

195 SURAT 1909

made: BH. AFERIA b. MAHFERVEDIN

A. Br. : c — , s —

B. L. : c. III, s. 1624

F. A. : c — , s —

M. L. : c. I, s. 368

T. A. : c. VI, s. 361

spiele, Heidelberg 2001; Cornelia Schöck, Aussagenquantifizierung und -modalisierung in der frühen islamischen Theologie, in *Logik und Theologie*, ed. Dominik Perler and Ulrich Rudolph (Leiden 2005), 19–43; Cornelia Schöck, *Koranexegese, Grammatik und Logik. Zum Verhältnis von arabischer und aristotelischer Urteils-, Konsequenz- und Schlusslehre*, Leiden and Boston 2006; Cornelia Schöck, Discussions on conditional sentences from the year AH 17/AD 638 to Avicenna (d. AH 428/AD 1037), in *Classical Arabic philosophy. Sources and reception*, ed. Peter Adamson (London and Turin 2007), 55–73.

CORNELIA SCHÖCK

Bihāfarīd b. Farwardīn

Bihāfarīd b. Farwardīn (d. c. 131/748 or 749), also written Bih'āfrīd and other variants, was the leader of a heterodox Zoroastrian socio-religious movement in Khurāsān in the later period of the Umayyad rule (c. 129/747), around the time of the 'Abbāsīd revolution (mid-second/eighth century), and was executed by Abū Muslim (leader of the 'Abbāsīd revolution, killed in 137/755).

Although Bihāfarīd is rarely mentioned in conventional historical sources (accounts by al-Azdī, Gardīzī, and al-Tha'alībī being notable exceptions), there is a fair amount of information about him preserved in heresiographies, geographies, and other works. There is general agreement that he was a native of Khawāf, a district of Quhistān, probably from Zūzan, an important commercial town and the location of a Zoroastrian shrine; reports associating him with Sirāwand (al-Khwārazmī), Zāvah (Majd-i Khwāfi), or a suburb of Abrashahr (Ibn al-Nadīm) may reflect the expansion of his movement from its epicentre towards Nishapur. He is supposed to have spent seven years in China,

apparently as a trader, and commenced an active religious mission upon his return (al-Tha'alībī, ed. Houtsma, 34).

The sources usually claim that the various "heresiarchs" or "pseudo-prophets" who appeared in eastern Iran in the early 'Abbāsīd period employed various tricks and deceptions to win followers among unsophisticated peasants. In the case of Bihāfarīd, he was supposed to have depicted his stay in China as a period of occultation, during which he had visited Heaven, and used a marvellous green silk garment and other luxuries he had brought back with him as evidence of it. He was also said to have staged an elaborate entombment and resurrection a year later, having made secret provisions for food and water during that time. Fantastic as such stories are, it has recently been suggested that they may reflect the appropriation of themes from Zoroastrian religious texts such as the *Ardā vīrāz-nāmag* (Pourshariati, 431–2).

There are, however, some remarkably detailed and fairly consistent accounts of Bihāfarīd's religious teachings that might well derive from the Persian book he is said to have composed for his followers. These suggest that he accepted Zoroaster as a prophet but presented himself as the recipient of new revelations intended to abolish the deviant rituals and laws introduced by the Magian clergy, whom he derisively referred to as the Zamzamīs, or "Mumblers," for their habit of droning ritual prayers. He rejected the practice of fire worship (and by implication the established clergy who officiated at its rites) and instituted instead a system of seven ritual prayers (five according to Ibn al-Nadīm) to be performed kneeling and facing the sun as a *qibla*. One prayer was in honour of the unity of God (*tawhīd*), with the rest on

Görülür

STUDIES IN EARLY ISMĀ'İLISM

Bihāfrīd b. Mahrufūddīn

Dia iqtarand.
M. ÖZ

BY
S. M. STERN

385 43-46

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı
İslam Araştırma Merkezi
Kayıt No: 6493
Tasit No: 287.82
S.T.E.S.

1983

THE MAGNES PRESS - THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY - JERUSALEM
E. J. BRILL, LEIDEN

consciousness for three days, during which – so he claimed – he received revelations. He abolished marriage with sisters and mothers, the mumbling of prayers, introduced washing after impurity, five prayers without prostrations, and ordered his followers to turn towards the right-hand side of the *qibla*. He gained followers, but on Abū Muslim's invitation he outwardly accepted Islam, though in secret still kept his unbelief. Thus Abū Muslim and Bihāfrīd went on deceiving each other; what they had in common was extremism and the doctrine of metempsychosis. Abū Muslim finally got hold of him and ordered Qaḥṭaba to kill him; he was killed by the hand of Salama b. Muḥammad al-Ṭā'ī. When he was led out to be executed, his followers reminded him of his promise that his movement would come to fruition. Bihāfrīd turned to one of his followers and exclaimed: "This *laghsari* will be your leader", *laghsari* meaning Bald-head.²⁸ Ustādsīs²⁹ took his place and afterwards he too came forward in Herat; he and his followers were known as the *Laghsariyya*, and much is known of their story.

The Prophet has drawn a parallel between the sects into which his community would be divided, and three of the preceding religions: "The Murji'ites are the Jews of this community, the Rāfiḍites their Christians, and the Qadarites their Zoroastrians".³⁰ He has omitted the Šābians, which is the reason why they are less generally known and are usually regarded as Christians who left Christianity for Zoroastrianism. In fact, however, the Šābians correspond to those who deserted the *asās* ('Alī).³¹

Apart from the Koran, the only books promulgated by *nāfiqs* are the Torah and the Gospel; the books of the Zoroastrians and Šābians contain not religious laws but, like books of many nations, wise sayings and admonishments. Nor do the Zoroastrians claim that their books

occurrence of this sect (different from the Shādhkāniyya) in al-Shahrastānī, p. 169, whose passage is actually referred to by the editor. The name of the man was either Shādhkān, and the text here is corrupt, or, more likely, the correct form is Shādhkā or Shādhkā, and the form Shādhkān is due to the erroneous conclusion by some authors that the founder of a sect Shādhkāniyya must have been called Shādhkān.

28 The Ms. has *lgh'zy* and *lgh'zyh*; see for the emendation below, n. 37.

29 The Ms. has *استاس* *Ustās*.

30 For this famous tradition cf. A. J. Wensinck, *A Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition*, Leiden, 1927, p. 121.

31 I.e. the Khārijites.

are identical with the Scrolls of Abraham (mentioned in the Koran 87, 19), as the Jews claim that their book is the Torah of Moses, and the Christians claim that theirs is the Gospel of Jesus. This is because in fact the Zoroastrians belong to the period of the author of the Torah, and the Šābians to that of the author of the Gospel.

There follows a detailed interpretation of the tradition that "The Murji'ites are the Jews of this community etc."; but this does not concern us here.

The chapter summarized in the preceding pages can be considered from two points of view. Firstly, it is a representative example for the manner in which the early Ismā'īlīs looked at history. It gives an idea of the rather odd casuistry which is commonly found in writings on this subject or the related field of allegorical interpretation of the Koranic texts and the religious precepts of Islam. We have to remember that the books which have been preserved were written by highly trained theologians, who, especially if they lack genius, easily fall back on arid scholasticism. This does no injustice, I think, to Abū Hātim and his younger colleague and adversary, Abū Ya'qūb. Al-Nāsafi may have been a more original thinker, but his books are lost. Those who began their studies when the Ismā'īli books were tantalizingly known only by their titles, may have been somewhat disappointed when their publication revealed that the intrinsic value of some fell short of their expectations. Yet in view of the great importance of the Ismā'īli movement in Islamic history, we must study its doctrines in all their aspects.

Bihāfrīd and Ustādsīs

As a document of Ismā'īli historiography, the text has been sufficiently elucidated by the introductory pages and the notes. However, it also makes some contribution to our knowledge of the Persian religious movements in the early Islamic period, and needs some further discussion from this point of view. It is the earliest extant account of Bihāfrīd, and while it partly coincides with other accounts, it also contains some details not otherwise known.³² Naturally enough, Abū Hātim, just as other Muslim writers, takes it for granted that Bihāfrīd

32 The hitherto known information about Bihāfrīd is summarized in an article by M. Th. Houtsma in *WZKM*, 3, 1889, pp. 30 ff.; cf. E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, I, 308 ff.; Sadighi, *Les mouvements religieux transiens*, pp. 111-131; B. Spuler, *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit*, pp. 196-7.

1906); Şiddiq Ḥasan Khān, Muḥammad Şiddiq, *Shamʿi arjuman* (Calcutta, 1293/1876); Şiddiqi, Mohammed Moazzam, *An Examination of the Indo-Persian Mystical Poet Mirzā ʿAbdul Qādir Bēdil* (Berkeley, CA, 1975); idem, 'Bidel, 'Abd al-Qādir', *EIR*, vol. 4, pp. 244-246; Tamīm Dārī, Aḥmad, 'Bīdil Dihlawī 'Aẓīmābādī', *Dānish*, 20-21 (1368-1369 Sh./1989-1990), pp. 45-72; Yā-Ḥaqqī, Muḥammad Ja'far, 'Shā'ir-i Āyinah-hā', *Kayhān-i farhangī*, 5, 4 (1367 Sh./1988), pp. 34-35.

YADOLLAH JALALI PANDARI
WITH ADDITIONS BY STEPHEN HIRTENSTEIN
TR. FARZIN NEGAHBAN

Bih Āfarīd (Bihāfarīdh) (d. ca. 131/749), the founder of the Bih Āfarīdiyya group, who laid claim to being a prophet. There seems to have been two sources accessible to early authors about the life of Bih Āfarīd, his beliefs and activities: one is by Ibrāhīm b. 'Abbās al-Şūlī (d. 243/857), who wrote a work about the 'Abbāsids (see Sezgin, *GAS*, 2/578-580) which was available to Ibn al-Nadīm (pp. 407-408) and Muḥammad al-'Awfī (3(1)/226-228, 4(1)/178), from whom al-Bīrūnī, Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī and others appear to have quoted (see below). The second, which appears somewhat embroidered by popular legend in a few places, is by Abū Zakariyyā' Yahyā b. Ismā'īl al-Ḥarbī (d. 394/1004), one of the *akhbārīs* of Nīsābūr (see al-Şarīfīnī, 739; al-Dhahabī, 16/543), and it is this account of Bih Āfarīd which al-Tha'ālābī al-Marghanī quotes (pp. 34-35). Aside from particular instances, these two reports are not dissimilar with regard to the basic information they contain.

Most sources give his name as Bih Āfarīd and his father's name as Māh Farawardīn (cf. al-Bīrūnī, 210; al-Marwazī, fol. 7a; al-Kh'ārazmī, 56). The name Bih Āfarīd seems to have had a precedent in ancient Persian (see al-Ṭabarī, 1/583, 2/37; al-Mas'ūdī, 1/285; see also Justi, 348). There are some variants of his name, such as 'Māh Āfarin', which are given in some manuscripts of the *Jawāmi' al-ḥikāyāt* (see al-'Awfī, 3(1)/226, 228) or 'Bihzād' (see Şiddiqī, 150; Yūsufi, 102). Most of the sources state that Bih Āfarīd's birthplace was Zūzan, in the south-west of the Kh'wāf

district in present-day Turbat-i Ḥaydariyya (al-Bīrūnī, 210; al-Marwazī, fol. 7a; see also Gardīzī, 266; al-Tha'ālābī, 34). Majd-i Kh'wāfi (p. 280) gives his birthplace as Zāwah, a village in modern Turbat-i Ḥaydariyya, and says that in his day the village was known as Bih Āfarīdī.

Bih Āfarīd's activities began in his hometown. Both Kh'wāf and Zāwah in particular, which were considered districts of Nīsābūr, have been given as places where he was primarily active (al-Bīrūnī, 210; al-Kh'ārazmī, 56; al-Tha'ālābī al-Marghanī, 34; al-Marwazī, fol. 7a). Ibn al-Nadīm also mentions the village of Rūy in Abarshahr (Nīsābūr) as his base (p. 408), which may be a variant form of Rīwand, a village in the vicinity of Turbat-i Ḥaydariyya (see al-Marwazī, fol. 7a; al-'Awfī, 3(1)/227; cf. al-Bīrūnī, 210; al-Kh'ārazmī, 56, who also mention Sīrāwand and Sarāwand).

Bih Āfarīd was a Zoroastrian, and according to Gardīzī, a member of the Zoroastrian priesthood (*mugh*) (p. 266). He is said to have engaged in *kahāna* (soothsaying, divination) (Abū Ḥātim, 161), which is plausible given that Zoroastrian priests did engage in such activities (e.g. see Christensen, 178). It is reported that he spent seven years or so travelling to China and back (al-Bīrūnī, 210; al-Marwazī, fol. 7a; Majd-i Kh'wāfi, 280; regarding the symbolic importance of the number seven in Zoroastrianism, see e.g. Şiddiqī, 153; Boyce, 12, 21, 33-34). According to al-Tha'ālābī al-Marghanī (p. 34), this journey was undertaken for the purposes of trade, but this is unlikely given that he was a Zoroastrian priest. In any event, it is said that he brought back many items from China, including a green shirt which was of such fine silk that it could be squeezed to fit within a hand (al-Bīrūnī, 210; Marwazī, fol. 7a; Majd-i Kh'wāfi, 280; Crone, 144).

According to al-Tha'ālābī al-Marghanī (p. 34), after his return from China, Bih Āfarīd one day told his wife the date when he expected to depart this world, and gave instructions that a fine mausoleum be built

20 Temmuz 2016

MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN