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FROM THE EDITORS

Greetings and welcome back to *Ilahiyat Studies*. The current issue of *IS* features three articles, two book reviews, and an obituary by Ali Yaşar Sarıbay that says farewell to the late professor Peter L. Berger.

In the first article, "A Critical Analysis of Existential Security Theory," Akbarshah Ahmadi and Kemal Ataman present a compelling case against Pippa Norris's and Ronald F. Inglehart's theory of "existential security," which attempts to invalidate the criticisms levelled against certain aspects of classical secularization theories by arguing that the principle catalyst for secularization is not rationalization and differentiation, but security of all sorts. Ahmadi and Ataman argue that the theory of existential security, in its current form and content, is nothing but a revised version of the classical secularization theory, for it too cannot account for the religious change, plurality, diversity, and the function of religion in our contemporary situation.

In the second article, "Perception of Islam in Zoroastrian Zand Literature," Mehmet Alıcı presents a nuanced and informative analysis of the way Zoroastrians regard Islam and Muslims as presented in the Zand theological literature. According to Alıcı, Zoroastrian religious tradition developed a negative attitude towards Islam in general and the Muslim community in particular especially as the Muslim presence was intensified in the Zoroastrian regions; so much so that the Muslim conquest was seen as a sign that the end of this world was near. The purpose of this work, then, is to explain how Zoroastrians, who are treated as People of the Book and have *dhimmī* status in Islamic law, shaped their perception of Islam in their religious literature.

In his article, "Writings as a Form of Opposition: *Mathālib* Literature in the First Three Centuries AH," Muhammed Enes Topgül presents a detailed analysis of a certain genre, "mathālib", developed in the first three centuries of the Muslim era. The *mathālib* is subdivided into two subgenres: *Mathālib al-ʿArab* and *mathālib al-ṣaḥābah*. The purpose of the article is to present the existence of this genre, to identify the authors of these works in the first three centuries AH, and to interpret

the available data about this genre with regard to ḥadīth history. Topgül aims to achieve this goal by answering several vexing questions: What are the reasons behind the emergence of *mathālib* literature? How capable were these works of reflecting the opinions of the religious and social structure of the time? How did *mathālib* works influence the ḥadīth literature? According to Topgül, it is impossible to give any satisfactory answer to any of the above questions without considering the political, ideological, and ethnic issues.

As the editorial team, we are thankful to our authors, referees, and readers for their continued support and look forward to being with you all in the next issues of *Ilahiyat Studies.*

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Writings as a Form of Opposition: Mathālib *Literature in the First Three Centuries AH*

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A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF EXISTENTIAL SECURITY THEORY

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Abstract

Classical secularization theories have been subject to criticisms for their inability to explain religious change and vividness in modern society. The theory of existential security claims to respond to such criticisms. Indeed, unlike conventional theories, the theory of existential security asserts that the principal catalyzer for secularization is not rationalization and differentiation, but security. Accordingly, it explains secularity and religious vividness in a global aspect. Therefore, this paper questions the foregoing claims of existential security theory, since the latter cannot be different from conventional theories because of their common growth and the context in which they were developed. In addition, this study argues the difficulty of considering a single perspective to explain religiosity in a global aspect. Accordingly, the paper critically addresses the theory of existential security in light of sociological data and analyses.

Key Words: Existential security, secularization, Pippa Norris, Ronald Inglehart.

Background and the Problem

Almost all classical social scientists used to agree that religion would die out upon the arrival of a modern industrial society. This point of view regarding religion was systematized within the framework of secularization theory. In the words of José Casanova, it became the only framework to attain a paradigmatic status in social sciences.[1] Nevertheless, religion somehow subsisted in industrial and even post-industrial societies; and this fact questions the so-called classical secularization theory in the sociological literature. Accordingly, the opponents of secularization theory point to the functions of religion in social institutions, especially politics, and assert that it is not religion but the theory of secularization that collapsed. Therefore, in addition to alternative theories such as the economic model of religion, certain sociologists, such as Steve Bruce, have analyzed the classical theory of secularization and tried to respond to criticisms in light of new data. The theory of existential security is developed in consideration of foregoing criticisms. The founders of this theory, Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart, to a certain extent agree with the opponents of secularization thesis regarding its inability to explain the global religious vividness. In this respect, Norris and Inglehart admit that secularization theory, which became a much-shared model in classical sociological thought, was wrong in its prediction about the extinction of religion in the wake of modernization. Therefore, Norris and Inglehart indicate that they agree with opponents of secularization theory such as Rodney Stark and Roger Finke with respect to the need for a theory that can explain religious change that is not based on the collapse of religion.[2] However, unlike the opponents of secularization theory, Norris and Inglehart think that it is necessary to revise and update the theory rather than to dismiss it from the social science literature.[3] Thus, the two academicians try to develop a type of secularization theory that is based on the concept of existential security. What makes this theory different from others is that it takes shape within the framework of existential security rather than rationalization (Weberian) and functional differentiation

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[1]   José Casanova, *Public Religions in the Modern World* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994), 17.

[2]   Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart, *Sacred and Secular: Religion and Politics Worldwide*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 13.

[3]   *Ibid*., 4.

(Durkheimian) theses.[4]

Ronald Inglehart includes opinions regarding the foundations of existential security in almost all of his works. However, the theoretical framework is established in *Sacred and Secular: Religion and Politics Worldwide*, which he wrote with Pippa Norris in 2004. The book once again attempts to analyze the issues of religion and religiosity in modern societies and tries to develop a new framework that reveals how existential security triggered the process of secularization. Hypotheses on the theory of existential security are tested on the basis of data via four wave surveys under the World Values Survey and the European Values Study conducted between 1980 and 2001 in eighty countries that comprise the four major religions of the world. These studies cover societies with various characteristics that constitute approximately 85% of world population, including low-income societies and wealthy societies with established democracies.[5] Moreover, in the new edition of *Sacred and Secular* in 2011 and in relevant papers, Norris and Inglehart undertook retesting and supporting the theses of existential security theory in light of data from studies on social psychology, health care literature, and welfare. They also accounted for the data from the World Values Survey in fifty-fivecountries between 2005 and 2007 and the Gallup World Poll conducted in 2007.[6] In their data analysis, Norris and Inglehart made use of various techniques, including cross-national survey, longitudinal, and generational analysis.[7] Unlike any other study about secularization, their study casts light upon the process of religious change around the world by means of putting forth levels of religiosity and secularity in different societies, trends of change in a given community over time, and, particularly, differences between generations with respect to religious tendencies and orientation.

By defining secularization as the "systematic erosion of religious practices, values, and beliefs,"[8] Norris and Inglehart focus on three

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[4]   *Ibid.*, 13, 217.

[5]   *Ibid.*, xiv.

[6]   *Ibid.*, 254.

[7]   *Ibid.*, 34-36.

[8]   Norris and Inglehart, "Uneven Secularization in the United States and Western Europe," in *Democracy and the New Religious Pluralism*, ed. Thomas Banchoff (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 33, https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195307221.001.0001.

aspects of secularization in terms of existential security: religious participation, religious values, and religious beliefs. According to them, the secularization process will impair the collective ritual aspect of religion within the scope of Christianity (Catholicism and Protestantism). Likewise, individual religiosity, such as daily worship in Islam and meditation in Buddhism, will also decline.[9] In a broader sense, in case existential security is ensured, all religions and religiosities will no more have a central position in human life and evolve into a peripheral status.

The objective of this paper is to critically analyze the theory of existential security, with reference to reliable data and interpretations from social sciences and humanities. The essential thesis of our paper is as follows. Given the argument it uses, the environment it raised and, particularly, the consequences attained, one can hardly claim that theory of existential security is significantly dissociated from the conventional theory of secularization, the validity of which is currently subject to severe questioning. The theory falls short of explaining radical religious vividness and diversity in every aspect on a global scale since it adopts a reductive approach to address a sophisticated problem such as secularization.

I. Modernization, Human Development, and Secularization

By tracing classical social scientists, Norris and Inglehart assert that modernization, defined as a process of transformation and enrichment, will make religion lose ground. However, theorists of existential security note that religion will not completely perish in the face of modernization. According to these scholars, secularization will be realized thanks to economic development, social welfare, human development, and socioeconomic equality through modernization, and not because of rationalization and social differentiation as is claimed by conventional theories of secularization.[10] In this regard, existential security, which is considered as the starter and provider of secularization, becomes possible in the process of modernization, as noted in Weberian and Durkheimian paradigms. Therefore, like classical secularization theorists, Norris and Inglehart assume a correlation between modernization and secularization, especially with

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9   Norris and Inglehart, *Sacred and Secular*, 40-41.

10   *Ibid.*, 13-18, 217-219.

respect to human development and socioeconomic equality.

Social scientists such as Rodney Stark, Peter Berger, Grace Davie, and José Casanova to a certain extent accept European secularity. However, they insist that it is more realistic to ground European secularity on historical experiences of societies with respect to the relationship between religion and the state rather than on modernization. In this regard, theorists of existential security that are revising classical secularization theory ground secularization on the concept of security rather than on rationalization and functional differentiation. Nevertheless, they share a common perspective with classical secularization theorists with respect to their starting point. Accordingly, the theory of existential security more closely resembles the classical secularization theory by Bryan Wilson and Steve Bruce rather than being an alternative theory or paradigm such as the religious market model in the footsteps of critical secularization theories by David Martin, José Casanova, and Grace Davie. In this regard, the principal criticism of classical secularization theories namely, the argument that secularization is not intrinsic to modernization, also applies to the theory of existential security. In this context, Stark indicates that theorists of existential security repeat the well-known issues but do not revise the theory. For him, this theory brings along nothing new except for the well-known Western European secularity. Stark insists there is no necessary correlation between modernization and secularization and claims to put forth this reality in statistical terms. Accordingly, Stark asserts he attained results that refute the theory of existential security by using the same scales of religiosity employed by the theory for testing the existence of any correlation between secularization, modernization, and human development, since such correlation is the point of departure of the theory of existential security.[11]

According to findings of Stark, there is no statistically valid correlation between modernization and religiosity. In this regard, Stark states that modernization is apparently not a reason that erodes religiosity and leads to secularization.[12] Accordingly, Casanova notes that the secularity in a society, particularly in the so-called secular Western European societies, has developed with respect to historical

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[11]   Rodney Stark, *The Triumph of Faith: Why World is More Religious than Ever* (Wilmington, Delaware: ISI Books, 2015), 38.

[12]   *Ibid.*, 38.

patterns between church and state and society and civil society, not because of modernization.[13] Likewise, Stark discusses the possible role of several relative factors in the secularization of Europe before insisting that modernization is not among those factors. Consequently, according to Stark, the secularization of Western Europe is caused by something other than modernization.[14]

Modernization, which is considered as a process of industrialization, societalization, differentiation, rationalization, and bureaucratization, may actually have an abrasive effect on religion. Nevertheless, modernization is not the root cause of secularization. If, in line with assertions by Norris and Inglehart, the systematic erosion of religiosity is observed due to modernization, a realistic conclusion can only be attained via comparative analysis between modern societies and not by a comparison between modern and non-modern societies. In this framework, David Martin, who approaches theory of existential security with suspicion, indicates that Sweden is understandably and obviously ahead of Ghana in terms of development and existential security. Martin, however, underlines that it is difficult to explain within the frame of existential security why Limousin has a more secular attitude than Alsace.[15]

Alsace and Limousin, which are two nearby regions in France, share similar religious and cultural histories. Therefore, the criteria of development and security cannot explain why the former is more pious and the latter is rather secular. Likewise, it is difficult to explain the differences between the levels of religiosity in West and East Germany by means of security or modernity. Although West Germany is more modern than East Germany, the former is behind the latter in terms of secularity. Similarly, it is impossible to understand within the frame of modernity or security the difference in levels of secularity and religiosity in Poland and Czechia, two Slav-based Catholic societies that underwent the Soviet experience.[16] Poland is among the more religious societies, whereas Czechia is among the most secular ones.

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[13]   Casanova, "Exploring the Postsecular: Three Meanings of 'the Secular' and Their Possible Transcendence," in *Habermas and Religion*, ed., Craig Calhoun, Eduardo Mendieta, and Jonathan VanAntwerpen (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2013), 36-37.

[14]   Stark, *The Triumph of Faith*, 39.

[15]   David Martin, *Religion and Power: No Logos without Mythos* (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2014), 26, https://doi.org/10.2307/591190.

[16]   Casanova, "Exploring the Postsecular," 36-37.

Likewise, the differences in religiosity levels between France and Italy, two Catholic societies of Latin origin, or between the Netherlands and Switzerland, two ultramodern Calvinist-Catholic countries, cannot be explained by means of modernization or security.[17]

Sophisticated modernization processes might be among the factors leading to secularization. Nonetheless, the argument that modernization is accompanied by a systematic secularization process is far from convincing, given the abovementioned examples of so called Iron Curtain societies, as well as France-Italy. At this stage, we should not overlook the role of relationships between religion and politics in the historical memory of these societies in determining the direction and speed of social evolution. Above all, the approach of the modern state apparatus of relevant society regarding secularism may be influential on the direction of secularity-religiosity in society. For example, a Jacobin secularist state structure can spread its ideology to the public through education. In other words, a state with a secularist approach similar to French or Soviet style can contribute to the secularization of society by easily spreading secular or anti-religious ideology through education policies.

II. Pious America?

Gridlock in discussions about secularization is based on different comprehensions of modernization by European social scientists such as Wilson and Bruce and American social scientists such as Stark and Greeley.[18] In other words, this gridlock in discussions about secularization arises from the argument regarding whether secularization is intrinsic to modernization process. European sociologists of religion mostly defend that secularization is intrinsic to modernization, whereas American sociologists of religion, who follow Stark, argue that the secularization is not intrinsic to modernization, since American society has emerged as a differentiated modern society.

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[17] Ibid.

[18] Casanova, "Beyond European and American Exceptionalisms: Towards a Global Perspective," in *Predicting Religion: Christian, Secular and Alternative Futures*, ed., Grace Davie, Paul Heelas, and Linda Woodhead (Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing, 2003), 17.

Theories by European social scientists in the context of Europe fail to explain the religious change in Poland, Italy, Ireland, and the United States. Likewise, theories such as the religious market model, which can explain the process religious change in American society, seem far from capable of expounding the outcome of religious change outside of the USA, especially in Europe.[19] The findings of Norris and Inglehart apparently support the foregoing fact. According to these social scientists, the religious market can set forth the journey of religious change in American society. Nevertheless, it fails to explain religiosity and secularity in Europe.[20] Both perspectives however, are criticized for their inability to provide an explanation of religious change in modern societies on a global scale.

Purporting to explain religious change in a global sense, Norris and Inglehart explain the secularity of Western European societies within the framework of the theory of existential security. For them, the common religiosity in societies with higher religiosity indicators, arises from existential insecurity due to lack of social welfare and economic inequality.[21] Although these scholars accept the United States as an outlier,[22] they note that the figures about religiosity from the Gallup International Poll may have been systematically exaggerated by the mentioned American survey company due to improper methods to assess social desirability.[23] Moreover, according to Norris and Inglehart migration waves from Latin America to the USA presumably have a positive effect on religiosity, since the migrants are faithful people with higher fertility.[24]

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[19]   Ibid.

[20]   Norris and Inglehart, *Sacred and Secular*, 100-101. See also Norris and Inglehart, "Sellers or Buyers in Religious Markets? The Supply and Demand of Religion," *The Hedgehog Review* 8, no. 1-2 (2006), 83-86.

[21]   Norris and Inglehart, "Sellers or Buyers in Religious Markets?," 87-91.

[22]   Norris and Inglehart, *Sacred and Secular*, 25.

[23]   Norris and Inglehart, "God, Guns, and Gays: Supply and Demand of Religion in the US and Western Europe," *Public Policy Review* 12, no. 4 (2006), 229, https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511791017.

[24]   Inglehart and Norris, "Why Didn't Religion Disappear? Re-examining the Secularization Thesis," in *Cultures and Globalization: Conflicts and Tensions*, ed., Helmut Anheier and Yudhishthir Raj Isar (London: Sage Publications Ltd., 2007), 255.

The reasons put forth by Norris and Inglehart to explain the higher level of religiosity in American society compared to Western Europe are far from convincing. Indeed, an examination of the profile of devout masses in the United States reveals findings that are contrary to the assertions by theorists of existential security. In fact, religiosity in the USA is widespread, covering all sectors of society.[25] In other words, the profile of American religiosity consists of middle-class people with certain levels of economic security.[26] However, the poor and needy Americans stand out for their relative absences in Sunday services.[27] Norris and Inglehart try to attribute American religiosity to the poorer citizen, though they cannot explain through existential security why the religiosity indicators are higher in richer and wealthier places such as Dallas, Texas when compared to suburbs with higher crime rates.[28] If general and existential insecurity push people towards religiousness or supernatural powers, then Chinese[29] or Vietnamese society should have been more devout than Americans since they are less secure. However, as the findings by Norris and Inglehart clearly put forth, China and Vietnam are among the most secular societies in the world, in addition to France, the Netherlands, and Belgium.[30] Therefore, obviously there are additional factors other than security that determine the level and status of religion and religiosity in a given society.

Another thesis by Norris and Inglehart, which is that American secularization was disrupted by the migration of extended Hispanic families, also seems problematic. Indeed, indicators on American

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[25] Casanova, "Exploring the Postsecular," 42; Peter Berger, Grace Davie, and Effie Fokas, *Religious America, Secular Europe?: A Theme and Variations* (Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2008), 99.

[26] Gerhard E. Lenski, "Social Correlates of Religious Interest," *American Sociological Review* 18, no. 5 (1953), 538-539, https://doi.org/10.2307/2087437.

[27] Rodney Stark and Charles Y. Glock, *American Piety: The Nature of Religious Commitment* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), 97-98; Stark, *The Triumph of Faith,* 154.

[28] John von Heyking, "Secularization: Not Dead, But Never What It Seemed," *International Studies Review* 7, no. 2 (2005), 280, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2486.2005.00485.x.

[29] See Casanova, "Exploring the Postsecular," 42; Casanova, "Rethinking Secularization," 13.

[30] Norris and Inglehart, *Sacred and Secular,* 60.

religiosity remained steady before and after increased migration to the USA. The relative consistency in religiosity indicators for American society between 1972 and 2002 is also confirmed by the findings of Norris and Inglehart.[31] In this regard, Stark cites the consistency in indicators of American religiosity in the last forty years, and argues that there is no significant change in the figures.[32] Religiosity in American society remained consistent between 1920 and 1965 when US borders were closed to migrants. The figures are also consistent after 1965.[33] In addition, the assumption by theorists of existential security that the migrants from underdeveloped countries are pious is also questionable. Indeed, migrants in the USA consist of people who have higher level of education and income than the average American.[34] In a similar vein, Casanova talks about the persuasive historical evidence that shows that immigrant communities from all religions become more devout once they settle in the USA.[35] According to Michael Foley and Dean Hoge, New Immigrants Survey data does not support the assumption that immigrants "are more pious." These social scientists inform that immigrants become more pious as they live in American society.[36] In addition, the so called secular societies in Europe, such as Germany, France, England, and the Netherlands, allow immigrants of Muslim and African origin to be part their social landscape especially in the 20th century. Nevertheless, the argument by Norris and Inglehart that immigrants will render the society more pious is untenable. For instance, the German Muslim community of five million and the French Muslim population of approximately six million immigrants have not transformed or changed the secular identity of host societies. Therefore, the thesis of Norris and Inglehart about migration seems invalid.

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[31] *Ibid.*, 89-94.

[32] Stark, *The Triumph of Faith*, 189.

[33] Casanova, "Exploring the Postsecular," 43. For a short history and profile of migration flows to USA, as well as for eventual socioeconomic change and transformation, also see Philip Martin and Elizabeth Midgley, "Immigration: Shaping and Reshaping America," *Population Bulletin* 61, no. 4 (2006).

[34] Casanova, "Exploring the Postsecular," 43.

[35] Ibid.

[36] Michael W. Foley and Dean R. Hoge, *Religion and New Immigrants: How Faith Communities Form Our Newest Citizens* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 64-65, https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195188707.001.0001.

Norris and Inglehart are presumptuous in arguing that the religiosity indicators in the USA might be incorrectly measured or exaggerated by the Gallup International Poll.[37] Indeed, apart from the Gallup International Poll, many other public polls such as the World Values Survey, confirm that religiosity indicators are higher and relatively more stable in American society than Western Europe. For example, according to data from survey companies such as General Social Survey, Baylor Religion Survey, and World Values Survey, there has been no significant change in American society in terms of church attendance between 1974 and 2014. Therefore, a relative consistency is not in question.[38] In this regard, theses by Norris and Inglehart about high and relatively consistent religiosity in the USA may be construed as an effort to find Eurocentric religious change in another context. Such an effort gives the impression that the secularization experience, particularly in Western Europe, is taken as a model. In other word, one can argue that these scholars try to adapt religious change in societies with different historical memories to this center. As relevant data show, religiosity maintains its attractiveness contrary to popular belief. In our opinion, this fact undermines the credibility of the arguments by theorists of existential security who claim to explain religious change on a global scale.

III. Pious America vs. Secular Europe: Dissimilar Historical Memories

A significant point that requires emphasis in secularization debates is the uniqueness of historical memories of societies. In this context, one should not overlook that North American and European societies have undergone different modernization experiences. For example, French revolutionaries, who are known for their anti-clericalism, did not display the same attitude towards religion as the founders of American society who had a liberal world view. It would be improper to think that French society, which comes from a Jacobin modernization experience, shares the same process with American society, founded by people who were faithful or at least tolerant towards religion and the devout.

Given that the USA was founded as a differentiated modern society, it is obviously dissimilar to Europe, which underwent various historical

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[37] Norris and Inglehart, *Sacred and Secular*, 91-92.

[38] Stark, *The Triumph of Faith*, 189.

processes in terms of religion and its function in society.[39] Differentiation is an important element of secularization and it is summarized as a process where religion is kept away from affairs of state, becoming an institution among other institutions such as family, politics, the economy, and the like. As a matter of fact, American society almost never experienced such a process. Consequently, religion in the USA is not a phenomenon inherited from the premodern period, unlike other regions in the world, especially Europe. Religion has been an important element of American modernity.[40] In most European countries, churches remained under the custody of modern nation-states, even after the Reformation process when the monopolistic Vatican-based religious structure was broken. Nevertheless, the USA never had a national church. Influenced by Alexis de Tocqueville, Berger indicates that the independence of church and state from one another is significant in terms of religious vividness. For Berger, in case the religion is identical or close to the state, any apathy or distance towards state will affect religion.[41] In this context, Stark notes two important consequences of being of a church under a state monopoly. First, the national church under the monopoly of the state paves the way for growing of lazy ecclesiastics. According to Stark, once accepted as civil servants and having secured a consistent income, men of the cloth become complacent since the rise or fall in the number of congregation members does not have any effect on the status of the ecclesiastics as civil servants. Second, in turn, once the church institution is under the administration of the state, people begin to see the church as a public utility. According to Stark, when church is considered as a public utility that belongs to the state, people lose their motivation to look after it.[42] Following Stark, Berger informs that unlike European churches, American churches do not serve as a public utility but are voluntary associations. For Berger, voluntary associations correspond to the social aspect of religion and such associations are prone to be adapted to pluralist and competitive bases.[43] Thus, religion remained vibrant in American society while it

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[39]   Casanova, "Rethinking Secularization," 10-14.

[40]   Casanova, "Are We Still Secular? Exploration on the Secular and the Post-Secular." In *Post-secular Society,* ed. Peter Nynäs, Mika Lassander, and Terhi Utriainen, New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2012, 39.

[41]   Berger, Davie, and Fokas, *Religious America, Secular Europe?*, 16.

[42]   Stark, *The Triumph of Faith*, 52.

[43]   Berger, Davie, and Fokas, *Religious America, Secular Europe?*, 16-17.

weakened in Western Europe, where it was compressed from the public to the private sphere.

Another notable difference between North America and Europe is that different versions of the Enlightenment were lived in these two continents, depending on industrialization and modernization. In this context, Berger remarks that the French Enlightenment, which influenced almost the entire European continent and Latin America, focused on anticlericalism and partially religious/Christian antagonism. Berger expresses that the anti-religious view of the Enlightenment is summarized in the following words of Voltaire about Catholic Church: "Destroy the infamy." Berger states that French revolutionaries abode by the words of Voltaire. Accordingly, the meaning of the 1905 French law on the Separation of the Church and the State is different from the case in the USA. Indeed, French secularism (laïcité) incorporates both the separation of religion from the state administration and the complete removal of religious symbols from the public sphere.[44] Likewise, Martin, who sees Europe as the battlefield for the Church and Enlightenment, indicates that this tension eventually led to the marginalization of religion and the Church as a phenomenon to be objected, losing all the institutional support.[45] Nevertheless, since American thinkers do not consider religion as a threat, "the politics of liberty" has been the theme of American Enlightenment. However, French Enlightenment thinkers such as Voltaire consider religion as superstitious or irrational and rational thought as the antithesis of religion. Consequently, the theme of the French Enlightenment has been a kind of "ideology of reason."[46] As a result, according to French Enlightenment philosophers, reason and religion cannot coexist, and the latter should be kept in the background. American thinkers on the other hand, who were at peace with religion and sought to create a new world, considered the coexistence of reason and religion possible and even necessary. This led to formation of a pluralist society based on the freedom of belief. Thus, American Enlightenment legitimized secularity neither in the state apparatus nor in society.

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[44]   *Ibid.*, 17.

[45]   David Martin, "The Secularization Issue," *The British Journal of Sociology* 42, no. 3 (1991), 468.

[46]   See Gertrude Himmelfarb, *The Roads to Modernity: The British, French, and American Enlightenments* (New York: Vintage Books, 2005), 147-187, 189-225.

Enlightenment is described as the peak of modern thought. Its influence in Europe is not restricted to social sciences; it also covers Christian theology. In the words of Stark, this process led to the emergence of an "enlightened clergy." For Stark, the formation of enlightened clergy has been influential in reducing the intensity of religion and religious attendance. As a matter of fact, traditionally people go to church for worship services such as sermons, rituals, and others.[47] Nevertheless, since the enlightened men of the cloth do not want to carry out the expected rituals pursuant to procedures, they cause the public to keep the church at bay. In this context, Stark refers to Thorkild Grosbøll, a priest in the Church of Denmark, who does not conceal his disbelief and declares religious faith as a primitive thing that clashes with modern man. According to Stark, anti-religious views in the Enlightenment are common among Scandinavian clergy. In other words, state churches in Scandinavia have been flirting with impiety and disbelief for a long time.[48]

As is seen, religiosity headed in different respective directions in the USA and Europe. Indeed, the state, which is the organizer and executive of economics, politics, and education in a society, establishes a roadmap around a certain worldview. Consequently, it influences all sections of society, including religion and the pious. In this context, one can argue that secularization does not appear as a natural sociological process but as a process realized by the state. This view goes in parallel with the conceptualization of "secularization from above" that was used by Enzo Pace when referring to the modernization/secularization of Muslim societies such as Turkey, Syria, and Iraq.[49] As a matter of fact, Casanova remarks that Western European secularization can be construed as the victory of "the knowledge regime of secularism" rather than a process of structural socioeconomic development.[50] In other words, Casanova indicates that the USA and non-Western European countries do not have the "secularist historical stadial consciousness" such as those of many

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[47]   Stark, *The Triumph of Faith*, 54.

[48]   *Ibid.*, 55.

[49]   See Enzo Pace, "The Helmet and the Turban: Secularization in Islam," in *Secularization and Social Integration: Papers in Honor of Karel Dobbelaere*, ed. Rudi Laemans, Bryan Wilson, and Jaak Billiet (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1998), 165-175.

[50]   Casanova, "Rethinking Secularization," 15.

European countries, especially France.[51] European philosophers of the Enlightenment had apparatuses that American intellectuals do not, such as social restructuring or, more broadly, social engineering within the scope of a laicization project. Education comes first from these apparatuses. In France, instructors were called "corps of teachers" and had the opportunity to instill official ideology of secularism by means of compulsory education up to secondary school to raise new secular and modern European luminaries. Nevertheless, until recently the US educational system has been under the control of local administrations and not the central government. French parents had to enroll their children in state schools due to lack of Catholic or Protestant schools in their neighborhood. However, American parents had the chance to choose the school they want for their children and to replace undesired teachers, even through the teacher's dismissal.[52]

Evidently, Europe and the USA had very different historical experiences in the modern era within the context of religion and the state. Consequently, religion has a different place in each continent. As Casanova notes, religiosity is considered as a significant constituent of the modern American society. Therefore, Americans may generally opt to introduce themselves as pious or at least as a believer. Nonetheless, secularity is considered as a prerequisite for being an intellectual, particularly in Continental Europe and Scandinavia, which is why Europeans rather call themselves secular. Eventually, Americans tend to exaggerate their religiosity, while Europeans are inclined to show off their secularity.[53] Therefore, it is necessary to take into account the genuine dynamics of societies in analyses on religious change. For instance, the fact that Continental Europe has had a relatively homogeneous religious structure since the Roman era, and holy wars in the wake of the Reformation are important.

On the other hand, the majority of "founding fathers" of the United States, such as John Adams, were at peace with religion and faith. It

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[51] Casanova, "The Secular, Secularizations, Secularisms," in *Rethinking Secularism*, ed. Craig Calhoun, Mark Juergensmeyer, and Jonathan VanAntwerpen (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 67.

[52] Berger, Davie, and Fokas, *Religious America, Secular Europe?*, 19; Peter L. Berger, "Reflections on the Sociology of Religion Today," *Sociology of Religion* 62, no. 4, special issue: *Religion and Globalization at the Turn of the Millennium* (2001), 448, https://doi.org/10.2307/3712435.

[53] Casanova, "The Secular, Secularizations, Secularisms," 67-68.

can be argued that this attitude led to the foundation of a strong religious structure and contributed to the influence of religion on all sectors of society. As is well-known, the first amendment of the US Constitution secures freedom of religion and strictly forbids the foundation of a state church. The amendment kept religion away from the administrative system of the state but could never prevent the interference of religion on politics.

In this respect, the reason for the widespread religiosity in American society is not based on the lack of social welfare, as Norris and Inglehart suggest through European perspective. Instead, the foregoing factual differences between the two continents might have played their part. In this context, the relative social weakening of religion in Europe can be interpreted as a victory for secularism.[54] However, a strong religious structure that is a constituent of American modernization played an essential role in ensuring the vividness of religion in the USA. Thus, modernization and relevant phenomena, such as rationalization, do not seem to be primary factors for the weakening of religion and religiosity. Therefore, it is improbable to talk about a "super theory" developed within the context of modernization, such as the theory of existential security, which claims to explain the nature of religiosity on a global scale.

It is also worth noting that, European societies compared to American society, do not have a uniform structure. Each European society has a different historical and cultural past and a different religious identity. Like classical secularization theory, the theory of existential security fails to explain the process of religious change in all European countries. For instance, in the wake of the economic crisis in 2008, Amy Erbe Healy and Michael Breen examined data from the European Social Survey institution for the period between 2002 and 2012 to discover whether uncertainty and economic insecurity in Ireland, Spain, and Portugal stimulates religiosity. As a result, no significant change was observed. The foregoing social scientists consider the theory of existential security as a theory that ignores the continuous influences on religious belief and practices. They assert that a "grand theory" cannot explain a multidimensional concept such

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[54]   Casanova, "Rethinking Secularization," 15.

as religiosity.[55] Indeed, the growth of social processes depends upon certain conditions,[56] and it is impossible to claim that all societies share the same sociological destiny. As Casanova puts it, "when it comes to religion, there is no global rule."[57] Therefore, the Eurocentric theory of existential security by Norris and Inglehart seems destined to share the same fate with other large-scale theories, including the classical secularization theory, which claims universality.

IV. Modernization, Existential Security, and Risk

Norris and Inglehart, who develop their arguments around the concept of human security, define security as the availability of basic needs, health services, social equality, employment opportunities, low crime rates, and low fear of war.[58] According to these social scientists, existential security is a feeling that indicates the possibility of guaranteeing survival.[59] In other words, existential security is a subjective sense that means having a livelihood relatively free of threats, such as illness, unemployment, and war.[60]

Existential security is on the rise during modernization thanks to improvements in gross national product per capita, economic equality, and access to clean water. Economic development, which emerged upon industrialization, plays an especially important role in ensuring security. Nevertheless, economic development is not the only element to ensure security. It is also important to distribute the economic growth in an equal manner to all sections of society.[61] In the words of

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[55] Amy Erbe Healy and Michael Breen, "Religiosity in Times of Insecurity: An Analysis of Irish, Spanish, and Portuguese European Social Survey Data, 2002-12," *Irish Journal of Sociology* 22, no. 2 (2014), 4-29, https://doi.org/10.7227/IJS.22.2.2.

[56] Martin, "The Secularization Issue," 467.

[57] Casanova, "Rethinking Secularization," 17.

[58] Heyking, "Secularization," 279.

[59] Norris and Inglehart, *Sacred and Secular*, 4, 245.

[60] Jonathan A. Lanman, "An Order of Mutual Benefit: A Secular Age and the Cognitive Science of Religion," in *Working with a Secular Age: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Charles Taylor's Master Narrative*, ed. Florian Zemmin, Colin Jager, and Guido Vanheeswijck (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016), 79-80, https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110375510-005.

[61] Norris and Inglehart, "Are High Levels of Existential Security Conducive to Secularization? A Response to Our Critics," (paper presented at Mid-West Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, April 22, 2010), 12,

Norris and Inglehart, the prerequisite for security is human development rather than economic development.[62] That is, human development or socioeconomic equality has the primary function to establish human security in general and existential security in particular. However, theorists of existential security claim that the risks and dangers that arose in the wake of modernization do not threaten life as uncertainty and insecurity in poorer societies. According to them, these risks and dangers are eliminated by welfare, vast resources of the state, and security measures in modern societies.[63] Nonetheless, Ulrich Beck and Anthony Giddens illustrate the severe consequences of modernization that threaten the future of humanity, such as ecological problems, nuclear war risk, and global terrorism. For Giddens, modernization is a double-sided process, and early sociologists did not stress enough the aspect which poses a threat on human life.[64]

Giddens describes problems, such as global warming and global terrorist threats, as the "dark side" of modernity. In other words, Giddens asserts that the modernization process leads to certain idiosyncratic risks, and describes such risks as the specific risk profile of modern society. In the eyes of Giddens, the specific risk in modern society is the globalization of nuclear war that threatens the survival of humanity. In other words, the risk is globalized because of the rise in the number of contingent-unpredictable events that may affect a large portion or all of humanity.[65] In a similar vein, Beck takes into account the foregoing threats caused by modernization and propounds that modern society is a "risk society," contrary to the claims of existential security by Norris and Inglehart. Like Giddens, Beck signals the two-dimensional aspect of the modernization process. Accordingly, industrialization, which is a significant component of modernization, provides technological possibilities in order to ease human life and lays the foundation for longer life. Nevertheless, it may also pave the

https://sites.hks.harvard.edu/fs/pnorris/Acrobat/MPSA%202010%20Existential%20Security%20and%20Secularization.pdf, accessed September 28, 2017.

[62]   Norris and Inglehart, *Sacred and Secular*, 53.

[63]   *Ibid.*, 246.

[64]   Anthony Giddens, *The Consequences of Modernity* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990), 7.

[65]   *Ibid.*, 124-125.

way for global threats,[66] such as Chernobyl and Hiroshima.

Beck talks about three important characteristics that separate current global risk society from conventional societies. First, the risk is no more limited in terms of its causes and effects, and has become delocalized. In other words, any place can become the new Chernobyl or Nagasaki. Second, global risk is incalculable, particularly in terms of its consequences. Finally, Beck indicates that global risk is irrecoverable. He discusses some issues such as irrevocable climate change, mutation of human genetics or seizure of nuclear weapons by terrorist groups, and warns that global risk in society faces certain irrevocable dangers.[67] Traditional societies, which are in the process of modernization, are subject to problems that lead to physical insecurity, such as poverty and internal conflicts. On the other hand, post-industrialist societies have to address foregoing troubles mentioned by Beck and Giddens. At this point, Daniel Silver questions whether there is any difference between living in a poor country with social unrest, such as inner conflicts, and in a modern wealthy society that is under the threat of global terrorism, global nuclear war or the abovementioned problems.[68] Although modern wealthy societies are apparently ahead of traditional societies in terms of security, they nonetheless are also subject to threats such as global terrorism and global nuclear war. In this regard, a risk society, which emerges in the wake of modernization, threatens the alleged subconscious and ontological security of an individual.[69] Hence, Giddens notes that modernity is prone to crises since it "threatens the very core of self-

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[66] Ulrich Beck, *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity*, trans. Mark Ritter (London: Sage Publications, 1992), 72.

[67] Beck, "Living in the World Risk Society," *Economy and Society* 35, no. 3 (2006), 333-334. https://doi.org/10.1080/03085140600844902.

[68] Daniel Silver, "What does it mean for religion to be important" (paper presented at Our Common Future, Hannover-Essen, November 2-6, 2010), 1, http://www.ourcommonfuture.de/fileadmin/user_upload/dateien/Reden/Silver_paper.pdf, accessed September 28, 2017.

[69] Alphia Possamai-Inesedy, "Beck's Risk Society and Giddens' Search for Ontological Security: A Comparative Analysis Between the Anthroposophical Society and the Assemblies of God," *Australian Religion Studies Review* 15, no. 1 (2002), 30.

identity."[70]

In countries with higher awareness about the negative impact of modernization, the confidence in science and technological progress is at the lowest levels. This argument is supported by the findings from studies by Norris and Inglehart. According to these findings, modern societies, such as the Netherlands, Norway, and Denmark, are the most skeptical towards modern science and scientific progress.[71] Norris and Inglehart make use of these findings to question the Weberian thesis that assumes an inversely proportional relationship between science and faith. In our opinion, these findings signal the creation of an essentially insecure and uncertain environment by modernization. As can be seen from above, the societies with higher awareness and developmental levels are comprised of people who question modern technology and scientific activities with regard to issues such as genetically modified food and nuclear arms.

Many qualitative and quantitative studies, including the findings by Norris and Inglehart, inform that the quest for meaning is gradually on the rise in almost every modern society. A significant rise is observed in all countries covered by Norris and Inglehart, except for Iceland, Spain, and Great Britain.[72] Such a rise clearly contradicts the essential arguments of the theory of existential security.[73] More precisely, the rise in the rate of contemplation on the meaning of life in modern societies reveals that modern man is in an existential insecurity, contrary to the arguments by Norris and Inglehart. An individual who finds himself/herself in an existential emptiness or crisis or who feels existentially insecure will seek meaning in life. Moreover, countries such as Belgium and Finland, which are considered among the most existentially secure, have the highest suicide rates. Consequently, we cannot talk about existential security but rather existential insecurity in such countries.[74] This illustrates the environment of insecurity and uncertainty caused by modernity. Finally, it becomes difficult to talk

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[70]   Anthony Giddens, *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1991), 184-185.

[71]   See Norris and Inglehart, *Sacred and Secular*, 67-68.

[72]   See *ibid.*, 75.

[73]   Daniel Silver, "Religion without Instrumentalization," *European Journal of Sociology* 47, no. 3 (2006), 427, https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003975606000166.

[74]   See OECD, "Suicide Rates," https://data.oecd.org/healthstat/suicide-rates.htm, accessed July 6, 2016.

about existential security, which means life can be guaranteed in every sense, in a modern society.

V. Existential Security, Religion, and Religiosity

One of the most significant problems in sociological studies is the content or definition of religion. Sociological literature has often allowed for definitions of religion based on its substance and or its functions, and polythetic definitions that include multiple aspects rather than a single definition.[75] In other words, there is no consensus with respect to a certain definition of religion in social sciences. However, the definition of religion may ease the definition and presentation of secularization in relevant discussions.[76] Indeed, secularization generally talks about a religious decline or decadence. Thus, we should first determine what is the essential phenomenon that undergoes such a decline or decadence. How can we discuss a certain problem in the absence of a common conceptualization? In this regard, any talk about the decline or rise of religion with respect to secularization will "inevitably resemble attempts to nail pudding to the wall" unless there is a common definition of religion.[77] A social scientist who approaches religion in a functionalist perspective can easily claim that secularization never actually occurred, given the extensity of an ideology such as Marxism that can fulfil certain functions of conventional religion, of being a football fan that extends to fanaticism, or of New Age movements such as spiritualism. However, another social scientist who approaches religion and religiosity in an essentialist perspective, can assert that secularization dismissed religion, considering the fall of traditional Christian manifestations, particularly in Western European societies.

When describing secularization as a multidimensional phenomenon,[78] Norris and Inglehart did not attempt to define religion

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[75] See Malcolm Hamilton, *The Sociology of Religion: Theoretical and Comparative Perspectives* (London: Routledge, 2001), 12-24; Keith A. Roberts and David Yamane, *Religion in Sociological Perspective*, 2nd ed. (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1990), 3-9.

[76] Michael Hill, *A Sociology of Religion* (London: Heinemann Educational Books, 1973), 228.

[77] John Torpey, "A (Post-) Secular Age? Religion and the Two Exceptionalisms," *Social Research* 77, no. 1 (2010), 271.

[78] Norris and Inglehart, *Sacred and Secular*, 42.

in their study on the theory of existential security. However, an analysis on the secularization theory based on existential security shows that the views of Norris and Inglehart are similar to the understanding of social scientists of the classical era, such as Feuerbach, Marx and Freud. For example, Marx associates the birth of religion with the helplessness of primitive man against nature.[79] Norris and Inglehart indicate that they are aware of the existence of various philosophers and theologians who sought the meaning of life throughout the history of humanity. Likewise, Norris and Inglehart assert that the most common motive behind human intentions toward religion or religiosity is the need for security in a world full of dangers and uncertainties.[80] According to these social scientists, almost all so-called supernaturalist religions provide man with assurance in face of what keeps occurring in nature. In other words, supernaturalist religions that are often formed around a transcendental power assure man that everything in nature functions in an order and system. According to Norris and Inglehart, such faith or assurance soothes stress and anxiety and enables man to concentrate on daily life.[81] In this regard, the motive for religious faith or belief is not constant in the eyes of these social scientists. Rather, it is a mechanism of atonement which develops in a reactive manner depending on environmental circumstances. In this way, Norris and Inglehart's understanding of religion resembles the "positivist primitive" understanding of religion in the 19th century. Seen from this perspective, religion becomes merely a socio-psychological phenomenon and arises from the lack of certainty and physical security.[82] Through the Marxist perspective, Norris and Inglehart note that the most important function of religion is to instill confidence and to serve as a mechanism of atonement. For them, religion provides man, especially those in the limits of subsistence/poverty, with feelings of reassurance and certainty.[83] According to this theory, religion has begun to lose its functional relevance and raison d'être in the face of existential security caused by modernization.[84] Indeed, once existential insecurity is eliminated, religion is deprived of this important function.

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[79]   Karl Marx, *Critique of Hegel's 'Philosophy of Right'*, trans. Annete Jolin and Joseph O'Malley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 131.

[80]   Norris and Inglehart, *Sacred and Secular*, 231.

[81]   *Ibid.*, 246.

[82]   Casanova, "Exploring the Postsecular," 41.

[83]   Norris and Inglehart, *Sacred and Secular*, 231.

[84]   Casanova, "Exploring the Postsecular," 41.

For Norris and Inglehart, this is why religion remains vivid in societies where daily life is shaped around poverty, illness, and premature death.[85]

It is clear that, these social scientists assume that all religions ensure existential security. Based on their research many scholars agree that religions may play a tranquilizing role in dealing with difficulties and soothing stress.[86] However, whether all religions can provide existential security is a controversial issue. For example, Silver notes that some Ancient Greek gods promise man uncertainty instead of security and certainty.[87] Therefore, the presence of such religious faiths in the history of humanity undermines the validity of an understanding of religion based on existential insecurity. Likewise, there are various opinions about whether Christians can ensure existential security as a religion. According to Eric Vogelin, the essence of Christianity is uncertainty. Therefore, the feeling of security in a world full of gods will fade away because of themselves.[88] Thus, Vogelin refers to lack of existential security in a faithful Christian, and indicates that man seeks security in modern conditions. This is why, according to Norris and Inglehart, it is controversial whether supernaturalist religions can provide man with a sense of reassurance and certainty.

For Norris and Inglehart, the importance of religious or spiritual values declines in the eyes of people in a modernized affluent society. Nonetheless, this process does not necessarily mean the extinction of all forms of religiosity. Symbolical elements, such as the adherence to a given religious identity or rituals, will survive even though they lose their meaning. For example, the role of the church in weddings and funeral ceremonies will survive even in secular societies. Likewise, in apparently secular countries such as England, France or Denmark, citizens remain adhered to certain religious communities in terms of their cultural identity because of their childhood, even though they have secular tendencies in terms of religious participation or practical religiosity. However, according to theorists of existential security, members of post-industrial societies do not have an obedient attitude

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85 Norris and Inglehart, *Sacred and Secular*, 216.

86 See Kenneth I. Pargament, *The Psychology of Religion and Coping: Theory, Research*, Practice (New York: The Guilford Press, 1997).

87 Silver, "Religion without Instrumentalization," 430-431.

88 Eric Vogelin, *The New Science of Politics: An Introduction* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1987), 122.

towards religious leaders or institutions as they once did, and they do not abide by conventional religious obligations.[89]

On the one hand Norris and Inglehart approach traditional religion in an essentialist perspective, on the other hand they claim through the functionalist view and rather paradoxically that secular ideologies, in addition to religion, provide man with the feeling of security.[90] According to Norris and Inglehart, Marxism in communist countries provides man with psychological security, predictability, and a feeling in line with a meaning and purpose in life, just like religion. For Norris and Inglehart, the Marxist ideology for creating a better society has given people a purpose of life.[91] Without giving any data, theorists of existential security note that Marxism, which is an ideology without any metaphysical foundation, ensured material and spiritual reassurance, particularly in the former Soviet countries, and functions as a religion. However, these social scientists are reluctant to include New Age movements within the frame of religion, even though it apparently comprises higher religious identity than Marxism. In short, like classical secularization theories, the theory of existential security also departs from a reductionist understanding of religion and tries to restrict religion and religiosity exclusively to church attendance or religious participation. As a result, the cultural adherence to religious institutions or individual piety is overlooked and not considered as religion or religiosity. Such a reductionist approach led Norris and Inglehart to focus on the absence of the religious and to ignore still-active traditional[92] and the newly emerging forms of religiosity.

Conclusion and Evaluation

Norris and Inglehart concentrate on the fall of conventional religious forms. They do not comment on any issues that may overshadow the theory of existential security and may be considered as religion in a functionalist perspective, such as New Age movements, or the search for meaning in secular societies. In this regard, secularization theories that focus on the fall or collapse of traditional religious forms seem far from being capable of interpreting the religious change in modern societies. Indeed, it is an obvious mistake

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[89] Norris and Inglehart, *Sacred and Secular*, 246-247.

[90] *Ibid.*, 19.

[91] *Ibid.*, 278.

[92] Heyking, "Secularization," 281.

to claim that both traditional religious forms and alternative spiritualist movements are declining in modern societies. Many surveys show that church attendance rates are declining in many countries, including the USA. However, almost all indexes reveal that spiritualist movements, such as New Age, are rising.[93] In this context, theorists of individualization such as Grace Davie argue that religiosity retreated from the public to the private sphere, especially in Europe, but that religion is still alive in Europe and maintains its attraction. Accordingly, Davie develops the concepts of "believing without belonging"[94] and "vicarious religion"[95] that recalls the Muslim concept of "obligation of sufficiency/socially obligatory (*farḍ al-kifāyah*)." Davie defends that individual religiosity of various forms and contents are on the rise in Europe following the modernization of Western European societies, even though established religions declined.[96]

Looked at from perspective of individualization theories, conventional religious patterns are abraded, particularly in modern wealthy regions such as Western Europe and North America. However, the individualized man began to head for new quasi-religious structures or to form new forms of religiosity. As religion retreated to the private sphere, it also began to take a form independent from religious authorities. As Berger notes, this form of individualized religiosity in modern societies is called "bricolage" by French sociologist Danièle Hervieu-Léger and "patchwork" by American sociologist Robert Wuthnow.[97] Put it simply, both conceptualizations are used to make reference to an all-you-can-eat, syncretized, and

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[93] Paul Heelas, "Challenging Secularization Theory: The Growth of 'New Age' Spiritualities of Life," *The Hedgehog Review* 8, no. 1-2 (2006), 46-58.

[94] See Grace Davie, *Religion in Britain Since 1945: Believing without Belonging* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1995).

[95] Davie, "Vicarious Religion: A Methodological Challenge," in *Everyday Religion: Observing Modern Religious Lives*, ed. Nancy T. Ammerman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 23-35, https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195305418.001.0001.

[96] Detlef Pollack, "Religious Change in Europe: Theoretical Considerations and Empirical Findings," *Social Compass* 55, no. 2 (2008), 171, https://doi.org/10.1177/0037768607089737.

[97] Berger, "Foreword," in *Everyday Religion: Observing Modern Religious Lives*, ed. Nancy T. Ammerman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), vii, https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195305418.001.0001.

hybridized form of religiosity. In other words, modern man in the globalized world is selective in religion. He/she can easily reject a religious doctrine and examine and create a composition of doctrines as if he/she were making a choice on an à la carte menu or an all-you-can-eat buffet.

Pursuant to such a view, data about declines in forms of traditional religious faith, practice, and institutions should not be necessarily construed as an indication of secularization. Indeed, the decline in traditional religious forms points to a transformation of religion, where the latter lapses into new looks.[98] During this process, religion and religiosity evolved into new forms in contrast to traditional religious forms.[99] The fact that people keep practicing their religion through these new forms can allow us to conclude that secularization indicators may be misleading. In fact, religion can be said to have an eternal essence or principle that incessantly sustains its specific symbols in which it prospers.[100] Therefore, Emile Durkheim expresses that religion will undergo a transformation rather than regression.[101] It seems clear that a religious aspect with or without metaphysical foundations will always remain alive in all societies, including the modern or postmodern ones.[102] Therefore, the theory of religious change should be established to cover metamorphosed modern forms of religiosity instead of concentrating on religious decadence as in secularization theories. As Berger emphasizes, the studies on religious change, especially religiosity scales, should be organized to contain the forms of religiousness concerned. Berger refers to Luckmann's argument of "invisible religion" and says that, having been individualized in modern societies, religiosity today is experienced in places other than churches or synagogues also. According to Berger, the subjects in religiosity surveys who are put to scales developed for

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[98]   James A. Beckford, *Social Theory and Religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 52, https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511520754.

[99]   For a discussion, see Mehmet Ali Kirman and Bülent Baloğlu, "New Forms of Religiosity within Secularization Process in Turkey," *World Journal of Islamic History and Civilization* 2, no. 3 (2012), 158-165.

[100] Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, trans. Joseph Ward Swain, 5th ed. (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1964), 427.

[101] *Ibid*., 430.

[102] See Kemal Ataman, *Ulus Olmanın Kutsal Temeli: Sivil Din* (Bursa: Sentez Yayıncılık, 2014).

presenting orthodoxy are confused about where to locate themselves.[103] In this regard, scales should be established in consideration of the religiosity experienced in a social manner. Admitting the shortcomings of the studies on religiosity in this regard, Norris and Inglehart agree with Silver in regard to reorganization of religiosity scales in consideration of differences between conventional supernaturalist religious forms and spiritualist movements such as New Age.[104] Silver notes that the religiosity scales by Norris and Inglehart are established in such a way to exclude non-supernaturalist forms of religiosity.[105]

As long as the correspondence of religion and religiosity remains undefined in sociological terms, secularization will remain as an ambiguous conceptualization in the relevant literature. In other words, the ambiguity regarding the essence of religion and religiosity will directly be reflected on the concept of secularization. In our opinion, although it may not be possible to ensure a complete consensus on the concepts of religion and religiosity in terms of sociological semantic web, it is possible to develop the mentioned concepts in order to include modern forms of religiosity.

To conclude, in a society, the fall and rise of a multidimensional phenomenon such as religiosity is related to sociopolitical and sociocultural issues such as the relationship among religion, state, society, and civil society, rather than modernization or security. Therefore, we should interpret modernization as a process with a pluralistic effect on religious, cultural and political spheres, rather than an absolute secularizing factor.[106] In short, the modernization process that enhances interactions between societies and cultures, defines differences as richness, and entails their coexistence should be treated not as a starter of secularization but as a process that leads to pluralism in relevant spheres.

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[103] Berger, "Foreword," v-vi.

[104] Norris and Inglehart, *Sacred and Secular*, 250.

[105] Silver, "Religion without Instrumentalization," 429-430.

[106] Berger, *The Many Altars of Modernity: Toward a Paradigm for Religion in a Pluralist Age* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2014).

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PERCEPTION OF ISLAM IN ZOROASTRIAN ZAND LITERATURE

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Abstract

This study analyses the perception of Islam presented in Zand literature, namely, the exegetical literature of the Zoroastrian tradition that gradually lost power as a result of Muslim conquests. Zand texts, which grew during the Sasanian era and indicate a lively theological discourse, were codified and took their final form after the Muslim conquests. Zand literature talks about Islam and Muslims in an implicit manner by means of concepts such as *Tāzīg* (Arab) *Ag-dēnīh* (evil/superstitious religion). Written for guiding Zoroastrian clergy in every subject, including theology and morals, these texts have a biased and negative attitude towards Islam and Muslims. Zands initially interpret Muslim conquests in an apocalyptic sense and emphasize that the end of world is near and consequently that evil reigns now. On the other hand, due to the obligation of living together with Muslims, Zands advise minimizing relations with Muslims in daily life. They present objections to the doctrinal attitude of Islam and aim at preserving the religious status of Zoroastrians. This paper stresses the view of the Zoroastrian tradition regarding Muslim conquests, the eventual coexistence experience and Islamic theology within the framework of Zands.

Key Words: Arab/*Tāzīg*, evil religion/*Ag-dēnīh*, Zand literature, Islam, Zoroastrianism

Introduction

Each religious tradition, which asserts the uniqueness of the truth, tends to define and describe all prior and later religions as incomplete, incorrect, and far from the truth. Indeed, such an approach is necessary to constitute the verity of its own discourse of truth. This necessity is why religious traditions have tried to construct their own theologies since the appearance of the earliest religions. Moreover, the descriptions and definitions by religions about their counterparts are actually reflections of the mentioned construction process. This fact is even apparent for religious traditions in the Middle East and Mesopotamia, such as Judaism, Zoroastrianism, Christianity, Mandaeism, Manichaeism, and Islam. Such reciprocal attempts at understanding and explanation make use of various tools throughout history; nevertheless, the objective of their polemical texts is to introduce the other through their very own perspective.

This study analyses particularly how the Zoroastrian tradition, which declined due to the influence of Muslim conquests in Iran, tries to respond to Islam and Muslims and how it warns the Zoroastrian community by means of Zand literature. Accordingly, our paper concentrates on the context of evolution of allusive expressions about Islam and Muslims in Zand literature, which took its final shape in the Islamic era.

In this respect, we touch upon concepts such as *Ag-dēn(īh), Tāzīg* and *Mahmute* regarding Islam and Muslims that are used in Zand literature. Then, our discussion focuses on how Muslim conquests and rule were received/perceived in these texts. Thus, the perception of Muslims in Zand literature will be treated in reference to its apocalyptic vision of conquests. Subsequently, this panorama will be revealed by means of certain examples regarding daily relationships between Muslims and Zoroastrians. Finally, this paper touches upon the Zoroastrian criticism based on the Islamic conception of God. Thus, the objective is to propound how Zoroastrians, who are treated as People of the Book and have *dhimmī* status in Islamic law, shaped their perception of Islam in their religious literature and how these texts exhibit an integral stance against Islam in every aspect, from theology to daily life. Accordingly, we dwell upon how Islam and Muslims are described by Zoroastrians living under Muslim rule.

I. Sasanian Exegetical Tradition: *Abestāg ud Zand*

The period between the life of Zoroaster, the founder of Zoroastrianism, and the late 10th century comprises various stages in the history of Zoroastrian religious literature. *Gatha* texts, attributed to Zoroaster in his lifetime; Avesta literature, which extends until the Sasanian era; and finally, exegetical literature by Zoroastrian clergy for comprehension of Avesta literature in the Sasanian period, namely, the Zand corpus,[1] constitute the three stages of mentioned period. These three stages also provide clues about the evolution of Zoroastrian theology and transforming religious basis in the process.

The Zand corpus is a product of exegetical activity in Sasanian era, the latest of these processes. Indeed, it possesses a structure that keeps the theological infrastructure of Zoroastrian tradition alive, falls in step with changes in daily life and is continuously refreshed against objections and accusations from other religious traditions. The Sasanian religious exegetical literature, which is passed through generations by means of Zoroastrian clerics (*mowbed*s), is not shared with anyone outside the clergy, and is subject to ceaseless codification, has always tried to respond to each religion that it encountered. Upon the beginning of Muslim conquests and the fall of Sasanian Empire, Zoroastrianism, which had lost its qualifications pertaining to a dominant religious tradition, became a stationary religious thought that retired into its shell, attempted to codify the hitherto built exegetical literature and lost its liveliness in the 9th through 11th centuries. This process led to the emergence of an apocalyptic approach heralding the days when Zoroastrian tradition was to prosper again and paved the way for the production of texts.

Within the context of comprehension of Avesta, the Zands, which appeared as a procedure for solving the clergy's problems through applying theology to daily life during the Sasanian era and for

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[1]   For further information about Zands and their content, see J. C. Tavadia, *Zabān wa Adabiyāt-i Pahlavī; Fārsī Miyānah*, trans. S. Najmābādī (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Dānishgāh-i Tehrān, 1348/1969), 1-33; Maria Macuch, "Pahlavi Literature," in *The Literature of Pre-Islamic Iran, A History of Persian Literature*, ed. R. Emmerick and M. Macuch (New York: I. B. Tauris, 2009), 116-196; P. De Menasce, "Zoroastrian Literature after the Muslim Conquest," in *Cambridge History of Iran*, ed. Richard N. Frye (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), IV, 543-566, https://doi.org/10.1017/CHOL9780521200936.019.

eventually transferring these solutions to the clerics, were codified in the wake of Muslim conquests. It is accepted that the word *zand* is derived from the verb *zainti/azanti* (to know) in Avestan and is used in the sense of commentary and explanation.[2] Zand texts, written in Pahlavi (Middle Persian) and Pazand (Middle Persian in Avestan alphabet), are also known as Pahlavi Texts. The mentioned codification process actually arises from the concern for finalizing and writing down the religious literature of Zoroastrianism, which is no longer a dominant tradition. This fact equally brings along the concealment of religious literature from non-Zoroastrians. In Zoroastrianism, clergy descends from father to son; owing to the aforementioned practice, the sacred language and texts are kept within the family and hidden from others. To ensure this secrecy, Pahlavi Texts recommend maintaining religious literature within families and declares adverse practices as a sin, so much so that the commandment for not revealing Zands is grounded on Zoroaster himself to constitute a legitimate basis:[3]

> One should not speak, do or arrange the business of Zand differently from what the original orthodox [spoke,] did, taught, and brought forth. For heresy comes to the world by one who teaches, speaks or do the business of Zand differently... One should not teach Avesta with Zand to evil and heretical people (*wattar ān ud ahlamōgān*), for sin becomes more current in the world (by him)[4] ... One should instruct peace and love in every creature, speak good deeds to every person, teach Zand in the household, and tell a secret to reliable people.[5]

According to Zand texts, Pahlavi is considered a sacred language, and religious literature should be strictly preserved. Therefore, the

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[2]   Eḥsān Bahrāmī, *Farhang-i Vājahhāye Avistāī*, ed. Farīdūn Junaydī (Tehran: Nashr-e Balkh, 1369/1991), I, 203.

[3]   This problem, reflected in Zand literature, is eventually treated in *Saddar naṣr and Saddar Bundehesh* in Persian, which recommends not teaching Middle Persian to everyone. *Ṣad Dar-i Naṣr va Ṣad Dar-i Bundihish (Saddar naṣr and Saddar Bundehesh: Persian Texts Relating to Zoroastrianism)*, ed. Ervad Bamanji Dhabhar (Mumbai: British India Press, 1909), XCVIII-XCIX, 66-67.

[4]   Aturpāt-ī Ēmētān, *The Wisdom of Sasanian Sages: Dēnkard VI*, trans. Shaul Shaked (Colorado: Westview Press, 1979), (C26, C28), 154-157; for further information, see Mehmet Alıcı, *Kadîm İran'da Din: Monoteizmden Düalizme Mecûsî Tanrı Anlayışı* (Istanbul: Ayışığı, 2012), 187-189, 197-198.

[5]   Aturpāt-ī Ēmētān, *Dēnkard VI*, (254), 98-99.

relation with sacred texts is regarded as undesirable not only for non-Zoroastrians but also for Zoroastrians outside clergy. As a matter of fact, the term "household" in the quotation above refers to the descendance of the clergy from father to son. The cases of Mani (216-276) and Mazdak (d. 524/528?), who were subject to prosecution and eventually executed because of unorthodox interpretation of Avesta during Sasanian era, clarifies the reasons behind such references.[6] According to Zoroastrian tradition, both Mani and Mazdak tried to interpret Avesta via decontextualization, even though each had different perspectives. This example explains the influence of significant religious authorities/*Mowbedān* (*Mowbed*s), such as Kartīr, on taking of a political decision about religious groups that threaten Zoroastrian tradition. Moreover, this example clarifies the motive behind their effort to warn and educate clergy about such issues through Zand texts. The related cases include prosecutions of Mani and his followers because of efforts by Kartīr in the 3rd century; of members of other religions, such as Christians, in the 4th century; and of Mazdak and his followers in the 6th century.[7] Upon Muslim conquests, the concerns about continuation of Zoroastrian tradition apparently played a part in codification of Zands and concealment of clerical opinions about the current situation.

II. Definitions of/Concepts about Islam and Muslims

Zand literature describes Islam and Muslims in a negative manner through implicit expressions. Zand texts within the Sasanian exegetical corpus concentrate on the concept of *Ag-dēnīh*, literally, "evil religion," instead of Islam and Muslims since the latter destroyed Sasanian Empire and caused the decline of Zoroastrianism. As for

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[6] For criticisms about overinterpretation of Mazdak, see *Zand-i Bahman Yasn (Tasheh-i Matn, Āvānavīsī, Bargardāni Fārisi and Yāddashtehā)*, ed. and trans. Muḥammad Taqī R. Muḥaṣṣil (Tehran: Muʾassasah-ʾi Muṭālaʿāt wa-Taḥqīqāt-i Farhangī, 1380/2002), (2.2-3), 2, 23-24; About Mani, see Touraj Daryaee, "Katībay-e Kartīr Dar Naqsh-i Rajab," *Nāma-e Irān-e Bāstān* 1 (1380/2002), 6-8; Walter Hinz, "Mani and Karder," in *La Persia Nel Medioevo* (Rome: Accademia Nazionale Dei Lincei, 1971), 495-496.

[7] Prods Oktor Skjærvø, *The Spirit of Zoroastrianism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 236-239 (Inscription of Kerdīr on the Kaʿba-ye Zardosht at Naqsh-e Rostam ms. 276); Christelle Jullien, "Martyrs, Christian," in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, accessed October 16, 2017.

"Muslim," Zand texts use the word *tāzīg/tāzīyān*, literally, "Arab." This definition is most likely because Arabs constituted the majority of Muslim armies and Islam was established by a prophet of Arabian ethnicity. After all, in Zand literature, the term "Arab" signifies a religious concept, not an ethnic identity, and Muslim conquests are considered "Arab invasions."

A. *Ag-dēnīh*: Evil/Superstitious Religion

Zoroastrian religious literature in Sasanian era refers to "good religion" as *veh/beh-dēn* and "evil and superstitious religions" as *ag-dēnīh*. It is indicated that Iranians (*Erānān*) are distant from such religion(s) that are heresy. In this context, *ag-dēnīh* is observed as a foe of wisdom and a source of greed, hatred, and selfishness. In many Zand texts, affiliation with or membership of such an evil religion is described with the expressions *ag-dēn/ak-dēn*, ag-dēnīh, akdinih, *vat-dēnīh*, *dūš-dēnīh*, and *druvandīh*, for example. In these texts, similar terms such as *ag-dēn* and *ag-dēnīh* describe superstitious religion, whereas *ag-dēn* may mean either "superstitious religion" or "follower of superstitious religion," namely, "infidel," depending on the context. Consequently, superstitious religion is defined using *ag-dēn* and *ag-dēnīh*, whereas infidel corresponds to *ag-dēn*. Hereby, conceptualization is used as a common and general description for all religious traditions except for Zoroastrianism, such as Judaism, Christianity, Manichaeism, and Islam.[8]

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[8]   Samuel H. Nyberg, *A Manual of Pahlavi: Part II, Glossary* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1964), 13; Donald N. MacKenzie, *A Concise Pahlavi Dictionary* (London: Oxford University Press, 1990), 6; Bahrām Farahvashī, *Farhang-e Fārsī beh Pahlavi* (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Dānishgāh-i Tehrān, 1381/2003), 66; *Zand-Ākāsīh; Iranian or Greater Bundahišn*, trans. Behramgore Tehmurasp Anklesaria (Mumbai: Rahnumae Mazdayasnan Sabha, 1956), (0.2), 2-5, (XXXIII.21) 276-277; Farnbagh Dādaghī, *Bundahiš,* trans. M. Bahār (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Ṭūs, 1349/1970), 31; *Kitāb-i Panjum-i Dīnkard: āvānivīsī, tarjumah, taʿlīqāt, vāzhah'nāmah, matn-i Pahlavī*, ed. and trans. Jālah Āmūzgār and Aḥmad Tafaḍḍulī (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Muʿīn, 1386/2008), (9.5, 10.3, 17. 6, 24.14-15), 46-47, 50-51, 60-61, 88-91; *The Hērbedestān and Nērangestān*, ed. and trans. Firoze M. P. Kotwal and Philip G. Kreyenbroek (Paris: Association pour l'Avancement des Etudes Iraniennes, 1992), I, 59-61 (11.3, 11.6-7); Aturpāt-ī Ēmētān, *Dēnkard VI*, (B14.10), 137-137; (321), 128-129; (288), 110-111; (246), 96-97; *Dēnkard-i Haftum*, ed. and trans. Muḥammad Taqī R. Muḥaṣṣil (Tehran: Pizhūhishgāh-i ʿUlūm-i Insānī

Having a more general sense in the beginning, the expressions *Ag-dēnīh* or *Dūš-dēnīh* gradually become more related to Islam in Zand texts that describe incidents following the fall of Sasanian Empire. The definitions become even more common in apocalyptic Zand texts, which seek answers to questions about the end of the world and the manners of comprehending Muslim conquests. The need among Zoroastrians, clergy above all, for an appropriate explanation of the situation led to negative depictions of Islam. For instance, *Bundahišn*,[9] which seeks to clarify the entire history according to the Zoroastrian tradition, from the story of creation until the end of the world, and which is codified during Islamic era, tries to meet the aforementioned requirement. According to this text, Arabs invade the lands of *Ērānšahr*[10] as the end of the world draws near. Here again, the terms

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va Muṭālaʿāt-i Farhangī, 1389/2010), (8.6), 264; Jason Mokhtarian, "The Boundaries of an Infidel in Zoroastrianism: A Middle Persian Term of Otherness for Jews, Christians, and Muslims," *Iranian Studies* 48, no. 1 (2015), 100-110, https://doi.org/10.1080/00210862.2014.948753; Mansour Shaki, "Dēn," in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, VII, 279-281.

[9] This Zand text, meaning the "first creation" via combination of "bun (beginning)" and "*dahišn* (creation)," is available in two versions, namely, *Iranian Bundahishn* or *Great Bundahishn* and *Indian Bundahishn*. In the codification process of Sasanian religious literature, the editing by Farnbagh/Farrbay was probably finalized in the 12th century. It was translated by Westerns in the late 19th century and by Indian Zoroastrians, namely, Parsee, in the mid-20th century. Carlo G. Cereti and David N. MacKenzie, "Except by Battle: Zoroastrian Cosmogony in the 1st Chapter of the Greater Bundahišn," in *Religious Themes and Texts of Pre-Islamic Iran and Central Asia: Studies in honour of Professor Gherardo Gnoli on the occasion of His 65th birthday on 6th December 2002*, ed., Carlo G. Cereti, Mauro Maggi, and Elio Provasi (Wiesbaden: L. R. Verlag, 2003), 31-33; *Greater Bundahišn*, 1-11; Dādaghī, *Bundahiš*, 5-7; Mary Boyce, "Middle Persian Literature," in *Handbook of Oriental Studies Ancient Near East Online IV: Iranian Studies* (Leiden & Köln: E. J. Brill, 1968), I (Literature), 40-41, https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004304994_003; Tavadia, *Zabān wa Adabiyāt-i Pahlavī*, 92-95, 102-104.

[10] The term *Ērānšahr* is used as the general name of all regions under rule of the Sasanian Empire. For further information, see *Šahrestānīhā ī Ērānšahr: A Middle Persian Text on Late Antique Geography, Epic, and History*, ed. and trans. Touraj Daryaee (California: Mazda Publishers, 2002), 1-7, 13-25; *The Sasanian Rock Relief at Naqsh-i Rustam*, ed. and trans. Georgina Herrmann and David N. MacKenzie (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1989), 55, 58 *(Kerdir Inscription)*; Abū Rayḥān

Dūš-denīh and *Ag-dēnīh*, which mean evil and superstitious religion, are conspicuously used instead of "Islam." Likewise, *Rivāyat ī Emīt ī Ašawahištān*, which offers solutions to daily problems of Zoroastrians in Islamic era, employs the term *ag-dēnīh* instead of Islam.[11] Therefore, *ag-dēnīh* replaces Islam particularly in Zand narratives about defeat and the eventual victory at the end of the world.

B. *Tāzī*g

The term *tāzīg* is another concept that can be used to help us track down Islam and Muslims in Zand texts. In Pahlavi, the words *tāzīk/g*, *tājīk*, *tāčīk*, and *tašťʾ* are used for "Arab," whereas in Sogdian, "Arab" corresponds to tāzīk (t'zyk)." According to R. Frye, Arabs were called *tāzīk* by Sogdians in the Islamic era. Consequently, Arabs, who settled in the region, blended with locals over time and became known as *tajik*. In the eyes of Muḥammad Ḥamīd Allāh, a prominent historian of Islam, the term *tāzīg* is derived from the root Ṭayy, the south Arabian tribe adept at commerce. According to Samuel Thrope, the term *tāz* is derived from *tayyʿa* and *tyyʿ*, which mean "Arab" in Aramaic and Syriac, respectively, before taking its final form (*tāzīg*) with the Pahlavi suffix of -cīk, which means "evil."[12] There are various approaches

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Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Bīrūnī, *Kitāb al-tafhīm li-awāʾil ṣināʿat al-tanjīm*, ed. Jalāl al-Dīn Humāʾī (Tehran: Silsilahā-yi Intishārāt-i Anjuman-i Āthār-i Millī, 1362/1984), 196-197.

[11] Dādaghī, *Bundahiš,* 31 (Dūš-denīh); *Greater Bundahišn*, (0.2), 2-5; (XXXIII.21), 276-277 (Ak-dinih); *Rivāyat-i Emīd-i Āshavahīshtān: mutaʿalliq bih sadah-ʾi chahārum-i Hijrī*, ed. and trans. Nezhat Ṣafā-yi Eṣfahānī (Tehran: Nashr-i Markaz, 1386/2007), (IV.6), 16-17 (akdēnīh); Daryaee, "Dedgāhhā-yi Mōbadān ve Šāhenšāhī-yi Sāsānī Darbāraye Ērānšahr," *Nāme-ye Irān-e Bāstān* 3, no. 2 (1382/2004), 21.

[12] Nyberg, *A Manual of Pahlavi*, II, 189, 192; Farahvashī, *Farhang-e Fārsī beh Pahlavi*, 357, 477; *The Zand ī Wahman Yasn: A Zoroastrian Apocalypse*, ed. and trans. Carlo G. Cereti (Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1995), (6.10), 12; Harold W. Bailey, "To the Zamasp-Namak. I," *Bulletin of the Society of Oriental and African Studies* 6, no. 1 (1930), 55, (5), https://doi.org/10.1017/S0041977X00090959; B. Gharib, *Sogdian Dictionary: Sogdian-Persian-English* (Tehran: Farhangan Publications, 1995), (9525-9526), 385; Tavadia, "A Rhymed Ballad in Pahlavi," *Journal of Royal Asiatic Studies* 87, no. 1-12 (1955), 31-32 (5), https://doi.org/10.1017/S0035869X00106999; Richard N. Frye, *The Golden Age of Persia: Arabs in the East* (London: Weidenfeld and

regarding the etymological root of the word; nevertheless, Zand texts use this concept to refer to a religious identity, namely, Muslim, rather than an ethnicity. *Zand ī Wahman Yasn*,[13] which is codified during Islamic period as the most significant example of Zoroastrian apocalypticism, notes this fact in a clear manner. Talking about what is to happen in eschatological time spans, the text mentions the *Tāzīg* together with Turks and Rūms among those who attacked the lands of Iran.[14]

On the other hand, there are some records in Zand texts that the concept of *tāzīg* points to Arabian ethnicity. In this context, the Arabian lineage is associated with the lineage of Azi Dahaka, the villain in Persian mythology. According to the story, the lineage of Azi Dahaka

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Nicolson, 1975), 96; Muhammed Hamidullah, *İslam Peygamberi*, trans. Salih Tuğ (Istanbul: Yeni Şafak, 2003), I, 325; Samuel Thrope, "Contradictions and Vile Utterances: The Zoroastrian Critique of Judaism in the Shkand Gumanig Wizar" (PhD diss., Berkeley, CA: Jewish Studies University of California, 2012), 115, note 73.

[13] *Zand ī Wahman Yasn* is one of the most important texts within Zoroastrian apocalyptic literature. Despite not being mentioned in the Avestan canon, it is accepted as the exegesis of Vohuman/Wahman Yasht, which is thought to be lost according to the Zoroastrian tradition. The book uses an allegoric language to relate the events to happen near the end of the world and treats the end of time through four periods. According to Cereti, this text may be dated to the late Sasanian and early Islamic eras, and it took its final shape between the 10th and 12th centuries. For further information, see *The Zand ī Wahman Yasn: A Zoroastrian Apocalypse*, (I. 6-10, IV-IX), 15-26, 139, 149, 191-194; *Bahman Yast; Pahlavi Texts. Part I*, ed. F. Max Müller, trans. Edward William West (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1880), LIV-LVII, (I.6), 193; Boyce, "On the Antiquity of Zoroastrian Apocalyptic," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 47, no. 1 (1984), 59-75, https://doi.org/10.1017/S0041977X0002214X; Werner Sundermann, "Bahman Yašt," in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, III, 492-493; Cereti, "On the Date of Zand ī Wahman Yasn," in *The K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, Second International Congress Proceedings*, ed. Hormazdiar J. M. Desai and Homai N. Modi (Mumbai: The K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, 1996), 242-252.

[14] *Zand-i Bahman Yasn*, (4.59, 6.10, 9.10), VII-IX, 8-9, 12, 18, 167; *The Zand ī Wahman Yasn: A Zoroastrian Apocalypse*, 11-13, 157, 161, 167; *Zand-i Vohūman Yasn*, ed. and trans. Şādiq Hidāyat (Tehran: Nashr-i Jāmah'darān, 1383/2005), 50, 57, 69-70.

comes from Tāz, the ancestor of Arabs/*tāzīg* and his wife Tāzak.[15]
Indeed, some texts in Middle Persian from the Sasanian period
describe Arabs with the term *tāzīg* in ethnic terms and do not mention
their religious status. For instance, *Šahrestānīhā ī Ērānšahr*, which
depicts the Sasanian land, tells that the city of al-Ḥīrah was founded
under the rule of Shapur I and that the city bordered the *tāzīg*. In the
same text, *tāzīg* signifies ethnic identity also in the subject of the
seizure of Ḥimyar. Likewise, *tāzīg* refers to ethnicity in Zand passages
about the pre-Islamic history of the Sasanians.[16]

Zand texts associate Arabs with the villain in Persian mythology in
terms of lineage, asserting that they brought disaster to *Ērānšahr* land.
For example, *Bundahišn* refers to a mythological context for the
origins of Arabs; accordingly, Azdahāg, the evil protagonist, made a
man marry a female demon (*parīk*), in addition to making a woman
marry a male demon (*dēv*), whence came the black race. This evil
generation was dismissed from *Ērānšahr* upon advent of the
mythological hero Farīdūn. Nevertheless, the Arab invasion brought
this evil ethnicity back to Iranian geography.[17] Thus, Arabs are
described with an evil genealogy due to their origins and are
considered as the source of other misdeeds. This situation shows that
in Zand literature, the concept of *tāzīg* lost its ethnic sense in pre-
Islamic era and changed into a religious identity upon Muslim
conquests. Herewith, it is implied that the evil nature of Arabs is
accompanied by the evilness of their religion.

Consequently, *tāzīg* evolves from an ethnic identity to a religious
context. Used in Sasanian records to define a race during the pre-
Islamic period, this concept changed into a religious identity in Zand

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[15]   *Dēnkard-i Haftum*, (0.34), 203; *Dinkard VIII; Pahlavi Texts, IV*, ed. F. Max Müller,
       trans. Edward William West (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1892), (XIII.8), 27; *Greater
       Bundahišn*, (XXXV.6), 292-293; *Bundahis*; *Pahlavi Texts, I*, ed. F. Max Müller,
       trans. Edward William West (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1880), (XV.28), 58;
       (XXXI.6), 131-132.

[16]   *Šahrestānīhā ī Ērānšahr*, (25, 50), 26, 28; *Greater Bundahišn*, (XXXIII.16), 266-
       277.

[17]   *Greater Bundahišn*, (XIVB.2), 138-139; *Bundahiš*, (XXIII.2), 87; Also see *The
       Ḍinkarḍ; The original Pêhlawi Text; the same transliterated in Zend characters;
       translations of the text in the Gujrati and English languages; a commentary and
       a glossary of select terms*, trans. Peshotun Dastur Bahramji Sunjana (Mumbai:
       Duftur Ashkara Press, 1874), Dinkard VI, (227.11), 372-374.

texts codified in the wake of Muslim conquests. Moreover, Arabs are originally based on an evil lineage to contribute to the construction of this negative religious identity.

C. *Mahmute* (Muḥammad)

Dēnkard,[18] one of the Zand texts, allows for a concept that may be construed as a mention of Prophet Muḥammad. In addition to more common definitions of *ag-dēn* and *tāzīg, Dēnkard*, which means "reference for religious information," also allows for another word, *mahmute*, distinctive from those that are constantly used when describing Islam and Muslims. *Dēnkard* employs this new concept in the claim that Zoroastrianism, which is the true religion, will be weakened by three men of wrong belief. These men are expressed as follows: "Mani from white race, Mazdak the helper of Satan, and Mahmute." Dastur Sanjana, the editor and translator of *Dēnkard*,

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[18] According to general opinion, this work consists of nine books; we know that it has not reached our day in a complete form. Providing information about many themes, including religion, law, morals, and religious practices in Sasanian era, it sheds light on Sasanian social life. Moreover, *Dēnkard* comprises significant records about the past of the Zoroastrian tradition, in addition to information about the codification process of sacred texts. Reviewed on various occasions like other Zands, it was probably codified by two Zoroastrian clerics, namely, Ādhar Farnbagh Farrukhzādān and Ādurbād Ēmēdān, during the rule of Caliph al-Maʾmūn (r. 813-833) in the 9th century. Translation of *Dēnkard* by Edward West is included within *Pahlavi Texts IV-V* (1897) in the series *The Sacred Book of East* under editorship of F. Max Müller. D. M. Madan prepared the reviewed Middle Persian version of text as *The Complete Text of the Pahlavi Book I-II* (1911), and an English translation was performed by Sanjana under the title *The Ḍinkarḍ* (1874-1928). In addition to early publications, each book of *Dēnkard* has eventually been analyzed and translated into various languages. Accordingly, book six of *Dēnkard* (*Dinkard Book VI,* 1979) was translated into English by Shaul Shaked, whereas Persian translations include Book Three (*Kitāb-i Savvum-i Dīnkard*, 1384/2005) by Farīdūn Faḍīlat, Book Four (*Dēnkard-i Chahārum*, 1393/2014) by Maryam Riḍāyī and Muḥammad Saʿīd ʿIryān, Book Five (*Kitāb-i Panjum-i Dēnkard*, 1386/2007) by Jālah Āmūzgār-Aḥmad Tafaḍḍulī, and Book Seven (*Dēnkard-i Haftum*, 1389/2010) by Muḥammad Taqī R. Muḥaṣṣil. For further information, see Macuch, "Pahlavi Literature," 131-135; Aturpāt-ī Ēmētān, *The Dēnkard VI*, XV-XLVII; Boyce, "Middle Persian Literature," 44-45; Tavadia, *Zabān wa Adabiyāt-i Pahlavī*, 49-51; *Dinkard V; Pahlavi Texts V*, ed. F. Max Müller, trans. Edward William West (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1897), (I. 1-4), 119-120.

indicates that the word *mahmute* (Muḥammad?) can be associated with the word *mōmanēn/mūmanīn* in *Gujastak Abālīš*. Thereupon, The Caliph al-Maʾmūn is called "Amīr al-muʾminīn" in *Gujastak Abālīš*, and the word *muʾminūn* is written as *mūmanīn* in Middle Persian. According to Dastur Sanjana, the word *mahmute* can also be read as *mūmanīn*.[19]

In our opinion, it is problematic to explain the term *mahmute* via *muʾmin* (believer) as Sanjana does. Indeed, *Dēnkard* refers to founders of religious traditions while mentioning three personalities. The word *muʾmin* is a general definition used for all followers of Islam and does not signify "founder of religion." Therefore, the term *mahmute* in *Dēnkard* must be referring to Muḥammad. This is why *mūmanīn* in Middle Persian given in *Gujastak Abālish* as a clear reference to Muslims, should be construed as "believers," whereas *Mahmute* is more likely to signify the prophet of Islam. Obviously, *Mahmute*, which is defined as an exception in Zand literature, means Muḥammad, whereas *mūmanīn* signifies Muslims.

III. Some Historical Records of Muslim Conquests

The first-ever contact between Muslims and Zoroastrians took place during the lifetime of Prophet Muḥammad. Upon the conquest of Bahrain and Hajar, questions about the fate of Zoroastrians came to the forefront. Prophet Muḥammad ordered that Zoroastrians should be considered People of the Book and to collect *jizyah* from them. For instance, al-Mundhir ibn Sāwā, who converted to Islam as Sasanian governor of Bahrain, asked Muḥammad about the situation of Jews and Zoroastrians. The Prophet told him to collect *jizyah* from both communities. Hereupon, Zoroastrians in the conquered lands were subject to *jizyah* like other People of the Book since the time of the earliest caliphs.[20]

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[19]   Sanjana, *The Ḍinkarḍ VII*, (art. 345), 485-486, 501 (glossary); *Gajastak Abālish*, trans. Homi F. Chacha (Mumbai: The Trustees Parsi Punchayet Funds and Properties, 1936), 12, 41; Ādhar Farnbagh Farrukhzādān, *Mātīkān-i Gujastak-i Abālīsh: hamrāh bā matn-i Pahlavī bargardān-i Pārsī vāzhah'nāmah va āvānivīsī*, ed. and trans. Ibrāhīm Mīrzā-yi Nāẓir (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Hīrmand, 1375/1996), 16-17.

[20]   Mālik ibn Anas, *al-Muwaṭṭaʾ: Riwāyat Abī Muṣʿab al-Zuhrī*, ed. Bashshār ʿAwwād Maʿrūf and Maḥmūd Muḥammad Khalīl (Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Risālah, 1991), I,

Historical sources provide numerous examples about the contact between Muslims and Zoroastrians in Iran during Muslim conquests. There are examples of positive and negative attitudes towards Zoroastrian locals by Muslim rulers. Consequently, there is no uniform, entirely negative or positive approach in the course of Muslim conquests. On the other hand, Zoroastrians apparently maintained their status as People of the Book in the wake of Muslim conquests.

In contradistinction to Zand literature, Muslim conquests did not actually evolve in a totally negative manner; in fact, various approaches are observed because of different reasons throughout the history. At this point, several negative and positive examples may be given. For instance, in the beginning of the 8th century, when the Muslim conquests were going on in Iran and reached Chinese borders, the practices of Qutaybah ibn Muslim (d. 96/715), the governor of Khurāsān in those days, can be given as an example of negative attitudes toward Zoroastrians. According to al-Narshakhī, Bukhārā was conquered by Muslims in an early period, whereupon the most important fire temple near Mākh bazaar was transformed into a mosque by invaders. Interestingly enough, al-Narshakhī reports that locals of Bukhārā converted to Islam upon the arrival of Arabs, before coming back to their original religion; besides, Qutaybah ibn Muslim turned the people of Bukhārā, who were Buddhist and Zoroastrian, to Islam three times, but they returned to their faiths on each occasion. On the fourth try, Qutaybah ibn Muslim ordered the townspeople to give half of their houses to Arabs and obliged them to live together with the latter and to become Muslim. Under the rule of Qutaybah ibn Muslim, temples of other religions were destroyed and many mosques were built; he also made it compulsory for locals to attend Friday *ṣalāt*. According to al-Narshakhī, the wealthier personalities, who inhabited a neighborhood of seven hundred pavilions just outside the city center, did not respond to this call. On a Friday, Muslims went to this neighborhood to call the locals for *ṣalāh*, whereupon they stoned the Muslims from the roofs of their houses. Consequently, Muslims

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117, 289; Ḥamīd Allāh, *Majmūʿat al-wathāʾiq al-siyāsiyyah li-l-ʿahd al-nabawī wa-l-khilāfah al-rāshidah*, 5th ed. (Beirut: Dār al-Nafāʾis, 1985), 145-164; Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad ibn Jarīr ibn Yazīd al-Āmulī al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī: Tārīkh al-rusul wa-l-mulūk*, ed. Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (Cairo: Dār al-Maʿārif, 1967), II, 644-646.

prevailed over them and demolished their houses.[21]

Apart from the foregoing record from Umayyad era, there are many positive examples of daily practices of Muslims toward Zoroastrians. *Tārīkh-i Sīstān* (1060?) includes the following account about the early period. Ziyād ibn Abīhi, the Umayyad governor of al-Baṣrah in 51 AH, appointed ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Abī Bakr as administrator of Sīstān and ordered him to slay Šābur, the leader Zoroastrian clergy/*Hērbed*s, in addition to put out their sacred fire. The plan was revealed upon the arrival of ʿUbayd Allāh in Sīstān; thereupon, local landowners (*dehqān*)[22] and Zoroastrians (*Gabr*) opposed him. Therewith, Muslims in Sīstān argued that such treatment of a community with which peace was established during time of Prophet Muḥammad and Rāshidūn Caliphs was unfair; accordingly, local Muslims stated that such behavior would be against the peace treaty and *sharīʿah*. Muslims informed Damascus, the center of the Caliphate, about the situation by means of a letter. In response, it was indicated that Zoroastrian temples could not be touched, together with an emphasis on the peace treaty. Consequently, the order of al-Baṣrah governor was not followed, and Zoroastrian temples and clergy remained intact. In addition to the letter, the text includes an explanation about the situation of the Zoroastrians. In this text, the Zoroastrians explain that they worship god even though they have fire temples, just as Muslims have *miḥrāb* and al-Kaʿbah. *Tārīkh-i Sīstān* clarifies the case through indication that Prophet Muḥammad granted People of the Book, namely, other religious traditions, such as Judaism and Christianity, the freedom of practicing their religion and applied only *jizyah,* a per capita yearly

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[21] Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Jaʿfar ibn Zakariyyā ibn al-Khaṭṭāb al-Narshakhī, *Tārīkh Bukhārā*, trans. Abū Naṣr Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Qubāwī, abr. Muḥammad ibn Zufar ibn ʿUmar, ed. Muḥammad Taqī Mudarris Raḍawī (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Bunyād-i Farhang-i Īrān, 1351/1972), 25-26, 51-58.

[22] *Dehqān*s (landowners) adopted various attitudes to avoid losing their lands. Some accepted paying the *jizyah* tax and collaborated with Muslims, others handed their lands to Christian monasteries for protection, and some opted for Islam for the same purpose. For further information, see Michael Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1984), 199-208; Milka Levy-Rubin, *Non-Muslims in the Early Islamic Empire: From Surrender to Coexistence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 136-137, https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511977435.

tax, to them such that they could maintain their existence.[23] Therefore, the fact that the Muslims would not harm temples, leaders, and followers of other religions in peacetime is confirmed once again.

Given the aforesaid historical records, it would be inappropriate to adopt an entirely negative approach about journey of Islam in Iran and its contact with Zoroastrianism. This negative perspective becomes apparent in Zand texts that were edited for the last time in the Islamic era. It can be observed that Muslims tried to live together with Zoroastrians in daily life, except for during wartime. As observed in the last example above, for the negative behavior of a Muslim administrator to be corrected by Muslim people is remarkable.

Likewise, there are accounts that Muslim governors punished certain persons at the behest of Zoroastrian clergy to preserve Zoroastrianism. For instance, in his *al-Milal wa-l-niḥal*, al-Shahrastānī describes Zoroastrianism under the chapter "al-Majūs" and indicates that Bihāfarīd, a Sīsān according to him, denied his own religion. Therewith, Bihāfarīd of Nīshābūr abandoned Zoroastrianism, summoned his coreligionists to abandon *zamzamah*[24] and worshipping fire, and invited them to worship by kneeling down on one knee facing the sun. This is why he received a reaction from Zoroastrian clergymen. Zoroastrians submitted their complaint to Governor Abū Muslim al-Khurāsānī; their complaint was accepted, and Sīsān was executed at the door of the Nīshābūr mosque.[25] This is clear

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[23]   *Tārīkh-i Sīstān: taʾlīf dar ḥudūd 445-725*, ed. Muḥammad Taqī Bahār (Tehran: n.p., 1314/1935 → Tehran: Intishārāt-i Muʿīn, 1381/2002), 121-123.

[24]   *Zamzamah*, in the broadest sense, means "muttering of prayers by clergymen during rituals or consecration." Particularly during consecration of bread "dron/darun (draonangha)," three moral principles of Zoroastrianism are uttered and repeated; these are Hūmata, Hukhtā, and Khvarshta, which mean good thought, good word, and good deed, respectively. Jivani Jamshedi Modi, *Religious Ceremonies and Customs of Parsees* (Mumbai: British India Press, 1922), 87-95, 296-297; *The Hērbedestān and Nērangestān*, III, 191-195; Abū l-Fatḥ Tāj al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Karīm ibn Aḥmad al-Shahrastānī, *al-Milal wa-l-niḥal*, ed. Amīr ʿAlī Mahnā and ʿAlī Ḥasan Fāʿūr (Beirut: Dār al-Maʿrifah, 1993), I, 279-281, 284-286; Mehmet Alıcı, "Şehristânî'nin 'el-Mecûs' Tasnifinin Mecûsî Kutsal Metinlerinden Hareketle Tahkiki," *İslâm Araştırmaları Dergisi* 31 (2014), 81-82, 100-101, 109.

[25]   Al-Shahrastānī, *al-Milal wa-l-niḥal*, I, 284; about the interchangeable use of Bihāfarīd and Sīsān, in addition to his creed, see Alıcı, "Şehristânî'nin 'el-Mecûs'

evidence of the sensitivity of Muslim rulers toward maintaining the existence of Zoroastrianism.

IV. Satanic Rule: Muslim Sovereignty according to Zand Literature

Upon the conquest of *Ērānšahr* by Muslims, Sasanian rule was terminated, and Zoroastrianism, the dominant religious tradition in the region, lost ground. As a result, apocalyptical Zand texts began to emphasize that the end of world is near and that evil will reign for a while, before victory and salvation finally arrives. At this point, Muslim sovereignty is perceived as manifestation of evil, whereas Islam is depicted as evil religion (*ag-dēnīh*), the foe of good religion (*veh-dēn*).

Zand literature underwent codification in the wake of Muslim conquests; accounts about Islam and Muslims were primarily included in Zoroastrian eschatology. *Bundahišn, Zand ī Wahman Yasn*, and *Jāmāsp-nāmah*, which are the essential accounts of the eschatology, tell about weakening of Zoroastrians as the end of the world draws near. Accordingly, it is reported that the *Ērānšahr* region was invaded by Turks, Arabs, and Rūms and that Muslim conquests are especially mentioned in a negative manner. In this context, descriptions of Arabs, more precisely, Muslims and their religion, bear importance. For instance, *Zand ī Wahman Yasn*, one of the apocalyptic Zand texts, implies that Muslim conquests represent the beginning of dark ages and herald the end of time. In this regard, the end of the world is divided into four sections: the Golden Age, when King Vištāspa accepted the doctrine of Zoroaster; the Silver Age, when Ardašīr, a descendant of Kayāniān, was in reign; the Steel Age, when Khusraw Anūshirwān, son of Kawād, reigned; and finally, the Iron Age, when evil interferes and establishes its domination.[26] The final Iron Age is described as the sovereignty of evil:

Tasnifinin Mecûsî Kutsal Metinlerinden Hareketle Tahkiki," 100-101; Ḡolām-Ḥosayn Yūsofī, "Behāfarīd," in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, IV, 88-90.

[26]   *The Zand ī Wahman Yasn: A Zoroastrian Apocalypse*, (I. 6-11), 11-13, 133, 149; for a similar account, see Ervad Bamanji Nusserwanji Dhabhar, *The Persian Rivayats of Hormazyar Framarz and Others: Their Version with Introduction and Notes* (Bombay: The K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, 1932), 453-454; Maneckji Nusservanji Dhalla, *History of Zoroastrianism* (New York, N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 1938 → New York: AMS Press Inc., 1977), 403-404.

And the one on which iron had been mixed is the evil rule of parted *dēws* of the seed of *Xēšm*, when it will be the end of your tenth century, o *Spitāmān Zarduxšt.*[27]

In the beginning of this Zand text, the identity of giants/evil creatures with messy/uncombed hair, who are descendants of Xēšm, the demon of wrath, is questioned; later in the text and other Zand works, they turn out to be Arabs/Muslims. Further in the text, the expression "giants (*dēv*s) with messy hair" is remarkably mentioned after evil rulers such as Azdahāg, Turanian Afrāsiāb, Alexander the Byzantine, in addition to the leather-belted (Turks), who were active in *Ērānšahr*.[28] Therefore, this concept might have been used to refer to Arabs, or more precisely, Muslims. Indeed, Ş. Hidāyat and M. Taqī R. Muḥaṣṣil, who translated *Zand ī Wahman Yasn* with footnotes, assert that the phrase "giants with messy/uncombed hair" signifies Arabs.[29] In the seventh book of *Dēnkard*, another Zand text, the "evil beings with messy hair; *tāzīg*" clearly signify Arabs.[30] In this regard, references to Muslim conquests reveal that Muslims are referred to as Arabs.

Zand ī Wahman Yasn, which is dated to the aftermath of the Muslim conquests, tells that during conquests, Turks and Rūms brought disaster to *Ērānšahr*, along with Arabs as pioneers of evil. This apocalyptic text depicts what Zoroastrians underwent upon Muslim conquests:

And the third one <will take place> at the end of your millennium, O *Spitāmān Zarduxšt*, when all those three, the Turk, the *Tāzīg*, and the *Hrōmāyīg*, <together>, will arrive to this place (that is, there was one who said, "the plain of *Nišānag*")... And there will be such a flow of those of the seed of *Xēšm* into these *Ērānᵢnan* lands which I, Ohmazd, have created, will arrive... <those> dwelling in the burrows, dwelling in the mountains and dwelling by the sea, few will remain. Because when a husband will able to save himself, then he will not remember <his> wife, children, and property. And then *Zarduxšt* said, "Creator, give me death and give my progeny death <so> that we shall not live

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27 *The Zand ī Wahman Yasn: A Zoroastrian Apocalypse*, (I.11), 149.

28 *Ibid.*, (VII.32), 165.

29 *Zand-i Vohūman Yasn*, (I. 6-11), 34-35; *Zand-i Bahman Yasn*, (I.11), 22.

30 *Dēnkard-i Haftum*, (8.47), 105, 270; *Dinkard VII; Pahlavi Texts V*, (8.47), 104.

in those hard times.[31]

As is observed above, the age of evil is started with invasions by non-Iranians; the text tells about invasion of Iran by Arabs and later by other nations, in addition to about their evil rule.[32] The mention of Turks and Rūms can be construed as a reference to nations who invaded Iranian land prior to Muslim conquests. Indeed, the following phrase blames all these ethnicities for being representatives of Xēšm, in line with their invasion attempts throughout history. Actually, the arrival of Arabs is described as the latest invasion attempt.

The aforementioned Zand text states that salvation will arrive at the end of the world, whereupon Ušadarmāh, one of three mythological sons of Zoroaster, will come and renovate the true religion at the end of time. In fact, the eschatological events are told through the mouth of Zoroaster to constitute a reasonable basis for the worsening situation with reference to a savior motif. In this respect, following the previous attacks of Turks and Rūms, *Ērānšahr* was finally exposed to the *Tāzīg* invasion. Accordingly, Zand text describes the evil rulings and religion of Arabs as follows:

> *Ohrmazd* said, "O *Spitāmān Zarduxšt*, this what I foretell, he will lead this creation back to its proper existence. And when the end of the millennium will be near *Pišōtan* son of *Wištāsp* will appear <and> the victorious *xwarrah* of the Kayanids will reach him... *the Turk,* the *Tāzīg*, the *Hrōmāyīg* and the worst <of> *Ērāni*an men will go <forth> with bravery, oppression, and enmity towards the lord, and will strike the fire, waken the religion, and take power <and> victory from it. And <about> that law and religion, they will smite continually whoever will accept it willingly <or>, otherwise, will accept it unwillingly –that law and religion– until it will be the end of millennium. And then, when the millennium of *Ushadarmah* will arrive, through *Ushadarmah* the creation will be more active <and> more powerful. And he will smite the demons of the seed of *Āz*.[33]

The text describes victory of Muslims as a catastrophe but also heralds the advent of a savior at the end of the world. Given that this

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[31]   *The Zand ī Wahman Yasn: A Zoroastrian Apocalypse*, (VI.10-12), 161; *Zand-i Bahman Yasn*, (6.10-12), 12.

[32]   *The Zand ī Wahman Yasn: A Zoroastrian Apocalypse*, (IV.58-60), 157.

[33]   *Ibid.*, (IX.8-11), 167; *Zand-i Bahman Yasn*, (9.8-11), 17-18; *Zand-i Vohūman Yasn*, (IX.8-11), 73-74.

text was finalized during Muslim conquests, Zoroastrian clergy were most likely trying to explain the current unfavorable situation to their community. In this context, they concentrate on the idea that the end of the world arrived, as evil will prevail for a while, the religion will be weakened, and Satanic rule will reign. Subsequent passages intensely emphasize that the evil age will be ended by the advent of a savior.

In the foregoing passage, *Zand ī Wahman Yasn* remarkably calls as foe not only the incoming foreigners but also betraying Iranians. Indeed, we know that Zoroastrians adhered to Islam for various reasons during Muslim conquests. For instance, the Zand texts tell about some landowners who converted to Islam to avoid loss of their land, in addition to converting military troops.[34]

Likewise, the seventh book of *Dēnkard* informs that the end of the world is near, the tyrants of evil religion will appear to degrade the good religion, and the sovereignty of *Ērānšahr* will be lost; thereupon, the book refers to the savior motif. According to this book, the millennium of Zoroaster has come to an end, and all evil will be eliminated once the millennium of Ušadarmāh begins.[35]

Describing Muslim conquests and eventual incidents, Zand literature makes an absolute distinction between Muslims and Iranians and depicts the former as bearers of evil. For example, a poetic Middle Persian text depicts the arrival of Arabs and the loss of sovereignty of Iranian rulers as follows:

> Who may go and speak to the Indians: Namely, "What have we seen from the hand of Arabs! For the unique people they ruined the religion and killed the kings. We are from Aryan (stock), They are like the Dēvs; and they hold religion [as nothing(?)], eat the bread like dogs. They have taken away the sovereignty from the Husravs, not by skill, nor by manliness, but by... they have taken it away (and) make mockery and scorn... They have taken away by force from men (their) wives and

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[34] Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, III, 14-15; III, 620-622; IV, 5-6, 11; Micheal Morony, "Conquerors and Conquered: Iran," in *Studies on the First Century of Islamic Society*, ed. G. H. A. Juynboll (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1982), 74-78; Daryaee, "Zoroastrianism under Islamic Rule," in *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Zoroastrianism*, ed. Michael Stausberg, Yuhan Sohrab-Dinshaw Vevaina, and Anna Tessmann (Malden, MA: John Wiley & Sons, 2015), 103-108, https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118785539.ch6.

[35] *Dēnkard-i Haftum*, (7.3), 251; (8.1-61) 263-272.

wealth, sweet places, parks, and gardens. Capitation-tax they have imposed, they have bestowed it upon (their own) chieftains... They have demanded a heavy tribute. Consider how much evil that Druj has cast upon this world, So that nothing is worse than that -?- world! From us shall come that Shah Vahrām, the Glorious, from the family of the Kay-s. We will bring vengeance on the Arabs... Their mosques we will cast down, we will set up fires, (their idol-temples we will dig down and blot them out from the world. So that "nihil" shall be miscreations of the Druj from this world.[36]

The passage reveals the Zoroastrian point of view regarding how Muslim conquests were perceived and the deeds of Muslims, called "Arabs," in Iranian land; the text is finalized with a future conception primarily shaped around the theme of a savior. Indeed, this is the common feature of contemporaneous works and serves as a source of hope and consolation for Zoroastrians. This text criticizes the idea of conquest via Arabs, indicating that people are unfairly dispossessed and that an evil rule reigns in Iran. Stating the impossibility of any agreement or reconciliation, the text emphasizes that the only means to annihilate evil Arabs is a savior, who is associated with the lineage of mythological heroes. The text additionally tells about demolition of mosques and destruction of temples of idols when the savior arrives. These indications can be regarded as a consequence of negative and biased attitudes about Muslims in Zoroastrian literature.

Jāmāsp-nāmah, another apocalyptic Zand text, tells about extinction of sacred fire of Zoroastrianism and warns that all fires in *Ērānšahr* will be put out and perish. Likewise, *Bundahišn* relates that the sacred fires have been present since the time of King Vištāspa but that they will be put out by incoming Arabs.[37] Indeed, this fact is a

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[36] Tavadia, "A Rhymed Ballad in Pahlavi," 30-32 (4-15); Bailey, *Zoroastrian Problems in Ninth Century Books* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1943), 195-196.

[37] Bailey, "To the Zamasp-Namak. I," (51), 59; *Greater Bundahišn*, (XVIII.22), 162-163; *Jāmāsp-nāmah*, also known as *Ayādgār ī Jāmāspīg*, was written in Middle Persian; nevertheless, the current complete edition was probably originally written in Pazend, namely, the Avestan alphabet of Middle Persian. The text summarizes the essential arguments of Zoroastrianism. Treating dualist creation, the creation of Ameša Spentas by Ahura Mazda, the *Jāmāsp-nāmah* also touches upon Kayumars, the archetype of first man, in addition to Vištāspa and later kings. Finally, the text tells about the advent of Pišōtan and Ušēdar at the end of Zoroaster's millennium; moreover, this apocalyptic account stresses the fall of

symbol of the rule of evil in Iran and annihilation of sacred fire, which is a symbol of good religion. The figure of fire becomes even more important since it bears a political background in addition to religious significance. Indeed, during the Sasanian era, traditionally, a fire was lighted for each king, and it remained intact throughout his rule until his death, when a new fire was lighted for the new king.[38] Therefore, the extinction of all fires in *Ērānšahr* upon the Arab invasion was a symbol of the end of Sasanian sovereignty. Consequently, the metaphor of extinction and relighting of fire is frequently used in Zand literature.

Allowing for Zoroastrian depictions of the end of the world and beginning this period with Arab invasions, *Jāmāsp-nāmah* tells how *Ērānšahr* was seized by Arabs city-by-city. Consequently, evil began to rule the world; evil became dominant, and good became prisoner. Mentioning how the winds changed upon invasion, the text tells a comprehensive account of the entire situation. It is indicated that at the end of this period, an insignificant man from Khurāsān will turn up and bring people together and rebel the against current situation, whereupon Pišōtan, son of Vištāspa, will come forth once again. Pišōtan will eliminate evil with a special army of 150 men and consecrate fire and water; then, Ušēdar, one of mythological sons of Zoroaster, will emerge and terminate all evil. According to the text, this period will last approximately a thousand years, men will move away from honesty and seek wrong, and illegality will rule *Ērānšahr*. Seized

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Arabs, Turks, and Rūms. Boyce, "Ayādgār ī Jāmāspīg," in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, III, 126-127.

[38] For the tradition of setting fire by Sasanian kings, see Mark Garrison, "Fire Altar," in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, IX, 613-619; Michael Alram, "Early Sasanian Coinage," in *The Sasanian Era: The Idea of Iran*, ed. Vesta Sarkhosh Curtis and Sarah Stewart, (London: I. B. Tauris, 2008), III, 18-19; Kaikhusroo Jamaspasa, "Fire in Zoroastrianism," in *Third International Congress Proceedings* (Mumbai: Jenaz Printers, 2000), 143-144; for Avestan records regarding the holiness and status of fire, see *Yasna* 1.12, 16.04, 62.07; *Yasna-Gatha.* 36.01-06; *Yasna-Gatha.* 31.19; *Yasna.* 36.01-06, 62.01-12; *Yasht.* 19.34-50; *Khūrdah-i Avistā: batguzīdah-yi az nīyāyishāy-i rūzānah = Khordeh Avesta: The Zoroastrian Daily Prayers*, trans. ʿAlī Akbar Jaʿfarī and Mehrabān Khudāwandī (Los Angeles, CA: The Zoroastrian Center, 1983) (Atash Neyayesh), 53-54; for an account of the extinction of the sacred fire in the court of Kisra/Khosrow, see al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī,* II, 166-168.

by foes, the country will be deprived of all riches, and its rulers will be subject to a huge burden.[39] Likewise, the seventh book of *Dēnkard* indicates that tyrannizers of evil religion, who will devastate the good religion, will appear once the end of the world draws near, and *Ērānšahr* will be lost. In this respect, *Dēnkard* also references the savior motif. Actually, it heralds the beginning of millennium of Ušēdarmāh, once the millennium of his father Zoroaster expires, whereupon all evil will be annihilated.[40]

Bundahišn considers Muslim conquests of *Ērānšahr* as Arab invasion; likewise, it treats the process in a very negative manner. For the beginning, it tells about assaults by Arabs, their propagation of their evil and morbid religion, and the deception of some noble families and degradation of Zoroastrianism by invaders.[41] The text gives an account of what happens at the end of the world, concentrating on *Ērānšahr*, and depicts Muslim conquests as follows:

> And when the sovereignty came to Yazdkart (Yazdegird), he ruled for twenty years; then the Tājīs [Arabs] hied to Iranshahr in large numbers. Yazdkart could not stand in the battle with them. He went to Khorasan and Turkastan, and asked horses and men for help, and they killed him thither. Yazdegird's son went to Hindustan, and brought a valiant army. He passed away before coming to Khorasan. That valiant army was disintegrated, and Iranshahr remained with the Tājīs [Arabs]. They promulgated their own code of irreligion (ak-dinih) and eradicated many usages of faith of the ancients, enfeebled the Revelation of Mazda-worship, and instituted the practice of washing the dead, burying the dead, and eating dead matter. And from the beginning of creation to this day, no calamity greater than this has befallen; for owing to their misdeeds, on account of supplication, desolation, distressing deeds, vile law, and bad creed, pestilence, want, and other

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39 Bailey, "To the Zamasp-Namak. I," (1-57), 55-60; Bailey, "To the Zamasp-Namak. II," *Bulletin of the Society of Oriental and African Studies* VI (1930-1932), (58-106), 581-586, https://doi.org/10.1017/S0041977X00093101. According to certain scholars, the "heavy burden" here signifies *jizyah.* Daryaee, "Apocalypse Now: Zoroastrian Reflections on the Early Islamic Centuries," *Medieval Encounters* 4, no. 3 (1998), 191, https://doi.org/10.1163/157006798X00115.

40 *Dēnkard-i Haftum,* (7.3), 251; (8.1-61), 263-272.

41 Dādaghī, *Bundahiš,* 31; *Greater Bundahišn,* 2-5.

evils have made their abode in Iran... Their wicked rule will be at an end...[42]

As is observed above, Arabs are introduced as a malignant nation in all aspects since they slay anyone who comes their way in Iran. Moreover, *Bundahišn* relates that Arabs do not content themselves with invasion and propagate their invalid religion. Accordingly, Arab invasion is considered the end of the millennium during which Zoroaster turned up and propagated his religion. Finally, it is indicated that a community with red flags and symbols will come along and weaken Arabs.[43] Interpreting Muslim conquests as Arab invasion, Zand texts call Islam a superstitious religion equivalent to social decadence.

Jāmāsp-nāmah informs about dissolution of Iranian society due to Muslim conquests; nevertheless, it heralds a time when Iranians will no more dissociate from other nations. Children born in Iran will be enslaved, and children will go against their families. In this chaotic environment, people will cheat one another and disobey agreements; the noble will follow the slaves, and the free will be put into captivity. Giving an account of social dissolution, the text interestingly asserts that such situation will even affect the climate, whereupon hot and cold winds will blow, untimely rains will pour down, fruits will expire, and the world will turn into ruins. The narrative tells that the believers of good religion will be deemed evil creatures and that people will wrap up themselves in the character of Ahriman and his creatures.[44] Indeed, Book Seven of *Dēnkard* emphasizes that it is not only an

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[42]   *Greater Bundahišn*, (XXXIII.20-22), 276-279. This narrative tells about ablution of the deceased before burying, wherein there is a mention of eating "dead substance," more precisely, "something dead." In Islamic law, it is inappropriate to eat the meat of dead animals. On the other hand, according to Q 5:4, the meat of animals hunted by predators is considered *ḥalāl*. This fact may help us to understand the meaning of "eating dead substance" in Zoroastrian literature. For further information, see al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr al-Ṭabarī al-musammā Jāmiʿ al-bayān ʿan taʾwīl āyāt al-Qurʾān*, ed. Maḥmūd Muḥammad Shākir and Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākir, 2nd ed. (Mecca: Dār al-Tarbiyah wa-l-Turāth, 2000), IX, 543-568; Mehmet Şener, "Av (Fıkıh)," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi (DİA)*, IV, 104-105.

[43]   *Greater Bundahišn*, (XXXI.37), 268-269 (evil immoral descendants of Arabs); (malevolent and murderer Arabs), (XXXIII.9), 274-275; (XXXIII.23-24), 278-279 (community with red flag and badge); (XXXVI.8-10), 306-307.

[44]   Bailey, "To the Zamasp-Namak. I," (12-25), 56-57, (44-52), 58-59.

invasion or defeat but also that the invalid and evil beliefs and thoughts of invaders in Iran devastated the locals.[45]

Later in *Jāmāsp-nāmah*, these incidents are cited as features of the Age of Iron; this mention is a reference to the Zoroastrian apocalyptical approach and the wish to return to the old glorious days. Thus, Zoroastrianism, which declined from dominance to weakness upon the fall of the Sasanians, interprets the existence of evil as a precursor of salvation and not despair. In other words, the advent of salvation is possible through absolute domination of evil. As is observed here, Zand literature, which is circulated exclusively among clergy and is built with a concealed sacred language, presents a very negative attitude toward Islam and Muslims.

V. Coexistence with *Ag-Dēnān*

Zoroastrian Zand literature comprises texts about the meaning of living together with Muslims for Zoroastrians, in addition to the abovementioned apocalyptical and messianic ones. Although Zoroastrianism is no more the dominant religion, they try to develop a perspective about the basis of practices during the Sasanian era to solve problems in daily life.[46] As a matter of fact, these texts recommend certain previous/ancient practices for which political authority is required and that became impossible upon Muslim conquests. For instance, *Dādestān ī Dēnīg* inquires about what is to be done about those who leave Zoroastrianism for another religion, and it is stated that such persons should be condemned to death.[47]

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[45]   *Dēnkard-i Haftum*, (7.3), 251; (8.1-61), 263-272, (8.5-7), 263-264; *Dinkard VII*, *Pahlavi Texts V*, (8.5-7), 95.

[46]   It can be mentioned that there is an extant book of law that organizes daily life in the Sasanian era. Farraxvmart ī Vahrāmān, *The Book of Thousand Judgements (A Sasanian Law Book)*, ed. and trans. Anahit Perikhanian (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers, 1980); *The Laws of the Ancient Persians as found in the "Mâtîkân ê Hazâr Dâtastân" or "The Digest of a Thousand Points of Law"*, trans. Sohrab Jamshedjee Bulsara (Mumbai: Hoshang T. Anklesaria, 1937), I-II.

[47]   *Dādestān ī Dēnīg Part I: Transcription, Translation and Commentary*, ed. and trans. M. Jaafari Dehaghi (Paris: Association pour l'Avancement des Etudes Iraniennes, 1998), (XL.1-9), 169-171; According to Choksy, there is such a commandment in Zoroastrian literature; nevertheless, there is no record of Zoroastrians slaying a former Zoroastrian who converted to Islam. For Choksy,

Zand literature calls for active implementation of many decisions made prior to Muslim conquests, presumably as an attempt to keep together the Zoroastrian community through clergy against the proliferation of Islam. The significant amount of apostasy among Zoroastrians for various reasons throughout the conquest is described as a most evil deed with worldly and otherworldly costs according to Zand literature. For example, *Rivāyāt-ī Hēmīt-ī Ašavahištān,* which essentially focuses on questions and answers about daily life, analyses the foregoing reality in an explicit manner. Accordingly, a person who leaves good religion for the evil and chooses Islam commits a great sin (*tanāpuhl*)[48] that will keep him away from heaven; moreover, the punishment for this sin is death if he does not give up and correct such apostasy within one year. At this point, *Rivāyāt-ī Hēmīt-ī Ašavahištān* asserts that circumcision of a Zoroastrian who converts to Islam is a sin that requires the death penalty. Accordingly, any repentant who returns to Zoroastrianism can be accepted as a true Zoroastrian only after fulfilling the commandments of his religion for one year; indeed, only after a year, such a person will be interred as a Zoroastrian. The same text also declares that it is appropriate to seize the possessions of a Zoroastrian who converts to *Ag-dēnīh*, namely, Islam, but admits the practical difficulty of such a measure in those days. Negating any social relationship with Muslims, this text also disapproves marriage with non-Zoroastrians. Likewise, it forbids Zoroastrians to go to bathhouses

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Zoroastrians lacked the political power required for such executions. This fact also applies for confiscation of assets of Zoroastrians who convert to Islam. Indeed, *Mātīkān ē Hazār Dātastān*, the Sasanian book of law, tells how the provision on confiscation of assets of those who try to proliferate Zendīg belief, especially Manichaeism, was implemented. *Mātīkān ē Hazār Dātastān or the Digest of a Thousand Points of Law II*, (XLII.47), 548; Jamsheed Choksy, "Zoroastrians in Muslim Iran: Selected Problems of Coexistence and Interaction during the Early Medieval Period," *Iranian Studies* 20, no. 1 (2007), 21-25, https://doi.org/10.1080/00210868708701689.

[48] *Tanāpuhl/tanāpuhr* is defined as a sin that prevents passage from Chinvat Bridge on the way to heaven after death. Its penance was initially flogging, before being set to 300 dirham silver coins. The culprit is isolated from the society until he pays the penalty. *Rivāyat ī Hēmīt ī Ašawahistān: A Study in Zoroastrian Law*, ed. and trans. Nezhat Ṣafā-yi Eṣfahānī (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1980), 316-317; Nyberg, *A Manual of Pahlavi*, II, 191.

of Muslims.[49] *Pursišnīhā*,[50] another example of Zoroastrian *Rivāyāt* tradition, also refers to apostasy among Zoroastrians. It questions whether a person who believes in Ahura Mazda and Zoroaster could go to hell and seeks verification of the afterlife. The answer is that all Zoroastrians, who pray to Zoroaster, will go to heaven via Chinvat Bridge, implying a warning against apostasy.[51] Another question asks about the status of non-Iranian followers of evil religion in afterlife. These persons, who exhibit incomplete or extreme behaviors in this world, consider sin as virtue and vice versa; therefore, they cannot be honestly appreciated by Ahura Mazda.[52]

Zoroastrian texts have much in common in terms of judgments regarding abandoning of Zoroastrianism; however, *Pursišnīhā* interestingly addresses the conversion of a follower of evil religion to Zoroastrianism and discusses his situation. The text asks what happens in case such a person declares himself as a Zoroastrian. It requires such a person to exhibit in his behaviors his belief in Zoroastrian principles.[53] This question actually refers to the allegations that certain Muslims converted to Zoroastrianism following Muslim conquests. On the other hand, this question may arise from a possibility, not an actual situation, or from a concern to keep the Zoroastrian community together.

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[49] *Rivāyāt-ī Hēmīt-ī Ašavahištān, vol. 1 Pahlavi Text*, ed. Behramgore Tahmuras Anklesaria (Mumbai: K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, 1962), (I. 1-6), 2-5, (IV.4-6), 10-11, (XIX.1-10), 77-79, (XXVI.2-3), 124-125, (XLII.1-8), 157-160; *Rivāyat ī Hēmīt ī Ašawahištān: A Study in Zoroastrian Law*, 20-24; *Rivāyat-i Emīd-i Āshavahīshtān: muta'alliq bih sadah-i chahārum-i Hijrī*, 1-3, 16-17, 133-136, 172-173, 259-262; Choksy, *Conflict and Cooperation: Zoroastrian Subalterns and Muslim Elites in Medieval Iranian Society* (New York: Columbia University, 1997), 89.

[50] *Pursišnīhā* is one of the *Rivāyāt* texts in question-and-answer form. The author of the text, which answers the questions via citations from the Avesta, is unknown. Written in the post-Sasanian era and comprising 59 questions, *Pursišnīhā* clarifies various issues, including clerics, principles of religious cleanliness, treatment of non-Zoroastrians, and the believers worthy of heaven. *Pursišnīhā: A Zorastrian Catechism Part I*, ed. and trans. Kaikhusroo M. Jamaspasa and Helmut Humbach (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1971), 7-9; Macuch, "Pahlavi Literature," 148-149.

[51] *Pursišnīhā, Part I*, (5), 14-15.

[52] *Ibid*., (38), 58-59.

[53] *Ibid*., (26), 42-43.

Pursišnīhā forbids Zoroastrians from making friends with non-Iranian followers of evil religion or from establishing commercial partnerships with them. A person who helps Zoroastrians but follows evil religion is not appreciable even if he commits praiseworthy deeds in the eyes of Zoroastrianism; indeed, the text does not want Zoroastrians to make friends with such persons.[54] Similarly, it is inappropriate for a Zoroastrian to help followers of other religions or provide them with anything. Such behavior will diminish virtue, and such a deed is equivalent to a sin. After all, a Zoroastrian can only do favor to a Zoroastrian.[55]

Likewise, the later *Rivāyāt-i Dārāb Hormozdyār* provides a comprehensive account of the details of daily interactions between Zoroastrians and Muslims. For example, it describes non-Zoroastrians as *jud-dīn* (unbeliever or abjurer) and questions whether the testimony of such persons is acceptable and whether it is appropriate to enter into commercial relations with such persons. The same text recommends refraining from eating together with Muslims at their tables since this is a sin. Muslims do not prepare their food in line with Zoroastrian criteria for cleanliness. Moreover, according to *Dādestān ī Dēnīg*, sale of cattle to non-Zoroastrians is a significant sin, and this prohibition should be obeyed even in cases of obligation. Likewise, it forbids buying meat from non-Iranians and followers of evil religion (Muslims) except for one occasion. According to this book, it is a great sin to sell a slave to a non-Zoroastrian; moreover, such a seller or buyer shall be considered a thief.[56] The foregoing rules in Zoroastrian literature were codified during the Islamic era; in fact, however, such practices were included in Sasanian law texts in the pre-Islamic period. Indeed, Sasanian law forbade trade of slaves and similar commercial activities with members of *ag-dēnīh*, which was a general concept

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[54] *Ibid*., (46), 68-69.

[55] *Ibid*., (50), 72-73, (35), 54-57.

[56] *The Dâdistân-î Dînîk, Pahlavi Texts. Part II,* ed. F. Max Müller, trans. Edward William West (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1882), 53.1-16; *Pahlavi Rivāyat Accompanying the Dādestān ī Dēnīg*: *Part 2: Translation, commentary and Pahlavi text*, ed. and trans. Alan Williams (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1990), (14.17), 27, 149 (buying meat), (30.1-4), 56 (sale of slaves); Dhabhar, *Persian Rivayats of Hormazyar*, 51-55, 267-268; MacKenzie, *A Concise Pahlavi Dictionary*, 47 (Jud-).

used for all other religions prior to Islam.[57]

Zand literature disapproves of Zoroastrians who convert to Islam in the wake of Muslim conquests and accordingly declares social relations with Muslims to be a significant sin to maintain its community. Another major sin is to marry a person that follows evil/superstitious religion. In certain texts, Ahura Mazda recommends Zoroaster intra-communal or kin marriage (*xwēdōdah*),[58] claiming this method is the only means to realize eschatological renovation. Likewise, according to *Rivāyāt-ī Hēmīt-ī Asavahistān*, it is a great sin (*tanāpuhl*) to marry a non-Zoroastrian woman and to have children with such a wife. Apocalyptic *Zand ī Wahman Yasn* also dwells upon kin marriage since it complains of disorder upon Arab invasion and considers kin marriage, ordered by Zoroaster, as the only means to re-establish order.[59]

Apparently, the foregoing rules about daily life were in effect during the Sasanian era; nevertheless, the practicability of these provisions became contradictive due to Islamic rule. In fact, past rules and principles and practices of religious life are included in religious texts after the arrival of Islam, most likely because of the Zoroastrian ambition and hope of becoming the dominant religion once again. Indeed, when Zoroastrian sovereignty returns, the foregoing rules will be required for organization of daily life, and the perpetrators of evil deeds will be duly punished. By means of religious literature,

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[57] Wahrāmān, *The Book of Thousand Judgements*, 28-29 (sale of slaves), (44.3-8), 118-119, (60.10-16), 154-155 (problem of inheritor).

[58] For discussions about this type of marriage and relevant reference texts, see Skjærvø, "Marriage, ii. Next-of-Kin Marriage in Zoroastrianism," in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/marriage-next-of-kin, accessed September 16, 2017; *Pahlavi Rivāyat Accompanying with Dādestān ī Dēnīg*, *II*, (8a1-8o3) 10-17, 126-137; *Kitāb-i Savvum-i Dēnkard*, ed. and trans. Farīdūn Faḍīlat. (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Farhangi Dehkhudā, 1381/2003), (80), 143-152, 298-319; Darab Dastur Peshotun Sunjana, *Next-of-Kin Marriage in Old Irân: An Address Delivered before the Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, on the 15th and 22nd April, 1887* (London: Trübner & Co., 1888), 49-94; Chosky, *Purity and Pollution in Zoroastrianism: Triumph over Evil* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1989), 88-94.

[59] *Pahlavi Rivāyat Accompanying with Dādestān ī Dēnīg*, *II*, (8a1-8o3) 10-17, 126-137; Anklesaria, *Rivāyāt-ī Hēmīt-ī Ašavahištān, vol. 1 Pahlavi Text*, (XLII.1-8), 157-160; *Zand ī Wahman Yasn: A Zoroastrian Apocalypse*, (V.5), 159.

Zoroastrian clergy try to render their community uniform and closed to external influences to minimize contact with Muslims. Thus, the main objective is to maintain the community structure, in addition to the existence of Zoroastrians.

VI. Theological Opposition: Example of Mardānfarrox

Zands depict Muslim conquests as an invasion attempt and the beginning of the Age of Iron in a negative manner, maintaining hopes for a better future. The Zand texts also discuss how to live together with the newcomers, namely, Muslims. Zoroastrian literature, which recommends limited contact with Muslims, has developed a theological opposition against the proliferation of Islam and criticized Islam, particularly in terms of its conception of God. In this regard, Zands emphasize that Islam, which is far from being the religion of truth, is therefore an emergent and evil religion.

The negative definition of Islam is observable in many Zand texts. *Dēnkard-i Panjum*, the fifth book of *Dēnkard*, indicates that men are slain on unjust grounds for the sake of the fabricated, untrue, and evil religion. The text notes the necessity of honoring divine beings/Izads, such as the sun and moon, in addition to Ahura Mazda; consequently, the monotheistic worship of Muslims is considered inappropriate.[60] These arguments reveal an objection against Islam regarding the concept of God.

Škand-Gumānīg Vizār is an example of Zand texts that present implicit criticism of the post-Muslim conquest era and depict a negative panorama about Islam and Muslims; in particular, this book addresses theological aspects of the problem and mentions Islamic theology. Mardānfarrox, the author of this rare text codified in the second half of the 9th century, approaches the problem as cautiously as possible.[61]

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[60] *Kitāb-i Panjum-i Dēnkard*, 50-51, (24.15), 90-91 (characteristics of *Ag-dēn*).

[61] It is considered that *Škand-Gumānīg Vizār* was written during the late 9th century. It was codified in the Islamic era by the Zoroastrian clergyman Mardānfarrox, son of Ohrmazd-dād. The title literally means "Analytical Treatise for the Dispelling of Doubts." Accordingly, it follows a philosophical methodology, criticizing perceptions of God by religions in contact with Zoroastrianism and related claims; moreover, it warns Zoroastrian clergy in this regard. In this context, the text criticizes theological arguments and other philosophical and religious approaches of four religions, namely, Judaism, Christianity, Manichaeism, and Islam (Chapters

Mardānfarrox refers to the Qurʾān using the term *nibēg/nipēk*, which literally means "script," "sacred book" or "book."[62] Principally, it is forbidden to share Zand texts with anyone outside the Zoroastrian clergy; nevertheless, Mardānfarrox refrains from using the words "Islam," "Muslim," and "Qurʾān," most likely to avoid any possible problem in case of disclosure. In our opinion, the dominant power of Islam compelled him to opt for this method. Indeed, he sees no harm in criticizing religions such as Judaism, Christianity, and Manichaeism by mentioning their names.

Chapters 11 and 12 of this book comprise implicit criticisms of the monotheistic approach of Islam. The book is structured as a question-and-answer text, and the problem is explained via conditional phrases. In the process, Mardānfarrox allows for possible questions and answers, which Zoroastrian clergy may come across. Interestingly

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XI-XII). We do not know the exact dates of the birth and death of the author; nevertheless, textual clues hint that it was finalized in the late 9th century. E. West performed the first-ever translation of *Shikand* into a Western language in 1885 in the series *Sacred Book of East*; soon afterwards, H. Jamasp-Asana and E. West created a Pazand and Middle Persian edition with the title *Shikand-Gumanik Vijar: The Pazand Sanskrit Text together with a Fragment of the Pahlavi* in 1887. P. De Menasce realized a French translation with the title *Shikand-Gumanik Vijar*; recently, Parvīn Shakībā translated the text into Persian as *Guzārish-i gumān shikan: sharḥ wa tarjumah-ʾi matn-i Pāzand-i ʿShikand gumānīk vīchār*ʾ in 2001. The latest English translation was performed by Raham Asha under the name *Šak-ud-gumānīh-vizār: The Doubt-removing book of Mardānfarrox*. For further information, see *Sikand Gumanik Vigar: Pahlavi Texts III*, trans. Edward William West (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1885), XXV-XXXVIII, 115-243; Tavadia, *Zebān va Adābiyāt-i Pahlavī*, 119-125; Mardānfarrox, *Guzārish-i gumānʾshikan: sharḥ wa tarjumah-ʾi matn-i Pāzand "Shikandah-gumānīk vīchār": Athar-i Mardānfarrukh pisar-i Uvarmazdʾdād*, ed. and trans. Parvīn Shakībā (Champaign, IL: Nashr-i Kitāb-i Kayūmarth, 2001), 4-5; Boyce, "Middle Persian Literature," 46-48; Macuch, "Pahlavi Literature," 149-151; Cereti, "Škand-Gumānīg Vizār," in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/shkand-gumanig-wizar, accessed November 17, 2017.

[62]   Donald N. MacKenzie, *A Concise Pahlavi Dictionary*, 59; Nyberg, *A Manual of Pahlavi*, II, 141; *Guzārish-i gumān shikan*, (XI.258), 122, (XI.264-269), 125; Mardānfarrox, *Šak-ud-gumānīh-vizār: The Doubt-removing book of Mardānfarrox*, ed. and trans. Raham Asha (Paris: Alain Mole, 2015), (XI.245-249), 132, (XI.264-279), 134. Cf. Q 7: 11-18.

enough, he refers to the Qurʾānic verses without explicit mention when uttering the criticisms. For example, the beginning of chapter tells about monotheists (*ēkīhuskārān*), namely, Muslims, who believe in unity of God and refers to Qurʾānic verses:

> ... First about monotheists [*ēk-bunēšt-uskār/ēkīhuskārān*] who stated thus: there is only one god [*ēk ast yazd*], who is benefactor, wise, powerful, clement, and merciful, so that both pious deed and crime, truth and falsehood, life and death, good and evil come from him.[63]

In the subsequent parts, Mardānfarrox informs that two opposite things cannot arise from the same origin and instructs Zoroastrian clergy, giving a detailed account of how they should respond to such dualist perspectives. Moreover, Mardānfarrox indicates how the clergy should ask questions. For instance, he recommends the clergy to ask why the merciful and forgiving god created Satan and other demons and send them on his creatures, and why he created hell. The text essentially develops the criticism on the ground that both good and evil come from Allah, questioning why Allah allows any harm to come to his subjects.[64] Thus, Mardānfarrox criticizes the thought of unity (*tawḥīd*), one of the essential creeds of Islam, in addition to the monotheistic view. Additionally, Mardānfarrox absolutely refuses the association between evil and God, within the framework of Sasanian dualism, to underline the problematic conception of God in Islam. Indeed, the dualist idea of god in Sasanian era stresses that Ahura Mazda is absolutely far away from evil and Ahriman. According to the author, no evil can emanate from the absolute good; the good and the evil are absolutely separated from one another by nature. Just as the arrival of light ends darkness, the existence of good annihilates evil. If God is perfect, no evil can emanate from Him. If evil comes from Him, then He cannot be perfect (good). If He is not perfect, then He cannot

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[63] Mardānfarrox, *Šak-ud-gumānīh-vizār*, (XI.3-5), Mardānfarrox, *Guzārish-i gumān'shikan*, (XI.3-5), 94-95; 113 Cf. Q 112:1; Q 2:163. Also see Qurʾānic verses in which attributes of Allah such as *al-ʿAlīm* (the Knowing), *al-Ḥakīm* (the Wise), *al-Raḥmān* (the Most Compassionate), *al-Raḥīm* (the Most Merciful), *al-Qadīr* (the All-Powerful), *al-Raʾūf* (the Kind), and *al-ʿAzīz* (the Powerful) are given.

[64] Mardānfarrox, *Guzārish-i gumān shikan*, (XI.6-16), 95-96; for criticism on Islam, see Chapters XI-XII, 94-148; Mardānfarrox, *Šak-ud-gumānīh-vizār*, (XI.6-16), 114-115 for criticism on Islam, see Chapters XI-XII, 113-146.

be worshipped as the absolute good.[65]

Interestingly enough, refraining significantly from allowing words such as Islam, Muḥammad or Muslim, the text mentions "Muʿtazilah." Accordingly, the text provides a criticism about Allah as the origin of evil, His will to wish evil and Him as origin of evil deeds within the context of Muʿtazilī arguments. Allah creates only the good (*aṣlaḥ*) for mankind;[66] then, Mardānfarrox asks, why does Allah hurt man or wish evil and does not annihilate it? For example, the coherence between the mercy of God toward His creatures and the evil He sends upon them is questioned. In case God is sovereign over every person and thing, why does not He protect them from evil? The author argues how good and evil come from the same origin and tries to prove the impossibility of such a contrast in the divine perspective. In doing so, Mardānfarrox imitates the traditional style of Islamic theology (*kalām*), writing "we say so, if they say so," etc.[67]

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[65]   Mardānfarrox, *Šak-ud-gumānīh-vizār*, (VIII.92-116), 98-99; Mardānfarrox, *Guzārish-i gumān shikan*, (VIII.92-112), 76-78; for further information about Sasanian dualism, see Alıcı, *Kadîm İran'da Din*, 205-220; Shaul Shaked, "Some Notes on Ahreman, Evil Spirit and His Creation," in *Studies in Mysticism and Religion: presented to Gershom G. Scholem on His 70. Birthday by Pupils, Colleagues, and Friends*, ed., Efraim Elimelech, R. J. Zwi Werblowsky, and Chaim Wirszubski (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1967), 227-234; Philip Kreyenbroek, "Cosmogony and Cosmology in Zoroastrianism/Mazdaism," in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, VI, 303-307.

[66]   At this point, the text points to the Qurʾānic verses that indicate that both good and evil come from Allah: Q 37:96; Q 39:62; Q 23:62; Q 4:78; Q 10:11. For further information about *aṣlaḥ* doctrine of Muʿtazilah, see al-Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Jabbār, Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAbd al-Jabbār ibn Aḥmad al-Hamadānī, *al-Mughnī fī abwāb al-tawḥīd wa-l-ʿadl*, vol. 14, *al-Aṣlaḥ - Istiḥqāq al-dhamm - al-Tawbah*, edited by Muṣṭafā al-Saqqā and Ibrāhīm Madkūr (Cairo: al-Dār al-Miṣriyyah li-l-Taʾlīf wa-l-Tarjamah), 1963, 7-180; Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn Ismāʾīl ibn Abī Bishr al-Ashʿārī, *Maqālāt al-Islāmiyyīn wa-ikhtilāf al-muṣallīn*, ed. Hellmut Ritter (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1980), 574-577; Avni İlhan, "Aslah," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi (DİA)*, III, 495-496; Hülya Alper, "Mâtürîdî'nin Muʿtezile Eleştirisi: Tanrı En Iyiyi Yaratmak Zorunda mıdır?," *Kelâm Araştırmaları Dergisi* 11, no. 1 (2013), 17-36.

[67]   Mardānfarrox, *Guzārish-i gumān'shikan*, (XI. 1-33, XI. 268-285) 94-98, 125-127; *Sikand Gumanik Vigar*, 173-177, 194-295.

Mardānfarrox does not mention the Qurʾān but makes explicit references to Qurʾānic verses. For instance, the God of superstitious religion/Islam seals the hearts, mouths, and eyes of men by saying "I sealed."[68] These words mean that man cannot think, speak or do anything beyond the will of God. Therefore, Mardānfarrox questions the mercy of God. For him, the damnation of Satan, a great angel, for not prostrating before Adam[69] does not comply with the idea of divine wisdom in every deed of God. Consequently, the author develops his criticism on the basis of Qurʾānic verses.[70]

The book by Mardānfarrox dates to the 9th century, the heyday of Muʿtazilah under ʿAbbāsid rule. In a sense, the author of *Škand-Gumānīg Vizār* takes aim at the most striking and dominant theological school of his day. In this respect, Zoroastrian literature allowed Muʿtazilah most likely because two great masters of Muʿtazilah, Ibrāhīm al-Naẓẓām (d. 231/845) and Abū l-Hudhayl al-ʿAllāf (d. 235/849), lived during the mid-9th century and led theological discussions. Accordingly, the mention of *Kitāb ʿalá l-Majūs*, the lost work by al-ʿAllāf, refers to the vivid controversial grounds of the period.[71]

In addition to Zand texts written in Middle Persian and codified during the Islamic era, there are texts scripted in Persian with records about Islam and Muslims. *Škand-Gumānīg Vizār* does not mention Islam when criticizing the Islamic conception of the unity of God; nevertheless, *Kitāb-i Rivāyāt-i Dārāb Hormozdyār*,[72] a 13th-century

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[68] For sealing of hearts, see Q 2:7; Q 6:46; Q 45:23.

[69] For story of Satan, see Q 2:30-35; Q 7:11-18. For Satan as a jinn, see Q 18:50.

[70] Mardānfarrox, *Guzārish-i gumān'shikan*, (XI.38-45), 99, (XI.46-60), 100-102; Mardānfarrox, *Šak-ud-gumānīh-vizār*, (XI.37-44), 117, (XI.45-60), 117-119.

[71] For dominance of Muʿtazilah in the period, see İlyas Çelebi, "Muʿtezile," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi (DİA)*, XXXI, 391-401; Osman Aydınlı, "Muʿtezile Ekolü, Teşekkülü, İlkeleri ve İslâm Düşüncesine Katkıları," *Marife* 3, no. 3 (2003), 36-40.

[72] The text, written in Persian in the 13th century and known as *Kitāb-i Rivāyāt-i Dārāb Hormozdyār*, also provides information about Islam and Muslims. Two chapters mentioned therein with the title *ʿUlamā-ye Islām* provide a rare example of the questions, presumably asked by Muslim scholars, being responded to by Mowbed-i Mowbedān, the highest religious authority. The statement at the introduction of this Persian corpus as "six centuries after Yazdegerd III" notes that *ʿUlamā-ye Islām* can be dated to around the 13th century. *ʿUlamā-ye Islām* and

work, clearly uses the name of Islam. Thus, the implicit attitude of Zands is left for explicit reference to Islam and Muslims. This is because codification of Zand literature is accomplished and also because later religious texts are within the zone of influence of Zand literature.

Kitāb-i Rivāyāt-i Dārāb Hormozdyār includes ʿUlamā-ye Islām, a text of two chapters. The first chapter provides information about how the religion/Zoroastrianism appeared and proliferated in the course of history, how cosmological time is classified, the return of earthly deeds of man, and what will happen in afterlife, grounding on previous Zands. The text tries to give answers to some assumable questions. It criticizes once again the Islamic argument that both evil and good come from God; instead, wrongness, ignorance, and evil cannot be associated with the nature of God. Another notable discussion is about duality. According to the book, emanation of good from Ahura Mazda and evil from Ahriman does not cause any dualism; instead, Ahriman and his creatures are actually condemned to nonexistence.[73] At this point, the text touches upon the distinction between material/*gētīg* and spiritual/*mēnōg* creation that is established by the Sasanian exegetical tradition and detailed by Zands. Hereupon, creation by Ahura Mazda represents material and spiritual creation, whereas Ahriman can create only in spiritual/*mēnōg* manner. Consequently, the creatures of Ahriman have to adhere to a material being to exist, whereupon their

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similar Persian texts were compiled by Ervad Maneckji Rustamji Unvala and published in 1900 under the title *Kitāb-i Rivāyāt-i Dārāb Hormozdyār*. Later on, it was published by Ervad B. N. Dhabhar in Mumbai in 1932 as *The Persian Rivayats of Hormazyar Framarz and Others: Their Version with Introduction and Notes*. Takeshi Aoki edited and published different versions of ʿUlamā-ye Islām (UI-1, UI-2). Dhabhar, *Persian Rivayats*, 449; *Kitāb-i Rivāyāt-i Dārāb Hormozdyār (Daftar-e Duvvum)*, ed. Ervad Maneckji Rustamji Unvala (Mumbai: Maṭbaʿ-i Gulzār-i Ḥasanī, 1900), 80; Takeshi Aoki, "A Zoroastrian Refutation of the Muʿtazilite Theology, with an Edition of ʿUlamā-ye Islām (UI-1)," *Journal of Central Eurasian Studies* 4 (2016), 12-27; Aoki, "A Study of Zurvanite Zoroastrianism: an Edition of ʿUlamā-ye Islām of *Another Version* (UI-2) and Its Long Quotation in a Book of Āzar Kayvān School," in *Researches in the Three Foreign Religions: Paper in Honor of Professor Lin Wushu on his Seventieth Birthday*, ed. Zhang Xiaogui (Lanzhou: Daxue Chubanshe, 2015), 405-425.

[73] Dhabhar, *Persian Rivayats*, 438-449; Unvala, *Kitāb-i Rivāyāt-i Dārāb Hormozdyār*, 72-80; Aoki, "A Zoroastrian Refutation of the Muʿtazilite Theology," 5-10.

existence depends on creatures of Ahura Mazda, the absolute good. At the end of the time, Ahriman and his creatures will be annihilated.[74]

The second chapter of *ʿUlamā-ye Islām* opens with the responses to questions asked by Muslim scholars. Muslim scholars ask about creation of the world, humanity, death, and resurrection, whereupon Zoroastrian clergy gives a detailed answer about the perception of time in Zoroastrian theology, including cosmology and eschatology. At this stage, there is a reference to the Zand narrative that the world is created in a perfect manner, but the situation declined upon invasion by Ahriman.[75] Later on, the times grew worse, as examples suggest; the decline reached its peak upon the invasion of Iran by Arabs. Nevertheless, the saviors will appear toward the end of the time, and finally, advent of Ušadarmāh will restore the old good days. The final part of the text indicates that it is impossible to exactly answer what God actually wishes and why He created this world since this is beyond the understanding of man.[76]

The problem of evil occupies an important place in criticism of monotheistic Islam as considered evil religion by Zoroastrian literature. Indeed, this fact emerges as the essential distinction and point of debate between monotheist and dualist approaches on god. Apparently, the premises in aforesaid texts are established within the context of allegations of inconsistency between mercy and wrath of God, and they found a criticism for the Muʿtazilī principle that Allah only creates the good for His subjects.

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[74] For further information, see *Dādestān ī Dēnīg Part I*, (II.13), 44-45, (XXXVI.51), 131; Shaked, "The Notions of *mēnōg* and *gētīg* in the Pahlavi Texts and Their Relation to Eschatology," *Acta Orientalia* 33 (1971), 59-63, 70-73, for passages about concepts of *mēnōg* and *gētīg* in Pahlavi Texts, 100-107; Alıcı, *Kadîm İran'da Din*, 221-236.

[75] For the account of invasion attempt by Ahriman, see Avesta-Vendidad. 7.01-05; *Greater Bundahišn*, (XXII.1-29, XXIII.1-9), 183-191; *Vazīdigīhā-i Zādspram*, ed. and trans. Muḥammad Taqī R. Muḥaṣṣil (Tehran: Pizhūhishgāh-i ʿUlūm-i Insānī wa-Muṭālaʿāt-i Farhangī, 1385/2009), (XXXIV. 34-35), 95-96.

[76] Dhabhar, *Persian Rivayats*, 449-457; Unvala, *Kitāb-i Rivāyāt-i Dārāb Hormozdyār*, 80-86.

Conclusion

Zoroastrian Zand literature, which is codified in the wake of Muslim conquests, generally manifests negative opinions about Islam and Muslims. Zand literature tries to interpret the situation of Muslim conquests through an integrated perspective. Indeed, the negative approach of this literature is apparent in every aspect of life, from theology to daily deeds and to the conception of the future. In general, hereby approach is formed upon envision of salvation from demonic rule, daily life together with Muslims and religious-theological issues.

The Muslim conquests paved the way for an apocalyptical attitude in Zand literature towards Muslims. Islam and Muslims are considered the reason for this new order and the origin of evil. Therefore, they are observed as the true responsible for the negative perspective. Consequently, political defeat and religious degeneration enabled a new salvation motif via conception of future. In conclusion, Islam is introduced as an evil religion, and Arabs are presented as its representatives; they are the only reason for pain and misery in *Ērānšahr*. The religious origin of revolts during and after Muslim conquests is based on such an idea of salvation.

Zands dwell upon a multidimensional conception about the complete evilness of Islam and Muslims. For instance, the reflection of such a conception leads to restriction on relations with Muslims in daily life. Therefore, Zands not only inform Zoroastrians but also instruct them to behave in a proper manner in daily life. Thus, Zand literature aims at holding Zoroastrian community together; is not indifferent to conversion, which leads to weakening of Zoroastrianism; and considers apostasy a sin worthy of the death penalty. It treats and criticizes the conceptions of god of Islam and other religions through the dualist approach. Thus, Zand puts forth the attitude to be displayed by Zoroastrian clergy in theological discussions with followers of other religions.

Except for *ʿUlamā-ye Islām*, the Zoroastrian literature interestingly refrains from mentioning essential concepts, such as Islam, Muslims or Qurʾān, in spite of establishing an attitude against Islam and Muslims in every context. This is because Zoroastrians, especially the clergy, withdrew into themselves upon Muslim conquests and shied away from criticizing the dominant religion in an explicit manner. Briefly, the negative description of Islam and Muslims in this literature is reflected in every aspect of life. This may be the manifestation of the

effort by Zoroastrian clergy to maintain their religion and transfer it to posterities.

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WRITINGS AS A FORM OF OPPOSITION:
MATHĀLIB LITERATURE IN THE FIRST THREE CENTURIES AH

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Abstract

The evolution of early Islamic literature cannot be explained merely by scientific reasons. Indeed, each work is a product of the social, political, scientific, and economic frame of its time. During the first century of the ʿAbbāsid rule, Muslim society experienced various social movements, such as *Shuʿūbiyyah*; meanwhile, Shīʿī communities began to develop their identity. Both movements opted to write relevant works in a similar manner to take aim at their opponents; accordingly, they compiled the points that condemned their opponents or their assumptions in separate works. The general name for this literature is *mathālib* (defect, fault, slandering). It developed into two subgenres, namely, *mathālib al-ʿArab* and *mathālib al-ṣaḥābah*. The objective of this paper is to present the existence of this genre, which has yet to be subject to a self-contained study, to identify the authors of these works in the first three centuries AH, and to interpret the available data about this genre with regard to ḥadīth history.

Key Words: *Mathālib al-ʿArab*, *mathālib al-ṣaḥābah,* defects of the Companions, Shuʿūbiyyah.

Introduction

In early Muslim society, various religious and social groups have criticized their opponents on diverse issues. Such criticisms have been aimed at the opponents' ethnic identity or even the principles enshrined by them. *Mathālib* literature emerged as a style of opposition and refutation. This paper presents the association of *mathālib* literature with multiple social and historical contexts and attempts to find answers to the following questions with respect to early Islamic thought and the ḥadīth literature: What are the reasons behind the emergence of *mathālib* literature? Who are the authors of these works? What are the volumes of works in this genre, and how did they circulate in early scientific centers? How capable were these works of reflecting the opinions of the religious and social structure of the time? When did the genre develop and become divided into subgenres, and why did *mathālib* works gradually become rare and survive only through a single subgenre? Why did only a few early examples reach the present day? How did *mathālib* works influence the ḥadīth literature?

A search of classical and contemporary literature reveals that the first publication on this theme was a paper titled "The Shuʿūbiyya Movement and Its Literary Manifestation"[1] by Dionisius A. Agius. In this study, Agius notes the connection between the subgenre "Defects of Arabs (*mathālib al-ʿArab*)," which aims to discredit Arabs, and Shuʿūbiyyah, the political, intellectual, and literal movement that claims that non-Arab nations are superior to Arabs. Nevertheless, Agius does not establish this literature. The second publication directly related to the theme is another paper, titled "The *Bināʾ al-Maqālah* of Jamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Ṭāwūs and Its Place within the *Mathālib* Genre,"[2] by Asma Afsaruddin. In this paper, Afsaruddin provides introductory information about the "defects of the Companions (*mathālib al-ṣaḥābah*)" that seeks to discredit the Companions of Muḥammad. However, she does not attempt to identify the boundaries or all products of the genre. With the exception of these examples, no paper directly related to our theme has been detected. Likewise, Amjad

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[1]   Dionisius A. Agius, "The Shuʿūbiyya Movement and Its Literary Manifestation," *The Islamic Quarterly* 24 no. 3-4 (1980), 76-88.

[2]   Asma Afsaruddin, "The *Bināʾ al-Maqālah* of Jamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Ṭāwūs and Its Place within the *Mathālib* Genre," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 41, no. 1 (1996), 75-97.

Ḥusayn Aḥmad, who prepared work by Hishām ibn Muḥammad al-Kalbī (d. 204/819) for publication as his doctoral thesis, and ʿIṣām Muṣṭafá ʿAbd al-Hādī ʿUqlah and Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Qādir Khuraysāt, who prepared text by al-Haytham ibn ʿAdī al-Buḥturī (d. 207/822) for publication, did not attempt to present all the books in this genre in an integral approach or to observe the development of *mathālib*.

This paper initially provides general information about the *mathālib* literature that yielded increasing numbers of works in the mid-2nd/8th century before analyzing from different perspectives the two contemporaneous subgenres, *mathālib al-ʿArab* and *mathālib al-ṣaḥābah*. In *mathālib al-ʿArab*, information about the defects of Arabs includes satire that is directly or indirectly related to the Companions (*ṣaḥābah*), which is the point of intersection for the two subgenres. Accordingly, these texts within *mathālib al-ʿArab* will be evaluated as a separate group. For *mathālib al-ṣaḥābah*, they will be examined in two categories, those that have and have not become self-contained works. This paper is restricted to the first three centuries AH and takes into account the following: the period, geography, ethnic status, and scientific identity of authors; their connection with Shuʿūbiyyah or other intellectual, political, and religious structures; whether their works have survived to the present day; and their influence on other genres. The word "mathālib" generally means "criticism, condemnation, and humiliation." Accordingly, the concepts of *maʿāyib* and *masāwī*, which are within the same semantic framework, can be used as the name or description of similar books. Therefore, works with similar content, albeit not directly called *mathālib*, are included in our study.

I. Notes on Reasons for the Emergence of the *Mathālib* Genre

The emergence of the *mathālib* genre is associated with three essential reasons: conflicts between the Arab tribes of the Yemenīs and ʿAdnānīs, conflicts between the Quraysh tribes of Umayyad, ʿAbbāsid, ʿAlawīte, and Zubayrīte, and the Shuʿūbiyyah movement.[3] Indeed, we know of a long-lasting rivalry between the Yemenīs and ʿAdnānīs; however, the available data make it almost impossible to talk about the

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[3] ʿIṣām Muṣṭafá ʿAbd al-Hādī ʿUqlah and Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Qādir Khuraysāt, "*Kitāb al-mathālib* li-l-Haytham ibn ʿAdī (d. 207 AH/822 AD)," *al-Majallah al-Urduniyyah li-l-tārīkh wa-l-āthār* 4, no. 3 (2010), 27.

influence of this rivalry on the emergence of the mentioned literature. The Quraysh tribes initially presented each other's defects and faults through poetry as a propaganda tool and later through prose as a natural consequence of the transition from verbal to written culture. The reciprocal humiliation activities were conducted through poetry during the Umayyad era and through prose during the ʿAbbāsid and Shuʿūbiyyah periods.[4] Nevertheless, given that poetic propaganda and counter-propaganda were also common under ʿAbbāsid rule, it is more appropriate to suggest that the critical style gradually transformed from verse to prose in the course of time.

Social, cultural, economic, and political factors played a part in the emergence of the Shuʿūbiyyah movement. Especially during the Umayyad era, Arabs considered themselves superior to other nations, and they considered freed slaves (*mawālī*) second-class humans and levied taxes (*jizyah*) on them even though they were Muslims. The Persians, who constitute the basis of the Shuʿūbiyyah movement and who are an ancient civilization, did not accept this argument of Arabian superiority.[5] Consequently, members of Shuʿūbiyyah, who primarily conducted their literary activities on the basis of lineage (*nasab*) and language, began to write *mathālib* works to denigrate Arabs and noted the genealogical problems regarding Arabs in these works.[6] These accusations by Persians led to serious reactions among Arabs, and the latter also wrote prose as well as poems in response to the Shuʿūbīs. Among the Arabs, scholars such as Abū ʿAbd Allāh Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥumayd al-Jahmī (d. 240/854), al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 255/869), Ibn Qutaybah (d. 276/889), and al-Balādhurī (d. 279/892-3) were the most severe critics of Shuʿūbiyyah, whereas poets such as Abū l-Asad Nubātah ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Tamīmī (d. 220/835 [?]), Abū Khālid Yazīd

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4   Afsaruddin, "The *Bināʾ al-Maqālah* of Jamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Ṭāwūs," 78-79.

5   For the sociocultural and historical background and evolution of the movement, see Ignaz Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, trans. C. R. Barber and S. M. Stern (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1967), 137-198; Ḥusayn ʿAṭwān, *al-Zandaqah wa-l-shuʿūbiyyah fī l-ʿaṣr al-ʿAbbāsī al-awwal* (Beirut: Dār al-Jīl, 1984), 151 ff.; Scott Savran, "Cultural Polemics in the Early Islamic World: The Shuʿūbiyya Controversy," *Journal for the Study of Peace and Conflict* (2007-2008), 42-52; Adem Apak, "Şuûbiyye Hareketinin Tarihî Arka Planı ve Tezâhürleri: Asabiyyeden Şuûbiyyeye," *İSTEM* 6, no. 12 (2008), 17-52.

6   Cf. Agius, "The Shuʿūbiyya Movement and Its Literary Manifestation," 82; Mustafa Kılıçlı, *Arap Edebiyatında Şuûbiyye* (Istanbul: İşaret Yayınları, 1992), 196-199.

ibn Muḥammad (d. 259/873), Muḥammad ibn Yazīd al-Ḥiṣnī, and Abū Saʿd ʿĪsá ibn Khālid al-Makhzūmī (d. 230/845 [?]) defended the Arabs/Arabians against them.[7]

The reactionary relationship between Shuʿūbiyyah and *mathālib* has been a point of study in both the classical and contemporary periods. For example, in his *al-Aghānī*, Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī (d. 356/967) writes various types of criticism about the *mathālib* writer ʿAllān al-Warrāq (d. after 218/833), indicating that he is Thanawī-Zindīq and emphasizing his extremist Shuʿūbī tendencies.[8] A similar situation applies to Abū ʿUbaydah Maʿmar ibn al-Muthanná (d. 209/824 [?]). ʿAllān emphasizes his ʿAjam/Persian origins[9] and notes the relation between being a Persian and Shuʿūbiyyah. The passages quoted by Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd (d. 656/1258), the Muʿtazilī-Shīʿī man of letters and the commentator of *Nahj al-balāghah*, from his tutor Abū ʿUthmān's *Mufākharāt Quraysh* are very informative about the issue. Abū ʿUthmān says the following: "There is no meaning in mentioning the defects, except for necessary conditions. We observed that all *mathālib* works we have so far identified belong to persons who are either problematic in terms of lineage, or Shuʿūbī; we have not come across any *mathālib* writer who has a sound lineage or who is not full of envy."[10] Thus, he establishes a connection between the genre and the Shuʿūbiyyah movement. The contemporary researcher Aḥmad Amīn (d. 1954) touches upon this point and indicates that such attempts are not limited to the condemnation of Arabs but also include the collection of "biographies of Iranians/ʿAjam."[11]

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[7]   Apak, "Şuûbiyye," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi (DİA)*, XXXIX, 246.

[8]   Abū l-Faraj ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Aghānī*, ed. ʿAbd al-Amīr ʿAlī Muhanná, Samīr Jābir, and Yūsuf ʿAlī Ṭawīl (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah, 2008), XX, 88.

[9]   Abū l-Faraj Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq Ibn al-Nadīm, *Kitāb al-fihrist li-l-Nadīm*, ed. Riḍā Tājaddud (Tehran: n.p., 1971), 59. For the claims and assessments of his Shuʿūbī identity, see Adem Yerinde, "Siyasî, Etnik ve İdeolojik Kıskaçta Özgün Kalabilen Bir Dilci: Ebû Ubeyde Ma'mer b. Müsennâ," *Usûl: İslâm Araştırmaları* 9 (2008), 139-144.

[10]   Abū Ḥāmid ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Hibat Allāh Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-balāghah*, ed. Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, 2nd ed. (Beirut: Dār al-Jīl, 1996), XI, 68.

[11]   Aḥmad Amīn, *Ḍuḥá l-Islām* (Cairo: al-Hayʾah al-Miṣriyyah al-ʿĀmmah li-l-Kitāb, 1998), I, 84-89.

It is clear that, in any case, the genre of *mathālib* has taken shape as a style of opposition within the framework of competition for superiority among Arab tribes and the reactions of persons from other ethnic identities toward approaches that place the Arab race at the center. The use of the term *mathālib* corresponds initially to *mathālib al-ʿArab* in chronological terms. Indeed, studies on *mathālib* dwell on this fact. Nevertheless, the *mathālib al-ṣaḥābah* have not been subject to any independent study despite comprising more works than the *mathālib al-ʿArab*.

There are some common points between the two subgenres. The most important common feature is that both are almost defunct today. Of almost ten *mathālib al-ʿArab* written in the first three centuries AH, only a few have reached our day; the *mathālib al-ṣaḥābah*, of which more than twenty existed, all are lost. There is little information about the extinction of these works; however, records show that some works were burnt. Aḥmad Amīn asserts that the reason for the disappearance of the *mathālib*s written by Shuʿūbiyyah is the Muslim understanding that regards this genre as contrary to Islam. According to Amīn, the Muslim community did not undertake the transfer of these works and condemned them to extinction to attain the mercy of Allah. Thus, sincere people were protected from inclining toward these books.[12] Similar arguments can be presented for the *mathālib al-ṣaḥābah*. Indeed, negative associations regarding the Companions, who played an important part in the transition of the religion to posterity, would shake confidence in Islam. This may be why the *mathālib al-ṣaḥābah*, written in the first three centuries AH, did not reach our time. It seems problematic that early texts related to the Shīʿī world are no longer available. Chains of narratives are the only source to determine whether these texts were somehow included in essential Shīʿī works.

Another common feature of the two subgenres is the relation between the writing of these works and monetary expectations. As shown below, this relation exists for at least two of the *mathālib*.

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[12]   *Ibid.*, I, 88.

II. *Mathālib al-ʿArab*

Mathālib al-ʿArab are written about disgraceful acts by any Arab tribe or even generalizations of a crime by a tribe member to all Arabs.[13] The first examples of these works appeared during Umayyad rule in the form of poetry. Obviously, *mathālib* activities before the ʿAbbāsid era concentrated on competition for superiority among the tribes rather than Arabian identity or anti-Arabism. For example, Daghfal ibn Ḥanẓalah al-Sadūsī (d. 65/685), who stayed near Muʿāwiyah in Damascus for a long time, was an expert in genealogy and told Muʿāwiyah about the lineage and the tribal strengths and weaknesses of persons who appeared before the latter.[14] Indeed, prior to the Shuʿūbiyyah movement, *mathālib* activities particularly reflected conflicts between certain Arab tribes; for instance, al-Qāsim ibn Mujāshiʿ al-Tamīmī, a man of law appointed by Abū Muslim al-Khurāsānī (d. 137/755), regularly told the latter about the virtues of Hāshimīs and the defects of Umayyads.[15] Ongoing mutual discourses through poetry and rhetoric or private conversations were compiled in books as of the second half of the 2nd century AH. As an exception, the text by Ziyād ibn Abīhi (d. 53/673) does not provide generalizations about the issue since it was written as a reaction to the criticisms about his lineage, as indicated below.

A. Books Directly about the Defects of Arabs

Ziyād ibn Abīhi, one of the four Shrewds of the Arabs, is reportedly the author of the first *mathālib* work. According to Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, he was declared a descendant of Abū Sufyān (d. 31/651-652). However, he knew that Arabs, already aware of the blemish on his lineage, would not accept this claim. Consequently, he wrote a *Kitāb al-mathālib* and compiled any issues related to the defects and shame

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[13]   *Ibid.*, I, 87; for Shuʿūbiyyah practices such as generalizations in condemning Arabs, the fabrication of libellous stories, false attribution, the fabrication of stories and reports about certain persons of Persian origin, see Kılıçlı, *Arap Edebiyatında Şuûbiyye*, 199-206.

[14]   Mustafa Fayda, "Ensâb," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi (DİA)*, XI, 247.

[15]   Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad ibn Jarīr ibn Yazīd al-Āmulī al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī: Tārīkh al-umam wa-l-mulūk* (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr & Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah, 1987), IV, 313.

of Arabs.[16] This work, in a volume of a tract (*risālah*), laid the foundation for subsequent literature and served as a reference for later works. However, the only information about it is given by Abū l-Faraj. According to the narrative, ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Marwān (r. 65-86/685-705) asked a man who came into his presence the following question: "Do you have the book by Ziyād on *mathālib*?" The man seemed to hesitate to answer. The Caliph relieved him, saying, "No harm will be done to you! Just bring me that book!" Thereupon, the man brought the book. "Read it," said the Caliph, and the man read. ʿAbd al-Malik became angry and surprised at the fabrications in the book, and he ordered the book to be burnt; his order was fulfilled.[17] It is difficult to determine the contributions of the text by Ziyād to the early cultural history of Islam. However, as noted in the following chapters, his work influenced some later works.

Another example of the *mathālib* genre comes from al-Baṣrah. Abū ʿAmr Ḥammād ibn ʿUmar ibn Yūnus al-Suwāʾī,[18] aka "ʿAjrad," who was killed by the governor of al-Baṣrah Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān in 161/778 for being a *zindīq*, claims that Yūnus ibn Abī Farwah (d. 150/767 [?]) wrote the Byzantine king a letter including the self-styled defects of Arabs and reproaches of Islam.[19] This Yūnus was a *zindīq* and the clerk of ʿĪsá ibn Mūsá; he was originally from al-Kūfah, but because of a prosecution, he escaped to al-Baṣrah and died there. His

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[16]   Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Aghānī*, XX, 87.

[17]   *Ibid*., XX, 88-9.

[18]   Abū ʿAbd Allāh Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn ʿUthmān al-Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, ed. Shuʿayb al-Arnaʾūṭ et al. (Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Risālah Nāshirūn, 2011), VII, 156-157. For further information, also see Melhem Chokr, *İslam'ın Hicrî İkinci Asrında Zındıklık ve Zındıklar*, trans. Ayşe Meral (Istanbul: Anka Yayınları, 2002), 367-377.

[19]   Abū ʿUthmān ʿAmr ibn Baḥr al-Jāḥiẓ, *Kitāb al-ḥayawān*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn, 2nd ed. (Beirut: Dār al-Jīl, 1996), IV, 448; Chokr, *Zındıklık ve Zındıklar*, 409-410. In another work, al-Jāḥiẓ dubs him a *zindīq*; see al-Jāḥiẓ, *Rasāʾil al-Jāḥiẓ*, ed. Muḥammad Bāsil ʿUyūn al-Sūd (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah, 2000), II, 151. There are notes about moral inferiority of both ʿAjrad and Yūnus; see Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Aghānī*, XVIII, 106-107. About Yūnus ibn Abī Farwah, also see Abū l-Ḥasan Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Ṣāliḥ al-ʿIjlī, *Maʿrifat al-thiqāt min rijāl ahl al-ʿilm wa-l-ḥadīth wa-min al-ḍuʿafāʾ wa-dhikr madhāhibihim wa-akhbārihim*, ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAlīm ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm al-Bastawī (Medina: Maktabat al-Dār, 1985), I, 413.

letter is recorded by al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍá (d. 436/1040), the Imāmī-Shīʿī jurist, theologian, and man of letters in the form of a book.[20] There is no information, however, about the influence or the aftermath of the letter/book.

ʿAllān ibn al-Ḥasan al-Warrāq al-Shuʿūbī (d. after 218/833), a clerk under Hārūn al-Rashīd (r. 170-193/786-809), al-Maʾmūn (r. 198-218/813-833), and Barmakids who made a living copying books in Baghdad as of the death of al-Maʾmūn, whose reign he had supported, until his death, also wrote a work of *mathālib al-ʿArab*. ʿAllān preferred ʿAjams over Arabs; accordingly, he presented the evil and unfavorable traits of the Arab tribes in his *al-Maydān fī l-mathālib*.[21] According to reports,[22] this work was written on behalf of Barmakids[23] or at the behest of Ṭāhir ibn al-Ḥusayn (d. 207/822), the ʿAbbāsid vizier and founder of the Ṭāhirid dynasty, in exchange for 200.000 dirham. Titles such as *Mathālib Quraysh*, *Mathālib Tamīm*, and *Mathālib al-Yemen*[24] presented by Ibn al-Nadīm (d. 385/995 [?]) about the content of the work, as well as some quotations from the book, such as "after the demise of Prophet, the tribe of Qays abjured Islam and began to worship Sajāḥ,"[25] strengthened the argument that it was a *mathālib al-ʿArab*. It is also reported that the work by ʿAllān adopts the layout of *Kitāb al-mathālib* by Ibn al-Kalbī (d. 204/819), which we will discuss in this paper.[26]

There are some other interesting works within the *mathālib al-ʿArab* context. In fact, *Kitāb al-nawāqil min al-ʿArab* by Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad ibn Salamah ibn Artabīl al-Yashkurī (d. circa 230/845), the pro-Shīʿī genealogist, jurist, philologist, and citer of al-Kūfah, was discussed as another *Kitāb al-mathālib* according to al-Najāshī (d.

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20 Khayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām: Qāmūs tarājim li-ashhar al-rijāl wa-l-nisāʾ min al-ʿArab wa-l-mustaʿribīn wa-l-mustashriqīn*, 6th ed. (Beirut: Dār al-ʿIlm li-l-Malāyīn, 1984), VIII, 263.

21 Fayda, "Allân el-Verrâk," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi (DİA)*, II, 504-505.

22 Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Aghānī*, XX, 88.

23 Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, 118.

24 *Ibid*.

25 Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Aghānī*, XIV, 87, 89; XX, 88.

26 Abū l-Faḍl Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, ed. ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Abū Ghuddah and Salmān ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Abū Ghuddah (Beirut: Maktabat al-Matbūʿāt al-Islāmiyyah, 2002), V, 471.

450/1058), the Shīʿī author of *al-Fihrist*.[27] Another author associated with the theme is Abū ʿAbd Allāh Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥumayd ibn Sulaymān ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Abī Jahm ibn Ḥudhayfah al-ʿAdawī al-Jahmī al-Baghdādī (d. 240/854), who conducted scientific activities in Iraq. Described as a competent poet, writer, and scholar, al-Jahmī was especially famous for his knowledge of genealogy and *mathālib*. He reportedly wrote a *Kitāb al-mathālib*.[28] Finally, the sources talk about *Kitāb al-wāḥidah fī mathālib al-ʿArab wa-manāqibihā* by Abū ʿAlī Diʿbil ibn ʿAlī ibn Razīn al-Khuzāʿī (d. 246/860), the pro-Shīʿī poet who spent most of his life in Baghdad.[29]

B. *Mathālib al-ʿArab* that Include Defects of Companions

According to reports narrated by Zakariyyā al-Sājī (d. 307/920), a *muḥaddith* from al-Baṣrah, Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Zabālah al-Makhzūmī al-Madanī (d. after 199/814), who came to the fore as a historian and is fiercely criticized by ḥadīth experts,[30] also wrote a book in the *mathālib* genre. With regard to this narrative, Zakariyyā states that "he fabricated a ḥadīth on behalf of Mālik and wrote a work called *Mathālib al-ansāb*. Thereupon, people of Medina inclined away from him."[31] The work, which raised some eyebrows in Medina, cannot be exactly considered a *mathālib al-ṣaḥābah*; nevertheless, the accounts of certain Arab tribes presumably affected the members of the Companions from these tribes.

Mathālib al-ʿArab, an early and extant example of the genre by Abū

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[27]   Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad ibn al-ʿAbbās al-Najāshī, *Fihrist asmāʾ muṣannifī l-Shīʿah al-mushtahir bi-Rijāl al-Najāshī* (Beirut: Sharikat al-Aʿlamī li-l-Maṭbūʿāt, 2010), 318. The work is named *Rijāl* in this version; however, pursuant to general acceptance, it will be called *Fihrist* throughout this paper.

[28]   Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, 124. Also see Ismāʿīl Pāshā al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-ʿārifīn asmāʾ al-muʾallifīn wa-āthār al-muṣannifīn*, ed. Mahmut Kemal İnal and Avni Aktuç (Istanbul: Maarif Basımevi, 1951-1955 → Beirut: Dār Iḥyāʾ al-Turāth al-ʿArabī, 1951), I, 47.

[29]   Al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-ʿārifīn*, I, 363.

[30]   For example, the assessment by Yaḥyá ibn Maʿīn about "kadhdhāb," see Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyá ibn Maʿīn ibn ʿAwn al-Baghdādī, *Yaḥyá ibn Maʿīn wa-kitābuhū al-Tārīkh* (narrative via al-Dūrī), ed. Aḥmad Muḥammad Nūr Sayf (Mecca: Markaz al-Baḥth al-ʿIlmī wa-Iḥyāʾ al-Turāth al-Islāmī, 1979), III, 227.

[31]   Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, ed. Ibrāhīm al-Zaybaq and ʿĀdil Murshid (Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Risālah, 2011), III, 541.

l-Mundhir Hishām ibn Muḥammad al-Kalbī (d. 204/819), is an interesting text. Known for his *Mathālib Banī Umayyah*[32] and his Shīʿī tendency, Hishām generally talks about the evil features of Arabs in his *Mathālib al-ʿArab*. These persons include some Companions. For example, he mentions the names of certain Companions under titles such as "those subject to sharīʿah punishment (*ḥadd*)"[33] "children of adultery,"[34] "children of Abyssinian women"[35] or those accused of sodomy.[36] Furthermore, he shares narratives of controversies regarding the lineage of Muʿāwiyah.[37] Consequently, a work that primarily concentrates on intertribal conflicts may be included within the scope of critical literature about the Companions.

According to *al-Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm, another *mathālib* was put to paper by Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Haytham ibn ʿAdī al-Ṭāʾī al-Buḥturī al-Kūfī (d. 207/822), an expert on reports (*akhbār*) and lineages (*ansāb*). Accused of being a Khārijī, al-Haytham reportedly wrote two other books, *Kitāb al-mathālib al-kabīr* and *Kitāb al-mathālib al-ṣaghīr*; in addition to the *mathālib* about certain Arab tribes.[38] The work by al-Haytham, whose lineage is also subject to debate, is based on the book by Ziyād ibn Abīhi.[39] There is no clear evidence why al-Haytham wrote his work; according to the narrative, however, al-Haytham, who was a genealogist, claimed to be a member of Banū Ṭayy, a tribe considered noble by Arabs, and thus married a woman from the tribe of Banū l-Ḥārith. However, following his quarrels with the famous poet and humorist Abū Nuwās (d. 198/813 [?]), al-Haytham's claim turned out to be fabricated. The Ḥārithīs asserted that al-Haytham was not worthy of his wife in terms of nobility; they attempted to make him divorce his wife and to imprison him. Some reports, narrated by al-Haytham, were construed as slander against the ʿAbbāsids and especially al-ʿAbbās ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, and reactions

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[32] Al-Najāshī, *Fihrist*, 416.

[33] Abū l-Mundhir Hishām ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Sāʾib ibn Bishr al-Kalbī, *Kitāb al-mathālib*, in Amjad Ḥasan Sayyid Aḥmad, "[Study on] *Kitāb al-mathālib*" (PhD diss., Lahore: Jāmiʿat Punjab, 1977), 48-49.

[34] *Ibid.*, 71-76.

[35] *Ibid.*, 87 ff.

[36] *Ibid.*, 36.

[37] *Ibid.*, 53 ff.

[38] Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, 112.

[39] Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Aghānī*, XX, 87.

against him grew even fiercer.[40] In his *Mathālib*, he mentions the names of certain Companions under titles such as "Those with controversial lineage"[41] and "Those ascribed to others even though they were born to the bed of their father during Jāhiliyyah."[42] This text, which does not directly aim to humiliate the Companions, may have paved the way for difficulties because it contains materials used by the author without an appropriate critical approach and without regard for social sensitivities.

There are mentions of another *Kitāb al-mathālib*, this one by the great linguist Abū ʿUbaydah Maʿmar ibn al-Muthanná al-Taymī al-Baṣrī (d. 209/824 [?]). According to Ibn Quṭaybah (d. 276/889), Abū ʿUbaydah, who had a Khārijī worldview, held a grudge against Arabs and wrote a work about their defects.[43] In *al-Fihrist*, Ibn al-Nadīm states that the book included certain satirical narratives about some Companions of the Prophet.[44] Indeed, the references to this work show that it actually comprised satirical reports about some prominent Arabs.[45] Statements by Ibn Quṭaybah and Ibn al-Nadīm reveal that the common feature of the *mathālib* genre also applies to the text by Abū ʿUbaydah. There is no clear information on why Maʿmar ibn al-Muthanná, who was allegedly a Muʿtazilī or Shuʿūbī, wrote this work; however, his Persian origins and related social difficulties may provide an explanation. Presumably, he took sides with Shuʿūbiyyah even though he was not a sincere Shuʿūbī; accordingly, he wrote works on

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[40] Cevat İzgi, "Heysem ibn Adî," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi (DİA)*, XVII, 290; also see Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Aghānī*, XX, 39.

[41] Al-Haytham ibn ʿAdī, *Kitāb al-mathālib*, in ʿIṣām Muṣṭafá ʿAbd al-Hādī ʿUqlah and Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Qādir Khuraysāt, "*Kitāb al-mathālib* li-l-Haytham ibn ʿAdī (d. 207 AH/822 AD)," *al-Majallah al-Urduniyyah li-l-tārīkh wa-l-āthār* 4, no. 3 (2010), 34 ff.

[42] Al-Haytham ibn ʿAdī, *Kitāb al-mathālib*, 39. For narratives attributed to al-Haytham in classical sources, see Stefan Leder, "Authorship and Transmission in Unauthored Literature: The Akhbār Attributed to al-Haytham ibn ʿAdī," *Oriens* 31 (1988), 67-81.

[43] Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muslim Ibn Qutaybah al-Dīnawarī, *al-Maʿārif*, ed. Tharwah ʿUkkāshah, 4th ed. (Cairo: Dār al-Maʿārif, 1981), 534; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, IV, 127.

[44] Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, 59.

[45] For example, see Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-balāghah*, IV, 72.

the defects of Arabs and in praise of Persian culture.[46]

C. Assessment

With for two exceptions (that can be dated between 40 and 150 AH), the *mathālib al-ʿArab* gained momentum as of 150 AH – in other words, simultaneously with the increasing Shuʿūbiyyah movement under ʿAbbāsid rule. Interestingly, no *mathālib al-ʿArab* has been written since the second half of the 3rd century AH. This may be because, unlike the Umayyads, the ʿAbbāsid state structure internalized multiculturalism, and because the sociocultural and political reasons from which Shuʿūbiyyah emerged no longer existed.

Dates of *Mathālib al-ʿArab*
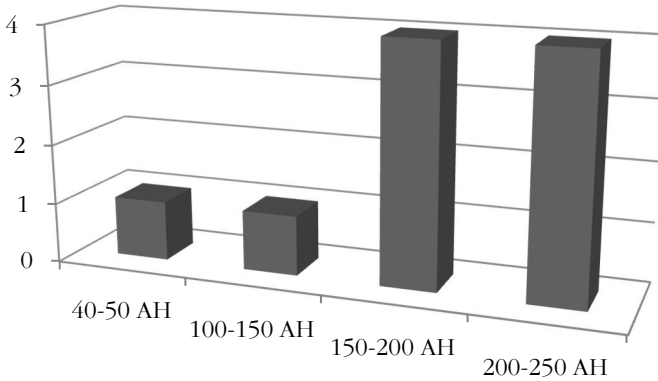
An examination of the geographies of the *mathālib al-ʿArab* shows that the scientific centers in the 2nd and 3rd centuries AH, such as al-Kūfah, al-Baṣrah and Baghdad, come to the forefront. The only exception is a work written in Medina. However, a closer look at the table that presents the dates of the mentioned works reveals that *mathālib al-ʿArab* were written in al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah particularly in the 2nd century AH and in Baghdad in the 3rd century AH as the latter gradually became a political and scientific capital city.

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[46]   For claims and assessments about him, see Kılıçlı, *Arap Edebiyatında Şuûbiyye*, 214-222; Yerinde, "Ebû Ubeyde Maʿmer b. Müsennâ," 119-152.

Birthplaces of *Mathālib al-ʿArab*
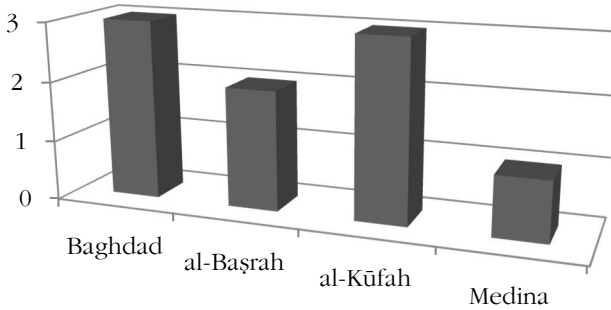
Another interesting point is the madhhabs of the authors of *mathālib al-ʿArab*. Despite the ever-present emphasis on the connection between Shuʿūbī inclinations and *mathālib* writing, there is no absolute relation between the two, and we can only talk about partial coherence in terms of the period and certain works. Indeed, only two authors are accused of being Shuʿūbī in this group. It is worth noting that there are pro-Shīʿī authors among the writers of *mathālib al-ʿArab*, similar to the *mathālib al-ṣaḥābah*. *Zindīq*s and Khārijīs are the other mentioned madhhab. Nevertheless, it seems improbable to establish an absolute association between the genre and a certain madhhab.[47]

Madhhab of authors of *Mathālib al-ʿArab*

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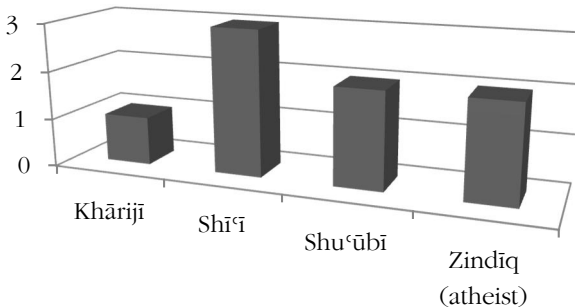
[47]   Both accusations regarding ʿAllān al-Warrāq, namely, being Shuʿūbī and *zindīq*, are shown in the chart. No data were found with regard to the madhhab-related tendencies of certain names.

An analysis of the ethnic identity of the authors of *mathālib al-ʿArab* shows no direct relation between the tribe of origin and the writing of *mathālib*. Indeed, among the ten abovementioned authors, eight belong to different Arab tribes, one is from *mawālī*, and the other is Iranian.

Determinations by contemporary scholars of the relation between *ʿilm al-ansāb* and *mathālib* are confirmed by the areas of interest of the authors of *mathālib al-ʿArab*. Classical sources note that at least six of the 10 authors were well informed or yielded works on genealogy. Note that the first *mathālib* work was written with regard to debates about the lineage of its author.

There is little available data about the extent to which the *mathālib al-ʿArab* influenced one another. Records show that ʿAllān al-Warrāq benefited from the work by al-Kalbī and that al-Haytham ibn ʿAdī made use of the book of Ziyād ibn Abīhi. However, we do not know whether this influence contributed to the essential features or continuity of the genre. A comparison between the *mathālib al-ʿArab* literature and the *ansāb* literature might be useful to obtain a clearer and more accurate opinion of this problem.

Assessment is also needed of the fate of the *mathālib al-ʿArab* works. Some texts have survived in part, whereas there are presumably other defunct works with known content, as evidenced by references in classical sources. In addition, there are some works whose content is not known since they were burnt or dismissed outside of Muslim lands. There are four texts about which there is no information in terms of content and outcome.

III. *Mathālib al-ṣaḥābah*

According to classical sources, various social communities with marginal tendencies propounded negative opinions about the Companions as early as the 1ˢᵗ century AH. The content of these judgments could include personal discontent or political polarizations as well as questions about the religious status of the Companions. Nevertheless, no significant steps have been taken to determine when and where such criticisms established written literature regarding this religious/political structure. It is possible to assert that the mentioned critical literature appeared particularly among Shīʿī communities (*jamāʿah*). Supportive data for this assertion will be provided below. The Companions, who probably played an active part in political

incidents, were subject to criticisms in various circles of conversation through several narratives in the early 2nd century AH, and negative discourses about the Companions were presented to followers of certain communities/madhhabs to provide them with a specific identity. The Shīʿī movement, which was no longer an ordinary community and became a more systematic structure under the imamate of Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (d. 148/756), discussed some marginal opinions in private circles during and after his lifetime. The arrows of criticism were generally aimed at ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān (d. 35/656) and Muʿāwiyah (d. 60/680); nevertheless, Abū Bakr (d. 13/634) and ʿUmar (d. 23/644) occasionally received their share of criticism.

The beginning of criticisms of the Companions can be interpreted within a framework of action and reaction. Having seized power, Muʿāwiyah ordered a recital of *khuṭbah* against ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (d. 40/661), and Mughīrah ibn Shuʿbah (d. 50/670), the governor of al-Kūfah, obeyed his command. Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam (d. 65/685), the governor of Hejaz, also reportedly insulted ʿAlī every Friday for six years.[48] Apparently, the policies of profanity (*sabb*) against ʿAlī that hurt Ahl al-bayt paved the way for the emergence of the "counter *sabb*" over time. For example, the departure of Ḥanẓalah ibn al-Rabīʿ al-Kātib (d. 45/665[?]), Jarīr ibn ʿAbd Allāh (d. 51/671), and ʿAdī ibn Ḥātim (d. 68/867) of al-Kūfah on the grounds that "we cannot dwell in a city where ʿUthmān ibn Affān is insulted"[49] gives a clue about the geography of the "counter *sabb*." However, the gradual rise in the number of slanderers against the Companions as of the early 2nd

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[48]   Abū ʿAbd Allāh Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥanbal, *Kitāb al-ʿilal wa-maʿrifat al-rijāl*, ed. Waṣī Allāh ibn Muḥammad ʿAbbās, 2nd ed. (Riyadh: Dār al-Khānī, 2001), III, 176.

[49]   Ibn Maʿīn, *Maʿrifat al-rijāl: Riwāyat ibn Muḥriz*, ed. Muḥammad al-Sayyid ʿUthmān (in *Mawsūʿat Tārīkh Ibn Maʿīn: Khams riwāyāt 1. Riwāyat al-Dūrī wa-ismuhā al-Tārikh wa-l-ʿilal, 2. Riwāyat ibn Muḥriz wa-ismuhā Maʿrifat al-rijāl, 3. Riwāyat al-Dārimī wa-ismuhā Tārīkh al-Dārimī ʿan Ibn Maʿīn, 4. Riwāyat Ibn Junayd wa-ismuhā Suʾālāt li-Ibn Maʿīn, 5. Riwāyat Hāshim ibn Marthad al-Ṭabarānī wa-ismuhā Suʾālāt Ibn Ṭālūt* [Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah, 2011]), II, 93; Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī, *al-Tārīkh al-kabīr* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah, 1986), III, 36; Abū l-Qāsim ʿAbd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Maḥmūd al-Kaʿbī al-Balkhī, *Qabūl al-akhbār wa-maʿrifat al-rijāl*, ed. Abū ʿAmr al-Ḥusaynī ibn ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah, 2000), II, 163.

century AH may be related to the loss of power of the Umayyad rule and the growing activity of marginal groups. Abū Zurʿah al-Rāzī (d. 264/878), a scholar of discrediting and commendation (*al-jarḥ wa-l-taʿdīl*), provides a list of narratives from slanderers of the Companions.[50] Thus, there should have been a significant number of such narrators. In any case, we can easily determine that the insults against the Companions continued throughout the 2nd century AH. Examples of such insults include the following: ʿĀṣim ibn Sulaymān al-Aḥwal (d. after 140/757) came across a man insulting (*sabb*) ʿUthmān and lashed him with 10 whips; he added 10 more as he maintained the same attitude and thus reached 70 whips.[51] Others include insults by Ismāʿīl ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Suddī (d. 127/744) against Abū Bakr and ʿUmar,[52] by Jābir al-Juʿfī (d. 128/746) against the Companions of the Prophet,[53] by Yūnus ibn Khabbāb against ʿUthmān and the Companions of Muḥammad,[54] by Muḥammad ibn al-Sāʾib al-Kalbī (d. 146/763) against Abū Bakr and ʿUmar,[55] by ʿAmr ibn Shimr al-Juʿfī (d.

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[50] Abū Zurʿah ʿUbayd Allāh ibn ʿAbd al-Karīm ibn Yazīd al-Rāzī, *Suʾālāt al-Bardhaʿī li-Abī Zurʿah al-Rāzī, 200-264 H, wa-huwa Kitāb al-ḍuʿafāʾ wa-l-kadhdhābīn wa-l-matrūkīn*, ed. Abū ʿUmar Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī al-Azharī (Cairo: al-Fārūq al-Ḥadīthah li-l-Ṭibāʿah wa-l-Nashr, 2009), 393.

[51] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Kitāb al-ʿilal*, I, 428-429.

[52] Abū Muḥammad Badr al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Aḥmad al-ʿAynī, *Maghānī l-akhyār fī sharḥ asāmī rijāl Maʿānī l-āthār*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥasan Muḥammad Ḥasan Ismāʿīl al-Shāfiʿī (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah, 2006), I, 65.

[53] Al-Balkhī, *Qabūl al-akhbār*, II, 73; Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad ibn ʿAmr ibn Mūsá ibn Ḥammād al-ʿUqaylī, *Kitāb al-ḍuʿafāʾ wa-man nusiba ilá l-kadhib wa-waḍʿ al-ḥadīth wa-man ghalaba ʿalá ḥadīthihī al-wahm wa-man yuttaham fī baʿḍ ḥadīthihī*, ed. Māzin ibn Muḥammad al-Sirsāwī, Abū Isḥāq al-Ḥuwaynī al-Atharī, and Aḥmad Maʿbad ʿAbd al-Karīm (Cairo: Dār Majd al-Islām, 2008), I, 517.

[54] Ibn Maʿīn, *Yaḥyá ibn Maʿīn wa-kitābuhū al-Tārīkh* (narrative via al-Dūrī), III, 470; IV, 72; al-Balkhī, *Qabūl al-akhbār*, II, 347. "He used to insult the Companions of Messenger," see Ibn Maʿīn, *Suʾālāt li-Ibn Maʿīn: Riwāyat Ibn Junayd*, ed. Muḥammad al-Sayyid ʿUthmān (in *Mawsūʿat Tārīkh Ibn Maʿīn: Khams riwāyāt 1. Riwāyat al-Dūrī wa-ismuhā al-Tārikh wa-l-ʿilal, 2. Riwāyat ibn Muḥriz wa-ismuhā Maʿrifat al-rijāl, 3. Riwāyat al-Dārimī wa-ismuhā Tārīkh al-Dārimī ʿan Ibn Maʿīn, 4. Riwāyat Ibn Junayd wa-ismuhā Suʾālāt li-Ibn Maʿīn, 5. Riwāyat Hāshim ibn Marthad al-Ṭabarānī wa-ismuhā Suʾālāt Ibn Ṭālūt* [Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah, 2011]), II, 330.

[55] Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm ibn Yaʿqūb ibn Isḥāq al-Saʿdī al-Jūzjānī, *Aḥwāl al-rijāl*, ed. Ṣubḥī al-Badrī al-Sāmarrāʾī (Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Risālah, 1985), 54.

157/774) against the Companions,[56] by Miswar ibn al-Ṣalt al-Kūfī against the predecessors (*salaf*), namely, the Companions,[57] by Ismāʿīl ibn Khalīfah al-ʿAbsī al-Kūfī (d. 169/785) against ʿUthmān,[58] by ʿAmr ibn Abī l-Miqdām al-Kūfī (d. 172/788)[59] and al-Ḥakam ibn Zuhayr al-Fazārī (d. 180/800s) against the Companions,[60] by Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad al-Madanī (d. 184/800) against certain predecessors,[61] by Jarīr ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd (d. 188/803) against Muʿāwiyah,[62] by Talīd ibn Sulaymān (d. after 190/805) against Abū Bakr and ʿUmar,[63] and, finally, by Khālid ibn Makhlad (d. 213/828) against the Companions.[64] Examples in the literature reveal that the activities and discourses against the Companions took the form of independent works through compilation in page (*ṣaḥīfah*s), fascicles (*juzʾ*s) or brief books as of the late 2nd and early 3rd centuries AH. Until then, the criticisms were probably expressed in two forms, "direct insults" and "mentions of narratives with negative content about relevant Companions," as is often observed in historians' discussions of the compilation.[65] The development of the *mathālib* literature is essentially contemporaneous with the period when Sunnī literature attained a thematic classification. The era also marks the time of dissociation between the Sunnī and Shīʿī

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[56]   Abū Zurʿah al-Rāzī, *Suʾālāt al-Bardhaʿī*, 393.

[57]   Abū Ḥātim Muḥammad ibn Ḥibbān ibn Aḥmad al-Bustī, *Kitāb al-majrūḥīn min al-muḥaddithīn wa-l-ḍuʿafāʾ wa-l-matrūkīn*, ed. Maḥmūd Ibrāhīm Zāyed (Beirut: Dār al-Maʿrifah, 1992), III, 31.

[58]   Abū Aḥmad ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAdī al-Jurjānī, *al-Kāmil fī ḍuʿafāʾ al-rijāl*, ed. Muḥammad Anas Muṣṭafá al-Khinn (Damascus: al-Risālah al-ʿĀlamiyyah, 2012), I, 425.

[59]   Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Kitāb al-ʿilal*, III, 486.

[60]   Ibn Ḥibbān, *Kitāb al-majrūḥīn*, I, 250.

[61]   Al-ʿUqaylī, *Kitāb al-ḍuʿafāʾ*, I, 217.

[62]   Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, I, 298.

[63]   Al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān al-iʿtidāl fī naqd al-rijāl*, ed. ʿAlī Muḥammad Muʿawwaḍ and ʿĀdil Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Mawjūd (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah, 1995), II, 77.

[64]   Al-Jūzjānī, *Aḥwāl al-rijāl*, 82.

[65]   Note that according to Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ (d. 643/1245) in his thoughts about literature on the Companions, it is problematic that in *al-Istīʿāb*, Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr often quotes from historians and not from ḥadīth experts with regard to issues occurring among the Companions. See Abū ʿAmr Taqī al-Dīn ʿUthmān ibn Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ al-Shahrazūrī, *ʿUlūm al-ḥadīth*, ed. Nūr al-Dīn ʿItr (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1986), 292.

circles of education.

There is a strikingly significant relation between the formation of essential Sunnī judgments about the Companions and the process of obtaining independent compilations of criticisms against the Companions. This systematic criticism supported the argument that "all Companions are fair (*al-aṣḥāb kulluhum ʿudūl*),"[66] on the one hand, and enabled the emergence of subgenres such as *faḍāʾil* (virtues) and *manāqib* (merits), on the other hand, which became an independent branch to respond to the literature and sought to reinforce the religious status of the Companions as the transferors of Sunnah knowledge to upcoming generations. In fact, *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah*, the earliest self-contained *faḍāʾil* works by Wakīʿ ibn al-Jarrāḥ (d. 197/812) and Asad ibn Mūsá (d. 212/827), respectively, were probably compiled as a reaction to the mentioned discourse and literature. During the reign of Caliph al-Maʾmūn, the classification of *faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah* both as self-contained books and chapters became more common as a response to increasing discourse against the Companions.[67] Nevertheless, since Shīʿah gradually became an independent structure, the *faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah*, which sought to respond to criticisms against the Companions, were unable to obviate the *mathālib al-ṣaḥābah* works. The two bodies of literature, which were born in successive periods, grew in a simultaneous manner throughout history.

A. Self-Contained or Independent Works

Mathālib al-ṣaḥābah literature can be evaluated under two titles according to Shīʿī and Sunnī references. These works are observed

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[66]   For discussions of the fairness of the Companions and evaluations of the relation of the concept of justice with various madhhabs, see Fuʾad Jabali, "A Study of the Companions of the Prophet: Geographical Distribution and Political Alignments" (PhD diss, Montreal: McGill University, 1999), 92-111. For the Muʿtazilī view of the Companions, see Hüseyin Hansu, "Muʿtezile'de Sahâbe Algısı," in *İslâm Medeniyetinin Kurucu Nesli Sahâbe: Sahâbe Kimliği ve Algısı*, ed. M. Abdullah Aydınlı (Istanbul: Ensar Neşriyat, 2013), 487-508.

[67]   For literature on *faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah* and factors behind its appearance, see Mehmet Efendioğlu, "Fezâilü's-sahâbe," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi (DİA)*, XII, 534-538; Ömer Özpınar, "Fedâilü's-Sahâbe Edebiyatının Teşekkülü ve Muhtevasına Etki Eden Sebepler Üzerine," in *İslâm Medeniyetinin Kurucu Nesli Sahâbe: Sahâbe Kimliği ve Algısı,* ed. M. Abdullah Aydınlı (Istanbul: Ensar Neşriyat, 2013), 125-137.

almost simultaneously in both traditions, and they are important in terms of showing the qualities and areas of activity of Shīʿī organizations in a Sunnī society.

1. *Mathālib al-ṣaḥābah* in Sunnī Sources

Research on Sunnī sources reveals that *mathālib al-ṣaḥābah*, which were mostly related to al-Kūfah and written by authors accused of Shīʿī tendencies, first appeared in the mid-2nd century AH. Accordingly, Abū Ḥamzah Thābit ibn Abī Ṣafiyyah Dīnār al-Sūmālī al-Azdī al-Kūfī (d. 148/765) is one of the earliest authors to compile a work completely dedicated to *mathālib al-ṣaḥābah.* He is criticized for believing in *rajʿah*[68] and being Rāfiḍī, and his works such as *al-Nawādir, al-Zuhd,* and *Tafsīr al-Qurʾān*[69] are mentioned in Shīʿī references.[70] The only information about his work related to our theme is recorded by Abū Dāwūd (d. 275/889). Pursuant to reports through Abū ʿUbayd al-Ājurrī, Abū Dāwūd presents the following account: "Ibn al-Mubārak [d. 181/797] came to him [Thābit]. Abū Ḥamzah stretched him out a page with ḥadīths including negative things about ʿUthmān (*ṣaḥīfah fīhā ḥadīth sūʾⁱⁿ fī ʿUthmān*). Ibn al-Mubārak gave the page to slave-girl and said: 'Tell him: May Allah damn you and your page!'"[71] The quotation apparently mentions a single narrative about ʿUthmān; however, the accusations about the narrator, the confirmation of such

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[68] According to some Shīʿī groups, *rajʿah* means the appearance of the Imām after death or hiding (*ghaybah*); for Twelver Shīʿīs, it means the return of the Imāms and their oppressors prior to Doomsday; İlyas Üzüm, "Recʿat," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi (DİA)*, XXXIV, 504. Also see Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Nuʿmān al-Shaykh al-Mufīd al-ʿUkbarī, *Awāʾil al-maqālāt fī l-madhāhib al-mukhtārāt*, ed. Ibrāhīm al-Anṣārī (Qom: al-Muʾtamar al-ʿĀlamī li-Alfiyyat al-Shaykh al-Mufīd, 1413 [1993]), 77-78.

[69] Al-ʿUqaylī, *Kitāb al-ḍuʿafāʾ*, I, 474; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb*, ed. Muḥammad ʿAwwāmah (Aleppo: Dār al-Rashīd, 1991), 132.

[70] Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī ibn Shahrāshūb al-Māzandarānī, *Maʿālim al-ʿulamāʾ fī fihrist kutub al-Shīʿah wa-asmāʾ al-muṣannifīn minhum qadīmᵃⁿ wa-ḥadīthᵃⁿ: Tatimmat Kitāb al-fihrist li-l-Shaykh Abī Jaʿfar al-Ṭūsī*, ed. Muḥammad Ṣādiq Āl Baḥr al-ʿulūm (Najaf: Manshūrāt al-Maṭbaʿah al-Ḥaydariyyah, 1380 [1961]), 29-30.

[71] Abū Dāwūd Sulaymān ibn al-Ashʿath ibn Isḥāq al-Sijistānī, *Suʾālāt Abī ʿUbayd al-Ājurrī li-l-Imām Abī Dāwūd Sulaymān ibn al-Ashʿath al-Sijistānī, 202-275 H, fī maʿrifat al-rijāl wa-jarḥihim wa-taʿdīlihim*, ed. Abū ʿUmar Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī al-Azharī (Cairo: al-Fārūq al-Ḥadīthah li-l-Ṭibāʿah wa-l-Nashr, 2010), 47.

accusations by Shīʿī sources, and the rejection of the entire collection of pages by Ibn al-Mubārak and his cursing of Thābit imply that the text included many narratives with the purpose of humiliating ʿUthmān. It is also interesting that a man connected with Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq could easily put such a text into circulation in al-Kūfah.

Another work, almost simultaneous with the one by Thābit ibn Abī Ṣafiyyah, was put to paper by Abū ʿAwānah Waḍḍāḥ ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Yashkurī (d. 176/792) in al-Baṣrah. According to a report by Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal (d. 241/855), Abū ʿAwānah wrote a book including the defects (*maʿāyib*) and troublesome characteristics (*balāyā*) of the Companions of the Prophet. Sallām ibn Abī Muṭīʿ (d. 164/780) (a *muḥaddith* from al-Baṣrah known by the title *ṣāḥib al-sunnah* as a follower of Ahl al-ḥadīth[72]) came up and said, "Abū ʿAwānah! Give me that book" and he did. Sallām then took the book and burned it.[73] Given the distinguished status of Abū ʿAwānah in terms of *al-jarḥ wa-l-taʿdīl*, it seems improbable that he wrote such a work about the Companions; however, a report in the work by al-Khallāl (d. 311/923) clarifies the background of the incident. According to the narrative through Khālid ibn Khidāsh (d. 224/838), Sallām ibn Abī Muṭīʿ tells Abū ʿAwānah, "Give me the religious innovations (*bidʿah*) you brought from al-Kūfah!" Abū ʿAwānah gives him his books, and Sallām throws the books into the furnace. Yaḥyá ibn Maʿīn (d. 233/848), who reports the incident, asks Khālid what the narratives were about. Khālid relates the report about Quraysh, "Behave the Quraysh honestly [as long as they trust you the same]. [Otherwise, get your swords ready],"[74] and about the virtue of ʿAlī, "I am the criterion for getting into fire (*ana qasīm al-nār*)." Yaḥyá asks Khālid whether Abū ʿAwānah quoted the report about ʿAlī from Sulaymān ibn Mihrān al-Aʿmash (d. 148/765)

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[72] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Kitāb al-ʿilal*, II, 42.

[73] *Ibid*., I, 254; Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Hārūn al-Khallāl, *al-Sunnah*, ed. ʿAṭiyyah ʿAtīq ʿAbd Allāh al-Zahrānī (Riyadh: Dār al-Rāyah li-l-Nashr wa-l-Tawzīʿ, 1989), I, 510.

[74] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal narrates the report in a summarized manner; *Musnad al-Imām Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal*, ed. Shuʿayb al-Arnaʾūṭ et al. (Beirut: Dār al-Risālah al-ʿĀlamiyyah, 2015), XXXVII, 71. For the version of the narrative given in parentheses in the text, see Abū l-Qāsim Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-awsaṭ*, ed. Ṭāriq ibn ʿIwaḍ Allāh ibn Muḥammad and ʿAbd al-Muḥsin ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ḥusaynī (Cairo: Dār al-Ḥaramayn, 1415), VIII, 15.

and receives an affirmative answer.[75] According to this narrative, reports including *maʿāyib* and *balāyā* that caused Sallām to burn the work as well as narratives, which turgidly praise the virtues of Alī, are provided from al-Kūfah. Since the book was burned, it is impossible to say more about its content.

Another text revealing the relation between *mathālib* and al-Kūfah belongs to Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Ḥasan al-Aṣghar al-Fazārī al-Kūfī (d. 208/823). According to the narrative through Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Hāniʾ al-Athram al-Baghdādī (d. 273/886), al-Athram asks Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal why he quoted the narrative via al-Ḥusayn al-Aṣghar. In reply, Ibn Ḥanbal speaks of rumors about the Shīʿī tendency of al-Ḥusayn and says he does not quote narratives of liars. Another scholar-to-be, ʿAbbās ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm al-Baṣrī (d. 246/860), intervenes and says that al-Ḥusayn narrated some ḥadīths about Abū Bakr and ʿUmar. Then Athram says, "O Abū ʿAbd Allāh! He even established a book where he compiled the defects (*maʿāyib*) of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar!" Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal replies, "He is not a man to do such a thing!" As the rumor goes, two disciples mention some narratives through al-Ḥusayn and change the positive conviction of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal in a negative way.[76] The mention of the Shīʿī tendency of al-Ḥusayn al-Ashghar is probably due to reports that he narrated and the aforementioned book. Nevertheless, the bibliographical literature and other works include no record of or reference to such a compilation of defects of the Shaykhayn, namely, Abū Bakr and ʿUmar.

A narrative about ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Mūsá al-ʿAbsī (d. 213/828) of al-Kūfah shows his interest in the *mathālib* narratives. According to records by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463/1071), Salm ibn Junādah al-Kūfī (d. 254/868) spoke as follows: "I went near ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Mūsá in order to listen to ḥadīth from him. I heard him reading *mathālib* of ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān to the audience. Thereupon, I left, and heard no more from him."[77] It is stated that ʿUbayd Allāh did not house anyone

75   Al-Khallāl, *al-Sunnah*, I, 510.

76   Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Suʾālāt Abī Bakr al-Athram li-l-Imām al-kabīr Abī ʿAbd Allāh Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ḥanbal fī l-jarḥ wa-l-taʿdīl wa-ʿilal al-ḥadīth*, ed. Abū ʿUmar Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī al-Azharī (Cairo: al-Fārūq al-Ḥadīthah li-l-Ṭibāʿah wa-l-Nashr, 2007), 116.

77   Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn Thābit al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Madīnat al-salām wa-akhbār muḥaddithīhā wa-dhikr quṭṭānihā l-ʿulamāʾ min ghayr ahlihā*

called Muʿāwiyah and did not narrate ḥadīths to them.[78] Therefore, his recital of certain narratives to a certain group might mean he compiled the mentioned narratives. Nevertheless, there is no *Kitāb al-mathālib* ascribed to ʿUbayd Allāh.

As a reliable muḥaddith in the eyes of critics,[79] Abū Muḥammad Khalaf ibn Sālim al-Muḥarrimī al-Makhzūmī of Baghdad (d. 231/846) also had a special interest in narratives with negative content about the Companions and accordingly compiled such narratives. Indeed, when ʿAbd al-Khāliq ibn Manṣūr (d. 246/860) asks his tutor Yaḥyá ibn Maʿīn about Khalaf ibn Sālim, Yaḥyá says he is "truthful (ṣadūq)." Not satisfied with the answer, ʿAbd al-Khāliq says, "But he narrates the evils (*masāwī*) of Companions of Rasūl Allāh?" Yaḥyá, who probably is well acquainted with Khalaf as his fellow townsman, gives the following answer: "He was *compiling (yajmaʿuhā)* but not narrating them."[80] The recommendation of "seeking these [kinds of] ḥadīths" by Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal as a basis for the criticism of narrator[81] may indicate narratives with *mathālib* content. Allegations about his Shīʿī tendencies by Ibn Ḥajar (d. 852/1449)[82] were presumably grounded on these narratives. The reason why Khalaf ibn Sālim did not recite a text he compiled can be explained by the social environment in Baghdad or the scientific tradition of the period. Khalaf ibn Sālim refrained from narrating these reports because of difficulty expressing them in a Sunnī society, or he may have compiled them to learn them because they are in the mentioned ḥadīths and to warn the people against these narratives.

Abū Ṣāliḥ ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Ṣāliḥ al-Azdī al-Kūfī (d. 235/849),

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[78]   *wa-wāridīhā*, ed. Bashshār ʿAwwād Maʿrūf (Tunis: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 2015), X, 213.

[78]   Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, IX, 556-557.

[79]   For example, see Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *Kitāb al-jarḥ wa-l-taʿdīl*, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Yaḥyá al-Muʿallimī (Hyderabad: Maṭbaʿat Majlis Dāʾirat al-Maʿārif al-ʿUthmāniyyah, 1941-1953) → (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah, n.d.), III, 371; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Kitāb al-thiqāt* (Hyderabad: Maṭbaʿat Majlis Dāʾirat al-Maʿārif al-ʿUthmāniyyah, 1973), VIII, 228.

[80]   Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Madīnat al-salām*, IX, 279; Abū l-Ḥajjāj Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Yūsuf al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl fī asmāʾ al-rijāl*, ed. Bashshār ʿAwwād Maʿrūf (Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Risālah, 1983-1992), VIII, 291.

[81]   Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, VIII, 291.

[82]   Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb*, 194.

who settled in Baghdad for a while to conduct his scientific activities, is another *mathālib al-ṣaḥābah* author. Abū Dāwūd informs us about his authorship of *mathālib*. According to a narrative through al-Ājurrī, Abū Dāwūd says, "I disapprove [of] quoting ḥadīth from him. He wrote a book about *mathālib* of Companions of Rasūl Allāh".[83] The interest shown by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Ṣāliḥ in such narratives is confirmed by Mūsá ibn Hārūn al-Ḥammāl (d. 294/907) of Baghdad. Accordingly, Mūsá dubbed ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Ṣāliḥ an extremist Shīʿī and said, "I burnt whatever I heard from him. He quoted malicious narratives regarding defects of Companions of Rasūl Allāh."[84] According to another version, the phrase is the "defects of [the] wives and Companions of Rasūl Allāh."[85] Other sources and bibliographic literature do not support the information about ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Ṣāliḥ's authorship of such a work. However, the mentioned book or rumors about its existence and the account of pro-Shīʿī narratives by the narrator have led to accusations about him having Shīʿī tendencies.

A search of Sunnī sources of the first three centuries AH reveals another author, Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Yūsuf ibn Saʿīd Ibn Khirāsh (d. 283/896), who wrote *mathālib al-ṣaḥābah* and who was accused of adopting Rāfiḍī attitudes. Originally from Marw, Ibn Khirāsh spent most of his scholarly life in Baghdad. According to a narrative through ʿAbdān, Ibn Khirāsh presented Muḥammad ibn Bashshār (d. 252/866), also known as "Bundār," with a work of two fascicles on the defects of the Shaykhayn and received 2.000 dirham for his effort.[86] He used the money to build a classroom to teach ḥadīth in Baghdad but passed away before being able to use it.[87] Abū Zurʿah Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Kashshī (d. 390/1000) confirms the

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[83]   Abū Dāwūd, *Suʾālāt Abī ʿUbayd al-Ājurrī*, 290.

[84]   Ibn ʿAdī, *al-Kāmil*, V, 366.

[85]   Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, II, 517.

[86]   Abū l-Qāsim Thiqat al-Dīn ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Hibat Allāh Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq wa-dhikr faḍlihā wa-tasmiyat man ḥallahā min al-amāthil aw ijtāza bi-nawāḥīhā min wāridīhā wa-ahlihā*, ed. Muḥibb al-Dīn Abū Saʿīd ʿUmar ibn Gharāmah al-ʿAmrawī (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1995-2001), XXXVI, 110; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, V, 150, 151.

[87]   Ibn ʿAdī, *al-Kāmil*, V, 368; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Madīnat al-salām*, XI, 572-573; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, V, 151.

information about the compilation of such a work by Ibn Khirāsh.[88] The content of the work is predictable; nonetheless, no references are found to this work.

A closer look at Sunnī sources regarding eight authors of *mathālib al-ṣaḥābah* shows that the genre is related to al-Kūfah and the authors are associated with Shīʿah. Nevertheless, none of these works has reached our day.

2. *Mathālib al-ṣaḥābah* in Shīʿī Sources

Shīʿī sources mention many *mathālib al-ṣaḥābah* works that can mostly be dated before the publication of *al-Kutub al-arbaʿah*. Interestingly, these works are rarely or never referenced in classical sources. For example, *Kitāb manāqib Amīr al-muʾminīn wa-mathālib al-munāfiqīn* by Abū Mujāhid ʿAlī ibn Mujāhid ibn Muslim ibn Rufayʿ al-Kābulī al-Kindī/al-ʿAbdī al-Rāzī (d. after 182/798), known as "Ibn al-Kābulī," is dated to the 2ⁿᵈ century AH. In his *Baʿḍ mathālib al-Nawāṣib*, Abū l-Rushayd ʿAbd al-Jalīl ibn Abī l-Ḥusayn al-Qazwīnī (6ᵗʰ/12ᵗʰ century) describes ʿAlī ibn Mujāhid as a "liar" and one of the "prominent Rāfiḍīs;" furthermore, al-Qazwīnī quotes from his work on the defects of the Companions.[89] References to ʿAlī ibn Mujāhid and his work and the mention of ʿAlī in the title of the book show that he refers to the Companions in the second chapter, called *mathālib al-munāfiqīn*.

There are four *mathālib al-ṣaḥābah* dated to the first quarter of the 3ʳᵈ century AH. Examples include *Kitāb al-mathālib* by Abū Muḥammad Yūnus ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Juʿfī al-Qummī (d. 208/823), a man of importance in the religious and financial structure of the early Shīʿī community,[90] and *Kitāb al-wāḥidah fī l-akhbār wa-l-manāqib*

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88   Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Madīnat al-salām*, XI, 573; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, XIII, 509.

89   Abū l-Rashīd Nāṣir al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Jalīl ibn Abī l-Ḥusayn ibn Abī l-Faḍl al-Rāzī al-Qazwīnī, *Baʿḍ mathālib al-Nawāṣib fī naqḍ baʿḍ faḍāʾiḥ al-Rawāfiḍ*, ed. Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn Urmawī (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Āthār-i Anjuman-i Millī, 1358 HS/1979), 249-250. Ibn Maʿīn refers to his *Kitāb al-maghāzī* and asserts he fabricated a chain of narration for these words (al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Madīnat al-salām*, XIII, 594). Al-ʿUqaylī (d. 322/934) supports the claims of weakness about him with a narrative about ʿAlī (*Kitāb al-ḍuʿafāʾ*, IV, 278).

90   Al-Najāshī, *Fihrist*, 427-428.

wa-l-mathālib, the work of eight fascicles (*juzʾ*) by the so-called extremist Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Jumhūr al-ʿAmmī al-Baṣrī (d. 210/825).[91] References to the latter by the Shīʿī scholar Zayn al-Dīn ʿAlī ibn Yūnus al-ʿĀmilī al-Bayāḍī (d. 877/1473) proves that the book by al-Baṣrī reached the 9th century AH.[92] A third example is *Kitāb al-khālidāt fulān wa-fulān* by Abū l-Faḍl ʿAbbās/ʿUbays ibn Hishām al-Nāshirī al-Asadī al-Kūfī (d. 220/834).[93] "Fulān wa-fulān" signifies Abū Bakr and ʿUmar.[94] Ibn Hishām, whose name is recorded as either ʿAbbās or ʿUbays, is an often-quoted narrator in Shīʿī literature; reports with narrative chains including his name may give us an idea about the content of his work. The last work written in the first quarter of the 3rd century AH is *Kitāb al-mathālib*[95] by Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī ibn Faḍḍāl al-Kūfī (d. 224/838), a personality known for his expertise in *fiqh*.[96]

Mathālib al-ṣaḥābah became more common during the third quarter of the 3rd century AH. For example, two *Kitāb al-mathālib* by Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn Mahziyār al-Ahwāzī al-Dawraqī (d. after

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[91]   Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, 278. The work is recorded by al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1067) in the manner of *Kitāb al-wāḥidah*; in other words, in such manner that its content cannot be identified; see Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, ed. Sayyid Muḥammad Ṣādiq Āl Baḥr al-ʿulūm (Najaf: al-Maktabah al-Murtaḍawiyyah wa-Maṭbūʿātuhā, 1937), 14.

[92]   Abū Muḥammad Zayn al-Dīn ʿAlī ibn Yūnus al-ʿĀmilī an-Nabāṭī al-Bayāḍī, *al-Ṣirāṭ al-mustaqīm ilá mustaḥiqqī l-taqdīm*, ed. Muḥammad al-Bāqir al-Bahbūdī (Tehran: al-Maktabah al-Murtaḍawiyyah li-Iḥyāʾ al-Āthār al-Jaʿfariyyah, 1964), I, 202; II, 13. Prior to him, Ibn Ṭāwūs al-Ḥusaynī (*Faraj al-mahmūm* [Qom: Dār al-Dhakhāʾir, n.d.], I, 96, 97) and al-Ṭabarsī (d. 548/1154) refers to the same work; see Abū ʿAlī Amīn al-Dīn al-Faḍl ibn al-Ḥasan ibn al-Faḍl al-Ṭabarsī, *Iʿlām al-warā bi-aʿlām al-hudá*, ed. Muʾassasat Āl al-Bayt li-Iḥyāʾ al-Turāth (Qom: Muʾassasat Āl al-Bayt li-Iḥyāʾ al-Turāth, 1997), I, 529; II, 126.

[93]   Al-Najāshī, *Fihrist*, 269. Mention by al-Najāshī of the narrative chain of the work shows that the related *mathālib* was available in Shīʿī scientific circles until 5th century AH.

[94]   For its use and likes, see ʿAbd al-Amīn al-Fāṭimī al-Najafī, *al-Asrār fī-mā kuniya wa-ʿurifa bihī l-ashrār* (Beirut: Dār al-Ḥaqq, n.d.), II, 101 ff.

[95]   Al-Najāshī, *Fihrist*, 248; al-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, 92.

[96]   Abū ʿAmr Muḥammad ibn ʿUmar al-Kashshī, *Ikhtiyār maʿrifat al-rijāl: al-maʿrūf bi-rijāl al-Kashshī*, ed. Ḥasan al-Muṣṭafawī (Mashhad: Chāpkhāna-i Dānishgāh-i Mashhad, 1348 HS [1969]), 530-531.

250/864)⁹⁷ and Abū l-Abbās ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Nahīq al-Nakhaʿī al-Kūfī, respectively, are in this group. Ḥumayd ibn Ziyād (d. 310/923), a writer of *al-Fihrist*, states that he obtained the books personally from ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Aḥmad. Accordingly, this work may be dated to the second half of the 3ʳᵈ century AH.⁹⁸ Contemporaneous examples include various *Kitāb al-mathālib*s by Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn ibn Saʿīd ibn Ḥammād ibn Mihrān al-Ahwāzī (d. 275/888 [?]),⁹⁹ a prominent writer of early Shīʿī history of thought, Abū Jaʿfar Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Saʿīd al-Ahwāzī,¹⁰⁰ aka "Dandān," the son of Ibn Mihrān al-Ahwāzī who was criticized by Shīʿīs from Qom region who said that he is presumptuous, and Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad ibn Awramah al-Qummī,¹⁰¹ criticized for his extremism in Shīʿī circles in Qom.

Some works in the final quarter of the 3ʳᵈ century AH enable us to pass certain judgments about the historical evolution of the genre. For example, Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Saʿīd ibn Hilāl al-Thaqafī (d. 283/896), who was originally from al-Kūfah and became Imāmī after Zaydī passed, is an interesting personality. Abū Isḥāq came to Iṣfahān for scientific studies and refused the invitation from Qom, one of the important Shīʿī scientific centers. His departure from al-Kūfah was because of *Kitāb al-maʿrifah*, which falls into the framework of *mathālib* genre. According to narratives, this work, which included both famous *manāqib* and *mathālib*, suffered reactions in al-Kūfah, and the locals wanted him to abandon teaching from this book. Abū Isḥāq asked, "Which is the city that remains aloof the most from Shīʿah?" He was told that Iṣfahān was such a city, whereupon he moved to Iṣfahān and swore to teach his book there. At the end of the narrative, it is related that his attitude was based on confidence in the narratives in his work.¹⁰² The work included certain extremes even for al-Kūfah, a city under Shīʿī influence.

Another work in this period belongs to Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad ibn Jaʿfar ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAlawī al-ʿAqīqī (d. 280/893 [?]),

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⁹⁷ Al-Najāshī, *Fihrist*, 242-243; al-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, 109-110. According to al-Ṭūsī, ʿAbbās ibn Maʿrūf, who is the narrator of his books, has narrated only half of *Kitāb al-mathālib*.

⁹⁸ Al-Najāshī, *Fihrist*, 222-223.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 58; al-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, 58.

¹⁰⁰ Al-Najāshī, *Fihrist*, 75-76; al-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, 22.

¹⁰¹ Al-Najāshī, *Fihrist*, 315.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 19.

who resided in Mecca but was closely related to the Shīʿī scientific tradition of al-Kūfah. In his *Kitāb mathālib al-rajulayn wa-l-marʾatayn*,[103] the "two men" subject to *mathālib* are Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, whereas the "two women" are ʿĀʾishah bint Abī Bakr and Ḥafṣah bint ʿUmar.[104] At this point, we might also mention two *Kitāb al-mathālib* by Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad al-Ḥasan ibn Farrūkh al-Ṣaffār al-Aʿraj al-Qummī (d. 290/903)[105] and Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad ibn Bundār ibn ʿĀṣim al-Dhuhlī al-Qummī[106] as well as the booklet called *al-Risālah fī mathālib Muʿāwiyah*[107] by Abū l-Abbās Aḥmad ibn ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-Thaqafī al-Kūfī (alive in 321/933),[108] who spent most of his scientific career in the 3rd century AH.

B. Narratives not as a Self-Contained Work

The *mathālib* narratives were apparently compiled in *juzʾ*, *ṣaḥīfah*, *risālah*, and books for teaching in educational circles. However, some muḥaddiths taught them to limited numbers of persons in such circles but could not compile them as separate works. During the mid-2nd century AH, there was growing interest in thematic studies on ḥadīth; in those days, the foregoing narratives were probably related by certain personalities in close contact with Shīʿī communities. For example, Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī says the following about Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥurr al-Nakhaʿī al-Kūfī (d. 133/750): "He related satirical

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[103] *Ibid.*, 70; al-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, 24. Probable information about his death is based on *al-Dharīʿah* by al-Ṭahrānī (Muḥammad Muḥsin ibn ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad Aghā Buzurg al-Ṭahrānī, *al-Dharīʿah ilā taṣānīf al-Shīʿah*, ed. Sayyid Riḍá ibn Jaʿfar Murtaḍá al-ʿĀmilī [Beirut: Dār Iḥyāʾ al-Turāth al-ʿArabī], 2009), XIX, 50).

[104] Respectively see al-Najafī, *al-Asrār*, II, 243; III, 266.

[105] Al-Najāshī, *Fihrist*, 338.

[106] *Ibid.*, 325; al-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, 140.

[107] For information, see Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, 166; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Madīnat al-salām*, V, 417-418; Abū l-Ṣafāʾ Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *Kitāb al-wāfī bi-l-wafayāt*, ed. Aḥmad al-Arnāʾūṭ and Dhikrī Muṣṭafá (Beirut: Dār Iḥyāʾ al-Turāth al-ʿArabī, 2000), VII, 114-117.

[108] Ibn al-Nadīm indicates the year 319/931 as his date of demise (*al-Fihrist*, 166); however, a chain recorded by al-Ṭūsī through him indicates information was agathered from him in 321/933; see al-Ṭūsī, *Kitāb al-amālī*, ed. Bahrād al-Jaʿfarī and ʿAlī Akbar al-Ghaffārī (Tehran: Dār al-Kutub al-Islāmiyyah, 1381 HS [2002]), 686.

ḥadīths about ʿUthmān (*ḥaddatha fī ʿUthmān bi-ḥadīth sūʾin*)".[109] These words inform about the narration of multiple ḥadīths; however, these narratives are not compiled in a separate work, or such a compilation is not mentioned in sources. Abū l-Jārūd Ziyād ibn al-Mundhir al-Kūfī (d. 150/767[?]), who was allegedly a Rāfiḍī and founder of a Zaydī group known as Jārūdiyyah, fabricated ḥadīths on the defects of the Companions of the Prophet and narrated ungrounded arguments on the virtues of Ahl al-bayt.[110] Abū Maryam ʿAbd al-Ghaffār ibn al-Qāsim al-Anṣārī al-Kūfī (d. ca. 160/777), accused of Rāfiḍī and Shīʿī tendencies, is also one of the persons who related narratives on the defects of ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān.[111] All these scholars carried out their activities in the time of the earliest ḥadīth compilers; furthermore, there are mentions of the Shīʿī tendencies of the last two, which are associated with quoting *mathālib* narratives.

Abū Mikhnaf Lūṭ ibn Yaḥyá al-Azdī al-Kūfī (d. 157/773-4) appears in Sunnī sources as well. In *Minhāj al-sunnah*, which is a refutation of *Minhāj al-karāmah* by Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī (d. 726/1325), Ibn Taymiyyah (d. 728/1328) mentions the work by Abū Mikhnaf in response to the claim that "there are many narratives critical of [the] Companions; nevertheless, there is no narrative about a member of Ahl al-bayt." In brief, Ibn Taymiyyah states that such narratives were related by persons known for their falsity, such as Abū Mikhnaf Lūṭ ibn Yaḥyá and Hishām ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Sāʾib al-Kalbī.[112] Apparently, however, Abū Mikhnaf, who was a pro-Shīʿī historian, did not compile a separate *Kitāb al-mathālib* but included reports on defects in compilations of any types of narratives as a historian.

Another writer related to the *mathālib* genre is Ziyād ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Ṭufayl al-ʿĀmirī al-Bakkāʾī al-Kūfī (d. 183/799), the narrator of *al-Sīrah* by Ibn Isḥāq. According to Yaḥyá ibn Maʿīn, Ibrāhīm ibn Saʿd

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[109] Abū Dāwūd, *Suʾālāt Abī ʿUbayd al-Ājurrī*, 79.

[110] Ibn Ḥibbān, *Kitāb al-majrūḥīn*, I, 306.

[111] *Ibid.*, II, 143. Assessment by Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal is as follows: "*yuḥaddith bi-balāyā fī ʿUthmān*" (Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Kitāb al-jarḥ wa-l-taʿdīl*, VI, 530).

[112] Abū l-ʿAbbās Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm Ibn Taymiyyah, *Minhāj al-sunnah al-nabawiyyah fī naqḍ kalām al-Shīʿah wa-l-Qadariyyah*, ed. ʿAbd Allāh Maḥmūd Muḥammad ʿUmar (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah, 2009), III, 28.

(d. 185/801), the scholar from Medina, said, "These Nabataeans[113] narrate the faults (*maʿāyib*) of Companions of Prophet." Ibrāhīm means, after this narrative, that the signified person was a Bakkāī; however, it is unclear whether Ibn Maʿīn or his narrator Ibn al-Junayd (d. 270/884) provided this information; in any case, Yaḥyá asserts that he is unobjectionable (*lā baʾs bihī*) in regard to stories of military expeditions (*maghāzī*).[114] It is unknown whether Ziyād ibn ʿAbd Allāh compiled the mentioned faults in a separate work, but classical sources talk about his interest in duties (*farāʾiḍ*) and expeditions (*maghāzī*). What Ibrāhīm ibn Saʿd meant is that Ziyād ibn ʿAbd Allāh behaved as a true historian and transmitted the satirical ingredients of narratives about the Companions as they were.

The approach of narrating materials without a specific identity continued in subsequent years. For example, it is indicated that most ḥadīths through Zakariyyā ibn Yaḥyá al-Kisāʾī al-Kūfī, who "used to relate evil narratives" according to Ibn Maʿīn, were denounced (*munkar*) narratives about the virtues of Ahl al-bayt and fabricated reports about the defects of the Companions except for Ahl al-bayt. Obviously, Ibn Maʿīn meant the narratives about the faults of the Companions.[115] Likewise, there are rumors that Abū l-Ṣalt ʿAbd al-Salām ibn Ṣāliḥ (d. 236/851), accused for his Shīʿī tendency, also related narratives of *mathālib*.[116] In a similar manner, Abū Saʿīd ʿAbbād ibn Yaʿqūb al-Rawājinī al-Asadī al-Kūfī (d. 250/864), the extremist Shīʿī tutor of al-Bukhārī, related narratives about the virtues of Ahl al-bayt and the faults of the Companions except for the latter.[117] Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ḥakam ibn Zuhayr al-Fazārī al-Kūfī, who was also a Shīʿī,[118] is another name in this regard. Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (d. 277/890) quoted narratives from Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ḥakam, who came to al-Rayy, but he later abandoned these reports.[119] Abū Ḥātim explains this abandonment as follows: "He is a liar. He narrated ḥadīths about

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[113] Nabataeans were despised by Arabs and the word "Nabṭī (Nabataean)" was used as insult; see Ahmet Ağırkaça, "Nabatîler," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi (DİA)*, XXXII, 258.

[114] Ibn Maʿīn, *Suʾālāt li-Ibn Maʿīn: Riwāyat Ibn Junayd*, 368-369.

[115] Ibn ʿAdī, *al-Kāmil*, IV, 110.

[116] Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, XI, 447.

[117] Ibn ʿAdī, *al-Kāmil*, V, 404.

[118] Al-Najāshī, *Fihrist*, 18; al-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, 4.

[119] Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Kitāb al-jarḥ wa-l-taʿdīl*, II, 95.

defects of Muʿāwiyah. Then, we tore whatever we wrote through him."[120]

C. Assessment

Given the *mathālib al-ṣaḥābah* authors' dates of death, one work was written between 100-150 AH, four between 150-200 AH, eight between 200-250 AH, and nine works were put to paper between 250-300 AH. This fact enables an association between the rise in the number of *mathālib* works and the period when the Shīʿī community began to establish its identity. Indeed, Sunnī and Shīʿī educational circles drew apart particularly as of the late 2nd and early 3rd centuries AH, and school-based styles of science began to appear.[121] By the 3rd century AH, independent works were written to disgrace the Companions who constitute the backbone of Sunnī narrative system. This process aimed at stricter adherence of members of the Shīʿī community, evolving to a madhhab, to their organization, and paved the way for a preference for narratives based on Ahl al-bayt rather than those mediated by the Companions among Shīʿī scholars.

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[120] Abū l-Faraj Jamāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Jawzī, *Kitāb al-ḍuʿafāʾ wa-l-matrūkīn*, ed. Abū l-Fidāʾ ʿAbd Allāh al-Qāḍī (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah, 1986), I, 30.

[121] This fact is reflected by the following figures: among seventy pro-Shīʿī narrators of *al-Kutub al-sittah*, scientific studies of only three of them reached the 3rd century AH, whereas there are twenty-seven narrators between 150-200 AH, and the number of narrators accused of being Shīʿī rapidly decreased after 200 AH; see Muhammed Enes Topgül, "Hadis Râvilerinde Şiîlik Eğilimi" (master's thesis, Istanbul: Marmara University, 2010), 84-185. This argument is also based on the structure of Shīʿī narrative chains; see Topgül, *Erken Dönem Şiî Ricâl İlmi: Keşşî Örneği* (Istanbul: Marmara Üniversitesi İlâhiyat Fakültesi Vakfı [İFAV] Yayınları, 2015), 281, 385-386. The presence of chains that passed from Ahl al-sunnah to the Shīʿah point to the same fact; for further information, see Bekir Kuzudişli, "Sunnī-Shīʿī Interaction in the Early Period: The Transition of the Chains of Ahl al-sunna to the Shīʿa," *Ilahiyat Studies* 6, no. 1 (2015), 7-45.
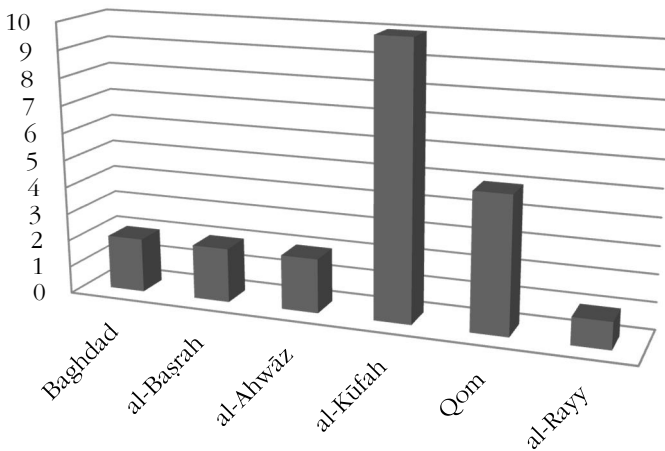
Dates of *Mathālib al-ṣaḥābah*
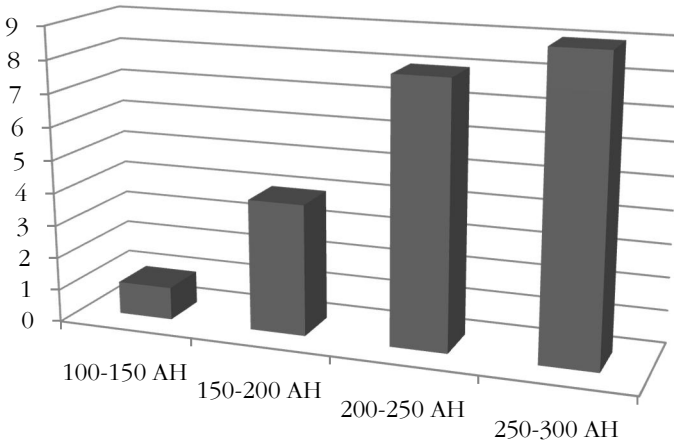
An analysis of the regions of the *mathālib al-ṣaḥābah* predictably highlights al-Kūfah, where ten writers appeared; this was the city of the most intense early Shīʿī communal activities. This information matches the fact that the narrators who were accused of Shīʿī tendencies during the 2nd and 3rd centuries AH were mostly associated with this city.[122] Among the authors from al-Kūfah, one of them wrote between 150-200 AH, five between 200-250 AH and three between 250-300 AH. These data falsify the arguments that the scientific life in al-Kūfah was more intense during the 2nd century AH and relatively regressed in the 3rd century; instead, the city apparently hosted a Shīʿī tradition that regularly yielded texts during the first half of the 3rd century AH. Another outstanding city is Qom, which is important with

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[122] Indeed, among 70 Shīʿī narrators of *al-Kutub al-sittah*, 13 died between 50-100 AH, 26 died between 100-150 AH, 27 between 150-200 AH and four between 200-250 AH. Among them, 60 narrators are from al-Kūfah, three from al-Baṣrah, three from Medina and four from other cities (see Topgül, "Hadis Râvilerinde Şiîlik Eğilimi," 185-186). For detailed information about the formation of the Shīʿī consciousness in al-Kūfah in the 2nd/8th century, see Najam Haider, *The Origins of the Shīʿa: Identity, Ritual, and Sacred Space in Eighth-Century Kūfa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

regard to the early Shīʿī scientific tradition. Five authors[123] are connected with this city, and three of them carried out activity between 250-300 AH. The era coincides with the period when Qom began to gain importance for the Shīʿī scientific tradition.[124] The presence of two Ahwāz-based authors, both of whom died between 250-300 AH, enables us to talk about a Shīʿī scientific tradition in al-Ahwāz in those days. Finally, two *mathālib al-ṣaḥābah* authors are from Baghdad, two are from al-Baṣrah, and one is from al-Rayy.

Birthplaces of *Mathālib al-ṣaḥābah*

With regard to the madhhab tendencies of the *mathālib al-ṣaḥābah* authors, all of them except for one are accused of pro-Shīʿī tendencies or even recorded as Shīʿī scholars by writers of Shīʿī *rijāl* works. Therefore, there is an integral relation between writing *mathālib al-ṣaḥābah* and being prone to Shīʿī.

In ethnic terms, two of the *mathālib al-ṣaḥābah* authors were from the tribe of Banū l-Azd, two were from Banū Thaqīf, and one was the son of a Muslim who converted from Christianity. Except for seven

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[123]   Despite originally being from al-Kūfah, Ḥusayn ibn Saʿīd is called Qummī since he first went to al-Kūfah and then settled in Qom, where he carried out scientific activities until his death.

[124]   Andrew J. Newman, *The Formative Period of Twelver Shīʿism: Ḥadīth as Discourse between Qum and Baghdad* (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 2000), 40-45.

authors whose tribe and ethnic identity remain unknown, the writers are members of different Arab tribes. Consequently, there is no significant relationship between ethnic identity and being a *mathālib al-ṣaḥābah* author.

Interestingly, even though reports of *mathālib* content have been quoted in different works throughout history, no *mathālib al-ṣaḥābah* from the first three centuries AH has reached our day. We can conclude that a Sunnī community could not stand a text of negative judgments about the Companions since there are well-known records of burning of one of these works by Sunnī circles. Nevertheless, the question is why this early literature was not preserved by Shīʿīs despite its significance for the madhhab. One of the possibilities is that the content of the mentioned books was transferred to Shīʿī sources of narratives in earlier periods, whereupon it was no longer necessary to preserve this literature. This argument can only be confirmed through verification of narrative chains of *mathālib al-ṣaḥābah* recorded in *Fihrist*s by means of a specific study and through a review of Shīʿī literature about relevant chains to determine the level of association between these works and narrative sources.

Finally, we will touch upon the contact between *mathālib al-ṣaḥābah* and the literature of *manāqib al-ṣaḥābah* and *faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah*. Sunnī tradition includes the following independent works: the *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah* by Wakīʿ ibn al-Jarrāḥ (d. 197/812), Asad ibn Mūsá (d. 212/827), Mālikī scholar Ibn Ḥabīb al-Sulamī (d. 238/853), Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal (d. 241/855), Baqī ibn Makhlad (d. 276/889), and al-Nasāʾī (d. 303/915); the *Faḍāʾil al-anṣār* by Abū l-Bakhtarī Wahb ibn Wahb (d. 200/815-6), Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālisī (d. 204/819), and Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī (d. 275/889); *Faḍāʾil Abī Bakr wa-ʿUmar* (*Faḍāʾil al-shaykhayn*) by Asad ibn Mūsá, *Manāqib Abī Bakr wa-ʿUmar* by Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/922), *Faḍāʾil ʿAlī* by Ibn Abī l-Dunyā (d. 281/894), *Sawābiq al-Ṣiddīq wa-faḍāʾiluhū* by Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad al-Firyābī (d. 301/913), as well as chapters such as "Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah" in *al-Muṣannaf* by Abū Bakr ibn Abī Shaybah (d. 235/850) and in *al-Jāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ*s by al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870) and Muslim (d. 261/875), as well as chapters called "Kitāb al-manāqib" in *al-Sunan* by al-Tirmidhī (d. 279/892), "al-Siyar" in *al-Muwaṭṭaʾ* by al-Imām Mālik (d. 179/795) and "Faḍāʾil aṣḥāb Rasūl Allāh" in the preface of *al-Sunan* by Ibn

Mājah (d. 273/887).[125] The foregoing nineteen works of "faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah," as well as the "mathālib al-ṣaḥābah" literature, can be shown as follows with regard to their dates.
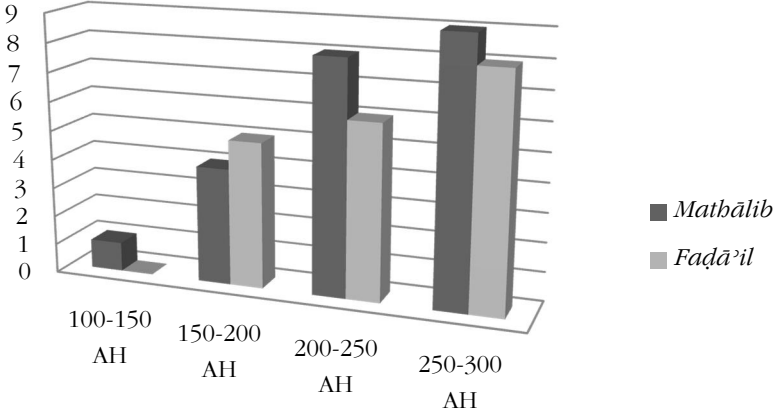
As shown in the above diagram, the *faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah* literature followed one step behind the *mathālib al-ṣaḥābah* in the first, third, and fourth stages; however, both genres yielded an equal number of works between 150 and 200 AH. This fact, in consideration of the content of the aforementioned criticisms against the Companions in the 2nd/8th century and the criticisms that were not compiled as separate works, indicates that *faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah* might actually have appeared as a reaction to *mathālib al-ṣaḥābah*.[126]

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[125] Apart from some exceptions, this *faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah* literature is based on data provided by Efendioğlu; see "Fezâilü's-sahâbe," 534-538.

[126] Özpınar, "Fedâilü's-Sahâbe Edebiyatının Teşekkülü ve Muhtevasına Etki Eden Sebepler Üzerine," 120. In his review of the text by Özpınar, Efendioğlu says that "these works include references to virtues as much as, or even more than defence and refutation" (see 146-147).

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BOOK REVIEWS

The Ẓāhirī Madhhab (3rd/9th-10th/16th Century): A Textualist Theory of Islamic Law, by Amr Osman

Wilferd Madelung

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Crisis and Continuity at the Abbasid Court: Formal and Informal Politics in the Caliphate of al-Muqtadir (295-320/908-32), edited by Maaike van Berkel, Nadia Maria El Cheikh, Hugh Kennedy, and Letizia Osti

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The Ẓāhirī Madhhab (3rd/9th-10th/16th Century): A Textualist Theory of Islamic Law, by Amr Osman (Studies in Islamic Law and Society, 38) (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2014), vi + 308 pp., ISBN: 978-90-04-27619-2, €122.00 / $145.00 (hb)

The present book, a revised version of the author's doctoral thesis at Princeton University, presents a new study of the history of the Ẓāhirī *madhhab* of Islamic law. In Part I, the author gathers all available information on the scholars who have been counted as adherents of the Ẓāhirī school beginning with the founder Dāwūd ibn ʿAlī al-Iṣbahānī (d. 270/884) to the latest recorded representative in the 10th/16th century.

In Part II, the author provides a critical analysis of the characteristics of the Ẓāhiriyyah in comparison with the other Sunnī *madhhab*s, most of which continued to flourish after its decline. He defines Ẓāhirism as essentially a textualist *madhhab,* criticizing its description as literalist by most modern scholars since I. Goldziher. The common meaning of Arabic *ẓāhir* indeed is apparent, obvious, and exoteric, in contrast to *bāṭin,* hidden, concealed, and esoteric. The apparent meaning of a text or speech may well differ from its literal meaning. Next he argues that the Ẓāhiriyyah since its founder belonged to the *Ahl al-raʾy,* the rationalists, in distinction to the *Ahl al-ḥadīth*, who were opposed to the use of *raʾy*, reasoning, personal opinion, in religion. This judgment obviously must seem controversial, as it conflicts with his definition of Ẓāhirism as a textualist *madhhab*. If Dāwūd al-Ẓāhirī sought to found Islamic law on texts, the Qurʾān and *ḥadīth,* not on independent reasoning, should he not rather be considered as belonging to the *Ahl al-sunnah*, the name applied to the early opponents of the *Ahl al-raʾy* before the emergence of the *Ahl al-ḥadīth*? It is true, however, that the elaboration of a legal *madhhab* inevitably is a rational endeavor, and from the point of view of the *Ahl al-ḥadīth* Dāwūd al-Ẓāhirī thus could be seen as belonging to the *Ahl al-raʾy*. The contemporary *Ahl al-ḥadīth* held that faithful Muslims should merely gather all transmitted *ḥadīth*, critically authenticate whatever was sound, and live in accordance with the Sunnah of the Prophet and of the

Companions without seeking to establish a systematic law based on reasoning. The author does not seem to recognize this fact, as he suggests that the early *Ahl al-ḥadīth* did establish a legal *madhhab* based, unlike Dāwūd al-Ẓāhirī's, only on *ḥadīth* (p. 91). He then notes with some surprise that Ibn Khaldūn "does not seem to have regarded Ibn Ḥanbal as a jurist. He attributes the formation of his *madhhab* to his students." (p. 97). Ḥanbalism in fact was not recognized as a legal *madhhab* until the early Mamlūk age when it finally acknowledged the need for legal reasoning in a much changed social and technological environment against the intention of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal.

The author's essential bias in favor of the *Ahl al-ḥadīth* is evident in his statement that Ibn Qutaybah's "focus on the Ḥadīth-related activities of the *Ahl al-ḥadīth* echoes the contention of their opponents that they were primarily Ḥadīth transmitters but not competent jurists or theologians." (p. 93). This was not a contention of their opponents but a plain fact. Ibn Ḥanbal was not a competent jurist for the simple reason that he did not want to be a jurist. He was not a competent theologian because his theological reasoning misled him to the assertion that the Qurʾān addressed to Muḥammad and recited by Muslims and non-Muslims was co-eternal with God, a doctrine rejected by Ibn Taymiyyah as absurd and inconsistent with *ḥadīth* which describes God's speaking to prophets directly or indirectly, during their lifetime. Ibn Ḥanbal's doctrine had no basis in either Qurʾān or *ḥadīth* as it was well-known that the question of the Qurʾān's created or uncreated nature was not discussed during the age of the Prophet and the Companions.

Opponents of personal reasoning among the *Ahl al-ḥadīth* rightly pointed out that human reason is fallible and constantly subject to temptations during life on earth. Humans, they held, should therefore rely on revelation, the Qurʾān, and the Sunnah of the most virtuous of humankind, the Companions of the Prophet, in the conduct of their lives. They ignored that the true meaning of the Qurʾān can only be understood by sound rational judgment and that exemplary Sunnah had to be learned by everybody through personal deliberation. The conditions and challenges of life of every human being differ, and so does good Sunnah. The intellect is ultimately the only path through which revelation, knowledge of good and evil, can reach the conscience of rational human beings.

The Ẓāhirī *madhhab* became extinct on account of its closeness to the *Ahl al-ḥadīth*, not because of its belonging to the *Ahl al-ra'y*. As by the beginning of the Mamlūk age it was clear to all Muslims that no nostalgia could ever bring back the golden age of the Companions, Ḥanbalism became the fourth legal *madhhab* of Sunnī Islam, and the *Ahl al-ḥadīth* gradually disintegrated despite the continued need for the transmission of *ḥadīth*. The futility of the Ẓāhirī endeavor to establish a purely textualist legal *madhhab* without a minimum of legal reasoning allowing analogy (*qiyās*) became apparent. The last Ẓāhirīs mostly joined the Shāfiʿī *madhhab* which had always upheld the use of *qiyās* as a legitimate source of the religious law.

A few marginal notes may be added. On pp. 37-39 the author refers to the Ismāʿīlī Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān repeatedly as al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān and in n. 150 simply as al-Qāḍī. While it is proper in English to retain the Arabic article *al-* in personal names like al-Nuʿmān, it should be avoided in titles or professions, where the article should either be translated into English or dropped: the Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān or Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān. On p. 68 the reader of the book may similarly be misled into assuming that *Sulṭān* was part of the personal name of Abū Muḥammad Yaʿqūb ibn Yūsuf. *Sulṭān* here obviously is not part of the name of this scholar, but a title indicating that he belonged to the ruling Almohad family. P. 53: The student of Bishr ibn al-Ḥusayn named Abū Saʿd Bishr ibn al-Ḥusayn presumably was a son of his, and his name should be corrected to Abū Saʿd ibn Bishr ibn al-Ḥusayn. He can hardly have been his brother as suggested by the author. P. 53, n. 38: The book title *al-Ibānah* should be corrected to *al-Inbāh*. P. 55: ibn Taghj al-Ikhshīd, correct: ibn Ṭughj al-Ikhshīd. P. 56: al-Bukhtarī, correct: al-Bakhtarī. Pp. 71-72: Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Rūmiyyah al-Nabātī was an expert on medical herbs, a botanist, not an "herbs' seller."

P. 121 with n. 136: The view that during the *Miḥnah* the doctrine of the created nature of the Qurʾān was pressed upon the caliph al-Maʾmūn by zealous Muʿtazilī theologians is no longer tenable. Al-Maʾmūn was critical of the basic Muʿtazilī doctrine of human free will and backed divine determinism. He generally favored the theological thought of the Jahmiyyah. The theologian close to him was the Jahmī Bishr al-Marīsī. Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal in turn railed primarily against Jahm ibn Ṣafwān and the Jahmiyyah and only secondarily against the Muʿtazilah. Ibn Ḥanbal's doctrine of the uncreated nature of the

Qurʾān cannot be considered a fundamental doctrine of the *Ahl al-ḥadīth* since it had no basis in *ḥadīth*. Dāwūd al-Ẓāhirī's rejection of Ibn Ḥanbal's doctrine thus does not distance him from the traditionalism of the *Ahl al-ḥadīth*.

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Crisis and Continuity at the Abbasid Court: Formal and Informal Politics in the Caliphate of al-Muqtadir (295-320/908-32), ed. Maaike van Berkel, Nadia Maria El Cheikh, Hugh Kennedy, and Letizia Osti (Islamic History and Civilization, Studies and Texts, 102) (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2013), i-xiii + 262 pp., ISBN 978-90-04-25271-4, €123.00 / $144.00

This book, which focuses on the ruling era of al-Muqtadir (295-320/908-932), is collectively edited by four members of the School of Abbasid Studies, who examines various aspects of ʿAbbāsid history over many years. The book includes an introduction and three main parts, each containing two or three chapters. The time line of events prepared by Hugh Kennedy and a map showing the largest borders of the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate are useful for readers (pp. ix-xiii).

The first part, titled "Stories and Histories," includes two chapters. In Chapter 1, "The Reign of al-Muqtadir," Hugh Kennedy presents a general overview of this period. In general, the author relies on Ibn Miskawayh and ʿArīb ibn Saʿd, and rarely refers to al-Sūlī, who was a contemporary of al-Muqtadir and a courtier for decades at the ʿAbbāsid court. Although Kennedy explains why he rarely references al-Sūlī, noting that the context and implications of al-Sūlī's original account of al-Muqtadir's accession (in contrast with Ibn Miskawayh's) are discussed in further sections (p. 17, fn. 6), it would be beneficial if the author made use of al-Sūlī's accounts of other events. In Chapter 2, "The Caliph," Letizia Osti evaluates the narratives related to al-Muqtadir's personality from a different perspective. Many chronicles indicating to al-Muqtadir's prodigality and inexperience in political issues at the beginning of his rule associate the time of al-Muqtadir with the ruin of the caliphate. In contrast to the negative attitude of these chronicles on al-Muqtadir, Osti attempts to present "a civilian portrait" of al-Muqtadir with reference to accounts that he was a good son and father, a good Muslim, and an immature caliph who endeavored to make well-intentioned decisions but failed (pp. 49-61).

The second part, "Scribes and Soldiers," consists of three chapters and examines the bureaucratic features of al-Muqtadir's era as well as

its military structure. In Chapter 3, "The Vizier," Maaike van Berkel discusses the historical development of the vizirate in this period, the role of puissant families in the institutional working of this office, the struggles of these families with each other, and the formal and informal incomes of the viziers (pp. 65-86). On this point, it is crucial to note that although the reign of al-Muqtadir appears to be unstable, politically and economically, because of appointments to the vizirate at short intervals, rivalries between higher officers such as viziers, *ḥājib*s (chamberlains), and *ṣāḥib al-shurṭah* (chief of police), and the interference of the *ḥaram* in political affairs, the vizirate was still powerful, thanks to the effect of secretarial families such as Banū l-Furāt, Banū l-Jarrāḥ, Banū Khāqān. These famous families worked for decades in central administration in Baghdād, and some viziers who were descended from these families became political powers against the caliph. In Chapter 4, "The Bureaucracy," van Berkel presents an overview of *dīwān*s and their subunits (i.e. *majlis*) within the frame of Qudāmah ibn Jaʿfar's (d. 337/948) *Kitāb al-kharāj wa-ṣināʿat al-kitābah*, an invaluable work for the ʿAbbāsid bureaucracy in the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries. Although the author is aware of the complementary narrative sources that provide additions to Qudāmah's classifications (p. 88), such as Ibn Miskawayh, al-Ṣābī, and ʿArīb ibn Saʿd, she does not make use of these chronicles and does not mention any other offices, such as *Dīwān al-maqbūḍāt [ʿan Umm Mūsá wa-asbābihā]*, founded by ʿAlī ibn ʿĪsá in 310/922 to manage the properties of Qahramānah Umm Mūsá and her brothers (this *dīwān* would become functional by order of al-Qāhir with the name *Dīwān al-maqbūḍāt (ʿan wālidatihī wa-awlādihī wa-asbābihī)* after al-Muqtadir was dethroned in 320/932); *Dīwān al-mukhālifīn*, founded by the vizier al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Qāsim in 317/929 to confiscate the properties and lands of Mūnis al-Muẓaffar and his dependents; and *Dīwān al-murtajaʿah* founded by Ibn al-Muqlah in 317/929 to manage the real estates (i.e. *iqṭāʿ*s) that were withdrew from the officers when they resigned or were dismissed from their charges. Another issue discussed under this title is the scribes (*kuttāb*). The role of the scribes became increasingly significant in political affairs as well as official business along with the rapid improvement of *dīwān*s at the end of the 3rd/9th century. However, 4th/10th century authors are not in agreement regarding the hierarchical structure of the clerks, although it is understood that there is a dispute between the two types of clerks, men of letters (*kātib al-inshāʾ*), and the secretaries of financial affairs (*kātib*

al-kharāj wa-l-ḍayāʿ). If we consider the reign of al-Muqtadir, which grappled with the financial crisis for a long time, it is clear that the secretaries of financial affairs were more efficient in central bureaucracy compared with their opponents (p. 109). In Chapter 5, "The Military," Hugh Kennedy focuses on the military structure of this period. Kennedy attributes a special importance to Mūnis al-Muẓaffar, who was a prominent actor of the period. He presents the main lines of his political and military career and examines the role of the chamberlain, *ḥājib*, in the relations between the court and the army as well as chamberlain's relationship with the vizier. The author argues that the military became increasingly effective in the political life of the caliphate in contrast to the civil bureaucracy (p. 111). However, a periodization in terms of the influence of these two classes on political events is necessary, it can be claimed that the military became dominant in the state after the third and final vizirate of Ibn al-Furāt (d. 312/924), who was one of the preeminent viziers and the greatest opponent of Mūnis. With the death of Ibn al-Furāt, no one had a strong enough personality resist Mūnis, who reached the summit of his power in the next episode.

The third and final part, "Women and Courtiers," contains three chapters. In Chapter 6, "The Chamberlains," Nadia Maria El Cheikh focuses on the functions and duties of the chamberlain in the historical process. Unlike the previous chapter that emphasized the activities of the chamberlain outside the court, El Cheikh investigates the relations of chamberlains with the court and the *ḥaram*, particularly, the political role of Naṣr al-Ḥājib in the court. In the era of al-Muqtadir, the chamberlains increased their effectiveness in both civil and military bureaucracy and in the court and the *ḥaram*. Although there may be many reasons for this fact, two aspects strengthened the chamberlains: first, it was more difficult to access al-Muqtadir, who spent most of his time in the *ḥaram*; second, the *ḥaram* increased its social, political, and economic penetration in the caliphal administration. Chapter 7, "The Harem," also written by El Cheikh and a continuation of the previous chapter, focuses on the personalities and activities of Shaghab, *Umm al-Muqtadir* and the Qahramānah Umm Mūsá, one of the leading female figures, as well as the eunuchs who provided contact between the *ḥaram* and the court. It is not misleading to state that the main fact that made *ḥaram* members, especially Shaghab and Umm Mūsá the most influential political characters of the period was the financial crisis faced by the state. In other words, Shaghab

sometimes financed the government spending with her own wealth, and this gave her the power to take an effective position against political and military actors such as viziers and chamberlains. Similary, Umm Mūsá became the first person approached by some candidate-viziers wishing to reach the caliph, who changed viziers often because of the financial crises. As the author notes, Umm Mūsá plotted successfully against the viziers to have them dismissed, imprisoned, and tortured and their property confiscated (p. 176). In Chapter 8, "Culture, Education, and the Court," Letizia Osti, examines the cultural and scholarly environment of the court, the hiring of tutors for the education of the caliph's children, the payment of these tutors, and the patronage of the *ʿulamāʾ*.

The appendix includes one article and three maps. The article, "Baghdād at the Time of al-Muqdadir," by Judith Ahola and Letizia Osti, presents textual descriptions of the canals, bridges, and markets of Baghdād. The information that is provided in this article is illustrated in detail in the third map. This article and the third map are noteworthy not only for scholars working on the political history of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate but also for those who are interested in the history of Islamic sciences in the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries.

The chronicles identify the reign of al-Muqtadir with the ruin of the caliphate, but the accounts of the same chronicles indicate that Islamic cultural life and literature flourished with the patronage of the court and its surroundings and of wealthy individuals such as viziers, *kuttāb*, and heads of *dīwān*s. Hence, this period had distinctive characteristics in ʿAbbāsid history. The book's reflection on these two different perspectives will make a good contribution to the future works on ʿAbbāsid studies and on other periods of Islamic history.

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OBITUARY

Peter L. Berger: Farewell to a Great "Accidental" Sociologist

PETER L. BERGER: FAREWELL TO A GREAT "ACCIDENTAL" SOCIOLOGIST

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The passing away of Professor Peter L. Berger on June 27 is a great loss for the world of social sciences. Berger built his name and reputation in the academic sphere, primarily thanks to his analyses on place and the role of religion in the modern world. Indeed, his horizon was far beyond the mentioned analyses. Berger first prepared for life through studies of theology with the ambition of becoming a Lutheran priest. However, the coincidences that led to his arrival in the United States as an Austrian migrant played a part in his academic career. His intention was to build on his foundation in theology, but instead he studied sociology. Therefore, he defined himself as an "accidental sociologist" in his memoir *Adventures of an Accidental Sociologist* (2011).

Despite this modesty, Berger's sociological studies and analyses were by no means coincidental and represent the summit of academic awareness. His areas of interest provide clear evidence of this fact. His PhD thesis (1952) on the Bahāʾī Movement would eventually make him one of the luminaries in the sociology of religion. The subtitle of his thesis, *A Contribution to the Sociology of Religion*, heralded his upcoming specialty. Nevertheless, Berger generally constituted his sociological perspective around the sociology of knowledge and made use of this perspective to comprehend the phenomenon of religion.

This perspective on social reality made Berger's analyses different from others, but there are other factors to take into account. Berger was deeply influenced by the phenomenological approach of Alfred

Schutz, another Austrian migrant to the United States. This influence is obvious in his *Invitation to Sociology* as well as in *The Social Construction of Reality*, which he wrote together with Thomas Luckmann. Berger did not deny Schutz's influence; nonetheless, in an interview with Charles T. Mathewes (2006), he defined himself as an "Orthodox Weberian." At the same time, his genuine approach can be called "Humanistic Sociology." Indeed, Berger considered society a human product and perceived it as an objective reality that is within man and in which man is. This was not the only "humanistic" aspect of Berger's sociology. His quest for humanistic content exceeded an academic approach and language, so much so that he wrote two novels on the subject: *The Enclaves* (which Berger wrote under a pseudonym) is about a master-slave relationship that recalls Hegel, whereas *Protocol of a Damnation* is the account of the daily life of a group and points out aspects of daily life that go beyond natural reality.

His academic studies and novels provide hints of the synthesis between theology and sociology that Berger sought in an implicit or explicit manner depending on the occasion. This search for synthesis is, obviously, not "coincidental;" indeed, it is the relation between religion, and thus secularism, and modernism. This is a theme that Berger studied and attempted to understand throughout his life. Therefore, he discussed religion as a "sacred canopy" that corresponds to man's search for meaning in a "disenchanted" world. He claimed that with modernism, society would leave this sacred canopy for secularity.

However, Berger noted that the line from religion to modernization does not proceed on a linear axis as we move away from theology and draw near sociology. Thus, he began to rethink the phenomenon of *secularization*, which represents this straight line, and concluded that a crisis of meaning arises from secularism. In the paper "Secularism in Retreat" (Berger 1996), he abandons the concept of linear secularization. Granting Europe an exceptional place in this regard, he explains the rise in religious movements in most of the world as a crisis of secularism.

Pluralism is Berger's recommendation to overcome this crisis. According to Berger, as stated in an interview in 2016, the existence of pluralist lifestyles should please Christians. In his opinion, pluralism will be functional in surpassing the imposition of the so-called secular lifestyle of modernity as well as in preventing fundamentalist religious approaches. A deep-thinking theologian-sociologist, Berger states in

the same interview the following to those who deliberately identify Islam with "fundamentalism:"

> Islam is not ISIS. Every religion can become murderous-certainly Christianity did, God knows. So did all the others. Buddhists think they are the religion of peace, but look what is happening in Sri Lanka and Burma. Islam, however, at its core from the beginning, emphasized the greatness, justice, and compassion of God (Hovorun and Arida 2016, 21).

Given the limits of this article, we cannot comprehensively discuss all of Berger's studies and thoughts, his contributions to sociology and theology, or even criticisms of him. Berger left a great academic legacy for the entire Western and non-Western community of social studies. For those who are willing to share his legacy, it is important to remember two criteria. First, Berger's legacy is based on a "humanistic" approach; therefore, it excludes any dehumanized social analysis. Second, an anthropocentric approach and understanding finds ridiculous the artificial solemnity and arrogance worn for the sake of "scientific" appearance in analysis, recommendation, and style. After all, we are talking about the legacy of a personality who never refrained from joking in his accounts of social incidents and who, indeed, wrote a book titled *Redeeming Laughter*.

His teachings and the problems that he urged us to rethink may enable us to honor this late sociologist in a "non-accidental," rational manner. Peter L. Berger is more than worthy of such effort. May he rest in peace.

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Book

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Michot, Yahya M. *Ibn Sīnā: Lettre au Vizir Abū Saʿd: Editio princeps d'après le manuscrit de Bursa, traduction de l'arabe, introduction, notes et lexique*. Beirut: al-Burāq, 2000.

Book Chapter

Janssens, Jules. "The Reception of Avicenna's *Physics* in the Latin Middle Ages." In *O ye Gentlemen*: *Arabic Studies on Science and Literary Culture in honour of Remke Kruk,* edited by I. Vrolijk and J. P. Hogendijk, 55-64. Leiden: Brill, 2007.

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