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HANBALI CRITICISM OF AL-RAFĪDA IN IBN AL-JAWZĪ'S TALBĪS IBLĪS (THE DEVIL'S DECEIT)

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The treatise “Talbīs Iblīs” (The Devil’s Deceit) by Ibn al-Jawzī (1116-1201), a representative of the Hanbali religious jurisprudence of Sunni Islam, exemplifies the mapping of religious and intellectual contradictions in 12th-century Baghdad. During this period, in the intellectual environment of the city, various Shiite (al-rāfīda) movements maintained their activity alongside the four Sunni religious and legal schools, theological directions, and the gradually strengthening presence of Sufis in the public sphere. The competition between the mentioned religious and ideological groups, as well as political developments, is inevitably reflected in the works of Ibn al-Jawzī, a preacher involved in court life. The aim of the article is to examine Ibn al-Jawzī’s approaches to Shiite circles (al-Rāfīda) through an analysis of relevant sections of Talbīs Iblīs. By situating Ibn al-Jawzī within the religious and political developments of 12th-century Baghdad, the article demonstrates his fundamental criticism of the Shiites at both ideological and practical levels.

Keywords: Ibn al-Jawzī, Talbīs Iblīs, Ḥanbalism, al-Rāfīda, al-bāṭiniyya

Introduction

In medieval Islamic thought, the examination of religious differences is often expressed in polemical literature, where the boundaries between groups are clearly delineated. The treatise *Talbīs Iblīs* (The Devil’s Deceit) by Ibn al-Jawzī (1116-1201), a famous representative of the Hanbali

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religious jurisprudence of Sunni Islam of the 12th century, is a valuable source of polemical literature. In *Talbīs Iblīs*, the author condemns various religious and ideological groups of his time, claiming that they have succumbed to the wiles of Satan and have strayed from true Islam. In the preface to the book, the author states that he composed it to warn people of Iblīs's disorder, to frighten people from his afflictions, to unveil what he has hidden, and to expose him while he is disguised in his arrogance.² The longest chapter of the book is devoted to Sufism.

Talbīs Iblīs has attracted the attention of modern scholars, particularly in the context of the author's critique of Sufis and, more broadly, in discussions of the Hanbali-Sufi dichotomy.³ As Merlin Swartz mentions, *Talbīs Iblīs* is an admittedly hard-hitting work, but Sufis are not the only ones criticized; virtually no religious or scholarly class escapes critical comment.⁴ The chapters preceding the examination of Sufism address the deviations of other religious traditions, including Shia-related groups.⁵ The article aims to explore Ibn al-Jawzī's attitude toward Shiites, whom he calls *al-Rāfiḍa* (the rejecters). To achieve this, it analyzes relevant sections of Ibn al-Jawzī's *Talbīs Iblīs*. By situating Ibn al-Jawzī within the 12th-century political and religious dynamics of Baghdad, the article highlights his stance on al-Rāfiḍa, detailing his criticism of Shiites both on ideological and practical levels.

Ibn al-Jawzī's role in 12th-century Baghdad's intellectual debates

Ibn al-Jawzī was born and educated in 12th-century Baghdad, where he pursued a distinguished career as a scholar, preacher, and jurist. During this period, the capital of the Abbasid Caliphate had become a battleground between the *de facto* Seljuk power and the symbolic authority of the Abbasid caliphs. These forces competed not only for political and administrative control but also for religious legitimacy, drawing scholars

² Ibn al-Jawzi (1982), 7.

³ Knysh (1985), 170-175; Makidisi (1970), 80-83; Held (2022), 88-126.

⁴ Swartz (2002), 29.

⁵ Held (2022), 94.

and preachers into the struggle. Religious scholars (*'ulamā'*) and preachers were the intermediaries through which Abbasid caliphs and Seljuk sultans exerted their influence on the social, educational, and broader intellectual environment of Baghdad.

Nonetheless, Baghdad continued to serve as an important scientific and cultural hub of the Islamic world. The intellectual environment of the city during this period was shaped by the interaction of the four Sunni schools of law,⁶ various theological schools and Shiite circles that remained active after the Buyids, and representatives of Islamic Mysticism—Sufis—who gradually strengthened their position in the public sphere.⁷

From the late 11th century, the Abbasids sought to restore the power and authority of the caliphate, a goal that was largely achieved by the mid-12th century, particularly during the reign of Caliph al-Muqtafi (1160) and his vizier Ibn Hubayra (1165). Ibn Hubayra, in turn, recruited the Islamic jurist Ibn al-Jawzī into the service of the caliphate, allowing him to preach in the Jāmi' al-Manṣūr Mosque and to organize public sermons in the palace.⁸ Later, Ibn al-Jawzī played a major role in shaping public opinion in Baghdad and became possibly the best preacher in Islamic history.⁹

Ibn Hubayra's recruitment of Ibn al-Jawzī was fully aligned with the trend in which preachers acted as intermediaries, enabling Abbasid caliphs and Seljuq sultans to influence Baghdad's social and intellectual life. The Abbasids generally supported the caliphate, while the Seljuq rulers patronized jurists and preachers who were loyal to their views. Occasionally, they sent preachers with Ash'arite and Mu'tazilite theological leanings to Baghdad, some of whom would preach against the Ḥanbalīs and other traditionalists. In this respect, Ibn Hubayra's recruitment of influential traditionalist preachers such as Ibn al-Jawzī served a dual purpose: establishing traditionalist Sunni doctrines as orthodoxy and countering Seljuq political influence in Baghdad.¹⁰

⁶ Makdisi (1981), 302-303.

⁷ Atta (2020), 168-174.

⁸ Han Hsien (2018), 16.

⁹ Al-Azmeh (1988), 265.

¹⁰ Han Hsien (2018), 16.

Next, Abbasid Caliph Al-Mustadi's (1170-1180) reign witnessed several clashes between the neighborhoods of Baghdad: Al-Karkh, with a mostly Shiite population, and the Hanbali-influenced Bab al-Basra, largely over economic issues but with a certain ideological basis.¹¹ Ibn al-Jawzi has probably authored "Talbīs Iblīs" during the reign of caliph Al-Mustadi, as part of his campaign against elements that violated the principles of Sunni traditionalism. Especially Shiites.¹² Ibn al-Jawzi was appointed by al-Mustadi as a director of the campaign, having the right to imprison those who are accused of insulting the companions of the Prophet, particularly Shiites.

Caliph al-Nasir (1180-1225) pursued a completely different policy, positioning himself as the leader of the entire Muslim umma and attempting to restore Baghdad's authority among Muslim states. It was within this logic that he reformed and unified *futuwwa* orders under his own leadership, the ultimate goal of which was to unite the various religious groups in Baghdad and unite Islamic forces.¹³ During the first years of al-Nasir's caliphate, in the absence of the vizier, the Shiite mayor of the palace, Ibn al-Şāhib (1187), enjoyed great influence in Baghdad to the degree that his name was mentioned during the Friday *khuṭba* after the Caliph's.¹⁴

During the reigns of al-Muqtafi and al-Mustadi, the Hanbalis enjoyed considerable influence and patronage in the capital. Meanwhile, al-Nasir, presenting himself as the leader of the entire Muslim community, adopted a more balanced policy, seeking to support both Sunni and Shia groups. Taking these facts into account will further contribute to a deeper understanding of Ibn al-Jawzī's motivation to strengthen the position of Hanbali religious jurisprudence and his uncompromising struggle against other schools of thought active in Baghdad at the time.

¹¹ Mikhaylova (1990), 83.

¹² Swartz (2002), 38; Held (2022) P 92.

¹³ Mikhaylova (1990), 108.

¹⁴ Mason (1972), 87; Han Hsien (2018), 212.

Ibn al-Jawzī 's polemical view of *al-Rāfiḍa*

In Talbīs Iblīs Ibn al-Jawzī does not systematically examine and address all Shiite doctrines and practices, nor every concept of their ideology, but in the sections of “*Condemning Innovators and Innovation*” and “*The Devil’s Deception in the matter of Creed and Religion*”, the views of the author on Shi’ites can be found. In this part of the article, we will discuss the peculiarities of Ibn al-Jawzi’s terminology used regarding Shiites, as well as the theoretical and practical aspects of his criticism of Shiites.

When discussing Shia groups, Ibn al-Jawzi prefers to refer to them by the term *al-Rāfiḍa*. In general, this term is designated to the proto-Imamiyya (and, subsequently, the Twelver Shia) and is the most common name given to them. The term comes from the verb *rafaḍa*, meaning “to reject” and “to desert,” and may accordingly be rendered as “rejecters” and “deserters”.¹⁵

Why Rāfiḍa? Who were the members of this group rejecting? The origin of this term is a locus of dispute. The name is explained in several ways and applied in different ways as well. The Encyclopedia of Islam suggests two versions of the term’s origin. According to the first version, early Imami heresiographers maintain that the name was first applied to the adherents of Djafar al-Sadik by al-Mughira ibn Said (737), immediately after they had dissociated themselves from him. The second version connects it with Zayd ibn Ali’s unsuccessful revolt against the Umayyads (740). According to reports from ‘Awana ibn al-Hakam and Abu Mikhnad, some Kufans, who had initially joined Zayd’s camp, made their continued support conditional on his rejection (rāfḍ) of Abu Bakr and Umar (or of the entire sahaba). When Zayd refused to accede to their demands, they deserted him (rafaduhu).¹⁶ Artur Stanley Tritton in *Muslim Theology* gives references to five explanations: it was given because they (Rafidites) would not recognise Abu Bakr and Umar (1); by Zaid to those who refused to

¹⁵ Kohlberg (1979), 677; Watt (1963), 116.

¹⁶ Kohlberg (1995), 386.

follow him (2); by Zaid, because they would not stop cursing Abu Bakr and Umar (3); because they reject Islam (4); by Mughira ibn Said to those who opposed him (5).¹⁷ Ibn al-Jawzi uses perhaps the most widespread view of the term's origin, dating it to Zayd ibn Ali's uprising against the Umayyads, which caused a serious split in the Shia ranks. Some of Zayd's supporters asked him to reject Abu Bakr and Umar, and after Zayd's refusal to their demand, they deserted Zayd for his rejection.¹⁸ The term "Rāfiḍa" was originally used as a pejorative appellation but later was also interpreted by the Imamis against whom it was primarily directed.

The first reference in Ibn al-Jawzī's *Talbīs* to the *al-rāfiḍa* is classifying them as *Ahl al-bida'* (People of Innovation). Ibn al-Jawzī defines *bida'* as a practice that was not originally part of the Sharia but was later innovated. "*Bida' mostly contradicts Sharia because they (innovators) imply that it is deficient and needs addition or subtraction.*"¹⁹ Next, Ibn al-Jawzī invokes the well-known hadith on the seventy-three groups in Islam—of which only one is saved—citing it twice and referring to the remaining seventy-two groups as *ahl al-bida'*.²⁰ Following this, he provides a list of those lost groups, classifying them in six categories: *al-Haruriyya*, *al-Qadariyya*, *al-Jahmiyya*, *al-Murjia*, *al-Rāfiḍa*, and *al-Jabariyya*. According to him, all these six categories, including al-Rāfiḍa, split into twelve sects. Other groups under the umbrella of al-Rāfiḍa are *al-Alawiyya*, *Al-Amriyya*, *Al-Shiyya*, *Al-Ishaqiyya*, *Al-Nawusiyya*, *Al-Imamiyya*, *Al-Zaydiyya*, *Al-Abbasiyya*, *Al-Mutanasikha*, *Al-Laina*, and *Al-Mutarrabisa*.²¹ The usage of the term *al-Rāfiḍa* raises a question to be addressed. Why does Ibn al-Jawzī use it when the terms "*ahl al-imama*" or "*Imamiyya*" were already in use since 900s?²² Here, we should take into consideration that Ibn al-Jawzi quotes a famous hadith from al-Tirmidzi

¹⁷ Tritton (1947), 20.

¹⁸ Ibn al-Jawzi (1982), 95.

¹⁹ Ibid, 7.

²⁰ Ibid, 18.

²¹ Ibid, 23.

²² The first employment of the term might be before 850. See Watt (1963), 119.

and the enumeration of 72 groups from Makhul al-Nasafi,²³ not reproducing Makhul's list exactly, but rather developing that text to some extent, adding or subtracting some things, changing the order of directions. However, he has not changed the names of the 6 groups and used the term *al-Rāfiḍa* not as a self-designation of Shiites but as a pejorative appellation. Interestingly, Ibn al-Jawzī mentions *al-Imamiyya* as a subcategory of *al-Rāfiḍa*. This was identical to what Ashari heresiographer al-Baghdadi did, making Imamites a sect of the Rafidites, whereas Al-Shahrastani does not mention the Rafidites at all, but makes all those into Imamites.²⁴ Ibn al-Jawzī's use of this term also fits within the general Hanbali tradition: in this way, the Shiites are later collectively referred to as *Al-rāfiḍa* by Ibn Taymiyya.

Starting *al-rāfiḍa*'s criticism, Ibn al-Jawzī warns that there are many doctrines among them, but he does not wish to waste his time. Ibn al-Jawzī mentions the following points as characteristics of the *al-Rāfiḍa* group:

- Exaggeration in loving Ali.
- Considering that he was God.
- Considering that he was the greatest of prophets.
- Cursing Abu Bakr and Umar, considering them to be disbelievers.

The analysis of the section makes it clear that Ibn al-Jawzī distinguishes between different groups of *al-Rāfiḍa*. While speaking of *al-Ishaqiyya*, who claimed Ali was Allah, he names them *gulat* (extremists). When it comes to the other groups, he does not use new terms or characteristics; instead, he contrasts *al-Ishaqiyya* with *al-Nawbakhti* (911-922) from *al-Imamiyya*, showing the more moderate nature of their faith.²⁵

Ibn al-Jawzī further mentions other *Rāfiḍa* sects, such as *al-Janahiyya*, who believe that the spirit of God has circulated through the loins of the Prophet till it had come to Abdallah ibn Muawiya; *al-Ghurabiyya*, who claim that Ali is associated in the prophetic office; *al-Dhimamiyya* who

²³ Van Ess J (2011), 1043-1047.

²⁴ Watt (1963), 120.

²⁵ Abu Sahl Muhammad al-Nawbakhti's no longer existing "*Kitab al-ara wa-l-dinayat*" was widely used by Ibn al-Jawzī in *Talbīs Iblīs*.

blamed Gabriel for delivering the message to Muhammad rather than to Ali,= and *al-Mufawwida* (Delegators), who argue that God, having created Muhammad, delegated to him the creation of the world. Some of them maintained that Abu Bakr had robbed Fatima of her inheritance.²⁶ Ibn al-Jawzi contradicts these groups with a narration from Ibn al-Aqil:

*“The inventor of the Rejectors’ doctrine must clearly have intended to strike at the root of religion and prophethood; for the matter produced by the Prophet is something at a distance from us, and we have to rely for it on the transmission of those who preceded us, and the accuracy of their investigations.... So, when the Rejectors say that the people regarded such conduct as lawful after the Prophet’s death, our hopes with regard to the code are disappointed. For between us and it, there is only transmission from them and confidence in them.”*²⁷

Here Ibn al-Aqil argues that al-rāfiḍa’s criticism of Companions undermines the credibility of the transmission of religious knowledge and therefore endangers the foundations of the entire Islamic faith, as *“the only thing between us and the religion is our trust in them (the Companions) and following what they transmitted to us.”*²⁸

Ibn al-Jawzi perhaps mentions this much about the ideological shortcomings of the Rafidis, after which he presents their practical errors that arose from this ideology. The best example is that Rāfiḍa’s excessive love for Ali led them to fabricate many hadiths, as mentioned in his book *“Kitāb al-Mawḍū‘āt”*. Among the fabricated hadiths is one stating that once the sun set, before Ali could pray *Asr*, it was raised back up.²⁹ This is neither authentic nor trustworthy.

²⁶ Ibn al-Jawzi (1982), 95.

²⁷ Ibid, 96.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid, 97.

They also have issues with *fiqh*. He mentions some problems of Imamiyas' *fiqh* regarding evening prayer, robbery, drinking wine, etc. In general, Ibn al-Jawzī condemns them for being persuaded by the devil to settle the problems without support from either tradition or analogy, but their own fancies. They are seeking an infallible Imam and are afflicted with the practice of reviling the Companions. Then he cites hadith from two Sahihs (Bukhari and Muslim) claiming that the Prophet said: “Do not abuse my companions. For though one of you were to spend a mass of gold as great as Uhud, he would not attain their measure nor the half thereof.”³⁰ Ibn al-Jawzi presents the inadmissibility of attacking Abu Bakr, and Umar is based on Ali's authority and traditions going back to him. He cites a tradition from Suwaid ibn Ghafala in which Ali himself attests to the loyalty and sincerity of Abu Bakr and Umar toward the Prophet. In another tradition, which goes back to Abu Sulaiman al-Hamdani, Ali said: *There shall come forth in the latter days a party nicknamed The Rejectors who shall lay claim to our party (the Shi'ah), to which they will not belong; the sign thereof is that they revile Abu Bakr and 'Umar. Slaughter them relentlessly wherever you find them, as they are polytheists (Mushrikun).*³¹

Ibn al-Jawzi thus concludes his discussion of al-rāfiḍa, leaving more questions than answers. The lack of discussion of specific Shiite doctrines about God's essence, *imamate*, and spiritual hermeneutics (*tawil*) may suggest that while his primary target in writing this book is not the Shiites, he is not so much debating their ideas as simply rejecting them.

Ibn al-Jawzi separates *al-Batiniyya* from *al-rāfiḍa* and criticizes them more severely, describing them as a group that leaned towards *al-Rāfiḍ* (*Malu ila al-Rāfiḍ*). He condemns them for their denial of the Creator, Prophecy, ritual, and resurrection, despite the fact that they first pretended to affirm that Allah was the Truth and Muhammad is his messenger. Subsequently, they started to believe in a hidden secret behind all those beliefs. Thus, Iblis manipulated them, exaggerated their beliefs, and presented them with different doctrines. Ibn al-Jawzi argues that their

³⁰ Ibn al-Jawzi (1982), 97.

³¹ Al-Lalika'i, *Sharh Usul Itiqad Ahl al-Sunna*, 7 /1456/2807.

beliefs and acts are in contradiction to Islam (*tabayana al-Islam*). He mentions 8 names of Al-Batiniya: *al-Batiniyya*, *al-Ismayiliyya*, *al-Sabiiya*, *al-Babakiyya*, *al-Muhammira*, *al-Qaramita*, *al-Khuramiyya*, *al-Taalimiyya*.³²

Unlike *al-rāfiḍa*, Ibn al-Jawzi finds al-Batiniyya more dangerous, considering that they have consulted various Mazdians, Mazdakites, Dualists, and heretical philosophers to reduce the influence of Muslim scholars. “After realizing that Muhammad’s doctrine had spread far and they were unable to resist it, they decided to adopt the belief of one of their sects (*al-rāfiḍa*), the subtlest, the most befogging, and gradually seduce them from the religion.”³³ Thus, Ibn al-Jawzi disassociates the Batinis from the Shiites, saying that they are simply using Shiism as a cover for the implementation of their ideas.

It is worth noting that Ibn al-Jawzi does not categorically deny the existence of hidden meanings of the texts, and again, quotes Ibn Aqil saying that “The truth is between esoterists and literalists, which is that we should accept the literal sense where there is no evidence to divert us from it, and reject every hidden meaning where the code furnishes no evidence for its existence.”³⁴ Interestingly, Ibn al-Jawzi frequently attacks literalistic interpretations of scripture in *Kitāb Akhbār al-ṣifāt* (Scriptural Texts Concerning the Divine Attributes), with particular attention to those that carry anthropomorphic implications.

Ibn al-Jawzi’s discussion on the Shiites and their associated groups in *Talbīs Iblīs* appears to be limited to this point. As mentioned above, these are probably part of the general trends of the reign of Caliph al-Mustadi. The situation changes somewhat during the reign of Caliph al-Nasir, who supported both Shia and Sunni circles in the city equally. Ibn al-Jawzi’s discussion of two episodes from this period sheds light on how he viewed Ali and his descendants (without calling them Shiites or Al-rāfiḍa).

³² Ibn al-Jawzi *Talbīs Iblīs*, 100-103.

³³ *Ibid*, 99.

³⁴ *Ibid*, 106.

First is reflected in Ibn al-Jawzi's treatise "*al-Radd*," which was written in response to his Hanbali peer Abd al-Mughith al-Harbi (1187). The debate between two scholars was about the permissibility of cursing the second Umayyad Caliph, Yazid ibn Muawiya (683). Abd al-Mughith al-Harbi composed a work titled *Fadail Yazid* and sent it to Ibn al-Jawzī, to whom he replied with "Radd". Ibn al-Jawzi's account of Yazid's caliphate aims to reinforce the image of Yazid as a sinful and unjust caliph, deserving of a curse, whereas the majority Sunni stance was that a sinful imam should not be resisted and deposed.³⁵ Han Hsien Liew describes this as an example of Ibn al-Jawzi's ameliorative politics,³⁶ which strikes the middle ground between the radical and revolutionary political doctrines of the Khārijites on one hand and the accommodationist approach of the Sunni jurists and theologians on the other. Another example of adopting a middle ground is seen in Ibn al-Jawzi's answer to caliph al-Nasir, who asked him who between Abu Bakr and Ali was the best man after the Prophet, to which Ibn al-Jawzī gave a careful, two-pronged answer that satisfied both the Sunnis and Shiites: "*The best of men after him was he whose daughter married the other.*" This position does not eliminate Ibn al-Jawzi's anti-Shiite polemics. On the contrary, it shows that his assessments of historical views or his unconditional acceptance of Ali and his family members do not extend to the doctrinal level, where he continues to present the Shiites as a deviant direction.

Conclusion

Ibn al-Jawzi's anti-Shiite struggle needs to be viewed in the broader context of both ideological and political competition, considering the religious and political realities of 12th-century Baghdad. Ibn al-Jawzi's critique of Shiites (*al-rāfiḍa*) was conditioned by both the preservation of the purity of Islam and the political realities of the time. It was fully consistent with Hanbali struggle against harmful innovations (*bida*) in

³⁵ Han Hsien (2018), 226.

³⁶ By ameliorative politics, he means an approach that is educative, mediatory, moderate, and pragmatic in relation to power and authority. *Ibid.*, 31.

Islam, and more broadly, with the struggle of Caliph al-Mustadi against those who violate the principles of Sunni traditionalism. Ibn al-Jawzi's observations on the *al-rāfiḍa* in Talbīs Iblīs show that he opposed both the Shiites' ideology and the vicious practices stemming from it. As in other parts of the book, in this context too, Ibn al-Jawzi adheres to the ideal model, namely following the Sunnah of the Prophet, as the standard of correct belief and practice.

**ՇԻԱԿԱՆՈՒԹՅԱՆ ՀԱՆԲԱԼԻԱԿԱՆ ՔՆՆԱԴԱՏՈՒԹՅՈՒՆԸ ԻՐՆ
ԱԼ-ՋԱՈՒՉԻԻ ԹԱՐԷԻՍ ԻՐԼԻՍՈՒՄ (ՍՍՏԱՆԱՅԻ ԽԱՐԱՎԱՆՔՆԵՐԸ)
Շուշան Կյուրեղյան³⁷**

Սուննիական իսլամի հանրալիական կրոնաիրավագիտության ներկայացուցիչ Իրն ալ-Ջաուզիի (1116-1201) «Թարբիս Իրլիս» (Մատանայի խարդավանքը) աշխատությունը 12-րդ դարի Բաղդադի կրոնական և ինտելեկտուալ հակամարտությունների քարտեզագրման օրինակ է: Այս շրջանում քաղաքի ինտելեկտուալ միջավայրում սուննի չորս կրոնաիրավական դպրոցների, տարբեր աստվածաբանական ուղղությունների, հանրային դաշտում աստիճանաբար ամրապնդվող սուֆիների կողքին իրենց ակտիվությունն էին պահպանում շիական տարբեր ուղղություններ: Նշված կրոնագաղափարական ուղղությունների մրցակցությունը, ինչպես նաև քաղաքական զարգացումները անխուսափելիորեն արտացոլվում են պալատական կյանքին ներգրավված քարոզիչ Իրն ալ-Ջաուզիի ստեղծագործություններում: Հոդվածի նպատակն է ուսումնասիրել հեղինակի մոտեցումները շիական շրջանակների (*al-Rāfiḍa*) նկատմամբ Թարբիս Իրլիսի համապատասխան բաժինների վերլուծության միջոցով: Իրն ալ-Ջաուզիին դիտարկելով 12-րդ դարի Բաղդադի կրոնաքաղաքական զարգացումների համատեքստում՝ հոդվածում ի ցույց է դրվում նրա արմատական քննադատությունը շիաների նկատմամբ՝ թե՛ գաղափարական, թե՛ գործնական մակարդակներում:

Բանայի բառեր՝ Իրն ալ-Ջաուզի, Թարբիս Իրլիս, հանրալիականություն, ալ-Ռաֆիդա, ալ-Բատինիյա:

³⁷ Շուշան Կյուրեղյանը ԵՊՀ հայագիտական հետազոտությունների ինստիտուտի քաղաքակրթական և մշակութային հետազոտությունների բաժնի կրտսեր գիտաշխատող է, էլ. փոստ՝ shoushan.kyureghyan@ysu.am, ORCID <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0560-0879>:

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