

# THE MATURIDI SCHOOL

*from Abu Hanifa to al-Kawthari*

GIBRIL FOUAD HADDAD



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Cover image: The monument featured on the front cover is the final resting place of Imam al-Maturidi. In 1947, the cemetery was razed to the ground. After decades of neglect, the current mausoleum was built and opened on the 17<sup>th</sup> of November 2000, commemorating 1130 years since the birth of the Imam.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

AA	<i>al-Rawḍat al-bahīyya fīmā bayna al-Ashā'ira wal-Māturīdiyya</i> (Abū 'Adhaba)
AM	<i>al-Ālim wal-muta'allim</i> (Abū Ḥanīfa)
'Aqd	<i>'Aqā'id al-Nasafī</i> (Burhān al-Dīn Nasafī)
Bad'	<i>Bad' al-amālī fī uṣūl al-dīn</i> (Ūshī)
Baḥr	<i>Baḥr al-kalām</i> (Maymūn Nasafī)
Bar	<i>Bariqa Maḥmūdiyya fī sharḥ tariqa Muḥammadiyya</i> (Khādīmī)
Bid	<i>al-Bidāya min al-kifāya fil-hidāya</i> (Ṣābūnī)
FAk	<i>al-Fiqh al-akbar</i> (Abū Ḥanīfa)
FAB	<i>al-Fiqh al-absaṭ</i> (Abū Ḥanīfa)
Güm	<i>Jāmi' al-mutūn fil-sifāt wal-'aqā'id al-Māturīdiyya</i> (Gümüṣhanevi)
HUD	<i>al-Hādī fī uṣūl al-dīn</i> (Khabbāzī)
Ifāda	<i>al-Ifādat al-Madaniyya fil-irādat al-juz'iyya</i> (Abū al-Ḥasan al-Sindī)
IKB	<i>Masā'il al-ikhtilāf bayna al-Ashā'ira wal-Māturīdiyya</i> (Ibn Kamāl Bāshā)
'Iqd	<i>al-'Iqd al-jawharī fil-farq bayn al-kasbayn</i> (Khālid Baghdādī)
Ish	<i>Ishārāt al-marām min 'ibārāt al-imām</i> (Bayāḍī)
I'tmd	<i>al-I'timād fil-i'tiqād</i> ('Abd Allāh Nasafī)
I'tqd	<i>al-I'tiqād: 'Aqīdatun marwiyya 'an Abī Ḥanīfa</i> (Ustuwā'ī)
Lubāb	<i>Lubāb al-kalām</i> (Usmandī)
MfA	<i>Masā'il fil-'aqīda</i> (Abū al-Layth Samarqandī)
Minḥ	<i>Minah al-rawḍ al-azhar</i> (Qārī)
MinḥS	<i>Minah al-rawḍ al-azhar Supplements</i> (Qārī)
Minḥz	<i>Minah al-rawḍ al-azhar – Alfāz al-kufr</i> (Badr al-Rashīd)
Mumz	<i>Mumayyizāt madhhab al-Māturīdiyya</i> (Isbīrī Qādīzāde)
Musyr	<i>al-Musāyara fī 'ilm al-kalām wal-'aqā'id al-tawḥīdiyya</i> (Ibn al-Humām)
Mu'tq	<i>al-Mu'taqad al-muntaqad</i> (Badāyūnī)
Nazm	<i>Nazm al-farā'id fil-ikhtilāf fil-'aqā'id</i> (Shaykhī Zādah)

<i>Qawl</i>	<i>al-Qawl al-faṣl sharḥ al-Fiqh al-akbar</i> (Bahā' al-Dīn Shaykh Zādah)
<i>RJ</i>	<i>Rawḍat al-jannāt</i> (Aqḥiṣārī)
<i>Ruk</i>	<i>al-ʿAqīdat al-rukniyya</i> (Rukn al-Dīn Samarqandī)
<i>Sawd</i>	<i>al-Sawād al-aʿzam fil-kalām</i> (Ibn al-Ḥakīm al-Samarqandī)
<i>Tabṣ</i>	<i>Tabṣirat al-adilla</i> (Maymūn Nasafī)
<i>Taft</i>	<i>Sharḥ al-ʿaqā'id al-nasafiyya</i> (Taftāzānī)
<i>Talkh</i>	<i>Talkhīṣ al-adilla li-qawā'id al-tawḥīd</i> (Şaffār)
<i>TamL</i>	<i>al-Tamhīd li-qawā'id al-tawḥīd</i> (Lāmishī)
<i>TamN</i>	<i>al-Tamhīd li-qawā'id al-tawḥīd</i> (Maymūn Nasafī)
<i>Tawḥ</i>	<i>Kitāb al-Tawḥīd</i> (Māturīdī)
<i>UṣGh</i>	<i>Uṣūl al-dīn</i> (Ghaznawī)
<i>UṣPz</i>	<i>Uṣūl al-dīn</i> (Abū al-Yusr Pazdawī)
<i>Zubad</i>	<i>Kitāb zubad al-ʿaqā'id al-Nasafiyya</i> (al-Şaʿīdī)

﴿ قُلْ هَذِهِ سَبِيلِي أَدْعُو إِلَى اللَّهِ عَلَى بَصِيرَةٍ أَنَا وَمَنِ اتَّبَعَنِي  
 وَسُبْحَانَ اللَّهِ وَمَا أَنَا مِنَ الْمُشْرِكِينَ ﴾  
 سورة يوسف على نبينا وعليه الصلاة والسلام

## INTRODUCTION

This work is a survey of the salient themes and comparative translation of the bullet points of the most important Māturīdī authorities and their doctrinal textbooks with a synoptic (i.e. presenting a condensed overview) bio-bibliography of Māturīdī scholars and scholarship in descending order of antiquity. It highlights their resolutions (*taqrīrāt*) as the defining parameters of Sunnism and can serve both as an introductory synopsis of the great themes of Maturidism and as a tool for the study of the school's theology from its early founders to our time.

The doctrinal creed of the largest denomination of Muslims that came to be known as ‘The Adherents to the Sunna and the Congregation’ found staunch defenders in the school of the ‘Arch-master of guidance’ (*Imām al-hudā*) and ‘Standard-bearer of guidance’ (*‘Alam al-hudā*) of Samarqand, Abū Maṣūf al-Māturīdī (d. 333/945),<sup>1</sup> who codified the theology of ‘the Greatest Leader’ (*al-imām al-a‘zam*) Abū Ḥanīfa (80–150/699–767) that dominated the central Asian region of Transoxania (present-day Uzbekistan and parts of Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, and Kazakhstan). As the chief clearing-house of Sunni *kalām* and Sunnicentric heresiology together with Ash‘arism, Maturidism catalogues, on the one hand, the spectrum of Sunni and non-Sunni doctrines and, on the other, all creeds other than Islam. The purpose was not intellectual

1 See, on his life, the works of al-Ghālī (1989), Kutlu (2003), al-Maghribī (2009), Rudolph (2015), Chaker (2016), Sālim (2017) and Damanhūrī (2018) listed in the section on contemporary literature at the end of this book.

research on 'religions' but rather the production of knowledge and certainty regarding Sunni Islamic identity and orthodox ('doctrinally sound') Muslim belief and practice. Māturīdī theology thus defined itself in contrast both with Sunna-contrariant doctrines and Islam-contrariant ones, furthermore doing so on the *kalām* dialectic-theological bases which form the definitional foundations of *tawḥīd* to which people were summoned by Prophets 'with full insight' (*alā baṣīra*, Sūrat Yūsuf 12:108).

SAMPLE PAGES

# SALIENT THEMES OF MATURIDISM

## **Imitative belief (*īmān al-muqallid*), speculative study (*naẓar*), and acquired knowledge (*maʿrifa*)**

This is an issue discussed in Māturīdī literature under the heading of ‘the faith of the imitator (*muqallid*).’ Imām al-Māturīdī began *al-Tawhīd* by stating that mere *taqlīd* was null as an avenue to knowledge of Allah—as did al-Ash‘arī—and the Samarqand masters deemed rational investigation (*naẓar al-‘aql*) obligatory (Usmandī, *Lubāb* pp. 42–43 *wujūb al-naẓar fī maʿrifat Allāh*, his *Badhl al-naẓar fīl uṣūl*, and Abū al-Yusr Pazdawī, *Uṣūl al-dīn*). At the same time his School emphasized the fact that an imitative believer is still a believer whom Allah has promised Paradise, contrary to the Mu‘tazila who alone claimed that imitative belief was unbelief (per Ūshī, *Badʿ*, ‘the faith of the imitator is taken in consideration’; Lāmishī, *Tambhīd*, ‘the faith of an imitator in belief who is convinced but ignorant of the proofs is valid, contrary to the Mu‘tazila’; and Ibn al-Subkī, *Jam‘ al-jawāmi‘*, *Mas‘ala: al-taqlīd fī uṣūl al-dīn*, stating that only the Mu‘tazila, specifically Abū ‘Alī al-Jubbā‘ī, held that the imitator’s faith is invalid). This was discussed by Abū al-Yusr Pazdawī, *Uṣūl al-dīn*, ch. 39, ‘the imitative believer is a believer by consensus’; Maymūn Nasafī in the chapter ‘On the faith of the imitator’ in *Tabṣīrat al-adilla* (1:27); Ghaznawī in *Uṣūl al-Dīn*, 11.5: ‘The imitator’s faith is valid’; and Bahā’ al-Dīn Zādah at the beginning of *al-Qawl al-faṣl* (p. 17), his commentary on Abū Ḥanīfā’s *Fiqh al-akbar* (q.v.) among others. Ash‘arīs also consider the imitator a believer but, at the same time, viewed *naẓar* as individually compulsory and its neglect a sin (per Imām al-Ash‘arī as cited by Abū Maṣṣūr al-Baghdādī in Nasafī’s *Tabṣīra* 1:29; cf. Lāmishī, *Tambhīd*, pp. 138–140; Imām al-Ḥaramayn

in *al-Irshād*, ‘*naẓar* conducive to the *ma‘ārif* [of Allah] is obligatory’ and Ibn al-Tilimsānī’s recapitulation at the beginning of his commentary on al-Rāzī’s *Ma‘ālim uṣūl al-dīn*. They defined *naẓar* as ‘knowledge of every article of belief with its proof, even if undetailed, as an individual obligation’ (Bājūrī on *Jawharat al-tawḥīd*). The report that al-Ash‘arī and Ibn al-Bāqillānī said the imitator’s belief is invalid was adduced by some Māturīdīs and even certain Ash‘arīs (e.g. Abū Maṣṣūr al-Baghdādī and al-‘Izz b. Jamā‘a), but was declared false and inauthentic by Abū al-Qāsim al-Qushayrī and Abū Muḥammad al-Juwaynī (see Badr al-Dīn al-Zarkashī, *al-Baḥr al-muḥīṭ fī uṣūl al-fiqh, Taqlīd, wa-qaḍ ishtabarat hādhihi al-maqālatu ‘ani al-Ash‘arī*, al-Maḥallī’s *Sharḥ Jam‘ al-jawāmi‘, Ijtihād, al-taqlīd fī uṣūl al-dīn, wa-‘ani al-Ash‘arī annahu lā yaṣīḥḥu imān al-muqallid*, Ibn al-Subkī as already cited, and Sa‘īd Fawda’s clarifications in his edition of ‘Alā’ al-Dīn al-Bukhārī’s *Risāla fīl-i‘tiqād*).

### **Kasb as a Māturīdī concept and not only an Ash‘arī one**

A synoptic survey allows the extraction of general thematic guidelines. Of the many themes that emerge from the present study, some can be said to typify the Māturīdī school exclusively and others can be said to be shared with Ash‘arīs,<sup>2</sup> while notions can be corrected or refined. For example, it can be inferred from the frequent use of the concept of ‘acquisition’ (*kasb*) among Māturīdī masters such as Maymūn Nasafī in *Baḥr al-kalām*, al-Khādīmī, al-Khabbāzī, Ibn al-Humām, al-Qārī and al-Badāyūnī, that the remark of al-Subkī (*q.v.*) in his *Nūniyya* that Māturīdīs prefer to call *kasb* ‘choice’ (*ikhtiyār*) does not apply invariably. The very title of Mawlānā Khālīd al-Baghdādī’s (d. 1827) epistle *al-Iqd al-jawharī fīl-farq bayna al-kasb al-Māturīdī wal-Ash‘arī* presupposes the common usage of the term in both schools, although its concept might differ across them as demonstrated in detail by al-Nābulusī and Mawlānā Khālīd in their monographs on that question as well as Abū ‘Adhaba in the *Rawḍa* (sixth issue of the terminological differences).

- 2 Others yet can be said to be shared across all the three schools held by al-Saffārīnī to represent *Ahl al-Sunna*, the third being the so-called Atharī school, a euphemism for Hanbalis who might be either Ash‘arī/Māturīdī-leaning or literalists.

## The Māturīdī differentiation between divine contentment (*riḍā*) and divine will (*irāda*)

Equally open to nuance is al-Subkī's assertion (which, in fairness, he qualifies) that 'what is narrated from Abū Ḥanīfa is that divine good pleasure (*riḍā*) and divine will (*irāda*) are one,' since al-Māturīdī, Maymūn al-Nasafī in the *Tambīd*, al-Ūshī, Ibn al-Humām, al-Bayāḍī, al-Khādīmī, Abū 'Adhaba and Shaykhī Zādah explicitly differentiate between them, while Maymūn al-Nasafī (*Tambīd*) and al-Usmāndī do so implicitly, through the affirmation that 'sins are by virtue of the will of Allah and His decision.' Al-Qārī contributed a luminous page on the two distinct contexts of the divine will corresponding respectively to will as creation and existentiation (*irāda qadariyya kawniyya khalqiyya*) on the one hand and, on the other, will as a tasking will (*irāda amriyya*). An example of the first context is the verse *So whomsoever the One God wants (yurīdu) to guide, He opens up his chest to self-resignation, and whomsoever He wants to lead astray, He makes his chest narrow and constricted, as if he were climbing up the sky* (al-An'ām 6:125) and an example of the second is the verse *Allah wants (yurīdu) ease for you and He does not want hardship for you* (al-Baqara 2:185).<sup>3</sup>

## Synonymity of *irāda* and *mashī'a* (will); near-synonymity with *ikhtiyār* (choice)

On the other hand, *irāda* and *mashī'a* are synonymous (Maymūn Nasafī, *Tambīd*) as also suggested by the expression *al-shā'i al-murīd* in the *'Aqā'id al-Nasafī*, except that *mashī'a* is used to express 'complete will followed by act without delay' (*al-irādat al-tāmma al-latī lā yatakhallaf 'anhā al-fi'l*), while *irāda* is applicable to both 'integral' and 'partial' will. Thus, the first is what is meant from the divine perspective, while the latter is what is meant from the creature's perspective.<sup>4</sup> Both *irāda* and *mashī'a* are near in meaning to *ikhtiyār* as well (Badāyūnī, *Mu'taqad*). Al-Nābulusī wrote extensively on all the five

3 al-Qārī, *Sharḥ al-Fiqh al-akbar*, Nafā'is ed. p. 61 = *Minah*, p. 80.

4 al-Qārī, *Minah*, p. 78.

two schools as he leaned to Ash‘arism more because it was closer to Sufism in his view. The detailed modern edition and study of al-‘Ushī’s *Bad’ al-amālī* by Muḥammad Aḥmad Kan‘ān also qualifies as a comparative encyclopedia.<sup>38</sup>

## Spurious attributions/ascriptions in Māturīdī scholarship

Certain attributions were established or at least flagged as spurious ascriptions in past and recent Māturīdī scholarship. The following list recapitulates and expands on such misattributions, although not exhaustively:

(1) A small text entitled *al-‘Aqīda* or *Risāla fil-‘aqā’id* was attributed to al-Māturīdī by Ḥājji Khalīfa, al-Bayāḍī and Brockelmann and, according to Mustafā Cerić, was copied and commented by Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī (683–756/1284–1355) under the title *al-Sayf al-mashḥūr fī ‘aqīdat Abī Manṣūr* (q.v.),<sup>39</sup> while Hans Daiber and Rudolph Ulrich date it as subsequent to Abū al-Layth al-Samarqandī’s *Sharḥ al-fiqh al-absaṭ*, the latter describing it as ‘summariz[ing] in 43 articles the main teachings adhered to by... the Transoxanian Hanafites... a compilation of teachings heavily indebted to the *Sharḥ al-fiqh al-akbar* [i.e., *absaṭ*].’<sup>40</sup> Daiber and Rudolph’s dating makes sense but Cerić apparently confuses this treatise with the *Nūniyya* on the comparative stances of Ash‘arīs and Māturīdīs, authored and commented not by Taqī al-Dīn but by his son Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī, known as Ibn al-Subkī (727–771/1327–1370) (q.v.).

(2) As is now agreed upon, the *Sharḥ al-fiqh al-akbar* attributed to Abū Manṣūr al-Māturīdī on the cover of its 1321/1904 edition at Dā‘irat al-Ma‘ārif al-Nizāmiyya was not authored by him but by Abū al-Layth Naṣr b. Muḥammad al-Samarqandī (d. 373/983) or someone later, and its more exact title should be *Sharḥ al-fiqh al-absaṭ* since it deals with the catechetically-formatted version

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‘Imād Ḥasan, *al-Farq bayna al-Ash‘ariyya wal-Māturīdiyya* (Cairo: Maktabat Bustān al-Ma‘rifa, 2009). This footnote is slightly adapted from Haida, *Debates*, p. 199 n. 755.

38 Muḥammad Aḥmad Kan‘ān, *Jāmi‘ al-la‘ālī sharḥ Bad’ al-amālī fī ‘ilm al-‘aqā’id* (Beirut: Dār al-Bashā‘ir al-Islāmiyya, 1429/2008).

39 Cerić, *Roots*, pp. 48–49.

40 Rudolph, *al-Māturīdī*, pp. 329, 342, referencing Pseudo-Māturīdī, *Risāla fil-‘aqā’id*, ed. Y.Z. Yörükkan, *Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Yayınlarından* 5 (1953), pp. 7–22 = *Kitāb al-Uṣūl*, Ms Gotha 100, fols. 1a–15b.

narrated from Abū Ḥanīfa by Abū Muṭīʿ al-Balkhī, all as detailed below under Abū Ḥanīfa and al-Māturīdī.

(3) Another *Sharḥ al-fiqh al-akbar* was misattributed to Fakhr al-Islām ʿAlī al-Pazdawī (the brother of Abū al-Yusr) on the cover of its 1279/1862 edition, whereas it is in fact a text by Abū al-Muntahā Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Maghnisāwī (d. 1000/1592) as mentioned in the very preamble of the text (*fa-yaqūlu Abū al-Muntahā*), and he then cites Fakhr al-Islām al-Pazdawī in passing.

(4) The *Aqā'id al-nasafiyya* is famously attributed to the jurist and exegete Najm al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar b. Muḥammad al-Nasafī (461–537/1068–1142) but the Moroccan transmissologist Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Rūdānī pointed out that it was in fact the work of the well-known theologian and exegete Burhān al-Dīn Abū al-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Nasafī (600–687/1203–1288),<sup>41</sup> often described (unlike Najm al-Dīn) as *ṣāhib al-mu'allafāt al-kalāmiyya*. The error was popularized by al-Taftāzānī and spread thereafter by several subsequent scholars such as Ibn Abī Sharīf, Ḥājji Khalifa and others, followed by the Orientalists one and all including Cureton, Wensinck, Watt, Cerić, Rudolph and Lange. The pedagogical (*athbāt*) and biographical sources list several scholarly Nasafīs: the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū al-Riḍā Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā b. Yūsuf known as Ibn Hubayra al-Nasafī (d. 517/1123); the pre-eminent exegete and jurist Najm al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl al-Nasafī (461–537/1068–1142) (*q.v.*); his son the jurist and admonisher Abū al-Layth Aḥmad b. ʿUmar al-Nasafī (d. 552/1157); Burhān al-Dīn Abū al-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Nasafī (600–687/1203–1288), the author of an epitome of al-Rāzī's *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb* entitled *al-Wāḍiḥ, Baḥr al-kalām*, the *Muqaddima*

41 As stated in al-Rūdānī (d. 1094/1683), *Ṣilat al-khalaf bi-mawṣūl al-salaf*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥājji (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1408/1988), p. 190; Ibn ʿAbidīn (1198–1252/1784–1836), *Thabat Ibn ʿAbidīn al-musammā ʿUqūd al-lʿālī fil-asānīd al-ʿawālī*, ed. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm al-Ḥusayn (Beirut: Dār al-Bashāʿir al-Islāmiyya, 1431/2001), p. 431; al-Laknawī (1264–1304/1848–1887), *al-Fawā'id al-bahiyya fi tarājim al-Hanafiyya*, ed. Aḥmad al-Zuʿbī (Beirut: Dār al-Arqam, 1418/1998), p. 319; Ibn al-Islām ʿUbayd Allāh al-Sindī (1872–1944), *al-Tambūid li-taʿrīf ʿimmat al-tajdid*, ed. Abū Saʿīd Ghulām Muṣṭafā al-Qāsimī al-Sindī (Jāmsḥūrū (Pakistan): Lajnat Iḥyāʾ al-Adab al-Sindī, 1976), p. 289; and ʿUmar al-Nushūqātī, *al-Taḥrīr al-farīd li-ʿawālī al-asānīd: Thabat asānīd al-ʿallāmat al-shaykh Muḥammad Ṣālīḥ al-Furfūrī* (Damascus: Dār al-Farfūr, 1422/2002), pp. 107–108.

on juridical differences, and the *‘Aqā'id* ‘among many other works in *kalām*’ (al-Rūdānī); Ḥāfiẓ al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Naṣr al-Bukhārī al-Nasafī al-Kabīr (d. 693/1294); Ḥāfiẓ al-Dīn Abū al-Barakāt ‘Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Maḥmud al-Nasafī (d. 710/1310) the author of *Madārik al-Tanzīl*; and others including Abū al-Yusr al-Pazdawī who is also known as Ṣadr al-Dīn and Ṣadr al-Islām al-Nasafī.<sup>42</sup>

(5) Al-Rūdānī also stated that *Baḥr al-kalām* was by the same Burhān al-Dīn al-Nasafī rather than Abū al-Mu‘īn Maymūn al-Nasafī as commonly believed.<sup>43</sup> This assertion is unlikely to be correct in light of the multitude of extant manuscripts—about three dozens—all presumably attributing the work to Abū al-Mu‘īn.

(6) Shaykh Zādah’s *Naẓm al-farā'id*, a work on the differences between the two schools of the Māturīdīs and the Ash‘arīs listing them as forty ‘singularities’ (*farā'id*), was attributed to Shaykh Zādah ‘Abd al-Raḥīm b. ‘Alī b. al-Mu‘ayyad al-Amāsī (d. 944/1537) by our contemporaries such as al-Jābī, al-Ḥimyarī, Rudolph and others, an impossibility since the work refers to such as al-Qārī (d. 1014/1605) and Ibrāhīm al-Laḡānī (d. 1041/1632). It could be the work of a later Ottoman scholar from Gallipoli, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Dāmād, known as Shaykhī Zādah (d. 1078/1667) but this is also open to question since he cites (cf. *Farīdas* 23 and 27) al-Bayāḏī’s (1044–1098/1634–1687) (*q.v.*) *Ishārāt al-marām*.

(7) An oft-studied doctrinological poem entitled *‘Aqīdat al-Shaybānī* is sometimes cited among the Māturīdī texts, a compound error as the author is not Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī (131–189/749–805) as erroneously claimed in the University of Tokyo cataloguing of its manuscript and a 1984 Master’s study at the University of Muḥammad Ibn Sa‘ūd,<sup>44</sup> but the much later Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr al-Raba‘ī al-Shaybānī al-Aswānī al-Shāfi‘ī

42 See al-Rūdānī, *Ṣilat al-khalaf*, p. 191; Ibn ‘Ābidīn, *Thabat*, pp. 431–432; Ibn al-Islām, *Tambīd*, s.v.; and ‘Ādil Nuwayhid, *Mu‘jam al-mufasssīrīn*, s.v.

43 al-Rūdānī, *Ṣilat al-khalaf*, p. 191.

44 Muḥammad al-Suḥaym, ed., Ibn Qāḏī ‘Ajlūn, *Badī‘ al-ma‘ānī fī sharḥ ‘Aqīdat al-Shaybānī*, unpub. diss. (Riyadh: Jāmi‘at al-Imām Muḥammad ibn Sa‘ūd, 1404–1405/1985), p. 3 and passim.

(d. 777/1375), and the text has a clear Ash‘arī orientation.<sup>45</sup> Nor is this text known in the Ḥanafī and Māturīdī sources.

(8) Another widespread text is the *‘Aqīdat Abī al-Layth al-Samarqandī* edited by Juynboll, which has no suggestion of Māturīdī doctrine and seems unknown to Ḥanafī and Māturīdī sources, although very popular in Southeast Asia.<sup>46</sup>

(9) A Māturīdī commentary on al-Ūshī’s (d. 569/1174) *Bad’ al-amālī* by Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Rāzī (who is unknown for anything other than this work), entitled *Hidāya min al-i‘tiqād*, was thus identified and dated 751/1350 by Ḥajjī Khalīfa but was grossly misattributed to Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. ‘Alī al-Rāzī al-Jaṣṣāṣ (d. 370/981)—despite its numerous references to people born after his time—by a Wahhabi editor identifying himself as Abū ‘Amr al-Ḥusaynī b. ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-Raḥīm under the title *Sharḥ Bad’ al-Amālī* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1422/2001).

## Two Māturīdī Golden Ages

A tabular listing of the authorities and their works yields two Māturīdī ‘golden ages’ of celebrated texts, namely the sixth Hijrī century for detailed encyclopedic reference-works, and the 10<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> centuries for a flourishing of detailed comparative Sunni *kalam* discussing both Ash‘arī and Māturīdī positions (see Table 2).

45 See ‘Iṣām Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Mawlā, ed., ‘Alwān b. ‘Aṭīyya al-Hamawī (d. 936/1530), *Bayān al-ma‘ānī fī sharḥ ‘Aqīdat al-Shaybānī*, unpub. diss. (Sūhāj, Egypt: Jāmi‘at Sūhāj, 1435–1436/2014–2015), pp. 26–30 and passim.

46 See below, entry on Abū al-Layth al-Samarqandī.

## FIFTH/ELEVENTH CENTURY

### al-Ustuwā'ī

al-Ustuwā'ī al-Naysābūrī, Ṣā'īd b. Muḥammad. *al-I'tiqād: 'Aqīdatun marwiyya 'an Abī Ḥanīfa*. Ed. Sayyid Bāghajwān. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1426/2005.

The qadi Abū al-'Alā' Ṣā'īd b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Ubayd Allah al-Ustuwā'ī al-Naysābūrī (343–432/954–1040), nicknamed 'Imād al-Islām, first studied under his maternal grandfather Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Sahl b. Ibrāhīm al-Naysābūrī (318–388/930–998) then about a dozen others, and counts twice as many students on record. His book chainlessly anthologizes the doctrinal views of Abū Ḥanīfa and his students on:

- (i) *īmān*,
- (ii) *qaḍā'* and *qadar*,
- (iii) *istiṭā'a*,
- (iv) uncreatedness of the Qur'ān,
- (v) the vision of Allah,
- (vi) the Balance of deeds,
- (vii) the punishment of the grave,
- (viii) intercession,
- (ix) the Verse of *istiwā'*,
- (x) the Companions,
- (xi) obedience to rulers,
- (xii) prayer behind innovators as forbidden but valid,
- (xiii) narrating the Divine Attributes *bilā kayf*, and
- (xiv) confining oneself, in all doctrinal matters, to what is textually established in the Qur'ān and Sunna as well as the consensus,

without recourse to personal opinion, all as directly related from him by Abū Muṭṭīʿ al-Balkhī, Ḥammād b. Abī Ḥanīfa, al-Jārūd b. Yazīd al-ʿĀmirī, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī and Abū Yūsuf, Nūḥ b. Abī Maryam, Abū Muqātil Ḥafṣ b. Salm al-Samarqandī, Wakīʿ b. al-Jarrāḥ, Ḥammād b. Zayd b. Dirham al-Azdī, al-Ḥasan b. Ziyād al-Luʿluʿī, Ismāʿīl b. Ziyād (or Ibn Abī Ziyād) al-Sakūnī, ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad al-Jurjānī, then from the next generation-layer such as Mūsā b. Sulaymān al-Jūzjānī, Muḥammad b. ʿUbayd b. Abī Umayya, Muḥammad b. Muqātil al-Rāzī, ʿUmar b. Ḥammād, Muḥammad b. Shujāʿ al-Thaljī and others. The work served as one of the sources for the later *Manāqib* works of Muwaffaq al-Dīn al-Makkī and Kardarī.

### Abu Shakur al-Sālīmī

al-Sālīmī, Abū Shakūr, *al-Taḥdīd fī bayān al-tawḥīd*. Ed. Ömür Türkmen. Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, 2017.

Hājji Khalīfa in his *Kashf al-ẓunūn* described Abū Shakūr Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Sayyid b. Shuʿayb al-Kashshī al-Sālīmī's (d. after 460/1068) *Taḥdīd fī bayān al-tawḥīd* as 'an abridgment on the principles of theological knowledge and pure monotheism in which he mentioned various definitions on reason, the spirit etc. and in which he cited what is permissible to discuss of the science of dialectic theology.'

### Abū al-Yusr al-Pazdawī

al-Pazdawī, Abū al-Yusr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad. *Kitāb Uṣūl al-dīn*. Ed. Hans-Peter Linss. Cairo: Dār Iḥyāʾ al-Kutub al-ʿArabiyya, 1963. Rept. Cairo: al-Maktabat al-Azhariyya lil-Turāth, 1424/2003.

———. *Zallat al-qāriʾ*. In Necattin Hanay, 'Kitāb Zallat al-qāriʾ lil-Imām Abī al-Yusr al-Bazdawī: dirāsa wa-taḥqīq,' Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi, vol. 57 no. 1 (2016) pp. 1–56.

Abū al-Yusr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Pazdawī (421–493/1030–1100) the qadi of Samarqand, nicknamed *Imām al-a’imma* in *al-Qand*, was teacher to Abū Ḥafṣ al-Nasafī among others. He “filled creation with his works on principles and the branch sciences” (*al-Qand*), including *Zallat al-qāri’*, a treatise on the recitational mistakes of Quranic readers<sup>82</sup> and *Uṣūl al-dīn*. He prefaced the latter brief creed with the definition of who *Ahl al-Sunna wal-Jamā’a* are and who they are not, which he goes on to detail with a survey of non-Sunni sects and positions in the heresiographical tradition of his predecessors and epigones. He forwards the majority position that human languages are divinely-ordained at their origin then man-made (*iṣṭilāḥiyya*) at a later stage.<sup>83</sup> Among his important refutations of the Mu’tazila, Qadariyya, Jabriyya and Jahmiyya (in which he echoes al-Ash‘arī’s position and is followed in turn by ‘Alā’ al-Dīn al-Usmadī, Nūr al-Dīn al-Ṣābūnī, and Rukn al-Dīn al-Samarqandī) are those of (i) *tawlīd* or *tawallud*—the position that agents generate or engender (*wallada*) acts in other than themselves, whereas in Sunnism such agents do so only superficially, according to established divine custom (*āda/sunnat Allāh*), and only Allah is the effective doer—neither *generation* nor *nature*;<sup>84</sup> and (ii) the position that non-existents are actual entities, which is tantamount to asserting the eternity of the world.<sup>85</sup> Linss’s edition has a reduplicative discussion of *īmān* being indissociably the same as *islām* (on p. 157 and p. 228) with Pazdawī’s attribution of the dissociative position to the Mu’tazila and Rawāfiḍ exclusively; in reality the dissociative position is also that of Ash‘arīs and, arguably, that of the majority of *Ahl al-Sunna*.<sup>86</sup> *Uṣūl al-dīn* covers the following topics:

82 See also the same-titled work by ‘Umar al-Nasafī below.

83 On this issue see al-Rāzī, *al-Maḥṣūl fī ‘Ilm Uṣūl al-Fiqh*, ed. Ṭaha Jābir al-‘Alwānī, 2nd ed., 6 vols. (Beirut: Mu’assasat al-Risāla, 1992), 1:181–183; al-Ghazālī, *al-Mustasfā min ‘Ilm al-Uṣūl*, ed. Ḥamza Zuhayr al-Ḥāfiẓ, 4 vols. (Medina: al-Jāmi‘a al-Islāmiyya, 1413/1993), 3:7–11; Shawkānī, *Irshād al-fuḥūl ilā taḥqīq al-ḥaqq min ‘ilm al-uṣūl*, ed. Sha‘bān Muḥammad Ismā‘īl, 2 vols. (Cairo: Dār al-Kutbī, 1992), 1:69–70.

84 Cf. Daniel Gimaret, *La doctrine d’al-Ash‘arī* (Paris: Cerf, 1990), pp. 401–409.

85 Cf. Gimaret, *Doctrine*, pp. 29–32.

86 See Ibn Ḥajar’s extensive commentary on the hadith of Jibril translated in full in Gibril Fouad Haddad, *Sunna Notes III: The Binding Proof of the Sunna* (Birmingham: al-Qur’an wal-Sunna Association, 2010), pp. 149–202.