ların Ortaçağlar'da "akıl kültürü" oluşturdukları argümanına meşru zemin hazırlamak için çabalayan Fried, İslam topraklarının Moğol İstilası ile talan edildiği gerçeğini göz ardı etmektedir. Modern dönem Ortaçağ tarih yazıcılığında yaygın olduğu gibi, Fried, Müslümanlara "kültürel taşıyıcılık" rolünü biçmekte ve Avrupa merkezciliğin kalıplarını aşmakta zorlanmaktadır. Fried'in eseri bir argüman etrafında sistemli analiz, akıcı üslup ve önemli ayrıntıların titiz bir tarihçilikle dile getirilmesiyle, modern dönem Ortaçağ Avrupa tarihçiliğine büyük katkı sunmaktadır. Kitabının sonuç bölümünde, Kant'ın, Ortaçağ'ı akılcılık temelinde eleştirmesine ve Aydınlanma'nın olumsuz Ortaçağ imajına karşı çok iyi bir özet sunan Fried, akılcılığı bir Ortaçağ yöntemi olarak görerek, İmmanuel Kant ve Jürgen Habermas'ın çok ötesinde bir tarihsel-rasyonel toplum düşüncesine yönelmektedir. Fried, bütün kusurlarına rağmen, Alman ve Avrupa tarih yazıcılığında değerli bir düşünsel çabayı temsil etmektedir.

> Emine Sonnur Özcan. İslam Tarih Yazımında Gerçeklik ve El-Mes'ûdî (Al-Mas'udi and the Issue of Reliability and Authenticity in Islamic Historiography). Ankara: Doğu Batı Yayınları, 2014. 287 pages.

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Emine Sonnur Özcan explores Abu al-Hasan al-Mas'udi's (d. 957 CE) criteria for the reliability of historical information, and the similarities and differences between his ideas on this topic and those of his contemporary historians.

The book, whose organization, sources, and methodology are meticulous, consists of an introduction and four chapters. In the introduction, Özcan deals with the perception of the past or the sense of history of Arab society in the pre-Islamic period. As regards the purposes of the book, understanding perceptions of the past and different ways of transferring

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*akhbar* (reports of past events) in the pre-Islamic and Islamic period is important. For this, Özcan examines the tradition, culture, and scientific knowledge (*'ilm*) that were transmitted and valued in the pre-Islamic period in order to reveal the social and scholarly environment in which al-Mas'udi worked. In addition, she discusses the concepts of *dahr* or *zaman* (time), *riwaya* (narration), *shi'r* (poetry), *akhbar* (news, reports), *athar* (sayings of ancestors), *ansab* (geneology), and *ayyam al-'Arab* (the reports of pre-Islamic Arab tribal wars), and pays particular attention to their contextual meanings in pre-Islamic Arab society.

Özcan devotes the first chapter to al-Mas'udi's traditional sources of history writing. She discusses the Qur'an, historical reports, and historical elements from the pre-Islamic period, as well as the close relation between *hadith* reports and history writing. She draws attention to the fact that while the Old and New Testaments use the word *tarikh* (history) more than fifty times, the Qur'an does not mention the word even once. Here, Özcan comments on the significance of the verbal tradition and culture of the time in which the Qur'an was revealed. In her opinion, the past and history are not undervalued, but rather referred to using different words, such as *qassa* (to narrate past events), *awwalun* (ancient people), *asatir* (legendary stories), *halla* (to pass away, with the remnants still to be felt), and *mada* (to pass). Moreover, the Qur'an does not pay particular attention to chronology but instead underlines the situation itself. Past, present, and future are all combined in the verses. Özcan says that a fourth dimension of time appears out of this combination (p. 70).

In the second chapter, Özcan deals with al-Mas'udi's life, character, network, and his long travels. She underlines al-Mas'udi's intellectual enthusiasm and his long travels for the sake of learning and transferring *'ilm al-tarikh* (the discipline of history). Al-Mas'udi was born in Baghdad, but spent most of his life in Syria, India, Egypt, China, Hijaz, Yemen, and Anatolia. After 942 CE, he settled in Egypt. Throughout his life, al-Mas'udi felt a longing for his home. In *Muruj al-Dhahab*, he himself explains his departure from his home as *qadar* (pre-determined fortune). In his *al-Tanbih*, which was written thirteen years after *Muruj*, al-Mas'udi explains, "because of circumstances [the period of Shiite Buyid dynasty] I could not go to Baghdad" (pp. 96-97). However, al-Mas'udi insists that his long, sometimes reluctant, travels enabled him to witness many events and many places first-hand—a quality which, according to him, had a significant role in his being able to determine the reliability of knowledge (*'ilm*) (pp. 102-103).

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The third chapter of the book focuses on al-Mas'udi's works. Özcan states that al-Mas'udi wrote more than thirty-five books (p. 134). In addition to examining al-Mas'udi's two works, Özcan deals with some historians before and after al-Mas'udi. In this regard, Tabari (d. 923) and al-Yaqubi (d. 898) are comperatively examined. Ibn Khaldun's (d. 1406) references to al-Mas'udi in his *Muqaddima* are also included in order to show how al-Mas'udi was regarded as the leader of historians by Ibn Khaldun. In the fourth chapter, Özcan examines Muruj al-Dhahab, which was completed in 948, and al-Tanbih wa-l-Ishraf, which was completed in 957, in order to reveal al-Mas'udi's notion of reliability and authenticity. First, Özcan explores the criteria of authenticity in Islamic epistemology. Haqiqa mutlaqa (absolute truth) implies the verification of the Qur'an and hadith. If a report is mentioned in the Qur'an and *hadith*, there is no need to doubt it. On the other hand, if there is no direct reference to a report in the Our'an or hadith but it does not contradict these two sources, then this report may still be true. However, for al-Mas'udi, it has to be substantiated by the report of scholars, the isnad (the chain of narration), or evewitness testimony (shahada).

In this chapter, Özcan critically analyzes some historical facts dealt with by al-Mas'udi to examine his way of constructing the notion of authenticity and reliability of historical information. For al-Mas'udi, authenticity manifests itself in a hierarchy of sources: from the top, it starts with the Qur'an and hadith and goes on with the reports of scholars, poems transmitted with a chain of reliable authorities, and eyewitness testimony. In order to observe the differences between al-Mas'udi and his contemporaries, Özcan compares al-Mas'udi's reliability criteria for reports with those of Tabari (d. 923) and al-Yaqubi (d. 898). For instance, in the case of the debate over whom the Prophet Abraham attempted to sacrifice, Ismail or Ishaq, Özcan analyses the three author's views. Al-Tabari presented all the relevant and reliable sources on the matter and avoided making a choice between them; al-Yaqubi says that since Christians and Jews said that Ishaq was the sacrificed, he thought along the same lines. However, al-Mas'udi goes a few steps further and adopts geography to support his claim of reliability: "If the event occurred in Hijaz, then the one to be sacrificed was Ismail, since Ishaq had not been to Hijaz. Accordingly, if the event occurred in Damascus instead of Hijaz then the one to be sacrificed was Ishaq, since Ismail never returned to Damascus after he was taken from there" (pp. 190-94). Here, al-Mas'udi presents the views of the different parties to the debate and criticizes the view that Ishaq was the one to be sacrificed. Al-Mas'udi laid emphasis on transmitting all the relevant reports, whether biased or not, whether correct or not, but he was keen

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on making a point and supporting it with reliable sources. For al-Mas'udi, even if the evidence does not facilitate the historian's work and does not allow him to determine authenticity, he can nevertheless make his preference known for later generations. Transmitting reports in their entirety is actually maintaining the tradition. However, in order to take '*ilm al-tarikh* one step further, we need more than tradition; sources such as the Qur'an, *hadith*, eyewitness testimony, and reliably-transmitted poems are significant in making strong claims, if not speculations.

Al-Mas'udi drew a comparison between the historian and the "night lumberjack" (*khadib al-layl*). For him, the historian is like a lumberjack who collects lumber at night, when he cannot see it properly. Historians likewise have no ability to see or experience the past in its entirety, but they transmit it according to their own personal senses of past and methodology. They can gain this methodology through their grasp of the value of sources, their acceptability, hierarchy, and by including eyewitness testimony (p. 118, 140, 187, 242).

The book presents al-Mas'udi's "multi-disciplinary" historical methodology and point of view. Anthropology, astronomy, geography, psychology, and politics are all discussed in regard to related topics with quotations from al-Mas'udi's works. This work is the product of meticulous study. The primary sources are well utilized to reveal al-Mas'udi's notion of authenticity and reliability of historical information. However, as a person who has devoted a great deal of time to studying al-Mas'udi, Özcan could have been bolder in her interpretations of al-Mas'udi's work and methodology. For instance, when Özcan comments on al-Jahiz (d. 868) and al-Tabari, she mentions the ideological differences between them. Al-Jahiz was insistent on the primacy of 'aql (reason), in line with his Mu'tazili leanings. Al-Tabari, in contrast, relied mostly on reports from the Prophet Muhammad and his companions, in line with his more orthodox Sunnism. Having noted that these thinkers' ideological affinities affected their methodologies, their ways of proving authenticity, etc., Özcan's silence on al-Mas'udi's own religious and ideological affiliations and how these may have colored his thought is unfortunate. As Özcan discusses, al-Mas'udi's attached importance to geography, wrote a comprehensive bibliography, and utilized other disciplines to attain authenticity, all of which set him apart as different from his contemporaries. Yet Özcan offers no insights into what might account for this difference.

In addition to the comparison of al-Mas'udi's work with that of his contemporaries, the reader would have benefited from more information about the context in which this prolific writer lived and wrote his history of Dîvân 2015/2 155

the world. While Özcan's work is valuable for the information it provides regarding al-Mas'udi's authenticity criteria for historical information, it would have been more valuable still had she delved deeper and analyzed how his life experiences and the period in which he lived affected his way of thinking.

> Halil İbrahim Turhan. *Ricâl Tenkidinin Doğuşu ve Gelişimi (Hicrî İlk İki Asır*). İstanbul: Marmara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Vakfı, 2015. 752 sayfa.

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Halil İbrahim Turhan'ın özellikle hicri II. asra yoğunlaşan Ricâl Tenkidinin Doğuşu ve Gelişimi adlı 2014 yılında Akdeniz İlahiyat Araştırmaları Birincilik Ödülü'ne layık görülen eserinin Türkiye'deki cerh-ta'dîl (hadis râvilerinin tenkidi ilmi) çalışmalarına ciddi katkı sağladığını düşünmekteviz. Eser, genel olarak hicri II. asırda İslami ilimler tarihini ve özel olarak hadis ilminin oldukça spesifik çalışma alanlarını okuyucunun dikkatine sunmaktadır. İki bölüm olarak tasarlanan eserin ilk bölümünde sahabe ve tâbiûn dönemindeki ricâl tenkidi faaliyetleri tahlil edilmekte, özellikle tâbiûn dönemi faaliyetleri incelenirken tâbiûnun yaptığı tenkitler ve bu tenkitlerin sonraki döneme kaynaklık değeri ele alınmaktadır. İkinci bölümde ise, öncelikle etbaü't-tâbiîn dönemi münekkitleri tespit edilmekte ve sonrasında her bir münekkit alim cerh-ta'dîl ilmindeki konumu, ricâl tenkit kaynakları, kullandığı tenkit lafızları, cerh-ta'dîl metodu gibi farklı açılardan tahlil edilmektedir. Çalışma sonuç ve ilk iki asırdaki ricâl değerlendirmelerini içeren 240 sayfalık "Ekler" kısmıyla son bulmaktadır. Münekkitlerin ricâl tarihinde otorite kazanma süreçleri, görüşlerinin kaynak değerinin sorgulanması, bu görüşlerin hangi öğrenciler tarafından nakledildiğinin belirtilmesi gibi ufuk açıcı yönleriyle birlikte eser, üzerinde yeniden düşünülmesi gereken bazı noktalar da barındırmaktadır.

Turhan'ın çalışmasını, hicri II. asır hadis tarihini ve özellikle cerh-ta'dîl ilmi açısından temas etmediği iki temel meseleyi merkeze alarak değer-

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