

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

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Abstract

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

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

Introduction

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

A search of classical and contemporary literature reveals that the first publication on this theme was a paper titled "The Shu biyya Movement and Its Literary Manifestation"¹ by Dionisius A. Agius. In this study, Agius notes the connection between the subgenre "Defects of Arabs (*math alib al- Arab*)," which aims to discredit Arabs, and Shu biyyah, the political, intellectual, and literal movement that claims that non-Arab nations are superior to Arabs. Nevertheless, Agius does not establish this literature. The second publication directly related to the theme is another paper, titled "The *Bin ' al-Maq lah* of Jam l al-D n A mad ibn  aw s and Its Place within the *Math alib* Genre,"² by Asma Afsaruddin. In this paper, Afsaruddin provides introductory information about the "defects of the Companions (*math alib al- ah abab*)" that seeks to discredit the Companions of Mu ammad. However, she does not attempt to identify the boundaries or all products of the genre. With the exception of these examples, no paper directly related to our theme has been detected. Likewise, Amjad

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

² Asma Afsaruddin, "The *Bin ' al-Maq lah* of Jam l al-D n A mad ibn  aw s and Its Place within the *Math alib* Genre," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 41, no. 1 (1996), 75-97.

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

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

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

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

³ ʿIṣām Muṣṭafā ʿAbd al-Hādī ʿUqlah and Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Qādir Khuraysāt, “*Kitāb al-mathālib* li-l-Haytham ibn ʿAdī (d. 207 AH/822 AD),” *al-Majallab al-Urduniyyab li-l-tārīkb wa-l-āthār* 4, no. 3 (2010), 27.

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

Social, cultural, economic, and political factors played a part in the emergence of the Shu' biyyah movement. Especially during the Umayyad era, Arabs considered themselves superior to other nations, and they considered freed slaves (*maw l *) second-class humans and levied taxes (*jizyah*) on them even though they were Muslims. The Persians, who constitute the basis of the Shu' biyyah movement and who are an ancient civilization, did not accept this argument of Arabian superiority.⁵ Consequently, members of Shu' biyyah, who primarily conducted their literary activities on the basis of lineage (*nasab*) and language, began to write *math lib* works to denigrate Arabs and noted the genealogical problems regarding Arabs in these works.⁶ These accusations by Persians led to serious reactions among Arabs, and the latter also wrote prose as well as poems in response to the Shu' bis. Among the Arabs, scholars such as Ab  'Abd All h A mad ibn Mu ammad ibn H mayd al-Jahm  (d. 240/854), al-J h z (d. 255/869), Ibn Qu taybah (d. 276/889), and al-Bal dhuri (d. 279/892-3) were the most severe critics of Shu' biyyah, whereas poets such as Ab  l-Asad Nub tah ibn 'Abd All h al-Tamim  (d. 220/835 [?]), Ab  Kh lid Yazid

⁴ Afsaruddin, "The *Bin ' al-Maq lah* of Jam l al-D n A mad ibn T w s," 78-79.

⁵ For the sociocultural and historical background and evolution of the movement, see Ignaz Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, trans. C. R. Barber and S. M. Stern (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1967), 137-198; H sayn 'A w n, *al-Zandaq b wa-l-shu' biyyah f  l- a r al- bb s  al-awwal* (Beirut: D r al-Jil, 1984), 151 ff.; Scott Savran, "Cultural Polemics in the Early Islamic World: The Shu' biyya Controversy," *Journal for the Study of Peace and Conflict* (2007-2008), 42-52; Adem Apak, " u biyye Hareketinin Tarih  Arka Planı ve Tez h rleri: Asabiyyeden  u biyyeye," * STEM* 6, no. 12 (2008), 17-52.

⁶ Cf. Agius, "The Shu' biyya Movement and Its Literary Manifestation," 82; Mustafa Kılı lı, *Arap Edebiyatında  u biyye* (Istanbul:  şaret Yayınları, 1992), 196-199.

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

The reactionary relationship between Shuʿūbiyyah and *mathālib* has been a point of study in both the classical and contemporary periods. For example, in his *al-Agbānī*, Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī (d. 356/967) writes various types of criticism about the *mathālib* writer ʿAllān al-Warrāq (d. after 218/833), indicating that he is Thanawī-Zindīq and emphasizing his extremist Shuʿūbī tendencies.⁸ A similar situation applies to Abū ʿUbaydah Maʿmar ibn al-Muthannā (d. 209/824 [?]). ʿAllān emphasizes his ʿAjam/Persian origins⁹ and notes the relation between being a Persian and Shuʿūbiyyah. The passages quoted by Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd (d. 656/1258), the Muʿtazilī-Shīʿī man of letters and the commentator of *Nahj al-balāghab*, from his tutor Abū ʿUthmān's *Mufākharāt Quraysb* are very informative about the issue. Abū ʿUthmān says the following: "There is no meaning in mentioning the defects, except for necessary conditions. We observed that all *mathālib* works we have so far identified belong to persons who are either problematic in terms of lineage, or Shuʿūbī; we have not come across any *mathālib* writer who has a sound lineage or who is not full of envy."¹⁰ Thus, he establishes a connection between the genre and the Shuʿūbiyyah movement. The contemporary researcher Aḥmad Amīn (d. 1954) touches upon this point and indicates that such attempts are not limited to the condemnation of Arabs but also include the collection of "biographies of Iranians/ʿAjam."¹¹

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹² *Ibid.*, I, 88.

II. *Mathālib al-‘Arab*

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

A. Books Directly about the Defects of Arabs

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

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

¹⁴ Mustafa Fayda, “Ensâb,” in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi (DİA)*, XI, 247.

¹⁵ Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad ibn Jarīr ibn Yazīd al-Āmulī al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī: Tārīkh al-umam wa-l-mulūk* (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr & Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah, 1987), IV, 313.

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

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

¹⁶ Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Aghbānī*, XX, 87.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, XX, 88-9.

¹⁸ Abū ‘Abd Allāh Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn ‘Uthmān al-Dhahabī, *Siyar a‘lām al-nubalā’*, ed. Shu‘ayb al-‘Arna‘ūṭ et al. (Beirut: Mu‘assasat al-Risālah Nāshirūn, 2011), VII, 156-157. For further information, also see Melhem Chokr, *İslam’ın Hicrî İkinci Asrında Zındıklık ve Zındıklar*, trans. Ayşe Meral (Istanbul: Anka Yayınları, 2002), 367-377.

¹⁹ Abū ‘Uthmān ‘Amr ibn Baḥr al-Jāḥiẓ, *Kitāb al-ḥayawān*, ed. ‘Abd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn, 2nd ed. (Beirut: Dār al-Jīl, 1996), IV, 448; Chokr, *Zındıklık ve Zındıklar*, 409-410. In another work, al-Jāḥiẓ dubs him a *zindīq*; see al-Jāḥiẓ, *Rasā’il al-Jāḥiẓ*, ed. Muḥammad Bāsil ‘Uyūn al-Sūd (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah, 2000), II, 151. There are notes about moral inferiority of both ‘Ajrad and Yūnus; see Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Aghbānī*, XVIII, 106-107. About Yūnus ibn Abī Farwah, also see Abū l-Ḥasan Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Şāliḥ al-‘Ijlī, *Ma‘rifat al-thiqāt min rijāl abl al-‘ilm wa-l-ḥadīth wa-min al-ḥu‘afā’ wa-dbikr madhbābibim wa-akbbāribim*, ed. ‘Abd al-‘Alīm ‘Abd al-‘Azīm al-Bastawī (Medina: Maktabat al-Dār, 1985), I, 413.

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

ʿAllān ibn al-Ḥasan al-Warrāq al-Shuʿūbī (d. after 218/833), a clerk under Hārūn al-Rashīd (r. 170-193/786-809), al-Maʿmūn (r. 198-218/813-833), and Barmakids who made a living copying books in Baghdad as of the death of al-Maʿmūn, whose reign he had supported, until his death, also wrote a work of *mathālib al-ʿArab*. ʿAllān preferred ʿAjams over Arabs; accordingly, he presented the evil and unfavorable traits of the Arab tribes in his *al-Maydān fī l-mathālib*.²¹ According to reports,²² this work was written on behalf of Barmakids²³ or at the behest of Ṭāhir ibn al-Ḥusayn (d. 207/822), the ʿAbbāsīd vizier and founder of the Ṭāhirid dynasty, in exchange for 200.000 dirham. Titles such as *Mathālib Quraysb*, *Mathālib Tamīm*, and *Mathālib al-Yemen*²⁴ presented by Ibn al-Nadīm (d. 385/995 [?]) about the content of the work, as well as some quotations from the book, such as “after the demise of Prophet, the tribe of Qays abjured Islam and began to worship Sajāh,”²⁵ strengthened the argument that it was a *mathālib al-ʿArab*. It is also reported that the work by ʿAllān adopts the layout of *Kitāb al-mathālib* by Ibn al-Kalbī (d. 204/819), which we will discuss in this paper.²⁶

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

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

²¹ Fayda, “Allān el-Verrāk,” in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslām Ansiklopedisi (DİA)*, II, 504-505.

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

²³ Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fibrīst*, 118.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

²⁸ Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fibrīst*, 124. Also see Ismāʿīl Pāshā al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-ʿarifīn asmāʾ al-muʿallifīn wa-ātbār al-muṣannifīn*, ed. Mahmut Kemal İnal and Avni Aktuç (Istanbul: Maarif Basımevi, 1951-1955 → Beirut: Dār lḥyāʾ al-Turāth al-ʿArabī, 1951), I, 47.

²⁹ Al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-ʿarifīn*, I, 363.

³⁰ For example, the assessment by Yaḥyá ibn Maʿīn about “kadhhdhāb,” see Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyá ibn Maʿīn ibn ʿAwn al-Baghdādī, *Yaḥyá ibn Maʿīn wa-kitābubū al-Tārikh* (narrative via al-Dūrī), ed. Aḥmad Muḥammad Nūr Sayf (Mecca: Markaz al-Baḥth al-ʿIlmī wa-lḥyāʾ al-Turāth al-Islāmī, 1979), III, 227.

³¹ Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Tabdhīb al-Tabdhīb*, ed. Ibrāhīm al-Zaybaq and ʿĀdil Murshid (Beirut: Muʿassasat al-Risālah, 2011), III, 541.

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

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

³² Al-Najāshī, *Fibrīst*, 416.

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

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 71-76.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 87 ff.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 36.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 53 ff.

³⁸ Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fibrīst*, 112.

³⁹ Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Agbānī*, XX, 87.

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

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

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

⁴¹ Al-Haytham ibn ‘Adī, *Kitāb al-mathālib*, in ‘Iṣām Muṣṭafā ‘Abd al-Hādī ‘Uqlah and Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Qādir Khuraysāt, “*Kitāb al-mathālib* li-l-Haytham ibn ‘Adī (d. 207 AH/822 AD),” *al-Majallab al-Urduniyyab li-l-tārīkh wa-l-āthār* 4, no. 3 (2010), 34 ff.

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

⁴³ Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh ibn Muslim Ibn Qutaybah al-Dīnawarī, *al-Ma‘ārif*, ed. Tharwah ‘Ukkāshah, 4th ed. (Cairo: Dār al-Ma‘ārif, 1981), 534; Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Tabdhīb al-Tabdhīb*, IV, 127.

⁴⁴ Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fibrīst*, 59.

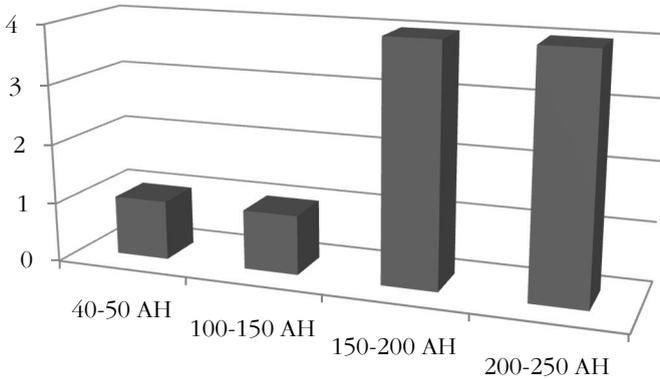
⁴⁵ For example, see Ibn Abi l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-balāghab*, IV, 72.

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

C. Assessment

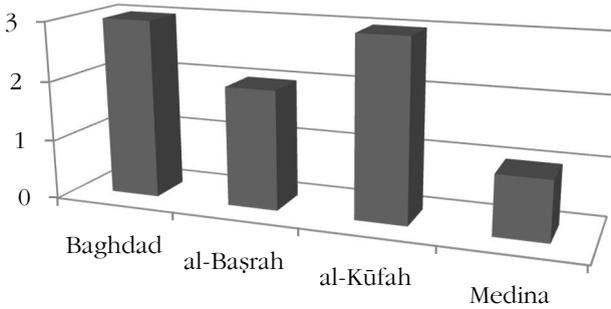
With for two exceptions (that can be dated between 40 and 150 AH), the *mathālib al-ʿArab* gained momentum as of 150 AH – in other words, simultaneously with the increasing Shuʿūbiyyah movement under ʿAbbāsīd rule. Interestingly, no *mathālib al-ʿArab* has been written since the second half of the 3rd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

Dates of *Mathālib al-ʿArab*

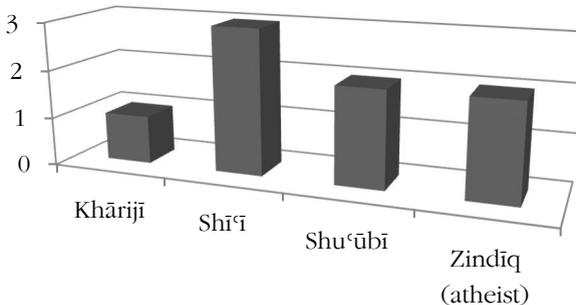


An examination of the geographies of the *mathālib al-ʿArab* shows that the scientific centers in the 2nd and 3rd centuries AH, such as al-Kūfah, al-Baṣrah and Baghdad, come to the forefront. The only exception is a work written in Medina. However, a closer look at the table that presents the dates of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

⁴⁶ For claims and assessments about him, see Kılıçlı, *Arap Edebiyatında Şuûbiyye*, 214-222; Yerinde, “Ebû Ubeyde Ma’mer b. Müsennâ,” 119-152.

Birthplaces of *Mathālib al-‘Arab*

Another interesting point is the madhhabs of the authors of *mathālib al-‘Arab*. Despite the ever-present emphasis on the connection between Shu‘ūbī inclinations and *mathālib* writing, there is no absolute relation between the two, and we can only talk about partial coherence in terms of the period and certain works. Indeed, only two authors are accused of being Shu‘ūbī in this group. It is worth noting that there are pro-Shī‘ī authors among the writers of *mathālib al-‘Arab*, similar to the *mathālib al-ṣaḥābah*. *Zindīqs* and Khārījīs are the other mentioned madhhab. Nevertheless, it seems improbable to establish an absolute association between the genre and a certain madhhab.⁴⁷

Madhhab of authors of *Mathālib al-‘Arab*

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

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

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

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

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

III. *Mathālib al-ṣaḥābah*

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

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

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

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

⁴⁹ Ibn Maʿīn, *Maʿrifat al-rijāl: Riwāyat ibn Muḥriz*, ed. Muḥammad al-Sayyid 'Uthmān (in *Mausūʿat Tārikh Ibn Maʿīn: Khams riwāyāt 1. Riwāyat al-Dūri wa-ismubā al-Tārikh wa-l-ʿilal, 2. Riwāyat ibn Muḥriz wa-ismubā Maʿrifat al-rijāl, 3. Riwāyat al-Dārimī wa-ismubā Tārikh al-Dārimī ʿan Ibn Maʿīn, 4. Riwāyat Ibn Junayd wa-ismubā Suʾālāt li-Ibn Maʿīn, 5. Riwāyat Hāshim ibn Marthad al-Ṭabarānī wa-ismubā Suʾālāt Ibn Ṭālūt* [Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah, 2011]), II, 93; Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī, *al-Tārikh al-kabīr* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah, 1986), III, 36; Abū I-Qāsim 'Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Maḥmūd al-Kaʿbī al-Balkhī, *Qabūl al-akbbār wa-maʿrifat al-rijāl*, ed. Abū 'Amr al-Ḥusaynī ibn 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-Raḥīm (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah, 2000), II, 163.

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

⁵⁰ Abū Zur‘ah ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn ‘Abd al-Karīm ibn Yazīd al-Rāzī, *Su‘ālāt al-Bardba‘ī li-Abī Zur‘ah al-Rāzī, 200-264 H, wa-huwa Kitāb al-ḍu‘afā’ wa-l-kadhbābīn wa-l-matrūkīn*, ed. Abū ‘Umar Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī al-Azharī (Cairo: al-Fārūq al-Ḥadīthah li-l-Ṭibā‘ah wa-l-Nashr, 2009), 393.

⁵¹ Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Kitāb al-‘ilal*, I, 428-429.

⁵² Abū Muḥammad Badr al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Aḥmad al-‘Aynī, *Maghānī l-akhyār fī sbarḥ asāmī rijāl Ma‘ānī l-āthbār*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥasan Muḥammad Ḥasan Ismā‘īl al-Shāfi‘ī (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah, 2006), I, 65.

⁵³ Al-Balkhī, *Qabūl al-akhbār*, II, 73; Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad ibn ‘Amr ibn Mūsā ibn Ḥammād al-‘Uqaylī, *Kitāb al-ḍu‘afā’ wa-man nusiba ilā l-kadhib wa-waḍ‘ al-ḥadīth wa-man ghalaba ‘alā ḥadīthibī al-wahm wa-man yuttabam fī ba‘ḍ ḥadīthibī*, ed. Māzin ibn Muḥammad al-Sirsāwī, Abū Ishāq al-Ḥuwaynī al-Atharī, and Aḥmad Ma‘bad ‘Abd al-Karīm (Cairo: Dār Majd al-Islām, 2008), I, 517.

⁵⁴ Ibn Ma‘īn, *Yahyā ibn Ma‘īn wa-kitābuhū al-Tārikh* (narrative via al-Dūrī), III, 470; IV, 72; al-Balkhī, *Qabūl al-akhbār*, II, 347. “He used to insult the Companions of Messenger,” see Ibn Ma‘īn, *Su‘ālāt li-Ibn Ma‘īn: Riwāyat Ibn Junayd*, ed. Muḥammad al-Sayyid ‘Uthmān (in *Mawsū‘at Tārikh Ibn Ma‘īn: Kbams riwāyāt 1. Riwāyat al-Dūrī wa-ismubā al-Tārikh wa-l-‘ilal*, 2. *Riwāyat ibn Muḥriz wa-ismubā Ma‘rifat al-rijāl*, 3. *Riwāyat al-Dārimī wa-ismubā Tārikh al-Dārimī ‘an Ibn Ma‘īn*, 4. *Riwāyat Ibn Junayd wa-ismubā Su‘ālāt li-Ibn Ma‘īn*, 5. *Riwāyat Hāshim ibn Marthad al-Ṭabarānī wa-ismubā Su‘ālāt Ibn Ṭālūt* [Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah, 2011]), II, 330.

⁵⁵ Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Ya‘qūb ibn Ishāq al-Sa‘dī al-Jūzjānī, *Aḥwāl al-rijāl*, ed. Ṣubḥī al-Badrī al-Sāmarrā‘ī (Beirut: Mu‘assasat al-Risālah, 1985), 54.

157/774) against the Companions,⁵⁶ by Miswar ibn al-Şalt al-Kūfī against the predecessors (*salaf*), namely, the Companions,⁵⁷ by Ismā‘īl ibn Khalīfah al-‘Absī al-Kūfī (d. 169/785) against ‘Uthmān,⁵⁸ by ‘Amr ibn Abī l-Miqdām al-Kūfī (d. 172/788)⁵⁹ and al-Ḥakam ibn Zuhayr al-Fazārī (d. 180/800s) against the Companions,⁶⁰ by Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad al-Madanī (d. 184/800) against certain predecessors,⁶¹ by Jarīr ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd (d. 188/803) against Mu‘āwīyah,⁶² by Talīd ibn Sulaymān (d. after 190/805) against Abū Bakr and ‘Umar,⁶³ and, finally, by Khālīd ibn Makhlad (d. 213/828) against the Companions.⁶⁴ Examples in the literature reveal that the activities and discourses against the Companions took the form of independent works through compilation in page (*ṣaḥīfahs*), fascicles (*juzs*) or brief books as of the late 2nd and early 3rd centuries AH. Until then, the criticisms were probably expressed in two forms, “direct insults” and “mentions of narratives with negative content about relevant Companions,” as is often observed in historians’ discussions of the compilation.⁶⁵ The development of the *mathālib* literature is essentially contemporaneous with the period when Sunnī literature attained a thematic classification. The era also marks the time of dissociation between the Sunnī and Shī‘ī

⁵⁶ Abū Zur‘ah al-Rāzī, *Su‘ālāt al-Bardba‘ī*, 393.

⁵⁷ Abū Ḥātim Muḥammad ibn Ḥibbān ibn Aḥmad al-Bustī, *Kitāb al-majrūḥīn min al-muḥaddithīn wa-l-ḍu‘afā’ wa-l-matrūkīn*, ed. Maḥmūd Ibrāhīm Zāyed (Beirut: Dār al-Ma‘rifah, 1992), III, 31.

⁵⁸ Abū Aḥmad ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Adī al-Jurjānī, *al-Kāmil fī ḍu‘afā’ al-rijāl*, ed. Muḥammad Anas Muṣṭafā al-Khinn (Damascus: al-Risālah al-‘Ālamīyyah, 2012), I, 425.

⁵⁹ Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Kitāb al-‘īlal*, III, 486.

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

⁶¹ Al-‘Uqaylī, *Kitāb al-ḍu‘afā’*, I, 217.

⁶² Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Tabdhīb al-Tabdhīb*, I, 298.

⁶³ Al-Dhahabī, *Mizān al-i‘tidāl fī naqd al-rijāl*, ed. ‘Alī Muḥammad Mu‘awwaḍ and ‘Ādil Aḥmad ‘Abd al-Mawjūd (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah, 1995), II, 77.

⁶⁴ Al-Jūzjānī, *Aḥwāl al-rijāl*, 82.

⁶⁵ Note that according to Ibn al-Şalāḥ (d. 643/1245) in his thoughts about literature on the Companions, it is problematic that in *al-Istī‘āb*, Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr often quotes from historians and not from ḥadīth experts with regard to issues occurring among the Companions. See Abū ‘Amr Taqī al-Dīn ‘Uthmān ibn Şalāḥ al-Dīn Ibn al-Şalāḥ al-Shahrazūrī, *Ulūm al-ḥadīth*, ed. Nūr al-Dīn ‘Itr (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1986), 292.

circles of education.

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

A. Self-Contained or Independent Works

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

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

⁶⁷ For literature on *faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah* and factors behind its appearance, see Mehmet Efendioğlu, “Fezâilü’s-sahābe,” in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslām Ansiklopedisi (DİA)*, XII, 534-538; Ömer Özpinar, “Fedâilü’s-Sahābe Edebiyatının Teşekkülü ve Muhtevasına Etki Eden Sebepler Üzerine,” in *İslām Medeniyetinin Kurucu Nesli Sahābe: Sahābe Kimliği ve Algısı*, ed. M. Abdullah Aydınlı (Istanbul: Ensar Neşriyat, 2013), 125-137.

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

1. *Mathālib al-ṣaḥābah* in Sunnī Sources

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

⁶⁸ According to some Shī'ī groups, *raj'ab* means the appearance of the Imām after death or hiding (*ghaybab*); for Twelver Shī'īs, it means the return of the Imāms and their oppressors prior to Doomsday; İlyas Üzüm, "Rec'at," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi (DİA)*, XXXIV, 504. Also see Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Nu'cman al-Shaykh al-Mufid al-'Ukbarī, *Aw'ail al-maqālāt fi l-madbāb al-mukbtārāt*, ed. Ibrāhīm al-Anṣārī (Qom: al-Mu'tamar al-'Ālamī li-Alfiyyat al-Shaykh al-Mufid, 1413 [1993]), 77-78.

⁶⁹ Al-'Uqaylī, *Kitāb al-ḍu'afā'*, I, 474; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Taqrīb al-Tabdīb*, ed. Muḥammad 'Awwāmah (Aleppo: Dār al-Rashīd, 1991), 132.

⁷⁰ Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn Shahrāshūb al-Māzandarānī, *Ma'ālim al-'ulamā' fi fibrist kutub al-Sbī'ab wa-asmā' al-muṣannifīn minbum qadīm^{an} wa-ḥadīth^{an}: Tatimmat Kitāb al-fibrist li-l-Sbaykb Abī Ja'far al-Ṭūsī*, ed. Muḥammad Ṣādiq Āl Baḥr al-'ulūm (Najaf: Manshūrāt al-Maṭba'ah al-Ḥaydariyyah, 1380 [1961]), 29-30.

⁷¹ Abū Dāwūd Sulaymān ibn al-Ash'ath ibn Ishāq al-Sijistānī, *Su'ālāt Abī 'Ubayd al-Ājurri li-l-Imām Abī Dāwūd Sulaymān ibn al-Asb'ath al-Sijistānī, 202-275 H, fi ma'rifat al-rijāl wa-jarḥibim wa-ta'dilibim*, ed. Abū 'Umar Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Azharī (Cairo: al-Fārūq al-Ḥadīthah li-l-Ṭibā'ah wa-l-Nashr, 2010), 47.

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

Another work, almost simultaneous with the one by Thābit ibn Abī Šafīyyah, was put to paper by Abū ʿAwānah Waḥḍāh ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Yashkurī (d. 176/792) in al-Bašrah. According to a report by Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal (d. 241/855), Abū ʿAwānah wrote a book including the defects (*maʿāyib*) and troublesome characteristics (*balāyā*) of the Companions of the Prophet. Sallām ibn Abī Muṭīʿ (d. 164/780) (a *muḥaddith* from al-Bašrah known by the title *šāḥib al-sunnab* as a follower of Ahl al-ḥadīth⁷²) came up and said, “Abū ʿAwānah! Give me that book” and he did. Sallām then took the book and burned it.⁷³ Given the distinguished status of Abū ʿAwānah in terms of *al-jarḥ wa-l-taʿdīl*, it seems improbable that he wrote such a work about the Companions; however, a report in the work by al-Khallāl (d. 311/923) clarifies the background of the incident. According to the narrative through Khālid ibn Khidāsh (d. 224/838), Sallām ibn Abī Muṭīʿ tells Abū ʿAwānah, “Give me the religious innovations (*bidʿab*) you brought from al-Kūfah!” Abū ʿAwānah gives him his books, and Sallām throws the books into the furnace. Yaḥyá ibn Maʿīn (d. 233/848), who reports the incident, asks Khālid what the narratives were about. Khālid relates the report about Quraysh, “Behave the Quraysh honestly [as long as they trust you the same]. [Otherwise, get your swords ready],”⁷⁴ and about the virtue of ʿAlī, “I am the criterion for getting into fire (*ana qasīm al-nār*.)” Yaḥyá asks Khālid whether Abū ʿAwānah quoted the report about ʿAlī from Sulaymān ibn Mihrān al-Aʿmash (d. 148/765)

⁷² Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Kitāb al-ʿīlal*, II, 42.

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

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

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

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

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

⁷⁵ Al-Khallāl, *al-Sunnab*, I, 510.

⁷⁶ Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Su‘ālāt Abī Bakr al-Athram li-l-Imām al-kabīr Abī ‘Abd Allāh Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ḥanbal fī l-jarḥ wa-l-ta‘dīl wa-‘ilal al-ḥadīth*, ed. Abū ‘Umar Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī al-Azharī (Cairo: al-Fārūq al-Ḥadīthah li-l-Ṭibā‘ah wa-l-Nashr, 2007), 116.

⁷⁷ Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī ibn Thābit al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Madīnat al-salām wa-akbbār muḥaddithibā wa-dbīkr quṭṭānibā l-‘ulamā’ min gbayr ablibā*

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

As a reliable muḥaddith in the eyes of critics,⁷⁹ Abū Muḥammad Khalaf ibn Sālīm al-Muḥarrimī al-Makhzūmī of Baghdad (d. 231/846) also had a special interest in narratives with negative content about the Companions and accordingly compiled such narratives. Indeed, when ‘Abd al-Khāliq ibn Manṣūr (d. 246/860) asks his tutor Yaḥyá ibn Ma‘īn about Khalaf ibn Sālīm, Yaḥyá says he is “truthful (*ṣadūq*.)” Not satisfied with the answer, ‘Abd al-Khāliq says, “But he narrates the evils (*masāwī*) of Companions of Rasūl Allāh?” Yaḥyá, who probably is well acquainted with Khalaf as his fellow townsman, gives the following answer: “He was *compiling* (*yajma‘ubā*) but not narrating them.”⁸⁰ The recommendation of “seeking these [kinds of] ḥadīths” by Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal as a basis for the criticism of narrator⁸¹ may indicate narratives with *mathālib* content. Allegations about his Shī‘ī tendencies by Ibn Ḥajar (d. 852/1449)⁸² were presumably grounded on these narratives. The reason why Khalaf ibn Sālīm did not recite a text he compiled can be explained by the social environment in Baghdad or the scientific tradition of the period. Khalaf ibn Sālīm refrained from narrating these reports because of difficulty expressing them in a Sunnī society, or he may have compiled them to learn them because they are in the mentioned ḥadīths and to warn the people against these narratives.

Abū Šāliḥ ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Šāliḥ al-Azdī al-Kūfī (d. 235/849),

wa-wāridībā, ed. Bashshār ‘Awwād Ma‘rūf (Tunis: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 2015), X, 213.

⁷⁸ Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, IX, 556-557.

⁷⁹ For example, see Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *Kitāb al-jarḥ wa-l-ta’dīl*, ed. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Yaḥyá al-Mu‘allimī (Hyderabad: Maṭba‘at Majlis Dā‘irat al-Ma‘ārif al-‘Uthmāniyyah, 1941-1953) → (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah, n.d.), III, 371; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Kitāb al-thbiqāt* (Hyderabad: Maṭba‘at Majlis Dā‘irat al-Ma‘ārif al-‘Uthmāniyyah, 1973), VIII, 228.

⁸⁰ Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tāriḫ Madīnat al-salām*, IX, 279; Abū l-Ḥajjāj Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Yūsuf al-Mizzī, *Tabḍīb al-Kamāl fi asmā’ al-rijāl*, ed. Bashshār ‘Awwād Ma‘rūf (Beirut: Mu’assasat al-Risālah, 1983-1992), VIII, 291.

⁸¹ Al-Mizzī, *Tabḍīb al-Kamāl*, VIII, 291.

⁸² Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Taqrīb al-Tabḍīb*, 194.

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

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

⁸³ Abū Dāwūd, *Su‘ālāt Abī ‘Ubayd al-Ājurri*, 290.

⁸⁴ Ibn ‘Adī, *al-Kāmil*, V, 366.

⁸⁵ Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Tabdīb al-Tabdīb*, II, 517.

⁸⁶ Abū I-Qāsim Thiḳat al-Dīn ‘Alī ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Hibat Allāh Ibn ‘Asākir, *Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq wa-dbīkr faḍlibā wa-tasmiyat man ḥallabā min al-amāthil aw ijtāza bi-nawāḥibā min wāridibā wa-ablibā*, ed. Muḥibb al-Dīn Abū Sa‘īd ‘Umar ibn Gharāmah al-‘Amrawī (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1995-2001), XXXVI, 110; Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Lisān al-Mizān*, V, 150, 151.

⁸⁷ Ibn ‘Adī, *al-Kāmil*, V, 368; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Madīnat al-salām*, XI, 572-573; Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Lisān al-Mizān*, V, 151.

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

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

2. *Mathālib al-ṣaḥābah* in Shī‘ī Sources

Shī‘ī sources mention many *mathālib al-ṣaḥābah* works that can mostly be dated before the publication of *al-Kutub al-arba‘ah*. Interestingly, these works are rarely or never referenced in classical sources. For example, *Kitāb manāqib Amīr al-mu‘minīn wa-mathālib al-munāfiqīn* by Abū Mujāhid ‘Alī ibn Mujāhid ibn Muslim ibn Rufay‘ al-Kābulī al-Kindī/al-‘Abdī al-Rāzī (d. after 182/798), known as “Ibn al-Kābulī,” is dated to the 2nd century AH. In his *Ba‘ḍ mathālib al-Nawāṣib*, Abū l-Rushayd ‘Abd al-Jalīl ibn Abī l-Ḥusayn al-Qazwīnī (6th/12th century) describes ‘Alī ibn Mujāhid as a “liar” and one of the “prominent Rāfiḍīs;” furthermore, al-Qazwīnī quotes from his work on the defects of the Companions.⁸⁹ References to ‘Alī ibn Mujāhid and his work and the mention of ‘Alī in the title of the book show that he refers to the Companions in the second chapter, called *mathālib al-munāfiqīn*.

There are four *mathālib al-ṣaḥābah* dated to the first quarter of the 3rd century AH. Examples include *Kitāb al-mathālib* by Abū Muḥammad Yūnus ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ju‘fī al-Qummī (d. 208/823), a man of importance in the religious and financial structure of the early Shī‘ī community,⁹⁰ and *Kitāb al-wāḥidab fī l-akbbār wa-l-manāqib*

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

⁸⁹ Abū l-Rashīd Nāṣir al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Jalīl ibn Abī l-Ḥusayn ibn Abī l-Faḍl al-Rāzī al-Qazwīnī, *Ba‘ḍ mathālib al-Nawāṣib fī naqḍ ba‘ḍ faḍā’ih al-Rawāfiḍ*, ed. Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn Urmawī (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Āthār-i Anjuman-i Millī, 1358 HS/1979), 249-250. Ibn Ma‘īn refers to his *Kitāb al-maghbāzī* and asserts he fabricated a chain of narration for these words (al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Madīnat al-salām*, XIII, 594). Al-‘Uqaylī (d. 322/934) supports the claims of weakness about him with a narrative about ‘Alī (*Kitāb al-ḍu‘afā’*, IV, 278).

⁹⁰ Al-Najāshī, *Fibrīst*, 427-428.

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁹⁵ Al-Najāshī, *Fibrīst*, 248; al-Ṭūsī, *al-Fibrīst*, 92.

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

250/864)⁹⁷ and Abū l-Abbās ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Nahīq al-Nakha‘ī al-Kūfī, respectively, are in this group. Ḥumayd ibn Ziyād (d. 310/923), a writer of *al-Fibrīst*, states that he obtained the books personally from ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Aḥmad. Accordingly, this work may be dated to the second half of the 3rd century AH.⁹⁸ Contemporaneous examples include various *Kitāb al-mathālibs* by Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn ibn Sa‘īd ibn Ḥammād ibn Mihrān al-Ahwāzī (d. 275/888 [?]),⁹⁹ a prominent writer of early Shī‘ī history of thought, Abū Ja‘far Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Sa‘īd al-Ahwāzī,¹⁰⁰ aka “Dandān,” the son of Ibn Mihrān al-Ahwāzī who was criticized by Shī‘īs from Qom region who said that he is presumptuous, and Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad ibn Awramah al-Qummī,¹⁰¹ criticized for his extremism in Shī‘ī circles in Qom.

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

Another work in this period belongs to Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Ja‘far ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-‘Alawī al-‘Aqīqī (d. 280/893 [?]),

⁹⁷ Al-Najāshī, *Fibrīst*, 242-243; al-Ṭūsī, *al-Fibrīst*, 109-110. According to al-Ṭūsī, ‘Abbās ibn Ma‘rūf, who is the narrator of his books, has narrated only half of *Kitāb al-mathālib*.

⁹⁸ Al-Najāshī, *Fibrīst*, 222-223.

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

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

¹⁰¹ Al-Najāshī, *Fibrīst*, 315.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 19.

who resided in Mecca but was closely related to the Shī'ī scientific tradition of al-Kūfah. In his *Kitāb mathālib al-rajulayn wa-l-mar'atayn*,¹⁰³ the “two men” subject to *mathālib* are Abū Bakr and 'Umar, whereas the “two women” are 'Ā'ishah bint Abī Bakr and Ḥafṣah bint 'Umar.¹⁰⁴ At this point, we might also mention two *Kitāb al-mathālib* by Abū Ja'far Muḥammad al-Ḥasan ibn Farrūkh al-Ṣaffār al-A'raj al-Qummī (d. 290/903)¹⁰⁵ and Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Bundār ibn 'Āṣim al-Dhuhli al-Qummī¹⁰⁶ as well as the booklet called *al-Risālah fī mathālib Mu'āwiyah*¹⁰⁷ by Abū l-Abbās Aḥmad ibn 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-Thaqafī al-Kūfī (alive in 321/933),¹⁰⁸ who spent most of his scientific career in the 3rd century AH.

B. Narratives not as a Self-Contained Work

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

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 70; al-Ṭūsī, *al-Fibrīst*, 24. Probable information about his death is based on *al-Dbarī'ab* by al-Ṭahrānī (Muḥammad Muḥsin ibn 'Alī ibn Muḥammad Aghā Buzurg al-Ṭahrānī, *al-Dbarī'ab ilā taṣānīf al-Sbī'ab*, ed. Sayyid Riḍā ibn Ja'far Murtaḍā al-'Āmili [Beirut: Dār Iḥyā' al-Turāth al-'Arabī], 2009), XIX, 50).

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

¹⁰⁵ Al-Najāshī, *Fibrīst*, 338.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 325; al-Ṭūsī, *al-Fibrīst*, 140.

¹⁰⁷ For information, see Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fibrīst*, 166; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Madīnat al-salām*, V, 417-418; Abū l-Ṣafā' Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *Kitāb al-wāfi bi-l-wafayāt*, ed. Aḥmad al-Arnā'ūṭ and Dhikrī Muṣṭafā (Beirut: Dār Iḥyā' al-Turāth al-'Arabī, 2000), VII, 114-117.

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

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

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

Another writer related to the *mathālib* genre is Ziyād ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Ṭufayl al-‘Āmirī al-Bakkā‘ī al-Kūfī (d. 183/799), the narrator of *al-Sirab* by Ibn Ishāq. According to Yaḥyá ibn Ma‘īn, Ibrāhīm ibn Ṣa‘d

¹⁰⁹ Abū Dāwūd, *Su‘ālāt Abī ‘Ubayd al-Ājurri*, 79.

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

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, II, 143. Assessment by Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal is as follows: “*yuhaddith bi-balāyā fī ‘Uthmān*” (Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Kitāb al-jarḥ wa-l-ta‘dīl*, VI, 530).

¹¹² Abū l-Abbās Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥalīm Ibn Taymiyyah, *Minbāj al-sunnab al-nabawiyyah fī naqḍ kalām al-Sbi‘ah wa-l-Qadariyyah*, ed. ‘Abd Allāh Maḥmūd Muḥammad ‘Umar (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah, 2009), III, 28.

(d. 185/801), the scholar from Medina, said, “These Nabataeans¹¹³ narrate the faults (*ma‘āyib*) of Companions of Prophet.” Ibrāhīm means, after this narrative, that the signified person was a Bakkāi; however, it is unclear whether Ibn Ma‘īn or his narrator Ibn al-Junayd (d. 270/884) provided this information; in any case, Yaḥyá asserts that he is unobjectionable (*lā ba’s bihî*) in regard to stories of military expeditions (*maghbāzî*).¹¹⁴ It is unknown whether Ziyād ibn ‘Abd Allāh compiled the mentioned faults in a separate work, but classical sources talk about his interest in duties (*farā’id*) and expeditions (*maghbāzî*). What Ibrāhīm ibn Sa‘d meant is that Ziyād ibn ‘Abd Allāh behaved as a true historian and transmitted the satirical ingredients of narratives about the Companions as they were.

The approach of narrating materials without a specific identity continued in subsequent years. For example, it is indicated that most ḥadīths through Zakariyyā ibn Yaḥyá al-Kisā’ī al-Kūfī, who “used to relate evil narratives” according to Ibn Ma‘īn, were denounced (*munkar*) narratives about the virtues of Ahl al-bayt and fabricated reports about the defects of the Companions except for Ahl al-bayt. Obviously, Ibn Ma‘īn meant the narratives about the faults of the Companions.¹¹⁵ Likewise, there are rumors that Abū I-Şalt ‘Abd al-Salām ibn Şāliḥ (d. 236/851), accused for his Şihī tendency, also related narratives of *mathālib*.¹¹⁶ In a similar manner, Abū Sa‘īd ‘Abbād ibn Ya‘qūb al-Rawājini al-Asadī al-Kūfī (d. 250/864), the extremist Şihī tutor of al-Bukhārī, related narratives about the virtues of Ahl al-bayt and the faults of the Companions except for the latter.¹¹⁷ Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ḥakam ibn Zuhayr al-Fazārī al-Kūfī, who was also a Şihī,¹¹⁸ is another name in this regard. Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (d. 277/890) quoted narratives from Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ḥakam, who came to al-Rayy, but he later abandoned these reports.¹¹⁹ Abū Ḥātim explains this abandonment as follows: “He is a liar. He narrated ḥadīths about

¹¹³ Nabataeans were despised by Arabs and the word “Nabī (Nabataean)” was used as insult; see Ahmet Ağırakça, “Nabatiler,” in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi (DİA)*, XXXII, 258.

¹¹⁴ Ibn Ma‘īn, *Su‘ālāt li-Ibn Ma‘īn: Riwāyat Ibn Junayd*, 368-369.

¹¹⁵ Ibn ‘Adī, *al-Kāmil*, IV, 110.

¹¹⁶ Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, XI, 447.

¹¹⁷ Ibn ‘Adī, *al-Kāmil*, V, 404.

¹¹⁸ Al-Najāshī, *Fibrīst*, 18; al-Ṭūsī, *al-Fibrīst*, 4.

¹¹⁹ Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Kitāb al-jarḥ wa-l-ta‘dīl*, II, 95.

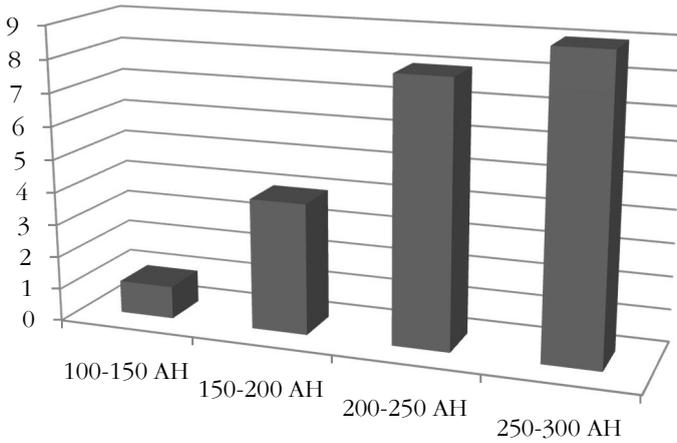
defects of Mu‘āwiyah. Then, we tore whatever we wrote through him.”¹²⁰

C. Assessment

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

¹²⁰ Abū l-Faraj Jamāl al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Jawzī, *Kitāb al-ḍu‘afā’ wa-l-matrūkīn*, ed. Abū l-Fidā’ ‘Abd Allāh al-Qāḍī (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah, 1986), I, 30.

¹²¹ This fact is reflected by the following figures: among seventy pro-Shī‘ī narrators of *al-Kutub al-sittab*, scientific studies of only three of them reached the 3rd century AH, whereas there are twenty-seven narrators between 150-200 AH, and the number of narrators accused of being Shī‘ī rapidly decreased after 200 AH; see Muhammed Enes Topgül, “Hadis Râvilerinde Şîlik Eğilimi” (master’s thesis, Istanbul: Marmara University, 2010), 84-185. This argument is also based on the structure of Shī‘ī narrative chains; see Topgül, *Erken Dönem Şî Ricâl İlmi: Keşşî Örneği* (Istanbul: Marmara Üniversitesi İlâhiyat Fakültesi Vakfı [İFAV] Yayınları, 2015), 281, 385-386. The presence of chains that passed from Ahl al-sunnah to the Shī‘ah point to the same fact; for further information, see Bekir Kuzudışlı, “Sunnî-Shī‘î Interaction in the Early Period: The Transition of the Chains of Ahl al-sunna to the Shī‘a,” *Ilabiyat Studies* 6, no. 1 (2015), 7-45.

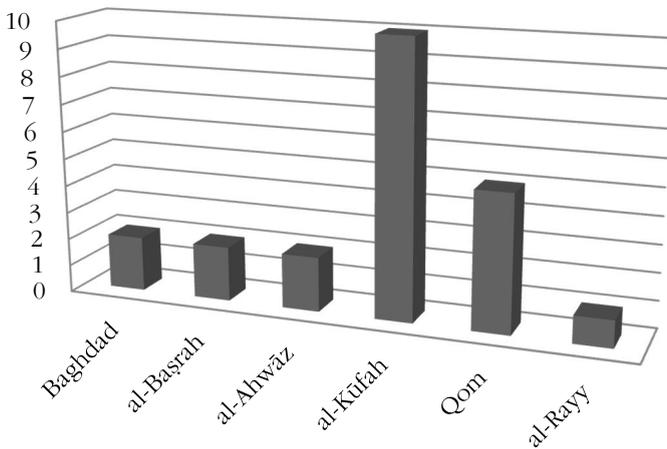
Dates of *Mathālib al-ṣaḥābah*

An analysis of the regions of the *mathālib al-ṣaḥābah* predictably highlights al-Kūfah, where ten writers appeared; this was the city of the most intense early Shīʿī communal activities. This information matches the fact that the narrators who were accused of Shīʿī tendencies during the 2nd and 3rd centuries AH were mostly associated with this city.¹²² Among the authors from al-Kūfah, one of them wrote between 150-200 AH, five between 200-250 AH and three between 250-300 AH. These data falsify the arguments that the scientific life in al-Kūfah was more intense during the 2nd century AH and relatively regressed in the 3rd century; instead, the city apparently hosted a Shīʿī tradition that regularly yielded texts during the first half of the 3rd century AH. Another outstanding city is Qom, which is important with

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

regard to the early Shī'ī scientific tradition. Five authors¹²³ are connected with this city, and three of them carried out activity between 250-300 AH. The era coincides with the period when Qom began to gain importance for the Shī'ī scientific tradition.¹²⁴ The presence of two Ahwāz-based authors, both of whom died between 250-300 AH, enables us to talk about a Shī'ī scientific tradition in al-Ahwāz in those days. Finally, two *mathālib al-ṣaḥābah* authors are from Baghdad, two are from al-Baṣrah, and one is from al-Rayy.

Birthplaces of *Mathālib al-ṣaḥābah*



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

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

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

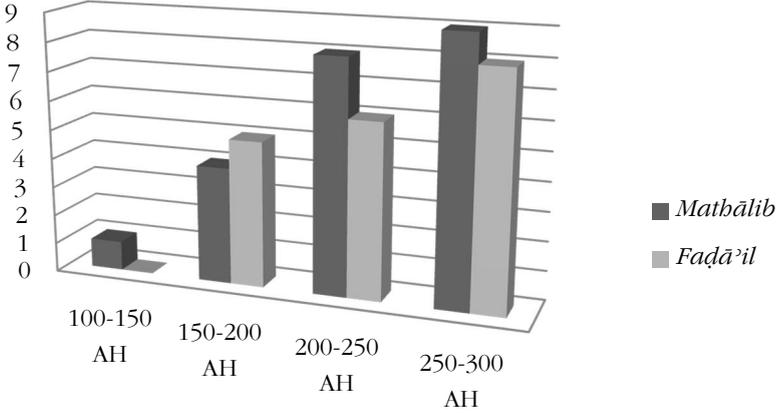
¹²⁴ Andrew J. Newman, *The Formative Period of Twelver Shi'ism: Ḥadīth as Discourse between Qum and Baghdad* (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 2000), 40-45.

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

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

Finally, we will touch upon the contact between *mathālib al-ṣaḥābah* and the literature of *manāqib al-ṣaḥābah* and *faḍā'il al-ṣaḥābah*. Sunnī tradition includes the following independent works: the *Faḍā'il al-ṣaḥābah* by Wakī' ibn al-Jarrāḥ (d. 197/812), Asad ibn Mūsá (d. 212/827), Mālikī scholar Ibn Ḥabīb al-Sulamī (d. 238/853), Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal (d. 241/855), Baqī ibn Makhlad (d. 276/889), and al-Nasā'ī (d. 303/915); the *Faḍā'il al-anṣār* by Abū l-Bakhtarī Wahb ibn Wahb (d. 200/815-6), Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālisī (d. 204/819), and Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī (d. 275/889); *Faḍā'il Abī Bakr wa-'Umar (Faḍā'il al-sbaykḥayn)* by Asad ibn Mūsá, *Manāqib Abī Bakr wa-'Umar* by Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/922), *Faḍā'il 'Alī* by Ibn Abī l-Dunyā (d. 281/894), *Sawābiq al-Ṣiddīq wa-faḍā'ilubū* by Ja'far ibn Muḥammad al-Firyābī (d. 301/913), as well as chapters such as “Faḍā'il al-ṣaḥābah” in *al-Muṣannaḥ* by Abū Bakr ibn Abī Shaybah (d. 235/850) and in *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ* by al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870) and Muslim (d. 261/875), as well as chapters called “Kitāb al-manāqib” in *al-Sunan* by al-Tirmidhī (d. 279/892), “al-Siyar” in *al-Muwaṭṭa'* by al-Imām Mālik (d. 179/795) and “Faḍā'il aṣḥāb Rasūl Allāh” in the preface of *al-Sunan* by Ibn

Mājah (d. 273/887).¹²⁵ The foregoing nineteen works of “faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah,” as well as the “mathālib al-ṣaḥābah” literature, can be shown as follows with regard to their dates.



As shown in the above diagram, the *faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah* literature followed one step behind the *mathālib al-ṣaḥābah* in the first, third, and fourth stages; however, both genres yielded an equal number of works between 150 and 200 AH. This fact, in consideration of the content of the aforementioned criticisms against the Companions in the 2nd/8th century and the criticisms that were not compiled as separate works, indicates that *faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah* might actually have appeared as a reaction to *mathālib al-ṣaḥābah*.¹²⁶

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¹²⁵ Apart from some exceptions, this *faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah* literature is based on data provided by Efendioğlu; see “Fezāilü’s-sahābe,” 534-538.

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

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