

I-Juwayriya: his name was 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. 'Imrān and he was a Kufan living in Medina,³ which is all we know about him. We do, however, know a certain Abū I-Ḥuwayrith or Abū I-Ḥuwayritha⁴ whom Abū Dāwūd also listed among the "Murji'ites of Medina" and of whom Mālik did not approve; his name was 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mu'āwiya.⁵ The *kunya* may simply have been misread.⁶ It is furthermore not entirely true that no Murji'ites at all studied under Mālik,⁷ but we can still say that their school did not have very many followers in Medina.⁸

4.1.2.3 The Qadarites

The Qadariyya, on the other hand, had been established in the city for some time, and was reasonably well-respected. Ṣāliḥ b. Qaysān, who had taught 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz' sons when he was governor, as well as supervising the construction of the prophet's mosque, was said to have had ties to it.¹ He praised Ibn al-Ash'ath's followers for the courage they had shown at Dayr al-Jamājim;² in an account of the conquest of Ḥira he displayed the kind of egalitarian pathos expected of a client.³ When Ghaylān al-Dimashqī accompanied the caliph Hishām on the pilgrimage in 106/725, he and Rabī'at al-ra'y were said to have had a debate in Medina.⁴ According to the account by Mālik, after the end of the debate Sa'd b. Ibrāhīm, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf's grandson who held the office of *qāḍī* in the city at the time,⁵ obtained the notes of Ghaylān's

3 Dawlābī I 139, 8ff.

4 Regarding the latter form cf. Fasawī II 644, 12, and Dawlābī I 161, 2 (which has Abū I-Ḥuwayriya instead).

5 TT VI 272f. no. 539; regarding him cf. also 'Uqaylī, *Du'afā'* II 344f. no. 945, and *Mizān* no. 4979.

6 He is, however, believed to have died as early as 128/746 or 130/748 (TT, loc. cit.).

7 Cf. vol. I 159.

8 I do not know who the Murji'ite Ibn Abī Dāwūd was of whom Sufyān b. 'Uyayna warned ('Uqaylī, *Du'afā'* I 62, 3f.).

1 TT IV 399, 4f. and TH 148, pu.; Ṭabarī II 1193, 15ff. Regarding his Qadarism cf. Ka'bī 80, 10ff. > *Faḍl* 336, 7 > IM 134, 8; Suyūfī, *Tadrib* I 329, 1; *Mizān* no. 3823 (where the suspicion is rejected). According to Fasawī I 568, 6ff., he had already been 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz' own tutor. For more information see TTD VI 378.

2 Ṭabarī II 1092, 1ff.

3 Ibid. I 2016, 15ff. and 2017, 9ff.; cf. also Abū Bakr's speech transmitted by him, which he was said to have given on his deathbed (I 2139, 6ff.).

4 In more detail *Anfänge* 204ff. Regarding the date cf. ibid. 225; Hishām was in Medina during Muḥarram/May 725.

5 Waki' I 150ff.: from 104/722 onwards with interruptions until his death in 127/745 (thus according to Waki' I 164, 2f.) or 128/746 (thus after Khalifa, *Ta'rikh* 577, 9).

(207/822), showed his rejection of determinism in his *Ma'ānī al-Qur'ān*.³⁰ He was known to be favourably inclined towards the Mu'tazila;³¹ he was the tutor of Ma'mūn's two sons. When dictating he used "philosophical" terminology,³² but he had no talent for dialectical debate (*kalām*).³³

2.2.2.2 Qadariyya and Asceticism

However influential Ḥasan al-Baṣrī was, it is not possible to see him as the ancestor of the Qadariyya. While it would be problematic to look beyond him further into the past, there are others besides him who, although slightly younger, probably did not learn their Qadarite creed from him. The ideal of piety they adhered to also differed from his in some ways. They did share his trend to individualisation, but they ventured further forward: some to a personal love of God, others to ostentatious "monkishness" that was a slap in the face of bourgeois lifestyle, and sometimes also of pietistic devoutness.

In Basra in particular early signs of this development could be observed. During 'Uthmān's caliphate, 'Āmir b. 'Abd (al-)Qays al-'Anbarī – still a young man at the time¹ – had been posted to the Syrian military district under Mu'āwiya because he refused to get married and was alleged to stay away from Friday prayers.² The governor may have feared that the defensive capability of the only recently established army camp might be compromised, for 'Āmir was by no means the only one,³ and his tribe was very powerful.⁴ He had another quirk as well: he did not eat meat or dairy products, unless they came from

n. 3; regarding his nickname "the werewolf" cf. Ullmann in: WZKM 68/1976/171ff., esp. p. 179. General information in GAS 8/61ff. and 9/64ff.

30 In detail Abū Zayd, *Al-ittijāh al-'aqlī* 156ff.; also Beck in: Muséon 65/1951/187ff. Concerning the work cf. Cerrahoğlu, *Tefsir tarihi* I 279ff.

31 Qiftī, *Inbāh* IV 7, ult. He lived very close to Bishr al-Marīsī (regarding him see ch. C 2.4.1 below), but they did not influence one another (*ibid.* 8, 3f.).

32 Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* 73, 18f.

33 Regarding him R. Blachère in EI² II 806ff.; GAS 8/123ff. and 9/131ff.

1 Despite the early date he was counted among the *tābi'un*, e.g. by Ibn Sa'd. His father appears to have converted to Islam but continued to be called 'Abdqays all the same (IS VII, 76 pu.). Biographical works on the *ṣaḥāba* do not mention him.

2 IS VII, 75, 4ff. and 21ff.; 77, 22ff.; 60, 23f.

3 *Ibid.* 78, 16, and 79, 14ff.

4 Regarding the Banū l-'Anbar see p. 178f. below; concerning the genealogy cf. Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamhara* 208, 12ff. and 2f.

One of Wahb's pupils named Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. al-Hayṣam b. Muḥammad al-Baghdādī composed a *K. al-mustaḍīr* one chapter of which is extant in the MS Selimağa 587, fol. 176a–177b; it concerns ‘Uzayr.

Ka‘bī’s counting Wahb among the Qadarites was based on Jāḥiẓ; presumably his *K. al-amṣār*. Besides Wahb Jāḥiẓ also listed his brother Hammām b. Munabbih (*Maq.* 85, 4f. > *Faḍl* 338, 16ff. > IM 135, 12ff.). However, it is not possible to put this information in more concrete terms. Some of the hadiths found in his extant *ṣaḥīfa* would later be drawn into the *qadar* debate (cf. HT 57f.), but this does not mean that he himself occupied a firm standpoint. The hadiths under discussion allowed different interpretations (e.g. the examples *ibid.* p. 101ff., p. 163, p. 99, and even p. 90), and the fundamental question to be asked would be whether material someone transmitted always had to reflect that person’s own position. As we know, several divergent dates were transmitted for Hammām’s death (GAS 1/86). However, the records of a later date, between 131/749 and 133/751, are more probable; according to a remark by Wahb’s great-nephew Ghawth b. Jābir b. Ghaylān b. Munabbih Wahb was the eldest of four brothers, and thus not younger than Hammām, as claimed by Ibn Sa‘d (cf. Ibn Ḥanbal, *Tal* 400, –5, and IS v 396, 8ff.; also Fasawī II 30, 2f.; Marzubānī, *Nūr al-qabas* 351, 8ff., according to which Hammām was the last of the brothers to die). The first Abbasid governor in Ṣan‘ā’ was said to have said the prayer of the dead over him (*Ta’rīkh Ṣan‘ā’* 421, 2ff.).

4.2.1.1 The Qadarites

The fundamental question to be asked when Wahb is described as a Qadarite is of course whether this is indeed a judgment on his person, or whether it relies mainly on the texts and traditions attributed to him. It is more than probable that, similar to the circle around Ibn Abī Najīḥ in Mecca, it is inferred mostly from this material, and consequently depends on its authenticity which, in fact, is anything but assured. The majority of Khoury’s studies ran aground amid uncritical collector’s zeal. The counter-traditions mentioned initially may well be directed against a personality who could already be a purely literary image. In that case they might have to be dated slightly later; they are probably not authentic in any case. Even so there are reasons why we should not embark on radical scepticism. We hear that according to Mu‘tazilite tradition Wāṣil’s messenger to Yemen met with interest among certain of Wahb b. Munabbih’s followers, who recruited themselves from among the *abnā’*.¹ The movement appears to have collapsed even before the Abbasid revolution; thus this is unlikely to be an image of history thought up by later Yemeni Mu‘tazilites. Much

¹ See p. 354f. above.

elsewhere the prophet is quoted as saying the astonishing words 'I do not know whether Ezra was a prophet or not, whether Tubba' is cursed or not, and whether a *ḥadd* punishment expiates the sinner ('s respective crime) (in the afterlife) or not'.¹¹¹ In his old age Ibn Abī Dhī'b regretted having developed an interest in hadith not until comparatively late, having been a genealogist in his youth.¹¹²

His piousness and scrupulousness ensured him a place in Ibn al-Jawzī's *Şifat al-şafwa*.¹¹³ Like many others at that time he fasted on alternate days.¹¹⁴ He wore the same clothes in summer and in winter;¹¹⁵ he did not dye his hair in his old age.¹¹⁶ In the house his family owned on the "rock" (*şafā*) in Mecca, he collected the rent himself.¹¹⁷ The image is probably, as, indeed, it always is, idealised, but it goes back to one of his brothers.

We know two of them by name: Mughīra (TB II 296, 17) and Ḥārith (Ibn Ḥanbal, *Ṭal* 264, 6f.). Two whole centuries after his death Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh al-Raba'ī (d. 379/989) wrote about him in Damascus; these *Akhbār Ibn Abī Dhī'b* are preserved on three folia in a collective manuscript in the Zāhiriyya (GAS 1/203). Regarding him cf. also A. Yaḥyābādī in GIE II 651f.

4.1.2.3.2 *Later Developments. Resistance against the Qadariyya*

It was probably not only due to the tangled political situation that the mood in the city gradually turned against the Qadariyya. Unlike in Mecca there had always been active opposition against the Qadarites. The early Quranic commentator Muḥammad b. Ka'b al-Qurazī (d. between 108/726 and 120/738), a *qāşş* and descendant of two formerly Jewish tribes in Medina, the Qurayza and the Naḍir, appears to have embraced the predestinarian exegesis.¹ In Medina, the idea that Adam's sin had been written before creation and was consequently

111 Bukhārī I, 152f. no. 455. This is a tendentious tradition against hadiths like those collected by Ibn Māja, Tirmidhī and Dārimī under the heading of *al-ḥadd kaffāra* (*Conc.* VI 38a). Regarding the problem see p. 669 above.

112 TB II 302, 4ff.

113 *Şifa* II 98f.

114 TB II 301, 21ff.; also p. 407 above.

115 *Ibid.* II 302, 3f.

116 TH 192, 5f.

117 *Ibid.* 192, 5. He probably had no intention of offering it rent free during the pilgrimage (see p. 718 above).

1 HT 59 and 82f. Of course, Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya's *quaestiones* should also be mentioned in this context because of their nearly purely exegetic content. Zayd b. 'Alī