

## **From a Maqama Writing in Arabic Literature to a Picaresque Writing in Spanish Literature: Marxist Reading of Maqamat Tales of Al-Hamadhani, Al-Hariri, and Lazarillo de Tormes**

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**Abstract:** According to Marxist criticism, each phenomenon made during history is affected by the society's material and historical conditions remembered as the infrastructure and the superstructure. From a Marxist perspective, literature is also a kind of superstructure that can both step into the present ideologies' survival or criticize them. Maqamat of Al-Hamadhani and Al-Hariri and Picaresque of Lazarillo are among the critical literatures of their own era. Abbasid like Monarchy of Spain and the Church of that era showed both mastery over the society and the unfair scattering of wealth as their natural right by applying the ideology of religion and converting their jobs to goods. In this way, they created the classified gap and spread poverty among common people. Therefore, the despotic governments were not only considered as the prominent factor both in the formation and similarity of the tales' content themes of Maqamat and Picaresque, but also caused a critical look to be provided at special classes and particular ideologies of these tales. Such governments used the ideologies like religion and its related schools of thought, morality based on the satisfaction of society's ruling class needs reflecting the social nature, converting to goods, and promotion of believing in the classification in order to strengthen the foundations of their government.

**Keywords:** Marxist Criticism, Maqamat of Al-Hamadhani, Maqamat of Al-Hariri, and Picaresque of Lazarillo

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### **I. INTRODUCTION**

#### **Magamat:**

It is a kind of the literary genres made in Arabic literature. It is described in both denotative and idiomatic meanings as follows: In its denotative meaning, Maqama is the plural of Maqamat, meaning the place of standing; it has been used in the ignorant poetry in two meanings of the assembly and people attending in the assemblies. At the beginning of Abbasid Caliphate, Maqamat was used for the assemblies in which caliphs and preachers stood against caliph and advised him. In the third century AH, Maqama found an inferior meaning referring to the words of the suppliant beggars; its style was in the rhymed prose as the speeches of bishops and tale-tellers in the age of ignorance and at the beginning of Islam. However, for the first time, Al-Hamadhani used this word in its idiomatic meaning in the fourth century; i.e. the collection of short tales usually including beggary, crime, fraudulence, and poverty; they were expressed in the artificial rhymed prose, with the distinct narrators such as Isa IbnHisham in Maqamatof Al-Hamadhani and Al-HarithIbnHammam in Maqamat of Al-Hariri representing the rich class of the society. Maqamat is related to the life of a fraud hero called "Abul Fath Eskandari" in Maqamatof Al-Hamadhani and "Abu ZidSerooji" in Maqamat of Al-Hariri.

People like ShوقيZeif and Taha Hussein believe in a theory that Maqama writing is the continuation of Arjouze writing of people like RaviatIbn Ajaj; they put Arabic words and the strange expressions in Arjouze pattern for teaching; their contexts and explanations had the aspect of textbook for the students. (Zeif, 404).Whereas, its authors critically transform Abbasid dominant discourse to the students through both creating characters arisen from the rich classes of the society against the poor hero of Maqamat and challenging their ideologies preserving the despotic system of that era. As, in most Maqamat, the relationship between the poor and the rich is formed through two characters of narrator and hero in Maqamat. And at the end of each Maqama, the narrator and the hero would continue their journey in a different way; as if, the needs of the narrator and hero were not of the same kind; it caused them to be separated. "How are we in the same road while I'm going to the North of Khavari and you are going to the South of Bakhtari? I said: "How are you going up in order to go to Mecca?" He said: "I want to go to Kaba of the needy instead of Kaba of haji..." (Al- Hamadhani,310).

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### **Picaresque of Lazarillo:**

The Picaresque of Lazarillo depicts a tale of a poor eight years old child born in a poor family; he served different lords due to poverty; he lived in cunning, deception, theft, and beggary; he unveiled the realities of his own society by the devastating satire representing victory over both the fears of repressive and restrictive power of the noble and ruling class of the society and the fears of death and Punishments in the Hereafter in the Middle Ages; he criticized them indeed; a society in which the blessings and wealth were limited to certain people; and poverty and hunger threatened the lives of the majority of its common people. ...I'd also like people who are proud of being high born to realize how little this really means, as fortune has smiled on them, and how much more worthy are those how have endure misfortune but have triumphed by dint of hard work and ability.(Lazarillo de Tormes and The swindler, 4). The government also opposes any change in the cultural policies of the country in order to avoid any change of the cultural and social discourse of the society with close relationship with social and economic structures of that era. Therefore, by pointing to the Christian leaders and nobles as one of the main factors in the appearance and continuation of this status in the society, the author of Lazarillo`s tale frankly criticizes them; he unveils their corruption and hypocrisy. So, this book was published in 1554 by an unknown author; because the Inquisition put into fire any book disagreeing with the ideologies of Roman Church and severely punished those opposing the cultural policies of the Church.

## **II. THE EXPLANATION OF SOME THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS**

Marxism is a collection of social, economic, and political theories made by Karl Marx in order to change the industrial capitalism as the way of economic production of that era; it was affected by the ideas of people like Feuerbach, Kant, Hegel, and Proudhon. By nature Marxism is considered as a historical theory. since such as the modern capitalism, there were some groups of the wealthy, capitalists, and smaller kinds of owners in the past making themselves more powerful by the use of means of production and more capital in comparison to the workers` wages and their peasants; therefore, throughout history there has always been a fight between people in the position of power and health with the inferior and poor classes of the society leading to the further evolution of history. In fact, whereas Hegel`s dialectical thinking based on the idea, Marx defines it based on the material. From Marxist historical materialistic perspective, the economic structure called infrastructure producing goods is the main factor in determining the trajectory of the other institutions and social relations between people of the society; it both makes human evolution periodically by changing the relations of production as an infrastructure factor and causes the dominant and inferior class to be made.

Another part of the society is its superstructure remembered as the historical conditions including different ideologies like politics, teaching, religion, and morality. In Marx`s view, ideology expresses any society`s nature and the way of thinking about itself; i.e. different forms of suppositions and the ruling class`s ideology; they make the false consciousness in the societies and change the attitude and thoughts of people of a society in order to legitimize the dominance over the lower class and the unfair scattering of the sources among people of the society through natural and universal showing of the concepts and norms of the ruling class. Therefore, the important part of Marxist criticism analyzes the type of texts` ideology and the classified views. In Marx`s view, literature is also considered as a kind of ideology and a part of society`s superstructure; it can stabilize the ruling class`s situation by giving a definite form to the present ideology; it can unveil the false consciousness made over people`s beliefs by the societies` ideologies through keeping its distance to them; and it can clarify its limitations for us.

## **III. THE RESEARCH BACKGROUND**

Researchers like professor Gibb and professor Ghanimi Halal who have studied on Arabic literature believe that the tales` similarities between Maqamat and Picaresque are due to East-West historical relations. As Dr. Ghanimi Halal says in "Al-Adab Al-Maqaren" as follows:

"Maqamat of Al-Hariri was translated into Hebrew at the seven hundred years of Muslim ruling in Andelos; the book was common among Spanish Christians; and the mentioned historical relations has interpreted the similarities between Islamic Maqamat and Picaresque tales." (Ghanimi Halal, 279-280).

Professor James T. Monroe has investigated Maqamat and Picaresque in "The Art of BadiAz-Zaman Al-Hamadhani as Picaresque Narrative." In this work, he notes that there is no proven clear and cogent evidence of Maqamat and Picaresque tales are affected by each other based on the rooted historical relations.

He continues that there is a conflicting genetic relationship between the Greek – Roman literary works that are the opposite point of the Greek novels; many Spanish have accepted it:

Greek Romances ←→ Petronius/ Apuleius

Courtly Love ←→ LBA

Similarly

Amadis → ← Lazarillo

Thus, from the comparative perspective and the cultural and literary text's analysis, he is trying to find an inner development in Arabic literature based on the conflicting generic relations; he considers Maqamat literature as the opposite point of Hadith literature, epic and romantic narratives in Arabic literature. Therefore, through the conflicting generic relations inside each one of these two literatures, he concludes that although there were some works like Apuleius, Ovid, and Amadis de Gula, but, the Bible and numerous Spanish works were considered as the available cultural literary sources for the creation of Picaresque tale` type. Similarly, there were some inspiring sources and works in Arabic literature indeed for Maqamat tales like Sira, Koran, Hadith, Sermons, and the other works; by such an available cultural literary history for each two types, we should no longer seek any connecting circle for joining Maqamat and Picaresque through a rooted relations between these two literary genres. Of course, he points that if there were any rooted relations between these two literary genres, there would not be the acceptable reasons for that.

#### **IV. THE PURPOSE OF THE RESEARCH**

By the Marxist criticism, the present research shows that according to the professor Monroe, a conflicting generic relations based on various cultural literary works of each society cannot be regarded as the most effective factor in forming Maqamat and Picaresque tales` theme; rather, there are governments with material – infrastructure conditions including exclusive and inherited frameworks use similar superstructure ideologies like religion and its related schools of thought, classification of the titles and jobs, and promotion of believing in the classification, and morality based on the material needs made from a definite economic basis for their strength and survival; these had a main role in the formation of the thematic concepts of these tales, criticism of the ideologies and special classes of that era, and creation of characters with special traits in Maqamat and Picaresque tales.

#### **MARXIST READING OF MAGAMAT TALES OF AL-HAMADHANI, AL-HARIRI, AND LAZARILLO DE TORMES**

According to Marx, the understanding of the events and man-made disasters of any period would not be possible without considering its material and historical conditions. Thus, first, material and historical conditions of Abbasid era i.e. the period in which Maqamat of Al-Hamadhani and Al-Hariri were written are explained. And then, Spain of the 16<sup>th</sup> century i.e. the period in which Picaresque of Lazarillo was written would be explained.

It can be said that the ideology of religion was the main reason for Abbasid to be strengthened; since Abbasid clarified their uprising by the slogan of “Al-Reza men Al-Mohammad” i.e. acceding to the government of the family of the Prophet and disclosing against the oppression of Umayyad; they accompanied many people. At Motawakel<sup>1</sup> era, in order to strengthen themselves, they gave up supporting the theological school of Mu`tazila and its followers with less population in comparison to most Sunni who were fan of the theological school of Ash`ari in order to have both a more acceptable and consistent government and the ideology of Ash`ari school of thought that was matched with their policies regarding the divine aspect of caliph`s status; since in Ash`ari thoughts, the political developments are not based on the intellectual or philosophical criteria or the willing of people or political groups. What controls all the apparent factors is God, the world creator who has the first and the last role in confirming the political realm.” (Amid Zanjani, 161).

The taxes earned by various ways like Zakat, industry, and lands` taxes were transferred to either the common treasury or the special one; the head of both treasuries was the caliph due to being God`s Caliph; as Abbasid caliph, Al-Mansur said the people in the Day of Arafah as follows:

“Oh men, I am the power of God and I walk you on the earth by God`s success and confirmation; and I am the treasurer of God`s livelihood and I act according to God`s confirmation; I divide the trophy according to God`s willing; I grant it by God`s permission. God has locked me and I will be free by God`s permission for your allowance and livelihood`s division; I will be locked as God wills.” (Tabari, 5027). Such wealth was given to the crown princes, ministers, bureaucrats, governors, militaries, judges, imams, the prominent religious authorities, and the businessmen affiliated to the court after Caliph upon his discretion. In the second era, Abbasid was weakened by the appearance of Motawakel in 232, the elimination of efficient political workforces from Abbasid caliphate, and the entrance of Turkish with little experience and knowledge in the economic and political issues; and it caused the independent and half-independent powers to be appeared in the corners of Islamic lands. In the third era of Abbasid, i.e. in 334, Ale Bouyeh was strengthened and Abbasid government was fallen down to the lowest degree of their political power; but, Abbasid families still had the personal and courtier security and the spiritual and formal dominance; as there were four caliphs during 128 years of Abbasid government. At Ghaznavids government, the authority of Abbasid caliphs was increased due to more religious and intellectual convergence; Ghaznavids Sultans also got their political legitimacy from the Caliph through accepting his spiritual and formal power and sending gifts and trophies of the war to Baghdad.

Abbasid`s exclusive and inherited government was supported by the creation of the integrated economic and monetary system, multiplicity of the races, gain of the trophies, and development of their lands; it made a suitable ground for the development of business and consequently, urban life, and creation of various classes of

people in the society. So, the exchange and the symbolic – exchange value of the goods were noticed; it determined people's class and status in the society; as the industries like the cloth – making, the leather – making, and the valuable silver dishes were used for the consumption of the noble, ruling classes, judges, and the clergymen<sup>2</sup>. Whereas, common people used cheap dishes and clothes like wool and cotton. Numerous poor people lived in beggary, theft<sup>3</sup>, and even crime and killing in the most populated centers of the cities like the great bazaars, mosques, and the harbors due to the extreme poverty and need.

In 1469, Ferdinand of Aragon married Isabella of Castile; they silenced any kinds of opposition by calling their kingdom as God's gift with the confirmation of the Catholic Church and organizing the Inquisition. By the conquest of Granada in 1492, they deported Jews and Muslims of Granada who were not converted to Christianity from Spain.

In these years, the continent of America was discovered by Christopher Columbus. It caused the new class of businessmen to be created; they got enormous wealth by buying the goods cheaply and selling them expensively to the European aristocratic through the maritime trade. Most of the capitalists, businessmen, the prominent European figures, and all the wealth and achievements of the continent of America were often sent to different cities like Stevia, Toledo, Valencia, and Zaragoza. These vast material sources needed an efficient industrial organization to develop the economics of Spain. Therefore, Spain deprived itself from the competent business and agricultural forces; it slaughtered, had an intentional wars, and imposed the unreasonable religious prejudices. This process was continued after the government of Ferdinand and Isabella, at the first Carlos period in 1516 in Spain. He used the precious gold and silvers for preserving his colonies, having war against countries like England and France, and fighting with growing Protestantism. Thus, this capital was not used for the improvement of Spanish society at all; rather, it was used for satisfying the costs of the countries' wars and preserving their colonies. Furthermore, the precious silvers caused the economics of Spain controlled mainly based on the agriculture and pastoralist to be ignored; thus, the agricultural lands and the sheep herds were disappeared leading many people to enter the cities. Moreover, feudal system with the exclusive industrial production of the jobs could no longer meet growing needs of bazaar developed by the business and maritime trade; it caused the situation of the feudal landlords to be decreased; it caused people to be dependent on their lands; it caused the Bourgeois class to be grown; it caused many people and their feudal servants to be jobless; thus, before the opening of new workshops, the growing beggary, joblessness, and vagrancy were increasingly seen in Spain cities of the 15<sup>th</sup> and the 16<sup>th</sup> centuries. According to the governmental laws imposed in 1518, 1523, and 1525, only those with the certification could beg. With the increase of their populations, the governmental officers followed and caught the beggars in 1523 and 1565. Moreover, other issues added to the poverty and misery of Spanish people and the rural in the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century as follows: sickness, drought, Spain's weakness and vulnerability due to the loss of its colonial countries like the Netherlands, Philippine, Canary Islands ..., expensive taxes paid by common people. Besides, "sending American coin caused the common monetary value of the country to be decreased; as the bitter aspect of such an economic downturn has been depicted in Lazarillo's tale." (Lazarillo de Tormes and The swindler, 5).

Another factor of the added poverty and misery among people was the Church of that era. The religious clergymen had high social and economic advantages; they were highly respected by the special and common people. Their instructions were used for the bishops serving in the Catholic Church of that era. As the feudal system was created by the king and other people around him in the country, the powerful feudal system was also created by the Church – it was supported by religion indeed; it profited from the benefit of different kinds of the taxes received by the government from people; it caused the Catholic Church and its dependent bishops to be more eager to the material life and luxuries; they preferred luxurious festival halls to the confessionals. They could gather enormous profits for themselves by summarizing religion in the outward ceremonial rite and rituals, beguiling simple people into believing in the miracles and the faked holy relics, selling the forgiveness letter, and confessing the sins. To silence their opponents, they used various weapons like the excommunication, the publications' censorship, search, and the establishment of the Inquisition.

In such a social and economic atmosphere, Maqamat of Al-Hamadani and Al-Hariri and Picaresque of Lazarillo depicted a vagrant and spiv character in a poor society. These tales were the sound of common people's protest of that era; the people with a huge classified gap towards the upper class of the society; their biggest problem was an attempt at life's survival. It should be noted that these tales were formed in a period that the history of human societies was constant and the great events and revolutions were belonged to the upper level of the society; there was hardly seen any manlike social masses' creation risen and fought for completely conscious social purpose. In fact, peasants were considered as the ruling class's properties; the obedience, production, and paying the taxes were among their main duties.

Thus, it can be said that the naturalistic and realistic concepts are interwoven in Maqamat and Picaresque tales due to the mentioned ideologies and the attention to social conditions of a poor society; they can be helpful in Marxist reading of such works. These ideologies not only strongly preserve the material conditions of Al-

Hamadhani, Al-Hariri, and Lazarillo periods, but also spread through Maqamat and Picaresque tales from the heart of historical events and play a main role in their thematic realm's area.

## **1- CONVERTING TO GOODS AND THE PROMOTION OF BELIEVING IN THE CLASSIFICATION**

In Maqamat of Al-Hamadhani and Al-Hariri, the tale's hero lived in poverty and misery objects clearly to the way of his miserable life through an outspoken criticism; as in Al-San`aniah Maqama of Maqamat of Al-Hariri, the tale's hero objects to the way of his life as follows: "I was dressed in rags and I put myself in a bitter life to do me good through it. I dug my fork into any formidable fish's mouth; I advised people in order to get male and female hunt through trick and deception. I got so miserable in life that I had to gradually dig my head into lions` den. Though, I did not scare from life`s ups and downs; and I did not shiver. But, if justice was done in the life, the ignoble would not be the kings." (Al-Hariri, 21). Or in Al-Ghariziah Maqama of Maqamat of Al-Hamadhani, the tale's hero shows his objection to difficult situation of life and poverty by committing suicide; but, he refused by looking at his wife and child. The heroes of Al-Hamadhani and Al-Hariri depict their social situation as follows: The period with corruption, ruination, hypocrisy, and duplicity in which the officials like buzzard judges, the oppressor governors, and the upstart traders were belonged to the upper classes of the society; they would resort to anything for obtaining enormous wealth either Halal or Haram; they do not refuse anything indeed. In this way, the tale's heroes would challenge the whole classified and exclusive system of their life by criticizing the faces belonged to the ruling class of the society; and they would show such critical look by the representation of converting to goods; it means to understand objects or people according to their exchange value or their symbolic – exchange one.

In Marx`s view, the value of the goods is not in what it can do (the production value), rather, it is in the money or the other goods that can be exchanged with (the exchange value); or it is in its social aspect bestowed upon its owner (the symbolic – exchange value). Of course, neither of these two kinds of values is in any object`s nature; rather, both of them are considered as the social value; for example, when I show an artistic work to sell it more expensively or to impress others, I would change it to the goods. Moreover, when I communicate with others to help my financial and social development, I would put them as equal as the goods. (Taisen, 113). The tale`s heroes have the critical look at the society in which both job and status of Amir and the judge<sup>4</sup> who were considered as the Caliph`s close advisors and had an active role in the policy and government`s framework were given the symbolic – exchange value; the value separated them from common people and bestowed upon them a special classified and social aspect; it somehow caused the classified ideology to be added in the society leading them to be introduced as more competent and powerful; they deserved to rule people; it caused them to be separated from common people and helped the society to be more classified. Moreover, being close to the court through these jobs with enormous wealth caused the officials to be very wealthy; thus, their jobs are such as the goods bringing them lots of exchange values<sup>5</sup>.

By focusing on the poverty and misery of the tales` heroes in each Maqama, Maqamat tales point that the officials` jobs are not used for the justice`s development and people`s welfare and calmness; rather, they are used for plundering people`s properties and looting them; they consider common people as the goods bringing money with them through little profit of the economic benefits, the exploitation of the agricultural fields, and the payment of heavy taxes. In this way, the relationship between the ruling class and common people goes forward to the border of object ware; and the social relations between humans are similar to the relations between the things, i.e. money and goods. It strengthens the classified system and special class`s power-base with various sections of industry, agriculture, and business. As in Al-Naisabouriah Maqama, Abul Fath Eskandari describes the judge of his era as follows: "He was wearing the curved judges` cap, he removed a long turban`s tail from under the thread. I said to a worshipper beside me that: "Who is this person?" He said: "He is a willow that does not fall, except on the back of the orphans; he is a grasshopper that does not land, except on a Haram field; he is a thief that does not make a hole, except in a treasury of devotions; he is a plunderer that does not plunder, except from the disabled; he is a wolf that does not rip God`s servants, except while they`re bowing and prostrating; he is a fighter that does not plunder God`s properties – Bayt Al-Mal, except through the treaties and the testimonies. He was wearing the curved judges` cap; he lost his religion; he was wearing his turban neatly and he was plundering..." (Al-Hamadhani, 305).

In Maqamat of Al-Hariri, Al-Iskandariah and Al-Tabriziah Maqama, the tale`s hero actually challenges the judgment`s system of that era by standing in front of the judge and expressing the poverty, misery, and tragedy of his life; by expressing them, he reminds the judge that if there were any justice and judgment`s system, people`s social – economic conditions would not be so. "Oh, the residents of Tabriz City, you have a judge that has surpassed all the judges in disclosing the secrets and uncovering the truth. There is no fault in him, except the way of his division in the day of giving grants that is unjust and unequal." (Al-Hariri, 350).

In various Islamic periods, the pulpits and mosques were considered as the important public medium for communicating with Muslims. At the start of Abbasid Caliphate, the oration and pulpit were continued as the

political and cultural institution; they served to the political power; they tried to legitimize Abbasid caliphate's system and defend the cultural policies' discourse of Abbasid government. Thus, either formal orators and preachers or the informal preachers were not allowed to talk beyond Abbasid governmental discourse's framework. Consequently, the oration was become the goods with the determinant role for surviving the worldly properties and strengthening Abbasid and its close friends government's status<sup>6</sup>.

They invited people to be pious and to abstain from the worldly affairs by expressing the verses and religious Hadiths with more themes of death, Heaven Awards, the Hereafter Punishment, and the grave. In this way, they tried to make people less sensitive to the worldly affairs and actually to the actions of Abbasid government; as Ma'moon said in a sermon: "Oh men, fear God and remember the death that is fated upon you. Truly, in the grave's darkness and tightness and at the time of the angels' questions, nothing will help you, but the good actions". (IbnQutaybah Al-Dinwari, 278). Orators and preachers selected by caliphs met various oppressions of Abbasid government upon people with silence while caliphs oppressed people. Maqamat heroes went to the preachers and religious orators' societies; in this way, they plundered people in most Maqamat by many advises. They criticized these officials in Maqamat like Al-San'aniah, Al-Samarghandiah, Al-Tanisiah, Al-Khamriah, and Al-Isfahaniah; as in Al-San'aniah Maqama, the tale's hero first abstained people from the Hereafter Punishment and the worldly properties: "May the worldly seeker be destroyed; the worldly seeker that has turned and twisted his desire and enthusiasm's "tether" towards it." (Al-Hariri, 19). He will sit in a corner to take pleasure after taking people's charities. "I found a companion with the bread baked by the white flour and a roasted beef on a stone; there was a big bottle of wine in front of them. I said to him: "Oh man! Was that previous condition only your appearance or is this present condition only your inner status?" (Ibid, 19).

There were three groups in the special class of the society of that era. The first group was the ruling included caliphs and their dependents, as well as the statesmen. The second group included the rich and the noble families of Persian and Arab. And the third group included the businessmen. (Abu Talib, 68). Most of Maqamat tales are related to this group; since businessmen were a group of the wealthy classes of the society; they travelled to various lands and had more connection with common people compared to other wealthy classes of the society. They not only developed economic status of Abbasid Empire by their business, but also transferred religion and culture to various parts of the world. Some businessmen communicated with far places and beyond the seas; they had the wealth of not less than 40000000 dinars; most businessmen had the houses of about 10000 to 30000dirhams<sup>7</sup> (Durant, 93). The businessmen and traders' enormous wealth caused the needy and the poor to show their objections to the overcharge of the goods' prices and difficult status of life by plundering their chambers or firing Baghdad's bazaars in which the wealthiest businessmen of Islamic world were being worked<sup>8</sup>.

The narrators of Maqamat tales were considered as businessmen group; they sat in the poetry reading and literary festivals peculiar to the upper classes of the society with fine clothe sin most Maqamat<sup>9</sup>. Maqamat authors have critical and ridiculous look at these festivals; since in such kinds of festivals, the artistic literary value has been only changed to the goods with the symbolic – exchange value; it shows lifestyle and pleasure of the upper class of that era; their literary, intimate, and pleasurable festivals were sometimes held in their homes or in the promenades and pubs around the city; whereas, common people's hobbies were gathering around the tale-tellers and narrators of the fables and the news in the mosques and listening to their tales and fables . It can be seen in many Maqamat tales of Al-Hamadhani including Al-Maziriah, Al-Bokhariah, Al-Basriah, Al-Khamriah, Al-Jaheziah, and Al-Jorjaniah and those of Al-Hariri including Al-Ghati'iah, Al-Baghdayah, Al-Foratiah, Al-Marviah, Al-Maraghiah, Al-Kufiah, and Al-Dinariah. Whereas, Maqamat heroes are those that appeared frequently with worn-out clothes and thin old yellow face in the societies and asked people money to be free of hunger. By describing such kinds of things, the authors of these tales more clarified the classified gap between the poor and the rich in most of their Maqamat. As in Al-Maziriah Maqama of Maqamat of Al-Hamadhani, by the use of a critical tone, the tale's hero described a businessman complimenting his house's building and his stuffs in front of the hero; actually, he changed his house and his stuffs to the goods with the symbolic – exchange value: "Oh my lord, do you see this alley? It is among the most valuable alleys of Baghdad. The chosen rival together over entering it. Only the businessmen have a house there and truly, man is known by his neighbor. My house is such as the big middle bead of a necklace among the houses<sup>10</sup>". (Al-Hamadhani, 126).

The sound of Lazarillo's objections to the classified society and the Church of that era starts with his birth in a poor family and his difficulties due to poverty and hunger from the beginning of life. Lazarillo's critical look at the feudal system, his father's difficult job in the mill, his mother's illegal relationship with his boyfriend due to poverty and indigence, bishops' moral corruption, and their use of religion in order to obtain the worldly benefits is clear from the beginning of the tale. "...we ought not to be surprised that a priest robs his flock and a friar his convent for the benefit of his female devotees and others. (Lazarillo de Tormes and The Swindler, 6)." As Lazarillo's mother forced to send his son to a lord again due to poverty after splitting up with his boyfriend. The tale's hero knows the Church, Archbishop, and their puppet appointees as the factor of most

common people's misery by focusing on them; since the feudal system ruling the country has been powerful by the Church's confirmation. Moreover, the Church has been entered common people's properties and life by religion; in this way, it can be changed to the powerful feudal system.

By introducing bishops like Bishop Maqueda<sup>11</sup>, Bishop selling the forgiveness letter<sup>12</sup>, and Monk of Merced denomination<sup>13</sup>, the tale's hero shows the reader that in his society like the society of Maqamat of Al-Hamadani and Al-Hariri, the bishops' job and clothes were given the symbolic – exchange values like those of the religious preachers and Jumu'ah prayer's orators; it has been changed to the goods bringing them social value; it made them appear pious, reliable, and spiritual in people's view; and in this way, it strengthens both the classified ideology towards their place and social status in front of common people and the situation of the Catholic Church of that era. Furthermore, the religious ceremonies, the rituals like selling the forgiveness letter, and the burial of the dead have been changed to the goods with the exchange value. Besides, the humanity and the human status of people attending these ceremonies are not important; rather, they are considered as the goods to be valued in exchange for buying the forgiveness letter or paying the burial ceremonies' costs<sup>14</sup>. As in the chapter of Lazarillo and Bishop selling the forgiveness letter, the author clearly shows how the bishop cunningly succeed in obtaining money from people in exchange for selling the forgiveness letter to them through the support of religion and religious sermon and advices. Lazarillo criticizes the classification of religion in order to provide the benefits to a degree that he also criticizes his first lord, i.e. the blind old man belonged to the common class of the society; the blind old man<sup>15</sup> used the religious rituals and prayers as the weapons for providing the benefits of his own life: I must tell Your Honour that this world never saw anyone more astute or cunning. He was as sharp as a needle at this trade; he knew hundreds of prayers off by heart and he said them in a low, calm and sonorous voice which made the church vibrate; ... (Lazarillo de Tormes and The Swindler, 8). The religion was changed to the goods bringing the blind old man the symbolic - exchange value: As result everybody followed him around, especially women who believed everything he told them. He made a lot of money from these tricks and earned more in one month than hundred blind men usually do in a whole year (Ibid, 8-9). Moreover, Lazarillo's tale taunted the discourse of both the noble and the rich class; they were often landlords promoting ideologies like courage, gallantry, and faithfulness in the society through the classification of their titles; they tried to create an special identity in their own society; the identity that indeed had no true value and credit; it promoted the classified discourse and justified it. The discourse and actions of the noble were supported by the Catholic Church of that era whose benefits were in parallel with the noble landlords' ones. Since the Church had many lands and the noble had found powerful status due to strong support of the Church, its financial benefits were provided by plundering and exploiting the farmers working in their lands. This discourse had been challenged in the chapter of Lazarillo and the nobleman; and Lazarillo laughed at the thoughts and beliefs of Escudero, the nobleman: You see, gentleman owes nothing to anybody except God and the King and it's not right for a gentleman to sacrifice any of his proper pride (Ibid, 42). Lazarillo was impressed by the nobleman's cloth and appearance at the first sight; he guessed that he had found a rich lord; but, he later understood that cloth was the only thing that his lord had. And the appearance of the deeds was very important for his lord. This nobleman constantly tried to do credit him with his status among people; and his cloth, title, and deeds were changed to the goods with symbolic – exchange value; they have been used for obtaining the originality and belonging to a special class; and Lazarillo constantly criticized and laughed at his deeds and character in different parts of the tale: And he walked up the road so proudly and with such a swagger that anybody who didn't know him would have thought for sure he was a near relative of the Count of Arcos, or at least his personal valet. (Ibid, 34). Thus, it can be said that Lazarillo like the tales' heroes of Al-Hamadani and Al-Hariri fights over the ideology of converting to goods and the classified ideology promoting the classified society; it caused the classified gap between the poor and the rich to be made as well.

## **2- THE IDEOLOGY OF RELIGION AND THE JUSTIFICATION OF THE CLASSIFIED GAP**

In these tales, the hero resorted to beggary and charity to be taken from others due to poverty, deprivation of any kind of classified status, hunger pressure, release from it, and the effort to be survived; the thing that is brought by the food and money; it guarantees the survival of the tale's hero. In Islam, the charity must be sincerely and respectfully given to the poor for God's sake, without putting them under an obligation; since the believers donate the charities in order to be close to God; and it is a property to be taken by God, even though it is surrendered to a poor servant<sup>16</sup>. God says in Surah At-Tawba, Verse 104: "Do they not know that God is He who accepts repentance from His servants, and takes the freewill offerings." Moreover, the rich were necessitated upon God helping the poor and needy by donating their properties; and if a person remains naked and needy due to poverty in a society and the rich refuse to help him, God would severely punish them on the Day of Judgment. Therefore, the emphasis on clearly giving charity especially from the rich to the poor like AbulFath Eskandari and Abu Zid Serooji had been changed to both a dramatic and advertising discourse and the goods with the symbolic – exchange value showing an acceptable and positive character of the rich people of the society. In fact, it had been become a good excuse for plundering peasants' wealth. This ideology along with

the ideologies of gain and fate expressed in Ash`ari school changed man to weapon in strengthening the religious despotism and Abbasid's social - economic situation; according to Ash`ari school, God's willing is superior to the servant's willing in doing deeds; and human is incapable in his responsibilities and deeds compared to the endless and unique power of God<sup>17</sup>. Abbasid used Bayt Al-Mal for strengthening their power's bases and making people around them be close to the court; they considered the refusal of such a discourse which is in fact similar to the determinism as an opposition to religion; and they tried to show the poverty of most people of the society as something natural. As in the fourth and the fifth centuries, there were many poor people like the heroes of Maqamat of Al-Hamadani and Al-Hariri begged by the use of the rhymed prose, words, and expressions; and they used the rhyme as weapon for attracting the sympathy and having the hearts of the rich; there were also some tale-tellers in the assemblies and mosques often talked to people from the pulpits or in the circles; and some of their lower classes begged common people at the end of speech. On the other hand, if social justice is observed, anyone's right is not violated, and Bayt Al-Mal and government taxes are used for both people's welfare and removal of the poverty and indigence by the government in a society, change of beggary to a profession promoting laziness and escaping from working would be criticized. But, this discourse belongs to a society with social justice; therefore, it can be said that change of beggary to a profession in Maqamat tales with great emphasis on each Maqama is a kind of objection to the government in which social justice and government taxes' division have been spent on fun ceremonies, Abbasid families' ambitions, and the rich and Caliph's close friends rather than removing the classified gap of the society<sup>18</sup>. "They were thin; they were dressed in rags. They were disheveled; since they felt empty night-long. These children lived in such poverty that made people sad and heartbroken; it caused people's back to be broken; they were nothing but skin and bone; they made people cry; they called each other with the name of hunger." (Al-Hamadani, 76-77).

The Church of that era did not consider any political and imperial forces' rank the same as its rank; it stabilized its political and social dominance together with its religious government; and religious rituals and Christian beliefs were taught to bishops and monks in order to have more mastery over social and political actions of cultural centers and schools supervised by the Church. Bishops and monks were both its teachers and students. In the thoughts of that era, there was strong emphasis on the degradation of the terrestrial body of human and his material needs, humiliation of them, spread of them on asceticism thought, dissociation of human, and decrease of the importance of life and the worldly properties. He used Gospel for justifying its discourse; as Jesus Christ says: "Then, do not grieve for the food and clothes. Since the unbelievers constantly think on these things and speak about them. You are different with them. Your Heavenly Father completely knows what you need. If you pay attention to God more than anything else in your life and if you have your heart in God, therefore your needs would be satisfied. (34)." (Gospel of Matthew, 13). Whereas, by such kinds of Verses, Gospel tries to abstain human from both wealth gathering and greed for the worldly properties and goods; but the Church as the powerful religious institution showed itself as the successor to Jesus Christ, responsible for his religion's interpretation and compilation, and the only authority of Christian's salvation. By having such an advantage, it introduced poverty as the highest moral virtue and knew a poor person as a living symbol of Jesus Christ. The idea that a poor person needs a rich one to be free of his need and a rich person needs a poor one to be free of his sins and to get the spiritual rewards had been become one of the main ideologies of the Church of that era; and the Church encouraged people especially the noble class to give charity: "Your purpose of giving charity should be that whatever you give, give it for God's way and for God's pleasure (10). Thus, do not hesitate in giving and give the best of whatever you have for God's pleasure (11). (Gospel of Barnabas, 246). It abstains people from revealing their charities in order to be secretly given to the poor. The people giving charities to the poor would be concealed; and the Church promotes and supports such kind of ideology by the use of the Holy Book; it would introduce itself as the source of benefaction and blessing and supporter of the poor by misusing it indeed: "Be careful not to give your charities in front of people; otherwise, you won't have any reward from your Heavenly Father. (2)". (Gospel of Matthew, 11). This ideology along with other impressive ideologies like The First Sin and the patience against the difficulties promote the determinism and ignore the action and willing; in a way that, any action and event in one's life are directly related to God's willing<sup>19</sup>; it has provided a suitable ground for justifying the present condition like Abbasid period, such discourse originated from the Church of that era not only shows a positive and acceptable face of the rich, people in the position of power, and those related to the government such as bishops named in Picaresque tales, but also stabilizes the status of the weak class of the society like the poor as a respected one to be respectably cared for his needs through using the ideology of religion and their related schools of thought as weapon. As Marx says: "The religion is become the heart of the world without any heart, the opiate, or the sedative for the oppressed." (Marx, 352). Comprehensively, this discourse was considered as a confirmation for lord - servant government; it caused the classified system to be survived; and it kept the wealth at the hand of the special ones.

Thus, in common view of that era, the poverty of a poor person and the wealth of a rich one were considered as natural things, related to God's willing, and out of the servant's control; and the effort for changing it was considered opposed God's willing. This ideology caused the poverty of many Spanish people to look completely



natural like Abbasid period; and the government could easily repress those dissatisfied with the present economic - social situation and system by the weapons like the excommunication and apostasy; thus, unfortunately, it was among the common issues of that era to see little boys like Lazarillo and the vagrant orphans either gathering the charities or working as a servant; and people looked at them wholly indifferent. Finally, Perezde Herrera suggested a place named the father of the orphans to be created against the increase of the populations of the poor; it was created in order to prevent the governmental measures disagreed with the ideologies of poverty of the Church of that era indeed; it had no conflict with the cultural policies of the Church; it had to find the lords for those children begging; it had to return those children escaped from their lords.

### 3- THE IDEOLOGY OF MORALITY AND MAKING PROFITS

The tales` heroes of Maqamat and Picaresque are propelled to the beggary by the material needs. Besides, some personality traits like cunning, discord, duplicity, and fraudulence have been become their obvious behavioral traits. As these personality traits are among the inseparable characteristics of the heroes of Maqamat and Picaresque. As Marx believes, social and material situations not only limit and direct humans` actions, but also make their conscience, personality, and willing. Therefore, morality is the servant of profits; it has been both affected and formed by material needs of different classes of the society in various periods of history<sup>20</sup>.

The heroes of Al-Hamadhani and Al-Hariri were belonged to the low class of the society; they retell the custom and habits of their society through their hypocritical and cunning behaviors, duplicity, and tricks; they have a critical look at them. The use of duplicity and deception together with the greed and fearlessness of other`s criticism showed the bitter and tragic reality originated from the corruptions of the society of that era; Al-Hariri says in his Maqamat: "Deception and duplicity in make-up of the present world`s people are like the whiteness of the horse`s hand and foot." (Al-Hariri, 417). The cunning and discord of most heroes of Maqamat of Al-Hamadhani and Al-Hariri are used only for finding the food and being free of the hunger; as the tale`s hero is so deprived and poor that he would face lots of difficulties for satisfying his first needs daily. Therefore, cunning behavior together with dissatisfaction with the present situation are not only criticized by the reader, but also considered as compensation from the noble and the rich of that era demanded by the tale`s hero. These heroes do not abstain from any unethical behavior in order to be free of hunger; they not only used shrouded sermon, advice, and the religious rituals in cunning actions and speeches in Maqamat like Al-San`aniah, Al-Isfahaniah, and Al-Khamriah, but also used their wives and children as weapons. Besides, they created fabricated fights together with the worst words and insults in Maqamat like Al-Asadiah, Al-Dinariah, Al-Rahbiah, and Al-Iskandariah of Maqamat of Al-Hariri only for their survival.

Their rhymed prose was also considered as the helpful weapon for deception and the survival`s continuation; and its literary and artistic aspect do not have the value for the tale`s hero per se. These speeches with the exchange – symbolic value caused the tale`s hero belonged to the low class with the unpleasant social situation to be attended among people especially the noble by his rhymed prose; in addition, the rhymed proses are like the goods bringing the heroes of Maqamat of Al-Hamadhani and Al-Hariri both money and the exchange value. The humanistic status of the audience especially the noble attending their speech societies was not important for the tale`s hero; and they were only considered as the goods with the exchange value abled to give charity. Thus, the rich and noble are more noticed by the heroes of Maqamat of Al-Hamadhani and Al-Hariri. As in Al-Dinariah Maqama of Maqamat of Al-Hariri, the tale`s hero praised dinar for obtaining money from the noble class one time and criticized it another time. In Al-Basriah Maqama of Maqamat of Al-Hamadhani, the tale`s hero talked of his past times by the use of flattery and lie; he believed that life made him poor; and now he asks the rich and the head to give him money.

Finally, the tale`s hero found himself defeated against the determinism of the environment in which he lives at the end of each Maqama. And he had a strong and critical tone towards the life<sup>21</sup> with the prominent features like cruelty, oppression, and duplicity at the end of most Maqamat: "The sin of this work is upon the life, since if there was not bad omen of the life, good and pleasant trait would be never receded." (Al-Hariri, 59). The tale`s heroes were indirectly entered the conflicts with the ruling class of the society by expressing such a discourse; bad omen, duplicity, and hypocrisy were among the prominent features of their government. Abbasid government defends the intellectual discourse of fate originated from Ash`ari school and Hadith followers for deprivation of any kind of freedom and the selection right<sup>22</sup>; all the world`s accidents and events are related to God`s willing and life`s fate by them; in this way, they use the common morality of their own era originated from the authorities of power for stabilizing the present situation and hiding the classified and historical moral trait. The government that sometimes used Mu`tazila for their support; it sometimes used Asha`ereh; it sometimes accompanied many Iranians; it sometimes tried to destroy Iranian families; it sometimes used governmental jobs for taking pleasure; it justified their plunder from people`s properties; thus, it satisfied their first and second needs; and it made enormous wealth peculiar to the small section of the society seem natural through such ideologies.

Lazarillo, the hero of the tale named the Life of Lazarillo de Tormes and of His Fortunes and Adversities, is a little boy served himself to his lords like an object in order to stay alive. But, he finds that he should have a hypocritical life like his lords for providing his benefits in order to be free of the hunger pressure. Such a hypocrisy of each one of Lazarillo's lords is dramatized somehow; the traits originated from the realities of that era. The nobleman pretends to be rich; whereas, he needs Lazarillo's food obtained from beggary for his daily bread; the other religious figures like Bishop Maqueda, Monk of Merced denomination, and the Bishop selling the forgiveness letter have hidden their cunning and duplicity behind the religion. Lazarillo learnt cunning and deception from them and became so experienced in this way that he could beguile his lords. In a way that in Maqamat of Al-Hariri, Al-Ramliah, Al-Tabriziah, and Al-Iskandariah Maqama, the tale's hero beguiles the judge of his era. In fact, social and economic situations and the escape from hunger changed Lazarillo to a wolf in sheep's clothing like the heroes of Maqamat of Al-Hamadhani and Al-Hariri; he got little part of his lost right for his survival by fighting with the ruling class. For example, in the chapter of Lazarillo and Bishop Maqueda, the pressure of the hunger made Lazarillo get the food from Bishop Maqueda's food box through lots of deception and tricks. Or like the tale's hero of Maqamat, he used cunning, deception, and beggary together with the advices and religious prayers learnt by the blind old man for providing his benefits. In this way, the tale's hero of Picaresque like the tale's hero of Maqamat pays more attention to the noble and the rich; since in his idea, they are like the goods bringing more money with them; thus, the noble have the exchange value. As he says in the chapter of Lazarillo and the nobleman: ... and took up my profession again. I put on a low and faint-sounding voice, folded my hands over my breast, rolled my eyes heavenward and never let God's name leave my lips and began to beg bread at the doors of the houses which looked the richest. (Lazarillo de Tormes and The Swindler, 35)

## V. CONCLUSION

According to Marx, the creation of all the phenomena are affected by the material and historical conditions of their own era; literature is also the same. In a way that, the literary genre of Maqamat and Picaresque have a critical look at the common ideologies of their era as the reason of economic conditions' strength of their government by depicting characters arisen from the deprived class of the society. The ideology of religion and the attitudes derived from it were the main factor in strengthening the foundations of the government of the Caliph, the King, and the Church of that era; they justified the occupation and plunder of common people's wealth. Furthermore, applying the jobs and status of the people in the position of power like the orators, bishops, judges had been become the goods with the exchange and the symbolic – exchange values for them. They promoted society's ideology of believing in the classification. They added to the classified gap and poverty among people. All the mentioned factors along with the hypocritical and cunning morality were considered as the suitable ground for providing the benefits of the government and their needs. In addition to the criticism of such ideologies, the tale's heroes surrendered to the social and economic conditions of their own era in order to be escaped from the extreme hunger and to save their life. By applying the common ideologies of their own era, they lived in indeed.

### Endnote

- [1] Motawakel took a sharp behavior with Shia and Alavids. Abbasid caliphs continued the way of Motawakel after him. The climax of such measures was the early fifth century AH in which *Al-Qader Bellah* gathered Mu'tazila clergy in 408 AH; they were not only committed not to recant, but also threatened to the prosecution and punishment in the case of any violence. This process was continued till the next caliphate, i.e., *Al-Qaem Bi-Amr-Allah*; it was considered as a kind of ideological manifesto of the caliphate system till the end of Abbasid caliphate. (For more information regarding legitimizing Abbasid caliphate, refer to Hatam Qaderi, the developments of the principles of the legitimacy, from beginning to Abbasid's collapse, chapter seven, the subject of caliphate theories and being a caliph in Abbasid period).
- [2] Al-Tra'ef market was a bazaar only for the upper classes of the society; the precious things were sold there. It shows both the classified society and the symbolic – exchange value of the goods at that era.
- [3] *Al-Rosafiah* Maqama pointed to almost 70 steals of the society of that era. And the strange curses presented in Al-Dinariah Maqama of Al-Hamadhani showed some common realities among the lower classes of the society of that era.
- [4] The job of judgment was given more importance in Abbasid era than in Bani Umayyah era; it was of two kinds: the court of oppressions and the court of judgment. The first was ruled by caliphs; the judicial system was ruled by judges according to Sharia laws. Furthermore, judges played an active role in both the politics' arena and the governmental structure. For more information refer to *The Developments of Court of Justice in Abbasid Era and Its Effect on the Judgment's Condition and Status from Beginning till the Mastery of Ale Bouyeh Over Baghdad*, 2011.
- [5] For more information refer to *Fotouh Al-Mesra va Akhbaroha*, 1996, *Al-Volat va Kitab Al-Ghozat*, 1908, *Murooj Al-Zahab Va Ma'aden Al-Jawaher*, 1404 AH.
- [6] For more information refer to *Power, Oration, Pulpit (A Research on the Oration and Pulpit with the Political Power at Abbasid Caliphate Period)*, 2014
- [7] in some Maqamat like "Al-Azarbijaniah" and "Al-Asvadiah", the tale's narrator represents the upper class of the society accused of stealing money. In reality, this issue was seen that due to the extreme wealth of businessmen, Abbasid caliphs were considerably tempted to confiscate their properties for any reason; even for this purpose, the confiscation court was created; it is referred to in a book called *Tajarib Al-Umam* by Ibn Miskawayh and a book called *Tejarat Al-Araq Fi Al-Asr Al-Abbasi* by Hussein Ibn Ali Mesri.

- [8] Ibn Al-Athir points to common people's riot of growing overcharge of the prices and the plunder of bazaar in his book, *Al-Kamel Fi'l-Tarikh*. (170). And Abu Abdullah Maghdesi says about the fire in Adn bazaar: "... but the fire is much, the man sleeps at night and wakes up at dawn miserably." (85)."
- [9] In some Maqamat of Al-Hamadhani like "Al-Maseliyah" and "Al-Armaniah", the narrator accompanies the tale's hero. Or in "Al-Sareeh" Maqama, the tale's hero had a relationship with Sareeh's warden. This issue was also seen among the upper classes of the society in reality. They were helped by the lower classes of the society in order to reach their goals; as, during the era of *Al-Muqtadir*, the ministry opportunities were exchanged 16 times by some people; as, minister of *Muqtadir Billah*, *Hussein Ibn Al-Qasim* known as *Abu Jamal*, asked a fraud man called *Daniiali* for help to be a minister. He prepared the apparent old writings and fraudulently claimed that these writings had been left from antiquity, delivering Daniel's prophetic messages. (Ibn Miskawayh, 215-217; Ibn Al-Athir vol. 7, 670 ).
- [10] Maghdesi considers the tattlers muleteers, the physicians performed bloodletting, and the beggars as the low and inferior classes of that era in *Ahsan Al-Taghasim*; he explains their houses in Kazerun's description as follows: "Most houses together with Jame Mosques are on the hills to be climbed; whereas, bazaars and the palaces of the businessmen are down these hills. (331). A tailor says about the companions of a businessman in *Murooj Al-Zahab*: "He will not accompany anyone, except the businessmen like himself." (vol. 4, 635).
- [11] It is no wonder that Bishop Maqueda lived in Maqueda City; since a group of Jews took refuge in this city in 1492. Bishop Maqueda was actually a Jew who had recently converted to Christianity; he believed in his Jewish beliefs; and Jewish signs were still seen in his house. For more information refer to *La Posibilidad Anti-Judaizante del Tratado segundo del Lazarillo*, 1994
- [12] For more information refer to *Historia y evolución del sello de plomo 2008, Usos y Costumbres Funerarias en La Nueva España*, 2008
- [13] For more information refer to *Novedad y Fecundidad del Lazarillo de Tormes*, 1968, *Las Quinquagenas de la nobleza de España*, 1880
- [14] Thus, the Church strongly opposed the beliefs of people like Erasmus focusing on inner aspects of religion instead of its outer ones; the Church tried to prevent both the spread and influence of such beliefs by creating Tarrant court. For more information refer to *A Comprehensive History of the Religions*, 2003.
- [15] Among all the poor, perhaps the blind were the only ones to have the most patents. They had sincerely created a place to be worshipped; it was strongly criticized by the believed Christians; they wandered in the city streets without being under the laws imposed upon the other beggars. (Lavida de Lazarillo de Tormes, 17).
- [16] For more information refer to *the Analysis of the Concepts of Zakat and Charity and Their Usages in the Narratives*, 2008..
- [17] For more information refer to *the Determinism and Free Will in the Realm of the Revelation and Wisdom (2)*, 1987
- [18] For more information refer to *the Role of Bureaucratic Corruption and Family Competition in the Separation of Abbasid Caliphate*, 1995, *Zahar Al-Islam*, 2006
- [19] For more information refer to *The Augustinian Tradition*, 1999, *The Ministry of Saint Augustine as Related to The Doctrine of Original Sin*, 2009.
- [20] For more information refer to *Marxism and Ethic*, 1970
- [21] *Badi' Al-Zaman* has written in his epistle in a letter to his professor, *Ibn Fars*: "Sheikh says that the life has been worsened; tell me when it has not been so? Either in Abbasid government that we heard something at first and we saw something else at the end?; or in Marwanids...?; or the years of war?; or in Bayt Hashemi that Imam Ali said: "I wish ten of you were replaced with one of Bani Faras"?; or in Omavids in which rebels went towards Al-Hejaz from anywhere... "(Al-Hamadhani, 1898: 252).
- [22] In addition to Baghdad's pulpits used by the clergy, Hadith followers, and Asha'ereh, Abbasid caliphs helped their beliefs to be spread around other cities as well. For example, *Motawakel* made a pulpit in Samarra for *Ishaq Ibn Bohloul*, the student of *Ahmad Ibn Hanbal*; and he narrated Hadith for people in Jame Mosque and Ghasre Shahr Square.. (Tannoukhi, 34-35). The situation of Asha'ereh was decreased in Ale Bouyeh period. But, the kings of Ale Bouyeh used the religious policies; and there were some non-Shia officials in the ministry, judgment, and commanding the army. (Ibn Al-Jawzi, 96).

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