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FROM THE EDITORS

The new issue of *Ilahiyat Studies* is here! The current issue contains four articles, three book reviews, and an obituary for the late professor Fuat Sezgin.

In her thought-provoking article "Defining a Christian Virtue in the Islamic Context: the Concept of Gratitude in Elias of Nisibis' *Kitāb dafᶜ al-ḥamm*," Ayşe İçöz provides the reader with an in-depth analysis of the unstudied second division of *Dafᶜ al-ḥamm* of Elias of Nisibis. The purpose of the article is to examine how the notion of gratitude, *shukr*, is defined and promoted in the text and the ways in which the author engaged with the then dominant Islamic culture. According to İçöz, a careful analysis of the content, structure, and the language of this chapter reveals that, Elias did not hesitate to use material from traditional Islamic sources to encourage his Christian audience to attain gratitude, which indicates that, Elias was influenced greatly by the surrounding Islamic culture so much so that he was able to involve actively in the Christian-Muslim polemics of his time.

Zuhâl Ağılkaya-Şahin's article, "Bridging Pastoral Psychology and Positive Psychology," attempts to show how these two seemingly separate disciplines can benefit from the findings, theories, and terminologies of each other, without necessarily excluding one another, in their respective fields of practice. This was not possible, argues the author, when science was done from a purely nineteenth century positivistic social science and humanities perspective, which did not allow any religious or metaphysical topic to be part of the so-called "scientific endeavor." The author seems to be arguing that religion and psychology rediscovered each other in a new scientific paradigm in the near past. This is a timely article in that, it addresses some of the vexing issues regarding the relationship between psychology and religion/theology not only in the academic and

religious circles in the West but also in our own society as exemplified in the initiatives of the Presidency of Religious Affairs (Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı) and some of the leading universities and NGOs.

"A Ḥadīth and Its Indication Problem within the Context of Relationship between Faith and Deeds," co-authored by Hüseyin Kahraman & Hacer Şahin, is a technical and detailed analysis of a certain saying of the Prophet of Islam with regard to prayer, *ṣalāh*. There has been a great debate about how to determine the "authentic" meaning of this ḥadīth. The authors argue and conclude that the argument that "the status of abandoners of is left to the will of Allah" contradicts the Qurʾānic verses and ḥadīths, where the punishments foreseen for the unexcused abandoning of *ṣalāh* are explained; and therefore this argument cannot be sustained, for the Qurʾān and the Sunnah point to the insistence on the commandment of *ṣalāh* and how great a sin it is to abandon it. Based on these data and various other interpretations, according to the authors, the deliberate abandoners of *ṣalāh* will be losers in the Hereafter. Therefore, these Qurʾānic verses and ḥadīths do not in any way state that abandoners of *ṣalāh* will be *definitely* left to Allah's will; but that they will be severely punished, rejecting the opposite interpretation, which argues that the status of the mentioned abandoners is left to Allah, and thus forgiveness is possible.

The final article, "Reflection of Qāḍīzādelīs-Khalwatīs Tension on the Islamic Heresiography: Muṣṭafá ibn Ibrāhīm and His Alphabetical Classification of Sects," by Mehmet Kalaycı and Muhammet Emin Eren, analyzes a treatise within the late Muslim heresiographical literature: *al-Madhhab al- ḥaqq wa-l-madhāhib al-bāṭilah* written by Muṣṭafá ibn Ibrāhīm. According to the authors, the treatise is remarkable in that, it attempts to create an alphabetical script. Given that there has been no previous attempt of this sort and that the classification forms of different traditions made on the basis of the polemical ḥadīth of seventy-three sects still maintain their influence, the text is original and deserves to be regarded as a welcome contribution to the heresiographical literature. The purpose of this article, then, is to analyze the treatise, which has reached our time in the Balıkesir Library of Manuscripts, in terms of its author, the period in which it was composed, and its content.

On behalf of the editorial team, we wish to extend words of thanks to all those involved in the production of this new volume of *IS*. We are grateful for the support and feedback we received from you, the readers, in the past nine years and we assure you that *IS* will continue

to publish high-quality research articles, book reviews, review articles, and the like. Enjoy reading!

   We wish you all the best for the coming year.

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DEFINING A CHRISTIAN VIRTUE IN THE ISLAMIC CONTEXT: THE CONCEPT OF GRATITUDE IN ELIAS OF NISIBIS' *KITĀB DAFᶜ AL-HAMM*

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Abstract

The eleventh-century "Nestorian" cleric Elias of Nisibis' (d. 1046) *Kitāb dafᶜ al-hamm* (*The Book of Elimination of Grief*) provides a strategy for readers to deal with unwanted sorrow and help them to attain moral perfection. This article focuses on an unstudied part of *Dafᶜ al-hamm*, the virtue of gratitude, which constitutes the second chapter of the book. Analyzing the content, structure, and language, this article intends to determine how gratitude is defined and promoted in the text and the ways in which the author engaged with the surrounding Islamic culture. Throughout the chapter, Elias employs traditional Islamic material, from Sufi sources to ḥadīth quotations, to encourage his Christian audience to attain gratitude. This implies a high level of integration of the author and his Christian readers in the surrounding Islamic culture.

Key Words: Christian ethics, gratitude, Elias of Nisibis, *Dafᶜ al-hamm*.

Introduction

Within a century following the Prophet Muḥammad's death, the land that had been brought under the control of the Islamic Empire was so large that the borders of the caliphate extended from modern-day Afghanistan and India in the east to the southern border of modern France in the west. This rather dramatic shift in the socio-political situation marked a turning point in the history of Christians living in the conquered regions. Intellectually, this was a new era in which the barriers were lifted between the east and the west of Mesopotamia, and representatives of various scientific traditions and experts in their specific fields found an avenue for cultural cooperation. The opportunities for learning a multitude of disciplines and close contact with the believers of different religions and members of other cultures created a vibrant intellectual environment from which all the subjects of the empire benefited extensively.[1]

Adopting Arabic, the *lingua-franca* of the Islamic empire, as their literary language was one of the earliest reactions of Christians to this new socio-political and intellectual reality. From the eighth century, Christians started producing Arabic treatises to defend and explain

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[1]   For the history of Islamic conquests and their socio-political impacts, see Ira M. Lapidus, *A History of Islamic Societies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 31-56. For the treatment of non-Muslim minorities under Islam, see Milka Levy-Rubin, "Al-Shurūṭ al-ʿumariyya," in *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History*, ed. David Thomas. Brill Online, 2013. http://www.paulyonline.brill.nl/entries/christian-muslim-relations/al-shurut-al-umariyya-COM_23497 Accessed April 30, 2018; Yohanan Friedmann, "Dhimma," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Gudrun Krämer, et al., eds. Brill Online, 2013. http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-3/dhimma-COM_26005, accessed April 30, 2018. For examples of cultural exchange, see Dimitri Gutas, *Greek Thought Arabic Culture: The Graeco-Arabic Translation Movement in Baghdad and Early 'Abbāsid Society (2nd-4th/8th-10th Centuries)* (London: Routledge, 1998); David M. Freidenreich and Miriam Goldstein, eds., *Beyond Religious Borders: Interaction and Intellectual Exchange in the Medieval Islamic World* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011).

their faith.[2] Today, Christian Arabic literature covers a wide range of genres, from Bible commentaries to philosophical treatises, many of which were preserved in manuscripts waiting to be edited and studied.[3] Living in an environment dominated by Islam resulted in various levels of enculturation that can easily be recognized in the language, content, and structure of the writings of Christian authors.[4]

This article studies how the virtue of gratitude (*shukr*) is explained in the eleventh-century clergyman Elias of Nisibis' ethical work entitled *Kitāb dafʿ al-hamm* (*The Book of Elimination of Grief*). To date, *Dafʿ al-hamm* has been the subject of few studies that usually examine the whole book as an ethical treatise rather than analyzing its content in detail.[5] This article focuses on the second division of the book, entitled "On the Benefit of Gratitude and Damage of Ingratitude" (*Fī manfaʿat al-shukr wa-maḍarrat al-kufr*). By examining the content and the language of the text and contextualizing it in its socio-political and intellectual environment, the present article intends to assess the ways in which "gratitude" is defined and promoted to a primarily Christian audience in *Dafʿ al-hamm* and how the content and the language of the text were influenced by the surrounding Islamic culture.

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[2] Samir Khalil Samir, "The Earliest Arab Apology for Christianity (c. 750)," in *Christian Arabic Apologetics during the Abbasid Period (750-1258),* ed. Samir Khalil Samir and Jørgen S. Nielsen (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 56-114.

[3] According to Noble and Treiger, almost ninety percent of Christian Arabic literature is still in manuscripts. For more, see Samuel Noble and Alexander Treiger, eds., *The Orthodox Church in the Arab World 700-1700: An Anthology of Sources* (Illinois: Northern Illinois University Press, 2014), 3-6.

[4] For a few examples of the Islamic influence on Christian Arabic sources, see Sidney Griffith, "Islam and the *Summa Theologiae Arabica*: Rabīʿ I, 264 AH," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 13 (1990), 225-264.; Griffith, "The Muslim Philosopher al-Kindi and His Christian Readers: Three Arab Christian Texts on 'The Dissipation of Sorrows'," *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 78 (1996), 111.

[5] Two available editions of the whole work are Elias of Nisibis, *Kitāb dafʿ al-hamm*, ed. Qusṭanṭīn al-Bāshā (Miṣr: Maṭbaʿat al-Maʿārif, 1900); Elias of Nisibis, *Il Libro per Scacciare la Preoccupazione (Kitāb dafʿ al-hamm)*, ed. and trans. Anna Pagnini and Samir Khalil Samir (Torino: Silvio Zamorani, 2007-2008). Griffith studies *Dafʿ al-hamm* along with two Christian Arabic works on the elimination of grief in his article "The Muslim Philosopher al-Kindi and his Christian Readers: Three Arab Christian Texts on 'The Dissipation of Sorrows'."

I. Elias of Nisibis, His Life and Career

Elias was born in the year 975 in the town called Shīnā. He was ordained as a priest of the Church of the East at the age of nineteen. Between the years 994 and 1008, he served at the monasteries of St. Simeon and St. Michael. In 1002, he was ordained as the Bishop of Bet Nūhadrā. Following the death of Metropolitan Yahbalāhā at the end of 1008, he was consecrated as Metropolitan Bishop of Nisibis on 26 December 1008. He served in this position until he died on 18 July 1046.[6]

Elias was one of the most productive intellectual figures of his era. He wrote numerous works covering the areas of Christian theology, history, and ethics. He was actively involved in the Christian-Muslim polemics of his own time. His renowned theological compendium *Kitāb al-majālis* provides a written record of his conversations with the contemporary Muslim vizier Abū l-Qāsim al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī al-Maghribī (981-1027). Reportedly, these sessions were held in Nisibis[7] within the span of a year between July 1026 and June 1027. The work is organized into seven sections, throughout which Elias provides answers to al-Maghribī's questions regarding various aspects of Christian beliefs and practices.[8]

Two of Elias' works extensively address ethical issues. In addition to *Dafʿ al-hamm*, he wrote a letter on celibacy entitled "Letter on the Superiority of Chastity" (*Risālah fī faḍīlat al-ʿafāf*) to defend the Christian ascetic practice of abstinence against the criticism of the ninth-century Muslim author al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 868). He organizes the letter in four main sections, explaining the necessity and benefits of celibacy over marriage and refuting al-Jāḥiẓ.[9] *Dafʿ al-hamm* is composed in the

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[6] On Elias and his works, see Jean Baptiste Chabot, ed., *Synodicon Orientale: Recueil de Synods Nestoriens* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1902), 683; Georg Graf, *Geschichte der Christlichen Arabischen Literatur* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1947) II, 177-189. Samir Khalil Samir, "Un Auteur Chrétien de Langue Arabe, Elie de Nisibe" *Islamochristiana* 3 (1977), 257-284.

[7] Modern-day Nusaybin in southeast Turkey.

[8] For the list of editions and the translations of *Kitāb al-majālis*, see Juan Pedro Monferrer Sala, "Kitāb al-majālis," in *Christian-Muslim Relations 600-1500*, ed. David Thomas. Brill Online, 2010. http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1877-8054_cmri_COM_23351, accessed May 16, 2018.

[9] Sidney Griffith, "The Virtue of Continence (*al-ʿiffah*) and the "Perfect Man (*al-insān al-kāmil*): An Islamochristian Inquary in Abbasid Religious and

form of a booklet consisting of twelve chapters dealing with certain virtues specified in the titles of each chapter. It was written by the request of the same vizier, Abū l-Qāsim al-Maghribī, with whom Elias had discussions that are reported in *Kitāb al-majālis*. The purpose of the work is to provide a solution for human grief.

II. *Dafʿ al-hamm* as an Ethical Work

The late tenth – early eleventh century, in which Elias of Nisibis lived and produced his *Dafʿ al-hamm*, witnessed one of the most important periods in the history and development of ethical theories in Arabo-Islamic thought. Moral literature in the Arabic tradition covers a wide range of issues, from the code conduct for individual members of the community to the administration of the entire society. It was initially based on the traditional teachings of the Qurʾān and ḥadīth literature and showed a gradual development with the subsequent introductions of Persian moral thought and Greek philosophical material. It reached its established form by the eleventh century.[10]

A brief look at the corpus of ethical literature during the time of Elias of Nisibis would be very helpful to set his work in context. Various significant intellectual figures of his era produced works touching upon moral questions in numerous ways. The influential Muʿtazilī theologian ʿAbd al-Jabbār (d. 1025),[11] Shāfiʿī scholar and jurist Abū l-Ḥasan al-Māwardī (d. 1058), who is the author of *Adab al-dunyā wa-l-dīn*,[12] the famous polymath Ibn Miskawayh (d. 1030), the author of the moral treatise *Tahdhīb al-akhlāq*,[13] and the "Jacobite" Yaḥyá ibn

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Philosophical Circles," in *Gotteserlebnis und Gotteslehre: Christliche und Islamische Mystik im Orient*, ed. Martin Tamcke (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 2010), 25-47.

[10] Richard Walzer and Hamilton A. R. Gibb, "Akhlaḳ," *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, ed. P. Bearman, et al. Brill Online, 2012. http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_0035, accessed May 24, 2018.

[11] For discussions on meta-ethical questions, see, for example, Abū l-Ḥasan al-Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Jabbār ibn Aḥmad al-Hamadānī, *Sharḥ al-Uṣūl al-khamsah*, ed. ʿAbd al-Karīm ʿUthmān (Beirut: Dār Iḥyāʾ al-Turāth al-ʿArabī, 2001).

[12] Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī Ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb al-Māwardī, *Adab al-dunyā wa-l-dīn*, ed. Muṣṭafá al-Saqqā (Beirut: Dār Iḥyāʾ al-ʿUlūm, 1988).

[13] Abū ʿAlī Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Yaʿqūb Ibn Miskawayh, *Kitāb tahdhīb al-akhlāq wa-taṭhīr al-aʿrāq*, ed. Ḥasan Tamīm (Beirut: Dār Maktabat al-Ḥayāh, 1961).

ʿAdī (d. 974), who composed his *Tahdhīb al-akhlāq*[14] in the late tenth century, are just a few to mention here.

Moral writings were produced in a wide range of genres in the Arabic tradition, and it is often quite difficult to find a suitable way to categorize them. Perhaps George Hourani's attempt should be addressed here as a useful classification that efficiently reflects the complexity of this broad area. Hourani proposes a fourfold scheme to sort different types of ethical works considering the authors' methods and sources. In this system, the first two categories are entitled "Normative religious ethics" and "Normative secular ethics." These cover the moral teachings originating from spiritual texts in the Islamic tradition such as the Qurʾān and ḥadīth literature and the types of writings that offer guidance and advice to rulers, such as "Mirrors for Princes." The latter two categories comprise the ethical literature dealing with meta-ethical questions and have a more analytical approach. The third category is "Ethical Analysis in the Religious Tradition," which covers the works of theologians who touched upon questions regarding human free will and predestination. The last category is entitled "Ethical Analysis by Secular Philosophers" and covers the works of philosophers who extensively employed Greek philosophy in their moral writings.[15] Hourani's fourfold scheme, although solely focused on ethical writings produced by Muslims, is helpful to place Elias' ethical approach in context. Christian intellectuals of the time, and Elias in particular, were very much aware of the flourishing moral literature in Arabo-Islamic thought, who felt the necessity to produce moral treatises for their fellow religionists in Arabic.[16]

Even a cursory look at the content of Elias' *Dafʿ al-hamm* provides clear witness of his engagement with the ethical writings of Muslim authors. In the introduction of his work, he admits that he benefitted

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[14] The latest edition and English translation is provided by Sidney Griffith; see Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī, *The Reformation of Morals / Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī: A Parallel English-Arabic Text Translated and Introduced by Sidney H. Griffith*, ed. and trans. Sidney Griffith (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 2002).

[15] George Hourani, *Reason and Tradition in Islamic Ethics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 15-22.

[16] In his "The Muslim Philosopher al-Kindi and His Christian Readers: Three Arab Christian Texts on Dissipation on the Dissipation of Sorrows," Griffith points to several parallels between Elias' work and al-Kindī's treatise.

from the Muslim luminary Abū Yaʿqūb Isḥāq al-Kindī's (d. 873) ethical treatise *Risālah fī l-ḥīlah li-dafʿ al-aḥzān* (Treatise on the Art of Dispelling Sorrows). Indeed, the title of Elias' work clearly indicates his inspiration from al-Kindī's renowned work on morality.[17]

Al-Kindī follows a rational approach using philosophical sources. On the other hand, in *Dafʿ al-hamm*, Elias is careful to keep a balance between the piety and the use of the intellect to eliminate unwanted sorrow. He proposes a stratagem that contains both religious and rational elements to achieve ideal moral status.

In the introduction of his work, he likens the sorrow of the soul to the diseases of the body and states that eliminating grief from the soul is more important than recovering the body from illness because the soul is higher than the body. He divides grief into two distinct categories: ordinary (*al-ʿāmmah*) and special (*al-khāṣṣah*). Accordingly, ordinary grief is caused by an external factor and affects everyone in the same way, such as death or the loss of wealth. Special grief is specific to individuals because it is caused by these people's own lack of precaution and afflicts everyone on different levels. For this type of grief, Elias gives the example of a loquacious man who talks about a matter that does not concern him. As a result, he loses his life or fortune. Thus, while the special type of grief is easy to avoid beforehand when necessary precautions are taken, the first kind of grief is impossible to prevent because it comes from God (*al-āfāt al-samāwiyyah*) as "heavenly misfortunes." However, it is more difficult to ameliorate the situation when the special type of grief occurs.[18]

According to Elias, the best way to escape from ordinary grief is to follow and improve religious virtues and avoid evil-doing. On the other hand, recovery from the special type of grief can be possible by following the mind. Here, he recounts twelve virtues with corresponding vices in two categories, reflecting his classification of the two types of sorrows that structure the rest of his work. He devotes

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17 Abū Yūsuf Yaʿqūb ibn Isḥāq ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ al-Kindī, *Risālah fī l-ḥīlah li-dafʿ al-aḥzān*, in *Rasāʾil falsafiyyah li-l-Kindī wa-l-Fārābī wa-Ibn Bājjah wa-Ibn ʿAdī*, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Badawī, 3rd ed. (Beirut: Dār al-Andalus, 1983); al-Kindī, *Studi su al-Kindī II: Uno Scritto Morale Inedito di al-Kindī* [*Risālat Yaʿqūb ibn Isḥāq al-Kindī fī l-ḥīlah li-dafʿ al-aḥzān*], ed. and trans. Hellmut Ritter and Richard R. Walzer (Roma: Dott. Giovanni Bardi, 1938).

18 Elias of Nisibis, *Kitāb dafʿ al-hamm*, 6.

a chapter to each virtue and its corresponding blameworthy act mentioned in this introductory part.

The balance between piety and rational thinking clearly appears in his division of virtues. He calls the first six virtues "religious virtues" and states that they help to prevent heavenly misfortunes. The second category is called "rational virtues;" these assist one in avoiding harmful acts that will put him in worldly trouble. Perhaps another subtle detail regarding the divisions of *Dafᶜ al-hamm* is that while the emphasis on the first six virtues is improving the reader's piety, the virtues from seven to twelve focus on developing an individual's relationship with society.[19] Similarly, as will be seen in the analysis of the chapter on gratitude, the author is careful to recount both mundane and otherworldly benefits of the relevant virtues in each division. A brief look at the content of *Dafᶜ al-hamm* could provide good insight into Elias' mentality on the organization of this work:

1. On the Excellence of Piety and Lowness of Disobedience

2. On the Benefit of Gratitude and Damage of Ingratitude

3. On the Merit of Chastity and Harm of Wickedness

4. On the Superiority of Humility and Inferiority of Arrogance

5. On the Beauty of Mercy and Atrocity of Austerity

6. On the Benefit of Repentance and Harm of Persistence

7. On the Excellence of Following the Mind and Lowness of Following the Desire

8. On the Benefit of Consultation and Harm of Tyranny

9. On Praising Good Character and Blaming Bad Character

10. On the Honor of Generosity and Lowness of Meanness

11. On the Beauty of Justice and Evil of Persecution

12. On the Benefit of Forbearance and Damage of Abomination.

In each division, the benefits of a virtue are explained along with the damages that can be caused by following its opposite blameworthy action. Elias states that each chapter contains three basic elements: a description of the virtue that is specified in the title, stories, and tales

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[19] *Ibid.*, 7-8.

that encourage readers to strive and attain the particular virtue and strategies of wise and clever people that will help the reader on his journey to acquire the specified praiseworthy acts and behaviors. Although he makes use of the teachings of some philosophers, his approach cannot be classified as "philosophical" because he also uses citations from religious personalities and the Bible. These quotations appear one after another in the text, often preceded by vague expressions such as "it was said" or "they say" (or, more specifically, "some wise men said" or "some scholars said"). This style makes it almost impossible to trace the sources of most of these citations. Elias clarifies his sources at the beginning of his work as follows:

> With the will and the help of God, I wrote a chapter for each praiseworthy [virtue] and its opposite blameworthy behaviors in which I recount the words of the ancients, writings of sages, and counsels of scholars which motivates [the reader] to acquire the certain virtue or avoid its opposite vice.[20]

Throughout the text, the ideas and supporting quotations are juxtaposed without any commentary. Thus, the text has a didactic character and should fall under Hourani's "normative religious ethics" category. The twofold mundane and eschatological interests can be observed in various ways throughout the text. In this way, it looks like an example of the *adab* literature.[21]

III. Gratitude in *Dafꜥ al-ḥamm*

The second division of the book, in which Elias explains the merits of gratitude, constitutes a relatively short portion of the entire work, with only eight pages in al-Bāshā's edition.[22] The Arabic title of the chapter is "Fī manfaꜥat al-shukr wa-maḍarrat al-kufr," "On the Benefit of Gratitude (*shukr*) and Damage of Ingratitude (*kufr*)." It is organized according to Elias' proposed scheme, which is specified in the

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[20]   *Ibid*., 8.

[21]   For a good overview of *adab* literature, see Nadia Maria El Cheikh, "Adab Literature: 9th to 13th Century," in *Encyclopedia of Women & Islamic Cultures*, ed. Suad Joseph, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1872-5309_ewic_EWICSIM_0031, accessed September 13, 2018. For examples of *adab* literature on morality, see Francesco Chiabotti, et al., eds., *Ethics and Spirituality in Islam: Sufi Adab* (Leiden: Brill, 2016).

[22]   This article is based on al-Bāshā's edition in 1900. The whole work is 98 pages with the one-page introduction of the editor.

introduction of the work. Accordingly, the chapter starts with the description of *shukr*, followed by the sayings of wise men on the benefits of gratitude and examples from their lives:

> It is (*shukr*) praising the benefactor for what He grants, mentioning His favor and remembering His kindliness. The fruits of this attitude are the increase of benefaction from God and receiving affection from humankind. Seeing the increase in Godly blessings and love of the other people would boost one's happiness and minimize his grief. The opposite of the gratitude is ingratitude (*kufr*), which is denial of the gifts of the giver, avoiding mentioning His blessings, and not remembering His grace. The result of this behavior is the loss of the benefactions of God and being condemned by people. Experiencing the decrease in the Godly blessings and receiving reprimand from the people would increase one's sorrow and diminish his happiness.[23]

Here, the clear connection between gratitude and the dispelling of grief that constitutes the main purpose of Elias' work is explicit. Perhaps a striking detail regarding its mundane and otherworldly outcomes should be noted here. According to the text, one who is grateful to God receives both His grace and the sympathy of people, which makes life harmonious and pleasant. This twofold worldly and eschatological concern appears in various ways throughout the text. Although the focus in this chapter is showing gratitude towards the creator, there are several occasions where societal concern appears. Elias says: "The one who receives blessing from God should bless people [through it]; this [attitude] itself is thankfulness and protection from misfortune."[24]

The idea of sharing the benefaction with society parallels the writings of Elias' contemporary, the Shāfiʿī jurist and scholar al-Māwardī, who was the author of the renowned *Adab al-dunyā wa-l-dīn*. According to him, one who receives any kind of favor becomes indebted to the benefactor and should respond with gratefulness and share some of it with others. This is the perfect way of showing the gratitude, which will result in an increase and continuation of the

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23   Elias of Nisibis, *Kitāb dafʿ al-hamm*, 24.

24   *Ibid*., 30.

blessing.[25]

On the societal level, thankfulness to human beings is also recommended in the text. An interesting citation of a prophetic saying appears when Elias emphasizes the importance of showing gratitude to other people:

> It is said that the one who does not thank people will not be grateful to God. It is [also] said that the one who does not thank God will not be grateful to humankind. The one who is not grateful for little will not be grateful for abundance.[26]

This expression is a combined version of different ḥadīths on gratitude that are mentioned by three authors. The first sentence is the verbatim quotation of a ḥadīth narrated by Abū Hurayrah in Abū Dāwūd's *Sunan*.[27] The following statement is mentioned by al-Tirmidhī in the division of righteousness (al-Birr) in his *al-Jāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ*.[28] The final portion was reported by Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal in two different versions.[29] Elias seems to amalgamate all these expressions. Perhaps a question to ask here is whether Elias was aware that these words are the advice of the prophet of a rival religion because he hardly ever mentions the source of his quotations in the text. Given that he maintained close contact with Muslims as a Christian intellectual of the time, it is almost certain that he obtained these sayings from a Muslim source and that he is comfortable using them to encourage his Christian audience to attain the virtue of gratitude. Indeed, Elias' use of Islamic material can also be easily observed in his work *Kitāb al-majālis*. For example, in the sixth division of this book, where Elias discusses the various aspects of Syriac and Arabic languages, he often gives examples from Islamic tradition, which shows that he has good command of both languages and religious

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25 Al-Māwardī, *Adab*, 303. Although they lived apart within the same time frame, given the reputation of Māwardī in court circles and his mobility, it is quite likely that some of his works reached Elias.

26 Elias of Nisibis, *Kitāb dafʿ al-hamm*, 29.

27 Abū Dāwūd, "al-Adab," 11. The Arabic version of the ḥadīth appears as: "Lā yashkur Allāh man lā yashkur al-nās."

28 Al-Tirmidhī, "al-Birr," 35. Al-Tirmidhī gives two versions of the same ḥadīth narrated by Abū Hurayrah and Abū Saʿīd (ḥadīth no. 1954-1955).

29 Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, ed. Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākir and Ḥamzah Aḥmad al-Zayn (Cairo: Dār al-Ḥadīth, 1995), XIV, 176. Two different versions are narrated by the same narrator, al-Nuʿmān ibn Bashīr (ḥadīth no. 18361-18362).

traditions.[30] Therefore, it is very likely that he was aware of the Islamic origins of those sayings and used them consciously.

According to Elias, being grateful has a direct impact on improving the individual's mundane and otherworldly affairs:

> Some of the wise men said the grateful, generous, and humble person is loved [by others], ungrateful (*kāfir*), arrogant, and the mean one is abhorred [by people]. Again, they said there is no beloved person who is either grateful, generous or humble, and there is no hated one who is either ungrateful, mean or arrogant [towards others]. Whoever includes gratefulness, generosity, and humility in their character becomes beloved by God and by people for those three qualities, and whoever includes thanklessness, parsimony, and vanity in themselves, they are detested by God and by people for [having] those three attitudes.[31]

The aforementioned twofold mundane and otherworldly concern clearly appears here. What is most striking in the Arabic version of these words is the antinomy between the concepts of *shukr* and *kufr*. In Arabic, the word *kufr*, which can be translated as both "ingratitude" and "disbelief," is usually employed as the opposite of *shukr*. Ibn Manẓūr describes *shukr* as "acknowledgement of beneficence and its promulgation." He defines the antonym of thankfulness (*shukrān*) with the Arabic word *kufrān*, which has the connotation of "rejection," whether of the existence of God or the favor that is granted by Him.[32] What makes this passage particularly interesting is Elias' use of other terms along with the concepts of *shukr* and *kufr*. There is a clear semantic connection between the concepts of gratefulness, humility, and generosity and vanity, stinginess, and ingratitude (*kufr*) in this passage. This gloss has strong parallels with the Qurʾānic discourse on the concepts of *shukr* and *kufr*. In several verses in the Qurʾān,

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30   For instance, Elias impressively gives examples of the different readings of certain Qurʾānic verses during the discussion, citing those verses accurately. For a detailed analysis of the sixth chapter of *al-Majālis*, see David Bertaina, "Science, Syntax, and Superiority in Eleventh-Century Christian-Muslim Discussion: Elias of Nisibis on the Arabic and Syriac languages," *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 22, no. 2 (2011), 197-207.

31   Elias of Nisibis, *Kitāb dafʿ al-hamm*, 30-31.

32   Abū l-Faḍl Muḥammad ibn Mukarram Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab* (Būlāq: al-Maṭbaʿah al-Kubrā al-Amīriyyah, 1883), V, 91-93.

thankfulness is mentioned as the opposite of disbelief.[33] Moreover, in the context of Islamic scripture, *kufr* is strongly connected to arrogance, and on several occasions, arrogance is mentioned as the opposite of faith or submission to God.[34] Thus, the author's choice of concepts related to thankfulness and ingratitude seems to be influenced by the Qurʾānic gloss of those terms.[35]

According to the text, the most immediate and obvious benefit of gratitude in this world is the increase in blessing (*niʿmah*), such as wealth, success or health. Throughout the text, gratitude is strongly connected to an increase in blessing. Elias mentions this positive correlation on several occasions as the benefit of gratefulness. He says:

> Some of the scholars advised their sons, "Oh my son, I suggest you to pray because it is followed by a response [from God] and, to be grateful because an increase comes with it."[36]

It is said that there is no extinction of blessing if it is being praised, and there is no continuousness to it when it is being denied. Thankfulness is the endurance of blessing and protection from trouble.[37]

In fact, the root *sh-k-r* and some of its derivatives carry the connotation of "enhancement" in the Arabic language. Ibn Manẓūr explains the connection between the increase and the root *sh-k-r*, giving the example of "rain." Accordingly, the expression *ishtakarat al-samāʾ* is used in Arabic to describe the weather when it rains heavily. Similarly, dairy animals that produce large amounts of milk are described with the adjective from the same root as *ibilun shakārā* or *ghanamun shakārā,* "camel or sheep that produce abundant of milk."[38] The connection between showing gratitude and receiving heavenly blessings clearly appears in Q 14:7: "(…) If you are grateful, I will certainly increase (*azīdannakum*); but if you deny (*kafartum*), indeed My punishment is severe." It is not surprising that Elias uses the same

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[33]   Q 14:7; 16:112-114; 27:40; 39:7.

[34]   Q 2:13-34; 4:172-173; 7:75-76, 146-206; 16:22-49; 37:35; 45:31.

[35]   For a detailed study of ethical terms in the Qurʾān, see Toshihiko Izutsu, *Ethico-Religious Concepts in the Qurʾān* (Montreal & Ithaca, NY: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002).

[36]   Elias of Nisibis, *Kitāb dafʿ al-hamm*, 25.

[37]   *Ibid.*, 27.

[38]   Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, V, 94.

verb as the Qurʾān, the verb *zāda,* to express "increase" on several occasions.[39] Once again, the influence of the surrounding Qurʾānic culture is evident here.

Being grateful is not a difficult task because even having no difficulty in daily life is enough to be grateful, according to the text. Elias advises his reader to be content in this world to be happy:

> Know this, every day in which you have not experienced any change in your religion, mind, body, and situation, you have not said anything which put you in trouble, you have not done anything which harms you and you have not heard anything which saddens you is the most blissful day.[40]

Life may not go smoothly all the time, and in case of misfortunes, the believer is advised to be patient. There is a strong connection among "gratitude," "patience," and "happiness" in the text. Elias states that every person in this world is surrounded by people living in either a better or worse situation. Looking at the people who are in poorer conditions not only improves the quality of their life but also eliminates grief and increases their gratitude. Seeing the blessings in their life and feeling grateful for what they possess would consequently increase their patience.[41] Here, Elias quotes from some of the monks advising their students: "You are richer than the rulers." When the students ask how this is possible when they have nothing and the rulers own large amounts of property, the monk says, "You are grateful although you have nothing with you, but the rulers are not thankful even if they possess abundance of wealth."[42] It is advised to be patient, especially in times of illness and disabilities, such as blindness and leprosy. Being patient and grateful in such situations would help in healing from the sickness and receiving blessings from God in the afterlife.[43]

Elias is careful to provide a comprehensive picture regarding the necessity and benefits of thankfulness for readers. Towards the end of the chapter, he explains how the virtue of gratitude should be practiced:

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[39] Elias of Nisibis, *Kitāb dafʿ al-hamm*, 25-27.

[40] *Ibid.,* 25.

[41] *Ibid.,* 27.

[42] *Ibid.,* 29.

[43] *Ibid.,* 29.

Gratefulness is expressed in three ways: acknowledgement of the heart, praise of the tongue and recognition through action, which is the highest level of gratitude.[44]

This particular interpretation seems to be borrowed from a Sufi source because the perception of thankfulness in three levels is an essential part of the Sufi understanding of the same virtue in Islamic tradition. In Sufi thought, gratitude should be practiced in three levels, including the acknowledgement of the heart, expression of the tongue, and acts of the body. The first step in this tripartite scheme consists of accepting the divine origins of the blessing, which leads one to direct gratitude towards God rather than anyone else. The gratitude of the tongue, as might be expected, is the wording of thankfulness towards God through praise and prayer. Gratitude of the body is the final stage, which is simply the reaction of the individual's limbs to the inner awareness of the heart and verbal acknowledgement of the blessings of the divine Benefactor.[45] Elias seems to know the Sufi understanding of gratitude very well; he borrows this threefold scheme as a whole without excluding any of the steps. Likewise, he appears to be completely at ease employing this purely Muslim perception of "gratitude" in his work and is not interested in making any changes or additions.

Conclusion

Elias defines and promotes gratitude in the very style that he clarifies at the beginning of *Daf᷾ al-hamm*. The chapter starts with the description of gratitude, which highlights the mundane and otherworldly benefits of the virtue and continues with numerous, mostly anonymous, citations encouraging the reader to be thankful. The worldly and eschatological concern appears in both the content of the chapter on gratitude and the structure of *Daf᷾ al-hamm*. There is little analytical or philosophical discussion of the virtue throughout the chapter. After a short description, the words of selected religious personalities are recounted. These mostly anonymous quotations are mentioned one after another without any apparent logical structure. Therefore, it is a challenge for the reader to follow the mentality of the

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[44]   *Ibid.,* 31.

[45]   For more detail, see Atif Khalil, "The Embodiment of Gratitude (*Shukr*) in Sufi Ethics," *Studia Islamica* 111 (2016), 159-178, https://doi.org/10.1163/19585705-12341337.

author. All of these features make *Dafʿ al-hamm* a good example of *adab* literature.

As discussed in some detail, the impact of the surrounding Islamic culture is evident in both the language and the content of the text. Similar to the general style of the text, these borrowings are not systematic; they come from various sources. The author's use of the Arabic terms *shukr* and *kufr* along with other semantically connected words, such as humility and arrogance, clearly shows his awareness of Qurʾānic discourse on this matter. Moreover, ḥadīth quotations and Sufi teachings in the text suggest the author's close engagement with Islamic religious literature. When we look at the chapter on gratitude as a whole in *Dafʿ al-hamm*, apart from the mention of the dialogue between monks and their students, there is hardly any explicit sign that would tell the reader that this text was penned by a Christian author. The author's extensive use of Islamic material in the text shows that Elias, as a devout Christian and a churchman, was completely comfortable using Islamic sources to compose his own ethical work for his Christian readers. This phenomenon suggests a high level of intellectual integration of both the author and his intended audience into the medieval Islamic world.

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BRIDGING PASTORAL PSYCHOLOGY AND POSITIVE PSYCHOLOGY

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Abstract

Following the humanistic approach in psychology around 1950, positive psychology rediscovered in 2000 the importance of positive emotions, personal strengths, and virtues for mental health and well-being. As psychology from the pastoral counselor's point of view, pastoral psychology also emphasizes potentials and personal growth and employs the same virtues. Although they have epistemologically different roots, pastoral and positive psychology have many common features, virtues, and aims. These commonalities encourage collaboration between these disciplines. Based on such common virtues, pastoral counselors can benefit from the research findings and theories that positive psychology developed. Positive psychology conversely can benefit from the religious dimension and meaning of these virtues and enrich its practice. This essay presents common features, aims, and virtues such as forgiveness, hope, and love and suggests possibilities for collaboration between pastoral psychology and positive psychology.

Key Words: Pastoral psychology, positive psychology, pastoral care, pastoral counseling

Introduction

Today's scientific understanding indicates an interdisciplinary trend. Scientists make much of incorporating related fields into their research. Since its beginnings in the mid-1900s, pastoral psychology has also been predicated on such an interdisciplinary character. Positive psychology conversely has traces of different schools of thought and considers certain virtues for preserving or achieving mental health that are not foreign to pastoral psychology. These virtues, together with similar foundational thoughts and aims, indicate parallels between positive and pastoral psychology. This essay aims to present the commonalities of these disciplines and proposes approaches for collaboration.

A review of the history of psychology repeatedly surfaces conflicts between religion and this science. Despite this "on again off again relationship like siblings" (Köse 2006), both share proximate interests, namely in explaining how human beings function (mind, body, and soul) and in providing guidelines on how to live. This common interest is well observed among pastoral and psychological counseling. Pastoral work has always been one of the main concerns of Christianity (and of other religions), in which the clergy tries to care for people in distress. Is psychology doing something very different? Psychology has developed its own methods to address crises and conflicts. Thus, it was only a matter of time until adherents of the two would meet somewhere and create their own, new language. Pastoral counseling and the resultant discipline pastoral psychology can thus be considered a meeting point. "In pastoral counseling, psychology came into direct contact with the age-old cure of souls" (Kugelmann 2016, 2). The fundamental commonality of these two professions is the common purpose of the pastor and the counselor to support people in reinforcing and rediscovering their personal, interpersonal, universal, and divine relationships (Rogers 1950, 6).

When pastoral psychology began to be established in the 1950s and 1960s, pastoral counseling was understood as a skilled and trained profession. However, there was emphasis on the differentiation from psychological counseling (Curran 1959, 21, 28). This differentiation marked the special character of pastoral counseling, namely the spiritual/religious dimension it involves. This dimension is also apparent in Hiltner's (1950b) description of the meaning of pastoral psychology: "Pastoral psychology, as we understand it, is psychology

from the pastor's point of view" (p. 7). Following Hiltner, Stollberg (personal communication, 28.04.2011) explains pastoral psychology as "the psychology in the service of the pastoral." Thus, it can be argued that pastoral psychology provides the guidelines and techniques for pastoral care. Rogers (1950, 5) confirms this point in the first issue of *Pastoral Psychology*, in which he states that pastors felt a need for psychological and psychiatric insights and skills, which are of immediate and practical importance for pastoral engagement.

Pastoral psychology occurs at the crossroads between theology and psychology. Nevertheless, it aims to retain its interdisciplinary character and not reduce itself to either of these disciplines. As Stollberg (1978, 72) writes:

> A pastoral counselor has to be a theologian, anthropologist and methodologist, [and] he has to have theory and handle practice. With a little untrained "charisma," nothing is done, and if one of the three factors weakens, an important part for pastoral competence will be missing that is not a substitution but a condition for 'authoritative' pastoral work (Mt 10:1). Pastoral counseling without pastoral psychology is like preaching without exegesis and church lessons without religious education.

The theological part of pastoral counseling certainly comes first because pastoral counseling leans on the religious service pastoral care. However, particularly within the pastoral counseling movement, the qualifications that Stollberg mentioned gained an important weight. It is beyond the scope of this paper to go into detail on the pastoral care movement, but with this movement, pastoral work was illuminated by the light of human sciences such as anthropology, psychology, and psychiatry. Psychological approaches such as psychoanalysis, systemic psychotherapy, Gestalt therapy, client-centered therapy, *body*-oriented psychotherapy, communication theories, and non-directive counseling found great acceptance within pastoral psychology. Hiltner (1950a, 6; 1950b, 8) emphasizes this interdisciplinary attitude by admitting that there is much that pastoral care providers can learn from mental health practitioners such as psychologists, psychiatrists, and social workers, who provide insights into human functioning. It is this plurality of professional perspectives that Hiltner wants the pastor to benefit from. This readiness and willingness to learn from and to involve other professional disciplines (particularly psychology) in pastoral practice is also observable in the formation of the mentioned journal *Pastoral Psychology*. Many reputed

names from psychology, such as Carl Rogers, Karl Menninger, Karen Horney and others contributed to the Journal. Carl Rogers (1950) wrote the editorial of the first issue and explained "Why Pastoral Psychology" by asserting, "Religion and the minister equipped with the insight and skill of the science of human behavior have a significant and unique contribution to make to this important problem" (p. 6). The problem Rogers mentioned was the growing number of mental health problems within the population.

As the adaptation of Rogers and his client-centered method show, the most favored approaches in pastoral psychology stem from humanistic psychology. However, what about other, more recent approaches, such as positive psychology?

In the same period in which pastoral psychology emerged, some psychologists criticized psychology as a science "without a soul."[1] This critique led to different schools of thought within psychology (e.g., humanistic and transpersonal psychology) that drew attention to that missing part, namely the consideration of concepts such as spirituality, virtues, potentials, and positive features for mental health. In 2000, Seligman and Csikszentmihalyi recalled these features and their omission in modern psychology and introduced a new field that they called *positive psychology.* "The exclusive focus on pathology" (p. 5), as the authors criticize, has so dominated the discipline of psychology that positive features and their contributions to a worthwhile and meaningful life have been disregarded (Seligman and Csikszentmihalyi 2000). Fostering positive individual traits such as hope, forgiveness, love, meaning, and spirituality can contribute to preserve and achieve mental health. Thus, awakening "a discipline that deal[s] with the fundamental issues of life" (Seligman and Csikszentmihalyi 2000, 6) can contribute to the counseling process of both pastoral and psychological counseling.

Before examining how these fundamental issues appear in positive and pastoral psychology, it will be useful to address some commonalities between these disciplines.

I. Common Features

First, it can be argued that both pastoral and positive psychology have the same foundations and are inspired by common theories. The

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[1] For a review of the debate, see Kempe 2007.

humanistic approach that contributed to the idea of positive psychology is also well accepted in pastoral psychology. The positive and holistic view on individuals, as highlighted by Carl Rogers, dominates the pastoral and positive perspectives. The focus on individual strengths and virtues is a common objective.

Next to Rogers', the second widely adopted approach was Howard Clinebell's[2] theory of *growth counseling.* Although Clinebell was not a positive psychologist, his ideas match those of positive psychology. Clinebell (1979, 53) explains that growth counseling should arise from the growth perspective rather than from the pathological perspective. Whereas the pathological perspective focuses on the weak sides of the client, the growth perspective enables a focus on his/her potentials and strengths. Disregarding the author of this passage, one could easily believe that it is from a positive psychologist.

Clinebell and the positive psychology founders all have a three-fold approach that comprises the past, present, and future. Whereas Seligman and Csikszentmihalyi (2000, 5) predict a satisfactory past, hopeful future and happy present, Clinebell (1979, 53) considers people's psychological problems in the background of their achievements in the past, their forces in the present, and their potentials in the future.

The weight of personal growth and innate potentials are notable beyond Rogers' and Clinebell's theories that were adopted into pastoral psychology. They also appear in the theories of the precursors of humanistic psychology such as Jung, May, and Maslow, who contributed to the formation of a positive psychology.

One further similarity between positive and pastoral psychology is their preventive function. Modern psychology has refocused from providing a better life and nurturing talent to concentrating on healing and repairing what is sick and damaged (Seligman and Csikszentmihalyi 2000). Positive psychology's side effect is the prevention of mental disease (Faller 2001). It aims to prevent problems such as depression, substance abuse, and mental disorders before they emerge. According to pastoral psychology authors, the pastoral counselor also plays a crucial role in preventive and therapeutic relationships. Hiltner (1950b) writes about the "crucial place" (p. 8)

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[2]   For a deeper insight into the contributions of Rogers and Clinebell to pastoral psychology, see Snodgrass 2007.

and Withlock (1970) about the "unique opportunity" (p. 9) that chaplains have in preventing mental health problems because they have a counseling role similar to that of psychotherapists. Members of the mental health profession and the pastor as counselor share occupational functions, questions, and interests (Haque 2006; Kugelmann 2016; Withlock 1970). However, they have different approaches in addressing these aspects. Whereas pastoral counselors view from a more transcendental and spiritual perspective, psychologists have an intrapsychic, behavioral or cognitive perspective. As a limitation, Withlock (1970, 9-10) emphasizes here the training, expertise, and supervision pastoral counselors lack. With the emergence of the pastoral care movement, the need for training, skills and supervision was met by its special training model *clinical pastoral training* (CPT).

In addition to the preventive intention of positive and pastoral psychology, scholars also suggest common skills to prevent mental illness. According to the founders of positive psychology, this can be accomplished by building competency rather than by correcting weakness (Seligman and Csikszentmihalyi 2000). Because personal growth and the cultivation of full potentials is linked with psychological well-being (Fava and Riuni 2003; Keyes 2003), positive psychologists improve strengths rather than repair what is weak or damaged in clients (Seligman and Csikszentmihalyi 2000, 8). These authors believe that there are certain human strengths that serve as shields against mental disorders (Seligman and Csikszentmihalyi 2000, 7) and that these buffers, such as optimism, hope, honesty, and faith, are innate to people. In parallel, Clinebell (1981, 16) must have had the same idea about these buffers when he complained about "undeveloped strengths, assets, and capacities" and that people do not use their physical, mental, spiritual, or relational potentialities effectively.

Similarly to positive psychology, pastoral psychology not only accepts the worst in people but also reminds about and rediscovers their potentials (Sheldon and King 2001; Faller 2001; Seligman and Csikszentmihalyi 2000; Clinebell 1971, 133-153; Klessmann 2010; Wiedemann 2011). Psychology's becoming a science of "victimology" with the primary goal of curing disorders caused it to forget to build positive qualities. However, positive psychology aims to recover the sources of strengths people draw on (Seligman and Csikszentmihalyi 2000, 6). Like positive psychology, pastoral psychology is against the

"deficit model." Pastoral psychologists refuse to view the counselee as deficient, sick, immature, or insufficient (Luther 1986). Instead, they accept him/her as a fully functioning, conscious, mature individual with a sense of responsibility and the ability to make decisions and choices. Such a view does not allow the counselor to direct or impose on the counselee. This is quite the opposite of modern psychology's image of the individual. In the venue of the positive paradigm, individuals are accepted as decision makers with free preferences and choices (Bandura 1986; Seligman 1992; Seligman and Csikszentmihalyi 2000; Faller 2001). This shift is also observable in pastoral psychology. With the idea of "self-help," the pastoral counselor supports the counselee in emancipation and becoming a person (Stollberg 1969; Winkler 2000, 279) rather than guiding him with authority. Thus, in contrast to a disease or deficit framework, pastoral and positive psychology work is strength-oriented and not only fixes the broken but also nurtures what is good.

Repairing is past-oriented, whereas improving potentials is present and future-oriented. In contrast to psychoanalysis, for instance, positive psychology focuses on the present and future when it wants to nurture the best in people. The awareness and perception of the moment,[3] of personal potentials, of the self and the other, all issues adopted from Gestalt therapy, are valid for both pastoral and positive psychology. When acting with these principles, the pastoral counselor focuses on the "here and now."[4] He/She does not make deep analysis of the past but rather accompanies the counselee in his/her present situation. Similarly, positive psychology views not only the past but also the present and future when considering subjective experiences. Positive psychological principles such as improving positive skills and potentials, growth and prevention can also only be performed in a future-directed manner.

Finally, there is spirituality, which both positive and pastoral psychology consider a valuable source for human functioning and mental health (Seligman and Csikszentmihalyi 2000; Faller 2001). As mentioned previously, the humanistic precursors of these disciplines place weight on concepts such as spirituality, meaning, and religiousness, with degrees of variance. That spirituality and

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[3]   See "flow theory" by Csikszentmihalyi 2011.

[4]   For the importance of the "here and now" in pastoral counseling, see Klessmann 2010, 341.

religiousness is an integral part of pastoral counseling is obvious. It is also coherent with positive psychology's theory, because spirituality and religious affiliation and practices nurture growth and contribute to well-being, happiness, and physical and mental health.[5] In addition to spirituality, pastoral and positive psychology share other values and virtues, such as forgiveness, hope, and love. These values and virtues are addressed in the following.

II. Common Virtues

Today, the effect of spirituality, values, and virtues on well-being, health, and positive functioning is widely accepted in modern psychology (Seligman and Csikszentmihalyi 2000; Koenig 2012; Koenig et al. 2001; Yapıcı 2007; Paloutzian and Park 2005). Although previous schools such as humanistic and transpersonal psychology already highlighted spirituality, virtues, and positive emotions, the advent of the positive paradigm raised the topic once again in psychology. The virtues addressed in positive psychology are, for example, forgiveness, hope, meaning, humility, love, wisdom, responsibility, and gratitude. These concepts recall immediately those advanced by religions. Furthermore, these concepts are also addressed by the pastoral counselor when he/she provides counseling with a religious/spiritual background.

In the following, I will concentrate exemplarily on a few of these virtues, namely forgiveness, hope, and love, as common issues in positive and pastoral psychology. Additionally, I will suggest possibilities for collaboration between these disciplines by means of these virtues.

Forgiveness

Forgiveness, as a "thorny" and "complex issue, both psychologically and spiritually" (Miles, cited in Hamman 2012, 439), a "dilemma" (Mueller 1998) and "a pastoral theological problem" (Hamman 2012), is a frequently studied topic in both pastoral and positive psychology. Many authors accept forgiveness as a multifaceted process that implies emotional, cognitive, spiritual, and relational dimensions, and a growing body of research focuses on these religious and psychological functions (Hill and Mullen 2000, 289; Hamman 2012; Mullet and Azar 2009; Brandsma 1982; Kumar and

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5 For a review on spirituality and health, see Koenig 2012 and Koenig et. al 2001.

Nandal 2005; Pareek and Mathur 2013; Lewis 2005; Kevin 2002; Schnabl Schweitzer 2010; Kara 2009; McCullough and Worthington 1999). Forgiveness has divine and human implications. One either expects to be forgiven by God or is willing to forgive his/her offenders. Whereas pastoral counseling addresses both aspects, psychological counseling is more likely to address the latter. Research indicates that forgiving attitudes and behaviors contribute to better mental health (Maltby and Day 2004). The reason for this contribution might be that forgiveness is a healing act, one that releases the pain induced by anger or fear (cited in Haman 2012, 438). This healing effect certainly does not come immediately. For Hamman (2012, 445), forgiveness is a process in which the individual discovers that his/her previous negative emotions, thoughts, and behaviors have disappeared, decreased, or even been replaced by positive ones. However, do individuals manage this replacing process on their own? Hamman (2012, 444) doubts whether only one caregiver can guide a person through this process and suggests a multidisciplinary team when working on forgiveness.

Pastoral psychology and positive psychology appear to fulfill the requirements of the disciplines Hamman requests. Whereas pastoral psychology can contribute by opening the spiritual/religious dimension of forgiving, positive psychology can help to overcome the psychological obstacles in the forgiving process. Thus, both pastoral counselor and positive psychologists can offer a path to forgiveness and become guides on this path. Furthermore, insights into the spiritual/religious dimension of forgiveness, concepts about divine justice, and the like can enrich positive psychology theory and practice, and vice versa; therapeutic findings on the effect of forgiving on mental health, positive psychological training and practicing programs can pilot pastoral counselors.[6] Consequently, the integrity of the psychological and theological aspects of a matter such as forgiveness would be respected, and the topic would not be reduced to one point of view, either psychological or theological. Hence, the theological context and human realities would be considered (Watts 2004). Forgiveness is the first component of the virtue of temperance

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[6] For a *pyramid model of forgiveness*, see Worthington 1998; for a *process model of forgiveness*, see Enright and Coyle 1998; for *forgiveness education*, see Enright and Fitzgibbons 2000; for its application as a *forgiveness program*, see Hui and Ho 2004; and for a review of religious and secular forgiveness interventions, see Rye, 2005.

in positive psychology. A guide for practicing positive psychology (Bannink 2017, 148-149) suggests learning to forgive to reduce negative emotions and notes a story with a spiritual content. The pastoral counselor can propose other spiritual stories and provide knowledge about the religious value of forgiving. Combining this knowledge with the suggested method of positive psychology, the counselee can benefit from forgiving.

Hope

Hope is described as an "integral part" (Webb 2007, 66) of being human, "the most human of all mental feelings" (Bloch 1995, 75), "a condition for the possibility of leading a human life" (McGreer 2004, 102), and a "universally experienced phenomenon" (Parse 1999, 228). However, it had received little attention in social sciences until the mid-20th century. Menninger pointed to the importance of hope in psychiatric work for the first time in 1959. Today, however, there are over 20 hope theories and over 50 definitions on hope and its meaning for therapeutic processes, to which the positive psychology movement contributed greatly. According to Smith (2005), the reason for this negligence is that hope is often associated with religion.

Paradoxically, the subject was neglected not only in psychology but also in pastoral psychology. Not only psychiatrists such as Menninger (1959) but also pastoral psychologist Pruyser (1963) and pastoral theologian Carrigan (1976) complain that the pastoral counseling literature has no references for the theme of hope. Only in the last 40 years has pastoral counseling produced knowledge on hope, its therapeutic effect, and its religious/spiritual dimension (Capps 1995; Clinebell 1979; Kollar 1997; Lester 1995; Stone 1998; Stone and Lester 2001; Worthington 1999; Gerkin 1984; Kwan 2010).

Hope is viewed as a human resource and a means for development (Luthans and Jensen 2002) that empowers one in times of crisis. Here the question arises, from where does this resource gain its power? Not only pastoral counselors but also psychologists refer to faith and religion. Whereas Clinebell (1979, 90) grounds hope on an existential/spiritual basis, Fromm precisely formulates in his "Revolution of Hope" the liaison of hope and faith and asserts that faith could not be maintained without the feeling of hope: "The one and only foundation of hope can only be faith" (p. 13).

Hope plays an important role in pastoral counseling and in

psychotherapy. Both implement hope as a human resource and a goal to achieve (Meissner 1973, 120; Lazarus, 1980, 863; Kunzendorf and Buker 2008, 241). Richardson (2000, 81) writes about the challenge to provide and sustain hope and claims that how pastoral or psychological counselors meet this challenge is a question of life and death. The pastoral approach meets this challenge by foregrounding the pastoral counselors as "agents of hope" (Capps 1995), "advocates of hope" (Van der Geest 1981, 51) or "harbinger of hope" (Synwolt 1971). Likewise, from the positive perspective, Snyder (2002, 238) addresses in his "hope theory" how religion contributes to mental health and emphasizes the effect of religion on hope. Therefore, integrating religious principles into psychological practice will generate a wider understanding of hope. Snyder encourages engaging in this mutual relationship.

In addition to the hope theory, many other studies indicate the crucial role of the implementation of hope in therapeutic interventions (Yohani 2010; Verhaeghe et al. 2007; Husain 2005; Levi et al. 2012, 1673). Pastoral counseling compared with professional therapeutic provision is a "low-threshold service" (Klessmann 2010, 8). However, the pastoral counselor who symbolizes hope (Denton 1964, 33) can help to find, give, inspire and express hope in crises and traumata because hope serves as a "resource … that strengthens one in critical situation[s] and encourages [one] to hold out" (Klessmann 2010, 224).

Hope plays a vital role in pastoral relationships and counseling (Carrigan 1976, 40). However, pastoral psychology, like positive psychology, does not lose its connection to reality and does not deny the gravity of a situation by raising false hope or optimism. Pastoral counseling supports hope if there is hope but raises no hope when there is no hope (Ağılkaya Şahin 2017, 36).

Hope grounds on faith and offers a purpose and sense of meaning in life (Agilkaya-Sahin 2018; Calvin 1953; Carrigan 1976; Denton 1964; Watts et al. 2006; Kasapoğlu 2005). Purpose and meaning in life are positive psychological outcomes that are also relevant for the positive paradigm. Religions function as meaning-making systems and thus as a source for hope. Pastoral and positive psychology can consider this resource because both value spiritual and religious life.

When trying to raise hope, the pastoral counselor as an agent, advocate, or symbol of hope could benefit from the scientific data that psychological research provides en masse. These studies (Kunzendorf

and Buker 2008, 241; Cheavens and Gum 2010; Arnau et al. 2007; Levi et al. 2012, 1673; Bunston et al. 1996; Kinghorn 2013) document the meaning of hope for psychological well-being and highlight the spiritual dimension of the subject. Although until the 1970s there was no theory or psychology of hope, pastoral psychology can employ today's theories of hope that have been developed within positive psychology. For instance, the manual of Bannink (2017) suggests exercises such as "search for hope" (p. 178), "cultivate hope" (p. 178), "ask questions about hope" (p. 179), and "conduct experiments of hope" (p. 181). The pastoral counselor can perform these exercises from his/her religious perspective and apply them in his pastoral work.

Love

Love is another virtue that can be examined theologically and psychologically. In the schools of thought that inspired both pastoral and positive psychology, love is an important aspect in for example the humanistic approach. Tracing back Roger's client-centered therapy and its quintessential constituents – congruence, acceptance, and empathic understanding – one might recognize an underlying deeper attitude toward the individual, namely love. Being genuine to the counselee, showing unconditional positive regard toward him/her without any judgment, sensing his/her feelings that his/her experiences evoke can be an expression of an unconditional love from person to person.

Religions set variously love as a precondition for faith and interpersonal relationships.[7] This principle generated the motivation to care for each other within religious traditions. Particularly for one committed to the care and help for those in need and trouble (whether called pastoral counselors or otherwise), love is the primary motivation. Streets (2014) calls love an "underlying value of pastoral counseling" (p. 4). Accordingly, it is this loving care that makes pastoral counselors help individuals to love themselves and flourish.

As positive psychology research indicates, positive emotions in general are considered fundamental human strengths and contribute

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[7]   According to a ḥadīth of the Prophet Muḥammad: "You will not enter paradise until you believe, and you will not believe until you love each other. Shall I show you something that, if you did, you would love each other? Spread peace between yourselves (Muslim, "al-Īmān," 93-94); according to *the New Testament:* "Love thy neighbor as thyself" (Galatians 5:14).

to human flourishing and well-being (Fredrickson 2000, 2001; Diener, Sandvik, and Pavot 2009; Kahneman 1999). Love in particular has a stimulating function on positive outcomes, both inter- and intra-personally (Fredrickson 2013), because it has the most healing, generative, and creative character among all emotions (Streets 2014, 9). Clinebell (1971, 15-17) writes about authentic love as a profound human need. According to him, the deprivation of authentic love, which he explains as loving and being loved, leads to psychological symptoms and interpersonal conflicts.

Love is ranked among the self-transcendent positive emotions (Haidt 2003). According to van Cappellen et al. (2016), emotions such as awe, gratitude, peacefulness, and love have a special denotation in a religious/spiritual context and promote well-being for religious people, which makes love relevant for pastoral psychology.

Tillich's (1963) notion of love points to the transforming power of love that authors such as Streets (2014) and Davidson (1999) also emphasize. This ability of love to transform—descending to misery to elevate (Tillich 1963, 29)—can be a means by which the intellectual and behavioral change expected in therapeutic and pastoral counseling occurs. Thus, insights into positive and negative emotions, evidence, and theories based upon research findings and studies will teach professionals in helping positions (see Gerdes et al. 2011; Fredrickson 2013).

For collaboration, pastoral psychology can be open to research and theories that are conducted in positive psychology about positive emotions in general and love in particular. Empirical positive psychology (Bannink 2017) suggests exercises such as "feel love (more)" (p. 126), "building loving ties" (p. 134) and many more that the pastoral counselor can incorporate in his counseling process. This practice would not be that difficult, because feeling, learning, nurturing love is the core requisite in helping professions, either secular or religious. The only point that must be considered in combining pastoral and psychological techniques is that attention must be focused on avoiding becoming reductionist in terms of one's scientific or philosophical approach when assessing the experience of love (Street 2014).

III. Common Aims

Recalling the common features of pastoral and positive psychology,

one can extract common aims from those practices. Neither positive psychology nor pastoral psychology denies the negative aspects in life. Although positive psychology has been criticized for doing so, positive psychology authors (Faller 2001; Gable and Haidt 2005) reject these claims by arguing that positive psychology is not "wishful thinking." The pastoral counselor within his/her accepting and positive regard allows negative emotions to be expressed by the counselee (Hiltner 1952b). However, as mentioned in the growth theory, the pastoral counselor not only allows negative emotions and dispositions and calms and consoles but also opens a new perspective through which the counselee is enabled to see positive aspects of his/her situation. Additionally, a new perspective will also enable the counselee to remember forgotten strengths or hidden potentials. Revealing such resources will support coping mechanisms and a positive outlook for the future. Consequently, both positive and pastoral psychology have the common aim to improve human conditions, focus on potentials rather than on weakness, and uncover capacities and motives to increase well-being and prevent mental health problems.

A necessary condition to fulfill this duty is a certain amount of awareness. Positive psychology with its concentration on the positive in man performed this awareness theoretically. Practically, the counselor must establish awareness in the counselee him/herself so that he/she will be able to recognize his/her innate strengths and potentials. Awareness is also needed for the negative aspects. Only when aware of personal faults one can develop a sense of repentance and responsibility for his/her own acts. Furthermore, for acceptance, which is a prerequisite for change, awareness is again necessary. Only what is accepted can be altered, modified, and made fruitful for personal growth or change. By reflecting the emotions that the counselee expresses (verbal or non-verbal) and giving empathic feedback, the pastoral counselor and the psychological counselor guide the counselee through this process and accompany the emotional journey that he/she experiences.

In this journey that neither the pastoral nor the psychological counselor will direct, the counselee will meet questions of meaning. However, the search for meaning, perceptions of one's own esteem and particularly coping with a reality called death will be a journey in which the counselee will need support and accompaniment (Streets 2014, 4).

Because questions of meaning can have an existential or religious dimension, the pastoral counselor is probably the right person to address these problems. However, he/she should consider the psychological background and processes inherent in the search for meaning. Here again, the pastoral counselor can also retrieve findings and theories of positive psychology that emphasize meaning.

One further common aim is encouragement. Encouragement is an Adlerian concept (see Ergün-Başak and Ceylan 2011) that has found acceptance in both positive psychology and pastoral psychology. When encouraging people, the counselor has the objective of evoking the confidence in their potentials that enables them to realize their goals and establish self-esteem (Cheston 2000). The encouraging process comprises belief in self-determination (Meredith and Evans 1990; Beck 1994) and the empowerment of the counselee to employ his/her personal capacities effectively (Beck 1994). Here again, unconditional acceptance and regard, authenticity, empathy, trust, and understanding are attitudes of both pastoral and positive psychology counselors (Watts 2003; Carns and Carns 1998). Thus, the counselor raises hope and motivation for positive change (Pitsounis and Dixon 1988).

Encouragement involves another common aim of pastoral and positive psychology, namely to (re)assume responsibility for one's own life. Responsibility is another human potential (Ağılkaya Şahin 2017, 548; Schmid 1990; Stollberg 1978, 46). The counselor helps and motivates the counselee to assume responsibility for his/her life (Britzman and Henkin 1992; Ergün-Başak and Ceylan 2011). As mentioned previously, the pastoral and positive approaches share the idea that man is not only a suffering but also a responsible subject. Adler's idea of man, which suggests that man is an active, creative, changeable, motivated individual (see Ergün-Başak and Ceylan 2011; Ergüner-Tekinalp 2016), points to the ability of personal change and growth, which is in turn reinforced by the encouragement of the counselor.

Nidetzky (1990) states that one of the aims of the pastoral counselor should be to encourage a more meaningful life. Here, the purpose is to encourage the individual to take responsibility for his/her life to shape and take control of it (Ağılkaya Şahin 2017, 82, 85). This purpose recalls the idea of self-help in pastoral psychology. Ziemer (2000, 114, 266-267, 311) views encouragement necessary for self-help and new directions in life, which are all embedded in the freedom of the

individual. The concept of the free individual who has his own will and choices are again common issues of pastoral and positive psychology.

IV. Cooperation

The starting point of this essay was the interdisciplinary character of pastoral psychology and its commonalities with positive psychology. These commonalities encourage cooperation between these two disciplines.

Since its emergence, pastoral counseling has been nurtured by psychology. This connection is well observed on the homepage of the American Association of Pastoral Counselors (AAPC), www.aapc.org, on which the slogan "Integrating Spirituality & Mental Health" is mentioned. The AAPC (2012) outlines the traditional care of religious communities and their leaders for those in distress by means of religious counseling. However, religious counseling might not be sufficient or accurate for severe mental disorders. In such cases, professional health care and therapy is required for proper healing and treatment. At this point, "pastoral counseling has evolved from religious counseling to pastoral psychotherapy which integrates theology and other faith tradition knowledge, spirituality, the resources of faith communities, the behavioral sciences, and in recent years, systemic theory." (AAPC 2012).

On the same homepage, Snodgrass (n.d.) not only points to a relationship and cooperation with psychology but also calls pastoral counselors "clinical mental health professionals" and describes pastoral counseling as a type of clinical mental health care. Her emphasis is on the pastoral counselor's integration of his/her spiritual beliefs and practices into the therapeutic process. The aim of the pastoral counselor is to foster spiritual and psychological wholeness and growth by means of informative guidance and relationships. In this task, the pastoral counselor seeks to combine scientific knowledge (i.e., from psychology and behavioral sciences) with spiritual and religious wisdom. Pastoral counseling's core is in the improvement of the mental situation of the counselee, enhancement of positive changes that lead to physical, emotional, intellectual, and spiritual well-being, and finally in the amendment of the relationships that comprise the self, others and the sacred (Snodgrass 2015, 5-6).

Early writers on pastoral counseling and psychology instead viewed their field as not a sub-discipline of psychology but rather a part of

theology. For instance, Hiltner (1952b, 23) demands a broad concept of psychology to integrate it into theology, but he does not neglect religious and pastoral psychology's need for insights into the human psyche. Therefore, the distinction of pastoral psychology and general psychology is not a matter of content but rather a matter of perspective. In compliance with his aforementioned definition of pastoral psychology ("psychology from the pastor's point view"), Hiltner explains the relationship with psychology somewhat differently than Snodgrass does:

> If it is not to become fixed and dogmatic at any particular point, pastoral psychology cannot content itself with examining merely a few facets of psychology in general. It must be committed to examining the whole range of psychological study from its own point of view (Hiltner 1952b, 22).

The debate around the allocation of pastoral psychology is beyond the scope of this essay, but pastoral counselors appear not to have any problems with integrating psychology into their pastoral work. However, on behalf of psychology, there is no such general acceptance (Ziemer 2011; Utsch 2006; Klessmann 2004). The empirical character of psychology distances it from religion, which emphasizes concepts such as faith and the sacred. However, both actually have the same concerns and are not that distinct. For instance, the answers to the big questions in life are addressed similarly in both disciplines. Positive psychology particularly contributed to this commonality with its studies and theories (Joeseph et al. 2006); thus, it can be viewed as a union of religion and psychology (Watts, et al. 2006). Concepts such as forgiveness and gratitude originally denoted a religious and spiritual character. Now that they are subject to scientific research and empirical positive psychology in particular, a better understanding of how these concepts are related and lead to well-being will be possible.

Although a huge body of research exists on the relationships between faith, religiosity, religious practices and mental and physical health (see Koenig et al. 2001; Yapıcı 2007), only few studies investigate the effects of pastoral care and counseling, namely Bay et al. (2008) and Iler et al. (2001). Both randomized controlled studies tested the effect of pastoral care services on hospitalized patients. Iler et al. (2001) indicate lower anxiety at discharge, shorter hospital stays, and increases in patient satisfaction, and Bay et al. (2008) report a decrease in negative religious coping and an increase in positive religious coping with respect to the control group, who received no

chaplain visits. Certainly, with fewer data, no generalization can be made that pastoral counseling contributes to well-being. However, the above-mentioned studies suggest the possible positive effects of pastoral counseling on patients.

Absent scientific evidence, many authors propose or address an integration of theology and psychology in general and pastoral psychology and positive psychology in particular (Ziemann 2006; Söylev 2015; Strunk 1971; Capps 1977; Conn 1987; Joseph et al. 2006; Genia 2000; Helminiak 2001; Plante 2008; Slife and Reber 2012; Ting and Ng 2012; Brunsdon 2014; Withlock 1970). Ziemer (2011) claims an interdisciplinary relationship to fulfill pastoral psychology's main aim, which is to contribute to competent pastoral care: "This involves realistic and appropriate individual handling of themes and problems arising in times of sickness and crisis, conversation methods grounded in psychology and communication theory, and an ability to develop appropriate relationships in the different areas of pastoral activity" (p. 600).

Because positive psychology investigates general human virtues and strengths and pastoral psychology is concerned with recovering potentials and grounds on virtues in the counseling process (Ağılkaya Şahin 2017), a partnership would be beneficial for the practice of both. On behalf of pastoral psychology, Brunsdon (2014, 3) argues that distancing from other helping disciplines would hinder effective pastoral counseling and suggests pastoral collaboration. However, the question of how this collaboration should be realized needs attention. Crabb (1978) points to the risk that one discipline could undermine the other. Brundson (2014, 5) pleads for a theological framework because if the uniqueness of pastoral care is endangered, the risk occurs that the result of the cooperation will be something other than pastoral care. To find the right collaboration partner, Brundson (2014, 5) suggests an examination of the underlying philosophy. As elaborated in the previous section of this essay, the essentials of pastoral and positive psychology appear suitable for mutual contribution. Although Brundson (2014) appears to be correct when he prefers collaboration in terms of strategies and research findings rather than on epistemology, because pastoral work is based on theology, and positive psychology is based on human sciences. Hence, a mechanic rather than organic collaboration between pastoral and positive psychology would deliver useful outcomes for counselors of both disciplines.

Collaboration in this sense would also prevent not only the risk of undermining each other as Crabb warns but also any field overstepping its boundaries and interfering in issues special to the other. This point is true for instance in Seligman's *Authentic Happiness*, in which he engages in theological speculations. Seligman (2002, 257-259) states clearly his naturalistic view by opposing God's role as a supernatural creator and espouses secularism. Due to the suggested positivistic presupposition, pastoral counselors must be cognizant of the potential conflicts with positive psychologists' views on theological issues.

Conversely, pastoral counselors should be aware of their role as caregivers and counselors and avoid claiming to do therapy. Although Snodgrass (n.d.) calls pastoral counselors "clinical mental health professionals" and Helminiak (2001) claims that psychotherapy and spirituality are the same, giving care and doing counseling (from a theological perspective) differs from therapy in professional clinical psychology. The consideration of spirituality in therapy is a necessity, and the claim that every therapy entails spiritual matters (Helminiak 2001; Haque 2006) can be discussed. However, this discussion is beyond the scope of this essay. After all, a relationship and collaboration would be beneficial when both sides respect mutual boundaries and expertise.

Conclusion

Today, scientific research and the implementation of findings have an interdisciplinary character. Many disciplines contribute to one another, benefit from their findings, and enrich their practice. This essay suggested such collaboration between pastoral and positive psychology because both have commonalities in features, aims, and notions on certain virtues. Forgiveness, hope, and love are only some of these virtues that both disciplines integrate in their work. Whereas positive psychology examines these virtues in terms of their contribution to well-being, pastoral psychology employs them from a theological framework. Both disciplines could enrich their theories, approaches, and practice by exchanging their knowledge.

Mostly referred to as psychological knowledge for theologians, pastoral psychology has not developed its own methodology; instead, it borrows its techniques from psychology's therapeutic interventions. Psychology conversely has neglected the spiritual/religious dimension of the human. With emerging approaches and disciplines, psychology

managed to fill in this gap. Positive psychology is one of those disciplines. The integration of positive and pastoral approaches could serve as a holistic means of counseling people in distress not only as addressed in this essay but also as claimed by early authorities such as Jung. Whereas Jung (1932) writes, "It is high time that the pastoral counselor and the doctor of the souls reach out to each other to cope with this enormous task [to fulfill the psychic needs of today]" (p. 12). Frankl (1992) writes, "The salvation of man is through love and in love." (p. 49). Because virtues provide individual and social happiness (Ocak 2011, 81), professionals who care for people in either psychological or pastoral contexts can enhance their counseling purpose by considering these virtues contributing factors for good mental health and well-being. A functional bridge and an instrumental cooperation between pastoral and positive psychology can be such an opportunity. The practice and theory of positive psychology can serve as a useful tool when practicing pastoral psychology. Hence, pastoral psychology does not offer special techniques or methods but rather adopts psychological intervention methods. The similar backgrounds, commonalities in features and aims, and emphasis on virtues and values for a better and happier life in pastoral psychology and positive psychology appear to provide the necessary foundation for a fruitful cooperation in supporting people in distress.

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A ḤADĪTH AND ITS INDICATION PROBLEM WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN FAITH AND DEEDS

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Abstract

The ḥadīth on the importance of *ṣalāh*, namely, "Whoever performs five daily prayers (*ṣalāh*) is guaranteed heaven by Allah. Whoever does not fulfil it, however, shall have no guarantee in the presence of Allah; Allah, at His will, may torment him or put him in His Heaven," has been considered by numerous scholars as evidence that a person who abandons *ṣalāh* partially or completely with no reasonable excuse may still be forgiven by Allah. The followers of this approach construe the phrase "whoever does not fulfil it" as "whoever does not perform five daily prayers." Nevertheless, the indication "whoever performs five daily prayers" in the initial section of the ḥadīth is reinforced by expressions such as "without missing any rule," "without undervaluing it," and "paying attention to its time, bows (*rukūʿ*), and prostration (*sujūd*)" in various narratives of the same ḥadīth. Given this fact, the phrase "whoever does not fulfil it" in the second part of the ḥadīth may be pointing at the essentials of *ṣalāh* and not at *ṣalāh* itself. In addition, the latter approach is supported by the general attitude of Islam about

forgiving sins, conveniences with regard to the performance of *ṣalāh*, as well as various Qurʾān verses and ḥadīths that concretely outline the punishment for abandoning *ṣalāh*. In light of the foregoing, it seems inappropriate to consider the abovementioned ḥadīth as evidence with regard to the relationship between faith and deeds, and particularly "punishment of abandoning *ṣalāh*;" rather, the ḥadīth may concern the complete fulfillment of the essentials of *ṣalāh*.

Key Words: Five times of *ṣalāh*, abandoning of *ṣalāh*, faith and deeds.

Introduction

Faith-deed relations and the effects of the unexcused abandonment of *ṣalāh* on faith have been highly debated issues throughout the history of Islamic thought.[1] Indeed, the issue has been discussed not only by Kalām but also by Fiqh (Islamic jurisprudence), Ḥadīth, and Tafsīr (Islamic exegesis), and scholars have tried to arrive at a conclusion by means of rational and scriptural proof. One narrative that constitutes a basis for discussion is the following ḥadīth by the Prophet:

خَمْسُ صَلَوَاتٍ كَتَبَهُنَّ اللهُ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ عَلَى الْعِبَادِ، فَمَنْ جَاءَ بِهِنَّ، لَمْ يُضَيِّعْ مِنْهُنَّ شَيْئًا، اسْتِخْفَافًا بِحَقِّهِنَّ، كَانَ لَهُ عِنْدَ اللهِ عَهْدٌ أَنْ يُدْخِلَهُ الْجَنَّةَ. وَمَنْ لَمْ يَأْتِ بِهِنَّ، فَلَيْسَ لَهُ عِنْدَ اللهِ عَهْدٌ؛ إِنْ شَاءَ عَذَّبَهُ وَإِنْ شَاءَ أَدْخَلَهُ الْجَنَّةَ.

Allah made it *farḍ* for His subjects to perform five daily *ṣalāh*. Whoever performs these prayers without missing and undervaluing their essentials will have a guarantee of heaven before Allah. Whoever does not fulfil it, however, shall have no guarantee by Allah; Allah, at His will, may torment him or put him in Heaven.[2]

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[1]   For various opinions about abandoners of *ṣalāh*, as well as further information on and evaluations of relevant persons and evidence, see Abū l-Faḍl Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-ʿAsqalānī, *Fatḥ al-bārī bi-sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Imām Abī ʿAbd Allāh al-Bukhārī*, ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Bāz, Muḥammad Fuʾād ʿAbd al-Bāqī, and Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb (Beirut: Dār al-Maʿrifah, 1959), I, 76; Abū Muḥammad Badr al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Aḥmad al-ʿAynī, *ʿUmdat al-qārī fī sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* (Beirut: n.p, 2006), I, 321.

[2]   For this narrative of the ḥadīth, see Abū ʿAbd Allāh Mālik ibn Anas al-Aṣbaḥī, *al-Muwaṭṭaʾ*, "al-Ṣalāh," 14; Abū Bakr ʿAbd al-Razzāq ibn Hammām ibn Nafiʿ al-

Actually, this ḥadīth confirms many Qurʾān verses and other ḥadīths about the importance of *ṣalāh*. Nevertheless, the indication of the expression "وَمَنْ لَمْ يَأْتِ بِهِنَّ" in the second part, especially the location of the pronoun "هِنَّ" therein, seem to be the main emphasis of the ḥadīth. Indeed, the initial expression "فَمَنْ جَاءَ بِهِنَّ" explicitly points to "five daily *ṣalāh*." Nevertheless, the following pronoun "هِنَّ" might be pointing at essential elements of *ṣalāh* such as *rukūʿ*, *sujūd*, *waqt*, and *khushūʿ*, given the initial phrase "لَمْ يُضَيِّعْ مِنْهُنَّ شَيْئًا، اسْتِخْفَافًا بِحَقِّهِنَّ."

The foregoing difference is very important since, according to the first meaning, it is the situation of "abandoners" that is left to the will of Allah. Therefore, the ḥadīth means that whoever completely or partially abandons *ṣalāh* without any excuse can be, perhaps, forgiven by Allah. Hence, many scholars have interpreted the ḥadīth in this way. Nevertheless, according to second interpretation of ḥadīth, it is "the correct fulfilment of the essentials of performed *ṣalāh*" that is left to the will of Allah. Thus, the ḥadīth no longer involves abandoners of *ṣalāh*; consequently, there is no use referring to this ḥadīth in discussions about persons who abandon prayer.

This paper will concentrate on the indication that is actually pointed to or on which indication may be stronger. In this regard, we will collect various narrations of the ḥadīth and reveal details about their chains of narrators and texts to assist in the identification of the mentioned indication. Accordingly, this section can be considered within the context of "singular examination of a certain ḥadīth." Then, we will consider the views about the content of the ḥadīth and try to reach a conclusion in the light of other data and evidence about *ṣalāh*. Therefore, our paper does not deal with the "earthly or otherworldly status of Muslims who abandon *ṣalāh* without excuse." Indeed, such a

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Ḥimyarī al-Ṣanʿānī, *al-Muṣannaf* (along with Maʿmar ibn Rāshid's *Kitāb al-jāmiʿ*), ed. Ḥabīb al-Raḥmān al-Aʿẓamī (Johannesburg: al-Majlis al-ʿIlmī, 1983), III, 5; Abū Bakr ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr al-Ḥumaydī, *Musnad al-Imām Abī Bakr ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr al-Qurashī al-Ḥumaydī*, ed. Ḥusayn Salīm Asad al-Dārānī (Damascus: Dār al-Saqā, 1996), I, 375; Abū Bakr ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Shaybah al-ʿAbsī, *al-Kitāb al-muṣannaf fī l-aḥādīth wa-l-āthār*, ed. Kamāl Yūsuf al-Ḥūt (Riyadh: Maktabat al-Rushd, 1989), II, 91; al-Dārimī, "al-Ṣalāh," 208; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad al-Imām Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal*, ed. Shuʿayb al-Arnāʾūṭ et al. (Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Risālah, 2001), XXXVII, 366, 377; Ibn Mājah, "Iqāmat al-ṣalāh," 194; al-Nasāʾī, "al-Ṣalāh," 6.

detail would require the inclusion of evidence as to relevant opinions. Such a detailed study, however, exceeds the limitations of this paper.

I. Narratives, Evidential and Textual Features of the Ḥadīth

Various narratives of the same ḥadīth show that it was told by the Prophet via three Companions, namely, ʿUbādah ibn al-Ṣāmit, Abū Qatādah ibn Ribʿī, and Kaʿb ibn ʿUjrah.
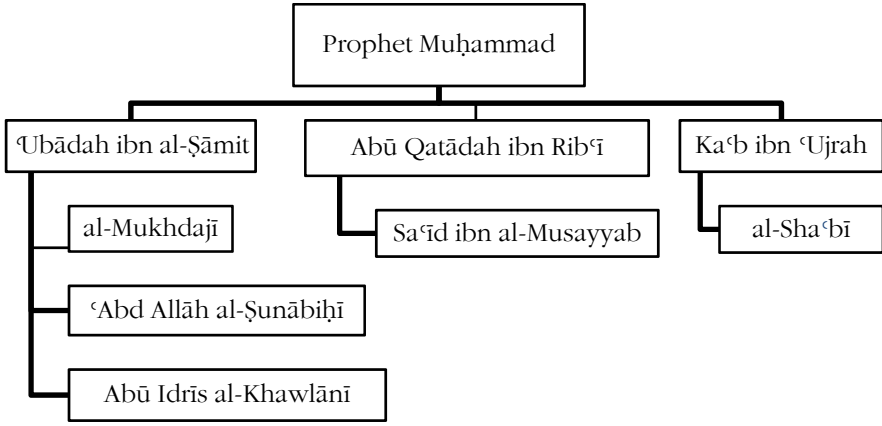
There are three narrators in the line of ʿUbādah ibn al-Ṣāmit. Among them, the text in the narrative by al-Mukhdajī and ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṣunābiḥī is attributed to the Prophet (*marfūʿ*: elevated), while in his narrative, Abū Idrīs al-Khawlānī attributes it to Allah (*qudsī:* divine). In the narrative lines of other Companions, namely, Abū Qatādah ibn Ribʿī and Kaʿb ibn ʿUjrah, the text is narrated with reference to Allah once again.

These lines are considered in the same context because the promises and threats regarding persons who do and do not fulfil prescribed conditions of the *ṣalāh* performed five times a day are identical in all narratives. Certainly, the slight differences, apparently due to narration, should also be taken into account. In addition, the narration of both elevated and divine texts from ʿUbādah ibn al-Ṣāmit by this Companion in a discussion about "rule of *witr* prayer" is proof that all foregoing lines point to the same ḥadīth.

A. Structure of Chain and Text in Transmission via "ʿUbādah ibn al-Ṣāmit → al-Mukhdajī"

Most authors, who included this ḥadīth in their books, quote the elevated narrative from the line "ʿUbādah ibn al-Ṣāmit → al-Mukhdajī." Authors such as Mālik, ʿAbd al-Razzāq ibn Hammām, al-Ḥumaydī, Ibn Abī Shaybah, al-Dārimī, Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, Abū Dāwūd, Ibn Mājah, and al-Nasāʾī have quoted from this line.[3] The following text quoted by al-Imām Mālik from this line is the earliest available source:

… أَنَّ رَجُلًا مِنْ بَنِي كِنَانَةَ يُدْعَى "الْمُخْدَجِيَّ" سَمِعَ رَجُلًا بِالشَّامِ يُكَنَّى أَبَا مُحَمَّدٍ، يَقُولُ: إِنَّ الْوِتْرَ وَاجِبٌ، فَقَالَ الْمُخْدَجِيُّ: فَرُحْتُ إِلَى عُبَادَةَ بْنِ الصَّامِتِ فَاعْتَرَضْتُ لَهُ، وَهُوَ رَائِحٌ إِلَى الْمَسْجِدِ، فَأَخْبَرْتُهُ بِالَّذِي قَالَ أَبُو مُحَمَّدٍ، فَقَالَ عُبَادَةُ: كَذَبَ أَبُو مُحَمَّدٍ، سَمِعْتُ رَسُولَ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ يَقُولُ: خَمْسُ صَلَوَاتٍ كَتَبَهُنَّ اللهُ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ عَلَى الْعِبَادِ، فَمَنْ جَاءَ بِهِنَّ، لَمْ يُضَيِّعْ مِنْهُنَّ شَيْئًا، اسْتِخْفَافًا بِحَقِّهِنَّ، كَانَ لَهُ عِنْدَ اللهِ عَهْدٌ أَنْ يُدْخِلَهُ الْجَنَّةَ. وَمَنْ لَمْ يَأْتِ بِهِنَّ، فَلَيْسَ لَهُ عِنْدَ اللهِ عَهْدٌ؛ إِنْ شَاءَ عَذَّبَهُ وَإِنْ شَاءَ أَدْخَلَهُ الْجَنَّةَ.

A man from Banū Kinānah called "al-Mukhdajī" heard in Damascus from a man known as Abū Muḥammad that *witr* prayer is obligatory [*wājib*]." Al-Mukhdajī says: "Thereupon, I left for ʿUbādah ibn al-Ṣāmit. I met (him) entering the mosque. I told him what Abū Muḥammad said." ʿUbādah answered: "Abū Muḥammad is wrong. Indeed, I heard Rasūl Allāh saying: 'Allah declared five daily ṣalāh as duty [*farḍ*] for His subjects. Whoever performs these prayers without missing and undervaluing their essentials will have a guarantee of heaven before Allah. Whoever does not fulfil it, however, shall have no guarantee by Allah; Allah, at His will, may torment him or put him in heaven'."

The collection of chains from authors constitutes the following scheme:

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[3] See Mālik, *al-Muwaṭṭaʾ*, "al-Ṣalāh," 14; al-Ṣanʿānī, *al-Muṣannaf*, III, 5; al-Ḥumaydī, *Musnad*, I, 375; Ibn Abī Shaybah, *al-Kitāb al-muṣannaf*, II, 91; al-Dārimī, "al-Ṣalāh," 208; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, XXXVII, 366, 377; Ibn Mājah, "Iqāmat al-ṣalāh," 194; al-Nasāʾī, "al-Ṣalāh," 6.

Prophet Muḥammad

↓

ʿUbādah ibn al-Ṣāmit

↓

al-Mukhdajī

↓

Ibn Muḥayrīz

↓

Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyá ibn Ḥibbān

↓

Ibn ʿAjlān — Yaḥyá ibn Saʿīd al-Anṣārī — Ibn Isḥāq

Sufyān ibn ʿUyaynah — Shuʿbah — Mālik — Yazīd ibn Hārūn — Father of Yaʿqūb Ibrāhīm ibn Saʿd

Maʿmar — Ibn Abī ʿAdī — Qutaybah — al-Qaʿnabī — Yaʿqūb

al-Ḥumaydī — Muḥammad ibn Bashshār

ʿAbd al-Razzāq — Ibn Mājah — al-Nasāʾī — Abū Dāwūd — Ibn Abī Shaybah — al-Dārimī — Aḥmad
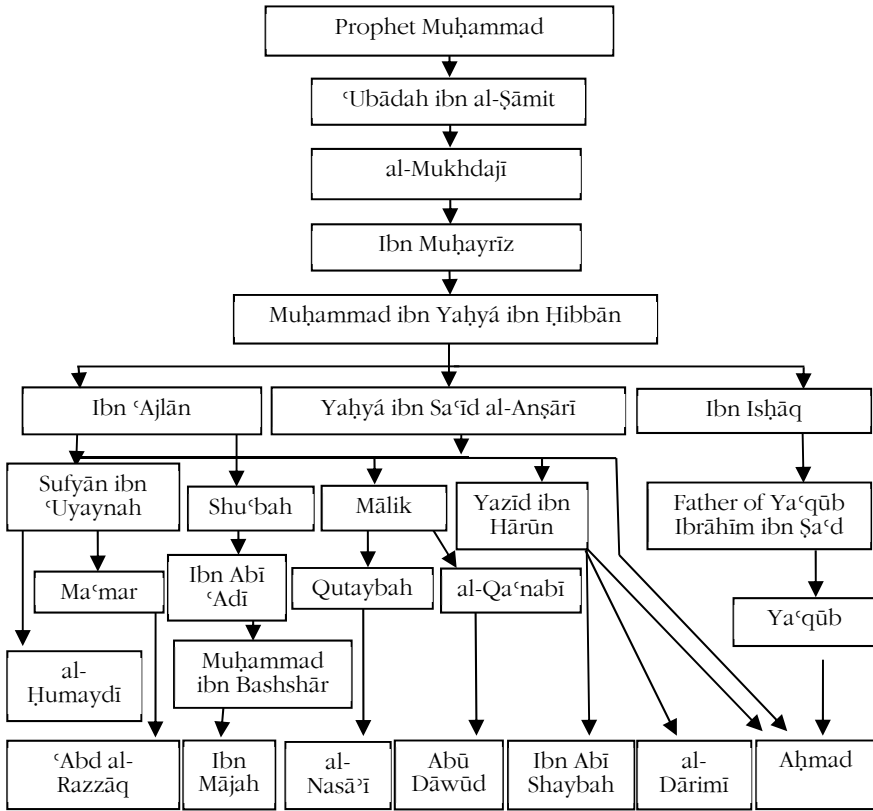
Al-Mukhdajī, Ibn Muḥayrīz, and Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyá ibn Ḥibbān are the most notable names in this scheme, as they are included in the chains given by all authors.

There is almost no biographical information about al-Mukhdajī. In fact, saying "ʿUbādah ibn al-Ṣāmit has a narrative about *witr* prayer," al-Dhahabī admits "he does not know ʿUbādah."[4] A narrator is

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[4]   It is indicated that the actual name of al-Mukhdajī might be "Rafīʿ." Nevertheless, some claim that "Rafīʿ" is the name of his son. Abū ʿAbd Allāh Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān al-iʿtidāl fī naqd al-rijāl*, ed. ʿAlī Muḥammad al-Bijāwī (Beirut: Dār al-Maʿārif, 1963), IV, 600; al-ʿAsqalānī, *Kitāb Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* (Hyderabad: Maṭbaʿat Majlis Dāʾirat al-Maʿārif al-ʿUthmāniyyah, 1326), XII, 86, 295.

considered weak[5] in case of nonrecognition (ignorance/*jahālah*); therefore, the ḥadīth he narrates also becomes weak.

According to critics, ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥayrīz al-Jumaḥī is reliable [*thiqah*].[6] Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyá ibn Ḥibbān (d. 121/739) is also a reliable narrator who reported many ḥadīths.[7]

Aside from foregoing characteristics about the chain structure of the narrative, there are certain differences between texts by different authors. For example, the expression "كَتَبَهُنَّ اللَّهُ" in the narrative by al-Imām Mālik is given as "افْتَرَضَهُنَّ اللَّهُ" in others.[8]

Some narratives employ "لَمْ يَنْتَقِصْ مِنْهُنَّ شَيْئًا" instead of "لَمْ يُضَيِّعْ مِنْهُنَّ شَيْئًا".[9]

In some narratives this last expression is supplemented with the word "لِلْقَادِرِينَ," whereupon it is given as "لَمْ يَنْتَقِصْ مِنْ حَقِّهِنَّ شَيْئًا لِلْقَادِرِينَ".[10]

There are certain narratives where "كَانَ لَهُ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ عَهْدٌ" is transferred as "فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ جَاعِلٌ لَهُ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ عَهْدًا".[11]

The expression "فَمَنْ جَاءَ بِهِنَّ" is reported as "مَنْ أَتَى بِهِنَّ"[12] in some narratives, while as "فَمَنْ لَقِيَهُ بِهِنَّ"[13] in some others.

The ending phrase "وَمَنْ لَمْ يَأْتِ بِهِنَّ فَلَيْسَ لَهُ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ عَهْدٌ" is reported as "وَمَنْ جَاءَ بِهِنَّ قَدِ انْتَقَصَ مِنْهُنَّ شَيْئًا، اسْتِخْفَافًا ";[14] "وَمَنْ ضَيَّعَهُنَّ اسْتِخْفَافًا جَاءَ وَلَا عَهْدَ لَهُ"

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[5] For further information about the term "*majhūl*," see Abdullah Aydınlı, *Hadis Istılahları Sözlüğü* (Istanbul: Hadisevi, 2006), 180.

[6] For further information about ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥayrīz, see Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl al-Juʿfī al-Bukhārī, *al-Tārīkh al-kabīr*, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Yaḥyá al-Muʿallimī (Hyderabad: Dār al-Maʿārif al-ʿUthmāniyyah, 1360), V, 193; al-ʿAsqalānī, *Kitāb Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, VI, 20.

[7] For further information about Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyá ibn Ḥibbān, see al-Bukhārī, *al-Tārīkh al-kabīr*, I, 265; al-ʿAsqalānī, *Kitāb Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, IX, 448.

[8] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, XXXVII, 414; Ibn Mājah, "Iqāmat al-ṣalāh," 194.

[9] Al-Ḥumaydī, *Musnad*, I, 375; Ibn Mājah, "Iqāmat al-ṣalāh," 194.

[10] Al-Ḥumaydī, *Musnad*, I, 375.

[11] Ibn Mājah, "Iqāmat al-ṣalāh," 194.

[12] For example, see al-Ṣanʿānī, *al-Muṣannaf*, III, 5; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, XXXVII, 366; al-Dārimī, "al-Ṣalāh," 208; Ibn Mājah, "Iqāmat al-ṣalāh," 194.

[13] For example, see Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, XXXVII, 414.

[14] For example, see Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, XXXVII, 393.

وَمَنْ ¹⁶"وَمَنْ لَقِيَهُ وَقَدْ انْتَقَصَ مِنْهُنَّ شَيْئًا اسْتِخْفَافًا"، ¹⁵"بِحَقِّهِنَّ, لَمْ يَكُنْ لَهُ عِنْدَ اللّٰهِ عَهْدٌ ¹⁷"أَنْقَصَهُنَّ مِنْ حَقِّهِنَّ شَيْئًا جَاءَ in various narratives.

"لَمْ يُضَيِّعْ مِنْهُنَّ شَيْئًا، اسْتِخْفَافًا بِحَقِّهِنَّ" Certain narratives report the phrase as "لَمْ يَنْقُصْ مِنْهُنَّ شَيْئًا اسْتِحْقَارًا بِحَقِّهِنَّ"¹⁸

The expression "وَإِنْ شَاءَ غَفَرَ لَهُ" has become "وَإِنْ شَاءَ أَدْخَلَهُ الْجَنَّةَ" in some narratives.¹⁹

Aside from foregoing differences, some narratives of the ḥadīth include certain additions. For example, "فِي الْيَوْمِ وَاللَّيْلَةِ" is added at the end of first phrase, to make it "خَمْسُ صَلَوَاتٍ كَتَبَهُنَّ اللّٰهُ عَلَى الْعِبَادِ فِي الْيَوْمِ وَاللَّيْلَةِ".²⁰

B. Structure of Chain and Text in Transmission via "ʿUbādah ibn al-Ṣāmit → ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṣunābiḥī"

Herein, the line is reported by Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal and Abū Dāwūd.²¹ Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal quotes the narrative as follows:

... عَنْ عَبْدِ اللهِ الصُّنَابِحِيّ قَالَ: زَعَمَ أَبُو مُحَمَّدٍ أَنَّ الْوَتْرَ وَاجِبٌ، فَقَالَ: عُبَادَةُ بْنُ الصَّامِتِ كَذَبَ أَبُو مُحَمَّدٍ أَشْهَدُ لَسَمِعْتُ رَسُولَ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ يَقُولُ: " خَمْسُ صَلَوَاتٍ افْتَرَضَهُنَّ اللهُ عَلَى عِبَادِهِ مَنْ أَحْسَنَ وُضُوءَهُنَّ وَصَلَّاهُنَّ لِوَقْتِهِنَّ، فَأَتَمَّ رُكُوعَهُنَّ وَسُجُودَهُنَّ وَخُشُوعَهُنَّ كَانَ لَهُ عِنْدَ اللهِ عَهْدٌ أَنْ يَغْفِرَ لَهُ، وَمَنْ لَمْ يَفْعَلْ فَلَيْسَ لَهُ عِنْدَ اللهِ عَهْدٌ إِنْ شَاءَ غَفَرَ لَهُ، وَإِنْ شَاءَ عَذَّبَهُ.

... ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṣunābiḥī said: Abū Muḥammad claimed *witr* was obligatory. (Hearing this) ʿUbādah ibn al-Ṣāmit said: Abū Muḥammad is wrong. I testify in person to have heard the Prophet Muḥammad saying: "Five daily *ṣalāh*, which is declared *farḍ* by Allah for His subjects. Whoever appropriately performs ablution, performs prayer in total submission to Allah, and completely fulfils its *rukūʿ* and *sujūd*, he will obtain a guarantee that Allah will forgive him. Whoever does not

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¹⁵ Ibn Mājah, "Iqāmat al-ṣalāh," 194.

¹⁶ For example, see Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, XXXVII, 414.

¹⁷ For example, see Ibn Abī Shaybah, *al-Kitāb al-muṣannaf*, II, 91.

¹⁸ For example, see al-Ṣanʿānī, *al-Muṣannaf*, III, 5.

¹⁹ For example, see Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, XXXVII, 366, 414.

²⁰ See al-Ḥumaydī, *Musnad*, I, 375.

²¹ Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, XXXVII, 377; Abū Dāwūd, "al-Ṣalāh," 9.

do this has no guarantee in the presence of Allah; Allah may either forgive or punish him.

The collection of chains from authors constitutes the following scheme:

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┌─────────────────────────────┐
│     Prophet Muḥammad        │
└─────────────────────────────┘
              │
              ▼
┌─────────────────────────────┐
│    ʿUbādah ibn al-Ṣāmit      │
└─────────────────────────────┘
              │
              ▼
┌─────────────────────────────┐
│    ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṣunābiḥī    │
└─────────────────────────────┘
              │
              ▼
┌─────────────────────────────┐
│       ʿAṭāʾ ibn Yasār        │
└─────────────────────────────┘
              │
              ▼
┌─────────────────────────────┐
│       Zayd ibn Aslam         │
└─────────────────────────────┘
              │
              ▼
┌─────────────────────────────┐
│    Muḥammad ibn Muṭarrif     │
└─────────────────────────────┘
        │               │
        ▼               ▼
┌──────────────────┐ ┌──────────────────┐
│Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad│ │  Yazīd ibn Hārūn │
└──────────────────┘ └──────────────────┘
        │               │
        ▼               ▼
┌──────────────────┐ ┌──────────────────┐
│      Aḥmad        │ │ Muḥammad ibn Ḥarb│
└──────────────────┘ └──────────────────┘
                              │
                              ▼
                      ┌──────────────────┐
                      │    Abū Dāwūd     │
                      └──────────────────┘
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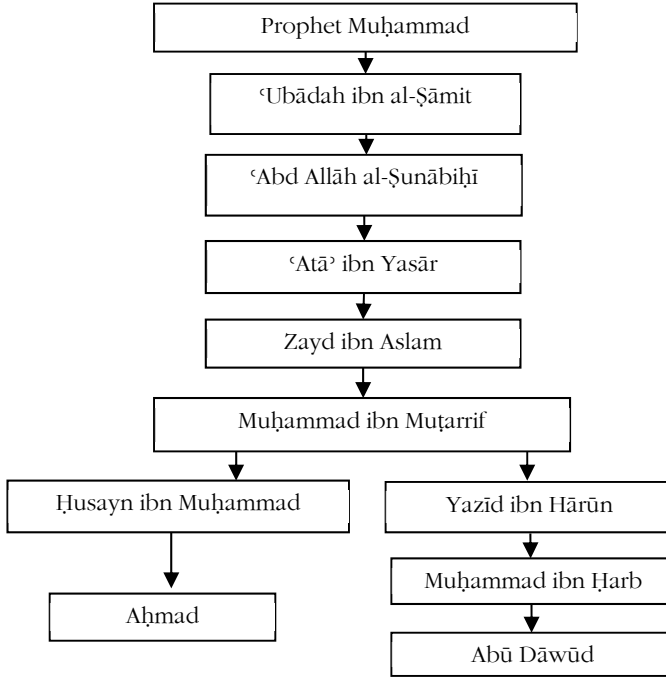
Muḥammad ibn Muṭarrif (d. 170/786),[22] Zayd ibn Aslam (d. 136/754),[23] ʿAṭāʾ ibn Yasār (d. 103/721),[24] and ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṣunābiḥī,[25]

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[22] For further information about Muḥammad ibn Muṭarrif, see al-Bukhārī, *al-Tārīkh al-kabīr*, I, 236; Abū Ḥātim Muḥammad ibn Ḥibbān al-Bustī, *Kitāb al-thiqāt*, ed. al-Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn Aḥmad (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1975), VII, 426; al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān al-iʿtidāl*, IV, 43; al-ʿAsqalānī, *Kitāb Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, IX, 408.

[23] For further information about Zayd ibn Aslam, see al-Bukhārī, *al-Tārīkh al-kabīr*, III, 387; 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), III, 555; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Kitāb al-thiqāt,* IV, 236.

[24] For information about ʿAṭāʾ ibn Yasār, see al-Bukhārī, *al-Tārīkh al-kabīr*, VI, 461; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Kitāb al-jarḥ wa-l-taʿdīl*, VI, 338.

[25] For further information about ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṣunābiḥī, also known as "ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿUsaylah," see al-Bukhārī, *al-Tārīkh al-kabīr*, V, 321; Ibn Abī Ḥātim,

who are included by both authors, are considered reliable by critics. Likewise, Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad (d. 213/828),[26] the tutor of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, and Yazīd ibn Hārūn (d. 206/821)[27], narrator of Abū Dāwūd's narrative, as well as his author's teacher Muḥammad ibn Ḥarb (d. 255/869),[28] are among narrators much lauded by critics. Therefore, this narrative is most likely to be authentic.

As is seen, the ḥadīth in this narrative is also stated upon the view of ʿUbādah ibn al-Ṣāmit that "*witr* prayer is obligatory." On the other hand, there are some different points compared to the narrative "ʿUbādah → al-Mukhdajī" via al-Imām Mālik that constitutes a basis for our study. For example, the expression "كَتَبَهُنَّ" in the version by al-Imām Mālik is indicated with "افْتَرَضَهُنَّ" in this narrative.

Nevertheless, the phrase " مَنْ أَحْسَنَ وُضُوءَهُنَّ وَصَلَّاهُنَّ لِوَقْتِهِنَّ وَأَتَمَّ رُكُوعَهُنَّ وَخُشُوعَهُنَّ" after the first clause seems much more important in terms of the difference of the narrative. Indeed, this difference may play an important part as to indication of the text, since this phrase replaces the expression "لَمْ يُضَيِّعْ مِنْهُنَّ شَيْئًا" in al-Imām Mālik's narrative. Therefore, the flow and indication of the text in this narrative is no longer about "whether *ṣalāh* is performed;" instead, it focuses on "how *ṣalāh* should be performed."

In the version of al-Imām Mālik, the guarantee granted to performers of five daily *ṣalāh* is indicated with "أَنْ يُدْخِلَهُ الْجَنَّةَ," whereas herein the narrative articulates it as "أَنْ يَغْفِرَ لَهُ."

As for the final clause of the ḥadīth, the aspects "under the will of Allah" are related as "إِنْ شَاءَ عَذَّبَهُ وَإِنْ شَاءَ أَدْخَلَهُ الْجَنَّةَ," namely, "Allah may either torment or put him in His heaven," in al-Imām Mālik's version; nonetheless, the latter narrative formulates the sentence as " إِنْ شَاءَ غَفَرَ لَهُ، وَإِنْ شَاءَ عَذَّبَهُ," namely, "Allah may forgive or punish at His will."

Kitāb al-jarḥ wa-l-taʿdīl, V, 263; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Kitāb al-thiqāt*, V, 74; al-ʿAsqalānī, *Kitāb Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, VI, 208.

[26] For further information about Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad, see al-ʿAsqalānī, *Kitāb Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, II, 315.

[27] For further information about Yazīd ibn Hārūn, see *ibid*., XI, 321.

[28] For further information about Muḥammad ibn Ḥarb, see *ibid*., IX, 95.

C. Structure of Chain and Text in "ʿUbādah ibn al-Ṣāmit → Abū Idrīs al-Khawlānī" Line

The most notable feature of this line is that the ḥadīth is not reported as the word of Prophet Muḥammad (*marfūʿ*) but is attributed to Allah (*qudsī*). Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālisī (d. 204/819) quotes the following narrative chain:

The ḥadīth, which is reported via the chain "the Prophet → ʿUbādah ibn al-Ṣāmit → Abū Idrīs al-Khawlānī → al-Zuhrī → Zamʿah ibn Ṣāliḥ", reads as follows:

...عَنْ أَبِي إِدْرِيسَ الْخَوْلَانِيِّ، قَالَ: كُنْتُ فِي مَجْلِسٍ مِنْ أَصْحَابِ النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ فِيهِمْ عُبَادَةُ بْنُ الصَّامِتِ فَذَكَرُوا الْوِتْرَ فَقَالَ بَعْضُهُمْ: وَاجِبٌ وَقَالَ بَعْضُهُمْ: سُنَّةٌ فَقَالَ عُبَادَةُ بْنُ الصَّامِتِ: أَمَّا أَنَا فَأَشْهَدُ أَنِّي سَمِعْتُ رَسُولَ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ يَقُولُ: أَتَانِي جِبْرِيلُ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ مِنْ عِنْدِ اللهِ تَبَارَكَ وَتَعَالَى فَقَالَ: يَا مُحَمَّدُ إِنَّ اللهَ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ يَقُولُ: إِنِّي قَدْ فَرَضْتُ عَلَى أُمَّتِكَ خَمْسَ صَلَوَاتٍ، مَنْ وَافَى بِهِنَّ عَلَى وُضُوئِهِنَّ وَمَوَاقِيتِهِنَّ وَرُكُوعِهِنَّ وَسُجُودِهِنَّ فَإِنَّ لَهُ عِنْدِي بِهِنَّ عَهْدًا أَنْ أُدْخِلَهُ بِهِنَّ الْجَنَّةَ، وَمَنْ لَقِيَنِي قَدِ انْتَقَصَ مِنْ ذَلِكَ شَيْئًا أَوْ كَلِمَةً شِبْهَهَا فَلَيْسَ لَهُ عِنْدِي عَهْدٌ إِنْ شِئْتُ عَذَّبْتُهُ وَإِنْ شِئْتُ رَحِمْتُهُ.

… Quoted from Abū Idrīs al-Khawlānī, who said: I was at a gathering of Companions of Rasūl Allāh. ʿUbādah ibn al-Ṣāmit was among them. They talked about the status of *witr* prayer. Some said it was *wājib*, while some claimed it was *sunnah*. Thereupon, ʿUbādah ibn al-Ṣāmit said: I testify that I heard the Prophet saying as follows: Djibrīl came to me from the seat of Allah and said: O Muḥammad! Thus says Allah Taʿālā: I made it *farḍ* for your community [*ummah*] to perform five daily prayers. Whoever performs these prayers completely, by paying attention to ablution, time, *rukūʿ*, and *sujūd*, he will obtain a guarantee before Me that I will put him in Heaven. Whoever does one of these incompletely – or he said something similar –, he will have no guarantee in My presence; I will either torment or have mercy on him.[29]

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[29]   Al-Ḥumaydī, *Musnad*, I, 467.

The ḥadīth is quoted from ʿUbādah ibn al-Sāmit by Abū Idrīs ʿĀʾiḏ Allāh ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Khawlānī (d. 80/700);[30] both al-Khawlānī and his disciple Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī are among best known and most reliable narrators of ḥadīths. On the other hand, Zamʿah ibn Ṣāliḥ, who is the teacher of al-Ṭayālisī, has been subject to the criticisms of scholars.[31] Therefore, this line of the ḥadīth can be considered weak in terms of narrative chain.

The ḥadīth text from this line differs from al-Imām Mālik's narrative principally for the emphasis on "ablution, time, *sujūd*, and *rukūʿ*" while performing five daily *ṣalāh*. In addition, according to this text, the persons who will not obtain a guarantee from Allah because they default in fulfilling this prerequisite will be subject to "torment or mercy," while al-Imām Mālik's version describes their situation as "torment or position in Heaven."

D. Structure of Chain and Text in "Abū Qatādah ibn Ribʿī" Line

Another divine ḥadīth on the same theme is reported via a narrative by Abū Qatādah ibn Ribʿī. Ḥadīth is transmitted by Abū Dāwūd and Ibn Mājah through this line.[32] The text, narrated by Abū Dāwūd, reads as follows:

... إِنَّ أَبَا قَتَادَةَ بْنَ رِبْعِيٍّ أَخْبَرَهُ، قَالَ: قَالَ رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: قَالَ اللهُ تَعَالَى: إِنِّي فَرَضْتُ عَلَى أُمَّتِكَ خَمْسَ صَلَوَاتٍ، وَعَهِدْتُ عِنْدِي عَهْدًا أَنَّهُ مَنْ جَاءَ يُحَافِظُ عَلَيْهِنَّ لِوَقْتِهِنَّ أَدْخَلْتُهُ الْجَنَّةَ وَمَنْ لَمْ يُحَافِظْ عَلَيْهِنَّ فَلَا عَهْدَ لَهُ عِنْدِي.

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[30] For further information about Abū Idrīs al-Khawlānī, see al-Bukhārī, *al-Tārīkh al-kabīr*, VII, 83; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Kitāb al-jarḥ wa-l-taʿdīl*, VII, 37; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Kitāb al-thiqāt*, V, 277; al-ʿAsqalānī, *Kitāb Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, V, 74.

[31] Zamʿah ibn Ṣāliḥ has been subject to criticism for being "weak," "unstable," and a "fabricator of ḥadīths." According to some critics, his narratives cannot be considered evidence in serious problems such as religious provisions [*aḥkām*]. Moreover, it is emphasised that the ḥadīth he quotes from al-Zuhrī is weak and includes many mistakes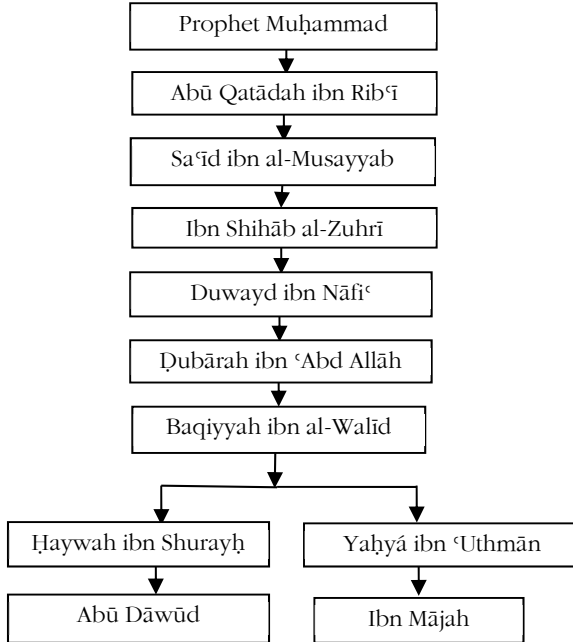. For further information about this narrator, see al-Bukhārī, *al-Tārīkh al-kabīr*, VII, 83; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Kitāb al-jarḥ wa-l-taʿdīl*, III, 624; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Kitāb al-thiqāt*, V, 277; al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān al-iʿtidāl*, II, 81; al-ʿAsqalānī, *Kitāb Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, III, 292.

[32] Abū Dāwūd "al-Ṣalāh," 9; Ibn Mājah, "al-Ṣalāh," 194.

Abū Qatādah ibn Ribʿī reported to him: Rasūl Allāh said this is how Allah Taʿālā spoke: I made it *farḍ* for your community [*ummah*] to perform five daily prayers, and guaranteed heaven for whoever performs them appropriately, paying attention to prescribed times. As for those who do not perform them in the respective time, they have no guarantee in My presence.

The collection of authors to have reported the ḥadīth constitutes the following scheme:

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┌─────────────────────────────┐
│      Prophet Muḥammad       │
└─────────────────────────────┘
              ↓
┌─────────────────────────────┐
│     Abū Qatādah ibn Ribʿī   │
└─────────────────────────────┘
              ↓
┌─────────────────────────────┐
│     Saʿīd ibn al-Musayyab   │
└─────────────────────────────┘
              ↓
┌─────────────────────────────┐
│     Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī     │
└─────────────────────────────┘
              ↓
┌─────────────────────────────┐
│      Duwayd ibn Nāfiʿ       │
└─────────────────────────────┘
              ↓
┌─────────────────────────────┐
│    Ḍubārah ibn ʿAbd Allāh   │
└─────────────────────────────┘
              ↓
┌─────────────────────────────┐
│     Baqiyyah ibn al-Walīd   │
└─────────────────────────────┘
         ↓           ↓
┌──────────────────┐  ┌──────────────────┐
│ Ḥaywah ibn Shurayḥ│  │ Yaḥyá ibn ʿUthmān │
└──────────────────┘  └──────────────────┘
         ↓                   ↓
┌──────────────────┐  ┌──────────────────┐
│   Abū Dāwūd      │  │   Ibn Mājah      │
└──────────────────┘  └──────────────────┘
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Apart from their masters, the chains of two authors consist of the same persons. Baqiyyah ibn al-Walīd (115-197/733-812) is one of them, but critics approach him rather in suspense.[33] There are also

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[33] There are various assessments about Baqiyyah: "He is reliable if he reports from reliable narrators, but he also reports from unknown sheikhs;" "he is reliable if he reports from well-known narrators, but ḥadīths he quotes from unknown narrators are of no value;" "do not listen to his ḥadīths about religious provisions [*aḥkām*], but you can listen to his ḥadīths regarding *thawāb* and similar issues;" "he is reliable if his report includes the expressions *akhbaranā* or *ḥaddathanā*; in case he uses *ʿan*, then his ḥadīths cannot be evidence, since he tries to conceal his deficiencies." In light of this last argument, Baqiyyah is quoted with "حدَّثنا" in Ibn

some criticisms about his teacher Ḍubārah ibn ʿAbd Allāh (ضبارة بن عبد الله بن أبي السليك).[34] For Duwayd ibn Nāfiʿ, Ibn Ḥibbān states that "he is a true narrator of ḥadīths (*mustaqīm al-ḥadīth*), on the condition that his sources are reliable."[35] Abū Ḥātim, on the other hand, calls Duwayd a "sheikh."[36]

Herein, the narrative includes a smaller number of details than the elevated narrative reported by al-Imām Mālik via the "ʿUbādah → al-Mukhdajī" line. As a matter of fact, the narrative herein only emphasizes that "one cannot obtain a guarantee in the presence of Allah" in case the mentioned prerequisite is not fulfilled. Al-Imām Mālik's narrative, however, provides more details and points out to the possible consequences of a lack of such guarantee, indicating that "Allah may either torment him or put him in heaven." In our view, the most important difference between these two narratives is that the latter expresses "attention to prescribed times of prayers" as a prerequisite for "obtaining guarantee of heaven in the presence of Allah." The other possibility is highlighted with the clause " وَمَنْ لَمْ يُحَافِظْ عَلَيْهِنَّ فَلَا عَهْدَ لَهُ عِنْدِي," literally, "whoever does not perform them (in a timely manner) shall have no guarantee in My presence." This final

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Mājah's version and with "عن" in Abū Dāwūd's version in the reports of the ḥadīth herein. For detailed information about Baqiyyah ibn al-Walīd, see al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān al-iʿtidāl*, I, 331; al-ʿAsqalānī, *Kitāb Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, I, 416.

[34] For example, Ibn ʿAdī (d. 365/976) mentions six narratives from Ḍubārah ibn ʿAbd Allāh, including the ḥadīth herein, before saying: "I do not know any other narrator than Baqiyyah" (see Abū Aḥmad ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAdī al-Jurjānī, *al-Kāmil fī ḍuʿafāʾ al-rijāl*, ed. Yaḥyá Mukhtār Ghazzāwī, 3rd ed. [Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1988], IV, 101). If this assessment is correct, we will have to conclude that Ḍubārah is "unknown" (*majhūl*). Nevertheless, al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1347) states that "Baqiyyah and others have reported narratives from him," and thus opposes to the view of Ibn ʿAdī in a sense. However, al-Dhahabī also dubs Ḍubārah a "loose narrator" (see *Mīzān al-iʿtidāl*, II, 322). According to Ibn Ḥājar, all ḥadīth examples provided by Ibn ʿAdī are considered "deniable" (see *Kitāb Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, IV, 388. وذكره ابن عدي في الكامل وساق له ستة احاديث مناكير).

[35] Ibn Ḥibbān, *Kitāb al-thiqāt*, VI, 292.

[36] See Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Kitāb al-jarḥ wa-l-taʿdīl*, III, 438. Ḥadīth reported by a narrator who is dubbed "sheikh" is included so as to search whether there is another chain and thus to ensure reliability upon comparison (see Aydınlı, *Hadis Istılahları Sözlüğü*, 298).

issue is articulated in al-Imām Mālik's version with "وَمَنْ لَمْ يَأْتِ بِهِنَّ" to indicate the *ṣalāh* itself and the deeds that constitute it.

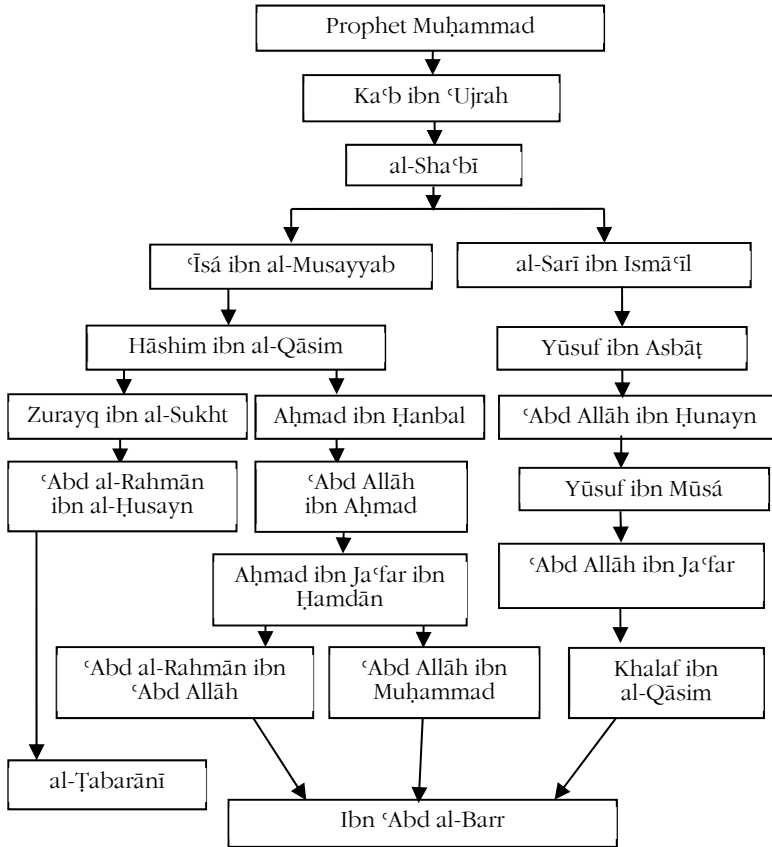### E. Structure of Chain and Text in "Kaʿb ibn ʿUjrah → Shaʿbī" Line

Herein, the chain is reported by Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, al-Ṭabarānī, and Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr.[37] Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr quotes this ḥadīth from three masters. Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal's version of the narrative is as follows:

... عَنْ كَعْبِ بْنِ عُجْرَةَ قَالَ بَيْنَمَا أَنَا جَالِسٌ فِي مَسْجِدِ رَسُولِ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ مُسْنِدِي ظُهُورَنَا إِلَى قِبْلَةِ مَسْجِدِ رَسُولِ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ سَبْعَةُ رَهْطٍ أَرْبَعَةٌ مَوَالِينَا وَثَلَاثَةٌ مِنْ عَرَبِنَا إِذْ خَرَجَ إِلَيْنَا رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ صَلَاةَ الظُّهْرِ حَتَّى انْتَهَى إِلَيْنَا فَقَالَ مَا يُجْلِسُكُمْ هَاهُنَا قُلْنَا يَا رَسُولَ اللهِ نَنْتَظِرُ الصَّلَاةَ قَالَ فَأَرَمَّ قَلِيلًا ثُمَّ رَفَعَ رَأْسَهُ فَقَالَ مَا أَتَدْرُونَ مَا يَقُولُ رَبُّكُمْ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ قُلْنَا اللهُ وَرَسُولُهُ أَعْلَمُ قَالَ فَإِنَّ رَبَّكُمْ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ يَقُولُ مَنْ صَلَّى الصَّلَاةَ لِوَقْتِهَا وَحَافَظَ عَلَيْهَا وَلَمْ يُضَيِّعْهَا اسْتِخْفَافًا بِحَقِّهَا فَلَهُ عَلَيَّ عَهْدٌ أَنْ أُدْخِلَهُ الْجَنَّةَ وَمَنْ لَمْ يُصَلِّ لِوَقْتِهَا وَلَمْ يُحَافِظْ عَلَيْهَا وَضَيَّعَهَا اسْتِخْفَافًا بِحَقِّهَا فَلَا عَهْدَ لَهُ إِنْ شِئْتُ عَذَّبْتُهُ وَإِنْ شِئْتُ غَفَرْتُ لَهُ.

Narrated from Kaʿb ibn ʿUjrah, who tells as follows: "We were a group of seven with four freedmen [*mawālī*] and three Arabs, sitting with our back on the Qiblah wall of al-Masjid al-Nabawī. We saw Rasūl Allāh coming for noon prayer. He stopped before us and asked: 'Why are you sitting here?' 'We are waiting for *ṣalāh*, O Rasūl Allāh,' we replied. He remained silent for a while before saying: 'Do you know what your Lord commands?' 'Allah and His Messenger knows better,' we replied. 'Your Lord speaks thus,' he went on: 'Whoever performs *ṣalāh* in a timely and continuous (وَحَافَظَ عَلَيْهَا) manner, and does not omit anything about *ṣalāh* due to disdain, then he will obtain the guarantee in My presence for heaven. And whoever does not perform *ṣalāh* in a

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37　Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, XXXVII, 85; Abū l-Qāsim Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-awsaṭ*, ed. Abū Muʿādh Ṭāriq ibn ʿIwaḍ Allāh ibn Muḥammad and Abū l-Faḍl ʿAbd al-Muḥsin ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ḥusaynī (Cairo: Dār al-Ḥaramayn, 1995), V, 92; id., *al-Muʿjam al-kabīr*, ed. Ḥamdī ʿAbd al-Majīd al-Salafī (Cairo: Maktabat Ibn Taymiyyah, 1983), XIX, 142; Abū ʿUmar Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn ʿAbd Allāh Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr al-Namarī, *al-Tamhīd li-mā fī l-Muwaṭṭaʾ min al-maʿānī wa-l-asānīd*, ed. Muṣṭafā ibn Aḥmad al-ʿAlawī et al. (Rabat: Wizārat ʿUmūm al-Awqāf wa-l-Shuʾūn al-Islāmiyyah, 1967), XXIII, 292-293.

timely and continuous manner, but ruins them by undervaluing their rule, he will have no guarantee; I may either torment or forgive him'."

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                    ┌─────────────────────┐
                    │  Prophet Muḥammad   │
                    └─────────────────────┘
                              │
                    ┌─────────────────────┐
                    │   Kaʿb ibn ʿUjrah   │
                    └─────────────────────┘
                              │
                    ┌─────────────────────┐
                    │     al-Shaʿbī       │
                    └─────────────────────┘
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The collection of chains of authors that report the ḥadīth constitutes the following scheme:

As the scheme reveals, the common name in this line is al-Shaʿbī. ʿĀmir ibn Sharāḥīl al-Shaʿbī (d. 103/721) is one of the most reliable and best-known personalities in ḥadīth discipline.[38] Ḥadīth is quoted from al-Shaʿbī by his two disciples, al-Sarī ibn Ismāʿīl and ʿĪsá ibn al-Musayyab. Al-Sarī ibn Ismāʿīl has been subject to criticism by

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[38] For detailed information about ʿĀmir ibn Sharāḥīl al-Shaʿbī, see al-Bukhārī, *al-Tārīkh al-kabīr*, VI, 450-451; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Kitāb al-jarḥ wa-l-taʿdīl*, V, 324; al-ʿAsqalānī, *Kitāb Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, V, 68.

scholars.[39] ʿĪsá ibn al-Musayyab, another disciple of al-Shaʿbī, has also been discredited.[40]

This line has some striking features in textual terms. Two narratives of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, al-Ṭabarānī, and Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, who prefer the "al-Shaʿbī → ʿĪsá ibn al-Musayyab" line, are almost identical. Nevertheless, the narrative quoted by Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr from his master Khalaf ibn al-Qāsim through the "al-Shaʿbī → al-Sarī ibn Ismāʿīl" line does not include a depiction of Kaʿb ibn ʿUjrah sitting at al-Masjid al-Nabawī or of other people around him; instead, the text begins directly with the section "Rasūl Allāh came near us."[41] Nevertheless, the most important difference in textual indication of the narrative herein is that it includes the expression "وحافظ عليها" in the "al-Shaʿbī → ʿĪsá ibn al-Musayyab" line after the clause "من صلى الصلاة لوقتها.".

In light of these differences, Kaʿb ibn ʿUjrah's report does not emphasize the "five times" of ṣalāh, unlike the "ʿUbādah → al-Mukhdajī" line, which is the basis of our study. In addition, according to this line, the prerequisites for "obtaining a guarantee of going to heaven in the presence of Allah" are "continuous ṣalāh" (وحافظ عليها) and "respect for their times" (لِوَقْتِهَا). The divine will for those who do not fulfil these conditions is given as "torment or amnesty." However, the "ʿUbādah → al-Mukhdajī" line articulates it as "torment or position in heaven."

II. Views on Content and Indication of the Ḥadīth

In terms of the identification of indication, the most notable parts of the ḥadīth herein are the expressions "فَمَنْ أَتَى بِهِنَّ", "فَمَنْ جَاءَ بِهِنَّ", and " فَمَنْ " which mean conditions for "obtaining the guarantee by Allah لَقِيَهُ بِهِنَّ for heaven" and "من لم يأت بهن", "وَمَنْ ضَيَّعَهُنَّ ", "وَمَنْ جَاءَ بِهِنَّ قَدِ انْتَقَصَ مِنْهُنَّ "

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[39] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal actually says about this narrator that "He is not strong in science of ḥadīth," indicating that "People abandoned his ḥadīths." According to Yaḥyá ibn Maʿīn, he is "weak" and "of no value." Abū Dāwūd and al-Nasāʾī claim he is "abandoned in ḥadīth" [*matrūk al-ḥadīth*]. For detailed information on this narrator, see al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān al-iʿtidāl*, II, 117; al-ʿAsqalānī, *Kitāb Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, III, 399.

[40] Indeed, Yaḥyá ibn Maʿīn, Abū Dāwūd, al-Nasāʾī, and al-Dāraquṭnī consider this narrator "weak," whereas Abū Ḥātim and Abū Zurʿah say "He is not strong in ḥadīth." For detailed information about this narrator, see al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān al-iʿtidāl*, III, 323.

[41] Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Tamhīd*, XXIII, 292-293.

"وَمَنْ أَنْقَصَهُنَّ مِنْ حَقِّهِنَّ شَيْئًا" or "وَمَنْ لَقِيَهُ وَقَدْ انْتَقَصَ مِنْهُنَّ شَيْئًا" which "شَيْئًا" mean "not to fulfill stipulated duties." Indeed, given the construction and wording of the text, the pronoun "هنَّ" may indicate both five daily prayers and its essentials such as submission to Allah, *rukūʿ*, *sujūd*, and especially prescribed time. Consequently, there are two different perspectives on the indication of this ḥadīth.

A. The Argument "The doom of abandoners of *ṣalāh* is left to the will of Allah"

Many scholars attribute these expressions, which constitute the basis for an indication of the ḥadīth, to the five daily prayers themselves, and claim the emphasis is on "complete performers of these prayers" or "who (partially or entirely) abandon five daily prayers." Consequently, the ḥadīth is assumed to be among most important evidence that the abandoner of *ṣalāh* will not be excluded from the sphere of Islam. According to these scholars, the expression "إِنْ شَاءَ," literally, "if He wills" in the final part is an obstacle for establishing a relation between the abandonment of *ṣalāh* and unbelief since the disbeliever cannot be considered in this concept and will thus definitely go to Hell. The person, whose outcome is at the discretion of Allah, is a Muslim having committed a major sin (*kabīrah*).

The foregoing interpretation is essentially grounds for the argument that the "deed is not a part of faith." Indeed, authors who interpret the ḥadīth deal with the problem pursuant to this principal rule. Some examples of such an interpretation may provide more explicit information for the identification of the meaning ascribed to the ḥadīth.

The famous Egyptian Ḥanafī scholar al-Ṭaḥāwī (d. 321/933) quotes this ḥadīth under the problem of "whether Muslims, who neither perform nor deny *ṣalāh*, will be excluded from Islam,"[42] adding that the error of "partial or complete abandoning of *ṣalāh*" will not expel a person from Islam; such a misdeed will not make a Muslim an apostate or polytheist.[43]

According to Ibn Baṭṭāl (d. 449/1057), the Andalusian commentator of *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, a person who does not fulfil his religious duties

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[42]   Abū Jaʿfar Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Ṭaḥāwī, *Sharḥ Mushkil al-āthār*, ed. Shuʿayb al-Arnāʾūṭ (Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Risālah, 1987), VIII, 193.

[43]   *Ibid.*, VIII, 201.

cannot be declared an unbeliever; for him, the ḥadīth " خمس صلوات كتبهن
الله …" is one of the most important evidence of this argument. This
ḥadīth, in the view of Ibn Baṭṭāl, indicates that the person in question
is not an unbeliever; indeed, an unbeliever can never go to Heaven.[44]

According to Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr (d. 463/1017), the renowned Mālikī
ḥadīth scholar from Andalusia, one possible conclusion from the
ḥadīth herein is that the status of a Muslim is at the discretion of Allah
in case he does not perform ṣalāh even though he accepts unity
[tawḥīd] and believes in the rules established by the Prophet.
Therefore, the ḥadīth refuses the Muʿtazilī and Khārijī perspectives
(that considers deeds as a part of faith).[45]

Al-Bājī (d. 474/1081), Mālikī jurist and ḥadīth scholar and
commentator of *al-Muwaṭṭaʾ* from Andalusia, claims this ḥadīth is a
proof that the status of committer of a major sin is decided by Allah,
and this is a refutation against those who argue that such persons
cannot be forgiven or are unbelievers.[46]

Abū Bakr Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 543/1148) puts forth similar opinions. For
him, the unbeliever is not included within the forgiving will of Allah.
Therefore, this ḥadīth is a definite proof against those who claim
abandoners of ṣalāh can never attain forgiveness.[47]

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[44]   See Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn Khalaf ibn Baṭṭāl al-Qurṭubī, *Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, ed.
Abū Tamīm Yāsir ibn Ibrāhīm, 2nd ed. (Riyadh: Maktabat al-Rushd, 2003), VIII, 578.

[45]   According to Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, one who avows Islam obtains the title "Muslim" as
soon as he adopts the faith only by means of his vow and will, even before
performing services such as ṣalāh or fast. Such a person can be dubbed disbeliever
only if he denies one of these things that provide him with the quality of Muslim
(see Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Tamhīd*, XXIII, 290). Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr adds the following
by pointing to the essential principle of Ahl al-sunnah: "(About the faith of a person
who has abandoned ṣalāh) the most accurate view through evidence of both
reason and Qurʾān and ḥadīth [naql] is that such a person is a sinner, having
committed a major sin. Nonetheless, the doom of such a person is in the hands of
Allah, who may forgive or torment him at His will, as long as such a person avows
and accepts ṣalāh and does not abandon it due to deliberate denial and arrogance"
(see *al-Tamhīd*, XXIII, 295).

[46]   Abū l-Walīd Sulaymān ibn Khalaf al-Bājī, *al-Muntaqá sharḥ al-Muwaṭṭaʾ* (Cairo:
Maṭbaʿat al-Saʿādah, 1332), I, 221.

[47]   Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh Ibn al-ʿArabī al-Maʿāfirī, *Kitāb al-ʿawāṣim
min al-qawāṣim*, ed. ʿAmmār Ṭālibī (Cairo: Maktabat Dār al-Turāth, n.d.), I, 263.

Renowned Shāfiʿī ḥadīth scholar Ibn Ḥājar (d. 852/1448) deals with the ḥadīth within the frame of the "status of a person who deliberately abandons ṣalāh." First, he refers to the argument that the "abandoner of ṣalāh becomes an unbeliever even if he admits it is a duty." Then, he shares the argument of the majority of scholars that "such a person cannot be declared as unbeliever," giving this ḥadīth as one of the strongest proofs of this argument.[48]

Al-ʿAynī (d. 855/1451), Ḥanafī scholar of fiqh and ḥadīth, also considers the ḥadīth herein as evidence that the judgment about the abandoner of ṣalāh cannot be same as that of an unbeliever.[49]

According to al-Munāwī (d. 1031/1623), "و من لم يأت بهن" signifies "على الوجه المطلوب شرعا," literally, "if he does not fulfil them as ordered by religion;"[50] nevertheless, he asserts that the abandoner of ṣalāh cannot be declared an unbeliever, that his punishment is not certain and that his outcome is at the discretion of Allah.[51]

For Mālikī scholar al-Zurqānī (d. 1122/1710), the ḥadīth does not consider the abandonment of ṣalāh as unbelief; in addition, the person who abandons it is not necessarily tormented or punished. Instead, his fate is to be decided by Allah.[52]

Al-Mubārakfūrī (d. 1283/1866), a commentator of *Sunan al-Tirmidhī*, points to the ḥadīth as evidence that "abandonment of ṣalāh is not unbelief."[53]

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[48]   Al-ʿAsqalānī, *Fatḥ al-bārī*, XII, 203.

[49]   Al-ʿAynī, *Sharḥ Sunan Abī Dāwūd*, ed. Abū l-Mundhir Khālid ibn Ibrāhīm al-Miṣrī (Riyadh: Maktabat al-Rushd, 1999), V, 329.

[50]   Zayn al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raʾūf al-Munāwī, *Fayḍ al-qadīr sharḥ al-Jāmiʿ al-ṣaghīr min aḥādīth al-bashīr al-nadhīr*, ed. Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Salām (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah, 1994), III, 603.

[51]   See *Ibid*., III, 603; al-Munāwī, *al-Taysīr bi-Sharḥ al-Jāmiʿ al-ṣaghīr*, 3rd ed. (Riyadh: Maktabat al-Imām-Shāfiʿī, 1988), I, 1053.

[52]   Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Bāqī al-Zurqānī, *Sharḥ al-Zurqānī ʿalá Muwaṭṭaʾ al-Imām Mālik* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah, 1411), I, 365.

[53]   Abū l-ʿUlā Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Mubārakfūrī, *Tuḥfat al-Aḥwadhī bi-Sharḥ Jāmiʿ al-Tirmidhī* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah, 2010), VII, 310.

B. The Argument, "The doom of those who perform *ṣalāh* without paying attention to its essentials is at the discretion of Allah" and Relevant Evidence

Certain scholars insist that the ḥadīth herein can be construed in a different manner, with reference to other scholars or through their personal view. For example, Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr says he is in favor of the argument that the "status of abandoners of *ṣalāh* is left to will of Allah," before adding the counterview with reference to "a group of competent scholars." According to this group, the persons who are deprived of any guarantee in the presence of Allah with regard to the performance of the five daily prayers are not those who completely abandon *ṣalāh* but those who do not pay the necessary attention to its essentials, such as cleanliness, *rukūʿ*, and *sujūd*, particularly to its prescribed times.[54]

ʿAbd al-Muḥsin al-ʿAbbād, a contemporary commentator of *Sunan Abī Dāwūd*, studies the problem of "obedience to the prescribed times of *ṣalāh*," where he refers to the ḥadīth herein and gives the following interpretation: "Whoever performs five daily prayers by paying attention to their prescribed times obtains a guarantee in the presence of Allah. Whoever does not pay attention to the prescribed times will have no such guarantee in the eyes of Allah; Allah may either torment or forgive him."[55] Later, in the same book, al-ʿAbbād reports that according to some scholars, the expression "يأت بمن" in the ḥadīth is evidence that "a person, who abandons *ṣalāh* due to idleness, cannot be declared an unbeliever," before adding this expression can also be construed as "not performing prayer as required."[56]

Al-ʿAẓīmābādī (1857-1911), another commentator of *Sunan Abī Dāwūd*, prefers a rather cautionary approach and explains the mentioned section of the ḥadīth as "nonperformance of *ṣalāh* either at all or in required manner."[57]

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[54] See Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Tamhīd*, XXIII, 293.

[55] Al-ʿAynī, *Sharḥ Sunan Abī Dāwūd*, III, 173.

[56] *Ibid.*, VIII, 59.

[57] See, Abū l-Ṭayyib Muḥammad Shams al-Ḥaqq ibn Amīr ʿAlī al-ʿAẓīmābādī, *ʿAwn al-maʿbūd sharḥ Sunan Abī Dāwūd*, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad ʿUthmān, 2ⁿᵈ ed. (Medina: al-Maktabah al-Salafiyyah, 1968), II, 67.

This second meaning, which can be ascribed to the ḥadīth, seems more remarkable. In other words, the status of a person with regard to *ṣalāh* is left to the will of Allah if he undervalues or overlooks its essential elements, or performs *ṣalāh* without due diligence, without the necessary will or in idleness. Certain factors lead us to consider this second meaning as more probable:

1. Relations among Various Texts of the Ḥadīth and Other Narratives Supporting a Certain Meaning

In ḥadīth studies, it is a common case that the wording in a certain narrative of a ḥadīth is explained by means of details mentioned in other narratives of the same ḥadīth. In this regard, aside from the oldest and therefore our basic version through al-Imām Mālik, the clause we consider to be the main actor in identifying the indication of the ḥadīth herewith is quoted as follows: "لَمْ يَنْتَقِصْ مِنْ حَقِّهِنَّ شَيْئًا," literally "not to reduce anything over the rule of these *ṣalāh*s"[58] or " مَنْ أَحْسَنَ وُضُوءَهُنَّ" ",وَصَلَّاهُنَّ لِوَقْتِهِنَّ، فَأَتَمَّ رُكُوعَهُنَّ وَسُجُودَهُنَّ وَخُشُوعَهُنَّ," literally, "Whoever performs ablution for these prayers and also performs *ṣalāh* completely by paying attention to its prescribed times and completely accomplishing its *rukūʿ* and *sujūd* ..."[59] or "مَنْ صَلَّى الصَّلَاةَ لِوَقْتِهَا وَحَافَظَ عَلَيْهَا," namely, "who performs *ṣalāh* in a timely and continuous manner." [60] In our view, this point alone can provide a sufficient idea of the indication of the ḥadīth. On the other hand, it is worth noting that the text, which is reported with the wording "... مَنْ أَحْسَنَ وُضُوءَهُنَّ" and through the line of "ʿUbādah ibn al-Ṣāmit → ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṣunābiḥī," is the only version that can be considered "authentic" among all the narratives of the same ḥadīth.

There are some other data supporting this prior meaning. For example, emphasis on the following ḥadīth reported by Ibn Rajab al-Ḥanbalī points to our preferred view:

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[58] Al-Ḥumaydī, *Musnad*, I, 375; Ibn Abī Shaybah, *al-Kitāb al-muṣannaf*, II, 91; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, XXXVII, 377; Abū Dāwūd, "al-Ṣalāh," 9.

[59] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, XXXVII, 377; Abū Dāwūd, "al-Ṣalāh, " 9.

[60] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, XXXVII, 85; al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-awsaṭ*, V, 92; id., *al-Muʿjam al-kabīr*, XIX, 142; Ibn ʿAbd al- Barr, *al-Tamhīd*, XXIII, 292-293.

<div dir="rtl">

من حافظ على الصلوات الخمس بركوعهن وسجودهن ووضوئهن ومواقيتهن،
وعلم أنهن حق من عند الله عز وجل، دخل الجنة– أو قال: وجبت له الجنة– وفي
رواية قال: حرم على النار.

</div>

Whoever continues performing *ṣalāh* with attention to its *rukūʿ*, *sujūd*,
ablution, and prescribed times in the awareness that it is a duty before
Allah goes to Heaven; he might also have stated that "Heaven becomes
obligatory for him," and according to another narrative, "Hell becomes
ḥarām for him."[61]

In terms of the selected wording, meaning, and indication, this
narrative completely corresponds with the ḥadīth in the study herein.

We can also examine the thought of Muḥammad ibn Sīrīn (d.
110/728) through his words on how Abū Bakr and ʿUmar propagated
Islam:

<div dir="rtl">

نبئت أن أبا بكر وعمر كانا يعلمان من دخل في الإسلام "تؤمن بالله ولا تشرك به
شيئا وتقيم الصلاة التي افترض الله عليك لمواقيتها فإن في تفريطها الهلكة وتؤدي
الزكاة طيب النفس بها وتصوم رمضان وتحج البيت وتطيع لمن ولاه الله أمرك
وتعمل لله ولا تعمل للناس.

</div>

As I am reported, Abū Bakr and ʿUmar taught the following to persons
who embraced Islam: "You believe in Allah and consider nothing His
equivalent. You perform *ṣalāh*, declared *farḍ* by Allah, in their
prescribed time. Indeed, their omission leads to destruction. You give
zakāh willingly. You fast in Ramaḍān and make the pilgrimage to al-
Kaʿbah. You obey the ruler assigned by Allah in order to accomplish
your affairs. You work and conduct deeds not for man, but for Allah."[62]

According to ʿAbd Allāh ibn Masʿūd (d. 32/652) and renowned
pupil al-Masrūq (d. 63/682), the expression "الحفاظ على الصلاة" in Qurʾān
verses and ḥadīth means "performance of *ṣalāh* in obedience to its
prescribed times." Thus, the word "السهو" about *ṣalāh* means
"performance of *ṣalāh* outside its prescribed time." According to al-

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[61] Abū l-Faraj Zayn al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Aḥmad Ibn Rajab al-Ḥanbalī, *Fatḥ al-bārī fī sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, ed. Abū Muʿādh Ṭāriq ibn ʿIwaḍ Allāh ibn Muḥammad (Jeddah: Dār Ibn al-Jawzī, 1422), III, 30.

[62] Ibn ʿAbd al- Barr, *al-Tamhīd*, XXVIII, 294. To compare, see Ibn Rajab al-Ḥanbalī, *Fatḥ al-bārī*, III, 30.

Masrūq, "all relevant words, such as ساهون، دائمون، حافظون, are about the prescribed times of *ṣalāh*."[63] Therefore, the emphasis on this final narrative concerns "the points to consider" about performing *ṣalāh*; in other words, "nonperformance" is not an issue.

Consequently, there actually are certain narratives that support the meaning that we prioritize in terms of content. Therefore, the argument "abandoners of *ṣalāh* may be forgiven by Allah" should also be supported by similar data directly related to the abandonment of *ṣalāh*. Nevertheless, the defenders of this argument apparently mention certain Qurʾān verses that provide a broader framework, talking about the possibility of forgiving "sins" in general. We will dwell on such evidence but first glance at the Qurʾān's verses and ḥadīths that concretely indicate the consequences of abandoning *ṣalāh*.

2. Certain Qurʾān Verses and Ḥadīths on Punishment for Abandoning Ṣalāh

Ṣalāh is included and emphasized not only in Islam but also in earlier religions. Indeed, *ṣalāh* is associated with almost all prophets mentioned in the Qurʾān;[64] moreover, it is particularly stated that prophets with religious texts perform *ṣalāh*.[65] Some ḥadīths mention

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[63] For related narratives, see Ibn ʿAbd al- Barr, *al-Tamhīd*, XXVIII, 294-295.

[64] Commandments by Allah for Ibrāhīm (Abraham) and Ismāʿīl include "Cleanliness of al-Kaʿbah for those who perform *ṭawāf*, *ṣalāh*, *rukūʿ*, and *sujūd*" (Q 2:125; Q 22:26). Thereupon, Ibrāhīm has prayed for the continuity of himself and his descendants in *ṣalāh* (Q 14:37, 40). For Ismāʿīl, one of the reasons he earned the assent of his Lord is that he ordered his family to perform *ṣalāh* (see Q 19:55). In a ḥadīth, the Prophet Muḥammad reports that Sārah, wife of Ibrāhīm, also performed *ṣalāh* (al-Bukhārī, "al-Anbiyāʾ," 11). In addition, Isaac, Lot, and Jacob are other prophets ordered to perform *ṣalāh* (Q 21:73). The earliest commandments to Moses are also about *ṣalāh* (Q 20:14). According to a Qurʾān verse, Moses and Aaron are ordered through revelation to prepare houses for their tribes in Egypt, to build places for *ṣalāh* in these houses and to perform *ṣalāh* in the appropriate way (see Q 10:87). Dāwūd is another prophet whose *ṣalāh* is emphasized both in the Qurʾān and ḥadīth (Q 38:24). For the ḥadīth, see al-Bukhārī, "al-Tahajjud," 7; id., "al-Anbiyāʾ," 40. Shuʿayb, Luqmān, Zachariah, and Jesus are also ordered that *ṣalāh* be performed (See Q 11:87; Q 31:17; Q 3:39).

[65] Q 98:5.

ṣalāh-performing Jews,[66] Christians,[67] and Sabians.[68] According to the Qurʾān, polytheist Arabs carried out certain acts under the name of *ṣalāh* as worship.[69]

Ṣalāh is probably the most important worship in Islam. As a matter of fact, the word *ṣalāh* in the sense of "prayer" is mentioned in over eighty Qurʾān verses.[70] No other service is mentioned as much in the Qurʾān. Again, *ṣalāh* is the service about the performance of which there is the highest number of explanations in the Qurʾān and Sunnah.

The Qurʾān and ḥadīths give a clear account of the outcome of the abandoners of *ṣalāh*. Some relevant statements include the following:

> And when it is said to them, "Bow [in prayer]," they do not bow. Woe be that Day to the deniers [of the orders of Allah]![71]

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[66] "There was a Jew called Ibn Hayyabān in Damascus. Many years before Islam, he came to us and settled among us. We have never seen anyone performing *ṣalāh* for five times better than him." (see Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī, *al-Sunan al-kubrā*, ed. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Qādir ʿAṭā [Mecca: Maktabat Dār al-Bāz, 1994], IX, 114. In a ḥadīth, Muḥammad says as follows: "Oppose the Jews; they do not perform the prayers with their shoes on." (see Abū Dāwūd, "al-Ṣalāh," 88).

[67] According to certain ḥadīths, a Christian called Jurayj performed *ṣalāh* in the house of worship and went on his *ṣalāh* even though his mother beckoned him; al-Bukhārī, "al-Anbiyāʾ," 50; Muslim "al-Birr wa-l-ṣilah," 2.

[68] Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373) indicates that, according to Q 2:62, Sabians "recited Psalms, performed *ṣalāh* heading towards Qiblah and fasted every year." See Abū l-Fidāʾ ʿImād al-Dīn Ismāʿīl ibn ʿUmar Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-Qurʾān al-ʿaẓīm*, ed. Sāmī ibn Muḥammad al-Salāmah (Riyadh: Dār Ṭībah li-l-Nashr wa-l-Tawzīʿ, 1999), I, 286.

[69] Q 8:35. In addition, a ḥadīth in Muslim's *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* includes the following conversation between Abū Dharr and Unays:
- … O son of my brother! I used to perform *ṣalāh* three years before meeting Rasūl Allāh.
- To whom?
- To Allah!
- Where did you head?
- Wherever my Lord turned me! I perform night prayer; at the end of the night, I lie down until sun beats down on me" (see Muslim, "Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah," 28).

[70] Muḥammad Fuʾād ʿAbd al-Bāqī, *al-Muʿjam al-mufahras li-alfāẓ al-Qurʾān al-karīm* (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyyah, 1364), 412-413.

[71] Q 77:48-49.

And your Lord says: "Call upon Me; I will respond to you." Indeed, those who disdain My worship will enter Hell and be rendered contemptible.[72]

In another verse, Allah introduces some prophets such as Adam, Noah, and Ibrāhīm as "ones upon whom Allah bestowed favor, guided, and chose," before indicating "they fell in prostration when the verses of Allah were recited to them." Nevertheless, the ensuing verse is even more relevant for our subject. Indeed, it dwells upon the behaviors of descendants of these prophets, and the consequences of such behavior:

But there came after them a successor who neglected prayer and pursued desires; [so] they are going to be meet evil (ghayy).[73]

The expression "neglected" (أَضَاعُوا) in this verse is interpreted in two ways, namely, as "complete abandonment" and as "performance outside prescribed times."[74] This is important in correcting our understanding of the terms "ضَيَّعَهُنَّ"[75] and "لَمْ يُضَيِّعْ"[76] that are mentioned in some narratives of the ḥadīth herein and that matter with regard to its indication. The following incident told by Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī (d. 124/742) may provide an idea of the meaning of the foregoing term: In Damascus, I went to Anas ibn Mālik, who was weeping. "Why are you crying?" I asked. He replied: "I see that ṣalāh is the only thing preserved from the time of Rasūl Allāh. But today, even ṣalāh is being neglected."[77] With "neglect," Anas ibn Mālik points out that Umayyad rulers, al-Ḥajjāj above all, perform prayers without respecting its prescribed times. Anas came to Damascus, the center of the Caliphate, for his complaint about this issue and met Caliph al-Walīd ibn ʿAbd al-Malik.[78] On the other hand, one may interpret "neglect of ṣalāh" as

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[72] Q 40:60.

[73] Q 19:58-59. For the use of "الغي" as a valley or river in hell, see Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmiʿ al-bayān fī taʾwīl al-Qurʾān al-maʿrūf bi-Tafsīr al-Ṭabarī*, ed. Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākir (Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Risālah, 2000), VIII, 218.

[74] See Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-Qurʾān al-ʿaẓīm*, V, 243.

[75] For example, see Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, XXXVII, 393.

[76] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, XXXVII, 85; al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-awsaṭ*, V, 92; al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-kabīr,* XIX, 142; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Tamhīd*, XXIII, 292-293.

[77] Al-Bukhārī, "Mawāqīt al-ṣalāh," 6; Muslim, "al-Masājid," 283.

[78] Al-ʿAsqalānī, *Fatḥ al-bārī*, II, 13; al-ʿAynī, *ʿUmdat al-qārī*, VII, 334.

"complete abandonment" for a more cautious and tolerant attitude in favor of Muslims. Thus, the verse means "abandoners of *ṣalāh*, namely, those who do not perform it with no reasonable excuse, shall be put in *ghayy*." Nevertheless, even according to such an interpretation, the verse apparently does not allow for the meaning ascribed to the ḥadīth herein as to such a sin. Indeed, as we will examine in more detail, the framework established by the Qurʾān and Sunnah requires the fulfilment of various prerequisites for forgiving of sins.

In a ḥadīth reported by Abū Hurayrah, the consequence of neglecting prostration due to arrogance and disdain are as follows: "When the sons of Adam recite the verse of prostration and fall in prostration, Satan weeps and moves away and says: Woe to me! The sons of Adam have accepted the duty of prostrating and immediately fell in prostration. Therefore, Heaven is theirs. I was ordered to prostrate, but I refrained from it. Therefore, Hell is mine."[79]

According to a report by ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ, "one day, Rasūl Allāh talked about *ṣalāh* and said: *Ṣalāh* becomes brightness, evidence, and the way to salvation for the one who continues to perform *ṣalāh*. Whoever does not continue to perform *ṣalāh* lacks such brightness, evidence, and salvation; such a person will be together with Croesus, Pharaoh, Haman, and Ubayy ibn Khalaf on the Day of Judgment."[80]

Another ḥadīth goes as follows: "On the Day of Judgment, a subject will be questioned about his prayers first. If his prayers are complete, he attains salvation and wins. If he has not fulfilled some duty, Allah will say: Behold if my subject has performed *ṣalāt al-taṭawwuʿ*! His prayers will make up for any lack in his duties. This is how his other deeds will be evaluated."[81]

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[79] Muslim, "al-Īmān," 33.

[80] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, II, 169; Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd ibn Ḥumayd ibn Naṣr al-Kissī, *al-Muntakhab min Musnad ʿAbd ibn Ḥumayd*, ed. Ṣubḥī al-Badrī al-Sāmarrāʾī and Maḥmūd Muḥammad Khalīl al-Ṣaʿīdī (Cairo: Maktabat al-Sunnah, 1988), 139.

[81] Al-Tirmidhī, "al-Ṣalāh," 305. At the end of the ḥadīth, al-Tirmidhī makes the following assessment: "There is a narrative from Tamīm al-Dārī in this regard. The narrative of Abū Hurayrah (which I quoted) is *ḥasan gharīb* in this regard. Nevertheless, the ḥadīth is also reported from another line than from Abū Hurayrah. There is also a narrative from Tamīm al-Dārī."

The expression, "accomplishment of lacking duties with *ṣalāt al-taṭawwuʿ*" is interpreted by scholars in three different ways. For some, it means the elimination of lack in submission, recital, and prayers in a prayer by *ṣalāt al-taṭawwuʿ*. According to others, this expression means "elimination of deficiencies of lack of duties and conditions in *ṣalāh* by means of *ṣalāt al-taṭawwuʿ*." Still others claim that "lack of duties" means "nonperformance of some *ṣalāh*."[82] The first two interpretations support the meaning we ascribe to the ḥadīth, whereas the third has an opposite sense. Nevertheless, any related conclusion should rather take into account all relevant Qurʾān verses, ḥadīths, and predecessors' views. In addition, we believe it is controversial to replace "farḍ" *ṣalāh* with "nāfilah" (supererogatory prayer). In fact, for some narrators, this ḥadīth completely or partially does not belong to the Prophet Muḥammad, particularly the section "accomplishment of lack in farḍ via *taṭawwuʿ*."[83] Therefore, this ḥadīth requires a detailed

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[82] For these comments, see al-Mubārakfūrī, *Tuḥfat al-Aḥwadhī*, II, 384.

[83] For example, al-Dārimī, who allows for the ḥadīth in his book, states: "I do not know anyone other than Ḥammād ibn Salamah (who is mentioned in the chain) who reported this ḥadīth as *marfūʿ* (see al-Dārimī "al-Ṣalāh," 91). Al-Nasāʾī, another author reporting the same ḥadīth, provides this passage: "On the Day of Judgment, a subject will be questioned about his prayers first. If his prayers are complete, he attains salvation and wins." Then, he provides the following information: "Hammām (who is included in the ḥadīth chain) said as follows: 'If there is any lack in *farḍ* ...' I don't know whether this sentence belongs to my teacher Qatādah or if it is a part of an actual ḥadīth" (see al-Nasāʾī, "al-Ṣalāh," 9). Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal reports the ḥadīth, before adding: "Yūnus ibn ʿUbayd (who is included in the chain) said: 'I guess (أحسبه), (my teacher) al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, also mentioned the Prophet Muḥammad in the chain'" (see *Musnad*, XIX, 173). At the end of his quotation, al-Bayhaqī informs that "al-Thawrī reported this as *mawqūf* by means of Dāwūd" (see al-Bayhaqī, *Shuʿab al-īmān*, ed. Abū Hājar Muḥammad al-Saʿīd ibn Basyūnī Zaghlūl [Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah, 2000], III, 180). In a later chapter, al-Bayhaqī quotes the following version of the ḥadīth: "On the Day of Judgment, a subject will be questioned about his prayers first. If his prayers are complete, he attains salvation and wins." (see *Shuʿab al-īmān*, III, 182). Ibn Abī Shaybah is another author to report this version (see *al-Kitāb al-muṣannaf*, XIV, 146. Ibn Abī Shaybah also explains that the final phrase, "this is how his other deeds will be evaluated," belongs to al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, a narrator of the ḥadīth. The author then adds the version without the passage belonging to al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (see *al-Kitāb al-muṣannaf*, II, 404-405). Ibn Abī Shaybah also allows for the

separate study, given the different opinions regarding the structure of its wording, chain, and indication.

In light of the foregoing information and comments, the abandonment of *ṣalāh* without excuse, that is, due to total idleness, is classified at least as a "major sin," if not as unbelief (*kufr*) or polytheism (*shirk*). Actually, in his *Kitāb al-kabāʾir* about major sins in Islam, al-Dhahabī has dedicated the fourth chapter to the abandonment of *ṣalāh*.[84] At this stage, we need to examine "forgiving sins" in Islam.

3. The Problem of Forgiving Sins

There is much evidence of the possibility that Allah may forgive the sins of Muslims. For example, Q 39:53 reads: "Say: 'O My servants who have transgressed against themselves by sinning! Do not despair of the mercy of Allah. Indeed, Allah forgives all sins. Indeed, it is He who is the Forgiving, the Merciful." This verse alone indicates that the benevolence and mercy of Allah is great enough not to allow for despair. As a matter of fact, the verse includes the word "all" (جَمِيعًا) in a general and absolute sense. Nonetheless, this expression should not be considered a guarantee by Allah. Indeed, the Qurʾān verses and ḥadīths about sins and their forgiveness offer a classification among sins and stipulate different conditions for each one. Actually, Allah says: "Indeed, Allah does not forgive association with Him, but He forgives what is less than that for whom He wills."[85]

Therefore, this verse is the second proof on which is based the view of commentators of the ḥadīth therein that "abandoners of *ṣalāh* are left to the will of Allah; He may forgive or torment them."[86] Based on the introduction style, this group of scholars considers abandonment of *ṣalāh* among sins less than *shirk* and therefore subject to forgiveness.

On the other hand, we have to admit this verse has a general meaning. Evidently, the Qurʾān and Sunnah often opt for the allocation of the universal or restriction of the absolute. Therefore, a simultaneous and collective assessment of all relevant Qurʾān verses

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version completely expressed by Tamīm al-Dārī (see *al-Kitāb al-muṣannaf*, XI, 41; XIV, 108).

[84] Al-Dhahabī, *Kitāb al-kabāʾir* (Beirut: Dār al-Nadwah al-Jadīdah, 2010), 17.

[85] Q 4:48, 116.

[86] For example, see Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Tamhīd*, XXIII, 295.

and ḥadīths is required. In our opinion, both issues in the abovementioned verse, more precisely, the nonforgiving of *shirk* and forgiving of other sins, are not "absolute or definitive" and depend on certain conditions. Indeed, it is stated that polytheists, who "should be killed wherever found," will become religious fellows in case they repent, perform *ṣalāh*, and give *zakāh*.[87] The same is true for forgiving sins other than *shirk*. Above all, the expression "لِمَنْ يَشَاءُ" at the end of the verse should have a meaning. Thereupon, Allah will make a classification between committers of sins other than *shirk*, and all of them will not attain forgiveness. There is surely no power to restrict His will; He may forgive all sinners at will without exception. Nevertheless, various Qurʾān verses highlight other distinctions about forgiving sins:

> If you avoid the major sins which you are forbidden, We will remove you your lesser sins (*sayyiʾāt*).[88]

> Those who avoid the major sins and immoralities, only committing slight ones. Indeed, your Lord is vast in forgiveness.[89]

These verses divide sins other than *shirk* in two, namely, "major" and "slight," and commands one to avoid major sins to forgive the lesser ones.

Evidently, a Muslim may also commit a "major" sin pursuant to his self and desire. Nevertheless, their forgiving should not be directly attributed to Allah and they should not be considered absolute and final. In contrast, the person should be aware of his error, repent sincerely, and be determined not to repeat it. The conditions for forgiving major sins are expressed in the Qurʾān via the expression *tawbah naṣūḥ* (sincere repentance):

> O you who have believed! Repent to Allah with sincere repentance. Perhaps your Lord will remove from you your misdeeds (lesser sins).[90]

The forgiving of lesser sins is also stipulated under certain conditions, asking the sinner to display an effort. Indeed, according to the foregoing Qurʾān verses, avoidance of major sins is a precondition for forgiving lesser sins. There are dozens of ḥadīths about relevant

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87   Q 9:1-11.

88   Q 4:31.

89   Q 53:32.

90   Q 66:8.

necessary efforts, which include performing two *rakʿah*s of *ṣalāh* following ablution, celebrating Ramaḍān nights with faith and expectations from Allah, worshipping throughout Laylat al-Qadr, praising Allah after meals, saying "āmīn" at the end of the al-Fātiḥah prayer recited by imām, and making a pilgrimage without inappropriate words and deeds.

In light of the foregoing, one cannot merely take refuge in the mercy of Allah and expect His forgiveness unless due effort is displayed for atonement. First, the sinner should display necessary effort and then submit such effort to Allah to expect His forgiveness and be included in the sphere of amnesty. Due to its specific character, abandonment of *ṣalāh* requires a great deal of such effort. Indeed, both Qurʾān verses and ḥadīths inform about concrete punishments against this offense. Therefore, if we are to understand the ḥadīth herein as "the abandoner of *ṣalāh* is left to the will of Allah; He may punish or forgive him" without any prerequisites, such an understanding will first of all contradict these verses and ḥadīths. Nonetheless, such a view is inconvenient, since it may "lead Muslims to laxity." For us, Islam prevents Muslims from heading toward such idleness under any excuse about performing *ṣalāh* by means of certain measures and facilities granted for believers.

4. Certain Facilitations and Details concerning the Performance of Ṣalāh

As described above, *ṣalāh* is the most mentioned deed/worship in the Qurʾān and ḥadīths. In most of these data, solutions are provided for possible excuses regarding its performance. In this regard, it is possible to shorten *ṣalāh* during a voyage,[91] to unify multiple *ṣalāh*s (for madhhabs other than Ḥanafī),[92] to perform *tayammum* in case no

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[91] Q 4:101.

[92] Ḥadīth works include many ḥadīths on practices applied by the Prophet Muḥammad about gathering. Some include *jamʿ* in wartime, peacetime, ʿArafāt and al-Muzdalifah, while some include details such as rain, occupation, and handicap (illness). For these ḥadīths, see al-Bukhārī, "al-Wuḍūʾ," 40; "al-Ṣalāh," 93-94; "Mawāqīt al-ṣalāh," 12, 18; "Taqṣīr," 6, 13-16; "al-Tahajjud," 30; "al-Ḥajj," 83, 93, 96-97; "al-ʿUmrah," 20; "al-Jihād," 136; "al-Manāqib," 23; Muslim, "al-Ṣalāh," 249, 252; "Ṣalāt al-musāfirīn," 42-58; "al-Ḥajj," 285-290; "al-Faḍāʾil," 10; al-Tirmidhī, "al-Ṭahārah," 95; "al-Ṣalāh," 24; "al-Jumʿah," 42; Abū Dāwūd, "al-Ṭahārah," 109-111; "al-Ṣalāh," 101; "al-Safar," 5, 10; "al-Manāsik," 56, 59; al-Nasāʾī, "al-Ṭahārah," 136;

water is available for ablution,[93] to perform *ṣalāh* sitting or even lying if one cannot stand;[94] moreover, there are explications as to how to perform *ṣalāh* in conditions of warfare.[95]

Such ease about the performance of *ṣalāh* is evidently one of the most important indicators of Allah's love, compassion and mercy toward Muslims. On the other hand, such ease also means that *ṣalāh* should be performed under any circumstances without making excuses. As a matter of fact, two conditions that may prevent the timely performance of *ṣalāh* are sleep and oblivion.[96] However, one must remember that both of these excuses are involuntary and unconscious.

Conclusion

Ṣalāh is a type of worship ordered in all revealed religions. Pursuant to information in the Qurʾān, *ṣalāh* is included among the doctrines of almost all prophets. In this regard, Islam lays stress insistently on *ṣalāh*, encourages it through the Qurʾān and ḥadīths, and points out details about its performance.

In a ḥadīth to encourage Muslims for *ṣalāh*, the Prophet says: "Allah made it *farḍ* to perform five daily prayers. Whoever performs them without any compromise and undervaluing its rules, he will have a guarantee before Allah for Heaven. Whoever does not fulfil them (وَمَنْ

"al-Ḥayḍ," 5; "al-Ṣalāh," 12, 18, 20; "al-Mawāqīt," 42, 44-48; "al-Manāsik," 207, 210; "al-Adhān," 18-20; Ibn Mājah, "al-Ṭahārah," 117; "al-Iqāmah," 74; "al-Manāsik," 59, 60, 84.

93   Q 4:85; Q 5:6. Tayammum is also mentioned in ḥadīths. For example, see al-Bukhārī, "al-Tayammum," 236.

94   For a narrative about how the Prophet performed *ṣalāh* sitting, see al-Bukhārī, "Mawāqīt al-ṣalāh," 398.

95   The related verse reads as follows: "And when you are among them and lead them in prayer, let a group of them stand [in prayer] with you and let them carry their arms. And when they have prostrated, let them be [in position] behind you and have the other group come forward which has not [yet] prayed and let them pray with you, taking precaution and carrying their arms. Those who disbelieve wish that you would neglect your weapons and your baggage so they could come down upon you in one [single] attack. But there is no blame upon you, if you are troubled by rain or are ill, for putting down your arms, but take precaution. Indeed, Allah has prepared for the disbelievers a humiliating punishment." See Q 4:102.

96   See al-Tirmidhī, "al-Ṣalāh," 18.

(لَمْ يَأْتِ بِهِنَّ), however, shall have no such guarantee in the presence of Allah; Allah may either torment or put him in his Heaven."

The earliest source to include the foregoing expression in this ḥadīth is *al-Muwaṭṭaʾ* by al-Imām Mālik. Accordingly, al-Imām Mālik's version constitutes the basis of our study. In addition, a collection of narratives in this and other sources reveals three different chains or lines of report as to the generation of Companions. Among them, only the "ʿUbādah → ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṣunābiḥī" line can be considered authentic. The others lack authenticity due to the detected flaws (*ḍabṭ*) of narrators. However, given the mutual support between lines, these may also be considered *ḥasan* and even attain the level of *ṣaḥīḥ li-ghayrihī* [authentic on the strength of another].

Ḥadīth is reported with wording differences that are due to meaning and report and that generally do not change its indication. Nevertheless, certain narrative differences may lead to significant changes in the indication of ḥadīth. Indeed, pursuant to certain versions, "the way to obtain a guarantee before Allah" is "to perform ablution appropriately, to fulfill *ṣalāh* in prescribed times with attention to bows and prostrations in total submission to Allah," or to "perform *ṣalāh* with due diligence on ablution, prescribed times, bows, and prostration," or "to perform *ṣalāh* with respect to its prescribed times." In addition, in some narratives, a person "who does not respect prescribed times and neglects it" "will not obtain guarantee before Allah." Such expressions stipulate the performance of five daily *ṣalāh* "as ordered" in order to obtain the guarantee for Heaven or forgiveness of Allah. Those who do not perform *ṣalāh* in this way have no such guarantee; their outcome is at the discretion of Allah. Therefore, the context herein does not include "the abandoning of *ṣalāh*." Consequently, this problem is not included within the indicative context of ḥadīth. Nevertheless, in the text reported by many ḥadīth experts and preferred by scholars regarding "faith-deed relations," the "performance" or "nonperformance" of *ṣalāh* can be considered as the separation point in terms of guarantee. Actually, many scholars have opted for this interpretation.

In consideration of and pursuant to the collective evaluation of wording differences, the ḥadīth herein stipulates performance of *ṣalāh* "as required" as the prerequisite for a guarantee before Allah of Heaven or forgiveness. Essentially, the expressions within the ḥadīth are sufficient to deduct this meaning via its assessment as a whole.

On the other hand, it will be very useful to refer to other data available for identifying the indication of such a text. For us, such an examination will reveal the controversial character of an opposite interpretation. The approach that "whoever does not perform five daily *ṣalāh* is left to the will of Allah" contradicts the general perspective of Islam as to "forgiving sins" and within the particular framework of punishments foreseen for abandoning *ṣalāh*.

The persons who ascribe the latter meaning to this ḥadīth will consider abandoning *ṣalāh* at least a "sin," if not *shirk* or unbelief. Indeed, it is impossible to claim that the abandonment of *ṣalāh* is not a sin in spite of so many relevant Qurʾān verses and ḥadīths. Actually, many scholars agree that abandoning *ṣalāh* without excuse is a "major sin." However, relevant data in Islam suggest that the forgiving of sins is not absolutely left to the will of Allah but that an effort is demanded from the sinner in order to make up for or correct his error. For major sins, this effort is called *tawbah naṣūḥ*. Moreover, ḥadīths even about forgiving "lesser sins" begin with the expression "whoever does ...;" therefore, they stipulate certain deeds and worship for forgiveness.

In our opinion, the argument that "the status of abandoners of *ṣalāh* is left to the will of Allah" contradicts the Qurʾān verses and ḥadīths, where the punishments foreseen for the unexcused abandoning of *ṣalāh* are explained. The Qurʾān and Sunnah point on many occasions to the insistence on the commandment of *ṣalāh* and how great a sin it is to abandon prayer. In light of the foregoing data, the deliberate abandoners of *ṣalāh* will lose their afterlife, go to Hell and be thrown in the *ghayy*. Therefore, these Qurʾān verses and ḥadīths do not state that abandoners of *ṣalāh* will be definitely left to the will of Allah, but that they will be severely punished. The opposite interpretation, however, argues that the status of the mentioned abandoners is left to Allah, and thus forgiveness is possible. In case we prefer this meaning, we must refer to *taʾwīl* for reconciliation with the foregoing religious data. However, the principle in Islamic studies is to focus on the simple and apparent meaning of a text, in other words, on the first thing that springs to mind. *Taʾwīl* is applicable only when the apparent meaning contradicts other reports or reason. However, there is no textual or reasonable objection against the interpretation of the mentioned ḥadīth, as "the status of those who do not fulfill prayer with attention to its essentials is left to will of Allah." Nevertheless, it is possible to put ḥadīth to *taʾwīl* and to claim, for example, that the outcome of the abandoners of *ṣalāh* is left to the will of Allah in case they do not repent

or do not take any steps to make up for their fault. In such a situation, the ḥadīth shall have no specific emphasis, and no information will be added to that already available. Each ḥadīth, however, is a separate asset. For us, the message of this ḥadīth is "do not perform *ṣalāh* in haste and in a perfunctory manner." Nonetheless, if we amend it and add "if they do not repent," even such an addition will not contribute to our mindset. After all, Qurʾān and ḥadīths already inform us that repentance is a valid compensation for every offense whatsoever, including *shirk*.

Despite the foregoing, efforts to ascribe the interpretation of "status of those who do not perform *ṣalāh* is left to the will of Allah" to this ḥadīth are related to the argument that "deed/worship is not a part of faith" and to the effort to find evidence for this argument. Most scholars, who allow for the ḥadīth herein, mention it within the latter context. It is a different point of debate and study whether such an argument is right or wrong, or what the presented evidential proof actually indicates on the matter. In our opinion, the ḥadīth herein is misinterpreted; it is inaccurate to focus on this misinterpretation and consider it evidence for the relations between deed and faith. Indeed, the emphasis on the ḥadīth herein is not on the consequence of the "nonperformance" of *ṣalāh* but on the consequence of "not performing *ṣalāh* appropriately."

Assessment of the ḥadīth herein in the context of relationship between faith and deed and the attribution of the aforementioned misinterpretation is also open to criticism due to the possibility of encouraging Muslims to laxity regarding *ṣalāh*, one of the five pillars of Islam. In our opinion, during the last centuries, the condition of Muslim society has been closely related with the understanding of the relationship between faith and deed in general, and the perceptions of *ṣalāh*, the most essential and prior example of deeds, in particular.

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REFLECTION OF QĀḌĪZĀDELĪS-KHALWATĪS TENSION ON THE ISLAMIC HERESIOGRAPHY: MUṢṬAFÁ IBN IBRĀHĪM AND HIS ALPHABETICAL CLASSIFICATION OF SECTS

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Abstract

Islamic heresiography has a long history whose roots go back to the second century of Hegira. The development process, which started with individual articles (*maqālah*), continued with encyclopedic works. As far as we know, the alphabetical classification of *firqah*s is the first attempt at Islamic heresiography. This classification, which was written by Muṣṭafá ibn Ibrāhīm in the late period of the Ottomans and reached the present day as a single copy, is remarkable in terms of both the author's environment and the subjects it contains. This article suggests that the author lived in the 18th century and belonged to the Qāḍīzādelī environment. First, the identification of the author is clarified, and then the content of the heresiographical treatise is analyzed. Finally, the Arabic version of the text with the developed text structure is presented as an appendix.

Key Words: Heresiography, Qāḍīzādelīs, Khalwatīs, *firaq*, Muṣṭafá ibn Ibrāhīm

Introduction

The first five centuries played a decisive role in the development of the main character of Islamic thought. The main problematic areas, subjects, and concepts of religion and thought were shaped mainly during this founding process. This is also true for Islamic sects; most sects that have survived throughout history and about which we have information emerged in these first five centuries and established their general character. After this process, it was as if time stopped and no other sects emerged. The surviving sects are those that were able to withstand the erosion of time and to carry their old existence to its new context. Is the problem the lack of emergence of new and different sects or the lack of new classifications? There is no doubt that these two are related and necessary to each other. This problem necessitates comprehensive studies. However, it is true that the classifications of the later periods did not go beyond a shortened and reduced reoccurrence of the heresiographical content of the first five centuries and that these later classifications could not produce an internal structural authenticity and differentiation. The treatise *al-Madhhab al-ḥaqq wa-l-madhāhib al-bāṭilah* (*Mḥmb*), which is the subject of this article and was written by Muṣṭafá ibn Ibrāhīm (M.b.I.), is remarkable in terms of his attempt to write an alphabetic script. Considering that there was no previous attempt of this sort and that the classification forms of different traditions made on the basis of the ḥadīth of seventy-three sects still maintain their influence, M.b.I.'s treatise is original and deserves to be considered in terms of the general development of heresiography. In this article, this treatise, which has reached the present day in the Balıkesir Library of Manuscripts, is analyzed in terms of its author, the period in which it was composed, and its content. Its Arabic text is presented as an appendix.

I. Identification of the Author of the Treatise

In the introduction of *Mḥmb*, the author presents himself as "al-Sheikh Muṣṭafá ibn Ibrāhīm." Based on this name, it is difficult to evaluate him or to identify the period in which he lived and the environment to which he belonged. In such cases where we have no information other than the root name, a follow-up method consisting of several stages can be adopted for the identification of the author. The first stage is to look at the content of the book itself. In this context, we can examine whether a general portrait of the author can be

proposed by considering some references in the treatise and the general perspective of thought reflected in the treatise. From this point of view, one of the most noteworthy points in the content of the treatise is the negative references of the M.b.I. to the Sufis in the *Malāmatī* line. Sects such as al-Ilhāmiyyah, al-Awliyāʾiyyah, al-Bāṭiniyyah, al-Jāhiliyyah, al-Ḥubbiyyah, al-Ḥurūfiyyah, al-Ḥūriyyah, al-Qalandariyyah, al-Maqābiriyyah, and al-Wujūdiyyah, which are included in *Mḥmb*, can be connected to Sufism. Al-Awliyāʾiyyah, for example, asserts that if one reaches the position (*maqām*) of *walāyah*, the commandments and prohibitions will fall from him and he will reach the closest position to God.[1] Al-Bāṭiniyyah is a group that argues that they are people of taṣawwuf who have secret knowledge and do not need the Book and the Sunnah. When they want to provide evidence to fulfill or reject certain deeds, they claim that they go to Muḥammad. If they receive an answer that will satisfy them, they are satisfied with it; otherwise, they apply to Allah himself.[2] Al-Ḥūriyyah are those who claim that Allah has married them to a houri. These people are from al-Khalwatiyyah and claim that the Qurʾān is a curtain between the servant and the Lord, that the poems are the Qurʾān of the dervish order, and that they can also reach Allah through the *khalwah* and the favor of the sheikh. After ending the dance (*raqṣ*), this group performs ablution (*ghusl*) on the grounds that they have sexual relations with the houri in the drunkenness of the dance.[3] Maqābiriyyah are people who seek help from the people of the grave because they believe that the people of the grave are aware of their situation, hear what they say and can fulfill their wishes.[4] They are those who argue that all things are the same as Allah's existence, so they see the *ulūhiyyah* (godhead) in every being.[5]

All of these groups, which M.b.I. mentions in the category of superstitious sects, possess mystical tendencies. Hence, he is distant from those who side with Ibn al-ʿArabī and the *malāmatī* line. However, the aforementioned Sufi tendencies have been recorded in various sources from the 11th century onward under similar names but with different contents. Therefore, this information alone is not enough

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[1]   Muṣṭafá ibn Ibrāhīm, *al-Madhhab al-ḥaqq wa-l-madhāhib al-bāṭilah* (Balıkesir: Ömer Ali Bey Library of Manuscripts, MS 322), 143r.

[2]   *Ibid.*, 143v.

[3]   *Ibid.*, 146v.

[4]   *Ibid.*, 151r.

[5]   *Ibid.*, 152v.

to identify the period in which the author lived. However, while mentioning the al-Ḥūriyyah, his statement that this sect is one of sub-groups of al-Khalwatiyyah is an important clue to identify the historical period in which M.b.I. lived. The socio-cultural context in which the Khalwatīs were the most powerful but the reaction against them was the most intense was the Anatolian geographical context, especially Istanbul. In the ʿulamāʾ-Sufi tension that started in the first half of the 16th century but reached its climax in the 17th century, the Khalwatīs were the main carriers of the Sufi camp. The reference to al-Khalwatiyyah in the treatise reveals, at least, that M.b.I. could not have lived earlier than the 16th century. It is clear that more information is needed to determine exactly the time he lived. Al-Maqābiriyyah, which is mentioned in the treatise, may be significant in this respect. This conception is first seen in *Ighāthah*, a work composed by Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah (d. 751/1350). It is understood that the concept did not yet have a terminological value given that it was used only once.[6] It was Aḥmad al-Rūmī al-Āqḥiṣārī (d. 1041/1632) who transformed this concept into a specific terminological use in the Ottomans. He wrote a treatise on this issue and severely criticized the people he called al-Maqābiriyyah.[7] Al-Āqḥiṣārī was known in the Qāḍizādelī circle, and his works were frequently used. In particular, his work *Majālis* was a work that gained a general acceptance in these circles as much as al-Birgiwī's *al-Ṭarīqah*. Considering the author's use of al-Maqābiriyyah in the treatise, the author could not have lived before at least the 17th century. Another noteworthy point of the treatise is the reference to Abū Ḥanīfah, when M.b.I. listed the qualities of Ahl al-sunnah at the end of the manuscript. The author places Māturīdism at the center of the doctrinal acceptances of Ahl al-sunnah and records his identity as Māturīdī.[8]

This is the portrait of M.b.I. introduced in *Mḥmb*. Based on this information, it can be suggested that M.b.I. could be a figure belonging to the Qāḍīzādelī circles and could not have lived before the 17th century. However, to make this portrait clearer, it is necessary to move to the second stage of the follow-up and to focus on the *majmūʿah*

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[6]   Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah, *Ighāthat al-lahfān min maṣāyid al-shayṭān*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Faqī (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah, 1971), I, 197.

[7]   Aḥmad al-Rūmī al-Āqḥiṣārī, *Risālah fī l-radd ʿalá l-Maqābiriyyah* (Istanbul: Süleymaniye Library, Fatih, MS 5398), fols.71-86.

[8]   Muṣṭafá ibn Ibrāhīm, *al-Madhhab al-ḥaqq*, 153v.

where the manuscript is found. It is possible that the treatises collected in the *majmūʿah* were written by the same person and that they were composed by M.b.I., who is in the last sequence of the *majmūʿah*. There are six works in the *majmūʿah* recorded with inventory number 322 in the Balıkesir provincial public collection: *Munabbihāt* by Ibn Ḥijjī (d. 816/1413), an abridged treatise on the *ʿaqīdah*, ethics, and deeds by Dulgerzāde (d. 1159/1746), a part of *Iḥyāʾ* of al-Ghazālī, a commentary by M.b.I. on al-Ghazālī's work *Ayyuhā l-walad*, a treatise by ʿĀlim Muḥammad (d. 1116/1704) about the duration of disbelievers in Hell, and the last treatise, *Mḥmb*, which is the subject of this article, by M.b.I. The first treatise was copied in 1149/1736, the second in 1151/1738, the third in 1152/1739, the fourth in 1153/1739, and the fifth in 1147/1733. The only treatise without a copy date is the sixth one in question. The character of the copying for all of the works in the *majmūʿah* is the same, and none of the names of the copyists in the *farāgh* records is mentioned.

Among these works, the work that needs to be examined for the identification of M.b.I. is the voluminous commentary on al-Ghazālī's *Ayyuhā l-walad* because it can be understood that Muṣṭafá, the author of this work, and Muṣṭafá, the owner of the heresiographical treatise, are the same person. Moreover, the commentary in question both confirms and clarifies the portrait of M.b.I. The most referenced work in the commentary is *al-Ṭarīqah* of al-Birgiwī (d. 981/1573). When extensive information is needed, the author refers the reader to this work of al-Birgiwī.[9] Additionally, *Ghunyat al-mutamallī* of al-Ḥalabī (d. 956/1549), *ʿAqāʾid* of al-Sanūsī (d. 895/1490), *al-Waṣiyyah* of Abū Ḥanīfah, *al-Mawāhib* of al-Qasṭallānī (d. 923/1517), *Muntakhab al-hayʾah al-saniyyah* of Ibrāhīm al-Āmidī (d. after 1069/1659), *Rawḍāt al-jannāt* of Ḥasan Kāfī al-Āqḥiṣārī (d. 1024/1615), *Sharḥ al-Fiqh al-akbar* and *Ḍawʾ al-maʿālī* of ʿAlī al-Qārī (d. 1014/1605), *Jilāʾ al-qulūb* of al-Birgiwī and *Majālis* of Aḥmad al-Āqḥiṣārī are among the works the author used and sometimes quoted in the commentary in question. These works are widely used in the Qāḍīzādelī environment. Among these, the most recent deceased writer was Ibrāhīm al-Āmidī. His work, cited as *Muntakhab*, is an abridgement of *al-Hayʾah al-saniyyah* by al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505). Al-Āmidī says in its preamble that he dedicated

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9 Muṣṭafá ibn Ibrāhīm, *Sharḥ Ayyuhā l-walad* (Balıkesir: Ömer Ali Bey Library of Manuscripts, MS 322), 97r, 108v, 111v.

this abridgement to Meḥmed IV (1648-1687).[10]

In the content of the commentary of *Ayyuhā l-walad*, the following expressions about the *malāmatī* Sufis support the author's portrait in the heresiographical treatise:

> Which calamity is severer than the faith of people of innovation (*ahl al-bidaʿ*) and than the mission of nearness to mendacity? Indeed, the following expressions of Sufis of our time set an example for this. 'A person who is close to our sheikh talks to God repeatedly in a single day; we do not need to consider the knowledge (*ʿilm*) and books because if we need to, we refer to the Messenger, if we receive an answer from him, we content ourselves with it, otherwise, we consult directly with God.' We seek refuge in Allah from such words and faith.[11]

This information corresponds exactly to the views presented in *Mḥmb* as belonging to al-Bāṭiniyyah. Thus, M.b.I. transformed the reality of his time into a sect under the concept of al-Bāṭiniyyah, which was a rather old concept that was mainly used to describe the Ismāʿīlīs. Again, when commenting on the features of a sheikh in the work of al-Ghazālī, he makes the reference, "what is meant here by sheikh is not to find fame just as the sheikh of Sufis in our day who is ignorant, apostatized, went astray, misguided."[12] Considerations of M.b.I. in his commentary on *Ayyuhā l-walad* about the importance of *fiqh* and the value of *faqīh*s also confirm his relationship with the Qāḍīzādelī circles.[13] It is important to note that in the commentary, he uses the epithet "our Imām" for both al-Māturīdī and Abū Ḥanīfah.[14]

The author of *Mḥmb* and *Sharḥ Ayyuhā l-walad* is the same person, and the two works reveal a portrait of M.b.I. that complete each other. Based on the content of these two works, it can be said that M.b.I. lived in the second half of the 17th century and the 18th century and had a similar world of thought to the Qāḍīzādelī environment. Although we have an opinion about the period in which M.b.I. lived and the environment to which he may have belonged, the question of who he really is remains unclear. At this point, it is possible to move to the third

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[10] Ibrāhīm al-Āmidī, *Muntakhab al-hayʾah al-saniyyah fī l-hayʾah al-sunniyyah* (Ankara: National Library, MS A 7486), 14v.

[11] Muṣṭafá ibn Ibrāhīm, *Sharḥ Ayyuhā l-walad*, 97v.

[12] *Ibid*., 107v.

[13] *Ibid*., 125v-126r.

[14] *Ibid*., 76r.

stage of the follow-up: to trace the root name M.b.I. in other works. Is it possible that the other works whose author is named M.b.I. belong to this author? Among the works recorded under the name of M.b.I. in the catalogs of manuscripts, seven works should be examined. The first work, specified by its author as *Zubdat al-amthāl,* has a content composed of Arabic proverbs or vocabulary. The author presented himself in the introduction of work as "Muṣṭafá ibn Ibrāhīm from Gallipoli, the home of the veterans and *mujāhid*s, the homeland of the ʿ*ārif*s and the saints." He dedicated his work to Murād III (d. 1003/1595) and compiled it on the basis of relevant works.[15]

The second work, *Tuḥfat al-ikhwān*, is a commentary on al-Birgiwī's *al-ʿAwāmil*, which has a wider network of circulation. The author gives his name in the preamble as "al-Sheikh Muṣṭafá ibn Ibrāhīm" and states that upon request from some of his distinguished pupils, he commented on this work of al-Birgiwī entitled *al-ʿAwāmil al-jadīdah*, which was well accepted by the pupils and by those engaging in *fiqh*. He also expressed his happiness about the circulation of the book and named his work *Tuḥfat al-ikhwān* in the hope that it would bring him much more on the Day of Judgment.[16] Considering both the reason that led him to write a commentary and his expectations about the work he wrote, the author can be understood to be in a tradition of education and teaching.

The third work is called *Sharḥ al-Awrād al-Bahāʾiyyah*. This commentary, which has many copies, is a commentary on the *awrād* of Bahāʾ al-Dīn Naqshband (d. 791/1389). The author wrote this commentary at the request of a friend whose request he could not refuse. In the commentary, in addition to the root name M.b.I., there is a *nisbah* of the town and denomination. The *nisbah* of the denomination is al-Ḥanafī, while the *nisbah* of the town varies from copy to copy. There are different usages in the copies, such as al-

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[15] Muṣṭafá ibn Ibrāhīm al-Gelībūlī, *Zubdat al-amthāl li-wuqūʿihā ʿumdat al-aqwāl* (Istanbul: Süleymaniye Library, Bağdatlı Vehbi, MS 1751), 1r-2v.

[16] Muṣṭafá ibn Ibrāhīm, *Tuḥfat al-ikhwān* (Istanbul: Maṭbaʿa-i ʿĀmirah, n.d.), 2.

Adaqī,[17] al-Adanī,[18] al-Adanawī,[19] al-Adhanī,[20] al-Ādhanī,[21] and al-Edirnewī.[22] However, in all cases, the author's root name and content are identical. It is possible to collect these usages into two groups, Edirne and Adana. It is not clear to which of these two cities the author belongs; a third possibility is that he lived in both regions at different times. However, the coincidence of the letter integrity suggests that the variability in the first analysis was due to the misreading or mistyping of the copyists. However, it is not possible to identify which of the possibilities, Edirne or Adana, reflects the truth.

The fourth, fifth, and sixth works are commentaries on the three *ḥizb*s of Nūr al-Dīn al-Shādhalī (d. 656/1258). "Ḥizb" is the name given to prayers that are arranged to achieve certain goals, common among Sufis.[23] Al-Shādhalī has many *ḥizb*s.[24] Commentaries ascribed to M.b.I. are al-Shādhalī's *Ḥizb al-barr*, *Ḥizb al-baḥr*, and *Ḥizb al-naṣr*. *Ḥizb al-barr* is the prayer that needs to be read to travel safely on land. In the text of the commentary shown to belong to M.b.I., the name of the author is not included. The explanations for the reason for writing in the introduction are noteworthy and shed light on the period in which the commentary was written. The author examined al-Shādhalī's widely accepted *ḥizb* among the people and aimed to explain some of the subtleties in its content. However, a development caused this to be delayed. The author stated that Allah soon helped him to finish the

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[17] Muṣṭafá ibn Ibrāhīm, *Sharḥ al-Awrād al-Bahāʾiyyah* (Istanbul: Süleymaniye Library, Hacı Mahmud, MS 4204), 15v.

[18] Muṣṭafá ibn Ibrāhīm, *Sharḥ al-Awrād al-Bahāʾiyyah* (Ankara: National Library, MS A 7835), 1v; (Ankara: National Library, MS A 8221), 118v; (Ankara: National Library, Çankırı, MS 246), 1v.

[19] Muṣṭafá ibn Ibrāhīm, *Sharḥ al-Awrād al-Bahāʾiyyah* (Ankara: National Library, Zile, MS 113), 70v.

[20] Muṣṭafá ibn Ibrāhīm, *Sharḥ al-Awrād al-Bahāʾiyyah* (Manisa Library of Manuscripts, Akhisar Zeynelzade, MS 642), 131v.

[21] Muṣṭafá ibn Ibrāhīm, *Sharḥ al-Awrād al-Bahāʾiyyah* (Istanbul: Süleymaniye Library, Reşid Efendi, MS 511), 1v.

[22] Muṣṭafá ibn Ibrāhīm, *Sharḥ al-Awrād al-Bahāʾiyyah* (Istanbul: Süleymaniye Library, Hacı Mahmud, MS 4095), 1v.

[23] Süleyman Uludağ, "Hizb," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi (DİA)*, XVIII, 182.

[24] Ahmet Murat Özel, "Şâzelî," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi (DİA)*, XXXVIII, 386.

commentary he had started, and he completed it in 1140 (1727).[25]
Considering this information, it is suggested that the author lived at
least in the 18th century. However, because there is no author name in
the text, it is difficult to determine the owner of this information. The
information in the *ẓahriyyah* of the 1564 numbered Laleli copy of this
commentary used in this article is important in that it refers to the
identity of the author. The author of the commentary is presented as
"Mullā Muṣṭafā ibn Ibrāhīm al-Adhanī al-Māturīdī, the disciple of al-
Sheikh Meḥmed al-Ṭarsūsī." Meḥmed al-Ṭarsūsī (d. 1145/1732), who
was presented as his teacher, was the son of Aḥmed Efendī, muftī of
Ṭarsūs, and assumed the post himself upon the death of his father. Al-
Ṭarsūsī was distinguished with his competence in intellectual and
transmitted sciences.[26] Additionally, he composed many treatises and
annotations (*ḥāshiyah*), especially in the field of intellectual sciences.[27]
Muṣṭafá al-Khādimī, the father of Abū Saʿīd al-Khādimī (d. 1176/1762),
is reported to have been the student of al-Ṭarsūsī.[28] Perhaps the most
important information to identify the environment of both al-Ṭarsūsī
and his disciple M.b.I. is the fact that al-Ṭarsūsī was a student of Vānī
Meḥmed Efendī (d. 1096/1685), who was one of the important figures
of the Qāḍīzādelīs movement.[29]

Unlike *Sharḥ Ḥizb al-barr*, in *Sharḥ Ḥizb al-baḥr* and *Sharḥ Ḥizb
al-naṣr*, the name of author is mentioned in the text. *Ḥizb al-baḥr*, the
first of these, refers to the prayer during a journey at sea. The author,
whose *kunyah* information is mentioned in its *ẓahriyyah* as "Mullā
Muṣṭafā ibn Ibrāhīm al-Adhanī al-Māturīdī, the disciple of al-Sheikh
Meḥmed ibn Sheikh Aḥmed al-Ṭarsūsī,"[30] directly begins the
commentary without citing any information about the reason the work
was written. Giving his *kunyah* in the epilogue (*khātimah*) as Muṣṭafá

25 Muṣṭafā ibn Ibrāhīm, *Sharḥ Ḥizb al-barr* (Istanbul: Süleymaniye Library, Laleli, MS
    1564), 1v-3r.

26 Fındıqlılī ʿIṣmet Efendī, *Takmilat al-Shaqāʾiq fī ḥaqq ahl al-ḥaqāʾiq*, in *Şakaik-i
    Numaniye ve Zeyilleri*, ed. Abdulkadir Özcan (Istanbul: Çağrı Publications, 1989),
    V, 63-64.

27 Abdullah Kahraman, "Tarsûsî Mehmed Efendi," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm
    Ansiklopedisi (DİA)*, XL, 115-116.

28 Yaşar Sarıkaya, *Merkez ile Taşra Arasında Bir Osmanlı Âlimi: Ebu Said el-Hâdimî*
    (Istanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2008), 34-35.

29 *Ibid.*, 25.

30 Muṣṭafā ibn Ibrāhīm, *Sharḥ Ḥizb al-baḥr* (Istanbul: Süleymaniye Library, Laleli, MS
    1564), 116r.

ibn Ibrāhīm al-Adhanī al-Māturīdī al-Ḥanafī, the author associates the reason he wrote this commentary with the prevalence of prayer among the people and their reading it carelessly.[31]

Similarly, in *Sharḥ Ḥizb al-naṣr*, the author mentions his name in the *khātimah* of the commentary as "Muṣṭafá ibn Ibrāhīm al-Adhanī al-Ḥanafī." Differences like those in the above works about the *nisbah* of the town are seen in the various copies of the commentary. In some this *nisbah* is al-Adhanī,[32] and in some it is al-Adanawī.[33] The information he shares under four headings is about how to read and pay attention to this prayer. The fourth heading is the analysis of whether reading this prayer or similar prayers is hypocrisy. The author quotes from al-Birgiwī's *al-Ṭarīqah* that "it is not hypocrisy to demand a worldly benefit from God by performing an otherworldly deed."[34]

The seventh work is called *Ḥāshiyah ʿalá Sharḥ Ādāb al-Birgiwī*. The commentary that is the subject of the *Ḥāshiyah* was written by Qāzābādī Aḥmed Efendi (d. 1163/1750) on *Ādāb* of al-Birgiwī and gained general acceptance. In the introduction of *Ḥāshiyah*, the author presents himself as al-Sharīf Muṣṭafá ibn al-Sayyid Ibrāhīm.[35] Apart from this, there is no information reflecting who the author really is. The author states in the preamble of the commentary that the commentary written by Qāzābādī, whom the author describes as unique in his time, on the treatise of al-Birgiwī contains highly important information. Nevertheless, there are many obscure points; thus, he composed his *Ḥāshiyah*. Qāzābādī, who is reported to have been a disciple of ʿAyntābī Meḥmed Efendi (d. 1111/1699), is also the teacher of Abū Saʿīd al-Khādimī. Al-Khādimī learned from him in Istanbul for almost eight years.[36] It is reported that Qāzābādī, who

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[31] *Ibid.*, 147v-148v.

[32] Muṣṭafá ibn Ibrāhīm, *Sharḥ Ḥizb al-naṣr* (Istanbul: Süleymaniye Library, Hacı Mahmud, MS 4202), 19r; (Ankara: National Library, MS A 5133), 16r.

[33] Muṣṭafá ibn Ibrāhīm, *Sharḥ Ḥizb al-naṣr* (Ankara: National Library, MS A 5198), 47v; (Ankara: National Library, Zile, MS 113), 97v.; (Ankara: National Library, Adana, MS 311), 150v.

[34] Muṣṭafá ibn Ibrāhīm, *Sharḥ Ḥizb al-naṣr* (Hacı Mahmud, 4202), 19v-20r.

[35] Muṣṭafá ibn Ibrāhīm, *Ḥāshiyah ʿalá Sharḥ Ādāb al-Birgiwī* (Istanbul: Süleymaniye Library, Laleli, MS 2943), 1v; (Çorum: Hasan Paşa Library of Manuscripts, MS 4726), 12v.

[36] Mustafa Yayla, "Hâdimî, Ebû Saîd," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi (DİA)*, XV, 24.

wrote a commentary on *al-Qaṣīdah al-nūniyyah*, a poetical text of *ʿaqāʾid*, and composed a ḥāshiyah on *al-Muqaddimāt al-arbaʿah*, posed an opposing stance against the Sufis.[37] Since the first of the seven works above is dedicated to Murād III, there is no possibility that it belongs to the author we are seeking. The content of the remaining six works, the context and the period in which they were produced seem compatible with the heresiographical treatise and the author's portrait reflected in *Sharḥ Ayyuhā l-walad*. Meḥmed al-Ṭarsūsī, mentioned in the *ẓahriyyah*s of *Sharḥ Ḥizb al-barr* and *Sharḥ Ḥizb al-baḥr* as his student, had an *ijāzah* from Vānī, the leader of Qāḍīzādelīs in his time. Additionally, the affiliation of al-Māturīdī mentioned in the *ẓahriyyah* in question corresponds to the context of the heresiographical treatise and *Sharḥ Ayyuhā l-walad*.[38] His work *Tuḥfat al-ikhwān* is a commentary written on al-Birgiwī's *al-ʿAwāmil*. The fact that al-Birgiwī is also a great respectable person in the Qāḍīzādelī line suggests that there might be a similar perception in the mind of the author who wrote the commentary on *Tuḥfat al-ikhwān*. The quotation in *Sharḥ Ḥizb al-naṣr* from *al-Ṭarīqah* of al-Birgiwī makes the existence of a similar interaction more visible. The *Ḥāshiyah* composed on the commentary that Qāzābādī wrote on the *Ādāb* of al-Birgiwī is likely to be written by the same author. Considering the fact that Qāzābādī did not have good relations with the Sufis of his time and that he was also the teacher of Abū Saʿīd al-Khādimī, who had a similar discourse with the Qāḍīzādelīs on such matters as *al-dhikr al-jahrī*, it can be suggested that the author of *Ḥāshiyah*, which was written with praise of this commentary and its author Qāzābādī, is in harmony with the portrait of M.b.I.

Although it is quite possible that the man who wrote the commentary on al-Shādhalī's *ḥizb*s also wrote the commentary *Sharḥ al-Awrād al-Bahāʾiyyah*, it seems that the M.b.I. reflected in *Mḥmb* and *Sharḥ Ayyuhā l-walad* remained distant from the Sufis of his time. In this case, it may seem strange that he wrote commentaries on the *ḥizb*s of al-Shādhalī, the founder of al-Shādhaliyyah, and on the *awrād* of Bahāʾ al-Dīn Naqshband, the founder of al-Naqshbandiyyah. This may seem to contradict the author's portrait. However, while at first glance it may seem to be a contradiction, in fact, it can be said that it is

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[37] Bursalı Mehmed Tahir, *Osmanlı Müellifleri*, ed. A. Fikri Yavuz and İsmail Özen (Istanbul: Meral, n.d.), I, 374.

[38] Muṣṭafā ibn Ibrāhīm, *al-Madhhab al-ḥaqq*, 153v.

not a contradiction but rather a point that completes the portrait of author. Al-Naqshbandiyyah, especially the Mujaddidī line led by al-Imām al-Rabbānī (d. 1034/1624), had a sharīʿah-centered religious understanding. In the Ottoman neighborhood, the Mujaddidī-Naqshī line most often sympathized with the Qāḍīzādelīs in the struggle against the other side, the Khalwatīs, and positioned itself next to them.[39] For example, Sheikh al-Islām Fayḍ Allāh Efendī (d. 1115/1703), the disciple and son-in-law of Vānī, is one of the figures whose Qāḍīzādelī and Naqshī identities correspond.[40] Likewise, al-Khādimī, who positioned himself in the line of Qāḍīzādelīs with the treatises he wrote, is one of the most influential names of the Naqshbandiyyah order in Anatolia. A small treatise of al-Khādimī is the most concrete example of the Qāḍīzādelī-Naqshbandī intersection.[41] Therefore, *Sharḥ al-Awrād al-Bahāʾiyyah* does not contradict the fact that our author opposes Sufism in the Malāmatī line. This opposition does not mean to oppose all of Sufism and its essence. In fact, the content reflected in *Sharḥ Ayyuhā l-walad* confirms this. The fact that he quoted Muḥammad Khwājah Pārsā, a prominent figure in the Naqshbandiyyah,[42] when he listed the qualities of Ahl al-sunnah wa-l-jamāʿah at the end of *Mḥmb* may suggest that M.b.I. may have looked at Naqshbandiyyah with sympathy.

The M.b.I. we are seeking in this article and M.b.I. the author of six works may be the same person. Some of the six works, perhaps all of them, may actually not belong to the author of the heresiographical work. However, this possibility does not invalidate the author's close stance to the environment of the authors of these six works. Even if only *Mḥmb* and *Sharḥ Ayyuhā l-walad* are taken into account, it can be understood that our author lived between the second half of the 17th century and the first half of the 18th century, had a Ḥanafī and Māturīdī identity, opposed the Malāmatī Sufi tradition, especially the Khalwatīs, and remained close to the Qāḍīzādelī environment. When we assume that the other six works were written by the same author, it can be suggested that M.b.I. is a person who was born at the end of the 17th century, learned from al-Ṭarsūsī, adopted the perspective of the

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[39] Dina L. Gall, *A Culture of Sufism: Naqhsbandis in the Ottoman World 1450-1700* (Albany, NY: State University of New York, 2005), 152.

[40] *Ibid.*, 154.

[41] Abū Saʿīd Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Khādimī, *Risālah fī māhiyyat al-ṭarīqah* (Istanbul: Süleymaniye Library, Esad Efendi, MS 3543), 54r-v.

[42] Muṣṭafā ibn Ibrāhīm, *al-Madhhab al-ḥaqq*, 154r.

Qāḍīzādelīs, took a dissenting attitude against the Sufi movements in the Malāmatī line but sympathized with the Sufi tendencies that had high sensitivity toward sharīʿah (such as al-Naqshbandiyyah), came to the fore with his Māturīdī and Ḥanafī credentials, became busy with educational activity and passed away in the second half of the 18th century. At this point, in terms of completing the final picture, we can perhaps focus on the meaning of the fact that his town *nisbah*s show variability (i.e., al-Adhanī, al-Edirnewī and al-Adanawī). Among these *nisbah*s, the most reasonable one is probably the *nisbah* of al-Adanī or al-Adanawī. It is recorded that in Islamic sources, Adana was written as Ardana, Adana, Adhana, Azana, and Batana.[43] It is likely that the previous usages of Arabic spelling alternately remained in circulation, and the author was described as al-Adhanī. Considering that he was a student of Meḥmed al-Ṭarsūsī and the copies of the above-mentioned works are available in the Adana Provincial Public Collection as Muṣṭafá ibn Ibrāhīm al-Adanawī, it is possible to identify the final name of author as al-Sheikh Mullā Muṣṭafá ibn Ibrāhīm al-Adanī/al-Adanawī al-Ḥanafī al-Māturīdī.

II. Content Analysis of the Treatise

M.b.I.'s heresiographical treatise *Mḥmb* differs considerably from the earlier classifications of sects in the Islamic tradition of thought. Previous classifications are usually based on the completion of the number given in the ḥadīth of 73 sects. The seventy-third group is often recorded as Ahl al-sunnah wa-l-jamāʿah according to the definition given in the ḥadīth.[44] The remaining 72 sects are usually mathematically listed, and sometimes they are randomly placed under the defined supra-identities.[45] Although mathematical classification patterns seem to be quite suitable for those who want to classify the sects, it becomes inconceivable to comprehend the reality as time progresses and the intellectual imagination expands. In particular, the attempt to realize this in the number 73 led sects to be kept abstractly

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[43] Yusuf Halaçoğlu, "Adana (İslamî Devir)," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi (DİA)*, I, 349.

[44] For more information on this issue, see Muhammet Emin Eren, *Hadis, Tarih ve Yorum: 73 Fırka Hadisi Üzerine Bir İnceleme* (Istanbul: KURAMER, 2017).

[45] Gömbeyaz tabulated his templates of classification in accordance with different tendencies and presented them as an appendix at the end of his doctoral work. Cf. "İslam Literatüründe İtikâdî Fırka Tasnifleri" (PhD diss., Bursa: Uludağ University, 2015), 262-310.

alive that never existed or could not survive and prevented new sects or movements from being part of the classification.

M.b.I. also starts by referring to the ḥadīth of 73 sects but does not reveal an enumeration of sects based on the number. It is certain that the motivation for doing so is his attempt to make an alphabetical classification because in such a classification, all sects are made part of a supra-cluster (in his words, "al-madhāhib al-bāṭilah") without needing any sub- or supra-classification. This is significant because the most remarkable point in group classifications is that some later philosophical and Sufi differentiations cannot be associated with any of the early accepted supra-sect categories. Sufi differentiations are the most remarkable example of this. There is usually no supra-identity with which these differentiations can be associated. For example, it is often not possible to cluster them under such traditions as Muʿtazilah, Khawārij, Shīʿah, or Murjiʾah. However, as time passed, the fact that these differentiations were not only confined to Sufism but were also the powerful carriers of doctrinal views led them to be taken into consideration. In such cases, these differentiations are given separately.[46] In an alphabetical classification, there is no need for these differentiations or the search for a new place separate from the theological sects in the classical literature; rather, a flexible framework is formed that allows them to be positioned as separate.

An attempt to create such a flexible framework is evident in M.b.I.'s *Mḥmb*. The information he presents about writing the treatise also supports this. He regards the sects other than the saved sect as demons of humans and thinks that they are worse than demons of elves. According to him, these sects infiltrated both those who have knowledge among Ahl al-sunnah wa-l-jamāʿah and those who are people of foolishness (*ahl al-ḥamāqah*). It is not possible to distinguish them from their appearance and clothing; recognition is possible by knowledge of their behavior and words. The author states that he clarifies the beliefs and words of these sects in order to find out who they really are. By doing so, he aims to protect people who are unaware of inner face of the affair, who fall in the darkness of heresy, and who cannot distinguish the scrawny and the fat or the right and

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[46]   For example, in the classification of the Ṣadr al-Dīn-zādah al-Shirwānī, the Sufi sects are mentioned under the title of *malāḥidat al-ṣūfiyyah*. See Mullāzādah Muḥammad Amīn ibn Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Shirwānī, *Mukhtaṣar fī bayān al-madhāhib al-mukhtalifah* (Istanbul: Süleymaniye Library, Harput, MS 11), 113v-114r.

the left from the damages of these sects.[47] It can be understood that M.b.I. opposed the depravation of the mind of people who did not have enough knowledge on religious matters; in this respect, he attributed a functional mission to his treatise. It is clear that this opposition fed on an actual reality and pointed to a group with whom he struggled. Although he indirectly expressed this as the demons of the people, there should be some advocates of non-legitimate views among the people in his time. Who were those in reality who caused M.b.I. to make an alphabetical classification of sects? Considering the author's portrait above, it is not difficult to guess that his actual interlocutors were the Malāmatī Sufis. The flexible framework provided by the alphabetical classification also allows the persons who infiltrated the Ahl al-sunnah wa-l-jamāʿah to be positioned under the guise of Sufism as a superstitious sect. In fact, ten sects included in his work in this context are related to Sufism. In the alphabetical classification of M.b.I., the Shīʿī sects have an actual equivalent at least as much as Sufis. In fact, twenty-four sects in the classification consisting of one hundred and three sects in total are associated with Shīʿism. Since the Shīʿī sects were extensively included from the beginning of the heresiographical tradition, it is not strange that M.b.I. included twenty-four Shīʿī sub-sects in his classification. However, when the sectarian struggle between the Ottomans and the Iranians is taken into consideration, the existence and totality of the Shīʿī sects in the treatise becomes more important than the other groups because he wrote his treatise with a functional aim (i.e., to prevent the minds of people from being depraved). In this case, it would be a deficiency to think that the Shīʿī-Sunnī tension, which was vivid in his lifetime, had no effect. This tension is particularly evident in the Ottoman-Iranian relations under Aḥmed III and the later period. When the struggle against the Iranians after Sheikh al-Islām Yenişehirlī ʿAbd Allāh Efendī's *fatwá* is compared with the struggles in the previous period, its intellectual aspect can be understood as hard and strong.[48] On the Iranian side, when Nādir Shāh became the ruler and asked the Shīʿīs to put an end to some of practices disturbing the Sunnīs and, in return, asked the Sunnīs to recognize Jaʿfarism as the fifth true madhhab, this

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[47]   Muṣṭafá ibn Ibrāhīm, *al-Madhhab al-ḥaqq*, 140v.

[48]   In this process, Meḥmed Fiqhī el-ʿAynī, vice of ʿAbd Allāh Efendī, summarized this tension in the beginning of his treatise written to declare the apostasy of the Rāfiḍīs. See al-ʿAynī, *Kashf al-ghawāmiḍ fī aḥkām al-Rawāfiḍ* (Istanbul: Âtıf Efendi Library, MS 1179), 334v-335r.

caused a new debate on the Ottoman side. While those who asserted that sectarian strife should be terminated approved of this initiative, those who remained distant from the recognition of Jaʿfarism as the right sect strongly opposed this initiative. For example, Rāghib Pāshā (d. 1176/1763), who was in the office of Raʾīs al-kuttāb, was one of those who declared an opinion about the termination of this kind of sectarian strife and the recognition of the Jaʿfariyyah as a correct sect. This attitude caused tension between him and Bashīr Āghā (d. 1159/1746), who was in the post of eunuch under Aḥmed III and Maḥmūd I for a total of twenty-nine years and had a great influence on the palace under Maḥmūd I. Therefore, Rāghib was dismissed from his post in 1144.[49] In the classification of M.b.I., it is possible to find traces of this discussion in the sect called al-Ittiḥādiyyah. He presents the members of this sect as "those requiring the unity among Muslims as the condition of Islam, and, in case of disagreement, those arguing that everyone is infidel." The concept of al-Ittiḥādiyyah is also mentioned in other classifications; however, in these classifications, the contents are classified as expressing an integration that refers to the unity of the lover and the loved.[50] It is not possible to see it, as M.b.I. meant, in another classification of sects. This situation suggests that an actual event was reflected in the treatise in the process of writing.

M.b.I. keeps the considerations of the sects as short as possible and attempts to highlight their most distinctive features. He states in the introduction that unless it is mentioned in the works of the experts, it is not possible to reveal a feature that can distinguish all the sects from the others. He mentions some of them under some others provided that the procedures and principles are observed. The author, who draws attention to the difficulty of dealing with all sects in a treatise of this kind, states that he confined himself to the most common and famous sects. Because of the reluctance of the people to consider the voluminous older texts, he clarifies the distinctive features of the sects he examines in a short treatise.[51] Considering the information given in his work, it can also be said that he was successful in this to a certain extent. It is as if he chose the most characteristic ones among a great deal of information, which suggests that he made a comprehensive

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[49] Mesut Aydıner, "Râgıb Paşa," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi (DİA)*, XXXIV, 404.

[50] For example see *Risālah fī tafṣīl al-firaq al-ḍāllah* (Diyarbakır: Ziya Gökalp Library of Manuscripts, MS 553), 87r.

[51] Muṣṭafá ibn Ibrāhīm, *al-Madhhab al-ḥaqq*, 140v-141r.

reading of the sects. However, when examined carefully, it can be seen that this information does not entirely belong to him and uses other texts. In this context, the most frequently referenced source is *al-Taʿrīfāt*, the alphabetical dictionary of al-Jurjānī (d. 816/1413). It may be considered an indirect reference to al-Jurjānī that M.b.I. stated that he took the lead by making an alphabetical classification in this field and that, therefore, he positioned himself in the line of the virtuous ʿulamāʾ.[52] In his treatise, he referred to the work of al-Jurjānī in the context of four sects, al-Jabriyyah, al-Khārijiyyah, al-Mushabbihah, and al-Muʿaṭṭilah. However, when the texts are compared, the quotations from al-Jurjānī are not limited to these four sects; the number of sects he quotes from al-Jurjānī is more than sixty. The fact that the number of groups he mentioned exceeds one hundred also shows that he was not based solely on al-Jurjānī. In the text, he refers to *al-Mawāqif* of al-Ījī only once in the context of the fact that al-Rāfiḍiyyah is divided into twenty-three groups. However, it can be understood that he used *al-Mawāqif* for other sects. For example, the information related to al-Shayṭāniyyah, al-Mufawwiḍiyyah, al-Maymūniyyah, and al-Najjāriyyah exactly overlaps with the information in *al-Mawāqif*.[53]

It remains unclear which work or works are the source of the information about the remaining sects. Sufi groups are also mentioned under similar names in other works; however, the explanations given sometimes differ from those of the works in question.[54] Sometimes this situation is also valid for other sects. The information in the context of al-Bābakiyyah is remarkable in this respect. Bābak al-Khurramī (d. 223/838), the founder of the sect, is known in the sources as someone who appeared in the mountainous regions of Azerbaijan during the Abbasid period, struggled against the Abbasid rule for nearly two decades, spread the doctrine of antinomianism (*ibāḥah*) among his supporters and finally was captured and executed in the time of Caliph

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[52] *Ibid.*, 141r.

[53] Cf. Abū l-Faḍl ʿAḍud al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Aḥmad al-Ījī, *al-Mawāqif fī ʿilm al-kalām* (Beirut: ʿĀlam al-Kutub, n.d.).

[54] See Gömbeyaz, "Bir Fırak Müellifi Olarak Fahreddin er-Râzî," in *İslam Düşüncesinin Dönüşüm Çağında Fahreddin er-Râzî*, ed. Ömer Türker and Osman Demir (Istanbul: ISAM, 2013), 356-357, 365; Ethem Ruhi Fığlalı, "İbn Sadru'd-Din eş-Şirvânî ve İtikâdî Mezhepler Hakkındaki Türkçe Risâlesi," *Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 24 (1981): 270-271; Âdem Arıkan, *Hanefîliğin Bidat Karşıtı Söylemi: Dâmiğatu'l-Mübtedi'în Örneği* (Ankara: Ilahiyat Yayınları, 2016), 59-69.

al-Muʿtaṣim.[55] In the heresiographical work *Mḥmb*, he records that Bābak appeared in the time of Jaʿfar ibn Ghāzī Ḥusayn, known as Sayyid Ghāzī al-Malaṭī, and claimed prophecy and that his supporters argued that with his prophecy, the prophecy of the Prophet Muḥammad came to an end. The figure he presented as Sayyid al-Ghāzī al-Malaṭī is the famous Baṭṭāl Ghāzī. In fact, following his statement, he also stated that Baṭṭāl killed Bābak calamitously.[56] This information is noteworthy because Baṭṭāl Ghāzī lived during the Umayyad period, a hundred years before Bābak's appearance. The association of Bābak with Baṭṭāl Ghāzī is not included in the sources. The only exception to this is the *Manāqibnāmah* of Sayyid Baṭṭāl Ghāzī. Here, as the author of the heresiographical work stated, Baṭṭāl's struggle with Bābak was mentioned separately; finally, he killed him.[57] In this case, it is highly probable that the author used the *Manāqibnāmah* in question as the source for the information about this sect.

It can be understood that M.b.I. compiled his treatise by using information from several different sources. In addition to the information he quoted, it provides an explanation about the exact meaning of statements he quoted about the relevant sect's supra-identity and often refers to the prayer "we seek refuge in God" from the views of the sect in question. It cannot be said that he is always successful in associating the sects he mentions with the supra-identities. In fact, this seems to be an inevitable consequence of his alphabetical classification. Because they are not classified mathematically, each sect is seen as an equal part of the supra-identity perverted sect (*al-firqah al-ḍāllah*). When the sects are given separately, the supra-identities to which they belong must also be mentioned separately. M.b.I. tries to abide by this in the context of the sects he mentions. Sometimes, however, he makes mistakes in associating them. For example, stating that al-Zaydiyyah is followers of Zayd ibn Yazīd, he positions it under Khawārij. He shows al-Shuʿaybiyyah, which we know as a Khārijī sect, under the title of al-Rawāfiḍ. He mentions al-Shaybāniyyah as a sub-sect of al-Jabriyyah, which argued that they held determinism (*jabr*) and rejected fate

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55 Hakkı Dursun Yıldız, "Bâbek," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi (DİA)*, IV, 376-377.

56 Muṣṭafá ibn Ibrāhīm, *al-Madhhab al-ḥaqq*, 143v.

57 Necati Demir and Mehmet Dursun Erdem, "Türk Kültüründe Destan ve Battal Gazi Destanı," *Turkish Studies/Türkoloji Dergisi* 1, no. 1 (2006): 124-125.

(*qadar*), whereas this sect is one of the Khārijī sects, and there is no information in the sources that it advocated determinism. He also mentioned al-Shamrākhiyyah under the Rawāfiḍ and said that they were of the same opinion as al-Shūriyyah, except that they claimed ʿAlī's divinity. However, al-Shamrākhiyyah is generally defined as a Khārijī and sometimes a Sufi sect. In both cases, the divinity of ʿAlī is not associated with al-Shamrākhiyyah. This situation shows serious inconsistencies and errors between the sect he mentioned and the information given about it. Additionally, a sect under the name of al-Shūriyyah cannot be identified. So, it cannot be understood to whom the author referred with al-Shūriyyah.

There are some problems in his quotations, which are probably caused by typographical errors in the manuscripts or by his misreading. For example, the information in *al-Taʿrīfāt* as " وابن ملجم محقّ[58]" is mentioned in the heresiographical treatise as " وكفر ابن ملجم بقتله عليّ." It is clear that these two pieces of information have completely different meanings. The expression in the treatise is probably due to misreading. A similar situation can be found in the context of al-ʿInādiyyah. The author of the treatise probably read the word "الأشياء" in the sentence "وينكرون حقائق الأشياء[59]" mentioned in *al-Taʿrīfāt* as "رأساً." However, since the meaning of the phrase probably did not satisfy him, he felt the need to explain this word as "أي ذهناً وخارجاً." Misspelling or misreading errors due to the copy he used can also be found in the context of the sect names and the founding names of the sects. For example, al-Khāzimiyyah in *al-Taʿrīfāt* is read as al-Jāzimiyyah by the author of the heresiographical treatise. Similarly, al-Ḥābiṭiyyah is recorded as al-Ḥāʾiṭiyyah, al-Sabaʾiyyah as al-Sabāʾiyyah, and al-Kāmiliyyah as al-Kāhiliyyah.

M.b.I. sometimes could not escape minor errors of classification. Although he makes an alphabetical classification, shifts are sometimes observed in the alphabetical classification of sect names. For example, where he should present al-Aswāriyyah after al-Isḥāqiyyah, al-Iskāfiyyah, and al-Ismāʿīliyyah, he mentions it before them. Sometimes a sect can be seen to be mentioned in several different ways. For example, although he mentions a sect as al-Shayṭāniyyah and states that its founder was Shayṭān al-Ṭāriq [al-Ṭāq], he also presents a sect

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58   Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī al-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī, *al-Taʿrīfāt*, ed. Ibrāhīm al-Abyārī (Cairo: Dār al-Rayyān li-l-Turāth, 1403), 32.

59   *Ibid.*, 203.

called Shayṭān al-Ṭāriq [al-Ṭāq]. Considering that the information he provides for clarification overlaps, it can be understood that this is a mistake caused by carelessness. One of these types of careless mistakes can be seen in the context of al-Balkhiyyah and al-Kaʿbiyyah. A similar mistake and carelessness is seen in the context of the Imāmiyyah. The information given about this sect should be divided into two parts. In the first part, he gives information about the Imāmiyyah; however, elsewhere he gives information starting with " هم الذين يكفرون عامة الصحابة وهم الذين خرجوا على علي" and does not overlap with the information above. This information is about the Khārijīs and, at the end, an account is also given that is often used in the sources to denigrate the Khārijīs. In this case, two possibilities can be mentioned. The first possibility is that there was a section about the Khārijīs in the source the author quotes immediately after the Imāmiyyah and that the author reported it as a whole without separating it. The second possibility is that the author mixed the notes he had for the purpose of transforming them into separate parties and that he combined the information of two different sects as if they were the same group. Finally, the author beginning the treatise with attribution to the ḥadīth of 73 sects initially implies that he will only mention Muslim sects. In his classification, however, he refers to such non-Muslim sects as al-Barāhimah, al-Sumaniyyah, and al-Sūfisṭāʾiyyah. This fact, which can be seen in other classifications of sects, shows that he did not take this ḥadīth in his own classification as a strict framework of evaluation.

III. Edition of the Text

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بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

أحمدك يا من هديتنا لصحيح الاعتقاد واليقين وأنعمت علينا بإرشاد طريق حبيبك يا رب العالمين. وأصلي على مَن بيّن المنهج القويم من الإسلام والدين وأوضح سبيل أهل السنة والجماعة من بين الفرق أجمعين، وعلى من اتبعه من الصَحْب الكرام البررة المتقين الذين هم اتصفوا بإرشاد الخلق بأن بينوا سير الصالحين.

وبعد فيقول العبد الضعيف والمذنب المفرط النحيف، المفتقر إلى غفران ربه الغني الكريم الشيخ مصطفى بن إبراهيم: لمّا رأيت كُتب الفضلاء المؤلفين الذين هم كالنجوم في الأفق المبين، قد أبقوا آثار علومهم تخليدا لها لمن بعدهم من الطالبين وابتغاء جزيل الثواب

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من رب العالمين، حرّكني بالي وشوّقني خيالي مع ما في مِن قلة البضاعة وجزوة الدراية أن أكتب أوراقا أبيّن فيها المذهب الحق والمذاهب الباطلة، وأملي بها معتقدات الفرق الضالة الكاسدة العاطلة رجاءً أن أسلك مسلك المصنفين، وأندرج في زمرة المؤلفين. وأنا أسأل الله تعالى أن يبلغني إلى ما آمله وأن يجعلني كمن هو لعطايا خالقه نائله.

فاعلم أن الأمة قد افترقت إلى ثلث وسبعين فرقة كلهم في النار إلا فرقة واحدة، وهي مَن على ما عليه رسول الله صلى الله تعالى وسلم وأصحابه رضوان الله تعالى عليهم أجمعين[1] ومن اتبعهم من التابعين والسلف الصالحين رحمة الله تعالى عليهم أجمعين. فباقي الفرقة الناجية كلهم شياطين الإنس الذين هم شرٌّ من شياطين الجن. إلا أنهم لما انتشروا فيما بين أهل السنة والجماعة ممن هو ذو علم ومن هو أهل الحماقة، ولم يُفرقوا من جُثَّتهم وزيّهم، وإنما يُعرفون من أحوالهم وأقوالهم وغيّهم، فأردتُ أن أبين اعتقاداتهم وأقوالهم ليظهر فيما بين المسلمين عاقبة أحوالهم صيانةً لمن لم يعلم حقيقة الحال وتردى بالجهل غياهب الضّلال، ووقايةً لمن لم يميز الغثّ من السّمين، ولا يفرّق الشمال عن اليمين. لما أن أشخاص الإنسان بالذات متحدة، لكنها بالكيفيات والحالات متفاوتة، فاللائق لمن له أدنى حصة من العلوم وأردى قصعة من الدراية والفهوم أن يعلّم لمن لم يعلم مناهج دياناته ويرشد من جهل مفاسد الدّين وجناياته، خصوصاً منها طريق أهل السنة والجماعة، وسبيل أهل الطغيان والضلالة ،لكي [لا][2] يمشوا عن الحق أعشى ولم يذهبوا على الباطل أعمى. ولكن لمّا لم يكن بيان مجموع المذاهب بعلامات فارقة بعضها من بعض غير مذكور في تصانيف الفحول وإن ذكر بعضها في بعض، وبعضها في بعض حسبما اقتضاه القوانين والأصول، وكان اللائق أن يبين أكثرها وأشهرها لما أن في ذكر كلهم من العسرة التي لا يرتكب في مثل هذه الأوراق إلا أيسرها، بيّنتها من حيث المجموع بتمييز بعضها من بعض في رسالة موجزة؛ لما في قلوب الناس من الفتور من مطالعة المطوّلات القديمة. وها أنا أتشمّر بزيلي لأخذ قصب السبق في هذا الميدان. وإن سبقني في القدم في مثل هذا الشأن أفاضل الأمة وأكامل الإنسان الذين هم أساتيذنا. أيها الإخوان وأنا لا أرجو من الناس الثناء

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1   يشير المؤلف إلى الحديث المعروف عند أهل العلم بـ"حديث الافتراق" الذي روي بألفاظ مختلفة. انظر للاطّلاع على جميع طرق الحديث وللحصول على دراسة مفصلة تحليلية لهذا الحديث إلى

(Eren, *Hadis, Tarih ve Yorum*, 61-155)

2   ما بين المعقوفتين لا يوجد في الأصل، ولكن المعنى الصحيح يقتضيه، كما يدل عليه عطف الفعل المنفي بعده عليه، أعني عطف "لم يذهبوا" عليه.

والشهرة، بل من الله تعالى ثواب الحسبة وأداء حق العلم والمعرفة، لأنه قدماً قد قال لي سري وناداني خلدي، ألم يجدك ربك يتيما فآوي،ووجدك ضالاً فهدى، وعلمك ما لم تعلم[3] وكان فضل الله عليك عظيماً، فقام عزمي وانتهض جزمي على أن أحرّر ما أردت، وصح نيتي وكمل حميّتي على أن أكتبَ ما قصدتُ مرتباً على ترتيب الهجاء على ما هو دأب الكُمّل من العلماء، ومستعيناً بالله المعين الهادي. لأنه الحقيق بتيسير مرادي، ومتهيأ ما أمليته فارق الحق والباطل وطارح الصدق من الرذائل، وراجياً من الله اختتامه وكشفه عن وجه القلب لثامه. والمرجو ممّن ينظر نحو عبارته أن لا ينظر بعين السخط تلقاء نضارته، ولا بعين الحب والرضى كيلا يمضي عن العيب أعمى، بل اللائق لمن كان من الناظرين أن يعمل فيه عمل الصالحين، بأن يصلح فيه ما يقبل الإصلاح، ابتغاء جزاء الحمل على الصلاح، وأن ينظر فيه بعين الإنصاف، لكي أحرز من الله تعالى الألطاف. اللّهمّ اهدنا سواء الطريق كما هو أليق لشأنك والحقيق، وخلّصنا من الأوزار والخطايا وأدخلنا في عموم العطايا، ولا تضرب وجوهنا بسواد الوجوه بين العباد ولا تخزنا يا ربنا بين الأنام يوم التناد بحق أسمائك وصفاتك وبحرمة النبيين واصفيائك من أهل السموات وأهل الأرضين وأهل طاعتك من الخلق أجمعين. آمين، اللّهمّ آمين، يا من بيده التصرف في العالمين.

اعلم أن أهل القبلة فرق كثيرة تكاد لا تضبط، كلهم شياطين الإنس إلا من اقتفى أثر الرسول على ذاته الشريف عليه الصلوة والسلام في أمور أربعة: وهي الفعل والقول والخلق والاعتقاد. وهذه الفرقة هي المرادة بأهل السنة والجماعة فيما بين الأنام. وباقي الفرقة يسمى أهل البدعة والضلالة وأصولهم على ما ذكره الشريف ستة: الجبرية والقدرية والروافض والخوارج والمعطلة والمشبهة. فتفرقوا إلى ما تفرقوا فصاروا فرقاً كثيرةً جدّا، لكن المشهور فرق عديدة.

[١] فمنهم الإباحية:[4] وهم طائفة يقولون إن الأشياء مباحة لأن الأصل فيها الإباحة، والحل والحرمة وغيرهما عارضات، والاعتبار للأصل، والعارض كالمعدوم؛ فلا اعتبار له، فلا حرمة علينا ولا كراهة؛ فيحلون ما حرم الله تعالى. نعوذ بالله.

[٢] ومنهم الإباضية: وهم المنسوبون إلى عبد الله بن إباض ،وهم طائفة يقولون: "مخالفونا من أهل القبلة كفار، ومرتكب الكبيرة موحد غير مؤمن" بناءً على أن الأعمال

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[3]   اقتباس المؤلف من الآيات الكريمة في سورة الضحى (الآية 6-7) وسورة النساء (الآية 113).

[4]   في الأصل "الإباهية"، وهو خطأ.

داخلة في الإيمان. وكفّروا علياً وأكثر الصحابة رضوان الله تعالى عليهم أجمعين.

[٣] ومنهم الاتحادية: يقولون إن الاتحاد فيما بين المسلمين شرط الإسلام؛ فمتى كان الاختلاف بينهم صاروا كفاراً.

[٤] ومنهم الأزلية: يقولون الأمور أزلية، لا قدرة لأحد أن يدفع ما قدر في الأزل. فلا إرادة للعبد؛ فلا يدفع عن نفسه الشر ولا يستجلب إليها الخير.

[٥] ومنهم الأزارقة: وهم أصحاب نافع بن الأزرق.[5] يقولون: كفر علي بالتحكيم، وكفر ابن ملجم بقتله علياً، وكفر الصحابة أجمعين. وقضوا بتخليدهم في النار.

[٦] ومنهم الأسوارية: وهم أصحاب الأسواري يقولون: إن الله لا يقدر على المعدوم، ولا يعلمه تعالى الله عن ذلك علواً كبيراً. ويقولون: إن الإنسان يقدر على المعدوم. ويقولون مثل قول النظام لا يقدر الله أن يفعل في الدنيا ما لا صلاح لهم فيه، ولا يقدر في الآخرة أن ينقص[6] من ثواب وعقاب لأهل الجنة والنار.

[٧] ومنهم الإسكافية: وهم أصحاب أبي جعفر الإسكافي[7] يقولون: إن الله تعالى لا يقدر على ظلم العقلاء بخلاف ظلم الصبيان والمجانين، فإنه يقدر عليه.

[٨] ومنهم الإسحاقية: وهم مثل النصيرية يقولون: حلّ الله في عليّ رضي الله عنه، وعليٌّ إله، وهو في السّحاب، والرعد صوته. تعالى الله عن ذلك علوّاً كبيراً.

[٩] ومنهم الإسماعيلية: وهم الذين أثبتوا الإمامة لإسماعيل بن جعفر الصادق. ومذهبهم أن الله تعالى لا هو موجود ولا معدوم ولا عالم ولا جاهل ولا قادر ولا عاجز، وكذلك في جميع الصفات. وذلك لأن إثبات الحقيقة يقتضي المشاركة بينه وبين الموجودات وهو تشبيه، والنفي المطلق يقتضي المشاركة للمعدومات وهو تعطيل، بل هو واهب هذه الصفات ورب للمتضادات. فهم أرادوا بذلك إضلال المسلمين نعوذ بالله من مقالاتهم.

[١٠] ومنهم الأطرافية: وهم الذين يزعمون أن أهل الأطراف معذورون فيما لم يعرفوا من أحكام الشريعة، ووافقوا أهل السنة في أصولهم، وأرادوا بذلك كيدهم وإضلالهم.

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5   في الأصل "ازرق"، وهو خطأ.

6   في الأصل "ينقض"، وهو تصحيف.

7   في الأصل "الإسكاف" ولعل الصواب كما أثبتناه.

[١١] ومنهم الأقطعيّة: وهم الذين يقولون لمن كان مسلماً أن ينقطع إلى الله تعالى عن الخلق، ومن خالط الخلق لا يكون مسلماً. وهم صنف من المتكاسلة الذين هم يتركون الاكتساب ويطلبون مما في أيدي الناس.

[١٢] ومنهم الإلهامية: وهم الذين يقولون: الإلهام مثبت للحكم مطلقاً، أي سواء كان من الأنبياء أو غيرهم. وهم صنف من المتصوفة يتركون الكتاب والسنة، واعتبروا الإلهام يريدون به إضلال الخلق وتحويلهم.

[١٣] ومنهم الإمامية: الذين هم صنف من الروافض يقولون بخروج الإمام الباطن، ومتى لم يخرج لا يلزم الأمر بالمعروف والنهي عن المنكر. ويقولون الإمامة منصوصة لعلي وأولاده إلى أن ساقوا الإمامة إلى جعفر الصادق واختلفوا في المنصوص عليه بعده، والذي استقر عليه رأيهم أنه ابنه موسى الكاظم ⁸ وبعده علي الرضا بن موسى الكاظم ⁹ وبعده ¹⁰ علي النقي بن محمد التقي ¹¹ وبعده الحسن الزكي بن علي النقي ¹² وبعده محمد بن الحسن وهو الإمام الباطن المنتظر فيه خروجه عند صلاح الزمان وانقطاع الجور والطغيان قد اختفى من شرهم وعنادهم؛ فلا يجب الأمر والنهي حتى خرج. وقال أهل الحق بوجوبه مطلقاً لأنه من فروض الكفاية؛ فإذا قام به البعض سقط عن الباقين وإلا أثم الكل. وهم الذين يكفرون عامة الصحابة وهم الذين خرجوا على علي رضي الله عنه عند التحكيم وكفروا وهم كانوا مقدار اثني عشر ألف رجل كانوا أهل صلوة وصيام. وفيهم قال النبي صلى الله تعالى عليه وسلم لأصحابه: "سيجيئ قوم من أمتي يحقر أحدكم صلوته في جنب صلوتهم وصومه في جنب صومهم، ولكن لايتجاوز إيمانهم تراقيهم." ¹³

[١٤] ومنهم الانتظارية: وهم صنف من الإمامية، ومقالاتهم مقالاتهم إلا أنهم ما قالوا

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⁸   في الأصل "الكاضم"، وهو تصحيف.

⁹   في الأصل "علي بن موسى الرضى".

¹⁰   بعد علي الرضا يأتي محمد التقي بن علي الرضا، ولكن لا يوجد في الأصل.

¹¹   في الأصل "علي بن محمد التقي".

¹²   في الأصل "الحسن بن علي الذكي".

¹³   لم نجد هذه الرواية بهذا اللفظ في كتب الأحاديث الأصلية , ولكن يوجد احاديث بالمعنى القريب من هذه الرواية مع اختلاف الألفاظ. انظر: *الصحيح* لمسلم، "الزكاة 48"، رقم الحديث: 1066. و نريد أن ننبه على أن هذه الروايات تذكر في المصادر في ذم الخوارج ولا تذكر في حق الروافض. يبدو أن المؤلف قد خربط الروايات و المعلومات كما أشرنا اليه في قسم الدراسة.

بكفر علي رضي الله عنه وهم ينتظرون الإمام الباطن فلا يصلون الصلوة خلف أحد إلى أن يخرج الإمام الباطن.

[١٥] ومنهم الأَوْليائِيّة: وهم الذين يقولون: إن العبد إذا بلغ مرتبة الولاية يسقط عنه الأمر والنهي، وهو مقرّب عند الله تعالى، يكون شره عنده كخير الآخرين، والأمر والنهي في القرآن والحديث يراد بهما غير الولي.

[١٦] ومنهم البابكِيّة: وهم أصحاب بابك اللعين الذي ظهر زمن جعفر بن غازي حسين وهو السيد [الغاري]¹⁴ الملاطي. وادعى هذا اللعين النبوة فقتله البطّال شر قتله. فهم يقولون بنبوة البابك اللعين وانقطاع نبوة محمد عليه الصلوة والسلام.

[١٧] ومنهم الباطنيّة: وهم الذين يقولون نحن أهل التصوف لنا علم الباطن ولا نحتاج إلى الكتاب والسنة بل إن احتجنا إلى شيئ من الأفعال والتروك نذهب إلى محمّد، فإن حصل لنا من جوابه قناعة فبها وإلا فنذهب إلى الله تعالى بالذات فنستفتي منه إلى آخر ما يقولون من الترهات الباطلة.

[١٨] ومنهم الباقرية: وهم الذين ادعوا لمحمد بن علي الباقر الألوهية. وهم صنف من الجناحية الذين قالوا بتناسخ الأرواح –وسَتَقِف ما هو المراد من التناسخ إن شاء الله تعالى– فقالوا إن روح الله تعالى قد انتهى إلى محمد بن علي الباقر. تعالى الله عن ذلك علواً كبيراً.

[١٩] ومنهم البُتيرِيّة: وهم أصحاب [بتير بن النوى]¹⁵ يقولون الإمامة شورى فيما بين الخلق، وإنما ينعقد برجلين من خيار المسلمين، وأبو بكر وعمر إمامان وإن أخطأ الأمة في البيعة لهما مع وجود عليّ، لكنه خطأ لم ينته إلى درجة الفسق. فجوزوا إمامة المفضول مع وجود الفاضل، وكفّروا طلحة والزبير وعائشة وتوقّفوا في عثمان رضوان الله تعالى عليهم أجمعين.

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¹⁴ هكذا في الأصل، والصواب : الغازي ، وهو البطال الغازي كما يفهم من السياق، و نسبته ببابك خطأ أيضا؛ لأنه عاش في العهد الأموي وقاتل النصارى في البلاد الرومية، ولكن بابك ظهر في ناحية آذربيجان في عهد المعتصم من العباسيين، لعل المؤلف أخذ هذه المعلومات من مناقب البطال الغازي؛ لأنها لم نجدها في مصدر آخر إلا في هذه المناقب. راجع:
Demir-Erdem, "Türk Kültüründe Destan ve Battal Gazi Destanı", 124-125.

¹⁵ هكذا في الأصل، وهو خطأ. والصواب "بتير النوى" او "كثير النوى". واسم الفرقة التي تنسب اليه تختلف: البُتيرِيّة او البُثرية او أُبَترِيّة... وهذه الفرقة هي من فرق الزيدية.

[٢٠] ومنهم البدائية:[16] وهم الذين يجوِّزون على الله تعالى البداء، يعنون به ظهور الرأي له تعالى بعد العدم وينفون قدم علمه وإحاطته جميع الموجودات والمعدومات من الأزل إلى الأبد. تعالى الله عمّا يقول الظالمون علواً كبيراً.

[٢١] ومنهم البراهمة: ينكرون حكمة إرسال الرسل على الله تعالى ويقولون إن منافع الإرسال إن كان مما يقبله العقل فصاحب العقل يفعله فلا حاجة إلى الرسول، فإرساله عبث، فهو ممتنع على الله تعالى وإن لم يقبله لا يفعله فلا حاجة إلى إرسالهم أيضاً فلا حكمة فيه.

[٢٢] ومنهم البُرغوثية: وهم الذين قالوا كلام الله تعالى إذا قُرئ عَرضٌ، وإذا كُتب فهو جِسمٌ.

[٢٣] ومنهم البِشرية:[17] وهم أصحاب بشر[18] بن المعتمر، وهو كان من أفاضل المعتزلة، وهو الذي أحدث القول بالتوليد. قالوا الأعراض والطعوم والروايح وغيرها تقع متولدة في الجسم من فعل الغير، كما إذا كان أسبابها من فعله. يعنون به أن هذه الأشياء حاصلة بغير صنع الله تعالى بل بصنع الخلق، لما علمت من اَن المعتزلة يقولون العباد خالقون لأفعالهم.

[٢٤] ومنهم البلخية: وهم الذين يقولون الله تعالى لا يقدر على مثل مقدور العبد فيثبتون لله تعالى عدم القدرة في بعض المواد، مع أنه تعالى على كل شيئ قدير وبكل شيئ عليم.

[٢٥] ومنهم البيانيّة:[19] وهم أصحاب بيان[20] بن سمعان التميمي الرافضي. وهم يقولون إن الله تعالى على صورة إنسان، وروح الله حلَّت في عليّ، ثم في ابنه محمد بن الحنفية ثم في ابنه هاشم[21] ثم في بنان تعالى الله عن ذلك علواً كبيراً.

[٢٦] ومنهم البيهسية: وهم أصحاب أبي بيهس بن الهيضم بن جابر. يقولون الإيمان هو الإقرار والعلم بالله تعالى وبما جاء به الرسول. ثم يقولون إن أفعال العباد منسوبة إليهم لا إلى الله تعالى. وهم صنف من القدرية.

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16 في الأصل "البدئية"، وهو خطأ.
17 في الأصل "البشيرية".
18 في الأصل "بشير".
19 في الأصل " البنانية "، وهو تصحيف.
20 في الأصل "بنان"، وهو تصحيف.
21 في الأصل "جاثم"، وهو تصحيف.

[٢٧] ومنهم الثُمامية: وهم أصحاب ثمامة بن أشرس، قالوا إن اليهود والنصاري والزنادقة يصيرون في الآخرة تراباً لا يدخلون جنة ولا ناراً، فهم ينكرون النصوص الواردة في حق الكفار بدخول النار فضلاً عن خلودهم في دار البوار. فهم أشدّ كفراً من أهل الشرك، يا أولي الأبصار؛ لأن الكفار يعترفون بدخول جنة أو نار. نعوذ بالله من الجهل الذي هو عار على العار.

[٢٨] ومنهم الجارودية:[22] وهم أصحاب أبي جارود.[23] قالوا بالنص عن النبي عليه السلام في الإمامة على عليّ رض وصفاً لا تسميةً، وكفّروا الصحابة بمخالفته، وتركهم الاقتداء بعليّ بعد النبي عليه الصلوة والسلام.

[٢٩] ومنهم الجازمية: وهم أصحاب جازم بن عاصم يقولون الاستطاعة قبل الفعل، وإن الله تعالى يريد الخير دون الشر، وأطفال المشركين في الجنة، ويروى عنهم تجويز نكاح البنات للبنين، وإنكار سورة يوسف.

[٣٠] ومنهم الجاهلية: وهم الذين يقولون العلم حجاب بين العبد والرب، فما دام لا يترك العلم لا يصل إلى الله فلا حرام لهم ولا كراهة.

[٣١] ومنهم الجُبَّائية: وهم أصحاب أبي علي محمد بن عبد الوهاب الجبَّائي من معتزلة البصرة.[24] قالوا إن الله تعالى متكلِّم بكلام مركّب من حروف وأصوات يخلقه الله تعالى في جسم، ولا يرى الله تعالى في الآخرة، والعبد خالق لفعله، ومرتكب الكبيرة لا مؤمنٌ ولا كافرٌ وإذا مات بلا توبة يخلد في النار، ولا كرامة للأولياء.

[٣٢] ومنهم الجبرية: وهم اثنتا عشرة[25] فرقة على ما في *التعريفات*. وهم صنفان أحدهما متوسطة، وهم الذين أسندوا فعل العبد للعبد كسباً كالأشعرية. وثانيهما خالصة، وهم الذين لا يثبتون له لا كسباً ولا خلقاً كالجهمية، بل يقولون الإنسان كالجمادات ما لم يحرِّكه محرِّك لا يتحرك كالأوراق لا تتحرك ما لم تحركها[26] الريح، مثبتون لله تعالى جبراً صرفاً فهم شرّ الصنفين وشيطان الفريقين.

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22   في الأصل "الجاروزية"، وهو تصحيف.

23   في الأصل "الجاروز"، وهو تصحيف.

24   في الأصل "بصرة".

25   في الأصل "أثنتا عشر".

26   في الأصل "يحركه".

[٣٣] ومنهم الجعفرية: وهم أصحاب جعفر بن مبشّر بن حرب. قالوا إن في فسّاق الأمة من هو شرٌّ من الزنادقة والمجوس. والإجماع من الأمة على حدّ الشرب خطأ، لأن المعتبر في النص حرمته لا حدّه، وسارق الحبة فاسق منخلع من الإيمان. ويقولون إن الله تعالى لا يقدر على ظلم العقلاء بخلاف الصبيان والمجانين؛ فإنه يقدر على ظلمهم. وهم في هذه المقالة كالإسكافية القائلين هكذا.

[٣٤] ومنهم الجَناحية: وهم أصحاب عبد الله بن جعفر ذي الجناحين. قالوا الأرواح متناسخة فكان روح الله في آدم ثم في شيت ثم في الأنبياء والأئمة حتى انتهت إلى عليّ وأولاده الثلثة ثم إلى عبد الله هذا.

[٣٥] ومنهم الجهمية: وهم صنف من الجبرية، وهم أصحاب جهم بن صفوان. يقولون لا قُدرة للعبد أصلاً، لا مؤثِّرة ولا كاسبة بل هو بمنزلة الجمادات. والجنة والنار تفنيان بعد دخول أهلهما حتى لا يبقى موجود سوى الله تعالى. ويقولون أيضاً إن الله لا يسمى شيئاً وإن الاسم غير المُسمّى وغير التسمية.

[٣٦] ومنهم الحائطية: وهم أصحاب أحمد بن الحائط وهو من أصحاب النظام الزنديق. وهم قالوا للعالَم إلهان: قديمٌ، وهو الله تعالى، وحادثٌ وهو المسيح. والمسيح هو الذي يحاسب الناس في الآخرة، وهو المراد بقوله تعالى ﴿وجاء ربك والملك صفاً صفاً﴾ وهو المعني بقوله "إن الله خلق آدم على صورته"[27] وهم أشد من مشركي الكفرة لكونهم من المرتدّين.

[٣٧] ومنهم الحارثية: وهم أصحاب أبي الحارث. خالفوا الإباضية في القدر أي في كون أفعال العباد مخلوقة[28] لله تعالى وفي كون الاستطاعة قبل الفعل أي اتفقوا معهم في سائر مقالاتهم واختلفوهم في المسئلتين.

[٣٨] ومنهم الحالية: وهم يقولون: ما يدور على الإنسان من الأحوال فهو من الله تعالى فلا مدخل للعبد فيه، سواء كانت خيراً أو شراً. فهم صنف من الجبرية.

[٣٩] ومنهم الحبّية: وهم يقولون: إنا محبّون لله تعالى فأفْعالنا مرضيّ عنها له تعالى خيراً أو شراً.

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[27]   راجع الى الحديث في *الصحيح* لمسلم،"البر والصلة والآداب 32"، رقم الحديث: 2612.

[28]   في الأصل "مخلوقا".

[٤٠] ومنهم الحروفية: وهم يقولون: الألوهية فينا كالحروف العاليات التي هي الشؤن الذاتية الكائنة[29] في غيب الغيوب كالشجرة في النواة. وهم صنف من الوجودية الذين يقولون كل شيئ عين وجود الله تعالى.

[٤١] ومنهم الحشوية: وهم يقولون: الله تعالى على العرش، بمعنى استقراره عليه. تعالى الله عن ذلك علواً كبيراً.

[٤٢] ومنهم الحفصية:[30] وهم طائفة [حفص بن أبي المقدام].[31] يقولون مثل ما يقول الإباضية، وزادوا عليهم أنّ بين الإيمان والشِّرك معرفة الله تعالى؛ فإنها خصلة متوسطة بينهما. يعنون به أن العبد ما دام عارفاً بالله تعالى لا يكفر، وإن فعل بأقوال الكفر وأفعاله. نعوذ بالله.

[٤٣] ومنهم الحُلوليّة: وهم صنف من الروافض. وهم يقولون: الألوهية حلت لعلي بن أبي طالب وأولاده، فهم آلهة. نعوذ بالله.

[٤٤] ومنهم الحمزيّة: ويقال لهم الحمزَويّة وهم أصحاب حمزة بن أدرك. قالوا: أطفال الكفار في النار، والعبد خالق لفعله، والاستطاعة قبل الفعل، وإن الله يريد الخير دون الشر، ويروى عنهم تجويز نكاح البنات للبنين، وإنكار سورة يوسف.

[٤٥] ومنهم الحورية: وهم يدّعون أن الله تعالى قد زوج منهم الحور، وهم طائفة من المتصوّفة الخلُوَتيّة. يقولون: القرآن حجاب بين العبد والربّ، وقرآن الطريقة أشعار وإنّا بالخلوة وهمة الشيخ نصل إلى الله تعالى. وهذه الطائفة إذا فرغوا من الرقص اغتسلوا، لزعمهم أنهم وطؤا الحور في سكر الرقص. فهم شرّ من تحت أديم الأرض.

[٤٦] ومنهم الخطّابية: وهم قوم تبعوا أبا الخطاب الأسدي. قالوا: الأئمة الأنبياء وأبو الخطاب نبيّ، وهؤلاء يستحلّون شهادة الزور لموافقيهم على مخالفيهم، وقالوا الجنة نعيم الدنيا والنار آلآمها.

[٤٧] ومنهم الخَلَفيّة: وهم أصحاب خَلَف الخارجي. حكموا بأن أطفال المشركين في النار بلا عمل وشرك.

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29   في الأصل "الكائنة".

30   في الأصل "الحفضية"، وهو تصحيف.

31   في الأصل "أبي حفض بن أبي المقدام" ولعل الصواب كما أثبتناه.

[٤٨] ومنهم الخوارج: وهم طائفة خرجوا على عليّ بن أبي طالب بغياً وكفّروه، وكفّروا من تبع علياً. وهم افترقوا إلى اثنتي عشرة[32] فرقة على ما ذكر في تعريفات الشريف. ويقولون إن من ارتكب الكبيرة والصغيرة فهو خارج من الإيمان وداخل في الكفر، ولهذا قال فيهم سيد البشر: "الخوارج كلاب اهل النار".[33]

[٤٩] ومنهم الخيّاطيّة: وهم أصحاب أبي الحسن بن أبي عمرو الخياط. قالوا بالقدر وتسمية المعدوم شيئاً، يعنون به أن المعدوم الممتنع الوجود شيئ ومرئيّ لله تعالى. وهذه الطائفة والسالميّة والمُقنعيّة والمعتزلة متوافقة في هذه المسئلة متوافقة.

[٥٠] ومنهم الدهرية: وهم طائفة أنكروا صانع العالَم، وقالوا وما يهلكنا إلا الدهر، وإن الإنسان يموت كجَفاف العُشْب والأشجار لمرور الزمان عليه. وصنفٌ منهم يقولون إن الله لا يُعلم ذاته.

[٥١] ومنهم الرافضيّة: وهم كلّهم ينكرون عذاب القبر وتنعيمه، كبعض المعتزلة وهم افترقوا إلى اثنتين وعشرين فرقة على ما ذُكر في *المواقف*. وكلّهم يرون المسح على الأرجل بلا خفّ، وكلّهم يسبون الشيخين وعائشة،[34] وبعضهم زعموا أنّ جبريل عليه السلام غلط في الوحي إلى محمد دون علي بن أبي طالب، وبعضهم يزعمون الألوهية لعليّ كالجناحية المتقدم ذكرها إلى غير ذلك. نعوذ بالله تعالى منهم.

[٥٢] ومنهم الرَّزامية: الذين هم صنف من الروافض. قالوا: إن الإمام بعد علي بن أبي طالب ابنه محمد بن الحنفية ثم ابنه عبدالله. وهم قوم استحلّوا المحارم كلها. نعوذ بالله.

[٥٣] ومنهم الزُرارية: وهم صنف من الكرامية وهم أصحاب زُرارة بن أعْين. قالوا بحدوث صفات الله تعالى.

[٥٤] ومنهم الزعفرانية: وهم صنف من الكرّامية أيضاً. قالوا: كلام الله تعالى غيره، وكل ما هو غيره مخلوق فكلام الله تعالى مخلوق، ومن قال كلام الله تعالى غير مخلوق فهو كافر.

[٥٥] ومنهم الزيدية: وهم أتباع زيد بن يزيد، وهم صنف من الخوارج. كفّروا أكثر

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[32]   في الأصل "اثنتي عشر".

[33]   الحديث أخرجه أحمد في مسنده من طريق ابن أبي أوفى 355/4، 382؛ ابن ماجة في مقدمة سننه 61/1؛ وابن أبي عاصم في كتاب السنة 438/2.

[34]   في الأصل "العائشة".

الصحابة رضوان الله تعالى عليهم أجمعين.

[٥٦] ومنهم السّالمية: وهم يقولون إن المعدوم الممتنع مرئي لله تعالى وهو شيئ. فهم أسندوا إلى الله تعالى المُحال.

[٥٧] ومنهم السَبَائية: من الروافض وهم قوم عبد الله بن سبأ[35] الذي قال لعليّ رضي الله عنه أنت الإله حقاً، فنفاه عليّ إلى المدائن. وقال ابن سبأ: لم يمت عليّ ولم يُقتل، وإنما قتل ابن ملجم قاتل علي شيطانا تصور بصورة علي، وعليّ في السحاب. والرعد صوته والبرق سوطه وهو ينزل بعد هذا إلى الأرض فيملأها عدلاً وإنصافاً. وهؤلاء يقولون عند سماع الرعد "عليك السلام يا أمير المؤمنين وعليك عين الله يا علي".

[٥٨] ومنهم السُليمانيّة: وهم صنف من الروافض، وهم أتباع سليمان بن جرير[36] قالوا: الإمامة شورى فيما بين الخلق، وإنما ينعقد برجلين من خيار المسلمين، وأبو بكر وعمر إمامان، وإن أخطأ الأمة في البيعة لهما مع وجود عليّ، لكنه خطأ لم ينته إلى درجة الفسق، فجوّزوا إمامة المفضول مع وجود الفاضل، وذا لا يجوز. وهم الذين يكفرون عثمان بن عفان وطلحة والزبير وعائشة رضوان الله تعالى عليهم أجمعين.

[٥٩] ومنهم السُّمنيّة:[37] قالوا: إنّ في إرسال الرُسل لا حكمة فيه، لأن العقل حاكم في حسن الأشياء وقبحها، فلا حاجة لإرسالهم.

[٦٠] ومنهم الشُعيبية: وهم أصحاب شعيب بن محمد من الروافض. وهم كالميمونية إلا في القدر، أعْني أنهم ما قالوا بالقدر، والميمونية قالوا به. وسائر مقالاتهم كمقالاتهم، ستقف عند ذكر الميم مع الياء إن شاء الله تعالى.

[٦١] ومنهم الشمراخية:[38] وهم قالوا ما قاله الشورية[39] إلا أنهم قالوا: إن في عليٍّ ألوهيّة مّا. فهم صنف من الروافض.

[٦٢] ومنهم الشيعية: وهم صنف من الروافض شايعوا علياً أي تابعوه. وقالوا: إن الإمامة

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35 في الأصل "السباء".

36 في الأصل "حرير".

37 في الأصل "السُنميّة"، وهو خطأ.

38 في الأصل "الشمراحية". ذكر المؤلف هذه الفرقة من الروافض، لكن الصحيح ان الشمراخية هي من فرق الخوارج ليست من الروافض، كما أشرنا الى هذا في قسم الدراسة.

39 لم نطلع على الفرقة المسماة بالشورية في كتب المقالات و الفرق.

لا تخرج[40] عنه وعن أولاده.

[٦٣] ومنهم الشيبانية: وهم أصحاب شيبان[41] بن سلمة. قالوا بالجبر ونفي القدر. فهم صنف من الجبرية.

[٦٤] ومنهم الشيطانية: وهم قوم منسوب إلى شيطان الطاق[42] يقولون: إن الله تعالى لا يعلم شيئاً إلا إذا أراده وقدّره.

[٦٥] ومنهم الصالحية: وهم أصحاب الصالحي، وهم الذين جوّزوا قيام العلم والقدرة والسمع والبصر بالميّت، وهم صنف من المقابرية. وجوّزوا خلوّ[43] الجوهر عن الأعراض كلها.

[٦٦] ومنهم الصباحية: وهم أصحاب أحمد بن الصباح. يقولون: الجنّة والنّار حال الرجل، إن كان له راحة فهو في الجنة وإلا فهو في النار.

[٦٧] ومنهم الصّلْتية: وهم أصحاب عثمان بن أبي الصّلْت، وهم كالعَجاردة[44] قالوا: من أسلم واستجار بنا تولّينا، وبريئنا من أطفاله حتي يبلغوا فيدعوا إلى الإسلام فيقتلوا.

[٦٨] ومنهم شيطان الطاق:[45] وهم أصحاب محمد بن النعمان من الشيعة. سكن في حصن في طبرستان، اسمه الطاق[46] فلقب بشيطان الطاق[47] والشيطانية صنف من الروافض منسوبة إليه، وهم يقولون إن الله تعالى لا يعلم شيئاً إلا إذا أراده وقدّره.

[٦٩] ومنهم العَجاردة: وهم يقولون مثل ما قالته الصّلْتية كما عرفته من التشبيه.

[٧٠] ومنهم العَمروية: وهم أتباع عمرو بن عُبيد[48]. وهم مثل الواصلية إلا أنهم فسّقوا الفريقين في قضية عثمان وعلي رض، وكان هذا عمرو[49] من رواة الحديث، معروفاً بالزهد

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40   في الأصل "يخرج".

41   في الأصل "شيباء".

42   في الأصل "الشيطان الطارق".

43   في الأصل "حلو" بالحاء، وهو خطأ.

44   في الأصل "كالعجادرة".

45   في الأصل "الشيطان الطارق" ، وهو خطأ.

46   في الأصل "طارق".

47   في الأصل " الطارق".

48   في الأصل "الوصلية".

49   في الأصل "العمرو".

تابع واصل بن عطاء في القواعد، وزاد عليه بتعميم التفسيق. فهم صنف من أرباب الاعتزال.

[٧١] ومنهم العِنْدِيّة: وهم صنف من السوفسطائية. يقولون: إنّ حقائق الأشياء موجودة في الذهن، دون الخارج. فأنكروا ثبوت حقائق الأشياء وزعموا أنها تابعة للاعتقاد، حتى إن إعتقدْنا الشيئ جوهراً فجوهر، وإن عرضاً فعرض، وإن قديماً فقديم، وإن حادثاً فحادث. ففي ضمن هذا الأصل أنكروا جميع الأشياء.

[٧٢] ومنهم العِناديّة: وهم أيضاً صنف من السوفسطائية. وهم أنكروا الحقائق رأسًا أي ذهناً وخارجاً، وقالوا: إنّ الحقائق ليس لها وجود بل هي أوهام وخيالات باطلة.

[٧٣] ومنهم الغُرابية: من الروافض. يقولون: إن محمداً كان أشبه بعليّ من الغُراب بالغُراب والذباب [بالذباب][50]، فبعث الله تعالى جبرائيل بالوحي إلى علي فغلط جبرائيل إلى محمد دون علي، فهم يلعنون صاحب الرِّيش، يعنون به جبرائيل.ع م

[٧٤] ومنهم القدرية: وهم إثنتا عشرة[51] فرقة، وهم طائفة يزعمون أن كل عبدٍ خالق لفعله، ولا يرَوْن الكفر والمعاصي بتقدير الله تعالى، ويقولون إن الله في كل مكان، ويقولون أيضا إن الإيمان هو المعرفة فحسب.

[٧٥] ومنهم القَلَنْدرية: وهم يقولون: الحياء يمنع الرزق، يتخذون السؤال مكاسب ولا يرون الحرمة في السؤال وراء قوت اليوم؛ فهم خارجون عن السنة.

[٧٦] ومنهم الكاملية:[52] وهم أصحاب أبي الكامل،[53] وهم يكفّرون الصحابة بتركهم بيعة علي ر ض، ويكفرون علياً بتركه طلب الحق. وهم صنف من الروافض.

[٧٧] ومنهم الكرّامية: وابن الكرّام هو الذي جوّز وضع الحديث للترغيب والترهيب، وهم يقولون: إن الإيمان مجرد كلمتي الشهادة فحسب، وهم قالوا: إن الله تعالى على العرش استقر. وهم والمشبهة متفقة في هذا القول، وقالوا: إن القرآن حادثٌ قائمٌ بذاته تعالى، إلى غير ذلك من الأباطيل.

[٧٨] ومنهم الكعبية: وهم أصحاب أبي القاسم محمد بن كعب القرظي[54] كان من

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50 ما بين المعقوفتين لم يوجد في الأصل، لكن الظاهر عندنا أن السياق يقتضيه.

51 في الأصل "عشر".

52 في الأصل "الكاهلية" وهو خطأ.

53 في الأصل "الكاهل" وهو خطأ أيضًا.

54 في الأصل "القرضي" وهو تصحيف، والصواب كما ضبطناه.

المعتزلة. قالوا: فعل الرب واقع بغير إرادة، والله تعالى لا يرى نفسه ولا غيره إلا أنه يعلمه، ويقولون إن للمقتول أجلين: القتل والموت؛ فإنه إذا لم يُقتل لَعاشَ إلى أجَله الذي هو الموت.

[٧٩] ومنهم الكيسانية: وهم أصحاب كيسان مختار بن أبي عبد الله أمير الكوفة من قبل عبد الله بن الزبير. قالوا بالبداء على الله تعالى، ومرادهم ظهور الرأي له تعالى بعد أن لم يكن. وهو تجويز الجهل له بعواقب الأمور. تعالى الله عن ذلك علواً كبيراً. وهو كفر وضلال، نعوذ بالله من سوء المقال ومن الجهل بحقيقة الحال.

[٨٠] ومنهم اَللّاأَدْرِيّة: وهم صنف من السوفسطائية، ينكرون العلم بثبوت شيئ ولا بثبوته، ويزعمون أنهم شاكّون، وشاكون في أنهم شاكون، وهلم جراً.

[٨١] ومنهم المجهولية: مذهبهم كمذهب الجازمية إلا أنهم قالوا: يكفي معرفة الله تعالى ببعض أسمائه، فمن علمه كذلك فهو عارف مؤمن.

[٨٢] ومنهم المرجئة: وهم قوم يقولون: لا تضر مع الإيمان معصية كما لا ينفع مع الكفر طاعة. فهم أربعة أصناف. صنف يقولون: إنّ حسناتنا مقبولة وسيئاتنا مغفورة وليس في الأعمال فرائض ولا واجبات بل هي فضائل، من عمل فحسن ومن لم يعمل فليس عليه شيئ، فهم كُفّار. وصنف يقولون: نرجي أمير المؤمنين والكافرين إلى الله تعالى يغفر لمن يشاء من المؤمنين والكافرين ويعذّب من يشاء منهما فكما أنه يفعل بهما في الدنيا من الإعزاز والإذلال فكذالك في الآخرة فيسوّون حكم الآخرة والأولى، فهم أيضاً كُفّار. وصنف يقولون: لا نتولى المؤمنين المذنبين ولا نتبرأ منهم. فهؤلاء المبتدعة ولا يُخْرجهم بدعتهم من الإيمان إلى الكفر. وصنف يقولون: نرجي أمر المؤمنين إلى الله تعالى فلا ننزلهم جنة ولا ناراً ولانتبرّأ منهم ونتولّاهم في الدين. فهم على السنة، فَالْزَمْ قولهم وفعلهم وخُذْ به.

[٨٣] ومنهم المردارية:[55] وهم أصحاب أبي موسى عيسى بن الصبيح المردار .[56] قالوا: الناس قادرون على مثل القرآن وأحسن منه نظمًا[57] وبلاغة. وكفّروا القائل بقدمه وقالوا: مَن لازَم السلطان فهو كافر، لا يورث منه ولا يرث. وكذا من قال بخلق الأعمال، وكذا من قال

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[55]   في الأصل "المزدارية" وهو تصحيف.

[56]   في الأصل "المزدار" وهو تصحيف أيضًا.

[57]   في الأصل "نضماً" وهو تصحيف.

بالرؤية فهو كافر أيضاً. العياذ بالله تعالى.

[٨٤] ومنهم المُشبّهة: وهم افترقوا إلى إثنتي عشرة⁵⁸ فرقة على ما في *التعريفات*. وهم قومٌ شبهوا الله تعالى بالمخلوقات ومثّلوه بالمحدثات. وقالوا: إن الله تعالى في جهة العُلوّ على العرش استقرّ.

[٨٥] ومنهم المعتزلة: وهم أصحاب واصل بن عطاء الغزال،⁵⁹ اعتزل عن مجلس الحسن البصري. وهم يقولون: المعدوم يطلق عليه لفظ الشيئ، وإن الخير بإرادته دون الشر، وإن الله تعالى في كل جهة ومكان، وكذا قال به القدرية. ويقولون: إن الله تعالى عالمٌ بذاته ولا نقول "له العلم"، وقادرٌ بذاته ولا نقول "له القُدرة"، وكذا في سائر الصفات. ويقولون: إن الوزن ليس بحق، وإن صحائف الأعمال ليس بواقع، وأكثرهم أنكر الصراط، وزعم أنّ الجنة والنار ليسا بمخلوقتين بل ستخلقان يوم الجزاء، وكلهم يزعمون أنّ من ارتكب الكبيرة فهو ليس بمؤمن ولا كافر بل في منزلة بين المنزلتين. ويقولون: إنّ العفو عن الصغائر جائز دون الكبائر إذا لم تقارن بالتوبة. ولا يجوز التعذيب⁶⁰ عن الصغيرة إن اجتنب عن الكبيرة. ويقولون: إن الشفاعة لأهل الكبائر غير جائز، وإن لم يستحل. وإنّ من دخل النار يخلّد فيها ولا يخرج منها أبداً، سواء كان بسبب الكبيرة أو الكفر. وإنّ المِعراج كان في المنام دون اليقظة. وبعضهم ينكرون عذاب القبر كما أنكره كل الروافض. وعامة المعتزلة يقولون: إن الله تعالى لا يقدر على مثل مقدور العبد، وزعموا أن صفاته غير ذاته ونفوا الصفات رأساً. وأن الله تعالى متكلم بكلام، هو قائم بغيره، لكن مرادهم نفي كون الكلام صفة له. إلى غير ذلك من أقاويلهم الباطلة العاطلة وليس مرادنا بيان جميع أقاويل أرباب المذاهب، بل بعضها ليتميّز بعضهم عن بعض.

[٨٦] ومنهم المُعطّلة: وهم طائفة قالوا بالتعطيل أي تعطيل صفات الله تعالى. وهم اثنا عشر فرقة على ما في *التعريفات*.

[٨٧] ومنهم المُعمّرية: وهم أصحاب مُعمّر بن عباد السلمي. قالوا: إن الله تعالى لم يخلق شيئاً غير الأجسام، وأما الأعراض فيختّر عنها الأجسام إمّا طبعاً كالنّار للإحراق وإمّا اختياراً كالحيوان للألوان. وقالوا: لا يوصف الله تعالى بالقدم، لأنه يدل على التقدم الزماني،

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58 في الأصل "إثني عشر".

59 في الأصل "الغزالي"، ولعل الصواب كما ضبطناه.

60 في الأصل "العذيب"، لكن الظاهر كما ضبطناه بالتاء.

والله سبحانه ليس بزماني. ولا يعلم نفسه وإلا اتّحد العالم والمعلوم، وهو ممتنع. وقالوا: إن الإنسان غير الجسد وإنه حيٌّ قادرٌ مختارٌ وإنه ليس بُمتحرّك ولا ساكن، ولا يجوز عليه شيئ من الأوصاف الجائزة على الأجسام.

[٨٨] ومنهم المَعْلوميّة: هم كالجازمية إلا أن المؤمن عندهم من عرف الله تعالى بجميع أسمائه وصفاته، ومن لم يعرفه كذلك فهو جاهل لا مؤمن.

[٨٩] ومنهم المُغيريّة: هم أصحاب مغيرة بن سعيد العجلي. قالوا: إن الله تعالى جسم على صورة إنسان مِن نور، على رأسه تاج مِن نور، وقلبه منبع الحكمة.

[٩٠] ومنهم المُفوّضيّة: قالوا: إن الله تعالى فوّض خلق الدنيا إلى محمّد.

[٩١] ومنهم المقنعية: وهم يقولون: إن الله تعالى يرى المعدوم كما يرى الموجود. ونحن نقول: "وما المعدوم مرئياً وشيئا لفقه لاح في يمن الهلال."[61]

[٩٢] ومنهم المَقابريّة: وهم طائفة يستمدون من أصحاب القبور زعماً منهم أنهم يعلمون حالهم، ويسمعون مقالهم ويعطون ما يسألون منهم. كلا بل هم منقطعون عن التصرّف في الأعمال والعلائق، ومنفردون تحت التراب عن الخلائق، فالاستمداد منهم للمؤمن ليس بلائق.

[٩٣] ومنهم المنصورية: وهم أصحاب أبي منصور العجلي. قالوا: الرسل لا ينقطع أبداً، والجنة رجل أمرنا بموالاته[62] وهو الإمام، والنار رجل أمرنا ببغضه وهو ضد الإمام وخصمه، كأبي بكر وعمر. نعوذ بالله منهم وهم صنف من الروافض، وهم الذين يعلنون سب الشيخين ولَعْنهما.

[٩٤] ومنهم الميمونية: وهم أصحاب ميمون بن عمران. قالوا بالقدر، وبكون الاستطاعة قبل الفعل، وأن الله تعالى يريد الخير دون الشر، وأن أطفال الكفار في الجنة، ويروى عنهم تجويز نكاح البنات للبنين، وإنكار سورة يوسف.

[٩٥] ومنهم النجّارية: وهم أصحاب محمد بن الحسين النجار. موافقون لأهل السنة في خلق الأفعال، وأن الاستطاعة مع الفعل، وأن العبد يكتسب فعله. ويوافقون للمعتزلة في

61　نقل المصنف هذا البيت من النظم المسمى بـ "بدء الأمالي" لسراج الدين علي بن عثمان الأوشي الفرغاني (×ه 569)

62　في الأصل "بمولاته" سقطت الألف بعد الواو من هذا اللفظ الذي هو على وزن مفاعلة.

نفي الصفات الوجودية وحدوث الكلام، ونفي الرؤية. ويقولون: القرآن إذا كتب فهو جسم وإذا قرئ فهو عرض.

[٩٦] ومنهم النصيرية:[63] قالوا: إن الله تعالى حلّ في عليّ.

[٩٧] ومنهم النَظّامية: وهم أصحاب إبراهيم النظّام، وهو من شياطين القدرية، طالع كتب الفلاسفة وخلّط كلامهم بكلام المعتزلة. قالوا: إن الله لا يقدر أن يفعل بعباده في الدنيا ما لا صلاح لهم فيه، ولا يقدر أن يزيد في الآخرة ولا أن ينقص من ثواب وعقاب لأهل الجنة والنار.

[٩٨] ومنهم الوجودية: وهم طائفة يقولون: جميع الأشياء عين وجود الله تعالى، وهم يرون اللألوهيّة في جميع الموجودات. تعالى الله عما يقول الظالمون علواً كبيراً.

[٩٩] ومنهم الهُذَيلية: وهم أصحاب أبي الهذيل العلاف شيخ المعتزلة. قالوا بفناء مقدورات الله تعالى، وأن أهل الخُلد ينقطع حركاتهم ويصيرون إلى خمود دائم وسكون.

[١٠٠] ومنهم الهشامية: وهم أصحاب هشام بن عمرو الفوطي.[64] قالوا: إن الجنة والنار لم تخلقا بعد، وقالوا: لا دلالة في القرآن على حلالٍ وحرامٍ، والإمامة لا تنعقد[65] مع الاختلاف.

[١٠١] ومنهم اليزيدية: وهم أصحاب يزيد بن [أبي] أنيسة[66] زادوا على الإباضية بأن قالوا: سيبعث نبيّ من العجم بكتاب سيكتب في السماء وينزل عليه جملة واحدة ويترك شريعة محمد إلى ملّة الصابئيّة[67] المذكورة في القرآن. وقالوا: أصحاب الأخدود مشركون، وكل ذنبٍ شركٌ [كبيرا كان أو صغيرا][68]. فهؤلاء كفارٌ. العياذ ثمّ العياذ بالله العظيم، والغياث ثم الغياث بالله القديم.

[١٠٢] ومنهم اليونسية: وهم أصحاب يونس بن عبد الرحمن. يقولون: إن الله على العرش تحمله الملائكة. نعوذ بالله تعالى مِن مقالات هذه الشياطين كلهم أجمعين، ولا

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63 في الأصل "الناصرية".

64 في الأصل "القرضي"، وهو خطأ.

65 في الأصل "لا ينعقد".

66 في الأصل "يزيد بن أنية"، وهو خطأ.

67 في الأصل " الصائبيّة".وهو تصحيف.

68 في الأصل "كبيرة كانت صغيرة "، والصواب كما ضبطناه.

حول ولا قوة إلا بالله العليّ العظيم.

ثم اعلم: أيها الطالب والسالك نحو المطالب أنّي قد ذكرتُ من أهل البدع في هذه الرسالة أكثر من مائة فرقة، وتركتُ ما عداها لما تلونا عليك فيما سلف أنهم [أكثر]⁶⁹ من أن يحصى بل من ألف، فإلى الله تعالى المشتكى ونستعيذ بالله العلي الأعلى. إن أهل البدع قد كثرت كما أن أهل الحق قد قلّت. فلنختم الرسالة العُجالَة بذكر أهل السنة والجماعة تفأّلاً بذكره في الخاتمة لتيسير الله لنا حسن العاقبة.

[١٠٣] فاعلم أن أهل السنة والجماعة أهل الله وأهل رسول الله، وهم الذين قال فيهم رسول الله صلى الله تعالى: "كل أمتي يدخلون الجنة إلا من أبى"⁷⁰ فأهل السنة والجماعة كل من كان عمله وقوله وخلقه واعتقاده موافقاً لقول رسول الله صلى الله تعالى عليه وسلم وفعله وخلقه واعتقاده. وذلك إنما يوجد في إثنتي عشرة خصلة، كما أوصى بها إمامنا الأعظم وهمامنا الأقدم أصحابه عند مرض موته. أولها أن الإيمان هو التصديق بالجنان والإقرار باللّسان بماجاء به الرسول من عند الله تعالى، والإيمان لا يزيد ولا ينقص بحسب المؤمن به، وأما بحسب القوة والضعف، فلا خفاء في زيادته ونقصانه، لأن القائلين به كثير. وأما الأعمال [قد تزيد وقد تنقص]⁷¹ في نفسها، فهي ليست بجزء من حقيقة الإيمان عندنا الماتريدية، خلافاً للمحدثين والفقهاء و جمهور المتكلمين، وهم من الأشعرية. والمؤمن مؤمنٌ حقاً كما أن الكافر كافرٌ حقاً. وليس في الإيمان شكٌ كما أنه ليس في الكفر شكّ. والعاصون من أمة محمد عليه السلام كلهم مؤمنون حقاً وليسوا بكافرين حقاً. والعمل غير الإيمان، كما أن الإيمان غير العمل. وتقدير الخير والشر كله من الله تعالى، والعبد كاسب. والثانية أن الأعمال ثلاثة: فريضة وفضيلة ومعصية. فالفريضة بأمر الله تعالى ومشيئته ومحبته ورضائه وقدره وتخليقه وحكمه وتوفيقه [قال]⁷² الله تعالى ﴿يا أيها الذين آمنوا أطيعوا الله وأطيعوا الرسول وأولي الأمر منكم﴾ الآية. ومتابعة العلماء والكبراء من متابعة الكتاب والسنة، والله أعلم. وأحكم ترجمة كلامه متّع الله الطالبين عنها من أنفاسه النفسيّة، ونقل واحد من الثقات أنه كان كثيراً في صحبة خلاصة السالكين، خواجه أبو نصر پارسا، ولد

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⁶⁹   ما بين المعقوفتين لا يوجد في الأصل، وكأن السياق يقتضيه.

⁷⁰   راجع الى الحديث في *الصحيح البخاري*، "كتاب الاعتصام 2"، رقم الحديث: 7280.

⁷¹   في الأصل " قد يزيد وقد ينقص " والصواب كما ضبطناه.

⁷²   ما بين المعقوفتين لا يوجد في الأصل لكن الظاهر لنا المعنى الصحيح يقتضيه.

الشيخ المذكور قدس الله أرواحهما، محرّفا يومًا عمامته وكورها هكذا أيضاً سنة. وأيضاً في شرح الطيبي أنّ قدر الذّنب ثلث قبضات او قبضتان أو أزيد منهما إلى الصدر الأول لضعف الإيمان، والثاني لإيمان المتوسط، والثالث لكامل الإيمان كالأمر بالمعروف والنهي عن المنكر. فإن الإنكار بالقلب لضعف الإيمان، وباللسان المتوسط الإيمان، وباليدين لكامل الإيمان. وفي *الخزانة*، *والمبسوط*، *والمختار الفتاوى*، وغيرها أنّ أدنى الذّنب في أول السنة قدر شبر، أوسطها الى[73] وسط الظهر، وأعلاه إلى المقعد. وذكر في *الجامع الصغير* لقاضي خان أن قدر الذنب شبر للعوام وإلى وسط الظهر للخواص إلى ههنا. تمت الرسالة.

(وفي الحديث: "قليل العمل مع العلم كثير، وكثير العمل مع الجهل قليل." نقل[74] من *شرعة الإسلام*.

لا يعلم العلم إلا أهله. قال النبي عليه السلام: "لا تطرحوا الدرّ في أفواه الكلاب"، و "لا تعلِّقوا الجواهر في أعناق الخنازير"، فإن الحكمة خير من الجواهر، ومن كرهها فهو شرّ من الخنزير. نقل[75] من *شرعة الإسلام*.)[76]

DISCLOSURE STATEMENT

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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[73] في الأصل " لي".

[74] انظر: أبي المحاسن ركن الإسلام محمد بن أبي بكر المعروف بإمام زاده السمرقندي, *شرعة الإسلام* (بيروت: دار البشائر الإسلامية, 1983), ص.٤٥

[75] انظر: *شرعة الإسلام*, ص. ٥١

[76] ما بين القوسين هكذا يوجد في الأصل بعد نهاية الرسلة.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Islamic Legal Thought: A Compendium of Muslim Jurists, edited by
Oussama Arabi, David S. Powers, and Susan A. Spectorsky

Felicitas Opwis

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Dīwān Rasāʾil al-Ṣābī, by Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm ibn Hillīl ibn Ibrāhīm
ibn Zahrūn al-Kātib (384 AH./994 CE.), (ed. Iḥsān Dhannūn al-
Thāmirī)

Halil İbrahim Hançabay

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Domestic Violence and the Islamic Tradition, by Ayesha S. Chaudhry

Mohammad Fadel

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Islamic Legal Thought: A Compendium of Muslim Jurists,
edited by Oussama Arabi, David S. Powers, and Susan A.
Spectorsky (Leiden & Boston: Brill 2013), xv+590 pp., ISBN: 978-90-
04-25452-7, €208.00 / $270.00 (hb)

The subtitle of the book, *A Compendium of Muslim Jurists*, is
deceptive, suggesting that this edited volume is a reference work on
jurists of Islamic law. However, this volume is much more. It is a
comprehensive account of the development of Islamic law from its
inception to the present through the biographies and contributions of
some of its most important jurists, with the caveat that some Islamic
legal luminaries were left out. While each of the 23 chapters stands on
its own, this reviewer highly recommends anyone truly interested in
the history of Islamic law to read the book as a whole, not just
individual chapters or sections. Although the book is a hefty 590 pages
long, it is worth the time and effort.

The book is divided into three parts of various lengths. Part one is
devoted to the formative period, part two to the classical period, and
part three to the modern period, each part containing chapters on the
biography and contributions of leading jurists of Islam. The formative
period, according to the editors (Arabi, Powers, and Spectorsky), is
characterized as the period in which the founding fathers of the four
Sunnī schools of law and their immediate followers had established the
main contours of Islamic law, ending by the year 261/874. This section
contains the biographies of the eponyms of the four Sunnī schools of
law, Abū Ḥanīfah (d. 150/767; written by H. Yanagihashi), Mālik ibn
Anas (d. 179/795; by Y. Rapoport), al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820; by J. Lowry),
and Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal (d. 243/855; by S. Spectorsky). These four
chapters are supplemented with contributions of J. Brockopp on
Saḥnūn ibn Saʿīd (d. 240/854) and P. Hennigan on al-Khaṣṣāf (d.
261/874), both important figures for the Mālikī and Ḥanafī school
respectively. What all chapters of this first part bring to the fore is the
intellectual and political struggles that each of these jurists faced while
articulating their vision of how Muslims best live by and follow the

divine word. Their formulations of the laws of the relatively new religious community of Muslims is the result of the interaction of geographical, political, economic as well as societal factors of their times. Furthermore, their distinct personalities played a role in their engagement with the world – and, thus, in their understanding of the role of law and its application in society. Apparent in these chapters is that all jurists here presented were eager to resolve issues facing Muslims in their daily life based on what they understood to be the legacy of the Prophet Muḥammad, be that based on direct transmission of his doctrine or rationalization of its spirit. Their goal was to ensure that the believers' actions were in consonance with the prophetic message; yet, they had different approaches and priorities. The chapters in the first section show that two factors had major influence on shaping these jurists' articulation of law: educational structures and politics. Who studied with whom and in which political environment proved formative on their respective doctrines. Reading the first six chapters of *Islamic Legal Thought* is also a digest of "who's who" of early Islamic legal deliberations and practice. Clearly, the formation of Islamic law was a slow process and one of cumulative efforts by many more than the figure heads of the schools of law.

The second, and longest part of *Islamic Legal Thought* covers the classical period. The editors, laudably, extend the usual definition of "classical" to include the long stretch between the formation of Islamic law (from about 300/900) until the modern period, the latter of which is marked by the interaction with European imperialism and the French invasion of Egypt in 1213/1798. While having the classical period last almost 900 years might seem unwieldy, it makes good sense for the commonalities and continuities of this period for Islamic law. This is the time period of consolidation and elaboration of legal doctrines in compendia and commentaries; the articulation of the interplay of law and theology in the emerging genre of *uṣūl al-fiqh*; the institutionalization of legal education in the *madrasah* system; and the continuous and increasing integration of Islamic law and its practitioners into the body politic culminating in the Ottoman official legal hierarchy. The scholars of this section belong to a second stage in the history of Islamic law. By sifting through the legal views current in the previous centuries, Ḥanafī jurists such as al-Ṭaḥāwī (d. 321/933; by N. Tsafrir) and al-Sarakhsī (d. 483/1090; by O. Taştan) built a coherent legal doctrine and helped crystallize the identity of their school. Other scholars contributed to the development of the

theoretical bases of Islamic law and shaped the understanding of *uṣūl al-fiqh* as we know it today as evident in the chapters on al-Jaṣṣāṣ (d. 370/981; by M. Bedir), Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064; by S. Kaddouri), al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111; by E. Moosa), and al-Āmidī (d. 631/1233; by B. Weiss). The chapters highlight the theological debates and questions of human agency in this world that influenced jurists' interpretation of the divine law.

A constant thread throughout the chapters of this second part is the role of politics. Be it as judge, mufti or teacher, jurists' relationship with the political authorities affected how Islamic law was articulated and practiced. They often faced a precarious balancing act in light of political upheaval, falling out of favor or pressure to comply with the political designs of the ruling elite. The biographies of Ibn Rushd al-Jadd (d. 520/1126; by D. R. Serrano), al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ (d. 544/1149; by C. Gómez-Rivas), al-Wansharīsī (d. 914/1509; by D. Powers), and Ebu's-suʿud (d. 982/1574; by C. Imber) show the ups and downs that official recognition brought upon jurists. The Ottoman *şeyhülislam* [*sheikh al-Islām*] Ebu's-suʿud was probably among the most successful and influential legists in aligning political expedience with the demands of Islamic law along Ḥanafī interpretation; though critics may call it rubberstamping capricious policies. Yet even those scholars who remained outside the official judicial hierarchies had their share of conflict with the juristic-political environment, as exemplified in the life of al-Shāṭibī (d. 790/1388; by M. K. Masud), whose solutions for the social and economic pressures facing the population of Granada in the 8th/14th century faced staunch opposition from his Mālikī colleagues. The threat of imprisonment (or worse) was a jurist's constant companion as evidenced in many of these chapters that refer to the trials and tribulations not just of their main subject but of the precarious situation of scholars in general (see e.g., p. 358).

That political patronage had positive sides is apparent in the chapter on al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍá (d. 436/1044; by D. Stewart), one of two chapters devoted to Shīʿī jurists. During the Buyid period Twelver Shīʿism saw unprecedented scholarly activity, resulting in the establishment of what would be called the Jaʿfarī school of law. Al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍá was instrumental in consolidating and defending Shīʿī legal doctrines against their Sunnī counterparts. That interaction and competition with Sunnī legal scholarship affected the articulation of Shīʿī legal doctrine is also evident in R. Gleave's presentation of Muḥammad Bāqir al-Bihbihānī (d. 1205/1791), who re-asserted the

dominance of the so-called *uṣūlī* school in Shīʿī legal thought. Like many of the chapters of this book, it bears witness to the fact that legal doctrines do not come about in a vacuum but germinate and are articulated within a larger intellectual milieu. The existence of contradictory and competing views enables jurists to formulate their ideas more sharply. Which idea wins the day depends on factors that do not always have to do with their internal coherence but with the environment in which they are absorbed.

This is particularly apparent when looking at part three of the book, which presents the life and work of four jurists working in the modern period. Modern, according to the editors, marks the period "when Muslim jurists were compelled to take into account non-Islamic legal systems, mainly those of the colonial powers" (p. 3). The chapters devoted to the modern period probe the impact of colonialism on Islamic law as well as the subsequent establishment of the nation-state. The four jurists portrayed cover the full range of the modern jurist's experience, from the actual threat of imperialist occupation, to social change, to codification of Islamic law in the newly emerging nation-state. Threatened with French interference, al-Mahdī al-Wazzānī (d. 1342/1923; by E. Terem) saw the survival of Islamic law in the preservation of the traditional political structure. He closely aligned with the Moroccan king, supporting his autocratic rule and refuting legal arguments that permit revolt against an unjust ruler. The fight against the onslaught of Western legal systems is also present in the chapter on Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā (d. 1935; by M. Haddad). Working outside the official legal establishment, and using modern print media to spread his views, Rashīd Riḍā sought to undermine the intrusion of Western law through strengthening the adaptability of Islamic law to the modern environment, advocating the opening of the door to *ijtihād* and drawing on universal principles, such as *maṣlaḥah*, to attain unity among Muslims. The Sudanese jurist Ḥasan al-Turābī (d. 2016; by A. Layish) similarly argued for a new legal methodology. Eschewing adherence to a particular school of law, he, like Rashīd Riḍā, envisioned *ijtihād* as the solution for invigorating what he saw as stagnant Islamic legal practice. Al-Turābī's new legal theory was informed by practical consideration of the modern state. For example, he intended to realize consensus (*ijmāʿ*) at the national level in form of a consultative assembly of *ʿulamāʾ*, a type of parliament, whose agreements become binding legal rules. He also elevated subsidiary concepts of Islamic law, such as *maṣlaḥah* and *istiṣḥāb*, as guiding

principles in legislation with the aim of statutory codification of Islamic law. Different was the solution of ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Sanhūrī Pāshā (d. 1971; by O. Arabi), who, in drafting legal codes for the newly found nation-states of Egypt, Syria, and Iraq, reconciled Islamic legal doctrines with Western laws. He saw Islamic and Western law as not so different in their aims of avoiding legal lacunae, clarifying the lawful and unlawful, and shaping society. Al-Sanhūrī's embrace of Western legal ideas was, as Arabi points out, also driven by his desire to achieve social justice; the Qurʾānic message of equality and fairness could be attained through a codified law that applies to citizens of a nation-state "irrespective of race, social status, or gender" (p. 494).

Islamic Legal Thought is a well-rounded survey of the history of Islamic law. Its scope is broad and the individual chapters are, on balance, well-structured and give the reader a good introduction to the life and thought of the scholar under consideration. On occasion, a more heavy-handed editorial presence would have been desirable to eliminate some of the imbalances among chapters, such as the amount of translation from a jurist's work. In some chapters, a few sentences are interspersed here and there, while others present lengthy passages and coherent articulations on a particular subject in order to bring to life the legal thought of the jurist under consideration. Similarly, the use of secondary scholarship is rather uneven, with the result that some jurists appear a little forlorn in their historical and intellectual environment (e.g., Abū Ḥanīfah and al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ). A strength of this book lies in the attention authors pay not only to the debates in which their subjects engaged in their own time but just as much to the current scholarly debates about the development of Islamic legal thought (the importance of Norman Calder, Joseph Schacht, and Wael Hallaq are felt throughout). Overall, the book highlights the intellectual developments within Islamic law, the connectedness of law with political power and social conditions, and the importance of the educational experience that form the bedrock of transmitting legal knowledge in content as well as form. Its breadth and depth benefits the novice and the seasoned scholar of Islamic law alike.

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Dīwān Rasāʾil al-Ṣābī, by Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm ibn Hillīl ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Zahrūn al-Kātib (384 AH./994 CE.), (ed. Iḥsān Dhannūn al-Thāmirī), 2 vols. (London: Al-Furqān Islamic Heritage Foundation, Centre for the Study of Islamic Manuscripts 2017), ISBN: 978-1-78814-719-4, 117+639, 832 pp., ₤40.00.

Books written in various periods of Islamic history are accepted as primary sources for their respective periods, notably those written by clerks (*kātib*s) of *dīwān*s and by persons who served in the state's institutions or who were close friends with the senior officials of the state. These include letters written by ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Kātib (d. 132/750), the clerk of Marwān II (r. 127-132/744-750), the last Umayyad caliph; Ibn al-Muqaffaʾ, a witness of the transition period from the Umayyads to the ʿAbbāsids; Ibn al-Mowṣalāyā (d. 497/1104), who served as a man of letters (*kātib*) in *Dīwān al-inshāʾ* for over fifty years beginning from the era of al-Qāʾim bi-Amr Allāh (r. 422-467/1031-1075) and Abū Isḥāq al-Ṣābī, a member of the al-Ṣābī family recognized in training *adīb*s (literary men) and *kātib*s in the 4th/10th and the 5th/11th centuries.

The letters that were written by Abū Isḥāq al-Ṣābī on behalf of ʿAbbāsid caliphs, such as al-Muṭīʿ lillāh (r. 334-364/946-974) and al-Ṭāʾiʿ lillāh (r. 363-381/974-991), and on behalf of Buwayhid amīrs, such as Muiʿzz al-Dawlah (r. 334-356/945-967), ʿIzz al-Dawlah Bakhtiyār (r. 356-367/967-978), ʿAḍud al-Dawlah (r. 367-372/978-983), and Samsām al-Dawlah (r. 372-376/983-987, 379-388/989-998) are significant sources because they reflect both the relationship between the ʿAbbāsids and the Buwayhids, and the conflicts of Buwayhid amīrs among themselves. The first person who drew attention to these letters, which were originally in manuscript form in several different library collections, was Amīr Shakīb Arslān (d. 1946). He decided to publish a critical edition of these 95 letters for libraries in Istanbul and titled it *Mukhtār min rasāʾil al-Ṣābī*. He was only able to include 42 of the letters. This edition was first published in 1898 in Lebanon (Baʿabdā) and later reproduced by different publishing houses. In an introduction to the letters, Shakīb Arslān added the biography of al-

Ṣābī written by Abū Manṣūr al-Thaʿālibī provided information about individuals mentioned in the text and briefly explained some of the words and events mentioned in the text. After Shakīb Arslān's first edition, interest in the letters of al-Ṣābī grew in academic circles and many works were written about them at different levels.

Iḥsān Dhannūn al-Thāmirī recently published the letters of al-Ṣābī with a long introduction under the title *Dīwān rasāʾil al-Ṣābī*. This edition brings together treatises published by Shakīb Arslān and others as well as certain treatises that were previously in manuscript forms. al-Thāmirī's introduction includes a discussion of the relationship of al-Ṣābī with the Buwayhid amīrs and with some prominent literary men of the era, his scholarly and literary skills, his religious beliefs, al-Ṣābī's lineage and the name of his father, the political situation of his time, his works, the significance of the letters, citations on the existence of these letters in historical sources, and available manuscripts of the treatises (pp. 19-81). While the data given in this section about the life of al-Ṣābī and his treatises are satisfactory as an introduction, it should be noted that the topics could have been classified more systematically with the use of subtitles. For example, in the beginning, the political and administrative context of the 4th/10th century, the discussion on al-Ṣābī's lineage, his father's name and life, his works, and his political and administrative network could have been addressed separately. The manuscript copies, back editions of the letters, and the methodology followed in the edition could have been discussed later.

A few of al-Thāmirī's introductory remarks should be highlighted. Al-Masʿūdī (d. 345/956) who assembled the first systematic data about the Ṣābians, and almost all authors who followed him identified an essential difference between the two groups of Ṣābians: the Ṣābians of al-Baṭāʾiḥ lived in marshlands (*baṭāʾiḥ*) between al-Baṣrah and Wāsiṭ in southern Iraq, while the Ṣābians of Ḥarrān lived in Ḥarrān in northern Mesopotamia. While the sources are in consensus in classifying the Ṣābians in according to the regions where they lived, they make quite different statements regarding whether the Ṣābians were pagan, believed in the stars or adopted Christianity. Because of these different approaches to the beliefs of the Ṣābians, it is difficult to reach a conclusion about the religious preference of, particularly, al-Ṣābī and other Ṣābian people who lived in the classical period. Even though al-Thāmirī recognizes this difficulty, he refers to the *fatwá* of Abū Yūsuf (d. 182/798) and Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan al-Shaybānī (d. 189/805) (which permitted marriage with the Ṣābians and eating

animals that the Ṣābians had cut) and claims that the family of al-Ṣābī has their origins in the marshlands of southern Iraq and that they accepted Christianity (pp. 49-50). Considering that these *fatwā*s were narrated by Ibn Buṭlān (d. 455/1063), a prominent physician of the Buwayhid era who had close relations with al-Ṣābī family, al-Thāmirī's claim, at first reading, appears acceptable. But in a previous section (p. 33) al-Thāmirī points to one of the letters in which al-Ṣābī referred to his al-Ḥarrānī lineage and says that the ancestry of al-Ṣābī was based on Ḥarrān. There is an apparent contradiction in al-Thāmirī's opinions. Since al-Ṣābī used al-Ḥarrānī lineage in the letters, giving hints about his origin, and as mentioned above, the sources are not in consensus, it is clear that al-Thāmirī's argument about al-Ṣābī's origins must be rethought.

Another of al-Thāmirī's topics is the correct rendering of al-Ṣābī's father's name. In previous studies, this name was written Hilāl (هلال). But al-Ṣābī wrote Hillīl (هليل) instead of Hilāl in his genealogy in the letters (which reflected the character of his own handwriting), and some of al-Ṣābī's contemporary authors, such as Abū ʿAlī al-Tanūkhī (d. 384/1091), also wrote the name Hillīl (pp. 51-55). For these reasons it appears that al-Thāmirī's preference is correct. It is worth mentioning that al-Thāmirī criticizes the editors of *Dhayl Tajārib al-umam* by Abū Shujāʿ al-Rūdhrāwarī (d. 488/1095) and *Inbāh al-ruwāt* by Ibn al-Qifṭī (d. 646/1248), because they changed Hillīl to Hilāl (p. 5 fn. 4, 6).

At the end of the introduction, al-Thāmirī writes about manuscript copies of the treatises that are still held in various libraries in unedited form. But he does not evaluate back editions of the letters, except those published by Shakīb Arslān, or the studies that have examined these treatises. Klaus Hachmeier's PhD dissertation is among these studies and is worth a closer look.[1] A few years after completing his thesis, Hachmeier published an article that summaries of the thesis and makes some remarkable points about the letters.[2] One of the most substantial issues handled by Hachmeier in the article regards number of

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[1]   Klaus Hachmeier, *Die Briefe Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm al-Ṣābīʾs (st.384/994 A.H./A.D.): Untersuchungen zur Briefsammlung eines berühmten arabischen Kanzleischreibers mit Erstedition einiger seiner Briefe* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2002).

[2]   Klaus Hachmeier, "The Letters of Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm al-Ṣābiʾ: A Large Buyid Collection Established from Manuscripts and Other Sources," *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 63 (2010-2011), 107-221.

manuscript copies of the letters. From al-Thāmirī's statements it is understood that he based his edition on 10 copies (pp.71-77). But in Hachmeier's study, the number given is 19 (p. 107). These two different counts also influenced the total number of letters. While al-Thāmirī says that the number of letters is 419 (p. 79), Hachmeier states that it is 523 (p. 107). There are also some differences in al-Thāmirī and Hachmeier's descriptions of the physical features of the manuscript copies. This and other discrepancies suggest that there would be value in al-Thāmirī evaluating the back editions and studies of the letters.

Al-Thāmirī's methodology in this edition is to separate the letters into seven titles. These titles are as follows: political (122), administrative (125), intercession (*shafāʿah*) (30), greeting (*tahānī*) (24), condolence (*taʿziyah*) (50), personality (*shakhṣiyyah*) (55), and different topics (13) (p. 79). The classification of the letters in this way, the explanatory footnotes, the explanation of Arabic words that might be misunderstood, and the detailed index all enable the readers to benefit from the work in a greater way. The appendix, which lists the names of the Buwayhid amīrs mentioned in the text and provides information collected from different sources about the beliefs and cultural features of the Ṣābians, also provides for better understanding of the letters.

In conclusion, this edition of the letters, the majority of which were previously still in manuscript form, will open the door for new perspectives and future work on the political and administrative history of the ʿAbbāsids and Buwayhids.

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Domestic Violence and the Islamic Tradition, by Ayesha S. Chaudhry (Oxford Islamic Legal Studies, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), xii+258 pp., ISBN: 978-0-19-964016-4, $58.00 (hb)

This work is simultaneously ambitious and yet extremely narrow. That is both its strength and its flaw. The book's strengths are the vast number of sources the author incorporates in her research. The book's flaws result from the extremely narrow focus of the author's attention in using those sources. The excessively narrow focus of the author's attention results in reductionist interpretations of her data in a way that undermines the categorical nature of her conclusions. Ironically, and despite the avowedly normative motivations underlying her book, the author is surprisingly reticent about her own hermeneutic position with respect to the critical question of the book: How should we understand Qurʾān 4:34, sometimes referred to as the "beating verse." The author also occasionally misreads some of her primary texts, resulting in some serious errors. These errors, which, while not necessarily undermining her overall thesis, detract from the book's overall credibility. Finally, readers could take issue with some aspects of the author's methodology, which require deeper consideration.

The first part of the book, which consists of three chapters, is anchored in the pre-colonial Islamic tradition that grew out of 4:34. The second part, in two chapters, focuses on modern, post-colonial treatment of the same verse. The two parts are roughly equal in length, although Chapter 4, which focuses on modern Muslim responses to 4:34, is the longest chapter of the book – sixty pages. There, she divides Muslim responses into four questionable categories of *traditionalist*, *neo-traditionalist*, *progressive*, and *reform*. It is only the last group that makes a clean break with the misogyny of the pre-colonial Islamic tradition in her estimation. The three chapters of Part I take as their subjects the writings of pre-colonial Muslim exegetes and Sunnī jurists. The second chapter of Part II emphasizes what she calls "the pliable" nature of the Qurʾānic text in the hands of modern Muslims, and the ease with which modern Muslims can take a shared memory of the

Prophet Muḥammad's exemplary behavior and deploy it for radically different ends.

The key to understanding this book, however, is its highly personal introduction. The author explains that this study grows out of her concrete experience as a Muslim woman who grew up, simultaneously, in a very conservative Muslim household, characterized by very patriarchal and hierarchal gender relations, and in a very self-professed liberal and progressive society, in which gender egalitarianism was an important element of public identity – Canada. The tension between these two conflicting ideals was brought out most clearly in 4:34, whose plain sense enforced marital hierarchy, exemplified in a husband's privilege (duty) to exercise coercive force against a recalcitrant wife (*nāshiz*). Quite understandably, the author was looking for a voice that could reassure her that this verse did not mean what it seemed to mean, but she could not find such a voice, even among a younger generation of religious leaders whom otherwise appeared reasonable and progressive. This disappointment ultimately led her on the journey that produced this book.

While some may find biographical details such as this uninteresting, irrelevant, or maybe even inconsistent with true scholarship, this reviewer has no objection to committed scholarship. I think the author is to be commended for stating with such clarity the nature of the almost existential crisis that lay behind her scholarship. At the same time, however, there is no connection between the existential sincerity of scholarship and the persuasiveness of its arguments. We must respect an author's sincerity, and we can even applaud the overtly political aims of a scholarly project, but in so doing, we cannot ignore its scholarly shortcomings.

The most problematic feature of the book is also laid out in the introduction. There, she identifies the concept of "cosmology" as the key hermeneutic tool to understanding Muslim reactions to 4:34. Chaudhry tells us that a cosmology is "a representation of a perfect world, a vision of the world as it should be rather than merely as it is; in the case of the Muslim scholars under study, idealized cosmologies are visions of the universe as it would exist if all humans submitted entirely to God's laws." According to Chaudhry, the pre-colonial Muslim tradition is united by a "patriarchal cosmology," the distinctive feature of which is that women's connection to God is mediated through their husbands. Modern Muslims, however, or at least some of them, have adopted what she calls an "egalitarian cosmology," in

which men and women each have equal access to God, and relate to one another as equals rather than as a superior (husband) to an inferior (wife) (p. 11).

One glaring problem with this approach is that it lacks any theoretical connection between and among the Qurʾān, human beings, and "cosmology:" whether in the pre-colonial era, when the "patriarchal cosmology" dominated, or the post-colonial era, when the "egalitarian cosmology" erupts to challenge patriarchal cosmology, her use of "cosmology" is entirely exogenous to the Qurʾān. The Qurʾān appears to be little more than an empty vessel, whose meaning is filled by this mysterious concept. The author, moreover, provides no account for how cosmologies arise, and their relationship to human agency, if any. As a result, "cosmology" is deployed in the manner of a *deus ex machina* to avoid answering difficult questions related to historicity, morality, and claims of transcendence.

One might also challenge her account of the content of patriarchal cosmology on its own terms. Chaudhry claims that, pursuant to this cosmology, a woman can only obtain recognition as pious through the mediation of her husband, who functions as a kind of "shadow deity" or "demi-god." (pp. 42-43). This, Chaudhry claims, is a natural conclusion of an ethical system in which "the rights of husbands and God were intertwined and indistinguishable." (p. 65 n. 29). Chaudhry is correct that a wife is barred from performing at least *some* supererogatory acts of worship, but this is not because the husband is a shadow deity or a demi-god; rather, it is a function of the conflict between her contractual duties as a wife to her husband, which are obligatory to fulfill, and her desire to perform a supererogatory act of piety, which is not. Indeed, she even expressly notes this rationale (p. 126, n. 110), but interprets its significance through the heuristic of patriarchal cosmology rather than that of Islamic ethical theory which (1) universally prioritizes the performance of obligations over supererogatory acts, and (2) universally entangles obligations owed toward other human beings with obligations owed to God through the notion that God is entitled to the *just* performance of all human obligations (*ḥuqūq al-ʿibād*). In other words, whenever a human being discharges an obligation he or she owes to another human being, whether that other is her husband or wife, he or she is also performing an act of piety, at least if the proper intention is present. On the other hand, if he or she fails to fulfill an obligation of justice, he or she is also committing a sin, even if the reason for failing to do so is

the performance of a supererogatory act of devotion. Accordingly, a bankrupt is not allowed to give his property in charity, but must rather use it to repay his creditors, even if they are rich. In a contemporary setting, a popular Islamic website has even advised workers that they are not permitted to perform supererogatory prayers at work if their employer objects.

There is nothing peculiar, then, in circumscribing a wife's right to perform certain supererogatory acts if they conflict with her obligations toward her husband. That is not the problematic feature of this doctrine; rather, it is the *scope* of her obligations under the contract that is problematic (or potentially so), not that the marriage relationship mediates her relationship to God, for that is a ubiquitous feature of Islamic ethical thought generally. And indeed, even in pre-colonial legal texts, the requirement that a wife obtain her husband's prior permission to perform supererogatory acts of devotion was not categorical, but limited to situations where it might conflict with the husband's rights under the marriage contract.

Another problem with her use of patriarchal cosmology as a framing heuristic is that it overdetermines her analysis, causing her to make conclusions that seem to be undermined by the very evidence she produces in the book. For example, she admits that we should not assume that scholars found the right of husbands to strike their wives to be "unproblematic," (p. 81), but only a few pages later, she tells us that "jurists were ethically untroubled by the right of husbands to physically discipline their wives." (p. 97). She attempts to resolve this seeming contradiction by maintaining a distinction between "procedural" concerns – which she admits scholars had – from presumably substantive ethical concerns which she claims they lacked. "Procedure," however, is not value-free. The very fact that scholars were concerned that husbands follow a proper procedure indicates that they had a substantive, ethical conception of violence that was directly connected to the wife's welfare as a person, and not by virtue of her fixed place as an inferior in a "patriarchal cosmology." I believe she reaches this erroneous conclusion in part based on her assumption that the remedies provided by Islamic law for domestic violence were inadequate (p. 97). But that assumption of inadequacy was not informed by baseline principles of retaliation and compensation that apply for torts in Islamic law outside of the marital context. Once that is taken into account, it becomes apparent that the remedies for a wife

are not substantially different than those available to non-wives in cases of intentional and non-intentional tort.

Chapter 4 is in many ways the most interesting portion of the book. Aside from the questionable taxonomy of modern Muslims, however, there is a larger problem in her approach: she does not seem to take the *genre* of writing seriously. Unlike the works analyzed in Part I, much of the material she analyzes in Chapter 4, particularly from authors she describes as *Traditionalist* and *Neo-Traditionalist*, are pastoral in nature. Accordingly, it makes little sense to compare them to works written by scholars for scholars. It would have been a lot more interesting and valuable in this regard had she used pre-colonial works directed toward the laity as her relevant comparator rather than works of exegesis and law.

There are, unfortunately, some important misinterpretations of legal doctrine. The Ḥanafīs do not require husbands to discipline recalcitrant spouses (p. 103). From the perspective of Islamic law, no school ever mandates the application of discipline, coercive or otherwise. Indeed, both Shāfiʿīs and Ḥanafīs justify the husband's monetary liability in the event of the wife's death as a result of spousal violence on the grounds that the husband was under no obligation to discipline the wife in the first place. Chaudhry also misreads certain provisions regarding what a judge should do when investigating claims of marital discord and possible abuse: he does not have the wife live with him (p. 122), or send his own wife to live with the disputing couple (p. 114). Rather, what these texts envisioned was that the judge would remove the wife from the marital home and place her into a "safe space" pending investigation of the bona fides of the dispute.

There is no doubt that modern Muslims react radically differently to 4:34 than their pre-colonial predecessors. But whether that can be attributable to a wholly exogenous change in cosmologies is disputable. Moreover, as her own reticence in providing an interpretation to 4:34 indicates, "reformist" attempts to erase the plain-sense meaning of 4:34 which permits husbands to use coercive discipline against their wives, do not seem very persuasive. It appears, therefore, that the Qurʾān does have some content independent of readers' subjective commitments after all.

If this is the case, must modern Muslims abandon fidelity to the Qurʾān if they wish to live in a world of gender egalitarianism in which husbands do not have the legal right to discipline their wives using

force? But there may be another way: instead of viewing the Qurʾān as exhausting the Muslim ethical domain, such that a proscription on physical discipline must be rooted in the Qurʾān for it to be legitimate, could not Muslims agree to prohibit husbands from disciplining their wives via physical force, in furtherance of trans-generational Qurʾānic values of non-domination and mutual respect and generosity between spouses, as an act of their own self-determination rather than as an act of scriptural interpretation? If Muslims can accept their own right to make rules, they will be liberated from the need to force the Qurʾān to speak on their behalf. They would instead speak about the kind of social world they wish to inhabit, their justifications for that world, and how to bring that world into existence. Muslims would exit the domain of text fundamentalism – reactionary or progressive – and enter the domain of the historical.

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OBITUARY

Remembering Fuat Sezgin: An Obituary

REMEMBERING FUAT SEZGIN – AN OBITUARY

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With the death of Fuat Sezgin (1924-2018) not only Turkey, but all of the Islamic world and in fact the fields of Islamic studies and the history of science as a whole have lost one of their great scholars, a person who devoted his whole long life to making Islamic thought and especially the rich treasuries of Arabic manuscripts better known to the world at large. Born in Bitlis and raised in Istanbul, he studied at the University of Istanbul where he had the occasion to work closely with the famous German orientalist Hellmut Ritter under whose guidance he was able to master modern methods of research and scholarship. But he was not a blind follower of Western Islamicists and orientalists. Already in his doctoral thesis which was on al-Bukhārī he demonstrated that in contrast to the views of Western orientalists going back to Goldziher and his students the *ḥadīth*s recorded by al-Bukhārī were not invented in the $3^{rd}/9^{th}$ century and then attributed to the Prophet of Islam, but went back to the $1^{st}/7^{th}$ century and the lifetime of the Prophet.

The political upheavals in Turkey in 1960 resulted in Sezgin being expelled from the University of Istanbul. A year later he left Turkey for Germany and settled in Frankfurt where in 1965 he became professor of the history of natural science at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe Institute. It was there in Frankfurt that he founded the Institute of the History of Arab-Islamic Science and began a lifetime of intense and

meticulous study of Arabic manuscripts. His greatest achievement of those decades of ceaseless research was the "updating" of Brockelmann's famous *Geschichte* outlining and describing Arabic manuscripts. But Sezgin went far beyond Brockelmann and visited numerous manuscript libraries throughout the width and breadth of the Islamic world as well as the West, discovering numerous manuscripts that were unknown before him. The result of this long effort was his *magnum opus*, the seventeen volume *Geschichte des Arabischen Schrifttums* which is one of most important reference works in Islamic studies and is bound to remain an indispensable source for decades to come. Sezgin was such a prolific scholar that besides this monumental opus, he wrote other notable books including a five-volume work on the history of science.

Fortunately, Turkey recognized the great scholarship of Sezgin in his lifetime although he had migrated to Germany. In Ankara a square with his bust was named after him in a ceremony in which he was present and knowledge of his works are disseminated widely among scholars in his homeland.

With his death not only Turkey, but the whole world of Islamic studies has lost one of its outstanding scholars but his works is bound to remain alive for a long time to come. *Raḥimahū Allāh.*

ILAHIYAT STUDIES
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Aydınlı, Abdullah. "Ebû Zer el-Gıfârî." In *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi (DİA)*, X, 266-269.

Book

Kātib Chalabī, Ḥājī Khalīfa Muṣṭafā ibn ʿAbd Allāh. *Kashf al-ẓunūn ʿan asāmī l-kutub wa-l-funūn*. 2 vols. Edited by M. Şerefeddin Yaltkaya and Kilisli Rifat Bilge. Istanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1941-1943.

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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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Frank, Richard. "Elements in the Development of the Teaching of al-Ashʿarī." *Le Muséon*: *Revue D'Études Orientales* 104 (1991), 141-190. https://doi.org/10.2143/MUS.104.1.2006086.

Page references to works referred to in the text should take the following form: (Touraine 1995, 9-10). The verses of the Qurʾān should be referred to as follows: Q 2:23; Q 17:108; the references from the Old and New Testament should carry chapter name and number, and verse number.

Arabic words should be transliterated according the style used by the Library of Congress, as shown in the *Ilahiyat Studies Style Sheet*.

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