

however, that this correspondence implies common causality. Certainly, no aspect of Gülen's theology is comparable to the fatalistic worldweariness of Calvinism that Weber identifies as the key principle of the Protestant work ethic and hence the inculcation of capitalist habits and practices. More importantly, the sociological crucible within which the Gülen movement has formed is not the "backwoods small bourgeois circumstances" of Weber's Calvinists, but rather that of modern Turkey, where a hegemonic state culture increasingly negotiates neoliberal economic and political imperatives. To put perhaps too fine a point on the matter, this "Islamic Enlightenment" is not a matter of universal political liberation on the basis of critical reason (in Kant's famous formulation), but rather the assertion of a liberal mode of Islam against the political powers of the Turkish state that have sought incessantly to curtail piety in public.

Undoubtedly, the past quarter century in Turkey has witnessed a welter of vibrant, creative mediations of Islam and political practice. As Yavuz points out frequently throughout his text—and as I have argued in my own work—the institutional and discursive domain of civil society, in particular, has formed and framed these mediations. Through and within civil society, Turkish Muslims are learning again to become what they once and still are. Nor is this pedagogical reformation of Islam within Turkish civil society singular: Muslim groups and communities with distinct theologies and sociologies, such as Turkey's Alevis, are also "discovering" and forging their identities on the basis of civil society. Yavuz's excellent, indefatigably thorough study of the Gülen movement is a timely, valuable contribution to our broader comprehension of the mechanics and dynamics of the mediation of Islam and civil society, both within Turkey and beyond. I only worry that his attempt to shoehorn his argument within the rubric of "Enlightenment" risks obscuring the remarkable material that constitutes his lucid exposition.

SEAN W. ANTHONY, *The Caliph and the Heretic: Ibn Saba' and the Origins of Shi'ism*, Islamic History and Civilization, Studies and Texts, vol. 91 (Leiden: Brill, 2012). Pp. 360. \$175.00 cloth.

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A Google English-language search for Ibn Saba' turns up sufficient "hits" to attest to his person as a still controversial figure in Islam. Just one URL of an article on him (e.g., see <http://gift2shias.com/2013/04/23/ibn-saba-the-jew-the-spiritual-father-of-the-rafidha-an-unquestionable-truth/> [accessed 10 July 2013]) attests to an effort to tar Shi'ism with the brush of association with the man. Together with Arabic-language sites attacking Ibn Saba's supposed legacy for Shi'ism, these are but one example of the contemporary, broad, and widespread anti-Shi'i, and particularly anti-Twelve, discourse "alive" on the web today.

In the past, as Sean Anthony notes, among "many early and medieval Muslim scholars, Ibn Saba' and the *saba'ya* stand at the nexus of the earlier incarnations of Islamic sectarianism" (p. 2). For anti-Shi'i writers, Ibn Saba' was "the leader of the party responsible for first despoiling the original, pristine unity" of the early Muslim community, a Yemeni Jewish convert to the faith who conceptualized 'Ali's role as the Prophet's successor in light of the succession of Joshua to Moses or even depicted 'Ali as Allah incarnate. For Shi'i scholars, he was the "quintessential 'extremist' heretic (*ghālī*) . . . a veritable icon of *ghulūw* (a term in the Shi'ite context that usually denotes [his] excessive veneration for 'Ali as immortal or divine)" (pp. 2–3).

Anthony's goal is to unpack the various portrayals of 'Abd Allah b. Saba'—to whom Anthony, following perhaps the best-known source on the subject, the Kufan Sayf b. 'Umar al-Tamimi (d. ca. 796), refers to as Ibn al-Sawda' (son of the "dark-skinned" woman [p. 72])—and the *saba'īya* in these sources.

The volume comprises three sections. In the first, Anthony covers Sayf's account, its place in early Islamic historiography, and Sayf's use of Ibn Saba' and the *saba'īya* in his account of the caliphate of 'Uthman (d. 656) and events up to and including the 656 Battle of the Camel between the forces of 'Ali, who succeeded 'Uthman to become the fourth caliph, and those of A'isha, the Prophet's widow. This battle marked the first fitna, or civil war. As Anthony notes, Sayf's was not the only discussion of Ibn Saba', and the second section of the study addresses medieval heresiographers and theologians' references to the man and the movement. The third part of the study then attempts a critical reconstruction of the history of the *saba'īya* from the Umayyad period through the second fitna (661–91), the fate of the group, and its legacy for later Umayyad Shi'ism.

As to Sayf's work on the *ridḍa* (apostasy) wars and on the Battle of the Camel, respectively, both discovered together only in 1991 in Riyadh (p. 15f), Anthony argues that Sayf's narrative is a distinctly pro-'Uthman and anti-Shi'i one that is markedly at variance with most other accounts. Sayf portrays Ibn Saba's followers as participants in and therefore responsible for the murder of 'Uthman, for example, and depicts Egypt as a hotbed of *saba'īya* activity and sympathies (p. 99). Even if Sayf "harbours no particular grievance against 'Ali" (p. 101), he does not, in Anthony's view, recognize 'Ali as caliph and that Sayf's efforts were key to later Sunni efforts—for example, by al-Tabari and Ibn 'Asakir—to create a "sacral, iconic vision of 'Uthman as a consummately righteous caliph" (p. 101). This was a direct challenge both to "Shi'i and Khārijī moralism" (p. 102) and to the view that 'Uthman's policies represented a profound break with those of his two predecessors. In later works, therefore, 'Uthman's opponents emerge as "rabble" (*ghawghā'*) and 'Uthmān himself as a ruler killed unjustly (*maẓlūm*) rather than as an "oppressor (*ẓālim*) toppled" (p. 103). Ibn Saba' himself emerges "not as a sectarian but the fount of sectarianism of all stripes" (p. 133) who plots, schemes, and "invents abhorrent and corrosive doctrines" (p. 143).

The heresiographical material, however, had its own, separate, that is, non-Sayfian and even pre-Sayfian, dynamic. This favored attribution to Ibn Saba' of such archetypal doctrines as that of 'Ali's return after his death, *raj'a*—for which term he offers the translation of *parousia*—that of 'Ali's divinity while still alive, and, to a lesser extent, Ibn Saba's originating the insulting (*sabb*) of the first two caliphs and the Companions as well as the idea that 'Ali had access to hidden parts of the Qur'an. Anthony cites works in this tradition by the Shi'i authors Nawbakhti (d. ca. 912–22) and the latter's contemporary Sa'd al-'Ash'ari al-Qummi, deriving from an account attributed to Hisham b. al-Hakam, a companion of the sixth Imam, itself deriving from what Anthony suggests are non-Shi'i accounts (p. 157). Another archetype is Ibn Saba's execution by 'Ali for proclaiming 'Ali's divinity, missing in the pseudo-Hisham account but, as with the story of 'Ali's execution of some *ghulāt* who had proclaimed him divine, later "grafted" onto other existing Ibn Saba' narratives, embellished and eventually linked with the *raj'a* narrative (pp. 164, 171). Together such accounts bespeak of Shi'i efforts to distance themselves from "extremist" views that could threaten the welfare/existence of the community (p. 183). Anthony cites evidence that some in fact reappropriated and tweaked aspects of the execution narrative, such that 'Ali either pardoned these elements or executed them for revealing his secret, or that Ibn Saba' himself returned from the dead. The author devotes all of Chapter 6 to the first of the above archetypes, Ibn Saba's denial of 'Ali's death, and his affirmation that 'Ali would not die "until he leads the people/Arabs with his staff (*'aṣā'*)" and that 'Ali "shall fill the Earth with justice as it is now filled with injustice" (p. 196).

Here and elsewhere, Anthony is mindful of contemporary non-Islamic parallel traditions. Thus, he notes the idea that ‘Ali, like the Qur’anic Jesus, did not die. Anthony moreover argues that the allusion to the staff was reflective of “a robust, late antique, particularly Jewish tradition” (p. 219f) and that Ibn Saba’s denial of ‘Ali’s death more generally was in sync with “late antique Jewish apocalypticism” (p. 222). Anthony had also earlier referred to Sayf’s understanding of the apostle Paul’s corruption of Christianity as a means of identifying Ibn Saba’ not merely as sectarian but as the “fount of sectarianism” (p. 133). Anthony concludes his discussion by noting that of all the “traditions and legends” ascribed to Ibn Saba’, the most “compelling evidence on the side of historicity” (p. 241) is his belief in Ali’s *raj’a*, which, he notes, also appears in the earliest traditions about the Imam’s death.

In the volume’s third and final portion, the long Chapter 7, Anthony recounts but also attempts to rescue the *saba’iya* from the numerous and conflicting traditions and legends of the Umayyad period, including those surrounding the 685–87 rising of Mukhtar in Kufa and its aftermath. In fact, Anthony’s de/reconstruction thereof recalls Madelung’s effort, in his *The Succession to Muhammad* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), to untangle the events following the death of the Prophet himself. In the process, Anthony charts the “profound debt of Mukhtār’s movement and his Saba’iya” (p. 275) to the discourse of Ibn Saba’. Not long after his passing, Mukhtar joined the panoply of those—including ‘Ali and his sons al-Hasan and al-Husayn—who were among the “righteous dead destined to return to this world” (p. 292), even as the *saba’iya* themselves appear to have ceased to be an “integral, definable group” (p. 309). In the process, Anthony confronts, in some detail, not only the relevant Arabic sources, but the interpreters thereof to date, including Helga Brentjes, Michael Cook, and Patricia Crone.

Anthony concludes that Ibn Saba’ was really an “anecdotally iconic representative of all those who nurtured a hope that ‘Ali’s victory still loomed over the horizon, despite his death” (p. 313). The alleged “Jewish connection” was in the same “late antique and medieval” (p. 314) tradition of tarring by association with Christians, Magians, Manicheans and even “Persians” (p. 314, n. 2); Christian and Jewish polemicists also employed such “myth-making” (p. 315). Nevertheless, it was the notion of the *raj’a* that would outlast the period and inform Shi’ism from this period forward.

To reach, and to have documented so robustly, this point was a Herculean task. Anthony accomplishes it in a fashion reminiscent of Madelung’s 1998 contribution. As such, *The Caliph and the Heretic* is eminently worthy of the attention of serious scholars. The *ghawghā’* on the web will likely accord it short shrift.

KECIA ALI, *Imam Shafi’i: Scholar and Saint* (Oxford: Oneworld Press, 2011). Pp. 160. \$32.69 cloth.

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This volume, part of a series on *Makers of the Muslim World*, provides an account of the life and thought of Muhammad b. Idris al-Shafi’i (d. 820), the eponym of the Shafi’i *madhhab*, one of the four well-known traditions of legal study that have survived until the present in Sunni Islam. Drawing on the available primary sources as well as important recent studies by Joseph Lowry, Mohyiddin Yahia, Ahmed El-Shamsy, Christopher Melchert, and others, the work provides a readable narrative of al-Shafi’i’s life that attempts to flesh out his character