

were, they gained acceptance with a disparaging nickname.<sup>39</sup> Presumably, from the outset the term was connected with the *rafḍ al-shaykhayn*.<sup>40</sup> When exactly it sprang up, however, cannot be determined with certainty; in any case that Zayd b. 'Alī already made use of it, is not said. It is also not true that all Shī'ites who were classified as Zaydīs would have refrained from *rafḍ* in this sense.<sup>41</sup> Only when one was ignorant of this and the names had become mere labels could the Rāfiḍites and Zaydīs be clearly separated from one another.

Thus for instance in Jāhīz, *Ḥayawān* 1, 7, ll. 10 ff.; Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm (recently cited by Pines in: IOS 2/1980/167 f.); Kashshī 295, ll. 5 f. The Rāfiḍites also later attempted to attribute a positive sense to the name; Ja'far al-Ṣādiq himself is supposed to have chosen it as an honorific title (*Kāfi* VIII, 34, ll. 4 ff.). On this in general, cf. Tritton, *Muslim Theology* 20, and now E. Kohlberg in: JAOS 99/1979/677 f.; idem also briefly in: SI 52/1980/48.

#### 2.1.3.3.5 *Maintaining Secrecy (taqiyya)*

Shī'ites, who reproached the Zaydiyya for their activism, no longer had any reason to ignore what just as much as *rafḍ* characterizes them in the eyes of the Sunnīs up to today: maintaining secrecy, *taqiyya*. As we have seen, it was actually the Zaydīs who were first to be shocked by it.<sup>1</sup> Diplomacy and caution, possibly the discipline of secrecy, are on the whole normal forms of behaviour for minorities and sects. In this sense, as G. E. von Grunebaum already emphasized, we also find *taqiyya* outside Islam: among Elkesites and Mandaeans, among Manicheans in a Christian environment as well as among Zoroastrians in a Muslim milieu.<sup>2</sup> Within the Shī'a, apparently the Kaysānites were the first to work with the concept: 'Alī according to their view had practiced *taqiyya* before he took over the caliphate,<sup>3</sup> and they also considered themselves as inhabitants of an Islamic ecumenical world which gave them reason to be

39 Friedländer also rejects this explanation (143, fn. 2). Members of this group are occasionally still mentioned (for instance in Nu'mānī, *Ghayba* 230, ll. 1 ff.); one is even known to us by name (see below p. 372).

40 Thus Ash'arī, *Maq.* 16, l. 11; against this Gimaret, *Livre des Religions* 459, fn. 16.

41 See above p. 333.

1 See above p. 328.

2 *Medieval Islam* 191 and Add. p. 354. Also now in general cf. Kippenberg, "Zur Maxime der Verstellung in der Antike und frühislamischen Religionsgeschichte", in: *Festschrift Lebram* 172 ff.

3 Halm, *Gnosis* 50.

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