenforschung* to establish the content of earlier sources in this way, we must be sure that A and B are *independent* witnesses to Q. As the number of stages of transmission (‘intermediaries’) between the source and the extant witnesses multiplies and the relationships become potentially more complex, the likelihood that interference occurs somewhere increases.

The problem for manuscript stemmatology was that editors simply assumed that the working practices of pre-modern copyists meant that interference did not regularly occur. Subsequent research showed that it must have been much more common in some places and at some times, because copyists consulted multiple manuscripts³⁴. Interference is certainly an issue also in comparative *Quellen-*

³⁴ See Palumbo 2020:106–107.

forschung. Especially when trying to use parallels in some later works, we know it is a distinct possibility. Baghdādī, for example, cites material from Balkhī's *Maqālāt*, but he also used Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*³⁵. Any parallels between Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and Baghdādī's Balkhī-citations must be interpreted with this in mind, for there is always the possibility that Baghdādī's apparent Balkhī-citations have been influenced by Ash'arī's versions of the same passages³⁶. For other texts and earlier periods, we will see that the risk of interference is smaller, but we must continually be sensitive to it.

A much more serious problem for comparative *Quellenforschung* in practice, as for manuscript stemmatology, is the underlying assumption that there was ever a single version of the 'original' source/text that could possibly be reconstructed by a comparative method³⁷. The possibility that there were different versions of the original source has numerous potential implications. For example, we might assume that if we can divide our extant witnesses to an earlier common source, Q, into two families of variants, then there were ultimately two intermediaries. But it might mean, rather, that there were just two versions of Q in circulation. In a pre-modern manuscript culture, especially one that exhibited such a complex relationship between the oral dissemination of material and its written form as did Islamic scholarship of the second and third centuries, our default assumption should be that there was always more than one version of a text with the same 'title' by the same author in circulation³⁸.

Still, although this must continually be borne in mind, it is not devastating in this context³⁹. The reason is that we are not really interested here in reconstructing the specific wording of earlier sources. The point of the whole exercise is, rather, to establish the building blocks of the later tradition by identifying where earlier sources are in use, and then examine how they have been reused in the various extant texts. For this, we want to know what sources were used, who wrote them, and, roughly, how they depicted the Shī'a. We will often encounter cases where there may have been, or even certainly were, several versions of a source in circulation, but the parallels are, in practice, so close that these versions themselves cannot have been different enough from one another, at least in their material on the Shī'a, that it makes much difference to the current project.

35 On Baghdādī's sources, see van Ess 2011:691–700.

36 *Ibid.*

37 See, e.g., Howe, Connolly and Windram 2012; Palumbo 2020:97–105.

38 On orality, textuality, and multiple versions of texts in Arabic-Islamic literature of the second and third centuries, see Landau-Tasserion 2004; Günther 2005; Schoeler 2006; Schoeler 2009.

39 Indeed, it has not actually proved devastating for manuscript stemmatology, although for different reasons. See Howe, Connolly and Windram 2012; Trovato 2020.

5 State of the Field

Watt, of course, is not the only person ever to have written about heresiographies. The dominant trend in the relatively small amount of twentieth-century scholarship that dealt specifically with the heresiographical tradition was focussed, rather, on the attempt to establish the identity of the earlier sources upon which the extant works are based. The first serious moves in this direction were made by Wilferd Madelung in a ground-breaking 1967 article, where he argued, most importantly, that a late third-century Imāmī heresiography, Ḥasan b. Mūsā al-Nawbakhtī's (d. after 300/912) *Firaq al-Shī'a*, reproduced material from the second-century Imāmī theologian Hishām b. al-Ḥakam (d.179/795) basically intact⁴⁰. He was later joined in this endeavour by Tamima Bayhom-Daou, who again worked on the reports on the Shī'a, and Keith Lewinstein, who concentrated on the Khawārij.

This stream of scholarship provided a set of mutually engaging, although partly incompatible claims about the early sources from which the later heresiographical tradition was ultimately derived. Madelung's original study focussed quite naturally on the basic question of where the material comes from in terms of texts and individuals, rather than on the character and perspective of the various bodies of material thus identified or on the question of what the authors of the extant works have done with that material and why. Bayhom-Daou, however, used a modified version of Madelung's results to a particular end: to uncover doctrinal changes amongst the Imāmiyya over the period between the composition of Nawbakhtī's source and Nawbakhtī's own work⁴¹. As a result, she *was* interested in the perspective of the early material and the way it is transformed in later texts that transmit it, but she focused primarily on the information relevant to specific doctrines and concepts (especially the doctrine of the Imām's knowledge, and the concept of *ghuluww*) and concentrated heavily on the *Firaq* and its likely source(s), rather than surveying the tradition on the Shī'a as a whole.

This study seeks to build on the efforts of Madelung and Bayhom-Daou, but, in terms of aim, it is the work of Keith Lewinstein that acts as its main inspiration. Lewinstein did not just seek to uncover the identity of the lost, earlier heresiographical sources on the Khawārij, he also analysed the character and perspective of the material derived from them and tried to show *how* the later tradition was knitted together from its various components to form the depictions of the Khawārij we see in the extant texts⁴². Lewinstein studied the Iraqi stream of the tradition through

⁴⁰ On Hishām, see p. 227. On Madelung's thesis, p. 257–271.

⁴¹ Bayhom-Daou 1996; Bayhom-Daou 2003a; Bayhom-Daou 2003b.

⁴² Lewinstein 1989; Lewinstein 1991; Lewinstein 1992; Lewinstein 1994.

Shahrestānī's *Mīlāl* and beyond, and he put together a substantial investigation of later Ḥanafī-Māturīdī heresiography. The focus in this study is more restricted. Nevertheless, Lewinstein's attempt to identify and analyse the structure and perspective of the component parts of the tradition, as well as to enquire into how those component parts are put to use in the extant texts, often provides the model for what has been attempted here.

Finally, it must be acknowledged that in 2011 the study of Islamic heresiography went from being a field where nearly everything remained to be done, because only a handful of studies had ever been written on the subject, to one in which it could reasonably be assumed that all remaining tasks were to be characterized as re-organizing the footnotes to Josef van Ess's monumental *Der Eine und das Andere: Beobachtungen an islamischen häresiographischen Texten*. In this scholarly *tour de force*, van Ess, over the course of two volumes and some 1500 pages, surveys the heresiographical tradition from the earliest witnessed examples through to works by authors who died in the early twentieth century. In the process, he addresses numerous issues that will concern us here. Indeed, there is no way that this book could have been written without *Der Eine*, as is clear from a brief glance through the footnotes to almost any page.

If this study adds anything, it is because of its much narrower focus. Van Ess proceeds mostly on an author-by-author, text-by-text basis and he has a lot of ground to cover. He provides biographical information on each author, discusses the importance of each heresiography in terms of its reception-history, and assesses its usefulness as a source. He usually looks in detail at the provenance of the material and gives wide-ranging overviews of the contents of each work, contextualizing it in the author's immediate intellectual-historical *milieu*. Due to the breadth of focus, however, the character of the heresiographers' information on the historical factions of the Shī'a specifically is not often a major theme. For example, although Ash'arī's presentation of Shī'ī *kalām* receives brief treatment, almost nothing is said about his presentation of Shī'ī factions. The author-by-author approach allows little room to compare the various presentations of the Shī'a with one another in detail. Here, we will focus more closely on these aspects.

Moreover, before van Ess wrote *Der Eine*, the extent to which the various claims for the transmission of the early material on the Shī'a made by scholars such as Madelung, Bayhom-Daou and Lewinstein are incompatible with one another had become quite unclear. This is partly because they depended upon different assumptions, but mostly because whilst new sources became available over the course of the twentieth century, earlier claims were not systematically reassessed in the light of the new evidence, leading to several contradictions and/or ambiguities about how the sources relate to one another. Van Ess engages thoroughly with the whole debate, but, again, largely because of the author-by-author

approach, which makes it difficult to survey all the relevant material at once, he ends up maintaining certain hypotheses that the body of evidence taken as a whole simply cannot support. Here, it will be possible to re-consider the material and reach different conclusions.

6 Terminology and Categories

6.1 Heresiography and Doxography, *firaq*-Books and *maqālāt*-Books

Van Ess uses the term '*Häresiographie*' with some hesitation. As he says, it has become well established in the discipline and he wants to avoid bolstering the impression that scholars in the humanities just 'make words' for the sake of it by constantly quibbling over terms⁴³. 'Heresiography' is used in this study too, notably in the title, and for much the same reason: a book's title should give its most likely readers some idea of the subject-matter. Often, however, individual works will be referred to as 'doxographies', and passages of text sometimes as 'doxographical'. Category-terms derived from Arabic, such as *maqālāt*-books and *firaq*-books also appear. Despite the desire to follow van Ess and avoid superficial concerns about labels, this all deserves a short note by way of explanation.

A potential problem with 'heresiography' is the implied notion of 'heresy', a term developed and used in Christian contexts to denote several interrelated concepts. There is something of a debate about its use in Islamic Studies. One aspect concerns whether there is any analytical concept labelled 'heresy' that is useful in the (etic) study of Islam generally; another, related to it, is about whether heresy is a suitable translation of any (emic) term used historically by Muslim scholars in their various languages⁴⁴. Not much is to be gained by becoming embroiled in these debates here. The sense in which 'heresy' is invoked in 'heresiography' is certainly conceptually too vague and analytically too flat for the serious study of the phenomena the heresiographers describe, but it is also *relatively* tame. The point is just that an Islamic heresiography is a text that predominantly describes Islamic groups whose beliefs are considered false in some way by its Muslim author. The beliefs are not always considered false in the same way, and

⁴³ Van Ess 2011:vii-viii. The term has some history but apparently not quite as long as is sometimes claimed. It was certainly used already in Ritter 1929. Ritter mentions and builds on a shorter survey of similar works provided in Goldziher 1911:349–352, yet Goldziher himself had not used any variant of the term 'heresiography' at that point.

⁴⁴ See Knysh 1993; Stewart 1998:45–48; Calder 2000; Jackson 2002:29–32; Wilson 2007; Langer and Simon 2008; El Shamsy 2008; Klemm 2011.

the various authors of heresiographies would have disagreed over which terms in Arabic express the different degrees of falseness, and over what the real-world consequences of holding such false beliefs should be. They would also sometimes have used one and the same term in different ways, partly accounting for the disagreements. Still, as long as one does not assume that some highly specific concept of heresy from Christian history is invoked, the vagueness of the label ‘heresiography’ need not be an obstacle to a more nuanced understanding of the concepts employed by the individual authors.

There is another, potentially more serious question: regardless of the underlying concept of ‘heresy’, is ‘heresiography’ a coherent category of literary analysis? Watt seems to have understood it to be a radial category. At its core are ‘mature’ works like Shahrastānī’s *Milal* and Baghdādī’s *Farq*, which are taken to be prototypical of the ‘genre’. Other texts are then labelled heresiographies because they are similar, in different ways and to different extents, to the prototypes⁴⁵. One issue here is that even the core works differ considerably in form, scope and apparent intent from one another. Indeed, the ways they are concerned with the thin concept of ‘heresy’ just defined differ substantially. Shahrastānī almost exclusively surveys confessional differences within Islam and beyond in apparently neutral terms. Many of the beliefs he describes must have been false in his view, and, naturally, he observes things from a certain perspective, but the categorising of false beliefs as to their degree of falseness is not an explicit feature of his text⁴⁶. For Baghdādī, on the other hand, it is the whole point: he wants to draw lines not only between belief and unbelief, but also between correct belief and the various kinds of ‘doctrinal innovation’ (*bid’a*) present amongst the seventy-two errant factions of the Muslim Community [*Farq*.4:5–9]⁴⁷. Once you start to build a radial category around these prototypes, a large number of quite heterogeneous works can quickly fall within it. Some do so for ‘genetic’ reasons, i.e., because they share textual material, even if they do something quite different with it; some simply because they describe the doctrine of at least one faction of Islam, even if only for the purpose of constructing a refutation. Thus, we end up with a situation where both Ibn Ḥanbal’s (d.241/855) *Radd ‘alā l-jahmiyya wa-l-zanādiqa* and several works of Jāḥiẓ (d.255/868) have also

45 Another influential example of category being applied with a radial structure is the survey of ‘Abbāsīd era heresiography in Laoust 1967. See below, n.48.

46 See van Ess 2011:890–891.

47 For him, this all has specific legal consequences: an innovator is still a member of the *umma* in some respects, e.g., he can pray in the mosque and should receive his share of the spoils of war, but not in others, e.g., a true (Sunni, Ash’arī) Muslim shouldn’t, for example, eat the meat of animals slaughtered by such a person, or permit him to marry a believing woman (*Farq*.14:3–11). See van Ess 2011:681–683.

been labelled heresiographies, although heresiography is not their dominant mode and they have very little in common formally with works like the *Milal* and the *Farq*⁴⁸. This quickly becomes too unwieldy.

Despite the problems, the term ‘heresiography’ will be used here, but not to refer to a category with this kind of radial structure. Rather, it denotes, in the general and customary sense, texts that focus primarily on cataloguing numerous factions and/or beliefs apparently deemed false by the author. But we also need more precise concepts and terminology. A more helpful approach has been advanced by Claude Gilliot, who observed that the texts we label heresiographies belong to different genres of writing. Sticking more closely to the relevant Arabic terms, Gilliot categorized heresiographies into three groups: *firaq*-books, *maqālāt*-books and *milal wa-niḥal*-books⁴⁹. Of course, that is not the only possible classification⁵⁰. Nevertheless, Gilliot’s division is useful insofar as it takes account of the fact that heresiographies consist in various text-types with distinct formal characteristics.

In this study, there will be no need to deal with the *milal-wa-niḥal*-category, as these works emerged later, but the distinction between *firaq*-books and *maqālāt*-books is helpful and will be employed throughout. Gilliot did not invent it as such; it is partly rooted in actors’ categories. The concept of the *maqālāt*-book (lit. ‘book of doctrines’) has a long history. Mas‘ūdī (d.345/956) recognises such works as belonging to a distinct category when he writes of ‘those theologians of Islam, both the authors of *maqālāt*-books (*aṣḥāb al-kutub fi l-māqālāt*) and those who direct refutations against this group. . .’ [*Tanbih*.93:14–15]. Later, he even introduces a list of the authors of such works in similar terms: ‘The theologians of the factions of Islam who have proceeded us, from the Mu‘tazila, the Shī‘a, the Murji‘a, the Khawārij and the Nābita, have composed *maqālāt*-books (*kutub^{an} fi l-maqālāt*). . . such as. . .’

48 Henri Laoust’s 1967 survey of ‘Abbāsīd-era heresiography includes Ibn Ḥanbal’s *Radd ‘alā l-jahmiyya wa-l-zanādiqa*, a refutation of a handful of theological positions associated with the supposed followers of Jahm b. Ṣāfwān, simply because of the relatively large amount of material on Jahm’s doctrines that it contains. He does the same with certain works of Jāhīz for similar reasons (Laoust 1967:161). He was later followed in this by Charles Pellat, who devoted an entire article to the topic of ‘al-Ġāhīz hérésiographe’ (Pellat 1978). Both authors are at pains to point out that such texts do not belong to the heresiographical tradition ‘proper’, but nonetheless wish to include them as closely related phenomena – they too understand heresiography as a radial category with Shahrastānī’s *Milal* at its core.

49 Gilliot 2002:3–4.

50 Van Ess never divides up the tradition systematically by formal characteristics in the same way, although he does treat *Maqālāt*-books as a separate category (2011:1201–1206). Where he works with literary categories otherwise, he focuses on text-types that contain heresiographical material but do not belong to the ‘core’ tradition, such as creeds (*aqā‘id*), *uṣūl al-dīn*-works (i.e., theological summae), and *ṭabaqāt*-works, amongst others (*Ibid.*:1207–1242).

[395:13–14]. Ash‘arī already understood his own *maqālāt*-book as part of a tradition when he criticised anonymous predecessors who had done a bad job of ‘presenting doctrinal statements’ (*dhikr al-maqālāt*) and ‘composing books on confessional groups and religious communities’ (*yusannifūna fī l-niḥal wa-l-dīyānāt*) [*MaqA.*2:4–5]. His aim was to write a better example of such a book [2:9–12]. Moreover, the titles of *maqālāt*-books from the second half of the third/ninth century strongly hint at an awareness that they belong to an established tradition. Abū Īsā l-Warrāq (d. after 250/864) refers to his own, lost work as ‘our book in which we describe the doctrinal statements of the people and their disagreements (*maqālāt al-nās wa-khtilāfahum*)’ [*Radd.*90:1–2]. The wording of this description-of-contents-cum-title is clearly reflected in the title of Ash‘arī’s later *Kitāb maqālāt al-islāmiyyīn wa-khtilāf al-muṣallīn* (*‘The doctrinal statements of those who profess Islam and the disagreements of those who perform the prayers’*). Between the two, Abū l-Qāsim al-Balkhī (d.319/931) called his work *Kitāb maqālāt firaq ahl al-qibla* (*‘The doctrinal statements of the factions of the people [who pray in the direction] of the qibla’*). Many other examples seem to have circulated simply as *Kitāb al-maqālāt*⁵¹. These are just titles; we often do not know what the contents would have looked like. Nevertheless, the consistency here suggests that ‘*maqālāt*-book’ was a recognizable concept already in this period⁵².

The extant *maqālāt*-books are quite different in formal terms from works like Shahrastānī’s *Milal* or Baghdādī’s *Farq*. They are not broad, taxonomical surveys of differences between discrete factions. Moreover, all known examples are much earlier. Indeed, the latest extant example is Ash‘arī’s and there do not seem to have been many more after him⁵³. Although, as we will see, *maqālāt*-books did come to incorporate lists of factions, especially of the Shī‘a and the Khawārij, they were overwhelmingly concerned, and perhaps were originally only concerned, with cataloguing disputed questions in *kalām* and listing the diverse opinions that existed on those individual questions, recording them in highly technical language. As van Ess argues, their main function was probably to survey *kalām* discourse in a way that was useful for practitioners, either as reference works or pedagogical tools⁵⁴. As such, he observes, they are not really heresiography at all, but doxography⁵⁵. Indeed, in formal terms, *maqālāt*-books closely resemble late antique philosophi-

51 See van Ess 2011:1205.

52 The reference to the Muslim Community as consisting of all those who perform the ritual prayer appears earlier, for example in ps-Nāshī’s *Uṣūl al-niḥal*, where the term is ‘the people of the prayer’ (*ahl al-ṣalāt*) (*Niḥ.*9:6).

53 Van Ess 2011:1201.

54 *Ibid.*:1201–1202.

55 *Ibid.*:1202.

cal doxographies, such as the *Placita philosophorum* of ps.-Plutarch⁵⁶. They would probably be better referred to in English as ‘Islamic theological doxographies’⁵⁷.

There is less evidence that ‘*firaq*-book’ was a category-term already in the period we are interested in. Certainly, it was used in Arabic before it made its way into European languages, but much later. Muḥammad Jawād Mashkūr preceded his 1963 edition of Sa’d b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Qummī’s (d.300/912) *Kitāb al-maqālāt wa-l-firaq* with a discussion of ‘the books composed concerning the factions of the Shī’a’ (*al-kutub al-latī ullifat fī firaq al-Shī’a*)⁵⁸. He, in turn, could refer back to a similar list compiled by ‘Abbās Iqbāl (in Persian) in 1941⁵⁹. These lists contain several, mostly lost works bearing the title *Firaq al-Shī’a* that had been recorded already by Najāshī (d.450/1058). That hints at the possibility that their authors were working within a recognized tradition, but Najāshī does not group them together. Indeed, no author of the period refers to them as a group of works in a way that makes it clear that a specific genre of writing is intended.

The extant Shīī *firaq*-books, such as Nawbakhtī’s and Qummī’s, are primarily occupied with surveying the historical disputes amongst the Shī’a over the succession to the Imāmate and describing the factions that arose as a result. As such, they are not broad surveys of confessional differences on the model of Shahrastānī’s *Milal* either. Wider doctrinal concerns enter only, and in a relatively unsystematic way, in the case of groups that held beliefs deemed to be *ghuluww*, which we might translate in this circumstance as ‘transgressive Shī’ism’⁶⁰ and, to a far lesser extent, when the Zaydiyya are discussed. There is also an example of a Mu’tazilī *firaq*-book, ps.-Nāshī’s *Uṣūl al-niḥal*⁶¹, which resembles the Shīī tradition in many ways. It too is about the factions that arose in response to disputes over the Imāmate⁶². On the whole, *firaq*-books and *firaq*-material will be discussed using these terms.

6.2 ‘Major Divisions’ and Factions

The texts studied here do not have an entirely consistent nomenclature for the groups into which they divide the Islamic Community. Most commonly, at the top level of the taxonomy, the largest groupings, i.e., the Shī’a, the Khawārij, the Murji’a

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*1204.

⁵⁷ On *maqālāt*-books, see further, *Ibid.* 1202–1206.

⁵⁸ yā’bā’-yā’waw.

⁵⁹ Iqbāl 1311:140–141.

⁶⁰ See *EF*. ‘Ghulāt (Extremist Shī’is)’ [Anthony].

⁶¹ See p. 46–49.

⁶² See p. 583, 596.

and the Mu'tazila etc., are referred to as *aṣnāf* (lit. 'divisions', sg. *ṣinf*). Sometimes, however, *ṣinf* is also used for the next taxonomical layer, i.e., the numerous smaller groups into which the larger groupings break down, although the term *firqa* (lit. 'faction', pl. *firaq*) is more usual here. Less often, we find other terms, such as *ṭā'ifa* ('party'), *madhhab* ('school of thought') or *niḥal* ('allegiances', sg. *niḥla*), which sometimes approximate to *firqa* but sometimes seem to have different connotations. In the below discussions, I have tried to be sensitive to the terminological variety wherever possible, but sometimes it is necessary to stick to certain terms in English for clarity's sake. Therefore, in general, the large groupings, i.e., the Shī'a, the Khawārij, etc., are referred to as 'major divisions'. The Shī'a are often then split into the Imāmiyya/Rāfiḍa, the Zaydiyya and the Ghulāt. The Arabic word used here is, once again, usually *ṣinf*, but I render these as 'sub-divisions'. The smaller groups, most often '*firaq*' in the sources, I refer to throughout as 'factions'.

The particular faction-names and even sometimes the names of the major divisions vary from text to text. Many of them were originally intended to have negative connotations and many are used in this way in the sources. Despite this, I almost always follow the names used in the sources and provide clarification, rather than trying to impose consistent names or find more neutral terms. For example, where Ash'arī refers to the Imāmī Shī'a as 'the Rāfiḍa' ('the Rejecters'), I follow his usage, although elsewhere the same group is referred to by the more neutral 'Imāmiyya' ('Imāmists').

7 The Corpus

The list below covers the main heresiographical and doxographical works examined in this study in roughly reverse chronological order. More detailed descriptions of all these works are available in van Ess 2011. The goal here is mainly just to provide the necessary background information. The list includes both extant and lost works, but only those lost works from which marked citations concerning the Shī'a are or might be preserved appear here.

7.1 Abū I-Ḥasan al-Ash'arī (d.324/935), *Maqālāt al-islāmiyyīn wa-khtilāf al-muṣallīn*

Abū I-Ḥasan al-Ash'arī, one-time prominent Mu'tazilī theologian in Basra then supporter of the Traditionalists (*aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth*) and subsequently viewed as the eponymous founder of the Ash'arī theological school, was also the author of the most comprehensive *maqālāt*-book to have survived (apparently) intact and been

published in full: *Maqālāt al-islāmiyyīn wa-khtilāf al-muṣallīn*⁶³. The *terminus post quem* of the version of the *Maqālāt* that has come down to us is 291/904, established from the fact that the latest datable event mentioned is the death of the Qarmaṭī rebel known as *al-maqtūl ‘alā l-dakka* [*MaqA.85:12–13*]⁶⁴. As with all longer works of this period, it is not unlikely that the text was reworked over Ash‘arī’s lifetime and there may have been several versions in circulation, although the relatively late manuscript tradition preserves only one. There are also specific reasons to doubt that it was always envisioned as a single work. The most comprehensive statement of this view was provided in 1965 by Michel Allard, who proposed that the present text was brought together from three originally separate units:

1. [1:1–300:5] the *Maqālāt* proper;
2. [301:1–482:12] a book on the so-called ‘fine points’ of *kalām* (*daqīq al-kalām*);
3. [483:1–611:15] a book on the topic of God’s names and attributes (*al-asmā’ wa-l-ṣifāt*)⁶⁵.

Several different divisions of the work and orders of composition have been suggested subsequently, most notably by van Ess⁶⁶. In any case, we are concerned here primarily with Allard’s part one. In this part, Ash‘arī follows a plan that he announces near the beginning of the *Maqālāt* [*MaqA.5:4–6*]. There, he tells us that the Muslim community consists of ten major divisions (*aṣnāf*): (1.) the Shī‘a; (2.) the Khawārij; (3.) the Murjī‘a; (4.) the Mu‘tazila; (5.) the Jahmiyya; (6.) the Ḍirāriyya; (7.) the Ḥusayniyya, (8.) the Bakriyya; (9.) the ‘common people’ and the Traditionalists (*al-‘amma wa aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth*); and (10.) the Kullābiyya⁶⁷. This taxonomy is then used to organize the first part of the work into corresponding chapters treating each of these major divisions in turn. We are most interested, of course, in the Shī‘a-chapter [*MaqA.5:7–85:14*].

⁶³ A comprehensive overview of al-Ash‘arī’s biography can be found in *EF*^{sl}. “al-Ash‘arī” [Anvari]. The *Maqālāt* was edited in Istanbul by Helmut Ritter between 1929 and 1933 on the basis of five manuscripts from various locations, none of which can be dated to before the end of the sixth century AH. See Ritter’s introduction, *yā-tā’ – kaf-zā’* and *GAS.I:603*. There is also a 1950 edition by M.M. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd, which seems to reproduce Ritter’s edition but without the critical apparatus (See Allard 1965:58, n.4).

⁶⁴ The *terminus post quem* was first identified in Casanova 1912:416–417. On *al-maqtūl ‘alā l-dakka* and the events surrounding his death, see *Ṭab.III:2244–2246*; Mas‘ūdī, *Tanbūh*, 371–373; *Maqātil*.546.

⁶⁵ Allard 1965: 58–72.

⁶⁶ Van Ess 2011:460–461, 498–500. On the debate, see Weaver 2017.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*: 62–63.

7.2 Abū l-Qāsim al-Balkhī al-Ka'bī (d.319/931), *Maqālāt firaq ahl al-qibla*

NB. The main work for this study was undertaken before the publication of Hüseyin Hansu, Rājiḥ al-Kurdī and 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Sa'īd al-Kurdī's 2018 edition of Balkhī's Maqālāt. I therefore worked on the basis of citations from Balkhī's Maqālāt in the works of later authors. Subsequently, I did not have the chance to update the results based on the new evidence from the edition. The whole of the below discussion therefore proceeds on the basis that the edition of Balkhī's Maqālāt has not yet been published, and I do not refer to the new edition at any point in this study. Having now examined the material on the Shī'a in the 2018 edition, I am confident that it does not undermine any of the major conclusions reached here, although it does add important information. I intend to discuss that material in the context of the conclusions of this study in the near future.

The *maqālāt*-book composed around the turn of the fourth century that had the most widespread reception for some time was not Ash'arī's, but rather *Maqālāt firaq ahl al-qibla* of Abū l-Qāsim al-Balkhī, the most important figure of the Baghdad branch of the Mu'tazila of his day⁶⁸. As the scion of a prominent bureaucratic family and the employee of a series of powerful and wealthy men in the east, he also attracted far more worldly renown than the Basran renegade⁶⁹. So far, however, only one manuscript of the work has ever been found, in Yemen, and only one chapter, that on the Mu'tazila (*bāb dhikr al-Mu'tazila*), has been edited and published⁷⁰.

There is some uncertainty about its date of composition, which results, unusually, from several relevant statements having been preserved. According to Fu'ād Sayyid, the editor of the Mu'tazila-chapter, the first page of the manuscript bears the words, 'Balkhī began to compose/compile his *Maqālāt* in the year 290 or so' (*dhakara l-Balkhī annahu btada'a fī ta'līf maqālātihi sana nayyif wa-tis'īn wa-mi'atayn*)⁷¹. Hajjī Khalifa (d.1067/1657), however, writes in his entry on Balkhī's *Maqālāt* that 'He began to compose/compile it in the year 279' (*ibtada'a fī ta'līfihī fī sana tis'a wa-sab'īn wa-mi'atayn*)⁷². Lastly, according to Gerhard Böwering, the

68 On the book and its reception, see van Ess 2011:328–375.

69 For Balkhī's biography, see Omari 2016:8–15; van Ess 2011:328–338.

70 In Sayyid 1393/1974:63–119. It seems an edition of the whole text is being prepared by Rājiḥ al-Kurdī and Hüseyin Hansu, who also recently published, together with 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Sa'īd al-Kurdī, an edition of Balkhī's *Uyūn al-masā'il wa-jawābāt*, apparently from the same manuscript. Hansu and Muḥammad Kaskin also cite from an unpublished part of the manuscript in their recent edition of Dirār b. 'Amr's *Kitāb al-taḥrīsh* (see their introduction, 8–9).

71 *Ibid.*:55.

72 Hajjī Khalifa, *Kashf al-zunūn*, II:1782:10–11.

Jawāhir al-asrār of Shams al-Dīn al-Daylamī (d. second half of the sixth/twelfth century) records that Balkhī ‘began to compile’ the *Maqālāt* in 270⁷³. Van Ess interprets Daylamī’s figure as a mistake for 279, taking him thus to agree with Ḥajjī Khalifa, and understands 279 to refer to the date when Balkhī began the *Maqālāt*. The manuscript’s ‘290 or so’, he takes to mean the date when the final version was completed⁷⁴.

It is suspicious, however, that the wording is so close in the three statements: they all employ the formulation ‘began composing/compiling. . .’ (*ibtada’a fi ta’lif. . .*)⁷⁵. It thus seems more likely that these are really three versions of what was ultimately the same statement, which concerned when Balkhī began the process of *ta’lif* of the *Maqālāt* and may have been transmitted within the manuscript tradition, as we see in the Yemeni *unicum*. The date itself has been confused in at least two versions and we cannot be sure which of them, if any, represents the original most closely⁷⁶. We also do not know whether *ibtada’a fi ta’lifihī* refers to when he first began ‘bringing together’ material with the intention of composing the *Maqālāt* or rather when he set about ‘bringing together’ a final version for wider publication. If the former is intended, then the early date seems more likely; if the latter, then the later⁷⁷.

73 Böwering 1987:234. Van Ess (2011:332, n.32) also mentions that Fritz Meier (1989:134, n.50) cites from Ṣadr al-Dīn Maḥmūd-i Ushnūhī’s *Ghāyat al-imbān fi dirāyat al-makān* that Balkhī composed the *Maqālāt* in 279. Yet whilst Meier indeed notes that Ushnūhī uses Balkhī’s *Maqālāt* as a source, it is not clear that he is citing the date from the text. He may just be relating Ḥajjī Khalifa’s information: ‘Ušnuhī schliesst das aus seiner quelle, den *Maqālāt firaq ahl al-qibla* des mu’tazilitischen häresiografen Abū l-Qāsim ‘Abdallāh b. Aḥmad b. Maḥmūd al-Balhī al-Ka’bī (gest.319/931). Dieses 279/892 verfasste buch zeige, dass damals über den Ort Gottes keine meinungsverschiedenheit bestanden habe und nur die art und weise dieses ortes strittig gewesen sei’.

74 Van Ess 2011:332

75 I assume this is also what lies behind Böwering’s translation ‘began to compile’, as he does not give the Arabic.

76 As for the decade-figure, we are suffering from the standard confusion of unpointed *sab’in* and *tis’in*. There is no way to resolve it. It is highly plausible that *nayyif* could have been confused for unpointed *tis’* or *vice versa*, but the manuscript’s *nayyif* is *lectio difficilior* and should be favoured. The manuscript is also relatively early; it is dated to 9th Rabī’a al-awwal 408/5th August 1017 (Balkhī, *Uyūn al-masā’il*, editor’s introduction, 12). But a copying error could have been made by this point already, and we have no way to judge the age of Ḥajjī Khalifa’s source anyway. The most likely explanation of the plain 270, however, is that the *tis’/nayyif* element has been dropped in transmission, making this the least likely option for the original.

77 In a citation preserved by ‘Abd al-Jabbār (*Mugh.XX₂:176:14–17*), most likely from the *Maqālāt*, Balkhī states that the largest group of the Imāmiyya in his day followed the line of the Imāmate as far as the eleventh Imām, Ḥasan al-‘Askarī (d.260/874). He then finishes the description with the words ‘Hasan b. ‘Alī died in our time without a son, so confusion reigned amongst them’ (*māta Ḥasan b. ‘Alī fi zamāninā wa-lā walad la-hu fa-khtalaṭa ‘alayhim amruhum*). Such a statement, without further comment on the ensuing doctrinal developments around the issue of the succession to

Balkhī had studied with Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Khayyāt (d. ca. 300/913) in Baghdad and his doxographical material is drawn mostly from the Iraqī tradition, hence its inclusion here⁷⁸. Indeed, according to Sayyid, Balkhī states in the introduction that he depended throughout on information from Khayyāt, which he had received both orally and in writing, although he also used numerous other sources⁷⁹. We do not know exactly when Balkhī studied in Baghdad, but, as he was employed as a personal secretary by Muḥammad b. Zayd, the Zaydī *dā'ī* and ruler of Ṭabaristān and Rūyān who acceded to power in 270/884 and died in 287/900, and we know Muḥammad was not his first employer, it seems likely he had returned to the east by the late 270s⁸⁰. That does not help much with narrowing down the date of the *Maqālāt*'s composition, as Balkhī continued to make trips to Baghdad. He could thus have consulted with his former teacher at any time before 300, and they kept up a long, written correspondence in any case⁸¹. Nevertheless, it makes it quite likely that the *Maqālāt* was a work conceived and written in the east, although given his continuing strong ties to Baghdad, Balkhī may have envisaged a readership amongst his colleagues in Iraq, too.

In this study, we will only be able to approach Balkhī's material on the Shī'a indirectly, through citations in later sources. These sources will be referred to collectively as the **Balkhī-dependent corpus (BdC)**. Working with citations presents numerous problems and there is, as yet, no systematic study of citation-practice for any field or period of pre-modern Arabic scholarship by which we might orient ourselves. Above all, of course, we can never be completely sure how closely any

Ḥasan, is more likely to have been written before the 290s. But this is hardly decisive for the date of the final text, and it may even have been excerpted directly from an earlier source. After all, 'Abd al-Jabbār was prepared simply to copy it a hundred years later.

78 Omari 2016:12; van Ess 2011:332–333.

79 Sayyid 1393/1974:27. See also Omari 2016:10 and van Ess 2011:332–333.

80 On his employment history, see Omari 2016:9–10, although she seems to consider he would have studied in Baghdad only *after* his employment with Muhammad b. Zayd (*ibid.*:12). Balkhī may well have worked for Muḥammad before the latter succeeded his brother, Ḥasan b. Zayd, in 270, but I work on the assumption that he would have been sent for 'higher education' in the capital before he commenced independent employment. His whole family seems to have been of prestigious secretarial stock (*Ibid.*:8) and education would probably have been prioritised. Balkhī's father, Aḥmad b. Maḥmūd, had been a secretary to 'Abd Allāh b. Ṭāhīr (d.230/845). That and the fact of his employment by Muḥammad b. Zayd reveals that the date of birth given in Ibn Ḥajar's *Lisān al-mizān*, namely 273/886, cannot be anywhere near correct (*Ibid.*:10). In fact, 237/851 would be more plausible, certainly not much later. Khayyāt was probably actively teaching and old enough to be regarded as a serious authority already by the mid-250s; he is reported to have had meaningful interactions, although surely as a student, with Ja'far b. Mubashshir (d.234/849) (see *ET*². 'al-Khayyāt' [van Ess], citing *Ṭabaqāt*.76:4–9).

81 Omari 2016:10; van Ess 2011:332–333.

given text of the corpus reproduces Balkhī's material, even when we have explicit citation-marking and the parameters of the citation are clear (which is far from always the case). To some extent that can be controlled for by comparing across the BdC, but only insofar as we can establish that the texts are independent witnesses to Balkhī's *Maqālāt*.

A second problem is that most marked citations are introduced by a variation of the simple formula 'Abū l-Qāsim al-Balkhī related. . .' (*ḥakā Abū l-Qāsim al-Balkhī. . .*), i.e., the title of the specific work is not mentioned. That means we cannot be certain that the citation comes from the *Maqālāt*. Notably, even for doxographical material on the Mu'tazila, Balkhī is sometimes cited for passages that do not appear in the published chapter⁸². Based on the structure of some of the cited material, especially in the works of 'Abd al-Jabbār, Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī and Abū Bakr al-Nazwānī (on which, see below), it appears highly likely that Balkhī somewhere presented his material systematically, i.e., by grouping together the various opinions from across the Community on each specific *kalām* question, rather than organizing things into chapters on the major divisions, as he does in the published Mu'tazila-chapter⁸³. It is thus possible that the *Maqālāt* itself included a systematically rather than confessionally ordered section, as we see also in parts two and three of Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*. We also sometimes find citations concerning the Mu'tazila in which Balkhī's *Maqālāt* is named by title and which still do not feature in the published Mu'tazila-chapter⁸⁴. Circumstantial evidence also helps, e.g., where we know the *Maqālāt* is the source of some cited material in a given later witness, it is quite likely that other doxographical citations introduced 'Balkhī related. . .' also come from the *Maqālāt*. Nevertheless, we cannot completely rule

⁸² E.g., Shahrastānī cites Balkhī by name seven times for material on the Mu'tazila, but none of these passages appears in the published Mu'tazila-chapter: on Abū l-Hudhayl (*Mil.*36:14–16); on Nazzām (38:15–17); on Faḍl al-Ḥadathī (42:4–5); on Bishr b. al-Mu'tamir (45:5–10); on Mu'ammār (46:20–47:1); on Ja'far b. Ḥarb and Ja'far b. Mubashshir (49:4–8); and on Jāḥiẓ (52:16–19). See the discussions in Gimaret 1986:36–37 and van Ess 2011:373. For further examples from 'Abd al-Jabbār, see p. 35–37.

⁸³ See the discussion on p. 36–37, below.

⁸⁴ E.g., Baghdādī cites Balkhī's *Maqālāt* explicitly for material on Ja'far b. Ḥarb that does not feature in the published Mu'tazila-chapter (*Farq.*169:6–7), as well as giving several citations from Balkhī that do feature there: on the consensus positions of the Mu'tazila (*Farq.*115:9–12=*MaqB.*63:3–10, 64:7–8); on Mu'ammār (*Farq.*153:6–8, 16–17=*MaqB.*71:6–13); on Jāḥiẓ (*Farq.*175:13–17=*MaqB.*73:9–13) (see Gimaret 1986:37). Abū l-Mu'īn al-Nasafī also cites material on the Mu'tazila from the *Maqālāt* that does not appear in the published chapter: on 'Abbād b. Sulaymān (*Tabṣira.*552:2–3); on Bishr b. al-Mu'tamir (*Tabṣira.*724:8–11 (and probably 723:17–724:7)); on Ja'far b. Ḥarb (*Tabṣira.*724:16–20 (and probably 724:12–15)) (see van Ess 2011:372). The same probably goes for the material on Jāḥiẓ and Thumāma given by 'Abd al-Jabbār who likewise names the *Maqālāt* as the source (*Mugh.* IX:11:6–11) (see further p. 36).

out that we are sometimes dealing with material from some other work by Balkhī⁸⁵. That is not usually a problem in itself; any doxographical material on the Shī'a from Balkhī is of interest. However, when trying to establish specific lines of transmission, it sometimes matters whether material came from the *Maqālāt* or not. For the sake of accuracy, the looser formulation 'Balkhī's material on the Shī'a' will be used in place of statements about the content of the *Maqālāt* specifically wherever there is uncertainty.

Third, there is a more extreme version of the problem just discussed, which occurs when later texts apparently redeploy material that ultimately comes from Balkhī, but without marking the citations at all. In general, such material will only be taken into account in this study when it meets two criteria. First, the passage is clearly a close parallel to material we know to be cited from Balkhī. Second, we have some way of securely establishing that the author used Balkhī's *Maqālāt* as a source generally⁸⁶. However, with some texts, we must show extra care, as they clearly also take material either from Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* or Nawbakhtī's *Kitāb al-arā'*

85 The only other titles we know of that seem likely to have contained substantial amounts of doxographical material are his *Kitāb al-adilla fi usūl al-dīn* and *Uyūn al-masā'il wa-l-jawābāt* (See van Ess 2011:330–331). Mas'ūdi (d.345/956) mentions that *Uyūn al-masā'il* contained material on Indian religions (*Murūj*.I:156:9–157:3) and Ibn Nadīm (d.380/990) references material on the factions of the Khurramiyya (*Fih*.II:416:9–11). We even have a doxographical citation from the work preserved by Baghdādī (*Farq*.178:7–9). It concerns Shahhām, a Baṣran Mu'tazilī who taught Jub-bā'ī (see *TG*.IV:45–51). But other citations, e.g., in Nasafī's *Tabṣira* (826:18; 896:14–15) and Abū Rashīd al-Nisābūrī's (d. 460/1068) *Masā'il al-khilāf bayna l-baṣriyyin wa-l-baghdādiyyin* (see van Ess 2011:359–360), deal with Balkhī's own doctrines. It is reported by Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fih*.I:615:2) that Balkhī 'added' (*aḍāfa*) the *Uyūn al-masā'il* to the *Maqālāt*. A text of this name attributed to Balkhī has recently been edited by Rājīh 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Sa'īd Kurdī, Hüseyin Hansu and 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Rājīh 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Kurdī. They claim (editors' introduction, 12) that the text they have edited indeed follows after the *Maqālāt* in the Yemeni manuscript. However, the edited text contains no doxography. In particular, none of the material mentioned by Ibn al-Nadīm and Mas'ūdi or cited by Baghdādī appears. The work also does not match in scope what is reported by Ṣafādī (*Waḥī bi-l-wafayāt*, XVII:26:13), who says it consisted of nine volumes; the edited text is only 119 pages long. The editors are aware of the problems (introduction, 14) but claim that there are at least some agreements between the citations in Abū Rāshid al-Nisābūrī's *Masā'il al-khilāf* and the edited text. Even here, though, they note that Nisābūrī has many citations that do not appear. In short, several question marks hang over this text.

86 Thus, for example, although Nasafī often marks citations from Balkhī's *Maqālāt* explicitly (see n,XX, above), there is one case where he gives no indication of a source but Shahrastānī cites a parallel of this passage from Balkhī (*Tabṣira*.260:15–261:1, *Mil*.49:4–8). In the opposite direction, one of Nasafī's marked citations from the *Maqālāt* is paralleled in Shahrastānī's *Milāl* without mention of a source (*Tabṣira*.162:15–18 (also 161:4–5), *Mil*.63:7–10). Given the context of Balkhī-citations in the two works and the presence of the parallels, it is very likely that Balkhī's *Maqālāt* lies behind these instances also in the text where it is not cited.

wa-dīyānāt (see below). As it seems highly likely, and will be substantiated later, that Ash'arī, Balkhī and Nawbakhtī shared sources, where there is no specific citation-marking, we cannot be sure which text is being cited or whether material is being synthesized from more than one of them. Of course, even where there is citation-marking, synthesis cannot be completely ruled out. Texts which merely show some parallels without citation-marking to material on the Shī'a we know to have come from Balkhī, but for which it is not possible to establish securely that Balkhī's *Maqālāt*, rather than, e.g., Ash'arī's, is the source will be addressed only marginally and are not covered in the following list. That goes, above all, for Baghdādī's *Farq* and Shahrastānī's *Milal*.

7.2.1 The Balkhī-Dependent Corpus (BdC)

There are numerous texts that cite doxographical material from Balkhī and thus belong to the BdC, but only those with significant amounts of material on the Shī'a will be presented here⁸⁷. They have been divided into two groups. In 7.2.1.1 through 7.2.1.6, those texts that contain long citations from Balkhī, always concerning the historical factions of the Shī'a, will be presented in some detail. Many of them also contain shorter, isolated, doxographical citations, usually concerned with doctrines in *kalām*. In 7.2.1.7., those texts that contain only shorter, isolated citations, will be discussed more briefly.

7.2.1.1 Abū Tammām, (d. after the mid-4th/10th century?), *Bāb al-Shayṭān* from *Kitāb al-Shajara*

Probably the earliest substantial witnesses to the material on the Shī'a in Balkhī's *Maqālāt* is one of the most problematic from the point view of establishing where exactly and how closely Balkhī is cited. This is the *Kitāb al-shajara* of the Ismā'īlī *dā'ī* Abū Tammām, of whom we know little more than this *kunya* and the fact that he was active in Khurāsān the fourth/tenth century⁸⁸. Here, the text will be referred to as *Bāb al-shayṭān* (and 'the *Bāb*' for short) because the relevant section has been edited and translated independently under this title⁸⁹. In terms of a more specific dating, the best we can do is join van Ess in pointing to fact that it includes

⁸⁷ For a fuller list, see van Ess 2011:344–375.

⁸⁸ It seems he was a disciple of the famous *da'ī* Muḥammad al-Nasafī (d.332/943) (Madelung and Walker 1998:3–5; Walker 1994). One of his works, *Kitāb al-burhān*, was examined and rejected by al-Mu'izz (d.365/975), the Fātimid Imām-Caliph who came to the throne in 341/953 (Walker 1994:349–351). On the possibilities for a more precise identification, see Walker 1994:351 and van Ess 2011:550–551.

⁸⁹ In Madelung and Walker 1998.

a description of the Ash‘arites separate from the Kullābiyya [*Bāb*.53:11–54:7]. That probably puts it around the middle of the fourth century⁹⁰.

We know Balkhī’s *Maqālāt* was ultimately one of Abu Tammām’s principal sources because the wording of the reports in the *Bāb*’s section on the Mu‘tazila agrees so closely with the published Mu‘tazila-chapter from Balkhī’s *Maqālāt*. The editors conclude that Abū Tammām ‘barely deviates at all’⁹¹. Balkhī relied heavily in the Mu‘tazila-chapter on material he received directly from his teacher, Khayyāt, sometimes in private correspondence. It is thus very unlikely that Abū Tammām could simply have had an earlier source in common with Balkhī; he was excerpting from Balkhī’s *Maqālāt* itself. The *Bāb* also has many close parallels to Balkhī-citations in Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī’s *Ḥūr al-‘īn* (see below) concerning the Khawārij, and to Balkhī-citations in both the *Ḥūr* and ‘Abd al-Jabbār’s *Mughnī* (see below) concerning the Shī‘a⁹².

This means that that the *Bāb* has the potential to provide us with good evidence of the contents of Balkhī’s material on the Shī‘a. There are, however, two main difficulties. The first is that Abū Tammām never marks citations, so it is impossible to be sure where he is relying on Balkhī’s material unless we have parallels elsewhere in the BdC. The second is that it is obvious from a comparison of the *Bāb* with Balkhī’s Mu‘tazila-chapter, as well as with the material in the *Ḥūr* and the *Mughnī*, that Abū Tammām (or an intermediary) has been selective in what has been taken and, more importantly, has re-organised the material to fit within a highly artificial framework alien to Balkhī’s *Maqālāt*. This framework is constructed in conformity with the *ḥadīth* of the seventy-two factions, a version of which Abū Tammām cites at the beginning of the *Bāb* [7:21–8:3], and has clearly been superimposed, sometimes awkwardly, onto the pre-existing material⁹³. This means that, although

⁹⁰ Van Ess 2011:515. However, see n.97, below.

⁹¹ Madelung and Walker 1998:29, n.46.

⁹² *Ibid.*:10–11. In the footnotes to Arabic edition, Madelung and Walker provide citations of parallel passages from the Balkhī’s *Maqālāt* and *Ḥūr al-‘īn*, well as Ash‘arī’s *Maqālāt*. On Abū Tammām’s use of Balkhī’s *Maqālāt*, see also the discussion in van Ess 2011: 525–548.

⁹³ The details of this framework are discussed in Walker 1996:164–165, Madelung and Walker 1998:10 and van Ess 2011:516–520. As far as the Shī‘a are concerned, it is Abū Tammām’s division of the seventy-two into three groups of twenty-four that leads to the clearest distortions. The last of three divisions is supposedly devoted to ‘Those who say that the Imām after the Prophet was ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib’, i.e., the Shī‘a. However, two Shī‘ī Ghulāt factions, namely the Bayāniyya and the Mughīriyya, which, everywhere else in the Balkhī-dependent corpus, appear as factions of the Imāmiyya, are split off and placed in the second subdivision, which deals with ‘Those who profess that the legal ordinances (*al-sharā‘ī*) are not part of the definition of belief’ (*Bāb*.67:9–71:12). Three factions that followed Imāmī *mutakallimūn*, namely the Hishāmiyya (the followers of Hishām b. al-Hakam) (56:14–60:11), the Jawālīqiyya (the followers of Hishām al-Jawālīqī) (60:15–61:13), and the Zurāriyya (the followers of Zurāra b.

Abū Tammām often (but not always) sticks quite closely to the wording of Balkhī's reports on individual factions, the overall structure does not correspond.

Abū Tammām also lists several factions that appear nowhere else in the BdC, or else that bear different names⁹⁴. These factions and names do appear, however, in lists of seventy-two factions in two other eastern works from the following century and a half, namely the *Mafātīḥ al-'ulūm* of Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Khwārizmī, composed not long after 367/977, and the (Persian) *Bayān al-adyān* of Abū l-Ma'ālī, written in 485/1092⁹⁵. In fact, the three lists are extremely close also in many aspects of their configuration, although Khwārizmī and Abū l-Ma'ālī retain only the skeleton; what content there is in their faction-descriptions has been highly summarized. The relationship between the three texts has been discussed extensively by van Ess, who concluded that there is some common intermediary between Balkhī's *Maqālāt* and all three⁹⁶. He suggests the *Aqsām al-'ulūm* of Abū Zayd al-Balkhī (d.322/934)⁹⁷. The question need not concern us

Ayan) (72:3–74:11), also appear in the second division, not the third. There is a systematic justification for this: Abū Tammām places the whole '*madhhab*' of the Mushabbiha (i.e., those who profess the doctrine of *tashbīh*, the 'likening' or 'assimilating' of God to his creation) within this second division and all these factions can be considered to profess *tashbīh*. The point, however, is that this was not at all how Balkhī had ordered things (see p. 220); Abū Tammām cannot apply his confessional and systematic categories in a consistent fashion because they are incongruent with the underlying material. For examples of how Abū Tammām (or an intermediary) has reorganised Balkhī's material on the Mu'tazila, see Madelung and Walker 1998:11 and van Ess 2011:526.

94 To give just the examples for the Shī'a, we find the Zaydī factions of the Dukayniyya (94:15–95:4), the Khashabiyya (95:8–20) and the Khalafiyya (95:24–97:15) that appear nowhere else in the BdC. The Kaysāni faction of the Ishāqiyya (99:15–100:15) appears elsewhere (*Mugh.XX₂*:178:2–5, *Ḥūr*:214:1–5), but not with this name (Abū Tammām also includes material here that no one else has on later doctrinal developments amongst the group, apparently based partly on having encountered members of it himself). The faction of the 'Abbāsīd Shī'a here called the Khallāliyya (103:7–104:11) appears nowhere else with this name, although some of the material is used elsewhere on the 'Abbāsīd Shī'a generally (*Mugh.XX₂*:177:11–13, *Ḥūr*.214:6–9). The factions of the Ghulāt called the Tayyāriyya (111:8–111:19) and the Ghamāmiyya (114:8–116:8) do not appear as such anywhere else in the corpus (see van Ess 2011:546–547).

95 The Dukayniyya (*Maf*.21:7), the Khashabiyya (*Maf*.21:7–9), the Khalafiyya (*Maf*.21:10), the Ishāqiyya (*Maf*.21:14), The Khallāliyya (*Maf*.21:18), the Tayyāriyya (*Maf*.21:24–25), and the Ghamāmiyya (*Maf*.22:1–3) all appear in both works.

96 Van Ess 2011:554–557.

97 *Ibid*. However, Abū Tammām and Khwārizmī (*Bāb*.53:11–54:7 *Maf*.20:8–9) organize their lists of the Mushabbiha in vary similar fashion and both include the Ash'arites in the same place. It would thus seem that the separate presentation of this group was a feature of the common intermediary. If van Ess's argument that the Ash'arites would not have been dealt with as a separate faction until the mid-fourth century is correct, then this would have to apply to the common intermediary rather than the *Bāb*. That would be too late for Abū Zayd al-Balkhī. But there are too many moving parts here: whilst the Ash'arī school took time to become established, it is not impossible that his significance as a theologian was recognized much earlier. The idea that he already led a 'faction'

further here; the important point for this study is that whilst we will occasionally be able to draw on the *Bāb* in order to compare the content of some of its faction-descriptions with those of other texts of the BdC, we cannot assume that any structural feature has been derived from Balkhī's material or that any passage goes back to Balkhī, unless we have some kind of corroboration elsewhere in the corpus.

7.2.1.2 Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir al-Maḡdisī, *Kitāb al-Bad' wa-l-ta'rikh* (completed 355/966)

Another potential early witness to Balkhī's material on the Shī'a presents still greater challenges than the *Bāb*. This is the *Kitāb al-bad' wa-l-ta'rikh* (hereafter, 'the *Bad'*') of Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir al-Maḡdisī, completed in 355/966⁹⁸. Maḡdisī seems to have been resident in Bost when he wrote the *Bad'*, but almost nothing else is known about him⁹⁹. The work is a universal history but also contains large amounts of philosophical and theological doxography in its first seven chapters, as well as a later chapter (ch.19) on 'the doctrines of the people of Islam' (*fī maqālāt ahl al-islām*). What interests us here are the sections from that chapter on the factions of the Shī'a (*dhikr firaq al-Shī'a*) [*Bad'*:V:124:3–134:10] and on the factions of the Assimilationists (*dhikr firaq al-mushabbiha*, i.e., those who 'assimilate' God to His Creation) [*Bad'*:V:139:12–141:14].

The problem with using the *Bad'* as a witness to Balkhī's *Maqālāt* is that Maḡdisī never explicitly cites Balkhī in relation to any of this material. He does

might just be due to the standard process by which factions are constructed around key figures, e.g., there was never a 'Jāhizīyya' either.

⁹⁸ The date of the work's composition is given twice in the text itself (*Bad'*:I:6:10–11; II:152:8). There is also a later interpolation referring to an event that took place in the year 390/100 at *Bad'*:IV:78:3–5. Whether other material is interpolated, however, we do not know.

⁹⁹ It is from Tha'libī's (d.429/1038) *Ghurar akhbār mulūk al-furs wa-siyarīhim*, which cites the *Bad'*, that we learn of Maḡdisī's connection with Bost. See Zotenberg 1900:21 (the information appears in the unpublished part of the *Ghurar*, although the *Bad'* is also cited at p.501 of the edition. On the disputed attribution of the *Ghurar* to Tha'libī, see now Orfali 2009:297–298). Yet, aside from the information that can be garnered from the *Bad'* itself, which mostly concerns various locations Maḡdisī visited in Iran, nothing else is known about him. On the travels, see Adang 1996:48–49. The editor of the *Bad'*, Clément Huart, originally attributed the work to Abū Zayd al-Balkhī. Already in the introduction to the second volume of the edition (six volumes in total), Huart began to express reservations; in the introduction to the third volume, he reattributed the work to the almost unknown Maḡdisī. See also Huart 1901; *EF*. "Bad' wa-l-ta'rikh" [Morony]; van Ess 2011:559. Despite the reattribution, certain features of Abū Zayd's biography are often asserted of Maḡdisī, especially that he worked for the Samānids, and/or that the *Bad'* was commissioned by, or at least dedicated to an important Samānid official (or even 'prince') (e.g., Miquel 1967:212–217, *EL*₂. "al-Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir (or al-Muṭahhar) al-Maḡdisī" [Ed.]; Adang 1996:48, *EF*. "Bad' wa-l-ta'rikh" [Morony]; van Ess 2006:17). In reality, we do not know anything about Maḡdisī's employment, and the dedicatee of the *Bad'* is anonymized in the work (*Bad'*:I:5:9).

provide a citation from Balkhī's *Awā'il al-adilla* [*Bad'*.I:135:6], which at least shows he knew of Balkhī and his works. But it seems to concern Balkhī's own views; it is not doxographical or heresiographical. Nevertheless, there are frequent parallels between Maqdisī's material on the factions of the Shī'a and 'Abd al-Jabbār and Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī's long, marked Balkhī-citations on this topic (see below). Maqdisī, like Abū Tammām, must have reorganized the material significantly, as there is little convergence with any other work of the BdC in terms of its arrangement. Nevertheless, there are often close parallels in the content of the faction-descriptions¹⁰⁰. The doctrinal statements of the Shī'ī *mutakallimūn* given by Maqdisī also frequently appear elsewhere in Balkhī-citations in formulations too similar to be coincidental¹⁰¹.

It is possible, of course, that Maqdisī and Balkhī ultimately shared earlier common sources, but one parallel passage in particular speaks against this hypothesis. Maqdisī cites a series of reports on the doctrines of the Ancient philosophers and other pre-Islamic groups and thinkers from Zurqān's *Maqālāt* (on which, see below) concerning the existence of an eternal principle [*Bad'*.I:140:8–144:8]. Van Ess suggests they may be taken directly from the original, but this does not seem to be the case¹⁰². The passage in question is paralleled in Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī's *Sharḥ al-ḥūr al-īn* (on which, see below) [*Hūr*.189:5–195:18]. The material appears in a different order and both texts appear to be summarising (or expanding) at different points, but several of the same groups are covered and the wording of the reports remains much too close to avoid the conclusion that there is a common source behind them at some point¹⁰³. Van Ess hypothesises that Maqdisī is citing Zurqān's original, whilst Ḥimyarī based himself on Balkhī, who had reworked Zurqān's material¹⁰⁴. However, at one point, Maqdisī interrupts the material from Zurqān, stating that there are conflicting reports on the doctrine of the Ḥarrānians [*Bad'*.I:143:5]. He goes on to provide information from two sources, Aḥmad b. Ṭayyib al-Sarakhsī (d.286/899)[*Bad'*.143:5–9], and then his usual source, i.e. Zurqān [*Bad'*.143:9–10]. Ḥimyarī's material on the Ḥarrānians is highly summarized in comparison, but it clearly contains elements from both sources at the relevant point [*Hūr*.194:2–3]. There is no evidence the *Bad'* would have been available to Ḥimyarī in sixth/twelfth-century Yemen, where he lived and worked, and the character of the divergences makes it extremely unlikely that Ḥimyarī was relying on the *Bad'* anyway. Thus, we must assume they rely, rather, on a common source,

¹⁰⁰ See p. 232–253.

¹⁰¹ See van Ess 2011:575–578.

¹⁰² Van Ess 2011:183, 575, 947.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*:947.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

which must then already have combined the material from Zurqān with that from Sarakhsī, and which must thus post-date Sarakhsī's work. At the very least, this shows that Maqdisī is not citing Zurqān's *Maqālāt* directly, but via a later text. Given that Ḥimyarī is very likely relying on Balkhī's *Maqālāt* here, as he certainly is elsewhere for his doxographical material in the *Ḥūr*, Balkhī is by far the best candidate also for Maqdisī's source.

We will see further evidence below that Maqdisī must have drawn on a version of Balkhī's material on the Shī'a in the *Bad'*, rather than Balkhī's own sources¹⁰⁵. Nevertheless, even more so than for Abū Tammām's *Bāb*, we cannot assume this from the beginning and, even if we could, it is already clear that Maqdisī has significantly reorganised and summarised the material. We will occasionally draw on the *Bad'* to corroborate findings reached based on evidence drawn from elsewhere in the BdC, always for the content of specific faction-descriptions, but it is never used as a main witness.

7.2.1.3 'Abd al-Jabbār (d.415/1025), *Kitāb al-Mughnī fī abwāb al-tawḥīd wa-l-'adl*

'Abd al-Jabbār al-Hamadhānī, the leading Bahshamī Mu'tazilī theologian of his day and sometime chief *qāḍī* of Rayy under the Būyid vizier Sāḥib b. 'Abbād (d.385/995), was the author of a commentary on Balkhī's *Maqālāt*¹⁰⁶. This we know from his own statement to that effect [*Mugh.XX₂*:258:4] and from preserved citations in Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd's (d.656/1258) *Sharḥ nahj al-balāgha* [*ShNB*.1:8:1–5] and a *risāla* sent to Ibn Sīnā by some unknown theologians (d. 428/1037)¹⁰⁷. The work, unfortunately, is lost. We do, however, have several citations of heresiographical and doxographical material from Balkhī in 'Abd al-Jabbār's *Kitāb al-Mughnī fī abwāb al-tawḥīd wa-l-'adl*¹⁰⁸.

The two largest citations concern the factions of the Shī'a:

1. The first appears in a section (*faṣl*) on the Imāmiyya in the second part of the twentieth volume, which deals with the doctrine of the Imāmate. The *faṣl* begins with the words 'Our master, Abū l-Qāsim al-Balkhī related that. . .' (*ḥakā shaykhunā Abū l-Qāsim al-Balkhī anna. . .*) [*Mugh.XX₂*:174:3]. This citation appears to continue for several pages, covering the majority of the mate-

¹⁰⁵ See p. 181, 255–257.

¹⁰⁶ On 'Abd al-Jabbār's biography, see *EF*³. 'Abd al-Jabbār b. Aḥmad al-Hamadhānī' [Heemskerk] and Heemskerk 2000:36–53.

¹⁰⁷ In his '*risāla li-ba'ḍ al-mutakallimīn ilā l-shaykh fa-ajābahu*', in, lines 8–10 (translation in Dhanani 1994:70). It is the theologians who cite 'Abd al-Jabbār's commentary, not Ibn Sīnā. The commentary is also mentioned by Ibn al-Murtaḍā (*Ṭabaqāt*.113:10) and Ḥākim al-Jishumī (*Sharḥ(Faḍl)*.368:3). See Heemskerk 2000:46 (where the references were assembled) and van Ess 2011:344.

¹⁰⁸ See Heemskerk 2000:43–45.

rial on the factions of the Imāmiyya and is finally brought to a close with the words ‘Thereafter, he [i.e. Balkhī] related repulsive doctrines held by their masters, but there is no reason to report them’ (*wa-ḥakā ba’da dhālika ‘an arbāb hādhihi l-madhāhib shanā’at ‘aẓīma lā wajh li-dhikrihi*) [*Mugh.XX₂:182:5*]. After this point, ‘Abd al-Jabbār begins citing from a new source: Ḥasan b. Mūsā an-Nawbakhtī [*Mugh.XX₂:182:6–7*]. Further evidence that the whole section is a single, long Balkhī-citation is found in the frequent uses of ‘He said. . .’ (*qāla. . .*) [179:18; 180:12; 176:16], which can only reasonably refer back to Balkhī, especially as one of the statements introduced in this way mentions that ‘Ḥasan b. ‘Alī [i.e., al-‘Askarī, the eleventh Imām] died in our time’ [176:16]. Also, at one point the text states, concerning the faction known as the Abū Muslimiyya, that ‘we have a group of them in Balkh’ [178:1]. This is Balkhī talking; the same statement is found in other texts cited specifically from Balkhī [*Fih.2:422:1–2; Ḥūr:214:13–14*].

2. Second, the *faṣl* on the Imāmiyya is followed directly by a *faṣl* on the Zaydiyya. This too opens with the words ‘Our master, Abū l-Qāsim said. . .’ [184:3]. In this case, it is more difficult to tell where the citation ends. Parallels elsewhere suggest, however, that it runs to at least the end of the description of the followers of a certain Ibn Nu‘aym [185:4] but it may also include the following material, on Abū l-Jārūd and the followers of Ṣabbāḥ b. al-Qāsim al-Muzanī [184:5–8]¹⁰⁹.

The *Mughnī* cites Balkhī at other locations, too. When ‘Abd al-Jabbār opens a new topic, he usually begins with a short doxographical overview (*dhikr al-khilāf fi hādihā l-bāb*). These overviews appear to rely heavily on Balkhī, but the citation-marking is very inconsistent. In one instance, when introducing the topic of indirect causation (*tawallud*), ‘Abd al-Jabbār cites Balkhī’s *Maqālāt* by name as his source (*ḥākadhā ḥakāhu Abū l-Qāsim al-Balkhī raḥimahu llah fi kitāb al-maqālāt*) [*Mugh.IX:11:11*], but this refers to what comes before and it is not clear where the citation begins. We might also expect that much of the material that follows, concerning the opinions of the early Mu‘tazila, some of which is introduced by ‘He related. . .’/‘It is related. . .’ (*ḥakā. . . /ḥukiya. . .*), also comes from Balkhī [see *Mugh. IX:11:11–13:9*]. However, the material is mixed in with information provided by ‘Abd al-Jabbār himself¹¹⁰. The impression that ‘Abd al-Jabbār relies heavily on Balkhī in these sections is confirmed elsewhere. For example, in the doxographical

¹⁰⁹ On the parallels, see p. 232–257.

¹¹⁰ E.g., *Mugh.IX:12:13–19*, which discusses the doctrine of ‘our master Abū ‘Alī [al-Jubbā’ī] (*shaykhūnā Abū ‘Alī*) in comparison with that of Abu l-Hudhayl (see van Ess 2011:355).

introduction to the topic of human action (*af'āl al-nās*), Balkhī is clearly cited in retrospect, albeit without the title of the work, for the whole section (*jamī' dhālika ḥakāhu shaykhunā Abū l-Qāsim al-Balkhī*) [*Mugh.XIII:4:1–2* referring back to 3:8–4:1], which contains several opinions from the early Mu'tazila. The doxographical introduction to the topic of the human being (*al-insān*) begins with the words 'Abū l-Qāsim al-Balkhī related. . .' (*ḥakā Abū l-Qāsim al-Balkhī. . .*) [*Mugh.XI:310:5*]. Thereafter, a series of *wa-ḥakās* would seem to carry the citation through for material on several early *mutakallimūn* at least until an opinion from Hishām al-Fuwaṭī [*Mugh.XI:310:16*], but, again, we cannot be sure where other material is being mixed in¹¹¹. Even where 'Abd al-Jabbār says nothing at all about his sources, it is sometimes possible to show he is working from Balkhī, because we have parallels in Shahrastānī's *Milal* where Balkhī is explicitly named as the source. This happens twice in the doxographical introduction to the topic of God's will (*irāda*) [*Mugh.VI₂:3:9–15 = Mil.45:5–10; 5:11–13 = Mil.52:17–18*]¹¹².

7.2.1.4 Ḥākīm al-Jishumī (d.484/1101), 'Uyūn al-masā'il fī l-radd 'alā ahl al-bida' and Sharḥ 'uyūn al-masā'il

Ḥākīm al-Jishumī, the Zaydī Bahshamī Mu'tazilī theologian from Bayhaq, who had studied with a student of 'Abd al-Jabbar, namely Abū Ḥāmid al-Nīsābūrī (d. before 433/1042), was the author of two works containing significant amounts of material on the Shī'a from Balkhī's *Maqālāt*¹¹³. The first is his *Uyūn al-masā'il*, available in Ms. Ambrosiana B 66. The second is his auto-commentary on this work, *Sharḥ 'uyūn al-masā'il*, for which Ms. Leiden Or. 2584a has been consulted¹¹⁴.

Unlike 'Abd al-Jabbār, Jishumī does not mark long citations from Balkhī's *Maqālāt* in either of his works. However, there is little doubt that he had direct access to it; he provides doxographical citations from Balkhī that are available nowhere else¹¹⁵. The *Uyūn* and its *Sharḥ* open with a lengthy doxographical part that deals with both non-Muslim and Muslim groups, throughout which Balkhī

¹¹¹ Although we would have to read the incorporated citations from Khayyāt and Zurqān as secondary citations via Balkhī, as van Ess suggests (2011:355). It is even possible that the following Ibn al-Rāwandī citations are taken via Balkhī.

¹¹² In this whole paragraph, I rely on the conspectus of parallels in van Ess 2011: 353–356.

¹¹³ On Jishumī's biography, see Madelung 1965:187–191; *Ef'*. 'al-Ḥākīm al-Djushamī' [Madelung]; van Ess 2011:761–765.

¹¹⁴ There is also a manuscript in Yemen, San'ā' 99 (*kalām*), which I have not had chance to consult.

¹¹⁵ E.g., the *Sharḥ*'s Balkhī-citation concerning Balkhī's encounter with someone who believed in the return of the dead 'Alid rebel, Yahyā b. 'Umar (*Sharḥ.21v:17–19*). On this citation, see p. 205–209.

is the source cited most often¹¹⁶. Jishumī's general dependence on Balkhī for the Islamic factions is also advertised at the beginning of the relevant section, as he opens by citing Balkhī's division of the Islamic community into six groups [*Uyūn* 6r:20–21]¹¹⁷. That it is the *Maqālāt* specifically being cited is only stated explicitly once, in material on Ḥusayn al-Najjār [*Sharḥ*.39v:21–40r:3], but this is most likely to be the case in the other citations, too. Indeed, Fu'ād Sayyid, in his edition of Balkhī's Mu'tazila-chapter noted many parallels to Jishumī's *Sharḥ* in the critical apparatus. However, Balkhī is certainly not Jishumī's only source and some of the material, especially in the *Sharḥ*, is probably partially reworked by him in reliance also on other sources. As a result, outside of the specific citations, we can only assume that Balkhī is the source when we have close parallels elsewhere. Nevertheless, as the parallels continue over long passages and include many of the explicit citations, it is possible to establish that the majority of the sections on the factions of the Zaydiyya and the Imāmiyya must rely ultimately on Balkhī¹¹⁸. These sections occur at the following locations in the two texts:

- The factions of the Zaydiyya [*Uyūn*.7v:11–8r:21; *Sharḥ*.21r:11–28v:4]
- The factions of the Imāmiyya [*Uyūn*.8r:21–9v:18; *Sharḥ*.28v:4–32r:6]

7.2.1.5 Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī (d. 573/1178), *Sharḥ Risālat al-ḥūr al-ʿīn*

Abū Saʿīd Nashwān b. Saʿīd al-Ḥimyarī (d. 573/1178), who worked as a *qāḍī* in Ḥūth, northern Yemen, is best known primarily for his philological work and expertise in pre-Islamic, South Arabian historical lore. He was also the composer of a short work in highly ornate, rhymed prose that deals with philological and doxographical themes, *Risālat al-Ḥūr al-ʿīn fī tanbīh al-sāmiʿīn*¹¹⁹. It is the auto-commentary to this text, namely *Sharḥ risālat al-ḥūr al-ʿīn*, that is of interest, as it is there that Ḥimyarī cites passages from his doxographical source: Balkhī. The two works have been published together and the text as a whole will be referred to here as *al-Ḥūr al-ʿīn*, or the *Ḥūr* for short.

¹¹⁶ E.g., just to give those from the *Sharḥ*, citations commencing *Sharḥ*.2v:13 (material Khayyāt communicated to Balkhī on the Dahriyya); 9r:9 (on the Sabians (*al-ṣābiʿūn*)); 12r:10 (on the Barāhīma); 12v:11 (Khayyāt on a group of the Rāfiḍa, via Balkhī?); 14r:6 (on the events in the *saqīfat Banī Sāʿida* after the Prophet's death); 21v:17–19 (on the Jārūdiyya); 29v:16–17 (on Mughīra b. Saʿīd); 30v:8 (on the Fuṭhiyya); 31v:5–6 (on the doctrines of the Imāmiyya beyond the topic of the Imāmate (also *Uyūn*.9v:15)), 37r:18 (on the names of the Khawārij), 39r:8 (on Jaʿfar b. Ḥarb), 39r:21 (on Ḥusayn al-Najjār); 44v:13 (on the Ḥashwiyya); 47r:4 and 7 (on the ʿĀmma), 47r:7.

¹¹⁷ On this division, see further p. 66.

¹¹⁸ See p. 151–153, 164–167.

¹¹⁹ On Ḥimyarī's biography, see *EF*. 'Nashwān b. Saʿīd' [Lichtenstädter] and van Ess 2011:940–943.

Balkhī is cited several times in the *Hūr*. The *Maqālāt* is never mentioned by name, but the citations concerning the Mu‘tazila contain material that appears in the published Mu‘tazila-chapter [*Hūr*.261:3–263:7≈*MaqB*.65:4–67:23 (with Balkhī mentioned at beginning and again at *Hūr*.262:6); *Hūr*.265:7–266:10≈*MaqB*.108:1–114:5]. Parallels with the published chapter also appear where Ḥimyarī does not explicitly cite Balkhī [*Hūr*.248:5–249:14≈*MaqB*.115:17–117:4; *Hūr*.258:19–259:3≈*MaqB*.115:2–15; *Hūr*.260:18–261:2≈*MaqB*.64:17–65:4 (i.e., the citation actually begins seven lines earlier than the first marked *qāla l-Balkhī* at 261:3); 263:18–264:2≈*MaqB*.117:12–14¹²⁰]. This would seem to indicate that Balkhī can be Ḥimyarī’s doxographical source even where he does not say so. There is a tendency for the openly marked parallels to be slightly closer to the text of the published chapter than the unmarked material, but there is clearly summarising in both¹²¹.

As far as the Shī‘a are concerned, Ḥimyarī cites Balkhī [*Hūr*.224:4–5], retrospectively, for a long section on Shī‘ī factions [206:8–224:3]. Two other sources are also mentioned at this point, ‘Abū ‘Īsā al-Razzāq and Zurqān b. Musā. These are obviously corruptions of Abū ‘Īsā al-Warrāq and Zurqān al-Misma‘ī, on whom more below. The relationship between Zurqān, Warrāq and Balkhī will be discussed later, but for now we will work on the assumption that these two older sources are cited via Balkhī¹²². Interestingly, within this long passage on the Shī‘a that Ḥimyarī cites generally from Balkhī, there are also several short, specifically marked Balkhī-citations: on the factions of the Zaydiyya [208:17 (referring back to 207:9–208:16)]; on the faction of the ‘Abbāsīd Shī‘a known as the Muslimiyya [214:13–14]; on the Fuṭūḥiyya [218:3–9]; on the Khaṭṭābiyya [222:4–5]. There is also a separate, marked citation from Balkhī concerning the geographical spread of the Imāmiyya [*Hūr*.249:18–19].

The other marked citations will not concern us much, as they do not contain material on the Shī‘a, but it is worth noting for comparative purposes that Ḥimyarī also cites a long passage on the factions of the Khawārij from Balkhī [224:5–6, referring forwards to 224:7–232:9], which likewise contains a short, specifically marked citation within it, on ‘Abd Allāh b. Ibāḍ [227:7–9].

On the basis of parallels to other texts of the BdC and to Ash‘arī’s *Maqālāt*, and on structural grounds, it is possible to establish that other, unmarked passages concerning the Shī‘a are also taken from Balkhī¹²³. For the moment, however, it is worth noting that *potentially* all of the doxographical material on second and third-century *mutakallimūn* in the *Hūr* could be based on Balkhī’s *Maqālāt*. That includes several

¹²⁰ Also 263:8–17 is a highly summarised version of *MaqB*.69:14–73:15.

¹²¹ See van Ess 2011:349–351.

¹²² See further, p. 99–100 and p. 210. This is also van Ess’s position (2011:183, 947n284).

¹²³ See van Ess 2011:350–351.

long doxographical passages, where material on the Shī'a also features: on opinions of Muslims and non-Muslims concerning the nature of God [188:18–201:21]¹²⁴; on the Imāmate [202:1–206:7]; on the punishment of children in the Hereafter [310:9–311:4]; on prophecy [318:1–16]; and on the probative force of verbal reports (*akhbār*) [326:14–328:1]¹²⁵.

7.2.1.6 Yūsuf b. Muḥammad al-Ḥajūrī (d. 7th/13th century), *Kitāb Rawḍat al-akhbār wa-kunūz al-asrār*

Yūsuf al-Ḥajūrī was a Zaydī *faqīh* from northern Yemen who composed a multi-thematic work known as *Rawḍat al-akhbār*, the third part of which contains doxographical material and is available in Ms. Ambrosiana C 2. According to van Ess, much of this part is dependent on Balkhī, as can be established from the numerous citations and parallels¹²⁶.

In the case of the material on the Shī'a, Balkhī is cited explicitly at the beginning of material on the Zaydiyya [139r:5–139v:25 (with the Balkhī-citation marked at 139r:11)]. As we will see, the section on the Imāmiyya that follows it is also based on Balkhī's material [139v:25–141v:5], but Balkhī is not mentioned explicitly; the dependency can be established due to its parallels with other texts of the BdC, above all the *Mughnī* and the *Ḥūr*.

¹²⁴ The beginning of this passage parallels a section of Maqdisī's *Bad' wa-l-ta'rikh*, albeit that the material appears in a different order (*Bad'*:I:140:8–144:8). Maqdisī claims generally to be citing Zurqān, but there is good reason to think both Ḥimyarī and Maqdisī must have a post-Zurqān common source here. In his description of the Ḥarrānians, Maqdisī states that there are conflicting reports. He goes on to provide information from two sources, Aḥmad b. Ṭayyib al-Sarakhsī (d.286/899), the student of al-Kindī, and his usual source, i.e., Zurqān (*Bad'*:I:143:5–10). Ḥimyarī's material on the Ḥarrānians is summarized in comparison, but clearly contains elements from both sources (*Ḥūr*:194:2–3). Ḥimyarī cannot be relying on the *Bad'*, so their common source must have already combined the material from Zurqān with that from Sarakhsī. At the very least, this shows that Maqdisī is not citing Zurqān directly. Most likely, the common source is Balkhī.

¹²⁵ Which includes, however, a citation from Jāḥiẓ's *Kitāb al-akhbār wa-kayfa taṣiḥḥ* (327:17–19). Whether Ḥimyarī is citing Jāḥiẓ at second hand is not clear. It seems unlikely, as there are several citations from this work in the *Ḥūr* and there is no indication they come via Balkhī. On the other hand, it is curious that the same selection of citations also appears in Ibn al-Murtaḍā's *al-munya wa-l-amal* (see van Ess 2011:954–955).

¹²⁶ On Ḥajūrī and his work, see van Ess 2011:364.

7.3 Abū Hātim al-Rāzī (d.322/933), *Kitāb al-Zīna*

Abū Hātim Aḥmad b. Ḥamdān al-Rāzī was the principal Ismāʿīlī *dāʿī* in Rayy at the beginning of the fourth/tenth century. The work that interest us here, his *Kitāb al-zīna* is neither a *fīraq*-book nor a *maqālāt*-book. It is, rather, a work of lexicography that includes a section on the names of Islamic factions (*dhikr alqāb al-fīraq ft l-islām*) in which relatively large amounts of heresiographical material is presented¹²⁷. Much of this section is concerned with the factions of the Shīʿa and consists to a large extent of parallels to Nawbakhtī's *Fīraq al-Shīʿa* (on which, see below). This has led to some dispute in the scholarship as to whether Nawbakhtī's text was simply Abū Hātim's source or whether they share an earlier common source¹²⁸. This, in turn, has potential consequences for the arguments over the sources of Nawbakhtī's work itself. The matter will be discussed in detail below¹²⁹.

7.4 Sa'd b. 'Abd Allāh al-Qummī al-Ash'arī (d.300/912), *Kitāb al-Maqālāt wa-l-fīraq*

Sa'd b. 'Abd Allāh al-Qummī al-Ash'arī (d.300/912¹³⁰) was an Imāmī traditionist who lived and worked in Qom¹³¹. He also composed an important *fīraq*-book, published under the title *Kitāb al-maqālāt wa-l-fīraq*¹³². This work is based on Nawbakhtī's *Fīraq al-Shīʿa* (see below) and contains almost the entirety of Nawbakhtī's text, including material on events that took place in Nawbakhtī's own lifetime¹³³. Qummī adds material from other sources to his base text and occasionally rearranges the order of presentation¹³⁴. The *terminus post quem* of the *Maqālāt wa-l-fīraq* is provided by the following passage:

¹²⁷ See Berthold 2019:21–15; van Ess 2011:506–514, also Ali 2008, especially 125–150

¹²⁸ Hamdani 1949:293; Madelung 1961:67, n.131; Ali 125–130; van Ess 2011:510–511; Berthold 2019:48–55.

¹²⁹ See p. 392–402.

¹³⁰ The dates 299/912 and 301/914 are also given in the sources. See van Ess 2011:260.

¹³¹ Muḥammad Jawād Mashkūr's introduction to his edition of the text pulls together the main sources on Qummī's life. See also van Ess 2011:260.

¹³² The exact title of the book varies across the sources. Najāshī's list of Qummī's works mentions only a *Fīraq al-shīʿa* (174:13–14), but Tūsī's *Fihrist* has *Maqālāt al-Imāmiyya* (215:8). The title that appears on the manuscript, namely *Kitāb al-maqālāt wa-l-fīraq wa-asmā'ihā wa-ṣunūfihā wa-alqābihā* appears first to be referenced externally by Majlisī in *Bihār al-anwār* (see Mashkūr's introduction, *yā'zā'-yā'ḥā*).

¹³³ Madelung 1967:38–40. See p. 350.

¹³⁴ Madelung 1967:37–39. For Qummī's additions and rearrangements, see p. 352–361. Before the publication of the *Maqālāt wa-l-fīraq*, it had been suggested by 'Abbās Iqbāl on the basis of citations

The numbers of these Qarāmiṭa have increased. They had no desire for battle nor military strength (*lam yakun la-hum shawka wa-la quwwa*) and they were all found in the Kufan *sawād*. But after that, they increased in Yemen, the coastal regions (*nawāḥī al-baḥr*), and Yamāma and the surrounding territory. Many Arabs joined them, so they have become powerful and proclaimed their own rule. [*MaqQ.86:7–10*]

This statement evidently takes account of the Qarmaṭī victories in the Gulf regions and further into the interior of the Peninsula that can be dated, at the earliest to 286/899¹³⁵.

Following Nawbakhtī's *Firaq* closely for the most part, Qummī's *Maqālāt wa-l-firaq* is preoccupied with the historical factions of the Shī'a and traces developments up to Qummī's own day, recording information on the various parties that emerged amongst the Imāmiyya in the wake of the death of Ḥasan al-'Askarī in 260/873, although he is mostly dependent on Nawbakhtī even here.

7.5 Ḥasan b. Mūsā al-Nawbakhtī (d. after 300/912), *Firaq al-Shī'a*

Hasan b. Mūsā al-Nawbakhtī, a Mu'tazilī-Imāmī theologian and philosopher who lived and worked in Baghdad, was the author of *Firaq al-Shī'a*, the earliest extant example of an Imāmī *firaq*-book and the work that formed the basis of Qummī's *Maqālāt wa-l-firaq*, discussed above. After a short historical introduction concerning the original splits in the Community that emerged following the death of the Prophet [*Fir.2:8–7:12*] and a section of theological doxography dealing the opinions of various early *mutakallimūn* on the Imāmate and the events of the first *fitna* [*Fir.7:13–15:5*], Nawbakhtī concentrates on the emergence of the historical factions of the Shī'a, mostly in response to the deaths of the successive Imāms, up to his own day. As a *terminus post quem*, we have the death of Ḥasan al-'Askarī in 260/873, or, more realistically, long enough after this date for the factions Nawbakhtī describes to have emerged in response. For the *terminus ante quem*, we have the fact that Nawbakhtī discusses groups that claimed Ja'far b. 'Alī became the Imām after

from Qummī in Ṭūṣī's *Kitāb al-ghayba* and his abridgement of Kashshī's *Rijāl*, that this work and Nawbakhtī's *Firaq* were the same text, which had been falsely attributed to Nawbakhtī (see Iqbāl 1311:140–161).

¹³⁵ Madelung 1967:38–39. There is some room for doubt as to the precise dating, as there is evidence Yamāma may not have been conquered until 290/903, yet Qummī does not say anything about the Qarmaṭī rebellions in Syria, which seem to have begun already in 289/902. Madelung suggests this may place the work before this date (presumably then on the assumption that the conquest of Yamāma took place earlier than is reported elsewhere). Alternatively, Qummī may simply have neglected to mention the rebellions in Syria for some reason. The only secure *terminus ante quem* is simply Qummī's own death in 300.

Ḥasan's death but does not mention Ja'far's son, 'Alī b. Ja'far, to whom Ja'far's followers turned after his own death, which probably occurred in 281/894¹³⁶. Also, at the point where Qummī talks of the newly increased strength of the Qarāmiṭa and their conquests in the Gulf region, cited above, Nawbakhtī has only the following passage:

Their numbers are large, but they have neither fervour for battle nor military strength (*lā shawka la-hum wa-lā quwwa*). They are found mostly in the Kufan *sawād* and in the Yemen, perhaps numbering around a hundred thousand. [*Fir.*64:12–14]

This statement, unlike Qummī's, does not take account of the Qarmaṭī conquest of Bahrain in 286/899. It is also highly likely that Qummī's statement is based on and updates what Nawbakhtī presents here¹³⁷. All in all, it seems likely the text was composed in the 270s.

The authorship of the work has been disputed. Before the publication of Qummī's *Maqālāt wa-l-fīraq*, 'Abbās Iqbāl had suggested that the *Fīraq al-Shī'a* ascribed to Nawbakhtī was in fact Qummī's work, which had falsely been attributed to Nawbakhtī in the manuscript tradition. His evidence for this came from a comparison of the citations from Qummī's *Maqālāt wa-l-fīraq* in Ṭūṣī's *Kitāb al-ghayba* and his abridgement of Kashshī's *Rijāl* with the text we think to be Nawbakhtī's *Fīraq*. As the passages are nearly identical, Iqbāl concluded that the work attributed to Nawbakhtī is really Qummī's¹³⁸. Once the manuscript of Qummī's text was discovered, however, it became clear that Iqbāl was incorrect. As Muḥammad Jawād Mashkūr asserted in the introduction to his edition of the text, the two works are not identical. Rather, Qummī's contains the *Fīraq* that is attributed to Nawbakhtī almost entirely, explaining why Ṭūṣī's and Kashshī's citations from Qummī's work are so close to what we find in Nawbakhtī's¹³⁹. Wilferd Madlung then provided further arguments in support of Jawād's conclusion, pointing out that Qummī's work reproduces and builds upon even the most recent material in Nawbakhtī's *Fīraq*, such as the information on the Qarāmiṭa and on the factions that emerged following the death of Ḥasan al-'Askarī. That rules out the possibility that Qummī and Nawbakhtī simply shared a common source¹⁴⁰.

¹³⁶ This argument was first made by van Ess 2011:243–244. On the death-date of and succession to Ja'far b. 'Alī, see Modarressi 1993:83, esp. n.161.

¹³⁷ Madlung 1967:37–38 and 1961:50 (where, however, Madlung still thought Nawbakhtī's text was by Qummī).

¹³⁸ Iqbāl 1311:140–161

¹³⁹ See Mashkūr's introduction to the *Maqālāt wa-l-fīraq*, p.^a

¹⁴⁰ Madlung 1967:37–40.

The question has, however, been reopened more recently by Hassan Ansari [Ḥasan Anṣārī]¹⁴¹. Ansari accepts Madelung's conclusions insofar as the text attributed to Nawbakhtī is older and the text attributed to Qummī takes it as its basis and builds upon it. He argues, however, that the text attributed to Nawbakhtī is not by him, instead suggesting two possibilities: (1.) that Qummī authored both texts, first composing the text attributed to Nawbakhtī, then later expanding it into the text attributed to Qummī; (2.) that the text attributed to Nawbakhtī is by some other Imāmī scholar, who must then presumably also have been writing in the 270s. Ansari's arguments are unconvincing, but the reasons why this is the case depend partly on evidence best presented later in this study. They will therefore be discussed in full in an appendix rather than here. Throughout the study, it will be assumed, following Mashkūr and Madelung, that Nawbakhtī is the author of the *Firaq* and Qummī is the author of the *Maqālāt wa-l-firaq*.

7.6 Abū I-ʿIsā I-Warrāq (d. after 250/864?), *Kitāb Maqālāt al-nās wa-khtilāfihim*

Abū ʿIsā Muḥammad b. Hārūn al-Warrāq was a Baghdadi *mutakallim* whom the later tradition understood in several different ways, many of them coloured by polemic against his supposed dualism¹⁴². He was certainly Shīʿī in some sense and seems to have been active amongst the Baghdadi Muʿtazila, especially its Šūfī wing¹⁴³. There are conflicting reports about the date of his death, but the most secure evidence we have is that he was still alive in 250/864, as Ḥākim al-Jishumī cites a passage from him that mentions the death of the ʿAlid rebel Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar, which occurred in that year (or thereabouts) [*Sharḥ*.21v:10–13]¹⁴⁴. The passage

141 Anṣārī 1396 (<http://ansari.kateban.com/post/3350>), accessed 20/03/2019.

142 On Warrāq, see *TG*.IV:289–294; Thomas 2002:21–36; *EF*³:ʿAbū ʿIsā al-Warrāq [Thomas].

143 *TG*.IV:293

144 Madelung 1981:210; Madelung 1967:48. On Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar, see *Ṭab*.III:1515:16–1523:12, *Murūj*.VII:330–331, *Maqātil*.506:1–521:9. Masʿūdī states that Warrāq died already in 247/861 (*Murūj*.VII:236:10–11). Ibn al-Jawzī, however, claims he died in prison as late as 298/910 (*al-Muntaẓam fi taʾrīkh al-mulūk wa-l-umam*, VI:102:2–4, i.e., in the section on those who died in the year 298). One possible support for a later date is the fact that Shahrastānī cites a passage from Warrāq in which the year 271/884 is mentioned (*Mil*.192:14). However, as Madelung has shown (1981:210, n.4, 214, n.12, 215), Shahrastānī cites Warrāq via Nawbakhtī's *Ārāʾ wa-l-diyānāt* here and the parallels elsewhere cast doubt on the idea that this element goes back to Warrāq (see also van Ess 2011:173, n.89). Van Ess notes that there is a record of a disputation in which Ashʿarī, Warrāq and Ibn al-Rāwandī are all supposed to have been present (Sakūnī, *ʿUyūn al-munāẓarāt*, §§326–328; see *TG*.VI:364–365), but elsewhere he disputes the likelihood such an event actually took place (*TG*.IV:134).

in question probably comes from his lost doxography, known as *Maqālāt al-nās wa-khtilāfuhum*¹⁴⁵. This *maqālāt*-book recorded doctrines of non-Islamic groups as well as Muslims. From the numerous extant citations, we know that it at least contained material on dualist, Jewish, and Indian streams of thought, as well as the pre-Islamic Arabs, and the Dahriyya¹⁴⁶.

It seems, too, that it must have contained further material on the Shī'a, but few explicit citations are preserved: beyond that from Jishumī, we have only two short citations in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* [*Maqa*.33:11–13; 34:11–12]. Mas'ūdī attributes a list of eight Zaydī factions to Warrāq together with other doxographers (*wa-qad dhakara jamā'a min muṣanniḥi kutub al-maqālāt. .ka-Abi 'Isā Muḥammad b. Hārūn al-Warrāq wa-ghayrihi anna l-Zaydiyya fi 'asrihim thamāniya firaq. . .*) [*Murūj*.V:473:11–474:11] and also mentions that the *Maqālāt* discussed the Imamate “and other speculative matters” (*fi l-imāma wa-ghayrihi min al-naẓar*), probably meaning questions in *kalām* [*Murūj*.VII:237:1–2].

As a *terminus post quem* for Warrāq's *Maqālāt* we again have 250/864, established from the information in Jishumī's citation. It seems the work was not much available after the early fourth century, as most of the extant citations thereafter are secondary, taken via Nawbakhtī, Balkhī or Ash'arī¹⁴⁷. That applies to all of the marked citations concerning the Shī'a. The work is of interest here primarily, however, because it seems to have been a major source for Balkhī's material on the Shī'a and thence most of the subsequent heresiographical tradition¹⁴⁸.

¹⁴⁵ This title is established on the basis of Warrāq's own reference to it in his *Radd 'alā l-naṣārā*, 90:1–2. It is usually known in later sources just as *Kitāb al-maqālāt* (Thomas 2002:19).

¹⁴⁶ See Thomas 1996; *TG*.VI:430–431; van Ess 2011:170–171.

¹⁴⁷ The main (only?) exception is Ibn al-Malāḥimī. See McDermott and Madelung 1981; McDermott 1984; van Ess 2011:172–174. There is a Warrāq-citation concerning the Sophists in the *Mūjaz* of the Algerian Ibādī scholar Abū 'Ammār 'Abd al-Kāfī (d. before 570/1174) (*Mūjaz*, I:281:11–283:7), but it is the only such citation marked in the whole work and a parallel to it is given by Ibn al-Jawzī on the authority of Balkhī (*Talbīs*, 296:1–297:1). It is more likely that Abū 'Ammār was citing Warrāq via Balkhī too, given the much wider availability of the latter, than that he raided Warrāq's rare work for this one citation. Where 'Alī b. Abī l-Ghanā'im's (active in the first half of the fifth century) Warrāq-citation on Ḥayyān al-Sarrāj in his *Kitāb al-Majdī fi ansāb al-ṭalibiyyīn* (*Majdī*, 14:4–7) was taken from, however, is completely unclear (on Ḥayyān, see below p. 141, n.50)

¹⁴⁸ See p. 223–225. Warrāq is also recorded to have written a *Kitāb ikhtilāf al-shī'a wa-l-maqālāt*, but it is unclear in what sense this was a separate work, if at all (see *TG*.VI:431). Mas'ūdī provides a citation from Warrāq's *Kitāb al-majālis* that records a disputation involving Hishām b. al-Ḥakam (*Murūj*.VII:234:10–236:10).

7.7 ps.-Nāshī' al-Akbar, *Uṣūl al-niḥal*

The text known as *Uṣūl al-niḥal*, or sometimes as *Masā'il al-imāma*, was published together with Nāshī' al-Akbar's (d.293/906) *Kitāb al-awsaṭ fi l-maqālāt* but it is not from the same manuscript¹⁴⁹. It is found, rather, in a fragment from a manuscript preserved in Bursa. Where *Uṣūl al-niḥal* breaks off, the manuscript continues with a much later, Sunni heresiography¹⁵⁰. The title page ascribes the work to Nāshī', and van Ess followed this attribution in his 1971 edition. The preserved text is part of a *firaq*-book, describing the factions that arose within the Islamic community over the question of the Imāmate from the first disputes following the death of the Prophet onwards into the early third/ninth century. Like Nawbakhtī's *Firaq*, it begins with a historical introduction covering the events of the first *fitna* that produced the initial divisions in the originally harmonious and united *umma* [*Niḥ.*9:13–21:9]. Thereafter, it is ordered according to the major divisions, treating first the factions of the Shī'a [22:1–38:6], then the Mu'tazila [49:1–61:13], the Murji'a [62:1–64:11], the Aṣḥāb al-Ḥadīth [65:1–67:21], and the Khawārij [68:1–70:14], during the presentation of which, the fragment breaks off.

Already in the introduction to his edition, van Ess expressed several reservations about the manuscript's attribution of the text to Nāshī' al-Akbar, noting in particular that the presentation of the factions of the Shī'a continues only as far as the Imamate of 'Alī al-Riḍā (d.203/817) and that the text claims this to be the contemporary situation [47:17–48:4]¹⁵¹. He also remarks that the description of the Khurramiyya also claims contemporary knowledge but describes a situation long before Nāshī' could have been writing¹⁵². Likewise, he observes that, although the author is clearly a Mu'tazilī, the section on the Mu'tazila mentions mainly scholars who belonged to the sixth generation (*tabaqa*) according to 'Abd al-Jabbār and Ibn al-Murtaḍā's classification: Abū l-Hudhayl (d.227/841?)¹⁵³, Ibrāhīm

149 From the title page, it seems the preserved fragment should be entitled *Masā'il al-imāma*, which was supposedly the first *kitāb* of a larger *kitāb fīhi uṣūl al-niḥal al-latī khtalafa fīhā ahl al-ṣalāt*. The title/description of the supposed longer work is clearly drawn from the first paragraph of the extant text (*Niḥ.*9:6–7) (*thumma innā dhākirūn fī kitābinā hādḥā uṣūl al-niḥal al-latī khtalafat [sic.] fīhā ahl al-ṣalāt*). There is no indication within the text, however, of any separate section, let alone a '*kitāb*', called *masā'il al-imāma*, such that we would expect other sections on other topics to follow (see also the discussion in van Ess 1971b:20 and Madelung 1980:225).

150 Van Ess 1971b: 20, 56–61.

151 *Ibid.*:42–43.

152 *Ibid.*:37–38.

153 See *TG*.III:209–291.

al-Nazzām (d.221–232/836–846)¹⁵⁴, Bishr b. al-Mu‘tamir (d.210/825)¹⁵⁵, Abū Bakr al-Aṣamm (d.200/816)¹⁵⁶ and Hishām al-Fuwaṭī (d. circa 230)¹⁵⁷. The only scholars of the seventh *ṭabaqa* to be mentioned are Abū ‘Imrān al-Raqāshī¹⁵⁸ and Abū Mūsā al-Murdār (d. 226/841)¹⁵⁹. None of the more prominent scholars of this generation, e.g., Ja‘far b. Mubashshir (d.234/849)¹⁶⁰, Ja‘far b. Ḥarb (d.236/850)¹⁶¹, al-Jāhiz (d.255/866)¹⁶², ‘Abbād (d. after 260/874)¹⁶³, Abū Ya‘qūb al-Shaḥḥām¹⁶⁴ or Abū Ja‘far al-Iskāfī (d.240/845)¹⁶⁵ are mentioned¹⁶⁶.

Despite these reservations, Van Ess maintained the authorship of Nāshī’ mostly because of the material in the section on the Ḥashwiyya and the Aṣḥāb al-Ḥadīth. The scholars mentioned here are generally slightly later: Yaḥyā b. Ma‘īn (d.233/847), Abū Khaythāma al-Nasā‘ī (d.234/848), Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal (d.241/855) and Ḥusayn al-Karābīsī (d. ca. 248/862)¹⁶⁷. The difficulty is that this last scholar is not actually named Ḥusayn al-Karābīsī in the text, but Walīd al-Karābīsī. Indeed, his followers are called the Walīdiyya [67:1–2]. Walīd died in 214/829–30 and was, according to Ibn Taghrībirdī (d.815/1412), a Mu‘tazilī from Basra¹⁶⁸. The Karābīsī mentioned in *Uṣūl al-niḥāl* is definitely not a Mu‘tazilī and his views are precisely those ascribed by Ash‘arī to Ḥusayn al-Karābīsī. Van Ess therefore concluded that the error was due to Nāshī’, who had confused the two¹⁶⁹.

Madelung, however, writing in 1980, pointed out that, against the report in Ibn Taghrībirdī, there is a long section in Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī’s (d.463/1071) *Ta‘rīkh Baghdād* which names Walīd al-Karābīsī as an important Sunni theologian and the teacher of Ḥusayn al-Karābīsī [*Ta‘rīkh Baghdād* XV:612:8–613:15]¹⁷⁰. Baghdādī names the source for his information as Dāwūd b. ‘Alī al-Iṣfahānī (d.276/890) and his report is very detailed. Ibn Taghrībirdī’s report, on the other hand, gives very

154 TG.III:296–418.

155 See TG.III:107–130.

156 See TG.II:396–418.

157 See TG.IV:1–15.

158 TG.III:131.

159 TG.III:134–142.

160 TG.IV:56–68.

161 TG.IV:68–77.

162 See *Et*²:‘al-Djāhiz’ [Pellat]

163 TG.IV:16–44.

164 TG.IV:45–51.

165 TG.IV:77–87.

166 *Ibid.*:53–54. The scholars of the Murji‘a are even earlier (See Madelung 1980:221).

167 Van Ess 1971b:53; Madelung 1980:221.

168 Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira*, II:210.

169 Van Ess 1971b:52.

170 Madelung 1980:222–223.

little concrete information¹⁷¹. The section in Baghdādī contains many details which correspond with the presentation in *Uṣūl al-niḥal*, e.g., the indication that al-Walīd associated with Mu'tazilī theologians and disputed with them. On the basis of the *Tarīkh's* report, Madelung argued we can be confident that we are dealing with Walīd in *Uṣūl al-niḥal*, just as the text claims¹⁷². The result of this is that the latest scholar named in *Uṣūl al-niḥal* is now Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855). Given the opinion attributed to Ibn Ḥanbal in the text, namely that only Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmān had been true caliphs [66:16–20], which he supposedly later rescinded, Madelung suggests that the chapter on the Ḥashwiyya and the Ahl al-Ḥadīth was composed during Ibn Ḥanbal's lifetime and probably in the first third of the third century/before 850¹⁷³.

Taken together, the range of individuals mentioned in *Uṣūl al-niḥal* appears to indicate that the text was not composed as late as the period of activity of Nāshī' al-Akbar. In consideration of the identity of the real author, Madelung suggest that internal evidence indicates that he was a Baghdādī Mu'tazilī and that it is likely that he came from the generation of Jāḥiẓ¹⁷⁴. He suggests that our best option would be Ja'far b. Ḥarb, who, according to Ibn Yazdādh [in *Faḍl*.282:7] and Ibn an-Nadīm [*Fih*.I:591:13–14] wrote a text called *Kitāb al-Uṣūl*. We might expect such a title to refer to a book on the five principles of the Mu'tazila and indeed some later authors, including Jishumī [see *Faḍl*.282, n.544] and Ibn al-Murtaḍā [*Ṭabaqāt*.73:10], do give the title of Ibn Ḥarb's work as *Kitāb al-Uṣūl al-khamsa*. Nevertheless, Madelung argues that it would not sit badly with a work entitled *Kitāb uṣūl al-niḥal* either¹⁷⁵.

Madelung's argument that Nāshī' al-Akbar is not the author of *Uṣūl al-niḥal* is convincing and has generally been accepted, including by van Ess¹⁷⁶. There is no internal evidence that the text was composed in the second half of the third/ninth century, and there is good indication that it was composed in the first half. The suggestion that the author is Ja'far b. Ḥarb is, however, only a hypothesis, as Madelung himself stated openly¹⁷⁷. There are other possibilities, even out of the known Baghdādī Mu'tazila of this period. Moreover, the argument that the *Kitāb al-uṣūl* recorded by Ibn Yazdādh and Ibn al-Nadīm could be this very work is plausible but hardly

171 *Ibid.*:223.

172 *Ibid.*

173 *Ibid.*223–225. Of course, whether the change of opinion really happened in Ibn Ḥanbal's lifetime or is projected back on to him is an open question. On the biographies of Ibn Ḥanbal generally, see Cooperson 2000:107–153.

174 Madelung 1980:226.

175 *Ibid.*:227.

176 E.g. van Ess 2011:140–148.

177 Madelung 1980:230.

decisive. All other things being equal, it is still much more likely they are referring to a work on the five principles, not a *firaq*-book, even one that has the words *uṣūl al-niḥal* in the introduction. On the basis that it is better to proceed cautiously and avoid the impression that we are definitely in possession of a text by Ja'far b. Ḥarb, the author of *Uṣūl al-niḥal* will be referred to throughout as ps.-Nāshī'.

7.8 Zurqān al-Misma'ī (d.279/892), *Kitāb al-Maqālāt*

The lost *Kitāb al-maqālāt* of Abū Ya'lā Muḥammad b. Shaddād b. 'Īsā al-Misma'ī, better known as Zurqān, seems to have been the most important Mu'tazilī *maqālāt*-book of the first half of the third/ninth century¹⁷⁸. It is the most-cited source in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* (at least as far as marked citations go) and was also used by Balkhī¹⁷⁹. Zurqān was a student of Abū l-Hudhayl and Naẓẓām¹⁸⁰. It is thus unsurprising that most of the material preserved from him concerns the Mu'tazila, but it seems the *Maqālāt* also contained information on non-Islamic groups: citations are preserved concerning the philosophers and astronomers of Antiquity, dualists, the Sabians of Harrān and Indian religions¹⁸¹. But many of Ash'arī's and Balkhī's citations concern Shī'ī *mutakallimūn*¹⁸². As is the case with Warrāq, however, it

¹⁷⁸ On Zurqān, see *TG*.IV:119–121; van Ess 2011:181.

¹⁷⁹ Van Ess 2011:182, 335, 467–469. The clearest indication that Balkhī used Zurqān's *Maqālāt* is in Ibn al-Malāḥimī's *Kitāb al-Fā'iq fi uṣūl al-dīn*, 484:8–9 (*ḥakā shaykhunā Abū l-Qāsim 'an Zurqān. . .*), but there are several other passages where it seems most likely Zurqān is cited via Balkhī,

¹⁸⁰ *TG*.IV:119.

¹⁸¹ Van Ess 2011:181–182. See especially the material cited in *Bad'*.I:140:8–144:8.

¹⁸² Ash'arī cites Zurqān ten times, not including repetitions, for material on Hishām b. al-Ḥakam (*MaqA*.40:5–8=582:14–583:2, 44:11–12=345:2–3, 55:6–8(unmarked)=364:14–15=511:9–10, 55:8–9(unmarked)=367:8–9, 55:15–56:2, 60:7–10, 60:15–61:2=331:3–5, 61:12–14, 62:8–12(unmarked)=436:10–16; 63:5–6), once on Hishām al-Jawālīqī and Shayṭān al-Ṭāq (*MaqA*.44:13–45:2=346:9–12), once on Abū Mālik al-Ḥaḍramī (*MaqA*.43:15–16) and once on Sulaymān b. Jarīr (*MaqA*.68:5–7). Balkhī also seems to have cited Zurqān most often concerning Hishām b. al-Ḥakam, e.g., *Mugh*.XI:310:9–14 (cf. *Bāb*.60:8 and *MaqA*.60:15–61:2), and *Bāb*.58:4, 58:6–7, where comparison with *MaqA*.345:2–3, 582:14–583:1 suggests that Balkhī (i.e., Abū Tammām's source) was in turn citing Zurqān. The same is probably true in the case of the Omani author Abū Bakr al-Nazwānī (d.557/1162), whose *al-Jawhar al-muqtaṣir*, 52:8–10 parallels Ash'arī's Zurqān-citation at *MaqA*.60:7–10. That Nazwānī is reliant on Balkhī's *Maqālāt* is suggested at *Jawhar*, 72:10 (on this question, see van Ess 2011:365–366). Abū Tammām gives the material that Ash'arī cites from Zurqān on Abū Mālik al-Ḥaḍramī and Shayṭān al-Ṭāq but attributed to the 'Hishāmiyya' (*Bāb*.61:6–9; *MaqA*.346:9–12).

has been claimed that some of the material on Shī'ī factions in the extant texts for which Zurqān is *not* cited also comes ultimately from his *Maqālāt*¹⁸³.

As to when the text was written, we do not have much to go on. The late dates of death recorded for Zurqān imply he lived to a very old age, as he is also supposed to have been the last transmitter of *ḥadīth* from Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd al-Qaṭṭān (d.197/812)¹⁸⁴. The death dates are made more plausible by the fact that Abū Bakr al-Shāfi'ī (260–354/874–965) is supposed to have been his last student¹⁸⁵. Other information, however, indicates he was active in the first half of the third century¹⁸⁶. In any case, the best we can do in terms of dating his *Maqālāt* is to examine the figures recorded in Ash'arī's numerous citations. Zurqān is cited most often as the source of information on the Imāmī *mutakallim* Hishām b. al-Ḥakam (d.179/795)¹⁸⁷, but also for other second-century Shī'ī scholars, such as Abū Mālik al-Ḥāḍramī¹⁸⁸, Shayṭān al-Ṭāq¹⁸⁹ and Sulaymān b. Jarīr¹⁹⁰. He is also cited for information on the Murji'a as a group, and on the Ghaylāniyya and Jahm b. Ṣafwān (d.128/746)¹⁹¹ specifically, as well as on 'Abd al-Wahid b. Zayd and Bakr b. Ukht 'Abd al-Wahid b. Zayd¹⁹². The largest cast of characters, including the most recent individuals, is found in citations concerning the Mu'tazila: Ḍirār b. 'Amr¹⁹³, Aṣamm (d.200/816), Bishr b. al-Mu'tamir (d.210/825)¹⁹⁴, Thumāma (d.213./828)¹⁹⁵, Mu'ammār (d.215/830), Abū l-Hudhayl (d.227/841?) and Naẓẓām (d.221–232/836–846). That would suggest that the *Maqālāt* covered the period up to the generation of Zurqān's own teachers, but no further, i.e., it was composed at a similar time to *Uṣūl al-niḥal*, probably in the 230s at the latest.

183 See p. 98.

184 TG.IV:119.

185 *Ibid.*

186 *Ibid.*

187 On him, see TG.I:349–355; Modarressi 2003:259–268.

188 See TG.I:348–349. His date of death is unknown, but he transmitted mainly from Mūsā l-Kāzim.

189 On Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Nu'mān b. Abī Ṭarīfa al-Aḥwal al-Bajalī, known as 'Shayṭān al-Ṭāq', see TG.I:336–342; Modarressi 2003:338–339. He appears to have been known personally to Ja'far al-Ṣādiq. As van Ess observes, Ṣafaḍī plausibly places his death around 180/796 (*Wāfi*, IV:104:2).

190 See TG.II: 472–485. Sulaymān was active in the second half of the second/eighth century, but his date of death is unclear.

191 On Jahm see TG.II:493–507; *EF*. 'Djahm b. Ṣafwān' [Watt].

192 See TG.II:96–99 (on 'Abd al-Wāhid) and 108–118 (on Bakr and the Bakriyya). The dates of both are obscure, but the latter appears to have been active in the second half of the second/eighth century, and his uncle slightly earlier.

193 See TG.III:32–59, where van Ess suggests he died around 180/796.

194 See TG.III:107–130.

195 See TG.III:159–172.

To an even greater extent than Warrāq's *Maqālāt*, it seems Zurqān's *Maqālāt* was little used and perhaps no longer much available after the early fourth/tenth century. After Ash'arī and Balkhī, all Zurqān-citations appear to be taken via them. Van Ess suggests that the Zurqān-citations in Maqdisī's *Bad' wa-l-ta'riḫ* (written in 355/966) concerning non-Islamic groups [*Bad'.I:140:8–144:8*] may be taken directly from the original¹⁹⁶. But this passage has been discussed above. There is at least one intermediary between Zurqān and Maqdisī, probably Balkhī¹⁹⁷.

¹⁹⁶ Van Ess 2011:183, 575, 947.

¹⁹⁷ See p. 34–35. There is also what appears to be an independent Zurqān-citation at *Tabṣira*.828:17, but Nasafī certainly had access to Balkhī's *Maqālāt* (see the citations listed in n.84); this Zurqān-citation probably comes via there.

II The Shape of the Iraqi Heresiographical Tradition on the Shī'a

The extant *firaq*- and *maqālāt*-books composed in the third/ninth and early fourth/tenth centuries are highly modular in structure. They employ various, discrete, structural-thematic elements, some of which are themselves composed of inter-linked smaller elements, to convey information of different kinds. A descriptive typology of these elements is provided in II.1. Thereafter, II.2 sets out how they are assembled into the individual presentations of the Shī'a in the extant texts of the tradition, or, in the case of Balkhī's *Maqālāt*, how they were probably assembled given the evidence from the extant witnesses of the BdC. It also describes the formal relationship of the material on the Shī'a to the other material found in these works.

1 Common Structural-Thematic Elements

Certain structural-thematic elements are witnessed in several texts of the corpus. They also constitute most of the extant material on the Shī'a in the third-century heresiographies overall. These will be referred to as 'major elements' and are discussed in section 1.1. Other elements are witnessed only in Ash'arī's and Balkhī's *Maqālāt*s (the latter via the BdC). These will be referred to as 'minor elements' and are discussed in section 1.2.

1.1 Major Elements

1.1.1 *Firaq*-Material: The *firaq*-List and the *iftirāq*-Schema

A large proportion of the material in the heresiographies, and especially in the *firaq*-books, has the individual faction (*firqa*), as its main object of analysis. This will be referred to generally as *firaq*-material. The faction is usually presented as a discrete, named group, at a taxonomic level below that of the major division (*shif*). The factions of the Shī'a depicted in the heresiographies are often constituted by an historical moment of origin, are named after some putative founder, and possess a certain, albeit often very thin, doctrinal profile.

One structure for the presentation of factions is the plain *firaq*-list. Here, some sub-set of Shī'i factions, those of the Zaydiyya for example, is merely listed out one after another; no relationship between the factions is built into the structure of the list itself. Such a list is sometimes introduced with a short formula, but usually

one that gives no information behind the list's ordering principle, e.g., 'The Zaydiyya consist of six factions. . .' (*wa-l-Zaydiyya sitt firaq. . .*) [MaqA.66:12]. The introductory formula is then followed immediately by the self-contained descriptions of each faction in turn. These are sometimes, but not always, given ordinal numbers (*wa-l-firqa al-ülā minhum. . .*etc.).

The more common, and more complex structure employed in *firaq*-material on the Shī'a is the ***iftirāq*-schema**. The *iftirāq*-schema operates on the basis that the factions it contains come into being in moments of successive division (*iftirāq*). The paradigmatic example is the *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya. Here, the death of each Imām results in a succession-dispute that produces several factions, each supporting a particular contender to be the next Imām. These factions may themselves then undergo fresh *iftirāq* upon the deaths of their respective Imāms. The process continues to fragment the Imāmiyya *over time*, producing new layers of *iftirāq* and an ever-greater number of *firaq*. The result is a kind of family tree, a stemma of Imāmī factions that traces the history of the fragmentation of the Imāmiyya through its successive phases following the deaths of Imāms back to the initial *iftirāq* of the Shī'a that occurred after the death of 'Alī or, sometimes, the Prophet.

Wherever the schema is in operation, it obeys a tight formulaic structure. Each new layer of *iftirāq* is introduced by an ***iftirāq*-statement** declaring that after the death of the Imam in question, his supporters divided (*iftaraqat* or *taffaraqat*, occasionally *ikhtalafat*) into a certain number of factions. The self-contained descriptions of the resulting factions are then listed consecutively and sometimes numbered (*wa-l-firqa al-ülā minhum. . .*etc.). The *iftirāq*-statement together with the factions it introduces will be referred to as an ***iftirāq*-cluster**. The individual *iftirāq*-clusters are linked together by the successive *iftirāq*-statements as the factions formed in earlier clusters undergo their own subsequent *iftirāq* to create new clusters.

1.1.2 *Ikhtilāf*-Material

The second major structural-thematic element is *ikhtilāf*-material. This has nothing to do with the putative historical factions of the Shī'a, their views on the identity of the Imām or with attributing a general doctrinal profile to them. The main object of analysis, rather, is the conflicting doctrines (sg. *qawl* or *maqāla*) of individual, prominent *mutakallimūn* on the numerous questions in *kalām*. *Ikhtilāf*-material also has a tight formulaic structure. Its primary unit is the *ikhtilāf*-cluster, which consists of an ***ikhtilāf*-statement**, in which the topic of the cluster is announced, for example 'The theologians disagreed concerning the matter of continued existence and cessation of existence' (*ikhtalafa l-mutakallimūn fī l-baqā' wa-l-fanā'*) [MaqA.366:11],

followed by a list of self-contained **doctrinal statements** (*maqālāt*), each introduced with the simple formula, 'X said. . .' (*wa-qāla X . . .*).

Usually, each *ikhtilāf*-cluster is isolated, in the sense that it does not build structurally on the previous cluster as do *iftirāq*-clusters in an *iftirāq*-schema, although they are often grouped together thematically¹. *Ikhtilāf*-material lacks any diachronic perspective and provides no aetiology of the doctrines it describes; it does not matter when a *mutakallim* lived or how they came to hold their viewpoint. In most cases, *ikhtilāf*-clusters are not restricted to the position of any one major division of the *umma*. The point, rather, is the systematic comparison of the doctrinal positions themselves, across the Muslim Community and often beyond².

Tab. 1: An *ikhtilāf*-cluster from Zurqān on the relationship between the act of creation and the thing created.

<i>MaqA.364:12-17</i>	<i>MaqA.364:12-17</i>
[a] حكي زرقان عن معمر انه كان يزعم ان خلق الشيء غيره وللخلق خلقٌ الى ما لا نهاية له وان ذلك يكون في وقت واحد معًا	[a] Zurqān related concerning Mu'ammār that he claimed that the creation of a thing is something other than that thing, and that each act of creation has its own act of creation in turn, extending to an infinite series, and that all this occurs simultaneously within a single instant.
[b] وحكي عن هشام بن الحكم ان خلق الشيء صفةٌ له لا هو هو ولا غيره	[b] And he related concerning Hishām b. al-Ḥakam that [he claimed that] the creation of a thing is an attribute of that thing, neither the thing itself nor something other than it.
[c] وقال بشر بن المعتمر خلق الشيء غيره والخلق قبل المخلوق وهو الارادة من الله للشيء	[c] And Bishr b. al-Mu'tamir said that the creation of a thing is something other than that thing, and that the act of creation precedes the [existence of the] created thing, and that it [i.e., the act of creation] is the will of God for that thing [to exist].

1 There are occasional examples of linked *ikhtilāf*-clusters in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*. For example, *MaqA.461:11-462:9*, presents three *ikhtilāf*-units asking successively whether (i) the Imām must come from the Quraysh, (ii) whether those who say he must be from the Quraysh also say that he must come from Banū Hāshim, and (iii) whether those who say he must come from Banū Hāshim say from the 'Abbāsids or the 'Alids. Such examples are, however, rare.

2 The chapters of part one of Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* provide an important exception to this rule, as they usually contain *ikhtilāf*-material restricted to a single major division.

An example of a short *ikhtilāf*-cluster is given in Tab. 1. This is a cluster, or perhaps a fragment of a cluster, on the question of the nature of “creation” cited by Ash‘arī from Zurqān³. Several features are representative. First, there is the terseness and density of expression, and the technical character of the language; one must have some knowledge of the jargon of *kalām* to understand what this is about. Second, there is the parallel phrasing of the individual doctrinal statements to allow rapid comparison of the similarities and differences to between them. Third, there is the fact that these are obviously, first and foremost, the doctrines of individual *mutakallimūn*. In many doctrinal statements, the formula “and those who professed his doctrine” (*wa-man qāla bi-qawlihi*) is added after the name of the individual *mutakallim*. This probably reflects the reality that famous *mutakallimūn* attracted circles of less famous followers who were understood to subscribe to their views. It perhaps also refers to the fact that they sometimes had students who continued to uphold their views into the next generation. However, the focus remains on the systematic comparison of doctrines primarily attached to individuals. *Ikhtilāf*-material itself does not, as a matter of course, assert the existence of factions or even schools, let alone seek to define doctrinal systems in their totality. It details the answers given to each specific question atomistically; *mutakallimūn* who agree on one question can disagree on the next. The ‘system’ of doctrines can only be reconstructed, and only partially, by trawling through all the *ikhtilāf*-clusters that contain the doctrines of an individual *mutakallim*.

1.1.3 The Historical Prologue

Much less material appears in the historical prologues than in the form of *fīraq*- or *ikhtilāf* material, but all the early Iraqi heresiographies for which the beginning is extant, whether *fīraq*-books or *maqālāt*-books, contain an example of this structural-thematic element. It always follows immediately after a brief introduction containing typical praise formulae (*tamhīd*) and a declaration of the topic and/or purpose of the book. The historical prologue sets out how the Muslim Community, which had been unified in the time of the Prophet, became divided after his death, tracing the events from the initial disputes over the immediate succession to Muḥammad through the *riḍḍa* wars to the first *fitna*, following the death of ‘Uthmān. In all extant examples, the point is to describe how conflict emerged within the *umma* as a result of the events of its earliest post-Prophetic history, but the degree

³ It is not completely clear from the cited passage that the statement of Bishr b. al-Mu‘tamir is still cited from Zurqān, but this is confirmed by a parallel at *Maq*4.511:7–10, where the material is given in a different order.

to which the major divisions of the Community in the author's day are depicted to have their origins in those events varies considerably from work to work.

There is much less formulaic consistency in the historical prologues than in the other structural-thematic elements, both major and minor. The narrative is always hung around the main historical events (the death of the Prophet, the election of Abū Bakr, the death of 'Uthmān and the election of 'Alī, the first *fitna*) and proceeds chronologically, but there is no standard formulaic architecture.

1.2 Minor Elements

1.2.1 The *ijmā'*-Introduction

A common way for Ash'arī and especially Balkhī to introduce their chapters on major divisions of the Muslim Community (such as the Mu'tazila) and/or sections on sub-divisions (such as the Imāmiyya), is with an *ijmā'*-introduction. This sets out the core doctrines upon which the division in question agrees, in advance of describing their various *fīraq* and/or *ikhtilāf*. The usual formula used to begin such an introduction is a variant of 'They are in agreement upon. . .' (*wa-hum mujmi'ūn 'alā. . .*) [MaqA.16:12] or 'The Mu'tazila are in agreement upon. . .' (*wa-l-Mu'tazila mujmi'a 'alā. . .*) [MaqB.63:3], followed by a list of the doctrines the group holds in common.

1.2.2 The *tasmiya*-Passage

Both Ash'arī and Balkhī include short passages on the etymology of the names of the major divisions and sub-divisions they discuss. These have a fairly consistent formula on the model of 'The reason why they were named "the Khawārij" ("the Rebels") is their rebellion (*khurūjuhum*) against 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib' (*wa-l-sabab al-ladhī lahu summū l-Khawārij khurūjuhum 'alā 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib*) [MaqA. 127:16–128:1] or 'The reason why the Mu'tazila were named for their withdrawal (*i'tizāl*) is. . .' (*wa-l-sabab al-ladhī la-hu summiyat al-Mu'tazila bi-l-i'tizāl anna. . .*) [MaqB.115:1–2] or 'They are named the Rāfiḍa ('the rejecters') due to their *rafḍ* ('rejection') of the Imāmate of Abū Bakr and 'Umar' (*wa-innamā summū Rāfiḍa li-rafḍihim imāmat Abī Bakr wa-'Umar*) [MaqA.16:11].

1.2.3 The *kuwar*-Passage

The *kuwar*-passage is used to provide an overview of the geographical locations in which the major division in question has a significant presence. It follows a variant of the pattern 'The regions in which Khārijism is predominant are. . .' (*wa-l-kuwar al-latī l-ghālib 'alayhā l-khārijīyya. . .*) [MaqA.128:5–8] or 'A presentation of the

regions in which Mu'tazilism has become predominant. . . ' (*dhikr al-kuwar al-lati ghalaba 'alayha al-i'tizal. . .*) [*MaqB.108:1*].

1.2.4 The *rijāl-wa-mu'allifūn*-Passage

Ash'arī and Balkhī present lists of prominent figures and authors—mostly theologians—attached to the major divisions. There is some variety in the precise formula employed to introduce such lists, but they all overlap with one another. Thus, we get 'The prominent men of the Rāfiḍa and the authors of their books are. . .' (*wa-rijal al-Rāfiḍa wa-mu'allifū kutubihim. . .*) [*MaqA.63:8*], and 'The masters of theological schools amongst them and the authors of books are. . .' (*wa-arbāb al-madhāhib minhum wa mu'allifū l-kutub. . .*) [*MaqB.64:15*], as well as 'Amongst their authors and their theologians are. . .' (*wa-min mu'allifī kutubihim wa-mutakallimīhim. . .*) [*MaqA.120:7*].

1.2.5 The *khurūj*-Passage

A *khurūj*-passage presents a list of rebellions in which a particular major division of the Community was involved. A section of *khurūj*-material is introduced by a fairly generic sub-title, such as 'A presentation of those who rebelled from the family of the Prophet' (*dhikr man kharaja min āl al-nabī. . .*) [*MaqA.75:3*] or 'The rebellions of the Mu'tazila. . .' (*khurūj ahl al-'adl. . .*) [*MaqB.115:15*]. Each new uprising is then introduced simply with 'And so-and-so rebelled. . .' (*wa-kharaja. . .*), followed by a short description of the rebellion.

2 Overview of the Material on the Shī'a in the Extant Texts of the Tradition

This section describes how the different kinds of structural-formulaic unit are combined in the extant texts of the tradition to form their presentations of the Shī'a. We begin in 2.1. with ps.-Nāshī's *Uṣūl al-niḥal*. Then, in 2.2, we will deal with Nawbakhtī's *Firaq* and Qummī's *Maqālāt wa-l-firaq*, which is based on Nawbakhtī's text, together. By far the most complex texts in terms of the structure of their material on the Shī'a are Ash'arī's and Balkhī's *Maqālāts*. Because they so close to one another we will also look at them together, in 2.3.

Abū Hātim al-Rāzī's *Zīna* does not require extensive treatment at this level, as it does not strictly make use of any of the structural-formulaic units. It is not a *firaq*-book or a *maqālāt* book, but rather a work of lexicography that redeploys earlier *firaq*-material in the course of defining certain lexical items. The structure of the relevant section of the work will be looked at in more detail in IV.1.5.

2.1 The Material on the Shī'a in pseudo-Nāshī's *Uṣūl al-niḥal*

Uṣūl al-niḥal deals with the Shī'a in two places. The first is in its historical prologue [*Niḥ.*9:13–21:9], in which the origins of the Shī'a, along with those of all the major divisions of the community, are situated in the disputes over the leadership of the *umma* in the years between Muḥammad's death and the caliphate of Mu'āwiya. The factions of each major division are then presented in turn in their own *iftirāq*-schema. The second is the *iftirāq*-schema of the Shī'a [*Niḥ.*22:1–48:6], although the schema is suspended in some places and factions appear in simple *firaq*-lists for a time before the schema is resumed⁴.

2.2 The Material on the Shī'a in Nawbakhtī's and Qummī's *firaq*-books

There is no section of Nawbakhtī's *Firaq* that does not deal with the Shī'a in some way. Qummī's *Maqālāt wa-l-firaq* is based on Nawbakhtī's work, incorporating it almost in its entirety⁵. Qummī adds numerous factions and rearranges some of the *firaq*-material, resulting in many small-scale structural changes. The macro-structure of the two works, however, remains essentially the same:

- [*Fir.*2:2–7; *MaqQ.*2:2–15] Introduction
- [*Fir.*2:8–7:12; *MaqQ.*2:16–6:17] Historical prologue
- [*Fir.*7:13–15:5; *MaqQ.*6:18–14:15] *ikhtilāf*-section, on the doctrine of the Imāmate and the role of the Companions in the first *fitna*
- [*Fir.*15:6–14; *MaqQ.*14:16–15:6] summary paragraph on the divided state of the Islamic Community
- [*Fir.*15:15–93:3; *MaqQ.*15:7–116:8] *iftirāq* of the Shī'a

Like ps.-Nāshī', Nawbakhtī and Qummī explicitly place the origins of all the major divisions of the community, the Shī'a included, in the events between the death of Muḥammad and the first *fitna* (although Nawbakhtī at one point also states that the Shī'a existed before Muḥammad's death⁶). This is all set out in the historical prologue. Unlike, ps.-Nāshī', they then turn to an overview of the systematic disagreements amongst the community over the doctrine of the Imāmate in a section of *ikhtilāf*. Here, the Shī'a are not the main focus, although they do appear. Rather, the views of *mutakallimūn* from across the Muslim Community are presented in

⁴ See p. 407–412.

⁵ See p. 350–361.

⁶ See p. 79, 605.

the technical language of *kalām*. Then, after a summary paragraph, which seems to conclude all of the preliminary material, we turn to the main topic: the factions of the Shī'a. These are mostly presented in a long *iftirāq*-schema running from the dispute following the death of Muḥammad (again) through to the dispute following the death of Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī (d.260/873), with which the book ends. As in *Uṣūl al-niḥal*, however, that schema sometimes breaks down and we occasionally find passages of simple *firaq*-lists. That tendency is much greater in Qummī's *Maqālāt wa-l-firaq* wherever Qummī has reorganised or added material⁷.

2.3 The Material on the Shī'a in Ash'arī's and Balkhī's *Maqālāt*s

Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, too, has a historical prologue [*MaqA*.2:3–5:2], but it does not mention the Shī'a explicitly. He states that the disagreements over ʿUthmān's supposed wrongdoings, ʿAlī's Imāmate and his submission to the Arbitration continue 'until today' (*ilā l-yawm*), but the only group he names as a product of those original disagreements is the Khawārij⁸. Balkhī also began his *Maqālāt* with a historical prologue, but it cannot be reconstructed from the Bdc⁹.

Ikhtilāf-material containing doctrinal statements from Shī'i *mutakallimūn* appears throughout parts two and three of Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, as well as in part one's Shī'a-chapter and, curiously, the Mu'tazila-chapter¹⁰. But the *firaq*-material on the Shī'a is to be found, as we might expect, wholly in the Shī'a-chapter [*MaqA*.5:7–85:14]. The chapter is complex, employing most of the structural-thematic elements described above. It is surveyed in outline in 2.3.1. Next, in order to establish a first layer of context for the Shī'a-chapter, its structure will be compared with that of the other confessional chapters of part one in 2.3.2. After this, we will compare it with the only accessible chapter of Balkhī's *Maqālāt*, i.e., that on the Mu'tazila, in 2.3.3. It will be seen that there is a close structural correspondence between

⁷ See p. 695–706.

⁸ See p. 78, 85.

⁹ ʿAbd al-Jabbār states that Balkhī claimed the events at the *saqifa* of Banū Sāʿida created the first significant division in Islam (*Faql al-iʿtizāl*, 142:23–25). Fuʿād Sayyid, who edited Balkhī's Mu'tazila-chapter in the same volume, notes that this claim indeed appears in the manuscript of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* on folio 6v. The same claim is cited from Balkhī by Jishumī (*Sharḥ*.14v:5–6). In both cases, Balkhī's position is contrasted with that of Ash'arī's teacher, Abū ʿAlī al-Jubbāʿī (d.303/915), who, when discussing the first disagreement in Islam, began, rather, with the response to ʿUthmān's 'innovations', six years into his caliphate. Jubbāʿī apparently did not even mention the events at the *saqifa*, because the situation was resolved so quickly, and unity was restored. See also p. 80.

¹⁰ On the relationship between the various locations where statements from Shī'i *mutakallimūn* appear, see Weaver 2017:161–182.

Ash'arī's Shī'a- and Khawārij-chapters and Balkhī's Mu'tazila-chapter. In 2.3.4, the evidence concerning the structure of Balkhī's other confessional chapters is assembled and it is shown that the common chapter-structure we see in Ash'arī's Shī'a and Khawārij-chapters and Balkhī's Mu'tazila-chapter must have been employed more widely in Balkhī's *Maqālāt*, including for the Shī'a-chapter. Finally, in 2.3.5, we provide an overview of the preserved elements of Balkhī's Shī'a-chapter, where they are now to be found in the BdC, how they correspond to the equivalent units in Ash'arī's Shī'a-chapter, and how they may have been arranged in Balkhī's *Maqālāt*.

2.3.1 Overview of Ash'arī's Shī'a-Chapter

Ash'arī's Shī'a-chapter has the following outline structure:

- [5:7] statement that the Shī'a consists of three sub-divisions (*aṣnāf*)
- [5:7–8] *tasmiya*-passage on the name *Shī'a* (*wa-innamā qīla lahum al-Shī'a li-annahum shayya'ū 'Alī bn Abī Ṭālib. . .*)
- [5:9–16:9] sub-chapter on the Ghāliya
 - [5:9–10] *tasmiya*-passage on the name *ghāliya* (*wa-innamā summū l-ghāliya li-annahum ghalaw fi 'Alī. . .*)
 - [5:11–16:9] *firaq*-list of the Ghāliya (*wa-hum khams 'ashara firaq. . .*)
- [16:10–64:15] sub-chapter on the Rāfiḍa
 - [16:10–11] sub-heading (*wa-l-ṣinf al-thānī min al-aṣnāf al-thalātha. . . wa-hum al-Rāfiḍa*)
 - [16:11] *tasmiya*-passage on the name *Rāfiḍa* (*wa-innamā summū Rāfiḍa li-rafḍihim imāmat Abī Bakr wa-'Umar*)
 - [16:11–17:8] *ijmā'*-introduction (*wa-hum mujmi'ūn 'alā. . .*)
 - [17:8–9] *tasmiya*-passage on the name *Imāmiyya* (*wa-hum yud'awna l-Imāmiyya li-qawlihim bi-naṣṣ 'alā imāmat 'Alī bn Abī Ṭālib*)
 - [17:10–31:8] *firaq*-list (*fa-l-firqa al-ūlā minhum. . .*)
 - [31:9] statement that the discussion of the Ghulāt and the Imāmiyya ends at this point (*tamma l-kalām fi l-Ghulāt wa-l-Imāmiyya*)¹¹
 - [31:10–63:9] *ikhtilāf*-section
 - [63:10–64:2] *mu'allifūn*-passage (*wa-rijāl al-Rāfiḍa wa-mu'allifū kutubihim. . .*)
 - [64:3–4] *kuwar*-passage (*wa-l-tashayyu' ghālib 'alā. . .*)
 - [64:5–15] A report of Sulaymān b. Jarīr on two factions of the Imāmiyya

¹¹ This statement that the discussion of the Imāmiyya and the Ghulāt finishes at this point is curious. It indeed marks the end of the *firaq*-material on the Ghāliya and the Rāfiḍa, but it is not the end of the discussion of the Rāfiḍa. The sub-chapter on the Rāfiḍa continues for another thirty-three pages in Ritter's edition.

- [65:1–75:2] sub-chapter on the Zaydiyya
 - [65:1–2] sub-heading (*wa-l-ṣinf al-thālith min al-aṣnāf al-thalātha. . . wa-hum al-Zaydiyya*)
 - [65:2–3] *tasmiya*-passage (*wa-innamā summū Zaydiyya li-tamssukihim bi-qawl Zayd b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib*)
 - [65:3–66:11] introductory material on the rebellions of Zayd b. 'Alī and Yaḥyā b. Zayd
 - [66:12–69:14] *firaq*-list (*wa-l-Zaydiyya sitt firaq. . .*)
 - [70:1–75:2] *ikhtilāf*-section
- [75:3–85:13] *khurūj*-material (*dhikr man kharaja min āl al-nabī. . .*)
- [85:14] statement that the discussion of the Rāfiḍa has finished and that on the Khawārij will follow (*tamma kalām al-Rāfiḍa wa-llāh walī l-tawfiq yatlūhu kalām al-Khawārij wa-bi-llāh nasta'īn*)¹²

For Ash'arī, the Shī'a consist of three sub-divisions (*asnāf*), namely the Ghāliya, the Rāfiḍa and the Zaydiyya, each of which has its own *firaq*. This fundamental tripartite split appears as a given fact in the chapter. The sub-divisions are dealt with in discrete sub-chapters, and little is said explicitly about how they relate to one another historically or doctrinally¹³. Of all the chapters of part one, only the Shī'a-chapter is structured this way. While other major divisions (e.g. the Khawārij and the Murji'a) have their *firaq*, only for the Shī'a does a sub-division above the level of the *firaq* but below that of the main division (also termed *ṣinf*) seem to have been significant enough to warrant the extra taxonomical stratum.

The sub-chapters present their material in the same order, but not all kinds of material are present in every sub-chapter. They all begin with an introduction, always including at least one *tasmiya*-passage (the introduction consists only of the *tasmiya*-passage in the case of the Ghāliya), followed by a *firaq*-list. The sub-chapter on the Ghāliya ends at this point, but the sub-chapters on the Rāfiḍa and the Zaydiyya proceed to sections of *ikhtilāf*-material. The sub-chapter on the Rāfiḍa alone continues beyond its *ikhtilāf*-section, presenting a small amount of material that has no equivalent in the other sub-chapters: a *rijāl-wa-mu'allifūn*-passage, a *kuwar*-passage and a report from Sulaymān b. Jarīr.

The chapter as a whole finishes with a section of *khurūj*-material, on the uprisings of the family of the Prophet. For doctrinal reasons, this might be thought to belong to the immediately preceding sub-chapter on the Zaydiyya, but formally,

¹² The reference only to the Rāfiḍa here is interesting. The statement marks the end of the whole Shī'a-chapter. Taking into account what is said in the previous note, it seems something has gone awry in the sign-posting of the chapter, but we cannot know when this occurred.

¹³ See p. 745.

this is not the case. The section has its own title, a feature that otherwise occurs only at the beginning of the sub-chapters. The content also sets it apart: none of the divisions or factions of the Shī'a mentioned previously appears to be relevant anymore. The *khurūj*-section focusses, rather, on the uprisings and deaths of individual 'Alid rebels. The Zaydiyya get a brief mention in the passage concerning Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan [79:12] but the most prominent group amongst Ibrāhīm's supporters presented there is the Mu'tazila [79:11, 14]. We are also told in passing that some Zaydiyya denied that Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim had died and continued to expect his future uprising [82:8–9]. The composition of the various 'Alids' supporters is not discussed otherwise and none of the factions mentioned in the *firaq*-material or the *ikhtilāf*-material appears. Indeed, the whole section seems to be martyrological rather than heresiographical or doxographical in orientation.

A lack of explicit interaction between sections of the chapter, especially between sections consisting of different kinds of material is evident elsewhere. The most striking example is found in the sub-chapter on the Rāfiḍa. The *firaq*-list here presents numerous, named factions. It is immediately followed by the *ikhtilāf*-section. However, none of the factions from the *firaq*-list reappears in the *ikhtilāf*-section. Conversely, the *ikhtilāf*-section mentions many named factions and refers to them consistently as *firaq*, but none of them appear in the preceding *firaq*-list. Material of the same type, however, sometimes interferes even across the sub-chapter boundaries: most importantly, some factions that appear in the *firaq*-list of the Ghāliya appear again as factions of the Rāfiḍa without acknowledgement or clarification: the Bayāniyya [*MaqA.5:11–6:2*, 23:3–6], the Ḥarbiyya [*MaqA.6:11–13*, 22:4–23:2], the Mughīriyya [*MaqA.6:14–9:6*, 23:10–24:4], and the Mansūriyya [*MaqA.9:7–10:8*, 24:10–25:8].

The presence of several different structural-formulaic elements provides the chapter with a complex overall structure. Its effect is to give the Shī'a a multi-dimensional 'shape' as a division of the Community by depicting them from several different perspectives. This can be seen best in the case of the Rāfiḍa. Ash'arī begins with etymology: the *tasmiya*-passage explain why they bear their current name. After this, the focus shifts to systematic concerns with the *ijmā'*-introduction, i.e., that which constitutes the Rāfiḍa in terms of core doctrine. The perspective then switches again to a 'vertical', historical point of view: the much longer *firaq*-list tells of the numerous factions of the Rāfiḍa that emerged successively in support of the various competing claimants to the Imāmate from the earliest origins of the Rāfiḍa in the conflicts after the Prophet's death up to a certain point in the third/ninth century¹⁴. Thereafter, we return to the 'horizontal', systematic perspective

¹⁴ See p. 749–750.

with the *ikhtilāf*-section, the longest of all, which presents the wide-ranging internal disagreements of the Rāfiḍa over numerous topics in *kalām*, focussing for the most part on theologians active in the late second century. The far shorter *rijāl*-passage provides a fleeting inventory of the most important personalities belonging to the Rāfiḍa, again mostly theologians but also transmitters of *ḥadīth*. Finally, the brief *kuwar*-passage gives them geographical shape: they are present in significant numbers only in certain parts of the Islamic world. The sections on the Zaydiyya and the Ghulāt are less complex and their *fīraq*-lists less focussed on historical developments. Still, it would seem the idea was to present them in the same way as far as the available material allowed.

2.3.2 Ash'arī's Shī'a- Chapter and the Other Chapters of Part One

Ash'arī's Shī'a-chapter is strikingly different from all other chapters of part one of his *Maqālāt* in terms of structure, except for the Khawārij-chapter. The six short chapters at the end of part one display nothing like the Shī'a-chapter's structural complexity. They simply collect together various doctrinal statements attributed to the groups in question. Even the other large chapters, those on the Murji'a and the Mu'tazila, are structurally simple in comparison with the Shī'a- and Khawārij chapters. The Mu'tazila-chapter has an *ijmā'*-introduction [MaqA.155:2–156:17], but otherwise both chapters consist entirely of topically ordered *ikhtilāf*-clusters. *Kalām* is the only thing that matters there.

The Khawārij-chapter, however, not only displays a level of structural complexity similar to the Shī'a-chapter, but that structure itself is remarkably close to that of the Shī'a-chapter. The outline runs as follows:

- [86:3–6] *ijmā'*-introduction (*ajma'at al-Khawārij 'alā. . .*)
- [86:7–120:4] *fīraq*-list
- [120:5–9] *rijāl-wa-mu'allifūn*-passage (*wa min al-'ulamā' bi-l-lugha. . .wa-min mu'allifī kutubihim wa-mutakallimīhim. . .*)
- [120:10–11] the *salaf* claimed by the Khawārij
- [120:12–124:3] resumption of *fīraq*-list
- [124:3–127:11] *ikhtilāf*-material
- [127:12–128:4] *tasmiya*-passage (*wa-li-l-Khawārij alqāb. . .wa-l-sabab al-ladhī lahu summū l-Khawārij. . .*)
- [128:5–8] *kuwar*-passage (*wa-l-kuwar al-lati l-ghālib 'alayhā l-khārijīyya. . .*)
- [128:9–130:8] early history
- [130:9–131:7] *khurūj*-material
- [131:8] statement that the presentation of the doctrines of the Khawārij has reached its end (*ākhir maqālāt al-Khawārij*)

The Khawārij-chapter lacks an equivalent to the tripartite sub-division of the Shī'a-chapter, which necessarily leads to a lack of overall correspondence. Nevertheless, they are almost entirely composed out of the same set of structural-formulaic elements, most of which do not occur anywhere else in the *Maqālāt*: *ijmā'*-introductions, *fīraq*-lists, *mu'allifūn*-passages, *ikhtilāf*-material, *tasmīya*-passages, *kuwar*-passages and *khurūj*-material. Moreover, if we compare the Khawārij-chapter with the longest sub-chapter from the Shī'a-chapter, i.e., that on the Rāfiḍa, it seems that a basic common model for the ordering of these elements was applied in both cases: an *ijmā'*-introduction, followed by a *fīraq*-list, then *ikhtilāf*-material, then the smaller structural elements such as the *kuwar*-passages. The only major difference is that the Khawārij-chapter finishes with a section of *khurūj*-material; the sub-chapter on the Rāfiḍa does not. This is compensated for, however, by the fact that the Shī'a-chapter as a whole finishes with *khurūj*-material. There are some other differences in arrangement: above all, the placement of the *tasmīya*- and *rijāl-wa-mu'allifūn*-passages, the latter of which in the Khawārij chapter intervenes awkwardly in the middle of the *fīraq*-list, along with a passage on the *salaf* who belonged to the Khawārij, an element unique to the Khawārij-chapter. Nevertheless, even taking these discrepancies into account, the two chapters clearly stand out from the rest of the *Maqālāt* for their close structural-formulaic similarity.

As discussed above, the various elements of the common structure we see in the Shī'a-chapter and now in the Khawārij-chapter combine to give these groups confessional shape from a historical and geographical, as well as a systematic perspective. It is thus curious that Ash'arī does not use the same structure to present the Murji'a or the Mu'tazila. First, from a formal point of view, given that he clearly employed a common structure for the first two chapters of the *Maqālāt*, why not continue to apply it, at least in the other major confessional chapters? Second, given the obvious purpose of the structure, why did he then reduce the Mu'tazila and the Murji'a merely to their disagreements in *kalām*, entirely without historical and geographical 'shape'? The answer probably lies partly, as we shall now see, in the fact that the common structure is not of Ash'arī's own making: whatever its ultimate origins, it was used also in at least some of the chapters of Balkhī's *Maqālāt*.

2.3.3 Structural Convergence with Balkhī's Mu'tazila-Chapter

The only chapter of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* that we can examine directly is the Mu'tazila-chapter [*MaqB*.63:1–119:13], which has the following structure:

- [63:1–64:14] *ijmā'*-introduction (*al-Mu'tazila mujmi'a 'alā anna... wa-'ajma'ū 'alā anna... .*)
- [64:15–75:5] *rijāl-wa-mu'allifūn*-passage (*wa-arbāb al-madhāhib minhum wa-mu'allifū l-kutub... .*)

- [75:6–107:9] A list of the *salaf* who are reported to have professed the doctrine of God's justice (*'adl*)
- [108:1–114:5] *kuwar*-passage (*al-kuwar al-latī ghalaba 'alayhā l-i'tizāl. . .*)
- [115:1–15] *tasmiya*-passage (*wa-l-sabab al-ladhī la-hu summiyat al-Mu'tazila bi-l-i'tizāl anna. . .*)
- [115:16–119:13] *khurūj*-material (*khurūj ahl al-'adl. . .*)

It is immediately obvious that Ash'arī's Shī'a- and Khawārij-chapters are structurally more similar to the extant Mu'tazila-chapter from Balkhī's *Maqālāt* than they are to any of the other chapters from part one of Ash'arī's own *Maqālāt*. Many of the structural-formulaic elements that are present in Ash'arī's Shī'a- and Khawārij-chapters, but nowhere else in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, feature here and they appear in a very similar order: the chapter begins with an *ijmā'*-introduction, contains *mu'allifūn*-material and finishes with the *tasmiya*-, *kuwar*- and *khurūj*-passages.

There are also important differences. Above all, Balkhī's Mu'tazila-chapter does not have any true *firaq*- or *ikhtilāf*-material. The function of the *firaq*-material in Ash'arī's Shī'a- and Khawārij-chapters is taken over there by the *rijāl-wa-mu'allifūn*-material. This is introduced with a close variant of the formula found at the beginning of the *rijāl-wa-mu'allifūn*-passages in Ash'arī's chapters, but the content is significantly expanded. Ash'arī merely list the names of a handful of important Shī'i and Kharijī *mutakallimūn* and scholars of other disciplines. Balkhī's *rijāl-wa-mu'allifūn*-material on the Mu'tazila gives a relatively long description of the doctrines of each *mutakallim* listed, and sometimes also biographical information. There is probably a significance to this: the Mu'tazila are here divided into schools (*madhāhib*) that follow different masters with different doctrinal systems, but not into *firaq*.

Similarly, Balkhī's long section on the *salaf* who professed the doctrine of *'adl* has no true counterpart in the chapters of Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*. As we have seen, there is a section in Ash'arī's Khawārij-chapter that lists the *salaf* claimed by the Khawārij [*MaqA*.120:10–11]. The two are possibly related structural elements, but there is no real formulaic convergence and the example in Balkhī's Mu'tazila-chapter is much more substantial. Ash'arī's Shī'a-chapter lacks such material entirely.

Nevertheless, given the structural-formulaic similarities that *are* present, there must be a relationship of some kind between Balkhī's Mu'tazila-chapter and Ash'arī's Shī'a- and Khawārij-chapters. That relationship could be generic. Perhaps the common chapter structure was found in numerous *maqālāt*-books of the period, and both Balkhī and Ash'arī were merely following convention. But it might be something more specific: either Ash'arī and Balkhī might share a common source, from which they both adopted elements of the common structure, or else Balkhī's *Maqālāt* could be Ash'arī's source. The first problem in proceeding

further with this question is that Ash'arī's own Mu'tazila-chapter obviously does not employ the common structure. What we want to do is to compare Balkhī's Shī'a- and Khawārij-chapters with Ash'arī's. This cannot be done directly. However, as we will see, by comparing across the BdC, it is at least possible to establish that the main structural-thematic elements of the common chapter structure were present in the other chapters of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* dealing with the major divisions of the Community, too. Of course, to properly address the question of the relationship of source-dependency between Balkhī's and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*s, we need to look at the parallels in the specific content of the material that appears within those elements, too. This will be done for the material on the Shī'a in the following parts of this study¹⁵. The first, step, however, is to establish the level of structural-formulaic convergence with Ash'arī's Shī'a- and Khawārij-chapters beyond Balkhī's Mu'tazila-chapter.

2.3.4 Structural-Formulaic Elements from the Other Chapters of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* Preserved in the BdC

Ḥākīm al-Jishumī tells us that Balkhī divided the *ahl al-qibla* into six '*firaq*', although he gives only five names: the Shī'a, the Khawārij, the Mu'tazila, the Murji'a and the 'Āmma [*Uyūn*.6r:21–22]. It is still possible to gain a partial picture of what the chapters of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* on these major divisions of the Community would have looked like from the BdC, which preserves isolated elements from all of them.

The largest body of evidence comes from the *Ḥūr*. Ḥimyarī presents versions of Balkhī's *kuwar*- [*Ḥūr*.265:7–266:10=*MaqB*.108:1–114:5], *tasmiya*- [*Ḥūr*.258:19–259:3=*MaqB*.115:2–15] and *khurūj*-material [*Ḥūr*.248:5–249:14 ≈ *MaqB*.115:17–117:4; *Ḥūr*.263:18–264:2=*MaqB*.117:12–14] from the chapter on the Mu'tazila, as well as a highly summarised version of the *rijāl-wa-mu'allifūn*-material [*Ḥūr*.260:18–263.17=*MaqB*.64:15–73:15]. At the beginning of the *kuwar*-passage and twice in the *rijāl-wa-mu'allifūn*-material [*Ḥūr*.261:3, 262:6], Balkhī is cited explicitly, but otherwise the material is presented without citation-marking. Nevertheless, the closeness of the parallels with the published Mu'tazila-chapter of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* implies that all these passages must have been based upon it, or on a version very close to it, although they all summarise to a greater or lesser extent.

Ḥimyarī also cites Balkhī as the source of his *firaq*-lists of both the Shī'a [*Ḥūr*.224:5] and the Khawārij [*Ḥūr*.224:6–7], so it is reasonable to assume that these were also taken from the relevant chapters of Balkhī's *Maqālāt*, especially given the widespread parallels with the *Mughnī* for *firaq*-list of the Shī'a, where Balkhī's

15 For parallels in the material on the Khawārij, see Lewinstein 1989:9–13, 32–49, 56–74, 92–104; 135–139. Also, Madelung and Walker's footnotes to *Bāb*.20:5–34:9; and van Ess 2011:488–494.

Maqālāt is also cited as the source of the material¹⁶. Notably, both *firaq*-lists also display close parallels with Ash'arī's *firaq*-lists in the relevant chapters. Those concerning the Shī'a will be examined in part IV. For the moment, then, we can at least confirm that although *firaq*-material is lacking from Balkhī's Mu'tazila-chapter, it is highly likely it was present in his Shī'a- and Khawārij-chapters.

Taking into account that when Ḥimyarī cites material from Balkhī on the Mu'tazila, he does not always name his source or indicate that he is using a source at all, formulaic similarity suggests that the following passages in the *Ḥūr* were also taken ultimately from the relevant chapters of Balkhī's *Maqālāt*, even though only one of them names Balkhī as the source:

Shī'a

- [Ḥūr.249:18–19] *kuwar*-passage, with explicit Balkhī citation (*qāla l-Balkhī lā a'lamu kūra yaghlibu fihā l-tashayyu' illā. . .*)
- [232:17–18] *tasmiya*-passage on the name *Shī'a* (*wa-inna summiyat al-Shī'a Shī'a li-mushāya'atihim. . .*)
- [238:9–11] *tasmiya*-passage on the name *Rāfiḍa* (*wa-summiyat al-Rāfiḍa min al-Shī'a Rāfiḍa li-rafḍihim. . .*)
- [243:11–18] *khurūj*-material (*thumma kharaja Zayd b. 'Alī. . .thumma kharaja bnuhu yahyā b. Zayd. . .*)

Khawārij

- [254:14–255:5] *tasmiya*-passage (*summiyat al-Khawārij Khawārij li-khurūjihim 'alā. . .*)
- [256:15–18] *kuwar*-passage (*al-kuwar al-latī taghallaba 'alayhā l-Khawārij. . .*)

Murji'a

- [257:5–16] *tasmiya*-passage (*wa-summiyat l-Murji'a Murji'a li-annahum yurjū. . .*)
- [257:17] *kuwar*-passage (*wa laysa min kuwar al-islām kūra illā wa-l-Murji'a ghālibūn fihā illā qalīl minhā*)
- [258:3–5] *khurūj*-material (*wa kharajat al-Murji'a 'alā l-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf. . .*)

¹⁶ See further p. 125–140.

Ḥashwiyya

- [258:6–8] *tasmiya*-passage (*wa-summiyat al-ḥashwiyya ḥashwiyya li-annahum yahshūn al-aḥādith lā aṣl lahā fī. . .*)

ʿĀmma

- [258:9–11] *tasmiya*-passage (*wa-summiyat al-ʿamma ʿamma li-ltizāmihim bi-ʿumūm. . .*)

Qadariyya

- [258:12–13] *tasmiya*-passage (*wa-summiyat al-Qadariyya Qadariyya li-kathrat dhikrihim al-qadar. . .*)

Although Balkhī is named as a source in only one case (the *kuwar*-passage on the Shī'a), the structural-formulaic elements listed above all correspond to elements that appear in Balkhī's Mu'tazila-chapter, as well as in Ash'arī's Shī'a- and Khawārij-chapters. Given Ḥimyarī's widespread and sometimes unacknowledged reliance on Balkhī's *Maqālāt*, all this material was most likely taken from that source, indicating that at least Balkhī's main confessional chapters would all have included *kuwar*-, *tasmiya*- and *khurūj*-passages. This is corroborated further by the fact that one of them—the *tasmiya*-passage on the Khawārij—also appears also in a marked Balkhī-citation in Jishumī's *Sharḥ* [37r:18–37v:7]. Moreover, for the Shī'a and the Khawārij in particular, it is not just the *fīraq*-lists that Ḥimyarī cites openly from Balkhī that are paralleled closely in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*. All of the elements listed above for these major divisions of the Community appear in close parallels in Ash'arī's Shī'a and Khawārij chapters¹⁷. Even if Ash'arī and Balkhī were relying on an earlier common source, rather than Ash'arī relying on Balkhī's *Maqālāt*, this material must have appeared in Balkhī's *Maqālāt* too, in order to explain the parallels in the *Ḥūr* and the *Sharḥ*. Otherwise, we would have to assume Ḥimyarī, Jishumī and Ash'arī separately assembled the *fīraq*-lists and all the other parallel material from multiple common sources. That makes it more likely that the same is true of the material on the other major divisions, which shares its structural-formulaic vocabulary so closely.

Indeed, further evidence is available elsewhere in the BdC to corroborate this conclusion. The *Ḥūr* does not preserve any of Balkhī's *ijmā'*-introductions, not even that for the Mu'tazila, but the introduction to the Imāmiyya is preserved by 'Abd al-Jabbār in the *Mughnī*, where it is cited from Balkhī [*Mugh.XX*₂.176:3–13], and by Ḥākīm

17 For the instances concerning the Shī'a, see p. 733–737, 743–744, 752–753. For the Khawārij, see Lewinstein 1989:11–13.

al-Jishumī in his *ʿUyūn al-masāʾil*, albeit not as a marked citation [*ʿUyūn*.8v:3–14]. This material too is paralleled closely in Ashʿarī's *Maqālāt* [*MaqA*.16:11–17:8]. Additionally, Baghdādī's *Farq* cites material from the *ijmāʿ*-introduction to Balkhī's Mu'tazila-chapter [*Farq*.115:9–12], naming the *Maqālāt* as his source. He also cites an *ijmāʿ*-passage from Balkhī's *Maqālāt* concerning the Khawārij and compares it directly with the *ijmāʿ*-introduction to Ashʿarī's Khawārij-chapter, which it parallels closely [*Farq*.73:5–14; *MaqA*.86:3–6]. The passage Baghdādī cites at this point is presumably the *ijmāʿ*-introduction from Balkhī's Khawārij-chapter. The *Ḥūr* also lacks any *rijāl-wa-muʿallifūn*-passages for major divisions of the Community other than the Mu'tazila, but Jishumī provides a version of the *muʿallifūn*-passage for the Imāmiyya in the *Uyūn (wa-rijāl al-Imāmiyya wa-musannifūhum. . .)* [*ʿUyūn*.9v:12–15]. It lacks any explicit citation-marking, but again, it parallels Ashʿarī's *rijāl-wa-muʿallifūn*-passage on the Rāfiḍa¹⁸.

The evidence considered here thus makes it very likely that most of the elements of the common chapter-structure we see in Ashʿarī's Shī'a- and Khawārij-chapters and Balkhī's Mu'tazila-chapter would have been found in the other chapters of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* that dealt with the major divisions of the Community, too. Most importantly, this appears to be true of the Khawārij-chapter and, above all for present purposes, the Shī'a-chapter. The fact that there is so much parallel material on the Shī'a and the Khawārij between Ashʿarī's Shī'a- and Khawārij-chapters and the corresponding structural-thematic elements preserved in the BdC tells us that this is not just a question of generic convention; there is some more specific relationship of source-dependency between Ashʿarī and Balkhī's *Maqālāt*s. That, however, is still to be substantiated through a closer examination of those parallels. For now, we will attempt, in so far as it is possible, a reconstruction of the outline of Balkhī's Shī'a-chapter and provide an overview of the correspondence between the preserved elements of Balkhī's Shī'a-chapter and Ashʿarī's.

2.3.5 A Partial Reconstruction of Balkhī's Shī'a-Chapter

This section assembles the available clues as to the content and structure of Balkhī's Shī'a-chapter and provides, as far as possible, an overview of how it corresponded with Ashʿarī's. As we have seen, the *Ḥūr* preserves many elements that come from Balkhī's Shī'a-chapter in some form. However, given that Ḥimyarī's piecemeal citations from Balkhī's Mu'tazila-chapter are reordered and distributed amongst material presumably taken from elsewhere, it is already clear that Ḥimyarī was not interested in maintaining the macro-structure of Balkhī's chapters. As a result,

¹⁸ Jishumī also provides further *khurūj*-material on the Shī'a that parallels Ashʿarī's, but he does not cite Balkhī and the parallels here are, with some exceptions, looser. See p. 743–744.

the *Hūr* provides little help in establishing the outline structure of the Shī'a-chapter. Clues can be gleaned, however, from elsewhere in the Balkhī-dependent corpus.

2.3.5.1 Material on the Imāmiyya

‘Abd al-Jabbār’s long citation on the factions of the Imāmiyya [*Mugh.XX₂*:176:3–182:5] has the following structure:

- [*Mugh.XX₂*:176:3–13] *ijmā’*-introduction
- [*Mugh.XX₂*:176:14–182:4] *firaq*-material on the Imāmiyya (in fact, an *iftirāq*-schema)
- [*Mugh.XX₂*:182:5] a statement that Balkhī then reported that the heads of the Imāmiyya held heinous doctrines, but there is no point in discussing them here (*wa-ḥakā ba’da dhālika ‘an arbāb hādhihi l-madhāhib shanā’āt ‘azīma lā wajh li-dhikrihi*).

He states openly that he has not reproduced all of Balkhī’s material: he breaks off where Balkhī began to discuss the ‘heinous doctrines’ (*shanā’āt*) of the ‘heads’ (*arbāb*) of the Imāmiyya because they do not fit his purpose. That is unsurprising, as the *Mughnī*’s chapter (*faṣl*) on the Imāmiyya occurs within the book on the Imāmate (*bāb al-imāma*) and ‘Abd al-Jabbār presents only material that is relevant to that topic. Nevertheless, what he does preserve from Balkhī reveals the beginnings of a structure familiar from Ash‘arī’s sub-chapter on the Rāfiḍa: an *ijmā’*-introduction followed by a *firaq*-list. After the *firaq*-list, ‘Abd al-Jabbār’s reference to Balkhī’s material on the doctrines of the *arbāb* of the Imāmiyya. That might indicate that, again like Ash‘arī, Balkhī followed his *firaq*-list of the Imāmiyya with an *ikhtilāf*-section. But comparison with Jishumī’s *Uyūn* suggests a different possibility.

Much of what we see of the structure of Balkhī’s material on the Imāmiyya preserved in the *Mughnī* is corroborated by Jishumī, and he also preserves some of the other elements from Balkhī’s chapter that are omitted by ‘Abd al-Jabbār but do appear in the *Hūr*. The *Uyūn*’s section on the Imāmiyya has the following structure:

- [8r:22–8v:2] *tasmiya*-passage on the name ‘Imāmiyya’
- [8v:2–3] *tasmiya*-passage on the name ‘Rāfiḍa’
- [8v:3–15] *ijmā’*-introduction
- [8v:15–9v:12] *firaq*-material (specifically, an *iftirāq*-schema)
- [9v:12–15] *rijāl-wa-mu’allifūn*-passage
- [9v:15–17] list of doctrines held by the Imāmiyya, cited from Balkhī

Here, we see something even more similar to Ash‘arī’s sub-chapter on the Rāfiḍa. Jishumī begins with the *tasmiya*-material and then the *ijmā’*-introduction. Ash‘arī

does the same, except that he places the *ijmā'*-introduction between the two *tasmiya*-passages, which appear in the opposite order. Thereafter, both texts, like the *Mughnī*, move to the *firaq*-list. Next, however, Jishumī gives us the *rijāl-wa-mu'allifūn*-passage. This is not the sort of expanded *rijāl-wa-mu'allifūn*-section we see in Balkhī's Mu'tazila-chapter, but rather a parallel to the short *rijāl-wa-mu'allifūn*-passage on the Rāfiḍa that we find in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*. Ash'arī does not give the passage until after his long *ikhtilāf*-section, but Jishumī provides no evidence that Balkhī had such a section. Instead, we get a short list of doctrines on matters other than the Imāmate held by the Imāmiyya [cf. *Sharḥ*.31v:5–7]. That perhaps indicates that where 'Abd al-Jabbār breaks off his Balkhī-citation, he is describing something more like what we see in the *Uyūn*, i.e., the *rijāl-wa-mu'allifūn*-passage plus a short list of doctrines, but we cannot say for sure. There is certainly no evidence here that Balkhī had an *ikhtilāf*-section similar to Ash'arī's.

The other texts of the Balkhī-dependent corpus reveal little further in terms of the likely structure of Balkhī's material on the Imāmiyya. The section on the Imāmiyya in Jishumī's *Sharḥ* [28v:4–32r:6] basically reflects the order of the *Uyūn*. What is taken from Balkhī seems to be given in a less summarised form¹⁹, but it is mixed with other material likely added by Jishumī himself, meaning no further conclusions regarding the structure of Balkhī's chapter can be reached from there. Ḥajūrī's *Rawḍa*, like the *Mughnī* and the *Uyūn*, presents a version of the *ijmā'*-introduction [*Raw*.139v:25–140r:3] followed by *firaq*-material [*Raw*.140r:3–141v:5]. This corroborates what we have established so far but adds nothing new.

As a result, although we know of many isolated elements that probably rely ultimately on the section on the Imāmiyya in Balkhī's Shī'a-chapter, we can only reconstruct its arrangement to a restricted degree. Basically, we know it had an *ijmā'*-introduction followed by *firaq*-material and we know that some kind of *mu'allifūn*-material followed after this, as this is witnessed in several texts of the BdC. Based on a comparison of the material in the *Uyūn* and the *Ḥūr* with Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and the published Mu'tazila-chapter from Balkhī's *Maqālāt*, we can further guess that the *tasmiya*-passages probably came somewhere near the beginning, perhaps before the *ijmā'*-introduction, whilst the *kuwar*-passage probably came towards the end, but this is not confirmed by parallels within the BdC. On this basis, Tab. 2 provides a highly tentative reconstruction of the outline of the section. For each element, the witnesses in the Balkhī-dependent corpus are given on the left and the relevant parallels in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* on the right.

¹⁹ E.g., see p. 140–142, 151–152.

Tab. 2: A partial outline of Balkhī's material on the Imāmiyya with parallels in Ash'arī's Shī'a-chapter.

Structural-thematic element	BdC	Ash'arī's <i>Maqālāt</i>
<i>tasmiya</i> -passages on names 'Rāfiḍa' and 'Imāmiyya'	' <i>Uyūn</i> .8r:22–8v:3; <i>Hūr</i> .238:9–11	<i>MaqA</i> .16:10, 17:8–9
<i>ijmā'</i> -introduction	<i>Mugh</i> .XX ₂ .176:3–13; ' <i>Uyūn</i> .8v:3–14	<i>MaqA</i> .16:12–17:7
<i>firaq</i> -material	<i>Mugh</i> .XX ₂ .176:14–182:4; ' <i>Uyūn</i> .8v:15–9v:6; <i>Sharḥ</i> .29r:10–31r:4; <i>Hūr</i> .211:14–224:3; <i>Rawḍa</i> .140r:14–141v:4	<i>MaqA</i> .17:10–21:8
<i>rijāl-wa-mu'allifūn</i> -passage	' <i>Uyūn</i> . 9v:12–15	<i>MaqA</i> .63:10–64:2
<i>kuwar</i> -passage	<i>Hūr</i> .249:18–19	<i>MaqA</i> .64:3–4

2.3.5.2 Material on the Zaydiyya

When it comes to the material on the Zaydiyya, we have less to work with, but this may just be because Balkhī, like Ash'arī, presented much less material on the Zaydiyya than the Imāmiyya anyway. Again, the best place to start is the *Mughnī*, where 'Abd al-Jabbār preserves a relatively long citation from Balkhī [184:3–185:10] in his *faṣl* on the Zaydiyya. This has the following structure:

- [*Mugh*.XX₂:184:3–4] *ijmā'*-introduction
- [*Mugh*.XX₂:184:4–185:10] *firaq*-material (specifically, an *iftirāq*-schema)

That is also the structure that appears in the *Rawḍa*:

- [*Rawḍa*.139r:5–9] *ijmā'*-introduction
- [*Rawḍa*.139r:9–139v:25] *firaq*-material

It is matched, too, in Jishumī's *Uyūn*, where it is augmented with a *rijāl-wa-mu'allifūn*-passage listing Zaydiyya amongst the '*salaf*', by which he means mostly scholars of the second century. This is unique to the *Uyūn* but conceivably also goes back to Balkhī. This gives the following structure:

- ['*Uyūn*. 7v:11–15] *ijmā'*-introduction
- ['*Uyūn*.7v:15–8r:12] *firaq*-material
- ['*Uyūn*.8r:12–14] *rijāl-wa mu'allifūn*-passage

If we compare with Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, it is noteworthy that Ash'arī does not have the *ijmā'*-introduction for his material on the Zaydiyya. He begins, rather, with historical-etymological material, discussing the reasons why some of Zayd b. 'Alī's supporters deserted him on the eve of battle, leading to him labelling them the Rāfiḍa and then to him losing the battle and being killed [*MaqA*.65:3–12], followed

by some brief details on the rebellion of Yaḥyā b. Zayd and some verses in mourning of the death of Zayd [*MaqA*.65:14–66:11]. Although the *Mughnī*, the *Rawḍa* and the *ʿUyūn* agree on the presence only of the *ijmāʿ*-introduction, Jishumī's *Sharḥ* has both elements:

- [21r:11–18] historical material on Zayd b. ʿAlī's coining of the term 'Rāfiḍa'.
- [21r:18–21v:2] *ijmāʿ*-introduction
- [21v:2–22:7] *firaq*-material

This, together with the fact that a parallel also appears in the *Ḥūr* [238:12–239:14], probably indicates that Balkhī too would have had some version of this material and gives us the tentative, possible outline of his material on the Zaydiyya presented in Tab. 3.

Tab. 3: A partial outline of Balkhī's material on the Zaydiyya with parallels in Ash'arī's Shī'a-chapter.

Structural-thematic element	BdC	Ash'arī's <i>Maqālāt</i>
historical material on Zayd b. ʿAlī's coining of the term 'Rāfiḍa'	<i>Sharḥ</i> .21r:11–18 <i>Ḥūr</i> .238:12–239:14	<i>MaqA</i> .65:3–10
<i>ijmāʿ</i> -introduction	<i>Mughnī</i> .XX ₂ :184:3–4; <i>ʿUyūn</i> .7v:11–15; <i>Sharḥ</i> . 21r:18–21v:2; <i>Rawḍa</i> . 139r:5–9	
<i>firaq</i> -material	<i>Mughnī</i> .XX ₂ :184:4–185:10; <i>ʿUyūn</i> .7v:15–8r:12; <i>Sharḥ</i> .21v:2–22:7; <i>Rawḍa</i> . 139r:9–139v:25	<i>MaqA</i> .66:13–69:14
<i>rijāl-wa-mu'allifūn</i> -passage	<i>ʿUyūn</i> .8r:12–14	

2.3.5.3 Material on the Ghulāt

The situation of the material on the Ghulāt is still more difficult. Apart from the brief *tasmiya*-passage at the beginning of his sub-chapter, Ash'arī only has *firaq*-material. This may well have been the case for Balkhī's *Maqālāt* too. Indeed, it is even possible that Balkhī had no separate discussion of the Ghulāt at all. The BdC preserves a lot of *firaq*-material on the Ghulāt that parallels Ash'arī's, but there is very little internal agreement over its arrangement or its relationship to the material on the factions of the Imāmiyya. For this reason, we will postpone any further discussion for later²⁰.

²⁰ See p. 155–168.

2.3.5.4 Material on the *khurūj* of the Family of the Prophet

Finally, it seems Balkhī had some version of the Shī'ī *khurūj*-material that we also see in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* [*MaqA.75:3–85:13*]. This is witnessed in the *Hūr* [243:11–18] and in an apparently much-amended version in the *Sharḥ* [*Sharḥ.22v:8–28v:4*]²¹.

²¹ See p. 743–744.

III The Historical Prologue: The Origins of the Major Divisions of the Muslim Community

Every extant heresiography of the third and early fourth centuries for which the beginning is preserved contains a historical prologue describing the early disputes over the leadership of the Muslim Community that occurred after Muḥammad's death. In all of them, the basic idea is to explain how the *umma*, which is depicted to have existed in an ideal state of unity during the Prophet's lifetime, first became divided. This is true of the *firaq*-books of ps.-Nāshī' and Nawbakhtī, as well as of Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*. We do not have direct access to Balkhī's historical prologue, but he too began his *Maqālāt* this way¹. There is much overlap in the content and structure of the prologues, especially between *Uṣūl al-niḥal* and the *Firaq*, but there is also significant divergence. Moreover, the relationship between the historical prologue and the material that follows it, and thus the function of this structural-thematic element, varies across the extant works. Although the heresiographies all share a concept of the Shī'a as one major division amongst the several that together compose the Muslim Community, they differ over the extent to which that concept is projected back into early, post-Prophetic Islamic history. All this affects their portrayal of the origins of the Shī'a.

An overview of the content and structure of the historical prologues, as well as how the prologues relate to the rest of the works in which they appear is given in III.1. Next, III.2 examines the portrayal of Shī'i origins and the image of the Shī'a that is presented in the prologues more generally. Finally, III.3 addresses the question of the earlier sources upon which the prologues draw and situates their concept of the Muslim Community, its divisions and their origins chronologically and geographically.

1 Content and Structure

Both ps.-Nāshī' and Nawbakhtī combine narrative history with schematization into *iftirāq*-clusters from the beginning of their works. In their historical prologues, they clearly employ the language and superficial structure of an *iftirāq*-schema, but this

¹ See p. 59 n.9, above. It is highly likely that Qummī had a historical prologue based on Nawbakhtī's, but several folios are missing from the beginning of the manuscript. In his edition, Muḥammad Jawād Mashkūr inserts Nawbakhtī's historical prologue. Given what happens elsewhere in the text though, we can expect Qummī would also have made alterations.

is intertwined with long passages of narrative in such a way that the two perspectives become both mutually dependent and partially competitive with one another.

There are two main *iftirāq*-clusters in both works: that after the death of the Prophet [*Niḥ*.9:14–15:7; *Fir*.2:8–4:12] and that after the killing of ‘Uthmān [*Niḥ*.16:11–17:18; *Fir*.4:12–6:6]. The factions that appear in the post-Prophet cluster are not identical, but they overlap. Ps.-Nāshī’ has four: the Medinan Anṣār at the *saqīfa* of Banū Sā’ida, who suggest the compromise position that they and the Meccan Muhājirūn should each appoint an *amīr* to govern themselves [*Niḥ*.10:1–3]²; the supporters of ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib [*Niḥ*.10:4–12:8]; the supporters of Abū Bakr [*Niḥ*.12:9–14:12]; and the so called *ahl al-ridda*, who refuse to pay their *zakāt* to Abū Bakr and/or renounce their Islam [*Niḥ*.14:13–15:3]³. As we might expect, Nawbakhtī has ‘the party of ‘Alī’ (*shī’at ‘Alī*) first. He claims they were already called simply ‘the Shī’a’ at this point and that all subsequent factions of the Shī’a derive from them [*Fir*.2:10–11]. He also has the supporters of Abū Bakr [*Fir*.3:1–4:12], but instead of the Anṣār with their suggestion of a compromise, he has the Anṣār who support Sa’d b. ‘Ubāda al-Khazraji for the Imāmate, which is usually said to have the position they adopted before suggesting the compromise [*Fir*.2:11–12]. The *ahl al-ridda* do not make it to the status of a *firqa*, although they are discussed in the context of Abū Bakr’s Imāmate [*Fir*.4:6–12].

The schematic perspective preponderates here in both texts. It is simply stated that after Muḥammad’s death, the Community split into the three or four factions. They are then listed one after another and given discrete faction-descriptions. No narrative material is provided to explain how the split occurred in advance of the faction-descriptions. Rather, the sections of historical narrative appear *within* the descriptions. Thus, both ps.-Nāshī’ and Nawbakhtī provide a narrative of the events at the *saqīfa* within the description of the supporters of Abū Bakr [*Niḥ*.12:12–14:5; *Fir*.3:6–4:5]. Ps.-Nāshī’ also gives the narrative of Abū Bakr’s refusal to pay Fāṭima her inheritance and ‘Alī’s consequent refusal to pledge allegiance to him until after her death within the description of the supporters of ‘Alī [*Niḥ*.10:16–12:8]⁴. The exception is the *ahl al-ridda*. Both authors introduce them not as just another faction of the initial *iftirāq*-cluster, but rather within the course of the narrative of the pledge of allegiance to Abū Bakr (which they reject), and thus within the faction-description of the supporters of Abū Bakr. Ps.-Nāshī’, but not Nawbakhtī, then lists them as a discrete faction, but only retrospectively [*Niḥ*.15:6–7].

2 On the events at the *saqīfa* of the Banū Sā’ida that are referenced here, see *EF*. “al-Saqīfa” [Leconte] and Madelung 1997:28–38.

3 On the *ahl al-ridda*, see *EF*. “al-Ridda” [Lecker] and Madelung 1997:46–50.

4 On this episode, see Madelung 1997:50–54.

When it comes to the killing of ‘Uthmān, the *Firaq* initially uses a similar structure to the first cluster: an *iftirāq*-statement simply followed by faction-descriptions. But in *Uṣūl al-niḥal*, we get a long narrative section, to which the *iftirāq* arises in response [*Niḥ.*15:8–16:11 vs. *Fir.*4:12–5:1]. Here, ps.-Nāshī’ presents four factions; Nawbakhtī has only three of them. The shared factions are (1.) the supporters of ‘Alī, whom ps.-Nāshī’ calls the ‘Alid faction (*firqa ‘alawiyya*) [*Niḥ.*16:12; *Fir.*5:1–2]; (2.) the supporters of Ṭalḥa, Zubayr and Ā’isha, whom ps.-Nāshī’ calls the ‘Uthmānī faction (*firqa ‘uthmāniyya*) [*Niḥ.*16:13–14; *Fir.*5:11–14]; and (3.) the Mu‘tazila, who ‘withdrew’ (*i’tazalū*) from the conflict [*Niḥ.*17:4–10; *Fir.*5:2–8]. Ps.-Nāshī’s additional faction is the Ḥulaysiyya, who also ‘withdrew’ (*i’tazalū*) from the conflict, but for different reasons [*Niḥ.*16:15–17:3]⁵.

This intricate combination of narrative history and *iftirāq*-clusters is not a feature of the later *iftirāq*-material in either text; it occurs only here in the historical prologues. It has also not been straightforwardly achieved. To begin with, the *iftirāq*-clusters break up the chronology of the narrative in such a way that the order of events is inverted and the reason for the emergence of certain factions is initially obscured, especially in *Uṣūl al-niḥal*. For example, ps.-Nāshī’s first faction of the post-Muḥammad cluster is the compromise-minded Anṣār, but at this point we get none of story of the events at the *ṣaqīfa* that explains their position of compromise. Immediately after them comes the description of the supporters of ‘Alī, where we get the story of ‘Alī’s refusal to pledge allegiance to Abū Bakr until after Fāṭima’s death. But this too makes little sense, as the faction proposing and then supporting Abū Bakr’s Imāmate has not even been listed yet. They come third and only their description finally gives the full account of the events at the *ṣaqīfa* [*Niḥ.*12:12–14:5]. But this means the existence of both the first and second faction is dependent upon events only described in relation to the third.

The opposite problem also occurs: neither author succeeds in bringing all the factions that arise in response to narrative events fully within the schematization of the *iftirāq*-clusters. This is apparent already in the way the *ahl al-ridda* are introduced in the first cluster, but the schematization breaks down even further in both texts after the immediate post-‘Uthmān factions. Neither author contrives a way to make the faction supporting Mu‘āwiya or the Khawārij arise in the moments of *iftirāq* that supposedly give rise to the factions outlined above. For Nawbakhtī, they emerge, rather, in the course of the narrative that begins in the description of the faction supporting Ṭalḥa, Zubayr and Ā’isha. There, we are told how Mu‘āwiya

⁵ The name *ḥulaysiyya* (lit. ‘little carpets’) is derived from their saying, ‘When *fitna* comes, be like one of the carpets of your house’ (*kun fi fitna ḥils^{am} min ahlās baytika*). There are several references to variants of this phrase as a Prophetic tradition, see *Conc.*I:498.

took up the cause of seeking vengeance for 'Uthmān after Ṭalḥa, Zubayr and 'Ā'isha had failed and was supported by the remnants of their followers, as well as his own Syrian base [*Fir*:5:14–6:1]. Nawbakhtī then briefly recounts how the Khawārij emerged through their opposition to 'Alī's submission to the Arbitration [*Fir*:6:1–6]. Ps.-Nāshī' also depicts the emergence of both factions in a long narrative section, but it follows after the second *iftirāq*-cluster, rather than forming part of a faction-description [*Niḥ*.18:1–19:5]. Finally, both authors describe the origins of the Murji'a in narrative mode. For Nawbakhtī, they consist of all those who, after 'Alī's death, joined with Mu'āwiya. He refers to them also as the Ḥashwiyya and the *ahl al-ḥashw* [*Fir*.6:7–7:6]. For ps.-Nāshī', they arise before 'Alī's death, but he makes no connection with a specific party in the post-'Uthmān conflict [*Niḥ*.19:23–20:7]. Ps.-Nāshī' tries to reinstate the *iftirāq*-based presentation retrospectively by listing out all the factions that have emerged by the end of this narrative section [*Niḥ*.19:6–12], but he can only do this by simply repeating all the factions from the post-'Uthmān cluster and then simply adding the two that have appeared in the ensuing narrative.

After the various twists and turns of *iftirāq*-schematization and narrative, both texts assert that *all* the major divisions of the Muslim Community came into being in some sense during the events of its early post-Prophetic history due to their disagreements over the Imāmate. For Nawbakhtī, these major divisions are the Shī'a, the Mu'tazila, the Murji'a (whom he also calls the Ḥashwiyya), and the Khawārij [*Fir*.15:13–14]. Ps.-Nāshī', after a certain amount of schematic consolidation of the more fine-grained distinctions he makes throughout his prologue, ends up with the same major divisions, except that he considers the Murji'a and the Ḥashwiyya to be separate, giving him five major divisions to Nawbakhtī's four [*Niḥ*.20:8–10].

Ash'arī's historical prologue covers the same events, but whilst he acknowledges that the conflicts over the killing of 'Uthmān, the Caliphate of 'Alī, and 'Alī's submission to the Arbitration 'continue until today' (*wa-hādhā khtilāf bayna l-nās ilā l-yawm*) [*MaqA*.3:9; 3:12; 5:1], he has no interest in depicting these events as the engines of production of the major divisions of the Community. The only named division to arise from any of this for him is the Khawārij [*MaqA*.4:18–5:1]. What matters for Ash'arī is simply that the disagreement over the succession to Muḥammad was the *first* to occur in Islam [*MaqA*.2:3], not that it provides the historical moment of origin for, or the even the most appropriate systematic taxonomy of, its major divisions. He clearly states that the dispute over the Imāmate is only one issue among many that divide the *umma* [*MaqA*.1:13–2:2].

The relationship between the historical prologue and what follows also differs across the three works. In *Uṣūl al-niḥal*, the five major divisions as they stand towards the end of the first *fitna* form the foundation of all subsequent *iftirāq* of the Muslim Community. The ensuing 'chapters' offer an *iftirāq*-schema of each major division in turn, beginning with the Shī'a. The latter are thus essentially still

equivalent, initially, to the *shī'at 'Alī* of the first *fitna*. In the introduction to the Shī'a-chapter, ps.-Nāshī' describes how 'Alī lost supporters during his lifetime, both to the Khawārij and Mu'āwiya [*Niḥ*.22:3], but the first *iftirāq* of the Shī'a proper occurs, as we might expect, upon 'Alī's death [*Niḥ*.22:6–7].

After the *Firaq*'s historical prologue, Nawbakhtī first provides his *ikhtilāf*-section, which presents the opinions of much later *mutakallimūn* on the historical events just narrated [*Fir*.7:13–15:5]. When he returns to *iftirāq*, and then exclusively to that of the Shī'a, he does not pick up from where he left off. His historical prologue deals already with 'Alī's death; he bemoans the fact that most of 'Alī's supporters, together with those of Ṭalḥa, Zubayr and 'Ā'isha, thereafter 'joined together with Mu'āwiya', forming the Murji'a/Ḥashwiyya. He dismisses them as 'the followers of kings and the supporters of whoever is victorious' (*atbā' al-mulūk wa-a'wān man ghalaba*) and the 'great mass' (*al-sawād al-a'zam*) [*Fir*.6:7–7:6]. For Nawbakhtī, then, although some of these people had indeed been 'Alī's supporters for a time, they had never been the true *shī'at 'Alī*. The true Shī'a were, rather, the few who had already acknowledged 'Alī as Imām immediately after the Prophet's death and then stuck with him even after his own death, refusing to accept Mu'āwiya's claim [*Fir*.6:9–10]. When Nawbakhtī begins his *iftirāq*-section, however, he does not recommence with this post-'Alī situation. Rather, he takes a step back, beginning even earlier than he had in the historical prologue, now asserting that the *shī'at 'Alī* had existed already in Muḥammad's lifetime [*Fir*.15:15–16:5]. Their first *iftirāq* proper then occurs already upon the Prophet's death, to which he now turns again, even though it has already been dealt with in the historical prologue [*Fir*.16:5–19:7]. Here, however, yet another schematic perspective enters, one that is not entirely compatible with what came before, as Nawbakhtī now presents not just the one true *shī'at 'Alī*, as previously, but three separate factions: a proto-Imām-iyya alongside Zaydī factions, two of which, however, both referred to as 'Butriyya', accept the Imāmates of Abū Bakr and 'Umar [*Fir*.18:1–16]⁶. We will return to this cluster later, but the point for now is that, in the *Firaq*, unlike *Uṣūl al-niḥal*, there is no smooth continuity or even true dependency between the subsequent *iftirāq* of the Shī'a and the historical prologue that produces the Shī'a (and the other main divisions of the Community) in the first place.

6 There is further schematic confusion, because the Butriyya are also classed as a sub-faction of the Murji'a in the prologue (*Fir*.7:3). This is a reference to *ahl al-ḥadīth* with pro-'Alid inclinations, such as Sufyān al-Thawrī (d.161/778). On him and other 'shī'itizing' traditionists, see *TG*.I:221–228, 235–239. The use of the term to refer to such people is only loosely connected with the schematic perspective that makes the Butriyya a sub-division of the Zaydiyya with a specific doctrine of the Imāmate and thus, for Nawbakhtī, one of the original factions of the Shī'a. See further p. 676–9.

In Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, the historical prologue has nothing formally to do with the ten-part schema of his chapters treating the major divisions of the Muslim Community at all. Indeed, his taxonomy of the major divisions of the Community is simply assumed, neither justified nor explained, and certainly not rooted in the historical events of the prologue. This means that his prologue is effectively disconnected structurally from the concerns of the rest of the text. The dispute over the Imāmate has chronological precedence but it is not presented as foundational of all subsequent division in the way it is for the two *firaq*-books.

2 The Portrayal of Shī'ī Origins; the Shī'a as Major Division of the Muslim Community

The three texts valorise the events of the Community's early history differently, and even, to some extent, record different events. The disparities concern their depictions of the origins of the Shī'a especially. These vary in line with the doctrinal affiliations of the authors in mostly predictable ways.

Ash'arī does not mention that anyone supported 'Alī as a potential successor to Muḥammad immediately after the latter's death. He stresses that after the events at the *saqifa*, the entire Community was united again behind Abū Bakr, except briefly for the *ahl al-rida* [*MaqA.2:14–3:2*]. The first disagreement that produced long-lived division occurred, rather, only with the killing of 'Uthmān [*MaqA.3:2–9*]. Thus, although Ash'arī never says when or how the Shī'a came into being, he implicitly rules out that they could have existed in any meaningful sense before the first *fitna*.

For him, this did not need spelling out. The notion that an ideal unity existed during the time of the Prophet *and* the first two Caliphs, to be broken only by either 'Uthmān's 'innovations' or his murder (depending on perspective) is a much older idea and could have been taken for granted in Basra. We know this is how Ash'arī's teacher, Jubba'ī, saw things, to the extent that when discussing the first disagreement in Islam, he did not even mention the *saqifa*⁷. Their Basran predecessor, Jāhīz, likewise begins his *Risāla fī l-nābita* by describing the ideal situation under the Prophet, Abū Bakr and 'Umar, before attributing the origin of division and disagreement in the Community to 'Uthmān's murder⁸. Long before Jāhīz, in Murji'ī and Kharijī contexts, the *Kitāb al-irjā'* and the *Sīrat Sālim b. Dhakwān* employ basically the same model but in anti-'Uthmānī garb: they use the term 'the first split' (*al-furqa al-ūlā*) to refer to the first *fitna* because they saw there to have been no division

⁷ See p. 59, n.9.

⁸ *Rasā'il*.II:7:5–9.

in the *umma* in the time of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar; it was all a result of ʿUthmān’s crimes⁹. In the Umayyad official Maymūn b. Mihrān’s (d.117/735) account of the factions in the first *fitna*, which is discussed in more detail below, it is again ʿUthmān’s murder that leads to the first division of the Community.

Uṣūl al-niḥal, in contrast, records a faction that supported ʿAlī immediately after Muḥammad’s death. It consists of those people who gathered at Fāṭima’s house while the Anṣār met at the *saqīfa*. The group is composed mostly of members of the Banū Hāshim, notably including ʿAbbās, but also of Zubayr and Abū Sufyān. This simply schematizes the widely available historiography. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās’s account of the events of the *saqīfa*, which seems to be the source of all extant versions, speaks of a group that met in Fāṭima’s house and included ʿAbbās and Zubayr¹⁰. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās does not seem to have stated that they did so with any intention to pledge allegiance to ʿAlī as Muḥammad’s successor, but there are plenty of reports that, following the pledge to Abū Bakr, they then objected to it, at least in part because they considered ʿAlī to have had greater right¹¹. Abū Sufyān is not usually said to have been present at Fāṭima’s house, but he is depicted elsewhere to have offered support to ʿAlī against Abū Bakr¹². Ps.-Nāshī’ apparently fuses all this together for the sake of schematic neatness. Given the people involved, however, this faction is clearly not being depicted as a proto-Shīʿa; Zubayr and Abū Sufyān are some of last people who could serve this function. In any case, the group

9 Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya, *Kitāb al-irjāʿ*, 4:7–10; Sālim b. Dhakwān, *Sīrat Sālim b. Dhakwān*, §§91–97. On the use of the term and the dating of the two epistles, see *TG*.I:171–178 and Crone and Zimmerman 2001:172–174, 251–300, and the literature cited there. The dating, in particular, is disputed, but there is a consensus that the relevant parts of the texts were composed in the first half of the second century or earlier. For Crone and Zimmerman, even Sālim’s use of the term *al-furqa al-ūlā* would be essentially Murjiʿi. At one point, however, he attacks the idea that the Murjiʿa can ground their doctrine of the acceptance of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar in the consensus of the Community because ‘many of the Sabaʿiyya’ (*kathīr min al-Sabābiyya*) disagree. This is a reference to those Shīʿa known later (?) as ‘Rāfiḍa’, i.e., those who reject the first two caliphs (see p. 527 n.755.), but the reference shows that Sālim already acknowledged that his model of early Islamic history was not universal.

10 On Ibn al-ʿAbbās’s (d.68/686) account, which comes to everyone via Zuhri (d.124/742), and the various extant versions dependant on it, see Madelung 1997:28. On the meeting at Fāṭima’s house specifically, see *ibid.*32 and, e.g., Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 1013:6–7; ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Ṣanʿāni, *Muṣannaf*, V:442:2–3; *Ṭab*.I:1822:3–4.

11 E.g., On certain Anṣār who would only pledge allegiance to ʿAlī, see *Ṭab*.I:1818:4. On Zubayr’s resistance to ʿUmar’s threat to burn down ʿAlī’s house with him inside if he failed to come out and pledge allegiance to Abū Bakr, see *Ṭab*.I:1818:4–9. On the refusal of the Banū Hāshim to pledge allegiance to Abū Bakr for six months, albeit in part because of Abū Bakr’s refusal to give Fāṭima her inheritance, see below, n. 13 and *Ṭab*.I:1825:18–19.

12 Madelung 1997:40–41 and, e.g., *Ansāb*.II:18:6–13; *Ṭab*.I:1828:2–7.

effectively dissolves for ps.-Nāshī' when 'Alī himself pledges allegiance to Abū Bakr¹³. The entire Community then explicitly comes back together and harmony reigns until the killing of 'Uthmān [*Niḥ*.15:8–12]. It is the latter event that first produces lasting division in the *umma*, directly giving rise to the Shī'a (initially called the 'Alawiyya; they are first referred to as *shī'at 'Alī* at 19:7, then 20:8), as well as the 'Uthmāniyya (who somehow later become part of the Murji'a [*Niḥ*.20:8–9]), the Ḥulaysiyya (who later become the Ḥashwiyya [*Niḥ*.20:9–10]), and the Mu'tazila. It also indirectly produces the Khawārij [*Niḥ*.18:15–19:5].

In Nawbakhtī's *Firaq*, as we have seen already, the true *shī'at 'Alī* is initially said to have emerged immediately after Muḥammad's death. Interestingly, Nawbakhtī still refers to a period of unity behind Abū Bakr between the events of the *saqifa* and the caliphate of 'Uthmān, but this now excludes the Shī'a; it is only the 'great mass' (*al-sawād al-a'zam*) who band together behind him and then 'Umar [*Fir*.4:4–5]. Indeed, by the time 'Alī has been assassinated, there is essentially no change: the Shī'a are still those, and only those, who had supported 'Alī from the beginning. Everyone else either stands behind Mu'āwiya—as the Murji'a/Ahl al-Ḥashw—or else joins the Khawārij¹⁴. Thus, all the historical events narrated in the prologue become essentially irrelevant to the question of Shī'i origins, because the Shī'a were always already there. It is only the other factions—the Mu'tazila, the Khawārij and the Murji'a—that are produced by the trauma of the first *fitna*. Later, as we have seen, Nawbakhtī even claims the Shī'a had existed in Muḥammad's lifetime.

Little is surprising here, or especially subtle; history is interpreted in line with the authors' own doctrinal commitments, as we would expect. Of greater interest are the more systematic forms of retroprojection, especially the attempt, in the two *firaq*-books, to place the origins of the Mu'tazila and the Murji'a within the first *fitna*, as this affects their portrayal of the Shī'a, too.

Both ps.-Nāshī' and Nawbakhtī mention two groups of neutral Companions who 'withdrew from the conflict' (*i'tazalū al-ḥarb*) between 'Alī and Ṭalḥa, Zubayr and 'Ā'isha, and both claim that one of these groups was known as the Mu'tazila.

13 Ps.-Nāshī' is ambiguous on exactly when this happens. In the description of the pro-'Alī faction, he gives the story of 'Alī's refusal to pledge allegiance to Abū Bakr until after Fāṭima's death, i.e., six months after the Prophet's (*Niḥ*.10:16–12:8). That is the account attributed here and elsewhere to 'Ā'isha (see Madelung 1997:50–53 and the sources cited there, as well as the very close parallel, with the same *isnād* via Zuhri, in Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, III:1380:1–1381:6). In the description of the pro-Abū Bakr faction, however, he relates that 'Alī pledged allegiance immediately after the events of the *saqifa* (*Niḥ*.12:9–14:12). The account ps.-Nāshī' gives here occurs with an *isnād* going back to Zuhri in Balādhuri, *Ansāb*, II:8:8–10:6, but ps.-Nāshī' gives a different, although similarly abortive, *isnād*: Abū Ma'shar (d.170/786) from Muḥammad b. Qays (d.125–126/743–744).

14 It is completely unclear what is supposed to have happened to the Mu'tazila after 'Alī's death. See p. 83–84.

For Nawbakhtī, they are ‘forever the ancestors of the Muʿtazila’ (*wa-ṣārū aslāf al-Muʿtazila ilā ākhir al-abad*) [*Fir*.5:6–7], clearly implying a relationship between these original Muʿtazila and the Muʿtazila of his own day. Ps.-Nāshī holds back from a strictly historical connection. He states only that the group was called the Muʿtazila ‘at that time’ (*fi dhālika l-ʿaṣr*) and that they held the doctrine that the later heads of the Muʿtazila, Wāṣil b. ʿAṭā and ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd, also held [*Niḥ*.17:9–10]. Nevertheless, it still seems that the former group somehow anticipate the latter in a schematically significant way, as the summary conclusion to the historical prologue lists the Muʿtazila alongside the Shīʿa, Murjiʿa, Ḥashwiyya and Khawārij as one of the main divisions of the Muslim Community that arose through the events of the first *fitna* [*Niḥ*.20:8–10]¹⁵.

The Murjiʿa emerge later than the Muʿtazila in both texts, but there is more disagreement over precisely when. For Nawbakhtī, they come into existence after ʿAlī’s death and are comprised of everyone who then supported Muʿāwiya. They are known as the Murjiʿa because they declared themselves loyal to all those who had fought in the first *fitna* and because they hold that that a Muslim is to be considered a believer simply if they confirm it by external actions (*bi-iqrārihim al-zāhir bi-l-īmān*) [*Fir*.6:7–13]. For ps.-Nāshī, the Murjiʿa come into existence while ʿAlī is still alive. They despair of the mutual accusations of unbelief and the spilling of blood, deciding to suspend judgement upon all ‘those who pray the ritual prayers’ (*ahl al-ṣalāt*), ‘deferring’ it to God (*arjaʿū amrahum. . . ilā llāh*) [*Niḥ*.19:23–20:7]. Somehow, the ʿUthmāniyya (i.e., those who had supported Ṭalḥa, Zubayr and ʿĀʾisha against ʿAlī) are then collapsed into the Murjiʿa, but this seems to be simply for the sake of schematic consolidation; it is not explained [*Niḥ*.20:8–9].

The superficiality of all this is obvious. The Muʿtazila are depicted to arise as a party in the conflict between ʿAlī and the original ʿUthmāniyya, but we learn nothing about what happened to them in the immediate historical events that follow. They apparently had no view at all on the dispute with Muʿāwiya, as they are not mentioned again after the battle of the Camel. After ʿAlī’s death, they are again absent. Do they now join with Muʿāwiya like everyone else, or stand apart again like the Shīʿa and the Khawārij? Neither text has anything to say on the matter. Obviously, later Muʿtazilī views on the conflict between ʿAlī and the ʿUthmāniyya are simply being associated with and, to some extent, projected backwards upon a group contemporary with the conflict, which then becomes either the histori-

15 The chronological ambiguity at this point is striking. Ps.-Nāshī is listing out the factions that came into being through the events he has just described, i.e., up to ʿAlī’s death, but he begins the list by referring vaguely to them as the seven *aṣnāf* into which the *umma* had split ‘after the age of ʿAlī’ (*baʿda ʿaṣr ʿAlī*). Then, he consolidates the list down to five by stating that ‘today’ (*al-yawm*), the ʿUthmāniyya are to be added to the Murjiʿa and the Ḥulaysiyya to the Ḥashwiyya.

cal origin (Nawbakhtī) or at least the forerunner (ps.-Nāshī) of the Muʿtazila as a whole. As it happens, ps.-Nāshī and Nawbakhtī do not even choose the same group of neutral Companions to present as the original Muʿtazila¹⁶. The point is just to find a historical anchor for the much later taxonomy that saw the Muʿtazila as one of the major divisions of the Islamic Community.

The authors have still more trouble finding a group upon which to project the views/origins of the Murjiʿa. The only thing they agree on is that they emerge after the Khawārij; they give no names of individuals at all. The main problem is that the Murjiʿa appear here with their later doctrine of *irjāʿ*, regarding the conditions of the definition of a believer and the ‘deferral’ of judgement in this matter to God, rather than the doctrine that had originally earned them the name: the ‘deferral’ (*irjāʿ*) of judgement on the participants in the first *fitna* to God. That perspective makes it difficult for either author to anchor them in any party of the historical narrative¹⁷.

Nevertheless, all these contortions have an important systematic effect: they produce a kind of symmetry. All the major divisions that ps.-Nāshī and Nawbakhtī see as relevant to a taxonomy of the Muslim Community are given a consistent aetiology: they all somehow have their origins in the earliest disputes of the Community over the Imāmate. That both authors then employ an outright genealogical framework, an *iftirāq*-schema, to organize the subsequent factions of those divisions is entirely consistent with this model. Every faction here can, in theory, ultimately trace its origins back to the historical split of its own major division from the others. Of course, this is not about giving the divisions equal status. As we have seen, Nawbakhtī goes to some effort to set the Shīʿa apart from the rest; ps.-Nāshī does not hide his Muʿtazilī convictions¹⁸. But it does give them a structural equivalence: the Shīʿa here are somehow the same *kind* of entity as the Muʿtazila, the Murjiʿa and the Khawārij, birthed in the same key phase of Islamic history. It is the taxonomy *as a whole*, not just the origins of the Shīʿa and the Khawārij, that they try to ground in early post-Prophetic Islamic history. Significantly, Ashʿarī, too, assumes the structural equivalence, although he adds some extra divisions. The main difference is only that he does not try to project it back to the beginning or to make the doctrine of the Imāmate essential to his definition of a major division. It is this perspective of apparent structural equivalence between the Shīʿa, the

¹⁶ See further, p. 86–88.

¹⁷ See further, p. 88. On the development of Murjiʿī doctrine, which was originally focussed on the ‘deferral’ (*irjāʿ*) of judgement on the participants in the first civil war to God then later shifted to a focus on the deferral of judgement on the salvation status of Muslims in general, see *TG*.1:152–179 and Crone and Zimmerman 2001:219–243.

¹⁸ Van Ess 2011:146–148; Madelung 1980:226.

Khawārij, the Mu‘tazila, the Murji‘a (and, sometimes, the Ḥashwiyya/Ahl al-Ḥadīth etc.) that is inherited by nearly all later heresiography and, although sometimes extended, rarely challenged.

3 The Perspectives of the Historical Prologues and their Sources

The underlying structural similarity between the three works—a confessionally ordered presentation of divisions in the Islamic Community beginning with an account of its earliest disputes—is unlikely to be coincidental, especially when we also consider the close convergences in their *fīraq*-material on the Shī‘a that we will look at in part IV. They presumably have a common heritage of *some* kind. All three texts, however, employ the model in quite different ways.

Ash‘arī’s *Maqālāt* stands apart from the two *fīraq*-books: he does not depict the early disputes of the Community as generative of its major divisions, except for the Khawārij, and they are probably only mentioned because the historical presentation of the reaction to the Arbitration makes no sense at all without them. This fits well with the broader perspective of his work. Ash‘arī almost certainly would have understood the Shī‘a to have been born out of the first *fitna*, too, but that is simply not of interest. The boundaries between the major divisions are defined in the *Maqālāt*, rather, by systematic concerns, i.e., by their internally heterogeneous positions across a wide range of questions in *kalām*, especially those Ash‘arī refers to as the *jalīl*, the ‘major topics’. The fact that the first controversy in Islam was over the Imāmate is of no wider systematic or taxonomic consequence for him; it is merely one of the many doctrinal issues upon which the Community disagrees. This has the effect of making his historical prologue essentially disconnected from the rest of the *Maqālāt*¹⁹.

The historical prologues in *Uṣūl al-niḥal* and the *Fīraq* also differ but they are much more similar to one another than they are to Ash‘arī’s. Partly for that reason, van Ess has even suggested that Nawbakhtī and ps.-Nāshī’ made direct use of a specific common source: Hishām b. al-Ḥakam’s *Ikhtilāf al-nās fi l-imāma*²⁰. His argument relies on parallels not just in the historical prologues but also elsewhere, especially in the *fīraq*-material on the Shī‘a. He takes the parallels to show that the common

¹⁹ Van Ess, comparing ps.-Nāshī’s historical prologue with Ash‘arī’s, calls the latter ‘hardly more than an ornamental frontispiece’ (1971b:25). But its function is not obviously decorative. It is more that the whole thing seems perfunctory. Most likely, it is there due to generic convention, and, more particularly, because Ash‘arī’s immediate source(s) began this way.

²⁰ Van Ess 1971b:25; 2011:26–28.

source is Hishām because he accepts Wilferd Madelung’s earlier contention that Hishām is Nawbakhtī’s source at the relevant locations in the *Firaq*²¹. Madelung’s hypothesis and the parallels elsewhere in the two works will be addressed later. For now, we will consider only the parallels in the historical prologues and the extent to which they might indicate a common source at all.

At the level of wording, the parallels here are far from being of a kind that could only reasonably be explained by positing a discrete common source. A high degree of convergence is to be expected at this point in the texts anyway, as they are describing the same, well-known events and rely, ultimately, on the same cannon of historiography, to which their authors, at least to some extent, would have had independent access. Ash’arī’s version, too, exhibits numerous convergences with ps.-Nāshī’s and Nawbakhtī’s. Nevertheless, close parallels in wording are suspiciously rare. They occur only for small elements that one finds everywhere in the historiography and cannot be taken as evidence of a discrete common source, certainly not one used directly by our authors²². Moreover, as we have seen, ps.-Nāshī’ and Nawbakhtī (let alone Ash’arī) provide quite different presentations and interpretations of those events. They agree on the standard outline of early Islamic history but disagree over numerous details and, especially, over their significance. If ps.-Nāshī’ and Nawbakhtī do share a direct common source, then at least one of them, and likely both, must have reworked the material to the point where no clear evidence of it remains at the level of wording. Ash’arī is at yet another remove.

The parallels between *Uṣūl al-niḥal* and the *Firaq* that might indicate a discrete common source lie, rather, at the deeper level of the structure of the presentation and the taxonomic model of the Islamic Community that they employ. Both ps.-Nāshī’ and Nawbakhtī schematize the factions produced from the historical events they describe by employing *iftirāq*-clusters and both, up to a point, try to situate the origins of *all* the major divisions of the Community within the disputes over its leadership that followed the Prophet’s death. That cannot be mere coincidence. The most striking similarity in this regard is their attempt to connect the Mu’tazila with a group of Companions who adopted a neutral position in the conflict between ‘Alī and his opponents at the Battle of the Camel. It is, moreover, especially notable that

21 Madelung 1967:40–47.

22 The closest agreements are found in the material on the events at the *saqifa*, but *all* the extant versions of this material are closely related (see Madelung 1997:28). As noted above (n.13), ps.-Nāshī’ presents an account that closely parallels that given by Balādhurī on the authority of Zuhri, although there is a different *isnād* in *Uṣūl al-niḥal*, going back to Zuhri’s contemporary, Muḥammad b. Qays. These are almost certainly still versions of the material that is usually attributed ultimately to Ibn ‘Abbās. Nawbakhtī does not give an *isnād* and his account is highly summarised in comparison. It is not evident that he is even using the same version of Ibn ‘Abbās’s account as ps.-Nāshī’.

both works identify two groups of neutrals. The problem is that they do not then connect the Mu'tazila with the same group.

The figures involved are known to us from the historiography. The first group consists of the neutral Companions in the Ḥijāz who, although broadly loyal to 'Alī, refused to take part in the campaign in Iraq: Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, Muḥammad b. Maslama and Usāma b. Zayd²³. They are the ancestors of the Mu'tazila for Nawbakhtī [Fir:5:2–8]. Ps.-Nāshī, however, calls them 'the Ḥulaysiyya' and sees them, rather, as the ancestors of the Ahl al-Ḥadīth, later collapsing them formally into the Ḥashwiyya [Niḥ.16:15–17:3, 20:9–10]. For him, they 'withdrew' (*i'tazalū*) because of a general commitment to avoiding conflict between Muslims, but this has a cynical side to it, as they always side with the winners once conflict is over, thus legitimising the killing of Muslims by those who obtain authority through force (*ahl al-baghy*). That is the crime that Nawbakhtī associates, rather, with his Murji'a/Ḥashwiyya, i.e., the supporters of Mu'āwiya [Fir:6:9–11].

The second group consists of disparate individuals in more varied circumstances, mostly in Iraq, who tried to promote neutrality in the population at different moments. They are emphasised much less by Nawbakhtī, who notes their distinction from the others but does not make them a *firqa* in their own right and provides only one name: Aḥnaf b. Qays al-Tamīmī [Fir:5:8–10]²⁴. He claims that, unlike the first group, they 'withdrew' only to prevent the loss of life and money, not out of commitment to withdrawal from conflict between Muslims as a religious principle (*lā 'alā al-tadayyun bi-l-i'tizāl*). Ps.-Nāshī, however, makes this second group a full *firqa*. He, too, mentions Aḥnaf but adds Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī, Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī, and Abū Mas'ūd [Niḥ.17:4–10]²⁵. It is this group that is the prototype of the Mu'tazila for him. They withdraw because they do not know who is in the right, i.e., they hold the doctrine that Wāṣil and 'Amr also later held [Niḥ.17:9–10].

²³ On the neutrality of these four individuals, see Syed 1977:312–315, which references the most important sources; and Madelung 1997:145–146.

²⁴ Al-Aḥnaf b. Qays and his clan, the Banū Sa'd of Tamīm, were based in Basra, but refused to support the Meccan rebels when they arrived in the town. He is depicted to have been personally sympathetic to 'Alī whilst most of his clan were in favour of 'Ā'isha. They are said, as a result, to have remained away from the fighting (*Tab.I:3170:8–3171:10*). See Madelung 1997:168.

²⁵ Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī was 'Alī's governor in Kufa, but refused to support him in the conflict and tried to keep the population neutral (*Ansāb.II:213:7–18*; see Madelung 1997:165–166). Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī seems, rather, to have been one of the few Anṣār who did not initially pledge allegiance to 'Alī, although he supported him later (Madelung 1997:146). Abū Mas'ūd was appointed temporary governor of Kufa by 'Alī when he left to confront Mu'āwiya, but he was known for his neutrality, his critique of 'Uthmān's murderers, and his insistence on maintaining the unity of the *umma*. He promised safety to the deserters from 'Alī's army, which 'Alī saw as obstructing the war effort and for which he criticized him heavily (Madelung 1997:247–248).

Outside the heresiographies, the extant historiography allows for a distinction to be made between the two groups of neutrals, but only in the sense that the Ḥijāzī neutrals are sometimes depicted as a coherent company²⁶. The specific distinction is not made explicitly by any historian, and certainly not with a taxonomic function. *Uṣūl al-niḥal* and the *Firaq* thus seem to share an extra stage of schematization in comparison with the historiography more generally. It is unlikely they arrived at it entirely independently. But the fact remains that, other than connecting the later Mu'tazila with *one* of the groups who withdrew from the first *fitna*, they do not use this distinction in the same way.

Moreover, as we have seen, ps.-Nāshī' and Nawbakhtī apparently have no common *Vorlage* at all for how to deal with the Murjī'a, beyond the notion that they need to be projected back into the relevant historical period somehow. More generally, the *iftirāq*-clusters that the two authors build into the narrative overlap but also differ significantly, even over aspects without obvious doctrinal significance, such as whether to count the Anṣār who supported Sa'd b. 'Ubāda or those who advocated the compromise position as the first faction of the post-Muḥammad cluster. Ps.-Nāshī' provides much more narrative historical material, and in versions that Nawbakhtī does not seem to have used, complete with *isnāds*²⁷. Thus, although there is a closer relationship between the two works than they have with Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, we can still say little more than that they have a common heritage of some kind. There is no indication that Nawbakhtī can have used *Uṣūl al-niḥal* as a source (indeed, no one has ever suggested this hypothesis), so they must draw on a common tradition that predates *Uṣūl al-niḥal*, but there is little point searching for a discrete common source, in the sense of a specific work, for this part of their texts. Even if we knew they had a source in common here, they differ so much in their historical prologues that we would be unable to establish any specific element of that source in sufficient detail to be useful anyway.

That said, we can situate the origins of the common model of the Islamic Community shared by ps.-Nāshī' and Nawbakhtī with slightly more precision. Van Ess has suggested it must be Imāmī because it stresses the question of the Imāmate above all else for the purposes of its taxonomy. He dates it to the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd (r.170/786–193/809)²⁸. That dating is not unlikely, at least as a *terminus post quem*, but in insisting on an Imāmī background, he was partly led already

26 For example, in a report transmitted by Abū Mikhnaf (157/774) from al-Sha'bī (d. between 103/721 and 110/728), the four Ḥijāzī neutrals are already discussed together in the context of the *bay'a* to 'Alī (*Ansāb*. II:189:2–190:16). Ps.-Nāshī's other group including Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī are never presented together in the historiography as far as I know.

27 See n.22 and n.13, above.

28 Van Ess 1971b:26.

by the notion that the common source is Hishām b. al-Ḥakam. If we do not make that assumption, we need to ask how strong the indications for an Imāmī background within the text really are. There are two aspects of the model to consider. One is the notion of a basic structural equivalence between the Shī'a, the Mu'tazila, the Murji'a, and the Khawārij (and, for ps.-Nāshī', the Ḥashwiyya), i.e., the taxonomy of the Muslim Community. The other is the idea that this taxonomy should be grounded in the doctrine of the Imāmate and, to some extent, already in the positions taken *within* the history of the early conflicts over the successions to Muḥammad and 'Uthmān.

A taxonomy of the Muslim Community that gives a basic structural equivalence to the Shī'a, the Mu'tazila, the Murji'a, and the Khawārij (and sometimes the Ḥashwiyya) is a conceit so routinized by later heresiography that it is easily taken for granted. But it obviously cannot have been universal in the beginning. From a socio-historical perspective, it would have made little sense at any point; the four (or five) divisions were highly heterogeneous phenomena. But the perspective that makes a more-or-less bourgeois *kalām*-school of relatively late fame structurally equivalent to 'the Shī'a' *tout court* is obviously not sociological; it is focussed primarily on the theological discourse of a particular place and time. Indeed, given the presence of the Mu'tazila, the second half of the second century is the earliest possible dating. Even then, towards the beginning of that timeframe, unless we are in Basra itself, it could only possibly have made sense within dedicated *kalām*-circles. The Mu'tazila were a marginal movement before the last quarter of the second century; they would have been obscure beyond the confines of their home city²⁹. They rose to greater prominence under Hārūn, but even then, their status was far from assured. It was mostly the more senior, Kufan theologians who were invited by the Barmakids to their discussion circles, although the young Mu'ammār b. 'Abbād al-Sulamī (d.215/830) did attend³⁰. The Mu'tazila had not yet established a foothold in Baghdad and Hārūn's governors still did not hold them in high regard even in Basra³¹.

Direct evidence of our taxonomy of the Muslim Community even from that period, however, is thin on the ground. Contemporary with ps.-Nāshī', we can find it only as long as we stay within *kalām*-circles and within the Mu'tazila: outside of

²⁹ *TG*.II:233–234.

³⁰ *TG*.III:31–32. The Kufan *qāḍī* Ḍirār b. 'Amr (d.ca.180/796) was one of the older members of the Barmakids' discussion circle. It is likely he presented himself as a Mu'tazilī (see *TG*.III:32–37), in which case it is also possible the Basran school began to acquire its visibility in Kufa and Baghdad principally through him. But it is hard to see how Ḍirār alone could have elevated the Mu'tazila to the status of a major division.

³¹ *TG*.II:393–394, III:31–32.

Uṣūl al-niḥal, the first witness to use the four-division taxonomy is Jāḥiẓ (d.255/868)³². Both authors, however, employ it casually. Presumably, then, it was a concept they inherited. Indirectly, there are indications in the *Kitāb al-taḥrīsh* that Ḍirār b. ‘Amr (d.ca.180/796) already thought along these lines. When, for example, he presents the main positions in an *ikhtilāf*-cluster on the question of how one arrives at truth, the opinions he lists are those of Khārijī factions, the Ḥashwiyya, the Mu‘tazila, the Rawāfiq and the Murji‘a [*Taḥrīsh*.141:1–144:4]³³.

Imāmī examples of a taxonomy from this period that already include the Mu‘tazila are nowhere to be found. According to Shahrastānī, the Imāmī *mutakallim* Shayṭān al-Ṭāq (d. ca.180/796), i.e., a contemporary of Ḍirār in Kufa, did not yet use the term Mu‘tazila in this context. Shahrastānī tells us that in his *Kitāb ifal lā tafal*, Shayṭān al-Ṭāq stated that the major factions (*kibār al-firaq*) of Islam were four: the Qadariyya, the ‘Āmma, the Khawārij and the Shī‘a [*Mil*.143:8–10]. That points to something like a four-division taxonomy. But it indicates that, even though both Shayṭān al-Ṭāq and the slightly later Hishām b. al-Ḥakam are supposed to have written refutations of the Mu‘tazila, Imāmī scholars of this period would probably not yet have afforded them the status of one of the main divisions of the Community³⁴.

Van Ess has shown that there are also contemporary, and even slightly earlier, instances of a four- or five-division model amongst the *aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth* and the Murji‘a, but again it is always the Qadariyya who appear instead of the Mu‘tazila³⁵. The most interesting example comes from a certain ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Mubārak (d.181/797), who is usually presented as one of the progenitors of Sunnism in Iran³⁶.

32 In his *Hujaj al-nubuwwa*, he writes ‘If the Mu‘tazila, the Shī‘a, the Khawārij and the Murji‘a agree on a matter, then its truth is plain. . .’ (*inna amr^{am} ijtama‘at ‘alayhi l-Mu‘tazila wa-l-shī‘a wa-l-Khawārij wa-l-Murji‘a la-zāhir l-ṣawwāb. . .*) (*Rasā‘il*.III:233:11–12).

33 Ḍirār lists the Khawārij as individual factions, but this does not affect the basic point. The passage is translated into German in van Ess 2018:2490–2494.

34 Shayṭān al-Ṭāq is supposed to have written a *Kitāb al-radd ‘alā l-Mu‘tazila fi imāmat al-mafḍūl* (see *TG*.V:66 and Modarressi 2003). He also apparently wrote a *Kitāb majālisihī ma‘a Abī Ḥanīfa wa-l-Murji‘a*, but the Murji‘a likewise do not appear in the taxonomy cited by Shahrastānī. Hishām b. al-Ḥakam composed *Kitāb al-radd ‘alā al-Mu‘tazila fi Ṭalḥa wa-l-Zubayr*, as well as a more general refutation of them, although it is difficult to know which specific thinkers he would have had in mind. See *TG*.V:70 and Modarressi 2003:267. It is possible sections of it are preserved by Khayyāṭ in the *Kitāb al-intiṣār*. See *TG*.V:88–91. Van Ess also discusses a tradition related by Abū Hamza al-Thumālī (d.148/865) in which the latter tells Muḥammad al-Bāqir that he saw four alternatives to Shī‘ism, namely the Qadariyya, the Khawārij, the Murji‘a and the Umayyads (see van Ess 2011:71).

35 See van Ess 2011:69, 73–77.

36 On him, see *TG*.II:551–555. The other major examples given by van Ess are from Yūsuf b. Asbāṭ (d.196/811 or 199/814) (2011:74–77) and the Murji‘ī scholar ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Abī Rawwād (d.206/821) (2011:69). As van Ess observes, an example cited from the Kufan jurist al-Sha‘bī (d. between 103/721 and 110/728) is likely to have been reworked later, because it too features the Qadariyya (2011:69).

He does not so much describe the four erroneous major divisions as indicate how one can escape the error they have fallen into: to avoid Shī'ism, one must affirm the order of precedence of the Companions as Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān and 'Alī, and only speak well of the rest; to avoid Khārijism, one must pray behind all believers, fight for every Caliph, and hold violent rebellion against the authorities to be forbidden; to avoid Qadariism, one must declare that both good and evil come from God; to avoid Murji'ism, one must hold that belief consists in both words and deeds³⁷. Each major division here is thus linked to its own specific theological controversy. This points in the same fundamental direction as the Mu'tazilī and Imāmī examples. Even if the Qadariyya became notorious amongst the *ahl al-ḥadīth* through the political events of the third *fitna*, the Community could only be seen as divided this way when taxonomical precedence was given to *theological* issues.

That helps place the taxonomy chronologically, even if only roughly. At the earliest, it would seem 'Mu'tazila' could first have replaced 'Qadariyya' in such a framework in *kalām*-circles in Iraq around the time of Harūn al-Rashīd, but the earlier we go, the more likely we are in a Mu'tazilī environment and/or in Basra in order for this to have happened. Importantly, however, there is no hint in any of these examples that the major divisions should be delineated from one another by just their doctrines of the Imāmate, let alone that they were thought to have originated *in toto* in the first *fitna*. For that part of the model, we must look elsewhere. But ps.-Nāshī' and Nawbakhtī certainly still have a notable predecessor, and not an Imāmī.

Ibn 'Asākir (d.571/1176), in his *Ta'rikh Dimashq*, cites Ja'far b. Burqān (d.154/771), a *qāḍī* in Raqqā, who in turn cites the Umayyad financial official Maymūn b. Mihrān (d.117/735) for an account of the 'disagreements of the people in the matter of 'Uthmān, 'Alī, Ṭalḥa, Zubayr and Mu'āwiya'³⁸. What is cited from Maymūn is something very similar to the historical prologues of the two *firaq*-books. Here, too, the Muslim Community begins in a state of ideal unity under the Prophet. This continues under Abū Bakr and 'Umar and initially under 'Uthmān³⁹. The Community only splits upon 'Uthmān's murder⁴⁰. The whole presentation is strongly "Uthmānī"; his killers are called *fussāq*. That event gives rise to four factions, and eventually also

³⁷ See Ibn Abi Ya'lā, *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābila*, II:40:11–20. Further references at van Ess 2011:74–75, where the tradition is also translated into German.

³⁸ Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh Dimashq*, XXXIX:494:15–497:3. Also Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar ta'rikh Dimashq*, XVI:263:15–265:18. On Maymūn b. Mihrān, see *IE*². "Maymūn b. Mihrān" [Donner], van Ess 1977:204–205. On Ja'far b. Burqān, see *TG*.II:132.

³⁹ Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh Dimashq*, XXXIX:495:1–11.

⁴⁰ Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh Dimashq*, XXXIX:495:12–17.

to a fifth, which are presented in an *iftirāq*-cluster: the *shī'at* 'Uthmān, the *shī'at* 'Alī, the Murji'a, the Ḥijāzī neutrals, and the Khawārij⁴¹.

Two things are immediately striking: the retroprojection of the Murji'a and the presence of the Ḥijāzī neutrals as a distinct party in the conflict. Maymūn describes the Murji'a with their original 'political' doctrine, i.e., that they 'deferred' judgement (*arja'a*) upon 'Alī and his opponents to God. This makes more sense of the retroprojection than in the heresiographies: a later opinion about the civil war is simply depicted as if it was already present there. Nevertheless, this clearly shows that the attempt to depict the origins of the Murji'a within the first *fitna* itself began long before ps.-Nāshī' and even before the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd⁴².

Maymūn sees the Ḥijāzī neutrals as the only group that behaved correctly in conflict. They are the good guys. He claims the majority of the living Companions belonged to them, but he also gives a short list that contains some familiar names: Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ, Usāma b. Zayd, Muḥammad b. Maslama, alongside others. Here, they become the progenitors of all those who put the *jamā'a* first and rightly affirmed both 'Uthmān and 'Alī, as well as their supporters. Moreover, he already refers to these neutrals as those who 'withdrew from the *fitna*' (*i'tazalū l-fitna*)⁴³. This positive valorisation of the neutrals and the use of the term *i'tazala* to refer to their actions is also not unique to Maymūn; it seems to have been commonly attached to the neutrals around the turn of the first century and into the first half of the second⁴⁴.

Maymūn's perspective is certainly earlier than that of ps.-Nāshī' and Nawbakhtī. Not only does he present the Murji'a with their older doctrine, but he defines the other parties principally in terms of political allegiance and geography. Thus, the *shī'at* 'Alī are simply 'the Kufans'; the *shī'at* 'Uthmān are the Syrians and the Basrans. Nevertheless, there is already such a large overlap between this schematization of the first *fitna* and the later four- or five-division taxonomy of the Community that

41 Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh Dimashq*, XXXIX:495:18–496:13. The passage itself is discussed in van Ess 2011:26–31, where a summary translation is given, and already briefly in *TG*.I:153–154. The only point where I really differ from van Ess here is that I think the existence of Maymūn's material should make us rethink the question of the tradition from which ps.-Nāshī' and Nawbakhtī's historical prologues are drawn, as it is clearly not something that first originated in an Imāmī context.

42 Of course, Maymūn nevertheless still has trouble finding a specific group of people to connect them with. His solution is to claim they were a group who had been at war on the frontiers when 'Uthmān was killed. They return to Medina to find the people in dispute and 'defer' the matter to God, apparently because they were not there to witness things for themselves. But Maymūn too cannot name any individuals; this is no less of a construction than ps.-Nāshī' and Nawbakhtī's attempts to anchor the Murji'a in the first *fitna*. But it is an earlier one.

43 Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh Dimashq*, XXXIX:497:1.

44 See the references assembled in van Ess 1972:121–125 and Syed 1977:305–323.

one needs only to update the Murji'a and integrate the Mu'tazila somehow, such that the theologically defined major divisions of the later second-century become entirely congruent with Maymūn's *firaq* of the first *fitna*⁴⁵.

The anchoring of the Mu'tazila in the historical schema was easily achieved, as we have seen: they are simply linked with the original *mu'tazilūn*. The connection was principally made on the terminological level, but perhaps not only. We know that at least some of the early Mu'tazila sought out precursors for their own doctrines of the Imāmate among the neutrals. Abū Bakr al-Aṣamm (d.200/816 or 201/817), for example, is recorded to have held up Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī specifically as the one who acted most appropriately in the conflict [*Fir*.14:1–4]⁴⁶. Nevertheless, the naivety of the link remains obvious in *Uṣūl al-niḥal*, and ps.-Nāshī' does not really commit to it fully. In fact, the only real difference in comparison with Maymūn is that he now has two groups of *mu'tazilūn*. As we have seen, one of them, the Ḥijāzī neutrals, is still the ancestors of the *jamā'a*-minded just it was for Maymūn, albeit that they are now cast as the *ahl al-ḥadīth*/Ḥashwiyya and portrayed negatively. The other group alone, which consists of neutrals unmentioned by Maymūn, such as Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī and Aḥnaf b. Qays, is then associated with the later Mu'tazila. We need not think of direct sources here. Maymūn's approach is presumably representative of a model that was used more widely. The point is just that the theologically oriented taxonomy of the major divisions of the Muslim Community employed in *Uṣūl al-niḥal* is only a lightly adapted version of something that was in use much earlier as a framework to describe the parties of the first *fitna*, and not in Imāmī or even broader Shī'ī circles⁴⁷.

Nawbakhtī, too, has the two groups of neutrals and he preserves the use of the term *i'tazalū* for both, but, otherwise, his version seems only to obscure things when set against Maymūn's and ps.-Nāshī's. He severs the link between the *mu'tazilūn* of the first *fitna* and the *jamā'a*-minded completely. For him, the latter are, rather, those who support Mu'āwiya after 'Alī's death. They, now also labelled the Ḥashwiyya, are identical with the Murji'a. It is not difficult to see why a later Imāmī author might have done this for polemical reasons, but it is highly questionable whether someone like Hishām b. al-Ḥakam in second-century Kufa, the very home of the Murji'a, would already have been able gloss over the distinctions so

45 The idea that the older, political doctrine was Murji'ī would have made no sense by the early third century. By this time, it was associated with the Mu'tazila (see van Ess 2001:154).

46 Nawbakhtī is almost certainly reliant on Zurqān here. See p. 226–232. For more on Aṣamm's politics, see *TG*.II:407–414.

47 Also in twentieth-century Western scholarship, there were attempts to make a more direct connection between the *mu'tazilūn* of the first *fitna* and the later Mu'tazila. See the discussions in van Ess 1972:121–125 and Syed 1977:315, also *TG*.II:338–340.

easily. The same goes for Nawbakhtī's collapsing of the Mu'tazila more fully into their earlier namesakes. It looks like a later over-simplification that relies on the looser link having already been established. In polemical mode, an Imāmī may well have done this in order to associate the later Mu'tazila with a group of people who had pledged allegiance to 'Alī but then traitorously failed to support him in battle. Yet, although the *Firaq* insists that they had pledged allegiance before declaring themselves neutral in the conflict, there is no explicit accusation of treachery in this. Criticism is reserved, rather, for the other group, who were neutral for reasons other than a 'commitment to the religious principle of *i'tizāl*' (*al-tadayyun bi-l-i'tizāl*) [Fir.5:5–10]. Nawbakhtī thus seems to pull back from the potential polemic against the Mu'tazila. Regardless, the main point is that there is no evidence that any of this goes back to a common source shared with ps.-Nāshī'.

It is also far from evident that an Imāmī theologian such as Hishām b. al-Ḥakam would have gone to the trouble of achieving what is, in the end, an essentially sympathetic integration of the Mu'tazila into a historical framework that was itself not specifically of Imāmī or even Shī'ī origin. Even the fundamental distinction of two groups of neutral Companions, one of the few striking common details in the two works, is unlikely to be originally Imāmī. It does not have to be of Mu'tazilī origin either, even if Aṣamm approved of Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī. It may just reflect some earlier, even simply geographical distinction that was available for reuse in this context. But there is evidence beyond pseudo-Nāshī' that many Mu'tazila criticized the Ḥijāzī neutrals specifically. Jāhiz, in his *Kitāb al-futyā*, criticizes al-Nazzām because of the way he censured the Mu'tazila for their hatred towards Sa'd, Ibn 'Umar, Muḥammad b. Maslama, Usāma b. Zayd, and other Ḥijāzī neutrals⁴⁸. The attitude of the Mu'tazila depicted there presumably has something to do with the fact that the original Ḥijāzī *mu'tazilūn* were claimed by the *ḥadīth*-folk. Ps.-Nāshī's desire to attach the Mu'tazila to others who also practised *i'tizāl* in the first *fitna*, rather than to the Hijāzī neutrals, thus seems to reflect a real position of (some of) the Mu'tazila towards the neutral Companions that must have been in existence by Nazzām's day.

None of this means, of course, that ps.-Nāshī' and Nawbakhtī *cannot* have shared an Imāmī common source for their historical prologues. But there is no evidence either in terms of specific parallels or in terms of the commonalities in their concept of the major divisions of the Community and their origins that this was the case. We will return to the question of their common sources later, but as far as the

⁴⁸ The relevant passage is preserved by Sharīf al-Murtaḍā in his *Fuṣūl al-mukhtāra min al-uyūn wa-l-masā'il*, 236:7. The fragment in which it appears is cited and translated in van Ess 1972:119–120.

historical prologues are concerned, we can do little more than point to a common generic heritage in Iraqi *kalām* circles in the later second century, where earlier models for the schematization of the factions in the first *fitna* were being repurposed to accommodate a more contemporary taxonomy of the Muslim Community, one that was primarily focussed on theological discourse.

IV *Firaq*-material: the factions of the Shī'a

If all the extant third- and early-fourth-century heresiographies are taken together, *firaq*-material is the dominant structural-formulaic element in the material on the Shī'a in terms of the overall quantity of text. It is the only form of material in *Uṣūl al-niḥal*'s Shī'a-chapter and the main element in Nawbakhtī's and Qummi's *firaq*-books. In Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, it is the largest element after the *ikhtilāf*-material. The BdC shows us that the Shī'a-chapter of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* too had a relatively long section of *firaq*-material.

Some *firaq*-material is unique to individual works, but much appears in more than one work. The sets of parallels vary in quality, but some display very close convergence. Some also contain references to named sources. This means that it is possible to deduce quite a lot about the content of its earlier sources. It is also possible, to some extent, to see how that earlier material has been reworked and re-presented in the extant works. The question of the common sources and their transmission is thus highly relevant to our understanding of the preserved *firaq*-material and to our interpretation of the extant heresiographies' depiction of the Shī'a. Because of this, it is a question that has already attracted a lot of attention, but, as we will see, the current interpretations of the parallels with respect to the relationship of source-dependency between the extant texts are incompatible with one another. Some were reached on the basis of much less evidence than is now available yet continue to act as paradigms for the interpretation of new evidence, even when the latter does not support the original hypotheses. Moreover, many foundational arguments about the sources of the extant *firaq*-material were based not on the identification of parallels but on the much less reliable methods of internal *Quellenforschung*. Of those that do make use of evidence from parallels, not all were well-founded even at the time of their proposal. Here, in chapter IV.1, all the convergences and divergences between the extant works will be examined again systematically, the various suggested hypotheses discussed and new interpretations offered. This will enable a new account of the sources and transmission of the earliest preserved *firaq*-material on the Shī'a.

The results of the investigation of sources then feed into a more general discussion of the material in chapter IV.2. Here, we will focus on the characteristics, conventions, perspectives and provenance of the *firaq*-material, beginning with that contained in the common sources—as far as it can be reconstructed from the parallels—and moving on to the extant texts. In the latter case, we will discuss how material from the common sources is rearranged, reworked and combined also with unique material to form the depictions of the Shī'a we now see in the extant works. An overview of the results and conclusions is given in IV.3.

1 Sources and Transmission: Evidence from Textual Parallels

When interpreting what textual parallels can tell us about the relationship of source-dependency between extant texts, it is necessary to analyse each group of parallels across all the texts in which they occur simultaneously. Every instance of a parallel is potentially relevant to the interpretation of all other instances. However, given that we are equally interested in seeing how the authors of the extant texts reworked and repurposed earlier material, we must also understand how the parallel material appears in relation to other material within the individual works. The below discussion mixes both approaches, but we will proceed primarily text by text. The order is generally one of reverse chronology, but it also takes a detour for pragmatic reasons, as will be explained below. This allows us to work from where we have most information towards where we have least.

We will begin in 1.1 with an analysis of the close parallels between the *firaq*-material that appears in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and the BdC. This allows us partially to reconstruct Balkhī's material on Shī'a *firaq*, to establish the most likely relationship between the material in Balkhī's and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*s, and to say something about the earlier sources of their common material. In 1.2, we turn to Nawbakhtī's *Firaq*, but not immediately to its *firaq*-material. Rather, we will examine a specific set of convergences and divergences between the *Firaq*'s *ikhtilāf*-section and the Balkhī-Ash'arī *firaq*-material on the Zaydiyya. In 1.3., we address the question of Nawbakhtī's sources for his *firaq*-material, primarily by examining its parallels with the *firaq*-material in the BdC and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*. After that, the chronological detour begins, as we look at the later texts that rely primarily upon Nawbakhtī's *Firaq*, namely Qummī's *Maqālāt wa-l-firaq* in 1.4 and Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī's *Zīna* in 1.5. There, we will explore both their reuse of Nawbakhtī's material as well further parallels that they share with Balkhī and Ash'arī but not Nawbakhtī. Finally, in 1.6, we resume the reverse chronological approach to look at the parallels to all the later texts that appear in *Uṣūl al-niḥal*. The conclusions are brought together in 1.7. Readers who want just the conclusions are strongly advised to go there directly.

1.1 *Firaq*-Material on the Shī'a in Balkhī's and Ash'arī's *maqālāt*-Books

Nearly all Ash'arī's *firaq*-material on the Shī'a appears in close parallel in the BdC. That indicates some relationship of source-dependency. As we know that the authors of the BdC obtained the relevant material from Balkhī's *Maqālāt* and that Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* was composed later than Balkhī's, there are two main options: either Balkhī's *Maqālāt* was also Ash'arī's source (with the theoretical possibility of an intermediary) or both Ash'arī and Balkhī ultimately obtained the material from an earlier common

source or sources (possibly via intermediaries). Further to this, we already know that Ash'arī made use of doxographical material from Balkhī elsewhere in his Shī'a-chapter, as there are three unmarked or anonymous Balkhī-citations in the *ikhtilāf*-section on the Rāfiḍa that can be recognised as such via parallels marked as Balkhī-citations later in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* itself or in Shahrastānī's *Milal*¹. Whilst we cannot be sure that Ash'arī's source in these three passages was Balkhī's *Maqālāt*, rather than some other text by Balkhī, the most parsimonious explanation for both the convergences with the BdC over the Shī'ī *firaq*-material and the presence of Ash'arī's Balkhī-citations is that Ash'arī's source for both bodies of material was simply Balkhī's *Maqālāt*.

Van Ess has proposed a different model. He has suggested that the relatively small amount of material in Ash'arī's identifiable Balkhī-citations was added at a later point, and that most parallels with the BdC result, rather, from Ash'arī and Balkhī having used a common source: Zurqān's *Maqālāt*². If correct, this would have an important implication. Where Ash'arī and the BdC agree, the reason would usually be that they independently preserve the way the material appeared in Zurqān's much earlier text. As we will see, the convergences for the Shī'ī *firaq*-material are substantial, involving both its macro- and micro-structures, as well as the content and the wording of the individual faction-descriptions, sustained over almost the entirety of Ash'arī's presentation of Shī'ī *firaq*, some thirty-two pages in Ritter's edition. Thus, according to van Ess's model, we would have considerable, detailed insight into the depiction of Shī'ī *firaq* in a Mu'tazilī doxography probably composed in the 230s.

But is it credible that the main common source behind Ash'arī's and Balkhī's *firaq*-material on the Shī'a could be Zurqān's *Maqālāt*? Both Ash'arī and Balkhī cite material from Zurqān often outside the *firaq*-material on the Shī'a, for *ikhtilāf*-material on Shī'ī *mutakallimūn*, lending the suggestion basic plausibility³. There is also one passage *within* the *firaq*-material on the Shī'a that Ash'arī marks as a Zurqān-citation and which also appears, unmarked, in two texts of the BdC, namely the *Bāb* and the *Ḥūr* [*MaqA*.68:5–7; *Bāb*.92:7–10; *Ḥūr*.207:14–17]. All these citations, however, are concerned with the positions of individual *mutakallimūn* (with or without the essentially formulaic 'and his followers' (*wa-aṣḥābuhu*)) on particular

1 *MaqA*. 40:3–5 (introduced by *wa-zāda ba'ḍu man yukhbiru 'alā al-maqālāt*. . .) appears as a Balkhī-citation at *MaqA*.582:12–13 (introduced by *wa-zāda l-Balkhī*. . .). *MaqA*.37:8–38:2 appears marked as a Balkhī-citation at *MaqA*.493:15–494:5 (introduced by *wa-ḥakā Abū l-Qāsim al-Balkhī*), also anonymously at 222:1–5. *MaqA*.32:14–33:1 (introduced by *wa-ḥukiya 'an-hu*. . .) appears as a marked Balkhī-citation at *Mil*.141:7–8. (introduced by *ḥakā l-Ka'bi 'an-hu*. . .).

2 Van Ess 2011:470–472, 476–477, 480, 485–486, 491. But he seems to take account only of the unmarked Balkhī-citation at *MaqA*.40:3–5 (see van Ess 2011:470–471, esp. n.163).

3 See p. 49 n.182.

topics of theological *ikhtilāf*, not with the description of factions as such. That is true even of the example within the *fīraq*-material, which relates specifically to aspects of the Zaydī *mutakallim* Sulaymān b. Jarīr's doctrine of the Imāmate⁴. Indeed, there is no straightforward evidence that Zurqān's *Maqālāt* contained any true *fīraq*-material at all, either on the Shī'a or on any other division of the Community. As far as we know, it was entirely a book of theological *ikhtilāf*-material⁵. Moreover, the citation concerning Sulaymān constitutes only a part of the common material on the faction known as the Sulaymāniyya (or Jarīriyya) found in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and the BdC anyway. Thus, unless the citation-marking is misleading, Zurqān cannot be the only common source behind the material shared by Ash'arī and Balkhī even just in this faction-description⁶.

The dating of the common *fīraq*-material also fails to offer convincing support for the Zurqān-hypothesis. The latest datable element that Ash'arī and Balkhī have in common appears in the description of the Qaṭ'iyya. This acknowledges the death of Ḥasan al-'Askarī, which occurred in 260/873 [*MaqA*.18:6–8; *Mugh.XX₂*:176:16; *Hūr*.219:19–220:1]. We could question whether this element must have appeared in their common source in this form, as Ash'arī and Balkhī could independently have updated the relevant list of Imāms, but, in any case, the next-latest datable common element is the mention of the death of Yaḥyā b. 'Umar (d. 250/864) in the description of the Jārūdiyya, where there is no doubt that it featured in the common source [*MaqA*.67:12–16; *Mugh.XX₂*:184:5–15; *Sharḥ*. 21v:10–13; *Hūr*.206:6–18; *Rawḍa*.139r:17–25]⁷. These dates are somewhat later than the very latest figures discussed in marked Zurqān-citations, namely Abū l-Hudhayl and Nazzām, both of whom were dead by the early 230s/840s, if not earlier⁸. Moreover, thanks to the version of Balkhī's material preserved in Jishumī's *Sharḥ*, we know the source of the passage on the Jārūdiyya in which Yaḥyā b. 'Umar's death is mentioned: Abū 'Īsā al-Warrāq, presumably his *Maqālāt*⁹. Thus, unless Zurqān himself already cited the Warrāq-passage, which is chronologically even less likely, he clearly is not the only common source here.

The situation of these marked citations helps clarify a statement Ḥimyarī makes about his sources for the *fīraq*-material on the Shī'a. He tells us that what he has reported on the factions of the Shī'a is given 'according to what Abū 'Īsā

4 In Zurqān's *Maqālāt*, this passage was part of a larger *ikhtilāf*-cluster on the Imāmate. See p. 229–257.

5 See p. 50, 53–55.

6 See p. 202–204, 234–242.

7 On Yaḥyā b. 'Umar, see *Tab*.III:1515:16–1523:12, *Murūj*.VII:330–331, *Maqātil*.506:1–521:9.

8 On the dates of Abū l-Hudhayl, see *TG*.III:213–216; on Nazzām, *TG*.III:301–302.

9 See p. 204–209.

l-Warrāq, Zurqān al-Misma'ī and Abū l-Qāsim al-Balkhī related about them in their books' (*alā mā ḥakāhu 'anhum Abū 'Īsā l-Warrāq wa-Zurqān al-Misma'ī wa-Abū l-Qāsim al-Balkhī fī kutubihim*) [Hūr.224:4–5]¹⁰. Despite the mention of 'their books', Ḥimyarī cannot have taken material from Zurqān and Warrāq directly, i.e., independently of Balkhī's *Maqālāt*. The two passages we know to have come originally from Zurqān and Warrāq appear elsewhere in the BdC, embedded amongst the other common material, as well as in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*. The authors of the BdC and Ash'arī cannot all have been compiling the material from the three sources independently and have ended up with such similar results. Indeed, Jishumī's marked Warrāq-citation occurs within the description of the Jārūdiyya, which both Ḥimyarī and Ḥajūrī clearly state they took from Balkhī [Hūr.208:17; Raw.139r:11]. More generally, there is no significant body of material on Shī'ī *firaq* in the *Hūr* that is not paralleled elsewhere in the BdC and/or in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*. Ḥimyarī's statement must thus be understood to mean that Balkhī had cited Warrāq and Zurqān already; Ḥimyarī himself accessed their material only via Balkhī's *Maqālāt*¹¹.

We do not know how much of the material comes from Zurqān, how much from Warrāq, and how much Balkhī composed himself or took from further, unmentioned sources. Nevertheless, the question immediately arises, is it plausible that Ash'arī and Balkhī could independently have selected and combined material from at least two common sources and still achieved the level of convergence we see in their presentations of Shī'ī *firaq*? If not, what are the implications for the relationship of source-dependency? To answer these questions we will have to examine the material in detail.

Before we do so, however, it should be asked why we want to establish the precise relationship of source-dependency at all. Given the chronology of the common *firaq*-material, most of which is concerned with second-century factions, it is obvious anyway that Ash'arī and Balkhī must ultimately have been relying on older sources most of the time, whatever the route along which the material was transmitted. This cursory discussion has already shown that Warrāq's and Zurqān's *Maqālāts* were at least the most prominent amongst those sources, and they in turn must have been using yet earlier material. For many purposes, that would be a sufficient conclusion, and one gained with relative ease. To get any further, we would need to show that Ash'arī's and Balkhī's *Maqālāts* are independent witnesses to those earlier sources, such that the parallels between them allow us to establish elements of Zurqān's and/or Warrāq's *firaq*-material itself. That is

¹⁰ Reading *Abū 'Īsā al-Warrāq* for *Abū 'Īsā al-Razzāq* and *Zurqān al-Misma'ī* for *Zurqān b. Mūsā*.

¹¹ Cf. van Ess 2011:183, 947n284. More generally, it is highly unlikely that Zurqān's and Warrāq's *Maqālāts* would have been accessible in Yemen in the sixth/twelfth century. See p. 45, 51.

a much harder task. If it cannot be done, caution requires that we proceed on the basis that all we have in the common witness of Ash'arī and the BdC is Balkhī's rendering of his earlier sources. This is because we know Ash'arī cites from Balkhī elsewhere in his Shī'a-chapter and we know that the common *firaq*-material stood in Balkhī's *Maqālāt*. The principle of parsimony is thus firmly on the side of the explanation that Balkhī was Ash'arī's source for the *firaq*-material, too. It is therefore insufficient to show it is merely *possible* that Ash'arī and Balkhī are independent witnesses to Warrāq, Zurqān or both. Rather, we would need some preponderant reason to exclude the explanation that Ash'arī was simply working from some version of Balkhī's material. As we will see, that is a standard of proof we cannot expect to attain given the state of the evidence base. This makes for a good argument that it would be more efficient just to assume the default position and move on to comparing with other works, such as Nawbakhtī's *Firaq* and ps.-Nāshī's *Uṣūl al-niḥal*, which more readily give us insight into the earlier appearance of the *firaq*-material.

Nevertheless, there are still good reasons to concentrate on Ash'arī's and Balkhī's versions first. The most important is that it is an essential step in establishing what Balkhī's material looked like. We do not possess Balkhī's *Maqālāt* itself and can work only with the BdC. In so doing, we must always reckon with the likelihood of alterations to the material in the post-Balkhī transmission. Where, however, Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* converges with any text of the BdC over some sufficiently complex element, then, as long as we can rule out any use of Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* by the latter, this implies that some version of Balkhī's material would also have converged with Ash'arī's. This is because, regardless of whether Ash'arī's source was Balkhī's *Maqālāt* or they had a common source, the element must have appeared in the same form in some version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* in order for it then to feature in the text of the BdC. Thus, Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, when compared with the BdC, serves as an important witness to the content of Balkhī's *Maqālāt*, regardless of the specific relationship between them.

The second reason is that we can make better sense of Ash'arī's version of the *firaq*-material by comparing it with that in the BdC. This is because, as we will see, it is possible to show for some of the material that Ash'arī's version was derived from something more like Balkhī's. Whether this is because Ash'arī took the material from Balkhī or from an earlier common source that Balkhī had preserved more faithfully can remain an open question for this purpose too. But once we can see that Ash'arī's version is a modified form of something more like Balkhī's, we can explain some of its apparent inconsistencies and ambiguities more easily.

As we will thus be comparing the structure and content of the material in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and the BdC in some detail anyway, it is worth at least recording and evaluating the meagre evidence this throws up about the specific relationship

of source-dependency between them, especially as this sometimes takes on further significance when we later compare with the material in other works, especially those of Nawbakhtī and Qummī.

We will begin, in 1.1.1, with a methodological discussion, focussing on how convergence between Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and the Balkhī dependent corpus provides evidence of Balkhī's material and, to a limited extent, of the relationship of source-dependency between Ash'arī's and Balkhī's *Maqālāt*s. We will then proceed, in 1.1.2., to the analysis of the convergences and divergences. Readers who just want an overview of the results can skip to the conclusions in 1.1.3.

1.1.1 The Significance of Convergence and Divergence in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and the BdC: A Methodological Overview

That Balkhī's *Maqālāt* was Ash'arī's source for the *firaq*-material on the Shī'a is the most parsimonious explanation of the parallels between the two. In order to reject that explanation, and to argue that they relied, rather, on a common source or sources, we require some preponderant reason to reject that explanation. Here, van Ess has adduced two main arguments.

The first is chronological. The manuscript of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* states "Balkhī said that he began composing his *Maqālāt* around 290 or so" (*dhakara l-Balkhī annahu btada'a fī ta'līf maqālātihi sana nayyif wa-tis'īn wa-mi'atayn*)¹². Van Ess points out that if parts one and two of Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* were already in existence in some form not long after 291/904, in accordance with the *terminus post quem* identified by Casanova, then it is unlikely Ash'arī could already have been using Balkhī's *Maqālāt* as a major source¹³. As we have seen, however, Ash'arī cites doxographical material from Balkhī at (at least) three points in his Shī'a-chapter¹⁴. Van Ess suggests that, in order to accommodate the presence of those passages, we must posit one of three scenarios: (i.) a later date of composition for Ash'arī's part one than indicated by the *terminus post quem*; (ii.) the citations were added in later; or (iii.) Ash'arī obtained material from Balkhī before it was available in 'finished' book form¹⁵. As he clearly takes the chronological argument to have some force, van Ess presumably favours the second of these¹⁶. The chronological argument, however,

¹² Sayyid 1393/1974:55.

¹³ Van Ess 2011:470.

¹⁴ See above, n.1.

¹⁵ Van Ess 2011:470–471

¹⁶ He writes, "Im Falle des Ka'bī bildet demgegenüber gerade die Chronologie das entscheidende Problem" (*Ibid.*:470). This could not be the case if we just accepted i., but he never explains why we should not. He rejects option iii. (*Ibid.*:471) because when Balkhī was still regularly making his visits to Iraq, he went to Baghdad; Ash'arī was probably then still in Basra. Later, when Ash'arī moved

is quite weak. The problem is that, as van Ess acknowledges, we have no option but to find *some* way for the chronology of composition to accommodate Ash'arī having incorporated doxographical material from Balkhī into his own *Maqālāt* at some point. Yet as soon as this is conceded, there is no longer any compelling chronological argument against him having made more widespread use of material from Balkhī in part one¹⁷.

That brings us to the second argument. This rests on a comparison of the parallel *fīraq*-material in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and the *Ḥūr*, which van Ess takes as a proxy for Balkhī's *Maqālāt*. In this context, he observes (1.) that hardly anything is so similar in wording between Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and the *Ḥūr* that Ash'arī and Ḥimyarī could both have been excerpting from Balkhī's *Maqālāt*, (2.) that there are sometimes large discrepancies in the ordering of the factions in the two texts, and (3.) that there is sometimes variation in the faction-names they employ for the same factions¹⁸. In effect, he takes the presence of divergence within the largely convergent material to argue that Ash'arī's source cannot have been the same as Ḥimyarī's source (i.e., Balkhī's *Maqālāt*), positing instead that an earlier common source used by both Ash'arī and Ḥimyarī's source is a better explanation.

This second argument faces two kinds of methodological obstacle. The first kind is that authors do not always (or even usually) copy verbatim from their sources; they make changes. This obstacle is encountered twice in van Ess's argument. The first occurs in relation to Ḥimyarī: we cannot assume the *Ḥūr* preserves Balkhī's *Maqālāt* intact and thus that any variation between the *Ḥūr* and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* must also represent a variation between Balkhī's and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*s. Ḥimyarī himself (or some intermediary) might be responsible. To overcome the obstacle, we need at least one independent witnesses to Balkhī's *Maqālāt* to converge with the *Ḥūr* against Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*. That would exclude the possibility that that the variation was introduced by Ḥimyarī and thus provide evidence of divergence between (some version of) Balkhī's *Maqālāt* and Ash'arī's. We have other witnesses to Balkhī's *Maqālāt*, so this obstacle can be overcome in principle, but it requires the detailed work of comparing across the whole of the BdC. The *Ḥūr* alone is simply not enough.

This kind of obstacle occurs again, but in relation to Ash'arī: assuming we knew the *Ḥūr* preserved Balkhī's text accurately, variation may have been introduced

to Baghdad, there would have been fewer of these visits and Ash'arī was by then a renegade from the Mu'tazila and presumably unwelcome in Balkhī's circle. In his analysis of the material on the Khawārij, van Ess clearly opts for ii. (*Ibid.*:489–493).

17 Indeed, the much longer and more gradual process of composition suggested by van Ess himself would seem to open the door to this possibility anyway (see Weaver 2017).

18 Van Ess 2011:485–486.

by Ash'arī, even if he were working from Balkhī's *Maqālāt*. The only secure way to overcome this instance of the obstacle would be to have either Balkhī's direct source(s) or at least some independent witness to Balkhī's direct source(s). If Balkhī's source agreed with Balkhī against Ash'arī, we would still not know whether Ash'arī was working from Balkhī or Balkhī's source. But if we could find instances where Balkhī's source agreed with Ash'arī against Balkhī, we would have evidence that Ash'arī was working from Balkhī's source, not Balkhī's own version of the material. As we will see later, we do have witnesses to Balkhī's sources independent of Balkhī and Ash'arī, above all in Nawbakhtī's *Firaq* and Qummī's *Maqālāt*. But it turns out they never converge with Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* over elements where we can show Ash'arī and Balkhī diverge. The fact that Balkhī and Ash'arī often agree against Nawbakhtī and Qummī is also not positive proof that Ash'arī's source was Balkhī, because we do not know if Nawbakhtī and Qummī's sources in common with Balkhī are the latter's direct sources or if there was some intermediary, which Ash'arī might then have shared.

The second kind of methodological obstacle is still more problematic. Van Ess has already suggested that there was more than one version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt*¹⁹. If true, it is always possible that variation between Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and any one version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* occurs simply because Ash'arī was using another version. To control for this, we would need access to all versions of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* and to know that we indeed had all versions. We can be quite sure we will never be in this position, even once a version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* is published. Of course, the principle of parsimony should prevent us hypothesising endless unknown versions of Balkhī's text that might have been closer to Ash'arī's. Nevertheless, the caveat must always accompany us here, especially as we do not currently have direct access to any version.

The slender evidence-base under examination should thus make us cautious about reaching any conclusions over the relationship of source-dependency between Ash'arī's and Balkhī's *Maqālāt*s. Nevertheless, there is still much to be gained by an examination of convergence and divergence between Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and the BdC. Above all, it is a vital step if we wish to reconstruct Balkhī's material as fully as possible. Assuming the texts of the BdC are independent witnesses to Balkhī's *Maqālāt*, it is only where there is convergence between at least two of them on any sufficiently complex feature that we have evidence of what (at

¹⁹ *Ibid.*:352, in reference to the citations in Ibn al-Nadīm's *Fihrist* and their relationship to the published Mu'tazila-chapter of Balkhī's *Maqālāt*.

least one version of) Balkhī's text looked like. In practice, however, the appropriate approach to reconstructing Balkhī's *firaq*-material is more complicated. This is because Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* also provides information on the content of Balkhī's, regardless of the specific relationship between them. It must therefore be built into the analysis of convergences and divergences from the beginning.

Four relevant scenarios are possible:

1. At least one text of the BdC agrees with Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* on some sufficiently complex element. On the assumption that the text(s) of the BdC do(es) not also draw on Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, this element must have been in a common source behind the two. Regardless of whether that common source was Balkhī's *Maqālāt* or some earlier text used by Ash'arī and Balkhī independently, the element must have been present in Balkhī's *Maqālāt* in order for it still to appear in the text(s) of the BdC. This means that, regardless of the specific relationship, the agreement between Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and the text(s) of the BdC represents agreement between Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and (some version of) Balkhī's *Maqālāt*. Any variation in the rest of the BdC must either be due to alteration of the material in the post-Balkhī transmission, or else have arisen because there is more than one version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* witnessed in the BdC.
2. No text of the BdC agrees with Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and at least two texts of the BdC agree with one another against Ash'arī's version of some sufficiently complex element. As long as the texts of the BdC are independent witnesses to Balkhī's *Maqālāt*, this indicates a variation between Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and all witnessed versions of Balkhī's *Maqālāt*.
3. At least one text of the BdC agrees with Ash'arī and at least two other texts of the BdC agree with one another against them on some sufficiently complex element. Given what has been said about scenarios 1 and 2, this can only occur either because Balkhī had more than one version of the material and these versions are witnessed in different texts of the BdC, or else because the convergent texts of the BdC that agree against Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* have a common, post-Balkhī intermediary not shared by the text(s) of the BdC that agree(s) with Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*. In either case, there must still have been agreement between Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and at least one version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt*. Depending on the specific patterns of convergence and divergence, some instances of scenario 2 could be put into doubt by occurrences of scenario 3. This is because we would then know that certain texts may, for either possible reason, converge against Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* without implying a divergence between Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and all witnessed versions of Balkhī's *Maqālāt*.
4. There is divergence between all the texts. This leaves us without evidence of what Balkhī's 'original' would have looked like and provides no information regarding the relationship of source-dependency.

As we will see, almost all the *firaq*-material on the Shī'a falls under scenarios 1, 2 and 3. This means we can make significant progress in establishing Balkhī's material. It also means we can at least comment on the level of *similarity* between Ash'arī's and Balkhī's versions of the *firaq*-material. That will not allow us to determine the specific relationship of source-dependency, but it will allow us to establish the quality of that relationship and to narrow down the possible explanations. Above all, if scenario 1 predominates enough, then either Balkhī was Ash'arī's source or they must have had a *single*, main common source to which they both stuck closely; there is a point at which it becomes impossible that such a situation could have arisen if they had separately combined material from multiple sources.

Although the mere fact of convergence and divergence cannot tell us whether Ash'arī took his material from Balkhī's version or relied on a common source, certain *kinds* of convergence can deliver further evidence that is relevant to that question. Most obviously, there is a particular case of scenario 1 that would quickly provide such evidence: if we could identify material in the BdC that was composed by Balkhī himself and this material also appeared in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*. In that case, we would have positive evidence that Ash'arī incorporated passages from Balkhī's version of the *firaq*-material into his own at some point. The difficulty here lies in securely identifying material that must have been composed by Balkhī, rather than taken from an earlier source.

Less straightforwardly, we can locate passages of known pre-Balkhī origin upon which Ash'arī's and Balkhī's versions converge under scenario 1. Such passages can be identified only in the case of marked citations like the Zurqān- and Warrāq-citations mentioned earlier, but if a citation sits within the rest of the common material in the same way in both versions, then either Ash'arī adopted the whole passage (i.e., the citation and the surrounding material) from Balkhī or else they must both have taken it from a common source that had already integrated the citation within the larger passage. This cannot resolve the question of whether Ash'arī's source was Balkhī or whether they had an earlier common source, but it enables us to provide a *terminus post quem* for any potential common source, as it cannot be earlier than the latest cited text. The later the dating of any potential common source, the more likely that Ash'arī's source was simply Balkhī.

The final possible strategy in scenario 1 is to examine other datable elements of the common material. This strategy was already employed briefly above in the discussion of whether Zurqān could be Ash'arī's and Balkhī's main common source. The main question is whether there is common material datable later than the *terminus post quem* already provided by the Warrāq-citation. This too cannot decisively settle the question of source-dependency, but, again, the later the dating of the common material, the more likely Ash'arī's source was simply Balkhī's *Maqālāt*.

Under scenario 2, although the simple fact of divergence cannot reveal whether that divergence has occurred because Ash'arī altered the material whilst working from Balkhī's *Maqālāt* or because Ash'arī and/or Balkhī altered the material whilst working from a common source, we can at least ask whether a given divergence is *more likely* to have arisen in one situation than the other. Usually, it is simply impossible to say either way, as Ash'arī could potentially have made any kind of change to the material, even if he based himself on Balkhī's version. But there are some circumstances where it would seem more likely that Ash'arī's version was derived from a common source. One example is the divergence over faction-names, as adduced by van Ess.

The faction-names are usually derived from some part of the name of the faction's founder, but van Ess identifies an instance where Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and the *Ḥūr* have faction-names derived from different parts of the founder's name: the Zaydī faction led by Sulaymān b. Jarīr is called 'the Sulaymāniyya' by Ash'arī but 'the Jarīriyya' by Ḥimyarī [*MaqA*.68:1; *Ḥūr*.207:14]²⁰. Van Ess does not make his argument entirely explicit, but the point seems to be that this is more likely to have happened if Ash'arī and Balkhī were using a common source that had only the name of the founder, from which they separately derived their faction-names *ad hoc*. That argument does not follow as it stands, because the *Ḥūr* alone is insufficient evidence of what appeared in Balkhī's *Maqālāt*; it may be that Balkhī's version had only the name of founder, then Ash'arī and Ḥimyarī separately coined their faction-names *ad hoc*²¹. But if, after integrating the evidence from the rest of the BdC, we could show that this was a genuine scenario 2 divergence (i.e., that Balkhī's version must have had 'Jarīriyya'), then the argument would be probabilistic. It would still be possible that Ash'arī would have used 'Sulaymāniyya' even if he had encountered 'Jarīriyya' in his source, perhaps because he knew the name from elsewhere. However, if we were to encounter similar situations frequently, especially if they involved lesser-known faction-names that Ash'arī is unlikely to have encountered in other circumstances, this would be a type of scenario 2 divergence that would fit the common-source hypothesis better than the alternative²².

Faction-names, however, are a special case. It is the known way in which they are derived that allows us to triangulate despite having only the two data points. That does not apply to most scenario 2 divergences, which consist in small varia-

²⁰ *Ibid.*:486.

²¹ Van Ess himself raises this possibility elsewhere, when he compares the Balkhī citations in the *Ḥūr* and the *Mughnī* (*Ibid.*:349–350), but he seems not to have taken it into account in his later discussion of the significance of the faction-name variations for the relationship between Ash'arī's and Balkhī's *Maqālāt*s (*Ibid.*:486).

²² The case of the Sulaymāniyya/Jarīriyya is discussed in detail on p. 148–149, 150–151, 153, 154.

tions in the wording or arrangement of a faction-description. Often, the only way to find a preponderant reason to think Ash'arī's version was derived from Balkhī's source would be to demonstrate that Balkhī's version of some element was probably derived from something more like Ash'arī's, indicating that Ash'arī sometimes stuck closer to the common source. But the derivation of one version of a passage of text from another is not bound by consistent rules. As a result, arguments of this kind always rest on assumptions, such as that earlier versions should make more sense than versions derived from them, or that earlier versions should be more complex than those derived from them (or *vice versa*). Some cases are more convincing than others, but this is a line of enquiry that always remains highly suppositive. It is unlikely to provide a preponderant cause to think Ash'arī's source could not simply have been Balkhī's *Maqālāt*.

As it happens, candidates for instances where it is more likely Balkhī's version was derived from something like Ash'arī's are vanishingly few. It turns out that most scenario 2 divergences for which it is possible to say anything at all about the likely direction of derivation point in the opposite direction, i.e., it is much easier to see how Ash'arī's version could have been derived from something that looked more like Balkhī's than *vice versa*. As we will see, the reason why it is possible to reach conclusions in these instances is again due to the specific character of the material and the divergence. They involve the arrangement of certain *firaq*-lists, especially that of the Imāmiyya. This list has a complex, fractal structure that governs the arrangement of its factions. For reasons that will be explained, it is far easier to see Ash'arī's list as a simplification of what must have appeared in Balkhī's material than it is to see Balkhī's as some more complex elaboration of Ash'arī's. This turns out to be helpful for explaining some of the idiosyncrasies of Ash'arī's presentation, but it tells us nothing about the specific relationship of source-dependency, as it is a situation that could have arisen whether Ash'arī was using Balkhī's *Maqālāt* or whether they used a common source that Balkhī preserved more faithfully in this regard.

Finally, the same kind of reasoning can theoretically be applied also in cases of scenario 3 divergence, but with the opposite effect. Here, for Ash'arī and Balkhī to have been using a common source, the text(s) of the BdC that converge(s) with Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* must preserve the version of Balkhī's material closer to that common source. Thus, if their version appears, rather, to be derived from something more like the version found in the texts of the BdC that converge against Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, we would have evidence against the common-source hypothesis, as Ash'arī must have been using a later version of Balkhī's material. The opposite, however, would tell us nothing significant about the relationship: if Ash'arī preserves the older version, this could equally have happened if he were using the same version of Balkhī's material as the text(s) of the BdC that converge(s) with Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* or if he was using Balkhī's source. All this, of course, is subject to

the same, usually insurmountable methodological obstacles that arise in the scenario 2 cases.

To sum up, there is no point just going through the material and drawing attention to divergences as if these stood as straightforward evidence of the relationship of source-dependency between Ash'arī's and Balkhī's *Maqālāt*s. It is worth analysing the convergence and divergence in detail, but primarily for the purpose of reconstructing Balkhī's *firaq*-material on the Shī'a. This will at least also allow us to explore the extent of its resemblance to Ash'arī's *firaq*-material. The chances of finding evidence that speaks to the question of the specific relationship of source-dependency are low; we require specific constellations of convergence divergence that do not occur often. Even when we find them, their interpretation often remains hypothetical. Still, it is to such constellations that we must draw attention; the evidence they provide can at least be taken forward into the subsequent examinations of parallels in earlier works.

1.1.2 Convergence and Divergence in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and the BdC: Analysis

This section analyses the convergences and divergences in the *firaq*-material between Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and the BdC with three aims. The first is to provide as accurate a picture as possible of Balkhī's *firaq*-material on the Shī'a. This is not achieved by producing a single reconstructed text. As we will see, a reliable reconstruction of a significant portion of the outline structure of at least one version of the *firaq*-lists of the Imāmiyya and the Zaydiyya would be possible: it would look like the outline structure of the *Mughnī's firaq*-lists. However, when we get down to the level of the individual faction-descriptions, there is too much witnessed variation for it to be handled in a useful way via a single reconstructed text with an apparatus of variants. Much of the reasoning behind the reconstruction would remain obscured, and this is ultimately more important. Instead, we will proceed largely by a mixture of description and exemplification of the convergences and divergences within the extant witnesses, before drawing descriptive conclusions about the likely correspondence between the versions preserved in the texts of the BdC and Balkhī's version(s).

The second aim is to show that Ash'arī's *firaq*-material is, in certain key respects, a modified version of something that looked more like Balkhī's, regardless of whether this is because Balkhī preserves a common source more faithfully or because Balkhī's version was Ash'arī's only source. This can be done by examining specific scenario 2 variations between Ash'arī's version of the material and that which must have been present in all sufficiently witnessed versions of Balkhī's material. Certain idiosyncrasies of Ash'arī's presentation can then be explained more easily because of this insight.

The third aim is to record and assess the meagre evidence that convergence and divergences between these works can give regarding the specific relationship of source-dependency between the Ash'arī's and Balkhī's *Maqālāt*s, and ultimately whether they provide any preponderant reason to think Ash'arī must have been relying on Balkhī's source rather than Balkhī's own material.

The material will be examined in two stages. In 1.1.2.1, the larger structure and arrangement of the *firaq*-lists, including the issue of faction-names, will be addressed. In 1.1.2.2, the content of the reports will be examined. Conclusions are presented in 1.1.2.3.

1.1.2.1 Convergence and Divergence in the Structure and Arrangement of the *firaq*-lists

We will look at the structure and arrangement of the *firaq*-lists according to Ash'arī's tripartite division of the Shī'a. The degree of variation within the BdC makes it more efficient to take Ash'arī's lists as the starting point and work from there. We will proceed in order of the amount of evidence available regarding the structure of Balkhī's material. Most information is available in the case of the material on the Imāmiyya/Rāfiḍa. This will be dealt with first in 1.1.2.1.1. Next comes list of the Zaydiyya in 1.1.2.1.2 and, finally the list of the Ghāliya in 1.1.2.1.3. Conclusions are presented in 1.1.2.1.4.

1.1.2.1.1 The Factions of the Imāmiyya/Rāfiḍa

The structural similarity of Ash'arī's and Balkhī's *firaq*-material on the Imāmiyya is seen most readily by comparing Ash'arī's list with that preserved by 'Abd al-Jabbār in the *Mughnī*. This comparison is undertaken in 1.1.2.1.1.1. Because there is such a high degree of convergence here, we are already able to establish the basic outline of at least one version of Balkhī's list. This is because Ash'arī's list can only converge with the *Mughnī*'s either because Ash'arī was working from the same version of Balkhī's list as 'Abd al-Jabbār (or at least one that was the same in the relevant aspects) or else because Ash'arī and Balkhī stuck closely enough to a common source here that their versions would have converged at least as much as Ash'arī's and 'Abd al-Jabbār's. Indeed, it is already possible based on this comparison alone to show that Ash'arī's list must be a secondary modification of a list that looked more like Balkhī's, regardless of the specific relationship between them.

In order to identify convergences amongst the BdC *against* Ash'arī (scenarios 2 or 3), however, as well as any further convergences not witnessed by 'Abd al-Jabbār (scenarios 1 or 3), we will also need to compare the lists in the other texts of the corpus. This will be done in two phases: in 1.1.2.1.1.2, we will look at the *Hūr*'s list in

some detail, before more briefly examining the evidence from the remaining texts of the corpus in 1.1.2.1.1.3. Conclusions are presented in 1.1.2.1.1.4.

1.1.2.1.1.1 The *Mughnī's iftirāq*-Schema of the Imāmiyya vs. Ash'arī's *firaq*-List of the Rāfiḍa

Tab. 4 shows an outline of the *Mughnī's firaq*-list of the Imāmiyya in the left-hand column. The right-hand column shows Ash'arī's. The *Mughnī's* list is constructed as an *iftirāq*-schema. Occasionally, 'Abd al-Jabbār numbers the factions within an *iftirāq*-cluster. Where this happens, the numbering is given. Otherwise, factions are marked with bullet points. Ash'arī's *firaq*-list numbers its factions from one to twenty-four and these numbers are given. Sub-factions are usually not given numbers by Ash'arī and are marked here with bullet points. The ordering of the factions in the two texts is close enough that the lists can be set next to each other and line up nearly exactly, but where a faction is missing in one text, a blank space is left in the relevant column. In the few cases where factions appear in a different order, this is marked with arrows between the columns.

Tab. 4: Outline of the *firaq*-lists of the Imāmiyya in the *Mughnī* and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*.

<i>Mugh.XX₂</i>	<i>MaqA.</i>
[176:13] Initial <i>iftirāq</i> of the Imāmiyya:	
– [176: 14–18] The Qaṭ'iyya, who follow the line of Imāms as far as the eleventh Imām, Ḥasan al-'Askarī.	1. [17:10–18:10] The Qaṭ'iyya, who follow the line of Imāms as far as the twelfth Imām, Muhammad b. al-Ḥasan.
– [176:18–19] The Kaysāniyya ²³ who followed Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya after the death of 'Alī.	2. [18:11–16] The Kaysāniyya who followed Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya after the death of 'Alī.
– [176:19–177:3] The Kaysāniyya who followed Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya only after the death of Ḥusayn.	3. [19:1–4] The Kaysāniyya who followed Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya only after the death of Ḥusayn.

²³ The edition of *Mughnī XX₂*, like all the volumes, is full of printing errors. Here for, example it has al-ksbnyh where al-kaysāniyya is obviously intended. Throughout the below, I have corrected the spelling of faction-names with reference to the *Mughnī* itself and to other texts of the Balkhī-dependent corpus.

Tab. 4 (continued)

<i>Mugh.XX₂</i>	<i>MaqA.</i>
[<i>Iftirāq</i> after the death of Muḥammad b al-Ḥanafīyya (d.81/700)] ²⁴ :	
– [177:4–5] The Karibiyya, who claim that Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya is still alive concealed in the Raḏwā mountains.	4. [19:5–15] The Karibiyya
– [177:6–7] A sub-faction of the Karibiyya that claims that he was placed there as a punishment because he paid allegiance to 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān (d.86/705).	5. [20:1–3] A faction that claims that he was placed there as a punishment because he paid allegiance to 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān.
– [177:8] A faction that claims that Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya died.	
[177:8] <i>Iftirāq</i> of those who claim that Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya died:	
– [177:8–9] A faction that claims that the next Imām was 'Alī b. Ḥusayn	6. [20:4–6] A faction that claims that the next Imām was Abū Hāshim.
– [177:9] A faction that claims that the next Imām was Abū Hāshim 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya.	7. [20:7] Missing faction ²⁵
[177:10] <i>Iftirāq</i> after the death of Abū Hāshim (d.98:/716?) into five factions:	
	8. [20:8–21:2] A faction that claims that Abū Hāshim made the bequest to his nephew, Ḥasan b. Muḥammad ²⁶ , who made the bequest to his son, 'Alī, who had no descendants. They are awaiting the return of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya, who is the Mahdī.

²⁴ This *iftirāq*-statement is missing in the *Mughnī*, but was almost certainly present in 'Abd al-Jabbar's source, i.e., Balkhī's *Maqālāt* (see p. 118, n.30).

²⁵ The seventh faction of Ash'arī's list is missing from all manuscripts (see Ritter's apparatus to *Maq.20:7*). Given the overall correspondence between the ordering of the factions in the *Mughnī* and the *Maqālāt*, the missing faction is almost certainly those who claim that the next Imam was 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn, as in the *Mughnī*. This is the faction that appears at the relevant point in Baghdādī's *Farq* [*Farq.39:15–16*] too, although he had access to both Balkhī's and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*s. It is present also in Jishumī's works [*Uyūn.8v:17–18*, *Sharḥ.35v:1–2*] and Hajūrī's [*Rawḍa.140r:23*].

²⁶ This name is a mistake for Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad. See below p. 176–178.

Tab. 4 (continued)

<i>Mugh.XX₂</i>	<i>MaqA.</i>
<p>1. [177:11–13] A faction that claims that Abū Hāshim made the bequest to Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-‘Abbās (d.125/743). From him it passed to the ‘Abbāsīd Caliphs. [177:13] <i>Iftirāq</i> after the death of al-Mahdī (d.169/785) into two factions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – [177:14–15] The Hurayriyya/Rāwandiyya, who claim instead that the Imām after the Prophet was al-‘Abbās b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, from whom it passed to the ‘Abbāsīd Caliphs. – [177:16] A faction that maintained the original doctrine. <p>[177:16] <i>Iftirāq</i> of this faction into two factions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – [177:17–18] The Rizāmiyya, who claim Abū Muslim (d.137/755) died. – [178:1–2] The Abū Muslimiyya, who claim Abū Muslim is alive and did not die. 	<p>9. [21:3–22:3] A faction that claims that Abū Hāshim made the bequest to Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-‘Abbās. From him it passed to the ‘Abbāsīd Caliphs.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – [21:9–13] The Rāwandiyya <p>[21:13] <i>Iftirāq</i> of ‘this faction’:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – [21:14–22:1] The Rizāmiyya – [22:1–3] The Abū Muslimiyya
<p>2. [178:2–5] A faction that claims that Abū Hāshim made the bequest to his nephew, al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad²⁷, who made the bequest to his son, ‘Alī, who had no descendants. They are awaiting the return of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya, who is the Mahdī.</p>	
<p>3. [178:6–11] The Ḥarbiyya, who claim that Abu Hāshim made the bequest to ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Amr b. Ḥarb. After they recognise Ibn Ḥarb has deceived them, they support the Imāmate of ‘Abd Allāh b. Mu‘āwiya and claim that the bequest was made to him.</p> <p>[178:10–11] <i>Iftirāq</i> after the death of ‘Abd Allāh b. Mu‘āwiya (d.129/746) into three factions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – [178:12–13] A faction that claims that he is alive in the mountains of Isfahan and will not die until the ‘horses’ forelocks return (<i>ta‘ūdu nawāṣi l-khayl</i>) to a man from Banū Hāshim’. – [178:13] A faction that claims he died. 	<p>10. [22:4–10] The Ḥarbiyya</p> <p>[22:10–11] <i>Iftirāq</i> concerning ‘Abd Allāh b. Mu‘āwiya into three factions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – [22:11] A faction that claims he died. – [22:11–13] A faction that claims that he is alive in the mountains of Isfahan and will not die until ‘he leads the horses’ forelocks (<i>yaqūdu bi-nawāṣi l-khayl</i>) to men from Banū Hāshim’.

27 This name is a mistake for Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad. See below p. 176–178.

Tab. 4 (continued)

<i>Mugh.XX₂</i>	<i>MaqA.</i>
– [178:13–14] A faction reckoned to be amongst the first faction (i.e. of this layer of <i>iftirāq</i>) ²⁸ .	– [22:13–23:2] A faction that claims that 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya is alive in the mountains of Isfahan and is the Mahdī.
4. [178:14–15] The Bayāniyya, who claim that Abū Hāshim made the bequest to Bayān b. Sim'ān (d.119/737).	11. [23:3–6] The Bayāniyya
5. [178:15–18] A faction that claims that the Imām after Abū Hāshim was 'Alī b. Ḥusayn (d.94/712?) then Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Bāqir.	12. [23:7–9] A faction that claims that the Imām after Abū Hāshim was 'Alī b. Ḥusayn.
[178:18] <i>Iftirāq</i> after the death of Muḥammad al-Bāqir (d.117/735?) into three factions:	
– [179:1] The Ja'fariyya, who claim that Muḥammad b 'Alī made the bequest to his son, Ja'far b. Muḥammad al-Ṣādiq.	
– [179:1–9] The Mughīriyya, who claim that Muḥammad b 'Alī made the bequest to Mughīra b Sa'īd (d.119/737).	13. [23:10–24:4] The Mughīriyya
– [179:6–7] A sub-faction of the Mughīriyya that claims that the next Imām after Muḥammad b. 'Alī was Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan (d.145/762)	14. [24:5–9] A faction that claims that the next Imām after Muḥammad b. 'Alī was Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan
– [179:9–10] The Manṣūriyya, who claim that Muḥammad b 'Alī made the bequest to Abū Manṣūr	15. [24:10–25:8] The Manṣūriyya, who claim that Muḥammad b 'Alī made the bequest to Abū Manṣūr. They split into two factions:
[179:10] <i>Iftirāq</i> of the Manṣūriyya after the death of Abū Manṣūr (d.120–126/738–744):	[24:13] <i>Iftirāq</i> of the Manṣūriyya after the death of Abū Manṣūr:
– [179:10–11] The Ḥusayniyya, who claim that the Imām after Abū Manṣūr was Ḥusayn b. Abī Manṣūr.	– [24:13–15] The Ḥusayniyya
– [179:12–15] The Muḥammadiyya, who supported the Imāmate of Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan	– [24:15–25:8] The Muḥammadiyya

²⁸ The text here is corrupt. There should be a third faction according to the *iftirāq*-statement, but after the second faction, we find what should probably be '*adaḍnāhā ilā l-firqa al-uwlā*', i.e. 'we have counted them amongst the first faction'. The sense is probably that 'Abd al-Jabbār (erroneously) considers the third faction to have the same doctrine as the first of the cluster.

Tab. 4 (continued)

<i>Mugh.XX₂</i>	<i>MaqA.</i>
[179:18] <i>Ifṭirāq</i> after the death of Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq (d.148/765):	
– [179:19–180:1] The Nāwūsiyya, who believe that Ja'far did not die and will not die, but is the Mahdī	16. [25:9–13] The Nāwūsiyya
– [180:2–3] A faction that claims the Imam after Ja'far is Ismā'īl b Ja'far, who did not die and will not die until he rules.	17. [26:1–4] A faction that claims that Ismā'īl is the Imām after Ja'far, did not die and will not die until he rules.
– [180:4–7] The Mubārakiyya, who claim that the Imām after Ja'far is Ismā'īl's son, Muḥammad (d.c.178/795)	
[180:8] <i>Ifṭirāq</i> of the Mubārakiyya:	
– [180:8–10] A faction that claims Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl is the Mahdī.	18. [26:5–14] The Qarāmiṭa, who claim that Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl is the Mahdī.
– [180:10–11] A faction that claims Muḥammad died and the Imāmate passed to his descendants.	19. [26:15–27:6] The Mubārakiyya, who claim that Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl was the Imām after Ja'far, then he died and the Imāmate passed to his descendants
– [180:12–13] The Shumayṭiyya, who claim that the Imām after Ja'far is Muḥammad b. Ja'far.	20. [27:7–11] The Sumayṭiyya
– [180:14–181:2] The 'Ammāriyya/Fuṭḥiyya, who claim that Imām after Ja'far is 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far.	21. [27:12–28:8] the 'Ammāriyya/Fuṭḥiyya
– [181:3–5] The Mufaḍḍaliyya, who believe that the Imām after Ja'far is Mūsā b. Ja'far al-Kāzim.	
[<i>Ifṭirāq</i> after the death of Mūsā al-Kāzim (d.183/799?)] ²⁹ :	
2. [181:6–9] The Wāqifa, who believe that Mūsā did not die, but is the Mahdī.	22. [28:9–29:4] The Wāqifa
3. [181:9–10] A faction that is agnostic about Mūsā's death but maintains his Imāmate until the matter is confirmed.	– [29:7–10] Unnumbered faction that is agnostic about Mūsā's death but maintains his Imāmate until the matter is confirmed.
4. [181:10–11] A faction that claims that the next Imām was Aḥmad b. Mūsā	23. [29:13–30:2] A faction that claims that the next Imām was Aḥmad b. Mūsā.

²⁹ This *iftirāq*-statement is missing, but there is clearly some corruption, as the numbering of the factions of the cluster starts at 2. It seems that the *iftirāq*-statement and the first faction, which should be the Qaṭ'iyya, have been omitted (see p. 118, n.30).

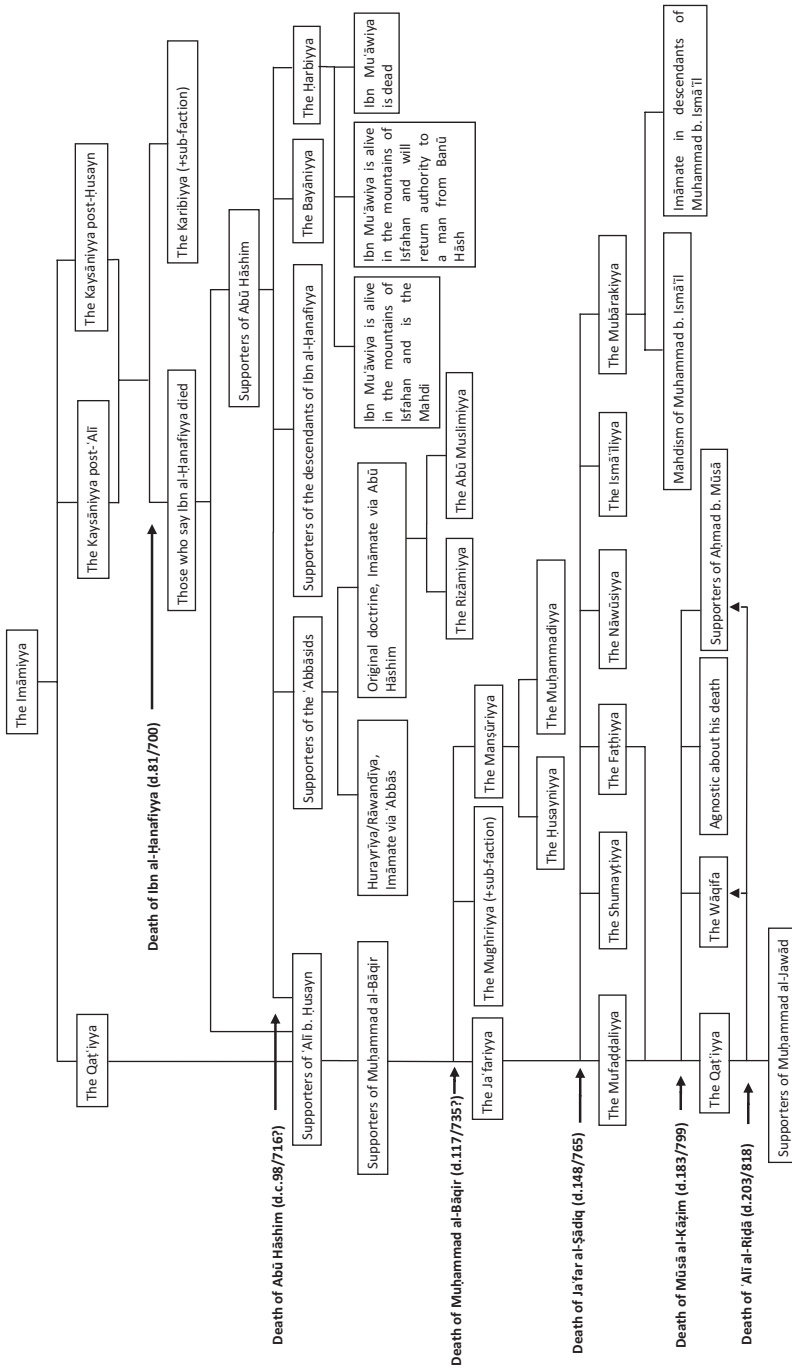
Tab. 4 (continued)

<i>Mugh.XX₂</i>	<i>MaqA.</i>
<p>[181:12] <i>Iftirāq</i> after the death of 'Alī al-Riḍā (d.203/818) into three factions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - [181:13] A faction that claims the next Imām was Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Jawād (d.220/835). - [181:14] A faction that renounced their support for 'Alī al-Riḍā's Imāmate, and professed the Imāmate of Aḥmad b. Mūsā instead. - [181:14–15] A faction that returned to believing in the claims of the Wāqifa, 'stopping' at Mūsā b. Ja'far 	<p>24. [30:3–10] A faction that claims that there is a thirteenth Imām after Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan. This Imām is the Mahdī.</p>
<p>[181:16] <i>Ikhtilāf</i> of the followers of Muḥammad al-Jawād (d.220/835) over the status of his Imāmate whilst he was immature:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - [181:18–19] Those who believe that he was the Imām and was fully knowledgeable of what the Imāms know despite his immaturity. - [181:19–182:3] Those who believe that he was the Imām but that he could not perform certain functions of the Imāmate whilst immature. - [182:4] Those who said 'something else'. 	<p>[30:11–14] <i>Ikhtilāf</i> of the followers of Muḥammad al-Jawād over the status of his Imāmate whilst he was immature:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - [30:15–31:2] Those who believe that he was the Imām and was fully knowledgeable of what the Imāms know despite his immaturity. - [31:3–8] Those who believe that he was the Imām but that he could not perform certain functions of the Imāmate whilst immature.

The table reveals that the factions of the Imāmiyya in Ash'arī's *firaq*-list appear in an order that follows that of the *Mughni's iftirāq*-schema very closely. There are discrepancies, to which we will turn below, but it is impossible that so many factions could have ended up in such a similar order through independent compilation. This ordering thus closely represents that of at least one version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* and of any potential common source used by Ash'arī and Balkhī.

The *Mughni's* list is arranged according to an *iftirāq*-schema, whereby the factions of the Imāmiyya are ordered by a process of successive division (*iftirāq*) over the choice of successor to the Imāmate. After the death of each Imām, a new moment of *iftirāq* amongst that Imām's supporters is announced, followed by a list of the factions that arose supporting the various candidates to be the next Imām.

Tab. 5. The *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya in the *Mughni*.



The deaths of these candidates precipitate new moments of *iftirāq* in which new factions are produced and so on. This schema thus produces a stemma of factions going back to the original division of the Imāmiyya, theoretically after the death of 'Alī, although the initial stages of the *iftirāq* are slightly confused here, a point we will return to later³⁰. The stemma of factions produced by the *Mughnī's* *iftirāq*-schema is depicted graphically in Tab. 5.

'Abd al-Jabbār has rendered the fractal structure of this stemma into a linear order on the page by employing two different types of *iftirāq*-cluster:

1. Consecutive clusters. These are *iftirāq*-clusters that begin only after the previous layer of *iftirāq* is complete. For example, in the *iftirāq* after the death of Muḥammad al-Bāqir, the first faction is the Ja'fariyya, the supporters of the Imāmate of Ja'far al-Šādiq. After the Ja'fariyya, the *Mughnī* presents the other factions that appeared after Bāqir's death, i.e. the Mughīriyya, and the Manšūriyya. Only once all the factions of this layer have been dealt with do we get the statement of Ja'far's death and the subsequent *iftirāq* amongst the Ja'fariyya. The *iftirāq* of the Ja'fariyya is thus presented consecutively, only after the *iftirāq* amongst the supporters of Bāqir has been finished with.
2. Nested clusters. These *iftirāq*-clusters arise immediately after the faction is mentioned, i.e., before the other factions of the same layer are listed. For example, the first faction in the cluster after the death of Abū Hāshim is the 'Abbāsīd Shī'a. Immediately after they are mentioned, we get their internal *iftirāq*. Once the internal *iftirāq* of the 'Abbāsīd Shī'a is finished, we return to the factions that appeared after the death of Abū Hāshim. The *iftirāq*-cluster of the 'Abbāsīds is thus nested within the *iftirāq*-cluster after Abū Hāshim.

The distinction between the two types of cluster is not important for the underlying *iftirāq*-schema *per se* (i.e., it doesn't affect the appearance of the stemma in Tab. 5); it matters only for how the factions that appear in the schema are placed in linear order on the page. 'Abd al-Jabbār could have been consistent and written out the whole schema using either nested or consecutive clusters. Instead, he mixed them.

³⁰ See p. 133, 141. Two *iftirāq*-statements out of the thirteen required to make sense of the schema are not present in the *Mughnī* (see n.24 and n.29 to Tab.4) but their position in the schema is suggested in parentheses in the table. These are the statement of *iftirāq* after Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya's death and that after Mūsā al-Kāzīm. In the case of the post-Mūsā statement at least, there is obvious textual corruption around the point where the *iftirāq*-statement should be. The statement has probably been omitted along with the first factions of the cluster, which, based on the numbering of the factions at this point, is obviously missing (*Mugh*.XX₂:181:3–6). Versions of both *iftirāq*-statements are present in the *Ḥūr* (see p. 126, 130) and other texts of the BdC (post-Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya (*Uyūn*.8v:16–17, *Sharḥ*.29r:13, *Rawḍa*.140r:17); post-Mūsā (*Uyūn*.9r:13–14, *Sharḥ*.30r:13)), so the omissions are most likely due either to 'Abd al-Jabbār or the manuscript tradition of the *Mughnī*.

This is significant because Ash‘arī follows the same order every single time. It is therefore not the case that we are just looking at different presentations of the same underlying *iftirāq*-schema. Rather, the common source must have rendered the schema onto the page in linear arrangement as we see in the *Mughnī*.

A further notable feature of the convergence between the *Mughnī*’s *iftirāq*-schema and the *Maqālāt*’s *firaq*-list is the presence, at the very beginning, of a faction called the Qaṭ‘iyya. In the *Mughnī*, this faction follows the line of Imāms of the later Twelvers only as far as Ḥasan al-‘Askarī (d.260/873), the eleventh Imām. ‘Abd al-Jabbār then writes, ‘He said (*qāla*), “Ḥasan b. ‘Alī died in our time and had no son, then they [i.e., the Imāmiyya] fell into confusion (*ikhtalaṭa ‘alayhim amruhum*)”’ [*Mugh.XX₂*:176:16–17]. On formal and chronological grounds, the subject of the ‘He said’ at the beginning of this sentence and the “our” in the middle can only reasonably be Balkhī. ‘Abd al-Jabbār is clearly just excerpting, hence the lack of any information on later developments amongst the Imāmiyya. Ash‘arī, writing only slightly later, names the twelfth Imām as Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan [*MaqA*.18:8]. Yet regardless of this discrepancy, it is curious for this faction to appear at the beginning of the *iftirāq*-schema at all. Throughout the rest of the schema, factions appear only *after* the death of the previous Imām, e.g. the Ja‘fariyya appear in the cluster after the death of Muḥammad al-Bāqir etc. The Qaṭ‘iyya, as a post-‘Askarī faction, should appear right at the end. This is interesting for several reasons, but the important point for now is that the structural anomaly occurs in the same fashion in Ash‘arī’s *Maqālāt*; it must have stood in Balkhī’s version and that of any potential common source³¹.

One important consequence of the convergence in the order of the lists is that the common source behind Ash‘arī’s *Maqālāt* and the *Mughnī* must have presented the factions in an *iftirāq*-schema. This is what provides the ordering of the factions

31 Both Ash‘arī and ‘Abd al-Jabbār also record at this point that the name Qaṭ‘iyya (‘the Affirmers’) arose because the faction ‘affirmed’ (*qaṭa‘a ‘alā*) the death of Mūsā al-Kāzim (*MaqA*.17:10–12, *Mugh.XX₂*:176:17–18). Indeed, it is evident that the common source knew the name originally referred to a specifically post-Mūsā faction. In the context of the post-Mūsā *iftirāq*-cluster, they are the structural counterpart of the Wāqifa (‘the Stoppers’), i.e., those who ‘stopped’ (*waqafa ‘alā*) the line of Imāms at Mūsā and held him to be the Mahdī. This is obscured in both texts for different reasons. There is obvious textual corruption at the beginning of the post-Mūsā cluster in the *Mughnī* (see above, n.30 and *Tab*.4, n.29 on p. 115). It is almost certain that the missing first faction should be the Qaṭ‘iyya, as is the cases in all other texts of the BdC (*Ḥūr*.218:14–16; *Uyūn*.9r:15–16; 30v:19–20; *Rawḍa*.141r:21). Ash‘arī does not include the Qaṭ‘iyya as a numbered faction of his list at all, as he follows a general procedure of omitting all proto-Twelve factions (see p. 121–124). Nevertheless, they do get a mention at the corresponding point in the list: “We have already mentioned the Qaṭ‘iyya, who affirmed (*qaṭa‘a ‘alā*) the death of Mūsā b. Ja‘far, at the beginning of our account, explanation and clarification of the doctrines of the Rāfiḍa” (*MaqA*.29:11–12). Ash‘arī thus apparently feels he *should* mention the Qaṭ‘iyya at this point. They must have featured here in Ash‘arī’s source too (see further, p. 135–136).

in the *Mughnī* with its entire rationale and thereby also explains the ordering of the factions in the *Maqālāt*. Ash'arī, however, has transformed this *iftirāq*-schema into a plain list of twenty-four factions. In the *Mughnī*, it is the *iftirāq*-statements that provide the key to understanding the logic underlying the schema, describing the relationship between the factions and making sense of its not-quite chronological order. Ash'arī's most obvious alteration was to remove all the major *iftirāq*-statements and number the resulting factions consecutively, leaving us with what now appears to be a linear arrangement of twenty-four, isolated factions placed in not-quite-chronological order. Yet even beyond the correspondence with the *Mughnī*, some evidence of the underlying *iftirāq*-schema remains in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*:

1. Several unnumbered factions appear within the *Maqālāt*'s descriptions of the twenty-four numbered factions. These are always sub-factions of a main, numbered faction. In these cases, the *iftirāq*-statements are present; they appear just as they do in the *Mughnī*. For example, the 'Abbāsīd Shī'a, faction nine, are said to have divided into two unnumbered factions, the Rizāmiyya and the Abū Muslimiyya. This *iftirāq*-statement is thus preserved [compare *MaqA.21:13–22:3* with *Mugh.XX₂:177:16*]. Likewise, the Ḥarbiyya, faction 10, divide into three unnamed, unnumbered factions [*MaqA.22:10–23:2*] and the Manṣūriyya, faction 15, divide into the unnumbered Ḥusayniyya and the Muḥammadiyya [24:13–25:8]. Both times, the *iftirāq*-statements are present in the *Maqālāt* as well as the *Mughnī*. Thus, although Ash'arī has removed the *iftirāq*-statements and numbered the factions at the level of the main list, he frequently keeps the minor *iftirāq*-statements intact and does not number the factions of these clusters. In general, it is the *iftirāq*-statements of consecutive clusters that he removes, and *iftirāq*-statements of nested clusters that he keeps.
2. Ash'arī begins the report on every faction with an account of their claim concerning the line of Imāms and the identity of their own Imām. 'Abd al-Jabbār (and Balkhī before him) did not need to do this because the *iftirāq*-schema already orders every faction according to the distinct line of Imāms it follows. Ash'arī has compensated for the loss of information that results from his transformation of the *iftirāq*-schema into a plain list by repetitively writing out the line of Imāms each time. If it weren't for the missing factions (to which we'll turn shortly), this would allow the reader to reconstruct the underlying *iftirāq*-schema if they were looking for it, but such longwinded lists of Imāms do not make the structure of the list as apparent as do the *iftirāq*-statements in the *Mughnī*.
3. Ash'arī's list contains twenty-four factions, listed by number. However, from faction two through twelve, the factions also receive a second number, from one through eleven. This second number marks their order in a list of the factions

of the Kaysāniyya, i.e., faction three of the Imāmiyya is also faction two of the Kaysāniyya etc. It is not initially clear why, in a plain list of twenty-four factions of the Imāmiyya, Ash'arī would specifically mark out an incorporated list of eleven factions of the Kaysāniyya. If they are really a separate division, he could have given them their own list. Positing that he has transformed the underlying *iftirāq*-schema allows us to see that this incorporated list and the somewhat confusing parallel numbering constitute an attempt to reflect the internal relationship of the whole branch of Kaysāni factions that splits from the Ḥusaynid Imāmiyya at the very beginning of the *iftirāq*-schema. The parallel numbering ensures that they remain recognisable as a distinct Imāmī sub-division and helps the reader see where the list returns to the non-Kaysāni, i.e., Ḥusaynid, Imāmiyya. It also helps the reader appreciate the chronological unevenness: the Kaysāniyya are followed chronologically as far as the 'Abbāsīd Shī'a under Maṣū'ir (d.158/775) [*MaqA*.21:12], before the list returns to Ḥusaynid factions that appeared after the death of Muḥammad al-Bāqir [from 23:12 on].

There are also several significant discrepancies between the *firaq*-lists in the *Mughnī* and the *Maqālāt*. These can be divided into three types:

1. Addition and omission of factions.
2. Variation in the ordering of the factions.
3. Variation in the faction-names.

As far as 1., addition and omission, is concerned, Ash'arī has only one faction that does not appear in the *Mughnī*: the twenty-fourth of his list. This faction believes that the Mahdī is not the twelfth Imām, but rather an unnamed son of his, i.e., a thirteenth Imām. As we have seen, Balkhī (and 'Abd al-Jabbār following him) listed only eleven Imāms. This twenty-fourth faction was thus neither in Balkhī's *Maqālāt* nor, of course, in any potential earlier common source behind both Balkhī and Ash'arī. It is Ash'arī's own addition.

More interestingly, Ash'arī is missing several factions. The following are absent:

- i. The faction from the post-Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya cluster that claims that Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya died [cf. *Mugh*.XX₂:177:8].
- ii. The faction of the 'Abbāsīd Shī'a that holds to the original doctrine of Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya's designation of the Imāmate of the 'Abbāsīds, rather than adopting the doctrine of the Rāwandīyya, i.e. that 'Abbās, as the Prophet's paternal uncle, inherited the Imāmate directly from the Prophet [cf. 177:16].
- iii. The Ja'fariyya, who support Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq after the death of Muḥammad al-Bāqir [cf. 179:1].
- iv. The *Mughnī*'s Mubārakiyya, a faction of the Ismā'īliyya, who claim that Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl was Imām after his father [cf. *Mugh*.180:4–7]. Ash'arī has the

- name but uses it for a faction that appears as a sub-faction of the Mubārakiyya in the *Mughnī* [*MaqA*.26:15–27:6, *Mugh*.XX₂:180:10–11].
- v. The Mufaḍḍaliyya, who support Mūsā al-Kāẓim after Ṣādiq's death [cf. 181:3–5]³².
 - vi. All three factions of the *iftirāq*-cluster after the death of 'Alī al-Riḍā [cf. 181:12–15].

The basic pattern in all these omissions is the same: having dispensed with the framework of the *iftirāq*-schema, Ash'arī displays a strong preference for listing only those factions that are the end result of the process of *iftirāq*, omitting factions that are only an intermediary stage. So, in the case of i., the *Mughnī* mentions a faction that believed that Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya died, which does not appear in the *Maqālāt* [*Mugh*.XX₂:177:8]. This faction then divides into those who supported Abū Hāshim and those who supported 'Alī b. Ḥusayn [177:8–9]. These two successor factions *do* appear in the *Maqālāt* [*MaqA*.20:4–7], despite the absence of their 'mother-faction'. In the case of ii., the faction that 'held to the original doctrine of the 'Abbāsīd Shī'a' is present in the *Mughnī* [*Mugh*.XX₂:177:16] but is absent from the *Maqālāt*. However, it divides into the Rizāmiyya and the Abū Muslimiyya [177:16–178:2], which *are* present in the *Maqālāt* [*MaqA*.21:13–22:3]. The same explanation applies *mutatis mutandis* to iii. and v., the Ja'fariyya and the Mufaḍḍaliyya, both of which divide wholly into their sub-factions and are merely intermediary stages on the way to becoming the twelver Qaṭ'iyya. Notably, this means that Ash'arī drops the factions supporting the true Imām (from an Imāmi/Twelver perspective) at every stage.

The situation in iv. is more complicated, but the same procedure seems to have been applied. The *Mughnī* records that in the layer of *iftirāq* after the death of Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, there were two factions that supported the line of his dead, eldest son, Ismā'īl: (a.) a faction that continued to uphold the Imāmate of Ismā'īl himself, denying that he had died during his father's lifetime and claiming that he will not die 'until he rules' [*Mugh*.XX₂:180:2–3]; (b.) a faction called the Mubārakiyya, that believed that Ismā'īl had died during Ja'far's lifetime and so held Ismā'īl's son, Muḥammad, to be the Imām [180:4–7]. There is then a further layer of *iftirāq* amongst the Mubārakiyya, producing two factions: (b.1.) a faction that claimed that Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl is the undying Mahdī [180:8–10]; and (b.2.) a faction that continued to follow the Imams in the line of Muḥammad's descendants [180:10–11]. Ash'arī has the first faction (a.) with the same doctrine as in the *Mughnī* [*MaqA*.26:1–4]. Following the standard procedure, he then removes the second (b.) because it is only an intermediary. However, he then has both factions

³² The Mufaḍḍaliyya, like the post-Mūsā Qaṭ'iyya, actually *do* appear in the *Maqālāt* but are only mentioned in passing, not as a numbered faction (*MaqA*.29:5–7).

of the subsequent layer (b.1. and b.2.) with the same doctrines as in the *Mughnī* and in the same order [*MaqA*.26:5–27:6]. In the process however, he seems to have transferred the name ‘Mubārakiyya’ from the faction he has deleted (b.) to its successor faction (b.2.). He also adds the name ‘Qarāmiṭa’ to the other faction of this layer (b.1.)³³.

The procedure can also account for vi., although the effect is more drastic. In the *Mughnī*, three factions arise after ‘Alī al-Riḍā’s death: (1.) a faction that supports his son, Muḥammad al-Jawād; (2.) a faction that renounces the Imāmate of ‘Alī al-Riḍā entirely and professes Aḥmad b. Mūsā to have been the direct successor to Mūsā al-Kāẓim instead; (3.) a faction that renounces the Imāmate of ‘Alī al-Riḍā entirely and turns to the doctrine of the Wāqifa, i.e., those who had stopped the line of Imāms already with Mūsā, claiming him to be the Mahdī [*Mugh*.XX₂:181:12–15]. All three of these factions are omitted by Ash‘arī. Both texts, however, finish their *fīraq*-lists not with an element of *fīraq*-material but with an almost identical *ikhtilāf*-cluster concerning an internal dispute amongst the supporters of Muḥammad al-Jawād over the status of his Imāmate, due to his immaturity at the time of the death of his father [*MaqA*.30:11–31:8, *Mugh*.XX₂:181:16–182:4]. This *ikhtilāf*-cluster must therefore have been in the most recent common source. In the *Mughnī*, the presence of such an *ikhtilāf*-cluster makes sense, as it follows the post-‘Alī al-Riḍā *iftirāq* that produces the faction supporting Muḥammad al-Jawād [181:13]. As Ash‘arī is missing this whole *iftirāq*-cluster, however, the *ikhtilāf*-cluster does not relate to anything that precedes it: no faction that follows Muḥammad al-Jawād has been mentioned. That most probably indicates that the *iftirāq*-cluster was in the common source and has been removed by Ash‘arī, rather than added by ‘Abd al-Jabbār to a common source that did not have it. This makes sense if the standard procedure has been applied. Ash‘arī would have omitted 1., the faction that sup-

³³ ‘Abd al-Jabbār does not use the name at this point, but he does know it. After he has finished relating the factions of the Imāmiyya from Balkhī, he gives the following report: “Ḥasan b. Mūsā [an-Nawbakhtī] reported that the faction which claimed that Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl b. Ja‘far died and that the Imamate was in his descendants is the Qarāmiṭa of our time. Previously, they were known as the Maymūniya after one of their leaders called ‘Abd Allāh b. Maymūn al-Quddāh” (*Mugh*.XX₂:182:6–8). This is slightly confusing, as Ash‘arī uses the name ‘Qarāmiṭa’ to refer to precisely the opposite faction, i.e. the one which *stops* the line of Imams at Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl and considers him the Mahdī. More puzzling still is the fact that the information given in Nawbakhtī’s *Fīraq* is actually in keeping with Ash‘arī’s use of the name, not what is given by ‘Abd al-Jabbār on Nawbakhtī’s authority (*Fir*.61:5–11). The *Fīraq* also makes no mention at all of ‘Abd Allāh b. Maymūn al-Quddāh or the Maymūniya. This is not the only instance where material that ‘Abd al-Jabbār cites from Nawbakhtī is absent from the *Fīraq* or contradicts what Nawbakhtī says there (see p. 768–769).

ported Muḥammad al-Jawād, as, like the Ja'fariyya and the Mufaḍḍaliyya, they are only an intermediary stage on the way to becoming the twelver Qaṭ'iyya. He would also then have gone on to omit 2., because the supporters of Aḥmad b. Mūsā were already listed as faction twenty-three [*MaqA.*29:13–30:2, *Mugh.*XX₂:181:10–11], i.e. in the earlier post-Mūsā cluster. In the *iftirāq*-schema in the *Mughnī*, it makes sense to list them a second time, as the second group of Aḥmad's supporters decided to renounce 'Alī al-Riḍā and turn to Aḥmad only after 'Alī's death. In Ash'arī's *firaq*-list however, they would just be a repetition, as the final result is the same: they end up supporting Aḥmad after Mūsā. The same is true of 3.: they end up turning to the doctrine of the Wāqifa, whom Ash'arī has listed already as faction twenty-two in the post-Mūsā cluster. They too are thus omitted.

This general procedure of omitting intermediary-stage factions makes sense if we understand that by changing the *iftirāq*-schema into a plain *firaq*-list, the perspective on the factions it contains also changes. The *iftirāq*-schema is a map of the process by which the factions of the Imāmiyya historically came to be through successive succession disputes. Ancestor-factions thus feature as a key part of that map. Ash'arī's plain list, however, displays only the results of the process of *iftirāq* as a static picture of the divisions of the Rāfiḍa: from this point of view, ancestor-factions are uninteresting, having wholly divided into and thus been 'absorbed' by their descendants.

As for discrepancy type 2., variations in the ordering of the factions, all of these are relatively minor, in the sense that they only ever involve the exchange of places of two neighbouring factions (e.g., compare Ash'arī's factions 6 and 7, his factions 8 and 9, and two of the sub-factions of the Ḥarbiyya with the order in the *Mughnī*). All such exchanges occur within single *iftirāq*-clusters. They are thus without any importance for the essential structure of the list and do not serve seriously to undermine the general correspondence between the two texts or the conclusion that Ash'arī's list is a modified version of something closer to the material that ultimately underlies the *Mughnī*. Such small variations could easily have occurred in the transmission of the material to either of our authors. Even if we knew the *Mughnī*'s version preserved Balkhī's faithfully in these cases, we still could not tell whether these divergences arose from a situation where Ash'arī and Balkhī took the *firaq*-list from an earlier common source or one where Ash'arī and 'Abd al-Jabbar took it from the same version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt*.

Finally, there is discrepancy type 3., variations in the faction-names. These are few. One of them concerns the application of the name Mubārakiyya, which has been dealt with above and seems to result from the reorganisation of the factions of the Ismā'īliyya. Otherwise, there is a discrepancy in the spelling of the name Sumayṭiyya/Shumayṭiyya [*MaqA.*27:10 vs. *Mugh.*XX₂:180:13], but the variation over *sīn/shīn* could have arisen at any stage in transmission, including the later manu-

script traditions³⁴. Otherwise, there is a slight discrepancy over the name of the faction of the ‘Abbāsīd Shī‘a called the Rāwandīyya, as ‘Abd al-Jabbār additionally uses the name Hurayriyya [*MaqA*.21:13; *Mugh*.XX₂:177:14–15]. Again, even if the *Mughnī*’s version preserved Balkhī’s faithfully in all these cases, they are equally likely to have arisen whether Ash‘arī was working from Balkhī’s *Maqālāt* or from Balkhī’s source.

To summarize, structural comparison of Ash‘arī’s *fīraq*-list of the Imāmiyya and ‘Abd al-Jabbār’s *iftirāq*-schema reveals that they must ultimately have a common source. The *iftirāq*-schema that appears in the *Mughnī* must thus have appeared in the version of Balkhī’s *Maqālāt* used by ‘Abd al-Jabbār. Ash‘arī was evidently working from a source that presented the factions of the Imāmiyya in an identical or near-identical structure to that version of Balkhī’s *Maqālāt*, although we do not know whether Ash‘arī encountered it there or in an earlier common source upon which both he and Balkhī relied (and which Balkhī must then have preserved more completely, in this respect). The major discrepancies between Ash‘arī’s *Maqālāt* and the *Mughnī* in terms of structure can be explained most reasonably by positing that Ash‘arī has modified the underlying *iftirāq*-schema through the application of a small number of consistent procedures. This process left the order of the factions very close to that in the *Mughnī* but obscured the logic behind the arrangement of the list.

1.1.2.1.2 The *Hūr*’s *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya vs. the *Mughnī*’s and Ash‘arī’s

We will now turn to the equivalent material in the *Hūr*. In order to emphasise the convergences and divergence within the BdC, the *Mughnī*’s version will be adopted as the initial reference point. As we have seen, divergence from the *Mughnī* will usually also mean divergence from Ash‘arī’s *Maqālāt*, but we will pick up more specifically on the correspondence with Ash‘arī’s material throughout the discussion. The table in Tab. 6 displays the order of the factions in the *Mughnī* in the left-hand column and the order in the *Hūr* is given in the right-hand column, with the same conventions observed as in Tab. 5:

34 On the name Sumayṭīyya/Shumayṭīyya etc., see p. 143–144, 170–173.

Tab. 6: Outline of the *firaq*-lists of the Imāmiyya in the *Mughnī* and the *Hūr*.

<i>Mugh.XX₂</i>	<i>Hūr</i>
[176:13] Initial <i>iftirāq</i> of the Imāmiyya:	[211:14] Initial <i>iftirāq</i> of the Imāmiyya:
– [176:14–18] The Qaṭ'iyya, who follow the line of Imāms as far as the eleventh Imām, Ḥasan al-'Askarī.	
– [176:18–19] The Kaysāniyya who followed Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya after the death of 'Alī.	1. [211:15–16] The Kaysāniyya, who support the Imāmates of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, then Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya.
– [176:19–177:3] The Kaysāniyya who followed Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya only after the death of Ḥusayn.	2. [211:17–18] A faction that supports the Imāmates of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, then 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn, then Muḥammad al-Bāqir.
<i>[iftirāq after the death of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya (d.81/700)]³⁵:</i>	[211:19] <i>iftirāq</i> of the Kaysāniyya into three factions:
– [177:4–5] The Karibiyya, who claim that Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya is still alive concealed in the Raḍwā mountains.	1. [211:20–213:9] The Karibiyya
– [177:6–7] A sub-faction of the Karibiyya that claims that he was placed there as a punishment because he paid allegiance to 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān (d.86/705).	– [212:3–4] Some of the Karibiyya, claim he was placed there as a punishment because he pledged allegiance to 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān.
– [177:8] A faction that claims that Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya died.	2. [213:10–14] The Aṣḥāb al-Raj'a, who believe that Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya is dead in the Raḍwā mountains, but will return to rule the world before the Day of Resurrection.
[178:8] <i>iftirāq</i> of those who claim that Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya died:	
– [177:8–9] A faction that claims that the next Imām was 'Alī b. Ḥusayn	
– [177:9] A faction that claims that the next Imām was Abū Hāshim 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya.	3. [213:15–17] A faction that claims that Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya died and the next Imām was Abū Hāshim 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya.
[177:10] <i>iftirāq</i> after the death of Abū Hāshim (d.98:/716?) into five factions:	[213:18] <i>iftirāq</i> after the death of Abū Hāshim into five factions:

35 This *iftirāq*-statement is missing in the *Mughnī*, but was almost certainly present in Balkhī's *Maqālāt* as comparison with the *Hūr* shows (see also p. 118, n.30).

Tab. 6 (continued)

Mugh.XX ₂	Ḥūr
<p>1. [177:11–13] A faction that claims that Abū Hāshim made the bequest to Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-‘Abbās (d.125/743). From him it passed to the ‘Abbāsīd Caliphs.</p> <p>[177:13] <i>Iftirāq</i> after the death of al-Mahdī (d.169/785) into two factions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – [177:14–15] The Hurayriyya/Rāwandiyya, who claim instead that the Imām after the Prophet was al-‘Abbās b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, from whom it passed to the ‘Abbāsīd Caliphs. – [177:16] A faction that maintained the original doctrine. <p>[177:16] <i>Iftirāq</i> of this faction into two factions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – [177:17–18] The Rizāmiyya, who claim Abū Muslim (d.137/755) died. – [178:1–2] The Abū Muslimiyya, who claim Abū Muslim is alive and did not die. <p>2. [178:2–5] A faction that claims that Abū Hāshim made the bequest to his nephew, al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad³⁶, who made the bequest to his son, ‘Alī, who had no descendants. They are awaiting the return of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya, who is the Mahdī.</p> <p>3. [178:6–11] The Ḥarbiyya, who claim that Abu Hāshim made the bequest to ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Amr b. Ḥarb. After they recognise Ibn Ḥarb has deceived them, they support the Imāmate of ‘Abd Allāh b. Mu‘āwiya and claim that the bequest was made to him.</p>	<p>1. [214:1–5] A faction that claims that Abū Hāshim made the bequest to his nephew, al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya, who made the bequest to his son, ‘Alī b. al-Ḥasan, who had no descendants. They are awaiting the return of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya</p> <p>2. [214:6–9] A faction that claims that Abū Hāshim made the bequest to Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-‘Abbās. From him it passed to the ‘Abbāsīd Caliphs.</p> <p>[214:10] <i>Iftirāq</i> of this faction into two:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – [214:11–14] The Muslimiyya, who claim Abū Muslim did not die. – [214:15] A faction that claims that Abū Muslim died <p>3. [214:16–215:5] The Ḥarbiyya</p>

³⁶ This name is a mistake for Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad. Cf. the relevant faction in the *Ḥūr*, and below, p. 176–178.

Tab. 6 (continued)

<i>Mugh.XX₂</i>	<i>Hür</i>
<p>[178:10–11] <i>Iftirāq</i> after the death of 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya (d.129/746) into three factions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – [178:12–13] A faction that claims that he is alive in the mountains of Isfahan and will not die until the 'horses' forelocks return (<i>ta'ūdu nawāṣi l-khayl</i>) to a man from Banū Hāshim'. – [178:13] A faction that claims he died. – [178:13–14] A faction reckoned to be amongst the first faction (i.e. of this layer of <i>iftirāq</i>)³⁷. 	<p>[215:5] <i>Iftirāq</i> of the Ḥarbiyya after the death of 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya into two factions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – [215:6–7] A faction that claims that 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya is alive in the mountains of Isfahan and is the Mahdī – [215:8] A sub-faction who say "until he leads the horses' forelocks with the Mahdī" – [215:9] A faction that claims he died.
<p>4. [178:14–15] The Bayāniyya, who claim that Abū Hāshim made the bequest to Bayān b. Sim'ān (d.119/737).</p> <p>5. [178:15–18] A faction that claims that the Imām after Abū Hāshim was 'Alī b. Ḥusayn (d.94/712?) then Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Bāqir.</p>	<p>4. [215:10–14] The Bayāniyya</p> <p>5. [215:15–18] A faction that claim that the Imām after Abū Hāshim was 'Alī b. Ḥusayn then Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Bāqir</p>
<p>[178:18] <i>Iftirāq</i> after the death of Muḥammad al-Bāqir (d.117/735?) into three factions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – [179:1] The Ja'fariyya, who claim that Muḥammad b 'Alī made the bequest to his son, Ja'far b. Muḥammad al-Ṣādiq. – [179:1–9] The Mughīriyya, who claim that Muḥammad b. 'Alī made the bequest to Mughīra b Sa'īd (d.119/737). 	<p>[216:1] <i>Iftirāq</i> after the death of Muḥammad al-Bāqir into three factions:</p> <p>1. [216:2–4] The Ja'fariyya, who claim that the next Imām was Ja'far al-Ṣādiq.</p>

³⁷ The text here is corrupt. There should be a third faction according to the *iftirāq*-statement, but after the second faction, we find what should probably be '*adaḍnāhā ilā l-firqa al-uwlā*', i.e. 'we have counted them amongst the first faction'. The sense is probably that 'Abd al-Jabbār (erroneously) considers the third faction to have the same doctrine as the first of the cluster.

Tab. 6 (continued)

Mugh.XX ₂	Ḥūr
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – [179:6–7] A sub-faction of the Mughīriyya that claims that the next Imām after Muḥammad b. ‘Alī was Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan (d.145/762) – [179:9–10] The Maṣṣūriyya, who claim that Muḥammad b ‘Alī made the bequest to Abū Maṣṣūr <p>[179:10] <i>Iftirāq</i> of the Maṣṣūriyya after the death of Abū Maṣṣūr (d.120–126/738–744):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – [179:10–11] The Ḥusayniyya, who claim that the Imām after Abū Maṣṣūr was Ḥusayn b. Abī Maṣṣūr. – [179:12–15] The Muḥammadiyya, who supported the Imāmate of Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan 	
<p>[179:18] <i>Iftirāq</i> after the death of Ja‘far aṣ-Ṣādiq (d.148/765):</p>	<p>[216:4] <i>Iftirāq</i> after the death of Ja‘far into six factions:</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – [179:19–180:1] The Nāwūsiyya, who believe that Ja‘far did not die and will not die, but is the Maḥdī 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. [216:5–7] The Nāwūsiyya 2. [216:8–9] The Ismā‘īliyya, who believe that the bequest was made to Ismā‘īl b. Ja‘far, who died during Ja‘far’s lifetime.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – [180:2–3] A faction that claims the Imam after Ja‘far is Ismā‘īl b Ja‘far, who did not die and will not die until he rules. – [180:4–7] The Mubārakiyya, who claim that the Imām after Ja‘far is Ismā‘īl’s son, Muḥammad (d.c.178/795) <p>[180:8] <i>Iftirāq</i> of the Mubārakiyya:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – [180:8–10] A faction that claims Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl is the Maḥdī. 	<p>[216:10] <i>Iftirāq</i> of the Ismā‘īliyya after the death of Ismā‘īl b. Ja‘far into two factions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – [216:11–13] A faction that claims Ismā‘īl is the Imām after Ja‘far, did not die and will not die. – [216:14–18] The Mubārakiyya. <p>[216:19] <i>Iftirāq</i> of the Mubārakiyya</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – [216:20–217:4] A faction that claims Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl is the Maḥdī

Tab. 6 (continued)

<i>Mugh.XX₂</i>	<i>Ḥūr</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – [180:10–11] A faction that claims Muḥammad died and the Imāmate passed to his descendants. – [180:12–13] The Shumayṭiyya, who claim that the Imām after Ja'far is Muḥammad b. Ja'far. – [180:14–181:2] The 'Ammāriyya/Fuṭḥiyya, who claim that Imām after Ja'far is 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far. – [181:3–5] The Mufaḍḍaliyya, who believe that the Imām after Ja'far is Mūsā b. Ja'far al-Kāzim. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – [217:5–6] A faction that claims Muḥammad died and the Imāmate passed to his descendants. <p data-bbox="735 395 976 421">[217:7] <i>Iftirāq</i> of this faction:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – [217:8–9] A faction that believes that al-Ḥākim b. 'Amr Allāh was killed in the Muqaṭṭam hills. – [217:10–11] A faction that believes that al-Ḥākim b. 'Amr Allāh did not die but is the Mahdī. <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 3. [217:12–15] The Shamṭiyya 4. [217:16–218:11] The Faṭḥiyya/ 'Ammāriyya 5. [218:12–13] The Jawāliqiyya, who believe that the next Imām was Mūsā b. Ja'far al-Kāzim.
<p data-bbox="154 894 503 946">[<i>Iftirāq</i> after the death of Mūsā al-Kāzim (d.183/799?)]³⁸:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2. [181:6–9] The Wāqifa, who believe that Mūsā did not die, but is the Mahdī. 3. [181:9–10] A faction that is agnostic about Mūsā's death but maintains his Imāmate until the matter is confirmed. 4. [181:10–11] A faction that claims that the next Imām was Aḥmad b. Mūsā 	<p data-bbox="640 894 1041 946">[218:14] <i>Iftirāq</i> of the Jawāliqiyya after Mūsā's death into three factions</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – [218:15–16] The Qaṭ'iyya, who affirm (<i>qaṭ'a 'alā</i>) the death of Mūsā. – [218:17–219:2] The Wāqifa. – [219:3–4] A faction that is agnostic about Mūsā's death.
<p data-bbox="154 1275 529 1328">[181:12] <i>Iftirāq</i> after the death of 'Alī al-Riḍā (d.203/818) into three factions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – [181:13] A faction that claims the next Imām was Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Jawād (d.220/835). 	

³⁸ This *iftirāq*-statement is missing, but there is clearly some corruption, as the numbering of the factions of the cluster starts at 2. Comparison with the *Ḥūr* suggests that the *iftirāq*-statement and the first faction, which should be the Qaṭ'iyya, have been omitted (see also p. 118, n.30).

Tab. 6 (continued)

<i>Mugh.XX₂</i>	<i>Ḥūr</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – [181:14] A faction that renounced their support for ‘Alī al-Riḍā’s Imāmate, and professed the Imāmate of Aḥmad b. Mūsā instead. – [181:14–15] A faction that returned to believing in the claims of the Wāqifa, ‘stopping’ at Mūsā b. Ja‘far 	
<p>[181:16] <i>Ikhtilāf</i> of the followers of Muḥammad al-Jawād (d.220/835) over the status of his Imāmate whilst he was immature:</p>	<p>[219:5] <i>Iftirāq</i> of the Qaṭ’iyya over the status of the Imāmate of Muḥammad al-Jawād whilst he was immature:</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – [181:18–19] Those who believe that he was the Imām and was fully knowledgeable of what the Imāms know despite his immaturity. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – [219:6–12] A faction that claims that he was the Imām and was fully knowledgeable of what the Imāms know despite his immaturity.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – [181:19–182:3] Those who believe that he was the Imām but that he could not perform certain functions of the Imāmate whilst immature. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – [219:13–17] A faction that claims that he was the Imām but that he could not perform certain functions of the Imāmate whilst immature.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – [182:4] Those who said ‘something else’. 	<p>[219:17–220:11] Description of the line of Imāms of the Qaṭ’iyya after Muḥammad al-Jawād.</p>
	<p>6. [220:12–221:1] The Khaṭṭābiyya, who follow the teachings of Abū I-Khaṭṭāb. Some of them support Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl as Imām.</p>
	<p>[221:2] <i>Iftirāq</i> of the Khaṭṭābiyya into four factions:</p>
	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. [221:3–7] Mu‘ammariyya 2. [221:8–13] Second faction 3. [221:14–19] The ‘Umayriyya 4. [221:20–222:5] The Mufaḍḍaliyya
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – [222:6–18] The Mughīriyya, who claim that Imām after Muḥammad al-Bāqir was al-Mughīra b. Sa‘īd until the rebellion of the Mahdī, who is Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan.
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – [222:19–223:17] The Manṣūriyya, who claim that Imām after Muḥammad al-Bāqir was Abū Manṣūr al-‘Ijlī.

Tab. 6 (continued)

Mugh.XX ₂	Ḥūr
	<p>[223:18] <i>Iftirāq</i> of the Maṣūriyya into two factions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – [223:19–20] The Ḥusayniyya, who claim that the next Imām was al-Ḥusayn b. Abī Maṣūr. – [224:1–3] The Muḥammadiyya, who claim that the next Imām was Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan.

As we would expect given 'Abd al-Jabbār and Ḥimyarī's common dependence on Balkhī's *Maqālāt*, most of the factions and *iftirāq*-clusters that appear in the *Mughnī* are present in the *Ḥūr* too. Indeed, the main point of agreement between the *Mughnī* and the *Ḥūr* against Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* is evident immediately: the *Ḥūr*, like the *Mughnī*, keeps the *iftirāq*-schema intact. This means that it preserves the *iftirāq*-statements omitted by Ash'arī and retains 'intermediary' factions like the Ja'fariyya [216:2–4] and the Mufaḍḍaliyya (although, unlike 'Abd al-Jabbār, Ḥimyarī calls the latter 'the Jawāliqiyya'³⁹) [218:12–13]. This confirms that Balkhī did indeed employ an *iftirāq*-schema to organize the factions of the Imāmiyya. That suggests we are dealing with a scenario 2 divergence: Balkhī organised the material in an

39 The Mufaḍḍaliyya are called such because they are said to be the followers of a certain Mufaḍḍal b. 'Umar. That is presumably Mufaḍḍal b. 'Umar al-Ju'fi (d.before 183/799), on whom see *EF*. "Mofazzal al-Jo'fi" [Asatryan], Modarressi 2003:333–337, and Asatryan 2012:12–62. 'Jawāliqiyya' is presumably derived from the name of the famous Imāmī *mutakallim* Hishām al-Jawāliqī (d.before 183/799), although this is not stated. On him see *TG*.I:342–348. It turns out it is only Ḥimyarī who uses Jawāliqiyya. He perhaps avoided the name Mufaḍḍaliyya to avoid confusion, because it is also the name of one of the sub-factions of the Khaṭṭābiyya, a Ghulāt faction, listed by both him and Ash'arī (*MaqA*.13:4–7; *Ḥūr*.221:20–222:3 (as *mufaḍḍala*)). That faction-name, too, arises because they were supposedly led by a Mufaḍḍal b. 'Umar. In the earlier, double usage of that faction-name, we probably see an after-effect of the contradictory traditions surrounding the figure of Mufaḍḍal: his strong support for Mūsā al-Kāẓim and his association with the Ghulāt. Like Mufaḍḍal, Hishām al-Jawāliqī is strongly associated in Imāmī sources with support for Mūsā's Imāmate against that of his older brother, 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far (see *Fir*.66:9–12=*MaqQ*.88:16–18; *Rijāl*.202:1–284:5; *Kāfi*.351:10–352:20, also *TG*.I:343–344). Still, it is hard to see Ḥimyarī having himself coined the name Jawāliqiyya for that reason; the necessary sources are unlikely to have been available to him. In any case, the faction-name itself is witnessed much earlier: it appears in the so-called "police list" of the Kufan Shī'a commissioned by the caliph al-Mahdī in the 260s and preserved by Kashshī (*Rijāl*.266:4). On this list, see further p. 493–495. It is thus conceivable that Balkhī already used the term (alongside the ambiguous 'Mufaḍḍaliyya'), but then curious that only Ḥimyarī preserves it.

iftirāq-schema, Ash‘arī in his plain *firaq*-list. As we have seen, however, Ash‘arī’s list must have been derived from something that looked like Balkhī’s *iftirāq*-schema anyway, meaning this divergence is of no use for determining the specific relationship of source-dependency.

Otherwise, the *Mughnī* and the *Ḥūr* do not show the same degree of convergence as do the *Mughnī* and Ash‘arī’s *Maqālāt*. This is true even despite Ash‘arī’s alterations to the schema. The discrepancies are of three main varieties:

1. Additions and omissions.
2. Variations in the order of the factions.
3. Variations in the faction-names.

Regarding discrepancies of type 1., the *Ḥūr* has several additions and omissions in comparison with the *Mughnī* and thus usually also in comparison with Ash‘arī’s *Maqālāt*:

- i. In the initial *iftirāq*-cluster, unlike the *Mughnī* and Ash‘arī’s *Maqālāt*, the *Ḥūr* has no faction of the Kaysāniyya that supports the Imāmate of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya immediately after ‘Alī’s death; it has only the Kaysāniyya who support his Imāmate after that of Ḥusayn [*Ḥūr*.211:15–16 vs. *Mugh*.XX₂:176:18–177:3; *MaqA*.18:11–19:4].
- ii. In the *iftirāq* after the death of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya, Ḥimyarī describes a faction called the Aṣḥāb al-raj‘a [*Ḥūr*.213:10–14]. No faction with this name or doctrine appears in the *Mughnī* or Ash‘arī’s *Maqālāt*⁴⁰.
- iii. In the post-Ja‘far *iftirāq*-cluster, Ḥimyarī’s sixth faction is the Khaṭṭābiyya [*Ḥūr*.220:12–222:5]. The Khaṭṭābiyya do not appear in the *Mughnī* or in Ash‘arī’s list of the Rāfiḍa.
- iv. In the *Mughnī* and the *Ḥūr*, and, in adapted form, also Ash‘arī’s *Maqālāt*, the Mubārakiyya undergo *iftirāq*, dividing between those who believe Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl was the Mahdī and those who believe the Imāmate passed to his descendants. However, the *Ḥūr* has a further layer of *iftirāq* over whether over whether al-Ḥākīm b. ‘Amr Allāh (d. 411/1021), the sixth Fatimid caliph, was killed in the Muqaṭṭam hills or is the Mahdī [*Ḥūr*.217:7–11]⁴¹.
- v. Unlike in the *Mughnī* and Ash‘arī’s *Maqālāt*, the *iftirāq*-cluster after the death of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya contains no faction that supports ‘Alī b. Ḥusayn [cf. *Mugh*. XX₂:177:8–9; *MaqA*.20:7].

⁴⁰ On this faction, see p. 141–143.

⁴¹ On the Muqaṭṭam plateau and its associated legends, including that related to al-Ḥākīm, see *EF*². “Muqaṭṭam” [Behrens-Abou-SouEIF].

- vi. The faction that splits from the supporters of the 'Abbāsīd caliphs, known in the *Mughnī* as both the Hurayriyya and the Rāwandiyya, and in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* only as the Rāwandiyya, is missing entirely from the *Hūr* [cf. *Mugh.XX₂*:177:13–15, *MaqA.21*:9–13].
- vii. The *Hūr*, unlike the *Mughnī* and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* has no faction that supports Aḥmad b. Mūsā in the post-Mūsā *iftirāq*-cluster [cf. *Mugh.XX₂*:181:14, *MaqA.29*:13–30].
- viii. The *Hūr*, this time in agreement with Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, lacks the entire post-'Alī al-Riḍā *iftirāq*-cluster [cf. *Mugh.XX₂*:181:12–15].

The situations described in i., v., vi. and vii. are small omissions. In all these cases, the *Mughnī* and the *Maqālāt* agree, implying that these factions *were* in the version of Balkhī's material used by 'Abd al-Jabbār and in any potential common source used by Ash'arī and Balkhī. It may be that Ḥimyarī was using a different version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* in which these omissions occurred already, but more plausibly, they arose later in transmission, either due to Ḥimyarī himself or an intermediary. The addition in iv. obviously could not have been in any version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt*, as it discusses events that took place long after Balkhī had died. It was added by Ḥimyarī or a relatively late intermediary. Addition ii. is thus the only serious candidate here for a feature of Balkhī's material that is not present in either the *Mughnī* or Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*.

The additions and omissions described in iii. and viii. are more complicated. The missing *iftirāq*-cluster after the death of 'Alī al-Riḍā, described in viii., is noteworthy because Ash'arī is missing it too. This might invite back the explanation, dismissed above, that the cluster in the *Mughnī* was 'Abd al-Jabbār's own addition. But this is still unlikely to have been the case. The *Hūr*, like the *Mughnī* and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, has the *ikhtilāf* amongst the followers of Muḥammad al-Jawād [*MaqA.30*:11–31:8, *Mugh.XX₂*:181:16–182:4, *Hūr.165*:5–17]. The presence of this *ikhtilāf*-cluster makes no sense when the *iftirāq* that produces the supporters of al-Jawād in the first place is absent.

Addition iii., the description of the Khaṭṭābiyya and their sub-factions, does not appear in the *Mughnī* or in the *firaq*-list of the Rāfiḍa in the *Maqālāt*. It is, however, a near-verbatim parallel to the report on the Khaṭṭābiyya that appears in the *firaq*-list of the Ghāliya in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* [*Hūr.220*:12–222:5; *MaqA.10*:9–13:7], which suggests the material was also present in Balkhī's *Maqālāt* somewhere. We will look at the relationship between Ash'arī's sub-chapter on the Ghāliya and the material in the *Mughnī* and the *Hūr* below. For now, it suffices to note that Ash'arī and 'Abd al-Jabbār agree on the factions of the post-Ja'far-cluster. It is therefore unlikely that the incorporation of the Khaṭṭābiyya into the post-Ja'far *iftirāq* was a feature of the version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* used by 'Abd al-Jabbār. As of yet, however, we cannot say whether the appearance of this faction at this point in the *Hūr* is a result of

Ḥimyarī having used a version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* different from that used by 'Abd al-Jabbār or of Ḥimyarī's (or an intermediary's) own reorganisation of the material.

We will turn now to discrepancy type 2., variation in the order of the common material. In three cases, this is of a minor character and requires no further explanation:

- i. Two sub-factions of the 'Abbāsīd Shī'a appear in the opposite order [*Ḥūr*.214:11–15 vs. *Mugh*.XX₂:177:17–178:2].
- ii. The faction that believes Abū Hāshim bequeathed the Imāmate to his nephew comes earlier in the post-Abu Hāshim cluster in the *Ḥūr* than in the *Mughnī* (the *Ḥūr* actually matches Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* here) [*Ḥūr*.214:1–5 vs. *Mugh*.XX₂:178:2–5; *MaqA*.20:8–21:2].
- iii. There is some minor reorganisation of the factions of the Ismā'īliyya.

In two cases however, the rearrangement is more significant and merits further discussion:

- iv. Unlike in the *Mughnī* and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, the Qaṭ'iyya do not appear as the first faction in the schema, but only come later, in the post-Mūsā *iftirāq* and then again following the post-'Alī al-Riḍā cluster.
- v. The Mughīriyya and the Manṣūriyya appear as the very last factions in the *Ḥūr* but are found right in the middle of the schema in the *Mughnī* and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, as they appear in the *iftirāq* after the death of Muḥammad al-Bāqir.

As far as iv., the discrepancy over the placement of the Qaṭ'iyya, is concerned, it has already been noted that the appearance of the Qaṭ'iyya at the beginning of the *firaq*-list/*iftirāq*-schema in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and the *Mughnī* is inconsistent. This faction supports either eleven or twelve Imāms, so, given the logic of the schema, should appear at the end. Ash'arī and 'Abd al-Jabbār also use the name twice, in two different senses: 'Qaṭ'iyya' seems to have referred originally to the faction that 'affirmed' (*qaṭa'a 'alā*) the death of Mūsā al-Kāzim, i.e., a faction specific to the post-Mūsā *iftirāq*. In the *Ḥūr*, the Qaṭ'iyya do not appear at the head of the *iftirāq*-schema. Instead, they feature for the first time in their 'original' place, i.e., as a faction of the post-Mūsā *iftirāq*-cluster [*Ḥūr*.218:15–16]. Here, they are simply those who affirmed the death of Mūsā, and no mention is made of the later application of the name to those who support the whole line of Twelver Imāms. They then appear a second time, after the *iftirāq* following the death of 'Alī al-Riḍā and the *ikhtilāf* amongst Muḥammad al-Jawād's supporters [*Ḥūr*.219:17–220:11]. At this point, they are the faction that supports the whole line of Imāms⁴². Thus, Ḥimyarī preserves

⁴² There are also sporadic but significant parallels with the reports on the Qaṭ'iyya that head the *firaq*-lists in the *Mughnī* and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, e.g., *wa-lā walad li-l-'askari fa-khtalaṭa 'alayhim am-*

the double usage of the name found in the other texts but differs in that he lists the 'Twelver' Qaṭ'iyya in a place that fits better with the logic of the *iftirāq*-schema.

There is good evidence, however, that Ḥimyarī's placement of the 'Twelver' Qaṭ'iyya is a secondary development. The *Mughnī*, having mentioned the Qaṭ'iyya as the first faction in its list, makes several references back to them throughout the following material. These references occur when, after a given moment of *iftirāq*, some faction is said to have 'joined with the Qaṭ'iyya', i.e., to have supported the 'legitimate' Ḥusaynid Imām of the day after having previously followed some other line of Imāms. This happens, for example, in the *iftirāq*-cluster after the death of Abū Hāshim, when some of his supporters admit his death without offspring and decide to follow the fourth Imām, 'Alī b. Ḥusayn [*Mugh.XX₂:178:16–18*]. It also occurs in a remark about the Fuṭḥiyya, who supported Mūsā al-Kāzīm after having supported his elder brother, 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far [*181:4–5*]. Notably, the *Hūr* contains the same remark in its report on the Fuṭḥiyya in an almost verbatim parallel [*Hūr:218:11*]. In the *Hūr* however, no faction called the Qaṭ'iyya has been mentioned up to this point, meaning the reference to them here makes no sense. This suggests that a version that placed the 'Twelver' Qaṭ'iyya earlier in the list, in the same way as the *Mughnī* and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, has been rearranged. It is still not impossible that such a rearrangement was carried out by Balkhī himself in a version later than the one used by 'Abd al-Jabbār, and that Balkhī too missed the fact that the back-reference had become senseless, but it is more likely that Ḥimyarī (or an intermediary) is responsible here. In any case, we cannot demonstrate that Ḥimyarī's arrangement goes back to any version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt*.

The other major discrepancy, v., concerns the placement of the Mughīriyya and the Manṣūriyya. These are both factions that arose in the *iftirāq*-cluster after the death of Muḥammad al-Bāqir. That is the case in all three texts. In the *Mughnī* and the *Maqālāt*, they appear right in the middle of the *firaq*-list, as the cluster after Bāqir's death is followed by the clusters after the deaths of Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq and Mūsā al-Kāzīm (and, in the *Mughnī*, also that of 'Alī al-Riḍā). In the *Hūr*, however, the Mughīriyya and the Manṣūriyya appear at the very end of the whole schema, apparently isolated from the rest of the post-Bāqir cluster [*Hūr.222:6–224:3*]⁴³. This is no random rearrangement of the material. It was observed above that the *Mughnī* has two different types of *iftirāq*-cluster, the consecutive and the nested,

ruhu (*Hūr.220:1*) vs. *wa-lā walad la-hu fa-khtalaṭa 'alayhim amruhum* (*Mugh.XX₂:176:16–17*); and *wa-hum akthar al-shī'a 'adad^{an} 'alā wajh al-arḍ* (*Hūr.220:10–11*) vs. *wa-hā'ulā wujūh al-Imāmiyya wa-aktharuhum 'adad^{an}* (*Mugh.XX₂:17*) vs. *wa-hum jumhūr al-shī'a* (*MaqA.17:11*).

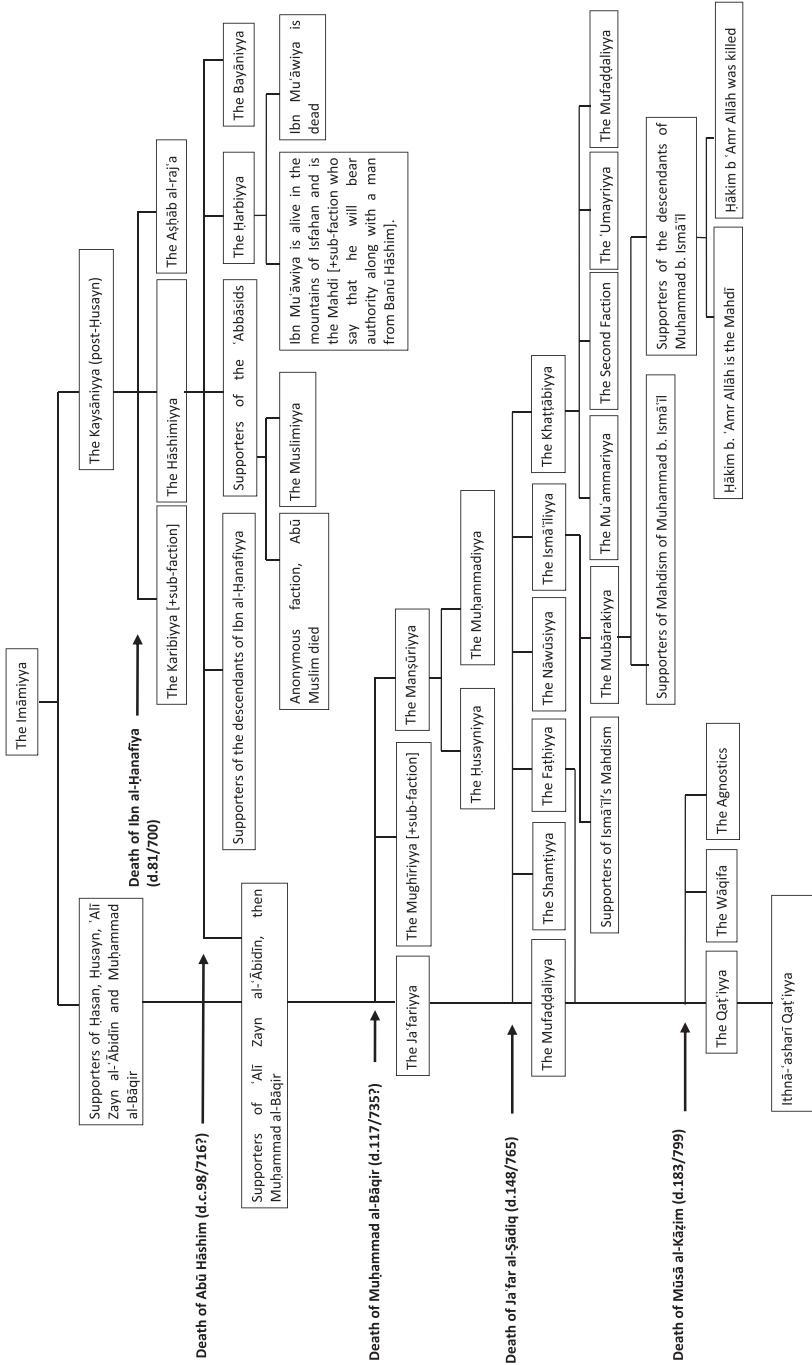
⁴³ That Ḥimyarī understands them to belong to the cluster is made clear when the *iftirāq* of the followers of Bāqir is first mentioned, as all the factions of the cluster, including the Mughīriyya and the Manṣūriyya, are listed there (*Hūr.216:1*).

and that these are used inconsistently. In the *Ḥūr*, however, the clusters are almost exclusively nested⁴⁴. This produces a different order of the factions on the page from the one we see in the *Mughnī*, even though the underlying structure of the *iftirāq*-schema is basically the same. In both texts, the first faction of the *iftirāq*-cluster after the death of Bāqir is the Ja'fariyya, the supporters of the Imāmate of Ja'far al-Šādiq [*Mugh.XX₂*:179:1, *Ḥūr*.216:2–4]. In the *Mughnī*, the other two factions of this cluster, the Mughīriyya and the Manšūriyya, follow directly after the Ja'fariyya [*Mugh.XX₂*:179:1–15]. In accordance with the pattern of consecutive clusters, only after the reports on these factions have been given and the whole *iftirāq*-cluster is finished does the *Mughnī* begin the *iftirāq* of the Ja'fariyya after Ja'far's death [179:18–181:3–5]. The *Ḥūr*, however, immediately after mentioning the Ja'fariyya, presents their *iftirāq* [*Ḥūr*.216:4–218:13]. The post-Ja'far *iftirāq*-cluster is thus entirely nested within the post-Bāqir cluster. The same is then done for the *iftirāq* after the death of Mūsā al-Kāẓim [*Ḥūr*.218:14–219:4], which is dealt with in its entirety before the *Ḥūr*'s sixth faction of the post Ja'far-cluster, the Khaṭṭābiyya are listed, thus nesting the post-Mūsā cluster also within the post-Ja'far cluster. This means that the Mughīriyya and the Manšūriyya now do not appear until after *all* of the factions of these nested *iftirāq*-clusters have been dealt with, i.e., at the very end [*Ḥūr*.222:6–224:3]. It is this consistent rendering of the *iftirāq*-schema onto the page by using nested clusters rather than consecutive clusters that creates the different order of the factions in the *Ḥūr*, even though the underlying structure of the *iftirāq*-schema itself remains essentially the same as that in the *Mughnī*. This becomes clear when the schema is drawn out in diagrammatic form, as in Tab. 7.

Given that comparison between Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and the *Mughnī* shows that the version of Balkhī's material used by 'Abd al-Jabbār must have put the *iftirāq*-schema on the page roughly in the order we see in the *Mughnī*, as must any potential common source behind Ash'arī and Balkhī, the discrepancy between this arrangement and that seen in the *Ḥūr* must once again be due either to Ḥimyarī having used a different version of Balkhī's material or to Ḥimyarī himself (or an intermediary) having reordered the material. There is little here to help us decide between these options, but it is worth noting that the *Mughnī*'s inconsistent rendering of the *iftirāq*-schema using both consecutive and nested clusters (as found also in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*) has an advantage: it allows a loosely chronological order of the factions. Ḥimyarī's consistent use of nested clusters means that the early second-century factions like the Manšūriyya and the Mughīriyya, which arose after Bāqir, end up listed *after* the factions that emerged following the death of Mūsā al-Kāẓim. In order to appreciate the relationship between the factions in the *Ḥūr*,

⁴⁴ The only genuine exception is the *iftirāq* after Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya.

Tab. 7: The *ifirāq*-schema in the *Ḥūr*.



the reader must thus pay greater attention to the schema that is being described through the *iftirāq*-statements and the numbering of the factions. The version of Balkhī's material used by 'Abd al-Jabbār (and potentially by Ash'arī) followed a more 'reader-friendly' ordering, which Ḥimyarī apparently sacrificed for greater consistency. That is perhaps a later development. In any case, we cannot demonstrate that Ḥimyarī's arrangement goes back to any version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt*.

Finally, there is discrepancy type 3., variation over faction-names. Again, relatively little such variation is present, but what there is tends to point to the same conclusions as the above, namely that it is Ḥimyarī who is at variance, whilst Ash'arī and 'Abd al-Jabbār agree with one another:

- i. In the two-way *iftirāq* amongst the 'Abbāsīd Shī'a over Abū Muslim, Ḥimyarī presents a faction called 'the Muslimiyya' and an anonymous faction [*Hūr*.214:10–15], whilst both 'Abd al-Jabbār and Ash'arī have 'the Abū Muslimiyya' and 'the Rizāmiyya' [*MaqA*.21:13–22:3; *Mugh*.XX₂:177:16–178:2]⁴⁵.
- ii. We have noted already the slight discrepancy between the *Maqālāt*'s Sumayṭiyya [*MaqA*.27:10] and the *Mughnī*'s Shumayṭiyya [*Mugh*.XX₂:180:13]. The *Hūr* is still further away with Shamṭiyya [*Hūr*.217:12]. The name is derived from a certain Yaḥyā b. Abī Sumayṭ/Shumayṭ/Shamṭ, the spelling of whose name is always consistent with the spelling of the faction-name⁴⁶.
- iii. When listing the factions of the Ismā'īliyya, the *Hūr* is the only text to use the name 'Ismā'īliyya' [*Hūr*.216:8].
- iv. Ḥimyarī calls the faction that supported the Imāmate of Mūsā al-Kāzīm after Ja'far al-Ṣādiq's death 'the Jawāliqiyya' [218:12–13], presumably after the Imāmī *mutakallim* Hishām b. Sālim al-Jawāliqī, although this is not stated⁴⁷. In the *Mughnī*, they are called the Mufaḍḍaliyya [*Mugh*.XX₂:181:3–4], after a certain Mufaḍḍal b. 'Umar. Although Ash'arī does not list this faction among his twenty-four, he does mention them in a parenthetical comment and he too calls them the Mufaḍḍaliyya, also after Mufaḍḍal b. 'Umar [*MaqA*.29:6–7]⁴⁸.

In summary, except in the case of those changes introduced by Ash'arī when converting the *iftirāq*-schema to his plain *firaq*-list, there is no convergence between the *Mughnī* and the *Hūr* against Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* in the structure of the material

45 The Muslimiyya are so named after the famous rebel leader of what became the 'Abbāsīd revolution, Abū Muslim al-Khurasānī (d.137/755).

46 Nothing further is known about this figure. See van Ess 1971a:251, n.22 and *TG*.III:151–153.

47 On him, see *TG*.:342–345. After Ja'far's death, he became renowned as a supporter of Mūsā's Imāmate, but does not seem to have outlived him.

48 See above, n.32.

on the Imāmiyya. Rather, it is otherwise always the *Mughnī* and the *Maqālāt* that agree against the *Ḥūr*. Occasionally, the divergences in the *Ḥūr* might be due to Ḥimyarī having used a version of Balkhī's material different from that used by 'Abd al-Jabbār but usually, they are more likely to result from changes introduced by Ḥimyarī himself (or a unique intermediary). As things stand, however, we cannot demonstrate that any divergence between the *Ḥūr* and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, other than that over the use of the *iftirāq*-schema, must represent a divergence between any version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* and Ash'arī's. Certainly, they provide no preponderant reason to think that Ash'arī must have been using Balkhī's source rather than a version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt*.

1.1.2.1.1.3 Other Texts of the BdC

The only other texts of the BdC to preserve Balkhī's *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya are Jishumī's *ʿUyūn* and *Sharḥ*, and Ḥajūrī's *Rawḍa*, but they present only partially intact versions. All, at different points and apparently at random, omit or reorganize material that Ash'arī, 'Abd al-Jabbār and Ḥimyarī have in common. In general, these unique omissions and reorganizations are best put down to intentional summarising and reworking at the hands of the authors themselves or to later copying errors. The *ʿUyūn*, for example, omits all the post-Abū Hāshim factions, including the Ḥarbiyya and the 'Abbāsīd Shī'a, as well as all of their sub-factions, i.e., it skips straight to the post-Muḥammad al-Bāqir factions after the post Ibn-al-Ḥanafīyya factions [see 8v:18–20]. Yet, in the *Sharḥ*, the missing cluster is present intact [29v:2–13]. The explanation for the *ʿUyūn*'s omission thus cannot lie in the state of Jishumī's source; Jishumī himself is the earliest figure who could be responsible. In the reverse situation, the *Sharḥ* omits the *iftirāq*-statement at the beginning of the post-Bāqir cluster, making it appear as if the Mughīriyya, the Manṣūriyya and the Ja'fariyya are successor-factions to the supporters of Abū Hāshim instead of to the supporters of Muḥammad al-Bāqir [*Sharḥ*.29v:15–30r:9]. But the statement is present in the *ʿUyūn* [8v:20]. Again, this is Jishumī's own doing or that of a copyist. Nevertheless, although this kind of thing is widespread across the three texts, it is still possible to identify some patterns of structural convergence and divergence that are relevant to reconstructing Balkhī's material.

Two further texts of the BdC do not preserve the *iftirāq*-schema, but still offer useful evidence because they preserve much of the *firaq*-material in reconstituted form. Abū Tammām's *Bāb* completely reorganizes Balkhī's material but remains helpful when it comes to establishing faction-names or to corroborating the presence of certain factions. The same is true to a lesser extent also of Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir al-Maqdisī's *Bad' wa-l-ta'rīkh*, which apparently relies on Balkhī's *Maqālāt* for its material on Imāmī *firaq*, but reproduces it only patchily.

As for additions to and omissions from the material preserved by the *Mughnī* and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, the following cases are the most significant:

- i. The *ʿUyūn*, the *Sharḥ* and the *Rawḍa* agree with Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and the *Mughnī* against the *Ḥūr* on the presence of the faction that professed the Imamate of 'Alī b. Ḥusayn after Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya's death [*ʿUyūn*.8v:17–18; *Sharḥ*.29v:1; *Rawḍa*.140r:23; *Mugh*.XX₂:177:8–9; *MaqA*.20:7]. Even the *Bāb* appears to have the material on this faction, although it has been merged, improbably, with the description of the Ḥarbiyya [*Bāb*.102:8–12].
- ii. Maqdisī's *Bad'* alone agrees with the *Ḥūr* on the presence of the faction Ḥimyarī calls the Aṣḥāb al-raj'a [*Bad'*.V:129:1–3; *Ḥūr*.213:10]. Ḥimyarī describes this faction as the followers of Ḥayyān al-Sarrāj. Maqdisī calls them the Sarrājīyya but likewise stresses their belief in the *raj'a*⁴⁹ of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya⁵⁰.
- iii. The *Bad'*, the *Bāb* and *Rawḍa* all agree with the *Mughnī* and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* against the *Ḥūr* on the presence of the Hurayriyya/Rāwandīyya amongst the sub-factions of the 'Abbāsīd Shī'a [*Bad'*.V:131:10–12; *Bāb*.104:15–105:9,

⁴⁹ On the doctrine of the *raj'a* itself, see *El*.“Raj'a” [Amir-Moezzi]; *El*².“Radja” [Kohlberg] and *TG*.I:285–307. The third-century heresiographers almost always understand the “mainstream” Imāmī and Zaydī doctrine of the *raj'a* (“the return”) to be *raj'at al-amwāt*, i.e. the return of an Imām and his followers *from the dead* before the Day of Resurrection, often along with their opponents, in order to take part in a final battle. Earlier, it seems the term often equally (and perhaps originally), to the idea that some Imām had, like Jesus, not really died, but was in hiding, ready to return and “bring justice”, i.e., the concept that is also referred to as *ghayba* (“occultation”). Both ideas were originally elements of an immanent eschatology based around the figure of a dead Imām, often one who had already been the subject of eschatological expectation in his lifetime. Later, and especially once the doctrine of the *ghayba* of the twelfth Imām had crystallized amongst the Imāmīs (or at least those Imāmīs who then became Twelvers), various reinterpretations of the idea emerged. It seems the term *raj'a* was also appropriated already in the second century by various Ghulāt groups to refer, rather, to metempsychosis (either general or specific to the Imāms), i.e., the concept usually referred to as *tanāsukh* (e.g., *Fir*.33:3).

⁵⁰ The edition of the *Bad'* has “*ḥassān al-sarrāj*”, apparently a misreading. On Ḥayyān al-Sarrāj, see *TG*.I:305–6 and *Māmaqānī* 1350:I:383 §3680. He features in an Imāmī tradition concerning a debate with Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, in which the latter seeks to convince Ḥayyān to abandon his belief that Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya is still alive (*RijālK*.314:7–316:6; *Kamāl*.45:8). The debate is translated and analysed in Crow 1986:76–82). Whether this Ḥayyān al-Sarrāj is identical with the financial agent of Mūsā al-Kāzīm mentioned by Kashshī (*Rijāl*.359:17) as a prominent Wāqifi is unclear. Van Ess assumes the two are the same and that Ḥayyān renounced his belief in Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya's *raj'a*. That makes sense considering Ibn Bābawayh's statement that Ḥayyān related the tradition of Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī's conversion from belief in Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya's *ghayba* to loyal support for Ja'far al-Ṣādiq (*Kamāl*.43:7–45:6). *Māmaqānī*, however, assumes the opposite. A certain Abū l-Hudhayl Ḥayyān al-Sarrāj is also listed as an early supporter of the 'Abbāsīds, but the connection here is even less clear (*Akhbār*.192:2). See further, below, n.52.

Rawḍa.140v:2–4, *MaqA*.21:3–22:3; *Mugh*.XX₂:177:11–178:2], although they do not all give both faction names.

- iv. The *Sharḥ* and the *ʿUyūn* agree with the *Mughnī* and the *Maqālāt* that the Khaṭṭābiyya do not feature in the post-Ja'far *iftirāq*-cluster. Like Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, both texts do have the faction, but outside the *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya [*ʿUyūn*.9v:9; *Sharḥ*.31r:4–6; *MaqA*.10:9–13:7]. The *Bāb* too has some of the material on the Khaṭṭābiyya in its list of the Ghāliya [*Bāb*.112:1–114:4]. The *Rawḍa*, however, agrees with the *Hūr* in placing the Khaṭṭābiyya within the post-Ja'far cluster [*Rawḍa*.141r:10–11; *Hūr*.220:12–222:5].
- v. The *Sharḥ*, the *ʿUyūn* and the *Bāb* agree with the *Mughnī* and the *Maqālāt* against the *Hūr* and the *Rawḍa* on the presence of the faction that supported Aḥmad b. Mūsā after Mūsā's death [*Sharḥ*.30v:17–18; *ʿUyūn*.9r:15; *Bāb*.125:5–10; *Mugh*.XX₂:181:10–11; *MaqA*.29:13–30:2].
- vi. The *Sharḥ* and the *ʿUyūn* agree with the *Mughnī* against the *Maqālāt*, the *Hūr* and the *Rawḍa* on the presence of the post-ʿAlī al-Riḍā cluster [*Sharḥ*.30v:20–22; *ʿUyūn*.9r:16–18 *Mugh*.XX₂:181:12–15].

These observations generally support the conclusions drawn already from comparison of Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, the *Mughnī* and the *Hūr*. There are no cases of scenario 2 in the list; none is an instance of convergence amongst the BdC against Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*. The tendency, rather, is that the rest of the texts converge with the *Mughnī* and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* against the *Hūr* (i., iii., v.). In vi., exceptionally, Jishumī's texts side with the *Mughnī* against the *Hūr* and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, but we have already discussed above why the omission in the latter two here is unlikely to reflect any version of Balkhī's material (or any potential earlier common source)⁵¹. There are only two cases of further interest: ii. and iv.

Although ii. consists of a convergence only between the *Hūr* and the *Bad'*, it is difficult to explain any other way than to posit either that some version of Balkhī's material must have contained a description of the Sarrājiyya/Aṣḥāb al-raǧ'a, or else that the *Hūr* and the *Bad'* must share a post-Balkhī intermediary. The faction-names could have been coined *ad hoc* by later authors, as there is no consistency here, but the faction itself otherwise features in so few places that it is hard to conceive of Maqdisī and Ḥimyarī separately having incorporated this material from another source in to all the common material they have from Balkhī⁵². Nevertheless, it is

⁵¹ See p. 123 and p. 134.

⁵² Aside from the material that appears in the *Bad'* and the *Hūr*, the only other report on a group specifically associated with Ḥayyān al-Sarrāj comes from Warrāq. It is preserved in 'Alī b. Abī l-Ghanā'im's (active in the first half of the fifth century) *Kitāb al-Majdī fī ansāb al-ṭalibīyyīn* (*Majdī*, 14:4–7; and see van Ess 2011:173, n.86). There they appear with yet another name: "Ḥayyāniyya".

also difficult to see why *all* the other texts of the BdC omit this faction, unless there were (also) versions of Balkhī's material where the Aṣḥāb al-raj'a/Sarrājiyya did not appear. The fact that Ash'arī omits them too is thus insignificant with regards to the relationship of source-dependency. We are dealing with an instance of scenario 3.

In iv., we have the only example of a positive convergence between just the *Rawḍa* and the *Ḥūr*: the presence of the Khaṭṭābiyya in the post-Ja'far *iftirāq* cluster. That *might* indicate that the two Yemeni texts depend on a different version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* from the rest of the corpus or that they share a common intermediary. Here, however, coincidence is at least as likely an explanation. There is no convergence over where the faction should be placed in the cluster: Ḥimyarī lists them as the final faction, while Ḥajūrī places them first. Moreover, the cluster seems to be anomalous in other ways in the *Rawḍa*: Ḥajūrī lists the Manṣūriyya here [*Rawḍa*.141r:12], whereas every other text places them in the post-Bāqir cluster. Other standard factions, such as the Shamṭiyya, are omitted. Moreover, it is easily conceivable that Ḥimyarī and Ḥajūrī would separately have moved the Khaṭṭābiyya here from elsewhere; the association of the faction with Ja'far was well known and is explicitly referenced in the description⁵³. We thus cannot demonstrate based on this evidence that any version of Balkhī's material must have placed the Khaṭṭābiyya within the *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya in this way. Again, this is of no significance for the relationship of source dependency between Ash'arī's and Balkhī's material; most of the BdC sides with Ash'arī, giving us another instance of scenario 3.

There is also convergence and divergence over faction-names to consider here:

- i. In the *Maqālāt* and the *Mughnī*, the sub-factions of the 'Abbāsīd Shī'a that emerge over the question of Abū Muslim are the Rizāmiyya and the Abū Muslimiyya [*MaqA*.21:13–22:3; *Mugh*.XX₂:177:16–178:2]. The *Ḥūr* omits the name Rizāmiyya and calls the other faction simply the Muslimiyya [*Ḥūr*.214:10–15]. The *Rawḍa* has the name Rizāmiyya but matches the *Ḥūr* for the other faction calling them the Muslimiyya [*Rawḍa*.140r:24–140v:10]. The *Bad'* also uses Muslimiyya [*Bad'*.V:124:7]. Ibn al-Nadīm has a marked Balkhī-citation in the *Fihrist* in which the name also appears as Muslimiyya [*Fih*.II:422:1–2].
- ii. The faction that appears as the Sumayṭiyya in the *Maqālāt*, the Shumayṭiyya in the *Mughnī* and the Shamṭiyya in the *Ḥūr*, appears as Shamṭiyya also in the *Bāb*, the *Sharḥ* and the *Bad'*, but Samṭiyya in the *ʿUyūn* [*ʿUyūn*.9r:6; *Sharḥ*.30r:20; *Bāb*.123:19; *Ḥūr*.217:12; *Bad'*.V:124:4 and 134:9; *Mugh*.XX₂:180:13; *MaqA*.27:10]. We can ignore the *sīn* /*shīn* variations, as these are as likely due to the copy-

But the report is about Ḥayyān's denial of the Imāmates of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn and his affirmation that Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya was Imām directly after 'Alī, rather than the *raj'a*.

53 See further, below p. 294–296, 342–344.

ists as anyone else. But that still leaves a divergence between Ash'arī and 'Abd al-Jabbār's '*shumayṭiyya*' form, on the one hand, and the '*shamṭiyya*' form used by everyone else, on the other.

- iii. The *Uyūn* and the *Sharḥ* [*Uyūn*.9r:13; *Sharḥ*.30v:10], like Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and the *Mughnī* [*MaqA*.29:6–7; *Mugh*.XX₂:181:3–4], use the name Mufaḍḍaliyya for the supporters of Mūsā's Imāmate after Ja'far's death. The faction is given without a name in the *Rawḍa* but the *Bāb* too uses the name Mufaḍḍaliyya [*Bāb*.122:4–123:15]. This makes the *Hūr*, with its 'Jawāliqiyya' [*Hūr*.218:12–13], unique in the corpus⁵⁴.

Here, again, the most straightforward evidence, that of iii., shows the *Hūr* to be the anomaly. The rest of the BdC agrees with the *Mughnī* and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*. The other cases are more complicated but potentially more significant. In both i. and ii., the same constellation appears: Ash'arī's and 'Abd al-Jabbār's versions converge with one another, while the rest of the BdC converges on a different variant. We are thus looking at instances of scenario 3. The divergences in the faction-names are not large. Based on only two minor cases, we could not rule out that the apparent pattern has arisen by coincidence, but it occurs elsewhere, too⁵⁵. If it is indeed significant of the relationship of source-dependency, the pattern shows either that the other texts of the Balkhī dependent corpus rely on a version of Balkhī's material different from that used by 'Abd al-Jabbār (and potentially by Ash'arī), or else that the other texts share a post-Balkhī intermediary not used by 'Abd al-Jabbār or Ash'arī. It is unlikely, however, that the *Bāb*, the *Bad'*, the *Fihrist*, the *Hūr*, Jishumī's texts, and the *Rawḍa* would all share a *single* post-Balkhī intermediary. Much more likely is that there is more than one version of Balkhī's material on the Shī'a witnessed in the BdC.

This would not mean, of course, that any of the other divergences between the *Mughnī* and the other texts of the BdC (especially the *Hūr*) discussed so far *must* have arisen because they used a different version of Balkhī's material, as there is no widespread convergence amongst them in those cases. However, the presence of this pattern of scenario 3 still has important wider implications. If Ash'arī was using any version of Balkhī's material, it was closer to that used by 'Abd al-Jabbār than to that used by any other text of the corpus. If Ash'arī was, rather, using Balkhī's source, 'Abd al-Jabbār preserved a version of Balkhī's material that was closer to that source. This, of course, fits well with our findings so far generally. Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and the *Mughnī* are obviously closer to each other than any other set of two texts. It also means that if we want to identify instances of divergence

⁵⁴ See above, n.39.

⁵⁵ See p. 176–178.

between all witnessed versions of Balkhī's material and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* securely (i.e., to find secure instances of scenario 2), we ideally require the *Mughnī* to agree with the other texts of the BdC. If an element upon which other texts agree against the *Maqālāt* is merely absent from the *Mughnī* or appears there in a unique form, it remains possible that the version of Balkhī's material used by 'Abd al-Jabbār would still have been closer to Ash'arī's.

1.1.2.1.4 Overview and Conclusions

The *fīraq*-material on the Imāmiyya in Balkhī's *Maqālāt* was organized in a complex *iftirāq*-schema. Its outline is best preserved in the *Mughnī*, but it is present in several texts of the corpus. The minor divergences from the *Mughnī*'s version within the arrangement of the schema in the other texts, most importantly the *Hūr*, might go back to some other version of Balkhī's material. However, as they are not subject to meaningful convergence between more than one text, they are more likely to be the result of post-Balkhī alteration. The only exception is the presence of a faction known as the Aṣḥāb al-raj'a or the Sarrājiyya in the post-Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya cluster, which appears in the *Hūr* and the *Bad'* and is thus more likely to go back to some version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt*. This situation means, with this one exception, that it is not possible to reconstruct the outline arrangement of the *fīraq*-material in any version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* except that used by 'Abd al-Jabbār. Notably, it is primarily the convergence between the *Mughnī* and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, rather than any other text of the BdC, that allows reconstruction in this case.

Ash'arī's *fīraq*-list of the Rāfiḍa is evidently a modified version of the same *iftirāq*-schema found in the *Mughnī*'s version. Ash'arī has transformed it into a plain list by removing the *iftirāq*-statements and leaving out all factions that are not 'end-points' of the *iftirāq*, leading, most notably, to the omission of all 'proto-Twelve' factions, such as the Ja'fariyya and the Mufaḍḍaliyya (the supporters of Mūsā al-Kāzim). This situation could have arisen because Ash'arī, too, was reliant on a version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* that contained the *iftirāq*-schema in a form basically the same as that which we see in the *Mughnī*, or else because Ash'arī and Balkhī had an earlier common source in which the schema was already present in that form. There is no preponderant cause to think the latter more likely here.

Other than those divergences best accounted for by Ash'arī's own modifications, there are no substantial instances of scenario 2 at the level of the structure of the *fīraq*-lists. Rather, the divergences of most significance for the relationship of source-dependency occur in two instances where Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and the *Mughnī* agree against the rest of the BdC over faction-names, giving us instances of scenario 3 (*Abū muslimiyya* vs. *muslimmiyya*; *shumaytiyya* vs. *shamtiyya*). So far, this evidence is thin, but it indicates the possibility that 'Abd al-Jabbār used a version

of Balkhī's material that was closer in some respects to Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* than to the rest of the BdC. That too could either be because Ash'arī used the same version of Balkhī's material as 'Abd al-Jabbār or because Ash'arī and Balkhī had a common source that is better preserved in the *Mughnī*'s version than elsewhere in the BdC. But, again, it gives us no preponderant cause to reject the default explanation that Ash'arī's source was Balkhī. Either way, the rest of the corpus appears to rely on some other version of Balkhī's material here. The main implication of this is that in order securely to locate instances of scenario 2, we require convergence between the *Mughnī* and at least one other text of the BdC against Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*.

1.1.2.1.2 The Factions of the Zaydiyya

Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and the texts of the BdC show sufficiently close correspondence with one another over the *firaq*-lists of the Zaydiyya that it is straightforward to compare them directly, as we did with the lists of the Imāmiyya. A similar procedure will be followed here as there. We will first compare the *Mughnī* and the *Maqālāt* (1.1.2.1.2.1), as these are again the closest of all the extant versions. Thereafter, we will bring in the *Hūr* (1.1.2.1.2.2), and the other texts of the BdC (1.1.2.1.2.3), before providing an overview of the results (1.1.2.1.2.4).

1.1.2.1.2.1 The *Mughnī* vs. Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*

The *Mughnī* presents the factions of the Zaydiyya in a single *iftirāq* cluster, without numbering. Ash'arī presents them in a plain *firaq*-list of six numbered factions. The correspondence between the two is depicted in Tab. 8.

As with the material on the Imāmiyya, the *Mughnī* and the *Maqālāt* exhibit a high degree of similarity in their *firaq*-lists of the Zaydiyya, especially for the first four factions. Again, they must rely ultimately on a common source. The *Mughnī* presents these factions in an *iftirāq*-schema, but it is much simpler than that of the Imāmiyya. There is only one main *iftirāq*-cluster, which includes all the principal factions. Only the Jarūdiyya undergo further *iftirāq*, producing several sub-factions.

Ash'arī, again, has no overarching *iftirāq*-schema; as for the Imāmiyya, his is just a blank list. Nevertheless, as there, he retains the minor *iftirāq*-statements, in this case, those that produce the sub-factions of the Jārūdiyya. Given the situation of the material on the Imāmiyya, it thus seems likely that the common source behind Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and the *Mughnī* also cast its material on the Zaydiyya in an *iftirāq*-schema⁵⁶.

⁵⁶ See the discussion on p. 116–125, above.

Tab. 8: The *firaq*-lists of the Zaydiyya in the *Mughnī* and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*.

<i>Mugh.XX₂</i>	<i>MaqA</i>
[184:4] <i>iftirāq</i> of the Zaydiyya:	
– [184:5–9] The Jārūdiyya, the followers of Abū l-Jārūd	1. [66:13–67:16] The Jārūdiyya, the followers of Abū l-Jārūd
[184:9] <i>iftirāq</i> of the Jarūdiyya:	[67:6] <i>iftirāq</i> of the Jarūdiyya:
– [184:10] a faction that claims the Prophet designated 'Alī, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn directly.	– [67:6–9] a faction that claims the Prophet designated 'Alī, then 'Alī designated Ḥasan, then Ḥasan designated Husayn
– [184:11–12] a faction that claims the Prophet designated 'Alī, then 'Alī designated Ḥasan, then Ḥasan designated Ḥusayn.	– [67:9–11] a faction that claims the Prophet designated 'Alī, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn directly
[184:12] <i>iftirāq</i> of the Jārūdiyya in another matter:	[67:12] <i>iftirāq</i> of the Jārūdiyya in another matter:
– [184:13] a faction that claims that Muhammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan did not die and will mount a victorious rebellion.	– [67:12–13] a faction that claims that Muhammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan did not die and will mount a victorious rebellion.
– [184:14] a faction that said the same about Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim.	– [67:13–15] a faction that said the same about Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim.
– [184:14–15] a faction that said the same about Yaḥyā b. 'Umar.	– [67:15–16] a faction that said the same about Yaḥyā b. 'Umar
– [184:15–19] The Aṣḥāb Sulaymān, the followers of Sulaymān b. Jarīr	2. [68:1–11] The Sulaymāniyya, the followers of Sulaymān b. Jarīr
– [184:19–185:3] The Butriyya, the followers of Ḥasan b. Šāliḥ b. Ḥayy and Kathīr al-Nawwā' al-Abtar	3. [68:12–69:4] The Butriyya
– [185:3–4] [Nu'aym] Ibn al-Yamān and his followers	4. [69:5–9] The Nu'aymiyya, the followers of Nu'aym b. al-Yamān
[185:5] Citation from anonymous doxographer:	
– [185:5–6] Abū l-Jārūd upheld the doctrine of the <i>raj'a</i> , but some of his followers denied it.	5. [69:10–11] A faction that dissociates from Abū Bakr and 'Umar, and does not deny the <i>raj'a</i>
– [185:6–8] Amongst those who upheld it were Šabbāḥ b. al-Qāsim al-Muzanī ⁵⁷ and his followers, who deemed Abū Bakr and 'Umar unbelievers, whilst the Jārūdiyya deem them only serious sinners.	6. [69:12–14] The Ya'qūbiyya, the followers of Ya'qūb, who affirm Abū Bakr and 'Umar but do not dissociate from those who dissociate from them, deny the <i>raj'a</i> and dissociate from those who affirm it

⁵⁷ The edition has *al-mry*. The name is given in a parallel in Qummi's *Maqālāt* as Šabbāḥ al-Muzanī [*MaqQ*.71:17–18], a form which appears in several other sources. See below, n.62.

The first four factions—the Jārūdiyya, the Sulaymāniyya, the Butriyya and the Nu'aymiyya—appear in the same order in both texts. There is only one, insignificant discrepancy: the order of two of the sub-factions of the Jārūdiyya is inverted. There are also some differences in the faction-names, which merit further discussion. Ash'arī has 'Sulaymāniyya' for the followers of Sulaymān b. Jarīr (active second half of the second century), and 'Nu'aymiyya' for the followers of Nu'aym b. al-Yamān (active slightly earlier?); 'Abd al-Jabbār refers to these groups simply as 'the followers of Sulaymān' (*aṣḥāb sulaymān*) and 'the followers of Ibn al-Yamān' (*aṣḥāb ibn al-yamān*)⁵⁸. These divergences do not reveal anything about the specific relationship of source-dependency; they could equally well have arisen if Ash'arī's source was the version of Balkhī's material used by 'Abd al-Jabbār or if Ash'arī and Balkhī had a common source. It is unlikely, however, that the version of Balkhī's material used by 'Abd al-Jabbār and any potential common source used by Ash'arī and Balkhī already had faction-names like 'Sulaymāniyya' and 'Nu'aymiyya', as that would require 'Abd al-Jabbār to have abandoned these faction-names for the 'followers of *x*' pattern. Nowhere else does 'Abd al-Jabbār do this; he otherwise uses the faction-names that we find in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*. Indeed, as we saw above, the *Mughnī* and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* elsewhere converge on faction-names against the rest of the BdC. It is thus more likely that the *Mughnī*'s version represents an earlier stage, before the faction-names were added⁵⁹. Probably, then, the version of Balkhī's material used by 'Abd al-Jabbār and any potential common source used by Ash'arī and Balkhī had slightly fuller formulations like 'followers of Sulaymān b. Jarīr' (*aṣḥāb sulaymān b. jarīr*) and 'followers of Nu'aym b. al-Yamān'. Ash'arī would

58 On the Zaydī *mutakallim* Sulaymān b. Jarīr al-Raqqī, see *TG*.II:472–485. Little is known of his biography, but his association with the circle of Yahyā b. Khālid al-Barmakī (d.190/805) as well as the claim that he was responsible for the poisoning of Idrīs b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan in 177/793 places him in the second half of the second century. On Nu'aym b. al-Yamān, see *TG*.I:268–269. If the name is really to be read thus, we have no information on him beyond his doctrine of the Imāmate, which appears in the Ash'arī-Balkhī material and in Nawbakhtī's *Firaq*. The source of both is Zurqān (see p. 226–257). The dating of Nu'aym is based purely on the similarity of his doctrinal views with those of the Butriyya, i.e., it assumes he should be roughly contemporary with Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ b. Ḥayy (d.167/784, see below p. 230, n.180). As van Ess notes however, the formulation of his doctrine, at least in the hands of the heresiographers, is more clearly anti-Jārūdī (see p. 250–253.). If we follow Haider's dating of the emergence of the Jārūdiyya (Haider 2011a:204–214), that might suggest Nu'aym was active slightly later, perhaps more of a contemporary of Sulaymān b. Jarīr. Van Ess also raises a possible alternative reading and a plausible identification based upon it, which would make "Nu'aym", now as Muḥammad b. al-Yamān al-Bakrī al-'Anazī, a transmitter from Ja'far al-Ṣādiq and thus most likely places him in mid-second-century Kūfa. The alternative reading is based on Mas'ūdī's list of Zaydī factions, which is discussed on p. 756–757.

59 We will see further evidence for this in Nawbakhtī's *Firaq*. See p. 255–256.

then have coined the names *ad hoc* from these formulations or used them because they were familiar from elsewhere.

Larger divergences emerge after the fourth faction. In the *Mughnī*, there is a structural break at this point, as ‘Abd al-Jabbār begins a citation from ‘someone who presented their disagreements’ (*ba’d man dhakara khilāfahum*), i.e., an anonymous doxographer [*Mugh.XX₂*:185:5]. Evidence from Jishumī’s *Sharḥ* and Qummī’s *Maqālāt* indicates this is probably Warrāq and that it stood already in Balkhī’s *Maqālāt*⁶⁰. The citation returns us to the figure of Abū l-Jārūd (d.mid second century), the eponymous leader of the Jarūdiyya, the faction already presented at the head of the list⁶¹. The structure thus corroborates the claim that a new source is being used. The new source focusses on a doctrine of Abū l-Jārūd not mentioned in the first description: the *raj’a*, which he is said to have upheld, whilst some of his followers denied it. The citation then continues, introducing the figure of Ṣabbāḥ b. al-Qāsim al-Muzanī and his followers as an example of a group of Abū l-Jārūd’s followers who, rather, agree with his doctrine on the *raj’a*. In addition, it is stated that they deemed Abū Bakr and ‘Umar unbelievers (*yukaffirūna Abā Bakr wa-‘Uthmān*), whereas Abū l-Jārūd had deemed them only serious sinners (*yufassiḡūnahumā wa-lā yukaffirūnahumā*)⁶². No example of those who denied Abū l-Jārūd’s doctrine is given.

Ash‘arī does not mention Abū l-Jārūd again at this point in his text and there is no indication of a change in source. There are signs, however, that he may still have a source in common with ‘Abd al-Jabbār here. Ash‘arī’s fifth faction is anonymous and he does not give the name of the faction’s leader, but the doctrine they hold is suspiciously similar to that of the followers of Ṣabbāḥ al-Muzanī: they dissociate themselves from (*yatabarra’ūna min*) Abū Bakr and ‘Umar and ‘do not reject’ the doctrine of the *raj’a* (*lā yunkirūna raj’at al-amwāt qabla yawm al-qiyāma*) [*MaqA.69*:10–11]. In Ash‘arī’s *Maqālāt*, this faction clearly forms an opposing pair

⁶⁰ See below p. 208 n.139, and p. 363, 377, 490.

⁶¹ On Abū l-Jārūd, see Modarressi 2003:121–125, *TG.I*:254–261, and *Eir*:“Abu’l-Jarūd Handānī” [Madelung]. Abū l-Jārūd had been a companion of Muḥammad al-Bāqir; a significant amount of material from Bāqir is transmitted through him. He then supported Zayd b. ‘Alī’s revolt n 122/740 and transmitted *ḥadīth* from Yahyā b. Zayd but is not mentioned in connection with the rebellion of Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan in 145/763. Bukhārī lists him amongst those who died between 151 and 160 (*Kitāb al-awsaṡ* II:112:3), Dhahabī amongst those who died between 140 and 150 (*Ta’rīkh al-islām* IX:140:15–141:7). As Modarressi and van Ess argue, however, these dates are already conjectural.

⁶² The full name of this individual seems, rather, to have been Abū Muḥammad Ṣabbāḥ b. Qays b. Yahyā al-Muzanī. See *TG.I*:288–289. Najāshī lists him as a reliable transmitted from Bāqir and Ṣādiq (*RijālN.197*:5, §537, see also *FihristT.247*:3–7, §347). It is unclear in what sense he was supposed to have been a Zaydī.

with the sixth, the Ya'qūbiyya, who are loyal to (*yatawallawna*) Abū Bakr and 'Umar and deny the *raj'a* (*yunkirūna raj'at al-amwāt*). The Ya'qūbiyya are absent from the *Mughnī*. They would have provided a good example of a faction that disagreed with Abū l-Jarūd's doctrine of the *raj'a*, but they clearly are not Jārūdiyya, given their attitude to the first caliphs. Based on this evidence alone, it thus remains unclear whether Ash'arī and 'Abd al-Jabbār are still working from a common source here, but we will later see further evidence that this was indeed the case⁶³.

1.1.2.1.2.2 The *Ḥūr*

Ḥimyarī, like 'Abd al-Jabbār, presents the factions of the Zaydiyya in an *iftirāq*-schema. His, however, consists of only three principal factions:

1. [207:9–13] The Butriyya
2. [207:14–17] The Jarīriyya, i.e., the followers of Sulaymān b. Jarīr
3. [207:18–208:6] The Jārūdiyya, who then undergo *iftirāq* into:
 - a. [208:7–9] A faction that claims that Muhammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan did not die and will not die until he returns as the Mahdī.
 - b. [209:10–13] A faction that said the same about Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim.
 - c. [209:14–18] A faction that said the same about Yaḥyā b. 'Umar.

These are the first three factions found in the *Mughnī* and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* too, but the *Ḥūr* lists them in the opposite order. Ḥimyarī has none of the other Zaydī factions. He also omits the first *iftirāq*-cluster within the report on the Jārūdiyya over whether the Prophet designated Ḥasan and Ḥusayn directly or the designation was successive after 'Alī, which is present in both the *Maqālāt* and the *Mughnī*. As with the material on the Imāmiyya then, the *Ḥūr* diverges from Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and the *Mughnī* more than they do from one another.

The *Ḥūr* also presents us with a divergence over faction-names. Ḥimyarī uses the name 'Jarīriyya' for the faction Ash'arī calls 'Sulaymāniyya'. Van Ess at one point takes this as an indication that Ash'arī cannot have been relying on Balkhī's material⁶⁴. His underlying assumption appears to be that Ash'arī would not have used 'Sulaymāniyya' if he had encountered 'Jarīriyya' in his source. The problem is that we do not know from the evidence examined so far that any version of Balkhī's material definitely had 'Jarīriyya', because 'Abd al-Jabbār calls them 'the followers of Sulaymān' (*aṣḥāb sulaymān*). It is just as unlikely that 'Abd al-Jabbār would have adopted that formulation if he had encountered 'Jarīriyya' in the version of Balkhī's material he used as that Ash'arī would have gone for 'Sulaymāniyya' in the same

⁶³ See p. 208 n.139 and p. 363, 377, 490.

⁶⁴ Van Ess 2011:486.

circumstance. The simpler explanation of this evidence remains that suggested above, namely that at least the version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* used by 'Abd al-Jabbār and any potential common source used by Balkhī and Ash'arī independently would have had something like *aṣḥāb sulaymān b. jarīr*. Van Ess himself prefers this explanation elsewhere⁶⁵. We will encounter more evidence below in the other texts of the BdC that some version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* probably did have 'Jarīriyya'. But it is already clear this will not get us any further on the specific relationship of source-dependency between Ash'arī's and Balkhī's material, because the relationship of the formulation in the *Mughnī* to that in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* leaves open the possibility that Ash'arī was working from the same version of Balkhī's material as that used by 'Abd al-Jabbār. Indeed, we have already seen other cases where Ash'arī and 'Abd al-Jabbār agree on faction-names against the rest of the BdC that are best explained this way⁶⁶.

This all points to a similar conclusion as in the case of the material on the Imāmiyya. The only feature upon which the *Hūr* and the *Mughnī* agree positively against Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* is the use of the *iftirāq*-cluster for the presentation of the factions. Otherwise, it is generally the *Mughnī* and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* that agree against the *Hūr*. This implies that the version of Balkhī's material on the Zaydiyya used by 'Abd al-Jabbār must have looked more like the material in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* than like that in the *Hūr* in terms of its outline structure, at least for the first four factions.

1.1.2.1.2.3 Other Texts of the BdC

Jishumī's *Sharḥ*, like the *Mughnī* and the *Hūr*, presents the Zaydiyya in an *iftirāq*-cluster [*Sharḥ*.21v:2], further confirming that Balkhī, unlike Ash'arī, did this. This is thus a scenario 2 divergence, but not one that gives us any preponderant cause to think Ash'arī must have been working from Balkhī's source rather than Balkhī's own material. Given the situation of the material on the Imāmiyya and the fact that the description of the Jarūdiyya has internal *iftirāq*-clusters even in Ash'arī's version, the most likely explanation is that both Balkhī's material and any potential common source would have used the *iftirāq*-cluster format here. In either scenario, it is probably Ash'arī who transformed it into a plain list.

Otherwise, the *Sharḥ* and the *Uyūn* yield little useful evidence. Both list only two factions: the Jarūdiyya [*Uyūn*.8r:3–6; *Sharḥ*.21v:2–22r:1] and the Butriyya [*Uyūn*.8r:6–10; *Sharḥ*.22r:1–7]. Some of the material on the Sulaymāniyya is present [*Sharḥ*.22r:2–7] but it is merged with that on the Butriyya. The order thus corresponds more closely with that of the *Mughnī* and the *Maqālāt* than the *Hūr*,

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*:349–350.

⁶⁶ See p. 143–144.

but there has been some later reworking. The *Sharḥ* preserves both *iftirāq*-clusters within the material on the Jārūdiyya, again matching the *Mughnī* and the *Maqālāt* rather than the *Hūr*.

More interesting from the point of view of the overall structure of Balkhī's material is the evidence provided by the *Rawḍa*. Ḥajūrī also presents the factions of the Zaydiyya in an *iftirāq*-cluster, which he claims will contain three factions but actually contains five:

1. [139r:10–139v:6] Jārūdiyya
[139r:13] *Ikhtilāf* of the Jārūdiyya:
 - i. [139r:13–14] Those who claim the Prophet designated 'Ali, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn directly
 - ii. [139r:14–15] Unclear, but probably those who claim the Prophet designated 'Alī, who then designated Ḥasan, who then designated Ḥusayn.
- [139r:17–24] Ghulāt sub-factions of the Jārūdiyya
 - [139r:17–19] Those who claim Muhammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan did not die and await his return as Mahdī
 - [139r:19–21] Those who say the same about Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim.
 - [139r:21–139v:2] Those who say the same about Yahyā b. 'Umar
 - [139v:2–5] Those who say the same about Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim
- [139r:5–6] Factions of the Zaydiyya in Yemen.
2. [139v:7–14] Butriyya (Ṣāliḥiyya)
3. [139v:14–19] Jarīriyya
4. [139v:19–21] Nu'aymiyya
5. [139v:21–22] Ya'qūbiyya

The ordering here is again closer to that of the *Mughnī* and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* than that of the *Hūr*. More importantly, the *Rawḍa* has both the Nu'aymiyya, which otherwise appear only in the *Mughnī* and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, and it has the name Ya'qūbiyya, i.e., that of Ash'arī's sixth faction [*MaqA*.69:12–14], which is missing from all other texts of the BdC. This indicates that Ḥajūrī might preserve the outline of part of Balkhī's material that is not witnessed elsewhere. The evidence in relation the Ya'qūbiyya is, however, difficult to interpret. Ḥajūrī's description overlaps with Ash'arī's but it is not a close parallel. In both texts, the faction accepts the Imāmates of Abū Bakr and 'Umar, but the terminology is slightly different: Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* has *yatawallawna Abā Bakr wa-'Umar*, whereas the *Rawḍa* has *yaqūlūna anna imāmat Abī Bakr wa-'Umar laysat bi-khaṭ'*. Otherwise, the descriptions diverge entirely: Ash'arī's mentions their denial of the *raj'a* and disavowal of those who profess it; Ḥajūrī attributes to them the doctrines that the Imāmate of an inferior

candidate (*al-mafḏūl*) is impermissible and that most of the Imāms are superior to the prophets and angels.

Together with the evidence from the *Mughnī* concerning material on the followers of Ṣabbāḥ b. al-Qāsim al-Muzanī, the fact that the Ya'qūbiyya appear in the *Rawḏa* at all adds a further indication that both Ash'arī's fifth and sixth factions would have appeared in some form in Balkhī's material. However, the parallels in both cases are too thin to reach firm conclusions. We will be able to get further when we integrate further evidence from Jishumī's *Sharḥ* and from Qummī's *Maqālāt*, below⁶⁷. For now, the situation is simply unclear; we cannot be sure that this material goes back to Balkhī's *Maqālāt*.

The *Rawḏa* also adds new information in respect of the divergence over faction-names. Most importantly, like the *Hūr*, it employs the name 'Jarīriyya' for the followers of Sulaymān b. Jarīr. This now looks like a scenario 2 divergence, as two texts of the BdC agree against Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* (which has 'Sulaymāniyya') and no text of the corpus converges with it. Indeed, we can also add a third text, as Maqdisī's *Bad'* also employs 'Jarīriyya' [*Bad'*.V133:5]. That makes it appear as if at least one version of Balkhī's material indeed used the term. However, as was noted above, the evidence from the *Mughnī* complicates matters: it is just as hard to see how 'Abd al-Jabbār's source could have had 'Jarīriyya' as it is in the case of Ash'arī's source. Moreover, Ash'arī and 'Abd al-Jabbār agree on faction-names against the rest of the corpus elsewhere, too. It thus remains more likely that the version of Balkhī's material used by 'Abd al-Jabbār and any potential common source used by Ash'arī and Balkhī had something like *aṣḥāb sulaymān b. jarīr*. We will see later that there is further evidence that Ḥimyarī, Abū Tammām and Maqdisī all ultimately used one version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* for their material on the Zaydiyya, while 'Abd al-Jabbār and potentially Ash'arī must have used another. That is the best explanation of the faction-name divergences⁶⁸.

⁶⁷ See p. 208 n.139 and p. 363, 377, 490.

⁶⁸ See p. 176–178, 244–255. Another author to use the name 'Jarīriyya' is Mas'ūdī (*Murūj*.V:474:10). He claims to be relying on older *maqālāt*-books, including that of Warrāq. But the faction-names and even the personal-names in his list otherwise vary somewhat from those in the Ash'arī-Balkhī material anyway. Baghdādī uses it along with Sulaymāniyya (*Farq*.22:10;32:5; *Uṣūl*.280:4). He would have found Sulaymāniyya in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*; Jarīriyya probably came from the version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* that he used alongside it. More generally, the problem is that there are only two possible faction names that might be derived by the standard procedure from the personal name 'Sulaymān b. Jarīr'. Anyone could have coined either *ad hoc* from the personal name at any point. For example, Ḥajūrī prefers the name Ṣāliḥiyya for the Butriyya (after Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ b. Ḥayy). The only other authors to use this name are Shahrastānī and Mānkdim Shashdiw (*Mil*.120:15; *Sharḥ uṣūl al-khamsa* 761:7–8), but Mānkdim was relying on 'Abd al-Jabbār, who does not use the name, at least in the *Mughnī*. That is probably coincidental agreement.

1.1.2.1.2.4 Overview and Conclusions

The outline-structure of Balkhī's material on Zaydī *firaq* cannot be reconstructed as precisely as that on the Imāmiyya. There is good evidence that Balkhī organized the Zaydiyya as a single *iftirāq*-cluster and that at least one version of his *Maqālāt* listed the Jārūdiyya, the followers of Sulaymān b. Jarīr, the Butriyya and the Nu'aymiyya within it in that order. Again, this can be established primarily because of the convergences between the *Mughnī* and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*. The occasional divergences in the BdC from that arrangement might go back to some version of Balkhī's material, but, as was the case for the material on the Imāmiyya, there is no convergence amongst the texts of the BdC on any other arrangement that could confirm this.

There is some indication that Balkhī might then have listed two further factions: the followers of Sabbāh b. al-Qasim al-Muzanī and the Ya'qūbiyya, but the evidence here is insufficient. There is no convergence within the BdC itself over this material and the parallels with Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* are loose. Further evidence relevant to this question will be examined below⁶⁹.

Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* converges in outline with the version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* used by 'Abd al-Jabbār for at least the first four factions. As regards Ash'arī's last two factions, convergence with Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* would be the only reason to think Balkhī had this material anyway. That means that the loose nature of the parallels cannot be used as evidence of divergence between Ash'arī's and Balkhī's material here; we could only possibly reconstruct Balkhī's material at all to the extent that it converges with Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*. The only instance of scenario two divergence in the structure of the list is once again that Balkhī employed an *iftirāq*-cluster, while Ash'arī presents a plain list. Especially given what has been shown already for the material on the Imāmiyya, however, this would be equally likely to have occurred whether Ash'arī was using Balkhī's own material or Balkhī's source.

There is one significant divergence over faction-names, involving the followers of Sulaymān b. Jarīr, but this does not even constitute a reliable instance of scenario 2. Even though the *Hūr* and the *Rawḍa* agree on 'Jaririyya', Ash'arī's and 'Abd al-Jabbār's versions ('Sulaymāniyya' and '*aṣḥāb sulaymān*') suggest that at least the latter pair probably had a common source with a formulation like *aṣḥāb sulaymān b. jarīr*. The situation certainly does not sufficiently evidence divergence between Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and all witnessed versions of Balkhī's *Maqālāt*. Especially as we have already seen Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and the *Mughnī* agree on faction-names against the rest of the BdC elsewhere, concerning Imāmī factions, it remains possible that Ash'arī either relied on a version of Balkhī's material close to that used by 'Abd al-Jabbār or on Balkhī's source.

⁶⁹ See p. 208 n.139 and p. 363, 377, 490.

1.1.2.1.3 The Factions of the Ghulāt

With the material on the Imāmiyya and the Zaydiyya, it was possible to carry out a direct structural comparison between Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and the texts of the BdC because the correspondence between the *firaq*-lists is so close. With the material on the Ghulāt, the situation is less straightforward. It is not clear that Balkhī handled the Ghulāt in a separate *firaq*-list at all. The only text of the BdC to do so is the *Bāb* and here we must reckon with significant post-Balkhī reorganization. Nevertheless, several factions that appear in Ash'arī's *firaq*-list of the Ghāliya are found in the BdC and it is possible to make some progress in reconstructing elements of Balkhī's presentation of the Ghulāt by comparing the convergences and divergences in the material.

Notably, four of the factions that appear in Ash'arī's list of the Rāfiḍa also have a separate entry in his list of the Ghāliya, where each receives a description different from that in the list of the Rāfiḍa. These are the Bayāniyya, the Ḥarbiyya, the Mughiriyya, and the Manṣūriyya. Ash'arī thus presents each of these factions twice, once as Ghulāt and once as Rāfiḍa. Where they appear in the texts of the BdC, they only ever do so within the *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya, i.e., in structural correspondence with Ash'arī's *firaq*-list of the Rāfiḍa; they never get a second entry as Ghulāt. However, some texts of the BdC bring together the material from the descriptions Ash'arī gives in the *firaq*-list of the Ghāliya and those in the *firaq*-list of the Rāfiḍa into single descriptions for each faction. The various convergences and divergences over the distribution of this material provide us with information, albeit limited, about how these factions must have been handled in different versions of Balkhī's *Maqālāt*.

There are also factions that Ash'arī mentions only in his list of the Ghāliya. Some of these, too, are found in the BdC, but they are not presented in any consistent structure across the texts. This makes it impossible to determine precisely how any version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* would have arranged the material. Nevertheless, it is still possible to reconstruct some basic contours to Balkhī's presentation here because of underlying similarities in the division of the material throughout the corpus.

As direct comparison is less helpful for this material, the texts are dealt with one-by-one, beginning with the *firaq*-list in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* (1.1.2.1.3.1), before examining the material in the *Mughnī* (1.1.2.1.3.2) and the *Ḥūr* (1.1.2.1.3.3), then the other texts of the corpus (1.1.2.1.3.4) and, finally, providing an overview of the results (1.1.2.1.3.5).

1.1.2.1.3.1 The *firaq*-list of the Ghāliya in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*

At the beginning of his *firaq*-list of the Ghāliya, Ash'arī announces it will contain fifteen factions. The subsequent list indeed contains fifteen numbered factions, but

there are also several unnumbered factions interspersed amongst them. The list runs in outline as follows:

1. [5:11–6:2] The Bayāniyya, the followers of Bayān b. Sim'ān (d.119/737)⁷⁰
2. [6:3–10] The followers of 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya (d.131/748?)⁷¹
3. [6:11–13] The followers of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr b. Ḥarb⁷²
4. [6:14–9:6] The Mughīriyya, the followers of Mughīra b. Sa'īd (d.119/737)⁷³
5. [9:7–10:8] The Manṣūriyya, the followers of Abū Manṣūr (d. btw. 132–147/749–755)⁷⁴

70 On Bayān b. Sim'ān (or Sam'ān), see *EIsl.* “Bayān b. Sam'ān” [Mazaheri]; Halm 1982:55–64; Tucker 1975a [=2008:34–51]. He was a straw dealer in Kufa who claimed he was a prophet and that he could perform wondrous feats, such as summoning the planet Venus into his hand, by means of God's “Greatest Name”. He seems to have mounted a failed rebellion either alongside or shortly before Mughīra b. Sa'īd (on whom see n.73) in 119/737, as a result of which he was arrested, then crucified and/or burned to death by the Umayyad governor Khālid b. 'Abd Allāh al-Qasrī (d.126/743). On Bayān's possible connections with various 'Alids, see p. 318.

71 On the Hāshimī rebel 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya b. 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib, see *El²*. “'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya” [Borrut]; *EIslamica*. “'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya” [Sajjadi]; Halm 1982: 64–69; Tucker 1980 [=2008:88–108].

72 On 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr b. Ḥarb (or al-Ḥārith) al-Kindī, see Crone 2012:92–95; Halm 1982:69–78. Ibn Ḥarb is harder to pin down than the other Ghulāt leaders of this period. His father is reported to have been a *zindīq* from Madā'in (Ctesiphon), although he seems to have been active in Kufa. Either he or his followers (after having abandoned him) joined 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya's rebellion first in Kufa then, apparently, in Western Iran. After Ibn Mu'āwiya's death, his followers (whether or not he was still involved) somehow maintained an independent identity, probably within Abū Muslim's “Abbāsīd” army. All this may, however, revolve around a confusion between two or more individuals with similar or shared name elements. See p. 322 n.342.

73 On Mughīra b. Sa'īd al-Bajalī, see *El²*. “Mughīriyya” [Weaver]; Halm 1982:89–96; Tucker 1975b [=2008:52–70]. Mughīra, like Bayān, was a resident of Kufa or the Kufan hinterland, claimed to be a prophet and to perform wonders, including communicating with or raising the dead by means of God's “Greatest Name”. He was killed together with or shortly after Bayān, following a (joint?) failed rebellion. On his relationship with the 'Alid Imāms and pretenders, especially Muḥammad al-Bāqir and Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan, see p. 506. For further material on his doctrines, see p. 563.

74 On Abū Manṣūr al-'Ijlī, see *EIsl.* “Abū Manṣūr al-'Ijlī” [Ansari]; *El²*. “Manṣūriyya” [Madelung]; Halm 1982:86–89; Tucker 1977 [=2008:71–87]. He seems to have been an Arab nomad who settled in Kufa and believed himself to be a prophet, or perhaps even Jesus returned. He encouraged his followers to deal violently with opponents and is frequently listed as one of the ‘stranglers’ (*khannāqūn*), who seem to have become notorious in the cities of early second-century Iraq. He was eventually arrested and killed by Yūsuf b. 'Umar al-Thaqafi, governor of Iraq from 120–122/737–740.

6. [10:9–11:7] The Khaṭṭābiyya, the followers of Abū l-Khaṭṭāb b. Abī Zaynab (d. 132–147/750–764)⁷⁵
7. [11:8–15] = Faction 2 of the Khaṭṭābiyya: The Mu‘ammariyya or Ya‘fūriyya, the followers of a certain Mu‘ammar⁷⁶
8. [12:1–10] = Faction 3 of the Khaṭṭābiyya: The Bazīghiyya, the followers of Bazīgh b. Mūsā (d. before 148/765)⁷⁷
9. [12:11–13:3] = Faction 4 of the Khaṭṭābiyya: The ‘Umayriyya, the followers of ‘Umayr b. Bayān al-‘Ijlī (d. before 132/749)⁷⁸
10. [13:4–7] = Faction 5 of the Khaṭṭābiyya: The Mufaḍḍaliyya, the followers of a certain Mufaḍḍal⁷⁹
 - [13:8–12] List of the leaders of the Imāmiyya who have taken authority out of Banū Hāshim and claimed it for themselves.
 - [13:13] An unnumbered faction that professes the deity of Salmān al-Fārisī (d.35/655?)
 - [13:14–14:2] An unnumbered faction: Ṣūfī ascetics (*nussāk min al-ṣūfiyya*)
11. [14:3–10] An anonymous faction that believes that all of the twelve Imāms were gods on account of the Holy Spirit (*rūḥ al-quds*) having transmigrated into them successively.
12. [14:11–13] An anonymous faction that claims ‘Alī is God and sent the Prophet on his behalf, but the Prophet claimed authority for himself.
13. [14:14–15:9] The followers of al-Sharī (active second half of the third century), who profess the doctrine of God’s incarnation (*ḥulūl*) in the Prophet, ‘Alī, Ḥasan,

⁷⁵ On Abū l-Khaṭṭāb b. Abī Zaynab Miqlāṣ al-Asadī, see *EF*². “Abū l-Khaṭṭāb al-Asadī” [Husayn]; *EI*-*sl*. “Abū al-Khaṭṭāb” [Ansari]; Halm 1982:199–206. He was either a maker of water jars, a cloth-trader, or a maker of chain-mail, but he seems to have had close ties with Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq, before the latter disavowed him on account of his *ghuluww* beliefs. Abū l-Khaṭṭāb apparently taught the doctrine of *tanāsukh* and believed Ja‘far to be a manifestation of God, and himself to be a prophet, an angel or, perhaps eventually, a manifestation of Ja‘far. He mounted a rebellion when ‘Isā b. Mūsā was governor of Kufa (132–147/750–764) which was swiftly put down, resulting in his execution. There is some evidence these events took place in 138/755.

⁷⁶ On this Mu‘ammar (or Ma‘mar) b. al-Aḥmar, see Halm 1982:209–213. As Halm says, he is difficult to locate chronologically but was probably a contemporary of Abū l-Khaṭṭāb.

⁷⁷ Bazīgh b. Mūsā (or b. Yūnus), see *EF*³. “Bazīgh b. Mūsā” [Anthony]; *EI**Islamic*. “Bazīghiyya” [Ansari]. Bazīgh was a weaver in Kufa and a disciple of Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq who seems to have led a rival Ghulāt group to Abū l-Khaṭṭāb’s, following a split between the two. He is reported to have been killed in Ja‘far’s lifetime.

⁷⁸ ‘Umayr b. Bayān al-‘Ijlī, see Halm 1982:214. ‘Umayr seems to have been killed somewhat earlier than Abū l-Khaṭṭāb, as the Umayyad governor Yazid b. ‘Umar b. Hubayra was responsible. The latter was replaced when the ‘Abbāsids took the city in 132/749.

⁷⁹ On Mufaḍḍal, see above, n.39.

Ḥusayn and Fāṭima, and that five opponents (*aḏḏād*) were appointed for them in Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān, Mu'āwiya and 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ⁸⁰.

- [15:8–9] Unnumbered faction: the Nuṣayriyya, the followers of al-Numayrī, i.e. Ibn Nuṣayr (fl.mid-third of the third/ninth century)⁸¹.

80 This is Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan al-Sharīfī, a heterodox follower of 'Alī al-Hādī and Ḥasan al-'Askarī mentioned by Ṭūsī (*Ghayba*, 246:18–247:6). See Gimaret 1986:542, n.225; Asatryan 2017:81, esp.n.10. Ṭūsī does not describe his doctrine in much detail, noting only that, beyond falsely setting himself up as the 'gateway' (*bāb*) to the Imam, ascribing doctrines to the Imams which they did not hold, and professing generic unbelief and heresy (*al-qawl bi-l-kufr wa-l-ilhād*), he held 'the doctrine of the Ḥallājīya, of the kind for which Abū l-Ja'far ash-Shalmaghānī and his like became notorious' (*Ghayba*, 247:5–6). This could mean many things, but certainly indicates a belief in divine incarnation, making the identification with Ash'arī's Sharīfī highly plausible. Mas'ūdī seems to provide what may be another reference to this Sharīfī which would place him in a similar context: when giving a list of more recent *ghulāt* factions, he mentions an otherwise unidentifiable '*aṣḥāb ash-sharīfīyyīn*' alongside Ḥallāj and Shalmaghānī (*Murūj*.III:267:2).

Halm (1982: 225–230) identifies this figure, rather, as Bashshār al-Sha'irī, a contemporary of Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq mentioned by Qummī and Kashshī (*MaqQ*.59:16–60:3 60:16–21, *RijālK*.398:4–401:7). But this seems incorrect. Although there is a close relationship between the doctrines of Ash'arī's Sharīfī and Qummī/Kashshī's Bashshār al-Sha'irī, they are not the same. Ash'arī's Sharīfī believes in the pentad of divine incarnations asserted by the faction which Qummī calls the Mukhammisa: Muḥammad, 'Alī, Fāṭima, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn. On the other hand, Qummī's Bashshār al-Sha'irī and the faction which followed his doctrine, the 'Alyā'īya, deny the divinity of Muḥammad and make 'Alī the key figure, reducing the role of Muḥammad to that of 'Alī/God's servant (*'abd*) and messenger (*rasūl*) (*MaqQ*.59:16–60:3). This latter element, however, is the doctrine of the anonymous faction Ash'arī describes immediately before Sharīfī (*MaqQ*.14:11–13) and he specifically notes that Sharīfī denied it (*MaqQ*.14:16–15:2). Thus, Bashshār al-Sha'irī seems to have been on opposite sides of the Mukhammisa-'Alyā'īya divide from Ash'arī's Sharīfī.

More generally, we know that competition between Mukhammisa- and Alyā'īya-type beliefs was still current in the Ghulāt community in the second half of the third century. This was the period of activity of Ibn Nuṣayr, who is associated with the same Imāms, and his follower and then rival, Iṣḥāq al-Aḥmar (d.286/899). According to Mas'ūdī, the latter wrote his *Kitāb aṣ-ṣīrāt* in support of 'Alyā'ī doctrine and was opposed by named figures from the Mukhammisa (*Murūj*. III:265:7–266:2) (on Ibn Nuṣayr, see n.81, and on Iṣḥāq, n.85). Even if, as Asatryan (2017:79–122) argues, the precise divide between the Mukhammisa and the 'Alyā'īya may be difficult to pin down in the extant Ghulāt texts of the period, a range of beliefs along these lines is well represented (Asatryan 2017:79–122). Notably, Ash'arī deals with Ibn Nuṣayr immediately after al-Sharīfī; this is a section on more recent Ghulāt groups.

81 On Abū Shu'ayb Muḥammad b. Nuṣayr al-Numayrī, see *EF*³. "Ibn Nuṣayr" [Steigerwald]; *EIr*. "Muḥammad b. Nuṣayr; Halm 1982:282–283. He seems to have been a prominent, heterodox follower of 'Alī al-Hādī (d.254/868) and Ḥasan al-'Askarī (d.260/874), declaring himself to be the *bāb* ("gateway") of one or both. He was renounced by the Imāms and then, after 'Askarī's death, by the *saḡīr* Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān al-'Amrī, but he attracted a large following amongst the Ghulāt in his lifetime. Most famously, he espoused the doctrines of the divinity of the Imāms, metempsychosis

14. [15:10–15] The Saba'iyya, the followers of 'Abd Allāh b. Saba'⁸².
15. [16:1–5] An anonymous faction that believes that God delegated (*fawwāda*) the task of creating and governing the world to Muḥammad or to 'Alī.
 - [16:6–9] An unnumbered faction that believes 'Alī resides in the clouds

As is the case with his other *firaq*-lists, Ash'arī provides no comment on the ordering principle here. Again, however, we are not looking at a truly plain list. In similar fashion to what we saw with the Kaysāniyya in the list of the Imāmiyya, Ash'arī introduces a parallel numbering system for a certain group of factions: factions six through ten of the Ghāliya are also numbered as factions one through five of the Khaṭṭābiyya. That there are to be five factions of the Khaṭṭābiyya in total is announced already at the very beginning of the description of their first faction [*MaqA*.10:9–10]. This first faction is itself called the Khaṭṭābiyya and its founder, Abū l-Khaṭṭāb, dies at the end of the report [*Maq*.11:6–7]. The description of the second faction starts with a claim for the identity of the Imām following Abū l-Khaṭṭāb's death [*Maq*.11:9–10]. It thus appears that we are looking at another flattened *iftirāq*-cluster: the Khaṭṭābiyya followed by four sub-factions that supposedly arose in an *iftirāq* after the founder's death. As we will see, this is corroborated by comparison with the *Ḥūr*, where the Khaṭṭābiyya and its four sub-factions are indeed presented in an *iftirāq*-cluster [*Ḥūr*.220:12–222:6].

A second feature that disturbs the linear ordering of the list is a marked break between the first ten numbered factions and the last five. After faction ten, Ash'arī makes the following parenthetical statement:

Altogether, those from amongst the Imāmiyya—i.e. those who profess the explicit designation (*naṣṣ*) of 'Alī—who transferred leadership outside of Banū Hāshim and claimed leadership for themselves are six: 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr b. Ḥarb al-Kindī, Bayān b. Sim'an al-Tamīmī, Mughīra b. Sa'īd, Abū Manṣūr, Ḥasan b. Abī Manṣūr and Abū l-Khaṭṭāb al-Asadī. Abū l-Khaṭṭāb even claimed he was superior to (*afdāl min*) Banū Hāshim. [*MaqA*.13:8–12]

(*tanāsukh*) and antinomianism. The Nuṣayrī-'Alawīs continue to revere him as the founder of their movement. Several of his works appear to be extant (see Asatryan 2017:84–96).

⁸² On Ibn Saba', see *EF* "Ibn Saba'" [Lewinstein]; Anthony 2012; Halm 1982:33–42. Ibn Saba' supposedly lived during and for some time after the lifetime of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. The heresiographical tradition sometimes depicts him as a kind of progenitor of all later *ghuluww* thinking (see p. 683–691). More specifically, he is said to have been responsible for having introduced several doctrines into Islam, some of which are later seen as purely *ghuluww* (e.g., the denial of 'Alī's death, the deification of 'Alī), others of which became mainstream Imāmi thinking (e.g., the doctrine that 'Alī was Muḥammad's divinely appointed legate (*waṣī*), and the cursing of the first two caliphs). A rather different picture emerges from the writing of the second-century Kufan traditionist Sayf b. 'Umar (Anthony 2012:9–138), where Ibn Saba's principal role is as an agitator against the caliph 'Uthmān and an instigator of the first *fitna*.

This passage contains a list of the leaders of most of the factions mentioned up to this point in the *firaq*-list, i.e., those of the Ḥarbiyya, the Bayāniyya, the Mughīriyya, the Manṣūriyya and the Khaṭṭābiyya. What is significant about these leaders, according to the passage, is that they were originally Imāmiyya but no longer followed Imāms from Banū Hāshim, instead claiming the Imāmate for themselves. The only faction up to this point in the list whose leader does not feature in the passage is faction 2. They followed 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya, not an 'Alid, but still a member of Banū Hāshim. The passage thus seems to function as a kind of commentarial remark upon the factions listed so far: Ash'arī considers these factions, or at least their leaders to have emerged from the Imāmiyya, despite their now separate status as 'Ghāliya'.

Indeed, four of the factions led by these figures, namely the Ḥarbiyya, the Bayāniyya, the Mughīriyya, and the Manṣūriyya, are those that Ash'arī also includes in his *firaq*-list of the Imāmiyya [22:4–23:2; 23:3–6; 23:12–24:4; 24:10–25:8]. In this regard, the inclusion of Ḥasan b. Abī Manṣūr in the list of leaders alongside his father is noteworthy. Ḥasan is not mentioned as a leader of any faction in the *firaq*-list of the Ghāliya; he appears only later, in the report on the Manṣūriyya in the *firaq*-list of the Imāmiyya, as a successor to his father [*MaqA*.24:13–14]. Ash'arī or his source presumably then had the material in that subsequent report in mind when composing this passage. Abū l-Khaṭṭāb and the Khaṭṭābiyya thus appear to be something of an anomaly: Abū l-Khaṭṭāb features in the above-mentioned passage, and thus is also someone who arose 'from amongst the Imāmiyya' for Ash'arī, but none of the five factions of the Khaṭṭābiyya also appears in the *firaq*-list of the Imāmiyya. There is also something anomalous about the situation of the followers of 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya (faction 2), who is not listed in the passage. 'Abd Allāh and his followers appear in the *firaq*-list of the Imāmiyya, but only in the report on Ḥarbiyya. In the *firaq*-list of the Ghāliya, they and the Ḥarbiyya are separate factions. We will return to this issue below, when comparing with the material in the *Hūr*. The key point for now is that up to the passage cited above, the factions in Ash'arī's list generally seem to be classified also as Imāmiyya or at least as close to the Imāmiyya.

After the above-cited passage, the *firaq*-list becomes notably looser and the information in the descriptions less detailed. Unnumbered factions appear interspersed amongst the numbered factions and most of the latter are now anonymous groups lacking named leaders. There is, moreover, nothing to indicate that these factions any longer have anything to do with the Imāmiyya. In the case of the digression on Ṣūfī ascetics who profess the doctrine of divine incarnation [*Maq*.13:14–14:2], it is not even clear we are looking at a Shī'i group anymore⁸³.

83 They seem to have been included only because they, like the Shī'i groups around them, profess belief in divine incarnation. The report is closely related to material that appears later in Ash'arī's

A chronological disparity is also apparent. The first ten factions were all active in second-century Kufa at some point (even if ‘Abd Allāh b. Mu‘āwiya went on to set up his rebel state in western Iran); they all arose after the deaths of Abū Hāshim, Muḥammad al-Bāqir and Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq according to the *iftirāq*-schema. The last five factions and the unnumbered factions scattered around them are much more varied. The fourteenth faction, the Saba’iyya, emerged in the first century. They and the unnumbered, unnamed final faction, who believe that ‘Alī resides in the clouds, represent the earliest phases of speculation around the person of ‘Alī⁸⁴. In contrast, the unnamed eleventh faction must be from the last quarter of the third century at the earliest, as they hold that all twelve Imāms were divine. Sharī and Numayrī (Ibn Nuṣayr) were active in the second half of the third century, in the period of the Imāmates of Hādī and ‘Askarī, and following the death of the latter.

Ash‘arī’s *firaq*-list of the Ghāliya can thus be divided into two parts:

1. [5:11–13:12] Ten numbered and named factions connected to the Imāmiyya and second-century Kufa.
2. [13:13–16:9] A much looser assortment of factions, many unnumbered, some unnamed, which are not obviously connected to the Imāmiyya (or even always the Shī‘a) and have diverse chronological origins.

1.1.2.1.3.2 The *Mughnī*

‘Abd al-Jabbār’s *Mughnī* has a chapter on the Ghulāt [*Mugh.XX*₂.173–174] but it contains no *firaq*-list. It consists rather of short refutations of doctrinal positions associated with the followers of Ishāq al-Aḥmar (d. 286/899)⁸⁵. It may rely on earlier doxographical material but does not make this explicit and contains no significant parallels to any other text of the BdC or to Ash‘arī’s *Maqālāt*.

This situation means that the only relevant material in the *Mughnī* is that on the four Ghulāt factions that appear in the *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya: the Bayāniyya [*Mugh.XX*₂.178:14–15], the Ḥarbiyya [178:6–14], the Mughiriyya [179:1–9] and the Manṣūriyya [179:9–15]. The structural correspondence of the *Mughnī*’s *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya with the *firaq*-list of the Rāfiḍa in Ash‘arī’s *Maqālāt* has been discussed extensively above. It should be noted at this point, however, that the faction-descriptions given by ‘Abd al-Jabbār always contain parallels only to that

Maqālāt, in the section on *tajsim* that interrupts the Mu‘tazila-chapter, in an *ikhtilāf*-cluster on the question of whether God can be seen with the eyes, in which the notion of divine incarnation features (*MaqA*.214:4–5). There is no hint at the later location that Shī‘i groups are intended.

⁸⁴ See Anthony 2012:195–231.

⁸⁵ On Ishāq al-Aḥmar al-Nakhā‘ī, see *EIr*.“Eshāq Aḥmar Nakā‘ī” [Asatryan]; Halm 1982:272–283. Ishāq seems to have been a follower of Ibn Nuṣayr, before splitting from the latter and attracting his own Ghulāt following.

material that Ash'arī gives in his list of the Rāfiḍa; he never presents any of the material that Ash'arī gives separately on these four factions in his *firaq*-list of the Ghāliya.

With the material on the Imāmiyya and the Zaydiyya, it was only the convergence between the *Mughnī* and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* that allowed us to reconstruct the outline of any version of Balkhī's material with precision, due to the level of divergence within the rest of the BdC. The fact that 'Abd al-Jabbār gives no further parallel material on Ghulāt factions is thus a great impediment. Above all, it means we have no reliable witness as to how the version used by 'Abd al-Jabbār (and potentially Ash'arī) presented the material on Ghulāt factions that Ash'arī places outside the *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya. As we will see, much of this material appears elsewhere in the BdC, making it quite likely that it was also present in the version of Balkhī's material used by 'Abd al-Jabbār, despite his omission. But the level of divergence between the other texts means that, in the absence of a witness from the *Mughnī*, it is impossible to reconstruct the outline structure of any version in all but its largest features.

1.1.2.1.3.3 The *Hūr*

There are two locations in the *Hūr* at which factions that Ash'arī presents within his *firaq*-list of the Ghāliya appear. The first is within the *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya. Here, again, we find those Ghulāt factions that feature in this context in the *Mughnī* and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*: the Bayāniyya [*Hūr*.215:10–14], the Ḥarbiyya [214:16–215:9], the Mughīriyya [222:5–17] and the Manṣūriyya [222:18–224:3]. Notably, however, unlike 'Abd al-Jabbār's versions, Ḥimyarī's descriptions bring together the content both from Ash'arī's descriptions in his *firaq*-list of the Ghāliya and from those in his *firaq*-list of the Rāfiḍa⁸⁶. This phenomenon will be discussed in more detail later, when we look at the convergences and divergences in the content of the faction-descriptions. For now, the main conclusion we can draw is that, even though the material that Ash'arī places separately in his *firaq*-list of the Ghāliya is absent from the *Mughnī*, it appears it was present in at least the version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* used by Ḥimyarī and must also have been present in the common source shared with Ash'arī, whether it was some version of Balkhī's material or an earlier common source. It is also highly likely it was in the version of Balkhī's material used by 'Abd al-Jabbār, even though he did not reproduce it in the *Mughnī*.

In contrast to Ash'arī and 'Abd al-Jabbār, Ḥimyarī also lists the Khaṭṭābiyya within his *iftirāq*-schema: they emerge as one of the six factions in the *iftirāq* after the death of Ja'far al-Ṣādiq [220:12–222:6] and then undergo *iftirāq* upon the death

⁸⁶ For the Ḥarbiyya, it is Ash'arī's material on the followers of 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya from the list of the Ghāliya that is combined with the material on the Ḥarbiyya from the list of the Rāfiḍa. For further discussion of this exception see p. 192 n.124.

of Abū l-Khaṭṭāb, becoming the four factions that constitute Ash‘arī’s second, third, fourth and fifth factions of the Khaṭṭābiyya. Ash‘arī’s *Maqālāt* parallels all Ḥimyarī’s material on the Khaṭṭābiyya, but, in Ash‘arī’s *Maqālāt*, it appears only in the *fīraq*-list of the Ghāliya. The fact that Ash‘arī and Ḥimyarī both have the full set of descriptions of the five factions of the Khaṭṭābiyya indicates the Khaṭṭābiyya-cluster too would have featured somewhere in Balkhī’s *Maqālāt* and in any potential common source used by Ash‘arī and Balkhī. Again, it is thus very likely that the version of Balkhī’s *Maqālāt* used by ‘Abd al-Jabbār would have carried the material on the Khaṭṭābiyya as well, even though ‘Abd al-Jabbār did not reproduce it.

It is significant, however, that the *Mughnī* consistently matches the *division* of the material in Ash‘arī’s *Maqālāt*, in that the descriptions in his *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya always parallel those in Ash‘arī’s list of the Rāfiḍa, never once presenting any of the material from his list of the Ghāliya. This means that the version of Balkhī’s material used by ‘Abd al-Jabbār, like Ash‘arī’s *Maqālāt*, must have kept it separate from the *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya (if it was, indeed, present at all). This is because Ash‘arī and ‘Abd al-Jabbār cannot independently have separated out the material in identical fashion. Ḥimyarī’s combined form of the descriptions of the Bayāniyya, Ḥarbiyya, Mughīriyya and Manṣūriyya, as well as the integration of the Khaṭṭābiyya into the *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya, is the work either of a different version of Balkhī’s *Maqālāt*, or else is due to post-Balkhī reworking.

The other location at which material on Ghulāt factions appears in the *Hūr* is outside the *iftirāq*-schema. Ḥimyarī, uniquely amongst the texts of the BdC, employs a kind of umbrella *iftirāq* of the Shī‘a as a whole, in which they divide into six factions. Two of these factions are the Imāmiyya and the Zaydiyya, which then undergo their own subsequent *iftirāq* as described above. The other four factions are ‘dead-ends’ that undergo no further *iftirāq*. These are the Saba‘iyya [*Hūr*:206:12–18], the Saḥābiyya [206:19–207:1], the Ghurābiyya [207:3–4] and the Kāmiliyya [207:5–7].

We will deal with the Kāmiliyya later, as Ash‘arī and ‘Abd al-Jabbār present them as part of their *ijmā‘*-introductions to the Imāmiyya⁸⁷. It is evident that Ḥimyarī has the same material but presents it in a different structure, one we cannot be sure goes back to any version of Balkhī’s *Maqālāt*. Two of the other four factions, however, namely the Saba‘iyya and the Saḥābiyya, appear in Ash‘arī’s *fīraq*-list of the Ghāliya [*MaqA*.15:10–15; 16:6–9], although Ash‘arī lacks a faction-name for the Saḥābiyya. This, again, strongly suggests that Balkhī presented material on the Saba‘iyya and the Saḥābiyya *somewhere* and makes it likely they appeared also in the version used by ‘Abd al-Jabbār. None of the texts, however, place these factions within the *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya, so it appears that Balkhī would not have

⁸⁷ See p. 729–730.

done this either. Nevertheless, the lack of structural correspondence between the *Ḥūr* and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, and the fact that the material is missing entirely from the *Mughnī*, again means we have no way to determine beyond this where these faction-descriptions would have appeared relative to the rest of the material or how they would have been presented in terms of structure.

The Ghurābiyya are different again: there is no parallel at all in Ash'arī's material. As they do not appear in the *Mughnī* either, there is so far no evidence the faction appeared in any version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt*. We will soon see from the other texts of the BdC, however, that this must have been the case.

There is also some divergence over faction-names. The first case involves the Bazighiyya (a sub-faction of the Khaṭṭābiyya), whose name appears in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* but is missing from the relevant description in the *Ḥūr*. Van Ess takes this divergence, like that over Sulaymāniyya/Jarīriyya as evidence that Ash'arī was relying on Balkhī's source, not Balkhī's own version of the material. The key point here is that the name of the founder, Bazīgh b. Mūsā, is also missing from Ḥimyarī's version, so if he reproduces Balkhī's *Maqālāt* accurately here, it would have been impossible for Ash'arī even to have coined the name *ad hoc* if Balkhī was his source. However, as the material is missing from the *Mughnī*, there is no way to determine if this divergence can be pushed back to any version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* in advance of looking at the other texts of the corpus.

A second divergence over faction-names involves the Saḥābiyya, whose name is present in the *Ḥūr* but missing from the relevant description in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*. This case would always be of less significance anyway. Even if the *Ḥūr* did represent all versions of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* accurately here, the fact that Ash'arī omitted a faction-name (if it was indeed him, and not the later manuscript tradition) cannot constitute a preponderant reason to think he was using Balkhī's source and not Balkhī's own version of the material; the texts of the BdC all do this from time to time.

1.1.2.1.3.4 Other Texts of the BdC

For once, it is worth beginning the discussion of the remaining texts of the BdC with the material in the *Bāb*. Although Abū Tammām's text cannot help us reconstruct the outline structure of any version of Balkhī's material, as everything has been rearranged to fit a later schema, the *Bāb* has parallel material on several Ghulāt factions. Significantly, this includes parallels to the descriptions in Ash'arī's *firaq*-list of the Ghāliya, as well as those in his list of the Rāfiḍa. In the case of the Bayāniyya [*Bāb*.67:9–68:9] and the Mughīriyya [68:13–71:12], only material from the *firaq*-list of the Ghāliya is present (alongside much that is unique to the *Bāb*), but in the case of the Ḥarbiyya [101:3–102:12] and the Manṣūriyya [107:6–109:8], we

get descriptions that combine material from both locations in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*⁸⁸. Abū Tammām also lists some factions that Ash'arī places only in the *firaq*-list of the Ghāliya: the Saba'iyya [106:11–107:2] and two sub-factions of the Khaṭṭābiyya, namely the Bazighiyya [112:3–14] and the Ya'furiyya [113:3–114:4]. Finally, the *Bāb* also has material on the one Ghulāt faction that is present in the *Hūr* but absent from Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*: the Ghurābiyya [110:3–111:4].

The most important consequence of this is that the *Hūr* is not alone in carrying material also present in Ash'arī's *firaq*-list of the Ghāliya. It is possible in theory that this is due to Ḥimyarī and Abū Tammām having used a common post-Balkhī intermediary, but it is highly unlikely this material can really have been introduced post-Balkhī, due to the continuing close parallels with Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*. The *Bāb* thus confirms the indications from the *Hūr* that some version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* had at least the material that appears in Ash'arī's *firaq*-list of the Ghāliya on the Bayāniyya, Mughiriyya, Ḥarbiyya and Manṣūriyya, as well that on the Saba'iyya and the Khaṭṭābiyya.

The same must also be true, however, of the material on the Ghurābiyya, even though this does *not* feature in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*. Thus, we appear to have our first, and only, instance of a faction that appeared in a version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* but is not in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*. This is a scenario 2 divergence.

The evidence from the *Bāb* examined so far cannot help us reconstruct the outline of this material in any version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt*, as the arrangement there is post-Balkhī. We can note, however, that, in their descriptions of the Ḥarbiyya and the Manṣūriyya, the *Bāb* and the *Hūr* both combine material parallel to that in Ash'arī's list of the Rāfiḍa with material parallel to that in his list of the Ghāliya. This opens up the possibility that some version of Balkhī's material already did the same. That would be of interest primarily because Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and the version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* used by 'Abd al-Jabbār clearly did not. To investigate this possibility further, however, we will need to look at the content of the descriptions in more detail. This will be done below.

For now, the *Bāb* can at least help us with one of the divergences over faction-names found in the *Hūr*, as Abū Tammām uses the faction-name Bazighiyya. This indicates that Balkhī (and any intermediaries to Abū Tammām) very likely did have the name; it is simply Ḥimyarī who has omitted it. There is thus no evidence here of divergence between Ash'arī's and Balkhī's *Maqālāt*s⁸⁹.

⁸⁸ Again, for the Ḥarbiyya, it is the material on the followers of 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya from Ash'arī's list of the Ghāliya that is combined with the material on the Ḥarbiyya from the list of the Rāfiḍa. See p. 192 n.125.

⁸⁹ The name is also given by Maqḍisī (*Bad'*:V:130:11), which should be the end of the matter as far as the faction-name is concerned). Van Ess further notes that whilst Ash'arī calls the founder of this

The *Uyūn* and the *Sharḥ* get us a little further still. As we would expect, the *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya preserved in these texts also features the four standard Imāmi Ghulāt factions: the Ḥarbiyya [*Sharḥ*.29v:7–11], the Bayāniyya [*Sharḥ*.29v:11–12], the Mughīriyya [*Uyūn*.8v:20–9r:2; *Sharḥ*.29v:15–20] and the Manṣūriyya [*Uyūn*.9r:3–4; *Sharḥ*.29v:21–30r:9]. In the case of the Ḥarbiyya, the Bayāniyya, and the Manṣūriyya, Jishumī's texts present parallels only to the material found in Ash'arī's *firaq*-list of the Rāfiḍa. But in the case of the Mughīriyya, the *Uyūn* and the *Sharḥ* contain elements also from the description in Ash'arī's list of the Ghāliya. They also mention Ghulāt factions within their sections on the Imāmiyya but set apart from the *iftirāq*-schema: the Saba'iyya, the Ghurābiyya and the Khaṭṭābiyya [*Uyūn*.9v:9–10; *Sharḥ*.29r:6–8, 31r:4–8].

These observations corroborate or complement the conclusions reached already. Most importantly, it is not just the *Hūr* and the *Bāb* that have material from Ash'arī's *firaq*-list of the Ghāliya. With the additional witness of Jishumī, the already remote possibility that the material was introduced by a post-Balkhī intermediary reduces still further. Jishumī's texts do not attest all of what is present elsewhere, but they present enough of it to corroborate the above conclusion that at least the material on the Bayāniyya, Mughīriyya, Ḥarbiyya, Manṣūriyya, Khaṭṭābiyya and Saba'iyya that features in Ash'arī's *firaq*-list of the Ghāliya would indeed have appeared in some version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt*. Significantly, however, the same again appears to be true of the material on the Ghurābiyya, which does *not* appear in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*.

In terms of structure, both of Jishumī's texts place the Saba'iyya and the Ghurābiyya outside the *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya. This corroborates the evidence from the *Hūr*, as well as from the *Mughnī* and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*: Balkhī did not integrate these factions into the schema in any witnessed version of his *Maqālāt*. Jishumī's texts also side with Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and the *Mughnī* concerning

faction 'Bazigh b. Mūsā', Abū Tammām has 'Bazigh b. Yūnus' (*MaqA*.12:2 vs. *Bāb*.112:3), taking this too as evidence that Balkhī's *Maqālāt* was not Ash'arī's source, but the argument does not follow. Whatever name was present in the common source (whether Balkhī's *Maqālāt* or Balkhī's source), it has been misread at some stage; the unpointed *rasms* of 'yūnus' and 'Mūsā' are easily confused. But, with present evidence, we cannot know when the divergence occurred. Even if Ash'arī were responsible for the misreading, he could have made the mistake just as easily whilst working from Balkhī's version as from a common source. Indeed, the misreading is just as likely to have taken place in the later manuscript tradition of either work. Things can be narrowed down slightly, because the name also occurs as Bazigh b. Yūnus in Abū l-Ma'ālī's *Bayān al-adyān* (*Bayān*, 200:4) and Khwārazmī's *Mafātīḥ* (*Maf*:21:25). These two authors were working from the same underlying *firaq*-list as that used by Abū Tammām, which was reworked in part from Balkhī's *Maqālāt* (see p. 32–33). We can thus say that 'Yūnus' probably goes back at least to their common intermediary. Yet we still have no reliable corroboration of what would have appeared in Balkhī's 'original', let alone in any earlier common source used by Balkhī and Ash'arī.

the placement of the Khaṭṭābiyya outside the schema. This issue has been discussed already; the version of Balkhī's material used by Jishumī apparently agreed with that used by 'Abd al-Jabbār (and potentially by Ash'arī) on this point. The fact that, in the description of the Mughīriyya, Jishumī combines material parallel to that in Ash'arī's *firaq*-list of the Rāfiḍa with material parallel to that in his *firaq*-list of the Ghāliya, may, given the similar situation in the *Hūr*, indicate that some version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* had already combined these two bodies of material. But an investigation of this possibility must await the discussion of the convergences and divergences in the content of the descriptions.

The *Rawḍa*, too, includes the Ḥarbiyya [*Rawḍa*.140v:12–19], the Bayāniyya [140v:20–21], the Mughīriyya [140v:26–141r:7] and the Manṣūriyya [141r:12] within its *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya. In the descriptions of latter three of these factions, it mixes material present in Ash'arī's *firaq*-list of the Rāfiḍa with that present in his *firaq*-list of the Ghāliya⁹⁰. As we have seen already, the *Rawḍa* is also the only text apart from the *Hūr* to include the Khaṭṭābiyya within the *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya [141r:10–11]. Finally, Hajūrī also provides a separate list of Ghulāt factions within his section on the Imāmiyya. Here, we find the Saba'iyya, the Saḥābiyya and the Ghurābiyya [140r:3–13].

These observations, too, generally corroborate the conclusions reached so far. Balkhī's *Maqālāt* presented parallels to the material in Ash'arī's *firaq*-list of the Ghāliya at least for the Ḥarbiyya, Bayāniyya, Mughīriyya, Manṣūriyya, Khaṭṭābiyya, Saba'iyya and Saḥābiyya. Moreover, at least some version must also have included material on the Ghurābiyya, although this faction is absent from Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*.

In terms of structure, the *Rawḍa* also supports the indications from the rest of the corpus that Balkhī listed the Saba'iyya, the Saḥābiyya and the Ghurābiyya outside the *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya. The situation of the Khaṭṭābiyya has been dealt with above: it is hard to read anything significant in the *Rawḍa*'s convergence with the *Hūr* on the placement of this faction⁹¹.

1.1.2.1.3.5 Overview and Conclusions

Due to the degree of variation within the BdC, and especially because the *Mughnī* lacks parallels for any material on Ghulāt factions, except the four that always appear within the *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya (the Ḥarbiyya, the Bayāniyya, the Mughīriyya and the Manṣūriyya), we cannot reconstruct the outline of Balkhī's material on the Ghulāt in as much detail as was possible for that on the Imāmiyya and Zaydiyya. Nevertheless, some basic contours can be discerned:

⁹⁰ See further, p. 191–204.

⁹¹ See p. 143.

1. Balkhī included four Ghulāt factions within the *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya: the Bayāniyya, the Ḥarbiyya, the Mughīriyya and the Manṣūriyya. Here, at least in the version of his *Maqālāt* used by 'Abd al-Jabbār, Balkhī would have presented only material corresponding to that which Ash'arī gives for these factions in his *firaq*-list of the Rāfiḍa.
2. *Somewhere* in at least some version of his *Maqālāt*, Balkhī also presented the additional material on these four factions that Ash'arī gives in his *firaq*-list of the Ghāliya. The version used by 'Abd al-Jabbār, if it had this material, must have presented it separately. It is possible, however, that another version or versions mixed it in with the descriptions of these factions in the *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya.
3. In at least one version of his material, Balkhī also presented material on the Khaṭṭābiyya outside of the *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya. This must have been true of the version used by 'Abd al-Jabbār and of that used by Jishumī. There is a small possibility that some other version would have included them within the schema, in the post-Ja'far *iftirāq* cluster.
4. Balkhī also had material on at least three further Ghulāt factions: the Saba'iyya, the Saḥābiyya and the Ghurābiyya. In all witnessed versions, this appeared outside of the *iftirāq*-schema, but we have no further information on how this material was structured or where exactly it stood in relation to the *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya or the material on the Zaydiyya, although the witness of Jishumī's texts and the *Rawḍa* indicates it probably still appeared within the broader presentation of the Imāmiyya

In terms of the correspondence between Ash'arī's and Balkhī's material, several important but limited conclusions can be drawn. It seems the material on the Bayāniyya, Ḥarbiyya, Mughīriyya, Manṣūriyya, Khaṭṭābiyya, Saba'iyya and Saḥābiyya that Ash'arī presents in his *firaq*-list of the Ghāliya must have been present in at least some version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt*. Notably, this constitutes all the major, named factions in Ash'arī's *firaq*-list of the Ghāliya, including all of those that appear in the first half, which Ash'arī connects with the Imāmiyya, as well as two factions from the second, looser half of the list (the Saba'iyya and the Saḥābiyya). Indeed, that basic division of Ghulāt factions into two groups—those closely connected to the Imāmiyya, and others—seems to have been common to both Ash'arī's and Balkhī's *Maqālāt*s. The main bulk of Ash'arī's list of the Ghāliya, including the descriptions of all the main, named factions is thus built out of material that was also present in Balkhī's *Maqālāt*. To this, only a few, clearly more recent, mostly unnamed factions have been added, probably by Ash'arī himself, regardless of whether he was using Balkhī's material or Balkhī's source.

In their descriptions of the Bayāniyya, the Ḥarbiyya, the Muḡhīriyya and the Maṣūriyya, the Ḥūr, the Bāb, Jishumī's texts, and the Rawḍa combine the material that appears in Ash'arī's list of the Rāfiḍa with that which appears in his list of the Ghāliya. The *Muḡhnī*, however, has only the material from the list of the Rāfiḍa. It is impossible that Ash'arī and 'Abd al-Jabbār could have consistently separated out the material in this way if their common source has combined it, indicating that their common source must already have had the separate versions, as Ash'arī does. That means, once again, that Ash'arī was potentially using the same version of Balkhī's material as was 'Abd al-Jabbār. The authors of the other texts of the BdC either combined the material independently, were relying on an intermediary or intermediaries who did the combining, or were working from a different version of Balkhī's material. We will look at this phenomenon in more detail when we look at convergences and divergences in the substance of the descriptions, below.

Only one important scenario 2 divergence between Ash'arī's and Balkhī's material has emerged: it seems that in at least one version, Balkhī listed a faction called the Ghurābiyya along with the Saba'iyya and the Saḥābiyya. Ash'arī has the latter two factions, but not the Ghurābiyya. The problem is that the *Muḡhnī* lacks all three factions, so we do not know if the version used by 'Abd al-Jabbār would have had the Ghurābiyya or not. We have seen elsewhere that the *Muḡhnī* sometimes agrees with Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* against the rest of the BdC. That means we cannot take this divergence as an indication of a divergence between Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and all witnessed versions of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* either.

1.1.2.2 Convergence and Divergence in the Content of the Faction-Descriptions

Throughout the previous section, it was assumed that when a faction appears in more than one text, the descriptions of that faction in the different texts are straightforward parallels. That assumption holds for the most part, although certain texts of the BdC often summarise the common material heavily. Nevertheless, it requires substantiation and adjustment, as divergence occurs also at the level of the individual factions-descriptions. This matters both for the task of reconstructing Balkhī's *fīraq*-material on the Shī'a and that of establishing its relationship to Ash'arī's.

As full as possible a reconstruction of Balkhī's faction-descriptions would require us to compare all versions of every description in detail, but little would be gained by that space-consuming exercise, as the result only occasionally diverges in any significant way from the faction-descriptions we can already read in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*. This is partly explained by the fact that most faction-descriptions, especially those concerning the numerous non-Ghulāt Imāmī factions, consist of only

two or three sentences. The convergence between the various extant texts is much too close and too complex for coincidence to be a plausible explanation, but there is little room for significant patterns of divergence to emerge. In these circumstances, it is almost always possible to establish a 'core' body of material that must have been present in Balkhī's *Maqālāt* but, usually, this is essentially equivalent to what we find in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* anyway.

A good illustration of this general situation is provided by the description of the Sumayṭiyya/Shumayṭiyya/Shamṭiyya. Tab. 9 gives the versions from the *Mughnī*, Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, the *Hūr*, the *Bāb*, the *Sharḥ* and the *'Uyūn* in full.

Tab. 9: The Balkhī-dependent corpus and Ash'arī on the Shumayṭiyya.

<i>Mugh.XX₂</i> :180:12–13	<i>MaqA</i> .27:7–11
[a ¹] قال وزعت الرابعة من الجعفرية أن الإمام بعده محمد بن جعفر وبهده ولده	[a ²] والصنف العشرون من الرافضة يسوقون الامامة من على ما حكينا عن تقدمهم حتى ينتهوا بها الى جعفر بن محمد ويزعمون ان الامام بعد جعفر محمد بن جعفر ثم هي في ولده من بعده
[b ¹] وهم الشمطية نسبوا الى يحيى بن شमित	[b ²] وهم السميطية نسبوا الى رئيس لهم يقال له يحيى بن ابي سميط
<i>Hūr</i> .217:12–15	<i>Bāb</i> .123:19–124:4
[a ³] وقالت الشمطية من الجعفرية إن الإمام بعد جعفر ابنه محمد بن جعفر وإن الإمامة من بعد محمد في ولده وقد كان خرج محمد بن جعفر وهو المعروف بديباجة... على المأمون ثم أسر وأتى به المأمون فعفا عنه وتوفى بجرجان وله عقب	[b ⁴] الفرقة الثالثة الشمطية نسبوا إلى يحيى بن أبي شَمَط
[b ³] ونسبت هذه الفرقة إلى رجل من كبارهم يقال له يحيى بن أبي شمط	[a ⁴] وزعموا أن الإمام بعد رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله علي بن أبي طالب ثم الحسن ثم الحسين ثم علي بن الحسين ثم محمد بن علي ثم جعفر بن محمد ثم محمد بن جعفر عليهم السلام ثم الإمامة في أولاد محمد بن جعفر باقية إلى أن يخرج المهدي فيملك الأرض ويملاها عدلاً كما ملئت جوراً وظلماً وأن المهدي يكون من أولاد محمد بن جعفر
<i>Sharḥ</i> .30r:19–20	<i>'Uyūn</i> .9r:11–12
[a ⁵] والفرقة الرابعة قالوا الإمام بعد جعفر ابنه محمّد بن جعفر ثم في ولده	[a ⁶] وأما السمطيّة زعموا أنّ الإمام بعد جعفر محمّد بن جعفر
[b ⁵] يسمون السمطيّة نسبوا إلى يحيى بن أبي سمط	

Tab. 9 (continued)

<p>Mugh.XX₂:180:12–13</p> <p>[a¹] He [i.e., Balkhī] said, “The fourth [faction] of the Ja’fariyya claimed that the Imām after him was Muḥammad b. Ja’far and his descendants after him.</p> <p>[b¹] They are the Shumayṭiyya, whose origins are attributed to Yaḥyā b. Shumayṭ.”</p>	<p>MaqA.27:7–11</p> <p>[a²] The twentieth division of the Rāfiḍa trace the line of the Imāmate from ‘Alī in accordance with what has been presented concerning those who preceded them until they reach Ja’far b. Muḥammad. They claim that the Imām after Ja’far is Muḥammad b. Ja’far, then the Imāmate is in his descendants after him.</p> <p>[b²] They are the Sumayṭiyya, whose origins are attributed to one of their leaders, who was called Yaḥyā b. Abī Sumayṭ.</p>
<p>Hūr.217:12–15</p> <p>[a³] The Shamṭiyya from amongst the Ja’fariyya said that the Imām after Ja’far was his son Muḥammad b. Ja’far, and that the Imāmate after Muḥammad was in his descendants. Muḥammad b. Ja’far, who was known for his eloquence, [rebelled?] against Ma’mūn. He was then taken captive and brought to Ma’mūn, who forgave him. He died in Khurasan and had offspring.</p> <p>[b³] The origins of this faction are attributed to a prominent man of theirs known as Yaḥyā b. Abī Shamṭ.</p>	<p>Bāb.123:19–124:4</p> <p>[b⁴] The third faction is the Shamṭiyya, whose origins are traced to Yaḥyā b. Abī Shamṭ.</p> <p>[a⁴] They claim that the Imām after God’s Messenger, may God bless him and his family, was ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, then Ḥasan, then Ḥusayn, then ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn, then Muḥammad b. ‘Alī, then Ja’far b. Muḥammad, then Muḥammad b. Ja’far, upon them be peace. The Imāmate was then in the descendants of Muḥammad b. Ja’far, and it remains amongst them until the Mahdī rises up to rule the Earth and fill it with justice, just as it is filled with tyranny and oppression. The Mahdī will be from amongst the sons of Muḥammad b. Ja’far.</p>
<p>Sharḥ.30r:19–20</p> <p>[a⁵] The fourth faction said, “The Imām after Ja’far is his son, Muḥammad b. Ja’far, then it is in his descendants”.</p> <p>[b⁵] They are called the Samṭiyya. Their origins are attributed to Yaḥyā b. Abī Samṭ.</p>	<p>‘Uyūn.9r:11–12</p> <p>[a⁶] As for the Samṭiyya, they claimed that the Imām after Ja’far was Muḥammad b. Ja’far.</p>

The common description consists of two basic elements: the *a*-passage relates that the Sumayṭiyya/Shumayṭiyya/Shamṭiyya held that the Imām after Ja'far al-Ṣādiq was Muḥammad b. Ja'far and that the Imāmate is restricted to his descendants after him; the *b*-passage tells us that the faction derives its name from an eponymous founder called Yahyā b. (Abī) Sumayṭ/Shumayṭ/Shamṭ [*Maq.*27:10–11, *Mugh.*180:13, *Ḥūr.*217:15, *Bāb.*123:19]. The *Bāb* varies more from the other texts than they do from each other: it is the only text to invert the order of the *a*- and *b*-passages. Nevertheless, in general, both the wording and structure are sufficiently consistent across the texts that we must posit a common source at some point, especially in the context of the larger-scale structural convergences of the *firaq*-lists.

Divergence occurs too but nearly all of it is unique to individual texts of the BdC. Most is just a matter of minor rewording, but some is more substantial. Only the *a*-passages in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and the *Bāb* refer to the whole line of Imāms followed by the faction, but they do so in different ways. In *a*³, the *Ḥūr* alone relates the story of Muḥammad b. Ja'far's rebellion against Ma'mūn and some biographical details. In *a*⁴, the *Bāb* alone claims the faction taught that the Mahdī would arise from the descendants of Muḥammad b. Ja'far. In principle, any of this unique material might go back to a version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* or even to a common source used by Ash'arī and Balkhī, but we have no evidence to exclude it simply being the work of the individual authors of the extant texts. Indeed, it seems more likely that the latter is the case. Ash'arī's addition of the line of Imāms is a standard feature in his *firaq*-list of the Imāmiyya; he inserts such statements at the beginning of every faction-description⁹². The *Ḥūr*'s extra detail on Muḥammad b. Ja'far's rebellion was almost certainly not in the version(s) of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* used by 'Abd al-Jabbār and Jishumī, as it intervenes in the middle of the material that they and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* have in common. The unique material in the *Bāb* is likely nothing more than Abū Tammām's own drawing out of consequences from the basic doctrine: the restriction of the Imāmate to the descendants of Muḥammad also restricts the role of Mahdī to one of them. In any case, the important point is that material unique to a single text cannot be used to reconstruct elements of any version of Balkhī's descriptions.

The only divergence of interest for current purposes is thus the minor variation over the name of the faction and its eponym. This has been discussed already above, and we will return to it again below⁹³. The key factor here is that we have a *pattern* of convergence and divergence, in this case giving us an instance of sce-

92 They compensate for the removal of the *iftirāq*-schema. See p. 120. In this case, rather than repeating every name, he simply states that the line matches that followed by the previous faction (i.e., the Mubārakiyya) as far as Ja'far al-Ṣādiq.

93 See p. 143–144, 176.

nario 3. Ignoring the *sīn/shīn* variations, Ash‘arī and ‘Abd al-Jabbār agree on the *shumayṭ* form, whilst all the other texts have the *shamṭ* form. Here, then, there is at least the possibility that the divergence is indicative of the relationship of source-dependency. The most important potential implications of this pattern are that more than one version of Balkhī’s material may be witnessed in the BdC, and that either Ash‘arī was using the same version as ‘Abd al-Jabbār or else the common source used by Ash‘arī and Balkhī must have contained the variant upon which they agree. But one such minor instance may have arisen through coincidence; several instances of such a pattern are required before we can reach meaningful conclusions.

By comparing the descriptions of the Shumayṭiyya, we can thus reconstruct the ‘core’ of Balkhī’s description with confidence because of the high level of convergence between the different witnesses. Essentially, all witnessed versions of Balkhī’s *Maqālāt* must have contained the material presented by ‘Abd al-Jabbār in the *Mughni*, which is also common to the *Ḥūr*, the *Bāb* and the *Sharḥ*. This is also the core of the material present in Ash‘arī’s *Maqālāt*, meaning we are generally in scenario 1. Notably, there is no convergence amongst the texts of the BdC at all on any element not in Ash‘arī’s *Maqālāt*, i.e., no instance of scenario 2. If we carried out the same exercise for most of the *fīraq*-material, we would reach the same conclusions, *mutatis mutandis*.

There is a further general observation that is only partially apparent from material on the Shumayṭiyya: because the texts of the BdC often have small elements unique to each of them, because they often summarise and/or slightly reword common elements in unique ways, and because of frequent textual corruption, it is often Ash‘arī’s *Maqālāt* that preserves something closer to the material that must have stood in (a version of) Balkhī’s *Maqālāt* than does any individual text of the BdC, even though we do not know the precise relationship between the two⁹⁴. Although one must always check across the BdC for confirmation, the quickest route to see what Balkhī’s faction-descriptions would have looked like is *usually* just to read Ash‘arī’s and ignore the list of Imams at the beginning, as this is always Ash‘arī’s own addition⁹⁵.

The general situation in the faction-descriptions is thus that we are in scenario 1, where it is straightforward to reconstruct Balkhī’s material. There are, however, three types of exception. First, there are three cases where there is simply too much variation across the texts and/or insufficient attestation to establish any

⁹⁴ Some examples of this are discussed p. 199 n.127, 206 n.138 (third paragraph).

⁹⁵ In practice, one can often also look at Madelung and Walker’s edition of the *Bāb*, which provides most parallels to Abū Tammām’s text from Ash‘arī’s *Maqālāt* and the *Ḥūr* in the critical apparatus to the Arabic.

version of Balkhī's material with precision. All of them concern Zaydī factions: the Nu'aymiyya, the followers of Ṣabbāḥ al-Muzanī and the Ya'qūbiyya. Only Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, the *Mughnī* and the *Rawḍa* have descriptions of the Nu'aymiyya [*Mugh.* XX₂:185:3–4; *MaqA.*69:5–9; *Rawḍa.*139v:19–21]. What appears in the *Mughnī* seems to be a summary of what appears in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*. That suggests Balkhī either already had a summarised version, like we see in the *Mughnī*, or something closer to what we see in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*. However, whilst the *Rawḍa* partially agrees with the sense of the other two texts, it does not confirm the wording of either, so we cannot know. For the followers of al-Muzanī, the material is witnessed only in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and the *Mughnī* [*Mugh.*XX₂:185:6–8; *MaqA.*69:10–11]. The content of the descriptions is essentially the same in both, but the wording differs, so, again, we do not know which (if either) is closer to Balkhī's material. For the Ya'qūbiyya, we have the witness only of Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and the *Rawḍa* [*MaqA.*69:12–14; *Rawḍa.*139v:21–22]. There is some overlap, but not much. As the *Rawḍa* is often idiosyncratic, especially on Zaydī factions, it is not unlikely that Ash'arī preserves something closer to Balkhī's material, but we cannot know this⁹⁶.

Second, there are several instances of scenario 3, such as we saw above for the faction-name *shumayṭiyya/shamṭiyya*, i.e., where at least one text of the corpus converges with Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* whilst other texts of the BdC converge on a different variant. These instances are discussed in detail below (1.1.2.2.1). Some are relatively minor, others much larger, and they occur in significant patterns. The basic implication for the reconstruction of Balkhī's material, however, is always the same: the text(s) that agree(s) with Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* must preserve a version of Balkhī's material; the variation upon which the other texts converge must go back either to a different version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* or to a post-Balkhī intermediary.

Finally, there are also instances of scenario 2, but there is only one substantial example: the description of the Ghurābiyya. This is the only faction upon which the BdC converges that is missing entirely from Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*. The core of Balkhī's material, all two sentences of it, can be reconstructed from the convergence between the *Bāb*, the *Uyūn*, the *Hūr* and the *Rawḍa* [*Bāb.*111:2–4; *Uyūn.*31r:7–8; *Hūr.*207:3–4; *Rawḍa.* 140r:11–12]. Otherwise, there is a handful of more minor examples of scenario 2. All of them involve small, isolated elements within common descriptions. To locate them, one must compare across all texts of the BdC and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* for every description in detail, but the effort is not generally worthwhile for our purposes. In the end, they allow us to reconstruct

⁹⁶ The material on Muzanī and the Ya'qūbiyya is also witnessed in Qummi's *Maqālāt* (see p. 363, 377, 490), where a common source is again ultimately responsible.

only a few words of Balkhī's material that are missing from Ash'arī's. Attention is drawn to examples throughout the below discussion⁹⁷.

The rest of this section is concerned primarily, rather, with assessing the available evidence for the relationship of source-dependency between Balkhī's and Ash'arī's *firaq*-material. In this regard, one observation above all is of importance: whilst it is not unlikely in principle that Ash'arī and Balkhī would separately have reproduced some of the same material even if they were working independently from several earlier sources (especially if these were standard works amongst the Mu'tazila), this cannot be what happened. The predominance of scenario 1 means it is effectively impossible that Ash'arī and Balkhī could independently have ended up with so many closely parallel faction-descriptions sustained over the complex, common structures discussed above if they had separately put the material together from several sources. Thus, either Ash'arī's source was some version of Balkhī's material, as is the default explanation, or else Ash'arī and Balkhī had a single, main common source.

Because exceptions to scenario 1 are so rare, there are only a few cases of divergence with even the potential to reveal more. In all actual cases of scenario 2, it is easily possible that the small amount of material concerned was present in Ash'arī's source but simply omitted by Ash'arī, regardless of whether that source was a version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* or a common source. That goes even for the description of the Ghurābiyya. Instances of scenario 2 thus do not generally merit further discussion⁹⁸. The instances of scenario 3 are more interesting. Although they chiefly allow us only to determine the relationship between the various texts of the BdC (and then not fully), the character of some of the divergences does offer clues as to the relationship between different versions of Balkhī's material, Balkhī's source(s) and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*. As advertised already, they are discussed below in 1.1.2.2.1.

Otherwise, the only evidence available to us comes from the 'special' kinds of convergence laid out above⁹⁹. These are convergence over citations from pre-Balkhī citations, which we will look at in 1.1.2.2.2; convergences over material added by Balkhī himself, which we will look at in 1.1.2.2.3; and datable elements within the convergent material, which we will look at in 1.1.2.2.4. However, the reader should be warned at the beginning. There is promising evidence available in all these categories; no serious discussion of this question can avoid examining it. However, after several pages of detailed discussion, secure results remain thin on the ground, and we will still not have good reason to reject the default explanation that Ash'arī's

⁹⁷ See especially n.138 (first half), below. There is one case with potentially greater implications: a comment on the Muslimiyya clearly added by Balkhī himself and present in several texts of the BdC but missing from Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*. But even this turns out to be inconclusive. See p. 213–214

⁹⁸ For examples, see n.138 (first half).

⁹⁹ See section 1.1.1, especially, p. 106–109.

main source was simply Balkhī. Readers who just want the conclusions are advised to skip directly to 1.1.3.

1.1.2.2.1 Instances of Scenario 3

Instances of scenario 3 occur in three distinct patterns:

- Pattern 1 has been mentioned already above, as two instances of it involve divergence over faction-names. Here, Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and the *Mughnī* converge on one variant, whilst the rest of the BdC converges on another (Shumayṭiyya/Shamṭiyya; Abū Muslimiyya/Muslimiyya). A third instance is found within the description of an anonymous, post-Abū Hāshim faction. This pattern will be discussed in 1.1.2.2.1.1.
- Pattern 2 occurs more frequently. Here, Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and the *Mughnī* converge on one variant whilst the *Hūr*, the *Bāb* and the *Bad'* converge on another. Jishumī's texts and the *Rawḍa* summarise heavily and exhibit idiosyncratic variation but what they preserve of the common material converges with Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and the *Mughnī*. This pattern occurs in the descriptions of the Jārūdiyya, the Saba'iyya, the Bayāniyya, the Ḥarbiyya, the Mughiriyya and the Maṣūriyya. It will be discussed in 1.1.2.2.1.2.
- Pattern 3 occurs in the descriptions of the Sulaymāniyya and the Butriyya. They are discussed in 1.1.2.2.1.3.

1.1.2.2.1.1 Pattern 1: Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and the *Mughnī* vs. The Rest of the BdC

Two minor cases of scenario 3 were identified already when comparing the structure of the *firaq*-lists. They involve the convergence of Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and the *Mughnī* against the rest of the BdC over two faction-names: Ash'arī and 'Abd al-Jabbār have 'Sumayṭiyya/Shumayṭiyya' where everyone else has 'Samṭiyya/Shamṭiyya'; they also have 'Abū Muslimiyya' where everyone else has just 'Muslimiyya'¹⁰⁰. These are small variations. In isolation, coincidence would be the most likely explanation of either. Two instances, however, are already more difficult to dismiss. When we turn to the content of the descriptions, a third instance of this pattern can be identified.

It occurs in the description of one of the post-Abū Hāshim factions. This anonymous faction claims that Abū Hāshim, who died childless, designated his nephew (*ibn akhīhī*) as his successor. The *Hūr*, the *Bāb*, the *Sharḥ* and the *Rawḍa* give the name of this nephew as Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya [*Hūr*.214:1–2; *Bāb*.99:15–100:4; *Sharḥ*.29v:5–6; *Rawḍa*.140v:10–11]. Ash'arī and 'Abd al-Jabbār,

¹⁰⁰ See p. 143–144.

however, make an identical mistake in the name, referring to him as ‘Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya’ [*Mugh.XX₂*:178:2–4; *MaqA*.20:8–10]. This is clearly an error, as both texts (like all the others) explicitly state that Abū Hāshim’s nephew is intended, but a name of this form could refer only to a brother. It can only be that the words ‘*ibn ‘Alī*’ have been omitted from both ‘Abd al-Jabbār and Ash‘arī’s versions¹⁰¹.

The divergence is once again small, but three instances of the same pattern are unlikely to have occurred by coincidence. Notably, all three concern names, either faction-names or personal names. Such variants arise at random in transmission through copying errors, partly because the names quickly became unfamiliar to the copyists (and, probably, also the users). Consistent convergence over copying errors, however, is more likely the result of a shared line of transmission that preserves the initially random variants. If that is the case, the most likely explanation is that Ash‘arī and ‘Abd al-Jabbār’s common source, whether a version of Balkhī’s material or a common source used by Ash‘arī and Balkhī, had these three elements in the forms upon which their texts converge¹⁰².

This has two main consequences. The first relates to the reconstruction of Balkhī’s material. In order to explain the convergence of the *Mughnī* with Ash‘arī’s *Maqālāt*, unless *all* the other texts of the BdC share a post-Balkhī intermediary (which is unlikely), ‘Abd al-Jabbār apparently relies on a version of Balkhī’s material on the Shī‘a slightly different from that used by everyone else. That is true regardless of whether Ash‘arī’s source was the same version of Balkhī’s material as that used by ‘Abd al-Jabbār or whether Ash‘arī and Balkhī shared a common source. In these three instances then, we can reconstruct both the version of Balkhī’s material used by ‘Abd al-Jabbār (because of the convergence with Ash‘arī) and at least one other version (because of the convergence everywhere else against them). This is no great gain in itself. We are talking about a few minor variants. But it does have the important implication that in order securely to identify a divergence between

101 The name of the nephew is also given as Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya at *Fir*.28:10 = *MaqQ*.38:11–12, although there Abū Hāshim bequeaths the Imāmate first to his brother, ‘Alī b. Muḥammad, who then bequeathed it to his son. The name is well attested in genealogical works, e.g., Mu‘ṣab b. ‘Abd Allah al-Zubayrī, *Nasab al-quraysh*, 77:2. Of course, Abū Hāshim did have a brother called Ḥasan, the famous Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya, to whom is ascribed the *Kitāb al-‘Irjā’* (see *EP*. “Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya” [van Ess], *TG*.I:174–179, but this doesn’t change the fact that the nephew is explicitly intended here. See also the discussion in Gimaret and Monnot 1986:447, n.65.

102 Another explanation of the pattern would be that the editor of this volume of the *Mughnī*, Maḥmūd Muḥammad Qāsim, silently adjusted the text to match Ash‘arī’s *Maqālāt* in these three instances. I have not checked the manuscript of volume *XX₂* of the *Mughnī* to exclude this possibility, but such a scenario is unlikely, especially in the case of the mistake in the name of Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya’s nephew, which would then have been clear to the editor.

all witnessed versions of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* and Ash'arī's, we need the *Mughnī* to converge with the rest of the BdC against Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*.

The second consequence is that for Ash'arī and Balkhī to have been working separately from a main common source, it would have to be 'Abd al-Jabbār who reproduced, via a version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt*, that common source's variants of these three elements. The other texts of the BdC would then have to be based on a version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* in which the names had been altered by Balkhī himself (at the earliest). But is it credible that these variants could already have appeared in Balkhī's source in the form upon which Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and the *Mughnī* agree? In the case of the faction-names, there is no way of demonstrating securely which variant is the earlier¹⁰³. It is quite unlikely, however, that Balkhī's source could already have made the mistake over the name of Abū Hāshim's nephew, as it would then be difficult to explain how the other texts of the BdC consistently get the name right. The 'b. 'Alī' could not have been restored in the absence of a source containing the correct version. Such a variant is thus more likely to have arisen first in a version of Balkhī's own material. That also makes it correspondingly more likely that Ash'arī is reliant on a version of Balkhī's own *firaq*-material here, not on Balkhī's source. This is our first positive indication that Ash'arī's source was some version of Balkhī's material. It should be stressed, however, that the evidence here remains thin. Coincidence can't be completely ruled out, but it is unlikely¹⁰⁴.

1.1.2.2.1.2 Pattern 2: the *Ḥūr*, the *Bāb* and the *Bad'* vs. Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and the Rest of the Balkhī- Dependent Corpus

Pattern 2 differs from pattern 1 only slightly: Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and the *Mughnī* still converge on one variant of a faction description whilst the *Ḥūr*, the *Bāb* and the *Bad'* converge on another, but the other texts of the corpus converge with the former pair here, rather than the latter three. Instances of this pattern occur in the descriptions of the Zaydī factions of the Jārūdiyya, the Sulaymāniyya, and the Butriyya, and the Ghulāt factions of the Saba'iyya, the Bayāniyya, the Ḥarbiyya, the Mughiriyya and the Manṣūriyya.

¹⁰³ But see the discussion on p. 312 n. 329.

¹⁰⁴ Putting a number on the probability that the convergence over this mistake arose by coincidence would not be easy, but that number cannot be large. Two factors should be considered. First, this kind of mistake in a name is relatively common. The repetition of the patronymic element 'bn' can lead to scribal haplography, i.e., the element between two 'bn's is omitted due to eye skip. Nevertheless, the number of such haplographic errors in both texts is small, so the chances of coincidental haplography remain extremely low. Second, 'Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya' is a famous name, so it is conceivable that later scribes independently hypercorrected the name, producing the error. Nevertheless, in such a context, that is surely also highly unlikely.

A possible explanation of pattern 2 is that Ḥimyarī, Abū Tammām and Maqdisī shared a post-Balkhī intermediary not used by any of the other authors. Given that we also encounter pattern 1, the relationship of source-dependency between the texts of the BdC would then have to be quite complex. It may be, for example, that Ḥimyarī, Abū Tammām and Maqdisī ultimately used the version of Balkhī's material that lies behind Jishumī's texts and the *Rawḍa* (explaining pattern 1), but that they also share a common post-Balkhī intermediary (explaining pattern 2). If there was a shared intermediary, however, we would expect to have at least some information about it. Ḥimyarī tells us what sources lie behind his material on the Shī'a [*Hūr*.224:4–5] and there is no mention of such an intermediary; it appears he cites Balkhī directly¹⁰⁵. Indeed, two of the instances of pattern 2 occur in descriptions of the Zaydiyya and, there, Ḥimyarī makes another explicit statement about his source, telling the reader that what he has presented on the Zaydiyya is what Balkhī transmitted (*wa-hādhihi riwāyat Abī l-Qāsim al-Balkhī 'an al-Zaydiyya*) [208:17, referring back to 207:9–208:16]. The use of the term *riwāya* probably indicates Ḥimyarī assumed or knew Balkhī to have been transmitting material from still earlier sources¹⁰⁶. Nevertheless, he apparently understood himself to be reproducing Balkhī's own material, not that of an intermediary. We must also ask where and when the author of such an intermediary might have lived. Abū Tammām was writing around the middle of the fourth/tenth century in Khurasan and we already know of one intermediary between him and Balkhī's *Maqālāt*: that shared by Khwārizmī and Abū l-Ma'ālī¹⁰⁷. The posited intermediary shared with Maqdisī, who was working in a similar period in Bust, and Ḥimyarī, who was writing in Yemen in the sixth/twelfth century, would have to have preceded that work, pushing us back towards or even into Balkhī's own lifetime¹⁰⁸.

It is more likely, then, that the convergences between the *Hūr*, the *Bāb* and the *Bad'* against the rest of the BdC and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* reflect some version of

¹⁰⁵ See the discussion p. 99–100.

¹⁰⁶ Further on this statement itself, see p. 207, 210, 211. On the earlier sources for Balkhī's material on the Zaydiyya see section 1.1.2.2.2, and 1.2.

¹⁰⁷ See p. 32–33.

¹⁰⁸ If, as van Ess suggests (2011:555–557), the intermediary used by Khwārizmī, Abū l-Ma'ālī and Abū Tammām is Abū Zayd al-Balkhī's (d.322/934) lost *Aqsām al-'ulūm*, the possibility of a still earlier intermediary shared by Ḥimyarī and Abū Zayd al-Balkhī is negligible; Abū l-Qāsim al-Balkhī and Abū Zayd al-Balkhī knew each other. It would also have to be assumed, of course, that this unknown intermediary text travelled to Yemen before or during Ḥimyarī's lifetime, although that is not implausible in itself. The Imām al-Mutawakkil 'alā llāh Aḥmad b. Sulaymān's (d.566/1170) drive to introduce the literature of the Caspian Bahshamī Zaydiyya to the Southern Arabian kingdom took place in Ḥimyarī's lifetime (see, e.g., Thiele 2013:6–7). Other early Mu'tazilī works, notably including Balkhī's *Maqālāt* itself, had made it to Yemen long before this.

Balkhī's *Maqālāt* itself. That does not make the situation much simpler though, as it implies that at least three versions of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* are reflected in the BdC: that used by 'Abd al-Jabbār (and possibly Ash'arī); that used by Ḥimyarī, Abū Tammām and Maqdisī; and that used by Jishumī and Ḥajūrī, which had features found in both other versions. However, the available evidence does not require that the version used by 'Abd al-Jabbār (and potentially Ash'arī), on the one hand, and that used by Jishumī and Ḥajūrī, on the other, differed much. We know only of the three minor instances of pattern 1¹⁰⁹. The much larger divide is between Abū Tammām, Maqdisī and Ḥimyarī, on the one hand, and the rest, on the other.

As long as we assume the convergences between the *Ḥūr*, the *Bāb* and the *Bad'* indeed go back to a version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt*, then, aside from the added complexity for the reconstruction of Balkhī's material, the potential implications of pattern 2 for the relationship between Ash'arī's and Balkhī's *Maqālāt*s are similar, in abstract terms, to those of pattern 1. The key factors remain the same. If Ash'arī used a version of Balkhī's material, this must have been the version used by 'Abd al-Jabbār, or something very close to it. If Ash'arī did not use a version of Balkhī's material, then both patterns imply that the main common source used independently by Ash'arī and Balkhī must have contained the variants upon which the *Mughnī* and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* (and, in pattern 2, all the texts except the *Ḥūr*, the *Bāb* and the *Bad'*) converge. Otherwise, we cannot explain how the *Mughnī* and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* continue to converge against the other texts in these instances. If, as we saw with the name of Abū Hāshim's nephew, there is good reason to think that the variants in the *Ḥūr*, the *Bāb* and the *Bad'* were present in Balkhī's source, and that the variants upon which Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and the *Mughnī* converge are secondary alterations, then Ash'arī can't have been relying on Balkhī's source but must have received the material via the version of Balkhī's material used by 'Abd al-Jabbār.

109 Notably, however, in the instances of pattern 2 under discussion here, the *Rawḍa* converges with the other texts against the *Ḥūr* and the *Bāb*, which would imply the two Yemeni texts rely on different versions of Balkhī's *Maqālāt*. That seems unlikely, but it is conceivable that Balkhī's *Maqālāt* was introduced into Yemen more than once. The extant Yemeni manuscript was copied in 408/1017 (see p.12 of Kurdī and Hansu's introduction to their edition of Balkhī's *Uyūn al-masā'il wa-l-jawābāt*), so it must have been transmitted to Yemen quite early. It may then have been 're-introduced' in a different version along with the larger corpus of Caspian Bahshami literature in the sixth/12 century. Still, only the one manuscript has been discovered so far.

In short, all instances of pattern 2 are useful for revealing the differences between the versions of Balkhī's material witnessed by the extant texts. But, to be useful for determining the relationship of source-dependency between the Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and Balkhī's material, we need to find cases analogous to that of the mistake over the name of Abū Hāshim's nephew. That proves to be difficult.

One instance of pattern 2 is found in the description of the Jārūdiyya. All the relevant versions of the description are given in full in Tab. 10. In the passage tagged *b*, Ash'arī, 'Abd al-Jabbār, Jishumī and Ḥajūrī all report that the Jārūdiyya disagreed: some claimed the Prophet designated 'Alī, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn Imāms directly, whilst others claimed the Prophet designated only 'Alī, then 'Alī designated Ḥasan, and Ḥasan designated Ḥusayn. Ḥimyarī, Abū Tammām and Maqdisī, however, don't mention this dispute anywhere; they state only that the Jārūdiyya held the first of these positions. Moreover, they all locate this element elsewhere in the description, placing it in the passage tagged *a*. This clearly indicates that 'Abd al-Jabbār, Jishumī and Ḥajūrī rely on a different version of Balkhī's material from that used ultimately by Ḥimyarī, Abū Tammām, and Maqdisī. Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* converges with the version used in the *Mughnī* etc. Thus, if Ash'arī and Balkhī separately used an earlier common source, it too must have had the longer variant, and in the arrangement we see in the *Mughnī* etc.

If it were unlikely that the longer version could have been found in Balkhī's source (as with the mistake over the name of Abū Hāshim's nephew), we would have another reason to think Ash'arī must simply have been relying, rather, on the version of Balkhī's material used by 'Abd al-Jabbār (or something very close to it). Here, however, that is not the case. Although it is not implausible that Balkhī himself added the extra material from some other source, we would expect the longer variant in the *Mughnī* etc. to be the earlier. Here, then, it is equally possible that Ash'arī was relying on Balkhī's source as on a version of Balkhī's material. Of course, if the *Mughnī* and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* really do preserve the earlier variant here, then the version of Balkhī's material used by Ḥimyarī etc. cannot always have been closer to Balkhī's source(s). In that case, if Ash'arī and 'Abd al-Jabbār's common mistake over the name of Abū Hāshim's nephew really does reveal that they were working from the same version of Balkhī's material, we would have to conclude that Balkhī reworked the material from his own source(s) slightly differently in the two versions.

Tab. 10: The Balkhī-dependent corpus and Ash'arī on the Jārūdiyya.

Mugh.XX ₂ :184:5–15	MaqA.66:13–67:16
<p>[a¹] فمنهم الجارودية فالذى اختصوا به أنه عليه والسلام نص على أمير المؤمنين بالوصف لا بالتسمية فكان هو الإمام بعده ثم الحسن ثم الحسين ثم الإمام بعدهم ليس بمنصوص عليه ولكن من خرج من هذين البطنين ولد الحسن والحسين شاهراً سيفه يدعو إلى سبيل ربّه وكان عالماً فاضلاً فهو الإمام</p>	<p>[a²] فمنهم الجارودية أصحاب ابى الجارود وانما سمّوا جارودية لأنهم قالوا بقول ابى الجارود يزعمون ان النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم نصّ على عليّ بن ابى طالب بالوصف لا بالتسمية فكان هو الإمام من بعده وان الناس ضلّوا وكفروا بتركهم الاقتداء به بعد الرسول صلى الله عليه وسلم ثم الحسن من بعد عليّ هو الإمام ثم الحسين هو الإمام من بعد الحسن</p>
<p>[b¹] ثم افترقا فرقتين وفرقه زعمت أنه عليه والسلام نص على الحسن ثم على الحسين¹¹⁰ على الترتيب</p>	<p>[b²] وافترقت الجارودية فرقتين فرقة زعمت ان عليّاً نصّ على امامة الحسن وان الحسن نصّ على امامة الحسين ثم هي شورى في ولد الحسن وولد الحسين فمن خرج منهم يدعو إلى سبيل ربّه وكان عالماً فاضلاً فهو الامام</p>
<p>وفرقه زعمت أن النبي نص على عليّ عليهما السلام ونص عليّ على الحسن والحسين نص على الحسين¹¹¹</p>	<p>وفرقه زعمت ان النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم نصّ على الحسن بعد عليّ وعلى الحسين بعد الحسن ليقوم واحد بعد واحد</p>
<p>[c¹] وافترقت الجارودية في نوع آخر ثلث فرق</p>	<p>[c²] وافترقت الجارودية في نوع آخر ثلث فرق</p>
<p>فرقة زعمت ان محمد بن عبد الله بن الحسن لم يمت وانه يخرج ويغلب</p>	<p>فرقة زعمت ان محمد بن عبد الله بن الحسن لم يمت وانه يخرج ويغلب</p>
<p>وفرقه زعمت في محمد بن القسم صاحب الطالقان مثله</p>	<p>وفرقه اخرى زعمت ان محمد بن القسم صاحب الطالقان حياً لم يمت وانه يخرج ويغلب</p>
<p>وفرقه قالت في يحيى بن عمر صاحب الكوفة ذلك</p>	<p>وفرقه قالت مثل ذلك في يحيى بن عمر صاحب الكوفة</p>
Sharḥ.21v:2–22r:1	Rawḍa.139r:10–25
<p>[a³] ومنهم الجارودية نسبوا إلى أبى الجارود زعم أن النبي صلى الله عليه نصّ على أمير المؤمنين بالوصف لا بالتسمية وأنه يحتاج في معرفته إلى النظر والاستدلال فهو الإمام ثم الحسن ثم الحسين ثم من خرج من ولد فاطمة من هذين البطنين شاهراً سيفه يدعو إلى سبيل ربّه وكان جامعاً لخصال الإمامة</p>	<p>[a⁴] فالجارودية نسبوا إلى رئيس لهم من أهل خراسان يقال له أبو الجارود قال أبو القاسم البلخي والذي بانوا به أن النبي صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم نصّ على علي بن صلوات الله عليه بالوصف لا بالتسمية فكان هو الإمام بعده ويفسّتون من خلفه قالوا وكذلك الحسن والحسين صلوات الله عليهما</p>

110 The edition has a ثم here. Comparison with the other texts shows this is likely to be a copyist's error.

111 I have emended the obviously corrupt: نص على عليّ عليهما السلام ونص على الحسن والحسين على نص على بن الحسين. The confusion is over the 'alis and the 'alās.

Tab. 10 (continued)

Sharḥ.21v:2–22r:1	Rawḍa.139r:10–25
[b ³] ثم اختلفوا	[b ⁴] واختلفوا
فقيل للنبي صلى الله عليه نصّ علي والحسن والحسين ورووا الحسن والحسين إماماً قائماً أو قاعداً	فمنهم من قال نصّ علي صلوات الله عليه ثم نصّ بعده علي الحسن ثم بعدهما علي الحسين صلوات الله عليهم
ومنهم من قال النبي صلى الله عليه نصّ علي ثم علي نصّ علي الحسن ثم الحسن ثم الحسن نصّ علي الحسين	ومنهم من يقول نصّ علي علي بالوصف ثم نصّ علي الحسن ثم نصّ علي الحسين صلوات الله عليهم
[c ³] ذكر أبو عيسى الوراق فقال اختلفت الجارودية فزعم بعضهم أنّ محمّد بن عبد الله حيّ سيخرج وفرقة زعمت مثله في محمّد بن القاسم الطالقاني	والإمام بعد هؤلاء الثلاثة من خرج من ولد الحسن والحسين شاهراً سيفه يدعو إلى سبيل ربّه وكان عالماً سخياً زاهداً شجاعاً روفاً بالرعيّة
[c ⁴] ثم غلت فرقة منهم في النفس الزكية محمّد بن عبد الله بن الحسن بن الحسن بن علي بن أبي طالب صلوات الله عليهم وسلامه فقالوا أنّه حيّ لم يمّت بجبال حاجر وهو المهدي الذي بشر به علي مثل قول المغيرة من الإمامية	[c ⁴] ثم غلت فرقة منهم في النفس الزكية محمّد بن عبد الله بن الحسن بن الحسن بن علي بن أبي طالب صلوات الله عليهم وسلامه فقالوا أنّه حيّ لم يمّت بجبال حاجر وهو المهدي الذي بشر به علي مثل قول المغيرة من الإمامية
[x ³] ويحكى عنهم القول بالرجعة. [y ³] وأئمة الزيدية ينكرون ذلك وتببراً ممن يقول ذلك ولا تعدّ القائل بذلك من جملتهم ولا يقولون بإمامة محمّد بن القاسم ويحيى بن عمر. وأصل هذه الحكاية أبو عيسى وهو ثنويّ لاشكّ فيه فلا تعتمد حكايته هذه ¹¹³ . [وفي] كتبهم لا نجد شيئاً من ذلك.	وقال فرقة من غلاتهم الإمام المنتظر محمد بن القاسم بن علي بن عمر بن علي بن الحسن بن علي ابن أبي طالب صلوات الله عليهم وقد تواترت الأخبار أنّه خرج بالطالقان من أرض خراسان وواليتها عبد الله بن طاهر في أيام المعتصم فهزمه وحمله إلى المعتصم فحبسه في قصره ولم يوقف له بعد ذلك على خبر
[z ³] وذكر شيخنا أبو القاسم قال رأيت في بغداد من يزعم أنّ يحيى بن عمر سيخرج. ونحن لا ننكر أنّ قوماً قال ذلك ولكن لا نعدّهم من الزيدية.	وقالت فرقة من غلاتهم الإمام المنتظر يحيى بن عمر بن يحيى ¹¹² بن الحسين بن زيد بن علي صلوات الله عليهم وقد تواترت الأخبار أنّه خرج بالكوفة في أيام المستعين فخرج إليه الحسين بن اسماعيل بن إبراهيم من قبل عبد الله بن طاهر فقتله وحمل رأسه إلى المستعين

112 Reading يحيى for الحسن

113 The manuscript has هذا.

Tab. 10 (continued)

Hūr.207:18–208:16**Bāb. 93:17–94:6**

[**ا⁵**] قالت الجارودية إن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم نص على علي بن أبي طالب بالسلام بالإشارة والوصف دون التسمية والتعيين وإنه أشار إليه ووصفه بالصفات التي لم توجد إلا فيه وإن الأمة ضلّت وكفرت بصرها الأمر إلى غيره وإن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم نص على الحسن والحسين عليهما السلام بمثل نصه على علي ثم الإمام بعد هؤلاء الثلاثة ليس بمنصوص عليه ولكن الإمامة شورى بين الأفاضل من ولد الحسن والحسين فمن شهر منهم سيفه ودعا إلى سبيل ربه وبأين الظالمين وكان صحيح النسب من هذين البطنين وكان عالماً زاهداً شجاعاً فهو الإمام

[**ا⁶**] الفرقة الثانية الجارودية نسبوا إلى أبي الجارود زياد بن أبي زياد. قالوا إن 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

[**ا⁷**] وافترقت الجارودية في نوع آخر ثلاث فرق

ا- فرقة زعمت أن محمد بن عبد الله النفس الزكية بن الحسن بن الحسن بن علي بن أبي طالب لم يموت ولا يموت حتى يملأ الأرض عدلاً وأنه القائم المهدي المنتظر عندهم وكان محمد بن عبد الله خرج على المنصور فقتل بالمدينة

ب- وفرقة زعمت أن محمد بن القاسم بن علي بن عمر بن علي بن الحسين بن علي ابن أبي طالب حي لم يموت ولا يموت حتى يملأ الأرض عدلاً وأنه المهدي المنتظر عندهم وكان محمد بن القاسم هذا خرج على المعتصم بالطالق فأسره المعتصم فلم يُدر بعد ذلك كيف كان خبره

ج- وفرقة زعمت أن يحيى بن عمر بن يحيى بن الحسين بن زيد بن علي بن الحسين ابن علي بن أبي طالب حي لم يموت وأنه القائم المهدي المنتظر عنده ولا يموت حتى يملأ الأرض عدلاً وكان يحيى بن عمر هذا خرج على المستعين فقتل بالكوفة

Bad'.V:133:1–4

[**ا⁷**] منهم الجارودية أصحاب سليمان بن جرير¹¹⁴ الجارود قالوا أن النبي نصّ على علي بالوصف لا بالتسمية¹¹⁵ ثم الحسن ثم الحسين فكل من خرج من هذين البطنين شاهراً سيفه عالماً بالكتاب والسنة فهو الإمام

114 sic.

115 The edition gives بالتشبيه.

Tab. 10 (continued)

Mugh.XX₂:184:5–15

[a¹] One of them [i.e., of the factions of the Zaydiyya] is the Jārūdiyya. What distinguishes them is their claim that he, upon him be peace [i.e. the Prophet], designated the Commander of the Believers [i.e., ‘Alī] by describing him, not by naming him. Therefore, he was the Imām after him, then Ḥasan, then Ḥusayn, then the Imām after them was not designated. Rather whoever rebels from amongst these two lineages, from the sons of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, who draws his sword and summons people to the way of his Lord and is both knowledgeable and virtuous, he is the Imam.

[b¹] Then they divided into two factions:

A faction claimed that he, upon him be peace [i.e. the Prophet], designated Ḥasan, then Ḥusayn successively.

A faction claimed that the Prophet designated ‘Alī, upon them both be peace, and ‘Alī designated Ḥasan and Ḥasan designated Ḥusayn.

[c¹] Then the Jārūdiyya divided over another matter into three factions:

A faction claimed that Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan did not die but will rebel and be victorious.

A faction claimed the same thing about Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim, ‘the master of Ṭāliqān’.

A faction said that about Yahyā b. ‘Umar, ‘the master of Kufa’.

MaqA.66:13–67:16

[a²] One of them [i.e., of the factions of the Zaydiyya] is the Jārūdiyya, the followers of Abū I-Jārūd. They are called the Jārūdiyya because they professed the doctrine of Abū I-Jārūd. They claim that the Prophet, upon him be peace, designated ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib by describing him, not by naming him. Therefore, he was the Imām after him and the people erred and became unbelievers by failing to follow him after the Prophet, upon him be peace. Then al-Ḥasan was the Imam after ‘Alī. Then al-Ḥusayn was Imam after al-Ḥasan.

[b²] The Jārūdiyya divided into two factions:

A faction claimed that ‘Alī designated Ḥasan’s Imāmate, then al-Ḥasan designated Ḥusayn’s Imāmate, then it became something be determined by consultation, but restricted to the sons of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn. Anyone from amongst them who rebels and summons people to the way of his Lord and is both knowledgeable and virtuous, he is the Imam.

A faction claimed that the Prophet, upon him be peace, designated Ḥasan after ‘Alī, and Ḥusayn after Ḥasan to take it up one after another.

[c²] Then the Jārūdiyya divided over another matter into three factions:

A faction claimed that Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan did not die but will rebel and be victorious.

Another faction claimed that Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim, the ‘master of Ṭāliqān’ is alive and did not die and that [15] he will rebel and be victorious.

A faction said the same thing about Yahyā b. ‘Umar, ‘the master of Kufa’.

Tab. 10 (continued)

Sharḥ.21v:2–22r:1

[a³] One of them is the Jārūdiyya. Their origins go back to Abū l-Jārūd. He claimed that the Prophet, peace be upon him, designated the Commander of the Believers by describing him, not by naming him and that recognising him [as Imām] requires the use of reason and inference. So, he was the Imām, then Ḥasan, then Ḥusayn, then whoever rebels from amongst the sons of Fāṭima from these two lineages, drawing his sword and summoning people to the way of his Lord, combining within himself the qualities of the Imāmate.

[b³] Then they disagreed:

It is said [by some of them] that the Prophet, peace be upon him, designated 'Alī, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn. They relate the tradition that Ḥasan and Ḥusayn are Imāms whether they stand up [in rebellion] or sit down [peacefully].

Others said that the Prophet, peace be upon him, designated 'Alī, then 'Alī designated Ḥasan, then Ḥasan designated Ḥusayn.

[c³] Abū 'Īsā l-Warrāq recorded the following:

The Jārūdiyya disagreed:

Some of them said that Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh is alive and will rebel.

Rawḍa.139r:10–25

[a⁴] The Jārūdiyya. Their origins go back to a leader of theirs from the people of Khurasan who was called Abū l-Jārūd. Abū l-Qāsim al-Balkhī said that he distinguished himself through the doctrine that the Prophet, upon him and his family be peace designated 'Alī, God's blessings upon him, by describing him not by naming him, so he was the Imām after him. They deemed those who opposed him to be sinners. And they said that the same applies to Ḥasan and Ḥusayn [as to 'Alī], God's blessings upon them.

[b⁴] They disagreed:

Some of them said that he designated 'Alī, God's blessings upon him, then he designated Ḥasan after him, then Ḥusayn after the two of them, God's blessings upon them.

Some of them said that he designated 'Alī by describing him, then he designated Ḥasan, then he designated Ḥusayn, God's blessings upon them. After these three, the Imām is whoever rebels from amongst the sons of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, drawing his sword, summoning people to the way of his Lord, knowledgeable, generous, ascetic, and gracious to the flock.

[c⁴] Then a faction of them transgressed concerning al-Nafs al-Zakiyya Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, blessings and peace be upon him. They said that he is alive, did not die and is at Mount Ḥājir, and that he is the foretold Mahdī, like the doctrine of the Mughīriyya from the Imāmiyya.

Tab. 10 (continued)

<i>Sharḥ.21v:2–22r:1</i>	<i>Rawḍa.139r:10–25</i>
A faction claimed something similar about Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim al-Ṭāliqānī.	A faction of their <i>ghulāt</i> said, “The awaited Imām is Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim b. ‘Alī b. ‘Umar b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, blessing upon him”. Reports concur that he rebelled at Ṭāliqān in Khurasan in the days of al-Mu‘taṣim. Its governor was ‘Abd Allāh b. Ṭāhir, who defeated him and bore him to al-Mu‘taṣim. He imprisoned him in his castle and there is no information about him after that.
A faction said something similar about Yaḥyā b. ‘Umar, the ‘master of Kufa’.	A faction of their <i>ghulāt</i> said, “The awaited Imām is Yaḥyā b. ‘Umar b. Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. Zayd b. ‘Alī, blessings upon him. Reports concur that he rebelled at Kufa in the days of al-Musta‘īn. Ḥusayn b. Ismā‘īl b. Ibrāhīm rose against him on behalf of ‘Abd Allāh b. Ṭāhir. He killed him and took his head to al-Musta‘īn.
[x ³] He also relates concerning them that they profess the <i>raj’a</i> .	
[y ³] However, the Imams of the Zaydiyya deny this, dissociate from the one who professes it, and do not count the one who professes it to be amongst their group. Nor do they profess the Imamate of Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim and Yaḥyā b. ‘Umar. The source of what is related here is Abū ‘Īsā al-Warrāq and he was undoubtedly a dualist, so this report of his should not be relied upon. In their books, we do not find any of this.	
[z ³] However, our master, Abū l-Qāsim [al-Balkhī] recorded, “I saw someone in Baghdad who claimed that Yaḥyā b. ‘Umar is alive and will rebel”. Therefore, we do not deny that a group once said this, but we do not count them among the Zaydiyya.	

Tab. 10 (continued)

Ḥūr.207:18–208:16

[a⁵] The Jārūdiyya said that the Prophet, peace be upon him and his family, designated 'Alī, upon him be peace, by indicating and describing him, not by naming him and singling him out, i.e. that he indicated and described him to have certain characteristics not found in anyone else; that the Community erred and became unbelievers by handing authority to someone else instead; that the Messenger of God, peace be upon him and his family, designated Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, upon them be peace, in the same way as he designated 'Alī. Then [, they claimed,] the Imām after these three was no longer designated, but rather the Imāmate became a matter subject to consultation amongst the most virtuous of the sons of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn. Thus, whoever of them draws his sword and calls people to the path of his Lord, fights the oppressors, is of true lineage from these two lines, and is knowledgeable, ascetic and brave, he is the Imām.

[c⁵] The Jārūdiyya divided into three factions over a different matter:

- a. A faction claimed that Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Hasan b. 'Alī b. Abi Ṭālib did not die and will not die until he fills the Earth with justice, and that he is their awaited Mahdī. Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh rose up against Manṣūr and was killed in Medina.
- b. A faction claimed that Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim b. 'Alī b. 'Umar b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Abi Ṭālib is alive, did not die and will not die until he fills the Earth with justice and that he is their awaited Mahdī. This Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim rose up against Mu'taṣim at Ṭāliqān. So, Mu'taṣim imprisoned him and no one knew what happened to him after that.

Bāb. 93:17–94:6

[a⁶] The second faction is the Jārūdiyya. They trace their origins to Abū l-Jārūd Ziyād b. Abi Ziyād. They said that the Prophet, peace be upon him and his family, designated 'Alī by describing him and naming him, so he was Imām after him, then Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, the grandsons of the Messenger of God, peace be upon him and his family, by description not by naming. Then [, they said,] the Imām after these three was no longer designated, but rather whoever from the sons of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, drawing his sword and calling people to the path of his Lord, and is knowledgeable, just and virtuous, he is the Imām.

Tab. 10 (continued)

Ḥūr.207:18–208:16**Bāb. 93:17–94:6**

c. A faction claimed that Yaḥyā b. ‘Umar b. Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. Zayd b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib is alive and did not die, and that he is the Qā’im and their awaited Maḥdī, and that he will not die until he fills the Earth with justice. This Yaḥyā b. ‘Umar rose up against Mustā’in and was killed in Kufa.

Bad’V:133:1–4

[a⁷] One of them is the Jārūdiyya, the followers of Sulaymān b. Jarī¹¹⁶ al-Jārūd. They said that the Prophet designated ‘Alī by describing him, not by naming him, then Ḥasan, then Ḥusayn, so whoever rebels from these two lineages, drawing his sword, knowledgeable of the Book and the Sunna, he is the Imām.

That latter suggestion seems to be borne out by another instance of pattern 2: that which occurs in the description of the Saba’iyya. Here, the *Ḥūr* and the *Bāb* have nearly identical versions. The first half their description states simply that Ibn Saba’/the Saba’iyya denied ‘Alī’s death and claimed he would return to the world before the Day of Resurrection to bring about justice [*Bāb*.106:11–13; *Ḥūr*.206:12–14]. This material is also present in Ash’arī’s *Maqālāt*, the *Sharḥ* and the *Rawḍa*, although the precise wording is divergent across the three [*MaqA*.15:10–12; *Sharḥ*.29r:7–8; *Rawḍa*.140r:3–4]. The second half of the material in the *Ḥūr* and the *Bāb* consists in an anecdote concerning Ibn Saba’’s reaction to the news of ‘Alī’s death [*Bāb*.106:13–107:2; *Ḥūr*.206:15–18], in which he makes the graphic claim that even if he were presented with ‘Alī’s brain in seventy bags, he would know ‘Alī was not dead and will not die until he ‘drives the Arabs with his staff’ (*yasūqu l-‘arab bi-‘aṣāhu*)¹¹⁷. It concludes with a sarcastic reaction from Ibn ‘Abbās: if they had known this, they would not have married off ‘Alī’s wives or divided up his estate. The anecdote is absent from all the other texts. Instead, they agree on a different element: that the Saba’iyya deified ‘Alī [*MaqA*.15:12–13; *Sharḥ*.29r:6; *Rawḍa*.140r:4–5]. Probably, the convergence between Ash’arī’s *Maqālāt*, the *Sharḥ* and the *Rawḍa* also reveals at least the core of the material on the Saba’iyya that would have appeared in the

¹¹⁶ sic.

¹¹⁷ The versions from the *Ḥūr* and the *Bāb* are given in full and translated in Tab.25, below. See also the discussion on p. 344–348, 419–424. The translation given above depends on the emendations suggested there.

version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* used by 'Abd al-Jabbār too, but we cannot know, as the description is not preserved in the *Mughnī*.

Here, however, when we try to pose the question whether it is plausible that the version given by Ash'arī etc. could already have been present in Balkhī's source, we encounter a problem: the divergence is too radical. It is not the case that one variant is an adaption of the other. Although they overlap, they also carry completely different material. The *Ḥūr* and the *Bāb* present the more internally consistent description. Both elements there are concerned with the doctrine that 'Alī did not die but will return to fulfil a messianic role. The anecdote they present concerning Ibn Saba's denial of 'Alī's death is one of the older elements of the Ibn Saba'-legend and was certainly present in the Mu'tazilī heresiographical tradition long before Balkhī¹¹⁸. The claim that features in the other texts, that Ibn Saba' deified 'Alī, appeared later, perhaps circulating widely for the first time only in the third century¹¹⁹. It is generally unclear how doctrines of the messianic and the divine 'Alī are supposed to fit together for the Saba'iyya, making the report in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and the other texts of the BdC somewhat less internally cohesive¹²⁰. Nevertheless, it too was certainly available in pre-Balkhī sources¹²¹. It thus appears that the two versions of Balkhī's material draw on *different earlier sources* here.

This corroborates the earlier suggestion that Balkhī did not, for example, compose the version witnessed by Ḥimyarī simply by reworking the version witnessed by 'Abd al-Jabbār or *vice versa*. Rather, he must also have gone back again to earlier sources and sometimes selected different material. That explains how 'Abd al-Jabbār and Ash'arī could preserve earlier variants even if Ash'arī was using a version of Balkhī's material rather than Balkhī's source. It does not provide any

118 It is found already in *Uṣūl al-niḥāl* (*Niḥ.*22:18–23:1), where the material is again concerned exclusively with the denial of 'Alī's death and belief in his messianic return. But the anecdote is much older than that. It goes back in at least some form to the early second century at least and possibly the mid first century. See Anthony 2012:200–207 and the discussion on p. 421–424.

119 See Anthony 2012:161–194. Potentially the earliest references to Ibn Saba's deification of 'Alī are found in four *ḥadīth* cited by Kashshī (*Rijāl*K.106:11–108:5). They are attributed ultimately to Bāqir and Ṣādiq, but they are difficult to date. Notably, all of them come via Sa'd b. 'Abd Allāh al-Qummī, i.e., the author of the *Maqālāt wa-l-firaq*. Their earlier transmitters include the famous Imāmī theologians Yūnus b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān and Hishām b. Sālīm al-Jawāliqī. They are clearly directed against those Ghulāt who deified the Imāms, which, together with the names of the transmitters, puts their origins in the late second century or later. Anthony suggests, with reason, that such *ḥadīth* would not have appeared in writing before the early third century.

120 See Anthony 2012:145–146.

121 See n.119, above. Moreover, Ibn Qutayba (d.276/889) already attributes the doctrine to Ibn Saba' (*Ma'ārif*.622:17–19; *Ta'wīl*.158:2–5). It is even possible Ibn Qutayba could have been Balkhī's source here; in the published Mu'tazila-chapter Balkhī cites Ibn Qutayba by name in reference to material that appears in the *Ma'ārif* (*MaqB*.68:14–69:1; *Ma'ārif*.483:10–16).

further positive evidence, however, that Ash'arī really was using a version of Balkhī's material, as there is nothing here to rule out that Ash'arī and Balkhī were using a common source.

The remaining instances of pattern 2 are more complex and are best discussed as a group, as the same constellation of convergence and divergence pertains to all of them. They occur in the descriptions of the four standard Imāmī-Ghulāt factions: the Bayāniyya, the Ḥarbiyya, the Mughīriyya and the Maṣūriyya. We saw above that Ash'arī gives two descriptions for each of these factions: one in his *fīraq*-list of the Rāfiḍa, which we will refer to as the *R*-material; and the other in his material *fīraq*-list of the Ghāliya, which we will here call the *G*-material. In the *Mughnī*, the descriptions of these four factions only ever parallel the *R*-material¹²². That, of course, is consistent with the general situation: all the other descriptions in Ash'arī's list of the Rāfiḍa are also parallels to those in the *Mughnī*'s *iftirāq*-schema. This indicates that Ash'arī and 'Abd al-Jabbār's common source could not have mixed the *R*- and *G*-material. Otherwise Ash'arī and 'Abd al-Jabbār would have to have independently separated them out in exactly the same way across all four descriptions. That is verging on impossible.

All the other texts of the BdC, however, do, at least sometimes, mix the *R*- and *G*-material. Wherever this happens, the four descriptions of the Bayāniyya, the Ḥarbiyya, the Mughīriyya and the Maṣūriyya thus differ from the surrounding material: whilst the rest of the descriptions in the *iftirāq*-schema in these texts parallel the descriptions in Ash'arī's *fīraq*-list of the Rāfiḍa (and thus also the *Mughnī*), we get divergence in these four descriptions, due to the presence of the *G*-material. This has several implications, but the first is that it is a good indication that the material on the Imāmī-Ghulāt factions preserved in Ash'arī's list of the Ghāliya probably *was* in the version of Balkhī's material used by 'Abd al-Jabbār, as it appears in *all* the other witnesses; it is just that 'Abd al-Jabbār has not preserved it¹²³. However, that version of Balkhī's material *must*, like Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, have kept the *R*- and *G*-material separate.

If the other texts of the BdC were to combine the *R*- and *G*-material in a consistent way in their descriptions, this would fit pattern 1 of scenario 3, as Ash'arī and 'Abd al-Jabbār would then converge on one version whilst the rest of the corpus converged on another. But this is not what we find. Rather, only the *Hūr* and the *Bāb* ever combine the material consistently with one another. The combinations in Jishumī's texts and the *Rawḍa* are idiosyncratic and the material usually highly summarised. It thus looks more likely that Jishumī and Ḥajūrī are themselves

¹²² See p. 161–162.

¹²³ See p. 162–169.

responsible for the mixing of the material in their texts. In any case, their lack of convergence with any other witnesses means their variants cannot be pushed back to Balkhī.

To go into more detail, the *Hūr* is the only text to combine the *R*- and *G*-material in all four faction-descriptions. In its description of the Bayāniyya and the Mughīriyya, the material from Ash'arī's *firaq*-list of the Ghāliya is simply placed *after* the material that appears in Ash'arī's list of the Rāfiḍa [Bayāniyya: *Hūr*.215:10–12 = *MaqA*.23:3–6 = *Mugh.XX₂*:178:14–15; *Hūr*.215:12–14 = *MaqA*.5:11–6:2. Mughīriyya: *Hūr*.222:6–9 = *MaqA*.23:12–24:1 = *Mugh.XX₂*:179:1–19; *Hūr*. 222:9–18 = *MaqA*.6:14–9:6]. In its descriptions of the Ḥarbiyya and the Manṣūriyya, however, the material from Ash'arī's *firaq*-list of the Ghāliya intervenes *in the middle* of what appears in Ash'arī's list of the Rāfiḍa [Ḥarbiyya: *Hūr*.214:16–20 + *Hūr*.215:5–9 = *MaqA*.22:4–23:2 = *Mugh.XX₂*:168:6–14; *Hūr*.214:21–215:4 = *MaqA*.5:3–10¹²⁴. Manṣūriyya: *Hūr*.222:19–223:5 + *Hūr*.223:18–224:3 = *MaqA*.24:10–25:8 = *Mugh.XX₂*:179:9–15; *Hūr*.223:6–17=*MaqA*.9:7–10:8].

The *Bāb*, in its version of the descriptions of the Bayāniyya and the Mughīriyya, presents only elements of the *G*-material, along with much that is unique [Bayāniyya: *Bāb*.67:9–68:9, cf. *MaqA*. 5:11–6:2. Mughīriyya: *Bāb*.68:13–71:12, cf. *MaqA*.6:14–9:6]. This tells us that the *G*-material was present in the common source the *Bāb* shares with the *Hūr*, but it offers no support for the theory that the 'mixed' version of the descriptions must go back to the version of Balkhī's material also used by Ḥimyarī. In its descriptions of the Ḥarbiyya and the Manṣūriyya, however, the *Bāb* too places the *G*-material in the middle of the *R*-material [Ḥarbiyya: *Bāb*.101:3–9 + *Bāb*.102:4–8 = *MaqA*.22:4–23:2 = *Mugh.XX₂*:168:6–14; *Bāb*.101:10–102:3 = *MaqA*.5:3–10¹²⁵. Manṣūriyya: *Bāb*.107:6–13 + *Bāb*.109:1–6 = *MaqA*.24:10–25:8 = *Mugh.XX₂*: 179:9–15; *Bāb*.108:1–109:1 = *MaqA*.9:7–10:8]. Moreover, it does so in a way that is too close to the *Hūr* to be mere coincidence. We shall take the description of the Manṣūriyya as an example. In Tab. 11, the descriptions from the *Mughnī* and Ash'arī's list of the Rāfiḍa are given first, followed by that from Ash'arī's list of the Ghāliya, then the mixed versions from the *Hūr* and the *Bāb*, and, finally, the highly summarised versions from the *Sharḥ* and the *Rawḍa*.

¹²⁴ The *Hūr*'s material on the Ḥarbiyya is actually a combination of the material on the Ḥarbiyya from Ash'arī's list of the Rāfiḍa with the material on the followers of 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya from Ash'arī's list of the Ghāliya. The material on the Ḥarbiyya in Ash'arī's list of the Ghāliya (*MaqA*.6:11–13) is essentially the same as the first lines of the material on the Ḥarbiyya from the list of the Rāfiḍa.

¹²⁵ As in the *Hūr* (see previous note), the *Bāb*'s material on the Ḥarbiyya is actually a combination of the material on the Ḥarbiyya from Ash'arī's list of the Rāfiḍa with the material on the followers of 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya from Ash'arī's list of the Ghāliya.

Tab. 11: The Balkhī-dependent corpus and Ash'arī on the Manṣūriyya.

Mugh.XX₂:179:9–15	MaqA.24:10–25:8
<p>[a¹] وفرقة يقال لها المنصورية زعمت ان ابا جعفر محمد بن علي اوصى الى ابي منصور</p>	<p>[a²] والصنف الخامس عشر من الرافضة يسوقون الامامة من علي حتى ينتهوا بها الى علي بن الحسين ويزعمون ان علي بن الحسين نصن على امامة ابي جعفر محمد بن علي وان ابا جعفر محمد بن علي اوصى الى ابي منصور</p>
<p>[b¹] ثم اختلفوا</p>	<p>[b²] ثم اختلفوا فرقتين</p>
<p>فرقة يقال لها الحسينية أصحاب الحسين بن أبي منصور زعمت أنه الإمام بعد أبي منصور.</p>	<p>فرقة يقال لها الحسينية يزعمون ان ابا منصور اوصى الى ابنه الحسين بن ابي منصور وهو الامام بعده</p>
<p>وفرقة يقال لها المحمدية¹²⁶ مالت إلى تثبيت أمر محمد بن عبد الله بن الحسن بن الحسن وإلى القول بإمامته وأن أبا جعفر إنما أوصى إلى أبي منصور دون ولده كما أوصى موسى إلى يوشع دون ولده ثم ان الامر بعد ابي منصور رجع إلى ولد أمير المؤمنين كما رجع بعد يوشع إلى ولد هارون قصار الإمام عندهم محمد بن عبد الله</p>	<p>وفرقة اخرى يقال لها المحمدية مالت إلى تثبيت امر محمد بن عبد الله بن الحسن وإلى القول بإمامته وقالوا انما اوصى ابو جعفر الى ابي منصور دون بني هاشم كما اوصى موسى صلى الله عليه وسلم إلى يوشع ابن نون دون ولده ودون ولد هرون ثم ان الامر بعد ابي منصور راجع إلى ولد علي كما رجع الامر بعد يوشع بن نون إلى ولد هرون قالوا وانما اوصى موسى عليه السلم إلى يوشع بن نون دون ولده ودون ولد هرون لئلا يكون بين البطنين اختلاف فيكون يوشع هو الذي يدل على صاحب الامر فكذلك ابو جعفر اوصى إلى بي منصور وزعموا ان ابا منصور قال انما انا مستودع وليس لي ان اضعها في غيري ولكن القائم هو محمد بن عبد الله</p>

MaqA.9:7–10:8

<p>[x¹] والفرقة الخامسة منهم المنصورية اصحاب ابي منصور يزعمون ان الامام بعد ابي جعفر محمد بن علي بن الحسين بن علي ابو منصور وان ابا منصور قال ال محمد هم السماء والشيعه هم الارض وانه هو الكنف الساقط من بني هاشم وابو منصور هذا رجل من بني عجل وزعم ابو منصور انه غر ج به إلى السماء فمسح معبوده رأسه بيده ثم قال له اي بُنَى اذهب فبلغَ علي ثم نزل به إلى الأرض وبمين اصحابه اذا حلفوا ان يقولوا ألا والكلمة وزعم ان عيسى اول من خلق الله من خلقه ثم علي وان رسل الله سبحانه لا تتقطع ابداً وكفر بالجنة والنار وزعم ان الجنة رجلٌ وان النار رجلٌ واستحل النساء والمحارم واحل ذلك لاصحابه وزعم ان الميتة الدم ولحم الخنزير والخمر والميسر وغير ذلك من المحارم حلالٌ وقال لم يحرم الله ذلك علينا ولا حرم شيئاً تقوى به انفسنا وانما هذه الاشياء اسماء رجال حرم الله سبحانه ولايتهم وتأول في ذلك قوله تعالى ليس على الذين آمنوا وعمالوا الصالحات جناح فيما طعموا واسقط الفرائض وقال هي اسماء رجال اوجب الله ولايتهم واستحل خلق المنافقين واخذ اموالهم.</p>	<p>[x²] فأخذ يوسف بن عمر الثقفي والى العراق في ايام بني أمية فقتله.</p>
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Tab. 11 (continued)

Hūr.222:19–224:3

[a³] وقالت المنصورية إن الإمام بعد محمد بن علي الباقر أبو منصور العجلي وإن محمد بن علي إنما أوصى إلى أبي منصور دون بني هاشم كما أوصى موسى إلى يوشع بن نون ولده ودون ولد هارون ثم إن الإمام بعد أبي منصور يرجع إلى ولد علي. وقال أبو منصور إنما أنا مستودع وليس لي أن أضعها في غيري إلى أن يظهر المهدي المنتظر هو محمد بن عبد الله النفس الزكية

[x³] قال أبو منصور إن آل محمد هم السماء وشيعتهم هم الأرض وإنه هو الكسف الساقط من بني هاشم وقال في «وإن يَزُوا كَيْسَفًا مِنَ السَّمَاءِ سَاقِطًا» وقال إنه عرج به إلى السماء فمسح معبوده رأسه بيده ثم قال أي بني اذهب فبلغ عنى ثم نزل به إلى لأرض. ويمين أصحابه إذا حلفوا أن يقولوا لا والكلمة وزعم أن عيسى أول ما خلقه الله من خلقه ثم علي وأن رسل الله لا تنقطع أبدًا وكفر بالجنة والنار وزعم أن الجنة رجل والنار رجل. واستحل الزنا وأحل ذلك لأصحابه وزعم أن الميتة الدم والخمر والميسر وغير ذلك من المحارم حلال. وقال إن ذلك أسماء رجال حرم الله ولايتهم وأسقطوا الفرائض وقال هي أيضًا الصلاة والزكاة والحج والصيام وقال هي أسماء رجال أوجب الله ولايتهم. واستحل خلق المخالفين واخذ أموالهم

[y³] فأمر به يوسف بن عمر فقتل وصلب.

[b³] واقترقت المنصورية بعد أبي منصور ففترقت حسينية ومحمدية. فقالت الحسينية إن الإمام بعد أبي منصور ولده الحسين بن أبي منصور وجعلوا له الخمس مما وقع في أيديهم من الخنق. وقالت الحمديّة إن الإمام بعد أبي منصور محمد بن عبد الله النفس الزكية لأن أبا منصور قال إنما أنا مستودع وليس لي أن أضعها في غيري ولكنّه محمد ابن عبد الله.

Bāb.107:6–109:6

[a⁴] والفرقة الثالثة المنصورية نسبوا إلى «أبي» منصور العجلي. قالوا إن الإمام بعد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله علي بن أبي طالب ثم الحسن ثم الحسين ثم علي بن الحسين ثم محمد بن علي وإن محمد بن علي أوصى إلى أبي منصور دون بني هاشم كما أوصى «موسى» إلى يوشع بن نون «حون ولده و«حون ولد هارون وإن الأمر بعد أبي منصور راجع إلى ولد 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 إلى أبي منصور لينال على صاحب الأمر.

[x⁴] وقالوا إن «أبا» منصور قال إن آل محمد هم السماء والشعبة هم الأرض وإنه «هو» الكسف الساقط من آل محمد قالوا وزعم أبو منصور أنه عرج به إلى السماء فمسح معبوده رأسه بيده ثم قال يا بني اذهب فبلغ عنى ثم نزل به إلى الأرض. ويمين أصحابه إذا حلفوا قالوا والكلمة. وزعموا أن رسل الله لا تنقطع أبدًا وكفروا بالجنة والنار وزعموا أن الجنة رجل والنار رجل. واستحلوا النساء وزعموا أن الميتة والدم والخمر والميسر وغير ذلك من المحارم حلال وإنما هذه أسماء رجال حرم الله ولايتهم وأسقطوا الفرائض وقال هي أيضًا أسماء رجال أوجب الله ولايتهم. واستحلوا خلق المخالفين وأمروا به.

[y⁴] ثم إن يوسف بن عمر أمير العراق أخذ أبا منصور هذا وصلبه.

[b⁴] فافترق أصحابه بعده على صنفين، صنف تولوا الحسين بن أبي منصور وجعلوا له الخمس مما يرتفع من الخنق وأدوا إليه زكاتهم ثم قال بعد موت الحسين إن الإمامة رجعت إلى أولاد الحسن والحسين. وزعم الصنف الآخر أن الإمام بعد أبي منصور محمد بن عبد الله بن الحسن بن الحسين بن علي بن أبي طالب عليه السلام

Sharḥ.29v:21–30r:7

[b⁵] قالوا وإنما أوصى أبو جعفر إلى [أبي] منصور دون بني هاشم كما أوصى موسى عليه السلام إلى يوشع بن نون دون ولده وولد هارون ثم رجع الأمر بعد يوشع إلى ولد هارون كذلك رجع إلى ولد علي بن أبو طالب وإنما أوصى موسى إلى يوشع دون ولده وولد هارون لئلا يكون بين البطنين اختلاف وليكون يوشع هو الذي يدل على صاحب الأمر وكذلك أوصى أبو جعفر إلى أبي منصور وزعموا أن أبا منصور قال إنما أنا مستودع وليس لي أن أضعها في غيري ولكن القائم هو محمد بن عبد الله بن الحسن.

Rawḍa.141r:12–13

[x⁶] ومنهم المنصورية نسبوا إلى [أبي] منصور الكسف لأنه قال لأصحابه في نزل وإن يروا كسفًا من السماء ساقطًا

Tab. 11 (continued)

Mugh.XX₂:179:9–15

[*a*¹] A faction called the Maṣūriyya claimed that Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. ʿAlī made Abū Maṣūr his heir.

[*b*¹] Then they disagreed:

A faction called the Ḥusayniyya, the followers of Ḥusayn b. Abī Maṣūr, claimed that he was the Imām after Abū Maṣūr.

A faction called the Muḥammadiyya favoured establishing the rule of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan and professing his Imāmate. [They said] that Abū Jaʿfar only made Abū Maṣūr his heir to the exclusion of his own sons, just as Moses, upon him be peace, had made Joshua his heir to the exclusion of his own sons; then that after Abū Maṣūr, it returned to the sons of the Commander of the Believers, just as it had returned to the sons of Aaron after Joshua. So, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh became the Imām according to them.

MaqA.24:10–25:8

[*a*²] The fifteenth division of the Rāfiḍa trace the line of the Imāmate from ʿAlī until they reach ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn. They claim that ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn made stipulated the Imāmate of Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, and that Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. ʿAlī stipulated the Imāmate of Abū Maṣūr.

[*b*²] Then they disagreed and became two factions:

A faction called the Ḥusayniyya claim that Abū Maṣūr made his son Ḥusayn b. Abī Maṣūr his heir and he is the Imām after him.

Another faction, called the Muḥammadiyya, favoured establishing the rule of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan and professing his Imāmate. They said that Abū Jaʿfar only made Abū Maṣūr his heir to the exclusion of Banū Hāshim, just as Moses, upon him be peace, made Joshua his heir to the exclusion of his own sons and to the exclusion of the sons of Aaron; then that after Abū Maṣūr, authority returned to the sons of ʿAlī, just as it had returned to the sons of Aaron after Joshua. They said that Moses, upon him be peace, only made Joshua his heir to the exclusion of his own sons and the sons of Aaron in order that there be no disagreement between the two lineages, for it would be Joshua who would indicate the bearer of authority. Likewise, Abū Jaʿfar made Abū Maṣūr his heir. They claimed that Abū Maṣūr had said, “I am only a custodian. It is not for me to give it to another. Rather the Qāʾim is Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh”.

Tab. 11 (continued)

MaqA.9:7-10:8

[x²] The fifth faction of them is the Maṣṣūriyya, the followers of Abū Maṣṣūr. They claim that the Imām after Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī is Abū Maṣṣūr, and that Abū Maṣṣūr said that the family of Muḥammad are the Heavens, the Shī'a are the Earth, and that he is 'the piece that fell' (*al-kisf al-sāqit*) from Banū Hāshim. But this Abū Maṣṣūr was a man from Banū 'Ījl. Abū Maṣṣūr claimed that he was taken up to the Heavens and that the object of his worship passed his hand over his head (*fa-masaḥa ma'būduhu ra'sahu bi-yadihi*) and said to him, "O my son, go forth and tell of me!". Then he was sent back down to Earth. The oath of his followers, when they swore, was to say, "By the Word!". He claimed that Jesus was the first thing created by God in his creation, then 'Alī, and that God's Messengers would never cease. He refused to believe in Paradise or the Inferno. He claimed that Paradise was a man and that the Inferno was a man. He considered all women and all the forbidden things to be licit and he made them licit for his followers. He claimed that carrion, blood, pork, wine, gambling, and other forbidden things were licit. He said, "God did not forbid those things to us. He did not forbid anything by which our souls are strengthened. These things are rather the names of men, association with whom God has forbidden". He interpreted this from His words, "There is no sin upon those who believe and do righteous deeds as a result of what they partake of" [Q5:93]. He revoked the religious duties and said that they are the names of men, association with whom God has made obligatory. He deemed licit the strangling of the hypocrites and the seizing of their wealth.

[y²] Yūsuf b. 'Umar al-Thaqafi, the governor of Iraq in the days of the Umayyads, arrested him and killed him.

Ḥūr.222:19-224:3

[a³] The Maṣṣūriyya said that the Imām after Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Bāqir was Abū Maṣṣūr al-'Ījlī, and that Muḥammad b. 'Alī, however, only made Abū Maṣṣūr his heir to the exclusion of Banū Hāshim as Moses made Joshua his heir to the exclusion of his own sons and the sons of Aaron; then that after Abū Maṣṣūr the Imām [*sic.*] returns to the sons of 'Alī. Abū Maṣṣūr said, "I am only a custodian. It is not for me to give it to another until the awaited Mahdī appears, and he is Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Nafs al-Zakiyya".

Bāb.107:6-109:6

[a⁴] The third faction is the Maṣṣūriyya, whose origins are attributed to [Abū] Maṣṣūr al-'Ījlī. They said that the Imām after the Messenger of God, peace be upon him and his family, was 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib then Ḥasan, then Ḥusayn, then 'Alī b. Ḥusayn, then Muḥammad b. 'Alī; and that Muḥammad b. 'Alī made Abū Maṣṣūr his heir to the exclusion of Banū Hāshim, just as <Moses> made Joshua his heir <to the exclusion of his own sons> and to the exclusion of the sons of Aaron; and that after Abū Maṣṣūr authority

Tab. 11 (continued)

Ḥūr.222:19–224:3

[x³] Abū Maṣṣūr said that the family of Muḥammad are the Heavens, the Shī'a are the Earth, and that he was 'the piece that fell' (*al-kisf al-sāqit*) from Banū Hāshim. He said the verse 'If they saw a piece of the heavens falling. . . ' [Q52:44] was about him. He said that he was taken up to the heavens and the object of his worship passed his hand over his head. Then he said to Abū Maṣṣūr, "O my son, go forth and tell of me!". Then he was sent back down to Earth. The oath of his followers, when they swore, was to say, 'truly by the Word!'. He claimed that Jesus was the first thing created by God in his Creation, then 'Alī, and that God's Messengers will never cease. He refused to believe in Paradise or the Inferno. He claimed that Paradise was a man and that the Inferno was a man. He considered fornication licit and made it licit for his followers. He claimed that carrion, blood, wine, gambling and other forbidden things were licit. He said that these things are the names of men, association with whom God has forbidden. He revoked all of the religious duties, such as prayer, almsgiving, pilgrimage and fasting. He said, "these are names of men, association with whom God has made obligatory". He considered it licit to strangle opponents and seize their wealth.

[y³] Yūsuf b. 'Umar commanded him [*sic.*], so he was killed and crucified.

[b³] Then the Maṣṣūriyya divided into two factions after the death of Abū Maṣṣūr: the Ḥusayniyya and the Muḥammadiyya.

Bāb.107:6–109:6

returns to the sons of 'Alī b Abī Ṭālib, upon him be peace, just as it returned to the sons of Aaron after the sons of Joshua. They said that <Moses> made Joshua his heir in order that he would be the one to indicate who would rule, and that Muḥammad b. 'Alī likewise made Abū Maṣṣūr his heir in order that he would be the one to indicate the bearer of authority.

[x⁴] They said that <Abū> Maṣṣūr said that the family of Muḥammad are the Heavens, the Shī'a are the Earth, and that he was 'the piece that fell' (*al-kisf al-sāqit*) from the family of Muḥammad. They said he claimed that he was taken up to the Heavens and the object of his worship passed his hand over his head. Then he said, "O my son, go forth and tell of me!". Then he was transported back down to Earth. The oath of his followers, when they swore, was to say, 'by the Word!'. They claimed that God's messengers will never cease. They refused to believe in Paradise or in Hellfire and they claimed that Paradise was a man and that Hellfire was a man. They considered all women licit. They claimed that carrion, blood, wine, gambling and other forbidden things were licit and that these names are the names of men, association with whom God forbidden. They revoked all of the religious duties and said, "these too are names of men, association with whom God made obligatory". They considered it licit to strangle opponents and commanded it to be done.

[y⁴] Then, Yūsuf b. 'Umar, the governor of Iraq, arrested this Abū Maṣṣūr and crucified him.

[b⁴] Following this, his followers divided into two divisions:

Tab. 11 (continued)

***Hūr*.222:19–224:3**

The Ḥusayniyya said that the Imām after Abū Maṣṣūr was his son Ḥusayn b. Abī Maṣṣūr, and they gave him the *khums* [i.e., the one-fifth share due to the Imām] from what had fallen into their hands through their strangling.

The Muḥammadiyya said that the Imām after Abū Maṣṣūr was Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Nafs al-Zakiyya, because Abū Maṣṣūr had said, "I am only a custodian. It is not for me to give it to another, rather he is Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh".

***Bāb*.107:6–109:6**

One division took Ḥusayn b. Abī Maṣṣūr as their leader and gave him the *khums* of what had been taken through their strangling and sent their *zakāt* to him. After the death of Ḥusayn, they said that the Imāmate returned to the sons of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn.

The other division claimed that the Imām after Abū Maṣṣūr was Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, upon him be peace.

***Sharḥ*.29v:21–30r:7**

[b⁵] They said that Abū Ja'far, however, only made [Abū] Maṣṣūr his heir to the exclusion of Banū Hāshim as Moses, upon him be peace, made Joshua his heir to the exclusion of his own sons and the sons of Aaron; then, after Joshua, authority returned to the sons of Aaron. Likewise, it returned to the sons of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. For Moses only made Joshua his heir to the exclusion of his sons and the sons of Aaron in order that there be no disagreement between the two lineages, and in order that Joshua would be the one to indicate the bearer of authority. Likewise, Abū Ja'far made Abū Maṣṣūr his heir. They claimed that Abū Maṣṣūr had said, "I am only a custodian. It is not for me to give it to another. Rather the Qā'im is Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan".

***Rawḍa*.141r:12–13**

[x⁶] One of them is Maṣṣūriyya, whose origins are traced back to [Abū] Maṣṣūr 'the piece', because he said to his followers, "It was about me that 'If they see a piece of the heavens falling. . .' [Q52:44] was revealed".

In the *Mughnī* and Ash'arī's *firaq*-list of the Rāfiḍa (i.e., the *R*-material), the description of the Maṣṣūriyya consists of two sections. The *a*-passage reports the Maṣṣūriyya's claim that Muḥammad al-Bāqir bequeathed the Imāmate to Abū Maṣṣūr. The *b*-passage reports the division of the Maṣṣūriyya into the Ḥusayniyya and the Muḥammadiyya after Abū Maṣṣūr's death. The *Hūr* and the *Bāb* also have versions of *a* and *b*, but, between these two sections, both texts place a body of additional material that closely parallels the description of the Maṣṣūriyya in Ash'arī's *firaq*-

list of the Ghāliya (i.e., the *G*-material). This too consists of two parts: an *x*-passage and a *y*-passage. The *x*-passage reports various claims Abū Manṣūr is supposed to have made about himself, as well as various doctrines he held. The *y*-passage tells of his death at the hands of Yūsuf b. 'Umar al-Thaqafī.

However, the presence of the *x*- and *y*-passages between the *a*- and *b*-passages is not the only thing upon which the *Hūr* and the *Bāb* agree against Ash'arī's *fīraq*-list of the Rāfiḍa and the *Mughnī*. In the latter two texts, the material concerning the analogy between the situation of Moses and Aaron and that of Muḥammad al-Bāqir and Abū Manṣūr appears in *b*, as part of the doctrine of the Muḥammadiyya. In both the *Hūr* and the *Bāb*, it appears rather in *a*, where it seems to be the doctrine of the Manṣūriyya as a whole.

This pattern of convergence and divergence is also borne out at the level of wording. Each text occasionally omits and rephrases individual elements, but there are two instances in which the *Hūr* and the *Bāb* converge against the *Mughnī* and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*. Both are found in the *b*-passages. First, in *b*¹ and *b*², the *Mughnī* and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* employ the distinctive formulation 'they favoured establishing the rule of (*mālat ilā tathbit amr*) Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh', whereas in *b*³ and *b*⁴, the *Hūr* and the *Bāb* just have 'they said/claimed (*qālat/za'mat*) that the Imām after Abū Manṣūr was Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allah'. Second, in *b*³ and *b*⁴, the *Hūr* and the *Bāb* contain the statement that the Ḥusayniyya gave a fifth of what they had taken from those they had strangled (i.e., their *khums*) to Ḥusayn b. Abī Manṣūr. This is absent from the *Maqālāt* and the *Mughnī*¹²⁷.

So much for the two main versions of the material, but what about the other texts of the BdC? Jishumī's description of the Manṣūriyya in the *Sharḥ*, *b*⁵, is closer in terms of wording to Ash'arī's *b*² than any part of the description in any other text; it is nearly a verbatim parallel. Jishumī even has the phrase 'in order that there be no disagreement between the lineages (*bayn al-baṭanayn*)', which is otherwise present only in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*. Notably, although Jishumī has only part of the description, he places the analogy concerning Moses, Aaron and Joshua, as well as Abū Manṣūr's statement that he was merely a custodian (of the Imāmate) in

127 There are also elements that Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* has in common with either the *Bāb* or the *Hūr* but that are absent from the other. For example, in *b*² and *a*⁴, it is explained that Moses made Joshua his heir in order that Joshua would be the one 'to indicate the next bearer of authority', and that Muḥammad al-Bāqir put Abū Manṣūr in the same situation with regard to the sons of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn. The element is missing from *a*³ (and *b*¹). In *x*² and *x*³, Ash'arī and Ḥimyarī record that Abū Manṣūr claimed that Jesus was the first thing God created, followed by 'Alī. The element does not appear in *x*⁴. But this just shows that the common source behind the *Hūr* and the *Bāb* must have contained more of the material that appears in Ash'arī's version than either of them preserves alone.

the same place relative to the other material as do Ash'arī and 'Abd al-Jabbār. This strongly suggests Jishumī's source would have had the version of the description of the Manṣūriyya that appears in the *Mughnī* and in Ash'arī's list of the Rāfiḍa. The *Rawḍa*, however, preserves nothing except a small fragment of *x*. This shows that Ḥajūrī was working from a source in which the material from Ash'arī's list of the Ghāliya was present, but it tells us nothing about whether that source mixed *x* and *y* with *a* and *b*, let alone whether it did so in the same way as the *Hūr* and the *Bāb*. In short, there is no evidence that the version(s) of Balkhī's material used by Jishumī and Ḥajūrī combined the two bodies of material in the same way as the version used by Ḥimyarī and Abū Tammām.

Ḥimyarī and Abū Tammām cannot independently have amalgamated the two bodies of material (*a* and *b*; *x* and *y*), reworded, and reorganized the distribution of material between *a* and *b* so consistently with one another. Their 'combined' variant must have occurred already in the version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* upon which they rely. Likewise, Ash'arī and 'Abd al-Jabbār's 'separate' variant of the description cannot have come about through independent reworking of a source that looked more like Ḥimyarī and Abū Tammām's variant. That reveals something significant about the differences between Balkhī's versions of the material. But in order for this to reveal anything about the relationship of source-dependency between Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and Balkhī's material, we would need to establish that 'separate' variant is secondary and thus cannot go back to Balkhī's source, showing Ash'arī must have been dependent on a version of Balkhī's material.

Upon closer examination, however, the opposite seems to be the case: there are several good reasons to think that the 'separate' version came first. To begin with, there is the clear thematic distinction between the two bodies of material. What appears in *a* and *b* (i.e., in the *firaq*-list of the Rāfiḍa in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*) is concerned exclusively with the succession to the Imāmate, i.e., with the subject matter proper to the *iftirāq*-schema¹²⁸. What appears in *x* and *y* (i.e., in the *firaq*-list of the Ghāliya in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*) concerns a far wider range of Abū Manṣūr's doctrines, notably those that would have classed him as a *ghālī*, as well as a description of the mode of his death. The same division applies to the material on the Bayāniyya, the Ḥarbiyya and the Mughiriyya. Ḥimyarī and Abū Tammām's 'combined' versions are thus exceptional in the context of the *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya; it is only in these four cases that we get any material on wider doctrines at all. Every other description in the *iftirāq*-schema is concerned exclusively with the choice of Imām or Mahdī made by the faction in question following the death of the previous Imām. That strongly suggests that, in the combined versions, something extraneous to the

128 See p. 478.

‘original’ *iftirāq*-schema has been added. We will see more substantial evidence to back up this hypothesis later, when we look at the material in Nawbakhtī’s *Firaq* and Qummī’s *Maqālāt*, as well as *Uṣūl al-niḥal*¹²⁹.

A second piece of evidence supporting the contention that the ‘separate’ version is the earlier relates to the distribution of the material between *a* and *b*, which makes much more sense in Ash‘arī’s *Maqālāt* and the *Mughnī* than it does in the *Hūr* and the *Bāb*. The claims that (1.) Abū Manṣūr drew an analogy between the situation of Moses, Aaron, and Joshua, on the one hand, with that of Muḥammad al-Bāqir, himself, and Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh, on the other, and that (2.) he stated he was only a custodian of the Imāmate for Muhammad b. ‘Abd Allāh are evidence presented by the Muḥammadiyya for their position. They cannot have been acknowledged by the Ḥusayniyya, as they contradict their claim that Abū Manṣūr was to be succeeded by his son, Ḥusayn. That is explicitly the case in Ash‘arī and ‘Abd al-Jabbār’s version, where they appear in *b*. In the *Hūr* and the *Bāb*, however, they appear at the end of *a*, as if they were elements of the original position of the Manṣūriyya as a whole. That makes a nonsense of the presentation of the subsequent split, suggesting this is a secondary reorganization of the material¹³⁰. It is thus quite plausible that Ash‘arī and ‘Abd al-Jabbār preserve a version that goes back to the source used by Balkhī for this description, leaving open the possibility that Ash‘arī was dependent directly on that source.

However, there are indications that the variant in the *Hūr* and the *Bāb* also preserves features earlier than Balkhī, but which are absent from the *Mughnī* and Ash‘arī’s *Maqālāt*. In *b*³ and *b*⁴, the *Hūr* and the *Bāb* both include slight variants of the phrase ‘and they gave him their *khums* from what had fallen into their hands through their strangling’, which is absent from the other texts. The ‘their stran-

¹²⁹ See pp. IV.1.3, IV.1.4, and IV.1.6.

¹³⁰ If so, it was probably motivated by the desire, once *x* and *y* had been added, to group all of the elements relating to Abū Manṣūr’s doctrines together before his death is mentioned at the end of *y*. It is also worth noting that in *b*³ and *b*⁴, the *Hūr* and the *Bāb* both include slight variants of the phrase ‘and they gave him their *khums* from what had fallen into their hands through their strangling’. The ‘their strangling’ seems to refer back to the general ‘strangulation of opponents’ deemed licit by Abū Manṣūr in *x*. This element thus makes more sense when *x* is present, i.e., in the combined version. It seems unlikely it could have stood already in a ‘separate’ version of *b*, where the connection of the Manṣūriyya with the practice of strangling would not have been mentioned already. Thus, if the ‘separate’ version was the one present in Balkhī and Ash‘arī’s common source, Balkhī must have added this element to *b* only when he combined the two bodies of material in the other version of his *Maqālāt*. However, the paying of the *khums* from the victims of strangulation seems an overly specific synecdoche for the Ḥusayniyya’s recognising Ḥusayn b. Abī Manṣūr as Imām. One would assume it was taken from his source, and thus that Balkhī went back to his earlier sources directly when composing the different versions.

gling' must refer back to the general 'strangulation of opponents' deemed licit by Abū Maṣṣūr in *x*. This element thus makes sense only when *x* is present, i.e., in the combined version. Thus, if we posit that the 'separate' version is the earlier, Balkhī must have added this element to *b* only when he combined the two bodies of material in the version ultimately used by Ḥimyarī and Abū Tammām. However, in this context, the paying of the khums from the property of the victims of strangulation is merely a very specific synecdoche for the Ḥusayniyya's recognition of Ḥusayn b. Abī Maṣṣūr as their Imām (as opposed to Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan). It is thus unlikely Balkhī simply invented it. Once again, then, that suggests Balkhī went back to his earlier sources directly when composing the different versions of his *firaq*-material on the Shī'a.

All in all, the instances of scenario 2 add no further positive evidence that Ash'arī was using a version of Balkhī's material, rather than an earlier source in common with Balkhī. It is still the case that the agreement between the *Mughnī* and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* over the mistake in the name of Abū Hashim's nephew is the only such positive evidence we have encountered. That is the only case where Ash'arī and 'Abd al-Jabbār collectively preserve what must be a later variant of a common passage. The instances of pattern 2 do reveal, however, that Balkhī's two main versions were, in some places, quite different from one another. Those difference cannot simply be explained by positing that one version was reworked from the other. Rather, Balkhī must have gone back to his earlier sources each time, making different selection of material from them and reworking it in different ways. That also means that even if Ash'arī was working from the same version of Balkhī's material as 'Abd al-Jabbār, it would still be possible for them to preserve earlier, fuller variants of common passages than Ḥimyarī etc. in some cases, and *vice versa*.

1.1.2.2.1.3 Pattern 3: The *Mughnī*, the *Sharḥ* and the *Rawḍa* vs. the *Ḥūr*, the *Bāb* and the *Bad'*; Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* Converges with Both

There are only two instances of pattern 3 and they occur next to each other. They are found in the descriptions of the Zaydī factions of the Sulaymāniyya/Jarīriyya and the Butriyya. For the Sulaymāniyya/Jarīriyya, we see that the *Ḥūr*, the *Bāb* and the *Bad'* converge on one description, but the *Mughnī* has something entirely different. There is essentially no overlap between the two versions. The information they contain is also contradictory, which suggests that they ultimately rely on different sources. This constitutes a divergence *within* the BdC more radical than we see anywhere else. But, by now, we have a simple explanation for this: 'Abd al-Jabbār relied on a version of Balkhī's material different from that used ultimately by Ḥimyarī, Abū Tammām and Maqdisī; Balkhī sometimes used different earlier sources in his two versions.

Here, however, we encounter a problem, because Ash'arī has material from both of the versions that appear within the Bdc. More specifically, in the description of the Sulaymāniyya, Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* parallels the entire description present in the *Mughnī*, but he also inserts about half of the material present in the *Hūr*, the *Bāb* and the *Bad'* at a point in the middle. This, however, he clearly marks as a citation from Zurqān¹³¹. A similar constellation is found in the material on the Butriyya, except that Ash'arī does not mark the part of the material he has in common with the *Hūr*, the *Bāb* and the *Bad'* as a Zurqān-citation there¹³². In both cases, Jishumī's texts and the *Rawḍa* are highly summarized but witness only elements of the material that appear in the *Mughnī* and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*; they have none of the material that appears only in the *Hūr*, the *Bāb* and the *Bad'*.

How can we explain this? Regardless of whether we posit Ash'arī was relying on the version of Balkhī's material used by 'Abd al-Jabbār or on the source used by Balkhī for that version, we need some way to account for the fact that Ash'arī mixes material that the two versions of Balkhī's material witnessed in the Bdc do not mix. It is impossible to make full sense of the situation in advance of examining the evidence from Nawbakhtī's *Fīraq*, which is done below in section 1.2. All of the descriptions are given in full there and discussed in detail. Nevertheless, three factors would already seem to be salient. First, this constellation of convergence and divergence occurs only here. Second, it is still the case that Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* essentially converges with the *Mughnī*, as it does in patterns 1 and 2; Ash'arī inserts only *part* of the material present in the *Hūr*, the *Bāb* and the *Bad'* at specific points amidst the descriptions he has in common with 'Abd al-Jabbār. Third, at this one location where this constellation occurs, the first of these insertions is clearly marked as a Zurqān-citation.

By far the most straightforward interpretation of this is to posit that Ash'arī continues to share his main source in common with 'Abd al-Jabbār; whether that source be a version of Balkhī's material or Balkhī's source for that version. However, he also used material from a second source, namely Zurqān. What normally prevents the explanation of multiple sources is the fact that the *Mughnī* and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* converge so closely over both the larger structure and specific content of their *fīraq*-material on the Shī'a. Here, however, because Ash'arī only briefly departs from 'Abd al-Jabbār's material, and because he marks the source when he does so, it is possible that for this small amount of material, he indeed incorporated material from a second source: Zurqān.

¹³¹ The descriptions of the Sulaymāniyya are given in full in *Tab.12* and examined in detail on p. 234–242.

¹³² The descriptions of the Butriyya are given in full in *Tab.13* and examined in detail on p. 242–250.

The only factor that confuses things is that Ash'arī's Zurqān-insertions parallel parts of the version of Balkhī's material preserved by the *Ḥūr*, the *Bāb* and the *Bad'*. But that too can be easily explained using the model we have already developed. We know that Balkhī drew on different sources in the two witnessed versions of his *firaq*-material on the Shī'a. He could thus have used material from Zurqān in the version witnessed by the *Ḥūr*, the *Bāb* and the *Bad'*, but used material from another source in the version preserved by 'Abd al-Jabbār. The fact that Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* mostly converges with the *Mughnī* here could thus still imply either that Ash'arī was using the version of Balkhī's material used by 'Abd al-Jabbār or that he was using Balkhī's source for that version, which was not then Zurqān. Either way, however, Ash'arī and Balkhī would have been using Zurqān's material independently.

All other explanations would require us to posit that both the Zurqān-material and the material preserved by 'Abd al-Jabbār were present together either in Balkhī's source, or in the version of Balkhī's material used by 'Abd al-Jabbār, or both. Ash'arī could then have taken both bodies of material from the main source he has in common with 'Abd al-Jabbār. That is not impossible, but it would make it harder to explain why there is no overlap between the two versions preserved in the BdC, why Ash'arī is the only one to mix the two bodies of material, and why he alone marks the insertions as coming from Zurqān. At the very least, we would have to posit that the earlier source and/or Balkhī kept the two bodies of material separate and marked the Zurqān-material clearly as coming from Zurqān.

In any case, none of this offers further positive evidence of the relationship of source-dependency between Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and Balkhī's material. It remains possible based on this instance of scenario 3 that Ash'arī's main source was either the version of Balkhī's material used by 'Abd al-Jabbār or Balkhī's source for that version.

1.1.2.2.2 Convergence and Divergence Over Citations from Earlier Sources: Zurqān and Warrāq

It is evident by now that either Ash'arī's source was a version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* close to that used by 'Abd al-Jabbār, or else Ash'arī and Balkhī must have shared a single, main common source that was essentially reproduced in the version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* used by 'Abd al-Jabbār. It cannot be the case that Ash'arī and Balkhī put together their common *firaq*-material on the Shī'a by independently making widespread use of multiple common sources; there is not enough divergence in structure or content between Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and the texts of the BdC, especially the *Mughnī*. However, amongst that common material, we can identify two passages taken from different pre-Balkhī sources. Both occur in descriptions of Zaydī factions that we have discussed already:

- The first instance occurs in the description of the Jārūdiyya, where Jishumī cites material from Warrāq [*Sharḥ*.21v:10–13]. Most of what appears within Jishumī’s Warrāq-citation also appears, but without citation-marking, in the descriptions of the Jārūdiyya in Ash’arī’s *Maqālāt*, the *Mughnī*, the *Ḥūr* and the *Rawḍa* [*MaqA*.67:6–11; *Mugh*.XX₂:184:12–15; *Ḥūr*.208:6; *Raw*.139r:17–25].
- The second instance is found in the description of the Sulaymāniyya/Jarīriyya, where Ash’arī marks a passage as a Zurqān-citation [*MaqA*.68:5–7]. This material also appears, without citation-marking, in the *Ḥūr*, the *Bāb* and the *Bad’* [*Ḥūr*.207:15–16; *Bāb*.92:8–9; *Bad’*.V:131:5–7].

If these citations sat within the surrounding material in the *same* way in both Ash’arī’s *Maqālāt* and the BdC, the most parsimonious explanation of this situation would be that Balkhī brought together the material from Warrāq and Zurqān, and that Balkhī was then Ash’arī’s source. That would also fit well with Ḥimyarī’s explicit statement about his sources [*Ḥūr*.224:4–5], which mentions only three names: Balkhī, Warrāq and Zurqān¹³³. The only reasonable alternative would be that Ash’arī and Balkhī had a common source that had already brought together the material from Warrāq and Zurqān. Otherwise, we could not explain how Balkhī and Ash’arī had combined material from two sources in the same fashion. Warrāq’s *Maqālāt* itself would be the earliest text that could have played this role.

We have already seen, however, that the Zurqān-material does *not* sit within the surrounding material in the same way in Ash’arī’s *Maqālāt* and the BdC¹³⁴. In fact, it does not appear at all in the *Mughnī*, Jishumī’s texts or the *Rawḍa*. This, together with the fact that the small amount of Zurqān-material constitutes the only clear case of divergence between Ash’arī’s version of the *firaq*-material and ‘Abd al-Jabbār’s, makes it possible that Ash’arī cites Zurqān independently here. Other evidence makes it likely¹³⁵. In any case, there is no evidence this material was in the main common source Ash’arī shares with ‘Abd al-Jabbār, regardless of whether that source was a version of Balkhī’s material or Balkhī’s source¹³⁶.

The Warrāq-citation concerning the Jārūdiyya is different: it *does* appear in the same relationship to the surrounding material in all variants of the description in which it is present. Moreover, it must have been in all versions of Balkhī’s *Maqālāt* witnessed in the BdC, as well as in Ash’arī’s *Maqālāt*, because it appears in nearly every text, including both the *Mughnī* and the *Ḥūr*. If Ash’arī was not reliant on a version of Balkhī’s *Maqālāt*, the Warrāq-citation must thus have stood already in

¹³³ See p. 99–100.

¹³⁴ See p. 202–204.

¹³⁵ See p. 241–242.

¹³⁶ See p. 202–204.

Ash'arī and Balkhī's main common source. That is significant. It confirms beyond reasonable doubt that the earliest possible main common source behind Ash'arī and the BdC's *firaq*-material on the Shī'a is Warrāq. In fact, it does more than that. It means that if Ash'arī and Balkhī did independently rely on a main common source, Warrāq is by far the best candidate. The only alternative is to posit an intermediary between Warrāq and Balkhī that also functioned as Ash'arī's source. But there is no evidence of such an intermediary and no obvious candidate anyway; Ḥimyarī would surely have mentioned this text alongside Warrāq and Zurqān if Balkhī had cited it. Essentially, it means that Ash'arī's source was either the version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* used by 'Abd al-Jabbār or else Balkhī and Ash'arī's main source was some text by Warrāq, most likely his *Maqālāt*.

It should be noted, however, that the passage Jishumī marks as a Warrāq-citation is only a small portion of the common material. One interpretation of this would be that the common source is really a post-Warrāq text that merely cited Warrāq. In that case, the absence of good candidates for an intermediary between Warrāq and Balkhī would compel us to posit that this post-Warrāq text was just Balkhī's *Maqālāt* itself, which was then also Ash'arī source. If we wanted to maintain, rather, that Ash'arī and Balkhī had a main common in Warrāq, we would have to posit that Jishumī's citation-marking is misleading, for it would not then have been just this small part of the common description of the Jārūdiyya that came from Warrāq, but *all* the common material shared by at least Ash'arī and 'Abd al-Jabbār, including what comes immediately before the marked citation. On closer inspection, however, the character of Jishumī's citation-marking makes it possible that it is indeed misleading.

The versions of the description of the Jārūdiyya from the *Mughnī*, Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, the *Sharḥ*, the *Rawḍa*, the *Hūr* and the *Bāb* were given above in Tab. 10. It is evident upon first reading that they all ultimately draw upon a common source. There are some divergences over elements both small and large, one of which we have discussed already¹³⁷. But the evidence they provide does not add significantly to what we know already. Some would be of minor significance for reconstructing Balkhī's material on the Jārūdiyya, but none of them tells us anything new about the relationship of source-dependency between Balkhī's and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*s¹³⁸. What is really of interest here is Jishumī's Warrāq-citation at the beginning of c³.

¹³⁷ See p. 181.

¹³⁸ There are, for example, some instances of scenario 2. One concerns the distribution of material between *a* and *b*. In *a*¹ and *a*³, the *Mughnī* and the *Sharḥ* report the Jārūdiyya's core doctrine regarding the Imāmate: that the Prophet designated 'Alī to be Imām by describing him, not by naming him, and that Ḥasan and Ḥusayn were Imāms after him. Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and the *Rawḍa* parallel them up to this point in *a*² and *a*⁴. Ash'arī and Ḥajūrī then break off, whilst 'Abd al-Jabbār and

This *c*-section appears in all the texts other than the *Bāb*, including in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, but so do the *a*- and *b*-sections. It is as certain as it can be that all this material was present in all witnessed versions of Balkhī's *Maqālāt*. Ḥimyarī, in a retrospective reference, states that his material on the three main factions of the Zaydiyya was transmitted by Balkhī (*wa-hādhihi riwāya Abū l-Qāsim al-Balkhī 'an al-Zaydiyya*) [208:17 (referring back to 207:9–208:16)]. Ḥajūrī says explicitly that he is citing Balkhī right at the beginning of his description of the Jārūdiyya [*Raw*:139r:11]. Moreover, Jishumī's version confirms he cited *c*³ via Balkhī, as we

Jishumī continue on to report that the Jārūdiyya believed that after Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, the procedure of designation ended, and that anyone from amongst the descendants of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn who bears certain characteristics (knowledge and virtue) and performs certain actions (rebels and summons people to the way of his Lord) could be the Imām. Ash'arī and Ḥajūrī have this 'extra' material too. They both place it in their *b*-sections, but not at the same location. Ash'arī also switches the order of the two sub-factions in the *b*-section relative to the other three texts. But it is no more likely that this situation would have resulted from Ash'arī and Balkhī separately using a common source than from Ash'arī having reworked material taken from Balkhī (as is certainly the explanation, *mutatis mutandis*, of Ḥajūrī's version). Indeed, it seems more likely in either case that Ash'arī's version is simply a later variant. In the *Mughnī* and the *Sharḥ*, the Jārūdiyya as a whole agree on the Imāmates of 'Alī, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn and the qualifications of the Imāms post-Ḥusayn; they merely have a minor disagreement over the mode of designation of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn. Ash'arī's version, however, makes it look as if the whole doctrine concerning the post-Ḥusayn Imāmate is unique to the sub-faction that supported successive designation. That makes little sense.

A more minor scenario 2 divergence occurs in that the *Mughnī*'s list of the qualifications of the post-Ḥusayn Imāms in *a*¹ includes the element 'who unsheathes his sword' (*shāhīran sayfahu*). The material in Ash'arī's version appears in *b*² rather than *a*² for the reasons just discussed. Regardless, the element '*shāhīran sayfahu*' is missing. It is present, however, in the versions of the list in the *Ḥūr* in *a*⁵ (as '*man shahara minhum sayfahu*'), the *Bāb* in *a*⁶, the *Bad'* in *a*⁷, as well as the *Sharḥ* in *a*³, and the *Rawḍa* in *b*⁴ (as '*shāhīran sayfahu*' in all of them). But this really tells us nothing about the relationship of source-dependency. It is probably just Ash'arī himself who omitted the minor element, whatever his source.

Notably, there are also sometimes elements in the *Ḥūr* and the *Bāb* that must go back to Balkhī's *Maqālāt*, even though they are omitted by 'Abd al-Jabbār. For example, in *a*⁵, the *Ḥūr* has the phrase 'the Community erred and became unbelievers by diverting it [i.e., the Imāmate] to someone else' (*al-umma ḍallat wa-kafarat bi-ṣarfihā al-amr ilā ghayrihī*) (*Ḥūr*:207:20). A close variant appears later in the *Bāb*'s description of the Jārūdiyya, although not amongst the main body of common material cited above: 'the Community erred and became unbelievers by failing to pledge allegiance to 'Alī' (*al-umma ḍallat wa-kafarat bi-tarkihim bay'at 'Alī*) (*Bāb*:94:9–10). This element is missing from both the *Mughnī* and the *Sharḥ*, but Ash'arī has also a close variant in *a*²: 'the Community erred and became unbelievers by diverting it to someone else' (*al-umma ḍallat wa-kafarat bi-ṣarfihā al-amr ilā ghayrihī*) (*Ḥūr*:207:20). Given everything else we know about the relationship between Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and the *Mughnī*, that strongly suggests that a variant of the phrase must have been present in the version of Balkhī's material used by 'Abd al-Jabbār, too, even though he omits it.

will see shortly. Thus, if Warrāq were responsible *only* for *c*, we would have to presume it was Balkhī who had appended it to *a* and *b*. That would mean that Balkhī *must* have been Ash'arī's source for the complete description. But does Jishumī's citation-marking really indicate this?

It should be observed that there are really two Warrāq-citations at this point in the *Sharḥ*: as well as *c*³, there is also *x*³. The latter is marked as a separate citation by the new '*wa-yaḥkī 'an-hum. . .*'. It reports that Abū l-Jārūd professed the doctrine of the *raj'a*. Unlike *c*, this element does not appear at this point in any other text of the BdC or Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*. It is extremely unlikely, however, that Jishumī had independent access to Warrāq's *Maqālāt*. We know that *c*³ came via Balkhī and we must assume *x*³ came by the same route¹³⁹. In any case, the decisive point is Jishumī's polemical tone. In *y*³, he denies the veracity of the information he has just attributed to Warrāq in *c*³ and *x*³, appealing to his readers to do likewise because Warrāq was a dualist and therefore untrustworthy.

Notably, Jishumī's polemic is not directed principally against Warrāq himself, but against the information. He is not claiming this is information we would otherwise believe, but which should be doubted because Warrāq, a reprehensible dualist, recorded it. Rather, he wants us to reject the information and therefore discredits it by naming its disreputable source. His aim is to deny that any Zaydī group worthy of

139 Most likely, *x*³ is related to the material 'Abd al-Jabbār cites from the anonymous doxographer towards the end of his presentation of the Zaydiyya in the *Mughnī*, which was discussed briefly above (see p. 149–150). The relevant passage runs as follows:

وحكى بعض من ذكر خلافتهم أن أبا الجارود كان يرى مع ذلك الرجعة وإن كان في أصحابه من لا يرى ذلك فنذكر أن منهم طائفة ينتسبون إلى الصباح بن القاسم المزني يوافقون أبا الجارود ولكنهم ينكرون أبا بكر وعمر والجارودية يفسقونهما ولا يكفرونهما

One of those who presented their disagreements reported that Abū l-Jārūd nevertheless upheld the doctrine of the *raj'a*, even though some of his supporters did not uphold it. He stated that one of them was a party affiliated with Ṣabbāḥ b. al-Qāsim al-Muzanī, who agreed with Abū l-Jārūd, but they declared Abū Bakr and 'Umar to be unbelievers, whilst the Jārūdiyya held them merely to be serious sinners, not unbelievers (*Mugh.XX₂*:185:5–8).

Given Jishumī's Warrāq-citation in *x*³, it is highly likely that 'Abd al-Jabbār's anonymous doxographer in the above passage is also Warrāq, and that Balkhī had both bodies of material on the Jārūdiyya. That would also make sense of the overlaps between the passage in the *Mughnī* and Ash'arī's description of the fifth faction of his list of the Zaydiyya, discussed earlier. Warrāq was probably thus Ash'arī's ultimate source here too, regardless of whether the latter obtained the material directly or via a version of Balkhī's material. We will see further evidence in support of this hypothesis later, in Qummī's *Maqālāt* (see p. 377–378). Most likely, Balkhī presented this other body of material on Abū l-Jārūd at a location separate from his main description of the Jārūdiyya, explaining the arrangement in the *Mughnī* and the fact that Jishumī gives two separate Warrāq-citations.

the name could have believed in the doctrine of the *raj'a*, or the Imāmate (let alone messianism) of Yahyā b. 'Umar¹⁴⁰. The revelation that the source is the disreputable Warrāq merely supports that goal. This is confirmed by *z*³. There, Jishumī depicts Balkhī commenting on *c*³, acknowledging that he (Balkhī) once saw someone in Baghdad who held messianic beliefs about Yahyā b. 'Umar. That confirms beyond all doubt that *c*³ must have stood in Balkhī's material and thus that Jishumī indeed obtained his Warrāq-material via Balkhī. But Jishumī intervenes yet again, telling the reader that he admits such people existed, apparently because Balkhī witnessed this, but he still cannot accept that they were really Zaydiyya. Jishumī is looking for a reason that a source he trusts, namely Balkhī, provided information that he cannot believe to be true. The reason he gives is that the ultimate source, Warrāq, was untrustworthy.

The fact that Jishumī's motivations for marking this specific material as a Warrāq-citation are so clearly polemical should give us pause. We are evidently not dealing with the neutral recording of sources. After, all, Jishumī does not even bother to say openly that his immediate source here is Balkhī's *Maqālāt*, although that must be the case. The point of marking the source is, rather, to discredit certain information. It is thus quite possible that other material here also came from Warrāq via Balkhī and that Jishumī knew this, but there was simply no reason to draw attention to it as long as he considered the information to be sound. As a result, we cannot be sure, based on the situation of the Warrāq-citation, that Ash'arī must have obtained the material on the Jārūdiyya from Balkhī. It remains possible that *a*, *b* and *c* stood already in Warrāq's *Maqālāt* and Ash'arī took them from there.

With regard to the question of the relationship of source-dependency between Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and Balkhī's material, the evidence examined here is thus neutral. We cannot trust Jishumī's citation-marking enough to take it as positive evidence that Ash'arī must have been working from the version of Balkhī's material used by 'Abd al-Jabbār, although that remains the default explanation. What we can say with confidence, however, is that if Ash'arī's main source was not just that version of Balkhī's material, then Warrāq is both the earliest possible candidate for the main common source used by Ash'arī and Balkhī and by far the most likely contender for this role.

¹⁴⁰ Jishumī was no Zaydī when he wrote the *Sharh*; he became so only later (see Madelung 1965:187–191). Nevertheless, some of his teachers and students were. Presumably, he couldn't give credence to the heresiographical reports about the imminent messianism of the second- and third-century Jārūdiyya because this was so far from anything present in the Zaydī circles with which he was familiar and whose doctrine he perhaps already found attractive.

1.1.2.2.3 Convergence and Divergence In Material Composed by Balkhī

If Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and the Bdc were to converge over passages of text we knew to have been composed by Balkhī himself, rather than taken from a source, we would have further positive reason to conclude Ash'arī's main source was just a version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt*. Obviously, the first challenge here is to identify such passages, but there are good reasons to think this is sometimes possible.

As mentioned several times, Ḥimyarī tells us that he based his presentation of the factions of the Shī'a on 'what Balkhī, Warrāq and Zurqān had related', which must be interpreted to mean that his source was generally Balkhī. Warrāq and Zurqān were Balkhī's sources. However, Ḥimyarī also marks short passages amongst the *firaq*-material as specific citations from Balkhī. What can it mean to cite Balkhī for a short passage within a body of material all of which comes at least via Balkhī? Van Ess has proposed that these specific Balkhī-citations are given for passages of a more 'personal' character that were added by Balkhī himself to material he took from his earlier sources, but he has not explore this suggestion further¹⁴¹. On closer examination, it turns out to be highly convincing in some cases but not in others.

Van Ess suggested this solution in reference only to the *Ḥūr*, but similar short Balkhī-citations are also found in Jishumī's *Sharḥ* and once also in the *Uyūn*. We have already seen an example above, in the description of the Jārūdiyya (*z*³). Unlike Ḥimyarī, Jishumī never says openly that his main source is Balkhī; it is established from the parallels in the *Mughnī* and the *Ḥūr*. Nevertheless, it seems the situation is the same in both texts: Balkhī is the source generally, but amongst the material that comes from Balkhī, short passages are marked as specific Balkhī-citations. Below is a list of all the instances in the Shī'ī *firaq*-material given by both authors:

1. Ḥimyarī, in a retrospective reference, states that the material he has presented on the main factions of the Zaydiyya (the Jārūdiyya, the Butriyya and the Jarīriyya) was transmitted by Balkhī (*wa-hādhihi riwāyat Abī l-Qāsim al-Balkhī 'an al-Zaydiyya*) [208:17, referring back to 207:9–208:16].

141 Van Ess 2011:348–349. He also suggested that what appears in the specific Balkhī-citation was reproduced verbatim, whilst the surrounding material consists in broad paraphrasing of Balkhī's own sources, possibly first by Balkhī then Ḥimyarī. However, the notion that the surrounding material is paraphrased to a greater extent than the specific Balkhī-citations cannot be asserted so lightly, regardless of its source. The convergence with the *Mughnī* and/or the *Bāb* is usually too close for Ḥimyarī himself to have paraphrased anything that he took from Balkhī very much, and the parallels are neither tighter nor looser when the specific Balkhī-citations are involved. Going back a step further, if Balkhī had generally been paraphrasing his own earlier sources, then Balkhī must be Ash'arī's source, as this would then be the only way to explain the close convergence that we find between the Bdc and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, rather than the divergence due to Balkhī's paraphrasing we would find in the case of a common source that Balkhī had paraphrased.

2. Jishumī cites a remark from Balkhī at the end of his material on the Jārūdiyya: ‘Our master, Abū l-Qāsim said, “I saw someone in Baghdad who claimed that Yaḥyā b. ‘Umar is alive and will rebel” [Sharḥ.21v:17–19].
3. Ḥimyarī cites a remark from Balkhī on the faction of the ‘Abbāsid Shī‘a known as the Muslimiyya: ‘Abū l-Qāsim al-Balkhī said, “In Balkh, we have a group of them who permit forbidden acts, according to what has reached me concerning them” (*qāla Abū l-Qāsim al-Balkhī ‘indānā min-hum bi-balkh qawm yas-taḥillūna l-maḥārim ‘alā mā balaghanī ‘an-hum*) [214:13–14].
4. Jishumī, in his description of the Mughīriyya, cites Balkhī as the source of material that parallels the description in Ash‘arī’s list of the Ghāliya (he also has material that parallels the description in Ash‘arī’s list of the Rāfiḍa, but this is not marked as a Balkhī-citation): ‘Our master, Abū l-Qāsim, said, “He claimed that he was a prophet and that the object of his worship was made of light. . .” (*qāla shaykhunā Abū l-Qāsim za‘ma annahu nabī wa-anna ma‘būdahu min nūr. . .*) [Sharḥ.29v:16–17].
5. Jishumī, in his description of the Fuṭḥiyya in both the *Sharḥ* and the *‘Uyūn*, cites Balkhī for the following statement: ‘Abū l-Qāsim said, “The people who hold this doctrine are the largest of the factions of the Ja‘fariyya” (*qāla Abū l-Qāsim wa-ahl hādhihi l-maqāla hum a‘zam firaq al-Ja‘fariyya*) [Sharḥ.30v:8; ‘Uyūn.9r:12]. Ḥimyarī, too, cites a close parallel of this phrase from Balkhī: ‘Abū l-Qāsim al-Balkhī said, “The Fuṭḥiyya are the largest of the factions of the Ja‘fariyya and the most numerous collectively” (*qāla Abū l-Qāsim al-Balkhī wa-l-Fuṭḥiyya a‘zam firaq al-Ja‘fariyya wa-aktharuhum jam^{an}*) [Ḥūr.218:3]. After this, Ḥimyarī goes on to introduce several further items of information with ‘He said. . .’, apparently continuing the Balkhī-citation for several more lines [Ḥūr.218:4–9].
6. Ḥimyarī cites Balkhī at the end of the material on the Khaṭṭābiyya for the following statement: ‘Balkhī said, “A group of the Khaṭṭābiyya also gave their support to the Imāmate of Muḥammad b. Ismā‘il [b. Ja‘far] and entered into the Mubārakiyya” (*qāla l-Balkhī qad māla ilā l-i‘timām bi-Muḥammad b. Ismā‘il jamā‘a min al-khaṭṭābiyya ayd^{an} wa-dakhalū fi l-mubārakiyya*) [Ḥūr.222:4–5].

Two cases here do not seem to fit van Ess’s model at all. In 1, the citation refers to the bulk of Ḥimyarī’s presentation of the Zaydiyya, at least some of which we know comes originally from Zurqān and Warrāq. On chronological grounds, *all* of it must have come to Balkhī via earlier sources somehow; it is not ‘personal’ to Balkhī in any meaningful sense. But Ḥimyarī anyway speaks here of what Balkhī ‘transmitted’ (his *riwāya*), not what Balkhī himself ‘said’, as he does elsewhere. In any case, there is a much more plausible explanation for Ḥimyarī’s citation-marking at this point. The statement that the material comes from Balkhī is given retrospectively. It is followed

by a relatively lengthy discussion of the situation of Zaydī factions in Yemen in Ḥimyarī's own day. Most probably, it simply marks the shift from the material Ḥimyarī took from his main source, Balkhī, to his own information on his contemporary Yemen.

In 4, Jishumī cites Balkhī for the part of his description of the Mughīriyya that parallels the material in Ash'arī's list of the Ghāliya, which is also present in the *Ḥūr* and the *Bāb*. It concerns the doctrines of Mughīra b. Sa'īd (d.119/737) and thus cannot be based on Balkhī's 'personal' knowledge; it must have come from an earlier source of some kind. Another explanation for the citation-marking is forthcoming here, too. Prior to the citation, Jishumī comments that Mughīra held doctrines in matters other than the Imāmate that put him outside the bounds of Islam. Jishumī probably marks Balkhī as the source for what follows to emphasise that this judgement has been reached based on authoritative information.

Ash'arī has close parallels to the material that appears within the Balkhī-citations in 1 and 4, but this does not necessarily imply Ash'arī *must* have been relying on a version of Balkhī's material rather than Balkhī's source, because the citation-marking apparently does not imply that Balkhī composed the material himself.

Two other cases, however, plainly *do* fit van Ess's proposed model. The clearest is 2. This occurs in Jishumī's description of the Jārūdiyya, which was given in full in Tab. 10, above¹⁴². First, we get the Warrāq-citation (*c*³) that includes the report that some of the Jārūdiyya expected the messianic return of Yaḥyā b. 'Umar. The Balkhī-citation (*z*³) then consists of what must be Balkhī's own 'personal' commentary. He tells us, in the first person, that he once met someone with this very belief in Baghdad. The point was apparently to corroborate Warrāq's information by relating his own eye-witness experience. Both the Warrāq-citation in *c*³ and Balkhī's comment in *z*³ must thus have stood in the version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* used by Jishumī. Moreover, it must have been clear from Balkhī's own citation-marking where he was working from his source and where he was adding his own commentary, otherwise Jishumī himself picked up on this from the use of the first-person. In any case, whilst *c*³ appears as part of the description of the Jārūdiyya in most texts of the BdC and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, Jishumī is the *only* author to provide Balkhī's comment in *z*³. That makes it likely that not all versions of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* contained the same personal comments from Balkhī¹⁴³. It also means this case, too, gets us no further with the relationship of source-dependency between Ash'arī's and Balkhī's *Maqālāt*s.

¹⁴² See p. 182–189.

¹⁴³ Perhaps we should think of a situation in which the comments were delivered orally, when the text was taught or dictated on different occasions. Alternatively, such comments may simply have been good candidates for summary by the later authors who took material from Balkhī's *Maqālāt*.

The other case where van Ess's model is clearly valid is 3, which occurs in the material on the Muslimiyya, a sub-faction of the 'Abbāsīd Shī'a. The relevant phrase here *does* appear in more than one text of the BdC. Ibn al-Nadīm's *Fihrist* presents the following passage, which contains the first part of Ḥimyarī's Balkhī-citation: 'Balkhī said, "some people call the Muslimiyya the Khurramdīniyya". He said, "It has reached me that that we have a group of them in Balkh, in a village called Ḥarsād Wayljānī" (*qāla l-Balkhī wa-ba'ḍ al-nās yusammī l-muslimiyya al-khurram-dīniyya wa-qāla balaghanī anna 'indanā bi-balkh min-hum jamā'a bi-qariya yuqāl la-hā ḥarsād wayljānī*) [*Fih*.II:422:1–2]. More importantly, the *Mughnī* also has a close, although unmarked parallel to both parts of the Ḥūr's Balkhī-citation: 'In Balkh, we have a group of them. It is related concerning them that they permit forbidden acts' (*indana qawm minhum bi-balkh yuḥkā 'anhum istiḥlāl al-maḥārim*) [*Mugh*.XX₂:178:1–2]. Ibn al-Nadīm probably marks Balkhī as his source for the normal reason, i.e., because this material is cited directly from Balkhī and the surrounding material is not. The *Mughnī* lacks any citation-marking at all at this point. Nevertheless, the use of the first person in all three texts, as well as the geographical reference, confirms it is Balkhī himself speaking here. The structure is apparently the same as in the case of the material on the Jārūdiyya. In both the *Mughnī* and the *Ḥūr*, the comment from Balkhī follows the main report on the Muslimiyya. Presumably, Balkhī's remark was intended to corroborate and/or elaborate on the information that came from his source for that main report (Warrāq again?). Again, the line between the information Balkhī took from earlier sources and Balkhī's own comments must somehow have been marked, or else Ḥimyarī deduced this from the use of the first-person.

When we compare with Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, the element most indicative of Balkhī's authorship, namely the 'We have a group of them in Balkh', is absent, but a version of the second element of the citation is present: 'It is related concerning them that they permit what their ancestors had not made permissible for them' (*yuḥkā 'anhum istiḥlāl li-mā lam yuḥlil lahum aslāfuhum*) [*MaqA*.22:1–3]. The phrasing here is far too similar to that in the *Mughnī* to be coincidence; a version of this element must have stood in their common source¹⁴⁴.

At first sight, then, the situation appears straightforward: Ash'arī has an element that lies within the parameters of the Balkhī-citation, as Ḥimyarī places it before the '*alā mā balaghanī 'an-hum*', which closes the citation in his version. Moreover, the two elements are woven together in both 'Abd al-Jabbār's and Ḥimyarī's

¹⁴⁴ Ḥimyarī and Ibn al-Nadīm render it slightly differently, both employing *balaghanī* where Ash'arī and 'Abd al-Jabbār have *yuḥkā*. Once again, this is suspicious. 'Abd al-Jabbār must have been using a version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* closer to Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* than that used by other texts of the BdC.

versions in such a way that it seems as if it is particularly the group in Balkh who 'permit forbidden acts' (the second element is an asyndetic relative clause that has its antecedent within the first element). That makes it appear as if the two statements were added by Balkhī. If that is true, Ash'arī must have been using a version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt*. Either he simply omitted the element concerning the situation in Balkh, perhaps precisely because of its especially 'personal' character, or else it was absent from the version he was using, just as the comment on the Jārūdiyya seems not to have been present in every version of Balkhī's material either.

On closer inspection, however, there is much room for doubt here. Both Ash'arī and 'Abd al-Jabbār introduce the second element with *yuhkā* 'an-hum ('it is related concerning them. . .'). That means, of course, that if Ash'arī used a version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt*, then the *yuhkā* 'an-hum must already have been present there. If not, then it was already present in their common source. Either way, the important point is that the two elements of Ḥimyarī's Balkhī-citation evidently came to Balkhī in different ways: he knows 'personally' of a group in Balkh, but it is only 'related concerning them' that they 'permit forbidden acts'. In Ash'arī's version, moreover, the latter element refers, rather, to the Muslimiyya as a whole. That is much more plausible than the idea that it was somehow 'related' just of a particular group in Balkh in the late third century, especially as both Nawbakhtī and ps.-Nāshī' already state that the Muslimiyya as a whole permit forbidden acts [*Niḥ.*32:12 and *Fir.*42:1]. At the very least, this element was part of the Mu'tazilī heresiographical repertoire on the group long before Balkhī. More specifically, as we will see later, Nawbakhtī and Balkhī appear to be working from a common source for the whole of their description of the Muslimiyya (and much more besides)¹⁴⁵. That makes it quite likely the second element of the Balkhī citation stood already in Balkhī's source; it is not a 'personal' addition in the same way as the first element. As a result, the parallel in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* need not imply Ash'arī *must* have been using a version of Balkhī's own material after all.

In all the remaining Balkhī-citations, it seems Balkhī must have been working from earlier sources, rather than adding 'personal' information. Ḥimyarī is unique in placing 6 after the material on the Khaṭṭābiyya. 'Abd al-Jabbār has an unmarked version, but it appears in the description of the Mubārakiyya: 'A group of the followers of Abū l-Khaṭṭāb also adopted this doctrine' (*wa-qad šāra ilā hādihā l-qawl jamā'a min aṣḥāb Abī l-khaṭṭāb ayd^{am}*) [*Mugh.*XX₂:180:6–7]. The phrase also occurs in another text: Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Daylamī's *Qawā'id* 'aqā'id āl Muḥammad (finished in 707/1307). After a passage in which Daylamī paraphrases Balkhī's main

145 See p. 331–332.

description of the Mubārakiyya¹⁴⁶, he provides a marked Balkhī-citation nearly identical to Ḥimyarī's: '(qāla al-Balkhī wa-qad māla ilā l-i'timām bi-Muḥammad b. ismā'īl jamā'a min al-khaṭṭābiyya wa-dakhalū fi l-mubārakiyya)¹⁴⁷. That would seem to indicate again that this phrase was somehow marked out differently from the surrounding material in Balkhī's *Maqālāt* already. Here, however, there is no hint of a first-person comment bearing contemporary information from Balkhī himself. The citation contains a purely historical claim, which must have been drawn from a source of some kind. Moreover, it is again a claim that appears in the material on the Mubārakiyya already in the *Firaq* and *Uṣūl al-niḥal* [*Fir*.58:17–59:2, 61:7; *Niḥ*.47:1–3]. As we will see later, there is again reason here to think at least Nawbakhtī and Balkhī ultimately have a common source at this point, so it is unlikely Balkhī has information that came to him in a fashion any different from the surrounding material¹⁴⁸. That makes it unclear why we get a Balkhī-citation at all. But the important point is that a specific Balkhī-citation does not *of itself* indicate we are looking at material based on Balkhī's personal experience and that must thus have been composed by him. In any case, Ash'arī does not have a version of 6, so it certainly cannot show that Ash'arī was dependent on a version of Balkhī's material.

The situation in 5 is similar. Here, Ḥimyarī and Jishumī both mark a Balkhī-citation. Again, it must somehow have been indicated in Balkhī's *Maqālāt* already that this passage stood apart from the surrounding material. A version also appears, unmarked, in the *Mughnī*: 'The people who hold this doctrine are the largest of the factions of the Ja'fariyya and the greatest of them in number' (*wa-ahl hādhihi l-maqāla hiya a'zam firaq al-Ja'fariyya wa-aktharuhum 'adad^{am}*) [*Mugh*.XX₂:181:1–2]. This too is obviously no first-person comment based on eye-witness information. If Balkhī had meant to say that the majority of his contemporary Imāmiyya were Fuṭḥiyya (in the sense that they accepted 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far had legitimately been Imām between Ja'far and Mūsā), he is very unlikely to have used the term Ja'fariyya. Indeed, both 'Abd al-Jabbār and Ḥimyarī record that, after 'Abd Allāh's death, the Fuṭḥiyya supported Mūsā al-Kāzim and thus 'joined the Qaṭ'iyya' [*Mugh*.XX₂:181:4–5; *Hūr*.218:10–11]. They also both have a phrase, which must go back to Balkhī (or even his source?), stating that the Qaṭ'iyya were the biggest Imāmi faction of the day [*Mugh*.XX₂:176:17; *Hūr*.220:10–11]. The citation thus seems to make a purely historical claim: the Fuṭḥiyya were the largest of the factions to emerge after Ja'far's death, not at the time Balkhī's *Maqālāt* or even Balkhī's source was written. That, however, is a claim that we find already, although expressed in much more detail,

¹⁴⁶ Daylamī, *Qawā'id*, 23:20–24:6.

¹⁴⁷ Daylamī, *Qawā'id*, 24:6–7.

¹⁴⁸ This comes in a section for which Madelung has already claimed that there is a common source shared by Nawbakhtī and Ash'arī. He suggested Warrāq. See p. 259–260.

in Nawbakhtī's description of the Fuṭḥiyya [*Fir.*65:12–14, 66:1–3]. Again, such a piece of information cannot be a 'personal' addition of Balkhī's in the same sense as his comments on the Jārūdiyya and the Abū Muslimiyya.

After the initial citation in 5, Ḥimyarī apparently continues to cite Balkhī by means of a series of statements introduced by 'And he said. . .' (*wa-qāla*), which can only refer back to the opening "Abū l-Qāsim al-Balkhī said. . ." [*Ḥūr.*218:3–11]. These all concern a group known as the Zurāriyya, i.e., the followers of the jurist and theologian Zurāra b. A'yan (d.ca.150/767)¹⁴⁹. The material relates to a controversy over whether Zurāra accepted the Imāmate of 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far (which would make him a Fuṭḥī) and whether, if he ever did, he later recanted. It also appears, unmarked, in the *Mughnī* and the *Sharḥ* [*Mugh.*XX₂:180:15–20; *Sharḥ.*30v:3–7]. It is curious that Jishumī does not mark this material as a specific Balkhī-citation too, as he does mark the initial phrase as such. That means Ḥimyarī's rather loose series of "he said"s is the only reason to think Balkhī is the source in some more specific sense than usual. In terms of content, the material obviously relates historical information in the third person. There is no clear parallel with Nawbakhtī's *Firaq* in this case, but it is also not evident that there is anything 'personal' to Balkhī about the material either. It must have come from an earlier source of some kind¹⁵⁰.

Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* has a version of 5, including an unmistakable variant of the phrase that both Ḥimyarī and Jishumī mark as a specific Balkhī-citation: "The people who hold this doctrine amount to a great number (*wa-ahl hādhihi l-maqāla yarjī'ūna ilā 'adad kathīr*) [*MaqA.*28:2–3]. As in 3., the wording here is much too close, especially to the version in the *Mughnī*, to result from coincidence; the phrase was present already in the main common source. Ash'arī also has most of the material on Zurāra that Ḥimyarī continues to mark as a Balkhī-citation in the *Ḥūr* [*MaqA.*28:4–7]. But all this could only matter for the question of source-dependency if we thought the material had been composed by Balkhī himself, and we still cannot be confident that it was.

Without doubt, then, Ash'arī has parallels to passages of text that appear within Ḥimyarī's specific Balkhī-citations, both in 3 and 5, but it is unclear what this means. Certainly, some of the material that appears within specific Balkhī-citations in the Bdc was composed by Balkhī himself. That includes part of 3. However, none of the passages for which we can be sure this was the case is present in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*. Indeed, one of these passages, 2, appears only in the *Sharḥ*, meaning such personal remarks from Balkhī probably did not make it into all versions of his

¹⁴⁹ On Zurāra b. A'yan, an important theologian, jurist and transmitter from Muḥammad al-Bāqir, see *TG.*1:321–330 and Modarressi 2003:404–405.

¹⁵⁰ On the material on Zurāra, see p. 724–725.

Maqālāt anyway. Much of the material within specific Balkhī-citations must have been taken, rather, from earlier sources and exhibits no characteristics of being ‘personal’ to Balkhī. This implies the marked citations do not always contain material he composed newly himself.

That makes it unclear why we find specific citation-marking in these instances at all. One possibility is that Balkhī was working mainly from Warrāq, but some of the specific Balkhī-citations contain material he brought in from other sources. If that were the case, the fact that Ash‘arī has parallels to such passages would still indicate he must have been working from a version of Balkhī’s material¹⁵¹. But this is all so much speculation. We will see later that the parallels with Nawbakhtī’s *Firaq* make it a highly unlikely scenario in most cases. The point is really that, although the parallels over the specific Balkhī-citations have the potential to show that Ash‘arī must have been working from a version of Balkhī’s material, in the end, they get us no further, because, in the important cases, we do not know why we get the citation-marking.

1.1.2.2.4 The *Terminus Post Quem* of the Common Material

As we have seen, none of the small amount of material in the BdC that *must* have been added by Balkhī himself is present in Ash‘arī’s *Maqālāt*. Whatever other conclusions we may draw from that, the result of its absence from Ash‘arī’s *Maqālāt* is that it is irrelevant to dating the common source. We can, however, use the *convergent* material to provide us with a *terminus post quem*. Ash‘arī’s *Maqālāt* and the BdC both contain the Warrāq-citation concerning the Jārūdiyya, telling us that the earliest possible candidate for the potential main common source used by Ash‘arī and Balkhī was Warrāq. The citation mentions the death of Yaḥyā b. ‘Umar in 250/864, which also gives us the *terminus post quem* for Warrāq’s *Maqālāt*¹⁵².

151 It is worth comparing with the situation in Nasafī’s *Tabṣira*. This is not *firaq*-material. Rather, Nasafī presents doxographical material on Bishr b. al-Mu‘tamir’s and Ja‘far b. Ḥarb’s doctrines concerning God’s grace (*lutf*) and the question of whether God always acts in the ‘optimum’ way (*al-aṣḥāh*) towards mankind (*Tabṣira*.723:17–724:20). The main reports have no citation-marking to indicate the source, but after each doxographical passage, Nasafī provides a specific Balkhī-citation, in which Balkhī claims that the *mutakallim* in question had repented of the given doctrine. The main reports must have stood already in some form in Balkhī’s *Maqālāt* in order for Balkhī’s commentary upon them to make sense, but Nasafī cites Balkhī only for the commentary. It is presumably then the case that Balkhī took the main reports from a yet earlier source, perhaps Zurqān’s *Maqālat*, but Balkhī’s additional material is also not original to him: he states explicitly that he is basing himself on information he had received via personal written correspondence with his former teacher, Khayyāt.

152 See p. 44.

But the question remains as to whether there is any common material in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and the BdC that must have been added too late for Warrāq to have been the source. If there is, then, for the reasons discussed previously, we would have to conclude that Ash'arī's source was simply the version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* used by 'Abd al-Jabbār (or one very close to it).

The only candidate for a later *terminus post quem* of the main common source behind Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and the BdC is the death of Ḥasan al-'Askarī in 260/873¹⁵³. But this is not a completely straightforward case. Al-'Askarī's death is mentioned in the description of the Qaṭ'iyya at the beginning of the *firaq*-list of the Imāmiyya in the *Mughnī* and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, but later updating by Ash'arī means there is no direct parallel here. 'Abd al-Jabbār lists the line of eleven Imāms who were followed by this Qaṭ'iyya. The passage ends with the sentence, 'He said (*qāla*), "Ḥasan b. 'Alī died in our time and had no son, then they [i.e., the Imāmiyya] fell into confusion (*ikhtalaṭa 'alayhim amruhum*)"' [*Mugh.XX₂*:176:16–17]. The version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* used by Ḥimyarī would also probably have contained the same material, as he retains the second half: "Al-'Askarī had no son, so they fell into confusion (*wa-lā walad li-l-'askarī fa-khtalaṭa 'alayhim amruhum*) [*Hūr*.220:1]. Ḥimyarī replaces the statement that al-'Askarī 'died in our time' with the specific date of death, but that is most-likely just post-Balkhī updating. Given the *Mughnī*'s use of 'in our time' with reference to al-'Askarī's death, the subject of the 'He said' can only sensibly be either Balkhī or Balkhī's own source.

Ash'arī also has a list of the Imāms in his description of the Qaṭ'iyya at the head of his *firaq*-list of the Imāmiyya. Yet regardless of whether his source was Balkhī or Warrāq, he must be updating, as he also gives the name of the twelfth Imām, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, and states that the Qaṭ'iyya believe Muḥammad to be the hidden (*ghā'ib*), awaited Mahdī [*MaqA*.17:10–18:10]. Ash'arī does not have the comment relating to Ḥasan al-'Askarī having 'died in our time'. The problem is that, although Ash'arī acknowledges the death of al-'Askarī in his list of twelve Imāms, we do not know where the updating begins. The common *iftirāq*-schema behind Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and the BdC continues only up to the death of 'Alī al-Riḍā and the dispute over Muḥammad al-Jawād's maturity upon accession to the Imāmate. Thus, in theory, both Balkhī and Ash'arī could separately have added Ḥasan al-'Askarī to a list that finished earlier in their potential main common source.

Still, even if we accepted that the *terminus post quem* of the common material were the death of Ḥasan al-'Askarī, that would bring the date forward only another nine years. That would not be late enough to exclude completely the possibility that the common source was Warrāq anyway, given the uncertainty around his

153 It should be noted that we are not talking about an exact parallel here.

date of death¹⁵⁴. In fact, it would raise some doubts in the opposite direction. If Balkhī's *Maqālāt* were the common source of the Shī'ī *fīraq*-material in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and the BdC, and Balkhī 'set down' his *Maqālāt* from 290 onwards, we could reasonably expect him to have mentioned at least some of the factions that emerged amongst the Imāmiyya after al-'Askarī's death, even if he was not prepared to name the twelfth Imām for some reason. We might also expect something about the prominent Ghulāt movements of the later third century, which Ash'arī mentions, and perhaps something on Zaydī uprisings later than that of Yahyā b. 'Umar¹⁵⁵. The early date of the common material thus makes it more likely that Ash'arī and Balkhī were both working from Warrāq's *Maqālāt* than that Ash'arī was working from Balkhī's.

But there is a problem with this argument, too. Apart from the tiny amount of material added by Balkhī himself, which consists only in passing comments and does not seem to have been present in all versions of his *Maqālāt* anyway, there is no convergence on an element datable to later than the death of al-'Askarī *within* the BdC's *fīraq*-material on the Shī'a either. That means there is no evidence Balkhī updated material from his source(s) anyway. The material was clearly out of date when Balkhī included it in his *Maqālāt* and Ash'arī could equally have taken this out-of-date material from either Balkhī or Warrāq. The dating of the material thus gets us no further with the question of source-dependency.

1.1.3 Conclusions

1.1.3.1 The Reconstruction of Balkhī's *fīraq*-Material on the Shī'a

The task of reconstructing Balkhī's *fīraq*-material on the Shī'a is made more complicated by the fact that different groups of texts from the BdC converge on slightly different versions of that material. This is almost certainly because more than one version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* is witnessed in the corpus. Despite these complications, it remains possible to establish what is probably the majority of Balkhī's *fīraq*-material on the Shī'a, although not everything can be reconstructed with the same degree of precision.

¹⁵⁴ See p. 44, especially n.144.

¹⁵⁵ Some of this would be true even if we accepted the earliest possible date for the *Maqālāt*'s composition, i.e. 279 (see p. 25–27). After all, Nawbakhtī, albeit an Imāmī himself, was able to write in detail about the post-'Askarī situation already in the 270s. The events may well have been taking place above all in Iraq, but Balkhī was there often in this period and was presumably well acquainted with the Iraqi scene through his contacts there. Ash'arī was able to add material on the late third-century Ghulāt factions (see p. 161), as well as the twelfth Imām and even an Imāmī faction believing in thirteen Imāms (see p. 119, 121).

1.1.3.1.1 The Imāmiyya

Balkhī presented the factions of the Imāmiyya in a complex *iftirāq*-schema that traced their successive internal divisions from those that occurred following the death of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib up to those that emerged after the death 'Alī al-Riḍā. Inconsistent with the logic and chronology of the rest of the schema, however, it opened with a description of the Qaṭ'iyya, here being those who followed the line of Imāms all the way up to Ḥasan al-'Askarī but then 'fell into confusion' (*ikhtalaṭa 'alayhim amruhum*) after his death. At the end of the schema stood a non-*iftirāq*-element, namely an *ikhtilāf*-cluster presenting the disagreements amongst the supporters of Muḥammad al-Jawād over the status of his Imāmate whilst he remained a minor. The outline of the *iftirāq*-schema as it appeared in at least one version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt*, together with its opening and closing elements, is preserved intact in the *Mughnī* and can be seen in tabular form Tab. 4 and in diagrammatic representation in Tab. 5. There is no significant convergence on variations to the outline of the schema amongst the other texts of the BdC. It thus appears no other witnessed version of Balkhī's material would have differed significantly here.

In terms of the content of the numerous faction-descriptions contained within the *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya, the *Mughnī* again preserves essentially what must have been found in at least one version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt*. Sometimes, elements present in this version were either summarised by 'Abd al-Jabbār or have become corrupted in the transmission of the *Mughnī* (and/or transmission of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* up to 'Abd al-Jabbār). They can usually be restored by comparison with the material in the *firaq*-list of the Rāfiḍa in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*. The restoration can be further confirmed where there is convergence with Ash'arī's rendering elsewhere in the BdC, which is usually the case somewhere.

The only major variation in the content of the descriptions of the Imāmiyya upon which there is convergence amongst the BdC *against* the *Mughnī*'s version concerns four Ghulāt factions: the Bayāniyya, the Ḥarbiyya, the Mughūriyya and the Manṣūriyya. Here, the *Bāb* and the *Hūr* insert material that parallels descriptions in Ash'arī's *firaq*-list of the Ghāliya amidst or alongside that which is present in the *Mughnī* (which parallels only the material in Ash'arī's list of the Rāfiḍa). The *Bāb* and the *Hūr* also converge over other small additional elements and rearrangements of this material. Nevertheless, 'Abd al-Jabbār must still preserve what was present in at least one version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt*. This is confirmed by the continued convergence between the *Mughnī* and the *firaq*-list of the Rāfiḍa in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, regardless of the specific reason for that convergence. The 'combined' variants of these descriptions in the *Hūr* and the *Bāb*, where the material present in Ash'arī's *firaq*-list of the Ghāliya is mixed in with that present in his list of the Rāfiḍa, should be attributed to a different version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* (the example of the Manṣūriyya is given above in full in Tab. 11).

1.1.3.1.2 The Zaydiyya

Balkhī presented the factions of the Zaydiyya in an *iftirāq*-schema, too, but a much simpler one, perhaps consisting of as few as four main factions. No single text of the BdC preserves any version of Balkhī's material fully intact, even in outline, although the *Mughnī* probably witnesses most of at least one version (see Tab. 8). We know that this version contained descriptions of the Jārūdiyya, the Butriyya, the Sulaymāniyya/Jarīriyya and the Nu'aymiyya in that order but probably without yet using faction-names for the last two. It also seems to have contained further material on Abū l-Jārūd and on the followers of Šabbāḥ al-Muzanī, but this apparently did not form part of the *iftirāq*-schema. It is also likely that at least some version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* had material on a faction known as the Ya'qūbiyya, but this material is less well attested.

There is more variation within the BdC over the content of the faction-descriptions of the Zaydiyya than in the material on the Imāmiyya. The descriptions of the Jārūdiyya (given above in Tab. 10), the Butriyya and the Sulaymāniyya/Jarīriyya are not completely consistent across the BdC. In the latter two descriptions especially, the *Hūr*, the *Bāb* and the *Bad'* converge on one version, whilst the *Mughnī* preserves something very different. That 'Abd al-Jabbār's descriptions must have stood already in a version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* is again confirmed by parallels in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and, sporadically, by the other texts of the corpus. Most likely, then, the *Hūr*, the *Bāb* and the *Bad'* preserve a different version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* here. A small part of their material, however, is paralleled by Ash'arī in a marked Zurqān-citation. That raises questions about the relationship between the different versions of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* and the sources Balkhī used, as well as the relationship between all of these and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*. But we will require the evidence from Nawbakhtī's *Firaq*, examined in the next chapter, to make further progress here.

The remainder of Balkhī's faction-descriptions of the Zaydiyya are difficult to reconstruct for another reason: insufficient attestation. Similarity with Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and some overlap with the *Rawḍa* means we know the *Mughnī* preserves at least roughly what Balkhī presented concerning the Nu'aymiyya. The same must be true for the *Mughnī*'s material on the followers of Šabbāḥ al-Muzanī, which Jishumī also indirectly attests to. But we have only Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* to compare with here and Balkhī's specific wording cannot be established on this basis. For the Ya'qūbiyya, the only text of the BdC to preserve any material is the *Rawḍa* and Ḥajūrī is often an idiosyncratic reworker of what he took from Balkhī; we can only speculate that Balkhī's description would have more closely resembled Ash'arī's¹⁵⁶.

¹⁵⁶ There is further relevant evidence concerning the material on the followers of al-Muzanī and the Ya'qūbiyya in Qummī's *Maqālāt*, which must come ultimately from a common source, but this does not confirm precisely what Balkhī's material would have looked like. See p. 377–378.

1.1.3.1.3 The Ghulāt

Our capacity to establish Balkhī's *firaq*-material on the Ghulāt is different yet again. We can hardly determine the outline structure at all. A key issue here is that there are two bodies of material on some factions, namely the Bayāniyya, the Ḥarbiyya, the Maṣūriyya and the Muḡhīriyya. These factions always feature within the *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya, and the material on them that consistently appears within that context deals with the standard topic of the schema: the line of Imāms they followed. But there is a second body of material on each of these factions that contains a far broader description of those doctrines considered *ghuluww*. The *Ḥūr* and the *Bāb* integrate the two bodies of material for each faction into combined descriptions within the *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya. The version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* they used (or, less likely, a common post-Balkhī intermediary) must have done likewise. The version(s) of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* used by 'Abd al-Jabbār and Jishumī, however, cannot have done this; the two bodies of material would have appeared separately there, as they do in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*. But we do not know any further specifics.

There are also Ghulāt factions that must have appeared outside the *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya in all witnessed version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt*: the Saba'iyya, the Saḡābiyya, and the Ghurābiyya. Again, we cannot establish anything more precisely about how they were presented. Finally, Balkhī also had material on the Khaṭṭābiyya and its four sub-factions. This too cannot have featured in the *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya in the version of Balkhī's material used by 'Abd al-Jabbār, but it *might* have done in the version used by Ḥimyarī and Abū Tammām.

Although the outline structure of Balkhī's material on the Ghulāt can be established only hazily, the content of most of the individual faction-descriptions can be determined with much greater precision. Beyond what always appears in the *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya, the material on the Bayāniyya, the Ḥarbiyya, the Muḡhīriyya, the Maṣūriyya and the Khaṭṭābiyya was essentially what Ash'arī presents on these factions in his *firaq*-list of the Ghāliya. For the Saḡābiyya, Ash'arī summarises slightly; a fuller version of Balkhī's material can probably be determined by taking the parallels between the *Ḥūr* and the *Rawḍa* into account too [*MaqA*.16:6–9; *Ḥūr*.206:19–207:1; *Rawḍa*.140r:10–11]. The core of Balkhī's material on the Ghurābiyya can be reconstructed from the convergence between the *Bāb*, the *Uyūn*, the *Ḥūr* and the *Rawḍa* [*Bāb*.111:2–4; *Uyūn*.31r:7–8; *Ḥūr*.207:3–4; *Rawḍa*. 140r:11–12]. If we assume the convergences between the *Ḥūr* and the *Bāb* represent a version of Balkhī's material, then that version's description of the Saba'iyya can be reconstructed, because the two texts agree so closely. All other texts of the BdC and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* have something else, but they vary too much for us to be able to reconstruct the wording that would have appeared in their common source.

1.1.3.2 The Relationship Between Balkhī's and Ash'arī's *firaq*-Material; Balkhī's Sources

Ash'arī's main source for the Shī'ī *firaq*-material was either a version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* very close to that used by 'Abd al-Jabbār in the *Mughnī*, or else Ash'arī and Balkhī had a single, main common source that was essentially just reproduced by Balkhī in that version of his *Maqālāt*. We know this because the close, sustained convergence between Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and the *Mughnī* over both the structure and content of the *firaq*-material could not conceivably have arisen if Ash'arī and Balkhī had independently compiled it from multiple common sources. Indeed, Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* must be closer to Balkhī's *Maqālāt* in some respects than is any individual text of the extant BdC. In particular, it often preserves more of the faction-descriptions as they must have stood in Balkhī's material than does any individual text of the BdC. That becomes clear only when one compares across the whole of the BdC.

Structurally, Ash'arī's *firaq*-material must be very close to the version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* used by 'Abd al-Jabbār. Indeed, it is evident that the structure of Ash'arī's material was (at least sometimes) derived from something that looked more like that version of Balkhī's *firaq*-material. This is clearest for the Imāmiyya, where Ash'arī's plain *firaq*-list must be a simplification of the complex *iftirāq*-schema that stood in Balkhī's *Maqālāt*, regardless of whether he found it there or in a common source. For the Zaydiyya, it also seems likely that something resembling the version of Balkhī's material used by 'Abd al-Jabbār was Ash'arī's main source. For the Ghāliya, we cannot determine any version of Balkhī's material precisely enough to reach a conclusion here. Nevertheless, we can still say confidently that either Ash'arī's main source was a version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* close to that used by 'Abd al-Jabbār, or else Ash'arī and Balkhī had a main common source that must then, in some major structural respects, have been preserved more faithfully by Balkhī in the version of his *Maqālāt* used by 'Abd al-Jabbār than it was in the version used by Ḥimyarī etc.

The earliest possible candidate for the potential main common source used by Balkhī and Ash'arī is Warrāq. This is because the material cited from Warrāq that appears in both Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and the BdC is integrated within the surrounding common material in the same way. There is no evidence of an intermediary between Warrāq and Balkhī, and we know of no candidate for such an intermediary. Thus, we essentially have two possibilities: one is that Balkhī cited Warrāq, and Ash'arī took the material from the version of Balkhī's material used by 'Abd al-Jabbār; the other is that Warrāq was Ash'arī and Balkhī's common source for all the *firaq*-material on the Shī'a that Ash'arī and 'Abd al-Jabbār have in common, as well as the 'extra' material on the Ghulāt that Ash'arī has in common with Ḥimyarī

and Abū Tammām¹⁵⁷. Unfortunately, the character of the citation-marking alone does not allow us to determine which of these was the case.

Nevertheless, because we know that Ash'arī cites Balkhī for doxographical material elsewhere in the Shī'a-chapter, the default explanation must be that Ash'arī's main source for the *firaq*-material on the Shī'a was also the version of Balkhī's material used by 'Abd al-Jabbār or one very close to it. On balance, the evidence examined above also weighs slightly in favour of that explanation, but it is too equivocal, ambiguous, or thinly substantiated to provide decisive confirmation.

First, it is noteworthy that there is only one faction upon which the BdC converges but that does not appear at all in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, namely the Ghurābiyya. For the numerous factions common to the BdC and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, there is almost no material at all witnessed by the convergence of the BdC that is not also in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*. Ash'arī, however, has several additional factions that appear nowhere in the BdC. This, above all, is what makes it plausible that Ash'arī's main source was just a version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt*. If they had had a common source in Warrāq, we would expect Balkhī, too, to have added in a significant body of extra material that would be absent from Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*. The main problem with using this evidence to argue positively that Ash'arī's source was a version of Balkhī's material, however, relates to chronology. The latest datable event mentioned in the material upon which the BdC converges is the death of Ḥasan al-'Askarī in 260/873. We would expect Balkhī to have included more recent information. That early *terminus post quem* makes it plausible Balkhī was working from Warrāq's material and simply not (or hardly) updating. Ash'arī might then have taken the out-of-date material either from Balkhī or directly from Warrāq. The evidence here is thus equivocal.

Second, there are the frequent, specific Balkhī-citations made in relation to small passages in the BdC within the larger body of material cited from Balkhī. Some of these passages evidently preserve material composed by Balkhī himself, i.e., not taken from an earlier source. And some of them are paralleled in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*. If we could be sure that all such passages were indeed 'personal' additions of Balkhī, we would have our proof that Ash'arī's source was some version of Balkhī's material. The problem is that, although no other convincing explanation is forthcoming, it is highly unlikely that all specific Balkhī-citations really imply this. None of those citations that *must* contain Balkhī's own additions are amongst those paralleled by Ash'arī. The evidence here is thus ambiguous.

¹⁵⁷ It is worth emphasizing the point in reverse, too: we only know that Warrāq was Balkhī's main source for the *firaq*-material on the Shī'a that Ash'arī and 'Abd al-Jabbār have in common *if* Ash'arī was not just dependent on the version of Balkhī's material used by 'Abd al-Jabbār. If Ash'arī was just dependent on that version of Balkhī's material, we do not have the same insight into Balkhī's source(s).

The most decisive evidence available to us relates to three small instances where Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and the *Mughnī* converge against the rest of the BdC. Two concern faction-names; the third relates to a personal name. It is extremely unlikely this could have happened unless the convergences go back to their common source, i.e., either to the version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* used by 'Abd al-Jabbār or to Balkhī's source for that version, which would then be Warrāq. But the version of the personal name in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and the *Mughnī* is clearly a mistake. If that mistake went back to Balkhī's source, it is hard to explain how the rest of the BdC gets the name correct. Thus, we have evidence that Ash'arī and 'Abd al-Jabbār's common source is really a version of Balkhī's material in which this mistake first occurred, not Balkhī's own source. The problem is that this evidence is so thin. Three convergences against the rest of the corpus cannot simply be dismissed as coincidence, but the relevant common mistake merely concerns the omission of the words 'son of 'Alī' (*bn 'Alī*). This evidence weighs in favour of Ash'arī source being the version of Balkhī's material used by 'Abd al-Jabbār, but it is thin and poorly substantiated.

As well as the main common source of the Shī'ī *fīraq*-material, which was probably the version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* used by 'Abd al-Jabbār, Ash'arī possibly used a second source for a small amount of material on the Zaydiyya: Zurqān's *Maqālāt*. Balkhī did not deploy material from Zurqān on the Zaydiyya in the version of his *Maqālāt* used by 'Abd al-Jabbār, but he did in the (later?) version of his *Maqālāt* used ultimately by Abū Tammām, Maqdisī, and Ḥimyarī. We will be able to say more about this in section 1.2 where we integrate the evidence from Nawbakhtī's *Fīraq* in relation to this material.

If we knew that Ash'arī was not dependent on a version of Balkhī's material at all in the *fīraq*-material on the Shī'a, then we would know, as stated above, that their common source for everything except the small amount of material that came from Zurqān was Warrāq. Because it appears more likely, however, that Ash'arī was dependent mainly on a version of Balkhī's material, we have less insight into Balkhī's own source(s), both in terms of what we can reconstruct of the material present in those sources, and in terms of the sources' identity. Nevertheless, even in these circumstances, the best candidate for Balkhī's source for all the material shared by Ash'arī and the BdC, except the small amount of material that came from Zurqān, is still Warrāq. This is because Ḥimyarī tells us that Balkhī's sources were Zurqān and Warrāq, and the citation-marking in relation to the parallels in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and Jishumī's *Sharḥ* confirms this. We do not know of any other sources. Therefore, wherever it appears Balkhī was not dependent on Zurqān, the best candidate for his source is Warrāq. As we will see in section 1.2 the amount of *fīraq*-material on the Shī'a that came from Zurqān is small and identifiable, so the rest presumably came to Balkhī at least *via* Warrāq.

1.2 The Zaydiyya in Nawbakhtī's *ikhtilāf*-Section and the Balkhī-Ash'arī *firaq*-Material

Nawbakhtī's *firaq*-material exhibits numerous parallels to the *firaq*-material common to Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and the BdC. Nearly all of these parallels concern the Imāmiyya and will be dealt with in section 1.3. In contrast, Nawbakhtī's *firaq*-material on the Zaydiyya does not appear anywhere in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and the BdC¹⁵⁸. There is, however, a set of close parallels between Nawbakhtī's *ikhtilāf*-section on the topic of the Imāmate and parts of the Ash'arī-Balkhī *firaq*-material on the Zaydiyya¹⁵⁹. These parallels have been dealt with in previous scholarship only tangentially, but they are important for several reasons: they enable us to determine Nawbakhtī's source for the *ikhtilāf*-section, namely Zurqān's *Maqālāt*; they indicate that the Ash'arī-Balkhī presentation of Zaydī *firaq* is made up of material from at least two sources, of which one is Zurqān and another is Warrāq; and they permit us to see that Nawbakhtī maintains an earlier form of Zurqān's material, i.e., which must be closer to that of Zurqān's 'original'.

We will begin in 1.2.1. with a discussion of the source of Nawbakhtī's *ikhtilāf*-section. A more detailed look at the parallels is provided in 1.2.2., where the focus lies on establishing which material from which source is present where, and what relationship between the extant texts best explains the situation. 1.2.3. assembles the evidence that Nawbakhtī must preserve the earlier form of the Zurqān-material on the Zaydiyya.

1.2.1 The Source of the *Firaq*'s *ikhtilāf*-Section

The most important discussion of the sources of Nawbakhtī's *Firaq* to date was provided in a well-known 1967 article by Wilferd Madelung: *Bemerkungen zur imamitischen Firaq-Literatur*. There, he maintained that the *ikhtilāf*-section, like all the earlier parts of the *Firaq*, was reproduced from the much older *Ikhtilāf al-nās fi l-imāma* of Hishām b. al-Ḥakam (d.179/795)¹⁶⁰. Indeed, it was partly based on evidence from the *ikhtilāf*-section that he dated the early parts of the *Firaq* to Hishām's lifetime in the first place, because, he asserted, it contains only figures active before the end of the second century¹⁶¹. For Madelung, the dating of the *ikhtilāf*-section was relevant to the dating also of the surrounding material, because he considered

¹⁵⁸ There is some overlap in the information they present, as we might expect, but no verbal or near-verbal parallels. See p. 339–340.

¹⁵⁹ On the structure of Nawbakhtī's *Firaq*, see p. 58.

¹⁶⁰ Madelung 1967:40–45.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*:40

it to fit within the ‘whole layout of the first part’ of the *Firaq* and not to disturb its ‘internal unity’ in a way that might indicate it came from a different source¹⁶².

That suggestion went essentially unchallenged for forty years but was recently questioned by van Ess, based on two main arguments¹⁶³. First, van Ess observes that at least two of the figures mentioned in the *ikhtilāf*-section are too late for Hishām to have written about their doctrinal opinions: Nazzām (d. between 221/836 and 232/846, apparently still a young man) [*Fir.* 10:16–11:15, 12:18] and Bishr al-Marīsī (d.219/833) [*Fir.*13:2–9]¹⁶⁴. This is an important point. Although Madelung is correct that both were active before the end of the second/eighth century, they cannot have been well-known theologians before Hishām b. al-Ḥakam’s death, most probably in 179/795¹⁶⁵. In any case, all the most reliable evidence puts Hishām in an older generation. He was one of the most senior *mutakallimūn* who took part in the famous discussion circles of the Barmakids in Baghdad; Nazzām and Marīsī were not yet sufficiently prominent to be involved at all¹⁶⁶. Even if we posited that he wrote his *Ikhtilāf al-nās fī l-imāma* towards the very end of his life, it hardly seems likely he would have recorded the opinions of such young upstarts. Much more likely, it was only in the view of later (Mu’tazilī) generations that Nazzām and Hishām b. al-Ḥakam were considered on an equal footing and set alongside one another in *maqālāt*-works¹⁶⁷. Van Ess raises the possibility that Nawbakhtī himself could

¹⁶² *Ibid.* 43, 45. See further p. 257–264.

¹⁶³ Van Ess 2011:247. Aspects of Madelung’s argument in relation to other parts of Nawbakhtī’s *Firaq* were contested in the meantime, particularly by Tamima Bayhom-Daou and Hossein Modarressi. See p. 263–264, 268–269.

¹⁶⁴ van Ess 2011:247.

¹⁶⁵ This is the date favoured by Madelung (*EF*². “Hishām b. al-Ḥakam”) and Modarressi (2003:259). Van Ess also strongly argues for this date (*TG*.I:353), dismissing the later alternatives of 188/804 and 199/814, which he is probably correct to see as a misreading of 179.

¹⁶⁶ On Hishām’s role in the Barmakids’ discussion circles and the dating of his activities generally, see *TG*.I:350–353. Key is the fact that Imāmi sources connect him with Ja’far al-Ṣādiq and Mūsā al-Kāẓim, but not from ‘Alī al-Riḍā. Otherwise, the main point of contact mentioned in the sources is Yahyā al-Barmakī. Nazzām probably came to Baghdad only some time after the Barmakids’ fall in 187/803, although still in the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd, i.e., before 193/809 (*TG*.III:299). The political figures who seem to have brought him there were involved in Hārūn’s post-Barmakī regime. It was the older generation of Kūfan *mutakallimūn*, i.e., Hishām b. al-Ḥakam, Dirār b. ‘Amr and the Ibādī *mutakallim* ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Yazīd who had been the stars at the court of the Barmakids. The Baṣran Mu’tazila came to prominence later (*TG*.III:31–32). Bishr al-Marīsī’s activities as a theologian in Baghdad are most closely connected with the period after Ma’mūn’s return in 204/820, whereupon he was invited to join the Caliph’s discussion circle (*TG*.III:180–181).

¹⁶⁷ Madelung mentions records of debates between Hishām and Nazzām, giving two references (1967:44, n.42). One is to a citation from Nawbakhtī’s *Ārā’*, in which Nawbakhtī relates a doxographical report about Hishām b. al-Ḥakam on the authority of Jāḥiẓ (*Talbis*.507:1–508:1, also Ritter’s introduction to the *Firaq*, *kāf-zā*). Jāḥiẓ in turn reports on the authority of Nazzām, but there is

have added the material on Nazzām and Bishr to that which he took from a second-century source but dismisses it, as we would then expect Nawbakhtī to have added many more theologians from the intervening period¹⁶⁸. The source of the *ikhtilāf*-section apparently comes, then, from a period after Nazzām had become a prominent theologian, perhaps even after his death. Most probably it was composed within the generation of his students.

Second, van Ess also makes a structural observation: this is a section of *ikhtilāf*-material, a format which is much more characteristic of the Mu'tazila¹⁶⁹. The point could be disputed. The fact that only Mu'tazilī and, later, Mu'tazilī-derived theological *ikhtilāf*-material survives does not necessarily mean the format was not employed elsewhere. Indeed, Hishām's text, with the very term *ikhtilāf* in the title, may well be the best candidate for such a work by an Imāmī *mutakallim*. Nevertheless, it is an isolated case even as far as titles are concerned and nothing similar is preserved elsewhere in Imāmī literature. Moreover, the point about format is important for other reasons: regardless of how well the *ikhtilāf*-section may fit into the 'whole plan' of the early part of Nawbakhtī's *Firaq* (a matter which van Ess does not address directly), it is clearly structurally and formulaically distinct from the historiographical introduction that precedes it and the *firaq*-material that follows it. It cannot simply be assumed that it must come from the same source. Van Ess proposes, instead, that Nawbakhtī's *ikhtilāf*-section drew on Zurqān's *Maqālāt*¹⁷⁰.

Further evidence for this suggestion is available beyond van Ess's chronological and stylistic objections to Hishām's authorship. At the level of basic plausibility, Nawbakhtī was theologically close to the Mu'tazila and should have had few qualms about using a standard Mu'tazilī doxographical source, at least insofar

no implication that Nazzām's information is drawn from a first-hand encounter, let alone a debate between the two. The other reference is to a disputation recorded by Kashshī (*RijālK*.274:12–275:8). Van Ess argues that the latter, like the more famous story of the Barmakid's symposium on love, in which Nazzām also appears, is fictitious (*TG*.III:307, also 298–299, and 31, n.3). That seems highly likely given what can be dated of the activities of the two men. The connection between Hishām and Nazzām was rather that the latter adopted several of the former's positions in the physical parts of *kalām*, although the precise relationship is obscure (*TG*.III:312, 313, 323, 336, 354). The Mu'tazila, too, mention a disputation between them ('Abd al-Jabbār, *Faḍl*, 254:5–6, whence *Tab-aqāt*.44:7–8). Van Ess sees this, too, as legend. What is suspicious is that 'Abd al-Jabbār has them meet on the pilgrimage. But it is also on a pilgrimage that Abū l-Hudhayl is supposed to have met and disputed with Hishām, except that *this* encounter is witnessed by third-century sources. At *Maqā*.32:7–11 and *Hūr*:308:19–21, Ash'arī and Ḥimyarī—presumably via Balkhī—cite from a work of Abū l-Hudhayl himself, who described the meeting.

¹⁶⁸ van Ess 2011:247.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.* He continues to entertain the idea that Zurqān might have been relying on Hishām in turn, such that Nawbakhtī would have been using Hishām's text directly *and* via Zurqān.

as it dealt with non-Imāmī thinkers, as is the case here¹⁷¹. We also have evidence from marked citations that Zurqān structured at least part of his *Maqālāt* using *ikhtilāf*-clusters¹⁷². More specifically, we can observe that nearly all the figures mentioned in Nawbakhtī's *ikhtilāf*-section appear in marked Zurqān-citations preserved elsewhere¹⁷³. Most concretely of all, however, there are three, nearly verbatim parallels between the *Firaq*'s *ikhtilāf*-section and marked Zurqān-citations in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Baghdādī's *Uṣūl al-dīn*. They contain doctrinal statements on the Imāmate attributed to the Zaydī scholar Sulaymān b. Jarīr [Fir:9:6–9; MaqA.68:5–7], to Abū Ḥanīfa [Fir:10:1–4; Uṣūl al-dīn 275:4–7], and to the Khārijī faction known as the Najdiyya/Najadāt [Fir:10:10–12; MaqA.125:11–12]¹⁷⁴.

Madelung was already aware of these three parallels. He interpreted them as evidence that Zurqān and Nawbakhtī had a common source in Hishām's *Ikhtilāf al-nās fi l-imāma*¹⁷⁵. But that interpretation begs the question, as it already assumes that Hishām is Nawbakhtī's source. Consideration should always have been given first to the other possibility, namely that Zurqān's *Maqālāt* itself was Nawbakhtī's source at this point in the *Firaq*. It is important to note that Madelung presents evidence that other parts of the *Firaq* rely on a source written in the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd (d.193/809)¹⁷⁶. But even if he is right about the dating of those sections,

171 On Nawbakhtī's Mu'tazilism, see *Et*². "al-Nawbakhtī" [Kraemer] and, above all, Madelung 1979. 172 See p. 54–55.

173 The figures that appear in both Nawbakhtī's *ikhtilāf*-section and in Zurqān-citations elsewhere are, in order of first appearance, the following: Sulaymān b. Jarīr (Fir:9:6–9; MaqA.68:5–7); Jahm b. Ṣafwān (Fir:9:14–17; MaqA.346:6–8; 589:3–5); Ghaylān (Fir:9:14–17; MaqA.137:3–5); Abū Ḥanīfa (Fir:10:1–4; 12:18–13:9; Uṣūl.275:4–7); the Khārijī faction known as the Najdiyya/Najadāt (Fir:10:10–12; MaqA.125:11–12); Ḍirār b. 'Amr (Fir:10:13–15; 13:14–18; MaqA.328:16–11; 594:14–16); Nazzām (Fir:10:16–11:15; 12:18–13:9; 14:10–16; MaqA.384:12–14; 433:5–6; 436:10–15); Bishr b. al-Mu'tamir (Fir:12:18–13:9; 14:10–16; MaqA.511:7–8); Bakr b. Ukht 'Abd al-Wāhid b. Zayd (Fir:13:10–13; MaqA.286:9–11; 287:13); Mu'ammār (Fir:13:14–18; MaqA.339:1–2; 364:12–13; 584:1–4); Abū l-Hudhayl (Fir:13:14–18; MaqA.339:1–2), and Abū Bakr al-Aṣamm (Fir:14:1–4; 14:17–18; MaqA.328:14–15). The main group of figures who appear in Nawbakhtī's *ikhtilāf*-section but not in marked Zurqān-citations elsewhere all appear together in connection with a single doctrinal statement, attributed to the Butriyya, which lists the individual Butrī scholars who professed it as Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ b. Ḥayy (who, nevertheless, definitely appeared in Zurqān's *Maqālāt*; see p. 232–233), Kathīr al-Nawwā', Sālim b. Abī Ḥafṣa, Ḥakam b. 'Uṭayba, Salma b. Kuhayl and Abū l-Miqdām (Fir:12:10–16).

174 All Baghdādī's Zurqān-citations in the *Farq* appear already in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, which is his usual source (*Farq*.68:8–9=MaqA.60:7–9; *Farq*.68:10–11=MaqA.60:15–61:2; *Farq*.68:15–16=MaqA.63:5–6; *Farq*.206:20–21=MaqA.137:3–7). The citation in Baghdādī's *Uṣūl al-dīn* concerning Abū Ḥanīfa, however, does not appear in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*. Baghdādī, however, certainly had access to a version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt*, too. It perhaps came via there. On Baghdādī's sources generally, see van Ess 2011:692, 699.

175 Madelung 1967:43–44, n.39.

176 *Ibid.*41–42. See further p. 258–259.

it need not apply to the structurally distinct *ikhtilāf*-section, which cannot (in its entirety) have been composed so early. Given all the other evidence, it is more likely that these parallels imply Zurqān's *Maqālāt* itself was Nawbakhtī's source in this part of the *Firaq* than that they imply Nawbakhtī and Zurqān used a common source. Certainly, they cannot have had a common source as early as Hishām's *Ikhtilāf al-nās*¹⁷⁷.

In any case, there are no witness at all that associate any material whatsoever from the *Firaq* with the name Hishām b. al-Ḥakam or the title *Ikhtilāf al-nās fi l-imāma*. Indeed, the only witness we have to doxographical material from Hishām b. al-Ḥakam conspicuously fails to support the thesis that he was Nawbakhtī's source in the *ikhtilāf*-section. Ibn Ḥazm presents a report on the Butriyya in the *Fiṣal* that closely parallels that given by Nawbakhtī in the *ikhtilāf*-section of the *Firaq* [*Fir*:8:15–9:5; *Fiṣ*.IV:157:3–7¹⁷⁸]. It deals with the Butriyya's doctrine that 'Alī was rightfully the Imām but surrendered the Imāmate to Abū Bakr and 'Umar, making them legitimate Imāms¹⁷⁹. Nawbakhtī states that the doctrine reported is, more particularly, that of Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ b. Ḥayy¹⁸⁰. Ibn Ḥazm, in contrast, says that only 'some of those who compose works on doctrines' (*ba'd man yu'allifu fi l-maqālāt*) attribute it to Ibn Ḥayy¹⁸¹. Nawbakhtī and Ibn Ḥazm must ultimately rely on the same source here, although it is uncertain where Ibn Ḥazm took it from directly¹⁸². Regardless, the important point is that Ibn Ḥazm immediately denies that this was Ibn Ḥayy's doctrine. The reason is that he has seen a different doctrine attributed to Ibn Ḥayy

177 Van Ess ultimately adopts a mixed position. At one point, he adduces the parallel concerning the Sulaymāniyya as evidence that Nawbakhtī's source for the *ikhtilāf*-section was Zurqān (van Ess 2011:247, especially n.307, referring to 349, n.188), but he clearly wishes also to retain Madelung's interpretation that Zurqān's source was Hishām b. al-Ḥakam (*Ibid.*:181, 247,481), which would imply that Nawbakhtī used Hishām's text both directly *and* via Zurqān. That is possible but it is an unnecessary move. There is no reason to assert Zurqān used Hishām's text in the first place unless Nawbakhtī's source here was Hishām, not Zurqān. This was just Madelung's attempt to explain the parallels between Nawbakhtī's *ikhtilāf*-section and the Zurqān-citations elsewhere, having assumed that Nawbakhtī's source was Hishām. It is superfluous if Zurqān was Nawbakhtī's source. That is true regardless of the status of Madelung's arguments that Hishām is the source elsewhere in the *Firaq*, which are addressed in the next chapter.

178 =Friedlaender 1907:74:14–20.

179 Nawbakhtī's version and its parallels in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and the Balkhī-dependent corpus are given below in *Tab*.13 on p. 243–246.

180 On Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ b. Ḥayy: *TG*.I:246–251. Reported to have been a supporter of the rebellion of al-Nafs al-Zakiyya in 145/763, he seems to have died in 167/784. He was known as a jurist and a transmitter of *ḥadīth*, as well as a companion of Zayd b. 'Alī's son, 'Īsā.

181 This is the variant favoured by Friedlaender (1907:74, n.6). The edition just has a '*ṭā'ifa*' attributing the view to Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ.

182 Most likely, it came via Balkhī. See p. 363–374.

in a work by Hishām b. al-Ḥakam, namely his *Kitāb al-mizān* [Fiş.III:157:8–14¹⁸³]. Apparently, Hishām claimed that Ibn Ḥayy believed that anyone ‘from the (male) descendants of Fihr b. Mālik’ (i.e., from the Quraysh) could hold the Imāmate. Ibn Ḥazm obviously understands the two doctrines to be contradictory. Strictly speaking, at least in the form they are presented, they do not have to be. The fact that one holds that the Imām must be a member of Quraysh does not prevent further views about the status of ‘Alī relative to Abū Bakr and ‘Umar. But Ibn Ḥazm understands them this way for a reason: one only makes a positive statement about the rights of the Quraysh as a whole to the Imāmate when one gives no special status to ‘Alī and his descendants. At the very least then, Hishām b. al-Ḥakam, in his *Kitāb al-mizān*, did not allow Ibn Ḥayy’s doctrine the subtlety granted it in the *Firaq* and the parallel passage in the *Fişal*. There is thus no reason here to think it likely that Hishām was Nawbakhtī’s source for his material on Ḥasan b. Şāliḥ b. Ḥayy¹⁸⁴.

Finally, all three of the statements in the *Firaq*’s *ikhtilāf*-section that are paralleled in Zurqān-citations elsewhere appear within a single *ikhtilāf*-cluster in the *Firaq*. But the two other main *ikhtilāf*-clusters that make up the *Firaq*’s *ikhtilāf*-section are also paralleled in Ash’arī’s *Maqālāt*. They appear almost in their entirety in part two, but as intact clusters [cf. *Fir*.12:17–14:4 with *MaqA*.456:14–458:5; cf. *Fir*.14:5–15:5 with *MaqA*.452:7–454:2]. Ash’arī does not say he is citing Zurqān at any point there, but that is again by far the most likely explanation. For one thing, there is still the significant overlap with the figures mentioned in marked Zurqān-citations¹⁸⁵. More importantly, the fact that Ash’arī elsewhere cites his parallels to the *Firaq*’s *ikhtilāf*-section from Zurqān strongly suggests that Ash’arī, at least, obtained all this material from Zurqān. That also makes it more likely that Nawbakhtī could simply have obtained all the material from Zurqān, too. Moreover, both Naẓẓām and Bishr appear amongst this material [*Fir*.12:18–13:1, *MaqA*.456:5–16]. Regardless of all other considerations, that means it is impossible that Nawbakhtī simply added these figures to material taken from an earlier common source; they stood already in the common source used by Nawbakhtī and Ash’arī, which thus cannot have been as early as Hishām b. al-Ḥakam. In the round, there is thus very good reason to think the whole *ikhtilāf*-section in the *Firaq* relies on Zurqān’s *Maqālāt*, as van Ess suggested.

Chronologically, it is implausible that Nawbakhtī, when he composed the *Firaq*, could have been citing his Zurqān-material via either Balkhī’s or Ash’arī’s *Maqālāt*s. As we will see below and in section 1.3, the situation of the parallels here

¹⁸³ =Friedlender 1907:74:20–75:6.

¹⁸⁴ There are further instances of citations from Hishām b. al-Ḥakam that cast doubt on the idea that he might be Nawbakhtī’s source elsewhere in the *Firaq*, too. See p. 266, 268 n.270.

¹⁸⁵ See n.173, above.

and elsewhere in the *Firaq* rules out that Nawbakhtī used either of their works as a source anyway¹⁸⁶. This means, crucially, that Nawbakhtī's *ikhtilāf*-section gives us a witness to Zurqān's material that is independent of Balkhī and Ash'arī.

1.2.2 The Parallels with Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and the BdC Concerning the Zaydiyya

One of the instances of a parallel between Nawbakhtī's *ikhtilāf*-section and a marked Zurqān-citation concerns the second-century Zaydī *mutakallim* Sulaymān b. Jarīr. The marked citation appears within Ash'arī's description of the Sulaymāniyya in his *firaq*-list of the Zaydiyya. The Zurqān-material given by Ash'arī constitutes only a part of his description of the Sulaymāniyya. Its parallel in the *Firaq* is also only part of a longer statement of Sulaymān's doctrine on the first four caliphs preserved by Nawbakhtī. Outside of what Ash'arī cites from Zurqān, the two do not parallel each other at all. However, the parallels between Nawbakhtī's *ikhtilāf*-section and Ash'arī's *firaq*-material on the Zaydiyya do not stop there. Just before Sulaymān's doctrine, Nawbakhtī presents the doctrine of the Butriyya, who are said to consist of the scholar Ḥasan b. Šālih b. Ḥayy and his followers [*Fir*:8:15–9:5]. As in the case of the Sulaymāniyya, an element of Nawbakhtī's material on Ḥasan's doctrine is present within Ash'arī's description of the Butriyya, although no citation-marking is given this time [*MaqA*.68:14–69:1]. Finally, after Sulaymān's doctrine, Nawbakhtī presents the doctrine of someone whose name appears to be 'Ibn al-Tammār' [*Fir*.9:10–13]. However, the statement given for this Ibn al-Tammār is a nearly verbatim parallel to the faction-description Ash'arī gives of the Nu'aymiyya, the followers of Nu'aym b. al-Yamān [*MaqA*.69:5–8], which comes directly after his description of the Butriyya. These two names must refer to the same person; unpointed '*ibn al-yamān*' can easily be misread as '*ibn al-tammār*'¹⁸⁷. Thus, material from three doctrinal statements attributed to Zaydī scholars that appear together in Nawbakhtī's *ikhtilāf*-section is partially reproduced amongst Ash'arī's factions-descriptions of three factions that likewise appear together in his *firaq*-list of the Zaydiyya. We can assume with a high

¹⁸⁶ See there, e.g., p. 301–304, 340–344.

¹⁸⁷ In *kalām* works, the name Ibn al-Tammār usually refers to the Imāmī theologian 'Alī b. Mītham, on whom see p. 301 n.313. The doctrine reported here, however, is clearly not Imāmī (it states that 'Alī deserved the Imāmate because he was the superior candidate, and that the pledge of allegiance to Abū Bakr and 'Umar was not an error *per se*). 'Alī b. Mītham is elsewhere never recorded to have held such 'outlandish' views on the Imāmate for an Imāmī. The *shuhra* "al-Tammār" is connected with another prominent Zaydī of Butrī inclination of the first half of second century, namely Abū Yūnus Sālim b. Abī Ḥafsa (*TG*.I:244–245), but that would leave Ash'arī's "Nu'aym b." unexplained. On Nu'aym b. al-Yamān, see p. 148, n.58.

degree of confidence that Ash'arī obtained all the parallel material from Zurqān even though only the one passage is marked as a citation.

We have already discussed the way Ash'arī's material is paralleled within the BdC. Ash'arī's descriptions consist mostly in parallels to 'Abd al-Jabbār's. There is divergence only where Ash'arī cites from Zurqān in the description of the Sulaymāniyya and for a short passage in the description of the Butriyya. The *Hūr*, the *Bāb* and the *Bad'*, however, parallel Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* precisely in those passages where Ash'arī diverges from the *Mughnī*. Bringing in the evidence from the *Firaq* sheds considerable light on this situation. The descriptions of the Sulaymāniyya/Jaririyya and the Butriyya in the *Hūr*, the *Bāb* and the *Bad'* are, in their entirety, parallels to the statements from Sulaymān b. Jarīr and the Butriyya in the *Firaq's ikhtilāf*-section. That is to say, they parallel each other not only for the small amount of material they have in common with Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* but also for all the rest of their material.

This is all relatively straightforward to explain with the models developed so far. Both the *Firaq's ikhtilāf*-section and the version of Balkhī's material used by Ḥimyarī, Abū Tammām and Maqdisī were completely dependent upon Zurqān's *Maqālāt* for their material on the Sulaymāniyya/Jaririyya and the Butriyya. Ash'arī, however, was primarily reliant either on the version of Balkhī's material used by 'Abd al-Jabbār or Balkhī's source for that version, which in that case would be Warrāq. Ash'arī then also inserted a small amount of material from Zurqān amongst the material he took from that main source. We can assume he used Zurqān directly¹⁸⁸.

That is not the end of the matter, however. First, the *Hūr*, the *Bāb* and the *Bad'* completely lack the material on the Nu'aymiyya. That is not a problem in itself; either they or the version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* upon which they depend could simply have omitted the faction. But there is material on the followers of (Nu'aym) Ibn al-Yamān in the *Mughnī*, even though the version of Balkhī's material used by 'Abd al-Jabbār does not seem to have depended on Zurqān. There is no verbal parallel with the material preserved by Nawbakhtī and Ash'arī, but there is some correspondence in content. How is this to be explained? Second, in the description of the Butriyya, there is yet another body of material common to Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, the *Hūr* and the *Bāb*, but which does not appear in either the *Firaq* or the *Mughnī*. It thus does not appear to have come from Zurqān or the version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* used by 'Abd al-Jabbār, but where is it from?

To clear up these matters and to substantiate the claims made in regard to parallels between the *Firaq* and the BdC/Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, it is worth going through the relevant passages in all the texts in some detail. We will examine the mate-

188 See p. 240–241.

rial on the Sulaymāniyya in 1.2.2.1, the Butriyya in 1.2.2.2, and the Nu'aymiyya in 1.2.2.3, before summarising the conclusions in 1.2.2.4.

As we go through the parallels, it is important to bear two things in mind. The first is that not all the material on the Zaydiyya in common between Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and the BdC is paralleled in Nawbakhtī's *ikhtilāf*-section and thus attributable to Zurqān. Aside from the elements of the descriptions of the Jarūdiyya/Sulaymāniyya and the Butriyya just mentioned, there is also the long description of the Jārūdiyya. That appears in most texts of the BdC, including the *Mughnī* and the *Hūr*, as well as in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, and we already know that there was a different, later source or sources here. At least part of it, and perhaps all of it, came to Balkhī from Warrāq¹⁸⁹. If Balkhī was not Ash'arī's source, then Ash'arī and Balkhī must have separately taken the whole description from Warrāq¹⁹⁰. There is also the material on the followers of Ṣabbāḥ al-Muzanī and the Ya'qūbiyya, which also seems to go back to Warrāq¹⁹¹. None of this is present in the *Firaq*¹⁹². The point is that we know that *all* versions of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* reused material from Warrāq. The difference is that the version behind the *Hūr*, the *Bāb* and the *Bad'* also brought in the material from Zurqān.

The second thing is that the convergence between the *Hūr*, the *Bāb* and the *Bad'* against the other texts is not restricted only to the fact they reproduce all of Zurqān's material on the Sulaymāniyya/Jarīriyya and the Butriyya, and do not have the material that Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, the *Mughnī*, Jishumī's texts and the *Rawḍa* have in common. Rather, the *Hūr*, the *Bāb* and the *Bad'* also converge against the other texts in the description of the Jārūdiyya, in terms of what material is present and its arrangement¹⁹³. The point is that Balkhī had at least two different versions of the material on the Zaydiyya in different versions of his *Maqālāt*. It is not just that one was based largely on Zurqān and the other seems to have mostly used another source (probably Warrāq); they differed even in the way they reproduced material when using the *same* source.

1.2.2.1 The Sulaymāniyya/Jarīriyya

Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, the *Mughnī*, the *Hūr*, the *Bad'* and the *Rawḍa* all preserve separate descriptions of the Sulaymāniyya/Jarīriyya, but the *Rawḍa* has only a small

¹⁸⁹ See p. 205–209.

¹⁹⁰ See p. 205–206.

¹⁹¹ See p. 208 n.139, also 149–150 and 377–378.

¹⁹² Nawbakhtī has two descriptions of the Jārūdiyya later, amongst his *firaq*-material. These present a doctrine similar to some of what appears in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and the Balkhī-dependent corpus, but they exhibit no significant verbal parallels. See p. 339–340.

¹⁹³ See p. 181.

fragment of the common material. Abū Tammām, in the *Bāb*, includes the material on Sulaymān b. Jarīr within the description of the Butriyya, but he maintains it intact. In both the *ʿUyūn* and the *Sharḥ*, Jishumī collapses the faction together with the Butriyya, but he mixes the material on the two factions together and summarises heavily in a unique way. We will concentrate on the versions in the *Mughnī*, Ashʿarī's *Maqālāt*, the *Ḥūr*, the *Bāb*, the *Badʿ* and the *Firaq*, which are given in full in Tab. 12. The material from Jishumī's texts and the *Rawḍa* will be introduced into the discussion where useful.

Tab. 12: The Balkhī-dependent corpus, Ashʿarī, and Nawbakhtī on the Sulaymāniyya.

<i>Mugh.XX₂</i> :184:15–19	<i>MaqA</i> .68:1–11
[a ¹] ومن الزيدية اصحاب سليمان ويختص سليمان بأن الإمامة عنده شورى فإنها تصح بعقد رجلين من خيار المسلمين فإنها تصح في المفضول	[a ²] والفرقة الثانية من الزيدية السليمانية اصحاب سليمان بن جرير الزيدي يزعمون ان الامامة شورى وانها تصلح بعقد رجلين من خيار المسلمين وانها قد تصلح في المفضول وان كان الافضل افضل في كل حال
[b ¹] وهو يثبت إمامة الشيخين ابي بكر و عمر	[b ²] ويثبتون امامة الشيخين ابي بكر و عمر
[c ¹] ويُقدّم على عثمان بنكفير	[c ²] وكان سليمان بن جرير يُقدّم على عثمان ويكفره عند الاحداث التي نُقمت عليه
[d ¹] ويقول إنّ علياً الأفضل ولا تقوم عليه شهادة عادلة بضلالة ولا يوجب هذه العلم على العامة لأنه صح عنده من طريق الروايات	[d ²] ويزعم انه قد ثبت عنده ان علي بن أبي طالب لا يصلح ولا تقوم عليه شهادة عادلة بضلالة ولا يوجب علم هذه النكته على العامة اذ كان انما تجب هذه النكته من طريق الروايات الصحيحة عنده
<i>Ḥūr</i> .207:14–17	<i>Bāb</i> .92:7–10
[x ³] وقالت الجريزية إن عليًا كان الإمام بعد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم [y ³] وإن بيعة أبي بكر وعمر كانت خطأ لا يستحق عليه اسم الكفر ولا اسم الفسق ¹⁹⁴ وإن الأمة قد تركت الأصلح [z ³] وتبرئت ¹⁹⁵ من عثمان سبب احداثه وشهدت عليه وعلى من حارب عليًا بالكفر.	[x ⁴] وأما قول سليمان بن جرير ومن قال بقوله فإنهم قالوا إنّ عليًا عليه السلام كان الإمام بعد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله [y ⁴] وإنّ أبا بكر وعمر لا يستحقان اسم الفسق لأنهما تأولا في ذلك [z ⁴] وتبرأوا من عثمان وشهدوا عليه بالكفر.

194 Edition: "فسوق".

195 Edition: "برئت".

Tab. 12 (continued)

Bad'.V:133:5-7	Fir.9:6
<p>[x⁶] ومنهم الجريريّة أصحاب سليمان بن جرير الرقيّ قالوا كانت الإمامة لعلّ [y⁶] وان بيعة أبي بكر وعمر كانت¹⁹⁶ خطأ من جهة التأويل فلا يستحقّان الكفر الفسق [z⁶] ولكن من حارب عليّاً فهو كافر.</p>	<p>[x⁶] وقال سليمان بن جرير الرقيّ ومن قال بقوله ان عليّاً عليه السلم كان الامام [y⁶] وان بيعة ابي بكر وعمر كانت خطأ ولا يستحقّان اسم الفسق عليها من قبل التأويل لانهما تأوّلوا فاخطئنا [z⁶] وتبرّوا من عثمان فشهدوا عليه بالكفر ومحارب عليّ عليه السلم عندهم كافر</p>
Mugh.XX₂:184:15-19	MaqA.68:1-11
<p>[a¹] Another faction of the Zaydiyya is the followers of Sulaymān. Sulaymān is differentiated [from the others] in that the Imāmate for him is determined by consultation and can rightly be established by the contract of two men from amongst the best of the Muslims, and rightly held by an inferior contender.</p>	<p>[a²] The second group of the Zaydiyya is the Sulaymāniyya, the followers of Sulaymān b. Jarīr the Zaydī. They claim that the Imāmate is determined by consultation, that it is rightly established by the contract of two men from amongst the best of the Muslims, and that it can be rightly held by an inferior contender, even if the superior would be better regardless of circumstances.</p>
<p>[b¹] He affirms the Imamate of the two masters, Abū Bakr and 'Umar.</p>	<p>[b²] They affirm the Imamate of the two masters, Abū Bakr and 'Umar.</p>
<p>[c¹] But he attacks 'Uthmān with the charge of unbelief.</p>	<p>[y²] Zurqān related that Sulaymān b. Jarīr claimed that the pledge of allegiance to Abū Bakr and 'Umar was an error, but those two do not deserve the charge of serious sin because of it, on the basis of interpretative judgement; and that the Community abandoned the most righteous way by pledging allegiance to those two.</p> <p>[c²] Sulaymān b. Jarīr attacked 'Uthmān and charged him with unbelief from the time of the innovations for which vengeance was taken upon him.</p>
<p>[d¹] He says that 'Alī was the superior candidate, and no viable testimony stands against him that he was in sinful error. However, he does not consider knowledge of this to be obligatory for the common people, because, according to him, the truth of this was established through transmitted reports.</p>	<p>[d²] He claims that he established for himself that 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib was not in sinful error and that no viable testimony stands against him that he was in sinful error. However, he does not consider knowledge of this point to be obligatory for the common people, because this point became obligatory [knowledge] only through sound transmitted reports according to him.</p>

Tab. 12 (continued)

Hūr.207:14–17

[x²] The Jarīriyya said that ‘Alī was [i.e., should have been] the Imām after the Messenger of God, upon him and his family be peace, [y²] that the pledge of allegiance to Abū Bakr and ‘Umar was an error that does not deserve the charge of unbelief or serious sin, and that the Community abandoned the most righteous way. [z²] They dissociated from ‘Uthmān because of his innovations and they testified to his unbelief and that of those who fought against ‘Alī.

Bāb.92:7–10

[x¹] As for the doctrine of Sulaymān b. Jarīr and those who profess his doctrine, they said that ‘Alī, upon him be peace, was [i.e., should have been] the Imām after the Messenger of God, upon him and his family be peace, [y¹] and that Abū Bakr and ‘Umar do not deserve the charge of serious sin, because they exercised their interpretative judgement in this matter. [z¹] They dissociated from ‘Uthmān and testified to his unbelief.

Bad’.V:133:5–7

[x⁵] One of them is the Jarīriyya, the followers of Sulaymān b. Jarīr al-Raqqī. They said the Imāmate was ‘Alī’s [y⁵] and that the pledge of allegiance to Abū Bakr and ‘Umar was an error from the aspect of interpretive judgement, so they do not deserve the charge of unbelief or serious sin, [z⁵] but the one who fought ‘Alī was an unbeliever.

Fir.9:6–9

[x⁶] Sulaymān b. Jarīr al-Raqqī and those who professed his doctrine said that ‘Alī, upon him be peace, was the Imām, [y⁶] and that the pledge of allegiance to Abū Bakr and ‘Umar was an error, but those two do not deserve the charge of serious sin due to it on the grounds of interpretative judgement, i.e., they exercised their interpretative judgement and committed an error. [z⁶] They disassociated from ‘Uthmān and testified to his unbelief. The one who fights ‘Alī, according to them, in an unbeliever.

The BdC presents two descriptions of the followers of Sulaymān b. Jarīr/the Jarīriyya with very little overlap: one is preserved in the *Mughnī* and consists of *a*¹, *b*¹, *c*¹, and *d*¹; the other is preserved in the *Hūr*, the *Bāb* and the *Bad’* and consists of *x*, *y*, and *z*. The outline structure of Ash‘arī’s description closely resembles that of the *Mughnī*s, as his *Maqālāt* also has versions of *a*, *b*, *c*, and *d* in the same order. However, he inserts a version of *y*, marked as a Zurqān-citation, between *b* and *c*. Both Jishumī and the Ḥajūrī (whose descriptions are not given in Tab. 12) omit most of the material, but Jishumī preserves elements from *a* [*Sharḥ*.22r:4–6], whilst Ḥajūrī has a version of *d* [*Rawḍa*.139v:18–19]. Neither has any of the material from *x*, *y*, and *z*.

Both descriptions found in the BdC are complete in themselves. The description in the *Mughnī* starts, in *a*¹, with a statement of Sulaymān’s basic doctrine of the Imāmate. It then deals in chronological order with his doctrine concerning each of the first four Caliphs: *b*¹ tells us he affirmed the Imāmates of Abū Bakr and ‘Umar; *c*¹ that he considered ‘Uthmān an unbeliever (Ash‘arī adds that this is only from the

time of his 'innovations'); and *d*¹ that that he held 'Alī to have been the superior candidate (*al-afḍal*) and not to have committed any sinful error. The version in the *Hūr*; the *Bāb* and the *Bad'* also covers all four Caliphs, but in a different order: it starts, in *x*, with 'Alī, who Sulaymān here claims 'was the Imām after the Messenger of God', then reports Sulaymān's doctrine concerning Abū Bakr and 'Umar in *y*, before finishing with 'Uthmān and 'those who opposed 'Alī' in *z*.

Notably, the content of the two descriptions is incompatible. In the *Hūr*, the *Bāb* and the *Bad'*, Sulaymān holds that 'Alī was rightfully the Imām after the Prophet's death and that the pledge of allegiance to Abū Bakr and 'Umar was thus an error. He excuses Abū Bakr and 'Umar from the charge of serious sin (*fisq*) only because they were exercising their own judgement (*ta'wīl*) in a matter where such an approach was valid¹⁹⁷. In the *Mughnī*, there is no hint that Sulaymān taught 'Alī was rightfully Imām after the Prophet at all. It is stated in *d*¹ that he held 'Alī was the superior candidate (*al-afḍal*) but, according to *a*¹, Sulaymān believed an inferior candidate could rightfully be Imām. Thus, Abū Bakr and 'Umar were rightfully Imāms (*b*¹) according to this view. There is no mention of any error at all and no indication they would need to be excused of anything. Indeed, in *d*¹, the focus lies, rather, on demonstrating that 'Alī himself was not guilty of 'sinful error' (*ḍalāla*). Nothing is said about the status of his opponents in the first *fitna*. The only point of overlap between the two descriptions is between *c*¹ and *z*, the doctrine concerning 'Uthmān, as Sulaymān considers him to have been an unbeliever in both. Even there, however, the wording differs slightly: in *z*, it is stated that Sulaymān and his followers 'dissociated from' (*tabarra'ū min*) 'Uthmān and 'testified to his unbelief' (*shahadat/shahadū 'alayhi bi-l-kufr*); in *c*¹, Sulaymān 'attacks' 'Uthmān with a charge of unbelief (*yuqḍimu 'alā 'Uthmān bi-takfīr*).

Nawbakhtī's version of the material agrees almost verbatim with that in the *Hūr*, the *Bāb* and the *Bad'*. It has *x*, *y* and *z*, in that order, and contains nothing of *a*¹, *b*¹, *c*¹, or *d*¹. As Nawbakhtī here gives us an independent witness to Zurqān's version of the description, the fact that the *Hūr*, the *Bāb* and the *Bad'* converge almost completely with the *Firaq* is significant: they too must preserve only Zurqān's material on Sulaymān, which consisted of *x*, *y* and *z*.

The incompatible description in the *Mughnī* almost certainly comes from a different source. Ash'arī's handling of the material confirms this, as he clearly marks *y*² as a Zurqān-citation. That is already an indication that the surrounding material in *a*, *b*, *c* and *d* comes ultimately from elsewhere. Ash'arī, however, does not provide all the Zurqān-material that appears in the *Firaq*, the *Hūr*, the *Bāb* and the *Bad'*. He omits *x* entirely, and, instead of *z*, he gives a version of *c*, paralleling the

197 For more on this argument, and the presentation of the Zaydī doctrines on the Imāmate generally, see p. 569.

Mughnī's c^1 closely with the phrase 'attacks 'Uthmān and charges him with unbelief' (*yuqdimu 'alā 'Uthmān wa-yukafirruhu*) in c^2 . The basic structure of Ash'arī's faction-description is thus that of the *Mughnī*. Where he inserts the Zurqān-material in y^2 , he deploys only those elements that concern Abu Bakr and 'Umar and thus contrast specifically with the immediately preceding a^2 and b^2 . After this, he returns to the material from the main source with c^2 and d^2 . The situation is such that a select element of the Zurqān-material has been inserted, at a specific point, into the material present in the *Mughnī*, not the other way around. That selected element was evidently added because it *contrasts* with the information from the main source, i.e., Ash'arī is consciously providing two variant reports on Sulaymān's doctrine concerning Abū Bakr and 'Umar. More of the Zurqān-material was not reproduced, presumably because there was no need; it does not contrast with the main source. The function of the explicit citation-marking thus seems to be to introduce the variant material and to explain the reason for the variance as the result of different sources. Notably, we get the name of the variant source of y^2 , Zurqān, but the main source, that of a , b , c and d , remains anonymous.

Balkhī's source for a , b , c and d cannot be determined, but the most obvious candidate is Warrāq. There are several reasons for this. First, as we have seen, Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and the *Mughnī* share a single, main common source for all their *firaq*-material. As a , b , c and d are part of the material Ash'arī and 'Abd al-Jabbār have in common, they almost certainly stood in that source. As we saw in the last chapter, if Ash'arī's source was not some version of Balkhī's material close to that used by 'Abd al-Jabbār, then their main common source was Warrāq. Second, even if Ash'arī's source was, rather, a version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt*, we still know that Warrāq was one of Balkhī's sources for material on the Shī'a generally, and we know of no sources used by Balkhī in this material other than Warrāq and Zurqān¹⁹⁸. Third, we know that some of Balkhī's material on the Zaydiyya specifically was taken from Warrāq, as Jishumī tells us Warrāq was the ultimate source of at least some of the description of the Jārūdiyya¹⁹⁹.

It is relatively straightforward to get this far, but the distribution of the parallels complicates the task of further determining the specific relationship of source-dependency between the texts of the BdC and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*. This problem has been discussed briefly already above²⁰⁰, but the relevant questions can be posed with greater precision thanks to the evidence from Nawbakhtī's *Firaq*. Namely,

¹⁹⁸ See p. 99–100, 205–209.

¹⁹⁹ Mas'ūdī preserves a list of Zaydī factions that he attributes to Warrāq 'and others' (*wa-ghayr-ihī*). The list overlaps significantly with the names of the factions that appear in the Ash'arī-Balkhī material. See below, p. 756.

²⁰⁰ See p. 202–204.

how can the *Hūr* and the *Bāb*'s version resemble Zurqān's original so closely, whilst the *Mughnī*'s description is based on a different source entirely, even though 'Abd al-Jabbār and Ḥimyarī both explicitly cite their descriptions of the Zaydiyya from Balkhī? Moreover, if *a*, *b*, *c*, and *d* indeed came from Warrāq, why does no part of this material appear in the *Hūr* and the *Bāb*, even though both have the Warrāq-material on the Jārūdiyya? Finally, how did Ash'arī end up with material from both of Balkhī's sources?

When it comes to the BdC, it is not just the two different reports on the Sulaymāniyya/Jarīriyya that must be accounted for, but the fact that two different presentations of the Zaydiyya generally are witnessed. We must assume that they go back to the two different versions of Balkhī's *Maqālāt*²⁰¹. In the version used by Ḥimyarī, Abū Tammām and Maqdisī, Balkhī reproduced only Zurqān's material on Sulaymān (*x*, *y*, *z*); in the version used by 'Abd al-Jabbār, Balkhī used his other source for material on Sulaymān, probably Warrāq (*a*, *b*, *c*, *d*). However, it cannot be that Balkhī did not have access to Warrāq's *Maqālāt* when composing the former version, as that version also contained the Warrāq-material on the Jārūdiyya. It is also unlikely that Balkhī did not have access to Zurqān's *Maqālāt* when composing the latter version, as there are Zurqān-citations in the *Mughnī* that appear to have come via Balkhī's *Maqālāt*²⁰². The most likely explanation, as suggested previously, is that Balkhī composed the different versions of his *Maqālāt* not only by reworking his own text, but by going back to his earlier sources directly and making different selections of material from them. Why he used one source (probably Warrāq's *Maqālāt*) in one version and Zurqān's *Maqālāt* in another, however, we do not know.

That brings us to Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*. As is the case for all the *firaq*-material that Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and the *Mughnī* have in common, Ash'arī must have obtained *a*, *b*, *c* and *d* either from a version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* very similar to that used by 'Abd al-Jabbār, or, if Balkhī was not his source, then from Warrāq. But there are many more options for the Zurqān-material, because it does *not* appear in the *Mughnī*. It is still conceivable that the Zurqān-citation stood already in the version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* used by 'Abd al-Jabbār in the same way it stands in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, and that 'Abd al-Jabbār simply omitted it. Ash'arī could then simply have taken it from there along with the rest of the common material. That seems quite unlikely, however, because there is no mixing of the two bodies of material in Jishumī's texts or the *Rawḍa* either, whilst Ḥimyarī, Abū Tammām and Maqdisī have *only* the Zurqān material on the Sulaymāniyya, and in intact form. The combining of the two and the cutting down of the Zurqān-material happens *only* in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*.

201 See p. 221.

202 See p. 49, n.182.

If we wanted to propose that Ash'arī obtained his Zurqān-material via Balkhī, we would have to posit that it was preserved, intact, elsewhere in the version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* used by 'Abd al-Jabbār, and that Ash'arī was responsible for combining the two passages himself based on that version.

Much, however, speaks for the possibility that, regardless of whether Ash'arī took *a*, *b*, *c* and *d* from Balkhī or Warrāq, he took the Zurqān-citation in *y*² directly from Zurqān's *Maqālāt*. What makes this likely is, above all, the high probability that Ash'arī is citing Zurqān directly in his *Maqālāt* generally. This is something for which van Ess has argued²⁰³. His main evidence is that Ash'arī sometimes makes remarks about his Zurqān-citations, stating that he can't verify what Zurqān reported or that Zurqān had made a mistake²⁰⁴. Van Ess thinks it unlikely that Ash'arī would have done this if he didn't have the original in front of him. Be that as it may, there are reasons more closely related to the Zurqān-citation in *y*² to think Ash'arī was indeed citing Zurqān directly. This format, where Ash'arī cites material from an anonymous source and then adds a short Zurqān-citation containing contrasting information, occurs in the *ikhtilāf*-material on the Imāmiyya, too, as well as elsewhere in the *Maqālāt*²⁰⁵. Moreover, it does not occur only with Zurqān-citations; several other sources are cited in this way too²⁰⁶. That makes it look like Ash'arī was using an anonymous 'main' source but then adding alternative information from Zurqān and other sources.

Of course, it is possible that all this material, including the contrasting marked citations, stood already in Balkhī's *Maqālāt*. But there is evidence that strongly suggests that was not the case, at least not in the version of Balkhī's material used by 'Abd al-Jabbār and (probably) Ash'arī. In the parallel concerning Sulaymān b. Jarīr, Ash'arī has the Balkhī-material plus the Zurqān-citation. 'Abd al-Jabbār, however, has only the Balkhī-material. This happens at least twice more. First, Ash'arī has a report on Hishām b. al-Ḥakam's doctrine of the Qur'ān consisting of three parts: (1.) material without a named source, (2.) a short passage that contains information he claims was 'added' by Balkhī; (3.) contrasting information cited from Zurqān

²⁰³ Van Ess 2011:472–473.

²⁰⁴ E.g., *MaqA*.55:15–56:2, 60:7–10, 476:12–477:2. The same happens with some other sources, e.g., Ja'far b. Ḥarb 598:9–10. See further references in van Ess 2011:473.

²⁰⁵ E.g., *MaqA*.40:2–8=582:10–583:2 (on Hishām b. al-Ḥakam's doctrine concerning the Qur'ān), 44:11–12 (on Hishām's doctrine concerning the nature of human acts), 43:15–16 (on Abū Mālik al-Ḥadramī's doctrine concerning *istiṭā'a*), 331:9–12 (on Nazzām's doctrine concerning the nature of the human being).

²⁰⁶ E.g., *MaqA*.34:7–12 (on Hishām al-Jawāliqī, where Warrāq is the source of the contrasting information), 40:12–41:3 (on Hishām b. al-Ḥakam, where Ja'far b. Ḥarb is the source of the contrasting information), 73:3–7 (on Sulaymān b. Jarīr, where a book of Sulaymān himself is the source of the contrasting information).

[*MaqA*.40:2–8=582:10–583:2]. In the *Mughnī*, 'Abd al-Jabbār—basing himself on Balkhī's material—has parallels to parts 1 and 2 but does not have the Zurqān-material from part 3 [*Mugh*.VII:3:19–20]²⁰⁷. Second, in a report on Nazzām's doctrine concerning the nature of the human being, Ash'arī provides a main report without giving the source [*MaqA*.331:9–11] then cites additional, slightly contradictory information from Zurqān [*MaqA*.331:11–12]. 'Abd al-Jabbār—here explicitly citing Balkhī—lacks the Zurqān-citation [*Mugh*.XI:310:7–9]. This is all the more striking, as Balkhī was also relying on Zurqān's *Maqālāt* in the relevant *ikhtilāf*-cluster. He cited Zurqān explicitly for material on Bishr b. al-Mu'tamir [*Mugh*.XI:310:9–10], which he then contrasted with a citation from Khayyāt [*Mugh*.XI:310:10–11], and for material on Hishām b. al-Ḥakam [*Mugh*.XI:310:12–13], which he then contrasted with material from Ibn al-Rāwandī [*Mugh*.XI:310:14]. Ash'arī too explicitly cites Zurqān for a very close parallel concerning Hishām's doctrine [*MaqA*.331:3–5], but he lacks the material from Ibn al-Rāwandī. On Bishr b. al-Mu'tamir, Ash'arī's material diverges somewhat from what Balkhī gave on Zurqān's authority [*MaqA*.329:14–15] and he has nothing similar to the material from Khayyāt. Even allowing for the possibility that 'Abd al-Jabbār and Ash'arī could both be summarizing material they took from Balkhī, it is very hard to make sense of all this unless Ash'arī also had independent access to Zurqān's *Maqālāt*²⁰⁸.

To a large extent though, the question of the exact relationship between the different versions of Balkhī's *Maqālāt*, Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, and their sources does not matter here. The key point is that, thanks to Nawbakhtī, who must have been using Zurqān's *Maqālāt* independently of Ash'arī and Balkhī, we can establish that the extant texts preserve two contrasting reports on Sulaymān's doctrine of the Imāmate from two different sources. The report in *x*, *y*, and *z* comes from Zurqān; that in *a*, *b*, *c*, and *d* comes from another pre-Balkhī source, probably Warrāq.

1.2.2.2 The Butriyya

The relevant witnesses to the common material on the Butriyya are the same as for the Sulaymāniyya/Jarīriyya. Jishumī's combining and summarising of the descriptions of the two factions means that his versions in the *Uyūn* and the *Sharḥ* again

²⁰⁷ This case is discussed already at van Ess 2011:47, n.163.

²⁰⁸ Interestingly, as in the case of the Zurqān-material on Sulaymān b. Jarīr, the *Bāb* has some of the material on Hishām b. al-Ḥakam that Ash'arī cites from Zurqān, but which is missing from the *Mughnī*. E.g., on the Qur'ān (*MaqA*.40:5–8=582:14–583:2; *Bāb*.58:6–8) and on the nature of human acts (*MaqA*.345:2–3; *Bāb*.58:4). This suggests that the version of Balkhī's material used by Abū Tamnām, Maqdisi and Ḥimyarī may have contained material from Zurqān that was absent from the version used by 'Abd al-Jabbār and (probably) Ash'arī.

provide little useful evidence. The same goes for Ḥajūrī's *Rawḍa*, which simply preserves too little. This leaves us, as before, with the *Mughnī*, the *Ḥūr*, the *Bāb* and the *Bad'*, as well as Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and the *Firaq*, whose descriptions of the Butriyya are given in Tab. 13.

Tab. 13: The Balkhī-dependent corpus, Ash'arī, and Nawbakhtī on the Butriyya.

<i>Mugh.XX₂:184:18–185:3</i>	<i>MaqA.68:12–69:4</i>
[a ¹] ومن الزيدية البترية الحسن بن صالح ابن حي وأصحابه	[a ²] والفرقة الثالثة من الزيدية البترية أصحاب الحسن بن صالح ابن حي وأصحاب كثير النواء
[b ¹] وقوله يقارب قول سليمان ولا أعلم بينهما كبير خلاف	[a ²] وإنما سموا بترية لأن كثيرًا كان يلقب بالابتر
[c ¹] إلا أنهم يقفون في عثمان وسليمان بكفره	[x ²] يزعمون ان عليًا افضل الناس بعد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم وأولاهم بالإمامة وان بيعة ابي بكر وعمر ليست بخطأ [y ²] لأن عليًا ترك ذلك لهما
[d ¹] وحكى أن الحسن وأصحابه كانوا يتبرؤون من عثمان بعد أحداثه.	[c ²] ويقفون في عثمان وفي قتلته ولا يُقدمون عليه بكفار [m ²] وينكرون رجعة الاموات الى الدنيا ولا يرون لعلى امامة الا حين بويع
	[d ²] وقد حكى ان الحسن بن صالح بن حي كان يتبرأ من عثمان رضوان الله عليه بعد الاحداث التي نُفِمت عليه
<i>Ḥūr.207:9–13</i>	<i>Bāb.91:14–92:6</i>
	[m ⁴] أما كثير النواء وأصحابه فيعدّون ابا بكر وعمر ويقولون لا نقول فيمن لم يحاربه علي بن ابي طالب عليه السلام في ذلك الوقت إلا خيرًا
	[n ⁴] وينكرون رجعت الاموات ويتبرأون ممن ادعاها ولا يرون لعلى عليه السلام الإمامة <إلا حين بويع>
	[o ⁴] فلقب المغيرة بن سعيد كثيرًا النواء بالابتر فذلك سموا بالبترية
[x ³] فقالت البترية إن عليًا عليه السلام كان أفضل الناس بعد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم وأولاهم بالإمامة وأن بيعة ابي بكر وعمر ليست بخطأ [y ³] لأن عليا عليه السلام سلم لهما ذلك بمنزلة رجل كان له حق على رجل فتركه له [z ³] ووقفت في أمر عثمان وشهدت بالكفر على من حارب عليًا	[x ⁴] فأما الحسن بن حي فإنه قال إن علي بن ابن طالب عليه السلام كان أفضل الناس بعد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله وأولاهم بالإمامة وإن بيعة ابي بكر وعمر ليست بالخطأ [z ⁴] ووقف <في> عثمان وشهد على من خالف عليًا بالنار [y ⁴] وقال إن مثل علي مع ابي بكر وعمر كمثل رجل كان له قبل رجل حق فتركه ولم يستردّه.
[o ³] وسموا البترية لأنهم نسبوا إلى كثير النوى وكان المغيرة بن سعد يلقب كثيرًا بالابتر	

Tab. 13 (continued)

Bad'.V:133:7-9

[*x*⁶] وأما البتريّة²⁰⁹ يزعمون أنّ أبا بكر وعمر كانا مستحقّين للإمامة [*y*⁶] لأنّ عليًّا سلّم ذلك إليهما [*z*⁶] ووقفوا²¹⁰ في عثمان

Fir.8:15-9:5

[*x*⁶] فقالت البتريّة وهم أصحاب الحسن بن صالح بن حيّ ومن قال بقوله ان عليًّا عليه السلم هو افضل الناس بعد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله واولاهم بالامامة وان بيعة ابي بكر ليست بخطأ [*z*⁶] ووقفوا في عثمان وثبتوا حزب²¹¹ على عليه السلم وشهدوا على مخالفيه بالنار [*y*⁶] واعتلوا بأن عليًّا عليه السلم سلّم لهما ذلك فهو بمنزلة رجل كان له على رجل حق فتركه له

Mugh.XX₂:184:18-185:3

[*a*¹] Another faction of the Zaydiyya is the Butriyya, Ḥasan b. Šāliḥ b. Ḥayy and his followers.

[*b*¹] His doctrine is similar to that of Sulaymān. I do not know of any large disagreement between them,

[*c*¹] except that they suspend judgement concerning 'Uthmān while Sulaymān considers him an unbeliever.

[*d*¹] It is related concerning Ḥasan and his followers that they dissociated themselves from 'Uthmān after his innovations.

MaqA.68:12-69:4

[*a*²] The third faction of the Zaydiyya is the Butriyya, the followers of Ḥasan b. Šāliḥ b. Ḥayy and the followers of Kathīr al-Nawwā'.

[*o*²] They were called the Butriyya, however, because Kathīr was nicknamed 'al-Abtar'.

[*x*²] They claim that 'Alī was the most superior of the people after the Messenger of God, upon him be peace, and the most rightful possessor of the Imāmate amongst them, but that the pledge of allegiance to Abū Bakr and 'Umar was not an error [*y*²] because 'Alī relinquished that to them.

[*c*²] They suspend judgement concerning 'Uthmān and his killers and they do not attack him with the charge of unbelief.

[*n*²] They deny the return of the dead to this world and do not consider 'Alī to have been Imām until the moment when the pledge was made to him.

[*d*²] It is related that Ḥasan b. Šāliḥ b. Ḥayy dissociated from 'Uthmān after the innovations for which vengeance was taken upon him.

209 Edition: "الزبدية".

210 Edition: "وقفوا".

211 "حرب"?

Tab. 13 (continued)

Hūr.207:9–13

[x³] The Butriyya said that ‘Alī, upon him be peace, was the most superior of the people after the Messenger of God, upon him and his family be peace, and the most rightful possessor of the Imāmate, but that the pledge of allegiance to Abū Bakr and ‘Umar was not an error [y³] because ‘Alī, upon him be peace, surrendered that to them, in the situation of a man who has some right over another man but relinquishes it to him. [z³] They suspended judgement in the matter of ‘Uthmān and testified to the unbelief of those who opposed ‘Alī.

[o³] They are named the Butriyya because their origins are traced back to Kathīr al-Nawwā’ and Mughīra b. Sa’īd had nicknamed him ‘al-Abtar’.

Bāb.91:14–92:6

[m⁴] As for Kathīr al-Nawwā’ and his followers, they consider Abū Bakr and ‘Umar to have acted justly. They said, “Concerning those who did not fight against ‘Alī at that time, we have only good to say”.

[n⁴] They deny the return of the dead and dissociate from anyone who maintains it. They do not consider ‘Alī to have held the Imāmate <until allegiance was pledged to him>.

[o⁴] Mughīra b. Sa’īd nicknamed Kathīr al-Nawwā’ ‘al-Abtar’. Because of that they were called the Butriyya.

[x⁴] As for Ḥasan b. Ḥayy, he said that ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, upon him be peace, was the most superior of the people after the Messenger of God, upon him and his family be peace, and the most rightful possessor of the Imāmate amongst them, but that the pledge of allegiance to Abū Bakr and ‘Umar was not an error. [z⁴] He suspended judgment concerning ‘Uthmān and testified that those who opposed ‘Alī are in the Inferno. [y⁴] He said that the situation of ‘Alī with Abū Bakr and ‘Umar was analogous to a man who has a right in respect of another man but relinquishes it and does not call it in.

Bad’.V:133:7–9

[x⁵] As for the Butriyya, they said that Abū Bakr and ‘Umar deserved the Imāmate [y⁵] because ‘Alī surrendered it to them, [z⁵] They suspended judgement in the matter of ‘Uthmān.

Fir.8:15–9:5

[x⁶] The Butriyya, being the followers of Ḥasan b. Šāliḥ b. Ḥayy and those who professed his doctrine, said that ‘Alī, upon him be peace, was the most superior of the people after the Messenger of God, upon him and his family be peace, and the most rightful possessor of the Imāmate, but that the pledge of allegiance to Abū Bakr and ‘Umar was not an error. [z⁶]

Tab. 13 (continued)

<i>Bad'.V:133-7-9</i>	<i>Fir.8:15-9:5</i>
	They suspended judgement concerning 'Uthmān, affirmed the party of 'Alī, upon him be peace, and testified that his opponents are in the Inferno. [y ⁶] The reason they gave for this was that 'Alī, upon him be peace, surrendered that to them, so he was in the situation of a man who has a right over another man but relinquishes it to him.

As is the case for the Sulaymāniyya, the BdC presents two different descriptions of the Butriyya. That in the *Mughnī* consists of *a*, *b*, *c* and *d*, none of which appear in the same form in the *Ḥūr*, the *Bāb* and the *Bad'*. Instead, the *Ḥūr* and the *Bāb* converge on *x*, *y*, and *z*. Ash'arī, again, has elements from both, placing x^2 and y^2 between a^2 and c^2 . He also has a further element here, o^2 , which is present in the *Ḥūr* and the *Bāb* but not the *Mughnī* or the *Bad'*. Finally, he places n^2 , between c^2 and d^2 . This element is absent from the *Mughnī*, the *Ḥūr* and the *Bad'* but is present in the *Bāb* as n^4 . While dealing only with Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and the BdC, we thus appear to be facing a situation very similar to that encountered in the description of the Sulaymāniyya: the *Mughnī* has one version (*a*, *b*, *c*, *d*), whilst the *Ḥūr*, the *Bāb* and the *Bad'* collectively witness another (*n*, *o*, *x*, *y*, *z*). Ash'arī basically follows the outline of the former version but also incorporates elements from the latter.

Once the evidence from the *Firaq* is integrated, too, however, it becomes clear that there are three bodies of material that must be distinguished here, not just two. The *Firaq* has versions of *x*, *y* and *z*, but *o* and *n* occur only in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, the *Ḥūr* and the *Bāb*. The latter do not even appear in the *Bad'*. Notably, these two bodies of material also concern different individuals. Although it has been obscured in the *Ḥūr* and to some extent also in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, comparison of the *Firaq* and the *Bāb* reveals clearly that *x*, *y* and *z* relate only to the doctrine of Ḥasan b. Šāliḥ b. Ḥayy; *n* and *o* concern Kathīr al-Nawwā'²¹². The third body of material is *a*, *b*, *c* and *d*, which occurs only in the *Mughnī* and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*. That material, too, is about the doctrine of Ḥasan b. Šāliḥ b. Ḥayy only.

Nawbakhtī presents *x*, *y* and *z* together in a block, as do Ḥimyarī, Abū Tammām and Maqdisī. We can safely assume that they constitute Zurqān's report on Ḥasan

212 On Kathīr an-Nawwā': *TG*.I:240–242. Little is known about his life, but if the reports of his nickname 'al-abtar' originating with Mughīra b. Sa'īd are true (see Tab. 13, o^3 and o^4), then he must have been active before Mughīra was arrested and executed in 119/737 (*Tab*.II:1620:1–2).

b. Ṣāliḥ's doctrine of the Imāmate. This is borne out by its close resemblance to the Zurqān-material on Sulaymān b. Jarīr in terms of both theme and arrangement, in that it deals with Ḥasan's doctrine concerning each of the first four caliphs and 'those who opposed 'Alī' in turn. Like the Zurqān-material on Sulaymān, it starts with 'Alī, reporting that Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ held him to be the superior candidate (*afḍal al-nās*) but nevertheless admitted the Imāmates of Abū Bakr and 'Umar (x). Again, as in the Zurqān-material on Sulaymān, there is then a justification of Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ's acceptance of the caliphates of Abū Bakr and 'Umar (y). Finally, we get Ḥasan's doctrine on 'Uthmān and 'those who fought 'Alī' (i.e., at the battle of the Camel): he suspended judgement on the former but held the latter to be unbelievers (z). Thus, each sentence here corresponds directly with a counterpart sentence in the Zurqān-material on Sulaymān. The doctrinal statements of the two scholars must have stood next to each other in Zurqān's *Maqālāt* already.

Ḥasan b Ṣāliḥ b. Ḥayy's doctrine of the Imāmate is also the topic of a, b, c and d. The relationship between the two bodies of material on Ibn Ḥayy, however, is less clear than was the case for Sulaymān b. Jarīr. There, we were dealing with two descriptions of Sulaymān's doctrine, complete in themselves and divergent in content, one from Zurqān and one evidently from another source, probably Warrāq. Here, the material in the *Mughnī* is not a self-contained description. That makes it more difficult to determine the nature of the correspondence with the Zurqān-material and requires some discussion. At the beginning of b¹, the *Mughnī* summarises Ḥasan's doctrine, initially in the third person, by telling us it resembles Sulaymān's. There is then a switch to the first person, with the assertion that "I do not know of any great difference between them, [c¹] except that they [i.e., Ḥasan and his followers] suspend judgement on 'Uthmān, whilst Sulaymān considers him an unbeliever". What follows in d¹ is a divergent report, which has it, rather, that Sulaymān dissociated from 'Uthmān after his 'innovations' (*aḥdāth*). This latter element is marked as coming from a different, but anonymous, source by the 'It is related. . .' (*ḥukiya. . .*) at the beginning. The reason for the citation-marking again appears to be the introduction of material offering information that contrasts with that of the main source.

In contrast to the situation of the material concerning Sulaymān, it is plausible in terms of content that b¹ and c¹ merely summarise Zurqān's material (x, y, z), rather than derive from a different source. That possibility initially seems especially attractive when we compare with Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*. We might hypothesize that Ash'arī and 'Abd al-Jabbār were working from a source that resembled Ash'arī's version, i.e., with the Zurqān-material in x and y intact. 'Abd al-Jabbār would then have summarised x and y as b¹. On closer examination, however, it does not appear to be 'Abd al-Jabbār who did the summarising. This is suggested, for one thing, by the use of the first-person in b¹, as in all other instances of the first person in 'Abd al-Jabbār's long Balkhī-citations on the Shī'a, it is apparently Balkhī

speaking²¹³. Moreover, Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and the *Mughnī* both have versions of *c*, rather than *z*. Unlike *z*, *c* has nothing to say about the 'opponents of 'Alī', and the fuller version in *c*² clearly takes up the language found in *c*¹ and *c*² in the material on the Sulaymāniyya ('*lā yuqdimūna 'alayhi bi-ikfār*'). As we have seen, that is not Zurqān's terminology, but either Balkhī's or that of Balkhī's other source, probably Warrāq. In any case, the fact that Ash'arī has *c*² also means that that *c*¹ cannot just be 'Abd al-Jabbār's own summary of *y*; it must have stood in something like this form already in their common source, i.e., the version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* used by 'Abd al-Jabbār at the latest. Likewise, the material in *d*² refers to 'Uthmān's 'innovations for which vengeance was taken upon him' (*aḥdāth al-latī nuqimat 'alayhi*) with the same terminology found in *c*² on the Sulaymāniyya. This indicates that *c* and *d* on the Butriyya, as well as *a*, *b*, *c* and *d* on the Sulaymāniyya came to both Ash'arī and 'Abd al-Jabbār at least *via* the same non-Zurqān source. We should assume that source was a version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt*, but if not, then, for the usual reasons, it must have been Warrāq's²¹⁴. It also already suggests that *b*¹ summarises not Zurqān's material, but rather Balkhī's other source, which here just happens not to diverge in any way that the summarising leaves visible.

The latter point is borne out by closer examination. Notably, *b* summarises Ibn Ḥayy's doctrine by claiming it to be similar to Sulaymān's. But that statement must refer to Sulaymān's doctrine as described in the *Mughnī*, not as described by Zurqān (as preserved by Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, the *Firaq*, the *Ḥūr*, the *Bāb* and the *Bad*). In the *Mughnī*, as we saw above, Sulaymān allows the Imāmate of an inferior candidate and thus accepts the Imāmates of Abū Bakr and 'Umar. That is indeed not so far away from what Zurqān reports for Ḥasan b. Šāliḥ in *x* and *y* here. But Zurqān depicts Sulaymān as holding 'Alī to have been the rightful Imām, whilst Abū Bakr and 'Umar, along with the Community who chose them, were in error. That contrasts starkly with *x* and *y* here, which state that Ibn Ḥayy held the pledge of allegiance was not an error because 'Alī surrendered his rights. Thus, we could posit that that *b*¹ is a summary of *x* and *y* only if we posit that, when composing the version of his *Maqālāt* used by 'Abd al-Jabbār, Balkhī used Zurqān's material on Ḥasan's doctrine but summarised it by comparing that doctrine with Sulaymān's as reported by his other source (probably Warrāq), ignoring completely what Zurqān himself reported for Sulaymān. That is not impossible, but it is quite unlikely. Rather, whoever composed *b*¹ does not appear to have had Zurqān's material on

²¹³ See above, especially p. 119 and p. 213. Cf. also on Balkhī's use of the first-person in material preserved only by Jishumī, p. 212.

²¹⁴ Notably, Ash'arī, like 'Abd al-Jabbār, begins the citation in *d* with '*ḥukiya. . .*'. This expression itself must thus have stood in their common source, indicating that it was already assembling material on Ḥasan from more than one non-Zurqān source.

both Ḥasan and Sulaymān in front of them. The fact that c^1 happens to agree with some of z reveals little in terms of source-dependency; even for the material on the Sulaymāniyya, the Zurqān and the non-Zurqān source agree over the content of Sulaymān's doctrine concerning 'Uthmān.

In any case, Ḥimyarī, Abū Tammām and Maqdisī could not have been working from the version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* used by 'Abd al-Jabbār; they have intact versions of Zurqān's whole report, as confirmed by the *Firaq*. In terms of the relationship between the texts of the BdC, then, the situation remains essentially the same as that in the material on the Sulaymāniyya: the version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* behind the *Ḥūr*, the *Bāb* and the *Bad'* effectively reproduced Zurqān's material intact, whilst providing none of the material from the *Mughnī*; the version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* used by 'Abd al-Jabbār relied, rather, on Balkhī's other source, probably Warrāq²¹⁵.

Given that b^1 , c^1 and d^1 were present in the version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* used by 'Abd al-Jabbār, it is possible that Ash'arī simply took c^1 and d^1 from there. If so, he must have 'overwritten' Balkhī's summary in b^1 with the relevant material from Zurqān's *Maqālāt* (x^2 and y^2), which he most likely took directly. That, too, would allow a situation very similar to what we saw for the Sulaymāniyya. If we posited, rather, that Ash'arī's and Balkhī's common source for c^1 and d^1 was Warrāq, we would not know how b would have appeared in Warrāq's version, as the summarising remarks in b^1 appears to be Balkhī's. Still, the same explanation would apply: Ash'arī preferred to overwrite Warrāq's version of b with his material from Zurqān.

The material on Kathīr al-Nawwā' (n , o) is something else again. It is not integrated with the material on Ḥasan b. Šāliḥ consistently even across the texts that carry it: Abū Tammām deals with Kathīr and Ḥasan separately, one after the other (Kathīr: m^4 , n^4 and o^4 . Ḥasan: x^4 , y^4 and z^4). Ash'arī, at the beginning of the report (a^2), says that the Butriyya consist of the followers of both men, then intersperses the material on Kathīr amongst that on Ḥasan in such a way that it is no longer clear that v and w relate only to Ḥasan's doctrine, whilst x concerns only Kathīr's. Ḥimyarī only gives one element of the material on Kathīr, o , and, uniquely, places it after x , y and z . Notably, the *Bad'*, which otherwise converges closely with the *Ḥūr* and the *Bāb* throughout their material on the Zaydiyya, completely omits n and o . That strongly suggests that these elements were not combined with the material on Ibn Ḥayy already by Balkhī in either version of his *Maqālāt*. They perhaps stood elsewhere in both versions, which may also explain their absence from the *Mughnī*. It might also partly explain why Jishumī gives a distorted version of o , in which it is Sulaymān b. Jarīr rather than Kathīr al-Nawwā' who is dubbed '*al-abtar*' by Mughīra b. Sa'īd [*Sharḥ*.22a:1–7].

215 See also p. 202–204.

The material in *n* and *o* is notably also thematically distinct from that on Ibn Ḥayy and Sulaymān. Only the second half of *n* is concerned with Kathīr's doctrine of the Imāmate at all, but not in a way that engages directly with any of the other material on this topic. Otherwise, *n* and *o* deal, rather, with the doctrine of the *raj'a* and the etymology of the faction-name 'Butriyya'. That too probably indicates it stood elsewhere in Balkhī's *Maqālāt*²¹⁶.

As for the source of *n* and *o*, there is nothing at all to link them to Zurqān. They are missing from the *Firaq* and deal with themes that would not have fit in Zurqān's *ikhtilāf*-cluster on the Imāmate²¹⁷. Rather, Warrāq is again the most obvious candidate. This is partly for the usual reasons, but also because of thematic similarity. The *raj'a* is one of the two doctrines mentioned in Jishumī's marked Warrāq-citation on the Jārūdiyya and is also attributed to Abū l-Jārūd and other Zaydiyya in 'Abd al-Jabbār's citation from the anonymous doxographer who is also probably Warrāq²¹⁸. That citation contains information on the doctrine of the *raj'a* of another group, the followers of al-Muzanī (elsewhere known as the Sabbāḥiyya), which also appears in Ash'arī's *firaq*-list of the Zaydiyya²¹⁹. As we will see, there is further corroborating evidence in Qummī's *Maqālāt* that this material together with that on the Ya'qūbiyya, which also mentions their doctrine concerning the *raj'a*, comes from Warrāq²²⁰. This means that if Ash'arī and Balkhī were separately relying on Warrāq's material (rather than Ash'arī on the version of Balkhī's material used by 'Abd al-Jabbār), then Warrāq too must have kept *n* and *o* and the other material just mentioned separate from his main *firaq*-list of the Zaydiyya.

1.2.2.3 The Nu'aymiyya

Fewer sources are available to us for the description of the Nu'aymiyya than for either the Sulaymāniyya or the Butriyya. It is carried only by the *Firaq*, Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, the *Mughnī* and the *Rawḍa*. The *Rawḍa*'s version, however, is once again

²¹⁶ In any case, it was certainly clear to everyone that both men should be classed as Butriyya. Also Nawbakhtī does so elsewhere (*Fir.*12:10–11, 50:14–15).

²¹⁷ A presentation of Kathīr's doctrine of the Imāmate can be found in Nawbakhtī's *ikhtilāf*-section (*Fir.*12:10–16), but it appears separately from the three doctrinal statements paralleled in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and bears no resemblance to *n* and *o* anyway. It is highly questionable whether this statement comes from Zurqān. It is the main site within the *ikhtilāf*-section of names not mentioned in Zurqān-citations elsewhere (see above, n.173). It also carries an Imāmī (or perhaps Jārūdi Zaydī) perspective, accusing the Butriyya of 'mixing' their allegiance to 'Alī with allegiance to Abū Bakr and 'Umar.

²¹⁸ See p. 208 n.139.

²¹⁹ See p. 149–150.

²²⁰ See p. 377–378.

too heavily summarised to be useful, meaning the only serviceable witnesses are the other three, given in Tab. 14.

Tab. 14: The *Mughnī*, Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, and Nawbakhtī on the Nu'aymiyya.

<i>Mugh.XX₂:185:3–4</i>	<i>MaqA.69:5–9</i>
[a ¹] ومن الزيدية ابن اليمان وأصحابه	[a ²] والفرقة الرابعة من الزيدية التعيمية أصحاب نعيم بن اليمان
[b ¹] وهم يقرّبون من البتيرية	[x ²] يزعمون ان عليًا كان مستحقًا للإمامة وانه افضل الناس بعد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم
[c ¹] لكنهم يزعمون أن البراءة من عثمان واجبة.	[y ²] وان الامة ليست بمخطئة خطأ اثم في ان ولت أبا بكر وعمر رضوان الله عليهما ولكنها مخطئة خطأ بيئًا في ترك الأفضل
	[z ²] وتبرّءوا من عثمان ومن محارب عليّ وشهدوا عليه بالكفر
<i>Fir.9:10–13</i>	
	[x ³] قال ابن التمار ومن قال بقوله ان عليًا عليه السلم كان مستحقًا للإمامة وانه افضل الناس بعدرسول الله [صلى الله عليه وآله]
	[y ³] وان الامة ليست بمخطئة خطأ اثم في توليتها أبا بكر وعمر ولكنها مخطئة بترك الأفضل
	[z ³] وتبرّؤا من عثمان ومن محارب عليّ عليه السلم وشهدوا عليه بالكفر
<i>Mugh.XX₂:185:3–4</i>	<i>MaqA.69:5–9</i>
[a ¹] Another faction of the Zaydiyya is Ibn al-Yamān and his followers.	[a ²] The fourth faction of the Zaydiyya is the Nu'aymiyya, the followers of Nu'aym b. al-Yamān.
[b ¹] They are close to the Butriyya,	[x ²] They claim that 'Alī had a rightful claim to the Imāmate and that he was the most superior of the people after the Messenger of God, peace be upon him, [y ²] and that the Community did not commit a sinful error by putting in charge Abū Bakr and 'Umar, may God be pleased with them, but they [still] committed a clear error in neglecting the superior candidate.
[c ¹] but they claim that it is obligatory to dissociate from 'Uthmān.	[z ²] They dissociated from 'Uthmān and from anyone who fought against 'Alī, and they testify to his unbelief

Tab. 14 (continued)

Fir.9:10–13

[*α*⁵] Ibn al-Tammār and those who profess his doctrine said

[*x*⁵] that 'Alī, upon him be peace, had a rightful claim to the Imāmate and that he was the most superior of the people after the Messenger of God, peace be upon him, [*y*⁵] and that the Community did not commit a sinful error by putting in charge Abū Bakr and 'Umar, but they [still] committed an error in neglecting the superior candidate.

[*z*⁵] They dissociated from 'Uthmān and from anyone who fought against 'Alī, and they testify to the unbelief of such a person.

The constellation of the parallels here differs slightly from that of the previous cases. For the Sulaymāniyya and the Butriyya, Ash'arī has only some of the material that appears in the *Firaq*, as well as a relatively large amount of material that does not. Here, essentially the same material (*x*, *y* and *z*) is found in both texts in near verbatim parallel. Both Ash'arī and Nawbakhtī thus appear to give intact versions of Zurqān's report on Nu'aym b. al-Yamān's doctrine of the Imāmate. This supposition is once again borne out by thematic and structural comparison of their common material on Ibn al-Yamān with the Zurqān-material on Sulaymān b. Jarīr and on Ḥasan b. Šāliḥ b. Ḥayy. Again, it begins (*x*) with the doctrine concerning 'Alī, then moves to the question of whether there was any error involved in setting up Abū Bakr and 'Umar as Imāms (*y*), before dealing (*z*) with 'Uthmān and 'those who fought 'Alī'. Every sentence thus engages directly with a sentence from the reports on the other two Zaydī scholars' doctrines of the Imāmate. All three reports are evidently designed to be read alongside one another for easy comparison. They must have appeared together in Zurqān's *Maqālāt*.

When it comes to the *Mughnī*'s version, the situation is similar to that in the description of the Butriyya. As there, the description is condensed by referring the reader back to the doctrine of the previous faction: just as it was said that the Butriyya's doctrine resembles that of the Sulaymāniyya, except concerning 'Uthmān, it is said (*b*¹) that Ibn al-Nu'aym and his followers have a similar doctrine to the Butriyya, except concerning 'Uthmān. Again, we could play with the idea that 'Abd al-Jabbār is responsible for the summarising but, given what we saw in the case of the Butriyya, it is much more likely that it was present already in the version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* used by 'Abd al-Jabbār.

There is also the possibility, as for the Butriyya, that the *Mughnī*'s description is Balkhī's summary of the Zurqān-material. What makes this plausible is, again, primarily the reports on Ibn al-Yamān's doctrine concerning 'Uthmān; in both *c*¹ and *z*, Ibn al-Yamān 'dissociates' from 'Uthmān. Moreover, the summariser who produced *c*¹ is clearly aware that this doctrine stands in contrast to the position of the Butriyya. Although *z* goes slightly further, explicitly stating that Ibn al-Yamān also

deemed ʿUthmān an unbeliever, the contrast described in *c*¹ still closely reflects that depicted in Zurqān’s reports on the Butriyya and Ibn al-Yamān. The problem is once again that whoever produced *b*¹ does not seem to have had Zurqān’s material in front of them. According to Zurqān (via Ashʿarī’s *Maqālāt*, the *Hūr*, the *Bāb*, the *Badʿ* and the *Firaq*), the Butriyya taught that the pledge of allegiance to Abū Bakr and ʿUmar was not an error (*laysat bi-khaṭaʿ*) because ʿAlī surrendered his rights to them. But also according to Zurqān, Ibn al-Yamān taught that although the community did not commit a “sinful error” (*khaṭaʿ ithm*) in putting Abū Bakr and ʿUmar in charge, they nevertheless committed a “clear error” (*khaṭaʿ bayyin*) in neglecting the superior candidate (ʿAlī). It is conceivable that someone would lazily summarise these positions as similar, but not especially likely. As previously, the partial convergence over Ibn al-Yamān’s doctrine towards ʿUthmān need not be significant from the point of view of immediate source-dependency; it certainly is not in the case of the Sulaymāniyya. Balkhī’s source for the description of the followers of Ibn al-Yamān in this version of his *Maqālāt* was presumably the same as for the Sulaymāniyya and the Butriyya, i.e., probably Warrāq. Ashʿarī’s source, like Nawbakhtī’s, was Zurqān.

The main difference from what we have seen previously is that there is no separate body of material upon which only Ashʿarī’s *Maqālāt* and the *Mughnī* converge. This time, Ashʿarī does not even have *c* but gives *z*, nearly verbatim as it appears in the *Firaq*. That is more significant than it first appears. For the Sulaymāniyya and the Butriyya, Ashʿarī gives the *other* source’s material on the doctrine towards ʿUthmān, even where he used Zurqān for the doctrine towards Abū Bakr and ʿUmar. The fact that he is then able to switch here to Zurqān’s original formulation is another strong confirmation that he had separate access to Zurqān’s *Maqālāt* and that the Zurqān-material did not stand already within the description of the Nuʿaymiyya in the version of Balkhī’s *Maqālāt* used by ʿAbd al-Jabbār.

1.2.2.4 Overview

It is straightforward to reconstruct Zurqān’s material on the Sulaymān b. Jarīr’s, the Butriyya’s (i.e., Ḥasan b. Šāliḥ b. Ḥayy’s) and Nuʿaym b. al-Yamān’s doctrines of the Imāmate. For the first two scholars, this can be done via the near-verbatim parallels found in the *Firaq*, the *Hūr*, the *Bāb* and the *Badʿ*, along with the convergent elements of that material deployed by Ashʿarī, one of which is marked as a Zurqān-citation. For Ibn al-Yamān, it is the near-verbatim convergence between the *Firaq* and Ashʿarī’s *Maqālāt* that demonstrates that both must have reproduced Zurqān’s material essentially intact.

There are two other bodies of material present in the BdC and Ashʿarī’s *Maqālāt*’s descriptions of the three factions. The first consists of that material on the Sulaymāniyya and the Butriyya which appears in the *Mughnī* and Ashʿarī’s

Maqālāt, as well as in Jishumī's texts and the *Rawḍa*. This is part of the much wider body of Shī'ī *firaq*-material that Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and the version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* used by 'Abd al-Jabbār had in common. As we have seen already, it is slightly more likely that Ash'arī took it from Balkhī. If not, however, then it must have come to both from Warrāq²²¹. If a version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* was Ash'arī's source, then we cannot determine whence Balkhī obtained the material, but the most likely candidate would still be Warrāq, as Warrāq is Balkhī's only other known source for material on the Shī'a and it is virtually certain that Balkhī did not take this material from Zurqān; it sometimes contradicts Zurqān's reports. On occasion, Balkhī effectively tells us he summarised the material he took from this source. Most likely, 'Abd al-Jabbār's material on the followers of Ibn al-Yamān came to him from this source, too, although there is no parallel to confirm it.

The remaining body of material appears in the descriptions of the Butriyya in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, the *Hūr* and the *Bāb*, as well as in Jishumī's *Sharḥ* in somewhat corrupted form. Whereas the rest of the material on the Butriyya, both from Zurqān and the other source (Warrāq?) is concerned with Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ b. Ḥayy, this material is concerned with Kathīr al-Nawwā'. It is also thematically distinct from everything else on the three Zaydī factions, dealing mostly with the etymology of the faction-name 'Butriyya' and the Kathīr's doctrine of the *raj'a*, rather than the Imāmate. The source here is, once again, most likely Warrāq, but it does not appear this material can have stood together with the rest of the material on the Butriyya (i.e., with that on Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ) in any version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt*, as there is no consistency over how they are integrated.

It is more difficult, and ultimately less important, to determine the precise route by which these bodies of material ended up in the extant texts, but the available evidence points to the following scenario. Nawbakhtī's *ikhtilāf*-section was simply reliant on Zurqān's *Maqālāt*. Ash'arī probably took the material he has in common with the *Mughnī* from the version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* used by 'Abd al-Jabbār (or one close to it). If not, then it came to Ash'arī and Balkhī from Warrāq. Ash'arī cannot, however, have taken the Zurqān-material via the same route, unless that material stood separately from the descriptions of the Zaydiyya and was marked as a Zurqān-citation. That is possible, but because of the high likelihood that Ash'arī cites Zurqān directly in his *Maqālāt* generally, the most likely explanation is that Ash'arī obtained the Zurqān-material on the Zaydiyya directly too.

Balkhī evidently composed the different versions of his material on the Zaydiyya by making different selections of material from his earlier sources. In the version(s) used by 'Abd al-Jabbār, Jishumī and Ḥajūrī, he most likely used War-

²²¹ See p. 223–225.

rāq's *Maqālāt* throughout, although as long as Ash'arī was also dependent on this version of Balkh's material, it is theoretically possible that Balkhī, rather, had multiple sources. In the version used by Ḥimyarī, Abū Tammām and Maqdisī, Balkhī instead used Zurqān's material on the Sulaymāniyya/Jaririyya and the Butriyya (Ḥasan b. Šāliḥ b. Ḥayy) but continued to use Warrāq as his source for material on the Jārūdiyya. That would mean, of course, that Ash'arī and Balkhī used Zurqān independently of one another here, but that Balkhī chose to use the Zurqān-material on the Zaydiyya in this context only in the second version of his *Maqālāt*. In the version used by 'Abd al-Jabbār, Jishumī and Ḥajūrī, he had used the other material on the Zaydiyya, probably from Warrāq²²².

Finally, whilst Zurqān and the other source (probably Warrāq) give divergent information on the doctrine of Sulaymān b. Jarīr, there must have been substantial agreement over the doctrine of Ḥasan b. Šāliḥ and perhaps also Ibn al-Yamān. Nothing specific, however, can be determined about common sources further back than Zurqān and Warrāq. It is not unlikely, of course, that they would ultimately have drawn on the same sources or the same pool of sources on the second-century Zaydiyya, perhaps in the form of doxographical reports circulating primarily orally in Mu'tazilī circles in the early third-century²²³. It also cannot be completely ruled out that Warrāq used Zurqān's *Maqālāt* itself, although the contradictions make that quite unlikely. In any case, no more precise connection can be established; the parallels are insufficiently close and/or too generic.

1.2.3 Zurqān's Material on the Zaydiyya

Nawbakhtī's *ikhtilāf*-section and the Ash'arī-Balkhī *firaq*-material on the Zaydiyya present Zurqān's material on the Zaydiyya in different formats, whereby it takes on different functions. Nawbakhtī presents us with three doctrinal statements on the Imāmate within an *ikhtilāf*-cluster, each essentially from an individual scholar plus "those who professed his doctrine". As noted above, the reference to "those who professed this doctrine" presumably reflects the reality of scholarly practice: famous scholars attracted groups of disciples who attended their study circles²²⁴. But these are not discrete *firaq* in the sense of discrete taxonomic units of the Muslim community; on other issues they may have been grouped differently. Only in the case of the Butriyya is a faction-name provided but, even then, we are clearly

²²² See p. 234, 238–239, .

²²³ See p. 569–570.

²²⁴ See p. 55.

dealing with the doctrine of an individual *mutakallim*, Ḥasan b. Šāliḥ b. Ḥayy. There is no sense here that these statements should amount to a totality of the doctrine of these individuals or represent the summation of the core doctrine of particular *firaq*. These are not heresiographical presentations of stable factions of the Community but doxographical reports on the doctrine of the Imāmate held by various *mutakallimūn*.

In Ash'arī's presentation and especially Balkhī's (via the *Ḥūr* the *Bāb* and the *Bad*), the material is either integrated into faction-descriptions or simply reused as if it were, in itself, a faction-description. The individual scholars' names are mentioned, but now we are dealing primarily with taxonomic *firaq*: the Sulaymāniyya, the Butriyya and the Nu'aymiyya, into which the Zaydiyya as such can be subdivided. What Nawbakhtī presents simply as statements of individual scholars on a single doctrine is thus given as constitutive of the doctrinal profile of three major Zaydī factions. In short, Nawbakhtī presents *ikhtilāf*-material; Ash'arī and Balkhī render it as *firaq*-material.

What this means for the concept of the Zaydiyya conveyed by the different texts will be explored later. For now, the goal is to summarise the evidence that Nawbakhtī preserves an earlier form of the material, closer to Zurqān's 'original'. The first point here is that in Nawbakhtī's version, the three doctrinal statements appear alongside one another. As discussed above, they are constructed in such a way that each sentence in each statement can be compared with an analogous sentence in the others. They thus engage tightly with one another and are clearly meant to be read together, to allow easy comparison of the elements of the doctrine. This is certainly a technique that Zurqān used in his *ikhtilāf*-clusters. We have already seen a very similar example preserved in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, where Zurqān is explicitly said to be the source of an *ikhtilāf*-cluster on whether the act of creation is distinct from the thing created²²⁵. In contrast, in the *firaq*-material on the Zaydiyya in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, where the Zurqān material is broken up and distributed amongst the faction-descriptions, the effect is nearly lost completely.

Second, this is not the only material that Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and Nawbakhtī's *ikhtilāf*-section have in common. As noted above, Ash'arī preserves two further parallel *ikhtilāf*-clusters [cf. *Fir.*12:17–14:4 with *MaqA.*456:14–458:5; cf. *Fir.*14:5–15:5 with *MaqA.*452:7–454:2]. Those, however, he keeps intact as *ikhtilāf*-material. It is *only* in the case of the statements of the Zaydī scholars that Zurqān-material gets broken up and reused as *firaq*-material.

Third, it is much easier to see how this material began life as statements in *ikhtilāf*-clusters attributed to individual scholars, in which the goal was to rapidly

²²⁵ See p. 54–55. The cluster appears at *MaqA.*511:7–10 and paralleled at 364:12–17.

compare their opinions on a single doctrine, and was then rendered as descriptions factions of the Zaydiyya than the other way round. We are obviously dealing with essentially technical descriptions, expressed in the jargon of *kalām*, of the views of individual Zaydī scholars on the Imāmate²²⁶. If the statements had previously been attributed to factions, this would not have happened: the ‘faction’ is reified from the opinion of the individual. Moreover, if Nawbakhtī had encountered this material as faction-descriptions in his source, he would not have worked it into the *ikhṭilāf*-section, but simply placed it later, amongst his *fīraq*-material.

1.2.4 Conclusions

In his *ikhṭilāf*-section, Nawbakhtī preserves Zurqān’s material on the doctrines of the Imāmate of Sulaymān b. Jarīr, the Butriyya (i.e., Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ b. Ḥayy) and Nu‘aym b. al-Yamān essentially intact. Zurqān would, likewise, have recorded these doctrines as *ikhṭilāf*-material in an *ikhṭilāf*-cluster on the doctrine of the Imāmate. The parallels in Ash‘arī’s *Maqālāt* and the BdC represent a later reuse as *fīraq*-material on the Zaydiyya. The precise route by which these parallels ended up in Ash‘arī’s *Maqālāt* and at least one version of Balkhī’s *Maqālāt* is unclear, but it seems most likely that Ash‘arī and Balkhī, as well as Nawbakhtī, simply used Zurqān’s *Maqālāt* independently of one another.

The other material on the factions of the Sulaymāniyya/Jarīriyya, the Butriyya and the Nu‘aymiyya that appears in the *fīraq*-material on the Zaydiyya in Ash‘arī’s *Maqālāt* and the BdC comes from elsewhere. Much of it was present in the main source Ash‘arī shares with ‘Abd al-Jabbār. Most likely, then, Ash‘arī simply took it from a version of Balkhī’s *Maqālāt* very similar to that used by ‘Abd al-Jabbār. If not, then Ash‘arī and Balkhī must have obtained it from Warrāq. If Ash‘arī was reliant on a version of Balkhī’s material, we have less insight into Balkhī’s own source(s). Most likely, however, his source for all the non-Zurqān-material on the Zaydiyya was still Warrāq.

1.3 The *fīraq*-Material in Nawbakhtī’s *Fīraq al-Shī‘a*

Nawbakhtī’s *Fīraq* has received more source-critical attention than any other third-century heresiography. The main reason for this is the age of one of its proposed sources, namely Hishām b. al-Ḥakam’s (d.179/795) *Ikhṭilāf al-nās fī l-imāma*.

226 See p. 568–572.

The thesis comes originally from Wilferd Madelung and was set out in a well-known 1967 article: *Bemerkungen zur imamitischen Firaq-Literatur*²²⁷. There, he made several proposals regarding the sources of Nawbakhtī's *Firaq*, Qummi's *Maqālāt*, and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*. Those specifically related to Qummi's text will be discussed in section 1.4, but it is important for what follows that Madelung argued convincingly that Qummi's main source was Nawbakhtī's *Firaq* itself. Otherwise, the relevant theses proposed by Madelung are that the early parts of Nawbakhtī's text are based on Hishām's *Ikhtilāf al-nās*, and that a later section, dealing with the factions that arose after the deaths of Ja'far al-Ṣādiq and Mūsā al-Kāzim, comes from Warrāq's *Maqālāt*, which, Madelung suggested, was also Ash'arī's source for the parallels to this section that appear in his *Maqālāt*. We will begin by looking at these hypotheses in more detail.

Nawbakhtī gives only sparse information about his sources in the *Firaq*. The few references are anonymous, taking forms such as *dhakara ba'd ahl al-'ilm anna...* [Fir:5:8], *ḥakā jam'a min ahl al-'ilm min aṣḥab 'Alī anna...* [Fir:19:18–19], *rawā ba'duhum anna...* [Fir:21:5]. Madelung observed, however, that there are several instances where Nawbakhtī presents information in a way we would expect of a much older source:

1. There is the *ikhtilāf*-section, discussed above, which Madelung claims mentions only scholars who were active before the end of the second century²²⁸.
2. Following a discussion of the supporters of 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya, there is a section devoted to factions of the Ghulāt [32:6–41:12]. Here, Nawbakhtī abandons his usual Imām-by-Imām arrangement and describes Ghulāt factions that should appear later according to the schema. Madelung asserts that the organizing principle for this excursus is to group together all those factions that are classed as Ghulāt, regardless of the date of their appearance or the Imām with whom they were associated. All the factions that appear were active in the second/eighth century²²⁹.
3. In some places in the section on the 'Abbāsīd Shī'a, the *Firaq* claims that certain factions, especially those connected with the succession to al-Manṣūr (d.158/775), maintain doctrines 'up to today' (*ilā l-yawm*) [32:4, 45:14, 47:7]. The situation described seems to have been that current in the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd (r. 170–193/786–809)²³⁰.
4. The opinion of the Mu'tazila on the Imāmate given in the *ikhtilāf*-section—i.e., that any Muslim who upholds the Qur'an and the Sunna can be a candidate,

²²⁷ He had foreshadowed it already in Madelung 1965:26.

²²⁸ Madelung 1967:40.

²²⁹ *Ibid.*:40–41.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*:41.

rather than the office being restricted to the Quraysh [10:10–12]—was not current in Nawbakhtī's day. This was the opinion of late second/eighth-century Mu'tazilī thinkers and had given way to the doctrine of the exclusive claim of the Quraysh by the end of the third/ninth century²³¹.

5. The report concerning the Jārūdiyya, a faction of the Zaydiyya, asserts that their legal traditions stem mostly from Muḥammad al-Bāqir and Ja'far al-Šādiq, with a few traditions from Zayd b. 'Alī (d.122/740) and 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan (d.144/762) [50:1–3]. By the later third/ninth century, according to Madelung, the Zaydiyya made use of many more legal authorities from amongst the 'Alids. The last Zaydī Imāms mentioned in the *Firaq* are Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan (d.145/762) and 'Isā b. Zayd b. 'Alī (d.166/782)²³².
6. The account of the followers of Muḥammad b. Ja'far mentions nothing of his failed rebellion in 200/815–6 [Fir.64:15–65:7]²³³.

Having set out these observations, Madelung claimed we are not simply looking at individual passages taken from several second-century works. Rather, he takes the 'whole layout' of the first section of the text to indicate that Nawbakhtī used a single, complete work composed in the second half of the second/eighth century²³⁴. He suggests that by far the most likely contender for that earlier source is Hishām's *Ikhtilāf al-nās*²³⁵. Then, based mostly on parallels between the *Firaq* and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* for the material on the factions that emerged after the deaths of Ja'far al-Šādiq (d.148/765) and Mūsā al-Kāzim (d.183/799), Madelung argued that Nawbakhtī used Hishām's text up to Ja'far al-Šādiq's death and thereafter took up a new source for the post-Šādiq and post-Kāzim factions. He suggests Warrāq's *Maqālāt* is both Nawbakhtī's and Ash'arī's source here²³⁶.

The argument that Warrāq is the source of the latter section is an instance of comparative source-analysis, where the identification of common material in two texts shows either the ultimate use of one text by the other or of both texts' ultimate use of an earlier common source. Madelung identifies parallels between the *Firaq* and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and concludes that Warrāq is probably the common source. As long as the parallels are sufficiently complex (which they are), and Ash'arī's source was not Nawbakhtī's text (which it was not), the only question here

231 *Ibid.*:42.

232 *Ibid.*

233 *Ibid.*:42–43.

234 *Ibid.* :43.

235 *Ibid.*:43–45.

236 *Ibid.*:45–48.

is whether we can so easily identify the common source as Warrāq. We will return to the matter below.

Madelung's argument that the early sections of the *Firaq* incorporate a second-century work basically intact, however, is an example of 'internal' source-analysis, grounded in the examination of a single text. He adduces no parallels to provide evidence of the hypothesis. Rather, his approach involves the identification of datable individuals, doctrines and factions, and the use of references to what appears to be a datable 'present day'. These, of course, are standard markers that can be used to date any text. Madelung, however, is not just trying to date a text; he is claiming that the *Firaq* preserves, intact within itself, a much older text, and is trying to date and attribute that text. This is a much more delicate task.

It can easily be conceded that when discussing the second century, Nawbakhtī used at least some material that originated *ultimately* in second-century sources. That is only what we would expect. The crucial point Madelung makes, however, is that this material has not been updated to take account of later developments, raising the possibility that it was excerpted *directly* from a second-century source or sources. Whether we really must be looking at pristine second-century material in all the cases listed above requires further attention, but even if it were accepted for the sake of argument, it would still not be enough for us to consider the whole of the first part of the text to be an intact reproduction of a *single* second-century text. There is always the possibility that Nawbakhtī drew on several second-century sources, possibly via third-century intermediaries who had already assembled the older material. Indeed, as we have seen, Madelung himself claims that other material on the second century in the *Firaq* indeed comes via a mid-third-century source: Warrāq. More generally, it is self-evidently the case that the *Firaq* also contains a lot of third-century material; it discusses events up to and including the crisis following the death of Ḥasan al-'Askarī. Some justification is thus required for separating off most of the material that deals with the period up to the mid-second century and considering it to have stood already as an intact textual unit in the second half of the second century. The identification of that unit as Hishām b. al-Ḥakam's *Ikhtilāf al-nās fī l-imāma* is yet a further step. On these points, Madelung has several, somewhat interdependent arguments:

1. The opening sections of the text are not restricted to the Shī'a and sit badly with Nawbakhtī's title. The historical section of the text describes the emergence of all the main factions of Islam. It is followed by the *ikhtilāf*-section, which features scholars from across the whole community. This situation sits better thematically with the title *Ikhtilāf al-nās fī l-imāma* than with *Firaq al-Shī'a*. Moreover, the very first line of the text states that 'All the factions of the community, Shī'ī and otherwise, have disagreed concerning the Imamate (*ikhtala-*

fat fi l-imāma)' [Fir.2:2], a phrase that chimes closely with the title of Hishām's work²³⁷.

2. The 'whole layout of the first part' (*die ganze Anlage des ersten Teils*) of the *Firaq* suggest that Nawbakhtī used a single, complete work as his source here²³⁸. Madelung allows that there is 'unevenness' caused by Hishām b. al-Ḥakam's own compilation of heterogeneous reports and the occasional addition of his own critique but asserts that this does not disturb the basic 'internal unity' (*innere Einheit*) of the first part of the work²³⁹.
3. We know of no Imāmī work from the appropriate period that could have functioned as this source apart from Hishām's *Ikhtilāf al-nās*²⁴⁰.
4. There are three passages in the *ikhtilāf*-section that parallel material attributed elsewhere to Zurqān: on Sulaymān b. Jarīr [Fir.9:6–9≈Maq.5–8], on Abū Ḥanīfa [Fir.10:1–4≈Uṣūl ad-dīn 275:4–7]; and on the Najdīya/Najadāt [Fir.10:10–12≈Maq.125:11–12]. In Ash'arī's and Baghdādī's works, these passages are presented as citations from Zurqān. Madelung takes this as evidence that Zurqān must also have had access to Nawbakhtī's source. He then seeks to show that Zurqān could indeed have used doxographical material from Hishām, mentioning Zurqān's role (again evident via Ash'arī and Baghdādī) as one of the most important authorities on Hishām's own doctrinal views. Madelung concludes that Zurqān had probably read Hishām's texts and takes this as corroboration that Nawbakhtī's source here was Hishām²⁴¹.
5. Many of the scholars who appear in the *ikhtilāf*-section are said to have held disputation sessions with Hishām, e.g., Abū l-Hudhayl, Nazzām, Aṣamm, Sulaymān b. Jarīr, Ibn al-Tammār²⁴² and Ḍirār b. 'Amr²⁴³.
6. Qummī's slavish use of the *Firaq* as the basis of his own *Maqālāt* is an indication of the respectable Imāmī pedigree of Nawbakhtī's text, as Qummī would not have used the *Firaq* as the foundation of his own book if it were based on an unknown source²⁴⁴.
7. Qummī adds many reports to the material he has taken from the *Firaq*. Madelung contends that these cannot come from the same source. Some contain clear

237 *Ibid.*:40

238 *Ibid.*:43

239 *Ibid.*:45

240 *Ibid.*:43.

241 *Ibid.*: 45. For the wealth of information on Hishām b. al-Ḥakam cited in later sources on the authority of Zurqān, see van Ess 2011:183 and 461 n.52; also p. 49 n.182.

242 See TG.I:386–387.

243 See TG.III:32–59, where van Ess suggests he died around 180/796.

244 Madelung 1967:43.

contradictions in the detail and use different terminology; some deal with later events; some clearly interrupt the coherence of the presentation²⁴⁵. He claims, however, that it is extremely unlikely that a leading scholar in Qom, writing at the end of the third/ninth century would not have had access to a text like Hishām's *Ikhtilāf al-nās*. From this, he infers that Nawbakhtī must have reproduced Hishām's text faithfully without any great omissions, otherwise Qummī would have made some efforts to restore the missing material²⁴⁶.

Most of these arguments simply assume that there is a single second-century source behind the early parts of the *Firaq* and seek to identify that source as Hishām's *Ikhtilāf al-nās* (1, 3, 4, 5) or to claim it must at least be a well-known Imāmī text (6). The only argument in the above list that supports the underlying contention that Nawbakhtī must be reproducing a single, intact source in the first place is 2. Argument 7 also attempts to corroborate the notion that Nawbakhtī is reproducing his source intact, but it functions only if it is already accepted on some other basis that Hishām's work, or at least some single, authoritative second/eighth-century Imāmī text, lies behind the first part of the *Firaq*. Otherwise, in the entirely hypothetical scenario it envisions, there would have been no single text for Qummī to have recognised as Nawbakhtī's source and restored if he had seen that it had not been reproduced faithfully²⁴⁷.

Argument 2, that the 'whole layout' and the 'internal unity' of the first half of the text implies a single source, is thus the only substantial argument of relevance. Madelung, however, takes the truth of his characterisation of this part of the *Firaq* to be self-evident and provides no detail on what he means by internal unity. This makes the argument difficult to assess fairly. Even so, there is an obvious problem, in that Madelung already identifies structural and thematic breaks in this part of the text. Most of the *Firaq* is organized within a single, overarching schema that orders the factions by the Imām they followed. As we will see, below, it is another example of an *iftirāq*-schema. Some sections, however, to which Madelung draws attention, do not fall within this schema. One of them is the *ikhtilāf*-section, which is not about the description of Shī'ī factions at all, but the doctrinal positions of *mutakallimūn* from across the whole community. Another is the section on the

245 *Ibid.*: 45.

246 *Ibid.*

247 *Ibid.*: 44–45. In any case, the notion that Qummī would have attempted to restore Hishām's text is already belied by the fact that it is Qummī himself who obscures so much of what structural consistency there is in the early sections of the *Firaq* with his numerous additions from other sources inserted in places where, as Madelung himself points out, they often make little sense or cause blatant contradictions. See p. 695–706.

Ghulāt factions, which abandons the Imām-by-Imām ordering principle and lists factions that arose under different Imāms together.

It is possible, of course, that Hishām himself could have composed a text with such structural breaks in it already; authors do this all the time. That seems to be Madelung's favoured explanation. He puts what he refers to as the 'many unevennesses' down to Hishām's own compilation of divergent reports and the addition of his own critique²⁴⁸. The point, however, is that our *only* argument that Nawbakhtī is using a single second-century source is the assertion of the structural unity of the text up to the death of Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, yet the text cannot so easily be characterised as unitary up to this point. Moreover, the breaks in the text are not so quickly explained away. As we saw in the last chapter, there is good reason, based on structural factors, the later dating of the material, and the presence of parallels elsewhere, to separate off the *ikhtilāf*-section. As suggested by van Ess, Nawbakhtī's source here was Zurqān, not Hishām b. al-Ḥakam²⁴⁹. That a similar move should be made for the Ghulāt-section has been argued by Tamima Bayhom-Daou, who has suggested the source there is Warrāq.

In her 1996 PhD thesis and subsequent 2003 articles, Bayhom-Daou made several significant points about the severity of the break with the surrounding text that occurs in the Ghulāt-section. Most notably, she claimed that the section is not only structurally distinct from the surrounding Imām-by-Imām presentation in the way Madelung already acknowledged, but that it also has an operative definition of *ghuluww* that, despite partial overlaps, has a different focus from that used in the rest of the early parts of the text²⁵⁰. She notes that the focus in the Ghulāt section is on the doctrines of the primordial shadows (*azilla*), metempsychosis (*tanāsukh*), divine incarnation (*ḥulūl*) and epochal cycles (*dawr*), and it attributes the origins of this *ghuluww* to a faction known as the Ḥārithiyya, who had been amongst the supporter of the 'Alid rebel 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya. Outside the section, she observes, the origins of *ghuluww* are attributed rather to Ibn Saba', and the doctrines of *azilla*, *tanāsukh*, *ḥulūl* and *dawr* hardly feature²⁵¹. She then claims, based on the identification of further parallels with Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, that this section is based on Warrāq's *Maqālāt*. She continues to hold Hishām's *Ikhtilāf al-nās*, nevertheless, to be the main source of the surrounding material, based on Madelung's original arguments. We will see later that the attribution to Warrāq is unconvincing. Above all, the parallels are far too loose. Nevertheless, she is certainly right that we cannot

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*:45.

²⁴⁹ See p. 226–232.

²⁵⁰ Bayhom-Daou 1996:50–52; Bayhom-Daou 2003b:23–26.

²⁵¹ Bayhom-Daou 1996:51–57; Bayhom-Daou 2003b:25–27.

simply assume that such a structurally and qualitatively distinct section derives from the same source as the surrounding material in the *Firaq*.

Moreover, even those parts of Nawbakhtī's text that do follow the unifying *iftirāq*-schema present a difficulty for Madelung's argument: this schema continues well beyond the section of the text that Madelung claims to be based on Hishām's *Ikhtilāf al-nās* and into the material on the post-Ja'far al-Šādiq and post-Mūsā al-Kāzīm factions, which he suggests is based rather on Warrāq's *Maqālāt*²⁵². In fact, it continues at least up to the death of 'Alī al-Riḍā (d.203/818) and deals with the division arising from the accession of Muḥammad al-Jawād (d.220/835) whilst still a minor [at least to *Fir.*73:7, probably to 76:15]²⁵³. Accepting, for the sake of argument, that the source of the later material really is Warrāq, then it is conceivable that Warrāq was also, independently, using such a schema to organize the factions of the Shī'a, making it easy for Nawbakhtī to splice the two sources together. But then we would have to wonder why Nawbakhtī took no material from Warrāq for the pre-Ja'far al-Šādiq factions. Could it not just be that Warrāq himself had already used earlier sources and worked them into the unifying schema, and that he is Nawbakhtī's direct source in the earlier sections too, whatever the ultimate origins of the material? Alternatively, Nawbakhtī might be responsible for imposing the schema on at least some of the material, but then we could no longer assume him to be reproducing his sources 'intact'.

That is not the last of the problems. On page 258–259, above, the six passages that Madelung considered to derive without updating from the second century are listed. The *ikhtilāf*-section and the section on the Ghulāt, however, together contain three of those passages (1, 2 and 4). The omissions in the report on Muḥammad b. Ja'far (6) appear in the material that Madelung himself ultimately attributes to Warrāq anyway. Thus, the only evidence of pristine second-century material left in the parts of the *Firaq* where the 'structural unity' argument seems to apply are in the descriptions of the 'Abbāsīd Shī'a (number 3) and the Zaydiyya (number 5). That does not render these observations insignificant, but two such passages are not much to go on to establish that Nawbakhtī reproduced a *single*, or even a *main*, second-century source throughout the entirety of the early sections of the *Firaq*.

If it is uncertain that a single, main second-century source lies behind the early parts of the *Firaq* at all, then it would seem premature to ask after the identity of that source. But it is worth noting that, of the arguments that Hishām b. al-Ḥakam is Nawbakhtī's source listed on page 260–262, two of them (4 and 5)

²⁵² For more on the *iftirāq*-schema in general, see p. 475–486, and on Nawbakhtī's schema in particular, p. 599–642.

²⁵³ See p. 285–312.

cannot support that conclusion at all if, as seems to be the case, the source of Nawbakhtī's *ikhtilāf*-section was Zurqān. Argument 6, the claim that Qummī would not have based his own text on the *Firaq* unless it was in turn based on a source of respectable Imāmī pedigree, also carries little force if one of Nawbakhtī's sources was Zurqān²⁵⁴. Argument 3, that we do not know of any other suitable candidates, does not amount to much given the state of our knowledge.

The most convincing piece of evidence that Hishām specifically might have been (one of) Nawbakhtī's source(s) is, rather, that offered in argument 1: the title of Hishām's work, *Ikhtilāf al-nās fī l-imāma* is in agreement with the *Firaq*'s opening line, 'All of the factions (*firaq*) of the *umma*, those of the Shī'a and others, have disagreed concerning the Imāmate (*ikhtalafat fī l-imāma*) in every era and in the time following the death of every Imām and during his lifetime since Muḥammad, peace be upon him and his family, was taken' [*Fir*:2:2–3]. Titles of texts from this period were often drawn from their first lines, so it is plausible that a text beginning this way would have been known as *Ikhtilāf al-nās fī l-imāma* and thus that this *could* have been the opening line of Hishām's text. It is also true that this opening line, with its reference first to the *firaq al-umma*, jars somewhat with the more restrictive title *Firaq al-Shī'a*.

However, despite the initial dissonance, the opening line is most probably just alluding obliquely to the three main sections of the *Firaq*, which comprise the historical introduction on the disagreements following Muḥammad's death, the *ikhtilāf*-section, and the *firaq*-material. In that case, the section of the text alluded to by the references to 'all the *umma*' and '*ikhtalafat fī l-imāma*' is the *ikhtilāf*-section, but this appears to come from Zurqān anyway, not Hishām. Moreover, although the title, *Firaq al-Shī'a*, is indeed more restrictive than the opening line, the latter still clearly foregrounds Shī'i factions amongst the *firaq al-umma* ('those of the Shī'a and others'). Both the titles *Firaq al-Shī'a* and *Ikhtilāf al-nās fī l-imāma* describe certain sections of the early part of the *Firaq* well, but neither of them covers all the contents accurately. If anything, Nawbakhtī's title at least refers more accurately to the *majority* of the material found even in this part of the text. Moreover, just because the title *Ikhtilāf al-nās fī l-imāma* could plausibly have been distilled from this opening line, this is obviously not positive evidence that the text in front of is indeed the text by Hishām known by that name. As we will see shortly below, there is at least one other text associated with Hishām b. al-Ḥakam that begins with a

²⁵⁴ It is, anyway, questionable whether Qummī would even have seen Hishām as such a respectable Imāmī source. As Madelung himself points out, Qummī penned an attack on Hishām and his student, Yūnus b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān. The text was known as *Kitāb mathālib hishām wa-yūnus*. It was refuted by a certain 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm b. Hāshim. Qummī then defended his earlier work in *Kitāb al-radd 'alā 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm b. Hāshim fī ma'nā Hishām wa-Yūnus* (Madelung 1967:43n38).

similar phrase. In the end, if the *Firaq*'s opening line is the best evidence we have that Hishām was Nawbakhtī's source, it is being made to bear a lot of weight.

It is also worth noting in this context that there are two named citations from Hishām b. al-Ḥakam preserved by Ibn Ḥazm in which Hishām provides information on Shī'ī factions. They have no parallels in the *Firaq*. In itself that need not be a problem for Madelung's thesis, as both are cited from Hishām's *Kitāb al-mizān*, not his *Ikhtilāf al-nas fi l-imāma*. However, whilst they discuss factions that also feature in the *Firaq*, they provide information that not only does not appear there but notably diverges. One case of this, where the citation concerns the Zaydī scholar Ḥasan b. Šāliḥ b. Ḥayy, has been discussed already²⁵⁵. The other concerns the followers of Abū Maṣṣūr. It informs us that this faction killed their own members as well as their opponents on the basis that they were sending believers to Paradise and opponents to Hell [*Fiṣ.V:45:12–14*]. In the *Firaq*, however, Nawbakhtī gives only the standard information that Abū l-Manṣūr's followers strangled their opponents; there is no mention of Hishām's extra detail that they even murder their own²⁵⁶. That obviously does not constitute positive evidence *against* Hishām being Nawbakhtī's source in his description of the Maṣṣūriyya (although the situation in the citation about Ḥasan b. Šāliḥ is more decisive) but nor does it provide us any positive reason to think that he was²⁵⁷.

Only shortly after Madelung published his article, highly relevant new evidence came to light: van Ess edited and published two texts attributed to the Mu'tazilī theologian Nāshī' al-Akbar (d. 293/906) in his 1971 *Frühe mu'tazilitische Häresiographie*. The first of these, the long fragment referred to as *Uṣūl al-niḥal*, was later redated and attributed by Madelung to the much earlier Ja'far b. Ḥarb (d. 235/850), our ps.-Nāshī'²⁵⁸. In any case, van Ess observed that *Uṣūl al-niḥal* has several parallels with the early sections of the *Firaq*²⁵⁹. In particular, he drew attention to close parallels for the factions of the Zaydiyya: the Jārūdiyya [*Nih.42:12–20*≈*Fir.48:7–14*; *Nih.43:1–4*≈*Fir.49:7–11*], the Butriyya [*Nih.44:14–44:1*≈*Fir.8:15–9:5*] and the follow-

255 See p. 230–231.

256 The strangling of opponents is commonly associated with followers of Abū Maṣṣūr. See p. 156 n.74, p.199, p.201 n.130, p.341–342, p.447.

257 We could also note that Hishām apparently uses the term 'Kisfiyya' for the followers of Abū Maṣṣūr, where Nawbakhtī has simply 'Maṣṣūriyya'. But not too much can be made of this, as it appears that Ibn Ḥazm is not citing directly but glossing. The phrasing makes it possible that 'Kisfiyya' is, rather, Ibn Ḥazm's term. The name is derived from Abū Maṣṣūr's supposed claim to be '*al-kisf al-sāqit*', 'the falling piece' of sky mentioned in Q52:44. But Ibn Ḥazm is relying either on Balkhī or Warrāq when he reports that claim (*Fiṣ.V:45:3–4*), not on Hishām's *Kitāb al-mizān*. See p. 368–371.

258 Madelung 1980:220–230.

259 Van Ess 1971b:39.

ers of Sulaymān b. Jarīr [*Niḥ*.44:6–17≈*Fir*:9:6–9]²⁶⁰. He also identified more general similarities in the historical introductions of the two works and in their presentations of the factions of the Kaysāniyya²⁶¹. At that point, van Ess simply assumed Madelung's earlier results were correct and concluded that Hishām's *Ikhtilāf al-nās fī l-imāma* was a common source for ps.-Nāshi' and Nawbakhtī²⁶². Construed this way, the parallels in *Uṣūl al-niḥal* appeared to corroborate Madelung's original arguments for the source of the *Firaq*. Without the assumption that Madelung's original thesis was correct, however, the evidence from these parallels would also stand in need of fresh consideration.

The fact that the parallels in *Uṣūl al-niḥal* seemed to support Madelung's original contention doubtless had an impact on those who reacted to his thesis subsequently. Tamima Bayhom-Daou, Hossein Modarressi, Sean Anthony, and van Ess have all essentially accepted it. However, they also suggest modifications that require consideration here. Some of these stand or fall with Madelung's original arguments, but others rest on observations that are independently relevant to the question of source-dependency in the *Firaq*.

The first person to engage seriously with Madelung's arguments after van Ess published *Uṣūl al-niḥal* was Bayhom-Daou, whose contribution to the debate has already been mentioned²⁶³. She grounded her analysis of the development of the Imāmī doctrine of the Imām's knowledge and her history of the emergence of 'gnostic' ideas amongst the Ghulāt in Madelung's claim that Nawbakhtī preserves a text by Hishām b. al-Ḥakam fundamentally intact, but she adapted the thesis in two directions²⁶⁴. The first has been discussed already: she proposed that the source of Nawbakhtī's Ghulāt-section was Warrāq, not Hishām²⁶⁵. This argument depends largely on identifying and interpreting parallels between the *Firaq* and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and can thus be assessed separately from the claims about Hishām. The matter is discussed below in 1.3.2.3.

The second direction in which Bayhom-Daou adapted Madelung's thesis was to argue that Nawbakhtī updated Hishām's work in ways that were relatively minor in terms of textual changes but highly significant in terms of the doctrines attrib-

²⁶⁰ See van Ess 1971:39 and notes to *Niḥ*.42–44.

²⁶¹ van Ess:1971b:26, 32. The similarities in the historical introductions are dealt with p. 85–95. On the similarities in the *firaq*-material see p. 412–468.

²⁶² van Ess 1971b: 26, 39, 54. See also van Ess 2011:148, 213, 254.

²⁶³ Bayhom-Daou 1996; Bayhom-Daou 2003a; Bayhom-Daou 2003b.

²⁶⁴ For a critique of the term 'gnostic' in regard to Islamic factions (and more generally), see *EL*₃, "Gnosticism" [van Bladel]. The most detailed attempt to compare the beliefs of the Shī'ī Ghulāt with other belief systems that have been called 'gnostic' is Asatryan and Burns 2016. They too come to the conclusion that Ghulāt groups should not be labelled 'gnostic'.

²⁶⁵ See p. 263–264. Bayhom-Daou 1996:50–51; Bayhom-Daou 2003b:17–19.

uted to earlier Shī'i groups²⁶⁶. Crucially, according to her, the updating is often identifiable. Sometimes, this is because Hishām's views on a particular doctrine can be established from elsewhere. She then takes departures from these views in the *Firaq* as indications that Nawbakhtī adapted the text to bring it into conformity with his own doctrinal position. Obviously, if Nawbakhtī's source was not Hishām, this type of argument loses its force completely. Sometimes, however, she relies on identifying inconsistencies in structure, terminology, and doctrinal attitude within the early parts of the *Firaq*, or else between the *Firaq* and *Uṣūl al-niḥal*. For her, these indicate alterations to Hishām's original text made either by Nawbakhtī or ps.-Nāshī²⁶⁷. She further claims that it is possible to restore Hishām's original in several instances. This interpretation, too, depends to a great extent on Madelung's Hishām-thesis and on van Ess's use of that thesis to interpret the parallels in *Uṣūl al-niḥal*. It also depends on a series of assumptions about Imāmī doctrine in the second century and about Nawbakhtī's own doctrine²⁶⁸. Nevertheless, such observations in themselves remain relevant to the question of source-dependency in the *Firaq* independently of the interpretation, as they challenge the notion of 'internal unity' in the early parts of the text and thus point to the possibility that not all the material derives from a single source.

Hossein Modarressi entered the debate in his 2003 *Tradition and Survival*, where he approached the problem from a different angle, that of trying to identify passages in extant (usually) Twelver Shī'i literature that might consist in preserved texts from much earlier Imāmī authors. In this context, he suggests that a text quoted in Ibn Bābawayh's (d.381/991) *Kamāl al-dīn* and, in a summarized version, in Ṭuṣī's epitome of Kashshī's (d. mid-fourth/tenth century) *Rijāl* is a better candidate to be identified as Hishām's *Ikhtilāf al-nas fī l-imāma* than are the early sections of the *Firaq*²⁶⁹. The texts consist in a debate between Hishām and theologians of various schools conducted in front of Yaḥyā al-Barmakī. They begin with Yaḥyā's invitation to debate *fī-mā khtalaftum fīhi min al-imāma*. Modarressi briefly entertains the idea that another text by Hishām, namely his *Kitāb al-mizān*, may be the source of the early sections of Nawbakhtī's *Firaq*. The difficulty he identifies here though is that none of the preserved citations from the *Kitāb al-mizān* can be found there²⁷⁰.

266 Bayhom-Daou 1996:40–112; 2003a:79–108; 2003b:22–46.

267 See further, p. 545–546, p.600 n.989, p.614 n.1006, p.634 n.1058, p.641 n.1073, p.687.

268 See the passages referenced in the previous note.

269 See Modarressi 2003:265–266, citing *Kamāl*.338:23–344:7 and *Rijāl*K.258:3–263:15.

270 As discussed above, the only explicitly marked citations from the *Kitāb al-mizān* are to be found in Ibn Ḥazm's *Fiṣal* (IV:157:8–10; V:45:12–14). As Modarressi supposes, the citations from Hishām at *Fiṣ*.IV:169:1–2 and IV:172:1–2 may also come from this work, although no title is men-

There is reason to suggest *Kitāb al-mīzān* for this role only if Madelung's basic argument that a single text by Hishām is Nawbakhtī's main source is accepted. Modarressi, however, also raises another relevant observation in this regard: several passages in the *Firaq* display non-Imāmī colouring. In one instance, the pejorative term *Rāfiḍa* is clearly used in respect of the Imāmiyya [*Fir*:55:15] and the text, at another point, is indifferent to the idea that Abū Ṭālib, 'Alī's father and the Prophet's uncle, died a non-Muslim [*Fir*:40:12–15]²⁷¹. As all these instances occur in the quoted speech of others, Modarressi drew no firm conclusions and left the matter open²⁷². However, his observations go somewhat in the same direction as Bayhom-Daou's, although for different reasons: they potentially further undermine the 'internal unity' argument.

The question was then taken up by Sean Anthony in his 2012 monograph, *The Caliph and the Heretic*. He discussed many of the issues raised by Madelung, Bayhom-Daou and Modarressi, eventually concluding that whilst Nawbakhtī's source was most likely an Imāmī text of the late second century, the specific attribution to Hishām is unreliable²⁷³. Anthony, however, addressed in more detail the possibility that Nawbakhtī's source was not Imāmī, drawing attention to several elements of Nawbakhtī's description of the doctrine of Ibn Saba' that ascribe the origins of some standard Imāmī doctrines to this notorious early heresiarch, a curious move for an Imāmī text²⁷⁴. For Anthony, these are insufficient grounds to posit that Nawbakhtī was using a non-Imāmī source, in large part because of an argument raised already by Madelung, namely the positive reception of Nawbakhtī's text amongst subsequent Imāmī authors and particularly its adoption by Qummī as the basis of his own work²⁷⁵. He, like Madelung, prefers a scenario whereby a second-century

tioned. They are not doxographical but relate to the doctrine of the Imāmate. Modarressi also claims that a passage cited by 'Abd al-Jabbār (*Tathbīt*.224:3–15) was taken from the *Mizān*, but it could just as easily come from another text in which Hishām discussed the Imāmate, of which there were several (see Modarressi 2003:262–267; *TG*.VI:70–71). It may even come via one of the doxographical sources mentioned by 'Abd al-Jabbār at 224:9–14, i.e., Nawbakhtī, Abū Sahl b. Nawbakht (d.311/924), Warrāq or Ibn al-Rāwandī. In any case, none of this is in the *Firaq*.

271 Modarressi 2003:266. Another use of the word *rāfiḍa*, at *Fir*:54:11, is pro-Imāmī; it invokes the idea that the *ghālī* Mughīra b. Sa'īd was responsible for coining the term, which has the double of advantage of both giving it a positive connotation, as it is now Mughīra whom the Imāmiyya refused (*rafaḍa*), and inferring that Imāmī opponents who use the word are following the *sunna* of an arch heresiarch (see *TG*.I:311).

272 Modarressi 2003:266.

273 Anthony 2012:148–150.

274 *Ibid.*:153–156.

275 *Ibid.*:149, n.19, citing Madelung 1967:43. Anthony also mentions another of Madelung's arguments for the identification of Hishām as Nawbakhtī's source, namely the parallels in citations

Shī'i source was itself assembling earlier, disparate material, resulting in the different perspectives preserved in the account²⁷⁶. Nevertheless, Anthony's observations, too, add to the catalogue of 'unevenness' that must be accounted for when considering the sources of the *Firaq*.

Slightly before this, in *Der Eine und das Andere*, van Ess had also re-examined Madelung's thesis in detail²⁷⁷. Generally, van Ess still accepts Madelung's argument that Hishām was Nawbakhtī's main source, apparently for the reasons Madelung originally laid out²⁷⁸. As we have seen already, however, he argues convincingly that the *Firaq*'s *ikhtilāf*-section cannot come from a work as early as Hishām's; the source there is Zurqān²⁷⁹. He is also less confident that Nawbakhtī always relied on Hishām elsewhere in the early parts of the text, and stresses that we cannot prove how closely he stuck to Hishām's wording. Bayhom-Daou's claim that it is possible to isolate precisely where Nawbakhtī has updated Hishām's material and thus to restore the original version thus holds no attraction for him²⁸⁰. Instead, he approaches the matter the other way around, seeking, rather, to identify elements that probably *do* go back to Hishām. In this, he relies primarily on structural, terminological, and formulaic constants throughout the text, but also on the doctrinal attitude in evidence in certain passages. The general tendency is still to proceed from the assumption that the main source is indeed Hishām and to take anything that exhibits consistency as corroboration of this, but van Ess's observations here are potentially relevant to the question of source-dependency in the *Firaq* even if Madelung's thesis is rejected. In some cases, they already lead van Ess to other conclusions. He suggests, for example, that the material on the Zaydiyya does not all come from a single source, likewise that on the Khaṭṭābiyya²⁸¹.

In summary, we have a situation where an unproven hypothesis has provided the dominant paradigm for the interpretation of the available material for a long time. That original hypothesis rests ultimately on three arguments: that some passages in the early sections of the *Firaq* must have been composed in the second half of the second century; that the early sections of the text display sufficient 'internal unity' to indicate they were all taken from a single source; and that the best candi-

from Zurqān, which have been discussed already here. He then also brings up the parallels in *Uṣūl al-niḥāl*, identified by van Ess, to the same end (149–150).

276 Anthony 2012:156–160.

277 Van Ess 2011:246–258. Anthony was unable to make use of *Der Eine* in his own study (Anthony 2012:141, n.2).

278 E.g., *ibid.*: 247 ('Hišām b. al-Ḥakam ist. . . seine Hauptquelle'), 249, 251, 254.

279 See IV.A.2.

280 Van Ess 2011:254, n.371. Anthony is also sceptical (2012:150).

281 Van Ess 2011:249–251.

date for this source is Hishām's *Ikhtilāf al-nās fi l-imāma*. All three arguments are open to question, but it is the second that presents the largest problem. Everyone who has examined the issue admits there is at least some 'unevenness' in the early sections, but the interpretations of this are various. Madelung originally suggested that it does not disturb the 'internal unity' and is consistent with Hishām himself having pulled together diverse reports and mixed them with his own material. Subsequent scholarship has tended, rather, in the face of a growing list of apparent ruptures, to prefer the explanation that Nawbakhtī added passages from elsewhere and/or updated the material himself. As we have seen already, van Ess was right to suggest that the *ikhtilāf*-section comes, rather, from Zurqān. Nevertheless, the basic assumption that there remains sufficient internal unity to indicate a single main, second-century Imāmī source has never been challenged. At the very least, it requires substantiation, or else the whole hypothesis must be reconsidered.

The fundamental difficulty here is that there is no general criterion that allows us to determine when a section of text displays sufficient internal unity that it must have been taken from a single source. Homogeneity of structure and terminology, for example, can be imposed on originally heterogeneous textual material at different stages in its transmission. There is also no general way to tell whether unevenness is best explained by an earlier source having simply been composed in an uneven manner, by the author of an earlier source having assembled disparate material, by the author of the text in front of us having used disparate sources directly, or by the author of the text in front of us having reorganized material from a single source in a way that now appears inconsistent. Certainly, the use of a single source *can* produce homogeneity. Certainly, the combination of material from different sources *can* produce unevenness. But there is no straightforward way to work backwards from the observations to the cause. We can get further, of course, by looking at the particular character of any ruptures: passages that display very different doctrinal perspectives, that consistently employ different terminology, or that clearly betray different dates of composition are unlikely to derive *ultimately* from the same source. But that does not tell us much about when the disparate material was first brought together or about the route of its transmission.

The most powerful tool we can use to investigate source-dependency, however, is not this kind of internal *Quellenforschung* at all. It is, rather, the identification and interpretation of parallels in other works. Part of the problem so far is that there has been a strong tendency to interpret parallels in light of the assumption that Nawbakhtī's main source is Hishām. That was one issue with the interpretation of the Zurqān-citations that parallel the *Firaq's ikhtilāf*-section, as we have seen. We will see later that it was a problem with the interpretation of the parallels in *Uṣūl al-niḥal*. Methodologically, it is better to begin with the stronger evidence, i.e., to identify the various sets of parallels and their possible sources first, given what

we know from citation-marking elsewhere. Only secondarily should we consider issues of structural homogeneity and rupture. There are essentially two sets of relevant parallels to examine: those in the Balkhī-Ash'arī material and those in *Uṣūl al-niḥal*. The parallels in Qummī's *Maqālāt* and Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī's *Kitāb al-zīna* arise, rather, because their source is Nawbakhtī's *Firaq* itself and thus have no bearing on the question of Nawbakhtī's own sources²⁸². To simplify the presentation, however, we will concentrate here on the parallels only in the Balkhī-Ash'arī material, which will be examined in 1.3.2. The parallels in *Uṣūl al-niḥal* will be discussed later, in 1.6.2. This means that the conclusions reached here are necessarily preliminary. It is not until we have also looked at the parallels in *Uṣūl al-niḥal* that we will have dealt with all the relevant evidence.

Before we begin with the parallels, however, it is necessary to orient the discussion by providing a basic overview of the structure of Nawbakhtī's *firaq*-material. This is done in 1.3.1. The point here is not to draw any conclusions about the significance of breaks for the question of source-dependency, but simply to set out where the principal structural units of the text are found and to describe the formal relationship between them.

Finally, the conclusions are summarised in 1.3.3.

1.3.1 Structural Overview of Nawbakhtī's *firaq*-Material

Nawbakhtī's *firaq*-material begins after the *ikhtilāf*-section and continues to the end of the text, occupying a little more than eighty percent of the work²⁸³. Its basic outline is given in Tab. 15. The main organizing structure is an *iftirāq*-schema. In one respect, Nawbakhtī's implementation of the schema is more comprehensive than Balkhī's: he integrates both the Zaydiyya and the Imāmiyya (including numerous Ghulāt factions) into a single schema. In general, however, there is considerably greater unevenness in its application in the *Firaq* than must have been the case in Balkhī's *Maqālāt*. Sometimes, especially where the Zaydiyya are concerned, this relates more to the content of the clusters than to formal features²⁸⁴. More often, however, it arises because Nawbakhtī sometimes suspends the *iftirāq*-schema entirely and employs other ways of organizing factions for long passages before taking up the schema again.

282 See p. 350 and p. 389–402.

283 For an overview of the structure of the whole work, see p. 58.

284 On the clusters introducing Zaydī factions, see p. 601–608.

Tab. 15: Outline of the *firaq*-material in Nawbakhtī's *Firaq*.

-
- [16:6] *Iftirāq* of the Shī'a after the death of the Prophet Muḥammad (3 factions):
 - [16:6–17:16] Those who claim that the Prophet designated 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib as Imām, and that the following Imāms must be both descendants of his through Fāṭima and designated by the previous Imām [i.e., the Imāmiyya]
 - [17:10–16] Information on the genealogy and death of 'Alī
 - [18:1–16] The Butriyya
 - [18:10–16] A sub-faction of the Butriyya
 - [19:1–7] The Jārūdiyya
 - [19:8] *Iftirāq* after the death of 'Alī (3 factions):
 - [19:9–20:9] The Saba'iyya, who deny 'Alī's death
 - [20:10–21:8] The Kaysāniyya, who claim that the next Imam is Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya
 - [21:9–23:15] Those who say the next Imāms were Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, including
 - [22:4–8] Genealogical information on Ḥasan
 - [22:15–23:3] Genealogical information on Ḥusayn
 - [23:4–15] A faction that abandoned belief in the Imāmates of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn after Ḥusayn's death
 - [23:16] *Iftirāq* after the death of Ḥusayn (3 factions)²⁸⁵:
 - [23:16–24:2] Those who support the Imāmate of Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya
 - [24:3–12] The Mukhtāriyya/Kaysāniyya, who claim that Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya had been the Imām immediately after 'Alī, and Ḥasan and Ḥusayn acted only by his permission
 - [24:13–17] Genealogical details of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya
 - [24:17–18] *Iftirāq* of the Kaysāniyya after the death of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya (3 factions)²⁸⁶:
 - [25:1–26:2] The Karibiyya, who claim that Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya did not die and is the Mahdī and concealed in an unknown location.
 - Excursus on Ḥamza b. 'Umāra al-Barbarī, Ṣa'id, and Bayān b. Sim'ān
 - [26:3–27:10] A faction that claims Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya did not die and is currently concealed in the Raḍwā mountains.
 - [27:11–13] The Hāshimiyya, who claim that the Imam after Ibn al Ḥanafīyya is his son, Abū Hāshim 'Abd Allāh.
 - [28:1–2] A faction that claims Abū Hāshim is the Mahdī.
 - [28:3] *Iftirāq* after the death of Abū Hāshim (4 factions):
 - [28:3–15] The 'pure' Kaysāniyya or Mukhtāriyya, who claim that the Abū Hāshim made the bequest to his brother, 'Alī b. Muḥammad and that the Imamate then continued in the line of 'Alī's sons, from whom the Mahdī will come.
 - [28:15–29:2] A faction that split from them, stopping the line of Imams at Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya. They await the return of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya as Mahdī.
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²⁸⁵ The *iftirāq*-rubric at this point announces three factions, but only two are listed. The missing third faction should be the supporters of 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn Zayn al-'Ābidīn, to which Nawbakhtī returns at 47:13.

²⁸⁶ The *iftirāq*-statement announces three factions, but four are listed.

Tab. 15 (continued)

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- [29:3–12] The Hārithiyya, who claim that Abū Hāshim made the bequest to 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya b. 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far b. Abū Tālib.
 - [29:13–30:7] Those who claim that Abū Hāshim made the bequest to Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, known as the 'Ghulāt of the Rāwandīyya'.
 - [30:8–31:2] the Bayāniyya
 - [31:3] *Iftirāq* of the Hārithiyya (3 factions):
 - [31:4–10] Doctrines of the Hārithiyya
 - [31:11–13] A faction that claims that 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya is alive and will not die until he 'leads the reigns' to a man from Banū Hāshim.
 - [31:14–17] A faction that claims 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya is alive and is the Mahdī.
 - [32:1–3] A faction which claims that 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya died without making a bequest.
 - [32 :6–41 :12] (Section on factions of the Ghulāt):
 - [32:6–34:4] The Khurramdīniyya
 - [34:5–35:6] The Manṣūriyya
 - [35:8–37:7] The claims of the supporters of 'Abd Allah b. Mu'āwiya
 - [37 :8–14] *ikhtilāf*-cluster on the *raj'a*
 - [37:15–38:4] The Khaṭṭābiyya, who divide into 4 factions:
 - [38:5–14] Followers of Abū l-Khaṭṭāb
 - [38:15–17] Followers of Bazigh
 - [39:1–6] Followers of Sarrī
 - [39:7–41:5] Followers of Mu'ammār
 - [41:6–12] Conclusion on Ghulāt factions
 - [41:13] *Iftirāq* of the 'Abbāsīd Shī'a (3 factions):
 - [41:13–42:3] The Abū Muslimiyya
 - [42:4–5] The Rizāmiyya
 - [42:6–10] The Hurayriyya, or the 'pure' 'Abbāsīd Shī'a, who claim that the Prophet designated 'Abbās b. 'Abd al- Muṭṭalib as Imām, and the Imamate passed to the Abbasid caliphs through him.
 - [42:11–46:9] A faction that believes in the Imāmate of the 'Abbāsīds via Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya, leading into an account of the emergence of the doctrine of the inheritance of the Imāmate via 'Abbās b. 'Abd al- Muṭṭalib and of the succession disputes amongst the 'Abbasids up to al-Mahdī.
 - [46:10] Two Ghulāt groups from amongst the 'Abbāsīd Shī'a:
 - [46:10–14] The Hāshimiyya, who claim the Imamate passed to the Abbasids from Abū Hāshim.
 - [46:15–47:9] A faction of the Rāwandīya who believe that Manṣūr is God and Abū Muslim his prophet.
 - [47:13] *Iftirāq* of the 'Alid Shī'a after the death of Ḥusayn b. 'Alī
 - [47:13–48:2] Supporters of 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn Zayn al-'Ābidīn, including
 - [47:15–48:2] Genealogical information on 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn.
 - [48:3–6] Faction that claims the Imāmate ended with Ḥusayn b. 'Alī
 - [48:7–49:5] The Surḥūbiyya/the Jārūdiyya
 - [49:5–50:12] *Ikhtilāf* of the Zaydiyya concerning the Imams' knowledge
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Tab. 15 (continued)

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- [50:13–51:6] The ‘weak’ Zaydiyya
 - [51:6–7] The ‘strong’ Zaydiyya
 - [51:9–52:2] The Ḥusayniyya, who believe that the family of Muḥammad become Imāms only at the moment when they actively rebel.
 - [52:3–5] The Mughīriyya, who supported Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan.
 - [52:6–53:15] The Imāmate of Muḥammad al-Bāqir and the opposition to him, including
 - [53:9–15] Genealogical information on Bāqir
 - [53:16] *Iftirāq* after the death of Muḥammad al-Bāqir (2 factions):
 - [53:16–55:6] The Mughīriyya
 - [55:7–57:2] Those who claim that the Imām after Muḥammad al-Bāqir is Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq.
 - [57:3–8] *Iftirāq* after the death of Ja‘far and biographical details of Ja‘far (6 factions):
 - [57:4–8] Genealogical information on Ja‘far
 - [57:9–15] The Nāwusiyya, who claim that Ja‘far did not die and is the Mahdī
 - [57:16–58:8] The Ismā‘īliyya, who claim that Ismā‘īl b. Ja‘far did not die during his father’s lifetime and is the Mahdī, including
 - [58:5–8] Genealogical information on Ismā‘īl
 - [58:9–16] The Mubārakiyya, who claim that Ismā‘īl died and the Imāmate passed to his son, Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl after Ja‘far.
 - [58:17–61:4] A faction of the Khaṭṭābiyya who supported the Imāmate of Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl and his sons.
 - [61:1–64:14] The Qarāmiṭa, who claim the Imāmate stopped with Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl, who is the Mahdī
 - [64:15–65:7] The Samṭiyya, who claim that the next Imām is Muḥammad b. Ja‘far
 - [65:8–66:8] The Fuṭḥiyya, who claim that the next Imām is ‘Abd Allāh b. Ja‘far
 - [66:9–67:6] Those who claim the next Imam is Mūsā al-Kāẓim
 - [67:7] *Iftirāq* after the death of Mūsā al-Kāẓim (5 factions):
 - [67:8–12] The Qaṭiyya, who affirm the death of Mūsā
 - [67:13–69:7] The Wāqifa, who claim that Mūsā did not die and is the Mahdī
 - [69:8–70:4] A faction that does not know whether or not Mūsā died
 - [70:5–71:10] The Bashīriyya, who believe that Mūsā did not die but is in concealment, and the Muḥammad b. Bashīr is his deputy until he returns.
 - [71:10–72:6] Genealogical information on Mūsā
 - [72:8] *Iftirāq* after the death of ‘Alī al-Riḍā:
 - [72:8–10] Those who claim that the Imam after ‘Alī is Muḥammad al-Jawād
 - [72:11–13] Those who claim that the Imam after ‘Alī is his brother, Aḥmad b. Mūsā
 - [72:14–16] A faction that ‘reverts’ to the doctrine of the Wāqifa, stopping the Imamate at Mūsā
 - [72:17–73:3] The Muḥadditha, a faction of the Murjī‘a, who believed in the Imāmates of Mūsā and ‘Alī, but did not follow any Imāms after them
 - [73:4–7] A faction of the ‘strong’ Zaydiyya, who believed in ‘Alī al-Riḍā’s Imamate, but then reverted to the Zaydiyya after his death.
 - [73:8–74:2] Genealogical information on ‘Alī al-Riḍā
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Tab. 15 (continued)

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- [74:3–13] The reasons for the opposition to Muḥammad al-Jawād
 - [74:14–17] *Ikhtilāf* amongst the supporters of Muḥammad al-Jawād over how he attained knowledge given his immaturity:
 - [Fir:74:17] Some say he was taught by his father.
 - [Fir:74:17–75:8] Some say that once he became mature, he was given knowledge by God through various miraculous means. Before this, he was the Imām only in the sense that the office could be held by no one else.
 - [Fir:75:8–76:7] Some agree that he gained knowledge and became the Imām in the full sense only once mature but claim that he gained knowledge from his father's books and through his infallible reasoning, not by miraculous means.
 - [Fir:76:8–15] Some say that it is impossible for the Imām to be immature and that he was Imām and possessed knowledge even as a child, receiving it by all of the miraculous means available to Imāms.
 - [76:16–77:4] Genealogical details of Muḥammad al-Jawād
 - [77:5–77:17] Imāmate of 'Alī al-Hādī, including
 - [77:9–17] Genealogical information on 'Alī al-Hādī.
 - [78:1–12] Emergence of the Numayriyya during the Imāmate of 'Alī al-Hādī
 - [78:13–79:3] Death of 'Alī al-Hādī and controversy over death of his appointed successor, Muḥammad b. 'Alī, during his lifetime.
 - [79:4–15] Imamate of Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-'Askarī and the opposition favouring Ja'far b. 'Alī, including
 - [79:9–15] Genealogical information on Ḥasan al-'Askarī
 - [79:16] Iftirāq after the death of Ḥasan al-'Askarī (14 factions):
 1. [79:16–80:10] A faction that claims that Ḥasan did not die, is the Qā'im and is in the first of two periods of *ghayba*
 2. [80:11–81:11] A faction that claims Ḥasan, the Mahdī and the Qā'im, died, came back to life and is in hiding (*mustatir*).
 3. [81:12–82:13] A faction that claims that the next Imam was Ja'far b. 'Alī
 4. [82:14–83:6] A faction that claims that Ja'far b. 'Alī became Imam directly after 'Alī al-Hādī and that neither Muḥammad b. 'Alī nor Ḥasan al-'Askarī were Imams.
 5. [83:7–84:11] A faction believed the Imām after 'Alī al-Hādī had really been Muḥammad b. 'Alī, who had died during 'Alī's lifetime. They believed him to be the Mahdī.
 6. [84:12–85:2] A faction that claimed that Ḥasan had a son called Muḥammad some years before his death. This son is the Mahdī and is in the first of his two periods of *ghayba*.
 7. [85:3–12] A faction that claimed that Ḥasan had a son, Muḥammad, who was born eight months after his death and is now hidden (*mastūr*).
 8. [85:13–86:15] A faction that denied that Ḥasan had a son.
 9. [87:1–88:4] A faction that claimed that Ḥasan died and that there will be no Imām until God sends the Mahdī.
 10. [88:5–89:16] The Nafisiyya, who claimed that Muḥammad b. 'Alī had been the true successor of 'Alī al-Hādī. Muḥammad appointed a servant, Nafis, to pass the inheritance of the Imām to his brother, Ja'far upon the death of their father.
 11. [89:17–90:4] A faction that affirms the Imamate of Ḥasan al-'Askarī but otherwise suspends judgement until the matter becomes clear.
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Tab. 15 (continued)

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| 12. | [90:5–93:4] The Imāmiyya, who claim that God has appointed a successor to Ḥasan from amongst his progeny, but nothing else will be known about him until he appears. |
| 13. | [93:5–94:3] A faction designated the ‘pure’ Fuṭḥīya, who claimed that Ja‘far b ‘Alī was Imām after Ḥasan on the model of Mūsā’s Imāmate after ‘Abd Allāh b. Ja‘far’s. |
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The main *iftirāq*-schema is depicted graphically in Tab. 16. It begins with the death of the Prophet, an event which produces three factions. Here, in a fashion anachronistic even beyond what is usual for an *iftirāq*-schema, we already find the Zaydī factions of the Butriyya and the Jārūdiyya, but, superficially at least, the schema continues in a regular manner to a post-‘Alī cluster. The post-‘Alī cluster is then followed, consistently enough, by a post-Ḥusayn cluster²⁸⁷. It is at this point that things first begin to go awry, albeit subtly at first. The *iftirāq*-statement tells us that three factions emerged after Ḥusayn’s death, but only two are given: (1.) those Kaysāniyya who supported Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya only after Ḥusayn [23:16–24:2] and (2.) those Kaysāniyya who then decided that Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya had always been Imām, whilst Ḥasan and Ḥusayn had only been acting by his permission [24:3–12]. The third faction should obviously be the new generation of proto-Imāmiyya, i.e., those who supported the Imāmate of Ḥusayn’s son, ‘Alī Zayn al-‘Ābidīn, but they are missing²⁸⁸. Instead, Nawbakhtī moves directly to the *iftirāq* of the Kaysāniyya, with the post-Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya cluster and the post-Abū Hāshim cluster.

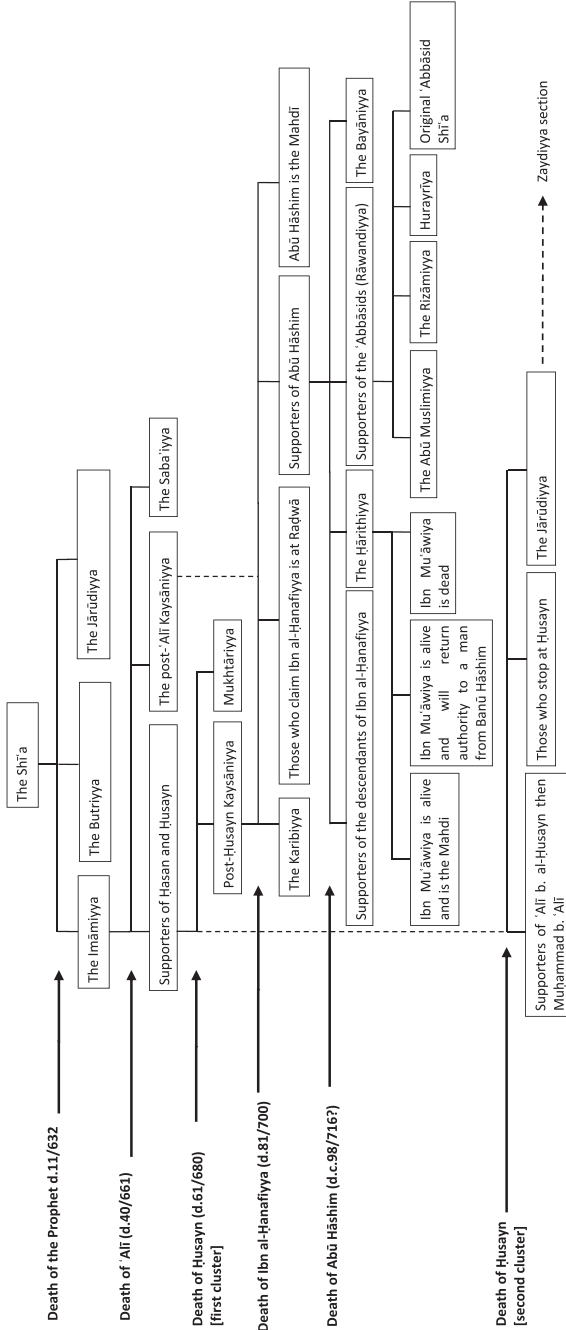
The post-Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya cluster is formally regular. The first major breaks occur within the post-Abū Hāshim cluster, where Nawbakhtī twice suspends the *iftirāq*-schema. On both occasions, material on Ghulāt factions is involved. The post-Abū-Hāshim *iftirāq* produces four factions: (1.) the ‘pure’ Kaysāniyya, (2.) the Ḥārithiyya, (3.) the Rāwandiyya, by which Nawbakhtī roughly means the ‘Abbāsīd Shī‘a, and (4.) the Bayāniyya. Nawbakhtī first describes all four [28:2–31:2], but then follows a pattern of consecutive sub-clusters, dealing first with the *iftirāq* of the Ḥārithiyya upon the death of ‘Abd Allāh b. Mu‘āwiya [31:3–32:4] and then with *iftirāq* of the ‘Abbāsīd Shia [41:13–46:9]²⁸⁹. Inserted between the *iftirāq* of the Ḥārithiyya and that of the ‘Abbāsīd Shī‘a, however, is a relatively long section of material in which Ghulāt factions are listed with no attempt to integrate them into *iftirāq*-clusters. This is the so-called ‘Ghulāt section’ that Madelung takes to be significant for dating purposes and Bayhom Daou claims is based on Warrāq’s *Maqālāt*

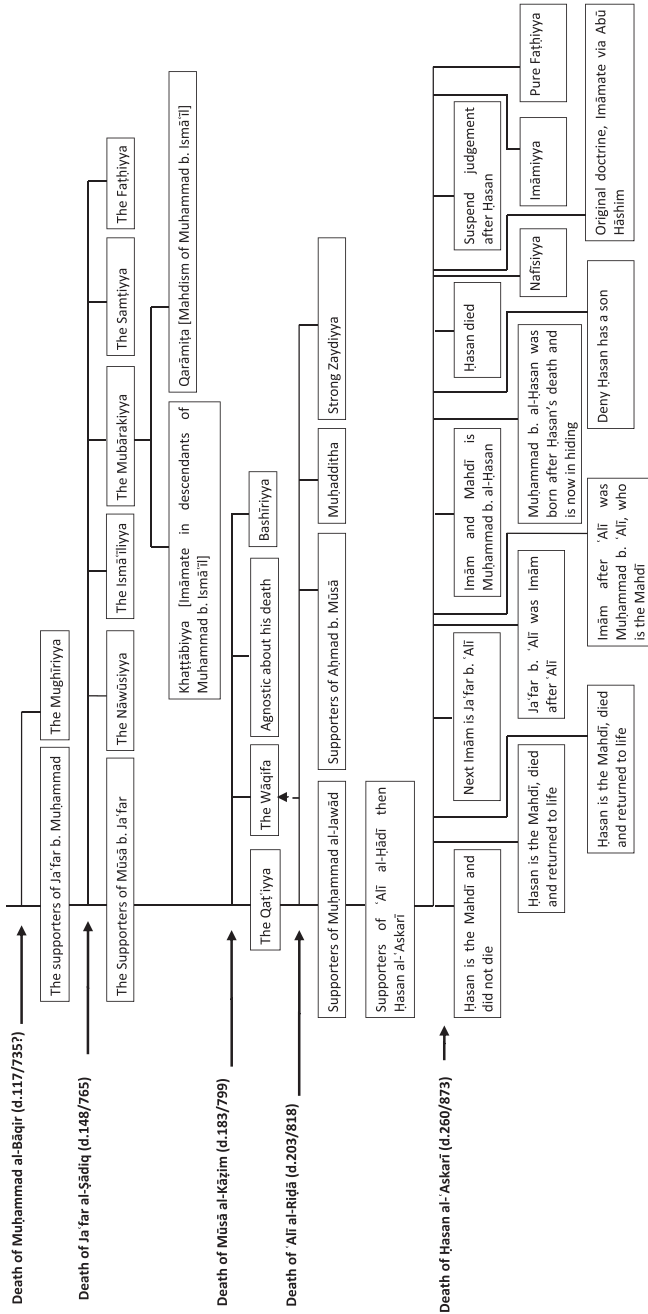
²⁸⁷ It seems no one ever tried to construct a post-Ḥasan cluster.

²⁸⁸ Qummī adds in extra material at this point, so his text is of no help in establishing whether the problem lies in Nawbakhtī’s ‘original’ or in the manuscript tradition of the *Firaq*. See p. 699–700.

²⁸⁹ On the difference between consecutive and nested sub-cluster, see p. 118.

Tab. 16: The *iftirāq*-schema in the *Firaq*.





rather than Hishām's *Ikhtilāf al-nās*. No single organizing principle obtains throughout the section²⁹⁰. The second, much shorter suspension of the schema occurs after the *iftirāq* of the 'Abbāsīd Shī'a. Two more Ghulāt factions associated with the 'Abbāsīds appear at this point [46:10–47:9], but they too are simply listed without any attempt to attach them to the 'Abbāsīd Shī'a by means of a formal *iftirāq*-cluster.

After the Kaysānī branch has been exhausted, the text returns to the death of Ḥusayn for the second time [47:10–13] and we get an entirely new post-Ḥusayn cluster. The reason for the repetition is presumably that the reader may easily have lost the thread of the *iftirāq*-schema by this point, but now we seem to have something quite different from the first post-Ḥusayn cluster. The long-awaited supporters of 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn, missing from the first post-Ḥusayn cluster, finally make an appearance as the first faction here [47:13–48:2]. But there are now new alternatives to this faction, not mentioned in the first post-Ḥusayn-cluster: a nameless faction that stopped the Imāmate at Ḥusayn, and a Zaydī faction, namely the Jārūdiyya. The latter faction is a repetition, as the Jārūdiyya already appeared in the very first cluster of the schema, but Nawbakhtī now prefers a different name for them: the 'Surḥūbiyya' [48:7–49:6]. The description of the Surḥūbiyya then sets off a long excursus on Zaydī factions, causing yet another suspension of the *iftirāq*-schema [49:7–53:4]. As with the longer Ghulāt section, no single organizing principle or structural element governs this Zaydiyya-section, and the arrangement of material often appears incohesive.

After the Zaydiyya-section, the text returns to 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn, stating that after his death, his followers supported his son, Muḥammad al-Bāqir [*Fir.*53:6–8]²⁹¹. Nawbakhtī then finally begins a long, stable section of *iftirāq*-schema dealing with the proto-Imāmiyya, presenting in turn the post-Bāqir [53:16–57:2], post-Ja'far [57:3–67:5], post-Mūsā [67:5–72:6], and post 'Alī al-Riḍā [72:7–74:13] clusters. This section effectively finishes with an *ikhtilāf*-cluster covering the dispute amongst the followers of Muḥammad al-Jawād over his Imāmate whilst he was still a child [74:14–76:15], an element which we saw is also present in the Ash'arī-Balkhī material.

After the *ikhtilāf*-cluster concerning Jawād, the *iftirāq*-schema is suspended yet again. Nawbakhtī treats the Imāmates of Jawād [77:5–78:12] and 'Alī al-Hādī [78:13–79:15] in turn. Some opponents to their Imāmates are described, but there are no formal post-Jawād or post-'Alī al-Hādī *iftirāq*-clusters. Finally, the schema is resumed for the post-Ḥasan al-'Askarī cluster [79:16–94:3]. This is the longest cluster of all, in which Nawbakhtī deals with the splits in the Imāmiyya of his own day.

²⁹⁰ See p. 649–656.

²⁹¹ As in Balkhī's version of the *iftirāq*-schema, there is no post-'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn *iftirāq*-cluster.

1.3.2 Convergence with and Divergence from the Balkhī-Ash'arī *firaq*-Material

Three relevant bodies of parallels have been identified in the scholarship so far, all between the *Firaq* and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*:

- First, there are the parallels concerning the Zaydiyya between Nawbakhtī's *ikhtilāf*-section and Ash'arī's Zurqān-citations first discussed by Madelung. He took them as a corroboration that Nawbakhtī's source was Hishām b. al-Ḥakam *Ikhtilāf al-nās fī l-imāma* because he assumed Zurqān must also have relied on Hishām's text. These parallels have been examined already in 1.2, where it was shown, rather, that it is far more likely Nawbakhtī's source in the *ikhtilāf*-section was also simply Zurqān.
- Second, Madelung took the parallels between Nawbakhtī's and Ash'arī's material on the post-Ja'far and post-Mūsā factions to indicate that Nawbakhtī and Ash'arī had a common source at this point. He suggested the most likely candidate to be Warrāq. The main reason for this suggestion was the existence of Ash'arī's unmarked parallel to Jishumī's Warrāq-citation on the Jārūdiyya, which he interpreted to mean that Ash'arī used Warrāq's *Maqālāt* more often than his marked citations would indicate²⁹².
- Third, Bayhom-Daou later identified parallels between the so-called Ghulāt-section (meaning the long section on Ghulāt factions after the *iftirāq* of the Ḥārithiyya) and Ash'arī's *firaq*-list of the Ghāliya. Based on Madelung's original suggestion that Nawbakhtī and Ash'arī's both used Warrāq's *Maqālāt*, she claimed Warrāq was the common source also here.

Both Madelung and Bayhom-Daou examined the convergences between the *Firaq* and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*. We are now in a position to integrate the evidence from Balkhī's *Maqālāt*, via the BdC. This is vital because the relationship of source-dependency between Ash'arī's and Balkhī's material on Shī'ī *firaq* has implications for the interpretation of the parallels to their common material in Nawbakhtī's *Firaq*.

The first body of parallels, which is relatively very small, has been dealt with in detail already in section 1.2, where the additional evidence from the BdC was also considered. There are two key characteristics that separate those parallels from the rest. First, they occur in Nawbakhtī's *ikhtilāf*-section, not in his *firaq*-material. Second, the convergence is *not* with material present in the *Mughnī*. It is rather with the Zurqān-citations that Ash'arī inserts amidst the material on the Zaydiyya he has in common with the *Mughnī*, and with the alternative version of Balkhī's material on the Zaydiyya used by Ḥimyarī, Abū Tammām and Maqdisī. This means there is

²⁹² On this citation and its parallels, see p. 204–209.

no evidence that the *Firaq* would have converged with the version of Balkhī's material used by 'Abd al-Jabbār here.

As has been suggested by van Ess and was argued above, Nawbakhtī's main source throughout the *ikhtilāf*-section must have been Zurqān. The open questions relate, rather, to Ash'arī and Balkhī: how did they obtain the Zurqān-material on the Zaydiyya; why did Balkhī use it in only one version of his *firaq*-material; and what was Balkhī's and Ash'arī's source for the other material on the Zaydiyya, i.e., for that material which appears only in the *Mughnī* and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and contradicts the Zurqān-material²⁹³? The most likely answers to these questions were suggested in section 1.2. In any case, although it continues to be relevant that Nawbakhtī's source here was Zurqān, this body of parallels itself requires no further analysis here.

The second body of parallels identified by Madelung, that concerning the post-Ja'far and post-Mūsā factions, is different. In this case, Nawbakhtī's *firaq*-material converges with the *Mughnī*, as well as with Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and the other texts of the BdC, i.e., it converges with material that must have appeared in the version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* used by 'Abd al-Jabbār. There is also no evidence that Zurqān was anyone's source here. Rather, as demonstrated above, Ash'arī was either dependent on the same version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* used by 'Abd al-Jabbār, or else Ash'arī and Balkhī must have been separately dependent on Warrāq's *Maqālāt*.

The first thing the integration of the BdC enables us to see is that this body of parallels goes far beyond just the post-Ja'far and post-Mūsā factions. Rather, there are parallels between Nawbakhtī's and Balkhī's *iftirāq*-schemata of the Imāmiyya from the post-'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib *iftirāq*-cluster right the way through to the *ikhtilāf* amongst the supporters of Muḥammad al-Jawād with which Balkhī closed his version of the schema. That makes this a far larger body of parallels than has been recognized previously. It is unlikely on chronological grounds that Balkhī's *Maqālāt* could be Nawbakhtī's source here, and we will see below that the character of the parallels rules it out anyway. Although it is chronologically plausible that the *Firaq* was Balkhī's source, we will see that the character of the parallels quickly rules that out, too. In these parallels, then, Nawbakhtī and Balkhī shared an ultimate common source. As it remains plausible that Balkhī's source here was Warrāq, Madelung's original suggestion that Nawbakhtī's source was also Warrāq merits closer attention.

As we have seen, we could only be sure that Balkhī's source for these parallels was Warrāq if we knew Ash'arī was not dependent on Balkhī's own material²⁹⁴. The evidence we have looked at so far does not rule it out, but it is slightly more likely that Ash'arī was simply dependent on the version of Balkhī's material used

293 See p. 253–255.

294 See p. 223–225.

by ‘Abd al-Jabbār. In theory, the parallels in the *Firaq* could alter the balance of evidence on that question. In practice, they too get us no further, as will become clear below²⁹⁵. Nevertheless, we have seen it is likely in all scenarios that Warrāq was still Balkhī’s main source for all the relevant material. Of course, even if we knew that for sure, there would still be two possibilities to consider: Nawbakhtī may have been dependent on Warrāq for the parallel material, or Nawbakhtī and Warrāq may have shared some yet earlier common source. It is possible to make further progress only by considering the parallels in more detail.

Finally, there is the third body of parallels, that identified by Bayhom Daou between Nawbakhtī’s Ghulāt-section and Ash’arī’s *Maqālāt*. Here, we encounter a different problem: the parallels simply are not of a quality that allows them to function as positive evidence of common source-dependency. That situation is not improved by the addition of the evidence from the BdC. To show why this is the case also requires a closer examination of the supposed parallels.

Below, we will examine all the convergences and divergences between Nawbakhtī’s *firaq*-material, and the *firaq*-material on the Shī’a in Ash’arī’s *Maqālāt* and the BdC in three sections, according to sub-division: in 1.3.2.1, we will look at the convergences and divergences in the material on the Imāmiyya; in 1.3.2.2, we look

295 If it were the case that, within the general parallels, the *Firaq* and Ash’arī’s *Maqālāt* frequently converged over smaller details against the *Mughnī* and the rest of the BdC, the most likely explanation would be that Nawbakhtī and Ash’arī both obtained the material from the ultimate common source along a route of transmission that did *not* pass through Balkhī’s material (as we have excluded the possibility that Nawbakhtī was dependent on Balkhī). The balance of probability would then shift decisively to the conclusion that Ash’arī and Balkhī independently took their common material from Warrāq. In practice, however, this hardly ever happens. One or two such instances are anyway insufficient. They could have arisen because only Ash’arī preserves Balkhī’s material faithfully at certain points whilst all texts of the BdC diverge. The more instances, the less likely that would be. But identifying even one clear instance is difficult.

The other permutations provide no further insight at all. If the *Firaq* consistently converged with the BdC against Ash’arī’s *Maqālāt* over smaller details amidst the larger parallels, it would fit with the scenario where Nawbakhtī and Balkhī had the material from the common source independently of one another whilst Ash’arī was dependent on Balkhī. But it could also simply be the case that Nawbakhtī and Balkhī stuck more closely to a source used independently (even if via intermediaries) by all three. Similarly, if Ash’arī’s *Maqālāt* and the BdC consistently converged in similar circumstances against the *Firaq*, it would be consistent with the explanation that there is some closer relationship between Ash’arī’s and Balkhī’s material whilst the *Firaq* is more distantly related. But that would not tell us whether the closer relationship was that Ash’arī was dependent on Balkhī, or that they were both dependent on Warrāq whilst Nawbakhtī and Warrāq shared an earlier common source. It would also not exclude the possibility that all three obtained the material from the common source via different routes, but that Ash’arī and Balkhī stuck closer to that source than did Nawbakhtī.

at those in the material on the Ghulāt; and in 1.3.2.3, we look at the material on the Zaydiyya. The conclusions are presented in 1.3.2.4.

1.3.2.1 The Imāmiyya

Madelung observed strong and widespread convergence between the *Firaq* and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* in their presentation of the factions following the deaths of Ja'far al-Ṣādiq and Mūsā al-Kāzim, further noting a close agreement in the number, order, and wording of the post-Ja'far faction-descriptions in particular²⁹⁶. This was the basis for his assertion that a common source must ultimately underlie both texts at this point. As we saw in 1.1, however, Ash'arī's *firaq*-list of the Imāmiyya is a reworking of the *iftirāq*-schema that would have appeared in the version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* used by 'Abd al-Jabbār (even if Ash'arī could have obtained it from there or Balkhī's source); the *Mughnī* must preserve its outline structure nearly intact. Once we integrate the evidence from the BdC, it is evident that the structural correspondence between Nawbakhtī's *Firaq* and the version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* used by 'Abd al-Jabbār would have been even closer than that between the *Firaq* and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*; Ash'arī's alterations to the *iftirāq*-schema are obviously responsible for some of the divergence.

Once we integrate that evidence from the BdC, close structural convergence between the *Firaq* and the *Mughnī* is still best in evidence in the post-Ṣādiq cluster. It clearly continues, however, not only through the post-Mūsā al-Kāzim cluster, but also through the post-'Alī al-Riḍā cluster and includes the *ikhtilāf* over Muḥammad al-Jawād's Imāmate whilst still a minor. This latter element effectively marks the end of the *iftirāq*-schema in Balkhī's *Maqālāt* and is the last element before its suspension in the *Firaq*, until it is resumed by Nawbakhtī for the final, post-Ḥasan al-'Askarī cluster, where Nawbakhtī is presumably contributing his own material. As we will see, Balkhī and Nawbakhtī share a common source for this entire section of the *iftirāq*-schema. It is important to note already, however, that the parallels are rarely as close as those between the BdC and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, and that Nawbakhtī always has relatively large amounts of 'extra' material, both extra factions and extra passages within the descriptions of common factions. We will examine the range and character of the convergences and divergences both in the structure of this material and the content of the faction-descriptions, as well as its most likely interpretation in terms of source-dependency in 1.3.2.1.1.

As mentioned above, this situation raises an obvious question: if Nawbakhtī and Balkhī have a common source for these later stages of the *iftirāq*-schema, and we assume Balkhī had a single source (probably Warrāq) for his entire *iftirāq*-schema, where are the parallels for the earlier phases? If they are not there, what does this

296 Madelung 1967:47–48.

mean for the relationship of source-dependency? The integration of the evidence from the BdC, however, allows us to see much more readily than when comparing the *Firaq* and Ash‘arī’s *Maqālāt* alone that there *are* in fact numerous convergences between the *Firaq* and Balkhī’s material also in earlier phases of the *iftirāq*-schema. The range and character of these parallels is not quite the same as in the post-Šādiq clusters. Above all, the structural correspondence is not as tight and the parallels in wording, although still close, are more isolated amongst material that appears only in the *Firaq*. These parallels and their interpretation in terms of source-dependency will be discussed in 1.3.2.1.2.

1.3.2.1.1 Convergence in the *iftirāq*-Schema Post-Ja‘far al-Šādiq

1.3.2.1.1.1 The Post-Ja‘far al-Šādiq Cluster

At the level of the main post-Šādiq *iftirāq*-cluster, Nawbakhtī and Balkhī presented the same six factions in the same order: the Nāwūsiyya, the Ismā‘īliyya (although it is not clear Balkhī used this term²⁹⁷), the Mubārakiyya, the Shamṭiyya/Shumayṭiyya, the Fuṭḥiyya and the supporters of Mūsā al-Kāzim (Balkhī called the last of these ‘the Mufaḍḍaliyya’)²⁹⁸. Between the Mubārakiyya and the Shamṭiyya, Nawbakhtī has a section that deals with two sub-factions, the first of which he refers to as the ‘the Khaṭṭābiyya’, and the second as ‘the Qarāmiṭa’ [*Fir*.58:17–64:14]. For various reasons, Madelung, comparing only with Ash‘arī’s *Maqālāt*, suggested that this section was a later insertion by Nawbakhtī, not dependent on the common source. Comparison with the BdC, however, sheds more light on the situation. Between the Mubārakiyya and the Shumayṭiyya, Balkhī presented a nested *iftirāq* of the Mubārakiyya after the death of Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl, which produced two factions: one claims Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl did not die and is the Mahdī the other claims the Imāmate continued in his descendants²⁹⁹. As Madelung suggested, Nawbakhtī certainly adds a lot of material here that cannot come from the same source as that used by Balkhī³⁰⁰, but the underlying skeleton of the *iftirāq* remains the same: Nawbakhtī’s Khaṭṭābiyya believe Ismā‘īl died and continue the line of the Imāmate in his descendant [*Fir*.61:4]; his Qarāmiṭa claim Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl did

²⁹⁷ See p. 139.

²⁹⁸ For references, see below, Tab. 18.

²⁹⁹ For references, see below, Tab. 18.

³⁰⁰ See p. 288–296.

not die and is the Mahdī [62:8–9]. There is thus a common framework behind the entire post-Ṣādiq cluster and its only nested cluster³⁰¹.

To establish the level of convergence in the wording of the common faction descriptions, it suffices to give a representative example. Tab. 17 presents the descriptions of the Nāwūsiyya in the *Firaq*, Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, the *Mughnī* and the *Hūr*. The common material consists of the *a*- and *c*-passages, which are present in all four texts. The *a*-passage depicts the basic doctrine of the Nāwūsiyya, i.e., that they deny Ja'far's death and consider him to be the Mahdī; the *c*-passage explains the etymology of the faction-name. Although the amount of convergent material is small in absolute terms and the incidence of formulaic elements high, the similarity in the wording is far beyond what could reasonably be accounted for by coincidence. Even the 'near misses', such as Nawbakhtī's '*hattā yazharu wa-yalī amra l-nās*' vs. Ash'arī's '*hattā yazharu amruhu*' in *a* suggest a relationship of source-dependency³⁰². Nawbakhtī, however, also has a passage of material, *b*¹, that appears nowhere in the BdC or Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*. This passage presents justifications given by the Nāwūsiyya for their claim concerning Ja'far, based on two *ḥadīth* related from Ja'far himself.

Tab. 17: The *Firaq*, Ash'arī and Balkhī on the Nāwūsiyya.

<i>Fir.57:9–15</i>	<i>MaqA.25:9–13</i>
[<i>a</i> ¹] ففرقة منها قالت ان جعفر بن محمد حي لم يموت ولا يموت حتى يظهر ويلى امر الناس وانه هو المهدي	[<i>a</i> ²] والصف السادس عشر من الراضية يسوقون الامامة الى ابي جعفر محمد بن علي و ابا جعفر نص علي امامة جعفر بن محمد وان جعفر بن محمد حي لم يموت ولا يموت حتى يظهر امره وهو القائم المهدي
[<i>b</i> ¹] وزعموا انهم رووا عنه انه قال ان اريتم رأسي قد أهوى عليكم من جبل فلا تصدقوه فاني انا صاحبكم وانه قال لهم ان جاءكم من يخبركم عنى انه مريضني وغسلني وكفني فلا تصدقوه فاني صاحبكم صاحب السيف	
[<i>c</i> ¹] وهذه الفرقة تُسمى الناوسية وسميت بذلك لرئيس لهم من اهل البصرة يقال له فلان بن فلان الناوس	[<i>c</i> ²] وهذه الفرقة تُسمى الناوسية لُقبوا برئيس لهم يقال له جعلان بن ناوس من اهل البصرة

301 The correspondence is obscured in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, because he has slightly reordered the factions of the Ismā'īliyya in line with his usual procedures for adapting Balkhī's *iftirāq*-schema. See p. 122–123.

302 Too much should not be made of the fact that the texts of the BdC do not have a version of this element. We do not have Balkhī's 'original' and the texts of the BdC are all clearly summarising the material in different ways; we should assume based on Ash'arī's witness that something like this could well have appeared at least in the version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* used by 'Abd al-Jabbār.

Tab. 17 (continued)

<i>Mugh.XX₂</i> :179:19–180:1	<i>Hūr</i> .216:5–7
[<i>a</i> ³] ومنهم من زعم أنه حي لم يموت ولا يموت وهو القائم المهدي	[<i>a</i> ⁴] فقالت الناوسية إن جعفر بن محمد حي لم يموت ولا يموت حتى يملك شرق الأرض وغربها ويملاها عدلا وإنه القائم المهدي المنتظر عندهم
[<i>c</i> ³] وهم الناوسية ³⁰³ لقبوا برئيس لهم يقال له فلان بن ناووس ³⁰⁴	[<i>c</i> ⁴] ونسبت هذه الفرقة الى رجل من أهل البصرة يقال له ابن ناووس كان ذا قدر فيهم
<i>Fir</i> .57:9–15	<i>MaqA</i> .25:9–13
[<i>a</i> ¹] A faction of them [i.e., of the followers of Ja'far al-Šādiq] said that Ja'far b. Muḥammad is alive, did not die and will not die until he triumphs and assumes authority over the people, and that he is the Mahdī.	[<i>a</i> ²] The sixteenth division of the Rāfiḍa follow the line of the Imamate to Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. 'Alī. They claim that Abū Ja'far designated Ja'far b. Muḥammad, and that Ja'far b. Muḥammad is alive, did not die and will not die until his cause triumphs, and that he is the Qā'im and the Mahdī.
<i>Fir</i> .57:9–15	<i>MaqA</i> .25:9–13
[<i>b</i> ¹] They claimed that they related from him that he said, “Even if you are made to see my head fall down upon you from a mountain, do not believe it, for I am your lord”, and that he said to them, “If someone comes to you telling you that he has nursed me, washed me and covered me in a shroud, do not believe him, for I am your lord, the lord of the sword.”	[<i>c</i> ²] This faction is called the Nāwusiyyah. They are named after one of their leaders, called 'Ajlān b. Nāwus from the people of Basra.
[<i>c</i> ¹] This faction is called the Nāwūsiyya. They are called that after of one of their leaders from the people of Basra, called somebody b. somebody al-Nāwūs.	

303 Edition: الباروسية.

304 Edition: يالوس.

Tab. 17 (continued)

<i>Mugh.XX₂:179:19–180:1</i>	<i>Hūr.216:5–7</i>
[σ ³] Amongst them [i.e., the follower of Ja'far] were those who claimed that he is alive, did not die and will not die, and that he is the Qā'im and the Mahdī.	[σ ⁴] The Nāwūsiyya said that Ja'far b. Muḥammad is alive, did not die and will not die, until he rules the world from the east to the west and fills it with justice, and that he is the Qā'im and the awaited Mahdī according to them.
[c ³] They are the Nāwūsiyya, who are named after one of their leaders, called somebody b. al-Nāwūs.	[c ⁴] The origins of this faction go back to a man from the people of Basra, called Ibn Nāwūs, who held power among them.

The constellation and character of the convergence and divergence in the other faction-descriptions of the main post-Ja'far *iftirāq*-cluster is very similar to that in the description of the Nāwūsiyya. There is always a common 'core' to the descriptions, present in the *Firaq*, the BdC and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*. This common core nearly always consists of two elements: a basic statement of the faction's doctrine concerning the identity Imām after Ja'far (sometimes split into two parts in the *Firaq*); and the etymology of the faction-name³⁰⁵. In the *Firaq*, in addition to the common elements, there is always one or more passages of unique material. In far fewer cases, there are small passages that appear in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and the BdC but are absent from the *Firaq*. Notably, there is greater divergence in the material on the two sub-factions of the Mubārakiyya, because the basic statements of doctrine are very short and the amount of additional material in the *Firaq* much larger. An overview of this whole situation is set out in Tab. 18.

It is readily evident that Nawbakhtī's large amounts of additional material on the sub-factions of the Mubārakiyya was added later. As Madelung already pointed out, Nawbakhtī refers there to the Qarāmiṭa of his own day³⁰⁶. The section ends with a statement that they have a strong presence around Kufa and in the Yemen but no military strength. That can only indicate the situation after Ḥamdān Qarmaṭ had begun spreading his propaganda in Kufa, around 264/877, and 'Alī b. al-Faḍl and Ibn Ḥawshab had established themselves at Jabal Maswar around 268/881, but before Abū Sa'īd al-Jannābī founded the first Qarmaṭī state in 286/899³⁰⁷. This, along with the post-Ḥasan al-'Askarī *iftirāq*-cluster, is thus the very latest datable

³⁰⁵ The only exception is the description of the Ismā'iliyya, in which no etymology is given. In that case, however, Balkhī apparently did not use the faction-name at all. See p. 139.

³⁰⁶ Madelung 1967:38, also *Idem*. 1983:47–48. The whole passage is translated at *Ibid.*49–55. On the Qarmaṭiyya generally, see *EL*₂."Qarmaṭī" [Madelung].

³⁰⁷ *Ibid.*48.

Tab. 18: The post-*Ja'far i'firāq*-cluster in the *Firaq* and the Ash'ari-Balkhī material.

Faction	Common 'core' in <i>Firaq</i> and Ash'ari-Balkhī	Additional material in <i>Firaq</i>	Additional material in Ash'ari-Balkhī
Nāwūsiyya	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – [Fir:57:9–10; <i>MaqA</i>.25:9–12; <i>Mugh</i>. XX₂:179:19–20; <i>Hār</i>.216:5–6; <i>Sharh</i>.30r:10–11] Basic statement of doctrine: <i>Ja'far</i> did not die and will not die; he is the Mahdī. Wording very close. – [Fir:57:13–15; <i>MaqA</i>.25:12–13; <i>Mugh</i>. XX₂:179:20–180:1; <i>Hār</i>.216:6–7; <i>Sharh</i>.30r:11–12] Etymology of faction-name. Wording nearly identical. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – [Fir:57:10–13] Two <i>ḥadīth</i> from <i>Ja'far</i> related in support of their doctrine. 	
Ismā'īliyya	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – [Fir:57:16–17; <i>MaqA</i>.26:1–3; <i>Mugh</i>.XX₂:180:2; <i>Sharh</i>.30r:12–13] Basic statement of doctrine: they held <i>Ismā'īl</i> was Imām after <i>Ja'far</i> and denied his death during his father's lifetime. Wording nearly identical. – [Fir:58:1–3; <i>MaqA</i>.26:3–4; <i>Mugh</i>.XX₂:185:2–3] Further doctrine: <i>Ismā'īl</i> will not die until he rules, because his father stated that he would be his inheritor and the Imām after him [cf. also <i>Hār</i>.218:9]. <i>Fir</i> is more expansive but <i>MaqA</i>'s wording is essentially present; <i>Mugh</i>. summarises more. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – [Fir:57:17–58:1] Argument that <i>Ja'far</i> had deceptively announced <i>Ismā'īl</i>'s death in order to protect him. – [58:3–5] Argument that the Imām only speaks the truth (!), and thus must have done so regarding the designation of <i>Ismā'īl</i> as Imām. – [Fir:58:5–8] Genealogy of <i>Ismā'īl</i>'s mother. 	

(continued)

Tab. 18 (continued)

Faction	Common 'core' in <i>Firaq</i> and Ash'ari-Balkhī	Additional material in <i>Firaq</i>	Additional material in Ash'ari-Balkhī
Mubārakiyya	<p>– [Fir:58:9–11; <i>MaqA</i>.26:15–27:3; <i>Mugh</i>.XX₂:180:4–5; <i>Hūr</i>.216:16–18; <i>Sharh</i>.30r:13–15] Basic statement of doctrine: Muhammad b. Ismā'il was the Imām after Ja'far because the designation passed to him when Ismā'il died. <i>MaqA</i>., <i>Mugh</i>., <i>Sharh</i>., nearly identical; wording in <i>Fir</i>: close to <i>MaqA</i>., <i>Mugh</i>., and <i>Sharh</i>., but not identical.</p> <p>– [Fir:58:15–16; <i>MaqA</i>.27:4–5; <i>Mugh</i>.XX₂:180:5–6; <i>Hūr</i>.216:14–15; <i>Sharh</i>..30r:16] Etymology of faction-name. <i>Firaq</i> has extra detail that Mubārak was a <i>mawla</i> of Ismā'il b. Ja'far. Wording in <i>Fir</i>., <i>MaqA</i>., <i>Mugh</i>., <i>Sharh</i>., otherwise very close.</p>	<p>– [Fir:58:11–15] Argument against fraternal succession after Husayn, used by the faction to deny the Imāmate of either 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far or Mūsā al-Kāzīm.</p>	
Sub-faction of Mubārakiyya/ the Khaṭṭābiyya	<p>– [Fir:61:4; <i>MaqA</i>.27:5–6; <i>Mugh</i>.XX₂:180:10–11; <i>Hūr</i>.217:5–6; <i>Sharh</i>..30r:18–19] Basic statement of doctrine: they acknowledge Muhammad b. Ismā'il's death and trace the line of the Imāmate through his descendants.</p>	<p>– [Fir:59:2–60:16] Narrative description of the rebellion of Abū l-Khaṭṭāb.</p> <p>– [Fir:61:1–2] Statement that the Ghulāt divided after Abū l-Khaṭṭāb's death.</p> <p>– [Fir:61:2–4] Statement that one faction claimed Abū l-Khaṭṭāb's spirit transferred to Muḥammad b. Ismā'il.</p>	

<p>Sub-faction of Mubārakiyya/ the Qarāmiṭa</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - [Fir:62:8-9; Maqā.26:11-12; Mugh. XX₂:180:8-9; Hūr.216:20-217:1; Sharh.30r:17] Basic statement of doctrine: Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl did not die and will not die, he is the Mahdī. - [Fir:61:5-7] Etymology of the name 'Qarāmiṭa'. - [Fir:61:7-62:6] Doctrine of the transfer of prophethood through the Imāms to Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl. - [Fir:62:7-8] Justification for belief that God changed his mind concerning Ismā'īl based on a <i>ḥadīth</i> from Ja'far. - [Fir:62:9-17] Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl as a major prophet and the abrogation of the <i>sharī'a</i> by the Qā'im - [Fir:62:17-63:6] Justification for this belief based on <i>ḥadīth</i> from Ja'far. - [Fir:63:7-14] Doctrine of the 'islands' - [Fir:63:14-64:3] Esoteric interpretation of the Qur'ān and the Sunna. - [64:3-12] The Qarāmiṭa's approval of killing Muslim opponents, having deemed them unbelievers, beginning with the Imāmiyya. - [64:12-14] The geographical dispersal of the Qarāmiṭa and their numbers. 	<p>[Maqā.26:13-14; Mugh. XX₂:180:10; Hūr.217:1-4; Sharh.30r:18] Justification based on a tradition they transmitted that the seventh Imām was the Qā'im.</p>
<p>Shamiyya/ Shumayṭiyya</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - [Fir:64:15-16; Maqā.27:7-9; Mugh. XX₂:180:12; Hūr.217:12; Sharh.30r:19-20] Basic statement of doctrine: Imām after Ja'far was Muḥammad b. Ja'far. Wording very close. - [Fir:64:14-15] Genealogy of Muḥammad b. Ja'far's mother - [Fir:64:17-65:5] <i>Ḥadīth</i> from Ja'far in support of their doctrine. 	

(continued)

Tab. 18 (continued)

Faction	Common 'core' in <i>Firaq</i> and Ash'ari-Balkhi	Additional material in <i>Firaq</i>	Additional material in Ash'ari-Balkhi
	<p>– [Fir.65:5–6; <i>MaqA</i>.27:9–10, <i>Mugh</i>.XX₂:180:12; <i>Hür</i>.217:12–13; <i>Sharh</i>.30r:20] Further doctrine: the Imāmate continued in the descendants of Muḥammad b. Ja'far afterwards. Wording very close.</p> <p>– [Fir.65:6–7; <i>MaqA</i>.27:10–11, <i>Mugh</i>.XX₂:180:12–13; <i>Hür</i>.217:15; <i>Sharh</i>.30r:20] Etymology of faction-name. Wording very close.</p>		
Fuṭūḥiyya/ 'Ammāriyya	<p>– [Fir.65:8–9; <i>MaqA</i>.27:12–15, <i>Mugh</i>.XX₂:180:14–15; <i>Hür</i>.217:16–17; <i>Sharh</i>.30v:1–2] Basic statement of doctrine: 'Abd Allāh was Imām after Ja'far because he was the eldest surviving son. Wording nearly identical.</p> <p>– [Fir.65:15–66:1; <i>MaqA</i>.28:1–2, <i>Mugh</i>.XX₂:181:1; <i>Hür</i>.217:17–218:1; <i>Sharh</i>.30v:6–8] Etymology of faction-name 'Fuṭūḥiyya'. All the texts have the explanation that it is derived from 'Abd Allāh's nickname. Wording very close. <i>Fir</i>, <i>Hür</i>, and <i>Sharh</i> also have alternative: name is derived from one of their leaders. Wording nearly identical.</p>	<p>– [Fir.65:10–11] <i>Hadīth</i> from Ja'far in support of their doctrine.</p> <p>– [Fir.65:12–14] Historical information: most of Ja'far's supporters supported 'Abd Allāh after his death. But a small band tested him with legal questions and found his knowledge wanting.</p> <p>– [Fir.66:1–8] Story of how most of the supporters of Ja'far turned away from supporting the Imāmate of 'Abd Allāh, some during his lifetime, most after his death without male heirs, but that a small group continued to believe he had been the Imām between Ja'far and Mūsā al-Kāzīm.</p>	<p>– [<i>MaqA</i>.27:15–28:1, <i>Mugh</i>.XX₂:180:15; <i>Hür</i>.218:2; <i>Sharh</i>.30v:2–3] Etymology of alternative faction name, 'Ammāriyya'.</p> <p>– [<i>MaqA</i>.28:2–3, <i>Mugh</i>.XX₂:181:2–3; <i>Hür</i>.218:3; <i>Sharh</i>.30v:8–9] Statement that a large number of people hold this doctrine, marked as a comment from Balkhi in <i>Hür</i> and <i>Sharh</i>.</p> <p>– [<i>MaqA</i>.28:4–8, <i>Mugh</i>.XX₂:180:15–20; <i>Hür</i>.218:4–10; <i>Sharh</i>.30v:3–6] Account of the dispute over Zurāra's position on the Imāmate of 'Abd Allāh.</p>

Supporters of Mūsā al-Kāẓim/ Mufaḍḍaliyya	<p>– [Fir.66:9; <i>Mugh. XX₂:181:3</i>; <i>Hūr. 218:12–13</i>; <i>Sharḥ. 30v:12–13</i>] Basic statement of doctrine: they supported Mūsā after Ja'far. Too little material for convergence to be significant at the level of wording.</p> <p>– [Fir.66:10–67:1] List of scholars who always supported Mūsā and insisted on his Imāmate until most of those who had supporter 'Abd Allāh joined them.</p> <p>– [Fir.67:1–4] Shorter list of those who held 'Abd Allāh was legitimately Imām between Ja'far and Mūsā.</p>	<p>– [<i>Maqā. 29:6–7</i>, <i>Mugh. XX₂:181:3–4</i>; <i>Sharḥ. 30v:10</i>:10] Etymology of faction name 'Mufaḍḍaliyya'.</p> <p>– [<i>Mugh. XX₂:181:4–5</i>; <i>Sharḥ. 30v:11–12</i>] Statement that the 'Ammāriyya turned to Mūsā after 'Abd Allāh's death. (c.f. <i>Hūr. 218:10–11</i>, in description of Fuṭūḥiyya).</p>
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material in the *Firaq*. The observations thus appear to be Nawbakhtī's own. In any case, nothing in the common material is anywhere near this late.

The additional material in Nawbakhtī's descriptions of the sub-factions of the Mubārakiyya is also very different in character from the common material. The description of the Qarāmiṭa is a relatively long, meandering presentation of partially contradictory information on various doctrines, ranging far beyond the Imāmate: the doctrine that 'Alī b Abī Ṭālib inherited prophethood (*al-risāla*) from Muḥammad on the day of Ghadīr Khumm and that it was then inherited by the Imāms after him [*Fir.*61:11–62:6]; that the 'law of Muḥammad' has been abrogated by the arrival of the Qā'im [*Fir.*62:7–10, 62:16–63:7]; the concept of the twelve 'missionary arenas' known as 'islands' (sg. *jazīra*) [*Fir.*63:7–14]; their permitting of the killing of other Muslims, especially the followers of Mūsā al-Kāzīm and his descendants [*Fir.*64:3–12; and a description of their contemporary numbers and military strength [*Fir.*64:12–14]. It also sometimes displays a polemical attitude towards the Qarāmiṭa, criticizing them for polytheism [*Fir.*63:13–14] and accusing them of resembling the Khārijite factions of the Bayhasiyya and the Azāriqa [*Fir.*64:4], something we find no hint of in the common material. The additional material on the Khaṭṭābiyya provides a lengthy narrative description of their failed rebellion, which probably took place shortly before 138/755³⁰⁸. This is a historiographical insertion that also bears no resemblance to the common *firaq*-material that surrounds it, in which historical events are barely referenced at all, let alone narrated at length³⁰⁹.

Another reason to doubt that any of Nawbakhtī's additional material on the sub-factions of the Mubārakiyya was present in the source he ultimately shares with Balkhī is that Balkhī (or an intermediary) could not possibly have distilled the skeleton of the post-Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl *iftirāq* out of the descriptions of the Khaṭṭābiyya and the Qarāmiṭa in the *Firaq*. Indeed, Nawbakhtī's additional material leads, in places, to structural confusion and contradiction. Balkhī finished the description of the Mubārakiyya with the phrase, 'a group of the Khaṭṭābiyya had inclined towards adopting Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl as Imām and entered into the Mubārakiyya' (*wa-qad māla ilā l-i'timām bi-Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl jamā'a min*

308 See *EP*. "Abū l-Khaṭṭāb Muḥammad b. Abī Zaynab Miqlāṣ al-Adjda' al-Asadi" [Lewis].

309 Above all, contrast with the material on the Shumayṭiyya. In the common material, there is no description of the historical events surrounding Muḥammad b. Ja'far and his role as the Hijāzī figurehead of Abū l-Sarāya's revolt in 200/816 (see *EL*₂. "Shūmayṭiyya" [Halm] and Arjomand 1996:495). Moreover, despite the large amounts of material on the Bayāniyya, Mughiriyya, Mansūriyya, and the Khaṭṭābiyya, there is nothing on the rebellions that earned these groups the attention of the historians. In general, the Balkhī-Ash'arī *firaq*-material contains very few historical references and no historical narrative.

al-khaṭṭābiyya wa-dakhalū fi l-mubārakiyya) [*Qawā'id*. 24:6–7; *Hūr*.222:4–5; *Mugh. XX₂*:180:6–7]³¹⁰. He then presented a straightforward *iftirāq* between those Mubārakiyya who continued the line of the Imām in Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl's descendants and those who denied his death, claiming him to be the Maḥdī. In contrast, Nawbakhtī's version of the phrase about the Khaṭṭābiyya initially states that the Ismā'īliyya (i.e., not just the Mubārakiyya) are the Khaṭṭābiyya, but then immediately gives the following qualification, which clearly overlaps with Balkhī's: 'a faction of them having entered into the faction of Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl and asserted the death of Ismā'īl b. Ja'far in the lifetime of his father' (*wa-qad dakhalat minhum firqa fi firqat Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl wa-aqarrū bi-mawt Ismā'īl b. Ja'far fi ḥayāt abihī*) [*Fir*.59:1–2]. Obviously, the information Nawbakhtī has in common with Balkhī, i.e., that some of the Khaṭṭābiyya supported Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl's Imāmate and thus 'entered into the Mubārakiyya' or 'into the faction of Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl', hardly justifies Nawbakhtī's initial claim that the Ismā'īliyya simply are the Khaṭṭābiyya. Intentionally or not, it appears Nawbakhtī is superimposing a much broader conception of the relationship between the Ismā'īliyya and the Khaṭṭābiyya onto the more restricted claim of the common source.

Nawbakhtī then launches into his narrative of the Khaṭṭābiyya's rebellion. At the end of this, he come to the idea that the 'Khaṭṭābiyya' continued the line of the Imāmate in Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl's descendants, but by now it appears that it was either the Khaṭṭābiyya *tout court* that did this, or else merely some splinter group [*Fir*.61:4]. The common source's notion that the Mubārakiyya was a larger movement that attracted support from some of the Khaṭṭābiyya thus seems to have been lost again. The distinction between the Ismā'īliyya, the Mubārakiyya, the Khaṭṭābiyya, and the sub-faction of the Mubārakiyya that followed Muḥammad's descendants becomes blurred to the point of elision.

When Nawbakhtī then starts to describe the Qarāmiṭa, he gestures to the lost thread of the *iftirāq*-cluster by telling us that 'A faction of the Mubārakiyya branched off from them, from amongst those who professed this doctrine. They are called the Qarāmiṭa' [*Fir*.61:4–5]. He then goes on to explain their doctrine that Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl had not died but was the Maḥdī. The reference back to the Mubārakiyya seems to be an invocation of the relationship present in the common source: those who professed Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl was the Maḥdī were also a sub-faction of the Mubārakiyya. But Nawbakhtī's phrasing makes it seem as if the Qarāmiṭa might be just another offshoot of the undifferentiated mass of Ismā'īli-Mubāraki trends that he has just described and subsumed under the label 'Khaṭṭābiyya'.

³¹⁰ On this element, see p. 214–215.

All this confusion perhaps arises, on the one hand, from Nawbakhtī's polemically motivated attempt to connect Ismā'īlī movements with the Ghulāt faction of the Khaṭṭābiyya more fundamentally than did the common source. On the other hand, it perhaps comes partly just from the melding of the perspectives of different bodies of source-material along with Nawbakhtī's own. Regardless, the point of all this is that it cannot have been worked backwards by Balkhī (or an intermediary). The skeleton of the *iftirāq*-cluster from the common source was there first; the material unique to the *Firaq* was added afterwards. That is enough to show that Nawbakhtī was prepared to add in material from other sources and occasionally to 'update' what he had inherited where relevant. It also confirms that Balkhī's source was not the *Firaq*; they have a common source.

Beyond the descriptions of the sub-factions of the Mubārakiyya, we can only speculate as to whether the additional material in either the *Firaq* or the BdC/Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* might have been present in the common source already. We will return to the question in IV.2.2.2 and IV.2.2.5. For now, the important point is that Nawbakhtī and Balkhī evidently share a common source for their post-Ṣādiq cluster. That source provided the framework for the whole cluster and the core of the material within the faction-descriptions for both authors.

1.3.2.1.1.2 The Post-Musā Cluster

We have seen that Ash'arī's reworking of the underlying *iftirāq*-schema has more drastic effects on his version of the post-Musā cluster than on the post-Ṣādiq cluster³¹¹. It turns out that this is why Madelung observed a lower degree of convergence with the *Firaq* here. However, comparison between the BdC and the *Firaq* reveals clearly that Balkhī's and Nawbakhtī's post-Mūsā *iftirāq*-clusters continue to be based on the same common source as that used for the post-Ja'far cluster. There are three common factions to this cluster: the Qaṭ'iyya, who affirm Mūsā's death and the ensuing Imāmate of 'Alī al-Riḍā [*Fir*:67:8–12; *Ḥūr*:218:15–16]; the Wāqifa, who stop the line of Imāms at Mūsā, denying his death and claiming him to be the Mahdī [*Fir*: 67:13–69:7; *Mugh*.XX₂:181:6–9], and an unnamed group of agnostics, who do not know if he died or not and await further confirmation [*Fir*:69:8–70:4; *Mugh*.XX₂: 181:9–10]. Notably, there is even a parallel in the *iftirāq*-statement itself: it mentions that Mūsā died in prison [*Fir*:67:6–7; *Sharḥ*.30v:13]. The fact itself was well known, but no other *iftirāq*-statement in the BdC says anything about the circumstances of

³¹¹ See p. 122–123.

an Imām's death. Nawbakhtī, however, has an extra faction here: the Bashīriyya [Fīr:70:5–71:10]. Ash'arī and Balkhī also have an extra faction: the Aḥmadiyya, who believe the Imām after Mūsā was his son Aḥmad b. Mūsā, rather than 'Alī al-Riḍā [Mugh.XX₂:181:10–11; MaqA.29:13–30:2].

The content of the descriptions of the common factions exhibits a constellation of convergences and divergences similar to that in the post-Ja'far factions. This is best demonstrated with the description of the Wāqifa, which is given in Tab. 19³¹². Here, there is a common 'core' of material in *a*, *g* and *i*. Once again, all the material that appears in Balkhī-Ash'arī appears in some form in the *Fīraq*. And once again, this consists of a basic statement of the faction's doctrine concerning the Imāmate after Mūsā and etymological information. The content and wording here, despite the presence of formulaic elements and some divergence, is, again, much too close to be explained through coincidence.

Tab. 19: The *Fīraq*, Ash'arī and Balkhī on the Wāqifa.

<i>Fīr</i> :67:13–69:7	<i>MaqA</i> :28:9–29:4
<p>[a'] وقالت الفرقة الثانية ان موسى بن جعفر بن محمد لم يموت وانه حي لا يموت حتى يملك شرق الأرض وغربها ويملا كلها عدلاً كما ملنت جوراً وانه القائم المهدي</p>	<p>[a'] والصنف الثاني والعشرون من الرافضة يسوقون الامامة حتى ينتهوا بها الى جعفر بن محمد ويزعمون ان جعفر بن محمد نصن على امامة ابنه موسى بن جعفر وان موسى بن جعفر حي لم يموت ولا يموت حتى يملك شرق الأرض وغربها حتى يملأ الأرض عدلاً قسطاً كما ملنت ظلماً وجوراً</p>
<p>[b'] وزعموا انه خرج من الحبس ولم يره احد نهائاً ولم يعلم به وان السلطان واصحابه ادعوا موته ومؤهوا على الناس وكذبوا وانه غاب عن الناس واحتفي</p>	
<p>[c'] ورووا في ذلك روايات عن ابيه جعفر بن محمد عليهما السلم انه قال هو القائم المهدي فان يدهده رأسه عليكم من جبل فلا تصدقوا فانه القائم</p>	
<p>[d'] وقال بعضهم انه القائم وقد مات ولا تكون الامامة لغيره حتى يرجع فيقوم ويظهر وزعموا انه قد رجع بعد موته الا انه مختف في موضع من المواضع حتى يأمر وينهى وان أصحابه يلقونه ويرونه واعتلوا في ذلك بروايات عن ابيه انه قال سمى القائم قائماً لأنه يقوم بعد ما يموت</p>	

312 On the Wāqifa generally, see Buyukkara 2000 and Modaressi 1993:60–62.

Tab. 19 (continued)

Fir.67:13–69:7**MaqA.28:9–29:4**

[e¹] وَقَالَ بعضهم انه قد مات وانه القائم وان فيه شبيها من عيسى بن مريم صلى الله عليه وانه لم يرجع ولكنه يرجع في وقت قيامه فيملا الأرض عدلاً كما ملئت جوراً وان اباة قال ان فيه شبيها من عيسى بن مريم وانه يُقتل في يدى ولد العباس فقد قتل

[f¹] وانكر بعضهم قتله وقالوا مات ورفع الله اليه وانه يردّه عند قيامه

[g¹] فسَمَوْا هؤلاء جميعاً الواقعة لوقفهم على موسى بن جعفر انه الامام القائم ولم يأتوا بعده بامام ولم يتجاوزوه الى غيره

[h¹] وقد قال بعضهم ممن ذكر انه حىّ ان الرضا عليه السلم ومن قام بعده ليسوا بأئمة ولكنهم خلفاؤه واحداً بعد واحد الى اوان خروجه وان على الناس القبول منهم والانتهاى الى امرهم

[i¹] وقد لُقِبَ الواقعة بعضُ مخالفيها ممن قال بامامة على بن موسى الممطورة وغلِبَ عليها هذا الاسم وشاع لها وكان سبب ذلك ان علي بن اسماعيل الميثمي ويونس بن عبد الرحمن ناظر [1] بعضهم فقال له علي بن اسماعيل وقد اشتدّ الكلام بينهم ما انتم الا كلاب ممطورة اراد انكم انتن من جيف لان الكلاب اذا أصابها المطر فهي انتن من الجيف فلزمهم هذا اللقب

[j¹] فهم يُعرفون به اليوم لانه اذا قيل للرجل انه ممطور فقد عُرف انه من الواقعة قد وقفت عليه وهذا اللقب لاصحاب موسى خاصّة

[g²] وهذا الصنف يُدعَوْنَ الواقعة لانهم وقفوا على موسى بن جعفر ولم يجاوزوه الى غيره

[i²] وبعض مخالفي هذه الفرقة يدعوه الممطورة وذلك ان رجلاً منهم ناظر يونس بن عبد الرحمن ويونس من القطعية الذين قطعوا على موت موسى ابن جعفر فقال له يونس انتم أهون على من الكلاب الممطورة فلزمهم هذا اللقب

Mugh.XX₂:181:6–8**Sharh.30v:13–16**

[a³] والفرقة الثانية زعمت أن موسى حى لم يموت حتى يملأ الأرض عدلاً ويملكها وهو المهدي

[g³] تدعى هذه الفرقة الواقعة لأنها وقفت على موسى

[j³] وبعض مخالفيها لقبها الممطورة

[a⁴] فرقة زعمت أنه حى سيخرج فهو المهدي

[g⁴] وهم الواقفية لانها وقفت على موسى

[j⁴] ويسمّون الممطورة لأن رجلاً منهم ناظر يونس بن عبد الرحمن وهو قطعي فقال له يونس انت أهون على من الكلب الممطور فلزمهم هذا اللقب

Tab. 19 (continued)

Fir.67:13–69:7

[a¹] The second faction said that Mūsā b. Jaʿfar did not die, that he is alive and that he will not die until he rules the world from east to west, and fills it completely with justice, just as it was filled with oppression, and that he is the Qāʿim and the Mahdī.

[b¹] They claimed that he had left the prison during the daytime, but no one saw it or knew about it, and that the Sultan and his supporters claimed that he had died and deceived the people, and lied, and that he had, rather, concealed himself from the people (*ghāba ʿan al-nās*).

[c¹] They transmitted a tradition about his father, Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad, upon them both be peace, that he said: “He is the Qāʿim and the Mahdī. If his head falls down upon you from a mountain, do not believe it, for he is the Qāʿim”.

[d¹] Some of them said that he was the Qāʿim but that he had died and there will be no Imām other than him until he returns, rises up and triumphs. They claimed that he had returned after his death, but that he is hidden in some place until he commands [the right] and forbids [the wrong], and his followers meet him and see him. They base their argument for this upon a tradition transmitted about his father, that he said: “The Qāʿim is called the Qāʿim because he will rise up (*yaqūmu*) after he dies”.

[e¹] Some of them said that he had died and was the Qāʿim and that in him was a likeness of Jesus son of Mary, that he had not returned but will return at the time of his rising up and will fill the earth with justice just as it was filled with oppression, and that his father had said that in him was a likeness of Jesus son of Mary and that he would be killed at the hands of the sons of ʿAbbās, and thus he was killed.

MaqA.28:9–29:4

[a²] The twenty-second division of the Rāfiqa follow the line of the Imāmate until they reach Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad. They claim that Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad designated his son, Mūsā b. Jaʿfar for as Imām, and that Mūsā b. Jaʿfar is alive and did not die and will not die until he rules the earth from the east to the west, until he fills the earth with justice and fairness, just as it was filled with tyranny and oppression.

Tab. 19 (continued)

Fir.67:13–69:7

[f¹] Some of them denied that he was killed, saying, “He died and God raised him up to himself and will return him at the time of his rising up.

[g¹] They are collectively named the Wāqifa because they stop the line of Imāms at (*li-wuqūfihim 'alā*) Mūsā b. Ja'far, because he was the Imam and the Qā'im. They do not follow any Imām after him and do not go beyond him to another.

[h¹] Some of those who held that he was alive said that al-Riḍā and those who arose after him were not Imāms but were his caliphs, one after another until the time of his rebellion, and that it was obligatory for the people to submit to them and acknowledge their authority.

[i¹] Some of their opponents from amongst those who professed the Imamate of 'Alī b. Mūsā nicknamed the Wāqifa ‘the Mamṭūra’. This became the dominant name for them and spread widely. The reason for this was that 'Alī b. Ismā'il al-Mīthāmī and Yūnus b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān disputed with one of them. The argument between them having intensified, 'Alī b. Ismā'il said to him, “You are nothing but rain-soaked dogs (*kilāb mamṭūra*)”. He meant, “You smell worse (*annakum antan*) than corpses because dogs, when struck by rain, smell worse than corpses”. Thus, he forced this nickname (*laqab*) upon them.

[j¹] They are [still] known by it today. If it is said to a man that he is rain soaked (*mamṭūr*), then it is known that he is from those who stop [the line of Imāms] at Mūsā b. Ja'far in particular. For each of those [Imāms] who have passed on has a ‘Wāqifa’, who ‘stopped’ the line of Imams at him, but this nickname is used for the supporters of Mūsā in particular.

MaqA.28:9–29:4

[g²] This division is called the Wāqifa because they stopped [the line of Imams] at (*waqafū 'alā*) Mūsā b. Ja'far and did not go beyond him to another.

[i²] Some of the opponents of this faction call them ‘the Mamṭūra’. This is because a man from amongst them disputed with Yūnus b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān. Yūnus was from the Qaṭ'iyya, who affirmed (*qaṭa'ū 'alā*) the death of Mūsā b. Ja'far. Yūnus said to him, “You are worth less (*la-antum ahwan*) to me than rain-soaked dogs”. Thus, he forced this nickname (*nabaz*) upon them.

Tab. 19 (continued)

<i>Mugh.XX₂:181:6–8</i>	<i>Sharḥ.30v:13–16</i>
[<i>ā</i> ²] The second faction claimed that Mūsā was alive, had not died and would not die until he fills the earth with justice and rules it, and that he is the Mahdī.	[<i>ā</i> ²] One faction claimed that he was alive and would rebel, and that he is the Mahdī.
[<i>g</i> ²] This faction is called the Wāqifa because they stopped [the line of Imams] at Mūsā.	[<i>g</i> ²] They are the Wāqifiyya because they stopped [the line of Imams] at Mūsā.
[<i>ʾ</i> ²] One of the opponents of this faction calls them ‘the Mamṭūra’.	[<i>ʾ</i> ²] And they are called the Mamṭūra, because a man from amongst them disputed with Yūnus b. ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān, who was a Qaṭī. Yūnus said to him, “You are worth less (<i>la-antum ahwan</i>) to me than rain-soaked dogs”. Thus, he forced this nickname (<i>nabaz</i>) upon them.

In the description of the Wāqifa, however, we also see something new: in *i*, Nawbakhtī has a more detailed version of the common material. This passage explains the etymology of the nickname “Mamṭūra”. Nawbakhtī depicts a disputation between two famous Imāmī theologians, ‘Alī b. Mītham and Yūnus b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, on the one hand, and a Wāqifī, on the other³¹³. Here, it is Ibn Mītham who calls the Wāqifa ‘rain-soaked dogs’ (*kilāb mamṭūra*), which gives rise to the nickname. It is then apparently not Ibn Mītham but the authorial voice that explains that what was meant by this was that they ‘smell worse’ than (*antan min*) corpses, because wet dogs smell worse than corpses. In Ash‘arī’s *Maqālāt* and the BdC, only Yūnus b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān features, and he is supposed to have said that the Wāqifa were ‘worth less’ than (*ahwan min*) rain-soaked dogs. The *ahwan-antan* variation must hinge on a misreading of the same original, whatever it was, at some point. But the reading *ahwan* would have been impossible if the explanation in Nawbakhtī’s version had been present. At the very least, then, we can be confident that Balkhī’s direct source didn’t have the explanation. Nawbakhtī’s source, however, must have had at least the reading *antan*; even if Nawbakhtī invented the explanation himself, he must have done so in response to the presence of that reading in his source. More likely, the explanation, too, was in his source. That source also presumably mentioned ‘Alī

313 On the *mutakallim* Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Ismā‘īl b. Shu‘ayb b. Mītham b. Yaḥyā at-Tammār, see *TG*.II:426–429. He seems to have been a student of Hishām al-Jawālīqī and perhaps died in the 220s or 230s. On Yūnus b. ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Qummī, also known primarily as a *mutakallim* and transmitter of *ḥadīth*, see *TG*.I:387–392. He was a student of Hishām b. al-Ḥakam and died sometime after ‘Alī al-Riḍā’s death in 203/818, perhaps in 208/823.

b. Mītham in the role of the name-coiner; whereas Balkhī's source presumably had Yūnus in this role (and certainly had Yūnus in this role if Ash'arī and Balkhī were working independently from Warrāq's *Maqālāt*). If nothing else, these observations suggest that Nawbakhtī and Balkhī were not both working *directly* from whatever source they have in common³¹⁴.

Nawbakhtī's unique elements consist of an argument that the Wāqifa made for their position, namely that Mūsā had escaped from the prison unseen (*b*), a *ḥadīth* from Ja'far in which he had named Mūsā the Mahdī (*c*)³¹⁵, four variants of Wāqifi belief (*d*, *e*, *f*, and *h*) and a clarificatory statement that the term Mamṭūra is used for those who 'stop' the line of Imāms at Mūsā in particular; whilst 'Wāqifa' can be used more generally to refer to any group that stops the line of Imāms (*j*). Much of this is similar to the additions in the post-Ja'far cluster. Some of it could plausibly have stood in the common source, but this cannot be confirmed based on the parallels; the matter will be addressed in IV.2.2.2.1.4.1.

The Balkhī-Ash'arī material on the Qaṭ'iyya is simply too short to draw any significant conclusions about the convergence with the *Firaq*. The description of the agnostic faction, however, follows the pattern we are used to: there is a common core consisting of a basic statement of the doctrine in language that converges much too closely to be coincidence [*Fir*.69:8–9 and 69:14–70:2; *MaqA*.29:8–10, *Mugh*.XX₂:181:8–9; *Hūr*.219:3–4; *Sharḥ*.30v:13–14], but Nawbakhtī has a relatively large amount of additional material concerning the reasons why this group refused to either accept or deny Mūsā's death: they found the *ḥadīth* that he was the Mahdī and the reports of his death equally credible [*Fir*.69:9–14]. The same conclusion applies here as to all Nawbakhtī's unique material on the arguments provided by these fac-

314 Strictly, we cannot say whether *antan* or *ahwan* is the original. It is worth noting, however, that Nawbakhtī's explanation of *antan* is tortured. It implies the goal of the nickname 'rain-soaked' was to say that the Wāqifa 'smell worse than corpses', but then not only the nickname but the meaning of the insult invoked by the name would not be literal, as 'Alī cannot literally have meant to say that they smelled worse than corpses. We would have to believe that everyone understood 'rain-soaked dogs' to mean 'smell worse than corpses', which then either everyone knew to be a conventional insult or somehow played off the idea that they denied the existence of the corpse of Mūsā (because he was still alive, according to them). Either way, it is hard to see how this could have been the origin of a catchy nickname. It is much easier to see how 'Alī (or Yūnus) might simply have insulted them directly in the course of an angry disputation by saying they were worth less than (*ahwan min*) rain-soaked dogs, utilising an exaggerated version ('rain-soaked') of a known common insult ('dog'). One thus suspects that Nawbakhtī's story is a later invention, cooked up to explain the awkward *antan*, a misreading for the original *ahwan*.

315 Notably, this is the same *ḥadīth mutatis mutandis* as that used by the Nāwūsiyya to claim Ja'far was the Mahdī. See *Tab*.17.

tions in support of their claims: it is plausible that it stood already in the common source, but we cannot know. We will return to the question in IV.2.2.2.1.4.1.

In the case of Nawbakhtī's additional faction, the Bashīriyya, it is more likely that we are dealing with material extraneous to the common source³¹⁶. The first doctrine attributed to the eponymous Muḥammad b. Bashīr is that he denies Mūsā's death and considers him the Mahdī. As far as the common *iftirāq*-schema is concerned, that would make him just another Wāqifī. The difference is that the Bashīriyya hold Muḥammad b. Bashīr then his son, Samī', to be Imāms whilst Mūsā is in hiding. The most suspicious element, however, is the description of the doctrinal profile of the Bashīriyya, which, unlike the common material, goes far beyond their claim about the identity of the Imām. The Bashīriyya are described as Ghulāt and said to have a range of doctrines typical for such groups: they declare other Imāmiyya unbelievers, making it licit to take their lives and property; they abandon some of the religious duties and permit intercourse with women usually deemed illicit and with men; and they believe in metempsychosis (*tanāsukh*) [*Fir.*71:3–10]. Such presentations of a range of doctrines and the assignation of the label *ghuluww* are not found in the common passages of the faction-descriptions in the *iftirāq*-schema.

Finally, we have the additional faction in the BdC and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*: the Aḥmadiyya. Nawbakhtī knows of a faction that supported the Imāmate of Aḥmad b. Mūsā, but only after 'Alī al-Riḍā. That group also appears in the BdC at the same point (see below). It is very unlikely, however, that Balkhī himself could have added the faction here; he must be relying ultimately on an Imāmī source. Aḥmad b. Mūsā is not a well substantiated figure even in Imāmī tradition, and a faction that supported him as a successor to Mūsā is mentioned elsewhere only by Kashshī and then only in passing [*Rijāl*K.472:5–11]³¹⁷. The material must have stood in Balkhī's direct source at least.

In summary, the situation in the post-Mūsā cluster is quite similar to that in post-Ṣādiq cluster. Nawbakhtī and Balkhī continue to rely on a common source. Balkhī has material absent from the *Firaq* that he must have taken from his direct source and that could plausibly have stood in the common source. Nawbakhtī has a mixture of unique material, some of which could also plausibly have stood in the common source, some of which was probably added from elsewhere. There is one instance here, however, where Nawbakhtī preserves a slightly different and more detailed version of a passage they have in common. The specific character of the divergence

³¹⁶ On the Bashīriyya and Muḥammad b. Bashīr generally, see Halm 1982:234–239 and *EIsl.* "Bashīriyya" [Hamed Khani].

³¹⁷ On Aḥmad b. Mūsā, see *EIsl.* "Aḥmad b. Mūsā b. Ja'far" [Gholami].

here suggests that Nawbakhtī and Balkhī were not both working directly from their common source; at least one of them was using an intermediary.

1.3.2.1.1.3 The Post-'Alī al-Riḍā Cluster

Madelung could not possibly have seen that the convergence continues into the post-'Alī al-Riḍā-cluster, because he was comparing only Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and the *Firaq*, and Ash'arī has removed the cluster entirely³¹⁸. The cluster appears, however, intact in the *Mughnī*, the *Sharḥ* and the *ʿUyūn*. Once again, there is a common 'core' of three factions to the cluster: one faction claims the Imām after 'Alī was his son, Muḥammad al-Jawād [*Fir.*72:8–10; *Mugh.*XX₂:181:13; *Sharḥ.*30v:21–22; *ʿUyūn.*9r:17]; one faction claims the Imāmate passes, rather, to 'Alī's brother, Aḥmad b. Mūsā [*Fir.*72:11–13; *Mugh.*XX₂:181:14; *Sharḥ.*30v:21; *ʿUyūn.*9r:17]; and one faction rescinds its belief in 'Alī's Imāmate entirely and adopts the belief that Mūsā had not died and was the Mahdī, i.e., they join the Wāqifa of the previous cluster [*Fir.*72:14–16; *Mugh.* XX₂:181:14–15; *Sharḥ.*30v:20–21; *ʿUyūn.*9r:17–18]. Nawbakhtī has two additional factions: the first is not really a Shī'i faction at all, but a group of Murji'a and Ahl al-Ḥadīth who supported the Imāmates of Mūsā and 'Alī 'out of desire for the world and as a pretence' (*raghbat^{an} fi l-dunyā wa-taṣannu^{um}*) and returned to their previous doctrines thereafter [*Fir.* 72:17–73:3]; the second is a Zaydī faction to which Nawbakhtī attributes much the same motives [*Fir.* 73:4–7].

Generally, the faction-descriptions in the *Mughnī* are too short for the convergences in wording in the common faction-descriptions to be especially significant, but even here we see some terminological convergence that is best explained by a common source, e.g., where both texts depict the third faction to have 'returned to stopping [the line of Imāms] at/after Mūsā b. Ja'far' (*raja'ū ilā l-waqf ba'da Mūsā b. Ja'far* vs. *wa-firqa raja'at ilā l-waqf 'alā Mūsā b. Ja'far*) [*Fir.*72:15–16; *Mugh.* XX₂:181:14–15]. Once again, although the *Firaq* contains additional material, there is clearly a common source behind the core faction-descriptions of the cluster.

1.3.2.1.1.4 The *ikhtilāf* over the Imāmate of Jawād

That brings us to the last common structural element in Balkhī's and Nawbakhtī's *iftirāq*-schemata. This is not strictly an element of *iftirāq* at all, but rather an *ikhtilāf*-cluster over the Imāmate of Muḥammad al-Jawād due to his immaturity at the time of his accession. The basic structural parallelism that both texts include such an *ikhtilāf*-cluster at this point is itself significant: it is very unlikely to have arisen unless it was still inspired by the common source. However, the contents of

³¹⁸ See p. 123–124.

the *ikhtilāf*-clusters differ more significantly between the texts than the material we have discussed so far.

For Balkhī-Ash'arī, the *ikhtilāf* divides them into two groups:

1. [*MaqA*.30:15–31:2; *Mugh*.XX₂:181:18–19; *Hūr*:219:6–12] Some of them said that he was the Imam, was knowledgeable of the religious law, should be consulted concerning *ḥadīth*, and should be followed as a guide like all Imams before him.
2. [*MaqA*.31:3–8; *Mugh*.XX₂:181:19–182:3; *Hūr*:219:13–17] The other party agreed that he was the Imam whilst immature and that the office of the Imamate resided in him to the exclusion of anyone else but claimed that he was not knowledgeable of the law or *ḥadīth*, and could not lead the prayer. Instead, the scholars of the community undertook these tasks until he became mature.

Both groups here agree that Jawād indeed held the office of Imām whilst immature, but they differ over whether he possessed the necessary knowledge to carry out the function of the Imām at that stage.

In the *Firaq*, the relevant passage is corrupt and is missing at least two short, but crucial sections of text³¹⁹. These can be restored from the otherwise virtually identical version of this passage in Qummī's *Maqālāt wa-l-firaq* [*MaqQ*.96:17–99:6]³²⁰. The passage thus restored describes four main groups:

1. [*Fir*.74:17≈*Qum*.97:1]. One group claims that Muḥammad al-Jawād was taught by his father.
2. [*Fir*.74:17–75:8≈*Qum*.97:2–11] One group denies that this was possible because his father was taken to Khurasan when he was only four years old, and it is not possible for a child of this age to attain knowledge of religious matters. Instead, they claim, once he became mature, he was given knowledge by all the means available to Imāms, such as 'direct inspiration' (*ilhām*), 'scratching on the heart' (*al-nakt fi l-qalb*), 'knocking in the ear' (*an-naqr fi l-udhun*), 'true visions during sleep' (*ar-ru'yā al-ṣādiqa fi-l-nawm*), 'the angel who speaks to him' (*al-malak al-muḥaddith lahu*) and 'the raising up of the lamp, the stand and the lighted wick' (*raf' al-manār wa-l'amūd wa-l-miṣbāḥ*). However, they say, before he was mature, he was the Imām only in the sense that the office of the Imamate resided in him to the exclusion of anyone else.
3. [*Fir*.75:8–76:7≈*Qum*.97:12–98:13] One group agrees that, before his maturity, he was the Imām in the sense only that the office of the Imamate resided in him to the exclusion of anyone else. They further claim that obedience to him was not a duty at that stage. However, once he became mature, he gained

³¹⁹ See the apparatus to *Fir*.74:17 and 75:8.

³²⁰ This restoration is already advocated by Bayhom-Daou 2003a:81n41 and Van Ess 2011:259–60.

knowledge not through the various kinds of inspiration believed in by the previous group, because revelation stopped with the Prophet, but by obtaining it from his father's books. Some of this faction permit the Imām to reason by analogy based on the sources he has at his disposal, as this is permissible for prophets, messengers and Imāms. This is because the Imām is infallible (*ma'ṣūm min al-khaṭa'*).

4. [*Fir*:76:8–15=*Qum*.98:14–99:6] One party said that he was the Imām whilst immature and already possessed the necessary degree of knowledge. For them, the Imam effectively cannot be immature because he is given knowledge by means of miraculous learning despite his youth.

The disagreement here revolves around two questions. The first is the same as for Balkhī-Ash'arī: did Muḥammad al-Jawād possess the relevant knowledge to carry out the functions of the Imām whilst immature? Groups one and four effectively answer yes, and groups two and three explicitly answer no. Added to this, however, is an extra question: regardless of when he attained the knowledge, *how* did he attain it, by inspiration or by natural means? Groups one and three affirm natural means; groups two and four assert inspiration. The *ikhtilāf*-clusters that appear in the *Firaq* and in Balkhī-Ash'arī are thus closely related, but the *Firaq*'s presents an extended discussion of the problematic, covering also the related but distinct issue of the *means* by which an Imām obtains his special knowledge in the first place.

The *Firaq* thus has significantly more material within the cluster than Balkhī-Ash'arī. Nevertheless, the hypothesis that they continue to rely on a common source is borne out by occasional convergence in wording at a level that is hard to dismiss as coincidental, especially in the context of the wider structural parallelism. Two examples will suffice. First, there is the *ikhtilāf*-statement itself. In the *Mughnī*, this reads 'Those who professed the Imāmate of Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Mūsā b. Ja'far disagreed over another matter due to his young age' (*ikhhtalafat man qāla bi-imāmat Muḥammad bin 'Alī bin Mūsā li-taqārub sinnihī ḍarb^{an} min al-ikhhtilāf*) [*Mugh*.XX₂:181:16; slight variation in *MaqA*.30:11–12]. In Nawbakhtī's version, we find, 'They disagreed over other matters, concerning the means of his knowledge, due to his youthful age' (*ikhhtalafū fī kayfiyat 'ilmihī li-ḥadāthat sinnihī ḍurūb^{an} min al-ikhhtilāf*) [*Fir*.74:14–15; slight variation in *Qum*. 96:17–18, including use of singular *ḍarb^{an}*]. The convergent phrasing '*ikhhtalafū/ikhhtalafat . . . ḍarb^{an}/ḍurūb^{an} min al-ikhhtilāf*' is not seen in any other *ikhhtilāf*-clusters in Nawbakhtī's *Firaq*, Qummī's *Firaq*, the *Mughnī* or Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*³²¹. That makes it extremely unlikely it is

321 Ash'arī only twice, and in close succession, employs the slightly different construction *ikhhtalafū fī ḍarbⁱⁿ akhar* (*MaqA*.215:3, 13). Otherwise, nothing similar is found in his *Maqālāt*.

simply the result of coincidence. Second, we have the phrase that introduces the second group in Balkhī-Ash'arī's cluster and concludes the description of the second group in Nawbakhtī's and Qummī's. Ash'arī has 'He was the Imām in that situation in the sense that authority was in him and for him to the exclusion of other people and that no one else was rightly entitled to that station at that time' (*kāna fī tilka l-ḥāl imām^{an} 'alā ma'nā anna l-amr kāna fīhi wa-lahu dūna l-nās wa-'alā annahu lā yaşlahu li-dhālika l-mawḍa' fī dhālika l-waqt aḥad ghayruhū*) [*MaqA.31:3–5*; slightly shortened in *Mugh.XX₂:181:19–182:1*]. Qummī gives us 'As for [the time] before he reached maturity, he was the Imām in the sense that authority was for him to the exclusion of others and that no other was rightly entitled at that time to the station of the Imāmate' (*fa-ammā qabla l-bulūgh fa-huwa imām 'alā ma'nā anna l-amr lahū dūna ghayrihi wa-annahū lā yaşlahu fī dhālika l-waqt li-mawḍa' al-imāma ghayruhū*) [*Qum. 97:10–11*; shorter version at *Fir.75:7–8*]. These are isolated parallels amidst a large amount of material unique to Nawbakhtī-Qummī, but this is still not a level of convergence that can be explained by coincidence. There continues to be an underlying common source here.

1.3.2.1.1.5 Overview and Conclusions Regarding The Post-Şādiq *iftirāq*-Schema

There is clearly a relationship of source-dependency between the *iftirāq*-schema in Nawbakhtī's *Firaq* and the *iftirāq*-schema that must have stood in Balkhī's *Maqālāt* at least from the post-Ja'far al-Şādiq cluster through to the *ikhtilāf* over the status of Muḥammad al-Jawād's Imāmate whilst he was a minor. We can exclude the possibility that the *Firaq* itself was Balkhī's source, partly because Nawbakhtī has more up-to-date information that Balkhī is unlikely to have ignored, partly because it is difficult to see how Balkhī's presentation could have been derived from Nawbakhtī's. That is to say, Nawbakhtī and Balkhī ultimately have a common source here, but at least one of them obtained the common material via an intermediary.

The common source apparently concluded its *iftirāq*-schema with the *ikhtilāf* over Jawād. This is where the schema ends in Balkhī's version. Nawbakhtī also breaks off his *iftirāq*-schema at this point; he does not use *iftirāq*-clusters to depict the disputes over the successions to Jawād and to 'Alī al-Hādī. When he resumes the schema for his post-Ḥasan al-'Askarī cluster, it must be his own work³²². That means the common source for the post-Şādiq *iftirāq*-schema dates, at the *earliest*, from the time of Muḥammad al-Jawād's Imāmate, i.e., after 203/818. That fits too with the fact that the common source contained the story about Yūnus b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān and/or 'Alī b. Mitham's coining of the nickname 'Mamṭūra' for the Wāqifa; such an anecdote

322 See further, p. 608–613.

must originally have been penned in Imāmī circles in the early third century.³²³ The *ikhtilāf*-cluster, however, seems to present a retrospective view upon the situation whilst Jawād was a minor, suggesting he was at least an adult already by the time the source was composed. On the assumption that Jawād became Imām at seven, as most sources claim, a *terminus post quem* around 212/827 would be appropriate. A *terminus ante quem* is, as usual, more difficult to determine. As the common source apparently did not deal with the succession to Jawād, it is not unlikely it was composed within his lifetime, i.e., before 220/835. It is also possible that it was written early in the period of 'Alī al-Hādī's Imāmate, i.e., in the 220s, but he too took up the office as a minor, so we would expect this fact to have featured in the *ikhtilāf*-cluster if the source was composed much later than that.

These dates are, of course, much too late for the common source to be Hishām b. al-Ḥakam, but they are also somewhat earlier than we would expect if Warrāq had assembled the material into *iftirāq*-clusters himself. There was certainly enough conflict over the successions to Jawād and Hādī that clusters would have been formed there too if Warrāq were the *author* of the post-Ja'far, post-Mūsā and post-'Alī al-Riḍā clusters³²⁴. We must assume, rather, that even if Warrāq is the best candidate to have transmitted this part of the *iftirāq*-schema to Balkhī and Ash'arī

323 Another potential indicator is the fact that the Shumayṭiyya are listed as a post-Ja'far faction, but this is probably less decisive. Muḥammad b. Ja'far, the Imām of the Shumayṭiyya, does not seem to have attracted much of a following in the years after Ja'far al-Ṣādiq's death. The faction may have coalesced around him only much later, due to the role he played as a figurehead at the tail-end of the rebellions associated with Abū l-Sarāya in 200–201/815–816 (see *Et*². "Shumayṭiyya" [Halm] and Arjomand 1996:495). If so, then their appearance in the common *iftirāq*-schema would indicate it was composed after these events. There are, however, a few indications that the Shumayṭiyya existed in some form before this point. Some of these are highly dubious. For example, Jāḥiẓ apparently refers to Zurāra b. A'yan as 'the head of the Shumayṭiyya' (*ra'īs al-shumayṭiyya* (*Ḥayawān*.VII:122:3)). That would place their origins much earlier; Zurāra died only shortly after Ja'far al-Ṣādiq. It is more likely, however, that the passage is simply corrupt. The correct reading is *tamimiyya*, as per manuscript *lām*. Ash'arī too calls Zurāra's followers 'the Tamimiyya' (*MaqA*.28:7–8). The real debate was over whether Zurāra had died supporting the Imāmate of 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far (see p. 724–725). In reality, the idea that Zurāra was the leader of *any* movement in the dispute around the succession to Ja'far is highly unlikely, let alone the leader of a movement named after someone else. Nevertheless, there is some reason to think that Ma'dān al-Shumayṭī believed Muḥammad b. Ja'far was the Mahdī already in the second half of the second century; the somewhat ambiguous evidence is found in his poetry (see van Ess 2011:207). If so, some kind of support for Muḥammad b. Ja'far must have existed already and was merely given more prominence by the rebellion of Muḥammad b. Ja'far in the wake of Abū l-Sarāya. That would make better sense of the fact that the common source of the *iftirāq*-schema alone gives us the name of the founder, Yahyā b. Abī Shumayṭ, just as it gives us the names of the founders of the other post-Ja'far factions. These otherwise seem to be Kufan figures active in the period after Ṣādiq's death.

324 See p. 647–649.

(whether or not Ash'arī only obtained it via Balkhī), Warrāq himself would then have been using a significantly earlier source. And we must therefore also consider the possibility that, if Warrāq was indeed Balkhī's source, then Nawbakhtī and Warrāq, rather, had a common source.

As we have seen, if Ash'arī was not dependent on Balkhī's version of the material, they obtained it separately via Warrāq³²⁵. In that case, because Ash'arī's and Balkhī's versions consistently converge against Nawbakhtī's, there would be two options: all three were reliant on Warrāq's material but Ash'arī and Balkhī preserved it more faithfully; or Warrāq and Nawbakhtī had a yet earlier common source. The latter would be preferred, but only because Nawbakhtī sometimes *seems* to have earlier versions of the common elements, an interpretation that rests on the uncertain methods of internal *Quellenforschung*.

The more likely scenario, however, is that Ash'arī was dependent on Balkhī's material. In this case, things are even more open. Strictly, it is conceivable that Balkhī's source was not Warrāq at all, in which case Nawbakhtī and Balkhī's common source could have been either the text in which the common material first appeared (i.e., the text authored sometime between 212 and the early 220s) or else any intermediary composed before the 270s. The available evidence, however, suggests that Balkhī's source here was indeed Warrāq and that Balkhī used Warrāq's material directly. It is thus possible that Nawbakhtī did, too. However, there are strong suggestions that at least one of Nawbakhtī and Balkhī obtained the material from their common source via an intermediary not used by the other. If true, they could not both have been using Warrāq's material directly. Again, as Balkhī apparently was using Warrāq's material directly, and because there are instances where Nawbakhtī seems to have the earlier version, the most likely interpretation is that Warrāq and Nawbakhtī obtained the material from a yet earlier common source. Again, for now, that is merely a conjecture. It depends on the uncertain claim that Nawbakhtī sometimes preserves an earlier version of the common material. But we will see more evidence that Nawbakhtī did not obtain the common *iftirāq*-material via Warrāq in the following sections and later, in the next sub-chapter, where we bring in the evidence from Qummī's *firaq*-material.

Another potential candidate for the common source is Zurqān's *Maqālāt*. This is a more promising suggestion, but the evidence is ambiguous. Nawbakhtī and Balkhī both have a version of the relevant *iftirāq*-clusters and a version of Zurqān's material on Sulaymān b. Jarīr, Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ/the Butriyya and Nu'aym b. al-Yamān that was examined in the previous sub-chapter. It is thus possible that both bodies of material came to both of them ultimately from Zurqān. Even Zurqān's *Maqālāt*,

325 See p. 223–224.

however, was probably composed at least a decade too late for Zurqān to be the *author* of the *iftirāq*-clusters, and it is hardly credible that Zurqān could have penned this material himself. Surely no Basran Mu'tazilī in the 230s would have had sufficient interest in, or knowledge of, the obscure post-Ja'far splintering of the Imāmiyya in Kufa and the etymology of their faction-names—based on the names of their even more obscure, mostly Kufan leaders—to have gone into the kind of detail we see in the *firaq*-material shared by Nawbakhtī and Balkhī. We have to assume, rather, that the ultimate source was an Imāmī work of Kufan origin³²⁶. That does not necessarily rule out, however, that Zurqān could have picked up the *firaq*-material from an earlier, Imāmī source and integrated it into his *Maqālāt*, whence it might have reached Nawbakhtī and Balkhī along with the Zurqān-material on the Zaydiyya.

One suggestive clue that might point in that direction is the presence of the closing *ikhtilāf*-cluster on the status of Jawād's Imāmate whilst a minor. The sudden shift at this point from *firaq*-material to the doxographical mode more typical of the Mu'tazila is striking. One also wonders whether an Imāmī could really have written about this theologically fraught issue so dispassionately already in this period. But that is far from decisive, and circumstantial evidence suggests otherwise. For one thing, no marked Zurqān-citations anywhere contain *firaq*-material of any sort, let alone on the Imāmiyya. Everything we have from him concerns theological *ikhtilāf* expressed in the technical shorthand of *kalām* doxography. It also seems unlikely that two authors connected to the Imāmiyya, like Nawbakhtī and Warrāq, would have had access to such originally Imāmī material only via a Mu'tazilī source.

There is also the question of the routes of transmission. The evidence here does not completely rule out the possibility that Zurqān was the source of the *iftirāq*-clusters either, but nor does it offer unequivocal support for the idea. As we saw in the previous sub-chapter, it is very likely that Ash'arī obtained the *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya, the Warrāq-material on the Jārūdiyya and the **non**-Zurqān material on Sulaymān b. Jarīr and Ḥasan b. Šāliḥ/the Butriyya that he shares with 'Abd al-Jabbār along a different route of transmission from that along which he obtained the Zurqān-material on Sulaymān b. Jarīr, Ḥasan b. Šāliḥ/the Butriyya and Ibn al-Yamān. The former definitely came to him via either Balkhī or Warrāq, the second probably came to him directly from Zurqān's *Maqālāt*.

Moreover, both witnessed versions of Balkhī's material contain the *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya, but only the version used ultimately by Abū Tammām, Maqdisī and Ḥimyarī has the Zurqān-material on Sulaymān b. Jarīr

³²⁶ See further, p. 497–503.

and Ḥasan b. Šāliḥ/the Butriyya. The version used by ‘Abd al-Jabbār clearly had a different source for its material on these figures, probably Warrāq. It is thus anything but certain that the *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya and the Zurqān-material were taken by Balkhī from the same source; they do not consistently appear together.

That doesn’t settle the matter. It is not impossible that Balkhī took the Zurqān-material on the Zaydiyya and the *iftirāq*-schema from the *same* source, i.e., Zurqān’s *Maqālāt*, and that it is the non-Zurqān-material on Sulaymān and Ḥasan that he added from a different source in the version of his *Maqālāt* used by ‘Abd al-Jabbār. It is also not impossible that Ash‘arī had material from Zurqān along two different routes. But the point is that the combination of the *iftirāq*-schema and the known Zurqān-material in Ash‘arī’s *Maqālāt* and the BdC does not constitute clear evidence that they both came via Zurqān, as there is no consistency in the manner of its combination. That means that it is equally plausible that Nawbakhtī, too, had different sources for the two bodies of material, and thus that the source of the *iftirāq*-clusters is not Zurqān, but some other work used independently by Balkhī or Warrāq and Nawbakhtī.

Even if we cannot pin down the identity of the common source, we still know a lot about its content. Most of the convergent material is highly homogenous. It consists in a series of *iftirāq*-clusters linked in an *iftirāq*-schema, and the common faction descriptions within each *iftirāq*-cluster consistently contain the same two elements:

1. A statement concerning the Imām followed by the faction after the death of the Imām mentioned in the *iftirāq*-statement, or else a statement that the faction denied the death of the Imām mentioned in the *iftirāq*-statement and held him to be the Mahdī. Sometimes this is accompanied by a short justification of that choice.
2. Etymological material on the name of the faction.

The second element is not always present, as some factions are left anonymous. It can also vary in length. In one case, in the description of the Wāqifa, it is expanded significantly by means of the story about the coining of the nickname ‘Mamṭūra’. Importantly, however, there is no convergence in the faction-descriptions on material outside these two elements. The only exception to all this is the closing *ikhtilāf*-cluster, a distinct structural unit that deals with an aspect of the doctrine of the Imāmate beyond the simple identification of the Imām/Mahdī, namely the status of an Imām whilst immature.

As a final point on this material, it is worth noting that where there is a split over the orthography of the faction-names in the BdC and Ash‘arī’s *Maqālāt*, Nawbakhtī tends to agree with ‘Abd al-Jabbār and Ash‘arī against the rest, but the evidence is

not unanimous³²⁷. Like 'Abd al-Jabbār and Ash'arī, he employs 'Abū Muslimiyya' rather than 'Muslimiyya'. Nawbakhtī also refers to the eponym of the Shumayṭiyya as Yaḥyā b. Abī Sumayṭ, as do 'Abd al-Jabbār and Ash'arī (*sīn/shīn* variations notwithstanding), but he then calls the faction 'the Samṭiyya', matching the rest of the Bdc³²⁸. That suggests that 'Abd al-Jabbār, Ash'arī and Nawbakhtī sometimes preserve the variants of the names from the common source, whilst the version(s) of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* used elsewhere in the Bdc seems to have altered them slightly³²⁹. This means that the evidence provided by the *Firaq* here does nothing further to resolve the question of whether Ash'arī was reliant on the same version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* as that used by 'Abd al-Jabbār or whether he and Balkhī used a common source.

1.3.2.1.2 Convergence in the *iftirāq*-Schema pre-Ja'far al-Ṣādiq

The pre-Ṣādiq phases of the *Firaq* do not exhibit the same degree of correspondence with the Balkhī-Ash'arī material as the post-Ṣādiq clusters either in structure or content. Nawbakhtī has far more material here that does not appear anywhere in the Bdc or Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*. Notably, he departs from his *iftirāq*-schema several times in this part of the *Firaq*, above all in the sections on the Ghulāt and the Zaydiyya. Wherever he does so, significant parallels with the Bdc and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*

327 On the divergence over faction-names within the Bdc, see p. 143–145.

328 Qummī, however, has Sumayṭiyya and Shumayṭiyya, explicitly drawing attention to the fact that people differed over whether to read with *sīn* or *shīn* (*MaqQ.87:1–2*). It is thus possible that Nawbakhtī's 'Samṭiyya' is just a later copying error.

329 Generally, there seems to have been an ongoing tendency to try to regularize the relationship between the eponyms and the faction-names. The form 'Abū Muslimiyya' is notably irregular. The 'standard' derivation of a *nisba* from a *kunya* like 'Abū muslim' would be 'muslimī', whence 'the Muslimiyya'. It is thus quite unlikely that anyone, having encountered 'muslimiyya', would intentionally have introduced a form like 'Abū muslimiyya' (e.g., as an attempted correction), especially as we do not see such a development in any other faction-name where the eponym is a *kunya* or *nasab* (e.g., 'Maṣūriyya' from 'Abū Maṣūr', 'Ḥarbiyya' from 'Ibn Ḥarb'). The opposite is more likely. As for Shumayṭiyya, Jāḥiẓ records some verses by the poet al-Ma'dān al-Shumayṭī, a supporter of Muḥammad b. Ja'far (*Ḥayawān*.II:268:6–8). Not only does Shumayṭī's *nisba* clearly derive from his attachment to the doctrine of the group, but Jāḥiẓ explicitly describes him to have promoted the 'Shumayṭiyya' over the other divisions of the Shī'a in the poem (*wa-qaddama al-shumayṭiyya 'alā jamī' aṣnāf al-shī'a*). What I have so far vocalised as 'shamṭī' or 'samṭī', as it appears in the *Ḥūr* etc., might have arisen based on the pattern *quraysh* – *qurashī*, in which case the reading should probably be *sumaṭī*. That too could be a later regularization. It should be noted, however, that *Uṣūl al-niḥal* already has both Muslimiyya (*Niḥ*.32:11) and Samṭiyya (or Sumaṭiyya) (*Niḥ*.47:7). Plausibly, that still represents secondary regularization and Nawbakhtī, Ash'arī and 'Abd al-Jabbār still preserve the older variants, but it is also possible that both variants of both names were simply in circulation much earlier.

cease completely. Nawbakhtī also has two *iftirāq*-clusters that do not appear in the BdC: the post-Muḥammad-cluster and the second post-Ḥusayn-cluster. These are the clusters that Nawbakhtī uses to introduce Zaydī factions and, again, there are essentially no significant parallels with the BdC and Ash‘arī’s *Maqālāt*. If, however, we stick to the clusters that deal with the *iftirāq* of the Imāmiyya, there are still frequent convergences in content and structure at a level that cannot be explained by coincidence. It thus appears there is some relationship of source-dependency also here.

1.3.2.1.2.1 The Post-‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib Cluster

Nawbakhtī’s post-‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib-cluster produces three factions: the Saba‘iyya, who deny ‘Alī’s death [*Fir.*19:9–20:9]; those Kaysāniyya who supported Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya immediately after ‘Alī [*Fir.*20:10–21:8]; and the supporters of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn [*Fir.*21:9–23:15]. Whatever convergence with Balkhī’s *Maqālāt* there may have been here and in the next cluster of the *iftirāq*-schema is obscured by the fact that all the texts of the BdC (and Ash‘arī’s *Maqālāt*) handle the first clusters slightly differently, making it impossible to reconstruct any version of Balkhī’s material with precision³³⁰. In any case, the structural correspondence cannot have been close. We do know that Balkhī would have placed the Saba‘iyya elsewhere, outside the *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya³³¹. Meanwhile, the supporters of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn were subsumed within the ‘elevener’ Qaṭ‘iyya that appeared at this point, at least in the version of Balkhī’s material used by ‘Abd al-Jabbār (and probably Ash‘arī).

Nevertheless, Balkhī too described a faction of the Kaysāniyya that considered Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya to be the Imām immediately after ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, and his description of them exhibits a convergence in wording with Nawbakhtī’s at a level very similar to what we saw in the post-Ṣādiq clusters, i.e., there is a ‘core’ of common material, as well as additional material in the *Firaq*. The versions from the *Firaq*, Ash‘arī’s *Maqālāt*, the *Mughnī* and the *Sharḥ* are given in Tab. 20.

³³⁰ See p. 133–136, 141.

³³¹ There are close parallels between Nawbakhtī’s and Balkhī’s descriptions of the Saba‘iyya, but because of the structural discrepancy, they are dealt with below, in the section on Ghulāt factions, p. 168.

Tab. 20: The *Firaq*, Ash'arī and Balkhī on the Kaysāniyya.**Fir.20:10–21:8****MaqA.18:12–17**

[a¹] وفرقة قالت بامامة محمد بن الحنفية لانه كان صاحب راية ابية يوم البصرة دون اخويه

[b¹] فسَمُوا الكيسانية وانما سَمُوا بذلك لان المختار بن ابى عبيد النقفى كان رئيسهم وكان يلقب كيسان وهو الذى طلب بدم الحسين بن على صلوات الله عليهما وثأره حتى قتل من قتلته وغيرهم من قتل وادعى ان محمد بن الحنفية امره بذلك وانه الامام بعد ابية

[c¹] وانما لُقِب المختار كيسان لان صاحب شرطته المكثى بابى عمرة كان اسمه كيسان وكان افراط في القول والفعل والقتل من المختار جدًّا وكان يقول ان محمد بن الحنفية وصى على بن ابى طالب وانه الامام وان المختار قيمه وعامله ويكفر من تقدم عليًّا ويكفر اهل صفين والجمال وكان يزعم ان جبرئيل عليه السلام يأتي المختار بالوحي من عند الله عز وجل فيخبره ولا يراه

[d¹] وروى بعضهم انه سمى بكيسان مولى على بن ابى طالب عليه السلم وهو الذي حمله على الطلب بدم الحسين بن على ودلّه على قتلته وكان صاحب سرّه ومؤامرتة والغالب على امره

[b²] وانما سموا كيسانية لان المختار الذى خرج وطلب بدم الحسين ابن على ودعا الى محمد بن الحنفية كان يقال له كيسان

[d²] ويقال انه مولى لعلی بن ابى طالب رضوان الله عليه

[a²] والفرقة الأولى من الكيسانية وهي الثانية من الرافضة يزعمون ان على بن ابى طالب نصّ على امامة ابنه محمد بن الحنفية لانه دفع اليه الراية بالبصرة

Mugh.XX₂:176:18–177:3**Sharḥ.29r:10–12**

[a³] ومنهم الكيسانية³³² يزعمون أن محمد بن على كان الإمام بعده عليه السلام لأنه دفع الراية إليه وفرقة تزعم أنه الإمام بعد الحسن والحسين

[a⁴] ومنهم الكيسانية [. . .] ومنهم من قال هو الإمام بعد علي لأنه دفع الراية إليه يوم الجمل

[b³] وكيسان هو المختار بن أبى عبيد يقال إن عليا عليه السلام سماه بذلك فنسب القوم إليه

[b⁴] وقيل كيسان اسم الختار

[d³] وقال غيره إن كيسان مولى لأمير المؤمنين وعنه أخذ المختار وإليه ينسب القوم

[d⁴] وقيل لغلام له

Tab. 20 (continued)

Fir.20:10–21:8

[a¹] A faction professed the Imamate of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya because he was in charge of his father's standard at the Battle of Basra, without his two brothers.

[b¹] They were called the Kaysāniyya. This was because Mukhtār b. 'Ubayd al-Thaqafī was their leader, and he was nicknamed Kaysān. It was he who sought vengeance for the blood of Ḥusayn b. 'Alī and avenged him until he killed some of his murderers and other opponents. He claimed that Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya commanded him to do that and that he was the Imam after his father.

[c¹] Mukhtār was nicknamed Kaysān because the name of the chief of his personal guard, who bore the patronymic Abū 'Amra, was Kaysān. He was much more extreme than Mukhtār in doctrine, deed and killing. He said that Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya was the Legatee of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, that he was the Imam and that Mukhtār was his right-hand man and his agent. He considered those who had occupied the Caliphate before 'Alī to be unbelievers, as well as those how had fought against 'Alī in the battles of Ṣiffīn and the Camel. He claimed that Gabriel came to Mukhtār with revelation (*waḥy*) from God, giving him information but remaining unseen.

[d¹] But some of them related that he was named after Kaysān, a *mawlā* of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and that he was the one who encouraged him to seek vengeance for the blood of Ḥusayn b. 'Alī and identified his killers for him. He was his confidant, his counsellor and the one who was really in control.

MaqA.18:12–17

[b²] They were called Kaysāniyya because Mukhtār, who rebelled and sought vengeance for the blood of Ḥusayn b. 'Alī and called the people to support Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya, was called Kaysān.

[d²] It is said that he was a *mawlā* of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.

[a²] The first faction of the Kaysāniyya, i.e., the second of the Rāfiḍa, claim that 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib designated the Imāmate of his son, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya, because he gave him the standard at Basra.

Tab. 20 (continued)

<i>Mugh.XX₂:176:18–177:3</i>	<i>Sharḥ.29r:10–12</i>
[a ³] One of them is the Kaysāniyya. They claim that Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya was the Imām after him [i.e., after 'Alī], because he gave him the standard. And a faction claim that he was the Imām after Ḥasan and Ḥusayn.	[a ^d] One of them is the Kaysāniyya [. . .]. Amongst them are those who said that he [i.e., Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya] was Imam after 'Alī because he gave him the standard at the Battle of the Camel.
[b ³] Kaysān was Mukhtār b. Abī 'Ubayd. It is said that 'Alī named him that. So the origin of the group's name goes back to him.	[b ^d] It was said that Kaysān was the name of al-Mukhtār.
[d ³] Another said that Kaysān was a <i>mawlā</i> of the Commander of the Believers, that Mukhtār took [it?] from him, so the origin of the group's name goes back to him.	[d ^d] And it was said [, rather, that it was the name] of a servant of his.

The common core of the description of the Kaysāniyya consists of the elements we are familiar with from the post-Ṣādiq descriptions. In *a*, we have a basic statement of the doctrine: the Kaysāniyya believe that Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya was Imām after 'Alī because 'Alī placed him in charge of his standard at the Battle of the Camel. Then, in *b* and *d*, we get alternative etymologies of the faction's name: according to *b*, it is derived from the nickname of the leader of the rebellion, Mukhtār b. Abī 'Ubayd al-Thaqafī (d. 67/687); according to *d*, Mukhtār was nicknamed Kaysān only because that was the name of a *mawlā* of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib who had some kind of influence over him and was the real instigator of the rebellion³³³. We can see that there is much summarizing and some reordering in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, the *Mughnī*, and the *Sharḥ* relative to what must have stood in Balkhī's version by comparing them with each other; Balkhī must have had more material than any one of these texts preserves individually. Nevertheless, collectively they exhibit a level of convergence with the *Firaq* in the wording of the common elements and the structure of the description that cannot be coincidental. Just as much as in the descriptions of the post-Ṣādiq cluster, there is a common source here. Moreover, the common material consists of the same two elements we see in the post-Ṣādiq descriptions: a statement of the Imām followed by the faction together with a short justification for that choice, and etymological material on the faction-name.³³⁴

³³³ On al-Mukhtār and his pro-'Alid rebellion, see *EF*³. "al-Mukhtār b. Abī 'Ubayd" [Haider]; Haider 2019:26–114; Hylén 2018a; Anthony 2012:256–308; Anthony 2016; al-Qāḍī 1974:47–136.

³³⁴ Nawbakhtī's additional material in *c*¹ is curious: what is supposed to have been so remarkable for an Imāmī author about the *takfīr* of the first three caliphs? See p. 640–641.

1.3.2.1.2.2 The First Post-Ḥusayn Cluster

The *Firaq*'s first post-Ḥusayn *iftirāq*-cluster should produce three factions according to its *iftirāq*-statement [*Fir*.23:16], but only two are listed: those who followed Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya only after Ḥusayn's death [*Fir*.23:16–24:2]; and another group, called the Mukhtāriyya and the Kaysāniyya, who seem to have decided only at this point that Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya had been Imām immediately after 'Alī, and that Ḥasan and Ḥusayn had thus been acting merely by his permission [*Fir*.24:3–12]. The first of these factions appears also in the BdC and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, but the description is too short for any convergences in the wording to be significant [*Mugh*.XX₂:176:19–177:3; *MaqA*.19:1–4]. This means that it is impossible to establish whether Nawbakhtī and Balkhī have a common source anywhere in this cluster.

1.3.2.1.2.3 The Post-Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya Cluster

Nawbakhtī announces three factions in this cluster but gives four: the Karibiyya, who claim Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya did not die and is the Mahdī and is concealed (*ghāba*) at an unknown location [*Fir*.25:1–26:2]; an anonymous faction that also believes he did not die and is the Mahdī, and that he is living in the Raḍwā mountains [*Fir*.26:3–27:10]; the Hāshimiyya, who claim he died and that the Imām after him is his son, Abū Hāshim [*Fir*.27:11–13]; and finally, a faction, labelled the Hāshimiyya, that declares Abū Hāshim not to have died but to be the Mahdī [*Fir*.28:1–2]. The last of these factions is out of place; a faction with such a doctrine should appear in the post-Abū Hāshim cluster. Moreover, this is the doctrine that Nawbakhtī later attributes to the Bayāniyya, a faction that *does* appear in the post-Abū Hāshim cluster [*Fir*.30:8–10]. Regardless of the relationship of source-dependency with Balkhī's *Maqālāt*, this material would thus seem to be extraneous to Nawbakhtī's own main *iftirāq*-schema. Balkhī has two factions that overlap with Nawbakhtī's: the Karibiyya [*Mugh*.XX₂:177:4–5; *Hūr*.211:20–213:9; *MaqA*.19:5–15]; and the supporters of the Imāmate of Abū Hāshim [*Mugh*.XX₂:177:9; *Hūr*.213:15–17; *MaqA*.20:4–6]. He also has two factions that do not appear in the *Firaq*: a sub-faction of the Karibiyya [*Mugh*.XX₂:177:6–7; *Hūr*.212:3–4; *MaqA*.20:1–3]; and a faction that turns to 'Alī-Zayn al-'Ābidīn after Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya [*Mugh*.XX₂:177:8–9].

The faction-descriptions of the supporters of Abū Hāshim are too short in both works for any convergence to be significant. But a comparison of Nawbakhtī's Karibiyya and the following anonymous faction, on the one hand, with Balkhī's Karibiyya and their sub-faction, on the other, is revealing. Nawbakhtī begins his description of the Karibiyya by stating their basic doctrine: that Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya did not die but is in hiding in an unknown location. This doctrine is then attributed

to the eponymous Ibn Karib [*Fir.*25:1–4]³³⁵. What follows, however, is an excursus on the beliefs and actions of three figures usually understood to be Ghulāt leaders, who believed Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya was the Mahdī: Ḥamza b. 'Umāra al-Barabārī, Ṣā'id al-Nahdī and Bayān b. Sim'ān [*Fir.*25:4–26:2]³³⁶. This material has nothing to do with the *iftirāq*-schema and the appearance of Bayān is especially curious. Bayān and the Bayāniyya also appear later, where they have a position in the *iftirāq*-schema in their own right, in the post-Abū Hāshim cluster [*Fir.*30:8–31:2]. There, however, they have a different doctrine: they believe in the Mahdism of Abū Hāshim, not of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya. Again, regardless of the relationship of source-dependency with Balkhī's *Maqālāt*, it is unlikely that the material on these three individuals was drawn from the same source as Nawbakhtī's main *iftirāq*-schema.

After this comes the second faction of the cluster, which is anonymous. They also deny the death of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya but claim to know his location: in the Raḍwā mountains³³⁷. The description of this second faction, however, closely parallels the description of the faction called the Karibiyya in the BdC and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*. The versions in the *Firaq*, Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, the *Mughnī* and the *Hūr* are given in Tab. 21.

335 He is more usually referred to as Abū Karib (al-Ḍarīr), e.g., in the BdC and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*. Nothing further is known about him in any case. See al-Qāḍī 1974:172–173.

336 On Bayān, see p. 156 n.70. On Ḥamza, see al-Qāḍī 1974:206–208. On Ṣā'id, al-Qāḍī 1974:243–245. The material is also translated and discussed in Ḥalm 1982:54–55. I am assuming that Nawbakhtī's statement that Bayān claimed to have been appointed by Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Ḥusayn is a mistake for Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya. If not, then the passage is even more confused.

337 On Raḍwā, see EI². "Raḍwā" [Ed.], and al-Qāḍī 1974:174.

Tab. 21: The *Firaq*, *Ash'arī* and *Balkhī* on the *Karibiyya*.**Fir.26:3-9**

[a¹] وفرقة قالت ان محمد بن الحنفية حى لم يمّت وانه مقيم بجبال رضوى بين مكة والمدينة تغذوه الاراوى³³⁸ تغدو عليه وتروح فيشرب من البانها ويأكل من لحومها وعن يمينه اسد وعن يساره اسد يحفظانه الى أوان خروجه ومجيئه وقيامه وقال بعضهم عن يمينه اسد وعن يساره نمر

[b¹] وهو عندهم الامام المنتظر الذي بشر به النبي صلى الله عليه وآله انه يملأ الأرض عدلاً وقسطاً

[c¹] فثبتوا على ذلك حتى فنوا وانقضوا الا قليلاً من أبنائهم وهم احدى فرق الكيسانية

MaqA.19:5-10

[a²] والفرقة الرابعة من الرافضة وهى الثالثة من الكيسانية وهى الكريبية أصحاب ابى كرب الضرير ويزعمون ان محمد بن الحنفية حى بجبال رضوى اسد عن يمينه ونمر عن شماله يحفظانه يأتيه رزقه غدوة وعشية الى وقت خروجه

[d²] وزعموا ان السبب الذى من اجله صير على هذه الحال ان يكون مُعَيَّنًا عن الخلق ان الله تعالى فيه تدبيرًا لا يعلمه غيره

Mugh.XX₂:177:4-5

[a³] وفرقة من الكيسانية تدعى الكريبية أصحاب أبى كرب الضرير تزعم أن محمد بن على لم يمّت وهو مقيم بجبال رضوى بين أسد ونمر يأتيه رزقه بكرة وعشية

Hür.211:20-212:2

[a⁴] فقالت فرقة منهم الكريبية أصحاب أبى كرب الضرير والسيد الحميرى إن محمد بن الحنفية حى لم يمّت مقيم بجبال رضوى بين ملكين في صورة أسد ونمر عن يمينه وشماله يأتيه رزقه بكرة وعشية وإن الله يبعث إليه كل يوم ملائكة تحادثه وتحمل إليه من ثمار الجنة ما يأكله.

[b⁴] وإنه القائم المهدي المنتظر عندهم ولا يموت حتى يملأ الأرض عدلاً وقسطاً

[c⁴] وإن الجبال لا تخلق الا من أجله والله فيه تدبيرًا لا يعلمه غيره

338 Edition: (الامارى). Ritter suggests the reading الاراوى, which appears to be confirmed by *MaqQ.35:19*.

Tab. 21 (continued)

Fir.26:3–9

[a¹] A faction said that Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya is alive and did not die and that he resides in the Raḍwā mountains, between Mecca and Medina. The mountain goats feed him, coming [in the morning] and going [in the evening]. He drinks from their milk and eats of their meat. On his right is a lion and on his left is a lion. They protect him until the time of his emergence (*khurūjīhi*), arrival and uprising (*qiyāmīhi*). Some say, 'on his right is a lion and on his left a leopard'.

[b¹] He is, according to them, the awaited Imam, of whom the Prophet, upon him and his family be peace, foretold that he will fill the earth with justice and righteousness.

[c¹] They maintained this belief until all but a few of their descendants perished and died out. They are one of the factions of the Kaysāniyya.

MaqA.19:5–10

[a²] The fourth faction of the Rāfiḍa, the third of the Kaysāniyya, is the Karibiyya, the followers of Abū Karib al-Ḍarīr. They claim that Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya is alive in the Raḍwā mountains, on his right a lion and on his left a leopard. They protect him, bringing him his sustenance morning and evening until the time of his emergence (*khurūjīhi*).

[d²] They claim that the reason why he was put into this situation was so that he would be hidden from the people (*an yakūna mughayyab^{an} 'an al-khalq*), and that God, may he be exalted, has a plan for him that no one else knows.

Mugh.XX₂:177:4–5

[a³] A faction of the Kaysāniyya was called the Karibiyya, the followers of Abū Kurayb al-Ḍarīr. They claim that Muḥammad b. 'Alī did not die and he resides in the Raḍwā mountains between a lion and a leopard. They protect him, bringing him his sustenance morning and evening.

Ḥūr.211:20–212:2

[a⁴] A faction of them, called the Karibiyya, the followers of Abū Karib al-Ḍarīr and Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī, said that Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya is alive and did not die and he resides in the Raḍwā mountains between two angels in the form of a lion and a leopard, on his right and his left, who bring him his sustenance morning and evening, and that God sends angels to him every evening, who talk with him and carry fruits of Paradise to him, which he eats.

[b⁴] And, according to them, he is the Qā'im and the awaited Mahdī, who will not die until he fills the earth with justice and righteousness.

[d⁴] And they say that the mountains were only created for him, and God has a plan for him that no one else knows.

The common ‘core’ of the description consists of *a*. Element *b* is also present in both the *Firaq* and the *Hūr*. It is entirely composed of formulae used frequently in connection with the figure of the Maḥdī, leaving the significance of the convergence unclear, but we will see later that it is also present in ps.-Nāsi’s parallel version of this material, so probably does belong to the common core³³⁹. Element *c*, which claims the faction nearly died out after the passing of the first generation, is unique to Nawbakhtī. Element *d*, which presents the Karibiyya’s claims concerning why Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya was hidden at Raḍwā, is unique to Balkhī-Ash’arī.

Not provided in Tab. 21 are a series poetic verses concerning Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya that follow the descriptions in the *Firaq*, Ash’arī’s *Maqālāt* and the *Hūr*. Nawbakhtī cites *abyāt* from two poems that he attributes to Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī [*Fir*.26:10–27:6]. Five of the six *abyāt* from the second poem cited by Nawbakhtī are also given by Ḥimyarī, who gives a further four *abyāt* [*Hūr*.212:14–213:7]. Three of the *abyāt* given by Ḥimyarī, including two also given by Nawbakhtī, are provided by Jishumī [*Sharḥ*:29r:17–19]. The three *abyāt* of the first poem given by Nawbakhtī do not appear in the other texts, but Ḥimyarī cites two *baytān* from another poem, the first of which shares its first hemistich with that given by Nawbakhtī [*Hūr*.212:5–6]. Ḥimyarī also cites five lines from yet a third poem, not given by Nawbakhtī [*Hūr*.212:8–12]. These five lines are also cited by Ash’arī and Ḥajūrī, who attribute them to Kuthayyir ‘Azza [*MaqA*.19:11–15; *Raw*.140r:18–21]³⁴⁰.

Element *a* is unusual amongst the material that Nawbakhtī and Ash’arī-Balkhī have in common, in that it gives a relatively detailed statement of the Karibiyya’s doctrine concerning the concealment of Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya at Raḍwā. The convergence between Nawbakhtī’s version and Balkhī-Ash’arī’s is not as close as we saw, for example, in the material on the Nāwūsiyya, but it is very similar to what we saw for element *i* in the description of the Wāqifa, another unusually detailed passage³⁴¹. As there, Nawbakhtī has a slightly longer version of the material, and some of the specifics vary slightly, but the descriptions still converge much too closely, including in terms of specific wording, to avoid the conclusion that there is a common source at some point. All the texts present the main claim that Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya is still alive and that he ‘resides in the Raḍwā mountains’ (*muqīm bi-jibāl raḍwā*; slight variant in Ash’arī). They all describe a doctrine whereby Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya has a lion on his right and a leopard on his left ‘who protect him’ (*yaḥfazānihi*), although Nawbakhtī presents this as an alternative. For him, the main variant is ‘on his right is a lion and his left a lion who protect him’. All the texts say that Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya

³³⁹ See p. 429–432.

³⁴⁰ On the Kaysānī (and otherwise Shī‘ī) poetry of Kuthayyir ‘Azza (d.105/723) and Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī (d.173–179/789–795), see al-Qāḍī:1974:312–356.

³⁴¹ See *Tab.19* p. 297.

will remain in this state 'until the time of his emergence (or 'rebellion')' (*ilā waqt khurūjihī*). Such similarity in wording cannot have arisen by coincidence. There is also some clear divergence in content, however, in that Nawbakhtī describes a claim that Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya is fed by mountain goats. For Balkhī/Ash'arī, that is another job for the lion and leopard; the mountain goats are absent.

Balkhī and Ash'arī then have their sub-faction of the Karibiyya who believe that Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya was concealed in Raḍwā as a punishment for having submitted to the Umayyad caliph 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān. This doctrine contrasts with that expressed in element *d* of the description of the main Karibiyya, which states that they believed he was there because 'God has a plan for him that no one else knows'. The two descriptions thus obviously belong together; they must have been present in Balkhī's direct source. Nawbakhtī, however, seems to know nothing of a debate over why Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya was put into his state of concealment.

Thus, we have a situation where there is convergence at a level that indicates there must have been a common source at some point for the *content* of at least one of the faction-descriptions. It is possible that Balkhī's version is a summary or that Nawbakhtī (or an intermediary) has augmented the common description with elements from elsewhere. Either way, however, the structure of the cluster varies significantly; there is nothing like the structural convergence we see in the post-Ja'far al-Ṣādiq clusters. We can still assume, despite the differences, that the name 'Karibiyya' goes back ultimately to the same common source that provides the content on the faction that believes Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya was concealed at Raḍwā; the reassignment of the name in one or the other is likely a secondary development. If Balkhī and Nawbakhtī did ultimately draw on a common source in this cluster, then we must assume both heavy reorganization and addition of extra material by Nawbakhtī or an intermediary to him.

1.3.2.1.2.4 The Post-Abū Hāshim Cluster

Much closer structural convergence occurs in the post-Abū Hāshim cluster. Here, Nawbakhtī and Balkhī have four factions in common: a faction that continues the line of succession in the line of Abū Hāshim's brother, 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya [*Fir.*28:3–29:2; *Mugh.XX₂*:178:2–5]; the Ḥarbiyya/Ḥārithiyya, who claim Abū Hāshim bequeathed the Imāmate to 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya [*Fir.*29:3–12; *Mugh.XX₂*:178:6–11]³⁴²; a faction that claims Abū Hāshim bequeathed the Imāmate

³⁴² There is no doubt that Nawbakhtī's Ḥārithiyya and the BdC/Ash'arī's Ḥarbiyya are supposed to be the same faction. As we will see shortly, the parallels in their descriptions of this faction confirm it. The reason for the two variants of the faction-name has been discussed many times in the scholarship. Both are dependent on the same underlying variants in the name of the supposed eponym:

to Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-‘Abbās [*Fir*.29:13–30:7; *Mugh*.XX₂:177:11–13]; and the Bayāniyya [*Fir*.30:8–31:2; *Mugh*.XX₂:178:14–15]. Balkhī additionally has a faction that turns to ‘Alī Zayn al-‘Ābidīn [*Mugh*.XX₂:178:15–18].

There is almost no convergence, however, in the specific wording of the faction-descriptions at the level of the main cluster. Indeed, there is even variation over the basic doctrines of the Imāmate attributed to some factions. Nawbakhtī presents two variants of the belief that the Imāmate passed to ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya. The first faction with this belief [*Fir*.28:3–15] is said to have claimed the Imāmate went first to ‘Alī b. Muḥammad, then to ‘Alī’s son, Ḥasan b. ‘Alī, then to his grandson, ‘Alī b. al-Ḥasan, then to his great grandson, Ḥasan b. ‘Alī, then to his descendants after him. The second [*Fir*.28:15–29:2] follows the same line but stops it at the last-mentioned Ḥasan b. ‘Alī, who, it is claimed had no offspring. They thus await the return of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya. In the BdC and Ash‘arī’s *Maqālāt*,

either ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Amr b. Ḥarb or ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Amr b. al-Ḥārith. Numerous suggestions have been made for how the confusion came about. One possibility is a simple misreading: Ḥarb and Ḥārith are written identically in unpointed script with a ‘defective’ orthography of *alif* (حرب). But, as Halm points out, al-Ḥārith usually has the definite article; Ḥarb does not (Halm 1982:70, n.100). The addition or subtraction of the definite article could still conceivably be a compensation made after an initial misreading, but it suggests there might be a more substantive issue. Friedlaender (1908:124–125) drew attention to a notice given by Makrīzī that gives a fuller name for this ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Amr and apparently indicates that he had both an ‘al-Ḥārith’ and a ‘Ḥarb’ amongst his ancestors. Friedlaender then claims that the confusion in the name of the faction may have arisen from there. But this is unconvincing. Makrīzī clearly understands that the name is ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith, and that the *shuhra* is ‘Ibn al-Ḥārith’; the ‘Ḥarb’ (which anyway seems to be ‘al-ḥrb’ and thus suspect in itself) is several generations back and not of notable prominence. It is hard to see how this could be the root of the confusion. In any case, the variants over the *initial* ‘al-Ḥārith’ vs. ‘Ḥarb’ obviously arose much earlier than Makrīzī’s notice; we cannot know that his initial ‘al-ḥrth’ is a more accurate guide to ‘Abd Allāh’s name than we have from elsewhere. A much more plausible suggestion, first raised by Madelung, is that “the variations in the name may indicate the fusion of more than one person into a single identity” (*EL*. “Kaysāniyya” [Madelung]). More specifically, Patricia Crone (2012:94) has suggested that the absorption of the Ḥārithiyya into the ‘Abbāsīd army, following Abū Muslim’s execution of ‘Abd Allāh b. Mu‘āwiya, led to a fusion with the faction of the Rāwandiyya, who had a very similar (Khurramī) doctrinal background. The second leader of the Rāwandiyya was Ḥarb b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Rāwāndī, whence the Rāwandiyya were then also known as the Ḥarbiyya (hence also eventually the name of the Ḥarbiyya quarter in Baghdad where this faction of the ‘Abbāsīd army was based. See Crone 2012:87). The later Iraqī tradition, she suggests, then had trouble disentangling the Ḥarbiyya from the earlier Ḥārithiyya. That seems plausible.

Shahrastānī’s depiction of the Ḥārithiyya as a later faction that emerged from the Ḥarbiyya and was connected to Ishāq b. Zayd b. Ḥārith al-Anṣārī (*Mil*.113:12–14) is perhaps his own attempt to resolve the confusion he had inherited via Balkhī and Nawbakhtī (see Gimaret 1986:448, n.67 and 450, n.82). He, too, is trying to find another candidate for the eponym of one of the names. In any case, his information is found in no earlier source and the figure of Ishāq b. Zayd b. Ḥārith al-Anṣārī cannot be identified.

there is only one variant. They claim the Imāmate goes not to 'Alī b. Muḥammad but directly to his son, i.e., Abū Hāshim's nephew, Ḥasan b. 'Alī³⁴³. It then goes only one generation further, to 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan, who already, it is claimed, had no offspring [*Mugh.XX*₂:178:2–5; *Ḥūr*.214:1–5; *MaqA*.20:8–21:2]. Here too, they now await the return of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya as the Mahdī. The material on Nawbakhtī's second variant and on the faction that appear in the BdC and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* seems to be closely related and the language, though terse, is closely convergent. As with the Karibiyya or the description of the Wāqifa, then, it looks very likely that there is an ultimate common source here, but Nawbakhtī has more material on these factions, and the details differ slightly³⁴⁴. That might reflect either that Nawbakhtī (or an intermediary) added material or that it was simplified and reduced in the transmission to Balkhī.

Nawbakhtī's description of the Ḥārithiyya is concerned with two topics. The first is how 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya inherited the Imāmate whilst still a minor, its functions being carried out by his regent, Ṣāliḥ b. Mudrik [*Fir*.2:3–8]. The second is the doctrines the Ḥārithiyya hold 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya that lead Nawbakhtī to label them Ghulāt, including the doctrine that God is light that dwells within 'Abd Allah [*Fir*.29:8–9] and that anyone who recognises the Imām is free to act as he wishes [*Fir*.29:11]. The BdC and Ash'arī initially have completely different material in their description of the Ḥarbiyya: on how Abū Hāshim designated not 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya, but Ibn Ḥarb himself. The Ḥarbiyya then realise, for reasons unexplained, that Ibn Ḥarb is lying, so they go to Medina in search of a new Imām, where 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya calls upon them to support him [*Mugh.XX*₂:178:6–11; *MaqA*.22:4–10].

The *Firaq*'s description of the faction that believed Abū Hāshim designated Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-'Abbās is initially closer to that in the BdC and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* than is the case with the Ḥārithiyya/Ḥarbiyya. Both mention that Abū Hāshim designated Muḥammad b. 'Alī because the former died in Syria, referencing the well-known story of Abū Hāshim's death at the 'Abbāsīd's estate at al-Ḥumayma in the province of Sharāt [*Fir*.29:13–15; *Ḥūr*:214:6–8; *MaqA*.21:3–6]³⁴⁵. However, the material in the BdC and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* is much closer to a later passage in the *Firaq*, which we will discuss shortly. In any case, after this point, they diverge com-

343 Ash'arī and 'Abd al-Jabbār make a common mistake in the name. See p. 176–178.

344 On the Kaysāniyya who trace the line of descent through Abū Hāshim's brother and/or nephew, see al-Qāḍī 1974:212–237. Abū Tammām has a unique report on a group who maintained this doctrine in his own day (i.e., the first half of the fourth century) in which he indicates he has met some of them (*Bāb*.99:15–100:15). He calls them the Ishāqiyya and claims they believe their Imām to be 'in the land of the Turks'.

345 See *EP*. "Abbāsīd Revolution" [Elton Daniel].

pletely. Balkhī and Ash‘arī claim the Imāmate then passed through the ‘Abbāsīd line. Nawbakhtī, in similar fashion to the preceding description of the Ḥārithiyya, presents material on how the Imāmate was initially exercised by a regent (‘Alī b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-‘Abbās) because Muhammad was still a minor [*Fir.*29:15–29:30], and then shifts to Ghulāt doctrines held by the group. We are told that once Muḥammad b. ‘Alī came of age, the faction professed he was not just Imām but God, and that, like the Ḥārithiyya, they believed that those who recognised him were free to act as they wished [*Fir.*30:1–2]. Nawbakhtī then labels the faction as a whole ‘the Ghulāt of the Rāwandiyya’ [*Fir.*30:2–3]. This is a curious move on two counts. First, the story that the ‘Abbāsīds inherited the Imāmate via Abū Hāshim was the original legitimisation narrative and in no sense implied belief in the divinity of the Caliphs; we would expect it to be attached to the mainstream ‘Abbāsīd Shī‘a first, and the variants like the Rāwandiyya to be offshoots, which is what happens in the BdC and Ash‘arī’s *Maqālāt*. Second, a faction called the Rāwandiyya appears again later, but as a sub-faction of the ‘Abbāsīd Shī‘a in the shorter Ghulāt-section [*Fir.*46:15–47:9]. There they have the same beliefs as here, except they are attached to the figure of Manṣūr, not already to Muḥammad b. ‘Alī³⁴⁶. There is evidently some confusion in Nawbakhtī’s schema, regardless of the relationship with Balkhī’s material. And again, Nawbakhtī here gives material totally untypical of the descriptions that he and Balkhī have in common.

Finally, there is the Bayāniyya. The material on this faction in Balkhī’s *ift-irāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya is short. It states simply that the Bayāniyya believed Abū Hāshim designated Bayān b. Sim‘ān to be his successor but Bayān was not allowed to pass the Imāmate on to his own descendants [*Mugh.*XX₂:178:14–15; *MaqA.*23:3–6]. Nawbakhtī has much more. He begins with the doctrine that that Abū Hāshim did not die and was the Mahdī [*Fir.*30:8–10]. After this, however, he focusses on the doctrine that Bayān was a prophet [*Fir.*30:10–12] and gives a short story about how Bayān sought unsuccessfully to convince Muḥammad al-Bāqir to

346 It is only Nawbakhtī and those who depend on him who conflate the ‘Abbāsīd Shī‘a and the Rāwandiyya so completely. In reality, the Rāwandiyya seem to have been a faction within the ‘Abbāsīd army. They were one of the groups from Khurāsān, converts with a background that the sources would often label Khurramī (see below, n.349). They moved west with the army, hence their appearance in Iraq. They were notorious for extreme devotion to the house of ‘Abbās, which seems to have involved holding the ‘Abbāsīd Imāms to be God in some sense. This came to a head under Manṣūr on the so-called *yawm al-rāwandiyya*, perhaps in 136/753 or 139/756, when some Rāwandiyya circumambulated Manṣūr’s palace, hailing him as God. It seems these activities eventually morphed into a riot that nearly resulted in Manṣūr’s death. See Crone 2012:86–91 and *Et.* “al-Rāwandiyya” [Kohlberg]. Nawbakhtī’s presentation of the Rāwandiyya in the shorter Ghulāt-section seems to refer to this event. Balkhī never mentions it; he does not seem to know about a Rāwandiyya with a *ghuluww* doctrine. For more on the confusion in the presentation of the ‘Abbāsīd Shī‘a and the Rāwandiyya, see p. 622–626.

acknowledge his prophethood [Fīr.30:12–31:2]. Again, that is all very different in character from the *iftirāq*-material that Nawbakhtī and Balkhī have in common.

Nevertheless, despite all this divergence at the level of the main post-Abū Hāshim cluster, the subsequent *iftirāq*-clusters of the Ḥarbiyya/Ḥārithiyya and the 'Abbāsīd Shī'a once again display parallels with the Balkhī-Ash'arī material at a level that cannot simply have resulted from coincidence. Tab. 22 provides the material in the *Firaq*, Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, the *Mughnī* and the *Hūr* on the *iftirāq* of the Ḥarbiyya/Ḥārithiyya after the death of 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya.

Tab. 22: The *Firaq*, Ash'arī and Balkhī on the *iftirāq* of the Ḥarbiyya.

Fīr.31:3–32:3	MaqA.22:10–23:2
<p>[a¹] فلما قتل أبو مسلم عبد الله بن معاوية في حبسه افتقرت فرقته بعده ثلث فرق</p>	<p>[a²] واقتروا في امر عبد الله بن معاوية ثلث فرق</p>
<p>[b¹] وقد كان مال الى عبد الله ابن معاوية شذاذ صنوف الشيعة برجل من أصحابه يقال له عبد الله بن حارث وكان ابوه زنديقاً من اهل المدائن فانبرر لاصحاب (٤) عبد الله فادخلهم بعلو والقول بالتناسخ والاطلة والدور واسند ذلك الى جابر بن عبد الله الانصاري ثم الى جابر بن يزيد الجعفي فخدعهم بذلك حتى ردّهم عن جميع الفرائض والشرايع وادّعى ان هذا مذهب جابر بن [عبد الله] و[جابر بن يزيد] رحمهما الله فانهما قد كانا من ذلك برئيين</p>	<p>[e²] فرعت فرقة منهم انه قد مات</p>
<p>[c¹] وفرقة منهم قالت ان عبد الله بن معاوية حتى لم يموت وانه مقيم في جبال أصفهان لا يموت ابداً حتى يقود نواصيها الى رجل من بني هاشم من ولد علي وفاطمة</p>	<p>[c²] وزعت فرقة منهم اخرى انه بجبال أصفهان وانه لم يموت ولا يموت حتى يقود نواصي الخيل الى رجال من بني هاشم</p>
<p>[d¹] وفرقة قالت ان عبد الله بن معاوية هو القائم المهدي بشر النبي صلى الله عليه وآله انه يملك الأرض يملأها قسطاً وعدلاً بعد ما ملئت ظلماً وجوراً ثم يسلم عند وفاته الى رجل من بني هاشم من ولد علي بن ابي طالب عليه السلم فيموت حينئذ</p>	<p>[d²] وزعت فرقة أخرى انه حتى بجبال اصفهان لم يموت ولا يموت حتى يلى أمور الناس وهو المهدي بشر النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم</p>
<p>[e¹] وفرقة قالت ان عبد الله بن معاوية قد مات ولم يوص وليس بعده امام فتأهوا وصاروا منذبين بين صنوف الشيعة</p>	

Tab. 22 (continued)

<i>Mugh.XX₂:178:10–14</i>	<i>Ḥūr.215:5–9</i>
<p>[a³] وهلك عبد الله هذا فافترق أصحابه ثلاث فرق</p> <p>[c³] فرقة زعمت أن عبد الله بن معوية بجبال أصبهان لم يموت ولا يموت حتى يقود³⁴⁷ نواصي الخيل الى رجل من بنى هاشم من ولد علي وفاطمة</p> <p>[e³] وزعمت فرقة انه مات فبقوا مذنبين</p> <p>[d³] عدنا إلى الفرقة الأولى</p>	<p>[a⁴] فلما هلك عبد الله بن معوية افتترقت الحربية³⁴⁸ فرقتين</p> <p>[d⁴] وفرقة قالت إنه حي بجبال اصبهان ولا يموت حتى يلى أمور الناس ويملا الأرض عدلا وإنه المهدي المنتظر عندهم</p> <p>[c⁴] ومنهم من يقول حتى يقود نواصي الخيل مع المهدي</p> <p>[e⁴] وفرقة قالت إنه مات فبقوا بعده مذنبين لا إمام لهم</p>
<i>Fir.31:3–32:3</i>	<i>MaqA.22:10–23:2</i>
<p>[a¹] When Abū Muslim killed ‘Abd Allāh b. Mu‘āwiya in his prison, his faction divided into three factions after him:</p> <p>[b¹] For scattered groups of the Shī‘a had supported ‘Abd Allāh b. Mu‘āwiya in connection with a man from amongst his supporters called ‘Abd Allāh b. Ḥārith, whose father was a <i>zindīq</i> from Madā‘in. He [. . .] to the supporters of ‘Abd Allāh, pushing them towards transgressive doctrines (<i>ghuluww</i>), metempsychosis (<i>tanāsukh</i>), shadows (<i>aẓilla</i>), and the epochal cycle (<i>dawr</i>). He claimed this had come from Jābir b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī, then from Jābir b. Yazīd al-Ju‘fī. So he mislead them in this way until he pushed them away from all the religious duties and laws, claiming that this was the doctrinal system of Jābir b. ‘Abd Allāh and Jābir b. Yazīd, may God have mercy upon them. But these two had been innocent of this.</p>	<p>[a²] In the matter of ‘Abd Allāh b. Mu‘āwiya they divided into three factions:</p> <p>[e²] A faction of them claimed that he had died.</p>

347 Edition: تعود.

348 Edition: الحزبية.

Tab. 22 (continued)

Fir.31:3–32:3

[c¹] A faction of them said that 'Abd Allāh b Mu'āwiya was alive, did not die and was residing in the mountains of Isfahan, and that he will never die until he leads their forelocks to man from Banū Hāshim, from the descendants of 'Alī and Fāṭima.

[d¹] A faction said that 'Abd Allāh b Mu'āwiya was the Qā'im and the Mahdī of whom the Prophet foretold that he would rule the earth and fill it with righteousness and justice after it has been filled with oppression and injustice, then, upon his death, he will surrender to a man from Banū Hāshim from the descendants of 'Alī, then he will die at that time.

[e¹] A faction said that 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya had died and had not bequeathed the Imāmate to anyone, so there was no Imām after him. So, they lost their way and wavered between the groups of the Shī'a.

MaqA.22:10–23:2

[c²] Another faction of the claimed that he was in the mountains of Isfahan, that he did not die and that he will not die until he leads the horses' forelocks to men from Banū Hāshim.

[d²] Another faction claimed that he was alive in the mountains of Isfahan, did not die and will not die until he takes charge of the people, and that he is the Mahdī whom the Prophet foretold.

Mugh.XX₂:178:10–14

[a³] Then this 'Abd Allāh perished. Then his supporters divided into three factions:

[c³] A faction claimed that 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya was in the mountains of Isfahan, that he did not die and that he will not die until he leads the horses' forelocks to a man from Banū Hāshim.

[e³] A faction of them claimed that he had died. They remained wavering.

[d³] We return to the first faction.

Ḥūr.215:5–9

[a⁴] When 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya perished, the Ḥarbiyya divided into two factions:

[d⁴] A faction said that he was alive and that he will not die until he takes charge of the people and fills the earth with justice and that he is the awaited Mahdī according to them.

[c⁴] Amongst them are those who say, "until he leads the horses' forelocks alongside the Mahdī".

[e⁴] A faction of them claimed that he had died. They remained wavering, without an Imām.

The common 'core' here consists of passages *a*, *c*, *d*, and *e* which depict the three-way split of the Ḥarbiyya/Ḥārithiyya after the death of 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya. Passages *c*, *d* and *e* appear in a different order across the four texts, but the language

is highly convergent. Especially noteworthy is the correspondence in *c*, where the phrasing of the whole passage converges very closely, and we have the distinctive element ‘until he leads the horses’ reigns to a man from Banū Hāshim’, which Nawbakhtī shortens slightly to ‘until he leads *their* reigns. . .’. The common use in *e* of the term ‘wavering’ or ‘vascillating’ (*mudhabdhabīn*), which is missing in Ash‘arī’s *Maqālāt* but present in the *Firaq*, the *Mughnī*, and the *Ḥūr*, to refer to the behaviour of those who admitted Abū Hāshim’s death is also striking. As so often, Nawbakhtī also has an additional passage, *b*, which deals with Ibn Ḥārith’s background and doctrines, but there is clearly a relationship of source-dependency here otherwise.

The situation of convergence and divergence in the *iftirāq* of the ‘Abbāsīd Shī‘a is more complicated. On the assumption that the *Mughnī* preserves the structure of Balkhī’s cluster most faithfully, his presentation is quite straightforward to follow, albeit disjointed. He begins with a description of the ‘original’ doctrine of the ‘Abbāsīd Shī‘a, i.e., that Abū Hāshim designated Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-‘Abbās as Imām after him and that the ‘Abbāsīd Shī‘a then traced the line of the Imāmate through his descendants until al-Mahdī [*Mugh.XX₂:177:11–13*]. At this point, there is a split. Some of them maintain the original doctrine [*Mugh.XX₂:177:16*], but some adopt a new doctrine, associated with the figure of Abū Hurayra al-Rāwandī. This new doctrine is that ‘Abbās (as the Prophet’s uncle) had inherited the Imāmate directly from the Prophet and that it then passed through his descendants to the ‘Abbāsīd caliphs, cutting out ‘Alī, his sons and grandson [*Mugh.XX₂:177:14–15*]. Balkhī then presents another split, but apparently disconnected from what has gone before. This concerns the (much earlier) death of Abū Muslim. Some people, known as the Abū Muslimiyya, deny that Abū Muslim had died and permit things forbidden by Islamic law. They are associated with the group known as the Khurramdīniyya [*Mugh.XX₂:178:1–2*]³⁴⁹. Another group, known as the Rizām-iyya, after a certain Rizām, deny this belief and remain true to the original doctrine [*Mugh.XX₂:177:17–18*].

In his *iftirāq* of the ‘Abbāsīd Shī‘a, Nawbakhtī has the same groups as Balkhī, but the internal structure of the cluster is absent. Instead, Nawbakhtī begins by

349 On the Khurramiyya or Khurramdīniyya, see Crone 2012:22–27, 279–493 and *Ep.* “Khurramiyya” [Madelung]. The term is used to refer to rural Iranian communities who practised a religion related to Mazdakism and Zoroastrianism, and by extension to Muslim converts from such communities who continued to maintain many of their practices. They were a major force in the armies first of ‘Abd Allāh b. Mu‘āwiya and then Abū Muslim on behalf of the ‘Abbāsīds. They were dragged west with the conquering ‘Abbāsīd forces and thus established a presence in Iraq. This led to them frequently being perceived, usually under other names (Rāwandīyya, Abū Muslimiyya, Ḥarbiyya), as a species of Shī‘ī Ghulāt attached in some sense to the ‘Abbāsīds. The connections between Khurramīs, the Hāshimī *da‘wā* in the East, the ‘Abbāsīd Revolution, and various local revolts are explored in detail in Crone 2012.

saying the 'Abbāsīd Shī'a (*al-Shī'a al-'Abbāsiyya*), whom he again refers to also as the Rāwandīyya, simply split into three factions [*Fir.*41:13]. In the end, however, we get four: the Abū Muslimīyya [*Fir.*41:13–42:3]; the Rizāmiyya [*Fir.*42:4–5]; the Hurayriyya [*Fir.*42:6–10]; and those who followed the original doctrine of the 'Abbāsīds, i.e., that the Imāmate was inherited via Abū Hāshim [*Fir.*42:11–46:9]. Where Balkhī provides relative clarity, the relationship between the factions here is highly uncertain. The Abū Muslimīyya have the same doctrine as they do in Balkhī's cluster, and the wording of the descriptions is highly convergent (see below). But the doctrine of the Rizāmiyya, who oppose them in Balkhī's version, has become vague to the point of undefined. Aside from the fact that they are the followers of Rizām, we learn nothing more than that they 'remained loyal to their ancestors and to Abū Muslim in secret'. Nothing is said about their affirmation of Abū Muslim's death, making it unclear what distinguishes them from the Abū Muslimīyya or other 'Abbāsīd groups at all. The Hurayriyya have the same doctrine as Balkhī's Hurayriyya/Rāwandīyya, i.e., that the Imāmate passed not through Abū Hāshim but directly from the Prophet to 'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. They are also led by the same Abū Hurayra al-Rāwandī as in Balkhī's description. However, as they are part of the same *iftirāq* as the Abū Muslimīyya and the Rizāmiyya here, the temporal discrepancy in the origins of these groups is lost and the distinction in the topics of their disagreement obscured.

The fourth faction is especially curious because, as we have seen, Nawbakhtī has already presented the original 'Abbāsīd Shī'a in the main post-Abū Hāshim-cluster, although he calls them the Rāwandīyya. Here he does not make that move, but we are still looking at another aberration in the schema, one which seems to make the 'Abbāsīd Shī'a a sub-faction of themselves. The fact that they are not counted in the initial *iftirāq*-statement is also suspicious. This time, there is no hint of deification or libertinism in the description. Rather, we are treated to an opening that is more convergent with the Balkhī-Ash'arī description of the main 'Abbāsīd Shī'a than what we got in the main cluster [*Fir.*32:11–16; *Hūr.*214:6–8; *MaqA.*21:3–6]. This then turns into a relatively long passage of narrative historical and genealogical material, unique to the *Firaq*, that initially describes how al-Mahdī first changed the official doctrine, promoting the doctrine of succession via 'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib instead [*Fir.*43:4–44:7], then, after tracing the line of succession from 'Abbās, lays out the events around the succession dispute concerning 'Īsā b. Mūsā and the killing of Abū Muslim [*Fir.*44:8–46:9].

Nevertheless, leaving aside all the narrative material, the cluster still seems to be closely related to Balkhī's. Exactly the same factions appear, even if the internal structuring structure and the relationships between them are absent from the *Firaq*. Moreover, the relationship is borne out at the level of wording. One example is found at the beginning of the description of the original 'Abbāsīd doctrine, where both Nawbakhtī and Balkhī-Ash'arī open with a statement of the basic doctrine that

Abū Hāshim made the bequest of the Imāmate to Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-‘Abbās ‘because he died in the land of Sharāt’. But that is a reference to a typical part of the legitimization legend and need not indicate a common source, although the phrasing is suspiciously similar³⁵⁰. A more telling example, however, is that of the description of the Abū Muslimiyya. The versions from the *Mughnī*, Ash‘arī’s *Maqālāt* and the *Firaq* are given in Tab. 23.

Tab. 23: The *Firaq*, Ash‘arī and Balkhī on the Abū Muslimiyya.

<i>Fir.</i> 41:13–43:4	<i>Mugh.</i> XX ₂ :177:11–178:2
[a ¹] ففرقة منهم يسمون الابا مسلمية اصحاب ابى مسلم قالوا بامامته وادعوا انه حى لم يميت	[a ²] وفرقة يقال لها ابو مسلمية زعمت ان ابا مسلم حى
[b ¹] وقالوا بالاباحت وترك جميع الفرائض وجعلوا الايمان المعرفة لامامهم فقط	[b ²] وعندنا ببلخ قوم منهم يحكى عنهم استحلال المحارم
[c ¹] فسماوا الخرمدينية والى اصلهم رجعت فرقة الخرمية	[c ²] وبعض الناس سمتهم الخرمدينية ³⁵¹
<i>Hūr.</i> 214:11–14	<i>MaqA.</i> 21:3–22:3
[a ³] وفرقة يقال لها المسلمية زعمت ان ابا مسلم الخراسانى حى لم يميت	[a ⁴] وقالت فرقة اخرى يقال لها ابو مسلمية ان ابا مسلم حى لم يميت
[c ³] وتسمى أيضا الخرمية	
[b ³] قال أبو قاسم البلخي وعندنا منهم ببلخ قوم يستحلون المحارم على ما بلغنى عنهم	[b ⁴] ويحكى عنهم استحلال لما لم يحلل لهم اسلافهم
<i>Fir.</i> 41:13–43:4	<i>Mugh.</i> XX ₂ :177:11–178:2
[a ¹] A faction of them is called the Abū Muslimiyya, the followers of Abū Muslim. They professed his Imāmate and claimed that he was alive and had not died.	[a ²] A faction called the Abū Muslimiyya claimed that Abū Muslim was alive.
[b ¹] They professed a doctrine of libertinism and abandoned all the religious obligations, holding belief to be only a matter of the recognition of their Imam.	[b ²] In Balkh, we have a group of them. It is related concerning them that they permit the forbidden things.
[c ¹] They were called the Khurramdīniya. The origins of the faction of the Khurramīya go back to them.	[c ²] Some people name them the Khurramdīniya.

³⁵⁰ See p. 434.

³⁵¹ Edition: الحرم دينه

Tab. 23 (continued)

<i>Hūr.214:11–14</i>	<i>MaqA.21:3–22:3</i>
[a ³] A faction called the Abū Muslimiyya claimed that Abū Muslim al-Khurāsānī was alive and did not die.	[a ⁴] Another faction, called the Abū Muslimiyya claimed that Abū Muslim was alive and did not die.
[c ³] They are also called the Khurramiyya.	[b ⁴] It is related concerning them that they permit things their ancestors had not made permissible for them.
[b ³] Abū I-Qāsīm al-Balkhī said, “We have a group of them in Balkhī. They permit forbidden the things according to what has reached me concerning them”.	

The wording here is not identical, but aside from Balkhī's interjection about the group he knows of in Balkh, preserved by ‘Abd al-Jabbār, the same elements occur in the same order: the Abū Muslimiyya claim Abū Muslim is still alive, they abandon the religious duties, and they are also called the Khurramiyya³⁵². This is still much too close to be explained by coincidence; there is some relationship of source-dependency here.

In summary, in the post-Abū Hāshim cluster, there is an overall structural resemblance between Nawbakhtī's and Balkhī's material in the sense that the framework of *iftirāq* is highly similar, both at the level of the main cluster and in the sub-clusters. The situation of the content of the faction-descriptions, however, is complex. At the main level of the cluster, they are divergent. There is little overlap in content, let alone wording, and Nawbakhtī presents material quite unlike the faction-descriptions he has in common with Balkhī elsewhere. Yet, in the sub-clusters, the convergence in wording and structure is again much too close to be explained by coincidence. There is clearly some relationship of source-dependency in the background here, even though the common passages appear amidst large amounts of material unique to the Nawbakhtī and within an arrangement in the *Firaq* that often seems highly confused.

1.3.2.1.2.5 The Post-Muḥammad al-Bāqir Cluster

Finally, we have the post-Muḥammad al-Bāqir cluster. Here, Balkhī had three factions: the Ja'fariyya, who believe the Imāmate passed to Ja'far al-Ṣādiq [*Mugh. XX₂:179:1*]; the Mughīriyya, who believe Bāqir bequeathed the Imāmate to Mughira b. Sa'īd [*Mugh. XX₂:179:1–9*; *MaqA.23:10–24:4*]; and the Manṣūriyya, who believe he designated Abū Manṣūr [*Mugh. XX₂:179:9–15*; *MaqA.24:10–25:8*]. The Mughīriyya

352 On Balkhī's interjection here, see p. 213–214.

and one of the sub-factions of the Manṣūriyya hold the belief that their leaders were only put in charge in the interim, until the Mahdī appears. For both, the Mahdī is Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan. Nawbakhtī, in contrast, has only two factions in the cluster: the Mughīriyya, who support the Imāmate of Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan [*Fir*.53:16–55:6]; and the supporters of Ja‘far [*Fir*.55:7–57:2]. Nawbakhtī thus does not present the Manṣūriyya in the post-Bāqir cluster. They appear, rather, in the long Ghulāt section [*Fir*.34:5–35:6]. There, it is stated that they claim Muḥammad al-Bāqir bequeathed the Imāmate to Abū Manṣūr, so a conceptual link to this *iftirāq*-cluster still exists, but there is no significant convergence with Balkhī’s material in the *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya anyway³⁵³.

At the level of wording, Balkhī’s material on the Ja‘fariyya is too short for any convergences to be of significance. For the description of the Mughīriyya, however, despite large amounts of material in the *Firaq* that does not appear in Balkhī-Ash‘arī, there is still convergence that cannot be dismissed as coincidence. Indeed, it appears that most of Balkhī’s faction-description from the *iftirāq* of the Imāmiyya is paralleled amongst Nawbakhtī’s. Tab. 24 gives the descriptions from the *Mughnī* and the *Firaq*.

Tab. 24: The *Firaq*, Ash‘arī and Balkhī on the Mughīriyya.

<i>Mugh.XX₂</i> :179:1–5	<i>Firaq</i> 53:16–55:6
[a ¹] وفرقة يقال لها المغيرية وهم أصحاب المغيرة بن سعيد	
[b ¹] وزعمت أن أبا جعفر أوصى إليه ³⁵⁴ فهم يأتون به إلى أن يخرج المهدي وزعموا أن لمهدي هو محمد بن عبد الله بن الحسن بن الحسن ³⁵⁵ وأنه حي لم يميت ولم يقتل	
[c ¹] وهو مقيم بجبل يقال لها يخصب فلا يزال مقيم فيه إلى أوان خروجه	
[d ¹] وفرقة من المغيرية قالت الإمام بعد أبي جعفر ابن ³⁵⁶ عبد الله الخارج بمدينة المقتول بها خروجه عليه السلام	[d ²] فرقة منهم قالت بامامة محمد بن عبد الله بن الحسن بن الحسن بن علي بن ابي طالب الخارج بالمدينة المقتول بها وزعموا انه القائم وانه الامام المهدي وانه لم يقتل ³⁵⁷

353 See p. 341–342.

354 Edition: إليهم

355 Edition: عبد الله بن الحسن بن الحسن

356 Edition: بن

357 Following Ritter's suggested emendation.

Tab. 24 (continued)

Mugh.XX₂:179:1-5**Firaq 53:16-55:6**

[c²] وقالوا انه حتى لم يميت مقيم بجبل يقال لها العلمية وهو الجبل الذي في طريق مكة ونجد الحاجز عن يسار الطريق وانت ذاهب الى مكة وهو الجبل الكبير وهو عنده مقيم فيه حتى يخرج لان رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله قال القائم المهدي اسمه اسمي واسم ابيه اسم ابي

[x²] وكان اخوه ابراهيم بن عبد الله بن الحسن خرج بالبصرة ودعا الى امامة اخيه محمد بن عبد الله واشتدّت شوكته فبعث اليه المنصور بالخييل فقتل بعد حروب كانت بينهم

[e¹] فلما أظهر المغيرة هذه المقالة برنت منه الجعفرية وسماههم الراضة فجرى عليهم هذا الاسم الى يومنا هذا

[e²] وكان المغيرة بن سعيد قال بهذا القول لما توفي ابو جعفر محمد بن علي وأظهر المقالة بذلك فبرنت منه الشيعة أصحاب ابي عبد الله جعفر بن محمد عليهما السلام ورفضوه فرغم انهم رافضة وانه هو الذي سماهم بهذا الاسم

[b²] ونصب بعض اصحاب المغيرة المغيرة امامًا وزعم ان الحسين بن علي اوصى اليه ثم اوصى اليه علي بن الحسين ثم زعم ان ابا جعفر محمد بن علي عليه السلم وعلي آياته السلم اوصى اليه فهو الامام الى ان يخرج المهدي. . وهو عندهم محمد بن عبد الله بن الحسن بن الحسن وهو حتى لم يميت ولم يُقتل

[y²] فسّموا هؤلاء المغيرية باسم المغيرة بن سعيد مولى خالد بن عبد الله القسري ثم تراقى الامر بالمغيرة الى ان زعم انه رسول نبي وان جبرئيل صلى الله عليه يأتيه بالوحي من عند الله فاخذه خالد ابن عبد الله القسري فسأله عن ذلك فاقرّ به ودعا خالدًا اليه فاستتابه خالد فابي ان يرجع عن قوله فقتله وصلبه

[z²] وكان يدعى انه يحيى الموتى وقال بالتناسخ وكذلك قول اصحابه الى اليوم

Mugh.XX₂:179:1-5**Firaq 53:16-55:6**

[a¹] And a[nother] faction is called the Mughīriyya. They are the followers of Mughīra b. Sa'īd

[b¹] They claimed that Abū Ja'far made the bequest to him, so they follow him as their Imām until the Mahdī rebels. They claim that the Mahdī is Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan, and that he is alive, did not die and was not killed.

Tab. 24 (continued)

Mugh.XX₂:179:1–5

[c¹] And [they claimed] he resides on a mountain called “Yakhṣib” (?) and he will continue to reside there until the time of his rebellion.

[d¹] A faction of the Mughīriyya said that the Imām after Abū Jaʿfar is Ibn ʿAbd Allāh, the one who rebelled in Medina, and they claimed that he was the Mahdī. This was the doctrine before his rebellion, upon him be peace.

[e¹] When Mughīra announced this doctrine, the Jaʿfariyya expelled him and he called them ‘the Rāfiḍa’. So this name is in common use for them until today.

Fīraq 53:16–55:6

[d²] A faction of them professed the Imāmate of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, the one who rebelled in Medina and was killed there. They claimed that he was the Qāʾim and that he was the Imām and the Mahdī, and that he was not killed.

[c²] They said that he was alive and did not die and resides on a mountain called “al-ʿAlamiyya” (?) –it is the mountain on the road between Mecca and Najd al-Ḥājiz, on the left of the road as you head towards Mecca. It is a big mountain— and he will reside there until he rebels.

[x²] His brother, Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan rebelled in Basra and summoned the people to support the Imāmate of his brother, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh. His power increased, so Manṣūr sent horses against him. He was killed after some battles that occurred between them.

[e²] Mughīra b. Saʿīd professed this doctrine when Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. ʿAlī died. He announced that doctrine, so the Shīʿa—the followers of Abū ʿAbd Allāh Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad, upon the two of them be peace—expelled him and rejected him, so he claimed that they were ‘Rāfiḍa’ and that it was he who had named hem with this name.

[b²] Then some of the supporters of Mughīra set up Mughīra as Imām. He claimed that Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī made the bequest to him, then ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn made the bequest to him. Then he claimed that Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, upon him and his forefathers be peace, made the bequest to him [i.e., Mughīra], so he is the Imām until the Mahdī rebels. . . and according to them he is Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan, who is alive, did not die and was not killed.

Tab. 24 (continued)

<i>Mugh.XX₂:179:1–5</i>	<i>Firaq 53:16–55:6</i>
	<p>[<i>y</i>²] These are called the Mughīriyya, in the name of Mughīra b. Sa'īd, the <i>mawlā</i> of Khālid b. 'Abd Allāh al-Qasrī. Then things went so far with Mughīra that he claimed he was a messenger and prophet, and that Gabriel, peace be upon him, came to him with revelation from God. So, Khālid b. 'Abd Allāh seized him and asked him about this. He confirmed it and invited Khālid to follow him. Khālid asked him to repent, but he refused to renounce his doctrine. So Khālid killed him and crucified him.</p> <p>[<i>z</i>²] He [Mughīra] also claimed that he could raise the dead and professed the doctrine of <i>tanāsukh</i>. That is the doctrine of his followers until today.</p>

The language in *b*, *c*, *d* and *e* converges closely. Parallels such as *b*'s '*ilā an yakhruja l-mahdī*', *c*'s '*muqīm bi-jabal yuqāl la-hā*' and '*muqīm fī-hi ilā awān khurūjihi/hattā yakhruj*', *d*'s '*al-khārij fī-l madīna*', and *e*'s '*aḏhara (hādhihi) l-maqāla*' cannot be attributed to mere coincidence. The only major discrepancy concerns the name of the mountain, given in *c*, where Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh is supposed to be in hiding, which is likely due to corruption in transmission, as well as the fact that Nawbakhtī gives more information on its location. Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, however, has 'resides on a mountain in the direction of al-Ḥājir' (*muqīm bi-jibāl nāhiyat al-ḥājir*), which comes closer to Nawbakhtī's description, even if he omits the name entirely [*MaqA.23:17*]. Here, we have material once again typical of what Nawbakhtī and Balkhī have in common: statements about the choice of Imām/Mahdī and etymological material.

The common material in the *Firaq* is, however, ordered differently from Balkhī's. This changes the emphasis in the depiction of the Mughīriyya somewhat. For Balkhī, the main Mughīriyya believed that Mughīra was designated as the next Imām by Muḥammad al-Bāqir, but that he will be Imām only until the Mahdī, Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan, rebels. He then lists only a sub-faction of the Mughīriyya, mentioned in *d*¹, who believe instead that the Imāmate passed directly from Muḥammad al-Bāqir to Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh, the Mahdī (*b*¹, *c*¹, *d*¹). Nawbakhtī, however, turns this around. He begins directly with *d*², making it appear that the original doctrine was that Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh was both Imām and Mahdī immediately [*Fir.53:16–54:8*]. It is only afterwards, in *e*², that Mughīra is

introduced and it is stated that *some* of his followers set him up as Imām until the Mahdī rebels. There must be a common source behind the two versions, but one or the other represents a rearrangement of the common material.

Nawbakhtī, as usual, also has several elements not found in the BdC/Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*. The only unique element inserted amongst the common material is x^2 , which gives some sparse historical details on the role of Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh's brother, Ibrāhīm, in the rebellion. The others are simply tacked onto the end of the common material. In y^2 , we find the story of Mughīra's execution at the hands of Khālid b. 'Abd Allāh al Qasrī, apparently because of his claims to be a prophet. That sits ambiguously with the doctrines ascribed to Mughīra previously. Finally, almost as an afterthought, z^2 adds that Mughīra also claimed he could raise the dead and believed in metempsychosis. None of this is characteristic of the material Balkhī and Nawbakhtī have in common. It cannot be demonstrated, but it seems quite likely Nawbakhtī is adding in material from another source or sources here³⁵⁸.

1.3.2.1.2.6 Overview and Conclusions on the Pre-Ṣādiq Schema

In the pre-Ṣādiq *iftirāq*-clusters there is a greater mix of convergence and divergence at different levels than we saw in the post-Ṣādiq clusters. Nawbakhtī and Balkhī still use an *iftirāq*-schema throughout and, except for the clusters Nawbakhtī uses to introduce Zaydī factions, they have the same clusters. That is not to be taken for granted; it already indicates a common heritage of some kind³⁵⁹. However, the structural correspondence *within* the clusters is not as close as in the post-Ṣādiq phases of the schema. There is still a lot of overlap, but Nawbakhtī more often has factions that do not appear in Balkhī's schema at all. Nevertheless, there are several instances of structural convergence that cannot be explained by coincidence, especially in the post-Abū Hāshim cluster and its sub-clusters on the Ḥārithiyya and the 'Abbāsīd Shī'a. Moreover, in nearly every cluster, there is at least one faction-description that contains material that converges too closely in wording to be explained by coincidence. The situation in such cases is very similar to the majority of the post-Ṣādiq cases: the common material converges closely in wording, but Nawbakhtī also has passages unique to him that appear amongst the common passages.

The material that Nawbakhtī and Balkhī have in common also always consists of the same elements as in the post-Ṣādiq clusters: statements about the identity of the Imām/Mahdī followed by the faction, and etymological material on the faction-name. The only difference is that we occasionally also see short passages of

358 See also p. 437–439, p.662–663.

359 For more on this point, see p. 415–416.

common material fleshing out the doctrine of the Mahdī by describing a faction's beliefs about where he is in hiding. This happens in the descriptions of the Karibiyya (Balkhī's usage), the Ḥārithiyya, and the Mughīriyya. We also see something else that was witnessed in the post-Ṣādiq clusters: Nawbakhtī occasionally preserves more detailed versions of the common material (e.g., the faction Balkhī calls the Karibiyya or the material on the Kaysāniyya who trace the line through Abū Hāshim's brother/nephew). But there is also more reorganization of common material relative to what must have stood in Balkhī's *Maqālāt* and presumably at least in Balkhī's direct source (e.g., the Mughīriyya, the sub-factions of the 'Abbāsīd Shī'a).

But what should we make of this? One possibility is that the more sporadic parallels here have nothing to do with those in the post-Ṣādiq clusters. They may even have nothing to do with one another. But even here, we are not dealing just with occasional agreement in the information presented or loose similarity in formulae. Rather, nearly every cluster has a least one description with closely convergent wording for sustained passages of text. Moreover, at least the common material on the sub-factions of the Ḥārithiyya/Ḥarbiyya and the 'Abbāsīd Shī'a must have been organized into *iftirāq*-clusters already in the common source for these passages. It is also significant that an *iftirāq*-schema is generally in operation in both, and that the *Firaq* only ceases to converge with Balkhī's material completely whenever the *iftirāq*-schema is suspended. Indeed, aside from the clusters used to introduce Zaydī factions, and despite Nawbakhtī's extra factions, the overall structural convergences throughout the two *iftirāq*-schemata are too great for us to assume entirely independent construction. There must be some kind of common *Vorlage* for the pre-Ṣādiq phases of the *iftirāq*-schema, too, even if Nawbakhtī (or an intermediary) seems to have reorganized things somewhat and added in large amounts of extra material³⁶⁰.

It is also extremely unlikely that both Nawbakhtī and Balkhī (or Warrāq, his likely direct source) would have used a common source for the post-Ṣādiq phases but then independently have pulled together the *iftirāq*-schema for the pre-Ṣādiq phases from the same, multiple earlier sources to this extent. We would expect, rather, that the common source that contained the post-Ja'far *iftirāq*-schema, whatever its identity, would also have had an *iftirāq*-schema for the pre-Ṣādiq phases, not simply have started *in media res*. The most obvious solution is thus that the early third-century common source of the post-Ṣādiq schema, whatever it was, is also the common source of the convergent elements in Nawbakhtī and Balkhī's pre-Ṣādiq schema. It is just that there has been greater reworking of the material subsequently in the transmission to, or at the hand of one or both of them, and, at least

360 Further on this point, see p. 415–416.

for Nawbakhtī, greater use of other complimentary sources. We will see further confirmatory evidence of this when we turn to the material in *Uṣūl al-niḥal*.

1.3.2.2 The Zaydiyya

The closest parallels between the *Firaq* and the Balkhī-Ash'arī *firaq*-material on the Zaydiyya come not from Nawbakhtī's *firaq*-material, but from his *ikhtilāf*-section. These have already been explored above in 1.2. The common source there is Zurqān, not Warrāq or Hishām b. al-Ḥakam.

No one has yet claimed that there are any significant parallels between Nawbakhtī's *firaq*-material on the Zaydiyya and the BdC or Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, and with good reason. Almost nowhere is there sufficiently close convergence to posit a common source. Nawbakhtī presents Zaydī factions in two locations in the *firaq*-material. The first is in his unique, post-Prophet cluster; the second is in the Zaydiyya-section that is introduced by the equally unique, second post-Ḥusayn cluster. This second location presents almost no convergence with the BdC at all. Aside from occasional agreement over basic information on the doctrines of the Butriyya and the Jārūdiyya (whom Nawbakhtī here calls 'the Surḥūbiyya'), there is nothing in common. There is somewhat more convergence in the post-Prophet cluster, but this is partly just because Nawbakhtī's description of the main Butriyya there appears to be a gloss on the material that already appeared in the *ikhtilāf*-section [compare *Fir*.18:1–9 with *Fir*.8:15–9:5], which does have a source in common with Balkhī (Zurqān). There is still no structural convergence in the presentations.

Indeed, the only place where there is convergence of potential interest from the point of view of source-dependency at all is in the description of the Jārūdiyya [*Fir*.19:1–7] in the post-Prophet cluster. There, we find both overlap in content with that in the BdC and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, as well as more than just passing terminological convergence³⁶¹. Both reference the doctrine that the Community committed a serious error and became unbelievers (*dallat wa kafarat*) by failing to acknowledge 'Alī as Imām [*Fir*.19:3; *Ḥūr*.207:20; *MaqA*.67:3]; both present the doctrine that the Jārūdiyya then followed Ḥasan and Ḥusayn but that after them it is a 'matter for consultation' (*shūrā*) between their descendants [*Fir*.19:4–5; *Ḥūr*.208:3; *MaqA*.27:7–8]; both state that they consider whoever amongst the descendants of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn rebels is the Imām [*Fir*.19:5 vs *Mugh*.XX₂:190:8–9; *Ḥūr*.208:3–4; *MaqA*.27:8–9]. That, however, is where the convergence ends. Notably, Nawbakhtī does not reference the doctrine that 'Alī designated the Imāmates of 'Alī, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn 'by description not by naming' [*Mugh*.XX₂:190:6–7; *Ḥūr*.208:3–4; *MaqA*.27:8–9]. That is cornerstone of Jārūdi doctrine according to Balkhī/Ash'arī. Indeed, he provides a

³⁶¹ The versions in the BdC and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* are given above in *Tab*.10.

contradictory report: that the Jārūdiyya merely considered 'Alī the superior candidate (*qālū bi-tafḍīl 'Alī*) and would permit no one else to occupy the position of Imām [*Fir*.19:1]. Moreover, all the subsequent *iftirāq* of the Jārūdiyya recorded in the BdC and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* is absent from the *Firaq*³⁶².

The most we can say here, then, is that it is possible that there is some relationship ultimately between *some* of Nawbakhtī's material on the Jārūdiyya and *some* of Balkhī's. But Nawbakhtī's *firaq*-material on the Zaydiyya does not obviously have a proximate or discrete source in common with Balkhī's anywhere. We know with greater certainty than anywhere else that some of Balkhī's material on the Jārūdiyya came from Warrāq, because we have Jishumī's marked citation³⁶³. It is highly likely that Balkhī's non-Zurqān material on the Sulaymāniyya and the Butriyya came from Warrāq, too, as well as the material on the Ṣabbāḥiyya and the Ya'qūbiyya³⁶⁴. Yet none of this is found in the *Firaq*. As a result, it is very unlikely that Nawbakhtī used Warrāq's material as a source on the Zaydiyya at all. It is also highly unlikely that Nawbakhtī and Balkhī's ultimate common source for the *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya contained much, if anything, on Zaydī factions, otherwise we would expect much more convergence on the Zaydiyya.

1.3.2.3 The Ghulāt

Bayhom-Daou has asserted the existence of significant parallels between the *Firaq*'s longer Ghulāt-section and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, suggesting they arise because Nawbakhtī and Ash'arī both relied on Warrāq's *Maqālāt* at this point, although she considers it likely that Nawbakhtī also had other sources in the section³⁶⁵. As we have seen, Ash'arī's source for his material on the Ghulāt was most likely Balkhī, but if not, then their common source was definitely Warrāq. It is not unlikely that Balkhī's source was Warrāq anyway. Even if that was the case, however, it does not appear that Nawbakhtī can have taken his parallel material on the *iftirāq* of the Imāmiyya from the same direct source as Ash'arī and/or Balkhī. That immediately puts a question-mark over the suggestion that any parallels between the *Firaq*'s Ghulāt-section and the BdC/Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* could have arisen because the common source was Warrāq. In any case, the main problem here is that the parallels Bayhom-Daou identifies are simply unconvincing; they cannot positively evidence a close relationship of source-dependency at all.

³⁶² See *Tab*.10.

³⁶³ See p. 204–209.

³⁶⁴ See p. 208 n.139.

³⁶⁵ Bayhom-Daou 1996:50–52; Bayhom-Daou 2003b:23–26.

We are not helped, of course, by the fact that we cannot establish the outline structure of Balkhī's material on the Ghulāt with any precision³⁶⁶. Nevertheless, there is certainly no significant structural convergence between Nawbakhtī's Ghulāt-section and the material on the Ghulāt in any work of the Bdc or in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*. At the level of content, most of Nawbakhtī's Ghulāt-section consists of detailed descriptions of the beliefs of the Khurramdīniyya and the followers of 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya, mostly concerning their belief in metempsychosis (*tanāsukh*) and the epochal cycle (*dawr*) [*Fir*.32:6–34:4, 35:7–37:7]. None of this appears in the Bdc or Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*. Nawbakhtī also includes an *ikhtilāf*-cluster on the doctrine of the *raj'a* [*Fir*.37 :8–14], which has no correspondent in the Bdc or Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* either. The potential parallels are to be found, rather, in only two places: in the description of the Manṣūriyya [*Fir*.34:5–35:6] and in the material on the Khaṭṭābiyya [*Fir*.37:10–41:12]³⁶⁷.

The descriptions of the Manṣūriyya in the Bdc and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* are given above in Tab. 11. Only two elements found there also appear in the *Firaq*'s description. The first is the claim that Abū Manṣūr was taken up to God, who 'passed His hand over' or 'anointed' his head (*masaḥa yadahu 'alā ra'sihī/masaḥa ra'sahu bi-yadīhi*) and spoke to him [*Fir*.34:6–8; *MaqA*.9:11–12; *Hūr*.223:9–10; *Bāb*.108:2–3]. The Bdc and Ash'arī record God's words to Abū Manṣūr, but the passage in the *Firaq* appears to be corrupt³⁶⁸. It states that God spoke to Abū Manṣūr in Syriac, but the words themselves are missing³⁶⁹. The second element is the association of Abū Manṣūr with the doctrine of the strangulation of opponents [*Fir*.34:14, *MaqA*.10:6–7; *Hūr*.223:16–17; *Bāb*.108:8–9], although in the Bdc/Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, the strangulation is associated with the 'seizing of their wealth', which does not appear

³⁶⁶ See p. 167–169.

³⁶⁷ For more on the structure and content of the longer Ghulāt-section, see p. 649–656.

³⁶⁸ See the apparatus to *Fir*.34:7.

³⁶⁹ Qummī also records some of God's words at this point but claims God spoke Persian (*al-farsiyya*) rather than Syriac (*al-suryānī*) (*MaqQ*.46:12). He tells us that God began by addressing Abū Manṣūr with the words *yā pesar*, which he immediately renders in Arabic as *yā bunayya* ('oh my son'). That is also the beginning of the phrase recorded in the Bdc and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* (*Hūr*.223:9–10; *MaqA*.9:12). The problem is that Qummī and Balkhī seem to have shared a source for material on the Ghulāt independently of Nawbakhtī (see below p. 374–388), so it is impossible to know here whether Qummī preserves Nawbakhtī's version more faithfully than the manuscript tradition or whether he is incorporating material from the source in common with Balkhī that Nawbakhtī did not use (or even from somewhere else). Halm argues (1982:89) that the original account probably had God speaking Syriac, due to the generally Christianizing character of Abū Manṣūr's reported doctrine; Syriac, he states, was assumed not just to be the language of the church but of the Christians' God. That would make 'Persian' secondary, perhaps suggesting Qummī was indeed using a source other than Nawbakhtī here. But this remains speculative; the Bdc and Ash'arī do not mention what language God spoke.

in the *Firaq*³⁷⁰. Apart from these two elements, Nawbakhtī's description diverges completely, providing information that does not appear at all in the BdC/Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*: Abū Manṣūr's tribal origin and upbringing in the desert [*Fir*.34:8–9], his illiteracy [*Fir*.34:9], that he claimed that Gabriel brought him divine inspiration (*wahy*) [*Fir*.34:16], and that while Muḥammad had brought the revelation (*al-tanzīl*), he brought the interpretation (*al-ta'wīl*) [*Fir*.35:1]. Finally, the *Firaq* reports that Khālid b. 'Abd Allāh al-Qasrī tried and failed to capture him and that it was his son, Ḥusayn b. Abī Manṣūr who was captured by 'Umar al-Khannāq [*Fir*.35:1–6]. The BdC and Ash'arī report, rather, that he was killed by Yūsuf b. 'Umar al-Thaqafī [*Hūr*.223:17; *MaqA*.10:7–8]³⁷¹. Thus, although the descriptions of the Manṣūriyya do contain some isolated elements that must come from a wider shared tradition of reports on the Manṣūriyya, there is otherwise barely any overlap even in the information they contain, let alone convergent wording. These are not parallels close enough and complex enough to be indicative of a discrete common source; the isolated, similar elements could well have to come to Nawbakhtī and Balkhī via different channels of transmission.

It is above all in the material on the Khaṭṭābiyya, however, that Bayhom-Daou sees parallels with Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*. She claims that the names of three sub-factions of the Khaṭṭābiyya, some of the Qur'ānic citations, and some terminology are common to both³⁷². This is not entirely accurate, as Nawbakhtī does not employ faction-names for the sub-factions of the Khaṭṭābiyya, but it is true that three of the faction-leaders mentioned by Nawbakhtī also appear in the BdC and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*: Abū l-Khaṭṭāb himself, Bazīgh and Mu'ammār³⁷³. As for the claim that there are overlaps in the Qur'ānic citations, Bayhom-Daou provides no examples and, as far as I can see, there are no common citations in the strict sense. The only real overlap is that Nawbakhtī attributes to the followers of al-Sarī (who does not appear at all in the BdC/Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*) the claim that they are 'the sons of Islam' (*banū islām*), just like 'the Jews said we are children of Allāh and His beloved ones' [*Fir*.39:3–4], which is an approximate citation of Q5:18³⁷⁴. In Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and the BdC, the original Khaṭṭābiyya claim that the descendants of Ḥusayn are "the

³⁷⁰ This is anyway something recorded concerning Abū Manṣūr elsewhere in the sources. See Tucker 1977:69 and especially Jāhiz, *Ḥayawān*, II:266–268.

³⁷¹ Qummī does have this detail (*MaqQ*.47:9–10). Again, we do not know whether he preserves Nawbakhtī's version better than the manuscript tradition or whether he is incorporating information from the source he shares with Balkhī (see p. 379).

³⁷² Bayhom-Daou 1996:50, n.38; Bayhom-Daou 2003b:23, n.39.

³⁷³ On these three individuals, see p. 157 n.75, n.76, n.77.

³⁷⁴ The full citation should be "the Jews and the Christians said we are children of Allāh and His beloved ones".

children of God and His beloved ones” [*MaqA.11:2*], referencing the same verse. But the verse is not even being put to the same purpose by the two groups. As for terminological convergence, it is difficult to see any significance in the isolated and incidental convergences we do find. It is true that, amongst numerous specific divergences, some similar doctrines are attributed to the Khaṭṭābiyya by both Nawbakhtī and Balkhī/Ash’arī: e.g., the permitting of illicit acts [*Fir.38:7–8*; *Hūr.221:7*; *MaqA.11:13–14*], the deification of Ja’far al-Šādiq [*Fir.38:5*; *Hūr.220:18*; *MaqA.11:5*], and the providing of false testimony on behalf of fellow believers against opponents [*Fir.38:9–10*; *Hūr.220:21*; *MaqA.11:7*]. Where they appear, similar terminology is used, but there is no sustained convergence in wording at a level that indicates a discrete common source.

Otherwise, there is little convergence in the presentations of the Khaṭṭābiyya at all. The *Firaq* claims that they were originally one faction that divided into four after Ja’far al-Šādiq repudiated Abū l-Khaṭṭāb and cursed him [*Fir.37:15–17*]. The *Maqālāt* and the *Hūr* claim there are five factions: the original Khaṭṭābiyya and four sub-factions that came into being, rather, after Abū l-Khaṭṭāb’s death [*MaqA.10:9–10*; *Hūr.220:20–221:2*]. Two of Balkhī/Ash’arī’s factions, the Mufaḍḍaliyya [*Maq.13:4–7*; *Hūr.221:20–222:3*] and the ‘Umayriyya [*Maq.12:11–13:3*; *Hūr.221:14–19*], are not mentioned in the *Firaq* at all and their specific doctrines do not appear either. One of the *Firaq*’s factions is associated with al-Sarī, who does not appear in the BdC or Ash’arī’s *Maqālāt*³⁷⁵. There is no overlap between Nawbakhtī’s description of the followers of Bazīgh [*Fir.38:15–17*] and Balkhī-Ash’arī’s Bazīghiyya [*Hūr.221:8–13*; *Bāb.112:3–14*; *MaqA.12:1–10*]. The only overlaps in the *Firaq*’s description of the followers of Mu’ammār and Balkhī-Ash’arī’s Mu’ammariyya are the generic reports that they claim Mu’ammār is a god [*Fir.39:11–12*; *Hūr.221:3–4*; *MaqA.11:9–10*] and that they permitted various illicit things [*Fir.39:13–16*; *Hūr.221:7*; *Bāb.114:1–3*; *MaqA.11:13–14*]. In the reports on the original Khaṭṭābiyya, there is more specific information in common: Nawbakhtī and Balkhī-Ash’arī both report that Abū l-Khaṭṭāb claimed to be a prophet sent by Ja’far al-Šādiq and that he must be obeyed [*Fir.38:6–7*; *MaqA.10:14–11:1*]; they also both refer to the Khaṭṭābiyya’s approval of false testimony against opponents [*Fir.38:9–10*; *Hūr.220:21–221:1*; *MaqA.11:7*]. But even here, there is no sustained convergent wording. There is thus no positive evidence that Nawbakhtī and Balkhī have a discrete source in common for their material on the Manšūriyya and the Khaṭṭābiyya, whether Warrāq’s *Maqālāt* or any other text. At most, we can say, as with the descriptions of the Zaydiyya, that Nawbakhtī and Balkhī draw ultimately draw on a common pool of information for

375 On al-Sarī al-Aqṣam, see Halm 1982:208–209.

parts of their material on the Khaṭṭābiyya, but there is no positive evidence they did so via a discrete common source³⁷⁶.

Outside of the Ghulāt-section, too, there is very little convergence between the *Firaq* and the BdC/Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* in material on factions referred to (by either or both) as Ghulāt, except in material that appears within the common *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya, e.g., on the Mughīriyya and the Ḥarbiyya/Ḥārithiyya. That material deals exclusively with standard thematic elements of the *iftirāq*-schema's descriptions: the factions' doctrines concerning the identity of the Imām/Mahdī and the etymology of their faction-names. Beyond this, Nawbakhtī occasionally gives information that appears in the descriptions in Ash'arī's sub-chapter on the Ghulāt, i.e., not within the *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya. For example, Bayān b Sim'ān [*Fir*.30:12; *MaqA*.6:1] and Mughīra b. Sa'īd [*Fir*.55:2–3; *Hūr*.222:10; *MaqA*.7:1] are said to have claimed to be prophets in both; Mughīra b. Sa'īd is supposed to have claimed he could raise the dead in both [*Fir*.55:5–6; *Hūr*.222:14; *MaqA*.7:5–6]; the Ḥārithiyya/Ḥarbiyya are said to believe in *tanāsukh* in both [*Fir*.31:6; *Hūr*.215:1; *MaqA*.6:5]. But, with one exception, there is no convergence in wording that could positively evidence a common source.

The exception is the description of the Saba'iyya. As we have seen, Nawbakhtī placed this description within his *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya; Balkhī did not. It is difficult to reconstruct exactly how the latter would have classified the Saba'iyya, but it seems most likely he grouped them away from the Imāmiyya proper, together with the Saḥābiyya and the Ghurābiyya, other factions that 'overstepped the line' (*ghalaw*) regarding 'Alī specifically³⁷⁷. Yet, despite the structural discrepancy, there is significant convergence between the description in the *Firaq* and that in two texts of the BdC, namely the *Hūr* and the *Bāb*. All three are given below in Tab. 25.

³⁷⁶ Bayhom-Daou twice suggests that some of the difference could be explained by positing that Nawbakhtī altered the material he took from the common source, which she thinks is Warrāq (Bayhom-Daou 2003b:23, n.41 and 34, n.74). She specifically posits that Nawbakhtī might have removed the Mufaḍḍaliyya because Mufaḍḍal b. 'Umar al-Ju'fī (see p. 132 n.39) was a respected figure in some Imāmi circles and that he would have removed the 'Umayriyya because they do not fit his chronology of Khaṭṭābi factions. It is, of course, not unlikely that Nawbakhtī would have altered the material he took from his sources, even if just to summarize or gloss. But, on methodological grounds, this is not enough to defend the assertion of a common source. It must first be established positively, based on sufficient convergence of complex features, that there *was* a common source. Only afterwards can one begin to speculate as to why the divergences occur. It is always possible that two authors had a common source and that this has been obscured by the changes they made to the material, but then there is simply no way to know this was the case. We can only assert common sources when the evidence is present, as it is, for example, in the *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya.

³⁷⁷ See p. 168.

Tab. 25: The *Firaq* and Balkhī on the Saba'iyya.**Fir.19:9–20:9**

- [a¹] فرقة منهم قالت ان علياً لم يُقتل ولم يموت ولا يُقتل ولا يموت حتى يسوق العرب بعصاه ويملا الأرض عدلاً وقسطاً كما ملئت ظلماً وجوراً
- [b¹] وهي اول فرقة قالت في الإسلام بوقف بعد النبي صلى الله عليه وآله من هذه الامة [و] اول من قال منها بالغلو وهذه الفرقة تسمى السبائية أصحاب عبد الله بن سبأ
- [c¹] وكان ممن اظهر الطعن على ابي بكر وعمر وعثمان والصحابه وتبرأ منهم وقال ان علياً عليه السلم امره بذلك فاخذه على فسأله عن قوله هذا فافتر به فأمر بقتله فصاح الناس اليه يا امير المؤمنين أنتقتل رجلاً يدعو الى حبكم اهل البيت والى ولايتك والبراءة من اعدائك فصيرته الى المدائن
- [d¹] وحكى جماعة من اهل العلم من أصحاب علي عليه السلم ان عبد الله بن سبأ كان يهودياً فاسلم ووالى علياً عليه السلم وكان يقول وهو على يهوديته في يوشع بن نون بعد موسى عليه السلم بهذه المقالة فقال في اسلامه بعد وفاة النبي صلى الله عليه وآله في علي عليه السلم بمثل ذلك وهو اول من شهّر القول بفرض امامة علي عليه السلم واظهر البراءة من اعدائه وكاشف مخالفه فمن هناك قال من خالف الشيعة ان اصل الرفض مأخوذ من اليهودية
- [e¹] ولما بلغ عبد الله بن سبأ نعي علي بالمداين قال للذي نعاه كذبت لو جئتنا بدماعه في سبعين صرة واقمت على قتله سبعين عدلاً لعلمنا انه لم يموت ولم يُقتل ولا يموت حتى يملك الارض

Hur.206:12–18

- [a²] فقالت السبئية عبد الله بن سبأ ومن قال بقوله ان علياً حي لم يموت ولا يموت حتى يملأ الأرض عدلاً كما ملئت جوراً ويرد جميع الناس على دين واحد قبل يوم القيامة.
- [e²] وقال عبد الله بن سبأ للذي جاء بنعي علي عليه السلم الى المدائن لو جئتنا بدماعه في صورة لعلمنا أنه لا يموت حتى يسوق العرب بعصاه. قال ابن عباس وقد ذكر له قول ابن سبأ لو علمنا ذلك ما زوجنا نساءه ولا اقتسمنا ميراثه.

Bāb.106:11–107:2

- [a³] الفرقة الثانية السبائية نسبوا إلى عبد الله بن سبأ زعموا أن الإمام بعد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله علي بن أبي طالب عليه السلام وهو المهدي الذي يملأ الأرض عدلاً كما ملئت ظلماً وجوراً
- [e³] وقد قال عبد الله بن سبأ للذي جاء بنعي علي بن أبي طالب عليه السلام إلى المدائن لو جئتنا بدماع علي سبعين مرة لعلمنا أنه لا يموت حتى يرجع ويسوق العرب بعصاه فقال ابن عباس لو علمنا ذلك ما زوجنا نساءه ولا قسمنا ميراثه ولهم أقاويل سيئة سوى هذا

Fir.19:9–20:9

[a¹] A faction of them said that 'Ali was not killed and did not die, will not be killed and will not die until he drives the Arabs with his staff and fills the Earth with justice and righteousness, just as it was filled with oppression and injustice.

[b¹] This is the first faction in Islam after the Prophet, upon him and his family be peace, from this Community to profess the stopping [of the line of Imāms at a certain individual] and the first to profess *ghuluww*. This faction is called the Saba'iyya, the followers of 'Abd Allāh b. Saba'.

Tab. 25 (continued)

Fir.19:9–20:9

[c¹] He was one of those who spoke openly against Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān and the Companions and declared his severance from them, claiming that 'Alī had commanded him to do that. So, 'Alī got hold of him and asked him about what he had said. He confirmed it, so 'Alī ordered that he be killed. But the people cried out to him, “O Commander of the Believers! Would you kill someone who called people to love you, the members of the Prophet's household, and to loyalty to you and severance from your enemies?”. So he had him sent to Madā'in.

[d¹] A group of scholars from the followers of 'Alī, upon him be peace, related that 'Abd Allāh b. Saba' was a Jew then he became a Muslim and attached himself to 'Alī, upon him be peace. Whilst he was still a Jew, he had professed this doctrine concerning Joshua after Moses, upon him be peace. Then, when he became a Muslim, he professed the same thing concerning 'Alī after the death of the Prophet, upon him and his family be peace. He is the first to have spread the doctrine of the duty to take 'Alī, upon him be peace, as Imām and to openly declare severance from his enemies and revealed [enmity towards?] his opponents. For this reason, those who opposed the Shī'a said that the origins of *rafḍ* (i.e., the rejection of the caliphs before 'Alī) lay in Judaism.

[e¹] When the news of 'Alī's death reached Madā'in, he said to the one who brought the news, “You have lied. Even if you had brought us his brain in seventy bags and even if you furnished seventy upright witnesses, we would know that he did not die and was not killed and will not until he rules the Earth.

Hur.206:12–18

[a²] The Saba'iyya—'Abd Allāh b. Saba' and those who professed his doctrine—said that 'Alī is alive, did not die and will not die until he fills the Earth with justice, just as it has been filled with oppression, and returns the people to a single religion before the Day of Resurrection.

[e²] 'Abd Allāh b. Saba' said to the one who came to Madā'in to announce 'Alī's death, “Even if you had brought his brain in a form [*sic.*], we would know that he will not die until he drives the Arabs with his staff”. Ibn 'Abbās, when he was told of what Ibn Saba' had said, said, “If we had known that, we would not have married off his women and divided up his estate”.

Bāb.106:11–107:2

[a³] The second faction is the Saba'iyya, whose origins can be traced to 'Abd Allāh b. Saba'. They claimed that the Imām after the Messenger of God, peace be upon him and his family, was 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, upon him be peace, and that he is the Mahdī who will fill the Earth with justice, just as it has been filled with injustice and oppression.

[e³] 'Abd Allāh b. Saba' said to the one who came to Madā'in to announce 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib's death, “Even if you had brought 'Alī's brain seventy times [*sic.*], we would know that he will not die until he returns and drives the Arabs with his staff”. Ibn 'Abbās said, “If we had known that, we would not have married off his women and divided up his estate”. They have many other evil doctrines.

The common core of the descriptions consists of *a* and *e*, where the same information is presented in very similar wording across the three texts. There is some diver-

gence even here, but it is relatively minor. One case, namely the variations in *e*² and *e*³ in the *Ḥūr* and the *Bāb*, whereby the *Ḥūr* has ‘*law jī’tanā bi-dimāghihi fī šūra. . .*’ (If you brought us his brain in a form. . .), whilst the *Bāb* has ‘*law jī’tanā bi-dimāgh ‘Alī saba’in marra. . .*’ (If you brought us ‘Alī’s brain seventy times. . .), are evidently due to corruptions in transmission. The word ‘*šurra*’ (bag) has been misread at some point as *šūra* and *marra* respectively. The phrase should be ‘*law jī’tanā bi-dimāghihi fī saba’in šurra. . .*’ (If you brought us his brain in seventy bags. . .), as it appears in the *Firaq*³⁷⁸. Otherwise, Nawbakhtī has the phrase ‘until he drives the Arabs with his staff’ in *a*¹, whereas Balkhī placed it in *e*. Balkhī records Ibn ‘Abbās’s sarcastic reaction to Ibn Saba’ in *e*, but it is missing entirely from Nawbakhtī’s version. And Nawbakhtī mentions the ‘seventy upright witnesses’ in *e*¹ but they do not appear in the *Ḥūr* and the *Bāb*. Nevertheless, the convergence in *a* and *e* remains much too close to be explained by coincidence; there is some kind of common source here.

This does not necessarily mean that *a* and *e* came to both Nawbakhtī and Balkhī via the same common source as the *iftirāq*-schema of the Shī‘a. We cannot rely here on the complex wider structural parallels that are vital to the interpretation of the convergent descriptions within the *iftirāq*-schema, because Balkhī’s description of the Saba’iyya does not appear within the schema. There is also little internal structural parallelism, as *a* and *e* are not adjacent in Nawbakhtī’s description. They are separated by *b*, *c*, and *d*, which are unique to the *Firaq*. They may thus not even come via the same source as each other. It should also be noted that similar reports to *e* appear in traditions earlier than any of our extant heresiographies³⁷⁹. We will be able to address these issues much better below, once we integrate the evidence from *Uṣūl al-niḥal*³⁸⁰.

For now, however, it is at least worth observing that *a* and *e* would fit well into the *iftirāq*-schema. Nearly every cluster of the schema has a faction that denies the death of the previous Imām and declares him to be the Mahdī. That is exactly what

378 That is how it appears not only in the *Firaq*, but in a parallel in *Uṣūl al-niḥal*, too (*Niḥ.22:18–23:1*) (see p. 419–424 and *Tab.33*). There is also a closely parallel version given by the Shī‘ī historian Abu l-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. ‘Ubayd Allāh b. ‘Ammār al-Thaqafī (d.314/926), preserved by Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd (*ShNBV:7:2–4*), in which the seventy *šurra* feature (see Anthony 2012:165–171). Indeed, there are far earlier variants, going back at least to the early second century, in which term *šurra* appears, although the specific number of bags and the wider context vary more than in the accounts just mentioned. Jāhīz preserves a version with a hundred of them (*Bayān.III:81:9–10*); Balādhuri records a version with just one (*Ansāb.II:445:6–8*); one of the versions preserved by Ibn l-Abī Dunyā has sixty (*Maqṭal*, 82:9–10). These versions and their dating are discussed in more detail on p. 421–422. The corruptions in the *Ḥūr* and the *Bāb* are most likely to have occurred post-Balkhī, as they do not agree on the misreading.

379 See n.378, above.

380 See p. 419–424.

we find here for the Saba'iyya in *a* and *e*. The anecdote recorded in *e* simply functions to flesh out that basic belief somewhat, much as the description of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya's situation in hiding at Raḍwā or that of Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan's on the mountain near Mecca do in the descriptions of the Karibiyya and the Mughīriyya. Nawbakhtī's unique *b*, *c* and *d*, however deal with themes completely alien to the *iftirāq*-schema: the Saba'iyya as the origin of *ghuluww*; Ibn Saba's banishment due to his public denial of the first two caliphs; and Ibn Saba's Jewish origins. It is impossible to reach decisive conclusions here, but, uniquely amongst the descriptions of Ghulāt factions in the *Firaq*, Nawbakhtī and Ash'arī clearly have a common source for some elements of the description of the Saba'iyya, and it is *plausible* that this is the same source as they had in common for the *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya.

In summary, there is no evidence of a common source for most of Nawbakhtī and Balkhī/Ash'arī's material on the Ghulāt outside of what has been covered already as part of the common *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya. That includes the entire longer Ghulāt-section. As a result, even if we did know that Balkhī's source for his material on the Ghulāt was Warrāq, which seems most likely given the evidence, there would still be no reason to think that Nawbakhtī's is. The single exception is the description of Saba'iyya. Nawbakhtī's description of the Saba'iyya appears as part of his *iftirāq*-schema; Balkhī's does not. But they clearly share a common source there, at least as far as the version of Balkhī's material preserved by Ḥimyarī and Abū Tammām goes. The character of the material they have in common makes it plausible that it comes from the same source as their common *iftirāq*-material on the Imāmiyya.

1.3.3 Overview and Conclusions

Nawbakhtī and Balkhī shared an ultimate common source for the *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya running from the death of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib up to the *ikhtilāf* over the status of Muḥammad al-Jawād's Imāmate whilst he was still a child. The schema was composed around 212/827 at the earliest and probably not long after Muḥammad al-Jawād's death in 220/835 at the latest. There is no evidence, however, that Nawbakhtī and Balkhī had a common source for their *firaq*-material on the Zaydiyya. Some Ghulāt factions appear within the common *iftirāq*-schema, but beyond the common material that appears in that context, there is no significant convergence between Nawbakhtī's and Balkhī's material on the Ghulāt either, except in one case: the Saba'iyya. There, it is plausible that the convergent elements belonged to the *iftirāq*-schema, which is where they still appear in the *Firaq*, and thus came from the same common source. Otherwise, Balkhī and Nawbakhtī had no common source for material on the Ghulāt either.

The dating of the common source of the *iftirāq*-schema means it was far too late a work for Hishām b. al-Ḥakam to be its author, but it is also too early for Warrāq to have played this role. Rather, we would expect that *if* Balkhī really did obtain the common material via Warrāq, as seems likely, then Warrāq was an intermediary. In Nawbakhtī's case, the key observation is that the elements of Balkhī's material for which we are most sure that Warrāq was the source—namely the description of the Jārūdiyya and other material on the Zaydiyya—are absent from the *Firaq*. The most likely source of Balkhī/Ash'arī's material on the Ghulāt outside the *iftirāq*-schema is also Warrāq, but none of this is found in the *Firaq* either. We have also seen that even in the convergent material of the *iftirāq*-schema, there are good reasons to conclude that Balkhī and Nawbakhtī were not both working directly from their common source. Thus, if Balkhī indeed took the common *iftirāq*-schema via Warrāq, it would seem that Nawbakhtī did not.

The more likely scenario is that Nawbakhtī and Warrāq obtained the material from the common source of the *iftirāq*-schema independently of one another. That is curious, because Nawbakhtī used material on the dualists from Warrāq in his *Kitāb al-ārā' wa-l-diyānāt*³⁸¹. It appears, however, that Nawbakhtī was anyway using Warrāq's *Kitāb iqtisāṣ madhāhib aṣḥāb al-ithnayn* there, a work on the dualists in particular, not his *Maqālāt*³⁸². Moreover, the *Firaq* was a much earlier work than the *Ārā'*. Nawbakhtī hadn't finished the latter when he died sometime after 300, whereas the former was completed in the 270s. The *terminus post quem* of Warrāq's *Maqālāt* is 250 but it is possible that Nawbakhtī would not yet have consulted it when composing the *Firaq*, even if he did use material from Warrāq in his later writings.

It is easier to see how Nawbakhtī and Balkhī's common source for the *iftirāq*-schema could have been Zurqān's *Maqālāt*, but the evidence is equivocal. Nawbakhtī, Balkhī and Ash'arī all have both the common *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya and at least some of the material on the Zaydiyya from Zurqān. That makes it possible that Zurqān could be the source of both. But it is unlikely that Zurqān was its original author: the chronology doesn't quite work, and the *iftirāq*-material is obviously Imāmī and Kufan in origin. We will return to the question in IV.1.7., after we have assembled the evidence from all of the extant heresiographies.

Although the identity of the common source escapes us, we can reconstruct a good deal of its content: we know the outline of at least some of its *iftirāq*-schema

³⁸¹ Some of the Warrāq-citations from the *Ārā'* are preserved by 'Abd al-Jabbār (*Mughnī*V:10:15–16:11). See Monnot 1974:60, 151–170; Madelung 1981; and van Ess 2011:173–174, 227.

³⁸² Madelung 1981:214, n.12.

and much of the content of the faction-descriptions we know of. The latter were thematically homogenous, apparently always consisting of the same two elements:

1. A statement concerning the Imām followed by the faction after the death of the Imām mentioned in the *iftirāq*-statement, or else a statement that the faction denied the death of the Imām mentioned in the *iftirāq*-statement and held him to be the Mahdī. Sometimes this is accompanied by a short justification of that choice. In the case of the doctrine that the previous Imām has not died but is the Mahdī, there is sometimes a short description of his current situation in hiding. In only one case, the Karibiyya (Balkhī's usage), poetry on this theme is cited at relative length.
2. Etymological material on the name of the faction. Usually, this consists of a short reference to the name of the eponymous leader or founder of the faction, but one example, the story of coining of the name 'Mamṭūra' for the Wāqifa is longer.

Both the *Firaq* and the BdC also have much material within their *iftirāq*-schemata of the Imāmiyya that is not found in the other, but to different degrees. We will turn to that material below in sections IV.2.2.2 and IV.2.2.5.

1.4 The *firaq*-Material in Qummī's *Maqālāt wa-l-firaq*

Qummī's main source in his *Maqālāt wa-l-firaq* was Nawbakhtī's *Firaq*, as Muḥammad Jawād Mashkūr already asserted in the introduction to his edition of the text³⁸³. We know this because the work not only contains nearly the entirety of the *Firaq*, but Qummī reuses even Nawbakhtī's most recent material and builds upon it: he updates Nawbakhtī's statement about the military capability of the Qarāmiṭa to take account of events *circa* 286/899 and he reproduces material on all Nawbakhtī's post-'Askarī factions³⁸⁴. Nevertheless, the two works are far from identical. In comparison with the *Firaq*, Qummī's *Maqālāt* exhibits numerous additions, rearrangements and rewordings, as well as minor omissions³⁸⁵.

Qummī had a version of Nawbakhtī's *Firaq* more complete in some respects than the one that has come down to us in the manuscript tradition. This is evident from the lacunose passages in the *Firaq* for which Qummī preserves intact text. The alternative explanation that Qummī filled the lacunae himself is highly unlikely; it

³⁸³ See Mashkūr's introduction to the *Maqālāt wa-l-firaq*, p. ڪ; Madelung 1967:37–40.

³⁸⁴ Madelung 1967:37–39. On the statement on the Qarāmiṭa, see p. 41–3. On the post 'Askarī factions, see p. 696–697.

³⁸⁵ Mashkūr, pp. ڪ-ڪ; Madelung 1967:38–39, 44–45; van Ess 2011:263–265.

is hard to conceive that some of the passages could be reconstructed so successfully out of what is present now in the *Firaq*³⁸⁶. Other minor additions and rewordings in Qummī's *Maqālāt* might also thus derive from the more complete version of the *Firaq*. But the alternative explanation that Qummī himself (or his copyists) is responsible can only be excluded where we have parallels in Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī's *Kitāb al-zīna*, which is also based on the *Firaq* for much of its heresiographical material³⁸⁷. Otherwise, the only criterion to decide between these options is how well integrated the addition appears to be. That is a far-from-reliable method³⁸⁸.

When it comes to Qummī's numerous larger-scale additions and rearrangements, however, it is highly unlikely that could have come from a more complete version of the *Firaq*. This is because they very often disrupt the structure of Nawbakhtī's text in a manner that goes far beyond the inconsistencies already present there, frequently repeating or contradicting information in the *Firaq* or even in other additions. The terminology and style also differ markedly from the surrounding material shared with the *Firaq*, even allowing for the fact that Nawbakhtī also

386 The best example is the *ikhtilāf*-cluster on the mode of Jawād's knowledge whilst still a minor, discussed above (p. 304–307). The *Firaq* has lacunae at 74:17 and 75:8, which make parts of the passage nearly senseless. From *MaqQ*.97:1–2 and 97:10–14, it is clear why: the lacunae cover the beginnings of two of the four statements of the cluster. It is extremely unlikely that Qummī could have filled the gaps himself to resolve the problem so neatly.

387 On the evidence for this claim, see p. 389–393.

388 Van Ess (2011:259–260) provides a list of emendations that should be made to the *Firaq* based on Qummī's text. His suggestions are conservative and sensible; they mostly involve obvious lacunae and orthographical issues. The discriminating factor is that, in these cases, the text of the *Firaq* presents a problem that must be addressed somehow. The justification for using the *Maqālāt wa-l-firaq* to provide a better text in these instances is that Qummī's text potentially provides a witness to an earlier copy of the *Firaq* in the relevant passages than do the manuscripts themselves. But where the *Firaq* already has a readable text, the status of Qummī's minor variants is often impossible to judge unless we also have a parallel passage in the *Zīna*. For example, where the *Firaq* has it that Ibn Saba', whilst he was still a Jew, professed the same doctrine concerning 'Joshua *after* Moses' as he later had concerning 'Ali after Muḥammad (*kāna yaqūlu wa-huwa 'alā yahūdātihi fī yūsha' b. nūn ba'da Mūsā bi-hādhihi l-maqāla*) (*Fir*.20:2–3), Qummī has it that Ibn Saba' professed the same doctrine concerning 'Joshua, *wasī* of Moses' (*kāna yaqūlu wa-huwa 'alā yahūdātihi fī yūsha' b. nūn waṣī Mūsā bi-hādhihi l-maqāla*) (*MaqQ*.20:9–10). Qummī's version requires we read a noun in apposition. That is syntactically less smooth, which might tempt the invocation of *lectio difficilior* and thus motivate an emendation. But it also involves a doctrinally loaded term where the *Firaq* is more prosaic. Given our assumption that Qummī sometimes preserves elements of the *Firaq* better than the manuscripts of the latter, what should be done? In this case, we know the answer, but only because we have a parallel in the *Zīna* that matches Nawbakhtī's version (*Zīna*.81:10–11). Qummī's version thus appears to be a later alteration, not an instance where he preserves Nawbakhtī's text better. Aside from the kinds of emendations suggested by van Ess, a new critical edition of the *Firaq* should generally include Qummī's and Rāzī's variants to common passages only in the apparatus.

occasionally presents us with stylistic and terminological ruptures himself³⁸⁹. This situation will be discussed in detail later, as most of the additional material is unique to Qummī's *Maqālāt*. In a few cases, however, Qummī's additions parallel material in the BdC and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*. It is these additions that we will concentrate on here.

An outline comparison of the two works up to the beginning of the post-'Askarī cluster is given in Tab. 26. The page and line numbers of Qummī's *Maqālāt*, together with Mashkūr's paragraph numbers, are given continuously in the left-hand column. Where the two texts correspond, the middle column gives the page and line numbers of the *Firaq* with a summary of the content. Where there is no corresponding material in the *Firaq*, the middle column is blank. The right-hand column describes the content of Qummī's additions, provides details of any insertions longer than a few words within otherwise common passages, and describes omissions and rearrangements. Additions that are marked with an asterisk (*) contain (but are not limited to) parallels with the BdC and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*. Further details of the latter are provided later in Tab. 27.

Tab. 26: Qummī's major additions and changes to Nawbakhtī's *Firaq*.

Qummī's <i>Maqālāt</i>	Nawbakhtī's <i>Firaq</i>	Additions and changes in Qummī's <i>Maqālāt</i>
[§1] 2:1–9		Addition. <i>Tahmīd</i> .
[§§2–34] 2:10–9:10	2:2–11:4 – Introduction – Historical prologue – Beginning of <i>ikhtilāf</i> -section	Folios missing from the manuscript. The edition reproduces Nawbakhtī's text ³⁹⁰
[§§34–42] 9:10–12:14	11:4–14:9 Continuation of <i>ikhtilāf</i> -section	Insertion [<i>MaqQ</i> .11:10–14].
[§43] 12:15–13:14		Addition. At <i>Fir</i> .14:10, Nawbakhtī begins a doctrinal statement on the Arbitration from “the Shī'a, the Murjī'a, Ibrāhīm al-Nazzām and Bishr b. al-Mu'tamir”. Qummī starts the statement the same way but ascribes it only to the Shī'a. After <i>MaqQ</i> .13:1, Qummī has unique material.

³⁸⁹ Madelung 1967:44–45. On the inconsistencies already present in the *Firaq*, see p. 613–618, 642–666.

³⁹⁰ See apparatus to *MaqQ*.2:10 and 9:10.

Tab. 26 (continued)

Qummī's <i>Maqālāt</i>	Nawbakhtī's <i>Firaq</i>	Additions and changes in Qummī's <i>Maqālāt</i>
[§44] 13:15–14:2	14:10–16 – Statement of “the Shī'a, the Murjī'a, Ibrāhīm al-Nazzām and Bishr b. al-Mu'tamir” on the Arbitration.	Qummī removes “the Shī'a”; he has given his version of their doctrine in §43.
[§§45–47] 14:3–9	14:17–15:5 Continuation of <i>ikhtilāf</i> -section	
[§48] 14:10–15		* Addition. On the Kāmiliyya.
[§49–§50] 14:16–15:13	15:6–16:6 – Summary paragraph on the divided state of the Islamic Community. – Introduction to the Shī'a	
[15:13]	[16:6] <i>Iftirāq</i> after the death of Muḥammad	
[§§51–54] 15:14–18:17	[16:6–19:7] – Supporters of 'Alī (proto-Imāmiyya) – Butriyya – Jārūdiyya	Insertions [<i>MaqQ</i> .16:10–11; 16:16–17; 17:5; 17:11–12].
[§55? ³⁹¹] 19:1–17		Addition. On the Jārūdī doctrine of the Imamate.
19:18–19	[19:8–9] <i>Iftirāq</i> after the death of 'Alī	
[§56] 19:20–21:3	[19:9–20:9] – Saba'iyya	Insertions. [<i>MaqQ</i> .20:2–4, 5; 20:14–21:1].
[§56] 21:3–10		Addition. More on the Saba'iyya.
[§57] 21:11–22:8	[20:10–21:8] – post-'Alī Kaysāniyya	<i>MaqQ</i> .22:3–6 makes several changes regarding Abū 'Amra Kaysān.
[§58] 22:9–23:12		* Addition. On the followers of Abū 'Amra
[§§59–61] 23:13–25:18	[21:9–23:15] – Supporters of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn	Insertions. [<i>MaqQ</i> .24:7–10; 24:16–25:1; 25:5–6].

391 The paragraph number is missing in the edition.

Tab. 26 (continued)

Qummī's <i>Maqālāt</i>	Nawbakhtī's <i>Firaq</i>	Additions and changes in Qummī's <i>Maqālāt</i>
[25:18]	[23:16] <i>Iftirāq</i> after the death of Ḥusayn	
[§§62–63] 25:19–26:11	[23:16–24:12] – post-Ḥusayn Kaysāniyya – Mukhtāriyya/Kaysāniyya	
[§63] 26:11–27:4		*Addition. Equating the Mukhtāriyya/Kaysāniyya with the Ḥarbiyya. Doctrines of the Ḥarbiyya.
[§64] 27:5–9		*Addition. A faction of the Kaysāniyya who believe 'Alī resides in the clouds. Omission. [<i>Fir</i> 24:13–18] Biographical details of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya and <i>iftirāq</i> -statement of the post-Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya cluster
[§65] 27:10–13	[25:1–4] – Karibiyya	Insertion [<i>MaqQ</i> .27:11–12].
[§65] 27:14–17		Addition. A group of the Kaysāniyya that claims it was Abū Hāshim who was put into <i>ghayba</i> at Raḍwā, not his father.
[§§66–67] 27:18–32:14		Addition. A group of the Kaysāniyya who hold the doctrine of the four 'descendants' of Banū Hāshim (<i>al-asbāt</i>) and that Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya was concealed at Raḍwā (it is said that the Ḥarbiyya share this doctrine).
[§§68–69] 32:15–33:9	[25:4–15] – Opening of excursus on Ḥamza b. 'Umāra al-Barabarī, Ṣā'id, Bayān	
[§69] 33:10–33:12		*Addition. On the Bayāniyya.
[§70] 34:1–5	25:16–26:2 – Conclusion of excursus on Ḥamza, Ṣā'id, Bayān	
[§71] 34:6–35:6		Addition. Claims of the Bayāniyya about the Imāmate of Abū Hāshim.

Tab. 26 (continued)

Qummī's <i>Maqālāt</i>	Nawbakhtī's <i>Firaq</i>	Additions and changes in Qummī's <i>Maqālāt</i>
[§71] 35:7–36:9		* Addition. A faction claiming that the Imām after Abū Hāshim was 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn.
[§72] 35:10–12		Addition. A faction that rejected these claims and returned to believing that there was no Imām after Ibn al-Ḥanaḥfiyya.
[§73] 35:13–14		* Addition. A faction that claimed Bayān was Imām after Abū Hāshim.
[§74] 35:15–17		* Addition. A faction that claimed that 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr b. Ḥarb was Imām after Abū Hāshim.
[§75] 35:18–37:1	[26:3–27:10] – Faction that claims Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanaḥfiyya is concealed at Raḍwā	
[§76] 37:2–9	[30:8–31:2] – Bayāniyya	Rearrangement. This material appears later in the <i>Firaq</i> , in the post- Abū Hāshim cluster.
[§76] 37:9–38:2		* Addition. Doctrines of the Bayāniyya
[§77] 38:3–6	[27:11–28:2]	Insertion [<i>MaqQ</i> .38:4]
[38:5–6]	[28:3] <i>Iftirāq</i> after the death of Abū Hāshim:	
[§§78–81] 38:7–40:9	[28:3–30:7] – Pure Kaysāniyya – Hārithiyya – 'Abbāsīd Shī'a/Rāwandīyya	Qummī consistently uses "Ḥarbiyya" for "Ḥārithiyya".
[§§82? ³⁹² –83] 40:10–41:21		* Addition. Two factions of the Ḥarbiyya
[§84] 42:1–9		Addition. Faction of the Ḥarbiyya
[§85] 42:10–16		Addition. <i>Ḥadīth</i> and poetry of the Ḥarbiyya
[§86] 42:17–43:1		* Addition. Mu'āwiyya
[43:2]	[31:3] <i>Iftirāq</i> of the Ḥārithiyya:	
[§87] 43:2–5	[31:4–10] – Doctrines of the Ḥārithiyya	Shortened

392 Paragraph number missing in edition.

Tab. 26 (continued)

Qummī's <i>Maqālāt</i>	Nawbakhtī's <i>Firaq</i>	Additions and changes in Qummī's <i>Maqālāt</i>
[§88] 43:6–7		Addition. Faction claiming 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya designated Mughīra b. Sa'īd as the next Imām
[§89] 43:8–15		* Addition. A faction (of the Mughīriyya?) that professes the Imamate of Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan directly after Muḥammad al-Bāqir
[§90] 43:16–44:4		* Addition. The succession to Mughīra b. Sa'īd
[§§91–92] 44:5–10	[31:11–32:3] – Sub-factions of Ḥārithiyya	Combines first two positions (as Ḥarbiyya)
[§92] 44:10–11	[32:3–5] – Transition to longer Ghulāt-section	Adds Mughīriyya to list, as if a Kaysānī faction
[§92] 44:11–14		Addition. Statement that the Kaysānī factions then supported Muḥammad al-Bāqir.
[§93] 44:12–46:8	[32:6–34:4] – Khurramdīniyya	Equated with the Saba'iyya
[§94] 46:9–47:14	[34:5–35:6] Manṣūriyya	* Insertions [<i>MaqQ</i> .47:5, 6,8,9, 10]
[§§95–96] 47:15–48:9		* Addition. Doctrines of Manṣūriyya; the <i>iftirāq</i> of the Manṣūriyya after Abū Manṣūr's death
[§§97–100] 48:10–50:15	35:7–37:14 – The followers of 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya – <i>Ikhtilāf</i> over the <i>raj'a</i>	Numerous short insertions
[§101–§105] 50:16–54:9	[35:8–41:5] – Khaṭṭābiyya and sub-factions	* Insertions [<i>MaqQ</i> .51:1–4; 51:8–11; 51:16–17; 52:6; 52:16–17; 53:4].
[§106] 54:10–14		* Addition. Doctrines of the Mu'ammariyya
[§107] 54:15–17		* Addition. Doctrines of the Bazighiyya
[§108] 54:18–55:9		Addition. Doctrines of the Khaṭṭābiyya

Tab. 26 (continued)

Qummī's <i>Maqālāt</i>	Nawbakhtī's <i>Firaq</i>	Additions and changes in Qummī's <i>Maqālāt</i>
[§109] 55:10–21		Addition. Doctrines of Mughīra b. Sa'īd, Bayān b. Sim'ān, Bazīgh and Šā'id. Story of Abū l-Khaṭṭāb and Ja'far
[§110] 55:22–56:5		Addition. List of <i>ghulāt</i> factions and their founders
[§111-§113] 56:6–59:15		Addition. The Mukhammisa.
[§114] 59:16–60:3		Addition. The 'Alyā'iyya ³⁹³
[§115] 60:4–12		Addition. The Kaysāniyya and Ḥarbiyya
[§116] 60:13–15		Addition. The Bashīriyya
[§117] 60:16–21		Addition. The Mukhammisa and the Khaṭṭābiyya
[§118-§120] 60:22–61:18		Addition. Those who profess <i>tafwīḍ</i>
[§121] 61:19–62:1		Addition. A faction that believes in the divinity of Salmān (al-Fārisī)
[§122] 62:2–18		Addition. <i>Khabar</i> from Yūnus b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān via Muḥammad b. 'Īsā b. 'Ubayd b. Yaqtīn on the fundamental beliefs of the <i>ghulāt</i>
[§123] 62:19–63:11		Addition. <i>Khabar</i> from Yūnus b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān via Muḥammad b. 'Īsā b. 'Ubayd b. Yaqtīn on the Bashīriyya
[§124] 63:12–14		Addition. Differences between the Bashīriyya, the Mukhammisa and the 'Alyā'iyya
[§125] 63:15–17		Addition. A group of them that profess <i>ḥulūl</i>
[§126] 63:18–64:4		Addition. The libertinism of the Khaṭṭābiyya
[§127] 64:5–11	[41:6–12] Conclusion to Ghulāt section	
[64:10–11]	[41:13] <i>Iftirāq of the Abbasid Shia/Rāwandiyya:</i>	

³⁹³ The edition has 'Ulba'iyya'. Here, I read with Halm 1982:225. See also Gimaret 1986:513, n43. Šamarrā's edition of the *Zīna* also has 'Ulba'iyya' or 'Alba'iyya', but the factions don't correspond entirely.

Tab. 26 (continued)

Qummī's <i>Maqālāt</i>	Nawbakhtī's <i>Firaq</i>	Additions and changes in Qummī's <i>Maqālāt</i>
[§128 ³⁹⁴ -§130] 64:12-65:5	[41:13-42:10] – Abū Muslimiyya – Rizāmiyya – Hurayriyya	“Abū Muslimiyya” as “Muslimiyya”
[§131-§132] 65:6-69:6	[42:11-46:9] Original ‘Abbāsids and ‘Abbāsīd narrative section	Insertion [<i>MaqQ.67:7-17</i>]. Concerning Ibn al-Muqaffa’
[§133-§134a ³⁹⁵] 69:7-70:9	[46:10-47:9] Shorter Ghulāt section	
[§134b] 70:10-12	[47:13] <i>Iftirāq of the Shī'a after the death of Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī</i>	
[§§135-137] 70:13-71:16	[47:13-48:16] – Supporters of ‘Alī Zayn al-‘Ābidīn – Those who stop the Imāmate at Ḥusayn – Surhūbiyya/Jārūdiyya	Insertion [<i>MaqQ.70:17</i>]. A tradition from Ja’far with alternative dates for ‘Alī Zayn al-‘Ābidīn Omission. Etymology of “Surhūbiyya” [<i>Fir.48:16-49:2</i>]
[§138] 71:17-18		*Addition. The Šabāhiyya, a Zaydī faction
[§139] 71:19-72:2		*Addition. The Ya’qūbiyya, a Zaydī faction
[§§140-148] 72:3-76:7	[49:2-53:15] – End of Surhūbiyya – <i>Ikhtilāf</i> of the Zaydiyya over the Imām’s knowledge – Weak/Strong Zaydiyya – Butriyya – Strong Zaydiyya – Ḥusayniyya – Mughīriyya – The Imamate of Muḥammad al-Bāqir and the opposition to him.	“Ḥusayniyya” as Ḥusayniyya”

394 Printed as 228 in the edition

395 The designation ‘§134’ is used for two consecutive paragraphs in the edition.

Tab. 26 (continued)

Qummi's <i>Maqālāt</i>	Nawbakhti's <i>Firaq</i>	Additions and changes in Qummi's <i>Maqālāt</i>
[76:8]	[53:16] <i>Iftirāq</i> after the death of Muḥammad al-Bāqir:	
[§149-§150] 76:7–77:11	[53:16–55:6] – Mughīriyya	
[§151] 77:12–16		* Addition. Doctrines of a faction of the Mughīriyya called the Mahdiyya
[§152-§153] 77:17–79:10	[57:7–57:2] – Supporters of Ja'far and opposition	
[§154] 79:11–15	[57:3–8] <i>Iftirāq</i> after the death of Ja'far and biographical details of Ja'far:	
[§§155–164] 79:16–88:4	[57:9–66:8] – Nāwūsiyya – Ismā'īliyya – Mubārakiyya – The Khaṭṭābiyya – The Qarāmiṭa – Samṭiyya – Fuṭḥiyya	Insertions [<i>MaqQ.</i> 87:14–17; 87:19–88:2]
[§165] 88:5–6		Addition. A faction that believed the Imāmate ceased with 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far
[§166] 88:7–13		Addition. A faction that believed that 'Abd Allāh had a son who is the Mahdī
[§167] 88:14–15		Addition. A faction that believes that the Imamate continued in the descendants of 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far
[§168] 88:16–89:7	[66:9–67:6] Supporters of Mūsā al-Kāzīm	
89:6–7	[67:7] <i>Iftirāq</i> after the death of Mūsā al-Kāzīm:	

Tab. 26 (continued)

Qummī's <i>Maqālāt</i>	Nawbakhtī's <i>Firaq</i>	Additions and changes in Qummī's <i>Maqālāt</i>
[§§169–179] 89:8–93:13	[67:8–72:6] <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Qaṭ'iyya – Wāqifa – Agnostics – Bashīriyya 	Insertion [<i>MaqQ</i> .90:6–7 = §172]. Alternative Wāqifi doctrine. Rearrangement. Mamṭūra story [<i>Fir</i> .68:16–69:7] does not appear at <i>MaqQ</i> .90:17 in the description of the Wāqifa. Instead, it appears later, at <i>MaqQ</i> .92:13–93:3, as if it came at <i>Fir</i> .71:10, at the end of the description of the Bashīriyya Insertion [<i>MaqQ</i> .91:18–21]. <i>Khabar</i> from 'Uthmān b. 'Īsā al-Kilābī via Muḥammad b. 'Īsā b. 'Ubayd. On the Bashīriyya.
93:12–13	[72:8] <i>Iftirāq</i> after the death of 'Alī al-Riḍā	
[§§180–186] 93:14–95:14	[72:8–74: 13] <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Supporters of Muḥammad al-Jawād – Supporters of Aḥmad b. Mūsā – Mu'allifa – Muḥadditha – Zaydī supporters of Mūsā and 'Alī – Biographical material on Jawād 	
[§186] 95:14–96:16		Addition. Arguments of those who supported the possibility of an immature Imām
96:17–18	[74:14–17] <i>Ikhtilāf</i> amongst the supporters of Muḥammad al-Jawād over how he attained knowledge given his immaturity:	
[§§187–193] 96:17–99:13	[74:17–77:4] <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Positions in the <i>ikhtilāf</i> – Biographical material on Jawād 	Insertion [<i>MaqQ</i> .98:18–99:2]

Tab. 26 (continued)

Qummī's <i>Maqālāt</i>	Nawbakhtī's <i>Firaq</i>	Additions and changes in Qummī's <i>Maqālāt</i>
[§194] 99:14–100:6	[77:5–77:17] Imamate of 'Alī al-Hādī, opposition to him and biographical information.	
[§194] 100:7–12		Addition. <i>Khabar</i> from Muḥammad b. 'Īsā b. 'Ubayd b. Yaḡṡīn concerning the date of 'Alī al-Hādī's birth
[§195] 100:13–19	[78:1–7] Ibn Nuṣayr	
[§195] 100:19–101:2		Addition. Report from Abū Zakariyyā Yahyā b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Khāqān concerning Muḥammad b. Nusayr al-Numayrī engaging in homosexual intercourse.
[§196–§198] 101:2–9	[78:8–12] Rest of Ibn Nuṣayr	
[§199] 101:10–15	[78:13–79:3] Succession to 'Alī al-Hādī and controversy over death of his appointed successor, Muḥammad b. 'Alī, during his lifetime.	
[§200–201] 102:16–102:6	[79:4–15] Imamate of Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-'Askarī and the opposition favouring Ja'far b. 'Alī. Biographical information on Ḥasan al-'Askarī. <i>Iftirāq</i> after the death of Ḥasan al-'Askarī:	[101:20] Adding name: the 'pure' Ja'fariyya
[§202–218] 102:7–116:8	[79:16–94:3] 13 factions of post-Ḥasan al-'Askarī <i>iftirāq</i>	Rearrangement and additions. For details, see p. 696–697.

It was Madelung who first observed that some of Qummī's additions concerning the Ghulāt and the Zaydiyya have parallels in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, leading him to ask after the relationship of source-dependency between the two. To answer that question, he drew attention to another, later work that also contains an overlapping

set of parallels: Ibn Ḥazm's *Fiṣal*³⁹⁶. Within these parallels, the *Fiṣal* sometimes converges with Qummī's *Maqālāt* over small elements that are absent from Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*. From this, Madelung determined that Ibn Ḥazm could not have obtained the material via Ash'arī. As Ibn Ḥazm, like Ash'arī, has Warrāq's material on the Jārūdiyya³⁹⁷, Madelung proposed that Warrāq's *Maqālāt* was the common source for all three authors³⁹⁸.

This conclusion does not, however, follow from the observations. It is true that the specific convergences between Qummī's *Maqālāt* and the *Fiṣal* show that Ibn Ḥazm cannot have obtained the material via Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*; Ash'arī and Ibn Ḥazm must have a common source or sources. Moreover, if we assume that Ibn Ḥazm and Ash'arī had just one common source for the whole set of parallels, then the earliest possible candidate is indeed Warrāq's *Maqālāt*. This is because we know Warrāq composed the relevant material on the Jārūdiyya himself due to its dating³⁹⁹. Even with this assumption made, however, it remains possible that the common material came to Ash'arī and Ibn Ḥazm via a common source that in turn relied on Warrāq's *Maqālāt* and then not necessarily for all the material that Ash'arī and Ibn Ḥazm have in common. That intermediary could not have been Qummī's *Maqālāt*, because Qummī does not have the relevant material on the Jārūdiyya. It could, however, have been Balkhī's *Maqālāt*, which certainly did⁴⁰⁰. For this reason, it is essential to compare the material in Ibn Ḥazm's *Fiṣal* also with the BdC. This will be done in section 1.4.1.

When it comes to Qummī's source for the parallels, more possible relationships of source-dependency must be considered. This is because Qummī does not have the material on the Jārūdiyya that came originally from Warrāq's *Maqālāt*. Thus, even if we again assume that that all the material Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and Ibn Ḥazm's *Fiṣal* have in common came to them from a single common source, it is possible (1.) that Qummī, Ash'arī and Ibn Ḥazm were working from a common, post-Warrāq source that had used Warrāq's *Maqālāt*, i.e., possibly Balkhī's *Maqālāt*; (2.) that Qummī was working directly from Warrāq's *Maqālāt*, whilst Ibn Ḥazm and Ash'arī used a later intermediary; or (3.) that Qummī and Warrāq had an earlier common source or sources, whilst Ibn Ḥazm and Ash'arī were dependent either on Warrāq's *Maqālāt* or on a later common source that had in turn used Warrāq's *Maqālāt*. Again, it is thus essential to compare the material in Qummī's additions to the *Firaq*

396 Madelung 1967:49–50

397 See p. 204–209, p.366.

398 Madelung 1967:49–50

399 See p. 44–45.

400 See p. 204–209.

not only with Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and the *Fīṣal*, but also with the BdC. This will be done in section 1.4.2.

1.4.1 Was Ibn Ḥazm Dependent on Balkhī's *Maqālāt* or Warrāq's?

Tab. 27 sets out a superficial overview of the parallels between the *Fīṣal*, the BdC/Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and Qummī's additions. The character of the parallels listed there varies a lot. The table sometimes indicates long passages of closely convergent material; sometimes it indicates what appears to be condensed summary. The left-hand column of the table proceeds in order through the relevant part of the *Fīṣal*, picking out those passages that seem to reproduce or gloss passages that appeared in Balkhī's *Maqālāt*. The middle column indicates the most relevant witnesses to those passages in the BdC/Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*. The right-hand column provides the parallels to those passages amongst Qummī's additions, wherever they happen to occur within Qummī's *Maqālāt*. There are, however, some additions in Qummī's *Maqālāt* that parallel the BdC/Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* but for which there is no equivalent passage in the *Fīṣal*. In these cases, the column for the *Fīṣal* is left blank. Such passages have nevertheless been ordered in the table in relation to Ibn Ḥazm's material, such that, for example, parallels found only in Qummī's *Maqālāt* concerning the Zaydiyya appear after the *Fīṣal*'s parallels concerning the Zaydiyya, again regardless of the order of the material in Qummī's *Maqālāt*.

Tab. 27: Convergences between Qummī's additions to the *Firaq*, the BdC/Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, and the *Fīṣal*.

Faction	<i>Fīṣal</i>	BdC/Ash'arī's <i>Maqālāt</i>	Qummī's additions
Jārūdiyya	V:35:4–16	<i>Mugh.XX</i> ₂ :184:12–15 <i>Sharḥ</i> .21v:10–13 <i>Ḥūr</i> .208:6–16 <i>MaqA</i> .67:12–16	
Ṣabbāhiyya		<i>Mugh.XX</i> ₂ :185:6–7 <i>MaqA</i> .69:10–11	[§138] 71:17–18
Ya'qūbiyya		<i>MaqA</i> .69:12–14	[§139] 71:19–72:2
Kaysāniyya who believe Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya is concealed at Raḍwā	V:36:1–3	<i>Mugh.XX</i> ₂ :177:4–5 <i>Ḥūr</i> .211:20–213:9 <i>Bāb</i> .99:5–10 <i>MaqA</i> .19:5–15	
Faction that claims Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya was concealed at Raḍwā as punishment		<i>Mugh.XX</i> ₂ :177:7 <i>Ḥūr</i> .212:3–4 <i>Bāb</i> .99:10–11 <i>MaqA</i> .20:1–3	[§58] 22:9–23:12

Tab. 27 (continued)

Faction	<i>Fīṣal</i>	BdC/Ash'arī's <i>Maqālāt</i>	Qummī's additions
Faction that claims the Imām after Abū Hāshim was 'Alī Zayn al-Ābidīn.		<i>Mugh.XX</i> ₂ :178:15–18 <i>Ḥūr</i> .215:15–18 <i>MaqA</i> .23:7–9	[§71] 35:6–36:9
Mamṭūra	V:36:4–6	<i>Mugh.XX</i> ₂ :181:6–9 <i>Ḥūr</i> .218:17–219:2 <i>MaqA</i> .28:9 – 29:4	
Nāwūsiyya	V:36:7–8	<i>Mugh.XX</i> ₂ :179:19–180:1 <i>Ḥūr</i> .216:5–7 <i>MaqA</i> .25:9–13	
Ismā'īliyya	V:36:9	<i>Mugh.XX</i> ₂ : 180:8–10 <i>Ḥūr</i> .216:11–13	
Saḥābiyya	V:36:11	<i>Ḥūr</i> .206:19–207:1 <i>MaqA</i> .16:6–9	[§64] 27:5–9
Saba'iyya	V:36:14–15	<i>Ḥūr</i> .106:13–107:2 <i>Bāb</i> .206:15–18	
Muslimiyya/ Abū Muslimiyya	V:36:16	<i>Mugh.XX</i> ₂ :178:1–2 <i>Ḥūr</i> . 214:11–14 <i>MaqA</i> .22:1–3	
'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya alive in the mountains of Isfahan	V:36:17–18	<i>Ḥūr</i> .215:6–7 <i>MaqA</i> .22:13–23:2	
Qaṭ'iyya as Twelver Shī'a	V:38:7–10	<i>Mugh.XX</i> ₂ :176: 14–18 <i>Ḥūr</i> .219:17–220:11 <i>MaqA</i> . 17:10–18:10	
Kāmiliyya	V:41:15– 42:2	<i>Mugh.XX</i> ₂ :176:10–13 <i>Ḥūr</i> .207:5–7 <i>Bāb</i> .105:15–106:2 <i>MaqA</i> .17:4–6	[§48] 14:10–15
Ghurābiyya	V:42:10–12	<i>Ḥūr</i> .207:3–4 <i>Bāb</i> .110:3–111:4	
Mughīriyya	V:43:11–19	<i>Ḥūr</i> .222:10–13 <i>Bāb</i> .68:13–14, 69:5–8, 70:2–4 <i>MaqA</i> .7:1–9	[§151] 77:12–16
	V:44:2–4	<i>Ḥūr</i> .222:15–18; <i>MaqA</i> .8:12–14 <i>MaqA</i> .9:3–6 <i>Mugh.XX</i> ₂ :179:6–7 <i>MaqA</i> .24:5–9	[§90] 43:16–44:4 [§89] 43:8–12 [§89] 43:14–15

Tab. 27 (continued)

Faction	<i>Fiṣal</i>	BdC/Ash'arī's <i>Maqālāt</i>	Qummī's additions
Bayāniyya	cf.V:44:12–13	<i>Ḥūr</i> .215:12–13 <i>Bāb</i> .67:14–15 <i>MaqA</i> .5:11–13 <i>Mugh</i> .XX ₂ :178:14–15 <i>Ḥūr</i> .215:10–11 <i>MaqA</i> .22:7–10	[§69] 33:10–33:12 [§76] 37:9–38:2 [§73] 35:13–14
Manṣūriyya	V:45:3–18	<i>Mugh</i> .XX ₂ :179:8–17 <i>Ḥūr</i> .222:19–224:3 <i>Bāb</i> .107:6–109:6 <i>MaqA</i> .9:7–10:8, 24:10–25:8	[§94] 47:5, 6, 8, 9, 10 [§95–96] 47:15–48:9
Bazīghiyya	V:46:1	<i>Ḥūr</i> .221:9–10 <i>Bāb</i> .112:8–11 <i>MaqA</i> .12:3–7	[§103] 52:6 [§107] 54:15–17
Mu'ammariyya	V:46:3	<i>Ḥūr</i> .221:3 <i>Ḥūr</i> .221:3–6 <i>Bāb</i> .113:12–14 <i>MaqA</i> .11:9–13	[§105] 53:4 [§106] 54:10–14
Khaṭṭābiyya	V:49:13–16	<i>Ḥūr</i> .220:12–20 <i>MaqA</i> .10:9–11:7	[§101] 51:1–4
Ḥarbiyya (Mu'āwiyya/aṣḥāb 'abd allāh b. mu'āwiya etc.)	cf.V:50:1–3 cf.V:50:3–7	<i>Mugh</i> .XX ₂ :178:7 <i>Ḥūr</i> .214:17–18 <i>Bāb</i> .101:7 <i>MaqA</i> .6:11–13, 22:7 <i>Mugh</i> .XX ₂ :178:8–10 <i>Ḥūr</i> .214:18–20 <i>MaqA</i> .22:7–10 <i>Ḥūr</i> .215:1–2 <i>Bāb</i> .101:10–11 <i>MaqA</i> .6:5–6 <i>Ḥūr</i> .215:3–4 <i>Bāb</i> .102:1–3 <i>MaqA</i> .6:10–11 <i>Ḥūr</i> .215:1–4 <i>Bāb</i> .101:11–102:3 <i>MaqA</i> .6:5–11	[§63] 26:11–27:4 [§74] 35:16 [§83] 40:10–41:9 [§83] 41:9–11 [§83] 41:17–21 [§86] 42:17–43:1

Ibn Ḥazm does not have all the material on Shī'ī *firaq* that we find in the BdC, but he preserves elements from across its full range: he has parallels to Balkhī's *ift-irāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya proper, to the further material on the Ghulāt, and to the material on the Zaydiyya. As for the character of these parallels, he often

summarizes to the point where individual convergences, taken alone, would be insufficiently complex to use as evidence of source-dependency at all. Equally often, however, he preserves lengthy passages that consist in complex parallels to the BdC and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*. We will explore some key examples below. The *Fiṣal*'s material on Shī'i factions that is *not* paralleled in the BdC does not appear in any other extant third-century heresiography either. Most of it consists of Ibn Ḥazm's own commentary; some of it concerns much later factions; some of it appears to be drawn from historiographical works⁴⁰¹. At first glance, then, it seems possible that Ibn Ḥazm's whole presentation of Shī'i factions is just an idiosyncratically reorganized gloss of something very similar to Balkhī's material, interspersed with Ibn Ḥazm's own commentary and occasional supplements from other sources. In any case, it is very unlikely that Ibn Ḥazm would have ended up with a presentation of Shī'i factions that reflects Balkhī's so closely if they merely had several multiple sources in common⁴⁰². Rather, we should consider seriously only the possibilities either that Ibn Ḥazm was reliant (possibly via intermediaries) on a version of Balkhī's material or else that Ibn Ḥazm had a single source in common with Balkhī. Ibn Ḥazm and Balkhī/Ash'arī have material in common that does not appear in Qummī's *Maqālāt*. This is one reason why their potential common source cannot have been Qummī's *Maqālāt*, nor can Qummī have been an intermediary to either of them. We will soon see other reasons. The parallels between the *Fiṣal* and the BdC include the material on the Jārūdiyya that we know Balkhī obtained from Warrāq, making Warrāq the earliest possible candidate for that potential common source. As Balkhī was working directly from Warrāq's material, the question reduces to this: is the *Fiṣal* just another member of the BdC or is it a witness to Warrāq's material on the Shī'a independent of Balkhī?

To answer the question, we cannot simply see whether Ibn Ḥazm's version converges with Balkhī's against Warrāq's and thereby show positively that he must have been dependent on the transmission through Balkhī. To do that we would need either Warrāq's *Maqālāt* itself or at least two further independent witnesses

401 The commentary is scattered throughout the relevant section of the *Fiṣal*. More recent factions include Šūfī contemporaries of Ibn Ḥazm who believe they commune with Khidr (*Fiṣ.V:37:12–38:5*), the 'unbelievers of the Barghawāṭa' (*Fiṣ.38:5–6*), a group known as the Bajaliyya who became influential in Sūs under the governorship of Aḥmad b. Idrīs b. Yaḥyā b. Idrīs b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan (*Fiṣ.41:8–14*). Parallels in historiographical works include a very close parallel to a passage from Mas'ūdī on the 'Alyā'iyya and the Muḥammadiyya (*Fiṣ.V:47:7–12; Murūj:III:265:7–266:2*; see Friedländer 1908:101–103) and a passage on the execution of Bayān b. Sim'ān and Mughīra b. Sa'īd that closely echoes a report preserved by Ṭabarī (*Fiṣ.V:44:8–12; Ṭab.III:1620:3–16*).

402 That Ibn Ḥazm would have had access to several sources used by Balkhī is unlikely anyway given the late date and geographical remoteness of the *Fiṣal*.

to it. What we can do, however, is to try to repeat the argument Madelung used in respect of the *Fiṣal*'s parallels to Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*. Namely, if, within their larger parallels, the *Fiṣal* and Qummī's *Maqālāt* sometimes converge against Balkhī's version of a passage, then Ibn Ḥazm could not have obtained the material via Balkhī but must have taken it from Warrāq.

There are two major weaknesses to this method. The first is methodological: it only functions negatively. If we *do* find such convergences between the *Fiṣal* and Qummī's *Maqālāt* against the BdC, we can prove that Ibn Ḥazm was not dependent on the transmission through Balkhī and thus that Balkhī and Ibn Ḥazm had a common source in Warrāq's *Maqālāt*. But if we *do not* find such convergences, we do not thereby learn that Ibn Ḥazm was dependent on Balkhī. It simply means that both options remain open. For further purposes, we would have to err on the side of caution and presume that the *Fiṣal* does not provide an independent witness to the content of Warrāq's material on the Shī'a⁴⁰³. The second weakness has to do with the evidence-base: we do not have Balkhī's *Maqālāt* itself and we have positive evidence that there was more than one version of his material on the Shī'a. We also know that none of the texts of the BdC is a perfect witness to any of those versions. Even collectively, we have good reason to think that they do not preserve everything of Balkhī's 'originals'. The fact that an element is not witnessed in the BdC is thus not a reliable indication that it was absent from all versions of Balkhī's *Maqālāt*. Because of this, we will need to find numerous, preferably complex, extended instances where the *Fiṣal* converges with Qummī's *Maqālāt* against the BdC before we can conclude for sure that Ibn Ḥazm was not dependent on Balkhī's *Maqālāt*; one or two minor instances involving simple elements might result from the BdC not having preserved Balkhī's material intact⁴⁰⁴.

403 This is what we have done already in the case of Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, although there the balance of evidence slightly weighs in favour of the explanation that Ash'arī relied on Balkhī's material anyway.

404 In theory, by employing the same method as we are about to employ for the *Fiṣal*, we could also reopen the question of whether Ash'arī was dependent on Balkhī or Warrāq. In practice, there is no point, precisely because of the weakness of the evidence-base. There is only one instance of convergence between Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and Qummī's *Maqālāt* against the BdC. It occurs in the material on the Mughīriyya. Both Qummī and Ash'arī ascribe to some of the Mughīriyya the belief that the one killed in Medina was not Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan but a *shayṭān* made to appear in his form (*ṣūra*) (*MaqQ*.43:8–12; *MaqA*.9:3–6). This is found nowhere in the BdC, but this is insufficient evidence that it was not in Balkhī's *Maqālāt*. In particular, it is clear that both Ḥimyarī and Abū Tammām have left out elements present in the other; Abu Tammām, in particular, has also reworked and added material. We cannot assume that the two of them preserve everything, and all other texts of the BdC have much less still. As a result, the parallels in Qummī's

It is best to begin our examination of the parallels with an example representative of the general situation: the description of the Manṣūriyya. The versions in the BdC and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* were given in Tab. 11. Ibn Ḥazm's version and Qummī's main addition on the Manṣūriyya are now given in Tab. 28, which picks up the paragraph tagging from Tab. 11. The below discussion refers to the material in both tables.

Tab. 28: Qummī and Ibn Ḥazm on the Manṣūriyya.

MaqQ.47:15–48:9

[x⁷] وزعمت المنصورية أن آل محمّد هم السماء والشبيعة هم الأرض وزعموا أن قول الله وان يروا كسفا من السماء ساقطا يقولون سحاب مركوم أنّه أمّا يريد الذين لا يؤمنون بالعيان من المغيرية وزعموا ان الكسف الساقط هو أبو منصور وزعمت المنصورية ان اول خلق خلقه الله عيسى ثمّ عليّ بن أبي طالب فهما أفضل من خلوص خلقه وان الناس ممزوجون من نور وظلمة واستخلف جميع ما حرّم الله وقالوا لم يحزّم الله علينا شيئا تطيب به أنفسنا وتقوى به اجسادنا على قول المجوس في نكاح الأمهات والبنات وانما نحن بستان الله امرنا ان لا ننسى بستانه أبطلوا المواريث والطلاق والصلاة والصيام والحج وزعموا ان هذه أسماء رجال

Fiṣ.V:45:3–18

[x⁸] وقالت فرقة منهم نبوة أبي منصور المستنير العجلي وهو الملقب بالكسف وكان يقول إنه المراد بالقول الله عزّ وجلّ «وَأَنْ يَرَوْا كِسْفًا مِنَ السَّمَاءِ سَاقِطًا» وصلبه يوسف بن عمر بالكوفة وكان لعنه الله يقول إنه عرج به إلى السماوات وأن الله تعالى مسح رأسه بيده وقال له أي بنى اذهب فبلغ عنى وكان يمين أصحابه لا والكلمة وكان لعنه الله يقول بأن أول من خلق الله تعالى فعيسى ابن مريم ثمّ علي بن أبي طالب وكان يقول بتواتر الرسل وأباح المحرّمات من الزنا والخمر والميتة والخنازير والدم وقال إنما هم أسماء رجال وجمهور الرافضة اليوم على هذا وأسقط الصلاة والزكاة والصيام والحج وأصحابه كلهم خناقون رضاخون وكذلك أصحاب المغيرة بن سعيد

[z⁸] ومعناهم في ذلك أنهم لا يستحلون حمل السلاح حتى يخرج الذي ينتظرونه فهم يقتلون الناس بالخنق وبالجمرة والخشبية بخشب فقط وذكر هشام بن الحكم الرافضى في كتابه المعروف بالميزان وهو أعلم الناس بهم لأنه جارهم بالكوفة وجارهم في المذهب أن الكسفية خاصة يقتلون من كان منهم ومن خالفهم ويقولون نجل المؤمن إلى الجنة والكافر إلى النار

[b⁸] وكانوا بعد موت أبي منصور يؤدون الخمس مما يأخون ممن خفقوه إلى الحسين بن أبي منصور

[b⁷] فلما قتل افرق أصحابه فرقتين

وقالت طائفة الامام بعده الحسين بن أبي منصور

وقالت الأخرى انما كان أبو منصور مستودعا صاحب الاسباط ولكن الامامة في مخد بن عبد الله بن حسن وليس له ان يتكلّم لانه الامام الصامت حتىّ يقوم الامام الناطق

وأصحابه فرقتان

فرقة قالت إنّ الإمامة بعد محمد بن علي بن الحسين⁴⁰⁵ صارت إلى محمد بن عبد الله بن الحسن ابن الحسن⁴⁰⁶ وفرقة قالت بل إلى أبي منصور الكسف لا تعود في ولد علي أبدا

Maqālāt offer no reliable evidence relevant to the question of Ash'arī's source; we must stick with the previous conclusion.

405 Edition has الحسين.

406 Edition has الحسين.

Tab. 28 (continued)

MaqQ.47:15–48:9

[x⁷] The Maṣūriyya claimed that the family of Muḥammad are the Heavens and the Shi‘a are the Earth. They also claimed that the verse where God says ‘If they saw a piece of the heavens falling, they would say “gathered clouds”’ [Q52:44] refers to those of the Mughīriyya who do not believe the manifest evidence. They claimed that the piece of heaven that fell was Abū Maṣūr. The Maṣūriyya claimed that the first creature created by God was Jesus, then ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, making them the best of His creation⁴⁰⁷, and that people are composed of light and darkness. They considered licit everything that God has forbidden. They said, ‘God did not forbid anything by which our souls are replenished and our bodies fortified’, in accordance with the doctrine of the Zoroastrians concerning the marrying of mothers and daughters. They said, ‘We are God’s garden. He commanded us not to forget his garden’. They declared void the laws of inheritance and divorce, the prayer, the fast and the pilgrimage. They claimed that these were the names of men.

Fiṣ.V:45:1–18

[x⁸] A faction of them professed the prophethood of Abū Maṣūr al-Mustanīr al-‘Ijlī, who was nicknamed ‘*al-kisf*’ [i.e. ‘the piece’]. He said it was he who was intended where God says, ‘If they see a piece of the heavens falling. . .’ [Q52:44]. Yūsuf b. ‘Umar crucified him in Kūfa. He used to say – may God curse him! – that he was taken up to the Heavens and that God Almighty passed His hand over his head and said, “O my son, go forth and tell of me! The oath of his followers was, ‘Truly, by the Word! He professed – may God curse him! – that the first thing God created was Jesus son of Mary, then ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. And he also professed the continuity of the line of God’s Messengers. He permitted forbidden things, such as fornication, wine, carrion, pork and blood. He said that these things were the names of men. The majority of the Rawāfiḍ maintain this today. He abolished prayer, almsgiving, fasting and the pilgrimage. His followers were all stranglers and skull-crushers, as were the supporters of Mughīra b. Sa‘īd.

[z⁸] Their reason for this was that they did not consider it permissible to carry weapons until the one whom they await rebels. So, they killed people by strangling and stoning, and the Khashabiyya only with wood (*khashab*).

Hishām b. al-Ḥakam the Rāfiḍī, who was the most knowledgeable concerning them because he was their neighbour in Kufa and their neighbour in doctrine, mentioned in his book, *al-Mizān*, that the Kisfiyya in particular killed those who were with them and those who opposed them, saying, “We hurry the believer to Paradise and the unbeliever to Hellfire!”

407 Reading with Mashkūr’s suggested emendation to ‘*khalāqa min khalqihī*’.

Tab. 28 (continued)

<i>MaqQ.47:15–48:9</i>	<i>Fiş.V:45:1–18</i>
[b ⁷] When he was killed, his supporters divided into two factions:	[b ⁸] After the death of Abū Maṣṣūr, they used to deliver a fifth of what they took from those they strangled to al-Ḥusayn b. Abī Maṣṣūr.
A party said that the Imam after him is Ḥusayn b. Abī Maṣṣūr.	His followers were two factions:
The other said that Abū Maṣṣūr was a custodian, the 'companion of the descendants of Banū Hāshim' (<i>ṣāhib al-isbāt</i>), but the Imamate is for Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh bin al-Ḥasan. He is not permitted to speak because he is the silent Imam until the speaking Imam arises.	One faction said that the Imam after Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn was Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan.
	The other said that it passed to Abū l-Manṣūr al-Kisf and would never return to the descendants of 'Alī.

If we look at *x* in particular, Ibn Ḥazm follows the order of elements present in Balkhī's version almost exactly, the only exceptions being that he lacks the report on Abū Maṣṣūr's denial of Paradise and Hell, and that he inserts a version of *y* just after the *kisf*-element at the beginning. Qummī's version follows the order of Balkhī's too, but several elements present in Balkhī's and Ibn Ḥazm's versions are missing: Qummī does not mention the story of Abū Maṣṣūr's ascension to Heaven, the oath of the Maṣṣūriyya, the doctrine of the continuity of prophecy, or the practice of strangulation. Moreover, Qummī sometimes has slightly more material within the common elements: only in *x*⁷ do we learn that the Maṣṣūriyya understood Q52:44 to refer not only to Abū Maṣṣūr but also to the Mughīriyya who disbelieved him, that the Maṣṣūriyya held Jesus and 'Alī to be not only the first things created but also the best, and that their justification of antinomianism resembles the doctrine of the Zoroastrians concerning incestuous marriage. Neither Ibn Ḥazm nor Balkhī/Ash'arī have any of this.

Notably, one of Madelung's examples where the *Fişal* and Qummī's *Maqālāt* converge against Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* occurs in the description of the Maṣṣūriyya⁴⁰⁸, but it does not carry through to a convergence against the BdC. In *x*⁷ and *x*⁸, Qummī and Ibn Ḥazm both report that the Maṣṣūriyya declared religious duties to be void and they provide lists of these duties: Ibn Ḥazm gives 'prayer, almsgiving, fasting and pilgrimage'; Qummī gives 'laws of inheritance and divorce, prayer, fasting and pilgrimage'. Ash'arī mentions the denial of religious duties but entirely omits the list from *x*². From the *Hūr*'s *x*³, however, we can clearly see that Balkhī had exactly

408 Madelung 1967:49, n.73.

the same list as the *Fīṣal*. We have thus not excluded the possibility that Ibn Ḥazm's source was a version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt*.

Indeed, at the level of wording, Ibn Ḥazm's version of *x* is consistently much closer to Balkhī's and Ash'arī's than to Qummī's. There are also numerous opportunities for the *Fīṣal* to converge positively with Qummī's *Maqālāt* against the BdC, because Qummī's version diverges quite often from Balkhī's, but it never happens. Indeed, if we thought that Qummī's version was representative of Balkhī's source (which would then be Warrāq), we would immediately conclude that Ibn Ḥazm must have been dependent on Balkhī's version, not on that source. In any case, in none of this is there any evidence at all that Ibn Ḥazm did not rely on Balkhī's *Maqālāt*.

This is not to say that Ibn Ḥazm's version is identical to Balkhī's. Most obviously, the *Fīṣal* has *z*⁸ which mostly consists of information given on the authority of Hishām b. al-Ḥakam's *Kitāb al-mizān*. But this passage is unique to the *Fīṣal* and was presumably taken from another source entirely, perhaps directly from Hishām's work. It has nothing to do with Qummī's material. Ibn Ḥazm also summarizes *b* significantly and slightly reinterprets it. But in this too, there is no convergence with Qummī's version against Balkhī's. It is more likely to result from Ibn Ḥazm's own work or have occurred in the transmission to him. In short, the *Fīṣal*'s material on the *Manṣūriyya* appears simply to be an adapted version of something very similar to Balkhī's material, with a few additions from elsewhere. Ibn Ḥazm could easily have been working from a version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* here.

The situation in the description of the *Manṣūriyya* is essentially representative of that throughout the parallels. The *Fīṣal* usually converges very closely with Balkhī's material or else seems to summarize it. Where Qummī diverges from the BdC, as happens frequently, Ibn Ḥazm does not follow him. Ibn Ḥazm sometimes has extra material of his own, but there is no evidence that any of it comes from the same source as the parallels with the BdC and Qummī; it is usually clear that it comes from elsewhere. Often, Ibn Ḥazm summarizes, but not in the same way as Qummī. Moreover, the *Fīṣal* has nothing like the more detailed versions of common passages that we sometimes see in Qummī's *Maqālāt* and which we will discuss below.

More specifically, it is worth pointing out that all the remaining cases identified by Madelung where the *Fīṣal* and Qummī's *Maqālāt* converge against Ash'arī's fail to carry through to a convergence against the BdC:

- One of them occurs in another of Qummī's additions on the *Manṣūriyya*, where Qummī adds that the *Manṣūriyya* gave a fifth of the property of those they had murdered to their Imām [*MaqQ.47:5*]. This information is present in Ibn Ḥazm's version of *b* but is absent from Ash'arī's. However, it was clearly present in at least one version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt*, as Ḥimyarī and Abū Tammām both

have it. Moreover, in both Balkhī's and Ibn Ḥazm's versions, the Maṣṣūriyya give a fifth of what they had taken from those they had strangled to Ḥusayn b. Abī Maṣṣūr, Abū Maṣṣūr's successor. The information appears in their material on the succession dispute after the death of Abū Maṣṣūr and the point is that the faction did this because they recognized Ḥusayn, rather than Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan, as their Imām. The phrasing is nearly identical. Qummī, however, rather confusingly states that it was Abū Maṣṣūr who gave the Maṣṣūriyya a fifth of what they had taken.

- Another occurs in the material on the Mughiriyya. Ash'arī, Ibn Ḥazm, and Qummī all provide a report on the succession to the leadership of the Mughiriyya after the death of Mughira b. Sa'īd [*MaqA*.8:12–14, *MaqQ*.44:3–4; *Fiṣ*.V.44:2–4]. Of the three, Ash'arī alone does not list 'Abd Allāh b. Mughira amongst the successors. However, as witnessed by the *Hūr*, Balkhī not only included 'Abd Allāh b. Mughira in his version, but he and Ibn Ḥazm are the only two to give identical lists of successors: Jābir al-Ju'fī, Bakr al-A'war al-Hajari al-Qattāt, and 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mughira [*Hūr*.168:17–18]. Ash'arī omits 'Abd Allāh at the end, but Qummī omits Jābir at the beginning. Balkhī had the full list and Ibn Ḥazm could have taken it from him.
- Finally, Ibn Ḥazm and Qummī report that Bazīgh, one of the leaders of the Khaṭṭābiyya, was a weaver (*ḥā'ik*) in Kufa [*MaqQ*.52:6–9; *Fiṣ*.V.46:1]. Ash'arī's description of the Bazīghiyya [*MaqA*.12:1–10] is missing this detail, as are both Ḥimyarī's and Abū Tammām's [*Hūr*.221:8–13, *Bāb*.112:1–14], but Maqdisī's version has it [*Bad'*.V.130:11]⁴⁰⁹. Moreover, the general convergence is once again much closer between the *Fiṣal* and the BdC. Ibn Ḥazm's very brief report claims the Khaṭṭābiyya consisted of five factions, but he gives no doctrinal information, mentioning only the names and professions of three of the leaders besides Abū l-Khaṭṭāb himself: Bazīgh was a weaver; Mu'ammār was a wheat dealer (*bā'i' al-ḥiṭa*), and 'Umayr was a straw dealer (*tabbān*). The five factions and the three names coincide with Ḥimyarī and Ash'arī's presentation of the Khaṭṭābiyya, which, as we have seen, depicts the original Khaṭṭābiyya together with four sub-factions: the Bazīghiyya, the Mu'ammāriyya, the 'Umayriyya and the Mufaḍḍaliyya. Moreover, although Ḥimyarī omits both Bazīgh and 'Umayr's professions, he does state that Mu'ammār was a corn dealer [*Hūr*.221:123]. In this, he uses very similar terminology to Ibn Ḥazm (*kāna rajul^m yabī'u l-ḥiṭa*), whereas Qummī diverges, calling Mu'ammār merely a 'seller of food' (*bayyā'*

⁴⁰⁹ We cannot be sure that Maqdisī had no independent access to Warrāq's *Maqālāt*. But there is no evidence that he did. The way he puts together his material on the Zaydiyya (see p. 232–255) and on the Ancients (see p. 34–35) in parallel with Ḥimyarī's versions of the same strongly suggest that he was reliant on Balkhī, and only through him on Warrāq.

al-ṭa'ām) [*MaqQ*.53:4]. Ash'arī and Ḥimyarī both report that the head of the Mufaḍḍaliyya, Mufaḍḍal b. 'Umar, was a money changer (*ṣayrafi*) [*Ḥūr*.222:3; *MaqA*.13:5]. It thus appears that the common report on the five factions of the Khaṭṭābiyya that lies behind all these texts gave the professions of all the eponyms, and that these have been preserved variously in the extant texts. We cannot be sure that all five were present in Balkhī's 'original', but all of those preserved by Qummī and at least two of the three preserved by Ibn Ḥazm definitely were. It seems more likely the third was, too. In any case, there is no convergence between Qummī's and Ibn Ḥazm's versions against the BdC.

In fact, across the whole set of parallels, there are only two exceptions to the general situation. In these two cases only, the *Fiṣal* indeed appears to converge with Qummī's version against Balkhī's, although even one of these is ambiguous:

- In one of his additions, Qummī writes that the Ḥarbiyya claim that there are fifteen obligatory prayers a day, each containing seventeen prostration cycles [*MaqQ*.27:3–4]. Ibn Ḥazm states that Ibn Ḥarb taught that there are seventeen⁴¹⁰ prayers, each with fifteen prostration cycles [*Fiṣ*.V:50:2–3]. These could be variants of the same report, despite the divergence in detail, but this is not certain. Nothing similar appears in the BdC/Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*.
- The *Fiṣal*, the BdC/Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and Qummī's *Maqālāt* all preserve a report according to which the Kāmiliyya claimed 'Alī became an unbeliever (*kāfir*) after the death of the Prophet because of his failure to fight for the Imāmate [*Fiṣ*.V:41:15–42:2; *MaqQ*.14:10–15; *Mugh*.XX₂:176:10–13 *Ḥūr*.207:5–7; *Bāb*.105:15–106:2 *MaqA*.17:4–6]. But only Ibn Ḥazm and Qummī go on to report that the faction believed 'Alī returned to Islam when he later claimed the Imāmate and fought against his opponents.

These two instances *might* indicate that Ibn Ḥazm was not relying on a transmission of the common material via Balkhī, but they offer only the thinnest of evidence to support such a conclusion. The first is particularly uncertain. But even if we accept it, it remains highly suspicious, against a background where there are scores—if not hundreds—of divergences between Qummī's and Balkhī's versions of their common material, and thus plenty of potential for the *Fiṣal* to converge with Qummī's versions against Balkhī's, that we find only these two instances. Everywhere else, Ibn Ḥazm follows Balkhī's versions or diverges idiosyncratically. The far more likely explanation is that these two elements, or at least the second,

⁴¹⁰ "Seventeen" is Friedlaender's reading (1907:71). The Naṣr/Umayra edition used here has "nineteen".

stood in a version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* and simply haven't been preserved in the BdC. The conclusion of all this must be that whilst it is indeed *possible* that Ibn Ḥazm obtained the common material from Warrāq via a route of transmission independent of Balkhī (as this would be possible even if their texts converged completely), the available evidence is simply insufficient to exclude the possibility that Ibn Ḥazm's source was just a version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt*, and that the *Fiṣal* is thus just another member of the BdC.

1.4.2 The Parallels Between Qummī's Additions and the BdC

There are two sets of parallels between Qummī's *Maqālāt* and the BdC:

- As we have seen, Nawbakhtī and Balkhī have different versions of the same underlying *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya, which they must have taken ultimately from a common source, leading to numerous parallels between their works. Qummī essentially reproduced Nawbakhtī's version of the schema, albeit broken up by his numerous awkward insertions. He thus carried these parallels over from the *Firaq* into his own work.
- The other set occurs within Qummī's *additions* to the *Firaq*. These are the parallels listed in Tab. 27.

The parallels in the second set mostly converge with Balkhī's material on the Zaydiyya and the Ghulāt, i.e., material that did not come from the source Balkhī had in common with Nawbakhtī for the *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya. However, there are also several instances in the second set where Qummī's additions include parallels to elements of Balkhī's version of the *iftirāq*-schema that are absent from the *Firaq*'s. In particular, as can be seen from the table, Qummī has a description of the faction that believed Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya was placed in hiding at Raḍwā specifically as a punishment because of his submission to 'Abd al-Malik, as well as of the faction that turned to 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn after Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya's death, and of the faction that rejected believed in the Imāmate and Mahdism of Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan while rejecting Mughīra b. Sa'īd [*MaqQ*.43:14–15; *Mugh*.XX₂:179:6–7; *MaqA*.24:5–9]. All of these are absent from the *Firaq*'s version of the *iftirāq*-schema. Qummī's additions also contain parallels to material on the Ḥarbiyya, Bayāniyya, and Manṣūriyya that appears in Balkhī's *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya but not in Nawbakhtī's. This can be seen in Tab. 27 from those instances where Qummī's additions parallel the *Mughnī*. It thus appears that this set of Qummī's additions must draw on a source or sources that contained a version of the *iftirāq*-schema more similar to Balkhī's version, as well as at least some of the material on the Zaydiyya and Ghulāt that was available to Balkhī but does not appear in the *Firaq*. But how can this situation be explained?

One potential explanation is that Qummī's *Maqālāt* was itself Balkhī's source for the parallels listed in Tab. 27. The chronology is tight, as the works were written around the same time. But this explanation is quickly rendered implausible anyway by a cursory examination of the range of the parallels. Balkhī had relatively much too little of the material that appears in Qummī's *Maqālāt*: only the parallels to the additions listed in Tab. 27 and those already found in Nawbakhtī's *Firaq*. Moreover, as can be seen from the table, where the BdC has longer faction-descriptions, Qummī often breaks up the material and places it at several locations in his *Maqālāt*. Sometimes, this involves inserting short elements, consisting of a sentence or a few words, amidst Nawbakhtī faction-descriptions⁴¹¹. It is impossible that Balkhī could have brought together the material in the way he does without also having incorporated at least some of Nawbakhtī's content from these locations, yet this never happens.

Another potential scenario is that Balkhī's *Maqālāt* was Qummī's source for the additions. Again, chronology is an issue. Moreover, even if a version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* might have existed before Qummī's, the rapid reception of a Mu'tazilī doxography in Qom for information on the early Shī'a is highly unlikely. More importantly, however, as we will see below, the character of the parallels strongly militates against this possibility.

A third possibility is that the set of parallels listed in Tab. 27 could have arisen because Qummī was using a more complete version of Nawbakhtī's *Firaq* that already contained all these parallels to the BdC. In this case, Nawbakhtī's *Firaq* would be Qummī's source for both sets of parallel material. We could then posit that all the parallels go back to a common source used ultimately by Balkhī and Nawbakhtī. The problem here, however, is that Qummī does not insert the material that parallels Balkhī's version of the *iftirāq*-schema at the appropriate place in Nawbakhtī's version. Rather, these additions appear—like nearly all Qummī's other additions⁴¹²—completely out of place relative to the schema he took from Nawbakhtī. Three examples will suffice:

- In Balkhī's version of the schema, those who believed Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya was concealed at Raḍwā specifically as a punishment for submitting to 'Abd al-Malik appear as a sub-faction of those who believed simply that he did not die and was concealed at Raḍwā, i.e., in the post-Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya cluster [*Mugh.* XX₂:177:7; *Hūr.*212:3–4; *Bāb.*99:10–11; *MaqA.*20:1–3]. But Qummī does not put them in that position relative to the schema he took over from Nawbakhtī.

⁴¹¹ See the example of the Ḥarbiyya, p. 379.

⁴¹² See p. 695–706.

- Instead, they appear, nonsensically, in the post-ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib cluster, when the Kaysāniyya are first introduced [*MaqQ*.22:9–23:12]⁴¹³.
- In Balkhī's version of the schema, those who turn to ʿAlī Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn after Abū Hāshim's death appear, as we would expect, at the end of the post Abū Hāshim cluster [*Mugh*.XX₂:178:15–18; *Hūr*.215:15–18; *MaqA*.23:7–9]. But Qummī places them, senselessly, in Nawbakhtī's post-Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya cluster, amidst a series of additions on the Bayāniyya that are equally out of place [*MaqQ*.35:6–36:9]⁴¹⁴.
 - In Balkhī's version of the schema, there is a faction that rejects the Imāmate of Mughīra b. Saʿīd and follows Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan as Imām immediately after Bāqir's death [*Mugh*.XX₂:179:6–7; *MaqA*.24:5–9]. They appear after the Mughīriyya in the post-Bāqir cluster. But Qummī, for no obvious reason, places this faction after his material on the sub-factions of the Ḥarbiyya/Ḥārithiyya, long before the post-Bāqir cluster and the appearance of Nawbakhtī's material on the Mughīriyya [*MaqQ*.43:14–15].

It is extremely unlikely this would have happened if this material had already stood in a more complete version of Nawbakhtī's *Firaq*. This is because wherever there is convergence between faction-descriptions in the versions of the schema in the BdC and the *Firaq* that we have now, the material at least appears within the same *iftirāq*-cluster and its placement always makes logical sense (given the schema's basic assumptions). There is no case of convergence in content between material from Balkhī's and Nawbakhtī's versions of the schema in which Nawbakhtī places the material in the haphazard way we see in the parallels between Qummī's additions and Balkhī's version of the schema⁴¹⁵. The point is that Nawbakhtī did not carry out the kind of rearrangement in his version of the schema that we see in Qummī's additions. Qummī does sometimes rearrange material that he took from Nawbakhtī but never to this extent⁴¹⁶. Thus, it is very unlikely that these additions could have stood in a more complete version of the *Firaq*. Below, we will see further evidence for this from the character of the parallels.

If these three scenarios are ruled out, however, only one is left: Qummī's additions must share a source or sources with Balkhī's material. This is what makes the parallels in Qummī's additions potentially so important: they provide an independent witness to Balkhī's source(s) for much of his material on the Ghulāt, to

⁴¹³ See further, p. 698–699.

⁴¹⁴ See p. 701–702.

⁴¹⁵ Nawbakhtī does place material awkwardly relative to his version of the schema, but this is always material that does not appear in Balkhī's version and thus does not appear to have come from their common source. See p. 600–666.

⁴¹⁶ See *Tab*. 26.

some of his material on the Zaydiyya (especially that on the Şabbāhiyya and the Ya'qūbiyya), and to his version of the *iftirāq*-schema. This obviously implies that something more like Balkhī's version of the *iftirāq*-schema was present in a pre-Balkhī source and that Qummī would effectively have inherited two versions of the schema, one that came via that source and one that came via Nawbakhtī. Beyond this, however, it is not at all straightforward to establish the precise relationship of source-dependency.

If we assume that the parallels between Qummī's additions and the BdC all arise from a *single* common source, then that source must already have brought together something like Balkhī's version of the *iftirāq*-schema with something like parts of Balkhī's material on the Zaydiyya and the Ghulāt. That would make it very unlikely that this text could also be the common source from which Nawbakhtī drew his version of the *iftirāq*-schema, as Nawbakhtī lacks any version of the relevant material on the Ghulāt and the Zaydiyya at all. Rather, Qummī and Balkhī would have to have taken their common material from a shared intermediary, which would, in turn, have had a source in common with Nawbakhtī's *Firaq* for the *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya but additionally contained the *firaq*-material on the Zaydiyya and the Ghulāt that Qummī's additions and the BdC have in common. This scenario would fit well with something we suspected already: Balkhī and Nawbakhtī did not both draw directly on their common source for the *iftirāq*-schema⁴¹⁷.

The best candidate for Balkhī's direct source for all the relevant material—i.e., for the *iftirāq*-schema and all the relevant material on the Zaydiyya and Ghulāt—is Warrāq's *Maqālāt*, as we have seen⁴¹⁸. Qummī lacks the material that we are most certain goes back to Warrāq, namely that on the Jārūdiyya⁴¹⁹. Other material that it seems likely Balkhī took from Warrāq is also absent: Qummī has none of the material on Kathīr al-Nawwā' that appears in the *Ḥūr*, the *Bāb* and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*⁴²⁰; and he lacks the material on the Sulaymāniyya and the Butriyya that only the *Mughnī* and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* preserve⁴²¹. But he does have the descriptions of the Şabbāhiyya and the Ya'qūbiyya, which it is also likely that Balkhī took via Warrāq⁴²². That makes Warrāq a *plausible* candidate for Qummī's and Balkhī's common source, too. Indeed, this would be the neatest, most parsimonious solution for the parallels in Qummī's additions that accounts for all the evidence we have seen up to now: Warrāq and Nawbakhtī had a common source for the *iftirāq*-schema of the Imām-

417 See p. 301–302.

418 See p. 225.

419 See p. 204–209.

420 See p. 249–250.

421 See p. 253–255.

422 See p. 208 n.139.

iyā; Warrāq added the material on the Zaydiyya and the Ghulāt that Balkhī and Qummī's additions have in common; Balkhī used Warrāq's material; Qummī mostly relied on Nawbakhtī but made some additions from Warrāq (and elsewhere); Ash'arī relied on Balkhī or Warrāq; Ibn Ḥazm relied on Balkhī or Warrāq.

It is not, however, the only scenario that could accommodate the evidence. It is possible, for example, that Warrāq and Qummī had an earlier common source. If we then assume that that source had already have brought together a version of the *iftirāq*-schema with the material on the Zaydiyya and the Ghulāt that Qummī's additions and Balkhī have in common, this would imply one more intermediary between Balkhī and the source he shared with Nawbakhtī for the *iftirāq*-schema. It is also possible that either Balkhī and Qummī, or Warrāq and Qummī, had two or more earlier common sources, rather than all the parallels coming ultimately from the same work. That would significantly open up the range of possible relationships of source-dependency. To get any further with the question, we will need to look at the parallels in more detail.

To establish the general situation of the parallels between Qummī's additions to Nawbakhtī's *Firaq* and the BdC/Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, we can continue looking at the example of the description of the Manṣūriyya, Qummī's and Ibn Ḥazm's versions of which are given above in Tab. 28 and can be compared with the relevant material in the BdC and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* in Tab. 11. Quite obviously, Qummī's variants of the common elements are not as close to the BdC/Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* or to the *Fiṣal* in terms of wording as the latter texts are to each other. For comparison, they are also not as close as the parallels we see, for example, between Nawbakhtī's and Balkhī's versions of the descriptions in the *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya. Nevertheless, the discrepancies are still mostly a matter of paraphrasing; the parallels remain clear at the level of sentence structure, and significant overlaps in wording are frequent. There is clearly thus a common source at some point, but it cannot be that both Balkhī and Qummī preserve that source's material entirely faithfully.

Qummī sometimes has extra, unique material. Without a confirmed third witness to the common source, we cannot say for certain whether this was added by (or in the transmission to) Qummī or removed by (or in the transmission to) Balkhī. Nothing in the character of the extra material speaks sufficiently clearly in either direction. For example, only Qummī tells us that the Manṣūriyya's interpretation of Q52:44 involved holding it to refer not only to Abū Manṣūr but also to those of the Muḡhīriyya who disbelieved him. That is well integrated, unlikely to have been simply invented by Qummī, and plausibly stood in the common source already. But we cannot rule out that Qummī obtained this detail elsewhere. Something like the observation that the Manṣūriyya's justification for their antinomianism resembles the doctrine of the Zoroastrians concerning incestuous marriage is clearly a polemical comment. Such polemic is never found in the common material, possibly suggesting this is Qummī's own voice (or that of a unique intermediary). But that is

not decisive either; one can also imagine such comments being excised by Balkhī or an intermediary for the sake of a superficially more neutral presentation.

Several elements present in Balkhī's *x*, *y* and *b* are missing from Qummī's long addition given in Tab. 28, but that is not his only addition on the Manṣūriyya. He also makes three short insertions already within Nawbakhtī's description of the Manṣūriyya. These also seem to be related to elements of Balkhī's material:

- Nawbakhtī writes in the *Firaq* that Abū Manṣūr commanded his followers to kill their opponents by strangulation and assassination [*Fir*.34:14–15; *MaqQ*.47:4–5]. Qummī adds that Abū Manṣūr used to allow the Manṣūriyya a fifth of the spoils they acquired from these actions (*ja'ala lahum khums mā ya'khudhūna min al-ghanīma*) [*MaqQ*.47:5]. The latter claim seems to be related to an element found in the *Hūr* and the *Bāb*, in *b*³ and *b*⁴ (and the *Fiṣal*, in *b*⁸), according to which after Abū Manṣūr's death, the Manṣūriyya gave a fifth of what they had taken 'through their strangling' to Ḥusayn b. Abī Manṣūr.
- Nawbakhtī writes that Abū Manṣūr claimed God sent Muḥammad with the revelation but Abū Manṣūr himself with the interpretation [*Fir*.34:16–35:1; *MaqQ*.47:7–8]. Qummī adds that Abū Manṣūr claimed his status in relation to the Prophet was the same as that of Joshua in relation to Moses [*MaqQ*.47:8–9]. This resembles the claim that appears in the *Mughnī* and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* (in *b*¹ and *b*²) and in the *Hūr* and the *Bāb* (in *a*³ and *a*⁴) that some of the Manṣūriyya claimed Abū Manṣūr's status in relation to Muḥammad al-Bāqir was the same as that of Joshua in relation to Moses.
- Nawbakhtī writes that Khālid b. 'Abd Allāh al-Qasrī tried to capture Abū Manṣūr but failed [*Fir*.35:1–2; *MaqQ*.47:9]. Qummī adds that Yūsuf b. 'Umar al-Thaqafī captured Abū Manṣūr and crucified him [*MaqQ*.47:10]. This parallels *y*², *y*³ and *y*⁴ in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, the *Hūr* and the *Bāb* respectively (and appears in *x*⁸ in the *Fiṣal*).

The level of divergence in the wording of, and even the information given in, these short insertions is even greater than in the main addition given in Tab. 28. Balkhī writes in *b*³ and *b*⁴ that those Manṣūriyya who supported Ḥusayn b. Manṣūr (i.e., the Ḥusayniyya) gave him a fifth of what they had taken from those they strangled. The implication is that they paid him this *khums* because they considered him to be their Imām. Qummī instead has Abū Manṣūr giving the Manṣūriyya the *khums*, the significance of which is unclear, as it would be an inversion of the usual practice of rendering the fifth share to the leader of the Community⁴²³.

⁴²³ On the doctrine of the *khums* and its inflections amongst the Shī'a, see *Et*. "Khums" [Zysow and Gleave].

According to Balkhī, the analogy between the figures of Joshua and Abū Maṣṣūr was used to justify Abū Maṣṣūr's role as a 'custodian' of the Imāmate until the appearance of the Mahdī, Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan. The point is that Joshua supposedly acted as a custodian following Moses in order to smooth the transfer of power to the sons of Aaron and prevent dispute 'between the two lineages'. According to the analogy, Abū Maṣṣūr played a similar role by smoothing the transfer of power from the Ḥusaynids to the Ḥasanid, Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh (see especially b^2 , b^5 , and a^4). As such, it appears to be based on a widespread Muslim interpretation of Joshua's role in the Biblical narrative⁴²⁴. Qummī, however, splits the analogy from the claims concerning Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh completely, making it instead about the roles of the Prophet Muḥammad and Abū Maṣṣūr in respect of God's revelation. Here, it is the Prophet who has the role of Moses to Abū Maṣṣūr's Joshua and the analogy rests on the understanding that Joshua was the inspired interpreter of the revelation brought by Moses. It is much harder to see how the version described by Qummī could have been derived from either the Biblical or the Qur'ānic account, as Joshua does not play such a role in either⁴²⁵.

In these cases, too, of course, we cannot control for changes introduced by Qummī or Balkhī themselves. Nevertheless, Balkhī's variants are far more readily comprehensible than Qummī's. Moreover, Balkhī certainly didn't invent this himself; he must have taken it over from his source⁴²⁶. It is thus hard to explain how Qummī could have come up with these variants if they were both working directly from the same common source and *only* that source. The fact that he has broken up the material and inserted it amongst Nawbakhtī's description does not provide an adequate reason; these changes do not make the material fit better with what stood already in the *Firaq*. Nevertheless, Qummī's additional material still seems to be related to what appears in the BdC *somehow*. Perhaps there was some more distant relationship of source-dependency, perhaps Qummī was just working with a badly copied version of the common source, or perhaps he was harmonising material drawn from the common source with material taken from elsewhere. Without further confirmed witnesses, we cannot say.

Most of the other parallels between Qummī's additions and the BdC are equally equivocal in regard to the relationship of source-dependency. That is true of all the short examples. More promising divergences are to be found in the other longer descriptions, but they too usually get us no further in the end. There are, however,

⁴²⁴ On the Muslim traditions concerning Joshua, see *EP*². "Joshua" [Tottoli].

⁴²⁵ It is Aaron, not Joshua, who speaks on Moses' behalf (and thus 'interprets' the revelation) in both the Qur'an and the Bible. Indeed, the Qur'ānic Aaron seems to be a prophet in his own right; Joshua is not mentioned by name at all. See *EP*³. "Aaron" [Rippin].

⁴²⁶ See p. 566–568.

a few exceptions to this general situation. The best example is the material on the Ḥarbiyya, the versions of which from Qummī's *Maqālāt*, the *Mughnī*, the *Ḥūr* and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* are given in Tab. 29.

Tab. 29: Qummī, Balkhī and Ash'arī on the Ḥarbiyya.

MaqQ.40:10–41:9

[a¹] وكان سبب ادّعاء عبد الله بن معاوية الوصية والإمامة أن الحربية أصحاب عبد الله بن عمر بن الحرب افترقوا فيه لما ادّعى وصية أبي هاشم وأن روحه تحوّلت فيه وأنّ الإمامة تدور مع الوصية وتثبت بها كما ثبتت امامة عليّ بن أبي طالب بوصية رسول الله إليه فكان وصيا لذلك دون العباس بن عبد المطلب وسائر الناس من بني هاشم وصاروا فرقتين

[b¹] فرقة صدقته على ما ادّعى من وصية أبي هاشم

[c¹] وفرقة كذّبه وذلك انه يعلم ما في الارحام ويعلم الغيب ومواضع الكنوز وحدثت الدول وإته سيملك فيينا هو يومًا في منزل رجل بمدائن وكبراء أصحابه معه إذ دق جلاواز الباب وكان صاحب المنزل وعده حاجة ولم ويعرف عبد الله بن عمر والامر فوثب فرغًا وقال دعيتم أناكيب الشيطان فخرجوا جميعًا وطفر هو إلى دار رجل فاندقت ساقه فخرج صاحب الرجل إلى الرجل ثم خرج إليهم فقال لا بأس فرجع بعضهم وهرب الباقيون فقيل لعبد الله أنت كيف تكون امامًا كيف تعلم الغيب وما في الارحام وأنتك ستملك مع هذه الغفلة وهذا العقل فكذبوه

[d¹] ثم اجتمع امرهم على ان يخرجوا إلى المدينة يلتمسون امامًا من بني هاشم إذا كان لا بد لهم من إمام

[e¹] فييناهم بالمدينة متحيرين إذ أتى عبد الله بن معاوية فاخبره وخبرهم فارس إلى إليهم فلما دخلوا عليه قربهم وانتسب لهم واخبرهم بصفتهم وما قدموا له ورغبتهم ان هذا امر علمه بذاته وطبعه

[f¹] فقبلوا قوله وصدقوه وادعوا إمامته وأنه وصي أبي هاشم

Mugh.XX₂:178:6–9

[a²] والفرقة الثالثة زعمت أن أبا هاشم أوصى إلى عبد الله بن عمرو بن حرب وأن الإمامة تحولت⁴²⁷ إليه وتحولت⁴²⁸ روح أبي هاشم فيه ويسمون الحربية

[c²] ثم عرف كذّبه

[d²] فانصرف أصحابه يلتمسون امامًا آخر

[f²] فاستجابوا لعبد الله بن معاوية ابن جعفر بن أبي طالب وادعوا له الوصية.

MaqA.22:5–10

[a³] والفرقة العاشرة من الرافضة وهي الحربية اصحاب عبد الله بن عمرو بن حرب وهي التاسعة من الكيسانية يزعمون ان ابا هاشم عبد الله محمد بن الحنفية نصب عبد الله بن عمرو بن حرب امامًا وتحولت روح أبي هاشم فيه

[c³] ثم وقفوا على كذب عبد الله بن عمرو بن حرب

[d³] فصاروا إلى المدينة يلتمسون امامًا

[e³] فلحقوا عبد الله بن معاوية بن عبد الله بن جعفر بن ابي طالب فدعاهم ان ياتموا به

[f³] فاستجابوا له ودانوا بامامته وادعوا له الوصية.

427 Edition has 'بجواب'.

428 Edition has 'وبجواب'.

Tab. 29 (continued)

Hūr.214:16–20

[a⁴] وقالت الفرقة الثالثة من أصحاب أبي هاشم وهم الحربية إن أبا هاشم أوصى إلى عبد الله بن حرب الكندى وإنه الإمام بعده وإن روح أبي هاشم تحولت فيه
 [c⁴] ووقفوا على كذبه فرفضوه
 [d⁴] فذهب إلى المدينة يلتمسون إماماً
 [e⁴] فلقيهم عبد الله بن معاوية بن عبد الله بن جعفر بن أبي طالب فدعاهم إلى إمامته
 [f⁴] فأجابوه وقالوا بامامتته وادعوا أن أبا هاشم أوصى إليه

MaqQ.40:10–41:9

[a¹] The reason why 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya claimed the bequest [of Abū Hāshim] and the Imāmate was that the Ḥarbiyya, the followers of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr b. Ḥarb, split concerning him when he claimed the bequest of Abū Hāshim, that his spirit transferred into him, and that the Imāmate is entailed by the bequest and established by it, just as the Imamate of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib was established by the bequest of the Messenger of God to him, so he was the Inheritor of the bequest to the exclusion of al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib and the rest of the people of Banū Hāshim. They became two factions:

[b¹] One faction believed what he claimed about the bequest of Abū Hāshim.

[c¹] The other faction deemed him a liar. This was because he [claimed he] knew what was hidden in the womb, the realm of the unseen, the locations of treasures, events of political upheaval, and that he would come to rule. One day, while he was in the house of a man in Madā'in, along with his closest followers, there was a knocking at the door. The house owner had promised the man something, but 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr knew nothing about the matter. So, he immediately jumped up, frightened, and said, "you have called the . . .⁴²⁹ of Satan!" They rushed out together and he leapt into the compound of another man and broke his own leg. The house owner⁴³⁰ went out to the man [who had knocked on the door], then he went out to the others and said, "It was nothing to worry about!" Some returned, but the rest fled. 'Abd Allāh was asked, "How can you be the Imām, how can you know the unseen realm and what is in the womb, and claim that you will rule, when you show this stupidity and [lack of] intelligence? So, they held him to be a liar.

[d¹] Then they agreed to go to Medina in search of an Imam from Banū Hāshim, as they required an Imam.

[e¹] While they were in Medina, at a loss as to what to do, one of them came to 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya and informed him of their situation⁴³¹, so he sent for them. When they came before him, he approached them and associated with them, telling each of them about their distinctive features and what gifts they had brought to him, and made them want it to be true that he knew these things by means of his own essence and nature.

[f¹] So, they accepted his words, believed him, and claimed that he was the Imam and the Inheritor of Abū Hāshim's Bequest

429 Ar. anākib. Perhaps 'kilāb': 'dogs'.

430 Reading *ṣāhib al-manzil*, as suggested by Halm 1982:67.

431 Reading *akhbarahu bi-khabarihim*, as suggested by Halm 1982:67, n.93.

Tab. 29 (continued)

Mugh.XX₂:178:6–9	MaqA.22:5–10
[a²] The third faction claimed that Abū Hāshim made the bequest to ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Amr b. Ḥarb and that the Imāmate transferred to him and the spirit of Abū Hāshim transferred into him. They are called the Ḥarbiyya.	[a³] The tenth faction of the Rāfiḍa is the Ḥarbiyya, the followers of ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Amr b. Ḥarb. They are the ninth faction of the Kaysāniyya. They claim that Abū Hāshim ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya appointed ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Amr b. Ḥarb as Imām and the spirit of Abū Hāshim transferred into him.
[c²] Then they learned that he was lying.	[c³] Then they became aware that ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Amr b. Ḥarb was lying.
[d²] So, they set off in search of another Imām.	[d³] So, they went to Medina in search of an Imām.
[f²] They responded positively to ‘Abd Allāh b. Mu‘āwiya b. Ja‘far b. Abī Ṭālib claimed that he held the bequest [of Abū Hāshim].	[e³] They met ‘Abd Allāh b. Mu‘āwiya b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Ja‘far b. Abī Ṭālib. He called upon them to follow him as Imam. [f³] They responded positively to him and paid allegiance to his Imamate and claimed that he held the bequest [of Abū Hāshim].
Hūr.214:16–20	
[a⁴] The third faction of the followers of Abū Hāshim, the Ḥarbiyya, said that Abū Hāshim made the bequest to ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Amr b. Ḥarb al-Kindī, that he is the Imām after him, and that the spirit of Abū Hāshim transferred into him.	
[c⁴] Then they became aware that he was lying and rejected him.	
[d⁴] So, they went to Medina in search of an Imam.	
[e⁴] ‘Abd Allāh b. Mu‘āwiya b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Ja‘far b. Abī Ṭālib met them. He called them to his Imāmate.	
[f⁴] They responded positively to him, professed his Imāmate, and claimed that Abū Hāshim made the bequest to him.	

The framing of the two version is slightly different. Qummī presents a split in the original Ḥarbiyya between those who continued to believe that Abū Hāshim had bequeathed the Imāmate to ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Amr b. Ḥarb, on the one hand, and those who abandoned the belief in Ibn Ḥarb and instead turned to ‘Abd Allāh b. Mu‘āwiya as their Imām, on the other. Most of his material consists in a narrative that explains why the second faction did this (*c¹*, *d¹*, *e¹*, *f¹*). Balkhī/Ash‘arī’s version is concerned *only* with the equivalent of Qummī’s second faction; it does not

mention a faction that stuck with Ibn Ḥarb. However, Balkhī/Ash'arī too presents a narrative explaining why they abandoned Ibn Ḥarb for 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya (c,d,e,f). The basic content of the narrative and its outline structure is identical in both versions. There is also convergence in wording at a level beyond coincidence. For example, the phrase 'they went to Medina in search of an Imām' (*ilā l-madīna yaltamisūna imām^{an}*) in d, etc. Balkhī/Ash'arī's version, however, is much shorter. Most clearly, in c, Qummī presents a whole sequence of events leading to some of the Ḥarbiyya recognizing that Ibn Ḥarb's claims to supernatural knowledge were false. Balkhī reduces all of this to 'they became aware that he was lying'. In e, Qummī gives details on the exchange between 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya and the ex-Ḥarbiyya. Balkhī/Ash'arī writes only that they met 'Abd Allāh and he invited them to join him.

It is conceivable, of course, that Qummī is expanding on a skeleton version that was present in the common source and is preserved more faithfully by Balkhī/Ash'arī, but it is quite unlikely. In the common passages elsewhere, it is usually Qummī who has the more summarized versions. Moreover, it is very hard to see how he could have integrated all of this detail so well if he was just augmenting the common material with information taken from some other source (especially given his usual haphazard approach to combining material from different sources), and it is highly unlikely that he simply invented these details himself. In this case, then, the best explanation is that Qummī has better preserved the material that stood in the ultimate common source shared with Balkhī.

That explanation becomes still more compelling because there are at least two further cases. First, Qummī has an addition discussing a faction that believed Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya was concealed at Raḍwā as a punishment because of his submission to 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān [*MaqQ*.22:9–23:12]. Such a faction also appears in the BdC/Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* [*Mugh*.XX₂:177:7; *MaqA*.20:1–3]. Qummī's version, however, is much more detailed, comparing Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya's punitive concealment at Raḍwā with Adam's expulsion from Paradise and Jonah's stay in the belly of the whale. That at least some of this material stood already in the common source is made especially likely because Qummī there uses the phrase 'They claim that today they are in the wilderness, without an Imām' (*yaz'umūna annhum al-yawm fī l-tīh lā imām la-hum*) [*MaqQ*.23:5–6]. This exact phrase is also used by Balkhī, but in a completely different faction-description, that of the Kaysānī faction that followed the descendants of Abū Hāshim's nephew [*Hūr*.214:5; *MaqA*:21:1–2]. It thus appears to have been used by Balkhī and Qummī's common source to describe the state of various branches of the Kaysāniyya that awaited the return of

Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya⁴³². Here, too, then, we apparently have an instance where Qummī better preserved the ultimate common source shared with Balkhī.

Second, there are some of Qummī's additions on the Bayāniyya. In the BdC/Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, it is reported that the Bayāniyya believed that Abū Hāshim *awṣā* ('bequeathed') to Bayān b. Sim'ān but that the latter could not make a further *waṣīyya* ('bequest'), as 'it' would return to the source (*tarji'u ilā l-aṣl*) [*Mugh.* XX₂:178:15; *Hūr.*215:11–12; *MaqA.*23:5–6]. It is unclear what this is supposed to mean. Normally, we would expect that what was 'bequeathed' (*awṣā*) would be the Imāmate, but how would it return to the source, and who or what is this source? Qummī provides more detail but with a major difference. He states that the Bayāniyya believed that Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya (not Abū Hāshim) *awṣā ilā* Abū Hāshim (not Bayān), but that this was not a 'bequest' of the Imāmate after his death. Rather, it was an 'appointment of deputyship' (*waṣīyyat al-istikhlāf*) whilst he was in *ghayba* [*MaqQ.*34:6–9]. Then, in a subsequent addition, he uses a very similar phrase to Balkhī's to describe their belief that the *waṣīyya* would 'return to its source' (*raj'at ilā aṣliḥā*) after Abū Hāshim's death, specifying that this 'source' is Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya (not Abū Hāshim) [*MaqQ.*35:6–7]. The doctrine seems to be one of an interim Imāmate for Abū Hāshim whilst Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya was in *ghayba*, presumably because the Bayāniyya—in this account—were expecting Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya's imminent return⁴³³. The two reports obviously stand in some relationship of source-dependency: Balkhī's was a summary of something more like Qummī's, except that where Qummī has Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya and Abū Hāshim, Balkhī had Abū Hāshim and Bayān. This transposition occurs elsewhere, too. Qummī's Bayāniyya attribute to Abū Hāshim the miracle of holding the planet Venus in the palm of his hand [*MaqQ.*12–14]. In the BdC/Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, the Bayāniyya attribute this feat, rather, to Bayān [*Hūr.*215:13–14; *MaqA.*5:12–13]. We do not know which of them (or their potential intermediaries) is responsible for the transposition, although there are reasons to think that Qummī's information may come closer to what the Bayāni-

432 Van Ess suggests that this passage might have been present in Hishām b. al-Ḥakam's *Ikhtilāf al-nās fi l-imāma* and that Qummī took it directly from there, rather than via Nawbakhtī, as was the usual avenue of transmission. The underlying argument is that the use of *al-yawm* resembles the *ilā l-yawm* that van Ess associates with Hishām (see p. 664–666). As we have seen, however, the argument that Hishām's *Ikhtilāf al-nās* played an important role (or any role) amongst Nawbakhtī's sources is generally weak, and the *ilā al-yawm* formula anyway occurs only in material that lies outside that derived from his main source for the factions of the Imāmiyya. The specific formula used in Qummī's *Maqālāt* (*hum al-yawm fi l-tih. . .*) clearly connects it, rather, with Balkhī's version of the common *iftirāq*-schema, which cannot go back in this form to a work as early as Hishām (see p. 307–309).

433 See p. 518–519, p. 544.

yya really believed, or at least that this was the older version of the doctrine⁴³⁴. What is important for the moment, however, is simply that Qummī has detail that Balkhī lacks but which seems to be essential to make the faction-description comprehensible. It is not impossible that Qummī invented these details himself in order to make sense of something more like the boiled-down version we see in the BdC/Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, but it is not especially likely. He probably preserves something closer to the common source here, at least in some respects.

These observations strongly suggest that Qummī's and Balkhī's common source for this material must sometimes have contained a more detailed version than we see in Balkhī's *Maqālāt* (via the BdC). Thus, if we posited that Balkhī and Qummī's common source here was Warrāq's *Maqālāt*, we would have to conclude that Balkhī sometimes summarised Warrāq's material fairly heavily into the form we now see in the BdC. In that case, we would also have to conclude that Ibn Ḥazm and Ash'arī were dependent on a version of Balkhī's material, not directly on Warrāq's. This is because, as we have seen, Ibn Ḥazm's, Ash'arī's and Balkhī's faction-descriptions consistently converge on the less detailed versions against Qummī's more detailed versions; they could not independently have summarised the more detailed reports and ended up with results so consistent with one another. But if Qummī, rather, had a source or source in common with Warrāq, then Warrāq might be responsible for the summarising, and Balkhī, Ash'arī and Ibn Ḥazm could theoretically have used Warrāq's material independently of one another.

These observations also tell us something about the relationship of source-dependency between Balkhī's and Nawbakhtī's versions of the *iftirāq*-schema. This is because all the examples just discussed occur in descriptions that come from Balkhī's *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya proper, not from his additional material on the Ghulāt or his material on the Zaydiyya. Nawbakhtī's version of the *iftirāq*-schema does not have parallels to this material at all: he has very different material on the Ḥarbiyya and Bayāniyya⁴³⁵, does not mention the faction that

434 See p. 518–519, 565. Qummī has another addition in which he claims, more similarly to Balkhī, that a group of the Bayāniyya believed that Abū Hāshim bequeathed the Imāmate (*awṣā*) to Bayān, and that a group of those who believed in Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya's Imāmate ended up following him (*MaqQ*.35:13–14). That addition, however, has none of the other parallels to Balkhī's description of the Bayāniyya that we see in the earlier case. In general, it seems there was some underlying tension in the sources of the extant heresiographies over whether the Bayāniyya believed that Abū Hāshim was an interim leader whilst Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya was in *ghayba*, or whether they believed that it was Abū Hāshim himself who was the Mahdī in *ghayba*. Balkhī's report is possibly an attempt at harmonisation, in which it is Bayān who becomes the interim Imām with Abū Hāshim in *ghayba*. But it is also possible that the transposition was a genuine development in the doctrine of the group known as the Bayāniyya. See.

435 See p. 618–620.

claimed Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya was placed at Raḍwā as a punishment, omits the description of the faction that turned to ‘Alī Zayn al-‘Ābidīn after Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya’s death entirely, and does not have the material on the Manṣūrīyya discussed above (for an overview, see those passages listed in Tab. 27 where a parallel is listed for the *Mughnī*). There are thus three basic scenarios: (1.) all this material was present already in Balkhī and Nawbakhtī’s common source for the *iftirāq*-schema but was then omitted or replaced by Nawbakhtī; (2.) it was absent from Balkhī and Nawbakhtī’s common source for the *iftirāq*-schema and was then added by an intermediary to Balkhī from a separate source or sources in common with Qummī; (3.) it was absent from Balkhī and Nawbakhtī’s common source for the *iftirāq*-schema and was added by Balkhī himself from a separate source or sources in common with Qummī.

No decisive evidence from the parallels is available to decide between these options. The third scenario is, however, less likely than the second. For one thing, Balkhī would have had to have integrated all that previously disparate (and presumably Shī‘ī-origin) material so seamlessly and consistently with the material that came from the source in common with Nawbakhtī for the *iftirāq*-schema that it now appears as a completely integral part of Balkhī’s version of the *iftirāq*-schema. Given that Balkhī does not even seem to have brought his version of the schema up to date, it is improbable that he would have gone to the bother of integrating a few bits of information on first and second-century Shī‘ī factions from some source(s) other than his main source so thoroughly into the schema⁴³⁶. Moreover, all the evidence we have from the BdC indicates that Balkhī was using only two sources for his *firaq*-material on the Shī‘a—Zurqān’s and Warrāq’s *Maqālāts*—and it seems that the version of Balkhī’s material used by ‘Abd al-Jabbār and (probably) Ash‘arī may have used only Warrāq’s⁴³⁷. In any case, out of these two, the best candidate for the source of the material in Balkhī’s *iftirāq*-schema that is otherwise found only in Qummī’s additions is Warrāq, but that is equally true for Balkhī’s whole *iftirāq*-schema. It is thus more likely, based on the evidence we have, that Balkhī obtained all of the *iftirāq*-material—that in common with Nawbakhtī and that in common with Qummī’s additions—via Warrāq.

Moreover, we have seen already that it is unlikely that Nawbakhtī was relying on Warrāq’s *Maqālāt* in the *Firaq*, because he does not have any of Balkhī’s material on the Ghulāt or the Zaydiyya, except for what came to Balkhī from Zurqān⁴³⁸. The parallels between Qummī’s additions to the *Firaq* and the BdC serve only to

⁴³⁶ See p. 219, 720–727.

⁴³⁷ See p. 223–225.

⁴³⁸ See p. 438 and p. 253–255.

strengthen that case, as they involve some of the same material, as well as several of the elements of Balkhī's *iftirāq*-schema that do not appear in the *Firaq*. That means the two remaining scenarios effectively reduce to this: either (1.) the material present in Balkhī's version of the *iftirāq*-schema and Qummī's additions was already present in Warrāq and Nawbakhtī's common source for the *iftirāq*-schema but omitted or replaced by Nawbakhtī; or (2.) that material was absent from Warrāq and Nawbakhtī's common source for the *iftirāq*-schema and added by Warrāq (or an intermediary to Warrāq) from elsewhere. We still cannot say which based on the evidence of either parallels or citation marking. We will return to the question later.

As for Qummī, he was either (1.) reliant on Warrāq for the relevant material, in which case Warrāq had the more detailed versions of the reports on the Ḥarbiyya and the Bayāniyya that we see in Qummī's *Maqālāt* and Balkhī was responsible for the summarised versions; or (2.) Qummī and Warrāq had an earlier common source or sources, and Warrāq was responsible for the summarised versions. The former is the more parsimonious solution. It also has the implication that Ibn Ḥazm and Ash'arī must have been dependent on a version of Balkhī's material, not directly on Warrāq's *Maqālāt*, which would fit with the evidence we have seen so far.

1.4.3 Summary and Conclusions

Qummī's main source in his *Maqālāt* was Nawbakhtī's *Firaq*, to which he made numerous additions. One set of these additions consists of parallels to the BdC. The only credible explanation of this is that Balkhī and Qummī had a common source or sources, but we cannot pin down the specific relationship of source-dependency between them.

The post parsimonious scenario is that they both drew on Warrāq's *Maqālāt*. This would give the following scenario: Nawbakhtī and Warrāq shared a common source for the *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya; Warrāq added material on the Ghulāt and the Zaydiyya to what he took from that source; Qummī based his *Maqālāt* on Nawbakhtī's *Firaq* but added extra material, including from Warrāq's *Maqālāt*; Balkhī used Warrāq's *Maqālāt*; Ash'arī used a version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt*. But this cannot be confirmed based on the evidence we have. Even if Balkhī probably did obtain the parallel material via Warrāq, Qummī and Warrāq may have had an earlier source or sources in common.

We could quickly get further if we had a confirmed independent witness to the content of Warrāq's *Maqālāt* on the Shī'a. There is insufficient evidence that Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* is such a witness, as we have seen. Another candidate for such a witness is Ibn Ḥazm's *Fiṣal*. If Ibn Ḥazm were indeed such an independent witness, then the character of the parallels would make it implausible that Qummī also

drew on Warrāq's material; we would have to assume Qummī and Warrāq had an earlier source or sources. But there is insufficient evidence that Ibn Ḥazm did not simply obtain the material that goes back to Warrāq via Balkhī's *Maqālāt*. In its absence, we cannot assume that the *Fīṣal* provides an independent witness to Warrāq's material either.

In the end, all this uncertainty is not a grave problem for the purposes of this study; we don't need to pin down the exact route of transmission of each body of material in order to draw significant conclusions about the component parts of the tradition. The major conclusions we have reached so far, such as the fact that Nawbakhtī and Balkhī ultimately have a common source for the *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya composed after 212/837 and probably not long after 220/835, and that Zurqān's *Maqālāt* is the common source of a certain body of material on the Zaydiyya are unaffected by the parallels in Qummī's *Maqālāt*. What is at stake in the interpretation of these parallels is, rather, the *intermediate* transmission: how did certain bodies of material, including the *iftirāq*-schema, reach Balkhī, Qummī, and Nawbakhtī, and what was the role of Warrāq's *Maqālāt* in this process?

In this regard, the parallels between Qummī's additions and the BdC at least seem to corroborate the suspicion that Balkhī did not receive the *iftirāq*-schema directly from his source in common with Nawbakhtī for this material. It came to Balkhī, but not Nawbakhtī, via Warrāq.

1.5 The *firaq*-Material in Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī's *Zīna*

Rāzī's *Zīna* is a lexicographical work, one part of which explains terms used to refer to the factions of Islam, as well as to departure or departers from correct belief more generally [*Zīna*.1:3–90:2]. The explanations in the section dealing with the names of the factions of the Shī'a [*Zīna*.54:6–90:2] frequently parallel Nawbakhtī's *Firaq*, although Rāzī organizes the material differently and also has much material that does not appear in the *Firaq*. Sometimes, entire descriptions have nothing in common at all; more often, Rāzī has short, unique elements mixed in amongst otherwise common passages. An overview of the parallels with the *Firaq* is provided in Tab. 30.

Tab. 30: *Firaq* material on the Shī'a in Rāzī's *Zīna* vs. Nawbakhtī's *Firaq*.

<i>Zīna</i>	Parallels	
	<i>Zīna</i>	<i>Firaq</i>
Nāwūsiyya 54:17–55:3	54:17–55:3	57:9–15
Shamṭiyya 55:5–14	55:5–14	64:15–65:7
Fuṭḥiyya 55:16–56:13	55:16–56:13	65:10–66:8
Ismā'īliyya 56:15–58:14		
Mubārakiyya 58:16–59:2	58:16–59:2	58:9–16
Khaṭṭābiyya 59:4–16	59:4–10	58:17–59:8
Wāqifa (Mamṭūra) 59:18–60:11	60:5–8 60:8–11	67:5–68:2, 68:7–8 68:17–69:8
Qaṭ'iyya 60:13–61:10	60:15–17 60:17–18 60:18–61:1	71:14–72:1 67:8–9 72:3
Tāḥiniyya 61:12–62:9	61:12–14	82:8–13
Factions after the death of Ḥasan al-'Askarī 62:11–64:18	62:14–64:8 64:13–14	79:16–88:4 89:17–90:4
Kaysāniyya 65:2–68:13	65:4–7 68:6–10	20:11–21:8 26:3–12
Karibiyya 69:2–7	69:2–6 69:6–7	20:10–11 25:1–4
Bayāniyya 69:9–17	69:10–11 69:12–17	27:11–12 30:8–31:2
Hāshimiyya 70:2–4	70:3–4	28:3–14
Ḥārithiyya 70:6–16	70:6–11 70:11–16	29:3–12 31:11–32:2
'Abbāsīd Shī'a 71:2–10	71:3–5	29:13–30:7

Tab. 30 (continued)

<i>Zīna</i>	Parallels	
	<i>Zīna</i>	<i>Firaq</i>
Rizāmiyya 71:12–15	71:13–15	42:4–5
Followers of Abū Muslim 71:15–16	71:15–16	41:14–42:2
Hurayriyya 72:4–73:15	72:4–6 72:7–73:3	42:6–10 43:6–44:11
Rāwandiyya 74:2–5	74:2–5	46:15–47:1
Zaydiyya, Jārūdiyya/Surḥūbiyya 74:7–75:15	74:12–75:15	48:7–50:12
ʿIjliyya/Butriyya 75:17–76:18	76:2–6 76:9–12 76:15–17	18:1–9 8:15–9:5 55:14–16
Mughiriyya 77:2–16	77:2–16	53:16–55:5
Ghulāt 77:18–81:2		
Sabaʿiyya 81:3–82:7	81:6–12	19:9–20:5
Salmāniyya 82:9–12		
Khaṭṭābiyya 82:13–16		
Bazīghiyya 83:2–4	83:2–4	38:15–17
Muʾammariyya 83:6–9	83:6–9	cf. 39:7–41:5
Ghulāt 83:10–84:2		
ʿAlyāʿiyya ⁴³⁹ 84:4–9		

⁴³⁹ The edition has *ʿghalyāʿiyya* based on the Leipzig manuscript. Here, I read with Halm 1978:161, n.93., which would also allow the vocalization *ʿulyāʿiyya*.

Tab. 30 (continued)

<i>Zīna</i>	Parallels	
	<i>Zīna</i>	<i>Firaq</i>
'Ayniyya 84:10–11		
Mīmiyya 84:12–13		
Mukhammisa 84:13–17		
Aṣḥāb al-Tanāsukh 85:2–87:14	85:15–86:1 86:2–4 86:5–6 86:10–11	32:10–14 36:8–10 33:4 33:9–10
Aṣḥāb al-Raj'a 88:2–90:2		

Wherever the parallels occur, the *Zīna* consistently converges with Nawbakhtī's version of the material, not Qummī's, and none of Qummī's additions appear. From this, we learn that Rāzī's source for the parallels was not Qummī's *Maqālāt*. Meanwhile, the *Firaq* and Qummī's *Maqālāt* converge with one another where Rāzī has unique, divergent material, for example on the Ismā'īliyya [*Zīna*.56:15–58:14 vs. *Fir*.57:16–58:8; *MaqQ*.80:5–12], as well as frequently on longer versions of descriptions, only parts of which appear in the *Zīna*, for example on the Mubārakiyya [*Zīna*.58:16–59:2 vs. *Fir*.85:9–16; *MaqQ*.80:13–81:4] or the Mughīriyya [*Zīna*.77:2–16 vs. *Fir*.53:16–55:6; *MaqQ*.76:7–77:11]. That tells us Nawbakhtī and Qummī cannot separately have been dependent on the *Zīna*⁴⁴⁰. There is the possibility that Nawbakhtī alone was dependent on the *Zīna*, and Qummī then on the *Firaq*. But that is chronologically highly unlikely⁴⁴¹. Moreover, it could not make sense of the parallels between the *Firaq* and the BdC. Rāzī's ordering of the *firaq*-material does not employ the *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya that forms the backbone of Nawbakhtī's presentation. As we have seen, that schema is also found in the BdC, albeit in a slightly different version. There is no way that Nawbakhtī could have taken the raw

⁴⁴⁰ That thesis was suggested by Ḥusayn al-Hamdānī in the introduction to his 1957 edition of the first part of the *Zīna* (*Kitāb al-Zīna*, ed. Ḥamdānī, Intr., pp. 24–26). It was rejected already by Madelung (1961:67, n.131).

⁴⁴¹ Cornelius Berthold places the composition of the *Zīna* in the early fourth century, and several of Rāzī's lexicographical sources were also written around the same time as the *Firaq* (Berthold 2019:42–44).

material from the *Zīna* and independently worked it into an *iftirāq*-schema schema along with all the elements that do not appear in the *Zīna* yet still have produced this result; the schema must have been present in Nawbakhtī's source⁴⁴². It is thus Rāzī's *Zīna* that represents the later reworking of the material.

The main remaining question is whether Rāzī's principal source was the *Firaq* itself or whether they had an earlier common source. Madelung and Cornelius Berthold have already argued convincingly that the former is at least usually the case⁴⁴³. The strongest argument, set out by Berthold, is similar to that made by Madelung concerning the relationship between Qummī's *Maqālāt* and the *Firaq*⁴⁴⁴. In addition to all the parallels concerning older factions, Rāzī's account of the factions that emerged following Ḥasan al-'Askarī's death appears to be based on Nawbakhtī's. He gives the first nine factions of the post-Ḥasan al-'Askarī cluster in exactly the same order, with short descriptions that seem to be extracted from Nawbakhtī's longer accounts [*Zīna*.62:14–64:8; *Fir*.79:16–88:4]; they also have the same faction eleven [*Zīna*.64:13–14; *Fir*.89:17–90:4]⁴⁴⁵. In theory, Rāzī's version might, rather, be a witness to a common source, upon which Nawbakhtī expanded. But this is some of Nawbakhtī's very newest material, which he most likely composed himself without reliance on a written source⁴⁴⁶. If, despite this, there were still a common source for the passage, it obviously must have been written after 260/873. Certainly, it could not be a work anywhere near as early as, for example, Hishām b. al-Ḥakam's *Ikhtilāf al-nās fi l-imāma*. But if there were such a common source, it would mean Nawbakhtī's *Firaq* was little more than a facsimile of a work composed a few years beforehand. We should prefer the explanation that Rāzī simply used the *Firaq* itself⁴⁴⁷.

442 See p. 348–350.

443 Madelung 1961:67, n.131; Berthold 2019:48–51.

444 Madelung 1967:37–38.

445 Rāzī removes Nawbakhtī's tenth faction, the Nafisiyya, as well as the fourteenth, probably because they end up supporting the Imamate of Ja'far b. 'Alī after 'Alī al-Hādī and Ḥasan al-'Askarī respectively. These positions are already covered by factions three and four (See Tab. 15). Instead, Rāzī presents the Twelvers as his tenth faction, although he does not use that name, bringing him to eleven factions in total, instead of Nawbakhtī's thirteen. Nawbakhtī had presented his roughly equivalent Imāmiyya as his twelfth faction, but Rāzī's version is an update: where Nawbakhtī claims the Imāmiyya hold it is not permissible to mention the hidden Imām's name, Rāzī (like Ash'arī, *MaqA*.18:8–9) states simply that they claim his name is Muḥammad. That is the difference of the thirty years or so between the composition of their works.

446 See Madelung 1967:37–38.

447 Berthold 2019:50–51. Berthold provides further arguments based on the linguistic characteristics of the passage: it employs feminine singular verbs with the subject '*fīrqa*', which is characteristic of Nawbakhtī, whilst Rāzī usually uses masculine plural verbs, agreeing *ad sensum* (*Ibid.*:51).

There is still the possibility, however, that Rāzī *also* had access to (one of) Nawbakhtī's sources. That is precisely what Berthold suggests. He does not make the argument underlying his position entirely explicit, but his evidence clearly comes from a comparison of the *Zīna* with both the *Firaq* and *Uṣūl al-niḥal*⁴⁴⁸. Berthold accepts Madelung's hypothesis that Nawbakhtī's main source was Hishām b. al-Ḥakam's *Ikhtilāf al-nās fi l-imāma*. He also accepts the suggestion, originally made by van Ess, that the parallels between *Uṣūl al-niḥal* and the *Firaq* indicate that ps.-Nāshī' used Hishām's text at the relevant locations, too⁴⁴⁹. From there, Berthold observes that amongst all the parallels between the *Zīna* and the *Firaq*, there are seven that also appear in *Uṣūl al-niḥal*⁴⁵⁰. He then draws the conclusion that in at least three of them, a comparison of the content across the three works can be used to identify elements that must go back to their mutual common source, which he takes to be Hishām b. al-Ḥakam's *Ikhtilāf al-nās fi l-imāma*. He goes on to suggest that Rāzī may have consulted Hishām's text directly⁴⁵¹.

Even if Madelung's and van Ess's hypotheses were taken for granted, however, Berthold's argument would not follow in the form in which he presents it; vital steps have been left out. Above all, he does not say why Rāzī could not simply have been relying on Nawbakhtī's *Firaq* also in these passages, as is the case elsewhere. His reason is presumably that within the passages he identifies, there are smaller elements over which the *Zīna* and *Uṣūl al-niḥal* converge with one another against the *Firaq*. He must take their presence to imply that Rāzī could not have been dependent only on the version of the *Firaq* we have. Four possible explanations would follow from this: (1.) Rāzī used a more complete version of the *Firaq*, in which the convergences between *Uṣūl al-niḥal* and the *Zīna* would have been present; (2.) Rāzī had access to *Uṣūl al-niḥal* itself; (3.) Rāzī had access to a source shared with ps.-Nāshī' but not with Nawbakhtī; (4.) Rāzī had access to material from ps.-Nāshī' and Nawbakhtī's common source via a route independent of both. Berthold does not mention the first three of these options, but he must have dismissed them for some reason, leading him to conclude that the fourth obtains. Following Madelung

448 *Ibid.*:53, 55.

449 *Ibid.*52, 54–55.

450 *Ibid.*:53. He initially talks of eight passages, but specifically identifies only three, stating that the other five examples are to be found “im Kaysāniyya-Kapitel oder danach”. In the footnotes to his edition, however, he only identifies seven parallels with *Uṣūl al-niḥal*: the three mentioned previously plus four more.

451 *Ibid.*55.

and van Ess, he then takes this source to be Hishām's *Ikhtilāf al-nās fi l-imāma* and surmises that Rāzī consulted it directly⁴⁵².

Of course, given the results of the previous sections of this chapter, we can no longer accept the assumption that Nawbakhtī's main source was Hishām. Van Ess's argument that ps.-Nāshī's source was Hishām also relies on Madelung's original suggestion concerning Nawbakhtī's source. It, too, thus also stands in need of reassessment. This will be undertaken in section 1.6. Nevertheless, Berthold's implicit observations concerning the character of the parallels between the three works remain relevant to the question of their relationship of source-dependency. For this reason, they deserve further attention here.

To begin with, it is worth repeating that there are numerous parallels between the *Zīna* and the *Fīraq* (see Tab. 30). As Berthold argues, this is because the latter is usually Rāzī's source. There are also numerous parallels between the *Fīraq* and *Uṣūl al-niḥal*. These are explored in detail in section 1.6.2, below. As concluded there, they are certainly evidence of a common source or sources of some kind used by Nawbakhtī and ps.-Nāshī'. Now, in many instances where there is a parallel between the *Fīraq* and *Uṣūl al-niḥal*, there is also a parallel passage to be found in the *Zīna* (compare the discussion in 1.6.2 with Tab. 30). This, however, is usually to be attributed simply to the fact that Rāzī's main source is the *Fīraq*, as per Berthold's argument. There is usually no reason at all to think there must be some other relationship of source-dependency between the *Zīna* and *Uṣūl al-niḥal*, independent of the route of transmission to Rāzī through Nawbakhtī. We only need to entertain this latter possibility at all if we can find instances of convergence between the *Zīna* and *Uṣūl al-niḥal* where the *Fīraq* is either divergent or lacks the material entirely.

There is a lot of material in *Uṣūl al-niḥal* that does not appear in the *Fīraq* and there is plenty of minor divergence even within the generally common material, so there is plenty of opportunity for the *Zīna* and the *Uṣūl al-niḥal* to converge against the *Fīraq*. Yet it does not happen often. Indeed, there is only one passage present in the *Zīna* and *Uṣūl al-niḥal* that does not appear at all in the *Fīraq*: three lines of verse from Kuthayyir 'Azza on the situation of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya whilst in hiding at Raḍwā [*Zīna*.68:3–5; *Niḥ*.26:16–18]. There are six further passages where Berthold sees a particularly close resemblance between the *Zīna* and *Uṣūl al-niḥal*, but in

⁴⁵² Van Ess also thinks that Rāzī somehow had access to material from Hishām independently of Nawbakhtī, but he does not give any explanation as to why, except that there is resemblance between their material (Van Ess 2011:510–511). But in all the examples he cites, there is no reason to think that Rāzī's source was not simply Nawbakhtī. Van Ess further suggests there was possibly an intermediary: Naṣr b. Ṣabbāḥ al-Balkhī (on whom see *Ibid.*:269–270). But this is pure speculation.

all of them, there is a corresponding passage in the *Firaq*. Thus, we are looking for smaller elements within these otherwise common passages over which the *Zīna* and the *Uṣūl al-niḥal* converge against the *Firaq*. We will go through all seven in some detail, beginning with the three that Berthold flags up as particularly significant.

The first case Berthold draws special attention to is a passage in the description of the 'Abbāsīd Shī'a concerning Abū Hāshim's bequest of the Imāmate to Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-'Abbās [*Zīna*.71:2–3, *Niḥ*.30:16–18]. But it is hard to see why. The parallel with the *Firaq* at this point is at least equally as close [*Fir*.29:13–15] and there is no element shared by the *Zīna* and *Uṣūl al-niḥal* that is not also present there. Moreover, this is an integral part of a much longer parallel between the *Zīna* and the *Firaq* [*Zīna*.71:2–9, *Fir*.29:13–30:7], whereas *Uṣūl al-niḥal* diverges completely after *Niḥ*.30:18. There is thus no evidence in this passage that Rāzī's source was not simply the *Firaq*.

The second of the cases Berthold mentions specifically is a passage in the description of the Mughiriyya concerning the occultation of Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan [*Zīna*.77:4–6, *Niḥ*.46:7–8]. Again, there is also a close parallel to this line in the *Firaq*, but it is just one part of a longer parallel between the *Zīna* and the *Firaq* [*Zīna*.77–2–7; *Fir*.53:16–54:4], whereas *Uṣūl al-niḥal* otherwise diverges. There are also further parallels thereafter between the *Zīna* and the *Firaq* [*Zīna*.77:9–12; *Fir*.55:1–5, and *Zīna*.77:13–16; *Fir*.54:8–11] for material mostly absent from *Uṣūl al-niḥal*. The part all three have in common is nevertheless worth examining in more detail. Rāzī has “he is residing at a mountain (*muqīm bi-jabal*) called al-Ṭamiyya, being the mountain on the Mecca road, opposite al-Ḥājiz (*fi ṭarīq makka bi-ḥidhā' al-ḥājiz*), on the left of the one who is heading in the direction of Mecca. It is a large mountain”. Nawbakhtī has “he is residing at a mountain (*muqīm bi-jabal*) called al-'Almiyya, being the mountain on the road between Mecca and al-Najd al-Ḥājiz (*fi ṭarīq makka wa-najd al-ḥājiz*), on the left of the road as you are heading in the direction of Mecca. It is the large mountain”. Ps.-Nāshī' has much less, giving only “at a mountain called al-Ṭamiyya, which is on the Mecca road, opposite al-Ḥājir (*fi ṭarīq makka bi-ḥidhā' al-ḥājir*)”. Even in this short passage that all three have in common, the *Zīna* is still generally closer to the *Firaq* than to *Uṣūl al-niḥal*. However, there are some potentially significant convergences between the *Zīna* and *Uṣūl al-niḥal* against the *Firaq*: the name of the mountain (*al-ṭamiyya* vs. *al-'almiyya*) and part of the description of its location (*fi ṭarīq makka bi-ḥidhā' al-ḥājiz* vs. *fi ṭarīq makka wa-najd al-ḥājiz*). The problem, however, is that the divergences in the *Firaq* do not involve missing elements or even major variants; they are merely cases of variant readings of the *same* elements. These could have occurred later in the transmission of the *Firaq* and there is some evidence this is indeed what happened. In the discrepancy over the name of the mountain, *'almiyya* is an obvious misreading of *ṭamiyya*. The *ṭā'* has been

read as *‘ayn-lām*. Qummī, who is also dependent on the *Firaq*, has *ṭamiyya* too [MaqQ.76:11], so the divergence likely occurred later in transmission of the *Firaq*; it did not stand in Nawbakhtī’s ‘original’. The discrepancies over *ḥājiz/ḥājir* are obviously simply variant readings, but in this case, it is the *Firaq* and the *Zīna* that agree against *Uṣūl al-niḥal* anyway.

The only convergence that is potentially more significant is that over *fi ṭarīq makka bi-ḥidhā’ al-ḥājir/z* (*Uṣūl al-niḥal* and the *Zīna*) vs. *fi ṭarīq makka wa-najd al-ḥājiz* (the *Firaq*). Even here, however, *bi-ḥidhā’ al-ḥājiz* could easily have been turned into *najd al-ḥājiz* by scribal error, the final *alif* of *حدا* being confused with the initial *alif* of *الحا* and dropped, thus giving *حدا* instead of the correct *حدا الحادر*. The initial *wāw* of *wa-najd* would then have been added for compensation, as the misreading is otherwise senseless. At the equivalent point, Qummī has *fi ṭarīq makka najd al-ḥā’ir* [MaqQ.76:11]. But the passage is clearly corrupt, as the footnotes further make clear, and Mashkūr, the editor, has possibly been guided in his reading by the present text of the *Firaq* anyway. That makes it difficult to assess the value of this evidence. Nevertheless, the edition of Qummī’s *Maqālāt* clearly lacks the compensatory *wāw*. Without it, it is still more likely we are indeed looking at the misreading suggested above. To get further with this, the manuscripts would have to be consulted. But even then, the matter probably could not be resolved satisfactorily, and the central point would remain: this precarious evidence-base is simply insufficient to determine that Rāzī was not still using the *Firaq* here, especially as the *Zīna* is otherwise much closer to the *Firaq* than to *Uṣūl al-niḥal* throughout the passage.

The third case to which Berthold draws special attention is a passage on the Saba’iyya concerning the belief that ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib “did not die and will not die until he drives the Arabs with his staff” [Zīna.81:6–7, Niḥ.22:16–17]. Again, there is a parallel in the *Firaq*, but it is part of a much longer parallel between the *Zīna* and the *Firaq* [Zīna.81:6–12, Fir.19:9–20:5], whereas *Uṣūl al-niḥal* otherwise diverges. In the part shared by all three, the only convergence between the *Zīna* and *Uṣūl al-niḥal* against the *Firaq* is that the latter adds the elements “was not killed” and “will not be killed”, which are absent from the other two. Qummī does not have the “will not be killed” either but he does have the “was not killed” [MaqQ.19:20], so that at least presumably goes back to Nawbakhtī. Once again, such slight evidence does not demonstrate that Rāzī was not using the *Firaq*. It may simply be that he summarized out these small elements even if they were present in the copy of Nawbakhtī’s text that he used. Again, the *Zīna* is otherwise much closer to the *Firaq* here.

Two further cases identified by Berthold also offer no positive evidence that Rāzī’s source was not simply the *Firaq*. Both concern the Zaydiyya. The first involves a passage on the Jārūdiyya [Zīna.74:7–8, Niḥ.42:14–15]. However, the par-

allel here does not seem to have been identified correctly. *Niḥ*.42:14–15 is much closer to *Zīna*.74:14–15, although some elements are present at both locations⁴⁵³. At that latter location however, there is a much longer parallel between the *Zīna* and the *Firaq* [*Zīna*.74:14–75:2; *Fir*.48:8–13], of which the parallel in *Uṣūl al-niḥal* is merely a part. Even in the part shared by all three, the *Zīna* is much closer to the *Firaq* than to *Uṣūl al-niḥal*. The only element in which there is convergence between the *Zīna* and *Uṣūl al-niḥal* against the *Firaq* is that the former two use the term *muftaraḍ al-tā'a* where the latter uses *mafrūd al-tā'a*, but this is hardly enough to demonstrate that Rāzī couldn't have derived the passage from the *Firaq*. Nawbakhtī himself uses *muftaraḍ al-tā'a* elsewhere [e.g., *Fir*.51:10].

The other passage on the Zaydiyya concerns the Butriyya [*Zīna*.76:2–4; *Niḥ*.43:15–18]. Again, however, this seems to be a slight misidentification of the parallel. *Zīna*.76:2–6 is obviously derived, rather, from a combination of *Fir*.9:1–2 and *Fir*.18:1–9, which overlap somewhat. The latter passage has no true parallel in *Uṣūl al-niḥal*; *Niḥ*.43:15–18 is a much closer parallel to *Fir*.9:1–5, although, again, there are overlaps⁴⁵⁴. In any case, there is nothing at all here that could imply Rāzī wasn't simply deriving his material from Nawbakhtī's.

The most promising evidence that Rāzī might have had access to material from ps.-Nāshī's source(s) independent of Nawbakhtī comes, rather, from the remaining two cases. The first consists of the three lines of poetry from Kuthayyir 'Azza on the topic of Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya's occultation at Raḍwā [*Zīna*.68:3–5; *Niḥ*.26:16–18]. These lines do not appear at all in the *Firaq*; Nawbakhtī only cites poetry he attributes to Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī at the relevant point [*Fir*.26:8–27:6]⁴⁵⁵. Clearly, then, this material common to Rāzī and ps.-Nāshī' cannot have reached Rāzī via (this version of) the *Firaq*. That does not mean, however, that the lines came to Rāzī from the common source used by ps.-Nāshī' and Nawbakhtī (or by any direct source shared by Rāzī and ps.-Nāshī') either. The ultimate common source here is obviously Kuthayyir himself; the question is whether there is also a line of transmission shared by ps.-Nāshī' and Rāzī, or whether Rāzī simply obtained the verses elsewhere.

At this point, it should be noted that Rāzī's main source on the Kaysāniyya is neither the *Firaq* nor any source shared with Nawbakhtī and/or ps.-Nāshī'. The *Zīna* usually, rather, parallels Mubarrad's (d.286/900) *Kāmil fī l-lughā wa-l-adab*, presenting material entirely absent from the *Firaq* and *Uṣūl al-niḥal*⁴⁵⁶. The three lines from Kuthayyir 'Azza do not appear in the *Kāmil*, but they are well witnessed elsewhere. Most importantly, they are given by Balkhī/Ash'arī and by Qummī

⁴⁵³ *Zīna*.74:7–8 is closest to *Fir*.51:9–11, which is anyway absent from *Uṣūl al-niḥal*.

⁴⁵⁴ On the parallels between the *Firaq* and *Uṣūl al-niḥal* here, see below, p. 462–464.

⁴⁵⁵ See above p. 321.

⁴⁵⁶ See Berthold's notes to *Zīna*.65–68, and p. 710, esp. n.1231.

[*Hür*.212:9–11; *MaqA*.19:12–14; *Raw*.140r:18–21; *MaqQ*.29:1–3], as well as by Ibn Qutayba in his *Kitāb al-Shiʿr wa-l-shuʿrā* and by Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī's [d.360/971] in the *Aghānī*⁴⁵⁷. While *Uṣūl al-niḥal* gives six verses of the relevant *qasīda*, including one verse witnessed nowhere else, and the other sources all give five of these, Rāzī gives only three lines that everyone else also cites. The key point is this: these verses were more widely available, and it is not necessarily the case that Rāzī picked them up from a source he had in common with Nawbakhtī or ps.-Nāshī' at all. That possibility is further corroborated by the fact that Rāzī later cites some verses from Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī that are not given by Nawbakhtī, ps.-Nāshī' or Mubarrad (or any of the other heresiographers) [*Zīna*.68:12–13]. It thus appears likely that Rāzī is assembling the poetic material from multiple sources at this point. The three lines are thus hardly convincing evidence that Rāzī had access to Nawbakhtī and ps.-Nāshī's common source⁴⁵⁸.

That brings us to the final case, and the one that provides the strongest evidence. It involves another passage on the Kaysāniyya (here labelled the Karibiyya by Rāzī), which presents their justification for the doctrine that Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya was the Imām [*Zīna*.69:2–4, *Niḥ*.24:18–20]. There is also a parallel in the *Fīraq* [*Fir*.20:10–11]. The passage is very short. Even so, there are several features in which the *Zīna* and the *Fīraq* still converge against *Uṣūl al-niḥal*. First, both texts understand the justification as a support for the claim that Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya was Imām immediately after 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib; *Uṣūl al-niḥal* understands it as a justification that he became Imām after Ḥusayn b. 'Alī. Second, both texts state that the kernel of the justification is that Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya “was in charge of his father's standard on the day of [the Battle of] Baṣra” (*kāna ṣāḥib rāyat abīhi yawm al-baṣra*); *Uṣūl al-niḥal* has the close variant “he was in charge of 'Alī's standard on the day of [the Battle of] the Camel” (*kāna ṣāḥib rāyat 'Alī 'alayhi al-salām yawm al-jamal*). Third, both texts state explicitly that this was “to the exclusion of his two other sons” (*dūna akhawayhi*), which is missing entirely from *Uṣūl al-niḥal*. However, there is also one element upon which the *Zīna* and *Uṣūl al-niḥal* converge against the *Fīraq*: they additionally have the phrase “just as 'Alī was in charge of the standard of the Messenger of God, peace be

457 Ibn Qutayba, *Shiʿr wa-l-shuʿrā*, 517:2–4 and Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, IX:13:4–6.

458 After the three lines of poetry, Rāzī gives a prose description of the Kaysāniyya's doctrine concerning Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya's situation at Raḍwā (*Zīna*.68:6–8). This is close to a passage found in both the *Fīraq* and *Uṣūl al-niḥal* but diverges from both of them in several respects. It is closer, intriguingly, in some elements to the Balkhī/Ash'arī version (cf. e.g., *MaqA*.19:7–8), but generally also that version is much closer to Nawbakhtī's and ps.-Nāshī's than is Rāzī's. Again, one suspects that Rāzī has the material here via a completely different line of transmission. Qummī has yet another version of this material not dependent on transmission through Nawbakhtī or any source Nawbakhtī shared with ps.-Nāshī' (see p. 700–701).

upon him" (*ka-mā kāna 'Alī ṣāhib rāyat rasūl Allāh, ṣ-l-'m*), to which ps.-Nāshī' alone further adds "on the day of [the Battle of] Ḥunayn" (*yawma ḥunayn*).

Clearly, at this point in his text, Rāzī cannot have been working only from the version of the *Firaq* we have now. One explanation of the situation is indeed that he was using ps.-Nāshī' and Nawbakhtī's common source independent of Nawbakhtī. It is not, however, the only possible explanation. Another, which could also explain some of the other, more incidental, convergences between the *Zīna* and *Uṣūl al-niḥal* listed above, is that Rāzī had a slightly different version of the *Firaq*, one which stuck slightly more closely to whatever source Nawbakhtī shared with ps.-Nāshī' in these few instances. If we saw lots of convergence between the *Zīna* and *Uṣūl al-niḥal* against the *Firaq*, especially if it involved larger passages entirely absent from the latter, then the first explanation would be the more convincing. But that is not at all what we see. Rather, we are talking about a tiny handful of minor convergences against a background where convergence between the *Zīna* and the *Firaq*, even over the latter's newest material, is overwhelmingly predominant. That makes the second explanation more parsimonious. But there is nothing further to adjudicate between them.

In any case, even if we were sure that Rāzī also used material from Nawbakhtī's and ps.-Nāshī's common source independent of the transmission via the *Firaq*, the character of the relevant parallels means this would be of little further use. These few, minor convergences between the *Zīna* and *Uṣūl al-niḥal* against the *Firaq* would provide such little information about the content of the common source anyway that they merit no further consideration in this regard. In all other convergences with *Uṣūl al-niḥal* and the *Firaq*, we still have to assume that Rāzī was working from the *Firaq*, so we cannot use the parallels to determine anything about Nawbakhtī's and/or ps.-Nāshī's earlier sources anyway.

A rather different argument that Rāzī also used Nawbakhtī's source(s) directly, as well as via the *Firaq*, was made by Jamal Ali in his 2008 study of the *Zīna*, although he does not commit to the source's identity⁴⁵⁹. Ali utilises another potential, but less reliable form of evidence. In passages otherwise parallel to the *Firaq*, the *Zīna* sometimes incorporates additional material. Either Rāzī added this from elsewhere or else he had access to Nawbakhtī's source and preserved the passages more fully than did Nawbakhtī. Ali assumes the second explanation must be valid in at least some cases, although he does not explain why. The only example he gives is the description of the Fuṭūḥiyya⁴⁶⁰. There, Nawbakhtī presents various reasons the faction put forward in favour of the Imāmate of 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far, including the

459 Ali 2008:129–130.

460 *Ibid.*:128–129.

argument that he was the eldest of Ja'far's living sons and that he had convened his father's *majlis*. These arguments are bolstered by a *ḥadīth* that the Fuṭḥiyya cited from Ja'far to the effect that the Imāmate always goes to the eldest son of the Imām [*Fir*.65:8–11]. At the equivalent point, Rāzī provides several more reasons advanced by the Fuṭḥiyya based on traditions attributed to Ja'far concerning how the next Imām would be recognized [*Zīna*.56:3–9].

Ali concludes that the extra material must have stood in a common source, but he gives no reason why this should be preferred to the explanation that Rāzī simply added it from elsewhere⁴⁶¹. Yet, based on the evidence at hand, the latter is more likely. The material does not appear in *Uṣūl al-niḥal* or, indeed, anywhere else. In the absence of a third witness, the only criterion that might allow us to judge whether the additional material stood in a common source used by Nawbakhtī and Rāzī or was simply added by Rāzī from elsewhere is how well it is integrated into the common material. Yet, whilst it is sometimes reasonable to conclude that a passage is poorly integrated (e.g., if there is a sudden, clear rupture in theme, structure, or style), it remains uncertain how to interpret this observation with respect to source-dependency⁴⁶². Authors are capable of composing disjointed material themselves and/or of combining heterogeneous material without obvious seams. In this case, we know that Rāzī sometimes does the latter. As well as summarizing and glossing Nawbakhtī's descriptions, he occasionally combines material from more than one location in the *Firaq*. This is done in such a way that if we did not have the *Firaq*, it would now be undetectable, despite the subtle thematic shifts involved⁴⁶³. Moreover, we know that Rāzī also used sources other than the *Firaq*, as the *Zīna* has material on Shī'ī factions that does not appear there, but for which we can find parallels in other works, e.g., the *Kāmil*, as mentioned above. It is thus evident both that Rāzī had other sources alongside the *Firaq* and that he reorganized, spliced and reworked his source material in a way that often produces homogenous-looking passages of text. As a result, wherever he includes larger and smaller amounts of additional material amongst the parallel passages, there is no reason to prefer the explanation that it was taken from one of Nawbakhtī's own sources, no matter how well integrated it appears to be. We should assume a different source⁴⁶⁴.

⁴⁶¹ *Ibid.*:128–130.

⁴⁶² See p. 10.

⁴⁶³ For example, on the Kaysāniyya, the Karibiyya, the Bayāniyya and the Butriyya (see Tab. 30).

⁴⁶⁴ It would be different if Nawbakhtī ever obviously provided a summary of a report preserved in longer version by Rāzī, as we see in the case of Qummī and Balkhī's material on the Ḥarbiyya (see p. 381–386). Even there, however, that evidence is good only for further tipping the balance where a common source is already by far the most likely explanation and where there is no evidence at all

All this means that, for the current purposes of establishing the relationships of source-dependency in the extant *firaq*-material on the Shī'a, the *Zīna* is usually only useful as a control on Qummī's alterations to Nawbakhtī's text. That is to say that where the *Zīna* agrees with the *Firaq* against Qummī's *Maqālāt*, the most likely explanation is that Qummī altered the material he took from the *Firaq*, rather than that Qummī preserves a more complete version of Nawbakhtī's text⁴⁶⁵. The *Zīna* cannot, however, provide us any reliable insight into Nawbakhtī's own sources, or those of any earlier third-century heresiographer.

1.6 The *firaq*-Material in *Uṣūl al-niḥal*

In the study accompanying his 1971 edition of *Uṣūl al-niḥal*, Van Ess cautiously posited that the text's author, whom he then took to be Nāshī' al-Akbar, drew on Hishām b. al-Ḥakam's *Ikhtilāf al-nās fi l-imāma* for its *firaq*-material on the Shī'a⁴⁶⁶. His suggestion was based on two considerations: first, the observation of parallels between *Uṣūl al-niḥal* and Nawbakhtī's *Firaq*; second, the arguments Madelung had made in his 1967 article to the effect that Hishām's *Ikhtilāf al-nās* was Nawbakhtī's source in the relevant sections of the *Firaq*⁴⁶⁷. The hypothesis was later addressed by Madelung whilst undertaking his widely accepted re-dating of *Uṣūl al-Niḥal* to roughly the 230s. There, he appeared to endorse it, as long as the text indeed dates

of Qummī's dependence on Balkhī. Here, the situation is different: it is already clear that Rāzī used Nawbakhtī's *Firaq* and we are looking for evidence that he *also* had access to Nawbakhtī's source.

In the case of the Fuṭḥiyya, it is quite likely anyway that Rāzī would have added the extra material. As an Ismā'īlī, the succession to Ja'far was of special doctrinal significance to him. He would probably still have been aware of various arguments and traditions connected with it that were used by the various parties. Indeed, it seems such *ḥadīth* were known more widely. For example, Nawbakhtī mentions that one of the reasons the Fuṭḥiyya considered 'Abd Allāh Imām was that he had convened his father's *majlis*. Rāzī adds the extra clarification that Ja'far had explicitly stated that the one who convened his *majlis* would be the Imām. Qummī goes even further, providing the words of a *ḥadīth* to this effect (*MaqQ*.87:21–88:2). That might have constituted evidence that both Rāzī and Qummī also had access to Nawbakhtī's source here. But the *Zīna* never otherwise converges with Qummī's additions, making that explanation quite unlikely. Moreover, Qummī does not insert the *ḥadīth* next to Nawbakhtī's statement regarding the convening of the *majlis*, where it would make most sense and where we would expect it if it 'originally' belonged there in a common source. Rather, he simply tacks it onto the end of the report, at some remove from the statement (which is at *MaqQ*.87:2). It would thus seem that Qummī and Rāzī were independently aware of the tradition.

465 For arguments made on this basis, see p. 350–351 esp. n.388.

466 van Ess 1971b:26, 32, 54.

467 See p. 257–272.

from the period he suggested⁴⁶⁸. It subsequently became the default explanation of the parallels between *Uṣūl al-niḥal* and the *Firaq* and has never received substantial reconsideration⁴⁶⁹.

It is indisputable that there are significant parallels between *Uṣūl al-niḥal* and the *Firaq*. *Uṣūl al-niḥal* is the earlier work. Thus, as long as we can rule out that Nawbakhtī was dependent on *Uṣūl al-niḥal* itself (which we can), then the parallels imply that there is a yet earlier common source or sources at some point in the history of the material. If we took Madelung's theory that Nawbakhtī's main source was Hishām's *Ikhtilāf al-nās* as a given, it would indeed be plausible that the common material also came to ps.-Nāshī' from Hishām, directly or via intermediaries. But Madelung's hypothesis about the sources of the *Firaq* should never simply have been taken as a given in the interpretation of the parallels in *Uṣūl al-niḥal*.

468 Madelung 1980:225. Madelung began from the position that Hishām's *Ikhtilāf al-nās* had been Nawbakhtī's source only as far as the factions that emerged after Muḥammad al-Bāqir's death (following his own reasoning in Madelung 1967:45–47). *Uṣūl al-niḥal*, however, covers the situation up to the aftermath of Mūsā al-Kāzīm's death. An author as late as Nāshī' al-Akbar would then have had to have taken the material on the post-Ṣādiq and post-Kāzīm schisms from some other, later source. But, Madelung contended, any source for that information is likely also to have covered the earlier schisms. Nāshī' could then simply have been relying on that later source throughout, but we have no clue as to what this later source might have been. Instead, Madelung suggested, these difficulties can be resolved more simply if we adopt his re-dating of *Uṣūl al-Niḥal* to roughly the 230s (for which he had numerous other, convincing arguments), but he did not explicitly set out why. He was perhaps implying that an author from that period could have extended Hishām's presentation himself, thus allowing us to keep the theory that Hishām's text was also the source for the parallels in *Uṣūl al-niḥal*. But a Baghdadi Mu'tazili writing around 230, such as ps.-Nāshī', would presumably still have required a source for the information on the factions that emerged after the deaths of Ja'far and Mūsā, so the re-dating does not obviously resolve the problem he raises anyway; one would still have to posit an intermediary between Hishām and ps.-Nāshī'. Of course, if the common source was not Hishām, the structure of the problem changes anyway.

469 Some scholars who have dealt with *Uṣūl al-niḥal* subsequently continue to echo van Ess's initial circumspection up to a point, but then proceed on the basis that the hypothesis is proven. For example, Bayhom-Daou 1996:84 (=2003a:100) initially states it is merely 'likely' that ps.-Nāshī's source was also Hishām but by pg.87 (=2003a:102–103), it is "clear that pseudo-Nāshī' was responding to and modifying Hishām's allegation". Indeed, she raises the possibility several times that *Uṣūl al-niḥal* might be a closer reproduction of Hishām's text in some places than is the *Firaq*. This means that whatever level of uncertainty she allows for, in practice she works as if ps.-Nāshī's source is indeed Hishām's *Ikhtilāf al-nās*. Van Ess himself in his later writing sometimes appears to commit more fully to the theory. At *TG.I:377*, the theory is true "by all appearances" (*allem Anschein nach*) but at *V:71* there is no doubt that Hishām's text was both Nawbakhtī's and ps.-Nāshī's source. At van Ess 2011:148, we are back to "probably" but at 2011:211, it is stated as fact. Berthold's analysis (2019:52–55) of the parallels between the *Zīna* and *Uṣūl al-niḥal* departs from the assumption that ps.-Nāshī's source is indeed Hishām, which he thinks is true 'in all likelihood' (*aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach*).

Rather, the hypothesis itself should have been re-evaluated based on the new evidence. That became still more pressing once Madelung had demonstrated that *Uṣūl al-niḥal* is a much earlier witness to whatever source(s) it has in common with the *Firaq* than is the *Firaq* itself.

Even in advance of a detailed analysis of the parallels, there are two obvious problems that should have been addressed from the beginning. The first is that, of the total material in the *Firaq* that Madelung attributed to Hishām, the material in common with *Uṣūl al-niḥal* is only a small sub-set; there is also a lot of 'unique' material in the relevant sections of both works. The parallels thus establish only that *part* of the material in both texts goes back to a common source. That does not, of course, exclude the possibility that unique material in either text also goes back to the same source as the common material. However, Madelung's original argument asserted that the early sections of the *Firaq* must have a single second-century source only because of their 'internal unity'⁴⁷⁰. Yet it is not obvious that *Uṣūl al-niḥal*'s Shī'a-section has any less internal unity than the relevant parts of the *Firaq*, even though both texts have so much unique as well as common material. At the very least, then, the parallels in *Uṣūl al-niḥal* place a question mark over the 'internal unity' argument for a single source behind the early sections of the *Firaq*. They also suggest another potential explanation: that whilst ps.-Nāshī' and Nawbakhtī ultimately had at least one source in common, they also drew on other sources to form their material on the Shī'a. The second problem is that the parallels extend beyond the section of the *Firaq* for which Madelung thought Nawbakhtī was relying on Hishām's text and into the section where Hishām, for reasons of chronology, cannot have been the source. That suggests that if they only have a single source in common, it wasn't Hishām's *Ikhtilāf al-nās* but some later work. Thus, whilst the parallels support the basic contention that Nawbakhtī used earlier sources, they do not straightforwardly corroborate the specifics of Madelung's theory.

In any case, it has been shown above that there are many other reasons to reject the hypothesis that Nawbakhtī's main source in the early parts of the *Firaq* was Hishām b. al-Ḥakam's *Ikhtilāf al-nās fi l-imāma*. Nawbakhtī apparently drew, rather, on several sources, only two of which can be identified more precisely. One was the source for the *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya, which was composed after 212/827 at the earliest and probably not long after 220/835 at the latest. Material from this source was also used ultimately by Balkhī/Ash'arī, apparently via an intermediary shared with Qummī, possibly Warrāq's *Maqālāt*. Nawbakhtī's other identifiable source was Zurqān's *Maqālāt*, which he used, however, only for his *ikhtilāf*-section on the doctrine of the Imāmate. The evidence for Nawbakhtī's use of both sources

⁴⁷⁰ See p. 262–264.

comes primarily from a more thorough examination of the parallels between the *Firaq* and the BdC/Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* than had been undertaken previously. The task here is to integrate the parallels from *Uṣūl al-niḥal* into that analysis, reassessing the conclusions reached so far in light of the 'new' evidence and establishing what we can say, based upon it, about the sources of *Uṣūl al-niḥal* and the transmission of the *firaq*-material to the other extant texts.

We will discuss the evidence in two main stages. First, 1.6.1 provides an overview of the structure of *Uṣūl al-niḥal*'s *firaq*-material on the Shī'a to help orient the reader in the subsequent discussion. 1.6.2 examines the parallels between *Uṣūl al-niḥal*, the *Firaq* and the BdC in the material on the Shī'a. The conclusions are then summarized in 1.6.3.

There is another body of parallels with *Uṣūl al-niḥal*, namely those in Rāzī's *Zīna*. Both van Ess and Berthold have used these to suggest that Rāzī may also have had access to the common source behind *Uṣūl al-niḥal* and the *Firaq* independently of either of those texts⁴⁷¹. Berthold, like van Ess, takes this common source to be Hishām b. al-Ḥakam's *Ikhtilāf al-nās*⁴⁷². Potentially, the existence of another witness to the common material in *Uṣūl al-niḥal* and the *Firaq* could be of value in determining the relationship of source-dependency between all the extant texts, but the problems with the parallels in the *Zīna* have already been discussed above. Rāzī's main source is simply the *Firaq* itself, and it is not certain that the small handful of probably incidental parallels with *Uṣūl al-niḥal* indicate that Rāzī also had access to ps.-Nāshī' and Nawbakhtī's common source independently of the *Firaq*. Even if he did, they are simply too minor to be of any real use. There will be no further discussion of them here⁴⁷³.

1.6.1 Structural Overview of the Material on the Shī'a

The entirety of *Uṣūl al-niḥal*'s Shī'a-chapter is made up of *firaq*-material. Its structure is set out in Tab. 31.

471 Van Ess 2011:510–511; Berthold 2019:52–53.

472 Ibid.

473 See p. 394–402.

Tab. 31: Outline of the *firaq*-material on the Shī'a in *Uṣūl al-niḥal*.

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- [22:6–7] *iftirāq* of the Shī'a after the death of 'Alī (3 factions):
 - [22:8–15] Those who claimed the next Imām was Ḥasan and that the Prophet had designated him and all subsequent Imāms from his descendants, who will continue until the Day of Resurrection (*al-qā'ilūn bi-l-nasaq*)
 - [22:16–23:6] The Saba'iyya, who denied 'Alī's death
 - [23:7–13] Those who claimed Ḥasan was Imām only because he was the best qualified
 - [23:16–20] Summary of this layer of *iftirāq*
 - [23:21–24:5] Imāmate of Ḥasan
 - [24:6–12] Imāmate and death of Ḥusayn
 - [24:13–14] *iftirāq* after the death of Ḥusayn (2 factions):
 - [24:15–17] Supporters of 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn
 - [24:18–25:6] The Kaysāniyya, who supported Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya
 - [25:8–11] Summary of this layer of *iftirāq*
 - [25:12–13] Dispute amongst the Fāṭimiyya (i.e., those who assert the rights only of Fāṭima's sons) over the maturity of 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn when Ḥusayn was killed (2 factions):
 - [25:13–17] Those who say he was mature
 - [25:17–23] Those who say he wasn't
 - [26:1–4] Summary of this layer of *iftirāq*
 - [26:6–7] *iftirāq* of the Kaysāniyya after Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya's death (3 factions):
 - [26:8–30:9] Those who deny Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya's death and claim him to be the Mahdī hidden at Raḍwā
 - [30:8–12] Those who say the next Imām was Abū Hāshim. They then divide upon his death into two factions:
 - [30:13–15] The Ḥarbiyya, who supported 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya.
 - [30:16–31:5] The 'Abbāsīd Shī'a, who claim Abū Hāshim bequeathed the Imāmate to Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-'Abbās
 - [31:6–12] Summary of this layer of *iftirāq*
 - [31:13–14] *iftirāq* of the 'Abbāsīd Shī'a:
 - [31:14–15] Original 'Abbāsīd Shī'a, who trace the Imāmate through Abū Hāshim
 - [31:16–32:4] The Hurayriyya, who trace the Imāmate from the Prophet through 'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib
 - [32:5–9] Summary of this layer of *iftirāq*
 - [32:10] a second *iftirāq* of the 'Abbāsīd Shī'a (3 factions):
 - [32:10–19] The Muslimiyya, who deny the death of Abū Muslim
 - [32:20–35:13] The Khidāshiyya, who hold that Khidāsh became Imām after Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-'Abbās
 - [35:14–36:17] The Rizāmiyya, who uphold the doctrine that the Imāmate passed from the Prophet to 'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib
 - [36:18–19] Summary of this layer of *iftirāq*
 - [36:20–38:7] The Ḥarbiyya
 - [38:8–40:1] Transition-section (doctrines of *tanāsukh* and *adwār* attributed to Ḥarbiyya and Khurramiyya)
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Tab. 31 (continued)

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- [40:1–42:3] Section on factions of the Ghulāt
 - [40:1–5] The Maṣūriyya
 - [40:6–41:3] The Bayāniyya
 - [41:4–13] The Mughīriyya
 - [41:14–17] The Bashīriyya
 - [41:18–21] The Khaṭṭābiyya
 - [42:1–3] Summary of section
 - [42:5–45:9] Section on factions of the Zaydiyya
 - [42:5] The original factions of the Zaydiyya:
 - [42:5–6] Those who claimed that the Prophet designated the Imāmate ‘Alī, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn.
 - [42:6–8] Those who claim ‘Alī was simply the most virtuous of the Companions
 - [42:11] Subsequent division of these two factions:
 - [42:9–43:13] The Jārūdiyya
 - [42:14–44:5] The Butriyya
 - [44:6–45:9] The Sulaymāniyya
 - [45:10–11] Summary of section
 - [45:12–18] The Kumayliyya, an isolated faction of the Shī‘a who claim the *umma* became unbelievers by rejecting ‘Alī and that ‘Alī became an unbeliever by neglecting the Prophet’s bequest of the Imāmate
 - [46:1–4] *iftirāq* after the death of Muḥammad al-Bāqir (2 factions):
 - [46:5–9] The Mughīriyya, who support Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan as Imām and Mahdī
 - [46:10–12] Supporters of Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq
 - [46:13] *iftirāq* after the death of Ja‘far (6 factions):
 - [46:14–15] The Nāwūsiyya, who deny Ja‘far’s death
 - [46:16–17] The Fuṭḥiyya, who support ‘Abd Allāh b. Ja‘far
 - [47:1–3] The supporters of Ismā‘īl b. Ja‘far/the Khaṭṭābiyya
 - [47:4–5] The supporters of Mūsā al-Kāzīm
 - [47:6] The supporters of Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl
 - [47:6] *iftirāq* after the death of Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl (2 factions):
 - [47:6–7] The Samṭiyya, Muḥammad b. Ja‘far
 - [47:8–10] Supporters of ‘Abd Allāh b. Ja‘far then Mūsā al-Kāzīm
 - [47:11] *iftirāq* after the death of Mūsā (3 factions):
 - [47:12–13] The Wāqifa, who stop the line of Imāms, claiming Mūsā did not die and is the Mahdī
 - [47:14–15] The Qaṭ‘iyya, who acknowledge his death and support ‘Alī al-Riḍā
 - [47:16–48:2] The agnostics, who ultimately join one of the other two factions.
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The main organizing structure of the Shī‘a-chapter is an *iftirāq*-schema. It runs from the *iftirāq*-cluster following the death of ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib to the that following the death of Mūsā al-Kāzīm. *Uṣūl al-niḥal* consistently uses the term *ikhtalafat/ikhtalafū* rather than *iftaraqat/iftaraqū* to introduce its clusters. Formally, however,

most clusters in the Shī'a-chapter are still *iftirāq*-clusters, as they describe successive division into factions over the identity of the Imām, building upon one another to form a complex stemma; they are not structurally independent *ikhtilāf*-clusters that detail differences of opinion on a variety of specific questions. For this reason, we will continue to employ the designations 'iftirāq-cluster' and 'iftirāq-schema' here, rather than follow ps.-Nāshī's terminology. There are, however, a few exceptions, which will be discussed below.

For the most part, *Uṣūl al-niḥal*'s *iftirāq*-schema, which is depicted graphically in Tab. 32, is applied consistently. It is also made easier to follow by the presence of summarizing paragraphs at the end of each *iftirāq*-cluster that list out the factions that have been described, a feature unique to this text. As with the *Firaq*, however, there are some less even clusters. There are also sections where the main schema is suspended completely.

The *iftirāq*-schema begins with a regular cluster following the death of 'Alī. As elsewhere, there is no post-Ḥasan cluster. The post-Ḥusayn cluster is then also regular, and, again as elsewhere, it is structurally the most important of the schema, marking the split between the large Kaysānī branch and the branch that followed the Ḥusaynid Imāms. Ps.-Nāshī' uniquely refers to the latter as "the Fāṭimiyya", because by choosing Ḥusayn's son 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn over 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib's other son, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya, they were affirming a special significance to Fāṭima's (and thus the Prophet's) descendants rather than 'Alī's [*Niḥ.*35:9]. *Uṣūl al-niḥal*, like the *Firaq* and the BdC, then follows the whole Kaysānī line first, before returning to the Ḥusaynids much later. Indeed, in terms of word-count, most of the material in the Shī'a-chapter concerns the factions of the Kaysāniyya.

Just before the *iftirāq*-of the Kaysāniyya, however, we encounter the first inconsistency. The post-Ḥusayn cluster is followed by a short cluster presenting a division amongst the Fāṭimiyya [*Niḥ.*35:12–36:4]. Here, they are said to have split into two factions over the question whether 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn was still a child at the time of Ḥusayn's death. One faction claims he had reached the age of maturity (i.e., he was *bāligh*); the other says he had not. The structural irregularity has two aspects. First, the division is not between factions that disagreed over the identity of the Imām after 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn's death, but merely amongst those who supported his Imāmate over his status when he became Imām. Second, it is schematically unproductive. Even when ps.-Nāshī' later picks up the line of Ḥusaynid Imāms again, this division amongst the supporters of 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn is irrelevant to the schema. It is simply assumed that everyone who supported him then supported his son, Muḥammad al-Bāqir, regardless of their position on his immaturity at the time of accession. This cluster is thus concerned with a difference of opinion on a topic other than the identity of the Imām and has no function in the schema. Formally, it is really a parenthetical *ikhtilāf*-cluster, rather than part of the main *iftirāq*-schema.

Moving to the *iftirāq*-of the Kaysāniyya, we initially encounter an irregularity of a different sort: ps.-Nāshī' superficially collapses the post-Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya and the post-Abū Hāshim clusters into a single *iftirāq*-of the Kaysāniyya. He initially announces three post-Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya factions [*Niḥ.*26:6–7], but only two are forthcoming: those who deny Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya's death and hold him to be in hiding at Raḍwā; and those who accept it, deciding to follow Abū Hāshim as the next Imām. The post-Abū Hāshim cluster is then immediately announced [*Niḥ.*30:12], in turn giving rise to two factions: the Ḥarbiyya, who support 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya; and the supporters of Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-'Abbās, elsewhere called the 'Abbāsīd Shī'a but here named the Bukayriyya, after the *dā'ī* Bukayr b. Māhān (d.126/744)⁴⁷⁴. Ps.-Nāshī' then provides a summary paragraph in which only the first faction from the post-Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya-cluster and the two from the post-Abū Hāshim cluster are listed, thus arriving at the three factions announced at the beginning [*Niḥ.*31:6–12]. The two successive *iftirāq*-clusters are thus intact, but they are framed as if they constitute a single, three-way *iftirāq* of the Kaysāniyya⁴⁷⁵.

Thereafter, the text moves to the *iftirāq* of the 'Abbāsīd Shī'a, who are now called *al-Shī'a al-'Abbāsīyya*; the name Bukayriyya having been abandoned [*Niḥ.*31:13]. Here, there is more substantial unevenness. Ps.-Nāshī' begins by announcing that the 'Abbāsīd Shī'a are fundamentally two factions. There is the original faction described previously, which traces the Imāmate through Abū Hāshim to Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-'Abbās, and there is another: the Hurayriyya. The latter emerged during the time of Mahdī and taught that the Imāmate passed directly from the Prophet to 'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib then along the 'Abbāsīd line [*Niḥ.*31:16–32:4]. This is not a standard moment of *iftirāq* in which a faction splits into its successor-factions over the death of an Imām. It is, rather, a case of a faction splitting off from another that then continues to exist. The two factions also do not disagree over the identity of their Imām, only over the mode by which the Imāmate reached Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-'Abbās. Perhaps for this reason, there is no *iftirāq*-statement as such.

A second *iftirāq* of the 'Abbāsīd Shī'a is then announced, this time with a formal *iftirāq*-statement [*Niḥ.*32:10], but it is not the case that one of the factions from the previous cluster is said to divide here. Rather, the cluster again appears to concern the *iftirāq* of the 'Abbāsīd Shī'a as a whole, making the connection between the two clusters conceptually unclear. Indeed, there doesn't seem to be a single moment of *iftirāq* behind the new cluster at all. It contains three factions. The first is the Mus-

⁴⁷⁴ On Bukayr, see *EP*. "Bukayr b. Māhān" [Saleh Said Agha].

⁴⁷⁵ The idea that these are the three basic factions of the Kaysāniyya is repeated again at 36:20–37:3.

limiyya, who deny Abū Muslim's death and hold him to be the Imām. The second is the Khidāshiyya, who hold that the Imāmate passed from al-Saffāh, after his death, to the *dā'ī* Khidāsh (d.118/736)⁴⁷⁶. And the third is the Rizāmiyya, who simply seem to hold the same doctrine as the Hurayriyya from the previous cluster, i.e., that the Imāmate passed from the Prophet to 'Abbās. It is thus uncertain how these three factions are supposed to relate to the previous two at all.

Next, ps.-Nāshī' picks up the Ḥarbiyya again. This makes it look as if we are getting a series of consecutive sub-clusters leading off from the original post-Abū Hāshim clusters (which is what happens in the *Firaq* at this point). Yet, although ps.-Nāshī' deals with fate of the Ḥarbiyya following 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya's death, there is no *iftirāq* here. Rather, the entire faction is said to have believed he did not die but is hidden at 'a mountain of Isfahan' from where he will emerge as the Mahdī. Then comes a relatively substantial description of their doctrines, which, for the first time in the chapter, deals at length with issues unconnected with the Imāmate: their doctrine that the Imāms are indwelt by the Holy Spirit, which transfers from one to the next; their more general doctrine of metempsychosis; and their antinomianism [*Niḥ.*37:3–38:7]. This is simply an expanded description of the Ḥarbiyya, not an *iftirāq*-cluster. As the Ḥarbiyya appeared already in the post-Abū Hāshim cluster, however, the structurally consistent thing would have been to place all this material there; there is no reason for the recursion, as it entails no development of the *iftirāq*-schema.

The description of the Ḥarbiyya refers to their doctrine as *ghuluww*. This seems to prepare the way for the first complete suspension of the *iftirāq*-schema. After the material on the Ḥarbiyya, we eventually get a Ghulāt-section that simply lists out factions whose doctrines are considered *ghuluww* without providing any relational structure between them [*Niḥ.*40:1–46:3]. Between the two, however, there is a kind of transition-section that discusses the doctrines of metempsychosis (*tanāsukh*) and epochal cycles (*adwār*) [*Niḥ.*38:8–40:1]. This initially appears to be a continuation of the description of the Ḥarbiyya, as it begins with the phrase "And this group claim. . ." (*wa-hādihā l-ṣinf yaz'amūna. . .*) [*Niḥ.*38:8], the antecedent of which can only be the preceding Ḥarbiyya. Later, however, it is stated that these doctrines are held by the Khurramiyya [*Niḥ.*38:21]. The Ghulāt-section proper then begins by claiming that *all* Ghulāt groups hold the doctrines described in the transition-section, as it begins with the phrase "And the people of *ghuluww* from amongst the Imāmiyya followed this doctrine, although they differed concerning those of the descendants of 'Alī whom they affirmed for the Imāmate. Amongst them are the like of. . ." (*wa-ilā hādihā l-madhhab yadhhabu ahl al-ghuluww min aṣḥāb al-imāma wa-in kānū mukhtalifn*

476 On Khidāsh, see *EF*. "Khidāsh" [M. Sharon].

fi-man athbatū la-hu al-imāma min wuld ‘Alī idh ‘indahum mithl. . .) [Niḥ.40:1–3], after which the list of Ghulāt factions begins. The summary paragraph at the end of the Ghulāt-section then lists the Khurramiyya, but not the Ḥarbiyya [Niḥ.42:1–3]. That leaves the status of the transition-section ambiguous, as it seems to belong to both the description of the Ḥarbiyya and to the Ghulāt-section.

The Ghulāt-section is immediately followed by the Zaydiyya-section, which is marked by its own subtitle: *ikhtilāf al-Zaydiyya*. It is partially governed by a superficial *iftirāq*-schema, but one that is disconnected from the *iftirāq* of the Imāmiyya that has gone before. Ps.-Nāshī’ declares, without further explanation, that the Zaydiyya were originally two factions (*fi l-aṣl firqatān*) [Niḥ.42:5]. The first believed that Muḥammad openly designated (*naṣṣa ‘alā*) the Imāmates of ‘Alī, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn but no further. The second believed that the community was obliged to choose ‘Alī as Imām after the Prophet only because of his precedence in virtue (*li-taqaddumihi fi l-faḍl*). Ps.-Nāshī’ then states that ‘these two factions’ split and lists out three sub-factions, this time with names: the Jārūdiyya, the Butriyya, and the Sulaymāniyya. That gives the formal appearance of an *iftirāq*-cluster, but conceptually it does not function as such. Not only do we not know what event or doctrinal disagreement caused the two ‘factions’ to split into the three, but there turns out to be no split at all as far as the first of the original two goes, as the Jārūdiyya simply hold the same doctrine. The Butriyya and the Sulaymāniyya do profess variants of the doctrine of the second of the original two factions, but this is not made explicit. The result is considerable ambiguity over how the three named factions relate to one another and how they are supposed to have descended from the earlier, nameless groups. The initial cluster seems superficially abstract. More generally, the whole construct makes no attempt to create a ‘genetic’ relationship between the Zaydiyya and other Shī‘ī factions.

After the factions of the Zaydiyya are finished, ps.-Nāshī’ provides a description of the Kumayliyya, i.e., Balkhī’s and Qummī’s Kāmiliyya⁴⁷⁷. This faction is explicitly said to be an isolated faction of the Shī‘a (*infaradū min sā’ir firaq al-Shī‘a*) and is thus unrelated to either the Imāmiyya or the Zaydiyya and is not part of the *iftirāq*-schema [Niḥ.45:12–17]. Following the description, ps.-Nāshī’ writes, “This is a presentation of the doctrines of the parties of the Shī‘a who did not profess the sequentiality of the Imāmate” (*hādhihi ḥikāyat aqāwīl al-shiyya ‘al-ladhīna lam yaqūlū bi-nasaq al-imāma*) [Niḥ.45:18]. In doing so, he uses terminology introduced much earlier in the text. Already in the post-‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib cluster, he had referred to the supporters of Ḥusayn as “those who profess the sequentiality of the Imāmate” [Niḥ.25:12], by which he meant all those who held the Imāmate to be a matter of

⁴⁷⁷ See p. 163, 373, 660, 697.

sequential designation from one Imām to the next. Here, then, the remark seems to indicate that ps.-Nāshī' considers the material that has just passed, i.e., that on the Zaydiyya and the Kumayliyya, to have formed a kind of excursus on non-Imāmi factions.

Thereafter, we return to the *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya, marked by the sub-title "The doctrines of those who profess sequentiality" (*madhāhib al-qā'ilūn bi-nasaq*) [*Nih.*46:1]. Here, ps.-Nāshī' finally takes up the Ḥusaynid branch that was announced way back in the post-Ḥusayn cluster but postponed in order to deal with the Kaysānī branch. As in the other texts, there is no post-ʿAlī Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn *iftirāq*. Instead, after listing the line of Imāms from ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib up to Muḥammad al-Bāqir, ps.-Nāshī' presents the *iftirāq* after the latter's death, followed by the post-Ja'far al-Ṣādiq and post-Mūsā al-Kāzīm clusters. All three are basically regular⁴⁷⁸.

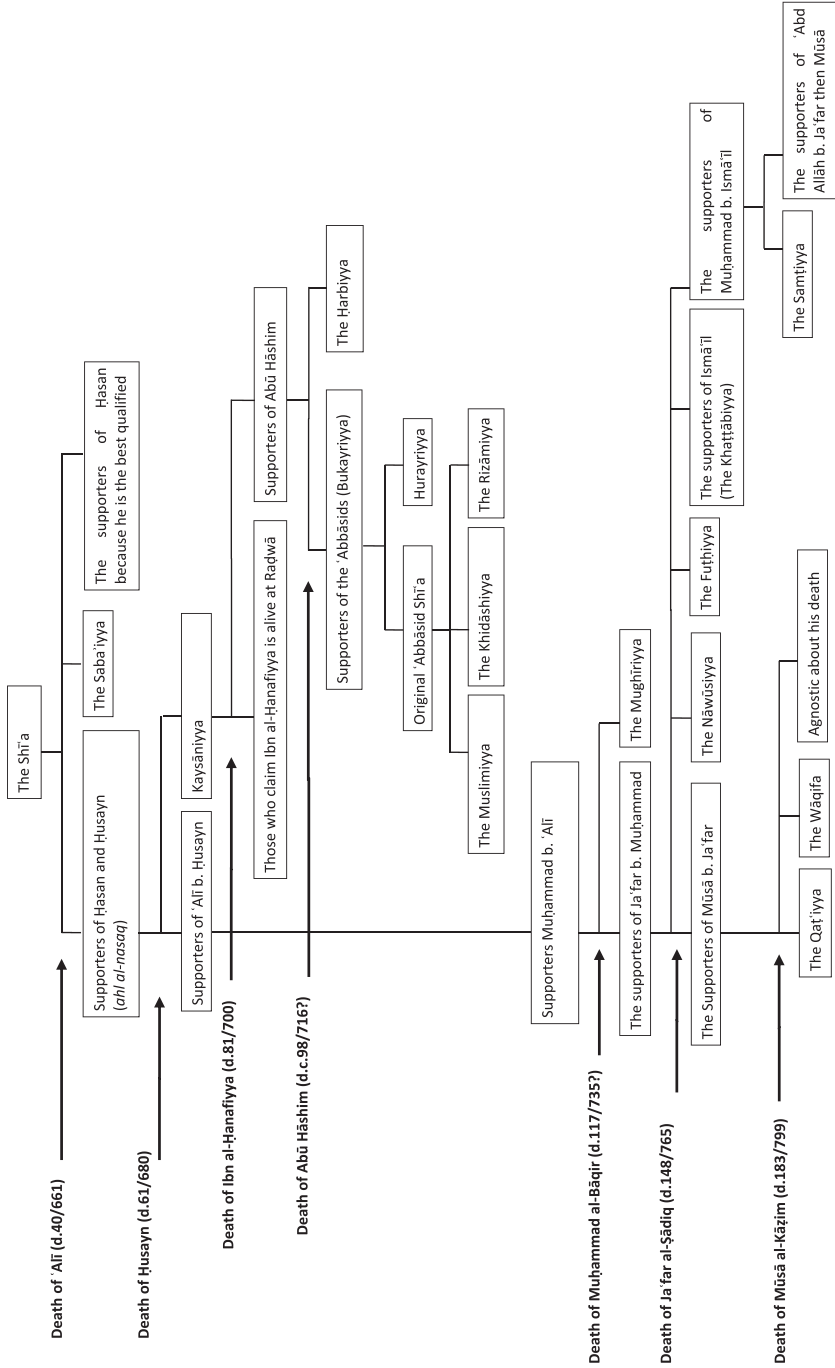
In summary, *Uṣūl al-niḥal* presents an essentially consistent *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya describing both the Kaysānī and Ḥusaynid branches, albeit with some uneven clusters. Between the presentations of the two branches, however, the schema is interrupted for a section on the Ghulāt followed by a section on the Zaydiyya and Kumayliyya.

1.6.2 Convergence with the Later *firaq*-Material

Parallels between *Uṣūl al-niḥal*'s Shī'a-chapter and the *firaq*-material in the later heresiographies occur on several levels. At the most superficial level, the greatest similarity is with Nawbakhtī's *Firaq*. In both texts, the *firaq*-material is dominated by an *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya that is interrupted by sections on the Ghulāt and the Zaydiyya. That resemblance raises the question whether there may be some common source for the framework of the entire presentation. But the superficial similarities are accompanied by superficial differences. Ps.-Nāshī's Ghulāt-section sits between his second description of the Ḥarbiyya and his Zaydiyya-section. Although Nawbakhtī's larger Ghulāt-section similarly follows his *iftirāq* of the Ḥārithiyya, it precedes the *iftirāq* of the ʿAbbāsīd Shī'a. Ps.-Nāshī' deals with the ʿAbbāsīd Shī'a before the Ḥarbiyya. Ps.-Nāshī' and Nawbakhtī both place their Zaydiyya-sections before the post-Bāqir *iftirāq*-cluster, but Nawbakhtī begins his by making the Jārūdiyya one of the factions that emerges out of his second post-Ḥusayn cluster. Ps.-Nāshī' doesn't have a second post-Ḥusayn cluster and doesn't connect the Zaydiyya to the *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya at all; he simply begins the Zaydiyya-section abruptly after the Ghulāt-section. One could thus parse the structural differences at this level by saying that ps.-Nāshī' places his Ghulāt- and Zaydiyya-sections *between* the *iftirāq* of the Kaysāniyya and the *iftirāq* of the Imām-

⁴⁷⁸ There is some slight unevenness in the post-Ṣādiq cluster. See p. 439–440.

Tab. 32: The *iftirāq*-schema in *Uṣūl al-niḥāl*.



iyya, whereas Nawbakhtī inserts the first amongst the *iftirāq* of the Kaysāniyya and the second amongst the *iftirāq* of the Imāmiyya. The point is that the resemblances at this level, such as they are, are merely suggestive. They are not sufficiently complex to provide positive evidence of common source-dependency.

It is the parallels at the deeper levels that are of more interest, but it is then no longer the case that *Uṣūl al-niḥal* is obviously more similar to the *Firaq* than to the BdC/Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*. Broadly speaking, two further levels can be distinguished:

- The first concerns more fine-grained structural convergence. In this case, we are referring to the similarities in the construction of the *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya, as there are no significant structural convergences in the material on the Ghulāt or the Zaydiyya.
- The second level concerns convergences in the wording of the faction-descriptions in the material on the Imāmiyya, the Zaydiyya, and, to a far lesser extent, the Ghulāt.

Identifying *Uṣūl al-niḥal*'s parallels with the *Firaq* and the BdC/Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* is one thing; interpreting their significance with regard to the relationship of source-dependency between the texts is another. In the previous sections, we have isolated several distinct bodies of material common to the *Firaq* and the BdC/Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*. Two are especially relevant here. First, there is the material contained in the *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya, which Nawbakhtī and Balkhī obtained via a common source composed after 212/827 and probably not long after 220/835 at the latest. This apparently came to Balkhī via an intermediary also used by Qummī in his additions to the *Firaq*, possibly Warrāq's *Maqālāt*⁴⁷⁹. Second, there is the common material on the Zaydiyya that consisted originally in *ikhtilāf*-material on the doctrines of the Imāmate held by certain Zaydī scholars. Nawbakhtī, Balkhī and Ash'arī seem to have obtained this material from Zurqān's *Maqālāt* independently of one another⁴⁸⁰. We have already mentioned the possibility that both bodies of material reached Nawbakhtī and Balkhī via Zurqān's *Maqālāt*, i.e. that Zurqān's *Maqālāt* was the common source for both⁴⁸¹. *Uṣūl al-niḥal* too has parallels to both these bodies of material. That raises the question again. Moreover, *Uṣūl al-niḥal* also has parallels to material on the Zaydiyya that is otherwise present in the *Firaq* but nowhere else. That raises the question whether we should not, on the basis of this evidence, move back some way towards Madelung and van Ess's original theories and posit that ps.-Nāshī' and Nawbakhtī had a single common

⁴⁷⁹ See p. 386–388.

⁴⁸⁰ See p. 253–255.

⁴⁸¹ See p. 309–312, 349.

source for *all* this material. When discussed in the abstract like this, however, there are numerous potential interpretations of the situation. Progress can only be made through a detailed analysis of the parallels. That is the task of this section.

Here, we will approach the parallels in four stages. In 1.6.2.1, we will look at the material on the Imāmiyya, examining the convergences and divergences in the structure of the *iftirāq*-schema and the substance of the faction-descriptions. In 1.6.2.2, we will briefly discuss the situation of the material on the Ghulāt and the lack of close convergence with any of the later texts. 1.6.2.3 examines the parallels in the material on the Zaydiyya. Finally, 1.6.2.4. brings together and analyses all the evidence as a whole and offers conclusions concerning the relationship of source-dependency between *Uṣūl al-niḥal* and the later texts.

1.6.2.1 The *iftirāq*-Schema of the Imāmiyya

The fact that *Uṣūl al-niḥal* employs an *iftirāq*-schema for its organization and presentation of Imāmī factions at all is significant. This observation was relevant already in relation to the *Firaq* and the BdC, but it can now be taken a step further. It suggests that *Uṣūl al-niḥal*, on the one hand, and Balkhī and Nawbakhtī's common source for their *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya, on the other, drew ultimately on a common tradition of *iftirāq*-writing at the very least. Such a common tradition could potentially have consisted in works only quite loosely related to one another in terms of their textual material. It is conceivable that the basic idea that the factions of the Imāmiyya formed a family tree and that this could be translated onto the page in a series of *iftirāq*-clusters was widespread in the environment in which the ultimate sources of our extant texts were written. In such a situation, there could have been numerous textual realizations of the same basic concept, not always based directly off one another for their specific content. Our extant texts could then have drawn ultimately on works produced in this common tradition but without being closely related to one another in terms of source-dependency.

However, the similarities between the schema in *Uṣūl al-niḥal* and that preserved by Nawbakhtī and Balkhī go far deeper than just a common conception of the Imāmiyya and a common style of presentation. Their versions of the *iftirāq*-schema are built around the same core of *iftirāq*-clusters: post-ʿAlī, post-Ḥusayn, post-Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya, post-Abū Hāshim, ʿAbbāsīd Shīʿa, post-Muḥammad al-Bāqir, post-Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq, and post-Mūsā al-Kāzim. There are also discrepancies. Nawbakhtī and Balkhī both extend the schema to the post-ʿAlī al-Riḍā cluster and its following *ikhtilāf*-cluster over the status of Muḥammad al-Jawād; ps.-Nāshī' stops at the post-Mūsā cluster. Nawbakhtī and Balkhī also describe an *iftirāq* of the Ḥarbiyya, which ps.-Nāshī' lacks. But, otherwise, *Uṣūl al-niḥal* and the BdC have exactly the same clusters. As we have seen, Nawbakhtī has some additional clusters that do

not appear in the BdC: the post-Muḥammad cluster, the second post-Ḥusayn cluster, and the post-Ḥasan al-'Askarī cluster. It already seems likely, however, that these are later additions and do not go back to the source Nawbakhtī shares with Balkhī for the *iftirāq*-schema⁴⁸². After *Uṣūl al-niḥal* is added to the comparison, those clusters remain unique to the *Firaq*. That means the basic structure of the schema up to the post-Mūsā cluster is nearly identical in ps.-Nāshī's version and in what is *shared* by Nawbakhtī and Balkhī.

It might be argued that this set of common clusters is simply what we would expect once the basic decision to employ an *iftirāq*-schema has been taken (as long as it is assumed that the author was Imāmī and writing in the post-Mūsā period). If that were the case, different authors could easily have produced the same set of clusters independently of one another. However, whilst the clusters all occur in connection with the Ḥusaynid Imāms and deal with the Kaysānī branch, this seems unremarkable only because the extant versions of the *iftirāq*-schema are all we have. In reality, whilst a certain amount of overlap could be expected in any case, the clusters prior to Ja'far al-Ṣādiq cannot have been a given. This argument will be fleshed out both in the discussion below and later⁴⁸³. The main point, however, is that the common constellation of *iftirāq*-clusters provides a specific schematization of the early history of Shī'ī movements that is unlikely to have arisen in the hands of multiple authors who were independently drawing up family-trees of Imāmī factions. If there were merely a common tradition of *iftirāq*-writing behind the two versions (ps.-Nāshī's and Nawbakhtī-Balkhī's), then we would require some explanation of its uniformity. Either they came out of an environment in which this particular conceptualization of the history of the Imāmiyya was prevalent, or else we must think in terms of a specific, textual common source.

The latter suggestion gains more traction when we move to the level of convergence within the individual *iftirāq*-clusters, although this is not always straightforward to interpret in isolation. Many clusters exhibit overlap between *Uṣūl al-niḥal*, the *Firaq* and the BdC in terms of which factions they feature. Yet, unless the convergence involves several factions, there is always the chance it is coincidental. Many clusters in *Uṣūl al-niḥal* have only two or three factions anyway, and the overlap then usually involves only two or even one of these. Moreover, unlike the initial decision to construct a cluster, once a cluster is present at all, some factions *do* follow automatically. For example, any post-Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya cluster is going to feature the supporters of Abū Ḥāshim. That could have happened, in theory, at the hands of multiple authors independently. For that reason, the overlap at this level

482 See p. 601–613.

483 See p. 501–532.

often does not constitute extra positive evidence of a more direct common source (i.e., beyond what is established already by the fact that the same clusters appear). But there are important exceptions. Above all, the clusters of the 'Abbāsīd Shī'a, as well as the post-Bāqir, post-Ṣādiq and (to a slightly lesser extent) the post-Kāzīm clusters exhibit a level of complexity in their convergence that excludes the possibility of mere coincidence; it points towards an ultimate common source, not just a common tradition.

Finally, it is at the level of the content of the faction-descriptions that the common-source hypothesis is demonstrated beyond reasonable doubt. Every common cluster has at least one faction-description that contains material convergent in wording with the descriptions in the *Firaq* and the BdC at a level of complexity that cannot be explained by coincidence. The content and character of this material, as well as its appearance within the same frame-structure, militates against the explanation that it was drawn from multiple common sources. It points, rather, to a single, main, common source from (or via) which the *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya ultimately came to Ps.-Nāshī', Nawbakhtī and Balkhī/Ash'arī. Much of the below discussion is concerned with demonstrating this.

To say there is a common source is not, however, to specify a relationship of source-dependency. The range of possible relationships between the extant texts and the common source can be narrowed down relatively quickly, but we can only get so far. As we have seen, Balkhī and Nawbakhtī rely on a common source that contained an *iftirāq*-schema running from the death of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib up to the *ikhtilāf* amongst the supporters of Muḥammad al-Jawād over whether the latter had been an Imām whilst he was still immature. Their source for this schema thus post-dates 'Alī al-Riḍā's death and was presumably composed after Jawād had reached adulthood⁴⁸⁴. The schema in *Uṣūl al-niḥal*, however, runs only up to the post-Mūsā al-Kāzīm cluster, in which the supporters of 'Alī al-Riḍā first appear (as the Qaṭ'iyya). It is possible, of course, that ps.-Nāshī' cut all the later material, but it is not very likely. Rather, if there was an ultimate common source behind all three, we must presume that Nawbakhtī and Balkhī were both dependent on a later intermediary that was not used by ps.-Nāshī'. We will see below that there is further evidence corroborating this hypothesis.

That situation, however, means it is difficult to say anything more specific about the relationship of *Uṣūl al-niḥal*, on the one hand, and the common intermediary used by Nawbakhtī and Balkhī, on the other, to the ultimate common source. Do they draw on it directly or via intermediaries? Does either prefer an older version of the material? As there is no third witness to the common source with which to

484 See p. 307–308, 348.

triangulate, no definitive answer can be given to these questions. The only available clues come from a detailed analysis of the convergences and divergences between the versions of the *iftirāq*-schema in the extant texts. It is to this that we now turn.

We will now go through the parallels cluster by cluster. The conclusions are brought together in 1.6.2.1.8.

1.6.2.1.1 The Post-‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib Cluster

There is less structural similarity across *Uṣūl al-niḥal*, the *Firaq* and the BdC at the beginning of the *iftirāq*-schema than occurs later. We have seen already that Nawbakhtī's and Balkhī's material is least similar at this point, and that both are at their least regular in the applications of the schema. Ps.-Nāshī' is more consistent than either. There is no hint in *Uṣūl al-niḥal* of the awkward post-Muḥammad cluster that Nawbakhtī uses to introduce Zaydī factions⁴⁸⁵. And there is no trace either of the misplaced 'elevenner' Qaṭ'iyya with which Balkhī starts the schema (at least in the version of his material used by 'Abd al-Jabbār)⁴⁸⁶. Ps.-Nāshī' begins, rather, with an orderly post-‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib cluster.

The only faction present in all three texts is the followers of Ḥasan then Ḥusayn, although Balkhī merely implies them within the 'elevenner' Qaṭ'iyya. But this is of little significance anyway; once the cluster is present, we would expect to find this faction no matter how closely related the texts in terms of source-dependency. Otherwise, the picture is more complex:

- Nawbakhtī and Balkhī introduce the Kaysāniyya as a faction that followed Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanaḥfiyya immediately after 'Alī [*Fir.*20:10–21:8; *Mugh.* XX₂:176:18–19; *MaqA.*18:11–16]. As we have seen, there is a common core to their faction-descriptions that consists in a close parallel⁴⁸⁷. Ps.-Nāshī', however, does not mention the Kaysāniyya here at all. We can thus say that this was a feature of the common intermediary used by Nawbakhtī and Balkhī, but there is no positive evidence it was present in the ultimate common source.
- Ps.-Nāshī' and Nawbakhtī both list the Saba'iyya in the post-‘Alī cluster [*Niḥ.*22:16–23:6; *Fir.* 19:9–20:9], whereas Balkhī placed them outside the *iftirāq*-schema entirely⁴⁸⁸. That makes it plausible that the Saba'iyya appeared within the schema in the ultimate common source *and* in the common intermediary used by Nawbakhtī and Balkhī, and thus that it was only in the transmission to Balkhī that they were separated off from the schema. This convergence

⁴⁸⁵ See p. 601–606.

⁴⁸⁶ See p. 119, 725–727, 732.

⁴⁸⁷ See *Tab.*20 and the discussion on p. 313–316, above.

⁴⁸⁸ See p. 168.

alone, however, is not complex enough to draw firm conclusions, as it is also plausible that Ps.-Nāshī and Nawbakhtī independently placed the Saba'iyya here for systematic reasons: the Saba'iyya deny the death of 'Alī, which 'automatically' puts them in the post-'Alī cluster once they are included. As a result, the mere fact of the convergence does not provide sufficient positive evidence of an ultimate common source.

- Finally, ps.-Nāshī has a unique faction: those who followed Ḥasan b. 'Alī only because they held him to have been appointed in the same way as Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Alī [*Niḥ*.23:7–13].

On a structural level, then, although there is some overlap, positive convergence of a sufficiently complex character to indicate a common source is lacking. At the level of wording, however, there is a significant common core to the description of the Saba'iyya, not just in *Uṣūl al-niḥal* and the *Firaq* but also in the BdC, even though Balkhī placed the description elsewhere. The versions in the *Firaq*, the *Ḥūr* and the *Bāb* have already been given above, in Tab. 25. That in *Uṣūl al-niḥal* is given in Tab. 33, which picks up the tagging from Tab. 25 (material unique to *Uṣūl al-niḥal* receives new tags). The below discussion refers to the material in both tables.

We have seen already that the material in common between the *Firaq* and the BdC consists of passages *a* and *e*. That is true of *Uṣūl al-niḥal* too. Thus, despite the presence of relatively large amounts of unique material in both *Uṣūl al-niḥal* and the *Firaq*, all the texts converge over exactly the same two passages. The level of agreement in the wording of this common core cannot have arisen by coincidence; it indicates a common source somewhere in the history of this material. Notably, then, *Uṣūl al-niḥal* has no large elements that converge with the *Firaq* but not with the BdC, or *vice versa*; it has parallels *only* for those elements upon which the *Firaq* and the BdC already converge with each other. That means we cannot establish that any of Nawbakhtī's unique passages (*b*¹, *c*¹, *d*¹) go back even to the common intermediary he shares with Balkhī, let alone to the posited ultimate common source shared also by *Uṣūl al-niḥal*. As far as we know, they could have been added from elsewhere either by Nawbakhtī or some unique intermediary. The same goes, *mutatis mutandis*, for the unique elements in *Uṣūl al-niḥal* (*x*¹, *y*¹, *z*¹).

There are some minor convergences and divergences even within the common core. In some cases, *Uṣūl al-niḥal* and the *Firaq* converge against the BdC. For example, *a*¹ and *a*⁴ both include the phrase 'until he drives the Arabs with his staff', but it appears only in *e*² and *e*³ in the *Ḥūr* and the *Bāb*. There are also cases, however, where *Uṣūl al-niḥal* sides with the BdC against the *Firaq*. The largest example is that Ibn 'Abbās's response given in *e*², *e*³, and *e*⁴ is absent from *e*¹. These are small elements and coincidence cannot be ruled out, but if significant, then in both cases, these patterns would imply that *Uṣūl al-niḥal* and the convergent text(s)

Tab. 33: *Uṣūl al-niḥal* on the Saba'iyya.**Niḥ.22:16–23:6**

[a⁴] وفرقة زعموا أنّ عليّاً عليه السلام حيّ لم يمُتْ وأنه لا يموت حتى يسوق العرب بعصاه وهم السبئيّة أصحاب عبد الله بن سبأ

[x⁴] وكان عبد الله ابن سبأ رجلاً من أهل صنعاء يهودياً أسلم على يد عليّ وسكن المدائن

[e⁴] ورؤى عن عبد الله بن سبأ أنّه قال للذي أتى بنعى عليّ إلى المدائن والله لو أتيتنا بدماعه في سبعين صرة ما صدقناك ولعلمنا أنّه لم يموت وأنه لا يموت حتى يسوق العرب بعصاه فبلغ قوله عبد الله بن عباس فقال لو علمنا هذا لم نقسم أمواله ولم ننكح نساءه

[y⁴] ورؤى عن رشيد الهجرى وكان ممن يذهب مذاهب السبائية أنّه دخل على عليّ بعد موته وهو مسجئاً فسلم وقال لأصحابه إنّه ليفهم الآن الكلام ويردّ السلام ويتنقّس نفس الحى ويعرق تحت الدثار الوثير وإنّه الإمام الذي يملأ الأرض عدلاً وقسطاً كما ملئت جوراً وظلماً

[z⁴] وزعموا أنّ الله عزّ وجلّ رفعه إليه كما رفع المسيح قالوا وإنما رفعه لغضبه على أهل الأرض إذ خالفوه ولم يطيعوا أمره

Niḥ.22:16–23:6

[a⁴] A faction claimed that 'Alī, upon him be peace, is alive, did not die, and will not die until he drives the Arabs with his staff. They are the Saba'iyya, the followers of 'Abd Allāh b. Saba'.

[x⁴] 'Abd Allāh b. Saba' was a Jewish man from the people of Ṣan'ā who became a Muslim at 'Alī's hand.

[e⁴] It is related concerning 'Abd Allāh b. Saba' that he said to the one who came to Madā'in to announce 'Alī's death, "By God, even if you had brought his brain in seventy bags, we would not have believed you, and we would know that he did not die and will not die until he drives the Arabs with his stick". His words reached 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās, who said, "If we had known that, we would not have divided his estate or married off his wives".

[y⁴] It is related concerning Rushayd al-Hajarī, who was one of those who followed the teachings of the Saba'iyya, that he went in to see 'Alī after the latter had died and been laid out in his shroud, and he greeted him with the peace. He said to his companions that he ['Alī] understood him at that time and returned the peace and that he was breathing the breath of the living and perspiring under the snug cover, and that he is the Imām who will fill the world with justice, just as it was filled with injustice and oppression.

[z⁴] They claimed that God, great and glorious, raised him up to Himself, just as he raised Christ. The said, "He raised him up because of His anger at the people of the Earth, since they opposed him and did not obey his command".

preserve the form that was present in both the ultimate common source and the intermediary shared by Nawbakhtī and Balkhī. That doesn't tell us anything about the specific relationship of source-dependency, but the fact that both patterns occur does imply that the common intermediary shared by Nawbakhtī and Balkhī would

have converged more closely with *Uṣūl al-niḥal* than do any of the extant texts when taken alone. That strengthens the argument that there is indeed an ultimate common source.

In theory, it could be the case that the convergence over the material on Ibn Saba' indicates a common source of some kind but not one that has anything to do with the hypothesized common source of the *iftirāq*-schema. Versions of the report in *e* are also found outside the heresiographies, making it plausible that it did not come to all the heresiographers via the same route, whilst *a* consists mostly of generic messianic formulae and could converge coincidentally. However, a comparison of this material with the broader tradition of material on Ibn Saba' does not support that contention.

The earliest versions of the report in *e* outside the *firaq*-material are recorded by Jāḥiẓ (d.255/868) [*Bayān*.III:81:6–10], by Balādhurī (d.279/892) [*Ansāb*.II:445:5–8], and in two versions by Ibn Abī l-Dunyā (d.281/894) [*Maqṭal*.II:82:9–10; 83:19–21]. All of them give *isnāds*. For Jāḥiẓ, Balādhurī, and the second of Ibn Abī l-Dunyā's reports, the common link is Mujālid b. Sa'īd (144/762), who related it from his teacher, Abū 'Amr al-Sha'bī (d. between 103/721 and 110/728), who apparently heard the report originally from Zuḥar b. Qays al-Ju'fī (d.76/695), one of 'Alī's generals. The first of Ibn Abī l-Dunyā's versions also goes back to Sha'bī and thence Zuḥar but via a different route: the Kufan traditionist Abū Hudhayl Ḥuṣayn b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī (d. 136/753–4)⁴⁸⁹.

The setting for the denial of 'Alī's death varies across the four versions. In Jāḥiẓ's version, Balādhurī's, and Ibn Abī l-Dunyā's first version, it is Zuḥar himself who goes to Medina to deliver the news of 'Alī's death. Of these, only Jāḥiẓ's version has Ibn Saba' uttering the denial. Balādhurī's has simply 'a man' (*rajuḷ*), and Ibn Abī l-Dunyā's first version has 'the people' of Madā'in (*ahluhā*). Ibn Abī l-Dunyā's second version instead has Zuḥar, together with his troops, *receiving* the news of 'Alī's death brought by another man; upon hearing it, Ibn Saba', who is present, utters the denial. The expression employed in the denial also varies. All of them use the distinctive apodosis 'we would still know he did not die and will not die until he drives the Arabs with his staff' (*la-'alimnā annahu lam yamut wa-lā yamūtu ḥattā yasūqu l-'arab bi-'aṣāhī*), but the protasis varies. Jāḥiẓ has 'even if you brought his brain in a hundred bags' (*mi'a ṣurra*). Balādhurī has just 'a bag' (*ṣurra*). Ibn Abī l-Dunyā's first version has 'sixty bags' (*sittīn ṣurra*). Ibn Abī l-Dunyā's second version is again an outlier, as it does not have the bags at all but employs the phrase 'even if his brain had spilled out' (*qad kharaja*).

489 A detailed discussion of these traditions is given in Anthony 2012:201–204.

An *isnād-cum-matn* analysis of these *akhbār* gives us grounds for thinking the core of the report, including the references to 'Alī's brain and the *ṣurra*, as well as Ibn Saba' and the use of the phrase 'will not die until he drives the Arabs with his staff', goes back to Sha'bī. Certainly, it is much older than *Uṣūl al-niḥal*⁴⁹⁰. It is evident, however, that either Sha'bī already related several versions, or else the material underwent numerous changes during the subsequent transmission. In contrast to the variation between the *isnād*-accompanied *akhbār*, however, the versions in the heresiographies are tightly homogeneous. Not only that, but they are also differ collectively from the other versions: they do not mention Zuḥar; they all refer to seventy *ṣurra*; and both *Uṣūl al-niḥal* and the BdC record Ibn 'Abbās's sarcastic reaction to Ibn Saba's denial, which appears nowhere else. It is thus highly unlikely that our heresiographers simply took the same, widely available element of Ibn Saba'-lore via different lines of transmission. Their versions are obviously more closely related to one another than to the wider tradition. That is most easily explained by positing a more proximate common source⁴⁹¹.

490 There is another, related tradition preserved by Ibn Abī l-Dunyā that purports to go back to Zuḥar *not* via Sha'bī but, rather, via the Kufan traditionist Abū 'Abd Allāh 'Amr b. Shamir al-Ju'fī (on him, see Modarressi 2003:204–205), who heard it from the *tābi'* 'Urwa b. 'Abd Allāh b. Qushayr al-Ju'fī (See Anthony 2012:204–205). There, Zuḥar is sent by Ḥasan b. 'Alī with a letter for Ḥusayn b. 'Alī in Madā'in containing news of 'Alī's death. The letter is eventually read out in public. Ibn Saba' is in attendance and responds, "Even if I had seen him in his tomb, I would know that he will not go until he is victorious" (*wa-llāhi law ra'aytu amīr al-mu'minīn fī qabrihi la-'ālimtu annahu lan yadh-haba ḥattā yazhara*) (Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, *Maqṭal*, 88:4–6). It is thus plausible that reports of Ibn Saba's denial of 'Alī's death given on the authority of Zuḥar were in circulation independently of Sha'bī. That is further evidence that the kernel of the tradition is old. However, the key features of the report in the heresiographies are present only in the versions that are traced back via Sha'bī. Notably, that includes the phrase 'until he drives the Arabs with his staff' to refer to 'Alī's messianic role, which, regardless of all other factors, is also likely to be an early feature. Outside of the context of Ibn Saba'-lore, the formula is usually found only in reference to the Qaḥṭānī (e.g., *Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī*, *Manāqib* 7 (§3517), *Fitan* 23 (§7117); *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, *Fitan* 60 (§2910)). The Qaḥṭānī was a possibly pre-Islamic, south Arabian messianic figure who came to occupy a role within the earliest strata of Muslim apocalyptic, serving as a vehicle for anti-Qurashī sentiment (See Cook 2002:179–180; Madelung 1986:149–151). The formula was perhaps put in the mouth of Ibn Saba' because he, as a southern Arab himself, was assumed to have seen 'Alī as a messiah in the anti-Umayyad mould of the Qaḥṭānī (see also Anthony 2012:196–197). That this move would have been made later than the early second century is unlikely, as the generic messianic formulae and those more specifically connected with an 'Alid redeemer began to take over. Notably, the formula is not used with regards to messianic hopes regarding any of the other Imāms in the heresiographies.

491 The earliest witness to the heresiographies' version of the Ibn Saba' denial-narrative found outside a heresiography is that of the Shī'ī historian Abu l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Ammār al-Thaqafī (d.314/926), preserved by Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd (*ShNBV*:7:2–4), i.e., probably written down later than the *Firaq*. The report comes at the end of a passage that Abū l-'Abbās al-Thaqafī cites

A further noteworthy feature of the common core is its narrowness of focus in comparison with the broader tradition of material on Ibn Saba', which was by no means restricted to the account of his denial of 'Alī's death. As Sean Anthony has shown, it comprised several other motifs that were in circulation in what he calls 'anecdotal *akhbār*' by the early second century: Ibn Saba' supposed initiation of the doctrine that Muḥammad had explicitly made 'Alī the designated inheritor (*waṣī*) of the Imāmate, his supposed Jewish origins, his cursing of the first two caliphs, his banishment to Madā'in, and his doctrine that most of the Qur'an had been concealed and was known only to 'Alī⁴⁹². These motifs all found their way into heresiographical presentations of the Saba'iyya eventually. Some of them are present already in Nawbakhtī's unique material (*b*^d, *c*^d, *d*^d), but they are not part of the common core⁴⁹³.

That the common core would be restricted only to the denial of 'Alī's death makes most sense if the context in which its particular distillation of Ibn Saba'-lore was effected was an *iftirāq*-schema. It is a recurring feature of the schema that after the death of an Imām, one of the emerging factions denies that death using the formulaic expressions common to the different versions of *a*. That the Saba'iyya would have appeared as the first such faction makes sense given the pre-existent tradition concerning Ibn Saba's denial of 'Alī's death. But there would have been no reason in this context to include the other available motifs, as the original *iftirāq*-schema wasn't directed towards a general heresiographical presentation of SHĪ' factions; what mattered was the family tree of factions constructed around their doctrines about the identity of the next Imām and/or the assertion of the previous Imām's status as the undying Mahdī⁴⁹⁴. This is apparently a restricted selection of available Ibn Saba'-lore chosen for that specific context. Thus, when *Uṣūl*

from the earlier, Kufan historian 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Nawfalī (active in the early third century, see Günther 2009:247–251), but, importantly, al-Thaqafī gives the report in question on his own authority, i.e., without an *isnād*. It clearly does not follow on from Nawfalī's account (the whole passage is translated and discussed in Anthony 2012:166–168). That is noteworthy, as most material preserved from al-Thaqafī is accompanied by an *isnād* (at least, this is true of what Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī reports from him: see Günther 1991:133–135 and Fleischhammer 2004:37–38); it perhaps indicates a non-*isnād*-based source. In any case, *Uṣūl al-niḥāl* remains the earliest extant witness.

492 Anthony 2012:144–148.

493 Somewhat later, possibly only in the early third/ninth century, another motif became central: Ibn Saba's deification of 'Alī and subsequent execution at 'Alī's hands (Anthony 2012:161–194). That too was taken up by the heresiographers, but apparently only in the second half of the third century. It is present already in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and other works of the BdC (*MaqA*.15:12–13; *Sharḥ*.29r:6; *Rawḍa*.140r:4–5).

494 See the discussion p. 496–497.

al-niḥal and the *Firaq* both place the same material on the Saba'iyya in the post-'Alī cluster; it is not unlikely, on grounds of common content as well as their structural convergence, that they reflect the *iftirāq*-schema that was present in the ultimate common source.

1.6.2.1.2 The Post-Ḥusayn Cluster

The texts also display little positive structural convergence in the post-Ḥusayn cluster. Only ps.-Nāshī' explicitly mentions the followers of Zayn al-'Ābidīn [*Niḥ.*24:15–17]. Nawbakhtī omits them, although this seems merely to be an oversight⁴⁹⁵, and Balkhī again leaves them implicit in his 'eleveners' Qaṭ'iyya⁴⁹⁶. Ps.-Nāshī's *ikhtilāf* amongst the followers of Zayn al-'Ābidīn is unique to *Uṣūl al-niḥal*. Like the BdC, *Uṣūl al-niḥal* has no equivalent of Nawbakhtī's 'extra' Kaysānī group, who hold the doctrine that Ḥasan and Ḥusayn had been acting by Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya's permission all along [*Fir.*24:3–12]⁴⁹⁷. The only point of overlap is thus that all three authors include the standard post-Ḥusayn Kaysāniyya, i.e., those who hold simply that Ḥusayn was succeeded by Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya [*Niḥ.* 24:18–25:6; *Fir.*23:16–24:2, *Mugh.*XX₂:176:19–177:3; *MaqA.*19:1–4].

In a similar fashion to the parallels concerning the Saba'iyya, however, ps.-Nāshī's description of the post-Ḥusayn Kaysāniyya has a core of material in common with both the *Firaq* and the BdC. The convergent material appears not in the descriptions of the Kaysāniyya that Nawbakhtī and Balkhī give in this cluster, however; but in those they give in the post-'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib-cluster. Nawbakhtī's and Balkhī's versions of this description were given already in Tab. 20 above. Tab. 34, below, gives the version in *Uṣūl al-niḥal*. The paragraph-tagging in Tab.34 follows that of Tab. 20 and the below discussion refers to the material given in both tables.

495 See p. 277.

496 See p. 119, 725–727.

497 See p. 613–614.

Tab. 34: *Uṣūl al-niḥal* on the Kaysāniyya.**Niḥ.24:18–25:7**

[a⁵] وفرقة زعمت أنّ الإمام بعد الحسين محمد بن عليّ بن أبي طالب وهو ابن الحنفية واحتجوا بأنّه كان صاحب راية عليّ عليه السلام يوم الجمل كما كان عليّ صاحب راية رسول الله صلعم يوم خنين وزعموا أنّ عليّاً نصّ عليه وأشار إليه

[b⁵] وهؤلاء هم الكيسانيّة أصحاب المختار بن أبي عبيد الثقفي وإنما سمّتهم الشيع الكيسانيّة من أجل أنّ المختار لقبه كيسان لقبه به عليّ ابن أبي طالب عليه السلام

[d⁵] وقد قال قوم إنّما سموا أصحاب المختار الكيسانيّة لأنّ المختار كان قبيل التثبيح من قبيل كيسان مولى عزيمة وكان من أكابر أصحاب عليّ بن أبي طالب عليه السلام وأمره بالخروج والطلب بدم الحسين عليه السلام فخرج وقتل أكثر قتلته

[x⁵] وذكر بعض الرواة أنّ المختار حمل إلى محمد بن أبي طالب وهو ابن الحنفية وهو محبوب بمكة في الشعب كان حبسه فيه عبد الله بن الزبير ثمانين ألف خاتم من خواتم القوم الذين قتلهم بدم الحسين عليه السلام

Niḥ.67:8–11

[a⁵] A faction claimed that the Imām after Ḥusayn was Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, i.e., Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya. Their proof for this was that he was in charge of ‘Alī’s standard, upon him be peace, on the Day of the Camel, just as ‘Alī had been in charge of the standard of the Messenger of God, upon him be peace, on the Day of Ḥunayn. And they claimed that ‘Alī explicitly designated him and indicated him [for the Imāmate].

[b⁵] These are the Kaysāniyya, the followers of Mukhtār b. Abī ‘Ubayd al-Thaqafī. They were called the Kaysānī parties [of the Shī‘a] because Mukhtār’s nickname was Kaysān. It was ‘Alī, upon him be peace, who coined the nickname.

[d⁵] A group said the followers of Mukhtār were called the Kaysāniyya, rather, because Mukhtār received his Shī‘ism from Kaysān, a *mawla* of ‘Urayna of great standing amongst the supporters of ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, upon him be peace. He commanded him to rebel and to seek revenge for the blood of Ḥusayn, upon him be peace, so he rebelled and killed most of his [i.e., Ḥusayn’s] killers.

[x⁵] Some transmitters say that Mukhtār brought eighty thousand signet rings from the people he had killed in revenge for the blood of Ḥusayn, upon him be peace, to Muḥammad b. Abī Ṭālib, i.e., Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya, whilst he was imprisoned by ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr at Mecca in a certain ravine.

The common core here consists of three passages: *a* presents the Kaysāniyya’s argument that Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya was the Imām because he had been put in charge of ‘Alī’s standard (*rāya*) at the Battle of the Camel; *b* reports the claim that they were called the Kaysāniyya because their leader, Mukhtār, was named Kaysān; *d* presents the alternative claim that Kaysān was the name of a *mawla*. As with the material on the Saba’iyya, it is once again the case that *Uṣūl al-niḥal* has no large elements (passages) that converge with the *Firaq* but not with the BdC, or *vice versa*; it has parallels *only* for those elements upon which the *Firaq* and the BdC already

converge with each other. That means we cannot establish that Nawbakhtī's unique c^1 goes back even to the common intermediary he shares with Balkhī. We also cannot show that ps.-Nāshī's unique x^5 goes back to the ultimate common source.

The wording within the common material is convergent at a level that cannot reasonably be explained by coincidence; it indicates a common source at some point. There are, nevertheless, several minor variations within the common core. These are mostly a matter of convergence between *Uṣūl al-niḥal* and the *Firaq* against the BdC/Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*: the former use the construction *ṣāhib rāyat 'Alī/Abīhi* in a , whereas the latter have *dafa'a ilayhi al-rāya*; in b^1 and b^5 , *kaysān* is a *laqab*, whilst Balkhī/Ash'arī refers to it simply as an *ism*; in d^1 and d^5 , the *mawlā* Kaysān is said to have instigated Mukhtār's programme of taking revenge on Ḥusayn's killers, whilst the BdC and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* say nothing about this. But there is also convergence between *Uṣūl al-niḥal* and the BdC against the *Firaq*: b^3 and b^5 both record the claim that it was 'Alī who coined the name *kaysān* for Mukhtār, but this is absent from b^1 . Where either of these patterns occurs, it is presumably *Uṣūl al-niḥal* and the convergent text that preserve features of the ultimate common source. As before, the fact that both patterns occur strengthens the argument that there must be an ultimate common source at some point in the history of the material.

In d , however, there is a convergence between the *Firaq* and the BdC against *Uṣūl al-niḥal* that appears more significant: both Nawbakhtī and Balkhī/Ash'arī report the claim that Kaysān was a *mawlā* of 'Alī, whereas ps.-Nāshī has him as a *mawlā* of 'Urayna, a clan of the Bajīla tribe. This suggests the version with '*mawlā* of 'Alī' may not go back to the ultimate common source, but appeared, rather, only in the later intermediary shared by Nawbakhtī and Balkhī. Indeed, there is some external evidence that *Uṣūl al-niḥal* preserves the older version. The earliest sources that discuss Mukhtār's revolt mention a certain Kaysān Abū 'Amra, who is depicted to have been both a *mawlā* of 'Urayna and one of Mukhtār's inner circle, appointed leader of his personal guard (*ḥaras*) [*Ansab*.IV₂:165:16; *Tab*.II:634:8–9]⁴⁹⁸. Most of these sources do not connect this figure with the name 'Kaysāniyya'. Indeed, many of them do not use the name Kaysāniyya at all. They simply mention this Abū 'Amra in the context of describing the events of the revolt and or the structure of Mukhtār's forces. It is thus almost certain that he was not invented for the purpose of the etymology. One of these sources, however, namely Balādhurī's *Ansāb al-ashraf*, does

⁴⁹⁸ Other sources claim he was the leader, rather, of Mukhtār's personal troops (*shurṭa*) (Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VI:244:13–14; Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawārī, *al-Akḥbār al-ṭiwāl*, 297:4–6), but Balādhurī and Ṭabarī put 'Abd Allāh b. Kāmil al-Shākīrī in that role (*Ansab*.IV₂:165:16; *Ṭabarī*.II:634:8–9). On the significance of the distinction, see Anthony 2012:283, n.140. Generally on Abū 'Amra Kaysān and the argument that he is the most likely historical eponym of the Kaysāniyya, see al-Qādī 1974:62–72.

state that the name ‘Kaysāniyya’ derives precisely from this Kaysān Abū ‘Amra, a *mawlā* of ‘Urayna [*Ansāb*.IV₂:165:16–17]. Unfortunately, Balādhurī gives no *isnād*, but as there is no evidence that he is dependent on the *Uṣūl al-niḥal*, the information itself must precede both of them.

The alternative, that the name is derived from a *mawlā* of ‘Alī is found for the first time only in Nawbakhtī’s *Firaq*. The fact that it is paralleled in the Bdc means it can be pushed back to the common source used by Nawbakhtī and Balkhī, written in the 210s or 220s, but no further⁴⁹⁹. The historicity of the etymology itself is not the issue here. The point is, rather, that the tradition deriving ‘Kaysāniyya’ from Kaysān Abū ‘Amra, a *mawlā* of ‘Urayna, seems to be earlier than *any* of the extant works, whilst there is no evidence of the alternative ‘*mawlā* of ‘Alī’ outside of the *firaq*-material preserved via Nawbakhtī and Balkhī/Ash‘arī.

Against this background, we can observe that the rest of the content of *d* is highly convergent, especially between *Uṣūl al-niḥal* and the *Firaq*. Both report that their respective Kaysāns instigated Mukhtār to seek revenge for Ḥusayn. That is to say, they really have the same report, with a Kaysān playing the same role in both versions; it is just that they identify the Kaysān differently. However, if Kaysān is supposed to have played the role that they agree upon, i.e., instigating Mukhtār to seek revenge for Ḥusayn, the identification of him as a *mawlā* of ‘Alī is highly suspicious. The historians record that ‘Alī did indeed have a *mawlā* called Kaysān, but that Kaysān died at the battle of Ṣiffīn in 37/657, more than twenty years before Ḥusayn was killed at Karbalā’⁵⁰⁰. Thus, the very first extant report in which the eponymous Kaysān of the Kaysāniyya is identified as ‘Alī’s *mawlā* assigns him a role in Mukhtār’s revolt that he cannot possibly have played if that identification is correct. Given the wider parallels between *Uṣūl al-niḥal* and the *Firaq* in this description, we must consider the possibility that ‘*mawlā* of ‘Alī’ is simply a transmission error. The *kunya* of Kaysān is never given in *d*, not even in *Uṣūl al-niḥal*. Without that information, ‘*mawlā* ‘*urayna*’ (arguably the *lectio difficilior*) could simply have been misread as ‘*mawlā* ‘*Alī*’, perhaps precisely under influence of the fact that ‘Alī did famously have a *mawlā* called Kaysān.

In any case, based on its content, the common core of the description of the Kaysāniyya clearly belongs in the *iftirāq*-schema. It is concerned with its typical themes: the identity of the Imām supported by the faction and the etymology of the faction-name. That strengthens the argument that the material was taken from the ultimate common source of the *iftirāq*-schema. It is also another reason to think

⁴⁹⁹ The same report appears in *Rijāl*K.128:5–9, but Kashshī is obviously dependent on Nawbakhtī via Qummī here, as is clear from other parallels. See p. 709 n.1227, also p.41 n.134.

⁵⁰⁰ E.g., *Ṭab*.I:3293:9–10. See al-Qāḍī 1974:61.

that Nawbakhtī's unique *c*¹ is drawn from elsewhere: although it too begins with an etymological claim, its digression on the doctrines of Kaysān adds nothing further to explain the etymology and takes us outside the standard remit of the schema's descriptions⁵⁰¹. Similar is true of ps.-Nāshī's *x*⁵.

The discrepancy over which cluster the common material appears in, however, leaves it uncertain which version preserves the earlier placement. The etymological material in *b* and *d* fits where ps.-Nāshī puts the description, i.e., in the post-Ḥusayn cluster, as it is all connected with Mukhtār's revolt. It makes little sense at all where Nawbakhtī and Balkhī put it, in the post-ʿAlī cluster. In contrast, *a*'s argument that Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya was the Imām because he had been put in charge of ʿAlī's standard at the battle of Basra seems to work better if it is understood as an argument that he was Imām immediately after ʿAlī. Ps.-Nāshī's version seems to point even more strongly in that direction, as he makes it explicit that the argument rests on an analogy with ʿAlī himself, who had been put in charge of the Prophet's standard at Ḥunayn. That means the common core is not entirely at home in either setting.

1.6.2.1.3 The Post-Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya Cluster

Uṣūl al-niḥal has two factions in this cluster: the faction that denies Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya's death and claims him to be in hiding at Raḍwā (this is the faction Balkhī calls 'the Karibiyya') [*Niḥ.*26:8–30:9]; and the faction that admits his death and follows Abu Hāshim as the next Imām [*Niḥ.*30:8–12]. Both factions also appear in the *Firaq* and the BdC at this point [*Fir.*26:3–27:10, 27:11–13; *Mugh.*XX₂:177:4–5, 177:8–9; *MaqA.*19:5–15, 20:4–6]. Here, then, we can speak of a common structural core to the cluster, but all other factions are unique to either to the *Firaq* or the BdC/Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*. Nawbakhtī has two extra factions: the first is those who claim Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya is in hiding but at an unknown location (whom he calls the Karibiyya) [*Fir.*25:1–26:2]; the other is those who deny Abū Hāshim's death, a faction that is clearly out of place relative to the *iftirāq*-schema [*Fir.*28:1–2]⁵⁰². The BdC/Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* has an additional variant of the first faction that notably also appears

501 See p. 496–497. The *Firaq*'s unique material in *c*¹ is also related to the *mawlā* 'Alī issue. There too the name 'Kaysāniyya' is traced to Abū 'Amra Kaysān, but the passage otherwise has nothing to do with *Uṣūl al-niḥal*'s *d*⁵. There is no mention in *c*¹ of the fact this Kaysān was a *mawlā* of anyone at all, but we are told he was the chief of Mukhtār's *shurṭa*, a fact reflected in the wider historiography but not related by ps.-Nāshī in *d*⁵ or by the BdC. Moreover, the rest of *c*¹ is completely divergent: it reports this Kaysān's belief that the previous caliphs and ʿAlī's opponents in the first *fitna* were unbelievers, and that Mukhtār received revelation from the angel Gabriel. Here, Nawbakhtī would seem to be relying on another source or sources. This allowed him effectively to reintroduce Kaysān Abū 'Amra as a candidate for the eponym.

502 See p. 614–615.

amongst Qummi's additions to the *Firaq*. This variant claims Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya was placed at Raḍwā as a punishment [*Mugh.XX₂*:177:7; *Ḥūr*.212:3–4; *Bāb*.99:10–11; *MaqA*.20:1–3; *MaqQ*.22:9–23:12]⁵⁰³. Thus, although there is greater structural similarity in this cluster than we have seen before, it still contributes little positive evidence of an ultimate common source by itself.

It is once again, rather, the content of one of the faction-descriptions that points more strongly in that direction: the beginning of the description of the faction that believes Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya to be in hiding at Raḍwā exhibits close convergence with the descriptions in the *Firaq* and the BdC. The relevant part of *Uṣūl al-niḥal*'s description is given below in Tab. 35. Those from the *Firaq* and the BdC were given in Tab. 21, above. The paragraph tagging in Tab. 35 follows that of Tab. 21 and the below discussion refers to the material given in both tables.

Tab. 35: *Uṣūl al-niḥal* on Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya at Raḍwā.

<i>Niḥ</i> .67:8–11	<i>Niḥ</i> .67:8–11
[<i>a</i> ⁵] وفرقة قالت محمد بن الحنفية حتى لم يمُتْ وهو في جبل رَضُوْى بين مكة والمدينة عن يمينه أسد وعن يساره نمر موغلان به يحفظانه إلى أوان خروجه وقيامه	[<i>a</i> ⁵] A faction said that Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya was alive and did not die, and that he was in the mountain of Raḍwā between Mecca and Medina, on his right a lion and on his left a leopard who are charged with his care and protect him until the time of his emergence and uprising (<i>khurūjīhi wa-qiyāmīhi</i>).
[<i>b</i> ⁵] وزعموا أنه قائم آل محمد والمهدى الذى بشر به النبى صلعم وأخبر الناس أنه يملأ الأرض عدلاً وقسطاً	[<i>b</i> ⁵] They claim that he is the Qā'im of the family of Muḥammad and the Mahdī whom the Prophet foretold, peace be upon him, and about whom he told the people that he will fill the Earth with justice and righteousness.

The common core here consists of two elements: *a*, which describes the faction's basic doctrine that Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya did not die, along with their beliefs about his circumstances whilst concealed at Raḍwā; and *b*, which presents the connected doctrine that he is the Mahdī. The degree of convergence here is, once again, much too close to have arisen by coincidence. Outside the common core, the *Firaq* has the unique element *c*¹, which concerns the subsequent dying-out of this group, whilst the BdC/Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* has the unique element *d*, which presents the belief that Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya was put in this situation in order to conceal him from 'the people'

503 See p. 322, 374–275, 384.

and that God has a plan for him unknown to anyone else⁵⁰⁴. As in the descriptions examined above, then, *Uṣūl al-niḥal* again lacks any of the major elements found in either the *Firaq* or the BdC but not shared by the other.

There are, as ever, small divergences within the common core. In some cases, it is *Uṣūl al-niḥal* and the *Firaq* that agree against the other texts. For example, in *a*, Both *Uṣūl al-niḥal* and the *Firaq* describe Raḍwā as 'between Mecca and Medina', a remark absent from the BdC and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*⁵⁰⁵. But there is also convergence between *Uṣūl al-niḥal* and the BdC/Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* against the *Firaq*. When describing Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya's situation at Raḍwā in *a*, ps.-Nāshī' and Balkhī/Ash'arī have 'a lion on his right and a leopard on his left'. Nawbakhtī's main report instead has two lions in this position; he mentions the lion and the leopard only as an alternative. As previously, where either pattern applies, the convergence with *Uṣūl al-niḥal* probably implies a feature of both the ultimate common source and the intermediary used by Nawbakhtī and Balkhī. The fact that both patterns occur once again, if anything, merely strengthens the evidence that there is an ultimate common source behind all three here.

As is the case in the *Firaq* and the BdC, the description given in Tab. 35 is followed in *Uṣūl al-niḥal* by a series of poetic fragments attributed to Kuthayyir 'Azza and Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī. To summarize a complex situation: *Uṣūl al-niḥal* has all the poetic material preserved by the later texts, except for two lines given by Nawbakhtī and two lines given by Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī; beyond this, *Uṣūl al-niḥal* also preserves much more of those *qaṣīdas* that are cited in the other texts⁵⁰⁶. Much

504 There is some variation between Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and the *Ḥūr* in *d*, but this is yet another case where Ḥimyarī is the outlier, as Abū Tammām gives a passage nearly identical to Ash'arī's (*Bāb*.99:8–10).

505 Although there is a small possibility that Ḥimyarī's unique *bayna malakayn* (between two angels) is a corruption of *bayn makka wa-l-madīna*. Also in *a*, ps.-Nāshī' and Nawbakhtī describe the belief that the guardian animals will protect Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya *ilā awān khurūjīhi wa-qiyāmīhi*. 'Abd al-Jabbār and Ḥimyarī do not witness the phrase at all, but Ash'arī has *ilā waqt khurūjīhi* at the same location, as does Abū Tammām (*Bāb*.99:7).

506 The fragments in the *Firaq* and the BdC were described earlier (see p. 321). Ps.-Nāshī' begins with the lines from Kuthayyir that are found in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and the BdC but omitted by Nawbakhtī, also providing an extra line that is preserved nowhere else (*Niḥ*.26:14–19; *Ḥūr*.212:8–12; *Raw*.140r:18–21; *MaqA*.19:11–15). Next, ps.-Nāshī' provides four lines from a *qaṣīda* by Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī of which three are cited by Nawbakhtī, although only one line is present in both texts (*Niḥ*.27:2–5; *Fir*.26:12–14). Ps.-Nāshī' also cites thirty-two lines of another poem by Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī, of which Nawbakhtī cites six and Ḥimyarī cites nine (Nawbakhtī and Ḥimyarī overlap over five of them; *Niḥ*.27:13–29:5; *Fir*.27:1–6; 212:14–213:7). Finally, Ps.-Nāshī' gives six lines of another *qaṣīda* by Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī that is absent from this description in the other texts, although one of its lines is cited by Ash'arī in connection with the Saba'yya in order to illustrate the doctrine of the *raja* (*Niḥ*.29:11–16; *MaqA*.15:15). The convergences and divergences in the poetry are also

of the relevant poetry of Kuthayyir and Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī was also transmitted along avenues outside the *fīraq*-material on the Shī'a⁵⁰⁷. That makes it conceivable that our authors independently added it in the poetic citations, but it is very unlikely. For a start, some verses do not seem to have circulated outside the heresiographies⁵⁰⁸. More importantly, neither our authors nor the intermediaries to them sought out poetic fragments to integrate into their faction-descriptions very often⁵⁰⁹. Other than in this material on Raḍwā, the few fragments of poetry they do cite are all unique to individual texts⁵¹⁰. In contrast, the fragments from the two Kaysānī poets form a consistent feature of this faction-description from the very earliest extant version, in *Uṣūl al-niḥal*. Moreover, the heresiographers always cite from the same selection of *qaṣīdas* that is essentially set out already in *Uṣūl al-niḥal*, even though other Kaysānī verses, at least from Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī, were preserved outside the *fīraq*-material⁵¹¹. None of this suggests independent compilation by the heresiographers. Rather, it seems that both the common core of the description and the poetry were present in the common source.

The content of the common prose and common poetry elements fits the context of the *iftirāq*-schema perfectly. The prose sets out the faction's denial of their Imām's death and belief in his Mahdism, i.e., standard features of the *iftirāq*-schema's faction-descriptions. In this case, we also get the detail that the denial of Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya's death involved a particular doctrine, namely his *ghayba* at Raḍwā. The poetry serves as both evidence and illustration of these beliefs in much the same way as the tradition concerning Ibn Saba's denial of 'Alī's death is used in the faction-description of the Saba'iyya, or the argument that Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya was Imām because he been put in charge of 'Alī's standard at Basra is used in the description

discussed in van Ess 1971b:32–34. More generally, the Kaysānī poetry of Kuthayyir 'Azza and Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī is examined in al-Qāḍī 1974:312–322, 345–352.

507 The witnesses for Kuthayyir's *qaṣīda* are given in 'Abbās 1971:521–522, most notably including Ibn Qutayba's *Shī'r wa-l-shu'rā'* and 'Uyūn al-akhbār, as well as Iṣfahānī's *Aghānī*. They have more verses than the heresiographies, so cannot be (entirely) dependent on them. Most of Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī's verses are also found in the *Aghānī*, too, as well as in later sources. Again, not all verses found there are also present in the heresiographies. See Shukur 1389:362–365, 120–127.

508 There are no other early witnesses to one of Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī's *qaṣīdas*. Compare *Niḥ*.27:2–5 and *Fir*.26:12–14 with Shukur 1389:68–69.

509 The main exception is Maqdisī; the *Bad'* inserts numerous poetic fragments amongst the material it otherwise has in common with the BdC.

510 For example, Ash'arī uniquely cites two verses in connection with the Saḥābiyya. He does not name the source, but they are taken from a famous *Qaṣīda* by Iṣḥāq b. Suwayd al-'Adawī (d.131/748) (see *Bayān*.1:23:4–7). Ḥimyarī uniquely cites a verse from Rā'ī al-Numayrī (d.96/714 or 97/715) in explanation of the term *aḥṭāḥ* in the description of the Fuṭḥīyya (*Ḥūr*.217:13; See Weipert 1980:41).

511 E.g. Shukur 1389:49–50, 144, 181–184.

of the original Kaysāniyya. These elements serve to flesh out the core doctrines that the schema focusses on, but not in a way that strays into wider doctrinal topics unconnected with the identity of the Imām and/or the denial of the death of an Imām who is held to be the Mahdī. The best explanation is that the common source of the description of this faction of the Kaysāniyya is also the common source of the *iftirāq*-schema behind our texts⁵¹².

Amongst the poetic fragments, ps.-Nāshī's also includes two relatively long, unique sections of prose. The first [*Niḥ*.27:6–11] deals with the doctrine of Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya's *ghayba* and subsequent return; the second [*Niḥ*29:18–30:9] is concerned with their defence of the doctrine that he is the Mahdī. Given their content, both could in theory go back to the common source of the *iftirāq*-schema. As they are unique to *Uṣūl al-niḥal*, however, this cannot be established.

1.6.2.1.4 The Post-Abū Hāshim Cluster and the *iftirāq* of the 'Abbāsīd Shī'a

Uṣūl al-niḥal has only two factions in the main post-Abū Hāshim cluster: the Ḥarbiyya [*Niḥ*.30:13–15] and the 'Abbāsīd Shī'a (initially labelled the Bukayriyya) [*Niḥ*.30:16–31:5]. The *Firaq* and the BdC/Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* have these factions too [*Fir*.29:3–12, 29:13–30:7; *Mugh*.XX₂.177:11–13, 178:6–11; *MaqA*.21:3–22:3, 22:4–10], but they also both have the Bayāniyya [*Mugh*.XX₂.178:14–15; *MaqA*.23:3–6] and the faction that believed the Imāmate passed to Abū Hāshim's brother/nephew [*Mugh*.XX₂.178:2–5; *MaqA*.20:8–21:2]. Only Balkhī and Ash'arī also have a faction that turned to Zayn al-Ābidīn after Abū Hāshim's death, although this faction notably also appears amongst Qummī's additions to the *Firaq* [*Mugh*.XX₂.178:15–18; *Ḥūr*.215:15–18; *MaqA*.23:7–9; *MaqQ*.35:6–36:9]. Once again, then, there is structural overlap, but insufficiently complex convergence to add much by itself to the evidence for an ultimate common source. Like the other texts, however, *Uṣūl al-niḥal* has sub-clusters dealing with the *iftirāq* of 'Abbāsīd Shī'a [*Niḥ*.31:13–36:17; *Fir*.31:13–46:9; *Mugh*.XX₂.177:13–178:2; *MaqA*.21:9–22:3]. It is there, for the first time, that we find more specific structural convergence.

Balkhī's presentation of the *iftirāq* of the 'Abbāsīd Shī'a was formally tightly controlled but conceptually irregular. He depicted the original faction to have divided in two phases. First, following the version preserved by 'Abd al-Jabbār, they split into two sub-factions after Mahdī's death: one sub-faction stuck with the original doctrine that the Imāmate had passed to the 'Abbāsīds via Abū Hāshim; the other faction, who followed Abū Hurayra al-Rāwandī and were thus known as either the Hurayriyya or the Rāwandīyya, adopted the doctrine that the Imāmate

⁵¹² The relationship between the prose elements and the poetry in this description deserves further consideration. See also p. 559–560.

had passed directly from the Prophet to ‘Abbās b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib (as his paternal uncle) and then secretly through the ‘Abbāsīd line until they gained power. That is not quite a standard moment of *iftirāq*, as it is not about the followers of an Imām splitting after his death over the choice of successor. It concerns, rather, a doctrinal schism about the earlier line of succession, in which the previous doctrine continues alongside a new one and both factions still support the same Imām in the present⁵¹³.

Next, Balkhī presented a new, two-way *iftirāq* amongst the ‘Abbāsīd Shī‘a over the figure of Abū Muslim. Here, the Muslimiyya (or Abū Muslimiyya), also called the Khurramiyya (or Khurramdiniyya), deny Abū Muslim’s death, whilst the Rizāmiyya affirm it. It is unclear, however, how the second *iftirāq* is supposed to relate formally to the first. In ‘Abd al-Jabbār’s version, it appears to be those who, after Mahdī’s death, stuck with the original doctrine of succession through Abū Hāshim who then divide over the fate of Abū Muslim. But this is only because the cluster comes directly after they have been mentioned; the relationship is not expressed explicitly. Moreover, Abū Muslim was killed near the beginning of Maṣṣūr’s reign, more than twenty years before Mahdī even ascended to the throne, so there is no way these can really be successive clusters. We seem to be dealing, rather, with two separate splits amongst the ‘Abbāsīd Shī‘a, not with the successive *iftirāq* of factions into several successor-factions.

Whatever else one might say about this organization of ‘Abbāsīd factions, it is impossible that any two people would arrive at it independently. It is in no sense a self-evident schematization of the groupings within the ‘Abbāsīd movement that are known to us from the historiography. Thus, when Nawbakhtī offers us exactly the same sub-division of the ‘Abbāsīds as Balkhī, even though it is shorn of the internal architecture of the two *iftirāq*-clusters, we must conclude they drew ultimately on the same source⁵¹⁴. But this is even more true of ps.-Nāshī, as *Uṣūl al-niḥal* comes much closer to Balkhī’s presentation of the *iftirāq* of the ‘Abbāsīd Shī‘a than does even Nawbakhtī.

Whilst ps.-Nāshī’s use of the name ‘Bukayriyya’ to refer to the original ‘Abbāsīd Shī‘a is unique (as is the fact that he mentions Bukayr b. Māhān at all), the architecture of the subsequent *iftirāq*-clusters matches Balkhī’s almost exactly. *Uṣūl al-niḥal* first presents the *iftirāq* between the Hurayriyya and those who maintain the original doctrine of succession via Abū Hāshim [*Niḥ*.31:14–32:4]. Then we get the second cluster, ambiguously related to the first (*wa-li-l-Shī‘a al-‘Abbāsīyya ikhtilāf thānⁱⁿ* . . .), in which the Muslimiyya and the Rizāmiyya appear [*Niḥ*.32:10–36:17]. The only

⁵¹³ See above p. 329 and 530–532.

⁵¹⁴ See p. 329–332.

major difference is that ps.-Nāshī' has an extra, unique faction in the second cluster: the Khidāshīyya [*Niḥ*.32:20–35:13]. It is inconceivable that such a degree of structural convergence over such an idiosyncratic presentation of 'Abbāsīd factions can have arisen by coincidence. There must be an ultimate common source here.

When it comes to the content of the descriptions, *Uṣūl al-niḥal* has lots of unique material. Most notably, it has the material on Bukayr b. Māhān in the description of the original 'Abbāsīd Shī'a, and all of the material on Khidāsh and the Khidāshīyya. It is impossible, of course, to say if any of this goes back to the hypothetical common source, but it is noteworthy that ps.-Nāshī' pays far more attention to the differences between the various leaders of the *da'wa* and their supporters than we find elsewhere. That suggests a different perspective has entered, perhaps indicating the influence of another source. He also has much more detail on the doctrines of the Hurayriyya and the Rizāmiyya and emphasizes the doctrinal similarities between them more than the Nawbakhtī and Balkhī.

Nevertheless, there are still significant convergences in content throughout the post-Abū Hāshim clusters. There are several short convergences, such as we find when ps.-Nāshī' discusses the 'Abbāsīd Shī'a's justification of the claim that Abū Hāshim bequeathed the Imāmate to Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-'Abbās. There, he uses the phrase, "that was because he died in his company in the land of Sharāt" (*wa-dhālika annahu māta 'indahū bi-arḍ al-sharāt*) [*Niḥ*.30:18], which is very close to Nawbakhtī's "because he died in his company in Syria in the land of Sharāt" (*li-annahu māta 'indahū bi-sha'm bi-arḍ al-sharāt*) [*Fir*.42:15] and even to Balkhī's "that was because Abū Hāshim died in the land of Sharāt" (*wa-dhālika anna Abū hāshim māta bi-arḍ al-sharāt*) [*Ḥūr*.214:7–8; *MaqA*.21:5]. But even if such a short convergence in wording over a well-known piece of information might be explicable as mere coincidence, the same cannot be said of the description of the Muslimiyya. The versions in the *Firaq* and the BdC were given above in Tab. 23. That in *Uṣūl al-niḥal* is given here in Tab. 36, which picks up the paragraph-tagging from Tab. 23. The below discussion refers to both tables.

The core elements of the description are the same across the texts: *a* states the Muslimiyya's basic belief that Abū Muslim did not die; *b* describes their antinominism; and *c* (missing from Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*) notes that they are also referred to as the Khurramiyya/Khurramdīniyya. *Uṣūl al-niḥal* has much more material than the other texts in *b*⁵, whilst *b*² and *b*³ add commentary from Balkhī⁵¹⁵. More generally, the *Firaq* and the BdC/Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* are consistently closer to each other than they are to *Uṣūl al-niḥal*. Nevertheless, the level of convergence in the internal

⁵¹⁵ This is discussed p. 213–214. See also p. 331–332.

Tab. 36: *Uṣūl al-niḥal* on the Muslimiyya.**Niḥ.32:10–19**

[**a**⁵] ففرقة يقال لهم المسلميّة وهم أصحاب أبي مسلم الذين أقاموا على ولايته وزعموا أنّه حيّ لم يمّت

[**b**⁵] واستحلّوا المحارم وأسقطوا الشرائع وزعموا أنّ الذي يجب على الناس معرفة الإمام فإذا عرفوه سقطت عنهم الفرائض بعد معرفته وكانت الأشياء المحرّمة عليهم مباحة لهم من الأطعمة والأشربة والفروج وقالوا إنّما أبيحت هذه للعارفين لأنّهم جعلت لهم ثوابًا على المعرفة وخرمت على من لم يعرف عقوبة له على جهله وإنكاره وقالوا إنّما يجب على العباد أن يعرفوا الإمام الذي هو حجّة الله عزّ وجلّ على خلقه والسفير بينه وبين عباده وأن يوالوا من والاه ويعادوا من عاداه

[**c**⁵] وهؤلاء هم الخزمية على اختلافهم في الرؤساء وتباينهم في المذاهب غير أنّهم مُجمعون على هذه الجملة التي حكيناها من أقوالهم

Niḥ.32:10–19

[**a**⁵] One faction was called the Muslimiyya. They are the followers of Abū Muslim who maintained loyalty to him [as leader] and claimed that he was alive and had not died.

[**b**⁵] They permitted forbidden things and declared the laws to be invalid. They claimed that the people were obliged to recognise the Imām and that if they recognise him, the duties no longer to apply to them after they have come to recognise him, and the foods, drinks and sexual partners that were forbidden to them are now permitted. They said that these things had been permitted to those who recognise [the Imām] because they have been made into a reward for that recognition, and they have been forbidden to those who do not recognise [the Imām] as a punishment for their ignorance and denial. They said, it is necessary for humankind to recognise the Imām, who is the proof of God, great and glorious, to his creatures and the emissary between him and humankind, and [it is necessary] to show loyalty to those to whom he shows loyalty and enmity those whom he declares his enemies.

[**c**⁵] They are the Khurramiyya, who disagree over their leaders and differ over their doctrine, but who agree on the totality of what we have related of their doctrines.

structure of this description and the wording of its elements cannot have arisen by coincidence. There is an ultimate common source here.

Finally, following the *iftirāq* of the ‘Abbāsīd Shī’a, *Uṣūl al-niḥal* returns to the Ḥarbiyya [Niḥ.36:20–38:7]. There is clear structural divergence at this point. The BdC and the *Firaq* both have an *iftirāq*-cluster of the Ḥarbiyya/Hārithiyya, in which the faction divides upon the death of ‘Abd Allāh b. Mu‘āwiya, either declaring him to be the Mahdī or accepting his death [Fir.31:3–32:3; Mugh.XX₂:178:10–14; MaqA.22:10–23:2]. This material was given above in Tab. 22. No such cluster is found in *Uṣūl al-niḥal*. Instead, there is simply a long, second description of the Ḥarbiyya. Much of it is concerned with ‘Abd Allāh b. Ḥarb’s deification of the Imāms and his doctrine of the transference of the Holy Spirit from one to the next and has nothing to do with

the common material of the *iftirāq*-schema found in the *Firaq* and the BdC/Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*⁵¹⁶. Nevertheless, ps.-Nāshī's description does also contain material on the doctrine of the Mahdism of 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya, and here there are close convergences with what appears in the *Firaq* and the BdC's *iftirāq*-cluster. The relevant material is given in Tab. 37.

Tab. 37: *Uṣūl al-niḥal* on the Ḥarbiyya.

Niḥ.37:10-13

[c¹/d⁵] وزعم أن عبد الله بن معاوية حى لم يموت وأنه فى جبل إصبهان وهو مهدى هذه الأمة الذى بشر به النبى صلعم وأخبر أنه يملأ الأرض عدلاً وقسطاً وأنه لا يموت حتى يجبى (٤) ما بين مشرق الشمس ومغربها ويقود الخيل بنواصيها وتتفق عليه الأمة وتدين بدينه أهل الملل

Niḥ.37:10-13

[c¹/d⁵] He claimed that 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya was alive and did not die and that he was in the mountains of Isfahan and that he is the Mahdī of this Community whom the Prophet foretold and declared that he would fill the Earth with justice and righteousness and that he will not die until he brings together (?) what is between the places where the sun rises and sets and leads the horses by their forelocks, and the Community will agree upon him and the people of the various religious communities will follow his religion.

The features of 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya's Mahdism described here are a mixture of the those attributed to the two factions who deny his death in passages *c* and *d* in the *Firaq* and the BdC: he is alive in the mountains of Isfahan; he is the Mahdī whom the Prophet foretold; and he will 'lead the horses by their forelocks'. The language used is closely convergent. Moreover, none of this material is found anywhere outside the heresiographies, but it is typical content for the *iftirāq*-schema. Given the context of all the other parallels, it cannot be coincidence that all our texts describe these beliefs so consistently. Here too, then, despite the discrepancies, it appears ps.-Nāshī and the common intermediary used by Nawbakhtī and Balkhī must have drawn on the ultimate common source of the *iftirāq*-schemata. Notably absent from *Uṣūl al-niḥal*, however, are both Nawbakhtī's unique material on the transmission of the Imāmate to 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya [*Fir*.29:3-12] and the story, present only in the BdC and Qummī's additions, concerning how the Ḥarbiyya came to support 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya (see Tab. 29).

⁵¹⁶ There are overlaps in information and sporadic convergences in wording with other material on the Ḥarbiyya/Ḥārithiyya and the Khurramiyya found outside the *iftirāq*-schema in those texts, but this will be discussed below when we look at the material on the Ghulāt in 1.6.2.2.

1.6.2.1.5 The Post-Muḥammad al-Bāqir Cluster

Uṣūl al-niḥal has two factions in the post-Muḥammad al-Bāqir cluster: the Mughīriyya [*Niḥ*.46:5–9] and the supporters of Jaʿfar al-Šādiq [*Niḥ*.46:10–12]. The situation in the *Firaq* is identical [*Fir*.53:16–57:2], whilst the BdC has these two factions plus the Mansūriyya [*Mugh*.XX₂.179:1–10]. On purely formal grounds, that leaves us, once again, in a situation of overlap but without sufficiently complex convergence positively to evidence a proximate common source. In this case, however, there are reasons to doubt that this structural overlap could really have arisen by coincidence, even once the basic framework of an *iftirāq*-schema had been adopted.

The Mughīriyya are presented in the cluster primarily as the supporters of the Imāmate of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan after that of Muḥammad al-Bāqir, as opposed to those who followed Bāqir’s son, Jaʿfar al-Šādiq. But neither the idea of making Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh the competitor to Jaʿfar al-Šādiq upon Muḥammad al-Bāqir’s death, nor the idea of making Mughīra b. Saʿīd and the Mughīriyya the prime representatives of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh’s supporters can have been automatic consequences of adopting an *iftirāq*-schema. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh rebelled, asserting his claim to the Imāmate, in 145/762. That is nearly thirty years after Bāqir’s death in or before 117/735. Mughīra b. Saʿīd himself was executed after his own rebellion in 119/737. Even if those known as the Mughīriyya did later support Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh, they were hardly alone in doing so, even amongst the Shīʿa⁵¹⁷. Moreover, it is not even a given that Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh, a non-Ḥusaynid, needed to be integrated into the *iftirāq*-schema at all. Zayd b. ʿAlī, who rebelled in 122/740, does not appear, even though he could have been placed in a post-ʿAlī Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn cluster as an alternative to his brother, Muḥammad al-Bāqir, or in the post-Bāqir cluster as an alternative to his nephew, Jaʿfar al-Šādiq. Both are potential schematizations within the setting of an *iftirāq*-schema no more ahistorical than the handling of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh. The point is that it is only a specific schematization of the post-Bāqir situation that makes the Mughīriyya appear here as supporters of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh, and it is highly unlikely that this schematization arose twice independently; it goes back to the ultimate common source of the *iftirāq*-schema.

In terms of content, we also see a common core to the description of the Mughīriyya across all the texts. The description in the *Firaq* and the BdC was given above in Tab. 24. The description in *Uṣūl al-niḥal* is presented in Tab. 38, which picks up the paragraph-tagging from Tab. 24. The below discussion refers to both tables.

⁵¹⁷ On the confessional profile of support for Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh, see *TG*.I:187–188; 221–228; II:249, 286–288, 327–335, 672–687; Elad 2016:46–47.

Tab. 38: *Uṣūl al-niḥal* on the Mughīriyya.

<i>Niḥ.46:5–11</i>	<i>Niḥ.46:5–9</i>
<p>[<i>d</i>³] فرقة صارت إلى محمد بن عبد الله بن الحسن بن الحسن بن عليّ المقتول بالمدينة وزعموا أنه هو الإمام والمهدى القائم في آخر الزمان الذي بشر به النبي صلعم وهو عندهم حتى لم يمت</p>	<p>[<i>d</i>³] A faction went over to Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī, who was killed in Medina, and they claimed that he was the Imām, the Mahdī and the Qā’im of the end of time whom the Prophet, peace be upon him, foretold. According to them, he is alive and did not die,</p>
<p>[<i>c</i>³] بجبل يقال له الطميمة وهو الجبل الذي في طريق مكة بحذاء الحاجر وكان رئيس هذه الفرقة المغيرة بن سعيد مولى خالد بن عبد الله القسري فسُموا المغيرية</p>	<p>[<i>c</i>³] and he is in a mountain called “al-Ṭamiyya” that is on the road to Mecca, opposite al-Ḥājir. The leader of this faction was Mughīra b. Sa’īd, a <i>mawla</i> of Khālīd b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Qasrī, so they were named the Mughīriyya.</p>
<p>[<i>e</i>³] وأما الفرقة الأخرى فأتهم صاروا إلى جعفر بن محمد وقالوا بإمامته فسُمواهم المغيرة الراضية لأنه رفضوه ولم يخرجوا معه</p>	<p>[<i>e</i>³] As for the other faction, they went over to Ja’far b. Muḥammad and professed his Imāmate. So Mughīra named them the Rāfiḍa because they rejected him (<i>rafaḍūhu</i>) and did not rebel with him.</p>

The common core here consists of three passages: *d* describes the doctrine that Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh is the Imām after Bāqir and the Mahdī; *c* sets out the doctrine that he is now in hiding on a mountain near Mecca; and *e* reports that it was Mughīra who coined the name ‘Rāfiḍa’ for Ja’far’s supporters, because they rejected him (*rafaḍūhu*). *Uṣūl al-niḥal* and the *Firaq* present these elements in the same order, although the *Firaq* intersperses them amongst unique material. The order is different in the BdC, but both the BdC and the *Firaq* also have *b*, which is absent from *Uṣūl al-niḥal* and presents the alternative doctrine that Mughīra was Imām until the emergence/rebellion of the Mahdī, Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh. That suggests that both doctrines must have been described at least in the common intermediary to Nawbakhtī and Balkhī.

Within the common core, there are minor convergences between *Uṣūl al-niḥal* and the *Firaq* against the BdC. The most significant is in *c*, where both ps.-Nāshī’ and Nawbakhtī give similar details about the location of the mountain that are absent from the BdC (although the name of the mountain varies across all the texts that have it due to corruption in transmission). But there is also minor convergence between the *Firaq* and the BdC against *Uṣūl al-niḥal*. The most significant example also occurs in *c*, where both the *Mughnī* and the *Firaq* refer to the fact that Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya will reside at the mountain until he rebels (*muqīm fī-hi ilā awān khurūjīhi* vs. *muqīm fī-hi ḥattā yakhruj*) whilst the phrase is absent from

Uṣūl al-niḥal. None of this tells us much other than that some features can only be pushed back as far as the common source used by Nawbakhtī and Balkhī, whereas others must have been present in the common source of all three, even if Balkhī is missing them.

Nevertheless, the main point is clear. There are plenty of references to Mughīra and the Mughīriyya in the wider tradition, covering themes ranging from his rebellion and execution to his esoteric doctrines and necromancy, but this specific constellation of motifs is found only in the material common to *Uṣūl al-niḥal*, the *Firaq* and the BdC/Ash‘arī’s *Maqālāt*⁵¹⁸. It goes back to the ultimate common source for their *iftirāq*-schemata of the Imāmiyya.

1.6.2.1.6 The Post-Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq Cluster

Once we get to the post-Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq cluster, the situation changes somewhat, as the faction-descriptions become very much shorter. This allows fewer opportunities for convergence in wording. However, the structural convergence at this point once again become too complex to have arisen by coincidence.

Uṣūl al-niḥal claims there are six factions in this cluster. The first four of these are clear: the Nāwūsiyya, the Fuṭḥiyya, the supporters of Ismā‘īl, and the supporters of Mūsā [*Niḥ.*46:14–47:5]. After that, there is some confusion. Ps.-Nāshī’ writes that the supporters of Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl then split into two: the Samṭiyya, who support Muḥammad b. Ja‘far, and a faction who supported ‘Abd Allāh b. Ja‘far after Ja‘far, then Mūsā [*Niḥ.*47:6–10]. This makes no sense, however, as both these factions are explicitly concerned with the identity of the Imām directly after Ja‘far and cannot be seen as sub-factions of the supporters of Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl. Moreover, the followers of ‘Abd Allāh have already appeared earlier, as the Fuṭḥiyya. The repetition also makes it appear as if there are seven factions listed, not six. Clearly, something has gone awry at the tail-end of this cluster.

When we compare with the *Firaq* and the BdC, it is evident that all our texts are working with the same taxonomy of the post-Ja‘far factions. The first four given by ps.-Nāshī’ are unambiguously present there too [*Fir.*57:9–58:8, 65:8–67:6; *Mugh.* XX₂:179:19–180:3, 180:14–181:5]. The comparison also provides us with a possible explanation of what has happened towards the end of the cluster in *Uṣūl al-niḥal*. The followers of Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl, the fifth faction, are also present in the *Firaq* and the BdC, where they are called the Mubārakiyya [*Fir.*58:9–16; *Mugh.* XX₂:180:4–7]. There too it is said that they split into two factions, one of which continues the line of Imāms in his descendants after his death, the other of which claims he is the

⁵¹⁸ On the wider Mughīra tradition see *EF*².“al-Mughīriyya” [Weaver] and the primary sources cited there.

Mahdī [*Fir.*58:17–64:14; *Mugh.*XX₂:180:8–11]⁵¹⁹. Ps.-Nāshī' seems to have begun this sub-cluster of the Mubārakiyya, as he provides its *iftirāq*-statement, but the factions that belong to it have been omitted. That makes the factions that follow, which really belong, rather, to the main, post-Ja'far cluster, appear misplaced. Regardless of whether that explanation is correct, one of these factions is the Samṭiyya, who also appear in the main cluster in the *Firaq* and the BdC [*Fir.*64:15–65:7; *Mugh.*XX₂:180:12–13]. That brings us to the six factions advertised in the *iftirāq*-statement and present in all the texts anyway. Ps.-Nāshī's reprisal of the supporters of 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far then Mūsā at the end of the cluster is simply presented as part of the description of the Fuṭḥiyya by Nawbakhtī and Balkhī [*Fir.*66:6–8; *Mugh.*XX₂:181:4–5]. Thus, even despite the discrepancies caused by the apparent corruption in *Uṣūl al-niḥal*, the convergence in the structure of the post-Ja'far cluster is too complex to be explained by coincidence. There is a common source of some kind here.

In terms of content, the descriptions in *Uṣūl al-niḥal* are so short that few significant convergences in wording can be found. In particular, nearly all the etymological information on the faction-names given by Nawbakhtī and Balkhī is omitted, even though the faction-names themselves are mostly present. For example, whilst the *Firaq* and the BdC tell us that the name Samṭiyya/Shamṭiyya/Shumayṭiyya is derived from a certain Yaḥyā b. Abī Samṭ/Shamṭ/Shumayṭ, ps.-Nāshī' simply gives the faction-name without comment. There is one exception: the description of the Fuṭḥiyya, where ps.-Nāshī' preserves the sentence, "One faction of them said that the Imām after Ja'far b. Muḥammad was 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far, because he was the oldest of his sons who survived him, so they are called the Fuṭḥiyya, because 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far was known as "the wide" (*al-aftaḥ*)" [*Niḥ.*46:16–17]. This is very close to the wording we find also in the *Firaq* and the BdC [*Fir.*65:8–9, 15–16; *Mugh.*XX₂:180:14–15,181:1], suggesting it may be the case that ps.-Nāshī' (or an intermediary) has heavily summarized the material in this cluster, and that the ultimate common source would have had the fuller version of the descriptions that we see in the *Firaq* and the BdC. That cannot be proved with the evidence we have, but it is clear nevertheless that the structure is derived from a common source.

1.6.2.1.7 The Post-Mūsā al-Kāẓim Cluster

The post-Mūsā al-Kāẓim cluster, the final cluster of *Uṣūl al-niḥal*'s schema, has three factions: the Wāqifa, the Qaṭiyya and the agnostics [*Niḥ.*46:11–48:2]. Once again, all three also appear in the *Firaq* and the BdC [*Fir.*67:8–70:4; *Ḥūr.*218:14–219:4]. Nawbakhtī, uniquely, has the addition of the Bashīriyya [*Fir.*70:5–71:10], whilst the BdC additionally has the supporters of Aḥmad b. Mūsā [*Mugh.*XX₂:181:10–11;

⁵¹⁹ See p. 285–286.

MaqA.29:13–30:2]. Nevertheless, the structural core of this cluster derives from a common source.

As in the post-Ja'far cluster, the faction descriptions are too short to present convergences that are highly significant in themselves, but there is basic agreement with the wording of the *Firaq* and the BdC throughout. The content too is ultimately dependent on the common source here.

1.6.2.1.8 Summary and Conclusions

The convergence between the version of the *iftirāq*-schema in *Uṣūl al-niḥal* and those in the *Firaq* and the BdC is not as close as the latter two are to each other in terms of either structure or content. Nevertheless, there is clear evidence of an ultimate common source at some point in the history of the material. This is apparent at three levels:

- First, there is the core of common *iftirāq*-clusters. *Uṣūl al-niḥal* has all the clusters upon which the *Firaq* and the BdC converge from the post-ʿAlī b. Abi Ṭālib to the post-Mūsā al-Kāẓim cluster, which is where ps.-Nāshī's schema ends. The sole exception is the missing sub-cluster of the Ḥarbiyya/Ḥārithiyya and even there, material from the sub-cluster is still present. It is very unlikely that any two authors working independently could have arrived at this particular set of common clusters.
- Second, although there is often insufficiently complex structural convergence *within* the clusters (in terms of which factions appear and in what order) to add further positive evidence of a common source, there are important exceptions. The convergences in the *iftirāq*-cluster of the ʿAbbāsīd Shīʿa, the post-Muḥammad al-Bāqir cluster, the post-Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, and the post-Mūsā al-Kāẓim clusters especially cannot have arisen by coincidence.
- Third, there are numerous faction-descriptions in *Uṣūl al-niḥal* containing passages that consist of material closely convergent in content and wording with the *Firaq* and the BdC. This is true of the descriptions of the Saba'iyya, the post-Ḥusayn Kaysāniyya, the faction that claimed Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya was hidden at Raḍwā, the Muslimīyya, the Ḥarbiyya, the Mughīriyya and the Fuṭḥiyya. In these cases, there is no doubt that there is a common source at some point in the history of the material.

In theory, it is possible that not every convergence arises because the *same* ultimate common source lies behind all the material. There may have been more than one proximate common source or, more plausibly, some convergences may arise because widely available material was drawn on independently by our authors or their more immediate sources. Yet, although that explanation cannot be excluded

in every case, three factors speak against it in general. First, wherever we know that a common element of a description was also available elsewhere, the versions in *Uṣūl al-niḥal*, the *Firaq* and the BdC are obviously closer to each other than to any of those present in the wider tradition. Second, the common material consistently appears to have been selected for use in the *iftirāq*-schema, where the factions' choices of Imām/Mahdī and the etymology of the faction-names are the essential themes⁵²⁰. It is restricted to these themes even when the wider tradition (i.e., beyond the heresiographies) contains much more information on a given faction. If the other themes *are* dealt with in otherwise common faction-descriptions of the schema, the material is always unique to a single text. Third, the parallels in substance occur within the overarching framework of the common *iftirāq*-schema. It is highly unlikely that this framework could have been assembled in the same way from multiple sources by independent authors. That all favours the explanation that the common material that occurs within the *iftirāq*-schema was indeed drawn ultimately from a single common source.

We know that Nawbakhtī and Balkhī (probably via Warrāq) received their versions of the *iftirāq*-schema via a common intermediary composed after 212/827 and probably before 230/845. Ps.-Nāshī' did not use that intermediary. The main evidence for this is that the *Firaq* and the BdC continue to converge over the *iftirāq*-schema as far as the dispute amongst the followers of Muḥammad al-Jawād; ps.-Nāshī's schema ends at the post-Mūsā al-Kāẓim cluster. This means that Nawbakhtī and Balkhī's common intermediary, on the one hand, and ps.-Nāshī', on the other, must have received the material from a yet earlier common source. The schema common to both runs as far as the post-Mūsā al-Kāẓim *iftirāq*-cluster, where ps.-Nāshī's version ends. There, 'Alī al-Riḍā is named as the Imām of the Qaṭ'iyya. The ultimate common source thus cannot pre-date Mūsā's death in 183/799, even if it in turn surely drew on earlier material. That means even this source was composed too late to have been written by Hishām b. al-Ḥakam.

We can be much less definitive about a *terminus ante quem* for the ultimate common source, but, as it does not seem to have addressed the serious splits in the Imāmiyya that came about in response to the post-'Alī al-Riḍā situation, it was probably written before the latter's death in 203/818 or in the years shortly thereafter at the latest⁵²¹. It matters that the common source's schematization of the post-Mūsā divisions gave a place for the agnostics alongside the Wāqifa, who deny Mūsā's death, holding him to be the Mahdī, and the Qaṭ'iyya, who affirm it and declare 'Alī al-Riḍā his successor. The agnostic position was common at the beginning, but

520 See p. 496–497.

521 The dating of the common *iftirāq*-schema is addressed in more detail on p. 503–509.

it was inherently unstable and cannot have survived for very long. Initially, there was widespread, genuine doubt over the circumstances of Mūsā's death, as he had passed away in mysterious circumstances whilst in the custody of the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd under house arrest in the home of a certain al-Sindī b. Shāhak, apparently without giving any instructions about his succession⁵²². These were the circumstances that gave such impetus to the Wāqifī movement. But the clearest evidence of the levels of uncertainty are the reports that many of Mūsā's financial agents refused to release funds for the use of 'Alī al-Riḍā until they had decisive proof that the latter was Mūsā's heir⁵²³. It may be they, above all, who are the agnostics of the post-Mūsā cluster, although they cannot have been alone⁵²⁴. The situation apparently lasted for some time. But eventually people either supported Riḍā's Imāmate or adopted a more decidedly Wāqifī doctrine. After Riḍā himself died, the fact that he had no mature successor led at least some more people to adopt the committed Wāqifī position [*Fir.*72:14–16; *Mugh.*XX₂:181:14–15]. But not many people could still have been holding a principled agnosticism about Mūsā's death in the post-Riḍā environment; they had become supporters of Riḍā then Muḥammad al-Jawād (or his uncle, Aḥmad b. Mūsā) or else they were Wāqifa. The cluster was thus most probably formulated during Riḍā's Imāmate, while there was still some willingness to acknowledge the genuine uncertainty of the early days.

The ultimate common source must have been Imāmī and Kufan. It was composed in the generation of Hishām b. al-Ḥakam's students, or perhaps even the generation after that. But there are so many potential authors that we know of, and our knowledge is so likely to be incomplete anyway, that it is pointless to speculate further as to its identity or that of its author.

Ps.-Nāshī' often has large amounts of unique material within otherwise common faction-descriptions. We have no way to demonstrate whether this goes back to the common source or not. The only clues come from the character of the material itself. In some cases, it seems likely that it does go back to the common source, such as the extra verses ps.-Nāshī' cites from Kuthayyir 'Azza and Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī in the description of Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya at Raḍwā. Other unique pas-

⁵²² See *TG*.III:94–96.

⁵²³ *Ibid.*; Buyukara 2000:86–88.

⁵²⁴ The later Imāmī tradition tends to smear Mūsā's financial agents as the originators of the Wāqifī doctrine (*TG*.III:96). According to this view, it had suited the agents to deny his death, because they had embezzled his funds and could not release them anyway (Buyukara 86–88). But most of these people were not denying Mūsā's death and certainly weren't claiming him to be the undying Mahdī; they were merely sceptical about the identity of his successor, which was probably genuinely unclear. Eventually, they generally accepted 'Alī al-Riḍā and handed over the funds, as Imāmī tradition acknowledges.

sages, such as those on the 'Abbāsīd *dā'īs* Bukayr b. Māhān and Khidāsh, are out of keeping with the thematic of the common material and are thus more likely to have been added from elsewhere. In that case, ps.-Nāshī' himself could be responsible for incorporating the additional information. Elsewhere, it seems more likely that an intermediary between the ultimate common source and *Uṣūl al-niḥal* is responsible for adding material. One example is the unique *ikhtilāf* amongst the supporters of 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn (whom ps.-Nāshī' labels the Fāṭim-iyya) over whether he was still a child when he became Imām [*Niḥ*.25:12–26:4]. As Madelung has suggested, this is most likely an indirect reference to the crisis following Muḥammad al-Jawād's accession to the Imāmate whilst still a child. The doctrinal controversy over the possibility of a child-Imām was raised for the first time only at this point.⁵²⁵ In that case, the material could not have been present in the common source but must have been incorporated later. That would explain its highly awkward integration into the *iftirāq*-schema. But it is also unlikely that a Mu'tazilī author would have added such material in the 230s, especially as it mentions the rather obscure figure of Abū Khālid al-Kābulī, who is otherwise known to us only from Shī'ī sources. At least one Imāmī intermediary seems like a better default assumption. In the end, however, without a third witness to the ultimate common source with which to triangulate, we are speculating as to how the material reached ps.-Nāshī'.

There are also the convergences between the *Firaq* and the BdC where the material is lacking from *Uṣūl al-niḥal*. Some of this could plausibly still go back to the common source. It seems unlikely, for example that the post-'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib Kaysāniyya and the faction of the post-Abū Hāshim cluster that traces the Imāmate through Abū Hāshim's brother/nephew would have been added into the schema as late as the common intermediary to Nawbakhtī and Balkhī, even though they are absent from *Uṣūl al-niḥal*. But reliable evidence is lacking.

That lack of a third witness also means we cannot say how faithfully the extant texts reproduce material from the common source, except where they converge closely (in which case they must do so because they preserve aspects of the common source). What is possible, however, is to use *Uṣūl al-niḥal* as a partial control on the

525 The occasional earlier reports that 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn had been a minor during the events at Karbalā' had never garnered theological attention before but were given new significance as people sought for precedents for the Jawād situation. See Madelung 1980:229, and van Ess 1971b:29–31. Most accounts depict 'Alī b. Ḥusayn to have been sick at the time of the time of his father's death at Karbalā' although present (See *EF*²: "Zayn al-'Ābidīn" [Kohlberg] and the sources cited there). There must have been alternative accounts that maintained his non-involvement in the fighting was due, rather, to the fact he was too young, as they are mentioned by Ibn Sa'd, although he raises them in passing only to dismiss them (Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII:219:8–12).

contents of the common intermediary via which Nawbakhtī and Balkhī obtained the *iftirāq*-schema. This is because wherever *Uṣūl al-niḥal* agrees with either the *Firaq* or the BdC on some sufficiently complex feature, that feature must have been present in both the ultimate common *and* the common intermediary to Nawbakhtī and Balkhī. If the BdC diverges from the convergent material in *Uṣūl al-niḥal* and the *Firaq* or *vice versa*, then the divergence must be due to changes introduced into the transmission of the material *after* the common intermediary.

The first significant point in this regard is that *Uṣūl al-niḥal* has parallels to the schema in the *Firaq* and the BdC all the way through from the post-‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib to the post-Mūsā al-Kāẓim clusters. That is a strong confirmation that the whole schema was present in the common intermediary to Nawbakhtī and Balkhī. That should allay any remaining doubts that the post-Šādiq and pre-Šādiq parallels between the *Firaq* and the BdC might come from different sources⁵²⁶.

Another significant observation relates to the *pattern* of convergence. We sometimes see that *Uṣūl al-niḥal* and the *Firaq* converge with one another against the BdC/Ash‘arī’s *Maqālāt* over minor elements within otherwise common passages. That indicates that the *Firaq* sometimes preserves the common intermediary (and the ultimate common source) more faithfully than the BdC. But that pattern of convergence *always* relates to minor differences in wording, e.g., in the description of the Kaysāniyya, the description of Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya at Raḍwā, and the description of the Mughīriyya. In terms of larger features, however, such as which passages are present in the common faction-descriptions and even in terms of which factions are present at all, a different pattern can be observed: *Uṣūl al-niḥal* only ever converges with the *Firaq* where the *Firaq* and the BdC already converge with each other. That strongly suggests that the *Firaq*’s numerous unique passages within faction-descriptions and unique faction-descriptions were taken from elsewhere and added by Nawbakhtī or a unique intermediary. This is an argument from silence. It is still possible in theory that material unique to the *Firaq* goes back to the intermediary in common with Balkhī and even to the ultimate common source shared with *Uṣūl al-niḥal*. But that would mean it had been omitted in the transmission both to Balkhī and ps.-Nāshī’. Moreover, these observations corroborate those made above: the character of much of Nawbakhtī’s unique material also strongly suggests it comes from a source other than his source for the *iftirāq*-schema⁵²⁷.

Finally, it was observed previously that there are several instances where material from Balkhī’s version of the *iftirāq*-schema is paralleled amongst Qummī’s addi-

526 See the above discussion, p. 338.

527 See also the discussion at p. 599–666.

tions to the *Firaq*. This is one reason to posit that Balkhī and Qummī must have had yet a further common intermediary for the *iftirāq*-schema, one that drew in turn on the common intermediary they share with Nawbakhtī. These instances include the description of the faction that believed that Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya was placed at Raḍwā as a punishment, the faction that believe that the Imāmate passed to Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn after Abu Hāshim, and the whole story of how the Ḥarbiyya lost faith in Ibn Ḥarb and ended up supporting ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya⁵²⁸. None of this material appears in *Uṣūl al-niḥal*. This, too, is an argument from silence, but it appears to corroborate the suggestion that this material was not present in the intermediary common to Nawbakhtī and Balkhī. Rather, it was added first in the further intermediary to Balkhī and Qummī.

1.6.2.2 The Ghulāt

Ps.-Nāshī' deals with factions usually referred to as Ghulāt (either in *Uṣūl al-niḥal* or elsewhere) in three main locations:

- Some feature within the *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya. That applies to the Saba'iyya [*Niḥ*.22:16–23:6], the Ḥarbiyya [*Niḥ*.36:20–38:7], and the Mughīriyya [*Niḥ*.46:5–9]. Tangentially it also applies to the Khaṭṭābiyya, who are equated there with the followers of Ismā'il b. Ja'far [*Niḥ*.47:2–3]. Only the Ḥarbiyya are explicitly said to have espoused *ghuluww* doctrines.
- More appear in *Uṣūl al-niḥal*'s Ghulāt-section [*Niḥ*.40:1–42:3]. There, ps.-Nāshī' suspends the *iftirāq*-schema and simply lists five Ghulāt factions, all explicitly labelled as *ahl al-ghuluww*, without any discernible ordering principle: the Manṣūriyya, the Bayāniyya, the Mughīriyya, the Bushayriyya, and the Khaṭṭābiyya. This leads to some doubling of factions, as the Mughīriyya and the Khaṭṭābiyya also appear within the *iftirāq*-schema.
- There is also the transition-section that seems to belong to both the second description of the Ḥarbiyya and the beginning of the Ghulāt-section [*Niḥ*.38:8–40:1]. It deals with the doctrines of metempsychosis (*tanāsukh*) and cyclical epochs (*adwār*), attributing these simultaneously to the Ḥarbiyya and the Khurramiyya. These beliefs too are explicitly labelled *ghuluww*.

The first level at which convergence with the *Firaq* and the BdC can be considered is structural. As far as the factions within the *iftirāq*-schema are concerned, the structural similarity has already been examined above. Only the Ghulāt-section and the transition-section require further discussion here.

⁵²⁸ See p. 374–388.

It is readily apparent that the Ghulāt-section and the transition-section have nothing significant in common with the BdC structurally, but there are some superficial similarities with the *Firaq*. In both texts, the Ghulāt-section follows the second instance of material on the Ḥarbiyya (the Ḥārithiyya for Nawbakhtī). Also, although Nawbakhtī provides no transition-section as such, the transition into the Ghulāt-section is similarly effected by means of material on the doctrine of metempsychosis [*Fir.* 32:6–34:4]⁵²⁹. As in *Uṣūl al-niḥal*, the doctrine is attributed there primarily to the Khurramiyya. That, however, is the full extent of the structural similarity. There is no convergence in the ordering of the factions within the Ghulāt-sections of the two works. Indeed, not even half the factions they feature overlap. Nawbakhtī handles the Bayāniyya, the Mughīriyya and the Bushayriyya (as the Bashīriyya) only outside the *Firaq*'s Ghulāt section. The overlap involves only two of *Uṣūl al-niḥal*'s five factions: the Maṣūriyya and the Khaṭṭābiyya. In short, although there could conceivably be something significant about the way both ps.-Nāshī' and Nawbakhtī follow the material on the Ḥarbiyya/Ḥārithiyya with material on the Khurramī doctrine of metempsychosis, the structural similarities are far from sufficient to provide positive evidence of common source-dependency here.

The next level at which convergence can be considered is in the wording of the faction-descriptions. Again, the material on the Saba'iyya, Mughīriyya and Ḥarbiyya that belongs to the *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya has been discussed above. Still to be discussed are the few convergences that occur in the non-*iftirāq* material from the second description of the Ḥarbiyya through to the end of the Ghulāt-section. Nearly all of these, however, are merely incidental agreements over points of information. For example, ps.-Nāshī' relates the famous fact that Abū Maṣūr promoted strangulation [*Niḥ.*40:3], which is found everywhere else too [*Fir.*34:14; *Ḥūr.*223:16–17; *MaqA.*10:6–7], but there is no meaningful convergence in wording over this detail⁵³⁰. *Uṣūl al-niḥal*'s description of the Khurramiyya's doctrine of metempsychosis agrees to a great extent with Nawbakhtī's, but, again, there is no significant convergence in the wording or internal structure of the material. A lot is simply unique to *Uṣūl al-niḥal* even in terms of the information it conveys. That is true, for example, of the *ḥadīth*-based justification used by the Ḥarbiyya for their doctrine of the transmigration of the Holy Spirit from the Prophet to 'Alī [*Niḥ.*37:16–23], or the description of the Mughīriyya's doctrine concerning the Qur'ān [*Niḥ.*41:9–13].

There are only two places where the convergence becomes more specific and thus potentially more significant. The first is in the description of the Ḥarbiyya: both

529 See p. 649–652.

530 See also p. 156 n.74, 567, 755.

Uṣūl al-niḥal and the BdC/Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* have a passage in which they report that the Ḥarbiyya taught that the Holy Spirit or 'Spirit of God' transferred into 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya [Niḥ.37:14–16; Ḥūr.215:1–2; MaqA.6:5–6]. They also both impute to them a doctrine of the deification of the Imāms [Niḥ.37:13–14; Ḥūr.214:21; MaqA.6:6–7]. But, even here, there is no complex convergence in wording. Indeed, the details of the doctrine diverge slightly. Ps.-Nāshī' talks of the *rūḥ al-quḍs*, which was in the Prophet then 'relocated' (*intaqalat*) to 'Alī and eventually to 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya. He also describes a doctrine according to which the Imāms are all gods (*ālīha*). The BdC has the *rūḥ allāh* originally in Adam then 'transmigrating' (*tanāsakhat*) until it reaches 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya⁵³¹. It also describes the belief that 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya was considered 'Lord' (*rabb*) but without addressing the divine status of the other Imāms. Without the context of any wider structural parallels, this too is far from enough to constitute evidence of a proximate common source.

The second place that convergence is more specific is in *Uṣūl al-niḥal*'s description of the Bayāniyya. The whole description is given here in Tab. 39 alongside the relevant passage from the *Ḥūr* and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*.

Tab. 39: The Bayāniyya in *Uṣūl al-niḥal* and the BdC.

Niḥ.40:6–41:3

[a'] والبيانية وهم أصحاب بيان بن سمان زعم أنه أسرى به إلى السماء والله تبتأه وأقعده معه على العرش ومسح رأسه وقال انطلق
أى بنى فبلغ عتى

[b'] وزعم أنه هو البيان الذى قال الله عزّ وجلّ في كتابه (هذا بيانٌ للناس وهُدًى موعظة للمتقين)

[c'] وكان يزعم أن الله عزّ وجلّ جسم وأنه يجوز على ذاته الفناء إلا وجهه ويتلو قول الله عزّ وجلّ (كلّ شيء هالك إلا وجهه)

[d'] وقد هجا بياناً وأصحابه بعضُ الشعراء الذين كانوا في زمانه فقال

زعموا أنّ ربّهم سوف يفنى كلّه غير وجهه ذي الجلالِ

فلهدا وما يضارع هذا جعل الله حظّهم فى سقالِ

أى شيء يكون أحدل من ذا ازرقى ورافض فى حالِ

[e'] وبلغ أبا <الهيثم> خالد بن عبد الله القسرى أنّ بياناً يزعم أنه يدعو الزهرة فتجيبه وتنزل من السماء إليه وأنه يقول إنه روح الله
وكلمته وأنّ روح القدس كانت فى النبى صلعم ثم فى الحسن ثم فى الحسين ثم انتقلت فصارت إليه وكان خالد بن عبد الله
عامل هشام بن عبد الملك على العراق فأخذَه فصلبه

⁵³¹ Qummī's version of this passage (*MaqQ.42:17–20*) is the only one other than ps.-Nāshī's to make an explicit comparison with the doctrine of the Christians, but not in the same way: ps.-Nāshī' says that the Ḥarbiyya, like the Christians, believe the Holy Spirit is eternal; Qummī states they believe, like a *faction* of the Christians, that the Spirit of God was in Adam. Otherwise, Qummī's terminology in the passage is closer to Balkhī's.

Tab. 39 (continued)

<i>Hur.215:12–14</i>	<i>MaqA.5:11–6:2</i>
[c ²] وكان بيان بن سمعان يقول إن الله تعالى على صورة الانسان وإنه يهلك ويبقى وجهه لقوله تعالى (كلّ شيء هالكٌ إلا وجهه)	[c ³] فالفرقة الاولى منهم البيانية اصحاب بيان بن سمعان التميمي يقولون ان الله عز وجل على صورة الانسان وانه يهلك كله الا وجهه
[e ²] وادعى أنه يدعو الزهرة باسم الله الأعظم فتجيبه فيبلغ خبره خلد بن عبد الله القسري فقتله	[e ³] وادعى بيان أنه يدعو الزهرة فتجيبه وانه يفعل ذلك بالاسم الاعظم فقتله خلد بن عبد الله القسري
	[f ³] وحكى عنهم ان كثيرا منهم ثبت لبيان بن سمعان النبوة ويزعم كثيرٌ من البيانية ان ابا هاشم عبد الله بن محمد بن الحنفية نصن على امامة بيان بن سمعان ونصبه اماما
<i>Nih.40:6–41:3</i>	
[a ¹] The Bayāniyya. They are the followers of Bayān b. Sim‘ān. He claimed that he was transported to Heaven at night, where God took him as his son and sat him upon the throne, anointing his head and saying, “Depart, o my son, and tell of me!”.	
[b ¹] He claimed that he was the <i>bayān</i> of which God said in his Book, “This is a clear sign for the people and an exhortation to those who fear God” [Q3:138].	
[c ¹] He used to claim that God, great and glorious, was a physical body and that was possible for His being to cease to exist except for his face. He cited where God, great and glorious, says “Everything will perish except his face” [Q28:88].	
[d ¹] One of the poets of his era defamed Bayān, saying:	
They claimed that their Lord would cease to exist	All of Him save his exalted face
Because of this and the like of it	God gave them a lowly fate
What could be more misshapen than this:	An Azraqī and a Rāfiqī at once?
[e ¹] It reached Abū l-Haytham Khālid b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Qasrī that Bayān claimed he had summoned Venus and it responded to him, descending to him from its place in the heavens, and that he said he was the Spirit of God and his Word, and that the Holy Spirit was in the Prophet, PBUH, then in ‘Alī, then in Ḥasan, then in Ḥusayn, then it transferred and went into him. Khālid b. ‘Abd Allāh was Hishām b. ‘Abd al-Malik’s governor of Iraq, so he seized him and crucified him.	
<i>Hur.215:12–14</i>	<i>MaqA.5:11–6:2</i>
[c ²] Bayān b. Sim‘ān used to say that God Almighty had the human form and that He would perish and only His face would remain, due to Him saying, “Everything will perish except his face” [Q28:88].	[c ³] Their first faction is the Bayāniyya, the followers of Bayān b. Sim‘ān al-Tamīmī. They say that God, great and glorious, had human form and that all of Him would perish except his face.

Tab.39 (continued)

<i>Ḥur</i> .215:12–14	<i>MaqA</i> .5:11–6:2
[e ²] He claimed that he summoned Venus by God's greatest name, so it responded to him. Then news of him reached Khālid b. 'Abd Allāh al-Qasrī, so he [Khālid] killed him [Bayān].	[e ³] Bayān claimed that he summoned Venus and it responded to him, and that he did that by the greatest name. So Khālid b. 'Abd Allāh al-Qasrī killed him.
	[f ³] It is related that many of them attributed prophecy to Bayān. Many of the Bayāniyya claim that Abū Hāshim 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya made an explicit statement about the Imāmate of Bayān and installed him as Imām.

The convergences occur in *c*, which describes Bayān's doctrine that God will perish except for His face, and *e*, which claims Khālid b. 'Abd Allāh killed Bayān due to the latter's claim that he had successfully summoned the planet Venus. In terms of wording, as we would expect by now anyway, the *Ḥūr* and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* are close to one another; *Uṣūl al-niḥal* diverges far more. Nevertheless, there are still convergences that are difficult to dismiss as merely coincidental. The most striking is the phrase, found in *c*, "that he summoned Venus. . . and it responded to him" (*annahū yad'ū al-zuhara. . . fa-tajībuhu*). There is a common source of some kind at some point in the history of this material.

The remainder of ps.-Nāshī's description does not parallel the BdC's material on Bayān and the Bayāniyya at all. However, Bayān's claim, presented in *a*¹, that he was taken up to heaven and addressed as God's son is attributed by Balkhī and Ash'arī, as well as Nawbakhtī, to another Ghulāt leader: Abū l-Manṣūr [*Fir*.34:5–8; *Ḥūr*.223:9–10; *MaqA*.9:11–13]. Ps.-Nāshī' is the only author to bring it into connection with Bayān, but apart from the switch of person, the convergence is close, especially with the BdC and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, including over the words God is supposed to have used during the encounter. It is thus possible we are dealing simply with a mistake on ps.-Nāshī's (or a copyist's) part. The Manṣūriyya are described immediately before the Bayāniyya, and the material may somehow have become detached and mixed up with what follows⁵³².

532 That ps.-Nāshī' has simply made a mistake here is proposed by van Ess (1971a:250), but he also raises the possibility that we are looking at a transferable motif that could have been associated with different figures. But even if there were such a transferable 'night journey to heaven' motif in circulation amongst the Ghulāt (based presumably on Muḥammad's night journey and thus serving as a confirmation of the prophethood of their leaders), the specificity of the parallels with the

In any case, that gives us three passages in *Uṣūl al-niḥal* that seem to be related somehow to material on Ghulāt factions that appears in the BdC/Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* but is not part of the *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya proper. There are, however, no significant parallels at all between *Uṣūl al-niḥal*'s material on the Ghulāt and the *Firaq*. Moreover, most of the BdC's material on Ghulāt factions does not appear at all in *Uṣūl al-niḥal* and most of *Uṣūl al-niḥal*'s material has no parallel in the BdC. The three parallels we do find are short, relatively loose, isolated amongst material unique to *Uṣūl al-niḥal*, and do not occur within any sort of common structure. The case of the Bayāniyya gives us reason to think that ps.-Nāshī' and Balkhī's sources for their non-*iftirāq* material on the Ghulāt must ultimately have drawn on some of the same reports concerning Ghulāt factions at some point in the history of the material, but there is insufficient evidence to conclude they had any kind of proximate common source for their material on Ghulāt factions; we are talking about discrete reports that must have made their way into multiple texts and/or routes of oral transmission.

1.6.2.3 The Zaydiyya

Uṣūl al-niḥal deals with Zaydī factions in only one place: its Zaydiyya-section, which starts abruptly after the Ghulāt-section has finished [*Niḥ.*42:5–45:9]. The section is governed by its own superficial *iftirāq*-schema, as we have seen, but it is unattached to the *iftirāq* of the Imāmiyya. It is a stand-alone unit. Structurally, it presents little convergence with any part of the *Firaq* or the BdC. Although the *Firaq* also has a formally distinct Zaydiyya-section in the middle of its *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya, it is only one of several places where Nawbakhtī discusses the Zaydiyya⁵³³. Moreover, neither the way Nawbakhtī commences the Zaydiyya-section, via his unique second post-Ḥusayn *iftirāq*-cluster, nor the internal structure of the section resemble *Uṣūl al-niḥal* at all⁵³⁴. Balkhī's sub-chapter on the Zaydiyya also employed an *iftirāq*-schema, but none of the versions preserved in the BdC converges in any significant way with ps.-Nāshī's⁵³⁵. *Uṣūl al-niḥal* and the BdC at least have the same core of three named factions, as the Jārūdiyya, the Butriyya and the Sulaymāniyya (sometimes as the Jarīriyya) are the staple of the BdC's presentation of Zaydī factions, too. We will see below that this may partly reflect a common source, but such superficial similarity alone provides no positive evidence of this.

material on the Maṣūriyya much favours the former explanation in this case. The verses attacking Bayān in *d'* are probably from Ma'dān al-Shumayṭī (*Ibid.*:249–251).

⁵³³ See p. 339.

⁵³⁴ On the structure of the Zaydiyya-sections in the two texts, see p. 591–596 and p. 658–661.

⁵³⁵ See p. 154 and 741.

It is, rather, at the level of *Uṣūl al-niḥāl*'s individual faction-descriptions that close, complex convergence occurs with both the *Fīraq* and the BdC. Indeed, all ps.-Nāshī's descriptions of the Zaydiyya contain significant parallels to the later works. The difficulty, however, is to determine the relationship of source-dependency that could have led to the pattern of convergence we encounter. We have seen already that the situation of convergence and divergence between the *Fīraq*, the BdC, and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* in the material on the Zaydiyya is more complex than in the *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya. So far, we have identified five distinct bodies of material:

1. There is the material that seems to go back to Zurqān. This is best preserved in the *Fīraq*'s *ikhtilāf*-section, and it is evident that it was originally (part of?) an *ikhtilāf*-cluster, not *fīraq*-material. It consists in the mutually engaging opinions of Sulaymān b. Jarīr, Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ b. Ḥayy (resp., 'the Butriyya'), and Nu'aym b. Yamān on the status of 'Alī, Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān, and 'Alī's opponents at the Battle of the Camel. This material was used also by Balkhī and Ash'arī as *fīraq*-material, although in different ways. It appears all three authors took it directly from Zurqān's *Maqālāt* or at least via different lines of transmission⁵³⁶.
2. There is the report on the Jārūdiyya found in the BdC and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*. This is not present in the *Fīraq* and there is no evidence it has anything to do with Zurqān. At least part of it was attributed by Balkhī to Warrāq, but due to ambiguities in the preserved citation-marking (in Jishumī's *Sharḥ*), it is possible the whole report came to Balkhī from Warrāq. If Ash'arī did not simply obtain it via Balkhī, then they *must* both have taken the whole report from Warrāq⁵³⁷.
3. There is the material on Sulaymān b. Jarīr and Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ b. Ḥayy/the Butriyya found in the *Mughnī*, which also forms the basis of the reports on the Sulaymāniyya and the Butriyya in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* (which Ash'arī alone then augments with the Zurqān-material). The best candidate for Balkhī's source here is Warrāq. If Ash'arī did not take it via Balkhī, then, again, they must both have obtained it from Warrāq⁵³⁸.
4. There is the material on Kathīr al-Nawwā' which appears amongst the descriptions of the Butriyya in the *Hūr* and the *Bāb*, as well as in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*. This too probably came to Balkhī from Warrāq. If Ash'arī did not obtain it from Balkhī, both probably got it from Warrāq⁵³⁹.
5. There is all of Nawbakhtī's *fīraq*-material on the Zaydiyya, i.e., everything outside of the *ikhtilāf*-section, which, despite some overlaps in information,

⁵³⁶ See p. 253–257.

⁵³⁷ See p. 204–209.

⁵³⁸ See p. 253–254.

⁵³⁹ See p. 254.

does not truly parallel anything in the BdC or Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*. We do not know the source(s) here, but it is (/they are) unlikely to be either Zurqān or Warrāq⁵⁴⁰.

The main complication presented by *Uṣūl al-niḥal* arises from the fact that it has parallels to two of these bodies of material. First, ps.-Nāshī's description of the Jārūdiyya [*Niḥ.*42:9–43:13] mostly parallels that which Nawbakhtī gives in his second post-Ḥusayn cluster, even though Nawbakhtī uses the name Surḥūbiyya rather than Jārūdiyya there [*Fir.*48:7–50:6]. That description belongs to the fifth body of material listed above. Second, parts of ps.-Nāshī's descriptions of the Butriyya and the Sulaymāniyya parallel the Zurqān-material, i.e., the first body of material listed above.

There are numerous possible explanations of this situation in terms of the relationship of source-dependency, but before discussing them more thoroughly, it is better to examine the convergences and divergences in the individual faction-descriptions in more detail. **1.6.2.3.1** deals with the material on the Jārūdiyya, **1.6.2.3.2** with that on the Butriyya, and **1.6.2.3.3** that on the Sulaymāniyya. The evidence is then brought together and analysed as a whole in **1.6.2.3.4**.

1.6.2.3.1 The Jārūdiyya

The description of the Jārūdiyya in *Uṣūl al-niḥal* and that given in the *Firaq's* second post-Ḥusayn *iftirāq*-cluster, where the name Surḥūbiyya is used, are given in Tab. 40. There are no parallels to the material on the Jārūdiyya in the BdC and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, which was given in Tab. 10.

There is clearly a common core of convergent material in the two descriptions: *m* presents the doctrine that the Prophet made an explicit statement concerning (*naṣṣa 'alā*) the Imāmates of 'Alī, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, and that, after them, the Imāmate is restricted to those descendants of Fāṭima who openly rebel, which requires that people obey them; *p* describes the doctrine concerning descendants of Fāṭima who claim the Imāmate but do not actively rebel; and *q* treats the doctrine of the special knowledge held by all descendants of Fāṭima. Despite the presence of large amounts of unique material in both texts, the passages that form the common core occur in the same order in both.

The convergence within the common core is far too close and complex to be explained by coincidence. In particular, in *m*, both texts have the sequence in which the descendants of Fāṭima are described as “of one/equal status (*shara' wāḥid/sawā*). . . any one of them who summons [the people] to support him, he is the

⁵⁴⁰ See p. 339–340.

Tab. 40: *Uṣūl al-niḥal* and the *Firaq* on the Jārūdiyya/Surḥūbiyya.**Niḥ.42:9–43:13****Fir.48:7–50:12**

[*n*¹] فَمَمَّنْ يَقُولُ بِالنَّصِّ عَلَى عَلِيٍّ مِنَ الزَّيْدِيَّةِ أَبُو الْجَارُودِ
وَفَضِيلُ الرَّسْتَانِ وَأَبُو خَالِدِ الْوَاسِطِيِّ وَمَنْصُورُ بْنُ أَبِي الْأَسْوَدِ
وَهَوْلَاءُ رُؤَسَاءِ الزَّيْدِيَّةِ

[*m*¹] هَوْلَاءُ الْجَارُودِيَّةِ زَعَمُوا أَنَّ النَّبِيَّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ نَصَّ عَلَى عَلِيٍّ
ثُمَّ عَلَى الْحَسَنِ ثُمَّ عَلَى الْحُسَيْنِ ثُمَّ انْقَطَعَ النَّصُّ إِلَّا أَنَّ الْإِمَامَةَ
لَا تَخْرُجُ مِنْ وَلَدِ فَاطِمَةَ وَزَعَمُوا أَنَّ وَلَدَ فَاطِمَةَ شَرَعَ وَاحِدٌ فِي
الْإِمَامَةِ كُلِّ مَنْ دَعَا إِلَى نَفْسِهِ فَهُوَ إِمَامٌ مَقْتَرَضِ الطَّاعَةِ عَلَى
النَّاسِ إِجَابَتُهُ

[*n*¹] وَأَظْهَرُوا الْبِرَاءَةَ مِنْ أَبِي بَكْرٍ وَعَمَرَ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمَا
وَأَكْفَرُوا هُمَا وَقَالُوا هُمَا أَوَّلُ مَنْ تَأَمَّرَ عَلَى عَلِيٍّ وَغَضِبَهُ وَقَدْ
عَلِمْنَا أَنَّ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ أَمَرَهُ عَلَيْهِمَا وَجَعَلَهُ الْخَلِيفَةَ مِنْ بَعْدِهِ

[*o*¹] فَخَرَجَتْ هَذِهِ الْفِرْقَةُ مَعَ زَيْدِ بْنِ عَلِيٍّ مِنَ الْحُسَيْنِ فَسَمَّوْهُمْ
الشَّيْعَةَ الزَّيْدِيَّةَ

[*p*¹] وَزَعَمُوا أَنَّهُمْ دَعَا إِلَى نَفْسِهِ بِالْإِمَامَةِ مِنْ وَلَدِ فَاطِمَةَ وَهُوَ
فِي بَيْتِهِ مُرَحَّى عَلَيْهِ سِتْرُهُ فَلَيْسَ بِإِمَامٍ وَلَا طَاعَتُهُ مَفْرُوضَةٌ

[*m*²] وَفِرْقَةٌ قَالَتْ إِنَّ الْإِمَامَةَ صَارَتْ بَعْدَ مُضِيِّ الْحُسَيْنِ فِي
وَلَدِ الْحَسَنِ وَالْحُسَيْنِ فِيهِمْ خَاصَّةٌ دُونَ سَائِرِ وَلَدِ عَلِيٍّ بْنِ
أَبِي طَالِبٍ وَهُمْ كُلُّهُمْ فِيهَا شَرَعٌ سِوَاهُ مَنْ قَامَ مِنْهُمْ وَدَعَا إِلَى
نَفْسِهِ فَهُوَ الْإِمَامُ الْمَفْرُوضِ الطَّاعَةَ بِمَنْزِلَةِ عَلِيٍّ بْنِ أَبِي طَالِبٍ
وَاجِبَةِ إِمَامَتِهِ مِنَ اللَّهِ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ عَلَى أَهْلِ بَيْتِهِ وَسَائِرِ النَّاسِ كُلِّهِمْ
فَمَنْ تَخَلَّفَ عَنْهُ فِي قِيَامِهِ وَدَعَا إِلَى نَفْسِهِ مِنْ جَمِيعِ الْخَلْقِ
فَهُوَ هَالِكٌ كَافِرٌ

[*p*²] وَمَنْ ادَّعَى مِنْهُمْ الْإِمَامَةَ وَهُوَ قَاعِدٌ فِي بَيْتِهِ مُرَحَّى عَلَيْهِ
سِتْرُهُ فَهُوَ كَافِرٌ مُشْرِكٌ وَكُلٌّ مِنْ اتَّبَعَهُ عَلَى ذَلِكَ وَكُلٌّ مِنْ قَالَ
بِإِمَامَتِهِ

[*r*²] وَهُمْ الَّذِينَ سَمَّوْا السَّرْحَوِيَّةَ وَأَصْحَابَ أَبِي خَالِدِ الْوَاسِطِيِّ
وَأَسْمَةَ يَزِيدٍ وَأَصْحَابَ فَضِيلِ بْنِ الزَّبِيرِ الرَّسْتَانِيِّ [وَأَصْحَابَ
زَيْدِ بْنِ الْمَنْذَرِ] وَهُوَ الَّذِي يَسْمَى أبا الْجَارُودِ وَلَقِبَهُ سَرْحَوِيًّا
مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ عَلِيٍّ بْنِ الْحُسَيْنِ بْنِ عَلِيٍّ وَذَكَرَ أَنَّ سَرْحَوِيًّا شَيْطَانُ
أَعْمَى يَسْكُنُ الْبَحْرَ وَكَانَ أَبُو الْجَارُودِ أَعْمَى الْبَصَرِ أَعْمَى الْقَلْبِ

[*m*²] فَالْتَقَوْا هَوْلَاءَ مَعَ الْفِرْقَتَيْنِ اللَّتَيْنِ قَالَتَا أَنَّ عَلِيًّا أَفْضَلُ
النَّاسِ بَعْدَ النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ فَصَارُوا مَعَ زَيْدِ بْنِ عَلِيٍّ
بِإِمَامَتِهِ عِنْدَ خُرُوجِهِ بِالْكُوفَةِ فَقَالُوا بِإِمَامَتِهِ فَسَمَّوْا كُلَّهُمْ فِي
الْجَمَلَةِ الزَّيْدِيَّةِ إِلَّا أَنَّهُمْ مُخْتَلِفُونَ فِيمَا بَيْنَهُمْ فِي الْقُرْآنِ وَالسُّنَنِ
وَالشَّرَائِعِ وَالْفَرَائِضِ وَالْأَحْكَامِ

[*q*¹] وَزَعَمَ أَبُو الْجَارُودِ أَنَّ الْحَلَالَ مَا أَحَلَّهُ آلُ مُحَمَّدٍ وَالْحَرَامُ مَا
حَرَّمَهُ وَعِنْدَهُمْ جَمِيعٌ مَا يَحْتَاجُ إِلَيْهِ الْأُمَّةُ مِمَّا جَاءَ بِهِ الرَّسُولُ
صَلَّمَ تَامًّا كَامِلًا عِنْدَ صَغِيرِهِمْ وَكَبِيرِهِمْ لَا فَضْلَ لِأَحَدٍ مِنْهُمْ عَلَى
صَاحِبِهِ إِذَا بَلَغَ النَّاشِئُ مِنْهُمْ وَقَدْ تَكَامَلَتْ فِيهِ الْفَضَائِلُ هَكَذَا حَكَى
جَمَاعَةٌ مِنْ مُشَائِخِ الشَّيْعَةِ وَعُلَمَائِهِمْ عَنِ أَبِي الْجَارُودِ

[*q*²] وَذَلِكَ أَنَّ السَّرْحَوِيَّةَ قَالَتْ الْحَلَالَ حَلَالُ آلِ مُحَمَّدٍ صَلَّى
اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ وَالْحَرَامُ حَرَامُهُمْ وَالْأَحْكَامُ أَحْكَامُهُمْ وَعِنْدَهُمْ جَمِيعٌ
مَا جَاءَ بِهِ النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ كُلَّهُ كَامِلٌ عِنْدَ صَغِيرِهِمْ
وَكَبِيرِهِمْ وَالصَّغِيرُ مِنْهُمْ وَالْكَبِيرُ فِي الْعِلْمِ سِوَاهُ لَا يَفْضِلُ الْكَبِيرُ
الصَّغِيرَ مَنْ كَانَ مِنْهُمْ فِي الْخُرْقِ وَالْمَهْدِ إِلَى الْكَبِيرِ هُمْ سَنًّا

[*r*¹] وَأَنَّهُ قَالَ لَوْ فَضَّلْتُ بَعْضَ وَلَدِ فَاطِمَةَ عَلَى بَعْضِ الْآلِ مَنْ
نَصَّ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ عَلَى فَضْلِهِ يَعْنِي الْحَسَنَ وَالْحُسَيْنَ لَزِمْنِي
أَنْ أَقُولَ أَنَّ بَعْضَهُمْ مَنْقُوصٌ لَا يَصْلِحُ لِلْإِمَامَةِ وَلَوْ كَانَ هَذَا هَكَذَا
لَمْ يَصِلِ النَّاسُ إِلَى مَعْرِفَةٍ مِنْ يَسْتَحَقُّ الْإِمَامَةَ مِنْهُمْ بَعْضُهُمْ عَلَى
بَعْضٍ فِي الْعِلْمِ وَفِي الْأُمُورِ الَّتِي تَحْتَاجُ الْأُمَّةَ إِلَى أَنْ يَكُونَ الْإِمَامُ

Tab. 40 (continued)

Niḥ.42:9–43:13

بها عارفاً قال والإستخراج أفضلهم وأعلمهم والمستحق للإمامة منهم إن [لم] يكونوا مستويين في الفضل والعلم لا يمكن لكثرتهم وصعوبة الأمر في امتحانهم فزعم لهذه العلة أنهم يستوون في العلم والفضل فمن خرج منهم فهو الإمام وهو يقول في العلم بالإلهام فزعم أن الإمام يُلهم العلم بالأحكام في الحوادث إذا احتاج إليه

Fir.48:7–50:12

[w²] وقال بعضهم من ادعى ان من كان منهم في المهدي والخرق ليس علمه مثل علم رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله فهو كافر بالله مشرك وليس يحتاج احد منهم ان يتعلم من احد منهم ولا من غيرهم العلم ينبت في صدورهم كما ينبت الزرع المطر فوالله عز وجل قد علمهم بلطفه كيف شاء وانما قالوا بهذه المقالة كراهة ان يلزموا الامامة بعضهم دون بعض فينتقض قولهم ان الامامة صارت فيهم جميعاً فيها شرع سواء

[w²] وهم مع ذلك لا يروون عن احد منهم علماً ينتفعون به الا ما يروون عن ابي جعفر محمد بن علي وابي عبد الله جعفر بن محمد واحاديث قليلة عن زيد بن علي واشياء يسيرة عن عبد الله بن الحسن المحض ليس مما قالوا وادعوه في ايديهم شيء اكثر من دعوى كاذبة لانهم وصفوه بانهم يعلمون كل شيء تحتاج إليه الامة من امر دينهم ودنياهم ومنافعها ومضارها بغير تعليم

Niḥ.42:9–43:13

[l¹] Those of the Zaydiyya who profess the doctrine of a specific statement designating ‘Alī are Abū I-Jārūd, Fuḍayl al-Rassān, Abū Khālid al-Wāsiṭī and Maṣṣūr b. Abī I-Aswad. These are the leaders of the Zaydiyya.

[m¹] These Jārūdiyya claimed that the Prophet, PBUH, made an explicit statement concerning ‘Alī, then concerning Ḥasan, then concerning Ḥusayn, then [designation for the Imāmate by means of] explicit statement was discontinued, except insofar as the Imāmate may never leave the descendants of Fāṭima. They claimed that the descendants of Fāṭima are of one status with respect to the Imāmate; any [of them] who summons the people to support him, he is the Imām to whom obedience becomes obligatory and to whom the people are required to respond.

Fir.48:7–50:12

[m²] One faction said that, after the departure of Ḥusayn, the Imāmate passed to the descendants of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, so it is in them especially to the exclusion of the rest of the descendants of ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and they are all of equal status with respect to it; any one of them who summons [the people] to support him, he is the Imām to whom obedience is obligatory, in the same situation as ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. His Imāmate is a duty imposed by God Exalted upon his family and all the rest of the people. So, anyone from amongst the whole of humankind who refrains from joining him in his uprising and from his summoning of the people to support him, he is a doomed unbeliever.

Tab. 40 (continued)

Niḥ.42:9–43:13**Fir.48:7–50:12**

[n¹] They [the Jārūdiyya] openly disavowed Abū Bakr and 'Umar, may God be pleased with them, and declared them unbelievers. They said those two are the first to have set themselves above 'Alī and compelled him by force, when we know that the Messenger of God, PBUH, put him above those two and made him caliph after him.

[o¹] This faction rebelled with Zayd b. 'Alī b. Ḥusayn, so they are named the Zaydī Shī'a.

[p¹] And they claimed that any of the descendants of Fāṭima who summons the people to support himself for the Imāmate but remains in his house, at ease [lit. with his curtain let down], is not the Imām and obedience to him is not an obligation.

[p²] And anyone from amongst them who claims the Imāmate whilst sitting his house, at ease [lit. with his curtain let down], is an unbeliever and a polytheist, and likewise all those who follow him in that.

[r²] They are the ones called the Surḥūbiyya and the followers of Abū Khālid al-Wāsiṭī, whose name was Yazīd, and the followers of Fuḍayl b. al-Zubayr al-Rassān, and [the followers of Ziyād b. al-Mundhir]. He is the one named Abū l-Jārūd and Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Ḥusayn nicknamed him "Surḥūb", saying that Surḥūb was a blind demon living in the sea and Abū l-Jārūd was blind in the eye and the heart.

[u²] These came together with the two factions who said that 'Alī was the most virtuous of the people after the Prophet, peace be upon him and his family, then they joined with Zayd b. 'Alī in his rebellion at Kufa. They professed his Imāmate, so they were collectively called the Zaydiyya, although they disagree amongst themselves concerning the Qur'ān, the Sunna, the law, the duties, and the legal rulings.

[q¹] Abū l-Jārūd claimed that the licit is what the family of Muḥammad have deemed licit and the forbidden is what they have forbidden, and that they possess everything the Community requires from what the Messenger of God,

[q²] This was because the Surḥūbiyya said that the licit is what is licit according to the family of Muḥammad, peace be upon him and his family, and the forbidden is what is forbidden according to them, and the appropriate legal

Tab. 40 (continued)

Niḥ.42:9–43:13

PBUH, brought, perfectly and completely, both the young and the old amongst them. None of them is superior to another once the youth amongst them has reached maturity and the virtues have become complete in him. This is what a group of the leaders and scholars of the Shī'a relate concerning Abū I-Jārūd.

Fir.48:7–50:12

rulings are the legal rulings according to them, and that they possess everything the Prophet, peace be upon him and his family, brought, all of it completely for both the young and the old amongst them. The young and the old amongst them are equal in knowledge, the older is not superior to the younger, from the one who is in swaddling cloths and cradle to the one who is of greatest age.

[r⁷] And they also relate that he said, “If I were to consider one of the descendants of Fāṭima superior to another, except those concerning whose superior virtue the Prophet made an explicit statement, i.e., Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, then it would be necessary for me to say that some of them have faults and are not right for the Imāmate. And if things were so, the people could not arrive at knowledge of which of them deserved the Imāmate, one set against another in terms of knowledge and in terms of those matters about which the Community requires that the Imām is aware”. He said, “The task of determining which of them was the most superior in virtue, the most knowledgeable and the one deserving of the Imāmate, if they were [not] equal in virtue and knowledge⁵⁴¹, would not be possible due to their large number and the difficulty of the matter of examining them”. So, for this reason, he claimed that they were equal in knowledge and virtue, such that the one amongst them who rebels, he is the Imām. And he said that their knowledge comes by means of inspiration. Thus, he claimed that the Imām is inspired with knowledge of the correct judgements in relation to particular events whenever he needs it.

541 This should be emended to “if they were not equal in virtue and knowledge” (in *lam yakūnū* . . .).

Tab. 40 (continued)

Niḥ.42:9–43:13

Fir.48:7–50:12

[v²] Some of them said that anyone who claims that one of them in cradle and swaddling cloths does not have knowledge like the Messenger of God, peace be upon him and his family, is an unbeliever and a polytheist. None of them needs to learn from another of them or from anyone else. Knowledge grows in their breasts. Just as rain makes the plants grow, God Exalted made them know what He willed by means of His grace. They professed this doctrine, however, in order to avoid imposing the Imāmate by necessity upon one of them to the exclusion of the rest, which would contradict their doctrine that the Imāmate passed to them collectively, such that they are of one status with respect to it.

[w²] Despite this, they do not relate any beneficial knowledge from them except what they relate from Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. 'Alī and Abū 'Abd Allāh Ja'far b. Muḥammad, as well as a few *ḥadīths* from Zayd b. 'Alī and a small number of things from 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan al-Maḥḍ. What they professed and claimed was available to them was nothing more than false assertions, because they had described them as knowing everything that the Community required in religious and worldly matters, of what is beneficial and what is harmful, without being taught.

Imām to whom obedience is obligatory” (*man da'ā ilā nafsihi fa-huwa imām muf-taraḍ al-ṭā'a* [*al-imām al-mafrūḍ al-ṭā'a*]). In *p*, there is the distinctive expression “in his house with his curtain let down” (*fi baytihi murkh^{an} 'alayhi sitruhu*) to refer to the pretender to the Imāmate who stays at home living a life of ease instead of engaging in active rebellion⁵⁴². In *q*, there is the reference to the licit and forbidden being what the family of Muḥammad deem to be licit and forbidden, followed by the statement that the young and old amongst them possess completely “everything

542 On this phrase, see p. 577, also p. 647.

that the Prophet/the Messenger brought” (*mā jā’a bi-hi al-nabī/al-rasūl*). Convergence over any one of these elements might conceivably have arisen because it was a well-known formulaic expression of Jārūdī doctrine, but the combination of all these elements in the same order set within passages that parallel each other more generally cannot be coincidence. There is a relationship of source-dependency here.

There is also, however, some divergence within the common passages. Much is merely a matter of minor differences in wording or else the expansion or contraction of certain elements. But some divergences are greater. In *p*, ps.-Nāshī’ and Nawbakhtī describe very different consequences if a descendant of Fāṭima claims the Imāmate but does not actively rebel. Ps.-Nāshī’ claims the Jārūdiyya teach simply that obedience to him is then not obligatory, as he is not the Imām. Nawbakhtī states the doctrine is, rather, that the pretender and all his supporters then become unbelievers. That is a significant difference. In *q*, both ps.-Nāshī’ and Nawbakhtī claim the Jārūdiyya teach that both the young and the old amongst Fāṭima’s descendants possess complete knowledge of ‘what the Prophet brought’. Nawbakhtī alone then emphasizes the point with the striking image that the oldest amongst them has no advantage over one “in swaddling cloths and cradle” in terms of knowledge. Ps.-Nāshī’ instead adds an extra condition: although they are equal in knowledge regardless of age, it is only once they have become mature and their ‘virtues’ (*faḍā’il*) fully developed that none is worthier than another.

Both texts also have unique passages. There is some agreement in the information given in *l*¹ and *t*², as they contain overlapping lists of the names of the leaders of the faction, but *t*² is also where Nawbakhtī introduces the name Surhūbiyya and the story behind it, which is unique to the *Firaq*⁵⁴³. There is also some overlap between *o*¹ and *u*², but it arises only from the generic information that the faction was called the Zaydiyya because of their support for Zayd b. ‘Alī. Ps.-Nāshī’s *n*¹ concerns the disavowal of Abū Bakr and ‘Umar. Nawbakhtī knows the Jārūdiyya held this doctrine, but he presents it elsewhere in the *Firaq*, in the description in the post-Muḥammad cluster [*Fir*.19:2–3], and the language is not similar enough to be significant.

The other unique passages are more interesting. Both texts elaborate further on Abū l-Jārūd’s doctrine of the special knowledge possessed by the descendants of Fāṭima, but they do so differently. Ps.-Nāshī’, in *r*¹, claims that the reason for the doctrine was to enable them to identify any descendant of Fāṭima who engaged in active rebellion as the Imām. For, according to this view, if they were not equal, it

543 Later authors adopt it from Nawbakhtī: *Zīna*.300:14–301:17 and probably from there *Mil*.119:6–8; also *MaqQ*.71:6–16, 72:3–9 and from there *RijālK*.229:15–17.

would not be possible for the people to assess which of them was the most knowledgeable and most virtuous, due to their large number and the resultant difficulty of examining them all. The implication is that one would then not know whether a pretender who came out in rebellion really was the Imām. Nawbakhtī, in v^2 , describes the doctrine as if from the other end. After stating that some of the Jārūdiyya held that anyone who denied the doctrine that the old and young amongst Fāṭima's descendants were equal in knowledge was an unbeliever, he claims they held the doctrine only to avoid being forced to acknowledge the Imāmate of just one of them. Then, in w^2 , he openly attacks the doctrine, on the basis that the Jārūdiyya do not, in practice, relate traditions from many descendants of Fāṭima, so appear not to follow through on their claims.

What can we conclude from all these convergences and divergences? The convergences in m , p and q can only reasonably be explained by positing a common source at some point in the history of the material's transmission. There is no third witness to that source with which to triangulate, so it is impossible to narrow down the relationship further than this with certainty. Nevertheless, our default assumption should probably be that Nawbakhtī at least and perhaps both of them were working from intermediaries, not directly from the common source itself. The reason for this is found in the unique material.

In his unique material, Nawbakhtī consistently emphasizes the doctrinal differences from an Imāmī perspective and eventually breaks out into open polemic against the Jārūdiyya. The basic Jārūdī doctrine described in p (that a Fāṭimid claimant to the Imāmate who does not actively rebel is no Imām) is obviously directed specifically against the quietist attitude of Ja'far al-Šādiq and then the subsequent Ḥusaynid Imāms⁵⁴⁴. That much is found in *Uṣūl al-niḥal*, too. But Nawbakhtī's insistence that the Jārūdiyya would have held such an 'Imām' and his followers to be unbelievers seems to reflect a harder-edged, anti-Imāmī position on the part of the Jārūdiyya than ps.-Nāshī' was aware of, or else it is itself already a polemical exaggeration of Jārūdī doctrine from an Imāmī point of view. The same goes for the *Firaq*'s version of q and then the unique v^2 , where Nawbakhtī focusses solely on the doctrine of equal knowledge held by all of the Fāṭimids regardless of age, claiming that at least some Jārūdiyya held anyone who denied it to be an unbeliever. Again, he is describing a Jārūdī position formulated against the Imāmiyya, who held that this special knowledge was found in only one individual, the designated Ḥusaynid Imām⁵⁴⁵. Nawbakhtī's statement that the Jārūdiyya only held the doctrine to avoid being obliged to recognize an individual Imām is not-so-subtle Imāmī

544 *TG*.I:259.

545 *TG*.I:260; Madelung 1965:47–48.

polemic; the Imāmiyya interpreted the doctrine as a case of the Jārūdiyya going to extreme lengths in order to avoid evade acknowledging the Imāmates of Ja'far and his descendants. By the time we get to w^2 , the anti-Jārūdī polemic is open. According to the view expressed there, the specious nature of the doctrine is revealed by the fact that the Jārūdiyya do not even put it into practice; it is merely a bad-faith argument advanced to avoid accepting the Imāmī position.

Nawbakhtī himself was an Imāmī, so it is not inconceivable that he gave his material this polemical colouring himself. But that would not be typical of the *Fīraq*, where open polemic is rare. Moreover, in the Baghdad of Nawbakhtī's day, the Jārūdiyya can hardly have been such a major intellectual or doctrinal threat that they would have merited this special treatment. It is also anachronistic in formulation: w^2 claims the Jārūdiyya only related traditions from Muḥammad al-Bāqir, Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, Zayd b. 'Alī and 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan. Even though the polemical goal requires this list to be as short as possible, it is difficult to see it having been composed by Nawbakhtī himself, or anyone much later than the late second century⁵⁴⁶. One thus presumes that the polemical colouring to the common passages and the extra polemical material was present already in Nawbakhtī's source, which must then have been an Imāmī text.

Ps.-Nāshī's version also comes from a Shī'ī source. He tells us as much explicitly. But, whilst the critical attitude of the Jārūdiyya to the quietist Ḥusaynid Imāms is still hinted at in p^1 , no denunciation of the Imāmiyya as unbelievers on the part of the Jārūdiyya is suggested. Moreover, although r^1 , which certainly comes from the same Shī'ī source as the prior material, still attributes the doctrine of equal knowledge to cynical motivations, it places the emphasis on the practical problems that not adopting it would present for the Jārūdī doctrine of the Imāmate. The reader is presumably supposed to recognize the absurdity of the argument: it is only because the Jārūdiyya want to be able to support any descendant of Fāṭima who actively lays claim to the Imāmate that they need a doctrine that allows them to consider every descendant of Fāṭima to be an otherwise equally qualified candidate. That does not have the polemical bite of what we find in the *Fīraq*, but the perspective is still that of the 'Shī'ī' source, obviously meaning 'Imāmī'. It is not ps.-Nāshī's own. However, if both ps.-Nāshī and Nawbakhtī are reflecting the standpoint of their Imāmī sources, they cannot have been relying *directly* on the same source. At least one of them was apparently working from an intermediary.

546 See p. 259. Also Madelung 1965:48.

1.6.2.3.2 The Butriyya

Uṣūl al-niḥal's description of the Butriyya is given in Tab. 41. The descriptions in the BdC, Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and the *Firaq* were given in Tab. 13 above. Tab. 41 picks up the tagging from *Tab.13* and the below discussion refers to both tables.

Tab. 41: *Uṣūl al-niḥal* on the Butriyya.

<i>Niḥ.43:14–44:5</i>	<i>Niḥ.43:14–44:5</i>
<p>[x⁷] وقالت فرقة من الزيدية أخرى يقال لهم البترية وهم أصحاب الحسن بن حى وكثير النواء وهارون بن سعيد العجلي كان على بن أبى طالب أفضل الناس بعد رسول الله صلعم وأولاهم بالإمامة وزعموا أن بيعة أبى بكر وعمر رضى الله عنهما ليست بخطأ [y⁷] لأن عليا بايعهما ورضى إمامتهما وترك لهما ما يجب من حق الإمامة وكانت سبيله سبيل رجل كان له على رجلٍ حقٌ فتركه له</p>	<p>[x⁷] Another faction of the Zaydiyya, called the Butriyya, being the followers of Ḥasan b. Ḥayy, Kathīr al-Nawwā', and Hārūn b. Sa'īd al-Ḥijlī, said that 'Alī was the most superior of the people after the Messenger of God, PBUH, and the most rightful possessor of the Imāmate. And they claimed that the pledge of allegiance to Abū Bakr and 'Umar, may God be pleased with both of them, was not an error, [y⁷] because 'Alī pledged allegiance to them, accepted their Imāmates and relinquished to them those rights of the Imāmate to which he was entitled. His conduct here was that of a man who has some right over another man but relinquishes it to him.</p>
<p>[s⁷] وتولوا عثمان في الست السنين الأول من خلافته وهي السنون التي لم يُطعن عليه فيها وتبرؤوا منه فيما بعد</p>	<p>[s⁷] They professed loyalty to 'Uthmān in the first six years of his caliphate, these being the years in which no challenge was brought against him but disavowed him thereafter.</p>
<p>[t⁷] وتسموا البترية لهذه العلة لأنهم تبرؤوا من عثمان في الست من خلافته وتبرؤوا</p>	<p>[t⁷] They were called the Butriyya for this reason, because they disavowed 'Uthman from the sixth year of his caliphate and cut [it] off.</p>
<p>[u⁷] زعموا أنّ الناس في العلم مشتركون ولدُ عليّ و غيرهم من العرب والعجم ولم يخصصوا في العلم رجلاً بعينه كما فعل أصحاب الإمامة ولم يزعموا أنّ علم الحلال والحرام محظور على الأمة إلا ولد فاطمة كما قالت الجارودية</p>	<p>[u⁷] They claimed that the people all share in the possession of knowledge, the descendants of 'Alī and everyone else, Arab or non-Arab. They did not distinguish any one man in particular with regard to knowledge as did the Imāmiyya (<i>aṣḥāb al-imāma</i>). Nor did they claim that knowledge of the licit and the forbidden was restricted to the descendants of Fāṭima alone amongst the Community as did the Jārūdiyya.</p>

The descriptions have a common core consisting of *x* and *y*. Here, we see complex convergence in wording at a level that cannot be explained by coincidence. There must ultimately be a common source. Most differences amount to minor rewording, although it is worth noting that ps.-Nāshī's more detailed description of the doctrine in *y* is further away from the BdC and the *Fīraq* than they are from each other, especially when comparing with the *Hūr* and the *Fīraq*. Ps.-Nāshī' also gives more names of the leaders of the Butriyya in *a*.

Nawbakhtī's, Balkhī's and Ash'arī's versions of *x* and *y* come ultimately from Zurqān⁵⁴⁷. That makes it noteworthy that *Uṣūl al-niḥal* has no *z*, which also belongs to the Zurqān-material. According to *z*, Ḥasan b. Šāliḥ and the Butriyya suspended judgement concerning 'Uthmān but declared that those who had fought 'Alī at the Battle of the Camel were unbelievers. Ps.-Nāshī' instead gives *s*⁷, where we find a different doctrine: that the Butriyya were loyal to 'Uthmān for the first six years of his caliphate but disavowed him thereafter. That is the doctrine that the *Mughnī* and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* attribute to Ḥasan b. Šāliḥ in *d*. But *d* is not part of the Zurqān-material and is explicitly related by both 'Abd al-Jabbār and Ash'arī from an anonymous source; it belongs to the third body of material listed above⁵⁴⁸. Moreover, whilst the information in *d* appears to be the same as that in *s*⁷, there is no convergence in wording; this is not a sufficiently complex parallel to indicate anything about source-dependency.

The rest of *Uṣūl al-niḥal*'s material is unique. The doctrine attributed to the Butriyya in *s*⁷ takes on a special significance in *t*⁷, because it is the reason for the name 'Butriyya': they 'cut off' (*batarū*) 'Uthmān's caliphate early. This etymology is found nowhere else⁵⁴⁹. Finally, *u*⁷ deals with a theme absent from any of the material in the BdC: the Butriyya's theory of knowledge. In reality, the Butriyya do not have a special theory of knowledge; the point is just that they do not share either the Jārūdī or Imāmī doctrines, but hold, like most Muslims, that no human being has special knowledge simply by dint of genealogy. That doctrine is also attributed to them in the *Fīraq*, immediately after the passage on the Jārūdiyya's doctrine of knowledge [*Fir*.50:7–11]. It is thus plausible that this information stood already in whatever source ps.-Nāshī' and Nawbakhtī ultimately had in common for the mate-

⁵⁴⁷ See p. 246–247.

⁵⁴⁸ See also, p. 247–249.

⁵⁴⁹ If true, we would have to read *batriyya*, but the etymology is implausible anyway. Many people 'cut off' 'Uthmān's caliphate at this point, so it is hard to see why this doctrine would have been significant of this group of the Zaydiyya in particular. Indeed, many different opinions on 'Uthmān's caliphate are attributed to figures associated with the Butriyya; some rejected him entirely. In any case, such a name would only make sense to differentiate them from people who maintained that 'Uthmān remained Imām even in the last six years of his caliphate. But most of the Kufan Shī'a rejected 'Uthmān altogether. Finally, if the name had been derived from the verb *batara* so early, we would probably expect *bātira*, on the model of *Rāfiḍa*, *māriqa*, *Mu'tazila*, *Murji'a* etc. or *bawātir* on the model of *Khawārij* etc.

rial on the Jārūdiyya, but there is no convergence in the wording of the reports on the Butriyya's doctrine, so positive evidence is lacking.

But what are we to make of this? The convergences in *x* and *y* imply a relationship of source-dependency between *Uṣūl al-niḥal* and Zurqān's *Maqālāt*: one of them is ultimately the source of the other or else they depend on a common source. We do not have another witness that allows us to rule out any of these possibilities for sure. It is more difficult, however, to see how Zurqān's material on the Butriyya/Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ's doctrine of the Imāmate could be dependent on *Uṣūl al-niḥal* than the other way around. This is, above all, because Zurqān's material is part of his tightly interlocking *ikhtilāf*-cluster that also includes the doctrines of Sulaymān b. Jarīr and Nu'aym b. Yamān. Zurqān's *z*, which mentions not only the doctrine as regards 'Uthmān but also as regards 'Alī's opponents at the Battle of the Camel is an essential part of the doctrinal matrix the cluster generates. Ps.-Nāshī's material is more disparate, both in terms of theme (it also includes etymological material) and in terms of language. That makes it easier to see him combining material from Zurqān with additional material from other sources, rather than the other way around. But none of this is decisive, and nothing at all speaks against the possibility of a common source.

1.6.2.3.3 The Sulaymāniyya

Uṣūl al-niḥal's description of the Sulaymāniyya is given in Tab. 42. The descriptions in the BdC, Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and the *Firaq* were given in Tab. 12 above. Tab. 42 picks up the tagging from Tab. 12 and the below discussion refers to both tables.

Tab. 42: *Uṣūl al-niḥal* on the Sulaymāniyya.

<i>Niḥ.44:6–17</i>	<i>Niḥ.44:6–17</i>
<p>[57] وَقَالَتْ فِرْقَةٌ أُخْرَىٰ مِنَ الزَّيْدِيَّةِ وَهِيَ أَصْحَابُ سُلَيْمَانَ بْنِ جَرِيرِ الرَّقِيِّ كَانَ عَلَىٰ أَفْضَلِ النَّاسِ بَعْدَ النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ وَأَوْلَاهُمْ بِالْإِمَامَةِ لِتَنْبِيهِ النَّبِيِّ عَلَىٰ فَضْلِهِ وَعَلَىٰ أَنْ الْأَصْلَحَ لِلْأُمَّةِ أَنْ تَوَلِّيَهُ الْخِلَافَةَ مِنْ بَعْدِهِ لِقَوْلِهِ إِنَّ وَلِيَّيْتِمًا [وه] وَلَنْ تَفْعَلُوا وَجَدْتُمُوهُ هَادِيًا مَهْدِيًّا يَحْمِلُكُمْ عَلَى الْحَقِّ وَفِي خَيْرٍ آخَرَ عَلَى الْمَحْجَةِ الْبَيْضَاءِ</p>	<p>[57] Another faction of the Zaydiyya, the followers of Sulaymān b. Jarīr al-Raqqī, said that 'Alī was the most superior of the people of the Messenger of God, PBUH, and the most rightful possessor of the Imāmate because the Prophet had called attention to his virtuousness and to the fact that the most righteous way for the Community was that he take charge of the caliphate after him. This was based on his saying, "If you were loyally to take him as leader—although you will not—you would find him a rightly guided guide, who would bear you to the truth", and in another report, "[who would bear you to] the unsullied path".</p>

Tab. 42 (continued)

Niḥ.44:6-17

[y⁷] وز عم أنّ السلف أخطأوا في توليتهم أبا بكر خطأ لا يكفرون به ولا يضلّون لأنّهم اجتهدوا آراءهم فلعلّة الاجتهاد لم يلحقهم كُفْر ولا ضلال وكان سليمان يزعم أنّ الله قد تعبد العباد بأن يجتهدوا آراءهم فيما لم يُنصّ عليه قال فلما أن كان النبي صلعم لم ينصّ على إمامة على كما نصّ على القبلة والصلاة ولكن رغب فيها وأشار إليها على غير سبيل النصّ بما دلّ عليه من فضل على كان سبيل إمامته سبيل الاجتهاد ومن اجتهد رأيه فأخطأ فيما لم يُنصّ عليه فليس بعاصٍ ولا معتوب [4^o]

[z⁷] وتبرّؤوا من عثمان وشهد على من حارب علياً بالكفر

[t⁷] وقال في العلم بمثل قول البتريّة أصحاب الحسن بن حيّ

Niḥ.44:6-17

[y⁷] He claimed that the ancestors committed an error in putting Abū Bakr in charge, but not an error by which they would become unbelievers or go astray, because they took pains to reach a correct judgement, and, due to the fact they were taking pains, no unbelief or straying is attributed to them. For Sulaymān b. Jarīr used to claim that God had charged His servants to take pains to reach a correct judgement in those matters for which no explicit statement had been provided. He said, “Since the Prophet, PBUH, did not make an explicit statement about the Imāmate of ‘Alī in the same way as he made an explicit statement about the *qibla* and the obligatory prayers but rather tried to awaken a desire for it and to reveal his intentions for it by a means other than explicit statement, by pointing out the virtue of ‘Alī, therefore his Imamate was [established] by means of taking pains [to form a correct judgment]. And the one who takes pains to form a correct judgment but commits an error in a matter about which no explicit statement has been made is neither disobedient [to God] nor to be censured[?]”

[z⁷] They disavowed ‘Uthmān and testified to the unbelief of those who opposed ‘Alī.

[t⁷] Concerning knowledge they professed a doctrine similar to that of the Butriyya, the followers of Ḥasan b. Ḥayy

The convergent material on the Sulaymāniyya is found in two passages: *y* describes Sulaymān’s doctrine that it was an error to choose Abu Bakr and ‘Umar as leaders, but an excusable one because it was a matter of interpretation; *z* reports that he disavowed ‘Uthmān and considered those who fought ‘Alī at the Battle of the Camel to be unbelievers. But the two passages exhibit different levels of convergence with the other texts. Ps.-Nāshī’s *z*⁷ is an almost verbatim parallel of what we find in *z* in the *Firaq*, the *Ḥūr* and the *Bāb*. But *y*⁷ is considerably further away from the versions of *y* in the *Firaq*, the BdC and Ash‘arī’s *Maqālāt* than they are from each other. Although very similar information is conveyed, the terminology and some

details differ. The version of *y* in all the other texts states that the pledge of allegiance (*bay'a*) to Abū Bakr and 'Umar was an error (*khaṭa*) but that *these two* do not deserve the charge of 'serious sin' (*fisq*), because they were practising interpretation (*ta'wīl*). In *y*⁷, ps.-Nāshī' has it that the original Community (*salaḥ*) committed an error (*khaṭa*) in accepting the leadership (*tawliyatihim*) of Abū Bakr and 'Umar but that they collectively 'did not become unbelievers or go astray' (*lā yakfirūna wa-lā yaḍillūna*) because they were 'taking pains to reach a correct judgement' (*ijtahadū āra'ahum*), i.e., practising 'independent reasoning' (*ijtihād*). Moreover, ps.-Nāshī' expands much more on the latter point: he alone tells us the key information that the doctrine rests on the underlying principle that in matters where the Prophet gave no explicit statement (*naṣṣ*), people must reason for themselves, and if someone makes an error in so doing, they do not thereby become a sinner (*'āṣth*). There is clearly still a common source here, but ps.-Nāshī' has a version that is slightly different from all the other texts.

The rest of ps.-Nāshī's material on the Sulaymāniyya is unique to *Uṣūl al-niḥal*. Although *s*⁷ does not contradict *x*, ps.-Nāshī' repeats the formulation that all the texts used in regard to the Butriyya ("Alī was the most virtuous of the people. . . and the most rightful possessor of the Imāmate. . ."), whereas the *Firaq* and the BdC have a simpler formulation for the Sulaymāniyya ("Alī was the Imām after the Messenger of God"). Elsewhere, *t*⁷ is another response to the Jārūdiyya's doctrine of knowledge; nothing of this appears in the other texts. Finally, the description of Sulaymān's doctrine continues with another, relatively long, unique passage, not given in Tab. 42, which describes the Qur'ān- and *ḥadīth*-based justifications given by Sulaymān for his doctrine that only descendants of Fāṭima can hold the Imāmate. This material is found nowhere else.

Again, it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that there is a relationship of source-dependency between Zurqān's material and *Uṣūl al-niḥal*. And, again, we cannot say for certain what the specific relationship is. We can observe, however, that here in the description the Sulaymāniyya, *z* is present in both *Uṣūl al-niḥal* as well as Zurqān's material. In the description of the Butriyya, the equivalent passage (also tagged *z* there) is missing from ps.-Nāshī's description although present in Zurqān's. Especially given the closely interlocking nature of Zurqān's *ikhtilāf*-cluster, that discrepancy makes it very unlikely that *Uṣūl al-niḥal* could be Zurqān's source. Again, that is corroborated by the respective character of the two: Zurqān's pithy descriptions are highly homogenous and consistently composed in the technical shorthand of *kalām* doxography; ps.-Nāshī's are much more varied thematically and stylistically. Moreover, *Uṣūl al-niḥal* has large amounts of material entirely absent from Zurqān's descriptions; the opposite is not true. Thus, as for the Butriyya, it seems generally more likely that that ps.-Nāshī' was bringing together material from more than one source on the Sulaymāniyya. We should assume that

either Zurqān was one of ps.-Nāshī's sources on the Zaydiyya or else they shared a common source.

1.6.2.3.4 Summary and Conclusions

Ps.-Nāshī' ultimately had a source in common with Nawbakhtī for his description of the Jārūdiyya/Surḥūbiyya. There is also some relationship of source-dependency between *Uṣūl al-niḥal* and Zurqān's *Maqālāt* for some of ps.-Nāshī's material on the Butriyya and the Sulaymāniyya. As both bodies of material are found in *Uṣūl al-niḥal* and the *Firaq*, could it be that they appeared together in a single common source used by both ps.-Nāshī' and Nawbakhtī?

There are several problems with this idea. As shown previously, the earliest source from which Nawbakhtī could have taken the Zurqān-material is Zurqān's *Maqālāt* itself⁵⁵⁰. That obviously means the earliest possible candidate for a single common source from which Nawbakhtī and ps.-Nāshī' could have taken both bodies of material *directly* is also Zurqān's *Maqālāt*. *Uṣūl al-niḥal* probably post-dates Zurqān's *Maqālāt*, albeit not by much, so it is plausible that ps.-Nāshī' and Nawbakhtī were both working from Zurqān's *Maqālāt* for their common material on the Butriyya and the Sulaymāniyya. However, ps.-Nāshī' clearly states that his source for his material on the Jārūdiyya was 'Shī'ī, meaning Imāmī. In theory, it could still have come to him via Zurqān, who must then have made his own Shī'ī source explicit. But this does not seem especially likely.

One form of evidence that speaks against it is thematic and stylistic. Because of the close parallels between Nawbakhtī's, Ash'arī's and Balkhī's versions of the Zurqān-material on the Zaydiyya, we can reconstruct it with a high degree of certainty⁵⁵¹. It consists of a tightly interlocking *ikhtilāf*-cluster on a specific topic: the status of the first four caliphs and 'Alī's opponents at the Battle of the Camel. It is also cast in homogenous, highly terse, technical language and is entirely descriptive. That is true of every marked citation we have from Zurqān⁵⁵². The material on the Jārūdiyya shared by ps.-Nāshī' and Nawbakhtī is completely different. Thematically, it starts with material on the succession to the Prophet but quickly moves to the general Jārūdī theory of the post-Ḥusayn Imāmate and then deals at length specifically with the doctrine of the special knowledge of all descendants of Fāṭima. In terms of wording, it is far more prolix, does not engage with the Zurqān-material terminologically, and is much less dependent on technical shorthand. In both versions, but especially Nawbakhtī's, it also engages in obvious, harsh critique of the

⁵⁵⁰ See p. 226–232.

⁵⁵¹ See p. 253–257.

⁵⁵² See p. 50, 54–55, 98–99, 228–229, 568–572.

doctrine, critique which, as we have seen, is formulated from an Imāmī perspective but is very unlikely to have been constructed by Nawbakhtī himself. That is something we never find in a marked Zurqān-citation.

Another form of evidence is circumstantial. Although Ash'arī and Balkhī have the Zurqān-material and seem to have taken it from Zurqān's *Maqālāt* directly, neither of them has the material on the Jārūdiyya that ps.-Nāshī' and Nawbakhtī have in common. They present other material on the Jārūdiyya, at least some of which comes from Warrāq⁵⁵³. That is an argument from silence, but if Zurqān's *Maqālāt* had contained the material on which *Uṣūl al-niḥal* and the *Firaq* converge, we would expect it to have shown up in some form in the BdC and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, too. It is thus very difficult to see that Nawbakhtī's source for his (second) description of the Jārūdiyya could also be Zurqān. Nawbakhtī most likely took the two bodies of material from different sources.

Moreover, although we have seen that Nawbakhtī's and ps.-Nāshī's sources for their material on the Jārūdiyya must have been Imāmī, it does not appear that they could have had the same direct source at this point anyway. That too makes it unlikely that Zurqān could have been the source of this material for both of them here. The chronology militates against ps.-Nāshī' and Nawbakhtī having had a post-Zurqān common source that combined both bodies of material. The fact that Nawbakhtī places his material on the Jārūdiyya nowhere near the Zurqān-material in his *ikhtilāf*-section also means there is no structural evidence to suggest a single common source that contained both bodies of material. That does not rule out the possibility that ps.-Nāshī' encountered both bodies of material together in his direct source, but there was most likely no single common source for both authors in which the two bodies of material already appeared together.

In summary, Nawbakhtī, Balkhī and Ash'arī took the Zurqān-material on the Sulaymāniyya and the Butriyya from Zurqān's *Maqālāt*, probably directly. That would be the simplest explanation of the parallels in *Uṣūl al-niḥal*, too. But we have no way to rule out the alternative: that ps.-Nāshī' and Zurqān shared a common source here⁵⁵⁴. The material on the Jārūdiyya common to *Uṣūl al-niḥal* and the *Firaq* is clearly composed from an Imāmī perspective and comes ultimately from an Imāmī source, as Ps.-Nāshī' states openly. But it seems to have reached ps.-Nāshī' and Nawbakhtī along different routes of transmission.

⁵⁵³ See p. 204–209.

⁵⁵⁴ See also the discussion p. immediately below and on p. 482–486. If Nawbakhtī's and Balkhī's common source for the *iftirāq*-schema was Zurqān, then it would indeed seem that ps.-Nāshī' and Zurqān shared earlier sources (most of which were still too late to be Hishām b. al-Ḥakam).

1.6.2.4 Summary and Conclusions

Uṣūl al-niḥal presents three distinct bodies of material that parallel the later *firaq*-material on the Shī'a:

- The first occurs in the *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya, parts of which converge closely with the common elements of the *iftirāq*-schemata preserved by Nawbakhtī and Balkhī, both in terms of the structure of the schema and the content of its many of its faction-descriptions. There must be an ultimate common source for the core elements of the schema, i.e., those upon which all three converge.
- The second occurs within the Zaydiyya-section, in the description of the Jārūdiyya, parts of which converge closely with Nawbakhtī's (second) description of the Jārūdiyya, where the faction is referred to as the Surḥūbiyya. This material is absent from the BdC/Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*.
- The third also occurs within the Zaydiyya-section, but in the descriptions of the Butriyya and the Sulaymāniyya. Elements of these converge with Zurqān's *ikhtilāf*-material on Zaydī doctrines concerning the status of the first four caliphs, which is preserved by Nawbakhtī, Balkhī and Ash'arī.

There is also a lot of unique material in *Uṣūl al-niḥal* on both the Imāmiyya and the Zaydiyya, both in terms of additional factions and additional passages within otherwise common faction-descriptions. On the Ghulāt, although there is information overlapping across all the works, and although there may have been distant common sources for a few isolated passages, there is no evidence of a more specific common source-dependency at all. Although some of ps.-Nāshī's unique material could plausibly have been derived from the same source(s) as the parallels, it is unlikely to be the case for all of it. It thus appears that, whatever common sources might be implied by the three bodies of parallels, ps.-Nāshī' or an intermediary must have been working from more than one source in his presentation of Shī'ī *firaq*.

All three bodies of parallel material occur together in both *Uṣūl al-niḥal* and the *Firaq*, but ps.-Nāshī' and Nawbakhtī cannot have taken all three *directly* from the same common source. This is clearest in regard to the first body of material. As we have seen, although ps.-Nāshī', Nawbakhtī and Balkhī have an ultimate common source for the *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya, Nawbakhtī and Balkhī (the latter probably via Warrāq) had the material via an intermediary composed after 212/827 and probably before 230/845. Ps.-Nāshī' did not use that intermediary. Rather, Nawbakhtī and Balkhī's common source, on the one hand, and *Uṣūl al-niḥal*, on the other, drew separately on the ultimate common source, which must have been composed, at the earliest, some years after Mūsā al-Kāzīm's death in 183/799 and, probably, at the latest, could not have been written long after 'Alī al-Riḍā's death in 203/818.

There is still the possibility that the ultimate common source of the *iftirāq*-schema contained all three bodies of material and that all three were then

present in the intermediary shared by Nawbakhtī and Balkhī/Warrāq. That cannot be ruled out completely based on the patterns of convergence alone, but it does not seem likely. There are no structural factors to indicate that Nawbakhtī, Balkhī/Warrāq and ps.-Nāshī' must have encountered all three in the same work. More importantly, the little that can be deduced about the sources and transmission of the three bodies of material points in a different direction. The third body evidently came to Nawbakhtī from Zurqān's *Maqālāt*⁵⁵⁵. That means the proposed scenario only works if all three bodies of material were present in Zurqān's *Maqālāt*. The second body, however, is obviously Imāmī in origin. It is highly unlikely that Nawbakhtī's version could have come to him via Zurqān for the reasons discussed above. The situation is similar in relation to the first body of material. That, too, is Imāmī in origin. We have seen previously that the patterns of convergence and citation-marking strongly suggest that Balkhī and Ash'arī did not obtain their versions along the same route of transmission as they did the Zurqān-material; it probably came to them, rather, via Warrāq⁵⁵⁶. That makes it still less likely that Nawbakhtī's source was Zurqān here. If Zurqān's *Maqālāt* did not have all three bodies of material, then Nawbakhtī at least must have taken them from more than one source.

It would be somewhat easier to see just the second body of material having come to Nawbakhtī via the same intermediary as the *iftirāq*-schema, as we could then avoid the Zurqān problem. Both are Imāmī in origin. That scenario would even have looked likely if the second body of material also occurred in the BdC/Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*. As it does not, however, this is nothing more than a possibility. It is evident that both Nawbakhtī's and ps.-Nāshī's presentations of Shī'i factions are formed from more than one source, so another scenario is at least equally plausible: all three bodies of material had different origins and different lines of transmission. If they were in circulation in some form amongst the Imāmiyya and/or the Mu'tazila in Baghdad already in the early third century, they could have ended up in both *Uṣūl al-niḥal* and the *Firaq* despite the lack of a single common source.

As far as *Uṣūl al-niḥal*'s sources are concerned, we have now run out of evidence. That is not surprising; it is our earliest witness to the common material. We can reliably establish that it has sources in common with the later tradition and, in the case of the *iftirāq*-schema, we can say something more specific about the relationship of source-dependency and even date the ultimate common source (which would itself have had earlier sources, of course, but for which there are no further witnesses). But we are unable to identify the sources or the routes of transmission more precisely.

555 See p. 226–232.

556 See p. 349, 377–389.

However, the parallels in *Uṣūl al-niḥal* also provide two important pieces of evidence in regard to the sources of the *Firaq*. First, they confirm that the entirety of the *iftirāq*-schema common to both the *Firaq* and the BdC must have come to both of them via a single source, i.e., the common intermediary composed between 212/827 and 230/845⁵⁵⁷. Second, the fact that within the *iftirāq*-schema, *Uṣūl al-niḥal* only ever parallels material that Balkhī and Nawbakhtī/Ash‘arī have in common, never the passages that Nawbakhtī has uniquely, corroborates the earlier suggestion that the material unique to the *Firaq* came from elsewhere.

Finally, the parallels in *Uṣūl al-niḥal* also provide evidence, if only negative, relevant to the subsequent transmission of the *iftirāq*-schema to Balkhī and Qummī. Qummī’s additions to the *Firaq* contain whole faction-descriptions, as well as passages within faction-descriptions, that appear in Balkhī’s version of the *iftirāq*-schema but not Nawbakhtī’s. Qummī’s additions also contain material on the Ghulāt and the Zaydiyya found in the BdC but not in the *Firaq*. None of this material appears in *Uṣūl al-niḥal*. That means nothing in *Uṣūl al-niḥal* challenges the earlier interpretation of this evidence: Balkhī and Qummī depend on a subsequent intermediary for the *iftirāq*-schema not shared by Nawbakhtī.

1.6.3 Conclusions

Uṣūl al-niḥal ultimately had a source in common with the *Firaq* and Balkhī’s *Maqālāt* for its *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya. This text was Imāmī, probably Kufan, and composed some years after 183/799 at the earliest. At the latest, it could not have been written long after ‘Alī al-Riḍā’s death in 203/818. In any case, it was composed too late to have been a work of Hishām b. al-Ḥakam. The authorship of a Kufan scholar of the next generation is highly plausible, but we cannot be more precise than this. Balkhī (via a further intermediary shared with Qummī) and Nawbakhtī had the material from this ultimate common source via their common intermediary composed after 212/827 and probably before 230/845. Ps.-Nāshī’ did not use this intermediary but had the material via some other line of transmission, possibly directly.

There is also some relationship of source-dependency between *Uṣūl al-niḥal* and Zurqān’s *Maqālāt* for the material on the Zaydī doctrines regarding the first four caliphs. Nawbakhtī, Balkhī and Ash‘arī all appear to rely on Zurqān’s text independently of one another. It is possible ps.-Nāshī’ did, too, but we cannot rule out that he and Zurqān had some earlier common source. It is unlikely, even then, however, that this was the same text as the ultimate common source of the *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya.

557 On this problem, see p. 337–339 and p. 415–417.

Finally, Ps.-Nāshī' and Nawbakhtī also share a body of material that did not make it into the later Mu'tazilī tradition: on the Jārūdiyya, specifically on their doctrine regarding the special knowledge of all the descendants of Fāṭima. This material too is ultimately Imāmī and probably Kufan, but, beyond the fact that it is unlikely both authors were working from the common source directly, we cannot say anything more about its route of transmission.

1.7 The Sources and Transmission of the *firaq*-Material: Summary and Conclusions

For the last fifty-five years, most discussion of the sources of the extant third-century *firaq*-material on the Shī'a has been conducted in response to hypotheses advanced by Wilferd Madelung. At their core, these hypotheses hold that the heresiographers of that period were ultimately dependent upon two main sources for their material on the Shī'a:

- Hishām b. al-Ḥakam's (d.179/795) *Ikhtilāf al-nās fī l-imāma*. Madelung argued that Nawbakhtī's main source in the early sections of his *Firaq* was a text composed in the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd (r.170–193/786–809) and posited that the best candidate was Hishām's *Ikhtilāf al-nās*. He claimed, moreover, that Nawbakhtī had reproduced Hishām's work essentially intact, further proposing that it had also been used by Zurqān in his lost *Maqālāt*, via which some of its material on the Zaydiyya reached Ash'arī⁵⁵⁸. Additionally, he argued that material from Hishām's text came to be found in Qummī's *Maqālāt* and Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī's *Zīna* because they were reliant on Nawbakhtī's *Firaq*⁵⁵⁹.
- Warrāq's *Maqālāt*. Madelung posited this work, composed sometime after 250/864, to be Ash'arī's main source for his *firaq*-material on the Shī'a in and that Nawbakhtī had also used it in a later part of the *Firaq*⁵⁶⁰. He further argued that Qummī used this work for material in his *Maqālāt* that parallels Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* but was not taken from Nawbakhtī's *Firaq*⁵⁶¹.

Building directly on Madelung's hypotheses, van Ess later added a further related claim:

⁵⁵⁸ See p. 257–262, also p. 226–230.

⁵⁵⁹ See p. 350 and 393.

⁵⁶⁰ See p. 259–260.

⁵⁶¹ See p. 361–362.

- Hishām’s *Ikhtilāf al-nās* was also the main source on the Shī’a for ps.-Nāshī’ in his *Uṣūl al-niḥal*. Madelung appeared to endorse this idea himself when he convincingly redated *Uṣūl al-niḥal* to the first third of the third century⁵⁶².

Several scholars have voiced well-founded objections to some of the component arguments that underlay Madelung’s original hypotheses and have suggested modifications⁵⁶³. Yet, despite their potential cumulative impact, no overall reassessment has been undertaken, and the basic paradigm has remained intact. There are various reasons for this. One is probably just the enormous appeal of the idea that we have as-good-as-direct access to an Imāmī source from before the end of the third century, which has discouraged more serious critical appraisal. Another is methodological: there has been a strong tendency to take the existing hypotheses for granted in the interpretation of new evidence, rather than subject the hypotheses themselves to fundamental reconsideration based on that new evidence. This was the case, most importantly, following the discovery of *Uṣūl al-niḥal*. Its parallels with the *Firaq* were simply taken to show that ps.-Nāshī’ was dependent on Hishām’s *Ikhtilāf al-nās* too, and thus, concomitantly, also to confirm the original thesis that Nawbakhtī’s source was indeed Hishām. But the range and character of those parallels should always have led to a thorough reconsideration of Madelung’s original claim that the early parts of the *Firaq* preserved an intact second-century source at all. This became all the more pressing after Madelung showed that *Uṣūl al-niḥal* was a much earlier witness to the *Firaq*’s source(s) than is the *Firaq* itself, but it still wasn’t done⁵⁶⁴.

The examination of the material conducted in this sub-chapter has tried instead to build again from the ground up, to look systematically at all the evidence available in the extant texts without assuming previous interpretations of any element of that evidence to be sound. A methodological shift has been attempted, too. Madelung’s hypotheses and some of the modifications of his successors were heavily dependent upon the speculative methods of internal *Quellenforschung*. Indeed, his core thesis that Nawbakhtī’s main source was Hishām’s *Ikhtilāf al-nās* was originally grounded *only* in such methods. This study has relied primarily, rather, on a comparative approach: identifying and analysing all the groups of parallels between the extant texts. This provides a sound basis for the claim that there is some relationship of source-dependency between parts of the extant works: if one was not dependent on the other, then there must have been a common source for the parallel material at some point in its transmission-history. By comparing a

⁵⁶² See p. 402–403.

⁵⁶³ See p. 267–272.

⁵⁶⁴ See p. 403–405.

set of parallels across all the texts in which it appears and identifying the patterns of convergence and divergence between them, it is often possible, to some extent, to establish how the different versions of that set of parallels are related to one another in terms of source-dependency and even partially to reconstruct earlier forms of the material. If the sets of parallels contain citation-marking, we can also begin to identify some of their earlier common sources with greater confidence⁵⁶⁵.

The methods of internal *Quellenforschung*, in contrast, have been used here only secondarily. Their main function has been to establish the likelihood that one set of parallels between two or more works might come from the same source as some other set between those same works, or that a version of a set of parallels in one text is likely to have been earlier than a version found in one or more other texts, but the conjectural nature of these moves is always made explicit.

The methodological change is made possible because we now have more relevant material, including far more sets of parallels, than did Madelung when originally formulating his hypotheses in 1967. On the one hand, this study has integrated the vital evidence from Balkhī's *Maqālāt*, reconstructed via the BdC, which had only recently been taken into account at all, and, even then, only as far as the relationship between Balkhī's and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*s is concerned. On the other hand, it has paid full attention to the parallels in *Uṣūl al-niḥal*, using them as evidence regarding Nawbakhtī's and Balkhī's sources, rather than interpreting them on the basis of speculative theories about Nawbakhtī's sources that had been formulated in their absence.

It is also important, however, to be clear about the limitations of what has been achieved. The goal has not been to identify the ultimate origins of the material, let alone to claim we have access to its 'original' form. That is far beyond what can be achieved with comparative *Quellenforschung*. Rather, the point has been to establish the earliest form of the material *still observable to us through the witness of the extant texts*. That is a much less ambitious task, but the further back we go, the less evidence we have and the less we can say. At some point, the evidence runs out. It is vital to determine when that point has been reached. To be more concrete, we can distinguish between two situations. First, in the case of the material unique to an individual text, the earliest form of that material observable to us is always the version in that text. Even if we have good reason to believe its author depended on an older source, either because of the material's content or because of citation-marking, we still cannot establish with certainty how it appeared before it was set down in this form by the author of the extant work. In the second situation, there are parallels between two or more works. If we can rule out that one text is ultimately dependent on the other, these parallels not only allow us to establish that

565 On the relative merits of internal and comparative *Quellenforschung*, see p. 9–15.

they have a common source, but also, wherever they converge sufficiently closely, to observe elements that must have been present already in that common source. We often still cannot get back very far. Sometimes, for example, there might be good reason to think that we are looking at material ultimately of second-century origin, but the evidence of the parallels only allows us to reconstruct the outline of the version that appeared in a lost mid-third-century source. Sometimes, the parallels do allow us to say something about the appearance of the material in works from late second or early third century. But even these versions must have had sources in turn, sources to which comparative methods give us no access.

Overall, the picture of the transmission of the *fīraq*-material that has emerged from this enterprise is more fine-grained and more complex than the one that has been dominant until now, but it also includes several known unknowns. That is no bad thing; it is better to be as clear as possible about the limits of the available evidence and not to treat the speculations we formulate to fill the gaps as more than what they are.

The *fīraq*-material on the Shī'a in the extant third-century heresiographies presents several distinct bodies of parallels. Internal to each body of parallels, there are structural factors that consistently bind the individual parallel elements together across all instances of their occurrence, i.e., in each text in which they occur. The bodies of parallels, however, are discrete from one another because there are no structural factors that consistently connect any of them to any other across all the texts in which they occur. That makes it possible that each body of parallels listed below was drawn *ultimately* from a different common source, even if some of the authors of the extant texts must have encountered more than one such body of material together in their immediate source. But it does not make it necessary. It is possible that some of these apparently separate bodies of material go back to the same ultimate common source but either that there was no structural connection between them already there or that it has been obscured in subsequent transmission. That possibility becomes less likely where it can be shown that the discrete bodies of material came to the authors of the extant texts along different routes of transmission.

1.7.1 Material on the Imāmiyya

There is only one body of parallel material to consider here: the *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya. The schema consists in a series of moments of division (*iftirāq*) through which the Imāmiyya are depicted to have divided successively into several *fīraq* upon the death of each Imām or pretender to the Imāmate. Each of these *fīraq* supports a particular candidate to succeed the dead Imām/pretender or else denies his death and claims him to be the Mahdī. This process repeatedly fragments the Imāmiyya over time, forming a stemma of factions that can be traced back to

the original *iftirāq* of the Shī'a, usually following the death of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. The schema can be depicted graphically, as was done for some of the extant versions above⁵⁶⁶. In the sources, however, it is always described verbally through a series of *iftirāq*-clusters, each consisting of an *iftirāq*-statement announcing the Imām's death and the attendant split, followed by a series of descriptions of the discrete *firaq* that supposedly emerged in that moment.

There are three extant and intact, or else well reconstructible versions of the *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya from the third century:

1. That which must have stood in Balkhī's *Maqālāt*. This is preserved throughout the BdC and, albeit adapted into a plain *firaq*-list, also in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*. Of these, 'Abd al-Jabbār's version in the *Mughnī* is evidently closest to Balkhī's 'original' structurally, but the full content of the individual faction-descriptions must be reconstructed by comparison across the BdC and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*⁵⁶⁷.
2. That preserved in the *Firaq*.
3. That preserved in *Uṣūl al-niḥal*.

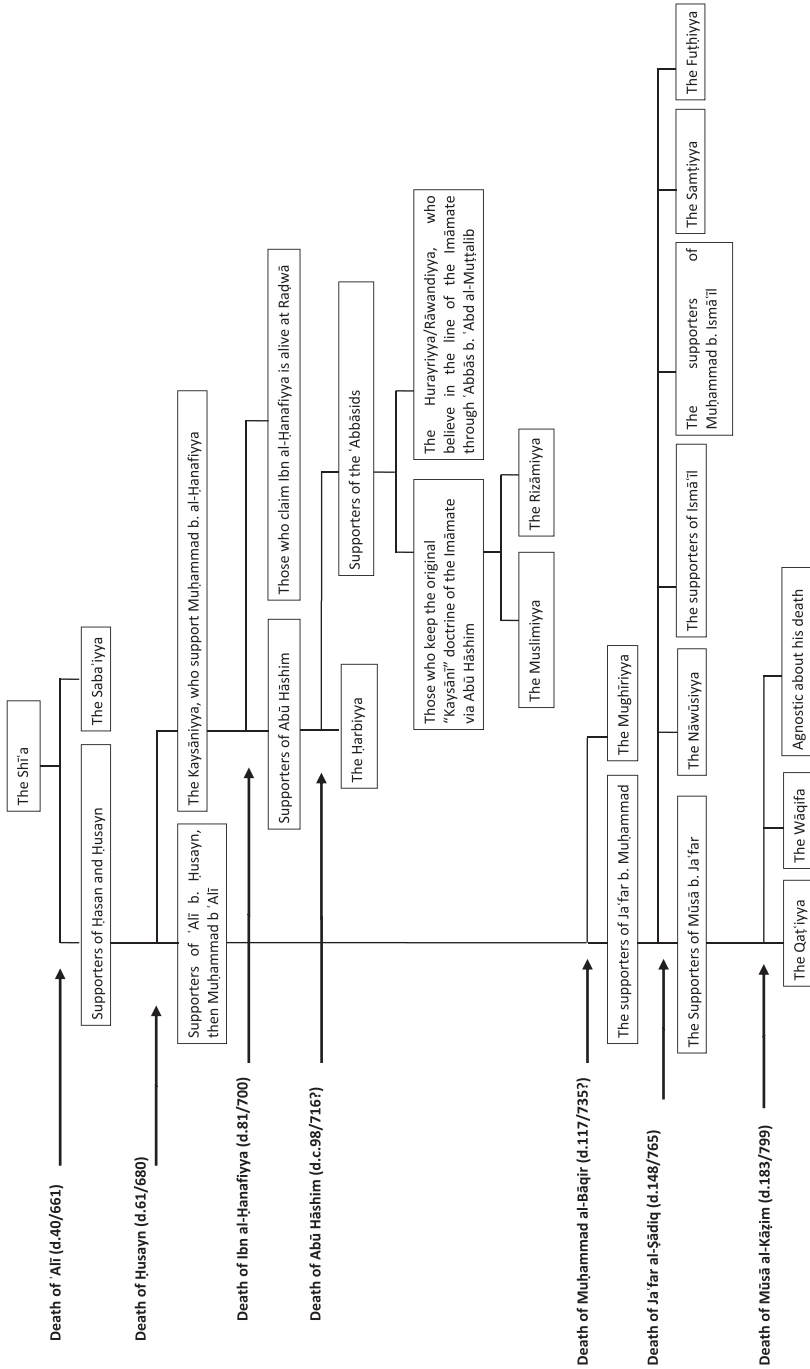
Analysis of the convergence and divergence between the three versions allows us to determine that they had an ultimate common source (Q_1). The basic outline of the schema that must have stood in Q_1 can be established with a high degree of reliability due to the core structural convergences across the three versions, despite their numerous individual divergences. It began with the *iftirāq* upon the death of 'Alī, followed by that upon the death of Ḥusayn; there is no evidence of a post-Ḥasan cluster. It then traced the successive *iftirāq* of the Kaysānī branch (i.e., those who followed Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya after Ḥusayn or, for some, directly after 'Alī), providing clusters upon the death of Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya then upon that of his son Abū Hāshim. The post-Abū Hāshim cluster produced at least the 'Abbāsīd Shī'a and the Ḥarbiyya/Ḥārithiyya (here being the supporters of 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya), which underwent their own *iftirāq*. At this point, the Kaysānī branch stopped, all its factions except the 'Abbāsīd Shī'a having hit a dead end because they await the return of a dead pretender to the Imāmate as their Mahdī. The schema then returned to the Ḥusaynid branch with the post-Muḥammad al-Bāqir *iftirāq*; there is no evidence of a post-'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn cluster. This was followed by the post-Ja'far al-Šādiq and post-Mūsā al-Kāzīm clusters, the latter of which named 'Alī al-Riḍā as the next Imām. There, as far as we can tell, the schema in Q_1 came to an end⁵⁶⁸.

⁵⁶⁶ See *Tabs*. 5, 7, 16 and 32.

⁵⁶⁷ See p. 219–222.

⁵⁶⁸ See p. 442–443.

Tab. 43: The reconstructible elements of Q₁'s *iftirāq*-schema.



Our ability to establish the content of Q_1 at the level of the factions that appeared within each *iftirāq*-cluster is somewhat less. It is evident that Balkhī and Nawbakhtī both obtained the material from Q_1 via an intermediary (Q_2) not used by ps.-Nāshī' (see below). Thus, where Balkhī's and Nawbakhtī's versions converge with one another over factions missing from ps.-Nāshī's version, which happens several times, we cannot know whether such factions were present in Q_1 or introduced first in Q_2 . Only the methods of internal *Quellenforschung* are available to us in order to adjudicate between those options. Nevertheless, in every cluster there *are* factions that appear in all three versions⁵⁶⁹. The full outline of the schema that can be reconstructed on this basis is provided in Tab. 43.

It is also possible to identify the basic content and even the internal structure of many of Q_1 's faction-descriptions with confidence, because of the level of convergence across the three versions. But their specific wording often eludes us. Again, this is because, whilst Nawbakhtī's and Balkhī's versions often converge with one another closely and in sustained fashion even at the level of wording, ps.-Nāshī's versions are mostly paraphrases with only sporadic coincidence in wording over shorter elements⁵⁷⁰. Nevertheless, it is evident that the faction-descriptions in Q_1 were consistently constructed out of two main elements:

1. A statement concerning which Imām was followed by the faction after the death of the previous Imām OR a statement that the faction denied that death and claimed the previous Imām to be the Mahdī.
2. Etymological material on the faction-name.

In the case of the messianic factions, these two elements were often joined by a third:

3. Material on the faction's beliefs about the current location of their Imām/Mahdī, usually said to be in hiding on a mountain somewhere.

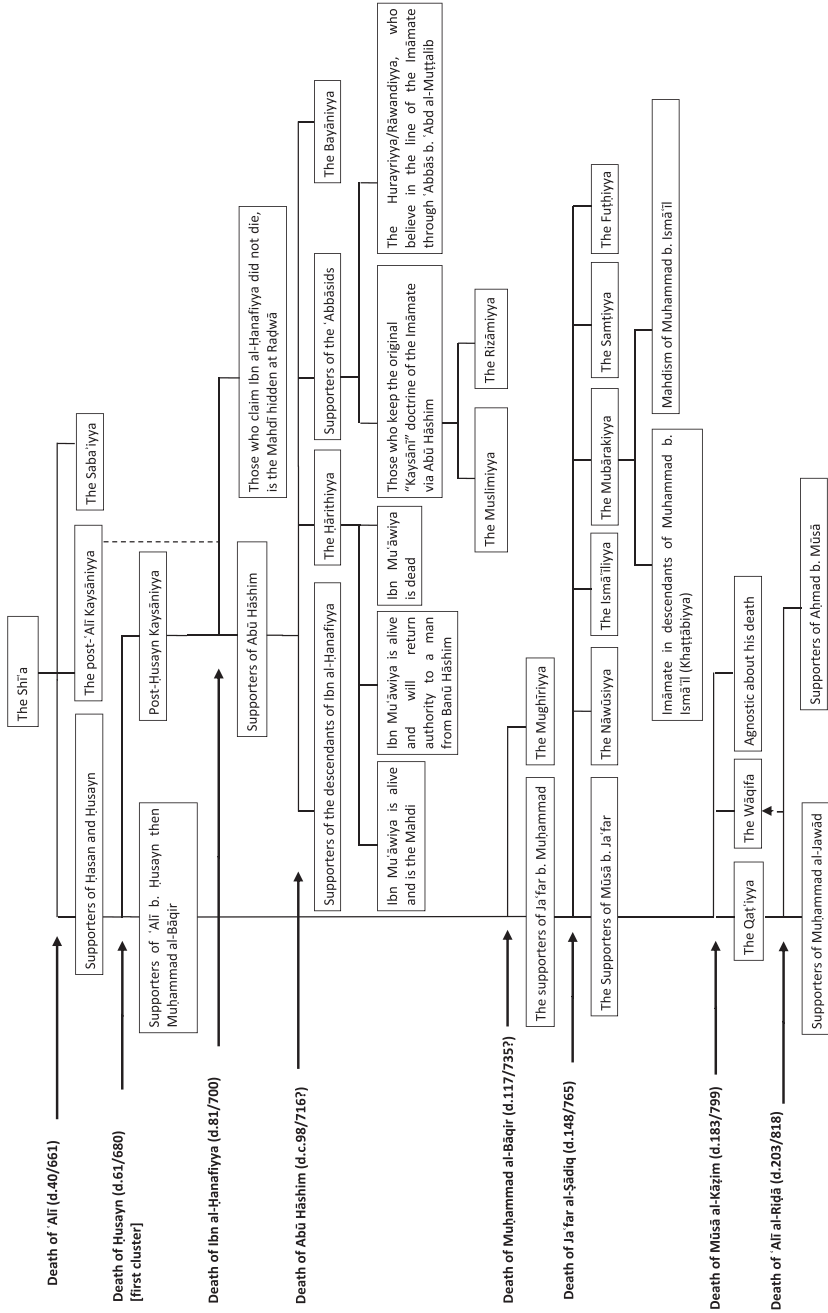
Mainly because of the chronological scope of the schema in Q_1 , as well as what can be reconstructed of the content of its faction-descriptions, it could not have been written down until some years after Mūsā al-Kāzim's death in 183/799 at the very earliest (which does not mean, of course, that its author did not use still earlier sources). At the latest, it is unlikely to have been penned long after 'Alī al-Riḍā's death in 203/818⁵⁷¹. Even the earliest moment in this date-range is too late for Q_1 to be a work by Hishām b. al-Ḥakam, unless we were to adopt a significantly later date

⁵⁶⁹ See p. 415–455.

⁵⁷⁰ See p. 419–441.

⁵⁷¹ See p. 442–443.

Tab. 44: The reconstructible elements of Q₂'s *iftirāq*-schema.



for Hishām's death than has been accepted so far⁵⁷². Nevertheless, Q_1 was certainly Imāmī and Kufan, or at least composed from Kufan sources⁵⁷³. Thus, someone from the generation of Kufan scholars after Hishām, or even from the generation after that, would be a better candidate for its author. But there are too many possibilities for it to be useful to make more specific suggestions.

Nawbakhtī and Balkhī both received the material from this ultimate common source via a later intermediary (Q_2) that ps.-Nāshī' did not use. We know this not only because their versions agree more closely with one another than with *Uṣūl al-niḥal* generally, but also because they converge over a significant extension to *Uṣūl al-niḥal*'s schema: they also cover the post-'Alī al-Riḍā *iftirāq* and end in a retrospective *ikhtilāf*-cluster over the status of Muḥammad al-Jawād's Imāmate whilst he was still immature. Because of this, Q_2 must have been composed after roughly 212/827, i.e., once Jawād had reached adulthood. At the latest, it probably couldn't have been written many years after his death in 220/835, as this event and the accession of his son, 'Alī al-Hādī, also whilst still a minor, is not mentioned at all⁵⁷⁴.

We can be much more confident about which factions appeared in each cluster in Q_2 than in Q_1 , because Nawbakhtī's and Balkhī's versions converge with each other more often than with ps.-Nāshī's. The outline of the reconstructed *iftirāq*-schema of Q_2 is given in Tab. 44. At the level of the wording of Q_2 's faction-descriptions, we can again reconstruct a lot because of the close convergence between Nawbakhtī's and Balkhī's material, but the essential elements of Q_2 's descriptions were the same as for Q_1 ⁵⁷⁵.

As far as the identity of Q_2 is concerned, citation-marking again provides no direct evidence. Hishām's *Ikhtilāf al-nās* is obviously even more out of the question by this point. The best candidates we know of are Zurqān's and Warrāq's *Maqālāt*. It is quite unlikely, however, that Warrāq, writing some time after 250/864, would himself have extended the *iftirāq*-schema only as far as the Imāmate of Muḥammad al-Jawād, not mentioning the latter's death in 220/835 or the Imāmate of 'Alī al-Hādī, who himself died in 254/868. It is chronologically more plausible that Zurqān, who probably composed his *Maqālāt* in the 230s, could have undertaken the extension, but even that is on the late side to have said nothing at all about the post-Jawād situation. Thus, if Q_2 was either Warrāq's or Zurqān's *Maqālāt*, then it would probably have functioned merely as a common conduit to Nawbakhtī and Balkhī of a version of the *iftirāq*-schema that had been extended from that of Q_1 somewhat earlier, probably in the 220s.

572 On the dating of Hishām's death, see p. 227 n.165.

573 See p. 310, 442–443 and p. 497–509.

574 See p. 307–308.

575 See p. 311, 337–339, 349–350.

But why should we even entertain the possibility that Q_2 was Warrāq's or Zurqān's *Maqālāt* in the face of the chronological discrepancy? Why not posit immediately that Q_2 was some other work entirely? Beyond the simple fact that Zurqān and Warrāq are the two most famous heresiographers that sit within the required chronological range between Q_1 and Nawbakhtī-Balkhī, there are two reasons, one for each of these potential candidates. The first is that we know Zurqān's *Maqālāt* was the source of another body of material, on the Zaydiyya, found in both the BdC and the *Firaq*. Zurqān's *Maqālāt* could thus be their common source for the *iftirāq*-schema too. The second reason is that Balkhī seems to have obtained the material from Q_2 at least *via* Warrāq's *Maqālāt*. That makes it possible in theory that Nawbakhtī did too, in which case Q_2 would simply be Warrāq's *Maqālāt*. But there are reasons to doubt either possibility.

Let us begin with Warrāq. It should first be stressed that there is no direct evidence that Nawbakhtī used Warrāq's *Maqālāt* in the *Firaq* at all. None of the material that we know goes back to Warrāq appears there⁵⁷⁶. The only reason to posit that Nawbakhtī's source for the *iftirāq*-schema was Warrāq is that Balkhī's probably was. Even this is established only indirectly. One body of evidence comes from citation-marking in the BdC. We know from a citation preserved by Jishumī that at least part of Balkhī's material on the Jārūdiyya came from Warrāq, but it is not unlikely that the whole description of the Jārūdiyya did⁵⁷⁷. A combination of Jishumī's and 'Abd al-Jabbār's citation-marking strongly suggests that another body of material on the Zaydiyya, concerning Abū l-Jārūd, Ṣabbāḥ b. al-Qāsim al-Muzanī and Ya'qūb b. 'Adī, also came to Balkhī from Warrāq⁵⁷⁸. Finally, the BdC tells us that Balkhī's *firaq*-material on the Shī'a came from two sources—Zurqān and Warrāq—but the only material that seems to have come from Zurqān is a set of descriptions of the Zaydiyya⁵⁷⁹. That suggests that everything else, including the *iftirāq*-schema, came to Balkhī from Warrāq⁵⁸⁰. Another body of evidence for this conclusion comes from the parallels between Qummī's *Maqālāt* and Balkhī's *firaq*-material. Qummī's material on the Imāmiyya was mostly taken directly from Nawbakhtī's *Firaq*⁵⁸¹. Qummī augmented it, however, with material from a source that contained elements of Balkhī's version of the *iftirāq*-schema that do not appear in Nawbakhtī's⁵⁸². There are also numerous convergences between Qummī's *Maqālāt* and the BdC for mate-

576 See p. 349.

577 See p. 204–209.

578 See p. 149–150, 208 n.139.

579 See p. 225, 253–254.

580 See p. 225.

581 See p. 350.

582 See p. 374–388.

rial on the Ghulāt and the Zaydiyya that does not appear in the *Firaq* and is not part of the *iftirāq*-schema. This includes the material on Ṣabbāḥ b. al-Qāsim al-Muzanī and Ya'qūb b. 'Adī that Balkhī seems to have taken from Warrāq⁵⁸³. There is more than one possible explanation of the route by which this material reached Qummī, but the range of parallels suggests that Balkhī at least obtained it—including the *iftirāq*-schema—via a single source: Warrāq⁵⁸⁴.

But even if we assume that Balkhī indeed obtained the common *iftirāq*-schema from Warrāq, it does not mean that Nawbakhtī did. It is possible, rather, that Q_2 was an earlier source shared by Warrāq and Nawbakhtī. The former cannot be ruled out based on evidence from parallels and citation-markings, but the latter is still more likely. This is because, in this scenario, Warrāq's *Maqālāt* must have contained several bodies of material that do not appear in the *Firaq*. This includes the material on the Zaydiyya, both that on the Jārūdiyya and that on Abū l-Jārūd, Ṣabbāḥ b. al-Qāsim al-Muzanī and Ya'qūb b. 'Adī, where we are most certain that Warrāq was Balkhī's source; Nawbakhtī has completely different material on the Jārūdiyya and nothing of the relevant material on Abū l-Jārūd, Ṣabbāḥ b. al-Qāsim al-Muzanī and Ya'qūb b. 'Adī⁵⁸⁵. It also includes significant amounts of material on factions of the Ghulāt for which Nawbakhtī has other descriptions entirely⁵⁸⁶. And perhaps most importantly, it includes several factions present in Balkhī's version of the *iftirāq*-schema that are missing from Nawbakhtī's, as well as some faction descriptions from Balkhī's version of the *iftirāq*-schema for which Nawbakhtī has completely different material⁵⁸⁷. Of course, it is possible that Nawbakhtī could have omitted and replaced all this material even if it had been present in his source, but it is not likely. It is thus more probable that Q_2 was not Warrāq's *Maqālāt* but, rather, a source used by Warrāq and Nawbakhtī.

It is much more plausible that Q_2 was Zurqān's *Maqālāt*. We know that a certain body of material on the opinions of Sulaymān b. Jarīr, Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ b. Ḥayy and Nu'aym b. al-Yamān concerning the first four caliphs and 'Alī's opponents at the Battle of the Camel found in the *Firaq*, the BdC and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* came from Zurqān's *Maqālāt*⁵⁸⁸. Ps.-Nāshī' has a more distantly related version of some of this material too, which is based either on Zurqān's *Maqālāt* too or else on a source in common with Zurqān⁵⁸⁹. As all four authors also have versions of the *iftirāq*-

583 See p. 377–378.

584 See p. 386–388.

585 See p. 387–388.

586 See p. 340–344, also 649–658.

587 See p. 375–378, 386–388, also 618–626, 719–727.

588 See p. 253–255.

589 See p. 467–472.

irāq-schema of the Imāmiyya, it is possible that both bodies of material ultimately came to all of them from a single source. In fact, given that both bodies of material appear in *Uṣūl al-niḥal*, this source could even be Q_1 , which would then have been a common source for Zurqān (as Q_2) and ps.-Nāshī'. In that case, we would have to presume that Q_1 —certainly originally of Kufan, Imāmī origin⁵⁹⁰—was in circulation at least in Baghdad in the early third century in order for it to have been reused by both Mu'tazilī authors.

The main difficulty with this hypothesis is the character of the *iftirāq*-schema from Q_2 and its perspective. This is something to which we will turn in more detail in the next chapter. Here, a few points will suffice. There is no marked Zurqān-citation anywhere that contains anything remotely similar to the *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya. As far as we know, Zurqān's *Maqālāt* consisted entirely of *kalām*-doxography cast in *ikhtilāf*-clusters⁵⁹¹. Admittedly, the main elements we know were added to Q_1 's *iftirāq*-schema in Q_2 are the post-Riḍā *iftirāq*-cluster and the *ikhtilāf*-cluster on the status of Muḥammad al-Jawād's Imāmate whilst he was still a minor⁵⁹². The latter would thus fit the format of material known to be present in Zurqān's *Maqālāt*, but the former element and the rest of the schema still would not. In any case, the post-Riḍā *iftirāq*-cluster mentions the fact that some of Riḍā's followers turned to his brother Aḥmad b. Mūsā after his death and that some joined the group known as the Wāqifa, who had denied Mūsā's death all along⁵⁹³. This information too must be Kufan⁵⁹⁴, and it is not likely that a Basran Mu'tazilī author, even one possibly resident in Baghdad at the time, would have been interested enough in (or even have known enough about) the post-Riḍā situation in Kufa to *compose* this post-Riḍā cluster himself. Realistically, we would thus have to posit that some Imāmī author was responsible for extending Q_1 's schema, and that Zurqān (as Q_2) was merely the conduit to Balkhī (via Warrāq) and Nawbakhtī. Of course, if Q_2 really was Zurqān's *Maqālāt*, then Nawbakhtī—an Imāmī theologian—would have taken the vast majority of his *firaq*-material on the Imāmiyya—which was certainly Imāmī and Kufan in origin—via this Mu'tazilī source. This does not seem like the most probable route of transmission.

Moreover, when we look at the situation of the two bodies of parallel material across the witnesses to Q_2 , the evidence is not straightforward to interpret and certainly doesn't positively confirm that Q_2 was Zurqān's *Maqālāt*. In both witnessed versions of his *firaq*-material on the Shī'a, Balkhī had all the known Warrāq-mate-

590 See p. 442–443.

591 See p. 49–51, 54–55, 98–99.

592 See p. 309–310.

593 See p. 304.

594 See p. 303.

rial and the *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya, which probably also came to him via Warrāq. But the Zurqān-material on Sulaymān b. Jarīr, Ḥasan b. Šāliḥ and Nu'aym b. al-Yamān is present only in the later version (that used ultimately by Abū Tammām, Maqdisī and Ḥimyarī). In the earlier version (i.e., that used by 'Abd al-Jabbār and probably Ash'arī), Balkhī had used a different source on Sulaymān, Ḥasan and Nu'aym, probably just Warrāq's *Maqālāt* again⁵⁹⁵. Indeed, there is no evidence that Balkhī relied on Zurqān's *Maqālāt* in the earlier version of his *firaq*-material on the Shī'a at all⁵⁹⁶. Moreover, unless we assume that the Zurqān-material on the Zaydiyya then also came to Balkhī via Warrāq (in which case we have to explain the presence of the non-Zurqān material in the first version), it would appear that the *iftirāq*-schema from Q_2 and the Zurqān-material came to Balkhī along *different* routes of transmission, the former via Warrāq, the latter perhaps directly from Zurqān's *Maqālāt*.

Ash'arī's material on the Zaydiyya mainly comes from Balkhī's earlier version and thus mostly just reproduces the descriptions that Balkhī probably took from Warrāq, not the Zurqān-material. Ash'arī only inserts passages from the Zurqān-material at certain points in the descriptions of the Sulaymāniyya, Butriyya and Nu'aymiyya, clearly marking one as a Zurqān-citation. But in these passages Ash'arī is no longer working from the source of the surrounding material (i.e., Balkhī); he seems to be citing Zurqān directly⁵⁹⁷. Again, it is thus possible—indeed, in this case, more likely—that that the Zurqān-material came to Ash'arī along a route of transmission different from Q_2 's *iftirāq*-schema⁵⁹⁸.

Nawbakhtī presents the Zurqān-material in what must have been the format present in Zurqān's *Maqālāt*: an *ikhtilāf*-cluster. This is set within in his larger *ikhtilāf*-section, nearly all of which was derived from Zurqān's *Maqālāt*⁵⁹⁹. This section, however, is separate from his *iftirāq*-schema, where Nawbakhtī presents different material on the same Zaydī factions. At the very least, then, if Nawbakhtī took both bodies of material from Zurqān, the latter would have had to have kept the material on the three Zaydī scholars separate from his *iftirāq*-schema too. But it is equally possible that Nawbakhtī drew on different sources for the *ikhtilāf*-section and his version of the *iftirāq*-schema.

595 See p. 253–255.

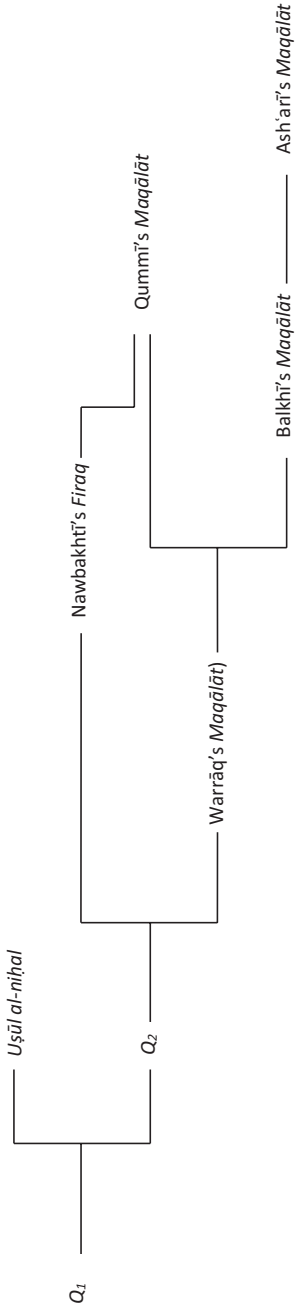
596 See p. 225, 254–255. There is evidence however, that Balkhī must have used *some* material from Zurqān elsewhere in this version of his *Maqālāt*. See p. 240.

597 See p. 241.

598 See p. 254.

599 See p. 226–232.

Tab. 45: The transmission of the *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya from Q_1 and Q_2 (most parsimonious solution).



This leaves the question of Q_2 's identity open. Neither Warrāq's nor Zurqān's *Maqālāt*s can be excluded, but, although the latter is more likely than the former, nothing speaks decisively in favour of either.

In the end, it is not vital for current purposes that we can precisely identify Q_2 , nor that we can establish the precise route of the transmission of the *iftirāq*-schema from Q_2 to the later, extant works. The exact role of Warrāq's *Maqālāt* in that transmission and whether Zurqān's *Maqālāt* had anything to do with it are relevant, but secondary issues. What matters most, rather, is (1.) that, despite all the open questions and known unknowns, we can still single out the *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya as a discrete body of material that can be traced back to a source composed towards the end of the second century (Q_1) and which reached Balkhī and Nawbakhtī via an intermediary (Q_2) that contained an updated version of the schema composed in the 220s or not long thereafter, and (2.) that the outline of the schema and even the content of faction-descriptions in both sources can be reconstructed to some extent. That allows us considerable insight into the earlier stages of one of the main bodies of material that forms the presentation of Shī'i *firaq* in the extant third century heresiographies. From here, we will be able to ask after the conventions and perspective of this material, and how it was repurposed in the various contexts in which it appears in the extant works.

In order to provide an overview of these results, the most parsimonious possible reconstruction of the transmission of the *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya is set out in Tab. 45. It should be emphasized, however, that there are several other, more complex but still readily conceivable, possibilities for the transmission from Q_2 to the later texts, especially to Balkhī and Qummī, and that there is always the possibility of unique intermediaries to any of the individual authors of the extant works.

1.7.2 Material on the Zaydiyya

There are six discrete bodies of parallel material on the Zaydiyya. It is possible that some of them come from the same common source(s), but because there is no overarching structure—such as the *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya—to bind them together consistently across the texts in which they appear, no positive evidence of this remains. We will begin with those elements for which we have the most information regarding sources and routes of transmission and move to those for which we have the least.

1.7.2.1 Zurqān's *ikhtilāf*-Cluster on Zaydī Attitudes to the First Four Caliphs

Zurqān's *Maqālāt* contained an *ikhtilāf*-cluster that presented the opinions of three Zaydī scholars—Sulaymān b. Jarīr, Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ b. Ḥayy, and Nu'aym b.

al-Yamān—on the relative status of the first four caliphs and of ‘Alī’s opponents in the first *fitna*. The opinions are described in the terse, technical language of *kalām*-doxography. The way the doctrinal statements have been constructed allows each sentence in each statement to be compared directly with an analogous sentence in the others, thus together forming a matrix of doctrinal possibilities on the relevant questions, allowing for direct comparison between the doctrines of the three scholars. This is a technique that Zurqān used elsewhere in his *ikhtilāf*-clusters, as we have seen⁶⁰⁰.

It is evident that Nawbakhtī preserves the *ikhtilāf*-material best. He is the only author to have all three statements directly alongside one another intact and still presented in an *ikhtilāf*-cluster, whereby their mutual engagement remains clear [*Fir*.8:15–9:13]⁶⁰¹. They appear in the *Firaq*’s *ikhtilāf*-section, which mostly presents the opinions of non-Shīī scholars. Parallels with Baghdādī’s *Uṣūl al-dīn* and especially with Ash‘arī’s *Maqālāt* indicate that most of the rest of this section must also have been drawn from Zurqān’s *Maqālāt*, including the entirety of the clusters on the Battle of the Camel and the Arbitration at Ṣiffīn, which Ash‘arī too preserves intact as *ikhtilāf*-clusters⁶⁰². As far as we know, Nawbakhtī was working from Zurqān’s *Maqālāt* directly here. Certainly, the material does not come via Balkhī or Ash‘arī⁶⁰³.

Ash‘arī also has *some* of the Zurqān-material on the Zaydiyya that Nawbakhtī preserves. Ash‘arī too was apparently working directly from Zurqān’s *Maqālāt*⁶⁰⁴, and he cites Zurqān frequently throughout his own *Maqālāt*, often for material preserved nowhere else. The parallels with Nawbakhtī’s *ikhtilāf*-section reveal that Ash‘arī kept Zurqān’s *ikhtilāf*-clusters on the Battle of the Camel and the Arbitration at Ṣiffīn basically intact [cf. *Fir*.12:17–14:4; *MaqA*.456:14–458:5; cf. *Fir*.14:5–15:5; *MaqA*.452:7–454:2]. But things are different for the *ikhtilāf*-cluster featuring the Zaydī scholars. He does not reproduce all the statements in full, nor are they preserved intact in an *ikhtilāf*-cluster. Rather, Ash‘arī inserted only parts of them, discontinuously, amongst his *firaq*-material on the Zaydiyya, which otherwise most likely came to him via the version of Balkhī’s *Maqālāt* also used by ‘Abd al-Jabbār. The insertions from Zurqān provide contrasting reports on aspects of the doctrines of Sulaymān b. Jarīr [*MaqA*.58:5–7] and Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ

⁶⁰⁰ See p. 54–55 and p. 255–257.

⁶⁰¹ See p. 256.

⁶⁰² See p. 228–232.

⁶⁰³ See p. 231–232.

⁶⁰⁴ See p. 241.

[*MaqA*.68:14–69:1], although on Nu'aym b. al-Yamān, Ash'arī gives only Zurqān's material [*MaqA*.69:5–9]⁶⁰⁵.

The BdC witnesses (at least) two versions of Balkhī's material on the Zaydiyya. In the version used by 'Abd al-Jabbār and probably Ash'arī, Balkhī does not seem to have drawn on Zurqān's *Maqālāt* at all. There, he presented only the partially contradictory material on Sulaymān b. Jarīr, Ḥasan b. Šāliḥ and Nu'aym b. al-Yamān taken from a different source, perhaps Warrāq's *Maqālāt* (see below). In the version used ultimately by Abū Tammām, Maqdisī and Ḥimyarī, however, Balkhī reproduced Zurqān's statements from Sulaymān b. Jarīr and Ḥasan b. Šāliḥ/the Butriyya essentially intact but recast as *firaq*-material, i.e., as self-contained descriptions of discrete *factions* of the Zaydiyya, rather than statements on a single doctrinal issue [*Bāb*.92:2–10; *Bad'*.V:133:5–9; *Ḥur*.207:7–9, 11–14]⁶⁰⁶. In this version, he omitted all of the material from the source used in the version witnessed by 'Abd al-Jabbār. It seems most likely that Balkhī, too, was working from Zurqān's *Maqālāt* directly⁶⁰⁷.

There are also parallels to some elements of the Zurqān-material on Sulaymān b. Jarīr and Ḥasan b. Šāliḥ/the Butriyya in *Uṣūl al-niḥāl*, although they are not as close to the other texts as they are to each other, reading more like glosses or paraphrases [*Nih*.43:15–18, 44:10–17]. It is possible that ps.-Nāshī' too was reliant on Zurqān's *Maqālāt*, but it is also possible that ps.-Nāshī' and Zurqān had an earlier common source of some kind.

1.7.2.2 Warrāq's Material on the Jārūdiyya

Nearly all the texts of the BdC and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* provide essentially the same faction-description of the Jārūdiyya, although there are slight differences between the version preserved by 'Abd al-Jabbār, Jishumī and Ash'arī, on the one hand, and the version preserved by Abū Tammām and Ḥimyarī, on the other [*Mugh*.XX₂:184:5–15; *Ḥūr*.207:18–208:16; *Sharḥ*.21v:2–22r:1; *Rawḍa*.139r:10–25; *Bāb*.93:17–94:6; *MaqA*.66:13–67:16]⁶⁰⁸. This description is thematically distinct from the Zurqān-material on the Zaydiyya, focussing not on the relative status of 'Alī and his opponents, but first, upon the Jārūdi doctrine concerning the mode by which an Imām is selected, then upon a disagreement amongst the Jārūdiyya over whether one of three, much later 'Alids is the Mahdī. The 'Alids in question are Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan, Muḥammad b. Qāsim and Yaḥyā b. 'Umar.

⁶⁰⁵ See p. 252–253.

⁶⁰⁶ See p. 256.

⁶⁰⁷ See p. 240.

⁶⁰⁸ See p. 181–189.

We know that at least the second part of the description came to Balkhī from Warrāq, as Jishumī, whose direct source is Balkhī, cites Warrāq as the ultimate source [*Sharḥ*.21v:10–13= *MaqA*.67:6–11; *Mugh*.XX₂:184:12–15; *Hūr*.208:6; *Raw*.139r:17–25]. However, Jishumī's motivations for marking just this part as a Warrāq-citation are clearly polemical: he wants to dispute this information specifically but to affirm the rest⁶⁰⁹. As Ḥimyarī tells us that Balkhī's material on the Shī'a came from Zurqān and Warrāq [*Hūr*.224:4–5] and there is no reason to think any of the material on the Jārūdiyya came from Zurqān, it is more likely that Balkhī took the whole faction-description from Warrāq's *Maqālāt*. If Ash'arī did not take the faction-description from Balkhī, but directly from Warrāq, then that *must* be the case, otherwise we could not explain the consistent combination of the first part with the Warrāq-citation in the second part across both the BdC and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* without positing an unknown intermediary between Warrāq and Balkhī-Ash'arī, for which there is no evidence. But, of course, Ash'arī was probably just relying on a version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* itself.

1.7.2.3 The Non-Zurqān-Material on Sulaymān b. Jarīr and Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ b. Ḥayy Preserved by Balkhī and Ash'arī

This body of material was present in the version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* used by 'Abd al-Jabbār and also appears in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*⁶¹⁰. It was apparently absent from the version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* used ultimately by Abū Tammām, Maqdisī and Ḥimyarī. Like the Zurqān-material on Sulaymān b. Jarīr and Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ, it deals with their doctrines on the status of the first four caliphs. But it does not address with the status of 'Alī's opponents at the Battle of the Camel. Moreover, in the case of Sulaymān, it goes beyond this topic, describing Sulaymān's more general doctrine concerning the selection of an Imām, as well as his epistemological argument for excusing those people of his own day who believed 'Alī was at fault. Even where they treat the same themes, this material differs in terminology from Zurqān's and, especially in the case of Sulaymān, clearly contradicts the information Zurqān provides⁶¹¹. It must come from a different source. As the only sources we know Balkhī used in his *firaq*-material on the Shī'a were Warrāq and Zurqān, the best candidate for its source is obviously Warrāq's *Maqālāt*⁶¹². As above, if Ash'arī did not take

⁶⁰⁹ See p. 209–204.

⁶¹⁰ See *Tab*.12 and *Tab*.13.

⁶¹¹ See p. 237–239.

⁶¹² See p. 239–240. All the later heresiographies that in turn based their presentations of the Imāmiyya on this material inherited that perspective. This is true independently of the various theological inclinations and interests of the authors of the extant heresiographies themselves. We find exceptions only where material has been incorporated into the third-century heresiographies

this material via Balkhī, then both of them must have obtained it from Warrāq, as both this material and the Warrāq-citation on the Jārūdiyya must have occurred together in whatever source Ash'arī and 'Abd al-Jabbār have in common⁶¹³.

1.7.2.4 The Balkhī-Ash'arī-Qummī Material on the Şabbāhiyya, the Ya'qūbiyya, and Abū l-Jārūd

The material on the Şabbāhiyya and the Ya'qūbiyya is preserved in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, Qummī's *Maqālāt* and partially in the *Mughnī* [*MaqA*.69:10–14, *MaqQ*.71:17–72:2; *Mugh*.XX₂:185:5–8]. It deals with the doctrines of Şabbāḥ al-Muzanī and Ya'qūb b. 'Adī concerning Abū Bakr and 'Umar, as well as their doctrines of the *raj'a*. In the *Mughnī*, the material is combined with a report on Abū l-Jārūd's doctrine in these matters, cited from an anonymous doxographer. Jishumī provides a report on Abū l-Jārūd's doctrine of the *raj'a*, too. He must have taken it via Balkhī, but states that its ultimate source was Warrāq [*Sharḥ*.21v:10–13]. For this reason, we can assume that Balkhī's source on the Şabbāhiyya and the Ya'qūbiyya was also Warrāq. Ash'arī probably just took the material via Balkhī, but if not, then they both must have taken it from Warrāq⁶¹⁴. Qummī could have taken it from Warrāq or an earlier source in common with Warrāq.

1.7.2.5 The Balkhī-Ash'arī Material on Kathīr al-Nawwā'

The material on Kathīr al-Nawwā' appears in various texts of the BdC and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*. In the *Bāb* it is separate from but set next to the material on Ḥasan b. Şāliḥ b. Ḥayy (which comes ultimately from Zurqān). Both individuals are grouped together by Abū Tammām as 'Butriyya'. In the *Ḥūr*, Jishumī's *Sharḥ* and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, however, the material on Kathīr is mixed in amongst the different bodies of material on Ḥasan b. Şāliḥ and the Butriyya that appear there⁶¹⁵. Because this mixing is never consistent across any two texts, the material on Kathīr al-Nawwā' presumably appeared separately in Balkhī's *Maqālāt*, as it does still in the *Bāb*, and was only combined with the material on Ḥasan by the later authors (or in the transmission to them). As well as dealing with a different individual, this body of mate-

from sources other than the *iftirāq*-schema. But, other than in the case of factions also considered Ghulāt, that happens only very rarely

613 See p. 239–240.

614 See p. 208 n.139, 377.

615 See *Tab*.13 and the discussion on p. 249–250.

rial is also thematically distinct from both the Zurqān-material and the non-Zurqān-material on Ḥasan b. Šāliḥ: it briefly touches on Kathīr's attitude towards Abū Bakr and 'Umar, but then moves to the etymology of the name 'Butriyya' and the doctrine of the *raja*.

Ash'arī probably took the material from Balkhī, and Balkhī's most likely source was Warrāq. This is partly just for the usual reason that wherever Zurqān is not Balkhī's source, Warrāq is the default candidate, and there is no reason to think that this material would have appeared in Zurqān's *Maqālāt*. But there are also thematic grounds. The material on Kathīr has significant thematic overlap with the material on Šabbāḥ al-Muzanī and Ya'qūb b. 'Adī and Abū l-Jārūd just discussed. As suggested above, it seems Warrāq was Balkhī's source there⁶¹⁶.

1.7.2.6 The Material on the Jārūdiyya in *Uṣūl al-niḥal* and the *Firaq*

Ps.-Nāshī' and Nawbakhtī preserve slightly different versions of a description of the Jārūdiyya that consists of two elements: a statement of the Jārūdī doctrine concerning the qualifications of the Imām and a statement of their doctrine concerning the special knowledge held equally by all descendants of Fāṭima that automatically qualifies them for the Imāmate if they also rise up in rebellion⁶¹⁷. Both versions are critical, from an Imāmī perspective, of this Jārūdī doctrine; Nawbakhtī's is more explicitly so. It is highly likely that the common source was an Imāmī work composed in the second half of the second century⁶¹⁸. Indeed, ps.-Nāshī' states openly that he had a Shī'ī source for his version.

As both this material on the Jārūdiyya and the *iftirāq*-schema occur in both *Uṣūl al-niḥal* and the *Firaq*, it could be that they were both present in Q_1 . Nawbakhtī, however, received the *iftirāq*-schema via Q_2 , so it would then have to be the case that this material on the Jārūdiyya was also present in Q_2 . This would fit with another observation: the character of the divergences between the *Firaq*'s and *Uṣūl al-niḥal*'s versions of this material on the Jārūdiyya makes it unlikely that the two authors can have been working directly from the common source⁶¹⁹. There is no evidence, however, that Balkhī, who also received had the *iftirāq*-schema from Q_2 , had any of this material on the Jārūdiyya at all. All witnesses to his *firaq*-material on the Shī'a present only the material on the Jārūdiyya that probably goes back to

⁶¹⁶ See also p. 250 and 254.

⁶¹⁷ See *Tab.40*.

⁶¹⁸ See p. 453–461.

⁶¹⁹ See p. 461.

Warrāq, which shows no parallels to the common material in the *Firaq* and *Uṣūl al-niḥal*.

That means we should *also* consider the possibility that ps.-Nāshī' and Nawbakhtī simply had a different common source (Q_3) for this material on the Jārūdiyya. Something else that points in this direction is the distinctive character of this material in comparison with that of the *iftirāq*-schema. We will discuss this issue further in the next chapter⁶²⁰.

1.7.3 Material on the Ghulāt

There is only one distinct body of *firaq*-material concerning Ghulāt factions identifiable through parallels between the extant heresiographies. It consists of a set of descriptions of the Bayāniyya, the Ḥarbiyya, the Mughīriyya, the Maṣūriyya and the Khaṭṭābiyya (including their four sub-factions: the Mu'amariyya/Ya'fūriyya, the Bazīghīyya, the 'Umayriyya, and the Mufaḍḍaliyya). The first four of these factions also have descriptions in the *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya, at least in the version present in Q_2 (for Q_1 , only material on the Ḥarbiyya and the Mughīriyya is witnessed). However, the thematic coverage of the two bodies of material is completely different. The descriptions in the *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya involve the standard elements of all the schema's descriptions: the identity of the Imām/Mahdī, the etymology of the faction-name and, in the case of the Ḥarbiyya and Mughīriyya, the faction's claims about the current location of their Mahdī. The descriptions we are concerned with here, however, are much longer and cover several different themes: the claims of the eponymous leaders of the factions about their own status as Imām's or prophets; their supposed miraculous feats; their theologies and cosmologies; their creation narratives; their doctrines of reincarnation and the world of shadows; their antinomian practices; and their promotion of violence towards other Muslims.

We know of three versions of this body of material present in third-century heresiographies:

1. That found in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* [*MaqA.5:11–13:7*].
2. That which must have stood in Balkhī's *Maqālāt*, which can be reconstructed through comparison across the BdC, especially the *Ḥūr* and the *Bāb*, and through comparison with Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*⁶²¹.
3. That found in Qummī's *Maqālāt*⁶²².

⁶²⁰ See p. 576–578.

⁶²¹ See p. 162–167, 191–202.

⁶²² See the parallels to the relevant material from Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* referenced in *Tab.27*.

The versions in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and the BdC are extremely close to one another, consisting almost entirely in word-for-word parallels. In reality, they witness a single version of this material⁶²³. That is most likely because Ash'arī simply took it from a version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt*.

The close convergence between the BdC and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* means we can reconstruct the descriptions that must have stood in Balkhī's *Maqālāt* with confidence and probably nearly in full. If Ash'arī and Balkhī were separately dependent on Warrāq, we could reconstruct Warrāq's material, too. But that is less likely.

Qummī's version is at greater variance. The parallels to Ash'arī and Balkhī's version do not occur together as intact descriptions of each faction. Rather, although there are some longer passages that converge with the descriptions in the BdC and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, Qummī's parallels are distributed amongst his other material on the factions in question, most of which comes from Nawbakhtī's *Firaq*. That means we do not know how the descriptions would have appeared in Qummī's source. In terms of wording, there are numerous specific convergences with the Ash'arī-Balkhī versions that cannot have arisen by coincidence, but these often occur amongst broader paraphrasis. Qummī and Balkhī must share a common source for this material. But, because of the level of discrepancy, we cannot reconstruct anything significant of the version of this body of material present in that source anyway⁶²⁴. Balkhī's is the earliest version we can establish with confidence.

The best candidate for Balkhī's direct source is once again Warrāq. This is for two reasons. The first is the usual reason that Warrāq is Balkhī's sole named source in the BdC except Zurqān, and this material is so different from the *kalām*-doxography that appears in marked Zurqān-citation that it is unlikely his *Maqālāt* could be the source. The second is the parallels in Qummī's *Maqālāt*; wherever Qummī's additions to the *Firaq* parallel the BdC, Balkhī's source for the material was probably Warrāq. We do not know, however, whether Qummī was also reliant on Warrāq's *Maqālāt* or whether Qummī and Warrāq had an earlier common source or sources.

2 Character, Conventions, Perspectives, Provenance

Probably the oldest survey of Shī'ī groups to which we have access is a list commissioned by the Caliph al-Mahdī (r.158–169/775–785) as part of his crackdown on those that he, or his advisors, perceived as heretics (*aṣḥāb al-ahwā*). It was com-

⁶²³ See p. 191–202.

⁶²⁴ See p. 378–380.

piled by a certain Ibn Muq'ad (or, perhaps, Ibn Mufaḍḍal), apparently a spy for the Caliph, and was read out in various cities of the empire, presumably to let those on the list know they were being watched and to demonstrate that the Caliph was actively upholding the faith. We don't have the whole list, merely a portion of it that the Imāmī theologian Yūnus b. 'Abd al-Rahmān set down in writing at some point after hearing it⁶²⁵. The reason he did so was to stress that his teacher, Hishām b. al-Ḥakam, had not featured there. For Yūnus, this was to be interpreted as a sign of Hishām's meritorious restraint, as he had refrained, at Mūsā al-Kāzim's request, from publicly discussing *kalām* whilst Mahdī was on the throne and had thus avoided the Caliph's ire⁶²⁶.

Yūnus's excerpt mentions only five groups: the Zurāriyya (i.e., the followers of Zurāra b. A'yan)⁶²⁷, the 'Ammāriyya (i.e., the followers of 'Ammār al-Sābāṭi⁶²⁸), the Ya'fūriyya (i.e., the followers of 'Abd Allāh b. Abī Ya'fūr⁶²⁹), the followers of Sulaymān al-Aqṭa⁶³⁰, and the Jawāliqīyya (i.e., the followers of Hishām al-Jawāliqī)⁶³¹. Presumably, the complete list of the *aṣḥāb al-ahwā'* was much longer and Yūnus has given us only a snapshot that is relevant to his point, which is to highlight Hishām b. al-Ḥakam's absence. For that reason, we can't place any significance on the fact that no Zaydī groups or any of the famous Ghulāt leaders (or any Khawārij etc.) appear. The excerpt is focussed on prominent Kufan figures with scholarly leanings who had been loyal to Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, i.e., people Yūnus considered otherwise similar to Hishām b. al-Ḥakam.

There is little overlap between Yūnus's excerpt and the *firaq*-lists we have been discussing so far. The *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya recorded six factions that emerged after Ja'far's death, five of which were led by named figures⁶³². Yet only the 'Ammāriyya feature in both places. In the *iftirāq*-schema, where they are also called the Fuṭḥiyya, their defining feature is that they upheld the doctrine that 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far had been the legitimate Imām after Ja'far's death, before being succeeded by his brother, Mūsā al-Kāzim⁶³³. If they appeared in Ibn Muq'ad's list for the same reason, then Jawāliqī and his followers might have featured there at least partly in recognition of their opposing view, that Ja'far was succeeded directly by

625 The report is preserved in *RijālK*.265:14–266:8, 269:15–270:2. See *TG*.I:318–319.

626 See *TG*.I:352.

627 On Zurāra, see p. 216 n.149, also p. 308 n.232, p. 7124–725.

628 On 'Ammār, see Modarressi 2003:199–200.

629 On Ibn Abī Ya'fūr, see *TG*.I:320.

630 On Sulaymān, see *TG*.I:319–320.

631 On Hishām al-Jawāliqī, see p. 139 n.47.

632 See e.g., *Tab*.18.

633 See p. 627–630.

Mūsā, for which Jawālīqī was remembered [*Fir*.56:11–12; *Hūr*.219:12–13]⁶³⁴. But it seems unlikely that Mahdī and his agents would have been primarily interested in listing the groups involved in such an ‘internal’ dispute. Moreover, Ibn Abī Ya‘fūr either favoured Mūsā’s immediate succession, too, as Nawbakhtī claims [*Fir*.66:12], or else he had died before Ja‘far, as asserted by Kashshī [*Rijāl*.K.246:8–9]. Zurāra cannot have survived Ja‘far by long and his opinion on the succession was disputed⁶³⁵. Probably, then, these were simply prominent figures amongst those Kufan Shī‘a who were loyal to Ja‘far’s Imāmate and had attracted some kind of public following. That would have been enough to make them enemies of the Caliph. For Yūnus, however, it seems that these were figures connected primarily with *kalām*, hence the relevance of Mūsā’s request to disengage from public disputations and of Hishām b. al-Ḥakam’s compliance, leading—in Yūnus’s interpretation—to the latter’s absence from the list⁶³⁶.

Ibn Muq‘ad probably recorded many other groups that were considered to be a threat to Mahdī’s idea of orthodoxy, perhaps even from Kufa, but Yūnus’s excerpt now gives us only these five. One perspective determined the commissioning and production of the original list; another determined how and why a certain part of it has been transmitted to us; still another determined the inclusion of the report in Kashshī’s *Rijāl*. Without appreciating these perspectives, which involves saying something about the list’s provenance and transmission, as well as the character of what is preserved, we cannot begin to make sense of it as a historical source.

Here, something similar will be attempted for the *firaq*-material in the extant third-century heresiographies. This will be done in two stages. In section 2.1., we will look at the character perspective and provenance of the bodies of common source-material identified via parallels in the previous chapter, insofar as they can be reconstructed from the extant witnesses. In section 2.2., we will do the same for the *firaq*-material in the extant heresiographies themselves, focussing particularly on the ways they reuse the common source material and on the character and likely provenance of the unique material they present alongside it, as well as on how they bring material of ultimately different origins together to produce their presentations of Shī‘ī factions.

634 The *Hūr* uses the name Jawālīqiyya to refer to those who believed Mūsā succeeded Ja‘far directly, but the consensus of the BdC and Ash‘arī’s *Maqālāt* is that this group was called the Mu-faḍḍaliyya, so it appears the *Hūr*’s variant is a later phenomenon. See p. 132 n.39, p. 144.

635 *TG*.I:323–324.

636 See *TG*.I:352. As van Ess suggests, the real reason for Hishām’s absence from the list may simply have been that he was too young at the time it was compiled.

2.1 The Common Source-Material

2.1.1 Common Source-Material on the Imāmiyya: The *iftirāq*-Schema

The majority of third-century *firqā*-material on the Imāmiyya is found within the three extant versions of the *iftirāq*-schema. As we have seen, all of them rely indirectly upon a single earlier version of the schema, probably composed in the 190s or early 200s, which we have labelled Q_1 . Nawbakhtī and Balkhī both received a slightly later, reworked and extended version of Q_1 's schema via Q_2 , composed in the 210s or early 220s. Ps.-Nāshī' obtained the material from Q_1 via a different route of transmission, not via Q_2 . The schema in Q_1 did not provide a comprehensive survey of Shī'ī groups in terms of such things as their theological and legal doctrines, ritual practice, geographical distribution, or socio-economic composition. Nor was it a heresiography in the sense of a survey of groups deemed heretical by its author. It was something rather more specific.

The schema traced, over time, the successive fragmentation into factions of those people who—at least in the conception of the schema's author—believed in a continuous hereditary Imāmate going back to 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (and thence the Prophet). It depicted that fragmentation to have arisen due to differences over the question of the succession to the Imāmate after the death of each Imām or pretender to the Imāmate⁶³⁷. Q_1 's version ran from the death of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib up to the post-Mūsā al-Kāzīm *iftirāq*. Q_2 's went a step further, up to the post-'Alī al-Riḍā *iftirāq*⁶³⁸. The schema effectively thus presented all those who believed and had believed in such a hereditary Imāmate as a family-tree of factions, with various branches and sub-branches arising from the disagreements over the succession that had occurred over several generations. Clearly, then, unlike the fragment of Mahdī's list of the *aṣḥāb al-ahwā'*, the *iftirāq*-schema did not offer a synchronic presentation of Shī'ī groups from the lifetime of the author. It was, rather, a very specific form of historiography: a diachronic account of the historical genesis of the fragmentation within that part of the Muslim Community that was understood to have believed in a hereditary Imāmate descended from 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. It sought to explain which historical disagreements over the line of Imāms had resulted in the existence of which factions, including both those that had effectively died out by the time the schema was put together and those that still existed in some form.

This has certain consequences for the very kind of *firqā* to which the schema pays attention in the first place. For only one doctrine is ever at stake: the question of who should have succeeded a dead Imām (including the possibility of denying

637 See p. 53, p. 475.

638 See p. 476–480.

his death and claiming him to be the Mahdī). Moreover, as far as the schema is concerned, there was only ever a single mechanism for the historical generation of new factions: the supporters of a particular Imām split over the question of his succession. The faction-descriptions contained in the schema fleshed this out only to the point of providing limited information on why a faction followed a particular Imām, and on the etymology of their faction-name, usually derived from an eponymous leader. The only exception to this rule is the material on messianic factions, which also often provided information on the location where the faction's Mahdī was supposedly in hiding, sometimes accompanied by related *akhbār* or poetry on this theme⁶³⁹.

If we zoom out from the *iftirāq*-schema for a moment, we can see just how narrow its perspective really is. Although the disputed succession to the Imāmate was indeed vital to the doctrine of those Shī'a who advocated an unbroken line of Ḥusaynid Imāms, it was far from everything even to them. There were many other important fault-lines amongst the Shī'a—theological, legal, ritual, geographical etc.—to which one might have paid attention, as even Mahdī's list may have done. Yet the *firaq*-material on the Imāmiyya that we see in the extant third-century heresiographies, because it is based in such large measure on the *iftirāq*-schema, distinguishes 'Imāmī' factions almost entirely along the axis of the line of succession, and describes most of them only in terms of their position on this question.

2.1.1.1 The Doctrinal and Historiographical Perspective of *Q*'s Schema

The versions of the *iftirāq*-schema in *Q*₁ was authored in a Kufan, Ḥusaynid-Imāmī context, i.e., by someone committed to the doctrine that, after Ḥusayn b. 'Alī, the true Imāmate had passed through an unbroken line of Ḥusaynid Imāms. This is not apparent from the tenor of the faction-descriptions, since they do not engage in open polemic and are almost entirely neutral in tone. But there are other indicators. One is simply the level of detail. Only someone close to that community could, for example, have known the otherwise obscure names of the Kufan leaders of the various factions that disputed which of Ja'far al-Šādiq's sons had succeeded him. Not even the later Imāmī tradition preserves anything about most of them outside of this material⁶⁴⁰. More importantly, the doctrinal perspective of the Ḥusaynid-Imāmiyya is written into the schema at its deepest structural level.

Fundamentally, the *iftirāq*-schema provides a history of the disputes over the line of inheritance of the Imāmate from 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. It thus assumes, as its very basis, the idea of a *continuous* succession of Imāms after 'Alī, the Imāmate always

639 See p. 478.

640 See p. 309–310.

passing from one Imām directly to the next. The only disputes that concern its author are about the route along which the Imāmate passed. Claims to the Imāmate made on other bases, such as those of Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmān, as well as the Umayyads, the Zubayrids, the Khawārij and even most Zaydī Imāms are either not taken into account or, as we will see, are rendered as if they were hereditary claims.

In practice, a necessary concomitant of the concept of the continuous hereditary Imāmate is that it is not essential for an Imām to have exercised actual political power or even to have attempted to gain political power through military action, nor is it essential for an Imām to have been recognized by all or even many members of the Muslim Community. Rather, the Imāmate is simply inherited either directly from father to son (or brother to brother, or uncle to nephew, or nephew to uncle) or by means of a 'testamentary bequest' (*waṣīyya*) from the Imām to a successor. Whether the Imām then actively tries to claim political power as leader of the Community is irrelevant to his status as Imām, for that status is conferred simply by the direct inheritance or the *waṣīyya*. We will return to the question of the mechanisms for the transferral of the Imāmate that appear within the schema below. The important point for now is that it is only the concept of a continuous, inherited Imāmate that allows figures like 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn or Abū Hāshim to have been considered Imāms, as these people made no open attempt to seize the (political) Imāmate, and no one claims they did. The factions that are depicted to have believed in their Imāmates did so purely because they held them to have inherited that status. And it is only because such figures are present that the *ift-irāq*-schema is possible at all, as nearly every subsequent faction traces the line of the Imāmate through one of them.

This concept of a continuous Imāmate by direct inheritance was not widely shared, not even by those who supported the cause of the 'Alids and/or the broader Hāshimites. In the beginning, it seems the Muslims had understood the Imām to be someone who led the Community, or at least a part of it, politically as well as spiritually, someone to whom the oath of allegiance (*bay'a*) had been given. Put differently, one became Imām when one became caliph, or at least made an open claim for the caliphate, received the *bay'a* from at least some significant group of people, and began to exercise its political functions within at least some section of the Community⁶⁴¹. This was a separate matter from the question of who had the greatest *rights* to claim the Imāmate. The Shī'a came to think that these rights sat with certain groups of people, usually meaning the larger family groups connected with the Prophet (the Fāṭimid-'Alids, the 'Alids generally, the Ṭālibids, the Hāshim-

641 See Crone 2004:18–29.

ites) rather than specific individuals⁶⁴². But mostly they still did not believe that one of the people belonging to the relevant group somehow already held the office itself merely by dint of inheritance. This is evident from the fact that, even by the mid-second century, the 'Alid contenders for the Imāmate did not allege that there was an unbroken succession of true Imāms from 'Alī down to themselves. Zayd b. 'Alī and Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan rebelled, rather, against the *de facto* holders of the Imāmate—the Umayyads and 'Abbāsids—on the basis of the greater rights of their own lineages generally. They did not assert that their own fathers and grandfathers etc. had actually been the Imāms all along. They were, rather, 'reclaiming' something to which the hereditary rights of their family (the 'Alids, the Ḥasanids) entitled them, but which they and their forefathers had so far been denied⁶⁴³. Moreover, a common goal of other Shī'ī rebellions in this period was not to install a particular individual at all, but rather to clear the way for the *riḍā min āl Muḥammad*, meaning something like 'the accepted candidate from Muḥammad's family'. The specific Imām was to be chosen by an elective council (*shūrā*)⁶⁴⁴. If these people and their supporters had believed in a particular line of succession to the Imāmate after 'Alī, this slogan and the *shūrā* ideal behind it would have made no sense.

Belief in a hereditary Imāmate in the sense of a continuous line of Imāms going back to 'Alī perhaps emerged first amongst the Kaysāniyya in the decades after Mukhtār's failed rebellion. But they generally continued the line only as far as 'Alī's three sons, Ḥasan, Ḥusayn and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya, who had all effectively inherited the Imāmate directly from their father⁶⁴⁵. They then claimed that Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya was the Mahdī in hiding in a ravine at Raḍwā until his impending return and victory over the Umayyads⁶⁴⁶. Some of them perhaps believed that his son, Abū Hāshim, inherited a kind of interim Imāmate in his temporary absence, but the details are murky⁶⁴⁷. And it was possibly only the 'Abbāsids who gave the figure of Abū Hāshim real prominence when they tried to legitimate their seizure of the Imāmate by claiming he had made a *waṣīyya* to Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh

642 Nagel 1972:70–86; Sharon 1986; Madelung 1989; Sharon 1991:135–139; Crone 2004:71–73.

643 On Zayd, see *EP*. "Zayd. b. 'Alī" [Madelung]. That he was reasserting the "stolen" rights of his house, the *ahl al-bayt*, against the Umayyads was at least Abū Mikhnaf's understanding, as preserved by Ṭabarī (*Ṭab*.II:1699:8–1700:8). It also seems to be witnessed by the words of his followers' *bay'a*, which is preserved by several sources, of which Ṭabarī perhaps cites it on the authority of Hishām al-Kalbī (*Ṭab*.II:1687:9–14; *Ansāb*B.II:619:19–620:2; *Futūḥ*K.VII:287:10–14). On the claims of Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh, see Tor 2019:215–217.

644 Nagel 1972:107–116; Crone 1989.

645 See p. 515–516, 542–543.

646 See p. 513–514.

647 See p. 517–519.

b. al-‘Abbās⁶⁴⁸. But it is not clear that the ‘Abbāsids initially intended to say that Abū Hāshim (or necessarily even Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya) had literally been the Imām. After all, they did not think that the *waṣīyya* made Muḥammad b. ‘Alī into the Imām either; they held that the first ‘Abbāsīd Imām was his son, the so-called Ibrāhīm al-Imām⁶⁴⁹. The original idea thus seems, rather, to have been that the ‘Abbāsids had, by means of the *waṣīyya*, inherited ‘Alī’s *rights* to the Imāmate, making their *de facto* possession of the office at least as legitimate as that of any ‘Alid would have been. With this line of argumentation, they were essentially relying on the same concept of ‘Alid legitimacy as invoked by Zayd b. ‘Alī and, later, Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh. It was just that—as non-‘Alids—the ‘Abbāsids could only do so by employing the mechanism of a testamentary bequest from an ‘Alid⁶⁵⁰.

⁶⁴⁸ See p. 519–527. Also *TG*.I:304, n.3.

⁶⁴⁹ *Fir*.42:16–17; Crone 2004:87. Ibrāhīm was probably seen as the first ‘Abbāsīd Imām because it was only after Abū Muslim’s takeover, and thus after Muḥammad b. ‘Alī was already dead, that the Hāshimīyya organization in Khurasan established a close connection with the ‘Abbāsids at all. This is a point on which all sides in the debate over the history of the revolution essentially agree, although they differ over the depth and breadth of the commitment to Ibrāhīm within the organization after this point and whether he exercised any real leadership function. Compare, for example, Sharon 1983:199 with Agha 2003:67–72.

⁶⁵⁰ Crone 2004:90–91. Whether they *also* had recourse to the notion of the wider rights of Banū Hāshim to the Imāmate, as argued, e.g., by Madelung 1989, is a separate question. It is the character of the specifically *waṣīyya*-based argument that is at stake here, and that must depend on the idea that the ‘Alids in particular had special rights to the Imāmate. Later reports, inspired by—or functioning as—‘Abbāsīd propaganda, do sometimes refer to Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya, Abū Hāshim, and Muḥammad b. ‘Alī explicitly as Imāms (see p. 526–527). But such a construct could not have been designed to appeal to the Shī’a generally in the early second century, as the idea of a “passive” Imāmate by direct inheritance would have been alien to most of them. Moreover, if the ‘Abbāsids had really asserted from the beginning that there had been an unbroken line of Imāms-by-inheritance from ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib to Muḥammad b. ‘Alī, they would not have been vulnerable to the kind of arguments made by Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan in his letter to Manṣūr (*Ṭab*. III:209:9–211:5). Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh was able to argue that the mere *waṣīyya* of Abū Hāshim was not enough to alienate the other descendants of ‘Alī, and especially those also of Fāṭima, from inheriting ‘Alī’s rights ahead of the ‘Abbāsids. That would have been *non sequitur* if the ‘Abbāsīd claim had been built on the much narrower assertion that the Imāmate had literally been held by Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya, then Abu Hāshim, then passed to Muḥammad b. ‘Alī by a *waṣīyya*. Manṣūr could just have insisted on the specific line and on the legitimacy of *waṣīyya* as the means for appointing an Imām (see p. 521–527). Instead, the ‘Abbāsids were forced to accept the strength of the ‘Alid argument on this point. They thus changed tack and tried to claim that ‘Abbās b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib had inherited the Imāmate from the Prophet directly, and that it had then been passed down the ‘Abbāsīd line until Saffāh was declared caliph, cutting out the troublesome issue of the inheritance from ‘Alī (see Tor 2019). This latter doctrine came closer to the idea of a direct inheritance, but it emerged much later and was anyway merely a *post hoc* justification for the fact of their current power. Cf. Crone 2004:92–93 and *TG*.III:17–18.

The kind of belief in a hereditary Imāmate that underwrites the *iftirāq*-schema, however, is something more than this. It requires that every claim to the Imāmate be based on a single, continuous line of Imāms, each recognized as such by his followers following the death of the previous Imām, going back to ‘Alī. This is the doctrine of the Ḥusaynid-Imāmiyya⁶⁵¹. When it emerged is notoriously difficult to determine. It was not the majority position of Bāqir’s Kufan disciples by his death, but there cannot have been many followers of Mūsā al-Kāzim who didn’t subscribe to it in some sense⁶⁵². Both Q_1 and Q_2 were thus written after it had become well established. The belief was made possible because the followers of the Ḥusaynid Imāms had embraced a notion of the Imāmate largely shorn of any immediate political dimensions. In their view, the Imām was essentially, rather, the dispenser of authoritative, sacred knowledge, the perfect transmitter and interpreter of Muḥammad’s message to those Muslims who acknowledged him. Following him guaranteed that one belonged to the community of salvation, regardless of his political impotence amongst the wider Muslim Community. They still held that their line of hereditary, Ḥusaynid Imāms *should* also have fulfilled the political functions of the office from the beginning, but they considered them no less Imāms because they had not done so⁶⁵³. This image of an Imām was probably enabled by the scholarly acumen and spiritual attitude of Muḥammad al-Bāqir and, above all, Ja‘far al-Šādiq⁶⁵⁴. For that reason, when the succession to Ja‘far was disputed, it was essential foremost to test the *knowledge* of the claimants⁶⁵⁵. In any case, this model is what allowed the Ḥusaynid-Imāmiyya to acknowledge the present (i.e., Mūsā al-Kāzim) and earlier (i.e., ‘Alī Zayn al-‘Ābidīn) members of the relevant Ḥusaynid line as truly Imāms even though they obviously did not hold the office according to the prevailing contemporary concept of the Imāmate within the Muslim Community more broadly.

It is not completely inconceivable that the *iftirāq*-schema could have been constructed by an outsider, someone who wished to map the relationship between the

651 Crone 2004:82–83, 110–111.

652 Madelung 1965:44,46; *TG.I*:259; Crone 2004:112–118. Lalani 2000:77–78 sees Bāqir as “trying to bring some order to the muddled confused and chaotic ideas of the imamate” by insisting on the concept of “hereditary *naṣṣ*”, although she expresses uncertainty about the authenticity of the traditions on which she relies in order to establish Bāqir’s position. Part of the problem here is the term *naṣṣ* itself, which was probably introduced to the conceptual vocabulary surrounding the doctrine of the Imāmate only much later. See p. 549–550.

653 Crone 2004:110–111.

654 *Ibid.*:111–114; *TG.I*:274–275. Both also stress that the image of the Imām current amongst the Ghulāt—essentially as a vessel of divine knowledge or some spark of the divine being itself—probably played a role. That this was the essence of original Imāmi belief is most forcefully argued by Amir-Moezzi 1994.

655 See p. 628 esp n.1040.

various groups that believed in a hereditary Imāmate in accordance with their own claims. But it is questionable, first, whether anyone who did not adhere to the doctrine would have wanted to do this in such detail, and second, whether they would have gone to the effort of using the strict hereditary principle of the Ḥusaynid-Imāmiyya to devise such an elaborate schema for the ordering of so many disparate factions, not all of which really made hereditary claims. As we will see, that effort was not small. More importantly, the schema is not a neutral overview of such factions. It is, rather, a specific schematization of the history of the Imāmate from the point of view of someone loyal to the line of the Ḥusaynid Imāms through 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn, Muḥammad al-Bāqir and Ja'far al-Šādiq. It is to this central line that the schema returns after its various detours, and it finishes up with it as its only remaining focus. All other lines—including the large “Kaysānī” branch, which notably contains the 'Abbāsids—are effectively presented as aberrational offshoots. The *iftirāq*-schema is, so to speak, Ḥusaynid-Imāmī normative in structure.

A specific example of this Ḥusaynid-Imāmī perspective is the treatment of Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan. He is, in a way, the exception that proves the rule, as alone amongst the Imāms of the *iftirāq*-schema, neither is he said to have claimed he inherited the Imāmate from the Imām whose death results in the *iftirāq*-cluster in which he appears (Muḥammad al-Bāqir), nor are his supporters said to have claimed this about him. Yet, structurally, the schema still treats him as if he/they had made such a claim.

Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh rebelled against the 'Abbāsids in 145/762, claiming the Imāmate for himself based on his hereditary rights to the office as the senior candidate of the senior Fāṭimid-'Alid line, i.e., the Ḥasanids⁶⁵⁶. The *iftirāq*-schema, however, presents him in the post-Bāqir *iftirāq*-cluster as one of two figures who claimed the Imāmate after Muḥammad al-Bāqir's death in 117/735 (or 114/732). The other claimant is Bāqir's son, Ja'far al-Šādiq⁶⁵⁷. It is not stated that Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh or his followers alleged that Bāqir had somehow passed the Imāmate to him; the basis of his claim is simply glossed over in silence. But the cluster still depicts him as if he were merely a pretender who claimed the Imāmate when Bāqir died, and that his following came about only because Bāqir's supporters split in that moment. He is thus treated precisely as if he were a candidate in a succession dispute, just like all the other “Imāms” in the schema. In reality, those who had been associated with Bāqir were an incidental part of the Ḥasanid's support-base, and Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh's claim to the Imāmate had nothing in particular to

656 On Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh and his rebellion generally, see Elad 2016. On his claims specifically, see Tor 2019:215–217.

657 See *Tab.*43.

do with Bāqir's death, which happened nearly thirty years before his rebellion⁶⁵⁸. The schema, however, depicts the history of claims to the Imāmate fundamentally in relation to the succession through the Ḥusaynid line. Thus, Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh's rebellion, a complex and historically significant event for the Shī'a and wider Islamic society in itself, becomes merely one more diversion in the line of inheritance of the Imāmate away from its 'true' Ḥusaynid course. Only a Ḥusaynid-Imāmī could have portrayed things this way. Notably, the coterminous rebellion of Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh's brother Ibrāhīm, the later rebellion of his brother Yaḥyā in Daylam, and the successful founding of a dynasty in the Maghreb by his brother Idrīs are completely ignored schematically. This also has something to do with the Kufan focus of the schema.

The perspective offered by the post-Bāqir cluster is important for another reason: its anachronous construction has implications for the date of the schema's composition. Of course, we know already that Q_1 cannot have been composed before Mūsā al-Kāẓim's death in 183/799. But that does not necessarily date the composition of the entire schema. In theory, any cluster could have been added after the death of the relevant Imām. After all, that is precisely what we see in the relationship between Q_1 and Q_2 ; the main structural change in the latter is the addition of the post-'Alī al-Riḍā cluster to a schema that previously ended with the post-Mūsā cluster⁶⁵⁹. Thus, it is conceivable that the author of Q_1 added the post-Mūsā cluster to an earlier schema that ended with the post-Ja'far cluster and so on⁶⁶⁰. But this process cannot be pushed back indefinitely. As we will see, there was a moment in which the "core" of the early clusters of the schema witnessed for Q_1 must have been constructed together, i.e., there was some kind of "*ur*-schema". And this *ur*-schema can only have been composed, at the very earliest, shortly before Ja'far al-Šādiq's death, most likely somewhat later⁶⁶¹.

It is the post-Bāqir cluster that provides the first clue. It does not depict any of Bāqir's brothers or sons other than Ja'far to have been considered candidates for the Imāmate after Bāqir's death. That means there is only a post-Bāqir cluster at all because of the presence of Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh as Ja'far's sole rival. Otherwise, Bāqir's death, like the deaths of Ḥasan b. 'Alī and 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn before

⁶⁵⁸ On the composition of Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh's support, see in particular Elad 2016:233–361.

⁶⁵⁹ See p. 533–536.

⁶⁶⁰ Of course, someone could also have added more than one cluster at once. For the reasons why the presence of the Shumayṭiyya does not allow us to date the post-Šādiq cluster to later than the rebellion of Abu l-Sarāya in 200–201/815–816, see p. 308 n.323.

⁶⁶¹ The *ur*-schema itself could certainly still have been inspired by earlier models, including oral models. The point, however is the date when the original core of *this* specific schema found in Q_1 and Q_2 was constructed.

him, simply would not have produced a cluster. Yet the decision to depict Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh as *the* alternative candidate for the Imāmate upon Bāqir's death, and thus to form such a cluster in the first place, can only have made sense from a much later perspective.

Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh did not lay claim to the Imāmate when Bāqir died. His father, 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan, only began to promote the idea of Muḥammad's Imāmate later, perhaps only in the 'Abbāsīd period, i.e., from 132/750 on, or slightly before⁶⁶². In 117/735, 'Abd Allāh himself was the most senior Ḥasanid, considered himself to be the leader of the 'Alid house and of the Banū Hāshim more broadly, and still probably entertained hopes that he might seize the caliphate for himself⁶⁶³. Indeed, immediately after Bāqir's death, those who longed for 'Alid rule were primarily looking elsewhere entirely, to Bāqir's much more activist half-brother, Zayd b. 'Alī, who launched his disastrous rebellion in 122/740. If anything, then, Zayd was the foremost challenger to his much younger nephew, Ja'far, in that moment. In reality, many probably began to look to Ja'far as the next 'Alid leader only sometime after Zayd's rebellion had failed, perhaps initially hoping for greater political success with Ja'far, or else because the model of the politically quietist Imām-as-dispenser-of-salvific-knowledge that he and his father could be seen to embody began to appeal against the tumultuous background of failed rebellions and usurped revolutions that obtained for the rest of his life⁶⁶⁴. In any case, a post-Bāqir cluster in which Zayd was the alternative to Ṣādiq would have made far more sense as a schematization of the immediate post-Bāqir moment. Yet the *iftirāq*-schema of Q_1 and Q_2 completely ignores Zayd (and his important son, Yaḥyā).

Admittedly, there could be a doctrinal reason for omitting Zayd from the schema: the name 'Zaydiyya' became associated with those who held that any Fāṭimid-'Alid could become Imām through his active attempt to gain political power, as long as he met certain other conditions⁶⁶⁵. That might have made it too obvious that Zayd was not claiming to have succeeded his brother (or their father, 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn) by direct inheritance. But Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan, whose Kufan support was also mostly Zaydī, was no different in the key respect: he wasn't claiming succession through Bāqir or Zayn al-'Ābidīn either. In fact, as a Ḥasanid, and with the awkward chronological gap, he was potentially much harder to inte-

662 Elad 2016: 54–7; *TG.I*:311–2.

663 Elad 2016: 54–7; 425–464. As Elad discusses, there are plenty of reports of rivalry between the Ḥusaynid and Ḥasanid branches in this period, but the main actors are always Ja'far al-Ṣādiq and 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan as their respective heads. This is true even when 'Abd Allāh is later advocating for his son's Imāmate.

664 *TG.I*:259; Crone 2004:115–118.

665 See *Tab.*49, and generally *EF*². "Zaydiyya" [Madelung]; Madelung 1965:44–54; Haider 2011a:17–23

grate into the schema than Zayd would have been. Yet he *does* appear, and as the only alternative to Ṣādiq after Bāqir. That can only reasonably be explained if we assume the post-Bāqir cluster reflects not the situation immediately after Bāqir's death, but a much later period, in which Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh, not Zayd, was perceived to have been Ja'far's primary rival for the Imāmate.

That situation arose after the victorious Hāshimiyya movement, effectively led by Abū Muslim, had installed the 'Abbāsīd caliph Saffāh in 132/749, and particularly after he was succeeded by his brother Maṣūr in 136/754. There had been a strong preference for an 'Alid Imām amongst the leadership of the Kufan Hāshimiyya and perhaps amongst the Shī'a generally, at least in Kufa and probably also in the east⁶⁶⁶. The installation of Saffāh had already disappointed these hopes, and the succession of Maṣūr brought things to a head, as it made it clear this was not going to be the hoped-for Imāmate of Banū Hāshim with the 'Alids in the foreground, but an Imāmate of 'Abbāsīd dynastic rule⁶⁶⁷. Those who did not acquiesce to the new situation effectively then had two main options: the "activist" response of the emerging Ḥasanid candidate, Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan; or the "pacifist" response of the most senior Ḥusaynid, Ja'far al-Ṣādiq. Ja'far, like his father, was a prominent scholar and teacher, but he was also proving to be as politically passive as Bāqir had been. Thus, those who looked to him as Imām after the 'Abbāsīd revolution increasingly had to subscribe to the concept of the Imām as primarily a dispenser of authoritative, sacred knowledge. They transformed any remaining political ambition into eschatological hope for the future hour when 'Alid fortunes would be restored⁶⁶⁸. Those who wanted concrete action in the present looked instead to the Ḥasanids and supported Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh. It was thus in this period and afterwards that the increasingly self-conscious Ḥusaynid-Imāmiyya in Kufa would have perceived the latter as *the* 'Alid rival to Ja'far.

Still, it would not have made sense to depict Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh as a claimant to the Imāmate until he had actually rebelled and made that claim real. Otherwise, he would just have been another senior Ḥasanid with unfulfilled ambitions, like his father. The rebellion took place only three years before Ja'far's death in 148/765. The structure of the post-Bāqir cluster thus indicates that it was formulated, *at the very earliest*, in the last three years of Ja'far's life, but more likely some time after his death.

666 On the attitude of the leadership of the Kufan Hāshimiyya, see Crone 1989:99–106; Agha 2003:105–106, 120–135; Crone 2004:89–91. On specifically 'Alid sympathies in Kufa generally, see the traditions cited at Sharon 1983:51–52. On support for the 'Alids in Khurasan, typified by the widespread sympathy for Zayd b. 'Alī then Yahyā b. Zayd, see Sharon 1983:175–178; Agha 2003:31–33.

667 Crone 2004:89–90.

668 *Ibid.* 112–114.

That is certainly true of the faction-description of Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh's supporters present already in *Q₁*, as it mentioned his death and the fact that some people denied it, holding him to be the Mahdī in hiding on a mountain in the Ḥijāz⁶⁶⁹. The latter element of this belief, in particular, must have taken some time to settle. The description refers to Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh's supporters as the Mughīriyya, named after their eponymous leader, Mughīra b. Sa'īd, otherwise famous for his esoteric *ghuluww*⁶⁷⁰. In one sense, that at least provides something of a chronological bridge. Mughīra really was, for his part, a disciple of Bāqir⁶⁷¹. He was executed in 119/737 following a failed rebellion outside Kufa, i.e., probably only two years after Bāqir's own death, but it seems a group still bearing his name later supported Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh. This too is a clue to the schema's provenance. Support for Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh's rebellion was certainly not restricted to those who would have identified as Shī'ī or to Kufa⁶⁷². But only there could the idea of referring to his supporters *tout court* as the Mughīriyya have arisen. The latter were a phenomenon restricted to that city and its *sawād*. Even in Kufa, they were not the main location of support for Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh; many people whom our sources would identify as Zaydī supported the rebellion. But it probably suited the later Ḥusaynid-Imāmiyya to delegitimize the Ḥasanid's claims and to smear his Kufan followers by associating support for him exclusively with the followers of a notorious *ghālī*⁶⁷³. Once again, the perspective of the schema is laid bare here.

The artificiality of the post-Bāqir cluster and its anachronous chronological horizon wouldn't be so significant if there were anything much on Ḥusaynid factions before it in the *iftirāq*-schema, but there isn't. There is no post-'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn cluster, and the post Ḥusayn-cluster serves only to introduce Muḥammad

669 See *Tab.24* and *Tab.38*.

670 See *EF*³. "al-Mughīriyya" [Weaver].

671 *AnsābB.VIb.179:2–4*; *Fir.54:13–14*; *Mugh.XX₂:179:3*. In both Imāmī and non-Imāmī sources, Bāqir and Ṣādiq denounce Mughīra and the false *ḥadīth* he spread in al-Bāqir's name (*AnsābB. II:497:5*; *AnsābB.VIb.179:3–4*, 180:6–181:2; DhahAbī, *Mizān*, IV:491:9–10; *RijālK.223:6–228:14*). This would have been unnecessary if Mughīra and/or his supporters had not asserted the link.

672 See n.658.

673 On Zaydī support for Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh, see Elad 2016:46–47, which notes that the Kufan Zaydiyya come to much greater prominence in the sources in connection with the rebellion of Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd Allāh. But this is only because they weren't involved in the fighting in Medina, as Kufa had been locked down. Presumably, they had been sympathetic to Muḥammad's cause, too. The name "Mughīriyya" applied in this fashion stuck amongst Imāmiyya. It is used, for example, by Ibn Qība al-Rāzī (active late second to early third centuries) in this sense (Modarressi 1993:174, 206). Ibn Qība also states that the Mughīriyya falsely believe that the Imāms have knowledge of the unseen (*Ibid.181:216*). It is not used by non-Imāmī authors to refer to Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh's supporters except in works that draw ultimately on the *iftirāq*-schema.

b. al-Ḥanafīyya as the alternative to Zayn al-‘Ābidīn and thus to initiate the large Kaysānī branch. There is no post-Ḥasan cluster, and the post-‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib cluster has only two factions witnessed for *Q*₁: those who followed Ḥasan then Ḥusayn; and the Saba’iyya, who denied ‘Alī’s death⁶⁷⁴. Thus, the substance of the *iftirāq* connected with the Ḥusaynid Imāms *begins* with the post-Bāqir cluster, and this cluster is already written from a perspective that probably doesn’t pre-date Ja‘far’s death. Indeed, without the post-Bāqir cluster (and those that follow it), the *iftirāq*-schema would essentially just be an Imāmī representation of the history of the Kaysāniyya and the emergence of the ‘Abbāsids from them. Once the post-Bāqir cluster is in place, however, it provides a way to situate the three players who, from a Ḥusaynid-Imāmī perspective, were the major contenders for the Imāmate in the mid-second century, namely the ‘Abbāsids, the Ḥasanids (i.e., Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh), and the Ḥusaynids (i.e., Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq). At least the post-Bāqir cluster must have been in place in the *ur*-schema in order for it to have made much sense.

But what about the post-Ja‘far cluster [*Nih.*46:13–47:10; *Fir.*57:3–67:7; *Mugh.* XX₂:179:18–181:5]: must it too have belonged to the *ur*-schema, or could it have been added later? Notably, it differs substantially from the post-Bāqir cluster in several ways. First, there is its size. Its six factions make it far larger than any of the previous clusters, most of which have only two⁶⁷⁵. Second, it depicts a succession crisis that genuinely unfolded in the years immediately after the Imām’s passing. It was widely believed that Ja‘far had nominated his son Ismā‘īl to succeed him, but Ismā‘īl died before Ja‘far himself. Some people refused to believe that Ismā‘īl had truly died and continued to look to him even after Ja‘far’s death. Most people instead held that the Imāmate went to ‘Abd Allāh because he was the eldest living son, but he died within three months of Ja‘far, leaving no male offspring. The Imāmate then went to Mūsā b. Ja‘far, but some people looked instead to Ismā‘īl’s son, Muḥammad, or to Ja‘far’s youngest son, also called Muḥammad, or else they held out messianic hopes for Ja‘far himself, claiming he had not really died. Amongst the majority who came to accept Mūsā’s Imāmate, the controversy over whether ‘Abd Allāh had been a true Imām or not continued for generations⁶⁷⁶. In focussing on this situation, the cluster displays none of the post-Bāqir cluster’s awkward anachronism. Third, the post-Ja‘far cluster neatly schematizes all of this and provides the kind of detail not given in previous clusters: we have the names of the scholars who led the support

674 See *Tab.*43, p. 477. *Q*₂ had a third faction (see *Tab.*44, p. 479): those who followed Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya immediately after ‘Alī’s death (*Fir.*20:10–21:8; *Mugh.*XX₂:176:18–19). On them, see p. 539–541.

675 If we look at the factions confirmed for *Q*₁, all previous clusters have only two (See *Tab.*43, p. 477.). In *Q*₂ the post-Abū Hāshim, has four factions and the post-‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib had three (See *Tab.*44, p. 479).

676 On all these events, see Modarressi 1993:53–60; also here, p. 627–630.

for each of the possible positions⁶⁷⁷. Fourth, this entails a major change of focus: for the first time in the *iftirāq*-schema, we are looking at splits that genuinely took place solely *amongst* the people who had supported the now-dead Imām, i.e., *within* the Ḥusaynid-Imāmiyya who had followed Ja'far. It is not just an attempt to render things as if they happened that way, as we see with the post-Bāqir cluster. It is also thus the first place that the succession-crisis-oriented *iftirāq*-schema seems convincingly to refer to a real historical situation that occurred after an Imām's death, rather than merely to provide an abstract schematization of wider historical events.

There are different ways to interpret this situation. It may be that the post-Ja'far succession crisis was the inspiration for the whole model of the *iftirāq*-schema. Perhaps it was first amongst the post-Ja'far Ḥusaynid-Imāmiyya—who had both embraced the doctrine of the continuous hereditary Imāmate *and* been sensitized to the possibility that their small community could split viciously upon the deaths of its Imāms over the succession—that the idea of capturing the whole history of the Imāmate in this way would have appealed in the first place. We would then have to assume that the earlier clusters, which are more anachronous and far more abstractly representative of real historical circumstances, were put together in an attempt to make everything fit the model of the post-Ja'far-cluster. The other option is that the *ur*-schema had the original purpose described above: to place the 'Ab-bāsid and Ḥasanid claims in relation to the true, Ḥusaynid line represented by the person of Ja'far. The far narrower scope of the post-Ja'far cluster would then have arisen because it is a later addition that built on the original schema but from a slightly different perspective, still Ḥusaynid-Imāmi but now much more 'local' and 'internal' in its concerns. We do not have any evidence to adjudicate between these options. All we can say is that, after the post-Bāqir cluster, it is *possible* that we are dealing with material that was added to a pre-existing schema. Before that, it is hard to see how any clusters could be taken away and still leave something meaningful.

In any case, by the time we get to *Q*₁, not only was the post-Ja'far cluster in place but also the post-Mūsā cluster [*Niḥ.*47:11–48:2; *Fir.*67:7–70:4; *Mugh.*XX₂:181:6–11]. The latter does not exactly depict a succession dispute, but rather the controversy between the Wāqifa, who considered Mūsā al-Kāzīm the last Imām and the Mahdī and denied his death, and the Qaṭ'iyya, who affirmed it and followed his son, 'Alī al-Riḍā⁶⁷⁸. As has been discussed previously, this cluster was probably formulated under Riḍā's Imāmate or not long after, as it also gives a significant place to a third faction: the agnostics, those who embraced a position of indecision on the matter

677 See *Tab.*18 for a summary of the cluster's contents.

678 On the events, see Modarressi 1993:60–62; *TG*.III:95–98; Buyukkara 2000.

until Mūsā's death or Riḍā's Imāmate were satisfactorily confirmed. This reflects the fact that people were genuinely left uncertain because of the murky circumstances of Mūsā's unconfirmed death under house arrest, but the fact the agnostics are present suggests the cluster was constructed whilst the memory of the original uncertainty was still fresh enough not to have been schematized away⁶⁷⁹.

It is possible that the post-Mūsā cluster was added to a schema that already contained the post-Ja'far cluster (whether itself as part of the *ur*-schema or an intermediary addition) or that both were added at the same moment by the author of *Q*₁. We also can't exclude the possibility that the post-Mūsā cluster itself was part of the *ur*-schema, and that *Q*₁ thus contained the 'original' version of the whole construct, but it is somewhat less likely. The broader perspective that characterizes the schema as far as the post-Bāqir cluster has obviously not been carried through into the post-Mūsā period. There is, for example, no attempt in *Q*₁ to form a branch of the schema tracing the developments amongst the group who had followed Ismā'il's son, Muḥammad. Nor is there anything on the later succession disputes amongst the 'Abbāsids. The internal disputes of the Ḥusaynid-Imāmiyya who had followed Mūsā are the only contemporary focus. That is true of the post-Ja'far cluster too, but in the post-Ja'far moment, one might have taken inspiration from the ongoing crisis to form a succession-dispute-based family tree of factions that, in the near-term, kept the 'internal' post-Ja'far disputes in the foreground but also traced the splits all the way back to 'Alī's death and thus allowed the ordering 'Abbāsīd and Ḥasanīd claims in relation to the Ḥusaynid line too. But if a schema that had this much breadth and depth up to the post-Bāqir cluster had only been conceived for the first time late enough to have the post-Mūsā cluster already in place, we would have expected the wider field of vision of the pre-Ja'far clusters to continue later than it does.

So far, we have discussed only the clusters concerned with the deaths of the Ḥusaynid Imāms from Bāqir onwards in detail. There is, however, another major focus to the *iftirāq*-schema: the large "Kaysānī" branch that is initiated in the post-Ḥusayn cluster, where Ḥusayn's supporters are said to have split into two factions after his death: one faction follows Ḥusayn's surviving son, 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn; the other follows Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya, a non-Fāṭimid son of 'Alī. In both *Q*₁ and *Q*₂, the latter faction was labelled "the Kaysāniyya" [*Niḥ*.24:18–25:6; *Mugh*.XX₂:179:19–177:3; cf. *Fir*.23:16–24:2, where the name is not used]. The later heresiographers, most notably Ash'arī, sometimes use this name also as a super-category

679 p. 442–443.

for the numerous factions that descend from them in the subsequent moments of *iftirāq*, but this seems to have little to do with earlier usage⁶⁸⁰.

The post-Ḥusayn cluster itself is a retrospective schematization of events constructed from a Ḥusaynid-Imāmī perspective and implemented in accordance with the general operative logic of the *iftirāq*-schema: it implies that Ḥusayn was recognized as an Imām by a well-defined faction of supporters from Ḥasan's death until his own⁶⁸¹ and that that 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn was similarly recognized immediately after Ḥusayn's death⁶⁸². None of this is especially remarkable given the schema's

680 See p. 558, p. 748–749.

681 The earliest historiography generally fails to support the idea that Ḥusayn was seen as an Imām during his lifetime. Ḥasan, who had ruled for six to seven months after 'Alī's death, had given up his claim to the Imāmate, exchanging it in a treaty for the sake of peace and a generous stipend from Mu'āwiya (r.41–60/661–680) (see *EL*, “Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭāleb” [Madelung], also Madelung 1997:311–333). Famously, Hujr b. 'Adī, a loyal supporter of 'Alī who had assembled the Iraqi army to resist Mu'āwiya's assault, then denounced Ḥasan, seeing the treaty as a denigration of the believers who were prepared to fight on his behalf. He clearly did not view Ḥasan as immutably the Imām (Anthony 2012:254–255; *EF* “Hujr b. 'Adī l-Kindī” [Madelung]). Ḥusayn was also against the treaty from the start but he upheld it not just until Ḥasan's death in 50/670, but until Mu'āwiya's own death, ten years later. He apparently made no claim on the Imāmate at all before that point. Once Mu'āwiya died, however, Ḥusayn and many other prominent figures, most importantly Ibn al-Zubayr (d.72–3/691–2), refused to pledge allegiance to Mu'āwiya's nominated successor, his son Yazīd (r.60–64/680–683). Encouraged by key partisans of the old *shī'at 'Alī* in Kufa, Ḥusayn was now convinced to make his own bid. They invited him to come to the city, where the idea was to overthrow the governor, then to give Ḥusayn their *bay'a*, but he was killed on the way (*EL*, “Ḥusayn b. 'Alī, i. Life and significance in Shī'ism” [Madelung]; *EF* “al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib” [Haider]). He thus failed to attain the Imāmate according to the understanding that seems to have been current amongst the *shī'at 'Alī* (and the rest of the Muslim Community) at that time.

682 After Ḥusayn's death, the available evidence indicates that the *shī'at 'Alī* did not look to 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn as a candidate for the Imāmate even in the way they had for his father (Madelung 1965:46; Nagel 1975:168–169; *TG*.I:304). He was at most only a young man, and he conspicuously adopted a quietist political attitude, trying to maintain good relations with both the Umayyads and Zubayrids (*EF* “Zayn al-'Ābidīn” [Kohlberg]; *EL*, “'Alī b. Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭāleb” [Madelung]. His date of birth is commonly given as 38/658, but, as we have seen, it is sometimes even claimed he was still a child when Ḥusayn died. See p. 444 esp. 525). He was not a renowned scholar either. The Imāmiyya preserve relatively few *ḥadīth* from him, and the Zaydiyya still fewer, although there is a memory of his extreme piety. Even the Imāmī sources attribute him only a tiny following and strongly imply that Bāqir was the first Ḥusaynid to attract a significant following in Kufa (Dakake 2007:72, esp. n.2, citing *Rijāl*K.115:14–18, which claims 'Alī b. Ḥusayn had only five followers ‘at the beginning’ (*fi awal al-amr*). See also Nagel 1975:168–169 for Imāmī traditions that effectively attribute the origins of the school to Bāqir). It is likely he became seen as an Imām at all only long after his death, once the Ḥusaynid-Imāmiyya began to adopt the concept of the hereditary Ḥusaynid Imāmate; he was the necessary link

origins; more interesting are the schematic effects on the depiction of the faction known as the Kaysāniyya.

Once Ḥusayn was killed, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya was the most senior living ‘Alid⁶⁸³. But he did not actively seek the Imāmate for himself⁶⁸⁴. Nor apparently did anyone consider him a candidate until Mukhtār began his Kufan rebellion in Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya’s name five years later, in 66/685⁶⁸⁵. Rather, the city saw the activities of Sulaymān b. Ṣurad (d.65/684) and the ‘Penitents’ (*tawābbūn*), who sought to make amends for their failure to aid Ḥusayn at Karbalā’ by waging a suicidal campaign against the Umayyad governor in Iraq, ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād (d.67/687)⁶⁸⁶. But they did not claim to fight on behalf of any specific candidate for the Imāmate, so the *iftirāq*-schema naturally ignores them. Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya, resident throughout in the far-off Ḥijāz, was not responsible for inciting Mukhtār’s rebellion and was, at best, ambivalent about it in the year and a half before it was crushed by Muṣ‘ab b. al-Zubayr (d. 72/691) in 67/687⁶⁸⁷. Amongst the old *shī‘at ‘Alī* in the former imperial capital, however, it seems hope for the restoration of ‘Alid rule, bitter regret at what had happened to Ḥusayn, and guilt over their failure to support him combined to make Mukhtār’s claims to be working on Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya’s behalf highly appealing⁶⁸⁸. When the revolt initially met with success, many of them (although by no means all) put their hopes in Mukhtār and his “Imām”⁶⁸⁹. There was no other credible ‘Alid candidate available in that moment.

in the chain between Ḥusayn and Muḥammad al-Bāqir (Madelung 1965:46; Nagel 1975:168–169; *TG*.I:304).

683 See al-Qāḍī 1974:77–82 on his prominence amongst the ‘Alids.

684 al-Qāḍī 1974:72; *EF*². “Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya” [Buhl]; EI, “Kaysāniya” [Anthony]; Anthony 2012:259.

685 On Mukhtār’s rebellion, see al-Qāḍī 1974:72–136; *EL*₂. “al-Mukhtār b. Abī ‘Ubayd” [Hawting]; *EL*₃. “al-Mukhtār b. Abī ‘Ubayd” [Haider]. For an overview of the various streams of historiography, see Haider 2019:26–114.

686 On the *tawwābūn*, see Hawting 1994; Dakake 2007:90–95; Hylén 2018b. The sources are unanimous that no one in Kufa was looking to Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya as a candidate for the Imāmate before Mukhtār began his activities in Kufa (see al-Qāḍī 1974:72). Initially many rejected him, choosing to stick with Sulaymān b. Ṣurad, even though the latter was promoting no candidate for the Imāmate at all.

687 al-Qāḍī 1974:91–118; Anthony 2012:259.

688 al-Qāḍī 1974: 118–121; Anthony 2012:256–260.

689 Although he clearly had significant support in Kufa, many were sceptical of Mukhtār’s claims to be working on Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya’s behalf. This was true even of his top general, Ibn al-Ashtar (d.72/691). (al-Qāḍī 1974:65–67; *EF*³. “Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar” [Elton Daniel]; Anthony 2012:269, esp.n.87). Numerous economic, social and political factors led to support for Mukhtār’s movement. Many followed him because their tribal leaders had pledged support. Ideological commitment may not always have been the decisive factor, although they often also went together

The faction-description in *Q₁* acknowledges the vital role of Mukhtār's revolt in promoting Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya as a potential Imām [*Niḥ*.24:21–25:7; *Fir*.20:12–21:8; *Mugh*.XX₂.177:1–3]. But the implication of the cluster's structure—that support for Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya arose due to a split amongst Ḥusayn's supporters after his death—would have made no sense to Mukhtār's Kufan base. Certainly, many, perhaps most, of those who had hoped Ḥusayn would rise up and claim the Imāmate now looked to Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya, at least during the revolt itself. They did not, however, see Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya as having the right to claim the Imāmate because of a succession from Ḥusayn, but rather because he was the senior living son of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, the man who had been the last legitimate Imām of the Muslim Community in their eyes⁶⁹⁰. Of course, even Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya's perceived right to claim the Imāmate would not have been enough alone for them to have considered him to *be* the Imām. No one had done so in the five years between Ḥusayn's death and Mukhtār's revolt. The change only occurred because Mukhtār's temporary victories made Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya into a viable 'Alid candidate, the only such in the face of the more powerful Zubayrids and Umayyads. Yet the schema typically obscures all this, rendering it as if those who supported Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya believed already in a hereditary Imāmate, such that the main question was the succession to Ḥusayn, and they simply chose Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya rather than Zayn al-'Ābidīn.

After the post-Ḥusayn cluster, we move to the post-Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya cluster, where the Kaysāniyya are depicted to split in two: one faction (sometimes called the Karībiyya) denies Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya's death and claims him to be the Mahdī in hiding at Raḍwā; the other affirms his death and believes the Imamate passed to his son, Abū Hāshim [*Niḥ*.26:8–30:12; *Fir*.26:3–27:13; *Mugh*.XX₂.177:4–9]. It is notoriously difficult to reconstruct the political and doctrinal developments amongst the Shī'a in the decades after Mukhtār's revolt, and this impairs our ability to determine the perspective of the schematization at work in the cluster. Indeed, the *ift-irāq*-schema itself now comes to the fore as one of the principal sources that is used to establish the history of the period at all, especially as far as Kaysāni circles are concerned. But precisely for that reason, it remains worth exploring how the sche-

(al-Qāḍī 1974:129–136). Other people were or became openly hostile. That most notably included large swathes of the Kufan *ashraf*, some of whom had earlier been sympathetic to the causes of Ḥusayn and Sulyamān b. Ṣurad (Anthony 20012:264–265). However, if Sha'bī's eventual rejection of Mukhtār, after initially appearing supportive (al-Qāḍī 1974:91, 113, 126), is representative of the attitude of the 'softer' wing of the *shī'at 'Alī* more generally, then Mukhtār (and Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya) may have enjoyed less depth of ideological support in Kufa than is sometimes assumed.

⁶⁹⁰ al-Qāḍī 1974:76–77. This is implied in Mukhtār's referring to Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya as *al-mahdī ibn al-waṣṭī* (see also p. 524 n.747, also p. 542 n.798, below).

ma's perspective and operative logic are likely to have affected its portrayal of the factions that emerge in this and the subsequent clusters.

Mukhtār's rebellion was crushed by the Zubayrids in 67/687 and its leader executed. A group managed to escape Kufa and set up an independent city-state in Nisibis, until it was taken by the Umayyads in the mid-70s/690s, but the *iftirāq*-schema says nothing about them⁶⁹¹. In Kufa, the prominent leaders of the revolt were eliminated, but loyalty to the 'Alid cause remained far too deep and widespread simply to snuff out. Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya was still the most senior 'Alid, so presumably many people initially continued to see him as having the greatest claim to the Imāmate⁶⁹². Certainly, the available sources for this period—dominated by those dependent on the *iftirāq*-schema itself—focus mostly on groups that *did* remain committed to Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya's Imāmate. Indeed, it was probably such people—rather than the broad and uneasy coalition of Mukhtār's supporters during the revolt—who first became known as the Kaysāniyya⁶⁹³. But it seems they did not cling tight to Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya because they subscribed to the later Ḥusaynid-Imāmī conception of the hereditary Imāmate with its figure of the Imām as a politically “passive” dispenser of salvific knowledge. Rather, the reason for their enduring hope was that Mukhtār, or perhaps some elements amongst his supporters, had cast Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya as a victorious apocalyptic redeemer: he was the Mahdī, destined to overthrow the hated Zubayrids and Umayyads, and to institute the promised 'Alid theocracy⁶⁹⁴.

This tendency may have been part of the rebellion's undoing, as Mukhtār's pandering to it alienated ever more of his support-base amongst the wider *shī'at 'Alī*⁶⁹⁵. But it had also given it much of its energy, and it generated fervent believers, perhaps especially amongst the lower classes of Kufa and the *sawād*, i.e., the *mawālī*⁶⁹⁶. Despite the failure of the rebellion's promise for an immediate victory, and regardless of what Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya did thereafter, these people continued to believe he was soon to rise up and fulfil their desperate expectations of a “reversal” (*dawla*)⁶⁹⁷. Theirs became a belief in a future deliverance effected essentially by divine forces, no longer a call to concrete action to bring about change in the present⁶⁹⁸. Even after Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya's death in 81/700, some of them maintained their belief, now

691 al-Qāḍī 1974:140–145; Anthony 2012:291–292; ; EI, “Kaysāniya” [Anthony].

692 al-Qāḍī 1974:145–147; Anthony 2012:290–291.

693 al-Qāḍī 1974:146–147; Anthony 2012:291

694 al-Qāḍī 1974:122–125; Anthony 2012:259–260; Hylén 2018a.

695 Anthony 2012:290–291; *EF*. “Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar” [Elton Daniel].

696 al-Qāḍī 1974:118–128; Anthony 2012:264–310.

697 al-Qāḍī 1974:118–128; Anthony 2012:292.

698 al-Qāḍī 1974:146–153.

claiming he had not died but was in hiding in the mountains of Raḍwā. They expectantly awaited his victorious and presumably imminent return⁶⁹⁹. We do not know how widespread this doctrine really was; it apparently dwindled within a generation or two⁷⁰⁰. Nevertheless, it was significant enough to have left traces in the preserved Kaysānī poetry of the decades following Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya's death, principally that of Kuthayyir 'Azza (d.105/723) and the early works of Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī (d.173–179/789–795)⁷⁰¹. Thus, when the post-Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya cluster claims that some of those who believed in his Imāmate denied his death and held him to be the Mahdī in *ghayba* at Raḍwā, it describes a phenomenon that is well corroborated by sources other than those based on the *iftirāq*-schema.

But there are still several issues with the cluster. To begin with, there is the implication that *all* those who had looked to Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya during Mukhtār's revolt would have continued to see him as Imām until his death. That is almost certainly just a by-product of the usual schematic logic. It was the revolt itself that had made Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya into the 'Alid candidate in the chaos of the years after Mu'āwiya. If the Shī'a had referred to him as the Imām in that brief period, then, for many of them, it was in that sense only. It was far from the case that all Mukhtār's supporters had subscribed to the idea that Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya was a Mahdī of the eschatological type, or perhaps of any type at all⁷⁰². Thus, we have to expect that once Mukhtār had failed, many of them acknowledged the obvious reality that Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya had not attained the Imāmate; the only real fight was once again between the Zubayrids and the Umayyads⁷⁰³. Moreover, Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya's behaviour over the next years must have disabused any non-messianists of their last vestiges of hope in him as a candidate. He initially continued to maintain the guarded neutrality between the competing Zubayrid and Umayyad claims on his loyalty that typified the attitude of most of the Banū Hāshim; they made no moves for power themselves⁷⁰⁴. But after the Zubayrids fell in 73/692, he quickly pledged allegiance to 'Abd al-Malik, again like several other prominent members of Banū Hāshim. He

699 *Ibid.*:168–195; Halm 1982:43–55. See also p. 319–320, *Tab.*21, and p. 429, *Tab.*25, also p. 770–701.

700 *Fir.*26:8–9

701 See al-Qāḍī 1974:312–351.

702 Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar, for example, despite commanding Mukhtār's forces to their greatest victories, clearly did not subscribe to this idea. Not only did he doubt that Mukhtār was really working for Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya at all, but as soon as Mukhtār was killed, he pledged allegiance to Muṣ'ab b. Zubayr and was quickly reappointed as governor of Mosul but now working for the Zubayrids. An ideological devotee to Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya's Mahdism he obviously was not. See *EF*³. "Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar" [Elton Daniel].

703 Again, Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar cannot have been alone in quickly accommodating himself to this reality (see previous note).

704 Sharon 1983:111–116; *EF*². "Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya" [Buhl]; *EI*, "Kaysāniya" [Anthony].

visited the caliph in Damascus in 78/697 and lived in luxury off handouts from him for the last years of his life⁷⁰⁵.

The messianists apparently went to great lengths to accommodate all this doctrinally. Some of them even claimed Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya went into *ghayba* as a punishment for his submission to ‘Abd al-Malik⁷⁰⁶. But even amongst the true believers, faith probably began to wane. And even if the sources tell us nothing about them, those who had never subscribed to the eschatological Maḥdī doctrine in the first place surely cannot have continued to put any serious hope in Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya, let alone have seen him as the true Imām. We simply do not have information on the relative numbers of committed messianists and others during or after the revolt; any guesses are based on our assessment of the general level and character of apocalyptic fervour amongst Muslim communities in this period⁷⁰⁷. Our best evidence for ideological developments amongst the Shī‘a comes from slightly later. The next ‘Alid contender to garner serious support in Kufa was Zayd b. ‘Alī, whose claim was based simply on his lineage and status amongst the *ahl al-bayt*, and, crucially, on the fact that that he was willing to mount an offensive⁷⁰⁸. That shows that the Shī‘a in the early second century were not generally waiting around for Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya’s return, nor did they expect ‘Alid candidates to articulate their legitimacy in relation to him (or his son, Abū Hāshim). It also implies they mostly had a very different understanding of the Imāmate from that which is assumed of them in the *iftirāq*-schema: they maintained a basic loyalty to the idea of a Hāshimite (or perhaps specifically ‘Alid) Imāmate and supported viable candidates as and when they appeared. If that was true also earlier, there is little reason to think that all or even most of those who had supported Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya during Mukhtār’s revolt would have continued to look to him until he died. We should expect that the schema makes it look that way primarily because it is the only concept of an Imām that it recognizes.

The next issue relates to the second faction of the cluster: those supporters of Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya’s Imāmate who affirmed his death and held that his son, Abū Hāshim, was the next Imām. Who were these people? Notably, Kuthayyir’s poetry—our earliest witness to the beliefs of the post-Abū Hāshim Kaysāniyya—does not place Abū Hāshim on the rank of Imām. Rather, Kuthayyir asserts that there have only been four true Imāms (*a-lā inna l-a’immat^a min qurayshⁱⁿ; wulāt^a l-ḥaqq; arba’a^{tum} sawā^{‘u}*), of whom Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya was the last, his predecessors being

⁷⁰⁵ Sharon 1983:111–116; *EF*. “Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya” [Buhl]; EI, “Kaysāniyya” [Anthony].

⁷⁰⁶ This detail appears in the version of the *iftirāq*-schema used by Balkhī and Qummī (*Mugh. XX*:177:7; *MaqA.20*:1–3; *MaqQ.22*:9–23:12). See also al-Qāḍī 1974:147–149; EI, “Kaysāniyya” [Anthony].

⁷⁰⁷ See Crone 2004:75–80 and the sources cited there.

⁷⁰⁸ See p. 499 esp. n.643.

his two half-brothers, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, and their father, 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib⁷⁰⁹. Abū Hāshim apparently does not belong to this group⁷¹⁰. Indeed, it is not certain that Kuthayyir mentions Abū Hāshim anywhere in his extant corpus⁷¹¹. Nor is a signifi-

709 The verses were cited within the relevant faction-description in *Q₁* (*Nih.*26:13–19; *Mugh.* XX₂: *MaqA.*19:11–15; *Ḥūr.*212:7–11) but there are several other witnesses (see al-Qāḍī 1974:161, esp.n.2; and 'Abbās 1971/1391:521–522). Two versions are preserved, one of which always appears attributed, rather, to Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī. As al-Qāḍī observes, Iḥsān 'Abbās, the editor of Kuthayyir's *Dīwān*, depends on the version attributed to Ḥimyarī (see al-Qāḍī 1974:161:n.3, 215–216; and 'Abbās 1971/1391:521–522). For an argument that at least the first version does go back to Kuthayyir, see al-Qāḍī 1974:168–170. More generally on the question of verses attributed to both Kuthayyir and Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī, see *Ibid.*215–216 and EI². “Kuthayyir” [‘Abbās].

710 Kuthayyir refers to 'Alī, Ḥasan, Ḥusayn and Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya collectively as the *asbāt*, a word which normally means ‘grandsons’ or specifically ‘grandsons via a daughter’ and is often used in the dual in reference to Ḥasan and Ḥusayn as the grandsons of the Prophet (*sibṭā rasūl Allāh*). According to Qummi (*MaqQ.*28:7–30:12), who is followed by al-Qāḍī (1974:153–158), Kuthayyir employed it, rather, in the sense of its Qur'anic usage (e.g., Q2:136 and Q7:160), i.e., in reference to Jacob's ‘descendants’ who become the leaders of the tribes of Israel. 'Alī, Ḥasan, Ḥusayn and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya thus become the ‘leaders’ of Banū Hāshim. However that may be, the important point is that Abū Hāshim does not belong to the group.

711 The *Aghānī* records a report in which Kuthayyir is supposed to have addressed Abū Hāshim as a prophet (*rasūl Allāh*) (*Aghānī.*IX:15:14–19), but nothing in his poetic corpus supports this. As al-Qāḍī (1974:199–200) argues, it is almost certainly a later defamatory fabrication.

There is also a poem in Kuthayyir's *Dīwān* that provides a list of the caliphs after the Prophet ('Abbās 1971/1391:495). It seems to mention Abū Hāshim, but it is subject to several difficulties that make it very unlikely the wording goes back to Kuthayyir. The list begins with “two martyrs after their righteous one (*ba'da ṣiddīqihim*)”, followed by “Ibn Khawlā” as the fourth, “his son” as the fifth, “Marwān” as the sixth, and “his son” as the seventh. That seems to imply the following order: Abū Bakr (*ṣiddīqihim*), Umar and 'Alī (the two martyrs), Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya (Ibn Khawlā), Abū Hāshim (his son), Marwān b. al-Ḥakam (Marwān), and 'Abd al-Malik (his son). However, Kuthayyir elsewhere rejects the caliphates of Abū Bakr and 'Umar (see 'Abbās 1971/1391:490) and, as we have seen, names Ḥasan and Ḥusayn as Imāms, as well as stating that there were only four Imāms in total after the Prophet. Moreover, it is hard to see how he could have named Marwān and 'Abd al-Malik as caliphs after Abū Hāshim, omitting Mu'āwiya, Yazīd and Mu'āwiya b. Yazīd. That would not only be a stark shift of allegiance but chronologically impossible: Marwān and 'Abd al-Malik took up office before Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya died, let alone Abū Hāshim. Nagel proposes instead that *ṣiddīqihim* is 'Alī (Nagel 1972:74–75, citing *Tab.*II:546:11 for evidence that the *tawwābūn* used the name *al-ṣiddīq* for 'Alī). That allows him to identify “the two martyrs” as Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, solving the problem as far as Abū Hāshim, but it still leaves the issues with the Umayyad caliphs at the end. Nagel suggests that they are simply an “opportunistic bowing before the line of Marwān” resulting from the fact that Kuthayyir entered the service of the Umayyads after the fall of Ibn Zubayr. But that doesn't solve the chronological difficulty, nor is it obvious how Kuthayyir could possibly have pleased his new Umayyad masters with such a list.

We seem, rather, to be dealing with a flawed transmission. The relevant lines of verse do not appear in the sources used by Iḥsān 'Abbās to compile Kuthayyir's *Dīwān* ('Abbās 1971/1391:495);

icant role for him to be discerned in the poetry of Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī⁷¹². Ḥimyarī was writing much later, at a time when Abū Hāshim himself was long dead, so there would have been plenty of time for a mythology to have grown up around him. Yet, there is no sign of it; in his Kaysānī poetry, Ḥimyarī's gaze remains fixed on Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya⁷¹³. That all makes good sense. Both authors were awaiting the return of Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya as the Mahdī; their belief-system did not require a place be given to the figure of Abū Hāshim. But our poets perhaps just represent the pure messianist tendency described by the *iftirāq*-schema. Perhaps there was still another group who affirmed his death but whose poetry is not preserved. We will have to look elsewhere.

One of the largest bodies of source material outside the *iftirāq*-schema on the Kaysāniyya's beliefs about Abū Hāshim comes from a sub-set of Qummi's additions to the *Firaq*⁷¹⁴. These are impossible to date with certainty, but they are heterogeneous in their conceptual vocabulary and contradictory in their details, suggesting different sources or at least different lines of transmission from a period in which reports on the Kaysāniyya were more widely in circulation. Contrary to the *iftirāq*-schema, they show the Kaysāniyya after Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya's death—either as a whole or at least some groups of them—as believing *both* that Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya was the Mahdī hidden at Raḍwā *and* that there was some significant role for Abū Hāshim [*MaqQ.*22:9–23:9; 35:6–7]. The general idea seems to be that Abū Hāshim was a kind of regent or deputy, put in place by Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya only until the

he included them only because they feature in the older *Dīwān* compiled by Henri Pérès (Pérès 1928–1930:269). Although Pérès provides a list of the sources he used generally (*Ibid.*14–17), he does not say where he found the specific verses. If they are not in the sources used by 'Abbās, they can only have come from one of the later works consulted by Pérès. Moreover, as van Ess (*TG.I*:309, n.11) has noted, almost exactly the same lines of verse appear in Jāhiz's *al-Bayān wa-l-tabyīn* (*Bayān*. III:86:7–11) but attributed to A'shā Banī Rabī'a (see *Et*². "al-A'shā"). There, we find a small but vital change: instead of "Ibn Khawlā" we get "Ibn Ṣakhr". That alters the whole sense of the list, which now obviously intends Abū Bakr (*ṣiddiqihim*), 'Umar and 'Uthmān (the two martyrs), Mu'āwiya (Ibn Ṣakhr), Yazīd (his son), Marwān b. al-Ḥakam (Marwān) and 'Abd al-Malik (his son). With this small change, it thus becomes an entirely 'Uthmāni-Umayyad list, and one that makes complete sense. Only Mu'āwiya b. Yazīd remains omitted, but this is quite typical of such lists; he only ruled for a few weeks and the Marwānids seem to have tried to erase him from the line of succession (*Et*². "Mu'āwiya II" [Bosworth]). Obviously, such a list could have nothing to do with Kuthayyir 'Azza, and the highly confused version of the verse attributed to him in the *Dīwān* compiled by Pérès is probably just a later corruption of the verses of A'shā Banī Rabī'a.

712 See al-Qāḍī 1974:545–556. There is no entry for Abū Hāshim in the index to the *Dīwān* of Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī's poetry compiled by Shākīr Hādī Shukur.

713 See al-Qāḍī 1974:545–556.

714 On Qummi's additions generally, see p. 695–709.

latter's return⁷¹⁵. The reports suggest that some of them then saw Abū Hāshim's own death as foreseen by Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya and thus part of 'the plan', as it left the field open for Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya's victorious emergence from Raḍwā. It prompted other groups of the Kaysāniyya, however, to remove Abū Hāshim from any significant role at all and to return to a 'pure' belief in the Mahdism of Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya [*MaqQ*.35:10–12]⁷¹⁶.

Qummī's additions thus give the impression that the central plank of Kaysānī doctrine after Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya's death was, and continued to be, his *ghayba* at Raḍwā and his imminent return as the Mahdī. If a role was given to Abū Hāshim, this was not a hereditary Imāmate in the later Ḥusaynid-Imāmī sense, but some sort of interim function within the framework of messianic expectations concerning his father. That idea is also borne out by Qummī's additions on the successor groups to the Kaysāniyya that emerged in the following generations. In *Q*₂'s *iftirāq*-schema, both the Bayāniyya and the Ḥarbiyya emerge from the faction that had affirmed Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya's death and the Imāmate of Abū Hāshim (for *Q*₁ this is confirmed only of the Ḥarbiyya)⁷¹⁷. But two of Qummī's additions state, rather, that the Ḥarbiyya believed in the doctrine that Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya was the Mahdī hidden at Raḍwā [*MaqQ*.27:2; 28:7–12]. Another addition has the Bayāniyya as champions of an explicitly interim role for Abū Hāshim until Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya's return [*MaqQ*.34:6–9]⁷¹⁸. One of Nawbakhtī's additions to the *iftirāq*-schema also depicts the followers of Bayān to be awaiting the return of Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya, not Abū Hāshim [*Fir*.25:18–26:2].

715 In one report, 'the followers of Abū 'Amra (on him, see p. 426–428) from the Kaysāniyya' are said to believe that Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya, knowing he would be put into hiding as a punishment, relinquished authority to Abū Hāshim in his absence (the terms *awsā* and *waṣīyya* are not used). But he did this knowing that Abū Hāshim would die without offspring so that authority would return to him in time for his emergence from *ghayba*. Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya is here referred to as the 'speaking Imām' (*al-imām al-nāṭiq*) whilst Abū Hāshim is called the 'silent Imām' (*al-imām al-ṣāmī*) (*MaqQ*.22:9–23:9). In a third report, some of the Kaysāniyya are said to believe that Abū Hāshim held the *waṣīyya* for as long as he lived, then it returned to Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya, who was presumably still thought to be in hiding (*MaqQ*.35:6–7).

716 *MaqQ*.35:6–12 is effectively a small *iftirāq*-cluster on the situation following Abū Hāshim's death. The options are (1.) to believe that the *waṣīyya* returned to Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya after Abū Hāshim, (2.) to believe that it went to 'Alī b. Ḥusayn, or (3.) to reject Abū Hāshim completely and to return to the 'pure' belief that Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya is the Mahdī.

717 See *Tab*.44 for *Q*₂ and compare with *Tab*.43 for *Q*₁.

718 The Bayāniyya are said to believe that Abū Hāshim inherited the *waṣīyya* when Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya went into hiding, but this was only a temporary deputyship (*waṣīyyat al-istikhlāf*)—like Muḥammad's appointing 'Alī his deputy in Medina whilst he was on campaign—not a deputyship after death (*istikhlāf ba'd al-mawt*) (*MaqQ*.34:6–9).

It is worth observing that Qummī's additions present a highly plausible scenario. Most of those who still held out hope for Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya by the time of his death must have been of the messianist persuasion. After his death, the doctrine of his *ghayba* at Raḍwā and imminent return thus took hold quickly⁷¹⁹. Alongside it, however, a range of opinions regarding the status of Abū Hāshim could have emerged. These would probably have changed over time in response to the fact that Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya did not reappear quickly and then to the fact that Abū Hāshim himself died without offspring, possibly only a few years after his father⁷²⁰. There were perhaps some who held the pure messianist position from the start. But others, whose fundamental belief was also in the imminent return of Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya, initially saw some kind of interim role for Abū Hāshim. After the latter's death or at some point later, many of them also then gave up on the idea of living Imāms and focussed only on Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya's Mahdism. Others, however, perhaps continued to see Abū Hāshim as having a special status *alongside* his father⁷²¹. Thus, it is indeed quite plausible that most of those who assigned any sort of leadership role to Abū Hāshim with regard to the Imāmate did so within the context of their belief in the imminent return of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya, not in contradistinction to it⁷²². The post-Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya cluster's division of the Kaysāniyya into two discrete parties—pure believers in Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya's Mahdism vs. pure believers in his death and the Imāmate of Abū Hāshim—is probably misleadingly simplistic at the very least. If so, it would be typical; it is the kind of oversimplification that the logic of the schema encourages.

Even regardless of the veracity of Qummī's information, however, the fact remains that his additions are not talking about the post-Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya cluster's second faction, i.e., those who supposedly *affirmed* Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya's death and the Imāmate of Abū Hāshim. Indeed, there is only one body of sources—outside the *iftirāq*-schema—that appears to describe such a belief amongst the Shī'a: the various accounts of how Abū Hāshim came to bequeath the rights to the Imāmate to Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-'Abbās, i.e., the 'Abbāsīd *waṣīyya*-narrative.

719 Kuthayyir declares his belief in it already in the verses referred to in n.709. He died less than 25 years after Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya.

720 On Abū Hāshim's date of death, see p. 540 esp. n.787 and n.788.

721 Another variant belief of the post-Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya Kaysāniyya is recorded in brief additions made by both Nawbakhtī and Qummī. The idea here seems to have been to transfer the whole Mahdī-at-Raḍwā mythos onto Abū Hāshim (*Fir.*28:1–2; *MaqQ.*27:14–17). But if there is any truth to the reports, this is clearly a secondary move made by people who had previously accepted the version with Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya as the Mahdī. They had not originally been believers in Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya's death either. Possibly, they even then believed in *two* Mahdīs at Raḍwā; that seems to be the doctrine that is responded to by the group described at *MaqQ.*27:10–12.

722 See also the arguments made in favour of this interpretation in al-Qāḍī 1974:196–198.

Many of these accounts begin in the middle of the events leading to the *waṣiyya*, i.e., just before Abū Hashim's death, but a few first provide some brief background information on Abū Hāshim's status during his lifetime⁷²³:

- Ibn Sa'd (d.240/843) relates that 'the Shī'a'—without further specification—used to meet with Abū Hāshim and took him as their *walī* (*yatawallawnahu*)⁷²⁴. That is not an unambiguous statement that they understood him to be the true Imām, but it suggests they at least saw him as a figure of leadership in some sense⁷²⁵.
- Haytham b. 'Adī (d.206/821), in the version of his account preserved by Ibn 'Abd Rabbihī, goes further: he states that 'the majority' of the Shī'a—again without further specification—held that Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya bequeathed (*awṣā*) command of the Shī'a (*amr al-Shī'a*) to Abū Hāshim, that the Shī'a 'came to him', that he would 'direct their affairs', and that they even brought him their *kharāj* taxes⁷²⁶. The same is said in summarized form in one of Balād-hurī's reports attributed to Haytham b. 'Adī⁷²⁷. The word 'Imām' is not used, but the implication is surely that the Shī'a saw him that way.
- A report in the *Akhhbār al-dawla al-Abbāsiyya*, given on the authority of a certain Iṣḥāq b. al-Faḍl al-Hāshimī, puts similar claims into the mouth of Zayd b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. It is related that Abū Hāshim and Zayd b. al-Ḥasan were involved in a legal dispute before Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik (r.86–96/705–715) over the rights to the administration of the charity taxes of Banū Hāshim (*ṣadaqāt 'Alī*). In the course of the argumentation, Zayd accuses Abū Hāshim of having 'a *shī'a* from the supporters of Mukhtār' in Kufa, who 'consider him their Imām', and 'bring him their charity taxes (*ṣadaqāt*)'⁷²⁸.
- Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī (d.356/967) states that 'the Shī'a from the people of Khurāsān' believed that Abū Hāshim had inherited the *waṣiyya* from Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya and that they saw him as Imām⁷²⁹.

723 For an overview of the various versions of the *waṣiyya*-narrative, see Haider 2011b:49–83.

724 Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII:322:5–6.

725 Ibn Qutayba, who gives another version of the same report (*Ma'ārif* 217:1–4), adds that he was of 'great standing' (*azīm al-qadr*), but this doesn't clarify things.

726 Ibn 'Abd Rabbihī, *al-Iqd al-farīd*, V:218:15–20.

727 *Ansāb*.II:650:7–9.

728 Anon., *Akhhbār al-dawla al-Abbāsiyya*, 174:13–14.

729 *Maqātil*.127:13–14. Iṣfahānī does not name his source. His report overlaps significantly with a version that Balād-hurī attributes to Madā'inī (d.227/843?) (*Ansāb*.II:649:13–650:3), leading Haider (2011b:57–58) to classify it as a version of Madā'inī's 'base-narrative', which it may well be. It should be noted, however, that the version that is cited from Madā'inī does not have the 'prelude' on the status of Abū Hāshim amongst the Shī'a. See also n.731.

- Most explicit of all are two versions of the *waṣīyya*-narrative given by Balādhurī (d.280/892). One of these is attributed ultimately to a certain Qays b. al-Rabīʿa. It begins by stating that the Shīʿa—again unspecified—believed that Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya was the Imām and that Abū Hāshim became the Imām after his father’s death. It then seems to offer a summarized variant of the account present in the *Akhbār al-dawla al-ʿAbbāsiyya*: Abū Hāshim is denounced to Walīd—here by an anonymous figure—for having a *shīʿa* in Iraq who address him as ‘commander of the believers’ (*amīr al-muʿminīn*)⁷³⁰. Balādhurī’s second relevant version does not provide its source but opens with the assertion that the Shīʿa—again unspecified—held that Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya was the Imām and that Abū Hāshim became the Imām after his death⁷³¹.

Here, then, we do seem to find some evidence outside the *iftirāq*-schema of a faction that had believed in Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya’s Imāmate but had then affirmed his death and looked to Abū Hāshim as Imām. There are, however, several reasons to be suspicious of what these sources claim about Abū Hāshim’s status amongst the Shīʿa. To begin with, several scholars have cast doubt on the whole story of Abū Hāshim’s *waṣīyya*. They range from seeing it as a pure invention of ‘Abbāsid propaganda to at least heavily manipulated for that purpose⁷³². Here is not the place to rehearse those arguments in detail, but regardless of the historical veracity of the central claim of the narrative (i.e., that Abū Hāshim bequeathed leadership of the Banū Hāshim and thus the rights to the Imāmate to Muḥammad b. ‘Alī), two observations of the sceptics are highly relevant. The first is that the *waṣīyya*-narrative was certainly *used* as propaganda to legitimize ‘Abbāsid rule⁷³³. The second is that the earliest extant versions were composed in the time of Manṣūr and, at least in their secondary details, evidently reflect the propagandistic concerns of that period specifically⁷³⁴. The most relevant of these concerns for us was the requirement to combat the claims of the Ḥasanids under Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh⁷³⁵. The latter

730 *Ansāb*.II:648:16–649:3.

731 *Ansāb*.III:80:14–15. Haider classifies both as versions of Madāʿinī’s ‘base-narrative’ because they share the same chronological framework as yet another version that Balādhurī does cite from Madāʿinī (*Ansāb*.II: 649:13–650:3; Haider 2011b:56–57). The exact nature of the relationship with the version cited from Madāʿinī is, however, uncertain, as some details differ. Most relevant for our purposes is the fact that the version that is explicitly cited from Madāʿinī does not have the ‘prelude’ on the status of Abū Hāshim amongst the Shīʿa.

732 E.g., Cahen 1963; Nagel 1972:45–69; Halm 1982:81; Lassner 1986:3–10; Agha 2003:xvi-xvii, 3–5; Crone 1989:103; Crone 2004:91.

733 E.g., Lassner 1986:4–13; Crone 2004:91–93; Agha 2003:xv-xxi; Tor 2019:220–223.

734 Nagel 1972:27–34, 48–49; Lassner 1986:3–10, 55–62.

735 Lassner 1986:3–10; Crone 2004:89–93; Tor 2019.

denied the legitimacy of 'Abbāsīd rule, asserting that he had greater right to the Imāmate due to his descent from both 'Alī and Fāṭima⁷³⁶. That seems to have been a convincing argument to many with Shī'ī sympathies, and the 'Abbāsīd propagandists tried numerous strategies to deal with it⁷³⁷.

One of these strategies, as is well known, was to put out the idea that 'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, as the Prophet's most senior surviving paternal uncle, had inherited the Imāmate directly, whence it passed in secret down the 'Abbāsīd line⁷³⁸. That had the advantage of completely cutting out the troublesome question of how the 'Abbāsīds alone could have inherited 'Alī's rights to the Imāmate, and it became the official doctrine under Maḥdī. Both legitimization narratives, however, circulated before then and afterwards⁷³⁹. Within the context of the *waṣīyya*-narrative, another strategy was probably to exaggerate the historical role of Abū Hāshim. The assertion that the Shī'a of Abū Hāshim's day had generally believed in his Imāmate would have served both to bolster the 'Abbāsīd claim (which depended in this context wholly on Abū Hāshim's alleged rights to the office) and to deflate the Ḥasanīd argument, as it implies that descent from Fāṭima had not been of such

736 *Ṭab.209:7–211:5*. See Lassner 1986:7–8; *TG.III:16–19*; Tor 2019:215–217. The evidence here is the correspondence between Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh and the caliph Ma'mūn. The reasonable assumption is that the words ascribed to Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh reflect arguments genuinely put forward by the supporters of the Ḥasanīds during and after the revolt, even if the specific wording is not necessarily his. Without that assumption, we could make no sense of the specifics of the 'Abbāsīd legitimization doctrines that grew up in response.

737 Lassner 1986:4–13.

738 See, e.g., *Ibid.*:8; *TG.III:17–19*; Crone 2004:92–83; Tor 2019:219–222.

739 Lassner (1986:8–9, 10–13) argues forcefully that one legitimization doctrine did not displace the other in a certain moment, but that both—and others—circulated together for a long time, possibly in order to appeal to different groups. He suggests that Maḥdī merely made the “new” doctrine—based on the rights of 'Abbās—into official policy for a time, but that, even then, many people also held onto the “old” one. His primary evidence for this is that the “new” narrative appears already in Maṣṣūr's correspondence with Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh (*Ṭab.III:211:6–215:15*), and that the *waṣīyya*-narrative is still found stated as fact in all the 'Abbāsīd-propaganda-influenced historiography, including the openly pro-'Abbāsīd *Akhbār al-dawla al-'Abbāsīyya*, even where one also finds reports on Maḥdī's introduction of the “new” doctrine. Tor (2019:219–222) further stresses that the “new” narrative began to be used already in response to the rebellion of Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh using the same evidence of the correspondence between him and Maṣṣūr. This is all highly plausible but the alternative possibility should not be ignored, i.e., that the correspondence is a product of Maḥdī's time, in which the official “new” doctrine was retro-projected into the mouth of Maṣṣūr. After all, the versions of the Abū Hāshim-*waṣīyya*-narrative that we have also cannot have been composed before Maṣṣūr's day, which suggests that they too were still being actively reworked (or invented) as a response to the 'Alīd challenge of that time (see n.734 above and compare also the timeline suggested in Crone 2004:89–93, which effectively sees both legitimization doctrines as responses to the revolt Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh).

importance to the Shī'a previously. The potential polemical motivation means the claims these reports make about Abū Hāshim's status amongst the Shī'a should at least be treated with caution.

Suspicion is increased by two further factors. First, several of the sources listed above talk about the status of Abū Hāshim amongst the Shī'a *generally*; they are not talking about specifically Kaysānī circles. But such assertions are reflected nowhere else. Especially if the statements recorded by Balādhurī claiming that “the Shī'a”—apparently all of them—considered him Imām were accurate, there should be some other record of this. Indeed, the evidence points in the other direction. Perhaps most importantly, there is the witness of the Shī'ī poet Kumayt al-Asadī (d.126/743)⁷⁴⁰. He wrote his *Hāshimīyyāt* in praise of the Banū Hāshim before the 'Abbāsīd revolution, precisely in the period that our sources are supposedly describing, or shortly afterwards. There, he lauds numerous prominent 'Alids and notable Hāshimites, and expresses his longing for the Imāmate of someone from that family⁷⁴¹. Yet, whilst he praises Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya alongside Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, he has nothing to say about Abū Hāshim at all. The contemporary 'Alid of greatest interest to him is Zayd b. 'Alī⁷⁴². This is incompatible with the idea that the Shī'a *generally* considered Abū Hāshim even to be an important figure, let alone the true Imām.

Furthermore, there is inconsistency about the level and character of Abū Hāshim's support even within these sources. Iṣfahānī, the only Zaydī author in the list, gives the only version of the *waṣīyya*-narrative in which it is specified that it was ‘the Shī'a from the people of Khurāsān’ who believed in Abū Hāshim's Imāmate. He was also presumably working from a source that contained the more general assertion⁷⁴³ but modified it because he could not accept the characterization that *all* the Shī'a, and especially those in Kufa, had believed in the Imāmate of Abū Hāshim. For him, it could only have been in the east, amongst those who eventually enthroned the 'Abbāsīds that there had been a belief in Abū Hāshim's Imāmate. The highly pro-'Abbāsīd *Akhbār al-dawla al-'Abbāsiyya* also gives quite a different picture. The accusation put into the mouth of Zayd b. al-Ḥasan there is that it was specifically

⁷⁴⁰ See *EI*². “al-Kumayt b. Zayd al-Asadī” [Horowitz and Pellat].

⁷⁴¹ In addition to the Prophet, he mentions Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib, Ḥamza b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib (*Kumayt*.16:9, 59:1), 'Alī (16:15, 59:9), Ḥasan (19:15, 61:15), Ḥusayn (20:3, 62:6,11); Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya (21:6, 63:13), 'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib (21:9, 63:4), 'Abd Allāh b. al-'Abbās and Faql b. al-'Abbās (63:9). On the idea that the Imāmate belongs to the Banū Hāshim, see 46:13 and 154:3,6,8. Generally on the character of Kumayt's Shī'ism, see Nagel 1972:79–83, and Madelung 1989.

⁷⁴² *Kumayt*.157:1–158:1. See Madelung 1989:7. Kumayt also laments the death of Muḥammad al-Bāqir (139:14).

⁷⁴³ See n.729.

remnants of Mukhtār's movement that saw Abū Hāshim as Imām, not 'the Shī'a' generally. Moreover, Zayd is obviously the villain of the tale; it is because of his accusation that Abū Hāshim ends up in prison. That makes it unclear whether the reader is supposed to trust his words or not. Abū Hāshim is freed because 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn, effectively the hero, intercedes on his behalf, but he denies the accusation in the process⁷⁴⁴. The report from Ishāq b. al-Faḍl al-Hāshimī thus does not even directly affirm or contradict the idea that Abū Hāshim had a *shī'a* from the partisans of al-Mukhtār who brought him their charity taxes. Elsewhere, the text links at least one of Abū Hāshim's companions with the legacy of Mukhtār's movement⁷⁴⁵, but it also states that Abū Hāshim's followers in Kufa did not amount to more than thirty men by the time of his death⁷⁴⁶. It is talking about the 'official' Hāshimiyya organization, rather than enumerating everyone in the city who believed in his Imāmate, and it states that the number of members was kept low on purpose, as they only admitted 'people of good intentions' into their ranks. But it is still hard to believe that it was as difficult to recruit the right kind of people to the cause as this passage implies if 'the Shī'a' universally saw Abu Hāshim as Imām already.

Moreover, there are the suspicious implications made in these sources about the beliefs of the Shī'a concerning the means for the transmission of the Imāmate and the earlier line of succession. Haytham b. 'Adī and Iṣfāhānī respectively talk of 'the Shī'a' and 'the Shī'a from the people of Khurāsān' as believing Abū Hāshim to be Imām because of a *waṣiyya* from Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya. The underlying assumption behind this is that the Shī'a of the late first century, or at least those in the East, would generally have believed Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya to have been the Imām and understood *waṣiyya* to be a legitimate means for the transmission of the Imāmate, such that they would have accepted that Abū Hāshim on that basis. Balādhurī's report given on the authority of Qays b. al-Rabī' even states that 'the Shī'a' believed in the following line of succession: 'Alī, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya, Abū Hāshim, i.e., cutting out Ḥasan and Ḥusayn completely. But this is all dubious in the extreme.

What many of the Shī'a certainly *did* believe by this point was the doctrine of the Prophet's explicit *waṣiyya* to 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, which was understood to establish that the latter (and thus no one else) should have been Imām after the former's death⁷⁴⁷. But even this was far from universally held and may not yet

744 *Ibid.*176:8.

745 See n.756.

746 *Akhbār*:194:1–2.

747 Nagel 1975:157–168; *TG*:I:309–310; Crone 2004:73–75. The idea seems to have been in existence by the time of Mukhtār's rebellion already, as witnessed by his use of the term *al-mahdī ibn al-waṣī* to refer to Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya (*Ansāb*.IV₂:150:15; *Ṭab*.II:534:3). Kuthayyir apparently called 'Alī *waṣiyyu' l-nabī* ('Abbās 1971:225:1) and rejected the first three caliphs ('Abbās 1971:490:2–3). By the

have been the majority position⁷⁴⁸. There is, moreover, no indication that those who subscribed to it then always or even usually also held that the rights to the Imāmate were transferred by the same mechanism *after* ‘Alī. The best evidence this was not the case by the time of Abū Hāshim’s death is once again that, somewhat later, there was widespread support for Zayd b. ‘Alī then Yaḥyā b. Zayd, neither of whom claimed the Imāmate based on a *waṣīyya*, and certainly not one from Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya or Abū Hāshim⁷⁴⁹. This fact is particularly striking because Zayd b. ‘Alī was married to a daughter of Abū Hāshim, and Yaḥyā was the product of this union, meaning he was Abū Hāshim’s grandson⁷⁵⁰. Thus, if either Zayd or Yaḥyā had wanted to make a *waṣīyya*-based claim in the way the ‘Abbāsids did later, there was a close family connection that could have made easy sense of this. But they did not, and the Shī‘a generally, including those in Khurāsān (where Yaḥyā was active and revered), clearly did not expect ‘Alid candidates to articulate their claims in terms of a *waṣīyya*. Somewhat later, Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan did not require a *waṣīyya*-based argument to convince the Shī‘a of the early ‘Abbāsīd period either⁷⁵¹. Moreover, all those rebels who were calling for the Imāmate of the yet-to-be determined *riḍā min āl Muḥammad*, which probably included ‘Abd Allāh b. Mu‘āwiya and large parts of the Hāshimiyya movement itself, were evidently not working within a *waṣīyya*-paradigm for the transmission of the post-‘Alī Imāmate; they expected some kind of *shūrā*⁷⁵².

beginning of the second century, the idea seems to have become widespread. Kumayt clearly subscribed to it (*Kumayt*.19:15), as well as providing the first witness to the doctrine that the Prophet had designated ‘Alī his successor at Ghadīr Khumm, and calling the first three caliphs usurpers (but not cursing them) (*Kumayt*.152:9–153:1). See also the other references given by van Ess and Crone. 748 *TG.I*:309–311; Crone 2004:74, esp. n.19. The doctrine was opposed, of course, by all those who would later be seen as (Butrī) Zaydiyya, as well as by Zayd himself, and by ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan. More broadly, many pro-‘Alid traditionists were alarmed by the increasing popularity of the idea. Layth b. Abī Sulaym (d.143/760), for example, asserted that the Shī‘a of his youth did not put ‘Alī before Abū Bakr and ‘Umar. He must be exaggerating; some of them certainly did. But his words may reflect a switch from a minority to a majority situation over his lifetime (See *TG.I*:237 and Crone 2004:74).

749 See p. 499 esp. n.643.

750 Ibn Sa’d, VII:322:2–3.

751 See p. 500 n.649, p. 502 n.656.

752 See p. 499. More generally, there is no good study of the development of the doctrine of the transferal of the Imāmate by *waṣīyya* after ‘Alī. The earliest evidence of such a doctrine comes from the reports on Mukhtār’s revolt and the poetry of Kuthayyir, but although this may have been influential on the later developments, it does not seem to be quite the same thing. On this, see p. 542–543. In the early second century, Kumayt, who was no Kaysānī, referred to Ḥasan as ‘Alī’s *waṣī* (*Kumayt*.19:16–17). He might have meant that ‘Alī specifically nominated Ḥasan as his successor; the idea was perhaps already in circulation. But he does not speak of any later Hāshim-

Thus, when Haytham b. 'Adī talks of the Shī'a *generally* as having seen Abū Hāshim to be Imām because of a *waṣiyya* from Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya, this was probably influenced by two factors arising from the origins of his account in 'Abbāsīd propaganda. First, in order to secure the legitimacy of the transfer of the rights to the Imāmate to Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-'Abbās, there was the requirement to establish the legitimacy of Abū Hāshim's claim. This could not be achieved by the standard means of arguing for Abū Hāshim's seniority amongst the 'Alids, as that could be successfully disputed by the supporters of the descendants of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn. Rather, they needed a way to secure a specific line of succession that excluded the Ḥasanids and Ḥusaynids. Second, it was an attempt to imply that when Abū Hāshim bequeathed the Imāmate to Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-'Abbās, this was just the same process by which it had been transmitted previously.

The assertion of Balādhurī's report—that the Shī'a believed in a line of succession consisting only of 'Alī, Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya and Abū Hāshim—obviously reflects the same propagandistic concerns. It is effectively a claim that they did not regard Ḥasan and Ḥusayn to have been Imāms, with the further implication that Ḥasan and Ḥusayn's descendants had no rights either. In reality, it is an open question whether and in what sense most of the Shī'a in this period would yet have seen Ḥasan and Ḥusayn to have been Imāms, but the same is at least as true of their view of Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya⁷⁵³. Moreover, it was certainly the case that those most likely to have regarded Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya as an Imām, namely the Kaysāniyya, *did* also see Ḥasan and Ḥusayn as Imāms before him. That is evident from the poetry of Kuthayyir and Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī⁷⁵⁴. In either case, the idea that the Shī'a of Abū Hāshim's day generally believed in the line of succession reported by Balādhurī *to*

ites as having received a *waṣiyya*. Indeed, it seems he did not see any of them to have attained the Imāmate and he too apparently put his hope in the *riḍā min al-muhammad*, not in someone who was already Imām by virtue of a *waṣiyya*. The Jārūdī Zaydiyya taught that 'Alī, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn had all received a *waṣiyya* from the Prophet, or perhaps in turn, but this doctrine may not have developed until later in the second century (see next footnote). It is not even clear that the Ḥusaynid-Imāmiyya started talking of *waṣiyya* specifically as the usual mode for the transferal of the post-'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib Imāmate until later in the second century. See p. 554–557.

⁷⁵³ That Ḥasan and Ḥusayn had been Imāms in the full sense obviously eventually became the position of both the Ḥusaynid-Imāmiyya and the Jārūdī branch of the Zaydiyya, but the doctrine is only witnessed for the Kaysāniyya in the relevant period. It is not clear, for example, that Kumayt saw any 'Alid other than 'Alī himself to have held the office, although he may have allowed that Ḥasan did for a time (see previous footnote). The Zaydiyya may have begun to shift towards the Jārūdī doctrinal profile only after the failed revolt of 169/786 led by Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan (see Haider 2011a:204–214); Madelung (1965:47, n.22) instead sees the 'Abbāsīd revolution as decisive in this regard.

⁷⁵⁴ See p. 515–516 and p. 543.

the exclusion of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn (and thus their descendants) is untenable; it is a product of ‘Abbāsīd propaganda⁷⁵⁵.

What all this means is that the only place we can find any confirmation—outside the *iftirāq*-schema’s post-Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya cluster—of the existence of a faction that believed in the Imāmate of Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya then simply affirmed his death and believed in the Imāmate of Abū Ḥāshim is within versions of the ‘Abbāsīd *waṣīyya*-narrative that bear the stamp of anti-‘Alid propaganda⁷⁵⁶. That

⁷⁵⁵ The only other evidence of a group believing in such a line of succession comes from *Q*₂, which recorded, in the post-‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib cluster, a faction of the Kaysāniyya that believed Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya was Imām immediately after his death (*Fir.*20:10–21:8; *Mugh.*XX₂:176:18–19). But this is certainly not a question of attributing the doctrine to the Shī‘a generally, and, in any case, is also equally likely to reflect ‘Abbāsīd propaganda. The extant Kaysānī poetry doesn’t express anything like this doctrine. Rather, it consistently honours ‘Alī and his three sons as a group.

⁷⁵⁶ The possibility that the received image of Abū Ḥāshim is entirely a product of ‘Abbāsīd propaganda is noted in passing by van Ess (*TG.*1:304, n.3). Nagel (1972:55–56) already observed that almost all information about Abū Ḥāshim appears as part of the ‘Abbāsīd *waṣīyya*-narrative and is thus suspect. In contrast, Anthony (2012:293–294) cautiously suggests that Abū Ḥāshim embraced the leadership role into which he was put by some Kaysānī circles. Similarly, al-Qāḍī (1974:196–201), despite dismissing several potential witnesses to the idea as later fabrications, also held that Abū Ḥāshim was far more involved with the Kaysāniyya than his father had been. The evidence for their position is, however, quite thin.

At one point, Anthony writes that “Abū Ḥāshim reputedly maintained some of the most hard-boiled partisans of Mukhtār in his employ”. But even this guarded observation overstates things. Anthony’s evidence comes from two passages in the *Akhbār al-dawla al-‘Abbāsiyya*. The first of these (*Akhbār.*174:13) is found within the report discussed above (p. 520, 523–524) where Zayd b. al-Ḥasan accuses Abū Ḥāshim of having a ‘*shī‘a* from the supporters of Mukhtār’ (*la-hu shī‘a min aṣḥāb al-mukhtār*) who bring him their charity taxes. That is not quite the same thing as employing partisans of Mukhtār anyway, but the main problem with using this passage has been set out already: even if we take it at face value, it is not obvious we are supposed to believe Zayd’s accusation. The second passage mentions that amongst Abū Ḥāshim’s companions on his ill-fated final trip to Damascus was Salama b. Bujayr (*Akhbār.*180:10–11), supposedly the first head of the Ḥāshimiyya organization (see Agha 2003:6). It is not stated, however, that Salama himself was a partisan of Mukhtār, but that his *father* had been. The story that follows this remark concerns Bujayr’s exploits during Mukhtār’s rebellion, not Salama’s. More importantly, we are obviously still within the paradigm of pro-‘Abbāsīd historiography here. The *Akhbār* wants to draw attention to (or assert) connections between the beginnings of the Ḥāshimiyya organization and Mukhtār’s much earlier movement. It also wants to bring the nascent Ḥāshimiyya movement and the person of Abū Ḥāshim together, so that the latter can hand over control of the former to the ‘Abbāsīds via the *waṣīyya*. None of this gets us outside the very ‘Abbāsīd depiction of Abū Ḥāshim that is being called into question. The same goes for al-Qāḍī’s remarks on the money supposedly given to Abū Ḥāshim that is mentioned in the sources listed above (al-Qāḍī 1974:199).

The other piece of evidence given some credibility by both al-Qāḍī and Anthony is a statement attributed to Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī (d.124/742) in which it is asserted that Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya (i.e., Abū Ḥāshim’s brother) was a more trustworthy transmitter of *ḥadīth* than Abū

brings us to the question whether the structure of the *iftirāq*-schema here has not been heavily influenced by the *waṣīyya*-narrative itself, rather than providing any sort of independent witness to beliefs amongst the Kaysāniyya, let alone the Shī'a generally, in the wake of Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya's death. To answer that question, we will first have to move on to the post-Abū Hāshim cluster.

There are a several problems of reconstruction in the post-Abū Hāshim cluster due to the greater-than-usual divergences between Q_2 and *Uṣūl al-niḥal*. Where they diverge, we don't know how much either version differs from Q_1 . Nevertheless, we can establish enough to make progress on the relevant point. Two factions are confirmed for Q_1 . One is the 'Abbāsīd Shī'a, who claim that Abū Hāshim made a *waṣīyya* in favour of Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-'Abbās (d.125/743) [*Niḥ*.30:16–31:5; *Fir*.29:13–30:7; *Mugh*.XX₂.177:11–13]. The other is the Ḥarbiyya (or Ḥārithiyya), who believed in the Imāmate of 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya (d.131/748) [*Niḥ*.30:13–15; *Fir*.29:3–12; *Mugh*.XX₂.178:6–11]. In Q_2 , the Ḥarbiyya are also said to have claimed that Abū Hāshim transferred the Imāmate to Ibn Mu'āwiya by means of a *waṣīyya*, thus mirroring the 'Abbāsīd claim, but this idea is not present in *Uṣūl al-niḥal*, so cannot be confirmed for Q_1 . Additionally, Q_2 contained two further factions that are absent from *Uṣūl al-niḥal*. We will look at these below, when we turn to the additional elements in Q_2 .

In any case, the important observation here is that the emergence of the 'Abbāsīds is accommodated into the schema entirely in accordance with the *waṣīyya*-narrative. It is thus self-evident that the schema's author was working under the *waṣīyya*-narrative's influence. Importantly, the decision to depict 'Abbāsīd origins in this way would necessarily have affected the structure not only of the post-Abū Hāshim cluster itself, but also of the preceding post-Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya cluster. That

Hāshim because the latter 'collected the *aḥādīth* of the Saba'iyya' (*kāna yajma'u aḥādīth al-saba'iyya*) (Fasawī, *al-Ma'rifa wa-l-ta'rikh*, II:742:14–16; Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh dimashq*, XXXII:273:19–21; Dhahabī, *Ta'rikh al-islām*, VI:406:6–7). This does seem to get us outside of obviously pro-'Abbāsīd historiography. But it is hard to know what to make of this statement even if we assume it does go back to Zuhri. One question concerns the meaning of 'Saba'iyya'. In this context, it is unlikely to refer to people who literally deified 'Alī. One possibility is that it means 'Kaysāniyya' or at least remnants of Mukhtār's movement. That might be the usage also of Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya in the *Kitāb al-irjā'* (*Irjā'*.23:16–24:14; see al-Qāḍī 1974:142–143, 198, n.2 and Anthony 2012:294, 302–303). But another likely explanation is just that it means 'Shī'a', as is more often the case in the usage of *ḥadīth* scholars from this period (see Anthony 2012:242–245) and in the *Sīra* of Sālim b. Dhakwān (*Sīra*.118:15–16). In any case, however, it tells us very little about the nature of the relationship between Abū Hāshim and these 'Saba'iyya', whoever they are. The fact that he collected their *aḥādīth* doesn't imply they saw him as Imām. Two variants are recorded by Ibn 'Asākir: 'he followed the Saba'iyya' (*kāna yattabi'u l-saba'iyya*) and 'he followed the *ḥadīth* of the Saba'iyya' (*kāna yattabi'u ḥadīth al-saba'iyya*) (*Ta'rikh dimashq*, XXXII:271:17–18, 273:11–12). But these probably developed later.

is because, in order to depict a faction that believes that Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-‘Abbās was bequeathed the Imāmate by Abū Hāshim, the logic of the schema *requires* that there was previously a faction that believed in the Imāmate of Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya then affirmed his death and believed in the Imāmate of Abū Hāshim. Otherwise, there would be no possibility of a post-Abū Hāshim cluster from which the ‘Abbāsids could emerge in accordance with the *waṣīyya*-narrative at all. Once the decision to accommodate the ‘Abbāsīd *waṣīyya*-narrative was made, the second faction of the post-Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya cluster thus became a schematic necessity. Indeed, it is possible that the schematization of Kaysānī history from Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya’s death onwards is largely driven by the integration of the ‘Abbāsīd *waṣīyya*-narrative⁷⁵⁷.

There were probably two reasons why the schema’s author brought the ‘Abbāsīds into the schema so fully in accordance with their own *waṣīyya*-narrative. The first is that it has a beneficial effect from the Ḥusaynid-Imāmī point of view: it puts the ‘Abbāsīd usurpers in their proper place relative to the true Ḥusaynid line, as merely an offshoot who asserted they had received the bequest of a non-Fāṭimid grandson of ‘Alī. For any committed supporter of the Ḥusaynids, that was simply a weak claim and there was no danger in depicting ‘Abbāsīd origins in line with it⁷⁵⁸. The second reason has to do with the *iftirāq*-schema’s structure and underlying logic: the claim that the rights to the Imāmate had been transferred from Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya to Abū Hāshim, who then transferred them to Muḥammad b. ‘Alī by means of a *waṣīyya* can easily be accommodated within a schema that is based around the notion of a hereditary Imāmate. Indeed, it creates none of the awkwardness that attends, for example, the inclusion of Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan in the post-Bāqir cluster. It also allows the ‘Abbāsīd caliphs to be presented schematically as a kind of mirror-image of the Ḥusaynid Imāms. They make a homologous claim but one that is obviously less legitimate from the perspective of the schema’s author. This is important because the ‘Abbāsīds and the Ḥusaynid-Imāmīyya are the only factions of the schema that still had living, present Imāms at the time of its composition. All other factions are depicted to be dead ends, as they are awaiting the return of one or another Mahdī from a place of occultation. This is a strong reason to think, as suggested previously, that one of the schema’s original main purposes may have been exactly this: to elucidate the ‘Abbāsīd claim in relation to the ‘true’, Ḥusaynid line.

757 Cf. the comments at Nagel 1972:87, who already suggests the same.

758 The Ḥusaynid-Imāmī perspective was probably similar to that of the anti-‘Abbāsīd arguments made by Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan, discussed above (p. 500 n.649, 521–523), which simply granted, at least for the sake of argument, that Abū Hāshim had indeed made a *waṣīyya* to Muḥammad b. ‘Alī, because this is ultimately a claim to the inheritance of ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib’s rights to the Imāmate, and the Ḥasanīds felt they had good arguments that their claim to ‘Alī’s inheritance was better still.

But what about the other factions of Q_1 's post-Abū Hāshim cluster? In *Uṣūl al-niḥāl*'s version of the schema, the only other faction is the Ḥarbiyya. They are depicted as 'a party of the Shī'a from the supporters of Abū Hāshim' (*tā'ifa min al-Shī'a min aṣḥāb Abī hāshim*) who then asserted that the Imāmate passed to 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya. But the emphasis is overwhelmingly on the esoteric aspects of this doctrine. They are not said to have believed in some kind of mundane *waṣiyya*. In fact, nothing is said about a *waṣiyya* at all. Rather, the Ḥarbiyya are depicted to have believed in a transferal (*intiḳāl*) of the Imāmate, which is then further specified as a transfer of the Holy Spirit that had resided in the Prophet to 'Alī, Ḥasan, Ḥusayn, Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya and Abū Hāshim until it reached Ibn Mu'āwiya [*Niḥ.*37:3, 6, 14–16]. The text claims this constituted a deification of the Imāms and goes on to describe the Ḥarbiyya's more general doctrine of the transmigration of souls [*Niḥ.*37:13–14]. Thus, for ps.-Nāshī' it seems the Ḥarbiyya were primarily a group with the kind of doctrines typically seen as *ghuluww* by the heresiographers but who also had a Kaysānī structure to their beliefs about the identity of the Imāms. For him, they supported Ibn Mu'āwiya's rebellion and explained his Imāmate essentially esoterically, i.e., as the result of the transmigration of the Imām's spirit. Q_2 possibly agreed with some aspects of this depiction, in particular that the Ḥarbiyya believed in the transmigration of the Imām's spirit into 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya, as there is convergence with the BdC [*Mugh.*XX₂.178:7; *MaqA.*22:7; *Hūr.*214:17–18], but otherwise the reports are completely divergent. In particular, Q_2 asserted that the Ḥarbiyya claimed Ibn Mu'āwiya became Imām by means of a *waṣiyya* [*Fir.*29:3–4; *Mugh.*XX₂.178:6; *Hūr.*214:17]. Q_2 's version of the post-Abū Hāshim cluster will be discussed below. The point here is just that we cannot accurately reconstruct Q_1 's cluster except in the case of the 'Abbāsids and the fact that a Ḥarbiyya with a commitment to 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya's Imāmate were present in some form.

Finally, the two sub-clusters connected with the 'Abbāsids, however, were certainly present already in Q_1 [*Niḥ.*31:13–36:17; *Mugh.*XX₂.177:13–178:2; *MaqA.*21:9–22:3; cf. *Fir.*41:13–43:4]⁷⁵⁹, but they are structurally idiosyncratic, above all because the schematic connections between them and the original 'Abbāsīd faction from which they supposedly divide are unclear. The first *iftirāq* is over the doctrine that the Imāmate had been inherited by 'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib as the Prophet's paternal uncle, rather than having been bequeathed to the 'Abbāsīds by Abū Hāshim as per the earlier 'Abbāsīd legitimization narrative. One faction, led by a certain Abū Hurayra al-Rāwandī and thus called the Hurayriyya or the Rāwandīyya, adopts this position. The other faction rejects it and sticks with the earlier claim that the Imāmate was bequeathed to Muḥammad b. 'Alī by Abū Hāshim [*Niḥ.*31:13–32:4;

759 See p. 432–435.

Mugh.XX₂.177:13–16; cf. *Fir.42:6–43:4*; *MaqA.21:9–13*]. This cluster is structurally anomalous, as the ‘Abbāsids do not split here after the death of an Imām over the identity of his successor, but simply at some point *during* Mahdī’s reign over a different question: how the Imāmate came to the ‘Abbāsids in the first place. This is the only time this happens in *Q_i*’s *iftirāq*-schema. It also means that one party in the split is simply a repetition of the original ‘Abbāsīd ‘mother-faction’. Indeed, there is no true two-way split; this is just a way of depicting, according to the pattern of successive *iftirāq*, the adoption of a new doctrine by part of an existing faction. This occurs nowhere else in *Q_i*’s schema.

The second ‘Abbāsīd sub-cluster revolves around the reaction to Manṣūr’s killing of Abū Muslim, which gives rise to two factions: the first, known as the Muslimiyya (or Abū Muslimiyya), holds out messianic hopes for him and denies his death; the second, known as the Rizāmiyya, affirms that he is dead [*Niḥ.32:10–19, 35:14–36:17*; *Mugh.XX₂.177:16–178:2*; *MaqA.21:13–22:3*; cf. *Fir.41:13–42:5*]. If this were a standard cluster, we would expect that after the death of an ‘Abbāsīd Imām (probably Saffāḥ), some of his supporters would decide to follow Abū Muslim as the next Imām, then that Abū Muslim’s supporters would split on his death into messianists and non-messianists. But no ‘Abbāsīd Imām is mentioned at all when the cluster is introduced. Rather, it is simply stated that the ‘Abbāsīds split again without mention of when or for what reason. We do not even know from when these groups are supposed to have followed Abū Muslim as Imām; the focus is entirely on the question his death. Indeed, we would also expect that the Rizāmiyya, having followed Abū Muslim as Imām but affirmed his death, would then be said to have followed some successor (perhaps an ‘Abbāsīd), but all they do is affirm Abū Muslim’s death. The *iftirāq*-schema’s dominant theme, namely the transmission of the Imāmate, seems to have receded into the background.

In summary, neither ‘Abbāsīd sub-cluster is attached to the schema in the standard way, and the connection between the two is unclear. It is thus possible that, although they were evidently integrated into *Q_i* already, they were not part of the *ur*-schema. Two other factors seem relevant to this question, although it is not clear how they should be interpreted. First, there is the chronology. The first *iftirāq* is depicted to have occurred during the reign of Mahdī. The earliest extant versions of the faction-description of the Hurayriyya/Rāwandiyya all state this explicitly [*Niḥ.31:17*; *Fir.43:4*; *Mugh.XX₂.177:13*]. That fits with what we know from elsewhere, too: the doctrine that the Imāmate passed directly from the Prophet to ‘Abbās b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib *might* have been in circulation earlier, but it did not become official ‘Abbāsīd dogma until sometime after Mahdī took power⁷⁶⁰. The descriptions also

⁷⁶⁰ See p. 522 esp. n.739.

refer to the time of Mahdī (*ayyām al-mahdī*) as if it is in the past. That may just result from rewording by the authors of the extant works, but this sub-cluster cannot realistically have been composed before the 170s anyway. Thus, if it was part of the *ur*-schema it would make the latter's *terminus quem* later by around two decades. The second sub-cluster, however, concerns an event that occurred much earlier: Abū Muslim was killed in 137/755. Thus, these sub-clusters are not only structurally disconnected from one another but also chronologically disparate.

We should also ask why we get these two sub-clusters at all. Why should these be the most relevant splits amongst the supporters of the 'Abbāsids? It is perhaps not so surprising that the emergence of the doctrine that 'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib inherited the Imāmate directly from the Prophet is covered by the schema. It may not give us a standard *iftirāq*-cluster, but it is at least clearly connected with central focus of the doctrine of the inheritance of the Imāmate. Moreover, there would have been no other way to integrate the position of the Hurayriyya without building in a post-Prophet cluster in which there was a split between supporters of 'Alī and supporters of 'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. The Ḥusaynid-Imāmī author of the schema would not have wanted to make that concession. It is thus quite plausible, despite the structural awkwardness and the chronological implications, that this sub-cluster *did* belong to the *ur*-schema. But that is not true of the other. Why focus on the split over Abū Muslim when numerous other travails of the early 'Abbāsīd period could potentially have been schematized? Why not, for example, create a cluster around the revolt of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-'Abbās (d.147/764) or the challenge of 'Īsā b. Mūsā (d.167/783)⁷⁶¹? Here, it seems that some other perspective has entered, one that is much less in keeping with the *iftirāq*-schema as a whole. That impression is compounded by the fact that the description of the Muslimiyya also describes a doctrine unconnected with the succession to the Imāmate. It states that they permit forbidden things for anyone who recognizes the true Imām and it associates them with the Khurramiyya [*Nih.*32:18; *Fir.*42:2–3; *Mugh.*XX₂.178:1–2]. That too is highly atypical of the *iftirāq*-schema.

2.1.1.2 The Elements First Witnessed for Q_2

We cannot know that an element was added in Q_2 merely because it is first witnessed for that source. We know that some element was in Q_1 at all only because of the convergence of Q_2 (reconstructed from the convergence of the *Firaq* with the BdC and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*) with *Uṣūl al-niḥal*, but the fact that Q_2 has some element that is absent from *Uṣūl al-niḥal* does not show it was necessarily absent also from Q_1 . It may simply be that ps.-Nāshī' or an intermediary omitted it. Thus, unless we

761 See *EP*³.“‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī” [Lassner] and *EP*².“‘Īsā b. Mūsā” [D. Sourdel].

also have some other reason to think that an element cannot have been present in Q_1 , we can say merely that it is *first witnessed* for Q_2 . The only large elements for which such a reason exists are the post-‘Alī al-Riḍā *iftirāq*-cluster and its following *ikhtilāf*-cluster on the status of Muḥammad al-Jawād’s Imāmate whilst he was still a child. These elements will be discussed together in 2.1.1.2.1. The other elements first witnessed for Q_2 will be dealt with in 2.1.1.2.1.

2.1.1.2.1 The Post-‘Alī al-Riḍā Cluster and the *ikhtilāf* Over Muḥammad al-Jawād

The primary argument that the post-‘Alī al-Riḍā cluster and the following *ikhtilāf*-cluster over the status of Muḥammad al-Jawād’s Imāmate whilst he was still a minor were first added in Q_2 is chronological and has been given above⁷⁶². Beyond this, the character of Q_2 ’s post-Riḍā cluster also suggests it did not come from Q_1 , because it contrasts with the earlier clusters of the schema. For one thing, it is especially sparse. Unlike in the post-Bāqir, post-Ja‘far and post-Mūsā clusters, none of the factions is named. Indeed, it is the first cluster of the entire schema where that is true. This also means that the standard etymological information on faction-names that we find in all clusters from Q_1 is absent. We get only the identity of the Imāms the factions followed.

The character of the schematization also differs from what has gone before. Of course, one of the factions supports Muḥammad al-Jawād [*Fir.*72:8–10; *Mugh.* XX₂:181:13]. But another retrospectively rejects ‘Alī al-Riḍā’s Imāmate altogether and turns to the belief that Mūsā al-Kāẓim was the last Imām, i.e., they join the Wāqifa of the post-Mūsā cluster [*Fir.*72:14–16; *Mugh.* XX₂:181:14–15]. The third faction also rejects ‘Alī al-Riḍā and now claims the Imāmate had really passed from Mūsā to Aḥmad b. Mūsā, i.e., Riḍā’s brother [*Fir.*72:11–13; *Mugh.* XX₂:181:14]⁷⁶³. That is all historically plausible. The division within the Ḥusaynid-Imāmiyya between the Wāqifa (who had denied Mūsā’s death and claimed he was the Mahdī) and the Qaṭiyya, (who had affirmed his death and held that the Imāmate had passed to ‘Alī al-Riḍā) was still alive at the time of Riḍā’s own death⁷⁶⁴. When Riḍā died leaving only a child to succeed him, it seems to have reignited the crisis. Some people were pushed (back?) into the camp of the Wāqifa. Others could well have responded by trying to ‘backtrack’ and follow a different son of Mūsā instead, perhaps arguing

⁷⁶² See p. 442–443.

⁷⁶³ Nawbakhtī has the slight variation that they believed the Imāmate went to ‘Alī *then* Aḥmad due to a direct *waṣīyya* from Mūsā.

⁷⁶⁴ See p. 302, 443, also Modaressi 1993:60–62.

that this state of affairs invalidated Riḍā's Imāmate just as much as if he had died without leaving a male heir⁷⁶⁵.

In Q_1 , however, it seems there was no desire to schematize such retrospective annulment of the Imāmate of the Imām who has just died. This is because Q_1 's schema was not about people's personal history of which Imāms they had ever followed; it was about the possible lines of transmission. A switch of allegiance by some people from one line to another following a certain Imām's death did not make them a new faction; such people were simply understood now as adherents of the other line⁷⁶⁶. In Q_1 , there is, for example, no post-'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far cluster in which some of his followers maintained his Imāmate before Mūsā's and others annulled it. Rather, the issue is dealt with entirely in the post-Ja'far cluster. Those who annulled 'Abd Allāh's Imāmate are simply schematized as if they had never accepted it at all; they effectively follow Mūsā directly after Ja'far. Only those who continued to believe in 'Abd Allāh's Imāmate before Mūsā's are a discrete post-Ja'far faction: the Fuṭḥiyya. We would thus expect that if Q_1 's principles of schematization were still applied in the post-Riḍā cluster, those who now join the Wāqifa after Riḍā's death would simply have been collapsed into the original Wāqifa of the post-Mūsā cluster and passed over in silence in the post-Riḍā cluster. The faction that now follows Aḥmad b. Mūsā would also have been depicted to have done so already in the post-Mūsā cluster, as Riḍā is now irrelevant to their line of Imāms, too⁷⁶⁷. Apparently, then, the author of Q_2 followed slightly different principles of schematization when composing the post-Riḍā cluster⁷⁶⁸.

The *ikhtilāf*-cluster on the status of Jawād's Imāmate whilst he was still a child is even more obviously of a different character from the preceding *iftirāq*-schema. It is formally distinct, as it is not *iftirāq*-material at all. It has nothing to do with the generation of *firaq* upon the death of an Imām, or even to do with delineating discrete factions. Rather, as is common in the *kalām* doxographies where *ikhtilāf*-clusters dominate, it simply lists variant opinions on a particular topic, in this case on

765 Modaresi 1993:63–64.

766 Balkhī and Ash'arī do have factions that switch to Ḥusaynids after following Kaysānī Imāms, but even that is not the same thing, as these factions don't annul their commitment to their previous Imāms and thus do believe in a distinct line of succession. See p. 719, 723.

767 In Balkhī's version, we get two factions following Aḥmad b. Mūsā, one in the post-Mūsā cluster (see p. 142, 296–297) and the one in the post-Riḍā cluster. Whether this reflects Q_2 or not is impossible to say, but either way it doesn't change the fact that the inclusion of the followers of Aḥmad in the post-Riḍā cluster is anomalous.

768 Its content also suggests that it was composed not too long after the events, as there is no memory in later Imāmi literature of opposition to Jawād taking the form of 'defection' to the Wāqifa or support for Aḥmad b. Mūsā.

whether the Community was obliged to obey Jawād whilst he was still a child⁷⁶⁹. One group claims it was obligatory because, even in that state, he possessed the same knowledge of ‘the laws and all the affairs of the world’ (*al-aḥkām wa-jamī’ umūr al-dunyā*) as the previous Imāms [*Mugh.XX₂*:181:19; *MaqA.30*:15–31:1; cf. *Fir.76*:8–9; *MaqQ*:98:14–15]. The other group denies it, which seems to give them more explaining to do. They assert that he was the Imām in the sense that the Imāmate was his alone (*al-amr kāna la-hu dūna l-nās*) but obedience became obligatory only when he reached maturity and was capable of fulfilling the functions of the Imām; until that time, it was up to the scholars to lead the prayer and apply the law [*Mugh.XX₂*:181:19–182:3; *Fir.75*:6–8; *MaqQ.97*:10–14]. This is a major thematic departure from the preceding schema. Of course, the specific issue of a child-Imām had not arisen previously⁷⁷⁰, but the point here is that no doctrinal issues concerning the *nature* of the Imāmate whatsoever are even touched upon before this in the *iftirāq*-schema. It is concerned exclusively with divisions over of the *line* of Imāms and the possibility that some dead Imām is the Mahdī; it does not register disagreement over anything else. Yet suddenly, the questions of the Imām’s knowledge, his role in defining law and the possibility of scholars performing the same function all intervene at once in this *ikhtilāf*-cluster. Its perspective is clearly that of someone with an interest in the technicalities of doctrinal questions far beyond the narrow issue of the line of inheritance of the Imāmate, probably someone with a background in *kalām*.

It is plausible that the *ikhtilāf*-cluster was added at the same time as the post-Riḍā cluster, i.e., by the author of *Q₂*, in which case this person was probably a *mutakallim* active during Jawād’s Imāmate. The main reasons for this are chronological and doctrinal. Neither passage can have been composed much later than Jawād’s own lifetime and could well have been written during his Imāmate. Both passages assume Jawād to be (or have been) the accepted Imām. In the case of the *ikhtilāf*-cluster, this chronology is also suggested by the fact that, although ‘Alī al-Hādī also became Imām as a child, this—which would be obviously relevant to the main theme of the cluster—is not mentioned. The content of the post-Riḍā cluster also indicates it comes from this period. There is no memory in later Imāmī literature of opposition to Jawād taking the form of ‘defection’ to the Wāqifa or support for Aḥmad b. Mūsā (outside of citations from the *Firaq* itself). Indeed, the only other early reference to belief in the Imāmate of Aḥmad b. Mūsā places it in the time of Riḍā, not in the controversy after his death: Kashshī gives a report in which two brothers, Ibrāhīm and Ismā’īl, the sons of Abū Sammāl, believed Aḥmad

⁷⁶⁹ On the reconstruction of the cluster as it must have appeared in *Q₂*, see p. 304–307, 630–632.

⁷⁷⁰ See p. 444 esp. n.525.

to be the Imām after Mūsā but rescinded their belief when they learned that Aḥmad had taken part in the rebellion of Abū l-Sarāya. They then join the Wāqifa⁷⁷¹. The cluster was probably put together not long after the events it describes, by someone who experienced tensions within the Imāmī community that were important in that moment but which had little subsequent prominence.

2.1.1.2.2 Other Material First Witnessed for Q_2

In the case of the other elements first witnessed for Q_2 , there is no preponderant reason why they must have been absent from Q_1 . All we can do is make the positivistic observation that they appear first in the material that can be reconstructed for Q_2 . This applies to several faction-descriptions that appear within clusters also witnessed for Q_1 :

- The faction that believes in the succession of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya immediately after 'Alī in the post-'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib cluster [*Fir.* 20:10–21:8; *Mugh.* XX₂:176:19–177:3]⁷⁷².
- The faction in the post-Abū Hāshim cluster [*Fir.*28:3–29:2; *Mugh.*XX₂:178:2–5] that believes that Abū Hāshim bequeathed the Imāmate to (*awṣā ilā*) his brother/nephew⁷⁷³.
- The Bayāniyya, also in the post-Abū Hāshim cluster. It is not certain, however, what belief was attributed to them in Q_2 . In Balkhī's description, they are said to have believed that Abū Hāshim made a bequest (*waṣīyya*) to Bayān b. Sim'ān [*Mugh.*XX₂:178:14–15, *Ḥūr.*215:10–11, *MaqA.*23:3–6]. Nawbakhtī's version depicts them, rather, to have believed that Abū Hāshim was the Mahdī and that there was to be no further *waṣī* after him [*Fir.*30:8–9]⁷⁷⁴.

From a chronological point of view, these factions could certainly have stood in Q_1 already (or even the *ur*-schema, should the two be distinct). As we will see shortly, it is notable that Q_2 's treatment of all of them seems to be closely bound up with the influence that 'Abbāsīd historiography centred on the narrative of Abū Hāshim's *waṣīyya* had on its schematization of Kaysānī factions. If they were present in similar form in Q_1 , that influence must already have been at work there, but we cannot know if that was the case.

⁷⁷¹ See *RijālK.*472:5–11, also *EIsl.* "Aḥmad b. Mūsā" [Gholami]. On the two brothers and their father, see Modarressi 2003:283–284.

⁷⁷² See p. 418.

⁷⁷³ See p. 432.

⁷⁷⁴ See p. 325–326, 432, 618–619.

There are also numerous elements first witnessed for Q_2 that appear *within* descriptions of factions present in Q_1 . Most, however, are small, inconsequential, and have to do with the slightly different ways in which Q_2 and *Uṣūl al-niḥal* word common passages⁷⁷⁵. Elements of this type for which Q_2 's material is additional in respect of what appears in *Uṣūl al-niḥal*, rather than merely variant, become more common from the post-Bāqir cluster onwards. But, as discussed previously, it would be especially difficult to claim that *Uṣūl al-niḥal* must reflect Q_1 better here. Ps.-Nāshī' generally offers much shorter descriptions from this point in his version of the schema in comparison with what comes before, and there are good indications he was summarizing from a source that contained at least some of the material first witnessed only for Q_2 . For example, despite employing the same faction-names for the post-Ja'far factions as Q_2 , *Uṣūl al-niḥal* has less of the material on the etymologies of these names, to the point that it is sometimes missing entirely. At the very least, it is no more likely that this material was absent from Q_1 than that ps.-Nāshī' simply left it out⁷⁷⁶.

There are only three cases where the material first witnessed in Q_2 's version of a faction-description is more significant in size and substantively different from that witnessed for Q_1 's version. One concerns the Mughīriyya. Q_2 and *Uṣūl al-niḥal* converge over the report that this faction advocated that Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan was both the Imām after Bāqir and the Mahdī who had not really died in Medina⁷⁷⁷. Q_2 's version, however, also has a sub-group of the Mughīriyya who advocate that Bāqir had bequeathed (*awṣā*) the Imāmate first to Mughīra b. Sa'īd himself and that it passed to Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh only later⁷⁷⁸. We will see below that in Balkhī's (and Ash'arī's) version of the schema, this pattern of certain factions believing an 'Alid Imām bequeathed the Imāmate to a non-'Alid *ghālī* as his (interim) successor occurs more often, but it can be confirmed for Q_2 only in this case. It is possibly connected with a more frequent use of the *waṣīyya*-paradigm to account for the transfer of the Imāmate outside of the Ḥusaynid line in Q_2 than is witnessed for Q_1 . We will return to this question below⁷⁷⁹.

775 See p. 418–441.

776 See p. 439–440.

777 See p. 437–439.

778 Compare *Tab.24* with *Tab.38*. The relevant passage is *b*, which is missing from *Uṣūl al-niḥal* and therefore not witnessed for Q_1 .

779 See p. 539–554 and p. 554–557.

Another case is found in the description of the Wāqifa. Here, Q_2 includes an anecdote concerning how this faction came also to be called 'the Mamṭūra' [*Fir.*68:17–69:7; *Mugh.*XX₂:181:8; *Hūr.*218:18–219:2; *MaqA.*29:1–4]. There is some variation between Balkhī-Ash'arī's and Nawbakhtī's versions, but the anecdote essentially involves either Yūnus b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān or both he and 'Alī b. Mītham in a disputation with some members of the Wāqifa. One or the other of them calls their opponents 'rain-soaked dogs' (*kilāb mamṭūra*)⁷⁸⁰. *Uṣūl al-niḥal* does not have the anecdote or use the name 'Mamṭūra' at all. This material is essentially etymological in function and thus fits with the general situation in these clusters, whereby such material tends to be absent from *Uṣūl al-niḥal* even if it probably was present in Q_1 . The more significant here issue, however, is the presence of the two theologians: Yūnus b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān and 'Alī b. Mītham. If the report—which must be Imāmī in origin, as it deals with an internal debate and an obscure nickname used by the Imāmiyya—was composed after Yūnus's death, then it probably comes from the 210s, which would fit better with the likely date of Q_2 's composition than Q_1 's. But that does not have to be the case. The disputation itself presumably took place before 'Alī al-Riḍā's own death in 203/818 and could conceivably have happened already in the 180s. Another aspect, however, is the focus. The schema does not refer to figures principally active in *kalām* at any point previously⁷⁸¹. If the author of Q_2 was indeed an Imāmī *mutakallim* writing in the 210s or slightly later, this could well be an addition of that same author, who would not then be either Yūnus b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān or 'Alī b. Mītham themselves.

The final case where a larger amount of material is first witnessed in Q_2 's version of a description present in Q_1 concerns the Ḥarbiyya. The situation here is made more complex by the fact that there is also significant variation between Nawbakhtī's and Balkhī's versions of the description, meaning we cannot even reconstruct Q_2 's version with as much accuracy as usual⁷⁸². Nevertheless, one thing is clear: Q_2 understood the faction to have claimed that the Ḥarbiyya asserted 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya was the Imām due to a testamentary bequest (*waṣiyya*) from Abū Hāshim. This is not witnessed for Q_1 , as *Uṣūl al-niḥal* does not make this assertion, focussing instead on the more esoteric aspects of their doctrine⁷⁸³. Again, we cannot know if it is *Uṣūl al-niḥal* or Q_2 that more closely reflects Q_1 in this matter. It is significant, however, that Q_2 's material on the Ḥarbiyya seems closely related to the three factions first witnessed for Q_2 listed above. This has to do with the role

⁷⁸⁰ See p. 297–302.

⁷⁸¹ Unless the anecdote about Zurāra b. A'yan's opinion on the succession to Ja'far witnessed first in the Balkhī-Ash'arī material actually goes back to Q_2 . See p. 724–725.

⁷⁸² See p. 324, 619–626.

⁷⁸³ See p. 530, 586–587.

of the ‘Abbāsīd *waṣīyya*-narrative in structuring Q_2 's schematization of the Kaysānī factions, which is even more pronounced than in Q_1 . It is to this issue we will now turn.

2.1.2.2.3 The Influence of the ‘Abbāsīd *waṣīyya*-narrative in Q_2

Several elements first witnessed for Q_2 seem to be connected with an ‘Abbāsīd perspective on the history of the Kaysāniyya. This is most obvious in the post-Abū Hāshim cluster. As we have seen, in Q_1 's version of this cluster, the ‘Abbāsīds are accommodated in line with their own legitimation narrative, i.e., based on the claim that Abū Hāshim made a *waṣīyya* to Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-‘Abbās. But the only other faction of the cluster in Q_1 , the Ḥarbiyya, do not make a *waṣīyya*-based claim, at least as far as can be established from the witness of *Uṣul al-niḥal*. In Q_2 's version of the cluster, however, we find something different: the cluster essentially becomes a four-way competition over the *waṣīyya* of Abū Hāshim. This is because Q_2 's version of the Ḥarbiyya, as well as its additional factions of the Bayāniyya and those who believe Abū Hāshim's brother/nephew inherited the Imāmate, all claim that their candidates received Abū Hāshim's *waṣīyya* (or in Nawbakhtī's material on the Bayāniyya, that there was no *waṣī* after Abū Hāshim). Q_2 's post-Abū Hāshim cluster thus seems to imply a world where enough people had viewed Abū Hāshim as Imām that several contenders would have tried to take over his support-base. As we have seen above, however, outside the *ift-irāq*-schema, the sparse evidence this was the case always appears as part of one or another version of the ‘Abbāsīd *waṣīyya*-narrative⁷⁸⁴. That raises the question whether Q_2 's post-Abū Hāshim cluster is just a more schematic reflex of that same narrative. Given the fact that the more salient ‘Abbāsīd claim was based on the idea of a *waṣīyya* from the childless Abū Hāshim, was it merely schematically appealing to understand *all* the factions of the post-Abū Hāshim cluster to be making symmetrical claims?

The other faction first witnessed for Q_2 but found in a cluster present in Q_1 is those Kaysāniyya who believed that Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya inherited the Imāmate directly from ‘Alī, cutting out Ḥasan and Ḥusayn completely. Again, the only other place where we find an assertion of this line of Imāms is in connection with the ‘Abbāsīd *waṣīyya*-narrative, where there is an interest in cutting out Ḥasan and Ḥusayn from the line of succession⁷⁸⁵. All the other early evidence, especially Kaysānī poetry itself, indicates that the Kaysāniyya revered ‘Alī and his three sons

⁷⁸⁴ See p. 517–528.

⁷⁸⁵ See p. 526–527.

as a group and saw them all as Imāms⁷⁸⁶. Is this faction too, then, a reflection of a specifically 'Abbāsīd perspective on Kaysānī history?

One factor to consider in trying to answer these questions is the chronology. There is some evidence that Abū Hāshim died shortly before 84/703, i.e., only about four years after Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya⁷⁸⁷. The more commonly given dates are 96/715, 98/716 or 99/717⁷⁸⁸. In any case, the 'Abbāsīds cannot have put their claim to Abū Hāshim's *waṣīyya* into broad circulation until long after this point. The sources are unanimous that the identity of the Imām on whose behalf the Hāshimiyya organization was working was kept secret from all but its highest echelons, certainly until the death of Muḥammad b. 'Alī (d.125/743) and perhaps until shortly before Saffāḥ was proclaimed caliph⁷⁸⁹. That means that the organisation cannot also have been spreading the propaganda that the true Imām was Muḥammad b. 'Alī due to a *waṣīyya* from Abū Hāshim⁷⁹⁰. Moreover, when they finally began doing so, its goal cannot have been to convince the hordes of believers in Abū Hāshim's Imāmate to support the 'Abbāsīd cause. There were no such hordes to begin with, and it was now three decades or more since he had died. Even if *some* Kaysānī groups in Kufa and its *sawād* might have seen Abū Hāshim as having been the Imām, this would not be enough to explain why the *waṣīyya*-narrative was given such salience by 'Abbāsīd propagandists. It must have been intended for a bigger audience. Presumably, it was designed to engage the large number of people in Iraq and Khurasan who favoured Hāshimite rule and it primarily addressed the pressing question why it was these particular Hāshimites who now held the Imāmate to the exclusion of the Ḥasanīds and Ḥusaynīds whom many had assumed to be first in line.

⁷⁸⁶ See p. 515–516, p. 543.

⁷⁸⁷ This is the position adopted by Nagel (1972:55–56, esp.n.7) and Halm (1982:56–57). The main evidence for it is that Mas'ūdī (*Murūj*.VII:404:1–2) claims Abū Hāshim died during the reign of 'Abd al-Malik (r.65–86/685–705) (although elsewhere, Mas'ūdī puts his death in the reign of Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik and gives the more usual date of 98/716 (*Tanbih*, 338:8)). But Nagel supplies two more pieces of evidence. The first is that Kuthayyir 'Azza's list of caliphs names Abū Hāshim and apparently considers him already to be dead. As we have seen, however, the poem in question is corrupt. The original verses are by A'shā Banī Rabi'a and refer not to Abū Hāshim but Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya (see n.711, above). The second piece of evidence is that Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd (d.656/1258) mentions that 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥārith b. Nawfal was present at Abū Hāshim's burial (*ShNB*.VII:150:11). Ibn Nawfal died in 84/703 according to Ibn Ḥajar on the authority of Ibn Sa'd (Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, II:318). If both these things are true, then Nagel and Halm must be right.

⁷⁸⁸ See the discussion and sources cited in Sharon 1983:132–133, who favours a date between 96 and 98. Also see Nagel 1972:55–56 and the sources cited there, which he dismisses in favour of the early date. Al-Qāḍī 1974:208, n.3 seems to misunderstand Nagel's point.

⁷⁸⁹ Nagel 1972:162–165; Sharon 1983:146, 157–158, 165, 199–200, 217–218; 224–225; Lassner 1986:3, 6 (esp.n.8), 11, 80–81, 129; Crone 1989:104; Agha 2003:103–105.

⁷⁹⁰ Nagel 1972:107–116, 163–165; Crone 1989:102–106; Agha 2003:103–105.

The ‘Abbāsids needed a way to explain how they *alone* had inherited the rights to the Imāmate from ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib to the exclusion of the Ḥasanids and Ḥusaynids⁷⁹¹. The person of Abū Hāshim and the mechanism of the *waṣīyya* were the way to achieve this⁷⁹². Abū Hāshim was chosen above all because he was a grandson of ‘Alī. His father was the most senior of ‘Alī’s sons after Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, had survived them, and had become the figurehead of the most successful Shī‘ī rebellion since Ḥasan surrendered the Imāmate to Mu‘āwiya⁷⁹³. Importantly, Abū Hāshim was also available for the purpose: he and his father had genuinely been close to the ‘Abbāsids, and he was without a living male heir⁷⁹⁴. But the legitimacy of the mechanism of the *waṣīyya* itself cannot have depended on the fact that the Shī‘a generally understood it to be the default means for the transferal of the Imāmate post-‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. As we have seen, they did not, not even in Khurasan. Initially, it probably relied directly, rather, on the model of the Prophet’s *waṣīyya* to ‘Alī: just as the rights to the Imāmate were granted to ‘Alī by a *waṣīyya* from an uncle without living male heirs, so they could be granted to Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abd Allāh from Abū Hāshim by the same mechanism and for the same reason. The idea of the Prophet’s *waṣīyya* to ‘Alī was certainly not accepted by everyone either, but it was at least in broad circulation and could have provided the precedent that rendered the whole construct meaningful. Many people with Hāshimite sympathies—as long as they weren’t also diehard ‘Alid idealists—could initially have found this doctrinal sticking plaster sufficient to hold back any concerns about the legitimacy of those who had now seized the Imāmate⁷⁹⁵.

The chronological issue for *Q*₂’s post-Abū Hāshim cluster is that all its other factions would have to have made their claims about Abū Hāshim’s *waṣīyya* before the ‘Abbāsīd *waṣīyya*-narrative was put into wide circulation. The faction that suppos-

791 See Crone 1989:103–104; Crone 2004:89–91.

792 Crone 1989:104.

793 The Hāshimiyya seem already to have cultivated a connection back to Mukhtār’s revolt; there were various similarities in both sloganeering and spirit between the two movements (although, as far as the slogans go, this was apparently true of all Shī‘ī rebellions). There also seem to have been some family links back to participants in the revolt (Crone 1980:n456; Sharon 1983:105–109, 175–177; Agha 2003:6,114). This probably made the connection to Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya via Abū Hāshim still more appealing for the ‘Abbāsids later on (Crone 1989:102).

794 Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya had already been close to the ‘Abbāsīd family, at least from the time of Ibn Zubayr’s revolt. They lived in close proximity at Ṭā‘if, apparently trying to avoid the pressure from the Zubayrids and Umayyads to pledge allegiance to one or the other (Sharon 1983:111–115). The close relations between this branch of the ‘Alids and the ‘Abbāsids continued: Abū Hāshim was married to Fāṭima bt. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-‘Abbās, i.e. a cousin of Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abd Allāh (*Ibid.* 121 and the sources cited there).

795 Crone 1989:103–104.

edly asserted Abū Hāshim made a *waṣīyya* to his brother/nephew would presumably have done so immediately. We do not know when Bayān is supposed to have started claiming that he had received Abū Hāshim's *waṣīyya*, or else denying that there was a *waṣī* after Abū Hāshim, but he was executed following a minor revolt in 119/737⁷⁹⁶. Ibn Mu'āwiya didn't rebel in Kufa until 127/744 and apparently wasn't planning a rebellion any earlier than that; he was finally killed by Abū Muslim, probably in 131/748⁷⁹⁷. We would thus be looking at a very long-strung-out series of such claims.

In order to explain this, there are two options. One is that, in specifically Kaysānī circles, *waṣīyya* really was already established as the expected mechanism for the transferal of the post-'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib Imāmate by the end of the first century and that the author of *Q*₂ was somehow aware of this. In that case, the 'Abbāsids may have drawn on genuinely Kaysānī ideas about the transferal of the Imāmate, but it would still be the case that the *waṣīyya*-narrative would have been effective more widely amongst the Shī'a for the reasons just outlined. The other option is that it was only later that the far greater prominence of the 'Abbāsīd legitimization narrative made the idea of a competition over Abū Hāshim's *waṣīyya* into the *iftirāq*-schema's paradigm for understanding all the claims for the inheritance of the Imāmate that had emerged within Kaysānī circles in the period after Abū Hāshim's death.

The main problem here is once again that independent evidence for Kaysānī ideas about *waṣīyya* before the 'Abbāsids took power is sparse. There is some evidence that Mukhtār already referred to Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya, amongst various other epithets, as *waṣī l-waṣī*⁷⁹⁸. But even if this is accurate, it can't have meant a formal bequest of the Imāmate directly from 'Alī to Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya individually, as Mukhtār and his followers held that Ḥasan and Ḥusayn had had precedence in their claims to the office. The term would probably, rather, have invoked the idea

796 See Halm 1982:56–64. Cf. also Tucker 1975:242–243.

797 See *EP*³.“Abdallāh b. Mu'āwiya” [Borrut]; Tucker 1980; and Bernheimer 2006.

798 *Ṭab*.II:534:10; Ibn A'tham al-Kufī, *Futūḥ*, VI:208:8. The term *waṣī l-waṣī* seems to be an alternative to *mahdī ibn al-waṣī* (*Ansāb*.IV₂:150:15; *Ṭab*.II:534:3) (see above, n.690). The terms occur independently in two separate reports that Ṭabarī attributes to Abū Mikhnaf, but which Abū Mikhnaf received from different earlier authorities. Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī appears to mix material from both, whilst Baladhurī has only the first report cited by Ṭabarī. Al-Qāḍī (1974:76n2) disputes that *waṣī l-waṣī* is an accurate reflection of Mukhtār's usage but does not explain why it should be any more problematic than other terms attributed to him. She is possibly thinking of the fact that only the later Kaysānī poetry of Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī, rather than that of the earlier Kuthayyir 'Azza, uses the term *waṣī* for Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya (see n.801, below). It may thus be that the terminology of the historiography reflects later Kaysānī usage.

One of Nawbakhtī's additions to the *iftirāq*-schema puts the claim that Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya was the *waṣī* of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib in the mouth of Abū 'Amra Kaysān rather than Mukhtār (*Fir*.21:2).

that ‘Alī, in his last will and testament had addressed his sons as equals; as such, they were all his *awṣiyā*⁷⁹⁹. This generic *waṣīyya* may well have had nothing to do with the transfer of the Imāmate specifically, but it could still have been taken to imply that Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya had whatever rights due to inheritance that his recently departed brothers had also had, i.e., seniority amongst the ‘Alids and the right to make the ‘Alid claim for the Imāmate⁸⁰⁰. The later Kaysāniyya apparently amplified and reified this notion to put the three on the same level as their father, making them into ‘the four *awṣiyā*’, i.e., the only true Imāms after the Prophet. But it is not certain when this terminology was first used. It appears in verses ascribed to Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī, i.e., in the mid second century, but Kuthayyir, in the first century, seems still to have spoken of the ‘the *asbāt*’, which carries the idea of descent, not of a specific bequest⁸⁰¹. Certainly, our poets didn’t see the possibility of a *waṣīyya* beyond ‘Alī’s sons; they held Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya to be the last Imām and were awaiting his return as the Mahdi.

Of course, if Mukhtār really did use the term *waṣī* in relation to Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya and if *waṣīyya* had already developed in usage by the time of Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya’s death to mean a bequest specifically of the Imāmate to a particular successor—which is conjecture—then it is plausible that those Kaysāniyya who continued the Imāmate beyond Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya would have claimed it was transferred also to Abū Hāshim by *waṣīyya* simply for the sake of continuity, but there is no independent evidence of this. There is also no reason to think that Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya’s death would have been the catalyst for such a development. Abū Hāshim was the most senior member of that branch of the family after his father’s death. Whatever status he held within those Kaysāni circles that were not focussed solely on the Mahdism

799 This idea is reflected in the historiography around ‘Alī’s death, which purports to record his final *waṣīyya*. Its contents consist mostly in generic pious exhortations, and it is obviously of dubious authenticity. The important point, however, is that the reports stress that, whilst Ḥasan and Ḥusayn were the primary addressees of the *waṣīyya*, ‘Alī also explicitly addressed Muhammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya (*ḥaḥaḥta ma awṣaytu bi-hi akhawayka. . . fa-inni uṣṭka bi-mithlihi*), and reminded Ḥasan and Ḥusayn that he was their brother, ‘the son of their father’ and that they ‘knew their father loved him’ (e.g. *Ṭab.I:3461:10–3463:15*).

800 Mukhtār was perhaps already responding to doubts amongst the *shī‘at ‘Alī* as to whether Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya had the same status as his brothers of Prophetic lineage. See Nagel 1972:121,n.39.

801 We are talking here, once again, of the *qaṣīda* that comes in two versions, one always attributed to Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī and the other usually to Kuthayyir ‘Azza (see n.709 and n.710). The version in Ḥimyarī’s *Dīwān* speaks of the *awṣiyā*’ and *waṣīyya* (Shukur 1389:50–51); the earliest witness is the *Aghānī*, which attributes it to Ḥimyarī. The version attributed in nearly all sources—including all our heresiographies—to Kuthayyir speaks only of the *asbāt*. For some reason, however, in his *Dīwān* of Kuthayyir’s poetry, ‘Abbās essentially gives the version from the *Aghānī* attributed to Ḥimyarī (‘Abbās 1971/1391:521–522). On all this, see al-Qāḍī 1974:161n4.

of his father—which is unclear, as we have seen—could have arisen simply from that. Indeed, the only reference to the idea of a *waṣiyya* to Abū Hāshim outside the spurious statements in Haytham b. 'Adī and Iṣfahānī's versions of the 'Abbāsīd *waṣiyya*-narrative (which implausibly assert that the Shī'a generally or those in Khurasan believed in it) occurs in Qummī's description of the Bayāniyya, discussed above. But the whole point there is that the Bayāniyya understood Abū Hāshim to be the *waṣī* of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya in the strict sense of an appointed interim regent, in place only until Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya's messianic return⁸⁰². Even if the terminology there is accurate and contemporary with Bayān, this isn't the concept of *waṣiyya* we are looking for. It is thus impossible to know on this basis whether the doctrine of *waṣiyya*, understood as the standard means for the transferal of the Imāmate specifically and to a particular individual, somehow caught on amongst Kaysānī circles before Abū Hāshim's death in a way that was not true of the Shī'a more generally. We can say only that things look that way in *Q*₂'s post-Abū Hāshim cluster, where the whole set-up already seems to be constructed in response to the 'Abbāsīd *waṣiyya*-narrative.

2.1.1.3 *Ghuluww* and Messianism in the *iftirāq*-Schema

Wadād al-Qāḍī has argued that term *ghuluww* underwent significant development over the first two or three Islamic centuries. According to her, it was used in the first century to refer to the belief that 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib had not died and would soon return as the Mahdī to bring justice to the world. The group that held this belief, usually called the Saba'iyya, were thus the first Ghulāt⁸⁰³. She proposed that the usage amongst the Shī'a then shifted from the later first century on, as some Shī'ī groups began to hold beliefs that were even less acceptable to most Muslims and it thus became necessary for other Shī'ī Muslims to differentiate themselves clearly from these groups. These beliefs centred on the idea that the Imāms were indwelt by God (*ḥulūl*) and thus in some sense divine, but they also included the doctrines of primordial shadows (*azilla*), reincarnation (*tanāsukh*), epochal cycles (*dawr*) and a general rejection of the religious duties of Islam connected with the idea that knowledge of the true Imām renders the law void⁸⁰⁴. As such ideas became more common, she suggested, the term *ghuluww* came to refer to them, and the 'mere' belief that some Imām was the Mahdī was no longer considered sufficient to class one as a *ghālī*⁸⁰⁵. She saw this shift as being essentially complete by the second half

⁸⁰² See p. 518.

⁸⁰³ Al-Qāḍī 1976:295–301. See p. 683–691.

⁸⁰⁴ *Ibid.*303–305.

⁸⁰⁵ *Ibid.*305–306.

of the second century. Her main evidence for this depends on Madelung's argument that Nawbakhtī was basically reproducing a source from the second half of the second century intact⁸⁰⁶. Having accepted this, she assumed that Nawbakhtī's usage of the terms *ghuluww* and Ghulāt essentially reflects the usage of that second-century source. The *Firaq* nearly always uses these the terms for factions that hold the latter set of doctrines but does *not* use the term Ghulāt for 'merely' messianist factions, such as the Kaysāniyya and the Nawūsiyya who denied Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya's and Ja'far al-Ṣādiq's deaths, respectively, without holding any of the other doctrines. Therefore, this was, according to al-Qāḍī, also the second-century source's understanding of *ghuluww*⁸⁰⁷.

Tamima Bayhom-Daou later modified al-Qāḍī's hypothesis, arguing that the shift in the definition did not begin until the third century. She too basically accepted Madelung's hypothesis that Nawbakhtī's main source was Hishām b. al-Ḥakam but contended that the references to what she termed 'gnostic' *ghuluww* (i.e., divine-indwelling, the world of shadows, reincarnation and antinomianism etc.) in the early parts of the *Firaq* did not come from that source. She argued, instead, that they were added later by Nawbakhtī himself, partly in reliance on later sources like Warrāq's *Maqālāt*⁸⁰⁸. Likewise, she argued, Nawbakhtī had also removed usages of the term *ghuluww* in reference to 'mere' messianists from Hishām's text⁸⁰⁹. But she went further than this, arguing that it was not just that the referent of the term *ghuluww* had changed. Rather, the early second-century factions to which 'gnostic' *ghuluww* is attributed in the third-century heresiographies had in fact really been 'mere' messianists⁸¹⁰. For her, the other doctrines were retrospectively attributed to them by the third-century heresiographers, including Warrāq and Nawbakhtī, because of the understanding of *ghuluww* that emerged later, post-Hishām, and because the Imāmī Shī'a themselves began to embrace a messianist doctrine, making it unacceptable for them to think that second-century factions had been labelled Ghulāt for such beliefs⁸¹¹. She understood her source-critical reading of the *Firaq* to provide an important piece of evidence for her proposition.

Here is not the place to evaluate al-Qāḍī's and Bayhom-Daou's hypotheses in their entirety, but both rely on claims concerning what Nawbakhtī's main source

806 *Ibid.*302. She was, however, apparently less willing than most to accept the idea that the source *must* be Hishām b. al-Ḥakam specifically.

807 *Ibid.*302–306. She does observe that the way the term is used in respect of the Saba'iyya is an exception. On this question, see p. 684.

808 Bayhom-Daou 2003b:21–28; 1996:52–54; 2003a:80.

809 Bayhom-Daou 2003b:28–31.

810 Bayhom-Daou 2003b:19–21, 51–61.

811 Bayhom-Daou 2003b:51–61.

would have said about *ghuluww* and the Ghulāt. It thus matters that Nawbakhtī's main source is not Hishām b. al-Ḥakam's *Ikhtilāf al-nās fi l-imāma* or any other text from this period, but the *iftirāq*-schema from *Q*₂, a much later text. Moreover, as we can partially reconstruct not only *Q*₂ but also *Q*₁—which was also composed after Hishām's lifetime—we can now ask how the terms *ghuluww* and *ghulāt* were used there without having to speculate about where Nawbakhtī may or may not have been faithful to his source.

Strikingly, the answer is that there is no evidence they were used at all. There is no convergence amongst the extant witnesses to either version of the *iftirāq*-schema on any usage of terms connected to the *gh-l-w* root. This also means, of course, that there is also no evidence for Bayhom-Daou's proposition that Nawbakhtī removed his source's references to messianism as *ghuluww*; they appear not to have been there to begin with.

Could it be that the concept of *ghuluww* appears without the specific term? Several factions that appear in the schema are usually designated Ghulāt in the extant third-century heresiographies. Out of the factions that we know to have been present in *Q*₁, this applies to the Saba'iyya, the Ḥarbiyya and the Mughiriyya⁸¹². From the factions first witnessed for *Q*₂, it applies to the Bayāniyya⁸¹³. In neither *Q*₁ nor *Q*₂, however, did the *iftirāq*-schema itself classify these factions according to the concept of *ghuluww*. It depicted them, like all other factions, to have come into existence purely as the result of their position on the succession to a particular Imām in a particular moment of *iftirāq*. To the extent they are classified at all, it is only in terms of this standard aetiology.

What about the appearance of doctrines that the third-century heresiographies associate with *ghuluww* and the Ghulāt? Here we hit up against the narrow focus of the *iftirāq*-schema. Its faction-descriptions deal almost exclusively with the etymology of the faction-names and the position of the factions on the succession to the relevant Imāms. That is just as true for the factions called Ghulāt in the extant heresiographies as it is for all the other factions of the schema. The absence of references to the so-called 'gnostic'-type doctrines means Bayhom-Daou is right that most mentions of such doctrines we find in the *Firaq* are likely to be later insertions⁸¹⁴. But that still doesn't tell us how the authors of *Q*₁ or *Q*₂ conceived of *ghuluww*, just that the schema was focussed elsewhere: on providing an aetiology of Shī'i factions through disputes over the line of succession.

⁸¹² See p. 155–159, 410, 446–448, 633, 649–656, 681–684, 712–714.

⁸¹³ See p. 156, 458–451, 634. The first witness to the presence of the Manṣūriyya as part of the schema is Balkhī (see p. 332–333, 437).

⁸¹⁴ See p. 634 n.1058.

In the material we can reconstruct for Q_1 and Q_2 , there are, however, two, very brief references to doctrines that fall within the remit of what Bayhom-Daou calls gnostic-type *ghuluww*. The first occurs in the description of the (Abū) Muslimiyya, which attributes to them the belief that the religious duties and prohibitions do not apply to them because they know the true identity of the Imām [*Niḥ*.32:12–17; *Fir*.42:1–2; *Mugh*.XX₂:178:2]. The second is less clearly attested because of the degree of variation in the extant witnesses, but it seems that the description of the Ḥarbiyya may have attributed to them at the least the belief that the spirit of Abū Hāshim transferred to ‘Abd Allāh b. Mu‘āwiya, and possibly the belief that this was really the spirit of God [*Niḥ*.37:14–16; *Mugh*.XX₂:178:7; *MaqA*.22:7; *Ḥūr*.214:17–18]. It is difficult to say why, in these two minor instances, the descriptions go beyond the normal focus⁸¹⁵, but these incidental references to such doctrines still tell us nothing about how the authors of Q_1 and Q_2 authors would have defined *ghuluww*, because the term is not used and the factions are not classified according to these doctrines. In fact, the (Abū) Muslimiyya are not classified as Ghulāt even in the extant heresiographies. At most, these brief remarks show that such beliefs were being attributed to some factions by the late second century.

Of course, a doctrine that does feature prominently in the *iftirāq*-schema is messianism, precisely because it is a species of belief about the succession to the Imāmate and thus generates factions in moments of *iftirāq*. One possible position after an Imām dies is to deny that death, claim him to be the Mahdī and thus effectively end the line of succession with him. Nearly every one of the schema’s clusters has a faction that takes such a position. It remains the case, however, that the schema makes no connection between such messianism and the term *ghuluww* either. The factions that adopt a messianist position still appear in the schema for the same reason as all other factions: because of their position over the succession to the Imāmate in a given moment of *iftirāq*. There is no evidence that the authors of Q_1 and Q_2 considered messianism to constitute *ghuluww*; they simply say nothing about it.

Putting the issue of *ghuluww* aside, however, the messianist factions as a group are of further interest. For one thing, some of them play a schematically important role. There would be no post-‘Alī cluster without the Saba’iyya and no post-Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya cluster without those who believed Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya did not die and was in hiding at Raḍwā (called the Karibiyya in the BdC). That would leave only the post-Ḥusayn cluster, the post-Abū Hāshim cluster and the clusters from Bāqir onwards intact. The resulting stemma would thus have very few early junctions at all.

815 See p. 530–532.

Nevertheless, the role of such factions is not merely to fill out the earlier phases of the schema. For the faction-descriptions of the Saba'iyya and the believers in Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya's *ghayba* at Raḍwā are some of the most substantial of all. The former draws heavily on a *khbar* that must have been in circulation by the early second century concerned with Ibn Saba's denial of 'Alī's death⁸¹⁶; the latter cites numerous verses of Kaysānī poetry from Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī and Kuthayyir 'Azza on the theme of Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya's occultation at Raḍwā, together with a prose description of his circumstances⁸¹⁷. In fact, these are the main locations where the descriptions of the *iftirāq*-schema present material that can also be found outside the heresiographical tradition. That is not true of the descriptions of the beliefs surrounding the occultations of 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya and Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan, but even these are relatively detailed, providing information on the location where the non-dead Imāms/Mahdīs were supposedly in hiding⁸¹⁸. It thus seems that the schema's author considered this variety of messianism to have been an important theme in the history of disputes over the transmission of the Imāmate. The descriptions of the messianic factions are not openly anti-messianist, just as the descriptions generally are not openly critical of any of the factions. But the overall structure of the schema implies that the messianist option is always an error. The take-away message seems to be that the death of an Imām may tempt some people to declare him the Mahdī, but the succession to the Imāmate nevertheless always continues in the true Ḥusaynid line. If there is a polemical edge to this aspect of the *iftirāq*-schema's structuring of history, it is presumably directed internally, i.e., against those supporters of the Ḥusaynid Imāms who embraced messianic ideas, perhaps originally—given the likely dating—those who entertained such hopes concerning Ja'far al-Ṣādiq or Mūsā al-Kāẓim.

A final thing to note here is the way the schema associates support for certain non-Ḥusaynid Imāms (Ibn Mu'āwiya and Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan) *entirely* with the followers of the famous *ghālīs* Ibn Ḥarb and Muḡhira b. Sa'īd⁸¹⁹. This may indeed be an indirect expression of contempt for the supporters of these candidates for the Imāmate, but, again, as the terms *ghuluww* and *ghālī* are not used, we learn nothing about the authors' ideas about what constitutes *ghuluww* as such.

816 See p. 421–422.

817 See p. 318–322, 429–432.

818 See p. 326–329, 333–337, 435–436, 437–439.

819 See p. 506, 530.

2.1.1.4 Concepts of the Transmission of the Imāmate: Inheritance, *naṣṣ* and *waṣīyya*

Rodrigo Adem has argued that the Imāmī usage of the term *naṣṣ* to refer to the act of the Prophet's 'designation' of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib as his successor and to the act of each Imām's designation of the next dates from the latter half of the second century⁸²⁰. It was, he contends, adopted from the nascent discipline of Islamic legal hermeneutics (*uṣūl al-fiqh*), where it had come to refer to a divine or Prophetic speech-act that contains a religious ruling that can be understood directly, in contrast to rulings arrived at after procedures of inference by analogy (*qiyās*) or other varieties of reasoned interpretation (*ijtihād*) are applied to divine or Prophetic statements⁸²¹. Thus, according to his reading, the Imāmiyya, in saying that the Prophet made a *naṣṣ* concerning 'Alī's Imāmate (*naṣṣa 'alā imāmatihī*), would not have been claiming simply that he designated 'Alī as Imām, but that the duty to accept 'Alī's Imāmate was established on the same hermeneutical basis as, for example, the duty to perform the daily prayers and the fast of Ramadan. Importantly, Adem is not arguing that the Imāmī doctrine that the Prophet designated 'Alī his successor was itself only invented in that moment. Rather, he is contending that the Imāmiyya then began to conceptualize and defend their earlier doctrine in terms of this new hermeneutical distinction that was in wider use in legal and theological discourse⁸²².

Adem does not discuss in detail the specific connections between the pre-existing Imāmī doctrine of the Prophet's designation of 'Alī as Imām and the new application of the term *naṣṣ* to it, but the scenario implied by his interpretation seems to be the following: what was newly understood (also) as an instance of *naṣṣ* had previously been understood as an instance of *waṣīyya*⁸²³. This latter term was also legal in origin, but whereas *naṣṣ* seems to have invoked a relatively new concept in legal hermeneutics, *waṣīyya* was an ancient, well-recognized category of speech-act with legal force, namely a statement of bequest or injunction, usually a last will and testament⁸²⁴. As we have seen, by the early second century at the latest, those Shī'a who accepted the doctrine that the Prophet had designated 'Alī his successor held that he had made various statements to that effect towards the end of his life and that these amounted to a *waṣīyya*, a 'testamentary bequest' of the leadership of the Community to 'Alī⁸²⁵. It was precisely these statements that were now also conceived of as an instance of *naṣṣ*. This would have been a relatively straight-

820 Adem 2017:49–53.

821 Adem 2017:49–56.

822 Adem 2017:56.

823 See Adem 2017:68.

824 *El*₂. "Waṣīyya" [Peters].

825 See p. 524–525.

forward re-expression of essentially the same doctrine but now on the discursive level of legal hermeneutics: not only was the Imāmate 'bequeathed' to 'Alī but the statements that constituted that bequest were a *naṣṣ*, giving his Imāmate the same hermeneutical basis as every other legally forcible ruling grounded in Prophetic *naṣṣ*⁸²⁶.

Some of the issues Adem raises intersect directly with the present study. Most specifically, when considering why Marshall Hodgson thought the Imāmī usage of the term *naṣṣ* went back as far as Bāqir, Adem observes that Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*—one of Hodgson's main sources—presents the beliefs of several early Shī'i factions concerning the designation of their Imāms using the expression *naṣṣa 'alā*⁸²⁷. Adem contends, however, that this doxographical usage is anachronistic. He proposes that Ash'arī retrojected the term used most commonly by later Imāmī *mutakallimūn* to refer to an Imām's designation of the next Imām onto earlier Shī'i groups, which may well have believed in the designation of their Imāms but would not have referred to it as *naṣṣ*⁸²⁸. This is something we can now check. The relevant instances of Ash'arī's usage of *naṣṣa* occur in his *firaq*-list of the Rāfiḍa, i.e., in his reworked version of the *iftirāq*-schema. But are these taken over from Balkhī, from their potential common source (Warrāq), from *Q*₂ or even ultimately from *Q*₁, or are they Ash'arī's own additions to his source material?

If we compare across Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, the BdC and the *Firaq*—our witnesses to *Q*₂—usages of *naṣṣa 'alā* are rare. Most of those we do find are in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and, most importantly, there is no convergence between the witnesses over any given instance⁸²⁹. None of the usages of *naṣṣa 'alā* in these works can be shown

826 See Adem 2017:53–57.

827 Adem 2017:43, esp. n.8, reacting to Hodgson 1955:10.

828 Adem 2017:56.

829 Both Ash'arī and Balkhī begin the *iftirāq*-schema with a faction that already follows the line of Ḥusaynid Imāms as far as Ḥasan al-Askarī for Balkhī and as far as Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan for Ash'arī. They also both use the name Qaṭ'iyya for this group. In Ash'arī's version of the list of the Imāms followed by these Qaṭ'iyya, it is always stated that each Imām *naṣṣa 'alā* the Imāmate of his successor (*MaqA*:17:10–18:10). But, at least as far as we can tell, Balkhī simply listed the Imāms; the names are separated only by 'then' (*thumma*) in the *Mughnī*'s version (*Mugh*. XX₂:176:14–17), and no other work of the BdC preserves this faction-description intact. Ash'arī then uniquely uses *naṣṣa* in relation to the Kaysāniyya's belief in 'Alī's designation of Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya (*MaqA*:18:16), as well as for their belief in Ḥusayn's designation of Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya (*MaqA*:19:4), and for the successive designation of the Imāms of the Rāwandīyya from 'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib on (*MaqA*:21:10–12). Ash'arī also uses *naṣṣa* in the descriptions of the Mughīriyya (*MaqA*:23:10) Manṣūriyya (*MaqA*:24:11), the Nāwūsiyya (*MaqA*:25:10), the Qarāmiṭa (*MaqA*:26:6–12), the Wāqifa (*MaqA*:28:10) and the supporters of the Imāmate of Aḥmad b. Mūsā (*MaqA*:30:1), but these instances all occur in the introductory information on the line of Imāms followed by these factions that Ash'arī inserts in order to compensate for the missing structure of the *iftirāq*-schema. This is

to go back to Q_2 or even to any post- Q_2 common intermediaries. Rather, the term relating to the designation of a successor that is clearly witnessed for Q_2 is *awṣā ilā*. But even this term was only used in specific places. Q_2 usually described its factions simply as having believed that some particular Imām followed another, without specifying a belief that this was due to an act of designation at all. Indeed, there is convergence over the use of *awṣā ilā* in only two clusters: the post-Abū Hāshim and post-Bāqir, where it is consistently used to express these factions' beliefs that Abū Hāshim or Muḥammad al-Bāqir designated particular successors⁸³⁰. Even there,

material that doesn't appear in Balkhī's or Nawbakhtī's versions of the schema at all; it was added by Ash'arī himself (See p. 120 and p. 749). The description of Ash'arī's twenty-fourth faction, that supports 13 Imāms, uses *naṣṣ 'alā* (*MaqA*.30:3–10), but this faction is unique to Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*.

The texts of the BdC only employ the term *naṣṣa 'alā* within the *iftirāq*-schema in a very few places, and all usages are unique to individual texts. In the *Hūr*, it is said that Ja'far *naṣṣa 'alā* the Imāmates of Ismā'il and Mūsā (*Hūr*.216:8, 218:13). The *Rawḍa*, in order to transition back to the Ḥusaynid Imāms after the material on the Kaysāniyya, provides a list of the Imāms up to Bāqir that consistently uses the term *naṣṣa 'alā* to express the idea of each making an explicit statement about the Imāmate of the next (*Rawḍa*.140v:26–28). It also uses *naṣṣa 'alā* for the transfer of the Imāmate from Bāqir to Ja'far (*Rawḍa*.141:7).

The *Firaq* doesn't use the term *naṣṣa* at all within the material inherited from Q_2 . Even in material added by Nawbakhtī, it is very rare: one of the post-Ḥasan al-'Askarī factions denies that Ḥasan or his brother Ja'far had received the *naṣṣ* from 'Alī al-Hādī (*Fir*.83:10). The term is also used in Nawbakhtī's overview of Imāmī doctrine, on which see below, p. 603–604.

830 In the description of the 'Abbāsids, Abū Hāshim *awṣā ilā* Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-'Abbās (and perhaps a remark that it was passed to subsequent caliphs by means of a *waṣīyya*) (*Fir*.29:13, 42:13–43:3; *Mugh*.XX₂.177:11–12; *Hūr*.214:8–9; *Bāb*.103:11; *Sharḥ*.29v:4; *Rawḍa*.140r:25; *MaqA*:21:5–8); in the description of the faction that held that Abū Hāshim *awṣā ilā* his brother/nephew, then the brother/nephew *awṣā ilā* his own son etc. (*Fir*.28:3–29:2; *Mugh*.XX₂.178:3–4; *Hūr*.214:1–2; *Rawḍa*.140v:11; *MaqA*:20:10); in the description of the Ḥarbiyya/Ḥārithiyya, Abū Hāshim *awṣā ilā* 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya and in the BdC/Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, Abū Hāshim *awṣā ilā* Ibn Ḥarb/Ḥārith, (*Fir*.29:3; *Mugh*.XX₂.178:6–9; *Hūr*.214:17–20; *Bāb*.101:5–9; *Sharḥ*.29v:7; *Rawḍa*.140v:12–14; *MaqA*:22:10); in the description of the Bayāniyya, the BdC and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* have it that Abū Hāshim *awṣā ilā* Bayān b. Sim'an, but it is not for Bayān *an yuṣī* to anyone else (e.g., *Mugh*.XX₂.178:14–15; *Hūr*.215:10–11; *Sharḥ*.29v:11; *Rawḍa*.140v:19–20; *MaqA*:23:5), whilst in the *Firaq*, it is said that there is no *waṣī* after Abu Hāshim (*Fir*.30:9); in the description of the Mughīriyya, Muḥammad al-Bāqir *awṣā ilā* Mughīra b. Sa'īd (*Fir*.54:13–14; *Mugh*.XX₂.179:3; *Hūr*.222:7; *Uyūn*.8v:21; *Sharḥ*.29v:19; *MaqA*:23:14); in the description of the Manṣūriyya in the BdC/Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, Muḥammad al-Bāqir *awṣā ilā* Abū Manṣūr, just as Moses *awṣā ilā* Joshua (e.g., *Mugh*.XX₂.179:9–10, 13–14; *Hūr*.223:1–3; 107:9–13; *Uyūn*.9r:4; *Sharḥ*.29v:21–30r:5; *MaqA*:24:12–25:6). In Nawbakhtī's description of the Manṣūriyya, Bāqir's transferal of the Imāmate to Abū Mansur is referred to using the expression *ja'alahu waṣīyyahu* (*Fir*.34:10), but it is not certain if Nawbakhtī is reliant on Q_2 here (see p. 341–342).

There are a handful of further usages of *awṣā* within the schema in the BdC, but all are unique to individual works and thus cannot be pushed back to Balkhī's versions of the schema: In the *Hūr* alone we read that Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya *awṣā ilā* Abū Hāshim (*Hūr*.213:15). In the *Rawḍa*

however, there is a notable exception: the transfer of the Imāmate from Bāqir to Ja'far, where it is again simply stated that the latter followed the former, without the term *awsā* being employed⁸³¹. Finally, there is some evidence that Balkhī may also have used *waṣīyya* or *awsā* in respect of Ismā'īl b. Ja'far in the post-Ja'far cluster, but it is not confirmed for Q_2 because the terms are missing from the *Firaq*'s version of this description⁸³².

We can say much less about whether and where Q_1 might have used either *naṣṣa* or *awsā*, as we can only reconstruct its faction-descriptions where *Uṣūl al-niḥal* converges with Q_2 , and this happens less often and less closely than the convergences between Balkhī-Ash'arī's version and Nawbakhtī's that allow us to reconstruct Q_2 . In any case, most of ps.-Nāshī's usages of *naṣṣa*, which are rare

alone, the term is used for the transfer of the Imāmate from Ja'far to 'Abd Allāh (*Rawḍa*.141r:17), from Ja'far to Mūsā (*Rawḍa*.141r:18), from Mūsā to 'Alī al-Riḍā (*Rawḍa*.141r:20–21) and from 'Alī al-Riḍā to Muḥammad al-Jawād (*Rawḍa*.141r:21). There are also some unique usages in the *Firaq* within material that generally comes from Q_2 . In the description of the Fuṭūḥiyya, Nawbakhtī has several short passages that do not appear in Balkhī's version (see p. 292, 627–630). In one of these, he remarks that Ja'far claimed the *waṣīyya* of his father (*Fir*.65:10). In the description of the faction that supported Aḥmad b. Mūsā in the post 'Alī al-Riḍā cluster, Nawbakhtī uniquely writes that this faction believed that both 'Alī and Aḥmad had received a *waṣīyya* from their father (*Fir*.72:11–13). In material that was added later than Q_2 , the terms *awsā ilā* and *waṣīyya* etc. are used more often. In Nawbakhtī's version of the description of the original Kaysāniyya, there is an insertion on Abū 'Amra Kaysān that attributes to him the doctrine that Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya was 'Alī's *waṣī* (*Fir*.21:2) (see p. 640–641). Nawbakhtī's 'extra' post-Ḥusayn Kaysānī faction also claims that Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya was 'Alī's *waṣī* (*Fir*.23:4). The faction unique to the *Firaq* that terminates the Imāmate after Ḥusayn claims that the Prophet *awsā ilā* 'Alī and his two sons (*Fir*.48:3–6). The terms *waṣī* and *waṣīyya* are then used in the material on the post-Muḥammad al-Jawād and post-'Alī al-Hādī controversies (*Fir*.77:5–6, 79:4–6), and frequently throughout the post-'Askarī cluster (*Fir*.80:6, 14–16, 81:13, 82:5–6, 13, 83:1, 9, 10, 14, 84:14, 85:10, 87:10, 88:6, 8, 11, 89:1, 3, 4, 8, 9, 90:7).

⁸³¹ *Fir*.55:7–9; *Mugh*.XX₂.179:1; *Hūr*.216:2; *Uyūn*.9r:4–5; *Sharḥ*.30r:9–10. The *Rawḍa* is anomalous, as it uses *naṣṣa 'alā* here (*Rawḍa*.141:7) (see n.829).

⁸³² In the *Hūr*, the description of the Ismā'īliyya states that Ja'far *ja'ala l-waṣīyya ilā* Ismā'īl (*Hūr*.216:9), then the description of the Mubārakiyya states that Ja'far *ja'ala l-amr wa-l-waṣīyya* to Ismā'īl and that Ismā'īl *awsā ilā* his son Muḥammad (*Hūr*.216:16–17). But the *Mughnī* states only that Ja'far *ja'ala al-amr ilā* Ismā'īl, and this appears only in the description of the Mubārakiyya (*Mugh*.XX₂:180:4–5). The *Sharḥ*'s description of the Mubārakiyya matches the *Mughnī* and states only that Ja'far *ja'ala l-amr ilā* Ismā'īl (*Sharḥ*.30r:14–15), but its description of the Ismā'īliyya states that Ja'far *awsā ilā* Ismā'īl (*Sharḥ*.30r:12–13). That doesn't converge with the wording of the *Hūr* but it suggests that Balkhī might have had some reference to a *waṣīyya* at this point. Like in the *Hūr* and the *Sharḥ*, Ash'arī mentions a *waṣīyya* in his description of the Ismā'īliyya, but the wording doesn't quite match either of them (*kāna yukhbīru annahu waṣīyyuhu*) (*MaqA*.26:3–4). In his description of the Mubārakiyya, he writes only that Ja'far *ja'alāh li* Ismā'īl (27:2). In the *Firaq*'s description of the Ismā'īliyya, they claim only that he 'indicated him for the Imāmate' (*ishāra ilayhi bi-l-imāma*) (*Fir*.58:3). Compare also *Fir*.55:9.

anyway, occur in material unique to *Uṣūl al-niḥal*⁸³³. The term *awṣā* is also rare, and only one instance clearly converges with *Q*₂: the description of the doctrine of Abū Hāshim's bequest of the Imāmate to Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-'Abbās and the subsequent transfers of the Imāmate to the successive 'Abbāsids (Ibrāhīm and Saffāh)⁸³⁴. Usually, ps.-Nāshī' simply describes beliefs in one Imām following another without mentioning a *waṣīyya* or a *naṣṣ*.

To summarize, the extant third-century heresiographies use the terms *naṣṣ* and *naṣṣa* within their version of the *iftirāq*-schema relatively rarely. When they do, there is no convergence with any other version that could demonstrate its presence in a common source. There is thus no evidence that the *iftirāq*-schema—either in its late second- or early third-century versions—used the term *naṣṣa* to refer to an Imām's act of the designation of his successor. Those versions referred to that act, rather, by the term *awṣā*, if they used a specific term for it at all. This stands in stark contrast to the extant heresiographies' various systematic overviews of the Imāmī doctrine of the Imāmate, which are all extraneous to the material from *Q*₁ and *Q*₂, and where they always employ the term *naṣṣa*, reflecting the usage of Imāmī theologians of their own day⁸³⁵. Thus, as Adem suggested, it is highly likely that all usages of the terms *naṣṣ* and *naṣṣa* within the extant versions of the *iftirāq*-schema—notably including Ash'arī's version—are later impositions on the underlying material.

833 When ps.-Nāshī' first describes the faction that believes in a successive, hereditary Imāmate (*nasaq al-imāma*), he states they held that 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib *naṣṣa 'alā* the Imāmate of Ḥasan just as the prophet *naṣṣa 'alā* the Imāmate of 'Alī, and indeed that the Prophet had *naṣṣa li-'Alī 'alā* the names of all the Imāms who would follow in his lineage “until the Day of Resurrection” (*ilā yawm al-qiyāma*) (*Niḥ.*22:8–13). The idea is repeated later, again using the term *naṣṣa*, in a description of this faction's attitude to Ḥasan's apparent relinquishing of the Imāmate to Mu'āwiya (*Niḥ.*23:23–24:4). But all this material is unique to *Uṣūl al-niḥal*. The only other usage within the *iftirāq*-schema occurs in the description of the Kaysāniyya, where this faction is said to claim that 'Alī *naṣṣa 'alā* Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya (*Niḥ.*24:20–21). In this, *Uṣūl al-niḥal* converges with Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, but given that neither the Bdc nor the *Firaq* provides any witness of such a usage, the convergence is probably just coincidental. Ps.-Nāshī' also uses the term *naṣṣa* in relation to the taxonomy of the Zaydiyya and in the description of the Jārūdiyya, but this is obviously extraneous to the *iftirāq*-schema (see p. 591–592, also *Tab.*40).

834 The usages in relation to the 'Abbāsids occur at *Niḥ.*30:18–20. A unique usage occurs in the initial description of the faction that believes in a successive, hereditary Imāmate (*nasaq al-imāma*), where it is used in combination with *naṣṣa* (see previous footnote), specifically in the construction *tawātur al-waṣīyya*, which is found nowhere else (*Niḥ.*22:10). Another unique usage occurs in the description of the followers of Zayn al-'Ābidīn, where it is said that Ḥusayn *awṣā ilā* his Imāmate (*Niḥ.*24:16).

835 *Niḥ.*22:8–15; *Fir.*16:6–17:16 (on which see p. 601–604, 671 and Adem 2017:47–49); *MaqA.*16:10–17:7 (on Balkhī's version of this material, see p. 728–731).

So much for the use of *naṣṣa* in the schema, but there is more to say about the restricted usage of *awṣā*. For Q_1 , the latter term is witnessed only for the 'Abbāsids. That in itself is noteworthy. For Q_2 , it is witnessed securely only in four faction-descriptions, all of which appear in the post-Abū Hāshim and post-Bāqir clusters. But what is special about these cases? In three of them, the faction believes that the Imāmate passed outside the 'Alid line: from Abū Hāshim to Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-'Abbās or to 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya; and from Bāqir to Mughīra b. Sa'īd⁸³⁶. The idea of a *waṣīyya* is obviously necessary in these cases because direct inheritance from father to son is not available as a mechanism for the transferal of the Imāmate. There could be no way for these claimants to have inherited the Imāmate without a *waṣīyya*. The only case in which the term *waṣīyya* is used for transmission of the Imāmate to an 'Alid is for Abū Hāshim's bequest to his brother/nephew and the subsequent bequests within this line⁸³⁷. This could be because the Imāmate does not initially pass to a son, but that is also strictly true for the post-Ḥusayn faction that believes the Imāmate passed to Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya after Ḥusayn's death, yet *awṣā* is not used there. More likely, it happens because the disputed *waṣīyya* of Abū Hāshim is the dominant paradigm for the whole cluster, as discussed above⁸³⁸. Balkhī's version of the schema also talks of a *waṣīyya* to Bayān b. Sim'ān and to Ibn Ḥarb, but this cannot be securely established for Q_2 and anyway fits the same pattern. There is also a hint that Balkhī's version of the schema may have referred to Ja'far's designation of Ismā'īl as his heir using the term *waṣīyya*, but this is again unconfirmed for Q_2 ⁸³⁹. Even if it were present there, however, a striking fact would remain: there is no evidence that Q_1 or Q_2 ever used the term *awṣā* in reference to the inheritance of the Imāmate from father to son within the 'true' Ḥusaynid line. Indeed, those parts of the descriptions of the factions that supported the Ḥusaynid Imāms that we can show go back Q_1 or Q_2 never even state they believed their Imāms to be specifically designated by their fathers at all; the reason why the followers of the Ḥusaynid line accepted their Imāmates is always left unstated.

Two questions arise from these observations. The first has to do with the individuals who are claimed to have received a *waṣīyya* by certain factions in Q_2 . One wonders, for example, whether some of the Mughīriyya really claimed that Mughīra b. Sa'īd received a *waṣīyya* from Bāqir or whether this is just an extension of the logic of the schema. The schema is fundamentally about the transmission of the Imāmate and the only possible mechanism for transmission to a non-'Alid is a

836 See n.830.

837 See n.830.

838 See p. 539–544.

839 See n.832.

waṣīyya, i.e., the “Abbāsīd” model. It may thus be the case that Q_2 's author expanded this model for the transmission of the Imāmate to other figures even outside of the post-Abū Hāshim cluster, turning a leader of a faction that in Q_1 only calls for the Imāmate of Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan into an Imām in his own right who was claimed to have received Bāqir's *waṣīyya*. The second question is related to the Ḥusaynid Imāms. Could it really be that the Ḥusaynid-Imāmī authors of Q_1 and Q_2 did not understand the Imāmates of the Ḥusaynid Imāms to be established by the *waṣīyya* of their fathers? Could they really have believed that the concept of the transmission of the Imāmate by *waṣīyya* after ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib was only used by those factions that believed the Imāmate had passed *outside* the ‘Alid line?

We should be cautious. The evidence-base is insufficient to reconstruct the wording of Q_1 's faction descriptions in enough detail to be sure that the verb *awṣā* was not used more widely there. But we can be more confident about Q_2 . The wording of the faction-descriptions in Balkhī's and Nawbakhtī's versions is often very close⁸⁴⁰, and they consistently converge on the use of *awṣā* throughout the post-Abū Hāshim cluster and for Bāqir's supposed passing of the Imāmate to Mughira b. Sa‘īd, yet neither author uses the term for the inheritance of the Imāmate by Ja‘far, Mūsā or ‘Alī al-Riḍā. That is still not an entirely reliable reflection of the situation in Q_2 , but it is also not likely that both Balkhī and Nawbakhtī would coincidentally both have consistently removed the term. Assuming we do have an accurate picture of Q_2 in this regard, we might suggest that it was so obvious to its author that the Ḥusaynid-Imāmiyya believed the Imāmate to be underwritten by explicit *waṣīyya* that it didn't need spelling out. But one would then expect a default to the verb *awṣā* in regard to the Ḥusaynid Imāms, rather than its consistent omission. Moreover, it is the contrast that is striking: the term *is* used consistently in regard to transfers of the Imāmate to non-‘Alids.

We can also observe a stark contrast between Q_2 's post-Abū Hāshim cluster, where the whole *iftirāq* is constructed according to the paradigm of a dispute over the *waṣīyya* of Abū Hāshim, and its post-Bāqir, post-Ja‘far, post-Mūsā and post-Riḍā clusters, where that is clearly not the case. These latter clusters could easily have been framed similarly in terms of disputes over the *waṣīyya* of the previous Imāms too, but they are not. Instead, other factors seem to have been at stake. For example, in the post-Ja‘far cluster, the Fuṭūḥiyya are said to have followed ‘Abd Allāh simply because he was the eldest surviving son [*Niḥ*.46:16–17; *Fir*:65:9; *Mugh*.XX₂:180:14–15]. It is then stated that when ‘Abd Allāh died so soon after his father and without a male heir, they turned to Mūsā al-Kāzīm, but there is no hint that they claimed ‘Abd Allāh had made a *waṣīyya* to Mūsā either [*Niḥ*.47:4; *Fir*:66:9–10; *Mugh*.XX₂:181:3–4].

⁸⁴⁰ See p. 285–307, 312–337.

The reader is left presuming he was simply the next most senior. Nor is any claim about a *waṣīyya* to Mūsā attributed to the Mufaḍḍaliyya—i.e., those who are said to have followed Mūsā directly after Ja'far—as a way of denying 'Abd Allāh's Imāmate. They assert, rather, that 'Abd Allāh cannot have been the Imām because of his lack of knowledge in matters of law [*Fir*:65:12–14; *Mugh*.XX₂:180:18–19]. It is worth noting that *Q*₂ *might* have referred to Ja'far's nomination of Ismā'īl as a *waṣīyya*⁸⁴¹. But even if it did, the remaining four factions of the cluster obviously don't accept this had any force after Ismā'īl's death and, more importantly, do not argue in terms of a new *waṣīyya* to another son. In fact, if *Q*₂ really did use the term *waṣīyya* in this context, the contrast would be even more striking. It would imply that the concept of a *waṣīyya* was present, but it was not the dominant factor in the argument over the succession. In any case, the issue is not so much whether these really were conflicts in which the participants were arguing over who had received the *waṣīyya*, but that if the author of *Q*₂ had believed that the Imāmate was fundamentally established by the *waṣīyya* of the previous Imām, we would expect him to have depicted the *iftirāq* to have resulted from a disputed *waṣīyya* at some level. He didn't.

This does not necessarily imply that the authors of *Q*₁ and *Q*₂ did not yet believe that the Imāmate was established by the *waṣīyya* of the previous Imām. It could be that they recognised the necessity of a *waṣīyya* in abstract, theological terms, but also understood that the question of determining the identity of the *waṣī* had been settled historically by recourse to arguments about the qualifications of the candidates, rather than simply by asserting competing anecdotes intended to establish the fact that a *waṣīyya* had been made to any one of them⁸⁴². Perhaps it did not occur to the authors to harmonise their theology and historiography by superimposing the doctrine of continuous *waṣīyya* onto past disputes about the line of succession. After all, even at the time of the crisis following Ḥasan al-'Askarī's death, the main arguments recorded by Nawbakhtī are over the correct principles of hereditary succession (can brothers or uncles inherit, must an Imām be survived by living sons etc.), but such principles should be superfluous if the real task was just to establish who received the *waṣīyya* from the previous Imām, unless no public *waṣīyya* had been made⁸⁴³. This is true even though Nawbakhtī certainly believed an Imām must be designated by his predecessor [*Fir*.17:8]. But the other possibility should also be held open, i.e., that the doctrine that the Imāmate *after* 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib was necessarily transmitted by an unbroken chain of explicit *waṣīyyas* had not yet become the default position amongst the Ḥusaynid-Imāmiyya. Although it probably existed,

⁸⁴¹ See n.832.

⁸⁴² Of course, this rests in turn on the assumption that the Imāms had not made a public *waṣīyya*, except perhaps in the case of the fiasco around Ismā'īl.

⁸⁴³ See p. 610–612.

especially as a theological proposition, there may also have been many people who were still thinking primarily in terms of straightforward inheritance by the most qualified of the Imām's sons⁸⁴⁴.

2.1.1.5 The Usage of the Terms 'Imāmiyya' and 'Kaysāniyya' in the *iftirāq*-Schema

The *Mughnī*, the *Uyūn*, the *Sharḥ* and the *Rawḍa* presents their version of Balkhī's *iftirāq*-schema within chapters on the Imāmiyya. The *Ḥūr* makes the Imāmiyya one of the six foundational factions in its umbrella *iftirāq* of the Shī'a; the entire *iftirāq*-schema then branches off from them. It thus appears that Balkhī, in both witnessed versions of his material on the Shī'a, classified all the factions of the *iftirāq*-schema as 'Imāmiyya'. Whether dependent on Balkhī or on a common source, Ash'arī makes the same move: his reworked version of the schema is presented as a list of the factions of the Rāfiḍa, which he acknowledges is just a polemical synonym for Imāmiyya here [*MaqA.17:8*]. It is largely for this reason that I have used the term '*iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya' frequently so far in this study. But it is vital stress that this usage of Imāmiyya/Rāfiḍa as a super-category for all the factions of the schema is found only in Balkhī/Ash'arī and the later heresiographies dependent upon them.

There is nothing in the material witnessed for Q_1 or Q_2 to indicate that the original schema was designed to map the internal divisions of a group known as the Imāmiyya. There is no evidence they used the term and no named super-category for the schema's factions is ever asserted within the common material. Rather, the schema is a family-tree of factions that (supposedly) believed in a hereditary Imāmate descended from 'Alī b. 'Alī Ṭālib, but it makes no claim that they form a single group in any other sense. Indeed, what brings the factions of the schema together, as we have seen, is the attempt to map the relationship between certain Shī'i groups (the Kaysāniyya, the 'Abbāsids, the Ḥasanid Shī'a, and the Ḥusaynid Shī'a) by imposing a Ḥusaynid-Imāmī reading of Shī'i history, i.e., by conceiving of it primarily as a series of divisions over the succession to an Imāmate that was understood to be hereditary from the beginning. In that sense, it is the schema itself that unifies these groups.

⁸⁴⁴ Shayṭān al-Ṭāq and Hishām b. al-Ḥakam both wrote books on the *waṣiyya* (*TG.V:66, 71*), but these may have been about the *waṣiyya* from Muḥammad to 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, not the subsequent transmission of the Imāmate. Indeed, that seems likely from the title of Hishām's work: *Kitāb al-waṣiyya wa-l-radd 'alā man ankarahū*. The *hū* must refer to 'Alī specifically (unless it is a mistake for *ankarahā*). A more thorough evaluation of the use of the term *waṣiyya* in the Imāmī *ḥadīth* collections is desirable.

Balkhī and Ash'arī (or their potential post- Q_2 common source, Warrāq) were just retrospectively applying the name 'Imāmiyya' to the whole construct. That makes it look as if the 'Abbāsids and the supporters of 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya are just as much 'Imāmiyya' as those who followed Ja'far al-Ṣādiq and eventually Muḥammad al-Jawād, but there is no indication that the authors of Q_1 or Q_2 saw things this way. Indeed, one wonders if even Balkhī and Ash'arī really thought of the supporters of the 'Abbāsīd caliphate as Imāmiyya.

The idea of referring to the whole branch of factions descended via Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya as 'Kaysāniyya' is witnessed first in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*. The *iftirāq*-schema itself uses the term only for the faction that believed in the Imāmate of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya; other names are applied to the post-Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya factions. Again, it seems 'Kaysāniyya' became a taxonomical label that was applied retrospectively; this wasn't the usage of the earlier *firaq*-material⁸⁴⁵.

2.1.1.6 The Absence of the Zaydiyya

It does not seem strange to us now that Zayd b. 'Alī's bid for the Imāmate was excluded from Q_1 and Q_2 's *iftirāq*-schema. This is because most of the extant third-century heresiographies present the *iftirāq*-schema as a list of the factions of the Imāmiyya, because Zayd's name is firmly associated with the Zaydiyya, and because the same heresiographies consider the Zaydiyya to be an entirely separate branch of the Shī'a. This, however, is to look at things backwards. The heresiographers inherited a schema that was not about defining an 'Imāmiyya' against a 'Zaydiyya', yet Zayd was already absent. As we have seen, the most likely reason for this was not because Zayd did not claim the Imāmate based on a direct inheritance from a previous Imām, as this is also true of Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan, who does appear in the schema. It has rather to do with the schema's chronological focus on the later competition to the Ḥusaynid Imāms offered by the 'Abbāsids and the Ḥasanids⁸⁴⁶.

Again, because of most third-century heresiographer's separate treatment of the Zaydiyya, it also does not seem remarkable that no Zaydī *factions* appear in the *iftirāq*-schema. In doctrinal terms, however, it would easily have been possible to accommodate at least the Jārūdiyya. They believed that the Prophet 'Alī, Ḥasan

⁸⁴⁵ Probably inspired by Ash'arī, Baghdādī and Shahrastānī go further, separating the Kaysāniyya and the Imāmiyya into two separate super-categories (Kaysāniyya: *Farq*.23:3–5, 38:1–53:12; *Mil*.109:5–115:13. Imāmiyya: *Farq*.23:6–12, 53:13–72:4; *Mil*.122:1–132:3). Notably, Abū Tammām already opts for an even more fine-grained categorisation: Kaysāniyya (*Bāb*.98:9–102:12); 'Abbāsiyya (*Bāb*.103:3–105:9); Imāmiyya/Rāfiḍa (*Bāb*.121:3–126:13).

⁸⁴⁶ See p. 502–507.

and Ḥusayn inherited the Imāmate in turn because the Prophet had made a *naṣṣ* to that effect, and they thus rejected Abū Bakr and ʿUmar completely⁸⁴⁷. That made them, strictly speaking, Rāfiḍa⁸⁴⁸. Schematically, they could also easily have been accommodated in the post-Ḥusayn cluster, where they would have diverged from both the Kaysāniyya and the supporters of ʿAlī Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, because they did not believe in a directly inherited Imāmate after this point. Indeed, this is one of the ways in which Nawbakhtī later integrated them into his version of the schema⁸⁴⁹. Such an accommodation would have overlooked a doctrinal distinction: the Jārūdiyya believed the Prophet had not named ʿAlī and his sons but indicated they were to succeed him by giving an unmistakable description of them. Nevertheless, the schema is not usually so strict in requiring that its factions had the same doctrine concerning the mode of inheritance. It would also have been anachronistic to assert there had been a Jārūdiyya in the time of Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn; the Zaydiyya began to adopt the Jārūdī doctrinal profile only in the second half of the second century⁸⁵⁰. But there are many other anachronisms in the schema.

One suspects, rather, that the Jārūdiyya, and the Zaydiyya more broadly, simply weren't relevant *as such* to the concerns of the schema's author. The important distinction in the *ur*-schema was whether one followed the Ḥusaynid line exclusively or supported Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh's rebellion. The sources state that the supporters of the latter included people called Zaydiyya⁸⁵¹, but this aspect didn't interest the author of the schema, who labelled all the Ḥasanid's supporters—probably polemically—as Mughīriyya. In Q_1 and Q_2 , the emphasis had already shifted to the 'internal' disagreements over the Ḥusaynid line of succession. That certainly did not require a treatment of the Zaydiyya.

2.1.1.7 Parallels Between the *iftirāq*-Schema and Other Material

The faction-descriptions that can be reconstructed for Q_1 and Q_2 contained some material that is also found elsewhere:

- The description of the Saba'iyya contains a report on Ibn Saba's reaction ʿAlī's death⁸⁵². Several versions of this report are recorded in several other sources, both Shīʿī and non-Shīʿī, with *isnāds* that indicate it was in circulation in some form(s) in the early second century⁸⁵³.

847 See *Tab.10* and *Tab.40*.

848 *TG.I:257–258*; Crone 2004:100

849 See p. 606–608.

850 See p. 526 n.793.

851 See n.673.

852 See *Tab.25, e* and *Tab.33, e*.

853 See p. 419–423.

- One of the passages of etymological material on the name Kaysāniyya reports that the faction was named after Kaysān Abū 'Amra, a *mawlā* of 'Urayna⁸⁵⁴. This information is also reported in Balādhurī's *Ansāb al-ashrāf*. Balādhurī gives no *isnād*, but as there is no evidence that he is dependent on *Uṣūl al-niḥal*, the information itself must at least precede both of them⁸⁵⁵.
- The verses from Kuthayyir 'Azza and Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī cited in the description of the faction who denied Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya's death (the Karibiyya in the BdC) are found in several other sources and obviously go back originally to these authors⁸⁵⁶.

These cases clearly show that at least the author of Q_1 sometimes drew on existing material when formulating faction-descriptions. The *iftirāq*-schema was certainly not constructed in a vacuum but in relation to other forms of historiography in circulation at the time. It is also noteworthy, however, that the versions of all these elements that can be reconstructed for Q_1 differ notably from the versions present elsewhere⁸⁵⁷. Q_1 and all of the works dependent on it constitute their own stream of the transmission of this material in every case.

Another noteworthy feature is that all these instances concern non-Ḥusaynid-Imāmī groups and individuals. Once we get to the *iftirāq* of the Ḥusaynid-Imāmīyya, especially in the post- Ja'far, post-Mūsā clusters, there is essentially no material witnessed for Q_1 that closely resembles reports found elsewhere, even in Imāmī literature. From this point onwards, the schema thus becomes significantly more independent of the general historiographical tradition.

2.1.2 Common Source-Material on the Ghulāt

As we have seen, the *iftirāq*-schema in Q_1 and Q_2 contained some factions that the later heresiographers classified as Ghulāt, but it treated them almost entirely from the narrow perspective of their doctrines concerning the transmission of the Imāmate and the identity of the Mahdī. There is much more *firaq*-material on the Ghulāt in the extant third-century heresiographies that does not derive from the schema and that covers broader themes, but most of it is unique to individual works. Although it must rely, at least in part, on earlier sources of some kind too, we cannot establish what that source-material looked like at any earlier stage in its transmission, as we cannot get behind the material as presented to us in those

854 See *Tab.20,d* and *Tab.34, d*.

855 See p. 424–427.

856 See p. 321 and p. 430–431 esp. n.506.

857 See p. 422, 430–431.

extant works. There is only one exception: a set of faction-descriptions preserved in very similar versions by the BdC and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, and in a slightly less similar, fragmentary version in Qummī's *Maqālāt*⁸⁵⁸.

As we have seen, Balkhī's and Ash'arī's versions of this material contained descriptions of nine factions: the Bayāniyya, the Ḥarbiyya, the Mughīriyya, the Maṣūriyya and the five factions of the Khaṭṭābiyya, namely the original Khaṭṭābiyya and their four sub-factions, the Mu'ammariyya/Ya'fūriyya, the Bazighiyya, the 'Umayriyya, and the Mufaḍḍaliyya⁸⁵⁹. Qummī's has parallel fragments to the descriptions of all these factions except the 'Umayriyya and the Mufaḍḍaliyya⁸⁶⁰. The close agreement between Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and the BdC allows us to reconstruct the version in their common source reliably and in detail. But in this case, that common source was probably just the earlier version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt*. Certainly, we cannot demonstrate that it was a pre-Balkhī work⁸⁶¹. Before that, the material probably came to Balkhī (and possibly Ash'arī) from Warrāq's *Maqālāt*, but it is unclear whether Qummī was also working from Warrāq's *Maqālāt* or whether Qummī and Warrāq had an earlier common source or sources⁸⁶². Due to the fragmentary way in which Qummī has worked the material into that which he took from Nawbakhtī's *Firaq*, and because of the level of discrepancy even in the brief, parallel passages, it is impossible to reconstruct the version present in Balkhī and Qummī's common source beyond being able to say that certain individual elements were present there in a form roughly similar to that found in the convergences between Qummī's version and Balkhī-Ash'arī's⁸⁶³.

It should be noted that none of the faction-descriptions in this body of material uses the terms 'Ghulāt', 'guluww' etc. in any of the extant witnesses. By the time we get to Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, it is clear that factions are understood as Ghulāt, because the nine descriptions constitute the major part of Ash'arī's *firaq*-list of the Ghāliya. That classification, however, is extraneous to the material itself. One version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* seems to have incorporated the material (or at least most of it) into its version of the *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya. Another, earlier version must have kept it separate in the same way as Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*⁸⁶⁴. That probably resulted partly just from the fact that the *iftirāq*-schema and this material ultimately came from different sources and presumably still appeared separately in

858 See p. 492–493.

859 See p. 167–169.

860 See *Tab.27*.

861 See p. 223–225.

862 See p. 223–225 and p. 388–389.

863 See p. 378–380.

864 See p. 167–169, 191–202.

Balkhī's source, i.e., probably Warrāq's *Maqālāt*. Given that Mu'tazilī texts as early as *Uṣūl al-niḥal* and Jāḥiẓ's *Ḥayawān* used the label 'Ghulāt' and applied it to many of the same factions that appear here, it is not unlikely that Balkhī would have conceived of this body of material as concerned with Ghulāt factions specifically, but we cannot reconstruct this feature of either version of his *Maqālāt* in enough detail to know⁸⁶⁵. Qummī integrates fragments of this body of material into descriptions otherwise mostly taken from the *Firaq*, in which Nawbakhtī does sometimes refer to the relevant factions as Ghulāt⁸⁶⁶. Qummī presumably thus shared Nawbakhtī's understanding that these factions belonged to a larger class of Ghulāt, distinct from other Shī'a. But this obviously doesn't tell us anything about how the source in common with Balkhī referred to these factions as a set.

The descriptions in Ash'arī's and Balkhī's common version of the material, which we can reconstruct in detail, have some consistent features. Most specifically, the majority contain, often at the end, a formulaic sentence concerning which government official was responsible for executing the faction's eponymous leader, as well as the mode of execution⁸⁶⁷. The descriptions are otherwise focussed almost exclusively on doctrinal issues. Next to nothing is said about the geographical location of the factions, their social composition, or their political activities, even despite the fact that many of them are elsewhere depicted to have partaken in famous rebellions that led to the executions of their leaders⁸⁶⁸. The doctrines in question are a mixture of beliefs attributed to the faction's leader, beliefs about the leaders held by the faction, and beliefs attributed to the faction in general. Some doctrines appear in several descriptions. For example, most factions are depicted to have claimed their leader was a prophet⁸⁶⁹. Three factions—the Ḥarbiyya, Manṣūriyya

⁸⁶⁵ On the use of the category in *Uṣūl al-niḥal*, see p. 590, 597. On Jāḥiẓ's usage in the *Ḥayawān*, see p. 689 and 758.

⁸⁶⁶ E.g., Nawbakhtī calls the Ḥārithiyya Ghulāt at *Fir*.29:11 and calls their doctrine *ghuluww* at 31:6. He retrospectively states that the Manṣūriyya and the Khaṭṭābiyya belong to the *ahl al-ghuluww* at 41:6. For Qummī's additions on these factions taken from the material under discussion here, see *Tab*.26 and *Tab*.27.

⁸⁶⁷ Bayān b. Sim'ān (*MaqA*.5:13–14; *Hūr*.215:14), Mughīra b. Sa'īd (*MaqA*.8:10–11; *Hūr*.222:15), Abū Manṣūr (*MaqA*.10:7–8; *Hūr*.223:17), Abū l-Khaṭṭāb (*MaqA*.11:6–7; *Hūr*.220:19–20), 'Umayr b. Bayān (*MaqA*.13:2–3; *Hūr*.221:18–19).

⁸⁶⁸ On Bayān's and Mughīra's rebellions, which possibly occurred together, see Tucker 1975a:242–243 and Tucker 1975b:35–36. These are not mentioned at all in the Balkhī-Ash'arī material or the parallels in Qummī's *Maqālāt*. The rebellion of Abū l-Khaṭṭāb is briefly mentioned at *MaqA*.11:6–7; *Hūr*.220:19–20. On this rebellion, see Buckley 2002:139–140.

⁸⁶⁹ Bayān (*MaqA*.5:14–6:1), 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya (*MaqA*.6:6–7), Mughīra (*MaqA*.7:1; *Hūr*.222:10), Abū Manṣūr (*MaqA*.9:11–12; *Hūr*.223:9–10), Abū l-Khaṭṭāb (*MaqA*.10:14; *Hūr*.220:15), Mufaḍḍal (*MaqA*.13:6; *Hūr*.222:1).

and Mu‘ammariyya—are said to have believed they were not bound by the external meanings of the duties and prohibitions of Islam⁸⁷⁰. The denial of the resurrection and the claim that the world will never cease to be appears in the descriptions of the Ḥarbiyya and the Mu‘ammariyya⁸⁷¹. Both Bayān and Mughīra are said to have claimed they knew God’s ‘greatest name’ (*al-ism al-a‘zam*)⁸⁷². When the same doctrine is described more than once, the language is consistent.

These descriptions, however, are by no means just amalgamations of common topoi about the Ghulāt. Rather, although they vary significantly in the amount of detail they convey, they often describe very specific beliefs that are peculiar to a single faction. For example, the description of the Bayāniyya, at only six lines in Ritter’s edition of Ash‘arī’s *Maqālāt*, begins by telling us that the Bayāniyya believed that God had the form of a human being, which is fairly generic, but we are then told that they interpreted Q28:88 to mean that literally everything will be destroyed except God’s face, i.e., including the rest of God’s body. It is then stated that Bayān claimed to have successfully summoned the planet Venus [*MaqA.5:11–6:1; Ḥūr.215:12–14*]. All this is both highly specific and unique within the material. The description of the Mughīriyya runs to 36 lines, allowing for far more detail. Besides claiming to be a prophet who could raise the dead by means of God’s greatest name, Mughīra is said to have preached: (1.) a theology in which God is understood to be a being of light in human form composed of the all the letters of the (unpointed) Arabic alphabet [*MaqA.7:1–5; Ḥūr.222:10–13*]; (2.) a dramatic creation narrative, in which God creates the world from the eye of His own shadow cast upon two seas of His own sweat, and then creates humankind from the two seas, unbelievers from the salty sea and believers from the freshwater sea [*MaqA.7:6–8:1; Bāb.70:2–10*]; and (3.) an account of the primordial foreshadowing of human history, in which God first creates shadow-forms of human beings and sends Muḥammad to them in this form, before Abū Bakr and ‘Umar—also as shadows—prevent ‘Alī from succeeding him as caliph [*MaqA.8:1–9; Bāb.70:10–71:9*]. After this comes an account of the succession to Mughīra [*MaqA.8:12–14; Ḥūr.222:15–18*] and a report on how Mughīra had commanded his followers to await the coming of Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan and predicted his victory with angelic support [*MaqA.8:14–9:6; Bāb.71:10–12*]. Most of this is highly specific to Mughīra and the Mughīriyya.

The other factions are described to have their own distinctive doctrines. The Ḥarbiyya are particularly associated with the belief in metempsychosis and the

870 Ḥarbiyya (*MaqA.6:8–10; Ḥūr.215:3–4*), Manṣūriyya (*MaqA.9:15–10:6; Ḥūr.223:13–16*), Mu‘ammariyya (*MaqA.11:13–14; Ḥūr.221:7*).

871 Ḥarbiyya (*MaqA.6:7–8; Ḥūr.215:2*), Mu‘ammariyya (*MaqA.11:10; Ḥūr.221:4–5*)

872 Bayān (*MaqA.5:13; Ḥūr.215:14*), Mughīra (*MaqA.7:6; Ḥūr.222:14*). On the doctrine itself, see van Ess 1975:172–174.

transfer of God's spirit through the prophets and Imāms until it reached 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya [*MaqA*.6:5–6; *Hūr*.215:1–2]. The description of the Manṣūriyya reports Abū Manṣūr's interpretation of Q52:44, which led to his self-designation as the "piece that fell" (*al-kisf al-sāqit*) from Banū Hāshim [*MaqA*.9 :9–10; *Hūr*.223 :6–7]. It then focusses on Abū Manṣūr's unique claims to have been raised up to the heavens and anointed by God as a prophet, as well as various Christian-related elements of doctrine that appear nowhere else, such as their favoured oath ("By the Word!") and their claim that Jesus was the first thing created by God [*MaqA*.9 :13–14; *Hūr*.223 :11–12], and reports the distinguishing detail that the Manṣūriyya killed their opponents by strangulation [*MaqA*.10 :6–7; *Hūr*.223 :16–17]. The descriptions of the Khaṭṭābiyya and their sub-factions focus on the doctrine of the prophethood/divinity of the Imāms—especially the divinity of Ja'far al-Ṣādiq—as well as the prophethood/divinity of Abū l-Khaṭṭāb and other leaders, and the idea that all believers can receive revelation directly, as well as internal disagreements over the leadership of the movement [*MaqA*.10 :9–13:7; *Hūr*.220 :12–222:3].

What, then, connects the nine faction-descriptions as a set? Ash'arī begins his sub-chapter on the Ghāliyya with a statement that the Ghāliyya were so named because they "exaggerated concerning 'Alī" (*ghalaw fi 'Alī*) [*MaqA*.5:9], but 'Alī is barely mentioned in the nine descriptions. Another possible doctrinal commonality notable by its absence is messianism. These factions' beliefs regarding the Mahdī are hardly mentioned at all⁸⁷³. The most obvious commonality is, rather, the attribution of the belief in the super-human status of the factions' leaders or Imāms, either by considering them prophets or divine in some sense. In terms of perspective, although there is no open polemic in the descriptions, it is evident that these groups and their doctrines are to be viewed negatively. The descriptions of the antinomianism of certain factions and of their disbelief in heaven and hell are clearly not written from the perspective of someone who agrees with these; these factions are said to be "permitting illicit things" (*yastahillūna l-mahārim*) [*MaqA*.6:8, 10:1, 11:13–14; *Hūr*.214:3, 221:7, 223:14] and "disbelieving in Paradise" (*kafara bi-l-janna*) [*MaqA*.9:15; *Hūr*.223:13] or in the resurrection (*yakfirūn bi-l-qiyāma*) [*MaqA*.6:7; *Hūr*.214:2]. One thus gets the impression that we are reading descriptions of doctrines that are implicitly understood to be beyond the boundaries of acceptable Islam from the point of view of the author: gross anthropomorphism, metempsychosis, the world of shadows, belief in the power of God's greatest name, denial of Heaven and Hell, rejection of Islamic law, and the attribution of prophecy to people after Muḥammad and divinity to beings other than God.

⁸⁷³ The Mughīriyya are the only exception, as their doctrine concerning the Mahdism of Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan features prominently.

The degree of consistency across the body of material indicates that someone standardized the presentation at some point and gave it its thematic focus, but the individual descriptions are not internally homogenous or tightly structured. Rather, they appear more like amalgamations of disparate items of information that fail collectively to provide a holistic picture. For example, in the description of the Bayāniyya the report that Bayān claimed to have summoned the planet Venus and that Khālid b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Qasrī killed him because of is unconnected to the preceding report about the Bayāniyya’s literal interpretation of Q28:88. There is no sense of a general doctrinal profile of the faction in the short description. The detailed material on Mughīra b. Sa‘īd’s own esoteric doctrines is coherent and tightly structured in itself but seems unrelated to the later material on the Mughīriyya’s reaction to the failed rebellion and death of Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh. The remark about the Maṣūriyya’s practice of strangling their opponents is simply tacked onto the end of the description, without obvious relation to the immediately preceding material on their justifications for disregarding the commands and prohibitions of Islam [*MaqA*.10:1–7; *Hūr*.223:13–17]. The first part of the description of the Khaṭṭābiyya clearly has a model of their doctrine whereby they believed the Imāms were all prophets but it then pivots suddenly to a different model, in which Abū l-Khaṭṭāb is a prophet and the Imāms are divine [compare *MaqA*.10:9–14; *Hūr*.220:12–15 with *MaqA*.10:14–11:4; *Hūr*.220:16–18]. It then shifts again to describe a doctrine whereby Abū l-Khaṭṭāb and Ja‘far al-Šādiq specifically are both gods [*MaqA*.11:4–6; *Hūr*.220:19]. Such abrupt discontinuities give the strong impression that the material was originally drawn from a variety of disparate sources and brought together with little attempt at giving them comprehensive doctrinal profiles or even at cogently linking together the available information.

Qummī’s *Maqālāt* has parallels to only some elements of the descriptions present in Balkhī-Ash‘arī’s version of the material⁸⁷⁴. In general, these are such that we cannot reconstruct anything significant about the version that must have appeared in Balkhī and Qummī’s common source; we cannot even be sure that it had all the elements present in Balkhī-Ash‘arī’s version. In some cases, however, Qummī *might* preserve an earlier form of the common elements, but the only interesting example concerns the Bayāniyya. Qummī’s version reports that they believed it was Abū Hāshim who summoned Venus, not Bayān. This fits with Qummī’s information that the Bayāniyya held Abū Hāshim to be the last *waṣī*, whilst Balkhī and Ash‘arī’s description in the *iftirāq*-schema puts Bayān in this role⁸⁷⁵. As discussed above, Qummī’s versions of these reports sit better with some of the other evidence

874 See p. 378–380.

875 See p. 385–386.

regarding the Bayāniyya's beliefs about Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya and Abū Hāshim⁸⁷⁶. That makes it plausible that Qummī preserves an older version of the report here, but we cannot be certain of this.

It is impossible to date this body of material precisely. Obviously, the Balkhī-Ash'arī version itself cannot reliably be dated any earlier than Balkhī's *Maqālāt*, but it is evident that descriptions of most of the relevant factions, containing at least some of the material present in the Balkhī-Ash'arī version, must have been present already in Warrāq's *Maqālāt* already. Even the most recent datable information in the Balkhī-Ash'arī version, however, is potentially much older: it concerns the Mughīriyya's reaction to the death of Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh in 145/762. It more likely comes, at the earliest, from several years thereafter. However, later groups with beliefs that resemble those of the nine factions—such as the Bashīriyya, a faction that emerged after Mūsā al-Kāzim's death in 183/799—are notably absent. A presentation of a set of Ghulāt factions with this chronological coverage could thus plausibly have been composed as early as the second half of the second century. At the other end, although the absence of later factions is no guarantee of early composition, it is quite unlikely to have been first compiled by someone working as late as the mid-third century. For comparison, *Uṣūl al-niḥal*—probably written in the 230s and by a Mu'tazilī author—already has a description of the Bashīriyya [*Niḥ*.41:14–17], and Yūnus b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, who probably died around 208/823, related material on them⁸⁷⁷. Whatever the date of initial compilation, we still do not know which elements were present at that original stage or how much reworking the material underwent subsequently.

A few items of information that were already present in Warrāq's version of this material can be found in works earlier than our extant witnesses to it. Ps.-Nāshī' has descriptions of some of the same factions: the Ḥarbiyya, the Manṣūriyya, the Bayāniyya, the Mughīriyya and the Khaṭṭābiyya⁸⁷⁸. Mostly, these descriptions diverge from either the Balkhī-Ash'arī version or Qummī's, but there are some specific convergences. In relation to the Ḥarbiyya, *Uṣūl al-niḥal* too attributes to them the belief that the spirit of God (here, the Holy Spirit, *rūḥ al-quds*) transferred through the Imāms until it reached 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya [*Niḥ*.37:13–16 ; *MaqQ*.41:9–11; *MaqA*.6:5–6; *Ḥūr*.215:1–2]. It also tells us that Abū Manṣūr practised strangulation [*Niḥ*.40:3; *MaqQ*.47:4; *MaqA*.10:6; *Ḥūr*.223:16–17], and it reports Bayān's interpretation of Q28:88, concerning the annihilation of everything except God's face, as well as that Bayān claimed to have successfully summoned the planet

⁸⁷⁶ See p. 518–519.

⁸⁷⁷ On Yūnus's material, see p. 706–707.

⁸⁷⁸ See p. 446–451, 588–590.

Venus, and that he was killed by Khālid b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Qasrī [*Nih.*40:9–41:41:3; *MaqQ.*34:12–14; *MaqA.*5:13; *Hūr.*215:13–14]. These convergences suggest that some items of information present in the body of material under discussion here also circulated separately from that material prior to and as late as *Uṣūl al-niḥal*’s composition in the 230s.

There is further evidence for this. In relation to Bayān’s interpretation of Q28:88 and the destruction of everything but God’s face, ps.-Nāshī’ cites some verses of Ma’dān al-Shumayṭī (d. after 160/786), a Ḥusaynid-Imāmī poet, that mention the doctrine explicitly [*Nih.*40:13–15]⁸⁷⁹. Jāḥiẓ cites more fragments of the same *qaṣīda*, from which we can see that Shumayṭī also referred to another item of information present in Balkhī’s and Qummī’s version of our material: that Abū Manṣūr was known as ‘the piece’ (*al-kisf*), based on his interpretation of Q52:44⁸⁸⁰. In explaining the reference, Jāḥiẓ also provides the relevant *aya*⁸⁸¹. Shumayṭī mentioned Mughīra too, although there are no references to specific doctrines that appear in our material. Jāḥiẓ describes the work as a *qaṣīda* in which Shumayṭī “classified (*ṣannaḥa*) the Rāfiḍa and the Ghāliya”⁸⁸². Elsewhere, Jāḥiẓ discusses in some detail the Manṣūriyya’s use of strangulation against their opponents—which is also witnessed in the Balkhī-Ash’arī material and in Qummī’s *Maqālāt*—in reference to verses from Ḥammād al-Rāwiya (d.156/773), another Kufan poet, who writes of several people and groups known for killing by this method⁸⁸³. Apparently, then, some details present in the material on the Ghulāt under discussion here had circulated previously in verse and, equally importantly, in the (probably originally orally transmitted) explanations of those verses.

The location of composition is a more tractable problem than the dating: the material’s gaze is firmly fixed on Kufa. Only in the case of the Ḥarbiyya—due to their support for ‘Abd Allāh b. Mu’āwiya—do we encounter a group with eastern connections, but they too were apparently a Kufan phenomenon first; Both Balkhī-Ash’arī and Qummī situate Ibn Ḥarb in Kufa. Groups with similar beliefs but associated with the ‘Abbāsids in the east, such as the Abū Muslimiyya and the Khidāshiyya or even the Rāwandiyya—conspicuous for their deification of Manṣūr—are

879 On the attribution of the verses to al-Shumayṭī, see van Ess 1970

880 *Ḥayawān.*II:269:1–6; VI:391:4–5. On the *qaṣīda* generally, see Pellat 1963 and van Ess 1970.

881 *Ḥayawān.*II:268:5–6; VI:391:1–2.

882 *Ḥayawān.*II:268:7–8.

883 This is the attribution at *Ḥayawān.*II:266:2–3. At VI:389:10, Jāḥiẓ attributes the same verses to A’shā Hamdān, but the latter was dead by 73/802, too early to have written about Abū Manṣūr (see *EI*3. “A’shā Hamdān” [Seidensticker]).

absent. This too militates against Warrāq being the original compiler of the set of descriptions⁸⁸⁴.

The doctrinal perspective is also Kufan and Ḥusaynid. When the material has anything to say about the Imāms followed by the factions, it concerns either the rivals to the Ḥusaynids who achieved Kufan support—'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya and Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh—or else the Khaṭṭābiyya's deification of Ja'far al-Šādiq and Ja'far's rejection of them. Despite the lack of an explicit use of the term Ghulāt in the extant versions of the material, we can at least presume its function was to list out and describe well-known Kufan groups whose beliefs the author perceived to lie outside the boundaries of acceptable (Shī'i) Islam and who were associated with leaders who had become prominent enough to be executed by the authorities and to have poetry composed about them.

2.1.3 Common Source-Material on the Zaydiyya

As we have seen, neither Q_1 nor Q_2 integrated Zaydī factions into the *iftirāq*-schema. The extant third-century heresiographies, however, do contain several bodies of common material on the Zaydiyya, the sources of which can partially be identified.

2.1.3.1 The Zurqān-material on Sulaymān b. Jarīr, Ḥasan b. Šāliḥ b. Ḥayy and Nu'aym b. al-Yamān

One of the main sources for Ash'arī's and (one of) Balkhī's presentations of Zaydī *firaq* was an *ikhtilāf*-cluster drawn from Zurqān's *Maqālāt*. Nawbakhtī also reproduced this material but in its original form, as an *ikhtilāf*-cluster⁸⁸⁵. It reported the opinions of three Zaydī scholars—Sulaymān b. Jarīr, Ḥasan b. Šāliḥ b. Ḥayy, and Nu'aym b. al-Yamān—on the relative status of the first four caliphs and 'Alī's opponents in the first *fitna*, and it bore the typical hallmarks of Zurqān's *ikhtilāf*-clusters, such as they can be observed from other preserved examples in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*⁸⁸⁶. Above all, there is the parallel construction of the doctrinal statements, such that each scholar's position is presented in a consistent sequence:

1. his judgement on the status of 'Alī, i.e., whether or not he was the superior candidate for the Imāmate (the *afḍal*);
2. his judgement on the pledge of allegiance to Abū Bakr and 'Umar, i.e., whether it was an error (*khaṭa*) or a sin (*fisq*) and whether it was the optimal state of affairs (*al-aṣlah*);

⁸⁸⁴ He seems to have had a much broader doxographical/heresiographical perspective. See p. 44–45.

⁸⁸⁵ See p. 486–488.

⁸⁸⁶ See p. 256.

3. his judgement on the status of ‘Uthmān and ‘Alī’s opponents at the Battle of the Camel, i.e., whether to suspend judgement (*waqafū fi*), dissociate (*tabarra’ū min*) or declare them to have committed unbelief (*kufū*)⁸⁸⁷.

This consistent structuring of the individual statements allows swift and direct comparison between them. The ease of comparison is further aided by the fact that all the doctrines are expressed in the same set of *kalām* technical terms. Another feature typical of such clusters is the oblique references to underlying argumentation—in this case, legal—that the reader is presumed to be familiar with. Sulaymān b. Jarīr is said to have excused Abū Bakr and ‘Umar from sin (*fiṣq*) because, although they made an error (*khata*), they were exercising their own interpretation (*ta’wīl*) of the situation⁸⁸⁸. This invokes the principle usually articulated elsewhere as *kull mujtahid muṣīb*, i.e., that in matters where no clear statement (*naṣṣ*) was made in the Qur’ān or by the Prophet, someone who puts in intellectual effort to arrive at the correct judgement should be held to be acting without sin even if they can be shown to have erred⁸⁸⁹. But this is not stated openly; the reader is presumed already to understand it. Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ is said to have excused Abū Bakr and ‘Umar by drawing an analogy with the situation of legal rights, which one may relinquish to someone else, as ‘Alī relinquished the Imāmate to them⁸⁹⁰.

The perspective of the *ikhtilāf*-cluster had nothing to do with that of the *iftirāq*-schema. Indeed, despite the way Ash‘arī and Balkhī reused the material, it had little to do with the idea of *firaq* at all. Rather, like all such *ikhtilāf*-clusters, this cluster had a particular theological question in view and set out the various positions that had been taken on it essentially by individual theologians, even if Zurqān also typically added the formula “and those who followed his teaching” (*man qāla bi-qawlihi*)⁸⁹¹. These individual’s positions on other questions would have appeared in other clusters, as we see still from Ash‘arī’s *ikhtilāf*-material on Sulaymān b. Jarīr, the main source of most of which was also perhaps Zurqān⁸⁹². Thus, originally, the

⁸⁸⁷ The material is best preserved by Nawbakhtī. For his versions and the parallels in Ash‘arī’s *Maqālāt* and the BdC, see *Tab.*12, 13 and 14.

⁸⁸⁸ See element y in *Tab.*12.

⁸⁸⁹ The doctrine is often associated with a Kufan “Murji’ī” thinker of the same period, namely ‘Ubayd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan al-Anbārī (d. after 166/783) (see *TG*.II:155–164), but it was widely influential and was, for example, later adapted into Shāfi’ī’s legal hermeneutics (see Lowry 2007:268ff).

⁸⁹⁰ See element y in *Tab.*13.

⁸⁹¹ This formulation is still visible in Nawbakhtī’s version, as well as throughout the *ikhtilāf*-clusters of Ash‘arī’s *Maqālāt*.

⁸⁹² Ash‘arī’s *ikhtilāf*-section in the sub-chapter on the Zaydiyya (*MaqA*.70:1–75:2) contains *ikhtilāf*-clusters on several questions of *kalām*; a doctrinal statement from Sulaymān appears in nearly all of them.

statements of these scholar's doctrines of the Imāmate were in no sense meant to stand as presentations of their doctrinal systems generally, let alone as statements that defined their followers as discrete *firaq* of the Zaydiyya.

This was because the purpose of Mu'tazilī *kalām*-doxography were completely different from that of the *iftirāq*-schema. These *ikhtilāf*-clusters were used primarily in the *kalām* study-circle, where a theological topic would be introduced by surveying the existing opinions on it, before the *mutakallim* would critique those opinions and elaborate their own position. That is why they are formulated in the terse and consistent technical language that they are; it facilitates rapid overview and comparison. We still see the written version of this approach in later theological *summae* like the *Mughnī*, as well as, e.g., Abū Maṣṣūr al-Māturīdī's (d. 333/944) *Kitāb al-Tawḥīd* or 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Baghdādī's *Uṣūl al-dīn*. There, the *ikhtilāf*-clusters recorded by earlier authors (Balkhī, Zurqān etc.) are usually provided before the author articulates his own position. This was because the tradition was scholastic; to advance a position in *kalām* was to speak into the context of previously elaborated thinking on the topic⁸⁹³. To take opinions from just one such cluster and turn them into descriptions of 'factions' supposedly led by the *mutakallimūn* who had held them was a radical re-purposing of the material.

The *ikhtilāf*-cluster looked at Zaydī positions on the Imāmate through a Mu'tazilī lens. It presumably emphasized those aspects of Zaydī doctrine that most interested the Mu'tazila, i.e., those they saw as most relevant to their own debates around the theory of the Imāmate. It probably also parsed or at least re-expressed Zaydī doctrine in the technical language of the Mu'tazila, in order that it could be analysed in Mu'tazilī terms. The concentration on these particular scholars is also at least partly a result of the of the Mu'tazilī perspective. This is seen most clearly in the case of Sulaymān. He was a *mutakallim* from Raḡqa. His lasting fame amongst the Mu'tazila perhaps arose from his participation in Yaḥyā al-Barmakī's disputation sessions in Baghdad, which exposed them to his views⁸⁹⁴. In any case, he was a *mutakallim's mutakallim*. He is the only Zaydī theologian to have had multiple opinions preserved by the Mu'tazilī doxographical tradition and, conversely, it is only Mu'tazilī doxography and its inheritors that pays any serious attention to his doctrines⁸⁹⁵. In contrast, the Kufan tradition—at least what the Imāmiyya and Zaydiyya have preserved of it—seems to have ignored him. He shows up in later Imāmī works only in a legend about how, precisely at one of the Barmakids' disputation sessions, he is supposed to have formulated a question that forced Hishām b.

893 See van Ess 2011:1201–1206 and Weaver 2017:160–161.

894 See Madelung 1965:62 and *TG*.II:472.

895 *TG*.II:472. Sulaymān is the only named Zaydī theologian in Ash'arī's *ikhtilāf*-section on the Zaydiyya; all other doctrinal positions are attributed to anonymous groups.

al-Ḥakam to admit he would obey his Imām even if the latter called for rebellion. This revelation supposedly prompted Hārūn to move against the Imāmī Shī‘a⁸⁹⁶. But all this is just a legend about how the public engagement in *kalām*—particularly on the part of Hishām—was to blame for the ‘Abbāsīd crackdown during the time of Mūsā al-Kāzīm; none of Sulaymān’s doctrines are recorded⁸⁹⁷. As for the Zaydiyya, when al-Hādī ilā l-Ḥaqq cites and reacts to Sulaymān’s position on God’s eternal stance towards those whom he knows will sin in the future, he is probably doing so on the basis of the Mu‘tazilī doxographical tradition⁸⁹⁸. That was probably true more broadly. In the *Maqātil*, Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī calls Sulaymān a *mutakallim*, but he is interested only in the reports that Sulaymān had a hand in the murder of Idrīs b. ‘Abd Allāh in 177/793⁸⁹⁹.

Another indication of the Mu‘tazilī perspective is the absence of the model that Imāmī authors routinely used to classify the Zaydiyya, namely that the Zaydiyya consisted of two wings: the Jārūdiyya and the Butriyya. The main distinction between the two usually concerns their doctrine of the succession to Muḥammad: the Jārūdiyya rejected the Imāmates of Abū Bakr and ‘Umar because they believed the Prophet had made a *naṣṣ* concerning ‘Alī’s Imāmate; the Butriyya believed that although ‘Alī was the superior candidate and should have been the Imām, the Imāmates of Abū Bakr and ‘Umar were legitimate⁹⁰⁰. Based on that classification, *all* the opinions reported here by Zurqān would simply be Butrī. But Zurqān used the name ‘Butriyya’—if it was not added only in the later witnesses—for the followers of Ḥasan b. Šāliḥ b. Ḥayy alone⁹⁰¹. We cannot be sure why he made this connection specifically, and to the exclusion of Sulaymān and Nu‘aym. It probably has something to do with the fact the Butriyya were a Kufan phenomenon; Sulaymān came from Raqqā⁹⁰². But if the Butrī-Jārūdī dichotomy had been his primary framework for understanding the Zaydiyya, he wouldn’t have done so. In any case, it certainly isn’t the framework applied in the *ikhtilāf*-cluster. The focus—as befits *kalām* doxography—is not on classification at all, but on the subtle distinctions between the doctrines of the three *mutakallimūn*; the mention of the connection between Ḥasan and the Butriyya is incidental to this purpose. It is notable, then, that the Jārūdiyya do not feature at all, even though their distinct doctrine would have fitted the topic

896 *Rijāl*K.258:4–263:15.

897 *TG*.I:350–352.

898 See *TGV*:60–61.

899 *Maqātil*.407:14–408:8. On the dubious reports, see Madelung 1965:62 and *TG*.II:473–475.

900 On this model, see p. 591–594, 675–680.

901 See *Tab*.13, x⁶.

902 See also p. 594.

of the cluster. It seems the Zaydī *mutakallimūn* that were of interest to Zurqān all held 'Butrī'-type views⁹⁰³.

Zurqān was not reporting his information at first hand. Ḥasan b. Šāliḥ died in 167/784. Sulaymān b. Jarīr's date of death is unknown but as he, like Hishām b. al-Ḥakam, is depicted as one of the senior scholars involved in the Barmakid's disputations, it is very likely to have occurred well before the end of the second century⁹⁰⁴. There are parallels to some elements of Zurqān's material in *Uṣūl al-niḥal*, but, although ps.-Nāshī' provides more detail, it is impossible to determine whether he expanded on Zurqān's material or whether they had an earlier written source in common⁹⁰⁵. If there was no written source, then it is likely that Zurqān relied on information from his own teachers, Abū l-Hudhayl and Nazzām, as he seems to have done elsewhere⁹⁰⁶.

2.1.3.2 The Non-Zurqān Material on Ḥasan b. Šāliḥ, Sulaymān b. Jarīr and Nu'aym b. al-Yamān

Another body of material present in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and (at least one version of) Balkhī's *Maqālāt* also dealt with the doctrines of Ḥasan b. Šāliḥ, Sulaymān b. Jarīr and Nu'aym b. al-Yamān on the Imāmate. The earliest version of it that we can reliably reconstruct is that from the version of Balkhī's material on the Shī'a used by 'Abd al-Jabbār. If Ash'arī did not obtain it from that version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt* too, then Ash'arī and Balkhī must have separately taken it from a work by Warrāq, in which case we could also reconstruct it as it appeared there, but that is not the most likely scenario. Balkhī's most likely source remains Warrāq in all circumstances, but even if that could be confirmed, we still could not be sure how Balkhī's version differed from Warrāq's, as we have no confirmed independent witness to Warrāq's version⁹⁰⁷.

Like Zurqān's *ikhtilāf*-cluster, this material deals with the positions of these scholars concerning the first four caliphs. There is also considerable overlap in information, but the two bodies of material do not completely agree. Zurqān recorded that Sulaymān believed that 'Alī was the Imām after the Prophet's death,

⁹⁰³ It may, of course, be that the extant witnesses simply don't preserve Zurqān's material on the Jārūdiyya, but this is unlikely. Balkhī, and then Ash'arī in reliance on him, used Warrāq's material on the Jārūdiyya; Nawbakhtī has something else entirely. If Zurqān had presented any material on the Jārūdiyya, and especially if he had done so in this *ikhtilāf*-cluster, we would expect to see some parallels between the *Firaq* and Ash'arī-Balkhī in their descriptions of the Zaydiyya.

⁹⁰⁴ *TG*.I:351 and the sources cited there.

⁹⁰⁵ See p. 471.

⁹⁰⁶ See p. van Ess 2011:181.

⁹⁰⁷ See p. 489–490.

and that the pledge of allegiance to Abū Bakr and ‘Umar was an error (*khaṭṭ*)⁹⁰⁸. This non-Zurqān material, however, has it that Sulaymān affirmed their Imāmate because he held the Imāmate of the lesser candidate to be legitimate (*qad taṣluḥ fī l-mafḍūl*)⁹⁰⁹. That is at the very least divergent: it is possible he held that their election was both an error (because ‘Alī was the best candidate) and legitimate (because allegiance was pledged to them), but the emphasis in the two bodies of material remains completely different. Zurqān recorded that Ḥasan b. Šāliḥ (and the Butriyya generally) suspended judgement on ‘Uthmān⁹¹⁰. This non-Zurqān material records that position too but also gives an alternative report—marked by an introductory *hukiya*—that states that Ḥasan b. Šāliḥ dissociated from ‘Uthmān (i.e., did not consider him Imām) from the point he started to introduce ‘innovations’ (*aḥdāth*)⁹¹¹.

Moreover, this non-Zurqān material goes beyond the restricted topics of Zurqān’s *ikhtilāf*-cluster. It gives us details on some of Sulaymān’s underlying principles of the Imāmate: he considered the selection of the Imām a matter of consultation (*shūrā*), specifically that the ‘best’ of the Community should choose. Apparently, he thought two of them were enough to make a valid pledge of allegiance. The report explicitly states that this amounts to an acceptance of the ‘Imāmate of the lesser candidate’ (*imāmat al-mafḍūl*)⁹¹². We also get the information that Sulaymān did not consider ‘Alī to have been in error in the first *fitna* but did not hold it obligatory for ordinary Muslims (*al-‘amma*) to recognize this because it depended upon an analysis of the received historical reports on the matter⁹¹³.

Despite these divergences, it is remarkable that both bodies of material treat the same three Zaydī scholars and give their opinions on the same set of questions with so much overlap. It is thus not unlikely that there is some relationship of source-dependency between the two. It is conceivable for example, that Warrāq adapted Zurqān’s original cluster, also incorporating relevant material from elsewhere. It could also be that Zurqān and Warrāq had some common source. Perhaps the trio of opinions on the Imāmate had become a kind of doxographical commonplace amongst the Mu’tazila before Zurqān set it down, and that there were many versions in circulation. On the basis of the available evidence, however, this is all speculation.

908 Tab.12, y.

909 Tab.12, a, b.

910 Tab.13, z.

911 Tab.13, z.

912 Tab.12, a.

913 Tab.12, d.

What we can say with more confidence is that this non-Zurqān material also came from *kalām* circles and originally had very little to do with defining discrete *firaq* of the Zaydiyya in the sense understood by the *iftirāq*-schema. The additional information focuses on further technical aspects of Sulaymān's doctrine: the notion of the Imāmate of the *mafdūl* and the way in which epistemological concerns play into the question of whether people can be held responsible for not recognizing the truth in this matter⁹¹⁴. Whatever its ultimate relationship to the real doctrines of Sulaymān, Ḥasan and Nu'aym, we are probably looking again at how Zaydī doctrine on the Imāmate was viewed from perspective of the (Mu'tazilī) *kalām* circle.

2.1.3.3 The Warrāq-Material on the Jārūdiyya

A third body of source-material concerned different Zaydiyya entirely: the Jārūdiyya⁹¹⁵. It consisted of three parts:

- a statement of the basic Jārūdī doctrine that the Prophet designated (*naṣṣa 'alā*) 'Alī by describing him, not by naming him, that Ḥasan and Ḥusayn were also designated as Imāms, but that thereafter the Imāmate goes to any descendant of Ḥasan or Ḥusayn who has the necessary qualifications and actively tries to claim it;
- an *iftirāq* of the Jārūdiyya into two factions over whether the Prophet designated the Imāmates of all three directly or whether each designated the next;
- an *iftirāq* over the identity of the Mahdī, in which three factions claim the Mahdism of Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan, Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim, and Yaḥyā b. 'Umar respectively⁹¹⁶.

As is the case for the non-Zurqān material on Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ, Sulaymān b. Jarīr and Nu'aym b. al-Yamān, we can securely reconstruct this material as it appeared in Balkhī's *Maqālāt*, but no further back. Balkhī's source for the third part was definitely Warrāq, but it is likely that he took the whole report from Warrāq's *Maqālāt*⁹¹⁷. In any case, the report as it stands is thematically heterogeneous. The first two parts focus on the basic Jārūdī doctrine of the Imāmate, but the third part deals with the specific historical claims of particular Jārūdī 'factions' about the identity of the Mahdī.

⁹¹⁴ Precisely this question is also addressed by Jāhīz in his *Kitāb al-Uthmāniyya*, 256:11–12. On Jāhīz's arguments here, see Sanchez 2011:95–105.

⁹¹⁵ See p. 488–489, 204–209.

⁹¹⁶ This material is given in full in *Tab.10*.

⁹¹⁷ See p. 489, 209.

We will begin with the third part, which we know Balkhī obtained from Warrāq. Although it is structured as an *iftirāq*-cluster, it is nothing like the clusters of the *iftirāq*-schema. Its three factions did not arise at a single point in time in reaction to a particular event. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh was killed in his rebellion of 145/762; Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim’s failed rebellion ended with his death in 219/834; and Yaḥyā b. ‘Umar rebelled and was killed in (roughly) 250/864. Obviously, then, this material must have been composed after Yaḥyā b. ‘Umar’s death, presumably by Warrāq himself, and concerns ‘factions’ that had come into being over a long period of time. The impression it gives—i.e., that the Jārūdiyya were split, in Warrāq’s own day, into three factions over the question of which of these people they held to be the Maḥdī—is doubtless false. Presumably, it merely reflects the fact that Warrāq knew of messianic movements attached to the three Alids that had emerged amongst their Jārūdī-type Zaydī supporters after their deaths.

Part one expresses the basic Jārūdī doctrine of the Imāmate: ‘Alī and his two sons by Fāṭima were established as Imāms by a particular type of *naṣṣ*, description not naming. The report thus seems to presuppose the existence of a contrasting doctrine of *naṣṣ* by naming held by some other group. Obviously, the implicit comparison here is thus not only and perhaps not primarily with other Zaydī groups, which didn’t have a doctrine of *naṣṣ* at all, but, rather, with the Ḥusaynid-Imāmīyya. Part two focusses on the relatively subtle distinction between those Jārūdīyya who believe the Prophet designated ‘Alī, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn directly, and those who believe in successive designation from each Imām to the next. The underlying dispute is presumably between people who believed that only the Prophet could make such a *naṣṣ*, and those who held the more Imāmī-like doctrine that each Imām could do so, albeit only as far as Ḥusayn.

The first and second parts of the report are more difficult to date than the third. The fact that the term *naṣṣ* is used, rather than *waṣīyya*, suggests they were composed in the latter part of the second century at the earliest⁹¹⁸. Certainly, we are later than the time of Abū l-Jārūd himself⁹¹⁹. The provenance is unclear, but there is little evidence the Mu‘tazila paid much attention to the Jārūdīyya. When they did, they seem not to have classed them as Zaydiyya⁹²⁰. That leads us to suspect the influence of Shī‘ī sources⁹²¹.

918 See p. 549–550.

919 He was probably dead by 145/762. See *TG*.I:255.

920 See p. 595.

921 See also p. 676–680.

2.1.3.4 The Common Material on the Jārūdiyya in the *Firaq* and *Uṣūl al-niḥal*

Another body of material on the Jārūdiyya was transmitted ultimately from a common source (*Q*₃) to ps.-Nāshī' and Nawbakhtī⁹²². It consisted of three parts:

- A statement of the Jārūdī doctrine concerning the Imāmate after Ḥusayn: that they believed that any descendant of Ḥasan or Ḥusayn who actively rises up and calls the people to support him is the Imām, and obedience to him is obligatory.
- A statement of their doctrine concerning descendants of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn who claim to be the Imām but do not actively rise up.
- A statement of their doctrine that the *āl Muḥammad* have equal and perfect knowledge of the Prophet's message⁹²³.

Ps.-Nāshī' states explicitly that the material came to him from Shī'ī sources (*hākadhā ḥakā jamā'a min mashāyikh al-Shī'a wa 'ulamā'ihim*), and by Shī'ī, he clearly means Imāmi⁹²⁴. It is evident that Nawbakhtī's immediate sources were also Imāmi⁹²⁵.

The focus of this body of material on the Jārūdiyya is different from that of the Warrāq-material on the faction, and even where there is thematic overlap, they do not agree. According to the Warrāq-material, the basic Jārūdī theory of the Imāmate recognized two phases: in the first phase, 'Alī, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn were appointed by *naṣṣ*; in the second, after Ḥusayn, any virtuous and knowledgeable descendant of either brother who actively rises up and claims the Imāmate is the rightful Imām⁹²⁶. In the material under discussion here, only the doctrine of the post-Ḥusayn Imāmate is mentioned, and the conditions that the Imām must be knowledgeable and virtuous do not appear. Rather, the Jārūdiyya are depicted to have effectively denied that there are such conditions, because all (male) descendants of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn already fulfil them; the candidate merely has to claim the Imāmate and rise up in rebellion in order to become the Imām and for obedience to him to become obligatory⁹²⁷. The material then continues with the same focus but from another angle: the Jārūdī doctrine concerning those descendants of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn who claim the Imāmate *without* rising up. Nawbakhtī and ps.-Nāshī' give variants here: either the Jārūdiyya considered such a person simply not to be the Imām (ps.-Nāshī') or to be an unbeliever (Nawbakhtī)⁹²⁸. Whichever

⁹²² See p. 491–492, 453–461.

⁹²³ Both versions of the material are translated in full in *Tab.40, m, p, q*.

⁹²⁴ *Tab.40, q¹* and see p. 461.

⁹²⁵ See p. 460–461.

⁹²⁶ *Tab.10, a, b*.

⁹²⁷ *Tab.40, m*.

⁹²⁸ *Tab.40, p*. and see p. 459.

version we take, however, it is evident we are looking at a depiction of the Jārūdī attitude to the pacifist Ḥusaynid Imāms. Finally, we are told that Abū l-Jārūd and/or his followers taught that all descendants of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn were equal in knowledge. Again, however, the two versions differ slightly. Nawbakhtī asserts that the Jārūdiyya believed that all descendants of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn possessed knowledge equally, regardless of age, such that even a baby “in swaddling cloths and cradle” is equal to the eldest of them⁹²⁹. Ps.-Nāshī’ also reports this doctrine but tempers it with the statement that they believed the descendants of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn to become equal in all respects only once they have reached maturity and their “virtues have become complete”⁹³⁰.

This material is neither a general overview of Jārūdī doctrine nor a global presentation of the Jārūdiyya as a faction. Rather, it is fixated on the two main points of disagreement between the Jārūdiyya and the Imāmiyya: the requirement for an Imām to rise up actively in rebellion; and the doctrine that the Imāmate was not vested in a particular individual but in all male descendants of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn equally. Indeed, the material contains certain phrases that the Ḥusaynid Imāmiyya viewed as typically Zaydī. One is *muftaraḍ al-tā’a* (‘one to whom obedience is obligatory’) in reference to the Ḥasanid or Ḥusaynid who comes out in open rebellion⁹³¹. Another is *fi baytihi murkh^{an} ‘alayhi sitruhu* (‘in his house with his curtain let down’) in connection with someone who claims the Imāmate whilst ‘living the easy life’, i.e., not actively rebelling. That is clearly an insult directed towards the pacifist Ḥusaynid Imāms, originally probably Ja’far al-Ṣādiq specifically⁹³².

The Ḥusaynid-Imāmī perspective becomes even clearer in the unique passages that follow the common material. Both authors present an assessment of why the Jārūdiyya held their view that all descendants of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn were equal in knowledge. Ps.-Nāshī’ attributes to them the pragmatic, but obviously weak, *post hoc* justification that if the descendants of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn differed amongst themselves in this quality, it would be impossible to establish which of them was the best candidate because there are too many of them, therefore they must be equal⁹³³. Nawbakhtī attributes to them a more cynical motivation: they professed

929 *Tab.40, q²*.

930 *Tab.40, q¹*.

931 On this, see *TG.I:259*, citing especially Kulīnī, *Kāfi*, I:232:19, 346:26 and *RijālK.261:11*, where the phrase is put into the mouths of Zaydī interlocutors.

932 See *TG.I:259*, n.57, citing Kulīnī, *Kāfi*, I:357:3–5, which puts the same words are put into the mouth of Zayd b. ‘Alī during an encounter with Muḥammad al-Bāqir. Bāqir then reveals the falseness of the claim that the Imām must actively rise up and deftly puts Zayd in his place. Van Ess also mentions reports of Ja’far al-Ṣādiq receiving visitors from behind a curtain (see esp. *RijālK.285:15, 286:12*), but it is anyway likely that it was Ja’far who was the original target of such polemic.

933 *Tab.40, r¹*.

the doctrine only to avoid being forced to admit that the Imāmate belonged to a particular person⁹³⁴. The latter is obviously an insinuation that the Jārūdiyya were just searching for any justification not to have to accept the legitimacy of the Ḥusaynid Imām, but neither text allows that they might have had a principled commitment to the doctrine⁹³⁵.

The material is thus clearly Ḥusaynid-Imāmī in origin and most likely Kufan. The common source must pre-date *Uṣūl al-niḥal*, meaning it came, at the latest, from the first decades of the third century. In any case, it is unlikely the Ḥusaynid-Imāmiyya could have attacked the Jārūdiyya so strongly for the belief that a baby could have perfect knowledge after the accession of Muḥammad al-Jawād, as they too effectively upheld the same doctrine, even if restricted to a particular individual rather than an entire family. Given the character of the Zaydī polemic against the Imāmiyya it expresses, which seems strongly focussed on the person of Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, it could well have been composed much earlier⁹³⁶. The patterns of convergence and divergence make it possible that this material sat in Q_1 and Q_2 alongside the *iftirāq*-schema, but then we would have to explain its absence from the BdC⁹³⁷. Moreover, it is obviously of a completely different character from what is witnessed for Q_1 and Q_2 . We should probably favour the explanation of a separate common source (Q_3).

2.1.3.5 Material on *rafḍ* and *raj'a*: Abū l-Jārūd, Kathīr al-Nawwā', Ṣabbaḥ b. al-Qāsīm al-Muzanī, and Ya'qūb b. 'Adī

The final block of material that was re-used in multiple extant presentations of the Zaydiyya consisted of a list of doctrinal statements attributed to four men and their followers concerning two topics: the status of Abū Bakr and 'Umar, and the doc-

934 *Tab.40*, v².

935 See p. 460–461. Indeed, we might wonder whether the whole idea that the Jārūdiyya must have believed in the equal knowledge of all descendants of Fāṭima, whatever their age, is itself a *reductio ad absurdum* of their position cooked up by Ḥusaynid-Imāmī polemicists. This is what van Ess (*TG*.I:260) and essentially already Madelung (1965:48) suggest.

936 Bayhom-Daou discusses the relevant material in the *Firaq* and *Uṣūl al-niḥal* at length (1996:79–95; 2003a:95–108). As elsewhere, she departs from the assumption, following Madelung, that the source is Hishām b. al-Ḥakam. Her main point, however, is that the accusations against the Zaydiyya should be understood in the specific context of debates around the sufficiency of the Qur'ān vs. the idea that Prohetic *sunna* was a separate and additional source. This stands, in principle, even once we have rejected the thesis that the source is Hishām. But here is not the place to assess her interpretation.

937 See p. 491–492.

trine of the *raj'a*⁹³⁸. However, the material is well established for only two of them [*MaqA*.69:10–14, *MaqQ*.71:17–72:2; *Mugh*.XX₂:185:5–8]:

- Šabbāḥ b. al-Qāsim al-Muzanī dissociated from Abū Bakr and 'Umar and 'did not deny' the possibility of the *raj'a*.
- Ya'qūb b. 'Adī accepted Abū Bakr and 'Umar and denied the *raj'a*. Whilst he did not dissociate from those who dissociated from Abū Bakr and 'Umar, he did dissociate from those who professed the *raj'a*.

It seems the list of opinions also featured two further scholars, but only parts of their doctrinal statements are established by more than a single witness:

- Kathīr al-Nawwā' denied the *raj'a* and believed 'Alī became Imām only from the moment that allegiance was pledged to him⁹³⁹. It appears he also considered Abū Bakr and 'Umar to have been in the right (*yu'addilūnahum*), but the *Bāb* is our only witness to this element⁹⁴⁰.
- Abū l-Jārūd believed in the *raj'a* [*Mugh*.XX₂:185:5; *Sharḥ*. 21v:10–13]. It appears he considered Abū Bakr and 'Umar to be sinners (*yufassiḡūnahum*), but the *Mughnī* is our only witness to this element [*Mugh*.XX₂:185:5–8].

This body of material appears to have been present in Warrāq's *Maqālāt* and must have appeared in the common source used by Qummī and Warrāq if Qummī was not simply dependent on Warrāq's *Maqālāt*.

We know very little about Sabbāḥ b. al-Qāsim or Ya'qūb b. 'Adī⁹⁴¹. It is unclear even in what sense they are supposed to have been Zaydiyya⁹⁴². It perhaps had to do with the fact they were known not to be devotees of the Ḥusaynid Imāms exclusively, but it may only be the fact of their appearance alongside Kathīr al-Nawwā' and Abū l-Jārūd in this fragment that led the later heresiographers to classify them as such. Of more interest is the specific combination of the two doctrines—*rafḍ* and *raj'a*. These were major dividing lines amongst the Kufan Shī'a in the first half of the second century but cut across allegiances to particular Imāms or dynasties⁹⁴³. The material recognizes something that the later heresiographers dependent on the tradition inherited through Balkhī and Ash'arī otherwise had trouble seeing: many Shī'a had been *rāfiḍa* without subscribing to the doctrines of the Ḥusaynid-Imāmiyya concerning the transmission of the Imāmate. The reports are also thus clearly

938 See p. 490–491.

939 *Tab*.13, *n*.

940 *Tab*.13, *m*⁴.

941 *TG*.I.288–290.

942 *TG*.I.268.

943 *TG*.I:285–290, 308–312.

Kufan in origin; these figures and their opinions on these questions had mattered only there. But it is much more difficult to ascertain specifically from which circles the material could have originated.

2.1.4 Conclusions

Most of the common source-material for the *firq*-material on the Shī'a that appears in the extant third-century heresiographies was ultimately Kufan in origin and bore a Ḥusaynid-Imāmī perspective. That applies to the *iftirāq*-schema, to the only body of common material on the Ghulāt, and to the material on the Jārūdiyya preserved in the *Firq* and *Uṣūl al-niḥal*. Another important body of material on the Zaydiyya came via Zurqān's *Maqālāt* and carried the perspective of the Mu'tazilī *kalām* circle. The earliest (at least partially) *reconstructible* versions of most of these bodies of source-material were composed over a relatively long period. The earliest reconstructible version of the *iftirāq*-schema—that present in *Q_r*—was set down already in the 190s or early 200s. The common source of Nawbakhtī's and ps.-Nāshī's common material on the Jārūdiyya cannot have been written much later (and could have been written significantly earlier). Zurqān's *Maqālāt* was composed in the 230s, but the earliest version of the only body of common material on the Ghulāt that can be reconstructed securely is that present in Balkhī's *Maqālāt*, a work composed after 270. In most cases, however, it is highly unlikely that we are able to reconstruct the earliest versions.

These bodies of source-material did not provide a comprehensive presentation or classification of the factions of 'the Shī'a' in the way we see in the later heresiographies. Some of them, especially the Zurqān-material on the Zaydiyya, were not concerned with defining or describing factions as such at all; they focussed on particular doctrines, attributing them to individual theologians and, by extension, their followers. None of these bodies of source-material offered comprehensive, multi-faceted profiles of the factions they discuss. It was only in the hands of the later heresiographers that such material was reused as faction-descriptions that purport to cover the essential features separating one distinct *firq* from another within a framework that conceptualized the Shī'a, and indeed the whole Muslim Community, as divided into enumerable, discrete, and readily classifiable *firq*. Indeed, as far as we can tell, only two bodies of the common source-material originally listed, classified and described several Shī'i factions. One was the *iftirāq*-schema; the other was the much-later-attested set of descriptions of the Ghulāt preserved by Balkhī, Ash'arī, and—in much more fragmentary form—Qummī. But even these evidently had a much more restricted set of interests in the factions they mention than is suggested by the framework in which the material is redeployed in the extant heresiographies.

The *iftirāq*-schema was primarily concerned with *fīraq*. In offering a kind of family-tree of factions, it came closest to the later, taxonomically focussed, 'heresiographical' conceptualization of Shī'ī *fīraq* and probably lent itself readily to reuse in that context for that reason. But it remained extremely narrow in its perspective, essentially providing a schematic history of how those Shī'a who supposedly believed in a hereditary Imāmate from the time of 'Alī on split into factions after the death of each Imām over the question of the transmission of the Imāmate after him. Its *fīraq* come into existence only in such moments and are defined purely by their position on the succession to a particular Imām; they have very few other features at all. It is thus unclear that the original author and early transmitters and reworkers of the schema would have seen these *fīraq* to have any wider social or even doctrinal significance outside of the specific divisions over the question of the transmission of the Imāmate. By conceiving of all division as resulting from disputes over an Imāmate that was always-already understood to be hereditary, this clearly Ḥusaynid-Imāmī understanding of Shī'ī history thus either neglected Shī'ī phenomena that could not easily be brought within this paradigm or else distorted such phenomena to make them fit. As a result, it paid no attention to the figure of Zayd b. 'Alī or the Zaydiyya generally and ignored doctrinal diversity that was not connected exclusively with the Imāmate, e.g., in the case of the Ghulāt factions it mentioned. It also distorted the claims of, and the nature of the support for 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya and Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan in order to bring them within the schema, and was probably over-zealous in its application of the 'Abbāsīd concept of *waṣīyya* as a paradigm for the ordering of the factions of the Kaysāniyya.

The earliest *fīraq*-material on the Ghulāt we can reconstruct is Balkhī's, although Balkhī may have stuck very closely to his probable source: Warrāq's *Maqālāt*. That means it has probably already been pressed into a taxonomizing, heresiographical function, regardless of what its sources would have looked like. Despite this, it still did not offer comprehensive depictions of *fīraq* in terms of their historical activities, social make-up, geographical presence etc. Rather, it provided compilations of disparate information on doctrines supposedly held by each faction that the author considered to lie outside of acceptable Shī'ī Islam.

That leaves the Zaydiyya, where it is notably unclear that the later heresiographers had anything approaching real *fīraq*-material to work with at all. Indeed, it does not seem they even inherited an agreed upon list of Zaydī factions. The lists they came up with were compiled from disparate sources. Above all, it seems material was taken from Mu'tazilī *kalām* doxographies, particularly Zurqān's *Maqālāt*, which led to reports on the doctrines of the Imāmate of certain prominent Zaydī *mutakallimūn* being raised to the status of descriptions of supposedly discrete factions. Other material seems to have come from anti-Jārūdī polemic produced by the

Ḥusaynid-Imāmiyya. Much is of essentially unknown origin and presents material on figures whose real connections with the Zaydiyya are unknown.

2.2 The Extant Texts

The *firaq*-material in the extant third-century heresiographies is a combination of reworked common material from the sources discussed above and material unique to the individual extant works. The aim here is to understand how and to what end each of the extant texts of the corpus reuses the common material, to discuss the character and likely provenance of the unique material, and to examine the characteristics of the combination particular to each work. We will proceed text by text in chronological order.

Before we begin, it is necessary to flag up a methodological difficulty that will recur repeatedly below. When it comes to material unique to any given work, we can no longer rely on the methods of comparative *Quellenforschung* to establish its source; we are reduced to those of internal *Quellenforschung*, and these are much less reliable⁹⁴⁴. Indeed, the problem of identifying what any given author of an extant work (or a unique intermediary to that author) added to Q_1 's or Q_2 's *iftirāq*-schema is analogous to the problem of identifying elements added by the author of Q_2 to the material received from Q_1 . Namely, it is not possible to know, based on the mere fact of some element being unique to an extant text, that it was not already present in Q_1 and/or Q_2 , as it is possible that the other potential witnesses (or the intermediaries to them) simply omitted it. To be more specific, it is possible, for example, that ps.-Nāshī's unique elements were present in Q_1 but were omitted by Q_2 or—albeit less likely—by all the extant witnesses to Q_2 . It is likewise possible that the unique elements in Nawbakhtī's *Firaq* were present in Q_2 but omitted by Balkhī or by all the extant witnesses to Balkhī's material, etc.

Thus, in order to conclude that some unique element in an extant work was not present in Q_1 or Q_2 but was added later from elsewhere, either by the author of the extant work or a unique intermediary, we need some reason beyond the simple fact that it is unique to that work. There are different kinds of evidence that might be relevant. Sometimes the unique elements have datable content that doesn't fit within the timeframe covered by the material witnessed for Q_1 or Q_2 . More often, the unique elements stand out from the material witnessed for Q_1 and Q_2 by their thematic content, by their terminology or by the style of description. Another factor is how well the unique elements are integrated structurally within

⁹⁴⁴ See p. 9–15.

the material we know came from Q_1 and/or Q_2 : if they are awkwardly integrated, it is less likely they belonged to the neatly and largely consistently structured *iftirāq*-schema taken from these sources. These types of evidence can be highly convincing, especially if several are combined in respect of a single case, but they still cannot demonstrate for certain that the unique element was not present in Q_1 or Q_2 . Individual authors write in an ‘uneven’ manner all the time (and, of course, we mean unevenness in the perception of the reader). Authors can also reorganize material from a single source in such a way as to render it ‘uneven’. They also sometimes homogenize material drawn from multiple sources such that it looks like it may have been taken from a single source. In the case of the unique material, then, far more than when using parallels to establish the fact that there is some relationship of source-dependency between two works, we are working probabilistically.

2.2.1 *Uṣūl al-niḥal*

Ps.-Nāshī’s stated goal in *Uṣūl al-niḥal* is to list out and account for the origins (*uṣūl*) of the factions (*niḥal*, *fīraq*, *aḥzāb*) of Islam [*Niḥ*.9:6–8]. In the end, except in the case of the Khawārij, he depicts all factions as having emerged due to disagreements in only one area of doctrine: the Imāmate. As we have seen, he begins his text with a historical introduction, detailing how the Muslim Community split after the death of the Prophet into its five principal divisions: the Shī’a, the Mu’tazila, the Khawārij, the Murji’a, and the Ḥashwiyya⁹⁴⁵. The text then turns to the factions of the Shī’a, where the backbone of the presentation is the *iftirāq*-schema that came to ps.-Nāshī’ from Q_1 .

It is possible there was some unknown intermediary between Q_1 and ps.-Nāshī’. Indeed, there are reasons to think this probable⁹⁴⁶. Importantly, however, the material did not come to him via Q_2 , the intermediary to all other extant works that also reused material from Q_1 . Comparison with Q_2 shows that Ps.-Nāshī’ cannot have added or rearranged very much relative to the basic structure of the schema present in Q_1 except in the two relatively short sections on the Ghulāt and the Zaydiyya, where the schema is temporarily suspended⁹⁴⁷. As a result, *Uṣūl al-niḥal* essentially inherited the broadly chronological, stemmatic approach of Q_1 , together

945 See p. 76–79.

946 See p. 443–444.

947 See p. 441–446. Of course, we do not know what ps.-Nāshī’ might have been omitted relative to Q_1 , because the method is positivistic. Nevertheless, there are only a few factions witnessed for Q_2 that are candidates for having stood already in Q_1 yet do not appear in *Uṣūl al-niḥal* (see p. 536–539).

with its Ḥusaynid-Imāmī perspective. It too presents the history of the Shī'a primarily as a process of successive splits following the death of each Imām over the identity of his successor; thereby assuming the viewpoint that a large portion of the Shī'a understood the Imāmate as hereditary from the time of 'Alī on and disagreed only over the line of succession, including the possibility that the line stopped with some Imām who was claimed to be the Mahdī.

We can speculate that little modification to *Q*₁'s schema was required because it already suited *Uṣūl al-niḥal*'s general approach: it provided an aetiology of the factions of the Shī'a grounded in differences over the Imāmate that could be integrated directly into the text's larger framework. Perhaps, however, things were the other way around: the *iftirāq*-schema of the Shī'a was the model for the subsequent chapters of *Uṣūl al-niḥal*, which try—with limited success—to adapt its approach of a generative stemma of factions to the other principal divisions of the Community. The awkward attempt to ground the existence of the supposed factions of the Mu'tazila and Murji'a purely in successive disputes over the Imāmate could then conceivably be an effect of trying to generalize the *iftirāq*-model outside of the very specific historiography of the Shī'a from which it was derived. But this is not our question here.

Ps.-Nāshī' refers to the factions that appear within the schema collectively as 'the people of succession' (*aṣḥāb al-nasaq*) [*Niḥ.*23:14], 'those who profess succession' (*al-qā'ilūn bi-l-nasaq*) [*Niḥ.*24:6, 46:1, 48:3], 'those who profess the Imāmate' (*al-qā'ilūn bi-l-imāma*) [*Niḥ.*25:8], and 'the people of the Imāmate' (*aṣḥāb al-imāma*) [*Niḥ.*48:3]. The specific terms Imāmiyya and Rāfiḍa are not used. Yet, whilst the *iftirāq*-schema is dominant in the Shī'a-chapter, it is not universal; it is interrupted for the Ghulāt- and Zaydiyya-sections. The first of these is constructed as a simple *firaq*-list and is not based on any identifiable, discrete source in common with the other heresiographies. The second is structured superficially according to its own, independent *iftirāq*-schema and relies on two bodies of source material in common with other third-century heresiographies: *Q*₃, i.e., the source in common with Nawbakhtī's *Firaq* for much of the description of the Jārūdiyya; and either Zurqān's *Maqālāt* or a source in common with Zurqān for much of the descriptions of the Butriyya and the Sulaymāniyya. Material unique to *Uṣūl al-niḥal* also appears there.

The insertion of both sections within the *iftirāq*-schema is awkwardly achieved⁹⁴⁸. Two of the factions that appears in the list of the Ghulāt—the Mughīriyya and the Khaṭṭābiyya—also appear again later, within the *iftirāq*-schema, but no acknowledgement of the duplication is given [*Niḥ.*41:4–13, 46:5–9 (Mughīriyya); *Niḥ.*41:18–21, 47:2–3 (Khaṭṭābiyya)]. In part, the awkwardness probably arose simply because material from other sources was being incorporated into the midst

948 See p. 410–411.

of the *iftirāq*-schema⁹⁴⁹. But the fact that these sources were used to form specific sections on Ghulāt and Zaydī factions shows that a different perspective has entered. The *iftirāq*-schema inherited from *Q₁* provided a stemma of those Shīʿī groups that believed (or could be construed to have believed) in a hereditary Imāmate according to their successive disagreements over the line of succession. It didn't separate off any group of factions labelled Ghulāt, and the Zaydiyya didn't feature at all. But ps.-Nāshī' was apparently influenced by an idea extraneous to the schema, namely that there were at least two classes of Shīʿa that could be distinguished from the *ahl al-nasaq*: the Ghulāt and the Zaydiyya.

He evidently struggled, however, to bring the perspectives of the *iftirāq*-schema and that of this other classification together. He used the schema as the dominant organizing structure of the chapter and simply inserted the two extra sections on the Ghulāt and the Zaydiyya between the schema's material on the Kaysānī branch of factions and that on the Ḥusaynid branch post-Bāqir. That is the most obvious place for them, as there is a kind of 'natural' break anyway: having followed the line through Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya as far as the 'Abbāsīd succession-factions and the Ḥarbiyya, the schema effectively breaks off to pick up the line through Ḥusayn again. Between the two, the extra sections can be inserted without disturbing the schema too much. In the case of the Ghulāt-section, the Ḥarbiyya seem, moreover, to have provided a convenient bridge, as they too held beliefs that ps.-Nāshī' deems *ghuluww*. The Zaydiyya-section—which lacks such a bridge entirely—probably appears where it does just because the schema has already been suspended anyway. But ps.-Nāshī' does not try to account for the existence of the separate Ghulāt and Zaydiyya 'genetically', i.e., by asserting a historical moment where they split from the *ahl al-nasaq* or from some original, unified Shīʿa, nor does he explicitly describe the relationship between the three groups systematically, in doctrinal terms. There is thus no attempt to create an overarching framework for Shīʿī factions that makes sense of the extra sections. Rather, the *iftirāq*-schema remains the dominant organizing structure for the Shīʿa without any indication of how the classifications 'Ghulāt' and the 'Zaydiyya' are supposed to relate to it. Whether intentional or not, it is thus the *ahl al-nasaq*, and thereby the Ḥusaynid-Imāmiyya, who appear as the mainstream Shīʿa in *Uṣūl al-niḥal*. The Zaydiyya and the Ghulāt seem to be merely neighbouring phenomena.

2.2.1.1 Unique Material Within the *iftirāq*-Schema

Within his version of the *iftirāq*-schema, ps.-Nāshī's unique material does not usually go far beyond what can be reconstructed of *Q₁* in terms of thematic focus.

949 See p. 446–467.

This means the two themes of Q_1 's descriptions—the factions' claims concerning the identity of the Imām following the death of the previous Imām and the etymology of the faction-names—still predominate. The unique passages can be shorter, consisting of a few lines, or longer, but they usually add incidental historical details or doctrinal information closely related to what we know appeared already in Q_1 . Examples of short unique passages include the report on Rushayd al-Hajarī in the description of the Saba'iyya [*Niḥ.*23:1–6] and that in the description of the Kaysāniyya about how Mukhtār, when rescuing Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya from the prison of 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, delivered eighty signet rings from those he had killed to him in revenge for the death of Ḥusayn [*Niḥ.*25:4–7]. They are thematically dissimilar from anything witnessed for Q_1 's faction descriptions, making it less likely they go back to Q_1 , but it cannot be ruled out. An example of a larger body of unique material is the “additional” verses of Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī given in the description of the Kaysāniyya [*Niḥ.*27:16–29:13]. In this case, we know Q_1 already contained verses from the poet; it is equally likely these extra verses appeared there or that ps.-Nāshī' added them in from some other source⁹⁵⁰.

Different from the unique passages containing incidental historical details or extra verses of poetry, however, is the unique material in the post-Abū Hāshim *ift-irāq*-cluster on the 'Abbāsīd sub-factions and the Ḥarbiyya. Two things stand out here. One is the presence of unique material on the Hāshimī *dā'īs* active in Khurasan. *Uṣūl al-niḥal*, alone amongst the third-century heresiographies, mentions Bukayr b. Māhān and even calls the original 'Abbāsīd Shī'a ‘the Bukayriyya’ [*Niḥ.*31:2–5]. It has a lot more material on the Rizāmiyya [*Niḥ.*35:14–36:17]⁹⁵¹ and includes a relatively very long description of an entirely unique 'Abbāsīd sub-faction: the Khidāshiyya, named after the *dā'ī* known as Khidāsh [*Niḥ.*32:20–35:13]. Much of this material is strongly historiographical in focus, which is uncharacteristic of Q_1 .

The other thing that stands out here is the emphasis on doctrines usually considered *ghuluww* by the heresiographers. Q_1 already mentioned the (Abū) Muslimiyya's—i.e. another eastern faction connected with a Khurasānī *dā'ī*—neglect of the religious duties of Islam, and it equated them with the Khurramiyya, an eastern

⁹⁵⁰ On the verses that must have appeared in Q_1 already, see p. 430–431.

⁹⁵¹ We cannot reconstruct Q_2 's material on the Rizāmiyya because of the divergence between the *Firaq* and Balkhī's material. The *Firaq* associates them with clandestine support for Abū Muslim and a commitment to the “Kaysānī” legitimation narrative (*Fir.*42:4–5). The Bdc also has them as supporting the “Kaysānī” view against the Rāwandiyya, but otherwise states only that they affirmed the death of Abū Muslim against the (Abū) Muslimiyya (*Mugh.*XX₂:177:17–18; *Maqa.*21:14–22:1). In any case, ps.-Nāshī' has far more material than either and contradicts the other works. He claims the Rizāmiyya were a branch of the Rāwandiyya and thus taught that the Imāmate had passed from the Prophet to 'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. The description presents a fairly detailed overview of their claims.

phenomenon whose views ps.-Nāshī' and later heresiographers deemed *ghuluww* [*Niḥ.*32:10–19; *Fir.*41:13–42:3; *Mugh.*XX₂:178:1–2]. But that material was already exceptional within *Q*₁'s witnessed faction descriptions, which don't usually stray into this kind of doctrinal territory and otherwise focus almost exclusively on the Kufan scene. Ps.-Nāshī' has much more such material and goes into far more detail. His description of the Khidāshiyya discusses their rejection of the religious duties of Islam, their commitment to the idea of metempsychosis (*tanāsukh*) and their belief that God sometimes appears in human form. He explicitly labels these beliefs *ghuluww*, something the material witnessed from *Q*₁ never does [*Niḥ.*34:10]. *Uṣūl al-niḥāl* also has a lot of unique material on the Ḥarbiyya and—in the transition to the Ghulāt-section—connects them too with the Khurramiyya, detailing their doctrines of reincarnation (*tanāsukh*) its epochal cycles (*adwār*) [*Niḥ.*38:8–39:19]. Only Nawbakhtī has material that overlaps somewhat in terms of information with this section, but not sufficiently in terms of wording to indicate a proximate common source [*Fir.*32:6–34:4]⁹⁵². We cannot prove all this did not stand in *Q*₁ already, but it displays an interest in the divisions of Hāshimiyya movement in the east, in their doctrinal profile beyond issues of the Imāmate, and in judging that doctrinal profile to constitute *ghuluww* that is entirely absent in what is witnessed for *Q*₁. It seems quite likely it goes back to other sources.

Another exception is the *ikhtilāf*-cluster on whether 'Alī b. Ḥusayn had reached the age of maturity (i.e., whether he was *bāligh*) at the time of his accession to the Imāmate [*Niḥ.*25:12–22]. As described previously, this is obviously dissimilar to the *iftirāq*-clusters of *Q*₁: it is parenthetical to the schema, as it deals with a difference of opinions *amongst* the supporters of a particular Imām over a secondary issue, not over the succession, and the two groups it produces are simply collapsed back together for the purposes of the continuation of the schema⁹⁵³. This sort of thing is never witnessed for *Q*₁. Moreover, the question of whether Zayn al-'Abidīn had inherited the Imāmate as a child seems to have become a prominent issue only at the time of the accession of Muḥammad al-Jawād, who certainly was a child, as it provided the only possible precedent [*Niḥ.*25:12–22]⁹⁵⁴. The *ikhtilāf*-cluster was most likely thus a later addition to the schema, although we would then expect it to have been added by a Ḥusaynid-Imāmī intermediary, rather than ps.-Nāshī' himself as late as the 230s⁹⁵⁵.

The other most striking modification to the *iftirāq*-schema is, rather, a matter of summarization rather than addition. Despite some distortion, it is evident that the same post-Ja'far and post-Mūsā factions are present in *Uṣūl al-niḥāl* as in *Q*₂. This is

952 See p. 655.

953 See p. 408.

954 See p. 444 esp. n.525, also Madelung 1980:229, and van Ess 1971b:29–31.

955 See p. 444.

how we know they were present in Q_1 ⁹⁵⁶. Yet whereas Q_2 has the standard etymological material explaining the names of all these factions, this is mostly absent from *Uṣūl al-niḥal*. As the faction-names themselves are present, because the etymological material appears in *some* cases, because such etymological material is standard for Q_1 's faction-descriptions, and because it is related here to the names of specific Kufan figures active in the period after Ṣādiq's death, it seems more likely that we are looking at summarizing on ps.-Nāshi's (or an intermediary's) part, rather than at material not present in Q_1 that was added first in Q_2 ⁹⁵⁷. Why he would have summarized is unknown. Even despite it, the Shī'a-chapter, which consists mostly of the *iftirāq*-material, is by far the longest chapter of *Uṣūl al-niḥal*; it is nearly as long as the chapters on the Mu'tazila, the Murji'a, the Ḥashwiyya and the Khawārij combined.

2.2.1.2 Unique Material Outside the *iftirāq*-Schema

2.2.1.2.1 The Ghulāt-Section

The ordering principle behind *Uṣūl al-niḥal*'s list of the Ghulāt, which contains only five factions, is unclear. Certainly, it is not arranged chronologically. The faction-descriptions it contains are of very different lengths: two lines for the Manṣūriyya; just over fourteen for the Bayāniyya; just over nine for the Mughīriyya; three for the Bushayriyya; and three-and-a-half for the Khaṭṭābiyya [*Niḥ.40:1–41:21*]. There is also no common pattern to their internal structure or even a common set of topics covered.

The most constant feature of the descriptions is the statements concerning the transferral (*intiḳāl*) of the Imāmate, but even these occur in only three of the five: the Manṣūriyya are said to have claimed it transferred to Abū Manṣūr from Muḥammad al-Bāqir (this is the totality of the information about this faction) [*Niḥ.40:4–5*]; the Mughīriyya to Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan from Muḥammad al-Bāqir [*Niḥ.41:6–7*]; and the Bushayriyya to Muḥammad b. Bushayr from Ja'far al-Ṣādiq [41:16–17]. Two descriptions—those of the Bayāniyya and the Mughīriyya—report claims about the transferral of the Holy Spirit or 'a certain spirit' along the line of Imāms and thence to Bayān and Mughīra respectively [*Niḥ.40:17–41:2, 41:8–10*]. The only other doctrinal commonality is that Mughīra is supposed to have claimed that Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh could raise the dead and that he knew 'that which is hidden' (*al-ghayb*), whilst Muḥammad b. Bushayr is said to have made the same claim about himself [*Niḥ.41:8, 41:16*].

The rest is unique to individual faction-descriptions, but three of them are so short that there is little more to say anyway. We have already covered the entire

956 See p. 439–441.

957 See p. 439–440.

description of the Maṣūriyya. The only additional element in the description of the Bushayriyya is Muḥammad b. Bushayr's claim to be divine [*Niḥ*.41:15]. The description of the Khaṭṭābiyya consists entirely of a short historical report on their revolt, which mentions their famous Ja'far-deifying slogan and their defeat at the hands of ʿIsā b. Mūsā [*Niḥ*.41:18–21].

The much longer descriptions of the Bayāniyya and the Mughīriyya stand apart for the specificity and relative detail of their information on the doctrines and claims attributed to these factions and their leaders. The description of the Bayāniyya reports Bayān's claims to have been raised up to the heavens for an audience with God and to be the referent of Q3:138, as well as his literal, anthropomorphic interpretation of Q28:88, which he understood to imply God's body would be destroyed, leaving only his face. It also provides some anonymous verses—probably by Ma'dān al-Shumayṭī—attacking Bayān, and the story of how he claimed to have successfully summoned the planet Venus, leading to his execution at the hands of Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Qasrī [*Niḥ*.40:6–41:3]⁹⁵⁸. The description of the Mughīriyya reports Mughīra's supposed belief in the Imāmate and Mahdism of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan, followed by information on his claim that a certain spirit had enabled Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh to raise the dead and access knowledge of the *ghayb*. It then tells how Mughīra claimed this spirit was given to him and that he received a symbolic interpretation of the Qurʾān from it, which he called 'knowledge of the esoteric' (*ʿilm al-bāṭin*) [*Niḥ*.41:4–13]. Ps.-Nāshī' apparently thus had much more specific, and more copious, information on the Bayāniyya and the Mughīriyya than on the other factions. Nevertheless, there is no overall coherence to these longer descriptions, let alone any attempt to provide a comprehensive portrayal of the factions as such. As in the later Balkhī-Ash'arī material on the Ghulāt, the descriptions are merely amalgamations of individual items of information without connection to one another⁹⁵⁹; they provide little sense of either the general doctrinal profile of the factions or any aspect of their historical or social reality.

As shown previously, there is no discrete source in common between ps.-Nāshī's Ghulāt-section and any other extant third-century heresiography⁹⁶⁰. There are several broad coincidences of information, e.g., that the Khaṭṭābiyya mounted a rebellion that was put down by ʿIsā b. Mūsā or that Mughīra professed the Mahdism of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan etc. But mostly, these are too general to be significant and there is certainly no close convergence in wording. Specific par-

⁹⁵⁸ The whole description is translated in *Tab*.39.

⁹⁵⁹ See p. 565.

⁹⁶⁰ See p. 451.

allels are found only in the description of the Bayāniyya. Nawbakhtī too records that Bayān claimed to be the referent of Q3:138, but there is no strong convergence in the wording of these reports and nothing else in the *Firaq*'s description of the Bayāniyya corresponds with *Uṣūl al-niḥal*'s⁹⁶¹. The closest convergence occurs, rather, with the Balkhī-Ash'arī-Qummī material on the Ghulāt, which describes both Bayān's anthropomorphic interpretation of Q28:88 and the story of the summoning of Venus that results in Bayān's execution by Khālid b. 'Abd Allāh⁹⁶². The wording here must ultimately go back to a common source. A more complicated case is Ps.-Nāshī's report on Bayān's ascension to heaven. The Balkhī-Ash'arī material reports this, rather, of Abū Maṣṣūr, but there is still significant overlap in the wording of the reports⁹⁶³. A different version of the same story also occurs in reference to Abū Maṣṣūr in the *Firaq* (and is copied from there by Qummī) [*Fir*.34:5–8; *MaqQ*.46:11–12]. One thus wonders if there has been some mistake here in *Uṣūl al-niḥal*, and the material provided by ps.-Nāshī' properly belongs together with the immediately preceding description of the Maṣṣūriyya. Even if that were true, however, we would still be looking at a small number of isolated passages in common with the Balkhī-Ash'arī material on the Ghulāt set amongst large amounts of material that diverges greatly. The common passages must ultimately go back to a common pool of such reports, but there is no evidence of a discrete source in common.

More generally, we should wonder whether ps.-Nāshī' himself was responsible for compiling this somewhat haphazard list of Ghulāt factions or whether he perhaps inherited it from some Ḥusaynid-Imāmī source, as seems to have happened with the *iftirāq*-schema and the material on the Jārūdiyya. In any case, beyond the obvious conclusion that the list is not composed from the perspective of an adherent of any of its factions, it is difficult to say anything more specific about its origins or perspective. Indeed, collectively, the descriptions give no strong sense even of a common body of doctrines that ps.-Nāshī' (or the source) held to constitute *ghuluww*, let alone of any real or imagined historical connections between the factions listed, or between them and other Shī'ī groups.

2.2.1.2.2 The Zaydiyya-Section

The core of *Uṣūl al-niḥal*'s Zaydiyya-section consists of the three relatively long and detailed faction-descriptions of the Jārūdiyya, the Butriyya and the Sulaymāniyya.

⁹⁶¹ Compare *Niḥ*.40:8–9 with *Fir*.30:11–12

⁹⁶² For the material on the interpretation of Q28:88, see *Tab*.39, *c*, and compare also *MaqQ*.33:10–33:12, 37:9–38:2. On the summoning of Venus and Bayān's execution, see *Tab*.39, *e*, and compare *MaqQ*.34:11–14 (which attributes the feat to Abū Hashim; see p. 385–386).

⁹⁶³ Compare *Niḥ*.40:6–8 with *Ḥūr*.223:9–10; *MaqA*.9:11–13.

These draw on at least two different sources in common with other third-century heresiographies: much of the material on the Jārūdiyya has a Ḥusaynid-Imāmī source in common with Nawbakhtī (Q_3), whilst the descriptions of the Butriyya and the Sulaymāniyya either rely mostly on Zurqān's *Maqālāt* or have a (most likely still Mu'tazilī) source in common with Zurqān⁹⁶⁴.

As discussed above, there are some differences between ps.-Nāshī's and Nawbakhtī's versions of the material on the Jārūdiyya from Q_3 , but they are relatively minor⁹⁶⁵. Whatever small changes ps.-Nāshī may have been responsible for, he still expresses the perspective of his Ḥusaynid-Imāmī source. The material is focussed on points of contention between the Jārūdiyya and the Imāmiyya. It is obviously anti-Jārūdī.

When it comes to the descriptions of the Butriyya and the Sulaymāniyya, Ps.-Nāshī's versions of the common material are more detailed than Zurqān's. Most notably, ps.-Nāshī tends to spell out concepts that Zurqān expressed only in highly summarized form. The terminology also differs slightly⁹⁶⁶. We cannot say whether this extra detail is present because ps.-Nāshī expanded on the pithier versions found in Zurqān's text or in the possible common source, or whether the possible common source was already this detailed. Nevertheless, the basic perspective remains the same as Zurqān's; these are *kalām*-technical descriptions of doctrines constructed in terms that allow direct comparison between the positions of the Butriyya and the Sulaymāniyya with regard to the first four caliphs and 'Alī's opponents in the first *fitna*⁹⁶⁷. Their tenor is neutral. For this reason, the descriptions of the Butriyya and the Sulaymāniyya remain much more similar to each other than to the description of the Jārūdiyya.

The three descriptions of named factions provide the substance of the Zaydiyya-section, but they are surrounded by an aetiological and/or classificatory framework that appears superficial and somewhat hazy in comparison. The section begins with an announcement that the Zaydiyya were originally two factions (*fi l-aṣl firqatān*), but these factions are nameless and defined only doctrinally: the first believed that the Prophet made a specific statement (*naṣṣ*) concerning the Imāmates of 'Alī, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn but no further; the second believed there was no *naṣṣ* and that it was up to the Community to select a candidate on the basis of his precedence in virtue (*li-taqaddumihi fi l-faḍl*) [*Niḥ.*42:5–8]. Nothing is said about when these factions came into existence, how they are connected to one another, or what makes them both Zaydiyya. It is then asserted that the two factions disa-

⁹⁶⁴ See p. 451–468.

⁹⁶⁵ See p. 453–461 and 576–578.

⁹⁶⁶ See p. 462–466.

⁹⁶⁷ See p. 568–572.

greed [*Niḥ*.42:9]. This seems to be the beginning of a sort of *iftirāq*-cluster. But it is followed directly by a list of individuals who are said simply to have upheld the doctrine of the first nameless faction: Abū l-Jārūd, Fuḍayl b. al-Rassān, Abū Khālid al-Wāsiṭī and Maṣṣūr b. Abī l-Aswad [*Niḥ*.42:9–11]. We then get the description of the Jārūdiyya, which begins by equating these individuals with this faction. Thus, it seems that the original anonymous faction that believed in a *naṣṣ* was always just the Jārūdiyya. Next comes the description of the Butriyya, who are also introduced with a list of their leaders: Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ b. Ḥayy, Kathīr al-Nawwā', and Hārūn b. Sa'īd al-'Ijlī [*Niḥ*.43:14–15]. It is not stated that they are equivalent to the second of the original anonymous factions, but that seems to be the implication, as they profess the doctrine that 'Alī was (merely) the most virtuous candidate. But then comes the third faction, the Sulaymāniyya, and they too profess the doctrine that 'Alī was the most virtuous. This all leaves it unclear how the two anonymous original factions relate to the three named factions. Above all, the construct that the two disagreed to produce the three does not work. The first of the three is simply the first of the original two, just repeated and now named the Jārūdiyya. If there is a split at all, it can only be amongst the second of the original two, which divides into the Butriyya and the Sulaymāniyya. But this is not what is actually stated in the text. Rather, the connection is simply left ambiguous.

Ps.-Nāshī' was trying here to integrate two different models of the Zaydiyya that he inherited from his different kinds of sources: Shī'i and Mu'tazilī. The framework of the two original, anonymous factions of the Zaydiyya seems to be an abstract reflection of a model that we see also in the *Firaq*. There, Nawbakhtī states repeatedly that the Zaydiyya consisted, from the beginning, of two factions that came together in support of Zayd b. 'Alī. The substance of the split between the two factions is essentially the same, but Nawbakhtī refers to them simply as the Jārūdiyya and the Butriyya from the outset, without the abstracted and anonymised initial stage found in *Uṣūl al-niḥal*⁹⁶⁸.

Whatever this model has to do with historical reality, we have a good idea where it originated: amongst the Kufan Shī'a. This is because of the character of the most concrete instantiation of the bi-partite classification of the Zaydiyya, namely the lists of the prominent figures of the Jārūdiyya and the Butriyya. Again, such lists are found not only in *Uṣūl al-niḥal* but also in the *Firaq*. Nawbakhtī's list of the leaders of the Jārūdiyya is identical to ps.-Nāshī's [*Niḥ*.42:9–11 vs. *Fir*.51:7–8]; his list of the Butriyya is longer, but all the names provided in *Uṣūl al-niḥal* also appear there [*Niḥ*.43:14–15 vs. *Fir*.50:13–16]⁹⁶⁹. All the figures on the lists were active in

968 See p. 673–676.

969 Compare *Tab*.41, x⁷ with *Fir*.50:13–16.

Kufa in the early- to mid-second century. As far as we can tell, they were primarily traditionists and legal scholars who had supported Zayd and/or subsequent ‘Zaydī’ Imāms, above all Ibrāhīm b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan and ‘Īsā b. Zayd⁹⁷⁰. The main distinction between the two ‘wings’ seems to be that the figures of the Butri wing were basically otherwise part of broader Kufan traditionism, transmitting *ḥadīth* mainly from the Companions of the Prophet that came to them along the same routes as to those traditionists who would later be considered Sunnī⁹⁷¹. The ‘Jārūdī’ figures stood closer to the nascent Ḥusaynid-Imāmiyya epistemologically; they transmitted exclusively from the ‘Alids, above all Muḥammad al-Bāqir and/or Zayd b. ‘Alī⁹⁷². It was also understood that there were ritual and legal consequences to this: as became the practice in all the Sunnī schools, the Butriyya permitted the ritual wiping of the shoes and the consumption of Eel; the Jārūdiyya, like the Ḥusaynid-Imāmiyya, disallowed both⁹⁷³.

The heresiographical depictions usually—as in *Uṣūl al-niḥal*—reduce the two wings to their doctrines of the Imāmate (because that is what most of the ‘heresiography’ was really about): the Butriyya accepted Abū Bakr and ‘Umar, whereas the Jārūdiyya again stood closer to the Ḥusaynid-Imāmiyya, rejecting Abū Bakr and ‘Umar because they believed in a Prophetic *naṣṣ* regarding ‘Alī’s Imāmate. But the lists of the prominent figures show that the bi-partite classification of the Zaydiyya was grounded originally in something much broader than just this: the Butriyya and the Jārūdiyya—again, whatever the historical reality—were perceived to be distinct ritual, legal and epistemic communities, each having several prominent scholarly representatives. They were not just abstract doctrinal attitudes or merely ‘personal’ schools associated with individual scholars. That perception is the basis of such lists and thus ultimately—probably through some form of retro-projection—of the model of the Zaydiyya as having consisted essentially of the two wings from the very beginning⁹⁷⁴. The scholars on the lists were not entirely unknown outside of Kufa, but to see things this way, one had to be in the city in the second half of the second century and probably to stand at least somewhere within the Shi‘a. We will return to the question of the model’s origins later, when we look at its instantiation

970 They are all discussed in *TG.I:239–267*.

971 This is also the general interpretation of the historical identity of the Butriyya. See van Arendonk 1960:87 [=1919:78]; Madelung 1965:48–51; Haider 2011a:191, 213.

972 See Madelung 1965:47–48 and especially *TG.I:253–267*.

973 Madelung 1965:49; *TG.I:248*. See *Fir.12:10–16*. More generally on the ritual-legal positions adopted by the early Zaydiyya, see Haider 2011a:57–186.

974 See p. 673–681.

in the *Firaq*. For now, the point is that this model, along with the lists that flesh it out, must have come to ps.-Nāshī' from (one of) his Shī'i sources⁹⁷⁵.

Ps.-Nāshī', however, then introduced a faction that did not belong to the bi-partite Kufan classification: the Sulaymāniyya. This was an effect of his Mu'tazilī source, whether Zurqān's *Maqālāt* or a source in common with Zurqān. This source had a completely different perspective: it was a form of *kalām*-doxography, specifically here an *ikhtilāf*-cluster on the doctrine of the succession to Muḥammad. What mattered were thus the relatively subtle, technical distinctions between the positions of individual theologians on that specific question. And it is on that basis, as we have seen, that the opinion of Sulaymān b. Jarīr, on the one hand, was distinguished from that of Ḥasan b. Šāliḥ b. Ḥayy and the Butriyya, on the other⁹⁷⁶. In response to this source, ps.-Nāshī' 'elevated' the Sulaymāniyya into a separate, third faction of the Zaydiyya, making them appear as an entity of similar status to the Butriyya and the Jārūdiyya.

This would not have seemed strange to ps.-Nāshī'. Sulaymān was an important figure for the Mu'tazila, by far the most prominent Zaydī scholar of his generation. But this was, of course, because of his prestige in *kalām*⁹⁷⁷. And that is the point: if the Sulaymāniyya were anything, they were basically a 'personal' *kalām*-school, in the sense of a master *mutakallim* and his disciples. Ps.-Nāshī' was probably not in a position to see, or else was untroubled by the fact, that this was something completely different from the broad-based Kufan classification of the Zaydiyya into Butriyya and Jārūdiyya that he had inherited from his Shī'i sources. The Kufan tradition had simply paid Sulaymān no attention. Unlike the figures on the lists of the Butriyya and the Zaydiyya, he was significantly later, was not known as a traditionist, and, above all, was neither Kufan nor active in Kufa. He had had no followers there and had been simply irrelevant to the Kufan Shī'i view of things that formed the bi-partite classification⁹⁷⁸.

In any case, it seems that the addition of the Sulaymāniyya to the model inherited from the Shī'i source(s) caused ps.-Nāshī' a structural problem. Where were they to fit? Apparently, his solution was to push the bi-partite model into the background and make the two 'original' factions—now anonymised—into a hazy, abstract construct for Zaydī origins. The three named factions—the Jārūdiyya, Butriyya and Sulaymāniyya—are then presented as somehow arising from them. But the fact that the Jārūdiyya are then simply equated with the first of the anonymous factions gives the game away; the two original factions are simply the Jārūdi-

975 Kashshī also preserves similar lists, at least of the Butriyya: *RijālK*.236:7–15, 240:14–15.

976 See p. 569.

977 See p. 570–571.

978 See p. 676–681.

yya and Butriyya of the Kufan bi-partite model. What we have here is likely just an awkward reformulation of that model for the purpose of accommodating the extraneous Sulaymāniyya.

The presence of the Sulaymāniyya alongside the Butriyya and the Jārūdiyya in a classification of the Zaydiyya would probably have seemed odd to anyone in Kufa in the second half of the second century⁹⁷⁹, but ps.-Nāshī's tri-partite classification may also have struck the Mu'tazila in Basra and even Baghdad of his own day as unusual. For there is some evidence that the Mu'tazila usually equated the Zaydiyya wholly with the 'Butrī' wing. When Jāhīz, in the preserved fragments of his *Maqālāt al-Zaydiyya wa-l-Rāfiḍa*, discusses the Zaydī doctrine of the Imāmate, his focus is entirely on typically 'Butrī' doctrines⁹⁸⁰. Somewhat later, Khayyāt evidently considered the Jārūdiyya to be distinct from the Zaydiyya. At one point, he lists the groups of the Muslim Community that reject the doctrine of the *raja'*; the Zaydiyya and the Jārūdiyya appear separately [*Inīṣār*.132:8]. Later, in a passage clarifying some statements from Jāhīz about a group of the Shī'a who profess the doctrine that the descendants of 'Alī receive direct inspiration (*ilhām*), Khayyāt states that Jāhīz meant the Jārūdiyya specifically. At this point, he implies they belong, rather, to the Rāfiḍa [*Inīṣār*.153:14–15]⁹⁸¹. This is not wholly surprising; it has to do with geography, chronology, and the focus on *kalām*. The Zaydī *mutakallimūn* who were of interest to the Basran and Baghdadi Mu'tazila in the late second and early third centuries—and Sulaymān himself was by far the most prominent—were indeed close to the position of the old Kufan Butriyya, at least on the question of the Imāmate. If one took them as the yardstick for the Zaydiyya generally, the Jārūdiyya probably looked like a very different phenomenon: more militant, *rāfiḍī* (in the sense of rejecting the first two caliphs), and proponents of some strange ideas about how the 'Alids received direct divine inspiration. Ps.-Nāshī's model of the Zaydiyya was neither Shī'ī nor Mu'tazilī; it was a hybrid. It may even have been the first such, but it was not the last.

Ps.-Nāshī' also has unique elements in his faction-descriptions. Some of these apparently serve the purpose of tying the material taken from the different sources more closely together. For example, the description of the Butriyya has a passage on their doctrine concerning religious knowledge: they are said not to restrict it to one person, as do the Ḥusaynid-Imāmiyya (*aṣḥāb al-imāma*), nor to the descendants of

979 Even by the fourth century, Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī—a Zaydī author—simply made Sulaymān a Butrī (*Maqātil*.407:16).

980 See Sanchez 2011:152–154.

981 Indeed, it is not only the Mu'tazila who divide the Jārūdiyya from the Zaydiyya. Ṭabarī lists the Jārūdiyya and the Zaydiyya separately in his account of the rebellion of Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Ḥamza in Kufa in 251/865 (*Ṭab*.III:1617:7). See also *TG*.I:267–268.

Fāṭima, as do the Jārūdiyya⁹⁸². The description of the Sulaymāniyya then reports that they have the same doctrine of knowledge as the Butriyya [*Niḥ*.44:17–18]. But these are not elaborations of positive doctrines held by the Butriyya and the Sulaymāniyya. They are merely statements that these factions *don't* hold the idiosyncratic doctrine of the Jārūdiyya that has just been described in so much detail. As such, they are just counterpoints that serve to provide some thematic consistency across the Zaydiyya-section. They could well have been added by ps.-Nāshī' himself for that purpose.

The provenance of Ps.-Nāshī's remaining unique material is unclear. He states that the name "Butriyya" was derived from the fact this faction "cut off" 'Uthmān's Imāmate after the first six years⁹⁸³. Other etymologies of "Butriyya" are given elsewhere, notably in the material on Kathīr al-Nawwā' that likely came to Balkhī from Warrāq⁹⁸⁴. This explanation, however, is unique to *Uṣūl al-niḥal*⁹⁸⁵. There is also a relatively long passage on Sulaymān b. Jarīr's justification for restricting the Imāmate after 'Alī to the descendants of Fāṭima [*Niḥ*.44:18–45:9]. Again, there is nothing similar to this in the other third-century heresiographies.

2.2.1.3 *Uṣūl al-niḥal*'s Presentation and Conception of the Shī'a

Aside from the additions discussed above, ps.-Nāshī' (and/or any intermediaries) does not appear to have made large changes to the substance of the material that came to him from the common sources. It has, however, been reframed and repurposed.

Although *Uṣūl al-niḥal* does not enumerate its factions, it begins with a version of the 73-factions *ḥadīth*, which implies that the Muslim Community is or will be divided into a finite number of *firaq*. Ps.-Nāshī' declares his intention to identify them. In practice, he essentially offers a generative taxonomy of the factions of the whole Muslim Community, split at the highest level into the five major divisions (*aṣnāf*). This creates a strong tendency to flatten things out. All *firaq* are essentially the same kind of thing here: units in a classificatory schema that is supposed to capture the whole Muslim Community. The effect is heightened by ps.-Nāshī's determination to find the origins of all factions—except for those of the Khawārij—in differences over the Imāmate. Thus, the supporters Mukhtār's rebellion in the name of Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya are, for the purposes of classification, the same *kind* of thing as, for example, the supposed faction of the Mu'tazila who held the doctrine

982 *Tab*.41, *u*⁷.

983 *Tab*.41, *t*⁷.

984 *Tab*.13, *o*.

985 It is not very likely; see p. 463 esp. n.549.

that an inferior candidate (*mafḍūl*) could legitimately become the Imām [*Nih*51:11–52:3]. Aside from the fact that the latter hardly represents an otherwise meaningful grouping of the Muʿtazila anyway, this perspective renders two very different historical phenomena as somehow equivalent taxonomic units of the Muslim Community. At least at the level of super-structure, this classificatory impulse seems to dominate over all else.

The effect of this framing on the *iftirāq*-schema is relatively subtle, as its stemma of factions already provided a ready-made classification of a sort that could be straightforwardly adopted into the larger structure. It was also already a schema that depicted various kinds of historical phenomena as instances of the same classificatory unit: *firaq*. But the original *iftirāq*-schema doesn't seem to have pretended to the universality of *Uṣūl al-niḥal*'s taxonomy. It wasn't about identifying the factions of Shī'a within some general classification of the Muslim Community. It was, rather, much narrower in focus and more aetiological than taxonomic. Specifically, it accounted for the existence of, and relationship between the different claims concerning the succession to the Imāmate based on inheritance from 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib available in the mid-second century, and then about the internal divisions amongst the Ḥusaynid-Imāmiyya over the succession after Ja'far. Ps.-Nāshī' (or an intermediary), consciously or not, reified this specific aetiology of positions on the line of succession into the dominant taxonomy of the Shī'a as such.

But that is also why the *iftirāq*-schema was insufficient. *Uṣūl al-niḥal* required sections on the Ghulāt and the Zaydiyya, as these were recognized sub-divisions of the Shī'a in ps.-Nāshī's day that the *iftirāq*-schema did not account for. But no ready-made schema of factions was available to populate the taxonomy in these cases. Nor was there a ready-made way to integrate the perspective of this tripartite division of the Shī'a with the overarching *iftirāq*-schema; ps.-Nāshī's attempt leaves the relationship between them ambiguous. He had to take material from other sources in order to form faction-descriptions of the Ghulāt and the Zaydiyya, and the transformative effect of utilizing it within his general taxonomy of the Muslim Community was much less subtle than for the *iftirāq*-schema.

In the case of the Ghulāt, what begins to be lost is the fact that the category 'Ghulāt' was orthogonal to other categories, not exclusive of them; factions linked to the Ḥusaynid Imāms or to the Kaysāniyya could also express *ghuluww*. By creating an independent section on the Ghulāt, however, ps.-Nāshī' made it appear as if they were a class of their own, separate from other Shī'i factions. This is already a significant step towards the situation in later hereisographies, where taxonomy seems to take over entirely, obscuring the fact that such groupings only made sense from a certain perspective, one that not all the underlying source material shared.

In the case of the Zaydiyya, ps.-Nāshī' tried to blend the different models that came to him from his sources into a single taxonomy. On the one hand, he had

the old Kufan broad-based classification of the local traditionists and legal scholars involved with support for the 'Zaydī' Imāms into two groups: the Jārūdiyya and the Butriyya. On the other, he had the fine distinctions between the positions of Sulaymān b. Jarīr and Ḥasan b. Šāliḥ b. Ḥayy concerning the first four caliphs that came to him from his Mu'tazilī doxographical source. The resulting construct, in which two anonymous factions (which are really just a nameless Jārūdiyya and Butriyya) then somehow divide into the three named factions of the Jārūdiyya, Butriyya and Sulaymāniyya, was an attempt to resolve the different perspectives. In the latter case, he also ended up turning what was basically a *kalām*-school into a Zaydī *firqa* in their own right. The Butriyya and Sulaymāniyya are simultaneously reduced, on the basis of the Mu'tazilī doxographical source, to the opinions of Ḥasan b. Šāliḥ b. Ḥayy and Sulaymān on the single question of the succession to Muḥammad.

Does ps.-Nāshī' introduce a sectarian perspective of his own? Whether the taxonomic impulse itself can be described as Mu'tazilī or not is impossible to say. We do not know who first came up with the idea of producing a worked-out taxonomy of the entire Community's various divisions. Still, the *kind* of taxonomy we find in *Uṣūl al-niḥal* could probably only have been produced by a theologian. It is hard to imagine that anyone focussed on political, social, and/or ritual-legal issues would have attempted a categorization based almost purely on a single doctrine, even one as important as the Imāmate. Nor can we be sure where the idea that the Shī'a consist fundamentally in three parts originated; we cannot say whether this is particularly Mu'tazilī either. The one aspect of *Uṣūl al-niḥal's* *firaq*-material on the Shī'a that obviously results from Mu'tazilī concerns is the reification of the Sulaymāniyya into a faction, but this is relatively subtle. It has more to do with the focus of the source-material (i.e., *kalām* doxography in this case) and with the way it is repackaged to suit ps.-Nāshī's taxonomic project than with an attempt to push a specific theological agenda. Its main effect is to make a minor theological distinction seem far more important than it really was to most people's understanding of the major groupings amongst the Zaydiyya. In general, however, ps.-Nāshī's changes don't alter the basic perspective of the material much. Because the *iftirāq*-schema remains essentially intact and dominates the chapter, *Uṣūl al-niḥal* mostly reflects a Ḥusaynid-Imāmī view of Shī'ī history. Although less schematic and more polemical, the perspective of the material on the Jārūdiyya also remains clearly Ḥusaynid-Imāmī; ps.-Nāshī' essentially admits as much. The incoherent assembly of reports that makes up the Ghulāt-section is probably also drawn mostly from originally Imāmī or at least Shī'ī sources, but it is hard to identify any single unifying perspective here; certainly, we are not getting a specifically Mu'tazilī idea of what makes a doctrine *ghuluww*.

2.2.2 The *Firaq*

In his *firaq*-material, Nawbakhtī used only two of the identifiable common bodies of source-material: the version of the *iftirāq*-schema from Q_2 , and the material on the Jārūdiyya that also appears in *Uṣūl al-niḥal*.

As in ps.-Nāshī's Shī'a-chapter, it is the *iftirāq*-schema that provides the overarching structure of the *firaq*-material as a whole in the *Firaq*. The only substantial rearrangement relative to what can be reconstructed for Q_2 occurs in the material on the 'Abbāsīd Shī'a⁹⁸⁶. We know from the convergence of *Uṣūl al-niḥal* and the BdC/Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* that both Q_1 and Q_2 introduced the 'Abbāsīd Shī'a in the post-Abū Hāshim *iftirāq*-cluster, ascribing to them the doctrine that the 'Abbāsīds received the Imāmate by means of a *waṣīyya* from Abū Hāshim. They then depicted this faction to split in two: one sub-faction continued to hold the original doctrine but the other, known as the Hurayriyya or Rāwandīyya, adopted the new doctrine that 'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib had inherited the Imāmate directly from the Prophet, whence it was transmitted through the 'Abbāsīd line until the family finally gained the caliphate. Finally, they presented a second split over the question of whether Abū Muslim had died or was still alive, giving rise to the Rizāmiyya, who held the former position, and the (Abū) Muslimiyya, who held the latter⁹⁸⁷. In the *Firaq*'s version too, we find a faction in the post Abū Hāshim-cluster with the belief that the 'Abbāsīds were bequeathed the Imāmate by Abū Hāshim, but here this 'original' faction is called the Rāwandīyya and the description does not parallel that witnessed for Q_2 [*Fir*.29:13–30:3]. These Rāwandīyya are then said to split into three factions [*Fir*.41:13]. Here, we find the Abū Muslimiyya, the Rizāmiyya and the Hurayriyya together in the same sub-cluster [*Fir*.41:13–42:10]. But they are then followed by a fourth faction, not announced in the *iftirāq*-statement, who turn out to be the original 'Abbāsīd Shī'a again—i.e. the faction that believes that the 'Abbāsīds received the Imāmate by means of a *waṣīyya* from Abū Hāshim—but this time without the name Rāwandīyya [*Fir*.42:11–43:3]. It is not obvious how this fourth faction can really be a sub-faction of the Abū Hāshim-cluster's Rāwandīyya. Moreover, the description of them turns out to parallel that of the original 'Abbāsīd Shī'a in Q_2 ⁹⁸⁸. It thus seems most likely there has been some rearrangement of the

⁹⁸⁶ One superficial difference is that the *Firaq*, unlike the BdC and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, uses consecutive sub-clusters for the *iftirāq* of the post-Abū Hāshim factions, i.e., the *iftirāq* of the Hārithiyya and the 'Abbāsīd Shī'a is dealt with only after *all* the factions of the original post-Abū Hāshim *iftirāq* have been described. But this affects only how the schema is presented on the page, not the underlying structure. See p. 118–119, 277.

⁹⁸⁷ See pp. 432–435 and 530–532.

⁹⁸⁸ See p. 330.

common material here, resulting in the much more awkward confused presentation in the *Firaq*⁹⁸⁹. We will return to the matter below.

In any case, although Nawbakhtī's version of the *iftirāq*-schema makes no other major structural rearrangements relative to that witnessed for Q_2 , it does contain significant amounts of unique material: alternative faction-descriptions, unique passages within descriptions of factions present in Q_2 , unique factions within clusters found in Q_2 , and entirely unique *iftirāq*-clusters. Beyond this, and again like *Uṣūl al-niḥal*, the *Firaq* also has separate sections on the Ghulāt and the Zaydiyya in which the *iftirāq*-schema is suspended completely. These consist almost entirely of unique material.

The idea here is, first, to go through the unique material in detail, focusing on the structure, character and likely provenance of individual passages and/or faction-descriptions. This will be done in two sections. In 2.2.2.1, we will examine the unique material within Nawbakhtī's version of the *iftirāq*-schema. We will then look at Nawbakhtī's unique material outside his version of the *iftirāq*-schema from the same perspective in 2.2.2.2. In 2.2.2.3, we will turn to a phenomenon that cuts across all Nawbakhtī's *firaq*-material, namely the presence of certain terminological constants throughout the text. Finally, 2.2.2.4 will provide a summary of the conclusions and a wider overview of all the *firaq*-material, examining the characteristics of the *Firaq*'s material on Shī'i factions as a whole.

2.2.2.1 Unique Material Within the *iftirāq*-Schema

The unique elements in the *Firaq*'s *iftirāq*-schema occur at four levels. First, there are the three entirely unique *iftirāq*-clusters: the post-Prophet cluster, with which Nawbakhtī begins the whole schema; the second post-Ḥusayn cluster, which occurs upon the return to the Ḥusaynid Imāms after the 'Kaysānī' branch of factions that trace the Imāmate through Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya has been exhausted; and, finally, the post-Ḥasan al-'Askarī cluster. These will be looked at in 2.2.2.1.1. Second, the *Firaq* has numerous additional factions that appear within clusters that were present already in Q_2 . These will be covered in 2.2.2.1.2. Third, the *Firaq* has three cases of *variant* faction-descriptions, where the *Firaq* has a faction that was present in Q_2 's schema at the same location but Nawbakhtī's material is unique, i.e., it does

989 Bayhom-Daou 1996:95–112 reaches a different conclusion. She assumed, following Madelung that Nawbakhtī's main source was Hishām b. al-Ḥakam's *Ikhtilāf al-nās fi l-imāma*, but argued that Nawbakhtī inserted some of the material on the 'Abbāsīd Shī'a from another source and altered some passages, leading to the awkwardness. She ends up concluding that some of the material that we now know came from Q_2 was taken from Hishām whilst some of it was taken from another source. The parallels in the BdC and *Uṣūl al-niḥal* that establish the contents of Q_1 and Q_2 make this part of her hypothesis untenable.

not present parallels to the BdC/Ash‘arī’s *Maqālāt* or *Uṣūl al-niḥal*. This is true of the initial descriptions of the Ḥārithiyya and the ‘Abbāsīd Shī‘a, and the description of the Bayāniyya. We will address this material in 2.2.2.1.3. Fourth, there is unique material that occurs within faction-descriptions otherwise found already in Q_2 . This will be dealt with in 2.2.2.1.4.

2.2.2.1.1 Unique *iftirāq*-Clusters

2.2.2.1.1.1 The Post-Prophet Cluster

Nawbakhtī’s unique, post-Prophet cluster—the very first cluster of his version of the schema—begins by stating that the *shī‘at ‘Alī* existed already in the lifetime of the Prophet Muḥammad, then split into three factions after his death, although strictly the cluster names four [*Fir*.15:15–16:6]. The first is those who claim the Prophet designated (*naṣṣ ‘alā*) ‘Alī as his successor [*Fir*.16:6–17:4] and that ‘Alī was to be succeeded only by those of his descendants through Fāṭima who are designated by the previous Imām (*manṣūṣ ‘alayhi*) [*Fir*.17:4–10]. The faction is nameless, but, in what is a long description by the *Firaq*’s standards, Nawbakhtī attributes to them most of the central tenets of the fully formed Ḥusaynid-Imāmī doctrine of the Imāmate. Nawbakhtī calls the second faction ‘the first of the Butriyya’ (*awā‘il al-butriyya*) [*Fir*.18:1–9]. They are said to claim that ‘Alī was the best of the people after the Prophet’s death but nevertheless permit the Imāmates of Abū Bakr and ‘Umar, because ‘Alī surrendered the Imāmate and pledged allegiance to them. Nawbakhtī then asserts that another faction separated off from the Butriyya [*Fir*.18:10–16]. They hold the same doctrine, but with a different justification: that the Community was free to choose its Imām regardless of ‘Alī’s wishes. Finally, we get the Jārūdiyya [*Fir*.19:1–5]. Here, Nawbakhtī attributes to them the doctrine that ‘Alī was the best of the people and that that it was thus impermissible for anyone else to be the Imām, making the Imāms before ‘Alī and all who pledged allegiance to them unbelievers. Additionally, he provides some information on their post-‘Alī doctrine of the Imāmate. The cluster closes with a statement that ‘these two factions’—presumably the Butriyya and the Jārūdiyya—supported Zayd b. ‘Alī and that the factions of the Zaydiyya branched off from them [*Fir*.19:5–7].

There are several reasons to conclude that this unique cluster was not present in Q_2 but, rather, was added by Nawbakhtī (or a unique intermediary). To begin with, its integration into the *iftirāq*-schema is awkward, as it is in structural tension with the following post-‘Alī cluster. The *iftirāq*-clusters of Q_1 and Q_2 normally build upon the previous cluster by taking up one of its factions and depicting its subsequent split after the death of its Imām. This appears to be the idea in the post-‘Alī cluster too, as it begins by stating that those who affirmed that ‘Alī was Imām

and that it was an obligation (*farḍ*) to recognise this divided upon 'Alī's death into three factions [*Fir*19:8–9]. But this description is true for *two* factions from the post-Prophet cluster, as both the first faction and the Jārūdiyya assert these doctrines. This irregularity is swiftly joined by another. The factions of the post-'Alī cluster are (1.) the Saba'iyya, who deny 'Alī's death [*Fir*.19:9–20:9]; (2.) the Kaysāniyya, who claim Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya was Imām immediately after 'Alī because he was 'Alī's standard bearer in the Battle of the Camel (*yawm al-baṣra*) [*Fir*.20:10–21:8]; and (3.) the next generation of the proto-Imāmiyya, i.e., those who claim 'Alī was followed by Ḥasan and then Ḥusayn [*Fir*.21:9–23:15]. This is a standard cluster, but it does not follow from the post-Muḥammad cluster in the way Nawbakhtī implies. The problem is that the first faction and the Jārūdiyya from the post-Muḥammad cluster already hold the doctrine that *only 'Alī's sons through Fāṭima* could be Imāms after him, so neither the Saba'iyya nor the Kaysāniyya can have emerged from their ranks. The post-'Alī cluster obviously, rather, assumes as its starting point an as-yet-undifferentiated group of 'Alī's supporters, who could then have divided upon his death into the three factions. It does not presuppose the Imāmī and Zaydī positions we actually find in the post-Muḥammad cluster. That suggests the whole post-Prophet cluster was simply attached retrospectively to the front end of the schema from Q_2 , which began only at 'Alī's death.

A second consideration is the post-Prophet cluster's thematic dissimilarity from any of the clusters witnessed for Q_1 and Q_2 : it deals not with a dispute over the inheritance of the Imāmate amongst people who fundamentally agree that the Imāmate is hereditary, but over the *mode* by which the Imāmate is established. The first faction considers 'Alī to have been designated (*manṣūṣ*) by the Prophet. The Butriyya claim that 'Alī was merely the 'best of the people' (*afḍal al-nās*) after the Prophet, but either he surrendered his claim to Abū Bakr, as was his right, or else the Community selected someone who was not the best candidate, as was their right. The Jārūdiyya, likewise see 'Alī to have been the best candidate (*qālū bi-tafḍil 'Alī*) but claim this means no one had the right to make anyone else Imām. Nawbakhtī's *iftirāq*-schema has only two clusters that take this issue into consideration. This one and the second post-Ḥusayn cluster, to which we will turn shortly. Both are unique to the *Firaq* and both introduce Zaydī factions into the schema.

Third, the cluster is anachronous well beyond what is common for the *iftirāq*-schema witnessed for Q_1 and Q_2 . Abū l-Jārūd was active in the early second century; he couldn't possibly have led a faction that came into existence immediately after the Prophet's death. Nawbakhtī certainly knew this, as later in the *Firaq* he discusses an exchange between Abū l-Jārūd and Muḥammad al-Bāqir [48:16–49:2]. Dating the moment when those with Butrī-type beliefs started to be called Butriyya is more difficult, as we do not know the real origin of the name, but all the figures that the sources call leaders of the Butriyya were also active in the early

second century, and the name is not applied to anyone active before this period, except here in the *Firaq*⁹⁹⁰. Moreover, Nawbakhtī seems to be aware of the tension: that is likely why he does not use the name Butriyya in an unqualified sense here but calls them ‘the first of the Butriyya’ (*awā’il al-butriyya*). These Zaydī factions are thus depicted in a post-Muḥammad cluster not according to a historical moment of emergence but on systematic grounds: because they divide *doctrinally* from the Ḥusaynid-Imāmiyya, and from each other, over the succession to Muḥammad. In the normal pattern of Q_1 and Q_2 ’s schema, there is more limited scope for this kind of thing; factions there exist only due to their support for a particular successor to a dead Imām or their denial of that death, so, although there is plenty of anachronism in some cases, they still cannot be depicted to exist before the Imām had, in fact, died⁹⁹¹.

Fourth, several features of the content of the descriptions do not fit with what is witnessed for Q_2 . This is obviously true for the descriptions of the Butriyya and Jārūdiyya, which focus on doctrinal issues not covered in any of the descriptions witnessed for Q_2 . Moreover, in contrast with all named factions of the schema witnessed for Q_1 and Q_2 , there is no etymological material at all on the names ‘Butriyya’ and ‘Jārūdiyya’ here. There are also several indications that the description of the faction that believes the Prophet designated ‘Alī as his successor was not present in Q_2 . To begin with, the term for ‘designation’ used here is *naṣṣ* [*Fir*:16:13]. The description also states that each Imām must be established by the *naṣṣ* of his predecessor [*Fir*:17:5]. As discussed above, this term is never used in the material witnessed for Q_1 and Q_2 ; these sources used *awṣā ilā*, and then only in specific places⁹⁹². More generally, this description contains a lengthy exposition of the core Ḥusaynid-Imāmī doctrine of the Imāmate: that ‘Alī was the Imām and that obedience to him was obligatory; that the Prophet provided ‘Alī with ‘knowledge of what is prohibited and permitted’, of ‘everything that is beneficial and harmful in religious and worldly life’, and of ‘all the sciences’; that ‘Alī deserved the status of the Prophet because of his knowledge, his being protected from error (*iṣma*), his

⁹⁹⁰ According to the BdC, the name Butriyya was supposedly derived from the nickname of Kathīr al-Nawwā’ (see p. 246 n.212, above), the Jārūdiyya from Abū l-Jārūd (see p. 149 n.61, above). Both figures seem to have partaken in Zayd’s revolt (See *TG*:I:241 and 254).

⁹⁹¹ Limited retro-projection is still possible. For example, the Kaysāniyya can be projected back to ‘Alī’s death, rather than Ḥusayn’s, because some of them later held that Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya had been the Imām immediately after ‘Alī. But this isn’t done consistently. Notably, even though the ‘Abbāsīd Shī’a are depicted to develop a doctrine that would make ‘Abbās heir to the prophet, they do not get retro-projected to a post-Muḥammad cluster. The schema already had a way to deal with them as a Kaysānī faction; it did not want to admit that anyone really claimed ‘Abbās inherited the Imāmate from the Prophet in the immediate aftermath of the latter’s death (see p. 528–529).

⁹⁹² See p. 550–552.

purity, noble birth, precedence in Islam, generosity, asceticism and 'just conduct amongst his subjects'; that the Prophet clearly designated 'Alī at Ghadīr Khumm and on other occasions; that the Prophet placed him in the 'status of Aaron with respect to Moses'; that the Imām is not a Prophet but is of similar status with respect to the people; that 'Alī had to be succeeded by his descendants through Fāṭima; and that each Imām must be designated (*manṣūṣ*) by the previous Imām [*Fir*.16:6–17:10]. As we have seen, such doctrinal detail is completely uncharacteristic of the descriptions witnessed for Q_1 and Q_2 .

For all these reasons, it is highly unlikely that the post-Prophet cluster stood already in Q_2 's *iftirāq*-schema. It was added by Nawbakhtī or an intermediary. At least the material on the Butriyya and the Jārūdiyya must have drawn ultimately on older sources of some kind but, as the descriptions mostly contain only the generic information available everywhere on these factions, we cannot be more specific. Their only remarkable feature is that Nawbakhtī doesn't describe the Jārūdiyya as believing the Prophet made a *naṣṣ* concerning 'Alī's Imāmate, which is the doctrine consistently ascribed to them in the Mu'tazilī sources, probably in reliance on Warrāq⁹⁹³. Instead, he states merely that they considered 'Alī the best candidate and rejected the Imāmates of Abū Bakr and 'Umar on that basis, considering them and those who supported them to be unbelievers. As for Nawbakhtī's description of the faction that believes in the Prophet's *naṣṣ* to 'Alī and the subsequent establishment of each Imām by the *naṣṣ* of his predecessor, this very terminology suggests it was not composed before the late second century⁹⁹⁴. It could very well be Nawbakhtī's own work in the mid third.

The cluster functions primarily as a way to bring the Zaydiyya within the *iftirāq*-schema. As we have seen, the previous versions of the schema, at least up to Q_2 , had ignored the Zaydiyya completely; they simply didn't belong to its subject matter. The way they are incorporated here by Nawbakhtī (or an intermediary), however, sacrifices the schema's underlying logic. It would have been possible to accommodate them in the standard way, based on their support for a particular Imām: Zayd b. 'Alī. Nawbakhtī could have made Zayd a candidate in an *iftirāq*-cluster upon the death of Zayd's father, Alī Zayn al-'Abidīn, where Zayd could have been an alternative to Muḥammad al-Bāqir. That would have been an anachronous fiction, but no more so than the way the schema already dealt with Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan or 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya. Another option would have been to cast Zayd as an alternative to his nephew, Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, in the post-Bāqir cluster. This would have been closer to reality, but it would also have highlighted

993 See *Tab*.10. On Warrāq as the likely source, see p. 204–209, 488–489, 574–575.

994 See p. 549–550.

the gaping anachronism already present in that cluster; by making it look like Zayd and Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh were direct rivals. That was perhaps a step too far for even Nawbakhtī’s historical sensibilities. Instead, he made Zayd and his rebellion a secondary issue by focussing, rather, on doctrine, thereby producing a cluster thematically distinct from those of Q_2 ’s schema. The major doctrinal split between the two branches of the Zaydiyya and the Ḥusaynid-Imāmiyya concerns the mode by which ‘Alī was established as Imām and thus the legitimacy of the Imāmates of at least Abū Bakr and ‘Umar. Nawbakhtī simply projects that disagreement back into the moment upon which it is focussed, i.e., into the immediate aftermath of the Prophet’s death. That makes it appear as if the basic doctrinal split between the two Zaydī branches and the Ḥusaynid-Imāmiyya was always already there within the Shī‘a, as a permanent feature. It also means that the two main branches of the Zaydiyya are logically said to have existed before they could possibly have born the names they are given here, let alone become Zaydiyya.

That presumably reflected Nawbakhtī’s genuine understanding of things at some level, even if he must have known that the specific faction-names Butriyya and Jārūdiyya came later. It also gave him the opportunity to include his exposition of the Ḥusaynid-Imāmī doctrine of the Imāmate, which he presumably did believe had always been the position of the true Shī‘a. Nevertheless, it is not obvious how to reconcile the notion of the origins and basic divisions of the Zaydiyya presented here with what appears earlier and later in the *Firaq*. In terms of what comes earlier, Nawbakhtī’s historical prologue already begins with a kind of post-Prophet *iftirāq*-cluster. There, the Prophet’s death is said to have produced three factions: the Shī‘a, who favour ‘Alī; the Anṣār who favour Sa’d b. ‘Ubāda; and those who favour Abū Bakr [*Fir*.2:8–4:15]. After all the ensuing drama of the prologue, culminating in ‘Alī’s death, the original Shī‘a apparently remain intact⁹⁹⁵. But the post-Prophet cluster that begins Nawbakhtī’s version of the *iftirāq*-schema takes us right back to Muḥammad’s death again. This time, however, the event does not produce the Shī‘a in opposition to the other parties. Rather, it is said to split a Shī‘a that already existed *in the Prophet’s lifetime* into the three or four different factions. The two models are obviously incompatible. This simply becomes more obvious when looked at in more detail. For example, the Butriyya of the post-Prophet cluster permit the Imāmates of Abū Bakr and ‘Umar. They thus don’t belong to the Shī‘a of the historical prologue at all, who are defined already as those opposed to Abū Bakr. In terms of what comes later in the *Firaq*, Nawbakhtī repeats the Jārūdiyya in the second post-Ḥusayn cluster [*Fir*.48:7–50:6], thus giving them two points of origin within the schema. He also describes the Butriyya again, in the Zaydiyya-sec-

995 See p. 82.

tion [*Fir*.50:13–51:6]. Indeed, Nawbakhtī's whole treatment of the Zaydiyya is awkwardly integrated into the rest of the text and inconsistent within itself. We will return to this topic several times in what follows.

2.2.2.1.1.2 The Second Post-Ḥusayn Cluster

Q_2 's *iftirāq*-schema already contained a post-Ḥusayn cluster. It set the supporters of the Imāmate of 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn against the Kaysāniyya, who supported Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya. Nawbakhtī's version of the schema alters that cluster: the *iftirāq*-statement promises three factions, the third of which should presumably be the supporters of Zayd al-'Ābidīn, but the cluster contains only two factions of the Kaysāniyya [*Fir*.23:16–24:12]. In any case, once Nawbakhtī has reached the end of the Kaysānī branch of the schema, he then provides a unique, *second* post-Ḥusayn cluster [*Fir*.47:13]. Here, we finally get the missing supporters of Zayn al-'Ābidīn [*Fir*.13–48:2], but now they are joined by two other factions: a faction that claims the Imāmate ceased with Ḥusayn [*Fir*.48:3–6]; and the Surḥūbiyya, Nawbakhtī's new name for the Jārūdiyya [*Fir*.48:7–50:6].

Once again, it is highly likely this cluster was added by Nawbakhtī himself or a unique intermediary, rather than omitted in the transmission through Balkhī. A second post-Ḥusayn cluster constitutes an obvious structural anomaly. Moreover, as with the post-Prophet cluster, the theme and character of the material is different from that of the clusters witnessed for Q_2 . The Surḥūbiyya/Jārūdiyya do not favour an alternative candidate to Zayn al-'Ābidīn. Rather, they appear for a doctrinal reason: they claim that after Ḥusayn, the Imāmate is restricted to those descendants of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn who actively claim it. In any case, we know already that the description of them is largely based on a source other than Q_2 , as this is where Nawbakhtī draws on the source in common with ps.-Nāshī's description of the Jārūdiyya. It goes into significant detail on their doctrine of the perfect knowledge of the descendants of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn—a topic completely alien to the *iftirāq*-schema—and, unlike the descriptions from the *iftirāq*-schema, is obviously polemical in tone, Nawbakhtī's version being more openly polemical than ps.-Nāshī's.

The main function of this unique cluster is, again, to incorporate the Zaydiyya into the *iftirāq*-schema. Nawbakhtī once again does not achieve this by ordering them according to their support for the Imāmate of Zayd b. 'Alī, even though he does mention that the name Zaydiyya is derived from this support [*Fir*.49:4–5]. Rather, the Surḥūbiyya/Jārūdiyya are depicted here to split from the Ḥusaynid-Imāmiyya after Ḥusayn's death because they follow the same line of Imāms up to that point. The problem, of course, is that this is the second time the Jārūdiyya have appeared in the *Firaq*'s schema. The first time is in the post-Prophet cluster, as we have just

seen, where they split from the Ḥusaynid-Imāmiyya already after Muḥammad's death. The tension created by this double aetiology is never remarked at, let alone resolved. Exactly why Nawbakhtī chose to do this is unclear. Of course, it wouldn't have made much sense to treat the Jārūdī doctrine of the post-Ḥusayn Imāmate in so much detail in the post-Prophet cluster; nor the doctrine of the succession to the Prophet in the post-Ḥusayn cluster. Perhaps Nawbakhtī simply couldn't work out where made most sense and went for both options; perhaps the clusters were not added by the same person. We do not know, but, at some level, the anomaly is simply a result of the difficulty of integrating the Zaydiyya within a schema not designed to accommodate them at all.

As for Nawbakhtī's sources here, we have seen already that the majority of the material on the Surḥūbiyya comes from a Ḥusaynid-Imāmī source that he shared with ps.-Nāshī'. The descriptions from both texts are given in *Tab.40*. Nawbakhtī also has some unique material, which is similarly polemical and bears a Ḥusaynid-Imāmī perspective. One passage (t^2) concerns the name Surḥūbiyya, which is said to derive from Muḥammad al-Bāqir having employed the epithet *surḥūb* as an insulting nickname for Abū l-Jārūd⁹⁹⁶. Not only the story, but also the name Surḥūbiyya are completely absent from the extant Mu'tazilī sources. Another passage (u^2) seems to be Nawbakhtī's attempt to tie together more coherently his material on the Jārūdiyya and the Zaydiyya generally, although it is hardly successful. He states that the Surḥūbiyya/Jārūdiyya 'came together with' (*iltaqaw ma'a*) the two factions that professed that 'Alī was the best candidate (*al-afḍal*) in support of Zayd b. 'Alī. But which two factions? In the post-Prophet cluster, he had said that the Jārūdiyya and both factions of the Butriyya held this doctrine, so is he talking about the latter two, or is he indicating that there is, in fact, some unmentioned distinction between the Surḥūbiyya and the Jārūdiyya? The other unique passages (v^2 and w^2) provide a critique, from an obviously Ḥusaynid-Imāmī perspective, of the Jārūdī doctrine of the perfect knowledge possessed by all descendants of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, which is described in the common material. It outlines two arguments. First, that the Jārūdiyya only hold the doctrine in order to avoid having to accept the truth that the Imāmate is possessed by one person. Second, that they don't follow through on the doctrine, as they mostly relate *ḥadīth* from Muḥammad al-Bāqir and Ja'far al-Šādiq anyway. This takes us far from the thematic focus of Q_2 's *iftirāq*-schema; there is some other Imāmī source.

The material on the Surḥūbiyya/Jārūdiyya, both that from the common source and the unique additions in the *Firaq*, is obviously anachronistic in the context of

⁹⁹⁶ Bāqir's supposed insult is the only known reference to *surḥūb* as a name for a blind sea-devil. More usually, when applied to human beings, the word just means 'tall' or 'straight bodied'.

a post-Ḥusayn cluster. The common material describes Zaydī polemic against the Ḥusaynid Imāms—namely that they sit at home at ease and do nothing—that was probably first directed against Ja'far al-Ṣādiq⁹⁹⁷. The unique material deals with Bāqir's attitude towards Abū l-Jārūd and states that the Zaydiyya transmit *ḥadīth* from *both* Bāqir and Ja'far. It is clearly not referring to any group that emerged after the death of Ḥusayn, but to the Jārūdiyya of the mid-second century at the very earliest. The anachronism in this direction is, once again, almost certainly just a result of Nawbakhtī's attempt to incorporate the Jārūdiyya into the *iftirāq*-schema at a point that makes some systematic sense.

On the other hand, these reference-points are too early for even the unique material to have been composed by Nawbakhtī himself. Notably, Madelung relied on this material as one of his main pieces of evidence for his dating of the early parts of the *Firaq* to the second half of the second century. His reasoning was that the Zaydiyya of Nawbakhtī's day transmitted *ḥadīth* from many more, and later, 'Alid authorities⁹⁹⁸. Of course, by now, we can safely set aside the presumed implications of the dating of this specific passage for the dating of the early parts of the *Firaq* as a whole; Nawbakhtī is evidently bringing together material from several different sources. It should also be taken into account that the context is polemical. It is obviously not in the interest of the polemicist to give a detailed, up-to-date, or wholly accurate picture; the idea is to mock Jārūdī doctrine by emphasizing that they do not, in practice, cite traditions from many 'Alids, and that the bulk of their traditions come from the major authorities of the Imāmiyya anyway. Still, it remains unlikely that this kind of attack was first articulated by Nawbakhtī himself in the 270s; he has an earlier source of some kind.

The material on the supporters of 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn, meanwhile, is minimal. It consists almost entirely of a genealogical passage on Zayn al-'Ābidīn himself of a kind we find throughout the *Firaq*. These were probably added by Nawbakhtī himself based on some source on the key biographical details of the Imāms⁹⁹⁹.

2.2.2.1.1.3 The Post-Ḥasan al-'Askarī Cluster

If anything in the *Firaq* is Nawbakhtī's own work, then we can assume this of the post-Ḥasan al-'Askarī cluster; it deals with Nawbakhtī's contemporary situation. It is far larger than any cluster of the inherited schema. The *iftirāq*-statement announces fourteen factions, but only thirteen appear. There has been some attempt to group factions with similar beliefs together, at least for the first nine:

997 See p. 577.

998 Madelung 1967:42.

999 See p. 642–644.

- Factions one [*Fir*.79:16–80:10] and two [*Fir*.80:11–81:11] claim Ḥasan al-‘Askarī is still the Imām and that he is the Mahdī, the only difference being that the first denies his death and the second holds that he died and was resurrected.
- Factions three [*Fir*.81:12–82:13] and four [*Fir*.82:14–83:6] believe he died and that the Imām is now his brother, Ja‘far b. ‘Alī. The difference is that the third believes Ja‘far succeeded Ḥasan, whilst the fourth annuls Ḥasan’s Imāmate and follows Ja‘far directly after ‘Alī al-Hādī.
- That leads to the fifth [*Fir*.83:7–84:11], who also affirm Ḥasan’s death and annul his Imāmate, but they claim the Imām and Mahdī is Muḥammad b. ‘Alī, who had been ‘Alī al-Hādī’s nominated heir until he died before his father.
- Factions six [*Fir*.84:12–85:2], seven [*Fir*.85:3–12] and eight [*Fir*.85:13–86:18] affirm Ḥasan’s Imāmate and death but differ over the question of his son. Both the sixth and seventh believe he had a son called Muḥammad, who is the Imām in hiding. They differ mainly over when the son was born. The only distinguishing doctrine of the eighth is to deny that Ḥasan had a son.
- The ninth [*Fir*.87:1–88:4] also affirms Ḥasan’s Imāmate and death and implicitly denies he had a son, asserting that God will send the Mahdī at some future time.

It would make sense if the ninth faction were followed by the eleventh [*Fir*.89:17–90:4], as they affirm Ḥasan’s death too but suspend judgement on everything else. Instead, however, we get the tenth faction [*Fir*.88:5–16], which seems isolated. They are essentially another version of the fourth, as they also believe in the Imāmate of Ja‘far b. ‘Alī and annul Ḥasan al-‘Askarī’s Imāmate, but on the specific basis that Muḥammad b. ‘Alī had been the designated heir, and that he appointed a servant called Nafīs to pass on the inheritance of the Imāmate to Ja‘far after ‘Alī al-Hādī’s death. They are also the only faction up to this point in the cluster to have a name: the Nafisiyya.

That brings us to the twelfth faction [*Fir*.90:5–93:4], who also have a name: ‘the Imāmiyya’. Here, the cluster seems to reach a kind of conclusion. Nawbakhtī states that the Imāmiyya reject all the previously described positions [*Fir*.90:5–6], then he presents a very detailed justification of their view that Ḥasan al-‘Askarī had a son whose name is not made public and who is now the Imām and the Mahdī [*Fir*.90:6–93:2]. The description finishes with the unambiguous statement that this faction follows ‘the true method of establishing the Imāmate and the clear, obligatory path, which the true Imāmi Shī‘a have always adhered to’ (*sabīl al-imāma wa-l-min-hāj al-wāḍiḥ al-wājib al-ladhī lam tazal al-Shī‘a al-Imāmiyya al-ṣaḥiḥ al-tashayyu’ alayhi*) [*Fir*.93:2–4]. It is thus quite evident that Nawbakhtī considers himself to belong to this group, and they would have made a fitting end to the *Firaq* as a whole. But then we get a thirteenth faction [*Fir*.93:5–94:3] that is essentially a repeat of the third. They too believe that Ja‘far b. ‘Alī was Imām after Ḥasan al-‘Askarī. The given

differences are minor: different leaders are mentioned, and the thirteenth factions is given a name: 'the pure Fuṭḥiyya' (*al-fuṭḥiyya al-khulas*)¹⁰⁰⁰.

This uneven structure raises the possibility that the thirteenth faction is a later addition to an original cluster of twelve factions that finished by affirming the doctrine of the Imāmiyya. The thirteenth faction appear, however, in Qummī's reorganized and extended version of this cluster [*MaqQ*.111:7–112:4], so any addition must have occurred before Qummī took Nawbakhtī's text as the basis of his own, i.e., within thirty years of the original composition. That still leaves the missing fourteenth faction unaccounted for¹⁰⁰¹.

The cluster's faction-descriptions are very similar to one another in character. They are also dissimilar to most of what comes before in the *Firaq* and to what is witnessed for Q_2 . For a start, the differences between the factions' positions are more nuanced than anything encountered previously. The first and second factions differ, for example, not over the identity of the Imām (Ḥasan al-'Askarī) or the fact he is now alive but only over the question whether he didn't die or whether he died and was resurrected. At least three ways are recorded for factions to end up with the belief that the current Imām is Ja'far b. 'Alī (factions three, four, ten and thirteen). And the sixth and seventh factions both affirm Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, differing only over when he was born. The clusters inherited from Q_2 never make such fine-grained distinctions; all that matters there is the identity of the Imām supported by each faction.

The faction-descriptions also don't follow Q_2 's standard model of a straightforward statement concerning which Imām the faction followed plus information on the etymology of the faction-name. Indeed, there are almost no faction-names in the post-'Askarī cluster. Instead, they give unprecedented levels of detail concerning the doctrinal arguments made by the factions. These arguments are mostly based on a few general principles from which the factions draw out different consequences:

- The principle that an Imām cannot die without leaving behind male progeny. This is used by factions one and two to deny that Ḥasan can be dead [*Fir*.79:17–

1000 It is stated that members of the third faction adopted Fuṭḥī arguments only to support their claim that Ja'far was the Imām, whereas the thirteenth seem to consist of people who had always been Fuṭḥiyya. But this distinction is blurred by the fact that the leader of the third, 'Alī b. al-Ṭāḥī al-Khazzāz, is referred to as 'famous amongst the Fuṭḥiyya' (*Fir*.82:10). That seems to indicate that he had been a Fuṭḥī for some time (See also Modarressi 1993:81).

1001 The problem is examined in van Ess 2011:238–9. Van Ess also discusses later works that reuse the *Firaq*'s material on the post-'Askarī factions but don't shed any light on the problem of the 13th faction.

80:1, 80:12–15]¹⁰⁰², by factions four and five to annul Ḥasan's Imāmate [*Fir*.82:15–83:2, 83:13–14], and by factions six and twelve to argue that Ḥasan must have had a son [*Fir*.84:13–16, 91:3–5].

- The principle that the Imāmate cannot go to a brother after Ḥasan and Ḥusayn. This is used by faction four to establish that, because the Imām is now Ja'far, Ḥasan cannot have been an Imām [*Fir*.83:3–6], and by faction twelve to establish that Ja'far cannot be the Imām, because Ḥasan's Imāmate is indisputable [*Fir*.90:8]. Faction three denies the principle in order to claim that Ja'far succeeded Ḥasan [*Fir*.82:4–8], whilst faction thirteen modifies it, claiming it is true only when the dead Imām has male progeny [*Fir*.92:9–13].
- The principle that the world cannot be without an Imām. This is mentioned explicitly in the descriptions of the first, second, ninth and twelfth factions [*Fir*.80:1, 81:3, 87:5–6, 91:1], but seems to be assumed throughout. The ninth faction states God is not absolutely bound by this principle; He can do as He wishes [*Fir*.87:5–7].
- The principle that an Imām cannot die during the lifetime of his father, which is used by factions four and twelve to reject the Imāmate of Muḥammad b. 'Alī [*Fir*.82:16–17, 90:13–14], and by the fifth faction to deny his death.

The whole cluster is thus constructed in such a way that the post-'Askarī division is depicted as a dispute over the application of these pre-existing principles to the new situation. Only the twelfth faction, the Imāmiyya, is shown to be able to reconcile all the principles together with the established facts of both Ḥasan's Imāmate and death, leading to the apparently inevitable conclusion that Ḥasan must have had a son in secret who is now the Imām. The cluster thus (mostly) forms a coherent unit constructed with an obvious purpose: to demonstrate the correctness of the Imāmiyya's position. That too is something new. *Q*₂'s clusters implicitly assumed that a certain line of Imāms was the correct one and depicted other choices as deviations and dead ends, but they did not try to demonstrate it by recourse to principle-based argumentation.

In the course of referring to the general principles, the faction-descriptions of the post-'Askarī cluster make comparisons with factions that emerged in earlier disputes over the Imāmate, especially those of the post-Ja'far and post-Mūsā clusters. The first and second factions are likened to the Wāqifa, because they stop the line of Imāms with someone known to be dead [*Fir*.80:3, 81:9] The third and thirteenth are compared with the Fuṭḥiyya because they accept the doctrine of succession from

1002 They also use its inverse, that an Imām who dies with male progeny cannot be the final Imām, to deny the Mahdism of Mūsā al-Kāzim, whereas Ḥasan, with no progeny, is the Mahdī.

a brother after Ḥasan and Ḥusayn [*Fir*.82:4–5, 93:5]. And in the description of the twelfth faction, the followers of Muḥammad b. 'Alī are depicted to be making the same mistake as the followers of Ismā'īl b. Ja'far, as they follow an Imām who died in his father's lifetime [*Fir*.90:14]. The point seems to be that these previous factions were acknowledged to be in error precisely because of the principles being invoked. The comparisons are probably supposed to reveal both the pre-existence of the principles and the fact that contemporary groups are repeating past errors. In any case, it is something new in the *Firaq* and entirely alien to the material from *Q*₂.

More generally, the descriptions go into far greater detail on the arguments employed by the factions than do any of the descriptions inherited from *Q*₂. We learn, for example, precisely how the first faction argued they are not like the Wāqifa [*Fir*.80:4–10], and how the third faction justified their belief that Ja'far b. 'Alī was not impious and thereby disqualified from the Imāmate in the way many believed [*Fir*.81:13–82:4]. The description of the eighth faction sets out their argument against the possibility that Ḥasan had a son: if such things can be claimed without evidence, they say, even the Prophet might have had a son [*Fir*.85:14–16]. In the case of the ninth faction, we are told their specific reasons for rejecting the principle that the Earth cannot be without an Imām [*Fir*.87:5–7]. For the twelfth faction, we get an extended argument on why the name of the Imām should not be publicised beyond the inner circle of his father [*Fir*.91:10–93:2]. For the thirteenth faction, we get information on the Fuṭhī argument that a brother can succeed as Imām, but only if the previous Imām dies without male progeny [*Fir*.93:9–13]. Such a level of detail is unprecedented in the *Firaq* generally. Several times, Nawbakhtī cites or describes the *ḥadīth* that these factions adduce and interpret to support their positions¹⁰⁰³. That is something that otherwise only occurs in the post-Ja'far al-Ṣādiq and post-Mūsā clusters, but that material is unique to Nawbakhtī's version of those clusters too (see below).

1003 The first faction refers to a *riwāya* that the *qā'im* will undergo two periods of occultation (*Fir*.80:1–3). The *second* faction assert a *riwāya* according to which the meaning of *al-qā'im* is “the one who rises after death” (*Fir*.80:12) and a *khavar* according to which 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib is supposed to have said that the world cannot be without an Imām (*Fir*.81:4–6). The fourth faction rely on a saying from Ja'far and 'some of his forefathers' according to which the Imāmate cannot be held by two brothers after Ḥasan and Ḥusayn (*Fir*.83:4–5). The seventh faction cite a *khavar* according to which 'Alī al-Riḍā said, 'You will be tested by the foetus in its mother's womb and by the infant' (*Fir*.85:10–12). The ninth faction cite a *riwāya* from Ṣādiq and Bāqir (*al-ṣādiqān*) stating that the world cannot be without an Imām unless God is angry with its inhabitants because of their sins (*Fir*.87:5–7). The twelfth faction claim to ground all their principles of the Imāmate on what is related from Bāqir and Ṣādiq on not declaring name of Imām (*Fir*.90:14–91:1). The thirteenth also cite the *ḥadīth* from Ṣādiq according to which the Imāmate cannot go to two brothers (*Fir*.93:10–11).

Although the cluster is evidently structured for the purpose of demonstrating that only the twelfth faction, the Imāmiyya, can reconcile all the accepted principles of the succession to the Imāmate, and although Nawbakhtī openly declares them to hold the correct position, most of the other descriptions are neutral in tone. There are, however, two other exceptions. The third faction is accused of admitting the Imāmate of ‘Abd Allāh b. Ja‘far before Mūsā al-Kāzīm after having previously rejected it only in order to be consistent with their support for Ja‘far b. ‘Alī after Ḥasan al-‘Askarī [Fir.82:7–8]. Nawbakhtī sees them to be reasoning backwards from their current position, rather than acting in accordance with established principle. The tenth faction, who also support Ja‘far b. ‘Alī but reject Ḥasan al-‘Askarī, are said to forge things about Ḥasan, to accuse those who believe in Ḥasan’s Imāmate of unbelief, and to exaggerate the status of Ja‘far b. ‘Alī [Fir.89:13–15]. It is also in the case of the factions that support Ja‘far that Nawbakhtī gives the greatest historical detail, providing the names of leaders and enough detail about them to show he is talking about prominent figures of his own day. ‘Alī b. al-Ṭāḥī al-Khazzāz, for example, is described as a skilled debater, even if he does argue for a false Imām. It would seem that of all the positions Nawbakhtī describes, it is the supporters of Ja‘far whom he sees as the greatest threat, and he does not hold back completely from showing his contempt.

The level of detail, the argumentative engagement, and the clear commitment to a particular point of view almost certainly arise because Nawbakhtī is describing a live argument in which he had been and was still involved.

2.2.2.1.2 Unique Factions in Common Clusters

Most of Nawbakhtī’s descriptions of factions unique to the *Firqā* within clusters already witnessed for Q_2 exhibit similar characteristics: they are awkwardly inserted into the *iftirāq*-schema and their content differs significantly from that of Q_2 ’s faction-descriptions. That makes it more likely they were added to Q_2 ’s schema by Nawbakhtī or a unique intermediary, rather than simply omitted by Balkhī.

The first unique faction of this type appears in the (first) post-Ḥusayn cluster. At this point, Q_2 ’s schema contained a faction that believed the Imām after Ḥusayn was Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya [Fir.23:16–24:2; *Mugh.XX*₂: 176:19–177:3; cf. *Niḥ*. 24:18–25:6]. The BdC labels them ‘the Kaysāniyya’, but the *Firqā*’s version does not give them a name. Uniquely, the *Firqā* then has another faction, which it labels both ‘the Mukhtāriyya’ and ‘the Kaysāniyya’ [Fir.24:3–12]. They are said to have believed that Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya was ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib’s *waṣī* and the true Imām after his death, and thus that Ḥasan and Ḥusayn had been acting only by his permission. From the point of view of Q_2 ’s schema, this faction is both in the wrong place and a repetition. As they held the Imām after ‘Alī was Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya, they

should appear in the post-ʿAlī cluster. But there is already a faction with this doctrine there, and it was present already in Q_2 ¹⁰⁰⁴. Moreover, that post-ʿAlī faction is also already called ‘the Kaysāniyya’, even in the *Firaq*. The only distinction between them and the unique faction in the *Firaq*’s (first) post-Ḥusayn cluster is that the latter have a specific doctrine about the roles of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn. It is presumably this fact that has prompted Nawbakhtī to place them there, but Q_2 ’s faction descriptions didn’t pay attention to such details; factions were ordered simply according to the Imām followed.

Other features of the two descriptions also sit uneasily with each other. In both descriptions, the name ‘Kaysāniyya’ is derived from a nickname of Mukhtār. Q_2 ’s post-ʿAlī description offers two explanations of this *laqab*. Nawbakhtī’s version also adds a third, unique explanation¹⁰⁰⁵. But the *Firaq*’s description of the unique post-Ḥusayn Kaysāniyya has only the explanation that Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya gave him the name, which does not appear amongst the three earlier explanations. All this makes it likely that the unique faction-description of the post-Ḥusayn Kaysāniyya did not come from Q_2 ; it is a later insertion by someone—either Nawbakhtī or an intermediary—incorporating additional information on the Kaysāniyya from elsewhere¹⁰⁰⁶.

The next unique faction that follows this pattern is found in the post-Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya cluster. They are said to believe that Abū Hāshim did not die and is the Mahdī [*Fir*.28:1–3]. Such a faction should appear, rather, in the post-Abū Hāshim cluster. Again, whether this is the work of Nawbakhtī or a unique intermediary, it seems more likely that these Hāshimiyya were added post- Q_2 by someone paying

1004 See *Tab*.20.

1005 See p. 425–428 esp. n.501 and *Tab*.20, *c*^l.

1006 Bayom Daou (1996:68–78 and 2003a:86–95) discusses the relationship between the two reports in some detail. Her interpretation relies on the idea that both reports come from the same source, which, following Madelung, she takes to be Hishām b. al-Hakam. Her main conclusion is that Hishām was trying to make a distinction between two different factions, a messianic Kaysāniyya founded by Kaysān (i.e., the faction that appears in the post-ʿAlī cluster) and a non-messianic Mukhtāriyya founded by Mukhtār (i.e., the faction that appears in the post-Ḥusayn cluster). As it is very unlikely, however, that these two passages were indeed taken from the same source, let alone that this source was Hishām, much of the argumentation loses its force. The most likely explanation is, rather, that this extraneous material simply didn’t fit the logic of the *iftirāq*-schema very well, because of the more complex doctrine concerning Ḥasan and Ḥusayn ascribed to Mukhtār; we are not looking at two different factions, but two different descriptions of what is basically the same group based on two different sources. Bayhom-Daou’s interpretation here is also related to her arguments about Nawbakhtī’s ‘updating’ of the material on the post-ʿAlī Kaysāniyya, which supposedly hid the fact that his source (i.e., Hishām, according to her) had made Kaysān, not Mukhtār, the founder of this faction. On this, see p. 641 n.1073.

less attention to the original logic of the *iftirāq*-schema, rather than present in Q_2 and omitted in the transmission through Balkhī.

The next case is the Bashīriyya, who appear in the post-Mūsā cluster [*Fir.*70:5–71:10]. In terms of the choice of Imām, the Bashīriyya essentially follow the doctrine of the Wāqifa, who already featured in Q_2 's post-Mūsā cluster. Both factions deny Mūsā's death and claim him to be the Mahdī. Thus, in terms of the doctrine that Q_2 would have been interested in, they are simply a repetition. What distinguishes them from the Wāqifa in the *Firaq*—and means they are not just a simple repetition—are their other doctrines. The faction-description focusses on their beliefs about the leadership of Muḥammad b. Bashīr and his son until Mūsā returns from hiding, then provides material on various antinomian and esoteric doctrines of the type that Nawbakhtī often inserts for Ghulāt factions elsewhere¹⁰⁰⁷. Such doctrines were not within the purview of Q_2 's faction-descriptions, which consistently followed the same model, as we have seen. It is thus highly likely that the Bashīriyya too were added post- Q_2 , by Nawbakhtī or a unique intermediary.

The final, obviously later additions to Q_2 's schema are the two unique factions of the post-Riḍā cluster. The first of these, called the Muḥadditha, consists of some Murji'a and Ahl al-Ḥadīth who followed Mūsā al-Kāzim and 'Alī al-Riḍā 'due to worldly desire' (*raghba^{tan} fi l-dunyā*) then abandoned the Ḥusaynid Imāms again after Riḍā's death [*Fir.*72:17–73:3]. The second involves some Zaydiyya who followed Riḍā because Ma'mūn named him his successor, but then 'returned to their people' (*raja'ū ilā qawmihim min al-Zaydiyya*) after Riḍā's death [*Fir.*73:4–7]. Despite superficial appearances, these factions don't fit the logic of the schema at all: they are not factions that emerged in the post-Riḍā succession dispute. Rather, they are supposed to have come into existence previously—during Mūsā's and 'Alī al-Riḍā's Imāmates respectively—and now *cease* to exist after Riḍā's death. The basic structural problem is that these factions did not split off respectively from Ja'far's and Mūsā's original supporters after their deaths in usual way. Rather, they came in from the 'outside', something the schema is simply not designed to accommodate. Moreover, if they had been introduced in the post-Ja'far and post-Mūsā clusters, there would have been no way schematically to keep them as separate groups that then break off again after Riḍā's death. Instead, they are introduced *retrospectively* in the post-Riḍā cluster. Nothing like this is found in Q_2 's schema. Moreover, the tone is straightforwardly polemical; these factions are criticized for having followed Ḥusaynid Imāms only for worldly advantage, because Ma'mūn had—for a time—favoured the succession of 'Alī al-Riḍā. This doesn't happen in the material witnessed for Q_2 . The addition of the two factions is a critical com-

1007 See p. 633–636.

mentary on some people's temporary and superficial coincidence of interests with the Ḥusaynid Imāmiyya; it has nothing to do with the perspective of Q_2 's schema, where, by this point at least, it is the *internal* divisions of the Ḥusaynid Imāmiyya that matter¹⁰⁰⁸. The material is very low on detail and could conceivably have been added by Nawbakhtī or an intermediary based on general knowledge.

In the case of all the unique faction-descriptions just discussed, we don't know what Nawbakhtī added himself and what could have been added by an intermediary. As there are no significant commonalities between these descriptions, there is also no evidence they were drawn ultimately from the same source as one another. There is thus no possibility of establishing anything about the character or perspective of their sources, except that it is likely, given the specificity, that they were Shī'i. All we can say is that, at some point, someone, possibly Nawbakhtī himself, integrated other material on Shī'i *firaq* into the *iftirāq*-schema inherited from Q_2 . This was often done in a way that shows little attempt to conform to, or even recognition of the underlying logic of Q_2 's schema.

There are two further unique factions that Nawbakhtī includes within clusters otherwise witnessed for Q_2 , but the situation is different from what is described above. In both cases, the unique faction is a close variant of a faction witnessed for Q_2 and present in the *Firaq*; the unique faction appears directly next to the related faction from Q_2 . As a result, they are *not* mis-placed relative to the *iftirāq*-schema.

The first occurs in the post-Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya cluster. Here, Q_1 and Q_2 record a faction that denied Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya's death, claimed he was in hiding at Raḍwā and believed him to be the Mahdī¹⁰⁰⁹. This faction is nameless in *Uṣūl al-niḥal*, so we do not know if Q_1 would have recorded a name for them. Nawbakhtī's version also gives them no name. The BdC and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, however, label them the Karibiyya, after their leader, Abū Karib al-Ḍarīr. Before his version of this faction-description, however, Nawbakhtī has a unique faction with a variant doctrine: they too believe Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya is the Mahdī in hiding but claim his location is unknown. This faction he labels the Karibiyya [*Fir*.25:1–4]¹⁰¹⁰. We do not know what has happened here, especially regarding the faction-name. Most likely, Nawbakhtī or an intermediary integrated this material into the schema based on some other source dealing with the post-Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya Kaysāniyya, one that ascribed to them this variant belief in Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya's Mahdism. It would be atypical of Q_2 to distinguish a faction based on a belief that does not lead to a divergence in the

¹⁰⁰⁸ See p. 507–508.

¹⁰⁰⁹ See *Tab*.21 and *Tab*.35.

¹⁰¹⁰ Nawbakhtī appears to derive the name from an *Ibn* Karib, but this is probably due to an error in the transmission of the *Firaq*, as Qummi's and Rāzi's versions of this material both have Abū Karib (*MaqQ*.27:13; *Zīna*.69:6).

succession to the Imāmate, so it is more likely this is another addition by Nawbakhtī or an intermediary based on information taken from elsewhere. Even then, it is unclear how the name Karibiyya was displaced onto the ‘new’ faction.

In any case, the situation is made more complicated because Nawbakhtī’s description of the faction he calls the Karibiyya also contains a relatively long and quite confused passage on three figures: Ḥamza b. ‘Umāra al-Barbarī, Šā’id and Bayān. It begins by asserting that Ḥamza belonged to the Karibiyya, but then attributes further doctrines to him, such as that he considered Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya to be God and himself to be a prophet [*Fir.*25:5–6]. After more material on Ḥamza’s claims about himself and on his rejection by Muḥammad al-Bāqir and ‘the Šī’a’, it is stated that Bayān and Šā’id held the same doctrine as him [*Fir.*25:9–10]. But the ensuing details on Bayān’s doctrine don’t obviously confirm this. Bayān is said to believe that Muḥammad al-Bāqir designated him his successor as Imām. We have to assume this is a confusion of Muḥammads, as the context and the rest of the description indicates Bayān and his followers believed in the Mahdism of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya. But it appears the mistake was there in the *Firaq* already, not introduced in the later transmission of the texts, as it is found also in Qummī’s version [*MaqQ.*33:5–6]¹⁰¹¹. There is then a short narrative of Bayān’s execution at the hands of Khālid b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Qasrī [*Fir.*25:12–15], before the description returns to Ḥamza. The focus this time is on Ḥamza’s rejection of the obligations of Islam for those who know the Imām [*Fir.*25:16–17]. The description finishes by stating that the followers of Ḥamza, Bayān and Šā’id are awaiting their return and the appearance of Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya as the Mahdī [*Fir.*25:17–26:2]. This passage is thematically very different from anything witnessed for *Q*₂’s *iftirāq*-schema. Moreover, *Q*₂’s schema already contained a description of the Bayāniyya, in the post-Abū Hāshim cluster [*Fir.*30:8–31:9, *Mugh.*XX₂:178:14–15], meaning Bayān features in two different clusters in the *Firaq*. That makes it highly likely that this unique material was added post-*Q*₂ by Nawbakhtī or an intermediary. But the passage is also only loosely connected to the unique description of the Karibiyya to which it is attached and is clearly different in thematic focus. It thus not unlikely that material originally taken from several sources is being combined here.

The remaining unique faction within a common cluster appears in the post-Abū Hāshim cluster. Here, the BdC records a faction that claims Abū Hāshim bequeathed the Imāmate to his *nephew*, Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya, who then bequeathed it to his own son, ‘Alī b. al-Ḥasan. In this description, ‘Alī then dies without offspring and the faction is awaiting the return of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya [*Mugh.*XX₂:178:2–5; *Hūr.*214:1–5; *MaqA.*20:8–21:2]. The *Firaq*,

1011 That it must nevertheless be a mistake is also the conclusion of Halm 1982:57n75.

however, has two related factions at the relevant point. The description of the first [*Fir.28:3–15*] depicts them as claiming that the Imāmate went first to Abū Hāshim's *brother*, 'Alī b. Muḥammad, and that they then traced it through his line: to Ḥasan b. 'Alī, then to 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan, then to Ḥasan b. 'Alī. This means that Nawbakhtī's faction begins the post-Abū Hāshim line of succession one generation earlier and finishes it one generation later than Balkhī's. There is another important difference: Nawbakhtī states that they continued the line in Ḥasan b. 'Alī's descendants after him. But that is not the end of the matter. Nawbakhtī then records a second faction, which has the same doctrine but stops the line at the last Ḥasan b. 'Alī and now awaits the return of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya [*Fir.28:15–29:2*]. It is this second faction-description that parallels the BdC most closely, and it is also there that there is enough convergence in wording to indicate a common source¹⁰¹². It is thus Nawbakhtī's first faction that is unique to the *Firaq*. This situation—as well as the fact that neither of these factions appears in *Uṣūl al-niḥal*—makes it impossible to determine how things would have looked in Q_2 . It may be that Balkhī somehow inherited a simplified version and that Nawbakhtī preserves something closer to Q_2 . Given what we see elsewhere in the unique factions in the *Firaq*, however, there is also a good chance that the more complex situation in the *Firaq* results from Nawbakhtī or an intermediary having integrated material from some other source.

2.2.2.1.3 Variant Faction-Descriptions

There are three cases where Nawbakhtī and Balkhī have descriptions of the same faction at the same place in the schema yet there is no significant convergence in the content. They all occur in the post-Abū Hāshim cluster: the descriptions of 'Abbāsīd Shī'a, the Ḥārithiyya, and the Bayāniyya. The obvious problem here is that the lack of convergence prevents us from reconstructing Q_2 's descriptions simply by comparing the *Firaq* and the BdC, meaning we also can't say for sure whether it is Nawbakhtī (or an intermediary) who incorporated material from elsewhere, Balkhī (or an intermediary), or both. That problem can be overcome if there is significant convergence between *Uṣūl al-niḥal* and either the BdC or the *Firaq*, as this shows that both Q_1 and Q_2 must have had the material upon which they converge. That happens in the case of the 'Abbāsīd Shī'a, where *Uṣūl al-niḥal* converges with the BdC against the *Firaq*, but not in the others. We will go through them in turn

The BdC describes the Bayāniyya as a faction that believed Abu Hāshim bequeathed the Imāmate to Bayān b. Sim'ān, but Bayān was not to appoint his own successor, because 'it'—presumably the Imāmate—would 'return to the source' (*tarji'u ilā l-aṣl*) [*Mugh.XX₂:178:15*; *Hūr.215:11–12*; *MaqA.23:5–6*]. That is quite

¹⁰¹² See p. 323–324.

cryptic; the description has been boiled down to the point where we cannot be sure what it really means. Nevertheless, in context and given what we know from elsewhere, the ‘source’ is presumably Abū Hāshim; we are probably looking at a doctrine where Abū Hāshim is the Mahdī in hiding and Bayān is his interim representative in his absence; the Imāmate will revert to Abū Hāshim either upon his return from hiding or after Bayān’s death¹⁰¹³. In contrast, Nawbakhtī’s description [Fir.30:8–31:2] begins by stating *explicitly* that the Bayāniyya held Abū Hāshim to be the Mahdī who will return. It then shifts focus to the claim that Bayān was a prophet, telling how the Bayāniyya believed Bayān was the subject of Q3:138 (*hādha bayān^{un} li-l-nas, wa-hud^{un}. . .*), before relating a short narrative about how Bayān sent a letter to Muḥammad al-Bāqir, inviting him to acknowledge his prophethood; Bāqir responds by making the messenger eat the letter. Finally, it is stated that Bayān was killed for this claim.

As long as we interpret Balkhī’s description as suggested above, the texts implicitly agree that the Bayāniyya held that that Abū Hāshim did not die and was the Mahdī. They also both provide an etymology of the faction-name. That information would be typical of Q_2 ’s descriptions and may well have appeared there. But even on these points of agreement, there is no significant convergence in wording between the BdC and the *Firaq*, so we cannot know for sure. *Uṣūl al-niḥal* cannot help us either because it has no description of the Bayāniyya in the post-Abū Hāshim cluster¹⁰¹⁴. Nevertheless, it still seems unlikely that most of Nawbakhtī’s description of the Bayāniyya here could go back to Q_2 . The material on the claim that Bayān was a prophet, and especially the narrative passage about his letter to Bāqir would be thematically highly uncharacteristic of what is witnessed for Q_2 ’s descriptions. The fact that Bāqir appears here and so dramatically rejects Bayān clearly indicates the material is of Ḥusaynid-Imāmī origin.

In the BdC’s post-Abū Hāshim cluster, the description of the Ḥarbiyya¹⁰¹⁵ asserts they initially believed that Abū Hāshim bequeathed (*awṣā*) the Imāmate to ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Amr b. Ḥarb but then lost faith in him and went to Medina to find an Imām from Banū Hāshim. There, ‘Abd Allāh b. Mu‘āwiya invited them to

1013 That is explicitly the doctrine that Qummī’s version of this material attributes to the Bayāniyya, except that Qummī claims they held Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya to be the Mahdī and put Abū Hāshim in the interim role. On the transposition of Bayān and Abū Hāshim for Abū Hāshim and Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya in Balkhī’s version, see p. 385–386 and 565–566. See also Halm 1982:61–62.

1014 It does have a description of them in its Ghulāt-section, but the only point of convergence with the material the BdC and the *Firaq* under discussion here is a report on the claim that the Bayāniyya held Bayān was the subject of Q3:138. Even then, there is no significant convergence in wording there either. See p. 590.

1015 On the relationship between ‘Ḥarbiyya’ and ‘Ḥārithiyya’, see p. 322 n.342.

follow him, which they did, now claiming he, not Ibn Ḥarb, was the true *waṣī* of Abū Hāshim¹⁰¹⁶. The description of the 'Abbāsīd Shī'a tells how they believed that Abū Hāshim, when he died at Sharāt (i.e., the 'Abbāsīd family estate) on his way from Syria, bequeathed the Imāmate to Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-'Abbās [*Ḥūr*.214:6–9; *MaqA*.21:3–8]. The thematic focus of both descriptions thus fits with what is standard for *Q*₂, even if the material on the Ḥarbiyya is somewhat more detailed than usual.

The *Firaq*, however, has something very different in its post-Abū Hāshim cluster. The description of the Ḥārithiyya begins directly by attributing to them the belief that Abū Hāshim bequeathed the Imāmate to 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya [*Fir*.29:3–5]. It goes on to say that they believed that because 'Abd Allāh was a minor at the time of the bequest, Abū Hāshim appointed a regent called Ṣāliḥ b. Mudrik to pass the Imāmate to him when he reached maturity [*Fir*.29:6–8]. The focus then shifts to the Ḥārithiyya's claims about the nature of the Imām, namely that he is all knowing and that he is indwelt by God in the form of light [*Fir*.29:8–9]. Next comes some etymology: they are called the Ḥārithiyya because they followed 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith, a man from Madā'in [*Fir*.29:9–11]. It is then stated that they are all Ghulāt, and that they held anyone who knows the Imām can do as he pleases [*Fir*.29:11–12].

The description of the 'Abbāsīd Shī'a—a name not used here—follows the same pattern. They are said to believe that Abū Hāshim bequeathed the Imāmate to Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-'Abbās, but, because he was a minor at that time, Abū Hāshim appointed Muḥammad's father, 'Alī, as regent [*Fir*.29:13–30:1]¹⁰¹⁷. Next, we learn that they held their Imām to be God, and that whoever knows him can do as he pleases [*Fir*.30:1–2]. The description finishes by stating that this faction are 'the Ghulāt of the Rāwandiyya' (*ghulāt al-rāwandiyya*) [*Fir*.30:2–3].

1016 See *Tab*.29.

1017 This is curious. The pro-'Abbāsīd sources (Balādhurī, the *Akhbār*) stress that he was only fourteen years younger than his father, 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh. The latter seems to have been born around the year 40/661 or shortly before. That would put Muḥammad b. 'Alī in his early forties in 98/716. In 85/704, he would thus have been in his late twenties. Either way, there is no reason why the regency of 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh should have been necessary. The pro-'Abbāsīd sources also say nothing about it; all the versions of the *waṣīyya*-narrative talk of a direct transfer of power from Abū Hāshim to Muḥammad. We can imagine that one line of attack against 'Abbāsīd legitimacy may well have been to claim that Muḥammad b. 'Alī was not old enough to have received Abū Hāshim's *waṣīyya*. But we would then have to assume that the idea of 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh's regency was a pro-'Abbāsīd *defence*. But why would they have needed such a defence if Muḥammad b. 'Alī really had been old enough? One then wonders if the statements in the pro-'Abbāsīd accounts about him being only fourteen years younger than his father, are also responses to the same charge, but made later, once it was possible to manipulate the chronology more easily. But that would imply Nawbakhtī's information here is relatively early.

After the description of the ‘Abbāsīd Shī‘a, the *Fīraq* provides a passage containing a short story about how the ‘supporters of Ibn Mu‘āwīya’ disputed with ‘the supporters of Muḥammad b. ‘Alī’ over who was the true *waṣī* of Abū Hāshim. The two parties apparently agreed to accept the verdict of a certain Abū Riyāḥ, who is described as ‘one of their leaders and scholars’ (*min ru’sā’ihim wa ‘ulamā’ihim*). This Abū Riyāḥ ‘bore witness’ (*shahada*) that Abū Hāshim’s *waṣī* was indeed Muḥammad b. ‘Alī, and ‘all the followers of ‘Abd Allāh b. Mu‘āwīya’ thus accepted the doctrine that Muḥammad b. ‘Alī was the Imām, and the Rāwandiyya ‘gained control over them’ (*qawiyat al-rāwandiyya bihim*) [*Fir*.30:3–7].

Because Nawbakhtī’s unique descriptions of the Ḥārithiyya and the Rāwandiyya/Abbāsīd Shī‘a follow the same format as each other—a format found nowhere else in the *Fīraq*—and because they are tied together by the concluding anecdote about their rivalry and eventual unification behind the ‘Abbāsīd cause, they stand to some extent as a self-contained unit, even within the *Fīraq*. They also focus mostly on themes very different from what is witnessed for *Q*₂’s descriptions. Above all, the use of the term ‘Ghulāt’ and the concentration on doctrines that are labelled *ghuluww* are completely uncharacteristic of *Q*₂, as is the concluding story. These features alone would be enough to suggest that this material was not present in *Q*₂ but was added by Nawbakhtī or an intermediary from elsewhere. Numerous other factors point in the same direction.

In both the BdC and the *Fīraq*, the ‘Abbāsīd Shī‘a and the Ḥārithiyya/Ḥarbiyya themselves undergo *iftirāq*, producing sub-clusters. Despite the radical divergence in the descriptions of the parent-factions, the BdC and the *Fīraq* are closely convergent in the wording of the sub-clusters, which must thus have been present in *Q*₂¹⁰¹⁸. We have seen above that there is some rearrangement of the ‘Abbāsīd sub-cluster in the *Fīraq* relative to what must have stood in *Q*₂. We know this because *Uṣūl al-niḥal* converges so closely with the BdC at this point, showing that *Q*₁ and *Q*₂ must have resembled their version. The main difference is that *Q*₂’s description of the original ‘Abbāsīd Shī‘a has become displaced in Nawbakhtī’s version of the schema: it now appears, illogically, at the end of the sub-cluster¹⁰¹⁹. What has displaced it is precisely the unique description of the ‘Rāwandiyya’ in the post-Abū Hāshim-cluster. The same evidence is not available regarding the Ḥarbiyya/Ḥārithiyya, because *Uṣūl al-niḥal* also diverges from the BdC significantly¹⁰²⁰, but the fact that Nawbakhtī’s descriptions of the ‘Abbāsīd Shī‘a and the Ḥārithiyya are so closely connected with one another suggests both were incorporated at the same time, and

1018 See p. 326–332.

1019 See p. 330.

1020 See p. 530.

thus that neither stood in Q_2 already. They were added by Nawbakhtī or an intermediary and it is this addition that has led both to the variant faction-descriptions in the post-Abū Hāshim cluster and to the subsequent rearrangement of material in the *Firaq*'s 'Abbāsīd sub-cluster.

Another issue is the structural awkwardness that results from the character and labelling of the 'Abbāsīd Shī'a in Nawbakhtī's post-Abū Hāshim cluster. As we can see from *Uṣūl al-niḥal* and the BdC, the original *iftirāq*-schema placed the 'Abbāsīd Shī'a in the post-Abū Hāshim cluster simply in accordance with their claim that Abū Hāshim bequeathed the Imāmate to Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-'Abbās. Nawbakhtī's description still does this, but it also effectively asserts that everyone who believed in the bequest also deified the 'Abbāsīd. Thus, in the *Firaq*'s *iftirāq*-schema, all subsequent 'Abbāsīd sub-factions appear to branch off from an initial Imām-deifying group, yet these sub-factions are just those that appeared in Q_1 's and Q_2 's 'Abbāsīd sub-cluster, none of which appear to believe in the deity of their Imāms. This is senseless, but it is also difficult to believe that Nawbakhtī—even at his most polemical—would really have meant to depict the original 'Abbāsīd Shī'a in their entirety as Imām-deifiers. Indeed, it appears that Nawbakhtī's unique material is not really to do with the 'Abbāsīd Shī'a generally at all, despite its place in his schema. For Nawbakhtī does not even call them that, but rather 'the Ghulāt of the Rāwandiyya'. This too is structurally awkward, because the *Firaq* later uses the label 'Rāwandiyya' again, in the shorter Ghulāt-section, for a specific sub-faction of the 'Abbāsīd Shī'a who followed a certain 'Abd Allāh al-Rāwandī and deified Manṣūr [*Fir*.46:15–47:9]¹⁰²¹. Q_2 had used the name (alongside Hurayriyya) for those who traced the Imāmate through 'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. Again, it seems likely that all the confusion arises because what would have stood there in Q_2 has been displaced in favour of material that cannot play the same role in the schema. As elsewhere, it seems that when adding extraneous material, Nawbakhtī (or some intermediary to him) did not fully work out the consequences for the schema he had inherited from Q_2 ¹⁰²².

In other sources, the name Rāwandiyya is primarily associated with the so called 'Day of the Rāwandiyya' (*yawm al-rāwandiyya*), perhaps in 136/753 or 139/756, when some members of a group bearing this name circumambulated Manṣūr's palace, hailing him as God. These activities eventually morphed into a

¹⁰²¹ See p. 656–658.

¹⁰²² Bayhom-Daou has argued—based on her general assumption that Nawbakhtī's main source was Hishām b. al-Ḥakam—that the unique material on the Ḥarbiyya and Rāwandiyya came from Hishām, whilst the material on the 'Abbāsīd sub-factions was added from elsewhere (Bayhom-Daou 1996:98–103). The comparison with the BdC and *Uṣūl al-niḥal* makes this untenable. See p. 329–332 and 432–435.

riot that nearly resulted in Manṣūr's death¹⁰²³. Nawbakhtī's later description of the Rāwandiyya seems to refer obliquely to that event, or something similar¹⁰²⁴. That doesn't fit chronologically with the 'Ghulāt of the Rāwandiyya' of the post-Abū Hāshim cluster, who are associated with the deification of Muḥammad b. 'Alī (d.125/743), but other sources do trace the Rāwandiyya back long before Manṣūr. They were apparently a group from Khurāsān who had been loyal to Abū Muslim but were led directly by 'Abd Allāh al-Rāwandī. The latter seems to have been a *dā'ī* for the Hāshimiyya organization and had probably recruited the faction that bore his name. They later travelled west with Abū Muslim's armies and, along with other contingents thereof, became a distinctive presence in early 'Abbāsīd Iraq because of their behaviour and beliefs, which were judged to be unislamic there¹⁰²⁵.

Nawbakhtī's unique material in the post-Abū Hāshim cluster presents the Rāwandiyya and the Ḥārithiyya as essentially similar groups. They both claimed the *waṣiyya* of Abū Hāshim for their Imāms; they both claimed that their Imāms were too young to receive it directly, hence the need for regents; they both claimed that their Imāms became omniscient and divine when they came of age; and they are both explicitly labelled Ghulāt. Patricia Crone has suggested that this material reflects the fact that the Rāwandiyya and the Ḥārithiyya were of similar geographical, social and religious background: they were Iranians belonging to the group that the sources call 'Khurramiyya' or 'Khurramdīniyya', i.e., adherents of the ancient system of rural beliefs and practices common throughout the highland areas of Iran, Azerbaijan, Armenia and Transoxiana¹⁰²⁶. The extent of the Islamization of these populations prior to the 'Abbāsīd revolution is unclear, but significant contingents of such people from the Jibāl and Khurāsān were recruited into the armies of both 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya and Abū Muslim respectively, possibly first converting to Islam in the process¹⁰²⁷. The Muslim population of Iraq, at least that part of it from which our sources come, had trouble seeing these Khurasānīs as truly Muslims. Crone also suggested that the narrative of the Ḥārithiyya's eventual acceptance of the 'Abbāsīd position on the *waṣiyya* and absorption into the Rāwandiyya reflects the fact that Ibn Mu'āwiya's supporters from the Jibāl were absorbed into Abū Muslim's armies after the latter killed Ibn Mu'āwiya in 131/748.

Whether Crone's interpretation is correct in all its details need not concern us here. What matters is the perspective of the material, and she is surely right about

1023 See Crone 2012:86–91 and *EF*².“al-Rāwandiyya” [Kohlberg].

1024 Although the Rāwandiyya seem to have caused problems multiple times. See Crone 2012:87–88.

1025 Crone 2012:87–89.

1026 Crone 2012:22–27, 86–95

1027 Crone 2012:82–86.

one thing: at this point in the *Firaq*, Nawbakhtī's unique material on the Rāwandiyya and the Ḥārithiyya seems to work in a paradigm where both are factions associated primarily with the east, not the Kufan scene. Above all, it is very difficult to make sense of narrative of the Ḥārithiyya's eventual support for the 'Abbāsīd cause unless it indeed has something to do with their absorption into Abū Muslim's armies in the way Crone suggests. Muḥammad b. 'Alī died two years before Ibn Mu'āwiya's rebellion in Kufa. Thus, if it were literally true that the supporters of Ibn Mu'āwiya disputed with the supporters of Muḥammad b. 'Alī over the *waṣīyya* of Abū Hāshim, as Nawbakhtī states, we would have to assume that there were contingents of both in Kufa several years before the outbreak of Ibn Mu'āwiya's rebellion. But most of the evidence we have suggests Ibn Mu'āwiya had no intention to rebel even when he arrived in Kufa just a few months beforehand, and there is no evidence that he claimed the *waṣīyya* during the Kufan stage of the rebellion; he relied on his Hāshimī credentials or perhaps asserted he was merely working on behalf of the *riḍā*¹⁰²⁸. Similarly, the Hashimiyya organization were not publicly—and probably not even privately—backing the 'Abbāsīds before Muḥammad b. 'Alī's death, still less spreading the 'Abbāsīd *waṣīyya*-narrative¹⁰²⁹. Moreover, it simply wouldn't make sense to have the Ḥārithiyya capitulating to 'Abbāsīd claims about the *waṣīyya* years before or even during Ibn Mu'āwiya's Kufan rebellion, as one of the only things the sources agree on is that the name Ḥārithiyya/Ḥarbiyya was associated with those who *supported* Ibn Mu'āwiya's claim to the Imāmate, and this until long after the Kufan phase. Above all, however, the Rāwandiyya were certainly originally a Khurāsānī group, so the Ḥārithiyya's absorption into them cannot have occurred in Kufa prior to Ibn Mu'āwiya's rebellion. This all strongly suggests that Nawbakhtī's material reflects later conflicts and an eastern location, i.e., after Ibn Mu'āwiya had left Kufa, conquered (and perhaps already lost) the Jibāl, and come into conflict with Abū Muslim¹⁰³⁰.

1028 See *EF*³. "Abdallāh b. Mu'āwiya" [Borrut]; Tucker 1980; and Bernheimer 2006. And see p. 525, 542.

1029 See p. 540–541.

1030 Another thing that speaks in favour of Crone's interpretation is that the narrative makes out that both the supporters of Ibn Mu'āwiya and the supporters Muḥammad b. 'Alī recognize Abū Riyāḥ as an authoritative arbiter between them. It thus seems to assume they are not entirely on opposing sides; they just disagree about the choice of candidate for the Imāmate. This Abū Riyāḥ cannot be identified. Agha (2003:331) seems to see him as Abū Rabāḥ, i.e., Maysara al-Nabbāl, one of the founding members and the second chief of the Hāshimiyya organization in Kufa. Maysara appears in the sources amongst the list of witnesses to Abū Hāshim's death and to the fact of the *waṣīyya* to Muḥammad b. 'Alī (Sharon 1983:133–134), so it wouldn't be unusual to find him in this role in the *Firaq*'s anecdote, too. Maysara died shortly after 100/718 (*Ibid.*:10) and cannot possibly have been involved in any dispute about whether to support Ibn Mu'āwiya, but this wouldn't necessarily have prevented the author of the anecdote from placing him in this situation.

Crone is also right that the material on the Rāwandiyya and the Ḥārithiyya associates them *doctrinally* with the east, too, by connecting them with the Khurramiyya. For the Rāwandiyya and other contingents of Abū Muslim's armies, this is a given. As far as the heresiographies and their sources are concerned, Q_1 already connected the Muslimiyya with the Khurramiyya, and Q_2 followed its lead [*Niḥ.*32:18; *Fir.*41:13–42:3; *Mugh.*XX₂:178:2]. Ps.-Nāshī' states the same for the Khidāshiyya [*Niḥ.*35:9–10]. In other unique passages, however, Nawbakhtī makes the same association for supporters of the 'Abbāsids and the Ḥārithiyya generally [*Fir.*32:4–6; 35:7–8; 41:6–7]. Ps.-Nāshī', in material unique to *Uṣūl al-niḥal*, also connect the Ḥārithiyya closely with the Khurramiyya [*Niḥ.* 38:20–21]. Crone's thesis is thus thoroughly in line with what the heresiographers say; it highly likely is the common, Khurramī background that explains the fact that the matrix of doctrines attributed to the two groups is so consistently similar. The themes that constantly come to the fore in descriptions of these groups are the doctrines of reincarnation and epochal cycles, the world of shadows and phantoms, and the more specific idea that the spirit that had been present in Jesus, sometimes explicitly referred to as the Holy Spirit or the Spirit of God, transferred via 'Alī b. Abī into their chosen Imām. Whether and in what sense that was really understood by the Rāwandiyya and the Ḥārithiyya themselves as deification is unclear, but that is certainly how it was perceived in Iraq.

There is some geographical tension here, in that Nawbakhtī's description of the Ḥārithiyya states that 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith came from Madā'in [*Fir.*29:10–11]. He repeats that assertion later, in another passage of unique material, where he also claims that this Ibn al-Ḥārith was responsible for their *ghuluww*, particularly the doctrines of shadows, metempsychosis and epochal cycles [*Fir.*31:5–9]. That suggests, rather, an Iraqi setting for their doctrinal background. But this tension, along with some outright inconsistency, pervades the sources. Qummī has a more detailed version of the material on the Ḥārbiyya that appears in the BdC, and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*¹⁰³¹. This also places Ibn Ḥarb in Madā'in, but here the Ḥārbiyya

One feature that doesn't obviously fit, however, is the presence of the regents. Abū Hāshim may have died as early 85/704, certainly by 98/716. We don't know how old he was when his revolt erupted in Kufa in 127/744, but it is highly plausible that any claim Abū Hāshim bequeathed him the Imāmate would indeed have been questioned on the grounds that he wasn't old enough. The device of the regent could have been brought forward by his supporters as an argument to close the chronological gap. It is not likely, however, that someone retrospectively reinterpreting the conflict between the supporters of Ibn Mu'āwiya and the supporters of Abū Muslim as a dispute over the *waṣīyya* would have bothered to invent this detail. Even more interesting is the idea—also found nowhere else—that Muḥammad b. 'Alī wasn't old enough for the *waṣīyya*-narrative to make sense for the 'Abbāsīd claim either.

1031 See p. 381–384.

abandon Ibn Ḥarb *before* joining 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya, and it is the latter who seems responsible for their doctrinal profile, or at least for the claim that the Spirit of God had transferred through the prophets until it reached him [*MaqQ*.40:15–41:21]. Ps.-Nāshī's material instead makes Ibn Ḥarb responsible for the doctrines it calls *ghuluww*, including the shadows and the cycles, as well as the doctrine of the Holy Spirit transferring into Ibn Mu'āwiya. But in this case, Ibn Ḥarb appears on the scene only *after* Ibn Mu'āwiya is killed, and the events seem to be based in the east [*Niḥ*.37:8–9]¹⁰³². Indeed, the real role of Ibn Ḥarb/al-Ḥarith, and whether he was active in Iraq or amongst Ibn Mu'āwiya's Khurramī troops in the Jibāl, or both, is impossible to determine. The important point here is just that Nawbakhtī's unique material already has the tension built into it. The most likely reason for this is that there was some kind of basic confusion about the origins, character and trajectory of the group called the Ḥārithiyya or Ḥarbiyya. Possibly more than one group and/or leader had been retrospectively combined well before our earliest sources¹⁰³³.

In any case, on the question of Nawbakhtī's sources for his unique material on the Ḥārithiyya and the 'Abbasid Shī'a/Rāwandīyya in the post-Abū Hāshim cluster, it seems likely that we are dealing with an Iraqi synthesis of reports based ultimately on sources of multiple origins, Khurasānī and Iraqi. Presumably, the focus on the concept of *ghuluww* is also part of the Iraqi understanding of the character of the Shī'i groups that came west with the 'Abbāsīd revolution.

2.2.2.1.4 Unique Material in Faction-Descriptions Present in *Q*₂

The *Firaq*'s versions of faction-descriptions witnessed for *Q*₂ often contain unique passages. Not every small interjection can be discussed here, but there are several larger such passages. These can be grouped thematically: material on intra-Imāmī disputes; material on *ghuluww*; non-Imāmī material; and material providing historical detail and narrative.

2.2.2.1.4.1 Material on Intra-Imāmī Disputes

All Nawbakhtī's faction-descriptions in the post-Ja'far cluster contain unique material. Most of it consists of arguments and evidence adduced by the different factions in support of their candidates for the succession, often in the form of *ḥadīth*

¹⁰³² For him, Ibn Mu'āwiya is 'the one who rebelled in Isfahan' and Ibn Ḥarb comes on the scene to claim that Ibn Mu'āwiya is still alive in the mountains of Isfahān (*Niḥ*.37:4, 15). Nothing here connects either figure with Iraq.

¹⁰³³ Crone (2012:94) suggests this may be the cause of the ambiguity over the names Ḥārithiyya and Ḥarbiyya. See also p. 322 n.342.

from Ja'far or short anecdotes about him and the candidate¹⁰³⁴. Also throughout the material witnessed for Q_2 's schema, as we have seen, the faction-descriptions often briefly mention reasons why factions followed particular Imāms¹⁰³⁵. Thus, although Nawbakhtī's unique material in the post-Ja'far cluster is much more detailed than is usually the case for that witnessed for Q_2 , it is mostly not thematically alien. Moreover, Q_2 —a Ḥusaynid-Imāmī work—may well have had a keener interest in the still-relevant intra-Imāmī disputes after Ja'far's and Mūsā's death than in the earlier clusters. The later Mu'tazilī tradition, in contrast, could have had reasons to summarise such things. Hence, although it is plausible that this set of unique passages was added by Nawbakhtī or an intermediary to the material taken from Q_2 , it is usually equally plausible that it was already present in some form in Q_2 and subsequently summarised out by Balkhī or an intermediary to him.

There is, however, one body of unique material in the post-Ja'far cluster of a different character. It appears across the descriptions of the Fuṭṭayya and the supporters of Mūsā al-Kāzīm in the post-Ja'far cluster and concerns the crisis motivated by the succession and subsequent swift death of 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far. The sources generally agree that the majority of Ja'far's supporters accepted the Imāmate of 'Abd Allāh after Ja'far's death on the principle that he was the eldest surviving son¹⁰³⁶. This is what both Balkhī and Nawbakhtī state openly, presumably in reliance on Q_2 [*Niḥ*.46:16–17; *Fir*:65:9; *Mugh*.XX₂:180:14–15]¹⁰³⁷. It also appears in other Imāmī sources: Kashshī, for example, reports it on the authority of Hishām b. Sālim al-Jawālīqī [*Rijāl*K.282:3–4]¹⁰³⁸. The crisis began later, when 'Abd Allāh died without male progeny and within three months of Ja'far's own death [*Fir*.66:7–8]. Most of Ja'far's former supporters went over to Mūsā al-Kāzīm, but the question then arose whether 'Abd Allāh had ever been an Imām at all¹⁰³⁹. Those who retained 'Abd Allāh in the line of succession came to be called the Fuṭṭayya. The others, who eventually won the argument, annulled his Imāmate entirely and held that Mūsā had followed directly after Ja'far.

1034 The general situation was described above, p. 288–296 and *Tab*.18.

1035 For example, the faction that follows Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya immediately after 'Alī's death does so because 'Alī put Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya in charge of his standard at the Battle of the Camel (*Fir*.20:10–11, *Mugh*.XX₂:176:19); The 'Abbāsīd Shī'a follow Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-'Abbās after Abū Hashim because they believe the latter died at the 'Abbāsīd estate at Arḍ Sharāt and made a *waṣīyya* to the former etc.

1036 Modarressi 1993:59

1037 See p. 215–216. Despite the citation marking, he must still be relying on the source he has in common with Nawbakhtī.

1038 See also the other sources cited in Modarressi 1993:59.

1039 Modarressi 1993:59–60.

Nawbakhtī's unique material on the Fuṭḥiyya obviously tries to minimise the importance of the 'aberration' of 'Abd Allāh's Imāmate. After stating for the first time that most of those who had professed Ja'far's Imāmate then professed 'Abd Allāh's, Nawbakhtī immediately adds that there was a small group (*nafar yasir*) who knew the truth, posed legal questions to 'Abd Allāh and found him wanting [Fir.65:12–14]¹⁰⁴⁰. After stating it for the second time, he adds that after 'Abd Allāh's death, all but a few rescinded belief in his Imāmate completely and affirmed Mūsā al-Kāzim had always been Imām. This statement is then immediately modified by a repetition of the claim that a group had already abandoned 'Abd Allāh for Mūsā in the former's lifetime [Fir.66:3–8]. The theme then continues into Nawbakhtī's unique material in the description of the followers of Mūsā. There, the main addition is a list of those who had denied 'Abd Allāh's Imāmate from the beginning and supported Mūsā. It contains several important Imāmī figures connected with Mūsā: Hishām b. Sālim al-Jawālīqī, 'Abd Allāh b. Abī Ya'fūr, 'Amr by Yazīd al-Sābirī, Abū Ja'far Mu'min al-Ṭāq, 'Ubayd b. Zurāra, Jamīl b. Darrāj, Abān b. Taghlib and Hishām b. al-Ḥakam¹⁰⁴¹. Nawbakhtī emphasises that these people were 'the most prominent of the Shī'a' (*wujūh al-Shī'a*), important scholars, theologians, and jurists [Fir.66:14–15]. He then repeats yet again that these people affirmed Mūsā's Imāmate and adds that they were eventually joined by the majority of those who had supported 'Abd Allāh (i.e., after his death), and that there was only a small number (*nafar minhum*) who continued to hold that 'Abd Allāh had legitimately been Imām between Ja'far and Mūsā. The message is obvious: the best scholars were never deceived and the whole controversy was quickly resolved anyway, except in the eyes of the handful of awkward recalcitrants who became known as the Fuṭḥiyya.

This material is qualitatively different from the other unique material in the post-Ja'far cluster and from what is witnessed for *Q*₂: it does not just contain a neutral description of the arguments made by the Fuṭḥiyya. Rather, much of it is obviously committed to an anti-Fuṭḥī position. Moreover, the unique material here also includes one of those polemical remarks that are rare in the *Firaq* and not witnessed at all for *Q*₂: Nawbakhtī states that the Fuṭḥiyya 'permitted the Imāmate of two brothers after they had previously not permitted it' [Fir.67:2–3], implicitly criticizing them for inconsistency because they broke with a supposedly longstanding and agreed upon principle of the succession. This is thematically linked directly to the principle-based argumentation of the later post-'Askarī cluster, which is certainly Nawbakhtī's own work.

¹⁰⁴⁰ This is perhaps a reference to the group headed by Jawālīqī and Abū Ja'far al-Aḥwal Ṣāhib al-Ṭāq (also known as Shayṭān al-Ṭāq) that supposedly went to Medina to test 'Abd Allāh (*Ri-jālK*.282:1–284:5; Ṣaffār:250:16–251:9). See also Modarressi 1993:59n25.

¹⁰⁴¹ Note the overlap with the figures who supposedly went to Medina to test 'Abd Allāh. See n.1040.

In reality, the principle of ‘no fraternal succession after Ḥusayn’ probably did not precede the debate over the status of ‘Abd Allāh that took place after his death, as Nawbakhtī claims, but was a product of it. If it really had been established beforehand and accepted by the whole Ḥusaynid-Imāmī community, there would have been no controversy. Instead, the ‘mistake’ of having recognized ‘Abd Allāh’s Imāmate would have been smoothed over after he had died and everyone had recognized Mūsā. But the controversy continued for generations¹⁰⁴². Moreover, it is not as if the Fuṭḥiyya were excised from the Ḥusaynid-Imāmī community or that a fundamental split occurred; it was a dispute *within* the group who continued to follow the line through Mūsā¹⁰⁴³. The most prominent scholars of the original Fuṭḥiyya, ‘Ammār al-Sābāṭī and ‘Abd Allāh b. Bukayr b. A‘yan¹⁰⁴⁴, were both seen as reliable transmitters of *ḥadīth* from Ja‘far and Mūsā despite never rescinding their belief in ‘Abd Allāh’s Imāmate¹⁰⁴⁵. The important jurist and teacher of (the non-Fuṭḥī) Faḍl b. Shādhān (d.260/873), namely al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. Faḍḍāl (d. 224/838–9), was also a Fuṭḥī¹⁰⁴⁶, as was the *mutakallim* and contemporary of Nawbakhtī, ‘Alī al-Ṭāhin¹⁰⁴⁷. Nawbakhtī refers to a group of scholars (*fuqahā*) of his own day who were committed Fuṭḥiyya [*Fir*.82:8–11, 93:5–94:3]. Indeed, if the principle of no fraternal succession had really been as dominant as the *Firaq* tries to imply—even by Nawbakhtī’s own day—it is hard to see how the groups advocating Ja‘far b. ‘Alī after Ḥasan al-‘Askarī would ever have arisen.

Thus, when Nawbakhtī’s unique material in the description of the supporters of Mūsā al-Kāẓim attacks the original Fuṭḥiyya for violating a supposedly well-established principle of the succession, it is not taking a swipe at a long-defeated enemy; it is taking a stance in an argument that had never gone away and that was more heated in Nawbakhtī’s own day than at any time since the Imāmate of Mūsā. Indeed, as we have seen, Nawbakhtī makes it clear that he sees the ‘neo-Fuṭḥī’ supporters of Ja‘far b. ‘Alī to be the most problematic group to have arisen in the post-‘Askarī situation¹⁰⁴⁸. More than elsewhere in the post-Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq cluster, then,

1042 See *TG*.I:324. For this reason, it seems unlikely that Madelung’s supposition is correct when he suggests (1965:44) that the ‘no fraternal succession’ rule might have been invoked first, rather, to reject the Imāmate of Zayd b. ‘Alī. The sources also seem to have no memory of such a move. If it had been the case, we would also expect to find the model of Zayd used in the debates around the succession to Ja‘far. It isn’t.

1043 See Modarressi 1993:60.

1044 On him see Modarressi 2003:14–141.

1045 See Modarressi 2003:199–200, 140–141.

1046 See *EI*₃, “al-Faḍl b. Shādhān” [Bayhom Daou] and Modarressi 1993:81.

1047 Modarressi 1993:81. For a list of several further prominent Fuṭḥiyya, see *RijālK*.345:1–5, as well as the references in Modarressi 1993:60, n.27.

1048 See p. 611–613.

Nawbakhtī himself is likely to be responsible for the unique material's perspective on the Fuṭḥiyya.

In general, the unique passages within the common descriptions of the post-Mūsā cluster are also equally likely to have stood in Q_2 already or to have been added by Nawbakhtī (or an intermediary), but there is one exception. It occurs in the description of the Wāqifa, which was given above in *Tab.19*. The unique passages concerned are d^l , e^l , f^l and h^l , each of which introduces a sub-group of the Wāqifa with the words “Some of them said. . .” (*wa-qāla ba'ḍuhum. . .*). The common material from Q_2 states that the Wāqifa believed Mūsā did not die and will not die until he rules with justice, because he is the Qā'im and the Mahdī (a). The sub-groups all hold variations of that doctrine. The first believes that he died but returned after death and is now in hiding, where he meets with his closest associates in secret. The second believes him to be a ‘likeness of Jesus’, in that he died and will return to the world to rule in the future. The third denies that he was killed but holds that he died and was raised up to God, who will send him back at the time of his uprising. The fourth hold that he is still alive and that ‘Alī al-Riḍā and those who followed him were his deputies (*khulafā'uhu*), not Imāms. Such subtleties of doctrine never appear in the material witnessed for Q_2 's *iftirāq*-schema, which is interested only in which Imām a faction followed/held to be the Mahdī. This unique material also stands out terminologically, in that it does not actually use the term “Mahdī”. Rather, it exclusively employs the alternative messianic term “Qā'im” and connected morphemes (*qāma*, *qiyāmuhu*), clearly in the sense of “the one who rises in rebellion”. The term Qā'im is used in the material witnessed for Q_2 too, but Mahdī is preferred and Qā'im almost always appears only in combination, as *al-qā'im al-mahdī*. It is thus more likely that this unique material was added by Nawbakhtī or an intermediary from some other source(s) than omitted in the transmission through Balkhī. In any case, the information is almost certainly Imāmī in origin; it is unlikely anyone else would have been interested in such fine distinctions between the groups who denied Mūsā's death.

Another location of unique material connected with intra-Imāmī disputes occurs in the *ikhtilāf*-cluster on the status of Jawād's Imāmate whilst he was still a minor. The complex relationship between Balkhī's and Nawbakhtī's versions of this cluster has been described in detail above¹⁰⁴⁹. To summarise, Balkhī has a two-way *ikhtilāf* between those who think Jawād had the full knowledge of an Imām even as a child and thus that obedience to him was obligatory, on the one hand, and those who think that although he was the Imām, he did not possess the full knowledge of an Imām until he became mature, and thus that obedience to him was not

¹⁰⁴⁹ See p. 304–307.

obligatory until that point, on the other. Nawbakhtī has a four-way *ikhtilāf* that covers this issue but also adds an extra variable: *how* Jawād obtained his knowledge. Some hold that this happened essentially by divine inspiration, whilst others hold that he acquired it by natural means, either from his father's book or by being taught by his father. The two views on this question each combine with the two views on the former question to produce the four positions. Despite the variation, it is evident from the convergences in wording that both versions have a common source, i.e., that a version of this *ikhtilāf*-cluster appeared in Q_2 ¹⁰⁵⁰. The question remains, however, whether the *Firaq*'s version is closer to Q_2 's and Balkhī's is thus a summary, whether Q_2 's version more closely resembled Balkhī's and the *Firaq*'s adds material and elaborates, or whether both were reworked from the Q_2 's version in different ways.

Based on the content and structure of the two extant versions, we can rule out with reasonable confidence that Q_2 's version looked like what we now see in the *Firaq*. The decisive factor is the interaction of the two bodies of material. There is far more unique material than common material in Nawbakhtī's version of the cluster. As a result, the theme of whether an Imām's knowledge is natural or supernatural dominates there, yet it does not feature at all in Balkhī's version. Thus, had Balkhī (or an intermediary) been faced with something more like Nawbakhtī's version, he would have had to select only the material on the more minor theme of whether the immature Jawād possessed such knowledge at all. But the intricate way in which Nawbakhtī mixes the two bodies of material makes it extremely unlikely that this could have happened. Nearly all of the material from Balkhī's version appears somewhere in Nawbakhtī's, but it is dispersed amongst the much larger amount of unique material in the *Firaq* in such a way that the two themes are interdependent. It is far easier to see how someone could have begun with something like Balkhī's cluster and, either by combining it with material from another source or simply by elaborating based on their own knowledge, reworked it into something like Nawbakhtī's cluster. That does not mean that Q_2 's version was necessarily identical to Balkhī's, but it is likely that the *Firaq*'s material on the mode of the Imām's knowledge was a later super-imposition by Nawbakhtī or an intermediary.

Another feature pointing in this direction is the presence of a polemical remark amongst Nawbakhtī's unique material. The third group he describes believe that Jawād was the Imām as a child but that obedience to him was not obligatory until he became mature, whereupon he acquired his knowledge from his father's books [*Fir*.76:3]. The description then goes on to say that some of them believe that the Imām can reason by analogy based exclusively on the sources at his disposal,

1050 See p. 306–307.

because he is 'protected from error' when performing such reasoning [*Fir*.76:4–6]. Nawbakhtī (or the intermediary) apparently takes issue with this, remarking that this group held their views only 'because of their narrow conception of the matter of the Imām's knowledge' (*li-dīq al-amr 'alayhim fī 'ilm al-imām*) [*Fir*.76:6–7]. Although it's not impossible that Balkhī (or an intermediary) could have encountered such a remark in Q_2 and excised it, polemic over the doctrine of the Imām's knowledge would be a significant departure from anything that is witnessed for Q_2 . It is more likely to be a later addition¹⁰⁵¹.

Certainly, the doctrine of the Imām's knowledge was still a live issue in Nawbakhtī's day. The prominent Imāmī *mutakallim* Faḍl b. Shādhān (d.260/873), for example, was well known to have held the position that the Imām derived his knowledge by natural means¹⁰⁵². This wouldn't have been significant if everyone had agreed with him. Imāmī *hadīth* suggest that different ideas about how the Imām obtained his knowledge and about the relationship between any potential supernatural means and the concept of prophecy had long preceded Muḥammad al-Jawād¹⁰⁵³. The issue went right to the heart of what an Imām is, to the question of what distinguishes him from ordinary human beings, on the one hand, and from prophets, on the other. For some, the Imām was a kind of perfect scholar, one who did not make mistakes when interpreting the data of revelation, and who had received transmitted knowledge via 'Alī b. Abī Tālib to which only the Imāms had access. That was not enough for others. For them, the Imām's role as guide on Earth could only be fulfilled if he was receiving knowledge from God in a more direct sense. Thus, as the *Firaq* puts it, he was spoken to by angels (*muḥaddath*), received direct inspiration (*ilhām*), or experienced 'a scratching in his heart' (*nakt fī l-qalb*), 'a knocking in his ear' (*naqr fī l-udhn*), else received 'true vision' whilst asleep (*al-ru'yā al-ṣādiqa fī l-nawm*) [*Fir*.75:4–5].

It was probably possible to tolerate a wide range of positions on such questions as long as they boiled down merely to theological spats about *how* Ja'far or Mūsā or 'Alī al-Riḍā carried out their function as Imāms. But the issue was sharpened significantly by Jawād's accession as a minor, as it was not then clear that he could even

1051 Bayhom-Daou also interprets the statement as Nawbakhtī's own (1996:56; 2003a:81–82).

1052 See Bayhom-Daou 2001. The position had previously been held by Yūnus b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, (*TG*.I:390 and Bayhom-Daou 1996:113–136) and perhaps already by Hishām b. al-Ḥakam (Bayhom-Daou 2003a:77–79).

1053 See *TG*.I:279–280. Amir-Moezzi (1994) argues strongly that the esoteric beliefs around the Imām's knowledge were the pre-dominant tendency in the early period. This thesis is forcefully rejected by Bayhom-Daou, who, whilst accepting the early existence of the view that the Imām was divinely inspired in some direct sense, has argued that it was, rather, the school of thought that favoured 'natural' transmission of knowledge that was most prevalent in the second century (1996:esp.14–33, 222–225; 2003a:esp.74).

carry out that function at all. Both tendencies probably faced difficulties. Those who affirmed divine inspiration could at least hold that there was still an Imām on Earth in the full sense. But, whilst few would ever meet Jawād, at least some people must have been aware of the real state of affairs. And in any case, scepticism that a child could really be performing the duties of the Imām was evidently widespread. That is presumably why one of Nawbakhtī's groups affirms divine inspiration but still asserts that it begins only at maturity [*Fir*.75:2–7]. Those who believed in the natural acquisition of knowledge had it slightly easier, but they were then openly affirming that there was functionally no Imām on Earth whilst Jawād was a child. In short, ambiguity on these questions was no longer an option; everyone was exposed.

The issues were evidently not quickly resolved, and the debate was anyway sustained by events, as 'Alī al-Hādī also succeeded to the Imāmate as a minor. It was presumably also an issue again in the debates around the twelfth Imām, who was thought by many either to have been a child or even in *utero* when Ḥasan al-'Askarī died. Nawbakhtī's unique material is evidently not neutral on the debate. The polemically tinged comment reveals its Ḥusaynid-Imāmī origin and its bias against the more naturalistic explanations of the Imām's knowledge. Whether it was added by an intermediary or by Nawbakhtī himself we cannot say, but it seems very unlikely that it was present already in *Q*₂.

2.2.2.1.4.2 Material on *ghuluww*

Several of Nawbakhtī's unique passages within otherwise common descriptions employ the terms *ghuluww*, *ghalā* and/or Ghulāt, although it is not always clear exactly what is meant:

- The Saba'iyya are said to be the first Muslims to profess both *ghuluww* and *waqf*¹⁰⁵⁴. The only doctrines described in the faction-description, however, are the rejection of the caliphates of Abū Bakr and 'Umar, and the denial of 'Alī's death and belief in his Mahdism. The latter doctrine, however, would seem to be covered by the term *waqf*¹⁰⁵⁵. Nawbakhtī cannot have considered the mere rejection of the first two caliphs to be *ghuluww*. Is *ghuluww* then just a synonym of *waqf* here¹⁰⁵⁶? Or does it refer to other, unstated doctrines? The notion that the Saba'iyya were the first faction to promote *ghuluww* also contradicts a passage in the later Ghulāt-section that attributes the origins of *ghuluww* (*bad' al-ghuluww*) to the Khurramdīniyya [*Fir*:32:6].

1054 See *Tab*.25, *b*¹.

1055 See *Tab*.25, *c*¹-*e*¹.

1056 This is the position of Bayhom-Daou (2003b:26) and Anthony (2012:153).

- The Bayāniyya are said to have ‘exaggerated concerning’ (*ghalaw fi*) Abū Hāshim [*Fir*.30:9], but it is again unclear what the content of the *ghuluww* is supposed to be. From the way it is worded, the *ghuluww* appears to be something additional to the doctrine that Abū Hāshim is not dead and will return as the Mahdī, which is mentioned immediately before this phrase. What follows it is a description of their doctrine that Bayān was a prophet, but this is obviously no longer even potentially *ghuluww* concerning Abū Hāshim but, rather, Bayān.
- The *Firaq* has a passage of unique material at the beginning of the sub-cluster of the Hārithiyya [*Fir*.31:3–10]. It deals with the figure of ‘Abd Allah b. al-Ḥārith and states that he caused the Hārithiyya ‘to enter into *ghuluww* and to believe in metempsychosis, shadows, and the epochal cycle’ (*adkhalahum fi l-ghuluww wa-l-qawl bi-l-tanāsukh wa-l-aẓilla wa-l-dawr*). Probably, the latter three mentioned doctrines are thus to be understood as instances of the *ghuluww*, but even this this is not completely clear. Nawbakhtī goes on to assert that Ibn al-Ḥārith claimed to teach these doctrines on the authority of Jābir b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī and Jābir b. Yazīd al-Ju‘fī, but that this claim was a lie and that these two scholars were innocent of such ideas [*Fir*.31:7–10]¹⁰⁵⁷.
- In the material on the faction that traced the Imāmate through the sons of Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl b. Ja‘far, Nawbakhtī includes a long insertion on the rebellion of the Khaṭṭābiyya [*Fir*.58:17–61:2]. He ends this passage with a statement that the ‘groups of the Ghulāt became divided after him in respect of many doctrines’ (*wa-ṣunūf al-ghāliya iftaraqū ba’dahu ‘alā maqālāt kathīra*). This probably indicates that Nawbakhtī saw the Khaṭṭābiyya themselves as Ghulāt too, but, again, he does not say explicitly what the *ghuluww* consists in. The only doctrine he mentions in this description of them is that they held Abū l-Khaṭṭāb to be a prophet.

As the terms *ghuluww*, *ghalā* and Ghulāt are not witnessed at all for *Q*₂, and there is no evidence these concepts were at issue in the *iftirāq*-schema, it is highly likely that all these unique passages were added by Nawbakhtī or a unique intermediary¹⁰⁵⁸. Certainly, the definitive assertion of the innocence of Jābir b. ‘Abd Allāh

¹⁰⁵⁷ On Jābir al-Ju‘fī, see *TG*.I:294–298; Modarressi 2003:86–103. On Jābir al-Anṣārī, see Halm 1982:125n233 and Amir-Moezzi 1994:75.

¹⁰⁵⁸ This list notably overlaps with the passages concerning *ghuluww* that Tamīma Bayhom-Daou suggests were the result of Nawbakhtī’s ‘updating’ of his source, which she took to be Hishām b. al-Ḥakam’s *Ikhtilāf al-nās* (2003b:26–43, and see p. 267–8, 641 n.1073. 687). This overlap is not surprising, as her main criterion for identifying ‘updating’ was the appearance of what she called ‘gnostic’-type *ghuluww* doctrines outside the longer Ghulāt section. She thought the reason for this was

al-Anṣārī and Jābir b. Yazīd al-Ju'fī is completely uncharacteristic of Q_2 . It belongs to a larger body of statements in Imāmī works that attempt to disavow any association between these figures and *ghuluww*¹⁰⁵⁹. Either Nawbakhtī is the author or else he was prepared to reproduce the sentiment of a Ḥusaynid-Imāmī intermediary.

As a set, the passages do not tell us very much about Nawbakhtī's (or any intermediary's) understanding of *ghuluww*, as the usages are various and often ambiguous. The terms are used in respect of factions that claimed their leaders were prophets and/or that believed in *tanāsukh*, *aẓilla* and *dawr*, but also of factions that denied the deaths of their Imāms and, in one case (the Saba'iyya), in relation to a faction for which no other mentioned doctrine seems to be a candidate for the *ghuluww*. It is usually also possible that the *ghuluww* consists in doctrines that are unmentioned, and that the reader is supposed to understand the content of the term without it being spelled out.

By way of context, we can note that there are many factions in the *iftirāq*-schema that denied the deaths of their Imāms, but Nawbakhtī does not insert terms related to *ghuluww* in regard to most of them. There are, moreover, other unique passages in the *Firaq* within otherwise common descriptions that deal with the doctrine of

that Nawbakhtī needed to bring the concept of *ghuluww* up to date, as he could no longer accept Hishām's equating of *ghuluww* with 'mere' messianism (see p. 545). We now know that Nawbakhtī's main source, Q_2 , did not cover such doctrines, so, wherever they appear, we are indeed almost always looking at material added subsequently (there are two exceptions, see p. 547). Bayhom-Daou also adduced the fact that these passages tend to be inserted in a structurally awkward manner as further evidence that they were the result of 'updating' by Nawbakhtī (Bayhom-Daou 1996:52–54; 2003a:80; 2003b:27–28). Her observation here is fundamentally sound, but because we can now, to a large extent, reconstruct Q_2 's faction-descriptions through comparison of the *Firaq* with the BdC and (as a witness to Q_1) *Uṣūl al-niḥal*, we can more reliably identify passages that Nawbakhtī or an intermediary probably added, without having to depend *only* on inconsistency, awkwardness and discontinuity in the descriptions. It is evident, for example, that some of the passages concerning Mughīra that Bayhom-Daou asserts were added by Nawbakhtī (Bayhom-Daou 2003b:29.) were indeed added subsequent to Q_2 (see *Tab.24*, y^2 , z^2). Others, however, were certainly present already. For example, she claims the statement that some of the Mughīriyya believed Mughīra to be the Imām until the appearance of the Mahdī was added by Nawbakhtī, but this cannot be the case, as it is also present in the version in the BdC (see *Tab.24*, *b*). The statement is however absent from *Uṣūl al-niḥal*, as she notes, and is thus not witnessed for Q_1 (see *Tab.38* and the discussion on p. 437–439). Moreover, some of what she rightly identifies as awkwardness and chronological tension in Nawbakhtī's version was certainly present already in Q_2 , not introduced by Nawbakhtī, most notably the chronological leap from the belief that Mughīra is the Imām until the Mahdī rebels to the belief that the Mahdī, Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh, had not really been killed during his rebellion, as widely believed (see *Tab.24*, *b*). Some of it arises, rather, because Nawbakhtī has rearranged the material from Q_2 . Balkhī's version is structurally smoother.

1059 See references given in p. 634 n.1057. Of course, the disavowal needed to be made because these two figures are strongly connected with traditions that do carry 'esoteric' doctrinal content.

tanāsukh and assertions of prophethood but that do not use the terms *Ghulāt* or *ghuluww*. This happens in the *Firaq*'s description of the Mughīriyya, which contains a unique passage stating that Mughīra claimed to be a prophet and that he preached *tanāsukh*, as well as claiming he could raise the dead [*Fir*.55:4–6], but without using any terms related to the *gh-l-w* root. Another instance occurs in the material on the Qarāmiṭa that appears in Nawbakhtī's version of the description of the faction that believed Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl b. Ja'far was the Mahdī. This attributes to the Qarāmiṭa the doctrine that their Imāms, particularly 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl were prophets [*Fir*.61:8–16, 63:6]. At least, then, we can say that if Nawbakhtī intended the term *ghuluww* to refer to any of these doctrines, he did not insert it systematically wherever the doctrines appear.

Terms related to *ghuluww* also occur elsewhere in the *Firaq*. As we have seen, they appear in some of the unique and variant faction-descriptions. They also appear, above all, in the *Ghulāt*-sections, to which we will turn shortly. It seems likely that all of the passages that include such terms were added by Nawbakhtī or a unique intermediary from sources other than *Q*₂. In order to appreciate the *Firaq*'s overall engagement with the concept of *ghuluww*, all of them—and the possibility of their different origins—must be taken into account together. For now, we can say merely that the *Firaq*'s unique insertions into the common faction-descriptions that came from *Q*₂, when taken as a set, do not use the terms *Ghulāt* or *ghuluww* in a way that is sufficiently specific or systematic to draw many conclusions. Nawbakhtī clearly thought of certain factions that had been present already in *Q*₂'s *ift-irāq*-schema as *Ghulāt* and used the term in relation to them, but he did not do so consistently and, when he did, he assumed his readers would already know what was meant.

2.2.2.1.4.3 Non-Imāmī Material?

There are several unique passages in the *Firaq* where there is reason to think that non-Imāmī sources might have been used. Some of them occur outside of the *ift-irāq*-schema and will be treated later, but two are found within descriptions of factions present in *Q*₂'s schema: those of the Saba'iyya and the Kaysāniyya¹⁰⁶⁰.

The *Firaq*'s description of the Saba'iyya is given in full in .25, along with the versions present in the BdC, and can be compared with *Uṣūl al-niḥal*'s in *Tab*.33. The material that came from *Q*₂ can be reconstructed via the parallels with *Uṣūl al-niḥal* and the BdC (*a* and *e*), but the *Firaq* also has several unique passages (*b*¹, *c*¹ and

¹⁰⁶⁰ The others occur in the material on the Khaṭṭābiyya in the longer *Ghulāt*-section (see p. 655–656) and in the material on defectors to the Zaydiyya from amongst the supporters of Ja'far al-Ṣādiq (see p. 645–647).

d^l). The first of these, *b^l*, depicts the Saba'iyya as the first faction to have professed *waqf* and *ghuluww* [*Fir*.19:12–13]¹⁰⁶¹. The second, *c^l*, reports that Ibn Saba' was 'one of those who openly cursed Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān and the companions', and that 'Alī exiled him to Madā'in for this crime, after previously having intended to execute him. The third, *d^l*, is given on the authority of 'A group of scholars from the followers of 'Alī'. They assert that Ibn Saba' had been Jew before his conversion to Islam and had believed that Joshua b. Nūn became leader of the Israelites directly after Moses¹⁰⁶². According to these scholars, Ibn Saba' then transferred this belief into his new religion, but now concerning 'Alī's succession to Muḥammad [*Fir*.19:18–20:4] and became the first to declare openly that it was a religious duty (*farḍ*) to accept 'Alī's Imāmate and reject his opponents, presumably here meaning Abū Bakr and 'Umar, not just Ṭalḥa, Zubayr and 'Ā'isha. The passage ends with the statement that this is what caused the opponents of the Shī'a (*man khālafā l-Shī'a*) to declare that the doctrine of the *rafḍ*, i.e., the rejection of the caliphs before 'Alī, was taken from Judaism.

Whilst the common material from *Q₂* is concerned with Ibn Saba's denial of 'Alī's death, most of the *Firaq*'s unique material (*c^l* and *d^l*) focusses on the doctrine of *rafḍ*. The relevant issue here is that the unique material implies Ibn Saba' was the first person to profess this doctrine openly. It thus appears to attribute a central plank of Ḥusaynid-Imāmī and later Twelver doctrine to a notorious heresiarch, who is referred to in the same description as the originator of *ghuluww* (*b^l*). Based on this observation, Sean Anthony has suggested that the ultimate sources of (some of) this material are probably not Shī'ī¹⁰⁶³. That is indeed likely, but the passages are not straightforward to interpret.

To begin with, there is some ambiguity in the anecdote concerning Ibn Saba's exile to Madā'in (*c^l*): it is unclear whether 'Alī wanted to execute him for the substance of his position, i.e., having rejected the caliphates of Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmān or, rather, because he declared that position *openly*. More specifically, it might be that the key verb here is *aḏhara* [*Fir*.19:14], opening the way to the second interpretation. In that case, Ibn Saba's crime would be a failure to respect the principle of *taqiyya*, endangering the Imām through the public declaration of things that should be said only amongst the faithful. That would be an act for which a Ḥusaynid-Imāmī might reasonably find fault in him¹⁰⁶⁴. Either way, however, the

1061 See p. 633.

1062 Qummī's version of this phrase states that he believed Joshua was Moses's *waṣī* (*MaqQ*.20:10). On this, see p. 351 n.388.

1063 Anthony 2012: 154–157.

1064 In Qummī's version of this passage, that is exactly what is understood to be at stake, as Qummī states explicitly that Ibn Saba' did all this because he held that *taqiyya* is not permitted

anecdote depicts 'Alī needing to be convinced not to execute Ibn Saba' for his crime. When 'the people', whoever they are supposed to be, intervene to this end, they beg for clemency for Ibn Saba' because he is expressing devotion to 'Alī and the *ahl al-bayt*. That is not obviously a claim that infringement of the principle of *taqiyya* does not merit death, but seems, rather, to be an argument that *rafḍ* itself does not deserve execution, as it is merely an exaggerated version of something meritorious. That is hardly a *pro-rafḍ* sentiment.

At the very least, we would not expect a Ḥusaynid-Imāmī author to have expressed things this way, and it certainly runs against other passages in the *Firaq*, where Nawbakhtī states that there were people during 'Alī's lifetime who claimed he was Imām immediately after Muḥammad, without mentioning anything about their position needing to be kept secret [*Fir*.2:12–13; 6:9; 16:6–17:16]. Moreover, Anthony has identified several other versions of this report that were in circulation in Kufa in the early second century. They clearly depict 'Alī wanting to kill Ibn Saba' for his *rafḍ* and having to be dissuaded, hence the banishment to Madā'in. There is no hint that this has anything to do with an infraction of *taqiyya*; they are clearly anti-Rāfiḍī reports with *isnāds* that pass through individuals with known anti-*rafḍ* views¹⁰⁶⁵.

The report on Ibn Saba's Jewish background (*d'*) given on the authority of scholars 'from the followers of 'Alī' is even more ambiguous. Once again, it states as a matter of fact that Ibn Saba' was the first to profess the doctrine that 'Alī was Imām directly after the Prophet. And once again, given that the verbs *aḏhara* and *shahhara* [*Fir*.20:4–5] are used, the claim *might* be that Ibn Saba' was merely the first to publicly declare it, rather than the originator of doctrine itself. Yet the main focus of the report is certainly not on the question of public declaration, but on the fact that Ibn Saba' derived his rejection of the caliphs before 'Alī from the position he had held concerning Moses and Aaron whilst he was still a Jew, i.e., it is about the origins of the doctrine itself. Another issue concerns the report's concluding statement, which asserts that 'the opponents of the Shī'a' claim *rafḍ* was derived from Judaism because of how Ibn Saba' came to hold the doctrine. From the perspective

(*MaqQ*.20:5). Strictly, we do not know whether Qummī's version comes closer to Nawbakhtī's original than the extant version of the *Firaq* here or whether Qummī added this phrase himself precisely because he was disturbed by how the text can be read as if it attributes the origins of *rafḍ* to Ibn Saba' (on the general problem of establishing where Qummī may come closer to Nawbakhtī's text, see p. 350–351). In this case, *The Zīna* omits the whole passage, so we cannot use it to control for Qummī's changes as is possible elsewhere. As Anthony (2012:154–156) convincingly shows, however, Qummī's additions and alterations to Nawbakhtī's material on Ibn Saba' seem generally to serve the purpose of making it more acceptable to a Ḥusaynid-Imāmī reader; so it is likely this is another example of the same.

1065 Anthony 2012:158–159.

of this statement's evidently Shī'ī author, the claim of the opponents of the Shī'a is presumably false; this person did *not* believe that *rafḍ* really derived from Judaism but was asserting that opponents of the Shī'a falsely made that claim. But what is supposed to be false? The report itself affirms on the authority of the 'scholars from the followers of 'Alī' that Ibn Saba' really *did* derive his *rafḍ* from his former Judaism. Presumably, then, the implicit assertion of the concluding statement is that the claim of the Jewish origins of *rafḍ* is true *only* in the case of Ibn Saba' but 'the Shī'a' profess it for legitimate reasons. It is very difficult to believe, however, that in order to defend against the anti-*rāfiḍī* smear that *rafḍ* was derived from Judaism, pro-*rāfiḍī* scholars would have spread the report that Ibn Saba' indeed derived his *rafḍ* from his particular brand of Judaism. They would more likely not have wanted to associate the doctrine with a figure like Ibn Saba' at all.

One way to resolve the ambiguity would be to posit that the concluding statement does not belong to the original report given on the authority of the 'followers of 'Alī' but is, rather, a later comment on the significance of that report, possibly added by Nawbakhtī himself. In that case, the report itself could be anti-*rafḍ*, originating with 'scholars from followers of 'Alī' who rejected the doctrine and attributed it to Ibn Saba' as a way of discrediting it. It would only later have been repurposed as an explanation of the common anti-*rāfiḍī* smear by a pro-*rafḍ* author, possibly as late as Nawbakhtī himself, but possibly by some intermediary¹⁰⁶⁶.

This is conjecture, but the point is that both *c*¹ and *d*¹ appear to express an anti-*rafḍ* position or, at the very least, one that is not unambiguously pro-*rafḍ*. Strictly, this does not mean they must be of non-Shī'ī origin. There were plenty of non-*rāfiḍī* Shī'a in Kufa well into the second century¹⁰⁶⁷. It probably does mean, however, that the ultimate sources here were not Ḥusaynid-Imāmī. Anthony was working on basis that Nawbakhtī's main source was Hishām b. al-Ḥakam's *Ikhtilāf al-nās*. He accounted for the material on Ibn Saba' by positing that Hishām himself used non-Shī'ī sources when composing it¹⁰⁶⁸. As it is now evident that Nawbakhtī's main source was not Hishām but *Q*₂, this theory needs to be revised, but a modified version of Anthony's model still provides the most likely scenario. Nawbakhtī or an intermediary was supplementing the material from *Q*₂ on Ibn Saba's denial of 'Alī's death with material taken from elsewhere that dealt with his *rafḍ*. That material was not Ḥusaynid-Imāmī in origin and, for whatever reason, Nawbakhtī

1066 Qummī introduces another change here: for him the report comes not from 'scholars from the followers of 'Alī, but merely from 'a group of scholars'. As Anthony (2012:156) discusses, this seems to be another change introduced to make the material more acceptable to a Ḥusaynid-Imāmī.

1067 See p. 524–525.

1068 Anthony 2012:156–157.

or the intermediary doesn't seem to have been much disturbed by its anti-*rafḍ* overtones¹⁰⁶⁹.

The other unique passage of possibly non-Imāmī origin that appears within a faction description otherwise taken from Q_2 occurs in the description of the Kaysāniyya. It is given in full along with the versions from the BdC in *Tab.20* and can be compared with *Uṣūl al-niḥāl's* version in *Tab.33*. The material from Q_2 , which can be reconstructed from what is common to the *Firaq* and the BdC/Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, consists of passages *a*, *b* and *d*. The first of these gives the reason why the Kaysāniyya believed Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya became Imām after 'Alī. The latter two provide alternative etymologies of the name 'Kaysāniyya'. Nawbakhtī's unique passage, *c'*, provides yet another etymology according to the same model: that Mukhtār was named after the chief of his personal guard, a certain Kaysān Abū 'Amra. But there is then a description of the doctrinal profile of this Kaysān, something we don't find in the common material. He is first said to have been 'more extreme' (*afrat*) than Mukhtār 'in doctrine (*qawl*), deed and killing'. Several doctrines are then mentioned. The first is his belief that Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya was 'Alī's *waṣī* and that Mukhtār was Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya's right-hand man. The second is that he considered the caliphs before 'Alī to be unbelievers (*yukfīru man taqaddama 'Alī*) just as much as those who had opposed 'Alī at Ṣiffīn. The third and final doctrine is his assertion that Mukhtār was visited by the angel Gabriel who brought him revelation (*wahy*) but remained unseen.

The situation here is even less clear than in Nawbakhtī's unique material on the Saba'iyya, but there are issues with each of the doctrines listed. Beginning with the first, a Ḥusaynid-Imāmī would certainly have held the claim that Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya was 'Alī's *waṣī* (in the sense intended) to be false, but, if they believed that their own Imāms were appointed by *waṣīyya*, could they really have considered it 'extreme'¹⁰⁷⁰? And why then would they not, for example, have labelled the claims of the 'Abbāsīd *waṣīyya*-narrative extreme. Something similar applies to the third doctrine. It seems that at least some of the Imāmiyya believed from an early period that their Imāms were brought revelation by an unseen angel¹⁰⁷¹. Thus, whilst they might have rejected the idea that Mukhtār could have received revelation in this manner, could they really have considered it 'extreme' for others to have believed this? Then again, other Imāmiyya rejected the doctrine and would perhaps have judged it to be extreme¹⁰⁷². Finally, it is probably the case that many who rejected

¹⁰⁶⁹ Whereas Qummī was. See n.1064 and 1066.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Of course, establishing when they did begin to believe this is also not straightforward. See p. 554–557.

¹⁰⁷¹ *TG*.I:280

¹⁰⁷² Bayhom-Daou 1996: and 2003a.

the Imāmates of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar would not have gone as far calling them *kāfirān*, but could a Ḥusaynid-Imāmī could really have considered that to be an ‘extreme’ belief? We cannot say for sure. Certainly, by Nawbakhtī’s day, that seems unlikely, but perhaps in earlier periods it would have been common to do so. Still, another possibility is that in order to show Kaysān to be ‘extreme’, the author of this short report attributed typical Imāmī-style beliefs to him. In that case we would have another non-Imāmī source¹⁰⁷³.

2.2.2.1.4.4 Historical Detail and Narrative

The material witnessed for Q_2 often refers to historical events, such as the deaths of Imāms, certain rebellions, the death of Abū Hāshim at Sharāt, etc., but very few historical details are given and there is nothing by way of historical narrative. In contrast, Nawbakhtī’s unique material often contains more passages of this type. Examples are the descriptions of the attempted assassination of Ḥasan b. ʿAlī by Jarrāḥ b. Sinān [*Fir*.21:12–22:4], the material on the people involved in the killing of Ḥusayn at Karbalāʾ [*Fir*.22:10–16], and the assertion that Mūsā al-Kāẓim was poisoned by Yaḥyā al-Barmakī [67:8–9]. These passages are all short and highly condensed. There are, however, two longer unique passages that consist mostly of historical narrative.

The longer of the two is the unique material on the ‘Abbāsids that Nawbakhtī places at the end of his (displaced) version of the description of the original ‘Abbāsīd Shīʿa from Q_2 . This deals with the controversial successions to Saffāḥ and Maṣṣūr, i.e., the challenges from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī and ʿĪsā b. Mūsā respectively [*Fir*.44:7–45:16]. The passage does not depart significantly from the *iftirāq*-schema

¹⁰⁷³ Bayhom-Daou argues that the passage as it stands is a result of Nawbakhtī’s attempt to update the material taken from his source, which she holds to be Hishām b. al-Ḥakam’s *Ikhtilāf al-nās*. She posits that Hishām’s original text would have presented Kaysān’s ‘extreme’ belief to be that Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya was visited by Gabriel, but that Nawbakhtī ‘updated’ this because he didn’t want to portray the belief that one’s Imām receives knowledge from angels as extreme. This she contends, led to him replacing Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya with Mukhtār and generally emphasising the role of Mukhtār in the wider faction-description, whereas Hishām would have made Kaysān himself the originator of the faction (1996:74 and, more generally, 66–78; 2003a:91–92 and, more generally, 86–95). The main problem with this idea is, of course, that Nawbakhtī’s source is not Hishām but Q_2 . Moreover, Nawbakhtī cannot be responsible for inserting Mukhtār into the description because the parallels with the Bc show that Mukhtār was present in the version of this description in their common source already (see *Tab*.20). The specific passage concerning Kaysān’s ‘extreme’ doctrine comes from elsewhere. It is not witnessed for Q_2 . But there is no reason to assume Hishām is the source here either. None of this must imply that she is wrong to think that a Ḥusaynid-Imāmī source from the late second century might have called the belief extreme, but we must also account for the other beliefs to which the passage applies the term.

in terms of theme, as it is still focussed on the question of the transmission of the Imāmate, but the splits are described in narrative prose rather than *iftirāq*-clusters, and the level of detail in the telling of key historical events is much greater than that witnessed for *Q*₂'s descriptions.

Slightly shorter but narratively richer is the story of the revolt of the Khaṭṭābiyya [*Fir*.58:17–60:16], which Nawbakhtī includes in his description of the sub-faction of the Mubārakiyya that believed the Imāmate continued in the descendants of Ismā'īl b. Ja'far. Here, we get information on the number of people involved, how one of them—a certain Abū Salama Sālim b. Mukarram al-Jammāl—survived the massacre of the Khaṭṭābiyya, the rocks and reeds they used in place of weapons, the location and manner of the death of Abu l-Khaṭṭāb, and the treatment of their corpses.

It is certainly *not* the case that Nawbakhtī (or a unique intermediary) consistently tried to flesh out the relatively bare bones of the *iftirāq*-schema's faction-descriptions with greater historical detail. It is also not obvious why he provides passages of narrative historiography on these two occasions. Most of the unique material in the *Firaq* deals with doctrinal issues. Nevertheless, Nawbakhtī does seem to have been more interested in showing the embeddedness of Shī'i factions in a wider historical context than any other author of an extant third-century heresiography.

2.2.2.2 Unique Material Outside the *iftirāq*-Schema

As well as the unique material that occurs as part of Nawbakhtī's version of the *iftirāq*-schema, there is a relatively large amount of unique material that does not. Some of it consists in structural elements that recur throughout the text, discontinuously, and which are attached to the *iftirāq*-schema or to other unique material in inconsistent ways. This is true of the biographical passages on the Imāms and of a handful of passages that deal with so-called 'tiny bands' (sg. *nafar yasir*) that abandoned the Imāms during their lifetimes. These will be looked at, respectively in 2.2.2.2.1 and 2.2.2.2.2. Other such material, however, stands from the schema in contiguous, independent units. These include the material on the factions that emerged following the deaths of Muḥammad al-Jawād and 'Alī al-Hādī, as well as the Ghulāt- and Zaydiyya-sections, which will be discussed in 2.2.2.2.3, 2.2.2.2.4, and 2.2.2.2.5.

2.2.2.2.1 Biographical Passages on the Imāms

Throughout the *Firaq*, we find unique passages dealing with the basic biographical data concerning the Prophet and the Ḥusaynid Imāms, as well as Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya. They occur at the following locations: the Prophet [*Fir*.2:8–10]; 'Alī b.

Abī Ṭālib [Fir.17:11–16]; Ḥasan [Fir.22:4–8]; Ḥusayn [Fir.22:15–23:3]; Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya [Fir.24:13–17]; ‘Alī Zayn al-‘Ābidīn [Fir.47:15–48:2]; Muḥammad al-Bāqir [Fir.53:9–15]; Ja‘far al-Šādiq [Fir.57:4–8]; Mūsā al-Kāzim [Fir.71:11–72:6]; ‘Alī al-Riḍā [Fir.73:8–15]; Muḥammad al-Jawād [Fir.76:16–77:4]; ‘Alī al-Hādī [Fir.77:9–17]; Ḥasan al-‘Askarī [Fir.79:9–15]. The passages all follow essentially the same format and employ the same terminology. They begin by giving the year the person died (introduced by *qubiḍa ft. . .*, *tuwuffīya ft. . .* or *qutila ft. . .*), followed by his age at death (introduced by *wa-huwa ibn. . .sana*), sometimes followed by his year of birth (introduced by *wulida ft. . .*), followed—except in the case of Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya—by the duration of his prophethood/imāmate (introduced by *wa-nubuwwatuhu. . .* or *wa-imāmatuhu. . .*) and the genealogy of his mother (introduced by *wa-ummuhu*). In the case of the Imāms from Bāqir onwards, we also get information on the location of their burial (introduced by *wa-dufina bi. . .*), placed after the age of death or the year of birth. In two cases we get extra information: for Mūsā al-Kāzim, the dates of his removal from Medina and of his imprisonment at Basra and Baghdad are given; for ‘Alī al-Hādī, we get the dates of his transferral to Samarra.

Conceivably such passages could have been present in Q_2 and omitted by Balkhī or an intermediary to Balkhī. Several of them, however, appear outside the material based on the *iftirāq*-schema from Q_2 . That concerning the Prophet appears in the *Firaq*'s introduction. That on ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib appears within the unique post-Prophet cluster. Three of them—those on Jawād, Hādī and ‘Askarī—appear in the section of unique non-*iftirāq*-material between the *ikhtilāf*-cluster on Jawād's Imāmate as a minor and the post-Ḥasan al-‘Askarī cluster. One might propose that some of the passages had been present in Q_2 and that Nawbakhtī used that model to form new passages on the Prophet, ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and the three later Imāms. But even the passages that appear amidst the material based on Q_2 are integrated inconsistently. That on Muḥammad al-Bāqir occurs just before the *iftirāq*-statement of the post-Bāqir cluster; it is effectively appended to the description of Bāqir's own supporters. The genealogical material on Ja‘far al-Šādiq, however, occurs not in the description on his own supporters, but *after* the post-Šādiq *iftirāq*-statement. The genealogical material on Mūsā al-Kāzim occurs neither in the description of his supporters nor after the post-Kāzim *iftirāq*-statement, but after the whole cluster, just before the post-‘Alī al-Riḍā *iftirāq*-statement. The most likely explanation of all of this is that these biographical passages were added subsequently, by someone other than the author of Q_2 . If they were all added at the same time, including the passage on Ḥasan al-‘Askarī, they would almost certainly be Nawbakhtī's own work. That is also the most parsimonious explanation, but it is possible that some were added by an intermediary, then Nawbakhtī extended the model to ‘Askarī. In any case, the selection of figures given in these biographical passages has obviously been made from a Ḥusaynid-Imāmī perspective. Numerous other ‘Alids appear in

the *Firaq* but don't get the same treatment: Ja'far al-Šādiq's other sons, for example, Abū Hāshim, or Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan. The only exception is Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya, presumably because he was a son of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.

2.2.2.2.2 Defectors: The *nafar yasīr*-Pattern

In the *iftirāq*-schema, factions arise only due to splits after the deaths of Imāms. The *Firaq*, however, has several unique passages in which groups break off from the main body of an Imām's supporters during his lifetime. This happens first in regard to Ḥasan b. 'Alī. It is stated that a 'small gang' of his supporters (*shirdhima minhum*) renounced his Imamate after he had made his truce with Mu'āwiya [*Fir.*21:9–12]¹⁰⁷⁴. They then joined the 'majority of the people' (*jumhūr al-nās*), i.e., the non-Shī'a, whilst the rest stayed loyal to Ḥasan. Such groups are then found four more times in the *Firaq*, but with a more consistent terminology: in each case an Imām is said to have been abandoned by a 'tiny band' (*nafar yasīr*). Two of these passages occur amidst the material based on the *iftirāq*-schema from Q_2 , but they are not integrated into it in the same way. The first appears before the biographical passage on Bāqir, i.e., before the *iftirāq*-statement of the post-Bāqir cluster. Here, a *nafar yasīr*, led by a certain 'Umar b. Riyāḥ abandons Bāqir and joins the Butriyya [*Fir.*52:8–53:8]¹⁰⁷⁵. The second occurs within the post-Bāqir cluster, in the description of the followers of Ja'far al-Šādiq. Here, it is stated that a *nafar yasīr* abandoned Ja'far to adopt the doctrine of 'the Butriyya and Sulaymān b. Jarīr' [55:8–57:2]. The other two passages occur in the section of unique, non-*iftirāq*-material between the *ikhtilāf*-cluster on Jawād's Imāmate as a minor and Nawbakhtī's post-Ḥasan al-'Askarī cluster. The first of these presents a *nafar yasīr* who abandon 'Alī al-Hādī for his brother, Mūsā b. Muḥammad, before returning to 'Alī [*Fir.*77:6–9]. The second describes a *nafar yasīr* who follow Ja'far b. 'Alī instead of Ḥasan al-'Askarī [*Fir.*79:2–8].

These unique passages stand out structurally, conceptually and terminologically from the faction-descriptions witnessed for Q_2 . They also appear in an inconsistent relationship to the material based on Q_2 and to other unique material. These factors strongly suggest they were not present in Q_2 but were added subsequently, by Nawbakhtī or an intermediary. Another piece of evidence seems to point in the same direction. The term *nafar yasīr* is used in one other place in the *Firaq* but in a different circumstance. It appears in the unique material on the crisis of 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far that appears in the description of the Fuṭḥiyya. There, it refers to the small group who rejected 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far's Imāmate from the beginning [*Fir.*65:12]. This is not a case of a group abandoning a Ḥusaynid Imām but of recognizing the true Imām

1074 On the truce, see *EF*².“(al-)Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib” [Veccia Vaglieri].

1075 On him see *TG*.I:283–284.

against the opinion of the majority. Nevertheless, as we have seen, this material is also unique to the *Firaq* and seems to have been added subsequent to Q_2 ¹⁰⁷⁶.

If all five passages were added by the same person, it was probably Nawbakhtī himself. This is because the last of them deals with opposition to Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī. Of course, it is possible to posit that Nawbakhtī could have added the two later *nafar yasīr*-passages, on the opposition Hādī and ʿAskarī, based on the pattern of the earlier passages, which could then have been present already in his direct source, i.e., a post- Q_2 intermediary. But this is unconvincing. If Nawbakhtī had been looking for a model from earlier in the *Firaq* to use for this purpose, he would probably simply have created *iftirāq*-clusters, as this is by far the dominant format for presenting opposition to the Ḥusaynid Imāms in the material he inherited; it would be very strange to choose a pattern that occurred only twice. Taken collectively, the five passages are evidently constructed from the perspective of a non-Fuṭhī, Ḥusaynid-Imāmī who rejected the Imāmate of Jaʿfar b. ʿAlī. That fits exactly with what we know of Nawbakhtī’s own position from the post-ʿAskarī cluster.

In terms of the content of the descriptions of the four *nafar yasīrs*, the latter two are insubstantial. No reason is given as to why a *nafar yasīr* followed Mūsā b. Muḥammad for a time instead of ʿAlī al-Hādī. The *nafar yasīr* that supports Jaʿfar b. ʿAlī instead of Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī is said to have done so because they believed ʿAlī designated Jaʿfar after the death of his first named successor, Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, but no grounds are given for this conviction. Things are very different, however, in the first two *nafar yasīr* passages. There, the tiny bands in question defect to the Zaydiyya and we find a large amount of material on why they did so. As we will now see, Nawbakhtī must have drawn this from some earlier source.

The *nafar yasīr*-passages that introduce the groups that abandon Bāqir and Ṣādiq respectively are noteworthy because these groups are said to have joined the Zaydiyya. In both cases, Nawbakhtī provides a detailed account of why they did so. In the first, the description tells how ʿUmar b. Riyāḥ posed a question to Bāqir, then posed the same question a year later, receiving a different answer. When he alerts Bāqir to the discrepancy, Bāqir tells him that he might have given the first answer due to *taqīyya*, i.e., he had concealed the truth for personal protection. This initially causes ʿUmar to doubt Bāqir’s Imāmate (*shakkaka fi amrihi wa-imāmatihī*) [*Fir*.52:8–13]. The reasons for the doubt are then unpacked in a further narrative episode, which tells of an encounter between ʿUmar and a certain Muḥammad b. Qays, a companion of Bāqir. Here, ʿUmar relates the story of his successive encounters with Bāqir and explains that he is unconvinced by the excuse of *taqīyya*, as he only asked the question out of good intentions, giving Bāqir no cause to conceal the

1076 See p. 627–630.

truth from him. Muḥammad b. Qays then suggests that maybe others were present and that they were the cause for Bāqir's *taqiyya*, but 'Umar claims he was alone with Bāqir and asserts that the true reason for the different answers was that Bāqir simply forgot his first answer [*Fir*.52:13–53:4]. 'Umar then rejects Bāqir's Imāmate (*raja'a an imāmatihī*) and professes the doctrine that anyone who delivers a false legal opinion whilst claiming *taqiyya*, who 'lowers his curtain and locks his door' (*yurkhī sitrahu wa-yaghliq bābahu*), and who does not 'rebel, commanding the right and forbidding the wrong' is not an Imām [*Fir*.53:6–8]. Finally, 'Umar is said to have adopted the doctrine of the Butriyya and taken a *naḡfar yasīr* of Bāqir's supporters with him [*Fir*.53:8].

The passage describing the tiny band that abandoned Ja'far begins by stating that they rejected him because he had indicated that he would be succeeded by his son Ismā'īl, who then died before Ja'far himself [*Fir*.55:8–10]. They held this to mean that Ja'far had lied and that, as an Imām does not lie or foretell things that do not come to pass, Ja'far could not be the Imām [*Fir*.55:10–11]. They are then said to have held that Ja'far's explanation of the events—i.e., that God had changed his mind regarding the Imāmate of Ismā'īl (*badā lahu fi imāmat ismā'il*)—to be invalid, so they adopted the doctrine of 'the Butriyya and Sulaymān b. Jarīr' [*Fir*.55:12–14]. The passage then shifts focus to an account of Sulaymān b. Jarīr's attack on the doctrines of both *badā'* (i.e., that God changes his mind) and *taqiyya* (i.e., dissimulation for self-protection) [*Fir*.55:13–57:2]. Sulaymān is reported to have argued, on account of the events connected with Ismā'īl's death, that 'the Imāms of the Rāfiḡa' (*a'immat al-Rāfiḡa*) imposed these doctrines in order that they could never be accused of lying. We are then given his analysis of each doctrine in turn. Concerning *badā'*, he is reported to have said that they invented the doctrine to defend themselves after they put themselves in a position similar to that of prophets, possessing knowledge of what was and what will be. According to Sulaymān, if they foretell an event and it comes to pass, they say that this shows they receive knowledge from God in the same way as prophets. But if it doesn't happen, they assert *badā'*, i.e., that God had changed his mind. Concerning *taqiyya*, Sulaymān says that the Imāms began to receive so many queries from their followers that they gave out contradictory answers over time. Once their followers noticed this, he asserts, the Imāms claimed they were practising *taqiyya* as an excuse for the contradictions. The passage ends by stating that these arguments convinced a group of Ja'far's supporters to adopt Sulaymān's doctrine and abandon their belief in Ja'far's Imāmate.

Although both passages are ostensibly concerned with groups of Ḥusaynid-Imāmiyya who abandoned the Ḥusaynid Imāms and went over to the Zaydiyya, this is just a matter of framing. The bulk of the material is obviously about particular individuals and their critique of Ḥusaynid-Imāmī doctrine. The first passage is focussed on 'Umar b. Riyāḡ and his rejection of Bāqir, the second on Sulaymān b. Jarīr's cri-

tique of *taqīyya* and *badā'*. All this material voices a straightforwardly Zaydī perspective. That is obvious in the second case, because the critique is placed in the mouth of Sulaymān, a known Zaydī *mutakallim*. Even in the first passage, however, the critique attributed to ʿUmar b. Riyāḥ is clearly expressed in Zaydī terms even before it is said that he and his tiny band of followers turned to the Butriyya: the formulation that anyone who 'lowers his curtain' and does not openly rebel cannot be the Imām is typically Zaydī¹⁰⁷⁷. The chronology is also off. Sulaymān was not active in the period of Jaʿfar's Imāmate but later¹⁰⁷⁸. His critique of *badā'* may well have been based on the way this doctrine was implemented to explain the fiasco around Ismāʿīl, but this would have been a retrospective assessment. Obviously, no one can really have abandoned Jaʿfar during his lifetime because of Sulaymān's much later arguments. If the arguments themselves were contemporary with the events at all, they can only have been placed in Sulaymān's mouth much later.

Furthermore, Nawbakhtī offers essentially no rebuttal to the Zaydī arguments he reports. This is especially surprising in the case of Sulaymān, as the arguments are given in some detail and are potentially convincing to anyone who reads them. We would expect a Ḥusaynid-Imāmī source to have made some effort to refute it. There thus seems to be a strong possibility that, at least in the case of the material on Sulaymān, the source was not Imāmī at all, but Zaydī or Muʿtazilī. Another indication this might have been the case is fact that Sulaymān refers to the Ḥusaynid-Imāmī Imāms as 'the Imāms of the Rāfiḍa' (*a'immat al-Rāfiḍa*). That is a formulation that is unlikely to have been penned originally by an Imāmī even when reporting the views of a Zaydī¹⁰⁷⁹. Indeed, it is somewhat surprising that Nawbakhtī let it pass even while working from a non-Imāmī source¹⁰⁸⁰.

2.2.2.2.3 The Post-Muḥammad al-Jawād and Post-ʿAlī al-Hādī Material

The *iftirāq*-schema witnessed for Q_2 closes with the *ikhtilāf*-cluster on Muḥammad al-Jawād's Imāmate whilst immature. The *Firaq* does not continue the schema directly from this point. Rather, it takes it up again only with the post-Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī *iftirāq*-cluster. In between, there is a section of non-*iftirāq* material. Most

¹⁰⁷⁷ See p. 577.

¹⁰⁷⁸ van Ess 2011:252.

¹⁰⁷⁹ This issue was noted already by Modarressi 2003:266, although he thinks that the fact Nawbakhtī is quoting hostile views might be enough to explain the use of the term *rāfiḍa*.

¹⁰⁸⁰ There is an indication that Nawbakhtī himself accepts the doctrine of *badā'*, but it comes before the report on Sulaymān's critique: when discussing those who defected from Jaʿfar after Ismāʿīl's death, Nawbakhtī remarks, "so they denied that God changes his mind and exercises a will" (*fa-ankarū l-badā' wa-l-mashī'a min Allāh*) (*Fir*:55:13). That implies that he subscribed to the idea that denying that God can change his mind amounts to denying God has a will at all.

of it consists of elements we have already discussed above and that appear in an order we would expect: the biographical passage on Jawād [*Fir*.76:16–77:4], the *nafar yasīr*-passage on the opposition to Hādī [*Fir*.77:5–9], the biographical passage on Hādī [*Fir*.77:9–17], the *nafar yasīr*-passage on the opposition to 'Askarī [*Fir*.79:4–8], and the biographical passage on 'Askarī [*Fir*.79:9–15]. However, between the biographical passage on Hādī and the *nafar yasīr*-passage on the opposition to 'Askarī, we find two extra elements:

- First, it is stated that a faction 'separated themselves from' (*sadhdhat min*) Hādī's supporters during his lifetime. These are the followers of Muḥammad b. Nuṣayr al-Numayrī, of whom we then get a faction-description detailing their esoteric and antinomian beliefs, which are of the kind often attributed to Ghulāt factions in the *Firaq*: metempsychosis, the deification of 'Alī al-Hādī, and the permitting of illicit acts, including homosexuality amongst men [*Fir*.78:1–6]. It also gives some historical information, such as the fact that they were supported by the 'Abbāsīd secretary Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Furāt [*Fir*.78:6–9]¹⁰⁸¹. There is then a short *iftirāq*-cluster on the succession to Muḥammad b. Nuṣayr [*Fir*.78:9–12] and a statement that these factions (i.e., the original followers of Ibn Nuṣayr and the sub-factions) were known as the Numayriyya.
- Second, it is stated that when Hādī died, a faction followed his son Muḥammad b. 'Alī, who had been the original nominated heir, denying his death and claiming him to be in hiding (*ghayba*) as the awaited Mahdī [*Fir*.78:12–79:3]. We are told that they rejected the possibility that 'Alī al-Hādī could have lied or that a change in the divine plan (*badā'*) had taken place, thus concluding that his death was not real. Finally, their position is compared to that of the supporters of Ismā'īl b. Ja'far.

The way these two passages are integrated into the surrounding biographical and *nafar yasīr*-passages creates some structural awkwardness. On the one hand, the biographical passage on Hādī discusses his death and thus seems to close the material on his Imāmate; the opposition to Hādī during his lifetime had been handled already, in the preceding *nafar yasīr*-passage. It thus seems strange to return again, with the Numayriyya, to opposition that is also explicitly said to have emerged during Hādī's his lifetime. On the other hand, the material on the supporters of Muḥammad b. 'Alī leads to unevenness in the presentation of the post-Hādī factions. The supporters of Muḥammad are depicted straightforwardly as a *firqa* that emerged after Hādī's death, but this is then contradicted by the *nafar yasīr*-passage,

¹⁰⁸¹ On the relationship between the Banū l-Furāt and the early Nuṣayriyya, see Friedmann 2010:12.

which maintains that everyone supported Ḥasan al-‘Askarī after Hādī except the supporters of Ja‘far.

The other obvious question here is why Nawbakhtī did not simply construct regular post-Jawād and post-Hādī *iftirāq*-clusters and fully integrate the post-Jawād and post-Hādī situations into the *Firaq*’s overarching *iftirāq*-schema, especially given that this material is followed by the largest *iftirāq*-cluster of all, the post-‘Askarī cluster, which is almost certainly Nawbakhtī’s own work. In the post-Jawād material, one reason readily suggests itself: Nawbakhtī is committed to the idea that everyone initially followed Hādī and that the supporters of Mūsā and Ibn Nuṣayr only split off afterwards. That cannot be represented in a regular *iftirāq*-cluster. This seems to be another confirmation that the material was not present in the *iftirāq*-schema Nawbakhtī inherited from *Q*₂. There, factions were forced into *iftirāq*-clusters following the deaths of Imāms even when this does not reflect the historical situation (e.g., support for Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan after Bāqir, or ‘Abd Allāh b. Mu‘āwiya after Abū Hāshim). In the post-Hādī situation, however, the dispute over which of the three brothers was Hādī’s successor could easily have been rendered as a classic *iftirāq*-cluster.

2.2.2.2.4 The Ghulāt-Sections

2.2.2.2.4.1 The Longer Ghulāt-Section

Although there are numerous overlaps with other third-century heresiographies in terms of information, the *Firaq*’s longer Ghulāt section is composed entirely of textual material that is unique to the *Firaq*. It is also both awkwardly integrated into the surrounding material and internally incohesive.

The reader is told they have been reading a section on Ghulāt factions only at the very end, where we find a sort of conclusion:

‘These are the factions of the people of *ghuluww* amongst those who profess Shī‘ism (*hādhihi firaq ahl al-ghuluww mimman intahala l-tashayyu*). The origins of all of them—God curse them!— are in the Khurramdīniyya, the Mazdakiyya, the Zindīqiyya and the Dahriyya. They all agree with one another in denying lordship (*rubūbiyya*) to the almighty Creator—greatly exalted be He above that!—and in affirming its presence in imperfect (*ma‘ūf*), created bodies, holding that the bodies are merely dwelling places for God, while He is a light and a spirit that transfers between the bodies. . They disagree, however, over which leaders they follow, rejecting and cursing one another.’ [*Fir*.41:6–12].

This passage seems to state the organizing rationale of the forgoing material: it has been concerned with the *firaq ahl al-ghuluww*. The passage also provides a basic definition of *ghuluww*: belief in divine indwelling. But such structural and conceptual clarity is not present at the beginning of the section. There is no sub-title

or statement to tell us that we are entering a distinct section on Ghulāt factions. Rather, after the *iftirāq*-cluster dealing with the splits in the Ḥārithiyya following 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya's death, the following statement appears:

These are the factions of the Kaysāniyya, the 'Abbāsīd Shī'a and the Ḥārithiyya. From them, the factions of the Khurramdīniyya divided off (*tafarraqat*). They are the origins of doctrinal transgression (*ghuluww fi l-qawd*). . . [32:4–6].

It is not readily apparent when the statement is first encountered that it marks the shift to a new organizing principle, no longer based on the *iftirāq*-schema but on the concept of *ghuluww*. That only becomes evident as we read on. Above all, the use of the term *tafarraqat* masks the break from the *iftirāq*-schema. Still, even at first pass, the Khurramdīniyya are obviously not attached to the schema in the standard way, as it is not the case that the supporters of a particular Imām split upon his death into several *firaq*. Rather, the factions of the Khurramdīniyya are said to have 'divided off' from 'the Kaysāniyya, the 'Abbāsīd Shī'a and the Ḥārithiyya' collectively, and the reason why they did so is not given. Moreover, the statement reads as if the factions of the Kaysāniyya as a whole, including both the Ḥārithiyya and the 'Abbāsīd Shī'a have now been dealt with. Yet this not entirely the case, as the *iftirāq*-cluster of the 'Abbāsīd Shī'a is still to come, *after* the longer Ghulāt-section has finished. We thus have a passage that neither follows the standard logic of the *iftirāq*-schema nor fully respects the order of the surrounding material in the *Firaq*. In any case, what follows the statement provides a relatively long exposition of the Khurramdīniyya's doctrines, with a particular focus on metempsychosis [*Fir*.32:7–34:4].

Next comes a description of the Manṣūriyya [*Fir*.34:5–35:6]. Again, the faction is introduced with a formula that occurs frequently in the *iftirāq*-clusters: '*wa-minhum firqā tusammā. . .*' ('One of them is a faction called. . .'). But here it is unclear what the *minhum* should refer back to. It possibly implies something like '*min firaq al-Ghulāt*', but the reader is in no position to understand it that way, as Nawbakhtī has not clearly stated that we are in a section on Ghulāt factions by this point. Formally, there are only two options. One is to read it in parallel with the '*wa-minhum tafarraqat firaq al-khurramdīniyya. . .*' that begins the preceding material, but there the antecedent is 'the factions of the Kaysāniyya, 'Abbāsīd Shī'a and Ḥārithiyya' [*Fir*.32:4–6]. This would make no sense, as the description of the Manṣūriyya depicts Abū Manṣūr to have been a supporter of the Imāmates of 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn and Muḥammad al-Bāqir, not any of the Kaysānī, Ḥārithī or 'Abbāsīd Imāms. The other option is to read it as if Nawbakhtī is claiming the Manṣūriyya were a faction of the Khurramdīniyya. But, as the Khurramdīniyya are supposed to have split off from the Kaysāniyya etc., we would still have the same problem. There is also no obvious doctrinal relationship. The material on the Manṣūriyya is about Abū Manṣūr's

claims to be a prophet and says nothing about any of the doctrines attributed to the Khurramdīniyya. The two groups thus seem historically, genetically and doctrinally unrelated, and the structural relationship between the two bodies of material is completely unclear. It is thus evident by this point that the *iftirāq*-schema is no longer in operation, but it is not obvious yet what the new ordering principle is.

The structural confusion is then increased when the next block of material is introduced by the following statement:

‘These are the factions of the Ghāliya from amongst the supporters of ‘Abd Allāh b. Mu‘āwiya, the ‘Abbāsīd Rāwandīyya and others. However, the supporters of ‘Abd Allāh b. Mu‘āwiya claimed. . .’ [Fir.35:7–9].

This seems to overlook the immediately preceding material on the Manṣūriyya entirely and to refer back to that on the Khurramdīniyya. The ensuing description [Fir.35:9–37:8] then attributes to these ‘supporters of ‘Abd Allāh b. Mu‘āwiya’ doctrines very similar to those previously attributed to the Khurramdīniyya, largely concerned with the process of metempsychosis. The precise relationship even there, however, is ambiguous: the previous passage had stated that the Khurramdīniyya were drawn from the supporters of ‘Abd Allāh b. Mu‘āwiya, the ‘Abbāsīd Shī‘a and the Kaysāniyya collectively, so is this new group to be considered a particular faction of the Khurramdīniyya linked to ‘Abd Allāh b. Mu‘āwiya specifically but *not* the ‘Abbāsīds?

Next comes a short *ikhtilāf*-cluster on the doctrine of the *raj‘a* [Fir.37:8–14]. Structurally, this presents another break, constituting an excursus within an excursus. Thematically, the material is unrelated to the dominant theme of the Ghulāt-section so far, as it has nothing to do with the nexus of the Khurramdīniyya, the Ḥārithiyya and the ‘Abbāsīd Shī‘a or with the Manṣūriyya. In fact, it is not obvious that it has much to do with the Ghulāt at all. The reason it appears at this point seems to be merely that the passage on the doctrines of the ‘supporters of ‘Abd Allāh b. Mu‘āwiya’ ends with a reference to the fact that this group considered the real meaning of the *raj‘a* to be linked to cyclical reincarnation [Fir.37:6]. But the doctrines covered in the *ikhtilāf*-cluster have nothing to do with the idea of the *raj‘a* as reincarnation; the disagreement is over the more common, eschatological doctrine of the *raj‘a*¹⁰⁸². The passage covers the positions of the Zaydiyya, the Mughīriyya and the Kaysāniyya on this question, but nothing in the rest of the *Firaq* leads us to believe Nawbakhtī considers the Zaydiyya or even the Kaysāniyya (as a whole) to be Ghulāt factions. The Mughīriyya held doctrines that Nawbakhtī seems to consider *ghuluww*, as he later attributes the doctrine of *tanāsukh* to them

1082 On the doctrine of the *raj‘a*, see p. 141 n.49.

[*Fir*.55:6], but he does not do so here, and he never explicitly labels them Ghulāt anywhere. It is highly unlikely that Nawbakhtī considered the eschatological doctrine of the *raj'a* itself to be *ghuluww*. Certainly, he never says as much.

The *ikhtilāf*-cluster on the *raj'a* is then followed by a long section on the Khaṭṭābiyya and their sub-factions [*Fir*.37:15–41:5]. This is introduced by the unassuming phrase, 'As for the followers of Abū l-Khaṭṭāb. . .' (*ammā aṣḥāb Abī l-Kaṭṭāb. . .*), which, once again, tells us nothing about how they are supposed to relate to any of the previous factions of the section. The Khaṭṭābiyya are then presented in a kind of *iftirāq*-cluster. It is announced that they split into four factions, not after Abū l-Khaṭṭāb's death—as in the BdC/Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*—but after Ja'far al-Ṣādiq repudiated Abū l-Khaṭṭāb. The four factions are not given faction-names but are distinguished principally by their leaders: the first continues to follow Abū l-Khaṭṭāb; the second follows Bazīgh; the third follows al-Sarī; and the fourth follows Mu'amar. The doctrines attributed to them include considering their leaders Imāms, prophets, angels and/or God; believing their leaders to know God's 'greatest name'; holding the religious duties not to apply to them because of esoteric interpretations of certain Qur'ānic passages and/or because anyone who knows the Imām is not obligated to follow the law; the indwelling of the divine spirit in certain people and its transfer from one to another. There is thus some overlap with the doctrines attributed to the Khurramdīniyya and the 'supporters of 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya' but the focus is different.

After the descriptions of the factions of the Khaṭṭābiyya comes the concluding passage cited above. Based on that passage, it is at least possible to surmise that the Khaṭṭābiyya and the Khurramdīniyya, as well as the 'supporters of 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya', have been brought together in one place not because they were thought to have a genetic connection, but because of doctrinal similarity: they all profess the divine indwelling of human beings (*ḥulūl*) in some form, which is supposed to be the essence of *ghuluww*. This does not obviously apply, however, to the Manṣūriyya or any of the factions that appear in the *ikhtilāf*-cluster on the *raj'a*, as no such doctrine is attributed to them.

So much for the longer Ghulāt-section's inscrutable internal ordering, but what about its relationship with the rest of the *Firaq*? Similar to the situation of *Uṣūl al-niḥal*'s Ghulāt-section, its positioning after the material on the Ḥārithiyya/Ḥarbiyya seems to be related to the fact that it deals first with the Khurramdīniyya. Both texts assert a close connection between the Ḥārithiyya/Ḥarbiyya and the Khurramdīniyya, although there is ambiguity about what the precise relationship is supposed to be. In neither case, however, does this explain why the mention of the Khurramdīniyya then leads to an excursus on Ghulāt factions more generally, several of which are unrelated to the Khurramdīniyya except insofar as they are all apparently classified as Ghulāt for reasons that are not entirely clear.

Another issue is the repetitions and contradictions. The Khurramdīniyya are presented in the section as somehow deriving from the Kaysāniyya, the ‘Abbāsīd Shī‘a and the Ḥārithiyya collectively, but the Khurramdīniyya also appear again later, outside the section, within the *iftirāq*-cluster of the ‘Abbāsīd Shī‘a, where Nawbakhtī states without qualification that ‘Khurramdīniyya’ is simply another name for the Abū Muslimiyya, i.e., a specifically ‘Abbāsīd/Rāwandī sub-faction [Fir.42:2]. That statement goes back to *Q*₂, as we have seen¹⁰⁸³. The section’s ‘followers of ‘Abd Allāh b. Mu‘āwiya’ seems to refer to a group that already appeared before the section, namely the Ḥārithiyya. They were already explicitly described there as Ghulāt and said to believe in *tanāsukh* and *dawr*, as well as in the divinity of ‘Abd Allāh b. Mu‘āwiya [Fir.29:7–12, 31:6–7]. The Khaṭṭābiyya too appear again later in the *Firaq*, in the post-Ja‘far cluster, where they are closely associated with the sub-factions of the Ismā‘īliyya [Fir.58:17–64:14]. The two bodies of material have very little in common. That in the post-Ja‘far cluster is basically historiographical: it deals with the events of Abū l-Khaṭṭāb’s rebellion¹⁰⁸⁴. In the longer Ghulāt-section, we get an *iftirāq*-cluster, and the focus is on doctrines. The Ghulāt section’s *ikhtilāf*-cluster mentions factions that are all dealt with elsewhere in the *Firaq* in far more detail: the Zaydiyya, the Kaysāniyya and the Mughīriyya. In the case of the Mughīriyya, their later description in the post-Bāqir cluster attributes to them the doctrine of *tanāsukh*, along with belief in the prophethood of Mughīra [Fir.55:2–6]. That is the kind of belief that seems to earn the Manṣūriyya their place in the Ghulāt-section, but no material on these doctrines appears in relation to the Mughīriyya in the Ghulāt-section. In similar vein, there are also omissions from the section relative to the rest of the *Firaq*. As we have seen, several factions that appear before the longer Ghulāt-section are referred to as Ghulāt or else are described as holding doctrines labelled *ghuluww*, but two of them do not appear at all in the Ghulāt-section: the Saba’iyya and the Bayāniyya. The two factions of the shorter Ghulāt-section, which are associated with the ‘Abbāsīds and explicitly called Ghulāt, could easily have been included in the longer Ghulāt-section on thematic, chronological and/or genetic grounds, but they are not.

In summary, the function of the longer Ghulāt-section is highly uncertain. It is not at all clear why the section appears where it does, and it corresponds awkwardly with the material around it. Its concluding passage suggests that it should have offered some sort of comprehensive treatment of Ghulāt factions (‘These are the factions of the Ghulāt from amongst those who profess Shī‘ism. . .’), but this is evidently not the case. It does *not* include all those factions called Ghulāt

1083 See p. 331–332, Tab.23.

1084 See p. 294–295, 642.

or associated with *ghuluww* in the *Firaq*, and most of the factions that do appear in the section also appear elsewhere. Certainly, it does not bring together all the Ghulāt factions up to a certain point in time¹⁰⁸⁵. Many factions referred to as Ghulāt earlier in the *Firaq* would have appeared here if that were so¹⁰⁸⁶. Nor does it bring together all the factions with a certain doctrinal profile. Indeed, not all the factions it includes are said to hold the one doctrine it explicitly defines as the essence of *ghuluww*, namely divine indwelling. Only for some factions of the Khaṭṭābiyya can divine indwelling be said to be the main focus of the description. Although it seems the Khurramdiniyya and the 'supporters of 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya' do hold a version of this doctrine, the descriptions mostly focus elsewhere: on *tanāsukh*. The Manṣūriyya are said to hold a completely different doctrine: they held their leader to be a prophet. But the Bayāniyya also held this, yet they are not included in the section. The Mughīriyya, in the description outside the Ghulāt section, are said to have believed in both *tanāsukh* and the prophethood of their leader, but they only feature in the Ghulāt-section for their belief in the *raj'a*, a doctrine that Nawbakhtī does not seem to consider *ghuluww* at all.

On stylistic, structural and thematic grounds, it is already extremely unlikely that the longer Ghulāt-section was present in Q_2 and simply omitted by Balkhī or an intermediary; the material was added from elsewhere by Nawbakhtī (or an intermediary). There is also the more specific discrepancy that Q_2 's *iftirāq*-schema depicted the Khurramiyya to be equivalent to the (Abū) Muslimiyya, whereas the Ghulāt-section attaches them in a much more general way to the supporters of the 'Abbāsids and of Ibn Mu'āwiya. That move at least must be inspired by information that did not come from Q_2 . Another relevant factor is that Balkhī and Ash'arī did have material on some of the factions that appear in the *Firaq*'s longer Ghulāt-section: the Manṣūriyya and the Khaṭṭābiyya. That material does not go back to Q_2 either (it probably came to Balkhī via Warrāq), but it does not offer any sufficiently complex textual parallels with the *Firaq*'s material to indicate a discrete common source anyway. At best, the *Firaq* and the Bdc contain common information expressed in different language, but even that is rare; they usually diverge completely¹⁰⁸⁷. If Q_2 had had material on these factions, we would expect at least some complex parallels between the *Firaq* and the Bdc/Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* in their material on the Manṣūriyya and the Khaṭṭābiyya, just as we see them throughout the *iftirāq*-schema. It thus seems most likely that both authors were using material that came from elsewhere in their descriptions of these groups. The sporadic

1085 This is what Madelung (1967:40–41) asserted concerning the section in order to take it as evidence for the dating of the early sections of the *Firaq*. See p. 258.

1086 See p. 633–636.

1087 See p. 340–344.

convergences in information are probably due to the fact they rely ultimately, via different routes of transmission, on an older, common pool of reports.

Slightly more revealing are the large overlaps and generic similarities between Nawbakhtī's and ps.-Nāshī's descriptions of the Khurramdīniyya, and particularly of their doctrines of *tanāsukh* and *dawr*. These are not sufficient to suggest a discrete common source either¹⁰⁸⁸. Nevertheless, they at least show that such material was in circulation in Iraq—and not just in Kufa—by the early third century. Whether it is of Iraqi origin or relies on sources composed further east is uncertain.

Beyond this, we have very little to go on when trying to establish the provenance of the material in Nawbakhtī's longer Ghulāt-section. One potentially relevant factor is the chronology. The most recent faction mentioned there is the Khaṭṭābiyya, who were primarily active in the period of Ja'far al-Šādiq's Imāmate and in the years after his death. But there are several reasons why this doesn't tell us much. For one thing, there is no compelling reason to think that all the material in the section must come from the same source. Moreover, as we don't know why it includes certain factions and not others, we can't tell what the significance of the chronological cut-off should be. We simply don't know why Nawbakhtī didn't place later Ghulāt factions, such as the Bashīriyya or the Numayriyya, within the section, just as we don't know why several earlier such factions, such as the Bayāniyya, don't appear there.

We can also examine the content of the descriptions for clues, but this doesn't get us very far either. The material on the Manṣūriyya is quite likely to be of Kufan and Ḥusaynid-Imāmī origin, simply because it has considerable and unique detail on the Kufan background of Abū Manṣūr himself and discusses his claims in relation to Muḥammad al-Bāqir. But beyond this, we are reduced to banalities: we can expect that at least some of the information goes back ultimately to second-century sources because it handles figures active in the first half of the second century.

The material on the Khaṭṭābiyya likewise begins with a statement about Abū l-Khaṭṭāb's relationship to a Ḥusaynid Imām, Ja'far in this case. The detail present in the *iftirāq*-cluster that focusses on the post-repudiation splintering of the Khaṭṭābiyya and their subsequent leaders again suggests a Kufan, Ḥusaynid-Imāmī origin. One interesting feature of this material, however, is the handling of the status of Abū Ṭālib in the description of the followers of Mu'ammār. Here, we are told of a debate between this faction and 'a group of the Shī'a' (*qawm min al-Shī'a*) [Fir.39:18–41:5]. One of the points raised by the Shī'a is that even the Prophet Muḥammad acknowledged he was a servant of God and that no God except Allāh exists, therefore the doctrine of some of the Khaṭṭābiyya that Mu'ammār was the 'god of the

1088 See p. 447.

Earth' (*ilāh al-arḍ*) cannot be true. The Khaṭṭābiyya respond that Muḥammad was merely a servant of Abū Ṭālib, who had inherited 'the light that is Allāh' from 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, and that Abū Ṭālib then passed it on to 'Alī, making them all gods. The Shī'a counter that this makes no sense, because Abū Ṭālib never accepted Islam [*Fir*.40:12–15]. The relevant issue here is that this implies that these Shī'a acknowledged that Abū Ṭālib died an unbeliever, an idea which the later, Twelver Shī'a—in contrast to other Muslim groups—generally reject. For this reason, Moddarressi has suggested that Nawbakhtī might be using a Sunnī source here¹⁰⁸⁹. The Shī'a, however, are clearly the heroes of this tale, which probably indicates the author was Shī'ī but still did not find the idea objectionable. But this doesn't really help us identify the provenance of the material more specifically. We simply don't know enough about Ḥusaynid-Imāmī doctrine concerning Abū Ṭālib in this period; it is quite possible many supporters of the Ḥusaynid Imāms still didn't challenge the narrative that Abū Ṭālib had died an unbeliever. After all, even Nawbakhtī and Qummī, who straightforwardly copies the passage [*MaqQ*.54:2–3], writing much later, let the material pass without comment. They cannot have found it so unusual that 'the Shī'a' would have asserted such a thing¹⁰⁹⁰.

In general, the heterogeneity and the inconsistent structuring of the longer Ghulāt-section means there is no evidence it came from a single source. It seems most likely that Nawbakhtī or an intermediary compiled it from multiple, largely Ḥusaynid-Imāmī sources and inserted it awkwardly as a block amidst the *iftirāq*-material taken from *Q*₂.

2.2.2.2.4.2 The Shorter Ghulāt-Section

After the *iftirāq*-cluster of the 'Abbāsīd Shī'a, Nawbakhtī marks a clear break from the *iftirāq*-schema with the words, "Amongst the 'Abbāsīd Shī'a were two factions that professed *ghuluww* concerning the descendants of al-'Abbās" (*wa-min al-'Abbāsiyya firqatān qalatā bi-l-ghuluww fi wuld 'Abbās*) [*Fir*.46:10]. Once again, then, we have a section that ostensibly brings together factions only because they are classed as Ghulāt. Thereafter follows a short list, containing two factions: the Hāshimiyya

¹⁰⁸⁹ Moddarressi 2003:266

¹⁰⁹⁰ The whole issue of how and when the doctrine arose is unclear. It was certainly a point of contention between the Twelver Shī'a and the Sunnis in later centuries, but it cannot be used to locate Shī'ī and non-Shī'ī positions securely in the period we are talking about. It does seem that anti-'Alid propaganda released by the 'Abbāsīds tried to make much of the fact that Abū Ṭālib died an unbeliever in order to demonstrate the superiority of 'Abbās. It is thus possible that the Imāmī position that Abū Ṭālib converted before his death arose as a response, but that would not mean it was held universally. See *EF*. "Abū Ṭālib" [Rubin] and *EIsl*. "Abū Ṭālib (Imrān) b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib" [Bahramian].

[*Fir.*46:10–14] and the Rāwandiyya [*Fir.* 46:15–47:9]. The material is unique to the *Fīraq*, although it carries information that is partially available elsewhere. The Hāshimiyya are said to have believed that the Imāmate was transferred from Abū Hāshim to the ‘Abbāsīd Imāms, that the Imāms are omniscient and have the status of prophets in all respects, and that those who do not recognize the Imāms are unbelievers and polytheists. The Rāwandiyya are said to have believed that the Imām is omniscient and divine, that Abū Muslim was a prophet sent by Manṣūr, and that Manṣūr is God. The description then moves to a short narrative about how Manṣūr, upon hearing the Rāwandiyya’s claims about him, reacted by arresting them and inviting them to repent. They are undeterred from their beliefs and simply declare that the divine Manṣūr’s actions cannot be questioned.

The structural break from the *iftirāq*-schema and the thematic content of the descriptions already make it very unlikely this unique material was present in Q_2 ; it was added by Nawbakhtī or a unique intermediary. Other factors are relevant here. For one thing, both faction-names are repetitions, yet it is unclear whether the factions now being indicated by those names are the same as those for which they were used previously. Nawbakhtī already discussed a faction called the Hāshimiyya in the post-Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya cluster but there they believe merely that Abū Hāshim was Imām after Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya [*Fir.*27:11–13]. That faction already appeared in Q_2 , where they are structurally essential, being the faction that divides into the four factions of the post-Abū Hāshim cluster, albeit that the *Fīraq* is the only text of the corpus to use the name Hāshimiyya in respect of them [cf. *Mugh.*XX₂:177:9]¹⁰⁹¹. This new Hāshimiyya, however, are apparently a specifically ‘Abbāsīd faction and hold doctrines that neither Q_2 nor the rest of the *Fīraq* associate with the followers of Abū Hāshim in general. Nawbakhtī’s use of the name ‘Rāwandiyya’ is even more ambiguous, because, as we have seen, he also uses it for the original ‘Abbāsīd Shī’a. Moreover, when the Rāwandiyya/‘Abbāsīd Shī’a first appear (in the post-Abū Hāshim cluster), they are already said to believe in the divinity of the ‘Abbāsīd Imāms¹⁰⁹². The main difference with respect to this new Rāwandiyya sub-faction is that only Muḥammad b. ‘Alī is mentioned in the earlier material. Here, the description focusses on Manṣūr and the Rāwandiyya’s interactions with him. Is this then a later iteration of the same group? And what is their relationship to the more general Rāwandiyya/‘Abbāsīd Shī’a of whom they are now presented as merely one sub-faction? It is far from obvious how the reader can resolve the confusion or how we might seek to explain it.

1091 See p. 317, 428.

1092 See p. 60–626.

We should consider the context. Repetition is found elsewhere in Nawbakhtī's *firaq*-material, but it is otherwise always clear that the same faction is being mentioned twice or more, so the level of structural awkwardness here exceeds even that of other unique material¹⁰⁹³. More specifically, however, Nawbakhtī's presentation of the 'Abbāsīd Shī'a is generally confused. As we have seen, even the material taken from *Q*₂ has been reworked in ways that make it much more difficult to follow¹⁰⁹⁴. His usage of the name 'Rāwandiyya' and his statements to the effect that the original 'Abbāsīd Shī'a deified the 'Abbāsīd Imāms are also both idiosyncratic and inconsistent¹⁰⁹⁵. The relationship of these general features to the appearance of a (different?) Rāwandiyya in the shorter Ghulāt-section is hard to establish, but the two factions of the shorter Ghulāt-section simply add to an already complex and difficult-to-interpret situation. Of course, there are many potential explanations of repetitions and structural confusion in a text. One likely, explanation, however, is that Nawbakhtī was struggling to bring together material from multiple sources that conceived of the divisions amongst the supporters of the 'Abbāsīds in different ways.

As in the longer Ghulāt-section, and generally in the *Firaq*, it is not completely clear what the *ghuluww* of the two factions should consist in. The longer Ghulāt-section's definition of *ghuluww* as belief in divine indwelling would obviously apply to the Rāwandiyya. But the Hāshimiyya apparently do not deify their Imāms. It would seem then that Nawbakhtī must consider at least some of the other beliefs he attributes to them to constitute *ghuluww*. That means considering their Imāms to have the same status as prophets and/or considering those who do not recognize their Imāms to be unbelievers.

2.2.2.2.5 The Zaydiyya-Section

Like the larger Ghulāt-section, the Zaydiyya-section is not clearly announced as such. It follows on directly from the appearance of the Surḥūbiyya/Jārūdiyya in the second post-Ḥusayn cluster without clear signposting. First, the description of the Surḥūbiyya, given in *Tab*.40, initiates a short *ikhtilāf*-cluster (*u*²) amongst the Zaydiyya on the question of the Imām's knowledge. It contains two opinions. The first is that of the Surḥūbiyya, who are then described to hold the doctrine that all descendants of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn possess perfect knowledge even as babies (*q*²). As discussed above, this material is based on a source Nawbakhtī has in common with ps.-Nāshī', although Nawbakhtī then goes on to provide a unique critique of the

¹⁰⁹³ The Jārūdiyya appears three times (including once as the Surḥūbiyya); the Butriyya appear twice.

¹⁰⁹⁴ See pp. 329–332, 432–435, 621–622.

¹⁰⁹⁵ See p. 622–623.

Surḥūbiyya's doctrine (v^2 , w^2). The second opinion of the *ikhtilāf*-cluster (not given in *Tab.40*) is that of 'the rest of their factions' (*sā'ir firaqihim*), presumably meaning the rest of the Zaydiyya, who are said to believe that the descendants of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn have no special status in respect of their knowledge merely by dint of their lineage [*Fir.50:7–11*]. The cluster itself already constitutes a minor departure from the *iftirāq*-schema. Next, however, we get the statement, 'This is the doctrine (*qawl*) of the Zaydiyya, both the weak and the strong amongst them (*al-aqwiyā' minhum wa-l-dufā'*) [*Fir.50:11–12*]. This statement introduces a new terminology, dividing the Zaydiyya into 'weak' and 'strong', a terminology which is then used to structure the following material. The *iftirāq*-schema is thus clearly no longer in operation by this point; it seems the statement introduces an independent section on the Zaydiyya.

The section begins with a treatment of the 'weak' Zaydiyya, under which two factions are named: the 'Ijliyya (after Hārūn b. Sa'īd al-'Ijlī) and the Butriyya [*Fir.50:13–51:6*]. Then come the 'strong' Zaydiyya, who turn out to be essentially equivalent, yet again, to the Jārūdiyya/Surḥūbiyya [*Fir.51:7–8*]. This new ordering schema for the Zaydiyya thus applies to factions that have already appeared previously in the text, but which are now being viewed from (yet) another perspective. Next, Nawbakhtī describes a new Zaydī faction, called the Ḥusayniyya [*51:9–52:2*], but they are no longer allotted a position in the weak/strong schema. This makes it appear as if material on Zaydī factions is now simply being assembled without any further ordering principle. The doctrinal difference is an insistence that the rule the Zaydiyya usually apply to the post-Ḥusayn Imāms, namely that one can only become an Imām by taking up arms and calling for the people's allegiance, applies also to Ḥusayn and even 'Alī himself. This has the consequence that 'Alī is only recognized as Imām from the moment he claimed the Imāmate and began to defend that claim militarily; Ḥasan b. 'Alī is not considered an Imām at all. Chronologically, the Ḥusayniyya mark a step forward, as the last Imām they supported was Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan. But they are then followed, somewhat surprisingly, by the Mughīriyya [*53:3–5*]. This makes it unclear whether Nawbakhtī really means to group either faction under the Zaydiyya. They seem to be mentioned here purely because they, like the Ḥusayniyya, supported the Imāmate of Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh. That might be a gesture at the fact that Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh was viewed as a Zaydī Imām. But the organizing principle here is unclear.

Like the longer Ghulāt-section, the Zaydiyya-section is thus both internally inconsistent in its structure and awkwardly attached to the surrounding *iftirāq*-schema. Yet another similarity is that it features several repetitions of factions from elsewhere in the *Firaq*. Both the Butriyya and the Jārūdiyya appear for the third time in the text, now under yet another organising schema for Zaydī factions. The Mughīriyya were mentioned briefly in the longer Ghulāt-section's *ikhtilāf*-clus-

ter on the *raj'a*, and the main description of them is yet to come, in the post-Bāqir cluster, where the material is mostly derived from Q_2 ¹⁰⁹⁶.

There is no evidence that the *iftirāq*-schema in either Q_2 or Q_1 dealt with Zaydī factions at all. That, combined with the structural discrepancy, makes it extremely unlikely that any of this material was present in Q_2 and simply omitted by Balkhī. It was added by Nawbakhtī or an intermediary. As for where it might have come from, the 'weak-strong' terminology is probably of Ḥusaynid-Imāmī origin, just as is the forgoing material on the Jārūdiyya. It considers the Butriyya to be 'weak' because they admit the Imāmates of Abū Bakr and 'Umar; the Jārūdiyya are presumably then 'strong' because they reject them. That is to say, the basic distinction is between *rāfiḍī* and non-*rāfiḍī* Zaydiyya—although this term is not used—and the perspective is pro-*rāfiḍī*. In any case, the 'weak-strong' division is just the same division between the Butriyya and the Jārūdiyya that Nawbakhtī already introduced back in the post-Prophet cluster but now renamed. In the Zaydiyya-section, Nawbakhtī also provides lists of prominent Zaydī individuals whom he classes as either 'weak' or 'strong'. For the 'weak', he mentions Ḥārūn b. Sa'īd al-Ījlī, then, more specifically as Butriyya, he lists Kathīr al-Nawwā, Ḥasan b. Šāliḥ b. Ḥayy, Sālīm b. Abī Ḥafṣa, Ḥakam b. 'Utayba, Salma b. Kuhayl and Abū l-Miqdād Thābit al-Ḥaddād [*Fir.*50:13–16]. For the 'strong', we get Abū l-Jārūd, Abū l-Khālīd al-Wasiṭī, Fuḍayl al-Rassān and Maṣṣūr b. Abī l-Aswad [*Fir.*51:7–8]. As discussed previously, ps.-Nāshī provides very similar lists of individuals but grouped only under the rubrics Butriyya [*Niḥ.*43:14–15] and Jārūdiyya [*Niḥ.*42:10]. Indeed, the sole difference is that ps.-Nāshī's list of the Butriyya lacks the last four names from Nawbakhtī's list of the 'weak Zaydiyya'. It is possible that both authors are relying on some sort of common source here, but the lists are integrated into the surrounding material in very different ways, and such lists could have been available in multiple places¹⁰⁹⁷. Given the chronological range of the names, they cannot have been composed (in full) before the mid-second century and are very unlikely to come from as late as the third century. They are certainly Kufan in origin and were at least transmitted by the Ḥusaynid-Imāmīyya¹⁰⁹⁸. We can be reasonably confident that they correspond with the Ḥusaynid-Imāmī view of things from that period.

The Ḥusayniyya is apparently a faction that is first witnessed in the *Firaq* and does not seem to appear in the Mu'tazilī sources at all. Van Ess has suggested that they may be the same faction that is elsewhere called the Kāmiliyya or Kumayliyya [e.g., *Niḥ.*45:12–18; *Mugh.*XX₂:176:10–13; *MaqA.*17:4–6]¹⁰⁹⁹. He has two main argu-

¹⁰⁹⁶ See *Tab.*24.

¹⁰⁹⁷ See p. 592–594.

¹⁰⁹⁸ See p. 593–594 esp. n.975.

¹⁰⁹⁹ Van Ess 1988:146–147.

ments. The first has to do with the faction-names. ‘Abd al-Jabbār records the name of the founder of the Kāmiliyya as Abū Kāmil Mu‘ādh b. al-Ḥuṣayn al-Nabhānī al-Kūfī¹¹⁰⁰. The significant thing here is the spelling of ‘al-Ḥuṣayn’ with *ṣād*. This is because Qummī’s version of Nawbakhtī’s description of the Ḥusayniyya calls them the Ḥuṣayniyya [*MaqQ*.78:6–15]. Van Ess suggests that Ḥuṣayniyya and Kāmiliyya were two names for the same group, and that the name Ḥuṣayniyya was simply transformed into Ḥusayniyya in the transmission of the *Firaq*¹¹⁰¹. His other main argument relies on doctrinal similarity. The Kāmiliyya are said to have asserted that ‘Alī became an unbeliever for not taking up arms against Abū Bakr and ‘Umar but returned to Islam when he later defended his Imāmate militarily [*MaqQ*.14:10–15; *Fiṣṣ*.V:41:15–42:2]. The Ḥusayniyya/Ḥuṣayniyya hold that ‘Alī and his descendants only become Imāms if they call the to the people for support and seek the Imāmate by military means. For this reason, they believe that ‘Alī became Imām only when he asserted his rights to the office and, notably, they do not acknowledge Ḥasan as an Imām at all. These doctrines are thus at least compatible; the attitude of the Kāmiliyya with regard to ‘Alī is conceivably a special instance of the general doctrine of the Imāmate held by the Ḥusayniyya/Ḥuṣayniyya¹¹⁰².

Van Ess’s suggestion is certainly plausible, but the evidence is thin. ‘Abd al-Jabbār’s *Tathbīt dalā’il al-nubuwwa* is late, and we do not know what earlier work(s) he was relying on. No other text brings the names Kāmil and Ḥuṣayn together, and no text at all witnesses to the assertion that Kāmiliyya and Ḥusayniyya/Ḥuṣayniyya were two names for the same faction. Moreover, although the doctrines are indeed compatible, there is no explicit indication anywhere that the Ḥusayniyya/Ḥuṣayniyya ever considered ‘Alī an unbeliever, whereas this is the aspect of the doctrine of the Kāmiliyya that is always most emphasised by the heresiographers. There are also no works that link the faction-name Kāmiliyya or Kumayliyya with the Zaydiyya. In any case, Nawbakhtī’s/Qummī’s is the only description of the Ḥusayniyya/Ḥuṣayniyya under this name. Other than the fact it is likely to be Kufan, nothing more can be established about the provenance of this material.

2.2.2.3 Terminological Constants Across the *Firaq*

Numerous terms and expressions occur repeatedly in the *Firaq*. Some of these are constitutive parts of the larger structural elements that we have discussed already, such as the consistent terminology of the *iftirāq*-schema or that of the biographical passages on the Imāms. In these cases, the terminological constants arise because

¹¹⁰⁰ ‘Abd al-Jabbār, *Tathbīt dalā’il al-nubuwwa*, 211:2.

¹¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰² Ibid.:146

they were present already in the sources of those elements, and they largely have the function of rubrics used to structure information in a homogenous fashion. But there are other terminological constants in the *Firaq*. Some of these were identified by van Ess as part of his discussion of the *Firaq*'s sources. Based on Madelung's original arguments, he assumed that Nawbakhtī's main source in the early parts of the text was Hishām b. al-Ḥakam's *Ikhtilāf al-nās fi l-imāma*. He was less convinced, however, that Hishām was the source of *everything* found there. This led him to seek out evidence that could identify more securely which passages did come from Hishām. He saw terminological consistency to offer such evidence¹¹⁰³.

One recurring expression noted by van Ess is 'Things went so far concerning. . . that he ended up. . .' (*tarāqā l-amr bi. . . ilā an. . .*) and its close variants. This phrase occurs three times: referring to Abū Manṣūr in the description of the Manṣūriyya in the longer Ghulāt-section (*tarāqā bi-hi al-amr ilā an qāla. . .*) [*Fir.* 34:11]; referring to Abū l-Khaṭṭāb in the longer Ghulāt-section (*thumma tarāqā ilā an idda'a l-nubuwwa*) [*Fir.*38:2]; and referring to Mughīra b. Sa'īd in the description of the Mughīriyya (*tarāqā l-amr bi-mughīra ilā an za'ma*) [*Fir.* 55:2]. The context is always the same: after having ascribed the claim to be an Imām or a *waṣī* to the individual in question, Nawbakhtī then states that 'things then went so far' that the individual then claimed to be a prophet (or an angel too in the case of Abū l-Khaṭṭāb).

Another repeated term to which van Ess draws attention occurs when the quality 'pure' (*khāliṣa, khullaṣ*) is attributed to certain factions. This happens in four cases. First, the 'pure' Kaysāniyya (*al-kaysāniyya al-khullaṣ*) [*Fir.*28:14] are those who believe the Imamate belongs to the line of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya even after Abū Hāshim's death, as opposed to the rest of the Kaysāniyya, who turned to non-Kaysānī Imāms at this point (principally either 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya or Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-'Abbās). Second, the 'pure' 'Abbāsīd Shī'a (*al-'Abbāsīyya al-khullaṣ*) [*Fir.*42:7] are the Hurayriyya, who believe that al-'Abbās, the Prophet's uncle, had inherited the Imāmate directly from the Prophet and that it then passed in secret down the 'Abbāsīd line. This sets them apart from the rest of the 'Abbāsīd Shī'a, who claimed the Imāmate passed to the 'Abbāsids later, through Abū Hāshim. Third, the 'pure' Ismā'īliyya (*al-ismā'īliyya al-khāliṣa*) are those who deny Ismā'īl's death during Ja'far al-Ṣādiq's lifetime and claim he is in hiding as the awaited Mahdī [*Fir.*58:5], as opposed to other Ismā'īlī groups, who claim the Imāmate was inherited by Ismā'īl's descendants. Finally, the thirteenth faction of the final *iftirāq*-cluster are referred to as the 'pure' Fuṭḥīyya (*al-Fuṭḥīyya al-khullaṣ*) [*Fir.*94:1], as they consistently accept fraternal succession after Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, as long as the elder brother has no surviving male offspring. In the context, this

1103 Van Ess 2011:254–255.

belief supports their claim that Ja'far b. 'Alī was Imām after Ḥasan al-'Askarī, but the group also affirms the Imāmate of 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far after Ja'far al-Ṣādiq and before Mūsā al-Kāẓim, i.e., the original doctrine of the Fuṭūḥiyya. What appears to make them 'pure' is their consistent application of the doctrine of the Fuṭūḥiyya to the whole line of succession, as opposed to other supporters of Ja'far b. 'Alī who are also labelled Fuṭūḥiyya but who adopt the doctrine only after Ḥasan al-'Askarī's death [*Fir.* 81:12–82:13]. The term *khālīṣa* thus always serves the goal of disambiguation. There are lots of Kaysānī factions, lots of 'Abbāsī factions, lots of Ismā'īlī factions and more than one group labelled 'Fuṭūḥiyya' in the post-'Askarī cluster, but Nawbakhtī wants to draw attention to the 'pure' form of the doctrine in each case.

It seems quite likely, as van Ess, suggests that these phrases were authored by the same person. However, the most likely candidate for that person is not one of Nawbakhtī's sources—and certainly not Hishām b. al-Ḥakam—but, rather, Nawbakhtī himself. One use of *khullaṣ* occurs into the post-'Askarī cluster, which must be Nawbakhtī's own work. The others occur within faction-descriptions that were taken from Q_2 but there is no equivalent to the phrase in the BdC or Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*. It seems, rather, to be Nawbakhtī's own attempt to bring greater precision to terminology of broad application. Two uses of '*tarāqā al-amr ilā . . .*' are found in the longer Ghulāt-section, which is not taken from Q_2 . Moreover, as we have seen, the descriptions of the Manṣūriyya and the Khaṭṭābiyya are also hardly related even to one another otherwise and are unlikely to have come from the same source. The third usage occurs in the material on the Mughīriyya within the *iftirāq*-schema, but here it marks the transition between material taken from Q_2 , on the one hand, and his material on Mughīra claim to prophethood, on the other, which comes from elsewhere¹¹⁰⁴. It is possible that Nawbakhtī uses this phrase to tie together material from sources where the Ghulāt leaders are said to have claimed to be Imāms with material from sources where they were said to have gone further and declared themselves prophets. In any case, the fact that the phrase is used in material that is otherwise so heterogeneous strongly suggests that this, too, is Nawbakhtī's work.

Another recurrent expression, not discussed by van Ess in this context, is *nafar yasīr* (a small band or 'gang'), which, as we have seen, is usually used to introduce dissenters from the supporters of the Ḥusaynid Imāms and once, in the description of the Fuṭūḥiyya, to refer to the small group who rejected 'Abd Allāh's Imāmate from the beginning [*Fir.*65:12]. It, too, occurs sporadically throughout the whole text, sometimes within unique passages in faction-descriptions otherwise drawn

1104 See *Tab.*24, y^2 and z^2 .

from Q_2 and sometimes outside them. Again, the person most likely responsible for introducing it is Nawbakhtī or else some post- Q_2 intermediary¹¹⁰⁵.

The final repeated expression discussed by van Ess requires somewhat more discussion. This is the expression 'until today' (*ilā l-yawm*). Strictly, there are four instances. First, at the end of the material on the *iftirāq* of the Ḥārithiyya, it is stated that all the Kaysāniyya are now awaiting the return of dead Imāms, except the 'Abbāsīd Shī'a, who believe the Imāmate belongs to the descendants of 'Abbās 'until today' [*Fir*:32:4]. Second, in the narrative material on the 'Abbāsīd Shī'a, some people are said to have rejected the Imāmate of the Caliph Maḥdī and to believe it belongs to the descendants of 'Īsā b. Mūsā 'until today' [*Fir*:45:14]. Third, the Rāwandīyya are described to believe in the deity of the Caliph Maṣū'ūr and to consider Abū Muslim his prophet 'until today' [*Fir*:47:7]. Finally, the followers of Muḡhīra are said to believe in his claim to prophethood, and in his doctrine of metempsychosis (*tanāsukh*) 'until today' [*Fir*:55:6]. In this case, van Ess was partly reacting to an argument already made by Madelung, who had used the three passages that concern the 'Abbāsīds as one of the key pieces of evidence that Nawbakhtī was relying on a source from the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd, i.e. Hishām b. al-Ḥakam's *Ikhtilāf al-nās fī l-imāma*¹¹⁰⁶. Whereas Madelung took these passages to indicate the date of the early parts of the *Firaq* in general, van Ess was more cautious, claiming only that they provided evidence that at least all *these* passages came from Hishām's pen.

We are now in a different situation to evaluate these passages. We have now established that main source of Nawbakhtī's *firaq*-material was Q_2 , a text composed in the 210s or early 220s, i.e. long after Hārūn or Hishām. All of these *ilā al-yawm*-passages, however, occur in material that is unique to the *Firaq*; none of them appear to come from Q_2 . More specifically, as can be seen in *Tab*.22, Q_2 ended the passage on the *iftirāq* of the Ḥārithiyya with the remark that those who considered 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya to have died then remained 'wavering' (*mudhab-dhAbīm*). Nawbakhtī uniquely adds that, the descendants of the Kaysāniyya mostly follow dead Imāms and await their return, but the supporters of the 'Abbāsīds trace the line of the Imāmate in the descendants of 'Abbās 'until today' [*Fir*:32:4]¹¹⁰⁷. As we have seen above, the narrative passage in which the succession crisis concerning 'Īsā b. Mūsā is mentioned is entirely unique to Nawbakhtī, as is the faction-description of the Rāwandīyya in which they deify Maṣū'ūr¹¹⁰⁸. The usage of *ilā al-yawm* in reference to the Muḡhīriyya appears in the part of the faction-description where

1105 See p. 644–647.

1106 See p. 258.

1107 See *Tab*.22, where both versions are given in full.

1108 See p. 641–642 and 656–658.

Nawbakhtī no longer has parallels to Balkhī's description¹¹⁰⁹. The appearance of the phrase *ilā al-yawm* in these passages thus does nothing to challenge the dating for *Q*₂ suggested thus far, let alone help date the early parts of the *Firaq* in general¹¹¹⁰.

Nevertheless, the appearance of the phrase *ilā al-yawm* certainly is relevant to the dating of *these* passages specifically. What remains true in Madelung's argument is that the 'present day' that is referred to here cannot be Nawbakhtī's own in any literal sense. No one supported the Imāmate of the descendants of ʿĪsā b. Mūsā by then and the Rāwandīyya had almost certainly died out completely. Hardly anyone can still have believed that the ʿAbbāsids were the true Shīʿī Imāms. That indeed makes it highly likely that Nawbakhtī is indeed relying on some older source here, perhaps, as Madelung suggests, one composed in the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd¹¹¹¹.

As ever, however, we have to reckon with the possibility of intermediaries. It is evident that the tradition was sometimes conservative enough that it preserved statements about a 'present' reality long after they ceased to apply. Another clear example occurs where the BdC/Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* refer to a 'present day' when they describe the faction that traced the line of the Imāmate to Abū Hāshim's nephew, then his grand-nephew, stating that 'today they are in the wilderness, without an Imām' (*hum al-yawm fi l-tīh lā imām lahum*), awaiting the return of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya [*Mugh.XX*₂:178:4–5; *Hūr*.214:4–5; *MaqA*:21:1–2]. Qummī's *Maqālāt* uses exactly the same phrase in regard to Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya, but in the description of the faction that awaits his return from Raḍwā [*MaqQ*.23:5–6]. That too must be a 'present' in the second half of the second century at the very latest, as widespread messianic expectation concerning Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya does not appear to have lasted much beyond the era of Ja'far al-Ṣādiq¹¹¹². Balkhī's direct source here is probably Warrāq, writing in the 260s. And even Warrāq's source, i.e., *Q*₂, seems to have been composed in the 210s. All of them left the reference to this increasingly ancient 'present' intact, as did the far later authors of the BdC, i.e., well into

¹¹⁰⁹ See *Tab*.24, *z*², and cf. also *Tab*.38.

¹¹¹⁰ Nawbakhtī also speaks of other present days: in the post-Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī cluster, he twice refers to what certain factions believe 'today' (*Fir*.81:1; 87:13). That is clearly his contemporary situation. He also claims the Wāqifa are still known as the Mamṭūra 'today' (*Fir*.69:5). This is less clear. It too is possibly a reference to Nawbakhtī's contemporary situation, but it is conceivable it stood in his source already. Either way, this too is obviously later than the 'present day' of Hārūn al-Rashīd. It thus seems that there are at least two, possibly three 'presents' in the *Firaq*.

¹¹¹¹ Madelung (1967:41–42) points out that there was no official support for the doctrine of the ʿAbbāsīd Shīʿa from the time of Hārūn onwards and that the movement probably quickly died out during his reign. Madelung. That indeed seems likely, although it is possible the phrase was simply meant to indicate that things had continued that way for some time, not that the author knew for sure of concrete groups in his day with the mentioned beliefs.

¹¹¹² Nawbakhtī claims it mostly died out after a single generation (*Fir*.26:8–9).

the sixth/twelfth century. There is thus no reason to exclude the possibility that Nawbakhtī was working from at least one intermediary even in the case of the *ilā al-yawm*-passages.

2.2.2.4 Nawbakhtī's Presentation and Conception of the Shī'a

The core argument in Madelung's original hypothesis about the sources of the *Firaq* was that the early parts of the text present such internal unity that they must have been drawn from a single source. As some passages can be dated to the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd, he concluded the whole of the first part of the text must date from that period¹¹¹³. Subsequent responses, above all from Bayhom-Daou and van Ess, isolated certain passages of the text and attribute them to other, later sources without challenging the idea that there was still a single, *main* second-century source¹¹¹⁴. But that original argument is unfounded. In fact, the text, including in its early phases, often displays a high degree of internal differentiation.

The dominant structure of Nawbakhtī's *firaq*-material was derived from Q_2 's *iftirāq*-schema, but Nawbakhtī (and/or an intermediary) has added to it from an unknown number of other sources. There is much more additional material in the *Firaq* relative to what we know came from Q_2 than in *Uṣūl al-niḥal* relative to Q_1 . One of the additional sources was Q_3 , which contained material on the Jārūdiyya's doctrine concerning the qualifications of an Imām and the perfect knowledge shared by all descendants of Fāṭima. We can safely assume that the post-Ḥasan al-'Askarī *iftirāq*-cluster and at least some of the material on the Qarāmiṭa was composed by Nawbakhtī himself. Beyond this, however, we can say little about Nawbakhtī's other sources. There are indications that at least some of the unique material on the 'Abbāsīd Shī'a came via a single, but unidentifiable source. The descriptions of the Ḥarbiyya and Rāwandiyya in the post-Abū Hāshim cluster probably both relied on another. It is also likely that there was a single source for the passages of biographical material on the Imāms, or at least for many of them. Elsewhere, however, it is usually impossible to say whether any of the various unique passages and faction descriptions even came from the same source as each other, let alone identify those sources. We also do not know whether the material was added from these sources by Nawbakhtī or whether there were one or more intermediaries between him and Q_2 that had already incorporated some of the additional material. Certain phrases and terms that appear repeatedly throughout the text suggest the material from the different sources was reworked after it had been brought together in one place,

1113 See p. 257–263.

1114 See p. 263–264.

and there are indications that Nawbakhtī himself was responsible for at least some of that reworking.

We know that Q_2 and Q_3 were Ḥusaynid-Imāmī in origin because of their perspective, respectively, on Shī'ī history generally and on the doctrine of the Jārūdiyya. The former contained a version of the *iftirāq*-schema composed in the 210s or early 220s, while the latter was probably written sometime in the second half of the second century. The *Firaq*'s unique material on the 'Abbāsīd Shī'a, and that on the Harbiyya and Rāwandīyya probably came ultimately from that period, too. Most of the rest of the unique material in the *Firaq* also betrays an obviously Ḥusaynid-Imāmī or at least a Kufan perspective, but it cannot be dated beyond the banal observation that material on second-century factions is likely to rely ultimately on at least some information from the second century. There is evidence, however, that not all Nawbakhtī's ultimate sources were Ḥusaynid-Imāmī. Some of his material on the Zaydī critique of the Imāmī doctrines of *taqiyya* and *badā'* appears to be Zaydī or Mu'tazilī in origin, and some of his unique material on Ibn Saba' and Abū 'Amra Kaysān betrays an anti-*rafā'* perspective, despite it having later being reworked by an author with the opposite point of view. The material on the Shī'ī opposition to the Khaṭṭābiyya admits that Abū Ṭālib died as a non-Muslim, which would likely have been unacceptable at least to the later Ḥusaynid-Imāmiyya and the Twelvers.

Thematically, Nawbakhtī's additional material goes beyond Q_2 in three main ways. First, it introduces material on Zaydī factions. Second, it adds entirely new factions that it labels Ghulāt, as well as material on doctrines it (inconsistently) labels *ghuluww* to descriptions of factions already present in Q_2 . Third, it appends material on the post-Muḥammad al-Jawād, post-'Alī al-Hādī and post-Ḥasan al-'Askarī splits amongst the Ḥusaynid Imāmiyya to the *iftirāq*-schema that, in Q_2 's version, came to an end with the *ikhtilāf*-cluster on the status of Jawād's Imāmate whilst he was still a minor. Besides these three main types of addition, there are numerous smaller and highly varied passages of unique material in the *Firaq*.

The material from Q_3 and the unique material is inserted into the *iftirāq*-schema from Q_2 in inconsistent ways and usually also awkwardly with respect to the schema's basic structure and underlying logic. Two entirely unique *iftirāq*-clusters, the post-Prophet cluster and the second post-Ḥusayn cluster, are added principally to incorporate Zaydī factions. This means Nawbakhtī's version of the *iftirāq*-schema is no longer restricted to factions that believe in hereditary succession, although they remain the vast majority. That obviously requires a departure from the normal logic of Q_2 's clusters. But there is also the additional, separate Zaydiyya-section, which is not incorporated into the *iftirāq*-schema at all. One result of this is that both main Zaydī factions, the Butriyya and the Jārūdiyya, are repeated at different places in the text. Some additional factions appear within *iftirāq*-clusters that were already present in Q_2 's schema, but not where they should appear according to

the schema's usual logic. These too sometimes lead to repetitions or near-repetitions of factions. Several of Nawbakhtī's additional passages use the terms *ghuluww* or Ghulāt in relation both to factions that already appeared in the schema and to additional factions, or else they attribute doctrines to these factions that Nawbakhtī associates with the term *ghuluww*. However, there are also the two, separate Ghulāt-sections and this, again, leads to the repetition of factions. Although Nawbakhtī added the large post-Ḥasan al-'Askarī cluster himself, the additional material on the post-Muḥammad al-Jawād and post-'Alī al-Hādī situations is not structured in *iftirāq*-clusters at all, even though it easily could have been. The transitions into the sections where the *iftirāq*-schema is suspended are especially structurally awkward. Internally, none of these sections follows a consistent organizing principle and it seems likely that they were put together from multiple sources.

The awkwardness can partially be explained by the fact that much of the *Firaq*'s additional material couldn't easily be integrated into the *iftirāq*-schema, as it simply didn't conform with its essential assumption that all factions came into existence because of their position on the succession to a particular Imām after his death. Most prominently, it wasn't obvious how to accommodate the Zaydī factions. All of the potential options are distortive of Zaydī doctrine, historical accuracy or both. That doesn't, however, entirely clear up why we get multiple solutions to the Zaydiyya-problem in the same text, leading to the duplication of factions. Some of Nawbakhtī's additional material, like ps.-Nāshī's, seems to have insisted that the Ḥarbiyya emerged doctrinally from the Khurramiyya in the east; that too was an aetiology that the schema could not accommodate. More concretely, the schema already explained the emergence of the Ḥarbiyya a different way: they were simply those who supported Ibn Mu'āwiya in the succession crisis following the death of Abū Hāshim. It wasn't clear how to resolve the tension. There was also no obvious way, for example, to incorporate those people who had not been supporters of Ja'far al-Šādiq and Mūsā al-Kāzīm but then held 'Alī al-Riḍā to be the Imām because he was designated Ma'mūn's successor. They didn't result from a split in a previous faction after the death of an Imām, as the schema required, but came in 'from outside' for a completely different reason. Another cause of awkwardness is that some of the information in the *Firaq*'s additional sources conflicted with that inherited with the schema. The best example is the Bayāniyya. The schema depicted them as a faction that denied the death of Abū Hāshim, but one of the other sources had them denying the death of Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya. The *Firaq* ends up discussing them in both the post-Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya and post-Abū Hāshim clusters. Some of the awkward placement of factions, however, seems to result simply from inattention to the basic structure of the schema. There is no obvious reason, for example, why the additional faction that denies the death of Abū Hāshim appears in the post-Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya cluster, rather than later.

The incongruity of the additional material and simple heedlessness on Nawbakhtī's part (or an intermediary's) do not, however, explain all the structural awkwardness in the *fīraq*-material. Some of it, rather, results from the way Nawbakhtī's conception of the Shī'a and their sub-divisions came into tension with the *iftirāq*-schema he had inherited. It is to this that we will now turn.

2.2.2.4.1 The *Fīraq*'s Concept of the Shī'a

Like ps.-Nāshī', Nawbakhtī maintained the *iftirāq*-schema as the core organising structure of his *fīraq*-material and thus inherited and, to a great extent, reproduced its perspective. He even continued it into the present by adding the post-Ḥasan al-'Askarī cluster. However, again like ps.-Nāshī', he also had taxonomic concerns that the *iftirāq*-schema couldn't accommodate. Namely, for him, certain larger categories of the Shī'a were salient: some factions were Zaydiyya and some were Ghulāt. It was not obvious for him either how to bring this taxonomy into concert with the *iftirāq*-schema either conceptually or structurally. Moreover, even more so than in ps.-Nāshī's case, Nawbakhtī had material on factions belonging to both categories that had not featured in the *iftirāq*-schema; he needed to find a way to integrate this material somehow. Nawbakhtī' (and/or an intermediary's) solution overlaps with that deployed in *Uṣūl al-niḥal*, but not entirely.

Like ps.-Nāshī', Nawbakhtī (or an intermediary) created separate, non-*iftirāq* sections for the Ghulāt and the Zaydiyya and populated them with material taken from other sources. Even in *Uṣūl al-niḥal*, this resulted in some factions that feature in the *iftirāq*-schema also appearing in the Ghulāt-section, but this only happened where the schema from Q_1 already contained the faction¹¹¹⁵. The same thing happens in the *Fīraq* too with respect to Q_2 , but more often the duplication arises because Nawbakhtī (or an intermediary) frequently incorporated additional material on factions he openly acknowledges are Zaydiyya and Ghulāt into the separate sections *and* into his version of the schema. One potential explanation for this is that the two moves were not made at the same time. Perhaps an intermediary added the factions into the schema, but Nawbakhtī then added the separate sections without concern for the resulting duplications, or *vice versa*. But in any case, Nawbakhtī did not try to impose consistency when he reworked the text. The tension thus remains: the *Fīraq* incorporates many factions both within the perspective of the inherited *iftirāq*-schema *and* acknowledges a more fundamentally separate status to the categories Zaydiyya and Ghulāt by also including separate sections devoted to those categories.

¹¹¹⁵ See p. 446.

It is important to note, however, that Nawbakhtī makes the division between the Zaydiyya, the Ghulāt and the other Shī'ī factions even less explicit and less taxonomically clean than does ps.-Nāshī'. Some of this is precisely because so many factions occur in the separate sections and then also within the schema, blurring any taxonomic function those sections are supposed to serve. More generally, although neither author ever states he is going to discuss the Shī'a according to this categorisation, ps.-Nāshī' at least announces the beginning of the sections on the Ghulāt and Zaydiyya when he gets to them. Nawbakhtī does not even do that. The reader is explicitly informed only retrospectively that this has been the ordering principle of the sections, even if it becomes clear long before. This seems to be yet another result of the fact that, although Nawbakhtī evidently wants to acknowledge the existence of these categories on some level, he doesn't have a neat solution to the problem of how to add this perspective to that of the schema. He gestures at the alternative taxonomy, rather than openly or consistently using it to structure his text. Perhaps he felt that explicit section-marking would have made the structural breaks too obvious; he seems to be trying to smooth them out by segueing into the sections from the descriptions of suitable factions that do have a place in the schema. In any case, one thing is clear: like ps.-Nāshī', Nawbakhtī had no ready-made solution to the question of how to bring the Zaydiyya within the schema and seems to have been uncertain what level of prominence to give the concepts of *ghuluww* and Ghulāt *vis à vis* its dominant organizing structure.

Another issue, however, is that, although the existence of the categories of Zaydiyya and Ghulāt is well established in the text, there is no explicit third category. *Uṣūl al-niḥal* does have a third category, because ps.-Nāshī' uses the term *ahl al-nasaq* to refer to the factions of the *iftirāq*-schema collectively. The issue there is just that some of the *ahl al-nasaq* are also Ghulāt, meaning the categories are not exclusive, a fact which is never addressed. But Nawbakhtī does not have any collective term at all for the factions that are not Zaydiyya or Ghulāt, apart from the fact that they are all 'Shī'a'. This leads us to another question: how does Nawbakhtī conceive of these different categories within the text?

2.2.2.4.1.1 The Concept of the Imāmiyya (and Kaysāniyya)

Ps.-Nāshī' uses the terms *ahl al-nasaq* and *ahl al-imāma* to cover all the factions of the *iftirāq*-schema. He does not have a term to pick out the Ḥusaynid-Imāmiyya particularly. Balkhī and Ash'arī would later use the terms Imāmiyya and Rāfiḍa in the same way. Nawbakhtī has no such term, perhaps because his version of the schema also includes the Zaydiyya. The only collective term for the factions of the schema is 'Shī'a', as they all ultimately descend from the original *shī'at 'Alī* that had existed, according to Nawbakhtī, already during the lifetime of the Prophet [*Fir.*15:15–16:6].

When it comes to the Ḥusaynid-Imāmiyya more specifically, they effectively appear already at the beginning of Nawbakhtī's schema, as the unique post-Prophet cluster begins with a faction that claims not just that 'Alī was appointed by *naṣṣ* at Ghadīr Khumm but already that that he was to be followed by a succession of Imāms each appointed by the *naṣṣ* of his predecessor, each possessing perfect knowledge, and each protected by God from error [*Fir*.16:6–17:11]. But this faction is anonymous. Indeed, the only name given to followers of the Ḥusaynid Imāms before the final, post-Ḥasan al-'Askarī cluster is 'Rāfiḍa' [*Fir*.54:11, 55:15], but the term is placed in the mouth of a Zaydī opponent, Sulaymān b. Jarīr, and is unlikely to reflect Nawbakhtī's own usage; the material in question is probably drawn from a Zaydī or Mu'tazilī source¹¹¹⁶. In the post-'Askarī cluster, the term 'Imāmiyya' appears twice. Both occurrences are found in the description of the twelfth faction, i.e. the faction with which Nawbakhtī affiliates himself: those who acknowledge Ḥasan al-'Askarī's death and now follow his anonymous son. The first time, at the beginning of the description [*Fir*.90:5], Nawbakhtī states simply that this faction is called the Imāmiyya, but the second time, at the description's end, he writes:

This is the way of the Imāmate (*sabīl al-imāma*) and the clear, obligatory path that the Imāmi Shī'a whose Shī'ism is true (*al-Shī'a al-Imāmiyya al-ṣaḥīḥat al-tashayyu'*) continue to follow [*Fir*.93:2–4].

That seems to imply the existence of an Imāmiyya before the split following Ḥasan al-'Askarī's death and that this twelfth faction alone is their true continuation. Nawbakhtī thus appears to be using the term to refer at least to earlier people whose Shī'ism was 'true' according to the principles of the succession of the Imāmate set out in detail in the description of this faction, i.e. people who denied the Imāmate of Ismā'il b. Ja'far, excluding 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far, accepting 'Alī al-Riḍā after Mūsā's death, then following Muḥammad al-Jawād, 'Alī al-Hādī and Ḥasan al-'Askarī. What is less clear is whether Nawbakhtī would also have accepted the idea that there were also Imāmiyya whose Shī'ism was not 'true'. Is an Imāmi anyone who believes in a continuous hereditary Imāmate, as later for Balkhī and Ash'arī, or does the term apply only to those who follow the Ḥusaynid line? Does it apply to people who follow the Ḥusaynid line but not the 'correct' line of succession? Are the Fuṭūhiyya, for example, also Imāmiyya?

The *Firaq* never explicitly addresses the question, but it does use another term for some believers in a hereditary Imāmate: 'Kaysāniyya', which appears nine times. This term eventually refers to a sub-category of factions in the schema but only in retrospect. The first time it appears [*Fir*.20:11], rather, it is used, in the way wit-

1116 See p. 647.

nessed for *Q*₂, i.e., simply as the faction-name of those who believed Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya was the Imām either directly after 'Alī or after Ḥusayn. They are called Kaysāniyya because Mukhtār, the leader of the rebellion conducted in Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya's name, was known as Kaysān. In his unique material, Nawbakhtī initially continues that usage [*Fir*:24:12], then later applies it also to those who denied Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya's death and awaited his return [*Fir*:26:10, 28:1, 32:5]. He ends up, however, referring to *all* factions that trace the line of succession through Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya, including the 'Abbāsīd Shī'a and the Ḥarbiyya, as Kaysāniyya [*Fir*:32:3, 42:5]. That is the usage that is reflected also in his unique use of the term 'the pure Kaysāniyya' (*al-kaysāniyya al-khullas*) to single out those who follow Abū Hāshim then trace the Imāmate through the line of his brother [*Fir*:28:14].

This doesn't necessarily mean that Nawbakhtī wouldn't have understood the Kaysāniyya to be a species of Imāmiyya, but the fact that he never clarifies this point is itself revealing. That kind of concern with systematic taxonomizing simply isn't salient in the *Firaq*, at least not beyond the 'genetic' stemma of factions imposed by the *iftirāq*-schema. What seems to matter, rather, is just the basic idea that the branch of factions tracing the succession to the Imāmate through Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya is a coherent, nameable phenomenon, separable from those factions that trace it through 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn and Muḥammad al-Bāqir. The latter, however, are never explicitly named collectively. The reason probably has something to do with Nawbakhtī's imagined readership: he is addressing his 'own' people. For him, the Kaysāniyya were obviously something else, an 'other' that required a name, but the divisions within the community that had considered 'Alī al-Hādī to be the Imām and who had (mostly) then been loyal to Ḥasan al-'Askarī were 'internal'. That community itself did not need a category-name because it was not being viewed from outside. Nawbakhtī uses such a name only to assert that the *true* Imāmī Shī'a are those who trace the line of the Imāmate in accordance with the principles he lays out and thus conclude that the Imām after Ḥasan al-'Askarī is his anonymous son¹¹¹⁷.

1117 There are some other terms that Nawbakhtī uses in relation to groups of factions, but they are even less taxonomic in function. One of them is 'the 'Alid Shī'a' (*al-shī'a al-'alawiyya*), which seems to be used more to signpost the text's structure than to classify. It appears only once, at the beginning of the second post-Ḥusayn cluster, where it is used to mark the return of the schema to the line through 'Alī, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn (*Fir*:47:10). The term serves to contrast with the 'Abbāsīd Shī'a (*al-shī'a al-'Abbāsiyya*) who traced the Imāmate through 'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, who are discussed just beforehand. But the terminology is found only here and is not consistent with what has come before, as Nawbakhtī earlier uses the term *al-shī'a al-'Abbāsiyya* in a different way: to refer collectively to *all* 'Abbāsīd factions, including those who trace the Imāmate through Abū Hāshim, who are *thus* also *shī'a 'alawiyya*.

2.2.2.4.1.2 The Concept of the Zaydiyya

The *Firaq*'s treatment of the Zaydiyya is complex. Zaydi factions appear at several locations in the text, where they are treated from different perspectives. Nevertheless, the *Firaq* consistently presents the Zaydiyya as consisting of only two basic factions: the Butriyya (or the 'weak' Zaydiyya) and the Jārūdiyya (or the 'strong' Zaydiyya). This classification is effectively repeated three times [*Fir.*18:1–19:7, 48:7–50:11, 50:11–51:8]. Twice it is stated that the two factions came together to support Zayd b. 'Alī and thereby collectively became known as the Zaydiyya [*Fir.*19:5–7, 49:2–5]. The Butriyya and the Jārūdiyya are thus depicted to have existed before Zayd's rebellion and their collective designation as Zaydiyya. Beyond this, however, it becomes much less clear how Nawbakhtī conceives of Zaydī history and doctrine.

To begin with, the construct 'Zaydiyya' itself is hazy. In what sense are the Butriyya and the Jārūdiyya supposed to have merged when they became the Zaydiyya? From the lists of the prominent figures from the two 'factions', it would seem that they kept their separate existences also long after the rebellion. Did they then simply bear the same umbrella-designation because of their temporary alliance behind Zayd? And why was this decisive for classifying these two factions but not other supporters of Zayd? At one point, Nawbakhtī states that all other factions of the Zaydiyya branched off from these two factions after they had come together [*Fir.*19:7], but what does this mean? Did they branch off from a merged Zaydiyya or did some branch off from the Butriyya and others from the Jārūdiyya? And what factions is he talking about anyway? No faction is ever portrayed as dividing off from the Butriyya, the Jārūdiyya, or the Zaydiyya collectively in the entire *Firaq*. Moreover, no named individual is described simply as a Zaydī, whilst there are lists of the prominent Butriyya and Jārūdiyya. When the *nafar yasīr* abandons Bāqir due to the experiences of 'Umar b. Riyāḥ, they join the Butriyya specifically. This is obviously supposed to have happened while Bāqir was still alive, i.e., some time before Zayd's rebellion, so before there even could have been a Zaydiyya. But the *nafar yasīr* that abandons Ja'far after Ismā'īl b. Ja'far's death—i.e., long *after* Zayd's

Nawbakhtī also occasionally simply uses the term 'Shī'a' when he seems to mean Imāmiyya in a narrow (Ḥusaynid) or expanded (Ḥusaynid plus Kaysānī) sense, but never in a systematic or taxonomic fashion. Most notably, in the description of the Saba'iyya, he states that 'the opponents of the Shī'a' claim *rafīd* is derived from Judaism (*Fir.*20:6–7). That implies a 'Shī'a' who all subscribe to the rejection of the first two caliphs, even though Nawbakhtī is well aware that this does not apply to all Shī'a and has only just described a faction for which it does not hold, namely the Butriyya. 'Opponents of the Shī'a' here probably just means opponents of his own position. When he describes Muḥammad al-Bāqir's rejection of Ḥamza b. 'Umāra al-Barbarī, he states that 'the Shī'a' abandoned Ḥamza because of this (*Fir.*25:9). At another point, in the longer Ghulāt-section, he describes how one of the groups of the Khaṭṭābiyya were refuted by 'a group of the Shī'a' (*Fir.*39:18). Again, we are probably supposed to understand 'Imāmi Shī'a'.

rebellion—also do not join a collective Zaydiyya but the Butriyya and Sulaymān b. Jarīr specifically. The Imāmī polemic that the *Firaq* inherits from Q_3 is directed specifically against the Jārūdiyya, not a generic Zaydiyya. In short, the factions 'Butriyya' and 'Jārūdiyya' are well established in the *Firaq*, despite some inconsistencies in the doctrinal profiles attributed to them, but the concept 'Zaydiyya' is comparatively insubstantial.

The *Firaq*'s chronology of the Zaydiyya is also ambiguous. The Butriyya and the Jārūdiyya are first portrayed to have emerged immediately after Muḥammad's death, in the unique post-Prophet cluster. This is because they have positions on the succession to the Prophet different from each other and from that of the (here anonymous) Imāmiyya. But it does not fit chronologically with the picture elsewhere in the text. One issue is that the *Firaq*'s historical prologue already covers the divisions that arose in the Muslim Community over the succession to Muḥammad and during the first *fitna*, but the prologue works with the idea that the Shī'a were unified up until 'Alī's own death; there is no split into the Butriyya, Jārūdiyya and proto-Imāmiyya following Muḥammad's death there¹¹¹⁸. Another issue is that Abū l-Jārūd—after whom the Jārūdiyya are named—is later depicted to have been a contemporary of Muḥammad al-Bāqir, not a figure active in the years after the Prophet's death¹¹¹⁹. All the prominent leaders of the Butriyya and Jārūdiyya listed in the Zaydiyya-section were active from the early to the mid second century¹¹²⁰. The two *naḡar yasīrs* that defect to the Butriyya do so during the Imāmates of Bāqir and Šādiq. In comparison, no named individuals or specific events are mentioned in connection with the two factions when they appear in the post-Prophet cluster at all. The final, major chronological issue is that the Jārūdiyya then have a second aetiology: they are also depicted to have emerged in the second post-Ḥusayn cluster.

The chronological ambiguity arises primarily because of how Nawbakhtī (or an intermediary) has tried to attach the Butriyya and the Jārūdiyya to the *ift-irāq*-schema, which simply wasn't constructed to accommodate them. The two factions appear in the post-Prophet cluster for essentially systematic reasons: because they differ *doctrinally* over the succession to Muḥammad. But the logic of the *ift-irāq*-schema makes it appear as if they are being depicted to have emerged also *historically* in that moment. Nawbakhtī does nothing to counter this impression. The ambiguity probably serves a purpose. The idea that the Butriyya and Jārūdiyya emerged in some sense directly after the Prophet's death fits better with the general genealogical approach to Shī'ī history that Nawbakhtī inherited from the

1118 See p. 79.

1119 See *Tab.40*, *t*².

1120 See p. 660.

iftirāq-schema and to which he seems to subscribe at a deep conceptual level. Namely, he conceives of Ḥusaynid-Imāmī doctrine as fully formed from the beginning and of other Shīī groups as having broken away. It thus makes sense that Shīī factions with a different view on the succession to Muḥammad must somehow have split off right after Muḥammad's death.

But the 'second' emergence of the Jārūdiyya, where they are called the Surḥūbiyya, then creates more than just another chronological issue. In the post-Prophet cluster, they are said to have believed 'Alī was the Imām directly after the Prophet because he was the *afdāl*, rejecting Abū Bakr and 'Umar (and, indeed the whole *umma*) as unbelievers for opposing him [*Fir*.19:1–4]. They thus subscribe to the same order of Imāms as the Imāmiyya there, but they believe in a different *mechanism* of succession, because the Imāmiyya claim that 'Alī's Imāmate was established, rather, by a specific *naṣṣ* from the Prophet [*Fir*.16:13]. In the *Firaq*'s second origin-account of the Jārūdiyya, however, they are depicted to arise in the split following Ḥusayn's death. This is again done for primarily systematic reasons: because they cease to follow the same line of Imāms as the Imāmiyya after Ḥusayn. But the implication of placing them here is that they only split off from the Imāmiyya at this later point. According to this new logic, there was no separate Jārūdiyya before this point. That would seem to imply that the Jārūdiyya, like the Imāmiyya, must thus have believed 'Alī, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn were appointed by *naṣṣ*. Notably, this actually fits better with what we read outside the *Firaq*: both ps.-Nāshī' and Balkhī-Ash'arī—the latter probably dependent on Warrāq—claim the Jārūdiyya believed the Prophet made a *naṣṣ* concerning 'Alī; Ḥasan and Ḥusayn were appointed either by successive *naṣṣ*, or else the Prophet had already made a statement concerning them too¹¹²¹. But the *Firaq* thus appears to have two different understandings of a core element of Jārūdī doctrine that leads to two different ways of accommodating them in the *iftirāq*-schema. This, combined with the fact that a different name is also used (Surḥūbiyya) probably indicates that different sources lie behind the two descriptions.

In neither the post-Prophet nor the second post-Ḥusayn cluster does Nawbakhtī attempt to attach the Zaydiyya as a whole to the schema then to present the Jārūdiyya and the Butriyya as dividing off from them, as the usual logic of *iftirāq* would require. Rather, he integrates the Jārūdiyya and the Butriyya individually, stating in retrospect that they came together to support Zayd b. 'Alī and thereby formed the Zaydiyya. This is a result of the model of the Zaydiyya he inherited from his sources. There, it was evidently the Jārūdiyya and the Butriyya that were considered the substantive elements; 'Zaydiyya' seems to have been little more than

¹¹²¹ See *Tab*.40, l¹ and *Tab*.10, a.

a word for the two together. More specifically, the model depicted the Zaydiyya as resulting the fact that these two factions came together in support for Zayd's rebellion, but it also understood them to have continued their separate existences thereafter; there is effectively no 'Zaydiyya' on anything but a classificatory level here. As we have seen, this is also the model that underlies the structure of *Uṣūl al-niḥal*'s Zaydiyya-section. But where does it come from?

The lists of the prominent figures of the Butriyya and the Jārūdiyya preserved by both Nawbakhtī and ps.-Nāshī' indicate that the two categories were established by the middle of the second half of the second century in Kufa. The latest name recorded for the Butriyya is Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ b. Ḥayy (d.167/784); for the Jārūdiyya it is Abū Maṣṣūr b. Abī l-Aswad, who also lived into the second half of the second century¹¹²². If the lists had been composed too long after Ḥasan's death, we would expect later names to have been added¹¹²³. Probably already by this point, the two 'factions' were perceived to be two wings of a 'Zaydiyya', hence the two lists were preserved together. But it is hard to know precisely what would have been meant by this. In any case, the idea that the Zaydiyya were formed *originally* by the coming together of the Butriyya and the Jārūdiyya in support of Zayd b. 'Alī is most likely a retro-application of these categories back onto the supposed origins of the 'Zaydī' movement as such. That does not mean, of course, that the model was completely disconnected from reality, but it understood things from a certain, later perspective, once these categories had indeed become salient.

Zayd had apparently attracted the support, or at least verbal approval, of a number of Kufan religious scholars¹¹²⁴. These people were otherwise mostly indistinguishable from other traditionists of the period, especially within the city; they transmitted *ḥadīth* that they traced back to the Companions of the Prophet and followed mainstream Kufan ritual-legal practice. They presumably had a range of views on the question of the succession to Muḥammad and the status of 'Alī's opponents in the first *fitna*, and they were obviously no fans of the Umayyads. But they certainly did not go so far as to reject the Imāmates of Abū Bakr and 'Umar. In the decades following Zayd's rebellion, *some* of them (and their intellectual descendants) continued actively to support the military activities of the 'Alids, especially Zayd's own sons and the sons of 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan. But they otherwise maintained their allegiance to this broader Kufan traditionism, in particular on ques-

1122 *TG.I*:266.

1123 On all the figures in the lists, see *TG.I*:239–267.

1124 Abū Ḥanīfa and A'mash as well as several others are recorded—in addition to the names that are counted among the 'Butriyya'—as having at least verbally supported Zayd. See van Arendonk 1960:30–31 [=1919:27–28] and esp. 307–312 [=1919:281–285].

tions of ritual law¹¹²⁵. It is clearly this latter group—and not traditionists who had sympathized with Zayd’s cause in general—that appears in the list of the prominent figures of the ‘Butriyya’. Notably, the list thus includes Hārūn b. Sa’īd al-‘Ijlī, who was involved with the rebellion of Ibrāhīm b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan in 145/763, and Ḥasan b. Šāliḥ, who was associated most heavily, rather, with ‘Isā b. Zayd (d.166/783). Other traditionists who had (at least tacitly) supported Zayd were not classed as ‘Butriyya’, presumably because they did not attach themselves so openly to the political cause of later ‘Alids but increasingly adopted an acquiescent position towards the ruling authorities¹¹²⁶. In any case, they were thus absorbed into what—from a later perspective—was perceived as the Sunnī traditionist ‘mainstream’; the process was doubtless complex.

It is very unlikely the early ‘Butriyya’ would have seen themselves as group¹¹²⁷. It is also not clear at all from what point people would have begun to distinguish the ‘Butriyya’ from other, often still basically pro-‘Alid Kufan traditionists¹¹²⁸. We know only that this was done by some point in the second half of the second century. It is, however, extremely unlikely it happened before Zayd’s rebellion; if it had anything to do with their more open, activist stance, then it was rather the rebellion (and probably also subsequent developments) that forced the split. When the term ‘Butriyya’ is used for the period before the rebellion, then, it thus occludes the facts that Zayd had attracted wide-spread traditionist support and that those who became the ‘Butriyya’ had originally just been a part of it. This happened because the whole situation was being viewed from a later perspective, once ‘Butriyya’ had indeed become a meaningful category. From that perspective, it then made perfect sense to understand the Butriyya as having existed in advance of Zayd’s rebellion. After all, several of the most prominent Butrī thinkers had indeed been active before then, and their views probably didn’t change much afterwards.

The earlier figures on the list of the Jārūdiyya had, rather, been part of—or at least much closer to—the group that eventually became the Ḥusaynid-Imāmiyya¹¹²⁹. This group did not transmit Prophetic and Companion *ḥadīth* from the ‘standard’ transmitters of the intermediate generations but took Muḥammad al-Bāqir’s teach-

1125 Madelung 1965:49–51; *TG*.I:240; Haider 2011a:90, 137, 185, 191, 213.

1126 Haider 2011a:209–214.

1127 *TG*.I:250–251.

1128 See van Arendonk 1960:312–317 [=1919:285–290], who lists some other traditionists who supported Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm (once again including Abū Ḥanīfa), not all of whom appear in the lists of the Butriyya. Also Madelung 1965:74. There are, however, reports that numerous traditionists from other cities with no obvious Shī‘ī or ‘Zaydī’ sympathies at all supported the two brothers. For a generally sceptical overview of such reports, see Elad 2016:363–373.

1129 Madelung 1965:44–49.

ings as authoritative in their own right. They thus formed a distinct epistemic community, based on their more extreme pro-ʿAlid stance, i.e., their conviction that ʿAlī had been the rightful Imām after Muḥammad's death, that the Prophet had indicated as much, and that the Companions, including Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, had stood in the way of this, thereby becoming unfit as religious authorities, perhaps even unbelievers. In reality, we have little idea how big this group was in general, let alone how many of its adherents supported Zayd's rebellion, but the earliest figures on the list of the ʿJārūdiyya'—i.e. Abū l-Jārūd and Fuḍayl b. Rassān—apparently did so¹¹³⁰. In any case, the more decisive 'split' probably occurred, rather, when they did not later make peace with those who came to profess exclusive allegiance to Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq and the doctrine of the hereditary Imāmate¹¹³¹. Instead, these ʿJārūdiyya' maintained the more 'activist' concept of Imāmate through rebellion, supporting Zayd's and ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan's sons, and transmitting from the ʿAlids generally¹¹³². In matters of ritual law, however, they remained close to the nascent Ḥusaynid-Imāmī community that had attached itself to the figure of Jaʿfar¹¹³³.

The information we have on Zayd's rebellion indicates that such 'renegades' from Bāqir's *rāfiḍī* Kufan disciples—as Imāmī tradition effectively depicts them¹¹³⁴—can only have been a tiny fraction of Zayd's supporters¹¹³⁵. The ʿJārūdiyya' gained in numbers later (which was true of the believers in Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq's Imāmate too), eventually even becoming influential over later ʿAlid rebels themselves and altering the whole character of the ʿZaydiyya'¹¹³⁶. But, just like the Butriyya, when the Jārūdiyya are said to have existed before Zayd's rebellion, this is an effect of the later significance of Abū l-Jārūd and his intellectual descendants being retro-projected onto the time of the rebellion. And again, this had to do with the

1130 *Ibid.*; *TG*.I:245–261.

1131 *TG*.I:259. The Imāmiyya never entirely managed to purge the transmissions of Abū l-Jārūd from their own works. See Modarressi 2003:121–125.

1132 Abū l-Jārūd already transmitted from Yahyā b. Zayd as well as Bāqir (Madelung 1965:44, n.5); most of Abū Khālid al-Wāsiṭī's material is projected onto Zayd b. ʿAlī (Madelung 1965:56–59; *TG*.I:262–266).

1133 *TG*.I:265.

1134 That is the sense of the *ḥadīth* preserved by Kashshī in which Jaʿfar states that God has 'transformed Abū l-Jārūd's heart' (*Rijāl*K.230:1–4). More generally, the stories of Bāqir and Ṣādiq's repudiations of Abū l-Jārūd, such as that in the *Firaq*, where Muḥammad al-Bāqir supposedly names him *Surḥūb* after a blind sea devil (*Tab*.40, t²) are probably a result of the need to explicitly exclude him, just as is the case with their repudiations of, say, Mughira b. Saʿid or Abū l-Khaṭṭāb (see Buckley 1999:47, 51). See also *TG*.I:259.

1135 Madelung 1965:50–51; Haider 2011a:199, 213–214, esp. n.124.

1136 Madelung 1965:50–51, 82–83; Haider 2011a:207–214.

reality that Abū l-Jārūd and Fuḍayl b. Rassān had been active already before Zayd rebelled, just not in any sense as ‘Jārūdiyya’, let alone ‘Zaydiyya’.

The construct we find in the *Firaq* and *Uṣūl al-niḥal*, whereby the Zaydiyya consisted originally of a Jārūdiyya and a Butriyya that had existed before Zayd’s rebellion then came together in support of Zayd, thus represents a later perspective on things, a perspective which probably took shape in the period of activity of Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ b. Ḥayy and Abū l-Khālīd al-Wāsiṭī at the very earliest. The perspective is certainly Kufan, but it is difficult to be more specific. Notably, although it is possible to find both ‘Jārūdī’-type and ‘Butrī’-type doctrines and chains of transmission in the extant Zaydī literature from the second and third centuries, the construct itself does not appear there. There is no evidence that the later Zaydiyya imagined their own origins this way, or even that they considered the basic Butrī-Jārūdī divide to be of overwhelming significance. There are two references to the Butriyya in Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī’s *Maqātil al-Ṭalibiyyīn*, but the term does not appear at all before Iṣfahānī gets to Yaḥyā b. ‘Abd Allāh (d.189/805). It is then used to denote the doctrine of a son of Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ b. Ḥayy and a group of Kufans who follow him. The point is that their Butrī stance typically leads them to accept the wiping of the shoes before prayer; Yaḥyā is opposed to this¹¹³⁷. The term Butrī appears once more, to refer to the doctrine of Sulaymān b. Jarīr, who is called ‘one of the Butrī Zaydī *mutakallimūn*’ in the story of his possible involvement in the poisoning of Idrīs b. ‘Abd Allāh (d.175/791)¹¹³⁸. Both stories could plausibly be interpreted as related to tensions between Zaydīs with a Butrī-type orientation and the two brothers¹¹³⁹. Notably, however, the brothers are not labelled Jārūdī, so it is not clear that the whole model is in operation¹¹⁴⁰. There are also two uses of the term ‘Jārūdiyya’, but these are used in relation to even later Zaydī Imāms and without any obvious significance¹¹⁴¹. The *Maqātil* is not a work of doctrine, so we would perhaps expect no descriptions of such groups anyway. But the sparsity of the very terms is still noteworthy; it seems the categories were not especially important for Iṣfahānī *or his sources* either. All in all, this leads us to suspect that the basic Butrī-Jārūdī dis-

1137 *Maqātil*.392:10.

1138 *Maqātil*.407:16.

1139 E.g., Haider 2011a:210–212.

1140 It is anyway not clear whether Yaḥyā’s doctrine in ritual law had anything to do with the influence of Abū l-Jārūd and the ‘Jārūdiyya’. It was probably linked, rather, to his upbringing in the circle of Ja’far al-Ṣādiq in Medina (*Maqātil*.388:10–389:9). That was what brought him into conflict with his Butrī followers, who upheld the Kufan tradition. This is noted by Madelung (1965:51) and Haider (2011:210, n.109), who both nevertheless see Yaḥyā as a ‘Jārūdī’ Imām.

1141 At *Maqātil*.439:8–9, Muḥammad b. Ja’far b. Muḥammad is reported to have gone out to pray wearing wool with 200 men of the Jārūdiyya. At *Maqātil*.465:6, Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim b. ‘Alī is said to have followed the doctrine of the Jārūdiyya.

tion, and especially the construct of Zaydī origins that is built around it, was transmitted to Nawbakhtī and ps.-Nāshī' from Imāmī sources, perhaps along with the refutation of the Jārūdiyya from *Q*₃, which also appears in both the *Firaq* and *Uṣūl al-niḥal*. Certainly, the 'weak-strong' terminology is of Imāmī origin.

Aetiology is not the *Firaq*'s only concern when it comes to the Zaydiyya. The material from *Q*₃ on the Jārūdiyya's supposed doctrine of the perfect knowledge possessed by all descendants of Fāṭima regardless of age reveals, rather, a key aspect of Imāmī-Jārūdī polemic. Meanwhile, in the Zaydiyya-section, the Jārūdiyya become the 'strong' Zaydiyya, whereas the Butriyya are the 'weak'. The point is surely that, despite the aggressive polemic against them that proceeds this, the Shī'ism of the Jārūdiyya is stronger because they more closely resemble the Imāmīyya doctrinally.

The *naḥar yasīr*-passages where some of Bāqir's and Ṣādiq's followers defect to the Butriyya are also revealing. They constitute a large departure from the *Firaq*'s standard view of Shī'i history. Normally, uncertainty arises only after an Imām's death; at this point some people will choose the wrong path for the future by following a false Imām. But they do not reexamine their past beliefs about previous Imāms. Here, however, the community who, according to the schema, have been solid believers in the Prophet's *naṣṣ* regarding 'Alī and followers of the Imāms through to Bāqir and Ṣādiq respectively, suddenly appears to be less secure in its basic doctrine. Some of its members are apparently ready to rescind all of their previous beliefs and join a faction with a completely different doctrine of the Imāmate—one that even accepts Abū Bakr and 'Umar—simply because their current Imām has made a mistake. This happens in part because the perspective of different material has entered: the *naḥar yasīrs* are mostly vehicles for Nawbakhtī to present his material on the (Butrī) Zaydī critique of Imāmī doctrine concerning the Imāms. Nevertheless, they represent one of the few gestures in the text towards the idea that things were much more in flux than the paradigm of *iftirāq* allows.

Finally, the fact that all the *Firaq*'s substantive material on the Zaydiyya is about the Butriyya and the Jarūdiyya in the early second century should also be viewed from the opposite point of view, namely that there is so little on the later Zaydiyya. The *naḥar yasīr* that abandons Ja'far for the Butriyya does so because of arguments advanced by Sulaymān b. Jarīr. Sulaymān is a somewhat later figure; he was active in the second half of the second century. But this also makes the whole set-up anachronous. People couldn't have abandoned Ja'far during his lifetime because of Sulaymān. Rather, arguments associated with Sulaymān against *taqiyya* and *badā'* are being retro-projected into Ja'far's lifetime because the Imāmīyya had interpreted the events around nomination and death of Ismā'īl in these terms. Notably, however, Nawbakhtī, unlike the Mu'tazilī authors, does not reify a separate Sulaymāniyya; Sulaymān is just another prominent Butrī here, as he is

also later for Iṣfahānī. In any case, this material is probably Zaydī or Muʿtazilī in origin. Thus, Nawbakhtī apparently had no material from Imāmī sources that dealt with prominent Zaydī individuals even this late. The Ḥusayniyya, who appear in the Zaydiyya-section, are also a slightly later phenomenon, as they are associated with support for Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan, but Nawbakhtī provides no information at all on how they relate to the other Zaydiyya. He doesn't mention the names of any individuals in connection with them, and it is not even certain that he considers them Zaydiyya as such¹¹⁴². Finally, the Zaydiyya are briefly mentioned in the context of support for ʿAlī al-Riḍā after his nomination by al-Maʿmūn, but the reference is fleeting and superficial; we have no idea who these people are supposed to be¹¹⁴³.

Certainly, nothing of the Zaydiyya in Nawbakhtī's own day is mentioned at all. There is also nothing on Zaydī rebellions after that of Zayd himself¹¹⁴⁴. It seems his source material on them and his essential conception of them was focussed on the second century and primarily on its first half. They simply fall out of the sphere of his interest after that; from the post-Jaʿfar *iftirāq* onwards, he, like the *iftirāq*-schema he inherited from Q_2 restricted his interests in Shīʿī phenomena narrowly to the splits amongst the Ḥusaynid-Imāmiyya. That probably reveals something of the concerns of an elite Imāmī in Baghdad in the mid-third century.

Once again, as for *Uṣūl al-niḥal*, it is evident there was no ready-made way to integrate the Zaydiyya into the paradigm of successive *iftirāq*; the schema had simply not been built to accommodate them. Nawbakhtī tried several solutions with uneven results, but the different sources on the Zaydiyya at his disposal were apparently difficult to synthesize into any single model that could slot neatly into the schema anyway, the result being the significant ambiguity and instability in his presentation that we now see.

2.2.2.4.1.3 The Concept of *ghuluww* and the Ghulāt

As we have seen, there is no evidence that Nawbakhtī's main source—the *iftirāq*-schema from Q_2 —ever used the terms *ghuluww* or Ghulāt, nor did it classify factions according to any concept related to *ghuluww*; its interests were restricted almost entirely to positions on the line of succession to the Imāmate and the etymol-

¹¹⁴² See p. 559–661.

¹¹⁴³ See p. 615–616.

¹¹⁴⁴ It is unclear whether Nawbakhtī saw Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh's rebellion as Zaydī in some sense. That is possibly what is being gestured at by the way the Ḥusayniyya and Mughīriyya appear together at the end of the Zaydiyya-section, but he does not say so explicitly, and it remains unclear whether Nawbakhtī is really calling either of these factions Zaydiyya anyway.

ogy of faction-names. Wherever the *Firaq* employs the terms *ghuluww* and Ghulāt, and wherever it provides descriptions of doctrines that seem to fall within its understanding of *ghuluww*, the material appears to be derived from other sources or else composed by Nawbakhtī himself.

Overall, the *Firaq* is inconsistent, or at least ambiguous, in its concept of *ghuluww*. Unlike ps.-Nāshī, Nawbakhtī does once provide an explicit definition. At the end of the longer Ghulāt-section, he explicitly states that the essence of *ghuluww* is belief in divine indwelling¹¹⁴⁵. However, not even all the factions within the section are said to hold this belief, and it is only in the descriptions of factions of the Khaṭṭābiyya, which immediately precede the definition, that divine indwelling is the dominant theme¹¹⁴⁶. In the shorter Ghulāt-section, belief in divine indwelling is attributed to the Rāwandiyya but not the Hāshimiyya¹¹⁴⁷. Outside of the Ghulāt-sections, the terms *ghuluww*, *ghalaw* and Ghulāt are used in respect of seven factions: the Saba'iyya [*Fir.*19:13], the Hārithiyya [*Fir.*29:11], the Rāwandiyya [*Fir.*30:2], the Bayāniyya [*Fir.*30:9], the Khaṭṭābiyya [*Fir.*61:1], the Bashīriyya [*Fir.*71:9–10], and the Numayriyya [*Fir.*78:3]. But divine indwelling is mentioned in respect of only three of these: the Hārithiyya, the Rāwandiyya, and the Numayriyya. What does seem to be true is that wherever belief in divine indwelling is mentioned, it is consistently described as *ghuluww* or else the faction that subscribes to it is described as Ghulāt. There is only one exception: Ḥamza b. 'Umāra al-Barbarī is said to believe in the divinity of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya yet no term from the *gh-l-w* root is applied to him [*Fir.*25:4–9]. And this single omission does nothing to change the fact that belief in divine indwelling obviously counts as *ghuluww* for Nawbakhtī. Nevertheless, despite the restrictiveness of the explicit definition, the way the term is applied in the longer Ghulāt-section and throughout the *Firaq* means that Nawbakhtī must also see other doctrines as *ghuluww*. Which are these?

The clearest case is the belief that an Imām or faction-leader is a prophet, as the Manṣūriyya, in the longer Ghulāt-section, the Hāshimiyya, in the shorter-Ghulāt-section, and the Bayāniyya are apparently labelled Ghulāt due to this doctrine alone, unless other, unmentioned doctrines are the reason for the designation [*Fir.*34:11–14, 46:12–14, 30:9–12]. Belief in the prophethood of leaders and Imāms is also mentioned alongside belief in divine indwelling/deification for the Khaṭṭābiyya [*Fir.*38:2–7], the Khurramiyya [*Fir.*32:7], the Rāwandiyya [*Fir.*46:15–16], and the Numayriyya [*Fir.*78:2–4]¹¹⁴⁸. The only cases of it being mentioned without the *gh-l-w* root applied to it are again in reference to Ḥamza b. 'Umāra al-Barbarī

1145 See p. 649.

1146 See p. 653–654.

1147 See p. 656–658.

1148 See p. 648, 653–658.

[*Fir*.25:5] and in the description of the Mughīriyya [*Fir*.55:2–3]¹¹⁴⁹, but this is probably just omission, rather than the intentional exclusion of these individuals and groups from the category Ghulāt. Another doctrine that is closely associated with *ghuluww* is belief in reincarnation (*tanāsukh*) with or without explicit mention of belief in epochal cycles of reincarnation (*dawr*). It is mentioned in connection with the Ḥārithiyya [*Fir*.31:7], the Khurramiyya [*Fir*.32:8–34:4, 35:7–37:8]¹¹⁵⁰, the Bashīriyya [*Fir*.71:6]¹¹⁵¹, and the Numayriyya [*Fir*.78:3]¹¹⁵². Again, the only case of it being mentioned in the description of a faction that is not explicitly called Ghulāt is in the description of the Mughīriyya [*Fir*.55:6]¹¹⁵³. Less common is the mention of the belief in the world of shadows (*aẓilla*), but it occurs only in descriptions of factions labelled Ghulāt: the Ḥārithiyya [*Fir*.31:7] and the Khurramdīniyya [*Fir*.32:8]. Finally, several factions called Ghulāt are said to have practised antinomianism, usually on the basis that recognition of the true Imām renders the law void: the Ḥārithiyya [*Fir*.29:11], the Rāwandīyya [*Fir*.30:2], the Khaṭṭābiyya [*Fir*.38:6–10], the Bashīriyya [*Fir*.71:4–6], and the Numayriyya [*Fir*.78:4–6]. This belief is mentioned in connection with a faction that is not explicitly called Ghulāt only in the case of the Qarāmiṭa [*Fir*.63:3].

There is one further doctrine that stands as a candidate for *ghuluww* in the *Firaq*: the belief that a certain Imām has not died and is the Mahdī. This possibility arises from a remark in the description of the Saba'iyya. There, the Saba'iyya are said to be the first Muslims to have professed *waqf* and *ghuluww* [*Fir*.19:12–13], but the only doctrines attributed to them are (1.) the rejection of the first two caliphs (i.e., *rafḍ*) and (2.) the denial of 'Alī's death and belief in his Mahdism¹¹⁵⁴. As an Imāmī, Nawbakhtī himself couldn't have thought of the rejection of Abū Bakr and 'Umar as *ghuluww*, so the term would seem to refer to the second belief, but there are two main problems with this interpretation. First, the denial of 'Alī's death and belief in his Mahdism is already covered by the term *waqf*, so we would have to assume that when Nawbakhtī writes that the Saba'iyya were the first to profess *waqf* and *ghuluww*, this is a tautology. That is possible, but the more likely reading is that *ghuluww* should be something additional to *waqf*. Second, of all the other factions described to profess *ghuluww* or called Ghulāt in the *Firaq*, only three are said to deny their Imām's death and believe in his Mahdism: the Bayāniyya [*Fir*.30:8–9], and two sub-factions of the Ḥārithiyya [*Fir*.31:11–17]. In contrast, it is common for

1149 See *Tab*.24, y².

1150 See p. 650.

1151 See p. 615.

1152 See p. 648.

1153 See *Tab*.24, y².

1154 See *Tab*.25.

factions that are not called Ghulāt to have this belief: the Karibiyya, the Kaysāniyya who believe Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya is in hiding at Raḍwā, the Nāwūsiyya, the Wāqifa, and all the factions that denied the death of Ḥasan al-'Askarī. Moreover, as we have seen, the Bayāniyya and Ḥārithiyya are probably called Ghulāt due to their other doctrines anyway. It is thus almost certain that Nawbakhtī himself did not conceive of messianism itself as constituting *ghuluww*. How, then, can we explain this apparently unique usage of the term *ghuluww* in the description of the Saba'iyya?

One explanation that has been offered is that, in just this one passage, Nawbakhtī consciously or unconsciously preserves an older usage of the term¹¹⁵⁵. The underlying claim here is that the denial of an Imām's death and belief in his Mahdism would have been called *ghuluww* in the first century and, more specifically, that the Saba'iyya were called *ghulāt* by their contemporaries because of their denial of 'Alī's death and expectations of his messianic return¹¹⁵⁶. In this interpretation, Nawbakhtī's statement that they were the first Ghulāt is a reflection of that original usage. For this interpretation to work, two things must be established: first, that the term *ghuluww* was indeed used in this sense and applied thus to the Saba'iyya in some period before Nawbakhtī's day; and second, that it is credible that Nawbakhtī either intended that older meaning in the relevant passage or was unconsciously reproducing a source or sources that did. Neither is a straightforward claim.

The best evidence that the term *ghuluww* was originally applied to the Saba'iyya's denial of 'Alī's death and/or related messianic beliefs about 'Alī comes from one of the earliest witnessed usages of the term *ghuluww* that we have. Ṭabarī preserves a report from Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī (d. ca. 204/819) with an *isnād* through Abū Mikhnaf (d.157/774) back to a certain Ḥaṣīra b. 'Abd Allāh, a contemporary of Mukhtār's revolt in Kufa¹¹⁵⁷. This Ḥaṣīra reported that 'every *ghālī* of the Shī'a' (*kullu ghālīn min al-Shī'a*) used to gather and talk in the houses of Hind bt. Al-Mutakallifa al-Nā'iṭiyya and Layla bt. Qumāma al-Muzaniyya. According to Ḥaṣīra, two men, 'Abdallāh al-Jadalī and Yazīd b. Sharāḥīl, wrote to Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya to inform him about these two women 'and their *ghuluww*' as well as other individuals presumably connected with them and/or holding similar beliefs. The problem is that the report doesn't say anything about the content of these people's *ghuluww*. Nor does it say that these Ghulāt were Saba'iyya. It was Wadād al-Qāḍī who first argued that the term as used in this report must refer to messianic beliefs about 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib¹¹⁵⁸. She contended that the group mentioned by Ḥaṣīra must

1155 Al-Qāḍī 1976:306; Bayhom-Daou 2003b:26; Anthony 2012:153.

1156 Al-Qāḍī 1976:295–301. Following her, Anthony 2012:289–290.

1157 *Ṭab.II*:731:9–15.

1158 Al-Qāḍī 1976:295–301.

have had some belief that distinguished them from the rest of Mukhtār's supporters and which required them to meet in secret to discuss it. She concluded that the *only* suitable candidate is messianism relating to 'Alī¹¹⁵⁹. She then further suggested that this group around Hind and Layla constituted the remnants of the old Saba'iyya, who had been espousing such beliefs since the days of Ibn Saba' himself¹¹⁶⁰.

Al-Qāḍī's hypothesis is plausible, but there is no direct evidence, and the indirect evidence is thin. The sources do call a section of Mukhtār's supporters 'Saba'iyya', namely those people associated with the pageantry around, and veneration of the supposed chair of 'Alī, which Mukhtār presented as a new Ark of the Covenant (*tābūt*) and paraded into battle against 'Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād¹¹⁶¹. There is also an indirect connection between these Saba'iyya and the group around Hind and Layla, in that a *different* report from Ḥaṣīra mentions a certain 'Abd Allāh b. Nawf al-Hamdānī emerging from Hind's house and uttering a prophecy (which turns out to be false) concerning Mukhtār's forces' imminent victory in battle¹¹⁶². This Ibn Nawf is one of the figures connected with the Saba'iyya of the chair¹¹⁶³. But *these* Saba'iyya are never said to have denied 'Alī's death. Rather, they are depicted to have believed in the chair's talismanic properties on the battlefield and to have seen it as somehow channelling prophecy¹¹⁶⁴. That suggests an exaggerated veneration of the figure of 'Alī himself, but if our sources had known that this amounted to a denial of 'Alī's death and belief in his Mahdism, they would almost certainly have said this.

The reason to think that the Saba'iyya of the chair might have held such a belief—despite this not being mentioned—is, rather, the connection between the name 'Saba'iyya' and the legend of Ibn Saba's denial of 'Alī's death in Madā'in—the one which also made it into *Q₁* and thence the extant heresiographies¹¹⁶⁵. This legend almost certainly belongs to the earliest layer of material on Ibn Saba' and

1159 Al-Qāḍī 1976:297–300.

1160 Al-Qāḍī 1976:300–301. Cf. Anthony 2012:289–290.

1161 On the sources for the events surrounding the chair, their various inconsistencies and possible interpretations, see Anthony 2012:261–288. There are two accounts of the events: Abū Mikhnaḥ's, with an *isnād* back to a supposed eyewitness, but which seems to be a composite report (*Ṭab*.II:700:16–702:13), and a report probably compiled by 'Abd Allāh b. Mubārak (d.181/797) (*Ṭab*.II:702:16–704:8) that goes back to other ostensible eyewitnesses. On the latter of the two uses the term 'Saba'iyya'. The third major piece of evidence comes from a poem of A'shā Hamdān (d. ca. 82/701) attacking the chair and its attendants, where the term 'Saba'iyya' probably appears) (*Ṭab*.II:704:8–705:10; *Ansāb*.IV₂:185:13–186:3; *Ḥayawān*.II:271:6–272:5). On the textual problems with the various versions of this poem, see esp. Anthony 2012:280–282.

1162 *Ṭab*.II:732:8–16.

1163 E.g. *Ṭab*.II:701:14–15, 706:13–15.

1164 Anthony 2012:286–287.

1165 See p. 344–347, 419–423, 559–560.

was probably in circulation by the late first or early second century, but it is by no means certain that it reflects the beliefs of the group(s?) known as the Saba'iyya before or during Mukhtār's rebellion, or that this would have been the main belief associated with the Saba'iyya of the chair, let alone with the possibly connected group around Hind and Layla who get called *ghulāt* in Ḥaṣīra's report¹¹⁶⁶. Notably, when Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya (d. late first century) criticized the contemporary remnants of Mukhtār's defeated supporters at Nisibis in his *Kitāb al-irjā'*, he called them *all Saba'iyya*¹¹⁶⁷. Amongst the doctrines he attributes to them is the belief in an impending general resurrection (*ba'ṭh*) of the righteous dead that will bring about a revolution in their fortunes (*dawla*), presumably by overturning Umayyad rule. That would likely have entailed the resurrection of the slain Hāshimites, including 'Alī and Ḥusayn, but this is clearly not a denial of 'Alī's death and belief in his Mahdism either¹¹⁶⁸. Again, if these Saba'iyya had believed such a thing, we would expect Ḥasan to have mentioned it.

Thus, even if we assume that Abū Mikhnaf, Kalbī and Ṭabarī have all preserved the original wording of Ḥaṣīra's report, the idea that the term *ghuluww*, as used there, must refer to the denial of 'Alī's death and the belief in his imminent return as the Mahdī remains speculative. It is also not clear that Ḥaṣīra is applying the term to people associated with the name Saba'iyya. Despite the plausibility of al-Qāḍī's reading of Ḥaṣīra's report, we still do not have an early source that clearly calls the Saba'iyya *ghulāt* or labels straightforward messianism concerning 'Alī *ghuluww*. Nawbakhtī's isolated remark—if this is indeed even what it means—seems to be the first.

In any case, even if we assumed al-Qāḍī's interpretation of Ḥaṣīra's report to be correct, we would still encounter the second problem: is it credible that Nawbakhtī was using the term in that older sense in respect of the Saba'iyya in the *Firaq*? Al-Qāḍī herself argued that the usage of the term *ghuluww* for messianism had died out by the second half of the second century at the latest¹¹⁶⁹. Her main evidence for this was also drawn from the *Firaq*. She, following Madelung, assumed Nawbakhtī to be working mainly from a source composed in the second half of the

1166 On the dating of the legend, see Anthony 2012:200–207.

1167 Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥanafīyya, *Kitāb al-irjā'*, §7. Translated at Anthony 2012:300–301. On the debate over the attribution and dating of the *Kitāb al-Irjā'*, see Anthony 2012:290–308.

1168 That also seems to be the doctrine gestured at in the anecdote related by the Kufan Qur'an-reader 'Āṣim b. Abī l-Najūd (d. ca. 127/744) and discussed by Anthony (2012:291–292) in which 'Āṣim encounters an elderly non-Arab who declares himself to be awaiting the resurrection of 'Alī, Ḥasan, Ḥusayn and Mukhtār to bring justice to the world before the Day of Resurrection (Dhahabī, *Tarīkh al-islām*, VIII:139:17–14:5), although the term 'Saba'i' does not appear there.

1169 Al-Qāḍī 1974:301–306.

second century and that Nawbakhtī essentially reproduced this source intact. She thus concluded that that source had used the term *ghuluww* basically as the *Firaq* usually does, i.e., *not* to refer to messianism *per se*, but to belief in reincarnation and the world of shadows, that the Imāms were indwelt by God, that their leaders were prophets, and the embracing of antinomianism¹¹⁷⁰. That, of course, still leaves Nawbakhtī's apparently exceptional usage in relation to the Saba'iyya unexplained.

A potential solution was proposed by Tamīma Bayhom-Daou. She too followed Madelung's hypothesis that Nawbakhtī's main source was Hishām b. al-Ḥakam's *Ikhtilāf al-nās fī l-imāma*, but she contended that Nawbakhtī had not reproduced Hishām's text intact¹¹⁷¹. Most relevantly for the present case, she argued that Nawbakhtī made significant changes to the material he took from Hishām's text in regard to the usage of the term *ghuluww*. She proposed that Hishām's text would consistently have referred to messianism as *ghuluww* and wouldn't have ascribed any of the later, so-called 'gnostic'-type *ghuluww* doctrines to any of its factions. She contended, rather, that Nawbakhtī was responsible for 'updating' Hishām's text in a way that now generally obscures the latter's original usage by removing references to messianism as *ghuluww* and adding material on the 'Gnostic' doctrines to descriptions of factions classed as Ghulāt¹¹⁷². She took the way the *Firaq* uses the term regarding the Saba'iyya as evidence of Hishām's original usage¹¹⁷³.

Bayhom-Daou's theory still leaves it unclear why, in the case of the Saba'iyya alone, Nawbakhtī should somehow have missed the fact that a doctrine of mere messianism was being labelled *ghuluww* and, uniquely, left Hishām's earlier usage of the term intact. More seriously, however, there is simply no evidence that Hishām is the author of the statement that the Saba'iyya were the first Muslims to profess *ghuluww*. As we have seen, Nawbakhtī's source for most of the report on the Saba'iyya was *Q*₂, but the specific statement that the Saba'iyya were the first Muslims to profess *ghuluww* is not witnessed for *Q*₂ and is extremely unlikely to have been present there. It was either drawn from some other, unknown source or was composed by Nawbakhtī himself¹¹⁷⁴.

1170 She notes especially that the term Ghulāt was not used of purely messianic factions like the Kaysāniyya who denied Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya's death or the Nāwūsiyya, who denied Ja'far al-Ṣādiq's (al-Qāḍi 1974:301, 305).

1171 Bayhom-Daou 1996:44–57; 2003b:19–31.

1172 *Idem.*1996:52–57; 2003b:26–31. This argument forms part of her wider hypothesis that 'Gnostic' *ghuluww* did not emerge until the third century and was then retro-projected onto second century factions that had originally been considered Ghulāt purely for their messianism. See *idem.*1996:55; 2003b:19–21, 51–61.

1173 *Idem.*2003b:26.

1174 See *Tab.*25 and *Tab.*33, as well as p. 633–636.

Al-Qāḍī, with her assumption that Nawbakhtī had essentially reproduced his supposed second-century source intact, required another solution to the *Firaq*'s exceptional usage of the term in relation to the Saba'iyya anyway. It is not completely clear whether she thought that the statement that the Saba'iyya were the first to profess *ghuluww* came from the supposed source or was added by Nawbakhtī himself, but it also doesn't matter very much for her argument. Either way, she suggested that this exceptional usage came about for two reasons: (1.) "The necessity of finding an origin for the neo-*ghuluww* that appeared sharply towards the end of the first century"; and (2.) "The force of the early tradition of *ghuluww* with its close connection with Saba'iyya almost to the point of identification with it"¹¹⁷⁵. The first reason is obviously insufficient on its own. Whilst it is true that Nawbakhtī is generally interested in the question of the origins, there needs to be some reason why he would have made the Saba'iyya specifically the origin of all later *ghuluww*, especially as, later in the *Firaq*, we also find a second model for the origins of *ghuluww*: it is said to have begun with the Khurramdīniyya (see below). It is thus the second reason that bears most of the potential explanative power, but the difficulty here is that it is unclear what al-Qāḍī intends by "the force of the early tradition".

She might mean that Nawbakhtī (or his source) was influenced directly by early sources that regularly called the Saba'iyya Ghulāt because of their messianism concerning 'Alī. The idea here is that he would have repeated those sources' designations of the Saba'iyya as Ghulāt even though he did not endorse their reason for the designation, namely these sources' underlying conception of messianism as *ghuluww*. The problem here is that, as we have seen, the evidence for this early tradition is extremely thin. Thus, we would simply have to assume that Nawbakhtī was exposed to other, now-lost sources that made the connection between the Saba'iyya and *ghuluww* (or at least messianism and *ghuluww*) much more explicitly and regularly enough that they could have exerted the kind of force al-Qāḍī suggests. This seems like rather a large assumption.

Another possible meaning of al-Qāḍī's formulation, however, is that Nawbakhtī's statement was just reflecting the general understanding of his own day that the Saba'iyya were the first Ghulāt, and that it was this general understanding that resulted from the influence of an earlier tradition that had consistently associated the Saba'iyya with the Ghulāt because of their messianism. In this case, however, the original reason why the Saba'iyya were associated with the term *ghuluww* becomes irrelevant to Nawbakhtī's usage in relation to them in the *Firaq*; it just matters that the association existed. To put it another way, it would mean that

1175 Al-Qāḍī 1976:306.

when Nawbakhtī said that the Saba'iyya were the first to profess *ghuluww*, he was not referring to their messianism or even necessarily to any other specific doctrine; he was just expressing the received understanding that they were the first Ghulāt, for whatever reason that understanding had originally come about.

This latter explanation is highly plausible. By the second half of the second century already, Ibn Saba' and the Saba'iyya were commonly linked with the early second-century groups and individuals that are classified as Ghulāt in the third-century heresiographies¹¹⁷⁶. This can be seen most clearly in the *qaṣīda* of the Imāmī poet Ma'dān al-Shumaytī cited by Jāḥiẓ and (probably) ps.-Nāshī¹¹⁷⁷. The poem does not use the terms *ghuluww* or Ghulāt but it mentions Mughīra b. Sa'īd, Bayān b. Simān and 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr b. Ḥarb, who are consistently seen as leaders of Ghulāt factions in third-century heresiographies. One *bayt* begins with the words, “*khashabī wa-kāfir saba'ī ḥarbi*”¹¹⁷⁸. Around the same time, the Basran traditionist Yazīd b. Zuray' (d. ca. 183/799) apparently used the same formula, accusing the Kufan traditionist A'mash (d.147/764) of being a *saba'ī ḥarbi*¹¹⁷⁹. Qummī's additions to the *Firaq* also preserve material that links the Saba'iyya with the Ḥarbiyya [*MaqQ*.21:8–10]. Although it is impossible to date with certainty, that material could well go back to the same period¹¹⁸⁰. Additionally, Ibn Qutayba twice refers to Mughīra b. Sa'īd as a 'Saba'ī'; he too is either reflecting an earlier source or a contemporary usage¹¹⁸¹. The reasons why this association between the Saba'iyya and the second-century Ghulāt came about are themselves uncertain. It may derive, as al-Qāḍī effectively suggests, from an earlier usage of the term *ghuluww* to refer to messianism that had created a strong association between *ghuluww* and the Saba'iyya; it may not. But it doesn't matter for present purposes. The important thing is that the association existed long before Nawbakhtī.

In this regard, we can note that Ash'arī, and probably Balkhī before him—i.e. contemporaries of Nawbakhtī—also classed the Saba'iyya as Ghulāt, and not in dependence on the *Firaq*¹¹⁸². It is not completely clear why they did so either, but it probably has to do with another specific doctrine that had become associated with the Ibn Saba' that they both mention: his deification of 'Alī [*MaqA*.15:12–13;

1176 Here, I mostly follow the discussion at Anthony 2012:243–245 and the source cited there.

1177 See p. 567.

1178 *Ḥayawān*.II:270:2. See also Pellat 1963:101.

1179 Ibn Ḥanbal, *Ṭal wa-ma'rīfat al-rijāl*, III:10–12. Van Ess (*TG*.I:238) understands it to be Ibn Ḥanbal, rather than Yazīd b. Zuray' who is applying the epithet to A'mash. Both are possible and both would be evidence of the point at hand.

1180 See. p 697, 707–709.

1181 Ibn Qutayba, *Uyūn*, II:149:1; *Ma'ārif*.623:3.

1182 See p. 168.

Sharḥ.29r:6; *Rawḍa*.140r:4–5]¹¹⁸³. In so doing, they depended on a legend according to which 'Alī had burned Ibn Saba' to death for this belief¹¹⁸⁴. That legend is obviously incompatible with the earlier report according to which Ibn Saba' had denied 'Alī's death, which is transmitted through the *iftirāq*-schema in *Q*₁ and *Q*₂ as well as along other routes, and is thus present in our witnesses to the *iftirāq*-schema, including the BdC, *Uṣūl al-niḥal* and the *Firaq*¹¹⁸⁵. Our first reliably datable witness to the legend of Ibn Saba's execution for deifying 'Alī is relatively late: it appears in Ibn Qutayba's (d.276/889) description of the Saba'iyya in his *Kitāb al-ma'ārif*¹¹⁸⁶. Nevertheless, the legend was almost certainly Imāmī in origin¹¹⁸⁷. Thus, for Ibn Qutayba—a generation older than Nawbakhtī and no friend of the Shī'a—to have heard about it, it would presumably have been widespread amongst the Shī'a in Nawbakhtī's day. Further evidence this was the case is provided by the three versions of the legend recorded in Kashshī's *Rijāl*¹¹⁸⁸. These have *isnāds* that ultimately going back to Bāqir and Ṣādiq. Whatever the status of the earlier parts of the *isnāds*, all three reports came to Kashshī from Muḥammad b. Qūlyah, who took them in turn from his teacher, Qummī, i.e., the author of the *Maqālāt wa l-firaq*. This is a very common route for material on the Ghulāt to reach Kashshī and we know from evidence in Qummī's *Maqālāt* that at least this part of the *isnād* is sound¹¹⁸⁹. That shows the material was certainly in circulation amongst the Imāmiyya—at least in Qom—in Nawbakhtī's day. Qummī in turn received the longest of the reports via his teacher Muḥammad b. 'Īsā al-'Ubaydī¹¹⁹⁰ and Yūnus b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān (d.208/823–4). This is likewise a very common *isnād* for material on the Ghulāt to reach Qummī and it is in itself highly plausible¹¹⁹¹. If it is indeed sound, then the legend was in circulation amongst the Imāmiyya already in the second half of the second century.

1183 It seems this was not present in all versions of Balkhī's *Maqālāt*. See p. 189–190.

1184 On the legend in general, its emergence as part of the Ibn Saba' tradition and its dating, see Anthony 2012:161–193.

1185 See p. 419–423. On the incompatibility and the dating of the two traditions, see Anthony 2012:145–146.

1186 *Ma'ārif*.622:17–19; *Ta'wīl*.158:2–5.

1187 Al-Qāḍī 1976:306–307; Anthony 2012:176–182.

1188 *RijālK*.106:11–107:16 although the latter mentions only the deification, not the execution.

1189 See p. 706–709.

1190 I read this name instead of the edition's unidentifiable Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān al-'Abdī, because Muḥammad b. 'Īsā al-'Ubaydī was one of Qummī's teachers and his source for forty-two reports from Yūnus b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān (see the index to Kashshī's *Rijāl*, 322), many of which concern the Ghulāt. This unidentifiable Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān al-'Abdī features only in this one report. Anthony's suggestion (2012:163) that the name be read Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān al-'Umrī, i.e. the second *wakīl* of the twelfth Imām, is much less likely, as we have no recorded instance of Qummī transmitting anything from this person. See further p. 708–709.

1191 See p. 707–708 esp. n.1224.

Al-Qāḍī suggested that the doctrine of the deification of ‘Alī was retro-projected onto Ibn Saba’ and the Saba’iyya precisely because of the received idea that they belonged to the Ghulāt; it justified that pre-existent classification but according to the new standards of *ghuluww*¹¹⁹². Building on her work, Sean Anthony reached much the same conclusion¹¹⁹³. For our purposes, however, it does not matter whether this is correct. The *Firaq* does not mention the legend, but the very fact it was in circulation in Nawbakhtī’s day strongly suggests that the Saba’iyya would have been generally perceived as Ghulāt in this period. Why that was the case is of secondary importance. Nawbakhtī’s statement that the Saba’iyya were the first to profess *ghuluww* is probably simply a reflection of the general perception, not a reference to a specific doctrine mentioned in the faction-description that Nawbakhtī or his potential source would have considered *ghuluww*¹¹⁹⁴.

A related issue is that the *Firaq* later claims that *ghuluww* began elsewhere, with the Khurramiyya and, linked with them, the factions of the Ḥarbiyya and ‘Abbāsīd Shī’a [Fir.32:6]. This is stated at the beginning of the longer Ghulāt-section, i.e., also in material unique to the *Firaq*. The contradiction goes unremarked in the text. As we have seen, the Khurramiyya are said to deify their Imāms, making them Ghulāt also by Nawbakhtī’s explicit definition, but the doctrine that earns the bulk of the attention in the *Firaq*’s description of them is the reincarnation (*tanāsukh*) of ordinary human souls. Given the way this material is introduced, it would seem to represent a completely different aetiology for *ghuluww*, according to which it is primarily associated with factions from the east, namely those connected with the ‘Abbāsids and ‘Abd Allāh b. Mu’āwiya. Here, *ghuluww* is a result of the doctrinal origins of these factions amongst certain non-Muslims in Khurasan, namely the Khurramiyya. This is the idea that dominates at the beginning of the longer Ghulāt-section and is strongly present also in *Uṣūl al-niḥal*¹¹⁹⁵. It seems to rely on a model different from that which saw the Ghulāt as a set of factions that emerged in Umayyad and early ‘Abbāsīd Kufa (the Saba’iyya, the Bayāniyya, the Mughīriyya, the Manṣūriyya, the Khaṭṭābiyya etc.), although there is some crossover, in that the Ḥarbiyya belong to both.

1192 Al-Qāḍī 1976:306–307.

1193 Anthony 2012:177–178.

1194 At some point, the Ghulāt began to adopt Ibn Saba’ as a kind of progenitor (Anthony 2012:184–192; Friedmann 2012:129, 168, 184–186). If this happened before Nawbakhtī’s day, then this too could have influenced Nawbakhtī’s understanding of Ibn Saba’ as the first to profess *ghuluww*. The earliest witness is the *Umm al-kitāb* but this text is notoriously difficult to date. See Anthony 2011 and Anthony 2012:186–189.

1195 See p. 587 and 650.

A determination to connect the 'Abbāsids and the Ḥarbiyya in particular with *ghuluww* also characterises Nawbakhtī's unique descriptions of these factions in the post-Abū Hāshim cluster, although the eastern, Khurramī connection is not mentioned at this point; Ibn Ḥarb is explicitly depicted here as Kufan in origin. Whereas *Q*₂ had focussed simply on these factions' competing claims concerning the *waṣīyya* of Abū Hāshim, Nawbakhtī used alternative material here that describes both factions primarily as Imām-deifiers. In the case of the 'Abbāsīd Shī'a, this is particularly noticeable, as Nawbakhtī uses the name 'Rāwandiyya' for the supporters of the 'Abbāsids as a whole, a name which is usually found in connection specifically with a group of extreme adherents of the 'Abbāsīd cause who became most famous for publicly proclaiming the deity of Maṣūm¹¹⁹⁶. This has the effect that there are no 'ordinary' 'Abbāsīd Shī'a in the *Firaq*; they all derive from the Imām-deifying 'Ghulāt of the Rāwandiyya' [*Fir*.30:2–3, 41:13].

The discrepancies over the historical origins, and even the ambiguities around the basic concept of *ghuluww* in the *Firaq* certainly derive in part from the fact that Nawbakhtī was relying (at least ultimately) on multiple sources with different geographical, chronological and doctrinal emphases. But what remains striking is the lack of an attempt to harmonize the different accounts or to impose greater clarity and/or consistency on the usage of the terms *ghuluww* and Ghulāt throughout the text. Once again, it seems taxonomizing *per se* was not Nawbakhtī's priority. Despite offering a precise definition of *ghuluww*—belief in divine indwelling—he does not apply it consistently. In practice, rather, he seems to have worked mostly with the received idea that certain factions belonged to the Ghulāt, for whatever reason this was originally seen to be the case. There is the hazy sense in the *Firaq* that these factions *should* somehow form a coherent category, but no clear picture emerges. Concomitant with this is the impression that *ghuluww* somehow consists in a body of beliefs that are essentially imagined to occur together as a set, even if not all are present in every case: the divine indwelling/divinity of the Imāms; the prophethood of certain Ghulāt leaders; reincarnation and epochal cycles; the world of shadows; and the fact that the religious duties of Islam are rendered void for those who recognise the true Imām. Whether Nawbakhtī's sources would have been so loose or so expansive in their attribution of these doctrines to individual factions is unclear, because the relevant material is always unique to the *Firaq*. It seems unlikely. Probably, we are looking at a mixture of inherited ideas about which factions had been Ghulāt, heterogeneous source-material on those factions, the occasional vague projection of doctrines associated with some factions dubbed Ghulāt onto others simply because they are all presumed to fall into the same category, the possible

¹¹⁹⁶ See p. 622–625.

retro-projection of doctrines associated with the Ghulāt in Nawbakhtī's own day onto earlier groups that had been called Ghulāt, all combined with a conceptual heterogeneity around *ghuluww* in the underlying source material.

2.2.2.4.2 The Function of the *firaq*-Material

Nawbakhtī's declared aim at the beginning of the *Firaq* is very similar to that given by ps.-Nāshī' at the beginning of *Uṣūl al-niḥal*: he says he will discuss the factions of the Muslim Community and the reasons why those factions came into being [*Fir*.2:4–7]. That characterization applies reasonably well to what he then does in the *firaq*-material, albeit that it is concerned only with the factions of the Shī'a. Nawbakhtī says nothing, however, about what he is trying to achieve by doing so.

Van Ess has suggested that the key to understanding the *Firaq*'s purpose is to be found, rather, in its final, post-Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī cluster¹¹⁹⁷. It is there that we learn for the first time that Nawbakhtī wants to speak into the fractious situation of his own day by drawing on historical precedent, and he indeed makes use of some of the forgoing material in the *Firaq* to that end¹¹⁹⁸. That material thus serves his purpose of demonstrating that the faction he calls the Imāmiyya is the only faction in the right¹¹⁹⁹. The problem with van Ess's suggestion is that the post-ʿAskarī cluster draws on precedents only from the post-Jaʿfar and post-Mūsā clusters. That is presumably because these would have some kind of persuasive power for the people Nawbakhtī wants to address, i.e., fellow Ḥusaynid-Imāmīs, participants in the post-ʿAskarī dispute. That might also explain why Nawbakhtī deals only perfunctorily with the post-Jawād and post-ʿAlī al-Hādī situations, forming no proper *iftirāq*-clusters¹²⁰⁰. He may have been 'rushing through' this period to get to his real goal: describing the post-ʿAskarī situation and its relation to the meaningful historical precedents of the successions to Jaʿfar and Mūsā. But what about the two-thirds of the *firaq*-material that covers the period before Jaʿfar's death?

One might argue that Nawbakhtī perhaps wanted to portray the whole history of splits before Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq as meaningful for the post-ʿAskarī situation in a less direct sense, because it was instructive to see his contemporary crisis as merely the latest in a long series of succession crises going all the way back to the Prophet's death. The recognition of this projected historical reality helped 'normalize' the fact that so many of his co-religionists had—from his perspective—fallen into error after Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī's death. Still, even that would not entirely explain the appear-

1197 Van Ess 2011:238.

1198 See p. 611–612.

1199 See p. 611–613.

1200 See p. 647–649.

ance of the material in the *Firaq* that is extraneous to the original *iftirāq*-schema, especially that on Ghulāt factions and the Zaydiyya. It seems likely, rather, that in both the choice of material and the structure of the text, Nawbakhtī was guided by more than one goal.

Whatever he was trying to achieve, once he had adopted the *iftirāq*-schema as the dominant structure for his text (and the dominant historical paradigm for explaining the situation of his own day), Nawbakhtī (or, sometimes perhaps, an intermediary) took the opportunity to expand upon it using the extra material at his disposal. Although he did not and could not always keep tightly to the schema's original logic when he did so, he followed through on one of its basic functions: placing the true Ḥusaynid-Imāmī Shī'a in a 'genetic' relationship to other groups based around splits that occurred at certain moments in the past following the deaths of Imāms. Most notably, he—uniquely amongst the heresiographers—attempted this also with the Zaydiyya. What this means is that, as for ps.-Nāshī's Shī'a-chapter, it is the Ḥusaynid-Imāmī perspective on Shī'i history and its notion of what constitutes a faction that is witnessed from the second half of the second century (in *Q*) that still dominates in the *Firaq*.

However, Nawbakhtī also made some moves in the direction of adapting the structure of the material to reflect aspects of his own conception of the interrelation of Shī'i groups that were not captured by the logic of the *iftirāq*-schema. In particular, he tried to reflect the idea that the Ghulāt and the Zaydiyya constituted their own distinct groupings in a sense that the 'genetic' connections implied by the schema could not make clear. He thus added a second layer of taxonomy on top of that provided by the *iftirāq*-schema's stemma of factions. But this is a taxonomy that is only ever gestured at. We get the separate Ghulāt-and Zaydiyya-sections but there is no sustained definition of either the Ghulāt or the Zaydiyya. And, as the sections mostly repeat factions also present within the schema, it is less than clear how separate their status really is. These classifications are orthogonal to the main driver of splits in the Shī'a, which remains the principle of *iftirāq*. Even less than in *Uṣūl al-niḥāl* do we see any effort to effect a systematically pleasing or consistent solution, and there is nothing approaching the all-too-neat classifications of later heresiographers. Rather, the *Firaq* combines sporadic attempts to systematize with a conservative tendency to reproduce the perspectives of the inherited source-material. In the end, different conceptions of the interrelation of Shī'i groups are allowed to butt up against each other with only fairly superficial attempts to paper over the cracks.

2.2.3 The *Maqālāt wa-l-fīraq*

Qummī's main source for his *Maqālāt wa-l-fīraq* was Nawbakhtī's *Fīraq*, but he made numerous additions and rearrangements, as well as some minor omissions¹²⁰¹. An overview of these was provided in Tab. 26. Some of these additions have parallels in the BdC and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*. Where these occur, Balkhī was probably relying on Warrāq's *Maqālāt*, but we do not know whether Qummī was also dependent on Warrāq or whether Qummī and Warrāq shared an earlier common source or sources. In any case, most of Qummī's additions do not have parallels in the other extant heresiographies; they are unique to the *Maqālāt wa-l-fīraq*. It is on the character, perspective and likely provenance of these additions that we will concentrate here.

Qummī had a version of Nawbakhtī's *Fīraq* more complete in some respects than the extant manuscripts of the latter¹²⁰². It is thus possible that (some of) Qummī's apparent additions are, in fact, passages that were not preserved in the manuscripts of the *Fīraq* for some reason. However, whilst this is a good explanation of the lacunose passages in the *Fīraq* for which Qummī preserves intact text¹²⁰³, it does not work well for the additions of more than a few words and especially for those that concern factions that do not appear at all in the version of Nawbakhtī's text that we have. This is mainly because the way such additions are inserted into the material taken from the *Fīraq* pays such little regard to the the *Fīraq*'s basic structure: they create structural awkwardness far beyond that which is already present there, making it very difficult to see how they could have been included already by Nawbakhtī. Their terminology and style also make them stand out from the surrounding material taken from the *Fīraq*, even allowing for the fact that Nawbakhtī's text already contains numerous terminological and stylistic ruptures. In 2.2.3.1, we will look in detail at the situation of these additions—including also those additions with parallels in the BdC—from this perspective. In 2.2.3.2, we will discuss the likely provenance of the additions without parallels in the BdC.

2.2.3.1 Major Additions and Alterations in Respect of Nawbakhtī's *Fīraq*

This section provides an overview of the correspondence between Qummī's *Maqālāt* and the *Fīraq*. The aim is twofold: first, it should help to orient the reader within the difficult-to-follow arrangement of Qummī's text; second, it shows how Qummī's additions and reorganizations disrupt the underlying structure of the *Fīraq* to a far

1201 See p. 350–361.

1202 See p. 350–351.

1203 See p. 350–351 esp. n.388.

greater extent than the inconsistencies already found in Nawbakhtī's text. It should be read in combination with Tab. 26.

It is easiest to begin at the end. Qummī's most extensive rearrangement of Nawbakhtī's text occurs in the final, post-Ḥasan al-'Askarī cluster, but there are few large additions at this point. The only truly new faction is Qummī's twelfth [*MaqQ*.114:12–15], which believes Ḥasan al-'Askarī's hidden son is called 'Alī rather than Muḥammad. Elsewhere, Qummī splits Nawbakhtī's ninth faction in two, as his factions four and five [*Fir*. 87:1–88:4 vs. *MaqQ*.107:13–109:1]. Thus, where Nawbakhtī has a faction that believes the Imāmate ceased with Ḥasan al-'Askarī and that God will send the Mahdī if and when he wills, Qummī makes two factions: faction four believes the Imāmate ceased with Ḥasan and God is not obliged to send the Mahdī at all; and faction five believes God will definitely send the Mahdī but is free to send either Ḥasan or one of his forefathers at whatever time He chooses. That gives Qummī fifteen numbered factions instead of Nawbakhtī's thirteen. Qummī also divides the Nafisiyya, Nawbakhtī's tenth faction [*Fir*.88:5–89:16], due to subtle doctrinal differences, but he does not count them twice; they still occur together as his tenth faction [*MaqQ*.112:6–114:3].

The rearrangement brings some order to the somewhat irregular arrangement of Nawbakhtī's final cluster. Qummī puts Nawbakhtī's twelfth faction, the Imāmiyya, first. Their position, that Ḥasan al-'Askarī had a son whose name is a secret, represents the true doctrine for Qummī, just as it seems to have done for Nawbakhtī [*MaqQ*.102:7–106:13; *Fir*.90:5–93:4]. The erroneous doctrines follow. As Qummī's second, third, fourth and fifth factions come Nawbakhtī's first, second and ninth (now split into Qummī's fourth and fifth), whose doctrines are focussed on the person of Ḥasan al-'Askarī [*MaqQ*.106:14–109:1; *Fir*.79:16–80:10, 80:11–81:11, 87:1–88:4]. Nawbakhtī's fifth faction follows as Qummī's sixth. They believe Ḥasan had never been an Imām, but that his brother, Muḥammad b. 'Alī, who died in 'Alī al-Hādī's lifetime, is the Mahdī [*MaqQ*.109:2–110:2; *Fir*.83:7–84:11]. Then, as Qummī's factions seven through ten, we get Nawbakhtī's third, fourth, thirteenth and tenth factions, whose doctrines are focussed on Ja'far b. 'Alī [*MaqQ*.110:3–114:3; *Fir*.81:12–82:13, 80:11–81:11, 93:5–94:3, 88:5–89:16]. The doctrines of Qummī's eleventh through fourteenth factions concern Ḥasan al-'Askarī's son. The eleventh is Nawbakhtī's sixth, who agree with the Imāmiyya but assert the son's name is Muḥammad and that he is in a first period of *ghayba* [*MaqQ*.114:4–11; *Fir*.84:12–85:2]. Qummī's twelfth is the new faction, who believe the son's name to be 'Alī. Qummī's thirteenth faction is Nawbakhtī's seventh, with the belief that the son was called Muḥammad but was born eight months after Ḥasan's death [*MaqQ*.114:16–19; *Fir*.85:3–12]. Then, as Qummī's fourteenth faction, comes Nawbakhtī's eighth, which simply denies the existence of Ḥasan's son [*MaqQ*.114:20–115:9; *Fir*.85:13–86:15]. Finally, Nawbakhtī's eleventh faction is presented at Qummī's fifteenth. They affirm the Imāmate of

Hasan but otherwise suspend judgement [*MaqQ*.115:10–116:8; *Fir*. 89:17–90:4]. It is very likely that all this reworking is Qummī’s own, as it concerns the situation of his own day. Moreover, Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, also dependent on the *Firaq*, almost entirely reproduces Nawbakhtī’s original arrangement [*Zīna*.62:10–64:14].

It is remarkable that Qummī smooths out Nawbakhtī’s somewhat disjointed final cluster with such relative success, as most of his larger additions, omissions and rearrangements earlier in the text have the opposite effect. Turning now to the very beginning of the text, the full impact of Qummī’s additions before the *iftirāq*-schema begins cannot be judged, as several folios are missing from the manuscript. We can still see, however, that where Nawbakhtī, in reliance on Zurqān, attributes a doctrinal statement on the Arbitration to the “the Shī’a, the Murji’a, Ibrāhīm al-Nazzām and Bishr b. al-Mu’tamir”, Qummī separates off the Shī’a and gives them their own statement [*MaqQ*.12:15–14:2 vs. *Fir*. 14:10–16]. He might have done something similar in the previous *ikhtilāf*-clusters. In any case, at the end of the cluster on the Arbitration (*tahkīm*), Qummī inserts his first additional faction: the Kāmiliyya [*MaqQ*.14:10–15]. Their placement sets the tone for the majority of Qummī’s additions: it fits poorly into the surrounding material from the *Firaq*. Like the Imāmiyya, the Kāmiliyya believe the Prophet bequeathed the Imāmate to ‘Alī, but they declare the latter an unbeliever for failing to fight to uphold the bequest. They further claim that ‘Alī then returned to Islam when he fought against Mu’āwiya. But nothing is said about their view on the Arbitration at all¹²⁰⁴. The addition has a parallel in the BdC [*Mugh*.XX₂:176:10–13; *Hūr*.207:5–7; *Bāb*.105:15–106:2; *MaqA*.17:4–6]; it was added by Qummī from a source other than the *Firaq*.

Once the *iftirāq*-schema commences, only a few of Qummī’s additions fit into the structure of Nawbakhtī’s text well. This usually happens when extra material is simply added at the end of Nawbakhtī’s description of a particular faction. For example, after giving Nawbakhtī’s description of the Jārūdiyya, Qummī adds a long passage on their doctrine of the Imāmate [*MaqQ*.19:1–17]. Likewise, Qummī’s extra material on the Saba’iyya simply follows the *Firaq*’s description directly [*MaqQ*.21:3–10], as does the extra material on the Manṣūriyya [*MaqQ*.47:15–48:9]. Sometimes, shorter additions are integrated amidst Nawbakhtī’s description of a faction. This too happens in the material on the Manṣūriyya [*MaqQ*.46:9–47:14; *Fir*.34:5–35:6]. Most additions, however, disrupt the structure of Nawbakhtī’s text. That is especially true of the situation throughout the material on the Kaysāniyya, from the post-‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib *iftirāq*-cluster up to the post-Abū Ḥāshim cluster. It is on this section of the text that we will concentrate first.

1204 See the discussion on p. 373.

In the post-'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib cluster, Nawbakhtī's description of the Kaysāniyya who consider Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya Imām immediately after 'Alī contains several etymologies of the name 'Kaysāniyya' [*MaqQ.* 21:11–22:8; *Fir.*20:10–21:8]¹²⁰⁵. One of them refers to Abū 'Amra Kaysān, the chief of Mukhtār's guard. Following the description, Qummī adds further material on the claims of the followers of this Abū 'Amra [*MaqQ.*22:9–23:12]. These consist in two main doctrines: first, they believe that Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya was concealed from the people 'in that ravine' (*fī dhālika l-shi'b*) as a punishment because of his submission to the caliph 'Abd al-Malik; second, they had expected Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya to return after Abū Hāshim died childless, but, as he did not return at this point, they now consider themselves to be 'in the wilderness, without an Imām' (*fī l-tīh lā imām la-hum*). The formulation 'that ravine' is a reference to the belief that Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya had not died but was placed in hiding in a ravine at Raḍwā, from where he would later emerge as the Mahdī¹²⁰⁶. But the reader without prior knowledge is unable to understand this reference because the doctrine is not set out fully until much later in the text, first in another of Qummī's additions [*MaqQ.*27:18–32:14], and then in Nawbakhtī's material in the post-Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya cluster [*Fir.*26:3–27:10; *MaqQ.*35:18–37:1]. Another issue is that this belief simply cannot belong to a post-'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib faction according to the logic of the *iftirāq*-schema. It should appear, rather, in the post-Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya cluster, as it is a response to Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya's death. That is where such beliefs are described by Nawbakhtī [*Fir.*26:3–27:10; *MaqQ.*35:18–37:1]. The faction's claim that they are 'in the wilderness' following the death of Abū Hāshim, however, could conceivably even have made them a post-Abū Hāshim faction.

In this case, we have further evidence that the material came from elsewhere, rather than having stood in Nawbakhtī's text, as there is a parallel in the BdC [*Mugh.*XX₂:177:7; *Hūr.*212:3–4; *Bāb.*99:10–11; *MaqA.*20:1–3]¹²⁰⁷. But even apart from that, the fact that this addition ignores the structure of Nawbakhtī's text entirely and pays no attention to what has and has not been communicated to the reader so far makes it very unlikely that it could have stood already in a more complete

¹²⁰⁵ The description is translated above in *Tab.*20, p. 314–316.

¹²⁰⁶ The 'ravine' (*shi'b*) is mentioned most famously in two poems usually attributed to Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī and cited by many of the heresiographers, which respectively begin "O ravine of Raḍwā. . ." (*yā shi'b raḍwā. . .*) and "O greet the one who resides in the ravine of Raḍwā. . ." (*alā ḥayyi l-muqīm bi-shi'b raḍwā. . .*) (e.g. *Fir.*26:12; *MaqQ.*36:5; *Hūr.*212:5; *Niḥ.*27:13 (with the variant '*arḍ raḍwā*'). Qummī's material that references the *shi'b* almost certainly post-dates the poetry. Further on Raḍwā as the setting for Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya's *ghayba* and the poetry, see the references given on p. al-Qāḍī 1974, 174, 312–356.

¹²⁰⁷ See also p. 384–385.

version of Nawbakhtī's text. More generally, it is suspicious that all these doctrines are attributed to a group associated primarily with Abu 'Amra Kaysān, a figure in Mukhtār's revolt, which was over by 67/687. There is no mention of him in the sources at all thereafter. The doctrine of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya's concealment cannot have emerged, however, until after the latter's death in 81/700. And the claim of the faction to be 'in the wilderness' is supposed to have followed Abū Hāshim's death, probably around 98/716. Qummī is clearly thus describing a much later stage in the development of Kaysānī doctrine. The figure of Abū 'Amra is just a (somewhat perplexing) anchor for the additional material.

Qummī's two additions to the post-Ḥusayn cluster are equally misplaced relative to Nawbakhtī's schema. First, in an appendix to Nawbakhtī's description of the Mukhtāriyya/Kaysāniyya who believed Ḥasan and Ḥusayn had only acted by permission of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya, Qummī equates this faction with the Ḥarbiyya. This is a strange move, as he immediately goes on to describe further doctrines of the Ḥarbiyya [*MaqQ*.26:11–27:4] that include tracing the line of the transmigration of God's spirit (*ruh Allāh*) through the Prophet Muḥammad, 'Alī, Ḥasan, Ḥusayn, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya and Abū Hāshim until it moves into 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr b. al-Ḥarb¹²⁰⁸. That is a completely different doctrine from the one just attributed to the supposedly equivalent Mukhtāriyya/Kaysāniyya. It should also make the Ḥarbiyya, rather, a post Abū-Hāshim faction. Indeed, both Nawbakhtī (using 'Ḥārithiyya') and Balkhī depict the Ḥarbiyya as such, as does Qummī himself in the material he takes over from Nawbakhtī [*Fir*.29:3–12; *Mugh*.XX₂: 178:6–11; *Hūr*.214:16–215:5; *MaqQ*.39:7–14]. In any case, the description once again obliquely references Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya's concealment at Raḍwā by mentioning his 'emergence from the ravine' [*MaqQ*.27:2], thus presuming a knowledge of Kaysānī doctrine that still cannot have been gained from the text by this point. Qummī's second addition to this cluster is a faction that believes that 'Alī resides in the clouds [*MaqQ*.27:5–9]. That is a belief related to the *raj'a* of 'Alī b. Abi Ṭālib and has nothing to do with the post-Ḥusayn moment according to the logic of the *iftirāq*-schema. This material has a parallel in the Bdc [*Hūr*.206:19–207:1; *MaqA*.16:6–9], so there

¹²⁰⁸ As discussed above, Nawbakhtī uses the faction-name 'Ḥārithiyya' where the Bdc and Ash'arī have 'Ḥarbiyya'. For Nawbakhtī, the eponymous founder is 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith, whilst for Balkhī/Ash'arī he is 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr b. Ḥarb (al-Kindī). The precise relationship between these names is obscure (see p. 322 n.342). Halm (1982:70, n.100) points out that, regardless of other considerations, Qummī gives us what can only be a mixed form. The words *ḥarb* and *ḥārith* could indeed have been written identically in this period. Yet, as a proper name, it might be *ibn al-ḥārith* or *ibn ḥarb*, but it is very unlikely to be *ibn al-ḥarb*. That is true, but the problem is we don't know exactly what Qummī wrote or how he intended it to be read. It may be a later copyist who specified the reading *al-ḥarb* for 'الحرب', which, on the same balance of probabilities that informs Halm's argument, would have to be read *al-ḥārith* anyway.

is further evidence that it came from elsewhere, but, in any case, it should have appeared in the post-ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib cluster.¹²⁰⁹

Thereafter, things become still more confusing. The main reason is that Qummī entirely omits the material on Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya's death and the *iftirāq*-statement that introduces the post-Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya cluster in the *Firaq* [compare *Fir.*24:13–25:4 with *MaqQ.*27:10–13]. This has the effect of making all the subsequent factions, both those in common with the *Firaq* as well the additions, appear as if they are formally factions of the post-Ḥusayn cluster although they obviously belong later. But even if the statement had been present, many of the additions would still be out of place in a post-Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya cluster, as they concern the response to Abū Hāshim's death.

Qummī reproduces Nawbakhtī's first faction-description of the post-Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya cluster, namely that of the Karibiyya, who believe Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya did not die, is the Mahdī, and is in hiding in an unknown location [*MaqQ.*27:10–13; *Fir.*25:1–4]. But he follows this with an addition on a faction who believe that it is Abū Hāshim, rather than his father, who did not die and is the Mahdī [*MaqQ.*27:14–17]. Obviously, that should put the additional faction in the post-Abū Hāshim cluster. As we have seen, Nawbakhtī also lists a similar faction already in the post-Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya cluster, although later; this is one of the places where he confuses the schema himself [*Fir.*28:1–2]¹²¹⁰. However, Qummī's additional faction here holds specifically that Abū Hāshim, rather than his father, is in hiding at Raḍwā (*anna al-mughayyab fi jibāl raḍwā huwa ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad lā al-ab*). That contrast would have made some sense if the addition had followed Nawbakhtī's faction who believe Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya is at Raḍwā, but following directly after Nawbakhtī's Karibiyya, who do not have this belief, it is senseless, and the reader without prior knowledge is still unable to understand the references to Raḍwā anyway. That is far beyond the level of inconsistency already present in the *Firaq*.

Next, Qummī provides an addition on a faction that professes the doctrine of the four 'descendants' (*asbāt*) of Banū Hāshim, i.e., that salvation lies in ʿAlī and his three sons, who are compared to Noah's ark (*safīnat nūh*) [*MaqQ.*27:18–32:14]¹²¹¹. It

¹²⁰⁹ Of course, the idea that any of the early Shī'a had believed this may be a later fabrication and/or misunderstanding (see Anthony 2012:226–231), but the point is that the doctrine, whether fabricated or not, responds to ʿAlī's death, not Ḥusayn's.

¹²¹⁰ See p. 614–615.

¹²¹¹ The term *asbāt* (sg. *sibṭ*) literally means 'grandchildren', sometimes particularly 'children of a daughter'. Ḥasan and Ḥusayn were grandchildren of the Prophet via Fāṭima, but this would make no sense of the usage in relation to Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya and certainly not to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. Rather, as Qummī records here (*MaqQ.*30:1–15), the term is derived from the Qur'anic usage in rela-

is not clear exactly who holds this doctrine, as the description is introduced merely with ‘a division of them claimed that. . .’ (*wa-za‘ama šinf minhūm*), the antecedent of the ‘them’ being either ambiguous or absent, but, during the description, Qummī finally sets out in detail the belief that Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya did not die and is concealed at Raḍwā, also giving verses from several poems on the theme and even some information on the Qur’ānic justifications for the doctrine. This material is at least in the right place, as long as we understand ourselves to be in a post-Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya cluster, but it still produces unevenness. Mostly this arises from the fact that Qummī later also gives Nawbakhtī’s material on the faction that held this doctrine [*MaqQ*.35:18–37:1; *Fir*.26:3–27:10]. There are no strict verbal parallels between the two, but the information overlaps significantly, and Qummī does not even try to explain the relationship between the two passages or the groups they describe. Nawbakhtī’s version is given above, p. 319–320, Tab. 21. It is generally much more concise, containing none of Qummī’s explanatory detail. Notably, it does not use the terminology of the *asbāt*, which is central to Qummī’s additional material, or mention the soteriological concept the four Imāms as ‘Noah’s Ark’. The overlap concerns the description of Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya at Raḍwā guarded by lions and leopards, but despite the similar motifs, the details differ slightly and there are no complex verbal parallels. This all makes Nawbakhtī’s version seem like a redundant repetition in the context of the *Maqālāt wa-l-firaq*. It is thus highly likely that Qummī’s addition consists of material on the same Kaysānī doctrine but taken from a different source.

Further ambiguity results from the fact that Qummī also claims here that the followers of Ibn Ḥarb also hold the doctrine of the four descendants [*MaqQ*.28:7]. This is difficult to follow, as he has earlier attributed to the Ḥarbiyya (confusingly equated with the Mukhtāriyya/Kaysāniyya) the doctrine of the transmigration of Abū Hāshim’s spirit into Ibn Ḥarb [*MaqQ*.26:14–272]. Here, they stop the line of Imāms already with Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya. The most compelling explanation of the different conceptions of the Ḥarbiyya that appear throughout Qummī’s additions is again that the material came from different sources.

Qummī then reproduces Nawbakhtī’s excursus on Ghulāt leaders who denied Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya’s death, which includes material on Bayān b. Sim‘ān [*MaqQ*.32:15–34:5; *Fir*.25:4–26:2]. This motivates an addition on the Bayāniyya that attributes to

tion to the sons of Jacob viz. the twelve tribes of Israel (e.g., Baqara 2:136; al-A‘rāf 7:160), from only four which the prophets and kings would emerge. Likewise, according to this doctrine, in only four members of Banū Hāshim would ‘Imāmate, Caliphate, and kingship’ be instantiated: ‘Alī, Ḥasan, Ḥusayn and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya. They are thus *al-asbāt*. The belief is obviously based on the notion of the spiritual pre-eminence of Banū Hāshim and the ‘Alid leadership thereof after the Prophet’s death. See further al-Qāḍī 1974:153–158.

them the doctrine that Abū Hāshim was not the true Imām after Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya but was merely his deputy and his *waṣī*. This, too, fits with the context, as long as we are in a post-Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya cluster, but the description ends by discussing the reaction to Abū Hāshim's death. Five post-Abū Hāshim factions are then listed [*MaqQ*.34:6–35:17]. The first claims the *waṣīyya* returned to Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya after Abū Hāshim's death. The second claims it passed to 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn. The third rejects Abū Hāshim's Imāmate entirely and returns to believing the *waṣīyya* had never left Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya. The fourth is a faction that believes in the Imāmate of Bayān b. Sim'ān. The fifth believes in the Imāmate of Ibn Ḥarb. The last creates further unevenness because the Ḥarbiyya have already appeared several times, and both the Bayāniyya and the Ḥarbiyya will appear again later. Moreover, there are parallels to the material on the second [*Mugh*.XX₂:178:15–18; *Ḥūr*.215:15–18; *MaqA*.23:7–9] and fourth factions [*Mugh*.XX₂:178:14–15; *Ḥūr*.215:10–11; *MaqA*.22:7–10] in the BdC¹²¹². Again, it appears that all this the material has been added in from elsewhere without regard to the specific context in the *Firaq*; it should appear in the post-Abū Hāshim cluster according to Nawbakhtī's schema.

Thereafter, we clearly return to the post-Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya moment, as we finally get Nawbakhtī's material on the faction that believes Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya is the Mahdī hidden at Raḍwā [*MaqQ*.35:18–37:1; *Fir*.26:3–27:10], albeit that in the context of the *Maqālāt wa-l-firaq* this is now basically just a repetition, as we have seen. Qummī then finishes the section by bringing forward Nawbakhtī's description of the Bayāniyya from the post-Abū Hāshim cluster [*MaqQ*.37:2–9; *Fir*.30:8–31:2]. Why he does this is unclear. Their doctrine should still make them a post-Abū Hāshim faction. He perhaps wanted to put the material closer to his various additions on the Bayāniyya that have appeared already in this cluster and/or to resolve the tension already present in the *Firaq* due to the mention of Bayān b. Sim'ān in connection with the doctrine of Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya's concealment. But why not then at least group all the material on the Bayāniyya together? The lack of attentiveness to the structure is made especially curious by the fact that Qummī also repeats some of his additional material on the Bayāniyya at the end of Nawbakhtī's description [*MaqQ*. 37:9–38:2, repeating 33:10–12, which parallels *Ḥūr*.215:12–13; *Bāb*.67:14–15; *MaqA*.5:11–13], apparently in an effort to bring some consistency to the content, even while the structural inconsistencies are ignored.

After having listed so many post-Abū Hāshim factions, Qummī then finally reproduces Nawbakhtī's post-Abū Hāshim *iftirāq*-statement [*MaqQ*.38:5–6; *Fir*.28:3]. This cluster, too, has several additions. The first three yet again concern the Ḥarbiyya [*MaqQ*.40:10–42:16]. The fourth is the Mu'āwiyya, i.e., the support-

¹²¹² See also p. 376, 385–387.

ers of ‘Abd Allāh b. Mu‘āwiya, who are closely related doctrinally to the Ḥarbiyya [MaqQ.42:17–43:1]. Here the description again parallels the BdC [Ḥūr.215:1–4; Bāb.101:11–102:3; MaqA.6:5–11]. All this material is in the appropriate cluster; it concerns the succession to Abū Hāshim. Yet, for some reason, Qummī places these additions after Nawbakhtī’s description of the ‘Abbāsīd Shī‘a/Rāwandīyya, rather than after Nawbakhtī’s description of the supporters of ‘Abd Allāh b. Mu‘āwiya, even though Qummī reproduces the latter using the name Ḥarbiyya in place of Nawbakhtī’s Ḥārithiyya [MaqQ.39:7–13; Fir.29:3–12]¹²¹³. That again just looks careless: why not at least collect all the material on the same group together?

The additions also slightly contradict the *Firaq*’s information. Nawbakhtī had presented the Ḥārithiyya as essentially equivalent to those who followed ‘Abd Allāh b. Mu‘āwiya as Imām after Abū Hāshim. One of Qummī’s additions, however, makes out that the Ḥarbiyya held Ibn al-Ḥarb to be Imām after Abū Hāshim, and that only some of his followers then supported Ibn Mu‘āwiya after having deserted Ibn Ḥarb [MaqQ. 40:10–41:21]. This is, notably, another parallel to the BdC’s material [Mugh. XX₂:178:8–10; Ḥūr.214:18–20; MaqA.22:7–10]¹²¹⁴. Another addition depicts the Mu‘āwiyya, the followers of ‘Abd Allāh b. Mu‘āwiya more generally, as a separate faction [MaqQ.42:17–43:1]. For once, Qummī was obviously aware of the problem. He tries to harmonise the material by modifying Nawbakhtī’s description slightly: where Nawbakhtī writes of the followers of ‘Abd Allāh b. Mu‘āwiya that “these are the supporters of ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith, so they are named the Ḥārithiyya”, Qummī has only that “a group of the Ḥarbiyya inclined towards them” [Fir.29:9–10; MaqQ.39:12]. That initially removes the most prominent inconsistency, but Qummī follows it immediately by claiming that all the followers of ‘Abd Allāh b. Mu‘āwiya are called the Ḥarbiyya. That makes no sense of his later Mu‘āwiyya. This is most likely a result of the use of multiple sources and a half-hearted attempt to reconcile them. In any case, the additions here are highly likely to come from a source other than Nawbakhtī’s *Firaq*, due to the differing conceptions of the relationship between Ḥarbiyya/Ḥārithiyya and the supporters of ‘Abd Allāh b. Mu‘āwiya they contain.

Next comes an addition on a faction that claims Abū Hāshim bequeathed the Imāmate to Mughīra b. Sa‘īd [MaqQ.43:6–7]. This is unique to the *Maqālāt wa-l-firaq* and contradicts the information in the *Firaq*, which Qummī reproduces later, that the Mughīriyya claimed Mughīra had been made Imām by Muḥammad al-Bāqir [Fir.53:16–55:6; MaqQ.76:7–77:11]. Moreover, Qummī himself immediately provides another addition, on a faction that claims the Mughīriyya were wrong

¹²¹³ But see n.1208 above.

¹²¹⁴ See the discussion on p. 380–384 and the translations in *Tab.29*.

because Muḥammad al-Bāqir bequeathed the Imāmate to Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan, not Mughīra [MaqQ.43:8–15]. That, of course, presumes a contrast with a Mughīriyya who indeed believe Mughīra was designated by Bāqir not by Abū Hāshim. This material has a parallel in the BdC [*Mugh.XX*₂:179:6–7; *MaqA*.24:5–9], where that is indeed the contrast drawn. Here, in the *Maqālāt wa-l-firaq*, however, it just introduces more structural awkwardness. Again, this gives the strong impression that Qummī is mixing material from different sources and paying only sporadic attention to the inconsistencies this produces.

That brings an end to the phase of the most disruptive additions, but Nawbakhtī's longer Ghulāt-section still provides a venue for numerous, less disruptive cases. It begins with a rare instance of Qummī trying to resolve a tension already present in the *Firaq*, but even here, he succeeds only in muddying the waters. Earlier, in the description of the Saba'iyya, Nawbakhtī had claimed that Ibn Saba' was the first to profess *ghuluww* (*awwal man qāla minhā bi-l-ghuluww*) [*Fir*.19:13]. Qummī adopts that phrase without change at the relevant point in his text [*MaqQ*.20:1–2]. At the beginning of the longer Ghulāt section, however, Nawbakhtī writes that *ghuluww* originated with the Khurramdīniyya (*minhum kāna bad' al-ghuluww fī l-qawl*), failing to note the contradiction [*Fir*.32:6]¹²¹⁵. Qummī apparently picks up on this and emends Nawbakhtī's text, such that it now reads "*ghuluww* originated with them, with the Saba'iyya" (*wa-minhum min al-saba'iyya kāna bad' al-ghuluww*) [*MaqQ*.44:16]. The problem is that the 'them' of 'originated with them' still refers to the Khurramdīniyya, so it now looks like Qummī is claiming the Saba'iyya were either equivalent to, or perhaps a sub-faction of, the Khurramdīniyya. The doctrines which are then ascribed to this faction by Nawbakhtī and Qummī, namely metempsychosis and epochal cycles, are also typically associated with the Khurramdīniyya, but not with the Saba'iyya¹²¹⁶. Indeed, it seems unlikely that even Qummī could really have meant to assert such a strong association between the two groups. More probably, this is just an attempt to bring some consistency to the question of the origins of *ghuluww* and to affirm the originating role of Ibn Saba', but one that fails to take account of the problems it produces in its immediate context.

Otherwise, the additions in the longer Ghulāt-section create less unevenness than the earlier additions simply because the section is so loosely structured already. Nevertheless, even here there is a tendency to deal with the same faction in more than one location for no obvious reason. Thus, instead of placing his additions on the Mu'ammariyya and the Bazīghiyya immediately after Nawbakhtī's

¹²¹⁵ See p. 633, 650.

¹²¹⁶ No other early heresiography connects Ibn Saba' or the Saba'iyya with the doctrine of *tanāsukh*. As Anthony argues, it would probably have been completely alien to them (2012:309).

descriptions of these factions, Qummī gives them separately, after all Nawbakhtī's material on the Khaṭṭābiyya is finished [*MaqQ*.54:10–17]. Here, the material again parallels the BdC. Then comes another body of material on the Khaṭṭābiyya generally [*MaqQ*.54:18–55:9], but the reader must then wait until after numerous other factions have been presented before we get the section's final addition on the Khaṭṭābiyya [*MaqQ*.63:18–64:4]. Similarly, there are two separate bodies of material on the Mukhammisa [*MaqQ*.56:6–59:15 and 60:16–21]. The material on the Bashīriyya is not brought together in one place either [*MaqQ*.60:13–15, 62:19–63:11]. Moreover, looking beyond the Ghulāt section, the material on the Bashīriyya could have been placed later, after Nawbakhtī's description of them in the post-Mūsā al-Kāẓim cluster, which Qummī still reproduces at that location [*MaqQ*.91:14–92:12; *Fir*.70:5–71:10].

The remaining additions are relatively much less substantial and Qummī tends to reproduce longer passages of Nawbakhtī's text without inserting large amounts of extraneous material. The most notable exceptions are the additions on the Šabbāḥiyya and the Ya'qūbiyya, where the material on each again parallels the BdC [*MaqQ*.71:17–72:2; *Mugh*.XX₂:185:6–7; *MaqA*.69:10–14], and on the various factions that continue the line of the Imāmate through 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far [*MaqQ*.88:5–15]. All of these, however, appear in suitable locations: in the Zaydiyya-section and after the Fuṭḥiyya respectively.

The degree of disruption and unevenness caused by most of Qummī's larger additions, as well as their frequent contradiction and/or repetition of material present in the *Firaq*, makes it extremely unlikely that they were taken from a more complete version of Nawbakhtī's text. This is especially true of the additional material on the various factions of the Kaysāniyya. Sometimes, Qummī's sources had slightly different conceptions of certain factions, both from each other and from the *Firaq*. The best example is the Ḥarbiyya. For Nawbakhtī, they (as the Ḥārithiyya) are essentially equivalent to the supporters of 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya and emerged in response to Abū Hāshim's death. At least one of Qummī's other sources seems to have held, rather, that the Ḥarbiyya were distinct from the larger body of Ibn Mu'āwiya's followers, and that only some of them decided to support him after having abandoned 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr b. Ḥarb. Yet another of Qummī's sources seems to have applied the term Ḥarbiyya much more broadly to the Kaysāniyya¹²¹⁷. It is not unlikely that these different conceptions led to some of the confusion in the arrangement of the material. More generally, however, it is evident that Qummī

¹²¹⁷ One of them also tries to connect the Ḥarbiyya fundamentally with the Saba'iyya, which also fits badly with Nawbakhtī's conception of both factions, and with the other additions in Qummī's *Maqālāt*. See *MaqQ*.21:8–10.

simply did not pay attention to the *iftirāq*-schema that orders most of Nawbakhtī's *firaq*-material when making his additions. Many of his additions could have been placed quite comfortably within the schema but are not. Sometimes, Qummī seems to have been working paratactically; any similarity to the surrounding material is sufficient reason to place an addition at a given location. But often he does not even bother to group together his additions on a particular faction in one place. We cannot explain why he did this. It may have something to do with the procedure by which the *Maqālāt wa-l-firaq* was put together from its multiple sources, perhaps in more than one phase of composition, but this is merely speculation. One thing is certain, however: there are very few cases where Qummī can have preserved larger structural features from any of his sources other than the *Firaq*. Nawbakhtī's text provides the basis; the additions are inserted sporadically amongst Nawbakhtī's material.

2.2.3.2 The Provenance of Qummī's Unique Material

On grounds of content and chronology, some of Qummī's additions to and rearrangements of Nawbakhtī's material are almost certainly Qummī's own work. That is true, for example, of his observations about the Qarāmiṭa and of his extensive reworking of the descriptions of the post-'Askarī factions¹²¹⁸. Otherwise, where the additions serve to flesh out points of Imāmī doctrine more fully, he is also likely to be responsible. This applies, for example, to his addition on the 'Shī'ī' (i.e., Ḥusaynid-Imāmī) doctrine concerning the Arbitration [*MaqQ*.12:15–13:14] and where, in his discussion of Muḥammad al-Jawād's Imāmate, he provides extra material in support of the doctrine that the Imāmate can be held by a minor [*MaqQ*.95:14–96:16].

Where, however, the additions consist in descriptions of first- and second-century factions, the default assumption must be that Qummī was adding in material from other sources¹²¹⁹. We know this is true wherever we have parallels with the BDC (See Tab. 27). It is also obviously true in the few cases where Qummī names his source. This happens in five cases, where Qummī gives us an *isnād*: four reports came to him from Muḥammad b. 'Īsā b. 'Ubayd b. Yaḡṡīn¹²²⁰ and one from Abū Zakariyyā Yaḡyā b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Khāqān. Muḥammad b. 'Īsā in turn related two of his reports from Yūnus b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān: one concerning the beliefs of the Ghulāt generally [*MaqQ*.62:2–18], and the other about the Bashīriyya [*MaqQ*.62:19–

¹²¹⁸ On the observations about the Qarāmiṭa, see also p. 41–42, 350.

¹²¹⁹ Mashkūr, p. ٤٤; Madelung 1967:48–52; van Ess 1967:265–267.

¹²²⁰ On him, see *RijālK*.537:3–10; *FihristT*.402:3–9; *RijālN*.333:17–334:13; Rosenthal 1983:64, n.297. He seems to have been alive already in the time of 'Alī al-Riḍā and perhaps lived well into the second half of the third century.

63:11]. Another of Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā's reports came from ʿUthmān b. ʿĪsā al-Kilābī [MaqQ.91:18–21]¹²²¹. It too deals with the Bashīriyya. The fourth concerns the date of ʿAlī al-Hādī's birth and is given on Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā's own authority [MaqQ.100:7–12]. The report from Abū Zakariyyā is given on his own authority and concerns the homosexuality of Ibn Nuṣayr [MaqQ.100:19–101:2].

These *isnād*-authenticated *akhbār* are, however, only a small number of the additions that do not have parallels in the BdC yet must have come from older sources. A full list of the additions without parallel can be extracted from Tab. 26 (those not marked with an asterisk), but they can be broken down thematically into four main groups. First, there is the addition on the Jārūdiyya's doctrine of the Imāmate [MaqQ.19:1–17]. Second, there are several additions connected with the Kaysāniyya, especially the doctrines of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya's concealment at Raḍwā and the status of Abū Hāshim after his father's death/concealment [MaqQ.27:14–17, 27:18–32:14, 34:6–35:6, 35:10–12, 44:11–14]. Third, there are the additions on the various beliefs connected with ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar [MaqQ.88:5–15]. The fourth, and by far the largest, group consists of additions on the Ghulāt: the Saba'iyya [MaqQ.21:3–10]; the Ḥarbiyya [MaqQ. 42:1–9, 42:10–16, 60:4–12]; the Bayāniyya [MaqQ.34:6–35:6]; the various factions of the Khaṭṭābiyya [MaqQ.54:18–55:9, 63:18–64:4]; general statements about the Ghulāt or material on several factions together [MaqQ.55:10–21, 55:22–56:5, 60:22–61:18]; the Mukhammisa [MaqQ.56:6–59:15, 60:16–21]; the Alyā'iyya [MaqQ.59:16–60:3]; and the Bashīriyya [MaqQ.60:13–15].

Madelung speculated that Qummī's main source for this unaccounted-for material on the Ghulāt and the Kaysāniyya might have been Yūnus b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's lost *Radd ʿalā l-Ghulāt*. His main reason, other than the thematic suitability of the title, is that two of the *akhbār* with *isnāds* in Qummī's *Maqālāt* are traced back to Yūnus. He took this to imply that Qummī must have been familiar with Yūnus's engagement with Ghulāt teachings¹²²². Yet, whilst it is certainly possible on the thematic grounds that Yūnus's *Radd* was one of Qummī's sources, the likelihood is not increased significantly by the presence of the two *khābars* attached to his name. Yūnus is merely one of the authorities on the Ghulāt cited here by Qummī's direct source, namely Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā b. ʿUbayd. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā also transmitted a *khābar* from ʿUthmān b. ʿĪsā al-Kilābī on the Bashīriyya to Qummī. Indeed, Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā seems to have been one of the main routes by which *akhbār*-material on the Ghulāt reached Qummī generally; Kashshī's *Rijāl* records numerous *akhbār* transmitted to Qummī from him, where the Ghulāt are again the most common

¹²²¹ On him, see *Fihrist* 7.346:4–9; *Rijāl* N.300:6–22. He was a Wāqifī, probably active into the early third century.

¹²²² Madelung 1967:51–52.

topic¹²²³. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā's most frequently occurring source is Yūnus b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān in Kashshī's *akhbār* too, but there are several others, again including ʿUthmān b. ʿĪsā al-Kilābī. Qummī himself, however, received almost nothing from Yūnus that did not reach him via Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā. It is clearly thus Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā himself who stood as the most important figure for Qummī in the transmission of *akhbār*-material on the Ghulāt¹²²⁴. The fact that Yūnus was one of Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā's main informers means Qummī certainly knew of Yūnus as an authority on matters concerned with the Ghulāt (and much else), but it has little bearing on the question of whether Qummī also independently consulted written works by Yūnus.

A more general comparison between the *akhbār* related by Qummī from Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā b. ʿUbayd in his *Maqālāt* and those that came to Kashshī from Muḥammad b. ʿUbayd via Qummī is instructive. It shows that very few of the *akhbār* on Ghulāt factions that must have been in Qummī's possession were included in his *Maqālāt*, although two of the four that do appear there are to be found in some form also in the *Rijāl*. Both concern Muḥammad b. Bashīr [*MaqQ*.62:19–63:11=*RijālK*.47716–478:3, 480:7–481:3; *MaqQ*.91:18–92:12=*RijālK*.478:10–479:10]. That suggests Qummī was not trying to distil all the *akhbār*-material on Shī'i *firaq* and/or notorious leaders of the Ghulāt available to him into his *Maqālāt*¹²²⁵. At one level back in the chain, we can also observe that *if* the *akhbār* that Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā transmitted from Yūnus and which are recorded by Kashshī had anything to do with Yūnus's *Radd ʿalā l-Ghulāt*, they provide no evidence that Qummī's additions *without isnād* were drawn from that source, because there are no parallels between

1223 See index to *RijālK*, p.129. These *akhbār* came to Kashshī via Qummī's prominent student, Muḥammad b. Qūlūyah, i.e., the father of the better known Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. Qūlūyah (d.367/977). Muḥammad was the main transmitter of *akhbār* and *ḥadīth* material from our Qummī to Kashshī. See *RijālN*:123:17–18.

1224 See index to *RijālK*, p.129. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā is also the main transmitter from Yūnus generally (index *RijālK*, p.322) and Muḥammad's single main informer was Yūnus (index *RijālK*, p.266). But Muḥammad also had many more sources, from some of which he also transmitted several *akhbār* (index *RijālK*, p.264–266). On the Ghulāt in particular, he drew from several others. For example, on the Saba'iyya, Kashshī cites a series of *akhbār* with the *isnād* Muḥammad b. Qūlūyah—Qummī—Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā, in the first of which Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā (incorrectly given as Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān here) transmits from Yūnus, but in the subsequent three from other sources (*RijālK*.106:11–107:17). Likewise, on the Bashīriyya, all of Kashshī's *akhbār* come via Muḥammad b. Qūlūyah—Qummī—Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā, but whilst Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā is said to have transmitted similar material from Yūnus, in the three *akhbār* Kashshī gives in full, Muḥammad drew on other sources (*RijālK*.477:14–483:13).

1225 The work was composed close enough to the end of his life that we cannot assume he simply collected further *akhbār* later; he had probably studied with Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā b. ʿUbayd in his youth anyway.

the two bodies of material¹²²⁶. There is a parallel between a *khbar* given by Kashshī concerning Muḥammad b. Bashīr, the Mukhammisa and the Khaṭṭābiyya and one of Qummī's additions without *isnād* [*MaqQ*.60:13–21= *RijālK*.479:10–480:6]. But in this case, the *isnād* goes back through Muḥammad b. 'Ubayd to 'Uthmān b. 'Īsā, not Yūnus b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān. It, too, thus provides no evidence in support of Madelung's suggestion¹²²⁷. That suggests that more of Qummī's material without *isnād* might still have come to him from Muḥammad b. 'Īsā b. 'Ubayd. Even for this, the positive evidence is weak, as so little of what Kashshī cites from Muḥammad b. 'Īsā b. 'Ubayd via Qummī appears in Qummī's *Maqālāt* at all. Still, the abridgement of Kashshī's *Rijāl* that has come down to us is hardly likely to contain all such material in Qummī's possession. That means it is quite possible that other unaccounted-for additions also originated as *akhbār* with diffuse sources transmitted to Qummī from Muḥammad b. 'Ubayd.

That said, Qummī generally used a written work, Nawbakhtī's *Firaq*, as the basis for his own text without any acknowledgement whatsoever. Moreover, whatever source he had in common with Balkhī must also have been a written work. That means there could have been several sources for the unaccounted-for additions in the *Maqālāt wa-l-firaq*, both written texts consulted independently, and orally authenticated material received via Muḥammad b. 'Īsā b. 'Ubayd. Most of it was presumably Imāmī material in circulation in Qom. Probably, material from various original contexts was pressed into service as "heresiography". In this case, any distortions this process produced don't result so much from the material being re-positioned *post hoc* into some abstract taxonomy, as we see in later heresiographies, as from the fact that it is integrated so chaotically into the structure he took over from Nawbakhtī's *Firaq*. Some of the material is potentially old. One suspects, for example, that Qummī's much more detailed description of the Kaysānī doctrine of Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya's concealment at Raḍwā [*MaqQ*.27:18–32:14], which overlaps with but diverges from and goes far beyond Nawbakhtī's and Balkhī's [*Fir*.26:3–27:10; *Mugh*.XX₂:177:4–5; *MaqA*.19:5–15], relies on an independent route of transmission of material that must come ultimately from the second half of the second century¹²²⁸.

¹²²⁶ But there is no evidence anyway that in these *akhbār*, Muḥammad b. 'Īsā was working from a *text* produced by Yūnus, rather than material disseminated primarily orally.

¹²²⁷ It should also be borne in mind, however, that Kashshī cites from Qummī's *Maqālāt*, too, for example on the Saba'iyya (*RijālK*.108:12–109:1; *MaqQ*.20:8–13) and on Ibn Nuṣayr (*RijālK*.520:16–521:7; *MaqQ*.100:13–101:2). It is clear that Kashshī is using Qummī's version of this material and not Nawbakhtī's, as several elements Qummī adds are also present in the *Rijāl*.

¹²²⁸ See further p. 318–322, also 429–432.

2.2.4 Rāzī's *Zīna*

Rāzī's main source for his material on Shī'i factions was Nawbakhtī's *Firaq*¹²²⁹. There is a small chance that he also had access to one of Nawbakhtī's earlier sources for the *iftirāq*-schema, either *Q*₁ or *Q*₂, independently of Nawbakhtī, but the evidence is very weak¹²³⁰. Rāzī was selective in what he took from the *Firaq* (see Tab. 30), and he often summarized what he did take heavily, as well as adding material either of his own composition or from other sources.

Some of those other sources are identifiable, and they are primarily lexicographical in character. Rāzī's description of the Kaysāniyya [*Zīna*.65:2–68:13] is made up partly of reorganized and shortened passages from the *Firaq*, but most of it consists, rather, of material that closely parallels Mubarrad's (d.286/900) presentation of al-Mukhtār's rebellion in his *Kāmil fī l-lughā wa-l-adab*¹²³¹. He does not explicitly say that he is citing Mubarrad here, although he does so elsewhere in the *Zīna*¹²³². The *Zīna*'s explanation of the term 'ghulāt' [*Zīna*. 77:18–81:2] cites both the grammarian Abū 'Ubayd (d. circa 210/825) and his student Abū 'Ubayda (d.224/838) by name. Parallels to these passages can be found in their extant texts¹²³³. Earlier in the same description, he cites Aṣma'ī (d.213/828) via Akhfash [79:2–3]¹²³⁴. This situation is not surprising. The *Zīna* is itself a work of lexicography, and Rāzī had studied with both Mubarrad and Tha'lab (d.291/904)¹²³⁵.

His sources for the material on the Shī'a in the *Zīna* are otherwise unknown to us, but longer passages without parallel are the exception anyway. The main example is his description of the Ismā'īliyya [*Zīna*.56:15–58:14], which—given that he was an Ismā'īlī *dā'ī*—is presumably his own work. But there are other cases, particularly those descriptions that come at the end of the section: the 'Alyā'iyya, 'Ayniyya, Muḥammadiyya, and the Mukhammisa, as well as the definitions of

¹²²⁹ See p. 389–393.

¹²³⁰ See p. 394–402.

¹²³¹ The parallels are identified by Berthold in his edition of the heresiographical parts of the *Zīna*. See Berthold 2019: Arabic text, 65–67. Compare *Zīna*.65:10–66:3 with *Kāmil*.III:193:5–16; *Zīna*.66:4–67:1 with *Kāmil*.III:194:5–17; *Zīna*.67:4–6 with *Kāmil*.III:194:23–195:1; *Zīna*.67:5–9 with *Kāmil*.III:196:22–197:2; *Zīna*.67:10–13 with *Kāmil*.III:195:13–17; *Zīna*.67:13–14 with *Kāmil*.196:14–15.

¹²³² See Ali 2008:28–29 and Berthold 2019:40–41.

¹²³³ The parallels are identified by Berthold 2019: Arabic text, 80. Compare *Zīna*.79:14–80:11 with Abū 'Ubayd, *Gharīb al-ḥadīth*, III:384:10–11 and IV:375:11–376:1, as well as Abū 'Ubayd, *Amthāl*, 220:4–7, and Abū 'Ubayda, *Majāz al-qur'ān*, I:61:4 and I:283:3. The problems with the attributions of the citations and the parallels with the extant works by Abū 'Ubayd and Abū 'Ubayda are discussed in Berthold 2019:36–37, 39.

¹²³⁴ Before the Shī'a-section, he also cites Aṣma'ī via Ibn Qutayba (*Zīna*.33:17–18).

¹²³⁵ Ali 2008:28–29; van Ess 2011:506; Berthold 2019:40–42.

tanāsukh and *raj'a* (see Tab. 30). Here, the material is mostly unique to the *Zīna* and difficult to date.

Rāzī reorganized Nawbakhtī's material to fit his work's lexicographical format; the faction-descriptions are effectively given as definitions of the faction-names (*alqāb*)¹²³⁶. In fact, he states at the end of the 'heresiographical' section of the text that his aim has not been to provide full accounts of the doctrines of the factions he has listed, but merely to focus on the *alqāb* and the reasons why they came about. Nothing of the original macro-structure of the *Firaq* remains. In particular, the *iftirāq*-schema has been obliterated. Rāzī begins his material on the Shī'a, rather, with a taxonomic statement. For him, all the factions of the Shī'a stem from three major groupings: the Rāfiḍa, the Kaysāniyya and the Zaydiyya [*Zīna*.54:7–8]. He then deals with each of these groups in turn.

First come the Rāfiḍa. For Rāzī, this grouping consists of everyone who traced the line of the Imāmate through 'Alī, Ḥasan, Ḥusayn, 'Alī Zayn al-Ābidīn, Muḥammad al-Bāqir and Ja'far al-Ṣādiq; they divide only after Ja'far's death [*Zīna*.54:10–13]. The first Shī'i factions he discusses are thus those that appear in Nawbakhtī's post-Ja'far cluster [*Zīna*.54:17–59:16], except that he replaces all Nawbakhtī's material on the Ismā'īliyya with his own. He then covers the main post-Mūsā factions, i.e. the Wāqifa and the Qat'iyya, again relying on the relevant cluster from the *Firaq* [*Zīna*.59:18–61:1]. After this, however, he covers the Imāms between 'Alī al-Ridā and Ḥasan al-'Askarī in a few short sentences [*Zīna*.61:2–9], then moves straight to the post-'Askarī situation [61:12–64:18]. Here, he again relies heavily on the *Firaq*, but he does add extra material, especially on the group who follow the line through Ja'far b. 'Alī, noting (unlike Nawbakhtī and Qummī) that this group turned to his son, 'Alī b. Ja'far after Ja'far's death [*Zīna*.62:6–8].

Next, Rāzī turns to the Kaysāniyya [*Zīna*.65:2–74:5], effectively reversing the order in the *Firaq*, where—based on *Q*₂'s *iftirāq*-schema—the Kaysāniyya and their successor-factions were discussed first. Rāzī reuses material from the *Firaq*'s post-'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, post-Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya and post-Abū Hāshim clusters, as well as the sub-clusters of the 'Abbāsīd Shī'a. However, he leaves out a lot, summarizes heavily and significantly reorganizes things, including assigning some material to different factions. For example, Rāzī's Karībiyya [*Zīna*.69:2–7] are not just those who thought Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya was in hiding in a unknown location, as they are for Nawbakhtī [*Fir*.25:1–4], but are also those who followed Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya straight after 'Alī. In the *Firaq*, the latter are a separate and earlier faction [*Fir*. 20:10–11]. The main description here is that of the original Kaysāniyya [*Zīna*.65:2–68:13], where Rāzī adds significant amounts of material from Mubarrad, as discussed above. He ends

1236 This is also what he states he has done, see *Zīna* (ed. Samarrā'i), 321:12–15.

up creating a taxonomic tension: he defines the Kaysāniyya from the beginning as those who held Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya to be the Mahdī, but this cannot explain why the following factions that trace the Imāmate through Abū Hāshim then also fall under the rubric Kaysāniyya.

Thereafter, it is the turn of the Zaydiyya. Here, Rāzī significantly simplifies the chaos of Nawbakhtī's multiple presentations¹²³⁷, but he also alters the perspective slightly. He maintains the idea that the Zaydiyya consist of two basic groups: the Jārūdiyya [*Zīna*.75:3–15] and the Butriyya [*Zīna*.76:2–18] (with the 'Ijliyya again on the margins [75:17]). What appears here is basically a rehash of material on these factions found at various places in the *Firaq* (see Tab. 30). But Rāzī prefaces it with a general presentation of the Zaydiyya as a group [*Zīna*.74:7–13]. Here, we get the sense of a concept of the Zaydiyya that is missing from the *Firaq*. Rāzī sees them as having supported a certain, discontinuous series of Imāms: 'Alī, Ḥasan, Zayd, Yaḥyā b. Zayd, 'Īsā b. Zayd, Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan and Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan. This puts the idea of the Zaydī rebellion as constitutive of the Zaydiyya as a group front and centre in a way that is simply absent from the *Firaq*. The list also notably contains Zaydī Imāms who do not even appear there (Yaḥyā and 'Īsā).

This would seem to exhaust the three groupings of the Shī'a announced at the beginning of the section, but it is not the end of Rāzī's treatment of Shī'i factions, nor of his parallels to the *Firaq*. Instead, we get a description of the Mughīriyya, which basically reproduces Nawbakhtī's [*Zīna*.77:2–16; *Fir*.53:16–55:5], i.e. from the post-Bāqir cluster. It is possible that Rāzī places them after the Zaydī factions because they also support Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan. Nawbakhtī does the same at the end of his Zaydiyya-section [*Fir*.53:3–5], but Rāzī doesn't take any material from that location, so it is not obvious that this is what influenced him. In any case, the description provides a transition to what comes afterwards: Rāzī explicitly labels Mughīra's doctrine *ghuluww* [*Zīna*.77:11], and what follows is a relatively long definition of the terms *ghuluww* and *ghulāt* [*Zīna*.77:18–81:2]. Here, Rāzī is no longer dependent on the *Firaq*. Much is unique to the *Zīna*, but this is also where we find a citation from Aṣma'ī, as well as the material from Abū 'Ubayd and Abū 'Ubayda. Thereafter come several descriptions of Ghulāt factions, only four of which—the Saba'iyya, the Bazghiyya, the Mu'ammariyya and the Aṣḥāb al-Tanāsukh—draw on material from the *Firaq* (See Tab. 30).

Rāzī's explicit definition of *ghuluww* is broad: in theory, any form of 'exceeding the bounds' in religion might count [*Zīna*.78:5]. Nevertheless, the examples he gives much are more restricted than that, although they still go somewhat beyond Nawbakhtī's narrow definition. Rāzī states that *ghuluww* consists in considering an

¹²³⁷ See p. 673–681.

Imām to be a prophet, or a prophet to be divine [Zīna.78:5–6]. Later, he mentions, more specifically, the belief that Muḥammad or ‘Alī is a god [Zīna.79:8] and, less specifically, considering a human in general to be divine, or considering someone who isn’t an Imām to be an Imām or someone who isn’t a Prophet to be a Prophet [Zīna.80:12–13]. As with Nawbakhtī, however, the definition quickly comes under strain when Rāzī starts listing the factions of the Ghulāt.

Tension appears almost immediately, as Rāzī follows the *Firaq* in claiming that Ibn Saba’ was the first to express *ghuluww* [Zīna.80:17–81:2]. This is less difficult to square with the given definition than in the *Firaq*, because Rāzī, unlike Nawbakhtī, at least mentions the idea that Ibn Saba’'s deified ‘Alī [Zīna.81:1, 5], although he has none of the detail on ‘Alī’s execution of Ibn Saba’ that often accompanies this¹²³⁸. Nevertheless, Ibn Saba’'s *ghuluww* apparently consisted not only in the deification but also in the fact that he considered ‘Alī not to have died and to be in *ghayba* [Zīna.81:1]¹²³⁹. As we have seen, this is a possible, but unlikely interpretation of the way Nawbakhtī too uses the term *ghuluww* in relation to the Saba’iyya. Indeed, it is not completely clear at this point in the *Zīna* that this is what Rāzī intends either, but it becomes so later. Following the description of the Mu’ammariyya, he provides a list of Ghulāt factions that contains both the Nāwūsiyya and the Mamṭūra (i.e., the Wāqifa) and he explicitly includes them in the list because of their profession of *waqf*, i.e., because they denied the deaths of Ja’far and Mūsā respectively and awaited their return [Zīna.83:10–84:2]. The *Zīna* is the only work in which these two factions are called Ghulāt, and Rāzī clearly thereby embraces the idea that *waqf* counts as *ghuluww* in a way that neither Nawbakhtī nor any other heresiographer does.

Yet another belief is labelled *ghuluww* in the section: reincarnation (*tanāsukh*). At one point, Rāzī lists all the Ghulāt factions that supposedly branched off (*ash’abat min*) from the Saba’iyya. These include the Bayāniyya, the Ḥārithiyya and, apparently, all factions of the ‘Abbāsīd Shī’a [81:14–82:2]. Nawbakhtī never went as far as this in following through on the idea that the Saba’iyya were the origin of *ghuluww*; he was constrained by the *iftirāq*-schema, where all these factions emerged, rather, due to the line of Imāms they follow. Rāzī then further states that ‘all the factions of the Kaysānī Ghulāt branched off from them, and they are people who profess reincarnation’ (*minhum insha’bat aṣnāf al-ghulāt al-kaysāniyya wa-hum ahl al-qawl bi-l-tanāsukh*) [82:3]. The antecedent of the ‘them’ is unclear: is it the Saba’iyya, the ‘Abbāsīd factions that have been mentioned just before specifically, or all the Ghulāt that have appeared in the list? In any case, Rāzī then states

1238 See p. 189–190, 423 n.493, 689–691.

1239 On the incompatibility of these doctrines, see p. 689–690 esp.1185.

that they have different names in different places: Khurramiyya and Kūdhaliyya in Isfahan, Mazādika and Sunbādhiyya in Rayy, the Muḥammira in the *māhs* of Kufa and Basra, and the Daqūliyya in Azerbaijan. Thus, not only is a completely different doctrine now considered *ghuluww*, but a more specific geography has entered. We are now in the Iranian world and the characteristic belief is neither the denial of an Imām's death nor the belief he is somehow divine, but rather reincarnation. This idea too is picked up later in the section. Rāzī has an entire description of the Aṣḥāb al-*tanāsukh* [*Zīna*.85:1–87:14], which draws partly on Nawbakhtī's material on the Khurramiyya (see Tab. 30). But this time, he claims that *all* Ghulāt factions agree on the doctrine of reincarnation [*Zīna*.85:1], an idea for which the forgoing descriptions of Ghulāt factions provide very little evidence.

Even more so than in Nawbakhtī's case, then, Rāzī seems to be working with multiple ideas concerning which doctrines are most characteristic of *ghuluww*: the denial of an Imām's death and belief in his *ghayba* and Madism; the deification of Imāms, especially of 'Alī and/or Muḥammad; and reincarnation, which is associated most specifically with factions linked with the Khurramiyya in the Iranian world. There is very little attempt to clarify the relationship between the three ideas or the groups that held them, or to make the explicit definition match the way the term is then applied in practice. Instead, we get the sense that the cracks in the inherited material, as well as between the concepts of *ghuluww* contained in that material and Rāzī's own, have been papered over by the assumption that *ghuluww* should be something coherent, such that all Ghulāt somehow profess all forms of *ghuluww* simultaneously, even when this was unsupported by the material Rāzī had available to him.

Rāzī's main point in all this is difficult to miss. Although he adopts an apparently neutral, descriptive tone throughout most of the Shī'a-section—including the description of the Ismā'īliyya—what emerges is the clear sense that the Ismā'īlī position on the Imāmate is the only acceptable one¹²⁴⁰. The most obvious reason for this is the description of the Ismā'īliyya itself. Rāzī presents their arguments in far more detail than for other groups: 'all the Shī'a' were agreed that Ismā'īl was to be the Imām after Ja'far [*Zīna*.56:15–16]; Ja'far's nomination of Ismā'īl followed the practice of the Prophets going back to Abraham [*Zīna*.56:19–57:5]; Ja'far had no sons after Ismā'īl and 'Abd Allāh for 25 years [*Zīna*.57:6–7]; following the example of the Prophet and 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, Ja'far married no woman and took no concubine until Ismā'īl's and 'Abd Allāh's mother died [*Zīna*.56:10–15]; when Ismā'īl died, his son, Muḥammad, was older and more deserving of his inheritance—i.e., includ-

¹²⁴⁰ Here, I follow the arguments of Sāmarrā'ī 1972:235–236; Ali 2008:152–158; van Ess 2011:509–510; Berthold 2019:63–87.

ing the Imāmate—than Ja‘far’s younger sons [Zīna.57:15–58:2]; Ja‘far’s younger sons were demonstrably unsuitable for the Imāmate [Zīna.58:3–6]; and, perhaps most importantly, those who followed Mūsā became ever more hopelessly divided after his death [Zīna.58:7–12]. The description finishes by assuring the reader that the Ismā‘īliyya have many more proofs, only they would take up too much space in the book if they were to be discussed here, and that many people now profess this doctrine and are joined by more every day [Zīna.58:13–14]. In contrast, the descriptions of the rest of the post-Ja‘far factions emphasize that they have died out already [Zīna.55:2–3, 55:13–14, 56:11–12] except for those who followed Mūsā. The latter, however, increasingly did not know how to proceed thereafter. They ended up either ended up denying Mūsā’s death [Zīna.59:18–60:11]—a doctrine that Rāzī later explicitly labels *ghuluww* [Zīna.83:12]—or else became successively ever more fragmented as the potential successors were always unsuitable for one reason or another, especially after the death of Ḥasan al-‘Askarī, when the available options were all obviously unsatisfactory and the level of fragmentation thus became truly hopeless [Zīna.64:15–18].

Rāzī thus sees the Ismā‘īliyya as being the only faction in the right after Ja‘far’s death and the other Imāmī factions as their only viable, but ultimately misguided doctrinal competition. This perspective probably explains the overall arrangement of the Shī‘a-section. Those factions with the greatest claim on the truth come first, specifically with the emergence of the Ismā‘īliyya and the failure of all the other post-Ja‘far Imāmī factions. That is why he foregrounds the post-Ja‘far split above all other events. The Kaysāniyya follow. They do not even merit being dismissed as long dead or hopelessly fragmented, presumably because they are of no threat whatsoever, although they are later collectively labelled *Ghulāt* [Zīna.82:3]. Finally, we get the Zaydiyya, where the reportage is—perhaps surprisingly, given the historical circumstances—entirely neutral, almost perfunctory in character and mostly simply a repetition Nawbakhtī’s material. The *Ghulāt* appear as a kind of appendix, probably because the category is orthogonal to the three groups that make up the Shī‘a. The factions that appear in the section are mostly also Rāfiḍa or Kaysāniyya and have thus been mentioned already. Rāzī does not even bother to classify those that aren’t (e.g., the Mukhammisa etc.). Here, however, he loses his neutrality, openly criticizing the doctrines he describes by adding phrases such as, ‘May God be greatly exalted above what the wrongdoers say!’ (*ta‘āla llāh ‘ammā yaqūl al-zālimūn ‘uluww^{an} kabīr^{an}*) [Zīna.78:6, 81:2, 83:9].

2.2.5 Balkhī’s *Maqālāt*

Like ps.-Nāshī’ and Nawbakhtī, Balkhī relied heavily on the version of the *ift-irāq*-schema he inherited, and, like Nawbakhtī, he received the version from *Q*₂.

Unlike them, however he did not deploy it as the dominant structuring element of his *firaq*-material on the Shī'a overall. Rather, he divided the Shī'a from the outset into at least two sub-confessions, the Imāmiyya and the Zaydiyya, devoting separate sub-chapters or sections to each. Balkhī also separated off the Ghulāt in some way, but the situation here is more complicated. There are two main reasons for this, and both have to do with the state of the extant witnesses in the BdC: (1.) there are at least two versions of Balkhī's *firaq*-material on the Shī'a preserved in the BdC, and Balkhī dealt with the Ghulāt in a different way in each version; and (2.) we cannot reconstruct precisely how Balkhī presented these factions in either version.

Balkhī's Version 1 is witnessed by the convergences between 'Abd al-Jabbār's *Mughnī* and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*¹²⁴¹; his Version 2 is witnessed by the convergences between Maqdisī's *Bad'*, Abū Tammām's *Bāb*, and Ḥimyarī's *Hūr*¹²⁴². The two versions had most of their macro-structure and content in common:

- In both, Balkhī formed the section on the Imāmiyya essentially out of the material that came from *Q*₂'s *iftirāq*-schema. His direct source was probably Warrāq's *Maqālāt*¹²⁴³.
- There was also significant overlap between Versions 1 and 2 in the section on the Zaydiyya. Both versions had almost the same description of the Jārūdiyya, which was at least partly, and probably entirely, dependent on Warrāq's *Maqālāt*¹²⁴⁴. Both versions also redeployed the material—which probably also came from Warrāq's *Maqālāt*—on the doctrines of Abū l-Jārūd, Kathīr al-Nawwā', Ṣabbah b. al-Qāsim al-Muzanī, and Ya'qūb b. 'Adī concerning the rejection of the first two caliphs and the *raj'a*, although it is unclear how much of this was reused in either version or in what arrangement, as the witnesses are thin¹²⁴⁵.
- Finally, both versions had the material on the Bayāniyya, Ḥarbiyya, Mughīriyya, Manṣūriyya and the five factions of the Khaṭṭābiyya that appears in Ash'arī's sub-chapter on the Ghāliya, has parallels in Qummī's *Maqālāt*, and also probably came to Balkhī from Warrāq¹²⁴⁶.

There were, however, two major differences between Balkhī's Versions 1 and 2:

1241 See p. 177–178.

1242 See p. 178–181, 202. There was possibly also a third version, witnessed by Jishumī's texts and the *Rawḍa*, which resembles Version 1 in its major features but converges over some more minor elements—above all faction-names—with Version 2. See p. 180.

1243 See p. 223–225 and p. 481–482.

1244 See p. 181–189, 204–209.

1245 See p. 490–491.

1246 See p. 492–493, 560–568.

- The first difference concerns the Imāmiyya and the Ghulāt. As we have seen, the body of material on the Ghulāt that also appears in Ash‘arī’s sub-chapter on the Ghāliya and Qummī’s *Maqālāt* had descriptions of some factions that also appeared in the *iftirāq*-schema—the Bayāniyya, the Ḥarbiyya, the Mughīriyya and the Manṣūriyya—but from a completely different perspective, one which concentrated on their doctrinal profile as Ghulāt, rather than on their position on the succession to the Imāmate¹²⁴⁷. In Version 1, Balkhī kept the two bodies of material separate, in a way similar to Ash‘arī’s *Maqālāt*, using exclusively the material from the *iftirāq*-schema in the section on the Imāmiyya and placing the material on the Ghulāt in a separate section somehow. This would have led to the kind of duplication of these factions that we now see in Ash‘arī’s *Maqālāt*, i.e. they appeared in the section on the Imāmiyya *and* in the separate section on the Ghulāt, with different faction-descriptions in each¹²⁴⁸. In Version 2, however, Balkhī combined the two bodies of material, adding the descriptions from the material on the Ghulāt to the relevant descriptions in the *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya in the way we now see especially in the *Ḥūr*¹²⁴⁹. He also probably added the descriptions of the factions of the Khaṭṭābiyya—which had been part of the material on the Ghulāt but had not previously featured in the *iftirāq*-schema—to the schema’s post-Ja‘far cluster, again as we see in the *Ḥūr*¹²⁵⁰.
- The second difference concerned the Zaydiyya. In addition to the bodies of material common to both versions, mentioned above, Balkhī’s Version 1 also used the non-Zurqān material on Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ, Sulaymān b. Jarīr and Nu‘aym b. al-Yamān. Here, the source was once again probably Warrāq¹²⁵¹. Balkhī’s Version 2, however, did not use that material at all. Instead, he replaced it entirely with the Zurqān-material on the same figures¹²⁵².

Overall, the most likely scenario to explain this situation is that Version 1 of Balkhī’s *fīraq*-material on the Shī‘a was dependent on Warrāq’s *Maqālāt* for all or nearly all its material. In Version 2, Balkhī, for some reason, replaced some of Warrāq’s material on the Zaydiyya with material from Zurqān. He also rearranged the material on the Ghulāt and Imāmiyya, perhaps just to avoid the duplications that had resulted from the separate treatment of the two.

1247 See p. 560–568.

1248 See p. 155, 162–164, 222.

1249 See p. 191–202, 222.

1250 See p. 168.

1251 See p. 253–255.

1252 See p. 253–255.

We can expect that Balkhī (and Warrāq already), like ps.-Nāshī' and Nawbakhtī, made further changes to the material inherited from the common sources, reworking, summarizing, and adding from unique sources or his own composition. In regard to much of the material on the Zaydiyya and Ghulāt, however, it is impossible to separate any changes introduced by Balkhī from the material as it appeared in his direct source (probably always Warrāq in these cases), let alone earlier sources, as we cannot reconstruct that source in enough detail. This is because often the only confirmed independent witness to how the material looked before Balkhī is Qummī's *Maqālāt*, and the convergence simply isn't close enough to make meaningful progress with a reconstruction¹²⁵³. There are, however, two major exceptions: the *iftirāq*-schema from Q_2 , where we can compare Balkhī's version with the reconstruction of Q_2 based on the complex convergences between the BdC, the *Firaq*, and *Uṣūl al-niḥal* (as a witness to Q_1); and the Zurqān-material on the Zaydiyya, where it is possible to compare with the versions present in the *Firaq* and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*.

In the case of the Zurqān-material, however, there is relatively little to say. Comparison of the *Hūr*, the *Bāb* and the *Bad'* with the *Firaq* and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* shows that Balkhī must have reproduced the three statements from Zurqān's *ikhtilāf*-cluster almost exactly, with no significant changes to the wording. The only major difference is, rather, in the function to which the material is put. Zurqān's *ikhtilāf*-cluster simply compared the opinions of the three scholars on the succession to Muḥammad and the opposition to 'Alī¹²⁵⁴. It is possible that non-Zaydī opinions featured in the cluster too. His *Maqālāt* would also have had many other *ikhtilāf*-clusters, treating different topics of theology, where the opinions of Zaydī scholars, especially Sulaymān, would have appeared¹²⁵⁵. Balkhī, however, used these statements on their own as faction-descriptions of the Sulaymāniyya, Butriyya and Nu'aymiyya. Thus, opinions held by three individual Zaydī scholars on one theological issue out of many—albeit one that was perhaps vital for Zaydī identity—became constitutive of three *firaq* of the Zaydiyya¹²⁵⁶.

The discrepancies between Q_2 's *iftirāq*-schema and the versions that appeared in Balkhī's *Maqālāt* are more complex and require a longer discussion. This will be undertaken in 2.2.5.1. Thereafter, in 2.2.5.2, we will discuss Balkhī's overall presentation and conception of the factions of the Shī'a.

1253 See p. 565–566.

1254 See p. 568–572.

1255 See p. 570–571.

1256 See p. 256.

2.2.5.1 Variants in Respect of Q_2 's *iftirāq*-Schema

In Version 2 of his *firaq*-material, Balkhī integrated the extraneous material on the Ghulāt—which also probably came to him from Warrāq—into the *iftirāq*-schema. Otherwise, however, Versions 1 and 2 presented essentially the same schema. This was very similar to what can be reconstructed for Q_2 's schema, but they were not identical. Discrepancies can be identified wherever the BdC and/or Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* converge (establishing Balkhī's material) but there is no corresponding convergence with the *Firaq* and/or *Uṣūl al-niḥal* (which would, if present, have demonstrated the presence of the element in Q_1). Such discrepancies may have arisen for one of three reasons:

- because Balkhī (and any intermediaries to him) preserved Q_2 's material more faithfully than our other witnesses to Q_2 ;
- because of changes introduced by an intermediary between Q_2 and Balkhī;
- because of changes introduced by Balkhī himself, either through adding material from another source or composing new material himself.

For some of these discrepancies, there is, however, a parallel in Qummī's additions to the *Firaq*. There are five main cases:

- Q_2 's (and, indeed, Q_1 's) version of the post-Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya cluster contained a faction that denied Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya's death and believed he had been concealed at Raḍwā and would return as the Mahdī to bring justice to the world. In addition to that faction, which the BdC labels the Karībiyya, Balkhī also had a sub-faction that believed Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya was concealed at Raḍwā specifically as a punishment for his submission to 'Abd al-Malik [*Mugh.XX₂*:177:7; *Hūr*.212:3–4; *Bāb*.99:10–11; *MaqA*.20:1–3]. This sub-faction appears in one of Qummī's additions [*MaqQ*.22:9–23:12].
- In the post-Abū Hāshim cluster, Balkhī had a faction that believed the Imām after Abū Hāshim was 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn [*Mugh.XX₂*:178:15–18; *Hūr*.215:15–18; *MaqA*.23:7–9]. There is no evidence of such a faction in Q_2 , but they are present in one of Qummī's additions to the *Firaq* [*MaqQ*.35:6–36:9].
- Q_2 had a description of the Bayāniyya in the post-Abū Hāshim cluster, but it cannot be reconstructed because the faction-descriptions in BdC and the *Firaq* are not convergent¹²⁵⁷, and because the Bayāniyya are not witnessed for Q_1 . One of Qummī's additions to the *Firaq* does not match Balkhī's exactly but relies on a common source [*Mugh.XX₂*:178:14–15; *Hūr*.215:10–11; *MaqA*.22:7–10; *MaqQ*.34:6–9, 35:6–7]¹²⁵⁸.

1257 See p. 618–619.

1258 See p. 385–386.

- Q_1 and Q_2 had a description of the Ḥarbiyya in the post-Abū Hāshim cluster, but neither can be reconstructed because the faction-descriptions in *Uṣūl al-niḥal*, the *Firaq* and the Bdc diverge¹²⁵⁹. One of Qummī's additions to the *Firaq*, however, relies on a source in common with Balkhī's faction-description of the Ḥarbiyya [*Mugh.XX₂*:178:8–10; *Hūr*.214:18–20; *MaqA*.22:7–10; *MaqQ*.40:10–41:9]¹²⁶⁰.
- In the post-Muḥammad al-Bāqir cluster, Balkhī had a description of the Maṣūriyya [*Mugh.XX₂*:179:8–17; *Hūr*.222:19–224:3; *Bāb*.107:6–109:6; *MaqA*.24:10–25:8]. They do not appear in the cluster in the *Firaq* or *Uṣūl al-niḥal*, so we do not know if the faction was present in Q_2 (or Q_1). One of Qummī's additions, however, contains parallels to Balkhī's description¹²⁶¹.

In these cases, the parallels in Qummī's *Maqālāt* show that the material was present already at least in Balkhī's direct source, i.e., in the version of the *iftirāq*-schema he took from Warrāq¹²⁶². Because the convergences between the relevant passages in Qummī's *Maqālāt* and those in the Bdc are usually too loose, we cannot reconstruct how they looked in Balkhī's source in any detail. It is worth noting, however, that wherever there are parallels between Balkhī's *iftirāq*-schema and Nawbakhtī's, they converge closely in terms of wording¹²⁶³. As that material must have come to Balkhī via the same source as the above listed elements of his schema (i.e., probably Warrāq)¹²⁶⁴, which do not appear in the *Firaq*, we can presume that that he was not generally summarizing or altering what he took from that source very much. Nevertheless, even if we knew for certain that this material had appeared in Warrāq's *Maqālāt* in the form that can be reconstructed for Version 1 of Balkhī's *Maqālāt*, we still would not know whether it had been present in Q_2 and was simply omitted by Nawbakhtī (or an intermediary) or whether it was added by Warrāq (or an intermediary).

All of these elements are integrated into Balkhī's *iftirāq*-schema as well as anything else there and present no contradictions relative to what we know to have been in Q_2 . As a result, we cannot use structural awkwardness or internal contradiction as a criterion for establishing the likelihood that these passages were added post- Q_2 . If this indeed happened, then the job was done so well that we can no longer tell. That means we are reduced to speculating based on a comparison of the character of the material with that witnessed for Q_2 .

1259 See p. 530 and p. 619–620.

1260 See p. 380–384.

1261 See p. 378–380.

1262 See p. 386–388.

1263 See p. 285–339.

1264 See p. 386–388.

The first two elements in the list are extremely minor. It is easily conceivable that Nawbakhtī could have omitted them if they had been present in Q_2 . The first element, however, would be atypical. It presents a faction that follows exactly the same line of Imāms as the faction immediately before—which is witnessed for Q_2 —but for a slightly different reason. There is no evidence that Q_2 paid any attention to such fine distinctions; it was the line of Imāms alone that counted¹²⁶⁵. The second introduces a schematic feature that doesn't occur amongst the witnessed material for Q_2 : it provides a way for people who had followed the 'Kaysānī' line through 'Abū Hāshim' to rejoin the schema's main branch by turning to 'Alī Zayn al-Ābidīn after Abū Hāshim's death. As a result, it is also conceivable that these elements were added later.

The last three discrepancies in the list are more interesting. All of them concern factions that are labelled elsewhere—although not in Q_2 's *iftirāq*-schema—as Ghulāt: the Bayāniyya, the Ḥarbiyya and the Maṣūriyya. In all of them, exceptionally, we cannot reconstruct Q_2 's faction-descriptions at all, because of the lack of convergence between the BdC, the *Firaq* and *Uṣūl al-niḥal*. Moreover, although there are parallels between Qummī's additions and Balkhī's descriptions of these factions indicative of a common source, there are too many discrepancies for us to establish precisely how they would have appeared in their common source¹²⁶⁶. If we work just with Balkhī's versions of these elements, however, there are some notable similarities across the three. First, in all of them, there is the idea of a non-Hāshimite becoming a sort of interim Imām between two members of Banū Hāshim. This is clearest in the case of the Maṣūriyya, where Abū Maṣūr explicitly declares himself to be merely a 'custodian' of the office after Muḥammad al-Bāqir until it passes to Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan¹²⁶⁷. In the case of the Ḥarbiyya, they initially see Ibn Ḥarb as Imām after Abū Hāshim but then realise he has deceived them and turn to 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya¹²⁶⁸. The case of the Bayāniyya is the most complicated. It is impossible to understand the doctrine from the fragmentary description preserved in the BdC and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*. Comparison with Qummī's parallel (but notably different) version, however, makes things clearer. Balkhī is apparently describing a doctrine whereby the Bayāniyya held Bayān to be an interim Imām whilst Abū Hāshim was in *ghayba* (for Qummī, they saw Abū Hāshim as interim leader whilst Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya was in *ghayba*)¹²⁶⁹.

We cannot compare Balkhī's descriptions of the Bayāniyya, Ḥarbiyya and Maṣūriyya in his version of the schema with Q_2 's descriptions for the reasons

1265 See p. 496–497.

1266 See p. 378–388.

1267 See *Tab.11, a and b*.

1268 See *Tab.29, a, c, d, e, f*.

1269 See p. 385–386 and p. 618–619.

already given. But the idea that these leaders claimed the Imāmate for themselves or that their followers claimed it on their behalf is much more consistent in Balkhī's material than anywhere else in third century heresiography. Nawbakhtī and ps.-Nāshī', for example, simply have the Ḥarbiyya following 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya as Imām; Ibn Ḥarb/Ibn al-Ḥārith had a leadership role in the faction but not as Imām¹²⁷⁰. Nawbakhtī depicts the Bayāniyya as seeing either Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya or Abū Hāshim as the Imām. Bayān is never connected with the role of Imām specifically there but is presented as a sort of prophet¹²⁷¹. That is true in *Uṣūl al-niḥal*, too. For ps.-Nāshī', the Manṣūriyya did claim Abū Manṣūr was the Imām after Bāqir [*Niḥ.*40:4–5], but Nawbakhtī again focusses on his claims to prophethood¹²⁷².

There is, however, one faction-description witnessed for Q_2 where a non-'Alid appears as an Imām: that of the Mughīriyya. Even there, we find a notable difference between Nawbakhtī's version and Balkhī's. Nawbakhtī begins by claiming that the Mughīriyya held the Imām after Bāqir to be Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan; Mughīra seems merely to be the faction's leader¹²⁷³. That is also what appears in *Uṣūl al-niḥal* and was presumably thus the case in Q_1 , too¹²⁷⁴. Nawbakhtī—but not ps.-Nāshī'—then goes on to say that *some* of the Mughīriyya held Mughīra to be the Imām 'until the Mahdī rebels [or 'emerges'] (*ilā an yakhruja l-mahdī*), the Mahdī being Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh¹²⁷⁵. In Balkhī's version, however, this is turned on its head. The main Mughīriyya are, rather, those who saw Mughīra as Imām after Bāqir until the arrival of Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh as the Mahdī [*Mugh.*XX₂:179:1–5; *Ḥūr.*222:6–9; *MaqA.*23:12–24:1]¹²⁷⁶. It is then a distinct faction that explicitly rejects Mughīra and follows Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh as Imām directly after Bāqir instead [*Mugh.*XX₂:179:6–7; *MaqA.*24:5–9]¹²⁷⁷. Notably, one of Qummī's additions [*MaqQ.*43:14–15] also parallels the idea that a faction explicitly rejected the Imāmate of Mughīra in order to follow Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh directly after Bāqir, probably indicating that Balkhī's source already presented things this way.

All this suggests that the version of the *iftirāq*-schema that Balkhī inherited from his direct source consistently depicted certain factions elsewhere labelled as Ghulāt—the Bayāniyya, the Ḥarbiyya, the Manṣūriyya and the Mughīriyya—pri-

1270 They do not, however, agree on that role. See p. 625–626.

1271 See p. 618–619.

1272 See p. 650–651.

1273 *Tab.*24, *d*², *c*², *e*².

1274 *Tab.*38, *d*³, *c*³, *e*³.

1275 *Tab.*24, *b*².

1276 The relevant passage from the *Mughnī* is translated in *Tab.*24, *a*¹-*c*¹.

1277 The relevant passage from the *Mughnī* is translated in *Tab.*24, *d*¹, *e*¹.

marily to have seen their own, non-Hāshimite leaders as Imāms after the death of certain 'Alids, even if only temporarily, before the Imāmate was 'returned' to a member of Banū Hāshim. There is no evidence, however, that this idea was present already in Q_2 to the same extent and no evidence at all that it was present in Q_1 . This raises the possibility that this conception of the role of the Ghulāt leaders was introduced in an intermediary to Balkhī, possibly then due to integration of material from some other source. This cannot be confirmed, but it is not obvious why Nawbakhtī (or an intermediary to him) would have obscured this conception of the role of the Ghulāt leaders in a way that takes his material back in the direction of what is witnessed for Q_1 .

In other cases of discrepancies between Balkhī's version of the *iftirāq*-schema and Q_2 , we do not even have the parallels in Qummī's *Maqālāt* to work with. This reduces us almost entirely to speculation based on the character of the material. Most such discrepancies are anyway very minor and could potentially have arisen in the transmission to Balkhī or Nawbakhtī for reasons that are essentially random:

- The BdC has a unique faction in the post-Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya cluster that turns to 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn after Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya's death [*Uyūn*.8v:17–18; *Sharḥ*.29v:1; *Rawḍa*.140r:23; *Mugh*.XX₂:177:8–9; *MaqA*.20:7; *Bāb*.102:8–12]¹²⁷⁸. This is structurally very similar to the faction paralleled in Qummī's *Maqālāt* that does the same thing, *mutatis mutandis*, in the post-Abū Hāshim cluster. It was thus most likely present at least in in Balkhī's source.
- In the post-Abū Hāshim cluster, Balkhī presents a faction that held that Abū Hāshim bequeathed the Imāmate to his nephew [*Mugh*.XX₂:178:2–4; *MaqA*.20:8–21:2; *Ḥūr*.214:1–2; *Bāb*.99:15–100:4; *Sharḥ*.29v:5–6; *Rawḍa*.140v:10–11]¹²⁷⁹. Nawbakhtī's version of this description has Abū Hāshim bequeathing the Imāmate, rather, to his brother, who then passes it to the nephew [*Fir*.28:3–29:2]¹²⁸⁰.
- Balkhī and Nawbakhtī both preserved an anecdote about how the name Mamṭūra came to be applied to the Wāqifa [*Fir*.68:16–69:5; *Mugh*.XX₂:181:7–8; *Ḥūr*.218:18–219; *MaqA*.28:14–29:4]. The parallels are generally very close, but there is a notable difference. In Balkhī's version, it is Yūnus b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān who applies the name to them. In Nawbakhtī's version, Yūnus is joined by 'Alī b. Mītham, and it is 'Alī specifically who coins the name¹²⁸¹.
- In the post-Mūsā cluster, Balkhī had a unique faction that followed Aḥmad b. Mūsā as Imām directly after Mūsā [*Mugh*.XX₂:181:10–11; *MaqA*.29:13–30:2;

1278 See p. 317.

1279 See p. 176–178 on the minor discrepancies in the BdC.

1280 See p. 323–324.

1281 See also p. 297–302.

Sharḥ.30v:17–18; *Uyūn*.9r:15; *Bāb*.125:5–10]. This is certainly not Balkhī's own addition¹²⁸² and it could plausibly be that it stood already in *Q*₂ and has somehow been omitted in the transmission to Nawbakhtī.

There are two further cases of unique material in the BdC, however, for which there is more reason to think Balkhī preserved *Q*₂ better than Nawbakhtī. The first is the usage of the name Mufaḍḍaliyya for the faction that followed Mūsā al-Kāzīm directly after Ja'far. According to Balkhī, this faction-name was derived from the name of their leader, Mufaḍḍal b. 'Umar [*Mugh*.XX₂:181:3–4; *Bāb*.122:4–123:15; *Uyūn*.9r:13; *Sharḥ*.30v:10; *MaqA*.29:6–7]. This must be Mufaḍḍal b. 'Umar al-Ju'fī, the second-century Kufan adherent of Ja'far and Mūsā¹²⁸³. This situation is exceptional. All the other factions of the post-Ja'far cluster witnessed for *Q*₂ have names derived from their second-century Kufan leaders, some of whom are highly obscure figures not at all or barely discussed anywhere else¹²⁸⁴. Only in the case of the followers of Mūsā is no faction-name witnessed for *Q*₂, because the faction is anonymous in the *Firaq*. But it cannot have been Balkhī himself who decided to label the followers of Mūsā this way in the second half of the third century. It could potentially have been Warrāq. But it is much more likely that the faction-name stood in *Q*₂ already; any later, and a different name probably would have been chosen. Mufaḍḍal became a controversial figure in Imāmī tradition. For some, he had been a loyal companion of Ja'far and Mūsā; others rejected him because of his esoteric beliefs about the nature of the Imām¹²⁸⁵. The name was likely removed by Nawbakhtī or an intermediary who did not want to associate support for Mūsā so closely with this figure¹²⁸⁶.

The second such instance of unique material occurred in Balkhī's description of the Fuṭḥiyya. Here, he presented a report on Zurāra b. A'yan's reaction to the death of Ja'far al-Ṣādiq for which there is no corresponding material in the *Firaq* (or *Uṣūl al-niḥal*). The report states that there was a difference of opinion over what that reaction had been: some people said Zurāra professed the Imāmate of 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far; some people said he tested 'Abd Allāh with questions and found him wanting, so he turned to Mūsā b. Ja'far instead; and some people said that he ges-

1282 See p. 303.

1283 See p. 132 n.39.

1284 See p. 497.

1285 See p. 132 n.39.

1286 Ḥimyarī also removed the name, replacing it with 'Jawālīqiyya' but this was more likely simply to avoid the confusion caused by the fact that 'Mufaḍḍaliyya' is also the name of one of the sub-factions of the Khaṭṭābiyya, and they were also supposedly led by and named after Mufaḍḍal b. 'Umar (see p. 132 n.39). The double-usage had occurred in Balkhī's material—as it does in Ash'arī's—because the material on the Khaṭṭābiyya and the material on the followers of Mūsā came originally from different sources and had been kept separate in Balkhī's Version 1.

tured towards his copy of the Qurʾān, saying ‘this is my Imām’ [*Mugh.XX₂*:180:15–20; *Hūr*.218:3–11; *Sharḥ*.30v:3–7; *MaqA*.28:4–7]. Nawbakhtī does mention that some people tested ‘Abd Allāh with questions and found him wanting, thus they turned to Mūsā [*Fir*.65:12–14]. But the story of a delegation being sent to test ‘Abd Allāh appears elsewhere in Imāmī sources: Nawbakhtī could just be referring to that, rather than summarizing the material on Zurāra specifically¹²⁸⁷.

Still, Balkhī certainly did not invent this report himself. It arises from the fact that both parties in the debate over ‘Abd Allāh b. Jaʿfar wanted to claim that Zurāra—who died very soon after Jaʿfar—had been on their side. This tug of war over Zurāra’s allegiances is itself is not likely to have been something that attracted attention outside of Imāmī circles. But it is the third opinion in the report that reveals its origins beyond doubt. The Imāmiyya transmitted numerous traditions according to which, upon Jaʿfar’s death, Zurāra had dispatched his son, ‘Ubayd, to Medina to investigate the situation pertaining to ‘Abd Allāh. Zurāra, however, became gravely sick before his son’s return. On his deathbed, he either grasped his copy of the Qurʾān to his chest or else gestured in its direction and uttered some words. The accounts differ over what he said, but the options include claiming that he put his faith in the Qurʾān and the one whose Imāmate his son would confirm upon his return, claiming that his Imām was the one determined by the Qurʾān, or claiming that he had no Imām except the Qurʾān, as in Balkhī’s version¹²⁸⁸. Balkhī’s report is thus clearly reflecting information of Imāmī origin here and it is very difficult to see him having obtained this material independently of the *iftirāq*-schema and inserted it himself. Warrāq would be more plausible, but it would not be out of place in *Q₂* already. As we have seen, *Q₂* certainly related the anecdote about the activities of two later theologians, Yūnus b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān and ‘Alī b. Mītham, in debating with the Wāqifa¹²⁸⁹. Its author could easily have included this material on Zurāra, too. If it was present, Nawbakhtī or an intermediary must have removed/summarized it, but this too is highly plausible. Nawbakhtī is committed to depicting the Fuṭhī position in a negative light; it could well have been that he did not even want to mention the possibility that Zurāra had not rejected ‘Abd Allāh. He does mention the testing of ‘Abd Allāh by scholars who found him wanting [*Fir*.65:13-14]¹²⁹⁰.

Finally, there is a set of discrepancies that seem much less likely to go back to *Q₂*. They occur at the beginning of Balkhī’s version of the schema. *Q₁* and *Q₂* began the schema with the post-‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib cluster followed by the post-Ḥusayn

1287 See p. 628.

1288 *RijālK*.153:19–156:11. See also the discussions at Modarressi 1993:104 and *TG*.I:324, as well as the further sources cited there.

1289 See p. 297–302.

1290 See p. 627–629.

cluster¹²⁹¹. Balkhī (or an intermediary), however, collapsed these clusters together, creating an initial three-way split in the Imāmiyya. The second faction of this split was the Kaysāniyya who followed Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya after 'Alī. The third was the Kaysāniyya who followed him only after Ḥusayn¹²⁹². Both these factions were present in Q_2 's schema, albeit in separate clusters, and from this point on, the structure of Balkhī's schema follows Q_2 's without further significant differences. In the course of this rearrangement, a faction was also lost: the Saba'iyya, which appeared in the post-'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib cluster in both Q_1 and Q_2 . Balkhī *did* have the material on the Saba'iyya that had been present in Q_1 and Q_2 ; it just seems that he or an intermediary moved it elsewhere, completely outside of his version of the schema¹²⁹³. Most importantly, however, the first faction of Balkhī's initial split was unique to his version. Balkhī described the faction to have followed the Imāms of the Ḥusaynid Imāmiyya all the way up to Ḥasan al-'Askarī, then he stated that "Ḥasan b. 'Alī died in our time without a son, so they fell into confusion" [*Mugh*.XX₂:176:16–17; cf. *Ḥūr*.219:19–220:1]. He labelled this faction 'the Qaṭ'iyya'.

On chronological grounds, this initial Qaṭ'iyya could not have appeared in Q_2 ; they are a later addition. Moreover, they are not placed according to the standard logic of the schema. According to that logic, such a faction could only appear at its *end*, after all the intervening *iftirāq* has played out. It is also unclear how they are supposed to relate to the factions that follow the Ḥusaynid Imāms as the *iftirāq*-schema progresses, all of which still feature in Balkhī's version. The fact that this faction is called the Qaṭ'iyya also leads to a duplication, as a faction with the same name was already present in Q_2 's post-Mūsā cluster; they are those who affirmed (*qaṭa'a 'alā*) his death, and Balkhī retained this faction, too [*Fir*.67:8–12; *Ḥūr*.218:14–16; *ʿUyūn*.9r:15–16; *Sharḥ*.30v:19–20; *Rawḍa*.141r:21; *Maqā*.29:11–12].

The insertion of the initial Qaṭ'iyya was obviously an effort to update the schema inherited from Q_2 . That schema ended, as we have seen, with the Imāmate of Muḥammad al-Jawād and the *ikhtilāf* over the status of his Imāmate whilst he was still immature. Rather than continuing the schema as far as the post-'Askarī situation by adding post-Jawād and post-'Alī al-Hādī clusters to bridge the gap, Balkhī or an intermediary has simply placed a new faction following the Imāms up to Ḥasan al-'Askarī at the very beginning. But who is responsible for this?

Whoever added the faction clearly wanted to refer to the Ḥusaynid Imāmiyya of their own day. That person understood these Ḥusaynid Imāmiyya to have followed the line of the Ḥusaynids as far as Ḥasan al-'Askarī, who died in that person's

1291 See p. 418–428.

1292 See *Tab.4*.

1293 See p. 344–348, 419–424.

lifetime, then to have ‘fallen into confusion’. Ḥasan al-‘Askarī died in 260/873. The *terminus post quem* of Warrāq’s *Maqālāt* is 250/864, so we would have to bring that date forward by at least another nine years in order to posit that he authored the description. As we don’t know when Warrāq died, we do not know whether this would even have been possible. In Balkhī’s case, the main problem is the confusion over the date of composition of his *Maqālāt*. If he was ‘beginning to compile/compose’ the text around 290, as the extant manuscript seems to say¹²⁹⁴, then this material on the initial Qaṭīyya is quite out of date. Nawbakhtī was writing his detailed account of the post-‘Askarī factions already in the 270s. Of course, Balkhī was no Imāmī and would have had little interest in such a fine-grained account, but by 290 we might still have at least expected him at least to have mentioned the fact that many people believed in a twelfth Imām. Ash‘arī, who wasn’t writing much later, not only asserts plainly that the Imāmiyya believed in a twelfth Imām, he gives his name [*Maqa*.18:8–10]. If, however, Balkhī was beginning to compose his *Maqālāt* in 279, it is more plausible that he would have authored the passage as it stands.

2.2.5.2 Balkhī’s Presentation and Conception of the Shī‘a

Balkhī classified the Shī‘a into two or three groups: the Imāmiyya, Zaydiyya and, possibly, the Ghulāt. As we have seen, this was not so far from how ps.-Nāshī’ and Nawbakhtī already conceived of things. The latter two authors, however, had taken the *iftirāq*-schema as the basis of their presentations and inserted extraneous material on the Zaydiyya and the Ghulāt in different ways into its midst, leading to much structural awkwardness, inconsistency, and conceptual ambiguity. Balkhī—possibly in reliance on Warrāq—took a different approach: he divided his presentation of Shī‘ī factions at the top level based on the bi- or tri-partite classification. That gave his *fīraq*-material a very different super-structure from Nawbakhtī’s and ps.-Nāshī’-s, and a different character. Above all, by not even attempting a single, integrated presentation of Shī‘ī factions, Balkhī could provide greater structural clarity; he did not have to disturb the *iftirāq*-schema. The presentation also appears more ‘heresiographical’, in the sense of an attempt to provide a systematic classification of factions, as opposed to the ‘genetic’, aetiological approach of the *iftirāq*-schema. Below this super-structure, however, Balkhī’s *fīraq*-lists themselves still strongly inherited the various perspectives of their sources, and these were not always conceptually consistent with the top-level classification.

Balkhī’s *fīraq*-material on the Imāmiyya was made up almost entirely of the *iftirāq*-schema that came to him—probably via Warrāq—from *Q*₂. He essentially

¹²⁹⁴ See p. 25–26.

retained its structure intact and reproduced its faction-descriptions. As a result, he also inherited its narrow conception of what a *firāq* is, its insistence on a single mechanism for the generation of *firāq*, and its fundamentally Ḥusaynid-Imāmī perspective¹²⁹⁵. Indeed, it seems that he barely updated the material at all¹²⁹⁶. Certainly, he added no new *iftirāq*-clusters after the post-Riḍā cluster; his schema still effectively ended with the *ikhtilāf*-cluster on the status of Muḥammad al-Jawād's Imāmate whilst he was still a minor¹²⁹⁷. His only engagement with the history of the Imāmiyya post-Jawād was—in defiance of the *iftirāq*-schema's underlying logic—to place a faction at the schema's very beginning that followed the Ḥusaynid Imāms up to Ḥasan al-'Askarī then 'fell into confusion' after his death, and it is possible that even this was already done by Warrāq¹²⁹⁸. In short, Balkhī was basically transmitting much older material on Imāmī factions that he had inherited from his source; he had no real interest in the situation of the contemporary Ḥusaynid-Imāmiyya.

One notable feature of Balkhī's usage of the material (possibly still following Warrāq) is that, unlike Nawbakhtī and ps.-Nāshī', he labelled *all* the factions that appeared in the *iftirāq*-schema 'Imāmiyya'. We also know what he meant by this term, because he gave a definition. This took the form of an *ijmā'*-passage, setting out those doctrines that the Imāmiyya agree on, and which bind them together as a group separate from other factions of the Muslim Community. Balkhī placed this immediately before the *iftirāq*-schema¹²⁹⁹. The passage is preserved in the *Mughnī* and the *Uyūn*. Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*—probably in dependence on Balkhī and, if not, on their common source, then Warrāq—has a closely parallel version¹³⁰⁰. The three are given in Tab. 46.

1295 See p. 296–507.

1296 See p. 217–219.

1297 See p. 220, 282.

1298 See p. 218–219.

1299 See p. 69–72.

1300 Summaries are also found at *Hūr*.2111:11–13 and *Rawḍa*.139v:25–140r:3.

Tab. 46: Balkhī's *ijmā'*-introduction to the Imāmiyya.

Mugh. XX₂:176:3-13	MaqA.16:11-17:9
<p>[a¹] حكى شيخنا أبو القاسم البلخي أن الإمامية تختص بأن تزعم أنه صلى الله عليه نصن على علي عليه السلام باسمه وأظهر ذلك وأعلنه وأن أكثر الصحابة بل كلها ارتدوا إلا ستة أنفس وتزعم أن الإمامة قرابة وأن الإمام¹³⁰¹ يعلم ما يحتاج إليه الأمة من دينها</p>	<p>[a²] وهم مجتمعون على ان النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم نصن على استخلاف علي بن ابي طالب باسمه واظهر ذلك واعلنه وان اكثر الصحابة ضلوا بتركهم الاقتداء به بعد وفاة النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم وان الامامة لا تكون الا بنصن وتوفيق وانها قرابة</p>
<p>[b¹] ولو حلف بالله أو الطلاق أو بالعناق إنه ليس بإمام كان له في حال التقية ولكن مع ذلك مفروض الطاعة</p>	<p>[b²] وانه جائز للإمام في حال التقية ان يقول انه ليس بإمام</p>
<p>[c¹] وليس ترى الخروج على¹³⁰² أئمة الجور إلا في وقت مخصوص</p>	
<p>[d¹] وتبطل الاجتهاد في الأحكام</p>	<p>[d²] وابطلوا جميعا الاجتهاد في الاحكام</p>
<p>[e¹] وتمنع أن يكون الإمام إلا الأفضل وإلا بنص الرسول أو بنص الإمام الأول عن الثاني</p>	<p>[e²] وزعموا ان الامام لا يكون الا افضل الناس</p>
<p>[f¹] وتتقى عن أمير المؤمنين أن يكون قد أخطأ في شيء إلا الكاملية أصحاب أبي كامل لأنه يدعى أن الأمة كفرت بدفعها أمير المؤمنين عن الإمامة وكفرت هو بتركه الطلب</p>	<p>[f²] وزعموا ان عليا رضوان الله عليه كان مصيبا في جميع احواله وانه لم يخطيء في شيء من امور الدين الا الكاملية اصحاب ابي كامل فانهم اكفروا الناس بترك الاقتداء به واكفروا عليا بترك الطلب</p>
<p>[c²] وانكروا الخروج على أئمة الجور وقالوا ليس يجوز ذلك دون الامام المنصوص على امامته</p>	<p>[c²] وانكروا الخروج على ائمة الجور وقالوا ليس يجوز ذلك دون الامام المنصوص على امامته</p>
'Uyūn.8v:3-15	
<p>[a³] والذي يجمعهم من المذاهب أن النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم نصن على أمير المؤمنين باسمه وعينه حتى اضطروا إلى مراده وأظهر ذلك وأعلنه كما أظهر الصلاة والحج ونحوه وأن أكثر الصحابة ارتدوا وعاندوا بإنكار ذلك وذهب أكثرهم إلى أن الإمامة بنص فقط ومنهم من ذهب أنها بالورثة وانفقوا أن الإمام يعلم جميع ما يحتاج إليه الأمة وأنه يظهر عليه المعجز وأنه معصوم منصوص عليه</p>	
<p>[e³] ولا يجوز إلا الأفضل ظاهراً وباطناً</p>	
<p>[d³] ولا يجوز أخذ شيء من الدين إلا من جهة الإمام وتبطل القياس والاجتهاد وأخبار الأحاد وإجماع الأمة وتحيل على قول الإمام</p>	
<p>[b³] وتجوز التقية على الإمام حتى زعموا أنه يجوز عن يكون الإمام بين قوم وهو يحلف بالله والطلاق والعناق إنه ليس بإمام وفي تلك الحال هو مفترض الطاعة عليهم واجب اعتقاد إمامته</p>	
<p>[c³] ولا يرون الخروج على الظلمة إلا عند ظهور قاعدتهم الذي يسمونه قائماً ويحيلون عليه منذ دهر وليس له أثر</p>	

1301 The edition keeps the manuscript's 'الإمامة'.

1302 Reading مع على for.

Tab. 46 (continued)

Mugh.XX₂:176:3–13

[a¹] Our master, Abū I-Qāsim al-Balkhī related that the Imāmiyya are distinguished by the fact that they claim that he [i.e., the Prophet], upon him be peace explicitly designated 'Alī, upon him be peace, and announced this and made it known; that the majority of the Companions, or rather all of them except six, reneged. They claim that the Imāmate is a matter of kinship; that the Imām knows what the Community needs in matters of religion;

[b¹] and that if he swears by God or by the act of divorce or manumission that he is not the Imām, he is permitted to do so whilst in a state of protective dissimulation but that obedience to him nevertheless remains obligatory.

[c¹] They do not believe in rebellion against wrongful Imāms except at a specified time.

[d¹] They consider the exercise of reason in establishing the legal consequences of an action invalid.

[e¹] They deny that the Imām can be anyone other than the most virtuous, or anyone other than the one designated by the Prophet, or by one Imām's designation of the next.

[f¹] They deny that the Commander of the Believers [i.e. 'Alī] committed an error in anything, except for the Kāmiliyya, the followers of Abū Kāmil, because he claimed that the Community became unbelievers by preventing the Commander of the Believers from assuming the Imāmate and that he [i.e. 'Alī] became an unbeliever, as he neglected to demand his rights.

MaqA.16:11–17:9

[a²] They are agreed that the Prophet, upon him be peace, explicitly designated 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib as his successor by name, and announced this and made it known; that the majority of the Companions erred sinfully by neglecting to follow his leadership after the death of the Prophet, upon him be peace; that the Imāmate is conferred only by explicit designation and grant; that it is a matter of kinship;

[b²] and that it is permissible for the Imām whilst in a state of protective dissimulation to say that he is not the Imām.

[d²] They collectively consider the exercise of reason in establishing the legal consequences of an action invalid.

[e²] They claim that only the most virtuous of the people can be the Imām.

[f²] They claim that 'Alī, may God be pleased with him, was in the right in all that befell him and did not commit an error in any religious matter, except for the Kāmiliyya, the followers of Abū Kāmil, who deem the people unbelievers as they neglected to follow his ['Alī's] leadership and they deem 'Alī an unbeliever, as he neglected to demand his rights.

[c²] They forbid rebellion against a wrongful Imām. They said that that is not permissible without an Imām whose Imāmate was specifically designated.

Tab. 46 (continued)

Uyūn.8v:3–15

[a²] That which unites them amongst the various doctrinal systems is the belief that the Prophet, upon him be peace, designated the Commander of the Believers by his name and as an individual, so that they would be obliged to accept his intention, and he announced this and made it known, just as he announced the prayer and the pilgrimage and the like; and that the majority of the Companions reneged and resisted through their denial of this. Most of them subscribe to the belief that the Imāmate is allotted by designation alone, although some of them subscribe to the belief that it is allotted by inheritance. They agree that the Imām knows all that the Community needs, that miracles are made to occur for him, that he is kept free from error, and that he is designated,

[e²] and that only the most virtuous internally and externally is permitted,

[d²] and that it is not permissible to take anything of the religion from anyone other than the Imām. They declare the use of analogy, reasoning, *ḥadīth* from a single line of transmission and the consensus of the Community to be invalid, and they defer to the word of the Imām.

[b²] They permit protective dissimulation for the Imāms, such that they claim that it is permissible for him to be the Imām amongst a group of people yet to swear by God, by divorce and by manumission that he is not the Imām, and that obedience to him in this state is nevertheless obligated, and belief in his Imāmate a duty.

[c²] They do not approve of rebellion against oppression until their currently inactive leader appears, whom they will call Qā'im. They have deferred to him for an age but there is no sign of him.

Here, Balkhī describes those tenets of the Imāmiyya that distinguish them from other Muslims. He seems to be doing so from an external, comparative perspective. That is why, alongside the doctrine of the Prophet's *naṣṣ* regarding 'Alī and the sinful error of the Companions in neglecting this (a), he specifically mentions the Imāmī opposition to rebellion against a wrongful Imām (c) and to the exercise of reasoning in jurisprudence (d). An Imāmī author summarizing the core points of Imāmī doctrine would not have emphasized these positions, and certainly not in such a negative formulation. The idea that the Imāmiyya support the Imāmate of the *afḍal* (e) is obviously articulated in Mu'tazilī terms; the point is to contrast with those groups that allow the Imāmate of the *mafdūl*. For an Imāmī, 'Alī was obviously the most virtuous of people after the Prophet's death, but his Imāmate was established by *naṣṣ* anyway; the whole question of whether the Imāmate could legitimately go to a less worthy candidate simply didn't arise. The *afḍal/mafdūl* debate was something that troubled other groups, above all the Mu'tazila and the Zaydiyya. Balkhī's *ijmā'*-passage views the Imāmī position from the perspective of that extraneous debate.

In any case, the definition of the 'Imāmiyya' provided by this passage is obviously focussed on the doctrine of the Ḥusaynid-Imāmiyya specifically. The problem

is that, because Balkhī then fills out his category 'Imāmiyya' with the *iftirāq*-schema from *Q*₂, he includes several factions that obviously don't fit the definition. He cannot really have meant to say, for example, that the 'Abbāsīd Shī'a also opposed legal reasoning, allowed their Imāms to employ *taqiyya* and forbade rebellion against an unjust Imām, still less that the Mughīriyya or the Kaysāniyya did so. It is also doubtful that the Ḥusaynid-Imāmiyya themselves would have accepted the application of the term 'Imāmiyya' to all these groups. Certainly, Nawbakhtī does not use it that way; he reserves it for those who share his own position or come very close¹³⁰³. But the *iftirāq*-schema had not been constructed around this concept of the Imāmiyya at all. Its criterion for a faction's inclusion was simply that the faction could be depicted to have supported a continuous line of Imāms from 'Alī on. That means that, in practice, Balkhī's *usage* of the term Imāmiyya in his *firaq*-material equates to ps.-Nāshī's more descriptive *ahl al-nasaq*, 'adherents of succession'¹³⁰⁴, but his explicit definition does not correspond with that usage; it is restricted to the Ḥusaynid-Imāmiyya. This mismatch between the explicit definition and the content of the *firaq*-list is something that occurs in the material on the Zaydiyya too, as we will see shortly.

Another term of interest is 'Qaṭ'iyya'. Balkhī—again perhaps in reliance on Warrāq—used it to refer to the faction that followed the Ḥusaynid Imāms up to 'Askarī then 'fell into confusion', which is as far he goes. Balkhī was clearly aware that the name was derived originally from post-Mūsā split: the Qaṭ'iyya were those who affirmed (*qaṭa'a 'alā*) Mūsā's death and 'Alī al-Riḍā's Imāmate, in opposition to the Wāqifa who stopped at (*waqafa 'alā*) Mūsā and believed him still to be alive¹³⁰⁵. Nawbakhtī and Qummī, however, use the term only in that context; they don't refer to their contemporaries or any factions later than the post-Mūsā *iftirāq* as Qaṭ'iyya. That raises the question whether the term was really in use in Balkhī's day to refer to the Ḥusaynid-Imāmiyya or whether Balkhī—or perhaps then more likely Warrāq already—was simply using the most recent name for the followers of the Ḥusaynid Imāms that was provided to him by the *iftirāq*-schema from *Q*₂¹³⁰⁶. That Balkhī singled out those Imāmiyya that follow the whole line of Ḥusaynid Imāms by using the term Qaṭ'iyya is particularly curious when his definition of 'Imāmiyya' is so clearly focussed on the Ḥusaynid-Imāmiyya anyway.

¹³⁰³ See p. 671–672.

¹³⁰⁴ See p. 584.

¹³⁰⁵ See p. 119 n.31, 296, 440.

¹³⁰⁶ Most later heresiographical usages of the term to refer to the Ḥusaynid-Imāmiyya generally—i.e., beyond the specific context of the post-Mūsā split—are dependent on Balkhī. One possible exception is Abū Hātim al-Rāzī (*Zīna*.61:1–3).

After his *iftirāq*-schema, Balkhī included two unrelated structural-thematic elements concerned with the Imāmiyya: a *rijāl*-passage, dealing with their most prominent authors, and a *kuwar*-passage, surveying their geographical distribution. The idea here seems to have been to address other dimensions of the Imāmiyya as a sub-division of the Shī'a and ultimately of the Muslim Community, beyond just their fragmentation into factions. Balkhī also used such passages in his Mu'tazila- and Khawārij-chapters¹³⁰⁷. They contribute to his presentation of the major divisions of the Muslim Community as essentially symmetrical entities¹³⁰⁸.

We cannot reconstruct either passage precisely. The *rijāl*-passage is preserved by Jishumī in the *ʿUyūn* and can be compared with the version in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* to give us some idea how it might have looked in Balkhī's *Maqālāt*. The two versions are given in Tab. 47. We have to assume that both have been summarised with respect to their common source. Names from the second and early third century present in each are missing from the other: Jishumī does not have Yūnus b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān or al-Sakkāk; Ash'arī does not have Hishām b. Sālim (al-Jawālīqī), 'Alī b. Mītham or Shayṭān al-Ṭāq. But this is probably just a result of summarising. It is obvious that the main body of the list must have consisted of the most prominent Imāmī *mutakallimīn* who are regularly cited in Mu'tazilī doxography. Other names were certainly added later: Jishumī's "Ibn Mu'allim" is Shaykh al-Mufid (d.413/1032). Still, both Jishumī and Ash'arī have Faḍl b. Shādhān (d.260/873) and Ibn al-Rāwandī. Moreover, the sentence introducing Ibn al-Rāwandī (*b*) is too similar in both texts to be coincidence; it stood in the common source. That is potentially important for dating. We do not know when in the second half of the third century Ibn al-Rāwandī died¹³⁰⁹, and neither he nor Ibn Shādhān need have been dead when the original version of this passage was first set down. But it is questionable whether Warrāq would have said that Ibn al-Rāwandī 'composed books for' the Imāmiyya. That sounds much more like Balkhī's own voice, providing one more reason to favour the explanation that Ash'arī's source was a version of Balkhī's *Maqālāt*, rather than Warrāq's. In any case, this doesn't take us away from the fact that either all or most of the names given in the *rijāl*-passage were theologians; such were the 'prominent men of the Imāmiyya' from Balkhī's perspective¹³¹⁰.

1307 See p. 66–69.

1308 See p. 6, 66, see also 89–95.

1309 On the problem, see *TG*.IV:344–346.

1310 That is, of course, unless the names of the other *ḥadīth* transmitters given by Ash'arī were already present in Balkhī's version. They were both probably contemporaries of Faḍl b. Shādhān. Ṭūsi lists them as transmitters from 'Alī al-Hādī (*Rijāl*T.385:8, 386:2). Abū l-Aḥwaṣ Dā'ūd b. Rāshid al-Baṣrī should perhaps be read 'al-Miṣrī', in which case he may be the contemporary of Jubbā'ī

Tab. 47: The *Rijāl*-passages on the Imāmiyya in Balkhī's and Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*s.

'Uyūn.9v:12	MaqA.63:10–64:2
<p>[a¹] ومن رجال الإمامية ومصنفيهم هشام بن الحكم وهشام وسالم وعلي بن منصور وعلي بن ميثم وشيطان الطاق والفضل بن شاذان وغيرهم ومن المتأخرين ممن صنّف لهم ابن المعلم</p> <p>[b¹] ممّن صنّف لهم ابن الراوندي</p>	<p>[a²] ورجال الرافضة ومؤلفو كتبهم هشام بن الحكم وهو قطعيّ وعلي بن منصور ويونس ابن عبد الرحمن القميّ والسكاك وأبو الإحوص داود بن راشد البصريّ ومن رواة الحديث الفضل بن شاذان والحسين ابن اشكيب والحسين بن سعيد</p> <p>[b²] وقد انتحلهم أبو عيسى الوراق وابن الراوندي والفا لهم كتبًا في الإمامة</p>
'Uyūn.9v:12	MaqA.63:10–64:2
<p>[a¹] Amongst the prominent men of the Imāmiyya and their authors were Hishām b. al-Ḥakam, Hishām b. Sālīm, 'Alī b. Manṣūr, 'Alī b. Mītham, Shayṭān al-Ṭāq, al-Ḥaḍl b. Shādhān and others. Amongst the recent individuals who have authored [books] for them is Ibn al-Mu'allim.</p> <p>[b¹] Amongst those who have authored [books] for them is Ibn al-Rāwandī.</p>	<p>[a²] The prominent men of the Imāmiyya and authors of their books are Hishām b. al-Ḥakam—who was a Qaṭī—, 'Alī b. Manṣūr, Yūnus b. 'Abd al-Rahman al-Qummī, al-Sakkāk, Abū l-Aḥwaṣ Dā'ūd b. Rāshid al-Baṣrī. And amongst their transmitters of <i>ḥadīth</i> are Ḥaḍl b. Shādhān, Ḥusayn b. Ushkayb, and Ḥusayn b. Sa'īd.</p> <p>[b²] Abū 'Īsā al-Warrāq and Ibn al-Rāwandī inclined towards them and composed books for them concerning the Imāmate.</p>

The *kuwar*-passage is preserved in a marked Balkhī-citation by Ḥimyarī and can be compared with Ash'arī's version. They are both given in Tab. 48. Strictly, the passage is not about the spread of the Imāmiyya specifically, but Shī'ism (*tashayyu*) generally. Ḥimyarī's version is missing Kufa, but it was presumably just lost in transmission. The list of locations where Shī'ism is 'dominant' is curious. We might have expected to see some mention of the gains of the Qarāmiṭa in the Gulf or Syria, such as we see in Qummī's *Maqālāt*¹³¹¹. Moreover, the mention of the 'lands of Idrīs' seems out of place: 'Shī'ism' was only dominant there in the sense that an 'Alid was in power, as the reference in the *Hūr* to the fact that its population was Mu'tazilī seems to admit (even if that was probably wishful thinking). But Qum and Kufa were not Shī'ī in that sense. We probably have to conclude that this is simply not

who composed a refutation of Jāhīz's *Uthmāniyya* (TG.VI:317). He would then be the latest figure on the list, but he could still have been added by Balkhī or Ash'arī.

1311 See p. 42.

serious religious geography; Balkhī just wanted to have a counterpart to his much more detailed survey of the spread of the Mu‘tazila¹³¹².

Tab. 48: The *kuwar*-passages on the Imāmiyya in Balkhī’s and Ash‘arī’s *Maqālāt*s.

Hūr.249:18–19	MaqA.63:10–64:2
[a ¹] قَالَ الْبَلْخِي وَلَا أَعْلَمُ كَوْرَةَ يَغْلِبُ فِيهَا التَّشْيِيعَ إِلَّا قَمَّ وَبِلَادِ ادریس وأهلها معتزلة	[a ²] والتشيع غالب على اهل قم وبلاد ادریس بن ادریس وهي طنجة وما والاها والكوفة
Hūr.249:18–19	MaqA.63:10–64:2
[a ¹] Balkhī said, “I know of know no district in which Shī‘ism is dominant except Qum, and the lands of Idrīs—but their people are Mu‘tazila.	[a ²] Shī‘ism is dominant over the people of Qum and the lands of Idrīs b. Idrīs—i.e. Ṭanja and that which neighbours it—and Kūfa.

Balkhī’s *firaq*-list of the Zaydiyya was entirely separate from that of the Imāmiyya. He apparently made nothing like the kind of structural connection between the two that Nawbakhtī repeatedly attempts¹³¹³. It seems, however, that before beginning the list of the Zaydiyya, he offered a reflection on the relationship between them in the form of two elements: an *ijmā‘*-passage and a report concerning how Zayd b. ‘Alī supposedly coined the term ‘Rāfiḍa’. The material is presented in Tab. 49.

¹³¹² See p. 64–69. On the thinness of the *kuwar*-passage on the Shī‘a, see also Strothmann 1931:208–209.

¹³¹³ See p. 601–608.

Tab. 49: Balkhī's introductory material on the Zaydiyya.

<i>Mugh.XX₂:184:3-4</i>	<i>ʿUyūn.7v:12-15</i>
<p>[σ¹] قال شيخنا أبو القاسم الذي يجمع الزيدية والإمامية تفضيل أمير المؤمنين عليه السلام على كل أصحابه فإنه أولاهم بالإمامة وأن الإمامة لا تجوز أن تخرج عن ولده</p>	<p>[x²] سموا بذلك للإنتساب إلى الإمام ابى الحسين زيد بن على علم [σ²] والذي يجمعهم من المذاهب تفضيل على والقول بأنه أولى من غيره بالإمامة وأن الإمامة في ولده وأن الخروج على الجائرين واجب وأن الإمامة تستحق بالفضل والطلب دون الوراثة</p>
<i>Sharḥ.21r:12-21v:2</i>	<i>MaqA.65:2-10</i>
<p>[x³] سموا بذلك لإنتسابهم إلى زيد بن على [y³] وذلك أنه لما خرج عليه السلام جاءه قوم وسألوه عما مذهب عليه¹³¹⁴ فكان يقول أتبرأ من المارقة الذين كفروا أمير المؤمنين والرافضة الذين رفضوا أبا بكر وعمر فبايعه بعضهم وتركه بعضهم فمن تبعه سموا زيدية ومن خالفه سموا رافضة [. . .] [σ³] والذي يجمعهم تفضيل على على سائر الصحابة وأنه كان أولى بالإمامة ويرون الخروج على الظلمة والقيام بالأمر بالمعروف وأن الإمامة تستحق بالفضل والطلب دون الوراثة</p>	<p>[x⁴] وانما سموا زيدية لتمسكهم بقول زيد بن علي بن الحسين بن علي بن أبي طالب وكان زيد بن علي بويح له بالكوفة في أيام هشام بن عبد الملك وكان امير الكوفة يوسف ابن عمر الثقفي [z⁴] وكان زيد بن علي يفضّل على بن ابى طالب على سائر اصحاب رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ويتولى أبا بكر وعمر ويرى الخروج على أئمة الجور [y⁴] فلما ظهر بالكوفة في اصحابه الذين بايعوه سمع من بعضهم الطعن على ابى بكر وعمر فاتكر ذلك على من سمعه منه ففترق عنه الذين بايعوه فقال لهم رفضتموني فيقال انهم سموا الرافضة لقول زيد لهم رفضتموني</p>
<i>Mugh.XX₂:184:3-4</i>	<i>ʿUyūn.7v:12-15</i>
<p>[σ¹] Our master, Abū I-Qāsim al-Balkhī said that what unites the Zaydiyya and the Imāmiyya is that they consider the Commander of the Believers more virtuous than all the [other] Companions such that he was the most entitled to the Imāmate, and that the Imāmate will never leave his descendants.</p>	<p>[x²] They are called that [i.e., the Zaydiyya] because of their affiliation with the Imām Abū I-Ḥusayn Zayd b. ʿAlī [σ²] What sets them apart collectively from the other schools is that they consider ʿAlī the most virtuous and profess that he was more entitled to the Imāmate than anyone else, that the Imāmate is in his descendants, that rebellion against the unjust [Imāms] is a duty, and that one becomes deserving of the Imāmate by virtue and by actively seeking it, not by inheritance.</p>

Tab. 49 (continued)

Sharḥ.21r:12–21v:2

[x²] They are called that [i.e., the Zaydiyya] because of their affiliation with Zayd b. ‘Alī.

[y³] This is because when he came out in rebellion, a group came to him and asked him what doctrinal system he followed. He said, “I dissociate myself from the Māriqa, who deemed the Commander of the Believers to be an unbeliever, and from the Rāfiqa, who rejected Abū Bakr and ‘Umar. So, some of them pledged allegiance to him and some of them abandoned him. Those who followed him were called the Zaydiyya and those who opposed him were called the Rāfiqa.

[a³] What sets them apart collectively is that they consider ‘Alī more virtuous than the rest of the Companions and that he was more entitled to the Imāmate. They approve of rebellion against injustice and of undertaking the duty of commanding the right, and that one becomes deserving of the Imāmate by virtue and by actively seeking it, not by inheritance.

MaqA.65:2–10

[x⁴] They are called the Zaydiyya because of their devotion to Zayd b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. Allegiance was pledged to Zayd at Kufa in the days of Hishām b. ‘Abd al-Malik, when the governor of Kufa was Yūsuf b. ‘Umar al-Thaqafi.

[z⁴] Zayd b. ‘Alī considered ‘Alī to be more virtuous than the rest of the Companions of the Messenger of God, but he remained loyal to Abū Bakr and ‘Umar, and he believed in rebellion against wrongful Imāms.

[y⁴] When he appeared in Kufa amongst his companions who had pledged allegiance to him, he heard some of them cursing Abū Bakr and ‘Umar. So, he rebuked those from whom he had heard that. Then those who had pledged allegiance to him split from him. So, he said to them, “You have rejected me”. Thus, it is said that they were called the Rāfiqa because of Zayd’s saying, “You have rejected me (*rafaḍtumūnī*)”.

The situation of the parallels makes it impossible to reconstruct Balkhī’s version of this material precisely. Even ‘Abd al-Jabbār’s version of the *ijmā’*-passage (*a*¹) does not agree exactly with those in Jishumī’s texts (*a*², *a*³), although they overlap. Ash‘arī’s *z*⁴ also overlaps with the *ijmā’*-passage, but it is focussed on the doctrine of Zayd himself, rather than the consensus positions of the Zaydiyya. Moreover, it emphasizes Zayd’s acceptance of Abū Bakr and ‘Umar, which does not appear in the *a*-passages. That doctrine is, however, central to the story of Zayd b. ‘Alī’s coining of the term Rāfiqa, which appears in the *Sharḥ* and Ash‘arī’s *Maqālāt* (*y*³ and *y*⁴). Here,

too, the parallels are not close enough to reconstruct precisely what the common source would have looked like. Nevertheless, the distribution of the parallels, especially the fact that Jishumī's *Sharḥ* has both elements, and that both of his texts, as well as Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, begin with a version of *x*, which is really a *tasmiya*-passage on the name 'Zaydiyya', suggests that all these elements were present in some form in Balkhī's *Maqālāt*.

Despite the textual problems, it is still possible to see what Balkhī was trying to do with these elements: to delineate the Zaydiyya from the Imāmiyya. The wording in the *Mughnī* is not easy to interpret, but Jishumī's versions of the *ijmā'*-passage emphasizes that the Zaydiyya believe that it is a duty to rise up in rebellion against wrongful Imāms and that the Imāmate is attained by virtue and by actively seeking it, rather than by inheritance. These points are clearly counterparts to elements in Balkhī's *ijmā'*-passage on the Imāmiyya—which Jishumī also preserves basically intact in the *Uyūn*—who are said to believe the opposite (Tab. 46, *c* and *a*). Here, the dividing line between the Zaydiyya and the Imāmiyya is systematic; it arises from their doctrines of the Imāmate.

The story concerning Zayd b. 'Alī, however, focusses on a different issue: the rejection of Abū Bakr and 'Umar. The story itself is far older than Balkhī's *Maqālāt*; Ṭabarī transmits a version significantly more detailed than either Jishumī's or Ash'arī's from Abū Mikhnaf¹³¹⁵. Notably, Ḥimyarī also preserves a version of the story [*Hūr*.238:12–239:14] that comes much closer to that from Abū Mikhnaf. Ḥimyarī cites the story from 'Awāna b. al-Ḥakam al-Kalbī, who is often a transmitter to Ibn al-Kalbī, as was Abū Mikhnaf¹³¹⁶. It is possible that he obtained it independently of Balkhī, but given the fact that he cites so much from Balkhī and that Balkhī had a version of the material, it is also plausible that it was present in Balkhī's *Maqālāt* in something more like this form. In any case, Ash'arī's, Jishumī's and Ḥimyarī's (i.e., al-Kalbī's) versions are too different to establish Balkhī's own wording, but they agree on the key points, which are also present already in Abū Mikhnaf's version: Zayd accepted the Imāmates of Abū Bakr and 'Umar, while some of his followers rejected them; this caused these followers also to reject Zayd; those who rejected Zayd were then known as the Rāfiḍa ('the rejecters'). In Abū Mikhnaf's, Ash'arī's and Ḥimyarī's (al-Kalbī's) versions, it is not stated that those who stick with Zayd then form a 'Zaydiyya'. Only Jishumī makes it explicit. As far as we know, Abū Mikhnaf and al-Kalbī did not use the word. But in Balkhī's (and Ash'arī's) case, that is clearly the implication of placing the story at the beginning of the section on the Zaydiyya. Here, we thus have not only a clear doctrinal distinction between the

1315 *Ṭab*.II:1699:8–1700:12. There are also versions in *Farq*.35:4–36:2 and *Mil*.116:5–20.

1316 See Ursula Sezgin 1971:43–44.

Rāfiḍa and the Zaydiyya, but the definitive split between the groups is being traced to a specific moment of historical rupture: Zayd's rebellion¹³¹⁷.

This narrative of the emergence of the Zaydiyya is obviously incompatible with the model that appears in the *Firaq* and (abstractly) in *Uṣūl al-niḥal*. There, the Zaydiyya come into existence when the Jārūdiyya and the Butriyya combine in support of Zayd's rebellion¹³¹⁸. But the main dividing line between the Butriyya and the Jārūdiyya in all our sources is precisely their attitude to the first two Caliphs: the Jārūdiyya reject them; the Butriyya accept them. According to the Balkhī-Abū Mikhnaf account, then, the Jārūdiyya should belong precisely to the Rāfiḍa, who reject Zayd and do not become Zaydiyya. The models are straightforwardly contradictory. Balkhī mentions nothing of the model from the *Firaq* and *Uṣūl al-niḥal*, but the contradiction occurs within his own material anyway. This is because he includes the Jārūdiyya as the first faction of his *firaq*-list. As with the material on the Imāmiyya, then, the concept of the Zaydiyya that is given explicitly in the introductory material is not that which is revealed in the *firaq*-list itself. The reason is obviously that the story and the list have different origins.

The story is both pro-Zayd and anti-*rafīḍ*; Zayd's failure is (at least partly) attributed to the fact that he was abandoned by the perfidious Rāfiḍa because he did not share their heretical rejection of Abū Bakr and 'Umar. That was probably Abū Mikhnaf's own view of things. He was no friend of *rafīḍ* and he took the opportunity to pin the blame for Zayd's failure on the proponents of the doctrine. When doing so, he didn't neglect to mention that even Ja'far al-Ṣādiq—i.e., the man most of the Rāfiḍa increasingly saw as their Imām—had told them to support Zayd¹³¹⁹.

The *firaq*-list adopts a different model. It isn't quite the old Kufan, Imāmī model that Nawbakhtī preserves and ps.-Nāshī' invokes¹³²⁰. There is no sense in Balkhī's material that the Zaydiyya are basically only the Jārūdiyya and the Butriyya, and none at all that the two 'factions' came together to form the Zaydiyya. But the Jārūdiyya are present, and as the very first faction. As, we have seen, this was probably

1317 The significance of the story for the origins of the Zaydiyya and the term '*rafīḍa*' is discussed in Friedlaender 1908:138–142; Strothmann 1912:26–27; van Arendonk 1919:28–29 (=1960:31–32); *TG.I*:311–312; Haider 2011a:194–197.

1318 See p. 591–592 and 673.

1319 *Ṭab.II*:1700:13–1701:2. My interpretation of the story here follows that of van Ess (*TG.I*:311–312). Notably, the Jārūdiyya are simply nowhere in sight. Of course, it would have weakened the point to have mentioned them, but if they had really been a significant part of Zayd's support, Abū Mikhnaf couldn't have gotten away with the slur in the first place. This is our best evidence that if Abū l-Jārūd and Fuḍayl b. Rassān indeed supported Zayd, they were either too insignificant a presence to make much difference, or else they weren't shouting about their own *rafīḍī* beliefs at this point. See Haider 2011a:194–197, 213–214.

1320 See p. 592–594 and 673–681.

not the way the Mu'tazila usually saw things. Notably, even Balkhī's own teacher, Khayyāt, separated the Jārūdiyya from the Zaydiyya; he probably associated the latter with 'Butrī'-type beliefs, such as those of Sulaymān b. Jarīr¹³²¹. For this reason, we have to assume that the old Kufan view of things has exerted some influence on Balkhī's *firaq*-list. That perhaps has something to do with Warrāq.

But neither Warrāq nor Balkhī kept the old Kufan model intact. As we have seen, ps.-Nāshī' already modified it. The influence of the Mu'tazilī doxographical tradition (Zurqān or a source in common with Zurqān), as well as a generally greater focus on *kalām*, led him to add the Sulaymāniyya. The latter was not a 'faction' in anything like the same sense as the term was used of the Butriyya and the Jārūdiyya, let alone of the *firaq* of the *iftirāq*-schema. Sulaymān and his followers were, rather, a personal *kalām*-school'. This additional, essentially Mu'tazilī, perspective—theological 'school' as potential grounds for designation as a faction—thus created a three-way split where previously there had been only two. Balkhī (and perhaps Warrāq already) seems to have gone further in this direction: the opinions of individual theologians were turned into *firaq* in greater number. The result was that, although the Jārūdiyya and the Butriyya were still present in Balkhī's list, they had no privileged status anymore (not even that which they get through ps.-Nāshī's abstract taxonomy) and are now joined by an array of apparently equally important factions with doctrines that are merely subtle variants of the basic Butrī position.

The raw material for these new Zaydī factions was once again Mu'tazilī *kalām*-doxography. This is clearest in the case of the Zurqān-material, where, in Version 2, Balkhī reused Zurqān's reports on the opinions of Sulaymān b. Jarīr, Ḥasan b. Šāliḥ b. Ḥayy and Nu'aym b. al-Yamān concerning the succession to Muḥammad and opposition to 'Alī to provide the content for three faction-descriptions¹³²². But it is likely that Warrāq had done something similar already; the material in Balkhī's Version 1 already has the same character¹³²³. It is possible this was done partly just because the new, taxonomical approach created pressure to find a respectable enough number of identifiable Zaydī factions to make the category seem sufficiently substantial in comparison with the much larger number of 'Imāmī' factions furnished by the *iftirāq*-schema. But it may also just be that the doxographical material was available and well known to Balkhī (and Warrāq already). Its reports on Zaydī opinions would presumably have been amongst the most salient information about the Zaydiyya for anyone raised in the *kalām* study-circle, and it would probably have seemed strange to Balkhī (and perhaps Warrāq already) *not* somehow to

1321 See p. 595.

1322 See p. 254–255 and 486–488.

1323 See p. 574–575.

reflect this *mutakallim*-focussed image of the divisions amongst the Zaydiyya also in the *firaq*-material.

In terms of the *firaq*-list's structure, it seems that Balkhī (or his source) attempted to carry through some aspects of the *iftirāq*-schema's approach to 'Imāmī' factions into his treatment of the Zaydiyya. For one thing, he rendered this *firaq*-list as an *iftirāq*-schema too, but the move is entirely superficial. The schema of the Zaydiyya is only one *iftirāq*-cluster deep, except in the case of the Jārūdiyya, who undergo a further subdivision¹³²⁴. All Zaydī factions are thus presented as dividing off from an original protean Zaydiyya in a single phase, but this construct is extremely hazy even by heresiographical standards. Above all, it is not stated when the moment of division is supposed to have occurred. Nor is it clear who the protean Zaydiyya might be given the tension between the story of Zayd's abandonment by the Rāfiḍa and the appearance of the Jārūdiyya in the *firaq*-list. The *iftirāq*-cluster is just there for the sake of symmetry with the Imāmiyya. The other similarity to the *iftirāq*-schema of the 'Imāmiyya' is that factions are defined essentially according to their position on the Imāmate; there is no sense that a Zaydī faction might exist for some other reason. In this case, however, it is not about which Imām they followed at what historical juncture, but about their position on the *doctrine* of the Imāmate itself and what this implies for their attitude to the first caliphs. We are talking about systematic, doctrinal distinctions that apparently simply *are*, not even about hypothetical moments of historical emergence, as is the case with the Imāmiyya. Specific Zaydī rebellions seem entirely irrelevant to the existence of individual Zaydī factions.

Somewhere and somehow, Balkhī also included the material on Abū l-Jārūd, Kathīr al-Nawwā', Şabbāḥ al-Muzanī and Ya'qūb b. 'Adī in his presentation of the Zaydiyya. This dealt with their attitudes towards the first two caliphs and the *raja'*¹³²⁵. The latter would have introduced a completely different doctrinal axis to the descriptions of the Zaydiyya, but it is not certain that Balkhī (or Warrāq) already formulated *firaq* out of this material.

As for the Imāmiyya, Balkhī also had a *rijāl*-passage on the Zaydiyya, but the only available version is Jishumī's in the *Uyūn*, so we cannot reconstruct it with confidence. This version is provided in Tab. 50. The interesting thing from our point of view is that the list of names is so different from the lists of the Butriyya and the Jārūdiyya preserved by Nawbakhtī and ps.-Nāshī'. Above all, there are no Jārūdī names at all, which seems to fit with the standard Mu'tazilī usage of the term 'Zaydiyya' outside of the heresiographies¹³²⁶. Even when it comes to the Butriyya,

1324 See p. 146–154.

1325 See p. 490–491 and 578–580.

1326 See p. 595.

however, there is only one name in common: Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ b. Ḥayy. The other figures on Balkhī's list are also from the second century. One is Ḥasan's less famous brother¹³²⁷. But Wakī' b. al-Jarrāḥ and Faḍl b. Dukayn are more usually regarded as traditionists whose sympathies for pro-'Alid politics did not go far enough to make them even Butriyya¹³²⁸. In the case of the Imāmiyya, Balkhī mostly named *mutakallimūn* and included figures up to the mid-third century; here, we get a few second-century traditionists. We would have expected at least Sulaymān b. Jarīr to appear again. With only the one witness, however, it is not evident what to make of this, except that the concept 'Zaydī' here is not completely congruent with the concept we find in either the *firaq*-list or in the other heresiographies.

Tab. 50: Balkhī's *rijāl*-passage on the Zaydiyya.

<i>'Uyūn.8r:12–13</i>	<i>'Uyūn.8r:12–13</i>
<p>[أ'] ورجال الزيدية من السلف كثير منهم الحسن بن صالح بن حي وعلي بن صالح بن حي ووكيع بن الحرّاح ويحيى بن آدم والفضل بن دكين</p>	<p>[أ'] The prominent men of the Zaydiyya from amongst the early generations are many. Amongst them are Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ b. Ḥayy, 'Alī b. Ṣāliḥ b. Ḥayy, Wakī' b. al-Jarrāḥ, Yaḥyā b. Ādam and Faḍl b. Dukayn.</p>

The situation of Balkhī's material on the Ghulāt as a whole is much less clear than that on the Imāmiyya and most of that on the Zaydiyya, because of the variation in the extant witnesses. In Version 1, he must have devoted a section separate from the *iftirāq*-schema to at least the 'standard' set of second-century Kufan Ghulāt: the Bayāniyya, Ḥarbiyya, Mughīriyya, Maṣūriyya, and Khaṭṭābiyya. But it is unknown how he titled it or introduced it. The faction-descriptions there consisted essentially of the material that now appears in Ash'arī's sub-chapter on the Ghāliya¹³²⁹. As we have seen, Balkhī most likely took it via Warrāq, along with the *iftirāq*-schema and most of the material on the Zaydiyya, but it probably originally came from a source different from that of either¹³³⁰. We can't say anything more about this material than has already been said above; Balkhī's version of these faction-descriptions is the earliest we can reconstruct anyway¹³³¹. Whether the subtle critique of the Ghulāt present here is Balkhī's or was present already in his source is unknown. The section also most likely contained a description of the Saba'iyya, possibly

1327 See TG.I:247.

1328 See TG.I:235–237.

1329 See p. 155–161.

1330 See p. 492–493, 566–568.

1331 See p. 560–568.

already alongside the Saḥābiyya and the Ghurābiyya. It is not apparent that any of this came ultimately from the same source as the material on the second-century Kufan Ghulāt. Some of Balkhī's material on the Saba'iyya was simply that which had been present in *Q₂'s iftirāq*-schema but which Balkhī (or Warrāq) had removed in his reorganisation of the post-ʿAlī and post-Ḥusayn clusters¹³³². The rest dealt with the legend that Ibn Saba' had deified ʿAlī¹³³³. We do not know where that or the material on the Saḥābiyya and Ghurābiyya came from¹³³⁴.

In Version 2, Balkhī integrated the material on the Bayāniyya, Ḥarbiyya, Mughīriyya, Manṣūriyya and Khaṭṭābiyya into the *iftirāq*-schema¹³³⁵. We do not know why, but it is not unlikely that it was done simply to avoid the duplications that resulted from keeping the two bodies of material separate. Nevertheless, the fact the material could be combined reflects something important: Balkhī recognized that the category 'Ghulāt' was orthogonal to the category 'Imāmiyya', i.e., he knew that at least some Imāmī factions were also Ghulāt, and *vice versa*. This division of the Shī'a thus couldn't function in the same way as the Imāmiyya-Zaydiyya distinction; it couldn't be used to build discrete categories. This was something that later heresiographers often failed entirely to see. In any case, the material on the Saba'iyya, the Ghurābiyya and the Saḥābiyya—which was definitely present in in Version 2—must still have been kept separate from the *iftirāq*-schema somehow, but we cannot reconstruct this situation in any greater detail¹³³⁶.

The final structural-thematic element of Balkhī's material on the Shī'a that we can reconstruct to some extent is his *khurūj*-material, which covered the rebellions and deaths of the 'family of the Prophet' (*āl al-nabī*) from Ḥusayn on, although, in practice, only the Ḥasanids and Ḥusaynids plus ʿAbd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya appear. We have Ḥimyarī's version in the *Ḥūr* and Jishumī's in the *Sharḥ* to compare with Ash'arī's¹³³⁷. The format is fairly consistent: each *khurūj* is introduced with the name of the ʿAlid rebel, usually the caliph they rebelled against, and sometimes the year of the rebellion, followed by some historical details. Ḥimyarī preserves only the passages on Zayd b. ʿAlī and Yahyā b. Zayd [*Ḥūr*.243:11–18]. The parallels with Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* are very close [*MaqA*.78:4–79:2], giving us a good idea what must have stood in Version 1 of Balkhī's *Maqālāt*. Jishumī has much more, but the parallels with Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* are looser. Neither provides a complete list with

1332 See p. 344–348, 419–424.

1333 See p. 189–190 and p. 689–691.

1334 Both Ibn Saba's deification of ʿAlī and the faction known as the Ghurābiyya are first witnessed by Ibn Qutayba (*Ta'wīl*.157:9–158:5; *Ma'ārif*.622:17–19, 623:13–17). See also p. 190 n.121.

1335 See p. 222.

1336 See p. 222.

1337 See p. 74.

reference to the other and the wording overlaps only occasionally, although still sometimes quite closely [e.g. *Sharḥ*.25v:17–26r:4; *MaqA*.80:1–5 (on Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan)]. The material is arranged basically in chronological order, but Ash'arī and Jishumī invert the order sometimes, suggesting a certain amount of rearrangement in transmission. Given the close parallels between the *Maqālāt* and the *Ḥūr* for the earlier rebellions, where Jishumī already diverges considerably, it also appears that he (or an intermediary) has added a lot of extraneous material. The latest point of overlap in the lists is for the material on al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. Ismā'īl al-Kawkabī, Yahyā b. 'Umar, al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Ḥamza and Ibn al-Afṭas [*Sharḥ*.28r:11–16; *MaqA*.83:11–84:8]. These are all figures who rebelled during the reign of al-Musta'īn (r.248–252/862–6). Despite Jishumī's additions, it seems likely that at least the brief mention of Ibn al-Afṭas was in Balkhī's material already, as he appears in none of the standard historical works or even in Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī's *Maqātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*. From the point of view of dating, such a list could even have stood in Warrāq's *Maqālāt* already. Alternatively, it could have been lifted or summarised by Balkhī from a contemporary *maqal* work¹³³⁸.

This material is not heresiographical at all, but martyrological. It is not even about the Shī'a as such but is focussed on the 'Alid rebels themselves. Other supporters, such as the Mu'tazila, are mentioned as often as Shī'ī groups¹³³⁹. The idea seems to have been to give the Shī'a another dimension beyond factions, authors and geography. The contrast is striking: for once we have material structured around dates and historical events¹³⁴⁰. But as ever, it is not at all obvious what the connection between this and the rest of Balkhī's material on the Shī'a is supposed to be; there is no interaction across the boundaries of the structural-thematic elements.

2.2.6 Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*

Most likely, Ash'arī's main source for his *firaq*-material on the Shī'a was Version 1 of Balkhī's material, which was also used by 'Abd al-Jabbār¹³⁴¹. The only reasonable alternative explanation of the parallels between Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and the *Mughnī* is that Ash'arī and Balkhī had a common source in Warrāq's *Maqālāt*. If that were the case, then Warrāq's *firaq*-material on the Shī'a must have been identical to what we

¹³³⁸ On the genre see, Guenther 1994.

¹³³⁹ See p. 61–62, 74.

¹³⁴⁰ On Ash'arī's version of the material, see Strothmann 1931:206–208 and van Ess 2011:483–484.

¹³⁴¹ See p. 223–225.

have been discussing as Version 1 of Balkhī's¹³⁴². But the weight of evidence points to the first explanation, and it shall be assumed in the following discussion¹³⁴³.

Ash'arī divides the Shī'a at the top level into three categories: the Ghāliya, the Imāmiyya—whom he usually refers to as the Rāfiḍa—and the Zaydiyya. Here, he was probably just following the superstructure of Balkhī's Version 1. Certainly, this was the case as far as the Imāmiyya and the Zaydiyya are concerned, but the situation of Balkhī's material on the Ghulāt in Version 1 is uncertain. When the division is first announced [*MaqA.5:7*], there is no explanation of the relationship between the three in either doctrinal or historical terms. Certainly, there is no attempt to find an origin moment where the three split from one another. The surface construct thus appears wholly classificatory, not aetiological or otherwise historical. But even then, the basis of the classification is not given, and things do not become much clearer later.

Ash'arī begins with the Ghāliya. The sub-chapter starts by defining the category through a *tasmiya*-passage, i.e., an etymology, which itself probably goes back to Balkhī (and possibly to Warrāq): the Ghāliya are those who 'exaggerated' concerning 'Alī [b. Abī Ṭālib] (*ghalaw fi 'Alī*) [*MaqA.5:9*]¹³⁴⁴. But this definition has very little to do with the *firaq*-material that follows it, as the descriptions of the Ghāliya usually have nothing to say about the factions' doctrines regarding 'Alī at all. Mostly, their doctrines—insofar as they can be construed as 'exaggeration' regarding individual people at all—are concerned, rather, with the status of their own leaders, or else with later Ḥusaynid Imāms.

The largest part of the material consists of the descriptions of the second-century Ghulāt that Ash'arī shares with Balkhī and Qummī: the Bayāniyya, the Ḥarbiyya, the Mughīriyya, the Manṣūriyya and the five factions of the Khaṭṭābiyya¹³⁴⁵. It appears that the only change Ash'arī made to what Balkhī had transmitted on these factions was to give them a number in his *firaq*-list. Thus, they become factions one through ten of the Ghāliya in a simple numbered list of faction-descriptions that presents hardly any attempt to depict historical or even doctrinal relationships—real or imagined—through the structure of the list. The only exception is the Khaṭṭābiyya, who receive a parallel numbering system: they are factions six through ten of the Ghāliya and simultaneously factions one through five of the Khaṭṭābiyya. This is clearly done in order to recognize the existence of a distinct sub-group within the list, and it had something to do with the source-material: in

1342 See p. 223–224.

1343 See p. 224–225.

1344 The reason it probably goes back to Balkhī is that so many of these *tasmiya*-passages in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* are paralleled in the Bdc. See p. 63–69. But there is no witness for this one.

1345 See p. 222 and 560–565.

Balkhī's Version 1, these five descriptions had appeared in an *iftirāq*-cluster featuring the original Khaṭṭābiyya and the four sub-factions that had emerged upon Abū l-Khaṭṭāb's death. Having removed the formal elements of the cluster, Ash'arī depicted the closer relationship between the Khaṭṭābiyya and their sub-factions through the parallel numbering instead¹³⁴⁶. Otherwise, however, the character, thematic coverage and perspective of these ten faction-descriptions remains identical to that described above for Ash'arī's source-material, which cannot be reconstructed before Balkhī's version anyway. It is worth emphasising that exaggeration concerning 'Alī does not feature¹³⁴⁷.

After faction ten, Ash'arī briefly steps away from enumerating factions and offers a paragraph in which he lists six leaders from the Imāmiyya who had 'taken authority outside Banū Hāshim' (*man akhrajā l-amr min Banī Hāshim min al-Imāmiyya*) [MaqA.13:8–12]. The leaders are essentially those of the factions listed and described up to this point in the sub-chapter (minus those of the Khaṭṭābī sub-factions), making the paragraph seem to function as a retrospective reflection on an important commonality between them. We do not know whether this paragraph was Ash'arī's own work or whether he was still reliant Balkhī here, but it fits well with an idea prevalent in Balkhī's version of the *iftirāq*-schema of the 'Imāmiyya'—and which carries through to Ash'arī's version of the schema—but is rarely found elsewhere, namely that the leaders of the Bayāniyya, Ḥarbiyya, Maṣūriyya and Muḡhīriyya had initially claimed the Imāmate for themselves, even if only temporarily, rather than for some 'Alid or Hāshimite¹³⁴⁸. In any case, the paragraph also indicates that Ash'arī (and perhaps Balkhī and Warrāq already) understood these factions to be both Imāmiyya and Ghāliya. That seems to be an acknowledgement of the fact that the category Ghulāt was orthogonal to, not discrete from, the category Imāmiyya, despite the hard boundaries these categories apparently take on through the tri-partite structuring of Ash'arī's Shī'a-chapter. It thus goes some way towards an explanation-in-advance of why these factions (with the exception of the Khaṭṭābiyya) appear again later, in the sub-chapter on the Imāmiyya.

After that paragraph, the character of the material in the sub-chapter on the Ghāliya changes significantly. Gone is the coherent focus on second-century Kufan factions with named leaders and relatively fine-grained descriptions of

1346 See p. 159.

1347 The Muḡhīriyya are said to believe that the conflict between 'Alī, Abū Bakr and 'Umar played out in the world of shadows before its instantiation in the present world (MaqA.8:1–9; Bāb.70:11–71:9). But even if claiming someone to have existed as a shadow can be considered a form of exaggeration about them, 'Alī is no more a shadow than anyone else here. If anything here is to be understood as 'exaggeration', it is obviously the very doctrine of shadows itself.

1348 See p. 721–722.

multiple doctrines for each faction. Instead, we get far more chronological variety and mostly ‘single-issue’, anonymous factions. Unlike in the first half of the sub-chapter—where there was ultimately a single source the faction-descriptions here are far less detailed and have no consistent format. Initially, we don’t even get numbered factions. Ash’arī simply states that some people ‘in our day’ (*fī ‘aşrinā*) claim Salmān al-Fārisī is God [*MaqA.13:13*]. He then remarks that some Şūfīs ascetics also believe in divine indwelling [*MaqA.13:14–14:2*]. That doesn’t even appear to have anything specifically to do with the Shi‘ī Ghulāt at all; it is merely a parenthetical comment. Only thereafter does Ash’arī resume his numbered list. Eleven is a nameless, leaderless faction that holds that all twelve Imāms of the Ḥusaynid-Imāmiyya were all indwelt by the Holy Spirit and thus gods [*MaqA.14:3–10*]. This is obviously a doctrine that can only have emerged in the second half of the third century. Combined with the remark about those ‘in our day’ who deify Salmān al-Fārisī, it thus appears Ash’arī has shifted to a more contemporary focus. That it true too of faction thirteen, the followers of Sharīfī. They are said to have believed that God became incarnate in the Prophet, ‘Alī, Ḥasan, Ḥusayn and Fāṭima. Ash’arī adds that it is also reported that Sharīfī claimed that he himself was indwelt by God, whilst other people claim this about Ibn Nuṣayr [*MaqA.14:14–15:9*]. Both Sharīfī and Ibn Nuṣayr were active in the mid third century¹³⁴⁹. But this is not the only chronological focus in this second part of the sub-chapter. Faction number fourteen is the Saba’iyya, a first-century faction [*MaqA.15:10–15*]. The others are all anonymous and leaderless, but their doctrines are also focussed on the early Islamic period. Faction twelve holds that ‘Alī is God and sent Muḥammad as his prophet, only for the latter to claim authority for himself [*MaqA.14:11–13*]. Faction fifteen believes that God delegated (*fawwaḍa*) the task of creating and governing the world to either Muḥammad or ‘Alī [*MaqA.16:1–5*]. At the very end of the sub-chapter, Ash’arī adds an anonymous and unnumbered faction that believe ‘Alī resides in the clouds [*MaqA.16:6–9*], i.e., the doctrine of Balkhī’s Saḥābiyya¹³⁵⁰.

The likely reason for the change in character in the second part of the sub-chapter, especially its relative unevenness, is that a single source with homogenized faction-descriptions no longer stands behind the material. Ash’arī is, rather, using multiple sources and probably adding material of his own composition. Indeed, the anonymous, single-issue factions may be no more than vessels created by Ash’arī for doctrines he had heard about; he apparently had no information at all on the people who held them. Only in the descriptions of the Saba’iyya—and then not for the whole description—and the unnumbered (and anonymised) Saḥābiyya do we

1349 On these individuals and factions, see p. 158 n.80 and p. 158 n.80.

1350 On the parallels, see p. 163, 167–169.

have evidence that he again took material from Balkhī¹³⁵¹. There, the detail also reappears; Ash'arī is able to cite some verses from Ishāq b. Suwayd al-Adawī that are ostensibly about the Saḥābiyya, albeit without naming the author—they had already appeared in Balkhī's description¹³⁵².

It remains unclear from all of this how Ash'arī himself conceived of *ghuluww*. His explicit definition—that it is connected essentially with 'exaggeration' about 'Alī—is simply not borne out by the descriptions of the factions that appear in the sub-chapter. The underlying source for the first part—that which was used by Balkhī and Qummī and dealt with the second-century Kufan Ghulāt—had clearly not restricted the concept of *ghuluww* in this way¹³⁵³. In the second part, where Ash'arī himself was probably responsible for bringing together the material, the main doctrinal theme is divine indwelling and deification. That could be seen at least as 'exaggeration' about the particular individuals who are claimed to be gods or indwelt by God. But, even here, it is only the Saba'iyya who deify 'Alī exclusively.

This kind of discrepancy is something we also saw in Balkhī's material: the concept underlying his explicit definitions of the classes 'Imāmiyya' and 'Zaydiyya' do not match the concepts underlying those *firaq*-lists either. Indeed, it is possible that Ash'arī also inherited this particular discrepancy from Balkhī too. But even if not, the explanation is basically the same. The problem is that a *tasmiya*-passage, which was probably constructed originally as nothing more than an etymology of the word 'Ghāliya' is being pressed into service as a definition of the whole category of Shī'i factions grouped under this name, because it is being used as the preface to the *firaq*-list of the Ghulāt within the tri-partite classification of the Shī'a that structures the chapter. That etymology was far more restrictive than the concept of *ghuluww* that underlay the main source of the faction-descriptions of the Ghulāt that Ash'arī had inherited via Balkhī¹³⁵⁴. The discrepancy does not seem to have troubled Ash'arī, just as it appears not to have troubled Balkhī.

Ash'arī's *firaq*-material on the Imāmiyya/Rāfiḍa is based almost entirely on the *iftirāq*-schema of the Imāmiyya taken from Version 1 of Balkhī's *Maqālāt*, but Ash'arī made several structural changes. The first was that he removed all of the *iftirāq*-statements, such that the outline structure of the schema was obscured. The factions now appear, rather, as a plain, numbered list from one to twenty-four¹³⁵⁵. This had the effect of turning what had been a 'family-tree' of factions emerging over time through successive moments of division into a list of apparently discrete,

1351 See p. 189–190, 222.

1352 On the poetry and its significance more generally see Anthony 2012:226–231.

1353 See p. 564–565.

1354 On the etymology of 'Ghulāt' more generally, see *EP*^β. "Ghulāt (extremist Shī'is)" [Anthony].

1355 See p. 155–161.

unconnected factions in vaguely chronological order. As we saw with the Khaṭṭābiyya in the *firaq*-list of the Ghāliya, Ash‘arī gives the factions that descend from the Kaysāniyya—i.e. those who believed in the Imāmate of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya—in the *iftirāq*-schema a parallel number. Thus, they become factions two through twelve of the Rāfiḍa and factions one through eleven of the Kaysāniyya. The reason for this this is the same: Ash‘arī is trying to depict the closer relationship between these factions that has been obscured through the removal of the ordering framework of the schema.

The second change was closely related: Ash‘arī removed all factions of the schema that divide wholly into their successor factions¹³⁵⁶. The *iftirāq*-schema had provided an account of the various phases of division that the Shī‘a had undergone. Many of its factions were thus ‘intermediary’ states, effectively staging posts in the development of their successors. Ash‘arī’s list, however, includes only those factions that are the endpoints of the process of *iftirāq*. Notably, this involved removing the factions that had supported the Ḥusaynid Imāms. Under Ash‘arī’s new perspective, there is no need to feature a different faction that supported each Imām as they came along. All such factions are instead collapsed into their final endpoint, namely the Qaṭīyya, who follow the whole line of twelve Imāms and—based on Balkhī’s version of the schema—appear at the very beginning.

The third change was made to compensate partially for the loss of information created by the first two: Ash‘arī added the line of Imāms followed by each faction to the beginning of the description¹³⁵⁷. This at least allows the reader to understand the key distinctions between the factions, which—because the material comes from the *iftirāq*-schema—are *all* about the lines of Imāms followed. But it still does not reveal the relationships between the factions in the way the intact *iftirāq*-schema does. All these moves go in the same direction: a taxonomical stance and simple enumeration of factions and have taken precedence over the older, aetiological, stemmatic mode of the source material.

Ash‘arī also made two relatively small additions. Balkhī’s description of the initial Qaṭīyya had listed the Imāms until Ḥasan al-‘Askarī, stating that they ‘fell into confusion’ at after his death¹³⁵⁸. Ash‘arī does not refer to any confusion. Instead, he simply continues the line of Imāms to include also the twelfth, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, adding that the Qaṭīyya consider him to be the awaited Mahdī in *ghayba* [MaqA.18:8–10]. Ash‘arī’s other addition is the twenty-fourth faction, who follow not only all twelve Imāms but also believe that Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan’s son, not

1356 See p. 121–124.

1357 See p. 120.

1358 See p. 119.

Muḥammad himself, will appear as the Mahdī [*MaqA*.30:3–10]. Both additions were obviously made to update the material in a way that is conspicuously absent from Balkhī's version. Nevertheless, even this updating remains superficial. There is still otherwise no attempt to add any substance to what was already present in *Q*₂. This creates something of a chronological gap in Ash'arī's presentation, as there was already in Balkhī's. Detailed information on Imāmī factions is provided up to the Imāmate of Muḥammad al-Jawād, then Ash'arī effectively skips to provide an extremely minimal account of the situation of his own day.

Before he begins the *firaq*-list, Ash'arī provides the *ijmā'*-passage on the Imāmiyya that appeared already at this location in Balkhī's *Maqālāt*. Ash'arī also thus adopts the fundamental discrepancy present in Balkhī's material between the concept of the Imāmiyya in this passage, which basically uses the term to mean Ḥusaynid-Imāmiyya, and that which underlies the *firaq*-list of the Imāmiyya, which, because it is based on the *iftirāq*-schema, also contains many other and earlier groups¹³⁵⁹.

Ash'arī also incorporates two *tasmiya*-passages at this point, one concerning the etymology of the name 'Rāfiḍa' [*MaqA*:16:11], the other the name 'Imāmiyya' [*MaqA*.17:8–9]. These too appeared in Balkhī's material somewhere, but there is no evidence that Balkhī placed them in front of his *firaq*-list¹³⁶⁰. The given etymology of 'Imāmiyya' has it that the name derives from the belief that the Prophet made a *naṣṣ* concerning the Imāmate of 'Alī. 'Rāfiḍa', which is consistently Ash'arī's preferred name for the group, is said to be derived from the rejection (*rafḍ*) of Abū Bakr and 'Umar. In much the same way as the *tasmiya*-passage on the Ghāliya, these passages create a certain amount of classificatory tension of their own. They too were probably originally purely etymological in perspective; they make claims simply about the origins of the words 'Imāmiyya' and 'Rāfiḍa'. But placed here, at the beginning of the sub-chapter on the Imāmiyya/Rāfiḍa and ahead of the list of factions that supposedly constitutes this class of the Shī'a, they appear to be *definitions* that apply to this class as such and *not* to the Ghāliya and the Zaydiyya. But these distinctions are not applied in the formation of the lists themselves, at least not in an exclusive way. For one thing, many of the factions of the Ghāliya also rejected the first two caliphs. We have seen anyway that many of them appear in both lists, and that several Ghulāt leaders are openly referred to as Imāmiyya in the material on the Ghāliya. The first factions of the list of the Zaydiyya, namely the Jārūdiyya, are also said to believe in a *naṣṣ* regarding 'Alī's Imāmate and thereby reject the first two caliphs.

1359 See *Tab*.46.

1360 See p. 69–72.

The problem of the classification of the Jārūdiyya existed already within Balkhī's material. This is because he prefaced the *fīraq*-list with the story about how the term Rāfiḍa was coined by Zayd on the eve of his rebellion¹³⁶¹. The story makes out that the Rāfiḍa are those who abandoned Zayd when they learned that he did not reject Abū Bakr and 'Umar. In the position the material appears, it too seems to take on a definitional function: by implication the Zaydiyya are those who stuck with Zayd because they shared his opinion on *rafḍ*. And yet the Jārūdiyya still appear as the first faction of the list. Ash'arī simply takes over all this from Balkhī too¹³⁶², leaving it completely unclear also in his *Maqālāt* why the Jārūdiyya are classed as Zaydiyya at all.

Indeed, Ash'arī inherited nearly all the material in the sub-chapter on the Zaydiyya from Balkhī's Version 1. But he did make a few changes. In common with his practice in the sub-chapters on the Ghāliyya and Imāmiyya/Rāfiḍa, he removed the superficial *iftirāq*-cluster Balkhī had used to order the factions and presented them instead as a simple numbered list. There is thus no longer even the gesture at aetiology. Like Balkhī, he begins with the Jārūdiyya, Sulaymāniyya, Butriyya and the Nu'aymiyya¹³⁶³. Mostly, the material here is the same as that in Balkhī's Version 1, which probably came to Balkhī from Warrāq. The only difference is that Ash'arī inserted some contrasting material from Zurqān's *Maqālāt*. In the case of the Sulaymāniyya, this is explicitly marked as a Zurqān citation, but the Zurqān-material on the Butriyya/Hasan b. Šāliḥ b. Ḥayy is unmarked, and Ash'arī replaced Balkhī's material on the followers of Nu'aym entirely with Zurqān's. He presumably found Zurqān—a fellow Baṣran—to be a more reliable source, as apparently did Balkhī himself when he came to write Version 2¹³⁶⁴.

Ash'arī has two further factions: faction five, which is anonymous, and faction 6, the Ya'qūbiyya. This is a recasting of the material transmitted via Balkhī on the views of Šabbāh b. al-Qāsim al-Muzanī and Ya'qūb b. 'Adī on the first two caliphs and the doctrine of the *raj'a*. Faction five are the followers of Muzanī, who have become anonymous here for some reason. It is not clear that Balkhī yet presented this material in the form of faction-descriptions; it may still have been a kind of *ikhtilāf*-cluster¹³⁶⁵. Here, however, in keeping with the general direction of Ash'arī's transformations and with what seems to have become a long-term trend, the opinions of these scholars on these two issues become 'factions' in their own right. Notably, the followers of Muzanī are said to have rejected Abū Bakr and 'Umar,

1361 See p. 738–740.

1362 See *Tab.49* and, more generally, p. 736–740.

1363 See p. 154.

1364 See p. 232–255.

1365 See p. 578–580.

meaning they, like the Jārūdiyya, do not conform with the opening material's concept of the Zaydiyya-Rāfiḍa distinction¹³⁶⁶. The relevant material also included the views of Kathīr al-Nawwā', which Ash'arī now inserts into his description of the Butriyya, thus adding a new and somewhat surprising dimension (denial of the *raj'a*) to a description otherwise entirely focussed on the succession to Muḥammad and the first *fitna*¹³⁶⁷.

In addition to all of the above, it seems Ash'arī took his *rijāl*- and *kuwar*-passages on the Imāmiyya from Balkhī, as well as the long section of *khurūj* material that finishes the chapter. As ever, there is little sign of serious updating, although it is possible that Ash'arī added the information on the *khurūj* of the Qarmaṭī rebel known as *al-maqtūl 'alā l-dakka*, whose death in 291/904 establishes the *terminus post quem* of the *Maqālāt* [*MaqA.85:12–13*]¹³⁶⁸. Possibly, he added some of the later names to the *rijāl*-passage on the Imāmiyya, but we cannot reconstruct Balkhī's version well enough to be sure¹³⁶⁹. What does seem to be case, however, is that Ash'arī added the entire *ikhtilāf*-sections on the Rāfiḍa/Imāmiyya and the Zaydiyya, bringing *kalām*-doxography proper within the bounds of his confessional presentation and adding the dimension of theology disagreements to the depiction of the Shī'a as one of the major divisions of the Muslim. That does not seem to be a move that Balkhī made already¹³⁷⁰.

In summary, the superficial impression of Ash'arī's *firaq*-material on the Shī'a is one of well-ordered taxonomy. The Shī'a are clearly divided into three categories—Ghāliya, Imāmiyya/Rāfiḍa, and Zaydiyya—and each has its own finite, numbered list of factions that belong to the category. This is much less confusing on first sight than, for example, Nawbakhtī's awkwardly modified and oft-interrupted *iftirāq*-schema. But the neatness is only present on the surface. One issue is that the definitions of the categories do not apply well to the factions listed within them. This was partly a problem that Ash'arī inherited from Balkhī, but he appears to have exacerbated it by making etymological passages also take on a role in defining the three categories. Another issue is that the categories are simply not as discrete as the superficial taxonomy indicates. In particular, a large group of the factions of the Ghāliya appear again as factions of the Imāmiyya/Rāfiḍa. This too was inherited from Balkhī. But the underlying problem was the tension between the original purposes and conceptual frameworks of the different bodies of source material that had existed long before Balkhī and the uses to which they were now being

1366 Here, it's very unclear who began to see these people as Zaydiyya or when. See p. 579.

1367 See p. 242–250.

1368 See p. 24.

1369 See p. 733–734 esp. n.1310.

1370 See p. 70–72.

put. The Shī'a were classified at the top level into Ghulāt, Rāfiḍa/Imāmiyya and Zaydiyya probably because this had become a conventional understanding of the situation by the second half of the third century. But the earlier source-material that was used to fill out these categories with factions had not been composed to fit such a tri-partite classification. Thus, the factions of the *iftirāq*-schema became 'the Imāmiyya', even though probably no one would actually have referred to all these factions this way. The category 'Ghulāt' was simultaneously filled out from a source that mentioned several of the factions that appeared in the *iftirāq*-schema, leading to unresolved duplication. In the case of the Zaydiyya, Ash'arī inherited a definition according to which the basic split between them and the Imāmiyya was over the doctrine of *rafḍ*, i.e., the Zaydiyya were not Rāfiḍa. But he also inherited a list of the Zaydiyya that contained the Jārūdiyya, who are said to have professed *rafḍ*. On the surface, then, Ash'arī tidied up the presentation, but the underlying conceptual tensions were not addressed. Indeed, the apparent rigidity of the superstructure that results from its new neatness mostly just exacerbates them.

2.2.7 Other Third-Century *firaq*-Lists

2.2.7.1 Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm, *Radd 'ala al-rawāfiḍ min ahl al-ghuluww*

Amongst the collection of *rasā'il* attributed to the Zaydī Imam Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm al-Rassī (d.246/860), there is a refutation of the Imāmī doctrine of the hereditary Imāmate entitled *Radd 'ala al-rawāfiḍ min ahl al-ghuluww* [*Rasā'il*Q.533–580]. For essentially stylistic reasons, Madelung has disputed the attribution, arguing that it was written, rather, by one of his immediate disciples¹³⁷¹. In any case, the text asserts that the current Imām of the Rawāfiḍ is the son of Muḥammad al-Jawād, i.e. 'Alī al-Hādī [*Rasā'il*Q.548:21–549], meaning it was composed between 220/835 and 254/868¹³⁷².

It begins with a list of Imāmī *firaq* that is clearly based on a version of the *iftirāq*-schema [*Rasā'il*Q.533:2–539:5]. The initial phases of the schema are drastically cut down. The author begins with a cluster that includes four factions:

1. [*Rasā'il*Q.533:3–5] The Saḥābiyya, who seem to be a mixture of the original schema's Saba'iyya and the Saḥābiyya as we find them in Balkhī's and Ash'arī's material, i.e. they deny 'Alī's death and await his return while believing him to reside in the clouds.
2. [*Rasā'il*Q.533:7–534:1] The Kaysāniyya, who deny the death of Ibn al-Ḥanāfiyya and await his return as the Mahdī.

1371 Madelung 1965:98.

1372 See already Strothmann 1912:74–48; Madelung 1965:99.

3. [*Rasā'il*Q.534:2] The Rāwandiyya. No description is given, but this is presumably the 'Abbāsīd Shī'a who trace the Imāmate through 'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib.
4. [*Rasā'il*Q.533:3–5] The Mūṣiyya, who follow the line of *waṣiyya* until they get to Ja'far al-Ṣādiq.

This would appear to be a kind of summary of the most important strands of the pre-Ṣādiq schema. What follows, however, is an almost intact version of the schema's post-Ṣādiq cluster, featuring the Mubārakiyya [*Rasā'il*Q.534:6–10] (who seem to have absorbed the Ismā'iliyya); the Fuṭḥiyya [*Rasā'il*Q.535:1–537:2]; the Mufaḍḍaliyya [*Rasā'il*Q.537:3–4]; the Samṭiyya [*Rasā'il*Q.537:5–538:1]¹³⁷³; and the Khaṭṭābiyya [*Rasā'il*Q.538:2–3]. Thereafter, although the *iftirāq*-statement is absent, comes the post-Mūsā cluster: the Wāqifa/Mamṭūra [*Rasā'il*Q.538:4–6]; the Qaṭ'iyya [*Rasā'il*Q.538:7]; and the Bashīriyya [*Rasā'il*Q.539:1–5]. The parallels in specific wording are not especially close, but it remains obvious that the faction-descriptions here, as well as the framework, are largely based on a version of the schema we find in *Uṣūl al-niḥal*, the *Firaq* and the BDC/Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*.

Ps.-Qāsim does not continue the schema past the post-Mūsā cluster, so it is possible that he, like ps.-Nāshī' was not reliant on the transmission through Q_2 . That would mean we would have another independent witness to Q_1 here. But we should not jump to this conclusion. The author is obviously summarising heavily. The material from the schema is used simply as an introduction, in order to identify the group against whom the refutation is directed, namely those who believe in a hereditary Imāmate traced through Ja'far, Mūsā and 'Alī al-Riḍā. Thus, it would not be surprising if the much thinner material from the post-'Alī cluster had simply been left out along with most of the early phases of the schema. The *ikhtilāf*-cluster on the status of Muḥammad al-Jawād's Imāmate would have been completely irrelevant. Also suspicious is the use of the name 'Mamṭūra' for the Wāqifa. This is not witnessed for Q_1 . That does not mean it wasn't present there, but the story about how this name was coined—which we find in Q_2 —is unlikely yet to have appeared there¹³⁷⁴. This makes it unclear how to interpret the evidence of the *risāla* with respect to the early transmission history of the *iftirāq*-schema.

Nevertheless, given the dating of the text, it is extremely unlikely that the author could have been reliant on Balkhī's *Maqālāt* or even, probably, Warrāq's. That makes one feature in particular worth pointing out: the text uses the faction-name 'Mufaḍḍaliyya' for the followers of Mūsā al-Kāẓim after Ja'far. This is otherwise only witnessed for the version of the schema from Balkhī onwards, but this evidence corroborates what was suggested above: the faction-name probably

1373 I am reading *samṭiyya* or *shamṭiyya* for the edition's 'Sabṭiyya'.

1374 See p. 538.

was present at least in Balkhī's source and probably in Q_2 already¹³⁷⁵. There are also a few other features worth mentioning. First, the author has material on the Bashīriyya in the post-Mūsā cluster. The only other text in which this occurs is Nawbakhtī's *Firaq*, but there are no real parallels in the descriptions, so this provides no evidence that they were already present at some earlier stage in the schema's transmission¹³⁷⁶. Similar is the case of the Saḥābiyya. There is otherwise no evidence that material on this 'faction' was transmitted along with the schema before Balkhī¹³⁷⁷. This may be that evidence, but the parallels are too loose to exclude the possibility that the information came from elsewhere.

2.2.7.2 Ibn Qutayba

Ibn Qutayba has a section on *firaq* in his *Kitāb al-ma'ārif* [*Ma'ārif*:622:1–623:20]. The list is thin when compared with any heresiography. It begins with three factions that are said to be 'from the Khawārij', namely the Ibādīyya, Azāriqa and Bayhasiyya [*Ma'ārif*:622:2–11]. This is followed by seven factions that are said to be 'from the Rāfiḍa': (1.) the Khashabiyya—here the followers of Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar who wielded wooden weapons [*Ma'ārif*:622:12–14]; (2.) the Kaysāniyya—here the followers of Mukhtār [*Ma'ārif*:15–16]; (3.) the Saba'iyya—here those who deified 'Alī [*Ma'ārif*:622:17–19]; (4.) the Mughīriyya [*Ma'ārif*:623:1–4]; (5.) the Manṣūriyya [*Ma'ārif*:623:5–8]; (6.) the Khaṭṭābiyya [*Ma'ārif*:623:9–12]; and (7.) the Ghurābiyya [*Ma'ārif*:623:13–1]. Then come the Zaydiyya [*Ma'ārif*:623:17–20], who apparently constitute a single faction that supported Zayd b. 'Alī.

There are some overlaps in information between the faction-descriptions here and those we find in the heresiographies, but many just revolve around statements of common knowledge, such as that the Kaysāniyya were the followers of Mukhtār. More specific agreements, even just in information, are sporadic. The most specific overlaps are found in the material on the Manṣūriyya and the Khaṭṭābiyya. Ibn Qutayba states both that Abu Manṣūr was known as the *kisf* after he claimed that Q52:44 referred to him, and that the Manṣūriyya were stranglers. Both of these things are reported in the body of material on the second century Kufan Ghulāt witnessed by Ash'arī, Balkhī, and Qummi¹³⁷⁸. But they are also found in Jāhiz's *Ḥayawān* and there is insufficient parallelism in the wording to indicate a discrete common source¹³⁷⁹. Ibn Qutayba begins the material on Abū l-Khaṭṭāb by confess-

1375 See p. 724.

1376 See p. 303, 615.

1377 See p. 743.

1378 See p. 563–564.

1379 See p. 567.

ing he doesn't know anything about the man, except for the detail that his followers allowed false testimony against their enemies. This appears in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* and the BdC, as well as in the *Firaq*, which relies on a different source¹³⁸⁰. But Ibn Qutayba's opening admissions as good as confirms that he didn't have access to any of the same sources as those used by the heresiographers anyway. On Mughīra, he gives information that doesn't appear in the heresiographies but does appear in other, mostly historiographical works¹³⁸¹. Perhaps the most interesting descriptions are those of the Saba'iyya and the Ghurābiyya. The first because it is the earliest unambiguous description we possess of the idea that the Saba'iyya deified 'Alī¹³⁸². The second because it is the earliest description we possess of the Ghurābiyya and their doctrine¹³⁸³. It is not impossible that Ibn Qutayba was actually Balkhī's source for the latter; Balkhī did cite him sometimes in the *Maqālāt*¹³⁸⁴. He wouldn't have needed to take over anything else from Ibn Qutayba's presentation; his other sources were much more detailed. But where Ibn Qutayba got this information from is a mystery.

2.2.7.3 Mas'ūdī's List of the Zaydiyya

Mas'ūdī has a list of eight Zaydī factions that he attributes to attributes Warrāq 'and other authors of *maqālat*-works' [*Murūj*:V:473:11–474:11], i.e., presumably third-century sources: the Jārūdiyya, the Marthadiyya (?), the Abraqiyya, the Ya'qūbiyya, the 'Umaymiyya, the Abtariyya, the Jaririyya and the Yamāniyya. If we compare with Ash'arī's and Balkhī's lists, the Jārūdiyya and Ya'qūbiyya are straightforward. 'Abtariyya' is an alternative form of Butriyya, and Jaririyya is an alternative for Sulaymāniyya, after Sulaymān b. Jarīr¹³⁸⁵. All these are factions that indeed very likely stood in Warrāq's material in some form¹³⁸⁶. Working on this basis, '*marthadiyya*' could well be a copying error for Muzaniyya, also likely to have been present in Warrāq's material. The Yamāniyya are likely to be the followers of Nu'aym b. al-Yamān, even if Mas'ūdī claims the name of the founder was Muḥammad b. al-Yamān. That just leaves the unidentified Abraqiyya and 'Umaymiyya, which are witnessed nowhere else. In the absence of further information, it is

1380 See p. 343.

1381 That he claimed 'Alī could raise the dead: *Ma'ārif*:623:3, cf. Dhahabī, *Ta'rikh*, VI:491; *ShNB*:8:121. And that Khālid b. 'Abd Allah crucified Mughīra on the 'Āshir bridge in Wāsit: *Ma'ārif*:623:4, c.f. *Ansāb*.II:497, VIb:181–2; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 483.

1382 See p. 690.

1383 See p. 743 esp. n.1334.

1384 See p. 190 n.121.

1385 See p. 150, 153, 234–237.

1386 See p. 488–490.

tempting to suggest that the Abraqiyya may just be a duplication of Abtariyya (i.e., the Butriyya) and that ‘Umaymiyya should be read Nu‘aymiyya, i.e., also a duplication, of the followers of Nu‘aym b. al-Yamān. With that, we would have a list of factions that probably did stand already in Warrāq’s material on the Zaydiyya.

3 Conclusions

Most of the *firaq*-material on the Shī‘a in the extant third-century *firaq*- and *maqālāt*-books ultimately depends on a small number of common sources from earlier periods. The authors of the extant works and the intermediaries to them refashioned and redeployed that common source-material to suit their own purposes and in line with their own conceptions of the Shī‘a. But they did not completely efface that source-material’s own perspectives or its conceptual and classificatory schemas. Rather, they modified them, by adding material, by summarizing, by rearranging, by superimposing their own frameworks on top of what they received, and/or by juxtaposing and partially harmonizing material from different sources. A lot still remained basically intact. This process led to much of the inconsistency and ambiguity that we find within the extant works, as those different perspectives and frameworks came into tension.

The largest body of common source-material, which was inherited ultimately by all the authors of the extant heresiographies, was the *iftirāq*-schema. This was a specific form of historiography that depicted the fragmentation of those Shī‘a who believed in a hereditary Imāmate going back to ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib due to their successive disagreements over the succession following the deaths of their Imāms. It consisted in a textual representation of a stemma of factions all ultimately going back to the supposed original split after ‘Alī’s death. The earliest version of it that we can reconstruct came from a text (Q_1) composed in the 190s or early 200s. Most of our authors, however, inherited a slightly later, reworked and extended version that came via another work (Q_2), composed in the 210s or early 220s. The only author who received the schema from Q_1 via a route of transmission that did not go through Q_2 was ps.-Nāshī’ in *Uṣūl al-niḥal*.

The earlier phases of the schema, up to the death of Ja‘far al-Šādiq, set out, from a Kufan, Ḥusaynid-Imāmī perspective, the ‘genetic’ relationship between the three major claims to the Imāmate in the mid-second century: ‘Abbāsīd/Kaysānī, Ḥasanīd, and Ḥusaynid. From Ja‘far’s death on, it described the splits specifically *within* the Ḥusaynid-Imāmiyya. Q_1 finished with the post-Mūsā al-Kāzīm *iftirāq* and the announcement of ‘Alī al-Riḍā as Imām. Q_2 added the post-‘Alī al-Riḍā split and concluded with an *ikhtilāf*-cluster over the status of Muḥammad al-Jawād’s Imāmate whilst he was still a child. One important feature of the schema was that

it understood a *firaq* as only ever one sort of thing, namely a group that supported a particular candidate for the Imāmate after death of the Imām they recognized previously. Because the material from the *iftirāq*-schema was taken up in one way or another by all subsequent heresiography that drew on the Iraqi tradition, this concept of a faction—i.e., of the *kind* of unit into which the Shī'a, or at least a large part of the Shī'a, were divided—has had a major impact on how the Shī'a of the first Islamic centuries have been depicted and understood until today.

However, all the authors of the extant third-century works also incorporated a classification of the Shī'a that wasn't entirely congruent with that of the *iftirāq*-schema, namely that the Shī'a were made up of three fundamental divisions—the Imāmiyya/Rāfiḍa, the Zaydiyya, and the Ghulāt—or at least that there were categories called 'Ghulāt' and 'Zaydiyya' that stood apart in some sense from the Shī'a of the *iftirāq*-schema. This tri-partite classification itself does not come from any of the identifiable common sources of the *firaq*-material. In fact, we do not know when or where people first started to conceive of the Shī'a in this way.

No third-century witness to it outside of the heresiographies is completely straightforward. Jāhīz seems to gesture at it when, in his *Bayān wa-l-tabyīn*, he describes a poem by Ma'dān al-Shumayṭī as, "his long *qaṣīda* in which he classifies the Ghāliya, the Rāfiḍa, the Tamīmiyya and the Zaydiyya", but the identity of the Tamīmiyya is uncertain here¹³⁸⁷. At the beginning of the *Maqālāt al-Zaydiyya wa-l-Rāfiḍa*, he states more clearly that the Shī'a are "Zaydī and Rāfiḍī; the remainder of them are a disparate rabble (*badad lā niḡām la-hum*)"¹³⁸⁸, but then we have to assume this last category is the Ghulāt, and this is not self-evident either. As we have seen, Ibn Qutayba—not a Mu'tazilī but a student of Jāhīz and familiar with Mu'tazilī works—describes most Shī'i factions in his *Kitāb al-Ma'ārif*, including those that the heresiographers usually label Ghulāt, as *min al-Rāfiḍa*¹³⁸⁹, although he does then list the Zaydiyya as separate from them¹³⁹⁰. He also includes a short section on the names of the Ghāliya, but there he talks only of individuals, not factions¹³⁹¹. Khayyāṭ clearly considered the Ghulāt simply to be part of the Rāfiḍa¹³⁹². He does separate the Rāfiḍa and the Zaydiyya fundamentally¹³⁹³, but he also names

1387 *Bayān*.III:75:8–9. At *Ḥayawān*.III:268:78, he describes the same *qaṣīda* as classifying only the Rāfiḍa and the Ghāliya. Tamīmiyya may refer to the followers of Zurāra b. A'yan (see p. 303 n.323), but why would they be put on the same level as the other groups?

1388 *Rasā'il*.IV:311:3–4.

1389 *Ma'ārif*.622:12–623:17.

1390 *Ma'ārif*.623:18–20.

1391 *Ma'ārif*.625:1–6.

1392 *Intiṣār*.3:16–4:1

1393 *Intiṣār*.138:6–7.

the Jārūdiyya separately from the Zaydiyya¹³⁹⁴. In short, we do not have very convincing evidence that the model was well established at all outside the heresiographies as the main way people conceived of the sub-divisions of the Shī'a. In any case, none of these witnesses is significantly older than *Uṣūl al-niḥal*. Moreover, unlike most of the common sources for the *firaq*-material, none of them is Shī'i or comes from second-century Kufa.

We can reasonably assume that people there would have differentiated between the Zaydiyya and the followers of the Ḥusaynid Imāms, hence the anti-Jārūdī polemic we see in *Q*³ and the model of Zaydī origins present in *Uṣūl al-niḥal* and the *Firaq*. They were, after all, distinct ritual-legal communities¹³⁹⁵. But it is highly uncertain if it could have been taken for granted there that people would see the Shī'a as fundamentally divided into *just* three categories, or mainly these three, and especially not that one might see the category 'Ghulāt' as operating on the same level as the category 'Zaydiyya' or the category 'people who believe in a hereditary Imāmate', or that this latter category would have been the same as the category 'Imāmiyya' or 'Rāfiḍa', let alone that these would have been the preferred terms.

In any case, the *iftirāq*-schema was not composed with these distinctions in focus, in any sense other than that it ignored the Zaydiyya and the rebellion of Zayd b. 'Alī entirely. The terms 'Ghulāt' and *ghuluww* were not used. Factions usually classed as Ghulāt in the later heresiographies appeared in the schema for the same reason as all other factions: because of their doctrine on the succession to a particular Imām. In fact, the schema described no other doctrines at all, unless we count messianism. But the belief that some dead Imām was really the in hiding, from where he would return as the Mahdī was simply rendered in the schema as one possible option that was always available after an Imām's death; it is just another position on the succession. The implicit argument of its Ḥusaynid-Imāmī author was that this option is always wrong; the true Imāmate continues in the Ḥusaynid line.

This meant that when the authors of the extant heresiographies tried to add the categories 'Ghulāt' and 'Zaydiyya', they faced a challenge: how to integrate them into the schema. Different solutions were attempted, with different consequences. Ps.-Nāshī' simply inserted separate sections on both groups at the least disruptive point into the midst of the schema, but then he doesn't explain their connection to the schema, leaving the whole categorisation ambiguous. In the case of the Ghulāt, it also led to duplications, as some Ghulāt-factions already featured in the *iftirāq*-schema.

1394 *Intiṣār*.132:7–9. See also p. 595.

1395 Haider 2011a:189–190.

Nawbakhtī similarly inserted separate Ghulāt- and Zaydiyya-sections into the middle of the schema, with much the same consequences, although he at least tried harder to build bridges between that main schema and the new sections. But he also formed entirely new clusters of the schema as a way to incorporate Zaydī factions. The problem then was that he did this in more than one place and in different ways, again leading to more duplication and structural awkwardness.

Balkhī, perhaps following Warrāq, and then Ash'arī, following Balkhī, implemented a different solution. They divided the Shī'a at the top level into the three categories, using the *iftirāq*-schema to populate the category 'Imāmiyya/Rāfiḍa'. This more taxonomic approach created greater structural clarity on the surface, but it did not avoid the duplications between the Ghulāt and the 'Imāmiyya/Rāfiḍa', as the same factions appeared in both. Nor did it really clear up the question of what the relationship between the three categories is supposed to be, or how they arose historically. Moreover, it created a class of the Shī'a where previously there wasn't one, at least not exactly in this form. Ps.-Nāshī' and Nawbakhtī effectively made the factions of the *iftirāq*-schema the default. Nawbakhtī doesn't even have a name for them collectively. Ps.-Nāshī' refers to them simply as *ahl al-nasaq*: 'the proponents of succession'. It is then the Zaydiyya and the Ghulāt that are singled out as categories separate from this dominant type of Shī'ī faction. That is because, by making the *iftirāq*-schema the backbone of their presentations, they effectively adopted the Ḥusaynid-Imāmī perspective that created it. But Balkhī and Ash'arī used the terms Imāmiyya and Rāfiḍa for *all* the factions that appeared in the schema. This transformed these factions collectively into a discrete category of the Shī'a in their own right. It is extremely unlikely that anyone previously, including the schema's author intended this. It is also unlikely that this was how the terms 'Imāmiyya' and 'Rāfiḍa' were generally used; certainly, Nawbakhtī, Qummī and Rāzī—our three Shī'ī authors—do not use 'Imāmiyya' this way. But this more 'taxonomic' approach is what became influential on the later heresiographers who followed Balkhī and Ash'arī.

Underlying all this were two basic problems. One was that the category 'Ghulāt' was not discrete from the factions that made up the schema and that were then reified by the Balkhī-Ash'arī tradition into 'the Imāmiyya'. The categories were, rather, orthogonal: some factions that had held (or, rather, that could reasonably be depicted to have held) the doctrine of the hereditary Imāmate and had paid fealty to the Ḥusaynid Imāms, the 'Abbāsids or 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya also held doctrines that were considered *ghuluww*. But the *iftirāq*-schema depicted all factions as arising simply because of succession disputes after the deaths of Imāms. The schema thus provided no aetiology for their *ghuluww* at all or even acknowledgement of it, hence the desire also to group them together separately according to that concept. The tension was never really resolved.

The second basic problem was that there was no settled way to account for the split between the Zaydiyya and the factions that believed in a hereditary Imāmate. Once it was imagined, following the Ḥusaynid-Imāmī perspective of the *iftirāq*-schema, that belief in a hereditary ‘Alid Imāmate went back to the time of ‘Alī himself, and that this was the default Shī‘ī position, it became unclear how or when the Zaydiyya should have ‘split off’. Ps.-Nāshī’ just tried to leave things as vague as possible. Nawbakhtī depicted the split as happening immediately on the Prophet’s death; this at least made sense of the basic doctrinal division. But he wasn’t very committed to the idea. He also has the Jārūdiyya splitting off after the death of Ḥusayn, and all the substantive material he has on the Zaydiyya is situated in the second century. Moreover, other ideas intruded. Balkhī and Ash‘arī picture the split occurring over Zayd b. ‘Alī: the Rāfiḍa were those who ‘rejected’ (*rafāḍa*) him because he refused to ‘reject’ the first two Caliphs. This too was also an old idea, older in fact; it went back to a Kufan but not a Ḥusaynid-Imāmī, namely Abū Mikhnaf in the first half of the second century. But then it was unclear why one could trace the factions of the supposed ‘Imāmiyya/Rāfiḍa’ all the way back to ‘Alī’s death. And this aetiology anyway led to other problems because of the way the Zaydiyya were understood to be divided internally with regard to the doctrine of *rafḍ*.

The only author of an extant heresiography who really tried to bring the *iftirāq*-schema up to date was Nawbakhtī. He added the largest *iftirāq*-cluster of all: the post-Ḥasan al-‘Askarī cluster. Here, he was depicting the situation amongst the Ḥusaynid-Imāmiyya of his own day. He was also building an argument for a particular position on the Imāmate after Ḥasan’s death. He did this by showing how certain principles had underlain the choice of the true Imām in previous moments of *iftirāq*—particularly those after Ja‘far and Mūsā—and how those same principles now led to an inevitable conclusion regarding the true situation after Ḥasan al-‘Askarī. In contrast, Balkhī and Ash‘arī do little more than reproduce the schema from *Q*₂ as far as Muḥammad al-Jawād, then skip to the dominant Ḥusaynid-Imāmī position of their own day, which for Balkhī was simply the confusion that reigned immediately after Ḥasan al-‘Askarī’s death. This, of course, is a matter of perspective; these Mu‘tazilī authors were not interested in contemporary splits amongst the Shī‘a. Their main legacy was, rather, the transformation of the schema they inherited, which had originally provided—from a Ḥusaynid-Imāmī perspective—an aetiology of, and depiction of the relationship between the various groups that believed in a hereditary Imāmate, into a *firaq*-list of ‘the Imāmiyya’ within an overall taxonomy of the Muslim Community. Theirs was to be the most influential approach.

When it came to the material on the Zaydiyya, there was not the same reliance on a single main source. This leads to less coherence. Ps.-Nāshī’ and Nawbakhtī inherited a Kufan model that conceived of the Zaydiyya as two factions: the Jārūdi-

yya and the Butriyya. In fact, it is, rather, these two factions that seem like the more substantive constructs in both works. The concept 'Zaydiyya' is hazy in comparison, little more than a word for the Jārūdiyya and Butriyya taken together. The model had grown out of a recognition of the existence, by some point in the second half of the second century, of two distinct groups of Kufan scholars with distinct epistemological and legal traditions. The Butriyya were basically a part of 'mainstream' Kufan traditionism, relating *ḥadīth* that were traced back to the companions of the Prophet. And like most Kufan traditionists, they also acknowledged the Imāmates of Abū Bakr and 'Umar. The Jārūdiyya stood closer to the Ḥusaynid-Imāmiyya, relating traditions exclusively from 'Alid authorities, and rejecting the first two Caliphs. What bound the Butriyya and Jārūdiyya together and set the former apart from 'proto-Sunnī' Kufan traditionists more generally and the latter from the Ḥusaynid-Imāmiyya was their 'activist' doctrine of an 'Alid Imāmate, hence their support for the various 'Alid rebels of this period. That, apparently, made them both 'Zaydī'. But this conception of a Zaydiyya with two 'wings' was then retro-projected back onto the supposed origins of the Zaydiyya in the rebellion of Zayd b. 'Alī itself. This resulted in the origin-myth that the Zaydiyya had 'come together' from the Jārūdiyya and the Butriyya.

In the hands of the third-century heresiographers, the wider dimensions of the distinction between the Jārūdiyya and Butriyya were then almost entirely reduced to just one issue: their doctrine concerning the succession to 'Alī, although ps.-Nāshī' and Nawbakhtī did at least preserve the old lists of the prominent scholars associated with the two groups. It is possible that the material that contained this model came to ps.-Nāshī' and Nawbakhtī along with their common description of the Jārūdiyya from *Q*₃. This description attacks—again from a Ḥusaynid-Imāmī perspective—the Jārūdi doctrine that one is obliged to support any 'Alid who makes an active claim for the Imāmate. It bears the marks of genuine engagement with Jārūdi positions.

In *Uṣūl al-niḥal*, however, the Kufan model came into contact with a completely different perspective on the Zaydiyya, one that was derived from early third-century Mu'tazilī *kalām*-doxography. We do not know whether ps.-Nāshī' used Zurqān's *Maqālāt* itself or whether they had a source in common, but either way, ps.-Nāshī' had a Mu'tazilī *kalām*-doxographical source that compared the opinions of some Zaydī thinkers (and perhaps other *mutakallimūn*) on the question of the succession to Muḥammad and the status of those who opposed 'Alī in the first *fitna*. This source did not describe factions as such. Rather, it reported the various opinions of individual *mutakallimūn* on particular questions in theology. These would have been rendered in the form of *ikhṭilāf*-clusters, whereby a question would be introduced, before doctrinal statements from a series of *mutakallimūn* on that question were delivered in a terse, technical language that facilitated rapid and straightforward

comparison between them. To reconstruct the theological ‘system’ of any given thinker from this form of doxography, one would have had to proceed question by question, compiling their opinions on each individual topic. Ps.-Nāshī, however, took the statement there attributed to Ḥasan b. Šāliḥ b. Ḥayy on this question and used it to fill out his description of the Butriyya. That still fit within the Kufan framework he had inherited, but he also took the statement of the theologian Sulaymān b. Jarīr on just this one question and re-deployed it as a faction-description of a ‘Sulaymāniyya’. Sulaymān was a later figure than those associated with the Butriyya and Jārūdiyya in ps.-Nāshī’s and Nawbakhtī’s lists. Unlike them, he was not a traditionist, and above all, he had not been active in Kufa; sources from there pay him no attention.

This was probably more than just transformative text-reuse on ps.-Nāshī’s part. There is a change in geographical perspective, but also in the concept of what constitutes a ‘faction’. Sulaymān was a prominent theologian in the capital; he had taken part in the debates at the court of the Barmakids. From a Mu‘tazili perspective, it would have made perfect sense to see him as the head of a distinct faction of the Zaydiyya. But this view of things had nothing to do with the old Kufan model. It was rather a move towards seeing ‘personal’ *kalām*-schools as potential factions from the point of view of classifying the Muslim Community. By this point, we are a very long way not only from the Butriyya and the Jārūdiyya, but also from the factions of the *iftirāq*-schema.

Ps.-Nāshī was possibly the first heresiographer to reuse *kalām*-doxography in this way, but he was certainly not the last. It looks like Warrāq might have done something similar, but we know for sure that Balkhī and Ash‘arī did. They independently reused Zurqān’s *ikhtilāf*-cluster dealing with Zaydī opinions on the succession to Muḥammad and the status of those who opposed ‘Alī in the first *fitna* to provide the basic material for three faction-descriptions: again, the Butriyya and the Sulaymāniyya, but also a Nu‘aymiyya. Another cluster, dealing again with the succession to Muḥammad but also the doctrine of the *raj‘a*, provided at least Ash‘arī with the material for two more: a Ya‘qūbiyya and the (anonymised) followers of Šabbāḥ b. al-Qāsim al-Muzanī. Thus, Zaydī ‘factions’ were conjured out of individual statements of doctrinal opinions to a far greater extent than previously. This was possibly done simply to provide a more respectable number of factions to better balance out the much larger number of ‘Imāmī’ factions provided by the *iftirāq*-schema, i.e., it is part of the turn towards more general taxonomy. But it is also a result of the more general reorientation towards opinions in *kalām* in the conception of what a ‘faction’ is in the first place.

Still, Balkhī, and then Ash‘arī in reliance on him, did not dispense with the influence of the old Kufan model completely. Despite the fact that the Mu‘tazila generally—and Balkhī’s teacher, Khayyāt, in particular—seem to have equated the

concept 'Zaydī' wholly with Butrī-type positions, both Balkhī and Ash'arī classed the Jārūdiyya as a Zaydī faction. This is something they took over from Warrāq, who was presumably bringing the two models together in much the same way we see in *Uṣūl al-niḥal*. One problem with this was that they (and perhaps Warrāq already) also prefaced their material on Zaydī factions with a version of Abū Mikhnaf's story concerning how Zayd b. 'Alī had coined the term Rāfiḍa when some of his followers 'rejected' him on account of his refusal to reject Abū Bakr and 'Umar. Placed in this way, the story seemed to equate the Zaydiyya entirely with Zayd's anti-*rāfiḍī* position, but this then stands in tension with the fact that the faction-list contains the Jārūdiyya, and they, of course, rejected the first two Caliphs. There are no signs the contradiction disturbed our heresiographers. More generally, with the creation of all these new Zaydī factions, it seems there was no longer any model for how they should relate to one another at all. The Zaydiyya are no longer a 'coming together' of the Jārūdiyya and Butriyya, but just a list of four or six factions in isolation, most of which merely have subtly different positions on the succession to 'Alī. No one was able to bring the different earlier models together into a holistic account of the Zaydiyya; it seems they just abandoned the attempt.

Most disparate of all is the material on the Ghulāt. There is a certain amount of agreement on a set of factions that fall under this rubric, and there is some overlap in the information provided on those factions. But most of the textual material is unique to the individual extant works. That does not mean it did not rely in turn on still older sources, but it makes it impossible to see how it looked previously and, thus, what has been done with it. There is only one body of common source-material, which dealt with a set of second-century Kufan factions linked to named individuals, all of whom were executed by the authorities. We know it was present already in Warrāq's *Maqālāt*, but the earliest version we can reconstruct is Balkhī's, which Ash'arī basically just reuses. The various explicit definitions of *ghuluww* that we find are far more restrictive than the categories of Ghulāt-factions that then appear. The category is obviously not built out of the definitions. Rather, the definitions are being retrospectively and awkwardly applied to an inherited category.

There is also no agreed model for the aetiology of *ghuluww* or the emergence of the Ghulāt at all. Balkhī and Ash'arī didn't even try to provide one; their definition of the category was etymological. Ps.-Nāshī' and Nawbakhtī gesture at a model in which *ghuluww* is linked especially with the Khurramdīniyya and thus with factions present in the Islamic east, especially under 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya and the 'Abbāsīd Dā'īs. But this is not the only model in these texts. There is also the idea, as with Balkhī's material, of a set of second-century Kufan Ghulāt clustered around charismatic leaders who were executed by the authorities. Most explicitly, Nawbakhtī, and then Qummī largely in reliance on him, put forward the idea of *ghuluww* as somehow originating with Ibn Saba'. But then the connection between

Ibn Saba' and the subsequent Ghulāt is never elaborated. As ever, by the time we get to Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*, all this has just been turned into a list of factions that make up the sub-division of the Shī'a known as the Ghāliya.

There was thus a process by which older material, with its own purposes, perspectives, and conceptual frameworks, was pressed into service in depictions of the Shī'a by third-century heresiographers with quite different purposes, perspectives, and frameworks of their own. That process was not accomplished smoothly and, by comparing across the corpus, much of those older perspectives can still be discerned. Aside from the fact that the third-century heresiographies sometimes preserve some genuinely old information, this is one of the main reasons why, despite their increasingly taxonomical approach, their depictions of the Shī'a are still of much value to the historian. Of course, the older source-material too was narrow in focus. It provided little sense, for example, of real communal affiliations and it seems to have ignored differences in ritual practice and legal norms, or how they might have differed depending on geography. The later heresiographers made little attempt to fill such blind-spots, except in once area: *kalām*. Nevertheless, they can still reveal something about the changing ways in which *some* people conceived of the Shī'a, or parts of the Shī'a, over a period stretching from second-century Kufa to early fourth-century Basra and Baghdad.

Appendix: On the Authorship of *Firaq al-Shī'a*

Following the arguments made by Mashkūr and especially Madelung, it is evident that the text usually referred to as Nawbakhtī's *Firaq* is the basis of the text usually referred to as Qummī's *Maqālāt wa-l-firaq*¹. The latter takes Nawbakhtī's text and adds to it. What was added and where has been discussed in detail above².

Hasan Ansari has suggested, however, that Nawbakhtī is not the author of the *Firaq*³. Instead, he suggests two possibilities:

1. Qummī is the author of both works. The *Firaq* usually attributed to Nawbakhtī is simply an earlier version. Qummī later expanded it into the *Maqālāt wa-l-firaq*.
2. The *Firaq* usually attributed to Nawbakhtī is by some other Imāmī scholar of the period. Qummī then took it as the basis of his own *Maqālāt wa-l-firaq*.

Ansari has three main arguments. The first depends upon a characterisation of the two authors: Nawbakhtī was an expert in theology generally and in the topic of religious communities and factions specifically, whereas Qummī was a *ḥadīth*-scholar without such expertise. This leads him to question why it is Qummī's book that is the more up-to-date, comprehensive and detailed. He further asserts that it is extremely unlikely that someone with Nawbakhtī's expertise would have related so much from his sources without having added any extra details or much contemporary information, when Qummī, without such expertise, went on to add much more.

This line of argumentation is not very convincing on its own. Nawbakhtī certainly *became* a renowned expert in religious communities and factions. His crowning achievement was his lost *Kitāb al-Ārā' wa-l-dīyānāt*, which guaranteed his lasting fame in this domain. That work was, however, composed later in his life; he died before completing it, sometime after 300⁴. The *Firaq* attributed to Nawbakhtī was composed in the 270s⁵. If it is indeed by him, then, as van Ess puts it, it was a work of his youth⁶. It would thus not be so surprising if it didn't yet meet the standards of his later *magnum opus*. In any case, as we have seen, Nawbakhtī probably already did much more serious work in the *Firaq* than Ansari, based on Madelung's

1 See p. 41 and 350.

2 See p. 695–706 and *Tab.26*.

3 Ansari 1396: <http://ansari.kateban.com/post/3350>, accessed 20/03/2019.

4 See van Ess 2011:220–230.

5 See p. 42–43.

6 Van Ess 2011:243–244.

hypotheses about Nawbakhtī's sources, assumes. If it was not the work of an intermediary, then Nawbakhtī took the *iftirāq*-schema from Q_2 as the basis of the text, but he added the *ikhtilāf*-section that he took from Zurqān, integrated the Zaydī factions into the schema through the addition of two new *iftirāq*-cluster, inserted the Ghulāt- and the Zaydiyya- sections, added the material on the post-Muḥammad al-Jawād and post-'Alī al-Hādī situations and composed the largest *iftirāq*-cluster of them all, the post-Ḥasan al-'Askarī cluster, which he structured in such a way as to argue for a particular response to 'Askarī's death⁷. That is probably respectable enough, even for a budding young expert in the field.

Ansari's second argument relates to the manuscript tradition. He points out that the manuscripts of Nawbakhtī's *Firaq* are relatively late⁸. It is thus possible, he asserts, that the text entitled *Firaq al-Shī'a* was simply attributed to Nawbakhtī later in the manuscript tradition, because he was known to have written a work with this title.

This is indeed possible; it often is. But as things stand, we have manuscripts purporting to be copies of Nawbakhtī's *Firaq* and we know Nawbakhtī wrote a work with this title. The text we have is clearly Imāmī and was certainly written in Nawbakhtī's lifetime. Moreover, the fact that it incorporates a long passage from Zurqān's *Maqālāt*⁹ also fits Nawbakhtī's profile: he was well schooled in Mu'tazilī *kalām*. We would thus need a good reason not to accept what the manuscript tradition tells us here.

Ansari's third argument attempts to provide such a reason. He asserts that there are several later references to Nawbakhtī's *Firaq* that show that the *Firaq* attributed to Nawbakhtī in the manuscript tradition is really a different work. The first and second passages he cites come from 'Abd al-Jabbār's *Mughnī*:

[a] Ḥasan b. Mūsa [al-Nawbakhtī] stated that the faction that claimed that Muḥammad b. Ismā'il b. Ja'far died and that the Imāmate continues in his descendants is the Qarāmiṭa of our day. [b] Previously, they were known as the Maymūniyya due to a leader of theirs who was called 'Abdullah b. Maymūn al-Qaddāh. [*Mugh.XX*₂:182:6–8]

[c] It is reported on the authority of Ḥasan b. Mūsā that Jābir al-Ju'fī said (*yaqūlu min* or *yaqūlu man*). . [d] the Zaydiyya that the Imām after the Prophet, upon him be peace, was 'Alī, but he made Abū Bakr caliph, then 'Umar, then 'Uthman, until the latter did what he did, so that 'Alī ordered that he be killed. [e] This authority has also stated that Sahl b. Nawbakht professed this doctrine too. [f] We have already stated the argument against them on the point where there is disagreement, because they do not dispute the explicit designation of 'Alī, upon

7 See p. 599–669.

8 On this see Ritter's introduction to the *Firaq*, ٥-ح ; van Ess 2011:232; GAS.I:539.

9 See p. 226–232, 255–257.

him be peace, based on the evidence of transmitted reports—the doctrine being grounded in such reports. Rather, they dispute the method of establishing the Imām. [*Mugh.XX₂*:185:11–16]

This is the strongest evidence for Ansari's claim. But the main problem with these passages is that we do not know which of Nawbakhtī's texts 'Abd al-Jabbār was referring to. The only work of Nawbakhtī's that is cited by name in the *Mughnī* is the *Ārā'*, from which 'Abd al-Jabbār reproduced a lot of material on dualist religions [*Mugh.V*:9:9–10]¹⁰. Our first assumption should thus be that it is also the *Arā'* that is being cited here. It would be perfectly reasonable if the *Ārā'* contained material that did not yet appear in the *Firaq* or even information that differed from it. That could easily explain *b*, *e* and probably also the lacunose *c*, which do not appear in the *Firaq* at all. In theory, *d* could be a reference to one of the *Firaq*'s descriptions of a sub-faction of the Butriyya [*Fir*.18:10–16]; *f* is irrelevant anyway. The only real issue is caused by *a*, because the *Firaq* asserts the opposite: that the Qarāmiṭa are those who stop the line of Imāms at Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl b. Ja'far [*Fir*.61:5-10]. Ansari is right that this passage gives us some reason to question Nawbakhtī's authorship of the *Firaq*, as it is hard to imagine that, even decades later, Nawbakhtī would have contradicted his earlier text in this way. Still, there are possible explanations. One is just that 'Abd al-Jabbār misunderstood or mis-reported what Nawbakhtī wrote. This passage is probably not a direct quote, and even in the *Firaq*, the material on the Ismā'īlī groups is quite confused and easily open to misinterpretation. Another is that the usage of the term Qarāmiṭa underwent some change precisely over this period, as it came to be applied to basically all Ismā'īlī groups that did not recognize the Fāṭimid caliphs. So, we do indeed have a reason to set a question mark over Nawbakhtī's authorship of the *Firaq*, but it is not decisive on its own.

Ansari's third passage comes from Ṭūsī's *Talkhīṣ al-Muḥaṣṣal*:

[**a**] And I have seen a treatise from one of the Nawbakhtīs, who are among the early Shī'a, in which he stated that it is well known that the Muslim Community will split into seventy-odd sects. [**b**] The Shī'a have already split into this number, let alone the rest. [**c**] He mentioned ten factions of the Zaydiyya, twelve factions of the Kaysāniyya, thirty-four factions of the Imāmiyya, eight factions of the Ghulāt, and eight or nine factions of the Bāṭiniyya. However, some of these factions have departed from Islam, such as the Ghulāt and some of the Bāṭiniyya. God knows the reality of things best. [Ṭūsī, *Talkhīṣ*,412:22–413:5]

It is true that the text we take to be Nawbakhtī's *Firaq* does not mention the *ḥadīth* of the seventy-two factions that is referenced in *a*, or the numbers of factions given in *c*. But again, we don't know that this text by 'one of the Nawbakhtīs' is supposed to be our Nawbakhtī's *Firaq* anyway.

¹⁰ For an overview of the citations, see van Ess 2011:227–228.

Finally, Ansari cites a passage from Shaykh Mufīd preserved in Sharīf al-Murtaḍā's *al-Fuṣūl al-mukhtāra*:

[a] The Shaykh [Mufīd], may God aid him, has said: "When Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad passed away, his companions split into fourteen groups according to what Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Mūsa al-Nawbakhtī, may God be pleased with him, has related. **[b]** The majority of them professed the Imāmate of his son, the awaited Qā'im. They affirmed his birth and deemed it true that the designation (*naṣṣ*) had been made to him. They said, 'He is named the Messenger of God and the Mahdī to humankind'. They believed that he has two occultations, one of them being longer than the other and the first one of them being the shorter, in which he has representatives and emissaries (*al-nawwāb wa-l-sufarā*). They narrate from a group of their scholars and their trustworthy authorities that Abū [Muḥammad] al-Ḥasan displayed him to them and showed them his person. **[c]** They disagreed over his age at the time of his father's death. Many of them said he was five years old at that time, because his father died in 260 and the Qā'im was born in 255. Some of them say that his birth was, rather, in 252 and his age at the time of his father's death was eight years old. **[d]** They say that his father did not die until Allah had perfected his intellect and taught him wisdom and conclusive speech. By this quality, he set him apart from all of creation, because he is the seal of the proofs (*khātim al-ḥujaj*) and the holder of the bequest from all those who received it before him (*waṣī al-awṣiyā*) and the Qā'im of the age. They prove this is reasonable with rational evidence, by means of which it is shown that such a thing is not impossible, such that it enters the realm of the possible (*taḥt al-qudra*), and by citing God Almighty's words in the story of 'Isā, "He will address the people while in the cradle", and in the story of Yaḥyā "And We granted him judgement while he was still a boy". **[e]** They say that the Possessor or of Authority (*ṣāhib al-amr*), upon him be peace, is alive, and that he has not died and will not die even if a thousand years remain until he fills the earth with fairness and justice, just as it has been filled with oppression and tyranny, and that, at the time of his appearance, he will be a strong, young man, looking like a man of thirty years or so. They consider this to be one of his miracles and deem it to be one of his proofs and signs. . . [Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, *Fuṣūl*, 318:9–319:7]

The issue here, for Ansari, is that Shaykh Mufīd describes a later stage in the development of the doctrine of the hidden twelfth Imām than we find in the *Firaq*. Ansari assumes, based on *a*, that Shaykh Mufīd is citing the information on the faction that holds this doctrine from Nawbakhtī. He then takes this as an indication that Nawbakhtī's *Firaq* was composed later than the *Firaq* we have. But this is not what the passage shows. Rather, in *a*, Shaykh Mufīd cites a work by Nawbakhtī that contains the claim that Ḥasan al-'Askarī's supporters split into fourteen factions after his death. That is exactly what we find in the *Firaq* attributed to Nawbakhtī¹¹. If anything, this is a corroboration of the manuscript tradition's claim that this *Firaq* is indeed by Nawbakhtī. What follows from *b* onwards is not a citation at all, but Shaykh Mufīd's description of the doctrine that he considers the majority to have held; he is 'updating' in respect of Nawbakhtī's text, a possibility that Ansari even

¹¹ See p. 608–613.

acknowledges. Indeed, this couldn't have been written by Nawbakhtī even towards the end of his life, as it assumes knowledge of a second period of *ghayba* without *sufarā'*¹². The doctrine that there would be no more *sufarā'* could only have been established after the death of the fourth *saḥīr*, Abū l-Qāsim al-Ḥusayn b. Rawḥ, in 326/938, and realistically, the whole idea of the second *ghayba* without *sufarā'* could not have been accepted to the degree that it could be mentioned this casually until somewhat later than that¹³. We do not know exactly when Nawbakhtī died, but certainly not late enough for this.

Ansari might be right that Nawbakhtī is not the author of the *Firaq* attributed to him, but these passages are not sufficiently convincing evidence of this. Indeed, the passage from Mufīd is, on balance, more of a corroboration that the attribution is correct. But even if Nawbakhtī were not the author of the *Firaq* attributed to him, then the author must still be an Imāmī with Mu'tazilī leanings writing in the 270s in order to explain the text's content. It makes little difference to this study whether the author was indeed Nawbakhtī or—as per Ansari's second suggestion—someone else with Nawbakhtī's profile writing in the same period.

What is extremely unlikely, however, is Ansari's first suggestion, i.e., that Qummī might have authored both works, the *Firaq* being a first version of the *Maqālāt wa-l-firaq*. One reason is that the author of the *Firaq* used Zurqān's *Maqālāt* as a source. Qummī—who, as Ansari points out was a *ḥadīth*-scholar working in Qom—is very unlikely to have done this. It makes much more sense if the material was present in the *Firaq* without attribution to Zurqān—which is indeed how it appears—and was then taken over by Qummī from there. But then Qummī could not also be the *Firaq*'s author. Moreover, it is simply not credible that the two texts are by the same person. The additions made in Qummī's *Maqālāt wa-l-firaq* completely fail to respect the underlying structure of the *Firaq*, to the point that they make the arrangement of the text very difficult to follow, frequently appearing in completely inappropriate places relative to what came from the *Firaq*, creating ambiguous connections between the groups described and leading to all sorts of contradictions with one another and with the text from the *Firaq*. This has been explored in detail above¹⁴. The person who composed the *Maqālāt wa-l-firaq* either did not understand the structure of the *Firaq* or did not care enough to bring the extra material within the existing structure. The two texts have two authors.

¹² This is also van Ess's (2011:240–241) interpretation of the passage from Shaykh Mufid, which he discusses in some detail.

¹³ On this question, see now Hayes 2022:211–215.

¹⁴ See p. 695–706.

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