Classical Islamic Theology: The Ashʿarites. Texts and Studies on the Development and History of Kalām. Vol. III. By Richard M. Frank. Edited by Dimitri Gutas. Variorum Collected Studies Series. Burlington V.T and Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008. Pp. 428 + x. £77.50.00.

The work under review represents the third and final volume of the collected papers of the distinguished academic Richard M. Frank as published in the Variorum Collected Studies Series. While the two previous volumes included articles which principally focused on the discipline of *kalām* through reference to the subjects of philosophy, mysticism, and formative aspects of theology, this volume is pre-eminently devoted to Frank's work on the Ashʿarīs and the classical forms of scholarship and thought with which this school of theology is formally associated. Frank was of the view that the Ashʿarī school, together with its brand of systematic theology, was far more important to the history of Sunnī theology than the other intellectual traditions linked with early and classical *kalām*; indeed, much of his later research is devoted to exploring the legacy of the Ashʿarīs, although other connected areas of theological thought are the subject of studies included in this volume. Interestingly, in his introduction to this collection Dimitri Gutas, who edited all three volumes, makes the point that the question of 'the development of philosophical thought after Avicenna and its relation to *kalām*, just like its correlative, the philosophical turn of *kalām* after al-Ghazālī's "Avicennization" of it (as set forth in Frank's pioneering studies), are taking centre stage in contemporary research', adding that 'in all likelihood will occupy it for the rest of this century'. Gutas makes the critical observation that Frank's findings in these areas, together with the methodological orientations set out in his work, will undoubtedly inform future research in the field; few would disagree with this sentiment and the profusion of recent works devoted to exploring the issues adumbrated by Frank's work serves as testimony to the relevance of Gutas' statement.[1]

The collection opens with a contribution entitled 'Hearing and Saying What Was Said' (1996, 'Article I'), which was delivered as Frank's presidential address to the 206th meeting of the American Oriental Society and deals with technicalities surrounding the translation of theological texts into a European language. A fascinating account of the beginnings of Frank's own engagement with Islamic philosophical and theological texts is used to draw attention to misapprehensions among certain academic scholars regarding the nature of Islamic theology and the fact that it was often assumed that 'the *mutakallimūn* were not only intellectually, but also religiously, a rather plebeian lot' (p. 3). However, Frank points out that in attempting to explore the constructs and concepts of *kalām*, scholars were often hampered by assumptions they made with regard to the import of key technical

words and their historical provenance as philosophical terms; this approach undoubtedly distorted perceptions apropos their unique import within the discipline of theology. Referring to Heidegger's statement: 'die Sprache ist das Haus des Seins; in ihrer Behausung wohnt der Mensch' ('language is being's house; man is lodged in its domicile'), Frank emphasises how living speech inexorably defines one's comprehension of language; and that it is important to engage with and appreciate this living speech when dealing with the language of theology (p. 4). Much of this address deals with outlining perceived problems associated with broaching the language and texts of *kalām* when studying and translating its literary legacy, including the range of 'practical and procedural hazards' which confront scholars. Thus, for example, he remarks that 'sometimes the Arabic terms stand foremost in his mind in such a way that he (the translator) may neglect thoroughly to scrutinize those (terms) he employs to represent them'. He adds that in contrast, when accounting for and explaining a text, there exists a measure of 'freedom to elaborate explanations with restrictions and qualifications concerning terms and theoretical assertions', although no such license is available when dealing with translations: for the translator should present 'these sentences with their key terms there in place as given'. Frank insists that claims to produce '"literal translation" are both fanciful or naïve, as such a thing, rigorously undertaken, tends as it must to be a kind of code for the Arabic "plain text" in its original form'. He muses that such efforts are hardly required by those who can read the original materials, while for those who cannot, they are 'awkward in expression, abstruse and obscure and pregnant with semantic confusion'; hence the need for the constant improvement, revision, and refinement of one's efforts in the area of translation. The upshot is that only through a circumspect gauging of the living 'discourse' of the theologians, can the conceptual sophistication of their theoretical arguments and ideas be properly appreciated (pp. 12–13).[2] This somewhat reflective address is followed by an article examining 'The Science of *Kalām*' (1992, 'Article II') which represents one of the most important academic studies of the theoretical function of theology and in it Frank scrutinises the essential form of Sunnī *kalām* in terms of its form and character. The aim is to demonstrate how classical Muslim scholarship used the discipline of *kalām* to provide a rational foundation and platform for the rigorous defence of the fundamental doctrines of Islam (*uṣūl al-dīn*).

While the first two articles in this collection deal with broader theological issues, the rest of the volume pores over more specific aspects of the Islamic experiment with *kalām*. Reflecting this detailed focus, the area of ethical reasoning in *kalām* is the subject of a brief article on 'Moral Obligation in Classical Muslim Theology' (1983, 'Article III'). Characteristically, the Muʿtazilīs upheld the primacy of human reason as the pre-eminent arbiter of ethical judgement, whereas the Ashʿarīs espoused the view that revelation provides the crucial basis of moral judgement. This article draws attention to the stark contrasts separating Basran Muʿtazilī and Ashʿarī conceptions

of the ethical value of human actions and the role of man as a moral agent. Frank explains that the practical thrust of Ashʿarī thinking with regards to the agency of human actions is encapsulated in their view that although 'God wills that sin and unbelief exist (otherwise they would not exist), He has nevertheless forbidden them, so that they are not ethically right.[3] We may not therefore acquiesce in or approve (*raḍiya*) of them insofar as they occur as performances of human agents'. And this last point is critical to the Ashʿarī view that the servant should strive to ensure that his actions conformed 'not to the will of his Lord but to His command'. A quotation attributed to the celebrated ascetic Abū Saʿīd al-Kharrāz (d. 286/899) is included to highlight this underlying ethos: 'Whoever is of the opinion that he will achieve what he seeks by the exertion of much effort labours in vain; whoever is of the opinion that he will achieve it without effort longs for what will not be'.

The subject of 'Can God Do What is Wrong?' (1985, 'Article IV'), with reference to actions and the possibility of acting in Muʿtazilī thought, is the focus of a brief study which was originally published in the monograph on *Divine Omniscience and Omnipotence in Medieval Philosophy*, edited by Tamar Rudavsky, to which Frank contributed. The article compares al-Naẓẓām's view on this issue with those expressed by his Basran cohorts. Significantly, a study discussing 'Wrongdoing and Divine Omnipotence in the Theology of Abū Isḥāq an-Naẓẓām' by Joseph van Ess also appeared in the same work, and in his article Frank followed up some of the themes touched upon in van Ess' essay.[4] In the article entitled 'Attribute, Attribution, and Being: Three Islamic Views' (1985, 'Article V'), Frank provides a schematic outline of the structure of the ontological thinking of three prominent theologians who, he argues, 'gave definitive form to the two schools of *kalām* which came to be predominant for Sunnī *kalām* in the tenth and eleventh centuries', namely: al-Jubbāʾī (d. 303/915), Abū Hāshim b. al-Jubbāʾī (d. 321/933), and Abū'l-Ḥasan al-Ashʿarī (d. 324/935). The study is important for discussions on the relationship between the name and the thing named (*nomen* and *nominatum*) and links in with Frank's detailed monograph, *Beings and their Attributes: The Teaching of the Basrian School of the Muʿtazila in the Classical Period*. With regards to the *nomen* and *nominatum*, there existed intricate discussions among theologians concerning the formal distinction between the process of naming (*tasmiyya*) and its relationship to the actual name (*ism*).[5] Intriguingly, also identified in this article are aspects of the influence of grammatical thought upon the various strands of Basran theological abstraction.

The efficacy of human agency is returned to in an article on 'Two Islamic Views of Human Agency' (1983, 'Article VI'), and in this paper the question of freedom and determinism is briefly considered within the confines of Ashʿarī and Muʿtazilī treatments of the subject. This is followed by a contribution focusing on 'Knowledge and *Taqlīd*: The Foundations of Religious Belief in Classical Ashʿarism' (1989,

'Article VII'), which deals with the area of religious assent and the cognitive status of *taqlīd* as discussed by al-Ashʿarī and later adherents of the Ashʿarī school. Theological discussions relating to the philosophical issue of the non-existent and non-actual and of the possible, as featured in the works of later Ashʿarī cynosures, are discussed in the detailed study on 'The Non-Existent and the Possible in Classical Ashʿarite Teaching' (2000, ''Article VIII'). The Ashʿarīs argued that the 'existent is an entity that has actuality in being', whereas conversely they posited that 'non-existence is an unqualified negative; the non-existent is non-actual in every respect'.[6] The article demonstrates that there is a profound sophistication which underpins the Ashʿarīs' treatment and understanding of these topics. 'The Ashʿarite Ontology: I Primary Entities' (1999, 'Article IX') examines classical Ashʿarī teachings with regard to their basic metaphysical theses, including discussions on atoms, accidents, being, and the divine attributes, all of which are subjected to detailed theological and lexicographical analysis. Frank states that the broaching of such issues will bring to the fore 'certain important features of the Ashʿarite theology in its being, like that of al-Jubbāʾī and his Muʿtazilite followers, a Muslim science originally thought out and elaborated in Arabic with no commitment to and little or no direct influence of prior, non-Muslim traditions'. Some of the key epistemological and suppositional differences which distinguished Ashʿarī *kalām* from the brands of theological thought espoused by leading Ḥanbalī and Muʿtazilī luminaries are methodically documented. Remaining with the topic of actually existent entities, the ensuing contribution in this collection is devoted to the subject of 'Bodies and Atoms: The Ashʿarite Analysis' (1984, 'Article X'). It analyses nuances inherent in the Ashʿarī theologians' conceptual division of the world into atoms and accidents, with the former having volume and occupying space and the latter 'being the entitative property that subsists in the atom'. Such conceptions are linked to the axiomatic notion within Ashʿarism that substances (*jawāhir*) have no capacity for infinite endurance (*baqāʾ*) but rather it is God who sustains their existence by His creation of accidents. The main thrust of this article is to show that despite resorting to a variegated terminology, these theologians were keen to maintain the 'logical coherence of their reasoning' in their elaboration of such topics.

Among the more recent contributions included in this collection is a paper which was published in 2004 and deals with 'Al-Aḥkām in Classical Ashʿarite Teaching' (2004, 'Article XI'). In it Frank seeks to establish Ashʿarī luminaries' use of the term *ḥukm* within ontological contexts, analysing characteristic examples of formal reasoning employed by Ashʿarīs, although some aspects of the material explored in this paper were previously examined in Frank's study of primary entities. The subject-area of the next article shifts momentarily away from the Ashʿarīs to the theology associated with Abū Manṣūr al-Māturīdī (d. 333/944), who has recently been the focus of a number of important monographs.[7] This article is one of Frank's earlier pieces included in this collection, offering a brief review of al-Māturīdī's

views on ṭabāʾiʿ ('natures of the material constituents of bodies') and is entitled 'Notes and Remarks on the Ṭabāʾiʿ in the Teaching of al-Māturīdī' (1974, 'Article XII'). The article concludes that al-Māturīdī's thought shows a 'unique mix of elements and attitudes' but that he appears less rigid in his speculative thought when compared with a figure such as al-Ashʿarī, who set out to demonstrate that his 'speculative system was founded, and in all matters validated through, the traditionally authenticated sources'. Maturīdī was of the view that man did not require revelation to instruct him as to what is good and evil; what is beautiful and what is repugnant. He admitted that good and evil were defined by their intrinsic natures: evil was evil in itself and not because God stated so. All acts are willed by God, however, 'evil does not occur with the pleasure of God'.[8]

The penultimate article in this collection is a study entitled 'The Autonomy of the Human Agent in the Teaching of ʿAbd al-Jabbār' (1982, 'Article XIII'). It examines the nature and character of human agency as deliberated upon in classical Muʿtazilī thought, painstakingly fleshing out teachings on key themes such as human autonomy; actions; the agent's ability to act; volition; motivation; and the issue of the consequences of intentional and non-intentional acts. Referring to the significance of Daniel Gimaret's work on the subject (*Théories de l'acte humain en théologie musulmane*), Frank makes the point in this article that Gimaret's study had brought into relief the real complexity of the Basran teaching on human autonomy; and this very fact necessitates that the thesis which claims that the Muʿtazilīs 'taught a doctrine of unconditioned free will' requires qualification. Interestingly, Gimaret had also maintained that 'an extreme diversity of people and doctrines' is a feature of early Muʿtazilism.[9] Returning to the work of the Ashʿarī luminaries, the final article in this third volume presents an edited version of an untitled tract on faith by Abū Isḥāq al-Isfarāʾīnī (d. 418/1027) entitled: 'Al-Ustādh Abū Isḥāq: An *Aqīda* together With Selected Fragments' (1989, 'Article XIV'). Abū Isḥāq al-Isfarāʾīnī is described as being one of the most 'important and influential Ashʿarite theologians' of his age and the text itself is defined as serving as a kind of catechism of basic dogmas which 'should be taught to children when they reach the age of understanding'. The tract and the fragments are collectively used to weigh up features of al-Isfarāʾīnī's theology. Frank has also appended a plethora of notes to the edited work.[10] It should be noted that two short editions and translations of Ashʿarī theological tracts by the mystic Abūʾl-Qāsim al-Qushayrī (d. 465/1074) entitled *Lumaʿ fiʾl-Iʿtiqād* and *al-Fuṣūl fiʾl-uṣūl* (published in 1983) were included in the previous collection of Frank's papers (vol. 2).

The collected papers of Richard Frank will serve as an indispensable source for the academic study of classical Ashʿarism and a point of reference for analyses of the general development of Islamic theological thought. Replete with insights, the range of issues covered by his written legacy, together with the intellectual rigour and

authority with which these are tackled, is unlikely to be easily matched in Western academic scholarship. His distinct contribution to the study of Ashʿarism and the Muslim experiment with *kalām* has succeeded in drawing attention not only to the theoretical sophistication of the discipline, but also the vast wealth of materials which the subject has to offer researchers. Moreover, Frank was always keen to revisit and even qualify, where appropriate, aspects of his work in his quest to ensure that the scholarly integrity and nuances of the original discourse were captured and preserved. This very fact confirms not only the importance of this particular collection of his published articles, but also underlines the genuine nature of his quest to accomplish a genuine grasp of the materials he covered.

MUSTAFA SHAH

NOTES

1 The seminal study in this respect would be Richard Frank's *Creation and the Cosmic System: al-Ghazālī and Avicenna* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, Universitätsverlag, 1992) and also his 'Ghazālī's Use of Avicenna's Philosophy', *Revue des Etudes Islamiques* 57 (1989), pp. 274–75; Robert Wisnovsky, 'One Aspect of the Avicennian Turn in Sunnī Theology', *Arabic Sciences and Philosophy* 14:1 (2004), pp. 65–100. Also, see Michael Marmura, 'Ghazālī and 'Ashʿarism Revisited', *Arabic Sciences and Philosophy* 12 (2002), pp. 91–110; Richard Frank, *Al-Ghazālī and the Ashʿarite School* (London: Duke University Press, 1994); and Frank Griffel, *Al-Ghazālī's Philosophical Theology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009). It is also worth considering in this context Ibn Taymiyya's own observations with regards to the influence exerted by Avicenna on al-Ghazālī; Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm b. Taymiyya's *Majmūʿ Fatāwā shaykh al-Islam*, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Qāsim (30 vols. Riyadh; n.p. , 1381–4/1961–7). Some indication of the latest interests in the field is provided in Tim Winter (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Classical Islamic Theology* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008). In this work see Hossein Ziai's article on 'Islamic Philosophy (*falsafa*)' at pp. 55–76. Also see Ayman Shihadeh, 'From al-Ghazālī to al-Rāzī: 6th/12th Century Developments in Muslim Philosophical Theology', *Arabic Sciences and Philosophy* 15:1 (2005), pp. 141–79; Rahim Acar, 'Reconsidering Avicenna's Position on God's Knowledge of Particulars' in Jon McGinnis and David Reisman (eds), *Interpreting Avicenna: Science and Philosophy in Medieval Islam* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2004), pp. 142–56; Paul Walker, 'Platonisms in Islamic Philosophy', *Studia Islamica* 79 (1994:), pp. 5–25; and Kees Versteegh, 'The Definition of Philosophy in a Tenth-Century Grammarian', *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 12 (1989), pp. 66–85. See also the sections on Islamic philosophers in David E. Cooper and Peter S. Fosl (eds), *Philosophy: The Classical Readings* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010); Richard Frank, 'Reason and Revealed Law: A Sample of Parallels and Divergences in *Kalām* and *falsafa*' in *Recherches d'Islamologie: recueil d'articles offert à Georges C. Anawati et Louis Gardet* (Louvain: Peeters, 1978), pp. 123–38; R. Arnzen and J. Thielmann, *Words, Texts, and Concepts Cruising the Mediterannean Sea: Studies on the Sources, Contents, and Influences of Arabic Philosophy and Science. Dedicated to Gerhard Endress on his 65th birthday* (Paris, Leuven and Dudley: Peeters, 2004).

2 A similar range of arguments was made by Michael Carter regarding the use of the Latinate-Greco grammatical terminology when dealing with Arabic syntactic concepts. For example, this is discussed in Lutz Edzard's 'Principles Behind the New Revised Edition of Brünnow and Fischer's *Arabische Chrestomathie:* A Tribute to the Scholarly Methods of Michael G. Carter', *Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies* 8 (2008), pp. 71–83; and Michael Carter,

Sībawayhi (London and New York: Oxford University Press and I.B. Tauris, 2004), pp. 143–4. Somewhat relevant is Michael Carter, 'Predication Tests, Copula and a Possible Link with Ashʿarism' in A. Fodor (ed.), *Proceedings of the 14th Congress of the Union Europeenne des Arabisants et Islamisants. The Arabist*, Budapest Studies in Arabic, 13–14 (PUBLICATION DETAILS, 1995), pp. 23–36; and Michael Carter, 'Analogical and Syllogistic Reasoning in Grammar and Law' in P.G. Riddell and Tony Street (eds), *Islam: Essays on Scripture, Thought, and Society: A Festschrift in Honour of Anthony H. Johns*, Islamic Philosophy, Theology and Science: Texts and Studies, 28 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), pp. 104–12. See also the articles in Ramzi Baalbaki (ed.), *The Early Islamic Grammatical Tradition*, The Formation of the Classical Islamic World Series (Aldershot: Ashgate, Variorum, 2007).

3 Frank does refer his reader to the works of George Hourani on Islamic ethics which were published at the time this particular article was written, but it is worth highlighting the recent monograph of Sophia Vasalou: *Wrongdoing and Moral Agents and their Deserts: The Character of Muʾtazilite Ethics* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2008), a text which recently won the 2009 Albert Hourani Book Award, a remarkable achievement. See also Majid Fakhry, *Ethical Theories in Islam* (Leiden: Brill, 1994); George Hourani, *Reason and Tradition in Islamic Ethics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); as well as his 'The Rationalist Ethics of ʿAbd al-Jabbār' in S. Stern (ed.), *Islamic Philosophy and the Classical Tradition, Festschrift for Richard Walzer* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972), pp. 105–15; and Ayman Shihadeh, *Teleleological Ethics of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī* (Leiden: Brill, 2006).

4 Joseph van Ess, 'Wrongdoing and Divine Omnipotence in the Theology of Abū Isḥāq an-Naẓẓām' in T. Rudavsky (ed.), *Divine Omniscience and Omnipotence in Medieval Philosophy* (Dordrecht: D. Reidel, 1985), pp. 53–67; cf. Joseph van Ess, *Theology and Science: The Case of Abū Isḥāq an-Naẓẓām* (Ann Arbour: University of Michigan, 1979).

5 Richard Frank, *Beings and Their Attributes: The Teaching of the Basrian School of the Muʿtazila in the Classical Period* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1978); cf. David Burrell and N. Daher, *Al-Ghazālī: The Ninety-Nine Beautiful Names of God. A Translation of al-Maqṣad al-asnā fī sharḥ asmāʾ Allāh al-ḥusnā*, 6th edn (Cambridge: Islamic Texts Society, 2004). See also the edited text prepared by Jamal Elamrani, 'La question du nom et du nomme (*al-ism waʾl-musammā*) entre la dialectique et la grammaire: à propos d'une epitre d'al-Baṭalyusī', *Zeitschrift für Arabische Linguistik* 15 (1985), pp. 80–93; Daniel Gimaret, *Les noms divins en Islam: exégèse lexicographique et théologique* (Paris: Les editions du Cerf., 1988). Other related studies on this topic include Sophia Vasalou, 'Their Intention was Shown by Their Bodily Movements: The Basran Muʿtazilites on the Institution of Language', *Journal of the History of Philosophy* 47 (2009), pp. 201–21; and Kees Versteegh, *Greek Elements in Arabic Linguistic Thinking* (Leiden: Brill, 1977). See also Mustafa Shah, 'Classical Islamic Discourse on the Origins of Language: Cultural Memory and the Defense of Orthodoxy', *Numen: International Review for the History of Religions* 58:2/3 (2011).

6 Cf. Richard Frank, 'Al-Maʿdūm waʾl-Mawjūd: the Non-Existent, the Existent, and the Possible in the Teaching of Abū Hāshim and his Followers', *Institut Dominicain d'Etudes Orientales du Caire: Melanges* 14 (1980) pp. 185–210. See also Nader El-Bizri's 'God: Essence and Attributes' in Tim Winter (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion*, pp. 121–40; and Michel Allard, *Le Problème des attributs divins dans la doctrine d'al-Ashʿarī de ses premiers grands disciples* (Beyrouth: Imprimerie Catholique, 1965).

7 See the influential study by Ulrich Rudolph, *al-Māturīdī und die sunnitische Theologie in Samarkand* (Leiden: Brill, 1997); and Mustafa Ceric, *Roots of Synthetic Theology in Islam: A Study of the Theology of Abū Manṣūr al-Maturīdī (d. 333/944)* (Kuala Lumpur: International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization, 1995). It is also worth looking at Wilferd Madelung's 'The Spread of Maturidism and the Turks' in *Actas IV congreso de estudos*

arabes e islamicos 1968, pp. 109–68, 1971 which has been republished in Wilferd Madelung, *Religious Schools and Sects in Medieval Islam* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1985). See also Manfred Gotz, 'Maturīdī und sein *Kitāb Taʾwīlāt al-Qurʾān*', *Der Islam* 41 (1965), pp. 27–70, translated in Andrew Rippin (ed.), *The Qur'an: Formative Interpretation* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1999), pp. 181–214. In addition, a useful work has been produced by ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ al-Maghribī – *Imām ahl al-sunna wa'l-jamāʿa: Abū Manṣūr al-Māturīdī wa-arāʾahu al-kalāmiyya* (Cairo: Maktabat Wahba, 1405/1985). See also Hans Daiber's introduction, text and commentary entitled *The Islamic Concept of Belief in the 4th/10th century: Abū l-Layth as-Samarqandī's Commentary on Abū Ḥanīfa's (died 150/767) al-Fiqh al-absaṭ* (Tokyo: Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, 1995). Some aspects of Māturīdī theology are discussed by Oliver Leaman and Sajjad Rizvi in 'The Developed *Kalām* Tradition' in Tim Winter, *The Cambridge Companion*, pp. 77–96; cf. Joseph van Ess, 'Early Development of Kalām' in G.H.A. Juynboll (ed.), *Studies on the First Century of Islamic Society* (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1982), pp. 109–23; and Joseph van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. 3. jahrhundert Hidschra* (6 vols, Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1991–5).

8 The basic tenet is that evil acts do not occur with God's pleasure: Abū Manṣūr al-Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawḥīd*, ed. Fathalla Kholeif (Cairo: Dār al-Jāmiʿāt al-Miṣriyya, n.d.), pp. 215–7, pp. 221–1, and p. 287. See also Montgomery Watt, *The Formative Period of Islamic Thought* (Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 1998) first published in 1973, esp. pp. 314–24; cf. ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ al-Maghribī, *Imām ahl al-sunna wa'l-jamāʿa*, pp. 253–344; and G.E. Grunebaum, 'Observations on the Muslim Concept of Evil', *Studia Islamica* 31 (1970), pp. 117–34.

9 See Daniel Gimaret's entry on the 'Muʿtazila' in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edn.

10 See also Richard Frank, 'Al-Ashʿarī's *Kitāb al-Ḥathth ʿalāʾl-baḥth*', *Institut Dominicain d'Etudes Orientales du Caire: Melanges* 18 (1988), pp. 83–152.