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Early Christian Sects and Schisms in *Al-Milal wa al-Niḥal*: A Study on Muḥammad 'Abd al-Karīm al-Shahrastānī

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Abstract

Abū al-FathMuhammad Ibn 'Abdul al-Karīm Ahmad al-Shahrastānī (1086/479–1153/548) was one of the most prominent, multifaceted and creative Muslim thinkers in Islamic Thought. He embodied the multidisciplinary mastery and unity, personal integrity and courage of the Islamic religious-intellectual ideals. His contributions to scholarly works were manifold which cover a wide range of Islamic Thought including theology, philosophy and Qur'ānic sciences. Among his major works were those dealing with *tafsīr, kalām* and philosophy. This paper attempts to explore his

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contributions to *religionwissenchaft* with a specific reference to his observation on early Christian sects and schisms in his magnum opus, *al-Milal wa al-Nihal*.

Keywords

Shahrastānī, Christianity, sects, schisms, 'Isā, religion.

The life and works of Al-Shahrastānī

is full name as recorded by the Muslim biographers lacksquare of learned men in Muslim history, is Abū al-Fath Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Karīm ibn Ahmad Tāj al-Dīn al-Shahrastānī (d.1153/548). His surname was Abū Muhammad, but he is generally known as al-Shahrastānī. He also received other honorific titles such as the most meritorious man (al-Afdal) or the leader (al-Imām). Although most of the scholars agreed that he was born in the small city of Shahrastān, they had disagreement regarding the date of his birth. Shams al-Dīn Abū al-'Abbās Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Khallikān (d. 1281/682) states that according to his own notes, al-Shahrastānī was born in 1076/469 and passed away in 1153/548. However, according to 'Abd al-Karim ibn Muhammad al-Sam'ānī (d. 1166/562), al-Shahrastānī himself, when asked, told him that he was born in 1086/479. Other authors give the dates 1074/467 and 1076/469 but the testimony of al-Sam'ānī seems the most authoritative.

Most of al-Shahrastānī's principal masters were in their turn disciples of 'Abd al-Mālik ibn Yūsuf al-Juwaynī (d. 1085/478). In al-Shāfi'ī's law (*fiqh*), he was the pupil of Abū Muzaffar Ahmad ibn Muḥammad al-Khawāfī (d. 1106/500). He learned commentary of the Qur'ān (*tafsīr*) and theology (*kalām*) from Abū Qāsim Salmān ibn Nāṣir al-Ansārī (d. 1118/412), and commentary of *Aḥadīth* (Prophetic Traditions) from Abū al-Ḥassan 'Alī ibn Ahmad al-Madīnī (d. 1100/494).

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Al-Shahrastānī was responsible for a score of works, which cover a wide range of Islamic sciences including theology, philosophy and Qur'ānic sciences. Among his major works besides al-Milal wa al-Nihal, are those dealing with tafsīr such as al-Manāhij wa al-Āyāt, Qisṣat Mūsā wa al-Khidir, Sharḥ Sūrat Yūsuf, and Mafātiḥ al-Asrār wa Maṣābiḥ al-Abrār;¹ with kalām such as Mas'alah fī Ithbāt al-Jawhar al-Fard, and Nihāyat al-Iqdām fī Ilm al-Kalām;² and with philosophy such as Shubuhāt Aristātālīs wa Ibn Sīnā wa naqduhā and Muṣāra'at al-Falāsifah.³ The last two works are attacks against peripatetic philosophy as taught by Ibn Sīnā.

Despite these merits, al-Shahrastānī was nevertheless accused of having Shi'ite tendencies, especially in support of the Isma'ilites. Nonetheless, such accusations are refutable in view of the intense piety al-Shahrastānī manifested in most of his writings. For instance, in both *al-Milal wa al-Nihal* and *Nihāyat al-Iqdām fī Tlm al-Kalām*, al-Shahrastānī surveyed the full range of beliefs within Islam in order to make clear for others the nature of sectarian differences and their deviation from the path of Islam. Should he restrain himself from flailing at the weaknesses or excesses of sectarians, it is only because he possessed an implicit faith in the ability of his fellow Muslims to respond to the fair, even-handed treatment of those who differed from them. The charge that he was preoccupied with philosophy may be admitted, but it is no exaggeration to assert that for al-Shahrastānī, the best of philosophy is expressed in

Muhammad 'Abd al-Karīm al-Shahrāstanī, Mafātīh al-Asrār wa Masābīh al-Abrār, ed. 'Abd al-Muhsīn Jā'irī' et al., 2 vols. (Teheran: Markaz Intishārat Nasakh Khuta, 1988).

^{2.} Idem, *Nihāyat al-Iqdām fī Ilm al-Kalām*, ed. Alfred Guillaume (Cairo: Maktabat al-Thaqafah al-Dīniyyah, n.d.).

Idem, Struggling with the Philosopher, A Refutation of Avicenna's Metaphysics: A New Arabic Edition and English Translation of Muhammad Abd al-Karīm al-Shahrāstanī's Kitāb al-Musāra'a, ed. and trans. Wilferd Madelung and Toby Mayer (London: I.B. Tauris, 2001). For detailed accounts of his surviving works, see also Carl Brockelman, Geschichte Der Arabischen Litteratur, 2 volumes with 3 supplement bands (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1937), Supplement 1: 762–3.

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religion, the best of religion in prophecy, the best of prophecy in Muhammad and only the Muslims correctly interpret the revelation delivered to Muhammad.⁴

Al-Milal Wa Al-Nihal

A number of writings have been credited to al-Shahrastānī, but the major source of his fame is the *al-Milal wa al-Nihal*, a monumental treatise on religious sects and philosophical groups. Its popularity in the medieval period is amply attested to by the existence of numerous studies in many libraries all over the world. In the book, al-Shahrastānī treats all the Muslim and non-Muslim sects as well as several philosophical positions known in his time with due balance and absence of vituperation. His intention, thus, is to highlight the historical account of the sects as well as to point out their emergence, survival and religious practices. Since his work was like a small but concise encyclopedia, al-Shahrastānī gives fair criticism on these sects. In addition, he makes a clear distinction between truth (*haqq*) and falsehood (*bātil*) which he expresses throughout his presentation of the sects in *al-Milal*.

Concerning his typology of world religious traditions and ideologies, al-Shahrastānī ranks each non-Muslim religious tradition and ideology according to its proximity to Islam. Based on the religious and quasi-religious groups known to him, he classifies the religious traditions of non-Muslims into four general categories. The first category comprises the recipients of revealed books (*kitāb munzal*), i.e., the Jews and Christians. The second consists of the recipients of scrolls (*suḥuf*), i.e., the Zoroastrians, Sabians and Manicheans. The third constitutes those who subscribe to laws and binding

^{4.} For detailed accounts of his life and works, see for instance: Muhammad 'Abd al-Karīm al-Shahrastānī, al-Milal wa al-Nihal, ed. by Amīr 'Alī Mahnā and 'Alī Hasan Fā'ūr, 2 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Ma'rifah, 1997), 1: 11–5; Zuhair al-Dīn al-Bayhaqī, Tārīkh Hukamā' al-Islām, ed. by Muhammad Kurd 'Alī (Damascus: Majma' al-Lughah al-'Arabiyyah,1946), 141–2; and Khayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī, al-A'lām: Qāmūs Tarājim, 8 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-'Ilm li al-Malāyīn, 1984), 6: 215.

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judgments without the benefit of a revealed book, i.e., the ancient Sabians, and the fourth category represents those who have neither a revealed book nor fixed laws, i.e., the ancient as well as the materialist philosophers, the star-worshippers and the Brahmans.⁵

Within this structure, al-Shahrastānī presents a vast range of data, as varied in quality as it is broad in scope. He takes into account the claims and arguments of all these religiousphilosophical groups and then exhibits the irrational and illogical aspects of their ideas and beliefs. In terms of presenting the issue under debate, he directly proceeds to the main points, records the arguments of the opponents and then refutes them by means of his clear and strong presentation. The way he treats the sects is also consistent and systematic. For instance, all philosophies and religious systems that do not accept the phenomenon of prophecy are grouped together. Judaism and Christianity, due to their proximity to and affinity with Islam in their belief in God, Prophecy and the Scriptures, are dealt with more comprehensively than other religious traditions and philosophical ideologies. So far as his presentation of the religious scriptures of the Jews and Christians is concerned, his main criterion is that a scripture, which is revealed by God, cannot be inconsistent and contradictory in its contents and teaching.

Before turning to the early Christianity sects and schisms as perceived by al-Shahrastānī, it is noteworthy to briefly exhibit the features of *al-Naṣārā* (the Christians) as explicated in the Qur'ān.

^{5.} Al-Shahrastānī, al-Milal, 1: 49-50.

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Christians (al-Nașārā) in the Qur'ān

The term *al-Naṣārā* occurs fourteen times in the Qur'ān.⁶ In all the fourteen *surahs*⁷ in which the term *al-Naṣārā* is employed, it refers to a group of people who believe in the Oneness of Allāh, the One Creator and the Provider of the Universe. They believe in the divine call of Israel's prophets, in the revealed books of Allāh, such as the Torah and the Psalms of David, and in the religion of Prophet Ibrāhīm. However, as their masses and their main sects started to believe in the Trinity instead of the absolute unity of God, rejected the prophethood of Muḥammad, obsessed with 'Īsā and his miracles,⁸ as well as deified him as the son of God, and as their religion began to suffer adulteration and modification, they were no longer true believers.⁹

Etymologically, the term al-Naṣārā is derived from the verb naṣara which signifies "to help or assist."¹⁰ However, pertaining to the technical meaning "al-naṣārā," al-Ṭabarī offers three reasons why al-nasārā is designated to this group

Muḥammad Fū'ad 'Abd al-Bāqī, al-Mujam al-Mujahras lil Alfaz al-Qur ān: bi hāshīat al-Mashafal-Sharīf (n.p. Dār al-Fikr, 1994), 875-6.

See, for instance, *al-Baqarah* (2): 111, 113, 120, 135, and 140; *al-Mā'idah* (5): 14, 18, and 51; *al-Tawbah* (9): 30; as well as *al-Hajj* (22): 17.

For more details and critical study on the miracles of 'Isā, see Abū al-Fidā' Ismā'īl ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'Azīm*, 4 vols. (Beirut: Mū'assasat al-Kutub al-Thaqāliyyah, 1994), 2: 485–90. See also Neal Robinson, *Christ in Islam and Christianity: The Representation of Jesus in the Qur'ān and the Classical Muslim Commentaries* (Houndmills: Macmillan Press LTD, 1991), 142–54.

^{9.} Abū Muhammad 'Alī ibn Hazm, *Kitāb al-Fasl fi al-Milal wa al-Ahwa wa al-Nihal*, ed. by Ahmad Shams al-Dīn, 3 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-Tlmiyyah, 1999), 1: 64; and al-Shahrastānī, *al-Milal*, 1: 262–3.

^{10.} Abū al-Husayn Ahmad ibn Fāris al-Lughawī, Mujmal al-Lughah, ed. Zahīr 'Abd al-Muḥsīn Sultān, 4 vols. (Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Risālah, 1984), 3: 870; Husain ibn Muḥammad al-Rāghib al-Asfahānī, al-Mufradāt fi Gharīb al-Qur'ān: fi al-Lughah wa al-Adab wa al-Tafsīr wa Ulūm al-Qur'ān, ed. Muḥammad Khalīl 'Aytānī (Beirut: Dār al-Ma'rifah, 2001), 497; and Muḥammad 'Abd al-Wahāb and Muḥammad al-Sadiq al-'Ubaydī, 18 vols. (Beirut : Dār Iḥyā' al-Turāth al-'Arabī, 1999), 14: 160-62.

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of people. The first reason is that the term, one of whose root meanings in Arabic could be "to help," or "to offer assistance," is designated to the group due to their support (*nuṣrah*) for each other and their offer of mutual assistance (*tanāṣur*) among themselves, and above all, to Prophet 'Īsā. The second reason for such a term is due to their place which is called Nāṣirah (Nazareth), with Prophet 'Īsā himself being called al-Nāṣirī (the Nazarene). The third reason, however, is based on the question asked by Prophet 'Īsā to his disciples, "*man anṣāri ilā* Allāh" (who will be my helpers),¹¹ as recorded in al-Saff (61):14.

Ål-Tūsī agrees with al-Tabarī on the above explanation. Yet, al-Tūsī shows more inclination towards linguistic rather than geographical etymology. In other words, al-Tūsī is of the view that the term *al-naṣārā* is rooted in the verb *naṣara* (assist) rather than the village, which the peoples were associated with.¹² Al-Zamakhsharī, however, narrows the threefold etymological identification of *al-nasārā* to a single one: that *al-naṣārā* is designated to the group due to the assistance provided to Prophet 'Isā.¹³ Successors like al-Shahrastānī, al-Rāzī and Ibn Kathīr, who spend some time enumerating various interpretations, still maintain that the term *al-naṣārā* most probably derives from the area called *Nāṣirah*.¹⁴

In view of all the Qur'ānic verses in which the term al-Nasārā has been employed, some of the verses further clarify the position of the group and the most fundamental of which is in the following passage:

Abū Ja'far Muḥammad al-Tabarī, *Jāmi' al-Bayān fi Tafsīr al-Qurān*, ed. Maḥmūd Shākir, 30 vols. (Beirut: Dār Iḥyā' al-Turāth al-ʿArabī, 2001), 1: 252.

Abū Ja'far Muhammad ibn al-Hasan al-Tūsī, al-Tibyān fī Tafsīr al-Qurān, ed. Aghā Buzruk al-Tahrānī, 10 vols. (Beirut: Ihya' al-Turāth al-'Arabī, n.d), 1: 281–2.

Abū Qāsim Jār Allāh Mahmūd ibn 'Umar al-Zamakhsharī, al-Kashshāf *an Haqā iq Ghawāmid al-Tanzīl wa Uyūn al-Aqāwīl fī wajhi al-Táwīl*, ed. Muhammad 'Abd al-Salām Shāhin, 4 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-Tlmiyyah, 1995), 1: 148.

Al-Shahrastānī, al-Milal, 1: 262–3; al-Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, al-Tafsīr al-Kabīr, 16 vols. (Cairo: Dār al-Ghad al-ʿArabī, 1991), 15: 523–4; and Ibn Kathīr, Tafsīr, 4: 361–2.

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Verily, "those who have attained faith" (*inna alladhīna āmanū*) as well as "those who follow the "Jewish faith" (*wa alladhīna hādū*), and "the Christians" (*wa al-naṣārā*) and "the Sabians" (*wa al-ṣābi īn*)—"all who believe in Allāh and the Last Day and work righteousness" (*man āmana billāh wa al-yawm al-ākhir wa 'amila ṣālihān*)—shall have their reward with their Lord, on them shall be no fear nor shall they grieve.¹⁵

Al-Ţabarī, in his treatment of the above passage, differentiates the faith of the Muslims from that of the Jews, Christians and Sabians. He explains that the phrase *inna alladhīna āmanū* (those who have attained faith) signifies the faith of Muslims that remains firm and steadfast in Muḥammad. In other words, there is no conversion among the Muslims in their faith as they do not change from one religion to another. Rather, their faith stands firm and unchanged. However, the belief of the Jews, Christians, and Sabians does involve a conversion or change from a former belief, that is, turning from a previous belief in their respective prophets to an acceptance of Muḥammad. Hence, should the Jews, Christians and Sabians place their faith in Muḥammad along with Muslims who believe in Allāh and the Last Day, they will be recompensed for their action in the hereafter.¹⁶

However, Ibn Taymiyyah is of the view that this passage does not praise either of them after their corruption. In fact, the meaning of the passage pertains only to the Muslims who believe in Muhammad and that of the Jews, Christians and Sabians who follow their religion respectively before its corruption and alteration.¹⁷ This, in turn, implies that should they remain steadfast with the original teachings of their respective prophets, they will submit to Islam and place faith in Muhammad whence he is sent.

^{15.} *Al-Baqarah* (2): 62.

Al-Tabari, *Jami'al-Bayān*, 1: 254. Cf. al-Ţūsī, al-Tibyān, 1: 283–4; and al-Zamakhshari, al-Kashshāf, 1: 148–9.

Ahmad ibn 'Abd al-Halim ibn Taymiyyah, al-Jawāb al-Sahīh: A Muslim Theologian's Response to Christianity, ed. and trans. Thomas F. Michel S. J. (New York: Caravan Books, 1984), 246–7.

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By comparing the above two interpretations, it is evident that although there are subtleties between the two assessments, both scholars obviously are in agreement on one issue, that is, the acceptance of Muhammad. As our particular interest is that of the Christians, we would like to point out that it is on this basis that al-Attas recurrently proffers that there are two Christianities. Expounding and elaborating the first group, al-Attas elucidates, that the group represents those who adhere to the pristine and true Christianity, which conformed to Islam. They are those of the true believers (mu'min and muslim) that believe in the original and true teachings of 'Isā before the advent of Islam,¹⁸ such as al-Hawāriyyūn¹⁹ (the disciples of (Isā) as illustrated clearly in the Qur'ān, *al-Saff* (61): 14.²⁰ Such recognition is due to their assistance, which they willingly and sincerely offer to Isa. They are the true adherents of Isa who believe in him as the prophet of Allah who was sent to the Children of Israel. They believe in the authentic Evangel (al-Injīl), the revealed book sent upon Isā from Allāh. They help him in his lifetime and mission to deliver the revelation of Allah and carry out his teachings and exercises after him truly and honestly. After the advent of Islam, should they have known the fact of Islam and should their belief $(\bar{i}m\bar{a}n)$ and submission (islām) was truly sincere, they would have embraced Islam.²¹ Therefore, should these Christians still adhere to the bona fide teachings of 'Isa, they will submit themselves to Muhammad. In so doing, they do not change their religion as it is part of their religion to place faith in Prophet Muhammad, and to submit to his law whence he is sent. In fact, they would

Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas, *Islam and Secularism* (Kuala Lumpur: ABIM, 1978; repr., Kuala Lumpur: ISTAC, 1993), 20–21, hereinafter page reference is to the reprint edition.

^{19.} Although the Qur'ān does not identify them by their names, some theologians do provide exhaustive commentaries on them. See for instance: Al-Tabarī, *Jami'al-Bayān*, 3: 335–7, and 8: 102–4; ibn Hazm, *al-Fasl*, 1: 288–90; and al-Rāzī, *Tafsīr al-Kabīr*, 4: 234–5.

^{20.} See, for instance, Al Imrān (3): 52, and al-Mā idah (5): 111–2.

^{21.} Al-Attas, Islam and Secularism, 20-21.

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become true Muslims and would receive double reward in the hereafter. Allāh says:

But they are not all alike, among the People of the Book there are upright people who recite Allāh's messages throughout the night, and prostrate themselves (before Him) (Laysū sawā' min Ahl al-Kitāb ummatun qāi'matun yatlūna āyāt Allāh anā' allayl wa hum yasjudūn). They believe in Allāh and the Last Day, and enjoin the doing of what is right and forbid the doing of what is wrong, and vie with one another in doing good works, and these are among the righteous. And whatever good they do, they shall never be denied the reward thereof, for Allāh has full knowledge of those who are conscious of Him.²²

The second group, however, represents the Christians who from the very beginning have altered the original, and departed from the true teaching of 'Īsā. In a strict sense, it is they who launched a series of nuisance attacks against the Muslims from the early time of the Prophet Muhammad until the present time. The following Qur'ānic passage, however, will suffice to exemplify this point of view:

And (likewise) from those who say, "behold we are Christians," We have accepted a solemn pledge, and they too have forgotten much of what they had been told to bear in mind (*Wa min alladhīna qālū innā al-Naṣārā akhadhnā mīthāqahum fanasū ḥazān mimmā dhakarū bihi*)—wherefore We have given rise among them to enmity and hatred, (to last) until Resurrection Day (*faʿaghraynā baynahum al-ʿadāwah wa al-baghdāʾ ilā yawm al-qiyāmah*), and in time Allāh will cause them to understand what they have contrived.²³

^{22.} *Al Imrān* (3): 113–5. See ibid., 110 and 199, as well; and also *Fāțir* (35): 32.

Al-Mā idah (5): 14. See ibid., 13, 18, 51, 72 and 73, as well; and also al-Baqarah (2): 111-113, 120 and 135.

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The Christians claim that they are the bona fide adherents of 'Isā. Yet the Qur'ān elliptically rejects their assertion because they have wrongfully and intentionally elevated 'Isā to the status of divinity. This act of belief is considered an act of concocting polytheism (*ibtada ū al-shirk*). By virtue of having gone astray from the divine teachings of 'Isā, and thus from the true faith in Allāh, Allāh has promised them enmity and hatred against each other and they are subjected to continuous mutual persecution and unceasing wars until the Judgment Day. They were the ones who influenced and shaped Western Christianity, the Christianity now known to us. Since their holy scripture, the Evangel, is rooted in partly from the genuine and true revelation of 'Isā, the Qur'ān classifies them as belonging to the People of the Book (*Ahl al-Kītāb*).²⁴

Al-Attas also espouses that between the two groups, one of them does not profess real belief in the Trinity, Incarnation, Redemption and other dogma related to these doctrines. Instead, they privately profess belief in Allah alone and in the Prophet Isa. They set up regular prayers to Allah and do good deeds in the way they are spiritually led to do. While in this condition of faith they are truly and sincerely unaware of Islam and of the Prophet Muhammad, or they might have known Islam, yet they have acknowledged it wrongly due to devious confusions caused by their leaders who not only suppress the truth of the Prophet Muhammad, but also conceal the veracity of Islam. These Christians are those referred to in the Qur'an as the nearest in love to the believers in Islam. To date, continues al-Attas, these Christians and other People of the Book like them are found among mankind and it is to them sometimes the term mu'min (believer) is applied.²⁵ The following Qur'anic passages describe clearly the features of this group:

^{24.} Al-Attas, Islam and Secularism, 21.

^{25.} Ibid.

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And thou wilt surely find that of all people they who say, "behold we are Christians," come closest to feeling affection for those who believe (in this divine writ) (wa latajidanna aqrabahum mawaddatan lilladhīna āmanū alladhīna qālū innā Nasārā). This is so because there are priests and monks among them and because these are not given to arrogance. For when they come to understand what has been bestowed from on high upon this apostle, thou canst see their eyes overflow with tears because they recognize something of its truth and they say: "O Sustainer we do believe make us one then with all who bear witness to the truth" (rabbanā āmannā faktubnā ma'a al-shāhidīn). "And how could we fail to believe in Allāh and in whatever truth has come unto us, when we so fervently desire that our Sustainer count us among the righteous" (wa mā lanā lā nu'min billāh wa mā jā'anā min al-haq wa natma'u an yudkhilanā rabbunā ma'a al-gawm al-sālihīn). And for this their belief Allāh will reward them with gardens through which running waters flow therein to abide, for such requital of the doers of good whereas they who are bent on denying the truth and giving the lie to Our messages—they are destined for the blazing fire.²⁶

The aforementioned discussion serves as a nutshell background to the following early Christian sects and schisms as perceived by al-Shahrastānī and Ibn Hazm. Although some of these sects have already been extinct, they still serve as historical and factual evidences of sects and schisms in Christianity.

Descriptions of Christian Sects and Schisms

The Christians are split into 72 sects. The presentation of Christian sects and schism, however, are divided into two parts. The first part comprises the Unitarian sects whereas the second comprises the Trinitarian sects:

^{26.} *Al-Mā idah* (5): 82–6.

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Unitarian Sects

To this group belong the three sects, namely: the Arians; the Paulinists; and the Macedonians. What follows are brief descriptions of each sect.

The Arians $(Ashab \bar{A}r\bar{\imath}u\bar{s})$

They were the adherents of Arīūs ibn Asfānūs ibn Batlīnus (d. 336 C.E.), also known as Barshīd by his tribe. He was a priest in the city of Qisīs in Alexandria and a contemporary of Constantine, the founder of Constantinople and the first Roman emperor who accepted Christianity and became his follower. He was also a Roman scholar and a collector of many books who graduated from the School of Theology (*Madrasah al-Lāhūtijyah*). It is said that he held one book, which tells about the descendants of Satan and Jinnee, their places, branches, and works in the whole region. His sect believed in the unity of Allāh and held 'Īsā as a human servant, a creature and Word of Allāh through whom Allāh created the universe.²⁷

The Paulinists (Ashāb al-Būlisiyyah al-Shamshātī)

They were the followers of Paul of Samosata, a bishop of Metropolitan of Antioch before the emergence of the Trinitarian Christianity. This sect still retained the original teachings of 'Isā. They believed in the pure and exact monotheism and placed faith in 'Isā as a servant of Allāh and His prophet. Allāh has created 'Isā from the womb of his mother, Maryam without any participation of a male. Hence, 'Isā is a natural human being and there is no divinity in him.²⁸

^{27.} Ibn Hazm, al-Fasl, 1:64.

^{28.} Ibid.

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The Macedonians (Ashāb Maqdūniūs)

They were the adherents of Macedonius, a bishop of Constantinople after the emergence of the Trinitarian Christianity. This sect believed in the unity of Allāh and held that 'Īsā is a human being, a created servant, and a prophet of Allāh like the rest of the messengers. To them, 'Īsā was also the Holy Spirit ($R\bar{u}h$ al-Qudus) and the Word of Allāh (Kalimat Allāh). They believed that Allāh created both the Holy Spirit and the Word of Allāh.²⁹

Trinitarian Sects

Under this group, at least eight sects can be identified, i.e.: the Collyridians; the Melchites; the Nestorians; the Jacobites; the Julianistes; the Apollinaristes; the Sabelliens; and the Photiniens. Brief explanations of them are as follows:

The Collyridians (*Al-Barbarāniyyah*)

This sect believed that both $\bar{\text{Isa}}$ and his mother are deities other than Allāh. Ibn Hazm is of the view that this sect is already extinct.³⁰

The Melchites (*Al-Malkāniyyah*)

The Melchites originated from Rome. They are the religious rite of all Christian kings and their people of all Christendom except those of Ethiopia and Nubia. All Christians of Africa, Sicily, Andalus and Syria belong to this group. Their belief is that God means three things: Father, Son and Holy Spirit. All of them are eternal. Maryam gives birth to the eternal god who is both the divine and the human. Hence, 'Īsā is truly god and truly man. Their belief is that the Word of God has united

^{29.} Ibid., 65. Cf. al-Shahrastānī, al-Milal, 1: 265.

^{30.} Ibn Hazm, al-Fasl, 1:65.

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with 'Isā's body and his divinity like an amalgamation of milk and water. It was the human in him that was crucified and killed and nothing happened to the divine in him. Members of this sect also have their own perspectives on Judgment Day. They believe that on Judgment Day, man would arise but only with his soul and not with the body. The punishment for wickedness is abject misery whereas for the good is happiness and joy. They also repudiate the activity of eating, drinking and marriage in heaven.³¹

The Nestorians (*Al-Nastūriyyah*)

They are named after *Nastūr* or Nestorius, the bishop of Constantinople. They interpret the Evangel using their minds. Their belief is that God is one and consists of three substances but these substances are not His additional essence. These three substances are "existence," "knowledge" and "life." The Word of God has incarnated in 'Isā's body, but neither as an amalgamation as claimed by the Melchites, nor conspicuousness as asserted by the Jacobites. Rather, it united with his body like the rays of sun that shine on and illuminate crystal glass.

Members of the sect also maintain that Allāh begot the deity but He did not beget the man. This deity then incarnated with 'Isā's body when he was born. Hence, 'Isā is a possessor of both deity and human nature. His body is constituted of two elements which are the eternal and temporal substance. He is the true god and the true man and both the characteristics are one in his body. They also differ from the Melchites and Jacobites on the issue of his crucifixion. They say that 'Isā is crucified in his human nature and not in his divine nature, for he is a deity and a deity does not feel pain.

Some among them also opine that Allāh is one. Isā comes from the Virgin Mary. He is a pious and mortal man. Due to his obedience, Allāh granted him His grace and

^{31.} Ibid.; and al-Shahrastānī, al-Milal, 1: 266-8.

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appointed him as His son. Hence, he is appointed as the Son of Allāh, not through birthright or incarnation, but due to his obedience to Allāh. The Nestorians also have their own view on religious practices. They said that should a man endeavours to worship Allāh, avoids eating meat and refuses to have sexual contacts, his essence will be purified. He will then ascend to heaven and see Allāh with his naked eye. All the secrets of the earth and heaven will be revealed before him. Aside from this, there is also a report saying that some of the Nestorians refuse to believe in the allegorical expression and they agree upon the divine decree as understood by the Qadarites. The group is mostly found in Syria, Iraq and Iran of today.³²

The Jacobites (*Al-Ya qūbiyyah*)

They are named after Ya'qūb al-Bardha'ānī, or Jacob Baradaeus @ Baradei in English, a bishop in Constantinople. They maintain that 'Īsā himself is Allāh and that Allāh died when He was crucified and killed. After this assassination, the whole universe was without its Provider and Maintainer for three days. Then Allāh rose up and returned to His place. Allāh then became originated and the originated became eternal. It was Allāh who was conceived and carried in Maryam's womb. Hence, 'Īsā is truly god whose appearance are of divine nature and human nature. Due to this combination, he, thus, possesses one element, which makes him the true god and the true man. This process happens neither by means of the incarnation nor by part of it. He is Allāh, he is man and both of them are one according to their belief. In a strict sense, they aver that 'Īsā is Allāh. They live mostly in Ethiopia, Sudan and part of Egypt.³³

On such descriptions, see ibn Hazm, *al-Fasl*, 1: 65; and al-Shahrastānī, *al-Milal*, 1: 268–70.

For details, see ibn Hazm, al-Fașl, 1: 66–7; and al-Shahrastānī, al-Milal, 1: 270–72.

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The Julianistes (*Al-Ilyāniyyah*)

This sect got its name from a place called $Aly\bar{a}n$. They held that Maryam was not pregnant for nine months. She only conceived 'Isā in her womb like a flow of water. That is to say that Allāh blew His Word, 'Isā, into Maryam's ear and simultaneously Maryam then gave birth to 'Isā.³⁴

The Apollinaristes (Al-Bālyārasiyyah)

They were the people who deviated from the Shi'ites $B\bar{a}bil\bar{\imath}d\bar{\imath}s$. They held 'Isā as a father of flaming fire, which is separated from the huge body of fire. They also believed that both 'Isā and Mary are deities other than Allāh.

The Sabelliens (Al-Sabāliyyah)

The sect was also known as *al-Sabāliyūsiyyah*, a name attributed to its founder, Sabiliyyūs from *Qasāwasah*, Egypt. They held that Allāh punished the Israelites with mosquitoes with an appearance of a Father. Sometimes He will become like a human being with the appearance of a Son. He will then appeared as a Holy Ghost when He incarnated with the prophets.

The Photiniens (*Al-Būtīnūsiyyah*)

They held that Allāh is the Father and 'Isā has incarnated with Him. Hence, 'Isā is the Son of Allāh but he suffered and felt pain like other human beings.

Conclusion

In al-Shahrastānī's view, the Christians are not disbelievers on the basis that they are the holders of revealed books whose

^{34.} Al-Shahrastānī, al-Milal, 1: 265, n. 4.

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teachings are monotheistic from the very beginning. Instead, they are misbelievers in the sense that they refuse to accept the truth of the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him). Due to this position and as the holder of revealed books, the Quran calls them the People of the Book. Although dichotomised into sects and schisms with manifold doctrines. most of the Muslim scholars are of the view that they have not reached the stage of polytheism and thus do not belong to the category of the Polytheists. This is due to the fact that they are originally monotheistic, and thus are not identical to the polytheists who worship idols from the very beginning. Indeed, they have committed polytheism by associating Allah with partners and sons, yet this act of polytheism is nothing but an act of concocting polytheism (*ibtada u al-shirk*) and not the act of committing polytheism itself. Despite the differences in belief, it is extremely imperative to note that Islam gives them rights to exist and freedom to exercise their religious practices. Such an environment of religious freedom given to them is a clear indication that Islam is a religion of tolerance with other religious traditions.