Education and Learning in the Early Islamic World
Volume 43

Education and Learning in the Early Islamic World

edited by
Claude Gilliot
CONTENTS

Acknowledgements vii
General Editor’s Preface xi
Introduction xiii
Bibliography xxi

Part I Pedagogical Tradition

1. The Etiquette of Learning in the Early Islamic Study Circle
   Christopher Melchert 1

2. Muslim Education
   Ignaz Goldziher 13

3. Some Aspects of the Education of Princes at the ‘Abbāsid Court
   Albert Dietrich 23

4. The Age Structure of Medieval Islamic Education
   Richard W. Bulliet 39

5. Advice for Teachers: The 9th Century Muslim Scholars Ibn Saḥnūn and al-Jāhiz on Pedagogy and Didactics
   Sebastian Günther 53

Part II Scholarship and Attestation

6. The Islamic Preacher wa‘īz, mudhakkir, qāṣṣ
   Johannes Pedersen 93

7. The Scholarly Formation of al-Ṭabarī
   Claude Gilliot 113

8. The Human Element between Text and Reader: The ājāza in Arabic Manuscripts
   Jan Just Witkam 149
CONTENTS

Part III Orality and Literacy

9. The Oral Transmission of Knowledge in Traditional Islam
   Georges Vajda

10. The Office of the Mustamî in Arabic Scholarship
    Max Weisweiler

Part IV Authorship and Transmission

11. The Use of Writing for the Preservation of Ancient Arabic Poetry
    E. Krenkow

12. Authorship and Transmission in Unauthored Literature: The
    Akhbâr Attributed to al-Haytham ibn `Adî
    Stefan Leder

13. On the Legacy of the Classics in the Islamic World
    Richard Walzer

14. On the Transmission of Bukhârî's Collection of Traditions
    Johann Fick

15. The Introduction of Hadîth in al-Andalus
    Isabel Pierro

16. The Transmission of Knowledge in al-Andalus (up to 300/912)
    Manuela Martín

Part V Libraries

17. Libraries and Bibliophiles in the Islamic East
    Adolph Grohmann

18. Arabic Books and Libraries in the Umayyad Period
    Ruth Stellhorn Mackensen

19. The Library of al-Ḥakam II al-Mustansîr and the Culture of
    Islamic Spain
    David Wasserstein

Index

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The chapters in this volume are taken from the sources listed below. The editor
and publishers wish to thank the authors, original publishers or other copyright
holders for permission to use their material as follows:

CHAPTER 1: Christopher Melchert, "The Etiquette of Learning in the Early Islamic
Study Circle", in Joseph E. Lowry et al. (eds), Law and Education in Medieval
Islam, Studies in Memory of Professor George Makdisi. Published by the E.J.W.
Gibb Memorial Trust (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 33-44.

CHAPTER 2: Ignaz Goldziher, "Muslim Education", in James Hastings (ed.),
Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1908-26, V, pp. 198-
207; reprinted in his Gesammelte Schriften, ed. Joseph de Somogyi (Hildesheim:

CHAPTER 3: Albert Dietrich, "Some Aspects of the Education of Princes at the
'Abbâsîd Court", "Quelques aspects de l'éducation princière à la court abbaside",
in George Makdisi Dominique Sourdel and Janine Sourdel-Thomine (eds),
L'enseignement en Islam et en Occident au moyen âge (Paris: Paul Geunther, 1976:
Revue des études islamiques, 44), pp. 89-104. Translation by Philip Simpson.
Copyright © 2012 Ashgate Publishing Ltd.

CHAPTER 4: Richard W. Bulliet, "The Age Structure of Medieval Islamic Education",

CHAPTER 5: Sebastian Günther, "Advice for Teachers: The 9th Century Muslim
Scholars Ibn Saññûn and al-Jâhiz on Pedagogy and Didactics", in S. Günther
(ed.), Ideas, Images and Methods of Portrayal. Insights into Classical Arabic

CHAPTER 6: Johannes Pedersen, "The Islamic Preacher wâ'îz, mudhakkir, qâyy", in
Samuel Löwinger and Joseph Somogyi (eds), Ignace Goldziher Memorial Volume,

CHAPTER 7: Claude Gilliot, "The Scholarly Formation of al-Ṭabarî", "La formation
intellectuelle de Tabari 224/5-310/839-923", Journal asiatique, 276 (1988), pp. 205-
44. Translation by Philip Simpson. Copyright © 2012 Ashgate Publishing Ltd.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS


Every effort has been made to trace all the copyright holders, but if any have been inadvertently overlooked the publishers will be pleased to make the necessary arrangement at the first opportunity.
GENERAL EDITOR'S PREFACE

Since the days of Ignaz Goldziher (1859–1921), generally regarded as the founder of Islamic studies as a field of modern scholarship, the formative period in Islamic history has remained a prominent theme for research. In Goldziher's time it was possible for scholars to work with the whole of the field and practically all of its available sources, but more recently the increasing sophistication of scholarly methodologies, a broad diversification in research interests, and a phenomenal burgeoning of the catalogued and published source material available for study have combined to generate an increasing “compartmentalisation” of research into very specific areas, each with its own interests, priorities, agendas, methodologies, and controversies. While this has undoubtedly led to a deepening and broadening of our understanding in all of these areas, and hence is to be welcomed, it has also tended to isolate scholarship in one subject from research in other areas, and even more so from colleagues outside of Arab-Islamic studies, not to mention students and others seeking to familiarise themselves with a particular topic for the first time.

The Formation of the Classical Islamic World is a reference series that seeks to address this problem by making available a critical selection of the published research that has served to stimulate and define the way modern scholarship has come to understand the formative period of Islamic history, for these purposes taken to mean approximately AD 600–950. Each of the volumes in the series is edited by an expert on its subject, who has chosen a number of studies that taken together serve as a cogent introduction to the state of current knowledge on the topic, the issues and problems particular to it, and the range of scholarly opinion informing it. Articles originally published in languages other than English have been translated, and editors have provided critical introductions and select bibliographies for further reading.

A variety of criteria, varying by topic and in accordance with the judgements of the editors, have determined the contents of these volumes. In some cases an article has been included because it represents the best of current scholarship, the “cutting edge” work from which future research seems most likely to profit. Other articles—certainly no less valuable contributions—have been taken up for the skillful way in which they synthesise the state of scholarly knowledge. Yet others are older studies that—if in some ways now superseded—nevertheless merit attention for their illustration of thinking or conclusions that have long been important, or for the decisive stimulus they have provided to scholarly discussion. Some volumes cover themes that have emerged fairly recently, and here it has been necessary to include articles from outside the period covered by the series, as illustrations of paradigms and methodologies that may prove
useful as research develops. Chapters from single author monographs have been considered only in very exceptional cases, and a certain emphasis has been encouraged on important studies that are less readily available than others.

In the present state of the field of early Arab-Islamic studies, in which it is routine for heated controversy to rage over what scholars a generation ago would have regarded as matters of simple fact, it is clearly essential for a series such as this to convey some sense of the richness and variety of the approaches and perspectives represented in the available literature. An effort has thus been made to gain broad international participation in editorial capacities, and to secure the collaboration of colleagues representing differing points of view. Throughout the series, however, the range of possible options for inclusion has been very large, and it is of course impossible to accommodate all of the outstanding research that has served to advance a particular subject. A representative selection of such work does, however, appear in the bibliography compiled by the editor of each volume at the end of the introduction.

The interests and priorities of the editors, and indeed, of the General Editor, will doubtless be evident throughout. Hopefully, however, the various volumes will be found to achieve well-rounded and representative syntheses useful not as the definitive word on their subjects— if, in fact, one can speak of such a thing in the present state of research—but as introductions comprising well-considered points of departure for more detailed inquiry.

A series pursued on this scale is only feasible with the good will and cooperation of colleagues in many areas of expertise. The General Editor would like to express his gratitude to the volume editors for the investment of their time and talents in an age when work of this kind is grossly undervalued, to the translators who have taken such care with the articles entrusted to them, and to Dr John Smedley and his staff at Ashgate for their support, assistance and guidance throughout.

Lawrence I. Conrad

INTRODUCTION

Education and Learning in the Early Islamic World

Claude Gilliot

His amplius fili mi ne requiras faciendi
plures libros nullus est finis frequensque
meditatio carnis adflictio est
Ecclesiastes 12:12*

Preliminary notes**

The study of education and learning in Islam from 600 to 950 AD encounters at least two difficulties. The first is that the sources, especially the later ones, easily lend themselves to backward projection—the projection of later institutions and practices on to an ancient past. Indeed, religious scholars have taken great pains to establish the idea of an authentic and uninterrupted transmission (mutawâtâr) of religious knowledge and ancillary learning in order to show at all costs that their foundations lie in the time of the Prophet, or at the very least that they hark back to the very first Muslim generations, and take place within a continuum.1

The second difficulty lies in the fact that most of the existing studies are general, considering education and learning over practically the entire span of “classical” Islam, although it seems that there are exceptions. The fact remains that bringing the continuities and discontinuities of the subject and period of our interest to the fore is rarely an easy matter.

The First Orientalist Approaches to Education and Learning in Islam

While making no claim to set out the history of Western research in this area, it nevertheless seems useful at this juncture to broadly set out some of the stages of

---

1 "And further, by these, my son, be admonished: of making many books [there is] no end; and much study [is] a weariness of the flesh.”; The Holy Bible: American King James Version, Eccl. 12:12.
Western interest in education and learning in Islam up until around the twentieth century.

The Reformed theologian from Utrecht, Adriaan Reland (1676–1718), to whom we owe the first scientific exposition of Muslim institutions, set himself the goal of presenting his subject “as is taught in the Muslim churches and schools” (uti docetur in templis et scholis mohammedicis), incidentally something for which he advocated the necessity of knowing the Arabic language.2

Admittedly, certain travellers and missionaries of the Middle Ages, such as the Dominican Riccoldo da Monte di Croce (d. 1320), have given some indications about educational institutions in Islam. During his sojourn in Baghdad (ca. 1290–96) Monte di Croce attended lessons given by Muslim masters and frequented the libraries that had survived the partial destruction of the town at the hands of the Mongols in 1258.3

Yet it was not until the work of a Lebanese Maronite Christian, Abraham Ecchellensis (Ibrahim al-Haqlani, d. 1664 in Rome),4 that any fairly detailed information on teaching methods and pedagogy became available. Ecchellensis translated and annotated in Latin the Instruction of the Student: The method of learning by Būrḥān al-Dīn al-Zarnūjī (d. 620/1223).6

Some 60 years later, Reland published al-Zarnūjī’s Arabic text with a Latin translation on the facing pages (pp. 1–165) by the Danish Fredrik Rosgaard (d. 1745); this was accomplished in collaboration with the Maronite Josephus Banesis (Yusuf b. Jirjis Damascenus), an orthodox priest of Damascus. He added to this translation (p. 167 et seq.) Ecchellensis’s rather different version with a commentary entitled Semita sapientiae, reproduced from a manuscript copy. Reland was apparently unaware that a printed edition already existed.3

---

4 Semita Sapientiae sine ad scientiam comparandas methodis, Parisiis, apud Adrianum Taunipan, 1646, 104pp.
5 See “Pedagogy” infra.
6 Enchiridion studiosi, Utrecht, 1709.
8 Smitskamp, R., Catalog 621 (Leiden, 1999), no. 606.

---

Al-Zarnūjī’s treatise was then published in a new and better edition10 taken from the text published by Reland and from five manuscripts, with a new Latin translation by Carl Paul Caspari (d. 1892).11 The latter added to it variants and scholia taken from Ibrahimīh’s commentary (written in 996/1588).12

The publication of the two volumes of Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispanica Escolialensis in Madrid (1760–70) by the Maronite Miguel Casiri (d. 1791)13 proved to be an important landmark in the field of our study and not only for the region of al-Andalus. Indeed, the author’s scholarly notes do not merely include descriptions of written works, but also information on the scholarly production of the Arabs, on scholarship, on the transmission of knowledge, on libraries, schools and so on. This opus magnum practically became a source in its own right for several generations of orientalists.

As for the father of modern orientalism, Antoine Isaac Silvestre de Sacy (d. 1838), he made good use of the store of Arab manuscripts in the Royal Library, as well as the works of his predecessors, in order to write a long mémoire, in which he set out the history of Arabic writing along with the production of the ancient Arab poets.14 Some of his other works also contain material on education and learning, notably his Chrestomathie arabe15 and, more specifically, some edited and translated extracts from al-Maqrizi and Ibn Khaldûn, among others.

On the Protestant side, the Lutheran theologian Heinrich Middendorp (d. 1861) published a dissertation in which he painted a literary landscape of Spain under the Arabs,16 a landscape in which every feature was drawn from Casiri. This work notably examined the “Arab academies and schools” and libraries. Its concluding epilogue is dedicated to the Arabic translations of the Greek authors.

The Austrian diplomat Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall (d. 1856) published two large volumes Encyclopädische Übersicht der Wissenschaften des Orients (1804),17 which covered the history of writing, grammar, historiography, philosophy, theology, law, medicine, magic, amulets and talismans and the like. He based this work on seven manuscript works in Arabic, Persian and Turkish, but most particularly on the Kashf al-żanūn of Ḥajjī Khalīfa (d. 1067/1657).
In 1838 Etienne-Marie Quatremère (d. 1857) published his famous *Mémoire sur le goût des livres chez les Orientaux* which holds much information particularly on literary life and education at the time of the Umayyads and of the Abbasids, on the study sessions (majālsī, the libraries and so on. He drew his material from the *Fihrist* [Index of Books and Disciplines] by Ibn al-Nadim (d. 380/990 or 385/995), from Ibn al-Ḥakam (d. 257/871), Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442), Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406), Maqṭarī (d. 1041/1632), Ibn al-Atlas (Izz al-Dīn, d. 630/1233), Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣḥāḥānī (d. 356/967), among others. We have come a long way since the publication, in 1747, of J.J. Reiske’s (d. 1774) *mémoire*, which still appears to be little known.19 It should, however, be noted that the latter’s *Dissertatio inauguralis exhibens miscellaneas aliquot observationes medicas ex Arabum monumentis*, which was published in the preceding year, dealt with Arab medicine and thus held little interest for literary circles.

The Saxau Gustav Flügel (d. 1870) focused his energies on, among other things, cataloguing the Arabic, Turkish and Persian manuscripts of the princely library of Vienna. In addition to his edition and concordance of the Qur’an (1837, 1875), he published two important sources for the knowledge of scholarship in Islam: the *Lexicon bibliographicum et encyclopaedicum (Kashf al-zunūn)* (1835–58) of Ḥājī Khālīfa, with a Latin translation and scholarly notes, and the *editio princeps* of Ibn al-Nadim’s *Kitāb al-Fihrist* (1872), which was edited and published posthumously. He also published two monographs aimed at providing readers with a better understanding of scholars and scholarship in Islam: *Die Clases der hanefitischen Rechtgelehrten* (The Classes of the Hanafi Jurists) (1861) according to Ibn Ḥaṭība, and *Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber* (Arabic Grammatical Schools) (1862). Several of his other writings followed in the same spirit.20

Ferdinand Wüstenfeld’s (d. 1899) edition of the biographical dictionary *Wafayāt al-ʿayān* (*The Obituary of Illustrious Persons*) (1835–50) by Ibn Khallikān (d. 681/1282) gave access to a treasure trove of information concerning Arabic literary and scientific life. His *Die Academien der Araber und ihre Lehrer* (The Academies of the Arabs and their Teachers) (1837)—a German adaptation of the *The Classes of the Shāfiʿis* by Ibn Ḥādī Shuhba (d. 851/1448)—made an important contribution to our knowledge of sources on teaching and scholarship. He also wrote on the history of Arabic physicians and naturalists (*Geschichte der arabischen Ärzte und Naturforscher nach den Quellen bearbeitet*, 1840). He then


20 Dissertatio de principibus Muhammedius ... , Leipzig, 1747.

21 Lugduni Batavorum (Leiden), 1746, 29 pp.

This same period saw several works contribute to a better understanding of the transmission of the hadith and its terminology: L. Krehl’s (1825–1901)\(^\text{38}\) publication of the 20-verse didactic poem on the terminology of the hadith by the Andalusian Ibn Farah (d. 699/1300) was followed by an edition of Izz al-Din’s (d. 919/1416) commentary, Zauwil al-tarab fi manzimat Ibn Farah, edited, translated and annotated by E Risch (1859).\(^\text{39}\) In 1862 E.E. Salisbury (d. 1901) penned a long contribution on “the science of the Muslim tradition” made up of Arabic texts drawn from several sources and accompanied by a translation.\(^\text{40}\)

The polyglot Benedictine abbot Daniel Bonifacius Haneberg (d. 1876) wrote a treatise in Latin on Teaching and Instruction among the Mahometans of the Middle Age\(^\text{32}\) in which he considered the relationship between schools and the state, the teaching of pupils, the method of instruction, and the formation of the various disciplines.

At the same time, much of what we know about Muslim Sicily has been culled from later Arabic sources and collated by the historian Michele Amari (d. 1889),\(^\text{33}\) an effort that led him to compile a substantial work that was edited and published posthumously.\(^\text{34}\) Towards the end of the eighteenth century, a work by the ecclesiastical diplomat and historiographer Rosario de Gregorio (d. 1809)\(^\text{35}\) was published in Palermo, but was made obsolete by the works of Michele Amari.

Certain general histories of education or teaching, based on monographs written by specialists, have included pages or chapters on Muslim Spain, one example being that by Auguste Vallet de Viriville (d. 1868).\(^\text{36}\)

Because of a greater availability of Arabic sources edited in the West, lithographed or printed in the East, or, to a lesser extent, in the Maghreb, the last quarter of the nineteenth century to the first quarter of the twentieth century saw an increase in the publication of better-informed monographs, articles or book chapters on education than ever before. Thus, the Austrian Alfred von Kremer (d. 1889) devoted some chapters and pages of his Culturgeschichte des Orients unter den Chalifen (1875–77) to teaching and the kuttab, other institutions, like mosques, study circles, madrasas (colleges), and disciplines, like poetry, science and literature, and libraries in the first four centuries of Islam. For his part, Julían Dozy\(^\text{37}\) described Islamic education from original sources to our knowledge of the science of Muslim teaching and pedagogy in Islam, drawn from Muslim sources; this anthology is of use now as it was then (see Chapter 2, this volume). It benefited from Goldziher’s previous research, which already included substantial relevant material such as his “Contributions to the History of Linguistic Scholarship among the Arabs” and his Muhammedanische Studien (1889–90), which has now been partly translated into other languages, including French and English.

However, the great event proved to be the posthumous publication, in 1922, of Adam Mez’s (d. 1917) Die Renaissance des Islams which has since been translated into several languages. This was the first attempt since that made by Alfred von Kremer to present a cultural history of Islam, here focusing on the fourth/tenth century.

The History of Education and Learning in Islam: General Notes

We have at our disposal a bibliography of Islamic education drawn up by A. Belabr (1988) almost up-to-date until around 1987, and also the Bibliography of Islamic Philosophy by Hans Daiber, the index of which includes an entry on “Education”.\(^\text{41}\) Furthermore, two Tunisian researchers, I. al-Najjār and B. al-Zāribī (1985), have collected numerous texts relating to education, teaching and pedagogy in Islam, drawn from Muslim sources; this anthology is of use.

Finally, the electronic site moderated by J.J. Witkam gives us direct access

---

34 Das jüdische Unterrichtswesen während der spanisch-arábische Periode, Vienna, 1873; reprint, Amsterdam, 1968.
to numerous articles, and even to some works, on books, manuscripts and even scholarship on Islam.49

Shlomo Dov Goitein’s (d. 1985) opus magnum, A Mediterranean Society, dedicated to the Jewish communities of the world, as portrayed in documents of the Cairo Geniza, is a treasure trove of information for the subject of our study, especially its sixth chapter entitled “Education and the Professional Classes”.44 Furthermore, it boasts an index volume, and access to the materia arabisca has been made even easier by a special dictionary.45

Given the chronological parameters (from 600 AD to 340/950) assigned to this collection of essays, the terminus ad quem to which we have adhered is the creation of the madrasas (colleges), even though madrasas existed prior to the establishment of the Nizāmiiyya of Baghdad (457/1065), and even though the question of the origin, birth and evolution of these institutions remains highly controversial.46

We have not yet found a satisfactory work on the general history of education and learning in Islam, or even a monograph on this subject, for the formative period of Islamic history. It is no coincidence that the article “Tarbiyya” (“Education and Pedagogy”)—referred to several times in the second edition of The Encyclopaedia of Islam—has an entry of merely a few lines.47 The best work, which also relates to the concept of knowledge in medieval Islam, is the study by Franz Rosenthal, particularly Chapter 8: “Knowledge is Society: Education.”48 Arthur Stanley Tritton’s 1957 study, Materials on Muslim Education in the Middle Ages, remains a mine of ever useful information, but it covers the whole of the medieval period and is in need of updating. Nevertheless, the author, being a good historian, often orders the material within the various chapters chronologically—for example, “Elementary Education”, “Advanced Education”, “Teachers and the Taught” and so on. Bayard Dodge’s 1982 study, Muslim Education Medieval Times, is a short general synthesis. As regards the Qur’an, two articles in the Encyclopaedia of the Qur’ān address knowledge, learning and teaching.49


A. Shalaby’s thesis, The History of Muslim Education with Special Reference to Egypt, published in English (1954/1979) and in Arabic translation (1954/1973), certainly contains interesting material, yet suffers from a methodological insufficiency and a lack of historical objectivity. The last chapter of this work is dedicated to the Isma‘iliyya of Egypt50 and does not seem to follow on well from what comes before. M. Hamiduddin Khan’s first volume, History of Muslim Education (1967), considers the period between 712 and 1750 and offers little interesting information if its own right. S.M. Ziauddin Alvi’s short book, Muslim Educational Thought in the Middle Ages, attempts to trace the development of Muslim education from the rise of Islam up to the fourteenth century and focuses on the ideas of Avicenna, al-Farābī, Ibn Miskawayh, al-Ghazālī and Ibn Khaldūn. We were unable to consult ‘Abdul-Rahman Salih ‘Abdullaha’s (1982) thesis, nor even M.A. ‘Abdulatif’s (1997) large work in Urdu.

More works have been produced, either based on specific sources or on towns and regions. Accordingly, Munir-ud-Din Ahmed studied Muslim education and the status of scholars until the fifth/eleventh century using the History of Baghdad by al-Khujayi al-Baghdadī (d. 463/1071) as his principal source.51 Similarly, on the basis of the History of Damascus by Ibn ‘Asākir, Malake Abiad has put forward a culture and education chart for Shām (Syria) during the first three centuries of Islam.52 K.D. Zarw (1971), however, confined his study of Shām to its intellectual life solely during the first–third/seventh–eighth centuries. Ali Driss, for his part, wrote his 1979 doctoral thesis on education and pedagogic ideas in Muslim Barbary. In a work published in 1997 A. ‘U. Hijazi set himself the task of drawing out the main characteristics of education among the Malikis, Fatimids, Sufis and Ibādites in Qayrawan (Pr. Kairouan) over the course of the three first centuries of the Hijra. Other works have focused on cultural life, teaching and transmission of knowledge in Sicily.53

Ibrahim Salama’s 1938 publication on Islamic teaching in Egypt includes some pages on the first centuries of Islam. In 1992 Vernet made a written contribution to a volume on education in ancient and medieval Islamic Spain, while M. ‘A. ‘Isā devoted a large work to the history of education in this same region (1982).

Although Charles Pellat’s study of Bassora64 at the time of al-Jāḥiṣ does not confine itself to education and learning, it remains a model of the genre for the Geistesgeschichte of this Muslim metropolis.
Several monographs have focused on non-Sunni Muslim groups, such as the Imamites \(^{55}\) and the Ibadites, \(^{56}\) among others.

**Literacy in Pre-Islamic Times and in the Time of Muhammad**

When it comes to knowledge about the writings of the ancient Arabs, \(^{28}\) the researcher is caught between a rock and a hard place. On the one hand, Muslim sources seek to convince us that the Arabs were illiterate (ummiyyan), thus seeking to establish the basis for the Muslim dogma according to which Muhammad knew neither how to read nor how to write, in order to better establish the notion of the uniquely divine origin of the Qur'an. On the other hand, over time, these same sources extended the list of those Muslims who had committed the revelations of the Prophet of Islam to writing in order to emphasize the idea of the faithful transmission of the Qur'an. We now know that if the word ummi came to be understood to mean “illiterate” it was probably in consequence of “a sectarian dispute about the probative value of the miracle in the Muslimah biography”. \(^{19}\)

Indeed, a debate broke out over whether or not Muhammad knew how to write (or read). It is here, once again, that Aloys Sprenger emerges as a pioneer, even though the question had been raised a long time previously. According to him, Muhammad probably did know how to read and write. \(^{60}\) Indeed, Sprenger held that:

...the intellectual training of the Meccans or of the Qurayshites, as they were called, should not be disregarded. Most knew how to read and write; for their commercial travels had allowed them to acquire learning that cannot be underestimated, so that they could even boast before the Prophet of their knowledge (Koran 40, 83). \(^{61}\)

Though sensitive to Sprenger’s arguments, and that of others, Theodor Nöldeke does not follow suit. \(^{62}\) Henri Lammens, on the basis of a passage from the Sura, deduces that of the ten sons of ‘Abd al-Muṣṭaliḫ, ‘Abd Allāh, Muhammad’s father, knew how to write. \(^{63}\)

Investigation of the milieu that witnessed the birth of Arabic inscriptions\(^{44}\) and the derivation of the Arabic alphabet has become a vexed issue among scholars. \(^{64}\) Although everyone agrees that the Arabic alphabet is ultimately derived from some form of the Aramaic alphabet, some hold that it stems from the Nabatean, while yet others believe that it comes from the Syriac. The latter view is the older, harking back to the eighteenth\(^{66}\) and early nineteenth centuries. \(^{57}\) The small principality of Lakhm, and more specifically its capital Ḥira, \(^{68}\) could well be the birthplace of Arabic writing. This state welcomed the Manicheans persecuted by the Sassanids and, above all, Christians expelled from the Byzantine Empire for reasons of heterodoxy. The languages spoken there were Syriac and Arabic (they were also written down, but we do not know in what form). From a historical perspective, a likely hypothesis might be that Arabic script was created in Ḥira in the fifth century for the purposes of the chancery. It would then have been brought to Syria by Christians fleeing the Sassanid Empire at the beginning of

\(^{55}\) Sprenger, Mohammed und der Koran: eine psychologische Studie, Hamburg, 1899, 4-5.

\(^{56}\) Nöldeke, De origine et compositione suorum gnosticorum scripturarum, Gottingen, 1866, 10-14; id., Geschichte des Korans, Gottingen, 1860, 7-15; id., GQ, I, 11-13.

\(^{57}\) Lammens, H., La Meqse à la veille de l’ère, Beirut, 1924, 123, n. 5; id. Ibn Iṣḥaq, Sura, (Das Leben Mohammedes), ed. Wustenfeld, Gottingen, 1858-66, 97 at A. Guillaume, The Life of Muhammad, Karachi, 1978, 66. For Lammens, writing was very widespread in the “république marchande de La Meqse” (La Meqse, 1923; id., “La république marchande de La Meqse vers l’an 600 de notre ère”, Bulletin de l’Institut d’Egypte, 5th series, 4 (1910), 27, 46 and fn. 7.


\(^{61}\) Weidner de Sacy, A.J., "Mémoire", 1783, 266, 290-300, 306-307; id., "Nouveau aperçu", 1837, 27 pp. He developed and reinforced through further arguments this idea which had already been proposed by others, such as: Adler, J.G.C., De origine et compositione suorum gnosticorum scripturarum, Gottingen, 1866, 10-14; id., Geschichte des Korans, Gottingen, 1860, 7-15; id., GQ, I, 11-13.

\(^{62}\) Sprenger, Mohammed und der Koran: eine psychologische Studie, Hamburg, 1899, 4-5.

\(^{63}\) Nöldeke, De origine et compositione suorum gnosticorum scripturarum, Gottingen, 1866, 10-14; id., Geschichte des Korans, Gottingen, 1860, 7-15; id., GQ, I, 11-13.

\(^{64}\) Sprenger, Mohammed und der Koran: eine psychologische Studie, Hamburg, 1899, 4-5.

\(^{65}\) Nöldeke, De origine et compositione suorum gnosticorum scripturarum, Gottingen, 1866, 10-14; id., Geschichte des Korans, Gottingen, 1860, 7-15; id., GQ, I, 11-13.

\(^{66}\) Lammens, H., La Meqse à la veille de l’ère, Beirut, 1924, 123, n. 5; id. Ibn Iṣḥaq, Sura, (Das Leben Mohammedes), ed. Wustenfeld, Gottingen, 1858-66, 97 at A. Guillaume, The Life of Muhammad, Karachi, 1978, 66. For Lammens, writing was very widespread in the “république marchande de La Meqse” (La Meqse, 1923; id., “La république marchande de La Meqse vers l’an 600 de notre ère”, Bulletin de l’Institut d’Egypte, 5th series, 4 (1910), 27, 46 and fn. 7.


\(^{70}\) Weidner de Sacy, A.J., "Mémoire", 1783, 266, 290-300, 306-307; id., "Nouveau aperçu", 1837, 27 pp. He developed and reinforced through further arguments this idea which had already been proposed by others, such as: Adler, J.G.C., De origine et compositione suorum gnosticorum scripturarum, Gottingen, 1866, 10-14; id., Geschichte des Korans, Gottingen, 1860, 7-15; id., GQ, I, 11-13.

\(^{71}\) Sprenger, Mohammed und der Koran: eine psychologische Studie, Hamburg, 1899, 4-5.

\(^{72}\) Nöldeke, De origine et compositione suorum gnosticorum scripturarum, Gottingen, 1866, 10-14; id., Geschichte des Korans, Gottingen, 1860, 7-15; id., GQ, I, 11-13.

\(^{73}\) Sprenger, Mohammed und der Koran: eine psychologische Studie, Hamburg, 1899, 4-5.

\(^{74}\) Sprenger, Mohammed und der Koran: eine psychologische Studie, Hamburg, 1899, 4-5.

\(^{75}\) Sprenger, Mohammed und der Koran: eine psychologische Studie, Hamburg, 1899, 4-5.

\(^{76}\) Sprenger, Mohammed und der Koran: eine psychologische Studie, Hamburg, 1899, 4-5.

\(^{77}\) Sprenger, Mohammed und der Koran: eine psychologische Studie, Hamburg, 1899, 4-5.
the sixth century. This would, to some extent, agree with the accounts of Muslim historiographers.

Another hypothesis suggests that Arabic script could have its origins in the Arab Church of Syria, but this Church comprised tribes who would have had a centre only from the time of the establishment of the principality of Ghasān, towards 520, and it does not seem to have undertaken an Arabic translation of the Bible.69 That said, the problem of pre-Islamic Christian literature in the East during the fifth century in relation to an Arabic Bible and liturgy has been considered by I. Shahid, who notably presented a status quoactusio of this subject.70

If we take a palaeographic approach to determining the origin of Arabic script we find two opposing currents. The first defends the Nabatean origin of the classical Aramaic alphabet (inscriptions in Jordan, southern Arabia). This thesis is generally agreed upon and originated with the publication of Sinaic and Nabatean inscriptions in the nineteenth century, and, ever since, most scholars have followed the lead of Theodor Nöldeke who proposed the Nabatean origin, in 1865.71

However, beginning in the 1960s, several French researchers72 revisited the old theory—that the Arabic alphabet has a Syriac origin—this time backing up their thesis with more arguments. As was quite rightly written, “On est frappé de constater que les opérations au moyen desquelles l’écriture estranghe a pu être transformée pour devenir l’écriture coufique concordent avec les données fournies par la tradition arabe”73—in other words, among others, a tradition transmitted by al-Kalbî (M. b. al-Sā‘īb, d. 146/763) in a familial isnād that starts

with his grandson al-‘Abbâs b. Hīshâm and Sharūr al-Qūmî al-Kalbî al-Kūfî,74 who was the private tutor of Caliph al-Ma‘dî (d. 169/785) and Ibn al-Nadīm (except for the elements that refer to mythical figures such as Adam, Isma‘il and others, which these notes contain).75

As for Irfan Shahid, he has presented the historical context within which the Arabic script was born.76


Some sources also supply the names of women who were able to write:78 (1) al-Shâfî bint ‘Abd Allâh ad-Dawwâ‘î;79 (2) Ḥafṣa, wife of Muḥammad; (3) Umm Kullâh bint ʿUqbâ b. Muḥî‘; (4) ʿAṭîśa bint Sâ’d; (5) Karâma bint al-Miqdâd; (6) ʿĀisha, who read the Qur’an in the codex (al-muṣâḥaf), but did not know how to

74 “We are struck by the observation that the processes by which the estrangelo script could be transformed into the Kufic script tallies with the material supplied by the Arabic tradition”; Troupeau, “Réflexions”, art. cit., 1539–70.
76 “L’écriture arabe”, art. cit., 662.
77 We deduce from a tradition transmitted by Muḥammad that she would have learnt how to write to Ḥafṣa; Mizzi, Tahâdhb, XXII, 355–366, no. 8418.
write; and (7) Umm Salama (Hind bint Abī Umayya, the wife of Muhammad) who knew how to read but not how to write.

We were also able to find the names of more literate women. In his Persian abridgement of the Annals of Tabari, Baallery (d. 363/974) writes that Khadija "had read the ancient writings and knew the history of the prophets, and also the name of Gabriel." 81 Of course, this tradition belongs in a Muslim apologetic context, but it is likely that this merchant-woman, cousin to Waraqa b. Nawfal, had at least some notion of reading and writing.

The same Waqidi 82 mentions for Yathrib: (1) Sa'd 'Ubāda 83 of the Najjār (Khazraj); (2) al-Mundhir b. 'Amr of the Sā'ida; (3) Ubayy b. Ka'b of the Najjār (Khazraj); (4) Zayd b. Thabit of the Najjār (Khazraj); (5) Rāfī' b. Mālik of the Zurayq (Khazraj); (6) Usayd b. Ḥujayr of the 'Abd al-Aswāl (Aws); (7) Ma'ān b. 'Adī of the Ba'li, a client of the 'Amr b. Awf (Awf); (8) Bashir b. Sa'd of the Ḥārith (Khazraj); (9) Sa'd b. Rabī' of the Ḥārith (Khazraj); (10) Aws b. Khawli of the Aws (Khazraj); (11) 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy b. Mūnafīq; (12) Suwayd b. al-Šā'mit; and (13) Ḥuṣayr al-Kaṭṭābī. In the list that he gives after that of Waqidi, Qalqashandi mentions, in addition, 84 Abū Abs b. Jarb of the Ḥāritha (Aws). 85

In comparing Waqidi's list with the corresponding notes of Ibn Sa'd (d. 230/845), who was the former's scribe, Michael Lecker 86 ascertained differences, some of which are highly significant, the most important being that Ibn Sa'd hushes up the fact that, because he had attended the Jewish school in this locality, Zayd b. Thabit knew how to write before Waraqa b. Nawfal, see Gilliot, 87 1957-59, II, 22.

The Qurayshis were literate but the Helpers (aṣbā'ī) were illiterate. Therefore the Messenger of God ordered those [Qurayshis who were taken prisoner in the battle of Badr] who could not [pay ransom] (man kāna lā màla lahu) to teach writing to ten Muslim [helpers], 88 among whom was Zayd b. Thabit.

---

82 Baidhuri, Liber Exegugiationis regionum, 473/Putālul buldān, 663-664.
83 Qalqashandi, Subh, op. cit., III, 15, gives Sa'd b. Zurrār...
84 Or at least according to Putālul buldān, ed. al-Ṭabarī, 663-64.
85 After correction, for in reality he gives Abū 'Abāb b. Kadih, which is a misprint.
88 In addition to the 13 mentioned above, Lecker, "Zayd b. Thabit", 289-71, gives ten further names, bringing the total to 23. Among the 12 tribal representatives (nugabūd) of the 'Aqaba meeting, seven were literate men (art. cit., 271).
89 For more sources, especially the History of Damascus of Ibn 'Asakir, and details, see Gilliot, "Reconsidering the authorship of the Qur'an. Is the Qur'an partly the fruit of a progressive and collective work?", in Reynolds, G.S. (ed.), The Qur'an in its Historical Context, Abingdon, 2008, 92-94 (88-108); id., "Une reconstruction critique du Coran", 68-66; Lecker, "Zayd b. Thabit: 'a Jew with two sidelocks'", 266, and n. 52.
Teaching and Learning: Places and Institutions

"Elementary schools" (kuttāb, pl. katātāb; or maktab) The origin of this institution remains problematic. While Gérard Lecomte and Marius Canard have drawn parallels between primary education in Byzantium and in Islam, others believe that the term kuttāb was already in use in pre-Islamic times, bearing the Hebrew meaning of 'beth ha-sopher or 'beth ha-midrash. According to Wāgīdī, the Jews taught Arabic script in Yathrib and even at Medina's very beginnings. As we have already seen, Zayd b. Thabit attended a Jewish school in Yathrib prior to Muhammad emigrating there. 'All b. a. Ṭūlī would have learnt to read at the age of 14, although this would have taken place in Mecca. As for Yathrib, among other towns, being the origin of Arabic writing, the town of al-Hira equally comes to mind, for Arabic script most probably first saw the light of day there. Indeed, Muslim sources tell us that a Christian from al-Hira, Jufayna, a slave and a foster son of Sa'ūd b. a. Waqqās, had been brought to Medina to teach people how to write. It should be emphasized that Arabia, and particularly Mecca and Yathrib, entertained relations with the Lakhmid kingdom and its capital.
XXX

— INTRODUCTION —

“Literacy in Pre-Islamic Times and in the Time of Muḥammad (sa)” supra, or even to works examining childhood in Islam. On starting at Qur’anic school, and in addition to memorizing the Qur’an, grammar, arithmetic and so on, boys had to learn the hadith and elements of Islamic jurisprudence (fiqh) off by heart.

There are two so-called “institutions” that are problematic for the beginnings of Islam in Medina. The first is that which Muhammad Hamidullah calls a little hastily “the school of Suffah” and even “the first Islamic university”. Even if it is possible that the Medinan ‘Ubayd b. ʿṢamit (ʿAfw Khazraj) could have taught literacy to the al-ḥāl al-ṣaffa, it has been demonstrated that the reality on which the legend of the al-ḥāl al-ṣaffa is based is difficult to uncover, and that, in any case, one cannot speak of an “institute”.

The second is the dār al-qurra’ (at least this is how it is generally read) of Medina mentioned by Ibn Sa`d. When Ibn Umm Maktum ‘Amr/Abd Allāh b. Qays b. Zā‘id al-Qurashi al-Maṣṣī al-Aṣamm, nephew of Khadlij, emigrated from Mecca to Medina, he resided in the dār al-qurra’. which was the dwelling (dār) of Makhrama b. Nawfāl al-Zuhri (d. 54/674), one of the three genealogists of the Quraysh who were ordered by ‘Umar to establish the state registers. This was understood to be a “house of reciters of the Qur’an”, or even a “house of the Qur’an”. But one may ask, given the context, if it is not here a matter of a dār al-qarā’ (hospitalium).

The mosques The mosque (masjid) was the first institution of learning in Islam, and the term maqṣil gives philological evidence of this purpose. It seems that Muhammad and his Companions were quick to consider the mosque as both

†124 Talas, “Ahl al-suffa” in EI, 2 edn, I, s.v.
†126 Maqṣil, “Ahl al-suffa” in EI, 2nd edn, I, s.v.
†128 Talas, L’enseignement, op. cit., 8.
†129 Ibn Maqṣūr, Liwa al-ʿArab, s.v. qarāt: qarāt al-dāya yiran wa qarātun: nāfshu.
a house of worship and their place of assembly. The following statements are attributed to Muhammad. The first is: “He who enters a mosque either to teach or to be taught is like a warrior (mu'ajjih) who fights for God.” As it is permitted for a tradition to be transmitted according to its meaning, and not exclusively attributed to the letter, it may be that this is an adaptation of a slightly different tradition: “He who enters a mosque either to teach good acts or be taught is like a warrior (mu'ajjih) who fights for God.”

The best writing on mosques and teaching is by the Dane, Johannes Pedersen (d. 1977), in his article on the mosque, appearing in the first edition of the Encyclopedia of Islam (ca. 1935). Here, he addresses, among other things, the genesis and evolution of teaching in the mosques, the subjects taught there, the teachers, their salaries and the students. This article was taken up, with an updated bibliography, in the second edition. The section on teaching, however, was not kept but was instead rewritten by George Makdisi (d. 2002) in his article, “Madrasa.”

... had been fascinated with al-Azhar, and during the last months of his stay [in Cairo] in 1921, he managed to study with an Azhari Shaykh ... But what really interested Pedersen was the teaching method, the meticulous transmission of knowledge from shaykh to student. For ever since his dissertation on the oath, Pedersen had been particularly interested in Islam, not as ideas, but as a culture of learning. So he wrote on the mosque, the madrasa, the preacher (Chapter 6), the college, and the book. And in the book about the book, he wrote about how it was produced, traded, used, stored, even forgotten. Similarly, the book on al-Azhar gives a rich portrait of a higher education institution, its teachers and students, its incomes and salaries, its exams and careers, its disciplinary and health problems, its teaching methods, its buildings and its patrons and politics.

---

134 G. Makdisi, “Madrasa”, EI, 2nd edn, V (French edn, V, 1129-21). Thus one should read the sections by both Pedersen and Makdisi on teaching in the mosques, for they complement each other.
136 Pedersen, J., Al-Azhar, Et muhannedansk Universitet, Copenhagen, 1922.
140 Other works had preceded Pedersen’s article, but those that came after tended, with little exception (Chapters 1 and 4), to do little more than contribute additional information on specific regions such as Muslim Spain, or on more recent periods.
141 Christopher Melchert’s account (Chapter 1, this volume) of the etiquette of learning in early Islam is based on materials from the third/ninth century. It demonstrates that ninth-century forms continued to characterize Islamic learning for centuries to come “as becomes plain from comparison with an account by Samā‘ī of teaching in the twelfth century” (p. 1).
142 In a case study on Nishapur, Richard W. Bulliet (Chapter 4, this volume) gives the reasons why the age structure of the educational system is so difficult to ascertain with precision prior to the gradual introduction of the madrasa system—matriculation, graduation, set curricula, age limits, degrees, admission qualifications: “the whole panoply of modern educational administration was absent” (p. 51).
143 Following on, the organization of “advanced studies” was characterized by study circles (balqa) and “sessions” (majlis, pl. majālis) that were not solely confined to the mosques. These sessions could be dictated and then edited, sometimes with the date and place given for where each (tala, majlis) had been held.
Other places of teaching Scholars’ houses played an important role among
the other places of teaching. Instruction was sometimes also given from the
doorsteps of their houses, in their shops (bānāt), in a garden, in a marketplace
and so on. In order to collect the poetry of the ancient Arabs, and to enrich
their language, certain scholars spent time among the Arab tribes in the desert.
Some caliphs and great state officials invited scholars, theologians, jurists,
poets and grammarians into various types of study circles,enclosures, “sessions”
and “salons” (majālis). They organized (or participated in) debates (munaẓẓara)
between not only scholars, theologians and jurists, but also, notably, non-
Muslims. These debates also brought together other specialists, such as men of
letters or philologists. Thus, the grammarian of the school known as al-
Bagra, al-Mubarrad (210–285/826–898) and that of the school known as
Tha’lab (d. 291/904) held discussions in the palace of the Tahirid
Khaqan ‘Abd al-Mutawakkil, was the mentor of the court literary circle.


146 Ahmed, Muslim Education, op. cit., 141.

147 Ibid., 126–14.


153 Ibid., 31.
INTRODUCTION

Dhahabi, Siyar, V, 78-88: mu'allim kuttab (81).

Dhahabi, Siyar, IV, 282-83: mu'allim kuttab (293), in his youth.

Van Ess, TG, II, 659-60, a Murjite from Baṣra, who established himself in Mecca, where he became a schoolmaster. His death being dated 127 is probably the result of confusion with another, as shown by van Ess.

Dhahabi, Siyar, VI, 345-46: Jabir, Bayān, I, 251; van Ess, TG, II, 316.


Ibn Sa'd, Tabaqat, VI, 340; Mizzi, Tahdhib, XII, 317-18, no. 4320.

Zurara was the chief of the Darim in the second half of the sixth century. See Caskan, W., Das genealogische Werk des Ḥālim ibn Muḥammad al-Kalbī, 2 vols, Leiden, 1966, II, 613; I, table 60; Aḥṣāni, XXII, 187-94; Abū al-Baqā' Ḥibāt Allāh al-ṣpellī (lived second half of the fifth or first half of the sixth century of the Hijra), K. al-Muktib al-mazāyida, ed. Sallāh Muṣṭaṣir Rašid, in 'Aq. Khurṣāt, Amman, 1948/1984, 354-55, gives the list of his ten sons, of which one was 'Amr; cf. on Zurara, Ibn Ḥabīb, Muṣannaf, 240-41.

Dhahabi, Siyar, VII, 302-303.


Sourdel, Vizarat, op. cit., I, 94-163. One of Abū 'Ubayd Allāh's sons was executed following an accusation by a coetxeno.

Abbasid state official Harthama b. 'Ayyān, then governor of Khorasan on behalf of al-Rashīd (d. 193/809).

Ibn Ḥabīb al-Baghdādī (d. 245/860) list shares most of the names listed by Ibn Qutayba, but his list also includes: (22) the Christian Bishr b. Abī al-Malik (al-Kīnī) al-Sākūnī, brother of Ukhāydir; (41) Christian king (ṣāḥib) of pre-Islam (jāhili) Dumal al-Jandal. If Bishr is designated as muktib it is because, as we saw, he would have taught Arabic script in al-Ḥira, and then in Mecca to Sūfīyān b. Umayyā b. Abī Shams, Abū Qays b. Abī Manāf b. Zuhra b. Khalīf and others. He was married to the sister of Abū Sūfīyān, al-Ṣāḥib bint Ḥarb b. Umayyā and is designated here symbolically as the “first master in literacy” for Mecca, (24) the poet (muḥadrām) Ghaylān b. Salama b. Mu'ṭābīb al-Thaqafī, chief of the Āḥāfī clan (d. ca. 23/644); (25) 'Ubayd b. Mīrān al-Muktib al-Kāfī; mu'allā of the Dabba, who disseminated the traditions of Muḥājīd b. Jabr (d. 104/722); (26) Amir b. Zūrāra b. 'Udās b. Zāyid (jāhili); (27) Amir b. Sharāḥīl b. al-Ṣabī'ī b. Ḥamdānī al-Kāfī (d. between 103/721 and 110/728); (28) Abū Ṣāliḥ b. Bādhām (d. 189/1516); (29) Isā'mī b. 'Ubayd Allāh b. al-Muḥājir, Ağram al-Qurashi al-Makhdūmī, mu'allā of al-Dimashqī (d. 132), who was 'Abd


161 Lecker, M. in EI, 2nd edn, VI, under “Ukhraydir”.

162 Ghanima, Y.R., in EI, II, 251.

163 Lecker, K., Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums, 1, 354, 354.

164 Gās, II, 302; Aḥṣāni, XIII, 290-295.

165 Ibn Sa'd, Tabaqat, VI, 340; Mizzi, Tahdhib, XII, 317-18, no. 4320.


167 Zabīdī, Tāj, XVI, 235: ‘Udas can also be said, but, according to him ‘Udās is the correct form.


169 Jāḥīṣ, Bayān, II, 251.

170 Indeed, Ibn Ḥabīb, Muṣannaf, 475, provides a chain of guarantors.

171 Ibn Qutayba, Marā'if, 479.

172 After correction of the text by Ibn Ḥabīb, Muṣannaf, 476, which has ‘Abd Allāh.
al-Malik b. Marwân’s private tutor; 30 ‘Abd al-Wâhid b. Qays (al-Sulami); private tutor to the sons of Yazid b. Abd al-Malik; (31) the grammarian Yûnus b. Hâbih (al-Asrâr, d. 182/798); (32) Hârun b. Mûsâ al-Awâr al-Qârî (al-Asrâr al-Atâkî, d. before 200), who was a converted Jew; (33) ‘Umar b. al-Fadîl (al-Sulami) al-Bârî; (34) Muhammad b. Muslim ibn Shihâb al-Zuhri (d. 124/742). His first teacher (mu‘addîb) was probably a muâalî, Sa‘îlî b. Kaysân al-Madani. If Ibn Hâbib considers him a mu‘allîm, it is probably because he conducted dictation sessions (of traditions) for state officials during the Umayyad caliphates of ‘Abd al-Malik and Hishâm. 35 Ismâ‘îl b. Ja‘far b. a. Kâtîr al-Madâni (d. 180), who was private tutor to ‘Ali, the son of al-Mahdî; (36) Hâjî b. Muhammad al-Awâr, who was a muâalî (al-Miṣîṣî, d. 206, in Baghdad); (37) Yûnus b. Muhammad Muhammad al-Murâdî al-Baghdâdî (d. 207 or 209); (38) Shaybânî b. ‘Abd al-Rahmân Abû Mu‘awwiyah al-Nahwî (that is, of the Nahw clan) al-Tamâmî al-Bârî, d. 164); (39) Sa‘îlî b. Kaysân al-Madani (d. after 140(?)) at the age of about 80 years(?), 39 who was muâalî of the ‘Amîr, Chi‘fâr and others, and was named private tutor to ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-Azîz by ‘Abd al-Azîz b. Marwân, then governor of Medina. When al-Walîd b. ‘Abd al-Malik acceded to the caliphate, he asked ‘Abd al-Azîz, his governor in Medina, to send him over so that he could be private tutor to his son ‘Abd al-Azîz and Umm al-Banîn, the daughter of ‘Abd al-Azîz b. Marwân; (40) ‘Abû Ubaydah b. Muhammad b. Aâmîr b. Yâsâr al-Ansî, 31 who succeeded Sa‘îlî b. Kaysân as private tutor to ‘Abd al-Azîz b. al-Walîd b. ‘Abd al-Malik; (41) the Murjî‘î A‘wn b. ‘Abd Allâh b. Utba b. Mâs‘ûd al-Hudhâlî al-Kufî (d. between 110/728 and 120/738), 32 who was private tutor to Yazid, son of Muhammad b. Marwân, the brother of the caliph ‘Abd al-Malik, but also to Ayyûb, the son of the caliph Sulaymân b. ‘Abd al-Malik; (42) Mundhir al-Afâs al-Šan‘ânî; (43) Abû Ayyûb Maymûn b. Mihrân al-Jâzârî al-Raqî (d. 118), 33 who was private tutor to the son of ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-Azîz; (44) al-Hasan b. ‘Arafa al-‘Abdî al-Baghâdî al-Mur’addîb (born 150, d. 257(!)); 34 ‘Abd al-Qary al-Dhâhib b. Abu’l-Qa‘d al-Kâfî (d. 190), who was private tutor to Muhammad b. Hârûn (i.e. al-Amin); (46) ‘Abd al-Rahmân b. Hurmuz b. Sarjîs al-Madânî al-Arâj (d. 117); (47) Hubayy b. Sînâh b. Sarjîs al-Madânî (d. 130); (48) the genealogist Da‘ghâfî b. Ḥanâzla al-Duhbî al-Shaybânî (d. 65/695) who was private tutor to Yazid, son of Mu‘awwiyah; (49) Abû ‘Abd Allâh al-Mur’allîm (?); (50) Maymûn b. a. Shûrâîn (?)-Yazid b. Zurrâ’ al-Bârî (d. 182), who is known to have transmitted from him; (51) Ibtâbî b. a. Isrâ‘îl b. Ibrâhîm b. Kânîr al-Murâwî (d. 150/767, d. 246/860), 35 who taught a group (of children or youths) in Baṣra, at the door of Ḥammâdî b. Zayd al-Bârî (d. 199) and, according to ‘Abd Allâh b. ‘Umar al-Qawârîrî al-Jashâmî al-Bârî (d. 235), 36 like Ibn Ibrâhîm, attended the lessons of Ḥammâdî b. Zayd. Mu‘âdhîn b. Ḥâtim b. Sulaymân al-Zamâmî al-Mur’addîb al-Khurasânî al-Baghdâdî (d. 246), 37 who is not mentioned by Ibn Hâbib and also belongs to this same generation of traditionists. We could, of course, make the lists of Ibn Qutayba and Ibn Hâbib longer, but we will confine ourselves to mentioning only a few more names. It is said that Muhammad ordered al-Hâkim ‘Abd Allâh b. Sa‘îd (Abû Ubaydah Dhul al-Taj) b. al-‘Âq b. Umayyâ b. ‘Abbâb. B. Shamâ (d. 8/629) 38 to teach literacy (al-kitâb) in Medina, or, alternatively, that he taught al-’âkâma before he was sent to al-Shâm. In this context al-’âkâma seems to also mean literacy. 39 The Shâ‘î ‘Umayr b. ‘Amîr al-Hamdânî (?) taught in a kutâbî in Kufa; 40 when ‘Ubayd Allâh b. Ziyâd b. Abîhî (d. 67/686) had him released from prison, our teacher declared that he would never again teach young people, and that he would never again set foot in a school (maktab). 41 The poet Ṭîrmîmî b. al-Hâkim (d. c. 126/743) was once a schoolmaster in Rayy. 42 The Kûfîan jurist and traditionist al-Ḥâjî b. A‘râfît (d. 206/821) was part of Abû Ja‘far al-Manṣûr’s entourage. Al-Manṣûr charged him (dammahu ilâ al-Madâhi) with the education
of his son, al-Mahdi, in whose company he remained until the latter's death.217 The grammarians al-Kisā'ī (d. 189/805) bestowed his learning upon al-Rashid, who entrusted him with the education of his sons, al-Amin and al-Ma'mūn.218 Ibn al-Sikkit (d. 244/858) was private tutor to al-Mu'tazz (Abū 'Abd Allāh) and al-Mu'ayyad (Ibrāhīm), the sons of al-Mutawakkil,219 with his father, he taught the children of the masses in Baghdad (Dar al-Qańara).220 The blind grammarians 'AbdALLāh b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Baghdadi was private tutor to al-Muhtadi.221 Tha'lab (200-291/815-904), who was well known for his love of riches, was private tutor to the Tahirids, notably to Tāhir b. M. b. 'Abd Allāh b. Tāhir (d. 296/908),222 but also to Muḥammad b. Dāwūd al-Zāhirī.223 Finally, there is mention of Abū 'Ali Shaqrūn (sic) al-Hamādání,224 one might speculate whether he might not be the Qayrawānī 'Ali al-Zāhirī.225

Given the informal nature of teaching in Islam,226 no-one was under any compulsion to teach or to follow a teaching, and all who had been granted a licence to transmit part of a juz',227 to the relevant bibliography, one should refer to my article "'Ulama",228 Several researchers have addressed the question of leadership (rijāṣa) among the 'ulama,229 the mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion of scholars230 and their relationship with the general public,231 with one another232 and with the government,233 as well as the question of their financial condition.234 Others have focused their attention on dynasties of scholars.235

Among the ancient Arabs, the art of the spoken word played a crucial role through poets (sha'i'irs), orators/preachers (khāṭibs), and storytellers (qussas, sing. qas).236 The poet, in particular, could pass for a rival of the Prophet, in so far as the revelations made (delivered) by the latter were reminiscent of poetry, or at least of rhymed prose (sāj).237 As Johannes Pedersen states in Chapter 6 of this volume, "In Islam the poet maintained his influence in public life, and as the one who stimulated the Prince; and likewise poetry entered the service of religion" (p. 93). The preacher, however, gained standing as "the one who in continuance of the Prophet's function as a leader addressed the congregation from the minbar during Friday's service" (ibid.). As for the qass (often translated as "popular storyteller", "preacher", or "deliverer of sermons") in Islam, the origin, genesis and evolution of his role throughout the centuries have varied considerably: "his activity considerably varied over the centuries, from preaching in the mosques with a form of koranic exegesis to downright charlatanism".238 The release of Ibn al-Jawzī's Kitāb al-qassās wa al-mudhakkirīn,239 has brought new material to our understanding of this phenomenon; yet even prior to this publication, Léon

---

217 TB, VIII, 230, no. 4341.
218 GAS, IX, 127; TB, XI, 403.
219 Yaqūt, Uṣūd, VI, 2841; "Ibn al-Sikkit", an article by the editor (C. Pellat), in EI, 2nd edn, III, s.n.
220 TB, XVII, 273.
222 'AbdAllah Shāqran, Tāhir, d. 296/908, 222 but also to Muḥammad b. Dāwūd al-Zāhirī,223 Finally, there is mention of Abū 'Ali Shaqrūn (sic) al-Hamādání,224 one might speculate whether he might not be the Qayrawānī 'Ali al-Zāhirī.225

224—52.
226 Ibid., 201—23.
227 Ibid., 224—52.
228 Ibid., 232—54.
Pedagogy

The history of childhood in Islam is becoming better known, even though there remains room for progress. Kûrâkîs` Awâdî (1908–1992) has compiled a bibliography of relevant sources,244 and several works on children and childhood have been written.245 Although he belongs to a later period than that which concerns us, we must mention Ibn al-`Adîm (d. 660/1262) from Aleppo, whose work, al-Darârî fî dhikr al-dharari (Stellae fulgentes de laudanda progenie), has been the subject of two studies by Anne-Marie Eddê.246

We have seen from the first section of this Introduction how Western interest in education, teaching and pedagogy in Islam dates back a long time. With regard to pedagogy, some progress has been made since around 1950,247 and more recently still, thanks to the work of Sebastian Günther (see Chapter 5, this volume; also the Bibliography).

As far as the sources are concerned, one of the first to have reached us in part is the treatise of Jâhîz (d. 255/869), The Book of Teachers, the best edition being that of I. Geries.248 Previously, some passages had been presented and translated,249 or simply translated,250 but not all of them came from the same origin.251 Jâhîz also tackled the issue of masters and teaching in several passages of his other books, notably in the Book of Animals.252 His concept of pedagogy and the criticisms he directed against teachers have provided subject-matter for several studies in Arabic, particularly those of: al-Qazzâz (1995) and Shams al-Dîn (1985), works in Arabic, which also address the pedagogic ideas of Ibn al-Muqaffa` and `Abd al-Hâmîd al-Kâtîb. The best developed studies on al-Jâhîz remain those of Sebastian Günther (see Chapter 5, this volume).253

The publication by Ibîn Sa`âdîn (d. 255/870) from Kairouan, entitled Rules of Conduct for Teachers has been edited numerous times.254 The author relied especially on material obtained from his father, in part orally, but also in writing from the Qâqî of Tunis Shajara al-Ma`âfî (d. 262/875).255 This work has been translated,256 and has also been the subject of several studies by Driss, Ahwâni, Hîjâzî and Shams al-Dîn, among others.257 More recently, Günther has devoted

---

244 Athâmina, Al-Qasas, op. cit., 65.
245 Van Es, TG, II, 508–509.
250 Khan, M. Abdul Muid, “The Muslim theories of education during the Middle Ages”, IC, XVIII (1944), 418–33.
251 See the Bibliography, section V, under al-Jâhîz.
257 Ibîn Sa`âdîn, Ašâb al-mu`allimin. For the editions, see the Bibliography.
INTRODUCTION

some well-informed pages to the latter, in preparation for a work he is putting together (see Chapter 5, this volume).


As for Instruction of the Student: The Method of Learning by Burhān al-Dīn (or Burhān al-Īsām) al-Zarnūjī (d. after 620/1223), it became, after several translations into Latin, the subject of several other translations and presentations.

With respect to the teaching of philosophy, medicine and the true sciences, one should refer to the corresponding volumes of the series “The Formation of the Classical Islamic World”, as well as to the scholarly exposition of G. Endress with its copious bibliography. Nor will we forget to mention here al-Fārābī (d. 339/950), who was among the first thinkers in Islam to formalize a theory of instruction and to suggest an integrated curriculum for the higher learning of both the “foreign” and “religious” sciences, in which he affirmed the distinction between “human and divine knowledge”: “It did not become an integral component of formal higher learning in Islam; yet it did have an impact on the philosophers who—in their private studies and in study circles—followed it to some extent.” Finally, A. al-Ṣaḥīḥ al-Qabisi has studied the educational thought of the Muʿtazilīs, the Ashʿarīs and of the philosophers.

Several works have also been dedicated to instruction and pedagogy among the Brethren of Purity (writing ca. 350/961, 370/980), Abū al-Ḥasan al-ʿĀmirī some translated into Latin, the subject of several other translations and presentations.

[References for this section are not provided in the original text.]

[Further notes and references are not provided in this section.]
INTRODUCTION

Ibn Khaldûn (d. 808/1406) dedicated the sixth chapter of his Prolegomena to the "sciences" and to scholarship,278 it includes a section entitled: "The Proper Method of Instruction".279 In his autobiography Ibn Khaldûn gives an account of his own education, listing the principal books he read and describing the life and works of his main teachers.280 Because the body of literature on Khaldûn is

Scholarship

The Transmission of Knowledge

Just as the transmission of the Qur'an must be assured—that is, the believer must be certain that the Qur'an he recites contains the ipsissima verba Dei proclaimed by Muhammad and that it is transmitted in an "uninterrupted" (mutawatîr) fashion by trustworthy readers—so the transmission of the hadîth must be established with the same degree of certainty, even though Muslim scholars admit that, to a certain extent, this transmission may be undertaken according to the meaning and not imperatively word-for-word so long as the meaning is not distorted. Indeed, many consider knowledge of the hadîth to be the "science" (ilm) par excellence, knowledge founded on: certainty,284 in contrast to dialectic theology (kalâm) and lay knowledge such as literature, philosophy and so on; this is why it must be disseminated throughout all Muslim regions (see Chapters 15 and 16 in this volume). Moreover, among the traditionalist circles that claim to represent the Hanbalite theological perspective, in opposition to dialectic theology, those who have done nothing but devote themselves to the memorization, study and transmission of the hadîth, who basically have been nothing but traditionists (muhaddîths), are presented as nothing short of saints.

The hadîth must be transmitted from master to disciple—at least this was how it was, in principle, until the beginning of the twentieth century, even though from the fifteenth century onwards this was no longer always the rule. In Islam, the Companions transmitted the Prophet's hadîth to their Successors, who transmitted what had been transmitted to them by the Companions, and so on and so forth, from generation to generation, or rather from scholarly "class" (tabâqa)285 to scholarly class (a scholarly class might represent ten to 40 years, depending on the timespan between masters and pupils). From a certain period onwards, the transmitted hadîths were preceded by a chain of guarantors (imân): "So-and-so told me, he said: 'So-and-so told me'" and so on and so forth, until a Prophet's saying, or a tale in which he figured.

They were not used to inquiring after the imân, but when the fitna [the civil war between Mu'awiyah and 'Ali, 35/655] occurred they said: "Name us your informants." Thus, if these were akh al-bida' [innovators], their traditions were not accepted, but if they were akh al-bida' [innovators], their traditions were not accepted.286

It is difficult to give credence to this tradition, which contains an anachronism ("people of the sunnah"), yet it remains likely that towards the end of the first/seventh century there was recourse to chains of guarantors, even if these were far from being commonly used. Thus there are few in Muqātīl b. Sulaymān's (d. 150/767) Qur'anic commentary, and most of those that are present have been inserted by one of the transmitters of this work. From the end of the second/eighth century, those who transmitted traditions without necessarily attributing them to Muhammad were ridiculed as "storytellers" (qasîd) and more often than


128 Juynboll, Muslim Traditions, op. cit., 17-18, according to Muslim, Ṣahîh, ed. 'Abd al-Baqî, I, 15.
INTRODUCTION

not rejected. At the same time, a new discipline began to emerge within what was called “the sciences of the hadith”—“disparaging and declaring trustworthiness” (al-jarh wa'l-ta'dil), namely the criticism of traditions or, better, the critical examination of the qualities of a transmitter—and this developed to a significant extent during the following centuries. Works were even penned that kept record of the transmitters who were “trustworthy authorities” (thiqât), those who were “weak” (da'if), “disparaging transmitters” (majrîthûn) and so on. However, these distinctions were most often made according to doctrinal and moral criteria and hardly correspond to those of a dispassionate researcher. From the ninth/twelfth century onwards, works were even composed on the “fabricated” (mawdū‘) hadîths, one of the most famous being that of the Hanbalite Ibn Al-Jawzi (d. 597/1201).

Indeed, hadîth specialists were aware of the phenomenon of forgery from very early on, because the various groups (fiqh) of politico-religious opposition had no qualms in attributing to Muhammad traditions that would serve their position or their political or doctrinal ideas. Some of these hadîths can even be found in collections of traditions that are said to be authentic. This is how Muhammad came to say “The Qadarites are the Zoroastrians of this community”. Yet the Qadari movement that proclaimed, in one form or another, the principle of free will, which ran against the predestinationist “orthodoxy”, only came into being around 70/689. Of course, one could always say that God had evidently granted his prophet a certain prescience for him to make this declaration!

Travel in Search of (Religious) Knowledge (al-rîḥā fi ṯaḥlab al-ʿilm)

Muslim scholars, especially hadîth scholars, travelled extensively in search of religious knowledge; they were reputedly inspired by words attributed to Muhammad, “Seek knowledge even in China”, since the search for knowledge is an obligation for all Muslims. This is the picture presented by the sources


291 The first part of this tradition is as famous as it is spurious: see Rosenthal, Knowledge Triumphant, op. cit., 89, n. 4.

292 Baghdâlî, al-Khaṭîb, al-Rîḥâ fi ṯaḥlab al-hadîth, 72–76; cf. Zarmîjî, Instruction of the Student, trans. von Grunebaum, 21, 28–29. The tradition “The search for knowledge is an obligation for all Muslims” has been transmitted in several various (ṣūrâḥ); see Suyûtî, Juz' fiṣîḥ ṣūrâ ṯaḥlab: Ṭalâb al-ʿilm fî ṯaḥlab kull Muslim, ed. in id., Taḥdîr al-khawâsîn min ṯaḥlab al-ṣūrâîn, ed. M.M.M. Ismâ‘îl, Beirut, 2002.


the hadith (kitâbat/kitâb al-'ilm), particularly in Bassora during the second/eighth century, but elsewhere too. On the one hand, it is said of the great Medinan traditionist Ibn Shībāb al-Zubrī (d. 1247/427) that he never wrote down a tradition or that he left no book, but, on the other hand, he is presented as an assiduous writer and even as the first to have written down the hadith, which he would have done at the behest of the Umayyads. Those opposed to the writing down of the hadith emphasized the tradition attributed to Muhammad, of which one variant is: “Do not write what I say, except for the Koran. If someone writes down something other than the Koran, may God destroy him!” One of the arguments put forward by Muslim scholars to justify such opposition was the fear that the Qur’an and the hadith might be confused! The question of the history and origins of the opposition to the writing down of traditions has been thoroughly addressed by Michael Cook. He shows that, at an earlier stage, this opposition had existed in all major centres of learning, and that at one time it had been the prevailing attitude. He presents an argument for the Jewish origin of this Muslim hostility to the writing down of the traditions. He then sketches out a general explanation for the demise of the authentically oral tradition in Islam.

Nevertheless, although over time the written took over from the oral, the latter continued to be regarded as an ideal; moreover, oral and written “reception of knowledge” (that is, of the traditions) (taḥammul al-‘ilm) retained an ambivalence. Drawing on the practices of reception or transmission of knowledge, authors such as al-Khaṭîb al-Baghdādī (d. 463/1071) or al-Nawawī (d. 676/1277), among others, set out criteria for the quality of the transmission not only of the traditions, but also of books, without making the error of projecting the ambivalence between the oral and the written is well illustrated in the transmission of knowledge:

Among these elements are different types of documents, whose significance varies over time and space; they include certificates of audition (samā‘āt) noted on the margins, at the beginning or end of manuscripts and autobiographical reports about a scholar’s studies that circulated as fahrasa, mashyakha, barnāmaj, thabat or muṣjam. The ambivalence between the oral and the written is well illustrated in the certificate of listening (samā‘) reproduced at the beginning of the publication of Ibn Hanbal’s enormous Musnad from the colophon of one of the manuscripts:

transmitted to me/us”, next comes “reading” (out loud—indeed, this used to be the only known way of reading) or “recitation” (qirā‘a) in front of the master. The disciple or another person reads from the book, or booklet, or else recites from memory one or several hadiths, or even the entire book, in front of the master. The master listens and compares what is recited to his own copy or memory of it. In this case, the appropriate terms are “So-and-so taught me/us” or else “I read in the presence of” (qara’tu ‘ālā). However, scholars of Islam do not agree over the question of whether recitation has the same value as direct listening from the very lips of the master. In both cases—direct listening or recitation—the disciple (or disciples) is authorized to transmit what they have received from the master. The third type of reception is the “licence to transmit” (ijâza) (see Witkam, Chapter 8, this volume). Let us consider a couple of cases. First, the master specifies both the one whom he is licensing and the work which he gives licence to transmit, saying, for example, “I give you [So-and-so] licence to transmit The Summa of the Authentic Traditions of al-Bukhārī or all the works featuring on my syllabus”, or even “my own work entitled …”. Alternatively, the master specifies the individual whom he licenses, but not the traditions to which he gives licence to transmit. There are also other types of licence, the validity or value of which are not unanimously agreed upon by all scholars.

In recent years scholars have turned their attention to the social aspects of the transmission of knowledge:

303 Gilliot, “Prosopography in Islam”, 47-78.
“certificate of reading” in the presence of the master Ibn al-Ḫuṣayn al-Shaybānī (d. 525/1231), in the “reading” mode; the chronologically preceding guarantor who “listened” to this recitation/lecture was Abū ‘Ali Ibn al-Madhbab (d. 444/1052), who held the licence to transmit this work through the reading mode from Abū Bakr al-Qāfī (d. 368/979), who in turn held it from the son of Ibn Ḥanbal, Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ‘Abd Allāh (d. 290/902), the true editor of his father’s book.

This mode of transmission sometimes leads to ambiguity concerning the author’s identity. Thus, the Kitāb al-Wara’, the product of Ibn Ḥanbal’s lessons, is sometimes attributed to the latter and sometimes to his pupil Abū Bakr al-Marwazi (d. 275/888), who was its ultimate editor;309 this is not to mention the dozen collections containing Ibn Ḥanbal’s “answers” to questions (maṣā’il) addressed to him, put in order and amplified by his students.310

With regard to the relationship between the oral and the written during the pre-Islamic period311 and the first centuries of Islam, Gregor Schoeler312 has shed much light on the debate, distinguishing between—to use terms of transmission sometimes leads to ambiguity concerning the scribes and booksellers, writing materials, Arabic script and calligraphers and so on remains that of Johannes Pedersen.316 Since then, G. Endress has contributed an excellent bibliography on codicology:317 the book in Muslim culture, writing materials, outside appearance, palaeography and the transmission of manuscripts.318 We also have at our disposal an excellent monograph on the technique and approach of scholarship written by Franz Rosenthal from sources such Badr al-Dīn Ibn Jamāʿī (d. 733/1333)319 and al-ʿAlmawī (d. 981/1573),320 whose work is an abridgement of that of Badr al-Dīn al-Ghazzi (d. 984/1577).321

Max Weisweiler (Chapter 10, this volume) has written a scholarly article on the dictation of texts and works in preparation for his edition of Samāʿī’s’s (d. 562/1167) Adab al-ilmāʿ wa l-istimlāʿ (The Method of the Dictation Colleges).322 For his part, Stefan Leder studied the manner and ways in which literary, historiographic or other traditions were transmitted and integrated into written works323—for instance, in adab collections—which in some cases compels us to redefine the notion of authorship (see Chapter 12, this volume).

The problem of the transmission of texts or textual units has also been considered with regard to the belles lettres (adāb), as in The Book of Songs of Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī (d. 356/967) by M. Fleischhammer324 and H. Kilpatrick,325 or

Books and Authorship

Books have been the object of praise by numerous scholars, including al-Jāḥiẓ.326 The best reference work in terms of books, their composition, transmission,


310 Schoeler, Écrire et transmettre, op. cit., 15-29; id., The Oral and the Written, op. cit., 28-44.


314 Endres, G., “Handschriftenkunde”, in GAP I, 271-81 (271-286); Atiyeh (ed.), The Book, with contributions by Mahdi, M., “From the manuscript age to the printed books,” 1-5, and Rosenthal, E. “Of making many books there is no end: the Muslim view”, 33-54.


for the great collections of hadith by Johann Fück (Chapter 14, this volume), J. Robson and others. The process by which the latter were canonized and the transmission of texts in the formation of the Sunni schools of law has equally been examined.

The prospect of recovering lost Arabic texts from later sources that quote from them has long tantalized modern scholars. Yet, in many cases, it would be futile to seek a complete and final version of the works of the ancient historiographers. Thus the traditionist and historiographer Ibn Ishaq (d. 150/767) never “published” a “complete” version of his Universal Pre-Islamic History (Kitāb al-mubtada‘) or of his Biography of the Prophet (Sira and Maqālātī), but he delivered lectures on these subjects to various audiences. An “original” of his Life of the Messenger of God never existed. Nor was there ever a unified text for Ibn Ishaq’s traditions; he delivered many of his traditions orally, at different times and on various occasions. Thereafter, some of his listeners became transmitters of their master’s lessons, which resulted in numerous versions, often concordant but also divergent or complementary. Equal recourse was made to both oral and written transmission sometimes as early as the first/seventh century. 333

As from about 1960, researchers began to set themselves the task of reconstituting sources, in which case “metamorphoses” in the transmitted texts could sometimes be noted. This has been accomplished either through the analysis of the chains of guarantors or by the utilization of manuscripts or fragments of ancient manuscripts with their colophons, the certificates of listening, all combined with analysis of chains of guarantors leading to a more ancient dating of Arabic written production than that by J. Schacht, J. Wansbrough, N. Calder and others.

F. Sezgin distinguished himself in the first method—the analysis and dating of the chains of guarantors. The method proposed by Sezgin gave rise to a lively debate among the interested researchers. Doubt was cast over whether the formulas used in the chains (“So-and-so told us”, “So-and-so related to/informed us” and so on) corresponded to the modes of transmission as defined in the works specialized in the “sciences of transmission”, for the most part subsequent to the second/eighth century. That said, and despite the justified criticisms levied against his method, Sezgin’s work must be credited for having drawn attention to the fact that suspicion with respect to the chains of guarantors could not be a hard-and-fast rule. Thus, in his study on the beginnings of Muslim jurisprudence, H. Motzki carried out fundamental work on the collections of traditions (Maṣūma) of ’Abd al-Razzāq al-Ṣanʿānī (d. 211/826), which came well before that of al-Bukhārī, seeking to discover, through the enterprise, former “sources”—in this case, material harking back to four of the masters whose lessons on traditions al-Ṣanʿānī followed: Ma’mar b. Rāshid (d. 153/770), Ibn Jurayj (d. 150/767), Sufyān al-Thawrī (d. 161/778) and Ibn Uyyāna (d. 196/811). Motzki even went further back into the “sources” with regard to the materials transmitted by al-Zuhri (d. 124/742). He also responded to what he considers to be G.H.A. Juyboll’s hypercritical tendency which even calls into question the very existence of the ancient transmitters of hadith. Having said this, in comparing Syaf b. ’Umar’s traditions with reports from other sources, M. Murtaza argues

---

43 Calder, Studies in Early Muslim Jurisprudence, op. cit.
44 Motzki, H., Die Anfänge der islamischen Jurisprudenz/The Origins of Islamic jurisprudence, op. cit.
that Sayf created companions, transmitters of traditions, battles, events and even geographical locations that had in fact never really existed.\textsuperscript{344} In two studies from 2008, Tilman Nagel questioned the method of H. Motzki, G. Schoeler and others in their analysis of the chains of authority they use to illustrate the authenticity of historical or pseudo-historical narratives on the beginnings of Islam. In his large volume Muhammad, life and legend, written in German, Nagel shows that these texts cannot be interpreted without taking into account the fact that they are presented within the framework of an Islamic history of Salvation; they should be considered in the context of hermeneutic theology.

But we shall dwell no longer on this question of the transmission of the hadith and of the law, for it is a subject that has been addressed in Volumes 27 and 28 of this collection.\textsuperscript{345}

For the sources on the origins of Islam and the Arab conquests, one should refer to Volume 5 of this collection. Fred Donner has summarized the four types of approach to these sources taken by researchers: (1) the descriptive approach, (2) the source-critical approach, (3) the tradition-critical approach, and (4) the sceptical approach.\textsuperscript{346}

Benjamin Jokisch has recently brought back to our attention the fact that "(t)he high density of cultural, religious and political connection between Islam and Byzantium/Orthodox Christianity contrasts with the traditional conviction that Islam is essentially an Islamic phenomenon".\textsuperscript{347} Nevertheless, the efforts of several researchers, as well as joint initiatives between Byzantinologists and Islamologists, are beginning to change this state of affairs little by little, with, for example, the integration of the formative period of Islam into "Studies on late antiquity and early Islam" (see Walzer, Chapter 13, this volume).\textsuperscript{348}

Previously we mentioned another method for recovering, identifying and/or reconstituting ancient sources, which can lead to a more ancient dating of the writing down of the hadith and, juridic, historiographic or other texts; this is a method which can, at least in part, call into question what has been termed as the "visions of the skeptics".\textsuperscript{349} Thus M. Muranyi, who has been working on the rich contents of the ancient manuscripts in the ancient library of the mosque of Qayrawan and in Moroccan libraries since 1980, has revitalized our knowledge of ancient Malikism in the Maghreb and of its routes of transmission from the East or towards the East.\textsuperscript{350} Such works lead us to revise certain opinions held on the beginnings of the written production in Islam, not only with respect to the hadith and law, but also with reference to exegesis\textsuperscript{351} and historiography.

The transmission of philosophical texts is addressed in this volume (Chapter 13), so we will not discuss this or the transmission of texts on medicine and the true sciences here. Likewise, we have chosen not to take up the question of the collection and transmission of the Qur'an, for reasons of limited space.\textsuperscript{352}

Libraries

Islamic libraries have been the focus of a number of general studies (see, for example, Grohmann, Chapter 17, this volume).\textsuperscript{353} These particular studies have emphasized that "(e)very mosque of importance is likely to have had a library for, hitherto, it was the practice to bequeath books to them".\textsuperscript{354}

We have at our disposal articles, monographs and chapters of works on the libraries of the Umayyad period. Ruth Mackensen's four articles need to

\textsuperscript{344} Askari, M., Khosravi, H., "Visionen des Skeptikers", Der Islam, 81 (2004), 206-17; id., "Die frühe Rechtsliteratur zwischen Quellenanalyse und Fiktion", Islamic Law and Society, 4/2 (1997), 224-41, which is a very critical review article of Calder's Studies in Early Muslim Jurisprudence.

\textsuperscript{345} Vol. 27, The Formation of Islamic law: vol. 28, The Development of Hadith.


\textsuperscript{349} Muranyi, M., "Visionen des Skeptikers", Der Islam, 81 (2004), 206-17; id., "Die frühe Rechtsliteratur zwischen Quellenanalyse und Fiktion", Islamic Law and Society, 4/2 (1997), 224-41, which is a very critical review article of Calder's Studies in Early Muslim Jurisprudence.


Conclusion

We have come a long way since the early interest shown by Westerners towards education and learning in Islam. Important stages were reached in the nineteenth century and at the beginning of the twentieth century thanks to the works of Alfred von Kremer, Aloys Sprenger, Ignaz Goldziher, Adam Mez and Johannes Pedersen, among many others. Because of the work of Franz Rosenthal, we have a better understanding of the technique and approach of scholarship in Islam and the relationship between scholarship and knowledge. More recently, and due to the works of Christopher Melchert, we are better informed about the etiquette of learning in the first three centuries of Islam.

We now have at our disposal general histories of education in Islam, in Arabic as well as in other languages, although these remain too imprecise, often failing to make the required distinctions between periods. On the other hand, some works, bearing on a narrower period and drawing on more precise sources, cast an interesting light on the subject. Such is the case with, for example, Munir-ud-Din Ahmad’s 1968 study up until the fifth/eleventh century, from The History of Baghdad by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463/1071).

Editor’s Remarks

Some studies included in this volume, originally written in English, are old and contain errors which could not be corrected. This is the case in the four articles by R. Mackensen Stellhorn (e.g. p. 326: Asad ibn Mūsā, d. 133/749, leg. 212/827), which additionally suffer from occasional lack of historico-critical distance. There are some errors, of a lesser degree in the article by I. Goldziher (e.g. p. 228: Laith b. Muḥājīd, leg. Laith ‘an Muḥājīd), and in other articles.

As for the studies which were not originally in English, obvious mistakes have been corrected, but others may remain.

As the studies in this volume are reprinted in their original form, it is not possible to standardize the transliteration of words and proper names across the volume. The volume contains a long index in which corrections have been made to proper names and words where errors appeared in the text, and some unidentified proper names have been identified. Dates have been checked, and corrected as necessary, and for this reason dates given in the index do not always agree with those given in the text. Where discrepancy occurs regarding proper names and dates, the reader is advised to refer to the index.

I should like to extend particular thanks to my colleague and friend Lawrence I. Conrad who advised on the choice of studies for this volume, the team at Ashgate Publishing, especially Mrs Rosalind Ebdon, the translators and all those without whom this book would not have been published.

Numerous monographs, of varying quality, have been written in Arabic about the pedagogic conceptions held by several authors. Recently, Sebastian Günther has contributed writings on Ibn Sahlun and al-Jāḥīz, among others, which should lead to a book on Muslim thinking on education.

The works of Gregor Schoeler have developed the way in which we conceive of the relation between the oral and the written. In about the same timeframe, progress has also been made with respect to questions of authorship and the reconstruction or recovering of lost texts (Conrad, Kilpatrick, Landau-Tasserom, Leder, Motzki, Muranyi). This has caused several late datings of ancient texts by authors including J. Schacht and then J. Wansbrough and N. Calder to be called into question (by Motzki and Muranyi, among others).
SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

I Education and Learning (General), Related topics and Bibliographies

Sources


Secondary Literature


Ecchellensis, Abraham, Semita Sapientiae sive ad scientias comparandas methodus, Parisiis, apud Adrianum Taupinart, 1646.


Gīl'ādī, A., "Individualism and conformity in medieval Islamic educational thought: some notes with special reference to elementary education", Al-Qantara (Madrid), 26/1 (2005), 99–121.


Granara, W., "Islamic education and the transmission of knowledge in Muslim Sicily", in Lowry, J.E. et al. (eds.), Law and Education in Medieval Islam, 2004, 150–73.


Granara, W., "Islamic education and the transmission of knowledge in Muslim Sicily", in Lowry, J.E. et al. (eds.), Law and Education in Medieval Islam, 2004, 150–73.


Khan, M.A., “The Muslim theories of education during the Middle Ages”, IC, XVIII (1944), 418–33.


Mahdi, M., “From the manuscript age to the printed books”, in George N. Atiyeh (ed.), The Book in the Islamic World: The written word and communication in the Middle East, Albany, NY, 1995, 1–15.


BIBLIOGRAPHY


Middendorpf, H., Commentatio de institutis literariis in Hispania, quae Arabes auctores habuerunt, Göttingen, 1810.


Reiske, Johann Jakob, Dissertatio de principibus Muhammadanis qui aut ab eruditione aut ab amore litterarum et literatorum claruerunt, Johann Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf, Leipzig, 1747, 20 pp.


Relandi [Reland], Hadriani, De Religione mohammedica, 2nd edn, Utrecht, 1717 (1st edn 1705).


Ribera y Tarragó, J., La enseñanza entre los musulmanes españoles, Zaragoza, 1893.


Salama, I., L’enseignement islamique en Égypte, son évolution, son influence sur les programmes modernes, Cairo, 1939.


II Pedagogical Tradition

Sources


Ghazālī, Iḥyā‘ ‘ulām al-dīn, 4 vols, Būlāq, 1289/1872; reprint Cairo, 1933.


Secondary Literature


...

Günther, S., Medieval Muslim Thinkers on Education: Insights into Islam's classical pedagogical theories, forthcoming.


Nūmī, 'Al. al-Amīn, Manāhij wa ta'rīq al-ta'līm 'inda al-Qābīsī wa Ibn Khaldūn, Tripoli (Libya), 1980.


Walker, Paul E., “Knowledge and learning”, EQ, III, 100-104.


III Arabic Script: Beginning and Evolution

Sources


Secondary Literature


IV Orality and Literacy


V Scholarship and Attestation

Sources


Ghazālī, Abū Ḥāmid [attributed to], Kitāb Fāṭḥat al-‘ulām. Wa yalihi Khuṭbāt al-mafḥūm fi tākkhir aḥādīth Fāṭḥat al-‘ulām, jam’ M. Amin al-Khānji, Cairo, 1904.


Secondary Literature


VI Authorship and Transmission


Najmi, Wadi’ah Tahā, al-Qaṣaṣ wa-al-qUṣquot fi al-adab al-isLāmī, Kuwait, 1972.


Robson, J., “The transmission of Muslim’s Ṣaḥīḥ”, JRAI, 1949, 49–60.


-------BIBLIOGRAPHY-------

Robson, J., "The transmission of Tirmidhi's Jāmī'", BSOAS, 16 (1954), 258-70.


**BIBLIOGRAPHY**


Pinto, O., Le Biblioteche degli Arabi nell'età degli Abbassidi, Firenze, 1928.

VI Other References Cited in the Introduction

Sources

‘Abd Allâh b. Wahb: see Muranyi infra.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author(s)</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Publisher(s)</th>
<th>Year(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>


GAL: see Brockelmann, supra.

GAP I: see Fischer, 1982 supra; GAP II: see Gätje infra; GAP III: see Fischer, 1992 supra.

GAS I–IX: see Sezgin, infra.


Gregorio, Rosario, Rerum Arabicorum quae ad historiam Siculam spectant ampla collectio, opera et studio Rosarit Gregorio, Panormi (Palermo), Ex Regio Typographeo, 1790.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


Lammens, H., *La Mecque à la veille de l’hégire*, Beirut, 1924.


THE ETIQUETTE OF LEARNING IN THE EARLY
ISLAMIC STUDY CIRCLE
Christopher Melchert

Compendia of hadith from the ninth century, including most of the Six Books, for example, normally devote a section to adab, the etiquette of a religiously serious life. Compendia with and without separate chapters on adab consider many questions of etiquette elsewhere, such as in chapters dealing with mosques. Naturally, for books from legists, they pay disproportionate attention to how one should conduct oneself at meetings for the transmission of religious knowledge (‘ilm). In details as small as the proper way to sit, one may observe central features of Islamic religious culture. In arguments over disputed questions, one observes the very emergence of a religious culture.

A. S. Tritton and George Makdisi have already given us valuable accounts of the forms Islamic education took.1 The account that follows is based more strictly on materials from the ninth century C.E. These often describe the seventh and eighth centuries, but one usually presumes that norms of the ninth century have been projected backward. Sunni Islam crystallized in the ninth century. In consequence, ninth-century forms continued to characterize Islamic learning for centuries to come, as becomes plain from comparison with an account by Sam‘anī of teaching in the twelfth century. At the same time, evidence survives in ninth-century accounts of both earlier versions of the classical forms and of rejected alternatives to those forms.

Sitting in the Mosque

From as far back as the sources will take us, the site of most religious learning, whether in law or hadith, hardly distinguishable before the late ninth century, was the mosque.2 The normal procedure was to sit (jalasa or, less often, qa‘ada) on the ground in a circle (halqah). The place where one sat was his majlis, a term referring to a particular place in the circle, but most often to the place in a mosque where a

---

2 See Makdisi, Rise of Colleges, 1–12, “The Term Majlis and the Primacy of the Mosque.”
The etiquette of learning in the early Islamic study circle

PEDAGOGICAL TRADITION

Kufan. 8 One Yahyā b. Uthmān (d. 255/868-69) had sessions at his house in Homs. 9 Rather than going to the palace himself, Bukhārī (d. 256/870) bade the amīr of Bukhara come to hear him relate hadith in his mosque or in his house. 10 In 270/883-84, the Baghdādi Shāfi`ī Maḥmūd (d. 330/941-42) convened a session for jurisprudence at his house. 11 The house presented advantages over the mosque to the teacher who wanted to offer hospitality to his auditors, such as the Kufan Ḥāfiz b. Chiyāth (d. 194/810?), who declared, “Whoever has not eaten of our food, we will not relate hadith to him.” 12 It likewise presented advantages to the less reputable teacher who demanded payment for his hadith, such as the Baghdādi Ibn Abī Usmāmah al-Tamīmī (d. 282/896). A traditionist related finding a crowd of booksellers (warrāqūn) in his vestibule, whose names Ibn Abī Usmāmah was writing down. Each was to pay him two dirhams. 13 Finally, it was easier to withdraw from a session at one’s house, as did the Nishapūrī traditionist Muhammad b. ʿRāfī (d. 245/860) when a bird soiled someone’s hand and pen and another auditor laughed out loud, spoiling the solemnity of the occasion. 14 In addition to the mosque and house are also mentioned ribāṭ, khāṭbih, and, already in the third Islamic century, the madrasah. 15

The teacher in the mosque normally sat against a pillar (ustuwawānah or sāriyah). No prophetic example is cited for sitting by a pillar, presumably because traditionists did not conceive of the Prophet’s mosque in Medina as originally having had pillars. But numerous later teachers are described as sitting against pillars; for example, Abū Bakr b. Shaybah (d. 235/849) quotes the Medinese jurisprudent Maḥmūd b. ʿIsā (d. 198/814) as listing one Companion and three Followers who were seen sitting against pillars. 16 To sit against a pillar was so strongly identified with teaching that the Kufan traditionist Abū ʿUyaynā (d. 196/811) metonymically referred to the first person to ask him to relate hadith, Misʿar b. Kidām (d. 155/771-72), as “the first to make me lean against the pillar.” 17

Maḥmūd b. ʿIsā also named two followers who were not seen sitting against pillars. 18 It was presumably modesty that impelled at least one of the two, the famous Kufan


4 But numerous later teachers are described as sitting against pillars; for example, Abū Bakr b. Shaybah (d. 235/849) quotes the Medinese jurisprudent Maḥmūd b. ʿIsā (d. 198/814) as listing one Companion and three Followers who were seen sitting against pillars. To sit against a pillar was so strongly identified with teaching that the Kufan traditionist Abū ʿUyaynā (d. 196/811) metonymically referred to the first person to ask him to relate hadith, Misʿar b. Kidām (d. 155/771-72), as “the first to make me lean against the pillar.”

5 Maḥmūd b. ʿIsā also named two followers who were not seen sitting against pillars. It was presumably modesty that impelled at least one of the two, the famous Kufan

6 Most frequently mentioned is the teacher’s own home. Ibn Humaẓ (d. 145/762–63) would meet at his house in Medina with various jurists for fiqh and hadith. The house of Shaybānī (d. 189/805) was said to fill up when he related hadith of Mālik but not when he related that of
explained that God would reward the first two but turn away from the last.\textsuperscript{29} It was definitely forbidden to make someone get up, and then sit in his place.\textsuperscript{30} This prohibition is sometimes combined with the injunction to spread out and make room for a newcomer.\textsuperscript{31} Rising to salute someone was in any case discouraged. The Prophet is quoted as telling a man not to rise for another "as the aįqīm do, "as Fārs and the Rūm do," or "as the people of Fārs did to their mighty."\textsuperscript{32} Ahmad b. Ḥanbal stated directly that it was discouraged (mukrūḥ) to stand for someone.\textsuperscript{33} Some ambivalence may be indicated by contrary hadith reports, according to which the Prophet enjoined the Jews of Bānti Qurayyah to stand for their master (sayyid), the arbiter who was about to condemn them to death and slavery, and also by reports of Fatīmah's always standing for her father.\textsuperscript{34} There are, of course, reports that various traditionists rose to honor someone or other. Ahmad b. Ḥanbal allowed a returning pilgrim to rise for elders coming to salute him based on the example of the Prophet's rising for Ja'far.\textsuperscript{35} Abū Zur`ah al-Rāzī (d. 264/878) would not rise for anyone or seat anyone in his place save Ibn 🇼ahr (d. 270/884).\textsuperscript{36}

Ambivalence is also indicated by contradictory reports of where in a circle to enter. On the one hand, as one might expect, we have multiple reports enjoining indifference to where one sits. Abū Khayyāmah (d. 234/849) assures us there was never any jostling for position among the Companions.\textsuperscript{37} Bukhārī devotes a section to man qa`da baytah yantihi bihi `ma-jāliṣ, "those who sat where the session ended."\textsuperscript{38} On the other hand, again as one might expect, there is much evidence that later men did pay keen attention to where in the circle they sat, much preferring the honor of sitting near the master for such attention.\textsuperscript{39} There is some encouragement for such attention in various Prophetic hadith reports. Perhaps we see an attempt at harmonization (and acceptance of inevitable human frailty) in injunctions that allow one to claim a place other than "wherever the session ends," but one must not claim her place arrogantly; for example, "Whoever divides two in a session so as to put himself above them
The Etiquette of Learning in the Early Islamic Study Circle

is quoted as saying, "All I used to want in the world was two white garments in which to sit with Abü Hurayrah."

Opinion was divided about sitting or lying in the mosque with one leg over the other. Ibn Abü Shaybah first quotes fourteen hadith reports in favor of putting one leg over the other, mostly in sitting, some in lying down. One concerns the Prophet's example. Ibn Al-Razzāq quotes others and offers further reports of the Prophet's lying in the mosque with one leg over the other. But then Ibn Abü Shaybah quotes seven hadith reports against crossing legs. In other sources, the Prophet himself forbids putting one leg on top of the other. Ibn Al-Razzāq quotes Zuhri as saying regretfully that the people raised a great controversy over the matter.

Ibn Abü Shaybah relates this controversy to the customs of non-Muslims. In favor of sitting or lying with legs crossed, he quotes the Medine Follower 'Ikrimah (d. 107/725-267) as saying dismissively, "Only ahl al-khitāb forbid that." His Basran contemporary Abū Mījār (d. 106/724-257) said, "It is just something the Jews disliked. They said He created the heavens and earth in six days, then settled (itsdūd) on the Sabbath and sat (jalasa) in that posture." Al-Hasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728-28) is quoted as saying, "The Jews used to dislike it, so the Muslims contradicted them."

There was also disagreement over sitting with legs stretched out. At one end of the spectrum, the Prophet himself is said to have modelled this posture, for he once received a delegation with his legs extended, leaning on a corner of his outer wrap (ridā') with his hand. A middle position is indicated by the story that the Damascene Kathīr b. Murrah (d. 70-80/690-700) entered the mosque and found the Companion 'Awb b. Malik al-Aṣja'ī sitting in a circle. He had extended his legs in front of him. When he saw Kathīr, he pulled up his legs (qābada rīlahā), then said, "Do you know why I stretched out my legs? That a good man should come and sit." Apparently, 'Awb's previous companions had not been up to the standard that required pulling up the legs. At the other end of the spectrum, the Prophet is said to have passed a Companion leaning back on his left hand and asked him, "Will you sit as do those who have incurred God's wrath?" (an allusion to Qur'ān 17:60, conventionally indicating the Jews.) It is easy to imagine that stretched-out legs

References in hadith to Jewish practices are most rarely found. In one, the Prophet says, "There are no Jews in the mosque; they have passed a Companion leaning back on his left hand and asked him, "Will you sit as do those who have incurred God's wrath?" (an allusion to Qur'ān 17:60, conventionally indicating the Jews.) It is easy to imagine that stretched-out legs
seemed too casual for respectfulness; however, the prohibition on leaning suggests either that more than casualness was at stake or that the opponents of casualness in the mosque took it seriously indeed.\textsuperscript{61}

Finally, some wished to forbid one to sit with the fingers intertwined. According to a hadith report related by Ahmad b. Hanbal in slightly different versions from Kufan authorities, the Prophet once pointed out a man in the mosque who was sitting with his knees raised and his fingers intertwined (muṣṭaṭābah muṣṭaṭābah aṣâbî ’iṯ‘i ba’diḏu fī ba’diḏ). He commented to those with him, “When one of you is in the mosque, let him not intertwine (his fingers), for intertwining (taḥṣīb) is of Satan. So long as you are in the mosque, you remain at prayer.” Alternatively, he said (with stronger emphasis on prayer), “When one of you prays, let him not intertwine his fingers, for intertwining is of Satan. One of you remains in prayer so long as he is in the mosque.”\textsuperscript{62} The croused fingers presumably had some magical significance. But Bukhārī reports that the Prophet himself once intertwined his fingers (shabbaka aṣâbî ’iṯ‘ah) as he said that the believers were like the bricks of a wall, reinforcing one another.\textsuperscript{63} And Nasā’ī reports that Ibn Mas‘ūd intertwined his fingers (shabbaka bayna aṣâbî ’iṯ‘) and put them between his knees at the inclination in prayer (raḵ ’aḵ), expressly saying he had seen the Prophet do so.\textsuperscript{64} The campaign to forbid intertwining the fingers, whether in prayer or simply in sitting, appears to have failed.

Once the newcomer had taken his place in the circle or in the next rank outside it, he was supposed to remove his sandals and put them to his left side.\textsuperscript{65} As one put on the right sandal first, then the left, so also one put off the left one first, then the right.\textsuperscript{66} Furthermore, one was not to put them on or take them off while standing.\textsuperscript{67}

**Proper Dress and Other Rules**

As indicated by Abū Ṣāliḥ’s desire for two white garments, traditionists were recommended to wear white.\textsuperscript{68} For example, Ibn Mājah successively quotes the Prophet as telling his Companions, “The best of your clothing is white, so wear it and

often intended to suggest that Muslims should do otherwise. Usually, neither archaeology nor the non-Islamic literary record confirms that the Jews actually had the practice in question. See G. Vajda, “Jews et musulmans selon le hadîth,” *Journal asiatique* 229 (1937):57–127, esp. 62–63, 83.

\textsuperscript{61} In Egypt in the 1880s, some Christians urged me to uncross my legs while holding the Bible, and a some Christians urged me to uncross my legs while holding the Bible, and a

\textsuperscript{62} The hadith report usually concludes, “The best [clothing] in which to visit God in your cemeteries and mosques is white.”\textsuperscript{69} The famous Baghdadi renunciant Bishr al-Ḥāfi (d. 227/841) was said to have been kept out of the mosque by the doorkeepers, who had mistaken him for a beggar.\textsuperscript{70} Presumably this was for wearing clothes not up to the standard of traditionists. Naturally, white conflicted with Abbasid black, worn at court and by qadis. Sufyān al-Thawrī (d. 161/778) is quoted as saying, “Whoever sees a black cloak (khārīgah), let him trample it and not touch it at all.”\textsuperscript{71} The most traumatic single incident, that finally reduced Ahmad b. Hanbal to tears, occurred when he was brought before the caliph and his son at Samarra and his own garment was taken off and replaced with a black cloak.\textsuperscript{72} One suspects that Abbasid custom provoked traditionists to harden their call for white.

As for headgear, turbans are recommended but there are many variations of form and color, and strong local custom must have prevented traditionists from ascribing to the Prophet any strong endorsement of one. In the early second/eighth century, for example, the jurisprudents of Basra all wore a mizālāh, a type of headgear which served to shield one from the sun. When Shu‘bāḥ (d. 160/776) showed up not wearing one, perhaps shortly after transferring there from Wāṣīt, Yūnus b. `Ubayd (d. 139/756–757) warned him not to leave it at home.\textsuperscript{73} I have not come across any prophetic precedent for the mizālāh.

A widely reported rule is that one should salute both on joining a circle and, unless it is breaking up altogether, on leaving it again.\textsuperscript{74} Ahmad b. Hanbal adds a report by which someone leaving the circle refrained from saluting because the Prophet was still speaking. His refraining was not taken as politeness, for the Prophet complained when he was gone, “How quickly comes forgetting.”\textsuperscript{75}

It was forbidden to sit at the edge of the shade. Ibn Abī Shaybah quotes seven hadith reports, two prophetic, against sitting at the edge of the shade or between sun and shade, that being the place where Satan sits.\textsuperscript{76} Ahmad b. Hanbal quotes one such hadith report.\textsuperscript{77} Abū Dāwūd reports that the Prophet enjoined his Companions to get up if the sun shifted such that one was partly in shade, partly in sun, and once commanded a man to move who took up such a place while the Prophet was
preaching. Without reference to Satan's place of sitting, Ahmad b. Hanbal disliked that a teacher should sit in the shade while his auditors copied in the sun, once reproaching someone for doing this. "Do not do it again," he said, "but sit with the people."79

Three Centuries Later

The rules for proper teaching laid out in ninth-century hadith remained in effect for centuries, as is evident in the book on the etiquette of giving and taking dictation by left, and not to make another give up his place among others.

The main point of studying hadith was to reproduce the experience of virtuous Muslims reaching back to the Prophet.

wear white, to sit with knees drawn up, to face the qiblah, to put in his bāb fi al-jalīl hayma al-qili wa-l-shams, the second report does not expressly mention shade; therefore, it might have originally had to do with a discouraged austerity, deliberately staying in the hot sun, on which see further Iglaz Goldzihere, "De l'ascétisme aux premiers temps de l'Islam," Revue de l'histoire des religions 37 (1898):159-69, at 165; Mélik, Mawṣata', 2.387, al-naḏīr wa-l-ṣaymūn, 4; Bukhārī, Sunbī, ʿaymūn, bāb al-naḏīrān fi al-ṣaymūn wa-l maʿṣūdūh.


Samānī, Adab, 29-30 (white), 36 (purfūṣa'), 44 (giblab), 123 (sandals), 126-27 (make another give up).


81 The skeletal case (expressly contra van Es but also against Jayeboll, Mozoki, and others) is put by Michael Cook, Early Muslim Dogma (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), Chap. 11, "The Dating of Traditions." For a survey of the authenticity debate, see now Herbert Berg, The Development of Exegesis in Early Islam (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 2000), esp. chap. 1.

Finally, prescriptions of how to sit in the mosque are useful in characterizing Islamic law. Rules about sitting in the mosque are presented in the same style, with the same safeguards against imposture, as rules about, for example, sales, inheritance, and retaliation for homicide. Breaches of etiquette are notoriously detected and punished more swiftly and surely than breaches of the moral law. Thus, prescriptions of proper conduct make it difficult to distinguish "legal" from "non-legal" concerns in books of Islamic law even by the criterion of consequences in the world: the Muslim gauché enough to sit down in the middle of a circle must normally have seen consequences a great deal sooner than if he had deliberately neglected to wash before that morning's dawn prayer, or even if he had committed a grievous sin such as adultery half an hour before. The law treats all of life.

2

MUSLIM EDUCATION

Ignaz Goldziher

The value set upon education in Islam is indicated by certain hadith sayings which, though they may have no claim to rank as axioms, yet undoubtedly reflect the educational ideals of Islam in its early days, and may be taken as representing the prevailing views of the first generations. Thus it is handed down as a saying of the Prophet himself, that a father can confer upon his child no more valuable gift than a good education; and, again, it is better that a man should secure an education for his child than that he bestow a gift in charity. The men thus commanded extend also to slaves. It is regarded as a work of specially meritorious character to educate a slave-girl well, to set her free, and give her to a husband.

It may be safely said that Islam raised the Arabs to a higher level of civilization, and at the same time introduced amongst them the elements of education, in which they had hitherto been rather deficient. That Muhammad himself, partly, it may be, on missionary grounds—attached considerable importance to the acquisition of the most indispensable elements of knowledge, may be inferred from the condition on which he released prisoners of war after his victory at Badr. He employed several Quraysh captives to teach the boys of Medina to write, and this service counted as their ransom. Twelve boys were assigned in each of the Meccan prisoners who were capable of giving the required instruction, and, as soon as the pupils had attained the stipulated degree of progress, their teachers were set at liberty. The Quraysh, as a people largely engaged in commerce, had naturally more occasion to practice writing than the date-planters and husbandmen of Mecca, and it was, therefore, easier to find someone among them than in Yathrib—a consideration which may perhaps also dispose us to accept the view held by certain Muslim theologians, that the Prophet himself, in handing down to them the ascendancy over the Jews in the world, set them on foot. In the meantime he seems to have been skilled in penmanship before the rise of Muhammad. In Medina, those who, in addition to certain other accomplishments, possessed also the art of writing—acquired perhaps from the Jewish residents there—were deemed worthy of the title of hikmil ("practitioner").

It would also appear that, once the young Muslim community had been constituted, a primitive system of education, embracing at least the bare elements of knowledge, was set on foot. In no long time we begin to meet with references to the hukmil ("elementary school"). We would certainly have the right to believe that the Prophet himself, in handing over the education of the children of the Muslims, added the word hikmil or hikmil to the title of the Prophet's secretary, Penmanship was handed down to the Muslims from the Muhammedan Semitic ancestors, and was generally regarded as among the distinctive marks of the Semitic race.

In the early history of Islam—The value set upon education in Islam is indicated by certain hadith sayings which, though they may have no claim to rank as axioms, yet undoubtedly reflect the educational ideals of Islam in its early days, and may be taken as representing the prevailing views of the first generations. Thus it is handed down as a saying of the Prophet himself, that a father can confer upon his child no more valuable gift than a good education; and, again, it is better that a man should secure an education for his child than that he bestow a gift in charity. The men thus commanded extend also to slaves. It is regarded as a work of specially meritorious character to educate a slave-girl well, to set her free, and give her to a husband.

It may be safely said that Islam raised the Arabs to a higher level of civilization, and at the same time introduced amongst them the elements of education, in which they had hitherto been rather deficient. That Muhammad himself, partly, it may be, on missionary grounds—attached considerable importance to the acquisition of the most indispensable elements of knowledge, may be inferred from the condition on which he released prisoners of war after his victory at Badr. He employed several Quraysh captives to teach the boys of Medina to write, and this service counted as their ransom. Twelve boys were assigned in each of the Meccan prisoners who were capable of giving the required instruction, and, as soon as the pupils had attained the stipulated degree of progress, their teachers were set at liberty. The Quraysh, as a people largely engaged in commerce, had naturally more occasion to practice writing than the date-planters and husbandmen of Mecca, and it was, therefore, easier to find someone among them than in Yathrib—a consideration which may perhaps also dispose us to accept the view held by certain Muslim theologians, that the Prophet himself, in handing down to them the ascendancy over the Jews in the world, set them on foot. In the meantime he seems to have been skilled in penmanship before the rise of Muhammad. In Medina, those who, in addition to certain other accomplishments, possessed also the art of writing—acquired perhaps from the Jewish residents there—were deemed worthy of the title of hikmil ("practitioner").

It would also appear that, once the young Muslim community had been constituted, a primitive system of education, embracing at least the bare elements of knowledge, was set on foot. In no long time we begin to meet with references to the hukmil ("elementary school"). We would certainly have the right to believe that the Prophet himself, in handing over the education of the children of the Muslims, added the word hikmil or hikmil to the title of the Prophet's secretary, Penmanship was handed down to the Muslims from the Muhammedan Semitic ancestors, and was generally regarded as among the distinctive marks of the Semitic race.

References:
1. Sennesh, Die Propheten, Cairo, a.d. 1900, i. 364.
2. Bukhari, ed. by Bevan, vol. xii, p. 210; Muslim ibid., i. 360, mentioning a slave-girl who was converted with oil.
3. Cf. the present writer's Black Studies, i. (Halle, 1895) 379.
4. Al-Maqrizi, Orient, iii, 171; i. 9. The Meccan prisoners who were capable of giving the required instruction, and, as soon as the pupils had attained the stipulated degree of progress, their teachers were set at liberty. The Quraysh, as a people largely engaged in commerce, had naturally more occasion to practice writing than the date-planters and husbandmen of Mecca, and it was, therefore, easier to find someone among them than in Yathrib—a consideration which may perhaps also dispose us to accept the view held by certain Muslim theologians, that the Prophet himself, in handing down to them the ascendancy over the Jews in the world, set them on foot. In the meantime he seems to have been skilled in penmanship before the rise of Muhammad. In Medina, those who, in addition to certain other accomplishments, possessed also the art of writing—acquired perhaps from the Jewish residents there—were deemed worthy of the title of hikmil ("practitioner").
5. It would also appear that, once the young Muslim community had been constituted, a primitive system of education, embracing at least the bare elements of knowledge, was set on foot. In no long time we begin to meet with references to the hukmil ("elementary school"). We would certainly have the right to believe that the Prophet himself, in handing over the education of the children of the Muslims, added the word hikmil or hikmil to the title of the Prophet's secretary, Penmanship was handed down to the Muslims from the Muhammedan Semitic ancestors, and was generally regarded as among the distinctive marks of the Semitic race.


The most sophisticated attempt to distinguish between legal and non-legal concerns in Islamic law has been Baber Johansen, Contingency in a Sacred Law (Leiden: Brill, 1998).
tailingly not lay much stress upon the mention of a 'companion' called Mirak, and summoned oil to be in attendance upon him. But there is less evidence to show that such a person ever existed.

Even in the very early periods, the schools were attended by pupils to whom the teacher addressed himself, as if he were their father, and the instruction was not by rote. The companions plucked leaves from the tree as a symbol of the right to seek instruction, and the teacher was bound to give them instruction as long as the leaves lasted. The companions were similarly bound to accept instruction as long as the leaves lasted. The companions were similarly bound to accept instruction as long as they were able to understand it. The companions were similarly bound to accept instruction as long as they were able to understand it. The companions were similarly bound to accept instruction as long as they were able to understand it. The companions were similarly bound to accept instruction as long as they were able to understand it. The companions were similarly bound to accept instruction as long as they were able to understand it. The companions were similarly bound to accept instruction as long as they were able to understand it. The companions were similarly bound to accept instruction as long as they were able to understand it. The companions were similarly bound to accept instruction as long as they were able to understand it. The companions were similarly bound to accept instruction as long as they were able to understand it. The companions were similarly bound to accept instruction as long as they were able to understand it. The companions were similarly bound to accept instruction as long as they were able to understand it. The companions were similarly bound to accept instruction as long as they were able to understand it. The companions were similarly bound to accept instruction as long as they were able to understand it. The companions were similarly bound to accept instruction as long as they were able to understand it. The companions were similarly bound to accept instruction as long as they were able to understand it. The companions were similarly bound to accept instruction as long as they were able to understand it. The companions were similarly bound to accept instruction as long as they were able to understand it. The companions were similarly bound to accept instruction as long as they were able to understand it. The companions were similarly bound to accept instruction as long as they were able to understand it. The companions were similarly bound to accept instruction as long as they were able to understand it. The companions were similarly bound to accept instruction as long as they were able to understand it. The companions were similarly bound to accept instruction as long as they were able to understand it. The companions were similarly bound to accept instruction as long as they were able to understand it. The companions were similarly bound to accept instruction as long as they were able to understand it. The companions were similarly bound to accept instruction as long as they were able to understand it. The companions were similarly bound to accept instruction as long as they were able to understand it. The companions were similarly bound to accept instruction as long as they were able to understand it. The companions were similarly bound to accept instruction as long as they were able to understand it. The companions were similarly bound to accept instruction as long as they were able to understand it. The companions were similarly bound to accept instruction as long as they were able to understand it. The companions were similarly bound to accept instruction as long as they were able to understand it. The companions were similarly bound to accept instruction as long as they were able to understand it. The companions were similarly bound to accept instruction as long as they were able to understand it. The companions were similarly bound to accept instruction as long as they were able to understand it. The companions were similarly bound to accept instruction as long as they were able to understand it. The companions were similarly bound to accept instruction as long as they were able to understand it. The companions were similarly bound to accept instruction as long as they were able to understand it. The companions were similarly bound to accept instruction as long as they were able to understand it. The companions were similarly bound to accept instruction as long as they were able to understand it. The companions were similarly bound to accept instruction as long as they were able to understand it. The companions were similarly bound to accept instruction as long as they were able to understand it. The companions were similarly bound to accept instruction as long as they were able to understand it. The companions were similarly bound to accept instruction as long as they were able to understand it. The companions were similarly bound to accept instruction as long as they were able to understand it. The companions were similarly bound to accept instruction as long as they were able to understand it. The companions were similarly bound to accept instruction as long as they were able to understand it. The companions were similarly bound to accept instruction as long as they were able to understand it. The companions were similarly bound to accept instruction as long as they were able to understand it. The companions were similarly bound to accept instruction as long as they were able to understand it. The companions were similarly bound to accept instruction as long as they were able to understand it. The companions were similarly bound to accept instruction as long as they were able to understand it. The companions were similarly bound to accept instruction as long as they were able to understand it. The companions were similarly bound to accept instruction as long as they were able to understand it. The companions were similarly bound to accept instruction as long as they were able to understand it. The companions were similarly bound to accept instruction as long as they were able to understand it. The companions were similarly bound to accept instruction as long as they were able to understand it. The companions were similarly bound to accept instruction as long as they were able to understand it. The companions were similarly bound to accept instruction as long as they were able to understand it. The companions were similarly bound to accept instruction as long as they were able to understand it. The companions were similarly bound to accept instruction as long as they were able to understand it. The companions were similarly bound to accept instruction as long as they were able to understand it. The companions were similarly bound to accept instruction as long as they were able to understand it. The companions were similarly bound to accept instruction as long as they were able to understand it. The companions were similarly bound to accept instruction as long as they were able to understand it. The companions were similarly bound to accept instruction as long as they were able to understand it. The companions were similarly bound to accept instruction as long as they were able to understand it. The companions were similarly bound to accept instruction as long as they were able to understand it. The companions were similarly bound to accept instruction as long as they were able to understand it. The companions were similarly bound to accept instruction as long as they were able to understand it. The companions were similarly bound to accept instruction as long as they were able to understand it. The companions were similarly bound to accept instruction as long as they were able to understand it. The companions were similarly bound to accept instruction as long as they were able to understand it. The companions were similarly bound to accept instruction as long as they were able to understand it. The companions were similarly bound to accept instruction as long as they were able to understand it. The companions were similarly bound to accept instruction as long as they were able to understand it. The companions were similarly bound to accept instruction as long as they were able to understand it. The companions were similarly bound to accept instruction as long as they were able to understand it. The companions were similarly bound to accept instruction as long as they were able to understand it. The companions were similarly bound to accept instruction as long as they were able to understand it. The companions were similarly bound to accept instruction as long as they were able to understand it. The companions were similarly bound to accept instruction as long as they were able to understand it. The companions were similarly bound to accept instruction as long as they were able to understand it. The companions were similarly bound to accept instruction as long as they were able to understand it. The companions were similarly bound to accept instruction as long as they were able to under
also legends of the prophets (aslahal al-nabiyu) and anecdotes from the lives of holy men (salih). These related stories were part of the thread of education in Moslem society very early on. In fact, stories related to the lives of the early kings of Islam, especially the early rulers of Arabia, were very popular among the young. These stories were often used to teach moral lessons and to instill a sense of reverence for the prophet and his companions.

6. Status of the elementary teacher.—The importance attached to the work of the elementary teacher is evident from the number of traditions related to the subject. In a number of traditions, the Prophet is reported as saying, "The teacher of children is like one who shares in the good reward of those who fast for the sake of Allah." This indicates the high status accorded to the teacher in Islamic society.

7. Educational reforms.—A number of educational reforms were introduced in the Muslim world during the reign of the Umayyad caliphs. These reforms included the establishment of state-run schools, the appointment of qualified teachers, and the standardization of curriculum.

8. Educational institutions.—The Muslim world had a variety of educational institutions, including madrasas (schools of higher education), mosques, and private academies. These institutions provided education in a wide range of subjects, including philosophy, theology, law, and medicine.

9. Teaching methods.—The teaching methods used in the Muslim world were highly effective and innovative. Teachers often used a combination of lecture, discussion, and practical exercises to engage their students. They also emphasized the importance of memorization and recitation in the learning process.

10. Role of the teacher.—The role of the teacher was considered to be highly important in the Islamic world. Teachers were seen as leaders and models for their students, and they were expected to instill moral values and religious principles in their students.

11. The Islamic concept of education.—The Islamic concept of education was based on the idea of educating the whole personality of the student, not just their intellectual abilities. This included the development of moral character, social skills, and religious understanding.

12. Influence of Islamic education.—The influence of Islamic education can be seen in the development of modern education systems in the Muslim world and beyond. The emphasis on practical and moral education, the role of the teacher, and the importance of memorization and recitation are all aspects of the Islamic education model that have been adapted and integrated into modern education systems.
Kids, and in that capacity had directed himself to teaching the Qur'an. He studied at the University of Alexandria, where he was a student of an Arabic poet and scholar. He returned to his home country, in which he continued his practice of teaching. He was well respected by his students and colleagues for his knowledge of the Qur'an and his commitment to teaching. He had a significant influence on the development of Islamic education.

But, while the demand for free religious teaching continued to increase, the teachers' expenses were not being adequately covered. Some teachers resorted to charging a fee for their services. This led to a debate among the religious leaders about the appropriateness of charging fees for religious instruction. Some argued that charging fees was impermissible, while others believed that it was necessary to cover the expenses of teaching.

In this context, the discussion about the role of education in Islam continues to be relevant today. The debate about the proper ways to finance education is still ongoing, and the challenges of teaching and learning in a diverse and complex world remain.

The present writer has not processed this regulation, which states that teaching is a noble and sacred profession, and that those who teach should be paid for their services. The regulation also states that the teacher should be paid according to their knowledge and the number of students they teach. It is a reminder of the importance of supporting those who dedicate their lives to education.
The education of women is a controversial and complex issue that has been addressed from various perspectives throughout history. In religious teachings, women have often been held to a lower status due to the prohibitions that prevent them from engaging in intellectual activities, such as writing or teaching. This exclusion is often justified by the belief that in religious traditions, women are held to a different standard, and their role is primarily one of bearing and raising children.

For example, the author of 'The Arabian Nights' (Al-Hariri) mentions the prohibition against women teaching or writing, as it is believed to be contrary to the proper Islamic way of life. The idea is further reinforced by the prohibition against women entering the mosque, which is considered a sacred place for religious instruction.

However, there are also instances where women have been allowed to engage in learning and teaching, although often under strict conditions. For instance, the author of 'The Tyranny of the Prophet's Father' (al-Zamakhshari) discusses the issue of women's education in the context of the prohibition against women engaging in intellectual pursuits.

In some cases, women have been allowed to study and teach, but only in the company of male teachers and under the supervision of male guardians. This is often cited as an example of the dual role of women in society, where they are considered to be both intellectual and domestic.

Overall, the education of women has been a subject of much debate and controversy, with different interpretations of Islamic teachings leading to varying degrees of acceptance or rejection of women's participation in intellectual activities.
As a matter of vital moment for the Muhammadan world. The more important phases and incidents of the whole movement are chronicled in the Avicenna, the Avicenna, and the Avicenna, which deals with all Muslim countries, and has now completed its sixteenth volume.

Among specifically Muhammadan tendencies making for educational reform, we may mention the Bait movement, which arose in Persia in 1884 (see art. Bait, this vol. p. 299), and which, as Baitism, has since then been constantly extending its influence. From the outset the principles of this sect have embraced an endeavour to raise primary education to a higher level and to relieve it of its long legacy of prejudice—which have been most strenuously opposed by the Bait. Their more exalted conception of woman and of her function in family life, and the great female sex by ancient convention, are virtues.

(Aus: Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, V. 1912.)

In Aligarh, India, the endeavour to form the academy founded there in 1873 into a university is within sight of success—a movement which, with Aga Khan as its head, finds generous support among adherents of Islam throughout India. The Baiti likewise has a college which does its work under the style of a d~r al-f~ari. By way of providing stepping-stones towards such higher institutions, effective progress is being made in Turkey and Egypt with the system of preparatory or special schools.

These institutions are all conducted according to detailed instructions of the respective Governments, and the instructions are printed and made public. Various reforms, especially in regard to the system of examination and granting diplomas, have been recently effected by the Government in the great mecca of the Arab mosques in Cairo, where the study of the various branches of theology is pursued on traditional lines; as also in the schools associated with that mosque at Fez (the Ahmediya mosque), Damascus, and Alexandria. The need for reform in higher theological education has asserted itself also in more unexpected localities. Among other agencies aiming at the diffusion of culture among Muhammadans, mention may be made of the Khadijiyya Institute at Tunis, which takes its name from the Imam Khadiji referred to above. All the manifold activities are but so many endeavours to arouse, strengthen, and apply in practice, among the Muhammadan peoples, the conviction that their religion does not prohibit them from rising to the demands of a progressive civilization, or pursuing the intellectual life.

Lernvandt—This has been given fully in the footnotes.

[1] The various observations which I propose to make here take as their point of departure a simple enough assertion, this being that for the Muslim historian the caliph only exists in practical terms from the moment that he is seen as the guide of the State, as the imam reorienting history. It is true that then—however insignificant his reign may be—he becomes the fulcrum around which all events gravitate. But for the purposes of knowing more about the infancy and education of the heir to the throne—an essential tool for the appreciation of the true worth of his future style of government—the written materials at our disposal are sporadic and not particularly fruitful, and furthermore are supplied to us only in cases of direct overlapping with the reign of the predecessor (since it is only under this heading that the chronicle judges them worthy of transmission to posterity). It may be recalled briefly that education is a phenomenon with diverse aspects—anthropological, ethical, genetic, sociological, etc.—not confined, in different languages, to a single exclusive notion. In German the concepts of Erziehung and Bildung are treated separately; in Russian there is an even more rigorous distinction between воспитанie and обrazovanie; similarly, in French, there is a distinction between education and culture, formation, while the English language encompasses both notions with the term “education”. [90] In the survey which follows, “education” is taken to mean everything which models the character of the child-pupil, everything that conveys to him, by way of apprenticeship, theoretical discernment and practical knowledge.

At first sight, the task seems easy. Arabic and Persian literatures are quite rich in writings which, so it seems, inform us directly about princely education: writings dealing with the princely style of life, either imitating the model of a particular sovereign or seeking to define the essence of the sovereign’s role in general terms, and works of the “Manual of princely education” genre, known in German as Fürstenleben. Other literatures supply famous examples, from the Cyropaedia of Xenophon, via Machiavelli’s Prince and Fénéon’s Télémaque to the Anti-Machiavelli of Frederic the Great. Islam supplies them
to us fairly frequently in the form of memoranda personally addressed to one or other prince, such as that for example dedicated by al-Jāḥiẓ to the caliph al-Muṭaṣim and intitled: “An appeal to teach children matters of knowledge and the categories of education”.1 We also have at our disposal a number of “logia” and testaments of an ethical and didactic character, whereby sovereigns, on their death-beds, sought to exercise a pedagogic influence over their sons.2 But the fact is: the only elements which can be extracted without too much difficulty from all these literary genres are educational maxims, norms intended to idealise, to create types, and not necessarily the pedagogic measures effectively put into practice. We have here the discrepancy between the Renaissance prince as conceived by Castiglione in his Cortegiano, and the figure presented to us by Jacob Burckhardt in his concrete historical reality.

The questions thus arise: 1) What was, in the classical Islamic era, the cultural patrimony of the upper classes, specifically of the sons of caliphs? 2) Who were the educators of princes? 3) How was this cultural property conveyed to the princes? What were the particular features of Abbāsid princely education?

[91] The cultural patrimony is divided into ‘ilm and adab3 – or more precisely in the plural, ‘adab and adab – a duality which recurs throughout Islamic spiritual history and which corresponds approximately to the distinction which we make between “knowledge” and “culture, conditioning”. Similar dualities occur almost everywhere: dānish and farhang in Persian, eruditio and humanitas (or urbanitas), episteme (G) and paideia (G), etc. The ideal, in Islam as elsewhere, was to be versed in both domains: “‘Ilm without adab, is like fire without wood, and adab without ‘ilm is like spirit without body, al-Anbāri tells us,” or indeed: “‘Ilm and adab are two treasures which are never extinguished, two flames which are never extinguished, two garments which are never discarded; who possesses them possesses reason; he knows his true position when facing the beyond and his life transcends the existence of slaves,” according to al-Ḥuṣrī, etc.; it is said of the grammarian Abū ‘Ubayd that he “possesses the broadest ‘ilm and the most profound knowledge of adab”4 – to quote only a few appropriate examples to show the extent to which these two notions were inseparable in the classical period. There is sometimes a third which is postulated – or affirmed – as an attribute of members of the reigning dynasty: nobility (sharaf, hasab): this should not however be taken to mean hereditary nobility, which comes automatically, but nobility of character, acquired through education of the self. This is illustrated by the funereal eulogy dedicated to Ibn al-Muṭaṭz, that most cultivated of princes who died a violent death: “How sublime he was in ‘ilm, adab and hasab”, i.e. in knowledge, education and nobility of spirit.”5

‘Ilm, the first of these two concepts, could be defined approximately as follows: it comprises, at the start of the Abbāsid era, the study and exegesis of the Qur’ān, canonical law, Tradition, i.e. the religious sciences which the Arabs had always claimed as their own domain.92 There is a whole series of traditions according to which the Muslim is urged – or even obliged – to acquire this ‘ilm6 and to put it into practice: “Knowing and acting should not be separated”9 and “Knowledge without action is a tree without fruits”.9 Thus we have for ‘ilm the four above-mentioned, specifically Arab disciplines. This is normally regarded as sufficient, and although an erudite writer of the fourth/fifth century, al-Khwārizmī, lists a total of fifteen categories of ‘ilm, the fact remains nevertheless that as early as this period, the majority of them were attributed to the adab. Six autochthonous, meaning Arab, sciences are listed (canonical law, theology, grammar, administrative science, poetic art, history and nine foreign sciences: philosophy, logic, medicine, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, music, mechanics and alchemy.11 This brings us therefore to the adab, which are not easily encompassed, and which have undergone many changes in the course of time. The vizier al-Ḥasan b. Sahīl is credited with this revealing definition, which may well have been valid for all of the early ‘Abbāsid era: “The adab are ten in number:

1 Al-Ḥuṣrī, Jam‘ al-jawābih, ed. al-Bījīwī, Cairo 1912/53, p. 142 and f.
2 This institution dates back to the earliest times in Oriental antiquity: see for example the instructions of Jacob (Genesis 48 and 49); cf. also 2 Samuel 17, 23; 2 Kings 20, 1 (=Isaiah 38, 1) where the Hebrew ḫawāz corresponds to the Arabic ḥawāz – Concerning the subject in general, cf. the overall view, succinct but comprising the essential, of H. Busse, Fītorunügādār u Fītorunügādāh u Islam, in Bustan, 9, Vienna 1968, pp. 12-19.
3 It is very difficult to determine the content and the evolution of these two terms, as Arabic literature uses them in a highly inconsistent fashion. Even a systematic study, citing as many examples as possible, would be a futile exercise. The two articles adab (F. Gabrieli) and ‘ilm (ed.) in EI constitute useful introductions. Cf. also G.E. von Grunebaum, Der Islam im Mittelalter, Zurich 1963, pp. 306-304, pp. 319-328, and footnotes to p. 547 and p. 558.
8 A large number of significant traditions may be found apud Wensinck, A Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition, Leiden 1960, under “Knowledge”. Al-Ḥuṣrī, Zahr, ii, p. 269, nominates “aspiration to knowledge” as one of the nine cardinal virtues of the believer.
10 Al-Ḥuṣrī, Zahr, ii, p. 77.
11 Al-Khwārizmī, Ma‘ārif al-ulum, ed. van Vloten, Leiden 1895, p. 5 f.
three of them are \( \text{shahrajiyiyya} \), three anoshirvaniyya (we shall return to these expressions), three of them are Arab and there is one which dominates them all. The \( \text{shahrajiyiyya} \) are: playing the lute, chess and polo; the \( \text{anoshirvaniyya} \) are: medicine, geometry and horsemanship; the Arab ones are: poetry, genealogy and the history of tribal conflicts. But the one which outranks all the others consists of the short stories and the conversations in which people display their aptitude on the occasion of social gatherings. 13

The two foreign designations refer to Shahrajan and to Anoshirvan, two kings of Persia, one legendary and the other historical. They show that as early as this period, a far from negligible portion of the cultural patrimony was correctly recognised as being of Persian origin. Very characteristic, in this context, is the final part of the definition according to which one of the \( \text{adab} \) was prevalent, that of the short stories and conversations which garnished social life. In other words, preference was given, not to serious discussions, but to somewhat casual conversations. [93] This was to replace \( \text{adab} \) which people display their aptitude on the occasion of social gatherings.

Next to be tackled is the question of the princely educators. Their names and the disciplines which they chose enable us to deduce the tenor of the education dispensed and to see to what extent it covers the categories of \( \text{ilm} \) and of \( \text{adab} \) mentioned above. We may take as examples the educators of al-Mahdi b. al-Manṣūr, heir to the throne and future caliph. Cited among his mentors are the poet Ḥaʃ b. Abi Jum'a, 17 the traditionist Abū Sādiq al-Mu'addib 18 and his successor Suyfān b. Husayn, 19— the first mentioned was, later, tutor to the prince al-Ḥādi. When al-Mahdi came of age and was residing at al-Rayy in the capacity of governor, he was obliged, at the orders of al-Manṣūr, to become acquainted, through the good offices of the historian al-Sharqī b. al-Qaṣāmi, with the \( \text{ayyām al-`arab} \), the history of the tribal conflicts of pre-Islamic Arabia. 20 Al-Muṣafādāl al-Dabbi, the philologist of the school of al-Kūfā, imprisoned for his participation [94] in an 'Alid insurrection, was pardoned by al-Manṣūr and taken into the service of al-Mahdi, 21 for whom he later wrote his renowned \( \text{Muṣafādaliyyāt} \). By appointing as companions to al-Mahdi both a representative of the old tradition and a representative of Arab linguistics, al-Manṣūr was no doubt concerned to shield his son, who was very open-minded by nature, from too much exposure, in the exercise of his new activities, to Iranian influences. In any case, we are told that in his early years al-Mahdi enjoyed a good intellectual education (\( \text{ta`addaba} \)), that he attended meetings of scholars and excelled in these milieux. 22 Jafr, the brother of al-Mahdi, had the poet Muṭi b. Ịyās as mentor or intimate companion — no doubt amounting to the same thing: Arabic does not always express such matters with clarity; it is only said: \( \text{damma ilayhi fulān} \) “the caliph gave (to the prince) such a person for companion.” It is true that the poet Muṭi was reputedly a zindiq or at least a free-thinker, which induced al-Manṣūr to remove him from the entourage of his son. 23 It is curious to note that in more than one instance heretics of Manichean persuasion appear as the educators of princes, and this from the time of the later Umayyads. These were the precursors of a constantly growing Iranian influence which was soon to prevail over specifically Arab culture.

The entry on the scene of these educators did not always have the effect of exerting over the pupils the best of influences. A case in point, for example, was the quarrel between the poet Ḥammād `Araj and the grammian Qutrub, who both applied to al-Mahdi for the post of princely educator. His rival Bashshār b. Burd having shot at him some well expressed satirical

13 Al-Ṭabarī, Annales, iii, p. 441.
15 Ibn Qutayba, ibid.; Taʾrikh Baghdād, ix, p. 149.
16 Al-Maṣʿūdī, Marajj al-dhahab (Fields of Gold), vi, p. 251.
17 Ibn al-Nadim, Fihrist, ed. Flügel, p. 68.
verses, the renown of the poet declined to such a point that his application was
denied, whereupon he embarked on a tireless campaign of vilification against
his more fortunate competitor, finally accusing him in some of his verses of
immorality, thus arousing the suspicions of the caliph who ultimately expelled
the grammarian from the palace. 24 Al-Hādi, son of al-Mahdī and later his
successor, was an individual of somewhat lax moral standards. The caliph
knew [95] that he was under the influence of Ibrāhīm al-Mawsīlī, cantor at
the court of Baghdad and a notorious toper. He forbade him with the utmost
severity to continue organising drinking sessions under the guise of musical
education. Having failed to comply, the cantor was subjected to 360 strokes
of the birch and made to swear never again to approach the prince. 25 It
would be superfluous to continue here the list of princely mentors. For
the ‘Abbāsid period, an impressive number could be cited, including such
distinguished-sounding names as those of al-Kisā’ī, al-Farrā’, al-Jāḥiz, Ibn
al-Sikkit, al-Balādhurī, etc.

It was thus to scholars of all types, especially to philologists and
traditionists but also to poets and musicians that the caliphs entrusted their
sons. In the court the teachers did not have the status and rank of
functionaries; the caliphs appointed masters on recommendation or through
a process of candidature and personally supervised, to the best of their
ability, the education of their sons. An appointment was regarded as honorific
and lucrative, and it was usually accepted. Nevertheless, it sometimes happened
that an official was designated. Or indeed the caliph, wanting to attract a
scholar to his court, might offer him a choice of assignments, one of which
would be the education of the prince. It was thus that al-Mahdī told a qaḍī:
“You may either practise as a judge, or you may teach my sons tradition, or
indeed you may dine at my table.” On reflection, the qaḍī opted for the last of
these offers as being the easiest of the three. 26 Educators were discharged
on completion of their assignment, or on the grounds of incapacity, or moral
turpitude, or because they nourished hostile (i.e. ‘Alid) attitudes towards
the state, or as a result of libellous attacks. Only al-Jāḥiz, appointed educator
of his son by al-Mutawakkil, was apparently dismissed – not without lavish
compensation – on account of his repulsive ugliness.27

24 Aghānī (Būlāq), xii, p. 78; O. Rescher, Abriss der arabischen Literaturgeschichte, i,
Stuttgart 1925, p. 285. It also sometimes happened that rivals quarrelled over the privilege
of princely education, cf. al-Ṣāliḥ, Aḥkām al-Rādī bilāh wa-l-Muttaqī bilāh, tr. M. Canard, i,
Algiers 1946, p. 55, note 7.
25 Aghānī (Būlāq), v, p. 5 (= Cairo 1933, v, p. 160); Rescher, Abriss ii, Stuttgart 1933, p. 70.
27 Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt, iii, p. 141.

In general the caliphs allowed the princely educators a right of unlimited
punishment. “To educate” (in Arabic addaab, meaning to inculcate addāb) often
becomes a synonym of “to chastise” (darāba). Even the general supervisory
staff could avail themselves of this right. A young ʿAbbāsid, invited by
al-Maṣʿūr to dine, declined this offer on the grounds that he had already
eaten. Hearing this, the caliph’s doorkeeper seized the prince and thrashed
him soundly [96] like a child. His father complained indignantly to the
caliph who summoned the retainer before him and received the following
explanation: “You invited him to dine in your company and he replied that he
had already eaten. But you invited him to give him honour and distinction, not
so that he could satisfy his hunger. Thus I have corrected him (literally: I have
inculcated addāb in him), because his father has not done so.” As the act of
delaying an invitation from the prince of the believers was a serious
impropriety, the caliph could not fault his doorman and the father was
JECTED. 28 It was al-Mahdī in particular, it seems, who considered correction
the very last word in pedagogic matters. His son, the crown prince al-Hādi,
infringing a repeated prohibition, indulged in alcoholic excess and was
subjected, together with his companions, to exemplary bastinado. 29 The
educators themselves shared this point of view, and it should come as no
surprise to us to know for example that the eminent al-Kisā’ī, tutor to the
princes al-Amīn and al-Ma’ānūn, on one occasion during his youth was the
recipient of a flurry of blows for having recited a false Qur’ānic variant. 30

Undoubtedly, it was not always because some pedagogic value was
attached to them that these corrections were employed; in the event they were
practised rather out of pure formality. Otherwise it would be hard to explain
the fact, for example, that al-Mahdī, intent on sanctioning two contradictory
actions of a poet, addressed him in these terms: “The choice is yours. If you
wish, we shall correct you (literally, we shall inculcate you with
meaning to inculcate addāb) for having composed a hymn of praise in our honour; or indeed, if you prefer, we shall simply award you
a pardon” (because punishment and reward cancel out). 31 Quite often these
corrections were administered in an excessive manner, with blind frenzy.
Al-Bayhaqī for example asserted that in general an educator who set out to
give ten strokes of the birch would finally inflict a hundred or more: his
self-control would tell him, assuredly, that ten were enough, but once started

28 Al-Bayhaqī, al-Muqaddas wa-l-mussāri, p. 172 f.
29 Al-Tabarī, Annales, iii, p. 583 f.
31 Al-Ḥuṣrī, Zahr, ii, p. 38.
on the process, his blood would be up and his anger increasing along with the number of blows.32

What is particularly striking about this right of punishment, and the aspect which has led us to devote some attention to it, is that it enabled educators, most often drawn from inferior social classes, to apply it to the most distinguished members of the ruling family, conscious of their kinship with the Prophet. It is impossible to deal here with a highly interesting sociological question, viz., the position occupied in Islam by the schoolmaster, the mu'addib or mu'allim. To my knowledge, this question has never been systematically addressed. It may be noted however that the teacher—just like the paidagogos [G] or the skholastikos [G] in Greek society—did not enjoy high prestige. This attitude, it seems, has its roots in part in the period of conquests: the Arabs, almost invariably unable to read and write, but becoming masters of a vast empire, found themselves obliged for practical reasons to acquire education from those whom they had subjugated, i.e., principally from Christians and Jews. They retaliated by despising them, and this contempt was applied to the various Aspects of the Education of Princes in the 'Abbāsid Courts

Umayyads, it is already known that this dynasty had been renowned, since the pre-Islamic era, for a particularly pronounced taste for culture, while the Hashimids (among whom the 'Abbāsids were included) were often reproached for their intellectual inferiority, real or supposed. We are told in any case that in the course of a plenary assembly of the Hashimids, al-Mansūr complained bitterly of the vulgarity and intellectual ineptitude of his family, which had nevertheless been promoted to the Imamate.36 It was this reason no doubt that he appointed as tutor to his son al-Mahdi a poet of Umayyad origin, the Hafiz b. Abī Jum‘a who has been previously mentioned.37 This was, at the start of the 'Abbāsid period, proof of a remarkable openness of spirit towards the ousted dynasty.

Direct testimony regarding the educational curriculum of a young 'Abbāsid is very sparse. The cantor Ishāq al-Mawṣili gives us indications of the way in which the school day proceeded. This man, who for a considerable period of time was in the first rank of the musical life of Baghdad, describes his own schooling to us: "During a certain period, from dawn, I presented myself regularly to Ḥusayn b. Bashir for classes in tradition; then I called upon al-Kisā‘ī or al-Parrā‘ or Ibn Jaza‘a to read the Qur‘ān; then I went to Mansūr Zulzul who played me two or three pieces of music. Then it was the turn of 'Alīka bint Shuhda who taught me one or two melodies. Then, it was to the house of al-Āṣimīr or the house of Abū 'Ubayda, for an hour dedicated to the recitation of poems or the narration of history. Then I returned to my father with whom I took my breakfast while relating to him everything that I had done and learned during all those hours. After the evening prayer I set out on my way to visit Harūn al-Rashīd."38

This may be taken as an approximation of the daily timetable of a son of the caliph. But it is not enough to have assimilated these subjects. Since—as may be deduced from the extensive definition of adab quoted above—the young prince was obliged to practise a large number of athletic and worldly disciplines, to learn the forms of court ceremonial, etiquette and good manners, in other words: savoir-vivre. And fundamentally,[99] in the strictest sense of the term, adab signifies nothing other than savoir-vivre. It used to be said of the 'Abbāsid prince Ibn al-Mu'tazz: "He was distinguished from all his contemporaries through his outstanding qualities, his nobility of heart, his savoir-vivre (adab), his poetic talent, his elegance and his mastery in the other categories of adab."39 Here the term adab is quite correctly used both in its...
most restrained acceptance and its broadest sense; it denotes, in the same phrase, both a part of the whole and the whole itself. As to the nature of these categories of adab, this can essentially only be learned by indirect means: primarily, through retroactive deduction, in relying on the sciences and disciplines which we know to have been much in evidence during the reign of a caliph, but which in all probability were acquired in his time as a prince, and secondly, *a posteriori*, examining what we know of education under the Sasanids.

We may mention first the game of chess, which had a number of illustrious enthusiasts in the persons of the caliphs Hārūn al-Rashīd, al-ʿAmīn, al-Maʿmūn, al-Muṭṭasim, a-Muktafi, al-Muqtadīr and al-Rāḍī. Besides chess, there was a whole series of other board-games, ball games, horsemanship, archery, hunting practised in accordance with the rules of venery. Also notably by al-Maʿmūn, of conversations at the caliph's table on the subject of gastronomy. And Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī, known for his poetry, saw nothing discreditable in writing a book about cuisine. Copious information regarding the education of a Sasanid prince may be gleaned from the Pahlavi book, *Khuṣrav i Kavādān u redhag-e* "The Book of King Khosrau and of his Page". We are told here that the boy was required first, at the elementary school, to rejoice with all his heart when there were no classes. 49 But at fifteen years of age schooling was ended, if we may, once more, deduce from a Sasanid source, the image of grandeur and learning in the early Islamic world was the art of drawing up invitations (using extracts from model-letters), different kinds of reputable drinks, various themes of history and music, questions of precedence at social events, formulas of politeness, etc. Added to this were subjects of the genre, "Speech is silver, silence is golden". 42 The *Kitāb al-Muʿawāshahā* is an inexhaustible mine of information regarding good manners. The author, al-Washshāʾ (fourteenth century), made a meagre living as a school-teacher, but as a writer he revived in convincing fashion the image of grand master of the old school. 44 The ruling family was required in principle to submit itself to the whole of this code, even in its dealings with subordinates. The son of the caliph al-Mahdī did not obtain from his master, a traditionist, any response to a scientific question because he asked it leaning against the wall, or rather he only obtained it once he was kneeling. 45 One day when he was personally conducting the prayers in the mosque, al-Mahdī waited, before beginning, until a Bedouin had finished his ritual ablutions. 46

In view of the precocity of the Orientals, it may be assumed that the ʿAbbasids began their schooling from their fifth year, a plausible hypothesis if we apply to the ʿAbbasids too what we know of the young Sasanid prince Bahram. 47 Much value was placed on early education, having regard to the extra receptivity and good memory of the young as, it used to be said: "To teach [101] in infancy, is to engrave a stone with a chisel!" 48 This education, of considerable scope as we have just seen, and not in any way superficial, was apparently concluded at the age of maturity. At thirteen years old the prince al-Muqtadīr was still attending school and, according to al-Suyūṭī, he rejoiced with all his heart when there were no classes. 49 But at fifteen years of age schooling was ended, if we may, once more, deduce from a Sasanid source, the *Pandnāmak i Zarathushtr*. 50

It is true that the end result of this education was nothing more than the acquisition of the obligatory fundamentals of general, intellectual and physical education, entrusted essentially to the tutors of the court. Henceforward it was through the practice of war and in administration that the young prince...

---

40 All of this according to al-Masʿūdī, *Murağj*, vi, pp. 131-133; viii, p. 102 f. and passim.
47 A. Christensen, *ibid.*
was expected to prove himself, accompanied for some time, admittedly, by an experienced general or a seasoned functionary. It was thus that al-Mansûr entrusted to his secretary Abû ʿUbây Allâh, a man of merit and talent, the task of teaching his successor al-Mahdî the rudiments of administration;51 similarly he sent alongside his son the experienced Khâzîm b. Khuzayma in the campaign to subdue the rebellious provinces of Khorasan and of Tabaristan.52 The union of state and religion, characteristic of the regime of the ʿAbbâsîds – as it had previously been for the Sasânîds – explains the fact that wherever possible, princes were expected to take on the role of Chief of Pilgrimage (amîr al-ḥaḍîj), every year escorting across the desert from Baghdad to Mecca the official government caravan, which could be joined by believers of any social status. This mission was sometimes accomplished by princes at a very early age; one of them, the future caliph Muntâṣîr, was at the age of thirteen at the head of the caravan of pilgrims – accompanied, admittedly, by his grandmother,53 a redoubtable lady who would have acted as his chaperone during the Ḥarâm.

We have just alluded to the training that was given to princes in matters of state administration. Also worthy of mention in this context is a particular educational instrument which was regarded by the caliphs as being of essentially practical and political importance and served them a guideline for the art of 502 government: historical science. Here we are concerned not with the genre of the akhbâr, those traditional accounts of tribal conflicts, but rather with the study of political events and of their interactions. On the basis of table conversations which have been relayed to us, we know that the caliphs had at their disposal a stock of historical knowledge which was very extensive, even astonishing; having acquired the fundamentals during their youth, once in power they undertook to deepen and extend their knowledge still further, and this they did tirelessly. This corresponds manifestly to an identity its particular characteristics. The most effective way to proceed, it is evident to what extent the caliphs took an interest even in particular problems. This interest was motivated by the practical need for exact political knowledge and without doubt it gave a powerful boost to historiography.

As a final note, we shall try to give slightly more precise contours to the image presented hitherto of Abbasîd princely education, by attempting to identify its particular characteristics. The most effective way to proceed, it seems to me, is to establish a comparison with the educational practices of their predecessors, the Umayyads. Structurally, as is well known, the mawla of the Umayyads remained attached, to a large extent, to the pre-Islamic Bedouin social organisation, and detached itself from it only gradually. By contrast the dawla of the ʿAbbâsîs, a supranational imamate claiming credit for the victory of authentic Islam, was obliged to start from different principles. Furthermore, the education of the Umayyads was secular and, in the religious context, rather indifferent, while for the ʿAbbâsîs it was

52 Al-Tabari, iii, p. 355.
53 Al-Masūdî, Murûj, ix, p. 72.
In the entourage of Mu'awiya there was discussion of the ancient Arab virtues, generosity, intrepidity, chivalric spirit, while al-Manṣūr, the 'Abbāsid caliph, recommended to his son the fear of God, compassion, and warfare for the faith. It is quite significant that, in the Bedouin manner, the Umayyads had themselves compared by their panegyrists to "roaring lions" "high mountains" or other symbols of might and majesty, whereas all the 'Abbāsids - with the exception of the first - adopted nicknames borrowed from the religious sphere. The young Yazīd was obliged simply to familiarise himself with the principal variants of Qur'ānic reading; he had no need to immerse himself in exegesis nor in the science of tradition, although it was in precisely these areas that the young Ma'mūn had his basic education, which perhaps explains in part his interest in the (104) subtleties of Mu'tazilite dogma. Bedouins, Christians and poets of worldly knowledge constituted the entourage of the Umayyad princes, who preferred to leave their residence for the desert where they could, at leisure and in total liberty, indulge themselves with the old kāmil ideal of the perfect man. In contrast, the 'Abbāsid prince was placed primarily under the rod of lectors of the Qur'ān, jurists and traditionists. He grew up in the palace, in a sometimes rather stifling scholastic atmosphere, and was introduced at a very early age to the rules of etiquette. In relations with his peers, he did not learn, like the Umayyads, to be, but rather to appear. In the final analysis, the 'Abbāsid pedagogic maxims are a homage to the Iranian spirit, although exaggeration should be avoided here, since this heritage was transformed structurally into an Islamic context: for the Sasanid prince, conforming to the old Persian tradition, military service was of the highest importance; in the eyes of the 'Abbāsids, religious and intellectual education was superior to athletic and military training.

The reflections that I have sketched in here, though incomplete in some areas - will they be of use some day to anyone undertaking to write a general history of pedagogy? I do not have an answer to this question. It seems to me that anyone intent on pursuing Islamic princely education through all its subsequent evolutions and ramifications is likely to become lost in a vast morass of material. We may recall only the concrete, unique and precious

---

62 Al-Mas'ūdī, Marājī, v, p. 32 and, analogue, p. 106 f.
64 H. Lammen, in Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale de Beyrouth, iii (1908), p. 216 f.
67 Other materials, and also an overall view of educators and their 'Abbāsid pupils may be found in the thesis, presented in Hamburg, by Munir-ud-Din Ahmed, Muslim education and

---

the scholar’s social status up to the 5th century Muslim Era in the light of Ta’rikh Baghdad, Zurich 1968, pp. 46–51. However this work is based exclusively on the comprehensive biographical work indicated in the title. Cf. also A.S. Tritton, Materials on Muslim Education in the Middle Ages, London 1957, pp. 3–12; Khalil A. Totah, The Contribution of the Arabs to Education, New York City 1926 (including a very useful chapter on “Arab pedagogical literature”, pp. 67–77); Ahmad Shalaby, History of Muslim Education, Beirut 1954 (also including, p. 128 f, a brief account of educators and of their pupils); A.L. Tibawi, Islamic Education, its Traditions and Modernization into the Arab National Sphere, London 1972 (describing, after a brief historical perspective, the systems of education currently in operation in the Arab states).
THE AGE STRUCTURE OF MEDIEVAL ISLAMIC EDUCATION
Richard W. Bulliet

The mental world of the medieval Muslim religious scholar is becoming increasingly well mapped, but the world of education in which he lived his life is still largely unexplored. No comprehensive history of Islamic education covering the pre-madrasa period has been written, and much that has been written about the institution of the madrasa itself remains problematic. (1) This lacuna in our knowledge is particularly regrettable because it deprives the researcher engaged in the study of a single medieval intellectual figure of a background against which to measure his subject while at the same time it leaves the social historian with a major gap in his understanding of medieval urban society.

The one aspect of medieval education that will be dealt with in this article, namely, the age structure of the educational

---

system in the period before the madrasa became the dominant institution of learning, is subject to the further restriction that the data derive from a single, though important, educational center, the city of Nishapur in northeastern Iran. Off-setting this narrowness is the breadth afforded by utilization of a quantitative approach in the study. In the absence of any strong evidence that Muslim educational norms differed radically from one city to another, the proposition may be advanced that what was true of the average student/scholar of Nishapur in the tenth and eleventh centuries was probably true of his contemporary counterparts in other cities as well.

The data subjected to quantification in this study come from the biographical dictionary of Nishapur compiled by 'Abd al-Ghafir al-Farisi (d. 1135) entitled as-Siyâq li-ta'rikh Naisâbûr. (1) They consist of individual biographies in which evidence of student-teacher relationships is recorded, usually in the form of a list of teachers under whom the individual studied or from whom he transmitted hadith. Twelve hundred and fifty-five or almost three-quarters of the approximately 1,700 biographies in the compilation contain such information. It is evident, therefore, that education of a type warranting written commemoration was a typical trait of the people whose biographies are preserved.

The laborious procedures for assembling and rearranging the data in useful forms need not be detailed here, but one procedural note is of special importance. The names of teachers are usually given in a brief and unstandardized form. For example, one person may have studied under Abû Bakr al-Baghdâdi, another under Sahl al-Ḥâfiz, and a third under Abû Bakr Sahl al-Baghdâdi al-Ḥâfiz—all the same person. Great care was taken to identify the several variants of a teacher's name and then to find out who each teacher was by consulting other biographical and reference materials. Yet in 175 biographies the teachers mentioned proved to be isolated examples or unidentifiable, thus somewhat reducing the total number of cases available for analysis. In many of these 175 cases, however, it is likely that the teacher or teachers listed are actually known figures, but too little of the name is given to confirm an identification. Hence, these cases need not be considered a totally separate and mysterious category.

The collation of 2,582 instances of student-teacher relationships from 1,080 biographies yielded 189 teachers for whom three or more students can be identified. Of those 189, at least 23 taught elsewhere than in Nishapur, thus the number of active teachers indicated for the city of Nishapur itself is approximately 166. The earliest recorded death date for these 166 is 339 AH. Assuming he died at the end of a teaching career of average length, that is, of 22 years (see below), 317 AH may be taken as the date of initiation for the educational data, and the date of death of the last of the 166 teachers, 514 AH, represents the end of the series. In short, the teaching data cover a period of 197 Muslim lunar years, or approximately 191 Christian solar years, 929-1120 AD.

A good question with which to begin a study of the age structure of education is how old was the typical student when he began his studies? There is a certain ambiguity in the posing of this question since the education to which the available data pertain is primarily, but not always certainly, the study of the hadith of the Prophet. Fundamental reading and writing skills were obviously learned as well, but no quantifiable information has been preserved concerning this elementary level of education. Still, an answer to the question with regard to hadith studies will of necessity give a good indication of whether the two types of education were pursued simultaneously or in sequence.

The best data available for indicating age at the commencement of studies comes from the lists of students known to have studied under the same teacher. In some instances—well under half—the birth date of the student is known, and the death date of the teacher is usually known. Therefore, it is frequently possible to determine the age of a teacher's youngest known student at the time of the teacher's death. If the...
teacher had taught for over twenty years, of course, the youngest known student may have been someone from his early teaching days, and the student's age at the time of the teacher's death would be meaningless. But if a great many students are listed for a single teacher, and that teacher taught up until his death, the likelihood becomes fairly great that the youngest student listed was a product of the teacher's final years. This is particularly so in that it was considered very desirable for children to learn hadith from very old men and thus shorten the chain of transmission (isnād) between them and the Prophet Muhammad. The youngest known student may not have been at the start of his own learning career, of course, but the calculation of an average age for a group of youngest known students should nevertheless provide a maximum age by which studies were normally begun.

The Nishapur data yield 26 cases of teachers with twenty or more known students. Four cases in which the youngest student was over 25 at the time of the teacher's death may be discounted. In one instance, the teacher probably taught in the city of Jurjan instead of Nishapur and therefore would not have had access to juvenile students from the latter city. In two instances the teachers are well known sufis, Abū al-Qāsim al-Qushairī and Abū 'Ali ad-Daqqaq, and it is reasonable to assume that they did not accept small children as candidates for initiation into the path of mystic enlightenment. The fourth case is that of Imam al-Jāramīn al-Juwainī whose teaching was done as the first professor of the Niṣāmiya madrasa of Nishapur. The prototype of a madrasa form that was to influence all later Muslim education, the Nishapur Niṣāmiya very probably set a minimum age for its students. (1)

In the remaining 22 cases, the average age of the beginning student was 7.5 years with a standard deviation of 2.7. (2)

(1) Few details are preserved concerning the operation of the Nishapur Niṣāmiya. For information on the later but more famous Baghdad institution see Asad Talas, L'enseignement chez les arabes; la madrasa Niṣāmiya et son histoire (Paris: Geuthner, 1939).

(2) All figures relating to spans of years have been calculated to represent solar years rather than the shorter lunar years of the Muslim calendar.

In other words, the sample indicates that typical students had begun their education by the time they reached the age range 4.8-10.2. As already mentioned, this should be considered a maximum age range. Hence it is clear that hadith study regularly began in childhood and therefore must have been concurrent with elementary training in reading and writing. Anecdotal evidence of fathers and uncles escorting children to class, and probably taking notes for them, supports this conclusion. (3)

The sample involved in this calculation is not very large, but the general validity of the conclusion drawn from it can be measured by comparison with a figure derived from different data. For the 166 teachers mentioned earlier as working in Nishapur, information regarding their own teachers is frequently recorded. Where there are several such teacher's teachers listed, it is often possible to determine the age of the subject teacher at the time of the death of the earliest of his teachers to die. The logic is the same as in the preceding calculation, but the data are entirely different. In 22 instances in which at least three teacher's teachers with known death dates are listed, the average age of the subject teacher at the time of the death of his earliest dying mentor is 11.1 with a standard deviation of 6.7. The age range thus indicated for beginning to study, 4.4-17.8, is somewhat greater than that produced by the earlier calculation, but the general import is the same: hadith study usually commenced in childhood. However, the age range determined by the first calculation will be used henceforth in this article since it refers to typical students rather than to those who ultimately achieved great distinction as teachers and who may have discounted their own earliest childhood instruction in determining what they felt competent to teach.

Having determined an age range for the commencement of hadith education, we can turn to the question of how long the average student's learning career lasted. The answer to this question should indicate how old a man was when he entered

(1) Ahmed, Muslim Education, 144-145.
society as an educated person, if such a concept is appropriate for the society in question.\(^{(1)}\)

There are again two ways of inferring from the data average length of learning careers. One method goes back to the subgroup already utilized of teachers whose own teachers are known. In 46 instances death dates are recorded for two or more of a teacher’s teachers. If one were to assume that the subject teacher studied under every one of his teachers during the last year of that teacher’s life, then the difference between the death of the earliest dying teacher and that of the latest dying teacher should be the duration of the learning career of the subject teacher. This assumption may not be entirely realistic, but the calculation of an average duration for a substantial number of cases should at least provide a good figure for maximum length of learning career. In the 46 instances where a subject teacher had two or more teachers of known date of death, the average difference between the earliest and latest dates is 20.4 years with a standard deviation of 19.4 years.

The other method of approaching the question looks at instances in which two teachers shared the same student. A thorough collation of this type of data yields for any given teacher the death date of both the earliest dying teacher with whom he shared a student and the latest. Again assuming that every teacher taught until his death, the differences between the death date of the subject teacher and that of his earliest dying co-teacher, one the one hand, and between his death and that of his latest dying co-teacher, on the other hand, provide for each subject teacher two time spans for the learning careers of two separate students. Unlike the first method, this approach should yield a minimum figure for span of learning career rather than a maximum figure since the subject teacher cannot be assumed to have been either the first or the last teacher a student had. A total of 94 cases produces an average of 13.4 years with a standard deviation of 7.9.

\(^{(1)}\) While there are a number of biographical entries of women in al-Farisi’s dictionary, they are too few to convey the impression that education of women was other than an unusual phenomenon.
able to adopt 22 years as the length of the typical career even while allowing that some teachers may have taught for less than ten years and others for more than 35.

If the typical teacher died between 75 and 93 at the end of a teaching career of 22 years, then 53-71 should be the age range for the commencement of a career in hadith transmission. Taking into account the high standard deviation associated with the estimate of 22 years, a plausible conclusion is that while it was not out of the question for a person to begin transmitting hadith when he was as young as forty, it was more likely that he would be over fifty if not over sixty years old.

This conclusion may be tested by two independent estimates. In 34 cases where a teacher with a known birth date has one or more students with known birth dates, it is possible to determine the average age of the teacher at the birth of his earliest known student. The resultant figure is 50.3 (SD 15.4). If 7.5 is added to this figure to represent the average age of a student at the commencement of his studies as earlier determined, the average age of the beginning teacher can be estimated at 57.8 years, well within the range already indicated.

The second test estimate is derived by finding the average difference between the date of death of a teacher and the date of death of the last of his known students. The resultant figure is 60.9 (SD 20.9), again in the middle of the range of ages indicated above.

The overall picture that emerges from the preceding welter of numbers is fairly clear. A typical male inhabitant of Nishapur whose social status permitted him to enter upon a course of learning and ultimately a career of hadith transmission began his studies sometime in childhood and had them basically completed by his late twenties. There then passed a period of thirty years or so during which he was not obviously active in educational affairs. In his late fifties or even his sixties his first class was convened, and he pursued a career of reciting hadith to children and adolescents until his death at a ripe old age.

But is this picture a reliable one? And if it is reliable, what else may be concluded from it?

The most apparent potential sources of unreliability are those inherent in the character of the biographical dictionary providing the data. It is possible, for example, that only a small and biased fraction of all student-teacher relationships has been preserved in this source. While it is difficult to prove that this is not the case, a reasonable indicator that bias is probably not a major problem comes from the student-teacher data relating to the relatives of the dictionary’s compiler. ‘Abd al-Ghāfir al-Fārisī’s paternal grandfather of the same name was a famous scholar of hadith and has the maximum number of 115 students listed in his grandson’s dictionary. His maternal grandfather, however, the even more famous sufi scholar Abū al-Qāsim al-Qushairī, has only 55 students listed. By comparison there are eleven hadith scholars with whom the author had no noteworthy connection who have between 55 and 80 students listed. The compiler, therefore, seems not to have given special prominence to family and friends.

The same information also suggests that the sample is not unreasonably small in comparison with the total number of recorded teaching events. If the compiler’s paternal grandfather, for whom the data can be assumed to be reasonably complete, has only 115 recorded students, then the smaller numbers preserved for other well known scholars are unlikely to be understated by more than fifty percent. In other words, the 2,582 student-teacher relationships indicated by the 1,080 biographies may actually stand for some 5,000 such relationships, but probably not for a great many more.

If the 5,000 figure is a roughly reliable estimate, the conclusion would seem to be inescapable that classes were very small in size. It was established earlier that Nishapur had 166 teachers active over a period of 191 years. With an average teaching career of 22 years, this means 3,652 teacher-years of instruction or 19 teachers actively giving instruction in any given year. If there were 5,000 student-teacher contacts spread out over the same 191 year period, it would appear that each teacher completed instruction of only 1.4 students per year. These calculations do not take into account teachers who had less than three known students or unidentified teachers, but these would
sincerely not affect the broad conclusions very greatly. While there is no way of determining how long a student studied with a single teacher whom he later regarded as his mentor, the indicated rate of student production per teacher seems unrealistically low given any reasonable estimate.

Here it seems highly probable that the character of the biographical dictionary source does produce a distortion. For one thing, the presence in class of visiting scholars from other cities is largely unrecorded even though the practice of travelling to hear hadith was widespread. But more importantly, there is substantial evidence that much of the matter of al-Farisi's compilation, like that of comparable works produced at that time in other cities, came ultimately from notebooks (books of shaikhs = kutub al-masha'ikh) in which students kept a record of who their teachers were and what hadith they learned from them. (1) Such notebooks would eventually become useful if the student became himself a teacher later in life.

By the time a student was in his late twenties, however, it must have become evident to him and to everyone else that any hadith that he might eventually transmit to the next generation were already in his mental possession. He might still attend classes in hadith, but it would be pointless to make the same kind of formal record of the fact since he would probably never teach those hadith. The desirability of having a "high" (fewest links) chain of transmission (insād) between oneself and the Prophet would make the following cohort of students a decade younger the logical eventual transmitters of hadith heard so late in one's learning career. (2) In other words, what terminated by the age of thirty was not the habit of attending classes on hadith so much as the utility of making a formal record of attendance for future use in teaching.

The low rate of student production per teacher, therefore, need not be interpreted as reflecting very small class size. Anecdotal evidence gives numerous instances of adults attending hadith sessions, frequently accompanying their children or as a way of honoring the teacher. (1) It is quite likely, in fact, that at least some classes by famous transmitters had only a few people in attendance who were recording the hadith for their permanent educational record, including out-of-town visitors. The majority of the class may have been local adults who attended simply as a matter of piety and social convention.

If this is the case, it helps resolve another question raised by the educational cycle summarized earlier. How did people spend the three or four decades between "completing" their education and beginning to teach? Most of the answer, of course, lies in rearing families, making a living, serving in religious or public office, and so forth. But from the educational point of view, the answer is probably that studying continued off and on, in an informal fashion, simply as a natural part of the life of a patrician of that period. Some individuals undoubtedly taught other subjects during their middle decades and only turned to hadith late in life. Most probably never taught at all.

The primary reason for the long hiatus between formal hadith study and eventual hadith teaching was the necessity of waiting for enough time to pass to make the hadith one had to transmit valuable in the eyes of young students whose desire for a "high" chain of transmission drew them strongly to the oldest teachers. Yet even then, only a few of those who studied hadith in their youth ever taught them in old age. How they were selected or selected themselves for this important social role is unclear, but simple longevity seems not to be involved. (2) An initial

---

(1) For a noteworthy example of such a work see G. Vajda, "La Mas'ûla d'Ibn al-Kâtib al-Fâatl," Bulletin d'Études Orientales, 23 (1970), 21-99.
(2) An interesting illustration of this attitude by denial is put into the mouth of the great vizier Nişâm al-Mulk: "My way of proceeding with regard to 'highness' of hadith is different from that of my masters. They maintain that the 'high' hadith is the one with the fewest intermediate reciters. For me, the 'high' hadith is the one that is a soundly reliable recitation from the Messenger of God even though the number of reciters should reach a hundred." S. Zakkar, "Biographie de Nişâm al-Mulk," Bulletin d'Études Orientales, 24 (1971), 236.
class for transmitting *hadith* was usually convened when one was in one's fifties or sixties, as already mentioned, but over two thirds of the population represented in al-Fārisī's biographical dictionary died between 66 and 96. Thus the transmitters of tradition to the generation of grandchildren were not simply the last survivors of the generation of grandfathers.

At this point, a few broad conclusions may be ventured on the basis of the foregoing discussion. First and most obvious is the remarkable stress placed by the system of *hadith* education upon the extreme ends of the age scale. The ideal was to have the very old teach the very young even though people of all ages might be in attendance at the class. Related to this is the apparent fact that a patrician became socialized into the system of education as a normal part of childhood. A reverence for the traditions of the Prophet was inculcated at such an early point that their collection, retention, and transmission became an engrained and undisputed societal norm.

Another conclusion relates to the debate over whether acquisition of learning commonly provided a route for social mobility in medieval Islam. With regard to the data available for Nishapur in the tenth and eleventh centuries, it is difficult to conclude that there was much social mobility through education. The student production rate per teacher suggests that the educational system did little more than service the offspring of the patrician class. The estimate made earlier of 1.4 students "graduated" per teacher per year yields 26 such "graduates" per year. If each of these had a normal family life over 35 years, the span of a generation, the cumulative total for the size of the fully educated stratum of society would be 910. (1) Assuming a household size of five, this means a patrician class of 4,550 or 4% of an urban population conservatively estimated at 110,000. (2) Given the economy of the period, particularly

---

(2) The estimate of 110,000 is based upon a lower guess as to average household size, but the upper class could be expected to have larger than average households. R. W. Bulliet, "Medieval Nishapur: A Topographic and Demographic Reconstruction," *Studia Iranica*, 5 (1976), 88.
As Islam was spreading among diverse peoples between the 7th and the 9th century C.E., education came to be recognized by the Muslim community as a proper channel through which the universal and cohesive social order—in the way the Quran commanded it—could be established. This resulted in a rapidly increasing need for accessible and effective formal education at both the primary and higher levels. Interestingly enough, the major educational efforts in the formative period of Islam were made by individual scholars, most of them teachers themselves. In other words, these educational activities were individual in nature and intellectual in expression.

1 The ādāb al-ʿālim wa-l-mutaʿallim literature

By the 9th century, educational thought in Islam started to find its literary expression in Arabic texts devoted to teaching and learning. At this time, educational writing appears to have developed a distinct genre of its own, i.e. the ādāb al-ʿālim wa-l-mutaʿallim literature. This subcategory of classical Arabic literature is represented, in its core, by works expressly dealing with “rules of conduct for teachers and students.” These texts explain and analyze teaching methods, the ways in which learning takes place, or should take place, the

* This chapter presents some of the first results of a long-term research project devoted to educational thought in the classical period of Islam. A monograph on this topic is in progress. Research for this article was partly supported by a grant generously provided by The NIWANO Peace Foundation Tokyo, Japan.
aims of education, as well as the means by which such goals may be achieved. This includes the manner in which teachers and students act and behave, their (moral) characteristics, their relationship with one another in the process of education, the contents of learning, and the means and methods of imparting and absorbing knowledge. In short, this particular type of text can aptly be called pedagogical.

Classical Arabic pedagogical writings provide useful insights into the intellectual culture of Islam in medieval times. They suggest the following: Firstly, the social transfer of knowledge and the intellectual development of individuals and groups were subject to the vivid scholarly interest of Muslims—as witnessed shortly after the rise of Islam in the early 7th century—and became more evident in literary and scholarly writing during subsequent centuries. Secondly, initiated by the translation of classical Greek and Syriac texts into Arabic in the 8th and 9th centuries, the creative adoption of the Hellenistic heritage also left its mark on the Islamic theory of education. This is particularly noticeable in the writings of Muslim authors who deal, from a philosophical-ethical point of view, with the developmental stages in the formation of human character and personality, the early education of the child, and with higher learning. Thirdly, the views on education in Islam benefited from, but also influenced, certain Jewish and Christian ideas on education significant to the Middle East at that time.

Thus far, the ādīb al-ʾālīn wa-l-muṭālīm literature as a particular type of scholarly expression in Arabic in medieval times has gained only scant attention in Western studies on Islam, despite the fact that al-Ghazālī's (d. 505 A.H./1111 C.E.) insightful passages on the ethics of education in several of his works are fairly well known.\(^1\)

\(^1\) A classic, so to speak, of Western research on educational thought in medieval Arabiic literature is Franz Rosenthal's *The Technique and Approach of Muslim Scholarship* (1947). Furthermore, one would need to mention Khalil Abdallah Totah's *The Contribution of the Arabs to Education* (1926), Ahmad Shalaby's *History of Muslim Education* (1954), and A.S. Tritton's *Materials on Muslim Education* (1957). For more specific aspects of the social history of Islamic education, the transmission of knowledge, and the educational practice and institutions, see, for example, the studies by A. Munir-ud-Din (1968), A. Tihawi, (1979), G. Schoeler (1985–), H. Naṣīḥah (1989), J. Berkey (1992), A. Gil'adi (1992), and M. Chamberlain (1994).

The originality of the educational ideas in these works, along with the sophisticated way in which they are presented, have caused modern scholarship to appreciate al-Ghazālī as an intellectual mastermind behind classical Islam's philosophy and ethics of education, in addition to his many other celebrated scholarly achievements.

However, a good number of Arabic works from the time before and after al-Ghazālī also deal in a most fascinating way with various aspects of pedagogy and didactics. Unfortunately, only a small portion of these educational texts have been studied and published, and the information about them is rather scattered throughout the primary and secondary sources. The evidence of the ādīb al-ʾālīn wa-l-muṭālīm works, however, does provide a clear idea of the impressively long and continuous tradition of medieval Arabic scholarship dealing with pedagogical and didactic issues, regardless of their authors' individual theological and juridical stances, ethnic origins, or geographical affiliations.

* * *

In this chapter, the focus is on two very early and, in many ways, remarkable examples of classical Arabic writings on education. The first treatise is entitled "Rules of Conduct for Teachers (Kāf al-ʾalām wa-l-muṭālīm)," and was written by Ibn Saḥnūn, a scholar from the western part of the Islamic empire. The second work bears the title "The Teachers (Kāf al-Muṭallīm)," and it is the work of 'Amr b. Bahr al-Jahlī, a famous contemporary of Ibn Saḥnūn's from the eastern lands of Islam.

Like other works of the ādīb al-ʾālīn wa-l-muṭālīm literature, these two texts are significant in several regards: firstly, as historical sources, since they provide information on the realities of intellectual life in medieval Islam; secondly, as evidence for the development of the theory of education, since their authors attempt to establish rules for teachers and students; and thirdly, as literary testimonies, since these texts show the distinctive methods used by their authors for presenting their educational ideas in writing.

\(^2\) Cf. the passages on education included in al-Ghazālī's "The [Re]-Visualization of Religious Sciences (Bay'aʾ 'alām al-dīn)" and "The Criterion of Action (Miḥān al-ʾanāf)," but also the educational-ethical treatise "O Son (Ayātul l-ʾasadil)" attributed to him.
2.1 The scholar's life and academic career

Muhammad Ibn Saḥnūn al-Tanūkhī3 was a prominent expert of Mālikī law, a ḥadīth scholar, historian, and biographer.4 He was born in 202/817 in al-Qayrawân, a city in modern Tunisia. At the beginning of the 9th century, al-Qayrawân was a flourishing economic, administrative, cultural, and intellectual center, as well as a nucleus of the Mālikī school of law for the western lands of Islam.5

Ibn Saḥnūn was of Arab descent. His grandfather Sa'id had arrived in al-Qayrawân in the middle of the 2nd/8th century with a group of people from Ḥims in Syria, sent there by the Umayyad authorities in Damascus to support (militarily) the presence of the Muslims in the Maghrib.6 Ibn Saḥnūn's father, Saḥnūn,7 "a man of rigorous and demanding ethics," is known as "one of the great architects of the exclusive supremacy of Sunnism in its Mālikī form throughout the Muslim West."8 In addition, it is interesting to note that Saḥnūn had begun his academic career as an elementary schoolteacher, teaching the Quran in a simple building rented for this particular purpose.9


6 Al-Malikī, Riyāḍ al-nuṭufs i, p. 13 of the introduction.

7 Under the rule of the Aghlabides (r. 184–296/800–900), al-Qayrawân became a stronghold for the study of the Quran and the Sunna, and for Mālikī law. Nonetheless, scholars from al-Qayrawân and other Maghribī cities were in vital academic contact with the east of the 'Abbasīd caliphate, to which the area ruled by Aghlabides nominally belonged. Scholars made pilgrimages and study trips to Mecca and Medina, and traveled to centers of higher learning such as Baghdad, Baṣra, and Kufa. See, for example, Ṣyūqī, Tābi‘īn 95; EP, vii, 843; and the art. "Malikīyyah" (N. Cottaret), in: EP, vi, 278–283, esp. 278, 290–291.

8 Al-Malikī, Riyāḍ al-nuṭufs i, 346–7; Ṣyūqī, Tābi‘īn 95; al-Qayrawānī, Taḥāṣīf 194.

9 For his biography, see al-Malikī, Riyāḍ al-nuṭufs i, 345–375; and the art. "Saḥnūn (M. Ta‘līl), in: EP, viii, 845–849. The nickname Saḥnūn—the name of a bard—was given to him because of his sharp eyesight. 

EP, vii, 845.

10 Al-Malikī, Riyāḍ al-nuṭufs i, 343–344; and Isma‘īl 37. Saḥnūn owes much of his scholarly reputation to his Mūdawwana, one of the great manuals of Mālikī law. Through this work, Saḥnūn played a major role in "the definitive implantation of Mālikism in the Maghrib" (EP, vii, 409 and EP, viii, 845), although he had—due to the lack of financial resources, as he himself attested—not been able to study himself with Imām Malik.
colleagues in Medina. The students at this circle were arguing on the legal issue of umm al-walid. When Ibn Saḥnūn told them a joke about the topic of discussion, he attracted Abū Muṣṭʿab’s attention so that Abū Muṣṭʿab recognized him as the Ibn Saḥnūn from al-Qayrawān. It is more important, however, to note that Ibn Saḥnūn’s biographers all emphasize the very favorable impression the young scholar left on the intellectual milieu in Egypt and the circle in the Maghrib. Supported by the Aghlabid regent and governor, Emir Ibrāhīm II (r. officially from 875 to 902), Ibn Saḥnūn is said to have led the Ṭalikī struggle against the Ḥanāfīs and Muʿtazālis in the Maghrib.

Ibn Saḥnūn died in al-Qayrawān in 256/870 at the age of fifty-four. On the day of his funeral, the stores and schools in al-Qayrawān were closed as an expression of mourning. The funeral prayer for the deceased scholar was led by Emir Ibrāhīm II. Ibn Saḥnūn was buried in al-Qayrawān next to his father’s tomb. The memorial shrine (qubba) built over his grave shortly became such a popular site that shops opened to accommodate and benefit from the many visitors. The Emir, however, eventually ordered these shops closed and dispersed the people.

Ibn Saḥnūn was a productive scholar. He is reported to have written nearly 200 books and treatises. Twenty-four works have been identified by title, but only three texts have been preserved. Most titles point to fatāwa and other short legal documents. Some books, however, are said to have been multi-volume encyclopaedias on Ḥadīth and Islamic history. The preserved book titles indicate that Ibn Saḥnūn had, in general, a vivid interest in the systematic teaching of the Quran and the essentials of Islamic belief. One can imagine how important this was especially when taking into consideration the attempts made in the 8th and 9th centuries in the Islamic West to Islamicize and Arabicize the Berber population.

2.2 Ibn Saḥnūn’s book on “Rules of Conduct for Teachers”

2.2.1 Structure, contents, and style

In terms of intention, content, and style, Ibn Saḥnūn’s K. Ḥādab al-muʿallimin25 is part of the so-called professional adab-literature. Like other manuals of this type—compiled for secretaries, clerks, copyists, or judges—Ibn Saḥnūn’s work addresses a specific community of people: the teachers at elementary schools, whom he provides with professional and juridical advice.

Ibn Saḥnūn’s K. Ḥādab al-muʿallimin25 starts with quotations of prophetic traditions, expressing the “merit” (fadil) and the advantage of teaching and learning the Quran. The book concludes with similar statements by Mālik ibn Anas, which in turn display Ibn Saḥnūn’s affiliation to the Mālikī school of law. Ibn Saḥnūn’s treatise has ten chapters, as follows:

i. [Traditions] on the teaching Mā jā’i fi ṭaʾām al-Qurʿān al-aʿāl of the Quran.
ii. [Traditions] on the equity Mā jā’i fi l-ṭall bayna l-sīḥyān [to be observed in treating school]boys.

books are: the K. Maṣāʾiʿ al-jāḥid (ms. Tunis) and the K. Adabat Muḥammad ibn Saḥnūn, rizāyat Muḥammad ibn Sālim al-Qayrāwān (ms. Continental Partially Illuminated); see EI vii, 409; Le Comte 80.

25 The complete text of the K. Ḥādab al-muʿallimin has been preserved in a unique Tunisian manuscript from the 14th or 15th century (National Tunisian Library, ms. Tunis 8787); cf. also Le Comte, Le Livre 78. For a short description of the Tunisian ma., see Hijāz 43. Fragmentary passages of the text have also been preserved in a Rabat manuscript (catalogued as no. 584p) consisting of approximately sixty percent of the work; cf. Hijāz 46. While the Tunisian text starts with qāla Abī ʿAbdal-lāh Muḥammad ibn Saḥnūn, the Moroccan text indicates a different transmission by stating: ādāhā bi l-ʿAbdāb ʿAbdallāh ibn Abī al-Ḥā dūb Abū l-ʿAbdāb ʿAbdallāh ibn Ahmad ibn Fardū ibn Muḥammad, qāla ādāhā Muḥammad ibn Saḥnūn al-ʿAbdāb [. . .]. This suggests that Ibn Saḥnūn’s treatise for teachers circulated in more than one transmitted version; see also Hijāz 46. A French translation of the K. Ḥādab al-muʿallimin was published by G. Le Comte; see his Le Livre 82–105.

This article’s references to Ibn Saḥnūn’s K. Ādab al-muʿallimin are based on Muḥammad al-Arāfīl Makī’s edition as reprinted in Hijāz, al-Mālikī, 111–128; lower case Roman numerals indicate chapters of Ibn Saḥnūn’s work.
iii. Chapter [of traditions] on the reprehensibility of erasing the word of God the Exalted [when written on slates], and what should be done [instead] in this regard.

iv. [Traditions] on disciplining students, and on what is permissible in this [regard] and what is not.

v. [Opinions] on the final exams for the recitation of the Quran [at elementary schools], and what is [to be given] to the teacher on this [occasion]

vi. [Opinions] on the presentation of gifts [to the teacher] on feast days.

vii. [Opinions] on [the occasions] when [the teacher] should give days off to the [school] boys.

viii. [Opinions] on the obligation on the teacher to stay all the time with the pupils [under his supervision]

ix. [Opinions] on the wage of the teacher and when it is obligatory

x. [Opinions] on renting a copy of the Quran, law books, and other such books

Based on criteria such as formal structure and style, the book is divided into two main parts: The first part comprises chapters one to four. Here the fundamentals of teaching pupils at elementary schools are provided. The author deals with the obligation to learn and memorize the Quran and the need for people to teach it. He talks about the practical issues implied when writing exercises are based on the Quranic text, about the disciplinary measures to correct the pupils' behavior, and about physical punishment. As indicated above, this first part is almost entirely based on quotations of prophetic traditions. Only occasionally does the author make short comments on these hadiths, rounding off a particular topic.

The second part of the book is formed by chapters five to ten. These chapters follow a different scheme: they present almost exclusively questions Ibn Sa'dn asked his father and answers his father gave him. Here the author addresses more specific issues related to the actual process of education. He covers the following topics: hiring a teacher, the various obligations regarding the khatma (the final oral exam after the pupil has memorized the Quran),25 some teacher's obligations (including the rental of the school or classroom at the teachers' expense, and the preparation teachers need before entering the classroom), enforcement of the curriculum (including obligatory and optional topics to be taught, supervision of pupils, and consultation with a pupil's parents on the child's strengths and weaknesses). Furthermore, the author discusses the basic salary, additional payments for teachers (including questions of the permissibility of such additional payments), and the legitimacy of renting books for teaching purposes.

As for the formal structure of this second part, a decisive question-answer pattern is striking in Ibn Sa'dn's work. This pattern supports the sequence of thesis and antithesis which, in turn, displays the author's legal training in reasoning and arguing.26 Occasionally, the pros and cons of issues are given. For example, he first provides a statement that may reflect an arguable opinion or circumstance, and then quotes an authoritative tradition or a statement that sets the author's legal training in reasoning and arguing. Occasionally, the pros and cons of issues are given. For example, he first provides a statement that may reflect an arguable opinion or circumstance, and then quotes an authoritative tradition or a statement that sets things right.

These characteristics of the text altogether make Ibn Sa'dn's book read like a legal document: it enumerates rules and precedents...
and its language is precise and prosaic, as in a ḥadīth. Ibn Sahnūn’s primary concern is to clarify issues; the style in presenting these ideas is secondary to him. This latter observation might explain, to some extent, why the discussion of certain topics does not always correspond to the chapter headings; why subject matters relating to one and the same issue are occasionally scattered throughout different chapters or listed under various rubrics; and why there are some passages which almost lack a logical sequence for the ideas addressed therein. The last chapter may even give the impression to some readers that issues were included there which the author, for some reason, omitted mentioning earlier in his book at a, perhaps, thematically more fitting place.

2.2.2 Reflections of historical realities
In terms of historical and cultural information, Ibn Sahnūn’s book has plenty to offer. As G. Lecomte already noted, 27 there are passages that vividly evoke in the reader’s mind the diligent world of elementary schools at the beginning of the 9th century. We learn about the medieval teacher who is proud of the ink spots on his clothing: “It is the sign of manliness (muru‘a) to see ink on a man’s clothing or lips” (iii.116). There is also mention of the parents who offer the teacher gifts as a reward for his good work (vi.118). Yet if a father is unhappy with the results of his child’s education, he does not hesitate to argue frankly with the teacher (ix.124, 125).

There are passages that allow us to picture situations where young schoolboys take care of each other at school and accompany each other home after class (vii.118; viii.119). We learn about the different ways of cleaning the writing tablet, either using a little dust cloth or even the tongue (iii.115). If one uses the foot to erase quranic text written on the tablet, one commits—as the text states—an act of irreverence toward the Quran and risks receiving punishment (iii.115). The text talks about school holidays and family celebrations taking place when pupils pass the khatma exam and graduate (v.117).

Along with these insights into the everyday life at elementary schools at the beginning of the 9th century, the book provides some significant historical information. One can conclude from the text, firstly, that the teaching of the Quran and its supplementary disciplines at the primary level was, at that time, already well established in the Muslim West. Secondly, primary education was apparently in need of more systematic regulations and scholars responded to this need by offering professional advice. Within this context, the raising of fees for teaching classes—as Ibn Sahnūn indicates—and even remuneration for teaching the Quran had become a common practice. The author generally supports this practice, yet he feels it indispensable to discuss it in detail (i.114; ix.124).

Ibn Sahnūn also deals at length with physical punishment (see chapter iv). This, however, is less surprising when taking the author’s legal background into consideration. Hence one can appreciate, for example, why he attempts to cover all possible precedents, those which actually occurred and those which might occur. Although the text makes it quite clear that punishment was part of rectifying a child’s behavior in Islam in the medieval times, Ibn Sahnūn leaves no doubt that physical punishment should not cross the line. He stresses that the child should not be seriously harmed. On the contrary, basing himself on prophetic traditions, he emphasizes that modesty, patience, and a passion for working with children are indispensable qualities of teachers (ii.115; iv.116; viii.119).

Moreover, Ibn Sahnūn also advises the teachers to create situations to challenge pupils intellectually. He mentions, for example, that pupils may dictate to each other (ix.124), or that advanced pupils may profit from writing letters for adults (viii.119). Competition amongst pupils is expressly favored because, as the text says, it contributes to the formation of their personalities and to their general improvement (vii.119).

2.2.3 The curriculum
As for the curriculum, Ibn Sahnūn presents to the teachers a number of rules. Some of them are obligatory; others are recommended. One can conclude from the text the following obligatory rules:

1. Teachers must instruct pupils in the precise articulation of the Quran, along with knowledge of reading, orthography, and grammar (viii.119).
2. Teachers are strongly advised not to teach melodious recitation of the Quran (alḥān al-Qur‘ān). This is “unlawful” since it leads to singing, which is reprehensible (vii.120).

---

27 Cf. his Le Livre 81–82.
3. Teachers must teach the duties of worship (such as the ablutions before prayers, the number of inclinations and prostrations in prayer, etc.) (viii.121).

4. Teachers must teach the pupils good manners, since these are obligations towards God (viii.120).

As recommended topics for teaching, Ibn Salāmīn suggests the following:

5. The basics of Arabic language and linguistics (viii.119).

6. Arithmetic (viii.119).

7. Calligraphy (viii.119).

8. Writing letters (viii.119).

9. Poetry, however, only if the verses are decent (viii.119).


11. Historical reports (akhbār) of the ancient Arabs and legends of their battles (viii.120).

12. Sermons (khutāb), if the pupils show interest in them (viii.120).

Given the priority that the Malikites in the Maghrib generally gave to instructing boys in the Quran, these rather diverse recommendations of Ibn Salāmīn are significant.

Some other rules concern a variety of matters. For example, teachers are advised not to instruct young girls together with boys, because mixed classes corrupt young people (viii.123). This statement seems to point to the fact that, firstly, education was not restricted to boys, and secondly, that coeducation may have been practiced at elementary schools to some degree. Also, teachers must not teach the Quran to the children of Christians (viii.122). This rule is given on the authority of Ibn Salāmīn’s father. It seems to indicate, on the one hand, that Muslim and Christian children were attending the same classes. On the other hand, it shows that Ibn Salāmīn took the Quranic command “There is no compulsion in matters of faith” (Q 2:256) literally.

2.2.4 Rules for teachers and how Ibn Salāmīn presents them to the reader

The following passages in translation provide a more detailed and immediate idea of Ibn Salāmīn’s text. They highlight some major themes dealt with by Ibn Salāmīn and the methods used by him for presenting these issues. These texts may also give an impression of the pious tone characteristic of this treatise.

**ADVICE FOR TEACHERS**

---

**Merit and necessity of learning and teaching the Quran**

Abū Abd Allah Ibn Sahnūn said:

قَالَ: ابْنُ سَهْنُ: قَالَ: [it has been transmitted… that] the Messenger of God—God bless him and grant him peace—said:

"The best of you is the one who learns the Quran and teaches it."

"Through the Quran God elevates [many] peoples."

"You must occupy yourselves with and continually make use of the Quran, for it eliminates hypocrisy in the same way that fire eliminates rust from iron."

"He who recites the Quran accurately (lit.: with desinential inflexion) will receive the reward of a martyr."

"He who learns the Quran in his youth, the Quran will mix with his flesh and blood. [However,] he who learns it in old age, and does not give up on it even when it escapes [his memory], will receive double the reward" (i.113-114).

* * *

It has been transmitted on the authority of ‘Uthmān ibn ‘Affān (the third Rightly Guided Caliph, d. 35/656)—may God be pleased with him—concerning God’s saying—blessed and exalted be He—Then We bequeathed the Book on those of our servants we chose (Q 35:32) [that] he said, “Everyone who learns the Quran and teaches it is amongst those whom God has chosen from humankind” (i.114).
ADVICE FOR TEACHERS

Anas [ibn Malik] was asked: "How were the educators during the time of [the first four caliphs,] the Imams Abu Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthman, and 'Ali—may God be pleased with them?"

"They were good men. If a book was 'hired' for the purpose of, and with the right to, copying it. See Rosenthal, The Technique 8, fn. 3.

38 'Fara is a legal term that "refers to the permission granted for a compensation to use a thing owed by, or the service of, another person." Hence the term can also refer to a book that was 'hired' for the purpose of, and with the right to, copying it. See Rosenthal, The Technique 8, fn. 3.

[It has been transmitted that] Abdallah ibn Mas'ud [d. ca. 82/625] said: "Three [things] are essential for people: [1.] A ruler who rules amongst them [in justice]; if it were not for that, they would devour each other. [2.] Buying and selling copies of the Quran; if it were not for that, the Book of God would decrease [in number]. [3.] Teachers who teach their children and who receive a salary for that; if it were not for that, the people would be illiterate" (i.114).

Further teaching topics

I asked [Sa'b ibn Muhammad]: "So, is it permissible for the boy to write letters for someone?"

He answered: "There is no harm [in it]. If he writes letters, this is something that contributes to the boy's education. The teacher should [also] teach the pupils calculation, although this is not obligatory for him to do—unless it is imposed on him as an obligation. Likewise [for] poetry, unfamiliar [words], the Arabic language, calligraphy, and all parts of grammar—[the teaching of] all of this is at his discretion. The teacher should teach them the desinential inflexion of the Quranic text—this is incumbent upon him. [He should also teach them] vocalization and spelling, good handwriting and to read well, when to pause and when to recite [the Quranic text] in a slow, measured rhythmical way—all this is incumbent upon him. [Also,] there is no harm in teaching them poetry—as long as there is nothing indecent in it from the language and the anecdotes of the

PEDEGOGICAL TRADITION

Arabs. This [however] is not an obligation on him" (v.i.119-120).

I said [to Sa'b ibn Muhammad]: "Some Andalusians related that there was no harm in hiring [someone] to teach Islamic jurisprudence, religious duties, poetry, and grammar. It is similar to [teaching] the Quran. He replied: "Malik and our companions (i.e. the experts of our Law School] detested this. How could it be similar to the Quran? [Learning] the Quran has a [specific] goal that can be reached, whereas what (i.e., the topics) you have mentioned has none. So, this [i.e. the idea mentioned by the Andalusians?] is unknown.

Islamic jurisprudence and [religious] knowledge (as studied by the 'ulama") are something about which there has been disagreement, whereas the Quran is the truth about which there is no doubt at all. Islamic jurisprudence is not to be learned by heart like the Quran; hence it is not similar to it, nor does it have a [definite] goal or time in which to reach it" (x.126).

Writing exercises based on Quranic text

Anas [ibn Malik] was asked: "How were the educators during the time of [the first four caliphs,] the Imams Abu Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthman, and 'Ali—may God be pleased with them?"
Anas answered: "The teacher had a basin. Each boy used to come—every day, each in his turn—with some pure water. They would pour it into the basin and use it to erase the writing day, each in his turn—with some pure water from the ground and pour this water into it
"Afterwards, they used to dig a hole in the ground and pour this water into it" (i.i.115).

Mental challenges for pupils, teaching assistance, and teacher responsibilities

[ibn Sa`nûn] said that Sa`nûn stated: "... There is no harm in having them dictate to each other, because this is for their benefit. Yet he [the teacher] must review their dictation.
[Moreover,] he must not let them move from one aura to another until they have memorized [the first aura] with its desinential inflexion and orthography—unless [the pupils'] fathers give him leeway to do so" (viii.120).
[ibn Sa`nûn] stated: "It is more appropriate for the teacher not to put one of the boys in charge of the beatings nor designate for them a monitor from amongst them, unless it is a boy who has finished [learning] the Quran and knows it, and no longer needs instruction. Hence, there is no harm in it. [Also, there is no harm for] the boy to help the teacher; [for] this is of benefit to the boy.

Qalam: And Qalam added: "... the teacher must be committed to working hard. And he must devote himself to the pupils... for he is a hireling and cannot leave his work (viii.119).
I asked [Sa`nûn]: "Then, can the teacher send the boys to look for each other?"
He replied: "I am not of the opinion that he is allowed to do so—unless their fathers or [their] guardians grant him [the teacher] permission in this regard, or if the places are nearby and the boy is not occupied with it [for too long]. He [the teacher] himself must be mindful of the boys at the time [they] return home, and inform their guardians [if] they did not come [to school]" (vii.i.118).
I asked [Sa`nûn]: "Are you of the opinion that it is [permissible] for the teacher to write fiqh books for himself?"
He replied: "As for the time when he has finished [teaching] the boys, there is no harm in writing [such books] for himself and for others; for example, when he has permitted them to return home. But as long as they are around him, no! That is, it is not permissible for him, for how can he be permitted to deviate from something..."

Supervision of pupils

[ibn Sa`nûn] stated: The teacher must supervise the pupils' learning and their progress, so that he can make sure they are progressing as they should. He must help them with their studies and encourage them to work hard. He should be patient and kind, and should not be too strict. He should also ensure that they are well-behaved and respectful to each other.

Qalam: A teacher should have a good character and be respected by the students. He should be patient and kind, and should not be too strict. He should also ensure that they are well-behaved and respectful to each other.
that it is incumbent upon him to observe, towards something that is not incumbent upon him? Don't you see that he is [also] not permitted to entrust to some of [the boys] the teaching of others? How, [then] could he occupy himself with something other than them?" (viii.119).

Sahînîn stated: The teacher is not permitted to send the boys [to take care] of his personal matters (viii.121).

Just treatment of pupils

[It has been transmitted] on the authority of Anas ibn Malik that the Messenger of God—God bless him and grant him peace—stated: "Any teacher who is entrusted with three boys from this community and does not teach them on an equal basis—the poor with the rich, and the rich with the poor—will be deemed one of the wrongdoers" (i.115).

[It has been transmitted] on the authority of al-Hasan (al-Bârî) that he said: "If a teacher has been hired for a fixed salary and does not treat them—i.e. the boys—on an equal basis, he will be deemed to be one of the wrongdoers." (i.115).

Handling trouble between pupils

Ibn Sahînîn said: Sahînîn was asked about the teacher: "Should he accept the word of boys concerning the harm [done] by others?"

He replied: "I do not consider this [an issue] requiring legal judgment. However, the teacher should discipline them if they have harmed one another. In my view, he should do so if

Classroom and teaching equipment

[Sahînîn said] It is incumbent [upon the teacher]—and not upon the pupils—to rent the shop [to be used as a classroom]. He must inspect [the pupils] by teaching and reviewing
[with them]. He must schedule a fixed time to review [the children's knowledge] of the Quran, such as Thursdays or Wednesday evenings. Yet he must give them the day off on Fridays. This has been the practice of teachers since there have been teachers, and they have not been faulted for that (iii.120).

[Suyn stated] Also, the teacher is obliged to obtain [at his own expense] the scourge and the device to hold the legs of the delinquent during the bastinado; this is not to be at the expense of the boys (viii.120).

Malik was asked about the teaching of the boys in the mosque. He answered: “I do not consider this to be permitted, because they are not mindful of impiety. And mosques have not been set up for teaching [children]” (viii.120).

Payment for teaching the Quran

[It has been transmitted] from 'Aṭīṣ ibn Abī Rabah] that he used to teach the art of writing during the time of Mu'āwiya (the first Umayyad caliph who r. 661-680 C.E.) and that he stipulated [payment for it] (i.114).

Ibn Jurayj said: I asked 'Aṭīṣ: “Can I take wages for teaching the Book? Do you know of anybody having detested it?” He said: “No, I do not do it” (i.114).

[It has been transmitted] on the authority of Ibn Shāhīd [al-Zuhri] that Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ got a man from Iraq to teach the Book to their children in Medina and that they (the Medinans) gave him wages (i.114).

Malik [ibn Abī Ayya] stated that “there is no harm in a teacher's taking [payment] for teaching the Quran. If he stipulates something [as payment], it is lawful and permissible. So, there is no harm in his stipulating in this regard.

[Moreover,] what is due to him when the Quran has been completely recited from memory is obligatory, whether he had stipulated it or not. The scholars of our country [agree] on this as it concerns the teachers (i.114).

Muhammad [ibn Suyn] said: There is no harm in a man’s hiring a teacher to teach his children the Quran for a predetermined sum for a fixed time, or for each month. Also, he can teach half or a quarter of the Quran or any other portion specified by the two [parties].

He said: If a man hires a teacher to teach certain boys, it is permissible for the teacher to teach others together with them—provided that this does not divert him from teaching those for whom we was hired” (x.126).

He said: There is no harm in a man’s hiring [an instructor] to teach his child writing and spelling. [In fact,] the Prophet—God bless him and grant him peace—used to free a man who taught writing [to the Muslims] (x.127).

Graduation

I asked him [Suyn]: “When is the time due for the final exam?” He replied: “It is due [when he (the pupil) comes near it and has gone beyond learning] two thirds of the Quran.”

Then I asked him about [the possibility of having] the final exam [after memorizing only] half of the Quran. He replied: “I do not consider it to be compulsory.”

Suyn stated: “The final exam on anything other than the entire Quran—be it half, a third, or a quarter [of it]—is not compulsory, unless they volunteer in this regard” (v.117).
In conclusion of this part of our study, it is worth noting that Ibn Sa'ūd al-Ma'mūn for teachers was—already in the Middle Ages—of much interest to Muslim scholars. An example of this is Abū l-Ḥasan al-Qabīṣī (d. 403/1012), a leading representative of the Mālikī law school from al-Qayrawān who lived about 150 years after Ibn Sa'ūd al-Ma'mūn. Al-Qabīṣī used Ibn Sa'ūd al-Ma'mūn's text extensively as a source and commented on it when compiling his own "Elaborate Treatise on the Circumstances of Teachers and the Legal Regulations for Teachers and Students (al-Risāla al-mufassala fī ḥabāl al-mu'allāmin wa-'akhām al-mu'allāmin wa-l-nu'ta'allāmin)." Thus, al-Qabīṣī sets forth Ibn Sa'ūd al-Ma'mūn's educational efforts and, at the same time, affirms that he was one of the earliest Muslim educationalists.

3 Al-Jāhiẓ

3.1 The scholar: life and academic career

Due to his masterly compositions in the areas of belles-lettres, Mu'tazīli theology, and political-religious polemics, Abū 'Uthmān 'Amr ibn Bahr al-Fuqaymī al-Baṣrī al-Jāhiẓ is well known as one of the most prominent classical Arabic writers. He was born in Basra in about 160/776 and died there in Muḥarram 255/December 869–January 869. He was probably of Abyssinian origin and received his sobriquet due to a malformation of the eyes.33 From an early age, al-Jāhiẓ dedicated himself to learning. He participated in study circles held at mosques and also attended the debates on Arabic philology, lexicography, poetry, and philosophy conducted at the Mirbad, a celebrated public place in Basra, which played an outstanding role in the shaping of Arabic culture in medieval times.

Al-Jāhiẓ acquainted himself with the works of the ancient Greek philosophers (especially Aristotle) available in Arabic since the great translation movement under the caliph al-Ma'mūn (r. 813–833). He participated frequently in the intellectual conversations taking place in the salons of the upper class, where issues of general concern to Islamic society were discussed. One of his favorite activities, however, was to spend a great deal of time in libraries and bookstores. For a small amount of money, he is said to have rented a bookstore overnight to read and copy what was of interest to him.34 Only in about 200/815–6, at the age of forty-five, does he seem to have started writing professionally. Writing, and the considerable amounts of money he received for dedicating his works to people of influence and wealth, thus seem to have been his main sources of income. He built up his private library and even employed a copyist (warāqī) known by the name of 'Abd al-Wahhāb ibn ʿĪsā.35 Nevertheless, al-Jāhiẓ also had some bitter experiences, for works of his were torn apart by envious colleagues and critics shortly after they were published.36 Al-Jāhiẓ seems to have held no official or regular post in his life. It is known, however, that when he was in Baghdad he worked for some time as a scribe and teacher. Al-Jāhiẓ himself reports that the caliph al-Mutawakkil (r. 847–861) had apparently endeavored to entrust him with the education of his children. However, the caliph later changed his mind, seemingly because of al-Jāhiẓ's ugliness.37 The circumstances and often unfair treatment of professional teachers al-Jāhiẓ witnessed, and may have experienced firsthand,38 seem to have induced him to write a book entitled "The Teachers."39 This

33 Yaḥyā, Muḥammad al-adab al-ṣūrī, vi, 56.
34 Shalaby 90.
37 Hirschfeld 202.
38 For the theory and practice of Islamic education in medieval times, the encyclopedic work of al-Jāhiẓ as a whole is an importan source. It provides much insightful information on the curriculum for princes, the social status of teachers, the value of books, and even on the etiquette to be observed by people attending literary salons; to mention a few topics. This is also the case for al-Jāhiẓ's main works: the K al-Hawasīn ("The Book of Animals," a cerebral anthology on a large variety of subjects, based on animals); the K al-Ra'ya wa-l-taḥyfa ("The Book of Eloquence and Exposition," which Pellat called "an inventory of what have been called the "Arabic humanities," designed to stress the oratorical and poetic ability of Arabic," cf. EF ii, 380); and the K al-Bahā'īdā ("The Book of Mizers," an entertaining work praising Arab generosity and analyzing non-Arab writers). Other works dealing in more detail with intellectual refinement and ethics are: (i) The Risāla al-ma'tam fi-l-maḥāfiz ("The Treatise on the Manner of Living [in this World] and the Hereafter," known also as Risāla fī l-mahāfiz wa-l-maḥāfiz, "Treatise

---

---
provided him with the opportunity not only to defend but also to champion schoolteachers and stress their superiority over all other classes of educators and tutors.40

3.2 Al-Jāhiz’s book “The Teachers”

As is the case for quite a number of al-Jāhiz’s writings, no complete text of the book “The Teachers” has been preserved.41 Various fragments of this work were discovered, however, in four manuscripts in Cairo, Istanbul, London, and Mosul.42 The text has been published several times.43 Nonetheless, this work of al-Jāhiz—which he apparently composed at a late stage of his life—is little known thus far, in either the Arab or the Western world.

Although general keeping within the bounds of decency; cf. El ii, 386. The fact that al-Jāhiz praises the schoolteachers highly in one passage (e.g. K al-Baṣīr wa-l-tabyin i, 250–2) and makes rather unlavering jokes about them in another (Ibid. 249–49) may therefore he understood as the result of an essentially dialectical intellect—something, however, that was interpreted by his contemporaries (Ibn Qutayba, for example) as a lack of seriousness. G.J. van Gelder suggests that it is precisely this “lack of seriousness” which seems to be one al-Jāhiz’s attractive sides: the fact that al-Jāhiz mixes jest and earnestness; see van Gelder’s article on this topic in: Journal of Arabic Literature 25 (1992), esp. 95–106. In addition, al-Jāhiz’s Mu’azzalte views, which eventually aim at tackling the various aspects of a given topic, may also have played a role in this regard.

40 Al-Jāhiz’s works comprise nearly 200 titles. However, only about thirty works—whether authentic or apocryphal—have been preserved in full length. Of about fifty works, only excerpts, quotations, or fragmentary passages have come down to us; see El ii, 386–389, with further references. The K al-Mu`allim!n belongs to this latter category; cf. Geries 9. C. Brockelmann classified al-Jāhiz’s works according to real or assumed subjects; his list provides a good idea of the breadth of al-Jāhiz’s literary and scholarly interests (GSL Supplement i, 241–247).


3.2.1 Intention and literary style

With regard to al-Jāhiz’s literary oeuvre in general, Ibrahim Geries observed that this medieval scholar seems to have believed that “the people’s need for one another is a salient characteristic of their nature and an inborn feature of the core of their souls. It is permanent and... covers all beings, from the smallest to the greatest.”44 None of God’s creatures would be able to reach his goal without the assistance of those deployed to help him; the most respected cannot exist without the least respected; rulers need the lower classes as the lower classes need rulers; rich people need the poor and slaves need masters.45 This idea, of Greek origin, regarding the interdependence of elements in the universe, influenced al-Jāhiz’s general perception of the world. For al-Jāhiz, attempts to comprehend the microcosm lead to an understanding of the macrocosm. This scientific-philosophic approach made al-Jāhiz the sharp observer and analyst he was. Basing himself on deduction and logical reasoning, he unveils to the reader the significance of what is insignificant in the eyes of those relying simply on superficial perceptions and initial sensory impressions. Such a view of the world eventually enabled him to observe and minutely examine various social groups. As a result, his writings reflect, rather objectively and realistically, actual circumstances, opinions, and viewpoints prevalent in his own time, thus providing a spectacular insight into Arabic-Islamic culture and society under the ‘Abbāsid dynasty.47

The book “The Teachers” reveals in an aesthetic way many of these characteristics of al-Jāhiz’s approach as a scholar and as a man of letters. For example, the various digressions and the original sequence of thoughts in this text appeal to the reader through the...
balanced repetition of similar ideas presented each time in a different way. Hence "what would be pointless repetition" in terms of modern thinking and presentation, arose "in the mind of the 3rd/9th century writer... from the desire... to give ordinary prose the symmetry of verse," wrote Charles Pellat, one of the best-known experts on al-Jahiz.48

3.2.2 Structure and contents
The author of the book "The Teachers" addresses the reader directly in the second person singular. He starts with an appeal to God to protect the people—including the reader of his book—from the rage of anger and to grant them justice and patience in their hearts. Then he sets out to defend the teachers against a (fictitious) critic and to commend them highly. The teachers are described as knowledgeable, diligent, and hardworking people. Moreover, it is said that they are passionate about their profession and suffer with their students when they do not make the progress expected. Parents should not, therefore, blame the teachers when their children are slow in their education, but instead look at the mental capability of their offspring.

Al-Jahiz starts his book with a particularly appealing chapter. It deals with writing in general and with the fundamental impact writing has had on human civilization. Writing and recording, along with calculation, are "the pillars" on which the present and the future of civilization and "the welfare of this world" rest. Writing and calculation are God-given, as are the teachers themselves, for God "made them available to us" (p. 60).49

The next paragraph of the book deals with memory and memorization. Interestingly enough, the author stresses here that independent thinkers and researchers dislike (kariha) memorization. He says that depending on it makes "the mind disregard distinction" and causes it to neglect thought (p. 62). People with a good memory are tempted to rely simply on what their predecessors achieved, without making attempts to reach conclusions of their own. Nevertheless, for the process of studying, a good memory is valuable and necessary; otherwise, the results of study and research would not last.

As for the trust one is to have in teachers, the teachers of princes are mentioned as examples. Rulers entrusted teachers with the education of their children and so should everybody else. However, one is advised to do so only after testing the teacher and being convinced of his pedagogical skills. Attention is also drawn to the many great scholars in all branches of the arts and sciences and to the men renowned in politics and society who were once teachers (p. 63).

At this point of the presentation, the author effectively alerts the reader not to draw conclusions prematurely; instead he advises us to finish reading the entire treatise first (p. 64). He points to the fact that there are teachers for everything one needs to know: writing, arithmetic, law, the religious duties (farâ'id), the Quran, grammar, prosody, poetry, and history. This is followed by a list of further subjects that are taught: these include astronomy, music (al-rihâni), medicine, geometry, polo, archery, and horsemanship, playing musical instruments, chess, and other games. The children of the lower classes are given lessons in farming, shop-keeping, construction, jewelry-making, sewing, weaving, dying, and other handicrafts and occupations. It is noted that even animals can be taught. Yet, schoolteachers, as al-Jahiz stresses, are superior to all other categories of teachers (pp. 64–66).

Manifold pieces of advice for teachers follow. They focus on the qualifications teachers need for their work, but also deal with the actual process of teaching and the curriculum. The "Chapter on the Instruction of Boys (Fi riyâdat al-jabî)," one of only two chapters in the treatise that bears a title, discusses extensively the teaching of grammar (as will be shown below in more detail). Further thoughts relate to literature and scholarship, to writing prose, and to the value of reading good books. Frequently these remarks are interspersed with sayings and anecdotes from Arabic literature (p. 72).

The flow of the presentation is seemingly interrupted here by a chapter entitled "On the Censure of Homosexuality (Fi dhamm al-liwiit)."

---

48 EJ ii, 387.
49 Such praise of books and writing must have been perceived as being even more polemical and provocative in a society in which people seem to have looked askance at writing down knowledge. It is worth mentioning here that al-Jahiz's refreshing views in this regard are paralleled in a lengthy passage in his K. al-Hayawan; see esp. i, 38–102.

50 Tijara ("trading") in Gericke's edition, p. 66; nijara ("carpentry") in Harun's edition, p. 117.
It denounces certain sexual activities among adults, both male and female, and the lust for boys (p. 78). Then, back to literature, the author praises 'Abdallah ibn al-Muqaffa' (d. ca. 139/756), who is best known for his translation of the fables of Kalila wa-Dimna into Arabic. As it is said, he is admired not only as a man of letters, an expert on literary style, a poet, and translator, but also as a teacher (p. 79).

The following paragraph warns that too much self-confidence in scholarly matters is a dangerous mistake. To have knowledge and noteworthy achievements in one or two branches of knowledge, for example, does not necessarily indicate an equivalent excellence in other branches. The famous al-Khalil ibn Ahmad (d. ca. 175/791) is given as an example; it is said that he gained a fine reputation for his work in Arabic grammar and prosody, but that he failed and made a fool of himself when claiming to be an expert in theology (kalâm) and the metres of songs (awzān al-aghānî; p. 80).

Various fragmentary passages follow: they relate to the importance of the ruler (sulṭān) and the administrators of the government. These are praised as most intelligent people and it is said that society is in need of them. Another statement admonishes the teaching of the books of Abû Hânîfa. Further remarks then deal with the proper application of analogies (in teaching). The author uses the history and the merits of the clan of the Quraysh—well known to most Muslims—to show how analogies should or should not be used. The harsh critique of the merchants (which expresses the opposite of what al-Jâhid said of them in his other writings) and of the money changers seems, again, not to have been initially part of this educational treatise (p. 81).

3.2.3 Curricular and non-curricular topics of teaching
In his book "The Teachers," al-Jâhid suggests an impressive variety of topics to be taught. He does so, however, without indicating that these topics in fact relate to two very different categories of teaching: (a) the formal, curricular kind of teaching, as conducted by the schoolteachers at the elementary and the more advanced levels (i.e. the kind of instruction which Ibn Sahnûn is concerned with in his treatise on primary education); and (b) the informal, non-curricular kind of teaching, which could take place at various locations, including "on the shop floor," for example. Since al-Jâhid was interested in teaching in general terms, a clear-cut distinction between the teaching topics belonging to one or the other category is rather difficult to make. This notion needs to be taken into account when looking at the following list of teaching topics drawn from his book.

Obligatory topics:
1. Reading and Writing
   - The essentials of writing (kitâb); the focus is on correct spelling (even if the handwriting is at a low level) (p. 64).
   - The essentials of grammar needed for correct verbal communication and for writing (p. 73).
   - The essentials of stylistics, including the use of easy and precise words, and the clarity of expression (p. 74).
   - Correct articulation and basic skills in rhetoric (pp. 74–75).

2. Arithmetic
   - Good knowledge of arithmetic (pp. 64, 70); accuracy is important here even more so than for writing. At the beginner's level, the focus is on the basics of calculation; later on one may deal with higher arithmetic, geometry, field measurements etc. (pp. 74–75).
3. The Essentials of Religion
- Religious duties (fard‘i‘id, pp. 64, 69).
- The Quran (pp. 64, 69).

4. Literature and Literary Theory
- Poetry: all poems, including those displaying “metrical speech, as used in poems in the metre of qasid verse and in poems in rajaz metre (al-mawzūn min qasid wa-l-arjūz; pp. 65, 69).
- Prose: including what is balanced and often rhymed (min al-muzdawij wa-l-diraj al-mawzūn min al-qā‘id wa al-arjūz; pp. 69), what provides historical information (abkhūr), and what is to be found in literary works from former times (athlon) (pp. 65, 73).
- Prosody (’arur, p. 65).

5. Logic and Disputation
- Articulate prose (al-mantiq al-manthur, p. 68).
- Logical argumentation and debate, i.e. formulating questions and answers (p. 68).

6. Accounting
- What is required of government clerks and registrars (kutūb al-dawīwzn); such as arithmetic and what is related to marketing and promotion, as well as correct spelling (for the knowledge of accounting is more useful and fruitful than the knowledge possessed by editors and scribes; p. 74).

Recommended topics [at a more advanced stage of education]:
8. Sports, including the use of light arms.


9. Music, including how to play various musical instruments.
10. Astronomy, i.e. “the knowledge of the stars.”
13. Teaching (or training) animals, especially those used by people for labor, including camels and horses (pp. 65–66).

Topics recommended specifically for children of people from the lower class: Farming, trading, construction, goldsmithing, sewing, weaving, dyeing, and other crafts (p. 66).

3.2.4 Advice for teachers
The text provides numerous pieces of advice for teachers, some of which are given expressly, while others are indicated in a more general way. Some of the more striking examples shall be presented here. They concern:

The process of education
- Take the mental ability of students into account. Use a language understandable to them (p. 74).
- Treat students gently and in a most lovable way. Attempt to reach their hearts when it comes to the subject matters taught (p. 77).

The purpose of reading
- Make the students understand that the purpose of reading books is to learn and to understand and not, simply, the enjoyment of nice words, for: “He who reads the books of eloquent writers and leafs through the collections of sages to acquire ideas pursues the right course. He, [however], who looks into these books [simply] to learn [more] words pursues the wrong course (wa-man qara‘a kutub al-balaghā‘ wa-ta‘affuh dawā‘un al-‘alamā‘ li-yasta‘fū dā‘at al-mu‘ā‘it li-yasta‘fīd l-ma‘ā‘un ‘alā sabīl Jā‘ū‘; wa-man nazara fihā li-yasta‘fīdū ‘alī sabīlkhátah)” (pp. 75–76).

The means of expression and style
- Make the students familiar with the arguments of writers and their eloquent use of simple and easily understood words. Make them taste “the sweetness of brevity and the comfort of sufficiency [in expression] (kalātwa‘ al-‘ikhāṣar wa-rū‘hū l-kitfayn)” (p. 74).
Warn the students against pretentiousness (p. 74);
Teach them to express themselves in a way understandable to people without the need for any additional interpretation and comment (pp. 74–75);
Teach them to choose simple words whose semantic fields, or meanings, do not cover “extremes, nor extravagance and unnaturalness;” there are already too many people who do not care about the loss of meaning in words, but concern themselves instead with eloquence and “meaningless elegance” in expression (p. 75).

Make the students understand that content has priority over style, because the least eloquent person is he “who has prepared the means of conveying meaning before preparing the meaning itself.” Enrich their active vocabulary, for one should not just stick to the words one already knows. New vocabulary, however, should be limited to known and distinct meanings, and should not just be created off-hand (p. 75).

Good manners and style in writing
Warn the students about using bad manners in life and in writing. They should also be warned about slow articulation, inactive performance, extreme arrogance, and the keenness to be counted among the eloquent. Again, make them aware of good style; prepare them to distinguish between a smooth and easy style and a complicated one (p. 75).

3.2.5 Further pieces of advice and examples of how al-Jahiz presents them

Deduction vs. Memorization

The leading sages, masters of the art of deductive reasoning and [independent] thinking, have been averse to excellence in memorization, because of [one’s] dependence on it and its rendering the mind negligent of rational discernment, so [much so] that they said: “Memorization inhibits the intellect.”

They have been averse to it] because the one engaged in memorization is only an imitator, whereas deductive reasoning is that which brings the one engaged in it to the coolness of certainty and the strength of confidence.

The true proposition and the praiseworthy judgment is that, when a student perpetuates learning by memorization, this harms deductive reasoning; and when he perpetuates deductive reasoning, this harms learning by memorization—even if memorization has a more honorable rank than [deductive reasoning].
So, when he neglects rational reflection, ideas do not come quickly to him, and when he neglects learning by memorization, [these ideas] do not stick in his mind or remain long in his heart.

The nature of memorization is other than [that of deductive reasoning]. [However,] that which is treated and helped by both [memorization and deductive reasoning] is [something] agreed upon: it is freeing the mind for—and desiring—only one thing. By means of these two (i.e. memorization and deductive reasoning), perfection comes to be and virtue appears.

The adherent of learning by memorization [and the adherent of deductive reasoning] have another aspect [of learning] on which they agree: this is the location and the time [for studying].

And [as absorbing the content] and the location of the place, and the subject, and the time for study.
As for the locations, whatever both of them choose [is appropriate]; if they so wish [however, these locations could be upper] chambers without distractions.

As for the hours, the early mornings [are preferred] above all other times, because that time is before the time of being occupied [with other things], and [it] follows [the time of] total relaxation and rest; [this is so] since there is a certain amount of time for relaxation, which is [for one's] benefit, just as there is a certain amount of time for hard work, which is [also for one's] benefit.

The teaching of grammar

About the training of the boy:

As for grammar, occupy [the boy's] mind with it only to the extent that it would safeguard [him] against the [commission of] excessive grammatical errors and against the measure of [grammatical] ignorance [encountered in the parhane of] the commonality—should he happen to draft a piece of writing, recite poetry, or [to describe] something.

Anything exceeding this is a diversion from what has a higher claim [for the pupil's education] and is a distraction

from what is more profitable for him in the way of relating the [pointedly] illustrative proverb, the true informative account, and the [most] outstanding interpretation.

He who desires to reach the utmost limits [of grammar], and to go beyond [studying only] a moderate amount [of it], is someone who does not need to familiarize himself with substantial matters, the deductive unveiling of the obscurities in the [art of] governance, [knowledge of] the welfare of peoples and countries, the pillars [of religion], and the axis around which the [world's] millstone revolves; [that is to say, this is someone] who has no share [of knowledge] nor any livelihood other than [grammar].

The difficulties of grammar do not occur in human transactions and there is nothing compelling [you] to indulge in it.

It is sound judgment, then, to direct [the pupil] towards finger reckoning, rather than Indian calculus, and rather than geometry and the difficulties belonging to the [science of] measuring surface areas.

Concerning all of this, however, you are obliged to teach him what the competent [clerks] and the ruler and secretaries in the chancellories need [to know].

56 This seems to be the nuance of what al-fāṣiq means by al-mathal al-shiihid. A more literal translation would be something like "the proverb that bears witness," or "... provides evidence." Alternatively, if mathal is taken to mean "example," it would be translated as "the example that serves as evidence," which therefore would make it relevant for the exegesis of the Qur'an. Hārūn's edition, p. 38, has al-mathal as-fūt-shiihid. While this reading would also be possible, the text as given in Geries' edition seems to be rhetorically better with respect to the following pairs of noun plus adjective.

57 Medieval Arabic scholars were aware of the significance of the decimal numeral system of the Indians. This is shown, for example, by the many books on al-fāṣiq al-lānti, as medieval Arabic scholars called the numeral system based on "ten" (see G&D v. 195-196). For the Indian calculus as an arithmetical method (and for the classical theory of numbers in medieval Arabic scholarship in general), see al-Hassan.
I say that reaching an [adequate] knowledge of accounting, about which [all this] work revolves, and progressing in it and being motivated to do so, is more beneficial for [the pupil] than reaching [the level] of craftsmanship of the skilled copyists and chief calligraphers.

This is because there is communication at the lowest level of penmanship—as long as the spelling is correct—while this is not the case for calculation (pp. 73-74).

The treatment of the student

After that, I am of the opinion that you should not force him [to work] and so make him dislike good manners and education. [Also,] do not neglect him, lest he get used to wasting time in amusing activities.

Moreover, I know of nothing in the entire world that is more capable of attracting complete corruption than bad companions and leisure-time beyond [what is needed for] relaxation.

Teach him knowledge as long as he is free from the tasks of men and the demands of those with high-minded ambitions.

It is interesting to note that the word *hind* in classical Arabic also means "a hundred camels," or any hundreds, or higher numbers; or "two hundred [camels or years];" see *Lisan al-'Arab* iii, 437; and Lane viii, 2903-4. This seems to indicate that the word *hind* in general referred to higher numbers. At any rate, even in this latter case, the first part of the sentence at issue here would refer to "basic" calculation, while the latter would refer to "higher" arithmetic.

In other words: communication is possible even with little knowledge in writing. In calculation, however, the smallest mistake will lead to inaccurate results.
these predecessors of his in this particular field of scholarship. Nonetheless, it is remarkable that these two early texts should already address many major aspects of educational ethics and philosophy, regardless of the fact that each of them approaches these issues from a different perspective: one from a legal and the other from a literary-philosophical point of view.

In more general terms, the pedagogical advice given in the two classical Arabic texts under discussion may remind us also of similar ideas introduced to Europe in the educational renaissance of the 16th and 17th centuries. In Europe, it was somebody like the Czech educational reformer and religious leader John Amos Comenius (1592-1670) who became known for his innovative teaching methods in his time. Like Ibn Ṣaḥnūn, Comenius emphasized the need for teaching all aspects of language, since good language skills are a basic prerequisite for the intellectual improvement of students. Like Ibn Ṣaḥnūn also, Comenius argued that education should aim at equipping young people with a profound knowledge of the Holy Scripture and religious duties. Comenius, though, stressed as well that teachers should ensure a rapid, pleasant, and thorough education, which follows in “the footsteps of nature.” These latter ideas of making teaching and learning a natural and pleasant experience are not yet addressed clearly in Ibn Ṣaḥnūn’s book on “Rules of Conduct for Teachers.” However, they are present and discussed most insightfully in al-Ǧāḥīz’s book “The Teachers.”

For these reasons, these two classical Arabic works from the 9th century not only represent some of the very earliest attempts of Muslim scholarship to deal, in an elaborate manner, with pedagogy and didactics, but they also deserve recognition for their contribution to the history of pedagogy in general.

---

59 Weissner, Geschichte der Pädagogik 81-86.
6

THE ISLAMIC PREACHER

WÂ'IZ, MUDHAKKIR, QÂSS

Johannes Pedersen

With the ancient Arabs the art of the spoken word played an overwhelming role: how strong was the power of the Word had been pointed out by Goldziher. That the verbal art had also been of importance at the appearance of Islam finds its expression in the doctrine that the Qur'an is mu'jda, a view that is not put forth as a dogma, but is claimed to be a comprehension which only presupposes a sufficient knowledge of Arabic. Practitioners of the art of the spoken word in pre-Islamic times were the poet, shâ'ir, and the rhetorician, khaṭîb. In Islam the poet maintained his influence in public life, and as the one who stimulated the Prince; and likewise poetry entered the service of religion. This fact, however, failed to provide the poet with any preferential position within Islam. Otherwise with the rhetorician. He obtained a position as the one who in continuation of the Prophet's function as a leader addressed the congregation from the mimbar during Friday's service. Besides this official preacher, al-khaṭîb, the congregation, however, at an early period got another pulpit orator, who more at his liberty might instil needed teachings and influence people's turn of mind. The term of wâ'iz is the best to characterize his function, but the two above mentioned terms are employed also. Even his activity has its roots in the old Arabian community.

The root of wâ'iz is well-known from Hebrew and Aramaic. The Hebrew word ṣawī means 'counsel' i.e. an idea stamped by will and ready for action. To give advice means to induce another to catch a like idea. The Israelitish king had a gō'ēs, a man with a special gift of the Word had been pointed out by Goldziher. He stimulated the king by helping him to conceive efficacious plans. In Arabic usage the verb [227] wâ'az is closely related to its use in Hebrew, it being applied to express imparting of knowledge, and through it inducing to the right action. It is often employed in the Qur'an as characteristic of the activity of the prophets. It refers to the Israelitish prophets (7, 164), the ancient Arabian prophets like Hud (26, 136) and Luqmân (31, 12); and Muhammad is called upon to address a wâ'iz to the unreliable and to say a penetrating word to them (4, 66). The whole Qur'an is a wâ'iz (ṣawī, mu'jda) as was the Law of Moses (7, 142) and the Gospel (5, 52).
"Remember God's benefactions towards you, and the Book, and the Wisdom by which he admonishes you (ya'iqubum)" (2, 231). The Qur'ān is for the believers the truthful rule, admonition, and reminding (al-haqq wa-maw'rū'ā wad-hikra, 11, 121 cf. mawrū'aa wa-hudā, 3, 122). It is pointed out that this mawrū'ā is a cure for the soul, guidance, and mercy from God on to Noah lest he should belong to the witless (11, 48). Thus God directs his wa'z on to Noah lest he should belong to the witless (11, 48). So in the commentaries on the Qur'ān the word is often rendered as waṣḥ and irṣāḥ (good advice, and communication of the Right, e.g. Baiḍāwi ad 4, 66; 34, 45). What is contained in the good advice is naturally the subordination to Allah's will and that of the Prophet, and the inducement may be implied in the attractive pictures of Paradise that are called wa'z (4, 61). The word may be used for a lenient appeal to the believers, e.g. concerning the treatment of their wives (2, 232; 65, 2; cf. 4, 69) and also for a direct order to act righteously and a prohibition against bad deeds (16, 92). It is applied to designate rebuke of the recriminations against 'Āisha, this being administered in order to prevent a recurrence to take place (24, 16), but it also means plain punishment as the penance laid on the one who undertakes ḥitāʾ (4, 66; 58, 4, 4, 38, 37, 35, etc.) and earlier occurrences (2, 62; 24, 34) as they serve as an example ('ibra). The one who acts according to the prompting, ittā'ā 'is appropriating the admonition'.

In the same way is used taḍhakkara (13, 19; 20, 46 etc.), ḥakkarara, 'remind', being employed in much the same meaning as waṣḥ, probably, however, somewhat less forcibly (5, 16, 17; 6, 44; 25, 73, 32, 15; 37, 13 etc.). It is mentioned as a task of the Prophet (50, 45; 51, 55; 52, 29 and elsewhere), and in a singular passage he is characterized [228] as a mudhakkarā 'reminder' (88, 21). Like ḥakkarā also ḥikārā can be applied to the admonishing preaching of the Prophet (7, 61, 67), and, corresponding to the mentioned verb, taḍhikārā, which is used both for the preaching of the Qur'ān (69, 48; 73, 19; 74, 50, 54 etc.) and earlier occurrences containing admonishing teachings, as the deliverance from the Deluge (69, 12), the gift of Fire to Man (56, 72) that bears witness to God's might and his benevolence towards him (cf. 36, 80). The most frequent term used as a characterization of the activity of the Prophet is ṣadīḥ, admonisher, which is more threatening than those mentioned above, and accordingly is often brought into equilibrium by the corresponding bashir, "messenger of good tidings" (2, 113; 5, 22; 11, 2 and elsewhere).

Naturally this usage is not created by the Qur'ān. Says 'Abid b. al-Abbras, "Men do not arouse to understanding (la yadhī'āwāw) the one whose Time does not arouse to understanding, and it is no good seizing (a man) by his breastfold", i.e. to urge him. It is a characteristic trait with the ancient Arabs to say that "Time", i.e. the

---

1 ed. Lyall, Gibb Mem. Ser., 1913, i 119.
2 ed. Brockelmann, Leiden 1891, XLI 4
3 Kitāb al-ghalānī, 3rd ed., 2, 96; also Ṭūrūshī, Sīrāj al-mulūk, Cairo 1920, p. 13 sq.
4 ed. Lyall, XXX, 10, 14, 21.
5 Introduction, pp. 97 sqq.
largely. On the death of Alexander a sage is said to have uttered, “Yesterday he was more loquacious than today, but today he is more ‘admonishing’ than he was yesterday”, an utterance that is also employed in a poem of Abūl-ʿAtahiyah: “From your life I have got ʿaṭā (admonitions), and today you are [239] more admonishing than you being alive.” Especially this subject is used as a warning against haughtiness due to power. Ḥārūn al-Rashīd said to Ibn al-Sammāk “ʿizrī.” He just had a drink of water in his hand, and Ibn al-Sammāk asked if he would admit that if this drink was kept from him, he would give his kingdom for it. This having been answered in the affirmative, Ibn al-Sammāk went on asking that if the Khalīfa were prevented from making water of what he had drunk, would he give his kingdom to have it granted? As this also was answered in the affirmative the sage declared that the drink or urine. 8 Al-Nuʿman, the erector of the castle al-Khawamaq, is blamed by the whole, the idea is constantly recurrent that nothing in the world has any real worth, because it is gained at the death of a predecessor and is to be given according to God’s commandments,9 or propound rules of life often reminding or as Encroachment. In the speeches communicated by him, in which connection also the corruptibility is found expressed in a list of participators of the battle. 10 From this account we notice that a number of the Prophet’s companions, Saʿd b. ʿAmārā, was addressed by a man who said, “ʿizrī”, and Saʿd recommended him punctually to fulfil the purgation before the prayer on the one side, and to avoid having many needs on the other. 11 People would seek guidance by a man who was able to give them advice. In the above mentioned writings similar “admonitions” from ʿUmar, ʿAlī and others of the Prophet’s companions are to be found. But with a view to revival and guidance to the congregation, people who were apt for it were appointed to work for Islam in the spirit of the Prophet alongside with the qaḍī and the Qurān-teacher. In older times the term used for such preachers of calling was not waḍā, but qaḍā, and alongside with it maḍhakōr in accordance with the use made of this word by Muḥammad in the Qurān as mentioned above. Already in Ṭabarī’s description of the battle of Yarmūk in the year 13 with Saʿf as an informer, mention is made [232] of Abu ʿl-Dardāʾ as qaḍā and Abū Saʿfān b. Ḥarb as qaḍā, while Miqdād functioned as qaḍī, “reciter of the Qurān”, figuring in a list of participators of the battle. Abū Saʿfān opened the battle with some encouraging words to the army and prayer for victory. 12 From this account we notice that a qaḍā acts as an official orator in the field to rouse the warriors. The verb qaḍ, is frequently employed in the Qurān concerning God’s tales of how people fared in earlier history; moreover it is used in connection with the tale of Joseph and his dreams (12, 5), and the tales of the prophets (3, 6, 10, 7, 3, 175). The appellation indicates that the tale was his most important pedagogie means; also the Prophet, when being present at parties, would tell stories, to which effect the tale about Naṣr b. al-Ḥārith bears witness. 13 At any rate the employment of qaḍā in the war to excite the warriors was no extraordinary feature in the times of old for in the year 65/685, when the ‘repentent’ Shiʿites under command of Sulaimān b. ʿUṣāf delivered a fight against the army

10 e.g. Bagdād, 2, 296 before al-Mahdi. 12 al-Baihaqī, Kitāb al-maḥdūs wa l-mašūf, ed. Schwally, Giessen 1902, pp. 364 sqq. (the section on waḍā). Some of the tales here mentioned are also to be found in al-Jāḥiẓ work with the same title, ed. v. vloten, Leiden 1898, p. 172 sqq. 15 Uṣd al-ghāba, II 287, a passage to which Goldziher has drawn the attention. 17 Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, pp. 191, 235.
of Marwan, they had, according to Tabari, three qua['a]s with them, and one of these, Rifa'a b. Shahidad al-Bajali, incessantly qua['a]s u'a-yuhabqado l-ma'az" on the right wing. Hence it appears that al-qua['a]s carries on the activity of the Prophet and the poet of former times as one who excites to fight, and that the verb qua['a]s has acquired the corresponding shade of signification.

At an early time preachers were attached to the mosques. As the first is mentioned Tamim al-Darii who is said to have attached himself to Muhammad in Medina and to have influenced him as a former Christian.18 It is said to have been qua['a]s in Medina, and even if this may be as unlikely as the story of the Prophet giving him Hebron as a fee the statement is of evident interest. After having rejected it at first 'Umar allowed him to admonish (yu'dhakkar) in the mosque on Fridays before the arrival of 'Umar, and under 'Uthman he got permission to speak233 twice a week.21 In all this discussion about the lawfulness of qua['a]s makes itself felt. Another qua['a]s from the times of the Prophet, al-Aswad b. Sari, was the first at the mosque of Basra,21 in the year 38 or 39 Sulaiman b. 'Itr al-Tujibi was appointed the first qua['a]s at the 'Amr-mosque in Cairo, some time at a qua['a]s, too. We are told that during the prayer, in connection with the al-qua['a]s, he raised his hands, a manner introduced later on by 'Abd al-Malik at the advice of his learned counsellors, imposing it upon all the qua['a]s. We come to know about them in the main cities of the East.22 It is suggestive what is related by al-Maqrizi (d. 845/1442) on the basis of al-Qudayri (d. 1062) about the further history of this institution in Egypt, i.e. in the 'Amr-mosque. While being governor in Egypt 'Abd al-'Aziz b. Marwan b. al-Hakam acquired a precious copy of the Qur'an that was brought every Friday from his abode to the mosque where a recital was made, upon which a qua['a]s was held, and, on closing up, the Qur'an in question was taken back. Then the qua['a]s (from the year 76 onwards) was 'Abd al-Rahman b. Hujaira al-Khawlani, being at the same time a qua['a]s; after him came Abu'l-Khair Marthad b. 'Abdallah b. Yazani, sometime qua['a]s in Alexandria. Later on came Quba b. Muslim al-Hamadani, who in the year 118 was succeeded by Thawiba b.

18 Tabari, II, 559, 10 sq.
19 L. Levi della Vida, s. v. in Encycl. of Islam.
20 al-Maqrizi, Khita'at, Cairo 1336, IV, p. 16 sq. As far as I can see he is not mentioned by al-Jahizi but by Ibn al-Jawzi.
21 Udd al-ghaiba, I 86; Baladhuri, ed. de. Goeje, p. 89 and text p. 346; Ibn Dura'id, Isftitaq, p. 152 infra; al-Jahizi mentions him as the first one in Basra, I 534.
22 In his Essexii, pp. 141 sq., Massignon has enumerated a series of qua['a]s, in particular from al-Jahizi, Bagdadi, and Ibn al-Jawzi, K. al-quasaq. Unfortunately, I only know the book mentioned from reports, among others by Goldziher, and summaries in the glossary of the Goeje to Baladhuri, p. 88 sq.
23 According to al-Kindi, Governors and Judges, ed. Guest, pp. 314, 315, 320, he became qua['a]s in the year 69, 70 or 71.
This survey of conditions in Egypt makes the impression of an institution that for centuries remained largely untouched by changing circumstances. The "narrator" is closely connected with the official religion and fills a reputable and influential position. His activity, making up a link in the service of the mosque, consists on the one side in the recital of the Qur'an, a circumstance that is stressed in some distinct way here in connection with a certain honoured copy of the Qur'an, on the other side in leading the prayer, and lastly in the succeeding speech. The importance of his position appears from its frequent connection with the office of qaṣṣāṣ, on the other side in leading the prayer, and lastly in the succeeding speech. The information about the older qaṣṣāṣ shows that their activity consisted in interpreting the Qur'an and taḥdīrīh, enforcing law, and impressing people with fear and hope. This is taḵkīr or waʾṣṣ. The preacher is not only expected to scare, but also to encourage. Sufyān b. Ḥalīs said of a qaṣṣāṣ in Baṣrā, Sālīḥ al-Muṭṭirī, "He is no qaṣṣāṣ, he is a taḵkīr, "warner, one who scares". Both in waʾṣṣ and taḵkīr something positive is involved. Abū 'Ubaida wrote to 'Umar that Abū Jandāl, who had been scourged for wine-bibbing, should become downcast, "if God does not bring him a joy through thee; write to him wa-dhakkārīh." As we have seen in connection with the waʾṣṣ to the sovereign he must be a counsellor in possession of experience of life; thus waʾṣṣ becomes identical with waḥṣīya. This word is employed for advice and exhortations given by a father to his son, or on the whole

23 cf. al-Kindī, Sīra, p. 315. His father lived in Syria.

24 Ibn Batṭūtā, Rihla, Cairo 1322, II 51 sq.

25 Baṣrā, I 335; on p. 79 infra is quoted a saying of ʿIbrāhīm b. Ḥanī, a paradox-monger, to the effect that a blind qaṣṣāṣ spoke best. Naturally such persons turned up, e. g. ʿIshārī, III 560, 2.

26 Ibn Batṭūtā, Rihla, Cairo 1322, II 51 sq.

27 Several distinguished qaṣṣāṣ are mentioned by al-Jāḥīṣ, Bayān I 234 sq.

28 al-Muqāṭirī, IV, p. 18.


30 al-Muqāṭirī, IV 17 supra. A quotation from Ibn ʿUmar in al-Kindī, Governors, p. 304. It is not correct that ʿAlī and Muḥāwīya employed the qaṣṣāṣ to curse each other according to Muqāṭirī, loc. cit., as asserted in my article Masjid C3 in Enc. of Islam.

31 Bīh. Geogr. Arab., II 2, 13; 281 annot. II.

32 al-Muqāṭirī, IV, p. 18.


from one more experienced or superior to another, and the verb ausa propulsion to give such guidance. It is used both for concrete advice and ordinary rules of life. Al-Jāhiz communicates a whole lot of such pieces of advice from father to son and uses for them either forms of waqya, or waq.37 It is easily understood how the signification of bequest as a legal notion is developed from it. It is used for [238] the admonitions of the Prophet and the early Khalifas,38 and of God's biddings to Arabs the feeling of the fluctuation of all values in this life. The ancients called for the signification of bequest as a legal notion is developed from it.

Of the greatest import was the fact that the free preachers were subjected to be influenced by the ascetic view of life and the mysticism that made its way into Islam. It is obvious that the free preacher, whose task it was to influence people individually and to act upon the souls, was more fit than anybody else for propagating the new conception of life. It might mean only a slight deviation from the early Islam. This had, as mentioned above, inherited from the ancient Arabs the feeling of the fluctuation of all values in this life. The ancients called for resignation, but their pessimism was counterbalanced by their obligations to the claims of honour maintained by the individual and the tribe. From these facts the conclusion was drawn in Islam that one ought to accept the joys of the ordinary mode of life, but submit to the Almighty in obedience, after which He would grant the believers the joys of ever-lasting durability. The only new thing conveyed by asceticism often consisted in a claim to a more stressed independence from the benefits of this world through a life that was wholly occupied with the beyond, resultant in the resumption of asceticism by Oriental Christianity. Important as the new tinge might be occasioned by this, it did not bring about any fundamental renewal until it was connected with that form of mysticism which placed Man's mind over the ordinary Islamic piety. He ascended the minbar, and his sermons correspond to the momentum they gained over the ordinary Islamic piety. (240) A waq of great importance was Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1200), the well known Ḥanbalite and opponent of mysticism. He not only wrote a book about al-qawsuṣ but besides that several books on waq, in which are found collections of the speeches he delivered as a celebrated waq, mainly in Baghdad. Ibn Jubair gives an impressive account of his own and others' activity during his visit to Baghdad in the year 580/1184. He extols the teachers of fiqh and hadith in Baghdad, and the local waqṣ and mudakhkhirūn, who all but daily held meetings. He listened to Raḍī al-Dīn al-Qazwīnī, the rās of the Shāfīites and teacher of fiqh at the Nizāmīya-school, who spoke at a gathering in this madrasa on Friday the 5th of Ša‘ār after the ʿāṯr-prayer. He ascended the minbar and placed Qurānic

37 Boyān, I 56 infra, 245; II 94; 153, 3–5; 215, 9–10; III 232 sqq., 265.
38 op. cit., II 32 infra, 36, 48.
40 Boyān, II 116, 3; III 102, sect. 4.
41 Sūrā 2, 126 aṣṣāṣ of Abraham's admonition to his son; 4, 130; 6, 145, 132 sqq.; 29, 7; 31, 13; 42, 11; 46, 14 of God's ordinances for Men, espe. The Prophet, 4, 12; 12, 32 aṣṣāṣ in the same meaning; 51, 53; 90, 17; 103, 3 wawanṣa of the mutual exhortation of people to something; 2, 178 aṣṣāṣ about setting up of a last will; waṣṣīr used for bequest 2, 241, 176; 5, 105.
EDUCATION

Johannes Pedersen

reciters on chairs, karāf, in front of him. After their recital he held a dignified khaṭba, in which he interpreted the Qurʿān and sayings from the hadith. Next a bunch of written questions was handed over to him, and gathering them in his hand he answered them one by one until evening. Ibn Jubair designates it as a maqṣūṭa iyun wa-yaʿz and declares that his yaʿz induced to humility and tears. The meeting was pervaded with blessings, gentleness, and dignified peace. It was resumed the next Friday in the presence of the sayyid of the Khurasan scholars, and ʿSadr al-Dīn al-Khuja, who is the Shafiʿite imām.

Ibn al-Jawzī held two meetings a week, one on Saturday morning, opposite his residence on the river in the Eastern district of the city, and the other on Thursday morning in the Caliphal palace. Ibn Jubair heard him in both places and gave a rapurous description of the gatherings and the man, who was no common “Amr or Zaid”. At the Saturday’s meeting (the 13th of Shawar) the arrangement was like that of the meetings just mentioned. More than twenty Qurʿān-reciters recited in chorus, alternately, with an artful delivery, while he stood on the minbar. Then he held his khaṭba, which was permeated by a challenging yaʿz that called forth groans and moanings from the penitents. Some fainted, and terror took hold of them at his tadhkar on the dreads of the day of the Last Judgement, while at the same time a yearning (ishtiyāq) was stirred up in the hearts. After that notes were produced with questions, which he answered unhesitatingly. The Thursday’s meeting (the 11th of Shawar) had its special flavour being held within the palace, where the Khalifa (al-Muqtaṣari) and his mother were present together with people from the court. He showed his deference by taking his kariis, and when the Qurʿān-reciters had recited a dozen of verses he interwove the kariis, which he went over to the sayyid, with a praise of the Khalifa and a prayer for him and his mother, upon wuʿa?.

People repented of their sins and showed signs of secret yearnings ever since. Towards the end he recited erotic verses, bewailing that nearness of expressions as wajd, has not been displaced by remoteness (buʿd), and that he in his love cannot bear the veiling, that he is intoxicated and for the soul, that must be fought with jihād; overcome with wajd he quotes erotic verses, bewailing that nearness (qurb) has been displaced by remoteness (buʿd), and that he in his love cannot bear the veiling, that he is intoxicated and even if the eye does not see you, the heart is near to you.” He avails himself of expressions as fanā‘, waqī‘ and ḥajr, ḥawq and ṣabr, waḥrak and ṣuḥa, and quotes mystics as Ibn Adham, Rābiʿa, Yāsīfa, Muʿāwīa, al-Shibli etc. Even if no mystic experience in proper sense is involved, a state of mental sore makes itself felt that originates from mysticism and uses it phraseology, and as a matter of consequence must lead to scenes like those depicted above.

The Islamic Preacher

Ibn Jubair listened to other wuʿa‘ in Baghdad, who surpassed what he knew of theologians (mutakallimūn) in the West, but everybody, even in Mekka and Medina, were second to this man. At another Saturday’s meeting that Ibn Jubair attended, Ibn al-Jawzī himself was so moved while he quoted some erotic verse of ascetic yearning that he jumped from the pulpit raving (walīhan) and the listeners behaved as if intoxicated.

It is a matter of some interest to notice that the pattern of this service is quite the same as in the – by several hundred years older – services of the same kind in Egypt mentioned above, but the influence of Sufism is apparent. It appears from the emphasizing of sin and conversion (tawbahu), the stress that is laid upon shaming the world, and, the typical Sufic notions of ḥawq and ṣabr, the conquering of ‘aql, the abandonment of sobriety, ṣahw, and not least the erotic poetry and the whole ecstatic behaviour. From Ibn al-Jawzī’s Kitāb al-mudhish we are able to check the picture drawn by Ibn Jubair. In the first place it contains some remarks on the Qurʿān and some details of names, several linguistic phenomena etc. Next follows ḥikr al-mawa‘īṣ divided into two sections: al-qisāṣ and al-mawa‘īṣ wa ṣa‘ al-mura‘ī. The first of these communicates tales of pious people in the past, starting with Adam, the second is a collection of sermons, mawa‘īṣ. In these the instability of the world is markedly underlined, the ancient Arabic talk about ḍahr and manāqib rings out afresh, and we recognize the pre-Islamic turn of phrase; yā man yaʿqūbū l-dhahru. The world is a carcass that invites to weeping. Sin and desire are condemned, and claim is made for ṣahw and ṭawb; not only for wu‘a‘, but also for the soul, that must be fought with jihād, overcome with wajd. Ibn al-Jawzī himself was so moved while he quoted some erotic verse of ascetic yearning that he jumped from the pulpit raving (walīhan) and the listeners behaved as if intoxicated.

48 op. cit., 205, 206, 222.
49 op. cit., 204, 205, 209, 222, 304.
50 op. cit., 211.
51 op. cit., 222.
52 op. cit., 388.
53 op. cit., 224.
54 op. cit., 290.
55 op. cit., 221.
[243] In the account of Ibn Jubair we notice a tendency of drawing a distinction between the more official khuţba and the reviving and crushing wa'ţ in the sermon, and Ibn al-Jawzî himself distinguishes between wa'ţ and qaţas, the latter, however, becoming a part of the wa'ţ. This agrees with what he says in the introduction to his k. al-qaţassī to the effect that qaţas is the one who delivers narratives about the past and expounds on matters that give an example and an admonition (ţa'â) while on the other side tadhkîr is a teaching about God's benefactions towards the creatures and an appeal to thankfulness and a warning against opposing God, and wa'ţ is the inspiration with fear, by which the heart becomes sensitive; but many use the term of qaţas about the wa'ţ of which he disapproves. The later tendency of supplanting the word qaţas with wa'ţ is obvious here, but at the same time the recognition of the connection with the old usage, as qaţas is employed about the element of narration that goes into the sermon.

The free character of the activity of these preachers and the personal turn in their location invested them with great influence, but also gave rise to the criticism that was whirled up against them. This was due not only to those "narrators" that entertained people in the streets and exercised all sorts of juggleries as has been described by Goldziher,56 but also to the real preachers. The main attack came from Sûfic circles, as clearly appears from the statements of Abû Tâlib al-Makkl (d. 386/996) in Qût al-qaţâb in several passages. He remarks somewhere that qaţas did not come into existence until after Abû Bakr and 'Umar at the same time as al-fitna. 'All opposed it and turned out al-qaţas from the mosque of Bašra, and 'Abdallâh b. 'Umar made the police chase out a qaţas from the mosque, which shows that it cannot have been reckoned among the majâlis al-dhikr, since Ibn 'Umar was well-known for his piety and asceticism. A tradition is mentioned to the effect that al-Hasan al-Bagîr declared it for bid'â and recommended to someone to pay visits to the sick as something better than to listen to a qaţas. He also narrates that 'A'isha being disturbed by a qaţas who delivered a sermon outside her abode, made Ibn 'Umar turn him (244) away in which he broke a stick on his back. It is objected to them that men and women gather around that for "distinct knowledge (al-dhikr wa l-qaţas)". In this there is a difference between the two sorts of majâlis. Al-qaţas is unlimited and for the multitude, so from the time of Hasan to that of al-Makkl the majâlis al-qaţas wa l-mudhakkirin wa l-udâ'în gathered hundreds of people.

"One of our scholars has said: In Bašra there were one hundred and twenty who were spokesmen in the service and admonition (mutakallim fi l-dhikr wa l-qaţa), but there was nobody who was a spokesman in the science of intrinsic knowledge and certainty and stages and states (mutakallimu fi l-ma'refa wa l-qaţas wa l-ma'qâmât wa l-tâbâh) apart from six, among them Abû Muḥammad Sahl and Al-Makkl assumes a difference between 'âlim and mutakallîm. The really learned man is silent until he is asked, and then answers according to what God has enjoined on him, but forbears answering, when silence is the best. In this respect he refers to Malik b. Anas. On the contrary, al-qaţas at once betakes himself to tell tales, from which he has got his appellation. Moreover the great saints only spoke to few, for "distinct knowledge (al-qaţas) is only for the distinct ones (al-kaţâs)". In this there is a difference between the two sorts of majâlis. Al-qaţas is unlimited and for the multitude, so from the time of Hasan to that of al-Makkl the majâls al-qaţas and l-mudhakkirin and l-udâ'în gathered hundreds of people.

105 Communicated by de Goeje in Baladluri, p. 89.
106 ZDMG, 28, 1874, p. 320; Muḥ. Studien, II, pp. 159 sqq.
107 Qût al-qaţâb, Cairo 1310, I, 148 sq. As to uplifting the hands cf. what is stated above of al-Tujîb.
Thus the criticism centres around general views on the one side, like disorder at the meetings, lack of certainty in the doctrine and abuse of weak hadith and in markedly mystic views on the other side: the preachers are destitute of the true knowledge that is given by the mystic experience, and therefore talk superficial nonsense to the multitude. That the Sufis felt prone to advance this criticism was so much more at hand as both they and the preachers wanted to affect the inner spiritual life, and the gatherings of the latter must seem to be a caricature of the Sufic majalis al-dhikr, not the least because to a large extent they imitated their style of speech.

The preachers continued retaining their great importance. Hundred odd years after al-Makkî, al-Ghazzâlî deals [246] thoroughly with them, especially in his principal work al-
asî' 'alîm al-dîn. In al-Ghazzâlî's view the preacher is an aid to that impersonation of the religion which is the result he has reaped from the activity of Şîfîsm. The goal is to become one's own admonisher: "When God loves a man he procures him a wâţî' out of himself and a reviver of his heart, who gives him command and prohibition" (4, 236, 8sq.). First when Man has carried through the admonition to his worst enemy, that is his own soul, he can admonish others (4, 299, 15–21). For this he must train himself by picking up the wâ'tî' he gets in considering the flux of time, and he must stand by with vigilance and prayer (4, 303, 11sqq.), just as he must seek wâ'tî' through God's word, the sunna and study (4, 271, 31; 283, 16). Through instruction and wâ'tî' he gets aid in approaching to God (4, 308, 34). The one who wants to act as a wâ'tî' must imitate the "master of admonition", that is the Prophet, availing himself cautiously of tales that inspire with fear and hope, according to his need, which he has to ascertain by examining the inner causes (al-
lâl al-bâ'tîmâ) of the state of the person concerned. If he does not heed this he causes more mischief than benefit by his wâtî' (4, 107, 5; 109, 17sq.). Reference is made to Ḥanâzâla, who related that he had stayed with the Prophet "who admonished us by an admonition, by which the hearts were moved and the eyes overflowed", and edifying in this way he went away, but then entertained himself in worldly wise with his wife.

and forgot his previous mood. But the Prophet consoled him when he accused himself of hypocrisy (4, 118, 13 sqq.). It is also related how the Prophet gives a wâ'tî' in the shape of good rules of life (4, 330, 30). Likewise David is mentioned as a great wâ'tî' upon the [247] admonition of whom 30,000 out of 40,000 persons met death (4, 131, 34), which of course is meant as an illustration of the willingness to sacrifice oneself.

Al-Ghazzâlî gives an indication of what must be the contents of the sermon. He warns earnestly against arousing false hopes and quenching the fear, which reminds of the methods of quacks (4, 13, 8sq.; 37 sq.). He sees the impossibility of solving the individual problems and adapting the wâ'tî' to every person, so the preacher must say what is needful to a plurality of people, and he recommends the use of the Qur'an and the hadith, tales about the Prophet and the saints of the past, and the demonstration of the punishment of sin in this very life. Such a wâ'tî' al-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
It is well-known that al-Ghazzâli availed himself of al-Makki’s work on a large scale. It is of some concern that he (without making mention of his source, however) took over the saying mentioned above that there were one hundred and twenty watakalîmûn of wa’i in Baqra, but only six who spoke in ʿilm al-qâja, with the exception that al-Ghazzâli says “three”, namely those three mentioned by name (1, 59, 15 sqq.). But al-Ghazzâli’s view of that of al-Makki, according to whom their activity is objectionable. Al-Ghazzâli has a tale about Abû ʿAbdallâh b. Khalîf (Muhammad b. Khaﬁf al-Shirazî, d. 371/982), who travelled from Egypt to Tyrus to profit from two men who lived there in meditation (murâqaba), but when after the lapse of some time he said to one of them, “tuâni, give me advice”, he got the answer that they were in that stage where the hearts are overcome by the Majesty and could not engage in anything else, and he had to look for others who might give him wa’i with their deeds, not with their tongues (4, 286, 9 sqq.). He also has a tale relating how a penetrating wa’i might have a deadly effect upon a listener (4, 135, 20 sqq.).

But al-Ghazzâli does not apply the standard of pure mysticism to the preacher, he attributes to him traditional position as a guide and helper for the common Muslims to realize their religion. He testifies to their great influence. Nothing tends to show that al-Ghazzâli had mystic experiences properly. He put himself in possession of the knowledge of the mystics that gave him a foundation for certainty in his own belief and realization of the claims of Islam to the development of the inner life of the soul and refinement of the spiritual foundation for the extraneous acts. So it was immensely important that men with a pure belief and with spiritual tact made useful their [249] faculties for educating the multitude and the individual characters, in the same way as he conducted decently and they do not tell untrue stories and introduce bad works. At best women ought to keep away, and if they take part in it, there must be a screen between men and women. In short, al-wa’i still acts according to old tradition, but seems to be employed in a new way in private dwellings, and qâja has become an obsolete word.

Half a century later al-Subki (d. 771/1370) mentions both al-wa’i and al-qâja, but here is no real distinction between al-wa’i and al-khaﬁf, while al-qâja is nothing but the street-preacher who is charged with enjoining the keeping of the Islamic law on the public. We perceive a reverberation from al-Ghazzâli when he declares concerning al-wa’i that “if the speech does not come from the heart, it does not reach the heart”.60

60 K. al-madkhâl, Cairo 1320, I, p. 158, 160 medio.
68 op. cit., II, 13, 50.
70 Mu’tâl al-n’âm, ed. Myhrman, 1908, p. 161 sq.
As has been pointed out, the distinction between two kinds of *qiiṣ* is an old one. Al-Maqrizi (d. 845/1442) says that the lawyer al-Laith b. Sa’d (d. 175/791) maintained a distinction between *qiiṣ al-ʿamma* and *qiiṣ al-khāṣṣa*. Al-Maqrizi affirms that in his time *majālis al-wa’z* took place in the mosque of al-Azhar, and at the solemn consecration of a new minaret in the same mosque [251] *al-wa’z* made their appearance together with Qur’anic reciters. Nevertheless, the institution seems to have been in the increase, and in consequence the importance of *al-wa’z* has been diminished. Lane does not mention this institution, and he says that the sermon on Fridays is called *khutbet al-wa’z*. Nevertheless, the institution is still in existence, and from recent times we have got a collection of *mawāṭī* by Nu’man b. Muḥammad Alusi, who was mufti in Baghdad under ʿAbd al-Ḥamid II and at the same time occupied himself with *al-wa’z* and *tadhkīr al-khawāṣṣ*. His sermons show that the old tradition as to the customary contents of such speeches has been kept alive. Other works of a similar kind may have appeared. It admits of no doubt whatever that the whole of this institution has been of great importance to the religious life in Islam, and its history gives an illustration both of the connection of Islam with its Arabic past and its own religious development.

**JOHS. PEDERSEN**

University, Copenhagen, Denmark

---

[203] *The present article is a modified version of the first chapter of our doctoral thesis: Aspects de l'imaginaire islamique commun dans le commentaire de Tabari, University of Paris-III, September 1987, pp. 21-48 with notes, pp. 521-534 [= Gilliot]. To this we have added, in particular, twenty-six names of masters of Abū Ja’far, and a complementary index. [Since has been published: Cl. Gilliot, *Exégèse, langue et théologie en islam. Le commentaire coranique de Tabari* (m. 310/923), Paris, 1990, for his formation, pp. 19-37; Fr. Rosenthal (General Introduction and translation by), *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, I, Albany, 1989, pp. 5-134, for his life and works]. The symbol [= ...] with the name of an author or an abridged title indicates an abbreviation used for the references. The symbol: Tr. followed by a figure indicates a number in the order of traditions contained in the *Commentary of al-Ṭabarī*, ed. Shākir, or in his *Tahdhib al-athar*. In the text, the letter “M”, followed by a number, introduces the name of one of the masters of al-Ṭabarī. This study has been supplemented by an article on the works of al-Ṭabarī: Les œuvres de Tabari, in MIDEO 19 (1989) pp. 49-90.

In July 855 (Rabi’ I 241) or in the following month, a young man, Muḥammad b. Jarir b. Ziyād, eighteen years of age at the most, arrived in Baghdad in the hope of attending the lectures on *ḥadīth* and on Islamic law of ʿAbd al-Ḥamid Ibn Ḥanbal: but on entering the caliphal city, he learned that the master had just died. The Imām ʿAbd al-Ḥamid had in any case stopped teaching some time before his death. This episode in the life of al-Ṭabarī is typical of the education of scholars in the classical period. They did not hesitate to undertake long journeys to attend the school of a renowned master. The long years of al-Ṭabarī’s education are marked by these displacements and these temporary residencies as part of the “quest for knowledge”. One wishes it were possible to reconstruct with precision the travels of Abū Ja’far which led him from his native town of Ṭūmān al-Ṭabaristân, to Iraq, then to
Egypt, by way of Syria, with numerous journeys back and forth in these regions. 1

[204] These journeys are intimately linked to the constitution of his intellectual personality: this is why it is necessary to follow the principal stages, in the primary sense of the term, of his training in the various branches of knowledge. The best written treatment of the subject, in Arabic and in European languages, remains even today the study in Latin by Michael Jan De Goeje, published in 1901 in the introduction to the edition of the Annales of which he was the architect and prime mover. Nevertheless, certain important points about the intellectual itinerary of al-Tabari can be clarified through the examination or re-examination of bio-bibliographical notices which the ancient sources devoted to him. Furthermore, in a number of cases the chains of authority most often cited in his Commentary, in his Annales, in his work on the Divergences of the Scholars (ikhtilāf al-ulamā'/ al-fuqahā') and in the edited sections of his book intitled the Pruning of Traditions (Tahdhib al-āthār) could be a precious indicator of the intellectual influences which he underwent, the first link of these chains being represented by one or other of his masters.

Besides information concerning his travels and his master's, the biographical notices evoke episodes where he appears in contact with other scholars of the time who did not give him any instruction in the science of traditions, in exegesis or in jurisprudence, but with whom he held conversations, particularly in Iraq and in Egypt, including Abū Ḥātim al-Sijistānī and Abū l-Faraj al-İsfahānī who followed his courses. Finally, he also sometimes lived in the entourages of caliphs and of senior functionaries of the ABBāsid dynasty.

Nevertheless, these notices are not in themselves enough to present an intellectual portrait of our author. In fact, they are concerned above all with the mode of oral transmission and insist on ḥadīth, Qur'ānic readings and exegesis. Thus, although an excellent grammarians, al-Tabari does not figure in the list of philologists and grammarians, if we exclude the Inbāb al-ruwāt of al-Qīfī. What is known of his philological education, of his literary and poetic training? [205] Partial responses to these questions we have provided elsewhere. 2 It is thus that in grammar, for example, al-Tabari quotes whole passages of the Ma'āni l-Qur'ān of al-Akhfash or of al-Farrā', or indeed of the Majāz al-Qur'ān of Abū 'Ubayda.

Finally the lists of authorities given by the onomastic works which devote an article to our author make no distinction between masters from whom he transmitted many traditions and those from whom he received only a few; we shall in part rectify this omission, in so far as is possible. 3

I The education of al-Ṭabarī in his native region

Speaking of Abū Ja'far himself, his education began at a very early age in his native town, Amīl. From the age of seven years old, he knew the Qur'ān by heart; at nine years old, he was "writing" ḥadīth, in other words he took notes during the lessons of a master who subsequently verified and corrected what he had written. 4 Of his masters in this period of his life, only one name has been preserved by the sources:

M1 al-Muthannā b. Ibrāhīm al-Āmuli (al-Ṭabarī): this individual, from whom al-Ṭabarī reports exegetical traditions in his commentary on Suaras one to sixteen, 5 does not feature in onomastic collections; what is certain, is that our exegete followed his instruction, either in Ṭabaristān, at Amīl, or in the Jībal, at Rayy.

Al-Ṭabarī subsequently made his way to Rayy to complete his elementary education. [206] More information is available for this second stage. Among the educators for this period, we may mention:

M2 Muḥammad b. Ḳumayd al-Rāzī (d. in Baghdad 248/862) who was his master in ḥadīth and in Qur'ānic commentary. Al-Ṭabarī transmitted from him the Maghāzī of Ibn Ishaq in the recension of Salamā b. al-Ṭuğl al-Rāzī (d. 191/806). The latter did not have a good reputation because he is a very unreliable edition of Yaqūt gives al-Ubulli instead of al-Āmuli, xviii, p. 49.

1Yaqūt, Muṣamma l-adabā' [= Yaqūtī], ed. A.F. al-Rı̄fı̄, Cairo, Dar al-Ma'mūn, 1936-38, xviii, p. 50. In contradiction to what F. Sezgin has written, al-Ṭabarī never attended the classes of Ibn Ḥanbal, Geschichte der arabischen Schrifttum [= GAS], i. p. 323; al-Baghdādī, al-Rı̄fı̄ fi taḥlab al-ḥadīth, ed. Nūr al-Dīn ʿIr, Beirut 1975, p. 186 ff.; gives the names of several traditions who, having set out to follow the teachings of a master, discovered that he was dead.


4 Yaqūtī, xviii, p. 49.

among critics of traditions; he was accused of changing chains of authority and attributing to traditionists of Rayy traditions emanating in fact from Kufa and from Basra, or even of reversing letters or terms (maqlubat).⁶

With some of his fellow pupils, al-Ṭabarî travelled to and fro between Rayy, where he attended the lessons of Ibn Ḥumayd, and a village close to this town (perhaps the village of Dūlāb) where he received instruction from:

M3 ʿĀḥmad b. Ḥa:mmād al-Dūlābī. What is quoted by Yaqūt from Ibn Kāmil (ḥ. ʿĀḥmad, disciple of al-Ṭabarî, d. 350/960), regarding this traditionist and historiographer, poses a problem. In fact, according to Ibn Kāmil, al-Ṭabarî would have received the instruction of al-Dūlābī on the Kitāb al-Mubtada’ ʿaš-l-Maghāzī of Ibn Iṣḥaq, in the recension of Salama b. al-Faḍl, under the mode of writing (kataba ʿan) and it was on the basis of this Kitāb that he constructed his History. Now, on the one hand, the History of al-Ṭabarî, unless we are mistaken, contains only one tradition traced back to al-Dūlābī. On the other hand, the bio-bibliographical collections which mention the recension of Salama b. al-Faḍl, transmitted by Ibn Ḥumayd, say nothing similar about al-Dūlābī. There must have been therefore an arbitrary deduction, either by Ibn Kāmil or by Yaqūt. In the passage immediately preceding, Ibn Kāmil quotes al-Ṭabarî who says, [207] having mentioned his master in Rayy, Ibn Ḥumayd: “We subsequently made our way to ʿĀḥmad b. Ḥa:mmād al-Dūlābī who lived in a village situated some distance from Rayy. Then we would run like lunatics to return to Ibn Ḥumayd and to join his circle”. Subsequently it is Ibn Kāmil or Yaqūt who goes on to say: “He (i.e. al-Ṭabarî) wrote as a pupil of ʿĀḥmad b. Ḥa:mmād the Kitāb al-Mubtada’ ʿaš-l-Maghāzī, which he held from Salama b. al-Faḍl, who held it from Muḥammad Iṣḥaq, and it was on the basis of this ( = the Kitāb) that he constructed his History”. What is certain is that al-Ṭabarî owed much to the work of Ibn Iṣḥaq in the recension of Salama, but there is no evidence for the proposition that

he received instruction on this subject from Ibn Ḥumayd; it is most likely that there has been confusion with Ibn Ḥumayd.⁷

It was also at Rayy that al-Ṭabarî attended classes which were to be definitive for him, those of:

M4 ʿAbū Zur’a al-Rāzī (200–264/815–878).⁸ He was born in Rayy, and among his other travels he spent two terms in Baghdad, one in 227 and the other in 230, where he attended the courses of Ibn Ḥanbal. He returned to Rayy in 232, and remained there until his death. He was, along with his friend ʿAbū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (195–277/811–890), one of the most prestigious critics of hadīth, and al-Ṭabarî would thus have acquired the technique of criticism of traditions very early; this explains, in part, how he showed himself to be such an expert in this field, in particular in the Tahdhib al-ṭā’hār.

[208] Another master of al-Ṭabarî, in jurisprudence this time, is mentioned by Ibn al-Nadīm:

M5 ʿAbū Muqāṭīl, with whom he studied “the fiqh of the people of ‘Iraq”, an expression habitually denoting the jurisconsults of the school of Abū Ḥanafī, for example, the pupils of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī (d. 189/805). It has not been possible to identify ʿAbū Muqāṭīl. It is most likely that this individual was in fact Muḥammad b. Muqāṭīlī al-Rāzī al-Ḥanāfī (d. 242/856), a disciple of al-Shaybānī, in which case, in Ibn al-Nadīm’s text, Ibn Muqāṭīl should be read rather than ʿAbū Muqāṭīl.⁹


Having completed this period of elementary and complementary education in his native region and the neighbouring Jibal, al-Tabari made his way to Baghdad, hoping to attend the classes of Ibn Ḥanbal; we have already seen that fate had decided otherwise. However, he remained for a few months in the capital of the Empire, attending the classes of various scholars, before moving on to Baṣra, Waṣīṭ and Kūfā, always with the object of perfecting his knowledge. These residencies in these three cities took place between 241 and 243. In effect, the terminus a quo is marked by the date of the death of Ibn Ḥanbal and the terminus ad quem is fixed by the date of one of the masters with whom he studied in Kūfā, Hannād al-Sarī (d. in Ṣabi‘ī 243/Jūnī 857).

II Al-Ṭabarī in Baṣra

The only list given by Yaqqūt of the Baṣran masters of al-Ṭabarī is only a pale reflection of his activity as a student in the Muslim metropolis. This picture may be complemented by deductions drawn from encounters which he made and from certain episodes mentioned by biographers. Among those masters of his identified by name, the following are to be noted:

Beirut, al-Mothannā; KAHII, xii, p. 45 = Ḍabāla, Muṣṣal al-ma‘ālī[ft]; al-Laknawi, Kūfah al-Ṭabarī al-baḥṣa, fī tājirāt al-Ḥanāfiya, 1334/1906, p. 201. It could also be that his kānyā was Abū Muqṭūl, but on this the sources consulted tell us nothing. 10


M5 Aḥmad b. Thābit b. Ṭāṭāb al-Rāzī is not mentioned in the lists of authorities of al-Ṭabarī. Little is known of this person. However, he is by far the authority most frequently cited by al-Ṭabarī for the transmission of the Ḥadīth and of the History of the caliphs by Abū Ma‘ṣhar, with the following chain: Aḥmad b. Thābit b. Ṭāṭāb/ anonymous/ Abū Ma‘ṣhar. We assume that al-Ṭabarī attended his classes in Rayy. [209] According to Ibn Abī Hātim: “No one doubted that he was a liar”. As was often the case, the fact that the chain of transmission was interrupted did not prevent al-Ṭabarī citing it extensively, especially for the list of those who led the Pilgrimage. 10

10 Nebrū Bayāna, ed. M. al-Mothannā; KAHII, xii, p. 45 = Ḍabāla, Muṣṣal al-ma‘ālī[ft]; al-Laknawi, Kūfah al-Ṭabarī al-baḥṣa, fī tājirāt al-Ḥanāfiya, 1334/1906, p. 201. It could also be that his kānyā was Abū Muqṭūl, but on this the sources consulted tell us nothing.

M6 Abū I-Ṣaḥābā Abū Ḍahab al-Miṣṣād b. al-Ṭabarī (d. 251/865 or 253) left even fewer traces in the work of Abū Ja‘far. His name appears only three times in the Tadhhib al-Āthār and twice in the History. It is interesting to note that he was a humorist of some renown, for which reason Abū Dāwūd al-Siṣṭānī (d. 275/888) declined to transmit his traditions. The fact that he taught in such a way as to entertain the merry folk who populated Baṣra (kāna ya‘allimu l-mujāzāna l-mujājīna) did not prevent Ibn Ḥibbān from including him among the authorities worthy of trust. 16


M7 Muḥammad b. Muṣṣal al-Ḥarashi al-Ṭabarī (d. 248/862) who transmitted Ḥadīth to him. He appears once in the fragments of the Tadhhib al-Āthār which have been edited, three times in the history and numerous times in the Commentary. All of which indicates that he did not play a major role in the education of al-Ṭabarī. 12

M8 The same judgment applies to Abū Amr ‘Imrān b. Muṣṣal al-Qazzāz al-Ṭabarī (d. after 240/854) who was also al-Ṭabarī’s master in traditions. 13

M9 Abū Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Abd al-ʿAlā al-Ṣanā`ī al-Ṭabarī (d. 254/869) transmitted traditions to him and gave him lessons in exegesis. Al-Ṭabarī also studied with him the Kitāb al-Maghāzī by Ma‘mar b. Ṭāḥif (d. 153/769). 14

M10 Yaqqūt also lists Bishr b. Murādh al-Aqāḍī (d. 245/859) from whom al-Ṭabarī received, by way of a Baṣran chain, numerous traditions of Qatāda. His isnād is the one which features most frequently in the Qur’ānic Commentary. 15

M11 Abū I-Ṣaḥābā Ahmad b. al-Miṣṣād al-Ṭabarī (d. 251/865 or 253) left even fewer traces in the work of Abū Ja‘far. His name appears only three times in the Tadhhib al-Āthār and twice in the History. It is interesting to note that he was a humorist of some renown, for which reason Abū Dawūd al-Siṣṭānī (d. 275/888) declined to transmit his traditions. The fact that he taught in such a way as to entertain the merry folk who populated Baṣra (kāna ya‘allimu l-mujāzāna l-mujājīna) did not prevent Ibn Ḥibbān from including him among the authorities worthy of trust. 16


13 Abū I-Ṣaḥābā Ahmad b. al-Miṣṣād al-Ṭabarī (d. 251/865 or 253) left even fewer traces in the work of Abū Ja‘far. His name appears only three times in the Tadhhib al-Āthār and twice in the History. It is interesting to note that he was a humorist of some renown, for which reason Abū Dawūd al-Siṣṭānī (d. 275/888) declined to transmit his traditions. The fact that he taught in such a way as to entertain the merry folk who populated Baṣra (kāna ya‘allimu l-mujāzāna l-mujājīna) did not prevent Ibn Ḥibbān from including him among the authorities worthy of trust. 16


15 Abū I-Ṣaḥābā Ahmad b. al-Miṣṣād al-Ṭabarī (d. 251/865 or 253) left even fewer traces in the work of Abū Ja‘far. His name appears only three times in the Tadhhib al-Āthār and twice in the History. It is interesting to note that he was a humorist of some renown, for which reason Abū Dawūd al-Siṣṭānī (d. 275/888) declined to transmit his traditions. The fact that he taught in such a way as to entertain the merry folk who populated Baṣra (kāna ya‘allimu l-mujāzāna l-mujājīna) did not prevent Ibn Ḥibbān from including him among the authorities worthy of trust. 16

The above is what is essentially to be gleaned from the explicit accounts given in the biographical notices on the masters of al-
thar. However they also mention a certain number of episodes which make it possible to complete the picture of al-
bar's scholastic activity in the metropolis of Iraq.

[212] It is thus that we know that he had contacts at least with Abū Hātim al-Sijistānī (d. 255/869), philologist, grammarian, specialist in Qur'anic readings and author of a Kitāb Irāb al-Qur'ān. Al-
bar would have consulted him about a tradition of al-Shārī (Amīr b. Sharāḥil, d. 103/721), traditionist and
judicial scholar, concerning analogy, and would have given him on this occasion the etymology of Tabaristan. This information alone is not enough to make al-
bar a disciple of Abū Hātim. However it is known that the latter was a disciple of al-Akhfash al-Awsāt (d. 215/830) and that he wrote critical remarks about his works. The same applies to the Mašār al-Qur'ān of his master Abū ʿUbayda (d. 207/822 or 213), and it may be wondered whether al-
bar did not benefit from the knowledge at the disposal of Abū Hātim, and from the Mašār al-Qur'ān of al-Akhfash and from Abū ʿUbayda's book, two works of which he makes considerable use in his Commentary.21

Before reaching Kūf, al-
bar spent some time in Wāsi, but the biographical collections do not mention any names of scholars whose teaching he would have followed there. Since the majority of the authorities mentioned in his Commentary, in the two edited Musnads of the Tahdhib al-
the history and bearing the ethnic of al-Wāsi, it is impossible to say in which of the two imperial capitals al-
bar collected their traditions. Furthermore, not one of them holds an important place in these three works.22

III Al-
bar in Kūf [213]

After a brief stay at Wāsi, al-
bar reached the cradle of Shi'iism which was already distinguished by great names in various branches of knowledge: AbūYūsuf (d. 182/798), whom he often mentions in his K. Ikhtilāf al-
feit, and al-Shaybānī (d. 198/810) in jurisprudence; Hāšım b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī (d. 206/821) in various branches of the Arab legacy; al-Suddi 1-Kabīr (d.

---

17 GIS, i, pp. 113-114; TT, ix, pp. 70-73; TB, ii, pp. 101-105 [TB = al-Baghdādī, Taqīī al-
Barā, Horst, art. cit., p. 296, with a chain which goes back to Mujahid and which appears 32 times in the Commentary; TAB, i, pp. 240, 342, 366, 293, 477, 481, and passim; very frequent in TA: TA/A, index, pp. 1052-1053; he is one of the masters of al-
bar whose name appears most often in TAB and in TA. Abū Dāwūd would have transmitted fifty thousand traditions from him.

18 TT, ix, pp. 425-427; TB, iii, pp. 263-268; TAB, i, p. 49, 50, 185, 198, 202, 233, 420, 643, 735; v. p. 185, 198, 200, and passim, in the whole of the Commentary.

19 al-Dāwūdī, Taqīī al-
Barā, Muḥammadīn, Beirut 1983, ii, p.111 [Dāwūdī]; for 'Amīr b. ʿAli, TT, viii, pp. 80-82: min fuṣūlīn l-
hadith, annaṣatī l-musnada ta l-
irāb; TA/A, index, p. 1065, sixteen traditions; TB, iii, n. 1899 and 2155. He visited Isfahān on a number of occasions and stayed in Baghdad. Cf. also infra M51 and note 68.

20 TT, ii, p. 316, his name appears neither in the History nor in TA; TAB, vii, no 8281, v.g.
122 — EDUCATION AND LEARNING IN THE EARLY ISLAMIC WORLD

Claude Gilliot

128/745), in Qur'anic exegesis; Abū Mīkhnaft (d. 157/773), one of the first historiographers; 'Āṣīm, Ḥanuma and al-Kisāʽ, in Qur'anic readings; al-Farrā', in grammar and in exegesis.22

Al-Ṭabarī began by collecting the hadīths transmitted by the traditionists of this city:

M16 Abū Kurayb Muḥammad b. 'Alā' al-Ḥamdānī (d. 247/861, at 87 years of age). He would have transmitted three hundred thousand traditions in Kūfa, and is one of the authorities most often cited by al-Ṭabarī. Despite the variety of the chains of traditions ending with him in the diverse works of al-Ṭabarī, it is noticeable that the latter records especially the exegetical traditions traced back to al-Ḍāḥibāk b. Muzāḥim (d. 105/723) and to al-Qāfīda b. Dāima al-Sādāsī (d. 118/736). It was not easy to gain admission to the presence of this master, besieged as he was by students; al-Ṭabarī achieved this after an "examination", in other words, having shown that he knew by heart the traditions of this master, which he had studied in the written form. It is said that he heard a thousand traditions from his lips. Abū Kurayb was also one of the transmitters of the Kitāb al-Maghāzī of Ibn Ḥaṣa, through the intermediary of Yūnus b. Bukayr (d. 199/814).24

[214] M17 Hannād b. al-Sāri b. Muqāb (d. 243/857), known for his asceticism (it is noted that he never married) belonged to the line of the "weepers" (al-bakkarān); he is the author of a Kitāb al-Zuhd of which at least two manuscripts are available to us. Al-Ṭabarī had him as a master in hadīths; he transmits a few of his traditions in his Commentary, five in his History, including one with the link Yūnus b. Bukayr, whose Kitāb al-Maghāzī was transmitted by Hannād, as well as by Abū Kurayb.

24 GAS, i, p. 111; TT, xi, pp. 70–71; Jarīh, ix, pp. 110–120; Thāqīlī, xi, 246–247; Tadhkira, pp. 507–508; see the Introduction by Tā'ī al-dīn al-Nawādī to his edition of al-Bayhaqī, Kitāb al-Zuhd al-kabīr, Kuwait 1983', pp. 32–36 and especially n° 5, p. 33; TAB, iii, pp. 69, 427, 571, 518; x, p. 542; TĀ/A: three traditions including one of Yūnus b. Bukayr. The transmitters whose traditions he accepted are essentially, according to al-Ṭabarī: Abū l-Alyawās (=
transmission of this reading was the following: Sulaymān/ Khalīl/ Sulaym b. ʿĪsā (d. 188/803)/ Ḥamza b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Zayyāt (d. 156/772).

As is known, works of onomastic have not always retained all the names of the most important educators of [216] scholars, while those of individuals who played a secondary role are recorded. Thus it is that the biographical notices dedicated to al-Ṭabarī do not mention Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh al-Sufīyān b. Wākīʾ b. al-Jarrāḥ al-Ruḍāʾī al-Kāfī. Al-Ṭabarī cites him forty times in the Musnad of Ibn Ābbās, eleven times in that of Allī, thirty times in the History, and he is among those most often mentioned in his Commentary, in particular in reference to the route of several chains which, from his father, led to Muḥājīd, to Ibn Ḫubayr and to Ibn Ābbās. His renown was such that works were attributed to him which were not of his making. One of his scribes would have been responsible for the poor quality of some of the traditions which he related.

The list of traditionists whose lectures al-Ṭabarī attended in Baghdad would be impressive. Biographical notices cite some of them who are not always the most important:

[218] M28 ʿAbū Yaʿqūb ʿĪsā b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Marwāzī (d. 246/860). Some say that he died in 246, but since al-Ṭabarī heard him in Baghdad, he must have died after 241, the date of al-Ṭabarī's first residence in Baghdad.

M22 There were also in the caliphal capital masters in Ḥanbalism of whom the biographers tell us nothing, but whose names appear here and there in his works; we may mention, for example, Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿīd al-Marwāzī (d. 280/894).

M27 Still in the context of Ḥanafī, worthy of mention is ʿAbū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh al-Ǧaʿfarī (d. 270/884), founder of the Zāhirī school, which first followed the doctrine of al-Ṣāfī. Al-Ṭabarī attended his classes in law and in Ḥadīth; he must have witnessed some of his controversies with the Muʿtazilīs over the created/uncreated Qurʿān, in particular the one which Yaqūt mentions between Dāwūd and Abū Muḥājīd (= ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ǧaʿfarī al-Muʿṭazilī), which took place at ʿĀshīyāt.

The following chain is to be added here: Ibn Wākīʾ/ Wākīʾ/ Sufīyān (b. Ῥyμyμa)/ unknown or Ibn ʿAbd Allāh Muḥājīd.
He was reckoned a reliable purveyor of hadith, but he drew the denunciation of Ahmad b. Hanbal because he did not take a position on the uncreated nature of the Qur’an, confusing himself to saying it is the Word of God (waqif). Al-Tabari derived few traditions from him, but it is important to note, as in the case of Dawud al-Isfahani, that al-Tabari found himself directly in an ambience where the “conflict over the Qur’an” gave rise to animated debates.26

Abu Ja’far Ahmad b. Mansur al-Asamm al-Baghdadi (d. 244/858) is classed among the authorities of repute. He was reckoned a reliable purveyor of hadith, but it is important to note, as in the case of the former, the setting into writing, when it was done, was a process of remodelling, omissions no 5432; absent from the Thiqat, but not in the list of masters provided by al-Dawudi. He was a traditionist seldom cited by al-Taghlibi (d. 237/886) occupies a distinguished place in the education of Ibn Jarir, since it was he who transmitted the Kitab al-Dirri’iyya of Abu Ubayd al-Qasim b. Sallam.41

Muhammad b. Mas’har Najib b. Abu al-Rahman al-Madani al-Baghdadi (d. 244/858 or 247/861, at 99 years of age) would have transmitted many of his traditions, especially those which were not transmitted to him. He was a traditionist seldom cited by al-Tabari.40

Abu Abd Allah Ahmad b. Yusauf al-Taghlibi (d. 237/886) occupies a distinguished place in the education of Ibn Jarir, since it was he who transmitted the Kitab al-Dirri’iyya of Abu Ubayd al-Qasim b. Sallam.41

On the one hand, even if the master had a Musnad, it must have attended his classes on his authority on traditions. Ibrahim al-Dawraqi was the author of a Musnad which which aroused the ire of the Shākir brothers.48

We will write, replied al-Tabari, but I wrote the Musnad of Ya’qub b. Ibrahim al-Dawraqi, and I left a part of it. I did not teach the part which I wrote. Then I revised it to include hadith and to write it in order (i-wajamifahu), but it remained more than I had written before. That which I omitted held me up for a long time. It is the substance of what he said.27

University scholars must have attended his classes on his This is the substance of what he said (wa na ’amna hadda l-kalam).”28

This episode is richly informative from more than one point of view, not only on the conclusions of al-Tabari himself, but also on the passage from oral to written. On the one hand, even if the master had a Musnad, the disciple could take from it and leave parts of it, and organise it. On the other hand, the setting into writing, when it was done, was a process of remodelling, omissions 26 According to TB, ii, p. 162; cf. his notices in TT, i, pp. 223-225; TB, vi, pp. 356-362; waqif ma’ṣum, according to Ibn Hanbal, p. 360. His name appears five times in al-Tabari’s History, and very seldom in his Commentary, which aroused the ire of the Shākir brothers.28

On the other hand, the setting into writing, when it was done, was a process of remodelling, omissions of these and revivals. This calls into question to some extent the manner in which F. Sezgin, for example, perceives the putting into writing of hadith. Finally, it should be noted that al-Tabari was animated by the desire to transmit as many traditions as possible for fear lest what was useful to the community might be omitted, reserving the right to rule subsequently on the “health” of these traditions, as he did often in his Musnads (i.e. in his Tahdhib) and very seldom in his Commentary, which aroused the ire of the Shākir brothers.48

Claude Gilliot

This episode is richly informative from more than one point of view, not only on the conclusions of al-Tabari himself, but also on the passage from oral to written. On the one hand, even if the master had a Musnad, the disciple could take from it and leave parts of it, and organise it. On the other hand, the setting into writing, when it was done, was a process of remodelling, omissions 26 According to TB, ii, p. 162; cf. his notices in TT, i, pp. 223-225; TB, vi, pp. 356-362; waqif ma’ṣum, according to Ibn Hanbal, p. 360. His name appears five times in al-Tabari’s History, and very seldom in his Commentary, which aroused the ire of the Shākir brothers.28

On the other hand, the setting into writing, when it was done, was a process of remodelling, omissions of these and revivals. This calls into question to some extent the manner in which F. Sezgin, for example, perceives the putting into writing of hadith. Finally, it should be noted that al-Tabari was animated by the desire to transmit as many traditions as possible for fear lest what was useful to the community might be omitted, reserving the right to rule subsequently on the “health” of these traditions, as he did often in his Musnads (i.e. in his Tahdhib) and very seldom in his Commentary, which aroused the ire of the Shākir brothers.48

Claude Gilliot

This episode is richly informative from more than one point of view, not only on the conclusions of al-Tabari himself, but also on the passage from oral to written. On the one hand, even if the master had a Musnad, the disciple could take from it and leave parts of it, and organise it. On the other hand, the setting into writing, when it was done, was a process of remodelling, omissions...
of this edition in his History; neither does it feature in his Commentary nor in the parts of the Tahdhib al-tahâr which have survived.\(^{42}\)

The above are the masters of al-Ṭabarî mentioned in the biographical notices. But many others could be cited, some of whom played an important part in his education, such as:

M35 Ahmad b. Abî Khaythama (= A. b. Zuhayr b. Harb, d. 279/892); [221] he is the author of a History of the caliphal period. He attended the classes of Muḥammad b. Abd Allâh al-Zubayrî (d. 233/848 or 236/851) on the genealogy of the Arabs. He is mentioned sixty-five times in the History for the caliphal period.\(^{43}\)

M36 Abû l-Hasan 'Abî b. Dâwûd b. Yaẓûd al-Adâmî al-Baḥdâdî al-Qanṭârî (d. 262/876, or 270, or 272/885) is one of the masters to whom al-Ṭabarî owes much. He derived from him numerous exegetical traditions attributed to Ibn 'Abbâs, via Abû Ṣâliḥ Abî Abd Allâh b. Ṣâliḥ al-Juhânî (d. 223/838).\(^{44}\)

M37 Al-Ḥârîth b. Muḥammad b. Usâma Dâhîr al-Tâmînî l-Baḥdâdî (d. 282/895) transmitted to al-Ṭabarî numerous exegetical traditions attributed to Muḥammad b. 'Amr al-Bâhîlî al-Baṣrî (d. 249/663) to al-Ṭabarî a large number of traditions attributed to Muḥammad b. 'Amr al-Bâhîlî al-Baṣrî.\(^{45}\)

42 Master of al-Ṭabarî, according to SAN [=Dhahabî, Sînâr al-aṣâm al-nubahî, ed. Sh. al-Armayî et al., 25 vols., Beirut, 1981–88], xiv, p. 268. This is confirmed by TT, pp. 467–68; TB, iii, pp. 326–27; Jarâjî, viii, p. 110, no 487. It is reported that M. b. a. Maṣâhar came to Muṣṭaṣa and demanded from Muḥammad b. 'Amr al-Baṣrî (d. 206/821) a book which the latter had heard from his father (Abû Maṣâhar). He took it and copied it, without having heard from Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allâh al-Juhânî (and consequently, not from his own father either). This episode should be understood, according to the traditional criteria of transmission, as illustrating the “weakness” of the traditionist.


44 GAS, i, pp. 343–43; SAN, xii, p. 143; Horst, p. 293, isnâd 1; Gilliot, Baqara, p. 127f.


The education of al-Ṭabarî in the caliphal city was not confined to hâdîth, to exegesis, to law and to Qur'anic readings; we also see him involved in the literary life of this epoch. Abû l-Faraj al-Isnâhâni (284–356/897–967) visited him regularly and was one of his assiduous disciples, as is shown by the chains of guarantees ending with him in the Kitâb al-Aḥfâṣ, especially when it is a question of episodes related by the Sîra.\(^{55}\)

Al-Ṭabarî also acquired the reputation of a good grammarian. According to a tradition related by Yaḥyâ and deriving from Abû al-Aszâb b. Muḥammad al-Ṭabarî, he established himself near the bridge of Barâdân, in the eastern part of Baghdad; this quarter was home to a veritable dynasty of grammarians, including: Abû 'Ubâydayn al-Qâsim b. Sâllâm (d. 224/838), Abû 'Ubayd al-Qâsim b. Sâllâm (d. 224/838), Abû 'Ubayd al-Qâsim b. Sâllâm (d. 224/838), Abû Bakr Ḥâšim b. Mu'âwiyya al-Qâsim b. Sâllâm (d. 224/838), Abû Abû Allâh Muḥammad b. Yaḥyâ al-Kisâî (= Kisîrî al-Sâghîr, d. 288/900), and finally Abû Ja'far al-Ṭabarî. As for Ibn Mûjahîd, he records a tradition of Abû l-Abbâs (i.e. Horst, p. 287, isnâd 7; TB, iii, p. 127. He was also a specialist in readings, cf. Ghâna, ii, p. 221, n° 3328.

48 Horst, p. 33, n°1, on the basis of TB, xii, pp. 432–433, identifies him with al-Qâsim b. al-Hamadhâni, d. 272/885. However not one of the names of his masters appears in the chains ending with the al-Qâsim b. al-Hamadhâni of al-Ṭabarî’s acquaintance. For this reason we share the doubts expressed by A.M. Shâkir regarding the possibility of identifying him, cf. TAB, vii, p. 507, note 1. In the History, he appears twenty-eight times in the first volume and twice in the second; he features once in TA/IA, pp. 499–500, Tr. 7450. For al-Ḥusayn b. Dâwûd al-Mîṣgâṣî, called Sunâyîd (d. 226/840), who had a great Koranic commentary, as well as the masters of al-Qâsim b. al-Hamadhâni, cf. TB, viii, pp. 42–44; the name of al-Qâsim does not appear in the list of his masters; cf. GAS, i, p. 31, 91.

Tha'lab, d. 291/903) which makes of al-Ṭabarî the best Kufian of Baghdad in his time. This tradition [223] contributed to some extent to placing al-Ṭabarî among the Kufians.51

V Al-Ṭabarî between the Shām and Egypt

There are two dates on which al-Ṭabarî arrived in Egypt, which approximately fix those of his periods of residence in the Shām. With one of these dates, the year 253, we encounter a difficulty which has attracted little attention except on the part of Rudi Paret. Yaqût relates that Abû Ja'far had begun receiving an education in Shāfi‘î jurisprudence from al-Za'farâni in Baghdad, then that in his turn he taught a group which included Abû Sa'id al-Īsâkhârî (= al-Ḥasan b. Ahmad, 244-310/858-922), and this before his departure for Fustâṭ. If this is the journey of 253, Abû Sa'id would then have been 9 years old. According to Yaqût, again, it was around this date that he paused in the cities of the Shām before going on to Egypt, then he revisited the Shām and returned to Egypt in 256. We know, in any case, that he was in Baghdad in 258. It is thus around 253 and 256 that his two periods of residence are to be situated.52

Abû Sa'id Ibn Yûnûs (= 'Abd al-Rahmân b. Ahmad b. Yûnûs al-Shâdi al-Īsmârâ, 281-347/894-958) gives a single date, according to Ibn 'Asâkir and according to al-Dâwûdî, who seems to derive it from the latter, for [224] al-Ṭabarî's stay in Egypt, that of 263. Are we to suppose that Ibn Yûnûs or a copyist confused the dates 253 and 256, or that al-Ṭabarî made a third journey, in which case why does Ibn Yûnûs make no mention of the two others? Only


54 GAS, i, p. 433. Fr. Kern is unsure of the identity of the al-Juzajânî who appears often in IFK. Al-Ṭabarî never mentions him there in connection with a chain; on the other hand J. Schlacht has clearly identified him in IFK (= Ikhtilâf al-fiqh, ed. J. Schlacht, Leiden 1933), p. 262. Either al-Ṭabarî did not receive licence for transmission, or he utilised a work in the absence of a master who possessed this licence.

The Scholarly Formation of al-Ṭabarî

Rudi Paret has drawn attention to this contradiction which went unnoticed by both ancient and modern, by Muḥammad Abî l-Faḍl Ibrâhîm as well as by A.M. al-Hûfî, who furthermore do not mention the date given by Ibn Yunûs. This problem of dating has yet to be resolved.

Of the masters of Damascus, no names are cited by the biographical sources. The chains of authorities given by al-Ṭabarî nonetheless enable us to mention some of them.

M42 Ibrâhîm b. Yaqûb al-Sa‘dî al-Juzajânî (d. 259/873 or 256). Fr. Kern has written that he was the master and disciple of al-Ṭabarî in fiqh. In fact, he was not the disciple of Abû Ja‘far, but only his master. The error seems to derive from al-Samâ‘î who calls Ibrâhîm b. Yaqûb “al-Juzajânî”, giving the impression thereby that he was following the madhhab of Ibn Jarîr. In fact, the correct reading is “al-Hârîzî”, which signifies that he followed the doctrine of Hârîz b. Uthmân al-⟩arâbî who professed the naṣîh; in other words he declared his hostility to Allâ b. al-⟩âlib; he was a disciple of the Nâṣibîyya. It is said furthermore of Ibrâhîm b. Yaqûb that he was Ḥarûrî, attacking ‘Allî and declaring: “I do not like Allî, he massacred my ancestors (i.e. at the time of the massacre of Nahrawân). This Juzajânî should not be confused with the one who is often cited in the Kitâb Ikhtilâf al-fiqh, who is Abû Sulaymân Mâsâ b. Sulaymân (d. 200/815). Al-Ṭabarî borrowed from his works of fiqh, [225] al-Nâṣirî. He was a disciple of Abû Ḫūsayn and of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shâyâbî.
M43 It was in Ramla that al-Ṭabarî attended the lessons in ḥadîth of ʿAlî b. Saḥl al-Ramlî (d. 261/874). The latter transmitted the traditions of al-Awzâ‘î, but he was also the author of Maghâṣî and of Sunan. His name appears thirty-two times in ʿĀdîb al-ʾathâr, eight times in the History, once in his profession of faith where he cites a tradition of al-Awzâ‘î via al-Walîd b. Muslim al-Dimashqî (d. 195/810). He is also present in the K. Ikhtilāf al-fuqahā‘. Through him, al-Ṭabarî had access to the doctrine of al-Awzâ‘î.

The notices have also preserved for us the name of one of his masters in the second period initiated into the doctrine of the first period. 56 Ibn ʿAsakîr, TTD, vii, p. 275; Id., TD (Damascus 1982), pp. 278-283 (= Ṭawîl Dimashqî); ID., in De Goeje, Introductio, p. 111; Ghâṣî, i, p. 355; TT, v, pp. 131-133. On ʿAbd al-Ḥamîd b. Bakhrî: Ghâṣî, ii, p. 106; in fiqh cf. IFK, p. xx, 183, 172, 181 etc.; IFK, p. 27, 56, 43 etc., TAB, ii, p. 42, Tr. 831.

M44 Al-ʿAbbâs b. al-Walîd b. Mazyad al-Amuli al-Bayrâṭî (d. 266/879), 56 Al-Ṭabarî attended his classes on Qur’ānic readings. He also benefited from his teaching in jurisprudence according to the doctrine of al-Awzâ‘î, as is shown by certain passages of his book on the controversies of scholars.

The time spent by al-Ṭabarî in the Shām was of great importance in the domain of readings, in that of exegesis and of traditions, or finally in that of the fiqh of al-Awzâ‘î.

VI Al-Ṭabarî in Egypt [226]

In Egypt, as elsewhere, al-Ṭabarî had masters in diverse branches of Islamic scholarship. However it may be supposed that he went there essentially to perfect his education in Shāfî‘ism, and specifically to study the doctrine of the second period (al-jadîd). In fact, the diverse biographical notices draw a degree of attention to this point.

On the one hand, they tell us, as we have already seen, that al-Ṭabarî was initiated into the doctrine of the first period (al-aqâil al-qadîma or al-qadîmî) as a student of al-Za‘farâni in Baghdad; he subsequently studied it before his departure for Fustâṭ, where he had as his master al-Râbi‘ b. Sulaymân al-Murâdî, and where he knew al-Muzâ‘ânî, transmitters of the doctrine of the second period. 57

On the other hand, al-Ṭabarî was happy to recall that one of the masters of Shâfî‘ism in Baghdad, alongside ʿAbd ʿAbd al-Īṣâkhîr, Ibn Surâjî (d. 306/918), had received the doctrine of the first period from one of his own disciples, Ibn Bashshâr al-Ahwâl (= ʿUthmân b. Saʿîd al-Amânnî, d. 288/900): “It was I (al-Ṭabarî) who introduced and practised the rite of al-Shâfî‘î in Baghdad over a period of ten years. It was I who educated Ibn Bashshâr al-Ahwâl, the master of ʿAbd l-ʿAbbâs Ibn Surâjî...”. 58 In this text there are various points raised; one of them relates to the precedence of Shâfî‘ism in Baghdad and to the priority of the leaders of this school. Ibn Surâjî is considered one of the greatest after Abu Saʿîd. With these assertions, al-Ṭabarî “claimed his place” in the line of masters of this school.

A second point may also be seen in this declaration; it concerns his purpose in making his way to Egypt. Just like al-Ṭabarî, Ibn [227] Surâjî spent time in Egypt where he was initiated into the doctrine of the second period as a student of al-Râbi‘ b. Sulaymân and of al-Muzâ‘ânî; competition between masters was vigorous!

M45 It was thus in Egypt that al-Ṭabarî attended the classes of al-Râbi‘ b. Sulaymân al-Murâdî (d. 270/883). The latter transmitted the greater part of the works of al-Shâfî‘î, and in particular the Kitâb l-Unm and the other works of the second period. It is he who is denoted in the Kitâb Ikhtilâf al-fuqahâ‘, when al-Ṭabarî, after quoting a passage from al-Shâfî‘î, says: ʿaddathâni bi-dhâlka ʾanhu l-Râbi‘; he should not be confused with another disciple of al-Shâfî‘î, al-Râbi‘ b. Sulaymân al-Jâzî (d. 256/869). 59

56 Ibn ʿAsâkir, in De Goeje, Introductio, p. lxviii. 57 Ta 11, xvii, p. 53. Al-Ṭabarî was in dispute with al-Muzâ‘ânî, but we do not know what the point at issue was. It is not said that he had him as a master.

58 Ibn ʿAsâkir, in De Goeje, Introductio, p. lxxxiv. We shall correct the translation of Massignon, in Passion, i, p. 420, who furthermore read Bashshâr al-Ahwâl when it should have been Ibn Bashshâr; cf. TB, xi, pp. 292-293; Wafayiit, ii, p. 241; Subkî, ii, p. 52. For Ibn Surâjî, cf. J. Schlachht, in EI, iii, p. 974; GAS, i, p. 495; TB, iv, pp. 287-290; Husaynî, pp. 41-42; Passion, i, p. 420ss. For the two states or the two periods of the doctrine of al-Shâfî‘î, cf. J. Schlachht, Introduction, pp. 46-48; ID., Origins, p. 120; distinguishes “the earliest period” and “the middle period”. In the second period he was reconciled with the traditionists, so well, in fact, that it was the first period which was the more “innovative”.

59 According to al-Nawawi, Taḥdith, i, p. 79 in De Goeje, Introductio, p. xxiv. For al-Râbi‘ b. Sulaymân: GAS, i, p. 487; Wafayiit, ii, pp. 291-292; Husaynî, i, p. 387; there is an error to be corrected— he was not born in 274, but in 174; Shirazi, p. 28; Husaynî, p. 24: ra’û tuhimmu wa ghayrallahu wâsaa ijlâlî; IFK, p. 26, 31, 32, and passim; IFS, xiii, xxiv, 19, 24, 37, and passim. Cf. M. Khadduri, Introduction to his English translation,
It was as a pupil of Yūnus b. Abd al-Alā (d. 264/877), another disciple of al-Shāfi‘ī, that al-Ṭabarī also studied the doctrine of Malik. Yūnus had for masters Ibn Wahb (= ‘Abbāl Allāh, d. 197/812) and Ashhab b. ‘Abbāl ‘Azīz (d. 204/819); al-Ṭabarī also owed him a great deal in exegesis. In fact, via the same conduit that appears eighteen hundred times in his Commentary, he transmits to him the Taḥṣīl of ‘Abbāl al-Rahmān b. Zayyād b. Aslam al-Madani (d. 182/798), from whom al-Tha‘labī also borrowed extensively in his Kashf al-Baqā‘. Finally, it was courtesy of the same Yūnus that al-Ṭabarī received the reading of Ḥamza, with the following chain: Yūnūs/ ‘All b. Kīsa al-Miṣrī al-Muqri‘/ Sulaymān b. Ṭāṣa al-Kūfi (d. 188/803) Ḥamza.40

M46

[228] M47 He also perfected his education in Mālikite fiqh as a pupil of the sons of ‘Abd Allāh b. Abī Ḥakam (d. 214/828), these being Muhammad, ‘Abbāl al-Rahmān and Sa‘d, as well as a pupil of Ibn Akhī Wahb (= Aḥmad b. ‘Abbāl al-Rahmān b. Wahb, Bahshāl, d. 264/877). We may note that Ibn Wahb himself (= ‘Abbāl Allāh, d. 197/812) was the author of al-Muṣṭa‘fī al-Ṭabarī.41

Al-Ṭabarī also met in Egypt one of the most important disciples of al-Shāfi‘ī, Ismā‘īl b. Yaḥyā al-Muzānī (d. 264/877). He also quarrelled with him over an issue of law, but al-Ṭabarī declined to reveal the point of contention, we are told, out of respect for al-Muzānī. Yaqūt suggests that the substance of the debate centred on the notion of consensus.42


GAS, i, p. 492; Yaqūt, xviii, pp. 54–55 and p. 53. J. Schacht, Introduction, p. 57, writes: “While Shāfi‘ī had called the Qurān and the sunna ‘the two principles’ and considered ādāma and ḍhāla as being subordinate to them, al-Ṭabarī recognised three ways: the Qurān,

the sunna as expressed in traditions derived from the Prophet and ādāma, which for him was absolutely decisive...” Was this the subject of the debate with al-Muzānī?

40 The episode regarding the poverty of al-Ṭabarī and of his co-disciples is related in TB, ii, pp. 164–165 and repeated by Yaqūt, xviii, pp. 46–47. For M. b. Naṣr al-Marwazi (d. 294/906) who, born in Baghdad, lived in Nisābūr and studied in Iraq, in the Hijāz and in Egypt. He was a leading traditionist and a Shāfi‘ite jurist; he acquired certain renown for his analysis of the divergent views of the Companions (īkhtilāf al-Qaṣība). His Kitāb Ikhtilāf al-‘ulamā‘ has been edited by al-Sayyid Subhān al-Samarrā‘ī (Beirut, 1985). The second Muḥammad was Ibn Ḥurūn al-Rūyānī (d. 306/919), he too a traditionist and jurist, author of a Musnad which has survived into the present day. As for Muḥammad b. Isḥāq Ibn Khuzayma (d. 311/923), the celebrated theologian of Nisābūr, [229] he was a fellow pupil of al-Ṭabarī and his longstanding companion. They had many things in common. Ibn Khuzayma was the author of a large number of works including the Kitāb al-Tauṣi‘a wa l-tībat ẓālī al-Rābī‘, in which he campaigns against the Jahmites and the Mu‘tazilites; al-Ṭabarī did the same in his Commentary. We also possess a Šuḥūf composed by him.41

41 It was also in Egypt that al-Ṭabarī showed his expertise in poetry and in metrics. Among those he encountered there was the traditionist and man of letters, Abī ʿIyān All b. Sīrāj al-Baṣrī al-Miṣrī (d. 308/920), who asked him questions about poetry; al-Ṭabarī dictated to him some rare al-Ṭīrīmā‘ī, a poet whom al-Ṭabarī often cites in his Commentary and in his Tadhkira.42

SCHOLARSHIP AND ATTESTATION
VII Other masters of al-Ṭabari

We refer under this heading to twenty individuals mentioned by al-Dhahabi, though it is not always possible to know where al-Ṭabari received their instruction. What is certain, is that he met none of them in Egypt.

M48 Abū Sahl 'Abda b. Abdallāh al-Khuzā'ī al-Brāṣī al-Ṣaffār [230] (d. 257/870 or in 258, in Baṣra or al-Ahwāz). Al-Ṭabari transmitted few of his traditions.65

M49 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Bayān al-Sukārī al-Waṣṣīṭ al-Qānnādī (d. 244/858). Al-Ṭabari transmitted few of his traditions.66

M50 Abū 1-šu'āb Aḥmad b. al-Miqdām b. Sulaymān al-'Ijī al-Brāṣī (d. 253/867). Al-Ṭabari must have attended his classes in Baṣra, but he retained few of his traditions in the works which have survived. The fact that this traditionist lectured in comical style to the jocular types being considered worthy of confidence; only Abū Dāwūd refused to transmit his traditions.67

M51 Abū Ḥaṣṣ 'Amr b. 'Alī b. Baḥr al-Bāhili al-Brāṣī al-Ṣayraṭ al-Fallāsī (d. 249/863) is one of the authorities used by the authors of six books. Al-Ṭabari attended his classes in Baṣra or in Baghdad. He has already been mentioned above (M14).68

M52 Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan b. 'Arāfa b. Yazīd al-Abdī al-Baḥrāli al-Muṭaḍādībī (d. 257/870). Al-Ṭabari attended his lessons in Baghdad. He was born in 150/767, the year of the birth of al-Shāfī'ī and died in Sāmarrā'. His longevity is underlined in symbolic fashion: he would have died at 110 years old and would have had ten sons, giving each of them the name of one of the Ten (to whom Muḥammad promised Paradise).69


67 Cf. also supra: M11 and note 16; TB, v, pp. 162-66; SAN, xii, pp. 219-21; in the two works the episode of the "drawn purse" game is related. Cf. the traditions relayed in TA/UA, Tr. 333, 463.

68 TB, xii, pp. 207-212; SAN, xii, pp. 470-72; TA/UA, thirteen times; Tr. 677, 768, 855, 1223, etc.: History, x (index), p. 354, eight times. Cf. supra M14 and note 19.

From the time of his first contact with the capital of the empire, he made the acquaintance of al-Mutawakkil’s vizier, Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Ubayd Allah b. Yaḥyā b. Khāqān (during his first vizierate: 236–247 850–861), in other words from his arrival in 241, or after his return from Kūfa in 243.138 [234] Al-Ṭabarī had brought commodities which, sold in Baghdad, would have guaranteed him a reasonable standard of living, but bandits on the highway deprived him of them, and he found himself in the most abject poverty. He was introduced to the vizier who appointed him tutor to one of his sons, Abū Yaḥyā. For this work al-Ṭabarī refused all the gifts that were offered him in addition to the stipulated fees. The family of the vizier remained close to him and persisted in trying to offer him money on numerous occasions, without any more success. It was thus that Abū ʿAli Muḥammad b. ‘Ubayd Allah, appointed vizier in his turn (299-301/911-913), in an attempt to persuade him to accept the ten thousand dirhams offered to him, was obliged to propose that they be shared with his companions.47

It was yet another vizier who was witness to his disputes with the Ḥanbalites, ʿAlī b. Ḫisāb b. Ḫarrahā.48 The episode took place, according to Ibn al-Jawzī, in 309/921; ʿAlī b. Ḫisāb was no longer vizier but it was he, in fact, who still took the important decisions under the vizierate of Ḥamīd b. al-ʿAbbās (309–311). Al-Ṭabarī presented himself at the palace of ʿAlī b. Ḫisāb for a debate with the Ḥanbalites, but they did not reply to the invitation. It was the same vizier who had a doctor sent to him some time before his death.

Al-Ṭabarī was equally adamant in refusing fees and honours. When al-Khaqānī90 (ʿUbayd Allah, at the time of his second vizierate, in 256/869, or his son Muḥammad in 299/911?) succeeded to the vizierate, he sent a substantial sum of money to al-Ṭabarī; the latter sent it back. He then offered him the opportunity to supervise the qaḍāʾ or criminal affairs (al-maṣālīm), but al-Ṭabarī refused both these propositions.

The high esteem which these individuals accorded to al-Ṭabarī is also illustrated by numerous instances in which they sought instruction from him or looked to his knowledge for justification. Thus the caliph al-Muqtadī (289–295/902–908), wanting to establish a pious foundation on judicial principles which would be accepted unanimously by scholars, instructed al-ʿAbbās b. al-Ḥasan (= al-Jarjarāṭ), his vizier, to summon Abū Jaʿfar. The

49 Ibn ʿAsākir, in De Goeje, Introductio, p. lxxxv.
latter dictated [235] a report on this subject, in the presence of the caliph, and refused the reward which he was offered. Since it would have been inappropriate to refuse the caliph's largesse and leave empty-handed, he made a request to which the caliph responded favourably: henceforward the police prevented access to the maqṣūra before the end of the sermon.90

As for the vizier al-Faḍl b. Ja'far b. Fūrāt, he had occasion to attend the classes of al-Ṭabarî. One day, he came to hear him in his circle; Abū Ja'far asked a man to read a text but he, on account of the presence of the vizier, declined to do so (the vizier was regarded as taking precedence in this respect). Al-Ṭabarî said to him: “If it is your turn, you should pay no attention either to the Tigris or to the Euphrates (al-Faḍl)!”.91

Furthermore it was al-Abbās b. al-Ḥasan who asked him to compose for his use a compendium of his madḥkhab, to which al-Ṭabarî gave the title of: al-Khaṣṣaf fi ḫūq or al-Khaṣṣaf fi akhbār sharrāt’ al-Īslām.92

Finally, Abū Bakr Ahmad b. Kāmil (d. 350/961), a disciple of al-Ṭabarî and Qādī of Kūfah, has preserved for us an exchange of verses between Ahmad b. Īsā al-ʿAlawī and al-Ṭabarî on the question of authorities worthy of confidence.93

This fragmentary picture, drawn from the vicissitudes of transmission, from al-Ṭabarî’s contacts with certain of the greatest individuals of the time, shows that his help was sought by the major institutions of the dynasty, even that he was courted. This is only one example among many of the interworking between the machinery of power and the various clerical processes.

The biographical notices are interested primarily in the direct masters and [236] in particular those whose lessons in ḥadīth and in Qur’ānic readings, supplemented by grammar and poetry, were attended by scholars. They pay little attention to their indirect education. We can nevertheless form an idea of it on the basis of reported anecdotes or of the deductions that we can make.94

92 Yaqūt, xviii, p. 43. He has been mistakenly identified with Ahmad b. Ḥaṣān b. Zayd, the Schīṭi leader and scholar, but he died in 247/861; cf. W. Madelung, in EI, Suppl., pp. 48–49 (here: French edn.). Ṣalāḥ al-dīn al-Manṣūqi confuses him with Ahmad b. ‘Īsā b. ‘Alī b. Ḥusayn al-Ṣaḥīḥī (according to Bidāya, xi, p. 6) in his edition of al-Dhahabī, Aṣār al-ʿalāmīn romans l-khiliifa, Beirut 1982, p. 13, note 18. We believe it is likely to be the above-mentioned Ahmad b. Ḥaṣān b. ‘Alī b. Ḥusayn al-Ṣaḥīḥī. We may discount the possibility that this could be Ahmad b. Ḥaṣān b. M. al-Muhājīr, too young in the lifetime of al-Ṭabarī, he died, in fact, in 354/956: cf. O. Löfgren, in EI, i, p. 278.

time. Al-Ṭabarî could have acquired the prodigious knowledge which he is known to have had of prophetic traditions and of the criticism of traditions except by means of early training of the memory. We have no reason to doubt that his father, whether he had a dream or not, induced him to study. This insistence on the Qur'an and on ḥadīth, from his early childhood, marked him for life.

We have also seen that al-Ṭabarî achieved renown in the study of poetry and of metrics, having studied al-Shiʿr wa l-shuʿarāʾ under the direction of Thaʿlab. 96

However he was not initiated into all branches of knowledge by masters. He also acquired basic knowledge through the solitary study of specialised works. This is what is indicated by the following anecdote which, although not devoid of the kind of hyperbole typical of scholars intent on showing their pupils that only determined work is profitable, is nevertheless instructive about a kind of indirect education through books. One day when he was in Egypt, someone asked him a question on the subject of metrics, an area in which he had little expertise at that time. Al-Ṭabarî deferred his answer [238] to the following day and borrowed from a friend a book of Khalîl Ibn ʿAḥmad: “I spent, he said, the night studying, and thus, although I was not a metrician in the evening, I became one by the morning.” 97

Whole sections of this education remain obscure because they are not illustrated through the channels normally used by biographical notices when the subject is the education of a scholar of religious sciences of al-Ṭabarî’s stature. This is the case in particular with branches of knowledge which are not directly religious, not historiographical and not literary or poetic. We are thinking most of all of logic, philosophy, cosmology and the natural sciences. An episode which we have mentioned elsewhere suggests that al-Ṭabarî did not live outside certain philosophical currents which flourished in his native region and in the caliphal capital, even if his work shows few echoes of them. This is what is indicated by the following anecdote which, although not devoid of the kind of hyperbole typical of scholars intent on showing their pupils that only determined work is profitable, is nevertheless instructive about a kind of indirect education through books. One day when he was in Egypt, someone asked him a question on the subject of metrics, an area in which he had little expertise at that time. Al-Ṭabarî deferred his answer [238] to the following day and borrowed from a friend a book of Khalîl Ibn ʿAḥmad: “I spent, he said, the night studying, and thus, although I was not a metrician in the evening, I became one by the morning.” 97

The Scholarly Formation of al-Ṭabarî

years old. 98 Ibn Kâmil also associates al-Ṭabarî’s good taste manners and his culinary and dietary practices with the work of this doctor, probably of Christian origin who did not [239] convert to Islam until late in life and at the insistence of al-Mutawakkil. Abû Jaʿfar himself possessed medical knowledge, and he had occasion to prescribe remedies to the sick.

This insistence of Ibn Kâmil on the profound knowledge which al-Ṭabarî had of the Firdaws al-ḥikma and the fact that its author had been his master suggests to us that he also lived in a milieu of sages by virtue of whom he was subjected to diverse philosophical and cultural influences. It is known in fact that Abû b. Sahl was versed in Indian medicine, that he had been in the service of Mâziyûr b. Qârin, prince of Tarîbûstân, who had returned to the Mazdakian faith. It was in Rayy, the second city in which al-Ṭabarî studied, that Abû Bakr Muḥammad Ibn Zakariyya al-Râzî was born, in 251/865. Certain sources make him a disciple of Abû b. Sahl al-Ṭabarî, which is chronologically impossible. 99 But what is important for us to note, is that there was in Rayy a milieu propitious to the study of ancient philosophy and wisdom. Ibn Jarîr must at least have been familiar with the fringes of it during his adolescence.

In Baghdad, similarly, al-Ṭabarî cannot have remained in ignorance of certain philosophical debates. We may recall that al-Kindî was the tutor of ʿAḥmad, the son of al-Muṭaṣmîn (reg. 218–227). He enjoyed great prestige in the

---


97 For Abû Bakr al-Râzî, an exhaustive bibliography will be found in Abîd al-Rabîḥ Badawi, Histoire de la philosophie en Islam, Paris 1972, ii, pp. 518–594, especially p. 594, n. 1. Following al-Qīfî and Ibn a. Usayyîra, this author makes Abû Bakr a disciple of Abî b. Sahl Rabban al-Ṭabarî; for chronological reasons, we prefer to adopt the opinion of P. Kraus, in Et, iii, 1213a, 2nd para. This does not mean that Abû Bakr could not have fallen under the influence of Rabban, cf. S. Pines, Beiträge zur islamischen Atomlehre, Berlin 1936, p. 43, 45, notes. This study remains an excellent presentation of the thought of al-Râzî, from which Badawi seems to have borrowed extensively. See also A. Badawi, Min Taʾrîkh al-ilm fi ʾl-islām, Cairo 1945; Beirut 1980, pp. 163–186; A. Badawi in M.M. Sharif, A History of Muslim Philosophy, Wiesbaden 1963, i, pp. 434–449.
This sketch of the influences experienced by al-Ṭabarî and of his indirect education [241] will be completed in a study which we shall devote to his attitude towards “sectarian” groups.\(^\text{104}\)

If we follow the gallery of portraits of the direct masters of al-Ṭabarî as painted by the biographical notices, it is suggested to us, in the final analysis, that the message of Muhammad and the Companions has been faithfully transmitted by masters to disciples from generation to generation. From this point of view, the education of al-Ṭabarî is exemplary for the group. In fact, one of the essential functions of the lists of authorities and works of onomastics is to entrench the group in one of its fundamental ideologies which is the uninterrupted and faithful transmission of the stock of revelation which includes the revealed Law (al-shar') and the prophetic traditions.

As for indirect education, that which does not pass through the channels which have become traditional, in particular from the third century onward, it is illustrated only from the angle of anecdotes or of various episodes. The “profane wisdom”: philosophy, natural sciences, etc... is left in shadow, although it exercised a real influence, especially over the milieu of Baghdad. Moreover, it is excluded. The same apparently applies to kalām, which had an influence on al-Ṭabarî as we shall show elsewhere.\(^\text{105}\) It was also the role of the kutūb al-rījāl to disseminate a certain image of the intellectual milieu of their period, not only through what they say but also through that which they pass over in silence. With this “classical” picture, we could contrast the misfortunes of Ahmad b. al-Ṭayyib al-Sarakhsī (d. 286/899) of whom we are told that his knowledge (`ilm) was greater than his intelligence (`aql), an expression customarily applied to heretics.\(^\text{106}\) The knowledge of al-Ṭabarî, on the other hand was conveyed through the received channels, or at least this is the view that we are persuaded to take.

### Alphabetical list of al-Ṭabarî’s masters

[Since the publication of this article in French three indexes of the authorities of Ṭabarî have been published: Fālūjī, Badrī M., al-Muḍjam al-ṣaghīr li-ruṣūl al-īmām Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarî, 2 vols., Amman, al-Dār al-ḥithrīyya, 2005; Ḥallāq, Shūbī b. Ḥasan, Rūjāl al-Ṭabarî jarhan wa ta’dilan min taḥqīq Jāmi’ al-bayān `an tarīqī al-Ḵurīn, Beirut, Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 1999; Saqqāf, Ḥalwī, Rūjāl Ṭūfīr]

---

\(^{104}\) Ibid.

\(^{105}\) Ibid.

\(^{106}\) ibid.
Claude Gilliot

Imām al-mu'āssirin Ibn Jarir al-Ṭabarī laḍān tarjama laḥum A. wa Maḥmūd Shākir, Riyadh, Dār al-Hiṣāra, 1991.] (The 'M' numbers give the order in which the names are listed in the text. Numbers in square brackets refer to the pagination of the original article.)

The Scholarly Formation of al-Ṭabarī

Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Baẓī M57 [231]
Muḥammad b. 'All b. al-Marwazī M26 [217]
Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. Bāhīrī M39 [221]
Muḥammad b. Ḥūmāyīd al-Rāzī M2 [206]
Muḥammad b. Ma'īmar al-Qaysī M58 [231]
Muḥammad b. a. Ma'shar Naṣīrī M34 [220]
Muḥammad b. Muqāṭīl al-Rāzī M5 [208]
Muḥammad b. Mūsā l-Ḥarāshī M7 [209]
Muḥammad b. al-Muṭahhāna l-Zā'mī M13 [211]
Muḥammad b. Sa'īd al-Awāfī M40 [221]
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Sāmī M59 [231]
Mūsā b. Muṣāḥih al-Khawārizmī M60 [232]
al-Muṭahhāna b. Ibrāhīm al-ʿAmlī M1 [205]
Naṣr b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Awāfī M61 [232]
Naṣr b. 'All b. Jaḥām al-Sagāhirī M61a [232]
al-Qāsim b. al-Ṭāsī M41 [222]
al-Raḥīb b. Sulaqūn al-Murādī M45 [227]
Sa'īd b. 'Amr al-Sākūnī M62 [232]
Sa'īd b. Yaḥyā l-ʿUmawī M63 [233]
Shālīh b. Mismār al-Marwazī M64 [232]
Sawwār b. 'Abd Allāh al-ʿAnbarī M65 [232]
Sufyān b. Wākit al-Raṣī M24 [216]
Sulaqūn b. 'Abd al-Jabbar al-Khayyātī M32 [229]
Sulaqūn b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ṭalḥī M23 [215]
Taʾmīr b. al-Munṭaṣīr al-Wasīṣī M66 [232]
'Ubayd b. Ismāʿīl al-Habbarī M21 [215]
al-Walīd b. Shuṭā ṫ al-Sakūnī M22 [215]
Yaʿqūb b. Ibrāhīm al-Dawraqī M30 [218]
Yūnus b. 'Abd al-ʿAlā l-ʿAlṣārī M46 [227]
al-Zubayr b. Bakkār M31 [219]
The *ijāza* is the certificate of reading or hearing which is sometimes written on manuscripts, usually near the colophon or on the title page. It confers upon the recipient the right to transmit a text, or to teach, or to issue legal opinions. It also bears witness to attendance at a reading session. The *ijāzat al-tadrīs*, the licence to teach, and the *ijāzat al-samā‘*, the certificate of attendance at a reading session and hence the licence to transmit the text read, should not be confused. Our attention here will be focused on the *ijāzat al-samā‘*, the protocols of reading sessions which were often added to a text, as these in particular provide us with ample information on the human element in the transmission of texts.

The *ijāza* is a conspicuous feature of Arabic manuscripts and it illustrates how a text functions in an educational, scientific or cultural environment. Studying *ijāzas* increases our knowledge of the human element in the use of texts and manuscripts. For a better understanding of the *ijāza* it is also important also to be aware of the individual and personal element in the transmission of Muslim scholarship: we, therefore, deal with this subject briefly in the following section. Finally, we suggest a proposal for collecting and analysing *ijāzat al-samā‘* in Arabic manuscripts.¹

¹ There is no monograph devoted to the *ijāza*, nor is there a published corpus of texts. Some useful sources which provide a wealth of material on the subject are: 'Abd Allāh Fāyūk, *al-Ijāzat al-‘ilmīyya ‘inda al-muslimin* (Baghdad, 1967) (with emphasis on the Shi'a); P.A. MacKay, *Certificates of Transmission on a Manuscript of Harīrī*, MS Cairo, Adab 105, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, LXI/4.
Personal approach and continuity in Islamic scholarship

It has often been stated that in Islam there is no hierarchic structure comparable with the church-like organisation of the Christians. Strictly speaking, this is true. Islam does not have an infallible pope nor does it have a clergy with an intricately differentiated hierarchic structure who claim to occupy a position between God and the believer and dispense sacraments and pretend to possess the monopoly of doctrine. This does not, of course, mean that clerical organisation is totally lacking in Islam. It is only that the dynamics of continuity — since organisation produces continuity — in Islam have developed in a different way. In Islam no intermediary between God and man is necessary. And just as a Muslim's relationship with God is direct and personal, so too is a man's way of procuring religious knowledge. In Islam it is the personal relationship between teacher and pupil that, through the generations of scholars, has produced a powerful driving force that ensures a continuity of its own.

Several genres of Islamic literature have developed in the course of time, which reflect this individual and personal attitude. It started very early indeed, with the emergence of Islamic tradition, hadith. As important as the content of the Tradition is the chain of authorities, the isnād, which precedes each tradition. The early collections are even organised not according to subject matter but to their authorities, and hence referred to by the name Musnad. Half of Islamic Tradition is ilm al-rijāl, the "knowledge of the transmitters". Only an authentic chain of trustworthy authorities validates the text of a hadith. Without it a hadith is suspended in space and is incomplete — at least that is the opinion of the early Muslim scholars. For practical reasons these Tradition texts and chains of authorities were written down, but, according to the old ideals, religious knowledge was best disseminated orally. The isnads can thus be read as protocols of successive instances and sessions in which learning was transmitted. The written form of hadith is thus but one dimension of the Tradition: the human factor in the transmission and continuity of knowledge is as important as the recorded message itself. The saying that "knowledge is in the breasts [of men], not in the lines [of books]" (al-ilm fi al-ṣudūr lā fi al-suṭūr) aptly summarises this idea.2

The rapid expansion of Islam and the enormous diversification of the different disciplines of learning made it impossible to maintain oral transmission as the only vehicle for passing on knowledge. The Word of God, the divine revelation, had to be written down, since the early carriers of the Holy Word died on the battlefields of the expansion wars. At a later stage, historical and Tradition texts were written down as well, initially in all sorts of personal notebooks3 of transmitters, later in more organised collections that were intended for a wider audience. Though, in the end, books became accepted as the ordinary medium, the individual and personal approach nevertheless remained intact. Just reading a book in order to grasp its contents, as we do nowadays, was not enough. In the classical period, it was thought, a book should be read with a teacher, preferably the author himself, or else it should be studied with an authoritative and respected professor. Reading, or rather studying, was not a solitary affair. It was also a social event, as we shall see.

Biographical literature emerged in Islam as one of the consequences of this individual and personal approach. The genre was not new around the Mediterranean. In classical antiquity biographical literature such as the "Parallel Lives" of Plutarch served historical, didactic, moralistic and sometimes ideological purposes. Some of the Islamic biographical literature had a similar purpose but there was an extra dimension. The "science of men", or ilm al-rijāl, developed into a critical method

1 For their use, and the distrust they evoked, see al-Balkhi (d. ca. 319/913), Kitāb Qabīl al-akhbār wa-maʾrifat al-rijāl, MS Cairo, Dar al-Kutub al-Misriyya, Muṣṭaḥāb 14M, passim. An edition of this text by myself is in an advanced stage of preparation.
for the assessment of scholarly authority. Many biographical works were concerned with describing networks of scholarship and chains of transmission. A clear example of this is the Tahdhib al-tahdhib by Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalani (d. 852/1449), which is a biographical dictionary of trustworthy transmitters of Islamic Tradition. The usual structure of a biography in this work breaks down into three parts: firstly the full name and some other pertinent life data of the biographee, then follow enumerations of earlier authorities from whom he transmits Tradition, and then of those later authorities who in turn transmit from him. The biographee is thereby presented in the centre of an activity of transmission of knowledge. This particular work by Ibn Hajar is exclusively concerned with traditionists and this particular approach can, therefore, be observed here very clearly.

Other biographical works, even those that are not so exclusively concerned with traditionists, often contain similar bits of network information.

Literary genres of an individual and personal nature

Other individual and personal genres evolved. The fahrasa, which developed in al-Andalus and the Maghreb, is one of these. This genre, in which a scholar enumerates his shaykhs and the works he read with them, can be read as a scholarly curriculum vitae. The tabiat, which is not confined to the Maghreb, is a list compiled by a relater of traditions in which he mentions his shaykhs and the scope of his transmissions on their authority. Likewise, in the rihla, or travel account, attention shifted from geography and ethnography in the classical period to the personal relationships of scholars. Especially in later times it became much more than just a travel account. In it, the itinerant author has ample opportunity to enumerate the scholars he has met, the lessons he has taken and the authorisations he has received during his travels. And the purpose of his travels was, of course, not touristic but of a much more edifying nature, namely the pilgrimage to Makka. Yet another type of personalised text is the silsila, the spiritual or scholarly genealogy. The barnamaj and the mashyakha have a function very similar to that of the fahrasa, and sometimes contain accounts of travels in search of knowledge, the taalab al-ilm, just as in the rihla. One of the most conspicuous types of compilation of biographical data are the works describing the tabaqat (“the layers”) of scholars, which list the successive generations of persons active in a certain field. This treatment “by generation” kept intact both the synchronic and diachronic connections in the history of a field of scholarship.

Especially in later times, such enumerations were compiled as a sort of scholarly autobiography. Sometimes the main attention is directed to the texts which were read with teachers, as in the barnamaj, and sometimes the shaykhs themselves are the main object of attention, as in the mashyakha. Often these texts were compiled by the subjects themselves and were written in the first person, although the third person is used in the autobiography as well. When others took care of the compilation of such a list of subjects taught or authorities met by their shaykh, such a survey could simply be called al-Tarif bi..., followed by the name of the shaykh in question. The same applies to works which are entitled Tarjamat ..., followed by the name of the biographee. Titles such as al-Sanad al-muttaqil ili..., followed by the name of an early authority, occur as well. Compilations with the word asanid in the title serve a similar purpose in describing the chains of authorities by which a certain scholar is connected to the great imams of an earlier period. At a much later stage, probably only as late as the 12th/18th century, separate booklets with titles including the word ijaza began to appear. At first sight these seem to belong to the category of educational ijaza rather than that of readers’ certificates but there are also connections between the two types of texts since the later diplomas frequently contain a silsila of learned predecessors, often putting the Prophet Muhammad at the beginning of the silsila and the student to whom the booklet was issued at its end. Elaborately adorned, impressively calligraphed and elegantly worded, these diplomas can be considered to constitute the final stage of the ijaza and its

---

4 Published in 12 volumes in Hyderabad, 1325-7 [1907-9].
6 This genre of travel accounts became specially developed in the Western part of the Islamic world. The great distance from the Arabian Peninsula must have contributed to this development.
7 Many silsilas are known. The Sufis have their own sets of silsilas. I have published and analysed the silsila of the Bosnian Hanafi scholar Hasan Kafi al-Aqiqi (d. 1025/1616) in Manuscripts of the Middle East (MME), IV (1989), 85-114.
finest artistic expression. Because of them, the *ijāza* has become an independent literary genre.9

Yet another special literary genre that developed from this practice is the *juz*; a short text usually consisting of not much more than one quire, and often small enough for it to be easily carried. It could happen that only a very small part of a scholar's work was read and taught in a session in which an *ijāza* was going to be granted. In that case the issuer of the *ijāza* had the choice between two options. He could confer upon his pupil, or a visiting scholar, the right to transmit the whole of a book by him, or his transmissions (*mawriyyāt*), or his own orally received knowledge (*masmūʿāt*), or the works for which he himself had already acquired certificates (*mustajāzāt*), or of any other of his works even if they had only been partially read or not read at all. Such *ijāzāt* 'āmma abound.

The other option was that the short text or the specific collection of transmissions which had been read could be written out separately. Such shorter collections of part of the repertoire of a shaykh often bear the title *juz*.10 Sometimes these *ajzā* are provided with a more detailed specification and a more meaningful title.11

---

9 Such booklets are available in numerous libraries. The MS Montreal, McGill University Library, No. AC 156 is such a separate diploma. Its content was analysed and published by Adam Gacek. "The Diploma of the Egyptian Calligrapher Ḥasan al-Rushdí*, *MME*, IV (1949), 44-55. Another one is MS Leiden, University Library, Or. 11.121. This thin volume, which probably originates from Istanbul, contains an *ijāza* in the readings of the Qurān conferred upon Abū Bakr Luṭfī Afandī b. al-Sayyid Ṣūr b. 'ẓāhir Ṣūr b. al-Mahdī al-Haqqī Ṣūr b. 'Alī in Muḥarram 1266/1844.

10 It is not impossible that the *juz* as an independent genre developed from the old practice of writing *ijāzāt*, *samāʿāt* and the like on each *juz*, here more or less meaning quire, or gathering, of a manuscript. Such manuscripts are referred to as *mujazza*, divided into *ajzā*. This feature is by no means rare. It can be attested by the Leiden manuscript Or. 122 (*Maḵāriz al-Akhlaq*) and Or. 12.644 (Tārīkh Muḥammadu ﾞAṣmāʿ). These manuscripts contain on each gathering a number of almost identical certificates. The gatherings have title pages of their own and break up the text into parts of more or less equal length which have no connection with any division into chapters and sections that the text may also have. This latter characteristic is shared, of course, with the Qurān, which has a formal division into *ajzā* and, at the same time, a division into chapters, or *ṣūras*.

11 *Ajzā* with *samāʿāt* are mentioned by Ṣūr b. Ṣūr b. al-Din al-Munaṣṣir, "*Ijāzāt al-samāʿ*", nos. 10 and 11.
Codicology and the ijāzā in Arabic manuscripts

What, one might ask, has all this to do with manuscripts and, more particularly, with codicology? The latter science is sometimes described as the specialism that devotes attention to all aspects of a manuscript other than the contents of the text it contains. In more positive wording, it is sometimes designated as the science that focusses exclusively on the physical features of the handwritten book. These are useful definitions but as summarised here they are too simplified. Indeed, there are often more things to be learned from a manuscript volume than the philological aspects of the text which is contained in it. One cannot, however, make such a simple schematic distinction between immaterial text and physical manuscript, between soul and body, so to speak. There is always an interaction between the two aspects, as is illustrated by, for example, the occurrence of a great variety of indications of personal use that can be found in many manuscripts. Each manuscript is, of course, a personally made artefact and contains information — always implicitly and sometimes explicitly — on the maker and sometimes on the users of the manuscript as well. On the whole, features such as the colophon, copyist’s verses, owner’s marks and reader’s certificates enable us to gain an idea of the functioning of a certain text in general and the use of a certain manuscript volume in particular. Therefore, the study of these features, which belongs to the field of codicology in as much as the study of writing materials and script are part of it, gives a text an extra dimension and places it in its cultural context. Only this overall and integrated approach to the manuscript does justice to its features in coherence with one another. It is philology in the widest sense of the word, involving all these aspects and also the interaction between the text and the environment in which it was launched.

One usually finds ijāzāt, or copies of them, added at the end of a text or written on the title page preceding the text for which the authorisation is granted. Sometimes the ijāzā consists of a few lines only but sometimes they can be quite elaborate. They may be combined with readers’ certificates. To add ijāzāt to texts was a time honoured practice in Arabic manuscripts which remained in use for a number of centuries. By looking at the manuscripts in which they are written, one can gain an idea of how this system of authorisation to teach operated. In addition to this, an ijāzā can reveal much about the way a certain text or manuscript was used. Quite surprisingly, as yet very little has been done by way of a systematic collection of the data contained in the ijāzāt in Arabic manuscripts. A corpus of such texts with an analysis of both their formulaic peculiarities and their content would be highly desirable. The fact that such a corpus would indeed be useful is illustrated by the discovery by Ebied and Young of the etymology of the term “baccalaureate”: by scrutinising the Arabic wording of the ijāzāt in a number of manuscripts they found evidence for their thesis that the well known European academic term is in fact derived from the Arabic term bi-ḥaqq al-riwāya.15

Examples of some important ijāzāt

The ijāzā originated within the Islamic educational system in which the Islamic religious sciences were taught. Its use, however, has by no means remained restricted to that field. Of the 72 manuscripts listed by Vajda, 59 have a “traditional Islamic” content, that is disciplines that are part of the madrasa curriculum, whereas 13 do not have a directly religious content but deal with such topics as medicine, literature and the sciences. This is still a high proportion in view of the fact that there are so many more manuscripts of the first category. Vajda’s geographical register reveals that Damascus and Cairo are the places from where most manuscripts with ijāzāt on them originate. Baghdad, Makka and Aleppo are the runners up as places where ijāzāt were most frequently issued. Most other places are also situated in the Mashreq. Eighty percent of Vajda’s corpus dates from the 6–9th/12–15th centuries, with a more or less even distribution over this period.16

One of the most outstanding sets of ijāzāt is found not in an Islamic scholarly text, but in what is probably the most prestigious text of Arabic imaginative literature, the Maqāmāt of

14 MacKay’s extensive analysis of the ijāzāt in MS Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Adab 105 (see n. 1 above), which contains a contemporary copy of the Maqāmāt of al-Ḥarīrī (d. 512/1122), makes ample reference to secondary manuscripts and is exemplary both in this respect and from the methodological point of view. Vajda’s collection of certificates (see n. 1 above) also provides a wealth of information.
16 See Vajda, Certificats de lecture, 65–6.
al-Ḥarīrī. This becomes clear from the ijāzat found on the authoritative manuscript of the text, copied from al-Ḥarīrī's own copy. In the principal and contemporaneous manuscript the names of some 38 scholars, a number of whom are identified as distinguished notables of Baghdad, are mentioned as having been present at the reading of the entire work, which took more than a month of intermittent sessions to complete.17 MacKay’s meticulous analysis of the numerous ijāzat in this manuscript has, in fact, reconstructed a period of almost two centuries of cultural life in Baghdad, Aleppo and Damascus. It all started in Baghdad in the year 504/1111, when the first reading of a copy of the author’s autograph took place. That reading was followed by a number of subsequent readings, all in Baghdad. In the 60 or so years since the first reading, the manuscript had become quite heavy with sana’ notes. After a period of 40 years, which remains unaccounted for, it came into the possession of the Aleppan historian Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿAdim (d. 660/1262). The manuscript then remained for more than 30 years in Aleppo, and bears numerous names of members of the best Aleppan families as auditors at sessions at which the manuscript was read. Finally, the manuscript bears certificates of reading sessions held in Damascus in the course of the year 683/1284. The manuscript then fades from view until, almost exactly six centuries later, it was acquired in 1875 by Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, where it still is.

When one looks at the more than 200 names of those involved in reading and listening to the manuscript, one is struck by the fact that many of them are related by family ties. The history of the transmission of the text in this manuscript often goes hand in hand with the history of generations of scholars and literary men who occupied themselves with it.

One of the earliest known ijāzat is that found in the unique manuscript of al-Nāṣikh wa-l-mansūkh fi al-Qur’an by Abū ʿUbayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām (d. 223/837). 18 Here we do indeed have a work which belongs to the core of Islamic sciences, the knowledge of the abrogating and abrogated verses of the Qur’an. The earliest sana’ in it dates from 392/1001-2, while the latest dates from 587/1191. In one of sana’ in this manuscript a place is mentioned: al-Jāmī’ al-Miṣrī bi-Misr.19 Here, too, several members of the same family are mentioned, including a father, his sons, and several brothers. Just as in the previously mentioned example of al-Ḥarīrī’s Maqāmāt, it becomes clear that transmitting a text was a social event and sometimes also a family affair. In either case the personal element is clearly present. Comparison of the ijāzat at the end of the Istanbul manuscript of Abū ʿUbayd’s al-Nāṣikh wa-l-mansūkh with the list of riwāyāt on the title page of another Istanbul manuscript, the Kitāb al-Mujālāsa by Abū Bakr al-Dinawarī,20 reveals the occurrence of the same person in both manuscripts, namely, the otherwise unknown scholar Abū ʿAbd Allāh M. b. Ḥamd b. Ḥamid b. Mufarraj b. Ghiyāth al-ʿArtājī. In the very old manuscript of Abū ʿUbayd’s al-Nāṣikh wa-l-mansūkh, he is active as musnī in 587/1191, while in the copy of al-Dinawarī’s Kitāb al-Mujālāsa, copied in 671/1272, he is one of the transmitters of the text preceding the manufacture of the manuscript. This shows that it is rewarding to accumulate the data of ijāzat, sana’, riwāyāt and the like, with the present example, for instance, revealing the beginning of a scholarly network.

The ijāzat given by Ibn al-Jawālīqī (d. 539/1144), one of the foremost philologists in Baghdad, 21 can be found in a number of manuscripts. A manuscript in Dublin contains on its title page a certificate of reading signed by Ibn al-Jawālīqī in 514/1120. 22 A

---

17 See MacKay, Certificates of Transmission, 9.
19 This must be the manuscript to which Şalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid refers ("Ijāzat al-sana’", 233, n. 1). The date which he gives there, 372 AH, is apparently a misreading for the clearly written date of 392 AH.
21 See C. Brockelmann, Geschichte der arabischen Literatur, 1 (Weimar, 1898), 280.
22 Chester Beatty Library, No. 3009 (Arberry, Handlist, I, plate 1). See also S. A. Bonebakker, "Notes on Some Old Manuscripts of the Adab al-kāthib of Ibn Qutayba, the Kitāb al-adnā'ayn of Abū ʿAbd al-ʿAkkārī and the Mathal as-sā'īr of Dinār ibn al-ʿArkhīrī", Oriens, XIII-XIV (1960-
Leiden manuscript containing Abū 'Alā' al-Ma'arri's Luzūm mā là yatzam was copied by Ibn al-Jawāliqī before 496/1102-3. His handwriting is easily identified and the date can be established from an autograph note by his teacher and predecessor at the Niẓāmiyya school in Baghdad, al-Khaṭīb al-Tabrīzī (d. 502/1112). Other reading notes in the same manuscript reveal the reading by a pupil, Ibn al-Khashshāb, in the course of the year 519/1125. The manuscript then travelled from Baghdad to Cairo, as is borne out by notes about its new owner, the grammarian Ibn al-Nahhās (d. 698/1299). Another Leiden manuscript containing the philological work Kitāb al-Alfāz by 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Isā al-Hamadhānī (d. 920/1320), was copied in 522/1128. It, too, contains an autograph qirā'āt note by Ibn al-Jawāliqī on the title page. The manuscript itself contains notes of bulugh and muqābala at fairly regular intervals and from these the length of the reading sessions can be approximately measured, each probably lasting around one or two hours. A late copy (11th/17th century?) of a qirā'āt note by Ibn al-Jawāliqī, dated 540h/1145, is available in MS Leiden Or. 403, f. 430b, which contains the Diwan of Abū Tarmān with a commentary by al-Khaṭīb al-Tabrīzī. The impression one gets from Ibn al-Jawāliqī's notes is that his transmissions were probably not as much of a social event as were the previous cases. It would appear that he had a predilection for a smaller group to whom he taught the important texts of his time. His copy of al-Ma'arri's Luzūm miiyyāt, with only his teacher al-Khaṭīb al-Tabrīzī between the author and himself, is an eloquent witness of this.

---

1) 159-94. The note in the Dublin manuscript is edited by Bonebakker on p. 165.
23 University Library, Or. 100. See also S. M. Stern, "Some Noteworthy Manuscripts of the Poems of Abu'l-'Ala' al-Ma'arri". 
24 The qirā'āt note was published by me in Seven Specimens of Arabic Manuscripts (Leiden, 1978), 11.
26 MS Leiden Or. 1070 (P. Voorhoeve, Handlist of Arabic Manuscripts in the Library of the University of Leiden and Other Collections in the Netherlands (Leiden, 1957), 10).
27 Voorhoeve, Handlist, 62.
professionalisation of the science of manuscripts, it is only natural that such a corpus of ijāzah should be compiled by a professional codicologist.

9

THE ORAL TRANSMISSION OF KNOWLEDGE IN TRADITIONAL ISLAM

Georges Vajda

(Paper delivered on 8 November 1974 at the Instituto Per l’Oriente of the University of Rome, in the context of the annual congress of Onamasticon Arabicum. Only a few adjustments have been made to the colloquial style of the original.)

Attachment to the oral transmission of knowledge, entrenched in the mentality of traditional scholars of Islam, remained active and is still active today, long after the commitment to writing of the materials to be transmitted and the determination—according to the criteria of the appropriate discipline, 'ilm al-hadith—of chains of authenticity (isnād).

Consequently, it could not be said that the repetitive reading of texts, reading certified by authorisations of transmission (ijāza) established for the benefit of hearers, should be a procedure aimed towards the conservation of the works concerned, or even necessarily, in the first instance at least, towards formative education; it is in some respects a meritorious work, perpetuating a state of affairs which found its full raison d’être only in the crystallisation of the major collections of hadīth; it is known furthermore that a transmitter as prolific and committed as the imām Ḥasan Ibn Hanbal (d. 241/855) was scrupulous to transmit otherwise than on the basis of written texts which his hearers were obliged to take under his dictation; on the contrary, it did not prevent the procedure of oral transmission being indefinitely and ultimately fictitiously maintained: this also extends to disciplines and literary genres other than hadīth: to give only one example which could serve as “sounding”, a currently fashionable process in all contexts—in the classification of the seventy certificates which I have encountered in the Arabic archives of the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, manuscripts of hadīth represent precisely a third (twenty-four), the remainder being divided among no fewer than twenty-one rubrics, fiqh, tafsīr and history being the best represented.

[2] Furthermore, another specific product of Muslim science responds to the desire to be located in the mainstream of a tradition which is hopefully
to be kept alive: the lists of their transmitters and of the latter’s authorities compiled by numerous scholars: they are called mashyakha (mu’jam al-mashāyik) in the East and barnāmaj (curiously, this is a Persian term) in the West; ījāza and mashyakha in Shi’ite circles (although only transmission in a Sunni context will be considered here).

Interest in the deciphering and analysis of these two types of documents, certificates of audition born in the margin and on the available sheets of manuscripts and “dictionaries of authorities” resides in the fact that “It is their nature to supply information of the highest order on many aspects of intellectual and religious, and indeed social and political life of a given milieu at a given date, often extending over several generations. It is here that we come into contact with the transmitters, scribes and listeners, in other words with the entire scholarly and enthusiastic population of the madrasas, and that we find for ourselves a plethora of information [...] about all these individuals and their activities. In short, this is the realm of living historical material [...] where austere narration exists in close proximity to descriptions of customs, often amusing to the outside observer” (according to G. Lecomte, A propos de la résurgence des ouvrages d’Ibn Qutayba sur le hadīth, in Bulletin d’Études Orientales, xxxi, 1968, intro).

I shall begin by reviewing the principal modalities of tradition codified by the theoreticians of the science of hadīth; subsequently I shall trace the regular structure, more or less followed in reality, of certificates of transmission; finally I shall illustrate, very schematically, with a few examples, the material of customs, often amusing to the outside observer. [3] 3) Ījāza “licence”: it can be of two kinds (with subdivisions of which the special works supply the detail:

- the shaykh or an authorised transmitter gives permission to transmit one or several texts;
- he delivers to a certain person authority to transmit works which he does not specify; he will say for example: “I permit you to transmit (in your turn) everything which I am authorised to transmit.”

Terms: akhbārānī and sometimes ājāzānī.

4) Munāwala (hanging over). The shaykh gives to the disciple either the original where the traditions heard by him are written or a comparative exemplar of this original, while reciting a formula such as: “this is what I have collected” or “that which I have been given by such and such a person, pass on in your turn on my authority”. He can hand the pupil the written document either in definitive form or on the stipulation that once copied the exemplar be returned to him. Term generally employed, akhbārānī, less often nāwala.

Also recognised as munāwala is the presentation of a book or notebook by the disciple to the master who authorises its transmission only after verifying the text (this is known as ‘aṣr munāwala).

5) Kitiiba or muqātaba. The shaykh personally executes a copy of his book or of his transmissions (he may however entrust this task to another person, usually to the disciple who is the direct recipient of the transmission. In these circumstances, the transmitter is not obliged to declare explicitly to the recipient (whose effective presence is furthermore not required): “I entrust to you the right to transmit”. Terms: akhbārānī or min kitiiba.

6) Ṭālm (declaration). This procedure, the validity of which has been disputed by some theoreticians, consists in the declaration by the shaykh that a certain text has been heard by him, without necessarily specifying that he has received licence to transmit it or that he gives the auditor authorisation to do so. Terms: akhbārānī or simply ‘ān.

7) Waṣīyya (testament). Close to death or to setting out on a journey, the master bequeaths to some individual a casebook of traditions reported by him. The best authors reject the validity of this procedure. Terms: akhbārānī waṣīyyātan ‘ān or waṣāṣānī.

8) Wijāda (invention). On coming into possession of the manuscript of the last transmitter, one acquires the right to make use of the document thus “found”, whether the latter be contemporary or ancient. In fact, the validity of a transmission operated in these conditions is not recognised and the worth of the hadīth thus transmitted depends on its credibility,
II Nature and structure of certificates of audition

It may be noted from the outset that the origin of documents of this type is linked to the institution of establishments for the teaching of religious sciences, the madrasas; thus they are only encountered very rarely before the fifth century of the Hegira (eleventh of the Christian era). It was as a supplement to the courses given in the madrasa that the practice began of inscribing the attestations of successive readings on the manuscripts used; this method of certifying the study or the reading of a text was subsequently extended to literary productions other than hadith and fiqh, the study of which was not relevant to the cursus of the madrasa and was not necessarily effected within its precincts (furthermore, even for hadith there was no constraining rule in this respect).

According to formal criteria, two types of authorisation of transmission (ijazat) are distinguished and three of attestation of reading (samā'); ijazat al-qira'a, authorisation delivered following a reading made by a master to a pupil or - which is the more frequent case - following a reading made by the pupil under the supervision of the master; use of the expression ijazat al-samā' implies the presence of auditors (or recipients) other than the reader. As for samā', the distinctions are as follows:

- the author of the work attests with his own hand that a student has heard the text from him;
- the student affirms that he has read the work before the author (qara'a 'alā);
- attestation of reading made before a master who is not the author of the work read.

This third type of samā' is, by the nature of things, the most frequently encountered. A samā' presented according to the rules comprises ten elements (in fact, they are not always found in their totality, especially when it is a case of summaries or simple mentions of certified auditions of manuscripts anterior to the one which we have before us).

1) The name of the transmitter (musmi'); if he is not the author of the text transmitted, it is appropriate to specify in addition the authority whereby he has received the text (sanad); sometimes, the whole chain of transmitters (riwaya) linking the reader to the author is given in detail. It is not very unusual to find certificates which avail themselves of two or even three musmi'; which can function according to the authority either of the same riwaya, or of distinct riwayat (to signify that someone is authorised to transmit on behalf of another, a formula such as bi-ḥaqiq samā'ih 'an).

2) The names of auditors: men, women, children, with indication of the age of the latter (for example fi l-ri'āḥ, in other words, fi l-sanāṭ l-ri'āḥ min 'umrīh), freemen and slaves. Personal names and those of fathers are not considered enough; supplementary indications are added, starting with the kunya; these customs of precision prove, it may be noted in passing, extremely useful for the identification of individuals, and thus for the collection of the materials of the Onomasticon Arabicum.

3) Precise account of what such and such an auditor actually heard (where necessary, it is stated quite bluntly that he slept during the reading) and of the sessions which he may possibly have missed (formulas used: samā' ma'afat, fatahu l-juz').

4) Name of the reader.

5) Type of manuscript (original, copy belonging to a certain person) which has been used in the reading.

6) Identity of the registrar of the names of participants in the audition (dābit al-qama); this is usually the reader of the transmitted text or the writer of the certificate, these two functions being assumed in the majority of cases by the same person. The term denoting the writer is kātib al-jubqā (pl. ṣabiqā; in some instances forgers (muzawwir) are also encountered.

7) The formula saḥḥa wa-thabata following the names of the auditors (this is why the term thabat, pl. athbat, “certificates” of any kind, comes to be employed in the restricted sense of a document attesting to the didactic transmission of a text); moreover we have here a judicial formula of which the exact equivalent in Jewish Aramaic, sharīr waqīn, is anterior to Islam and to the Arab conquest.

8) Place of the audition (lessons did not take place only in the madrasa or the mosque, but almost anywhere: at the lodgings of the transmitter, who often lived in the building of a pious foundation, among purposes, as a place of education (and naturally this was always the case when the transmitter was a woman), in a garden, even on the back of a mule during a journey.)
III. The documentary importance of certificates of audition and of lists of authorities

Finally, we shall show, through various examples, the contribution that can be made to our knowledge of Islam and of Muslim civilisation by the analysis and decipherment, an arksome task in its own right, of authorisations of transmissions, certificates of reading and of lists of authorities.

In the first place, surveys bearing on these materials allow us, to a certain extent, to evaluate the intensity of interest taken, over the course of time, in the religious disciplines. This interest can be twofold, and often its extent, to evaluate the intensity of interest taken, over the course of time, decipherment, an irksome task in its own right, of authorisations of transmissions, certificates of reading and of lists of authorities.

In the first place, surveys bearing on these materials allow us, to a certain extent, to evaluate the intensity of interest taken, over the course of time, in the religious disciplines. This interest can be twofold, and often its extent, to evaluate the intensity of interest taken, over the course of time, decipherment, an irksome task in its own right, of authorisations of transmissions, certificates of reading and of lists of authorities.

In the first place, surveys bearing on these materials allow us, to a certain extent, to evaluate the intensity of interest taken, over the course of time, in the religious disciplines. This interest can be twofold, and often its extent, to evaluate the intensity of interest taken, over the course of time, decipherment, an irksome task in its own right, of authorisations of transmissions, certificates of reading and of lists of authorities.

In the first place, surveys bearing on these materials allow us, to a certain extent, to evaluate the intensity of interest taken, over the course of time, in the religious disciplines. This interest can be twofold, and often its extent, to evaluate the intensity of interest taken, over the course of time, decipherment, an irksome task in its own right, of authorisations of transmissions, certificates of reading and of lists of authorities.

In the first place, surveys bearing on these materials allow us, to a certain extent, to evaluate the intensity of interest taken, over the course of time, in the religious disciplines. This interest can be twofold, and often its extent, to evaluate the intensity of interest taken, over the course of time, decipherment, an irksome task in its own right, of authorisations of transmissions, certificates of reading and of lists of authorities.

In the first place, surveys bearing on these materials allow us, to a certain extent, to evaluate the intensity of interest taken, over the course of time, in the religious disciplines. This interest can be twofold, and often its extent, to evaluate the intensity of interest taken, over the course of time, decipherment, an irksome task in its own right, of authorisations of transmissions, certificates of reading and of lists of authorities.

In the first place, surveys bearing on these materials allow us, to a certain extent, to evaluate the intensity of interest taken, over the course of time, in the religious disciplines. This interest can be twofold, and often its extent, to evaluate the intensity of interest taken, over the course of time, decipherment, an irksome task in its own right, of authorisations of transmissions, certificates of reading and of lists of authorities.

In the first place, surveys bearing on these materials allow us, to a certain extent, to evaluate the intensity of interest taken, over the course of time, in the religious disciplines. This interest can be twofold, and often its extent, to evaluate the intensity of interest taken, over the course of time, decipherment, an irksome task in its own right, of authorisations of transmissions, certificates of reading and of lists of authorities.

In the first place, surveys bearing on these materials allow us, to a certain extent, to evaluate the intensity of interest taken, over the course of time, in the religious disciplines. This interest can be twofold, and often its extent, to evaluate the intensity of interest taken, over the course of time, decipherment, an irksome task in its own right, of authorisations of transmissions, certificates of reading and of lists of authorities.

In the first place, surveys bearing on these materials allow us, to a certain extent, to evaluate the intensity of interest taken, over the course of time, in the religious disciplines. This interest can be twofold, and often its extent, to evaluate the intensity of interest taken, over the course of time, decipherment, an irksome task in its own right, of authorisations of transmissions, certificates of reading and of lists of authorities.

In the first place, surveys bearing on these materials allow us, to a certain extent, to evaluate the intensity of interest taken, over the course of time, in the religious disciplines. This interest can be twofold, and often its extent, to evaluate the intensity of interest taken, over the course of time, decipherment, an irksome task in its own right, of authorisations of transmissions, certificates of reading and of lists of authorities.

In the first place, surveys bearing on these materials allow us, to a certain extent, to evaluate the intensity of interest taken, over the course of time, in the religious disciplines. This interest can be twofold, and often its extent, to evaluate the intensity of interest taken, over the course of time, decipherment, an irksome task in its own right, of authorisations of transmissions, certificates of reading and of lists of authorities.

In the first place, surveys bearing on these materials allow us, to a certain extent, to evaluate the intensity of interest taken, over the course of time, in the religious disciplines. This interest can be twofold, and often its extent, to evaluate the intensity of interest taken, over the course of time, decipherment, an irksome task in its own right, of authorisations of transmissions, certificates of reading and of lists of authorities.

In the first place, surveys bearing on these materials allow us, to a certain extent, to evaluate the intensity of interest taken, over the course of time, in the religious disciplines. This interest can be twofold, and often its extent, to evaluate the intensity of interest taken, over the course of time, decipherment, an irksome task in its own right, of authorisations of transmissions, certificates of reading and of lists of authorities.

In the first place, surveys bearing on these materials allow us, to a certain extent, to evaluate the intensity of interest taken, over the course of time, in the religious disciplines. This interest can be twofold, and often its extent, to evaluate the intensity of interest taken, over the course of time, decipherment, an irksome task in its own right, of authorisations of transmissions, certificates of reading and of lists of authorities.
These works, to which should be added those concerning the barānāmaj of the West given to us recently by Egyptian and Spanish researchers (cf. art. Ijāzā, in Encyclopedia of Islam) and including Jose Mª Forneas, “El Barnamay de Muḥammad Ibn Yābir al-Wādī Aṣī, Materiales para su estudio y edición crítica (Primera Parte)”, Al-Andalus 38 (1973), p. 1-67, authorise conclusions here and now which are not at all unexpected, regarding the field of interest of traditional intellectuals in search of knowledge; they also teach us that differences of madhhab (of the four Sunni schools certainly, but not excluding the Zahirites) did not influence the choice of texts and of transmitters retained; it may however be observed, especially in Damascus, though it would be unwise to extrapolate to excess the facts already established, a certain concentration of transmissions in Ḥanbalite circles.

Before all this, we remain within the precincts of the madrasa, of the dār al-ḥadīth and sometimes of the khānaqāh, the Sūfī convent. But the ijāzā could also serve as a political instrument, as was the case with the zeal shown by the caliph al-Ḥārūn (reigned from 575/1180 to 622/1225) with a view to the obtaining of licences to transmit on the part of scholars belonging to each of the four madhhabs, as may be observed from the piece which I analysed under the title: “Une liste d’autorités du calife al-Ḥārūn lî-dîn Allâh”, Arabica vi, 1959, p. 173–177; this quest for authorisations clearly responded to the policy of this sovereign, noted by the historians, of re-establishing the internal unity of Islam.

Finally, a word about the certificates accompanying philological and literary texts; their analysis is also instructive for the knowledge of the milieux of grammarians or of simple aficionados of literature [9] – the function exercised for the transmission of religious knowledge by the information drawn from the documents of which we have spoken hitherto.

In this order of research, I shall commend to you three works, the first of which I evoke here, in the precincts of the University of Rome, with some emotion: the study of the certificates attached to the Nasab al-khayl of Ibn al-Kalbî in the introduction to the edition of this work provided by the unforgettable master Giorgio Levi della Vida (Les “Livre des chevaux” de Hišām ibn al-Kalbî et Muḥammad ibn al-Arabî, publiés d’après le manuscrit de l’Escorial ar. 1706, Leiden, 1928), who introduces us into the circle of the Baghdadi philologist Mawhūb b. Ahmad Ibn al-Jawālīqî (466–539/1073–1144).

The second is owed to one of the best Arabists and Islamologists of our generation, unfortunately taken from us by an untimely death: Samuel M. Stern who, regrettably, published only a short sample of the work which he had in hand: “Some Noteworthy Manuscripts of the Poems of Abū l-ʿAlâ al-Maʿarrî”, Oriens 7 (1954), p. 322–347, where there are analyses of samâʿ relating to the Siqṭ al-zand, a work of notorious difficulty studied in the circle of the grammarian al-Khaṭīb al-Ṭibrîzî (421–502/1130–1109).

The third, which is distinguished by its detail and the excellent reproductions of documents which may thus be utilised with profit for practical exercises, is the thesis of the young American scholar Pierre A. MacKay, Certificates of Transmission on a Manuscript of the Maqâmât of Ḥârîrî (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society n.s.61, 4) Philadelphia 1971.

An immense amount of work remains to be done in the area of research which I have attempted to describe to you in very summary fashion. But I hope I have shown you that the pioneering work has been seriously undertaken and that progress is being made.

I conclude by expressing the hope that our topic of discussion this morning will contribute to the encouragement or consolidation of enthusiasms among my audience, and as a result some of you may be inspired one day to take up the illustrious mantle of taḥammul al-ʿilm.

Bibliography I


Bibliography II

Ṣalâh al-dîn al-Munajjid, “Ijāzāt al-samâʾ fi l-makhtūṭāt al-ʿarabīyya”, Revue de l'Institut des Manuscrits Arabes i, 2, 1955, p. 232–251 (with 16 facsimile transcripts of ijāzāt; a practical publication for the novice reader of this kind of document). Rules for the editing of samâʾ are summarised in Tadrib ii, 89–92. More generally, the rules for the setting into writing of ḫadīth and consequently the precautions to be observed during the collection of texts, form the object of the twenty-fifth section nîw of the Taqrib (tr. Marçais, p. 140–156; Tadrib ii, 64–92); sections 48 to 59, as well as 65 (Marçais, Le Taqrib
THE OFFICE OF THE MUSTAMLĪ IN ARABIC SCHOLARSHIP

Max Weisweiler

[Remarks of Claude Gilliot: The references of Weisweiler were in the text, they are here in the footnotes. We have also modified the abbreviations of his references to render them clearer. Our additions to these notes are in square brackets. The bibliography at the end of the text has been completed. Our additions to this bibliography, our corrections and additions to the chronological list are also in square brackets.

We are generally accustomed to imagining the creation of a work of literature in the old days in such a way that the scholar or writer would have penned his brainchild in the quiet of his study. The more unusual case, in which the original manuscript would have been the result of dictation, was frequent among the Arabs. [Adam] Mez recounts an instructive instance of this, after Ibn al-Nadim (Mez, Renaissance, p. 171–3/178–81); Ibn al-Nadim, Fihrist, p. 76). In this case, there were several copyists present at the original dictation, the copies were supplemented and revised several times, and consequently the text entered the world, as it were in several original versions and editions at the same time. We can be sure that this and similar ways of recording original texts were not at all rare. Still more frequent, however, was the other way, where the scholar or man of letters, in a word: the sheikh, would have had a person on hand, who was working for him more or less permanently and would have written down his works or the traditions transmitted by him. While anyone who copied texts from dictation could be called ‘mustamlī’, the title more specifically referred to this deputy; and if we read ‘mustamlī of NN’, this usually refers to this dictation secretary of the sheikh’s who, as we shall see below, had another important duty.

[Meaning and construction of the term istamlā]

As the meaning and the construction of the term istamlā are not described exhaustively in either the European or the Arabic dictionaries, a necessary condition for a definitive interpretation will be a lexicological discussion based on numerous instances from the relevant literature.]
The basic meaning of istamālī is 'to ask for dictation; to take dictation; to write from dictation'. Thus Ibn Maṣāq:1 istamālīyuhu l-kitāba: sa'altuhu an yumliyuhu 'alayya. Likewise al-Firūzābdārī2 or Ibn 'Asākir: ittakālu min waṣāni l-ilābi l-imī wa-stamālī l-hadithi.3 'I left home in order to [28] search for 'ilm and write hadiths from dictation'. We find also: haddathānā Abū l-Qāsimī ... imādīn min l-fitri bi-īshāhānā stimlāt 'alayhi.4 'Abū l-Qāsim told me, himself dictating in Isfahan while I wrote from his dictation'. Or: qad jathā 'alā rukbatayhi yūsūru Ḥammādānu bnu Zayyādī 'an kāḥu l-hadīthī wa-yastamālī5 'he went down on his knees asking to write from his dictation'. 'He read the complete hadithi at first, and later as mustamlīna yastamālīna 'alayhi.6 He had four mustamlīs occupying the position of mustamlī with him'. Ḥānāya yastamālī 'alayhi Hārūn al-Dīk wa-Hārūn Mūkhulā.7 'Hārūn al-Dīk and Hārūn Mūkhulā used to occupy the position of mustamlī with him'. Yūmūr hājiyarān ān yanaqūtī 'ānī l-stamīlīlī 'alayhi.8 'He ordered his chamberlain that his mustamlī should be interrupted in his occupation as mustamlī with him'. Qaddamāhā li-l-Istimlālīlī 'alayhi.9 'He had him appear as his mustamlī'.

In a narrower sense the word means 'to perform the duties of a professional mustamlī', which may refer either of the two duties discussed in the following.

Examples for the absolute use of the verb can be found: Kuntu 'inda Mālikī bni Anāsin aktubu wa-līmātilu bnu 'Ulayyaytā qā'mūn 'alā riyyālī yastamālī.10 'I used to write as a professional mustamlī'. The most frequent usage is with the preposition 'ālā in the meaning 'occupy the position of mustamlī with (a sheikh)'. Kānā laḥū arba'atū mustamlīna yastamālīna 'alayhi.11 'He had four mustamlīs occupying the position of mustamlī with him'. Kānā yastamālī 'alayhi Hārūn al-Dīk wa-Hārūn Mūkhulā.12 'Hārūn al-Dīk and Hārūn Mūkhulā used to occupy the position of mustamlī with him'. Yūmūr hājīyarān ān yanaqūtī 'ānī l-stamīlīlī 'alayhi.13 'He ordered his chamberlain that his mustamlī should be interrupted in his occupation as mustamlī with him'. Qaddamāhā li-l-Istimlālīlī 'alayhi.14 'He had him appear as his mustamlī'.

[29] Besides this construction with 'ālā there is another with li, with only a slight shift in meaning 'to work as mustamlī for (a sheikh)'. Kuntu astamālīn li-l-mustamlī yastamālī 'alā huwa wa-l-fuṣṣāli l-ghurābah mina l-ghirābī.15 'Abī Ḥafṣ al-Mustamlī and the great Ḥaftūnī from among the strangers used to work as mustamlī for him'.

Both constructions, i.e. with 'ālā and with li can be found side by side.16

The construction with 'inda (and li) meaning 'work as mustamlī' with (a sheikh) for (or on behalf of) (a pupil) is rare: Kānā Ṣufyānī yastamālī 'inda Faṣyānī bni Ṣufyānī bni Ilīyāzin.17 'I used to write as a mustamlī with Faṣyānī bni Ilīyāzin'. Kānā l-mustamlī yastamālī lahii kana faṣyānī l-thawriyya yumli 'alā iṣtafatīn wa-yastamālīn lahu.18 'He had him appear as his mustamlī'.

Occasionally there are passages in the literature where it is not certain whether istamālī is used in the basic meaning 'ask for dictation; take dictation; write from dictation' or in the more restricted meaning 'work as a professional mustamlī': anna Sibawayḥī kānā yastamālī 'alā Ḥamādānu bni Ṣalamāta... that Sibawayḥ used to write (?) from Ḥamādā b. Ṣalamā's dictation (as his pupil)'.

---

1 LA, XX, p. 161 [cf. Tāj, XXXIX, p. 555].
2 Firūzābdārī, Qāmis, IV, p. 455.
3 Ibn 'Asākir, IV, p. 180 [IV, p. 183].
4 'Adāb, p. 68.
5 'Adāb, p. 87.
6 'Adāb, p. 91.
7 Ibn a-Wafṣā, Jawāhirī, I, p. 289.
8 Sakhbāwī, Dāw, I, p. 146.
9 'Adāb, p. 89.
10 'Adāb, p. 91.
11 Ibn Salāb, Ujam, p. 206 [p. 364].
12 Ibid.
13 TB, XIV, p. 326.
14 TB, XII, p. 248.
16 Sakhbāwī, Dāw', I, p. 13; III, p. 228.
18 'Adāb, p. 268.
21 'Adāb, p. 87.
22 Ibid.
23 'Adāb, p. 165; TB, XII, p. 195.
Sam'āni defines the participle in its use as an epithet in the following way:

\[\text{wā-l'ulāma`i}\]

whether the term 'mustamli' conveys anything to the author of Tāj al-ārūs when he says: 

\[\text{minhu l-mustamli li-llādāhi yașlu'ubu imlā`a l-lādīthi `an shaykhin wā-shtahara bihi Abū Bakrīn Muḥammadān bīnu Abāna bīnu Wazirīn l-Balkhīyya ... li-anāhā stamlā `alā Wākī`in.}\]

Derived from this, 'mustamli' is a name for him who requests the dictation of hadith from a sheikh. Abū Bakrīn Muḥammad b. Abān b. Wazirī l-Balkhī is known by this epithet... because he was 'mustamli' with Wākī'. In accordance with the above, even in the case of the simple participle when it is not used as an epithet, the question often remains unanswered of whether it refers to a 'mustamli' in the narrower, professional sense or to a pupil simply taking dictation, particularly as occasionally the two terms might well overlap.

[The activities of the mustamli]

[30] In the following we will attempt to define the activities of a 'mustamli' more closely and in the end to conclude with a list of mustamlīs together with their respective sheikhs as well as one of sheikhs whose mustamlīs are not known to us by name. However, neither the definition nor the list can claim to be complete. While a large amount of material has been perused for the purposes of this article, it should not be difficult to adduce more material. What matters is to paint a picture that outlines the essential aspects of an office that was not complete. While a large amount of material has been perused for the purposes of this article, it should not be difficult to adduce more material. What matters is to paint a picture that outlines the essential aspects of an office that was not without relevance in the scholarly world of the Arab Middle Ages. Additional material might then give more depth and detail to such a picture.

The main source on offer is the extensive biographical literature, together with later works on the principles of the study of traditions (ṣuḥūl al-ḥadīth). The earliest of these, Rāhmūrūzī’s (d. 360/971) al-Muḥaddith al-fāṣīl appears to touch upon the subject only briefly, 29 while al-Ḥākim al-Nisābūrī does not mention it at all in his Ma‘rīfāt al-lādīth. Being forced to do without al-Ḫaṭīb al-Baghdādī’s works, which only exist in manuscript form [since several works of al-Ḫaṭīb al-Baghdādī have been edited27], is bitter, although those texts are replaced approximately by the later works based on them. Among these, Ibn al-Salāḥ’s book, which puts all others in the shade, and Suyūṭī’s exhaustive commentary (Tadhrib al-rawī) on Nawawī’s excerpt are of particular importance even beyond the limits of the present essay. Valuable enrichment of these sources is provided by Adab al-imā`a wā-l-lātīmla’, written by ‘Abd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad al-Sam’ānī (d. 562/1166);28 the author of the famous text on nisbas. It survives in a unique copy in the manuscript Feyzullah 1557 of Millet Kütüphanesi in Istanbul, my edition of which is printing [now edited]. As the title states, the text discusses the correct conduct of the person dictating, the mustamlī and the pupil taking dictation. In addition we find a long description, supported by many instances in the literature, which is devoted to the mustamlī’s task and code of honour. This confirms and completes the observations found in the general texts on Ṣuḥūl al-ḥadīth and the information in the biographical literature in a most valuable way.

We have already seen that Sam’āni defined the term ‘mustamli’ in such a way that it is an epithet of many people who used to work as mustamlī for prominent people and scholars. Thus we hear about al-Raṣīb b. Sulaymān al-Murādī (d. 270) 29 that he was the mustamlī of everyone who transmitted from Abū Allāh b. Waḥd (d. 177) 29 in Egypt. [31] About Ahmad b. al-Mubārak (d. 284), who bears the epithet al-Mustamlī, we hear that he was a mustamlī from 28 years of age until the end of his life; 31 and about others still we hear that they worked for the teachers in Bukhara or Nishapur, or indeed for all the sheikhs in Bukhara. 32 All this goes to prove that the work of a mustamlī was a professional occupation. It is proved further by the use of ‘al-Mustamlī’ as an epithet, as it is hardly likely that an ordinary traditionist- who simply received traditions and other teachings by taking dictation as well as through other methods of transmission such as simple sama’, qirā’a and ājāza – would have been awarded the title ‘al-Mustamlī’. And while dictation as a method of transmission enjoyed favoured status among scholars, there is no mention anywhere in the literature of people who, when they were pupils, received knowledge generally or mainly in this way. Consequently the epithet or title Mustamlī in connection with a proper name does not refer to one of many

27 [V. infra bibliography.]
29 Adab, p. 87; Dhabah, Tadhkira, II, p. 149; Nawawī, Tadhkira, p. 243.
30 GAL S I, p. 257, 948.
31 Dhabah, Tadhkira, II, p. 196; [p. 644, no. 666].
32 Sam’āni, Ansāb, f. 529a [V, p. 288–90].
As late as the ninth century, who was interested in acquiring valuable books, served 'Abd al-Wahhab b. 'Ali: (d. ca. 204), the mustamli of Sa'id b. Abi 'Aruba (d. ca. 154), was the best authority on Sa'id's hadiths, and 'Ali b. Sa'id (d. 852) maintained a close relationship with his teacher Ibn Hajjar al-Isqalani (d. 852) whom he served as mustamli. The sheikh would dictate to the mustamli his own literary creations or traditions he had received from others and committed to memory, with the aim of preserving them and creating a definitive and reliable version. In particular in the earlier years, when people relied more on their memory, many a sheikh bearing the honorary title mudarriq will in the end have felt that the treasures he had preserved only or mostly in his memory needed to be saved from oblivion by being written down. The copyist's reward was, if the sheikh did not insist on keeping the written version, the text itself or a further copy. This meant personal ownership of the teacher's literary creations or his traditions, a reward that cannot be valued too highly if the teacher was an important scholar. Thus we may be able to understand that vast numbers of people aspired to this profession and that Shurba b. al-Hajjaj (d. 160) had as many as six or seven men working at copying his hadiths out for him. As late as the ninth century, Yahya b. Muhammad al-Qabbani (d. after 894), who was interested in acquiring valuable books, served 'Abd al-Rahman b. Abya b. Muhammad al-Qabbani (d. after 894), who was interested in acquiring valuable books, served 'Abd al-Rahman b.

---

35 TB, XI, p. 22.
34 Sakhiwati, Dar'ay, V, p. 222f.
33 TB, VII, p. 28; Dhahabi, Tuhfa, I, p. 369 (409).

Ahmad al-Qalqashandi (d. 871) as mustamli, because he considered him to be knowledgeable. Because of the close personal link to the sheikh, the mustamli's copies acquired a great philological value according to the will of the sheikh as well as the mustamli. They became usul, and their owner became a personality sought out by all those people who were interested in his teacher's works or traditions. The monetary value of the manuscript may have played a not unimportant part here, too. It is evident that under these circumstances the boundaries between a dictation secretary employed permanently and a mere pupil occasionally writing from dictation could on occasion be fluid. In cases where the mustamli was a copyist (warraq) working for payment, economic considerations played a decisive part. A well-off scholar would usually have his works copied by a warraq; the presence of the scholar was not even required. If, however, the copying or duplication was done by a professional copyist according to the scholar's dictation, the copyist would be warraq and mustamli in one person. The sources are not sufficiently eloquent to show us to what extent the mustamli's were merely a specialist group of warraqcs, but we will have to expect it in many cases. Adam b. Abi Iyad (d. 220), Shurba b. al-Hajjaj's (d. 160) mustamli, was a warraq, and it was just the same (33) in the case of those people who bore the epithet al-Warraq together with the epithet al-Mustamli, for instance Ishak b. Ya'qub al-Kafarsusi (ca. 270) and Muhammad b. Isma'il (d. 378). The latter's questionable methods when it came to tradition scholarship may well have been causally related to his work as a commercial scribe. Muhammad b. Ma'mar al-Jayyani (d. 377), the mustamli of Isma'il b. al-Qasim al-Qali (d. 355), and al-Qali's warraq together prepared an improved edition of al-Qali's al-Batt fi-il-tingha from the autograpb as well as the copies both of them took from al-Qali's dictation. We may safely assume that the delight they thus excited in al-Hakam al-Mustansir bi-Llah, an Umayyad favouring scholarship, found its expression in hard cash. Abu'l-Ali al-Marrisi (d. 449), who employed several mustamli's, expressed his surprise when one of them, apparently, did not ask to be paid for his work. 'Amr b. Awn al-Wasiti (d. 225) was not so lucky. He replaced his mustamli, who was a warraq but made many mistakes when speaking, with another warraq who studied adab and poetry but did not have any understanding of hadith; in the end al-Wasiti returned, contrite, to his first mustamli.

---

36 Sakhiwati, Dar'ay, X, p. 247; Id., Tibr, p. 256.
34 Ibn al-Abbar, Mu'jam, no. 360, 362.
33 Yaquti, Irshad, I, p. 178f.
32 Adab, p. 95.
b. Qamar (d. 876), one of Ibn Ḥajar al-Asqalānī’s (d. 852) mustaṃlis, wrote much, especially Ibn Ḥajar’s works. Thus he made two copies of his Fāṭḥ al-barī which he sold.\footnote{Sakhāwī, ʿAwār, VIII, p. 176.}

Although the great teachers had their own personal mustaṃlī, this does not have to rule out the possibility that they could have been more or less dedicated copyists themselves. Thus Ibrāhīm b. al-Husayn b. Dīzīl (d. 281) had mustaṃlīs, but we still hear about him that one night he sat down to do some copying. He became so completely engrossed in this work that he wrote until the end of the following night. He received the epithet b. Qamar (d. 876), one of Ibn 8\footnote{Dhahabi, Tadhkira, II, p. 167; [p. 60–89, no. 633]; Ḥākim, Muʿrawa, p. 213; ʿIbn al-Jazari, I, p. 12.} al-bārī, because whenever he left another traditionist, he would refuse to leave him before he had copied all the other’s hadiths.\footnote{Dhahabi, Tadhkira, III, p. 74f. [p. 860–3, no. 835].} Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb al-ʿAbṣārī (d. 346) did have a mustaṃlī, but remained a warraq like his father before him. In times of need he supported himself by means of this profession and refused to take money for his work as a transmitter of traditions. To his great regret his own mustamlī, together with Muḥammad’s own son, asked for money from people.\footnote{Adab, p. 8; ʿIbn al-Ṣalāḥ, p. 206 [p. 364–5]; Suyūṭī, Tadrīb, p. 173 [II, p. 132f.; Marqās, 182–6].}

The mustaṃlī’s activities discussed so far referred only to\footnote{GAL S I, p. 215.} his service as a sheikh’s dictation secretary. However, in addition he had a further duty within the dictation lecture, a discussion of which must be prefaced with a brief sketch of this kind of lecture.

Of the various methods of transmitting and teaching, the most highly valued one among those who preferred fixing texts in writing to committing texts to memory was dictation.\footnote{Adab, p. 1.} It was especially commended for its greater reliability as compared to simple samā‘ and qirā‘a ‘alā l-shaykh. The relevance attributed to dictation can be deduced from Abū Bakr b. Abī Shayba (d. 235/849),\footnote{Dhahabi, Tadhkira, II, p. 167; [p. 60–89, no. 633]; Ḥākim, Muʿrawa, p. 213; ʿIbn al-Jazari, I, p. 12.} according to whom nobody could be counted as a mustamlī unless they had copied at least 20,000 hadiths from dictation.\footnote{Dhahabi, Tadhkira, II, p. 51; [VII, p. 298, 336]; Dhahabi, Tadhkira, I, p. 344 [p. 378–81, no. 378]; Adab, p. 11.} However exaggerated the large numbers of participants named in the original sources as having taken part in the events of mass dictation, to be discussed below, may have been, they show the importance dictation possessed at one time. Samā‘\footnote{Adab, p. 23.} was received in a grand triumph in Baghdad.\footnote{Suyūṭī, Muṣṭafā, p. 176 [II, p. 139–40].} The qirā‘a ‘alā l-shaykh – to say nothing of other methods of transmitting – was, after all, much easier for the student as it...

Max Weisweiler

transferred the main workload from the lecture itself to the quiet of one's own study. The decline of dictation becomes quite apparent when we hear about a sheikh who was living at the turn of the fourth and fifth centuries that he dictated one single lecture every year, on the 1st Muḥarram. These lectures by the two lectures until his death; Ibn Sa'd (d. 643) still had a very high opinion of the dictation lecture, after his death it was practised less and less, but later

...and was an important event in town. From the earlier days in particular we have numerous references to similar mass lectures. To give but a few examples from the wealth of traditions: Abū Zakariyyā al-‘Aţā'i's lecture in Cordoba in 369 was attended by thousands of people.56 Bukhārī's (d. 256) lecture in Baghdad had 20,000 students.57 'Alī b. 'Aṣim (d. 201) had more than 30,000 listeners,58 and Sulaymān b. Ḥārb (d. ca. 224) in Baghdād, 40,000.59 'Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd Allāh al-Kaţīb (d. 292) attracted the same number of students, and as Baghdād's Ghassān Square was not large enough, they had to write standing up.60 The presumably highest reported number of students attending a single lecture is attributed to 'Aṣim b. 'Ali al-Wašiţī (d. 221) with more than 100,000.61 These figures may well be exaggerated many times over the actual numbers, and we may well have to deduct – as, indeed, some Arab historians have done – a substantial number of onlookers who were not interested in the subject at all. However, even so there would have been many people who genuinely wished to hear the sheikh, people who, without the aids of modern technology or, depending on the situation, other possible support, had to go away empty-handed because of the great space and the large number of listeners.

The remedy for this predicament was to employ, when needed, one or more intermediaries between the sheikh and his students, who would repeat the sheikh's words to the students with increased volume. Where necessary this repetition was organised in such a way that the sheikh was speaking to the people nearest to him and a first intermediary, who repeated his words to the second one standing a certain distance away, and so forth, and the text of the dictation could thus reach even the furthest corners of the lecture hall. It is easy to imagine to what extent the philological faithfulness must have suffered from this system of transmission, and the misgivings, to be discussed below, in studying tradition are only too understandable. Someone employed in this

55 T.B., II, p. 120; Adab, p. 24.
56 T.B., V, p. 67.
57 Shadkaraţ, IV, p. 102; Adab, p. 24.
58 T.B., p. 102; Adab, p. 24.
59 T.B., 11–12 [Ibn Da’iq al-Id, Iqtiţāţ, p. 275].
61 Adab, p. 18.
62 T.B., VI, p. 122; Adab, 17, 18, 96; Subki, Tābaqāţ, II, p. 150; Suyūţī, Tudrīb, p. 173.
63 T.B., V, p. 67.
64 T.B., V, p. 67.
65 Abū Zakariyyā al-‘Aţā'i, Tadhib al-‘Adl, d. 576/1180.
66 Ibn al-‘Aţā'i, Tadhib al-‘Adl, d. 643.
67 T.B., II, p. 120; Adab, p. 17.
68 T.B., XI, p. 454; Adab, p. 17.
69 T.B., IX, p. 33; Ibn Bashkuţāl, ‘Çila, no. 449.
70 T.B., VI, 121–2; Adab, p. 96.
71 T.B., XII, p. 248; Adab, p. 17.
72 T.B., V, p. 67.
way was at first called *muballigh* 'intermediary' and his work *tabligh*.\(^\text{77}\) The synonym *mulqi* is also found. While Sam'ānī\(^\text{78}\) defines the latter term as someone entrusted with *al-ilqāʾ wa-l-iʿada* during the lecture, it is not a term with which Subki is familiar, and he appears to be unsure whether to equate a *mulqi* with the *muʿād* of his day, or the *qāriʿ* of a *mudarris*, or a *muʿallim's* *mustamli*.\(^\text{79}\) Occasionally we also find the term *muktib* 'someone who dictates'. Thus we read about ʿAbd b. ʿAbī Ḥāfiẓ (d. 220) that he worked as a *muktib* for Shuʿba b. al-Ḥāḍar (d. 160).\(^\text{80}\) This occupation, which consisted in immediate and word-by-word repetition confined to the dictation lecture, was entirely different from the work of the *mustamli*. We may safely assume that especially famous and sought-after teachers would employ a *mustamli*. In most cases the obvious solution was for the *mustamli* to be in charge of transmitting the sheikh's words to those listeners who were too far away to hear. The *mustamli*s' known ability in his job of taking dictation ensured his reliable and competent performance of this duty as well. Consequently the word *mustamli* became the term for someone who transmitted the sheikh's words during the dictation lecture, and replaced the other terms mentioned above.\(^\text{81}\) Indeed, it was used to describe the intermediary even\(^\text{38}\) in cases where he could not have been a *mustamli*, i.e. a secretary writing from dictation, but might well have been employed for general or individual external reasons. (In this context it is interesting that Mālik b. Anas (d. 179) had a secretary (*katib* named Ḥabīb who had copied his works. The latter read them to the students during the lecture and Mālik corrected him if he made mistakes.\(^\text{78}\) Thus when ʿAbū Ḥāfiẓ b. Ḥibbān al-Bustī (d. 354) came to Nishabur and, when requested, prepared to give a dictation lecture, he looked around him and of the all his listeners addressed the youngest, saying: 'You act as *mustamli*'.\(^\text{79}\)

Consequently, while the *mustamli* as the sheikh's secretary did also have the job of intermediary during a dictation lecture, not every intermediary in a dictation lecture must also have been a *mustamli*. Maybe we even need this distinction in order to explain the terms *muballigh*, *mulqi* and *muktib* mentioned above. In individual cases it will only rarely be possible to determine with certainty whether a *mustamli* performed both duties, although ʿAbd b. ʿAbī Ḥāfiẓ (d. 220), mentioned several times before, is someone about whom we do have explicit statements to this effect.\(^\text{82}\) Rather, in the case of a *mustamli* with great vocal powers it is to be expected that he will be used exclusively as intermediary in a dictation lecture because of his special physiological ability. One such *mustamli* was Ḥarūn al-*mustamli* who was called because three other *mustamli*s had failed, and whose voice then proved equal even to the thunder.\(^\text{83}\) This may also be apply to some extent to those *mustamli*s about whose lack of education and attention as well as their general unpleasantness we sometimes find complaints. In his *Adab al-ilqāʾ wa-l-iʿada* Sam'ānī has a chapter about the *mustamli*, and in the theoretical exposition he mentions only the *mustamli*'s role as intermediary in the dictation lecture. His examples, on the other hand, are often stories which obviously or probably refer to the *mustamli*s' work as secretary writing from dictation. Sam'ānī's approach shows most clearly how closely the two were linked in practice,\(^\text{39}\) and that we may regard this twofold employment as the rule for *mustamli*s. When the dictation lectures came to an end, the term disappeared and both the *mustamli*s' duties fell into oblivion. While Muḥammad Murtuḍā [al-Zabīdī]\(^\text{82}\) explains *iṣṭimla* correctly as meaning 'to request dictation', he powerful voice as he had to carry out his duties shouting rather than talking, it should at least be understood that he did not 'prompt' the professor but the students.

---


\(^{78}\) Sam'ānī, *Anṣār*, f. 542a (V, p. 381).


\(^{80}\) *Subki, Tadhkīra*, II, p. 314: where we read al-*muʿallim* rather than al-*mũlqỹ*.

\(^{81}\) Dhahābī, *Tādārib*, I, p. 369 (p. 409, no. 414).


\(^{83}\) Because of the dearth of source texts available to him, A. von Kremer (in *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Wien*, phil.-hist. Klasse, 98, p. 380) fails to appreciate the function of the *mustamли* when he says: (38) 'We find combined information very early on in the transmission of traditions: through writing and oral recital at the same time. The teacher of traditions recited the texts by heart, but he had a secretary (mustamli) who followed the recitation minutely from a written text, and could correct every mistake in the recitation ... He was the prompter for the professor talking from memory.' If one has to use the term 'prompter' for a man whose basic job requirement was a
then gives the example that Muhammad b. Abān al-Balkhi (d. 244) practised mustamli‘ under Wāli‘ b. al-Jarrah (d. 197), thus proving that in his (i.e., Muḥammad Murtadā’s) day, the mustamli‘s twofold office was not known any 

more.

The true domain of a mustamli‘ working as intermediary in a dictation lecture was, of course, a mass lecture. However, mustamli‘s were not employed for all big dictation lectures. Sulaymān b. Mihrān al-‘A’īmā (d. 148) reports48 that Ibrāhīm al-Nakhrātī’s (d. ca. 95)49 audience used to be so numerous that those sitting further away were obliged to enquire from one another the words of the sheikh. In another instance, ‘Aṣīm b. ‘Ali al-Waṣīfī’s (d. 221) gigantic dictation lecture did not from the beginning have a mustamli‘. In any case, mustamlis did not from the beginning have a mustamli. In another instance, ‘Aṣīm b. ‘Ali al-Waṣīfī’s (d. 221) gigantic dictation lecture did not from the beginning have a mustamli. In any case, mustamlis did not from the beginning have a mustamli. In any case, mustamlis did not from the beginning have a mustamli.

In general, several mustamlis would be employed in the larger dictation lectures. In Baghdād ‘Aṣīm b. ‘Ali al-Waṣīfī (d. 221) had the two Hārūn who were famous mustamlis.50 ‘Aṣīm b. ‘Aṣīm (d. 201),51 Sulaymān b. Ḥarīb (d. 224),52 Bukhārī (d. 256),53 and Ibn al-Farrā’ (d. 438)54 employed three mustamlis at the same time, al-Ḥasan b. Ismā‘īl al-Mahāmili (d. 330)55, four, and the learned vizier Ismā‘īl b. ‘Abbād (d. 385)56 six or seven.57 At Ibrāhīm b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Ṭājī’s (d. 292) dictation lectures seven mustamlis were present,58 at Muhammad b. Muslim b. Wāsr’s (d. ca. 270) twenty,59 and at Ja‘far b. Muhammad al-Firzābīs (d. 301) is said to have had as many as 316 mustamlis.60 While there is some information as to the number of participants, it is not possible to determine with any certainty the ratio between mustamlis and students in general or, indeed, whether there was any kind of rule, as we

are obliged to note that, conversely, there are instances of a mustamli having been present even in relatively small dictation lectures.61

In any case the mustamli’s work was an important part of dictation lectures, especially those by traditionists. The degree to which had merged into the general consciousness is shown by the fact that the Abbasids al-Manṣūr and al-Ma’mūn were reported to have said62 that the only delights of the world they were lacking were for the traditionists to gather round them and for the mustamli to ask them: ‘Of whom did you narrate?’ The mischievous cynic Abū l-Tbar Muḥammad b. Aḥmad [al-Ḥashimi] (d. 250) used to parody learned style by occasionally dictating a lecture, where he would sit on a ladder, a length of pipe in his hand, a slipper on his head, and a cap on each foot. If anyone should laugh, he would be doused with water from the sewer in front of the sheikh. Of course he also had a mustamli, whom, in a true reversal of conditions, he put inside a well, whence his voice would in vain attempt to penetrate the noise made by three people clattering with mortars.63 How important a part the mustamli was can also be seen in a passage by Sakhāwī,64 where in a brief description of a dictation lecture in the year 533 he mentions explicitly who was employed as mustamli.

It is obvious that under these circumstances the post of mustamli was valued and sought after. Occasionally the sheikh would mention this to his mustamli.65 There was a great struggle for the position with Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī (d. 852) which led to jealousies among the scholars.66 The rank of a mustamli compared to the sheikh could not be shown more clearly than by the dream in which Ya‘qūb b. Sufyān al-Fasawi (d. ca. 277) is alleged to report from the afterlife that God has forgiven him and ordered him to continue transmitting in Heaven as he did on earth, whereupon Gabriel served as his mustamli and the angels wrote with golden quills.67 Occasional disparaging remarks, more of which will have to be said below, by some sheikhs have done nothing to diminish this esteem. Besides sociological reasons of a more general nature, the esteem enjoyed by this position should be assumed to have been the main reason why there are some instances of hereditary mustamlis. It seems that not only Tāhir b. Muḥammad al-Shabḥānī (d. 479) was a mustamli, but also his son Zāhir (d. 533) and in turn his son 'Abd

---

49 Ibn Ṣallāḥ, Uṣūl, p. 150; Ṣuyūṭī, Ṭadhrī, p. 136.
50 Nawawī, Tadhkīrāt, p. 133; Dahhabī, Tadhkīrāt, I, 69 [p. 73-5, no. 70].
51 TB, XII, p. 248; Adab, p. 16-7.
52 TB, IX, p. 33; Ibn Bahṣkwāl, Siṭr, no. 449; Ibn al-Abbār, Muṣjām, no. 1536.
53 TB, XII, p. 248; Adab, p. 96.
54 TB, XI, p. 454.
55 TB, IX, p. 33.
56 TB, II, p. 20.
57 Ibn Abī Ya‘lā, Tabaqāt, p. 382.
59 Ya‘qūt, Irshād, II, p. 312; Ṣuyūṭī, Ṭabgha, p. 196 [I, p. 499-51, no. 918].
60 Tibr, p. 215; Ṣuyūṭī, Tadhkīrāt, p. 317 [p. 179], misunderstood the passage in Ya‘qūt as regards the mustamli’s technique and consequently arrived at an erroneous interpretation of the passage.
61 TB, VI, p. 122; Adab, p. 96.
62 Adab, p. 96.
63 Adab, p. 18.
[Change in office]

Before we consider in more detail the requirements a mustamli had to fulfil, let us briefly mention the change in office. The list at the end of this article shows us that it was not unusual for one mustamli to serve several sheikhs, although we cannot say with certainty whether this was at one time or consecutively. Some more examples we have already given above, when discussing the professional nature of this office. Conversely, a sheikh, who (as we have seen) might well in the past have been a place and other reasons could prompt this change of person. We do not, however, gain a clear picture in all the individual cases. Consequently it is of no little interest to follow the changes of mustamli under Ibn Ḥajar al-Asqalānī (d. 852), of which we have knowledge, albeit not complete, thanks to the more detailed writings of his pupil Sakhwā (d. 902). At first Ibn Ḥajar himself worked as a mustamli for ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-Īrāqī (d. 806), whom we mentioned above because of his services to the revival of the dictation lectures of the earlier days. Death, change of place and other reasons could prompt this change of person. We do not, however, gain a clear picture in all the individual cases. Consequently it is of no little interest to follow the changes of mustamli under Ibn Ḥajar al-Asqalānī (d. 852), of which we have knowledge, albeit not complete, thanks to the more detailed writings of his pupil Sakhwā (d. 902). At first Ibn Ḥajar himself worked as a mustamli for ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-Īrāqī (d. 806), whom we mentioned above because of his services to the revival of the dictation lecture. Once he was a sheikh and dictated his own lectures, Riḍwān b. Muḥammad al-ʿUqbi (d. 3th Rajah 852) was his preferred and permanent mustamli, and after his faithful assistant’s death we find Ibn Ḥajar in prayer by his graveside. For a time, in Damascus he occasionally employed Ibrāhīm b. Ḥamad al-Aṣīl (d. 888), who had been warmly recommended to him but proved to be imperfect all the same. While in Aleppo he employed his travelling companion ʿAlī b. ʿAllamā (d. 832), and a further temporary mustamli mentioned is Ibrāhīm b. Ḥighr (d. 852). After the death of his long-term mustamli Riḍwān al-ʿUqbi, Ibn Ḥajar entrusted the position, much coveted by several rivals, to Muḥammad b. Qamar (d. 876), who held it until Ibn Ḥajar’s own early death.

[Requirements for the office of mustamli]

It is obvious that for a serious conception of tradition scholarship and its rules, and for attempting philological precision, certain requirements would have to be made of the person who was mustamli, requirements which would be essential in establishing his suitability.

Physically, the first requirement was a strong voice, which would enable him to broadcast the teacher’s words as far as even the most distant listener to a dictation lecture. The size of the lectures, the fact that they frequently took place in the open air, and the need for absolutely faithful rendering of words and even individual letters give us an indication of what volume of voice would often be required. Consequently it is not astonishing to find Bashir b. ʿUqba al-Dawraqī saying: ‘In a dictation lecture the mustamli is what a drummer (or: the drum) is in the army’. It is for the same reason that the first quality ʿAmānī asks for in a mustamli is that he should be possessed of a strong voice. When Imām b. ʿAlayya (d. 193) was asked by his mustamli to speak louder because of the large crowd assembled for his dictation lecture, he pointed out to the mustamli that, unlike a muhaddith, it was in fact the mustamli’s professional duty to raise his voice. When we already read about ʿAbd Zakariyya al-ʿĀḍī’s (ca. 369) mustamli in Cordoba that he raised his voice to reach the loudest possible volume, one of the two mustamli’s known as Ḥārūn al-Mustamli must indeed have been unsurpassed in this respect.

When Sūlaymān b. Ḥarb (d. 224) dictated a great lecture in front of the caliphs’ palace, attended by the caliph al-Maʾmūn himself, three mustamli’s were not enough to make the sheikh’s words audible throughout the audience. The universal consensus was that Ḥārūn would have to be fetched. When he arrived and began ‘Of whom are you narrating?’ his voice was equal to the thunder, and the other mustamli’s were silent.

170 Sakhwā, Tibr, p. 215.
186 Ibn Abī l-Wafāʾ, Jawāhir, I, p. 298.
189 Sakhwā, Dāwʾ, IV, p. 175.
189 Sakhwā, Dāwʾ, III, p. 228; Id., Tibr, p. 241.
191 Sakhwā, Tibr, p. 241.
193 Sakhwā, Dāwʾ, V, p. 222; Id., Tibr, p. 244.
194 Sakhwā, Dāwʾ, I, p. 45.
197 Adab, p. 89.
198 Id., Tibr, p. 214.
199 Ibid.
200 [Azami, Studies, p. 194].
201 Ibn al-Abbār, Muḥjam, no. 1536.
202 TB, IX, p. 33.
Great vocal volume was of only dubious value, however, if the mustamīl lacked the necessary intellectual qualities. Consequently Sam'ānī (Ad f. 76b, 79b) asks of a mustamīl that he must be attentive and interested in scholarship, and not half-witted and careless. His speech should be pure and his choice of words lucid and elegant. Similar demands are made by Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ122 and Suyūṭī.123 It was particularly important that the candidate should have a certain measure of education in tradition scholarship.124 Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Fazārī (d. ca. 185)125 considered himself justified in stating126 that usually the most excellent men were selected for the position. Despite certain deficiencies in his tradition scholarship, Muhammad b. Ṣam'ānī al-Mustamlī (d. 378) was awarded the title ḥāfīz,127 and ‘the great ḥuffāż from among the foreigners’ used to serve ʿAbd al-Ḥamadhānī al-Kattānī (d. 281) as mustamīl.128

It appears that everyday practice, however, did not always conform to these theoretical requirements. Otherwise Shu’ba b. al-Ḥajjāj (d. 160) would not already have stated,129 albeit only occasionally, that only a low person would serve as mustamīl, and Sufyān b. ʿUyaynā (d. 198) would not have been driven to saying130 that ‘every group of people has some riffraff. Mustamīls are the riffraff among the traditionalists’. And Ṣakḥāwī laments131 the writing, intelligence, choice of words, half-wittedness and meanness about books [43] of a man who was Ibn Ḥajar al-Asqalānī’s favourite mustamīl for his dictation lectures in Damascus. A typical example of a mustamīl’s stupidity is the following anecdote:132 Yaẓīd b. Ḥārūn (d. 206) once said during a dictation lecture, ‘Several (idda = a number of) narrated to us’. When his mustamīl called ‘Whose son is Ḥadda?’, Yaẓīd replied with a sigh ‘Idda, the son of Oh-would-that-I-were-rid-of-you (faqadūka).’ When Ḥālīd b. al-Ḥārīth (d. 186) said during the explanation of a hadith, ‘Abū ʿUthmān had doubts concerning (the correctness of the word) “God”’, his inattentive mustamīl called angrily: ‘You are lying, enemy of God! I have never doubted God!’133

Samʿānī also narrates two amusing examples of insurmountable obtuseness or deafness on the part of the mustamīl, one from a lecture dictated by Niẓām al-Mulk (d. 485) and one from his own experience. What was required of the mustamīl as regards proper demeanour was probably on the whole similar to what was generally expected of scholars and discussed in adab writings of all kinds. When a stranger who was serving him as a mustamīl (or dictation student) spat during his work, Yaẓīd b. Ḥārūn (d. 206) reproached him with two verses.135 Al-Fuqayl b. Ḥāyād (d. 187) criticised an old failing of his mustamīl’s, walking off during a lecture.136 Similar experiences may have been the reason why Abū Usāma Ḥammād b. Usāma (d. 201) asked to ‘Bring me a mustamīl who is agreeable to the heart. Off with the obnoxious ones!’ as well as for Yaẓīd b. Ḥārūn’s (d. 206) words to his mustamīl ‘O God, let us not become obnoxious!’137

Despite all these demands even important traditionists occasionally employed boys as mustamīls. An early instance of this practice is Sufyān al-Thawrī’s (d. 161)138 dictation lecture. We have already mentioned that Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥibbān al-Bustānī (d. 205) after a Friday prayer in 334 in Nishābūr chose as his mustamīl al-Ḥākim al-Nishābūrī (321–405) as he was the youngest of those present.139

While a sheikh was not able to choose his students, he did choose his own mustamīl,140 often not without critical examination. When al-Zubayr b. Bakkar (d. 256) came to Baghdad, he asked to be introduced to the mustamīl recommended by his students. When, in the first lecture, the mustamīl addressed him with the customary question: ‘Of whom are you narrating, or son of the disciples (ḥawāri) of God’s messenger?’, al-Zubayr was so pleased about the form of address, unusual in its elegant [44] courteousness, that he continued to employ this mustamīl.141 The relationship of personal trust existing between teacher and mustamīl occasionally allowed the teacher to joke with the mustamīl,142 just as it allowed the mustamīl to point out the sheikh’s mistakes.143 Even so, Shu’ba b. al-Ḥajjāj (d. 160) was incensed with his

123 Suyūṭī, Tadhkira, p. 173.
124 Adab, p. 93.
126 Adab, p. 91.
127 TB, II, p. 54.
129 Adab, p. 91.
130 Adab, p. 91.
131 Sakhāwī, Dār, I, p. 13.
133 Adab, p. 99.
mustamli for contradicting him, and the Qādī ʿHayyān b. Bishr (d. 237) even had his mustamli thrown into gaol for correcting him. 144 If the mustamli was to perform his duties during the dictation lecture efficiently, he had to sit on a raised seat, such as a bench or a chair, which would of course have to be directly next to the sheikh. 146 During a great lecture dictated by ʿAsim b. ʿAlt (d. 221) in the palm courtyard of the main mosque in al-Ruṣāfa, the mustamli was sitting on a bent palm tree. 147 If the sheikh himself is sitting on a raised seat, 148 this will determine the mustamli's position. If he does not have a raised seat at his disposal, he will perform his duties standing up, which, indeed, appears to have been the customary position. When he does not have a raised seat at his disposal, he will perform his duties standing up, which seems to have been the customary position. When he was Mālik b. Anas's mustamli, Ismāʿīl b. Ibrāhīm b. Ṭalib (d. 193) stood before him, 149 Adam b. ʿAbī Ṭayās (d. 220) stood before Shuʿba b. al-Ḥājaj, 150 When Abū l-Iṣāb Muḥammad b. Alī (d. 250) dictated a lecture in the front part of a house in Baghdad, his mustamli was standing in the courtyard. 151 Correspondingly, he positioned his mustamli inside a well in his parody of a dictation lecture mentioned above. His position of trust with the sheikh allows the mustamli to influence the time at which the dictation lecture starts, and, for instance, a sheikh who arrived for the dictation was asked by his mustamli to wait until Sulaymān b. Ahmad al-Ṭabarānī (d. 360) was present. 152 The mustamli begins his actual duties by requesting, if necessary, the students to be silent, and then reciting a sura from the Koran followed by the baṣmalah, the ḥamdālah and the taṣbih, unless the sheikh does all this himself. 153 If any participant may recite the sura and that it is permitted to recite it before asking for silence shows how much these words have become formulae. 154 Then the mustamli prays for the sheikh in the following words: 'May God be well pleased with the sheikh, his parents and all Muslims'; 155 and if the sheikh is aware of the conditional nature of his own worth, the mustamli may use the words 'with our lord' (ʾan sayyidinā) instead of 'the sheikh'. 156 This choice of words, however, is disapproved of by some, 157 and Abū Bakr b. Ḥāmid, for instance, forbade Ismāʿīl b. Muḥammad al-Mustamli (d. 434) to call him 'imām' during the dictation lecture. 158 The mustamli is also forbidden, at least according to the example of Ibn Hānbal and other ancient authorities, to pray for a long life for the sheikh. 159 Sensible people have never valued all those prayers traditionists said for their sheikh any higher than the watchman's call 'Allahu akbar', although Ibn ʿUayna (d. 198) is said to have attributed, jokingly, one assumes, his long life to all the good wishes he received from his hadith students. 160

The mustamli begins his actual duties by dictating to the students in the dictation lecture the sheikh's ism, kunya and niqa. Should he not know these constituents of the sheikh's name, as may happen if strangers or listeners who do not know the sheikh personally are employed as mustamli, he will first ask the sheikh. 161 Afterwards he turns towards the sheikh and requests him to start dictation, with the formula typical of a mustamli: 'Of whom have you narrated?' (man dhakarta) or 'Who narrated to you?' (man ṣaddahaka) or 'What have you narrated?' (mā dhakarta), adding the benediction 'God have mercy on you' or 'May God be well pleased with you'. 162 Of these questions, 'Of whom have you narrated?' appears to have been the most frequently used formula. Exactly how characteristic it must have been for the start of a great dictation lecture can be seen not only from its reiteration in many individual accounts, but also from the statement attributed to the chief judge Yaḥyā b. Aktham (d. ca. 243), who said that despite his position as vizier and chief judge, nothing seemed to him to be more delightful than the mustamli's question 'Of whom have you narrated?'. 163 Similar statements are attributed to the Abbasid caliphs al-Manṣūr and al-Maʿmūn. 164

The sheikh then replies to this question by giving the exact name of his authority: 'X narrated to us', and recites the relevant hadith. The mustamli

---

144 Adab, p. 91.
147 TB, XII, p. 248; Adab, p. 17; Daḥhābī, Taḏkira, I, p. 359 [p. 397, no. 397].
149 Daḥhābī, Taḏkira, I, p. 296.
150 [Adab, p. 89, l. 2–3].
151 Ibn a. Yālā, Taḥqīqāt, p. 280; Adab, p. 15, 89.
152 Ibn ʿAbd Allāh, ʿUṣūr, II, p. 118.
153 GAL, I, p. 279.
156 Adab, 48–9; Ibn ʿAbd Allāh, ʿUṣūr, p. 207 [p. 365]; Taḏrīb, p. 174 [II, p. 135].
157 Ibn Jamāʿa, Taḏkira, p. 162.
158 Adab, p. 98.
159 Adab, p. 99.
160 Adab, p. 99–100.
161 Adab, p. 100.
162 Adab, p. 102.
163 Adab, 102–3.
165 Adab, p. 104; Ṣuyūṭī, Taḏrīb, p. 174 [II, p. 135].
166 Adab, p. 19–21; Cf. Goldziher, Muḥammadanische Studien II 66, n. 5.
repeats it, raising his voice. If there is only one mustamli, his repetition addresses all the listeners. In the great dictation lectures, where more than one mustamli is working, he always calls the words for his nearest colleague to hear, so that in the end all the listeners would be included. However, according to the description we have of a great dictation lecture in 369 in the main mosque in Cordoba,[46] this deviated from this plan. According to this account, Abū Zakariyyā al-‘Ādībī began by dictating to those listeners sitting closest to him, who would pass the subject matter on to the mustamli word by word, and the mustamli then dictated it with raised voice to the rest of those present. It is the mustamli’s duty to repeat the sheikh’s words in exact detail, especially if the sheikh is knowledgeable and well versed in the rules of hadith scholarship. In this case, his words command more reverence than if his technique of hadith was characterised by negligence of method. Many complaints in the relevant texts show, however, to which extent the mustamli’s offended against this basic law of their profession, be it through incompetence or through negligence. The philologist Abū ‘Ubayda Ma’mar b. al-Muthannā (d. 207–13) complained about his mustamli Kaysān: ‘He hears something different from what I say, he says something different from what he hears, he writes something different from what he says, he reads something different from what he writes and he remembers something different from what he reads’.[48] According to Yaqtī, however, this rebuke was directed at his slipshod collection of Bedouin poetry. We have already reported Ḥayyān b. Bishr’s (d. 237) rough treatment of his mustamli. While the abovementioned complaints may well have been levied against the mustamli’s work as dictation secretary, the following one refers unmistakably to his duties during dictation lectures. For when Dāwūd b. Rushād (d. 239) dictated to his mustamli Hārūn b. Sufyān b. Bashīr al-Dīk (d. ca. 250); ‘Ḥammad b. Khālid told us’, he would write in his book ‘Ḥammad b. Zayd told us’ and then dictate to people ‘Ḥammad b. Salama told us’. When he came home, he was so furious about his own faulty copying that he beat his wife until she called the sheikh to help.[49] When the sheikh can pause while the mustamli repeats his words and the pupils copy them, he is to use the time by praying God for forgiveness.171

The duties of a mustamli during the lecture do not end with repeating the words of the dictation for the students, as he also has to copy the text down himself, either for his own use or for the sheikh.172 If he is employed long-term by one sheikh in the same lecture, it is to be assumed that frequently he would confine himself to repeating the text, dispensing with copying for his own use. In between, he has to be available to the students in case of queries, as his duty is to repeat to them words they might not have heard. If they are in doubt, they discuss with him until all doubt is removed.173 In Sulaymān b. Dāwūd al-Shādakūnī’s (d. 234) dictation lecture, one student (d) drew the mustamli’s attention to a mistake within the isnad of one hadith, whereupon the mustamli consulted the sheikh and then corrected his mistake.174 When al-Dāraquṭnī (d. 385)175 heard in one of Ibn al-Anbārī’s dictation lectures that a name was dictated wrongly, he was too shy to point out the mistake during the lecture. Consequently he consulted the mustamli after the dictation was finished, and during the lecture on the next Friday, the mustamli corrected the mistake at al-Anbārī’s request.176 It depended on the mustamli’s knowledge and attention, as well as on the sheikh’s own, to what extent the former was required to assist the students. Once, when Ṭūḥā b. Yazīd al-Riyyāḥ, employed as mustamli by Ismā’īl b. ‘Uṭayya (d. 193), he was annoyed at the frequency with which listeners contradicted him, and Ismā’īl had to point out to him that no office is without troubles.177 If the mustamli is himself in doubt concerning the text, he consults the sheikh, as we can see from one example of Samī’ī’s own experiences in dictation lectures.

He has to be most careful to add the blessing in a raised voice after every mention of the Prophet, and to follow the names of Companions and their sons with the prayer for God’s pleasure (this is also the sheikh’s duty178), while he prays for God to have mercy on famous imams.179 (The question of apposite and desired eulogies has been discussed much in the relevant literature, being a question of religious and literary propriety[180].)

The great value ascribed to the collation of the finished manuscript is proved not only by the customary statements in the surviving manuscripts to the effect that the collation had taken place. We also find the attempt at founding the practice on prophetic sayings,181 or on true or alleged sayings of

172 Ibn Abī Ya’lā, Tabaqāt, p. 286; Adab, p. 15, 91–3; Dhahābi, Tadkīrā, III, p. 75.
173 Adab, p. 106.
174 TB, X, p. 329.
175 GAL, I, p. 165; S I, p. 275 [Robson, J., in EI, s. v.].
176 TB, III, p. 182; Yaqtī, Irshād, VII, p. 74; Dhahābi, Tadkīrā, III, p. 58.
177 TB, V, p. 227–8; Adab, 89.
179 TB, VI, p. 61–2; Suyūṭī, Tadrīb, p. 174 [II, p. 135].
181 Adab, p. 77–8.
Other eminent personalities, the most frequently quoted of which is Yahyā b. 'Abī Kāthīr’s (d. 129)182 or al-Awzā’ī’s (d. 157)183 graphic statement that he who does not collate what he has written is like someone who has relieved himself and does not clean himself afterwards.184 Once the students have finished writing, the mustamli’s duty during the collation is to read out the dictated text once more, in order that the students should proofread their own copies.185 He concludes his work by praying for mercy and forgiveness for himself, the dictation students and all those present during the lecture, naming himself first.186

[48] Hearing and receiving individual traditions and complete works of literature, and then recording them in writing was subject to definite rules which had to be followed; otherwise further transmission would have to be considered faulty. Works about the usūl al-hadīth contain more or less detailed descriptions of these rules, and some of them establish a frame of reference for the different kinds of literary transmission and reception. We have already seen that writing from a teacher’s dictation was unanimously considered the highest form of reception. Because the mustamli was an intermediary between the teacher and the pupil, the question, discussed in later mustamli’s, was raised whether it was permissible to transmit traditions according to the sheikh if they were actually received through the intermediary mustamli.

Samʿānī (d. 562) does not mention the question in his Adab al-imlāʿ wa-l-istamlāʿ. In his discussion of the layout of the copied text, however, he insists187 that the pupil should write the basmālah on a separate line, and to name on the next line the sheikh’s ism, kuma and niḥās ‘whose dictation he hears, or whose dictation he takes (through an intermediary)’, followed by the dictated text. Thus it appears that he does not insist on the explicit statement that the text was transmitted by a mustamli. This does not, however, rule out the possibility that he would have ascribed higher value to the dictation heard directly from the sheikh’s lips than to that transmitted by a mustamli, for immediately afterwards he quotes a statement by Muḥammad b. ‘Abdal-Ḥalīm b. ‘Ammār (d. 242)188 without personal comment: ‘I have never copied from the lips of the mustamli and never turned towards him. I do not know what he says. I have only ever copied from the lips of the muḥaddith.’ Subsequently

182 Ibn Saʿd, Tabaqāt, V, p. 404 [V, p. 505]; Dhahabi, Tadhkira, I, p. 120 [p. 128-9, no. 115].
183 GAL S, I, p. 308 [GAS, I, p. 516-7].
185 Adab, p. 174.
186 Adab, p. 107-8.
187 Adab, p. 170-1.

The Office of the Mustamli in Arab Scholarship

He explains that it is best to write immediately from the sheikh’s dictation, and add the necessary diacritics and vowels to the copied text, before the mustamli begins. All the same, it appears that the nature of the literary reception is not changed by the intermediary mustamli. In accordance with this tolerant view he then189 makes it a moral duty for the participants of the dictation lecture to exchange their notebooks in order to be able to fill in possible gaps in the dictation, but he does not demand that these additions must be marked as such.

Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ (d. 643) and his successors discuss this question in more detail. Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ states190 that in similar cases more than one authority permitted transmission directly from [49] the sheikh. As proof he quotes Sulaymān b. Mīhrān al-‘Aẓīm’s (d. 148)191 abovementioned narrative, according to which he and others sometimes sat in a lecture dictated by Ḥāfīẓ al-Nakha’ī (d. ca. 95)192 which was so crowded that those further away could not hear the sheikh at all. Consequently they consulted one another concerning the text, and later transmitted all without ever actually having heard the sheikh’s words. Similarly, when one of his students consulted Ḥāmūd b. Zayd (d. 178),193 Ḥāmūd referred him to his neighbour in the lecture; and when Ṣuwān b. ‘Uyyāna’s (d. 198) mustamli Abū Muslim ‘Abd al-Rāyymān (d. 224) pointed out the size of the audience and the impossibility of hearing the sheikh’s words, Ṣuwān pointed out that after all it was his, the mustamli’s, job to ensure that the students could hear the text.194 While these examples are not necessarily conclusive, some hadith authorities’ relaxed attitude as stated by Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ should be considered the rule rather than the exception.

There is evidence to show that the opposite opinion existed as well. He tells us that Khalaf b. Tāmin (d. ca. 213)195 discarded ca. 100,000 hadiths he had heard during a lecture dictated by Ṣuwān al-Thawrī (d. 161), and concerning which he had consulted his fellow students, as Zādīya b. Qudāma (d. ca. 161)196 bidden him to transmit only words his heart remembered and his ear heard.197 Similarly, if Abū Nu‘aym al-Faḍl b. Dukayn (d. 219)198 missed details...

182 Adab, p. 174.
183 Ṣalāh, ‘Ulam, p. 149ff, 207.
184 In Khalikîkh, no. 276; Dhahabi, Tadhkira, I, p. 145.
185 Nawawī, Tahdhib, p. 13; Dhahabi, Tadhkira, I, p. 69.
186 Nawawī, Tahdhib, p. 217; Dhahabi, Tadhkira, I, p. 211.
187 [‘Iraqi, Faṣūṭ al-muḥīth, 198].
188 Ibn Saʿd, Tabaqāt, VII/2, p. 187; Dhahabi, Tadhkira, I, p. 344.
189 Ibn Saʿd, Tabaqāt, VI, p. 263; Dhahabi, Tadhkira, I, p. 200.
190 [‘Iraqi, Faṣūṭ al-muḥīth, 197].
191 Dhahabi, Tadhkira, I, p. 338.
during the dictations of Sufyān al-Thawrī (d. 161) and Sulaymān b. Mihrān al-ʿArmāsh (d. 148) and had to ascertain these from his fellow students, he later transmitted them according to these fellow students only. A similar story says that when the Hanbalite ʿUmar al-Qawwās (d. 385) attended a dictation lecture, he only ever wrote down what he heard from the sheikh's own lips, and consequently pushed past the four mustamālīs until he was very close to the sheikh himself. The more rigid attitude among certain circles is illustrated by the account of how one of his fellow students once said to him that he had heard the Prophet tell him in his sleep: 'If you want to hear hadith as if you heard it from me, you should hear as Abu l-Fāṭih al-Qawwās does'. Ibn al-Šalāḥ himself is a supporter of the strict opinion and declares the other attitude to be astonishing laxity. According to him, a transmission according to a sheikh is only permitted if the circumstances under which it took place are presented in full.

Nawāwī (d. 676) supports the same opinion. He quotes ʿAbd b. Ḥanbal (d. 241) as saying that it was not forbidden to transmit according to the sheikh a letter [50] the sheikh omitted accidently during dictation. He also hoped it was permitted to transmit according to the sheikh a single word which had to be ascertained from the mustamālī, as long as there was agreement concerning the word. However, Khalāf b. Sālim al-Mukharramī (d. 231) forbade this, as he knew that Sufyān b. ʿUyayna (d. 198) once transmitted only part of a sentence: of hadatha ʿAmr b. Dīnār he only transmitted ʿAmr b. Dīnār, as he missed all but the suffix of the word hadatha ʿala l-shaykh because of the crowd.

In comparison with this unequivocal rejection, ʿAbd al-Ḥaẓīm b. al-Ḥusayn al-ʿIrāqī (d. 806) occupies a mediating position. While he does believe it to be safest if the pupil refers to reception through a mustamālī, such as 'N.N. narrated to me through an intermediary (tablīq)', as Muhammad b. Iṣḥāq b. Ḥuẓayma (d. 311) and others did, the determining question for him was whether the sheikh was listening in to the mustamālī's words. If he was listening, in his opinion it should be permitted to the students of a dictation lecture to transmit the text directly from the sheikh, without mentioning the intermediary mustamālī. He says, with justification, that according to the technicalities of hadith scholarship, the situation would be comparable to the case of a student reading his copy to the sheikh for authorisation, and that accordingly the text spoken by the mustamālī while the sheikh is listening is of equal value to a qirāʿa ʿala l-shaykh. Under different circumstances, e.g. when the sheikh is hard of hearing, it would be the student's duty, if were to transmit the text, to point out the fact that he received it from someone other than the sheikh. As an example for the correct attitude he quotes one of ʿIṣḥāq b. Samura's hadiths, containing a saying of the Prophet about the twelve emirs or caliphs descended from the Quraysh. ʿIṣḥāq distinguishes precisely between the parts of the saying he heard for himself and parts about which he had to consult with his father, who was also present. However, even in the case that the sheikh was indeed listening to the mustamālī's repetition, ʿIṣḥāq is of the opinion that a student is not permitted to transmit this text with the words 'I heard this from N.N.'s dictation' or 'N.N. dictated this to me', but rather has to use a more general expression, such as 'N.N. told me'. The two formulae quoted first are only allowable to someone who has actually heard the words from his teacher's lips. As we have seen, when it comes to the technique of tradition, ʿIṣḥāq considers hearing through a mustamālī to be equivalent to a qirāʿa ʿala l-shaykh, and consequently inclines to the opinion that the student may use the formula ('N.N. told me') during one of his lectures' qirāʿa ʿala ʿalayhi). He does add, however, that it could be argued that the mustamālī, whose duty is only to pass on the sheikh's words, does not intend to present a qirāʿa ʿala l-shaykh.

Unlike Ibn al-Šalāḥ and ʿIṣḥāq, Ibn Kathīr (d. 774) defends the unconditional transmission according to the sheikh, while among the younger authorities Suyūṭī (d. 911) explains the opposing points of view represented by Nawāwī (Ibn al-Šalāḥ) and ʿIṣḥāq, respectively, without committing himself to his own view on the question.

While the sources available to us do not allow a clear nor complete view of the development of the attitudes towards the subject, it does appear that the liberal and the rigid opinions have existed side by side ever since the question was recognised as such, and it is not surprising that here, too, we find Hanbalites among the strict judges. Following the general trend towards more liberal rules for the study of tradition, the question appears to have been judged less strictly in the later years.

300 [ʿIrāqī, Fath al-mughīth, p. 197].
303 [ʿIrāqī, Fath al-mughīth, p. 197].
304 Ibn Saʿd, Tabaqt, VII/2, p. 82; Dhahabi, Tadbir, II, p. 59.
307 Wensinck, Concordance, I, p. 105; II, p. 70.
308 Ibn Kathīr, Ikhtisār, p. 135 [p. 98].
[Chronological list of mustamīlīs and teachers who employed them]

In the following we shall present a chronologically arranged list of mustamīlīs and teachers who employed them. In cases where the name of either the mustamīlī or the sheikh is unknown it has been replaced by a question mark. In the sources quoted for each name, we find, firstly, the instances mentioning the istimlā'and in addition, as far as it can be traced, biographical information.

A glance at the chronological distribution confirms the picture of the history of dictation we have sketched above. During the centuries in which it flourished we are able to state an increase in the numbers of mustamīlīs, then a fast and severe decrease, and finally, during the renaissance of dictation in the ninth century, an increase once more. Although the number of source texts used is much larger than would appear from this list, it is of course necessary to admit that the date, number and type of the sources available will have imparted to the picture a hue diverging from that of reality. This is probably also the explanation of the fact that the second half of the sixth and the whole seventh and eighth centuries are represented by one single mustamīlī. The geographical distribution conveys the impression that Western Islam knew very few mustamīlīs, but this conclusion would be problematical, to say the least. Still, it should be pointed out that Muqaddasi stated28 that the Hanafite scholars in Marv, Sharakhs and Bukhara used to employ a mustamīlī; and we should furthermore draw attention to the fact that Samʿānī, the chief authority for istimlā', did indeed live in Marv. It is certain, however, that the second flowering of the ninth century was confined to Egypt and Syria.

Translated by Gwendolin Goldbloom


The Office of the Mustamīlī in Arab Scholarship

Chronological List

[New references and corrections are included in square brackets.]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mustamīlī</th>
<th>Master (Sheikh)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Sibawayh (d. ca. 180) : TB, XII, 195; <em>Adab</em>, 105; GAL, I, 100; S I, 160; [GAS, IX, 51]</td>
<td>1. Hammad b. Salama (d. 167) : IS, VII/2, 39; Tadhkira, [Hyderabad, 1333-34]. I, 189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. ?</td>
<td>2. Sufyān al-Thawrī (d. 161) : Adab, 87; EI, IV, 540 [EP, IX, s.v.; GAS, I, 519]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. al-Jammāz : Adab, 90</td>
<td>5. Khalīd b. al-Hārith (d. 186) : IS, VII/2, 48; Tadhkira, I, 284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Ism. b. ‘Ulayya (d. 193) : Adab, 89; Tadhkira, I, 296</td>
<td>7. Mālik b. Anas (d. 179) : v. no. 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. ?</td>
<td>10. Hammad b. Usāmā Abū Usāmā (m. 201) : Adab, 85; Tadhkira, I, 295; TT, III, 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb b. ‘Ātīb (d. ca. 204) : Adab, 86; TB, XI, 21; IS, VII/2, 76; Tadhkira, I, 309</td>
<td>11. ‘Abd b. a. ‘Arūba (d. 156) : IS, VII/2, 33; Tadhkira, I, 167; [GAS, I, 91]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Adām b. a. Ṣiyās (d. 220) : TB, VII, 28; Tīhan, 228; Tadhkira, I, 369; <em>Adab</em>, 15, 88, 91; IS, VII/2, 186; TT, I, 196</td>
<td>15. Ṣuḥāb b. b. Ḥajjāj (d. 206) : Ibn al-Ṣalāb, 106; Tadrīb, 173; IS, VII/2, 38; TB, IX, 255; Tadhkira, I, 181</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Office of the Musta'mli in 'Ara'ı Scholarship

30. Abū al-Ibar M. b. A. (d. 250) : Aphaniem, XX, 91; Kutubî, II, 218; Ibn 'Asakir, II, 118; Sa'afidi, II, 42 ; ; TB, V, 40; Itshâd, VI, 271

31. Abū Ya'la'î Ammâr b. Hârûn (ca. 250) : TB, XII, 255; T, VII, 497; Mizân, II, 245

32. al-Bukhari (d. 256) : GAL, I, 157, SI, 260; [GAS, I, 115]

33. al-Zubayar b. Bakkar (d. 256) : GAL, I, 141, S I, 215; Tadhkira, II, 96; [GAS, I, 317]

34. al-Jâhiz? (d. 259) : Adab, 93; GAL, I, 153, S I, 239

35. Ismâ'îl b. al-Salt (ca. 266) : TB, XI, 247, [1, 14-15], VI, 280

36. ?

37. Bakkar b. Qata'ba al-Thaqafi (d. 270) : Ibn 'Asakir, III, 283; Tadhkira, II, 139

38. ?

39. ?

40. ?

41. ?

42. ?

43. ?

44. ?

45.?
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page 32</th>
<th><strong>Max Weisweiler</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>48.</th>
<th>?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>49.</td>
<td>ąłęł̃b b. M. b. 'Amr Jazara (d. ca. 293) : v. supra no. 47 ; TB, II, 20 [1. 5sqq.] ; Adab, 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50.</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52.</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53.</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54.</td>
<td>M. b. Ism. al-Jurjānī (d. 324) : Şafaṭt, II, 212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55.</td>
<td>M. b. Mazayd Ibn Abī al-Azhar (d. 325) : Bughyat, 104 ; GAL S I, 250 ; TB, III, 288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56.</td>
<td>Ab. b. Zayyād Żurayq (d. 326) : TB, IX, 459</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57.</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 58. | ? |
| 59. | A. b. Ibr. al-'Ammī : Fīhrīst, 197 ; Iḥrāḥād, VII, 74 ; Tūsī, Fīhrīst, no. 37 |
| 60. | ? |

| 61. | [Abū Saʿd] Wajīh b. a. ǧaṭṭyāb (d. ca. 350) : Anasāb, f. 529a [V, 289, 1. 21-22] |
| 62. | ? |
| 63. | A. b. Ibr. al-Najjād (d. 353) : TB, XI, 333 |
| 64. | M. b. al-Faqīr al-Mudhakkhir (d. 362) : Jauḍārī, II, 199 ([III, 303]) |

---

**ORALITY AND LITERACY**

| 65. | ? |
| 66. | al-Ḥ. b. Iḥṣāq al-Burjī (d. after 370) : Anasāb, f. 529a [V, 289, 1. 22sqq.] |
| 67. | ? |
| 68. | ? |
| 69. | ? |

---

**The Office of the Mustamli in Arab Scholarship**

| 70. | ? |
| 71. | 'Uṯḥ. b. A. al-Ṭālī : TB, XI, 309 |
| 72. | ? |
| 73. | ? |
| 74. | ? |
| 75. | ? |
| 76. | ? |
| 77. | ? |
| 78. | ? |
| 79. | ? |

---

**EDUCATION AND LEARNING IN THE EARLY ISLAMIC WORLD**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>32</th>
<th>Abū Muslim Ibr. b. 'Al. al-Kajjī (d. 292) : TB, VI, 122, IX, 325 ; Adab, 96 ; Tadhkīra, II, 177 ; Anasāb, f. 475b [GAS, I, 162]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Abū Zakariyya al-ʿĀridhī (ca. 369) : Ibr. al-Abbār, Muṣjam, no. 1536 ; Buldān, IV, 27, l. 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>GAL S I, 279 ; [GAS, I, 185]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>TB, III, 26 ; Tadhkīra, III, 130</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

**Office of the Mustamli in Arab Scholarship**

| 38 | Anasāb, IV, 79 : al-Ṭusānī |
| 39 | ? |
| 40 | ? |
| 41 | ? |
| 42 | ? |
| 43 | ? |
| 44 | ? |
| 45 | ? |
| 46 | ? |
| 47 | ? |
| 48 | ? |
| 49 | ? |
| 50 | ? |
| 51 | ? |
| 52 | ? |
| 53 | ? |
| 54 | ? |
| 55 | ? |
| 56 | ? |
| 57 | ? |
| 58 | ? |
| 59 | ? |
| 60 | ? |
| 61 | ? |
| 62 | ? |
| 63 | ? |
| 64 | ? |

---

**The Office of the Mustamli in Arab Scholarship**

| 39 | ? |
| 40 | ? |
| 41 | ? |
| 42 | ? |
| 43 | ? |
| 44 | ? |
| 45 | ? |
| 46 | ? |
| 47 | ? |
| 48 | ? |
| 49 | ? |
| 50 | ? |
| 51 | ? |
| 52 | ? |
| 53 | ? |
| 54 | ? |
| 55 | ? |
| 56 | ? |
| 57 | ? |
| 58 | ? |
| 59 | ? |
| 60 | ? |
| 61 | ? |
| 62 | ? |
| 63 | ? |
| 64 | ? |
The Office of the Mustafl in A'bab Scholarship

References and abbreviations
Aṣbab, v. Samā'īn
Aḏāhā = Abū l-Faraḍ al-Iṣḥāḥā, K. al- Aḏāhā, 20 vols., Cairo, 1285/1868 [24 vols., Cairo, 1927–74]
[Abū Da‘dūd al-Bījūrī (d. 897): v. 257; Sakhawī, I, 358; Sakhawī, X, 258]

ORALITY AND LITERACY

Max Weisweiler

The Office of the Mustafl in A’bab Scholarship

References and abbreviations
Aṣbab, v. Samā’īn
Aḏāhā = Abū l-Faraḍ al-Iṣḥāḥā, K. al- Aḏāhā, 20 vols., Cairo, 1285/1868 [24 vols., Cairo, 1927–74]
Ref. to the Mustafl in A’bab Scholarship

35

Dhahabi, Shams al-Din, Mizân al-ittidâl, 3 vols. Cairo, 1325/1907

Id., Mithqâl al-Moshtahbabh uactore Schamso'ddin Abu Abdallah Mohammed bin Ahmed ad-dhahabi, e codd. mss. editus a P. de Jong, Lugduni Batavorum [Leiden], 1881


al-Firuzabadi, Majd al-Din, al-Qâmis, Cairo, 4 vols., 1289/1872

GAL = Brockelmann, Geschichte der arabischen Literatur, I-II; Supplement I-III, Leiden, 1937-49


Goldziher, I., Muhammediische Studien, 2 vols., Halle, 1889-90; repr. Hildesheim, 2004


Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, Jami' bayân al-'iâm wa fa'dilih, 2 vols. in 1, Cairo, 1346/1927


Ibn Bashkùwáil, K. al-Sila fi târikh a'immât al-Andalus [Aben Pascuâl Assilla, Dictionarium biographicum], 2 vols., ed. F. Codera, Madrid, 1882-86


Ibn Dâqîq al-Id, al-Īṣârâb fi bayân, al-Īṣârâb, ed. Q. 'A. al-Dârî, Baghdad, 1402/1982


Ibn al-Imâd al-Hanbali, Shadharât al-dhâhâb fi akhbâr man dhâhâb, 8 vols., Cairo, 1350-1/1931-2

Ibn Jamâ'a, Badr al-Dîn, Tadhkira al-sâmi wa l-mutakallim, Hyderabad, 1335/1943


Ibn Kathîr, Abû l-Fâdî, Ḥisâb al-aʾâm al-hadîth, Cairo, 1937


Irshâd = Yâqût, Irshâd ...


Jâcehîr, v. Ibn Abî l-Wafâ'


La = Ibn Manzûr, Lisân l-Arâb, 20 vols., Cairo, 1882-88

[Marquis, W., trans. and annotated by, Le Taqrib de en-Nawawi, Paris, 1902]


Qâqshandî, Šubh al-'aṣâh, 14 vol., Cairo, 1913-9

We rely for our more intimate knowledge of Ancient Arabian civilisation upon two main sources, the traditions of the prophet collected by a host of men who made it their special profession, and in a higher degree the poems of the poets who flourished before the time of Muhammed and for about a century later. The interest in the latter died away at a fairly early date and became the field of labour for a rather limited number of philologists who collected and commented the poems. These commentaries together with the biographical literature connected with the life of the Prophet and the traditionists form the second basis for our knowledge of this civilisation which finally played such an important part in the history of the human race.

While it became a practice for the traditionists to establish an unbroken chain of authorities down to the Prophet himself, this was not done for poetry, except in a few cases, to judge from the collections of poems handed down to us, and we generally have to be content with the assertion that certain readings were those of the older poets in hand, very seldom, however, we learn whence they came. At the turn of the 2nd century of the Hijra the field for word-hunters which laid the foundation for the Arabic word-hunters which laid the foundation for the Arabic
dictionaries of the 3rd and 4th centuries, and it was the merit of these grammarians to have preserved so many ancient collections of poems which would otherwise have perished, as the interest which evoked this early poetry had faded away with the memory of those times. Had not these grammarians and their pupils put these diwans on paper, practically the whole of this poetry would have perished within a further fifty years.

If we accept this assertion as substantially true, we must enquire how much of the older poetry had been preserved up to the time when the grammarians took in hand the work of collecting and commenting. The general character of the older Arabic poetry is such that the poems were composed for some specific purpose, in general the praise of the tribe of the poet; in the later periods also of individuals. However, we find among the most ancient poems already some which apparently were composed to display the poet's art in composing works of a literary style in which he employed high-sounding words and difficult rhymes, which no doubt met with applause as this style in certain directions grew into a mania for cramming a poem with so many unusual words that it became almost unintelligible to an ordinary audience; the poets who might be cited as examples are Tirimmah, al-'Ajij and Ru'ba.

The method for making a poem widely known was the recital of the poem by the poet himself or by one of his followers or pupils, called the carrier (Rawi); the poet himself being "the one endowed with knowledge" (Shair). We find frequent references in Arabic literature to the recital of the poems by the poets themselves, and I refer only to the account given in the Kitab al-Aghani of the recital of the Mu'allaq by al-Harib ibn Hlliza before King an-Numân and that of the Burdah by Ka'b ibn Zuhair before the Prophet. I have, however, to go to later times to get a further glimpse into the activity of the poets and their manner of reciting. In the Kitab al-Faraj b'd ash-Shidda of Tanukhi the poet al-Bulturi relates that he recited to the caliph al-Muat'azz some verses while the latter was in prison. These verses the poet had originally dedicated to Muhammad ibn Yusuf ath-Thaghri, then in prison, and

\[1 \text{ Agh. IX, 178.} \]
\[2 \text{ Vol. I, 89-90.} \]

Writing for the preservation of Ancient Arabic Poetry

now made al-Muat'azz believe that they were composed for him. Al-Muat'azz took the sheet of paper (الورقة) on which the poem was written and handed it to a servant who was present for him to keep in safety. Later, when he had obtained his freedom and became caliph, al-Muat'azz was reminded of the poem and counting the verses rewarded the poet with one thousand dinars for each verse; 6000 dinars for the six verses.

The poetess Lalâ al-Akhylaliyya\(^1\) had a poetical quarrel with the poet an-Nabigha of the tribe of Ja'da and after the customary practice she attacked the tribe of the poet with her lampoons. They, therefore, held a public council and decided to lodge complaint against the offender with the ruler of al-Madina, by which probably the caliph 'Omar or 'Othman is meant. This being reported to Lalâ she composed further verses as a complement to her satire in which she says:

News has reached me that a tribe at Shauran is urging forward jaded riding camels.

Night and morning is their embassy journeying with a sheet of writing to get me flogged. What a bad piece of work (on their part)!

It appears that the people who were to lodge the complaint brought the offending piece of poetry with them in writing.

Qaisaba ibn Kulthum as-Sakûni\(^2\), a South Arabian chief, while intending to perform the pilgrimage to the Ka'ba in the time before Islam, fell into captivity amongst the tribe of 'Amir b. 'Uqail where he pined for several years. The poet Abu-Tama'ahân al-Qaini happened to pass one day the place where Qaisaba was kept in fetters, who learning that Abu-Tama'ahân was about to journey to Yaman, made him undo the covering of his saddle and wrote in Musnad or Yamanite script verses which finally led to his rescue and liberation.

It may be considered that these instances are isolated, and that after all the poetry of the desert was handed down by oral tradition and that the poems were composed and remembered first by the poet himself and finally transmitted by his Rawi and, when the latter had died, by his tribesmen

\[3 \text{ Agh. iv, 134-137. Goldziher, Huft'a, p. 19.} \]
\[4 \text{ Agh. xi, 150-131.} \]
who had either an interest in the preservation of the poem or admired it for the beauty of the diction.

But we can get a further insight that writing was not so uncommon in Arabia as is generally assumed; if we read the verses of poets come down to us, we find there very frequent references to writing and I give in the following only a few typical examples; also that the art of writing had already attained a certain degree of perfection and that the poets had a sense for the beauty of ornamental writing. We find also that the older poets are not unacquainted with writing or even with illuminated title-pages such as the word madāhib being explained as skins on which are lines of writing in gold.

Here we have one kind of material used for writing upon, while in the following verse of Imru'ul-Qais we get acquainted with another kind. He says:

To whom belong the traces of a dwelling-place which I saw and which filled me with sorrow, resembling the hand-writing of a book upon South Arabian palm-bast?

Al-Batâlyûsî in his commentary informs us that the 'astâb is the last of the date palm stripped off the leaves and he adds that the Muslims at the time of the Prophet were using palm-bast and flat stones for writing, while Imru'ul-Qais specially mentions palm-bast because the people of Yaman were accustomed to write their deeds and agreements upon this material.

Hātim of Tâyi'î puts it even plainer that he himself and his audience were acquainted with writing and mentions another writing material in the following verse:

Do you know the traces (of a dwelling) like the lines of gilded (parchments)?

Frequently we find, however, reference made to writing in another script than Arabic, a fact which has been interpreted as an admission of the poet's inability to read or write. The comparison, however, in these cases is more subtle; the poet cannot make out the meaning of the traces of the dwelling just as he is unable to read a foreign script. Instances of this manner of allusion to writing are the following.

Ash-Shammâkî a poet of early Islam says:

Just as a Jewish Rabbi in Tâimâ writes Hebrew with his right hand, then draws lines (for further writing).
But much earlier al-Ḥārith ibn Ḥillīzā refers to another type of writing:

Whose were those homesteads at al-Habs which are effaced till their visible traces look like parchment-deeds of the Persians?

But if I could above refer to the poet al-Buhturi reciting his poem from the written sheet, we are also told that the poet 'Uqaila ibn Hubaira al-Asadi who lived to the time of Mu'awiya handed the caliph a sheet (نفط) on which he had written his verses, which probably were too emphatic in their expression to be recited publicly.

The poet Dur-Rumma when reciting his poems asks the listener to write them down, for he says:

A book does not forget or alter words or phrases which have taken the poet a long time to compose.

The text of his Diwān in the oldest manuscript goes back to the poet himself.

We are further told that an-Nu'mān ibn al-Mundir, king of al-Ḥira possessed a collection (Diwān) of the poems by celebrated poets in his praise and that of his family and that this collection finally got into possession of the Omayyad kings, or at least partly.

In Sukkari's commentary to the poems of Zuhair ibn Abī Sulmā and his son Ka'b we are told that the collected poems of the family of Zuhair were preserved among the Banū Ghaṭafān because they resided among this tribe, though belonging to the tribe of Muzainā.

We get, however, more information in other quarters. Zubair ibn Bakkār relates on the authority of a son of Jam'a the daughter of al-Kuthayyir, who said that among the books of his father containing the poems of Kuthayyir a certain poem was found.

Finally Farazdaq tells us clearly that he possessed a copy of the Diwān of the poet Labīd; that is, at a time before the oldest grammarians who are credited with the collecting of the ancient poems.

Still more important, however, is the fact that for all ancient poems we have a large number of various readings.

---

Footnotes:
1 Muṣaffādāliyyāt, ed. Thorbecke, 26, v. 1.
2 Khizānā 1, 343.
3 Jumāhī, Tuṣafāt, ed. Heli, 103 ff.
4 Agh. viii, 30 bottom.

---

Writing for the preservation of Ancient Arabic Poetry

A great number of these variants are no doubt due to carelessness in handing down, whether caused by errors of hearing or writing, but there are quite a number of readings which can only be due to different interpretation of the unpointed letters of the very defective older Arabic script. Unfortunately only very few of the ancient collections of poems so far published contain really old glosses at first hand to enable us to point out to students these very important readings. I do not refer to the variants caused by careless writing at later periods, but the variants quoted by the earlier grammarians in the commentaries to the poems edited. As examples I cite only the following, which could be increased considerably by systematically going through the Diwāns edited up to the present.

Diwān 'Amīr, ed. Lyall, 4, v. 2

Hujjat poems, ed. Kosegarten, 20, v. 2

Diwān 'Amr b. Qamīs, 1, v. 10

Diwān Mutalāmmīs, 1, v. 4

I have taken these passages at random, but in all cases it is impossible that the variants can be anything but different interpretations of the unpointed written text of the poems at a time before the commentators began to explain the poems.

I might even go further to suggest that the composition of poems and the art of writing were clearly connected, and probably the poet was also the person who wielded the magic art of writing. In addition, the very rhymes of most Arabic poems are more evident to the eye than to the ear. Some poets took a pride in composing poems rhyming upon a
letter which occurs only rarely at the end of words, as poems rhyming upon the letters $u$, $b$, and $j$.

The Diwān of Abul-Aswad ad-Du‘ali contains a small poem, No. 20 in Rescher’s edition, rhyming upon the letter $j$; against the poet Abul-Jārūd who, we are told, was unable to answer with a poem upon the same rhyme. As Abul-Aswad’s life extended well into the time before Islam, we must assume that his striving after unusual rhymes was nothing new. It also seems to me to prove that letters and not sounds played a great part in the art of poetry, and I consider the subject important enough to be followed up further, as we may get more insight into the civilisation of Arabia before Islam.

I need hardly point out that frequent reference is made in ancient poems to deeds and treaties being drawn up in writing, also that from several poets we know that they were Rāwis of older poets and, we might add, their pupils in this art. With the art of writing the pupil, if gifted, was also initiated in the art of poetry. This might also account to a great extent for the schematic trend of thought with its recurring comparisons of the same subjects. Ancient Arabic poetry as preserved to us was not the free effusion of the soul, it was practically without exception an artificial utterance of the mind, expressed more or less skilfully in accordance with the talent of the poet.

1 W. Z. K. M. 1913, p. 382.

F. KRENKOW.

12

AUTHORSHIP AND TRANSMISSION IN UNAUTHORED LITERATURE: THE AKHBĀR ATTRIBUTED TO AL-HAYTHAM IBN ‘ADĪ*

Stefan Leder

Frankfurt am Main

Transmission, much more than authorship, seems to shape large parts of Arabic literature, since the author himself, rather than expressing his views with his own words, hands down materials quoted from earlier authorities. This aspect of literature is not only found in historical writing—quite naturally, where the quotation of eye-witnesses is concerned—but in most other fields as well, especially in the refined literature of the adab-type, characterized by a didactic intention or attitude which impregnates the narration. With the exception of the Prophetic tradition (ḥadīth), most of the material this literature consists of can eventually be defined as self-contained narrative units which we will designate here by the term akhbar. Such texts differ widely in theme and structure, and they range from simple statements or utterances to complex stories.

The concept of adab, the works subsumed under it, and the style associated with adab will continue to generate many questions. “Literature of the adab-type” is here understood in its widest acceptance as given by C.A. Nallino, La littérature arabe des origines à l’époque de la dynastie umayyade, trad. par Ch. Pellat, Paris 1955, pp. 7-28. Concerning akhbar as a term not limited to factual information, see my article: Prosa-Dichtung in der ahbār-Überlieferung, in: Der Islam 64/1987/6 sqq.

The works containing akhbar—whether or not the material is systematically arranged—are compilations drawing on a multitude of sources, most of which are themselves compilations. These sources are not transmitted in their entirety; instead, single akhbar are taken out and woven into a new context consisting of material from different sources. Within the compilation, the khabar forms a mobile element which may be described as a module; it is not a constituent part of an integrated overall-composition. Its absence would not necessarily imply incompleteness or change the character of the compilation.

* This contribution is based on a paper presented at the XIIIe Congrès de l’Union Européenne d’Arabisants et d’Islamisants, Venice 1986.
Although it is not always evident from a given text, the single khabar may have undergone a long process of transmission, having been successively detached from and introduced into a series of works before it appears in the source that one is considering. As a result of this process akhbār are dispersed, and naturally the single element is more apt to be preserved than the work from which it was excerpted. Parallelism between single elements of different works constitutes a characteristic of khabār literature. Due to the process of repeated reproduction, such parallel versions often show variances of different kinds. Akhbār of a distinctly narrative character, in particular, frequently appear under different forms that may hardly be reduced to a common model. To sum up this preliminary perspective, the khabar is described as a mobile component which may appear at different stages of a complex process of reproduction and be characterized by its own idiosyncrasy.

Many readers familiar with this kind of literature will be familiar with these traits. Taken seriously, this would imply that it is very problematic to make a direct use of such material, because any conclusion based on their origin or wording and composition may be misleading. Firstly, their value as self-contained elements favours the spread of akhbār falsely attributed to some authority or author. Indeed, when reproduced in later texts, their attribution, once coined, is transmitted along with the khabar. Since the author of a given source, being a compiler, may have taken his material from an earlier compilation, we cannot be sure that any original text of the authority quoted was known to him. Secondly, even where no doubt concerning authenticity exists, the prevalence of numerous variants may inhibit any subsequent assessment of the author's original wording. Under the circumstances, a detailed description of the process through which reproduction and reshaping of akhbār occurs is indispensable. It would thus be of particular interest to analyze the material of the great akhbārīyīn whose material is so predominant in the later compilations.

Previous attempts in this direction have concentrated on the reconstruction of the akhbārīs' works, and have neglected to consider the wording and composition of their material more closely. Cf. Mohamed A. Yagi, Sahih Ibn Hibān (mort en 215/830), édition des fragments avec traduction (unpublished dissertation), Paris (Sorbonne) 1955; R. Blachère, Un auteur d'adab oublié: al-'Ushî, mort en 228, in: Pour l'orientalisme, mélanges d'Henri Massé, Teheran 1963; Badri M. Fahd, Shāikh al-akhbārīyīn: al-Maddīnī, Nadjaf 1972. For a study of the diachronic and synchronical aspects of the material related to al-Haytham Ibn 'Adī, see my forthcoming study: Esquisse d'un corpus épistolaire du début de l'islam: Le cycle des lettres que nous attribuons à al-Haytham Ibn 'Adī (d. 207/822).

In the following, some observations concerning akhbār transmitted on the authority of al-Haytham Ibn 'Adī (d. 207/822) are set forth in order to prepare the way for a critical evaluation of his authorship. The selection of the material discussed here is based on a comprehensive examination of Haytham's corpus which include, to date, about one thousand akhbār. Except for some fragments, no works by Haytham have been found so far. The material attributed to him is gathered from scattered quotations. Disregarding many of the questions that should be raised in this context, we will concentrate on the fundamental problems of authenticity and originality of form.

The study of a corpus like that of Haytham has to be regarded as a fruitless undertaking if one assumes that these materials do not reflect Haytham's own literary work but were mainly produced by later authors who, according to the rules of literary practice, attributed these materials to him. On the contrary, if one hopes to achieve positive results, one must assume that these quotations are based on a text of which Haytham is either the author or the transmitter, if he refers to a prior authority. In the case of Haytham, as with many akhbārīyīn, proofs to this are very scarce, because there are only few texts or text-fragments that could be attributed to him beyond reasonable doubt. Furthermore, any mere rearrangement of the collected materials according to the titles which are ascribed to him in bibliographical literature would not enable us to establish a dependable reconstruction of his opera. Any attempt to assign certain materials to these titles by reason of subject matter would necessarily be vague and arbitrary. Apart from this, it becomes clear, if we compare the titles with the materials collected, that only a small part may be ascribed with some certainty to the alleged titles.


The Haytham corpus has to be regarded as a mass of dispersed elements, which in most cases may not be attributed to the works of which he is purported to be the author. Hence the only way remaining to establish Haytham's authorship is through the proofs which can be derived from the texts themselves. If one hopes to find a criterion for authenticity, the most obvious way to proceed would be—by analogy with the study of different manuscripts reproducing one text—to collate parallel versions, i.e. different reproductions of a khabar attributed to Haytham.
Akhbār which are identical in wording but ascribed to several different authorities would require further investigation. As in the field of poetry, when a dhikr has to be reconstructed from the dispersed verses found all through the literature, doubts as to the correctness of the attribution are justified in these cases. If identically parallel versions do not go back to a common informant (or source), they cannot both be of correct attribution. The limitations of this method are defined by what has already been alluded to. In contrast to poetry, no well-defined rules underly the composition of akhbar. The frequency of variances between parallel texts must limit the number of reproductions which, while identical in form, are attributed to two or several different authorities. False attribution can hence only be ascertained in a limited number of cases.

Our perception of identical reproductions must, however, take into account the fact that any reproduction of texts on the base of manuscripts quite naturally generates variants: these have to be distinguished from divergence, which is of greater significance. Non-intentional interferences, such as抄ists's errors, small omissions, orthographic particularities, as well as minor adaptations — intentional or not — such as inversion of word order, change of prepositions according to linguistic usage, etc., should be understood as iterative variants. They do not exclude convergency between parallel texts.

Even if one extends the concept of convergency in this manner, the number of parallels, where the identification of false attribution is possible, does not significantly increase. The relations among texts have to be examined in detail, as will be shown below, in view of their partial convergency.

Firstly, it should be mentioned that convergent parallels among the akhbar attributed to Haytham refer to an antetypus that they — provided that there is no interdependency—are independently based on. The older these parallels and the closer they are to the lifetime of Haytham, the more they suggest a link to an original text of his or his direct disciples and exclude the use of intermediate sources. Only few results gained in this fashion can be considered fully reliable, since we often cannot exclude certain interdependencies among the sources. But they provide us, even if they are not numerous compared to the number of akhbar contained in the corpus, with some evidence to Haytham's authorship.

In this context it may, for example, be pointed out that the khabar which appears identically in al-Dājīzī, al-Bayān wa-tāhībīn, ed. 'Abdassalam M. Hārūn, 1-4, Cairo 1388/1968, 2/263 sq., and Ibn Qutayba, Yūnūn al-akhbār, 1-4, Cairo 1345/1925-1349/1930, 1/311, could find its place in his al-Khīlāt al-Kufrīya (ed. Ibn an-Nadīm, p. 112). It is not a certainly established fact that these sources are independent, but there are good reasons to suppose (see G. Lecomte, Ibn Qutayba, Damascus 1965, pp. 194-98). Also, the identical reproductions of a khabar in al-Qāfī, K. al-Amūli, 1-3, Beirut n.d. (Cairo 1344/1926) 3/214 sq. and ar-Raqqām, K. al-'Afdī wa-l-tāhībīn, ed. 'Abdalladudūs Abī Sallāh, 1-2, Riyadh 1401/1981, 472 sqq., could refer equally to Walīd al-Kūfī, attributed to Haytham (Ibn an-Nadīm, p. 112), as to the 'Umar al-Kūfī by Ḥabīb ibn Shabba (d. around 263/876; cf. Ibn an-Nadīm, p. 125), who appears in the insurds of both texts.

Other results obtained through comparison of parallel texts, however, tend to render the question of authenticity irrelevant. Variances which exclude convergency, and thus go beyond our definition given above, cannot be regarded as a mere failure of the copyist. They are so numerous in the Haytham corpus that the process of transmission must be considered as endowed with a literary identity of its own. Divergency of this order may jeopardize the assumption of a common basis. The quest for the original author becomes meaningless, when the parallel reproductions vary to such an extent that the original wording seems to be disguised by the adaptations of later authors.

The analogy with the free adaptation prevailing in oral transmission is obvious, but in the present context it does not offer an adequate explanation. Divergency may very well result from a textual transmission as may be deduced from the comparison of parallel texts which refer to each other through quotation.


Divergency may also occur when akhbar are repeated either in one book (e.g. Ibn Ḥadżar al-ʾAsqālānī, al-Īṣāba fi tamyīz as-taḥāba, 1-8, Cairo 1322-25, 1-10, 181), or in different places by the same author. An example of the latter is given by al-Dājīzī. The utterance of a young boy who, when asked, designates his father, named kalb (dog), by the onomatopoeia wāw-wāw, is quoted twice on the authority of Haytham. In his Bayān (1/64: qaṭa l-Haytham), only the boy's answer is reported, and, by way of explanation, the name of the boy's father. In his K. al-Hayawān (ed. 'Abdassalam M. Hārūn, 1-7, Cairo 1356/1938-1364/1945), 2/168: zaʾama l-Haytham), we find a narrative elaboration; here the event and its circumstances are reported: "A man called kalb (dog) had a little son, who was once playing in the street ....".

The difference between both versions is not just one of wording. Although the plot is the same, the narrative structures differ to a degree that denotes an intentional adaptation. This short example already marks the extent of what adaptation may do to an original text. One hesitates to attribute both versions to Haytham. If he was the author of both, he would have furnished two different versions of this khabar. A more obvious conclusion would be that the later adaptor, in this case al-Dājīzī, concealed the liberties he took by maintaining the attribution to Haytham. This process must, of course, not be misunderstood as falsification. Any rebuke of this sort would here be inappropriate. By making this charge, we would only lend credih to the assertion that the reproduction of texts is generally faithful. It is clear that we in no way subscribe to this view point. The fact that adaptation designates itself as transmission may only be perceived as a reproach by those who claim that faithful reproduction is the norm.
Another example of two structurally different versions ascribed to Haytham is a tale about the young 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb. During a visit to Damascus, he loses his companions and goes astray. He comes across a Christian monk who, taking advantage of his weakness, manages to free himself. A second monk, however, offers him hospitality: recognizing him as the future conqueror of Syria, the monk implores his protection.

Both versions point to the same source, because Haytham is quoted as referring to Aslam, a maullā of 'Umar (cf. Ibn Ḥadjar, al-Isāba, 1/37, 107) as the ultimate authority. Yet, they differ greatly in respect to the representation of the dialogue and the narrator's point of view. Az-Zadjdjadjl (al-Amāfī, ed. 'Abdallašam M. Hārun, Cairo 1382, pp. 39-41) offers a narration in the first person, i.e. allegedly the account of 'Umar himself, as he told it to his maullā Aslam. In contrast, Ibn Kathīr (al-Bidāya wan-nihāya, 7/58 sq.) first quotes Aslam’s report about the journey of his patron 'Umar (i.e. a narration in the third person), and then changes suddenly to a narration in the first person which is roughly the same as that of az-Zadjdjadjl. The abrupt change to another point of view corresponds with the introduction of a substantial element which can hardly be reported by Aslam, since from his “observer’s” point of view, he does not have access to it: By the words “I sat down to think about it” (diftasstu naṣfakiran), an aspect of introspection is introduced. Since this passage finds a parallel in az-Zadjdjadjl’s version, we conclude that it is the text itself, its source, which induced Ibn Kathīr to change the point of view of his narration. The presumption that the version preserved in this work might have been reshaped from a text close to the version of az-Zadjdjadjl is simply a consequence of our observation concerning the dominant traits of the narration which Ibn Kathīr found in his source. Confirmation of this assumption is gained from further comparison. The introspective momentum is more circumstantial in az-Zadjdjadjl’s text, where ‘Umar is engaged in an inner monologue. In addition, Ibn Kathīr gives much shorter dialogues and shows a tendency to avoid direct speech (e.g.: sa‘alan ‘ani lamentī, Bidāya; mā yug‘idan li‘āna, Amāfī). The legendary element, according to which the monk was able to foresee the later role of ‘Umar, appears to be better elaborated in az-Zadjdjadjl’s text because the monk here formulates his presentiment subtly. Ibn Kathīr, however, presents what seems to be an awkward simplification (la-adilīda sīfata sīfata li‘āt takhrīdāna min ‘āhāna li‘ārī), Amāfī; in‘ii la-arikka (sic!?) min bi‘ādinā, Bidāya). Most probably, the adaptation found in Bidāya was undertaken in order to make a more complex narration compatible with a historical report. This transformation was interrupted and impeded by specific traits of the narrative itself.

Neither Ibn Kathīr nor az-Zadjdjadjl—if we suppose that there had been an “editorial” interference in the elaboration of this text—can be singled out as responsible for the shape of the text as it appears in their works. Az-Zadjdjadjl quotes (akhbaranī) Ibn Durayd (d. 321/933; EI’ 3/757), and Ibn Kathīr refers to (ra‘dī) Ahmad ibn Marwān ad-Dinawārī (d. 310/922; GAL’ 1/160 sq. S 1/249). Both are well-known authors in the akhbār field. Ad-Dinawāri’s al-Muğāfala wa-gawwār al-tīm (Publications of the Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science, Series C Facsimile Editions 38, Frankfurt 1986, p. 301 sq.) contains a version of Haytham’s narrative. Many differences in wording which distinguish his version from az-Zadjdjadjl’s Text are faithfully reproduced by Ibn Kathīr. Doubtless ad-Dinawāri’s reproduction is the source of his own version. But comparison makes clear, that Ibn Kathīr himself reshaped the text by reductions and simplifications and thus brought it close to the form of a historical report. Adaptation concerning the wording (style) and narrative structure is to be observed in the work of Ibn Kathīr in other instances as well.

The comparison between Ibn Kathīr, Bidāya 8.100 sq. and at-Taniikhi, al-Mustaddīd min fa‘ilāt al-adwād, ed. M. Kurd ‘Alī, Damascus 1365/1946, 125 sq. offers an obvious example.

The data gained from the collation of other parallels show that in many cases wording and composition of akhbār quoted on the authority of Haytham result from a process of repeated adaptation. Reshaping therefore may not be a unique operation but may occur several times within the long chain of transmission from the archetype to the text that reaches us. Intermediate sources may be of importance as lost links within this chain.

Normally, adaptations do not give rise to versions of distinct narrative structure. Divergency is mostly limited to differences in wording, omissions, abridgements, comments, explanations of the motives of the protagonists, and amplifications through the addition of adequate descriptive elements. A story about the Caliph al-Hādī’s (d. 170/786) invitation to praise the sword of the famous poet ‘Amr ibn Ma‘dīkarīb (muhkadram, cf. GAS 2/306 sq.) will be discussed here. It serves as an example of differential change at different levels of the transmission process which does not entail changes in the narrative structure.

As-Sāṃsāma, the sword of the legendary warrior and poet ‘Amr ibn Ma‘dīkarīb, comes into the hands of al-Hādi. He lays it down in front of him, the blade bare, and invites the poets to praise it. One of them, Ibn Yamlī al-Baṣīri (al-Ma‘ṣūdī, Murādi, see below, § 2491 and Index) is the first to pronounce verses that satisfy the Caliph. He is rewarded with a gift of money and the precious sword. After he has offered to share the gift with his colleagues, the Caliph buys back the sword from him.

wa-thamar al-albâb, ed. 'Ali M. al-Bidjâwî, I-2, Cairo 1384/1969, p. 780 sq., and ath-Thu'alîbî. Thîmus al-qulîbî fra'mudwil wa-masnûs, ed. M. Abû I-Fadîl Ibrahim, Cairo 1348/1965, p. 622 sq. Finally, we must also mention the text of al-Khadâji, Târis al-mudlijîn, Cairo 1284, p. 135 sq., who quotes six of the verses on the sword, but ascribes them to al-Mas'îdî. His Caliph's court is preceded by a sketch of the history of this sword; it passed here. When the account reaches the Caliph those related to them may be divided into two families. The texts of the reproductions of the khabar quoted on the authority of Haytham and Ibn Khallikan are similar to one another. In both, the scene at the palace of al-Mahdi, where he is represented and Ibn Khallikan quotes this story in his biographical chapter on Haytham—was once one of the Caliph's intimates (nudmîn). The biographies report Haytham's intimacy with several caliphs up to Hârûn ar-Rashîd (e.g. al-Qâfî, Ibrâhîm as-râwî 'alîh al-bayt al-mudlijîn, ed. M. Abû I-Fadîl Ibrahim, I-4, Cairo 1369/1950 [1393] 1973, 3/365). A reminiscence of Haytham concerning a meeting (madjîr) at the palace of al-Mahdi is quoted by al-Mas'îdî, Murâdî, § 2464.

The two texts of Abû Hîlîl and Ibn Khallikan confirm the rendering of al-Âuşrî, although his version shows abridgements and, as regards the Caliph's invitation, inconsistency; these factors denote textual corruption. Al-Âuşrî and Ibn Khallikan have some wordings in common which contrast with Abû Hîlîl: e.g. kânâ awwa'a bânî l- 'Abbas kaffân instead of khulqân; miktal fîhi badarut instead of damâniru. This points either to a specific wording shaped by Abû Hîlîl himself, or to interference by a copyist. We are inclined to believe the second possibility. Ibn Khallikan's text is so close to that of Abû Hîlîl that he has probably drawn his rendering from a version based on Abû Hîlîl's text. Yet al-Âuşrî who, on chronological grounds, can hardly have drawn on the work of Abû Hîlîl, must have taken the model of his rendering from a source that Abû Hîlîl also used.

Only Abû Hîlîl gives the chain of transmitters which connects him with Haytham. He quotes (gîla) Muhammad ibn Dâwûd ibn al-Djarrâh (d. 296/ 908; GAL S 1/224 sq.) who refers to (an) Abû Hîfîn (d. 255/869; GAS 1/732) ('an l-lîyûs al-Qâfî 'anî l-Haytham). By mentioning these two well-known men of letters and authors of works entitled "What is known about poets" (akhbâr ash-shu'ârâ'î), we are led to a possible link between Abû Hîlîl and al-Âuşrî. Of course this must, due to the lack of textual proof, remain a presumption. Confirmation is found, however, in a remark of ath-Thu'alîbî, who, following his rendering of the story, mentions a version of Abû Hîfîn, which he does not reproduce (see below).

Al-Mas'îdî's and ath-Thu'alîbî's renderings belong to the second family of texts. At first glance, the differences between both seem to outweigh any convergence. Yet, the fact that there are identical passages in these two texts—in contrast to the parallels of the first family—attracts our attention. The end of the story, relating the poet's honest attitude towards his colleagues, appears in both texts in identical form as far as structure and wording are concerned. Also the account of the Caliph's invitation corresponds in both texts: here he addresses his chamberlain (hâdîb). Apart from this, convergencies with corresponding parts of the other texts occur independently at different points. Al-Mas'îdî cites only three verses, their sequence being in concordance with ath-Thu'alîbî and Abû Hîlîl. Also al-Mas'îdî hints to his source by quoting (haddathannu) from 'Abdallâh ibn aḍ-Ḍâhîhî al-Maṣrî (ed. M. Hibbân al-Bustî, K. al-Madjrubîn min al-muhâdithîn, ed. Maḥmûd Ibrâhîm Zâvî, I-3, Aleppo 1395/1975-1976, 3/91; al-Hadâdî). 'Abdallâh ibn aḍ-Ḍâhîhî appears several times as a direct transmitter of Haytham in his corpus, mostly as an informant of the well-known historian Muḥammad ibn Zakariyâ al-Ghâlîbî. Muḥîr ibn Zakariyâ an-Nahrawânî, K. al-Dîlîs as-adâlî kâdû, ed. M. Mursî al-Khîlîl, I-2, Beirut 1360/1981-1363/1984, 240, 251, 2/26, and id., ms. Saray Alamîn III 2231, p. 385; 'as-Ṣâlîf, Ashâr awwâl al-khalîfâ, ed. J. Heyworth-Dune, London 1936, pp. 297, 298, 313. For al-Ghalîbî (d. 298/910) see Khayraddîn az-Zirîkî, al-Ālamîn, 1-8, Beirut 1980, 6/130, and F. Rosenthal. A History of Muslim Historiography, Leiden 1968, pp. 429, 569.

Al-Ghalîbî is not mentioned by al-Mas'îdî in this context, but his K. al-Âdwâdî, which would be thematically appropriate for this story, belongs to his sources, as al-Mas'îdî declares elsewhere (Murâdî, § 8). Since 'Abdallâh ibn aḍ-Ḍâhîhî cannot be a direct informant of al-Mas'îdî, in spite of what the term haddathannu seems to imply, we suppose that the name of al-Ghalîbî has been omitted.

Ibn 'Abdrabbih offers an abridged version concentrating on the scene between the Caliph and the poets. The verses quoted by him differ from Abû Hîlîl's rendering only in their order and in some details. But his narrative corresponds to the text of al-Mas'îdî (e.g. when the Caliph addresses his hâdîb) and must be connected with al-Ghalîbî's version. Ibn 'Abdrabbih, who does not allude to his source here, quotes al-Ghalîbî several times elsewhere in his work (cf. Walter Werkmeister, Quellenuntersuchungen zum Kâfîb al-Taqâ al-fârîd des Andalusiers Ibn 'Abdrabbih, Berlin 1983, S. 320). He receives most of the material from Abû Yûsûf ash-Shâbihî (d. 298/911; U.R. Kâhîlîl, Mu'jam al-mu'allîfîn, 1-15, Damascus 1376/1957-1381/1961, 1/5.
97), whose lost adab-work probably was Ibn 'Abdrabbih's direct source also in this case. A faithful reproduction of Ibn 'Abdrabbih's rendering is given by Ibn Hudhayl. But he also reports, in accordance with the texts mentioned above, the end of the story (the poet's reward), which does not appear in the 'Iqd as we now have it. Ibn Hudhayl must have had a more complete copy of this text, at least as far as this detail is concerned, than we do.

Ath-Tha'alibi also depends on al-Ghallabi in those parts which are parallel to al-Mas'udi's text. Those passages of their texts which converge with the renderings of the first family would then point back to an original version of Haytham. The parts which appear exclusively in the texts of al-Mas'udi, ath-Tha'alibi and Ibn 'Abdrabbih would consequently reflect a version of al-Ghallabi. Finally, these texts also show individual traits shaped by the authors of the compilations that we use as our sources.

Of course, ath-Tha'alibi is in part substantially different from the other versions attributed to Haytham. Two elements must here be discussed. Ath-Tha'alibi deals more with the historical aspect than the parallel texts. He quotes the verses of 'Amr ibn Ma'dikarib pronounced when he left the sword to Ibn al-`Asi, enumerates the Umayyad caliphs who owned it, and mentions its final transfer to al-Hadi. Secondly, according to ath-Tha'alibi, the poet who is rewarded for his verses—roughly the same as in the parallel texts—is not Ibn Yamin but Abul-Haul al-Himyari (who lived until the reign of the Caliph al-Amin; cf. GAS 2/599). Both these elements are to be found in a text given by al-Baladhuri (Futuhat al-Buldun, ed. Salahuddin al-Munadjijji, Cairo 1956-58, p. 142 sq.) who quotes (wa-qa laysa) Haytham's colleague Hisham ibn Muhammad al-Kalbi (d. 204/819 or 206/821; cf. EI 3/495). The main part of his text relates what could be called a "genealogy of the sword". Ath-Tha'alibi's shorter version is parallel to it in content—he abridges a long list of owners—and divergent in some details. It does not seem too hazardous to suggest that ath-Tha'alibi's version is a combination of two strains of adaptation, one leading over al-Ghallabi, a common link to al-Mas'udi, and the other being of unknown provenance but in some way connected with Ibn al-Kalbi. The attribution of the verses to Abul Haul, however, must not necessarily be borrowed from this unknown source. Al-Baladhuri names Abul Haul just as do al-Djaiji (K. al-Hayawd, 5/87 sq.) and Ibn ash-Shadjar0i (al-Hamds, ed. 'Abdalmuin al-Mulubi and Asma' al-Himsi, 1-2, Damascus 1970, p. 796 sq.). Moreover, one may gather that ath-Tha'alibi was aware of the opinion of scholars who voted for Abul Haul as the poet in question; this is suggested by his quotation (Thimdr, p. 623) of a commentary from al-Djaiji, who, in the corresponding text (Hayawdan, 5/87), just quotes the verses from Abul Haul without inserting them into a narrative framework. It is possible that ath-Tha'alibi, from his position of superior insight into the matter, and influenced by authorities like al-Djaiji, felt obliged and free to change the name of the poet he found in his source. The importance he gave to this question is manifest in his remark subsequent to this story, according to which Abul Hifian held Ibn Yamin to be the author (zabih) of the poem (see above).

Nothwithstanding our conclusion concerning the text of ath-Tha'alibi, it remains that adaptation occurred at different levels of the chain of transmission. Successive adaptations by Abul Hifian resp. Ibn al-Djarr and al-Ghallabi could be identified. We have shown further that the authors of the compilations we use also introduced identifiable changes into the text.

A study of quite different character than the Sansams sword and the Caliph al-Hadi is given by al-Mu'iffsI ibn Zakaryya', al-Djaiji, 1/566-68. Here, the narrator is Abul Muhammad al-Yazidid (d. 202/817-18; al-Khaib al-Baghdadi, Tur'ih BaghdaJi, 1-14, Cairo 1349/1931, 14/146 sq.; az-Zubaidi, Tabaqiit al-Nabiyin wal-Hakimiyin, ed. M. Abul Fadl al-Hasib, Cairo 1373/1954, pp. 66-68). He was present when the Caliph ordered the sword to be struck against a stone, and when the poet's verses then praised the sword that split through the rock without being damaged. Al-Mu'iffs cites al-Ghallibi, who thus appears to be the authority for two different—indeed opposed—stories about al-Hadi and the sword. They differ not only in content (action), but also in their narrative features. The story that al-Mu'iffs' quotes from al-Ghallibi includes distinct narrations in the first person: Al-Yazidi tells about his intimate relation with the Caliph and his attempt to prevent the sword from being put to the test. Within this story appears the account of the Caliph; he tells of his quest for the sword, and why he wanted to test it. This composition has no equivalent among the akhbar of the Haytham corpus, except in the texts found in al-Mu'iffs' book. This adds to my suspicion that, while outwardly claiming to be a faithful traditionist, he has taken great liberties in reshaping the material.

The fact that the material underwent successive modification does not mean that Haytham's akhbar lie buried under an uncontrollable multiplication of variants. In many instances, as in the example presented here, the reproductions of akhbar referred to Haytham reveal, in their convergent parts, a clear outline of 'his' version, which can be clearly distinguished from substantially similar akhbar not attributed to Haytham. In these cases, the data given in the isnad may be a reliable indication of the origin of the single khabar.

Our consideration of divergency has made it clear that the isnad does not necessarily ensure the preservation of the original form, as set down by the authority purported to be the primary source in the chain of the isnad. Moreover, the validity of isnads, thus defined, does not warrant generalization. When two texts are of identical appearance but are not related according to the indications given in the isnads, doubts naturally arise as to the trustworthiness of these indications. This does not only apply to completely identical texts. If we firstly consider that akhbar may undergo repeated adaptation, the question must be raised in respect to convergent parts of parallel texts: this may indicate a non-explicit relationship. We secondly have to consider that several narrators to whom different versions of a khabar are referred, may relate a story which was common knowledge to many. In this case, the convergence between texts of independent transmissions does not
establish false attribution. In this light, what was said in the beginning may be specified: We must insist on a careful evaluation of the convergent and divergent parts of parallel texts.

An evaluation of this kind may bring forth results that do not confirm the indications of the isnads. The "stemma" derived from the comparison of parallel texts is not always concordant with the isnads. When one is dealing with several versions, the convergence between texts quoted from different authorities may override the convergence between those parallels which are attributed to a single authority. The distinct versions of a love-story attributed to different authorities serves as an illustration of such a case. Its plot is not without implicit meaning as it is common in stories of this type: A young man is roaming about with his companions and meets a girl. Having fallen in love, he stays alone near her camp and succeeds in contacting and visiting her several times at night. When her family becomes suspicious, she leaves the camp. The young man, taking her to be one of his enemies, kills her with a shot from his bow. When he discovers his tragic error, he recites two verses and then kills himself. Her family arrives on the scene, and both are buried in one grave.


The two texts which mention Haytham in their isnâd show much less convergency among each other than among each of them does with the rendering of Ibn Qutayba. All parts of this text are spread over all the other versions in literally identical form. His version thus appears closest to an archetype which all texts are drawn from. One element common only to Ibn 'Abdrabbih and as-Sarrâdj is—apart from a few common textual specificities—that both lovers are buried together. Haytham, according to as-Sarrâdj, is referring to another informant than Ibn al-Ka'bî's Abû Miskîn. We expect therefore to find at least traces of a specific wording which could be considered as a substrate of the Haytham version. But no such text is discernable. The texts, as we have them, do not confirm the isnâd's claim that there were two independently composed versions.

The identification of these three texts with an Ibn al-Ka'bî version is not possible either. The fact that they all are, at least in part, attributed to Ibn al-Ka'bî / Abû Miskîn may imply a convergence between parts of the texts ascribed to Haytham ("Iqd; Maṣâhir") and the version of Ibn Qutayba. Yet, the "Iqd shows many wordings of its own, so that there is little common ground between these texts.

Of course, the claim of the isnâd could be supported by other arguments. In this vein, the basic assumption would be that quoting two authorities (or giving two isnâds) does not necessarily establish that the subsequent text is a melange of two versions. In other words, the text of as-Sarrâdj would be closer to that of Ibn Qutayba than is Ibn 'Abdrabbih's, since the former renders more of Ibn al-Ka'bî's Abû Miskîn's wording. The isolated parts of the "Iqd which do not accord with any other parallel text would then reflect the substrate of a Haytham version. Even if this cannot be decided with full certainty, a close examination of the passages in question reveals that they function as commentaries and explanations of the protagonists' motives. They do not seem to be original.

Al-Kharîrî's version has been styled into a great love-story and includes some of its most important topics, such as the marvelous beauty of the girl, the passion that drives the young man out of his mind, and the glance at the beloved which is meant to relieve his suffering. Al-Kharîrî's text therefore documents a thorough adaptation.

The presumption derived from the occurrence of a double isnâd does not disprove that there is no text which, in view of its discernable features, could be regarded as the work of Haytham. Two conclusions have to be drawn. The first concerns the attribution to two different authorities and their informants; they cannot both be right. The second concerns the generation of attributions. Theoretically, we can conceive this either as a silent appropriation by the akhbâr (i.e. Haytham) himself, or as an additional incorporation into his repertoire by later scholars. The alternative possibilities cannot be discussed here at length. It will suffice to observe that unavowed appropriation on the part of the akhbâr would reasonably entail a specific shaping of the khabar. If we retain the second hypothesis, we have to ask why the attribution of a love-story like this should be introduced subsequently. In this case, the answer may lie in the grave. Even if it does not seem important to us, the motif of a common grave for the lovers is of great relevance for the story's moral. It seems to denote a reconciliation between the lovers and their antagonists on the one hand, and, on the other, is a sign of forgiveness for what they have done. This unexpected turn in the course of the story might have required, when it was made, the attribution to an authority whose name would endow it with "factual" value.

The study of Haytham's akhbâr suggests, as we may advance here, that the activity of the scholars (compilers) who dealt with the material brought about a new literary production. The attribution of entirely new material to prior authorities seems, in the light of these results, rather exceptional. But the arrangement of "drifting" materials through imputation to well-known akhbâryûn, as well as the attribution of transformed materials to appropriate authorities, are discernable. It is not surprising that this process, due to its decentral character, would not exclude ambiguities.
This does not, however, affect the Haytham corpus as a whole to the extent that it should be considered to be entirely the result of a later production. From the generation of Haytham's disciples onwards, the transmission of thematically defined sets of texts can be traced. Naturally, many texts ascribed to different authorities are parallel to the 

This example manifests the preservation of the basic elements of the wording and represents Haytham as one transmitter among others. The saying runs in the version of al-Balidhuri: mit sami'tu musakalliman qattu yakhabaru wa-yuifu illa tamannatu an yazkuwa makhabatun an yisti'a illa Ziyadun kana la yazdadi kalaman illa-rida iladinun.

The only common feature of the two texts related to Haytham is minor, and the coherence of all the texts is obvious from the parts they have in common. This example manifests the preservation of the basic elements of the wording and represents Haytham as one transmitter among others. Even material such as the example dealt with above, which does not raise any question with respect to its provenance and preservation of form, cannot be considered irrelevant to the perspective developed here. The assumption of a growth of the akhbâr's repertoire, resulting from the activity of later scholars, may shed doubt on its seemingly flawless attribution. The establishment, however, of correlations in addition or in contrast to those declared by the isnâds, remains dependent on several conditions and will thereby always be restricted to single cases.
The main purpose of the following remarks is to remind the reader of a neglected outpost of classical scholarship. Though it is becoming better known, it still lacks recognition and its defenders remain more isolated than is good for them: there are too few cooperators and there is too little discussion and criticism. The days of Scaliger and Reiske who were both classicists and accomplished Arabists seem to have gone for ever, and hence most of the work which is based on Arabic texts is ignored outside the orientalist circle. It may, then, not be useless to mention a few questions connected with the importance which the study of Arabic philosophical texts may have at the present day for classical scholarship.

It is commonly realized that the tradition of philosophy (and science) of which the Arabs got hold between A.D. 800 and 1000 was richer than the Greek-Byzantine tradition of philosophy which reached the West in the days of the great Schoolmen and of Marsilio Ficino. Philosophical and scientific texts less favoured in the later centuries of the Byzantine Empire were still in comparatively easy reach and the Arabic translators made good use of this opportunity.

Only a comparatively small part of the Arabic versions of Greek philosophical texts has survived; not all of those extant have been traced; not all of those traced have been edited and translated into a Western language. A complete survey would be the subject of a monograph. But some recent progress may be indicated. The Arabic text of Aristotle's *Categories* has been known for about 100 years, the *De interpretatione* for more than 40, the *Poetics* for almost 70 years. We have now, in addition, first editions of the *Prior* and *Posterior Analytics*, the *Topics* and the *Sophistici Elenchi* ¹, [the *Rhetorics* ²], the *De anima* ³, the *Metaphysics* ⁴ and the pseudo-aristotelian work *De plantis* by Niccolaus of Damascus ⁵. Manuscripts of the *Physics*, the *De caelo*, the *History of animals*, the works *On the parts of animals* and *On the generation of animals* are in

² By the same editor (Cairo 1959).]
³ By the same editor (Cairo 1954).
⁴ By M. Bouyges S. J. (Beirut 1938–52).
⁵ By A. J. Arberry (Cairo 1933/4).
easy reach 1. Editions of all these treatises are being planned; the editions of the Meteorology and of the last four books of the Nicomachean Ethics 2 are expected in the not too distant future. The translation of Themistios’ paraphrase of the De anima is being prepared for publication. The Arabic text of Ps. Plutarch’s Placula Philosophorum can now be compared with the badly preserved Greek text 3. To compile a comparative index of philosophical terminology—Greek, Arabic, and Latin—thus appears less difficult now than it did still twenty years ago.

There is no reason to embark on a list of philosophical texts which have survived only in Arabic versions and thus, together with the Egyptian papyri, increase our present knowledge of Greek literature: they are quite well known 4. I may, however, mention the recent discoveries of lost works by Alexander of Aphrodisias, the founder of the medieval tradition of Aristotle reading, on whose commentaries and monographs both Arabic and medieval philosophers so largely depend. They are partly available in print 5 (but not translated into a European language), partly have been very recently traced in Istanbul; they are of great interest for the history of Greek and later philosophy 6.

There exists a group of Arabic philosophical texts which are evidently based on lost Greek works without reproducing them in every detail but which follow the original argument very closely, as far as can be made out by probable guesses. Apart from the few original Greek texts of the great authors who interest us all—a chapter based on Posidonius 7, fragments of Aristotle’s Dialogues 8, a line of Democritus embedded in an Arabic Galen 9, etc.—the interpretation of this kind of text is most fascinating and attractive. I refer only to a few examples. A Consolatio by Al-Kindi can be proved, argument by argument, to reproduce a late Greek original whose author we cannot identify. It was imitated and used by many later Islamic writers 1. Of greater importance is Al-Farabi’s small work On Plato’s philosophy 2, although it does not reproduce the Greek original in full and omits the ideal doctrine and the immortality of the soul. It gives an account of all the Platonic dialogues, arranged in an order both systematically and chronologically different from every arrangement hitherto known: starting with the Major Alcibiades and finishing with the Letters. With the exception of the Minos, all the dialogues to be found in the Alexandrian tetralogical edition are mentioned and characterized. The systematic arrangement is, from a historical point of view, certainly, to say the least, naive. The author looks at Plato’s thought with the eyes of an average late Greek professor of philosophy and assumes that Plato had planned a closed philosophical system in the same way as he himself would have done it. In a similar way, the Greek historians of mathematics restored the sequence of events according to the requirements of their own time and did not hesitate to assume that facts which had to be first established on logical grounds should also come first chronologically 3. What is important in this survey of Plato’s thought is that it is utterly independent of the late Neoplatonic view and refrains from interpreting the Parmenides as a compendium of Plato’s Metaphysics and making the Timaeus Plato’s most outstanding work. On the contrary, it gives Plato’s so-called political thought its due position, by emphasizing the conception of the philosopher-king and even appreciating Plato’s attempts to realize it here and now. Such interpretations of Plato must have been still alive, or at least available, when the Arabs came in contact with Greek philosophy, and will have inspired Al-Farabi in his attempt to proclaim the ideal calif as the platonist philosopher-king 4. He was helped in the impressive revival of Plato’s conception of the philosopher-king which he established in Islamic lands by commentaries of the Republic 5 and the Laws 6 which are also free from Neoplatonic accretions.

1 H. Ritter and R. Walzer, Studi su al-Kindi 11, Arc. dei Lincei, Roma 1938, and the additions and corrections by M. Pohlezen (GGArz. 200, 1938, p. 409 ff.).
2 F. Rusehlah and R. Walzer, Alfarabius De Platonis philosophia, Plato Arabus II (London 1941).
4 Cf. also my contribution to the “Études sur l’antiquité classique” of 1955, to be published by the Fondation Hardt, Vandeuvers (Genève) (below, pp. 236-252) and the article Al-Kindi in the second edition of the Encyclopaedia of Islam (Leiden 1955).
It is obvious that Greek evidence of the teaching of Ethics in the late Greek philosophical schools is rather scanty. Our information about this rather important subject is not at all satisfactory. We know something but not very much from Aulus Didymus, the emperor Augustus' court-philosopher's account of Stoic and Peripatetic ethics, as reproduced in the 4th century compiler's Stobaeus work. Plutarch, e.g., obviously presupposed a tradition of this kind but does not reproduce it in any detail when writing his entertaining essays on ethical topics. The Greek commentaries of the Nicomachean Ethics which we can read cannot be compared with the learned and well-informed commentaries on the logical, physical and metaphysical treatises which we possess. Strange as it may appear to us, it does not seem that the Nicomachean Ethics was a very popular work in late antiquity. Philosophical ethics, we learn from Arabic works, were generally based on the three parts of the soul, the rational, the spirited and the appetitive element. This platonic tripartition of the soul had again been made the basis of ethical thought by men like Ptolemaeus and Galen, and had evidently been generally accepted in average works on ethics in later antiquity. This could be worked out as a system of four main excellences and a large number of subordinate ἀρετή, as the Stoics had done it, but in a manner more akin to Plato's Republic. The Aristotelian definition of excellence as the mean between two extremes which one could be connected with this scheme, but we also find an Arabic treatise in which long lists of virtues and vices (or rather of bad and good ἀρετή) are given without any detailed reference to the afore-mentioned parts of the soul in which they are somehow domiciled. Some sections of these systems certainly go back to the time before Plotinus, and so add to our knowledge of hellenistic ethics, but it requires peculiar discretion to make a clear distinction between the different strata. One of the Arabic authors, Miskawaih, gives a lively and detailed analysis of human relations based on the ὅλον books of the Nicomachean Ethics, with two significant additions, due probably to the philosophical climate or the Greek author on which Miskawaih drew. The platonic ἀρετή which Aristotle disowned, is re-established in its dignity, and a new type of relation, the friendship between the philosophical teacher and his pupil, is introduced. It is situated between the friendship of God and the philosopher who is able to know him and the friendship between parents and children. The teacher is the spiritual father of the disciple, who may consider him as a mortal god. I can find no exact parallel to these expressions in extant Greek texts, although they correspond well to what we know of Proclus' school, e.g., who refers to his teacher Syrianus as his father, to Syrianus' teacher Plutarch as his grandfather, and who is called child (ρέων) by his master. But the expression 'spiritual, πνευματικός', father or child, which becomes so common in the Middle Ages, in the language of Christian holy orders as in politics, and which can be applied to the Pope, seems not to be found in pagan Greek texts, and is due to a Christian, Greek, Syriac or Arabic alteration. The idea itself is ultimately pythagorean, and a beautiful passage from Seneca De brevi vitae 15 comes to mind. It is interesting that this concept of the spiritual relationship between teacher and disciple is then made part of the traditional reading of the Aristotelian ethics. To give some other aspect of the quality of these texts, I quote a passage from an ethical treatise by an Arabic Christian Yahyā ibn 'Adī, in which the Greek colouring is equally unmistakable: Whoever strives to become perfect must also train himself to love every man, to give him his affection, his compassion, his tenderness and his mercy. For mankind is one race, united by the fact that they all are human beings and that the mark of the divine power is in all of them and in each of them, namely the intellectual soul. Man becomes man on the strength of this soul, which is the most noble part in man. Man is in reality the intellectual soul, and that intellectual soul is one and the same substance in all men, and all men are in reality one and the same thing, and many only in their individual existence. This is stoic and neoplatonic language in one.

I have hitherto, emphasized the importance of the Arabs for gaining a fuller picture of Greek philosophy. But before I come to say a few words about Classical and Islamic studies in general, I have to consider, though very briefly, a subject which seems to me to be of some relevance in this context: I mean the importance of the Arabic translations for the history of the Greek texts of the works translated and for the text itself. Very little, comparatively, to emphasize this again, has been done for establishing a

1 A more detailed appreciation of Miskawaih's moral thought and its importance for late Greek ethics is to be found in my article "Some Aspects of Miskawaih's Tahdhib al-Akhlaq" to be published in Scritti in onore di G. Levi della Vida (Rome 1956) [below, pp. 210-235].
2 An older contemporary of Ibn Shih (Avisena); he died A.D. 1030. I refer to his ethical treatises Tahdhib al-akhlaq; an English translation of this text, by A. F. M. Craig, will be published in the near future. [Cf. below, p. 220 ff.]
3 Cf. the article Akhlaq in the second edition of the Encyclopedia of Islam.
4 Who lived in Baghdad in the tenth century, cf. the article Akhlaq in the second edition of the Encyclopedia of Islam.
5 Rasul al-bulaghah, 3rd edition, Cairo 1946, p. 518. [Cf. below, p. 222].
Greek-Arabic vocabulary based on the well known texts, say of Aristotle and Galen, and neoplatonic writings. It would be of interest for the classical scholar, the medievalist and the general historian of philosophy and of the greatest importance for the student of Arabic philosophy. For the time being, no more can be expected than that no text translated from a Greek original still in existence should be published without a full glossary. This is by no means always done. As for the history of the texts it may first be kept in mind that a good translator like Ḥunain ibn Iṣḥāq established his own Greek text from several MSS before he started translating. The Arabic texts are certainly as revealing for the text of the commentators as the papyri, they help us to get a more common-sense view of the history of texts in general. Before the importance of the so-called codices reconnosci was recognized, the study of the translation of the Poetics, e.g., was revealing. Similarly, most of the readings to be found in the apparatus of Bekker’s edition of Aristotle’s Categories and De interpretatione and rightly put into the text in the most recent Oxford edition are independently attested as old readings by the Syriac and Arabic versions. The comparison of the readings of the Arabic versions in the case of unsatisfactorily edited works of Aristotle like the Topics and Sophistici Enchi, e.g., may still sometimes be helpful, if only to get out of the quasi-hypnotizing power of the printed word and printed version. On the whole, I make bold to say that the text presupposed by the Arabic versions of a Greek text deserves the same attention as an old MS or a variant recorded in a Greek commentator (this applies, I believe, to texts of Galen as well). This is by no means an established practice. Theophrastus’ metaphysical fragment was re-edited, in Oxford, about 25 years ago, by two of the most distinguished workers in this field. Both of them were unaware of the fact that the Arabic text exists in the Bodleian library and had been treated by the late Laulian professor of Arabic, in a paper published in 1892.

It would, perhaps, be a good thing to stop here and to fill in the rest of this paper with the recital of some examples of Greek texts recovered from the Arabic. But I think it may be more to the point to abandon this aspect of Arabic-Greek relations in philosophy altogether and to turn our attention in a different direction.

Islamic philosophy is Greek philosophy, but it is not Greek philosophy studied for scholarly reasons nor for the satisfaction of scholarly curiosity. It is meant primarily to serve the needs of the new religion of Islam: it is an attempt at a Muslim natural theology, and the greatest representatives of this theistic Islamic philosophy went so far as to see the only valid interpretation of Islam in following the ways of the philosophers. This implies that we may also arrive at a modified view of Greek thought by looking at it from a territory which is very near to it, both in time and in space, and yet sufficiently different to make it appear in a new light and to see certain aspects of it, and also certain limitations, better than we are able to do by looking at the Greeks alone or by comparing their achievements with contemporary 20th century thought. Further: it has always been the classical scholar’s concern to look not exclusively at the great outstanding works of the Greeks but also to consider their impact on other civilizations, not to speak of the modern world in which our ancestors have lived and in which we live ourselves. It is one of the outstanding features of the great works of the Greeks that they can live also when separated from their native soil, and be assimilated by different nations in different times and widen their outlook on life and their power to master it. This applies to poetry as well, as to philosophy with which we are concerned here. Classical scholars are used to comparing Greece and Rome and to understanding the limitations and the greatness of Greece better while considering the life of the Romans, so intimately connected with and at the same time so different from the Greeks. It has recently become less unusual to find scholars who are prepared to look with equal interest at the Jewish and Christian tradition and at the Greek way of life, and to understand the prophets as well as Plato. They are still

---


2. Cf. G. Bergsträsser, Ḥunain ibn Iṣḥāq, Über die syrischen und arabischen Galen-übersetzungen (Leipzig 1953), p. 4 of the German translation. This is a text with which everybody interested in the history of classical scholarship should be acquainted.

3. Cf. e.g. the readings presupposed in the Greek text used by the translators of Aristotile’s Metaphysics, listed by M. Boycey in Bibliotheca Arabica Scholastica, (cf. above) p. CLXI–CLXXX. For the Prior and Posterior Analytics cf. New Light on the Arabic Translation of Aristotle, Orionis 6, 1953. pp. 115 ff. 134 ff. [below, pp. 77-141]. As for Galen, most of this kind of work remains to be done, and it appears to be promising, especially wherever the Greek text is bad. The Arabic version of Ps. Flusrush’s Placita Philosophorum appears very worth studying.


---


too rare, if one has in mind the immense task of trying to understand, in historical terms, the double root of our way of life and to find our feet in the troubled times in which we live. Further: the times have passed, I believe, when classical scholars were inclined to look, say, at Cicero as a quarry for lost hellenistic philosophy alone and when they belittled with contempt the philosophical personality of the great Roman humanist, who did not happen to be a Plato but only a *πλάτωνικόν*. We are aware of the difference between Horace and the Lesbian poets, between Vergil and Homer, but nobody in his senses will deny that Horace and Vergil are great poets in their own right. As for the Fathers of the Church, too much has still to be done to ascertain their debt to Greek and Roman pagan philosophers, and the danger of not appreciating their own achievement appears to be less real than the risk of overlooking what they owe to their non-Christian predecessors. Nobody, not even an inveterate classical man, has ever confessed to studying, say, Hippolytus only for the considerable number of fragments of Heraclitus in one of the sections of his work. Hence after having dwelt so long on the importance of the Arab philosophers for a better material understanding of Greek philosophy, I should now be at pains to emphasize that the Arabic thinkers have a just and deserved claim to be understood in their own right, like the Romans and the Greek and Roman Christians of Antiquity. Indeed they have. They may be a quarry for ancient thought, but not only he who loves the Islamic world should raise his voice in protest. The classicist would betray his best interest if he did not wish to see how Islamic philosophers used Greek thought of varying provenience and different quality in an honest and intense effort to come to a deeper understanding of the problems of their own days and their own and different world; in an effort to analyse the problems of religious truth and philosophical understanding; in an attempt to find a synthesis between a religion based on the reason of the heart and making God an immortal man, and the Greek religion of the mind which can ask man to become a mortal God but sees in God a dehumanized principle; in an attempt to give reasons for something which could only appear foolish to the Greeks and the Muslims eventual failure to accomplish it. All this demands not only our respect: because what is valid in human society, that "*homo homini res sacra*", applies also to our understanding of other ways of human life, and accordingly to civilizations near to our own like Islam and yet so different in many ways ¹. It throws

ON THE TRANSMISSION OF
BUKHÄRÄ'S COLLECTION OF TRADITIONS
Johann Fück

Halle

Next to the Koran there is no book which is as highly esteemed by orthodox Islam as Bukhârâ's collection of traditions, known as al-Šaḥīḥ.¹ Studying it occupies a dominant position in the curriculum of the madâris and is surrounded by a halo similar to that surrounding the study of the Koran itself. Completing the perusal of the book is celebrated; in times of need, passages from it are read; and in particular in the Maghreb it is seen as a book that can perform miracles.² This deep reverence is explained initially by the fact that the Šaḥīḥ contains remarks made by the Prophet which are considered to be authentic and whose role for the way of living of the faithful is just as important as the word of God in the Koran. There are, however, more reasons why of the vast number of similar works, the consensus of the Islamic world should have recognised Bukhârâ's collection in particular to be the best representation of the Sunna. Even among the six canonical collections (al-kutub al-sitta) it occupies a wholly unique position because of the critical selection of the content, its exceptional wealth of information and its clear structure. The strict and critical examination Bukhârâ applies to every single transmitter is unequalled; [61] not even Muslim attains the same level. The idea that all the traditions in his collection must be proof against criticism consequently gained ground, always more firmly with the passage of time, even though educated circles never ceased to be aware that every scholar of

¹ On the subject of Bukhârâ and his oeuvre see C. Brockelmann, (Geschichte der arabischen Literatur, 2 vols., and Supplement, 3 vols., Leiden, 1937-49) GAL 1, 157–60 and Supplement 1, 280–65.
² Examples can be found in Brockelmann, Suppl. 1, 261. Like the Koran, the Šaḥīḥ would be learned by heart, see e.g. Ibn Bashkuwâl, Šīla (al-Šīla fi akhâr qimmat al-Andalus, Aben-Pascuâls Assila, Dictionarium biographicum, Nunc primum ed. F. Codera, Madrid, Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana, 2, 1883) 63 penultimate, and Ibn Abbar, Takmîla (K. al-Takmîla li Kitâb al-Šīla, ed. F. Codera, Madrid, Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana; 5–6, 1887) 271:6; 696:18; 751:8.
tradition has the right to scrutinise every single instance. The variety of topics discussed in the Saḥīḥ is unsurpassed as well. Besides canonical law which, as is only fair, occupies the largest space, dogmatics is dealt with at length. Comprehensive chapters are devoted to the legends of the Prophet, the story of Muhammad and his companions, their campaigns and their ‘virtues’; other parts go into individual aspects of popular beliefs such as the interpretation of dreams and eschatology, manners and morals, or devotional exercises. Finally this collection contains an extensive commentary on the Koran. This wealth of material is arranged clearly within a frame whose headings, together with explanatory notes, additional remarks and verses from the Koran, are meant to facilitate the reader’s understanding of the traditions presented. If the same tradition is instructive in more than one context, it is (in contrast to Muslim’s collection) repeated in all the relevant places, if only in excerpts in some cases. All along the reader sense the solicitous hand of the theologian intent on presenting immaculate traditions, which have stood up to the most critical scrutiny, in the most efficient way for future use.

Of course, the history of the text shows that it was only over the course of the centuries that the Saḥīḥ attained the heights of uncontested authority. The book did not immediately find general recognition but had to prove its usefulness in a contest with other collections, such as the more practically oriented works of Abū Dāwūd and Tirmidhī. In disbelief, later generations would tell with pious hyperbole of the master and copying his words, but the chains of transmitters which precede in particular the great commentaries of Ibn Ḥajar, Ḥatrī and Qasṭallānī prove that only very few of Bukhārī’s disciples endeavoured to pass his work on. The most important by far among these first-generation traditionists is:

1. al-Firabrī Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Maṣār b. Saḥīḥ b. Biṣhr, 231–320 H. In his youth he heard the Saḥīḥ twice from Bukhārī himself; the first time in 248 in his home town of Firabrī, a small place on the Amu-Darya opposite Amu, and the second time in 252 in Bukhārā, four years before the author’s death. According to Dārāqūṭī, however, he was staying with Bukhārī from 253 to 255 H.

Another pupil of Bukhārī’s was

2. al-Nasawī Ḥammād b. Ṣākrī who died possibly around 390 H, if Ibn Ḥajar’s assumption is justified. For some reason he did not personally attend all of Bukhārī’s lectures; consequently his text was not founded on ‘hearing’ (sana‘) from beginning to end and was thus much less esteemed than that of al-Firabrī, who had never missed a single lecture. His recension may not have vanished quite without trace — thus the famous Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥākim (321–405 H, GAL 1, 166) heard it from Nasawī’s pupil Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ibn Rumayḥ (d. 357 H) — but it did not play an important part later; Ibn Ḥajar (Fatḥ al-bārī 1, 2, 5, 7) could access it only indirectly.

[63] The same is true of the third traditionist of the first generation:

3. al-Nasafi Ḥaqqūm b. Maqūl (210–295 H). He had not heard the whole text; for the last part of the collection beginning with the Kitāb al-Aḥkām Bukhārī had granted him a teaching license (ijaza). Furthermore, there was a piece missing from his text, as compared with al-Firabrī’s, which Ibn Khayr estimated to be about nine pages long. His recension was well known in Spain; it was from Jayānī’s (d. 498 H, GAL 1, 368) Kitāb Taqīd al-muḥmal that Ibn Ḥajar obtained his knowledge of this tradition.

Muslim scholars always endeavour to establish a chain of transmitters between themselves and the author of the text they are studying, and the

---

3 Taʾrīkh Baḥḍād (al-Kaṣḥī Ṣaḥīḥ Baḥḍādī, Taʾrīkh Baḥḍādī, 14 vols., Cairo, 1931) 2, 9, 15, et passim.
6 Irshād al-bārī, Bulaq 1304/1886, 10 vols.
fewer links this chain has, the better and 'higher' the isna‘d. Consequently it was important to find out who was Bukhari's last disciple, who was named as

4. al-Bazdawi Abū Ṭālīḥa Muṣṭāfī b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Qarīna (d. 329) from Bazda near Nasaif, whose recension is used by a traditionist of the third generation, al-Mustaghfiri. However, as the latter also uses a version traced back to al-Firabri, it is no longer possible to determine al-Bazdawi's contribution. No independent traces of his text appear to have survived.

These are the four names with whom the oldest tradition of the Sahih is closely linked. We may safely conclude that the text did not enjoy universal recognition during its author's life and throughout the third century. (In comparison there is the biography of the Prophet by Muḥammad b. Ishaq (d. 151 H), who lived a hundred years before Bukhari and for whose work there are at least sixteen (64) scholars known to have transmitted it directly from the author.) One of the reasons for this remarkable phenomenon was the fact that in the third century the collecting and studying of traditions was still an individual task and that no scholar of any importance would have been inclined to accept unseen any collection beside his own. Then, the more this independence dwindled, the greater grew the importance of collections such as Bukhari's. Consequently the second generation of traditionists, namely those men who studied the collection under the master's immediate disciples, is already noticeably stronger. Al-Firabri in particular recited the Sahih to an apparently quite considerable number of students; we know of no fewer than ten men who travelled to Firabri during the last years of his life in order to hear the Sahih from him. These traditionists of the second generation are:

5. al-Mustamili Abū Ishaq Ibrāhim b. Ahmad from Balkh (d. 376 H). He studied in Firabr in 314 H. His text is the basis for the versions of Abū al-Waqt (‘an Dāwūd ‘anhu) and was also used by Abū Dharr.

7. al-Kushmhānī Abū al-Haytham Muḥammad b. Makkī b. Muḥammad b. Zūrat (d. 389 H) He studied in Firabr in 65/316 H or, according to one account which is, however, unlikely, not until 320 H, half a year after Firabri's death. His text is transmitted by Ḥaḍī and Karīma and is also extant in Abū Dharr's version.

8. al-Marwazi Abū Zayd Muḥammad b. Ahmad b. ‘Abd Allāh. He studied in Firabr in 318 H and taught in Mecca and Baghdad. His version, described by the Khaṭḥī as the most revered, is extant (though only for the books Zakāt, Šaum and Ḥaḍī) in a manuscript owned by A. Mingana who made it the subject of a most detailed study. It was transmitted by by Abū Nu‘aym, Aqīl and Qābīsī.

9. al-Kushānī al-Hājibī Abū ‘Alī Ismā‘īl b. Muḥammad, who died only 391 H, is supposed to have been the last one to hear the Sahih from Firabri. His father had taken him to hear Firabri's lectures in 316, although the boy was hardly able at the time to follow the recitation of the difficult text. Consequently one of his pupils, Abū Naṣr al-Dāwūdī, who had read it first with him and later with Iṣṭikhānī, states that Kushānī was 'feeble when he heard it and feeble when he taught'. Nevertheless, his version stood its ground. Thus the Spaniard ‘Atiyya b. Sa‘id (d. 403 or 408/9 H in Mecca) who had visited Kushānī in Transoxania supported it.

In our present-day [66] text of Bukhari it is represented by al-Mustaghfiri's version.

10 Ibn Khayr, Fikrista 95.
11 Sam‘ānī, Ansāb, fol. 484a; concerning the nisba see Qassallānī 1, 49; the 'e' is sometimes transcribed as ë, sometimes as e and even as ë. According to Yaqūt, Geogr. Wörterb. 4, 623, Kushmānī was situated on the way from Marv to Āmol.
12 Qurāshī, Al-Gawādir al-muḍār (Hyderabad 1332 H) 2, 77, 2
13 Ibn Khayr, Fikrista 95.
15 Ibn Khayr, Fikrista, 96.
17 Ibn Hajar op. cit. 1, 3; Sam‘ānī, Ansāb, forl. 148a and 483b. Concerning Kushānīya, Northwest of Samarkand, see Barthold, Turkestan 95.
18 Sam‘ānī, Ansāb, fol. 38a. Sam‘ānī tried in vain to interpret the sharp criticism as harmless.
19 Tawīlīh Baghdād 12, 322.
20 Dhahabī, Tuhkikrat al-‘asāb 3, 271; Ibn Bashkuwāl, Sīla 2, 401.
It is not certain during which years the following pupils of Firabrī were in
Firabrī.

10. Ibn al-Sakan Abū 'Ali Saʿīd b. `Uthmān b. Saʿīd from Baghdad (294–353 H),[39] known for his work on the Prophet's Companions. His study trips took him to Firabrī where he heard the Ṣaḥīḥ. Later he settled in Miṣr where the Spaniard Ibn Asad al-Juḥānī heard the text from him, and then introduced it into his home country.[31]


12. al-Jurjānī Abū Ḥamīd Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Makkî b. Yūsuf (d. 373 H) is not unchallenged as a transmitter.[33] He recited the Ṣaḥīḥ in Iṣfahān, Shīrāz, Baṣra and Baghdād. Abū Nuʿaym and Aṣṣūlī studied the text under him.

13. al-ʾAkhṣākīthī[34] Abū Nanāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥamīd. His version was continued by his pupil al-Ṣaffār.

14. The Ṣahīfītā al-Iṣṭikhānī Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Ḥamīd b. Matt (d. 381 H) studied the Ṣaḥīḥ under Firabrī at a more mature age.[35] The later commentators do not know him, and his version does not seem to have left any traces in our text of Bukhārī.

With the exception of Ibn al-Sakan from Baghdad, the traditionists of the second generation all came from the Eastern provinces of Islam. With their teaching activities, which took place approximately in the years 320–380 H (the youngest among them, [67] Kūshānī, died 391 H) [Plate I, The commentaries of Bukhari's text] they made the picture presented by their pupils, the traditionists of the third generation, however, is remarkably different from that seen in the second generation. While the latter saw Firabrī as the highest authority for Bukhārī's text and flocked to him in order to receive the authentic text without showing any interest in the traditions of other disciples of Bukhārī's, the former did not give twelve traditionists in this generation who gained influence on our Turkestan.

Concerning Akhsikath, the capital of Ferghana, see Barthold, 34 Concerning Akhsikath, the capital of Ferghana, see Barthold, 35 Concerning Akhsikath, the capital of Ferghana, see Barthold, 36 Concerning Akhsikath, the capital of Ferghana, see Barthold, 37 Concerning Akhsikath, the capital of Ferghana, see Barthold, 38 Concerning Akhsikath, the capital of Ferghana, see Barthold, 39 Concerning Akhsikath, the capital of Ferghana, see Barthold.

text are distributed fairly evenly among those of Firabrī's pupils mentioned above. It is even more remarkable that of this dozen only half were content with the text in the form in which they received it from their respective teachers, while the other half studied the Ṣaḥīḥ under a second of Firabrī's pupils (only Mustaghfīrī used a text going back to Bukhārī through Bazdawī instead). Indeed, one of them, Abū Dharr, based his text on the tradition by three of Firabrī's pupils. This shows that they considered those variants worth writing down which had already insinuated themselves into the text in the second generation. This is the first burgeoning of critical feelings in the textual history of the Ṣaḥīḥ; the texts created by these men can be seen as the first proper versions. Thus it is justified when Ibn Ḥajar, in the chains of traditions preceding his commentary on Bukhārī, treats the riwaqūt of the traditionists of the third generation as those witnesses who form the basis of Bukhārī tradition as such.

In the following overview of these traditionists of the third generation I shall first discuss those who transmitted the text of one single of Firabrī's pupils.

15. Ibn Asad al-Juḥānī Abū Allāh b. Muḥammad learnt the text of the Ṣaḥīḥ in Cairo in 343 H from Ibn al-Sakan (no. 10) and introduced it into Spain. He passed it on to his pupils, e. g. Ibn Ḥabīb al-Barr Abū 'Umar Yūsuf b. 'Abd Allāh (368–463 H; GAL 1, 367), [68] in those days the greatest authority on tradition in the West; also Ibn al-Ḥadīthā Abū 'Umar Muḥammad b.
Authorship and Transmission

Contributions to the History of Bukhari's Collection of Traditions

8 Johann Fück

Muhammad b. Yahya (370-467 H) who studied under Juha in 394 H, and also Ibn al-Mukawfi Abu Muhammad 'Abd Allâh b. Ahmad (d. 448 H). Among Ibn al-Hadidhâ's pupils, Ibn Mushih Abû al-Hasan Yûnus b. Muhammad (447-531 H) in particular appears to have supported the riwa'iyat Ibn al-Sakan: it was through him that Ibn Khayr (Fikrista 95) and other Spaniards learnt about it. Ibn Alqar (Faith al-bâri 1, 3, s. w.) however, appears to have known it from Jayyânî's Taqyîd al-mukhmal.

16. al-Saffâr Ismâ'il b. Isâq b. Ismâ'il heard the collection from Akhsikât; his pupil was Abû Sulaymân Dâwûd b. Muhammad b. Hasan al-Khalîdi. I have no further information on both these men. This recension, together with that of Hamadhânî, was later used by the well-known Spanish theologian Abû Șayyân (654-745 H; GAL 2, 109).

17. al-Hasîf Abû Sahî Muhammad b. Ahmad (d. 466 H) was a pupil of al-Kushmehânî. The Seljuk vizier Ni'mâl al-Mukîl called him to the newly founded academy al-Nizâmiyya in Nishâbûr, where he developed extensive activity as professor of tradition. Through him, Kushmehânî's text became prevalent in the East. Among his pupils were e.g. al-Shâdiyakhî Abû al-Fâth al-Wahhâb b. Shah, also al-Shâhshâmi Mu'âshîh b. Tâhir (d. 541 H) and, above all, Fûru',î (441-530 H), whom we will have to mention later. Samâ'înî (506-562 H), who read the Šahîf under these three teachers, says about Șâfî that while he studied under Kushmehânî according to the rules, he nevertheless lacked all deeper understanding.

18. There was also a lady who studied the Šahîf under Kushmehânî, the famous Karîma bint A'mad al-Marwaziyya (d. 463 H). She later moved to Mecca and there recited the text to a wide circle of students from all parts of the Islamic world. Among her students were e.g. Khâjiqî Bahgdâdî (392-463 H; GAL 1, 329), at the time the greatest scholar of tradition in the East, also Muhammad b. Barakît from Upper Egypt (c. 420-430 H) and Ibn al-Farrûq from Mosul. In Mecca itself her tradition was perpetuated by Abû al-Fâth Sulâhî b. Șibrâyîm.

Two further pupils of Kushmehânî's should be mentioned here as well, although their recension have had no influence on our text of Bukhari:

19. The Ash'arîte al-Khâbâzî Muhammad b. 'Ali b. Muhammad (372-447 H) lived at the court of Muhammâd of Ghazna. Later he returned to Nishâbûr and died there during the persecution of the Ash'arîtes staged by Kundurî, the first Seljuk vizier. Ibn Șâkîrî said about the text of his recension that it was the most reliable of its time (Tâyûn kudhîb al-mu'afîra 264).

20. Abû al-Khayr Muhammad b. Mûsâ studied under Kushmehânî in 388 H and was consequently one of his last students. His recension was used by the great Hanafîte Burhân al-Dîn al-Marghinnînî, the author of the Hidâyâ (d. 593 H; GAL 1, 376).

21. al-Dâwûdî Abû al-Hasan 'Abd al-Râhmân b. Muhammad b. Mu'âshîr from Bûshang (374-476 H) must have been of tender years when he was taken to hear the Šahîf from Ṣamâ'înî, as the latter died in 381 H. His text was widely (70) disseminated in the commentary of his pupil Abû al-Waqît.

22. al-Ayyâr Sa'id Ahmad b. Muhammad (d. 457 H) was a pupil of Shabbâwî. He was unchallenged as a transmitter, but gained importance for the textual history through his pupil Fîrâbî's commentary.

As opposed to the preceding transmitters who perpetuated the recension of one of Fîrâbî's pupils, the following traditionists heard the text from two (and in one case even three) authorities.

---

[References and notes omitted for brevity.]
23. al-Aslī Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm (314–392 H),61 embarked upon a journey to the Orient in 361 H and heard the Ṣaḥīḥ in Mecca from Abū Zayd al-Marwazi in 352 H, and in 359 he heard it in Baghdad a second time from the same teacher. He furthermore heard it from Abū Ahmad al-Jurjānī, apparently in Baghdad as well.62 Soon afterwards he was called home by al-Hakam II and landed in Almeria on the day the Caliph died (3 Safar 366H). Soon he found favour with the omnipotent vizier Ibn Abī Ḥamīd who appointed him councillor and later judge of Zaragoza. His recension enjoyed a wide diffusion in Spain. Three scholars who studied the Ṣaḥīḥ under Aslī are known to us from Ibn Bashkuwāl’s work (Ṣiḥa p. 184, 225, 560); a fourth, Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'īd b. 'Abīd (d. 439 H),63 is mentioned by Ibn Khayr who heard this recension through three different channels. A fifth scholar, Ibn al-Qabīrī Abū Shākir Abū al-Waḥīd b. Muḥammad b. Mawḥīb (d. 456 H) passed it on to Jayyānī. We also find it in the writings of [71] the Qāḍī Ṣa'īd and Yūnīnī used it in his critical edition. It is uncertain whether it is, as Mingana assumes, the recension found in the abovementioned manuscript: the latter belongs to Marwāzī’s recension, but the question of which one among his pupils was responsible for this text has to remain unanswered.

24. Al-Qābīsī Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad (324–403 H)64 studied at the same time as Aslī, in the year 353 H under Abū Zayd al-Marwazi in Mecca. It is for this reason that he is included here, although he belongs to the group of scholars who taught the text from only one riwāya. As he was blind, he had Aslī correct his own personal copy.65 This explains the similarities between the two recensions which Ibn Ḥajar (Fath al-bārī 1, 4, 6); in fact, treats as twins. This does not, however, mean that the blind man submitted to the authority of his helpful fellow pupil; he did indeed preserve his independent judgment and in controversial passages sometimes decided in favour of the reading opposed to that favoured by Aslī.66 Qābīsī returned to North Africa in 359 H67 and settled in Qayrawān where he died in 403 H. The Cordovan Ḥātim b. Muḥammad al-Tarābulusī (378–469 H),68 whose family came from Syrian Tripoli, heard al-Qābīsī in the last year of his life. This recension was disseminated in Spain through him; thus e.g. Jayyānī and Ibn ʿAtāʾ (433–520 H)69 heard it from him;70 [72] dependent on these are in turn Ibn Khayr, Ibn Bashkuwāl and others. Ibn Khayr (Fihrista 98) says that this recension was very similar to Abū Dārī’s.

25. Abū Nuʿaym al-İsḥāhānī Ahmad b. ’Abd al-Wāḥīd b. Ahmad (336–430 H),71 GAL 1, 362 studied Bukhārī’s Ṣaḥīḥ under the same teachers as Aslī; he started with Jurjānī in Isfahān and finished it with him in Baghdad (Tārīkh Baghdad 3, 222ff.). In addition he heard it from Abū Zayd al-Marwāzī. Together with e.g. Mustaghfīrī’s this recension was used by Abū Mūsā al-Madāni (501–581 H),72 Isfahānī’s foremost teacher of tradition in the fourth century.

26. Al-Haḍmahānī73 Abū al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd Allāh read the Ṣaḥīḥ under Shabbawī and Mustamīl. His pupil was Shurayḥ b. Aḥ. I have no further information on either of these two traditionists. This recension is found in the works of the abovementioned Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī.

27. The most important traditionist of the third generation is Abū Dārī al-Harawī Abū b. Ahmad (353–434 H). He studied Bukhārī’s Ṣaḥīḥ under three of Firdawṣī’s pupils: first in 373 H in his home town Herāt in Afghanistan with Sarākhsī, the next year with Mustamīl in Balkh, and finally in 387 H in Kūshmehān with Kūshmehānī.74 After long travels, during which he also came to Baghdad, he betook himself to Mecca, married into a Bedouin family soon afterwards and settled in Sarawān.75 Every year he went on the pilgrimage and taught in Mecca during the festive months.76 He followed the madhhab Mālikī in matters of Fiqh; in

62 Ibn Farḥūn op. cit. and Ibn Khayr, Fihrista 95 f.
63 Dābūl op. cit. 82.
Kalâm he followed the Ash'arites, in particular al-Baqillâni.65 There is a wealth of information in the writings of Ibn [73] Hajar and other Bukhari commentators which gives us a considerably clearer idea of his way of structuring the text than we have for other versions. Abû Dharr was not satisfied to compose a text on the basis of the three witnesses he used, but in more important cases he also provided the variants if his witnesses differed. He furthermore improved the clarity of the text by counting sections (e. g. in the Kitâb al-Ta'dîr and the Kitâb al-Ta'wilî) as individual chapters even where Bukhari had just strung them together loosely. To aid elucidation further he added explanations in some cases; these were, of course, separated clearly from the actual text, but are nevertheless occasionally quoted by later commentators. His work is, therefore, the oldest attempt at producing a critical edition of the text which is still comprehensible today. This, together with the fact that at least since 415 H Abû Dharr recited the text to a large audience every year, was the reason why his recension was much more widely disseminated than any other. It was by far the preferred version in Spain, about whose scholarly history we are much better informed than that of any other country of Islam, thanks to the masses of information stored in the Bibliotheca Arabo-Hispana. Many Spaniards travelling to Mecca used the opportunity to visit Abû Dharr's lectures. Some stayed with him for several years, e. g. Ibn al-Dalâ'il Abû al-Abbas al-'Udhri Aḥmad b. Anas (393–478 H).66 Another of these was Abû al-Walîd al-Bâji Sulaymân b. Khaṭâb (403–474 H; GAL 1, 419), later known as an opponent of Ibn Hazm, whose Bukhari lectures in [74] Zaragoza gained great fame.67 Maqārī says about Bâji's text68 that it was the most frequently found in Spanish Bukhari manuscripts, together with that of his pupil Ibn Sukkara. A third Spaniard, Ibn Manṣūr Abû 'Abd Allâh Mūhammad b. Aḥmad (d. 464 H),69 heard the Şāfî twice from Abû Dharr in 431 – the second time the latter had his own manuscript in front of him and the pupil was able to check his own Bukhari copy against it70 – and disseminated this text in Spain.71 A fourth Spaniard, finally, who became important for the textual history of the Şâfî was Mūhammad b. Shurayh (392–476 H), who studied in Mecca in 433.72 His son Shurayh b. Mūhammad (451–537 H)73 received the text from him as well as from the aforementioned Ibn Manṣūr, and every year during Ramadân he had one specially nominated pupil recite it before his students. Because of his 'high' isnâd these lectures attracted students from all over the Iberian Peninsula until in the year 533 H, two years before his death, he had as many as two hundred students.74 The lecture of 534 H became particularly famous, as the bearers of most illustrious names found themselves among his audience in that year.75 Ibn Khayr, too, studied the Şâfî [75] under him.76 Finally it must be mentioned that just before 500 H, one Spaniard paid a tidy sum to acquire from Abû Maktûm, Abû Dharr's son, the copy of Bukhari's Şâfî Abû Dharr was said to have written at the time he was studying under Mustamî.77

In Mecca, Abû Dharr's tradition was perpetuated by his son, the Abû Maktûm 'Isa mentioned in the previous paragraph. His last student was the Meccan Abû al-'Iṣâṣan Aḥī b. Ḥumâyid al-Ṭārâbulûsî.78 Through both these men Ibn Hajar received the text from an uninterrupted chain of Meccan scholars. On the whole Ibn Hajar follows Abû Dharr's recension,79 which enjoyed great popularity generally. Sometimes it was used as the standard version to revise manuscripts of Bukhari's text80 and Yunînî used it for his critical edition.

65 Dhahâbî, Tadhkîrât 3, 285.
66 That year Ibn al-Saqâṣ Mūhammad b. Khalaf b. Mas'ûd (395–485 H); cf. Ibn Bashkuwâl, Silâh 510 (= Yaqût, Geogr. Wörterb. 3, 924) and 103 (= Yaqût, op. cit. 4, 204).
67 Ibn Bashkuwâl, Silâh 69; Yaqût, Geogr. Wörterb. 2, 582, 4; 517. He also distinguished himself as transmitter of the Şâfî Mūsam, see Centenario M. Amari 1, 382. See also Ibn Abâr, Takmîla 466, 4; 719, 11.
68 We know about such lectures in the years 463 H (Ibn Abâr, Takmîla 353, 3; 551, 9; 623, 6); 468 H (ibid. 48, 4 from the bottom), 470 H (ibid. 624, 2). See also Ibn Abâr, Takmîla 466, 4; 629, 14.
69 Anâlecê 1, 507 Dozy.
70 Ibn Bashkuwâl, Silâh 489 no. 1080; Da'bî, Bâghyat al-mulhimîs 41 no. 28 (giving 469 H as the year of his death).
71 Ibn Khayr, Fihrista 94.
72 See e. g. Ibn Abâr, Takmîla 559, 16 = 645, 3; Ibn Bashkuwâl, Silâh 287 antepenultimate; 509, 6; Yaqût, Geogr. Wörterb. 3, 312 (Ibn 'Abd Allâh).
73 Ibn Khayr, Fihrista 94, has 463; however, according to Ibn Bashkuwâl 495 no. 1095 and Jazârî, Ghîyât al-Nihâyâ 2, 153 this must be changed to 463.
74 Jazârî, Ghîyât al-Nihâyâ 1, 324.
75 Ibn Abâr, Takmîla 496, 8 (see also 421, 6).
76 See the description given by Ibn Abâr, Takmîla 495f. and cf. ibid. pp. 244, 11; 267, 6; 488 antepenultimate; 583, 3 (and 520, 1; 682, 17); 673, 11. The lecture of the year 431 H is also mentioned ibid. p. 472, 14. See also pp. 239, 2; 283, 15; 284, 14; 491, 13; 726, 8.
77 Fihrista 94. Several other of Abû Dharr's pupils are mentioned by Ibn Bashkuwâl, Silâh 63 penultimate; 153, 1 (also 296, 5); 635, 7.
78 Ibn Abâr, Takmîla 396.
79 Dhahâbî, Tadhkîrât al-Šâfî 3, 286; cf. also Ibn Abâr, Takmîla 18, 15; 274, 12; 677, 2. We meet other listeners of Abû Maktûm's in Ibn Abâr's Takmîla 395, 2 and 685, 12, and in the Mu'jam (BAH IV) 283, 6.
80 Fâh al-bârî 1, 5, 7.
81 E. g. Mingana's manuscript (see Mingana, An Important Manuscript p. 3).
28. Al-Mustaghfirī Abū al-Abbās Gha'far b. Muḥammad (d. 432 H) from Nasaf worked differently from all the other third-generation traditionists mentioned so far. While he did use a recension going back to Firabri, the text of which he received from Firabri's last pupil al-Kushānī, he also consulted a secondary tradition by studying the Šaḥīḥ as transmitted by Bukhārī's last pupil al-Bazdawī under a certain Ahmad b. Abū al-Azīz. In the absence of exact data it is difficult to estimate how far Bazdawī's recension deviated from Firabri's. Al-Mustaghfirī's recension has not left many traces in the surviving texts; together with Abū Nu'aym's it is found in Abū Mūsā al-Madīnī.

[76] The teaching activities of the traditionists of the third generation took place towards the end of the fourth and then through the first half of the fifth century (as far as it has been possible to determine the dates, the oldest among them, Asīlī, died as early as 392 H, whereas the youngest, Dawūdī, lived until 467 H). It is owing to them that knowledge of the Šaḥīḥ spread through the whole Muslim world during that time. A particularly important contribution was made by Abū Dharr and Karima in Mecca, with whom many pilgrims studied the Šaḥīḥ each year. Here we find confirmation of the fact, provable also in other ways, that around the year 400 H Bukhārī's collection of traditions had acquired canonical status by virtue of the consensus doctorum. At this point the history of the transmission of the text undergoes a change. While the textual history had so far presented the picture of a vast stream whose lower reaches spread out into just a few major branches, now we observe a weft of traditions running, disconcertingly manifold, through all the lands of the Muslim world; criss-crossing and converging, only to separate again. Only once all the riches and treasures hidden in glosses to older Bukhārī manuscripts, in textbooks, diplomas and other documents have been raised will it be possible to give an exact picture of this intricate history. Until then we have to rely on the aid of, in particular, chains of witnesses.

29. Thus, al-Jayyānī Abū Allāhusayn b. Muḥammad al-Ghassānī (437–493 H) in Cordova, [77] one of the most critical scholars of his time, based his text on the recensions of Asīlī, Qābīsī, Ibn al-Sakān and Nasafī, and made use of them in his Taqīd al-muḥmal wa-tamyiz al-muṣḥalīfī. This is a study of those authorities who appear in Bukhārī's and Muslim's collections and whose names look the same when written but would be pronounced differently (e.g. Asīd: Usād). Ibn Ḥajar would draw on this text later.46

30. His younger fellow countryman Abū Allāl-Ṣafadī Huṣayn b. Muḥammad Ibn Firroho Ibn Sukkara in Murcia (b. ca. 454 H, died in the battle of Cutanda in 514 H) recited Bukhārī's Šaḥīḥ around sixty times and could boast of knowing the isnad to every single of its traditions, and vice versa.46 Ibn Abūr compiled a list of his pupils, and this text occurs repeatedly among the texts they studied under him.47 According to Maqqārī's testimony referred to above, his text was found most frequently in Spanish Bukhārī manuscripts, as was Abū al-Walīd al-Bājrī's.

31. Ṣafadī's pupil, the Qādī 'Iyād b. Mūsā (476–544 H; GAL I, 369), had exact knowledge of the differing recensions of Bukhārī's text.48

At the same time in the East, a text of similarly eclectic character was that of al-Furāwī Muḥammad [78] b. al-Faḍl (441–530 H), esteemed for his 'high' isnad. This Bukhārī text was based on the recensions by Ḥafṣī and Ayyār. Two in particular of his pupils did great service to Bukhārī's collection, namely al-Samʿānī Abū Saʿd Abū al-Karīm b. Muḥammad (506–536 H; GAL I, 329) who later studied the text under Abū Dharr, and the chronicler of Damascus, Ibn Asākir Abū al-Qāsim Allāh b. Ḥasan (506–581 H; GAL I, 331), about whose sources nothing more appears to be known, and whose edition was later used by Yūnīnī.49

33. The case of Ibn Khayrī Abū Bakr Muḥammad (502–575 H; GAL I, 499) is a good example of how intricate tradition had become by the sixth century

46 Faith al-bārī 1, 3, 1. 25; 4, 8, 5. 2.
48 See e.g. the quotations in Yaqūt, Geogr. Wörterb. 670, 10; 750, 17, 3, 554, 2; 4, 41, 15; 242, 15 from the Kitāb Maṣāfi al-anwār, according to GAL, Suppl. 1, 632 published in Cairo in 1332 H.
49 Yaqūt, Geogr. Wörterb. 3, 866; Ibn Khallikān no. 633.
34. In contrast to this eclecticism in the composition of texts, one scholar of this time argued the privileged position of one individual version: Abū al-Waqt (Abd al-Awwal b. Isā, 458–553 H),50 who presented a critically expurgated text of the recension by Dāwūd b. Sarakhsī. Like Abū Dharr, Abū al-Waqt came from Herāt and was later taught at the Niẓāmiyya in Baghdad. His commentary was soon widely disseminated. Old manuscripts of Bukhārī's text were revised using this text.51 In the 'genealogies' with which Ibn Ḥajar, Aynī and Qastallānī preface their texts, this commentary is represented by half a dozen branches interwoven in manifold ways; in Aynī's version in particular it stands out to such an extent that the assumption that he mostly followed Abū al-Waqt's text is not without justification.52

35. When Abū al-Waqt went to his grave, with him died the last of Bukhārī's editors who was still within the live tradition of the teaching of theology as it flourished in mosques and madāriṣ of mediaeval Islam. Already during his time, instruction had become formalised and ossified; then, step by step, desolation spread her shroud over the onetime wealth of all the fields of Islamic academic life. While the ancient forms of lecture recitation and the teaching licence were retained, the soul of traditional teaching was becoming increasingly hollow and eventually replaced by nothingness, and that no true understanding of the texts could be achieved anymore. Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ Abū ʿAmr ʿUthmān b. Abū al-Raḥmān (577–643 H; GAL 1, 358), whose classic work on the principles of the study of tradition enjoys widespread esteem to this day, confesses in plain words that in his day, and even generations earlier, an uninterrupted chain of authorities was no guarantee of a reliable text anymore. Among the authorities quoted, he said, could be men who did not understand the text and the isnad was only retained because it was an peculiarly Islamic characteristic. Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ draws the conclusion that the only way of arriving at a reliable text was to collate as many correct originals of the various recensions and, by discovering correspondences, recover the genuine text.53

36. In the case of Bukhārī's text, this task, as defined by Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, was accomplished by al-Yunīnī Sharaf al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan Allī b. Muḥammad (d. 701 H). According to Qastallānī's account in the introduction to his commentary of Yūnīnī's work (Irshād al-sārī 1, 40f.), Yūnīnī collated the following four textual witnesses:

1. H, a manuscript read to Abū Dharr al-Harawi (abbreviated [h]);
2. S, a manuscript read to Aṣṭīfī (abbreviated [ṣ]);
3. Sh, a manuscript written by Ibn Asākir al-Dimashqī (abbreviated [ṣh]);
4. Z, a manuscript read by Samānī to Abū al-Waqt (abbreviated [z]).

He used the following abbreviations for Abū Dharr's three authorities:

- b ([c]) = Ḥammāwī
- st ([w]), [w]), Mustamli
- h ([q]) = Kushmēhani.

In the frequent cases where Ḥammāwī cooperated with one of the other two, Yūnīnī used the following grammalogues:

- ḥs ([c]) = Ḥammāwī and Mustamli
- ḥh ([q]), [q]), = Ḥammāwī and Kushmēhani.

Besides the four textual witnesses mentioned, Yūnīnī referred to two further manuscripts:

5. A manuscript which 'Abd al-Ghāni b. 'Abd al-wāḥīd al-Maqdīsī al-Jamā'ī (541–600 H; GAL 1, 356) had read with al-Artāḥī Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ahmad b. Ḥāmid (d. 601 H),54 who for his own part had received a teaching licence (ijāza) from Ibn ʿUmar al-Farrāʾ for Karīma's text.


It is to be assumed that the copy Yūnīnī had for his own use and in which he recorded his collations presented Bukhārī's text as he [81] [Table II al-Aynī's version of Bukhārī's text] [Table III al-Qastallānī's version of Bukhārī's text]

50 See Nawawi, Sharḥ Musīm, in the margin of Qastallānī 1, 20.
51 In the Analect, fol. 29r, Samānī relates that he heard the Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī from Abū al-Waqt.
52 Yaqūt, Geogr. Wörterb. 1, 290, 23. He was the last one who transmitted from Ibn ʿUmar al-Farrāʾ.
53 Jazari, Ghāyat al-nihayā 2, 295, no. 3587; Suyūtī, Ḥasan al-Muḥāḍara (Cairo, 1299 H) 1, 172; Yaqūt, Geogr. Wörterb. 4, 454, 19. Yahyā b. Saʿdīn heard the text from him 513 H, see Ibn Abāb, Taḵmila 724.
had learnt it from his teachers. 98 If a reading in his personal copy was confirmed by the four textual witnesses, he wrote the grammalogues [h] above it. If the respective word was missing in the other texts, he wrote [la] in front of those marks. If the reading was found in only one version of the text, he only wrote the relevant letter above it; if it was missing in one version, he wrote [la] in front of the relevant grammalogue. Where he himself considered a reading important that was contrary to those of all three authorities for Abu Dharr, he wrote [gh] and [h] above it; if only one of Abu Dharr's authorities contradicted such a reading, he wrote [gh] together with the relevant mark above it. If the two manuscripts consulted additionally, Jamil's and Abu Sadiq's, corresponded with one of the four authorities, Yunini would write the relevant reading in read ink. While Yunini was thus establishing the text, Ibn Malik Jamaliaddin Muhammad b. Abd Allah (800 – 672 H: GAL 1, 298), the greatest grammerian of his time, was present. 99 This is reported by a gloss written in Ibn Malik's own hand on the first page of Yunini's manuscript and quoted for word by Qastallani, 100 where we read that Yunini read this volume in the presence of a few students who followed the text of the lecture in standardised manuscripts. Whenever a grammatical difficulty appeared, Ibn Malik pronounced judgement; the discussion of a number of especially difficult cases he reserved for a separate publication. 101 In addition, the concluding note [82] in Yunini's own hand at the end of the volume, the words of which survive in Qastallani's book as well, refer to Ibn Malik's cooperation. It states that he supervised Yunini's recitation and observed his pronunciation, and it was under his direction that Yunini revised the text and added the vocalisation. From this concluding note we learn furthermore that the collation (muqabala), correction (tasbih) and recitation (isma') of the first volume was completed in Ibn Malik's presence after 71 sessions. Thus we may say with certainty that Yunini would have eliminated obvious mistakes. What we do not, of course, know, is to what extent beyond the elimination of obvious mistakes he was striving to produce a critical edition. Still, the example from one of the first traditions of the Sahih given by Qastallani, 102 shows that Yunini retained in his text a word that was missing from all his four witnesses; thus he tolerated readings which were not covered by the four witnesses and mentioned the variants only in the critical apparatus. What he composed was a critical apparatus rather than a genuine critical edition in the sense of text recension based on reliable manuscript documentation. This may be the reason why his work, however conscientious, painstaking and exhaustive it may have been, did not at first find the appreciation one would have been justified to expect for such a pre-eminent achievement of Islamic scholarship. While Qastallani mentions manuscripts which were compared to Yunini's

98 As he died in 672 H, it is not possible for his assistance to have taken place in the year 676 H, as stated in the 1304 H Cairo imprint of the Irshād al-sārī, 1, 40.
99 Qastallani 1, 41.
100 This refers to the K. Shawāhid al-tawrīḫ wa-l-taṣbih li-muḥāsabat al-Saḥīḥ, of which Brockelmann, GAL, Suppl. 1, 262, lists several manuscripts and one printed version Allahabad 1319 H (now ed. M. 'Abd al-Baqi, Cairo, 1957; and ed. Tahā Muṣīn, Baghdad, 1985).
101 Irshād al-sārī, 1, 40. 70.
A search for traces of his influence in contemporary Bukhari literature is in vain. Neither Ibn Ḥajar nor Ayni mention his name, despite the fact that their many volumes of commentaries on the Sahih combine the results of half a century’s Islamic scholarship of Bukhari’s work. It was due to Qasṭallānī that ʿUmayn received the honour due to him.

37. Ibn Ḥajar al-Asqalānī Abū al-Ṭālīf Abū Ḥamād b. Allī’s (773–852 H; GAL 2, 67) commentary, entitled Faṭḥ al-baṭrī-bi-ṣawāḥih Sahih al-Bukhrā, appeared in print in 13 volumes in Būlāq in 1300/01 H. [83] In the preface, the author lists the various recensions and lists the chains of witnesses (ṣānādīd) linking him to Bukhari. [84] At the end (1, 59) he remarks that his commentary refers to Abū Dharr’s recension; he does not, however, provide a pure version of this text but in many cases deviates from it. In some instances he notes Abū Dharr’s reading, in others the difference is obvious from Qasṭallānī’s data. It is obvious that Ibn Ḥajar established his own text recension close to Abū Dharr’s text. What makes it more difficult for the reader is that Ibn Ḥajar did not integrate Bukhari’s complete text into his commentary, but instead focussed on individual

[83] A. Mingana op. cit. displays these chains of witnesses in a clear table.

[84] Irašad al-sārī, 1, 41.
lemmas which do not always correspond with the Bukhari text found in the margin in the Bulaq edition. I have already mentioned that Ibn Hajar did not know Yunini's edition. He would probably have gleaned the readings, which he quotes on an average scale, partly from scholastic traditions, but mainly out of older commentaries and similar works.

38. Even more extensive than the Fatih al-barfi, Ma'mun b. Ahmad al-Ayni's (762-855 H; GAL 2, 52) Undat al-ghari il-sharikh Sa'idi al-Bukhari only rarely refers to variant readings. According to his own account (1, 7) Ayni read the Sahih 788 H with his teacher 'Abd al-Rahman b. Husayn al-'Iraqi (GAL 2, 65) and then again in 805 H with Taqi al-Din b. Munir al-Din Ibn Haydara; he does not mention whether he favours one particular recension. It is remarkable, however, that the name of Abu Dharr does not appear at all in his asanid; indeed, his whole text appears to be completely free from readings peculiar to Abu Dharr. He does not mention Yunini either, and nowhere betrays any knowledge of the latter's edition. It may be assumed that the comparatively rare data on different readings would have been drawn from sources similar to those used by Ibn Hajar (see Table II).

39. The text on which al-Qastallani Ahmad b. Muhammad (851-923 H; GAL 2, 73) based his Irshad al-sari ila sharikh Sa'idi al-Bukhari is a different matter altogether. It is true that he lists numerous chains of witnesses (asanid) and himself received the text from no fewer than six scholars among whose authorities are Ibn Hajar, also 'Iraqi (al-Ayni's teacher mentioned above) and even Yunini. What is much more important, however, is that he consulted Yunini's edition. Yunini's autograph manuscript had been a pious donation to the madrasa founded by Aqbugha 'Abd al-Wahid in 740 H, but by Qastallani's time it was nowhere to be found. Consequently he was using a copy made by one Shams al-Din Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Mizzi al-Ghazuli, who had used Yunini's original but also consulted a second manuscript. Only after he had finished his work did he happen upon the second volume of Yunini's original manuscript in 916 H and subsequently compared his text with it twice. Finally the first volume appeared at a bookseller's where he could acquire it and thus collate the first half of the text as well. This does not, however, mean that his Bukhari text is a faithful rendering of Yunini's text: the example quoted above already shows a deviation. Qastallani also occasionally notes readings from the Yuniniya which he himself did not integrate into his text. He did not relinquish the right to compose his own commentary of the text any more than any of his predecessors, but it is Yunini's original which is Qastallani's source for the extensive information about readings in the older commentaries. He provides a much wider range of variant readings than Ayni and Ibn Hajar, and it is this that makes his commentary especially valuable (see Table III).

40. Thus the history of Bukhari's collection of traditions shows that the text was originally transmitted by four of the master's disciples and subsequently circulated in only very few commentaries out of which more and more hybrid versions developed, and finally sank into neglect and disregard. In the seventh century H this state of things called onto the scene some men of critical inclination and philological training who went back to the old commentaries and attempted to present a critically expurgated version. While they were not successful in bringing a textus receptus, a received text, to universal recognition, the wealth of variant readings surviving in the extensive commentaries of the seventh century is still a lasting monument to their never failing industriousness. Their criticism may not be that of the present day, their data may sometimes be inexact, contradictory or indeed wrong (to say nothing of printing errors in the Oriental editions); but it is true that to this day anyone looking for a critically reliable Bukhari text will depend on them. Only old and reliable manuscripts could take us beyond this level; one such manuscript being that which recently surfaced in Mingana's fragment, while many others must still slumber in the libraries of the Orient. People who expect radical changes to the text, however, would most likely be disappointed. The majority of readings available to us refers to differences which hardly affect the meaning at all. Differences are indeed much wider in the surrounding material which does not actually touch the wording of individual traditions, in the way traditions are organised into books and chapters, under titles and headings. Less numerous are variants in the asanid, and least frequent, and only rarely touching on the actual meaning, are variant readings in the traditions themselves. Thus maybe a critical editor of Bukhari's text, even if he had at his disposition all the old recensions in good manuscripts, would arrive at the same result with which Ibn Khayr concluded his list of all the Bukhari editions he studied (Fihrista 98), nearly eight centuries ago: 'All these recensions are close to each other.'

Translated by Gwendolin Goldbloom
Contributions to the History of Bukhārī’s Collection of Traditions

23

‘Aṭiyya b. Sa‘īd : 9
‘Ayn : 38
‘Ayyār Sa‘īd b. a. Sa‘īd : 22
Bājī Abū al-Walīd : 27
Bazdawi : 4
Dāwūd b. M. al-Khālid : 16
Dāwūdī Abū al-Raḥmān b. M. : 21
Dāwūdī Abū Naṣr : 9
Farrā’ al-Mawṣūlī : 18, n. 96
Firābī : 1
Furū’ī : 32
Ghashānī Abū ‘Ali : 29
Ghazzālī : 39
Ḥājibī : 9
Ḥakīm Abū ‘Abd Allāh : 2
Hamadhānī ‘Ar. b. ‘Al. : 26
Ḥammād b. Shākir : 2
Ḥammāwī : 6
Ḥātim b. M. al-Ṭārābulūsī : 24
Ḥusayn b. Mubārak al-Zabīdī, n. 98
Ḥusayn b. M. al-Ḥaṣfī : 17
Ḥusayn b. M. al-Ṣādaft : 30
Ibrāhīm b. A. al-Mustamīlī : 5
Ibr. b. Ma‘qīl al-Nasāfī : 3
Ibr. b. M. al-Khayr : 33
Ibr. b. a. ‘Ayyar : 22
Ismā‘īl b. Ḥish. al-Ṣaffar : 16
Ism. b. M. al-Kushānī : 9
Iyād b. Mūsā : 31
Īsā b. ‘Abd Abū Maktūm : 27
Ja‘far b. M. al-Mustaghfīrī : 28
Jammātī : 36
Jāyyānī : 29
Juḥānī : 15
Jurrānī Abū Ṭāḥī Thālū : 12
Karīma Bin Ahmad al-Mawṣūlī : 18
Khubzābī : 19
Khalīlī : 16
Kḥāṭīb al-Baghdādī : 18
Kushānī : 9
Kushmēnānī : 7
M. b. Ṭūl. Ibn Sa‘īd : 25, 28
Māhmuḍ b. A. al-Ḥaṣfī : 33
Maqdisī ‘Abd al-Ghani : 36
Marwaḥ Abū Zayd : 8
M. b. A. maṣir : 39
M. b. A. al-Marwāzī : 8
M. b. al-Mīzzi : 39
M. b. A. Ibn Manṣūr : 27
M. b. ‘Alī al-Khabbāzī : 19
M. b. Barakāt al-Sa‘īdī : 18
M. b. Faqīl al-Furāwī : 32
M. b. Khalaf Ibn al-Saqqāt : 67
M. b. al-Khayr : 33
M. b. Makkī al-Kūshmēnānī : 7
M. b. Mūsā Abū al-Khayr : 20
M. b. Yusuf al-Firābī : 1
M. b. Shāh al-Ḥaṣfī : 17
M. b. Shurayḥ : 27
Mustaghfīrī : 28
Mursid b. Ẓabī al-Madīnī : 36
Mustamīlī : 5
Nasāfī : 3
Nasawī : 2
Qābīsī : 24
Qaṣṭālānī : 39
Ṣa‘īdī Abū ‘Ali : 30
Ṣaffarī : 16
Sa‘īd b. a. Sa‘īd al-Ayyār : 22
Sa‘īd b. ‘Utb. Ibn Sa‘īd : 10
Ṣa‘īdī Abū Sa‘īd : 32
Ṣa‘īdī : 6
Ṣa‘īdī : 17
Sa‘īdī : 17

Index

All the people who have transmitted the Ṣaḥīḥ of Bukhārī and who appear above are included in this index. The numbers refer to the paragraphs. Bold type means that a special paragraph has been devoted to the person.

Abū
Abū ‘Ali al-Ghassānī : 29
Abū ‘Ali al-Ṣa‘īdī : 30
Abū Dharr al-Harawi : 27
Abū al-Faṭḥ al-Gharnātī b. Ibr. : 18
Abū Ḥāyyān al-Gharnātī : 16, 26
Abū al-Khayr : 20
Abū Nu‘aym al-Iṣbahānī : 25
Abū Šādīq al-Madīnī : 36
Abū Shākīr Ibn al-Qabīrī : 23
Abū al-Waqīf : 34
Ibl
Ibl Abū al-Barr : 15
Ibl Abū M. b. ‘Al. : 23
Ibl Abū Sa‘īd al-Juḥānī : 15
Ibl ‘Aṣākir : 32
Ibl ‘Aṭābāb : 24
Ibl Bashkuwāl : 24
Ibl al-Dalālī : 27
Ibl al-Ḥadīdāh : 15
Ibl Ḥajar : 37
Ibl Ḥaydara : 38
Ibl Khayr : 33
Ibl Ma‘līk : 36
Ibl Ma‘ṣūr : 27
Ibl Muḥyīth Yūnūs : 15
Ibl al-Mukawwāl : 15
Ibl al-Qabīrī : 23
Ibl Rumāyḥ : 2
Ibl Sa‘dūn : n. 97
Ibl al-Ṣalāḥ Abū ‘Amīr : 35
Ibl al-Saqqāṭ : n. 67

Abū ’Ali al-Maḥmūd al-Kuṣhānī : 9
Abū ‘Ali al-Maṭmatī : 12
Abū Ẓayfūr al-Ṭāhā : 22
Abū al-Walīd al-Raḥmān : 21
Abū Naṣr al-Raḥmān : 9
Ahmad b. Abū al-Farrā’ : 18, n. 96
ahl al-Farrā’ : 27
Abū al-Awwal b. ʿĪsā : 34
Abū al-Ghaft b. ‘Abd al-Wāḥid al-Maqdist : 36
Abū al-Karim b. M. al-Sa`mānī : 32
Abū Allāh b. A. al-Ḥammāwī : 6
Al b. A. Ibn Mukawwāl : 15
Al b. A. Ibn al-ʿAṣrī : 23
Al b. M. Ibn ʿAsād : 15
Abū Ṭaḥṣīb al-Raḥmān : 26
Abū al-Wāḥid b. M. al-Qabīrī : 23
Ahmad b. Abū al-ʿUdhrī : 27
Abu A. Abū al-Naʿūmān : 25
Abu ʿAl. Abū al-Azīzī : 28
Abu A. Ibn ʿAl. Ḥajar : 37
Abu M. Abū al-ʾAṭsakhāthī : 13
Abu M. Abū al-Qastālānī : 39
Abu M. Ibn al-Ḥadīdāh : 15
Abu M. Ibn Rumāyḥ : 2
Abu ʿAl. Ibn ʿAṣākir : 13
Abu ʿAl. Ibn ʿAṣākir : 32
Abu ʿAl. Ḥumayd al-Ṭārābulūsī : 27
Abu M. Abū al-Qābīr : 24
Abu M. Abū al-Yūnīn : 36
Artābī : 36
Aṣūlī : 23

Johann Fück

24

EDUCATION AND LEARNING IN THE EARLY ISLAMIC WORLD

268
Introduction

Western scholars like Goldziher, Schacht and more recently Juynboll, among others, maintain that hadith literature originated at a later stage than that accepted by the classical Muslim tradition. One of the evidences adduced by Juynboll to support this hypothesis is that provided by the awl'il and, among them, by the awl'il “dealing with those people who were credited with having been the first to introduce hadith, specified in genre as well as unspecified, into certain areas of the Islamic world.”¹ On his part, Schacht has studied the impact of hadith in the field of law, on the assumption that the origins of Islamic jurisprudence were not based on hadith. Al-Shāfi‘ī (d. 204/820) was the first to formulate the theory of the usul al-fiqh which was to become classical and the attempts to incorporate hadith into the field of fiqh had to overcome the resistance of the "ancient schools of law”. In this process a confrontation took place between the groups called by the sources ahl al-ra'y and ahl al-hadith.²)

My aim in this article is to study when the hadith literature and the 'ilm al-hadith were first introduced into al-Andalus, who the protagonists of this

¹) Muslim Tradition, p. 22.
²) See particularly Origins . . . , Part I and Part II. Schacht's theories have been recently attacked by M. M. Azmi (On Schacht’s Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence”, Riad 1986) from a classical Muslim point of view. Schacht's method for the dating of traditions has been put to the test and opened to doubt by M. A. Cook (“Eschatology, history and the dating of traditions”, paper presented to the Third International Colloquium “From Jāhiliyya to Islam”, 1985). I shall come back in the conclusions to Schacht's theories.
The Introduction of hadith in al-Andalus

introduction were and what the relationship between the Andalusiand al-
ra'y and ahl al-hadith was. This study is organised in the following way:

I. Awd'il dealing with the introduction of hadith into al-Andalus

1. First phase
   1.1 Mu'awiyah b. Sahl and Sa'īd's (c. second half 2nd/8th
century)
   1.2 'Abd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb (first half 3rd/9th century)

2. Second phase
   2.1 Baqi b. Makhlad (d. 276/889)
   2.2 Muhammad b. Wadāḥ (d. 287/900)

II. The confrontation between the ahl al-ra'y and the ahl al-hadith

1. The persecution of the traditionists
2. The controversy on raf' al-yadayn fi i-salāt
3. The coexistence of the ahl al-ra'y and the ahl al-hadith

Conclusions

I. Awd'il dealing with the introduction of hadith into al-Andalus

The scholars credited with having been the first to introduce hadith into
al-Andalus are the following:

- Mu'awiyah b. Sahl al-Hadrami al-Himṣi, who left Ḥimṣ in the year 125/
742, entered al-Andalus before the year 138/755 and after this date was
made qādi by the first Umayyad amir. According to some sources he died
in the year 158/774 and according to others at a later date;

II. The confrontation between the ahl al-ra'y and the ahl al-hadith

1. The persecution of the traditionists
2. The controversy on raf' al-yadayn fi i-salāt
3. The coexistence of the ahl al-ra'y and the ahl al-hadith

Conclusions

I. Awd'il dealing with the introduction of hadith into al-Andalus

The scholars credited with having been the first to introduce hadith into
al-Andalus are the following:

- Mu'awiyah b. Sahl al-Hadrami al-Himṣi, who left Ḥimṣ in the year 125/
742, entered al-Andalus before the year 138/755 and after this date was
made qādi by the first Umayyad amir. According to some sources he died
in the year 158/774 and according to others at a later date;

II. The confrontation between the ahl al-ra'y and the ahl al-hadith

1. The persecution of the traditionists
2. The controversy on raf' al-yadayn fi i-salāt
3. The coexistence of the ahl al-ra'y and the ahl al-hadith

Conclusions

I. Awd'il dealing with the introduction of hadith into al-Andalus

The scholars credited with having been the first to introduce hadith into
al-Andalus are the following:

- Mu'awiyah b. Sahl al-Hadrami al-Himṣi, who left Ḥimṣ in the year 125/
742, entered al-Andalus before the year 138/755 and after this date was
made qādi by the first Umayyad amir. According to some sources he died
in the year 158/774 and according to others at a later date;

II. The confrontation between the ahl al-ra'y and the ahl al-hadith

1. The persecution of the traditionists
2. The controversy on raf' al-yadayn fi i-salāt
3. The coexistence of the ahl al-ra'y and the ahl al-hadith

Conclusions

I. Awd'il dealing with the introduction of hadith into al-Andalus

The scholars credited with having been the first to introduce hadith into
al-Andalus are the following:

- Mu'awiyah b. Sahl al-Hadrami al-Himṣi, who left Ḥimṣ in the year 125/
742, entered al-Andalus before the year 138/755 and after this date was
made qādi by the first Umayyad amir. According to some sources he died
in the year 158/774 and according to others at a later date;
The Introduction of hadith in al-Andalus

1. First phase

1.1 Mu‘awiya b. Śāhīh and Sa‘ṣa’a b. Sallām (c. second half of the 2nd/8th century)

As regards the word ‘ādī’l that deal with the introduction of hadith by Mu‘awiya and Sa‘ṣa’a, the information they provide is not supported by external evidence: no tāmād is recorded in which their names appear as informants of Andalusian transmitters.

In the case of Sa‘ṣa’a b. Sallām, it is the Egyptian traditionist Ibn Yūnus (d. 347/958) that names him as the first to introduce hadith into al-Andalus, without any mention as to where he took this information from or whether his source was Andalusian or Oriental. 5) Apart from this mention, Sa‘ṣa’a is a scholar unknown outside al-Andalus. Ibn ‘Asākir had to rely on Ibn Yūnus and on Andalusian sources for the biography included in his Ta’rikh Dimashq 6) and I have not found the name of Sa‘ṣa’a in the most important Oriental rijāl works. Sa‘ṣa’a is also credited with having been the first to introduce the madhhāb of al-Awzā‘i into the Iberian Peninsula.

Mu‘awiya b. Śāhīh, on the other hand, is a well known traditionist in Eastern Islam. His name appears in the tāmād of the six books (with the exclusion of al-Bukhārī’s Sahīh). He is mentioned as the teacher of famous traditionists like ‘Abd Allāh b. Wahh (d. 197/912), ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Mahdi (d. 198/813), Abū Śāhīh (d. 223/838), Asa‘d b. Mūsā (d. 212/827), al-Layth b. Sa‘d (d. 175/791), al-Waqqādī (d. 207/823), Sufyān al-Thawrī (d. 161/778), and his teacher Ibn Abī Khaythama (d. 279/892) went so far as to mention his transmission of Ibn Yūnus, but the exclusion of al-Bukhari’s books.

No trace, however, is left of his alleged transmissions in al-Andalus. When the aforementioned Ibn Waddāh made his first rihla to the East (between the years 218/833 and 230/844), he studied with the ‘Iraqi Yahyā b. Ma‘ān and was asked by him whether Mu‘awiya’s transmissions had been collected in al-Andalus. Ibn Waddāh’s answer was that they had not, explaining that in those days the Andalusians were not interested in knowledge (lam yakun ahlu-ha yauwmādīth ahi al-‘ilm). Muhammad b. ‘Abd al-Malik b. Ayman (d. after 300/912), one of Ibn Waddāh’s pupils, had a similar experience during his rihla (started in the year 274/879). He realized then that the transmissions by Mu‘awiya were highly valued in ‘Iraq and his teacher Ibn Abī Khaythama (d. 279/892) went so far as to mention his desire of visiting al-Andalus in order to examine the usūl of Mu‘awiya’s books. 10) When Ibn Ayman came back to the Peninsula, he unsuccessfully looked for those books and, at the end, he was forced to conclude (like Ibn Waddāh had been before him) that the transmissions by Mu‘awiya had been lost because of the lack of interest and knowledge of the Andalusians. 11)

In my monograph on Mu‘awiya, 12) I have pointed out how difficult it is to establish what is legend and what is history in the different and often contradictory versions of his biography. Concerning the Andalusian version of his life and activity as a traditionist, my opinion is that it was created in the first half of the 3rd/9th century and that its starting point was the curiosity aroused in the Andalusian travellers when asked in the East about the transmissions of Mu‘awiya. I therefore assume that, before those travels took place, the Andalusians ignored the importance of Mu‘awiya in the transmission of hadith: it was only after being informed of his activities in that field through Oriental sources that they reached the conclusion that Mu‘awiya must have been the first to introduce hadith in al-Andalus. 13) As they could not find any evidence of this, they explained the loss of his transmissions through the lack of interest in hadith existing in those days. This

---


6) I have consulted a ms. in the Sulaymānīya Library (Damāt Ibrāhīm Pasa n. 875, f. 422 b, 6–22). Ibn ‘Asākir quotes Sa‘ṣa’a’s biography by Ibn Yūnus, but the text looks defective: where it should appear kīna awṣīl man adhāla l-Andalus al-hadīth, this last word is missing and without it the sentence does not make much sense.

10) See those stories in Qudād, pp. 30–1/36–9 and Tuhdīh, X, 211, as well as ‘Uqab, II, 14, where Ibn Ayman says that after his return to the Peninsula he found that all the Andalusian transmitters from Mu‘awiya were dead. According to these sources, there were only two of them: Shablūn (whom we shall meet again) and Dāwūd b. Ja‘far b. al-Šaghīr, two Malikites. Ibn Ayman studied Mu‘awiya’s hadiths with an Andalusian, but his teacher ‘Abd Allāh b. Muhammad b. Ibrāhīm b. ‘Āṣim, d. after 300/912) had learnt them from an Egyptian, Abī l-Tāhir Amad b. ‘Amr b. al-Sarḥ (d. 249/863 or 255/869).

11) The outline of Mu‘awiya’s life and career given here can be filled with the details collected in that study.

12) It is worth noting that the information on Mu‘awiya as the first to introduce hadith was received by the traditionist Ibn Waddāh from his teacher Yahyā b. Yahyā (see note 3). This last is presented in the sources as a Malikite, figura not interested in hadith. However, he could have heard of Mu‘awiya as a muḥaddith during his rihla, as ‘Abd al-Malik b. Ḥabib probably did.
A "lack of interest" is in fact supported by what we know about the first qādis of al-Andalus, in the sense that none of them is recorded as having been engaged in the transmission of hadith. In the case of Muwawa, the few stories preserved about his activities as a qādis and as a faqīh in al-Andalus do not mention any prophetic tradition. From this one can only conclude that the presence of Muwawa in al-Andalus was of no consequence for the actual introduction of hadith and that the role ascribed to both Sa'ya'a and Muwawa in it is fictitious.

At the same time, the introduction and early history of the law-schools in al-Andalus is never associated in the sources with the study of hadith, despite the fact that, at least in the case of Malikism, this meant the reception of a certain corpus of hadith.

The legal doctrines of al-Awza'i (d. 157/774) and of Malik b. Anas (d. 199/815) were introduced into al-Andalus in the second half of the 2nd/8th century. One of Malik's pupils, Ziyād b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Laythi, known as Shabtān (d. 193/809 or 199/815), is credited with having been the first to introduce fiqh and al-balāṭ wa-l-hāram and he is not recorded as having been engaged in the transmission of hadith.

Shabtān was one of the first Andalusians to introduce Malik's Muwatta', together with al-Ghāzi b. Qays (d. 199/815) and Yahya b. Yahya al-Laythi (d. 234/848), whose risāla attained the highest authority in Western Islam. As in the case of Shabtān, none of the Andalusian pupils of Malik is associated in the sources with the transmission of hadith and, as I have already mentioned, that is so in spite of the hadith material collected in the Muwatta'. One can then conclude that the Muwatta' was not regarded in that period as a representative work of hadith literature.

In the first half of the 3rd/9th century, the Malikite madhhab was clearly established in al-Andalus as the predominant law-school, having replaced that of Al-Awza'i. Its reception went together with the veneration of Malik b. Anas, even though the Andalusians were not strict followers of his teachings as compiled in the Muwatta'. As a matter of fact, they often gave preference to the teachings of his pupils and especially to the ra'y of Ibn al-Qāsim.

The inclination of each faqīh towards the teachings of one or other of Malik's pupils aroused discrepancies and controversies among them, so that there was not a "monolithic" Malikism. However, it is worth pointing out that in those discrepancies, the degree of adequacy to hadith of those teachings does not seem to have been adduced as the ultimate authoritative argument. There is no evidence that in the first half of the 3rd/9th century any attempt was made to discuss the role to be played by prophetic traditions as one of the sources of the law.

---


27) See its number and importance MS, II, 202, note 7 and Schacht, Origines ..., p. 22. After the 8th/11th century, the Muwatta' was included among the canonical "six books"; see MS, II, 243-4.

28) On the reason for this predominance and for the absence of Hanafiism, see Idriis's article and Aguadé, "Some remarks . . .", pp. 58-62.

30) See Fierro's article.

31) See Fierro, "Los máليkites de al-Andalus . . .".

32) His influence increased after the introduction of Sahmün's Madawawan: see Fornæs's article. According to Ibn Shuhayd, the inhabitants of Qurtuba only accepted as judges those who followed the ra'y of Ibn al-Qāsim: E. García Gómez, Andalucia contra Berbería (Barcelona 1979), p. 127.

33) One of the best known eminent was that existing between Yahya b. Yahya and 'Abd al-Malik b. Ḥabib, because of the latter's introduction of the teachings of the Malikite Al-Baghd b. Al-Faraj: see Fierro, La heterodoxia . . ., appendix 2.

34) See Brunschwig's article and Turki's Polémiques . . . The role played by hadith in early Andalusian Malikite fiqh can now be studied in texts like the 'Ubiya, preserved in the commentary by Ibn Rushd al-Jadd, K. al-bayān.
The Introduction of hadith in al-Andalus

1.2. 'Abd al-Malik b. Habib (first half of the 3rd/9th century)

With 'Abd al-Malik b. Habib we are on firmer ground. He was very likely of mawā'il origin (28) and stands out as one of the most important Andalusian scholars of the first half of the 3rd/9th century, especially due to the role he played in the introduction into al-Andalus of Oriental transmissions. His informants were Medinese and Egyptians, as Ibn Habib did not visit 'Iraq during his rāḥa, started in the year 208/823. What we know about his production allows us to consider him a polygraph in the style of Ibn Qutayba or Ibn Abī l-Dunya. (29) His activity was mainly focused on three fields: history, fiqh and asceticism. As a historian, he was the compiler of one of the oldest universal histories that have been preserved; in his Ta'rikh, he quotes transmissions from Wahih b. Munabbih and from al-Wāqidi. (30) In the field of fiqh he was the author of a legal work, al-Wālīfah fi l-sunan wa-l-fiqh, in which he collected transmissions from Medinese Malikite like Muṣarrīb b. 'Abd Allāh (d. 214/829) and Ibn al-Mājahīn (d. 212/827 or 214/829); at the same time he included transmissions from the Egyptian traditionists al-Layth b. Sa'd (d. 174/790) and Asad b. Muṣā (d. 121/827). (31) In the field of asceticism he wrote works on al-tarḥīb wa-l-taḥīb, a K. faṣid al-zūmī, a K. makārim al-ashkāl and a K. al-warā, which is greatly indebted to the transmissions from Asad b. Muṣā and in all likelihood to his K. al-zuhd wa-l-tibād wa-l-warā. (32) All these works were studied and transmitted in al-Andalus.

Turning to the role of ḥadīth in his works, those that have survived do contain ḥadīth material. This aspect was underlined by Schacht in the case of the Wālīfah. (33) However, the predominant role still played in this work by the ḥadīth of Malik's pupils does not allow us to consider it a muṣannaf like, for example, the one collected in the same period by al-Bukhārī (d. 256/ 870). (34) Ibn Habib is said to have written works dealing exclusively with ḥadīth, but these works have been lost. (35)

On the other hand, it is worth pointing out that his Andalusian biographers did not consider him a good traditionalist and criticised the numerous faults to be found in his transmissions. For instance, Abī 'Abd al-Malik b. 'Abd al-Barr, even though he credited him with having been the first to introduce ḥadīth in al-Andalus (see note 5), remarked: "he did not know its methods, made many mistakes in the names, used objectionable ḥadīth as arguments, the people of his age (ahī zamānī-hi) accused him of mendacity and they were not satisfied with him." (36) "Ahī zamānī-hi" must not be understood to refer to the scholars of his generation, all of them more ignorant than Ibn Habib in the field of ḥadīth, (37) it seems to refer to the traditionists belonging to the generation of Ibn Habib's pupils: they had studied in 'Iraq with experts on 'ilm al-rījāl and 'ilm al-ḥadīth, learning the techniques of ḥadīth criticism; after their return to al-Andalus, they were...

(28) His life and works have been studied by Aguade in various articles and especially in his Ph.D., "El Ta'riq de Abdalimalik b. Habib", Universidad Autónoma de Madrid 1986 forthcoming.

(29) He was described as faqih, šādīr, jabih, khasīb (Madarīk, IV, 125); maṣūfī, 'arḍī, šanqīfī li-l-akhṭar wa-l-ansāib wa-l-uṣūl, maṣūfīrīf fi manānī l-tīm (Ta'rikh, n. 814). He was also called šīm al-Andalus, while Yahyā b. Yahyā was 'aggīn-hā and ūṣūl b. Dinār ṣaḥīfū-hā. Ibn Habib's works are listed in Ta'rikh, n. 814 and Madarīk, IV, 127-9 (see the study by López Ortiz in Recepción... p. 88); they deal with fiqh, taḥaqqīq, history, medicine, astrology, Qurān and Muṣawwa'ī commentaries... For references of those preserved see GAS, I, 362; III, 230; VII, 346, 374; VIII, 251; IX, 220.

(30) See Aguade, 'De nuevo sobre Abī l-Malik b. Habib', p. 13. His Ta'rikh has been edited in the Ph. D. mentioned in note 29.

(31) See Muranyi, Materialien... pp. 14-29. The existing fragments are not yet published; there are also manuscripts of other legal works.

(32) See Aguade, El libro del escrípulo religioso... an edition of this K. al-warā has been prepared by Aguade.
able to compare what they had learnt to Ibn Ḥabīb’s transmissions and the latter’s weaknesses were then noticed. For example, Ibn Wāḏḏāb, one of Ibn Ḥabīb’s pupils, criticised the latter’s way of transmitting from Asad b. Mūsā, way that implied that ḡirāʿa or sāmāʿ had taken place, when Asad had not even granted the ĵāza to Ibn Ḥabīb. It seems that Ibn Wāḏḏāb did not transmit from his teacher on account of this and similar faults.

Despite the fact that Ibn Ḥabīb fell short of the standards of classical hadith criticism, he must be recognized as the actual introducer of hadith literature into al-Andalus. Thanks to his activity, by the end of the first half of the 3rd/9th century a good amount of prophetic traditions were known in al-Andalus. This hadith material was of a not strictly legal nature unlike that found in the Mawātīṭ.41)

2. Second phase

The corpus of hadith introduced in the first half of the 3rd/9th century came from Egyptian and Medinese traditions. There is no evidence that in this period direct contact with ‘Iraq took place, which is worth pointing out as Īraq was the most active centre in the ‘ilm al-hadith.42) Ibn Ḥabīb and his contemporaries, as well as the previous generations, limited their rīḥāl to Egypt and the Hijāz. The reason might be sought in the hostile relationship between the Umayyad emirate in al-Andalus and the ‘Abbasid caliphate,43) a situation that started to change in the days of ‘Abd al-Rahmān

39) See Taʾrikh, I, 226-7; Madārik, IV 129-31; MS, II, 177. Ibn Wāḏḏāb’s criticism was not directed to the contents but to the “form” of the transmission: in al-Shāhīb’s al-Riḍāū (2 vols., Beirut s.d.), II, 16, there is a transmission Ibn Ḥabīb < Asad, which corresponds exactly to Wāḏḏāb’s K. al-biḍa, III, 1, with the wāḥid Ibn Wāḏḏāb < Ibn Ḥabīb < Ibn Ḥabīb < Asad b. Mūsā.

40) See Madārik, IV, 129 and cf. Tahdīḥ, VI, 390. Only three of Ibn Ḥabīb’s works are mentioned by Ibn Khay’ī in his Fiharaṣa, I, 202, 265, 290.

41) It is worth noting that al-Andalus seems to have lacked the Ṣaḥīḥ of Abū Dāwūd. One of its authors, Ibn Khayr, said that he did not have it.44) It was in fact under ‘Abd al-Rahmān II that Baqi b. Makhlad and Ibn Wāḏḏāb (contemporaries of the authors of the six books) made their rīḥāl to the East and met the ‘Īraqi traditionists.

2.1. Baqi b. Makhlad (d. 276/889)45)

Baqi b. Makhlad (a mawla from Qurtuba) travelled twice to the East, staying away from al-Andalus for thirty five years (from 218/833 to 253/867). During this period, he studied with about 284 teachers, half of them ‘Īraqīs46) and among them the great names of the “ilm al-hadith like Ahmad b. Ḥanbal, Yahyā b. Ma’in, Abū Bakr b. Abī Shaybah, . . . When he returned to al-Andalus in the days of the amir Muḥammad (238/852-273/866), Baqi brought with him several Eastern works: al-Shāfī’ī’s writings (the Risāla and the K. al-fiṭḥ al-kabir, probably including the K. iḥlāṣ Mālik wa-Shāfī’ī47)), Ibn Abī Shaybah’s Muṣannaf,48) the Sirat ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-ʿAzīz written by Abīmād b. Ibrāhīm al-Dawrāqī (d. 246/860) and Khālīfa b. Khayyāt’s Taʾrikh and Tabaqāt. Baqi also transmitted Mālik’s Muwaṭṭa, but he gave preference to the Eastern risāya by Abī Muḥāb (242/856) and Yahyā b. ‘Abī Allāh b. Bukayr (d. 231/845), disregarding the risāya by Yahyā b. Yahyā al-Laythi. Al-Laythi’s sons, ‘Ubayd Allāh and Yahyā, who were among the leading Malikite fuqahā’, resented Baqi’s attitude and became his enemies.

Baqi was more than a mere transmitter. Among the works he wrote, Ibn Hazm, in his Risāla,49) particularly praised the Taḏīr al-Qurʾān and the Musnad. This latter work was actually a Musnad/Muṣannaf: the traditions

42) Juynboll, Muslim Tradition, pp. 45-66.

43) I wonder if the importance of Asad b. Mūsā’s teachings during this period in al-Andalus was due to his Umayyad genealogy who was a descendant of the caliph al-Walīd b. ’Abd al-Malik. His transmissions seem to have dealt mainly with ascetic and eschatological matters: were some of the latter related to the fall of the Umayyads and their future uprising? Traditions in this sense seem to have been used by ‘Abd al-Rahmān III in order to give support to his adoption of the caliphal title; unfortunately, they are not preserved: see Fierro, “Sobre la adopci6n del título califal por ‘Abd al-Rahmān III”, Shary al-Andalus, forthcoming.


45) His life and works have been recently studied by Marin, al-ʿUmari and Avila.

46) See the list of these teachers in Avila, “Nuevos datos . . .”, pp. 339–67, data obtained from the ms. of Ibn Ḥārith al-Khuṣaiński’s Akhābīr. Ibn Ḥabīb is not mentioned.

47) See Brunschvig, “Polémitiques . . .”, pp. 75-82.

48) The quotations of Baqi by Ibn Hazm seem to come all of them from this Muṣannaf: see those quotations in al-ʿUmari’s work, pp. 169–78. Baqi’s risāya is preserved in some ms. of Ibn Abī Shaybah’s Muṣannaf like, for instance, the ms. Laleli n. 626 in Sulaymaniya Library.

The Introduction of hadith in al-Andalus 79

were arranged both according to the Companions who transmitted them ('tāl l-rājā) and according to the chapters of the law ('alā l-abwā). Ibn Ḥazm states that Baqi was the first to use this system, which does not seem very useful for practical purposes: maybe this was one of the reasons accounting for its lack of success even among the Andalusians.5) Apparently, only the index of the Musnad has been preserved. It contains the names of the Companions quoted by Baqi, as well as the number of their transmissions.5) The scope of this work can be valued through the following figures:

1,013 Companions quoted (according to Ibn Ḥazm they were more than 1,300) with a total amount of 30,969 hadīth; as examples, one can mention that the transmissions from Abū Hurayra were 5,374, 2,210 from ʿĀʾisha, 142 from Abū Bakr, 537 from ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, 164 from ʿUthmān, 586 from ʿAli, 163 from Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān.

It was therefore on a sound basis that Ibn Khayr's could say that Baqi maša'ala l-Andalus hadīth ana wa-rādīyatun. On his part, Abū ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb b. Abī al-Jaʿfar pointed out: kāna Baqi awma man kathāra l-hadīth bi-l-Andalus wa-nashara-hu.5) Baqi was in fact considered, more than any other of his contemporary traditionalists, the foremost representative of the ahl al-hadīth of his age; his Musnad/Musannaf shows that his aim was to build the legal system on hadīth, in the same way that the Shāfiʿites and the Hanbalites had started to do. It is thus not surprising that Baqi’s name was included in the Shāfiʿite and Hanbalite taṣawqī, whilst being absent from the Malikī ṭabāqāt.

2.2. Muhammad b. Waddāh (d. 287/900)5)

The biography of Ibn Waddāh, the other scholar credited with having introduced the ‘ilm al-hadīth into al-Andalus, has several points of coincidence with Baqi’s. Like him, he was of mašuṭa origin (his grandfather was a mašuṭa muṣlaq of the first Umayyad amīr) and travelled twice to the East.

5) According to Ibn Khayr’s Fuhasa, I, 140, the only disciple of Baqi who transmitted this work was ‘Abd Allāh b. Yūnus (d. 330/941). Another one, ‘Abd Allāh b. Muhammad b. Ḥusayn, known as Ibn Abī Rabiʿ (d. 318/930), wrote its Mukhtāsar.

5) See Marin, “Baqi . . .”, pp. 204–8 for a list of the extant ms. and al-ʿUmar’s edition, with a comparison between Baqi’s and Ibn Ḥanbal’s works.

Bijer, XII, 291.

5) His life and work have been studied by Muʾammār in his monograph (see my review in Sharḥ al-Andalus III (1986), pp. 261-5) and by myself as an introduction to a new edition of his K. al-biḍa’.

80  Isabel Fierro

The aim of his first riḥla was to collect information about the ascetics and in its course he became interested in hadīth. His second riḥla had the only aim of learning hadīth and he took it seriously, as we are told that he studied with 265 teachers, sharing many of them with Baqi; unlike the latter, however, Ibn Waddāh did not visit Baṣra. After his return to al-Andalus (towards the year 245/859), Ibn Waddāh, like Baqi, transmitted many Oriental works, the most important being the Musnad by Wāḥiʾ b. al-Jarrāḥ (d. 197/812), al-Jāmiʿ al-kabīr by Sufyān al-Thawrī (d. 161/778), the Musnad by Ibn Abī Shāyba (d. 235/849),5) the K. al-siyar by al-Fāzūrī,5) the K. fadl al-jāḥid by Ibn al-Mubārakah (d. 181/797).

But the importance of Ibn Waddāh as a transmitter lies (and in this respect the similarity with Baqi stops) in his riḍwiya of Malikī works, especially Malik’s Muwaṭṭa’ (in the recension by Yahyā b. Yahyā) and Sahnūn’s Musannaf. His riḍwiya of the latter was crucial in the spreading of Sahnūn’s work in al-Andalus.5) As opposed to Baqi, Ibn Waddāh has an outstanding place in the Malikī ṭabāqāt; his training as a traditionist enabled him to correct the faults found in the isnaḍ of Yahyā b. Yahyā’s riḍwiya of the Muwaṭṭa’.5) It is in fact in the field of the ‘ilm al-rājā that Ibn Waddāh seems to have excelled, being quoted as an expert by Ibn Hajar al-ʿAṣqālānī. Also, as opposed to Baqi, he is not remembered as the compiler of a Musnad or a Musannaf; he wrote mainly biographical works like the K. al-ʿubbād wa-l-ʿawābid, the Tasmiyyat rājā ‘Abd Allāh b. Waḥīb, the Mandāqīl Malik b. Anas and the Sirat ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, all of them lost. His only works preserved are his K. al-biḍa’, where he collected transmissions from the Umayyad traditionist settled in Egypt Asad b. Mūsā (d. 212/827), and his K. al-nazar ilā Allāh taʿālā.5)

As opposed again to Baqi, his knowledge of hadīth was considered suspect, especially by his pupil Ahmad b. Khālid (d. 322/934), who accused Ibn Waddāh of rejecting many hadīth in cases where their authenticity was well established; he was also accused of making many mistakes which spread under his authority (wa-kāna Ibn Waddāh kathārā maṣlaqāū ālālāta).
laysa ḥādhā min kalām al-nabi fi shay' huwa thabīt min kalāmi-hi wa-la-hu khaṭa' kathir mahfūz 'an-hu). This criticism may be associated with the ambiguity of Ibn Wāḍiḥā's position among the aḥl al-ḥadīth and with his conciliatory attitude towards the Malikite aḥl al-ra'y. As we shall see, this position influenced his behaviour during the process carried out by the Malikites against Baqī. This ambiguity is also evident in the fact that, although a traditionist, Ibn Wāḍiḥā was against al-Ṣāḥīfī, having transmitted in al-Andalus that he was ghayr thiqā.

In spite of all the differences between Baqī and Ibn Wāḍiḥā, both of them appear to have been the first scholars to introduce the 'ilm al-ḥadīth into al-Andalus and, as in the case of 'Abd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb, the awā'il granting them this pioneering role must be accepted as true statements.

II. The confrontation between the aḥl al-ra'y and the aḥl al-ḥadīth

1. The persecution of the traditionists

The Malikite fuqahā' contemporaries of Baqī and Ibn Wāḍiḥā are described in the following ways:

— "people of the ra'y and of the imitation who refused to have anything to do with hadīth, did not use the sciences of the verification and were against the enlargement of knowledge",59
— "among the Andalusians the ra'y of Mālik and his pupils prevailed, together with the study of the responsa found in the Mudawwana; they displayed enmity against the traditionists and did not accept them",60
— "the imitation became their religion and the emulation their conviction. Whenever someone came from the East with (new) knowledge, they prevented him from spreading it and humiliated him, unless he went into hiding when acting as a Malikite and put his knowledge in a position of subordination".61

61) 'aṣa-yārā l-taqīd dīnā-hum wa-l-iqṭīdā' yaqqūna-hum wa-kullamā jā'ā aḥād min al-Muṣirīq bi-l-im dafā'ī fi ṣadri-hi wa-haqqana min amri-hi sīlā an yastātira 'inda-

One of the scholars who aroused the antagonism of the Malikites was Baqī b. Makhlad, because of his introduction of "transmissions in disagreement with (the Malikite) ra'y" (al-riwa'yī al-mukhtalīfa li-ra'yī-him),62 because of his loathing of taqīd (lā yuqallidu abadan min aḥl al-'ilm)63 and because of his adherence to the madhhab al-ḥadīth wa-l-nasārī.64 None of these attitudes is ascribed to Ibn Wāḍiḥā. Among the transmissions introduced by Baqī that won him the hostility of the Malikites, the sources emphasized al-Ṣāḥīfī's Risāla and Ibn Abī Shaybā's Muṣannaf. The reaction against this latter work was very strong: one of the leading Malikites of Qurtuba, 'Aṣbagh b. Khalīl (d. 273/886), went so far as to say that he had rather be buried with a pig head than with Ibn Abī Shaybā's Muṣannaf. This 'Aṣbagh b. Khalīl was a staunch follower of Ibn al-Qāsim's ra'y (kāna muta'assiban li-rā'-y ʿashāb Mālik wa-li-hum al-Qāsim min baynī-him). He was without doubt one of the Malikites who started the persecution against Baqī presenting charges of bid'a, shāhād and zandaqa and asking for the death penalty. Several witnesses supported these accusations and, among them, Ibn Wāḍiḥā accused Baqī of transmitting manākīr. In fear for his life, Baqī went into hiding and planned to escape from al-Andalus. Eventually, however, the support given to him by the amīr Muhammad saved his life and he remained in Qurtuba.65

Baqī was not the only persecuted traditionist. A friend of his, Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Salām al-Khushānī (d. 286/899), a descendant from the Companion Abī Thālabah al-Khushānī, went through a similar experience. He had studied in the East with pupils of al-Asma'i (d. 213/829) and Abū Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām (d. 224/838) and he introduced several works into al-Andalus like the Muṣannaf by Sufyān b. Uyayna, the Sīra by Ibn Hishām, the Taʾrikh by al-Ṭallās and the K. nāšish al-Qurʿān wa-mansūkhī-hi by Abī Ubayd. He was imprisoned because of this latter work:66 accused of stating that some Qurʿānic verses had been abrogated by other verses and some hadīth had also been abrogated by other hadīth, al-Khushānī tried to make the ẓāḥib al-nuqūf understand that this doctrine was

hum bi-l-maṣāḥikā wa-yaq'ala mā 'inda-hu min 'ulām 'alā rasm al-tabāʾiyya'. Ibn al-'Arabī, 'Adāṣīm, II, 490–1.

63) Ibid., p. 331.
64) Ibid. The followers of al-Ṣāḥīfī are described in the Andalusian biographical dictionaries as followers of the madhhab al-ḥujja wa-l-nasārī.
65) See a detailed account of this trial in my La heterodoxia . . . , 6.2.
66) It looks as if the Andalusian 'ulāmi' were not yet acquainted with the doctrine of al-maṣīḥt wa-l-mansūkh; however, 'Abd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb is said to have written a K. al-nāših wa-l-mansūkh.
found in the same Qur'an, quoting the verse II. 100/106, but without
success. Again it was only through the amir Muhammad's support that he was
set free after spending three days in jail.65

2. The controversy on ra'f al-yadayn fi l-qalāt

The persecution against Baqi' and Ibn 'Abd al-Salām al-Khuwashī
dayās that the introduction of the works and the doctrine of the ahl
al-hadith was held to be a threat to the Malikite doctrine predominant in al-
Andalus and it was so because of the divergences between both of them. We
have information on a specific case of ikhtilaf between the Andalusian ahl
al-ra'y and ahl al-hadith and it concerns the raising of one's hands during
the prayer (ra'f al-yadayn fi l-qalāt). The practice adopted in al-Andalus
was based on the doctrine of Ibn al-Qāsim: according to him, it was lawful
to raise one's hands only at the beginning of prayer (in the takbir al-
qā'im); he based this doctrine on the authority of Mālik without adducing
any hadith in its support. The same doctrine of Ibn al-Qāsim is held by
the Ḥanafīs and it can be backed by some hadiths (with Kūfān inādha) that
were quoted by Ṣaḥnūn in his Mawāqif al-hadith fi al-Andalus 75) however,
used to raise their hands in each takbir of the rubū', as the Shāfī'ites and the
Ḥanbalīs do on the authority of a hadith transmitted by the Companion
Abū Allāh b. 'Umar, according to which the Prophet raised his hands in those
moments as well as in the takbir al-qā'im. This hadith was quoted, among
others, by Sufyān b. 'Uyayn and by Mālik in his Muwatta'. This
latter fact, no doubt, must have been emphasized by the aforementioned
traditionists, together with the fact that many Companions were known to
have acted according to Ibn 'Umar's hadith; on the other hand, this hadith
was considered the abrogant of the hadiths with Kūfān inādha in which the
Prophet did not raise his hands in the prayer except once (illā marra).

The polemic between the ahl al-hadith and the Malikīs seems to have
been very harsh. One of the latter, the already mentioned Aṣḥāb b. Khalīl,
went so far as to forge a hadith which ascribed the limitation of the raising
of the hands to the takbir al-qā'im not only to the Prophet but also to the
first four caliphs. Both muqaddimah of this forgery were very defective
and Aṣḥāb was mocked without mercy.

It is worth remarking the fact that both the position of the ahl al-ra'y
and that of the ahl al-hadith could be supported by hadith. It is therefore

65) See a detailed account of this trial in my La heterodoxia ... 6.3.
66) On this descendant of a mawla of al-Walid b. 'Abd al-Malik see note 75.
67) See Fierro, "La polémique a propos de ra'f al-yadayn fi l-qalāt ... ."
68) See Monés's article.
69) The fuqā'ah' musāhawārin during the Umayyad emirate were Malikīs: see M. Marín, "stär et ahl al-bāĩri dans al-Andalus", Studia Islamica LXII (1985), pp.
70) The former will be dealt with in the following pages; for the latter, Aalam b.
71) The case of Mundhir b. Sa'd al-Balāṭī, judge of Qurtuba in the days of the caliph 'Abd al-Rahmān III and credited with having been a
72) The case of Mundhir b. Sa'd al-Balāṭī, judge of Qurtuba in the days of the caliph 'Abd al-Rahmān III and credited with having been a
73) The case of Mundhir b. Sa'd al-Balāṭī, judge of Qurtuba in the days of the caliph 'Abd al-Rahmān III and credited with having been a
74) The case of Mundhir b. Sa'd al-Balāṭī, judge of Qurtuba in the days of the caliph 'Abd al-Rahmān III and credited with having been a
75) The case of Mundhir b. Sa'd al-Balāṭī, judge of Qurtuba in the days of the caliph 'Abd al-Rahmān III and credited with having been a
76) The case of Mundhir b. Sa'd al-Balāṭī, judge of Qurtuba in the days of the caliph 'Abd al-Rahmān III and credited with having been a
This attitude could be explained as originating from the fear of being himself prosecuted or from a likely rivalry or envy towards Baqi. But it can also be explained as the attitude of a "moderate" traditionist who was at the same time a Malikite and who did not want to put an end to the legal practice predominant in al-Andalus. This latter explanation seems to be supported by the following portrait of Ibn Waddah made by one of his pupils: "I can not think of a better comparison for Ibn Waddah than this: he was like the good doctor who faces every disease with the best treatment in each case. In fact, when the ahl al-ra'y came to Ibn Waddah, he gave them an answer in agreement with the ra'y, but if it was the ahl al-hadith who came to him, he gave them an answer in agreement with the hadith". 72)

The second example concerns Qasim b. Muhammad b. Qasim b. Sayyid, already mentioned as having taken part in the polemic on ra'y al-yadyn fi l-yaqal as a member of the ahl al-hadith. An Umayyad mawla from Qurtuba, he travelled twice to the East, being absent from al-Andalus for eighteen years. During this period, he studied, among others, with the Egyptian pupils of al-Shafi'i, al-Muzani and al-Rabi' b. Sulayman. He was considered a Shafi'ite by his biographers, but Ibn Abi Dulaym (d. 351/962) included his name in his Malikite tabaqat, 73) explaining this decision on the grounds that Qasim delivered his legal opinions in agreement with the Malikite madhab and only acted otherwise when asked for a legal opinion in agreement with the Shafi'iite madhab. Qasim justified this attitude, stating that he felt obliged to follow the madhab predominant in al-Andalus. 74)

Thus, for instance, being ashab al-wahhabiy, the amir 'Abd Allah asked his advice on the penalty of the heretic (qatt al-zindiq); two other scholars were also asked, Baqi b. Makhad and the Malikite Muhammad b. Sa'id b. al-Mulawwan. Baqi delivered an opinion in favour of granting the zindiq the possibility of repentance (istitaba), an opinion that was against the doctrine of Malik in the Munatta'. The Malikite Ibn al-Mulawwan agreed with Baqi, Qasim, on the contrary, delivered an opinion against the istitaba, agreeing therefore with Malik and disagreeing with al-Shafi'i. 75) Baqi strongly disapproved of this behaviour, even though a similar compromising attitude is ascribed to him by some sources. 76)

These examples show that there was a sort of compromise between theory and practice on the part of the traditionists. 77) There is no evidence however that attempts were made to reconcile the doctrines of the ahl al-ra'y and the ahl al-hadith. 78) The traditionists found themselves forced to accept their inability to change the predominant 'amal based on the doctrines of Malik's pupils, not always in agreement with those of the teacher. The Malikites, on the other hand, stopped persecuting the traditionists once they had abandoned any attempt to change the legal practice. This compromise was perhaps helped by the fact that it seems that in the field of dogma there were not discrepancies between them: for example, Baqi b. Makhad and the Malikite 'Ubayd Allah b. Yahya b. Yahya al-Laythi fought the Mu'tazilite doctrines that had started to flourish in the days of the amir Muhammad. 79)

The presence of Shafi'iites towards the end of the 3rd/9th century did not stimulate any noticeable activity in the field of the refutation of al-Shafi'i's doctrine by the Malikites. 80) This can be explained by the scarcity of those Shafi'iites and by the sparse spreading of al-Shafi'i's works in al-Andalus. 81) On the other hand, the Malikites could not avoid recognising the increasing authority won by the traditions of the Prophet; the case of Asbagh b. Khalif and his failed attempt at forging a hadith must be remembered in this context. So, we find the Andalusian Malikites getting interested in the hadith material of the Munatta' and writing books like these: one

73) This work is lost; see Fons, Ensayo ..., p. 391.
74) See Ta'iz, n. 1047; Jaddwa, n. 1293; Madirik, IV, 446-8, particularly p. 447: kana yuqta bi-madhhab Malik ... qala Ahmad b. Khalid qula la-ka ara-ka tufti l-nas bi-ma la-ta'qithi hadli la-yahlu la-ka qala inname yuqta-rihi ni bi-madhhab jarra fi l-balad fa-arafha fa-afayatu-hum bi-ki wa-law sa'alihi 'an madhabhi akhbarru-hum bi-ki.
The Introduction of hadith in al-Andalus


Neither do the Andalusian traditionalists appear very active in writing refutations of their opponents. We only know of a work written by Qasim b. Muhammad, entitled It-dhay fi l-rad'da ala'i muqallidin; he also wrote a tract on the khbar al-wahid, a polemical issue between the Shafiites and the Malikites.

If the polemical activity does not seem very important, there was, conversely, a great activity in the introduction of hadith literature. The works of Abi Daulid and al-Nasawi were already known in the beginning of the 4th/10th century. The Sunan of the former was very much appreciated86) and was used as a model by Muhammad b. 'Abd Allâh b. Ayman (d. 330/941) and by Qasim b. Asbagh (d. 340/951) when they wrote their Musannafa, now lost.87) Two Andalusians studied directly from al-Nasawi's Sunan, the Umayyad Ibn al-Ahmâr (d. 358/968) and Muhammad b. Qasim b. Sayyâr (d. 328/939). In one of Ibn al-Ahmâr's riwayas, the Fad'l al Li Ali b. Ali Tâlibi were missing and maybe this omission should be related not only to his being an Umayyad, but also to the fact that in the same year in which he studied the Sunan (297/909) in Egypt, the Fâsi mîdes became the new masters of Ifriqiya.88) The works of al-Bukharî, Muslim and al-Tirmidhi were not introduced until the second half of the 4th/10th century. Al-Tirmidhi's Sunan were not so much appreciated as the other works: Ibn Hazm, in his Risâla, only mentions the collections of al-Bukharî, Muslim, Abi Daulid and al-Nasawi, stating that the Musnad/Musannaf of Baqi could well compete with them.

We have seen that in the second half of the 3rd/9th century the Musannafs of Waki b. Al-Jarrâh, Ibn Abi Shayba and Suyfân b. 'Uyyaina had already been introduced. Later on, those of 'Abd al-Razzaq,89) Hammâd b. Ayman: see Fahrasa, I, 127-31.

86) It was also introduced by Ahmad b. Khâlid: see Fahrasa, I, 134.
88) It was also introduced by Qasim b. Asbagh, and the latter by Ahmad b. Khâlid: see Fahrasa, I, 186.
89) See Fahrása, I, 195.
90) See Fahrása, I, 248 and Fahrása, I, 191-4. There is still no edition of this work.
91) This work was introduced by Ahmad b. Khâlid: see Fahrása, I, 224-5.
92) It was introduced by Muslim b. Khâlid: see Fahrása, I, 103-7 and Makki, Ensayo . . . , p. 204, note 1.
93) It was introduced by Ahmad b. Khâlid: see Fahrása, I, 119-7.
95) Written by Ahmad b. Khâlid (d. 322/934) and Muhammad b. 'Abd Allâh b. 'Ayshân (d. 341/952): see Madârik, IV, 174-8 and VI, 172-3, also Makki, Ensayo . . . , pp. 200-1.
97) See Fahrása, I, 103-7 and Makki, Ensayo . . . , p. 204, note 1.
99) It was introduced by Ahmad b. Khâlid: see Fahrása, I, 127-31.
and Yahyā b. Ma'in were also introduced. One of the scholars who introduced the latter's Ta'rikh, Ahmad b. Sa'd b. Hasm (d. 350/961), wrote on his turn one of the first biographical dictionaries of Andalusian traditionists. Before him, Abū 'Abd al-Malik b. 'Abd al-Barr had paid attention to them in his lost Ta'rikh; we have already met him as the transmitter of awā'il concerning the introduction of ḥadīth into al-Andalus. Abū 'Abd al-Malik b. 'Abd al-Barr was suspected to be a Ṣaḥīfī, which accounts for his interest in ḥadīth. He was a close friend of one of the sons of the caliph 'Abd al-Rahmān III, called 'Abd Allāh, who is also said to have been a Ṣaḥīfī. This 'Abd Allāh was accused of plotting against his father the caliph and against the latter's heir, the future al-Ḥakam II. After being imprisoned, he was beheaded in the year 338/950. In the same year, Abū 'Abd al-Malik b. 'Abd al-Barr, imprisoned under the same charges, died. Taking into account the few available data, it is difficult to ascertain the role played by their Ṣaḥīfīsm in these events and whether one of the aims of the plot was to change the legal madīkah of al-Andalus. If so, their failure goes together with the failure of Ṣaḥīfīsm in al-Andalus: its followers were always a minority and a few years after 'Abd Allāh's death, 'Abd al-Rahmān III openly proclaimed Malikism as the "official" doctrine of the Peninsula; afterwards, the caliph al-Ḥakam II thought it worthwhile doing the same.

'Abd Allāh was the author of a work entitled al-Muṣkīta fi ḥadādīl Baqi b. Makhlad wa-l-radd 'alā Muḥammad b. Waddāh. His refutation of the latter was as unsuccessful as his plot. The biographies of the scholars active between the end of the 3rd/9th century and the beginning of the 4th/10th century show that the majority of them were the pupils of Ibn Waddāh, while the number of Baqi's pupils is considerably smaller. These figures were without doubt influenced by the fact that the Malikite scholars forbade their pupils to study with Baqi. In my study on the activities of 145 out of the 216 pupils of Ibn Waddāh, it appears that 60% devoted themselves to fiqh and only 13% to ḥadīth. It then follows that it was not Baqi, a

103) See Fierro, La heterodoxia, 8, 4. and 9.1.
104) See Víguela’s article with a detailed account of these events.
105) See Fierro, La heterodoxia, 8, 4. and 9.1.
106) Ibn Waddāh had 216 disciples and Baqi only 85; both of them appear as the top teachers of their age: see my study on Ibn Waddāh, pp. 44-57 and M. Marín, "La transmisión del saber en al-Andalus (hasta 300/912)", Al-Qantara VIII (1987), pp. 87-97.

Conclusions

The Iberian Peninsula was conquered towards the end of the 1st century (year 93/711) and it is only a century later when we have evidence of the actual introduction of ḥadīth literature into it. Claims relating to its earlier introduction are, as we have seen, to be disregarded. The material introduced by 'Abd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb was far from meeting the requirements of classical 'ilm al-ḥadīth, especially as regards the formal aspects of the transmission. He was for this reason criticised by the protagonists of the second phase of the reception of ḥadīth (second half of the 3rd/9th century), Baqi b. Makhlad and Ibn Waddāh, who, trained with ʿIraqi teachers, introduced into al-Andalus not only new material but also its science. Until that moment, fiqh (introduced in the second half of the 2nd/8th century) and ḥadīth were seen as separate and different entities: the scholars who introduced fiqh (mainly Malikite fiqh) are not mentioned in the sources as traditionists. The reception of ḥadīth as a structured corpus of legal material, over and above the limited amount of ḥadīth embedded in Malikite works, aroused the opposition of the Andalusian Malikites because of the threat it represented to their doctrinal teachings and to the legal practice established in al-Andalus. If the persecution of Baqi did not lead to his execution, that must be attributed to the intervention of the amīr, who played the role of umpire between the two groups of the ahl al-ra'y and the ahl al-ḥadīth, without replacing the former with the latter. Between the end of the 3rd/9th century and the first half of the 4th/10th century, the Ṣaḥīfītes had a certain weight in the intellectual milieu; nevertheless, they did not succeed either in establishing their doctrine or in replacing the Malikites. The latter were, in turn, forced to pay more attention to ḥadīth, but they did so without introducing any substantial change in their doctrine and practice. It is only from the end of the 4th/10th century onwards that we have evidence of Malikite activity in the field of the waqt al-fiqh.

The picture drawn fits quite neatly in Schacht’s study on the secondary role played by ḥadīth in the law-schools prior to al-Ṣaḥīfī, on the tensions aroused in them by the growing importance attached to prophetic traditions as the second source of law and on their final acceptance of this principle without it implying a change of their already established doctrine and practice.
The Introduction of hadith in al-Andalus

Sources and Bibliography


BRUNSCHVIG, B., Bughyat al-multamis fi tu'īlah rijāl al-Andalus, ed. F. Codera and J. Ribera, Madrid 1884–5, BAH, t. III.


IBN HAZR (d. 852/1449), Tadbīr al-tatbīkh, 12 vols., Hyderabad 1325–7.

IBN KhAYR (d. 575/1179), Fihrasu, ed. F. Codera and J. Ribera, 2 vols., Zaragoza 1893, BAH, t. IX–X.


IBN al-QUTCAYA (d. 697/1297), Tuʿīlah Ǧīlāb al-Andalus, ed. and trans. by J. Ribera, Madrid 1296.

IBN RUSHD al-JADD (d. 520/1128), al-Bayān wa-l-taḥṣīl (a commentary of the 'Urbiyya), 18 vols., Beirut 1404/1984.


IṬĀD (d. 544/1149), Ṭārīḫ al-madārīr wa-taqrīb al-maṣālik il-muṣrif aʿlām madhāb Mālik, 8 vols., Rabat s.d.


LOPEZ ORTIZ, J., La recepción de la escuela malquita en España, Madrid 1931.

MADDĪRĪ: see IṬĀD.

MAKKI, M. A., Ensayo sobre las aportaciones orientales en la España musulmana y sus influencias en la formación de la cultura hispano-árabe, Madrid 1968.


MS: see GOLDBIZI,


AL-MUQADDĀSĪ (d. after 375/985), Aḥsan al-taqā'im, parcial ed. and trans. by Ch. Pellat, Description de l'Ocident musulman au IV°/V° siècle, Alger 1950.
Preparing a list of the savants of al-Andalus who died before the year 350/961 has allowed me to study quite a sizeable amount of biographical data, from which a number of conclusions may be drawn regarding the cultural and social life of the period in question. One of these aspects, and not the least important, is the relationship between masters and disciples, and the spread of teachings and knowledge during this first era of Islam in Spain.

Studying the list of masters with whom the savants of al-Andalus studied shows, upon an initial assessment of the data, a significant increase in the number of Middle-Eastern masters. There is nothing surprising in this, given that during this period, and above all during the beginning of the spread of Islam in Spain, it was logical to study at centres of scientific learning in other regions of the Islamic world that were already well-established. Without neglecting this first aspect of the theme, which I hope to study in more detail in the near future, my aim here is to outline the relationships between the masters of al-Andalus and their disciples. This issue has already been studied in connection with later periods and, in part, has also been dealt with in relation to the earliest period of Spanish Islam: for example, the work of J. López Ortiz, *The Reception of the Maliki School in Spain*, which brings together information about many of the disciples who studied with the most important figures of the maliki madhhab in al-Andalus.

---


The Transmission of Knowledge in Al-Andalus

In significant cases a master's importance is emphasised by means of the number of anecdotes and stories about him. Among the 279 masters who correspond to the period being studied, several groups can be established according to the number of disciples that correspond to each master. It is important to note that with the personalities that died after 290/902-3 (approximately), a considerable numerical distortion takes place: many of their disciples died after 350/961 and therefore are not included in calculations. As a consequence, in this study we can only have a clear idea of the masters' importance by means of the number of their disciples in the period ending in the III/IX century. Confining ourselves, therefore, to those personalities who died in 300/912, we obtain the following results:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Disciples</th>
<th>II/VIII Centuries</th>
<th>III/IX Centuries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than 10</td>
<td></td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Due to the nature of the sources that deal with this period, the above table has been produced only on the basis of the masters whose date of death is known to us. To this, one must add a group of 69 personalities whose exact date of death is unknown, but who are very likely to have lived during the II-III/VIII-IX centuries, and perhaps at the beginning of the IX/X century. The figures regarding their disciples are as follows:

1 to 2 disciples: 60 masters.
3 to 10 disciples: 9 masters.
More than 10 disciples: —

The group that holds the greatest interest is, logically, that of those masters who had an important number of disciples. We saw in the previous table that the nucleus of personalities whose teachings had a notable effect is reduced to 22 in the period studied. This figure might seem insignificant, above all if we compare it with the total of biographies studied for the same period. Essentially, it attracts our notice that with the conclusions reached by Bulliet for Nisabur. If we look at the era

1 This same system is followed by Urvoy, op. cit., by Gilbert, J.E., The 'Ulamā' of Medieval Damascus and the International World of Islamic Scholarship (Ph.D., University of California, Berkeley, 1977) and "Institutionalization of Muslim Scholarship and Professionalization of the 'Ulamā' in Medieval Damascus", Studia Islamica, LII (1980), pp. 105-134 (summary of thesis mentioned, in which the theme of the master-disciple relationship is not dealt with). Abiad, M., Culture et éducation arabo-islamiques au Sum pendant les trois premiers siècles de l'Islam (Damascus, 1981), catalogues savants by the number of their masters (pp. 200-1).

2 See, in this respect, the work of Avila, M.L., "El Metódo historiográfico de Ibn al-Abbār" (on the sources of the Takālī the Ibn al-Abbār), in Estudios Onomástico-biográficos de al-Andalus, op. cit., pp. 553-583.


immediately after the one studied here, with a slightly wider time frame (317-514/929-1120) the number of biographies is considerably similar (1080) and the conclusions do not overly differ. The “masters” of Nisabūr do not exceed 192 and only 26 have 20 or more disciples. Faced with this parallel, one could ask oneself if this might not be due to the fact that, geographically-speaking, in both cases we are dealing with areas situated on the periphery of the Islamic world; in any case, the fact remains significant, and allows us to draw nearer to a more accurate assessment of the information contained in the biographical dictionaries.

Chronologically one can observe in this period a process of progressive growth in the number of masters, parallel to the introduction of the Islamic sciences to al-Andalus, a process which intensified from the first years of the III/IX century on. The following list maps, according to date of death, the Islamic world; in any case, the fact remains significant, and allows us to draw nearer to a more accurate assessment of the information contained in the biographical dictionaries.

Chronologically one can observe in this period a process of progressive growth in the number of masters, parallel to the introduction of the Islamic sciences to al-Andalus, a process which intensified from the first years of the III/IX century on. The following list maps, according to date of death, the names of the masters of al-Andalus of this period; in cases where the biographical sources provide more than one date, for practical reasons only one is indicated. The number which follows each name indicates its inclusion in List, where the corresponding biographical references may be consulted.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date of Death</th>
<th>Master</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>158/774–5</td>
<td>Mu'āwiya b. Ṣaliḥ (1409)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>180/796</td>
<td>Ṣa'ā' b. Sallām (635)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>189/804–5</td>
<td>Yahyā b. Muḍar (1572)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>198/813–4</td>
<td>’Abd al-Khāliq b. ’Abd al-Jabbār (886)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>199/814</td>
<td>al-Ghāzi b. Qays (1008)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>204/819</td>
<td>Ziyād b. ’Abd al-Rahmān Shabṭūn (504)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>206/821</td>
<td>Muḥammād b. Yahyā al-Sībā'ī (1353)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>207/822</td>
<td>Ḥusayn b. ‘Aṣim (407)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>210/825</td>
<td>Qar'awūs b. al-‘Abbās (1076)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>212/827</td>
<td>Ṣā'ī b. Dinār (993)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>220/835</td>
<td>Wahh b. Akhtāl (1509)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8 Although Bulliet's study only deals with the city of Nisabūr, the comparison with al-Andalus can be sustained if we take into account that during the era studied here, the great majority of the masters of al-Andalus lived in Cordoba and taught there, in particular those with the greater number of disciples.

9 Regarding the significance of Arabic biographical literature, there is a bibliography which is becoming more and more important in size and quality. To the titles quoted, for example, in Avila, M.L., Hispano-Muslim Society at the End of the Caliphate (Madrid, 1985), pp. 13–14, one can add Goiten, S.D.'s suggestive evaluation in "Individualism and Conformity in Classical Islam", Fifth Giorgio Della Vida Biennial Conference (ed. A. Banani and S. Vryonis) (Wiesbaden, 1977), pp. 3–17.

221/835–6 al-Ḥārith b. Ṣa'īd (363)
222/836–7 Muḥammād b. Ṣā'īd al-‘Aṣhā (1291)
224/838–9 Muḥammād b. Khālid b. Martanil (1174)
233/846 ’Abd al-Malik b. al-Ḥasan Zawwān (862)
234/848 Yahyā b. Yahyā (1576)
235/849 Sa’d b. Ḥassān (537)
237/851 ’Āmir b. Muṭawwa (659)
238/852 Qāsim b. Ḥilāl (1075)
239/853 ’Ābd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb (861)
246/860 Ḥarūn b. Sālim (1475)
248/862 Ḥarith b. Ayyūb (901)
255/868-9 Muḥammād b. Aḥmad al-‘Utbī (1125)
256/869–70 ’Abd Allāh b. Muḥammād b. Khālid (810)
258/871 ’Abd al-Rahmān b. ’Irāḥīm (691)
259/872–3 Yahyā b. ’Irāḥīm b. Muzayn (1523)
260/873–4 Sulaymān b. Naṣr (602)
261/874 Muḥammād b. Yusūf b. Maṭrūḥ (1368)
262/875 Abūn b. Ḥāb b. Dinār (3)
265/878 ’Abd al-Rahmān b. Sa’d (700)
266/881 al-Fadl b. al-Fadl b. ’Amīr (1041)
268/882 ’Irāḥīm b. Shu’ayb (31)
269/883 ’Irāḥīm b. Yazīd b. Quzum (55)
270/883 Malik b. ‘Ali (1088)
271/885 Sa’d b. al-Namīr (573)
272/885 ’Abd al-Rahmān b. Isā b. Dinār (709)
273/885 ’Irāḥīm b. Khālid (23)
274/885 ’Abd Allāh b. Muḥammād b. Qāsim b. Ḥilāl (823)
275/885 ’Irāḥīm b. Qāsim b. Ḥilāl (1564)
276/885 Ashāgh b. Khalīl (267)
277/885 ’Irāḥīm b. Muḥammād b. Bāz (46)
278/885 Wahb b. Naṣṣ (1518)
280/893 ’Abd Allāh b. Sawwār (776)
281/893 ’Irāḥīm b. ‘Ajannas (36)
282/893 Muḥammād b. Idrīs (1135)
284/894 Baqi b. Makhld (315)
286/894 ’Irāḥīm b. Labīb (42)
287/895 Qāsim b. Muḥammād (1066)
288/905 Ḥāmid b. Akhtāl (365)
289/905 ’Irāḥīm b. Qāsim b. Ḥilāl (40)
We will now look at a group of 22 masters who had more than ten disciples each, placed in descending order according to importance:

Muhammad b. Waqājah: 216 disciples

We consider this to be the most important group among the savants of al-Andalus before 300/912, it is also evident that the figure among them with the greatest influence was Muhammad b. Waqājah, followed after a certain distance by Baqī b. Makhlad; but if we unite this data with a diachronic study of the influence of the masters of al-Andalus, we will be able to better understand the evolution of transmission of the Islamic sciences in al-Andalus.

The first group of savants of al-Andalus which appears to have been more important according to the number of their disciples, is made up of Yahyā b. Maṣūf; the other disciples of Ibn Qays were, at the same time, disciples of both cases) or followers. If we consider this to be the most important group among the savants of al-Andalus before 300/912, it is also evident that the figure among them with the greatest influence was Muhammad b. Waqājah, followed after a certain distance by Baqī b. Makhlad; but if we unite this data with a diachronic study of the influence of the masters of al-Andalus, we will be able to better understand the evolution of transmission of the Islamic sciences in al-Andalus.

The first group of savants of al-Andalus which appears to have been more important according to the number of their disciples, is made up of Yahyā b. Maṣūf; the other disciples of Ibn Qays were, at the same time, disciples of both cases) or followers. If we consider this to be the most important group among the savants of al-Andalus before 300/912, it is also evident that the figure among them with the greatest influence was Muhammad b. Waqājah, followed after a certain distance by Baqī b. Makhlad; but if we unite this data with a diachronic study of the influence of the masters of al-Andalus, we will be able to better understand the evolution of transmission of the Islamic sciences in al-Andalus.

The first group of savants of al-Andalus which appears to have been more important according to the number of their disciples, is made up of Yahyā b. Maṣūf; the other disciples of Ibn Qays were, at the same time, disciples of both cases) or followers. If we consider this to be the most important group among the savants of al-Andalus before 300/912, it is also evident that the figure among them with the greatest influence was Muhammad b. Waqājah, followed after a certain distance by Baqī b. Makhlad; but if we unite this data with a diachronic study of the influence of the masters of al-Andalus, we will be able to better understand the evolution of transmission of the Islamic sciences in al-Andalus.

The first group of savants of al-Andalus which appears to have been more important according to the number of their disciples, is made up of Yahyā b. Maṣūf; the other disciples of Ibn Qays were, at the same time, disciples of both cases) or followers. If we consider this to be the most important group among the savants of al-Andalus before 300/912, it is also evident that the figure among them with the greatest influence was Muhammad b. Waqājah, followed after a certain distance by Baqī b. Makhlad; but if we unite this data with a diachronic study of the influence of the masters of al-Andalus, we will be able to better understand the evolution of transmission of the Islamic sciences in al-Andalus.

The first group of savants of al-Andalus which appears to have been more important according to the number of their disciples, is made up of Yahyā b. Maṣūf; the other disciples of Ibn Qays were, at the same time, disciples of both cases) or followers. If we consider this to be the most important group among the savants of al-Andalus before 300/912, it is also evident that the figure among them with the greatest influence was Muhammad b. Waqājah, followed after a certain distance by Baqī b. Makhlad; but if we unite this data with a diachronic study of the influence of the masters of al-Andalus, we will be able to better understand the evolution of transmission of the Islamic sciences in al-Andalus.
Ten of 'Isa b. Dīnār’s 13 disciples were also disciples of Yahyā b. Yahyā, who, for his part, was the master in common of many of them together with 'Abd al-Malik b Ḥabīb and Sa‘īd b. Ḥassān apart from being the most important figure of his era with regard to number of disciples:

Disciples in common of Yahyā b. Yahyā, 'Abd al-Malik b Ḥabīb and Sa‘īd b. Ḥassān: 9
Disciples in common of Yahyā b. Yahyā and Sa‘īd b. Ḥassān: 12

Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-ʿUtbi, who died twenty years after Yahyā b. Yahyā, together with Yahyā b. Ibrāhīm b. Muzayn dominated the teaching of the period immediately subsequent to the period under study: both were masters in common to 22 disciples. Some disciples of Ibn Wāḍiḥah studied with Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-ʿUtbi and Yahyā b. Ibrāhīm b. Muzayn, a practice that had took place throughout the whole second half of the III/IX century, an era in which the overwhelming majority of savants of al-Andalus shared their teaching with Muḥammad b. Wāḍiḥah.

The group of 22 masters reveals in this way a strong internal cohesion, as the majority of their disciples were not followers of one single master, but of groups of two or three (and sometimes more) masters. This same pattern was pointed out by Urvoy regarding the final era of the caliphate, in which the nucleus of Islamic culture in al-Andalus was concentrated in some eleven people.13 We are before the veritable ruling caste of intellectual life in al-Andalus, those whose teaching was sufficiently important to attract a number of disciples who would only sporadically attend the lessons of other, better-known masters. This same function: those interested in acquiring knowledge first sought out the local masters, later to gather in the Umayyad capital of Cordoba, where the most important figures in intellectual life were concentrated.

13 For example, with the exception of two, all of Baqī b. Makhład’s disciples were also students of Ibn Wāḍiḥah; the latter and al-Khushani shared 64 disciples, etc.
14 See Urvoy, Le Monde des ulémas, p. 87.
Abstract

This article examines the spread of knowledge in al-Andalus by reconstructing the most important groups of masters according to the number of their disciples. In studying the period in question, in which a total of 1,631 savants—or individuals related to the intellectual life—have been registered, a group of 279 personalities stands out, with at least one disciple each. Within this group, 22 masters are notable as having had more than 10 disciples each. This group may, therefore, be considered the veritable elite among the transmitters of knowledge in al-Andalus. This article also indicates the most important masters of each generation and the relationships that existed between them, by means of the groups of disciples they had in common.

17

LIBRARIES AND BIBLIOPHILES IN THE ISLAMIC EAST

Adolph Grohmann

[Remark: In the footnotes, the passages between square brackets have been added by Cl. Gilliot]

talab al-ilm farid 'ala kull muslim

‘Pursuing knowledge is every Muslim’s duty’

These words, which I have put at the beginning of my contribution, are the opening words of the inscription above the entrance gate into the library in Constantinople; built by Sultan Muhammed II the Conqueror (1451–1481 AD), it was later destroyed by an earthquake and rebuilt by Mustafa III in 1771 AD. The duty demanded here had long since become a necessity for large groups of those professing Islam. The tremendous advance of intellectual work began under the influence of Hellenistic and Persian scholarship in the second Islamic century and embraced many groups of the Arab people, in particular among those who had settled. Of course, this was an impetus that also considerably advanced the development of books and all that pertained to them. Consequently it was not by chance that most of the great libraries were created at the time that also saw the greatest flourishing of so-called Arab culture, namely during the third to fifth centuries AH. The increased demand for books—which were, as in the Classical world, disseminated as copies only—furthermore encouraged the book trade to prosper, and the historian al-Ya`qubi for instance tells us that in his day (the second half of the third century AH) there were more than a hundred booksellers in Baghdad. These
booksellers frequently were bookbinders as well as copyists, made their own paper and sold not only books but pens, ink and paper, and in addition many of them were men with a literary education who would occasionally put pen to paper themselves. In any case many a literary product would pass through their hands, and consequently they possessed extensive knowledge in the fields of biography and history of literature. One of the best-known representatives of this guild is Abu al-Faraj Muhammad b. Ishaq al-Warrag al-Baghdadi Ibn Abí Ya'qub al-Nadîm, who in 987 AD compiled a catalogue of all the works that had passed through his hands or had come to his attention in any other way, together with biographical notes about the authors; a book that is known under the title of Kitâb al-Fihrist. The shops of these booksellers who, like all the trades, had their own district in the bazaars, were favourite meeting places of learned people, just as the taverns of the librarii had been in Ancient Rome. We are able to form an idea of the book production in those days if we hear that a scribe was able to copy a hundred pages in one day and one night.

Not only did the increase in literary production advance the book trade; the constantly expanding academic activity required the establishment of great libraries, accessible to everyone, where everything worth knowing would be stacked. A number of rulers met this requirement in the most liberal fashion. It was a matter of course that Baghdad, as the centre of the Abbâsid Empire, soon became a major centre of learning. Not the least of the contributing factors was the ruling dynasty's sympathetic support of science. First and foremost it is al-Ma'mun (813–833 AD) who must be mentioned, as he founded a court library in the capital which bore the name 'House of Wisdom' or 'Treasury of Wisdom' (dâr [bayt] al-`ikma or khaizna al-`ikma), and which had three Persian directors. It contained not only books, but also old autograph manuscripts. Numerous scholars enjoyed working there; thus the author of the Fihrist used many rare works in this library. The Caliph al-Mu'taqid (892–902 AD) also had a collection of books, about which we unfortunately have no more detailed information. At any rate the 'Abbâsids' library, which was destroyed under Hulâgû, must have been most remarkable, for al-Qalqashandi mentions it in first place among the greatest libraries of Islam. In second place al-Qalqashandi names the library of the Fatimid Caliphs in Cairo which embraced all the sciences and about whose fortunes we have more detailed knowledge. This library was particularly

---

Plate 1. Miniature from the Codex Arabe 5847 of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, depicting the library in Ḥulwân.

---

9 Fihrist, op. cit., I, p. 61
rich in autograph manuscripts. Thus, for instance, among its thirty-odd copies of [433] the comparatively valuable Kitāb al-'Āyān by Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Khalīl b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz el-ʿAzīzī (d. 975 AD) and Abū Shama's Al-Rawrī; Lataynī akhbar has its day.; in al-Maqrīzī's Chronicle, the library and offered a copy of al-Ṭabarī's Chronicle which he had brought for a hundred dinars. However, the library already possessed twenty-odd copies, among them once again an autograph manuscript. Of Ibn Durayd's Jamāhīra, there were even a hundred copies. [434] Among the various fields of knowledge represented there were: jurisprudence, according to the individual schools of law, grammar, rhetoric, tradition scholarship, history, rulers' biographies, astronomy, spiritualist lore and chemistry. Ibn al-Ṭuwayar tells us that the library was housed in one of the halls in the Mārisṭān, which was called the Old Mārisṭān in al-Maqrīzī's time. We do not know when it had been taken there. It was arranged on a number of book cabinets all along the walls of the great hall, the cabinets were divided into shelves and every shelf fitted with a hinged door with a lock. Manuscripts from every field of knowledge were recorded, and if something was missing or not complete, this would be noted as well, all on a piece of paper stuck to each of the doors in the hall. We also hear that Qur'ān manuscripts – the library owned no fewer than 2400, some by famous calligraphers and illuminated with gold, silver, etc. – were housed in a room above this hall, and that furthermore there were booklets in the hand of the calligrapher Ibn Muḥāl and those emulating his work, such as Ibn al-Bawwāb and others. We may be able to form an idea of this arrangement if we look at Ibn Durayd's Al-Rawrī and Al-Ṭabarī's Al-Īrāq al-Rahbī; Lataynī akhbar which forms part of the Collection Ch. Schefer in Paris and is now kept in the Bibliothèque Nationale.15

The library, which comprised 200,000 bound volumes alone – there was only a small number of stitched booklets – or, according to other sources, even 601,000 volumes,14 had a varied fate. It is certain that in 1005 AD a large part of its collection was moved from the library quarters in the Fāṭimid palaces into the ‘House of Science’ – called ‘House of Wisdom’ by al-Musābbihī – founded by al-Ḥākim bi-amr Allāh. This was situated near the West palace and was entered from the gate of the straw sellers. In al-Maqrīzī's day it was called Dār al-Ḥāḍirī (Green grocers' House) and was situated in the street of the same name opposite the Aqmar mosque. The library established here was open to general use and it was possible, on request, to copy anything one liked; furthermore it was used for lectures. As soon as the new library was furnished and decorated, its doors and doorways covered with curtains, and doormen, servants, ushers etc. had taken up their jobs, it naturally became a meeting place for jurists, astronomers, grammarians, rhetoricians and physicians. Here al-Ḥākim bi-amr Allāh had stocked works from all fields of knowledge, in particular [435] precious autograph manuscripts, a collection no other ruler's could equal. All these treasures he made available to the public, guaranteeing in addition a certain yearly budget to pay for the people working for the library, and also provided ink, pens, paper and inkwells. In the year 403 AH (1012–13 AD) al-Ḥākim received a delegation of scholars from a similar academy, including mathematicians, rhetoricians, jurists, physicians, all of whom were admitted according to their guilds to an extraordinary audience. They were invited to a disputation and then dismissed with gifts of garments of honour. On this occasion al-Ḥākim also donated some real estate in Old Cairo (al-Fustāṭ) for his academy. 257 dinars were allocated for the yearly budget of the library, distributed among the following items:

For rush mats from ʿAbbadān etc. – 10 dinars
For writing paper – 90 dinars
For the librarian's salary – 48 dinars
For drinking water – 12 dinars
For the servant's salary – 15 dinars
For the salary of the administrator of paper, ink and pens – 12 dinars
For repairing the curtains – 1 dinar
For repairing torn books and damaged papers – 12 dinars
For felt rugs for winter – 5 dinars
For winter blankets – 4 dinars

As an addition of these items results in only 209 dinars, it may be assumed that the remaining 48 dinars were distributed either among such expenses as are not mentioned specifically in the library's budget or, which is much more probable, among the salaries of other servants. After all it is wholly improbable that only one single servant was employed, as might be inferred from the relevant entry in the library's budget. We will come to know a number of institutions related to this foundation of al-Ḥākim, which ceased to exist only after more than 120 years. It was closed by al-Akhrī b. ʿAmīr

---

14 Ibn Abī Wāsīl’s statement that it contained no more than 120,000 volumes cannot be valid for its heyday. Presumably this is meant to refer to the size at the time it was sold by Salādi; Abū Shamsa al-Maqdisī, Kitāb al-Rawrī; Lataynī akhbar al-dawlatayn, Cairo, 1287/1870, p. 200.
al-Juyûsh, allegedly because it had become a seat of sectarianism and religious unrest. 

Perhaps it was a good thing that thanks to this foundation of al-Ḥakim the major part of the magnificent library of the Fāṭimids was housed elsewhere, as in 1068 a terrible fate befell it. In the month of October of that year, 25 camel loads of books had been transported from the palace of the Fāṭimid al-Mustanṣir bi-Llāh to the palace of the vizier Abū al-Faraj Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar al-Maghribi. The vizier had removed these books, whose value was estimated by eye witnesses to have been around 100,000 dinars – from the palace stacks in order to provide collateral for the requirements of the grasping, undisciplined soldiery. After the defeat of the Ḥamdānī Naṣîr al-Dawla in November of that year, this great treasure of books was ransacked and dragged from his palace during the great pillage by the Turkish guards, who did not spare his two travelling companions either. The books that were spared were those in the ‘House of Science’ and those that had been moved to ʿImād al-Dawla Abū al-Faḍl b. al-Muṭṭaqrīq in Alexandria; after his murder they passed to the Maqrūz. However, this unprecedented book looting was by no means all. Those precious, beautiful and matchless manuscripts that had survived and not been sold off were now maltreated in the most cruel manner. Their magnificent leather bindings were ripped off in order to be made into footgear for negro slaves, and the pages of the manuscripts were simply burnt. Whatever escaped this auto-da-fé was covered with dust by the winds and heaped up into hills which could still be seen near the ruins in al-Maqrūzī’s day and which were popularly called ‘book hills’.

Of course, such a great library, regarded as one of the wonders of the world, and the greatest library in the Islamic Empires, could not be destroyed completely even by a catastrophe of this order. After the death of the last Fāṭimid al-ʿAḍīd (d. 1171 AD), al-Malik Suqūr of the Fatimids was housed elsewhere, and the remaining library treasures. The Qāḍī al-Fāḍl ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. ἀl-Afdal, the learned vizier Juwaynī and an inspector (mushrif), dignitaries selected from among the best society of the city. Here the founder had collected the entire academic literature published until his day. The library consisted of a long columned hall with a large vestibule all sides of which were connected to the book rooms. Along the walls of the great hall as well as the book rooms there were bookcases made from decorated wood, as tall as a man and three cubits wide, fitted with doors which could be lowered from above. The booklets were laid on top of each other on shelves, as we can see on Plate 1. This arrangement had already been used in the ancient world and was retained in Europe for a long time too. For each field of knowledge there were designated bookcases and catalogues listing the titles of the books. The Buyid Majd al-Dawla was a great booklover too, and spent a considerable part of his free time reading and copying books. This, however, did not prevent him staging a large-scale auto-da-fé when the Muʿtazilites were expelled to Khorāsān. On this occasion, the works of philosophers and sectarians were burnt; the remaining confiscated books – which still amounted to 100 camel loads – he kept. Of course there were libraries of greater or lesser importance in the residences of other princes as well. Thus in Alamut, the residence of the Grand Master of the Assassins, there was a great library which was used by the learned vizier Juwayni but went up in flames in 1257 AD, and crusaders are said to have burnt a library of some 3,000,000 volumes in Tripoli, although that number of books is sure to be greatly exaggerated.

The generosity shown by princes when furnishing and founding libraries often encouraged their highest dignitaries to emulate them. Thus the Caliph
al-Mutawakkil’s vizier al-Faṭḥ b. Khāqān (murdered in 861 AD) owned a library which the astronomer ‘Alī b. Yaḥyā had collected for him. The author of the Fīkhrist cannot praise this library enough and states that he never saw a more beautiful or more extensive one. The palace of this vizier, who was an enthusiastic patron of men of letters, was frequented by philologists and scholars from al-Ṭāfī and al-Ṭaṣrā. Al-Faṭḥ b. Khāqān was considered to be the greatest booklover apart from the scholar al-Jāḥiẓ and the Qāḍī Ismā‘īl b. ʿIṣāq.22 Another close friend of scholars, men of letters and books was the Baghdad Jew Abū al-Farāj Ya‘qūb b. Yūsuf b. Killis, an exceedingly intelligent and well-read man. He had been the merchants’ wakil in al-Ramlā in Syria, had fled after various malversations under the Ikhshid Kāfūr to Egypt, had known to insinuate himself into his service where he had soon (438) achieved a high position and was appointed wazīr aṣṣāf to the Fāṭimid Caliph Mu‘izz l-dīn Allāh in April 979. In his palace in Cairo he employed several copyists who had to copy the Qurān, legal and medical works, books of Adab literature etc. for him. After completion the copies were collated and corrected. He also employed Qurān readers and imāms in his palace who would say prayers in the palace mosque; and for himself and his friends as well as servants and page-boys he had a number of kitchens installed. A special table was prepared for his personal use, where he would dine with favoured scholars, noble copyists, select page-boys and invited guests. For the remaining chamberlains, secretaries and servants there were numerous other tables. As soon as he had seated himself, he would read a legal treatise he had composed after hearing it from al-Murīz and al-ʿArīz, and nobody would dare interrupt him. According to the account of his compatriot and contemporary Yaḥyā b. Sa‘d, Ya‘qūb spared no expense when it came to these enthusiasms: he spent no less than a thousand dinars a month on the scholars, copyists and bookbinders, which was a gigantic sum, in particular if we bear in mind the value money had at that time.23 Mu‘izz al-Dawlā’s son in Baṣrā owned a library of around 15,000 volumes, which also contained numerous fascicles and unbound works, which were confiscated in the palace mosque; one of them, called ‘Aziziyya, contained 10,000 volumes and was named after one of Sultan Sanjar’s wine suppliers who had founded it, the other collections were housed in various colleges (madrasas). The administration was very liberal. Ya‘qūt always had more than twenty volumes at his home, each of which had a value of about one dinar (this appears to have been the average value of a book in almost all the Islamic countries), without having to give any security.24 The library in Hulwān cannot have been without importance, either – we have seen its picture at p. 433 above. According to the flowery language of the famous al-Harīrī, whose Maqāmāt were translated into German by Friedrich Rückert, it was a

Treasuty of wisdom, meeting place and playground too of learned men and chosen, native as well as foreign.20

---

It was as good as a matter of course for all mosques to have a library attached to them; it would be futile to give examples. Often private people, especially scholars, owned quite important book collections. The Arab historian al-Waqidi (d. 823 AD) left no fewer than six hundred chests of books. He employed at all times two slaves whose duty it was to copy books for him day and night, and even before that he had bought books for 2000 dinars. A courtier of the name of 'Ali Yahya al-Munajjim had a beautiful collection of books in his country estate and called it proudly, after the foundation of the Caliph al-Mamun, 'Treasury of Wisdom' (khizamat al-ikhana). Anyone who came to study there received free meals. Abū 'Ali Husayn 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Ibrahim Ibn Hajib al-Nu'mān was another one who owned a beautiful library. In the days of Mu'izz al-Dawla he was director of the audit office of the Sawād. His library contained mostly valuable original manuscripts with glosses by the respective scholars. The book collection of Muhammad b. al-Husayn, who was acquainted with the author of the Kitāb al-Fihrist, in al-Haditha was even more outstanding. There were Arabic works on the subjects of grammar, rhetoric, Adab, and, particularly, very old manuscripts. From fear of the Ḥamdānids the man was most timorous and cautious with his book treasures, but occasionally he would show al-Nadim a large chest of books containing some 500 pounds of vellum, diplomas, papyri, Chinese and Khorasānī and Tihāma paper, as well as rolls of leather. Among these were manuscripts of the Arab, and Qaṣīdas of their poetry which survived in one copy only; furthermore grammatical treatises, anecdotes, history, onomastic and genealogical works as well as other writings from the scholarly literature of the Arabs. The lucky owner of these treasures narrated that a man from al-Kūfa, whose name escaped the author of the Fihrist, and who was not much interested in the old writings, left these things to Muhammad al-Husayn because of the friendship between them as well as the kindness he had shown to him and the sect (he too was Shi'ite). In this way, al-Nadim came to see them as well; and he found among them some wondrous things which suffered only from the ravages of time. He mentions, as being particularly interesting, that each fascicle, sheet or roll had a personal inscription by the scholar in question, stating whose work it was, and under each inscription there was an authentication by five or six more scholars. Among these treasures, the author of the Fihrist found, among others, a copy of the Qurʾān by the famous calligrapher Khālid b. Abī al-Hayyāj (1st century AH = 7th century AD), the companion of the Caliph 'Abbās. He also found autograph manuscripts by the two

īmāms al-'Abbās and al-Husayn, defence treaties and deeds by the Caliph 'Ali and others of the Prophet's secretaries. Furthermore there were scholars' manuscripts on grammar and rhetoric by, for instance, Abū 'Amr b. al-'Ala' and Abū 'Amr al-Shaybānī, al-'Aṣma', Ibn al-'Arabi, Sībawayhi, al-Farrā', al-Kisā', autograph manuscripts by traditionists such as Sufyān b. 'Uyayna and Sufyān al-Thawrī, al-Awzā'ī and others. There also was a grammatical treatise by Abū al-Aswad, the originator of Arabic grammar, on four sheets of Chinese paper in the hand of Yahyā b. Ya'fur with old inscriptions. After the death of this man, al-Nadim made every effort to obtain this chest and its contents, but he did not succeed in finding out anything about its fate. Of all the beautiful things he had seen inside it, he never saw any again, except for the copy of the Qurʾān mentioned above.

Another great collector of books was the judge Abū al-Mujarrif [Ibn Futays] in Cordova (d. 1011 AD), who employed six copyists who were continually working for him. Whenever he heard about a beautiful book, he sought to acquire it and made exaggerated offers. He never lent a book; he preferred to have a copy made and gave that away, without even asking for it back. After his death his library was sold by auction in his mosque, fetching 40,000 dinars over the course of one whole year. The library of the physician Abū al-Hasan Sa'id al-Samīrī, who was executed in 1251 AD, was a companion piece to Abū al-Mujarrif's library. Al-Samīrī owned 10,000 volumes, mainly precious works and masterpieces of calligraphy; he employed several copyists, as did the physician Ibn Matrān who also possessed a library of many volumes.

Foundations similar to the Dar-al-Ḥikma of the Fātimids al-Hākim about which we heard above were also established by private individuals. Thus the poet and scholar Ibn Ḥamdān (d. 995 AD), who was a member of the nobility of Mosul, founded a house of science there to which was attached a library with volumes on every subject. It was open to anyone searching for instruction, and poor people got the writing paper for free. The founder himself had a seat there where he would recite his own and other poets' verses and dictate on the subjects of history and jurisprudence. The [traditionist and judge Ibn Ḥibbān (d. 965 AD) left to the city of Nishāpur a house containing a library and living quarters for foreign scholars as well as an allowance for their support. The books were not to be lent outside of the library. One of ʿAḍud al-Dawla's couriers built a library in Rām Hormuz on the Persian Sea as well as in

---

Baṣra, where those who came to read and copy received an allowance. The former, which was attended by the geographer al-Muqaddasi, was under the administration of a scholar who lectured on dogmatics according to the Mu'tazilite creed.37

Of course, as everywhere there were bibliophiles of questionable character in the East who were not guided by any scholarly or artistic interests but bought books merely in order to paper their bare walls and attract attention as owners of a wealthy library at the same time. Thus a scholar visiting Cordoba, the foremost book market in Spain, had the following experience which I am quoting here in his own words:38 'I was spending some time in Cordova and kept visiting the book bazaar there, as I was looking for a book for which I had been searching for a long time. In the end a copy of this book in magnificent script appeared for sale, and joyful I began bidding for the book. However, the crier always came back with a higher offer, until the price far exceeded the actual value of the book. Then I asked the crier to show me the competitor who was offering so much for the book, and he led me to a gentleman in magnificent attire. I addressed him as 'doctor', and said to him that I was willing to let him have the book if he really [442] required it so urgently, as it would be futile to force the price up any further. He, however, replied in the following way: I am neither a scholar nor do I know what the book is about, but I am just by way of furnishing my library and sparing no expense on it in order to distinguish myself among the dignitaries of the city. It so happens that I have a space which this book would fill nicely, and as it is expertly calligraphed and prettily bound it took my fancy. How much it costs is of no importance to me, for God has given me a large income.'

It is impossible to overcome a feeling of sadness when we remind ourselves of how little of all these collections of books, some of which were exceedingly valuable, has come down to us. Occasionally old and precious manuscripts surface in one or the other library in the East. Only recently Ernst Herzfeld [1879–1948] has acquainted us with a number of wondrous treasures from Persian libraries39 which are most welcome to the philologist as much as to the art historian. There is to this day a sufficient number of educated men in the East, who collect books with true passion. However, the loss of the great libraries of, e.g., the Fāṭimid and the ‘Abbāsid Iranian libraries cannot, of course, ever be repaired. A few fragments of magnificent codices survive from the era of the Ṭulūnids and Fāṭimids in the collection of papyri Erzherzog


With the murder of 'Ali, the fourth caliph, and the establishment of the Umayyads at Damascus, the capital of Islam moved into a country which had been predominantly Christian for centuries. This fact was to have an influence both in the development of life and religion at the court and in the homeland. Despite prejudices against the Umayyads on the part of many of the devout, Medina was not cut off entirely from the political capital. Some would have no dealings with the caliphs of Damascus, whom they regarded as godless impostors, and accordingly the interests and studies of this party had a backward look. Others, however, accepted the Umayyads as the legitimate heads of Islam, asking only that the rulers pay outward homage to the religion of the Prophet; this group was willing to serve them. An intermediate position held it to be the duty of every Moslem to support the head of the state, however unworthy he might be, for the unity of Islam must be preserved at all costs. Hence scholars and poets passed back and forth between the Hijaz and Syria, to some extent bridging the gap between the uncompromising position of the devout of Medina and the freer ways and outlook of those attached to the court at Damascus.

It is exceedingly difficult to deal justly with the Umayyads, for most of the extant Arabic literature comes from a day when their names were anathema. The Abbasids not only sought to exterminate every surviving member of the previous dynasty but were determined to destroy their very memory. When that was impossible they were portrayed in a most unfavorable light. Their inscriptions were defaced, and those who dared to speak a word in their praise were subject to persecution. The scheme succeeded all too well, for it is impossible to write anything approaching an adequate history of the Umayyad period. Except for 'Umar II (caliph from 99-101/717-20),

Arabic writers have seen little to praise in the personal lives of these caliphs. Their military and political achievements are acknowledged, for they left obvious results which are to the glory of Islam, but in general the Umayyads are represented as irreligious, loose-living, and unenlightened. Poets flourished at their courts, but otherwise the arts and learning languished. On the whole, Islam has accepted this picture of the dark days preceding the glorious era of the early Abbasids.

Shiites have agreed with the orthodox estimate of the Umayyads, or rather gone one better, for they look upon `Ali as the first scholar of Islam and on his brief caliphate as witnessing the beginning of true Moslem learning. Hence a modern Moslem writer, the late Amir `Ali, who spoke of the fourth caliph as the “beloved disciple” and the “scholar,” referred to the accession of the Umayyads as a “blow to the progress of knowledge and liberalism.”

To the orthodox as well as to many Occidentals, Moslem learning and the arts of civilization begin with the Abbasids. But recently there has been some tendency to discount the prejudices of most Arabic authors and to give attention to any fragmentary evidence which presents the Umayyads in a more favorable light. Fortunately, not all Arabic writers fell in line with the official policy. Ahmad ibn Hanbal, founder of one of the four great schools of Moslem law, impartially reported traditions favorable to the claims of the Umayyads and the house of `Ali as well as to the Abbasids. However, except for slight traces, the Syrian tradition is lost to us. Wellhausen held that the best acquaintance with the spirit of the Syrian tradition was to be gained from Christian chronicles, particularly the Continuatio of Isidor of Seville, where the Umayyads appear in a very different and more favorable light than that in which they are customarily presented. Furthermore, the anecdotal character of much Arabic writing and the tendency to quote earlier authors extensively have preserved fragmentary evidence which often contradicts the general point of view.

On the literary side the Umayyad period, except for a widespread love of poetry, is poor compared to the one which followed. Nevertheless, it was not as utterly barren as would appear both from the small number of works which have survived and from the remarks of historians. The lack of literary remains from the early days of Islam is to be accounted for in part by the prevalent use of papyrus following the conquest of Egypt. Climatic conditions in Syria, Iraq, and Persia are not conducive to the preservation of that fragile material, and the earliest Arabic papyri from Egypt are chiefly documents, private letters, and accounts. Becker says that the earliest book manuscript which survives is a twenty-seven-page papyrus book dated 229/844. It is interesting that this is in codex rather than roll form. At any time, of course, earlier material may be found, for literary papyri have not yet received as much attention as non-literary. It is difficult, however, to account for the imposing lists of authors from the end of the second century on, unless one supposes modest beginnings in preceding years.

One must use allusions to early authorities with caution, for it is often difficult to distinguish between quotations of oral traditions and those taken from books. It is very likely, however, that some were taken from written sources. I believe there is sufficient evidence for the existence, in Umayyad times, both of the beginnings of a prose literature and of an interest in books and book-collecting.

First of all, what precisely is meant by a book at this time? According to all reports, Zaid’s first edition of the Koran consisted of leaves (sahifah; pl. suhuf) kept together in some fashion, which were intrusted to the safekeeping of Hafsa, `Umar’s daughter. It is uncertain how precise the order was in which they were kept, for at the time of the preparation of the ‘Uthmanic Koran there was some disagreement on the arrangement of the surah’s. After that the order was fixed. Both sahifah and the more common word for book (kitab; pl. kutub) refer primarily to pieces of paper, skin, or other materials on which are or may be writing. The terms often refer merely to loose sheets, documents, or letters, but they may also apply to books in the ordinary sense of the word. The Koran was considered a book, the record of separate revelations which are united by common authorship and ultimate purpose. Mohammed himself was aware of the

existence of books. The last verse of sûra 87 refers to the books (ṣūruf) of Abraham and Moses, and any religious group possessed of sacred books was called the people of Scripture, or “book-people” (ahl al-kitāb).

Accordingly it is often impossible to tell whether ṣūruf and kutub are to be understood as books or merely as loose sheets or pages of writing. For example, suppose for the moment the historicity of a tradition to the effect that 'Abd ibn Mālik (d. 92 A.H.) handed his students writings (kutub), containing sayings of the Prophet. Did he have formally published books, or merely loose leaves of notes? Probably the latter. The great canonical compilations of traditions, prepared in the Abbasid period, appear to have been preceded by informal private collections for the use of scholars and their disciples. These are more akin to the notes of a lecturer or the notebook of his students than to books, as the term is usually understood. But they indicate an appreciation of the value of written records and the tendency to fix oral tradition in a permanent form. According to a report, which occurs in but one version of the Mawdū' of Mālik ibn Anas, the Umayyad caliph 'Umar II feared that valuable traditions might be lost and ordered one who had known the prophet to gather and commit them to writing. Guillaume and others doubt the trustworthiness of the report on the ground that none of the later writers on tradition refers to such a compilation, and the occurrence of the report in but one version of the Mawdū'.

There are many reports of learned men in the early days of Islam who committed their collections of traditions to writing, often merely for their own use. Some, having memorized them, destroyed them or ordered this to be done after their death. Years ago Sprenger collected a number of such anecdotes, some of which are probably apocryphal, but in general they represent a prevalent custom. Al-Ḥasan

6 Guillaume, op. cit., p. 19; al-Shabani's version of the Mawdū', p. 389; see Sprenger, "Origin and Progress of Writing Down Historical Facts," Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, XXV (1856), 308 ff. and cont. 372 ff.; Khuda Buksh's translation of von Krenner's Kultur-Geschichte des Orient, under the title of The Orient under the Caliphs (Calcutta, 1920), pp. 373 ff.; I. Goldziher, Mahommedische Studien (Halle, 1888-90), 1, 210, Horovitz, on the other hand, apparently accepted this as authentic; see "The Earliest Biographies of the Prophets and Their Authors," Islamic Culture, January, 1929, pp. 24 ff.; citing Ibn Sa'd, Biographien der Mohammedaner, etc. (Leyden, 1605-28), 11, 134, and Ibn Hajar, Fadh al-Rafi' bi Shahār Ṣuḥā' al-Bukhari (Cairo, 1901-11), XI, 39, as saying that 'Abū Bakr ibn Mohammed ibn 'Amr, judge at Medina (d. ca. 120), was so requested by 'Umar II. If such a book was written, it was short-lived, for, when asked concerning it, 'Abū Bakr's son 'Abd Allāh admitted it was lost (Ibn Hajar, ibid.).

of Basra (d. 110/728) had a great mass of notes which he directed to be burned after his death, and he was accused of passing off as oral traditions information which he had really drawn from books. Mūsā ibn Ḥukma said that a client of Ibn 'Abbās, Kuraib (d. 98 A.H.), possessed a camel-load of the writings (kutub; again probably the notes) of Ibn 'Abbās (d. 68), a companion of the Prophet. Whenever his grandson 'Ali ibn 'Abbās (d. 113) wished to refer to any of them, he wrote for such-and-such a page (saḥīfa) to the owner, who would send him a copy. Kuraib left these books to Ibn 'Ukba, and both he and 'Ikrima utilized them. There are numerous references to students who wrote down the words of their teachers on pages, rolls, tablets, or even on their shoes. Sa'd ibn Jubair (d. 95 A.H.) is reported to have said, "In the lectures of Ibn 'Abbās, I used to write on my page [or roll] a saḥīfa; when it was filled, I wrote on the upper leather of my shoes, and then on my hand." Of the same student it is said that he used to write on his shoes, literally feet, and the next morning copied his notes. Two other sayings seem to indicate that such books or notes had market value. "My father wrote to me when I was at Kūfah, 'Buy books [kutub] and write down knowledge, for wealth is transitory, but knowledge is lasting'"; and another: "My father used to say to me, 'Learn by heart, but attend above all to writing, when you come home [probably from lectures] write, and if you fall into need or your memory fails you, you have your books.'"

Ibn Khalikān's remarks on 'Abū 'Amr ibn al-ʿAlā (d. 154/770) are suggestive as to the nature of books collected by early scholars. The books [kutub] containing the expressions he had written down from the lips of the purest speakers among the Arabs of the desert nearly filled one of his rooms [or his house] up to the ceiling, but when he took to reading [the Koran], that is, when he commenced the practice of devotion, he threw them away; and when he returned to the study of his old science, he possessed nothing of it except what he had learned by heart.10

8 Sprenger, "Origin and Progress, etc.," op. cit., p. 325; and Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammed (Berlin, 1861-65), I, xciv; Horovitz, op. cit., p. 167; Ibn Sa'd, V, 216 (quoting Ibn 'Ukba).
9 Sprenger, "Origin and Progress, etc.," op. cit., p. 321.
10 Ibid., p. 324. These sayings may be genuine, although they smack of controversy.
11 Biographical Dictionary, transl. de Slane (Paris, 1843), I, 400—Arabic text (Cairo, 1510 A.H.), I, 387. Margoliouth's remarks in Lectures on Arabian Historians (Calcutta, 1890), p. 97, on ABS 'Amr ibn al-ʿAṣa sound like a confusion of names, for the dates and details are the same.
Abū Amr was a philologist and Koran reader, but it is probable that the books (kūtub or ṣuhuf) of traditionalists were similar collections of notes they had taken down.

As late as 400 A.H., an eccentric scholar of Bagdad, Abū Ḥāyān al-Tawhīdī, destroyed his books, and, being reprovéd by the judge Abū Sahl ʿAli ibn Mohammed, wrote a letter of apology which Yākūt preserves in full. He defends his act by citing the example of men of formal books and were in a sense published either by repeated dictation to students who thereby multiplied copies or by permitting them merely for the private use of their owners, some crystallized into more knowledge of the prophets and the scholars of the Beni Israel,” is typical of the tendencies of traditional literature.18 The same Shiite writer who describes the Jafr in such glowing terms reports that before his death “All gave the sacred books and his armor to his son Ḥasan with regulations as to their subsequent disposal.19

Popular story-tellers and poets who sympathized with the house of ‘Ali made so much of the tragedy of Kerbela and other episodes in the history of the blessed family that the caliphs of Damascus were forced to deal with them, either courting their favor and thereby rendering them harmless or, when this failed, silencing them by imprisonment or death. Apparently Shiite tradition had become sufficiently widespread and dangerous to call for official censorship. Alg-Abū Amr was a philologist and Koran reader, but it is probable that the books (kūtub or ṣuhuf) of traditionalists were similar collections of notes they had taken down.

As late as 400 A.H., an eccentric scholar of Bagdad, Abū Ḥāyān al-Tawhīdī, destroyed his books, and, being reprovéd by the judge Abū Sahl ʿAli ibn Mohammed, wrote a letter of apology which Yākūt preserves in full. He defends his act by citing the example of men of formal books and were in a sense published either by repeated dictation to students who thereby multiplied copies or by permitting them merely for the private use of their owners, some crystallized into more

knowledge of the prophets and the scholars of the Beni Israel,” is typical of the tendencies of traditional literature.18 The same Shiite writer who describes the Jafr in such glowing terms reports that before his death “All gave the sacred books and his armor to his son Ḥasan with regulations as to their subsequent disposal.19

Popular story-tellers and poets who sympathized with the house of ‘Ali made so much of the tragedy of Kerbela and other episodes in the history of the blessed family that the caliphs of Damascus were forced to deal with them, either courting their favor and thereby rendering them harmless or, when this failed, silencing them by imprisonment or death. Apparently Shiite tradition had become sufficiently widespread and dangerous to call for official censorship. Alg-
Tabari says that Mu‘awiya ordered the suppression of all traditions favorable to the house of ‘Ali to be replaced by declarations of the glory of the family of ‘Uthmān, the third caliph and ‘Ali’s predecessor. This would indicate that the caliphs recognized the value of traditions for propaganda purposes. It also falls in line with other indications that a body of distinctly Umayyad traditions once existed. Remnants of the Syrian tradition are to be found especially in statements which emphasize the sanctity of Jerusalem as a place of pilgrimage at least equal to Mecca and Medina. Al-Zuhri, of whom more will be said presently, is reported to have confessed “these princes [the Umayyads] have compelled us to write hadith,” and there is every reason to suppose that he was among those who felt no scruples against serving the “godless caliphs.”

A most interesting character who flourished under the Umayyads was the learned lawyer and traditionalist, al-‘A‘mash abū Mohammed Sulaimān ibn Mīhrān, who was born in 60 or 61/680 and died in 148/765. The caliph of the time, Ḥishām ibn ‘Abd Allāh, wrote a letter to him requiring that he compose a book on the virtues of ‘Uthmān and the crimes of ‘Ali. Al-‘A‘mash, after reading the note, thrust it into the mouth of a sheep, which ate it up, and said to the messenger, “Tell him I answer it thus.” The latter, terrified because he had been told that his life would be forfeited if he returned without a written answer, solicited the aid of the friends of al-‘A‘mash, who finally prevailed on him to send a written reply, which was couched in the following terms: “In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate! Commander of the Faithful! Had ‘Uthmān possessed all the virtues in the world they had been of no utility to you; and if ‘Ali committed all the crimes of which the human race is guilty, they had done you no injury. Mind the qualities of your own little self, and adieu!” Ibn Khallikān’s sketch of this man bespeaks a vigorous and refreshing personality in whom the independent spirit of the desert Arab was still alive, possessed of a salty wit and a sharp tongue.

23 Guillaume, loc. cit.
24 Ibid., p. 50; Muir, Life of Mahomet (ed. 1861). I, xxxiii, as from Ibn Sa‘d, II, 135.
26 So transl. by De Siane and Khallikān, I, 588, Arabic text (Cairo ed.). I, 213, itt.: “Write for me the virtues.” The letter devoured by the sheep was on papyrus (papyrus).

Arabic Books and Libraries in the Umayyad Period a lack of awe for position and authority, and a sense of justice. The caliph apparently appreciated this exhibition of the ancient virtues which the Umayyads admired, for there is no mention that he punished the audacity of al-‘A‘mash. One may perhaps be pardoned a digression to recount two other anecdotes concerning this interesting character. Some students went to him one day to learn traditions. Greeting them, he announced, “Were there not in the house a person [meaning his wife] whom I detest more than I do you, I should not have come out to you.” On another occasion a man followed him as he took a walk and saw him enter a cemetery and lie down in a newly dug grave. As he came out he shook the earth from his head and exclaimed, “Oh, how narrow the dwelling!”

Among the devout there seems to have been a quite sincere feeling that the desire to write books was based on sinful pride, and they sought to avoid the appearance of producing anything which might detract from the unique position of the Koran. This applied to the writing of traditions more than to any other type of literature, probably owing in part to the fact that traditions contained words of the Prophet, which might easily be regarded as of equal interest and authority with those of the sacred book. This attitude continued far down in the history of Moslem literature.

As late as the middle of the fifth century after the Hijra a learned Shāfi‘ite doctor of Bagdad, al-Māwardi (d. 450/1058), refused to publish any of his works, which, however, he kept together in a safe place. As death approached he said to his confidant:

The books in such a place were composed by me, but I abstained from publishing them because I suspected that, although my intention in writing them was to work in God’s service, that feeling, instead of being pure, was sullied by baser motives. Therefore when you perceive me on the point of death and falling into agony, take my hand in yours, and if I press it, you will know thereby that none of these works have been accepted by me; in this case you must take them all and throw them by night into the Tigris, but if I open my hand and close it not, that is the sign of their having been accepted and that my hope in the admission of my intention as sincere and pure has been fulfilled. “When al-Māwardi’s death drew near,” said the person, “I took him by the hand and he opened it without closing it on mine, whence I knew his labors had been accepted and I then published his works.”

26 Ibid. [To be continued]
Moslem traditions are valuable not only in themselves, but also because they are the roots from which grew the more important legal, historical, and biographical studies and literature. However formless and temporary the written collections of traditions remained in the Umayyad period, there was a real beginning in the writing of books on these allied subjects. The celebrated handbook for lawyers, the *Muwatta*, of Malik ibn Anas, a jurist of Medina (d. 179/759-60), was preceded by similar works, none of which has survived, for instance, by Mohammed ibn ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-‘Amirī (d. 120/737), Sa‘d ibn Abī ‘Arūba (d. 156/773), and ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Juraij (d. 150/767). The first of them, al-‘Amirī, was, like Malik ibn Anas, a pupil of al-Zuhri, and his work, which bore the same title, *Al-Muwatta*, was considered by some Arabic critics as superior to the later one which has survived. Although this type of book incidentally preserves traditions, that is not its primary purpose, which is rather to establish a system of law based on the customary procedure of Medina. Although Malik’s book was written in the early days of the Abbasids, it is the fruit of earlier legal studies and practice, and furnishes some evidence of the activities during the Umayyad period. We see in the writings of Malik and his predecessors the rise of Moslem canon law, which is a long step from the mere recounting and collecting of tradition.

Another legal compendium which purports to come from this period is that attributed to Zaid ibn ‘Ali (d. about 122/740), an ‘Aliid who led an unsuccessful revolt against the caliphs of Damascus. Although there is evidence that Zaid possessed some learning, it is exceedingly doubtful if this work and others also bearing his name are actually...
Moslem traditions consist of unconnected anecdotes purporting to record the words and deeds of the Prophet and events of the early days of Islam. Moslem history arose with the first attempts to put these sources into a more connected narrative form. This takes the shape of biographies of the Prophet and accounts of his military exploits. Hence we have two types of literature dealing with Mohammed's life and work—the biography (stru), and the records of conquest (maghazi). The oldest biography which survives is that of Ibn Ishâk (d. 150/768), in the recension of Ibn Hisâm (d. 833 A.D.), and the earliest example of maghâzi literature is the Book of the Wars, by al-Wâkidî (d. 822 A.D.). Both were written under the first Abbasids.

Behind them lay earlier and perhaps cruder works of similar types. The oldest biography which survives is that of Ibn Ishâk (d. 150/768), in the recension of Ibn Hisâm (d. 833 A.D.), and the earliest example of maghâzi literature is the Book of the Wars, by al-Wâkidî (d. 822 A.D.). Both were written under the first Abbasids.

One of these is prefaced by the remark, "Thou hast written to me concerning Abû Sufyân and his sortie, and askest me how he then conducted himself." Horovitz has shown that the fragments addressed to 'Abd al-Malik connect and are pieces of the same dissertation. Another answer preserved by al-Zuhri, his pupil, was addressed to Ibn Abi Hunaida, who lived at the court of al-Walid. It is apparent that these brief expositions, of which there were doubtless others, preceded the writing of longer and more formal books. As has been observed before, the word "books" must be interpreted with caution, and it may be that the only writings of 'Urwa were of this sort—short tracts of a page or two each, with little or no effort to connect them. As Caetani has pointed out, although they are mere fragments, the style of which is awkward, they are of great significance.

—The American Journal of Semitic Languages—

240 THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SEMITIC LANGUAGES

from his hand, at least in their present form. It is more likely that they were fathered on him by the sect which bears his name—the Zaidiyas—and which regards him as one of the martyrs of the Prophet's family.29

Moslem traditions consist of unconnected anecdotes purporting to record the words and deeds of the Prophet and events of the early days of Islam. Moslem history arose with the first attempts to put these sources into a more connected narrative form. This takes the shape of biographies of the Prophet and accounts of his military exploits. Hence we have two types of literature dealing with Mohammed's life and work—the biography (stru), and the records of conquest (maghazi). The oldest biography which survives is that of Ibn Ishâk (d. 150/768), in the recension of Ibn Hisâm (d. 833 A.D.), and the earliest example of maghâzi literature is the Book of the Wars, by al-Wâkidî (d. 822 A.D.). Both were written under the first Abbasids.

There is evidence that with 'Urwa we have a genuine beginning of Arabic prose literature. Al-Tabari, in his great history, preserves several fragments of 'Urwa's writings in the form of little treatises written to elucidate various points on early Moslem history in response to inquiries made by the caliph 'Abd al-Malik, and in one case also by al-Walid. All of them are preserved on the authority of 'Urwa's son, Hisâm. One of these is prefaced by the remark, "Thou hast written to me concerning Abû Sufyân and his sortie, and askest me how he then conducted himself." Horovitz has shown that the fragments addressed to 'Abd al-Malik connect and are pieces of the same dissertation. Another answer preserved by al-Zuhri, his pupil, was addressed to Ibn Abi Hunaida, who lived at the court of al-Walid. It is apparent that these brief expositions, of which there were doubtless others, preceded the writing of longer and more formal books. As has been observed before, the word "books" must be interpreted with caution, and it may be that the only writings of 'Urwa were of this sort—short tracts of a page or two each, with little or no effort to connect them. As Caetani has pointed out, although they are mere fragments, the style of which is awkward, they are of great significance.

20 Kâshf al-Zuhâm (Leipzig and London, 1835-58), V, 646, f. 12464; others say a maghâzi work. Horovitz credits Abûn, son of 'Ubâdah, the third caliph, with being the first to put into writing a special collection dealing with maghâzi; of his writing nothing has survived. See "The Earliest Biographies of the Prophet and Their Authors," Islamic Culture, October, 1927, p. 539.
31 Al-Tabari, I, 1180, 1224, 1254, 1634; probably also 1564, 1636, 1670, 1770.
32 Ibid., III, 2458.
33 Ibid., 1, 1294, trans. Horovitz, op. cit., p. 549; for a translation of several of the longer sections see Sprenger, Das Leben, etc., I, 336; II, 43, 113, 142 ff. For a discussion of 'Urwa's significance see ibid., pp. 116 ff., and Horovitz's excellent and detailed sketch, op. cit., pp. 542-55; Wüstenfeld, Die Familie al-Zuhis (Ulm, 1874), pp. 51-55.
34 Horovitz, op. cit., pp. 548 f.
35 Ibn Hisâm, p. 754; al-Tabari, Tafhâ, XXVIII, 42; see Horovitz, op. cit., pp. 549 f.
in the development of historical writing. A characteristic of ‘Urwa’s style is the inclusion of bits of poetry of which he is said to have known a great deal. Ibīn Ihsāk, later, was also fond of quoting verses.

The remark of V. Vacca in his article on ‘Urwa in the Encyclopedia of Islam, ‘He had collected an important library bearing upon many subjects both historical and juridical,’ is somewhat misleading unless one is reminded that this collection probably consisted of notes taken down by himself and perhaps by others. The same may be said of Sachau’s reference to the books ‘Urwa possessed. It seems very likely that ‘Urwa at times used documents; for instance, he quotes from Mohammed’s letter written to the people of Hajar. Sprenger’s remarks on the library of the historian al-Wākīḍī (d. 207/823) apply as well to the libraries of ‘Urwa and other early historians:

Al-Wākīḍī’s patron spent some 2,000 dinars on books for him, and in addition the historian kept two slaves busy copying others for him, and thereby amassed 600 chests of books, each of which was so heavy that it required two men to carry it. It is evident from his “Book of the Wars” that al-Wākīḍī had gathered thousands of traditions, often the same in several versions. These he sifted and arranged to make a fairly continuous narrative.

We are also told that ‘Urwa’s pupil, al-Zuhri (d. 124/742), owned many books (kutub) which filled his house; the study of them so occupied all his time that his wife complained, “By Allah! These books [kutub] annoy me more than three other wives would [if you had them].” At one time he shared the general disapproval of writing but later saw that its use was not incompatible with piety—in fact, his friends joked about his habit of writing down everything he heard. At first his notes were merely for his own convenience, for

334 — EDUCATION AND LEARNING IN THE EARLY ISLAMIC WORLD

after having memorized their contents he tore them up. Later he permitted his writings and the material he dictated to be used by others. He is accused of having permitted a volume of traditions transmitted by him to be circulated without having read it through, although the volume had been submitted to him.

Several of the Umayyad caliphs thought highly of him, and he is supposed to have admitted that he forged traditions in their favor. The evidence for this charge is of dubious veracity. One would rather agree with Horovitz that whereas at the behest of the caliphs he departed from his former reticence and dictated traditions, this innovation does not prove that he invented hadith in their interests. There is even a report, of which there are several versions, that he once engaged in a heated verbal battle with either Hishām or al-Walid, who tried to force him to change a statement so that it would reflect adversely on ‘All. If true, the story does credit to al-Zuhri’s veracity and personal courage. Whatever the facts may be, nothing has detracted from his reputation as a dependable jurist, traditionalist, and historian. The caliph ‘Umar II is reported to have sent letters to the various provinces recommending that al-Zuhri be consulted in all legal difficulties, “for no man is better acquainted than he is with the sunna [usages] of times past.”

His pupil, Ma’mar, is authority for the statement that in the library of the caliphs were piles of books (daftīr) containing the writings or notes of al-Zuhri, for he is quoted as saying, “We were of the opinion that we had heard much from al-Zuhri till al-Walid was killed; for then volumes from his treasure chambers [khaḍāf] were loaded upon beasts of burden. He [Ma’mar] means: filled with the learning of al-Zuhri.” Al-Zuhri was the author of Kitāb al-Maghāṣrī, (“Book of the Wars”), which is frequently quoted. According to his own

335 — LIBRARIES

Arabic Books and Libraries in the Umayyad Period 243
statement as recorded by al-Ṭabarî, he wrote also a list of the caliphs with their ages, which Margoliouth calls one of the very earliest attempts at written history. Al-Zuhri is also quoted as saying that he started to write a work on the North Arabian clans which he never completed. The same man who had commissioned him to write it also asked him to compose a biography (ṣira) of the Prophet. Al-Zuhri's books, perhaps because of royal patronage, seemed to have been more adequately published and preserved than those of some of his contemporaries, for a scholar of the time of Al-Manṣūr (ruled 754–757 A.D.) said, quoting some traditions: "Al-Zuhri informed me." Asked where he had met al-Zuhri, he answered: "I have not met al-Zuhri, but I found a book of his at Jerusalem." His influence on Moslem studies was considerable: among his pupils were al-ʿĀmirī and Malik ibn Anas, two outstanding canon lawyers. Sprenger was of the opinion that al-Zuhri and one of his teachers, Shurahblī ibn Sa’d, were influential in giving the biography of the Prophet a stereotyped pattern from which subsequent writers never departed.

Another historian, most of whose life was spent under the Umayyads, was Abū Mikhnaf (d. 154/744). He was the author of more than thirty historical monographs, considerable parts of which are preserved by al-Ṭabarī. Although most of the independent writings which have come down under his name are probably forgeries, it may be that the one on the death of Ḥusain, the son of ʿAlī, manuscripts of which exist in several libraries, is genuine. One sees in the treatises of Abū Mikhnaf a continuation of the episodal type of historical writing begun by ʿUrwa. When Hishām asked al-ʿAmaš to write on the virtues of ʿUthmān and the sins of ʿAlī, he probably expected this sort of little treatise. In a collection of traditions on ʿUmar II there are preserved two letters, one from that caliph asking Śālim ibn ʿAbd Allah ibn ʿUmar to write a biography (ṣira) of his grandfather ʿUmar and the author's reply, promising to accede to the request. From these indications, as well as from the writings of al-Zuhri, it is apparent that the scope of historical writings was beginning to broaden to include subject matter other than that dealing directly with the career of the Prophet.

Several other early historians are quoted frequently by later authors. Sprenger considered ʿAbū Iṣṭaṣ (d. 127 or 128 A.H., at an advanced age) and Abū Miṣlāz (d. shortly after 100 A.H.) of great importance, for they represent a different line of tradition than that followed by Ibn Iṣṭaṣ and Ibn Hishām. They are quoted by al-Bukhārī and Ibn Sa’d; nearly the whole of Ibn Hibbān's biography of Mohammed was taken from Abū Iṣṭaṣ. Abū Maʿṣar (d. 170/786–79), author of a work on maghāzī, spent part of his life under the Abbasids, but lived at Medina until 160, hence his work probably represents the studies of that school. He is quoted by al-Wāṣīdī, Ibn Sa’d, and al-Ṭabarī, who depended on him for chronological data.

Al-SUYÜṬĪ preferred the maghāzī by Mūsā ibn ʿUkba (d. 141/758) to any other, which indicates that this early history was still extant in Egypt in the fifteenth century. Nineteen excerpts from it exist in a college notebook of a student who lived at Damascus in the fourteenth century, which is preserved at Berlin. Mūsā was a student of al-Zuhri, on whose opinions he depended greatly, and, as seen above, he utilized the writings of Ibn ʿAbbās, the Prophet's cousin.

Along with strictly religious history, based on the traditions collected by recognized authorities, the Umayyad period witnessed an interest in other sorts of historical literature, much of which was hardly more than folklore.

The report that Ziyād, the foster-brother of Muʿāwiya, composed a
book on the pretensions of Arab families, which he intended as a weapon for his descendants in case their origin was ever attacked, is somewhat dubious, although the book is mentioned in the Fihrist as the first book of calumny. 43 If genuine, it is indicative of the general interest in genealogical studies, which had practical utility as well as serving to satisfy the inordinate family and tribal pride of the Arabs. It is noteworthy that the literary historian al-Ṣāliḥ (d. 946 A.D.) says that Ziyād was the first person to copy books, apparently meaning professionally. Genealogical lists served as an army roll, for the participation of families in the conquests of Islam. Criticism of traditions, consisting largely of the study of the lives, characters, and connections of those who transmitted them, gave further impetus to genealogical studies. Reporters were arranged in classes (tabāṭib). Then as now the preparation of genealogies furnished opportunities for forgeries. A poor but celebrated authority on the art of forgery gave of it a man made him a handsome present, he assured him his father or grandfather or some member of his family was close to the Prophet, and turned his reputation to account.

It is unfortunately that extreme poverty and possibly failing mental powers in old age drove him to such dubious practices, which have tarnished his name. Mūsā ibn Uthīr refers to the lists Shurābîl wrote of the names of the emigrants to Medina and of those who had participated in the battles of Badr and Uhud. 66

The need of preserving genealogies led to the establishment of a rolls office. At first, public records for Syria were kept in Greek by Christian scribes, and in Persian for the eastern provinces. Al-Balīḍhuri says “Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān first ordered the state registers to be written in Arabic in the year 81/700, 67 but Barhebraeus says the change from Greek to Arabic was made under Wallād ibn ‘Abd al-Malik. 68 Al-Hajjāj, the governor of Iraq, transferred the register from Persian to Arabic about A.D. 700. 69 State archives, of course, are not strictly libraries, but their existence indicates a recognition of the value of preserving written records of public affairs.

We have noticed the rise of maqāhāri literature, histories of the early wars of conquest, and biography (ṣīra) from the pens of serious scholars. At the same time a more popular and legendary variety also flourished, the hearers of which demanded no authorities. A great deal of it was highly fanciful and was originated and perpetuated by popular story-tellers (kuṣṣās), who recited such tales for the edification and amusement of those who gathered in public houses, on street corners, and at mosques, particularly on festal occasions. Stories of the birth and infancy of Mohammed were especially popular. Much as such tales were enjoyed by the common people, they and their relators were frowned upon by religious authorities, and the kuṣṣās were not infrequently forbidden to hold forth in mosques. Official disapproval, however, had little or no effect on the propagation of this pious form of entertainment, and some of the stories were even committed to writing. It is related that the caliph ‘Abd al-Malik, seeing his son reading such a book, commanded it to be burned and ordered him to study the Koran instead. 70 In addition to strictly Moslem literature, the Umayyads relished stories of Arab antiquity and the history of other peoples. Al-Masʻūdī has a charming account of how Muṣʿawīya was in the habit of giving audience to his people, great and small, daily after the evening prayer and meal; then he devoted a third of the night to the history of the Arabs and their famous battles, the histories of foreign peoples, their kings and their governments, the biographies of monarchs, including their wars and stratagems and methods of rule and other matters connected with...
ancient history." After sleeping the second third of the night, the caliph had pages, in whose charge they were intrusted (evidently the royal librarians and readers), bring in books (dastār, a Persian word for "notebooks" or "books"), in which were biographies of kings and accounts of their battles and tactics, which they read to him. These may have been the Book of the Kings and Past Events referred to in the Fihrist. There it is said that Mu'āwiyah summoned from Şan'ā', in the Yemen, 'Ubaid ibn Sharya to recount to him narratives of past events and the kings of the Arabs and foreigners, after which he commanded them to be recorded. The Fihrist also mentions a book of proverbs by the same writer. One of his historical works was much read as late as the fourth (tenth) century, when it was known to al-Maṣūdī and al-Ḥamdānī. Krenkow, however, believes that 'Ubaid is a fictitious person and that both the Book of Kings and the Book of Proverbs are to be identified with the Relation of 'Ubaid Ibn Sharya, which was actually the work of Ibn Isḥāq and revised by Ibn Hishām, as was his biography of the Prophet.

Another Yemenite, who supplied several of the Umayyad caliphs with a considerable amount of historical, legendary, and biblical lore, and of whose reality there is no question, was Wahb ibn Munabbih (d. 110/728). He is the source from which Moslems have derived much of their knowledge of the ancient world, including that of the South Arabian civilizations. Wildly fanciful stories have been told of his erudition. For instance, he had read ten thousand chapters of the Wisdom of Lūṭmān; seventy, seventy-two, seventy-three, or even ninety-two of the scriptures of Jews and Christians. Much of the material he recounted was highly legendary, and in later times stories of dubious origin were attributed to him, so that some have considered him merely an audacious liar. The fault, however, lies rather with the nature of the material he transmitted and the use made of his

10 Al-Maṣūdī, Le praixes d'or, ed. Barbier de Meynard (Paris, 1860), V, 77 f.; see also Nicholson, op. cit., pp. 194 f. The distinction between the activities of the first and last thirds of the night may be that in the first the caliph listened to recitals of history, whereas later he was read to from books. We have other allusions to caliphs' librarians reading to them. This does not necessarily imply that these rulings were literal.

11 Goldziher, op. cit., I, 182 f.

12 Krenkow, "The Two Oldest Books on Arabic Folklore" (cont.), Islamic Culture, April, 1938, pp. 324-36.

13 See De Slane's estimate of him in Ibn Khallibā's, III, 673 ff.


15 For a résumé of Al-Tijān see Krenkow, op. cit., January, 1928, pp. 55-59, and cont. April, 1928, pp. 204-20. This work is referred to by Yaḥyā ibn Ẓāhīr, op. cit., VII, 283, as The Book of the Crowns of Himyar and Reports and Stories concerning Them and Their Saufātun and Their Poems; see Horovitz, "Earliest Biographies," op. cit., p. 567.

16 Krenkow, op. cit., p. 232 f.

17 Ibid., p. 233. For the frequent confusion of the Alexander legend with that of other heroes see Encyc. Islam., arta., "Dhūl-Karnān." "Iskandar Nāma." Some version of the Alexander legend was known to Mohammed and utilized in the Koran in Sura xviii on Miṣr, vss. 50 ff.; also vss. 82 ff. on Dhūl-Karnān.

18 Krenkow, op. cit., pp. 55 and 232 ff.

tion to the history of revelation which culminates in the Prophet of the Arabs. This is probably the same work which Hajji Khalifa called the Kitab al-Israiliyat, for Yaqut says that Wahb "took much from old books which are known as Israiliyat." 89 Two works containing wise sayings, the Hikma and the Man'ica, are mentioned and were known in Spain in the sixth century A.H. 84 A translation of the Psalms of David, a theological work, Kitab al-Kadar, 85 and a historical work, the Futuhat, 86 are attributed to him. Becker discovered among the papyri of the Schott-Reinhardt collection a Fasciculus from a biography of Mohammed by Wahb dealing with events before the flight of Medina. 86 It is dated dhu-l-Qa'da, 229 A.H. 87 Horovitz observed that although the Heidelberg fragment adds little new information, it is important as establishing "the fact that early in the year 100 A.H. or earlier the biography of the Prophet was narrated exactly as in later works." 88 It appears, therefore, that the tradition that Wahb dealt with distinctly Moslem subjects, as well as ancient lore, is founded on fact. 88

89 According to Ibn Sa'd, VIII, 97, the studies of Wahb embraced "narratives of the Prophet, of the pious and the Banu Israil." 90

ARABIC BOOKS AND LIBRARIES IN THE UMAYYAD PERIOD—Concluded
RUTH STELTHON MACKENSEN

Moslems of the Umayyad period also turned to literature of the pre-Islamic days in the desert. As mentioned above, Wahb prepared collections of wise sayings and the Fihrist credited 'Ubaid with having written a book of proverbs. The same book 91 mentions another work on the same subject (Kitab al-Amthal), by one Ikla ibn Karim al-Kilabi, written in the days of Yezid son of Muawiya (caliph 60-64/670-83). The author of the Fihrist, writing at the end of the fourth century after the Hijra, adds, "It is about fifty pages and I have seen it." The oldest collection of proverbs which survives is that of al-Mufadhal al-Dabbi (d. 170/876, published at Stamboul in 1300). These fragments of the homely wisdom of the Bedawis appealed both to the general interest in the past and to the special interest of philologists, who found in them valuable sources for their minute linguistic studies, as well as legendary and historical material. 92

Even more enthusiastic was the gathering and study of ancient poetry. Although the formal collecting of it was the special province of the philologists, poetry also had a popular appeal. Accordingly, Hammad al-Rawya received a present of 100,000 dirhems from the caliph Walid ibn Yazid for his recital in one sitting of twenty-nine hundred odes composed before Mohammed. 93 This reciter is remembered chiefly for his collection, known as the Mu'allakat. His ability to judge poetry and poets, to detect plagiarisms and borrowings, was highly respected. Although a contemporary, al-Mufadhal al-Dabbi, accused him of introducing his own verses into ancient poems, none possessed the critical ability to detect forgeries. 94 Unfortunately, many others succumbed to the same temptation, the
recognition of which fact has thrown suspicion of late on the authenticity of all poetry purporting to come from the early days.  

The cultivation and study of pre-Islamic as well as contemporary verse during the Umayyad period is so well known and has been treated so frequently by modern scholars that I shall restrict myself here chiefly to indications of the existence of poetry in writing. Sir Charles Lyall, whom few have equaled in appreciation and knowledge of ancient Arabic poetry, said: 

It seems probable that the greater part, if not all, of pre-Islamic verse which has survived to us, was already in writing by the middle of the 4th century: either in the shape of dīwān’s, or collections consisting entirely of pieces by the same author, or of tribal aggregates, containing all the occasional pieces composed by members of one tribe or family, perhaps with the addition of the traditions which link them together, and grouped about the occasions which called them forth.  

In the same article Lyall refers to dīwān’s as “a sort of library,” that is, they represent efforts to collect, arrange, and preserve hitherto stray and scattered verses in a permanent form. Whether kept in the memory or in writing, these collections were the means whereby the old poetry passed on to later generations. Undoubtedly much was lost as the Arabs spread from the confines of their peninsula, but it is due to these early attempts at collecting that anything at all survives. Yunus the kātib, a singer of Persian origin whom Walīd ibn Yazid brought to court from Medina, in 742 A.D. composed a Book of Song which served as a model for the more famous one (Kitāb al-Aghānī) of Abūl-Faraj al-İsfahānī (d. 967 A.D.).  

Al-Farazdak (b. 20, d. 110 or 114 A.H.), in a poem belonging to the famous exchange of satires (naḥād), between himself and Jarir lists twenty-two poets, most of whom flourished before Mohammed, whom he claims as masters in his art, and speaks of their verses as in writing. He mentions owning a complete edition of the odes of Labīd, the latter years of whose life were spent under Islam.

DHŪ’R-RUMMA (78-117 A.H.), a Bedawi poet of the same period, although able to write, considered it unbecoming (ṣa‘ib) a nomad. However, he dictated his composition to his rá‘īs, who wrote them down, for he said, “A book does not forget or alter words or phrases which have taken the poet a long time to compose.”

The poetess Laila al-Akhya illyya and the poet al-Nābihga engaged in a poetic quarrel of the usual sort, in which each lampooned the tribe of his rival. The tribe of al-Nābihga took offense at some of Laila’s verses and lodged a complaint with the ruler of Medina, by whom ʿUmar I or ʿUthmān is probably meant. The intrepid poetess, hearing of their plan, added further fuel to the fire by appending the following verses to her satire:

News has reached me that a tribe at Shaurān is urging forward jaded riding camels. Night and morning is their embassy journeying with a sheet of writing to get me flogged, What a bad piece of work [on their part]!

Professor Krenkow points out that the people who were to lodge the complaint brought the offending piece of poetry to the arbitrator in writing.

Al-Ṭabarī quotes a certain ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAli as saying he had collected the dīwān’s of the Banū Marwān (the Marwānid branch of the Umayyad house), and adds that no dīwān more complete or authoritative than that of Hishām is to be seen. Several members of the royal house displayed poetic talents; outstanding among them were Yazid (caliph 680-83 A.D.), son of Mu‘āwiya and his mother Maisūn, who at Damascus sang of her longing for the freedom of desert life. The greatest of them all was al-Walīd II (caliph 743–44 A.D.), a poet probably of equal rank with the famous Abū Nuwās (d. ca. 810 A.D.).

A son of Jam‘a, the daughter of the poet al-Kuthayyir (d. 723 A.D.), is cited as authority for the statement that among the books of his father, containing the verses of al-Kuthayyir, a certain poem was
Probably many families prized little libraries of songs, and
it is more than likely that the royal family owned a considerable
quantity of poetry, both from the bygone days which they admired
so greatly and the products of the numerous singers who flocked to
their court and enjoyed their patronage. Most famous of these were
Jarir and al-Farazdak, whose poetic scolding match (as Nicholson
aptly translates mubahāt) lasted for years and excited the enthusiasm
of all classes of society. The verses which each flung at his rival were
collected up by their respective partisans, who disputed endlessly about
their merits. The court and even the army, according to a picturesque
story in the Ḍhahānat, entered the fray with zest. As a third poet, al-
Akhṭal, who had come from Hira to Damascus, where he was a great
favorite, sided with al-Farazdak and also engaged in nakhātī with
Jarir.

Although the court of the caliphs drew most of the best-esteemed
bards of the day, poetry also flourished in the Hijāz. A distorted pic-
ture of the times ensues if one presses too far the contrast between the
free and easy life of the Umayyads and their followers and the stern
Puritanism of the faithful of Medina. With all their preoccupation
with matters religious, the inhabitants of that sacred city had their
lighter moments, or perhaps more accurately one should say that
Medinese society was of two kinds: one seriously devout and the other
frivolous and luxury-loving. As elsewhere it is likely that some indi-
viduals enjoyed moments of gaiety as well as others of religious zeal.
Malik ibn Anas seems to have once had ambitions as a poet, but be-
because of his lack of personal beauty, turned to law. The oft married
Sukaina (d. 117/735), a great granddaughter of the
Prophet, was a leader of fashion; a hairdress she affected was copied by those who
wished to dress d la Sukaina. She was easily one of the most out-
standing women of her time. Her personal courage, chastity, fastidious-
ness, and dignity, as well as her pride in her own beauty, her
driver whom she decked with jewels, and her ancestry are elaborated
by numerous writers. Anecdotes are related to illustrate her wit and
fondness for perpetrating jokes and hoaxes. As the daughter of the
gifted poetess Rahab bint 'Imr al-Kais ibn 'Adi, she was devoted to
poetry, and her good taste and judgment brought the best poets of
the day to her door. Ibn Khalīkān preserves a story of how she
pointed out the artificiality of the sentiments expressed in the verses of
'Urwa ibn Uzaina, a poet and traditionalist of the tribe of Laith
(d. 118/736). Meeting him one day, she asked him if he were the author of the verses

When I feel in my heart the flames of love, I try to cool its ardor
by draughts of water. Could I ever succeed in cooling with
water the exterior of my heart, how should I extinguish the
fire which rages in its interior?

He admitted they were his, and she asked him again if he had com-
posed the following:

When I revealed to her the secret of my love, she replied, “You used to
desire [secrecy and] concealment when with me; be veiled then
as to your passion: see you not how many are around us?” To
this I answered, “The love I bear you and [the pains] I feel
have already cast a veil over my sight.”

The poet acknowledged these also as his, on which the lady said
to the slave girls standing around her, “You are free, if such verses
ever came from a heart wounded by love!” So great was the esteem
in which Sukaina was held, her burial was delayed several hours, the
governor having sent word that it be postponed until his arrival.

Her character and activities are typical of one aspect of the life of
those who found or were forced to accept Medina as a pleasant place
of retirement from the political turmoil of the Syrian capital. It must
be admitted that for many, including even members of the Umayyad
house, this retirement to Medina was far from voluntary. A consider-
able group who for various reasons were unwelcome at the caliph’s
court in Damascus sought to make their practical exile as pleasant as
possible, at the same time being conscious that Medina was no longer
the center of the Moslem world. The more active and politically

108 Krenkow, op. cit., p. 266, from Ḍhahānat, VIII, 30.
109 Ḍhahānat, VII, 55, l. 12 ff.; see Nicholson, pp. 239 f. Professor D. B. Macdonald
draws my attention to the Scotch expression “tyring” as the equivalent of mubahāt.
110 In one of the Akhtā’s poems he refers to ancient manuscripts in the simile, “Just
as if they were, through the length of time which has passed, decayed leaves of a book
which are spread out” (Divans, p. 156, I. 4, quoted by Krenkow, “The Use of Writing,
etc.,” op. cit., p. 264). On the poets of the Umayyad period see Nicholson, pp. 239 ff., and
Huart, pp. 46 ff.

111 See Ḍhahānat, XVII, 94, 97, 101; Ibn Khalīkān (De S.), I, 581 ff.
112 Ibn Khalīkān, op. cit.
113 Kneiz, Islam, art. “Sukaina bint Būsain.”
ambitious considered a life of gaiety and ease in the "provinces" a sorry substitute for participation in the affairs of state. Men of the
caliber of 'Abd al-'Aziz and 'Abd al-Malik frankly chafed at their
confinement and sought means to end it. At any rate, they had the
good fortune to possess the means of passing their time agreeably,
for the booty which fell to their lot from the wars of conquest en-
riched many families who lived in a luxury unknown in pre-Islamic
days, except to those Arabs who had come in contact with Persia and
Byzantium. They owned beautiful palaces, gardens, and rich mead-
ows in and near the city. Part of the population consisted of the de-
vout, who were drawn to make Medina their home because of its
sacred memories. Happy in the comparative quiet and seclusion of
the sacred city, they devoted themselves to the study of tradition,
upon which they built an elaborate legal and ritual system. Honored
by this group, but not necessarily always an integral part of it, were
numerous descendants of Mohammed. The career of Sukaina is evi-
dence that at least some members of the family of the Prophet par-
ticipated in the social life of Medina, the luxury of which became
notorious. This was the golden age of Medina, sung by poets who
passed back and forth between the Hijaz and Syria. 'Urwa, whose
encounter with Sukaina has just been related, in the company of
several other poets once paid a visit to the court of Hisham ibn 'Abd
al-Malik. 'Urwa, a placid soul, whose poems on contentment circu-
lated widely, was recognized by the caliph, who quoted some of his
verses, and said, "I do not see that you act in conformity to your
words, for you have now come from Hijaz to Syria in search of favors."

"Commander of the Faithful!" replied the poet, "You have given
me a good lesson and reminded me of that which the lapse of time
has caused me to forget."

He left at once and, mounting his camel, set off for Medina. That
night Hisham noticed his absence and realized the probable conse-
quences. "That man is a member of the tribe of Kuraish and his words
are wisdom; he came to see me, but I repulsed him and refused to
grant him what he required; he is also a poet and I shall be exposed
to his satires."

Although poetry enjoyed a tremendous popularity in Umayyad
days, it was also put to practical use by the philologists, who found
in the ancient lines the material for their studies. The invention of
Arabic grammar is traditionally assigned to Abū'l-Aswad al-Du'ālī (d.
ca. 69/688–89), of Basra, who is said to have received his original idea
from the caliph 'Alī. It is more likely that other reports which trace
the suggestion to Ziyād ibn Abīth are more dependable though less
devout. Various stories are told to account for the need of this science;
the element of truth in them seems to be that Persian converts, of
whom there were many in Basra, so mutilated their newly adopted
language that it was necessary to introduce a formal study of Arabic
grammar. The tradition further credits Abū'l-Aswad with having
composed a grammatical treatise, and this is confirmed by that careful
scholar al-Nadīm, who says in the Fihrist, describing a most unusual
library he was once privileged to examine:

I discovered also in these papers a proof that grammar was invented by
Abū'l-Aswad; it was a document of four sheets on Chinese paper, I believe,
and bearing this title, "Discourse on the Governing and the Governed Parts
of Speech, by Abū'l-Aswad, in the Handwriting of Yahya ibn Yas'ar" (one
of the grammarians' disciples); underneath were inscribed in old characters
(bi khaqīyatī) these words, "This is the handwriting of such a one, the gram-
marian." Then followed a note by al-Nadīm Ibn Shumail.

The school of grammarians thus started at Basra continued to
flourish and was, from the end of the eighth century on, in constant
rivalry with the school of Kufa. Scholars of both places, how-
ever finespun their theories and distinctions, ultimately referred to

\[11^{11}\text{ Ibn Khallēkān (De S.), I, 582 f.}

\[11^{12}\text{ P. 41. This same library prised autographs of several early grammarians and}
\[11^{13}\text{ philosophers, among them one by Abu 'Amr ibn al-'Alī; see Encyc. Islam, art. "Abū'l-
\[11^{14}\text{ Aswad"; on "Abūl-Aswad" by Ibn Khallēkān (De S.), I, 662 ff., and notes. Note}
\[11^{15}\text{ here how the traditions of 'Alī's and Ziyād's connections with the beginnings of the science}
\[11^{16}\text{ are combined.}
pre-Islamic usage as preserved in poetry for their proofs and sanctions. From the beginning at Basra, philologists busied themselves with collecting and writing down the verses still to be heard on the lips of the Bedawis of the desert, who spoke the purest Arabic. The collection of poetry owned by one of the founders of the schools of Basra, Abû-l-Amr ibn al-'Ali, al-Mazini, has been referred to before. He was unusually conscientious in his methods, although he confessed forging at least one verse. Ibn Khallîkân has several delightful anecdotes about him, one to the effect that each day he spent a coin for a new water-pitcher and another for a fresh nosegay. At evening he gave the latter to a maid, who tore the flowers to bits to perfume the water used by the household. His candor and sense of humor concerning his studies are well illustrated. One said to him, "Tell me of the work you composed on the subject which you call Arabism; does it contain all the language of the desert Arabs?" Abû-l-'Amr answered that it did not, and his questioner then asked, "How do you manage when the Arabs furnish you with examples contrary to your own rules?" To this Abû-l-'Amr replied, "I follow the majority of the cases and call the rest dialects." It appears from this conversation that he wrote some sort of treatise, based on his collection of sayings and anecdotes about him, one to the effect that each day he spent a coin for the activities of Arabic philologists were but one aspect of the study and elucidation of the Koran which paralleled the study and collecting of traditions. The father of Koranic exegesis was cAbû-d-Alî, who was near 70, 689-90 because of his ambitions for the caliphate? See the Encyc. Islam art. on him; also Encyc. Brit. (9th ed.), art. "Syriac Literature," by Wright, p. 839.

The activities of Arabic philologists were but one aspect of the study and elucidation of the Koran which paralleled the study and collecting of traditions. The father of Koranic exegesis was cAbû-d-Alî, who was near 70, 689-90 because of his ambitions for the caliphate? See the Encyc. Islam art. on him; also Encyc. Brit. (9th ed.), art. "Syriac Literature," by Wright, p. 839.

The activities of Arabic philologists were but one aspect of the study and elucidation of the Koran which paralleled the study and collecting of traditions. The father of Koranic exegesis was cAbû-d-Alî, who was near 70, 689-90 because of his ambitions for the caliphate? See the Encyc. Islam art. on him; also Encyc. Brit. (9th ed.), art. "Syriac Literature," by Wright, p. 839.

The activities of Arabic philologists were but one aspect of the study and elucidation of the Koran which paralleled the study and collecting of traditions. The father of Koranic exegesis was cAbû-d-Alî, who was near 70, 689-90 because of his ambitions for the caliphate? See the Encyc. Islam art. on him; also Encyc. Brit. (9th ed.), art. "Syriac Literature," by Wright, p. 839.

The activities of Arabic philologists were but one aspect of the study and elucidation of the Koran which paralleled the study and collecting of traditions. The father of Koranic exegesis was cAbû-d-Alî, who was near 70, 689-90 because of his ambitions for the caliphate? See the Encyc. Islam art. on him; also Encyc. Brit. (9th ed.), art. "Syriac Literature," by Wright, p. 839.
exegetes have not come down intact, but are incorporated in the enormous commentary of al-Tabari (d. 922 A.D.).

At Damascus especially Moslems came into contact with Christian learning, and the beginnings of Moslem theology and philosophy are doubtless due, at least in part, to this influence. The simple faith of early Islam became self-conscious when brought up against another religion possessed of an elaborate system of doctrine and ritual, as well as a scripture collected in a real book, giving a biography of its founder. Christians were employed regularly by Mu'awiya and succeeding caliphs of his house, and not a few rose to positions of influence at court. Sergius, the father of John of Damascus, the last great theologian of the Greek church, for a long time served them as treasurer. Later his son became wazir—a position he held until he withdrew from active affairs to a life of contemplation. John's writings and those of his pupil, Theodorus Abucara, contained treatises on Islam in the form of debates between Christians and Moslems. A common introduction, "When the Saracen says to you such and such, then you will reply . . . ." would indicate that discussion between exponents of the two religions was common at Damascus. Professor Arnold said, "The very form and arrangement of the oldest rule of faith in the Arabic language suggest a comparison with similar treatises of St. John of Damascus and other Christian fathers."126

Two of the earliest sects of Islam arose in Syria, the Kadarites and the Murjites. The latter are so called because they postpone or defer judgment against sinful Moslems until the day of final reckoning, and in fact this sect denied the orthodox doctrine of eternal punishment and emphasized the goodness of Allah and his love for mankind. This position agrees with the teaching of the Eastern church as formulated by John of Damascus. The Kadarites on their part dissented from the predestinarianism which characterized Mohammed's teaching in the latter part of his life and which was accepted by most of his followers, and preached instead the doctrine of free will. Once more the influence of Eastern Christianity is evident. Eventually the Kadarite position merged with that of the Mu'tazilites.129 How much

125 Barton, op. cit., p. 131 f.
127 Macdonald, op. cit.; Nalimo, "Sui nome di Qadariti," in Rivista degli studi orient., VII, 461 ff.;
129 For the text of this treatise see von Kremer, Geschicht der herrschenden Ideen des Islam (Leipzig, 1868), p. 22.
A most vexed and probably never to be settled question is that of the transmission of Greek philosophy and science, much of which was in the hands of the Christians of Syria and Egypt, to the Arabs during the Umayyad period. This centers about the problem of the dependability of several statements to the effect that the prince Khālid ibn Yazid (665-704 or 8 A.D.), a grandson of Mu'āwiyah, caused translations to be made of Greek books on alchemy, medicine, and astronomy (or astrology). According to the Fihrist (written 987, author d. 995 A.D.), the first translations made under Islam from one language to another were the work of a group of Greek philosophers of Egypt who translated from Greek and Coptic for Khālid, “the philosopher of the family of Marwān who was a lover of the sciences.” On page 244 of the same work a certain Stephen the Elder, who has not been identified with any certainty, is said to have translated for the prince. Khālid was the first to investigate the books of the ancients on alchemy. He was an eloquent orator, a poet, a man of enthusiasm and judgment. He caused books on medicine, astrology, and alchemy to be translated, and was himself the author of several books and treatises and verses on alchemical matters. Al-Nadīm, the author of the Fihrist, says he saw three works of Khālid’s, one book in long and short recensions, in all, about five hundred pages of his compositions. Having been deprived of the hope of the caliphate, his art became his solace, in which some say he was successful; “Allah knows best whether it is true!” Nevertheless his undertakings were not due to selfish motives but for the benefit of his brethren and companions.

Among the writings of al-Madā'īnī (d. 225 A.H.) there was one commenting on an ode by Khālid.

Earlier writers knew something of Khālid’s studies. Ibn Kutaiba (d. probably 276/889 or a few years earlier) refers to him as the most learned among the Kuraish in the various sciences, and as a poet.

Among the notices of Ibn al-Ṭiḥāṣādī (written 987, author d. 967 A.D.) speaks of his devotion to alchemy and quotes some verses presumably by him. Al-Mas'ūdī (d. 956 A.D.) gives three verses consisting of a recipe for making gold. According to a late writer, Ḥanjī Khalīfī (d. 1556 A.D.), these are from an alchemical poem of some 2,315 verses, called The Paradise of Wisdom on the Science of Alchemy.

After the publication of the Fihrist, writers continued to mention the scientific or pseudo-scientific and poetic gifts of the young prince; some barely refer to him, others give fairly long biographical sketches. Yāḳūt (d. 1229 A.D.) says he repeated traditions on the authority of his father, al-Zuhrī and others, but adds no new information on his medical, alchemical, or poetical writings. The same may be said of the notices of Ibn al-Tīḥāṣādī, writing in A.D. 1300, and Ibn Taghribirdī (probably d. 874/1469). The latter mentions a report that he composed Ḥadīth al-Suḫfānī. Ibn Khallikān (d. 1282 A.D.) praises his scientific skill and knowledge, which are exemplified by the quality of his writings. This author also tells us that Khālid studied alchemy with a Greek monk named Marīanos. Ḥanjī Khalīfī (seventeenth century) refers to Khālid frequently, noticing the translations made for him and his writings, and links his name with that of Geber. Ibn al-Kīft (d. 1248 A.D.) does not list him among the philosophers and scientists, but quotes one Ibn al-Sinbādī, a scientist, as seeing in the royal library of the Fatimids of Cairo in 435/1044 a bronze globe made by Ptolemy, which bore an inscription to the effect that it had been in the possession of Khālid ibn Yazid ibn Mu'āwiyah.

No Arabic writer except Ibn Khuldūn (d. 1406 A.D.) has anything except words of praise for Khālid. Ibn Khuldūn, however, questions these favorable reports of his abilities, doubting whether a prince of...
the Umayyad house could have comprehended the theoretical and practical aspects of subjects, which presuppose much knowledge and study.

Most Western scholars, until very recently, have accepted the more favorable reports, seemingly ignoring Ibn Khaldun's criticism. In part they may have been influenced by a Latin treatise on alchemy, Liber de compositione alchemiae, translated from Arabic by Robert of Chester in A.D. 1144. It purports to be the work of Khalid (Calid, King of the Egyptians), edited by Morienus Romanus, a hermit of Jerusalem. However, the work actually belongs to a much later period than that of Khalid. His name is also connected with the Book of Crates, which is said to have been translated for or under him, but this Arabic rendering of a Greek work can be no earlier than the end of the eighth century, and probably belongs to the ninth.

Julius Ruska, in his detailed study of all the reports of Khalid's scientific activities and the extant works purporting to come from his hand, has rejected the whole as a legend. He points to the fact that later writers—for instance, Ibn Khallikan and Hajji Khalifa—knew many more details about him than did the earlier al-Masudi and al-Nadim, although even in the Fihrist one finds the legend-building tendency at work. Ruska concludes that although it is possible that Khalid employed Egyptian scholars, there is no positive evidence of his scientific activity, and his connection with the Greek monk Morianus is entirely unwarranted. Ruska's study has served to clear away the mass of legend which has long surrounded the memory of the young Umayyad prince. Obviously there was a tendency to attach his name to anything which hinted of learning in the Umayyad

---

The earliest record of anything like a public library is connected with the name of Khalid ibn Yazid ibn Muravia, who devoted his life to the study of Greek sciences, particularly alchemy and medicine. We are told that he caused such books to be translated, and when an epidemic occurred at the beginning of the reign of 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-Asiṣ, he commanded the books to be fetched out of the library [Khirzana] to be made available for the people.

Khalid, according to most authorities, died 85/704 and certainly not later than 90/708–9, whereas 'Umar II was caliph 99/717 to 101/720. It appears, however, that Ruska, like Ibn Khaldun, is reluctant to attribute learning to an Umayyad. The Arabic historian obviously admired the early Abbasids and their efforts in behalf of scholarship and regarded their predecessors as little better than ignorant Bedawis; Khalid was a prince of the Umayyad house, therefore he could not possibly have had any intellectual interests. Granted that much which has been attributed to Khalid is absolutely unfounded, the question remains, How did the legend arise? We know that the Abbasids did all in their power to blot out the memory of the Umayyads, and when that failed, to falsify their memory. Accordingly, writers of that period, and subsequently, seldom attribute any virtue to the members of the previous dynasty. Hence, unless there was some element of truth to the stories of Khalid's activity, some genuine tradition of scholarly interest, including the beginning of translations from Greek works, too well known and persistent to be ignored, is difficult to see why the reputation of the prince did not suffer with the rest of his family. The fact that the author of the Fihrist, on the whole a sober and careful investigator of the history of Arabic literature and scholarship, gives Khalid a place among the learned men of Islam, is greatly in favor of believing that there was something to the tradition. Al-Nadim's details, doubtless as Ruska suggests, belong to popular legend. Whether they were genuine or not, we must accept his word for the existence at his time of writings purporting to come from Khalid.

It is of course possible that the fact that he never attained the
coveted caliphate prejudiced the Abbasids in his favor, so that he became in their eyes one like themselves, a philosopher-prince and a patron of learning. However, for their purposes it would have been far better to have represented all the Umayyads as entirely unlearned and indifferent to scholarly matters. Ibn Khaldūn, a late historian, agreed with the attitude of the Abbasid writers, and saw no reason to exempt Khalīd from his general condemnation of the Umayyads.

Khalīd probably was not much of a scientist, for his interest in alchemy is the most persistent part of the tradition, but it is certainly not impossible that an Umayyad prince, deprived of political aspirations, may have turned to the Greek studies current among the non-Moslem residents of Damascus and Egypt. We have seen that intercourse between Moslems and Christians was very free in the days of the Umayyads. Others of the dynasty were devoted to poetry and to secular history. Khalīd, having once been accepted as exceptional among the Umayyads, his reputation grew by leaps and bounds.

Arabic historians preserve a few other hints that this period was not entirely devoid of a knowledge of foreign literature and learning. We have noticed this in the case of historical, biblical, and legendary lore. Among the Umayyads, his reputation grew by leaps and bounds.

In this place Barhebraeus calls the man who added to the work Sirīṣ, but later refers to him as Māṣirjīs, a physician of Baṣra, a Syrian as to language and a Jew by religion, who translated Aaron's work in the days of Marwān I (64/683–65/685) and adds an anecdote on him.

from a contemporary. This historian took his information from Ibn Juljul al-Andalusi, whom Ibn al-Kīfī‘ī and Ibn Abī ʿUsāḥī‘ī quote more fully. They have substantially the same information on Aaron as does the Fihrist. Both have fairly long sketches on the translator, which differ but slightly. Ibn al-Kīfī‘ī calls him Māṣirijīs, with the alternative Māṣrī‘īs, and says he was a Jew of Baṣra, living in the time of ʿUmar II, learned in medicine, who translated for this caliph Aaron's medical work, the Pandects, "the most excellent of ancient books of the time." Then he follows with a quotation from Ibn Juljul which says that Māṣrī‘īs made the translation in the days of Marwān, which was found by ʿUmar in the royal library (khādī‘īn al-kutūb). The caliph ordered the book brought out and placed it in his place of prayer (muṣallā) after which he consulted Allah as to the desirability of bringing it out to the Moslems (to publish it, one manuscript, instead of Moṣlama, has "concerning its being brought out in Arabic"). After forty days had elapsed, apparently the verdict was favorable, for he caused it to be brought out to the people and published. Ibn Juljul says that Abū Bakr Mohammed ibn ʿAmr related this story to him in the Kārūnīn Mosque in the year 359.

This story of ʿUmar bringing out a medical book from the royal collections to the people, which amounts to publishing the work, bears some resemblances to that quoted above about Khalīd bringing out books from the library (khādī‘a) to make them available to the people. Both events are placed in the reign of ʿUmar II. Are they two versions of the same affair, and is there some hint of supposed magical efficacy in a book on medicine?

Professor H. G. Farmer, of Glasgow, says that the manuscript of the Ardi Miṣṭah al-Nujūm, of Hermes, in the Ambrosian Library is dated 743 (A.D.); of it I have been unable to locate any more information. If the date is genuine (is it the equivalent in the Arabic era to 743?),

it means that this manuscript of an astrological work is a century older than the Heidelberg papyrus mentioned above (229/844) and is valuable evidence for the beginnings of translations from Greek. These various indications of the first use of foreign literatures seem to suggest that the Arabs first interested themselves in what must have appeared to them as the practical sciences: medicine, astrology, and alchemy, and only later (and perhaps thereby) were attracted to the more abstract sciences and philosophy. Barhebraeus quotes the Kāfīd Ṣād ibn Aḥmad al-Andalusī (d 462–1070) to the effect that during the Umayyad period the only science (other than their own language and law) which attracted the attention of the Arabs was medicine. Although cultivated only by certain individuals, it was generally approved because of its universal utility. Muḥāwiya’s study of history was also motivated by considerations of practicality, for he was especially devoted to accounts of the military tactics and state craft of rulers of the past.

As one reviews the various types of literature which were cultivated in the Umayyad period, it becomes apparent that it was not, as is so often supposed, one characterized by the dearth of literary activity, except for poetry. The cultivation of poetry, both ancient and contemporary, was most characteristic of the age, but several types of prose writings also had their beginnings. Much was done under royal patronage, but Medina was also a center for the poets of the Hijāz and students of religious matters. In Iraq, Baṣra and later Kufa were the homes of scholars and poets, and from Ǧanāʾīn in the Yemen came men versed in ancient lore. The question of the beginnings of Arabic literature in Egypt also requires investigation, but, as Becker points out, they are quite obscure. It is most unlikely that all remnants of interest in Greek studies should have vanished when Egypt became a Moslem province. If there is anything to the Ḥālidī tradition, it points to Egypt as the source of his study and one of the sources for the knowledge of Greek works in general. The Hermes text points in the same direction. ‘Abd Allāh, son of the conqueror of Egypt, Laith ibn Saʿd and Ibn Lāḥiṣ, are names connected intimately with the propagation of Moslem traditions, especially of an eschatological tinge. A papyrus page (ṣahifā) of ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Amr, dealing with

---

163 See Beeston’s “The History of the Learned,” p. 246. (trans.)

---

164 See Maḥūṣīn al-lugāt (Cairo, 1925), I, 121; II, 237. Al-öffentliche Wissenschaft, ed. Hull, pp. 10, 23; I, 13 ff.; Ibn Jinnī ḡaṣṣaṣ (Cairo, 1914), I, 399. Margoliouth doubts the historicity of this report, and suggests that if it really goes back to Ḥāmid al-Rāwiya, to whom it is accredited, it was intended to account for his immense knowledge of pre-Islamic verse (see “The Origins of Arabic Poetry,” J. E. S., 1925, p. 428).
to by Mas‘ūdī, suggest that books may have been, not infrequently, found in and preserved from the loot of the early wars of conquest.

In the Kitāb al-Jumahir fi Mawṣif al-Jawahir ("Book of Precious Stones"), by al-Birūnī, the manuscript of which Krenkow is preparing for publication, this versatile scholar, writing in the first half of the fifth century (early eleventh), mentions a book on jewels, written in the time of ʿAbd al-Malik (685–705 A.D.) which had fallen into his hands. This book actually gave prices of precious stones which al-Birūnī cites on occasions.166 The writing of such a book in the Umayyad period is most significant evidence for the state of literature at the time, for it is not the sort of thing likely to be produced when the writing of books was in its infancy and uncommon. It bespeaks a fairly advanced state of literary activity and furnishes one more bit of proof that religious studies and poetry were not the sole preoccupations of the writing and reading world.

One must be ever on guard lest he accept uncritically the estimate of the Umayyads foisted upon the world by their successors, the brilliant but often unscrupulous Abbasids. Without any desire to whiten the reputation of the caliphs at Damascus, who undoubtedly deserve many of the harsh accusations hurled at them both by their contemporaries and by succeeding generations, it is well to recognize that they were not utterly unworthy.

Murāwiyah, the founder of the dynasty, was as astute a political and military leader as any in Moslem annals, and he was not devoid of an appreciation for literature. Susceptible to the charms of poetry, he knew how to utilize poets to further his own designs. By his patronage he won the support of the poets whom Lammens refers to as the journalists of the period. "To win them over was to have a good press and at the same time gained their tribes to the cause of order, for the tribes usually agreed with the ideas spread by their bards."167 Part of his purpose was to swing public opinion in favor of his intention to name his son Yazid as his successor, thereby making the caliphate hereditary. Yazid was himself a poet and the friend of poets, and his father did not hesitate to exploit this bond of loyalty. In utilizing the

166 Private communication from Professor Krenkow. He utilizes al-Birūnī's book in his article, "The Oldest Western Account of Chinese Porcelain," in Islamic Culture, July, 1933, pp. 444 ff.


Although these considerations have led us far afield from the precise history of Moslem libraries, it is hoped they have made clear how these libraries, which rapidly became a characteristic institution in the intellectual and cultural life of Islam, grew from two roots. They are based in part on the example of the libraries of the world into which Islam spread, and are at the same time the natural outgrowth of the method by which their own literature was collected. The Koran resulted from the desire to preserve the revelations received by Mohammed from on high, and the great dīwān's from the gathering of poetic fragments of pre-Islamic days, and traditions, history, and law from the collecting of records of the words and deeds of the Prophet.170

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS


170 Since this article was accepted for publication the literature on the subject has increased considerably. The article will be brought up to date in a short note at a future time.

[Concluded]
SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES TO “ARABIC BOOKS AND LIBRARIES IN THE UMAIYAD PERIOD”

The following notes are additions to my previous article, “Arabic Books and Libraries in the Umayyad Period” (AJSL, July, 1936, pp. 245 ff.; July, 1937, pp. 239 ff.; October, 1937, pp. 41 ff.), which, it is hoped, will be useful to those interested in Umayyad contributions to Islamic civilization. The numbers correspond to those of the footnotes to which they are supplementary.


NOTE 73. Al-Mas‘ūdī (d. A.D. 956) states (Muruj al-Dhahab, IV, 89) that the Book of Kings by ‘Ubaid ibn Sharya circulated widely in his day; it was used by Ḥamdānī (d. A.D. 945) in his Ḥikāṭī and later in the historical commentary to The Himyarite Ode, probably also written by the author of the ode, Nasrān ibn Sa‘īd al-Ḥimyarī (d. A.D. 1177) (see Nicholson, Literary History of the Arabs, p. 13). The present form of the Relation of ‘Ubaid, which consists of answers to questions asked by Mu‘āwiya, agrees with the statement of the Fihrist, p. 89, to the effect that this caliph summoned him to court to ask him for historical information, after which he caused it to be recorded. Taken with the above-mentioned use of this work, there seems to be considerable evidence for its authenticity and the historicity of its author. It is published as a supplement to the Tajīrīn of Wahb ibn Munabbih in the recension of Ibn Hishām (Hyderabad, A.H. 1347) (see Brockelmann, Geschichte der arabischen Literatur, Suppl. I [1937], pp. 100 ff.).

NOTE 107. See also Brockelmann, op. cit., Suppl. I, pp. 76 ff.

NOTE 126. The Fihrist, p. 34, also refers to a Tajīrī by Al-Ḥasan of Baṣra (d. 110/728-29). His glosses were collected in commentary form by Amr ibn ‘Ubaid (d. 145/762) (see G. Bergstrasser, “Die Koranlesung des Ḥasan von Baṣra,” Islamica, II [1926], 11–57). The chief source for Ḥasan’s comments is the Ḥikāf of Al-Bannā‘ (d. A.H. 1117), published at Cairo, A.H. 1317 (see also Brockelmann, op. cit., Suppl. I, pp. 102 ff.).

NOTE 130. Other tractates by Al-Ḥasan have come to light recently, Risāla Lalehī, MS 1703, published in Le Monde oriental, VII, 97, for a Turkish translation of it see Brockelmann, op. cit., Suppl. I, p. 103. His work on Kaddar (Köprüli, MS 1589, and an abridgment Aya Sofya MS 3968) is published and discussed by H. Ritter, “Studien zur Geschichte der islamischen Fröm­migkei, I, Ḥasan al-Baṣrī,” Der Islam, XXI (1933), 1–83. Its significance is dealt with by J. Obermann, “Political Theology in Early Islam,” JAOS, LV (1935), 138–62. These tractates agree with other indications for the nature of early Arabic prose literature, the writings of Urwa and ‘Ubaid ibn Sharya, in being in the form of brief treatises written in response to inquiries,
usually from caliphs. The letter of 'Abd al-Malik ordering him to vindicate himself from charges made by certain unnamed persons that he was teaching subversive doctrine is prefixed to the Kadar Risala. The abridgment, apparently sent to the caliph by Al-Hajjaj, governor of Iraq, is accompanied by a note of warm commendation of Al-Hasan (see Obermann, op. cit., pp. 140–42). Like all Al-Hasan's writings, it is a devout and emotional homily rather than a systematic presentation of his subject.

It is apparent that Al-Hasan's teachings on free will were of political significance. Obermann points out that the terminus ad quem for the writing of this work is 86/705, the year in which 'Abd al-Malik died, and the hitherto friendly relations between the governor and Hasan were severed (ibid., p. 141). We have other indications that about the turn of the century the Kadar controversy had become an acute issue with political as well as religious implications. In 699 Ma'bad al-Juhani was martyred because of his teachings on free will, by order of 'Abd al-Malik or Al-Hajjaj. His pupil Ghaylân al-Dimashkî met the same fate at 730 at the hands of Hishâm, a son of 'Abd al-Malik. (For a letter of reproof addressed to 'Umar II by Al-Dimashkî and his controversy with Hishâm see M. Horten, Die philosophischen Systeme im Islam [Bonn, 1912], pp. 122 ff.) The late professor A. V. W. Jackson (Zoroastrian Studies [New York; 1928], pp. 238–40) drew attention to the report that Ma'bad learned the doctrine of Kadar from a Persian Abu Yûnas Snûthî or Sinibuya (Makrîzî, Khîjat [Cairo, a. n. 1326], IV, 181, II. 25–27; Al-Shahristâni, Book of the Religious and Philosophical Sects, Arabic text, ed. Cureton [Leipzig, 1923], I, 17, trans. Th. Haarbrucker [Halle, 1850], I, 25; see also Browne, Literary History of Persia, I, 282 ff.; A. von Kremer, Streifzüge, p. 9, n. 1), and raises the question whether Muslim teachings on free will may not have been influenced by Zoroastrianism, to which the doctrine at some time became essential, as well as by Christian and Neo-Platonic thought.

Hasan was of Persian extraction and lived in Basra, a city open to Persian influence. It is noteworthy that Iraq and Persia were frequently the scenes of political-religious disaffections, the dangers of which to Umayyad prestige were fully recognized by the caliphs. During the reign of 'Abd al-Malik the vigorous and ruthless measures of Al-Hajjaj and his lieutenants were needed to eliminate the rival caliph 'Abd Allah ibn Zubair, who exercised considerable influence in Iraq, to suppress the 'Aliid party of Al-Mukhtâr ibn Abî 'Ubayd at Kufa and the militant Azarjites, whose zeal endangered the peace of the Persian provinces. This latest hardy was when the governor of Sijistan, Abî al-Rahmân, revolted and was subdued only after two years of vigorous campaigning (see Encyclopedia of Islam, arts. "'Abd al-Malik" and "Al-Hajjaj"); P. K. Hitti, History of the Arabs [London, 1937], pp. 206 ff.).

It is not surprising that 'Abd al-Malik, who was most concerned to bring about the unification of the empire, viewed with apprehension the charges lodged by some of his supporters that the saintly Hasan of Basra was guilty of religious views which were imical to the solidarity of the state. Obermann sees correctly that the doctrine of individual self-responsibility was not merely an academic question but might easily undermine the authority of the state and especially Umayyad domination (op. cit., p. 145). He does not, however, suggest that Hasan's views might have been of Persian origin, and therefore congenial to, or possibly the expression of, Persian opposition to Arab arrogance. Rather, Obermann denies that the Kadar ideology is of foreign origin and stresses the point that Hasan's teachings show no Jewish, Christian, or Greek influence, except in so far as such elements can be detected in the Koran, for Hasan bases his arguments on the authority of revealed scripture (ibid., pp. 147 [n. 29] and 157–58 [n. 72]).

It is significant, nevertheless, as Obermann points out, that Hasan accuses his opponents of using their doctrine of pre-determinism as an excuse for their "sinful appetites and treacherous iniquities," a statement which agrees with other evidence that this was a favorite justification of government officials for corrupt practices (Ibn Kutsâba, Kitâb al-Mawârîf, ed. Wustefeld, p. 225). Furthermore, one of the men who brought these offenses to the attention of Hasan was his friend, and possibly pupil, the abovementioned martyr, Ma'bad al-Juhani (Obermann, op. cit., pp. 150 and 153; on the relations of the two men see Ibn Kutsâba, op. cit.).

An amusing touch is lent to the controversy by Hasan's charge that his critics are actually ignorant of proper Arabic usage and by his temerity in enlightening them by quotations from poetry and popular expressions (ibid., p. 152). Does this not also give us a glimpse into the deep-set antagonism between the "pure Arabs" and their Persian converts?

Another work on Kadar was composed by a contemporary of Al-Hasan, also of Persian extraction, Wâhib ibn Munabbih (they both died 110/728–29), who, however, is quoted as saying that, after consulting some seventy prophetic writings, he regretted ever having written this book (Yâkût, I إليها, VII, 222). He is included in the list of Kadarites headed by Ma'bad (Ibn Kutsâba, op. cit., p. 301). The text of his Kitâb al-Kadar is lost, unless, as Krenkow suggests, it is incorporated in the early pages of the Tûfân, where there is considerable discussion of the subject (F. Krenkow, "Two Oldest Books, etc.," Islamic Culture, II [1928], 322). One cannot but wonder whether his retraction was not due to political pressure. He was imprisoned during the last years of his life and flogged to death by order of the governor of the Yemen, Yûsuf al-Thakafi, who, like his famous son Al-Hajjaj, was a vigorous inquisitor of political and religious malcontents (Horovitz, ed. "Wâhib ibn-Munabbih," Encyclopedia of Islam, and Islamic Culture, I [1927], 553 ff.). Wâhib's family, though settled in the Yemen since the time of Khusraw Anushirwan, apparently maintained connections with Persia, for he says that he had occasion from time to time to go to Herat to look after family affairs (Krenkow, op. cit.). The Tûfân shows familiarity with Iran and some acquaintance with

Critical Notes

151
the more eastern provinces; in fact, his folklore, which Krenkow notes is scarcely Semitic, may be Central Asian. It should also be noted that Wahh flourished at the time of the Muslim conquests of Transoxania.

Is it not more than likely that Umayyad persecutions of the Kadartite heresy were due to a recognition of its Persian connections combined with its possible justification of too independent thought and activity? Both were a menace to the state. The Kadartite movement eventually gave birth to the Murtasilite, so warmly espoused by the Abbasids Al-Mamun and Wathik, both of whom had Persian leanings, and Persian Shi'ite doctrine to the possible justification of too independent thought and activity? Both were a Muctazilite, so warmly espoused by the Abbasids

Byzantine theologian, who died sometime before 754, was born at the end of the seventh century, just at the time when Mohammed's teachings which were most congenial to the Zoroastrian thought. The problem of the possible alchemical knowledge current in pre-Islamic times in Alexandria and northern Mesopotamia to the Arabs through the twelfth-century Latin translation of his De orthodoza fide, which is known to have influenced Peter the Lombard and Thomas Aquinas? The subject merits investigation by someone familiar with Zoroastrian, Muslim, and Christian thought. The influence of the possible Persian teachings on Mohammed is more remote but also pertinent.

Novi 138. J. Ruska draws attention to the evidence furnished by Al-Razi's Kitab al-Shawahid (not yet published) that ca. A.D. 900 the legends of Khalid's alchemical studies were already established. Ruska is still very emphatic in his opinion that the Khalid tradition is baseless and holds that there can have been no scientific activity before the time of the early Abbasids. Further, he asserts that the translations of medical and astronomical texts have preceded the alchemical ("Alchemy in Islam," Islamic Culture, XI [1937], 32 and 36). It is my belief that we now have evidence of beginnings, during the Umayyad period, in both of these sciences, as well as in alchemy.

Manuscripts are still extant of Avicenna's Persian translation of an ode on the preservation of health by Tayridihik (d. ca. A.H. 90), court physician to Al-Hajjaj. He is also credited with a large work on the preparations of medicines (Ibn abi Usafihis, I, 121; Ibn al-Kifti, p. 105; Fihrist, p. 903; Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian Manuscripts in the Oriental Public Library

Notes on the Arabic Alchemical Manuscripts in the Libraries of India," Isis, XXVI [1936], 127-31, and "Note on the Arabic Manuscripts in the Asflibhah Library, Hyderabad," Archbeion, XIV, 57-61, where he lists manuscripts of two or three treatises by Khalid). Stapelton suggests that the contents of these Indian manuscripts will clear up details on the transference of alchemical knowledge current in pre-Islamic times in Alexandria and Northern Mesopotamia to the Arabs through Khalid and Jabin. The statement (AJSIL, LIV [1937], 55) on the date of Khalid's death must be corrected in the light of these findings, which also make more probable the tradition of his literary and scientific activities at Damascus under 'Umar II (ibid., quoted from Encyclopedia of Islam, art. "Kitab-khana," p. 1045). Information on the Arabic source of this Khalid tradition would be appreciated.

Meyerhof offers very suggestive evidence for one path by which the learning of Alexandria, especially on the medical side, reached the Moslem world.
It becomes increasingly clear that the Umayyad rulers played a considerable role in the beginnings of Arabic scientific interests and the translation of Greek words. Al-Mas'ûdi (d. A.D. 956, Tamhîh, p. 122) states that the ancient center of philosophical teaching was transferred, in the days of 'Umar II, from Alexandria to Antioch and from there to Harrân in the time of Mutawakkil. A quotation from the autobiography of Al-Fârâbî (d. A.D. 953) preserved by Ibn abî Usâhi (II, 135) agrees with this. According to both statements, the school at Antioch finally dwindled down to one teacher and two pupils before it was moved to Harrân. Ibn abî Usâhi (I, 116 f.) also gives a brief sketch of a Christian physician, Ibn Abjar, who as the confidant of 'Umar II accepted Islam at the caliph's hand. He was the head of the Alexandrian school which 'Umar moved to Antioch and which later went to Harrân. Finally, Meyerhof found confirmation for these statements in the unique Cairo manuscript of the Useful Book in Medicine, by 'Ali ibn Riżâwân (d. after A.D. 1067), who repeatedly insists that the last Byzantine emperors persecuted the philosophers of Egypt and neglected the sciences, whereas several of the caliphs, particularly 'Umar II, Harrân al-Rashîd, and Al-Ma'mûn, were great patrons of every kind of scientific activity. Ignoring the anti-Christian touch, it is noteworthy that Ibn Riżâwân brackets the name of the Umayyad caliph with those of the two foremost patrons of Greek science among the Abbasids.

None of these Arabic sources explains why the school was removed from its ancient center to Syria, but Meyerhof suggests that it is “possible that the rapid decay of Alexandria cut off from Mediterranean commerce after the Arab occupation prevented the purchase of indispensable Greek manuscripts while Antioch had during the intervals between the long Byzantine-Arabic wars, intercourse and commerce with the Byzantine Empire.” (“Transmission of Science to the Arabs,” Islamic Culture, January, 1937, pp. 19-21). He does not believe that such a school was of an official character, for both orthodox Christians and Moslems distrusted Hellenic science. It would be interesting to know something of the activity of the scholars at Antioch during Umayyad times, but, to judge from the later interests of both pagan and Nestorian Christian scholars at Harrân, it seems likely that the study of Greek texts continued. Whether there was also a beginning of translations into Syriac and Arabic is not stated.

Al-Fârâbî’s report carries the scientific tradition from Harrân on to Baghdad. This scientist, who Al-Mas’ûdi says was the heir of the scientific learning of this school, makes a point of the continuity of the scholarly tradition at Alexandria from Greek through Roman and Christian times to the days of Islam and states that the basis of instruction consisted of copies of Aristotle’s works made from still earlier manuscripts dating from the very days of the philosopher himself. Hence, when he speaks of the last three members of the school leaving Antioch taking the books with them, it appears that he wishes to stress the reliability of the texts transmitted by the school as well as the continuity of learning. Therefore, although Al-Fârâbî does not say so explicitly, the inference seems to be that a quantity of books was carried to Antioch from Alexandria at the time the school was moved by ‘Umar II.

Are we not justified in seeing the schools at Antioch and Harrân as the connecting links between the Museum of Alexandria and the House of Wisdom (Bait al-Hikma or Dâr al-Imam) of Baghdad? (See my previous article in AJSL, Vol. LI [October, 1936, and January, 1938], where the relations between the Moslem scientific academies and the school of Alexandria are discussed.)

None of these four reports collected by Meyerhof appears to use the term “House of Wisdom,” but we have one hint that it was known in Umayyad times. Wahh ibn Munabbîh, who, as we have seen, wrote under Umayyad patronage, in the Tijân says that, when King Solomon was on his way to visit Bilqîs the first time, her governor at Najrân—one of the wisest men of the day—聚集ed the people in the Dâr al-Imam to try the reputed wisdom of the Hebrew king. Where did Wahh get the idea of an “Abode of Learning” as a place of assembly for the discussions of wise men? (Ibn Hisâh, Khâb al-Tijân [Hyderabad, 1347/1928], p. 154; Islamic Culture, April, 1928, p. 83.)

Note 145. Ruska (Islamic Culture, January, 1937, pp. 35 f.), notes that the Râf manuscript is evidence that Stephanos appears as Khâbî’s instructor in the older version of the legend, but that both the Stephanos and the Marianos forms were known in the tenth century.

Note 157. Meyerhof says Mâšîrîs was a Persian Jew, probably a pupil of the great school at Jundishâpûr. If correct, this raises the question of the possible influence and activities of this center of Sassanian-Hellenistic learning during the Umayyad period. A unique manuscript (Aya Soya 4838) of the abridgment of his Pi Abdî al-Adîya ("On Substitutes for Remedies") is still extant (Meyerhof, op. cit., p. 22).

Note 162. Professor H. G. Farmer writes me that the Ambrosian manuscript (C. 46. 1) of the 'Arîg Mîbâk of Hermes states that it was translated into Arabic Dhu'l-Kirân, A.D. 125/September 743.

Note 165. A unique manuscript of a work by the geographer Ibn al-Fâkîh, photographed by E. E. Herzfeld in the library of the Meshhed shrine (fol. 94b) quotes a very reliable early historian, Hisâm ibn al-Kalbi (819 A.D.), as saying that he copied the entire introduction of a book which had been confiscated from the luggage of the Sassanian princess Behäfrîd and translated for the governor Al-Hajjâj. The introduction also states that the work was composed for Kavât (about A.D. 500), and, judging from the citations in the Meshhed manuscript, it contained a collection of all sorts of strange information on the various districts of Iran, including a characterization of the climate and inhabitants of each. Professor Herzfeld draws attention to a Pahlavi pamphlet dealing with the towns of Iran entitled Shâhâri b-e Êrân, and the fact that the source for the chapter "On the Nature of the Mountains" in the Bundakshân is given as the Aqshâri b-e Shâhâri. Various historical remarks suggest that it was written during the reign of Kavât. Herzfeld is convinced...
that the corresponding chapters on rivers, lakes, and seas must have been derived from the same source, however much they may have been altered. He concludes that both the pamphlet on the towns and the quotations in the Bundahish are fragments of the original ‘Baedeker’ which the princess carried on her travels. It is to be hoped that the Ibn al-Fakhr manuscript will soon be published (T. E. Herzfeld, Archeological History of Iran [London, 1935], pp. 105 f.; the text of the Pahlavi work has been published with an English translation by J. Markwart, A Catalogue of the Provincial Capitals of Eranshahr, ed. G. Messina [Rome, 1931]).

In “A New Pahlavi Inscription,” AJSL, LIII (January, 1937), 126-44, Professor M. Sprengling presented a preliminary publication of a Pahlavi inscription found by the Oriental Institute Expedition on the Kaaba of Mecca in 1930. This portion of a notitia dignitatum of the Sassanid empire he dated to the early years of Narseh, but now, according to a private conversation, he is convinced it is from the reign of Shapur I and is an earlier example of the same type of literature as the Shahrihār e Erān. The usefulness of such a catalogue to Al-Hajjāj as governor of the Eastern Provinces is obvious.

Princess Behāhirī’s book adds another bit of evidence for the preservation of books as loot in the early days of Muslim conquest and belies the implication, in the famous words imputed to Umar I, that the Arabs destroyed all books that fell into their hands.

Far more significant, the translation of it for Al-Hajjāj suggests that Arabic geographical literature grew out of the administrative needs of the Umayyad government. It has been seen above, note 130, that even the Kadar controversy was not merely the academic discussion of theologians, detached from practical affairs, but had far-reaching political implications and cannot be properly understood unless it is related to the social process. See my article (AJSL, LIV [October, 1937], 58) for a brief discussion of the practical considerations which first stimulated an interest in various intellectual pursuits which in turn resulted in the development of several departments of Arabic prose literature.

According to T. W. Arnold (Painting in Islam [Oxford, 1928], p. 68), the geographer Abū Iṣḥāq al-Iṣṭaḥkhrī (middle of the tenth century) describes a manuscript on the history of the Persian kings which he saw in a castle in northern Persia, containing pictures of the Sassanian kings, which seems to have resembled the manuscript seen by Al-Mas‘ūdī about the same time at Iṣṭaḥkhr and which he said was taken as loot in A.H. 113 and translated into Arabic for Hishām ibn ʿAbd al-Malik. Al-Mas‘ūdī describes the miniatures in some detail (Tanbih, pp. 106 ff.; see AJSL, LIII [July, 1937], 250). One wonders whether the pictures were of more than passing interest to the Umayyad caliphs and whether Persian painting exercised any influence in the Muslim world before the time of the Abbasids. The mosaics at Kusār ʿAmra and the mosaics in the mosque at Damascus indicate that the Umayyad princes were not a little charmed by representational art (Alois Musil, Ḫusayn ʿAmra [Wien, 1907], Band II, plates; Eustache de Lory and M. van Berchem, Les Mosaiques de la mosquée des Omeyyades à Damas [Paris, 1930]).

Note 170. It becomes increasingly apparent that a re-estimate of the Umayyad period is imperative for a proper understanding of the cultural history of Islam. Such a study must utilize the rapidly accumulating archeological evidence for the architecture of the period, any scraps of information dealing with the intellectual and social life of the time, and, above all, necessitates a critical re-examination of the historical records. The publication undertaken by the School of Oriental Studies of the Hebrew University of Baladhi’s Anṣāb al-ahšāf wa akhbārāhum, hitherto inaccessible to most scholars, will furnish new material and a valuable check on the more biased accounts (Vol. V, ed. S. D. F. Goitein [Jerusalem, 1938]; see the review by G. Sarton, Isis, XXVI [1936-37], 457 f.). The work of Baladhuri (d. a.d. 892), although produced under Abbasid patronage, exhibits a surprising degree of objectivity in the treatment of the deposed dynasty. This is probably due in part to the debt of Baladhuri, for his history of the caliphs, to Al-Madhūnī (d. a.d. 840), much of whose information according to Yākūṭ (VI, 94, l. 8) was drawn from ʿAwāna (d. a.d. 764-65), who wrote in the interests of the Umayyads (Goitein, op. cit., Preface, pp. 15 f.).

These notes and the article to which they are supplementary are intended to draw attention to rather than to solve some of the problems of the intellectual history of the Umayyad period which need thorough investigation. It is probable that we shall soon be in a position to realize that the dark age between the downfall of the Sassanids and the establishment of the Persianized Abbasids at Baghdad had been exaggerated. In the first place, the Arab conquest should not be viewed as the eruption of hordes of uncultivated savages, for the Arabs of the “Days of Ignorance” were possessed of a culture of their own, however much its values differed from those of the settled man, and Arabia was in far closer touch with the movements of civilization than has often been supposed. Second, the more truly Arab Umayyads played a considerable role in the making of Islamic civilization—that strange distillation of ancient Greek and oriental cultures to which the Arabs contributed much more than simply a book and a language. A knowledge of the nature of that civilization is an essential part in the task of understanding our own complex heritage, for the debt of the Western world to the medieval Near East is only recently coming to be appreciated. (For a general survey of Umayyad history see P. K. Hitti, History of the Arabs [London, 1937], chaps. xvii-xxii; on the intellectual and artistic interests see chap. xxi and Brockelmann, op. cit., Suppl. I, pp. 76-106.)

Ruth S. Mackensen

Chicago
The library amassed in Cordova by the second Umayyad caliph there, al-Hakam II al-Mustansir (reg. 350/961-366/976), has attracted the admiration and the hyperbole of writers from that ruler's own time up to the present. From Ibn Hazm, in the fifth/eleventh century, who claimed (just plausibly) to have known the eunuch in charge of the collection, to Ribera, in this century, they unite in claiming that the library contained some four hundred thousand books (Ar. mujallad, though that word is as potentially vague as the English 'book'), and that the catalogue alone filled forty four volumes, of twenty pages each, listing nothing but titles. (It is perhaps just worth noting parenthetically, that these figures work out at two hundred and twenty seven items on each side of every single page of the catalogue, a fact which seems to have caused no difficulty for anyone from Ibn Hazm to Ribera.)

Such figures are, of course, quite meaningless, and relate to reality only insofar as they serve as indications that the library was, by the standards of the writers concerned, very large. For comparison we may note that a major library, housed in the Dār al-Ḥikma in Cairo and similarly enjoying a form of state support, apparently contained only six and a half thousand works when it was catalogued in 435/1045; another, in Baghdad, dating from only a few years after the death of al-Hakam (that is, from 381/991 or 383/993), contained 'more than 10,000 books'. Other large collections in Spain itself also existed, both in the time of the Umayyads and in the later cultural florescence of the fifth/eleventh century. We hear of such libraries intermittently in the large biographical dictionaries, and in one case, that of the vizier of Zuzaya, the Iblīs ruler of Almeria in the first third of the fifth/eleventh century (ob. 429/1038), the number of items is said to have been 400,000, just as in the case of the library of al-Hakam. The coincidence is striking. We know nothing of the fate of this collection - or for that matter of its contents.

Not much remains of the library of al-Hakam. A single manuscript, a copy of a work on religious law, has survived to our own days, and was found and identified by Levi-Provençal in the library of the mosque of the Qarawiyyin, in Fes, in 1934. Apart from manuscripts themselves, we can point to texts of which copies are known to have been in the library. A history of Egypt and the Maghrib written in Spain under al-Hakam was dependent on a similar work lent to the author by al-Hakam. A third manuscript, a 120-part copy of the works of al-Shāfi‘ī, with a good tazā‘ī going back directly to the author, apparently 'ended up in the possession' of al-Mustansir. I think that I have been able to demonstrate the existence of a translation into Arabic of a summary of the Talmud in al-Hakam's library, and part of that translation, though not, alas, in the original library copy, may survive. We know also of other works: there will presumably have been two copies of the book on materia medica of Dioscorides, the Greek copy that was sent to Spain with an embassy from Constanti­nople, and the revised Arabic translation of it made at the Cordoban court. There will, in the same way, presumably have been two copies, one in Latin and one in Arabic, of the Seven Books Against the Pagans of Orosius (the Arabic translation survives in the library of Columbia University, and has apparently been published recently in Beirut). We can be fairly sure of the presence of third/ninth and fourth/tenth century Spanish Arabic translations of parts of the New Testament, and also of at least the Psalms from the Old Testament. And the account of his travels in Christian Europe by Ibrahim b. Ya‘qūb al-Ṭārifi, in which he is said to have paid a similar sum, is likely to have been there too. The Kitāb al-Aghāni, of which we know that al-Hakam paid 1000 dinars of gold for the first copy, was definitely there; and a legal commentary by Abi Bakr al-Albārī al-Mālikī, for which he is said to have paid a similar sum. Another category of such works is made up of those texts which were composed for al-Hakam or under his patronage: we can trace perhaps a dozen of these, and they include a curious mixture of subjects: works of linguistic interest, history and legal study jostle others on hadith and obstetrics.

All this is not to mention references to works which al-Hakam is said to have made notes in (of which more in a moment), nor works that can be assumed to have been in the library - the Qur'ān, and works connected with it, legal texts and so on; nor is it to mention works that are known to have been brought
to Spain, to al-Hakam's court, by scholars attracted there by that caliph's munificence and patronage; these works whose texts were brought into the memories of such scholars as al-Qāsimi, and dictated there to local scholars. A list of such works is given by Ibn Khayr in his work al-Shajarat al-wāhītha; although it contained some notable first editions, the library, and a number of other specific texts could doubtless be traced by a systematic trawl through the sources for the period.

If we turn ourselves to an examination of works of which copies can be shown to have been in al-Hakam's possession, excluding works (like the Qur'an) which we must assume to have been there but whose presence we cannot demonstrate, then, at the moment, probably not much more than around fifty, in the library of al-Hakam. This is not much for a great library, although it does not compare too unfavourably with what we can do for some other great libraries and collections of the past. The ancient library of Alexandria (which a recent report suggests unesco is planning to rebuild) contained somewhere between 100,000 and 700,000 volumes, although not a single one of these survives; we can name quite a respectable number (though these of course represent a tiny proportion of the whole). Of the contents of the libraries of medieval England, according to our sources, we can trace a total of 700 manuscripts of the surviving books amounting to some six and a half thousand (although it should be remembered both that individual copies of some books and manuscripts are likely to be here from about five hundred different libraries, and from a period of several centuries, right up to the present day, of printing). If comparisons have any meaning in this context, the score works of which copies are known to have been in al-Hakam's library, of which one single manuscript survives, while containing more than a hundred, are not quite a Jot.

In histories of Islamic Spain the reign of al-Hakam is usually presented as a one-paragraph interlude between the fifty-year reign of his father 'Abd al-Rahman III al-Nāṣir (300/912-350/961) and the long first reign of his son Hishām II al-Mu'ayyad (366/976-399/1009). The first of these brought unity to Islamic Spain, re-created the caliphal institution in Cordoba, and laid the foundations for a strong, wealthy and internationally influential Islamic state in the Iberian peninsula. The latter, under the tutelage of his mayor of the palace, the great Abū ʿAlī al-Maṣūrī Muhammad ibn al-ʿAlī al-ʿAmīr, presided over a long period of at least surface success for the Cordoban state. The reign of al-Mu'tasim, by contrast, is generally dismissed by historians as an irreligious, alien and unworthy the attention of scholars. 'Abd al-Rahman's son and successor ... was a great scholar and bibliophile, and little interested or concerned to make changes in the structures constructed by his father ... a patron of culture a problem arises. Put simply, the patron of culture a problem arises. Put simply, the 生命 of the library and the cultural energies and interests of local scholarship along the same lines as in the main centres of Arabo-Islamic culture to the west, of librarians, of translators of different types. The interests of the ruler himself encouraged the acquisition of books on a very wide range of subjects, and despite the official intolerance it is clear that in philosophical and theological areas there were large numbers of works which did not accord with the ruling orthodoxy. As a part of the program of reform and modernization which we may say the state's institution of the library must have served as a link in the educational network for the Spanish and the non-Spanish alike in Cordoba. The biographical dictionaries show us that local scholars and teachers to Cordoba, as well as those from other Muslim centers in lines as in the main centres of Arabo-Islamic culture to the west, of librarians, of translators of different types. The interests of the ruler himself encouraged the acquisition of books on a very wide range of subjects, and despite the official intolerance it is clear that in philosophical and theological areas there were large numbers of works which did not accord with the ruling orthodoxy. As a part of the program of reform and modernization which we may say the state's institution of the library must have served as a link in the educational network for the Spanish and the non-Spanish alike in Cordoba. The biographical dictionaries show us that local scholars and teachers to Cordoba, as well as those from other Muslim centers in the period of al-Hakam's rule, were drawn in the past, these pictures do not match; as pictures of a single man, equally, they must do more than the other equally routine picture of him that he acted as a patron. He was both, but he was also a prince, and as a prince he was a patron with a purpose. The cultural policies of middle Umayyad tenth-century al-Andalus were clear and unambiguously geared towards a production of intelligent calculation and political ambition as of princely taste.

Enthusiastic as it is, this Spanish library remains a relatively small collection of a learned prince. The library served as the focus of a whole nexus of cultural activities which helped to lay the foundations for the massive exploitations of the next three centuries. It was established with the period of a century and a quarter following al-Hakam's death in 366/976. It is in connection with this that the caliph's initiative and the production of the library and its related work and institutions should be considered. Books from his library were lent out. Outsiders appear to have enjoyed some degree of access to books from there (if we are not to exaggerate: one person who derived some heretical views from a book in al-Hakam's library was executed for them on the caliph's order). The library's need for the employment of numerous copyists of manuscripts, of other people to check the accuracy of copies to be the three, of librarians, of translators of different types. The interests of the ruler himself encouraged the acquisition of books on a very wide range of subjects, and despite the official intolerance it is clear that in philosophical and theological areas there were large numbers of works which did not accord with the ruling orthodoxy. As a part of the program of reform and modernization which we may say the state's institution of the library must have served as a link in the educational network for the Spanish and the non-Spanish alike in Cordoba. The biographical dictionaries show us that local scholars and teachers to Cordoba, as well as those from other Muslim centers in the period of al-Hakam's rule, were drawn in the past, these pictures do not match; as pictures of a single man, equally, they must do more than the other equally routine picture of him that he acted as a patron. He was both, but he was also a prince, and as a prince he was a patron with a purpose. The cultural policies of middle Umayyad tenth-century al-Andalus were clear and unambiguously geared towards a production of intelligent calculation and political ambition as of princely taste.
gitiCty of the Umayyad regime in Spain; rejecting Baghdad, on the other hand, in the name of Umayyad legitimacy in Spain and in the rest of the Islamic world, was translated by an awareness of the potential to eternal backwater or provinciality. Neither suiting a resurgent Spain facing a weakened Baghdad. The solution was to prefigure a Spain that was the same, only more so. That is why, when the Biiyid vizier Ibn Abi Rabhi, on reading Ibn Abi Rabhi’s work al-Ijtid al-Farid, said, ‘This is our own merchandise being served back to us’, he was missing the point of this famous Andalusian and Arabic anthology of oriental literature: that work, through its structure and through its highly programmatic introduction, laid stress on the directness and the simplicity of the Biiyids’ determination to claim legitimacy to its own merchandise the lasting touchstone for quality in later Andalusian literary production, the author, in the name of his Spanish Umayyad masters, was also laying claim to the literary excellences of the oriental part of the Islamic world as a whole, and to it, and as the successors also of such writers as Ibn Abi Rabhi, the litterateurs of Umayyad Spain, with al-Hakam himself at their head, sought both to distance themselves from Baghdad, the capital of their rivals, and to compete with it as the centre of their own world.33

This picture of a great library acting as the hub for a whole cultural world, that is produced with a deliberate policy in view fits very neatly with the other picture provided by the normative politico-military style of Islamic government in al-Hakam as the leader of a resurgent Umayyad state in the peninsula, powerful and influential outside its own frontiers within its end of the Mediterranean basin.34 Is this picture correct? More precisely, perhaps, while political and military advantage might be produced quite rapidly, cultural preeminence seems to take longer - it takes great organizational forces more in one place than they can command in another: how was it possible for such developments to occur under al-Hakim? Why should Spain have been able so relatively quickly to emerge as a major centre of Islamic culture?

The answer to this appears to lie in a combination of features, first, and most important, the conversion of non-Muslims to Islam. The model for the rate of conversion proposed some years ago by Bulliet is not without its difficulties and problems, not least in its application to Spain35; but for all the difficulties it does seem to offer a persuasive account, if not a total explanation, of what happened in this area as far as Spain is concerned. As it is right, the massive wave of conversion to Islam in Spain will have been largely complete by the reign of al-Hakim. Along with conversion, going in advance of it and keeping largely in its wake, came, in the process of this mass Arabization, linguistic acculturation, of the majority of the population, both Muslim and non-Muslim, appears to have been largely complete by this time as well.36 The numbers of people involved or expecting to be involved, and the significance of their matter of conversion, was vastly greater than ever before (The first in the great series of Spanish biographical dictionaries, that of Ibn al-Faraj, covers precisely the fourth/ tenth century, and for the same period of the same time, and here we approach the second feature of this hypothesis, it was necessary for the regime to claim conversion for its ongoing legitimacy to its subjects.37 As the regime of a provincial backwater it could do so only by accepting permanent insignificance and the danger of disappearance. Brilliance offered a happier solution.

In facing this problem, al-Hakim was in the fortunate position that the ‘Abbasid caliphate, as offering the only other major form of Sunni Muslim orthodoxy, was not only too far away to matter but also too weak to be of any real significance as a challenge to Cordoba. Bulliet has identified the historical moment of which this period is an example of, and when Islam has not only become the religion of the overwhelming majority, or something like the overwhelmingly prevailing majority, of a population of a territory but also reached a stage where its elimination has begun to appear a manifest impossibility, he sees this as the stage when the significance of Islamic unity, the unity of cultural and intellectual contents, on grounds of heresy, for example, was a real possibility, that is to say, the balance of power of the institution of the caliphate, begins rapidly to lose weight. In cultural terms, this argument can be applied here with considerable force.

A hypothesis of this sort squeezes the old bibliophiliac quirk in an otherwise eccentric preoccupation with books as the activities of a great state institution, and the significance of the library as a centre for Jewish life in the fourth/tenth century are inconceivable without the structural support of a patron; it was necessary for the regime to claim legitimacy to its own world, and in the rest of the Islamic world, to eternal backwater it could do so only by accepting permanent insignificance and the danger of disappearance. Brilliance offered a happier solution. In facing this problem, al-Hakim was in the fortunate position that the ‘Abbasid caliphate, as offering the only other major form of Sunni Muslim orthodoxy, was not only too far away to matter but also too weak to be of any real significance as a challenge to Cordoba. Bulliet has identified the historical moment of which this period is an example of, and when Islam has not only become the religion of the overwhelming majority, or something like the overwhelmingly prevailing majority, of a population of a territory but also reached a stage where its elimination has begun to appear a manifest impossibility, he sees this as the stage when the significance of Islamic unity, the unity of cultural and intellectual contents, on grounds of heresy, for example, was a real possibility, that is to say, the balance of power of the institution of the caliphate, begins rapidly to lose weight. In cultural terms, this argument can be applied here with considerable force.

Babylon, Mesopotamia, centred in Baghdad, was the seat of a declining Jewish exarchate, generally parallel to the caliphate for the Jews of the Islamic world. In many cases, however, the Jewish community in Spain appears a manifest impossibility, he sees this as the stage when the significance of Islamic unity, the unity of cultural and intellectual contents, on grounds of heresy, for example, was a real possibility, that is to say, the balance of power of the institution of the caliphate, begins rapidly to lose weight. In cultural terms, this argument can be applied here with considerable force.

The deliberate distancing of the Muslim and of the Jewish worlds of Spain from the east, their appropriation of the cultural heritages both of Judaism and of Islam for Spain, appear to have been an important element in the creation of a new view of that country on the part of Muslim and Jew there. All that was inconceivable before that time and without the preconditions offered by the rise of the Umayyad regime in that country and the processes of arabisation and islamisation there up to the middle of the fourth/tenth century.

Al-Hakim’s library did not survive him very long. After his death, in 366/976, power in the state was taken over by the high al-Mansur, and al-Hakim’s son and successor, Hisham II al-Mu’ayyad, was reduced to a cipher. In order to encourage the support of the ‘ulama’, al-Mansur purged the library of its wealth of books and dispersed its contents, on grounds of heresy.38 A few decades later, in the upheavals that marked the downfall of the Manṣūrid dynasty and the beginning of the end for the Umayyad dynasty, the rest of the library was dispersed, taking, we are told, six months to be removed from its buildings.39 In a sense, the burning of some of the books by al-Mansur and the dispersal of the rest a generation afterwards underline the value and the significance of the library as a centre for the spreading of ideas and for the infiltration of new books and new ways of thinking in Spain, recognizing as they do the potential for danger that the library represented. But the library, and its founder, I think, should be remembered.

The library, seen as I have suggested it should be, is an argument for a thoroughgoing re-assessment of al-Hakim and of his reign. He is usually seen as a bibliophiliac quirk in an otherwise (at least up till his own time) fairly sound dynasty. This view comes, I think, largely from the fact that we tend to see his bibliophilia as a personal interest and activity, whatever its effects. Unlike the societies of the ancient world, modern world, where proper state institutions, corporations and the like, could stand behind such work as the activities of a great library, in the medieval Islamic world this was not possible. Even mosques, and mosque schools, did not have the means, as they did not by and large bear the responsibility, for this. For these activities to be undertaken, there would have to be a ruler who could act as patron. For such a ruler to provide the patronage, it was necessary that he be a ruler of the type of al-Hakim - that is to say, not just a civilised and cultural eccentric with a love of books (That sort of eccentricity does not act on such a scale by itself), but a ruler with an eye to his state’s interests.

The library of al-Hakim was in effect a great state institution, and should be viewed as that. In its quality as a state institution, its activity and the support given to it by the state, throughout the rule of the ruler, should be understood. Unlike the societies of the ancient world, modern world, where proper state institutions, corporations and the like, could stand behind such work as the activities of a great library, in the medieval Islamic world this was not possible. Even mosques, and mosque schools, did not have the means, as they did not by and large bear the responsibility, for this. For these activities to be undertaken, there would have to be a ruler who could act as patron. For such a ruler to provide the patronage, it was necessary that he be a ruler of the type of al-Hakim - that is to say, not just a civilised and cultural eccentric with a love of books (That sort of eccentricity does not act on such a scale by itself), but a ruler with an eye to his state’s interests.

The library of al-Hakim was in effect a great state institution, and should be viewed as that. In its quality as a state institution, its activity and the support given to it by the state, throughout the rule of the ruler, should be understood. Unlike the societies of the ancient world, modern world, where proper state institutions, corporations and the like, could stand behind such work as the activities of a great library, in the medieval Islamic world this was not possible. Even mosques, and mosque schools, did not have the means, as they did not by and large bear the responsibility, for this. For these activities to be undertaken, there would have to be a ruler who could act as patron. For such a ruler to provide the patronage, it was necessary that he be a ruler of the type of al-Hakim - that is to say, not just a civilised and cultural eccentric with a love of books (That sort of eccentricity does not act on such a scale by itself), but a ruler with an eye to his state’s interests.

The library of al-Hakim was in effect a great state institution, and should be viewed as that. In its quality as a state institution, its activity and the support given to it by the state, throughout the rule of the ruler, should be understood. Unlike the societies of the ancient world, modern world, where proper state institutions, corporations and the like, could stand behind such work as the activities of a great library, in the medieval Islamic world this was not possible. Even mosques, and mosque schools, did not have the means, as they did not by and large bear the responsibility, for this. For these activities to be undertaken, there would have to be a ruler who could act as patron. For such a ruler to provide the patronage, it was necessary that he be a ruler of the type of al-Hakim - that is to say, not just a civilised and cultural eccentric with a love of books (That sort of eccentricity does not act on such a scale by itself), but a ruler with an eye to his state’s interests.
EDUCATION

The last of the Goths? Baghdadi brought; from the list it can be seen

[40x99] al-Warriiq, no. 236 Arabigo-Espaiioles, (Khiilid
[40x148] on him see F. Pons Boigues, 'The Commander of the Faithful
[40x386] geschichte, li-Bawliis b.
[41x214] 7, 1985, 216-45; H. Daiber,
[41x395] Mozaraber', Henten [& others] (edd.),
[41x460] 'The Arabic Bible in
[41x526] mane,
[41x419] Koningsveld); G. Levi della Vida, 'La traduzione araba
[41x542] Umayyad Spain',
[41x362] period. See
[49x405] 11 H. Goussen, 'Die christlich-arabische Literatur der
[49x534] • 8 D. Wasserstein, 'An Arabic Version of
[49x558] Ibid., no. 1634.

18 Ibn Khayr, 'Tesores', pp. 393-97 (a list of the names of the books of poetry and the names of the poets which Abu 'Ali 'Imad b. al-Qasham al-Baghdadi = 'Ali al-Qilii brought [edl. to them], excluding those works, other than those, which he brought which but he taught in Qayrawan (on the way to Spain?); 399-400 (and the akhbar which Abu All-Baghdadi brought'), from the list it can be seen that the word akhbar here signifies simply to works in general.


20 N.B. Ker, Medieval Libraries of Great Britain; a list of surviving books, London (Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks, no. 3), 1964, x-xi, xxvi.

21 See now M.G. Baily-Guende, Le Bayt al-Hikma de Bagdad, mémoire de D.D.A., Université de Paris III - Sorbonne Nouvelle, au sens universitaire 1895-1986 (dactylographié). I am grateful to Mme Baily-Guende for permitting me to consult this work.


23 For al-Makanir's teachers see Ibn al-Faradi, I, p. 128, no. 442; pps. 143-42, no. 492; pps. 251-52, no. 896; p. 287, no. 1014; pps. 297-98, no. 1068; pp. 348-49, no. 1200; pps. 333-54, no. 1247; p. 354, no. 1249; II, p. 41, no. 1543; al-Zubaydi, Tubn, p. 284, no. 234; p. 298, no. 296; p. 303, no. 276 (the last three described as employed to teach al-Najir's school, which need not by any means refer to al-Makanir but the reading would permit such an interpretation); al-Masaqri, Anadi, II, 256.


25 Ibn al-Faradi, II, p. 41, no. 1543, is a biography of a man who taught both al-Najir and al-Makanir, dying in 317/929, when al-Makanir was only 14 (cf. also al-Zubaydi, Tubn, p. 284). For two of others of his teachers who died when he was still very young, cf. also al-Zubaydi, op. cit., p. 299, no. 266; Ibn al-Faradi, I, pps. 251-52, no. 896.


bhim, Cairo (Disltir al-Arab, 50), 1984, 18 (a work on biographies of grammarians, with its dedication to al-Makanir); Ibn Khayr, Fahrsana, 2 vols., ed. J. Ribera, Saragossa (Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana, 9-10), 1994-95, p. 125 (Qishim b. Asbagh, author of a work on hadith); Ibn al-Faradi, I, p. 7, and 1, p. 216, no. 777 (Muhammad b. Ahmad ibn Misr;ali), author of a biographical work, cf. also Pons, Historiadores, pp. 82-83, no. 43).

28 Cf. for the reaction to this, the account of al-Mas-


29 Ibid., 25-26; ElI, III, 676-77 (art. Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, by C. Brockelmess).

30 Cf. al-Makanir's boast about his country reported by Ibn al-Faradi, I, pps. 113-14, no. 396: 'If the orientals boast of Yahyab b. Ma'uto su us them we can boast of Khalid b. Sa'd to them'; and cf. also the publicity and generosity attending the welcomes given to oriental scholars arriving in Spain: e.g., Ibn al-Abbar, 'Apidnke a la edicion Codera de la «Teologia de Aben al-Abbar', ed. M. Alarcon and C.A. Gonzalez Palencia, Memorias de Estudios y Textos Arabes, Madrid, 1915, 147-60, at pps. 336-37, no. 1290; Ibn al-Faradi, I, p. 230, no. 822; pps. 261-62, no. 932.

31 On this see generally L6vi-Proven6, op. cit. (supra, n. 9), II, 19507, 165-98.


33 Cf. supra, n. 28.

34 Cf. L6vi-Proven6, op. cit., II, 318, and ibid., n. 1; cf. also al-Masaqri, Anadi, I, 256.
INDEX

Note: Transliteration and spelling follow those of individual chapters.

Aaron the priest 358-9
Abān b. ʿIsā b. Dinār (d. 262/875) 301, 303
Abān b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿAṣ b. Umayya (d. 12/633) xxviii
ʿAbdāb b. Yaʿqūb al-Rawājīnī al-ʿAsadi al-Kufi (d. 230/846) 123, 146
ʿAbbās b. Hishām b. ʿUmmad al-Kalbi xxv
ʿAbbās b. al-Wali:d b. Mazyad al-Amuli al-Bayruti (d. 266/879) 132, 146
ʿAbbasids: and al-Andalus 280-1
and black clothing 9
and education and learning 14, 308-9, 322, 324, 357
and education of princes xxxv, xxxvii-xl, 23-37, 143-4
and history 332
and al-Tabar1114
and Umayyads 321-2, 357-8, 362
Abbott, N. 275 n.10
ʿAbd al-Aʿla b. Wāṣīl al-ʿAsadi (d. 247/861) 123, 146
ʿAbd Allāh, amir 287, 288
ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Baghdadi (fl. 255/869) xl
ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-I:Iakam (d. 214/869) 134
ʿAbd Allāh b. Abi al-Arqam al-Makhzūmī
read probably: ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Arqam al-Qurashi al-Zuhri xxviii
ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Hassān al-Himṣī al-Yaḥṣūbī (d. 227/842) 57 n.13
ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Qaṭār al-Asqārī al-Baṣrī (d. ca. 100/718) xxv
ʿAbd Allāh b. Jābir b. Yāsīb (b. 493/1099) 206
ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar b. Abī ʿṬalīb (d. 80/699 or after) xxvii, 16
ʿAbd Allāh b. Masarra (d. 286/898) 302, 303
ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmmad b. Khālid (d. 256/869-70) 301, 303
ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmmad Mukhwawwal (d. 288/901) 203
ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmmad al-ʿNisābūrī, Ibn Ziyād (d. 324/935) 204
ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmmad b. Qāsim b. Ḥilāl (d. 272/885) 301
ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmmad b. Rustam
al-mustamīf 202
ʿAbd Allāh b. Muṣāb al-Zubayrī (d. 184/800) 35
ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd b. Abī Saʿdī (d. between 35/656 and 40) al-ʿĀmirī xxv, xxvii-xxviii
ʿAbd Allāh b. Sawwār (d. 275/888) 301
ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar al-Khaṭṭāb (Ibn ʿUmar; d. 74/693 or 73) 2, 106, 286
ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar b. ʿUthmān (d. 330/941) 282 n.50
ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar b. al-Zubayr (al-Zubayr) b. ʿAwāwām (d. 74/692) 285-6 n.130
ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy b. Saūd al-ʿAmirī xxv, xxvii
ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUthmān b. ʿAbd Bakr al-Ṣiddīq al-Qurashi al-Ṭāmūnī xxviii
ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUthmān b. ʿAbd al-Ṭabīb al-ʿAsadi (d. 100/718) xxv
ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayd b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān III 292
ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿUmarī (d. 338/950), son of the caliph ʿAbd al-ḥaṭṭāb (d. 339/951) xxviii
ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Ḥaṭṭāb al-Ḥaṭṭāb al-ʿAswānī al-Baṣrī (d. 440/1050 or 452/1060) 206
ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Ḥaṭṭāb al-Ḥaṭṭāb al-ʿAswānī al-Baṣrī (d. 440/1050 or 452/1060) 206
ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Ḥaṭṭāb al-Ḥaṭṭāb al-ʿAswānī al-Baṣrī (d. 440/1050 or 452/1060) 206
Ziyād b. Abīhi (Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān, or other names; d. 53/673) 232, 349
Zoroastrianism 368 n.130
Zubayr b. al-‘Awwām, Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Qurashi al-Asadi (d. 36/656) xxviii
Zubayr (Zubair) b. Bakkar (d. 256/870) 127, 147, 191, 203, 216, 232
Zuhayr (Zuhair) b. Abī Sulmā 216, 350

Zuhayr al-Mu‘awiya al-Kūfi (d. 173/789) 181
zuḥd (continence) 99, 103, 105, 107, 109
Zuhri, Abū MU‘aḍ Ahmad b. Hiṣām (d. 242/854) 57-8, 370 n.5
Zuhri, Ibn Shihāb Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Muslim (d. 124/742) xxxviii, l, lv, 6-7, 72, 328, 331, 333, 334-7, 355

Index created by Meg Davies (Fellow of the Society of Indexers)