

Ebu Mansur İclî

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Ebu Mansur (Şii)

B-TOPALOĞLU

Watt, İslam dūr. tev. devri, 56, 57, 63

Mansûriyye (Müzehhibet) (Kalam)
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Seyyid, 160; Farkları, 202; Şehr.
Milel, I, 178; Malatî, Teubih, 159; Yalâ,

Tabakat, I, 33

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١٣-١٣

الغلو والفرق الغالية

في الحضارة الإسلامية

تأليف

الدكتور عبد الله سالم السامرائي

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı
İslâm Ansiklopedisi
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دار النشر

روحه الى « اسحاق بن زيد بن الحارث الانصاري وهم الحارثية الذين يبيحون المحرمات ويعيشون عيش من لا تكليف عليه » (٩٦) .

د - الرزامية :

(اتباع رزام بن رزم ، ساقوا الامامة من علي الى ابنه محمد ثم الى ابي هاشم ثم منه الى علي بن عبد الله بن عباس بالوصية ثم ساقوها الى محمد بن علي وأوصى محمد الى ابنه ابراهيم الامام وهو صاحب ابي مسلم) (٩٧) .

وقالت هذه الفرقة بالحلول (وادعوا حلول روح الاله فيه « في ابي مسلم » ... وقالوا بتناسخ الارواح ، والمقنع الذي ادعى الالهية لنفسه على مخاريق اخرجها كان في الاول على هذا المذهب) (٩٨) .

ولهذا سميت هذه الفرقة لدى البعض بفرقة « ابي مسلمية » كما سميت لدى فريق آخر بفرقة « المقنعية » نسبة الى المقنع الذي أعلن تمرده على الدولة العباسية في عصرها الأول ، وأشار الشاطبي الى غلو هذه الفرقة بقوله (وقالوا الامامة لمحمد بن الحنفية ثم ابنه عبد الله ثم علي بن عبد الله بن العباس ثم أولاده الى المنصور ثم حل الاله في ابي مسلم وانه لم يقتل واستحلوا المحارم) (٩٩) .

ه - البيانية :

هذه الفرقة هي الاخرى تعتبر من الفرق التي تفرعت عن فرقة الهاشمية وقد مر ذكرها في موضوع الفرق الغالية من هذا الفصل .

٧ - النصورية :

النصورية (اتباع ابي منصور العجلي) (١٠٠) قالت في البداية (ان الامام

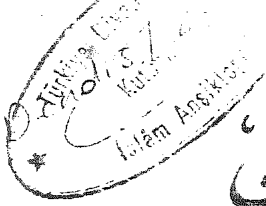
(٩٦) الشهرستاني : الملل والنحل ص ٢٩٣ .

(٩٧) المصدر السابق : ص ٢٩٨-٢٩٩ .

(٩٨) المصدر السابق : ص ٢٩٨-٢٩٩ .

(٩٩) الشاطبي : الاعتصام ج ٣ ص ٦٨ .

(١٠٠) البغدادي : الفرق بين الفرق ص ٢٣٤ والاشعري : مقالات الاسلاميين ص ٧٤ .



نشأة الفكر الفلسفي

في الإسلام

الجزء الثاني

نشأة الشيعة وتطوره

أبو منصور العجلي

٩٣-٨٧

تأليف

والكاتب عيسى شامخى النشار

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الطبعة السابعة

١٩٧٧



دار المعارف

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كانت منتشرة في المدينة وينسب إلى المغيرة أيضاً القول بالتناسخ (١) وهذا ما لم يقل به المغيرة في حياته .

ودخل أتباع المغيرة بعد ذلك في عداد الخناقين من أصحاب أبي منصور العجلي وشاركوا في قتل مخالفهيم بالحق . وستكلم عن هذا فيما بعد . وذكرهم أعشى همدان في قصيدته :
إذا سرت في عجل فسرفي صحابة وكندة فأخذرها حذارك للخسف
وفي شعبة الأعمى خناق وغيلة وقشب وإعمال الجندلة القذف (٢)

والأعمى المشار إليه في البيت هو المغيرة بن سعيد . وسنورد الأبيات نفسها ونقوم بشرحها حين نتكلم عن المنصورية والخناقين . ولكن ما يهنا الآن أن أتباع المغيرة استمروا في نشاطهم زمناً طويلاً ، ينشرون فكرة الحق التي نادى بها أبو منصور العجلي وينبئونها . نكايه في أعدائهم ، وانتقاماً لإمامها المقتول .

٢ - أبو منصور العجلي (المقتول عام ١٢١ هـ)

ينسب أبو منصور العجلي إلى قبيلة عجلة أيضاً . وهو ليس بمولى ، بل هو عري . نشأ في حضنة الميلاء صاحبة اللي الناعطية . وغذته بالشيعة والغلو . وليس لدينا ما يؤكد صلته ببيان ، ولكن من المرجح أنه اتصل بالمغيرة بن سعيد ، غير أنه لا يذكر بين «الوصفاء السبعة» الذين خرجوا مع المغيرة ، وقتلهم خالد بن عبد الله القسري . فلم يكن إذن أحد الحوارين المقربين للمغيرة . وكان هو أيضاً من المقربين للإمام محمد بن علي الباقر . فهو إذن من غلاة الشيعة الإمامية المنتسبين إلى الفواطم . ولا شك أنه تأثر بالمغيرة ، ويذكر الرازي أن أتباع أبي منصور العجلي كانوا على مقالة المغيرة . وزادوا عليهم بأن أباحوا الزنا واللواط (٣) أما النوبختي فيقول « إن أبا منصور هذا من أهل الكوفة من عبد القيس وله فيها دار وكان منشؤه بالبادية ، وكان أمياً لا يقرأ » (٤) ونحن لا نقرأ القول بأميته ، فقد نشأ في بيت الميلاء ، وهي امرأة شيعية من تلامذة ليلي الناعطية ، علاوة على أن التفسيرات المتعددة التي قدمها لنسا أبو منصور العجلي تدل على سعة اطلاعه بالتراث الإسلامي وبالتراث الفلسفي خصوصاً كان أو مسيحياً أو يهودياً . ثم إنه كان يتقن اللغة الفارسية .

(١) النوبختي . الشيعة ص ٦٣
(٢) الملاحظ : الحيوان ج ٢ ص ١٦٦ وح ٦ ص ٣٨٩
(٣) الرازي : اعتقادات . ص ٨٥
(٤) النوبختي : فرق الشيعة من ٣٨

٨٦

العجلي ، وأبي الخطاب الأسدي وغيرهم ممن تلوه وقتل المغيرة بن سعيد عام ١١٩ هـ بعد أن أثار المجتمع الإسلامي في العراق كله . ولكن المغيرة عاشت قوية . إذ تولاهما من بعده جابر بن يزيد الجعفي - فيما يذكر الأشعري (١) - وأنزله أصحاب المغيرة بمنزلة المغيرة . ومن العجيب أن ينسب جابر بن يزيد الجعفي إلى المغيرة . وكان جابر بن يزيد من أصحاب أبي جعفر الباقر وأبي عبد الله الصادق وهو عند الشيعة الإمامية المعتدلة محدث ثقة جليل بل إن صاحب شذرات الذهب يذكر أنه كان من كبار محدثين بالكوفة ، وأن البعض وثقوه والبعض ضعفوه (٢) كما ذكره أيضاً ابن سعد في طبقاته والذهبي في ميزان الاعتدال . وأخرج له أبو داود ، والترمذي ، وابن ماجه . وأياً ما كان الأمر فإن مؤرخي الفرق يذكرون « وكان جابر الجعفي على هذا المذهب وادعى وصية المغيرة إليه بذلك » (٣) فلما مات جابر ادعى وصيته أبو بكر الأعمش المجرى القتات وأخبرهم أن جعفر لا يموت . فنحن إذن قد عرفنا أسماء اثنين من أوصيائه . ولكن يبدو أن المغيرة بن سعيد قبل قتله كان يأمرهم أنه فعل هذا بعد موت الإمام الباقر . وقال المغيرة لأتباعه : إن جبرائيل وميكائيل يبايعانه بين الركن والمقام ، ويجي له سبعة عشر رجلاً من الشيعة ، يعطى كل رجل منهم حرفاً واحداً من حروف الاسم الأعظم ، فيهزمون الجيوش ويملكون الأرض . فلما خرج محمد بن عبد الله وقتل ، قال بعض أصحاب المغيرة . ومنهم أبو بكر القتات : لم يكن الخارج محمد بن عبد الله وإنما كان شيطاناً تمثل في صورته ، وإن محمداً سيخرج ويملك . تحقيقاً لنبوءة المغيرة (٤) مع أن النوبختي يذكر أن المغيرة - أصحاب المغيرة بن سعيد - يتوقفون في مسألة الرجعة فيقولون « لا ننكره لله قدرة ولا تؤمن بالرجعة ولا تكذب بها . وإن شاء الله تعالى أن يفعل فعل » (٥) ويذكر النوبختي أيضاً أن المغيرة نزلوا إلى القول بإمامة محمد بن عبد الله بن الحسن وتولوه وأثبتوا إمامته ، فلما قتل ، صاروا لا إمام لهم ولا وصي ، ولا يثبتون لأحد إمامة بعده (٦) وهذا يدل أيضاً على اختلاف المغيرة فيما بينها ، فالبعض ثبت على إمامة الباقر والبعض تولى محمد بن عبد الله بن الحسن المعروف بالنفس الزكية . ودخل في نطاق فرقته المحمدية (٧) . وهذا يعني أن المغيرة بقيت حتى عام ١٤٥ هـ وهي السنة التي قتل فيها محمد بن عبد الله بن الحسن في المدينة . فعقائد المغيرة

(١) الأشعري . مقالات الإسلاميين ج ١ ص ٨
(٢) ابن العباد ، شذرات الذهب ج ١ ص ١٧٥ وانظر النوبختي : فرق الشيعة من ٣٥
(٣) البغدادي . الفرق ص ١٤٨
(٤) الأشعري : مقالات ج ١ ص ٩ ، والبغدادي : الفرق من ١٤٨ والأسفراييني التبصير في الدين ص ٢١ وانظر النوبختي : فرق الشيعة ص ٣٥
(٥) النوبختي . الشيعة من ٥١
(٦) نفس المصدر . ص ٥٩
(٧) الأسفراييني . التبصير في الدين ص ٢١

hand."⁽⁵³⁾ This may be seen as additional evidence for a substantial impact felt by observers of these developments.

The movement was strong enough to surmount several military defeats, and to survive into 'Abbasid times. Under Yūdghān/Yūdh'ān of Hamadān, Abū 'Īsā's teachings rose again out of the ashes of the battlefield.⁽⁵⁴⁾ This reaction by Yūdghān/Yūdh'ān parallels a development among the Muslim proto-Shī'ite extremists, who, after the executions of their prophet-leaders, continued to refine theology, largely through allegoresis. The Yūdghāniyya/Yūdh'āniyya are said to have seen the holidays and fasts of Judaism as not binding on those in exile, and to have held that they serve only as symbols.⁽⁵⁵⁾ The "cognitive dissonance" engendered by the disconfirmation of prophecy—the defeat of Abū 'Īsā—must have accelerated the shift into esoteric interpretation.

The subsequent uprising led by Mūshkān/Shārikān, in which, we are told, only nineteen men participated, may be seen in retrospect as an atavistic moment of last resistance to the inevitable.⁽⁵⁶⁾ This subsection of the 'Īsāwiyya, however, was still large enough to have been noticed by several Jewish and Muslim scholars. Saadia Gaon, for example, apparently mentions a sectarian ritual innovation of theirs.⁽⁵⁷⁾ The Ismā'īlī author Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī mentions the Jewish sectary "S'dkh" in connection with the *ghulāt*.⁽⁵⁸⁾ And Baghdādī, in particular, discusses how many of the Muslim rituals this group observe and yet remain Jewish.⁽⁵⁹⁾ These reports, however, are the last we hear of the end of phase three, after their military defeat: the rationalization of collapse, the shift into symbol, the second accommodation to events.

(53) *Apocalypse of Peter* (trans.) A. Mingana in *Woodbrooke Studies 3* (Cambridge, 1931) p. 272.

(54) See I. Breur, "Yudghanites," *JE* vol. 12, pp. 624-625.

(55) For the sources see Dinur, *Yisrael baGolah* (n. 9 above) pp. 232-234, and notes thereon.

(56) See Friedlaender, "Jewish-Arabic Studies," I, p. 207 n. 93, and III, p. 289, for the sources. See also n. 59 below.

(57) Poznanski, in his bibliographic additions to Graetz, *REJ* LX pp. 306-312, at p. 311, cites Harkavy's Russian language article (in *Woskhod* February, 1900, p. 85) to this effect.

(58) S. M. Stern, *Studies in Early Ismā'ilism* (Leiden, 1983) p. 41.

(59) *Al-Farq Bain al-Firaq* (see n. 37 above) p. 9.

THE PROTO-SHĪ'Ī MILIEU: THE MANṢŪRIYYA

By contrast to the yet-inconclusive search for a Christianizing background as a key to understanding the origins of the 'Īsāwiyya (the thesis of Pines, which I hope to treat elsewhere), a far more profitable analysis consists in contemporaneous contextualization, that is, in placing the 'Īsāwiyya in the context of the contemporaneous *ghulāt*, or proto-Shī'ite extremists. Fortunately, the only sustained study ever undertaken of the 'Īsāwiyya, that of Friedlaender, already appropriately noted fifteen "Shī'itic elements" in the 'Īsāwiyya.⁽⁶⁰⁾ Therefore, rather than review or replicate his (still-valuable) work here, I shall refine its focus."

To be precise, in the following, I shall detail the ramified and manifest relationship between the accounts concerning Abū 'Īsā and those concerning one proto-Shī'ite "extremist" (*ghālī*), Abū Manṣūr al-'Ijlī (d. 738-44), his exact contemporary. These parallels, as a return to the insights of Friedlaender, and as a specification and focusing of his pioneering work, should leave little doubt concerning the precise formative milieu of Abū 'Īsā. I want to emphasize thereby that a sustained return to Friedlaender's lapsed investigation of this proto-Shī'ite milieu will be far more profitable than any other approach to the study of the 'Īsāwiyya, most especially by contrast to Pines' analysis of the 'Īsāwiyya as an "Jewish-Christian" sect.

In sum, the features shared in common between the reports concerning Abū 'Īsā and those concerning Abū Manṣūr include: 1) date; 2) heavenly ascent; 3) illiteracy; 4) prophetology; 5) temporary leadership status; 6) taxraising; 7) role of Christ; 8) role of the desert; and 9) militarism.

1) *Dating*. The 'Īsāwiyya may be dated to the events devolving from what I would call "the second Purge," of 736-737. The interalated uprisings following Muḥammad al-Bāqir and Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafiyya led by Mughīra b. Sa'īd, Bayān b. Sam'ān and Abū Manṣūr al-'Ijlī were crushed at that time.⁽⁶¹⁾ As

(60) See n. 2 above.

(61) Steven Wasserstrom, "The Moving Finger Writes: Mughīra b. Sa'īd's Islamic Gnosis and the Myths of its Rejection," *HR* 25 (1985) 129; the only

- Ali (11422)
- Meseylmetülkezzab
- Seccâh
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- Esved el-Ansî
- Eba Mansur el-Tâle

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YALANCI PEYGAMBERLİK OLGUSU BAĞLAMINDA HZ. ALİ'NİN İSTİSMARI

Abdülgaffar ASLAN*

ÖZET

İslam coğrafyasında Müseylmetü'l-Kezzâb ile başlayıp aşırı Şîî fırkalarla devam eden peygamberlik iddiası, günümüzde de bazı fırka kurucuları tarafından ileri sürülür. Yalancı peygamberler iddialarını genellikle farklı din ve felsefi sistemlerden kopya ederek oluştururlar ve hatta bazıları Hz. Ali ve evlâdını istismar ederek ona peygamberlik isnad etmişlerdir. Bunların bazıları Hz. Ali ile bir soy bağı tesis etmeye çalışsalar da, gerçekte Hz. Ali'ye yakınlığı olmayan kimselerdir. Şîî fırkalardaki nübüvvet öğretilerinin ayrılmaz bir parçası haline getirilen "nübüvvetin sürekliliği" anlayışı bağlamında bazı kimseler, nebî veya rasûllüğünü ilan etmeden önce, peygamber vekili, yardımcı peygamberlik, peygamber sözcüsü, muhaddes gibi ifadeleri kullanmayı tercih etmişlerdir. Oysa Hz. Muhammed'den sonra herhangi bir kimseye peygamberlik isnad etmenin altında mevcut sisteme muhalefet duygusu yatmakta ve peygamberlik kurumu ifsat edilmektedir. Kısaca burada, Hz. Ali'yi istismar ederek kendi çıkarları doğrultusunda peygamberlik iddiasında bulunan kişilerin bu husustaki görüşlerine, zihinsel köklerine ve yansımalarına yer verilecektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Ali, Fırka, Nübüvvetin Sürekliliği, Yalancı Peygamberlik.

ABSTRACT

The Exploitation of Ali within the Context of the Notion of False Prophethood

In Islamic world, many founders of religious sects have claimed prophecy until now. In Islamic history this actually began with the declaration of prophecy by Musaylimat al-Kazzab in early period and continued later in some Shia religious sects. False prophets usually develop their claims by adopting old and different religious and philosophical systems. In their allegations, some of them tried to use Ali and his family for their political purposes and attributed prophecy to him. Although such people can be found especially in some Shia groups, they actually do not have any familial connection with Ali and Ahl-i Bayt. They usually preferred to

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himself and the leaders of his army and laid the foundation of a mosque. In the year 702/1302 the "Victorious Camp" (*al-Maḥalla al-Manşūra*), was given the form of a regular town by the construction of a rampart. In addition to the mosque, the dwelling of the chiefs, the storehouses for munitions and the shelters for the army, there were baths and caravanserais. As Tlemcen was inaccessible to caravans, al-Manşūra, or New Tlemcen, as it was called naturally attracted the business of the besieged town. Documents in the archives of the Crown of Aragon attest to the fact that it was visited by Christian merchants, and that a Majorcan consul lived there. After a siege of eight years and three months, the Marinids in 706/1307 withdrew from Tlemcen following the death of sultan Ya'qūb, and al-Manşūra was methodically evacuated under the direction of Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd al-Djalīl; the vizier of the sultan Abū Ṭābit. The people of Tlemcen were compelled, by the terms of the treaty made by the Marinids, to respect the rival town for some time later; then, when the entente between the two empires had collapsed, they demolished its building and rendered uninhabitable the entrenchments left at their gate by their hereditary enemy.

The second phase of al-Manşūra's existence began 30 years afterwards, in 735/1335, with the Marinid drive eastwards under the great ruler Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī. Tlemcen, once more besieged, was compelled to surrender (27 Ramaḍān 737/1337). Al-Manşūra was splendidly restored, according to the indications of Ibn Marzūk, Abu 'l-Ḥasan's historian, who had accompanied him to the town, and provided with a *kaşba* and mosque, a *meshuar*, a house of justice, palaces, baths and caravanserais. It was probably at this time that the great mosque was completed and that the "Victory Palace" was built (747/1344-5). The Marinid court installed itself there and conducted the affairs of state thence until the defeat of al-Ḳayrawān and the re-installation of the Banū 'Abd al-Wād at Tlemcen (Djumādā II 749/September 1348).

After the retreat of the Marinids, al-Manşūra, once more abandoned, fell gradually into ruins. Today the rampart of terre pisée flanked by square towers is still comparatively intact, but the interior is land under cultivation. There still exists, however, the ruins of a palace, no longer distinct, a section of a paved street, and probably the surrounding wall in terre pisée of the mosque with half of the great stone minaret which rose above the principal entrance. Although the inlaid ceramic work has almost entirely disappeared, the façade of the square tower, which is 120 feet high, is one of the finest pieces of Maghribī art of the 8th/14th century that survives. The columns and the capitals in marble of the mosque are preserved in the Museums of Tlemcen and Algiers.

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(G. MARÇAIS - [M. SHATZMILLER])

MANŞŪRIYYA, an extremist Shī'ī sect of the 2nd/8th century named after its founder Abū Manşūr al-İdjlī. The latter is also called al-Mustanīr in some sources, but the reading is uncertain.

Abū Manşūr was a native of the *sawād* of Kūfa and, a tribesman rather than a peasant, grew up in the desert. Later, he owned a house in Kūfa. The statement of some sources that he belonged to 'Abd al-Ḳays is not necessarily wrong, since 'İdjlī is often counted as a branch of 'Abd al-Ḳays. His following came chiefly from the traditionally Shī'ī tribes of 'İdjlī, Baḍjīla and Kinda, and included also *mawālī*. Initially, Abū Manşūr supported the imāmate of Muḥammad al-Bāḳir, exalting him and the *imāms* preceding him to the rank of divinely-inspired Messenger prophets. He taught that the line of such Messengers could never be interrupted. After the death of al-Bāḳir (ca. 117/735), he claimed to be his successor and justified this claim, asserting that the Family of Muḥammad were heaven and the Shī'a, earth, while he, Abū Manşūr, was the miraculous "fragment" (*kisf*) fallen from heaven which is mentioned in Ḳur'ān, LII, 44; thus he belonged spiritually to the Banū Hāshim. He identified those who, according to the Ḳur'ānic verse, would not recognise the miracle and claimed that it was merely "piled up clouds", with the followers of al-Mughīra b. Sa'īd, his chief rival among the Shī'ī *ghulāt*. He claimed that he had been raised to heaven and that God had wiped his head with his hand and had told him in Syriac or Persian, "My son, go and teach on my behalf". Abū Manşūr taught that the first being to be created by God was Jesus and the next 'Alī. The rest of mankind was composed of light and darkness. He maintained that God had sent Muḥammad with the revelation (*tanzīl*) of the Ḳur'ān and himself with its interpretation (*ta'wīl*). Like other Shī'ī *ghulāt*, he interpreted the Ḳur'ān allegorically, identifying heaven and hell, religious commandments and prohibitions with man, friends and enemies of God in the struggle between good and evil, and repudiating all religious laws.

Abū Manşūr was vainly sought by Khālid al-Ḳasrī, governor of Kūfa, during his campaign of repression against Shī'ī extremists. He was seized and killed by Khālid's successor, Yūsuf b. 'Umar al-Thakāfi (120-6/738-44). After his death, the Manşuriyya split into two groups. One of them, known as the Ḥusayniyya, recognised his son al-Ḥusayn as his designated successor. They seem to have held that the imāmate would continue among his descendants, since there were to be seven prophets from Ḳuraysh and seven from 'İdjlī, the other group, known as the Muḥammadiyya, recognised the Hasanid Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Nafs al-Zakiyya (d. 145/762) as their *imām*. They maintained that al-Bāḳir had appointed Abū Manşūr to succeed him merely as a temporary depositary (*mustawḍa'*) in order to forestall discord between the descendants of al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, just like Moses had appointed Joshua before the succession reverted to the offspring of his brother Aaron. They reported that Abū Manşūr had stated "I am only a depositary, and have no right to transfer the imāmate to anyone else. The *Kā'im* is Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh." Al-Ḥusayn b. Abī Manşūr was captured under the caliph al-Mahdī (158-69/775-85) and put to death by him. Much money was confiscated from him, and many of his followers were now sought out and killed. The sect evidently disintegrated quickly.

The Manşuriyya were particularly notorious as stranglers of their religious opponents. They are said to have considered murdering them a meritorious act

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۵۱- کتاب الايضاح عن اصول صناعة المساح

علم در ایران شماره ۸ ، ۱۸۲ صفحه ، قطع ۱۷×۲۴ ، چاپ عکسی افست دورنگ ،
جلد کاغذی و سلفن ، بهای ۲۵۰۰ ریال .

اصل این کتاب به زبان عربی و در علم مساحت است و ابو منصور عبدالقاهر
ابن طاهر بن محمد بن عبدالله تمیمی آن را تألیف کرده . مؤلف از دانشمندان
بنام زمان خود بوده و در هفده فن خصوصاً علم حساب بر علمای معاصر خود
برتری داشته است .

این کتاب را ابوالفتوح منتجب الدین اسمعین ابی الفضائل محمود بن
خلف بن احمد بن محمد عجلی که از علمای فقه شافعی بوده به زبان فارسی
برگردانده است . بنیاد فرهنگ ایران متن عربی و ترجمه فارسی هر دو را
چاپ عکسی کرده است و فهرستی از اصطلاحات متن فارسی نیز بدان افزوده است .

4/270). Āqā Buzurg considered it likely that Sayyid Gāzur was meant to be none other than Sayyid Ghiyāth al-Dīn Jamshīd Zawwārī. Thus, *Tafsīr-i Gāzur* was probably written by this very same Ghiyāth al-Dīn (*Ṭabaqāt*, '10th Century', 43).

Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥaddith Urmawī, who edited *Jilā' al-adhhān* in ten volumes, believed that Abū al-Maḥāsīn Ḥusayn Jurjānī was also known as Sayyid Gāzur, and he wanted in one way or another to present Jurjānī as a descendant of the Prophet, a *sayyid*, so that the agnomen Sayyid Gāzur could be applied to him (Abū al-Maḥāsīn Jurjānī, pp. ط، ح). The fact that Abū al-Maḥāsīn and Sayyid Gāzur were one and the same person is confirmed in the marginalia in this manuscript (Ibn Yūsuf, 1/102–103; Abū al-Maḥāsīn Jurjānī, pp. س، نط). It is therefore natural that Muḥaddith Urmawī considered all manuscripts that had the title *Tafsīr-i Gāzur* as parts of *Jilā' al-adhhān* and published them as such. On the other hand, Ibn Yūsuf (1/105; Markazī, 1/86) is of the opinion that the author of *Jilā' al-adhhān* failed to complete the work, and that another person by the name of Sayyid Gāzur composed the second and final part. In any case, contrary to Āqā Buzurg's assumption (*Ṭabaqāt*, '10th Century', 62), Abū al-Maḥāsīn could not have lived in the 10th/16th century, given that manuscripts of this work were written earlier than that, witness the one in the National Library, Tabrīz, which dates to between 888 and 890/1483 and 1485 (Sayyid Yūnusī, 1/290; for a list of manuscripts of *Tafsīr-i Gāzur* see Storey, 1/29–30, 1211). Muḥaddith Urmawī also knew of a manuscript of this work apparently from 8th/14th century (p. س). As he points out, this *tafsīr* is taken from Abū al-Futūḥ Rāzī's *Tafsīr*, and apart from the *khuṭba* may also be considered a summarised version of it. Nevertheless, the author made no mention of Abū al-Futūḥ and his *tafsīr* (pp. ی، یا، ی).

Afandī (5/509) mentions someone by the name of Abū al-Maḥāsīn Jurjānī who

was a contemporary of al-ʿAllāma al-Hillī and wrote a work in Persian entitled *Takmilat al-sa'ādāt fi kayfiyyat al-ʿibādāt al-masnūnāt*. This was written in 702/1302–1303, and Afandī owned a manuscript of it copied by Mawlā Ḥasan Shīrī Sabzawārī and dated 747/1346–1347; Afandī adds that Sabzawārī was a student of Jurjānī. Āqā Buzurg refers to the same work (Āqā Buzurg, *al-Dharī'a*, 4/414–415), but still claims that the author was Abū al-Maḥāsīn 'Alī Jurjānī (*Ṭabaqāt*, '8th Century', 173). Nothing is known of the relation between this person and the author of *Jilā' al-adhhān*.

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DEPARTMENT OF ISLAMIC LAW AND QUR'AN AND
HADITH STUDIES
TR. HASSAN LAHOUI

Abū Manṣūr al-ʿIjlī, who was given the title (*laqab*) of al-Kisf, was a well-known Shi'ī extremist (*ghāṭī*), who lived in the early 2nd/8th century and whose followers were known as the Manṣūriyya. He harboured great political ambitions, as can be seen in his life and teachings, which ultimately brought about his death at the hands of Umayyad agents. Al-Qalḥātī (p. 288) refers to him as Manṣūr b. Sa'īd.

According to Sa'd b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ash'arī (p. 46), Abū Manṣūr was from the 'Abd al-Qays tribe, while all other sources refer to him as al-ʿIjlī (see al-Ash'arī, 'Alī, 9; al-Baghdādī, 149). This indicates that he was an Arab and cannot be regarded as a

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MANSÛRİYYE

II.

EBÛ MANSÛR EL-İCLİ VE MANSÛRİYYE:* (Avrupa) Ortaçağı Terörizmi Hakkında Bir Çalışma

Etrafı terörizm ve teşkilatlı şiddetin kasıp kavurduğu bir çağda, bu iki fenomen'den hiçbirinin yeni olmadığını hatırlamak iyi olacaktır. Her ne kadar muharrik âmiller, asırlar boyu, belli bir ölçüde değişmiş ise de, çağdaş şiddet için geliştirilen bazı esaslar, Avrupalı veya Şarklı tarihçi için tamamen yeni ve yabancı değildir. Meselâ (Avrupa) Ortaçağındaki İslâm araştırmacıları, Ezârika Haricîlerinin dehşetli taktiklerini ve Nizârî İsmâîlilerince tatbik edilen şiddeti hemen hatırlayacaklardır. (Avrupa) Ortaçağının Yakın Doğusundaki diğer terörist zümreler arasında en az bilinen fırka, Ebû Mansûr el-İclî'ye uyanların meydana getirdiği Mansûriyye idi. Bu fırkanın faaliyet ve fikirleri, Şîlik ve genel çerçevede (Avrupa) Ortaçağı İslâm târihi içinde mütâlea edildiği takdirde hususî bir alâkayı hakeder.

Ebû Mansûr el-İclî, Sevâdu'l-Kûfe yerlilerinden idi.¹ Adından da anlaşılacağı üzere,² muhtemelen Benî İcl'e mensuptu. Gerçi Nevbah-tî ve el-Eş'arî el-Kummî, onun Abdulkays kabilesine mensup olduğunu ileri sürerler.³ Onu, Abdulkays kabilesine sâdece bu iki müellif nisbet eder ve aslında onun bir İclî olması gerçeğe çok daha yakın bir ihtimaldir. Çölde ayaklandığını bildiğimize göre, aşkârki çocukluğu çöl-lerde geçmiştir.⁴ Kûfe'de bir evinin bulunduğu rivâyet edilir.⁵ Aynı müellif, onun okuması yazması olmadığını da kaydeder.⁶ Ebû Mansûr'un,

* *Der Islam*, LIV (1977), 66-76: "Abû Mansûr al-'Ijli and the Mansuriyya: a study in medieval terrorism."

1 Sa'd b. Abdillâh b. Ebi Halef el-Eş'arî el-Kummî, *Kitâbu'l-Makalât ve 'l-Fırak* (Tahran, 1964), 66.

2 Ebu'l-Hasan, Ali b. İsmâîl el-Eş'arî, *Makalâtu'l-İslâmiyyin*, I (Kahire, 1954), 74.

3 el-Hasan b. Mûsâ en-Nevbah-tî, *Fıraku's-Şiâ* (Necef, 1959), 59.

4 el-Eş'arî el-Kummî, *Makalât ve 'l-Fırak*, 46.

5 en-Nevbah-tî, *Fırak*, 59.

6 Aynı eser.

sect. But for the historian, the "Audiences" are a priceless source for everyday life in al-Manṣūriyya and, together with the *Sira* by the eunuch Jawdhar, the most important immediate testimony from the reign of al-Mu'izz (for which, unfortunately, there is no Fatimid chronicle).

Al-Nu'mān was perhaps more intimately acquainted with the secrets of the palace than was Jawdhar. In many places he cautiously hints that al-Mu'izz's relations with his father were not entirely untroubled; al-Manṣūr is said to have preferred the mothers of al-Mu'izz's brothers, and already al-Mu'izz's grandfather al-Qā'im is said to have feared that his grandson might be passed over eventually in the succession to the throne. In fact, al-Mu'izz was never designated in public as successor by his father, and probably not internally either; he made his way to the caliphate—like his father before him—with the help of a court clique, which no doubt included the Qadi al-Nu'mān.¹⁵

The immediate witnesses for the reign of al-Mu'izz include, in addition to Jawdhar and al-Nu'mān, the traveler and geographer Ibn Ḥawqal, who came from Nisibis (Nuṣaybin) in Mesopotamia, and who traveled in North Africa, the Sahara and al-Andalus in 947–951 (336–340), and visited Sicily in 973 (362). Not only was he a guest at the Fatimid court, but in his book he provides the names of the Fatimid caliphs with special formulas of blessing, such as were in use only among the Isma'īlis. It may therefore be surmised that he traveled on assignment from the Fatimids, and may perhaps even have been an Isma'īli agent. His report on Ifriqiya¹⁶ is the only one extant from Fatimid times.

Al-Manṣūriyya

In October 946, as al-Manṣūr set off in pursuit of Abū Yazīd, he had already ordered the construction, south of Qayrawan, of a palace city named after himself. "He made its walls of pressed clay, and gave it four gates: one in the south, then the Zawīla Gate¹⁷ in the

¹⁵ *Majālis*, p. 469; Nu'mān maintains that al-Mu'izz was designated by al-Qā'im. He also emphasizes that al-Mu'izz was chosen not by al-Manṣūr, but by God; *Majālis*, p. 124. Cf. pp. 404, 501; *Sirat Jawdhar*, 121.

¹⁶ Ibn Ḥawqal, 60–107.

¹⁷ Named after the black military slaves, or else their suburb in al-Mahdiyya; see above, p. 198.

east, the Kutāma Gate in the north, and the Triumphal Gate (*bāb al-futūḥ*) in the west; he himself used to go out through the latter whenever he set out for war. Then he brought in gate wings covered with iron. All the rest he built later, after finishing with Abū Yazīd. Only then were the soaring palaces and the high buildings erected, the magnificent plantations laid out, and the rebellious waters brought in. Among the palaces of the city are the great hall (*al-īwān*) which al-Mu'izz built for his son . . . the camphor hall, the crown room, the myrtle hall, the silver room, the caliphal palace, the Khawarnaq,¹⁸ as well as many other palaces, and great and elaborate facilities."¹⁹ Al-Mu'izz got his building material from, among other places, the ruins of Raqqāda, which Abū Yazīd had destroyed, and which was now systematically plundered and razed to the ground.²⁰

The excavations conducted by Tunisian and French archaeologists, sporadically since 1921 and systematically since 1972, have laid bare a part of the city.²¹ The city formed a circle, with the palace at its center; al-Manṣūr clearly took the "round city" of Baghdad, founded by his 'Abbasid namesake, as his model.²² Three great basins assured the water supply, two rectangular and one round. The layout of one of the artificial lakes and of the Lake Palace (*qaṣr al-baḥr*) connected with it, goes back to al-Mu'izz,²³ as does also the construction of the throne room, the splendid "great hall" (*īwān*), the roof of which was borne by two colossal ancient columns which had been brought there from Sousse. Al-Nu'mān reports in his *Audiences*: "One day al-Mu'izz got around to speaking about an ancient structure and its marvels. Thereupon one of those present praised the buildings of Mu'izz himself: how God had enabled him to build the Mu'izz Canal, and to bring in the marvelous aqueduct, built out of stone and lime, an astonishing structure a full day's march in length; further, the soaring palace, a powerful construction of hewn stones quarried out of

¹⁸ The name recalls the palace of the same name from Sasanian times, near what would later be Kufa; Arab authors considered it one of the wonders of the world; art. *al-Khawarnaq*, in EI².

¹⁹ Ibn Ḥammād, 23f.; Ibn 'Idhārī, 1: 206.

²⁰ Bakrī, 27; Ibn 'Idhārī, 1: 206f.

²¹ Thus Solignac, 263–273 (with two aerial photographs); Zbiss; M. Terrasse. The now partially exposed brick wall certainly does not go back to Fatimid times, but rather might be the wall which the Zirid al-Mu'izz b. Bādīs ordered built in 1045 (437); Ibn 'Idhārī, 1: 274.

²² Muqaddasī, 226.

²³ Nu'mān, *Majālis*, par. 169. On the buildings of al-Manṣūriyya, see Halm, "Nachrichten."

Heinz Halm
The Empire of the Mahdi: the rise of the Fatimids.
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Ebn Manṣūr al-Fihri

1997

DOKÜMANTASYON MERKEZİ

MISZELLEN

Abū Manṣūr al-ʿIjlī and the Manṣūriyya: a study in medieval terrorism

by William Tucker, (Fayetteville/Arkansas)

In an age plagued by terrorism and organized violence, it is well to remember that neither phenomena is of recent origin. Although the motivating factors have, to a certain extent, changed over the centuries, some of the causes advanced for the contemporary use of violence are not altogether novel to the historian of Europe or the East. Students of medieval Islam, for example, will recall immediately the violent tactics of the Azāriqa Khārijites and the terrorism practiced by the *Nizāri* Ismāʿīlis. Among other terrorist groups in the medieval Near East was the less well-known sect, the Manṣūriyya, which consisted of the followers of Abū Manṣūr al-ʿIjlī, whose actions and ideas assume particular significance when considered within the contexts of Shiʿism and medieval Islamic history in general.

Abū Manṣūr al-ʿIjlī was a native of the *Sawād al-Kūfa*.¹ As his name indicates,² he was probably a member of the BanūʿIjl, although NAWBAKHTĪ and AL-ASHʿARĪ AL-QUMMĪ claim that he belonged to the ʿAbd al-Qays.³ These two writers are the only ones to attribute his origins to the ʿAbd al-Qays, and it seems more likely that he was indeed an ʿIjlite. Apparently his childhood was spent in the desert, for we are informed that he was raised there.⁴ He is said to have owned a house in Kūfa,⁵ the same authority noting that he was illiterate.⁶ There is an extremely remote possibility that Abū Manṣūr had been familiar with Christianity, since he claimed that God had spoken to him in Syriac, referring to him as "my son,"⁷ a Christian expression characterizing the relationship between God and man. The evidence here is inconclusive, although it should be noted that a portion of the BanūʿIjl was Christian.⁸ Abū

¹ SAʿD IBN ʿABDALLĀH IBN ABĪ KHALAF AL-ASHʿARĪ AL-QUMMĪ, *Kitāb al-Maqālāt wa al-Firaq* (Teheran, 1964), 66.

² ABŪ AL-ḤASAN ʿALĪ IBN ISMĀʿĪL AL-ASHʿARĪ, *Maqālāt al-Islāmiyyīn*, I (Cairo, 1954), 74.

³ AL-ḤASAN IBN MŪSĀ AL-NAWBAKHTĪ, *Firaq al-Shiʿa* (Najaf, 1959), 59.

⁴ AL-ASHʿARĪ AL-QUMMĪ, *Maqālāt wa al-Firaq*, 46.

⁵ NAWBAKHTĪ, *Firaq*, 59.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ SABATINO MOSCATI, "Per una Storia dell' Antica Ši'a," *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, XXX (1955), 267.

Manṣūr's religious and political activism finally led to his death at the hands of Yūsuf ibn ʿUmar al-Thaqafī, Umayyad governor of Iraq from 738 to 744.⁹ Professor CLAUDE CAHEN gives 740 as the year of Abū Manṣūr's death,¹⁰ but since his source is not apparent, one can only say with certainty that it occurred between 738 and 744.

Abū Manṣūr's followers, the Manṣūriyya, included both Arabs and *Mawālī*. Most of the Arabs involved were members of the ʿIjl, Kinda, and Bajila tribes. SHAHRASTĀNĪ states, for example, that individuals from the Kinda were members of the Manṣūriyya.¹¹ IBN QUTAYBA repeats this information but adds that the Bajila were also present.¹² According to a verse attributed to AʿSHA HAMDĀN, the ʿIjl were likewise numbered among the followers of Abū Manṣūr.¹³ It is interesting to note that the Kinda and Bajila were associated at some point with the movement of al-Mughira ibn Saʿid.¹⁴

From the backgrounds of these tribes one may possibly discern reasons for their involvement with Abū Manṣūr. The BanūʿIjl were members of the Lahāzim group of the Bakr ibn Wāʿil confederation. They produced a number of noted leaders in both pre-Islamic and Islamic times. Among the pre-Islamic notables were Bujayr ibn ʿĀʾidh, a great military leader, and Ḥanzala ibn Thaʿlaba ibn Sayyār, who led the ʿIjl at the battle of Dhū Qār. In early Muslim times, one Madhʿūr ibn ʿAdī participated in the conquests of Syria and Egypt. Two ʿIjlites, ʿUṭayba ibn al-Nahhās ibn Ḥanzala and Ḥajjār ibn Abjar ibn Bujayr, were members of the Rabīʿa aristocracy in Kūfa.¹⁵ At some point, as noted previously, a part of the ʿIjl are reported to have adopted Christianity.¹⁶ It has also been suggested that certain elements of the tribe had become Persianized, supposedly as a result of the alliance between the ʿIjl of Bahrayn and Persian settlers who had come into the area from Iṣṭakhr.¹⁷

⁹ AL-ASHʿARĪ, *Maqālāt*, I, 75; FRANCESCO GABRIELI, "Il Califfato di Hishām," *Mémoires de la Société Archéologique d'Alexandrie*, VII (1935), 27—33.

¹⁰ CLAUDE CAHEN, "Points de vue sur la Révolution ʿAbbāsīde," *Revue Historique*, CCVII (1963), 315.

¹¹ MUḤAMMAD IBN ʿABD AL-KARĪM SHAHRASTĀNĪ, *Milal wa al-Nihal*, I (Cairo, 1961), 178.

¹² ABŪ MUḤAMMAD ʿABDALLĀH IBN MUSLIM IBN QUTAYBA, *ʿUyūn al-Akhhār*, II (Cairo, 1964), 147.

¹³ ABŪ ʿUTHMĀN ʿAMR IBN BAḤR AL-JĀḤIẒ, *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān*, II (2nd ed.; Cairo, 1965), 147; Cf. IBN QUTAYBA, *ʿUyūn*, II, 146.

¹⁴ W. F. TUCKER, "Rebels and Gnostics: al-Mughira ibn Saʿid and the Mughiriyya," *Arabica*, XXII (1975), 36.

¹⁵ I am most grateful for this information to my former teacher and adviser, Professor WADIE JWAIDEH, Professor of History and Chairman, Department of Near Eastern Languages and Literatures, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.

¹⁶ MOSCATI, "Antica Ši'a," 267.

¹⁷ IGNAZ GOLDZIEHER, "Islamisme et Parsisme," *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, XLIII (1901), 23; *Idem., Muslim Studies*, I, translated by C. R. BARBER and S. M. STERN (Chicago, 1967), 100.

دائرة المعارف بزرگ اسلامی، جلد ششم، تهران، ۱۳۷۳.

۲۸۷ ابو منصور عجلی

مأخذ: ابن اثیر، الکامل؛ ابن بنا، حسن (نک: ما، مقدسی، یادداشتها^۲)؛ ابن جوزی، عبدالرحمن، المنتظم، به کوشش محمد عبدالقادر عطا و مصطفی عبدالقادر عطا، بیروت، ۱۴۱۲/ق/۱۹۹۲م؛ ابن جوزی، یوسف، مرآة الزمان، به کوشش علی سویم، آنکارا، ۱۹۶۸م؛ ابن رجب، عبدالرحمن، الذیل علی طبقات الحنابلة، به کوشش هانری لائوست و سامی دهان، دمشق، ۱۳۷۰/ق/۱۹۵۱م؛ ابن فلانسی، حمزه، ذیل تاریخ دمشق، به کوشش آمد رز، بیروت، ۱۹۰۸م؛ ابن کثیر، البدایة، بنداری اصفهانی، فتح، زبدة النصره، مختصر تاریخ آل سلجوقی عمادالدین کاتب، بیروت، ۱۴۰۰/ق/۱۹۸۰م؛ خطیب بغدادی، احمد، تاریخ بغداد، قاهره، ۱۳۴۹ق؛ ذهبی، محمد، سیر اعلام النبلاء، به کوشش شعبی ارنورط و محمد نعیم عرقسوسی، بیروت، ۱۴۰۵/ق/۱۹۸۴م؛ علمی، عبدالرحمن، المنهج الاحمد فی تراجم اصحاب الامام احمد، به کوشش محمد محی الدین عبدالحمید و عادل نوبهض، بیروت، ۱۴۰۴/ق/۱۹۸۴م؛ نیز:

El²S; Makdisi, George, «Autograph Diary of an Eleventh Century Historian of Baghdad [Ebn-e Bannā]», *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 1957, vol. XIX; id, «Muslim Institutions of Learnings in Eleventh Century Baghdad», *ibid*, 1961, vol. XXIV; id, «Nouveaux détails sur l'affaire d'Ibn 'Aqīl», *Mélanges Louis Massignon*, Damas, 1957, vol. III; Massignon, Louis, *La passion de Husayn ibn Mansūr Hallāj*, Paris, 1975.

ابوالفضل خطیبی

ابو منصور نعلابی، نک: نعلابی.
ابو منصور جفانی، نک: آل محتاج.

ابو منصور عجلی، ملقب به کسف، از غالیان مشهور شیعی در اوایل سده ۲/ق/۸م که پیروانش به منصوریه شهرت داشتند و چنانکه از زندگی و تعالیم وی بیداست، اهدافی سیاسی در سر داشته است و بدین جهت از سوی عمال حکومت اموی کشته شد. قلهاتی (ص ۲۸۸) از وی با عنوان منصور بن سعید یاد کرده است.

وی به گزارش سعد بن عبدالله اشعری (ص ۴۶) از قبيلة عبدالقیس بود، در حالی که تمامی منابع دیگر ابو منصور را عجلی خوانده اند (نک: اشعری، علی، ۹؛ بغدادی، ۱۴۹؛ تا کر، 66). این گزارشها نشان می دهند که ابو منصور عرب بوده و نمی توان وی را چون برخی از غالیان سده ۲/ق از موالی دانست. ابو منصور که به گفته برخی مأخذ به مستنیر نیز شهرت داشت (نک: مسائل ۴۰۰۰۰؛ ابن حزم، ۴۵/۵)، گرچه در اصل بادیه نشین بود، اما در کوفه منزل داشت و گفته اند که خواندن و نوشتن نمی دانست (اشعری، سعد، همانجا). درباره سابقه ارتباط وی با جریانهای شیعی، به ویژه با شخص امامان باقر و صادق (ع) اطلاعات محدود است. گفته شده که میلاء نامی از غالیان، دایه و مربی وی بوده است (نک: جاحظ، الحیوان، ۲۶۶/۲؛ ابن قتیبه، عیون، ۱۴۷/۲)، به روایتی (نک: کشی، ۳۰۳-۳۰۴) هنگامی که در محضر امام صادق (ع) از ابو منصور نام برده شده، امام وی را لعن و نفرین کرد. وی که افکاری غلوآمیز داشت، خود را به امام باقر (ع) منسوب ساخت، اما امام او را طرد کرد و از وی تبری جست. در این هنگام بود که ابو منصور ادعای امامت کرد و پس از وفات امام باقر (۱۱۴ق) اعلام کرد که امامت به وی منتقل شده است (شهرستانی، ۱۵۸/۱). ابو منصور ادعا می کرد که امام باقر (ع)

نفوذ خود بهره برد و ابن عقیل را که ۲۰ سال از شریف ابو جعفر کوچک تر بود، به جای ابوعلی برنشانند (ابن رجب، ۱۷۳/۱؛ ماسینیون، II/492). ظاهراً همین امر موجب شد تا شریف ابو جعفر و پیروانش که حنبلیان متعصبی بودند، از این انتصاب ناخشنود شوند و با ابن عقیل از در مخالفت درآیند، اما اینان تا زمانی که ابو منصور زنده بود، کاری از پیش نبردند (نک: مقدسی، «جزئیات^۱»، 121-122).

به نظر می رسد ابو منصور در ایجاد آشتی میان مذاهب اهل سنت و حتی میان حنبلیان و معتزلیان نقش بسزایی داشته است. زیرا بلافاصله پس از درگذشت او کشمکش میان شریف ابو جعفر و ابن ولید معتزلی آغاز شد (ابن جوزی، عبدالرحمن، ۱۰۵/۱۶-۱۰۶؛ نیز نک: ابن رجب، ۲۴/۱؛ علمی، ۱۵۵/۲؛ فس: ماسینیون، همانجا) و موقعیت ابن عقیل نیز چندان متزلزل شد که سرانجام شریف ابو جعفر و پیروانش او را به اعتزال متهم کردند، سپس به توبه اش واداشتند. ابن رضوان و ابن جریده دو تن از دامادهای ابو منصور نیز که در این ایام به ابو جعفر پیوسته بودند، با دو تن از فرزندان ابو منصور به نامهای ابو محمد و ابو الحسن به عنوان شهود، توبه نامه ابن عقیل را امضا کردند (ابن بنا، ۲۶؛ مقدسی، همان، 105-106, 120, 124). با اینهمه، نفوذ و محبوبیت ابو منصور در میان حنبلیان چندان بود که با وجود حمایتش از ابن عقیل نه تنها هیچ گاه خود به اعتزال متهم نشد، بلکه ابن بنا، حنبلی پرشور، در بخشهایی از یادداشتهای خود که به رویداد مربوط به تعقیب و آزار ابن عقیل می پردازد، هاله ای از تقدس پیرامون ابو منصور افکنده است. همو از حنبلیان یاد می کند که بر مزار ابو منصور حاضر می شدند و برای مقابله با بدعتهای نکوهیده او را به یاری فرا می خواندند (همانجا). ابن بنا در جای دیگر از شیخی روایت می کند که به او می گوید: پایان کار ابن عقیل از «برکات شیخ الاجل ابن یوسف» بوده است (همانجا).

شخصیت متنفذ سیاسی و مذهبی ابو منصور در بغداد و برخی کارها که به رغم خواجه نظام الملک - شافعی متعصب و مدافع اشعریان - از او به ظهور پیوست، می توانست خشم خواجه را برانگیزد. هم از این روست که مرگ ابو منصور از همان ایام تردیدهایی برانگیخت؛ چنانکه ابن بنا که یادداشتهای روزانه خود را چند ماه پس از درگذشت او نوشته، آورده است که ابو منصور را در خواب دیده که با پای برهنه به دادخواهی نزد خلیفه می شتافته است (ص ۲۸۵). ابن بنا در جای دیگر در قطعه شعری که خود سروده، از خون ابو منصور سخن گفته است. مقدسی به استناد همین گزارشها احتمال داده است که ابو منصور به مرگ طبیعی درنگذشته و شاید به رقابت با نظام الملک جان باخته باشد («نهادها^۳»، 36). به ویژه آنکه ابو منصور حدود کمتر از دو ماه پس از رویداد مربوط به مدرسه نظامیه بغداد که با انتصاب ابو نصر ابن صتاغ خشم وزیر پرآوازه سلجوقی را برانگیخت، درگذشت (نک: سطور پیشین).

1. «Nouveaux détails...»

2. «Muslim Institutions...»

3. «Autograph...»