

A Comparative Study on the Role of the Religious and Political Thoughts of Qom , Ray , Baghdad and Khorasan on Shiites of the Third Century.

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Abstract

In the third century, the political multiplicity of Iran was influential on various thoughts and expansion of the opposite religious interactions. Benefiting from the attention towards the masses of people and equalizing among them, Murjae and Hanafiae could affect Iran and missionaries deeply.

In the middle of the third century, with the Shafei's influence in the fascinating cities of Ray, Neishabur, Samarghand and Tashkand, limited the dominance of Hanafi-Hanbali thoughts. The increase of city dwelling caused by the attraction of missionaries from countryside and villages to these cities would have been another factor in this process.

The appropriateness of political geography and the struggling of Zaydieh Shiite direction , tinged with Motazeli thought , against Taherian caused that even Samanid did not succeed in eradicating the social roots of this course in some parts of Iran.

In Khorasan, at the end of the third century, Ismaeli missionaries gave priority to change rural religious thought into the alteration of urban political elites' beliefs. It was Ahmad Ibn Hassan Maderani, who put some emphasis for Imami –Shiite thought in Ray.

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Kolein in the outskirts of Ray, witnessed the appearance of Mohammad Ibn Yaghub (Jacob), the Imami narrative connector, who could present a pattern with Qomi view, for the rationalizing and reconstructing the society of Imami people of Baghdad.

It should be noted that the connecting base among Imami populations in Neishabur, Ray, Qom, Marve and Balkh of the third century was something beyond the exchanges of trade unions, in particular, it was Qom, benefiting from the scholarly elites who were in majority, that in the light of Asharites at the end of the third century witnessed the centralization of Imamieh and planning for faithful or economic expansion. In this case, the ideas of Andrew Newman, Wilfred Madelung, Donlop and Pelt are disputable.

Keywords : Shiite, Orientalists, Asharites, Missionaries

Introduction

In the third century, Qom, Ray, Baghdad and Khorasan witnessed a glorious upheaval in religious and political thoughts, mostly caused by the Shiite executioners and scholarly elites. From the historical point of view, Mohammad Ibn Yaghub demonstrated a highly praised function in forming Shiites of that time and founding a firm base for the religious thoughts and political movements of this school. As a reformist, he presented an approach affected by Qomi thought for the Shiites of Baghdad. By considering all of the historical dimensions, the author tries to discuss Koleini's role in creating a dynamic thought of Imami followers in above mentioned cities especially Baghdad.

Allan¹ plays a major role in the recognition of Mohammad Ibn Yaghub's character by making him travel from Kolein to Ray. Ali Ibn Mohammad Razi (Allan) made all preparations so that Mohammad Ibn Yaghub could set off for Qom where he acquired knowledge and then left for Baghdad in which he succeeded in composing and checking his fruition, kafi. As a connector of Qom, Ray and Baghdad, Mohammad Ibn Yaghub's acquaintance with the situation of Baghdad for the recent twenty years of his presence there and his burial near the gate of Kufe (Khansair, Rozato, 108) could affect and advance the Shiite's historical, religious thought of that time.

1. Although Mohammad Ibn Yaghub Koleini was under the guidance of his father but Ali Ibn Mohammad Razi (Allan), an uncle of Koleini's mother, became an effective character in scholarly evolution in Ray. *see Ameli Seyyed Mohsen Ayyan-o-al Shiite, vol 42, P152*

In the historical studies, there is an agreement between Madelung and Modarresi that Koleini played a central role in directing Shiite of that time (Modarresi, 91)

It should be remembered that Mohammad Ibn Yaghub's character was constructive and impressive even during his presence in Ray, not only by dominating over his opponents in discussion and debates, did he became a chieftain there (Najjashi, 377), but also he was a successful superintendent in scholarly restoration of Ray as have been indicated by Ahmad Ibn Hajar Asghalani (deceased 706 H) and Ibn Athir.

It seems that although Koleini left Ray because of much chaos and political anarchism in 280 H., he could later take the leadership of Shiite society in Baghdad during Abbasids's powerful government.(Tabari, vol 38,p99)

With a quantitative measurement of Mohammad Ibn Yagub's sources in Hadith, Madelung tries to highlight the effects of his presence in Qom , rather than Ray, upon his scholarly character(Madelung,363).

It is noteworthy that he not only propagated the school of Shiite through those elected by the caliphate but he presented an approach with Qomi way of narration for Imamieh society in Baghdad.

Regarding the background and process of becoming Moslem, Choresky describes a Sunnite majority in the third century (Cheroskey, 20)

With regard to Iranians, Murjae and Hanafieh could affect them deeply, especially the eastern ones as well as missionaries. Hossein Najjar Hanafi's influence of religious thought, not only prepared an appropriate field for Murjae in strict Hanafi society of Ray, but could affect Ghazvin and Gorgan from there (Watt, 119). In the third century, the political multiplicity was influential upon the expansion of Hadith Propagation Institutes and presenting the new experiences in Iran. Though Imam Ahmad Ibn Hanbal was born in Baghdad (164H), he was from a Basri family of Khorasan and rose by the help of Abbasids. In all, the Hanafi religious thought could not attract the considerable mass of Iranians.

Khorasan and Neishabur, the origins of Taherian, Marve and Samarghand or Samanid' capital, Bokhara were considered Hanafi centers (Seddighi).

In the middle of the 3rd century, by fascinating Ray, Neishabur, Samarghand, Tashkand , Esfahan ,and Gorgan Shafei's influence replaced the Hanbali and Hanafi dominance.

Bulliet believes that the growth of urbanization in Ray and Neishabur was the outcome of missionaries who came from suburbs and villages to these centers, with the aim to support emigrant Arabs in the third century (Bulliet, 73). Madelung additionally specifies that no center for religious thought

existed in Iran like those in Iraq, Meddineh, Mecca and Damascus and Hums (Madelung, 21).

In the third century, the Shafei thought attracted Sufi-missionaries. Iranians in Neishabur and Haraat established and popularized its Karamieh movement. On the other hand, the Khareji thought, which from the beginning of Abbasids had attracted people in Sejestan, Haraat and khorasan lost its power with the presence of Yaghub Ibn Leith Saffar in second half of the third century.

The challenge and contrast between Hanafi and Murjea principles along with the Sunnite tendency to Hadith in the third century, verifies the influence of Shiite in different parts of Iran.

Andrew Newman attributed the first presence of Shiite in Iran to the attendance of Abdullāh Ibn Muawieh, Jafar Ibn Abitaleb's grandson in Esfahan and Estakhr . He later fled to Haraat (Newman, 85). Newman, then, surveys Ibrahim Ibn Abdullāh Hassani's revolt in Fars , Ahwaz and Waset. It seems the first organized shia group was not Alawi movement, but Zaydieh inhabited in Iran because of its political- military movements. The outset of the third century also witnessed the revolt of Taleghan in Khorasan. (Madelung, 18).

Yahya Ibn Zayd's departure from Iraq to Ray and then to Khorasan, Sarakhs ,Haraat , Taleghan and Balkh, signifies the positive background for revolt in those cities . Yahya

Ibn Abdullāh Hassani's flight in 169 (A.H.) with his Iraqi supporters (after Fakh tragedy) shows the appropriateness of political geography in Iran. When Ghasem Ibn Ibrahim's companions propagated the Zaydieh conventional principles, for the first time, it caused the rising of Nirroos – the east of Chalooos River – against Taherian and the invitation of Hasan Ibn Zayd Hasani to Ray. Andrew Newman believes that despite some similarities between the beliefs of Hasan Ibn Zayd and the religious dimensions of twelve fold Shiite , some Imamieh believers of the area were persecuted . Hasan's thought influenced Tabarasetan with a Shiite inclination colored with Motazeli thought. Though the inclination to Sunnite is returned to the area with the assassination of Mohammad Ibn Zayd by Samanid in 287 (A.H.), the return of Shiite thought by Hasan Ibn Mohammad Ibn Autroosh signifies the sociological root of this thought.

In the middle of the third century, when Gharameteh started a movement, the Ismaeli missionary in Kolein, following an established framework of invitation , was obliged to escape into Ray. When Ghiath, the second native successor of missionary, could find companions in Qom by debate, he escaped into Khorasan and influenced its emir to change his religion. The efforts of Ghiath's successor, Abu Hatam Ahmad Ibn Hamdan Razi, as the fifth the chief of missionaries, led to the spread of Ismaelism

not only in Ray, Esfahan, Tabarestan, Azarbayejan and Gorgan but also influenced the belief of official ruler of Ray, Ahmad Ibn Ali. Newman even specifies that Abu Hatam could change the belief of Mardavij, the organizer of Ziari state centralized with Ray. At the end of the third century, the Ismaeli invitation moved from Neishabur to Marve. The efforts of the Bokharaei successor of Daei, Mohammad Ibn Ahmad Nasafi in influencing upon the second Samani Nasr, caused the plan of Ismaeli Shiite's thought to become overt.

It seems that prior endeavor for changing rural religious thought, there was a need to change to an urban version that had significant effect on the belief of political elites, an experience which had showed its effectiveness previously around Ray. Madelung (Madelung, 69) and Farhad Daftari confirm the above viewpoint (Daftari, 125).

Traces of crossing Imam Reza (peace be upon him) in the cities of Ahwaz, Shushtar, Yazd and Neishabur (201H.) are also evident (Qomi, 199). Even in Mohammad Tehrani's work on Navabeqolrowah of fourth century, there are points to Imamieh Arab companions of the eighth Imam with Persian names in Ray, Qom, Balkh and Neishbur (Sheikh Agha Bozorg Tehrani, 50). The clearest investment for Imamieh-Shiite inclinations of Ray belongs to Ahmad-Ibn Hassan in 276 A.H. from an Iraqi Madarani family with the precedence of having

roles in important Iraqi Departments between 266 to 335 A. H.. Gustin Chalk has made investigations on this family¹. Rudeness of Ezkotakin, Abbasids, commander of Ray, resulted that Madarani, in the position of his ministerial executive, was using the policy of alluring Baghdad policy toward the fined treasury of Ray Governorate and succeeded to guide Abbasids up to Isfahan (Tabari, 1590).

Ray had a precedence of political inclination. Mahdi, by restoring this city, made it his capital. His son Harounallrashid was born in the same city. In the predominant movement of the commander of Mamoun on campaigning Ammin's army, Ray had practically become a battle field of Tabarestani Zaydis with Taherian in 195 A.H. It seems that absence of belief conformity had led Tabari to mention sociological origin of mass of people, with the rise of Mohammad Ibn Jaffar Ibn Hassan, (250 H.) as ignoble (Tabari, Vol. 33, P 65) Report of Massoudi, indicates a Taheri political- military array in this year (Massoudi, 153) especially that, he made more intensified level of dominant anti – dialogue political provocation of Abbasids pointing to the movement of Ahmmad Ibn Issa Alavi (Massoudi, 154). Dolafian, who through a dominant movement of Daylamites in the cities of Ray, Qazvin and Zanjan in 252 came to power and established relations with the Shiites. Continuation of their

1. Encyclopedia of Islam, V:5, P: 935

political stability, however, remained curtailed then. Two unsuccessful trials of Caliphate during the first decade of the second half of the third century (253 and 259 A.H.) and Turki-Tabari conflict in 255 A.H. indicate that religious thoughts of the above urban society were influential. (Tabari, vol.37, pp 63-64).

Westward advancement of Yghub Ibn Laith, and occupation of Ray in 260 A. H. had a negative effect on Shiite religious thought. Yet another campaign 246 H. could show its resistance in the framework of combating dominant Turk agents (Halem, 29).

It seems that, summing up of inter-societal population of the Imamieh Shiites in Neishabur, Ray, Qom, Marve and Balkh of the third century has been something more than a usual percentage of the businessmen needing literacy at the level of perfume sellers and cotton merchants, as portrayed by Andre Newman (Newman, p 88) otherwise, in the event that only the above said economic superstructure was the dominant dialogue for religious Imamieh thoughts, it was no reason for concise conflicts and incidents even though with belief origins. Guild of writers, pharmacists, and paper makers in Imamiehs, points out to the scientific growth and their ever increasing level of knowledge in the above said cities (Tabari, 16).

Orientation for leagues in 278 A.H. around the above cities, like what happened between Dolafians and Safaris, is mostly seen in the

framework of dynastic conflict under the power of Caliphate rather calling it conflict of religious thought (Tabari, Ibid , p 104). In 284 , two seasons pushed Moktafi from the political scene of Ray: one was the Shiite pressure of Ray in which Tabarestan was probably involved in its implementation and the other was draught and failure of agricultural resources. The first probability is more reinforced since it is clear that due to bad performance of Amre Safari, Mohammad Ibn Haroun, ruler of Tabarestan, occupied the city at the end of the third century (Massoudi, 343)¹. In this regard, Minorsky's account on Ray and Daylam is of worth attention.²

Anyway, it should not be neglected that Ray and Qom, especially at the time Ahmmad Ibn Khaled Barghi, author of *Almahssen* was in the service of Madarani, has had a determining role in the Twelvers memento writing.

It seems, however, in Khorassan, Ray and Qom, minor power even Sunnite Hadith were seeking dynasties, led to disintegration of Abbasids society and converting it to an archipelago. Outcomes of continuation of the political and military conflicts, however, was not ineffective on Shiite inclinations (Barghi, Rejal ,p47). Najishi and Toussi provide a list of

1. Compare with the History of Qom, Hassan Ibn, and Mohammad Ibn Ashari (Died after 379/9 h.) edited by Jallalaldin Tehrani p 47.

2. Encyclopedia of Islam, Vol. 2, p 197.

the 7th Imam's companions with Razi and Qomi titles.

Among them, Abolhassan Mohammad Ibn Jafar Assadi Razi (Toussi, 426), as the agent of Imam Zaman, had an effective role in religious thought of Ray and Qom and in fact he was the person who nurtured the personality of Mohammad Ibn Yaghub Koleini.

One can say that Neishabur, like Ray during strategic conflicts has been the spiritual battlefield and focal point of the region for the Imamieh which during the second half of the third century, had not classical majority of the population around those regions. However, one cannot accept the emphasis of Andrew Newman on opposition of Qom with Ray, in essence, both due to his own discussion entitled Pockets of Believers and also the connectors such as Mohammad Ibn Yaghub was grown in Qom and learnt Hadith there (Newman, 23)¹. By late third century, Qom witnessed higher concentration of Imamiehs compared with other parts of Iran and Iraq. This was due to Imamieh, orientation being evident and educated urban people of those cities as well as that of Sunnites dominating the socio-political destinations of other regions, which along with Zaydieh and Ismalites had made Imamieh as their point of criticism. Contemporary writings of Ahmmad

Inb Sahl Balkhi (deceased 934/322) on which Danlope² has made investigations and Jeihani (941 Ac/330 H.) through research efforts of Pelt³, emphasize on general Shiite atmosphere of Qom and shows dominant Arab atmosphere.

Interestingly later on, Ibn Hoghal (651 A.H.) who has been focal point of research of Miquel⁴ and Collins (Collins, 351) who visit Qom, in addition to emphasizing on Imamieh's religious thoughts, confirms that in a cultural exchange, dialect of Qom's Shiite Arabs has changed to Persian (Ibn Hoghal, 315). This matter can be revealed from the travel account of Masar Ibn Mohalel, the poet to Qom, and investigated by Minorsky as well as in Ahssanol Al-Taghassim by Mohammad Ibn Ahmad the geographer (985 Ac./ 375 H.)⁵. Beginning of Qom's Islamic approach goes back to the victory of 23 A. H. and following the escape of sons of Saad Ibn Malek Ashaari, after the revolt of Abdolrahman Ashaath a family of

southern Arabs in the Seffain war (Qomi, 266). But, it is probable that Mousa Ibn Abdollah Saad Ashari, the first contemporary Imamieh of this family is with Imam Mohammad Bagher and Imam Jafar Sadegh (peace be upon them) that a Sunnite atmosphere prevails Qom (Toussi, 307), Ahvas, Eshagh,

1. His statement is as follow: Al-Kafi's traditions are Qummi; however, it does seem that between his residences in Ray and Baghdad Al-koleini also spent considerable time in Qom.

2. Encyclopedia of Islam, Vol.1 p1003

3. J.Pelt, Encyclopedia of Islam, vol.6, p 265.

4. A. Miquel, Encyclopedia of Islam, Vol.3, p. 786.

5. See : Travels of Abudolaf Mosar Ibn Mohalel from Minorsky published in Cairo, 1955, p 50

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Noim and his brothers , were pioneers of 82 H. revolt (Qomi, 25) .

Lambton, analyses Ashaari's dominance from 256 to 309 A.H. as a proved by variable incident (Lambton, 586).

It seems however, anxiety of Hassan Ibn Mohammad stated later in 379 about his work, more than wishing to tremble and change Ashaari's influence on Qom's history, is an effort through which the author uses for reducing taxes on the city in the framework of tribal epic verses and devotion to Buyeh family.

Kashi, a Khorassani Shiite writer who wrote on distinguished men, reports scientific immigration of Issa Ibn Abdollah Ashaari from Qom in order to learn from Imam Jaffaar Sadegh (peace be upon him) (Barghi, 27). Madelung also tries to consider this person who is the brother of Mussa as the first Imamieh in Qom (Madelung, 80).

Anyway Barghi, Najashi and Toussi in the same field, report obvious associates of the fifth to the eleventh Imams .

Amongst Ashaari Missionaries, Mohhadethe Shiite, Ahmmad Ibn Abi Ghatadeh, and Mohammad Ibn Khled, father of Ahmmad author of Almahassen and pioneer writer of cultural narrator of associates of Imams and Mohammad Ibn Hassan Ibn Foroukh Saffar, author of Basaer, are more conspicuous (Najashi,337).

Attribution of seven squares, five bridges and 39 to 51 active mills of Qom city to

Ashaaris and activities of Malek Ibn Saad, Shoeib Ibn Abdollah and Zakari Ibn Malek in irrigation and development of agriculture all are signs of their planning for economic development (Qomi,60).

At the time of Imam Reza (peace be upon him), Hamzeh Ibn Yassa Ashaari made possible the project of tax segregation and executive control of Isfahan, through requesting the Jomeh tribune from the Abbasid Caliphate (Qomi, 101). Presence of St. Fatemeh Massumeh with Ashaarian, establishment of Mosque in 256 A. H. and activities of Ahmmad Ibn Eshaq Ashaari as observer of pious foundations and Mosque for Imam Hassan Askari (peace be upon him), points out to the thought lines of Imamieh becoming operative in Qom (Qomi,Ibid,279) .

Although intra-city conflicts, obliged Moussa Ibn Mohammad once to go to the Dolfi ruler of Kashan however, the Razavi family were fully respected in Qom and Kashan specially that in 256 H. and following the assassination of Zangian, had led the Iraqi Sadats to immigrate to Qom and marry the Qom Asharrits (Qomi, 266).

Based on the thesis, propounded by Issac Madelung, Mohammd Vajh the Ashaarid Qomi Sheikh, one of the companions of the ninth Imam, was respected by the caliphate

(Madelung, 81). It seems that the respect, was not the role of urban piety but the factor of local ownership power of Mohammad Ibn Issa. His contemporary, Ahmmad Ibn Issac, propagator of Imam Zaman (peace be upon him) in the city and narrator of narrations by Imam Javad (peace be upon him) has estimated tribute of the year 227 H. (Qomi, 221). In Qom of the third century, one witnesses some special religious movements such as dismissal of Ahmmad Ibn Mohammad Ibn Khaled Barghi.. On the same base however, one should pay attention that Koleini who narrates directly from Ahmmad Ibn Mohammad Ibn Issa would have come to Qom at the same date and before death of Ashaari (Ardebilic, 69).

The last Sheik-al-taefe of the third century, was Saade Ibn Abi khalaf Ashaari one of the companions of Imam Hassan Askari (Peace be upon him) (Ardabili, 466).

Multiple approaches were observed at the end of the third century at Qom: change of government recruitment, a kind of tolerance and indulgence in religious Sunnite –Imamieh exchanges in thoughts, frequency of scientific travels, amongst which Saad is one of prominent travelers for learning science and the last point, Shiite thought refining from party spirit of exaggeration which one minimal part of such endeavors is Almghalat va alferaq of saad (Toussi, 431).

Since 210 A.H. when Baghdad assailed Qom and forcibly increased tributes from two million Dirhams to seven million, up to subsequent revolts of Jaafar-Ibn Dawood in Qom and Baghdad's decisions to exile him to Egypt, and continuous conflicts with tax collecting agents (Tabari, 143) for it seems those reactions meant that Qom's persistence to commit practical negation towards Baghdad legality more from the point of view of Imamieh thought rather than a financial disobedience in the third century, an intention that Caliphate had comprehended, as well .

Conclusion

Along with political unrest prevailing in Iran in the third century endeavor of executioners of Imamieh doctrine who had a scientific, historical methodology in political- religious thoughts and organization in managing Shiites in Qom, produced a prosperity indebted to self-reliance and belief and even economy that led to communicative approaches with the Shiites of other parts of Iran and those of Baghdad.

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مطالعه تطبیقی نقش تأملات مذهبی - سیاسی قم، ری، بغداد و خراسان بر شیعیان قرن سوم هجری

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چند پارگی سیاسی ایران قرن سوم مؤثر در تنوع تأملات و توسعه تعاملات متقابل مذهبی بود. مرجئه و حنیفه توانسته بودند با کارکرد توده‌گرایی و تساوی‌انگاری تأثرات عمیقی را در ایران و بین موالی بگذرانند. در اواسط قرن سوم هجری، پهنه نفوذ مکتب شافعی با ربایش شهرهایی مثل ری، نیشابور و سمرقند و تاشکند، تسلیط تأمل حنفی - حنبلی را محدود کرد که نرخ تجمع شهرنشینی ناشی از کثرت جلب موالی از مناطق اقماری و روستاها به شهرهای مذکور، بی‌تأثیر در این روند نیست. مناسب بودن جغرافیای سیاسی ایران و تلاشهای خط شیعی زیدی با رنگ معتزلی علیه طاهریان باعث شد مه حتی سامانیان نیز در حذف کامل ریشه جامعه شناختی تأمل مذکور در بخشهایی از ایران توفیق نیابند. داعیان اسماعیلی هم به‌ویژه در خراسان اواخر قرن سوم، تلاش سابق بر تغییر تأمل مذهبی روستایی را در یک جای‌گشت، به تأثیر بر تغییر اعتقادی نخبگان سیاسی - شهری تبدیل نمودند.

آشکارترین سرمایه‌گذاری برای تمایلات امامی - شیعی ری توسط احمد بن حسن مادرانی صورت پذیرفت. کلین ری نیز شاهد طلوع شخصیت محمد بن یعقوب به عنوان رابط امامی - روائی بود مه توانست یک راهکار با قرائت قمی برای جامعه امامی بغداد در زمینه عقل‌گرایی و انطباق نظریه سازمان جامعه در طول غیبت ارائه دهد. جمع‌بندی پایه ارتباط بین جمعیتی امامی در نیشابور، ری، قم، مرو و بلخ قرن سوم فراتر از یک لایه روبنای تبادلات صنفی است، به‌ویژه که قم در سایه اشعریان اواخر قرن سوم، به‌دلیل وجود نخبگان علمی غالب در جامعه شهری مذکور، شاهد تمرکز امامیه و برنامه‌ریزی توسعه اعتقادی - اقتصادی بود. نظریه آندره نیومن - ویلفرد مادلونگ، دان لوپ و پلت در این حوادث محل تأمل و بررسی است.

واژگان کلیدی: شیعه، مستشرقین، اشعریان، موالی

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