

a meaningful presence in the *imaginaire* of Jewish authors in twelfth-century al-Andalus.<sup>58</sup>

Notwithstanding the animosity between Karaites and Rabbanites, ties between the Iberian Jewish community and the Karaites of Jerusalem bore some fruitful intellectual exchange. Because of their scripturalist approach, the Karaites gained a reputation as experts in Hebrew linguistics, and thus the Hebrew grammar of the Jerusalem Karaite Abū'l-Faraj Hārūn was imported from Palestine by a certain Jacob, a scribe from León, who had copied it in his own hand. Despite his provenance from the north of the peninsula, we do not know whether this Jacob was a Karaite. But the book itself is used (with a pointed dissimulation of its author's name) by the Rabbanite grammarian Ibn Janāh (d. 1055).<sup>59</sup> In the eleventh century, a certain Abū'l-Ṭaras was sent by the Andalusian Karaite community to the intellectually vibrant Karaite community in Jerusalem. When he returned to al-Andalus, Abū'l-Ṭaras brought with him theological books. Ibn Daud mentions specifically the books of Yeshu'ah ben Yehuda, a prolific and influential Karaite theologian, exegete, and linguist who (like other Karaites) was a staunch follower of the Mu'tazila. Yeshu'ah's books contain lengthy citations of works by the Muslim masters of the school, and it is entirely possible that this emissary, or later ones, also brought with them copies of works by the Muslim masters.

The Karaite community of al-Andalus provides a definite link that can explain the introduction of a substantial body of Mu'tazilite books and ideas to al-Andalus, which became present not just as floating notions or anxious rumors but as full-fledged works containing coherent teachings.<sup>60</sup> This corpus is not likely to have remained confined to the Karaite community. As we have already seen, while the circulation of suspect books among the Muslims of al-Andalus was periodically checked and censored, these restrictions were never enforced in the Jewish community. Once books found their way into the libraries of Jewish intellectuals, they came within reach of Muslim intellectuals as well.<sup>61</sup> This was true in the East as well as in the West, so that Muslim Andalusian scholars traveling in the East could become acquainted with the Mu'tazila not only within their own Muslim milieu, but also through meetings with Jews, and in

58. Cf. Lasker, "Judah Halevi and Karaism," 117.

59. Ibn Janāh refers to the book as "kalām li-rajul muqaddasi lā usammīhi"; see *Kitāb al-Lumā'*, 322–23; *Sefer ha-Riqmah*, 338 and note 5; Ashtor, *The Jews of Moslem Spain*, 4.

60. See also Schwarb, "Mu'tazilism in the Age of Averroes," 280–81.

61. See Stroumsa, "Thinkers of 'This Peninsula'"; and see chapter 1.

particular with Karaites.<sup>62</sup> Furthermore, unlike the Rabbanites (who typically wrote Arabic in Hebrew characters), Karaites usually wrote in Arabic characters, which made their books quite accessible to Muslims.

Therefore, and notwithstanding the implications of Averroes's claim to the contrary, original Mu'tazilite works must have become obtainable to Muslims in twelfth-century al-Andalus.<sup>63</sup> Mu'tazilite commentaries on the Qur'ān were not likely to have been a first choice for Jews, either Karaites or Rabbanites, who brought books to the peninsula. But other Mu'tazilite works were part of the broader Andalusian Jewish library, and the Mu'tazilite trademark ideas—free will, human accountability (which includes such topics as human agency or the denial of intercession), and the denial of God's corporeality—could thus have been at hand for Muslims in the region; at least, they were close enough to explain the persistent existence of the Mu'tazilite phantom.

### ZĀHIRĪS

As two movements that reject part of what their coreligionists consider to be a sacred tradition, Zāhirism is sometimes presented as a Muslim equivalent to Karaism. In his examination of the two groups, however, Ignác Goldziher concluded that "it would not be easy to find a more pronounced opposition than the one which exists between the principles of these two schools." Whereas the Zāhirites reject the use of reasoning (*qiyās*) in legal matters, the Karaites rely on it heavily.<sup>64</sup> Indeed, the Zāhirites rejected the use of *qiyās* categorically, and relied on the two primary sources, the Qur'ān and the *ḥadīth*.<sup>65</sup> The Karaites, by contrast, who denied the authority of the Rabbinic oral tradition, had to find another mechanism to bridge the gap (chronological as well as conceptual) between the Bible and contemporaneous readers. Turning to reasoning in both legal matters and theology, they enthusiastically adopted Mu'tazilite *kalām*. Whereas Karaism was a scripturalist movement, Zāhirism was a decidedly literalist one.<sup>66</sup>

62. Thus, for example, Ibn al-'Arabī, who visited Jerusalem in 485/1092, met there a representative of the renowned Jewish Tustarī family, who were deeply immersed in Mu'tazilism, and discussed doctrinal issues with him; see Schwarb, "Sahl b. al-Faḍl al-Tustarī's *Kitāb al-Imā'*," 67\*–71\*; Schmidtko, "Ibn Ḥazm's Sources on Ash'arism and Mu'tazilism," 382, note 40.

63. See chapter 2, note 40.

64. Goldziher, "Mélanges judéo-arabes IV: Caraites et Zahirites," esp. 6.

65. See Goldziher, *The Zāhiris*, 27–30; Hallaq, *A History of Islamic Legal Theories*, 32.

66. On the possible connections between early (Mu'tazilite or Khārijite) Islam with

Zahiriyce

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