

P E R S I A ' S   C O N T R I B U T I O N  
T o  
A R A B I C   L I T E R A T U R E  
With Special Reference  
T o   T h e  
Fourth/Tenth Century:

A THESIS

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ABSTRACT.

The object of the thesis is to investigate into Persia's Contribution to Arabic Literature with special reference to the 4th/10th century (301-405/913-1014). For the sake of convenience in investigation and study the thesis is divided into five chapters dealing with the scholarly activities carried on in the major provinces of Persia of the period. Each chapter is divided into sections according to the principal cultural centres that had grown up in each province. The contents of the sections are usually as follows:

(i) A brief topography and history of the centre leading to its conquest by the Arabs.

(ii) A short account of the Ṣahāba, Companions, of the Prophet(s) and Tābi'ūn, Followers, who visited the centre in the wake of Arab conquest, and paved the way for the spread of Islam and the dissemination of Islamic sciences.

(iii) A subject-wise list of Persian scholars who flourished at the centre in the first three centuries of Islam together with their works.

(iv) A subject-wise study of the lives and the works of the scholars of the 4th/10th century Persia hailing from the centre.

## INTRODUCTION

Persia, the home of the Persian speaking people, lay to the north-east of Arabia. The relation between the two countries dates from long before Islam. It was during the reign of Sāsānian king Shāpūr I (241-272) that some Arabs migrated to southern Persia and settled there, while during the reign of Khusraw II (590-628) southern Arabia came under Sāsānian rule and continued till 6/628.<sup>1</sup> Also the Arab province of al-Bahrain was a vassal state under the Sāsānids on the eve of Islam. Here many Persians migrated.<sup>2</sup> It was through the Sāsānid governor of al-Bahrain<sup>3</sup> that the Prophet(s) despatched a letter to the aforesaid Khusraw II inviting him to embrace Islam.<sup>4</sup>

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- 1 Encyclopaedia of Islam (ed. Houtsma, Wensinck and others, Leiden, 1936), iii, 1040; Hitti, History of the Arabs (London, 1960), p. 66.
- 2 Balādhurī, Futūh al-Buldān (ed. De Goeje, Leiden, 1866), p. 78 = vol. i, 120 of Eng. tr. by Hitti (London, 1916).
- 3 (sic.): عظيم البحرين (Al-Bukhārī, al-Ṣaḥīḥ, ed. Delhi, 1305, i, 15) — His name was al-Mundhir b. Sāwa al-Tanīmī. It is interesting to note that at the invitation of the Prophet(s) he embraced Islam before 8/629. He was a leading member of the delegation of the tribe of ‘Abd al-Qays from al-Bahrain that waited on the Prophet(s) in 9/630. It may be mentioned that al-‘Alā’ b. al-Ḥadramī (d. 21), a Companion of the Prophet(s), was appointed governor of al-Bahrain by the Prophet in 9/630. Al-‘Alā’ puts al-Mundhir in his place when the former was summoned by the Prophet(s) to al-Madīna. The Prophet(s) later appointed him the governor of al-Yaman in which capacity al-Mundhir died shortly before the death of the Prophet(s). — Balādhurī, loc. cit.; Ibn Ḥajr, al-Iṣāba fī Tamyiz al-Ṣaḥāba (ed. Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1888), iii, 943-44; 1120 under Nāfi’ b. Sulaymān; al-Khaṭīb al-Tabrizī, Mishkāt al-Maṣābiḥ (Delhi, 1932), p. 13; Salmān Mansūrpūrī, Raḥmatu li al-‘Ālamīn (Lāhore, 1912), i, 212.
- 4 Dr. Muḥammad Ḥamīdullāh, Majmū‘a al-Wathā’iq al-Siyāsīyya (Cairo, 1941), pp. 53-54; Raḥmatu li al-‘Ālamīn, i, 221-22.

On the advent of Islam we come across quite a few Companions of the Prophet(s) hailing from Persia viz., Amat Allāh al-Isbahāniyya,<sup>1</sup> Salmān al-Fārisī (d.36)<sup>2</sup>, Muḥammad mawla khwāja<sup>3</sup> and Firūz al-Daylamī<sup>4</sup>. Another Companion of the Prophet(s) named Abū Shāh of al-Yaman was of Persian origin.<sup>5</sup> Besides, Bādhan<sup>6</sup>, the fifth Persian satrap of al-Yaman, embraced Islam in 6/628<sup>7</sup> during the lifetime of the Prophet(s) together with the Zoroastrians who settled there.<sup>8</sup> Al-Mundhir b. Sāwa, the governor of al-Bahrain mentioned above, and the Persians settled there also embraced Islam during the lifetime of the Prophet(s).<sup>9</sup> Thus it appears that an appreciable number of Persians were acquainted

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- 1 Ibn al-Athīr, Usd al-Ghāba fī Maʿrifat al-Ṣahāba, ed. Egypt, 1280 A.H., V, 402 (has Amat Ibnat al-Fārisīyya) and al-Isāba, iv, 453 (has Amat al-Fārisīyya); Abū Nuʿaym, Kitāb Dhikr Akhbār Isbahān (ed. Dr. Sven Dederling, Leiden, 1931), i, 76-77; 44.
- 2 He was a native of Ispahān. On him, Akhbār Isbahān, i, 48-51.
- 3 Al-Hākim, Taʾrīkh Naysābūr (ed. Dr. Bahman Karīmī, Tīhrān, 1337 A.H.), p. 12; al-Dhahabī, Tajrīd Asmāʾ al-Ṣahāba (Hyderābād, 1315 A.H.), ii, 102.
- 4 He was a Persian noble and embraced Islam. He killed al-ʿAswad al-Ansī, the pseudo-prophet in 11/632 during the lifetime of the Prophet(s) (Istīʿāb, ii, 520-21). He died during the Caliphate of ʿUthmān (23-36/644-656). Vide al-Nawawī, Tahdhīb Asmāʾ al-Luḡa, ed. Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1842-47), pp. 504-505.
- 5 Ibn al-Athīr, Tajrīd Asmāʾ al-Ṣahāba (Hyderābād, 1315), i, 270; al-Isāba, iv 183. He appears to have embraced Islam before the conquest of Makka as on that occasion he was with the Prophet(s) at Makka. It is worthwhile to note that on the conquest of Makka the Prophet(s) delivered a sermon declaring the sanctity of Makka. Abū Shāh solicited the Prophet(s) to have that sermon in black and white. The Prophet(s) asked some Companion to give it to him in writing. Vide Bukhārī, al-Sahīh, ii, under باب فتح مكة; cf. al-Isāba, loc. cit.
- 6 He is also called Bādān. Vide al-Isāba, i, 346.
- 7 Tajrīd, i, 45; Hitti, p. 66.
- 8 al-Isāba, i, loc. cit.; Raḥmatu li al-ʿĀlamīn, i, 222-23.
- 9 Balādhurī, p. 78 = vol. i, 120 of the Eng. translation by Hitti; Raḥmatu li al-ʿĀlamīn, i, 212.

with the Arabic language even before the Arabs had conquered Persia. But the door of acquiring Arabic became wide open to them after the Arab conquest.

Within a decade of the death of the Prophet(s) Persia was overrun by the Arabs. Initiated by Caliph Abū Bakr (11-13/632-634) the Arab advance continued eastwards and after occupying al-‘Irāq the Arabs penetrated into Persia during the Caliphate of ‘Umar (13-23/634-644) whose effective planning brought about the overthrow of the great Sāsānīd empire.<sup>1</sup> But it was during the Caliphate of ‘Uthmān (23-36/644-656) that the entire Sāsānīd empire came under the Arab sway and the fugitive emperor Yazdjird III (632-651) himself met his fatal end near Marv in 31/651.<sup>2</sup>

Military operations against Persia were conducted by the Prophet's Companions who were more solicitous for the preaching of Islam than territorial conquests. Adhering to the noble tradition of their Prophet(s) who, as mentioned above, invited, amongst others, the Persian monarch Khusraw II (590-628) to embrace Islam<sup>3</sup>, the Companion generals before undertaking military operations used to invite their brave counterparts to come to the fold of Islam. And it was the standing order of Caliph ‘Umar to his generals to invite people to Islam before undertaking any campaign.<sup>4</sup> Our assertion is borne out by the following facts:

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- 1 Tabarī, Ta’rīkh al-Rusul wa al-Mulūk, ed. De Goeje (E.J.Brill 1893), i,2569. Cf: Dr.Muhammad Ishāq, India's Contribution to the Study of Hadīth Literature (Lāhore,1955),pp.2-6.
  - 2 Tabarī, i,2884-88; Ibn al-Athīr, Ta’rīkh Kāmil (Egypt,1301 A.H.), iii,60-62; Dacca University Studies, June,1966, vol.XIV, pt.A.,p.45 art. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Āmir and his conquests by Sahera Khatun.
  - 3 Mundhir b. Sāwa(Supra,p.iv,n.3)and Sībukht, Satrap of Ḥajr, embraced Islam at the instance of the Prophet(s).(Balādhurī, p.76 = i,120 of the Eng. tr. by Hitti.)
  - 4 Abū Yūsuf, Kitāb al-Kharāj (Egypt, 1302 A.H.), p.120.

(i) Early in 12/633 Khālīd b. Walīd (d.21) invited the Persians to embrace Islam with an assurance to restore their land if they would adopt the faith.<sup>1</sup>

(ii) During the Caliphate of 'Umar Salmān al-Fārisī (d.23 or 36) invited his compatriots to come to the fold of Islam.<sup>2</sup>

(iii) Sa'ḍ b. Abī Waqqāṣ (d.50 or 55) deputed a party of eight Sahāba to Persian general Rustam b. Shahriyār inviting him to embrace Islam.<sup>3</sup>

(iv) Sa'ḍ deputed al-Nu'mān b. Muqarran (d.21) to emperor Yazd-jird III (632-651) inviting him to embrace Islam.<sup>4</sup>

As a part of his policy of islamizing Persia Caliph 'Umar restored, against stiff opposition of some leading Companions, the conquered land to the owners fixing jizya per capita, and kharāj or land tax for the cultivated land.<sup>5</sup> This was a bold step the Caliph took in order to attract people to the religion of Islam.

A cursory glance at the military operations of the Arabs in Persia particularly during the time of Caliph 'Umar, shows that no country was so much frequented by the Companions of the Prophet(s) as was Persia. As a matter of fact, the provincial metropolises of al-Jibāl viz., Hamadān, al-Rayy and Ispahān; of Khurāsān viz., Nīshāpūr, Marv and Balkh; of Ihūzistān viz., Ahwāz and Fustar, and also the province of Jurjān were frequently visited by numerous Companions of the Prophet(s)<sup>6</sup>. It is obvious that the ideal, sterling and humane

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1 Al-Hākim, al-Mustadrak (Hyderābād, 1341 A.H.), iii, 299; Shaykh Muḥammad Yūsuf, Ḥayāt al-Ṣahāba (Hyderābād, 1960), i, 213-15.

2 Ḥayāt al-Ṣahāba, i, 299.

3 Ibid., p.230.

4 Ibid., p.236.

5 Cf: Abū Yūsuf, op. cit., pp.14-15, 33 and 35-36; Ameer Ali, A Short History of the Saracens (London, 1949), pp.57-58.

6 Infra, pp.3-5; 42-43; 80; 139-41; 189; 196-97; 274-75; 312-13.

qualities of the Companions could not but leave a deep and abiding impression in the minds of the Persians attracting them to Islam and what it stood for.

The cumulative effect of the above is discernible from the swift manner the people of Persia in their thousands embraced Islam. To quote but a few instances:

In 16/637 after the victory of Jalūlā' the nobility and elite of the regions like Janīl b. Buṣbuhri<sup>2</sup>, Biṣṭām b. Narsi<sup>3</sup>, al-Rufayl<sup>4</sup>, and Firūz<sup>5</sup> accepted the faith.

In 21/641 Istindār b. Chaharbukht, a magian by religion who had been a dignitary of Ispahān, embraced Islam at the time of Arab conquest.<sup>6</sup>

It goes without saying that this change of religion in favour of Islam on the part of the nobles and dignitaries of Persia had naturally a great impact on the peasants and artisans inducing them to accept the new faith.<sup>7</sup>

On the conclusion of the battle of Qādisiyya in 14/635, a Daylamite army of four thousand strong who constituted the imperial guard embraced Islam all at once.<sup>8</sup> Emperor Yazdjird III (632-651) while deputing general Siyāh to Ispahān as a vanguard composed of three hundred nobles and brave fighters asked him to collect and recruit soldiers to combat the Arabs. Strangely enough it was through the initiative and persuasion of general Siyāh that the entire army came to the fold of Islam.<sup>9</sup> Also a contingent of Zutt of Sind previously belonging to the Sāsānid army embraced Islam.<sup>10</sup> During the

1 Balādhuri, p.265 = i,421-22 of the Eng.tr. by Hitti.

2 Ibid. 3 Ibid., p.265 = i,422 of the Eng. tr. by Hitti.

4 Ibid. 5 Ibid. 6 Infra, p.17.

7 Arnold, The Preaching of Islam (Lāhore, 1956), pp.207-08.

8 Shibli Nu'māni, al-Fārūq (Lāhore, 1961), p.336.

9 Balādhuri, pp.374-75.

10 Ibid, p.375; Dr.Muhammad Ishāq, op. cit,p.192.



Umayyad period the process of islamization of Persia continued. It was, however, hastened by the financial policy of 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz (99-102/717-720) and Hishām (106-26/724-43)<sup>1</sup> and the former's letters to kings and princes inviting them to embrace Islam.<sup>2</sup> It appears that by the first century of the hijra the bulk of the population of Persia came to the fold of Islam.

It is interesting to note that the people of Persia not only accepted Islam as their religion but adopted Arabic as a vehicle of their expression and intellectual pursuits.<sup>3</sup> The process of islami-  
zing or for that matter arabicizing the new converts to Islam may be summed up as follows:

First, it was the pronounced practice of the Companions that the new converts would be attached to Arab tribes.<sup>4</sup> This is techni-  
cally called walā' (ولاء) or attachment and one who is so attached is called nawla, the plural being mawālī.<sup>5</sup> The affiliation of these new converts of Persia to Arab tribes served twofold purposes:

(i) The new converts imbibed Islam and developed themselves as Muslims under the direct supervision of the Arabs, many of whom were Companions of the Prophet(s). Moreover, the genius of the people of Persia could thus mould itself following the ideal life practised by the Companions. Their direct contact with the Arabs helped them

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1 Ency. of Islam, iii, 1041.

2 Balādhurī, p.441; Arnold, op. cit., pp.82; 272.

3 Muḥammad Muḥammadī, Dars al-Lughat wa al-Adab (Tih-rān, 1949), pt.i, p.8

4 In 21/641 Istindār b. Chaharbukht, a dignitary of Ispahān, embraced Islam and was attached to 'Abd al-Qays; hence he and his family received the nisba al-'Abdī (vide infra, p.17, note 6); the Zutts were attached to Banū Ḥanzāla (Balādhurī, pp.373-74); and the Asāwira were attached to Banū Sa'd. (Ibid.). Cf: India's Contribution to Hadīth Literature, p.192.

5 Ibn al-Manzūr, Lisān al-'Arab, ed. Būlāq, 1307, vol.xx, p.289 (sic.) المولى وهو الذى يسلم على يدك; Ameer Ali, op.cit., pp.55-56.

learn and understand Arabic through direct method without adopting any technicalities contrived to acquire efficiency in a foreign tongue. In fact, the Persians acquired Arabic as naturally as one born to the language.

(ii) It was then a common practice as now that every Muslim had to read the Qur'ān and recite it; and while performing salāt,<sup>1</sup> the recitation of a prescribed portion of the Qur'ān is a must. It was but natural that the neo Muslims of Persia became ere long thoroughly conversant with the reading and recitation of the Holy Book. It goes without saying that the Divine Book made a great impact on their minds inspiring them to learn and acquire the Arabic language. Thus, it appears, the approach made by the Arabs to arabicize the Persian people, was as easy as it was effective. Of course, the process of arabicizing them was hastened and received further impetus by the adoption of Arabic as the state language during the Caliphate of 'Abd al-Mālik (65-86/684-705)<sup>2</sup>.

#### Introduction of hadīth in Persia.

The arrival of the Companions of the Prophet(s) in Persia was a landmark in the development of Arabic learning. Themselves teachers and seekers after knowledge the Companions spread all over Persia in order to teach the people the fundamentals of Islam as enunciated in the Qur'ān and the hadīth. We have quite a few Companions who settled down in different metropolises of Persia turning them into seats of cultural activities. Here we give a list of the Companions who settled in Persia centrewise:

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1 Prescribed or devotional prayers as enjoined in Islam.

2 Balādhurī, p.193 = i,301 of the Eng. tr. by Hitti; Ency. of Islam, iii,1041.

- Khurāsān : al-Hakam b. 'Amr al-Ghifārī (d.45 or 50);<sup>1</sup>  
 'Atīyya b. 'Amr al-Ghifārī;<sup>2</sup>  
 Hammām b. Zayd.<sup>3</sup>
- Nishāpūr : 'Amir b. Sulaym al-Aslamī;<sup>4</sup>
- Marv : Burayda b. al-Huṣayb (d.ca.63);<sup>5</sup>  
 Abū Barza al-Aslamī (d.60)<sup>6</sup>;  
 'Abd Allāh b. Abī Awfa al-Aslamī (d.87).<sup>7</sup>

We have already seen that Jurjān, the northern most province of Persia, was associated with the great traditionist Companions<sup>8</sup> like Abū Hurayra (d.58)<sup>9</sup>, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar (d.74)<sup>10</sup> and Hudhayfa b. al-Yamān (d.36)<sup>11</sup>. The province appears to have early developed as a cultural seat of the Companions inasmuch as 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar (d.74) made a long sojourn there whence he undertook ihrām for 'umra.<sup>12</sup> During the Caliphate of 'Alī (36-41/656-61) al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī (d.49)<sup>13</sup> and 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr (d.73)<sup>14</sup> arrived Jurjān via Ispahān.<sup>15</sup>

Al-Barā' b. al-'Azib (d.72)<sup>16</sup> came to Qazwin and colonized it with five hundred Arabs from al-Kūfa.<sup>17</sup> The celebrated Quthum b.

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- 1 Ibn Sa'd, Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kabīr (ed. Eduard Sachau, Leiden, 1918), vii, pt. ii, 100; Ta'rīkh Naysābūr, p.10.
- 2 Tajrīd, i, 413; Ta'rīkh Naysābūr, p.10.
- 3 Tajrīd, ii, 132; Ta'rīkh Naysābūr, p.11.
- 4 Tajrīd, i, 306; Ta'rīkh Naysābūr, pp.10-11.
- 5 Ibn Sa'd, vii, pt. i, 3-4; Ta'rīkh Naysābūr, pp.8-9; Tajrīd, i, 50.
- 6 Ibn Sa'd, iv, pt. ii, 34; vii, pt. i, 4; pt. ii, 100; Ta'rīkh Naysābūr, p.10; also *infra*, p.189 note 7.
- 7 Tajrīd, i, 321.
- 8 Al-Jurjānī, Ta'rīkh Jurjān (Hyderābād, 1369 A.H.), p.6.
- 9 Huffāz, i, p.31 sq.      10 *Ibid*, p.35 sq.
- 11 Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, al-Istī'āb (Hyderābād, 1336 A.H.), i, p.104.
- 12 Ta'rīkh Jurjān, p.7.      13 Al-Istī'āb, i, 141.
- 14 Tajrīd, i, 334; al-Nawawī, pp.341-43.      15 Ta'rīkh Jurjān, p.8.
- 16 Tajrīd, i, 48; Iṣāba, i, 288-89; Usd, i, 171-72.
- 17 Balādhurī, p.322.

al-‘Abbās b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib,<sup>1</sup> cousin of the Prophet(s), participated in the conquest of Khurāsān. He seems to have adopted it as his home. He, however, died at Samarqand.<sup>2</sup>

Ispahān also was associated with the cultural activities of the Companions. This is borne out by the fact that al-Sā‘ib b. al-Aqra‘, the governor of Ispahān, was a well-known Companion of the Prophet(s). As noticed above al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī and ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr arrived there en-route to Jurjān.

Besides the Companions mentioned above we come across in the first and early second century A.H. a number of Followers who migrated to Persia adopting it as the field of their cultural activities. We are giving below their list centrewise:

Ispahān : Isnā‘īl b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Kūfī (d.127),<sup>3</sup>  
 Marv : ‘Abd Allāh b. Burayda (d.115)<sup>4</sup>;  
 Yahya b. Ya‘mar (d.128)<sup>5</sup>;  
 Yahya b. ‘Aqīl al-Khuzā‘ī al-Baṣrī (d.ca.115)<sup>6</sup>;  
 Lāhiq b. Ḥumayd (d.106)<sup>7</sup>;  
 Al-Rabī‘ b. Anas<sup>8</sup>;  
 Muḥammad b. Thābit al-‘Abdī<sup>9</sup>;  
 Al-Naḍr b. Shumayl (d.203)<sup>10</sup>.

As zealous students of ḥadīth the Companions and the Followers moved from place to place in order to transmit Apostolic traditions to the people. It was a common practice in those days that whenever two scholars met, their main subject of discussion was ḥadīth. It may be noted that in those days the mode of imparting lessons in ḥadīth was

1 Ibn Sa‘d, vii, pt. ii, 101.

2 Ibid, vii, pt. i, 73; i, 75-76; Usd, ii, 249.

3 On him, see: Akḥbār Isbahān, i, 204-06.

4 On him, infra, p. 189 note 8. 5 On him, infra, p. 189 note 8.

6 On him, infra, p. 189 note 8.

7 On him, Ta‘rīkh Naysābūr, p. 15; al-Nawawī, p. 524; Shadharāt, i, 134.

8 On him, see: Ta‘rīkh Naysābūr, p. 14; al-Ḥākim, Ma‘rifa ‘Ulūm al-Ḥadīth (Cairo, 1937), p. 196.

9 On him, see: Ibn Sa‘d, vii, pt. ii, 103. 10 On him, ibid, p. 105.

oral transmission. As memorization was the practice the local people also learnt ḥadīth through that system so that oral transmission developed as a natural course. The benefit of oral transmission was that the local students could easily acquire ḥadīth literature without much handicaps as are faced by a foreign student.

Though in the second/eighth and the third/ninth centuries the main field of scholarly activities remained rihla fī talab al-‘ilm, journey in quest of ḥadīth, resulting in the collection and codification of traditions such as the Sihāh Sitta, yet there is a noticeable diversification in other fields of studies also viz., historiography, belles-lettres, grammar, philology, criticism etc. The dawn of the fourth/tenth century, however, ushered in an era of efflorescence of Islamic sciences in Persia producing outstanding scholars practically in all fields of learning. It is our humble endeavour to bring into bold relief the variegated contributions of Persian scholars to different branches of Arabic literature, viz., ḥadīth, tafsīr, fiqh, Arabic literature, philology, grammar, historiography and geography.

As mentioned above, the compilation of Sihāh Sitta in the 3rd/9th century apparently marked the end of activities in collecting and codifying ahādīth. But the actual fact was otherwise. For, ample scope still remained for further researches in the field of collecting the extant volumes of the subject yet to be explored from the nook and corner of Persia. So we find that in the 2nd half of the 3rd/9th century there began a new endeavour by scholars going out in search of fresh fields and pastures new, so that not a single ḥadīth of the Prophet(s) could remain uncollected. The initiative came from Ibn Khuzayma (d.311)<sup>1</sup> and his impetus was continued unabated by his disciple and the disciple of his disciple viz., Ibn Ḥibbān (d.354)<sup>2</sup> and

1 *Infra*, p.147 et. seq.

2 *Infra*, p.211 et. seq.

al-Ḥākim al-Ḥaysābūrī (d.405)<sup>1</sup> respectively, producing the voluminous works of ḥadīth like Sahīh Ibn Khuzayma,<sup>2</sup> Sahīh Ibn Hibbān<sup>3</sup> and al-Mustadrak<sup>4</sup> or the Supplement par excellence, by al-Ḥākim. To this spectacular contribution of the 4th/10th century Muhaddithūn of Persia to ḥadīth literature, we may add the compilation of numerous works on rijāl, transmitters of ḥadīth and its criticism by such eminent traditionists and critics as Abū Bishr al-Dūlābī (d.310)<sup>5</sup>, ‘Abd Allāh b. Abī Da’wūd (d.316)<sup>6</sup>, Ibn Abī Ḥatīm (d.327)<sup>7</sup>, Ibn Hibbān, al-Rāmahurmuzī (d.360)<sup>8</sup> and Ibn Manda (d.395)<sup>9</sup>. As for the commentary on ḥadīth al-Khaṭṭābī’s (d.388)<sup>10</sup> Ma‘ālim al-Sunan,<sup>11</sup> has ever remained an indispensable work, widely quoted by the later scholars. While Ibn Bābawayh (d.381)<sup>12</sup> produced important works on Shi‘ite tradition.

In Tafsīr literature Abū Ja‘far al-Ṭabarī (d.310)<sup>13</sup> compiled his monumental work entitled Jāmi‘ al-Bayān fī Tafsīr al-Qur‘ān<sup>14</sup> which in all ages and climes has been reckoned a standard work on the subject. Besides al-Ṭabarī, mention may be made of Muḥammad b. Baḥr al-Isfahānī (d.322)<sup>15</sup> and Ibn Wahab al-Dīnawarī (d.308)<sup>16</sup> who have left lasting contributions to Tafsīr literature. In this connection we may quote the name of Ibn Khālawayh (d.370)<sup>17</sup> whose contribution to ‘ilm al-qirā’āt,<sup>18</sup> the science of different readings of the

1 Infra, p.158 et. seq.

2 Infra, p. 151.

3 Infra, pp.221-24.

4 Infra, pp.165-67.

5 Infra, pp.46-48.

6 Infra, p.208 et. seq.

7 Infra, pp.48-54.

8 Infra, p.277.et. seq.

9 Infra, pp.17-22.

10 Infra, p.227 et. seq.

11 Infra, pp. 231-32.

12 Infra, pp.124-32.

13 Infra, p .304 et. seq.

14 Infra, pp.309-10.

15 Infra, pp. 22-23.

16 Infra, p. 122.

17 Infra, pp. 90-91.

18 On ‘ilm al-qirā’at see: Ṭāsh Kubrā Zāda, Miftāh al-Sa‘āda (Hyderābād, 1328 A.H.), vol. i, pp.347-397.

Qur'ānic verses, cannot be overestimated.<sup>1</sup>

Fourth/tenth century Persia had some noted fukahā' jurists who produced works on the subject as follows:

- On Hanafite fiqh : Al-Jassās (d.370)<sup>2</sup>;  
 Al-Ḥākim al-Shahīd al-Marwazī (d.334);<sup>3</sup>  
 On Shāfi'ite fiqh : Abū Ishāq al-Marwazī (d.340)<sup>4</sup>;  
 Abū Hāmid al-Marwarrūdihī (d.362)<sup>5</sup>;  
 On Shi'ite fiqh : Al-Kulīnī (d.328).<sup>6</sup>

Fourth/tenth century Persia produced a band of geniuses who enriched Arabic language and literature by introducing new and novel subjects like Maqānāt (assemblies) by al-Hanadhānī (d.398)<sup>7</sup>, Rasā'il (epistolary writings) by al-Sāhib b. 'Abbād (d.385)<sup>8</sup>, belles-lettres and social history such as Kitāb al-Aghānī by Abū al-Faraj al-Isfahānī (d.356)<sup>9</sup> etc. Nor does this century lag behind in the field of philology and grammar producing outstanding authors like al-Zajjājī (d.359),<sup>10</sup> Ibn Durustawayh (d.347),<sup>11</sup> Abū Sa'īd al-Sīrāfī (d.368),<sup>12</sup> Abū Mansūr al-Azharī (d.370),<sup>13</sup> Ibn Khālawayh (d.370),<sup>14</sup> Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī (d.377),<sup>15</sup> Abū Ahmad al-'Askarī (d.380),<sup>16</sup> al-Marzubānī (d.384),<sup>17</sup> Abū Hilāl al-'Askarī (d.395),<sup>18</sup> Ibn Fāris al-Lughawī (d.395)<sup>19</sup> and Abū 'Ubayd al-Harawī (d.401)<sup>20</sup>.

In historiography al-Ṭabarī's Ta'rīkh al-Rusul wa al-Mulūk<sup>21</sup>

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- |                          |                           |
|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1 Infra, pp.92-93.       | 2 Infra, pp.56-58.        |
| 3 Infra, pp.191-93.      | 4 Infra, p.194.           |
| 5 Infra, pp.194-95.      | 6 Infra, p.55.            |
| 7 Infra, pp.84-87.       | 8 Infra, pp.59-72.        |
| 9 Infra, pp.26-31.       | 10 Infra, pp.109-11.      |
| 11 Infra, p.250 et. seq. | 12 Infra, p.255 et seq.   |
| 13 Infra, p.183 et. seq. | 14 Infra, pp.90-92.       |
| 15 Infra, p.262 et. seq. | 16 Infra, p.281 et. seq.  |
| 17 Infra, p.175 et. seq. | 18 Infra, p.287 et. seq.  |
| 19 Infra, p.96 et. seq.  | 20 Infra, p. 186 et. seq. |
| 21 Infra, pp.308-09.     |                           |

will always remain a classical work on the subject. In this context mention may be made of Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī's (d.360)<sup>1</sup> Ta'rikh Sini Mulk al-Ard wa al-Anbiyā', a work on rare historical matters concerning the prophets, caliphs down to contemporary governors of Persia. It also contains the natural calamities like tremors, tidal bores, roars of rats etc.<sup>2</sup>

Another important field which attracts the attention of the 4th/10th century scholars of Persia was geography and topography, the important contributors being Abū Zayd al-Balkhī<sup>3</sup> (d.322), Ibn al-Faqīh (d.340)<sup>4</sup> and al-Iṣṭakhrī (d.in the 2nd half of the 4th century A.H.)<sup>5</sup>. The last named geographer compiled the oft-quoted indispensable Road Book, Kitāb al-Masālik al-Mamālik.<sup>6</sup>

From what has been said above, it is abundantly clear that fourth/tenth century Persia contributed largely to the advancement of Islamic sciences and Arabic studies. A remarkable feature of this contribution was that the northern provinces of Persia that were dotted with centres of ḥadīth learning produced outstanding muhaddithūn of the calibre of Ibn Khuzayma, Ibn Manda and Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī. While Khūzistān and Fāris, the southern provinces of Persia, were, so to speak, the home of Arabic studies, that could boast of noted philologists and grammarians like Abū Hilāl al-'Askarī, Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī and Abū Sa'īd al-Sīrāfī. Now, the question that presents itself to us is: why <sup>did</sup> this phenomenon happened? The reason is not far to seek. For, the northern provinces of Persia

1 Infra, p.37.

2 Infra, pp.37-8.

3 Infra, p.201 et seq.

4 Infra, p.111 et seq.

5 Infra, p.269 et seq.

6 Infra, pp.270-72.



were intellectually and culturally connected with the areas of ḥadīth studies in al-‘Irāq, al-Ḥijāz and al-Shām on the west, and Nā Warā’ al-Nahar on the north-east. Thus, we find that the highways issuing from Samarqand and Bukhārā, running through northern Persia, al-‘Irāq and al-Shām, and ending at Makka and al-Madīna, were frequented by traditionists and transmitters of ḥadīth. Since, on the other hand, southern Persia was adjacent to al-Kūfa and al-Baṣra, the two early centres of Arabic studies, the scholars of the former could not but imbibe the spirit guiding the literary pursuits of the latter, namely, al-Baṣra and al-Kūfa.

Before I conclude, I would like to humbly submit that a cursory glance at the following pages of the thesis will show what a great contribution the Persian scholars of the 4th/10th century made to Arabic language and literature in the most varied sense of the term. Thanks to Jurjī Zaydān,<sup>1</sup> we have biographical notices of quite a few Persian scholars of the period together with their works. But so far as our knowledge goes, no attempt has been made upto now to undertake researches on the period under review. Professor Edward G. Browne's "A Literary History of Persia"<sup>2</sup> does not, however, cover the great and fruitful period of intellectual pursuits of the Persians during the first four centuries of Islam. Hence is the necessity and emergence of this thesis: Persia's Contribution to Arabic Literature with special reference to the 4th/10th century.

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1 See his Kitāb Ta'rikh Adab al-Lughat al-‘Arabīyya (Cairo, 1930).

2 Ed. London, 1908, vol.i, pp.275-78.

## CHAPTER I

## THE PROVINCE OF AL-JIBĀL

The ancient Media, the homeland of the famous Medes,<sup>1</sup> comprised the north-western region of Persia. This part of Persia was called Bilād al-Jabal (the lands of mountain) or simply al-Jibāl by the Arab geographers; because with the exception of the tract of land stretching from Hamadān to al-Rayy (modern Teheran), this province is mountainous, about three to five thousand feet above the sea level. The Safīd Rūd, the only important river of the province, flows into the Caspian. Al-Jibāl is separated from Armenia and the Lower Mesopotamia by the mighty ranges of the Zagros. During the early Muslim period the province of al-Jibāl comprised the entire region of western Persia stretching across from the Mesopotamian plains on the west to the great desert of Persia on the east.<sup>2</sup>

Al-Jibāl was called al-ʿIrāq al-ʿAjamī or Persian ʿIrāq in contrast to al-ʿIrāq al-ʿArabī or Arabian ʿIrāq covering modern al-ʿIrāq. It may be mentioned that the Saljūq Turks<sup>3</sup> (511-90/1117-1194) were designated as lord of ʿIrāqān<sup>4</sup> (two ʿIrāqs) since they had their sway over al-ʿIrāq

<sup>1</sup> On Medes, see Encyclopaedia Britannica (U.S.A., 1972), XV, 67.

<sup>2</sup> Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (Cambridge, 1932), p. 185; *Ency. of Islam*, i, 1040.

<sup>3</sup> Saljūq rulers of ʿIrāq and Kurdistān. Vide Lanepoole, *The Mohammadan Dynasties* (London, 1925), p. 154.

<sup>4</sup> Al-ʿIrāqān or the two ʿIrāqs also meant the twin cities of al-Kūfa and al-Baṣra as is evident from the following couplets quoted by al-Bayḍawī (d. 641) in his Anwār al-Tanzīl wa Asrār al-Taʿwīl (ed. Dār al-Kutub al-ʿArabiyya al-Kubra, Cairo, undated, pt. i, 56):

اقامت غزاة سوق الضراب - لاهل العراقين حولا قميطا

(Ghazāla started the market of killing for the people of two ʿIrāqs which continued for a period of full one year.)

and al-Jibāl.<sup>1</sup> Thus al-Jibāl stood at a close proximity to al-Irāq, the cradle of Islamic sciences next to al-Hijāz. This geographical location greatly helped introduce Islamic learning to, and disseminate it in, al-Jibāl ever since its conquest and islamization by the Arabs during the days of the rāshida Caliphs. Everlong the province was dotted with centres of Islamic learning and almost, every city and township was turned into a cultural seat by joint efforts of the local people and outside scholars. In order to properly evaluate the part played by the scholars of different centres of the province of al-Jibāl we have divided this chapter into four sections as follows:

- Section I. Ispahān  
 " II. Al-Rayy  
 " III. Hamadān  
 " IV. (i) Dīnawar, (ii) Qumm.

Now, every section contains: (i) a short topographical description of the centre, (ii) a brief account of its conquest by the Arabs, (iii) introduction of Islamic sciences and its development prior to the 4th/10th century, and (iv) biographical notices of the scholars of the 4th/10th century and description of their works.

#### SECTION I. Ispahān.

(i) Topography: Situated on the south-eastern corner of Jibāl Province and on the northern bank of the Zanda Rūd<sup>2</sup> Ispahān comprised four townships, viz., Karran, Kushk, Dardasht and Julbara — their names surviving as satellite towns of Ispahān.<sup>3</sup> It is about two

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<sup>1</sup> Ency. of Islam, ii, 513; Le Strange, loc. cit.

<sup>2</sup> At present Ispahān occupies both the banks of the river. — Le Strange, p.203.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., pp.204-05.

hundred and forty miles from Hamadān.<sup>1</sup> At Ispahān there were two cities side by side, viz., Jayy and Yahūdīyya.<sup>2</sup> The former, otherwise called Shahristāna, occupied the eastern quarters of Ispahān and the latter those of the west.<sup>3</sup>

Ispahān was a big city with twelve gates and had both open and covered markets.<sup>4</sup> One of the markets had a Jāmi' or Friday mosque built on round columns.<sup>5</sup> The massive city walls were built by the Buwayhid prince 'Aḍud al-Dawla (338-373/949-983).<sup>6</sup> Ispahān was a centre of industry and trade, and exported silk, cotton, saffron and various kinds of fruits that grew abundantly here.<sup>7</sup> Nāṣir-i-Khusraw (d.453) who visited Ispahān in 444/1052 mentioned it as the largest city of Persia. The Jāmi' mosque, he says, was a magnificent one.<sup>8</sup> According to al-Mustawfī (d.after 740 A.H.), the most populous quarter of Ispahān was Julbara where stood a college in the 4th/10th century.<sup>9</sup>

(ii) Arab Conquest: In 21/641, during the Caliphate of 'Umar (13-23/634-43), 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Itbān,<sup>10</sup> a Companion of

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Rusta, Kitāb al-A'lāq al-Nafīsa, ed. De Goeje (E.J.Brill, 1892), vii, 152; *infra*, p. 79.

<sup>2</sup> So called because the Jews had settled there in the time of Nebuchadnezzar in 800 B.C. (Maqdisī, Aḥsan al-Taḳāsim fī Ma'rifat al-Aqālīm, ed. De Goeje, Leiden, 1906, pp. 388-89; Le Strange, p. 203).

<sup>3</sup> Le Strange, *loc. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*; Maqdisī, *loc. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> Le Strange, p. 204.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 203.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 204.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 202 sq. and modern Ispahān, *Ency. of Islam*, ii, 528.

<sup>10</sup> Tajrīd, i, 345; Usd, iii, 199.

the Prophet(s), marched against Ispahān with a contingent of soldiers that participated in the battle of Nihāwand.<sup>1</sup> A fierce fighting ensued at Rustāq,<sup>2</sup> a quarter of Ispahān, in which the Persians were routed and their general Shahriyār was killed. Then ʿAbd Allāh captured Jayy whose governor Fādhufān came to terms with him on payment of jizya. In the meantime reinforcements from al-Ahwāz came to the Arab army at Ispahān under Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī (d.53).<sup>3</sup> After the subjugation of Jayy, al-Yahūdīyya also was occupied and its inhabitants came under the protection of the Arabs on payment of jizya. Al-Sāʿib b. al-Aqrāʿ, a Companion of the Prophet(s), was appointed governor of Ispahān.<sup>4</sup>

(iii) Introduction of Islamic sciences and its development prior to the 4th/10th century.

Ḥadīth and other Islamic sciences, like Tafsīr and Fiqh were introduced at Ispahān early during the time of the Ṣaḥāba, Companions and the Tābiʿūn, Followers who came there after the conquest of Ispahān.<sup>5</sup> The enlightened people of Ispahān took to Islamic learning.

<sup>1</sup> India's Contribution to Ḥadīth Literature, p.14.

<sup>2</sup> Literally a group of villages. Barthold, Turkestan Down to Mongol Invasion (London, 1958), p.69.

<sup>3</sup> Ṭabarī, i, 2634-41; Balādhurī, pp.312-14 = i, 385-86 of Eng.tr.by Hitti; Ibn al-Athīr, iii, 9; Akhbār Iṣbahān, i, 23. On Abū Mūsā, vide Tajrīd, ii, 209; Uṣd, iii, 245-46; Muʿin al-Dīn, Muhājirīn (Aʿẓamgarh, 1928), i, 300-32.

<sup>4</sup> Ṭabarī, loc. cit.; Balādhurī, loc.cit.; Ibn al-Athīr, loc.cit.

<sup>5</sup> The names of some of the Companions are mentioned below: ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Itbān al-Anṣarī. On him: Tajrīd, i, 345; Uṣd, iii, 199; Iṣāba, ii, 817-18; Akhbār Iṣbahān, i, 64.

Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī. On him: Supra, n.3. For his ḥadīth: Safī al-Dīn, Khulāṣa Tadhhīb al-Kamāl, Cairo, 1322 A.H., p.178.

ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmir b. Kurayz al-ʿAbshamī (d.58). On him: Dacca University Studies, pp.35-47.

It appears that already in the 2nd/8th century Ispahān developed into

(footnote continued)

‘Abd Allāh b. Budayl b. Waraqā’ al-Riyāhī (d.36). On him: Mu‘in al-Dīn, Siyar al-Ṣahāba (A‘zamgarh, 1933), VII, 134-37. For his ḥadīth: Khulāṣa, p.162.

‘Amr b. Makhzūm al-Ghādirī. On him: Akhbār Iṣbahān, i, 27, 29; Tajrīd, i, 448; Usd, iv, 130.

Al-Sā‘ib b. al-Aqrā’ al-Thaqafī. On him: Akhbār Iṣbahān, i, 75-76; Tajrīd, i, 219; al-Istī‘āb, ii, 575; Usd, ii, 249; Isāba, ii, 112-13; Ibn Sa‘d, vii, pt. i, 73.

Mujāshī‘ b. Mas‘ūd al-Sulamī (d.36). On him: Tajrīd, ii, 55; Isāba, iii, 731-32; Usd, iv, 300; al-Istī‘āb, i, 290; Ibn Ḥajr, Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb (Hyderābād, 1326 A.H.), x, 38; Ibn Ḥajr, Taqrib al-Tahdhīb, (Delhi, 1290 A.H.), p.346; Ibn Sa‘d, vii, pt. i, 19. For his ḥadīth: Khulāṣa, p.338.

‘Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr (d.73). On him: Tajrīd, i, 334; al-Nawawī, pp.341-43; Dhahabī, Ta‘rikh al-Islām (Cairo, 1368 A.H.), iii, 167-75; Tahdhīb, v, 213-15; Mu‘in al-Dīn, Madāmin Hissa Ghayra Muhājirīn wa Anṣār al-Ṣahāba (A‘zamgarh, 1932), i, 245-306. For his ḥadīth, Khulāṣa, p.167.

The names of some of the Tābi‘ūn are as follows:

Al-Ahnaf b. Qays (d.67 or 73). On him: Akhbār Iṣbahān, i, 224-25; Tajrīd, i, 10. For his ḥadīth, Khulāṣa, p.38.

Abū Burda b. Abī Mūsā al-Ash‘arī (d.ca.104). On him: Tahdhīb, xii, 18; Mu‘in al-Dīn, Tābi‘īn (A‘zamgarh, 1937), pp.507-09. For his ḥadīth: Khulāṣa, p.381.

Sa‘īd b. Jubayr (d.95). On him: Akhbār Iṣbahān, i, 324-25; Tābi‘īn, pp.134-50. For his ḥadīth: Khulāṣa, p.116.

‘Ikrima (d.105), mawla Ibn ‘Abbās (d.68). On him: Akhbār Iṣbahān, ii, 25-26; Tābi‘īn, pp.282-94. For his ḥadīth: Khulāṣa, p.229.

Abū Ishāq ‘Amr b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Alī al-Hamdānī al-Sabī‘ī al-Kūfī (d.127). On him: Akhbār Iṣbahān, ii, 26-27; Tābi‘īn, pp.504-07. For his ḥadīth: Khulāṣa, pp.246-47.

Abū al-‘Alīa Rāfi‘ b. Mihrān al-Riyāhī (d.93). On him: al-Dhahabī, Tadhkira al-Huffāz (Hyderābād, 1333), i, 58; Tābi‘īn, pp.519-24. For his ḥadīth: Khulāṣa, pp.101-02.

‘Ubayd Allāh b. Abī Bakra al-Thaqafī. On him: Akhbār Iṣbahān, ii, 99-100; Usd, iii, 339.

Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d.110). On him: Akhbār Iṣbahān, i, 254; Tābi‘īn, pp.76-97. For his ḥadīth: Khulāṣa, p.66.

Jubayr b. Ḥayya al-Thaqafī. On him: Akhbār Iṣbahān, i, 252; Tajrīd, i, 83; Isāba, i, 460-61. For his ḥadīth: Khulāṣa, p.51.

Aslam (d.80), mawla Caliph ‘Umar I. On him: Tahdhīb, i, 266. For his ḥadīth: Khulāṣa, p.27.

a seat of learning producing among others the following scholars:

‘Abd al-Rahmān b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Iṣbahānī (d.ca.115). He was a tābi‘ī and narrated ḥadīth on the authority of Anas b. Mālik (d.93). He died during the governorship of Khālīd al-Qasrī (d.126).<sup>1</sup>

Al-Ṣabbāḥ b. ‘Āsim al-Iṣbahānī (d.ca.130). He was a tābi‘ī and narrated ḥadīth on the authority of Anas b. Mālik.<sup>2</sup>

Khālīd b. Abī Karīma al-Iṣfahānī (d.ca.140). A disciple of ‘Ikrīma (d.105), the mawla of Ibn ‘Abbās (d.68), Khālīd b. Abī Karīma was a noted transmitter of ḥadīth flourishing in the 2nd/8th century. The famous authorities like Sufyān al-Thawrī (d.161), Shu‘ba (d.160), Sufyān b. ‘Uayna (d.198) and Wakī‘ b. al-Jarrāḥ (d.197) narrated ḥadīth on his authority.<sup>3</sup> The ahādīth narrated by Khālīd b. Abī Karīma are preserved in the Sunans of al-Nasā‘ī and Ibn Māja.<sup>4</sup>

Layth b. Sa‘d al-Iṣbahānī al-Miṣrī (d.175). Originally from Ispahān Layth b. Sa‘d was among the early compilers of ḥadīth.<sup>5</sup>

Now in the 3rd/9th century this centre made remarkable progress. A number of ṭālibū al-ilm of Ispahān visited different seats of learning

(footnote continued)

Ja‘far b. Abī al-Mughīra al-Qummī. On him: Akḥbār Iṣbahān, i, 241-42. For his ḥadīth: Khulāṣa, p.54.

Abū Rabī‘a Sinān b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī. On him: Akḥbār Iṣbahān, i, 341. For his ḥadīth: Khulāṣa, p.132.

<sup>1</sup> Tahdhīb, vi, 217. On Khālīd al-Qasrī: Ibn al-‘Imād, Shadharāt al-Dḥahab fī Akḥbār man Dḥahab (Cairo, 1351), i, 169-70.

<sup>2</sup> Akḥbār Iṣbahān, i, 346.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., pp.305-06; Tahdhīb, iii, 114; Tagrīb, p.110.

<sup>4</sup> Khulāṣa, p.87.

<sup>5</sup> He settled in Miṣr and hence was called al-Miṣrī. On him, see: Akḥbār Iṣbahān, ii, 168; Huffāz, i, 207-09; al-Suyūṭī, Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍira (Cairo, 1321 A.H.), i, 285.

in al-‘Irāq and al-Ḥijāz in quest of ḥadīth.<sup>1</sup> During this period the cultural and literary activities of Iṣbahānī students were not confined to ḥadīth alone; its scope widened and area extended to other branches of learning viz., fiqh, lugha and so on. A subject-wise list of their names and works is furnished below:

Traditionists:

1. Ismā‘īl b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Mas‘ūd al-‘Abdī al-Iṣbahānī (d.267).<sup>2</sup>
2. Usayyid b. ‘Āsim al-Thaqafī al-Iṣbahānī (d.270).<sup>3</sup>
3. Aḥmad b. Maḥdī b. Rustam al-Iṣbahānī (d.272).<sup>4</sup>
4. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. ‘Alī al-Iṣbahānī (d.281).<sup>5</sup> He compiled a biographical dictionary entitled al-Mu‘jam (MS.)<sup>6</sup> comprising biographical notices of the transmitters of ḥadīth belonging to al-Ḥijāz, Egypt, Syria and al-‘Irāq.<sup>7</sup>
5. Ismā‘īl b. Aḥmad b. Usayyid (d.282).<sup>8</sup>
6. Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Jārūd al-Iṣbahānī (d.299).<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Al-Samānī, Kitāb al-Ansāb, art "al-Iṣbahānī"; Yāqūt, Mu‘jam al-Buldān, ed. Wustenfeld (Leipzig, 1866), i, 298; ii, 524.

<sup>2</sup> He was the author of Fawā'id, a book on ḥadīth. Cf: Ḥājī Khalīfa, Kashf al-Zunūn (Istambol, 1310 A.H.), ii, 208; al-Kattānī, Risālat al-Mustatrafā (Karachi, 1379 A.H.), p.80. On him, see: Huffāz, ii, 131-32; Ibn ‘Asākir, al-Ta’rīkh al-Kabīr (Damascus, 1331 A.H.), iii, 24; al-Yāfi‘ī, Mirāt al-Janān wa ‘Abrāt al-Yaozān (Hyderābād, 1337), ii, 181; Shadharāt, ii, 152.

<sup>3</sup> He was a compiler of Musnad (Akhbār Iṣbahān, i, 226-27; Shadharāt, ii, 158).

<sup>4</sup> He was a compiler of Musnad (Akhbār Iṣbahān, i, 85; Huffāz, ii, 157-58; Ibn ‘Asākir, ii, 100-101; Shadharāt, ii, 162; Mustatrafā, p.58).

<sup>5</sup> Akhbār Iṣbahān, ii, 297.

<sup>6</sup> Brockelmann, Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur (Leiden, 1937), Supplementband I, 272.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> He compiled al-Musnad and al-Tafsīr (Akhbār Iṣbahān, i, 212).

<sup>9</sup> He was a compiler of al-Musnad and al-Shuyūkh (Akhbār Iṣbahān, i, 117-18; Huffāz, ii, 285).



Jurists:

1. Dā'wūd al-Zāhirī al-Iṣbahānī (d.270).<sup>1</sup> He is the author of Risālat (MS.)<sup>2</sup>
2. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Thaqafī (d.283). He is the author of Kitāb al-Ghārāt (MS.)<sup>3</sup>
3. Muḥammad b. Dā'wūd b. 'Alī al-Iṣbahānī (d.297).<sup>4</sup> He was the son of Dā'wūd al-Zāhirī mentioned above. He compiled Kitāb al-Zahra (MS.)<sup>5</sup>, a collection of poems. His al-Intisār 'alā Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī,<sup>6</sup> a book on the vindication of al-Ṭabarī (d.310), has not come down to us.
4. Al-Hakam b. Ma'bad al-Khuzā'ī al-Faqīh (d.298),<sup>7</sup> a Hanafī jurist and an author of Kitāb al-Sunna.<sup>8</sup>

- <sup>1</sup> His full name is Dā'wūd b. 'Alī b. Khalaf al-Imām Abū Sulaymān al-Iṣbahānī. He was the founder of the Zāhirite School of Law. On him: Akhbār Iṣbahān, i, 312-13; al-Khatīb, Ta'rikh Baḥdād (Cairo, 1931), viii, 369-75; al-Samānī, art "al-Zāhirī"; al-Subkī, Tabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyya (Cairo, 1928), ii, 42-48; Ibn Khalīkān, Wafayāt al-A'yān (Cairo, 1310), i, 175; Huffāz, ii, 136-38; al-Nawawī, pp.236-38; al-Yāfi'ī, ii, 184-85; Ibn al-Athīr, ii, 165; Shadharāt, ii, 158-59; GAL, i, 183-84; Hitti, p.398, note 5; Ency. of Islam, i, 928.
- <sup>2</sup> GAL, SI, 312.
- <sup>3</sup> GAL, SI, 215; Dr. Abdul Halīm Najjār, Ta'rikh Adab al-Lughā al-ʿArabiyya (Egypt, 1961), iii, 40.
- <sup>4</sup> On him: al-Khatīb, v, 256-63; Wafayāt, i, 478-79; Mas'ūdī, Murūj al-Dhahab, ed. Meynard (Paris), ii, 256-57; Ibn al-Nadīm, Fihrist, (Egypt, 1313), p.305; al-Yāfi'ī, ii, 228-30; Shadharāt, ii, 226; Ency. of Islam, ii, 530.
- <sup>5</sup> GAL, i, 520; SI, 249-50.
- <sup>6</sup> Hājī Khalīfa, i, 153-54.
- <sup>7</sup> On him. see: Akhbār Iṣbahān, p.298; Abd al-Qādir al-Qurāshī, al-Jawāhir al-Mudīyya (Hyderābād, 1332 A.H.), i, 223; al-Yāfi'ī, ii, 223; Shadharāt, ii, 218.
- <sup>8</sup> Hājī Khalīfa, ii, 281.

Philologists:

1. 'Alī b. Muḡhīra al-Athram al-Fābijānī<sup>1</sup> al-Iṣbahānī (d.230). He is the author of Kitāb al-Nawādir and Kitāb Gharīb al-Ḥadīth.<sup>2</sup>

2. Abū 'Amr Bindār b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Karkhī al-Iṣbahānī.<sup>3</sup> He is the author of Ma'ānī al-Shi'r, Jāmi' al-Luḡha etc.<sup>4</sup>

Grammarian:

'Alī b. Maḡdī b. 'Alī b. Maḡdī al-Kisrawī al-Iṣbahānī (d.ca.289).<sup>5</sup> He is the compiler of Kitāb al-Khiṣāl,<sup>6</sup> Kitāb al-A'yād wa al-Nawāriz,<sup>7</sup> Kitāb Munāqaḡāt<sup>8</sup> and Kitāb Murāsalāt al-Ikhwān wa Muḡāwarāt al-Khullān.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> i.e. a native of Fābijān, a village near Ispahān (Buldān, iii, 832).

<sup>2</sup> Fihrist, pp.83-84; Yāqūt, Mu'jam al-Uḡabā', ed. Dr. Aḡmad Farīd Rifā'ī (Cairo, 1936 seq), ii, 104; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Lubāb fī Tahdhīb al-Ansāb (Cairo, 1357), i, 22; al-Suyūṭī, Buḡhyat al-Wu'āt (Cairo, 1326), p.190.

<sup>3</sup> He died towards the latter half of the third century A.H. On him see: Fihrist, p.123; Uḡabā', vii, 128-34; Buḡhya, p.208.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> On him see: Uḡabā', xv, 88-96; Buḡhya, p.356.

<sup>6</sup> In this book the author collected narrations, poems, wise sayings and proverbs. Vide Uḡabā', xv, 95; Ḥāji Khalīfa, i, 462-63.

<sup>7</sup> Ḥāji Khalīfa, ii, 263.

<sup>8</sup> The book refutes the idea of those who hold that it was not proper for the judges to follow the views of the former caliphs and heads of state. The book was ascribed to one al-Kisrawī al-Kātib. See Uḡabā', xv, 95.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

## (IV) 4TH/10TH CENTURY SCHOLARS OF ISPAHĀN AND THEIR WORKS

While entering into discussion of the 4th/10th century scholars of Ispahān and evaluation of their works, it should be pointed out that during the first half of this century the centre was, as it were, turned into a seat of ḥadīth and produced noted traditionists and transmitters. They were preoccupied with memorization, teaching and transmission of ḥadīth producing important compilations on the subject which, however, have not come down to us. A select list of them along with their works is given below:

1. Muḥammad b. Yaḥya b. Manda al-Iṣbahānī (d.301). He compiled Ta'rikh Ispahān, a book on the biographical notices of the scholars of Ispahān.<sup>1</sup>
2. Abū Sa'd Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥasan (d.307). He compiled a Musnad and Kitāb Sharaf al-Mustafā.<sup>2</sup>
3. Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥasan al-Darrāb (d.307). He was a teacher of Abū al-Shaykh<sup>3</sup> and compiled a Musnad and al-Abwāb.<sup>4</sup>
4. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Rāshid al-Thaqafī al-Iṣbahānī (d.309). He heard ḥadīth from Yūnus b. Ḥabīb (d.267) at Baghdād. He had compilations on ḥadīth.<sup>5</sup>

1 Vide infra, p.17; Akhbār Ispahān, ii, 222-23; Huffāz, ii, 276-77; Buldān, i, 695, 220; al-Yāfi'i, ii, 238; Wafayāt, i, 487; Ibn Abī Ya'lā, Tabaqāt al-Hanābala (Damascus, 1350 A.H.), pp. 239-40; Abū al-Fidā, Kitāb al-Mukhtasar fī Akhbār al-Bashar (ed. Egypt), ii, 67; Shadharāt, ii, 234; Mustatrifa, pp. 106; 108.

2 Mustatrifa, p.61. 3 Vide infra, p.14. 4 Akhbār Ispahān, ii, 114.

5 Ibid, pp.243-44. See also al-Khatīb, i, 302; Shadharāt, ii, 258.

5. 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Usayyid al-Iṣbahānī (d.310). He went to al-Baṣra, Baghdād and al-Ḥijāz in quest of ḥadīth. He compiled a Musnad.<sup>1</sup>

6. Al-Walīd b. Abbān al-Iṣbahānī (d.310). A teacher of Abū al-Shaykh al-Iṣbahānī,<sup>2</sup> al-Walīd compiled a Musnad and a Tafsīr.<sup>3</sup>

7. Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad (d.320). He was a son of Ibn Manda (d.301) mentioned above. He compiled a volume on the biographies of his shuyūkh or professors.<sup>4</sup>

8. Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Iṣbahānī (d.339). He had a fair share of wanderjahre in search of ḥadīth. He settled at Nishāpūr and became famous as the shaykh of Abū 'Alī al-Naysābūrī (d.349)<sup>5</sup> and al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī (d.405).<sup>6</sup> He compiled books on al-Zuhdiyyāt, asceticism.<sup>7</sup>

9. Abū Ya'qūb Ishāq b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥya b. Manda (d.341). He was another son of Ibn Manda (d.301) mentioned above and the father of Ḥāfiẓ Ibn Manda (d.395).<sup>8</sup> He was a noted rāwī.<sup>9</sup>

10. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Iṣbahānī (d.349).

Born in 269/882, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Iṣbahānī known as al-'Assāl,<sup>10</sup> was a leading citizen of Ispahān. He combined in himself erudite scholarship with a vast fortune.<sup>11</sup> He

1 Akhbār Iṣbahān, ii, 65; al-Khaṭīb, ix, 380.

2 Vide infra, p. 14, et. seq.

3 Akhbār Iṣbahān, ii, 334-55; Huffāz, iii, 6-7; al-Yāfi'ī, ii, 250; Shadharāt, ii, 261; Mustatrifa, p. 61.

4 Akhbār Iṣbahān, i, 197.

5 On him, see: al-Khaṭīb, viii, 71-72; Huffāz, iii, 110-13; al-Subkī, ii, 215-16.

6 Vide infra, p. 158 et. seq.

7 al-Subkī, ii, 166-67; al-Yāfi'ī, ii, 328; Lubāb, ii, 57; Shadharāt, ii, 349.

8 Vide infra, p. 17 et. seq.

9 Akhbār Iṣbahān, i, 221; Huffāz, iii, 221.

10 He was called al-'Assāl, because his family was connected with the trade of honey. Vide al-Sam'ānī, art "al-'Assāl".

11 Huffāz, iii, 97-98.

travelled widely in quest of ḥadīth through al-‘Irāq, Syria and Egypt.<sup>1</sup> He had a study circle at Ispahān where he used to deliver lectures on ḥadīth and transmit it. Among his disciples, mention may be made of Ibn ‘Adī al-Jurjānī (d.365)<sup>2</sup>, Abū Bakr b. al-Muqri‘ (d.381), Ibn Manda (d.395), Ibn Mardawayh (d.410) and Abū Nu‘aym al-Iṣbahānī (d.430). Al-Khatīb al-Baghdādī (d.463) transmitted ḥadīth from al-‘Assāl on the authority of Abū Nu‘aym.<sup>3</sup> Al-‘Assāl died at Ispahān in 349/960.<sup>4</sup>

Al-‘Assāl compiled a number of books on al-Qur’ān, al-Ḥadīth and al-Rijāl.<sup>5</sup> They are yet to be traced.

From the above it is evident that Ispahān progressed appreciably in the culture and cultivation of ḥadīth towards the first half of the 4th/10th century. Our statement is further

1 Al-Sam‘ānī, loc.cit.

2 Vide infra, p. 314.

3 Al-Khatīb, i, 270.

4 Akhbār Iṣbahān, ii, 283; al-Yāfi‘ī, ii, 343; Shadharāt, ii, 380-81. While visiting Ispahān al-Sam‘ānī (d.562) saw the following inscription written by Abū ‘Abd Allāh b. Manda (d.395) on the grave of Abū Aḥmad al-‘Assāl:

جئت الدنيا شرقا وغربا فلم ار مثل ابى احمد العسال

"I have travelled eastern and western realms of the world without meeting any body like Abū Aḥmad al-‘Assāl". Cf: Al-Sam‘ānī, art "al-‘Assāl."

5 The following titles have been mentioned by al-Dhahabī (Huffāz, iii, 97):

Al-Mu‘jam, a biographical work on his shuyūkh, professors, arranged alphabetically.

Kitāb Gharīb al-Qirā’āt, a book elucidating the rare words and expressions of the Qur’ān.

Kitāb Karāmāt al-Awliyā’, a book on the miracles of the saints.

Kitāb al-Ma‘rafa, a book on Sunna which al-Dhahabī (d.748) consulted.

Kitāb al-Rū’yā, a book on the interpretation of dreams.

Kitāb al-‘Azama, a book containing ahādīth on the Greatness of Allāh.

Kitāb al-Raqā’iq, a collection of ahādīth on morals.

Kitāb al-Musnad, a collection of ahādīth on aḥkām classified according to subjects.

borne out by the fact that al-Ṣāhib b. ʿAbbād (d.385),<sup>1</sup> the illustrious savant and Buwayhid vizier, being satisfied with this intellectual advancement convened a conference of the ḥuffāz<sup>2</sup> of the century at Ispahān in 349/960 in order to weigh their merits. Among those who participated in the conference the names of al-ʿAssāl, Abū Ishāq b. Ḥamza al-Iṣbahānī (d.353),<sup>3</sup> al-Ṭabarānī (d.360)<sup>4</sup> and Abū Aḥmad al-ʿAskarī (d.382)<sup>5</sup> have come down to us. Ibn al-Jiʿābī (d.355)<sup>6</sup> of Baghdād also attended the conference on invitation. Now, all the traditionists narrated impromptu from memory the aḥādīth chapter by chapter together with estimations of the shuyūkh. In this historic conference of the leading traditionists of Persia and other lands it was an Ispahānī traditionist, namely, Abū Ishāq b. Ḥamza, mentioned above, who carried away the palm by dint of his superb memory and deliberations.<sup>7</sup>

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(foot-note continued)

Kitāb Ḡharīb al-Ḥadīth, a book explaining the rare and difficult phrases of aḥādīth classified into chapters.

Kitāb Ḥadīth Mālik, a collection of aḥādīth transmitted on the authority of Imām Mālik (d.179).

Kitāb Ghusl al-Jumʿa, a book comprising aḥādīth on the ceremonial bath on Friday.

1 Vide infra, p.59.

2 Hāfiz: Literally it means memorizer, but technically, one who can cite from memory one lac aḥādīth is called hāfiz.

3 A nephew of ʿAlī b. Ḥamza al-Iṣbahānī (infra, p.23) Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ḥamza surnamed Abū Ishāq was a leading hāfiz of Ispahān (Akhbār Iṣbahān, i, 199-200; Ḥuffāz, iii, 116-17; Buldān, iv, 859; al-Yāfiʿī, ii, 350; Shadharāt, iii, 12). He was a descendant of Ḥafṣ, the nephew of Abū Muslim al-Khurāsānī (The chain of genealogy of Abū Ishāq given in Huffāz, iii, 117 is not correct. For correct genealogy see: Akhbār Iṣbahān, i, 199).

4 On him, see: Shadharāt, iii, 30.

5 Vide infra, p.281 et. seq.

6 On him, see: Shadharāt, iii, 17.

7 Huffāz, iii, 117-18.

Now, the biographical notices of the scholars of Ispahān who flourished in the second half of the 4th/10th century are given below subject-wise together with descriptions of their works:

A. AL-MUHADDITHŪN, THE TRADITIONISTS:

1. Abū al-Shaykh al-Iṣbahānī (d.369/979)

ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Anṣārī, better known as Abū al-Shaykh al-Iṣbahānī, was born at Ispahān in the year 274/887. In 284/897, while he was a boy of ten, Abū al-Shaykh started hearing ḥadīth from his maternal grand-father Maḥmūd b. al-Faraj (d.284)<sup>1</sup> and then from Ibrāhīm b. Saʿdān (d.284), Aḥmad b. ʿAmr b. Abī ʿĀsim (d.287), Muḥammad b. Asad al-Madīnī (d.293) and their contemporaries. Towards the close of 300/912 Abū al-Shaykh undertook journeys in quest of knowledge and heard ḥadīth at al-Baṣra from Abū Khalīfa al-Jumāhī (d.305), at Mawṣil from Abū Yaʿlā al-Mawṣilī (d.307), at Ḥarrān from Abū ʿArūba al-Ḥarrānī (d.318) and others.<sup>2</sup>

Abū al-Shaykh was a reliable transmitter of ḥadīth. Among those who narrated ḥadīth on his authority mention may be made of Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Shīrāzī (d.407), Aḥmad b. Mūsā b. Mardawayh (d.410), Abū Saʿd al-Mālīnī (d.412) and Abū Kuʿaym al-Iṣbahānī (d.430).<sup>3</sup>

Abū al-Shaykh died in 369/979 at the age of ninety five.<sup>4</sup>

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1 On him, see: Akhbār Iṣbahān, ii, 314-15.

2 Ibid, p.90; Huffāz, iii, 147-49; Shadharāt, iii, 69.

3 Ibid.

4 Ibid.

His works:

(i) Akhlāq al-Nabī (published)<sup>1</sup>

This is a collection of ahādīth on the mode of the life led by the Prophet(s). It gives a vivid description of the life and exemplary character of the Prophet(s).

(ii) Kitāb fī 'Azamat Allāh wa Makhlūqātih (MS)<sup>2</sup>, a book on the greatness of Allāh and His creations.

(iii) Ṭabaqāt al-Muhaddithīn bi Iṣfahān (MS)<sup>3</sup>, a work on the biographical notices of the traditionists of Ispahān.

(iv) Kitāb al-Amthāl (MS)<sup>4</sup>, a collection of ahādīth on the pattern of parables.

(v) Al-Nawādir wa al-Nutaf (MS)<sup>5</sup>. It contains āthār, sayings of the Companions of the Prophet(s).

Besides the books mentioned above, Abū al-Shaykh compiled several other works on al-Tafsīr<sup>6</sup>, al-Hadīth<sup>7</sup> and al-Fiqh<sup>8</sup>; but they have not come down to us.

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- 1 Cairo. An urdu version and exposition of the book with Arabic text has recently been produced in instalments in al-Bayyināt, a monthly Urdu magazine published from Karachi.
- 2 Libraries of Vaticano under No.1480, 2; Paris under No.4605, Tunis, Cairo and Köprülüzade Muhammad Pāshā Kutubkhāna Daftari of Istanbul. Vide GAL, SI, 347.
- 3 Daftari Kutubkhāna Dāmādzāde under Nos. 78, 65 (Ibid).
- 4 Ambrosiana di Milano under Nos. A29, A80 (Ibid).
- 5 Munchen under No.G1 158 (Ibid).
- 6 Viz., al-Tafsīr (Mustatrifa, p.65).
- 7 Viz., al-Shuyūkh (Akhbār Isbahān, ii, 90).
- 8 Viz., (i) Kitāb al-Tawbīkh (Hājī Khalīfa, ii, 270).  
 (ii) Kitāb al-Thawāb (Ibid p.271).  
 (iii) Kitāb fī al-Aḥkām (Akhbār Isbahān, ii, 90).



2. Ibn al-Muqri (d.381/991).

Muhammad b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Alī al-Iṣbahānī surnamed Ibn al-Muqri heard ḥadīth at Ispahān from Muhammad b. Nuṣayr al-Madīnī (d.305) and Muhammad b. 'Alī al-Dārakī (d.307). He travelled widely in al-Ḥijāz, Syria, Egypt and al-ʿIrāq hearing ḥadīth from 'Umar b. Abī Ghaylān (d.309) in Baghdād, Abū Ya'la al-Mawṣilī (d.307) at Mawṣil, 'Abdān al-Ahwāzī (d.306) at Ḥarrān, Ishāq b. Aḥmad al-Khuzā'ī (d.308) at Makka and Muhammad b. Zubān b. Ḥabīb (d.317)<sup>1</sup> in Egypt. He was a reliable transmitter of ḥadīth. Among those who narrated ḥadīth on his authority were Abū al-Shaykh al-Iṣbahānī, Abū Bakr b. Mardawayh (d.410), Ḥamza b. Yūsuf al-Sahmī (d.427) and Abū Nua'ym al-Iṣbahānī (d.430). He was one of the transmitters of the Musnad of Abū Ya'la al-Mawṣilī. He died in 381/991 at the age of ninety six<sup>2</sup>.

His work:

Al-Mu'jam al-Kabīr (MS)<sup>3</sup>.

The author collected in it the biographical notices of his shuyūkh from whom he heard ḥadīth in al-Ḥijāz, Makka, al-Madīna, Egypt, Syria, al-ʿIrāq and elsewhere adding one ḥadīth or more against each shaykh<sup>4</sup>.

1 On him, see: Husn al-Muhādira, i, 209. In Huffāz (vol.iii, 172) his name is erroneously printed as Muhammad b. Abān.

2 Akhbār Iṣbahān, ii, 297; al-San'ānī, art "al-Iṣbahānī"; al-Yāfi'ī, ii, 415; Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 38; Lubāb, iii, 170; Huffāz, iii, 171-74; Shadharāt, iii, 101; GAL, i, 519; SI, 280.

3 Kutubkhāna al-Khadiwiyya al-Misriyya, Cairo (GAL, SI, 280). The book is also known as Kitāb al-Mu'jam (Ḥusayn Muhammad, Fihrist al-Kutub al-ʿArabiyya al-Mahfūza bi al-Kutubkhāna al-Khadiwiyya al-Kā'ina, ed. Egypt, 1301, vol. i, 139).

4 Ibid.

Ibn al-Muqrī is said to have compiled a few other books on ḥadīth<sup>1</sup> which have not come down to us.

3. Ibn Manda (d. 395/1004).

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥya b. Manda al-'Abdī al-Iṣbahānī belonged to the family of transmitters of ḥadīth<sup>2</sup> known under the surname 'Ibn Manda'<sup>3</sup>. He was a descendant of Istindār<sup>4</sup> b. Chaharbukht al-'Abdī, a magian by religion, who had been a dignitary of Ispahān holding the post of governor of a province<sup>5</sup>. Istindār embraced Islam at the time of the conquest of Ispahān by the Companions of the Prophet (s) in the year 21/641 during the Caliphate of 'Umar<sup>6</sup>.

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- 1 (i) Al-Arba'in (Mustatṛifa, p.80).  
 (ii) Al-Fawā'id (Ibid).  
 (iii) Musnad Abi Hanīfa (Ibid).
- 2 Akḥbār Iṣbahān, ii, 306.
- 3 The names of some noted transmitters of this house were as follows: (i) Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Yaḥya b. Manda (d.301 ; supra, p.10; Akḥbār Iṣbahān, ii, 222-23; Wafayāt, i, 487; Huffāz, ii, 276-77; iii, 221), (ii) Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥya b. Manda (d. 320; Akḥbār Iṣbahān, i, 197) and (iii) Abū Ya'qūb Ishāq b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥya b. Manda (d.341; Akḥbār Iṣbahān, i, 221; Huffāz, iii, 221).
- 4 According to others, Isfindār b. Firūzān (Huffāz, iii, 220).
- 5 Ibid, p.221.
- 6 Ibid, p.220. It seems that Istindār embraced Islam at the hands of the tribe of 'Abd al-Qays of al-Bahrain and became by virtue of it the mawla of that tribe (sic. ولاؤه لعبد القيس - Huffāz, iii, 220.) Hence his descendants got the nisba or appellation of al-'Abdī. But, according to Ibn Khallikān (Wafayāt, i, 487), since Burra, the mother of Muḥammad b. Yaḥya b. Manda, the grandfather of Ḥāfiẓ Ibn Manda (d.395) belonged to the tribe of 'Abd Yālīl, he and his descendants were called al-'Abdī. Ibn al-Imād (Shadharāt, iii, 146), however, confuses Ḥāfiẓ Ibn Manda with his grandfather and states that Burra was the mother of Ḥāfiẓ Ibn Manda, which is not correct.
- Since the nisba al-'Abdī refers more precisely to 'Abd al-Qays (vide al-Sam'ānī, art "al-'Abdī") it may well be presumed that Ibn Manda got the nisba, because his forefather Istindār was a mawla of 'Abd al-Qays.

Ibn Manda was born at Ispahān in 310/922.<sup>1</sup> His father Abū Ya'qūb Ishāq (d.341) was a traditionist of repute.<sup>2</sup> In 318/930<sup>3</sup> while barely a boy of eight Ibn Manda precociously heard hadīth from his father and the uncle of his father 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Yahya (d.320), and then from a group of traditionists of Ispahān.<sup>4</sup> At twenty Ibn Manda embarked upon his continental tour in quest of knowledge and arrived at Nishāpūr in 330/941<sup>5</sup> to meet Abū Hāmid b. Bilāl al-Naysāburī (d.330) and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Qaṭṭān (d.332)<sup>6</sup>. Here he sat at the feet of al-Aṣamm (d.346) and recorded aḥādīth from him. Then he continued his marathon tour of Khurāsān, Transoxiana, al-ʿIrāq, Syria, al-Ḥijāz and Egypt which took him long forty five years. During his tour he studied hadīth under seventeen hundred Shuyūkh<sup>7</sup>, among whom Abū 'Alī al-Naysāburī (d.349) of Nishāpūr; at-Haytham b. Kulayb (d.335) of Samarqand; Khaythama b. Sulaymān (d.333) of Syria ; Abū Ṭāhir al-Madīnī (d.341) of Egypt; Abū 'Alī Ismā'īl al-Ṣaffār (d.341) of Baghdād and Abū Sa'īd Ibn al-Arābī (d.340) of Makka were noteworthy.<sup>8</sup> As Ibn Manda himself stated, he undertook study tours over the east and the west<sup>9</sup> ransacking the cities from Shāsh<sup>10</sup> to Alexandria.<sup>11</sup>

1 Huffāz, iii, 221.

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid, p.222.

4 Ibid,p.221.

5 Ibid,p.222.

6 Ibid, p.221.

7 Ibid, p.223.

8 Akhbār Ispahān, ii, 306; Tabaqāt al-Ḥanābala, p.356; Buldān, iv, 859-60; Huffāz, iii, 220-21; Ibn Ḥajr, Lisān al-Mizān, (Hyderābād, 1331 A.H.) v, 70-71.

9 (Sic):

طفت الشرق والغرب مرتين

:(Huffāz, iii, 223).

10 Modern Tashkent.

11 Sic :

مدائنه التي ارتحل اليها من الاسكندرية الى الشاش

(Ibid).

In course of his wanderjahre Ibn Manda visited Bukhārā in 361/971 while already he excelled in the science of apostolic traditions. Here al-Hākim Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Naysābūrī (d.405) met him. Ibn Manda appears to have spent more than ten years in Transoxiana hearing and recording ahādīth from the traditionists thereof. In 375/985 on his homeward journey, Ibn Manda arrived at Nishāpūr and was received by the traditionists there including al-Hākim al-Naysābūrī<sup>1</sup>. Ibn Manda was a reliable rāwī, transmitter of ḥadīth. Among those who narrated ḥadīth on his authority, were Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Ghunjār (d.412), Abū Sa'īd 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Idrīsī al-Samarqandī (d.405), Ḥamza al-Sahmī (d.427), Aḥmad b. al-Faḍl al-Bāṭirqānī (d.460) as well as his teacher Abū al-Shaykh (d.369) and his sons 'Abd al-Raḥmān (d.470) and 'Abd al-Wahhāb (d.475).<sup>2</sup>

The vastness of Ibn Manda's collections of ahādīth may be had from the following statement of his brother 'Ubayd Allāh:

I was travelling on the road from Nishāpūr when there appeared a leader of a caravan and reported: While returning from Khurāsān we sighted on the road-side huge bundles of loads. Thinking them to be bags of clothes we proceeded and found out a small tent wherein was a Shaykh. On enquiry, it was revealed that the Shaykh was Ḥāfiẓ Ibn Manda and the bags contained the volumes of Apostolic traditions he collected in course of his long forty five years tour.<sup>3</sup> This report is borne out by the fact that Ibn Manda returned to Ispahān from his riḥla fī ṭalab al-'ilm with as many as forty camel-loads of books. Further,

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1 Ibid, 222.

2 Ibid, 221.

3 Ibid., p.223.

according to Ja'far al-Mustaghfirī (d.432), Ibn Manda's recorded material of ahādīth was to the extent of fifty thousand juz'<sup>1</sup>. Of them four thousand were recorded from four reputed authorities like Khaythama b. Sulaymān (d.333), al-Haytham b. Kulayb (d.335), Abū Sa'īd Ibn al-Arābī (d.340) and Abū al-Abbās al-Aṣamm (d.346)<sup>2</sup>. Ibn Manda died in 395/1004 at Ispahān<sup>3</sup>.

His works:

(i) Kitāb Asmā' al-Sahāba (published)<sup>4</sup>, a biographical dictionary of the Companions of the Prophet (s), is one of the earliest works on the biographical notices of the Sahāba.

(ii) Fath al-Bāb fī al-Kunā wa al-Alqāb (published)<sup>5</sup>. It deals with those transmitters of ḥadīth who were known by their surnames, by-names and nick-names.

(iii) Al-Radd 'alā al-Jahmīyya (MS)<sup>6</sup>, a book on 'ilm al-kalām, scholastic theology. It refutes the doctrines of the Jahmīyya school<sup>7</sup>.

1 Ibid.; Lisān, v, 71. One juz' is equal to 80 to 100 folios so that 50,000 juz' comes to 40,00000 to 50,00000 folios.

2 Huffāz, iii, 223.

3 Ibn al-Jawzī, al-Muntazam (Hyderābād, 1358 A.H.), vii, 232-33.

4 Hyderābād, undated (Hāshim Nadawī, Tadhkira al-Nawādir, ed. Hyderābād, 1350 A.H., p.96; GAL, i, 167; SI, 281). Abū Mūsā Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Madīnī al-Iṣbahānī (d.581) wrote an appendix of the book of Ibn Manda (Hāji Khalīfa, i, 98).

5 Ed. by S.Dederling and publ. from the University of Upsala in Wien, 1927 (Akhbār Iṣbahān, ii, p.ix; GAL, SI, 281). This book seems to be identical with كتاب الكنى من يعرف بالاسمى mentioned by al-Kattānī in his Mustatrifa, p.101.

6 Revan Köşk under No.510, 5, (GAL, SI, 281).

7 They deny the attributes of God on the plea of anthropomorphism. They also deny the eternity of Paradise and Hell. (Ency. of Islam, i, 1001.)

(iv) Kitāb al-Tawhīd wa Ma'rifat Asmā' Allāh wa Şifātihi 'alā al-Ittifāq wa al-Tafarrud (MS)<sup>1</sup>. The book is written on the Oneness of Allāh, His names and attributes as believed unanimously or by individual school.

(v) Kitāb al-Kifāya (MS)<sup>2</sup>, a book on al-fiqh according to the Ḥanbalite school of law.

(vi) Musnad Ahādīth Ibrāhīm b. Adham al-Zāhid (MS)<sup>3</sup>. It is a collection of ahādīth handed down from Ibrāhīm b. Adham (d.160).

(vii) Ma'rifat al-Şahāba (MS)<sup>4</sup>, a treatise introducing the Şahāba.

(viii) Musnad Abī Ḥanīfa (MS)<sup>5</sup>, a work on the ahādīth transmitted on the authority of Imām Abū Ḥanīfa (d.150).

Ibn Manda wrote a book on the scholars of Ispahān entitled Kitāb Işbahān, basing it on his grand-father's work Ta'rīkh Işbahān. It appears that Abū Nu'aym (d.430) while compiling his Akhbār Işbahān utilized these two works<sup>6</sup>.

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- 1 Daftari Kutubkhāna Dāmādzāde Qādi 'askar M.Murād, Istanbul under Nos. 45, 35, and Kutubkhāna-i-Umumiye, Istanbul under Nos. 24 (338) and 62 (36). (GAL, SI, 281). Hāji Khalīfa (vol. ii, 270) mentioned the title as كتاب التوحيد وأنبأ الصقات.
  - 2 Daftari Kutubkhāna Dāmādzāde Qādi 'askar M.Murād, Istanbul under No.42 (2). (Najjār, iii, 229).
  - 3 Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Cairo, 1345 A.H., i, 146 (Ibid).
  - 4 Ibid.
  - 5 Op. Cit., p.286. (Ibid).
  - 6 Cf: Akhbār Işbahān, ii, pp. viii-ix; Usd, v, 402.

Ibn Manda is said to have compiled Kitāb al-Sunna<sup>1</sup> and a juz' fī al-marāsīl<sup>2</sup> that have not come down to us.

B. AL-MUFASSIRŪN, THE EXEGETES:

Muhammad b. Baḥr al-Isfahānī (d. 322/933)

Among the exegetes who flourished in Ispahān, the name of Abū Muslim Muḥammad b. Baḥr al-Isfahānī may be mentioned here. He was an outstanding grammarian, exegete and a Mūṭazilite theologian. He was born in 254/868 at Ispahān. He flourished during the Abbasid period and served as a secretary to Caliph al-Muqtadir (295-320/907-32). He was a boon companion of the minister Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. 'Īsa b. Dā'wūd b. al-Jarrāḥ (d. 334)<sup>3</sup>. Later on, he was appointed revenue collector of Ispahān and Fāris. He died in 322/933<sup>4</sup>.

His works:

(i) Jāmi' al-Ta'wīl li Muḥkam al-Tanzīl<sup>5</sup>

This is a copious exegesis of the Holy Qur'ān in 14 volumes. In course of his commenting, the author tried to establish the view-points of the Mūṭazilites. This exegesis of the Qur'ān, though not extant, left a living impression on the minds of the later commentators of the Qur'ān. Inām Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī

1 Mustaṭrifa, p.34.

2 Ibid., p.75. Mursal is strictly used for the text of a ḥadīth in the chain of which the name of the narrator Ṣahābī is not mentioned and the Tābi'ī narrates directly from the Prophet(s).

3 He was a noted scholar and teacher of al-Ṭabarānī (d.360). On him, see: al-Muntazam, vi, 351-55.

4 Udabā', xviii, 36; Bughya, p.23; Sa'īd al-Ansārī, Multaqaṭ Jāmi' al-Ta'wīl li Muḥkam al-Tanzīl (Calcutta, 1320), p.9; Goldziher, Die Richtungen Der Islamischen Koranauslegung (E.J.Brill, Leiden, 1920), p.113; GAL, SI, 334.

5 Fihrist, p.196; GAL, SI, 335.

(d.606), the great commentator of the Qur'ān incorporated in his Tafsīr al-Kabīr extracts from the Jāmi' al-Ta'wīl li Muḥkam al-Tanzīl saying: qāla Abū Muslim: "Said Abū Muslim". Sa'īd al-Anṣārī, a noted Indian author, collected those scattered quotations from al-Tafsīr al-Kabīr of Imām Fakhr al-Dīn, and published them in a book named Multaḡat Jāmi' al-Ta'wīl li Muḥkam al-Tanzīl in Calcutta, 1320 A.H. The fact that the great Imām al-Rāzī incorporated in his Tafsīr the extracts from the Jāmi' of Muḥammad b. Baḥr goes to testify to al-Iṣbahānī's vast knowledge in Tafsīr literature.

(ii) Kitāb al-Nāsikh wa al-Mansūkh, a book containing the nāsikh, abrogator and mansūkh, abrogated verses of the Holy Qur'ān<sup>1</sup>.

(iii) Kitāb fī al-Nahw, a book on Syntax in grammar<sup>2</sup>.

(iv) Kitāb Jāmi' Rasā'ilihī, a collection of his letters and epistles<sup>3</sup>.

#### C. LITTERATEURS:

1. Alī b. Ḥamza al-Iṣbahānī (d.ca.330/941)

Alī b. Ḥamza b. 'Umāra b. Ḥamza b. Yasār b. 'Uthmān al-Iṣbahānī was the uncle of Abū Ishāq b. Ḥamza al-Iṣbahānī (d.353)<sup>4</sup> and the descendant<sup>5</sup> of Abū Muslim al-Khurasānī(d.137)<sup>6</sup>.

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1 Udabā', xviii, 36. In Ḥājī Khalīfa (ii, 580) the title is Ilm al-Nāsikh wa al-Mansūkh.

2 Udabā', loc. cit.

3 Ibid.

4 On him, supra, p.13.

5 The genealogy given in Udabā' (vol. xiii, 203-04) is not correct. For correct genealogy, vide Akhbār Iṣbahān, i, 199.

6 On him, see: Ibn Ṭiqṭaqā, al-Fakhrī, ed. Hartwig Derenbourg (Paris, 1895), p.186 = pp.132-33 of the Eng. translation of al-Fakhrī by C.E.J. Whitting (London, 1947).



According to his compatriot Ḥamza al-Iṣbahānī<sup>1</sup>, 'Alī was one of the Ispahānī litterateurs famed for depth of knowledge, poetical talent and versatile scholarship. He was the author of several books of which three have been mentioned by Yāqūt.<sup>2</sup>

To condole the death of Muḥammad b. Baḥr al-Iṣbahānī 'Alī b. Ḥamza composed an elegy which has been quoted by Yāqūt in his Udabā'.<sup>3</sup>

'Alī b. Ḥamza al-Iṣbahānī died in about 330/941. The exact date of death is not known.

## 2. Al-Qāsim b. Muhammad al-Dīmartī (d.ca. 340/951)

Al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad al-Dīmartī al-Iṣbahānī came from Dīmart, a village near Ispahān. He heard ḥadīth from Ibrāhīm b. Mattūya al-Iṣbahānī (d.302), Muḥammad b. Sahl al-Ṣabbāḥ (d.313) and their contemporaries. From his early years he would edit books and fix their correct readings. He became so famous in this art that for long forty years scholars used to read before him their works in order to fix correct readings.<sup>4</sup>

Al-Qāsim was a litterateur, grammarian and philologist.

1 On him, *infra*, p.37.

2 e.g. (i) Kitāb al-Shīr (Udabā', xiii, 203-04).

(ii) Kitāb Fiḡar al-Bulaghā': It is a selection of poems composed by a wide range of poets (*Ibid*).

(iii) Kitāb Qalā'id al-Sharaf fī Mafākhir wa Akhbāruhā:

This was a store-house of knowledge regarding the history of the Persian people, their biographies and poetical compositions (*Ibid*).

3 Vol. xiii, 205-06.

4 Sic: عنى في صخرة بتصحيح كتب وقراءاتها ثم هو منتصب  
Udabā', xvi, 319. منذ أربعين سنة تقرأ عليه الكتب.

He died in about 340/951<sup>1</sup>. Yāqūt in his Udabā' has mentioned eight titles of his works<sup>2</sup> which, however, have not come down to us.

3. Abū al-Husayn al-Kātib (d.ca.350/961).

Abū al-Husayn Aḥmad b. Sa'd was the secretary of the Buwayhid 'Imād al-Dawla (320-338/932-949). In 321/933 he was appointed as revenue collector of Ispahān by the Abbasid Caliph al-Qāhir bi Allāh (320-322/932-934) and served the office upto the month of Shawwāl, 324/936<sup>3</sup>.

According to Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī<sup>4</sup>, Abū al-Husayn famed himself as an expert epistle-writer of Ispahān. Most of the epistles and official correspondences of the period were the products of his able hand. Besides, Ḥamza mentioned him among

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1 Akhbār Ispahān, ii, 163; Udabā', loc.cit.; Fihrist, p.128; Buldān, ii, 713; Bughya, p.381.

2 Udabā', xvi, 319:

Kitāb Taqwīm al-ʿAlsinā (Fihrist, loc.cit.; Ḥājī Khalīfa, i, 320).

Kitāb al-ʿArīḍ fī al-Kāmil (Fihrist, loc.cit.), a supplement to al-Kāmil by al-Mubrrad (d.285).

Kitāb Tafsīr al-Ḥamāsa, a commentary of Dīwān al-Ḥamāsa by Abū Tammām (d.231).

Kitāb Ḡharīb al-Ḥadīth, a book on rare words and phrases used in ḥadīth.

Kitāb al-Ibāna.

Kitāb al-Ṣifāt, a book on the Attributes of Allāh.

Kitāb Tafsīr Ḍurūb al-Mantiq, explanation of different forms of logic.

Kitāb Tahdhīb al-Ṭab' (Ḥājī Khalīfa, i, 350), a book containing rare words and phrases used in Arabic literature.

3 Udabā', iii, 38; Bughya, p.133.

4 See infra, p.37.

the authors and referred to five titles of his books.<sup>1</sup>

Abū al-Ḥusayn was also a good poet. Some idea of his poems may be had from the lengthy excerpts of elegant poetry composed by him as quoted by Yāqūt in his Muʿjam al-Udabāʾ<sup>2</sup>. He died in about 350/961.

4. Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī (d.356/967).

A descendant of the last Umayyad Caliph, Marwān II (127-132/744-750), Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī<sup>3</sup> was born at Ispahān in 284/897 during the reign of Caliph al-Muʿtadid bi Allāh (279-289/892-901). He was brought up in Baghdād where he settled

1 Udabāʾ, iii, 38-39. Titles of books:

Kitāb Ikhtiyār min al-Rasāʾil: This was a compilation of select pieces of the epistles of Abū al-Ḥusayn. According to Ḥamza it had no parallel (Ibid).

Fiḡar al-Bulaghāʾ: This was another unique book of epistles written by him (Ibid.). Ḥāǰī Khalīfa (ii, 201) mentions the title as Fiḡrat al-Bulaghāʾ.

Kitāb al-Huly wa al-Thiyāb: a book dealing with niceties of ornaments and garments (Udabāʾ, loc. cit.; Ḥāǰī Khalīfa, ii, 274).

Kitāb al-Mantiq (Udabāʾ, loc. cit.).

Kitāb al-Hijāʾ (Udabāʾ, loc. cit.; Ḥāǰī Khalīfa, ii, 307).

2 Vol. iii, 40-46.

3 The genealogy of Abū al-Faraj is as follows: Abū al-Faraj ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Haytham b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Marwān b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Marwān II (the last Umayyad Caliph). In 132/750 after the fall of the Umayyads in the battle of Zab Marwān fled to a remote village named Būṣīr (Maqrizī, Kitāb al-Khitat, ed. Egypt, 1324 A.H., i, 116-17) in lower Egypt and was killed there in 132/750 after a short fighting. At this time his two sons ʿAbd Allāh and Ubayd Allāh fled to Abyssinia where a battle ensued resulting in the murder of ʿUbayd Allāh. ʿAbd Allāh b. Marwān, however, managed to escape and lived upto the year 161/777 when he was caught in Palestine and was sent to the Abbasid Caliph al-Mahdī (158-169/774-785) who imprisoned him. ʿAbd Allāh b. Marwān left a son named Marwān III who himself or some of his descendants might have migrated to Ispahān. Thus the litterateur Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī was born in 284/897 at Ispahān. Cf: Wafayāt, i, 334; Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, Kitāb al-Aghānī (Cairo, 1345 A.H.), i, (Taṣḍīr), 15; Ṭabarī, iii 47-51; 485; Ibn al-Athīr, v, 199-200; Abū al-Fidā, i, 210-12; al-Fakhrī, pp. 197-99= pp. 140-42 of the Eng. Translation; Buldān, i, 760.

and studied Arabic language and literature under Ibn Durayd (d.321), Abū Bakr b. al-Anbārī (d.328), al-Akhfash (d.315), Muḥammad b. al-‘Abbās al-Yazīdī (d.310), Niftawayh (d.323), Muḥammad b. Khalaf b. al-Marzubān (d.309) and a large number of scholars of the time.<sup>1</sup>

Abū al-Faraj al-Isfahānī was also a keen student of ḥadīth, and heard it from al-Faḍl b. Ḥubāb al-Jumahī (d.305) at al-Baṣra and Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥaḍramī Muṭayyan (d.297) and ‘Alī b. ‘Abbās al-Bajalī al-Kūfī (d.310) at al-Kūfa.<sup>2</sup> Among his students in ḥadīth were al-Dāraqutnī (d.385), Ibrāhīm b. Makhlad (d.410) and Muḥammad b. Abī al-Fawāris Ahmad b. ‘Alī (d.412)<sup>3</sup>.

A versatile genius Abū al-Faraj al-Isfahānī was thoroughly versed in poetry and genealogy of the pre-Islamic people, maghāzī, history, grammar, philology and lexicography. Besides, he knew surgery and veterinary sciences and had elementary knowledge of music, medicine, astronomy and beverage<sup>4</sup>.

Abū al-Faraj began his career as a wandering litterateur from Aleppo to Persia, and enjoyed the patronage of Sayf al-Dawla b. Ḥamdān (333-356/944-967)<sup>5</sup> and Buwayhid viziers al-Muhallabī (d.352)<sup>6</sup> and al-Sāhib b. ‘Abbād (d.385).<sup>7</sup> As an Umayyad, he had a

1 Al-Khaṭīb, xi, 398-99; Udabā’, xiii, 95; Wafayāt, i, 334; Aghānī, i, (Tasdir), pp.15-17; Muḥammad Sadruddin, Saifuddaulah and his times (Lāhore, 1930), pp. 179-80.

2 Al-Khaṭīb, loc. cit.; Udabā’, loc. cit.; Shadharāt, iii, 19.

3 Al-Khaṭīb, loc. cit.; Aghānī, loc. cit.

4 Tha‘alibī, Yatīma al-Dahr fī Shu‘arā’ al-‘Asr (Damascus, 1304), ii, 278; Wafayāt, loc.cit.; Aghānī, loc.cit.; Jurjī Zaydān, Ta’riḫ Adab al-Lughat al-‘Arabīyya (Cairo, 1930), ii, 281.

5 Governor of Northern Syria. On him, see: Shadharāt, iii, 20-21; Hitti, pp. 457-58.

6 Vizier of Mu‘izz al-Dawla (320-56/932-66). On him, see: Udabā’, ix, 117-52; Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 215; Wafayāt, i, 142-43; Ency. of Islam, iii, 641.

7 q.v.p. 59 et. seq.

natural attachment to the Umayyad government of Spain. In fact, he had constant contact with the Umayyads of Spain and wrote some books designed to prove their undisputed superiority in matters of administration. He was also an admirer of the Shi'ites. This contradictory character of Abū al-Faraj might be explained by the fact that he had to work as secretary under the Shi'ite ruler Rukn al-Dawla (320-66/932-76)<sup>1</sup>. He was a boon companion of the vizier al-Muhallabī whom he eulogized in several verses<sup>2</sup>.

Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī was one of the most distinguished scholars Ispahān had ever produced. He collected the compositions of the pre-Islamic and post Islamic poets and litterateurs<sup>3</sup>. He could compose excellent poems and had a special knack for writing satires. He was a famous litterateur, a fine jurist and a skilful genealogist.<sup>4</sup> But towards the close of his life Abū al-Faraj lost his mental equilibrium because of his excessive intellectual pursuits.<sup>5</sup> He died at Ispahān in 356/967 during the reign of Caliph al-Muṭī' (335-64/946-74).<sup>6</sup>

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- 1 On him, see: Shadharāt, iii, 55; The Mohammadan Dynasties, p.143.  
 2 Al-Khaṭīb, xi, 400; Wafayāt, loc. cit.; Udabā', xiii, 100-01; 108; 110; al-Yāfi'ī, ii, 359-60; Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 229; Abū al-Fidā, ii, 108; Zaydān, loc. cit.; Ency. of Islam, i, 85; Huart, History of Arabic Literature (London, 1903), p. 184; Nicholson, A Literary History of the Arabs (Cambridge, 1930), p.147; Sadrudin, loc.cit.  
 3 Yatīma, loc. cit.; Wafayāt, loc. cit.; Tāsh Kubrāzāda, Miftāh al-Sa'āda (Hyderābād, 1328 A.H.), i, 185; 'Abd al-Muqtadīr and others, Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian Manuscripts in the Oriental Public Library at Bankipore, Patna, xii, 123.  
 4 Udabā', xiii, 101.  
 5 Huart, p.184.  
 6 Udabā', xiii, 95; Zeki Mubarak, La Prose Arabe au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle de l'Hegire (Xe siècle), ed. Paris, 1931, P. 104.

His works:

(i) Kitāb al-Aghānī (published)<sup>1</sup>

Abū al-Faraj al-Isfahānī was a prolific author. He wrote a number of valuable and interesting books, but his fame rests on Kitāb al-Aghānī or the Book of songs, an encyclopaedic work on the social history of pre-Islamic and early Islamic Arabs, their poets and poetry, their genealogies, their forays and exploits.<sup>2</sup>

Kitāb al-Aghānī is based on a collection of one hundred songs selected for Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd (170-193/786-809) by the famous musicians like Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī (d. 187), Ismā‘īl b. Jāmi‘ and Fulayḥ b. al-‘Awra’. Subsequently at the instance of Caliph al-Wāthiq (227-232/842-847), Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī (d. 235) revised them and added new songs. To these songs Abū al-Faraj himself added many others. He furnished detailed accounts of the poets who composed them as also of the musicians who gave the tunes. He interwove these songs with a huge mass of historical antiquities and anecdotes with copious quotations from the poems of ancient and contemporary poets.<sup>3</sup>

Abū al-Faraj dedicated long fifty years of his life in collecting materials and compiling the work<sup>4</sup>. The main source he drew his materials from, was twofold: (i) contemporary scholars who had with them the mass of information orally handed down to them through chains of narrators. Abū al-Faraj thoroughly scrutinized

1 Ed. and publ. by Aḥmad Zakī al-‘Adawī in Cairo, 1345 A.H. in twenty one volumes together with the supplement of Brūnow and Guidi’s index. For other editions and publications of the book see: GAL, i, 146; SI, 226; Sarkis, p.338. For different selections from the book see: Ibid.; Hājī Khalīfa, i, 126.

2 Ibn Khaldūn, Muqaddama (Būlāq, 1320 A.H.), p.551.

3 Aghānī, i, (muqaddama), 1-3; Zaydān, ii, 282; Ency. of Islam, i, 85.

4 Udabā’, xiii, 98; Zaydān, ii, 281.

each narration before accepting them; and (ii) available books which, however, could not stand the ravages of time.<sup>1</sup>

We may, however, point out that the subject-matters of the book are not arranged under chapters or sections or according to any chronology. The selected songs are scatteredly placed in the volumes from 1 to VIII and in the volumes XI and XXI, whereas no selected songs are inserted in the volumes IX and X, and from XII to XX.<sup>2</sup> Be that as it may, Kitāb al-Aghānī is the most important authority and a storehouse of valuable information for the study of literary as well as political and cultural and social history of the Arabs in the heydays of their civilization.

This admirable work supplies us with many details about the ancient Arab tribes, their ayyām, their social life, the court life of the Umayyads, society at the time of the Abbasid Caliphs, especially of Hārūn al-Rashīd, the milieu of musicians and singers. In one word, in the Aghānī we pass in review the whole of Arabic civilization from the Jāhiliyya down to the end of the 3rd/9th century.<sup>3</sup> But for this work a good deal of materials pertaining to the social history of pre-Islamic and early Islamic periods would have been lost to us.<sup>4</sup> Ibn Khaldūn (d.808) rightly says: It is the register of the Arabs incorporating the scattered materials of their good qualities which they left behind in every kind of poetry, history, music and other subjects. So far as our knowledge goes no other book can stand on the same

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1 Zaydān, ii, 282.

2 Cf: Abū al-Faraj al-Isfahānī, Kitāb al-Aghānī.

3 Ency. of Islam (Leiden - London, 1960), i, 118.

4 Zaydān, ii, 282.

footing with it in any respect. It is the climax a student of belles-lettres can possibly attain.<sup>1</sup>

The popularity of Kitāb al-Aghānī may be estimated from the fact that during the lifetime of the author, on receiving the news of its compilation, while in progress, Amīr al-Ḥakam II (350-66/961-76) of Spain advanced one thousand dinars to the author asking him to present the first copy of the work to him before he would produce it to the Abbasid Caliph al-Muṭī' (335-364/946-74) of Baghdād. When this monumental work saw the light of day, the Ḥamdanid prince Sayf al-Dawla of Northern Syria rewarded him with one thousand dinars. It is said that al-Ṣāhib b. 'Abbād (d. 385), when on tour, used to carry with him thirty camel-loads of books, but when Kitāb al-Aghānī was made available to him, he dispensed with all other books and contented himself with this one only.<sup>2</sup>

(ii) Kitāb al-Diyārāt (MS).<sup>3</sup>

It is a collection of poems composed on monasteries and convents and the places of pilgrimage of the Christians, situated on the banks of the Tigris near Baghdād and the Euphrates near al-Kūfa, or in Egypt.<sup>4</sup> While these convents were on celebration, the Christians and others got the opportunity of drinking wine there. "The poets, out of gratitude, sang the

1 (Sic.) "ولحمري انه ديوان العرب وجامع اشقات المحاسن التي سلفت لهم في كل فن من فنون الشعر والتاريخ والثناء وسائر الاحوال ولا يعدل به كتاب في ذلك فيما نعلمه وهو الغاية التي يسمو اليها الاربب - المقدمة لابن خلدون ص ٥٥٥"

2 Zaydān, ii, 281-82.

3 Library of Berlin under No.8321. (GAL, i, 146).

4 Zaydān, ii, 283.



praises of the blessed spots where they enjoyed the delights of intoxication".<sup>1</sup> In this book there is also a good deal of information with regard to the poets along with their poems, who flourished in the Abbasid courts particularly from the time of Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd to that of al-Mu'tadid (279-289/892-902 ).<sup>2</sup>

(iii) Maqātil al-Tālibiyyīn wa Akhbāruhum (Published).<sup>3</sup>

This is a historical work containing "biographies of the descendants of Abū Tālib (d. ca. 619 A.D.) who in some way lost their lives for political reasons, including those who died in prison or in hiding".<sup>4</sup> It was written in 313/925.

(iv) Kashf al-Kurba fi waṣf al-Ghurba (MS),<sup>5</sup> discovery of the anxieties in describing the state of the foreigner.

Abū al-Faraj al Iṣfahānī dedicated to the Umayyad Caliphs of Spain a number of books which were sent to them secretly; and in acknowledgement of these books the gifts sent from them also came to him secretly.<sup>6</sup>

1 Huart, p.185.

2 Zaydān, loc. cit.

3 Teheran, 1307 A.H.; for other publications, see: GAL, SI, 226; Najjār, iii, 70; Ency. of Islam (Leiden-London, 1960), i, 118; Sarkis, Mu'jam al-Maṭbū'at (Cairo, 1928), p.338.

4 Ency. of Islam (Leiden - London, 1960), loc. cit.

5 Maktabat al-'Arab, Cairo under No. 142. Vide Najjār, loc. cit.

6 Cf: al-Khatīb, xi, 398; Wafayāt, i, 334; al-Yāfi'ī, ii, 359-60; Abū al-Fidā, ii, 108; Zaydān, ii, 281 .

The following books were said to have sent to the Caliphs of Spain.

(i) Kitāb Nasab Banī 'Abd Shams, a book on the genealogy of Banū Abd Shams. ( Hāji Khalīfa, ii, 599).

(ii) Kitāb Ayyām al-'Arab, a book on the battle days of the Pre-Islamic Arabs. In it he mentioned the history of seventeen hundred battle days of the Arabs. (Ibid, i, 173).

(iii) Kitāb al-Ta'dīl wa al-Intiṣāf fī Māṭhar al-'Arab wa Mathālibihā a critical study of the good as well as bad actions of the Arabs. (Ibid, p.293).

Besides, he wrote innumerable books on various subjects,<sup>1</sup> which however, have not come down to us.

(foot-note continued)

(iv) Kitāb Jamharat al-Nasab, a book on the genealogy of the Arabs. (Hājī Khalīfa, i, 404).

(v) Kitāb Nasab Banī Shaybān, a book on the genealogy of Banū Shaybān. (GAL, SI, 226).

(vi) Kitāb Nasab al-Mahāliba, a book on the family of al-Muhallab. (Ibid).

(vii) Kitāb Nasab Banī Taghlib, a book on the genealogy of Banū Taghlib. (Hājī Khalīfa, ii, 599).

(viii) Nasab Banī Kilāb, genealogy of Banū Kilāb. (Ibid).

(ix) Akhbār al-Qiyān, information about female slave singers. (GAL, SI, 226).

(x) Kitāb Ghilmān al-Mughannīn, a book on male slave singers. (Miftāh al-Sa'āda, i, 185).

(xi) Nasab Banī Sinān, genealogy of Banū Sinān. (Abū al-Fidā, ii, 108).

(xii) Kitāb Mujarrad al-Aghānī, an abridgment of Kitāb al-Aghānī. (Fihrist, p.167).

<sup>1</sup> For other books and Dīwāns of Abū al-Faraj al Iṣfahānī, see: GAL, SI, 226; Hājī Khalīfa, i, 60,70,147,173,258,293,404,493,501,503 and 505; ii, 292, 599; Miftāh al-Sa'āda, i, 185; Fihrist, p. 167; Yatīma, ii, 278; Udabā', xiii, 99; Antun Sālḥānī, Rannāt al-Mathālith wa al-Mathānī (Beirut,1908), i, (al-Muqaddama), 13; F. Wüstenfeld, Die Geschtschreiber der Araber und ihre werke (August,1881),pp. 44-45.

## D. GRAMMARIANS:

1. Lukdhā al-Isbahānī (d.ca. 310/922).

Al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Isbahānī known as Lukdhā or Lughda was a contemporary of Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī (d.282). In his early age he went to al-ʿIrāq to learn Arabic grammar and philology from al-Khaṣīb b. Aslam al-Bāhili (d.ca. 250), a student of al-Aṣmaʿī (d. 215), and from al-Kirmānī<sup>1</sup>, a student of al-Akhfash (d.215). Here he committed to memory some of the books of grammar and philology by Abū Zayd (d. 215), Abū ʿUbayda (d. 210) and al-Aṣmaʿī. Then he came to Baghdād where he attended the lectures of Abū Ishāq al-Zajjāj (d. 310) and took down his dictations. It was revealed afterwards that he could not accept some of the views of his teacher al-Zajjāj. Consequently he left his lectures and devoted himself to writing down books to contradict some of his views on grammar and philology.<sup>2</sup>

Lukdhā al-Isbahānī was held in high esteem as an authority of grammar and philology in al-ʿIrāq and Persia. He used to hold literary debates with Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī. He was also a good poet. Extracts from his poems are furnished by Yāqūt in his Udabāʾ.<sup>3</sup> He died in about 310/922.<sup>4</sup>

His works:

(i) Kitāb al-Miyāh wa Jibāl wa Bilād Jazīra al-ʿArab. (MS)<sup>5</sup>.

This book contains the description of water, mountains and the cities of the Peninsula of Arabia<sup>6</sup>.

1 He seems to be Hishām b. Ibrāhīm al-Kirmānī who, however, was the student of al-Aṣmaʿī. Vide Fihrist, p.105; Bughya, p. 408.

2 Udabāʾ, viii, 139-42; Bughya, p.222; Najjār, ii, 233.

3 Udabāʾ, viii, 142-45. 4 Najjār, ii, loc. cit.

5 University of Beirut under No. 184. (Ibid.).

6 Ibid.

(ii) Kitāb al-Radd 'alā al-Shu'arā'.

It refutes the works of some poets. To contradict this book Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī wrote a treatise entitled al-Radd 'alā Luḡḡa al-Iṣbahānī.<sup>1</sup>

(iii) Kitāb al-Nawādir.<sup>2</sup>

This book is said to have been written on the model of Abū Zayd's Kitāb al-Nawādir fī al-Luḡḡa.<sup>3</sup> As stated in his preface Abū Zayd mainly selected the verses from the anthology of Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī (d.290) containing rare words and expressions. While explaining the rare words, words having rare meanings and deviations from the rules of grammar, Abū Zayd cited the relevant verses in his Kitāb al-Nawādir.<sup>4</sup>

Besides, Ibn al-Madīn mentions some other titles of books compiled by Luḡḡa<sup>5</sup>, which have not come down to us.

2. Abū Bakr al-Khayyāṭ al-Iṣbahānī (d.ca. 365/975)

Abū Bakr 'Ubayd Allāh al-Khayyāṭ al-Iṣbahānī was a grammarian. In his early years he read thoroughly Al-Kitāb of Sībawayh,<sup>6</sup> Kitāb Masā'il<sup>7</sup> of al-Akhfash al-Awsaṭ (d.215) and Kitāb Hudūd<sup>8</sup> of al-Farrā' (d.207) under erudite teachers. He was also well-versed in the history of pre-Islamic Arabia and its literature. Abū al-Faḍl b. al-'Amīd (d.360)<sup>9</sup>, the vizier of the Buwayhid prince Rukn al-Dawla

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1 Ibid.

2 In Ḥājī Khalīfa (vol. ii, p.616) the title is al-Nawādir al-Mufīda.

3 Uḍabā', viii, 141.

4 Cf: Abū Zayd, Kitāb al-Nawādir fī al-Luḡḡa, ed. by Sa'īd al-Khūrī al-Shartūnī (Beirut, 1894).

5 Fihrist, p.120.

6 Infra, p.243.

7 Buḡḡya, p.258.

8 In this book he mentioned 46 definitions regarding i'rāb (changes in words due to different constructions). Vide Ḥājī Khalīfa, i, 422.

9 Infra, p.60; Shadharāt, iii, 31-34.

(320-366/932-976), who read with him Kitāb al-Tabā'i<sup>1</sup> of al-Jāhiz (d.250), would hold him in high esteem. He died in about 365/975<sup>2</sup>.

A revered teacher, Abū Bakr al-Khayyāt occupied a prominent position among his contemporary scholars. Abū Muslim b. Hījā al-Kūfānī mourned his death with the following couplets paying him high tributes to his erudition and scholarship:

سأني باليا شط الفرات - لعيني استمد مدى حياتي  
 فابكي ثم ابكي ثم ابكي - على من قد توسد جندلات  
 على قمر الزمان وزين علم - عبيد الله كنز الفائدات

Translation:

I shall arrive at the bank of the Euphrates with tearful eyes which will be the mainstay to keep me during the rest of my life.

I shall weep and weep and weep for one who is laid on the slabs of stone - for the moon of the time and decoration of knowledge, 'Ubayd Allāh, an humble servant of Allāh, was the treasure of benefits.<sup>3</sup>

His works:

Abū Bakr al-Khayyāt compiled the following works on al-Nahw (Arabic syntax), which are yet to be traced:

(i) Basīt: In this work an elaborate discussion on various topics of syntax was given.<sup>4</sup>

(ii) Latīf: Unlike Basīt this work gives a brief discussion on syntax.<sup>5</sup>

1 Hājī Khalīfa, ii, 286.

2 Udabā', xii, 69-72; Bughya, p.321.

3 Udabā', xii, 69-70.

4 Ibid, p.69.

5 Ibid.

It is worthwhile to mention that according to Yāqūt<sup>1</sup> these two works of al-Khayyāt were considered as authoritative, the likes of which, it is said, were not compiled by any of his contemporary grammarians.

#### E. HISTORIANS:

Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī (d. ca. 360/971).

Among the historians who flourished in Ispahān the name of Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī may be mentioned here. A noted historian, philologist and litterateur of the 4th/10th century Abū 'Abd Allāh Ḥamza b. al-Ḥasan<sup>2</sup> al-Iṣfahānī, popularly called Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, was born at Ispahān in about the year 280/893. He started his academic career as a student of ḥadīth and narrated it on the authority of Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad al-Wāsiṭī (d. 307), 'Abdān b. Aḥmad al-Ahwāzī (d. 306), Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (d. 310)<sup>3</sup> and their contemporaries. He travelled in quest of knowledge, and visited Baghdād several times, the third time being in the year 323/935. But he switched over ḥadīth to ta'rikh (history) and Lughā (philology), the special field of his study, in which he produced valuable contributions as we shall presently see. He died at Ispahān between 350/961 and 360/971<sup>4</sup>. The exact date of his death is not known.

His works:

(i) Kitāb Ta'rikh Sinī Mulūk al-Ard wa al-Anbiyā' (Published).<sup>5</sup>

This is a hand book of chronological account of the kings

1 Ibid. 2 Or al-Ḥusayn, according to al-Sam'ānī, art, "al-Iṣbahānī".

3 Infra, p. 304 et. seq.

4 Akhbār Iṣbahān, i, 300; al-Sam'ānī, art., "al-Iṣbahānī"; Fihrist, p. 199; Zaydān, ii, 315; Sarkis, p. 455; GAL, SI, p. 221; Wüstenfeld, p. 41; Khayr al-Dīn, al-A'lām (Egypt, 1954), ii, 308; Huart, pp. 183-84; Ency. of Islam, ii, 256.

5 Ed. and published by J.M.E. Gottwaldt in Leipzig, 1844, and by Mawlawī Kabīr al-Dīn in Calcutta, 1866 A.D. For other editions and translations of the book, see GAL, i, 145; SI 221; Sarkis, p.455.

and prophets of the world. The author has arranged the book in ten chapters, dealing with the genealogies of the Ḥimyar and other ruling houses of Arabia, viz., Ghassān, Lakhm and Kinda together with the chronologies of the kings of Persia, Greece and Rome from the earliest times down to 350/961. Ḥamza directed his attention to find out the dates of the birth and death of the kings, and succeeded in that in most of the cases. In chapter V, he deals with the chronologies of the prophets from Adam down to Jesus Christ mentioning clearly the intervening periods from one prophet to the other. In chapter X, the longest of all the chapters, the author gives the chronologies of the Qureshites dealing inter alia the coming of Ismā'īl to Makka, the birth of the Prophet Muḥammad (s), the rāshida Caliphs, the Umayyad and the Abbasid rulers upto al-Mustakfī (333-34/944-45) together with the durations of their rule. Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī devotes a lengthy section of chapter X to describing the unprecedented natural catastrophies falling upon the humanity during the early centuries of Islam, e.g., earth-tremor in 94/712 continuing for a period of forty days devastating the lofty structures of Antākīya, a city on the shore of the Mediterranean; in 222/836 there appeared in the districts of Marwarrūdh and Sarakhs roars of innumerable rats causing damage to crops of these districts. The natural calamities like hail storm, hot wind, avalanche, tidal bore, sinking down of the water of the Nile etc., have been given chronologically. The sections nine and ten of the same chapter furnish a list of the governors of Khurāsān and Ṭabaristān during the Abbasid period upto 343/954. In short, Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī was the pioneer in this field and his annals is a mine of useful informations not to be found elsewhere.

(ii) Kitāb al-Amthāl (MS).<sup>1</sup>

It embodies the proverbs expressed in prose and poetry beginning with the superlative degree, such as: افضل الناس من ينفع الناس: (Best of men is he who benefits people); خير الكلام ما قل ودل (The best speech is that which is brief and yet expressive) and so on.

(iii) Dīwān Abī Nuwās (MS).<sup>2</sup> He prepared an edition of the Dīwān of Abū Nuwās.

(iv) Kitāb al-Khaṣā'is wa al-Muwāzana bayna al-'Arabiyya wa al-Fārisiyya (MS).<sup>3</sup>

As the title shows, the work is a comparative study of Arabic and Persian words, and deals with their characteristics.

(v) Al-Tanbīh 'alā Hudūth al-Tashīf (MS),<sup>4</sup> a hint at the origin of replacement of a letter by another one.<sup>5</sup>

1 Munchen under No. 642 (GAL, i, 145); Brockelmann (SI, 221) gives the title of the book as al-Durra al-Fākhira wa hiya al-Amthāl allatī Jā'at 'alā Wazn Af'al al-Tafdīl. Al-Maydānī (d. 518) incorporated the whole of it in his Majma' al-Amthāl. Cf: Ibid.; Sarkis, p. 455; Ency. of Islam, ii, 256.

2 Ahlwardt, Berlin under No. 7531; Paris under No. 4822-31; India office under No. 3867 and the British Museum under No. 1408. (GAL, SI, 117 ; 222; Ency. of Islam, loc. cit.).

3 Kutubkhāna al-Khadiwiyya al-Miṣriyya, Cairo. (GAL, SI, 222). Ḥājī Khalīfa (Kaṣhḥ al-Zunūn, ii, 303), Yāqūt (Buldān, iii, 892; iv, 406) and Wüstenfeld (p. 41) give the title of the book as Kitāb al-Muwāzana.

4 Teheran under No. 282 (GAL, SI, 222).

5 Buldān, ii, 925; al-Yāfi'i, i, 362.



Besides, Ḥamza wrote books on various subjects<sup>1</sup> which, however, have not come down to us.

1 Titles of books are mentioned below:

(i) Kitāb al-Tanbīh ‘alā Hurūf al-Mashaf, a book denoting the form of scripts in the Holy Qur’ān. (Fihrist, p. 199; Sarkis, p. 455).

(ii) Al-Risāla al-Mu‘riba ‘an Sharaf al-‘Arab, a treatise describing the noble characteristics of the Arabs. (GAL,, i 145).

(iii) Kitāb Iṣbahān fī man Haddathā bi Iṣbahān: The book contains the biographical notices of the traditionists of Ispahān. (Akhbār Ispahān, ii, 331; Hājī Khalīfa, i, 217; Buldān, i, 575; GAL, SI, 222; Fihrist, p. 199. Yāqūt (d. 626) utilized Ta’rikh Iṣfahān. Cf: Udabā’, viii, 140; xi, 140).

(iv) Ta’rikh Kibār al-Bashar. (Hājī Khalīfa, i, 230; Wüstenfeld, loc. cit.).

(v) Kitāb Shu‘arā’ Ispahān, a book on the poets of Ispahān. (Yāqūt utilized it. Cf: Udabā’, xvii, 151; also GAL, SI, 222).

(vi) Kitāb al-Tashīf wa al-Tahrīf, a book on the replacement of letters by letters and dots by dots, eg. ملك for ملك; بحث for بحث. (Buldān, ii, 712; GAL, i, 145).

(vii) Kitāb al-Amthāl al-Sādira ‘an Thabūt al-Shi‘r, a book of legends about the preservation of poetry. (Fihrist, p. 199).

(viii) Kitāb al-Tashbihāt, a book on rhetoric. It discusses the topic of similes. (Ibid.; Sarkis, p. 455).

(ix) Kitāb Anwā’ al-Du‘ā’, a book on different forms of soliciting the benediction of Allāh. (Fihrist, loc. cit.).

(x) Kitāb Rasā’il, a collection of letters and epistles. (Ibid.).

(xi) Kitāb al-Tamāthīl fī Tabāshīr al-Surūr. It deals with the similes in respect of the first approach of rejoicing. (Ibid.)

## SECTION II Al-Rayy.

(i) Topography: Al-Rayy (ancient Rhages) was the capital of al-Jibāl. It was situated in the north-eastern corner of the province. Al-Rayy appears to have been one of the chief cities of the Jibāl province in the 4th/10th century. According to Ibn Ḥawqal, 'it is the finest city of the whole east' next to Baghdād. It covered an area of one league and a half square. During the Abbasid Caliphate, al-Rayy was known as Muḥammadiyya in honour of the Prophet Muḥammad(s). Caliph al-Mahdī (158-169/775-785), who had lived here during the reign of his father al-Manṣūr (136-158/754-775), rebuilt the city extending it much. His son Hārūn al-Rashīd was born here. It became the mint city of the province, and the name Muḥammadiyya occurs on many of the Abbasid coins.<sup>1</sup> Al-Maqdisī refers to two great buildings in al-Rayy, one the Dār al-Battikh, 'the water-melon house', and the other the Dār al-Kutub or library.<sup>2</sup> In 617/1220 al-Rayy was taken, plundered and burnt by the Mongol hordes, and from this great calamity it never recovered.<sup>3</sup> Afterwards, the city was rebuilt at a place six miles north-east of al-Rayy under the present name, Teheran, more precisely Ṭihrān, which now is the capital of Iran.<sup>4</sup>

(ii) Arab Conquest: In 22/642 during the Caliphate of 'Umar the conquest of al-Rayy came about two months after the battle of Nihāwand.<sup>5</sup>

1 Le Strange, pp.215-16.

2 Ibid.; Maqdisī, p.391.

3 Le Strange, loc. cit.

4 Ibid, p.217; Ency. Britannica, XIX,3; XXI,880.

5 Ṭabarī, i,2650-56; Balādhurī, pp.317-20; Ibn al-Athīr,iii,11-12.

In the wake of the Arab conquest as many as twelve Companions of the Prophet(s) entered al-Rayy, viz., Nu'aym b. Muqarran<sup>1</sup>, Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī<sup>2</sup>, 'Amr b. Ma'dikarab al-Zubaydī<sup>3</sup>, Qarāza b. Ka'b al-Ansārī (d. 40)<sup>4</sup>, 'Urwa b. Zayd al-Khayl al-Tā'i<sup>5</sup>, Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān (d. 36)<sup>6</sup>, al-Barā' b. al-'Azib (d. 72)<sup>7</sup>, Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās (d. 55)<sup>8</sup>, Simāk b. Kharasha<sup>9</sup>, Simāk b. Makhrama<sup>10</sup>, Simāk b. 'Ubayd<sup>11</sup> and al-Mundhir b. 'Amr.<sup>12</sup> During the reign of Caliph 'Umar, Kathīr b. Shihāb (d. 49),<sup>13</sup> a noted Tābi'i, held the governorship of al-Rayy.<sup>14</sup> Then during the Caliphate of 'Uthmān, the celebrated al-Barā' b. al-'Azib was the governor

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- 1 Ṭabarī, i, 2650. Brother of Nu'mān b. Muqarran. Tajrīd, ii, 120; Isāba, iii, 1172; Usd, V, 34; al-Istī'āb, i, 301.
  - 2 Balādhurī, p. 319. See supra, p.4.
  - 3 Balādhurī, p.320. On him see: Tajrīd, i, 449; Usd, iv, 132-34; al-Istī'āb, ii, 439; al-Nawawī, p.482.
  - 4 Balādhurī, p. 319. Ahādīth transmitted on his authority are preserved in the Sunans of al-Nasā'i and Ibn Māja (Khulāṣa, p.268). On him see: Tajrīd, ii, 15; al-Istī'āb, ii, 535; Isāba, iii, 461-62; Usd, iv, 202; Ibn al-Athīr, iii, 204.
  - 5 Balādhurī, p. 317; Ibn al Faqīh, Kitāb al-Buldān, ed. De Goeje (E.J.Brill, 1885), v, p. 269. On him, see: Isāba, ii, 1134-35.
  - 6 al-Istī'āb, i, 104. Ahādīth narrated on his authority are preserved in Sihāh Sitta (Khulāṣa, p. 63). On him, see: Tajrīd, i, 134; Usd, i, 390-92; Isāba, i, 651-52.
  - 7 al-Istī'āb, i, 59. Ahādīth narrated on his authority are preserved in Sihāh Sitta (Khulāṣa, p.39). On him, see: Tajrīd, i, 48; Isāba, i, 288-89; Usd, i, 171-72; al-Nawawī, p.172; Shadharāt, i, 77.
  - 8 Balādhurī, p. 319. Ahādīth narrated on his authority are recorded in Sihāh Sitta (Khulāṣa, p.115). On him, see: Tajrīd, i, 234; Isāba, ii, 162-65; Tahdhīb, iii, 483-84.
  - 9 On him see: al-Istī'āb, ii, 567; Isāba, ii, 255-56.
  - 10 On him see: Tajrīd, i, 256; Usd, ii, 353.
  - 11 On him see: al-Istī'āb, ii, 567; Isāba, ii, 256.
  - 12 Ṭabarī, i, 2654. On him, see: Tajrīd, ii, 103; al-Istī'āb, i, 275-76; Usd, iv, 418-19.
  - 13 He transmitted ḥadīth. al-Istī'āb, i, 226.
  - 14 Balādhurī, p.318.

of al-Rayy<sup>1</sup>. The famous Tābi‘ūn like al-Sha‘bī (d.103)<sup>2</sup>, Sa‘īd b. Jubayr (d.95)<sup>3</sup> and al-Dahhāk b. Muzāhim (d.105)<sup>4</sup> visited al-Rayy<sup>5</sup>. It is worthwhile to mention that while building the city of al-Rayy al-Mahdī constructed a mosque there<sup>6</sup> — a fact that goes to suggest that an era of scholarly activities began on a large scale at al-Rayy. We have it on the authority of Yāqūt<sup>7</sup> that Sa‘īd b. Jubayr delivered lectures on Tafsīr at al-Rayy where al-Dahhāk b. Muzāhim of Balkh and al-A‘mash (d.148) of al-Rayy attended his classes.<sup>8</sup>

(iii) Introduction of Islamic Sciences: We have seen how the Companions and the Followers visited al-Rayy. Now, their personal interest and endeavour in disseminating Islamic sciences in the region resulted in producing a galaxy of traditionists, jurists, litterateurs and ṣūfī scholars in the 3rd century of the hijra and onward. Before discussing the scholars of the 4th/10th century, it is worthwhile to record here below a list of the 3rd/9th century scholars subjectwise:

Traditionists:

1. Abū ‘Amr Sahl b. Zanjala al-Rāzī (d.240)<sup>9</sup>, author of a collection of ahādīth called Sunan.<sup>10</sup>

1 Buldān, iv, 88.

2 Ahādīth narrated on his authority are preserved in Ṣiḥāh Sitta (Khulāsa, pp. 155-56). On him, see: Wafayāt, i, 244; Huffāz, i, 74-82; Ibn al-Athīr, V, 50.

3 Supra, p. 5.

4 Ahādīth narrated on his authority are recorded in the three Sunans and the Jāmi‘ of al-Tirmidhī (Khulāsa, p. 150). On him, see: Udabā‘, xii, 15-16; Tahdhīb, iv, 453-54; Huffāz, i, 98; Ibn Sa‘d, vi, 210; vii, pt. ii, 102.

5 Balādhurī, p. 320.

6 Balādhurī, p. 319; Ibn al-Faqīh, p. 269.

7 Udabā‘, xii, 16.

8 Ibid.; al-Khatīb, ix, 3.

9 al-Khatīb, ix, 116-17; Huffāz, ii, 35-36; Buldān, iv, 188.

10 Al-Mustatrifa, p. 32.

2. Abū Mas'ūd Ahmad b. al-Furāt b. Khālid al-Dabbī al-Rāzī (d. 258)<sup>1</sup>, compiler of al-Musnad<sup>2</sup> and al-Tafsīr<sup>3</sup>.

3. Abū Ḥatim Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-Ḥanzalī al-Rāzī (d.277)<sup>4</sup>, author of Tabaqāt al-Tābi'īn (biographies of the Followers of the Companions of the Prophet(s)).<sup>5</sup>

4. Abū Yahya 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muḥammad b. Salim al-Rāzī (d. 291)<sup>6</sup>, compiler of al-Musnad<sup>7</sup> and al-Tafsīr.<sup>8</sup>

5. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ayyūb b. Yahya al-Bajalī al-Rāzī (d. 294)<sup>9</sup>, compiler of Kitāb Fadā'il al-Qur'ān (a book on the excellences of the Holy Qur'ān.).<sup>10</sup>

6. Abū Zur'a 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Karīm al-Rāzī (d.264)<sup>11</sup>, author of a Musnad.<sup>12</sup>

#### Jurist:

Abū Bakr Ahmad b. 'Umar al-Khassāf al-Rāzī (d. 261)<sup>13</sup>, author of Adab al-Qādī (regulations regarding juridical proceedings etc.).<sup>14</sup>

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- 1 Al-Khatīb, iv, 343-44; Huffāz, ii, 113-14; Tabaqāt al-Ḥanābala, p. 30; Shadharāt, ii, 138.
- 2 Shadharāt, ii, 138; Mustatrifa, p. 55. 3 Shadharāt, loc. cit.
- 4 Al-Khatīb, ii, 73-77; al-Subkī, i, 299-301; al-Sam'ānī, art "al-Ḥanzalī"; Tabaqāt al-Ḥanābala, p. 206; Huffāz, ii, 132-34; Shadharāt, ii, 171.
- 5 Mustatrifa, p. 115. 6 Huffāz, ii, 234; Mustatrifa, p. 60.
- 7 Ibid. 8 Ibid. 9 Huffāz, ii, 195-96; Shadharāt, ii, 216.
- 10 Huffāz, ii, 195; Mustatrifa, p. 50.
- 11 Al-Khatīb, x, 326-37; al-Sam'ānī, art "al-Rāzī"; Tabaqāt al-Ḥanābala, pp.144-46; Huffāz, ii, 124-25; Shadharāt, ii, 148-49.
- 12 Hājī Khalīfa, ii, 434; Mustatrifa, p. 55.
- 13 Fihrist, p. 290; 'Abd al-Ḥayy al-Lakhnawī, al-Fawā'id al-Bahīyya fī Tarājim al-Ḥanafīyya (Lucknow, 1895), p. 17.
- 14 The book has been arranged under one hundred and twenty chapters. A MS. copy of it is preserved in the library of Rāmpūr, India. Another MS. copy together with a commentary made by 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Māza (d. 536) is preserved in the libraries of London. Vide Tadhkira al-Nawādir, p. 52. For other works of al-Khassāf, see: GAL, i, 173.

Ṣūfī Scholars:

1. Abū Zakariyyā' Yahya b. Mu'adh al-Rāzī (d.258)<sup>1</sup>, author of Kitāb al-Murīdīn (a book on the duties of the spiritual disciplines)<sup>2</sup>.

2. Abū 'Uthmān Sa'id b. Ismā'il al-Hiyarī (d.298)<sup>3</sup>, "author of sublime treatises on various branches of Sufism"<sup>4</sup>.

Historian:

Abū Bakr Ahmad b. Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Rāzī (d.273)<sup>5</sup>, author of Kitāb Akhbār Mulūk al-Andalus (History of the kings of Spain), Kitāb Ṣifat Qurtuba wa Khitāṭihā (Description of Cordova and its lands)<sup>7</sup>.

Poet:

Abū al-'Amaythal 'Abd Allāh b. Khulayd (d.240)<sup>8</sup>, author of Kitāb Mā Ittafaqa Lafzuhu wa Ikhtalafa Ma'nāhu (same words giving different meanings)<sup>9</sup>, Kitāb al-Tashābih (a book on similes)<sup>10</sup>, Kitāb al-Abyāt al-Sā'ira (a book comprising proverbial verses)<sup>14</sup> and Ma'ānī al-Shi'r (meanings of verses)<sup>12</sup>.

1 Al-Sulamī, Tabaqāt al-Sūfiyya (Egypt.1372), pp.107-14; al-Khaṭīb, xiv,208-12; Ibn al-Jawzī, Ṣifat al-Ṣafwa (Hyderābād,1356),iv,71-80; Ibn al-Athīr,vii,102; Wafayāt,ii,224-25; Shadharāt,ii,138; al-Hujwiri, Kashf al-Mahjūb,Eng. tr. by Nicholson (London,1970),pp.122-23.

2 Fihrist, p.260.

3 Al-Khaṭīb,ix,99-102; Tabaqāt al-Sūfiyya,pp.170-71; Ṣifat al-Ṣafwa, iv,85-88; al-Yāfi'i, ii,236; Kashf al-Mahjūb,pp.132-34; Shadharāt, ii,230.

4 Kashf al-Mahjūb, loc. cit.

5 GAL, SI, 231.

6 Ibid.

7 Ibid.

8 Ibid.

9 Fihrist,p.72; Wafayāt,i,262-63; al-Yāfi'i,ii,130; Die grammatischen, pp.54-55.

10 Hājī Khalīfa, ii,297. The book was published by F.Krenkow in London, 1925 under the title of Kitāb al-Mā'thūr fīmā Ittafaqa Lafzuhu wa Ikhtalafa Ma'nāhu.Vide GAL, SI,195= Najjār,ii,257.

11 Hājī Khalīfa, ii,269.

12 Wafayāt, loc. cit.; Hājī Khalīfa, ii,460.

## (IV) 4TH/10TH CENTURY SCHOLARS OF AL-RAYY AND THEIR WORKS

A. AL-MUHADDITHŪN, THE TRADITIONISTS:1. Abū Bishr al-Dūlābī al-Rāzī (d.310/922)

Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Hammād al-Dūlābī<sup>1</sup>, surnamed Abū Bishr, was born in the year 224/838 at Dawlab, a village near al-Rayy. At al-Rayy al-Dūlābī heard ḥadīth from Ahmad b. Abī Shurayh al-Rāzī (d.ca. 245) and Muhammad b. Hamād al-Rāzī (d. 248). Then he undertook journeys in quest of knowledge and heard ḥadīth at Baghdād from Muhammad b. Bashshār al-Baṣrī (d. 252) and Ziyād b. Ayyūb al-Ṭūsī (d.252), and at Hims from Muhammad b. 'Awf b. Sufyān al-Ṭā'ī (d.272), and finally he arrived in Egypt to complete his study under Yūnus b. 'Abd al-A'lā al-Ṣadafī (d.264). He was appointed professor of ḥadīth in Egypt where he taught the science close upon half a century. A number of distinguished traditionists like Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī (d.327)<sup>2</sup>, Ibn Hibbān al-Bustī (d.354)<sup>3</sup>, al-Ḥasan b. Raḥīq al-'Askarī (d.370) and Ibn 'Adī al-Jurjānī (d.365)<sup>4</sup> received ḥadīth from him.<sup>5</sup> Al-Dūlābī was not only a muhaddith but also well-versed in history.<sup>6</sup> Towards the close of his life he left for Makka with a view to performing hajj and died in 310/922<sup>7</sup> at al-'Arj, a mountain road between Makka and al-Madīna.<sup>8</sup>

1 Properly al-Dawlābī but popularly al-Dūlābī (Al-Sam'ānī, art "al-Dawlābī").

2 *Infra*, p.48.

3 *Infra*, p.211.

4 *Infra*, p.314.

5 Al-Sam'ānī, art. 'al-Dawlābī'.

6 *Wafayāt*, i, 507.

7 According to al-Sam'ānī (art. 'al-Dawlābī') in 320 A.H. Notice of his life is also found in *Huffāz*, ii, 291-92; *Lubāb*, i, 431; *Wafayāt*, loc. cit.; *Shadharāt*, loc. cit.; *Lisān*, v, 41; *Sarkis*, pp.292-93.

8 *Buldān*, iii, 637; *Wafayāt*, i, 507; *Shadharāt*, ii, 260.

His works:

(i) Kitāb al-Asmā' wa al-Kunā (Published)<sup>1</sup>

As the title shows this is a comprehensive dictionary of names and nick-names of the first three generations of ruwāt, the transmitters of ḥadīth, viz. the Companions, the Followers and the successors of the Followers. The work starts with the names and the nick-names of the Prophet(s). Then after mentioning the names and the nick-names of the rāshida Caliphs and the rest of al-'Ashara al-Mubashshara, the author gives the names and the nick-names of the Companions as a whole, which he divides into two categories: (i) familiar nick-names arranged alphabetically; and (ii) the nick-names of those Companions who were known by their proper names have been arranged alphabetically. Under each set of nick-names, the names of those Companions who bore the particular nick-names have been listed. Then follows the source of information handed down to the author through a connected chain of transmitters.

As for the nick-names of the Followers and their successors, al-Dūlābī follows similar system, namely, arranging alphabetically, under each set of nick-names, the names of the transmitters.

It so happened that often the names and the nick-names of a group of transmitters being similar caused confusion. To do away with this confusion, al-Dūlābī distinguished them by mentioning the names of their Shuyūkh, professors describing them as distinct personalities.

Kitāb al-Asmā' wa al-Kunā is not merely a dictionary of names and nick-names as stated above, but also records a large

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<sup>1</sup> Hyderābād, 1322 A.H. in two volumes. GAL, i,518; SI,278 = Najjār, iii,222; Sarkis,p.293.



number of traditions and scrutinizes the works of the traditionists. In fact, to enhance the utility of the work al-Dūlābī incorporates the traditions (aḥādīth) he received through their respective chains of narrators. This he did in order to show the importance of a particular nick-name that it was a part and parcel of a chain of narrators through which aḥādīth were transmitted.

Al-Dūlābī's work may be called a criticism of the transmitters of the second and the third generations - the Followers and their successors - because the opinions of the contemporary critics of aḥādīth with regard to a good number of transmitters are recorded in the work.

In short, Kitāb al-Asmā' wa al-Kunā is a useful handbook for students of ḥadīth literature with regard to the names and nick-names of the transmitters.

(ii) Al-Dhurriyya al-Tāhira al-Muṭahhara (MS):<sup>1</sup> It is a compendium of aḥādīth on ahl al-bayt or the descendants of the Prophet (s).

(iii) Akḥbār al-Khulafā': an account of the Caliphs.<sup>2</sup>

(iv) Kitāb al-Majrūhīn.<sup>3</sup> The book seems to have contained the biographies of the weak and wounded authorities of ḥadīth.<sup>4</sup>

## 2. Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī (d. 327/938)

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Idrīs b. al-Mundhir al-Tamīmī al-Ḥanzalī, better known as Ibn Abī Ḥātim, was born in 240/854

<sup>1</sup> Köprülüzāde, İstanbul under No.428 and the library of Erlanger, Tunis. Vide Najjār, iii, 222.

<sup>2</sup> Ḥājī Khalīfa, i, 60. <sup>3</sup> Al-Samʿānī, art, al-Ābandūnī.

<sup>4</sup> Ḥājī Khalīfa, i, 391.

at al-Rayy<sup>1</sup>. After having completed the reading of the Holy Qur'ān with al-Fadl b. Shādhān al-Rāzī (d. ca. 276)<sup>2</sup> he started hearing ḥadīth at his native town from his father Abū Hātim (d. 277) and Abū Zur'ā al-Rāzī (d. 264)<sup>3</sup>, both traditionists of repute. In 255/868<sup>4</sup> while a boy of fifteen Ibn Abī Hātim accompanied his father to al-'Irāq en route to Makka, and heard ḥadīth on the way from Abū Sa'īd al-Ashajj (d. 257)<sup>5</sup>, al-Ḥasan b. 'Arafa (d. 257)<sup>6</sup>, Ahmad b. Sinān al-Qaṭṭān (d. 258)<sup>7</sup> and their contemporaries<sup>8</sup>. In 262/875 he alone travelled over Syria and Egypt in quest of ḥadīth from the traditionists thereof<sup>9</sup>. He spent seven months in Egypt assiduously devoting day and night to the acquirement of the science often foregoing his dinner; for, he would go on meeting the shuyūkh by day and copying and comparing the dictated ahādīth by night<sup>10</sup>. Here he heard ḥadīth from Yūnus b. 'Abd al-A'lā al-Ṣadafī (d. 264)<sup>11</sup> and his compatriot Abū Bishr al-Dūlābī (d. 310)<sup>12</sup>. In 264/887 he returned to al-Rayy via Ispahān. Al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī Ḥasīnak al-Tamīmī (d. 375), Yūsuf al-Mayānājī (d. 375), Abū al-Shaykh al-Iṣbahānī (d. 369) and Abū Ahmad al-Ḥākim al-Kaysābūrī (d. 378), among others, transmitted ahādīth on the authority of Ibn Abī Hātim<sup>13</sup>.

Ibn Abī Hātim led an exemplary pious life given to devotional prayers and fasting to a degree that aroused the admiration of his father. " I know no sin of him"<sup>14</sup>, says his father. His biographer Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī al-Rāzī says: Allāh endowed him with a rare

1 Huffāz, iii, 46. 2 Al-Subkī, ii, 238. 3 Huffāz, iii, 46.

4 Ibid, p. 47. 5 A traditionist of al-Kūfa, On him Huffāz, ii, 77.

6 A traditionist of Baghdād. On him al-Khatīb, vii, 394-96; Shadharāt, ii, 136. 7 A traditionist of al-Wāsiṭ. On him Huffāz, ii, 93.

8 Huffāz, iii, 46. 9 Ibid, p. 47.

10 (sic.) کتابمصر سبعة اشهر لم ناكل فيها مرقه نخارنا ندور على الشيخ وبالليل نسمع ونقابل  
Ibid.

11 Ibid, p. 46. 12 Al-Sam'ānī, art "al-Dawlābī".

13 Huffāz, iii, 46-47; Buldān, ii, 899.

14 (sic.) وقال ابوه: لا اعرف له ذنبا — Huffāz, iii, 47.

combination of physical beauty and spiritual bliss. Whoever cast a glance at him became fond of him<sup>1</sup>.

A profound scholar of the science of tradition Ibn Abī Ḥātim was recognized as an undisputed authority on the texts of traditions and a critic of transmitters<sup>2</sup>. For well over half a century he devoted himself to teaching ḥadīth and compiling books on it. His pen was equally facile in other branches of Islamic lores, viz., al-Tafsīr, al-Fiqh and al-Ta'rikh, a versatile genius that he was.<sup>3</sup> He died in 327/938 at al-Rayy.<sup>4</sup>

His works:

(i) Kitāb al-Jarh wa al-Ta'dīl (partly published)<sup>5</sup>.

This is one of the standard works on the criticism of the transmitters of aḥādīth. While giving his opinion against each transmitter Ibn Abī Ḥātim quotes his father Abū Ḥātim repeatedly. Thus the phraseology سمعت ابي يقول ذلك ( I heard my father say so -) has been mentioned in the majority of the cases. His next source of information is his teacher Abū Zur'a whom he quotes occasionally. As for the contemporary transmitters Ibn Abī Ḥātim adds his own opinion regarding them.

While evaluating transmitters individually, Ibn Abī Ḥātim has given at first the list of their shuyūkh on whose authorities they transmit aḥādīth. Then he closely investigates every

1 Ibid.

2 Ibid, pp. 46-47.

3 Buldān, ii, 899.

4 Shadharāt, ii, 308. Notice of his life is also available in al-Sam'ānī, art "al-Ḥanzalī"; al-Yāfi'ī, ii, 289; al-Nawawī, p.8; al-Subkī, ii, 237-38; Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 138; Tabaqāt al-Ḥanābala, pp. 318-19; al-Kutubī, Fawāt al-Wafayāt (Egypt, 1951), i, 542; Sarkis, p.28; Huart, p.225.

5 Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif, Hyderabad, 1360 A.H. For the MSS. of the book, GAL, i, 167; SI, 278 = Najjār, iii, 223; Tadhkira al-Nawādir, p.90.

transmitter and gives his opinion as follows:

(a) With regard to sound transmitters, he uses any or more of the following phraseologies, viz., *لا بأس به، صالح الحديث، صدوق، ثقة* etc.

(b) With regard to weak transmitters, he uses any of the following phraseologies: *لا اعرفه، يكذب في الحديث، متروك الحديث، ضعيف، مجهول، حديثه يدل على الكذب، لم يكن صاحب الحفظ* etc.

(c) There are a good number of transmitters included in the work under review about whose veracity Ibn Abī Hātim does not speak in so many words, but in order to show them as acceptable guarantors he mentions the names of some trust-worthy contemporary traditionists who used to narrate ḥadīth on their authorities<sup>1</sup> - thus indirectly including them as reliable transmitters of ḥadīth.

While studying the remarks of Ibn Abī Hātim against individual transmitter one may get some idea of the principle on which he would judge his merits or demerits. The most significant aspect of his criticism is that he does not make any derogatory remarks against the transmitters, but he uses guarded language with a view to indicating their respective status. As a matter of fact, Ibn Abī Hātim was very judicious in weighing the veracity and otherwise of the transmitters<sup>2</sup>.

Kitāb al-Jarh wa al-Ta'dīl was recognized by the Muhaddithūn as an undisputed authority on the criticism of the ruwāt (transmitters of ahādīth). According to Yahya b. Manda (d.511), the work

1 To cite a few examples:

٦١١ - عمر بن السائب: روى عن اسامة بن زيد. روى عنه الليث بن سعد سمعت ابي يقول ذلك - ج ٣ (١) ص ١١٤

٧٣٩ - عمر بن مهاجر ابو حفص الانصارى البصرى: روى عن انس بن مالك انه يصلى متربعا روى عنه سفیان الثوري وحسن بن صالح سمعت ابي يقول ذلك ايضا ص ١٣٥

٢٩٢ - غسان بن الفضل ابو عمر والسجستاني نزيل مكة: روى عن حماد بن زيد وصبیح بن سعيد النخاشى وشر بن ميمون، نا عبد الرحمن قال سمعت ابي يقول ذلك قال ابو محمد وكتب عنه ابو زرعة، ج ٣ (٢) ص ٥١

٧١٥ - قبيصة بن حريك الانصارى روى عن سلمة بن المبحق روى عنه الحسن البصرى سمعت ابي

2 Kitāb al-Jarh wa al-Ta'dīl, vol. iii, pt. i, 413-14. يقول ذلك ايضا ص ١١٤

is a clear testimony to the width of knowledge, leadership and memory of Ibn Abī Hātim in the science of traditions.<sup>1</sup> While Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī (d. 748) states that the work is proof of the high position Ibn Abī Hātim occupies in that field<sup>2</sup>.

(ii) 'Ilal al-Ḥadīth (published)<sup>3</sup>. This is an investigation into the cause of 'illat (pl. 'ilal), that is to say, defect of the text of ḥadīth due to the defect of the narrators in the chain through which it is handed down. The main defects are described as follows:

(a) The first narrator or any of the narrators in the chain does neither hear from, nor meet his shaykh on whose authority he narrates the ḥadīth.

(b) Mistake in the name of a shaykh or his father.

(c) A particular narrator in the chain is munkar i.e. unknown or unsound.

(d) A particular narrator in the chain is either dropped out, or added out of mistake.

(e) The name of some shaykh is kept vague by saying "عن رجل" "On the authority of a man". It transpires that this 'man' is unknown or unreliable, and is wont to narrate weak and unsound ahādīth.

(f) A ḥadīth has been shown as marfū<sup>4</sup>, but it is actually mawqūf<sup>5</sup>. Ibn Abī Hātim has arranged his 'Ilal al-Ḥadīth according to the chapters of Jāmi<sup>6</sup>. Under each chapter he introduces the

1 Fawāt, i, 543.

2 Huffāz, iii, 47.

3 Al-Maṭba'a al-Salafiyya, Cairo, 1343-44 A.H.

4 A tradition narrated on the authority of the Prophet(s) is called marfū (al-Muqaddama of al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Dihlawī, printed with Mishkāt al-Masābih, ed. Delhi, 1932, p. 3).

5 A tradition narrated on the authority of a Sahābī is called mawqūf (Ibid).

6 It is a comprehensive collection of ahādīth arranged according to subject-matters. Among six canonical collections the Sahīḥs of al-Bukhārī and al-Tirmidhī are called Jāmi whereas the rest are called Sunan. The difference between Jāmi and Sunan is this: while the Sunans are arranged more or less according to the chapters of

defective ahādīth referring them to the texts quoting them either fully or partly. At times only the chapters are mentioned as hadīth on salāt, adhān or talaq etc.

Ibn Abī Hātim adopts the question-and-answer method with regard to the defects of ahādīth. The majority of the questions were put to his father, some to his teacher Abū Zur'a and still some others to both. Now, while answering questions the system his father or his teacher follows is either (a) to find out the cause of the defect in the chain together with its rectification, (b) to investigate into the character of less known narrators in the chain pronouncing on their soundness or otherwise, (c) to simply find out the defect in the text by using such terms as munkar, unknown, mursal<sup>1</sup> etc. or (d) to show the particular chain as wrong clearly stating the correct narrators and the right chain.

The total number of cases of 'ilal (defects) dealt with in the work comes to 1478<sup>2</sup>.

(iii) Muqaddama al-Jarh wa al-Ta'dīl (MS.)<sup>3</sup>.

This is an introduction to his book al-Jarh wa al-Ta'dīl.

(iv) Kitāb al-Marāsīl (Published).<sup>4</sup>

This is a collection of marāsīl traditions arranged under the chapters of al-Fiqh.<sup>5</sup>

(Foot note contd.)

al-Fiqh not containing, for example, the ahādīth on Tafsīr, commentary of the Holy Qur'ān, the Jawāmi' are more critical in approach having wider range of subject-matters than the Sunan works. ('Abd al-'Azīz al-Khawli, Miftāh al-Sunna, ed. Egypt, 1928, p.30).

1 When a Tābi'ī or a junior Ṣahābī narrates hadīth directly on the authority of the Prophet(s) dropping the name of the Ṣahābī, it is called mursal. The marāsīl of Ṣahāba as a whole and those of reliable Tābi'ūn are considered hujja, guaranteed. ('Alī al-Qārī, Sharh Nukhba, Istanbul, 1327, pp. 103, 109).

2 'Ilal al-Hadīth, ii, 493.

3 Dār al-Kutub al-Misriyya, Cairo. - Najjār, iii, 223.

4 Hyderābād, 1321 A.H. - Ibid.; Sarkis, p.28.

5 Hājī Khalīfa, ii, 299; Sarkis, loc. cit.

(v) Al-Tafsīr (MS.)<sup>1</sup>.

It is a voluminous<sup>2</sup> commentary on the Holy Qur'ān called Tafsīr Ibn Abī Hātim wholly based on the āthār or sayings of the Companions and the Followers with chains of narrators going back to them.<sup>3</sup> Al-Suyūṭī (d. 911) prepared an abridgement of this Tafsīr.<sup>4</sup>

(vi) Kitāb al-Zuhd (MS.)<sup>5</sup>, a discussion on the asceticism of the eight leading personalities of the Followers.<sup>6</sup>

Apart from the works mentioned above, Ibn Abī Hātim compiled a number of books<sup>7</sup> on tradition, theology etc., which have yet to be traced.

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- <sup>1</sup> Kutubkhāna al-Khadiwiyya al-Misriyya, Cairo. - GAL, SI, 279 = Najjār, iii, 223.
- <sup>2</sup> Huffāz, iii, 47; in four volumes according to al-Kutubī (Fawāt, i, 543) and al-Subkī (Tabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyya, ii, 237-38).
- <sup>3</sup> Ibid. <sup>4</sup> Hājī Khalifa, i, 303.
- <sup>5</sup> Zāhiriyya library of Damascus. - Najjār, iii, 223. <sup>6</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>7</sup> These are as follows:
- (i) Manāqib al-Imām al-Shāfi'i, a book on the life and merits of Imām al-Shāfi'i (d.204). - Al-Subkī, ii, 238; Hājī Khalifa, ii, 530.
- (ii) Al-Radd 'alā al-Jahmiyya, a refutation of the school of Jahm b. Sa'wān (d. 128; Hājī Khalifa, i, 536). According to al-Dhahabī (Huffāz, iii, 47) this work exhibits the vast erudition of Ibn Abī Hātim in this field.
- (iii) Al-Musnad. This is a comprehensive collection of ahādīth arranged under the name of the Companion on whose authority they were supported. According to Yahya b. Manda (d.511), the Musnad of Ibn Abī Hātim ran to as many as 1,000 juz' or in the neighbourhood 1,00000 folios. - Fawāt, i, 542.
- (iv) Fadā'il Ahmad b. Hanbal, a book on the merits of Imām Ahmad b. Hanbal (d.241). - Tabaqāt al-Hanābala, p. 318.
- (v) Kitāb al-Sunna, a collection of traditions dealing with religious practices as handed down from the Prophet(s). - Ibid.
- (vi) Al-Fawā'id al-Kabīr. This work appears to be a collection of useful discourses of Ibn Abī Hātim on Apostolic traditions. - Al-Subkī, ii, 238.
- (vii) Fawā'id al-Rāziyayn. This seems to be a work on the biographical notices of Abū Hātim and Abū Zur'a, the father and the teacher of Ibn Abī Hātim respectively, together with their useful discourses. - Ibid.
- (viii) Kitāb al-Kunā: a work on nick-names. - Ibid.
- (ix) Kitāb fi Fadā'il Ahl al-Bayt: a work on the virtues of ahl al-bayt or the descendants of the Prophet(s). - Buldān, ii, 901.

## B. JURISTS:

1. Al-Kulīnī (d. 328/939)

Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb b. Ishāq hailed from Kulīn,<sup>1</sup> a place at al-Rayy. He settled in Baghdād near a place known as Bāb al-Kūfa and died there in 328/939. He was buried in the public graveyard, and an epitaph was inscribed on his tomb saying "this is the grave of Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb al-Rāzī al-Kulīnī al-Faqīh"<sup>2</sup>.

Al-Kulīnī was one of the Shi'ite jurists. He compiled works on Shi'ite rites and rituals. He was also a leading Muhaddith. Among his students the name of Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ṣamīrī has come down to us.<sup>3</sup> His works:

(i) Al-Kāfī fī 'Ilm al-Dīn (Published)<sup>4</sup>. It is one of the four basic Shi'ite books of traditions and is most revered among them. It contains 16199 traditions transmitted through the Shi'ite authorities. The book is divided into thirty four<sup>5</sup> parts according to the chapters of al-Fiqh. The book begins with Kitāb al-'Aql<sup>6</sup>, a book of knowledge and ends with Kitāb al-Rawda, a book of tomb, on 'Alī and the early Shi'ite Imāms.<sup>7</sup>

This popular book of al-Kulīnī earned admiration from many scholars. Al-Khalīl al-Qazwīnī who wrote a long commentary on this

1 It is the first manzil, station in the eastern region of al-Rayy. Vide Buldān, iv, 303.

2 I'jāz Husayn al-Naysābūrī al-Kantūrī, Kitāb Kashf al-Hujub wa al-Astār (Calcutta, 1330 A.H.), pp. 418-19 (sic. هذا كتاب محمد بن يعقوب الرازي الطينى الفقيه).

3 Ibid; Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 141.

4 It was lithographed in Teheran, 1307 A.H. and in Lucknow, 1302 A.H. For the manuscripts and commentaries of the book, see: Kashf al-Hujub, loc. cit.; GAL, SI, 320.

5 Twenty nine or thirty according to Loth (Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts, ed. London, 1877), pp. 32-33 under No. 144.

6 Cf: Bankipore Catalogue, v, pt. i, 179; Loth, p. 33.

7 Loth, loc. cit.



work praised it highly. According to him, in the preservation of Shi'ite principles and teachings no book was comparable to this work.<sup>1</sup>

(ii) Kitāb al-Radd 'alā al-Qarāmiya.<sup>2</sup> It refutes the principles of the Qarmathians.

(iii) Kitāb Ta'bir al-Rū'yā:<sup>3</sup> a book on the interpretation of dreams.

(iv) Kitāb al-Rasā'il<sup>4</sup>: a book on epistles.

## 2. Abū Bakr al-Jassās al-Rāzī (d. 370/980)

An erudite Ḥanafite jurist, Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Rāzī al-Jassās<sup>5</sup> was born at al-Rayy in 305/917. In 325/936 he repaired to Baghdād where he had extensive training in al-fiqh and jurisprudence under Abū al-Ḥasan al-Karkhī (d. 340) and Abū Sahl al-Zajjāz<sup>6</sup>. After a sojourn at Ahwāz he returned to Baghdād and gave coup de grāce to his study under al-Karkhī<sup>7</sup>. Here he also collected from 'Abd al-Bāqī b. Qānī' (d. 351) a huge mass of material on Aḥkām al-Qur'ān.<sup>8</sup> Then, on the advice of his teacher al-Karkhī he went to Nishāpūr accompanying al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī (d.405), where he heard ḥadīth from Abū al-'Abbās al-Aṣamm (d. 346)<sup>9</sup> and others.<sup>10</sup> During his stay at Nishāpūr his teacher al-Karkhī died at Baghdād in 340/951. In 344/955 he returned to Baghdād and settled there. He was appointed professor

1 Kashf al-Hujub, pp. 418-19. 2 Ibid, p.442; Bankipore Catalogue, loc. cit.

3 Bankipore Catalogue, loc. cit. 4 Ibid.; Kashf al-Hujub, p.291.

5 He is called al-Jassās in connection with his plastering and white-washing walls. Vide Lubāb, i, 228-29.

6 Al-Khatīb, iv, 314; 'Abd al-Qādir al-Qurashī, al-Jawāhir al-Muḍīyya fī Ṭabaqāt al-Hanafīyya (Hyderābād, 1332), i, 84.

7 Al-Jawāhir al-Muḍīyya, i, 85. 8 Ibid.

9 On him, Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan, vol. xiii, No.2 1968, art. al-Aṣamm, the Deaf Traditionist of Nishāpūr by Dr. Muhammad Ishāq. 10 Al-Khatīb, iv, 314.

in Baghdād to deliver lectures on al-Fiqh and jurisprudence. Here a large number of Hanafite scholars like Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khwārizmī (d. 403), Abū al-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Za'farānī and Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Yaḥya al-Jurjānī (d. 398) read with him.<sup>1</sup> He attained the stature of imām or authority on the Hanafite school of law.<sup>2</sup> During the Caliphate of al-Muṭi' (334-63/945-73) he was twice offered the judgeship of Baghdād, which he refused to accept.<sup>3</sup> He died in 370/980 in Baghdād<sup>4</sup>. In taṣawwuf al-Jaṣṣās followed the school of Ma'rūf al-Karkhī (d. 200)<sup>5</sup>.

His works:

(i) Aḥkām al-Qur'ān (Published)<sup>6</sup>

Al-Jaṣṣās compiled a number of valuable works on the Hanafite school of law. But he won an enduring fame by compiling Aḥkām al-Qur'ān or the laws of the Qur'ān.

A brief review of the work is given below:

The contents of the Aḥkām al-Qur'ān, as its very title implies, cover the whole range of verses of the Holy Qur'ān pertaining to commandments and prohibitions. In the preface the author says that he compiled his Usūl al-Fiqh as an introduction to his Aḥkām al-Qur'ān, wherein he discussed the fundamental principles of deducing legal materials from Qur'ānic verses. It is a detailed study of Qur'ānic injunctions. The author makes a

1 Al-Jawāhir al-Mudīyya, i, 85.

2 Al-Khatīb, iv, 314. 3 Ibid.

4 Al-Yāfi'i, ii, 394. Notice of his life is also found in Miftāh al-Sa'āda, ii, 53; Shadharāt, iii, 71; Fawā'id al-Bahīyya, p. 16; Bustān al-Muhaddithin, p. 126; Sarkis, pp. 698-99.

5 Fawā'id al-Bahīyya, loc. cit. On al-Karkhī, see: al-Khatīb, xiii, 199; Shadharāt, i, 360.

6 Ed. by Qillīsalī Rif'at, Istanbul, 1335-38; al-Maṭba'a al-Bahīyya al-Misriyya Idārat al-Multazam, 1347 A.H. For the manuscripts of the book, see: GAL, SI, 335; Husayn Muḥammad, i, 51.

wide survey of the Sūras starting from Sūra al-Baqara and collects and compiles each and every verse pertaining to ahkām i.e. commandments and prohibitions, and offers necessary commentary on it clarifying philological implications and juridical problems, and adding important notes to the topics arising out of it.

(ii) Uṣūl (MS)<sup>1</sup>

It is a book on the principles of jurisprudence.

(iii) Sharh Adab al-Qādi 'alā Madhhabi Abī Hanīfa (MS.)<sup>2</sup>.

This is a commentary on the book Adab al-Qādi (procedural laws according to the Hanafite school) written by al-Khaṣṣāf (d. 261)<sup>3</sup>.

Among other works of al-Jaṣṣāṣ Ḥājī Khalīfa listed seven titles<sup>4</sup>.

1 Kutubkhāna al-Khadiwiyya al-Miṣriyya, Cairo. Vide Ahmad al-Mihai, Fihrist al-Kutub al-Arabiyya (Egypt, 1305), ii, 237.

2 MS. copy is preserved in Leiden.- Vide GAL, i, 173.

3 Ḥājī Khalīfa, i, 72-73.

4 These are:

- (i) Sharh Mukhtasar al-Karkhi: a commentary on the Mukhtasar of al-Karkhi (d. 340), a book on the by-laws of the Hanafite jurisprudence. Vide Ḥājī Khalīfa, ii, 405.
- (ii) Sharh Mukhtasar al-Taḥāwī: a commentary on the Mukhtasar of al-Taḥāwī (d. 321), a book on the by-laws of the Hanafite jurisprudence. Vide *ibid*, p. 400.
- (iii) Mukhtasar Ikhtilāf al-'Ulamā': It is an abridgement of al-Taḥāwī's voluminous work called Ikhtilāf al-'Ulamā' (divergent opinions of the scholars). Vide *ibid*, i, p. 64.
- (iv) Sharh Jāmi' al-Kabīr: a commentary on Jāmi' al-Kabīr of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī (d. 187). Vide *ibid*, pp. 381-82.
- (v) Sharh al-Jāmi' al-Saghīr: a commentary on al-Shaybānī's another work entitled al-Jāmi' al-Saghīr containing 1532 masā'il or juridical problems of Hanafite law. Vide *ibid*, p. 377.
- (vi) Sharh Asmā' Allāh al-Husnā: an exposition of the sacred ninety-nine attributive names of Allāh. Vide *ibid*, ii, 50.
- (vii) Jawābāt al-Masā'il: a book containing answers to certain juridical problems. Vide *ibid*, i, 406.

## C. LITTERATEURS:

Al-Sāhib b. 'Abbād (d.385/995)

Among the litterateurs who flourished in al-Rayy in the 4th/10th century the name of al-Sāhib b. 'Abbād may be mentioned. The celebrated savant, statesman and versatile genius Abū al-Qāsim Ismā'il b. 'Abbād, known to fame in history as al-Sāhib<sup>1</sup> was born in 326/937 at Ṭālqān<sup>2</sup>, a township in the district of Qazwīn in al-Jibāl<sup>3</sup>. He belonged to a family of aristocrats and viziers. His father<sup>4</sup> and grandfather were Buwayhid viziers.<sup>5</sup>

Al-Sāhib b. 'Abbād started his academic career under his father reading with him Arabic grammar and theology at his home at Ṭālqān<sup>6</sup>. Then his father migrated to Ispahān to assume the post, first as a secretary and then a vizier, under the Buwayhid ruler Rukn al-Dawla (320-66/932-76), but he did not survive long to give proper education to his promising son, and died shortly after 335/946<sup>7</sup>. At that time Ibn 'Abbād was merely nine years old<sup>8</sup>. At Ispahān al-Sāhib enrolled himself as a student of 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far b. Ahmad b. Fāris (d.346)<sup>9</sup>, a noted

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- 1 Al-Sāhib rose to the rank of secretary and minister under Mu'ayyid al-Dawla (366-73/976-83) who, being charmed with his ability and wisdom, conferred upon him the epithet of al-Sāhib Kāfi al-Kufāt. (Udabā', vi, 173). But in one version it is said that he got this epithet al-Sāhib on account of his close relationship with Ibn al-'Amīd (d.360), his master and teacher. (Wafayāt, i, 75).
- 2 According to Yāqūt (Buldān, iii, 492) Ṭālqān.
- 3 Al-Sam'ānī, art, 'al-Ṭālqānī'.
- 4 He wrote a book on Aḥkām al-Qur'ān in which he defended the viewpoints of the Mu'tazilites. He died in 335 A.H. On him: Akhbār Iṣbahān, ii, 138; Udabā', vi, 170-72; Wafayāt, i, 76; Lubāb, ii, 77; al-Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥasan Āla Yāsīn, al-Sāhib b. 'Abbād (Maṭba'a al-Ma'ārif, Baghdād, 1376 A.H.), pp. 16-22.
- 5 Al-Sāhib b. 'Abbād, p. 17.
- 6 Ibid., p. 137; Najjār, ii, 268.
- 7 Akhbār Iṣbahān, ii, 138; Udabā', vi, 171; al-Sāhib b. 'Abbād, p. 28.
- 8 Al-Sāhib b. 'Abbād, p. 137.
- 9 Akhbār Iṣbahān, ii, 80; Shadharāt, ii, 372.

traditionist, who had his seminary at the Cathedral mosque there. It is significant that his mother used to offer him daily some dirhams instructing him to give them in charity to the first beggar he would meet on his way to the mosque<sup>1</sup>. This charitable action on the part of his mother appears to have gone a long way to open the door of his future success.

Ibn 'Abbād exhibited an uncommon love for learning and stamina to read days in and days out not only the subject of his study, namely al-Hadīth, but also various branches of learning, such as Qur'ānic sciences, theology, polemics, philology, zoology, medicine, maghāzī, logic, fiqh, jurisprudence etc. He was endowed with a stupendous retentive memory<sup>2</sup>.

Ibn 'Abbād had to cut short his formal academic career and joined as one of sighār al-kuttāb, junior secretaries to Ibn al-'Amīd (d. 360), the vizier of Rukn al-Dawla. But his wide thirst for knowledge remained unsatiated. Fortunately, however, Ibn al-'Amīd could visualize the great intellectual calibre of this young man and took upon himself the sacred duty of training him personally in various domains of arts and culture. Soon, the gulf between the master and the servant vanished giving place to a fast friendship. The relationship, in fact, became so deep that, in one version, Ibn 'Abbād was called al-Sāhib, the friend, par excellence, because of his constant companionship of Ibn al-'Amīd<sup>3</sup>. It should be said in passing that Ibn al-'Amīd was a stylist in Arabic, a born critic, the spokesman of the Jibāl province and the last Jāhiz of the East. He was an embodiment of cultural,

1 Bughya, p. 196.

2 Udabā', vi, 180-81.

3 Wafayāt, i, 75; al-Sāhib b. 'Abbād, p. 140.

intellectual and literary virtues<sup>1</sup>. Ibn 'Abbād paid him high tributes.<sup>2</sup> Ibn 'Abbād was provided with 'fresh fields and pastures new' under the filial care of his benevolent master who seems to have transferred his entire learning and culture to this extra-ordinary genius, ṭālib al-'ilm, the seeker after knowledge. As a matter of fact, al-Ṣāhib b. 'Abbād took full advantage of this association and achieved perfection in the art of correspondence, belles-lettres and literary criticism.<sup>3</sup>

Ibn 'Abbād was passing his thirty-fourth year when Ibn al-'Amīd died. On his death Ibn 'Abbād served as secretary to Abū al-Faḥḥ Ibn al-'Amīd (d. 366), the son and successor of Ibn al-'Amīd, and Mu'ayyid al-Dawla (366-73/976-83), the Buwayhid governor of al-Rayy and Ispahān.<sup>4</sup> It was in 367/977 that al-Ṣāhib b. 'Abbād was appointed the Buwayhid vizier and served successively under Mu'ayyid al-Dawla and Fakhr al-Dawla (366-87/976-97) till his death in 385/995<sup>5</sup>.

It is not our present purpose to weigh and discuss his political and administrative career in which he attained such a unique success which very few of his contemporary viziers could ever boast of<sup>6</sup>. But the glorious chapter of his life, to our mind, was his inborn qualities of head and heart, his love for learning and the learned and the lifelong dedication in quest of knowledge.

We have seen how al-Ṣāhib made the best use of his leisure, while working under Ibn al-'Amīd as secretary, in studying with the latter in such a manner that his acquisition of learning went hand

1 Yatīma, iii, 137.

2 Ibn 'Abbād, al-Kashf 'an Masāwī Shi'r al-Mutanabbī (Maktaba al-Qudsi, Cairo, 1349), p. 4.

3 Al-Ṣāhib b. 'Abbād, p. 140; al-Kashf, p. 4.

4 Udabā', vi, 172-73.

5 Ibid, p. 171.

6 About his political and administrative life, see: Islamic culture, vol. xxx, No.3, July, 1956, art "The Ṣāhib Ismā'il b. 'Abbād".

in hand with his official duties. This splendid phase of his academic life was highlighted even when he occupied the elevated position and discharged his onerous state duties as the prime minister of the Buwayhids. Immediately on his assumption of office as vizier of the Buwayhids in 367/977 he visited 'Askar Mukram in Khūzistān in order to meet Shaykh Abū Ahmad al-'Askarī (d.382) with whom he held literary discourses.<sup>1</sup> It was during his official visits to Baghdād that he sat at the feet of the following erudite scholars of Baghdād:<sup>2</sup>

Abū Sa'īd al-Sīrāfī (d.368), a leading grammarian;<sup>3</sup>

Abū Bakr b. Kāmil (d.350), a student of al-Ṭabarī (d.310) in the sciences of the Qur'ān — its orders and injunctions — hadīth and the history of the transmitters;<sup>4</sup>

Ibn Miqṣam (d.354), a leading grammarian of the Kūfa school.<sup>5</sup>

Besides, he also read with al-'Abbās b. Muḥammad al-Naḥwī<sup>6</sup> and Abū 'Amr al-Ṣabbāgh<sup>7</sup>. But the list of his professors will be a very long one, if we take into account his shuyūkh of al-Hadīth, on account of his insatiable thirst for knowledge of the science to such an extent as has seldom any parallel in the life-history of his contemporary tālibū al-'ilm, students of hadīth literature. Indeed, we have it on the authority of al-Sam'ānī that he left no traditionists of Ispahān, Baghdād and al-Rayy from whom he did not receive ahādīth.<sup>8</sup> The famous maxim "Seek knowledge from the cradle to the grave"<sup>9</sup> appears to have literally manifested itself in the life of al-Sāhib b. 'Abbād. Thus, we find that a few

<sup>1</sup> *Infra*, p.283.      <sup>2</sup> *Udabā'*, vi, 276-79; *Lisān*, i, 413.      <sup>3</sup> q.v. p.255 et. seq.

<sup>4</sup> On him, *al-Khatīb*, iv, 357; *Bughya*, p.153; *Shadharāt*, iii, 2; *al-Sāhib b. 'Abbād*, pp.143-44.

<sup>5</sup> On him, *al-Khatīb*, ii, 206; *Bughya*, p.36; *Shadharāt*, iii, 16; *al-Sāhib b. 'Abbād*, p.144.

<sup>6</sup> On him, *Bughya*, p.276; *al-Sāhib b. 'Abbād*, p.145.

<sup>7</sup> On him, *al-Sāhib b. 'Abbād*, pp.145-46.

<sup>8</sup> (sic.) *سمع الأحاديث من الأصمعيين والبغداديين والرازيين*  
al-Sam'ānī, art "al-Ṭalqānī".

<sup>9</sup> (sic.) *الطلب من المهد إلى المهد*

years before his death in 385/995 al-Ṣāhib enrolled himself as a student of Ibn Fāris (d. 395)<sup>1</sup> at al-Rayy, and became his devoted disciple notwithstanding the fact that he was then at the height of his power and glory as the vizier of the Buwayhids.

There are other educative sources through which al-Ṣāhib imbibed knowledge and cultivated his intellectual pursuits. The following are worth-mentioning:

#### His library.

A true bibliophile, Ibn 'Abbād developed since his early days a hobby of acquiring and purchasing books even at the cost of his bare necessities. This habit grew and increased so much that when he assumed the prime ministership of the Buwayhids, his famous khizānat al-kutub, treasury of books, at al-Rayy, housed as many as 2,06,000 titles comprising priceless and rare Arabic and Persian manuscripts. According to al-Suyūṭī (d.911) the number of volumes on Arabic language and philology alone was the loads of sixty camels<sup>2</sup>. This proverbial library was a cynosure of scholars who would come and study there<sup>3</sup>.

Al-Ṣāhib b. 'Abbād was a voracious reader. A veritable concomitant of his official tours consisted of a fleet of thirty camels carrying books for his study while on journey<sup>4</sup>. In fact, a mobile library was always with him to quench his thirst for knowledge. He was passionately attached to his library and extended it as a plea to the Sāmānid Amīr Nūḥ II (366-87/976-97) when he offered him the prime ministership of Khurāsān. "My private library containing a huge number of scholarly books needs to be carried by as

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Fāris joined as a house-tutor of Abū Tālib Majd al-Dawla at al-Rayy in about 380/990. For details, *infra*, pp.98-99.

<sup>2</sup> Muzhir, i, 97.     <sup>3</sup> Udabā', xiii, 97; al-Ṣāhib b. 'Abbād, pp. 147-48.

<sup>4</sup> Wafayāt, i, 334.



many as four hundred camels or more"<sup>1</sup> — were the memorable words he communicated to the Sāmānīd Amīr just mentioned. In another version, the books were the loads of seven hundred camels<sup>2</sup>.

In 420/1029 — thirty five years after the death of al-Ṣāhib — Sultan Maḥmūd (388-421/998-1030) of Ghazna visited this monumental library on his conquest of al-Rayy. He was obviously amazed and charmed with the vast collection of books. But, on being aware that a number of books thereof contained heresies and religious innovations, he issued orders to sift them and consign them to fire<sup>3</sup>.

Abū al-Ḥasan al-Bayhaqī, the chronicler of the 6th/12th century, consulted books of this library and found its catalogues in ten volumes<sup>4</sup>.

#### His court.

The court of al-Ṣāhib b. 'Abbād, like that of Caliph Ḥarūn al-Rashīd (170-93/786-809), was a resort of contemporary scholars, litterateurs and poets who would throng round him attracted by his patronage and literary munificence. They were provided with royal hospitality and other facilities where an academic atmosphere reigned supreme. As a result, his court became an assembly of intellectuals with whom Ibn 'Abbād frequently passed sleepless nights presiding over high literary and theological discourses. Thus, at night Ibn 'Abbād was altogether a changed man who meted

1 (sic.) وعندي من كتب العلم خاصة ما يحمل على اربعائة جمل او اكثر — Udabā', vi, 259.

2 Al-Ṣāhib b. 'Abbād, p. 148.

3 (sic.) فاستخرج منها كل ما كان في علم الكلام وامر بحرقه

It should be noted here that the following statement of Dr. M. Kabir regarding the burning of the famous library of al-Ṣāhib b. 'Abbād by Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghazna, is wide of the mark:

"Unfortunately for the world of learning, the books of his library, which were catalogued in ten big volumes, were committed to the flames by Maḥmūd of Ghazna when he conquered Rayy in Jumāda II, 420/July 1029, because they were supposed to contain heresies and religious innovations". Vide *Islamic Culture*, vol. xxx, No. 3, July, 1956, P. 193. 4 Udabā', vi, 259.

out cordial treatment to the scholars thus proving true his famous statement purporting to say: (You will find me) by day with all pomp and power (of a mighty vizier)<sup>1</sup> and by night an affable brother.<sup>2</sup>

Al-Tha'ālibī has furnished us with a list of as many as twenty seven names of poets and litterateurs who would grace his court<sup>3</sup>. Their biographical notices are found in the Yatīma. Some of the outstanding figures are: Abū Bakr al-Khwārizmī (d.383), Badi' al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī (d.398), Abū Sa'īd al-Rustumī, Abū al-'Abbās al-Dabbī, Abū al-Hasan al-Jurjānī (d.392), Ibn Bābak (d.410), and Ibn Sakra (d.385).

Ibn Fāris (d.395) and Ibn Bābawayh (d.381) dedicated their respective works namely, al-Sāhibī<sup>4</sup> and 'Uyūn Akhbār al-Ridā<sup>5</sup> to al-Sāhib b. 'Abbād.

Al-Sāhib b. 'Abbād used to spend in charity a huge sum of money to the tune of one hundred thousand dinars annually for the jurists and litterateurs living abroad<sup>6</sup> including five thousand for those of Baghdād alone.<sup>7</sup>

1 Al-Sāhib was "an awe-inspiring personality dreaded alike by his royal patron and other contemporary princes, not to mention the high officials of the state.... The contemporary princes of the House of Buwayh, and those of the Houses of Ziyar and Ispahbed would all appear in front of the palace of the Sahib silent, with eyes downcast, till a chamberlain would announce permission for one of them to enter. A prince thus ushered in would consider himself very fortunate. On entering he would, at the very sight of the Sahib, kiss the ground three or four times before him and then after finishing the business would again kiss the ground before retirement. .... As for the officers of the state, they trembled to see even a chamberlain of the Sahib". —Islamic Culture, vol.xxx, No.3, July 1956, p.192.

It is interesting to note that when Badi' al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī was ushered in before<sup>him</sup> by his father, he started kissing the ground repeatedly evoking the remark of al-Sāhib saying: "يا بني اتعد كمنسجد كانك هدهد" "O my boy, sit down. How long will you prostrate like a hudhud, hoopoe?" — (Yatīma, iii,36).

2 (sic.)

نحن بالخير سلطان وبالليل اخوان

—Ibid, p.38

3 Ibid., pp.32-33.

4 q.v.p.101.

5 q.v.p. 126.

6 Udabā', vi, 249.

7 Al-Muntazam, vii, 180.

### Literary Conferences.

In the fourth century A.H. literary conferences were frequently held at different cultural seats and metropolises of Eastern Caliphate for the advancement of learning and culture. The functions of these conferences were, inter alia, to organize debates and polemics on a given subject inviting the scholars present to participate in these one after another — thus advancing the general level of critical and analytical study of different aspects of arts and letters. Mention in this respect may be made of the conferences held under the auspices of Ibn al-‘Amīd (d. 360) and Buwayhid Amirs participated by the leading litterateurs and poets. Since his early youth Ibn ‘Abbād seized every opportunity to attend these conferences. And he himself organized and held many a literary conference during his regime as secretary and vizier. In this connection mention may be made of literary conferences held at Ispahān, al-Rayy and Jurjān — the first one was that of the huffāz of ḥadīth convened in 349/960.<sup>1</sup> It goes without saying that due to his personal care and interest these conferences were attended by a galaxy of prominent educationists of the country like Ibn Fāris al-Lughawī (d. 395), Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawhīdī (d. 400), Abū Bakr al-Khwārizmī and their like<sup>2</sup>.

Thus, al-Ṣāhib b. ‘Abbād laid his hands on and availed himself of the richest fountain-heads of learning and culture that helped widen his vision and intellectual levels as we shall presently see while reviewing his works.

It is interesting to mention that in spite of his manifold official and administrative preoccupations al-Ṣāhib was seen delivering lectures on ḥadīth with taylasān on and in the robe of a shaykh.

1 Supra, p. 13.

2 Al-Ṣāhib b. ‘Abbād, pp. 149-50.

His lecture-hall was crowded with traditionists, jurists and general scholars who would hear ḥadīth from him. Some idea of the vastness of the gathering would be had from the fact that while dictating aḥādīth he would employ as many as six mustamlis, announcers in different places to broadcast them from his mouth<sup>1</sup>. Among those who narrated aḥādīth on the authority of al-Ṣāhib, the names of the following have come down to us<sup>2</sup>: Abū Bakr al-Muqrī (d. 381), a traditionist of Ispahān<sup>3</sup>; Abū al-Ṭayyib al-Ṭabarī (d. 450), a judge of Baghdād; Abū Bakr b. Abī 'Alī al-Dhakwānī (d. 419), a traditionist of Ispahān.

According to Ibn Ḥajr al-'Asqalānī, al-Ṣāhib b. 'Abbād was ṣadūq, trustworthy narrator of ḥadīth, but he professed the doctrines of the Mu'tazilites<sup>4</sup>.

Al-Ṣāhib b. 'Abbād died at al-Rayy on Friday night, 24th Ṣafar, 385/March, 995. Amīr Fakhr al-Dawla led the funeral procession. Later, his dead body was carried to Ispahān where in the quarter of Bāb al-Dizīyya he was buried in a domed tomb<sup>5</sup>.

Al-Ṣāhib b. 'Abbād was a great author. He produced works on lexicography, philology, epistolary writings, literary criticism, history and theology. He was also an accomplished poet.

His works:

(i) Al-Muḥīṭ (MS)

It is an Arabic lexicon containing a very large number of words, but insufficiently supported by examples<sup>6</sup>. Al-Ṣāhib b. 'Abbād does not arrange the words in a popular alphabetical order, but he followed a novel arrangement dividing the words in different

1 Al-Muntazam, vii, 180; Udabā', vi, 251-52. 2 Lisān, i, 413.

3 q. v. p. 16. 4 Lisān, loc. cit. 5 Wafayāt, i, 76.

6 Wafayāt, i, 75; Huart, p. 159.

groupings of the alphabet based on sounds according to the following table<sup>1</sup>:

- Al-Ḥurūf al-Halaqīyya, the guttural letters, viz., ع، ح، ه، خ، غ
- Al-Ḥurūf al-Lahwiyya, the uvular letters, viz., ق، ك
- Al-Ḥurūf al-Shajriyya, the letters pronounced by the side of the mouth, viz., ج، ش، ض
- Al-Ḥurūf al-Asaliyya, the letters pronounced by the tip of the tongue, viz., ص، س، ز
- Al-Ḥurūf al-Nit'iyya, the palatal letters, viz., ط، د، ت
- Al-Ḥurūf al-Lathawiyya, the gingival letters, viz., ظ، ذ، ث
- Al-Ḥurūf al-Dhalaqīyya, the lingual letters, viz., ر، ل، ن
- Al-Ḥurūf al-Shafawiyya, the labial letters, viz., ف، ب، م
- Al-Ḥurūf al-Hawā'iyya, the letters pronounced by gasping mouth, viz., و، أ، ي

There is a good deal of difference of opinion among the lexicographers and historians as to the number of volumes of al-Muḥit. According to some, the number was seven, while others say that it was ten<sup>2</sup>. But since the discovery of a complete manuscript copy of al-Muḥit in two volumes<sup>3</sup> in the museum of Baghdād,

1 Al-Ṣāhib b. 'Abbād, pp. 237-38.

2 Wafayāt, i, 75; Udabā', vi, 260; Bughya, p. 197; Shadharāt, iii, 114; Zaydān, ii, 308; Hājī Khalīfa, ii, 396; Huart, p. 159.

3 The first volume which contains 444 folios begins with: كلام الحرب  
مبنى على اربعة الحاء: الثلاثي والثنائي والرابعي والخماسي، لا يجاوز بيناء الكلمة  
[الأصلية ذلك الا ان تلحقها الروائد، فقد تبلغ بها حينئذ سبعة نحو  
القرنبلانة وهي دويبة\* - صاحب بن عباد ص ٢٣٦

It ends with: "القنندر من الرجال: القصير الحاذر؛ والضخم من الابل؛  
والابيض من كل شئ. القفنديل: الضخم من الابل - ادلنقق الرجل: اسرع  
وتقدم وخرق مدلنقق؛ بعيد ممتد - القفرنية: القصيرة القمئة؛  
ويقال: قفرنية بالياء" - صاحب بن عباد ص ٢٣٦

all controversies regarding volumes are set at rest. This unique and valuable manuscript of al-Muḥiṭ was transcribed by al-Shaykh Muḥammad al-Samāwī in 1354 A.H.<sup>1</sup>

Besides the complete work of al-Muḥiṭ as detailed above, there are some incomplete manuscript copies of the work preserved in the following libraries:

(i) The library of Sultan Aḥmad III of Turkey has a volume of al-Muḥiṭ transcribed in the 7th/13th century in a nice hand with full vowel-points containing 275 folios. It begins with *حرف الحاء* and ends with *حرف القاف*. A facsimile copy of this volume is preserved in the library of al-Ḥasan al-ʿĀmma in al-ʿIrāq.<sup>2</sup>

(ii) The Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya has a volume containing 274 folios. It was also transcribed in the 7th century A.H.<sup>3</sup>

(iii) In the possession of one of the nobles of Karbala in al-ʿIrāq there is a copy of this work, but the details of the copy are not available<sup>4</sup>.

(foot note continued)

While the second volume which contains 415 pages begins with:

باب الكاف - باب التثاني المضاعف - باب الكاف والشين: كش: كش البكر يكش  
كشيشا: وهو صوت من الكسب والهدير، والكشكشة: لغة تحرف لربيعة  
يقولونها عند قاف التانيث نحو: عليكش وبلش، وبحر لا يكشكش: أي  
لابن زح، صاحب بن عباد، ص ٣٧-٣٦

It ends with:

” اليؤيو: طائر يشبه الباشق، والجمع اليثايا واليثنائي، ..... وقصيدة  
ياويّة: اذا كانت مبنية على الياو، ويايئة: كذلك؛ وقيل ميويّة، ويثيت  
ياء حسنة أي كتبت ياء احسنة“ صاحب بن عباد، ص ٣٧

1 Al-Ṣāhib b. ʿAbbād, p. 235.

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid., p. 236.

4 Ibid.

(ii) Al-Iqnā' (MS)<sup>1</sup>

This book is variously called al-Iqnā' fī al-'Arūd,<sup>2</sup> al-'Arūd,<sup>3</sup> al-Iqnā' fī al-'Arūd wa Takhrīj al-Qawāfi',<sup>4</sup> Kitāb al-'Arūd al-Kāfi or Kitāb Naqd al-'Arūd.<sup>5</sup> It is a work on Arabic prosody. Al-Ṣāhib has divided the book into a muqaddama (introduction), abwāb (sections) and a khātima (conclusion). He discusses in the muqaddama the definition of the science of prosody and its utilities and the division of the poetry to various metres of prosody and their branches. Then he introduces a particular kind of metre under each bāb (section) — the total number of sections coming to sixteen.<sup>6</sup>

(iii) Al-Amthāl al-Sā'ira (MS)<sup>7</sup>

It is a compilation of the proverbs selected from the poetry of al-Mutanabbī (d.354). Al-Ṣāhib b. 'Abbād says in the preface that

<sup>1</sup> A manuscript of it is preserved in the library of Paris under No.6042 and another in Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Cairo. The library of al-Imām al-Hasan al-'Āmma in al-'Irāq possesses a manuscript of the book transcribed from the copy of Cairo. (GAL, SI, 199 = Najjār, ii,270; al-Ṣāhib b. 'Abbād, pp.202-03).

The book begins with:

” العروض ميزان الشعر بما يعرف بكسوره من موزونه ، كما ان النحو معيار الكلام  
به يعرف معربه من ملحونه ، والشعر مبنى على سبب ووتد و فاصلة  
الصاحب بن عباد ، ص ٢٠٤

and ends with:

” الحروف في القافية خمسة : التأسيس ، والرديف ، وحرف الروي ، والوصل  
والخروج . الحركات مست : الرس ، والاشباع ، والمخذو ، والتوجيه ،  
والمجري ، والنفاذ . والهاء اذا كان ما قبلها ساكنا لم تكن وصلا ؛ لقول الشاعر :  
له كغان كف كف ضر - وكف فواضل خضل نداها “ الصاحب بن عباد ، ص ٢٠٤

<sup>2</sup> Hāji Khalīfa, i,132.

<sup>3</sup> Nuzha, p.399.

<sup>4</sup> GAL, SI, 199 = Najjār, ii,270.

<sup>5</sup> Udabā', vi,260.

<sup>6</sup> Al-Ṣāhib b. 'Abbād, pp.203-04.

<sup>7</sup> MSS. of the book are preserved in the libraries of Egypt. — Najjār, ii,91. Al-Ṣāhib begins his book with the following introductory words

” الحمد لله الذي ضرب الامثال للناس ؛ لا يستحي ان يضرب مثلا ما بعوضة فما فوقها ، وصلى الله على  
افصح العرب ، وسر عبد المطلب ، صلى الله عليه و سلم على اله اخيار الامم ، وانوار الظلم “  
الصاحب بن عباد ، ص ٢٠٩

he compiled it for his royal master Fakhr al-Dawla after 372/982 when the latter became al-Shāhanshāh<sup>1</sup>.

Al-Sayyid 'Alī Khān who is known as Ibn Ma'sūm al-Madani (d.1118) informs us of an interesting manuscript copy of al-Amṭhāl al-Sā'ira transcribed during the lifetime of al-Ṣāhib. This copy appears to have belonged to Amīr Fakhr al-Dawla as there are distinct marks of pen left by him on a number of couplets showing them as his choicest pieces of proverbs.<sup>2</sup>

(iv) Al-Kashf 'an Masāwī Shi'r al-Mutanabbī (published)<sup>3</sup>

As the title shows, it is an exposure of the shortcomings of the poetry of al-Mutanabbī. Al-Ṣāhib puts in black and white his impression of the poetry of al-Mutanabbī at the request of a friend of his whose name he does not disclose. But he makes it clear in the preface that to find out the faults and flaws of any poet is not his purpose, far less of al-Mutanabbī whom he held in high esteem. His object was pure and simple — a literary criticism which he accomplished with utmost insight and minuteness. Citing verses of al-Mutanabbī, al-Ṣāhib has pin-pointed glaringly inappropriate words and expressions used by the author and incompact ideas expressed in his poetry — a fault not becoming of al-Mutanabbī.

The treatise was highly praised by al-Shaykh Muhammad Hasan Ala Yāsīn treating it as a valuable source of the literary criticism of the 4th century A.H.<sup>4</sup>

It should be noted that in refuting the criticism of al-Ṣāhib and defending the poems of al-Mutanabbī, Abū al-Hasan 'Alī b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Jurjānī (d. 392)<sup>5</sup>, an associate of al-Ṣāhib, compiled a book<sup>6</sup> wherein he elaborately discussed and clarified the points raised by al-Ṣāhib in his al-Kashf.

1 Al-Ṣāhib b. 'Abbād, p. 207; 209. 2 Ibid., pp. 207-08.

3 Maktaba al-Qudsi, Cairo, 1349 A.H. 4 Al-Ṣāhib b. 'Abbād, p.232.

5 q. v.p.319 6 The title is al-Wasāṭa bayn al-Mutanabbī wa Khusūmihi. For details, see p.324.



( v ) Al-Farq bayna al-Dād wa al-Zā' (MS)<sup>1</sup>: distinction between dād and zā'.

It is a treatise on the philological distinction between the two letters viz., dād and zā'. The reason for compiling this treatise, as al-Ṣāhib says at the outset, was to do away with the confusion the contemporary secretaries and clerks were often prone to in distinguishing between them due mainly to the similarity of their intonation and genus. He has also listed numerous words giving different, even contrary meanings due to the difference of these two letters. He has supported a given meaning of a word by quoting verses of classical poets.<sup>2</sup>

(vi) Rasā'il al-Ṣāhib b. 'Abbād (published):<sup>3</sup> a collection of epistolary writings of al-Ṣāhib.

It is variously known as al-Kāfi fi al-Rasā'il, al-Kāfi al-Rasā'il, Diwān Rasā'il, — all giving the same idea.<sup>4</sup> According to Yāqūt, his Rasā'il were in ten volumes<sup>5</sup>, whereas according to Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī (d.400)<sup>6</sup>, they ran to as many as thirty volumes<sup>7</sup>. To our mind, the version of al-Tawḥīdī carries much

1 A MS. copy is preserved in Daftari Kutubkhāna Fātiḥ Jāmi', Istanbul. It was transcribed on Wednesday, 12th Rajab, 520/August, 1126.— al-Ṣāhib b. 'Abbād, p. 230.

كتاب الفرق بين الصاد والظاء المجتئين؛ وتميز بعضهما من بعض؛ ومعرفة تأليف أبيتهما، إذ كانا حرفين قد اعتاص معرفتهما على عامة الكتاب، لتقارب أحسنهما في المسامع، وإشكال أصل تأسيس كل واحد منهما، والتباس حقيقة كتابتهما، لأن في ترك النظر في ذلك إفساداً للغة؛ وتخييراً لأحكام العربية، وهجنة على من لم يحط به معرفة؛ ومخالفة لحقائق العلماء؛ وبياناً في تفسير المعاني، ألا ترى أنك إذا قلت: قرظت الرجل وقرظته... فالتقرير مدحك آياه، والتقرير ذم واعنياب، وتولاك غفل الرجل اخته إذا منحها أن تنزوح وعضلها إذا عمد إليها، وأنا آبين كل ظاء أتقلت من كلام العرب، وما ورد من تطائره من الصاد، وبالله التوفيق  
ايضا ص ٣١-٣٣.

2 Al-Ṣāhib b. 'Abbād, pp. 230-31. 3 ed. Cairo, 1366 A.H.

4 Ibid, p. 217. 5 Udabā', xv, 34; al-Ṣāhib b. 'Abbād, p. 217.

6 q.v.p. 244.

7 Udabā', xv, 34; al-Ṣāhib b. 'Abbād, p. 217.

weight because he was well-conversant with the library of al-Ṣāhib, more so because he was asked by al-Ṣāhib himself to transcribe all these volumes. Thus he had personal information about the number of the volumes of al-Ṣāhib's epistolary writings. Unfortunately during the era of destruction of Muslim learning and culture in the subsequent period this priceless treasure of Ibn 'Abbād was ravaged. Thanks to the solicitude of the Bibliotheca Nationale of Paris, out of the thirty volumes preserved by it only one volume was transcribed in 577 A.H. It contains a selection of the Rasā'il of al-Ṣāhib, entitled, as given by Brockelmann, al-Mukhtār min Rasā'il al-Ṣāhib. It was printed in Egypt in the year 1366 A.H. under the editorship of two professors viz., 'Abd al-Wahhāb 'Azzām and Shawqī Dayf.<sup>1</sup> They have discussed at length the historical and literary value of the epistles<sup>2</sup>. This printed edition of al-Ṣāhib's Rasā'il contains two hundred and forty five pages comprising two hundred epistles equally divided into twenty abwāb, chapters according to subject matters. It may be noted that al-Ṣāhib's fame rests on prose-writing "the best of which is preserved in his epistolary writings that shed light on the milieu and polity of his era..... It deserves close study for a correct appraisal of the era which marked the decadence of the Abbasids and the resurgence of the Persian power".<sup>3</sup>

(vii) Risāla fī al-Tibb, a treatise on medicine.

On receiving a letter informing him about the ailments of his esteemed friend and close associate Abū al-'Abbās al-Ḍabbī<sup>4</sup>,

1 Al-Ṣāhib b. 'Abbād, pp.217-18.

2 Rasā'il al-Ṣāhib b. 'Abbād, (Madkhal), pp. ج - ت

3 Ṣāhib Ismā'il Ibn 'Abbād by Bashir A. Qureshī- an article published in the Morning News, Dacca, 1966.

4 He was a poet and litterateur (Yatīma, iii, 118-24). After the death of al-Ṣāhib he was chosen as the Buwayhid vizier (Udabā', vi, 260).

al-Ṣāhib b. 'Abbād sent him this treatise. It deals with symptoms of various diseases like fever, spleen, paralysis, lack of appetite etc., their treatment and prescription of diets. The treatise was incorporated in Rasā'il al-Ṣāhib b. 'Abbād.<sup>1</sup>

(viii) Al-Ibāna (published)<sup>2</sup>

It is, as the author himself says in the preface, a mukhtasar, brief treatise on the exposition of the doctrines of the Mu'tazilites supported by the verses of the Holy Qur'an and rational arguments. The work seems to be one of the earliest compilations of al-Ṣāhib.<sup>3</sup>

Al-Sayyid al-Ṣadr names the book as al-Ibāna 'an al-Imāma, but its contents do not bear out this title, as its discussions embrace the fundamentals of the religion of Islam. A brief reference of imāma at the end of the book does not entitle it to be named so. In fact, most of the chapters of the book are on the names and attributes of Allāh and the diverse views of the different schools of theologians concerning them.<sup>4</sup> The materials at our disposal favour its naming as Asmā' Allāh wa Sifātuhu — a title which the earlier scholars include in the list of the compilations of Ibn 'Abbād.<sup>5</sup>

(ix) Al-Tadhkira (published)<sup>6</sup>

It is also a small tract on Mu'tazilite doctrines identical with al-Ibāna compiled after it. Al-Ṣāhib has divided the fundamentals of religion from the point of view of the Mu'tazilites.<sup>7</sup>

1 Rasā'il al-Ṣāhib b. 'Abbād, ed. Cairo, 1366 A.H., pp.228-29; cf: al-Ṣāhib b. 'Abbad, pp.223. et. seq.

2 The booklet containing twenty pages was printed in the first collection of Nafā'is al-Makhtūtāt in 1372 A.H. at al-Najaf al-Ashraf in al-Īraq. For MSS. of the book, Najjār, ii,270; al-Ṣāhib b. 'Abbād, pp.199-200. This book should not be confused with al-Ibāna by Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ash'arī (d.324). Cf: Shadharāt, ii,303 sq.; GAL, SI, 345-46.

3 Najjār, ii,270; al-Ṣāhib b. 'Abbād, p.199.

4 Al-Ṣāhib b. 'Abbād, pp.199-200.

5 Ibid, p.200.

6 This small tract was published in the second collection of Nafā'is al-Makhtūtāt in 1373 A.H.— Ibid, p.211. The booklet begins with:

” الاصول الخمسة: التوحيد، والعدل، والصدق في الوعد والوعيد، والمنزلة بين المنزلتين،  
والامر بالمعروف والنهي عن المنكر ” صاحب بن عباد ص ٢١٢

7 Ibid, p.211.

(x) Risāla fī al-Hidāya wa al-Dalāla (published): a treatise on right guidance and misguidance.

Like al-Ibāna and al-Tadhkira it is a theological treatise. The author has given in this treatise the religious tenets of the ancients on the subject under reference viz., hidāya, right guidance and dalāla, misguidance. He has interpreted the Qur'ānic terms like al-Khatm (sealing), al-Tab' (stamping), al-Aghlāl (shackles) and the like in their allegorical rather than literal sense. It was written in 364 A.H. An autograph copy of this manuscript is preserved in the library of al-Wajīh Majīd in Teheran and was published in 1374 A.H. as the first publication of Anjuman Farhanghi Mehr thereof.<sup>1</sup>

(xi) Al-Manzūma al-Farīda (MS)<sup>2</sup>

It is a qaṣīda, ode containing sixty four verses transcribed in 1087 A.H. Shams al-Dīn Ja'far b. Ahmad al-Bahlūlī compiled a nice and elaborate commentary on this qaṣīda<sup>3</sup> of which two manuscript copies are available in the following sources:

First, a facsimile copy containing fourteen folios is preserved in al-Khizāna al-Taymūriyya in Cairo. It was transcribed in a new Yamanite hand. Neither the name of the transcriber nor its date is mentioned.

Second, another facsimile copy is preserved in Ambrosiana,

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., pp.224-25.

<sup>2</sup> MS. copy of the book is available in Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Cairo. — GAL, SI, 199 = Najjār, ii, 270.

<sup>3</sup> The commentary begins with:

” قالت: ابا القاسم استخففت بالغرل - فقلت: ماذا من ههنا ولا شغلي -  
يحكى عن قائله خاطبته في استخفافه بالغرل وهو اعراضه عن اللهو والصبا فاجابها ان ذلك  
امر لا يصرف اليه همته، ولا يعلق به امره “

and ends with:

” قالت: فعلك في نظم لنزويده - فقلت: ان جوابي منه حتى فعل  
ثم جلاها هنا انها طلبت منه شيئا فاجابها الى ما سألته معجلا :  
قالت: فامل على هذا الفتى معجلا - فقلت: هذا ولم البث ولم ابل  
.....  
.....

تمت القصيدة المباركة بتفسيرها، والحمد لله وحده، وصلى الله على سيدنا  
محمد وآله وسلم تسليما “ صاحب بن عباد ص ٤٤٠-٤٤١

Italy, containing twenty one folios. It was transcribed in a clear Yamanite hand. On it there is a seal dated 1113 A.H.<sup>1</sup>

(xii) Diwān Shi'r (MS)<sup>2</sup>.

Under this title two different copies of manuscripts have been found:

One preserved in the library of al-Imām al-Ḥasan al-ʿĀmma in al-ʿIrāq comprising thirty-seven folios. This copy of the Diwān, however, does not contain all the poems of al-Ṣāhib, but it is confined to those on religion and the religious<sup>3</sup>. It was transcribed in Jumāda II, 1172 A.H. by ʿAbd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm. The Ayā Sofia manuscript, according to al-Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥasan ʿAla Yāsīn, is an identical one.<sup>4</sup>

Another in the library of ʿAllāma Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Yaḳūbī is at al-Najaf. It is a compilation of al-Ṣāhib b. ʿAbbād's poems collected by Shaykh Muḥammad al-Samāwī from Yatīma, Manāqib ʿAlī Abī Tālib and some other printed works on Arabic literature.<sup>5</sup>

(xiii) Unwān al-Maʿārif (published)<sup>6</sup>

It is a short history on the Prophet(s), rāshida Caliphs

1 Ibid, p. 240.

2 Ayā Sofia, Istanbul; Āsafiyya library, Hyderābād. (GAL, SI, 199=Najjār, ii, 270). According to Brockelmann (loc.cit), there are two MS. copies of the Diwān in Ayā Sofia, whose authorship has been referred to al-Ṣāhib b. ʿAbbād by the cataloguer, but on enquiry it was revealed that they were actually of al-Ṣāhib b. Makānis.- Al-Ṣāhib b. ʿAbbād, p.214.

3 The Diwān begins with: قال صاحب الجليل كافي اللقاة أبو القاسم اسماعيل بن عباد رحمه الله تعالى في التوحيد:

لقد رحلت سعدى فعل لك مسعود - وقد انجذت غلوا فعل لك منجد  
لقد بت ارجو الطيف منها يزورني - وكيف يزور الطيف من ليس يرقد

and ends with:

قالوا: خراسان اخرجت رشاً - ليس له في ملاحها ثاني  
فقلت! لا تنكروا محاسنه - فمطلع الشمس من خراسان  
صاحب بن عباد ج ١٦٥-١٦٦

4 Ibid,, p. 214.

5 Ibid.

6 According to Yāqūt (Udabā', vi, 260) the title is Kitāb ʿUnwān al-Maʿārif fī al-Taʿrīkh whereas al-Ṣāhib named it as al-Mukhtasar fī ʿUnwān al-Maʿārif wa Dhikr al-Khalāʿif, (Al-Ṣāhib, b. ʿAbbād, p.228).

down to the Abbasid Caliph al-Muṭī' bi Allāh (334-63/945-73). The book includes those of the Imāms who had taken bayā, or oaths of allegiance as Caliphs during the Umayyad period viz., al-Ḥusayn (d.61), Ibn al-Zubayr (d.73), Muḥammad b. al-Hunafiyya and others. A manuscript copy transcribed in the month of Rajab, 420 — 35 years after the death of al-Ṣāhib — was discovered by al-Sayyid Muḥsin al-Amin. It was printed in the first collection of Nafā'is al-Makhtūtāt at al-Najaf al-Ashraf in 1372 A.H. It contains twenty-nine pages.<sup>1</sup>

(xiv) Risāla fī Ahwāl 'Abd al-'Azīm (published)<sup>2</sup>

It is a booklet on the discussion of the lineage of Abū al-Qāsim 'Abd al-'Azīm al-Ḥasanī — his phases of life, his religious belief, his knowledge and asceticism. A descendant of al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī (d.49), 'Abd al-'Azīm lay buried at al-Shajara, a village near al-Madīna. It consists of two fundamental principles of al-Ṣāhib b. 'Abbād's Mu'tazilite dogmas, viz., al-'adl, justice and tawhīd, oneness of Allāh. Al-Ṣāhib b. 'Abbād paid high tribute to 'Abd al-'Azīm al-Ḥasanī because he was one of those who lent support to the belief of these two principles.<sup>3</sup>

Al-Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥasan Āla Yāsīn says in the foreward of the booklet, "It is regretted that the mention of this risāla has not been made in any early biographical literatures containing the notice

1 Ibid, pp.228-29.

2 It was published in the fourth collection of Nafā'is al-Makhtūtāt in 1374-A.H.

The booklet begins with:

”سألت عن نسب عبد العظيم الحسين المدفون بالشجرة، صاحب المشهد - قدس الله روحه -  
وحاله واعتقاده، وقد علمه وزهده، وأناذركم ذلك على اختصار، بالله التوفيق“

and ends with:

”روى عبيد الله بن موسى، عن عبد العظيم، عن إبراهيم بن أبي محمود قال: قال الرضا  
عليه السلام: ثمانية أشياء لا تكون إلا بقضاء الله وقدره: النوم، واليقظة، والقوة  
والضعف، والصحة والمرض، والموت والحياة“ صاحب بن عباد ص ٢٢٢-٢٢١

3 Ibid, pp.221-22.

of al-Sāhib b. 'Abbād, viz, Mu'jam al-Udabā', Yatīma al-Dahr, Wafayāt al-A'yān and their like. But we have in our possession reliable evidence regarding the soundness of referring this booklet to al-Sāhib b. 'Abbād"<sup>1</sup>.

Dr. 'Abd al-Ḥalīm al-Najjār mentions a manuscript of Qasidatān — two odes preserved in Berlin<sup>2</sup>. He does not give any details.

Besides the books noticed above, titles mentioned in the foot-notes were also compiled by al-Sāhib b. 'Abbād<sup>3</sup>. But they did not seem to stand the ravages of time.

1 Ibid.

2 Najjar, ii, 270.

3 (i) Akhbār Abī al-'Aynā'. — Udabā', vi, 260.

(ii) Al-Anwār. — al-Sāhib b. 'Abbād, p. 242.

(iii) A'yād wa Fadā'il al-Nayrūz. — Fihrist, p. 194; Kashf al-Hujub, p. 424.

(iv) Al-Fusūl al-Muhadhdhiba li al-'Aqūl. — al-Sāhib b. 'Abbād, p. 251.

(v) Al-Imāma. He has discussed in the book the merits of 'Alī b. 'Abī Tālib and his superiority as an Imām. — Wafayāt, i, 75; Udabā' vi, 260.

(vi) Jawharat al-Jamhara. This is actually the abridgement of al-Jamhara fi al-Lughā by Ibn Durayd (d. 321). — Hāji Khalīfa, i, 404.

(vii) Mukhtasar Asma' Allāh wa Sifātuhu. — Udabā', vi, 260; Hāji Khalīfa, ii, 261.

(viii) Nahj al-Sabīl fi al-'Usūl — Udabā', vi, 260.

(ix) Al-Qaḍā' wa al-Qadr. — al-Sāhib b. 'Abbād, p. 251.

(x) Al-Rūz Namja: a daily diary of al-Sāhib b. 'Abbād. — Ibid, p. 243.

(xi) Al-Safīna: an anthology of chosen poems. — Najjār, ii, 270; al-Sāhib b. 'Abbād, p. 245.

(xii) Al-Shawāhid. — al-Sāhib b. 'Abbād, p. 251.

(xiii) Al-Ta'līl. — Ibid, p. 250.

(xiv) Ta'rīkh al-Mulk wa Ikhtilāf al-Duwal. — Udabā', vi, 260.

(xv) Al-Waqf wa al-Ibtidā'. — Nuzha, p. 399.

(xvi) Al-Wazarā'. — Udabā', vi, 260; Kashf al-Hujub, p. 463; Hāji Khalīfa, i, 63; ii, 306.

(xvii) Al-Zaydiyya. — Fihrist, p. 194; Udabā', vi, 260.

## SECTION III. Hamadān.

(i) Topography: In the centre of Jibāl province at the foot of Mount Alwand<sup>1</sup> stands the city of Hamadān<sup>2</sup> which was two hundred and forty miles to the north-west of Ispahān.<sup>3</sup> It had been the capital of Jibāl province during the time of Achaemenids (639 B.C. - 330 B.C.), the Parthians (ca. 250 B.C. - 229 A.D.) and the Sāsānids (229 A.D. - 652 A.D.).<sup>4</sup>

Hamadān stood on the pilgrim route.<sup>5</sup> In the 4th/10th century Ibn Ḥawqal described Hamadān as a large fine city which had been rebuilt since the Muslim conquest. According to Maqdisī, the city had three rows of markets and in one of these stood the grand mosque. Yāqūt who visited Hamadān shortly before it was laid in ruins by the Mongol hordes in 617/1220, states that there were twenty four rustāqs (sub-districts) surrounding the city which were very fertile producing abundant crops, more especially saffron.<sup>6</sup>

(ii) Arab conquest: Just after the battle of Nihāwand in 21/641 the Arabs, after the siege of a few days, occupied Hamadān by a treaty with its Persian governor Khushrawshunum who afterwards revolted breaking the pledge. In the following year the Arabs again laid siege to the city and compelled the inhabitants to conclude a

1 Or Elwend. In ancient time it was known as the Orontes. (Ency. of Islam, ii, 241).

2 The Arab geographers called it Hamadhān (al-Iṣṭakhri, p. 195). It is ancient Ecbatana signifying treasure-house. It is found in the Achaemenid inscriptions as Hagmatana (Le Strange, p. 194).

3 Ibn Rusta, p. 152. Cf: Le Strange, Maps I and V.; also supra, p. 3.

4 Ency. Britannica, xi, 115.

5 Al-Sam'āni, art "al-Hamadhāni".

6 Le Strange, p. 194.



fresh treaty with them agreeing to pay jizya. Thus Hamadān came under the Arab sway in 22/642 during the Caliphate of 'Umar.<sup>1</sup> It appears that during the Arab conquest as many as eight Companions of the Prophet(s) arrived Hamadān, viz., Nu'aym b. Muqarran al-Muzanī<sup>2</sup>, Suwayd b. Muqarran al-Muzanī,<sup>3</sup> al-Qa'qā' b. 'Amr,<sup>4</sup> Hudhayfa b. al-Yamān,<sup>5</sup> Rib'ī b. 'Amir<sup>6</sup>, al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba (d.50)<sup>7</sup>, Jarīr b. 'Abd Allāh al-Bajalī (d.ca. 54)<sup>8</sup> and al-'Alā' b. Wahb b. 'Abd b. Wahbān.<sup>9</sup>

(iii) Introduction of Arabic studies: Unlike other seats of learning of al-Jibāl where ḥadīth had been the main subject of interest, Hamadān developed into an important centre of Arabic studies. This was because the people of Hamadān were, by and large, cultured and literary-minded. They would invite leading poets and Arabic scholars of the country to seminars and debates in order to hear from them lectures and poetical compositions. The nobilities of

- 
- 1 Ṭabarī, i, 2626-27; 2648-50; Balādhurī, p. 309; Ibn al-Athīr, iii, 8; 10-11; Browne, i, 88-172.
- 2 Supra, p. 42.
- 3 Brother of Nu'mān and Nu'aym. The ḥadīth narrated on his authority is preserved in Ṣaḥīḥ of Muslim, the Jāmi' of al-Tirmidhī and the Sunans of Abū Dawūd and al-Nasā'ī and Adab al-Mufrad by Bukhārī (Khulāsa, p. 138). On him, see: Tajrīd, i, 269; al-Istī'āb, ii, 578; Isāba, ii, 309; Uṣd, ii, 381; Tahdhīb, iv, 279.
- 4 Tajrīd, ii, 18; Isāba, iii, 477-78; Uṣd, iv, 207; al-Istī'āb, ii, 535.
- 5 Supra, p. 42.
- 6 Isāba, i, 1029-30; Buldān, ii, 411.
7. The ḥadīth narrated on his authority is preserved in Sihāh Sitta (Khulāsa, p. 329). On him, see: Tajrīd, ii, 98; Akhbār Isbahān, i, 29; Isāba, iii, 927-30; Uṣd, iv, 406-07; al-Istī'āb, i, 250; Shadharāt, i, 56.
- 8 The ḥadīth narrated on his authority is preserved in Sihāh Sitta (Khulāsa, p. 52). On him, vide al-Istī'āb, i, 89-90; Tajrīd, i, 88; al-Nawawī, pp. 190-91. For other references, see Siyar al-Sahāba, vii, 30-38.
- 9 Tajrīd, i, 420; Balādhurī, p. 309.

the city were bibliophiles highly educated and patrons of arts and letters. In this connection we may mention the name of Abū al-Wafā b. Salama, a noble of Hamadān who possessed a treasure-house of manuscripts on Arabic poetry composed by poets of pre-Islamic and early Islamic periods. The value of the library can be estimated from the fact that it was here that Abū Tammām (d. 231) compiled his monumental anthology on Arabic poetry entitled Dīwān al-Hamāsa.<sup>1</sup>

Hamadān produced scholars of rare genius, who made lasting contributions to Arabic language and literature as we shall presently see. Before dwelling upon the above topics, I would like to make here a passing mention of Ibn Dayzīl, the lone traditionist of the 3rd/9th century:

Ibn Dayzīl (d. 281/894).

Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī b. Dayzīl al-Kisā’i<sup>2</sup> al-Hamadhānī was a widely travelled traditionist. He was known as Sifanna<sup>3</sup>, because, during his wanderjahre of long sixty years, he did not leave any of his shuyūkh without being thoroughly benefited by what he received from them.<sup>4</sup> He compiled a juz<sup>5</sup> of ahādīth on ifk,<sup>6</sup> baseless calumny.

#### 4TH/10TH CENTURY SCHOLARS OF HAMADĀN AND THEIR WORKS

##### A. AL-MUHADDITHŪN, THE TRADITIONISTS:

##### 1. ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Hamdān al-Jallāb (d. 342/952).

A mayor of Hamadān, ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Hamdān al-Jallāb,<sup>7</sup>

1 Abū Tammām, Dīwān al-Hamāsa (Deoband, India, 1356 A.H.), pp. 9-10.

2 He is called al-Kisā’i because of his weaving or wearing or dealing in, garments (Lubāb, iii, 40).

3 A kind of bird found in Egypt that devours all the leaves of the tree it sits on. (Ibn ‘Asākir, ii, 205).

4 Al-Sam‘ānī, art "al-Hamadhānī"; Ibn ‘Asākir, ii, 205-06; Lubāb, iii, 293; Huffāz, ii, 166; Shadharāt, ii, 177.

5 i.e. a tract of 80 to 100 folios. 6 Ḥājī Khalīfa, i, 391.

7 It means an importer of slaves and mules (Lubāb, i, 260).

called al-Kharrāz,<sup>1</sup> belonged to Walīdābād̄h, a village near Buznīrūd̄h<sup>2</sup> in Hamadān. A student of Abū Hātim al-Rāzī (d.277)<sup>3</sup>, al-Kharrāz was regarded as an authority of ḥadīth. Among those who received ḥadīth from him were Sālih b. Aḥmad (d.384), Abū Bakr b. Lāl (d.398), Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Hākīm (d.405)<sup>4</sup> and Ibn Fāris al-Luḡhawī (d.390)<sup>5</sup>.

### 2. Al-Asadābād̄hī (d.347/958)

Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Zubayr b. ‘Abd al-Wāhid b. Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā al-Hamadhānī al-Asadābād̄hī hails from Asadābād̄h<sup>6</sup>, a town twenty three miles from Hamadān. He heard ḥadīth from Abū Khalīfa (d.305) of al-Baṣra, Abū Ya‘lā (d.307) of Mawsil, ‘Abdān al-Ahwāzī (d.306) of ‘Askar Mukram, ‘Allān al-Misrī (d.306) of Egypt and Ibn Khuzayma (d.311)<sup>7</sup> of Nishāpūr. He is said to have compiled books on ḥadīth and rijāl which, however, have not come down to us.<sup>8</sup>

### 3. Sālih b. Aḥmad (d.384/994)

A descendant of the celebrated Aḥnaf b. Qays (d.ca.72)<sup>9</sup>, Abū al-Faḍl Sālih b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Hamadhānī al-Simsār was born in 303/915 at Kawmalād̄h, a suburb of Hamadān<sup>10</sup>. He heard ḥadīth from ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Hamdān al-Jallāb, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Hātim al-Rāzī (d.327) and ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Qazwīnī (d.345). In 370/980 he was appointed teacher of ḥadīth in Baghdād. Among those who attended his classes were

1 Whoever maintains himself and his family by sewing articles made of leather like buckets, water-skins etc. is called al-Kharrāz (Lubāb, i,351).

2 Buldān, i,606.

3 Supra, p.44.

4 Infra, p.158 et.seq.

5 Buldān, iv,940; Shadharāt, ii,362.

6 Buldān, i,245.

7 Infra, p.147 et.seq.

8 Al-Sam‘ānī, art "al-Asadābād̄hī"; al-Khatīb, viii,472-73; Buldān, loc. cit.; Huffāz, iii,109; Shadharāt, ii,375.

9 Lubāb, i,25.

10 Buldān, iv,329.

Abū al-Fath b. Abī al-Fawāris al-Baghdādī (d.412), Muḥammad b. al-Faraj b. ‘Alī al-Bazzāz (d.417) and ‘Alī b. Talha al-Muqrī (d.434). He died in 384/994 at Hamadān.<sup>1</sup>

His works:

(i) Tabaqāt al-Hamadhāniyyin.

This is a classified biographical work on the traditionists and transmitters of Hamadān<sup>2</sup>. The work is frequently quoted by al-Sam‘ānī in his Kitāb al-Ansāb and Dhahabī in his Tadhkira al-Huffāz.

(ii) Sunan al-Taḥdīth.

The book is written on the modality of narrating ḥadīth.<sup>3</sup>

These valuable books do not appear to have survived the ravages of time.

4. Ibn Lāl al-Hamadhānī (d.398/1007)

Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. Aḥmad b. Lāl al-Hamadhānī, popularly known as Ibn Lāl, was born in 307/919 in the district of Rūdhrawar lying between Hamadān and Nihāwand.<sup>4</sup> He settled at Hamadān where he heard ḥadīth from his father and from ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Hamdān al-Jallāb (d.342)<sup>5</sup>. He then went to Qazwīn to read ḥadīth with ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Qazwīnī al-Qattān (d.345)<sup>6</sup>. He heard a good deal of ahādīth from Abū Sa‘īd b. al-A‘rābī (d.340), the traditionist and Sūfī saint of Makka<sup>7</sup>. He frequently visited Baghdād in quest of knowledge<sup>8</sup>, and heard ḥadīth from ‘Abd al-Bāqī b. Qānī (d.351) and read jurisprudence with Abū Ishāq al-Marwazī (d.340) and Abū ‘Alī b. Abī Hurayra (d.345), the two famous Shāfi‘ite jurists of Baghdād<sup>9</sup>.

1 Al-Khatīb, ix,331; al-Sam‘ānī, art "al-Hamadhānī"; Huffāz,iii,181-82; Buldān,loc. cit.; al-Yāfi‘ī, ii,418; Shadharāt,iii,109.

2 Al-Khatīb, loc. cit.; Huffāz,iii,182; Mustatrifa,p.115.

3 Al-Khatīb, loc.cit.; Huffāz,loc.cit.; Mustatrifa,p.134.

4 Buldān,ii,832;iv,251.

5 Al-Khatīb,iv,318;Buldān,ii,832.

6 Al-Khatīb,loc.cit.

7 Al-Subkī,ii,86.

8 Al-Khatīb,loc.cit.

9 Al-Subkī, loc.cit; al-Nawawī, p. 674.

It appears that he arrived at Ardabīl to acquire ḥadīth from Ḥafṣ b. 'Umar (d.339)<sup>1</sup> who also received ḥadīth from him<sup>2</sup>. In 374/984 he was appointed a teacher of ḥadīth in Baghdād where al-Dāraqūṭnī (d.385)<sup>3</sup> heard ḥadīth from him. He returned to Hamadān and taught ḥadīth to a number of young scholars including his grandson Abū Sa'd al-Muzaffar b. al-Ḥasan (d.461) and Abū Bakr al-Barqānī (d.425)<sup>4</sup>.

It seems that towards the end of his life Ibn Lāl shifted to 'Akkā<sup>5</sup> in Syria where he died in 398/1007<sup>6</sup>.

His Works:

(i) Kitāb al-Sunan.

It is a collection of aḥādīth arranged according to the chapters of fiqh<sup>7</sup>.

(ii) Mu'jam al-Sahāba<sup>8</sup>

This is a biographical dictionary of the Companions of the Prophet(s) arranged alphabetically. Ibn Shāhba highly praised this work<sup>9</sup>.

B.LITTERATEURS:

Badī' al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī (d.398/1007)

Among the litterateurs who flourished in Hamadān in the

1 Huffāz, iii,65.

2 Al-Khaṭīb, iv,319.

3 Al-Dāraqūṭnī copied the undermentioned ḥadīth from Ibn Lāl in Baghdād

‘أرؤوا اصحابي ثم الذين يلونهم، ثم الذين يلونهم، ثم يفتشوا الكذب حتى يحلف الرجل وان لم يستحلف ويشهد وان لم يستشهد فمن اراد بمجوحة الجنة فليلزم الجماعة ، فان الشيطان مع الواحد، وهو من الاثنين ابد الا لا يخلون رجل بامرأة فان ثالثهما الشيطان ، الا ومن سرته حسنة وساءته سيئته فهو مؤمن’

Al-Khaṭīb, iv,319-

4 Ibid.,pp.318-19.

5 Ibn al-Athīr,ix,87.

6 Ibid.; according to al-Subkī (vol.ii,86) 392 or 397. Notice of his life is also found in Shadharāt,iii,151.

7 Hāji Khalīfa, ii,36-37; Mustaṭrifa, p.32.

8 Hāji Khalīfa, ii,464.

9 (sic.)

قال القاضي بن شهبية في تاريخه في حق مجده ما رأت شيئا احسن منه

Ibid.

4th/10th century the name of Badi' al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī may be mentioned. Abū al-Faḍl Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Yaḥya b. Sa'īd known to fame as Badi' al-Zamān or the Wonder of the Time was born at Hamadān in 358/968. He received thorough education in different branches of Arabic language and literature viz., grammar, rhetoric, prosody, philology and ḥadīth at his home town Hamadān. Among his teachers the names of Abū al-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. Fāris al-Lughawī (d.395)<sup>1</sup> and 'Isā b. Hishām al-Akḥbārī have come down to us. His brother Abū Sa'īd Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Yaḥya al-Saffār al-Faqīh<sup>2</sup> and al-Qādī Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn al-Naysābūrī were among his pupils.<sup>3</sup>

A prodigy of learning and a poet of great genius Badi' al-Zamān was reckoned as a pride of Hamadān. He was gifted with an extraordinarily sharp memory, ready wits and the power of fluent speech<sup>4</sup>. While a boy of twelve al-Hamadhānī accompanied his father to the court of al-Sāhib b. 'Abbād at al-Rayy and charmed him by rendering a Persian verse into Arabic on a particular metre and rhyme, given by al-Sāhib<sup>5</sup>. Later at his twenty five, he met in literary combat his elderly counter-part at Nishāpūr, namely, Abū Bakr al-Khwārizmī (d. 383), and is said to have overpowered him<sup>6</sup>.

As a roving litterateur, al-Hamadhānī visited the courts of the prince Nūḥ b. Mansūr (366-387/976-997) of Bukhārā, Amīr Khalaf b. Aḥmad (d.393)<sup>7</sup> of Sijistān and Sultān Maḥmūd (388-421/988-1030) of Ghazna<sup>8</sup>.

1 *Infra*, p. 96.

2 On him, see: *Udabā'*, ii, 162.

3 *Al-Samānī*, art "al-Hamadhānī"; *Udabā'*, ii, 161-62; *Ency. of Islam*, ii, 242.

4 *Ibid.*

5 Prendergast, Translation of *Maqāmāt* (London, 1917), p.2.

6 *Yatīma*, iv, 168.

7 On him, see: A scholar prince of Sistan by Dr. Muḥammad Ishāq, an article published in *J.A.S.P.*, Dacca, vol. x, No.1, June, 1955, pp.56-6

8 *Yatīma*, loc.cit.; *Ency. of Islam*, ii, 242.

Badī' al-Zamān settled at Herat where he breathed his last in 398/1007 at the age of forty.<sup>1</sup>

His works:

(i) Maqāmāt (Published)<sup>2</sup>

Al-Hamadhānī was the first to write a drama-like composition in rhymed prose known as al-Maqāmāt or assemblies. The credit of introducing rhymed prose in Arabic literature goes to his teacher Ibn Fāris. Taking a clue from his teacher al-Hamadhānī composed as many as four hundred Maqāmāt of which fifty one have come down to us<sup>3</sup>.

Al-Hamadhānī introduced Abū al-Fath al-Iskandarī as the hero of his stories and 'Īsā b. Hishām as narrator, both of whom were imaginary characters. The author has made al-Iskandarī roam about from country to country in various disguises and live on the gifts and charity of the learned generous by exhibiting his talent, eloquence and improvisation. The narrator 'Īsā b. Hishām has been contrived to meet the hero in all the circumstances, in all the places and to narrate his adventures in eloquent compositions<sup>4</sup>. "Each maqāma forms an independent whole, so that the complete series may be regarded as a novel consisting of detached episodes in the hero's life,

1 Yatīma, iv, 167-95. Notice of his life is also found in Wafayāt, i, 39; Shadharāt, iii, 150; Sarkis, pp. 1895-96; Ibrāhīm Afindī, Kashf al-Ma'ānī (Beirut, 1921), p. 4; Zaydān, ii, 275; Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 87; al-Yāfi'ī, ii, 449-50; Abū al-Fidā, ii, 138; Hitti, pp. 403-04; Gibb, Arabic Literature (London, 1926), pp. 69-70; Huart, pp. 132-34; Levy, Persian Literature (London, 1923), p. 28; Najjār, ii, 112-16; Chenery, The Assemblies of al-Ḥarirī (London, 1867), i, 18-70; Ency. Britannica, XI, 115.

2 Beirut, 1924; Būlāq, 1291; Cairo, 1304. Translated into English by Prendergast and was printed in Madras, 1913 and London, 1917. For its manuscripts, editions, commentaries and Eng. translation, see. GAL, SI, 152= Najjār, ii, 115.

3 Ahmad Hasan Zayyāt, Ta'rikh al-Adab al-'Arabīyya (Egypt, 1930), p. 187.

4 Nicholson, pp. 328-29.

a medley of prose and verse in which the story is nothing, the style everything"<sup>1</sup>.

The Maqāmāt of al-Hamadhānī contain mostly imaginary occurrences — some being based on actual facts. He gave an estimation of some of the pre-Islamic and Islamic poets,<sup>2</sup> the state-pressure on the Mu'tazilites,<sup>3</sup> the dialect of the Sasanian cheats<sup>4</sup> and a pen-picture of the seminar convened by Sayf al-Dawla for holding a competition in praise of a horse. He also brought to light contemporary social life and literary activities prevalent in the Eastern Caliphate and some parts of Asia Minor. Besides, theological discussions, glorification of the rulers and ingenious devices of begging also found place in the book<sup>5</sup>.

Al-Hamadhānī's work served as a model of writing for later scholars. Among them the names of al-Ḥarīrī (d.516)<sup>6</sup>, al-Ghazālī (d.505), al-Zamakhsharī (d.538), al-Suyūṭī (d.911), Nāṣif al-Yāziǧī (d.1288) and Nisibī 'Abdīshō' (d.1318) are noteworthy<sup>7</sup>.

(ii) Dīwān (published)<sup>8</sup>.

It is an anthology of poems. In it there is a qasīda (ode) which he composed in praise of Muḥammad b. 'Īsā al-Dānighānī.<sup>9</sup>

(iii) Rasā'il Badī' al-Zamān (published)<sup>10</sup>.

They are 233 in number dealing mostly with private matters.<sup>11</sup> Among these there are some letters expressing congratulation, gratitude<sup>12</sup>, grievances; seeking favour, apology; and narrating

1 Ibid.      2 Prendergast, pp.26-30.      3 Ibid. p.100.

4 Ibid, pp.81-83.      5 Najjār, ii, 112-16.

6 See "Al-Ḥarīrī" by Sirajul Haqq, an article published in the Dacca University Journal, vol. ix, June, 1933, pp. 75-85.

7 Ency. of Islam, iii, 162-64.

8 Cairo, 1321 A.H. under the editorship of Muḥammad Shukri al-Makki. Vide GAL, SI,152=Najjār, ii, 114.

9 Najjār, loc. cit.

10 Constantinople, 1298; Beirut, 1890. Vide Zaydān, ii, 275.

11 Ency. of Islam, ii, 242.

12 Letter No.1.



literary combats<sup>1</sup> etc. The letters are addressed to leading personalities like Abū al-‘Abbās al-Faḍl b. Aḥmad al-Isfarā‘īnī<sup>2</sup>, the minister of Sultan Maḥmūd, the historian Ibn Miskawayh, the litterateur Abū Bakr al-Khwārizmī<sup>3</sup> and the governors Shams al-Ma‘ālī Qābūs<sup>4</sup> and Khalaf b. Aḥmad<sup>5</sup>.

#### C. PHILOLOGISTS:

##### 1. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Hamadhānī (d.ca.321/932).

‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Isā b. Ḥammād al-Hamadhānī belonged to a family who enjoyed reputation for learning and culture for several generations. He was a grammarian, philologist, essayist and poet. He served as secretary to Bakr b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Abī Dulaf al-‘Ijlī (d.285/898)<sup>6</sup>. He was a pious man devoting most of his time to prayers. He died after 320/932<sup>7</sup>. The exact date of his death is not known.

His Work:

Kitāb al-Alfāz al-Kuttābiyya (Published)<sup>8</sup>.

This is a hand-book of Arabic words and phrases. It deals with different modes and ways of expressing the same idea in different words and phrases. The author puts the subject as a heading, and then provides the words and phrases which carry the sense of the subject. For instance, he puts the heading as *اصح الفاسد* (he repaired the damage)<sup>9</sup> and then quotes more than thirty phrases to express the

1 Letters Nos.10 and 46.      2 Letters Nos. 1 and 92.

3 Letter No.27.      4 Letter No.28.      5 Letter No.91.

6 Bakr was governor of Ispahān during the Caliphate of al-Mu‘tadid bi Allāh (279-89/892-902), and died in 285/898. (Ṭabarī, iii,2161; 2180; Ibn al-Athīr, vii, 190; 192).

7 According to Zaydān (ii,189), 327 A.H.; but Brockelmann(GAL, i,127) has 320 A.H.

8 Published by Rev.Father Cheikho in Beirut, 1885 A.D.(GAL, i, 127; SI, 195=Najjār, ii,258. Cf.:Fihrist, p.197; Zaydān, loc.cit.; Kitāb al-Alfāz al-Kuttābiyya (Muqaddama), p.iv; Huart, p.157.

9 Kitāb al-Alfāz al-Kuttābiyya, p.1.

same idea.<sup>1</sup> The author has elaborately discussed three hundred and sixty four such topics in this book. Besides the synonymous words and phrases, he has incorporated in it a chapter on antonyms<sup>2</sup> and a chapter on proverbs.<sup>3</sup> The book also deals inter alia with the distinctive names of different periods of day and night<sup>4</sup> and also their use in the form of verbs,<sup>5</sup> infinitives etc.

The book is useful for scribes and poets. In fact, it was widely used by the contemporary writers, poets and essayists. Al-Sāhib b. 'Abbād praised the author for compiling this useful book in the following words: 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Hamadhānī strung the garlands of chaste Arabic words in a few leaves, and preserved them through the mouths of the boys of elementary schools. By writing this book he removed from the litterateurs the strain of excessive reading, memorizing and consulting books.<sup>6</sup>

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- 1 e.g. جبر الوهن؛ جمع الشتات؛ اصل الخلل؛ رتق الفتق؛ رقع الخرق؛ رم الرث (Ibid).
- 2 Antonyms, viz., الفرح والغم, joy and sorrow; الدنو والبعد, far and near, etc. (op.cit., p.296).
- 3 Proverbs, viz., اسمع من فرس (more keenly hearing than a horse); ابرد من الثلج (more generous than Hātim Tayy); اجود من حاتم طي (colder than ice), etc. (op.cit., p.298).
- 4 Periods of day and night, viz., ثم البكور قبل طلوع الشمس (dawn); ثم الغداة بعد طلوعها (then morning after sun-rise); and so on, he mentions more than twenty. (op.cit., p.287).
- 5 Their uses in verbs, such as غلس القوم (the people started in the darkness of dawn), - وابتكروا (they started in the early morning), - تطهروا (they started at noon), etc. (op. cit., p.288).
- 6 Kitāb al-Alfāz al-Kuttabiyya (Muqaddama), p. iv.

## 2. Ibn Khālawayh (d.370/980)

Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. Khālawayh b. Ḥamdān al-Hamadhānī originally came from Hamadān<sup>1</sup>. In his boyhood he went abroad in quest of knowledge and in 314/926 entered Baghdād where he studied the Holy Qur’ān under Ibn Mujāhid al-Muqri (d.324) and Abū Sa‘īd al-Sirāfi (d.368)<sup>2</sup> and literature, grammar and philology under erudite scholars like Ibn Durayd (d.321), Niftawayh (d.323), Abū Bakr b. al-Anbārī (d.328) and Abū ‘Umar al-Zāhid (d.345)<sup>3</sup>. In Baghdād he also heard ḥadīth from Muḥammad b. Makhlad al-‘Attār (d.331)<sup>4</sup>. On the conclusion of his study he took to teaching, went to al-Madīna and taught ḥadīth in the mosque of the Prophet(s) for several years. Here al-Mu‘āfā b. Zakariyyā’ al-Nahrawānī (d.390) and others heard ḥadīth from him. Then he proceeded to Syria and settled at Ḥalab which became the centre of his literary pursuits. Soon his reputation spread far and wide and students from all corners of the world flocked at Ḥalab to study under him<sup>5</sup>. He proved to be a unique professor in Arabic language and literature<sup>6</sup>. ‘Abd al-Mun‘im b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Ghālbūn al-Ḥalabī al-Muqri (d.389), al-Ḥasan b. Sulaymān (d.ca. 390), Abū Bakr al-Khwārizmī (d.383) and others were among his eminent pupils<sup>7</sup>.

Ibn Khālawayh enjoyed the patronage of Sayf al-Dawla b. Ḥamdān (333-356/944-967) who held him in high esteem and afforded him all facilities for his literary pursuits. He would hold literary meetings and debates with al-Mutanabbī (d.354) in the court of Sayf al-Dawla<sup>8</sup>.

1 Udabā’, ix, 200-201.

2 Udabā’, ix, 201.

3 Nuzha, p.383.

4 Udabā’, ix, 201.

5 Bughya, p.231.

6 Yatīma, i, 76; Udabā’, ix, 201.

7 Nuzha, p.384; Udabā’, ix, 202.

8 Udabā’, ix, 201-202.

As a philologist, Ibn Khālawayh neither follows the school of al-Baṣra, nor of al-Kūfa, but adheres to both the schools by his own choice.<sup>1</sup>

Ibn Khālawayh was a versatile genius. He was a recognized authority in Arabic language, grammar, lexicography and the science of Qira'āt (recitation of the Holy Qur'ān)<sup>2</sup>. He was also a poet of no mean repute and prepared a recension of the Diwān of Abū Firās<sup>3</sup> (d.357). He died at Ḥalab in 370/980<sup>4</sup>.

#### His works:

Ibn Khālawayh compiled a good number of books on the aforesaid subjects. The following works have come down to us:

(i) Kitāb Laysa fī Kalām al-‘Arab<sup>5</sup> (Published), a book on the exceptions to the general rules of grammar current in Arabic language. The exceptions mentioned in the book have been arranged under one hundred and eighty three abwāb or sections and under each section the relevant exceptions are mentioned<sup>6</sup>. The author begins almost all the sections of the book with the phrase Laysa fī Kalām al-‘Arab (Not according to Arabic grammar). In some of the sections he mentions the statements of the earliest grammarians like Sībawayh (d. ca.167) and al-Farrā' (d.207); in

1 Shadharāt, iii, 71-72.      2 Udabā', ix, 202.

3 Ency. of Islam, ii, 394; Najjār, ii, 95.

4 Udabā', ix, 204. Notice of his life is found in Wafayāt, i, 157-58; al-Subkī, ii, 212-13; al-Yāfi‘ī, ii, 394-95; Shadharāt, iii, 71-72; Zaydān, ii, 301; Huart, p.156; Sadruddin, pp.157-59; Flügel, Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber, (Leipzig, 1862), pp.230-31; Ency. of Islam, ii, 394.

5 It is published by Aḥmad al-Shinqīṭī in Cairo, 1327 A.H.

6 Examples: Chapter — The rule, a verb to fall under نَعَلَ-يَفْعَلُ must have guttural letter as the second or the third radical letter. But ten verbs are exceptions to this rule. They are: ابى-يأبى (to refuse), قلى-يقلى (to abhor, to hate), جبى-يجبى (to collect water in a tank), سلى-يسلى (to console), خطا-يخطى (to become fat), عض-يعض (to bite), غسى-يغسى (to ooze out), بغى-يبغى (to become dark),

some he uses quotations from the Holy Qur'ān and in some others he quotes both from the Qur'ānic verses and statements of the grammarians. In most of the sections, however, he quotes in support of the exceptions, verses from the poems of the pre-Islamic and early Islamic poets like Imru' al-Qays (d.540 A.D.), Jarīr (d.110), al-Farazdaq (d.110) and Dhū al-Rumma (d.117). This book is useful for Arabic studies.

(ii) Kitāb al-Rīh (Published)<sup>1</sup>, a booklet on al-Rīh (wind). In this book the author after explaining the derivatives of the word al-Rīh describes the various implications of it by quoting from the Holy Qur'ān, the Hadīth and from the poems of Ibn Durayd<sup>2</sup> (d.321), Sībawayh<sup>3</sup> (d.167), Niftawayh<sup>4</sup> (d.323) and other poets.

(iii) Al-Badī' fī al-Qirā'āt al-Sab'<sup>5</sup>, a book on seven rare readings of the Holy Qur'ān.

(iv) Kitāb al-Qirā'āt al-Shādhda (Published)<sup>6</sup>, a book on the unpopular readings of the Holy Qur'ān. This is actually an abridgement of his work entitled al-Badī' fī al-Qirā'āt al-Sab'. In this book Ibn Khalawayh has given the various unpopular and rare readings of the

(foot note continued):

رَكَانٌ يَرْكُنُ (to incline), قَنَطٌ يَقْنَطُ (to be despaired of). Cf: Ibn Khālawayh's Kitāb Laysa fī Kalām al-'Arab, ed. Ahmad al-Shinqīṭī (Cairo, 1327), p. 2.

1 It has been published by Krackovsky in the periodical called *Islamica*, ii, 336-40. Cf: GAL, SI, 190.

2 Cf: *Islamica*, ii, 337-40. 3 *Ibid.*, p.339. 4 *Ibid.*

5 *Udabā'*, ix, 204; *Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber*, p.231.

6 Professor Bergsträsser edited the book and published it under the title Mukhtasar fī Shawādhdh al-Qur'ān in *Bibliotheca Islamica* (Leipzig, 1933). It was reprinted in Egypt, 1934. In *Fihrist* (p.124) its title is mentioned as Kitāb al-Qirā'āt; in GAL, SI, 190) as Kitāb al-Qirā'āt and Mukhtasar fī Shawādhdh al-Qur'ān; and in *Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber* (p.231) as al-Qirā'āt only.

Qur'ān current in early Islam without mentioning the popular and accepted readings.<sup>1</sup>

(v) Kitāb al-Shajar (Published): a dictionary of an encyclopaedic nature, dealing with plants and trees. This work, in fact, was compiled by Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī, the philologist (d.215)<sup>2</sup>. Ibn Khālawayh took up the work and edited it<sup>3</sup>.

(vi) Sharḥ al-Qirā'āt al-Sab' li Ibn Mujāhid. It is a commentary on the book entitled al-Qirā'āt al-Sab' (seven readings of the Holy Qur'ān) by his teacher Ibn Mujāhid (d.324)<sup>4</sup>.

(vii) Risāla fī I'rāb Thalathīna Sūra min al-Qur'ān<sup>5</sup> (al-Mufaṣṣal): a treatise on i'rāb, a grammatical analysis of the last thirty Sūras of the Holy Qur'ān. The author has given in this book the various probable modes of grammatical construction on the basis of popular readings.

1 For example:

(i) Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d.110) reads,

المجد لله

Ibrāhīm b. Abī 'Abla (d.152) reads,

المجد لله

Ru'uba b. al-'Ajjāj (d.148) reads,

المجد لله

(The popular reading المجد لله is not mentioned at all). Cf: Mukhtasar fī Shawādh al-Qur'ān, p.1.

(ii) Some Arabs read,

قل أعوذ

(The popular reading is قل أعوذ). Cf: Op. cit., p.183.

(iii) Some Arabs read,

بريت الناس

(The popular reading is بريت الناس)

The word نات is a tribal dialect for ناس. Cf: Ibid.

2 GAL (SI,190) ascribes the book to Abū 'Umar al-Zāhid (d.345), the teacher of Ibn Khālawayh. This does not seem to be true. For, no biographers of Abū 'Umar al-Zāhid mention Kitāb al-Shajar as his compilation (Cf: Infra, p. 175). Moreover, Nagelberg's edition of Kitāb al-Shajar to which Brockelmann refers is actually the compilation of Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī (Vide Foreword to Mukhtasar fī Shawādh al-Qur'ān, p.6).

3 Published by Nagelberg from Kirschhain, Germany, 1909 A.D. — Cf: Ibid.; Ency. of Islam, ii, 394.

4 Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber, p.232.

5 Manuscripts of it have been preserved in Daftari Kutubkhāna Āyā Sofia, Istambul, in the British Museum, in Köprülüzāde Muḥammad Pāshā Kutubkhāna Daftari, Istambul and in the libraries of Cairo, and Rāmpūr, India. Vide GAL, i, 125; SI,190=Najjār, ii,241.

(viii) Dīwān Abī Firās al-Hamdānī<sup>1</sup>. Ibn Khālawayh compiled a recension<sup>2</sup> of the Dīwān of Abū Firās.

(ix) Kitāb al-‘Aṣharāt(MS): a book of the tens. In this book the author explains different groups of ten words having similar beginning<sup>3</sup>.

(x) Sharh al-Maqsūra. This book is the exposition of al-Maqsūra composed by his teacher Ibn Durayd (d.321)<sup>4</sup>.

(xi) Kitāb al-Maqsūr wa al-Mamdūd<sup>5</sup>: a book on Arabic grammar dealing with maqsūr and mamdūd. He also wrote a commentary on a book of the same name written by Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. Wallād (d.332).<sup>6</sup>

(xii) Kitāb al-Ishtiqaq: a book on derivatives<sup>7</sup>.

(xiii) Asmā' al-Asad: synonymous words in the meaning of lion. In this book as many as five hundred words have been mentioned giving the meaning of "lion"<sup>8</sup>.

1 This is an anthology by Abū Firās containing touching poems depicting his miserable plight while he was in the prison in Constantinople under the Roman power. The anthology contains a famous qaṣīda, ode addressed to his mother. (Najjār, ii, 92).

2 For the manuscripts of the recension, see: Najjār, ii, 95; 242.

3 GAL, SI, 190=Najjār, ii, 218, 242.

4 Al-Maqsūra is a qaṣīda or ode comprising two hundred and twenty nine verses which Ibn Durayd composed in praise of al-Shāh b. Mikā'il, the governor of Fāris and his sons. As a prologue he describes an imaginary journey to Fāris. Cf: Zaydān, ii, 188; Ḥājī Khalīfa, ii, 509-10. For the manuscripts of the commentary, GAL, SI, 172=Najjār, ii, 179.

5 Fihrist, p.124; Ḥājī Khalīfa, ii, 301.

6 Ḥājī Khalīfa, ii, 301; Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber, p.232.

7 Fihrist, p.124; Ḥājī Khalīfa, ii, 262; Najjār, ii, 242. Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber, p.231.

8 GAL, SI, 190= Najjār, ii, 242. Ḥājī Khalīfa(ii, 261) gives the title as Kitāb al-Asad.

Besides Ibn Khālawayh wrote a good number of books on Arabic grammar and philology, but they have not come down to us.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 (i) Asmā' al-Hayya: a collection of Arabic words which are used to mean serpents. (GAL, SI, 190 = Najjār, ii, 242).
- (ii) Al-Jumal fī al-Nahw: a treatise on Arabic syntax (Ḥājī Khalīfa, i, 402).
- (iii) Kitāb al-Mudhakkar wa al-Mu'annath: a book on the rules regarding genders. (Ibid, ii, 299; Fihrist, p. 124).
- (iv) Kitāb al-Alqāb: a treatise on nicknames. (Ḥājī Khalīfa ii, 265).
- (v) Kitāb Gharīb al-Qur'ān: a book explaining the rare words, phrases and idioms used in the Holy Qur'ān. (Al-Subkī, ii, 213).
- (vi) Kitāb al-Āl. In this book the author mentions the relations to which the word āl is applied and then he describes the āl (descendant) of the Prophet(s) in details. (Ḥājī Khalīfa ii, 264).
- (vii) Kitāb Itraghshsh fī al-Lughā: a book titled Itraghshsh in philology. (Fihrist, p. 124; Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber p. 231).
- (viii) Kitāb al-Mubtadī: a book for the beginners. (Ibid).
- (ix) Kitāb al-Alifāt: a book on the different grammatical uses of the alphabet alif. (Ibid.; Udabā', ix, 204).
- (x) Al-Zinbīl al-Mudawwar: the round wallet (of the beggars). The subject matter of the book is not known. (Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber, p. 231).
- (xi) Sharh Qasīda fī Gharīb al-Lughā. This is a commentary on Qasīda fī Gharīb al-Lughā or Ode on the rare words and phrases in Arabic language — a work composed by his teacher Niftawayh (d. 323). (Ibid).
- (xii) Intiṣār, refutation of some grammatical explanation as given by Tha'lab (d. 291). Vide al-Suyūṭī, al-Ashbāh wa al-Nazā'ir fī al-Nahw (Hyderābād, 1317 A.H.), iv, 137.
- (xiii) Kitāb fī Imāmat 'Alī (al-Tafrishī, Naqd al-Rijāl, ed. Tih-rān, 1318, p. 104).

Ibn Khālawayh also wrote a booklet on the grammatical position of the word مَل in the ḥadīth:

المحمد لله مل السموات ومل الارض ومل ما بينهما ومل ما شئت من شيء

(GAL, SI, 190 = Najjār, ii, 242).



### 3. Ibn Fāris al-Lughawī (d.395/1004).

A celebrated philologist, lexicographer and grammarian of the Kūfa school,<sup>1</sup> Abū al-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. Fāris, was born at Kursuff<sup>2</sup> and brought up and educated at Qazwīn. He started his academic career under his father who was a noted jurist and philologist<sup>3</sup>. He received a thorough training in al-Ḥadīth, al-Fiqh and al-Lughā studying under Abū al-Ḥasan al-Qaṭṭān (d.345)<sup>4</sup>, a well-known teacher of philology and ḥadīth of Qazwīn. Then he went to Zanjān in order to make a special study of grammar and philology under Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan al-Khatīb, a disciple of Tha'lab (d.291)<sup>5</sup>.

As was the vogue, Ibn Fāris undertook journeys in quest of ḥadīth and heard it from al-Ṭabarānī (d.360) of Ispahān, Aḥmad b.

1 Nuzha, p.392; Wafayāt, i,35; Bughya, p.153.

2 It is a village in the rustāq, district of al-Zahrā'. The village is also known as Kursuffa-Jayānābādh (Udabā', iv,80 n.,92). It may be noted that there is a difference of opinion with regard to the nativity of Ibn Fāris. Three places are cited in this respect viz., Kursuffa, Qazwīn and Hamadhān (Udabā', iv,80 n., 81 n. and 82). But the basis of his being a native of Kursuffa seems to be well-founded for two reasons: (i) an earlier MS. copy of his Kitāb al-Mujmal contains the following colophon: تأليف الشيخ أبي الحسين أحمد بن فارس بن زكريا الزهرأوى

Here his nisba, appellation al-Zahrāwī points to the fact that Ibn Fāris was related with the district of al-Zahrā' i.e. Kursuffa; (ii) when asked about his nativity Ibn Fāris mentioned Kursuffa and recited the following couplet:

(Ibid.,pp.92-93). بلادها شدت على سمانى - واول ارض مس جلدى تراجمها

Now, Ibn Fāris was called al-Qazwīnī and al-Hamadhānī and also al-Rāzī, because he passed a major portion of his life at Qazwīn, Hamadhān and al-Rayy, but the fact remains that he was born at Kursuffa.

3 Nuzha, p.393.

4 On him, see: Udabā', xii, 218-20; Huffāz, ii, 69-70; al-Yāfi'i, ii, 337; Shadharāt, ii, 370.

5 Udabā', iv, 81 n.

Ṭāhir al-Munajjim (d.360) of Miyāna<sup>1</sup> and some traditionists of Baghdād. Also on the occasion of hajj, he heard ḥadīth at Makka from 'Alī b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Makki<sup>2</sup>.

During his wanderjahre Ibn Fāris succeeded in acquiring knowledge of various subjects and procuring copies of a good number of rare and essential works on al-Hadīth, al-Fiqh, al-Nahw and al-Luġha. With a vast store of knowledge and rare works Ibn Fāris arrived at Qazwīn and selected al-Jāmi'<sup>3</sup>, the grand mosque as his venue of scholarly pursuits. He preserved all the precious possessions of a scholar viz., the manuscripts referred to above, in a chest placing it inside the mosque. He appears to have taught ḥadīth and grammar at Qazwīn upto 361/971 when he made a bequest of the chest containing the manuscripts<sup>4</sup>, and left for Hamadhān.

Ibn Fāris appears to have selected Hamadhān as his permanent abode<sup>5</sup> where he vigorously pursued his scholarly activities the conditions being there most congenial. He lectured on al-Hadīth, al-Fiqh and linguistic studies, viz., al-Nahw, al-Luġha etc. Here Abū al-Faḍl Badī' al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī (d.398)<sup>6</sup> became his favourite pupil who received thorough training under him in rhymed prose (saj') which helped him to become the pioneer in composing Maqāmāt literature<sup>7</sup>. While Hamza b. Yūsuf al-Sahmī (d.427)<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A populous town on the river Mayānaj in Adharbayjān province close to Jibāl. — Al-Sam'ānī, art "al-Mayānaji"; Buldān, iv, 710; Le Strange, p.170.

<sup>2</sup> Udabā', iv, 82-83, 89.

<sup>3</sup> In the 4th/10th century there were two Jāmi', grand mosques in the town of Qazwīn. — Le Strange, p.219.

<sup>4</sup> Ibn Fāris, Dhamm al-Khatā' fī al-Shi'r, publ. by Husām al-Dīn al-Qudsi with al-Kashf 'an Masāwi Shi'r al-Mutanabbī by al-Ṣāhib b. 'Abbād (Cairo, 1349 A.H.), p.27.

<sup>5</sup> Yatīma, iii, 214. <sup>6</sup> Supra, p.84 sq. <sup>7</sup> Wafayāt, i, 35. Also Supra, p.86.

<sup>8</sup> He is the author of Ta'rikh Jurjān.

and al-Qādī Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Husayn b. 'Alī al-Saymarī (d.436) received from him al-Hadīth and al-Fiqh respectively.<sup>1</sup> The fame of his scholarship exceeded the bounds of Hamadhān, so that he became the teacher of the Buwayhid vizier Abū al-Fath Ibn al-'Amīd (d.366) who utilized his expert services in the acquisition of education and culture<sup>2</sup>; but by this he imperceptibly incurred the displeasure of the powerful Buwayhid secretary, al-Sāhib b. 'Abbād (d.385)<sup>3</sup>. Thus when Ibn Fāris presented his Kitāb al-Hajar to the latter, he refused to accept it observing sarcastically: "Return the Stone (al-Hajar) to the place of its issue" i.e. Hamadhān.<sup>4</sup>

For long twenty years Ibn Fāris resided at Hamadhān. Then he left for al-Rayy in about 380/990<sup>5</sup> to join his new post as

1 Dhamm al-Khatā', p.27.

2 Yatīma, iii, 41; Udabā', iv, 87; vi, 231; xiv, 192.

(sic.) معلّم ابن العميد ابى الفتح

3 The relation between al-Sāhib b. 'Abbād and Ibn al-'Amīd (d.366) was so strained that the former would not even look at the latter. For details, see: al-Muntazam, vii, 179-80; Udabā', xiv, 194-95; Ency. of Islam, ii, 360; The Sāhib Ismā'il b. 'Abbād by Dr. Mafizullah Kabir, an article publ. in the journal Islamic Culture, vol. xxx, No. 3, July, 1956.

4 (Sic.) رد المجر من حيث جاءك — Yatīma, iii, 41. This refusal of Ibn 'Abbād to accept Kitāb al-Hajar from Ibn Fāris has led some authors (Muhibb al-Dīn al-Khatīb, the editor of al-Sāhibī and Shaykh Muhammad Hasan, the biographer of al-Sāhib b. 'Abbād) to conclude that the breach of relationship formerly so sweet was complete between them. This conclusion originated from an assumption that Kitāb al-Hajar was compiled after the compilation of al-Sāhibī. But the fact is that Kitāb al-Hajar had been compiled at Hamadhān long before the compilation of al-Sāhibī which was done at al-Rayy in 382/992. For further information, see: Ibn Fāris, al-Sāhibī (Cairo, 1328), p. > ; Shaykh Muhammad Hasan, al-Sāhib b. 'Abbād (Baghdād, 1376), p. 142.

5 To determine the date Ibn Fāris left for al-Rayy two factors may be considered: (i) his favourite pupil Badi' al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī not finding it worthwhile to stay and study at Hamadhān proceeded towards al-Rayy in 380/990 presumably after the departure of his teacher Ibn Fāris (Yatīma, iv, 168). (ii) Abū Muhammad Nūh b. Ahmad read out al-Sāhibī from top to bottom to Ibn Fāris in Sha'bān, 382/992 at Muḥammadiyya, i.e. the town of al-Rayy (al-Sāhibī, Muqaddama al-Nāshr, p. 4).

tutor of Abū Ṭālib Majd al-Dawla, the son of the Buwayhid Fakhr al-Dawla (366-87/976-97)<sup>1</sup>. Henceforth there opened a new and fruitful chapter to the life of Ibn Fāris. At al-Rayy he availed himself of ample scope and wide opportunity to take to literary pursuits, and compiled most of his works there. It was here that he went over to the school of Imām Mālik (d.179) though originally he was a Shāfi'ite by rite<sup>2</sup>. Al-Sāhib b. 'Abbād now the Buwayhid vizier, knowing him at close quarters, became impressed with his versatile genius. He revised his opinion about him and became his student and admirer<sup>3</sup>. The relation developing between them became so sweet that Ibn Fāris wrote a valuable book on philology for the library of Ibn 'Abbād and entitled it al-Sāhibī after him.<sup>4</sup>

Ibn Fāris laid stress on the need for the contemporary Fuqahā', jurists to acquire profound and wide knowledge of Arabic language in order to understand masā'il al-Fiqhiyya, juridical problems, couched in ilghāz or enigmatical speech. To help study this aspect of the language Ibn Fāris compiled a work<sup>5</sup> listing therein one hundred probable masā'il with their solutions — a proof positive of his genius as a linguist and jurist. This was undoubtedly a new field covered by Ibn Fāris in the domain of Arabic language. Among his successors who imitated this unique style was the celebrated Abū al-Qāsim al-Ḥarīrī (d.516). As a matter of fact, all the biographers confirm that in his thirty second Maqāmā, al-Ḥarīrī borrowed both the style and the material from Ibn Fāris<sup>6</sup>.

1 Nuzha, pp. 392-93; Udabā', iv, 83.

2 Nuzha, p.393.

3

شيخنا ابو الحسين - يعنى ابن فارس - ممن رزق حسن التصنيف وامن فيه من التصنيف

Udabā', iv, 83 -

4 Ibid, p.84.

5 Kitāb al-Masā'il or Fatyā Faqīh al-'Arab.  
(GAL, Si, 198=Najjār, ii, 268.)

6 Wafayāt, i, 35.

Another new field covered by Ibn Fāris, was the Sīra, biography of the Prophet(s). He was the pioneer to write an independent work on the life history of the Holy Prophet(s). Hitherto the scholars confined themselves to producing commentaries, abridgements etc. of the works of the predecessors.<sup>1</sup>

Ibn Fāris was skilled as a poet. Specimens of his poetry have been preserved by Abū Mansūr al-Tha‘alibī in his Yatīma<sup>2</sup>, and Yāqūt in his Mu‘jam al-Udabā’<sup>3</sup>. It is significant that two days before his death in 395/1004 at al-Rayy<sup>4</sup> he composed the following couplets:

يَا رَبِّ إِنَّ ذُنُوبِي قَدْ أَحْطَتْ بِهَا - عِلْمًا وَبِي وَبِعِلْمِي وَإِسْرَارِي  
أَنَا الْمُوَحِّدُ لَكِنِّي الْمُعْرِضُ بِهَا - فَعَبِّ ذُنُوبِي لِتَوْحِيدِي وَإِقْرَارِي

O my Lord ! You cover, by Your knowledge, my sins committed in public and privacy;

I am indeed a monotheist, but I admit of my sins; so do pardon me because of my monotheism and confession (of sins).<sup>5</sup>

As a man, Ibn Fāris was warm-hearted and extremely generous. When need be, he would not hesitate to offer in charity everything he owned even his bed-sheet.<sup>6</sup>

We have seen that Ibn Fāris was an authority on various disciplines, but his special field of interest was linguistics. As such most of his compilations were on grammar, philology and lexicography, though, of course, there were a few works on other

1 Sīra al-Nabawīyya of Ibn Hishām, ed. Dār al-Kutub al-Misriyya, Cairo, 1936, Muqaddama p.9-

2 vol. iii, 218-20. 3 vol. iv, 86-95.

4 Bughya, p.153. Notice of his life is also found in Miftāh al-Sa‘āda, i, 96; al-Yafi‘ī, ii, 442; Shadharāt, iii, 132-33; al-A‘lām i, 184; al-Suyūṭī, Tabaqāt al-Mufasssirin (ed. by A. Meursinge, Leyden, 1839, photographically reproduced, Teheran, 1960), p.4; Sarkis, p.199; Huart, pp.159-60; Ency. of Islam, ii, 377; Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber, p.247.

5 Udabā’, iv, 80-81.

6 Nuzha, p.394.

subjects as we shall presently see.

His works:

(i) Kitāb al-Mujmal fī al-Lughā (partly published)<sup>1</sup>: It is a concise Arabic dictionary arranged alphabetically according to the first radical letter. The author followed the principle of elucidating only the elegant and chaste dialects of the Arabs excluding unfamiliar and post - classical words.<sup>2</sup>

The work has been highly praised by Bākhazī<sup>3</sup>.

As for the muwallada or post-classical words, Ibn Fāris compiled a book entitled: Mutakhayyar al-Alfāz.<sup>4</sup>

(ii) Al-Sāhibi (published)<sup>5</sup>. The work, as evident from its title, was compiled for the celebrated Buwayhid vizier al-Sāhib b. 'Abbād and was entrusted to his treasury after completion.<sup>6</sup>

Ibn Fāris covered a new field in this unique work which deals with Fīḥ al-Lughā or the philosophical approach to the analysis of Arabic language and literature.<sup>7</sup> At the outset the author has discussed the history of the Arabic language, its khatt, script, its position in ancient times, its different dialects and the mode of spelling and pronouncing of words as was in vogue among the different tribes. Then he discussed the Arabic language as used and integrated in the Holy Qur'ān and its i'jāz or the inability of human power to produce its parallel in Arabic.

But the major portion of the work deals with a rational approach to Arabic grammar, its syntax and rhetoric. Ibn Fāris

1 The first volume of the book was published from Cairo, 1332 A.H. For MSS. of the book, Tadhkira al-Nawādir, pp. 113-14; GAL, i, 130; SI, 198=Najjār, ii, 266.

2 Wafayāt, i, 35; Hāji Khalifa, ii, 387; Tadhkira al-Nawādir, p. 113; GAL, SI, 198=Najjār, ii, 265-66; Huart, pp. 159-60; Ency. of Islam, ii, 377.

3 Dumyat al-Qasr (Halab, 1349), p. 297. 4 Najjār, ii, 266.

5 Salafiyya, Cairo, 1328 A.H. 6 Al-Sāhibi, p. 2.

7 GAL, SI, 198=Najjār, ii, 266.

has analysed alphabetically every item of Arabic syntax to its minutest details with copious illustrations and citations from poems and proverbs. The opinions of the a'imma, leaders of Arabic grammar, were quoted in the course of his discussions. The work seems to be indispensable to the grammatical analysis of the Arabic language and is most useful not only to non-Arab students but also to the Arabs. As a matter of fact, the work gives a clear exposition of abstruse and apparent perplexities of various chapters of the Arabic syntax. In a word, al-Ṣāhibī is a mine of information regarding the peculiar features of Arabic language and literature.

(iii) Maqāis al-Lugha (published),<sup>1</sup> Maqāis (sig. miqyās) mean instruments for measuring and hence Maqāis al-Lugha signifies a dictionary containing rules for weighing and measuring diverse meanings of every word current in the Arabic language. Among the compilers of lexicographies arranged in alphabetical order Ibn Fāris has followed a completely new system. He has not arranged his materials according to the initial alphabet and the different changing modes as has been done by Ibn Durayd (d.321) in his al-Jamhara; nor has he followed al-Jawharī (d.393), Ibn al-Manzūr (d.711) and al-Firuzabādī (d.817) who have arranged their books on lexicography viz, al-Ṣihāh, Lisān and Qāmūs respectively, according to the chapters of last alphabets<sup>2</sup>. Apparently it appears that Ibn Fāris has not followed any principle in arranging his material in his lexicon, but after close investigation it will be found that he adhered to the following subtle order:

Ibn Fāris has first classified his materials alphabetically treating every alphabet as a distinct Kitāb or chapter, starting

1 Ed. and publ. by 'Abd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn in Cairo, 1366 A.H. — Najjār, ii, 267.

2 Maqāis, i, Muqaddama al-Nāshir, p.42.

with the chapter on hamza and ending with that of yā. Every Kitāb has been divided into three broad abwāb or sections, viz., (a) section on mudā'af or two-lettered words, the second letter being mushaddad or doubled; (b) section on thulāthī or three-lettered words, and (c) section on rubā'ī or four-lettered words and onward<sup>1</sup>. As the majority of the vocabulary are thulāthī, three-lettered, Ibn Fāris classified them alphabetically according to the second letters. As such the sections on three-lettered words are numerous.

While analysing the meanings of words Ibn Fāris has tried to find out their basic meanings. When the basic meanings of a word are more than one, he has shown whether they are mutaqārib, allied or mutabā'id, remote. In case they are allied, he discusses the principle of their mutual connections. In explaining a word Ibn Fāris has frequently cited the opinions of grammarians and quoted copiously from the Holy Qur'ān and pre-Islamic and early Islamic poetry, in support of a given meaning.

Unlike other authors of lexicons Ibn Fāris has not followed in his Kitāb al-Maqāis, a cut and dried method. Nor is it rigid and monotonous in reading. In fact, Ibn Fāris has lent colour to and shown literary taste in, his lexicon so that it has become a real treat for the reader. According to Yāqūt it is a great work the like of which has not been compiled before.<sup>2</sup> While a modern scholar says: The work is a splendid compilation of Arabic literature.<sup>3</sup>

(iv) Maqāla Kallā (published). This is a short treatise expounding the meanings of the particle "Kallā" lit. not at all,

1 Ibid., pp.42-43.

2 وهو كتاب جليل لم يصنف مثله - Udabā', iv, 84-85.

3 Maqāis, i, Muqaddama al-Nāshir, p.45. — وانه مفخرة من مفاخر التأليف العربي



as used in the Holy Qur'ān. The author, by making a survey of the verses, shows that it is only in the sūras,<sup>1</sup> chapters of the second half of the Holy Qur'ān the particle has been used.<sup>2</sup>

According to Ibn Fāris "Kallā" gives various significant meanings; he quotes the opinions of grammarians in support of his contention.<sup>3</sup> He arranges the meaning in four categories viz., rejection or denial, confirmation of what follows, restraining and adjunct to an oath. He then discusses each category of meaning under a separate bāb or section quoting appropriate verses to bear out a given meaning.<sup>4</sup>

The book was edited with copious foot-notes by professor 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Maymūnī and was published from Cairo in 1344 A.H. along with Thalāth Rasā'il.

(v) Kitāb al-Lāmāt (published). This is again a short treatise on the grammatical use of lām in the Qur'ān. The author has shown as many as twelve different uses of lām, which have been given in twelve bābs. In each bāb the relevant Qur'ānic verses are quoted in support of a particular grammatical use. The tract was edited with copious annotations by professor Bergsträsser and published in *Islamica*, vol.i, (1925), pp.77-99.<sup>5</sup>

It may be noted here that in al-Sāhibī Ibn Fāris has devoted a chapter to the different grammatical uses of lām in the Arabic language.<sup>6</sup>

(vi) Dhamm al-Khatā' fi al-Shi'r (published)<sup>7</sup>. This is a small treatise on poetic license disapproved by Ibn Fāris.

1 They were all Makkan sūras.      2 Thalāth Rasā'il, p. 18.

3 Ibid., pp. 6-8.

4 Ibid., pp.10-17. For further discussion on the particle Kallā, see: al-Suyūṭī, al-Itqān fi 'Ilm al-Qur'ān, (Cairo, 1370), pt. i, 169-70.

5 GAL, SI, 198=Najjār, ii, 267; Maqāis, i, Muqaddama al-Nāshir, p.34

6 pp. 83-87.

7 Along with al-Kashf 'an Masāwī Shi'r al-Mutanabbī by al-Sāhib b. 'Abbād, ed. Maktaba al-Qudsiyya, Cairo, 1349 A.H. For MSS., GAL, i, 130=Najjār, ii, 266.

The object of compiling this treatise, as he says at the outset, was to point out some glaring distortions of the Arabic language to which some poets of earlier days resorted in the name of darūra, exigency.<sup>1</sup> While refuting all the arguments put forward by the protagonists in favour of the so-called exigency Ibn Fāris considered this poetic license madhmūm, blameworthy.

(vii) Awjaz al-Siyar li-Khayr al-Bashar (Published)<sup>2</sup>. This is a small book of eight pages<sup>3</sup> containing the Prophet's genealogy, birth, upbringing and prophethood. It also gives an account of his maghāzī, campaigns.<sup>4</sup>

(viii) Kitāb al-Itbā' wa al-Muzāwija (published)<sup>5</sup>. It is a collection of words which have similar form and are used in inseparable pairs.<sup>6</sup> The words are arranged alphabetically. Al-Suyūṭī prepared an abridgement of the book entitled al-Ilmā' fi al-Itbā' adding some new material which Ibn Fāris seemed to have missed.<sup>7</sup>

(ix) Kitāb al-Thalātha fī al-Alfāz al-Thalātha al-Mutarādifa (MS)<sup>8</sup>. This is a treatise on grammar. Ibn Fāris wants to prove that the words of three consonants of the same type, in which three combinations are possible, are mutarādif, synonymous.<sup>9</sup>

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- 1 For example: الحمي in place of الحمام in the verse: قواطع ملكة من ورق الحمي (p.29); سلام in place of سليمان in the verse: محكمة من صنع سلام (p.31).
- 2 Printed in Algeria, 1301 and lithographed at Bombay, 1311. The title of the booklet is variously mentioned in its different MS. copies: in Escorial, Paris and in Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Cairo as مختصر في نسب النبي ومولده ومنشأه ومبعثه; in Berlin as مختصر سير رسول الله; in Vaticano as رأي الدرر ورامق الزهر في أخبار خير البشر — أخلاق النبي —
- Vide GAL, SI, 198=Najjār, ii, 266-67.
- 3 Maqāis, i, Muqaddama al-Nāshir, p.31.
- 4 Ibid., pp. 30-31.
- 5 Ed. and publ. by R.Brünnow in Giessen, 1906. — GAL, SI, 198=Najjār, ii, 267.
- 6 For instance: ساعب لاعب ومايق دايق والسيف والليف — Zaydān, ii, 309.
- 7 Al-Suyūṭī, al-Muzhir (Egypt, 1282) i, 414; Maqāis, i, Muqaddama al-Nāshir, p.25.
- 8 MS. copy of the book is available in Escorial, Paris. — GAL, i, 130 = Najjār, ii, 266.
- 9 e.g. الحليم, الجميل, اللعيم — Derenbourg, Les Manuscrits Arabe's De'l-Escorial (Paris, 1884), p.238; GAL, i, 130=Najjār, ii, 266; Zaydān, ii, 309; Ency. of Islam, ii, 377.

(x) Khalq al-Insān (MS)<sup>1</sup>. This is a treatise on the names of various limbs of man and his qualities. On this topic many a philologist including Ibn Fāris wrote<sup>2</sup>.

(xi) Qasās al-Nahār wa Samar al-Layl (MS)<sup>3</sup>. This seems to be an anthology made by Ibn Fāris. It contains inter alia the qasīda written by al-Aʿshā (d.8/629)<sup>4</sup> about the Prophet(s), which was published by Thorbecke in the journal *Morgenländ Forschungen*, pp.233 sq.<sup>5</sup>.

(xii) Tamām Faṣīh al-Kalām (MS)<sup>6</sup>. This book is the dhayl<sup>7</sup>, appendix to al-Faṣīh<sup>8</sup>, a book on philology by Thaʿlab. Ibn Fāris compiled this book in 391/1000<sup>9</sup>. It is the same as al-Faṣīh as clarified by ʿAbd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn<sup>10</sup>. In the colophon on the manuscript preserved in the Taymūriyya library, it is stated that the copy was transcribed by Ibn Fāris himself in the month of Ramadān, 393/1002 at Muḥammadiyya. This shows that the book was compiled earlier than 393 A.H. Yāqūt transcribed it from the author's copy in the morning of Sunday, 616/1219 at Marv al-Shāhajān.<sup>11</sup>

- 1 Brockelmann (GAL, SI, 198) gives the title as Maqāla fī Asmā' A'dā' al-Insān. A manuscript of it is preserved in the library of Mawsil. — GAL, SI, loc.cit.
- 2 For the names of the philologists, see: Hājī Khalīfa, i, 474.
- 3 This seems to be the same as al-Layl wa al-Nahār as mentioned by Hājī Khalīfa (vol.ii, 297). Cf: Maqāis, i, Muqaddama al-Nāshir, p.34. MS. copy of the book is preserved in Leipzig. — GAL, SI, loc.cit.
- 4 His full name is Abū Baṣīr Maymūn b. Qays al-Bakrī. As a famous poet he lived during the period of transition from the Jāhiliyya to Islam, and composed a very famous poem in praise of Prophet Muḥammad(s). For his detailed life-history, GAL, i, 37; *Ency of Islam*, i, 477.
- 5 GAL, SI, loc.cit.
- 6 A manuscript of it is preserved in the library of Krenkow and another in the Taymūriyya library of Egypt. — GAL, SI, loc.cit.; Maqāis, i, Muqaddama al-Nāshir, p.27.
- 7 Maqāis, loc.cit.
- 8 Ed. and publ. by J.Barth in Leipzig, 1876. — GAL, i, 118=Najjār, ii, 210-11.
- 9 Udabā', iv, 82. 10 Ibid. Cf: Maqāis, i, Muqaddama al-Nāshir, p.33.
- 11 According to Brockelmann (GAL, SI, 198) there is a manuscript of Tamām al-Faṣīh in the library of Najaf, which Yāqūt transcribed at Marv al-Rūdh on the 7th Rabi II, 616/1219 from author's copy dated 393/1002. — Cf; Maqāis, i, Muqaddama al-Nāshir, p.27.

(xiii) Kitāb al-Masā'il (MS)<sup>1</sup>. The book is also known as Fatya Faqih al-'Arab. Ibn Fāris compiled this book for the Fuqahā' jurists, in order to understand masā'il al-fiqhiyya, juridical problems, couched in ilghāz or enigmatical speech. He has listed in it one hundred probable masā'il with their solutions.<sup>2</sup>

(xiv) Mukhtasar fī al-Mudhakkar wa al-Mu'annath (MS)<sup>3</sup>. This is a small treatise on gender which, according to the author, is indispensable for the learned to know. For, the reverse use of gender is blameworthy.<sup>4</sup>

(xv) Kitāb al-Nayrūz (MS)<sup>5</sup>, a booklet on Nayrūz.<sup>6</sup>

(xvi) Al-Yashkuriyāt (MS)<sup>7</sup>. As the book is not available, its subject-matter is not known.

(xvii) Al-Hamāsa al-Muhdatha (MS). Ibn Fāris was not rigid in his conception of Arabic poetry. He was also dynamic in his approach to the style and form in which Arabic poetry was to be composed, so that it had not to be confined to models furnished by the poets like Abū Tammām, the author of the Dīwān al-Hamāsa. Just as a faqih, or jurist decides legal points arising out of the circumstances in different ages, so also Arabic poetry would be fashioned in a new garb by the poets of the time. With this attitude of mind Ibn Fāris composed his Hamāsa al-Muhdatha, a new and novel type of Hamāsa which was not stereotype of the

1 MS. copy of the book is available in the library of Meshhed.— GAL, SI, 198=Najjār, ii, 268.  
 2 Wafayāt, i, 35; Maqāis, i, Muqaddama al-Nāshir, p. 33.  
 3 A manuscript of the book is preserved in the Taymūriyya library of Egypt. — Maqāis, i, 518 and also Muqaddama al-Nāshir, p. 35.  
 4 Ibid.  
 5 A manuscript of it is preserved in the Zāhiriyya library of Damascus and another in the Taymūriyya library of Egypt. — GAL, SI, 198=Najjār, ii, 267; Maqāis, i, 519 and also Muqaddama al-Nāshir, p. 37.  
 6 The word is arabicized from Nawrūz = first day of the Persian solar year. For details, Ency. of Islam, iii, 888; Malcolm, i, 11.  
 7 A juz', part of the book in manuscript is preserved in the Zāhiriyya library of Damascus. — GAL, SI, 198=Najjār, ii, 267.

Hamāsa of Abū Tammām<sup>1</sup>.

Some excerpts of this novel Hamāsa are to be found in a manuscript preserved in Āyā Sofia under the title al-Tadhkira al-Sa'diyya<sup>2</sup>.

(xviii) Sīrat Ibn Fāris (MS)<sup>3</sup>. As mentioned above, this is an independent work on the biography of the Prophet(s).

(xix) Dhāmm al-Ghība, a treatise on the vice of back-biting.<sup>4</sup>

(xx) Mā'khadh al-Ilm, a treatise on the source of various learning.<sup>5</sup>

(xxi) Kitāb al-Hajar, a booklet on the synonyms of hajar, stone.<sup>6</sup>

(xxii) Khudāra. It is a work on the criticism of poetry as offered by al-Suyūṭī in his al-Muzhir.<sup>7</sup>

(xxiii) Dārāt al-'Arab. In this treatise Ibn Fāris has described some forty ruins of abodes referred to in the qaṣā'id, odes, handed down from the Jāhiliyya.<sup>8</sup>

(xxiv) Al-Intisār li-Tha'lab, a treatise vindicating Tha'lab, a leading grammarian of the Kūfa school. Ibn Fāris himself was inclined to this school.<sup>9</sup>

Besides Ibn Fāris wrote several other books on Arabic language and literature but they have not come down to us.<sup>10</sup>

1 Yatīma, iii, 214-15; al-Sāhibī, p. 28; Maqāis, i, Muqaddama al-Nāshir, pp. 15-20; 28.

2 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Maymūnī, Maqāla (Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif press, Hyderābād, 1360), p. 8.

3 Two copies of the MS. are preserved in Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Cairo under No. 460,494 (ta'rikh)-Sīrat Ibn Hishām, loc. cit.

4 Hājī Khalīfa, i, 530; Maqāis, i, Muqaddama al-Nāshir, p. 30.

5 Hājī Khalīfa, ii, 368; Maqāis, i, Muqaddama al-Nāshir, p. 34.

6 Al-Sāhibī, pp. 15-16; Maqāis, i, Muqaddama al-Nāshir, p. 28.

7 Al-Muzhir, ii, 498.

8 Here it may be mentioned that the total number of such abodes does not exceed seventy. — Maqāis, i, Muqaddama al-Nāshir, p. 29.

9 Ibid., p. 26.

10 For titles of books, see; ibid., pp. 33-34; Udabā', iv, 84-85; Hājī Khalīfa, i, 453; ii, 507; Nuzha, p. 394; Mustatrifa, p. 45.

## D. GRAMMARIANS:

Abū al-Qāsim al-Zajjājī<sup>1</sup> (d.339/949)

Among the grammarians who flourished in Hamadān in the 4th/10th century the name of Abū al-Qāsim al-Zajjājī may be mentioned. Originally a native of Nihāwand Abū al-Qāsim ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Ishāq al-Zajjājī was brought up in Baghdād<sup>2</sup> where he studied grammar and philology under reputed scholars including Abū Bakr b. Durayd (d.321), Abū Bakr b. al-Anbārī (d.328), al-Akhfash al-Aṣghar (d.315) and Abū Ishāq al-Zajjāj (d.311).<sup>3</sup> He was called al-Zajjājī because he remained with his teacher al-Zajjāj for a long time receiving extensive training in grammar and philology<sup>4</sup>. Abū al-Qāsim was appointed teacher of grammar at Damascus. Aḥmad b. Sharāmī al-Nahwī and Abū Muḥammad b. Abī Naṣr were among his pupils<sup>5</sup>. It is said that he repaired to Makka where he compiled his Kitāb al-Jumal. After completing each chapter of the book he circumambulated the Ka‘ba seven times in prayer and supplication so that the book might be useful to the readers<sup>6</sup>. He died in 339/949 at Ṭabariyya in Syria<sup>7</sup>.

His works:

(i) Al-Amālī (Published):<sup>8</sup> a book on philology.

1 As al-Zajjājī was a native of Nihāwand which lay about forty miles south of Hamadān (Le Strange, p.196) we think it expedient to include him in the section on Hamadān, more so because Nihāwand did not produce any other scholar so as to justify its treatment as a distinct section or sub-section.

2 Wafayāt, i, 278.

3 Ibid.

4 Ibid.; Bughya, p.297.

5 Bughya, loc. cit.

6 Ibid.

7 Ibid. Notice of his life is also found in Fihrist, p.118; Nuzha, p.379; Shadharāt, ii, 357; Zaydān, ii, 183; Sarkis, p.964; Najjar, ii, 173; Huart, p.147.

8 It was written in three sizes, viz, big, medium and small. The medium sized one was edited and published by Aḥmad al-Shinqīṭī with short notes in Cairo, 1324 A.H. (GAL, SI, 171). According to Sarkis (loc.cit.) the short sized one has been published by al-Shinqīṭī. For commentaries of the book, see GAL, i, 110; SI, loc. cit.

(ii) Kitāb al-Jumal fī al-Nahw (Published)<sup>1</sup>.

As the title shows it is a handbook of Arabic grammar pertaining to syntax. In it the author has given a study of all the topics of al-Nahw by adding copious instances so as to make it easy and instructive.<sup>2</sup> The value of the book may be estimated from the fact that it is one of the earliest works on the subject. Kitāb al-Jumal had been a popular treatise on Arabic grammar and was widely read by the students. This is borne out by the fact that a commentary on the work entitled Sharh al-Jumal was written by anonymous authors before 575/1179.<sup>3</sup>

(iii) Īdāh 'Ilal al-Nahw (MS)<sup>4</sup>. It is a treatise pointing out the defects in the use of syntax.

(iv) Ḥurūf al-Ma'ānī (MS)<sup>5</sup>, a treatise on 'Ilm al-Ma'ānī or rhetoric.

(v) Kitāb al-Lāmāt (MS)<sup>6</sup>, a treatise on the different grammatical uses of Lām.

(vi) Mukhtaṣar al-Zāhir (MS)<sup>7</sup>, an abridgement of al-Zāhir<sup>8</sup> by his teacher Ibn al-Anbārī.

(vii) Sharh Khutba Adab al-Kātib (MS)<sup>9</sup>. It is an exposition of the preface of Adab al-Kātib<sup>10</sup> by Ibn Qutayba (d.276).

(viii) Kitāb al-Ishtiqāq Asmā' Allāh Ta'āla wa Sifātihi (MS)<sup>11</sup>.

1 Paris, 1927. Vide GAL, SI, 170-71. 2 Huart, p.147.

3 Bankipore Catalogue, XX, 45-46 under No.2012.

4 Library of 'Alī Shahīd Pāshā. Vide GAL, SI, 171.

5 Daftari Kutubkhāna Lāleli, Istambul. (Ibid.)

6 Library of 'Alī Shahīd Pāshā. (Ibid).

7 Library of München and Dār al-Kutub al-Misriyya, Cairo. (Ibid.p.182 under Abū Bakr b. al-Anbārī).

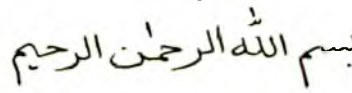
8 It is a work on oft-quoted proverbs current among the people. Vide Hāji Khalifa, ii, 3. For the manuscripts of the book, Najjār, ii, 215.

9 'Alī Shahīd Pāshā under No.251. Vide GAL, SI, 185 under Ibn Qutayba. a, p.116.

10 al-Kutub al-Misriyya. Vide GAL, SI, 171.

Al-Zajjājī has given in this book a philological study of the Names and Attributes of Allāh as mentioned in the Holy Qur'ān adding their meaning, roots and interpretation.<sup>1</sup>

(ix) Risāla fī Bayān al-As'ala al-Wārida'alā al-Basmala wa Ajwibatihā (MS)<sup>2</sup>.

In this treatise the author has projected different questions on the Qur'ānic verse:  and furnished their proper answers<sup>3</sup>.

(x) Gharā'ib Majālis al-Nahwiyyin. In this book al-Zajjājī has furnished an account of the seminars of the grammarians and philologists convened among others by Tha'lab (291).<sup>4</sup>

Besides the books mentioned above, al-Zajjājī also wrote treatises<sup>5</sup> on grammar, philology and prosody, which are yet to be traced.

#### E. GEOGRAPHERS:

Ibn al-Faqīh al-Hamadhānī (d.340/951)

Among the geographers who flourished in Hamadān in the 4th/10th century the name of Ibn al-Faqīh al-Hamadhānī may be mentioned. Abū Bakr Ahmad b. Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm al-Hamadhānī, popularly known as Ibn al-Faqīh al-Hamadhānī, was a famous geographer and litterateur. He was born at Hamadān towards the middle of the third century A.H. After having heard hadīth from his father Muḥammad b. Ishāq, and Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusayn b. Dayzīl (d.281), he went to al-Rayy where he studied

1 Ibid.

2 Dār al-Kutub al-Misriyya, Vide ibid.

3 Ibid.

4 'Abd al-Qādir al-Baghdādī, Khizānat al-Adab wa Lubb Lubāb Lisān al-'Arab (ed. Būlāq), iii, 353.

5 For titles of treatises, see Fihrist, p.118; Bughya, p.278; Hājī Khalīfa, ii, 265.



under Muḥammad b. Ayyūb al-Rāzī (d.294) the latter's Kitāb Fadā'il al-Qur'ān<sup>1</sup>, a book on the excellences of the Holy Qur'ān. Then he studied poetry and literature under Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Husayn b. Abī al-Sarḥ al-Akḥbarī (d. ca.300)<sup>2</sup>. Among those who heard ḥadīth from him mention may be made of Abū Bakr b. Lāl (d.398)<sup>3</sup> and Abū Bakr b. Rawzana<sup>4</sup>.

Ibn al-Faqīh flourished during the Caliphate of al-Mu'tadid<sup>5</sup> bi Allāh (279-89/892-902), and died in about 340/951<sup>6</sup>. The exact date of death is not known.

His works:

Ibn al-Faqīh al-Hamadhānī is said to have compiled some books on Arabic literature. Of them Ibn al-Nadīm mentions two viz, (1) Kitāb Dhikr al-Shu'arā' al-Muḥdathīn wa al-Bulaghā' minhum wa al-Mufhimīn, a book on the contemporary poets and (2) Kitāb al-Buldān<sup>7</sup>. The first does not seem to survive. It is, however, the second, the famous Kitāb al-Buldān that has come down to us.

Brief description of Kitāb al-Buldān:

Ibn al-Faqīh wrote this book in as many as 1,000 folios and that after the death of Caliph al-Mu'tadid<sup>9</sup>. He collected materials for his work from the books on the subject current in his days. He also incorporated in it a good deal of materials<sup>10</sup> from

1 The book could not be traced in any bibliographical works.

2 Buldān, iv, 984; Ibn al-Faqīh, Mukhtasar Kitāb al-Buldān, ed. De Goeje (Lughduni Batavorum, 1885 A.D.), p.227.

3 Infra, p.83.

4 Fihrist, p.219; Udabā', iv, 199-200.

5 This is not al-Mu'tadhid (= المعتذر) as given by Dr.Nafis Ahmad in his Muslim Contribution to Geography (Lahore, 1947), p.21.

6 Zaydān, ii, 203. Notice of his life is available in Sarkis, p.206; Ency. of Islam, ii, 375; Hitti, p.385; Huart, p.299.

7 Fihrist, loc.cit.

8 Ibid.

9 Zaydān, ii, 203.

10 Fihrist, loc. cit.

Kitāb al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik by Abū 'Abd Allāh Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Nasr al-Jayhānī (d.370)<sup>1</sup>. The main book does not seem to have survived but a Mukhtasar, abridgement of the Kitāb al-Buldān prepared by 'Alī b. Ja'far b. Ahmad al-Shayzarī in Muḥarram, 413/April 1022 has come down to us<sup>2</sup>. This Mukhtasar Kitāb al-Buldān was edited and published by De Goeje in 1885.

In his Kitāb al-Buldān Ibn al-Faqīh describes the seven climes of the earth and the four oceans along with countries that lie on their shores. He also describes the precious materials like pearls and various kinds of fish found in those oceans and seas.<sup>3</sup> Then he deals with Arabia, North Africa, Syria, al-ʿIrāq, Rome and Persia one by one. While giving accounts of the important cities of the afore-said countries he narrated the reasons for their being so named together with their full geographical description, occasionally digressing into their historical and mythological accounts.<sup>4</sup> In one place he mentions the differences in respect of food, clothing, religious beliefs etc. between the people of China and India, and in another the geographical differences between Tihāma and al-Ḥijāz.<sup>5</sup> Further, the author discusses the influence of the climate on the people living in different regions of the earth.<sup>6</sup> The author exhibits his literary taste by quoting frequently from the poems of pre-Islamic, as well as Islamic periods. Like other geographers Ibn al-Faqīh does not give the detailed description of the provinces and districts; he confines himself only to the big cities.<sup>7</sup> It is,

1 A Sāmānīd minister al-Jayhānī was an accomplished litterateur and wrote books on various branches of literature. He was also an authority in astronomy. For his detailed life and works, see: Udabā', iv, 190-92; Buldān, ii, 181; Hājī Khalīfa, ii, 423.

2 Cf: Mukhtasar Kitāb al-Buldān, p. 330.

3 Ibid, pp. 3-12.      4 Ibid, pp. 33-40; 240; 274-75.

5 Ibid, pp. 13-16; 26-27.      6 Ibid, p. 151 sq.

7 Maqdisi, op.cit., Muqaddama, p. 4.

however, surprising that his book does not contain the description of Baghdād although he lived there during the reign of al-Mu'tadid bi Allāh. Ibn al-Nadīm<sup>1</sup> mentions that Kitāb al-Buldān originally contained as many as 1,000 folios. So we may presume that a considerable portion of the original work covering the accounts of Baghdād might have been lost in Shayzari's edition of the work.<sup>2</sup>

## SECTION IV

## PART I. Dīnawar.

To the west of Kanguwar<sup>3</sup> and the north-east of Kirmānshāh stood, on a plain surface, the town of Dīnawar. It was about twenty five miles from Kanguwar and its size was two-third of that of Hamadān<sup>4</sup>. In 22/642, after the battle of Nihāwand, the Arabs occupied Dīnawar without any stiff resistance — the inhabitants thereof agreeing to pay jizya<sup>5</sup>.

During the Caliphate of Amīr Mu'āwīya (41-61/661-80) the state pensions to the people of al-Kūfa were disbursed from the revenues of Dīnawar<sup>6</sup>. In the 4th/10th century it rose to prominence and became the capital of the Ḥasanawayhid dynasty (348-405/959-1014)<sup>7</sup>. It had a beautiful mosque built by Ḥasanawayh (d.369/979), which was visited by the geographer al-Maqdisī (d.507). At present Dīnawar is in ruins<sup>8</sup>.

1 Fihrist, p.219.

2 The opinion of Professor Huart (History of Arabic Literature, p.299) that "the book was founded on information collected in the days of the Umayyads before that famous city was built" does not seem to be impressive.

3 It is a town in Jibāl province. Le Strange, p.188.

4 Le Strange, pp.186-89; Istakhri, p.198; Buldān, ii, 714.

5 Ibn al-Athīr, iii, 7-8; al-Istī'āb, i, 104.

6 Ya'qubī, pp.270-71; Ency. of Islam, i, 976.

7 It was an independent dynasty ruled by the Kurdish chiefs over a part of Jibāl province covering Kurdistān and the towns of Dīnawar, Hamadān and Nihāwand. For details, see: Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 281; The Mohammadan Dynasties, p.138; Ency. of Islam, ii, 283.

8 Le Strange, p.189; Ency. of Islam, i, 976-77.

During the Arab conquest the celebrated Abū Mūsā al-Ash‘arī and Hudhayfa b. al-Yamān visited Dīnawar<sup>1</sup>, the former stayed there for five days.<sup>2</sup> As a seat of learning, Dīnawar rose to prominence early in the 2nd century of the hijra. It was a religious and cultural hub and attracted the scholars of al-‘Irāq and al-Ḥijāz to migrate and settle there. Among the earliest scholars who migrated to Dīnawar mention may be made of Abū Anas Muhammad b. Anas al-Kūfī al-Dīnawarī who was a mawla of the descendant of Caliph ‘Umar.<sup>3</sup> Hailing from al-Kūfa Abū Anas migrated to Dīnawar where he settled permanently and died after 175/791.<sup>4</sup>

The migration of scholars to Dīnawar resulted in the introduction and development of Islamic sciences there, and people thereof acquired mastery over different sciences studying at home and abroad. Already in the 3rd/9th century Dīnawar became a centre of learning producing a galaxy of traditionists, litterateurs and grammarians. Before entering into discussion of the 4th/10th century scholars, it will not be out of place to pass in review the 3rd/9th century scholars of Dīnawar in order to have a perspective of the city as a centre of learning.

1 Ibn Qutayba al-Dīnawarī (d.276/880)<sup>5</sup>, author of Kitāb

1 Ibn al-Athīr, iii, 7-8; al-Istī‘āb, i, 104.

2 Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit.

3 Abū Anas was a mawla of ‘Al-i-‘Umar (Taqrīb, p.215) and not of ‘Umar as given in Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb (ix, 68) and Khulāsa (p.280).

4 Among his teachers were: al-A‘mash (d.148), ‘Āsim b. Kulayb (d.137) and Hasīn b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān (d.136); and among his students were: Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā (d.220) and ‘Alī b. Bahr (d.234). — Tahdhīb, ix, 68. He was alive in 175 A.H. For in that year his student Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā heard hadīth from him. — Khulāsa, p.280.

5 Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh b. Muslim b. Qutayba al-Dīnawarī was a philologist, grammarian and historian. His family came from Marv, but he was born at al-Kūfa, bred and educated in Baghdād, and then served as a qādī at Dīnawar, and hence he was called al-Dīnawarī. Later on he settled in Baghdād where he died in 276/889. On him, see: al-Khatīb, x, 170; al-Nawawī, p.771; Nuzha, pp.272-74; Wafayāt, i, 251; Bughya, p.291; Fihrist, p.115; Zaydān, ii, 170; Shadharāt, ii, 169-70; Sarkis, pp.211-13; GAL, i, 120; SI, 184-85; Najjār, ii, 223-24; Hitti p, 389; Nicholson, p.346; Huart, p.154; Ency. of Islam, ii, 399-400.

al-Ma'arif<sup>1</sup>, 'Uyūn al-Akhbār<sup>2</sup>, Kitāb Tā'wīl Mukhtalif al-Hadīth,<sup>3</sup>  
Kitāb Ma'ānī al-Kabīr,<sup>4</sup> Kitāb Adab al-Kātib,<sup>5</sup> Ṭabaqāt al-Shu'arā',<sup>6</sup>  
Kitāb al-Rahl wa al-Manzil<sup>7</sup> and Kitāb al-Imāma wa al-Siyāsa<sup>8</sup>.

- 1 The author has dealt in this book with the genealogies of the Arabs and biographical sketches of men of letters who flourished in the early days of Islam down to the author's time. The book was published under the editorship of Wüstenfeld, Göttingen, 1850 A.D. It was also published from Cairo, 1300 and 1352 A.H. Cf: Bankipore Catalogue, xv, 1-2; Hitti, p.389; Najjār, ii, 223-24; Ency. of Islam, ii, 399.
- 2 In this book Ibn Qutayba discussed some special aspects of history on the pattern of scholastic literature quoting evidences from legends, history and ancient Arabic poetry under ten chapters. The subjects discussed are government, war, nobility, conduct, learning and learned, asceticism, friendship, accomplishment of affairs, food and women. The book was edited and published by Brockelmann in Berlin, 1900 and Weimar and Strassburg, 1898-1908. The book was published from Cairo, 1925-30 in four volumes.
- 3 This is a theological work published from Cairo, 1326 A.H. Vide Ency. of Islam, ii, 399.
- 4 In Fihrist (p.115) the title of the book is mentioned as Kitāb Ma'ānī al-Shi'r al-Kabīr. This is a book on philology and is probably the same as Abyāt al-Ma'ānī, a manuscript of which is available in the library of Aya Sofia, Istanbul. Vide Ency. of Islam, ii, 399.
- 5 This is a book on philology edited and published by Max Grünert in Leyden, 1900 A.D. It was printed and reprinted in Cairo, 1300, 1310, 1328, 1347 and 1355. An extract of the book edited by W.O. Sproull was published from Leipzig, 1877 A.D. Vide GAL, i, 122; SI, 185=Najjār, ii, 225; Ency. of Islam, ii, 399.
- 6 In this book Ibn Qutayba has given the biographies of one hundred and ninety eight poets of pre-Islamic and Islamic periods with quotations from their verses. See: Bankipore Catalogue, xii, 122. The book was published by Rittershausen in Leiden, 1875. For other publications, see: Najjār, ii, 224-25.
- 7 This is a book on philology. It was edited and published by Cheikho in Dix anciens Traités de Philologie arabe, Beyrouth, 1908 A.D. Vide Najjār, ii, 229; Ency. of Islam, ii, 399.
- 8 This is a famous book on history. It starts from the Caliphate of Abū Bakr (11-13/632-34) and ends with the Caliphate of Hārūn al-Rashīd (170-93/786-809). It was printed in Cairo, 1322 and 1327 A.H. Vide Najjār, ii, 229; Bankipore Catalogue, xv, 111.

2. Abū Hanīfa al-Dīnawarī (d.282/895)<sup>1</sup>, author of Kitāb Akhbār al-Tiwāl<sup>2</sup>, Kitāb al-Nabāt<sup>3</sup>, Tafsīr<sup>4</sup> and Iṣlāh al-Mantiq.<sup>5</sup>

3. Abū 'Alī Ahmad b. Ja'far al-Dīnawarī (d.289)<sup>6</sup>, author of Kitāb al-Muḥadḍḥab fī al-Nahw<sup>7</sup>, Damā'ir al-Qur'an<sup>8</sup> and Kitāb Iṣlāh al-Mantiq<sup>9</sup>.

4. Mumshādh al-Dīnawarī (d.299)<sup>10</sup>. He was a Sūfī scholar and left for us mystical utterances<sup>11</sup>.

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- 1 Abū Hanīfa Ahmad b. Dā'wud al-Dīnawarī was a grammarian, philologist and narrator of ḥadīth. He was also a scientist. On him, see: Fihrist, p.116; Udabā', iii, 26-32; 'Abd al-Qādir al-Baghdādī, Khizānat al-Adab (Būlāq, 1299 A.H.), i, 25-26; Wüstenfeld, p.27; Bughya, p.132; Zaydān, ii, 197; Sarkis, p.907; GAL, i, 123; SI, 187; Hitti, p.389; Huart, pp.154-55; Ency. of Islam, i, 977-78.
- 2 The book contains the history of Alexander, the Great, the Sāsānīds, the first four Caliphs, the Umayyads and the Abbasids upto the death of Caliph al-Mu'tasim (218-227/833-842). It was edited and published by Guirgass in Leiden, 1888 A.D. Vide Zaydān, ii, 197; Huart, p.155; Ency. of Islam, i, 977; Najjār, ii, 231.
- 3 It is a literary work dealing with the soil and plants of Arabia. Vide Ency. of Islam, i, 977-8; Huart, pp.154-55.
- 4 Hājī Khalīfa, i, 309.
- 5 Ibid., p.112.
- 6 He was a well-known grammarian and the son-in-law of Tha'lab (d.291). He died in 289/901. For notice of his biography, see: Udabā', ii, 239-40; Bughya, p.130.
- 7 Hājī Khalīfa, ii, 576.
- 8 This is a compendium which al-Dīnawarī made from Kitāb al-Ma'ānī al-Qur'an by al-Farrā' (d.207). Vide Udabā', ii, 240; Hājī Khalīfa, ii, 84.
- 9 Udabā', ii, 240.
- 10 For notice of his life: Tabaqāt al-Sūfiyya, p.316; Sifat al-Safwa, iv, 60; 'Uthmānī, Siyar al-Aqtāb, (Newal Kishore press, Lucknow, 1913), pp.50-55.
- 11 Cf: Tabaqāt al-Sūfiyya, pp.316-18; Sifat al-Safwa, iv, 60.

## 4TH/10TH CENTURY SCHOLARS OF DĪNAWAR AND THEIR WORKS

A. AL-MUHADDITHŪN, THE TRADITIONISTS:Ibn al-Sunni (d.364/974)

Among the Muhaddithūn who flourished at Dīnawar in the 4th/10th century, the name of Ibn al-Sunni may be mentioned. Abū Bakr Ahmad b. Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm b. Asbāṭ al-Dīnawarī, popularly known as Ibn al-Sunni, was born in 284/897 at Dīnawar. He was a widely travelled traditionist. He heard ḥadīth at al-Baṣra from Abū Khalīfa al-Jumahī (d.305), at al-Kūfa from 'Abd Allāh b. Zaydān al-Bajalī (d. 313), at Harrān from Abū 'Arūba (d. 318) and in Egypt from al-Nasā'ī (d. 303). He was a trustworthy narrator of ḥadīth. Ahmad b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī b. Shādhān al-Qādī al-Dīnawarī, Ahmad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Iṣbahānī, Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-'Alawī (d.395) and Ahmad b. al-Husayn al-Kassār (d. 433) received ḥadīth from him.<sup>1</sup>

Ibn al-Sunni spent the best part of his life with al-Nasā'ī in Egypt undergoing extensive training in ḥadīth literature, and earned the epithet of Sāhib al-Nasā'ī — a pet disciple of al-Nasā'ī. He collaborated with al-Nasā'ī in preparing an abridgement of the latter's Sunan al-Kubrā under the title al-Mujtabā and became subsequently its rāwī, transmitter. As a matter of fact, the extant edition of al-Mujtabā is the recension of Ibn al-Sunni<sup>2</sup>.

Ibn al-Sunni died in 364/974<sup>3</sup>.

1 Al-Sam'ānī art "al-Sunni"; Huffāz, iii,142.

2 There is a difference of opinion as to the compiler of al-Nasā'ī's al-Mujtabā. According to 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Khawli (Miftāh al-Sunna, p.79) al-Nasā'ī himself prepared, at the instance of Amīr of Ramla, his Sunan al-Suḡhrā and named it al-Mujtabā. While according to Dhahabī (Huffāz, iii,142) and others (Shadharāt, iii,48; also Sarkis, p.122) it was Ibn al-Sunni who prepared the abridgement of al-Nasā'ī's Sunan al-Kubrā under the title of al-Mujtabā. But the fact remains that al-Nasā'ī himself prepared al-Mujtabā with the collaboration of Ibn al-Sunni who became subsequently its rāwī. This opinion of ours is borne out by Muftī Sayyid Muḥammad Amīn al-Ihsān in his Tārīkh 'Ilm Ḥadīth (Dacca, 1372), p.58. 3 Al-Yāfi'ī, ii,380. Notice of his life is available in al-Subkī, ii,96; Lubāb, i,572-73; Shadharāt, iii,47-48; Sarkis, p.122.

His works:

'Amal al-Yawm wa al-Layla (Published)<sup>1</sup>.

It is a comprehensive collection of ahādīth pertaining to specific ad'īya, supplications invoking Allāh's blessings which the Holy Prophet(s) enjoins his Umma, adherents, to recite at diverse moments of daily life, viz., in ṣalāt or outside; in different periods of day and night; while at home or on journey; while mounting a beast or embarking a ship; while meeting a friend or bidding him good-bye; while visiting a sick; while attending a gathering and leaving it; while facing a tyrannous king or being afraid of ferocious animals; while sneezing and yawning; while receiving a favour or loan; while it is raining and thundering; while a cock is crowing or a donkey braying and on such other multifarious occasions in the daily life of a man. The book gives elaborately the etiquette of al-Salām<sup>2</sup> required to be observed by men of all age-groups and strata, and also deals with the virtues of reciting the verses of the Holy Qur'ān. In fine, Kitāb 'Amal al-Yawm wa al-Layla, as its title signifies, is a handbook of du'ā', supplications a devoted Muslim has to recite on diverse occasions and in connection with numerous activities of his daily life.

The author has divided the book into seven juz' or parts and every juz', into so many abwāb or sections. The total number of sections comes to four hundred and thirty. Every bāb begins with a rubric and under each rubric the text of one ḥadīth or more containing du'ā' is inserted after quoting in extenso the chains

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1 Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif, Hyderābād, India, 1897 and 1939.

2 To greet by saying :

السلام عليكم



of narrators going back to the Prophet(s) — the total number of ahādīth being 769.

While going through the book one is impressed by the clarity of arrangement the author has followed throughout. This seems to be the influence of his teacher al-Nasā'ī who had a special knack in arranging ahādīth — a fact supported by the superb arrangement of his Sunan.

The importance of the Kitāb al-Yawm wa al-Layla may be understood from the fact that it was one of the earliest publications of the Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif al-'Uthmāniyya at Hyderābād, India which first printed it in 1315/1897 and reprinted in 1357/1939.<sup>1</sup>

Besides, Ibn al-Sunni compiled the following books which are yet to be traced:

(i) Al-Tibb al-Nabawī: It is a collection of ahādīth on hygiene, medicine and treatment of diseases. A number of authors including Abū Nu'aym al-Iṣbahānī (d.430) and al-Suyūṭī (d.911) wrote treatises on this subject<sup>2</sup>, while others like Tabrizī<sup>3</sup> devoted a chapter of his Mishkāt al-Masābih on al-Tibb al-Nabawī. Ibn al-Sunni seems to be the earliest author to compile an independent treatise on it.

(ii) Al-Ījāz fī al-Hadīth: In this book Ibn al-Sunni collected those ahādīth which were brief but pregnant with meaning.<sup>4</sup>

(iii) Kitāb al-Qanā'a: a treatise of ahādīth on contentment<sup>5</sup>.

#### B. JURISTS:

Abū Bakr al-Dīnawarī (d.310/922)

Among the jurists who flourished at Dīnawar in the 4th/10th

1 For manuscripts of the book, GAL, i, 165; Bankipore Catalogue, v, pt. ii, pp. 100-101.

2 Hāji Khalīfa, ii, 88.

3 See his Mishkāt al-Masābih, ed. Delhi, 1932, p. 387 sq.

4 Hāji Khalīfa, i, 173.

5 Al-Subkī, ii, 96; Hāji Khalīfa, ii, 295.

century the name of Abū Bakr al-Dīnawarī may be mentioned here.

Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Marwān al-Mālikī al-Dīnawarī was a native of Dīnawar. For the purpose of acquiring education he went to Baghdād where he heard ḥadīth from Yahya b. Mu'īn (d.233) and Ibn Abī al-Dunyā (d. 281). He also studied Mālikite law under Ismā'īl al-Qādi (d.282) in Baghdād. He settled in Egypt where he died in 310/922. He was a Muhaddith and Faqīh of the Mālikite school of law. His works:

Al-Mujālasa wa Jawāhir al-'Ilm (MS)<sup>2</sup>. It is a collection of amālī or dictations of Abū Bakr al-Dīnawarī being a recension of Shaykh Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Ismā'īl al-Ghassānī. It incorporates various branches of learning viz., Tafsīr, Hadīth, the āthār or the sayings of the Companions of the Prophet(s) and their history. It contains also the biographical notices of the Followers, ascetics, philosophers and the poets. Besides, the work gives an account of the Arabs of the Jāhiliyya, their ayyām, and the history of the Persians<sup>3</sup>.

A selection of al-Mujālasa was prepared by some scholar under the title Nukhba al-Mu'ānasa min Kitāb al-Mujālasa<sup>4</sup>.

Abū Bakr al-Dīnawarī also compiled the following books which are not available:

(i) Kitāb al-Qanā'a wa al-Ta'āffuf<sup>5</sup>: a book on Sufism.

(ii) Kitāb fī Fadā'il Mālik<sup>6</sup>: a book on the merits and attainments of Imām Mālik.

1 Husn al-Muhādira, i, 208-09; Buldān, i, 448.

2 Kutubkhāna al-Khadiwiyya al-Misriyya, Cairo; Daftari Kutubkhāna Dāmādzāde in Istanbul; and the Āṣafiyya library in Hyderābād, India.  
— GAL, SI, 249.

3 Aḥmad al-Mihai, ii, 170.

4 Hājī Khalīfa, ii, 378.

5 GAL, loc. cit.

6 Husn al-Muhādira, i, 209; Mustatirifa, p.46

## C. EXEGETES:

Ibn Wahab (d.308/920)

Among the exegetes who flourished at Dīnawar the name of Ibn Wahab may be mentioned. Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Wahab al-Dīnawarī, surnamed Ibn Wahab, hailed from Dīnawar. He travelled extensively in quest of knowledge and acquired ḥadīth from Abū Zurʿa (d.264) and Abū Hātim (d.277) at al-Rayy, Yaʿqūb al-Dawraqī (d.252) in Baghdād, Abū Saʿīd al-Ashajj (d.257) at al-Kūfa<sup>1</sup>, ʿAbbās b. al-Walīd al-Bayrūtī (d.270) at Jerusalem and Yūnus b. ʿAbd al-Aʿlā (d.264) in Egypt<sup>2</sup>. Among his students famous were ʿUmar b. Sahl al-Dīnawarī (d.330), Abū ʿAlī al-Naysāburī (d.349) and Yūsuf al-Mayānājī (d.375).<sup>3</sup> The traditionist Jaʿfar al-Faryābī (d.301)<sup>4</sup>, in spite of his vast knowledge, received ḥadīth from him<sup>5</sup>. He died in 308/920.<sup>6</sup>

His work:

Al-Wāḍih (MS). It is a commentary of the Holy Qurʿān. MSS of this work are preserved in the Āyā Sofia, Istambol and Āsafiyya library, Hyderabad.<sup>7</sup> Some extracts of this commentary have been quoted in Tadhkira al-Nawādir.<sup>8</sup>

1 Huffāz, ii, 287.

2 Buldān, ii, 714.

3 Huffāz, ii, 287.

4 Shadhārāt, ii, 235.

5 Huffāz, ii, 287.

6 Huffāz, ii, 287-88. Notice of his life is also found in Buldān, ii, 714; al-Yāfiʿi, ii, 249; Shadhārāt, ii, 252.

7 The Āsafiyya MS. contains the commentary from the beginning of the Qurʿān upto Sūra al-Ikhlās. — Vide Tadhkira al-Nawādir, pp. 15-16; GAL, SI, 334.

8 pp. 15-16 (sic.)

عن ابن عباس في تفسير بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم قال الباء جماء الله وجمعته وقال شهر بن حوشب الباء بلاؤه وبركته وابتداء اسمه بار والسين سناؤه وسموه وارتفاعه وابتداء اسمه سمح والميم ملكه ومجده ومنته على الذين هداهم الايمان وابتداء اسمه مجيد - الله معناه الخالق بالهون ويتألهون اليه اى يتضرعون اليه عند قضاء الحوائج والشدائد - الرحمن العاطف على البر والفاجر بالرزق لهم وودع الآفات عنهم - الرحيم خاصة على المؤمنين بالمغفرة ودخول الجنة -

## PART II. Qumm.

The city of Qumm stood on the eastern frontier of the Jibāl province at a place below the junction of the Gawmaha and the Qumm rivers<sup>1</sup>. In 23/644 Abū Mūsā al-Ash‘arī, a Companion of the Prophet(s), after a few days' fighting, conquered Qumm keeping Ahnaf b. Qays in his command and himself stayed there for a few days.<sup>2</sup> During the first century of Islam ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash‘ath b. Qays, the governor of Sijistān for al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf, rebelled against the latter and afterwards being defeated returned to Kābul. The troops of Ibn al-Ash‘ath included the five sons of Sa‘d b. Mālik b. ‘Amir al-Ash‘ath viz., ‘Abd Allāh, al-Aḥwaṣ, ‘Abd al-Rahmān, Ishāq and Nu‘aym, all of whom settled at Qumm. ‘Abd Allāh had a son named Mūsā who was a Shi‘ite Imām and introduced Shi‘ism among the inhabitants of Qumm in the second century A.H. Henceforth Qumm developed into a seat of Shi‘ite learning and culture.<sup>3</sup>

Immediately after the settlement of the city towards the close of the first century of the Hijra<sup>4</sup> the study of ḥadīth was introduced in the different mosque-centres of Qumm. Thus, we find that a grandson of the above-mentioned Sa‘d b. Mālik named Ash‘ath al-Qummi was a traditionist. He narrated ḥadīth on the authority of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d.110) and Ja‘far b. Abī al-Mughīra al-Qummi. He was a reliable transmitter of ḥadīth. Jarīr b. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāzī (d.188) narrated ḥadīth on his authority. His name also occurs in Saḥīh al-Bukhārī in the chapter under al-Tayammum.<sup>5</sup>

Abū al-Ḥasan Ya‘qūb b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Qummi, a cousin of Ash‘ath b. Ishāq noticed above was also a traditionist. He died at Qazwīn in 174/790<sup>6</sup>

1 Le Strange, Map. V. 2 Balādhurī, p.312= Eng.tr.by Hitti, p.485; Buldān, iv, 175; Ency. of Islam, ii, 1117.

3 Al-Sam‘ānī, art "al-Qummi"; Buldān, iv, 175-76; Lubāb, iii, 4.

4 Ibid.

5 Ibid.; Tahdhīb, i, 350; ii, 108 under Ja‘far b. Abī al-Mughīra al-Qummi; Khulāṣa, p.33.

6 Al-Sam‘ānī, loc.cit.; Buldān, iv, 177; Lubāb, iii, 4; Shadharāt, i, 284.

Among the 3rd/9th century scholars flourishing at Qumm the following were noteworthy:

1. Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Farrūkh al-Saffār al-A'raj (d.290). He was credited as the real founder of the Imamite jurisprudence in Persia<sup>1</sup>. His book Kitāb Basā'ir al-Darajāt is a collection of Shi'ite traditions<sup>2</sup>.

2. Abū al-Qāsim Sa'd b. 'Abd Allāh b. Abī Khalaf al-Qummī (d.300). He was a Shi'ite traditionist<sup>3</sup> and an author of Kitāb al-Rahma<sup>4</sup>, Kitāb Basā'ir al-Darajāt<sup>5</sup>, Kitāb al-Muntajabāt<sup>6</sup> and Manāqib Ruwāt al-Hadīth wa Mathālibihim<sup>7</sup>.

#### 4TH/10TH CENTURY SCHOLARS OF QUMM AND THEIR WORKS

##### A. SHI'ITE TRADITIONISTS:

Ibn Bābawayh al-Qummī (d.381/991).

Among the Shi'ite traditionists who flourished at Qumm in the 4th/10th century the name of Ibn Bābawayh al-Qummī may be mentioned here. Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. 'Alī, popularly called Ibn Bābawayh, was a celebrated author on Shi'a traditions and theology<sup>8</sup>. He was known to fame as al-Shaykh al-Sadūq, the trust-worthy professor. His brother Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Husayn was the author of Kitāb al-Radd 'alā al-Rāfida — a book he wrote for al-Sāhib b. 'Abbād (d.385)<sup>9</sup>.

1 Fihris al-Tūsī, pp. 288-89; al-Tafarshī, p.301; Kashf al-Hujub, p.87; Najjār, iii, 337.

2 Kashf al-Hujub, p.87. This book is an elaboration of Kitāb Basā'ir al-Darajāt fī Faḍl Āl Muḥammad by Abū al-Qāsim Sa'd b. 'Abd Allāh al-Qummī (d.300). Vide Najjār, iii, 337. MS. copy of the book is preserved in the library of Meshhed, while another under the title Tasdīr al-Darajāt is available in al-Maktab al-Hindī.— Ibid.

3 Fihris al-Tūsī, pp. 152-53; al-Tafarshī, p.149.

4 Fihris al-Tūsī, p.153.

5 This is a book on ḥadīth (Kashf al-Hujub, p.87) and was written in four parts (Fihris al-Tūsī, p.153). It was published in Majmū'a in 1285 A.H. (Najjār, iii, 337.) This book was elaborated by Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Farrūkh (d.290) — Ibid.

6 It contains about one thousand folios.— Fihris al-Tūsī, p.153.

7 Kashf al-Hujub, p.556. 8 Sarkis, p.43; Fihris al-Tūsī, p.304.

9 Kashf al-Hujub, p.442.

After receiving instructions on Shi'ite tradition and jurisprudence from his father<sup>1</sup>, Ibn Bābawayh had further training in the subjects under Muḥammad b. Yahya al-ʿAṭṭār al-Kūfī and Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. al-Mutawakkil<sup>2</sup>. It appears that he went to Khurāsān in order to preach Shi'ism<sup>3</sup>. In 355/966 he went to Baghdād and lectured on ḥadīth and fiqh<sup>4</sup>. Of his students the names of ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Qummī (d.381)<sup>5</sup> and Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Nuʿmān al-Baghdādī (d.413)<sup>6</sup> have come down to us<sup>7</sup>.

Ibn Bābawayh settled at al-Rayy and became intimate with Buwayhid prince Rukn al-Dawla (320-66/932-76) who sought his instructions on the administrative affairs of the state<sup>8</sup>. His relationship with the Buwayhid vizier al-Ṣāhib was also cordial as he wrote for the library of the latter his ʿUyūn Akhbār al-Ridā<sup>9</sup>. He died at al-Rayy in 381/991<sup>10</sup>.

Ibn Bābawayh was a hāfiz of Shiʿa traditions, well-versed in the biographies of transmitters and a critic of their narratives. He is said to have compiled as many as three hundred books on different topics of Shi'ite theology<sup>11</sup>.

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- 1 Fihris al-Tūsī, p.218; Najjār, iii, 343.
  - 2 Kashf al-Hujub, p.371; 524.
  - 3 Bankipore Cata., x, 91.
  - 4 Ibid., v, pt. i, 183.
  - 5 Najjār, iii, 348.
  - 6 Najjār, iii, 349.
  - 7 Fihris al-Tūsī, p.305.
  - 8 Najjār, iii, 343.
  - 9 See Bankipore Cata, xv, 123.
  - 10 Najjār, iii, 343. Notice of his life is also found in Sarkis, p.43; Fihris al-Tūsī, p. 304; Sarton, p.656; Ency. of Islam, ii,365-66.
  - 11 Fihris al-Tūsī, loc. cit.

Below an attempt is made to give a brief introduction of his works:

(i) Kitāb man lā Yahdaruhu al-Faqīh (published)<sup>1</sup>

This is one of the four Shi'ite canonical collections of traditions<sup>2</sup> comprising four volumes<sup>3</sup>. It contains 5963 traditions of the following two categories:

(a) Musnad traditions numbering 3913.

(b) Mursal traditions numbering 2050.

The work is divided into six hundred and sixty six abwāb or chapters.<sup>4</sup>

As stated in the preface the work was compiled at Balkh at the suggestion of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan<sup>5</sup>, a noble thereof<sup>6</sup>.

(ii) 'Ilal al-Hadīth (published)<sup>7</sup>

It is a treatise on the traditions pertaining to 'ilal wa aghrād, reasons and objectives of the fundamentals of religion and its by-laws<sup>8</sup>.

(iii) Ma'ānī al-Akhbār (published)<sup>9</sup>.

This is a collection of Shi'a traditions pertaining to the significance of hurūf (alphabets) and alfāz, (words). The work contains one hundred and seventy brief chapters, each beginning with the term bāb ma'ānī<sup>10</sup>.

(iv) 'Uyūn Akhbār al-Ridā (published)<sup>11</sup>.

It is a voluminous work on the life, sayings and teachings

1 1324; Lucknow, 1307. For the MSS., Najjār, iii, 345.

2 The other three are the following: a. Al-Kāfi by Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb al-Kulīnī, d. 328/939 or 329/940; b. Tahdhīb al-Ahkām; c. al-Istibṣār both by Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Tūsī, d. 460/1067. Vide Ency. of Islam, ii, 365.

3 Kashf al-Hujub, p. 563. 4 Bankipore Catalogue, v, pt. i, 184.

5 According to Bankipore Catalogue, (ibid) Muḥammad b. Ishāq. 6 Ibid.

7 Along with Persian translation in Tihirān, 1297 A.H. — Najjār, iii, 346.

8 Kashf al-Hujub, p. 384; Sarton, p. 656.

9 Published in majmū'a in 1311 A.H. — Najjār, iii, 344.

10 Kashf al-Hujub, p. 533; Loth, pp. 34-35 under No. 1293; Ency. of Islam, ii, 365.

11 Tihirān, 1275; 1287 A.H. — GAL, SI, 321=Najjār, iii, 344.

of 'Alī al-Ridā (d.203) the eighth Imām of the Shi'ites.<sup>1</sup> Ibn Bāb-awayh arranged it into chapters — the total being one hundred and thirty nine. He compiled this work for al-Sāhib b. 'Abbād when the latter presented to him his qasīdatān to celebrate the death anniversary of 'Alī al-Ridā<sup>2</sup>. The book is complete in two volumes.<sup>3</sup>

During the reign of Qutb Shāh, the King of Persia (1035-83/1620-72), the book was translated into Persian by 'Alī b. Ṭayfūr under the title Tuhfa Malakī<sup>4</sup>. An abridged commentary of this Persian translation was prepared by Ḥasan 'Alī Shams al-Dīn 'Alī Khān<sup>5</sup>

Muḥammad Taqī b. Muḥammad Bāqir translated 'Uyūn Akhbār al-Ridā into Persian and named it Kāshif al-Niqāb<sup>6</sup>.

(v) I'tiqādāt al-Imāmiyya (published).<sup>7</sup>

It is a theological treatise on Muslim faith according to the Shi'ite school.<sup>8</sup> It deals with tawhīd, oneness of Allāh, His attributes and a detailed description of eschatology. It also discusses inter alia the revelation of the Qur'ān; the virtues of the recitation of the Qur'ān and its preaching; the prophets and their number and the theory of their being immune from sin<sup>9</sup>.

This theological treatise received universal acceptance among the Shi'ites and was a popular handbook on the subject. Already during the reign of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, the King of Persia (930-984/1521-1576), it was rendered into Persian<sup>10</sup> by Abū al-Faṭḥ al-Ḥusaynī<sup>11</sup>.

1 Ibid.; Loth, p.34 under No.146; Bankipore Cata, xv, 123; Ency. of Islam, ii, 366-67.

2 Kashf al-Hujub, pp. 388-89. 3 Bankipore Cata., xv, 123.

4 GAL, SI, 321=Najjār, iii, 344. For its manuscripts, *ibid.*

5 GAL, SI, 321=Najjār, iii, 345. For the manuscript of the abridged commentary, *ibid.*

6 *Ibid.* It was published in Tihrān, 1297; 1317 A.H. — *Ibid.*

7 Published in majmū'a in Tihrān, 1300 A.H. and also in Tihrān, 1365 A.H. — GAL, SI, 322=Najjār, iii, 346.

8 Ellis, ii, 164; A Descriptive Catalogue of the Oriental MSS. belonging to late E.G. Browne, completed and edited by R.A. Nicholson (Cambridge, 1932), p.16 under C.9(10).

9 Kashf al-Hujub, p.51.

10 MS. copy of it is preserved in Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta. — GAL, SI, 322=Najjār, iii, 346.

11 *Ibid.*



Also it was repeatedly translated into Persian by 'Abd Allāh b. Husayn Rustumdārī,<sup>1</sup> 'Alī b. Husayn al-Zāwari<sup>2</sup> and Muḥammad b. Shams al-Dīn al-Istarābādī.<sup>3</sup>

An English version of the book was made by A.A. Faydī and was published by Islamic Research Association, Bombay in 1932<sup>4</sup>.

(vi) Kitāb al-Khisāl (published)<sup>5</sup>

It is a book on ethics. The author says in the preface that he found his professors as well as his predecessors writing books on different topics but they stayed away from compiling works on ethical subjects like good conduct and its different categories as well as the bad conduct and its various aspects. He felt the extreme necessity of a book like this for the benefit of the students. So he produced this work with a view to attaining nearness of Allāh<sup>6</sup>.

(vii) Ikmāl al-Dīn wa Itmām al-Ni'ma fi-Ithbāt al-Ghayba wa Kashf al-Hira (Published)<sup>7</sup>

It is a work on Shi'a theology. According to Bankipore Catalogue, it contains a detailed exposition of the Shi'a theory<sup>8</sup> that Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, the 12th and the last Shi'ite Imām is alive, though he is hidden. They believe that the Imām will reappear

1 A manuscript of Rustumdārī's Persian translation is preserved in Oriental Public Library at Bankipore. — Ibid.

2 Ibid.

3 MS. copy of the Persian translation by al-Istarābādī is available in the Oriental Public Library at Bankipore. — Ibid.

4 Ibid.

5 Tīhrān without date; al-Ḥajar, 1313 and Tīhrān, 1302 A.H. — GAL, SI, 322=Najjār, iii,347.

6 Kashf al-Hujub, p.205.

7 Tīhrān, 1301 A.H. Partly published by E.Möller, Beitr. Zur Mahdi-lehre des Isl. I, Heidelberg, 1901. — GAL, SI, 322=Najjār,iii,347; Sarkis, p.44. According to Bankipore Catalogue (x,91 under No.591) the title is Tamām al-Ni'ma fi Ithbāt al-Ghayba wa Kashf al-Hira.

8 This theory is contested and criticized by Imām Ibn Taymiyya, (d.728), the great Sunnī theologian. — Bankipore Cata., x,91 under No.591.

at the appointed time. The present work gives full particulars of the time of his appearance.

The author says in the preface that he composed the present work in view of the disbelief in the theory of al-Ghayba (hidden Imām) on the part of the people of Nishāpūr and because of a dream in which the Caliph 'Alī urged him to write it<sup>1</sup>.

(viii) Kitāb al-Tawhīd (published)<sup>2</sup>

This is again a treatise on theology. The reason why Ibn Bābawayh compiled this treatise is given in the preface as follows:

"I find a group of opponents referring to us as believers in anthropomorphism and compulsion in our conception of God. Their ignorance about the significance of the Qur'ānic terms led them to level the baseless charge against us. Thus they blackmailed our school and obstructed people from accepting the religion of Allāh. So I write this book with a view to defending tawhīd, oneness of God and negating the charge of anthropomorphism and compulsion in our conception of God".<sup>3</sup>

(ix) Al-Hidāya (published)<sup>4</sup>: a compendium of Muslim law according to Shī'a school<sup>5</sup>. It contains usūl, principles and furū', by-laws of Shī'a jurisprudence<sup>6</sup>.

(x) Al-Maqna' (published)<sup>7</sup>.

This is again a law-book of the Shi'ites<sup>8</sup>. As the title suggests, it is a maqna' (sufficient) handbook of Shi'ite

1 Ibid. Cf: Kashf al-Hujub, p.57; Sarkis, p.44; Ency. of Islam, ii, 366.

2 Bombay, 1327 A.H. and Tabriz without any date.— GAL, SI, 322=Najjar, iii, 347.

3 Kashf al-Hujub, pp.430-31.

4 Published in the collection al-Jawāmi' al-Fiqhiyya, Tihirān, 1276 A.H., pp.25-32. — GAL, SI, 322=Najjar, iii, 347; Sarkis, p.44.

5 Ellis, ii, 163.

6 Kashf al-Hujub, p.603.

7 Published in the collection al-Jawāmi' al-Fiqhiyya, Tihirān, 1276 A.H.— GAL, SI, 322=Najjar, iii, 347; Sarkis, p.44.

8 Ellis, ii, 164.

jurisprudence. Ibn Bābawayh — as he says in the preface — has omitted the chain of authorities in order to make it handy for use and easy in memorization.<sup>1</sup>

(xi) Ghanā'im al-Anām fī Mas'ala al-Halāl wa al-Harām (published)<sup>2</sup>.

This is a treatise on theology. It discusses the problems of halāl, lawful and harām, unlawful matters in the conception of Shi'ite school of Jurisprudence.

(xii) Thawāb al-A'māl (published)<sup>3</sup>

As the title shows the book describes the thawāb, rewards of good actions performed by a Muslim. According to Islamic Shar'fa, 'ibāda, devotions are of two kinds: (i) badaniyya or those performed by physical exertions, e.g., salāt (prayer), sawm (fasting) etc., and (ii) māliyya, or those by spending wealth, e.g., zakāt (charity), sadaqa (alms) etc. The present book describes the rewards promised to be given by Allāh for actions of the first category<sup>4</sup>. The object of writing this book was to encourage man to do good deeds.

(xiii) 'Iqāb al-A'māl (published)<sup>5</sup>

Unlike the book described above, this work classified the punishment for evil deeds by a Muslim.<sup>6</sup> The object of writing this book is to create horror in the mind of a Muslim and to dissuade him from committing sin.

(xiv) Al-Amālī fī al-Ahādīth (published)<sup>7</sup>.

This is a collection of traditions<sup>8</sup> Ibn Bābawayh dictated

1 Kashf al-Hujub, p.547. 2 Tihirān, 1319 A.H.— Najjār, iii, 348.

3 Tihirān, 1299 A.H.— Najjār, iii, 347.

4 Kashf al-Hujub, p.149; Cat. Browne, p.17 under C.10 (8).

5 Tihirān, 1299 A.H.— Najjār, iii, 347.

6 Kashf al-Hujub, p.382; Cat. Browne, p.17 under No.C.10 (8).

7 The book was edited by Muhammad 'Alī al-Kāshānī and lithographed in Tihirān, 1300/1883.— Ellis, ii, 163. According to Najjār (vol.iii, 347), the title of the book is Kitāb al-Amālī fī al-Ahādīth wa al-Akhbār.

8 Ellis, ii, 163.

to the students in different majālis or sittings. The traditions appear to have been arranged under respective sittings.<sup>1</sup>

(xv) Majālis al-Mawā'iz fī al-Ahādīth (MS)<sup>2</sup>

This treatise seems to be a collection of ahādīth describing the virtues of holding meetings for delivering religious sermons and wise sayings.

(xvi) Munāzara al-Mālik Rukn al-Dawla ma' al-Sadūq (MS)<sup>3</sup>.

It is a polemical Shi'ite tract containing a debate held between Rukn al-Dawla and Ibn Bābawayh at the court of the former.<sup>4</sup> The reason of compiling this tract was as follows:

When Rukn al-Dawla, the Būwayhid prince, came to know of the erudition of Ibn Bābawayh as an authority on Shi'ism, he was anxious to meet him. On his arrival at the court the prince welcomed and honoured him and seated him by his side. Then there continued a lively discussion between them on the question as to who would be the rightful Caliph after 'Alī. It also discusses the reasonableness or otherwise of censuring the three rāshida Caliphs by the Shi'ites. Some were in favour of it and some were against it. What then was the opinion of Ibn Bābawayh? — a question posed by the prince. Ibn Bābawayh discusses the problems raised by the prince threadbare and solved them to his satisfaction.<sup>5</sup>

(xvii) Kitāb al-Ikhtisās (MS)<sup>6</sup>.

This book is a compendium of Shi'a traditions, the history

1 Kashf al-Hujub, p.59.

2 A MS. copy is preserved in Berlin. For other MSS., Najjār, iii, 344. According to Kashf al-Hujub, p.570, the title is al-Mawā'iz wa al-Hikam.

3 British Museum and the library of E.G. Browne. — GAL, SI, 322; Cat. Browne, p.289 under Y. 5(1). It begins:

قال الملك ابيها الشيخ العالم اختلف الحاضرون في القوم الذين تطعن عليهم الشيعة الى  
Kashf al-Hujub, p.553.

4 Cat. Browne, p.289 under Y.5(1).

5 Kashf al-Hujub, p.553.

6 MS. Copy is preserved in the library of Amin al-Wā'izin Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad 'Alī al-Isfahānī — Najjār, iii, 348.

of the Companions of the Prophet(s) and their merits, the erudition of early Shi'a divines and their position in the field of jurisprudence etc. A work of a similar nature was also compiled by Abū 'Alī Ahmad b. al-Husayn, a contemporary of Ibn Bābawayh<sup>1</sup>.

(xviii) Mashīkha Ibn Bābawayh (MS)<sup>2</sup>

The work is a collection of ahādīth narrated by the shuyūkh, professors of Ibn Bābawayh. The system he followed in compiling the ahādīth is that they were placed under respective shuyūkh whom he arranged chronologically<sup>3</sup>.

(xix) Al-Arba'un 'an al-Arba'in min al-Arba'in (MS.)<sup>4</sup>

It is a collection of forty traditions narrated by Ibn Bābawayh on the authorities of his forty shuyūkh who in their turn had them from forty different traditionists.

(xx) Fadā'il Shahr Rajab (MS)<sup>5</sup>

It is a treatise on fadā'il, merits, of the month of Rajab as mentioned in traditions.

Besides the books noticed above, Ibn Bābawayh also wrote books on various subjects, but they have not come down to us.<sup>6</sup>

1 Kashf al-Hujub, p.30.

2 MS. copy is available in the library of Meshhed. — Najjār, iii, 348.

3 For the term mashīkha, see: M.Z. Siddiqī, Hadīth Literature (Calcutta University, 1961), p.18, f.n. 1.

4 Library of Mullā 'Alī Āqā at Tabrīz. — Najjār, iii, 348.

5 Library of Mullā 'Alī Āqā at Tabrīz. — Ibid.

6 For titles of books, see: Tūsī, p.304; Kashf al-Hujub, pp. 134, 215, 234, 275, 371, 378, 384, 421-22, 432, 435, 439, 443, 445, 452, 453, 455, 460, 461, 463, 491, 500, 501, 524, 526, 545, 570, 590, 604; Najjār, iii, 347-48.

## B. JURISTS:

1. Abū al-Ḥasan al-Qummī (d.305/917).

Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Mūsā b. Dā'wūd al-Qummī was one of the leading Ḥanafite jurists of his age. He was also a traditionist and heard hadīth from Muḥammad b. Ḥamīd al-Rāzī (d.248), Muḥammad b. Shujā' al-Thaljī (d.266) and others. Abū al-Faḍl Ahmad al-Kāghadhī and Abū Bakr Ahmad b. Sa'd narrated hadīth on his authority. Towards the close of his life he went to Nishāpūr at a time when the Sāmānīd Amīr Ahmad b. Ismā'īl (295-301/907-913) arrived there from al-Rayy. The Amīr convened for him majālis, sessions where Abū al-Ḥasan gave lessons on hadīth from most of his compilations. He died in 305/917<sup>1</sup>.

Abū al-Ḥasan is credited with having compiled a work entitled Aḥkām al-Qur'ān<sup>2</sup>, but the book has not come down to us.

2. Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Mūsā b. Ḥusayn b. Bābawayh al-Qummī (d.329/940).

He was a renowned Shi'ite jurist and one of the leading professors of Qumm. He went to al-'Irāq and devoted himself to the study of Shi'ite fiqh under Abū al-Qāsim al-Ḥusayn b. Rūh<sup>3</sup>. In 328/939 one year before his death Abū al-Ḥasan went to Baghdād and guaranteed Abū al-Ḥasan al-'Abbās ijāza, license to teach all of his compilations. He died in 329/940.<sup>4</sup>

His works:

Al-Tūsī has furnished us with a list of twenty two books most of which appears to be tracts on different chapters of al-Fiqh, viz., al-Wadū', al-Salāt, al-Janā'iz, al-Nikāh, al-Manāsik al-Hajj etc.<sup>5</sup>

1 Al-Sam'ānī, art "al-Qummī"; Buldān, iv, 177; Lubāb, iii, 4-5.

2 Ibid. 3 Fihris al-Tūsī, p.218. 4 Al-Tafarshī, p.232.

5 Fihris al-Tūsī, p. 218. Cf: Fihrist, p.277; Kashf al-Hujub, pp.96, 277, 317, 422, 426, 428, 552, 589.

Abū al-Ḥasan was the father of Ibn Bābawayh, the famous Shī'ā scholar, whose life and works we have discussed above.

C. EXEGETES:

Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Qummī (d.ca. 350/960).

Among the exegetes who flourished at Qumm in the 4th/10th century the name of Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Qummī may be mentioned. A leading Shī'ite author of the 4th century A.H. Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm b. Hāshim al-Qummī had a thorough training in ḥadīth and tafsīr under Ibn Abī Dā'wūd (d. 316) of Baghdād and Abū al-'Abbās b. 'Uqda (d. 332) of al-Kūfa.<sup>1</sup> As a traditionist he was regarded by the Shī'ā scholars as reliable. Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb al-Kulīnī (d. 328) transmitted ḥadīth on his authority<sup>2</sup>. The exact date of his death has not come down to us.

His works:

Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm wrote a number of books<sup>3</sup> on tradition, history and theology, but his fame rests on his Tafsīr al-Qur'ān<sup>4</sup> which was based on interpretations handed down chiefly by Imām Muḥammad Bāqir (d.ca. 117) and Imām Ja'far al-Ṣādiq (d. 148)<sup>5</sup>.

The author begins his commentary with a preface elaborating several important points, viz., Nāsikh and al-Mansūkh and other technical terms which are prerequisites for the understanding of

1 Udabā', xii, 215, f.n.

2 Al-Tafarshī, p.224. Notice of his life is also found in Fihris al-Tūsi, p. 209; Mizān al-I'tidāl, ii, 217; Bankipore Catalogue, xviii, pt. ii, 145 under No.1462.

3 Kitāb al-Nāsikh wa al-Mansūkh, Kitāb al-Maghāzī, Kitāb al-Sharā'i', Kitāb Qurb al-Isnād, Kitāb al-Manāqib, Kitāb Akhbār al-Qur'an wa Riwayatihi, Kitāb Fadā'il Amīr al-Mu'minīn, Kitāb al-Tawhīd wa al-Shirk, Kitāb al-Hayd, al-Mushdhar and Kitāb al-Anbiyā'. Cf: Fihrist, p.311; Udabā', xii, 215; Fihris al-Tūsi, p. 209; Kashf al-Huḥub, pp.574, 537, 317, 555; Bankipore Cata, xviii, pt. ii, 145 under No.1462.

4 Lithographed in Tīhrān, 1311; 1313 and Tabrīz, 1315 A.H.— GAL,SI,336

5 Loth, p.10.

tafsīr literature. The work is, on the whole, concise; only the causes of revelations of several chapters are described at greater length.<sup>1</sup>

The author concludes his Tafsīr by citing traditions on the faḍā'il, merits of the respective sūras of the Qur'ān and the rewards promised to one reciting it.<sup>2</sup>

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1 Bankipore Cata., xviii, pt. ii, 146 under No.1462.

2 Ibid.



## CHAPTER II

THE PROVINCE OF KHURĀSĀN

Khurāsān, the great eastern province of Persia, stood on the northern border of Qūhistān and Sijistān. In the fourth/tenth century, Khurāsān was a great tract of land including in it what is now the north-western part of Afganistān. In those days it was bounded on the east by Badakhshān, its northern frontier being the Oxus and the desert of Khwārizm. Khurāsān was divided into four divisions, namely, Nishāpūr, Marv, Herat and Balkh. The physical feature of the province was remarkable in that it had the rivers of Herat and Marv rising in the mountains of Afganistān turning north and flowing out into the sands of the desert towards Khwārizm. The famous trunk road known as Khurāsān road connected the province with Baghdād on the west and Bukhārā and Samarqand, on the north-east, in the province of Ṣughd. This high road went across Bisṭām, Marv, Ṭūs, Nishāpūr, and Āmul on the bank of the Oxus.<sup>1</sup> It was frequented as much by merchantile caravans as by myriads of tālibū al-‘ilm, the seekers after knowledge, who, as it were, left on this high road the ineffaceable impress of their foot-marks.<sup>2</sup>

We have seen how the islamization of the province of al-Jibāl came about during the early days of Islam. In the same manner Khurāsān was islamized by the Arabs during the days of rāshida Caliphs, and the enthusiastic people of the province

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1 Le Strange, pp.7-8.

2 Dr. Muhammad Ishāq, al-Aṣamm, the Deaf Traditionist of Nishāpūr, an article published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan vol. xiii, No.2, August, 1968, p.138.

betook themselves to the culture and cultivation of Islamic learning. As a result, Khurāsān was dotted particularly with centres of ḥadīth learning. It may not be exaggeration to say that almost every city and township of the province was humming with the cultural activities of the scholars, local and outside. In order to properly evaluate the part played by the scholars of the different centres of the province of Khurāsān we have divided the chapter into two sections as follows:

Section I. Nishāpūr.

Section II. (i) Herat, (ii) Marv and (iii) Balkh.

SECTION I. Nishāpūr.

(i) Topography. The city of Nishāpūr stands on a plain surface towards the westernmost region of the province of Khurāsān.<sup>1</sup> In the early Islamic period it was known as Abarshahr<sup>2</sup> or Abrashahr<sup>3</sup>; but the Arab geographer called the city Naysābūr.<sup>4</sup> Sometimes it took the title of Iran-shahr.<sup>5</sup> In the 7th/13th century its name was generally pronounced as Nashāwūr.<sup>6</sup> Now-a-days it is called Nishāpūr.<sup>7</sup>

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1 In ancient time a city under the name of Dīn Dulā was first founded by the Pishdadian monarch Ṭahamurath Diwband (ruled for 30 years). In about 331 B.C. the city was devastated by Alexander the Great (330-323 B.C.) and was afterwards rebuilt by the Sāsānīd Ardashīr Bābghān (226-242 A.D.). Shāpur I (242-71 A.D.), the son of Ardashīr wanted the city from his father, but he refused to give it to him. Shāpur I built a city in its neighbourhood and named it Nishābūr. Vide Ibn al-Balkhī, Kitāb Fārsnāma, ed. by Le Strange and Nicholson, London, 1921 A.D., p. 63; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, Kitāb Nuzhat al-Qulūb, ed. by Mirza Muḥammad Shīrāzī, Bombay, 1311 A.H., p. 185.

2 Ency. of Islam, iii, 928.

3 Al-Istakhri, p. 254.

4 Ibid.

5 Maqdisī, p. 313; Ency. of Islam, iii, 928.

6 Buldān, iv, 857.

7 Le Strange, p. 383.

Nishāpūr first became the capital of Khurāsān at the time of Hurmuz I (272-73)<sup>1</sup>, the Sāsānīd and was a place of importance till the 5th century A.D.<sup>2</sup> Yazdjird II (438-457 A.D.) mostly resided in Nishāpūr.<sup>3</sup> During the time of the Chosroes (531-628 A.D.) the foundation of Nishāpūr was laid out in the shape of a chess-board.<sup>4</sup> However, its importance slowly eclipsed and during the first two centuries of Islam the capital of Khurāsān had been at Marv and Balkh.<sup>5</sup> But ‘Abd Allāh b. Tāhir (213-230/828-844), the governor of Khurāsān transferred his head-quarters to Nishāpūr.<sup>6</sup> It may be mentioned that Nishāpūr stood amidst gardens and villages and was irrigated by several watercourses.<sup>7</sup> Its soil was very fertile and climate pleasant<sup>8</sup>. The Ṣaffārīds (254-90/867-903) developed the city which next reached its most prosperous condition under the Sāmānīds (261-389/874-999).<sup>9</sup> Tughril Beg (429-455/1037-1063), the Saljūq, resided there.<sup>10</sup> But the city suffered many vicissitudes and between 540/1145 and 808/1405 it had been destroyed many times by tremor and the attacks of Ghuzz and Mongol hordes; but it was subsequently rebuilt in its neighbourhood.<sup>11</sup> The present city of Nishāpūr occupies a site adjacent to the ruins of the old one.<sup>12</sup>

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1 On him, see Malcolm, *History of Persia* (London, 1829), i, 77 et. seq.

2 Markham, *History of Persia* (London, 1874), p. 73.

3 *Ency. Britannica*, xiv, 462.

4 Mustawfī, p. 185; Le Strange, p. 386.

5 Le Strange, pp. 382 sq.

6 *Ibid.*

7 Ibn Hawqal, p. 214; Le Strange, p. 384; Markham, p. 73.

8 Markham, *loc. cit.*

9 Le Strange, p. 386; *Ency. Britannica*, xiv, 462.

10 *Ency. Britannica*, *loc. cit.*

11 *Ibid.*

12 Le Strange, p. 386.

In the 4th/10th century Nishāpūr was already the largest and the most populous city of Khurāsān<sup>1</sup> and one of the four divisions<sup>2</sup> of the province, viz., Nishāpūr, Marv, Herat and Balkh.<sup>3</sup> It had four gates, viz, Bāb Rās al-Qantara or the Bridge Gate, Bāb Sikka Ma'qil or the gate of the street of Ma'qil, Bāb al-Quhandiz or the Fortress Gate and Bāb Qantara Takīn or the gate of the Takīn Bridge.<sup>4</sup>

(ii) Arab conquest. In 22/642 during the Caliphate of 'Umar the Arabs under the leadership of Aḥnaf b. Qays (d.73) overran Nishāpūr and its outlying townships numbering as many as forty four<sup>5</sup>. It was 'Abd Allāh b. 'Āmir who consolidated the conquered territories in 31/651 during the Caliphate of 'Uthmān.<sup>7</sup>

As noticed above Marv and Balkh were headquarters of the Khurāsān province during the first two centuries of Islam where quite a few Companions of the Prophet (s) settled and chose it for their cultural activities. As for Nishāpūr it had advantage over all other cities of Khurāsān due to its geographical location and salubrious climate. This was perhaps the reason why it attracted the attention of the Companions of the Prophet(s) to adopt it as their home or halting station. To quote but a few instances: 'Abd Allāh b. 'Āmir, the conqueror of Khurāsān sojourned at Nishāpūr in 31/651 when he heard the

1 Istakhri, p.255 (sic): وليس خراسان مدينة اصح هواء ولا اكبر من نيسابور

Ibn Hawqal, loc. cit; Le Strange, p.384.

2 Le Strange (p.382) has 'Quarters'.

3 Maqdisi, p.313.

4 Istakhri, p.254.

5 Maqdisi, p.315. For conquest, see: Ibn al-Athir, iii,17.

6 Tabari, i, 2884-88; Ibn al-Athir, iii,60.

7 Ibid.

news of the death of Yazdjird b. Shahriyār, the last monarch of the Sāsānīd dynasty.<sup>1</sup> As a mark of solemn gratitude to Allāh for this happy news 'Abd Allāh b. 'Āmir undertook to perform hajj with an ihrām<sup>2</sup> that started right from Nishāpūr.<sup>3</sup> 'Abd Allāh b. Khāzim al-Sulamī (d. 71 or 73)<sup>4</sup> and Qays b. Haytham al-Sulamī al-Sāmī<sup>5</sup> (d.ca. 71), the Companions of the Prophet(s), were alternately appointed governors of Nishāpūr on behalf of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Āmir. 'Uthmān b. Ḥabīb and Hammām b. Zayd b. Wābiṣa<sup>6</sup> who arrived Nishāpūr accompanied by 'Abd Allāh b. 'Āmir, settled and died there<sup>7</sup>. The sons of these two Companions chose Nishāpūr as their home.<sup>8</sup> 'Āmir b. Sulaym al-Aslamī<sup>9</sup>, another Companion of the Prophet(s), settled at Nishāpūr where he died and was buried in the graveyard of Mulqābādh.<sup>10</sup> Besides them, many a Companion either settled or sojourned there and what is more important they seemed to have carved out circles of ḥadīth transmission. Our presumption is borne out by the fact that the names of as many as seventy five Followers<sup>11</sup> have come down to us, who stayed there either permanently or temporarily in order to transmit ḥadīth literature<sup>12</sup>.

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1 Ibn al-Athīr, iii, 57-58; Isāba, iii, 121.

2 When a pilgrim arrives at a miqāt, the last stage near Makka, he bathes himself and performs two rak'a of prayers, and then divesting himself of his clothes, he assumes the pilgrim's sacred robe, which is called ihrām. For details see: Hughes, Dictionary of Islam, reprinted in Lahore, 1964, p.147; 156.

3 Isāba, iii, 121.

4 On him, see: Usd, iii, 148-49; Isāba, ii, 735-37.

5 Al-Istī'āb (vol. ii, 528) has 'al-Shāmī' which is not correct. cf: Isāba, iii, 525.

6 Tajrīd, ii, 132.

7 Ta'rīkh Naysābūr, p.11.

8 Ibid.

9 Tajrīd, i, 306.

10 Ta'rīkh Naysābūr, pp. 10-11; Isāba, ii, 621.

11 Ta'rīkh Naysābūr, pp. 13-14.

12 Ta'rīkh Naysābūr, pp. 13-15.

Of them we may mention the following:

- Aḥnaf b. Qays (d. 73)<sup>1</sup>;  
 Nāfi' mawla 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar<sup>2</sup>;  
 Al-Rabī' b. Anas b. Mālik<sup>3</sup>;  
 Thamāna b. 'Abd Allāh b. Anas (d.ca. 110)<sup>4</sup>;  
 Ja'ḍa b. Hubayra al-Makhzūmī<sup>5</sup>;  
 Al-Rabī' b. Ziyād al-Hārithī (d.56);  
 Al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Muzāhim al-Khurāsānī (d.105);  
 Lāḥiq b. Humayd (d.106);  
 Muqātil b. Sulaymān al-Balkhī (d. 150);  
 'Abd Allāh b. Burayda al-Aslamī.

In this connection it is interesting to note that already during the time of the Companions the people of Nishāpūr responded favourably to the study of ḥadīth learning with the result that there emerged quite a few Followers from Nishāpūr.<sup>6</sup> Of them the names of the following have come down to us:

- Abū Sulaymān al-Naysābūrī<sup>7</sup>;  
 Marwān b. 'Ubayd Allāh al-Naysābūrī<sup>8</sup>;  
 Sālīm al-Khurāsānī<sup>9</sup>.

(iii) Introduction of Islamic sciences. The cumulative effect of the cultural activities of the Companions and the Followers turned Nishāpūr into a seat of ḥadīth learning producing outstanding transmitters and traditionists right from the 2nd/8th

1 Istī'āb, i, 56-57; Khulāsā, p.38.

2 Ta'riḥ Naysābūr, p.14.

3 Ibid.

4 Ibn Sa'd, vii, pt.ii, 8; Khulāsā, p.49.

5 Isāba, i, 483; Tajrīd, i, 90; Khulāsā, p.53.

6 Ta'riḥ Naysābūr, p.14.

7 He was a disciple of Anas b. Mālik (d.93) and heard ḥadīth from him (Ibid).

8 Ibid.

9 Ibid.

century . . We would like to give a brief list of the 2nd/8th and 3rd/9th century scholars of hadīth<sup>1</sup> prior to entering into discussion of the contribution made by the scholars of the 4th/10th century traditionists to hadīth literature. It may be noted that during the second century A.H. many traditionists from Herat, Marv, Balkh, Nasā, Sarakhs and Bukhārā being attracted by the cultural life obtaining at Nishāpūr which developed into a University town, migrated there and devoted themselves to transmitting hadīth. Likewise quite a few local traditionists went abroad for higher studies of hadīth.

2nd/8th century traditionists:

Ibrāhīm b. Tahmān al-Harawī al-Naysābūrī (d. 163)<sup>2</sup>;

Hafṣ b. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Naysābūrī (d.199)<sup>3</sup> of Balkh;

'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Abd Allāh al-Nasawī (d. ca.150)<sup>4</sup>;

Bakr b. Ma'rūf al-Naysābūrī (d. 163)<sup>5</sup>;

Ismā'īl b. Ibrāhīm al-Naysābūrī<sup>6</sup>;

Asad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Qasrī (d.120)<sup>7</sup>;

Khārija b. Muṣ'ab al-Sarakhsī (d.168)<sup>8</sup>;

Ḥammād b. Sulaymān al-Faqīh al-Naysābūrī<sup>9</sup>;

Ibrāhīm b. Rustam al-Marwazī<sup>10</sup>;

Abū Hudhayfa al-Bukhārī<sup>11</sup>;

Aṣram b. Ghīyāth<sup>12</sup>.

1 Ibid, pp. 15-16.

2 He was the forefather of al-Hākim al-Naysābūrī (d.405/1014). On him: Ta'rikh Naysābur, p. 15; al-Khatīb, vi, 105-11; Fihrist, p.319; Huffāz, i, 198-99.

3 Ta'rikh Naysābur, loc.cit; Khulāṣa, p.74.

4 Ta'rikh Naysābur, p.16; Khulāṣa, p.194.

5 Ta'rikh Naysābur, p.15.

6 Ibid.

7 Ibid.; Khulāṣa, p.26.

8 Ta'rikh Naysābur, p.15; Khulāṣa, p.84.

9 Ta'rikh Naysābur, loc. cit.

10 Ibid.

11 Ibid.

12 Ibid.

3rd/9th century traditionists:

1. Al-Sūrīnī Ibrāhīm b. Nasr al-Muttawī'i (d.210), compiler of al-Musnad.<sup>1</sup>
2. 'Alī b. al-Hasan al-Dhuhli (d.251), author of Musnad.<sup>2</sup>
3. Muhammad b. Yahya al-Dhuhli al-Naysābūrī (d.258), compiler of al-Zuhriyāt.<sup>3</sup>
4. Al-Imām Muslim b. al-Hajjāj al-Qushayrī al-Naysābūrī (d.261), the celebrated author of al-Sahīh, one of the Ṣiḥāh Sitta.<sup>4</sup>
5. Ahmad b. Salima al-Naysābūrī al-Bazzār (d.286), author of Mustakhraj.<sup>5</sup>
6. Al-Khaffāf Zakariyyā' b. Dā'wūd al-Naysābūrī (d.286), author of al-Tafsīr al-Kabīr.<sup>6</sup>
7. Al-Husayn b. Muḥammad al-Naysābūrī (d.289), compiler of al-Musnad, al-Abwāb, al-Ta'riḫ and al-Kunā.<sup>7</sup>
8. Muḥammad b. Mihrān al-Naysābūrī (d.295), collector of ahādīth of Imām al-Zuhri (d.124), Imām Mālik (d.179), Yahya b. Sa'īd (d.143), 'Abd Allāh b. Dīnār (d.127) and Mūsā b. 'Uqba (d. 141).<sup>8</sup>

1 Huffāz, ii, 3; Mustatrifa, p.52.

2 Huffāz, ii,100; Mustatrifa, p.54.

3 In al-Zuhriyāt al-Dhuhli collected the ahādīth of Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri (d.124). Cf: Huffāz, ii,101-02; Ibn al-Athīr, vii,178; Shadharāt, ii,138; Mustatrifa,p.92; Ṭabaqāt al-Hanābala, p.237.

4 For the detailed life and works of Imām Muslim, see: Ta'riḫ Naysābūr, pp.34-35; al-Nawawī, pp.548-53; al-Khaṭīb, xiii,100-04; Wafayāt,ii,91; Huffāz, ii,150-52; Fihrist,p.322; Abū al-Fidā, ii,51; al-Yāfi'i,ii,174; Shadharāt,ii,144-45; Bustān al-Muḥaddithīn,p.104; Sarkis,pp.1745-46; Mustatrifa,p.40; Jurjī Zaydān,ii,210; Ahmad Amīn, Duḥā al-Islām (Cairo, 1307 A.H.), ii,119-21; Ṭabaqāt al-Hanābala,p.246; Tadhkira al-Nawādir,p.89; Ibn Ḥajr 'Asqalānī, Kitāb Ṭabaqāt al-Mudallisīn (Egypt, 1322 A.H.), p.7; Husayn Muḥammad,i,203; Hitti,p.395; Nicholson, p.337; Wüstenfeld,p.22; Bankipore Catalogue, vol. v, pt.i,75-80; vol.v, pt.ii,219; vol.xii,36; Ency. of Islam,iii,756.

5 Huffāz, ii,190-91; Shadharāt, ii,192; Mustatrifa, p.26.

6 Huffāz,ii,222-23.

7 Huffāz,ii,226-27; Buldān, iv,224; Shadharāt,ii,201; Mustatrifa,p.59.

8 Huffāz,ii,228-29; Mustatrifa,p.93. In Shadharāt (vol.ii,221) his name has been given as Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl which is not correct.



## 4TH/10TH CENTURY SCHOLARS OF NISHĀPŪR AND THEIR WORKS

A. AL-MUHADDITHŪN, THE TRADITIONISTS:1. Al-Nasā'ī (d.303/915)

Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān Ahmad b. Shu'ayb b. 'Alī al-Nasā'ī, the illustrious author of Kitāb al-Sunan, one of the six canonical collections of ḥadīth, was born in 215/830 at Nasā in Khurāsān.<sup>1</sup> After completing primary education at his native town he left for Baghlān<sup>2</sup> at the age of fifteen to receive training in ḥadīth under Qutayba b. Sa'īd al-Baghlānī (d.240), and studied under him for a period of one year and two months<sup>3</sup>. Thereafter he visited the centres of Khurāsān, al-'Irāq and Syria receiving ḥadīth at Nishāpūr from Ishāq b. Rāhawayh (d.238), al-Husayn b. Mansūr al-Naysābūrī (d.238) and their contemporaries; at Baghdād from Ahmad b. 'Ubada al-Harawī (d.245); at al-Kūfa from Abū Kurayb (d.248); at al-Basra from Muḥammad b. Bashshār Bundār (d.252); and at Damascus from Hishām b. 'Ammār (d.245). He also heard ḥadīth from the traditionists of al-Hijāz and al-Jazīra, but the names of his shuyūkh thereof have not come down to us. He then repaired to Egypt and studied Shāfi'ite jurisprudence under Muḥammad b. Naṣr al-Marwazī (d.294) and Yūnus b. 'Abd al-A'lā al-Ṣadafī (d.264)<sup>4</sup>.

On finishing his education, al-Nasā'ī settled at Zuqāq al-Qanādīl<sup>5</sup> in al-Qāhira, and became shaykh al-Islām, chief judge.

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1 Huffāz, ii, 241.

2 A town in the Balkh quarter of Khurāsān. Buldān, i, 695; Le Strange, p.427.

3 Huffāz, loc. cit.; al-Subkī, ii, 84.

4 Huffāz, loc. cit.; al-Subkī, loc. cit.; Husn al-Muhādira, i, 147.

5 Buldān ii, 937.

Hence he was called al-Qāḍī. Here among those who narrated ḥadīth on his authority, were Abū Bishr al-Dūlābī (d.310), Abū Ja'far al-Taḥāwī (d.321), Abū 'Alī al-Naysābūrī (d.349), Muḥammad b. Mu'āwiya al-Andalūsī (d.358), Abū al-Qāsim al-Ṭabarānī (d.360) and Abū Bakr b. al-Sunnī (d.364)<sup>1</sup>.

Al-Nasā'ī took al-Qāhira as his second home devoting himself assiduously to teaching, researches and compiling works on ḥadīth<sup>2</sup> — his main collaborator being his pet disciple the young Ibn al-Sunnī<sup>3</sup>.

In the year 302/914 towards the end of his life al-Nasā'ī left Egypt for Makka en route to Damascus to perform hajj. On his arrival at Damascus he found that the people there had no regard for Ḥadrat 'Alī. At this al-Nasā'ī wrote Kitāb al-Khasā'is fī Fadli 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib: a book on the virtues of Caliph 'Alī. He read out the book in the Jāmi' of Damascus. Thereupon he was asked about his opinion of Mu'āwiya. His reply roused their anger and he was cruelly beaten by the intolerant people of Damascus. As a result he was fatally wounded and, on his instruction, was carried to Makka where he breathed his last on the 13th of Ṣafar, 303/915. He was buried there between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa<sup>4</sup>.

Al-Nasā'ī led a rigorously pious life. He would fast every other day and spend most of the hours of the night in prayer and devotion to Allāh. He was gallant, strong and stout-built. He would participate in holy wars.<sup>5</sup>

1 Huffāz, loc.cit.; al-Subkī, loc. cit.; Husn al-Muhādira, loc.cit.

2 Tahdhīb, i, 38-39. 3 Supra, p.118.

4 Huffāz, ii, 242-43; al-Subkī, ii, 84; Wafayāt, i, 21; Shadharāt, ii, 240. Some say that he died at Ramla in Palestine and according to his wishes his dead body was carried to Makka to bury him there. Wafayāt, loc. cit.; Tahdhīb, i, 36-39; Bustān al-Muhaddithīn, p.110.

5 Ibid.

His works:

(i) Kitāb al-Sunan (published)<sup>1</sup>

Imām al-Nasā'ī compiled a voluminous work on ḥadīth under the title Kitāb al-Sunan al-Kubrā of which a selection was made at the instance of Amīr of Ramla comprising only the sahih, (sound) traditions and named it al-Mujtabā.<sup>2</sup> As other Sunan works, al-Nasā'ī arranged the ahādīth of his Sunan under the chapters of fiqh. Of the four Sunan works,<sup>3</sup> out of the Sihāh Sitta, the Sunan of al-Nasā'ī occupies the highest place. Imām al-Suyūṭī (d.911) prepared a commentary on the Sunan of al-Nasā'ī under the title Zahr al-Ruba.<sup>4</sup> Abū al-Hasan al-Sindī (d.1138)<sup>5</sup> wrote a hāshiya, (glossary) on al-Mujtabā.<sup>6</sup>

(ii) Kitāb al-Khasā'is fī Fadli 'Alī b. Abī Tālib(published)<sup>7</sup>.

This is a book on the excellence, virtues and distinctive qualities of 'Alī b. Abī Tālib, based on ahādīth. As mentioned above al-Nasā'ī wrote the book to remove the misunderstandings of the people of Damascus regarding Caliph 'Alī in the hope that Allāh might guide them to the right path.<sup>8</sup> Al-Nasā'ī had to pay heavily for compiling this book, because he was branded as Shi'a and was cruelly beaten in the Jāmi' of Damascus which resulted in his death as mentioned above.

1 Published at Būlāq, 1276 A.H.; Lucknow, 1869 A.D.; Delhi, 1256, 1315, 1319, 1325 A.H.

2 Supra, p.118.

3 The titles of other Sunan works are as follows:

(i) The Sunan of Abū Dā'wūd.

(ii) The Sunan of Ibn Mājah.

(iii) The Jāmi' of al-Tirmidhī.

4 GAL, SI, 269.

5 On him: see India's Contribution to ḥadīth literature, p.238.

6 Ibid.; GAL, loc.cit.

7 Printed in Calcutta, 1303 A.H. together with a Persian translation by Kabīruddīn Aḥmad. The Arabic text has been reprinted in Cairo, 1308 A.H.(GAL, loc.cit.)

8 Huffāz ii,243; Shadharāt, loc. cit.; al-Subkī, loc.cit.; Bankipore Catalogue, XV,121.

(iii) Kitāb al-Du'afā' wa al-Matrūkīn (MS):<sup>1</sup> a book on naqd, the criticism of transmitters of ḥadīth with special reference to those who were weak and rejected.<sup>2</sup>

(iv) Fadā'il al-Ṣahāba: a book on the virtues of the Companions of the Prophet(s)<sup>3</sup>.

(v) Musnad Mālik:<sup>4</sup> a collection of ahādīth narrated by Imām Mālik (d. 179).

(vi) Musnad 'Alī:<sup>5</sup> a collection of ahādīth narrated by Caliph 'Alī.

(vii) Kitāb al-Jum'a.<sup>6</sup> This seems to be a collection of ahādīth pertaining to Friday prayers.

## 2. Ibn Khuzayma (d.311/923)

Born in 223/837<sup>7</sup> in the University town of Nishāpūr Abū Bakr Muhammad b. Ishāq b. Khuzayma al-Sulamī al-Naysābūrī received early education in ḥadīth under Ishāq b. Rāhawayh (d.238) and 'Isā b. Mūsā al-Khatmī (d.240) of Nishāpūr.<sup>8</sup> He then left home and travelled extensively in Jibāl, al-'Irāq, Wāsīt, al-Shām and al-Hijāz in order to acquire ḥadīth<sup>9</sup>. Among his shuyūkh (from whom he received ḥadīth) the names of the following have come down to us:

Muḥammad b. Ḥamīd al-Rāzī (d.248);

Mahmūd b. Ghaylān al-Marwazī (d. 239);

Aḥmad b. Manī' (d.244);

Abū Kurayb (d.248);

Muḥammad b. Abān al-Balkhī (d.244)<sup>10</sup>

'Abd al-Jabbār b. al-'Alā' (d.248).

1 Lāleli under No.2089. (GAL, SI, 270.).

2 Al-Khawli, pp.152-53.

3 Huffāz, ii, 242; al-Subkī, ii, 84; Tahdhīb, i, 38.

4 Shadharāt, ii,240; Hājī Khalīfa, ii, 434.

5 Ibid.

6 Hājī Khalīfa, ii, 272.

7 Al-Subkī, ii, 130; In Shadharāt (ii,262) the year is 222 A.H.

8 Al-Subkī, loc. cit. 9 Ibid., p.131.

10 He was Mustamli or writer of dictations of ahādīth offered by Wakī' b. al-Jarrāh al-Kufī (d.197).

Ibn Khuzayma was famous for his extraordinary memory<sup>1</sup> in so much that he would cite from memory legal issues deduced from ḥadīth just as a Qur'ān-reciter would do sūrahs of the Holy Qur'ān from memory<sup>2</sup>. He seldom had a recourse to pen and paper while preserving the great multitude of ahādīth with chains of transmitters he collected during his wanderjahre. It may be mentioned that he committed to memory over seventy thousand ahādīth.<sup>3</sup>

Unlike his contemporary traditionists Ibn Khuzayma was not content with collecting and preserving a vast store of Apōstolic traditions. He did more. With a view to acquiring higher training in the Shāfi'ite fiqh (jurisprudence), Ibn Khuzayma repaired to Egypt and spent there quite a few years in order to drink deep at the well of al-Muzanī (d.264), Yūnus b. 'Abd al-A'lā al-Ṣadafī (d.264) and al-Rabī' b. Sulaymān (d.270); three direct disciples of Imām al-Shāfi'ī (d.204).<sup>4</sup> It may be mentioned that while Ibn Khuzayma was in Egypt he saw his compatriot Abū al-'Abbās al-Aṣamm (d.346) engaged in studying al-Shāfi'ī's Kitāb al-Mabsūt<sup>5</sup> under al-Rabī' b. Sulaymān.<sup>6</sup>

From the recorded dates of death of his shuyūkh it appears that Ibn Khuzayma completed his academic career by the year 250/864 when he was barely twenty seven years old. But his vast erudition in the lore of ḥadīth far outshone the contemporary muhaddithūn to an extent perhaps unparalleled in the life of any scholar. In fact, he occupied the enviable position of Imām al-A'inma.

1 His name is mentioned in Ibn al-Jawzī's Kitāb al-Hathth 'alā Hifz al-'Ilm: a MS. containing the list of the scholars possessing rare memory. A microfilm copy of the MS. is available in the Dacca University Library.

2 Al-Subkī, ii, 134 (sic) كان ابن خزيمة يحفظ الفقهاء من حديثه كما يحفظ القارى السورة.

3 Huffaz, ii, 261.

4 Al-Subkī, ii, 131; Shadharāt, ii, 262-63.

5 It is a book on law. Al-Rabī' b. Sulaymān studied it with al-Shāfi'ī (Ency. of Islam, iv, 253; Fihrist, pp. 295, 297).

6 Al-Sam'ānī, under art, "al-Aṣamm".

the authority of the authorities on ḥadīth. It was but natural that Ibn Khuzayma attracted a large number of students including the illustrious Ibn Hibbān al-Bustī (d.354), Abū 'Alī al-Naysābūrī (d. 349), Abū Bakr al-Qaffāl al-Shāshī (d. 366), Abū Bakr al-Mayānājī (d. 375) and a host of others, who studied under him ḥadīth, fiqh and allied sciences. Besides, al-Bukhārī (d.256) and Muslim (d. 261) with all their name and fame as great authorities of ḥadīth, attended the seminar of Ibn Khuzayma, and heard ḥadīth from him.<sup>1</sup> His position as an authority on ḥadīth was recognized by his teacher al-Rabī' b. Sulaymān who says: "We were benefited by his (Ibn Khuzayma's) scholarship, more than he was benefited by us".<sup>2</sup>

Ibn Khuzayma flourished during the reign of the Sāmānīd prince Ismā'il b. Aḥmad (279-95/892-907) . He attended the conference of muhaddithūn convened by the prince at Nishāpūr. During the deliberations of the conference the prince wanted to know the traditions with regard to fay and ghanīma<sup>3</sup>, and Ibn Khuzayma, then and there cited from memory as many as one hundred and seventy ahādīth on the subject.<sup>4</sup> It was perhaps on this occasion that the prince narrated, on the authority of his father Aḥmad b. Asad,<sup>5</sup> a ḥadīth which had gained currency for twenty years while no traditionist could dare question its validity.

1 Huffāz, ii, 260; al-Subkī, ii,131; Buldān, i, 613; Shadharāt, ii, 262.

2 Al-Subkī, ii,132(Sic) قال الربيع بن سليمان استفدنا من ابن خزيمة أكثر مما استفدنا منا

3 Both fay and ghanīma mean war-booties; the former is acquired without armed hostility, while the latter after military operation. Vide Muftī Amīnul Ihsān, Qawā'id al-Fiqh (Dacca, 1961), pp.403-04; 417-18.

4 Al-Subkī, ii,134.

5 He distinguished himself in the service of Caliph Ma'mun(198-218/813-33 and was rewarded with the government of Farghana. On him, see: The Mohammadan Dynasties, p.131.

Ibn Khuzayma exposed the apocryphal nature of the hadith<sup>1</sup> — thus showing his courage of conviction to the prince.

Though a man of vast fortune, Ibn Khuzayma led an unostentatious scholarly life. He was generous and magnanimous. He had only one shirt to put on and when he had the occasion to prepare a new one he would give the old one to the needy<sup>2</sup>.

Notwithstanding his austere life Ibn Khuzayma was out and out a social man having a wide circle of friends and admirers belonging to all strata of society. This aspect of his life manifested itself eloquently in a grand banquet he gave in a garden of Nishāpūr, to a multitude of guests including traditionists, lawyers, magnates and the elite of the city. He served them with sumptuous dishes. As al-Hakim has it, it was a day memorable for its huge assemblage of people which none but a king could possibly bring together.<sup>3</sup>

Ibn Khuzayma died at Nishāpūr in 311/923.<sup>4</sup>

Ibn Khuzayma strictly defended the view-points of the orthodox school of theologians with regard to the uncreatedness of the Holy Qur'ān. He refuted the Mu'tazilite theory denuding God of His Attributes, furnishing rational interpretations of tawhīd (Oneness of God), and ṣifāt (His Attributes)<sup>5</sup>.

But the real contribution of Ibn Khuzayma to ḥadīth literature, to our mind, was the reopening of investigation into the quest of ṣaḥīḥ, genuine Apostolic traditions outside those incorporated in

1 Al-Subkī (ii, 131), who states this event, has not mentioned the so-called hadith.

2 Ibid.

3 Al-Subkī, ii, 135.

4 Huffāz, ii, 268.

5 Tadhkira al-Nawādir, p.64.

the Sihāh Sitta. He succeeded in collecting a good number of genuine traditions. He did more; he set other scholars in this field to work with the same objective. Mention in this regard may be made of his disciple Ibn Hibbān (d. 354) and grand-disciple al-Hākim Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Naysābūrī (d.405). But the canon of criticism and judgement evolved by Ibn Khuzayma in ascertaining a sahih hadith was by far the most rigorous, and the genuine ahādīth that he incorporated in his Sahih were of a higher order than those of his disciples and successors.<sup>1</sup> It is said that Ibn Khuzayma's position as a compiler of genuine traditions goes next to Imāms, al-Bukhārī (d. 256) and Muslim (d. 261)<sup>2</sup>.

His works:

As stated by al-Hākim al-Naysābūrī the compilations of Ibn Khuzayma exceeded one hundred and forty.<sup>3</sup> But the following few have come down to us:

(i) Ṣahih Ibn Khuzayma (published)<sup>4</sup>

As mentioned above, this is a collection of genuine ahādīth compiled by Ibn Khuzayma. It is said that when he wanted to put anything in black and white he would go on performing salāt till he was convinced of the soundness of the hadīth and would only then include it in his book.<sup>5</sup> The recognized critics of Apostolic traditions like al-Nawawī (d.676) and Sakhāwī (d.902) approved the standard of genuine ahādīth offered by Sahih Ibn Khuzayma, of course next to the Ṣahihān.<sup>6</sup>

(ii) Kitāb al-Tawhīd wa Ithbāt Sifāt al-Rabb (MS)<sup>7</sup>

1 Al-Khawli, pp. 107-08.

2 Mustatrifa, p.19.

3 Al-Subki, ii, 134-35; Huffāz, ii, 266.

4 It is edited with critical annotations by Dr. Mustafa al-'Azamī and published by Professor Muhammad Zuhayr in his al-Maktabat al-Islami, Beirut, 1390 A.H.

5 Huffāz, ii, 260.

6 Al-Khawli, p.107; Mustatrifa, p.19.

7 Berlin under No.2394. (GAL, i, 193.)



It is a theological work designed to counteract the Mu'tazilite theory denuding God of His sifāt, (Attributes). Ibn Khuzayma has given a rational interpretation of God's Attributes and also His tawhīd, and established them with irrefutable arguments citing copiously from the Holy Qur'ān and Apostolic traditions.<sup>1</sup>

### 3. Abū al-‘Abbās al-Sarrāj (d.313/925)

A leading traditionist of Khurāsān Abū al-‘Abbās Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm b. Mihrān, popularly known as al-Sarrāj was a mawla of the Banū Thaqīf<sup>2</sup>. He was born in 218/833 at Nishāpūr<sup>3</sup>. He heard ḥadīth from Qutayba b. Sa‘īd (d. 240), Ishāq b. Rāhawayh (d. 238), al-Ḥasan b. ‘Īsā al-Māsarjasi (d.240), ‘Umar b. Zarāra (d.240), Muḥammad b. Abān al-Balkhī (d.244), ‘Umar b. Shabba (d. 262) and many other traditionists of Khurāsān, Baghdād, al-Kūfa, al-Baṣra and al-Hijāz<sup>4</sup>. In his early years al-Sarrāj went to Baghdād where he stayed for long forty years earning money and hearing ḥadīth. Also he transmitted ḥadīth there.<sup>5</sup> Muḥammad b. al-‘Abbās b. Najīh (d. 345) and Muḥammad b. Makhlad al-‘Attār (d. 331) heard ḥadīth from him in Baghdād, and narrated it on his authority. Al-Sarrāj settled at Nishāpūr permanently till his death in 313/925.<sup>6</sup>

Al-Sarrāj had a wide culture and cultivation of ḥadīth literature. He was a reliable, truthful and steadfast narrator and had to his credit the transmission of numerous ahādīth which were popular in Khurāsān.<sup>7</sup> To determine his position as a shaykh, (Professor of ḥadīth) we may mention the names of some of his

1 Tadhkira al-Nawādir, pp.63-64.

2 Al-Khatīb, i, 248.

3 Ibid., p.252.

4 Ibid., p.248.

5 Ibid., p.251.

6 Ibid., p.248.

7 Ibid.

disciples, viz., Abū al-‘Abbās b. ‘Uqda (d.332), Abū Hātim b. Hibbān (d.354), Abū Sahl al-Su‘lūkī (d. 369)<sup>1</sup>, Abū Ishāq al-Muzakkī (d. 362) and Abū Bakr b. Mihrān al-Muqrī (d. 381). To crown all, among his shuyūkh the celebrated al-Bukhārī (d. 256), Muslim (d. 261), Abū Hātim al-Rāzī (d. 277) and Abū Bakr b. Abī al-Dunyā (d. 281)<sup>2</sup> transmitted ḥadīth on his authority<sup>3</sup>. But his ahādīth were not incorporated in the Saḥīhān.

It is worthwhile to mention that Imām al-Bukhārī thoroughly studied the Ta'rikh of al-Sarrāj, and prepared some extracts with his own hand, which were verified by al-Sarrāj himself.<sup>4</sup>

About him said his *student al-Ustādh* Abū Sahl al-Su‘lūkī: Al-Sarrāj is a sirāj (lamp). He used to advise people to do good and avoid evil. He visited the court of the Sāmānid princes at al-Bukhārā and admonished them for their inclination towards worldly matters at the cost of the life hereafter.<sup>5</sup>

Al-Sarrāj was an author, researcher and jurist. He wrote a good number of books which were popular during the time of al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d.463).<sup>6</sup> He compiled books containing as many as seventy thousand masā'il (juridical problems) handed down from Imām Mālik (d. 179). He prepared a mustakhraj on Saḥīh of Imām Muslim.<sup>7</sup>

His works:

(i) Musnad (MS)<sup>8</sup>: It is a voluminous collection of ḥadīth comprising over fourteen juz' or about one thousand folios<sup>9</sup>.

1 On him, see Shadharāt, iii, 69.

2 On him, see Fihrist, p. 262.

3 Al-Khaṭīb, i, 248; al-Subkī, ii, 129-30.

4 Al-Khaṭīb, i, 250.

5 Al-Subkī, ii, 130.

6 Al-Khaṭīb, i, 250-51.

7 Shadharāt, ii, 268.

8 Kopruluzāde under No.423.(GAL, i, 157.).

9 Mustaṭrifa, loc. cit.

(ii) Ta'rikh<sup>1</sup>.

According to Ibn al-Nadīm (d. 385) the Ta'rikh of al-Sarrāj which he called Kitāb al-Akhhbār furnished, besides the history of the Muhaddithūn, the accounts of viziers, governors etc. belonging to all countries, discussing them individually<sup>2</sup>. Imām al-Bukhārī appears to have incorporated in his Ta'rikh appreciable material derived from the Ta'rikh of al-Sarrāj.<sup>3</sup>

4. Ibn al-Mundhir (d. 318/930)

A noted Shāfi'ite jurist Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Mundhir al-Naysabūri, surnamed Ibn al-Mundhir, repaired to Makka and settled there permanently; hence he was called nazil Makka, a domicile of Makka<sup>4</sup>. He acquired ḥadīth from Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Ṣā'igh (d.276), a traditionist of Makka and Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Maymūn al-Raqqī (d. 263) of al-Jazīra<sup>5</sup>. But the field of his study was Shāfi'ite fiqh in which he had a thorough and extensive training in Egypt studying under two illustrious disciples of Imām al-Shāfi'ī (d. 204) viz., Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Ḥakam (d. 268) and al-Rabī' b. Sulaymān (d. 270)<sup>6</sup>. As a Mujtahid (independent jurist), Ibn al-Mundhir surpassed many of his contemporaries by dint of his legal acumen and juridical acquisition. He later became shaykh al-Ḥarām, a professor of the holy city of Makka and its muftī or legal authority<sup>7</sup>. Among those on the list of his students of ḥadīth mention may be made of Abū Bakr b. al-Muqrī (d. 381) and Muḥammad b. Yahya b. 'Ammār al-Dimyāṭī<sup>8</sup>. He died at Makka in 318/930<sup>9</sup>.

1 Ibid.

2 Fihrist, p.220.

Ibn al-Nadīm (loc. cit.) also mentions his other books, viz, Kitāb Rasā'il and Kitāb al-Ash'ar al-Mukhtāra.

3 Al-Khatīb, i, 250. 4 Al-Subkī, ii, 126. 5 Huffāz, iii, 5.

6 GAL, i, 180=Najjār, iii, 300. 7 Shadharāt, ii, 280. 8 Huffāz, iii, 5.

9 Tabaqāt al-Mufasssīrīn, p.28. Notice of his life is also found in Wafayāt, i, 461= iv, 182 of the English translation of De Slane with slight modification; al-Yāfi'ī, ii, 261-62; Buldān i, 614; ii, 546; iv, 718 al-Wafī bi al-Wafayāt, i, 336.

His works:

(i) Kitāb al-Ishrāf (MS)<sup>1</sup>

It is a work on the points of disagreements among the jurists of different schools of law. Al-Mundhirī closely examined in this book the systems of the great jurists. This work shows his extensive knowledge of different schools of jurisprudence handed down by their leaders. Ibn Khallikān (d.661) spoke highly of the work as informative and useful.<sup>2</sup>

(ii) Kitāb al-Ikhtilāf<sup>3</sup> (MS)<sup>4</sup>

It is a voluminous work on the subject of ikhtilāf, the points of disagreements among the jurists, more elaborate and comprehensive than Kitāb al-Ishrāf.<sup>5</sup> The author has strengthened the opinions of the fuqahā' with appropriate quotations from the Qur'ān and Apostolic traditions adding evidences of the jurists of the early period. He elaborated the view-points of the jurists of different schools of jurisprudence adding the basis of the differences. Then he expressed his personal opinion that was in agreement with the Shāfi'ite school.<sup>6</sup>

1 Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Cairo. (Tadhkira al-Nawādir, p.53; GAL, SI, 306=Najjār, iii, 301).

2 Wafayāt, i, 461 = iv, 182 of the Eng. translation of De Slane with slight modification.

3 From the description of this work given by Najjār (vol.iii, 301) mentioned in the text, the work tallies with Ibn al-Mundhir's Kitāb al-Mabsūt mentioned by al-Dhahabī (Huffāz, iii, 4), Ibn Khallikān (Wafayāt, i, 461), al-Suyūṭī (Tabaqāt al-Mufasssirin, p.28) and al-Safadī (al-Wafī bi al-Wafayāt, i, 336.).

4 Kutubkhāna al-Khadiwīyya al-Miṣriyya, Cairo; Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Cairo under hadīth 37; Ayā Sofia, Istanbul under No.1011; and Gotha under No.1149. Vide GAL, SI, 306 = Najjār, iii, 301.

5 Wafayāt, i, 461.

6 GAL, SI, 306 = Najjār, iii, 301.

(iii) Kitāb al-Awsat fī al-Sunan wa al-Ijmā' wa al-Ikhtilāf(MS)<sup>1</sup>

As the title shows this is a work on Apostolic traditions, consensus of the jurists and the juridical differences. According to Hāji Khalīfa, the work comprised fifteen volumes, but now only some fragments are available in Āyā Sofia.<sup>2</sup>

(iv) Tafsīr al-Qur'ān (MS)<sup>3</sup>

This is an incomplete exegesis of the Holy Qur'ān starting from Sūra al-Baqara to verse 94 of Sūra al-Nisā'.<sup>4</sup>

5. Abū al-'Abbās al-Aṣamm (d. 346/957)

A brilliant tālib al-'ilm of the 4th/10th century Abū al-'Abbās Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb b. Yūsuf b. Ma'qal b. Sinān al-Umawī al-Ma'qalī was born in 247/861 at Nishāpūr<sup>5</sup>. After completing his education in hadīth at his native town he left for rihla fī talab al-'ilm touring extensively the countries now occupied by Iran, Saudi Arabia, the U.A.R., Palestine, Syria, Turkey and 'Irāq. He was called al-Aṣamm, the deaf, because owing to his excessive physical strain in his wanderjahre he developed deafness which ultimately became so stiff that he would not hear even the braying of the donkey.<sup>6</sup> Thanks to al-Sam'ānī<sup>7</sup> we have the following list of his shuyūkh living in different cultural seats of the then Islamdom:

Nishāpūr: (i) Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-Sulamī (d. 264);

(ii) Abū al-Azhar al-'Abdī;

Ispahān: (i) Hārūn b. Sulaymān;

(ii) Usayyid b. 'Aṣim al-Iṣfahānī (d.270);

<sup>1</sup> This work seems to be the Kitāb al-Sunan wa al-Ijmā' wa al-Ikhtilāf mentioned by al-Subkī (ii, 126). A MS. copy is preserved in Āyā Sofia Istanbul under No.1034. Vide Tadhkira al-Nawādir, pp.52-53; GAL,SI, 306= Najjār, iii, 301.

<sup>2</sup> Tadhkira al-Nawādir, p.52.

<sup>3</sup> Gotha under No.521. Vide GAL, i, 180 =Najjār,iii, 301.

<sup>4</sup> Najjār, iii, 301.

<sup>5</sup> Al-Sam'ānī, art "al-Aṣamm."

<sup>6</sup> On other deaf traditionists, see al-Sam'ānī,loc. cit.

<sup>7</sup> loc. cit.

- Makka : (i) Ahmad b. Shaybān al-Ramlī (d. 268);
- Egypt : (i) Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (d.268);  
(ii) Yahya b. Naṣr al-Khawlānī;  
(iii) Bakkār b. Qutayba al-Thaqafī (d. 270);  
(iv) Al-Rabīʿ b. Sulaymān al-Miṣrī (d. 270);
- Dimyāt : (i) Bakr b. Sahl al-Dimyātī (d. 289);
- ʿAsqalān : (i) Aḥmad b. al-Fadl;
- Tarasūs : (i) Abū Umayya al-Tarasūsī (d. 273);
- Bayrūt : (i) Al-ʿAbbās b. Yazīd al-Bayrūtī (d. 270);
- Damascus: (i) Muḥammad b. Hishām al-Numayrī (d. 270);  
(ii) Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad al-Dimashqī (d. 276);
- Hims : (i) Muḥammad b. ʿAwf al-Tāʿī (d. 272);
- Raqqa : (i) Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Maymūn (d.263);
- Kūfa : (i) Al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. ʿAffān al-ʿAmirī (d. 270);  
(ii) Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār al-ʿAtārīdī (d. 272);  
(iii) Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Ḥārithī;
- Baghdād : (i) Al-ʿAbbās al-Dūrī (d. 270);  
(ii) Muḥammad b. Ishāq al-Saghānī (d. 270);  
(iii) ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 290);  
(iv) Ḥanbal b. Ishāq (d. 273);

Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Aṣamm taught the science of al-Ḥadīth at Nishāpūr well over seventy years.<sup>1</sup> It is worthwhile to mention that the ardent learners from far and near — from the three continents of the world, viz., Asia, Africa and Europe, gathered round him acquiring from him the science of ḥadīth. Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī (d.748) preserved for us in his Tadhkira al-Huffāz<sup>2</sup> a list of thirty two traditionists of Khurāsān and abroad including Ibn Manda (d. 395) and al-Ḥākim al-Naysāburī (d. 405), all of whom were outstanding scholars of ḥadīth having their biographical

1 Ibid.

2. Vol.iii, 73-76.

notices in rijāl books.

Paying him a well-merited tribute, his teacher al-Ḥākim Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Naysābūrī said: We have not come across any widely-travelled traditionist in any land of the Muslim world whom such a great number of students would visit from different countries as would to Abū al-'Abbās al-Aṣamm.<sup>1</sup>

Abū al-'Abbās al-Aṣamm died at Nishāpūr in 346/957.<sup>2</sup>

His work:

Musnad al-Shāfi'ī (published)<sup>3</sup>

It comprises ahādīth Abū al-'Abbās al-Aṣamm heard and collected, during his sojourn in Egypt, from al-Rabī' b. Sulaymān al-Miṣrī, a disciple of Imām al-Shāfi'ī (d. 204). At the instance of al-Aṣamm his disciple Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. Maṭr al-Naysābūrī (d. 360) codified the ahādīth of Imām al-Shāfi'ī which became known as Musnad al-Shāfi'ī.<sup>4</sup> But its ahādīth were not arranged in a systematic order — either according to musnad or abwāb (chapters of fiqh), besides, it was replete with repetitions of ahādīth, and this, as pointed out by Ibn Ḥajr 'Asqalānī (d. 852), was a great flaw for which the book could not be fruitfully utilized. Notwithstanding it the noted traditionists like Ibn al-Athīr (d. 606) and al-Rāfi'ī (d. 623) produced in several volumes their respective commentaries on the Musnad. Then Jāwili (d. 745), the prince traditionist of Sanjar, took pains to combine both the commentaries in one book. But the credit of arranging the ahādīth of Musnad

1 Al-Sam'ānī, art "al-Aṣamm".

2 Ibid. Notice of his life is also found in Ta'rikh Naysābūr, p.151; Huffāz, iii, 73-76; Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 206; Lubāb, iii, 159; Shadharāt, ii, 373-74. A detailed study on the itinerary of al-Aṣamm is furnished by Dr. Muḥammad Ishāq. Vide Al-Aṣamm, The Deaf Traditionist of Nishāpūr, an article published in the journal of the Asiatic society of Pakistan (August, 1968), xiii, No.2, pp.137-46.

3 Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Egypt, 1951 A.D. under the title: Tartīb Musnad al-Shāfi'ī.

4 Muḥammad 'Abid al-Sindī, Tartīb Musnad al-Shāfi'ī (Egypt, 1951 A.D.), pp.6-7.

al-Shāfi'i into systematic chapter of fiqh, goes to al-Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abid al-Sindī (d. 1257 A.H.).<sup>1</sup> While preparing the work under the title of Tartīb Musnad al-Shāfi'i, al-Sindī meticulously followed the above system omitting the repetitions of ahādīth incorporated into the Musnad, bringing it within easy reach of the scholars of ḥadīth who could now fruitfully utilize the book. Thus al-Sindī did a great service to the Musnad of Imām al-Shāfi'i binding the students of ḥadīth in a deep debt of gratitude.<sup>2</sup>

6. Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Hākim al-Naysābūrī (d. 405/1014)

His full name was Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Ḥamdawayh al-Dabbī<sup>3</sup> al-Taḥmānī<sup>4</sup>, popularly known as Ibn al-Bayyī'. He was born at Nishāpūr in the morning of 3rd Rabi' al-Awwal, 321/933<sup>5</sup>. His father 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad (d. 337),<sup>6</sup> a prince merchant of Nishāpūr, had close acquaintance with Imām Muslim b. Ḥajjāj al-Naysābūrī (d. 261) and 'Abd Allāh b. Ahmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 290). As a traditionist, he transmitted ḥadīth on the authority of Ibn Khuzayma (d. 311)<sup>7</sup>. Al-Hākim was barely nine years old when he started his career as a student of ḥadīth and his first

1 On him: Dr. Muhammad Ishaq, op.cit., pp.242-43.

2 Tartīb Musnad al-Shāfi'i, loc. cit.

3 He was called al-Dabbī, because the grand-father of his grand-mother was 'Isā b. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Dabbī. ('Abd al-Ghāfir al-Fārisī, Kitāb al-Siyāq: a microfilm copy in possession of the University of Dacca, now under edition by Dr. Muhammad Ishaq, M.A. Ph.D. (Dac.), Professor of the Department of Arabic and Islamic Studies, D.U. fol.4)

4 He was called al-Taḥmānī because he traced his descent on his mother's side to Ibrāhīm b. Taḥmān (d. 163), an illustrious traditionist, jurist and Sūfī scholar of Khurāsān. (Ibid.)

5 Al-Subkī, iii, 64.

6 A devout Muslim 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad called adhān for 33 years. He offered night prayers throughout his life. He participated in 22 jihād, holy wars and spent to the tune of one hundred thousand dirhams for the support of scholars and ascetics (al-Siyāq, fol.3, note 9; al-Muntazam, vi, 363).

7 Ibid.



hearing of ḥadīth dated 330/941, was possibly from his father<sup>1</sup>. He met Abū 'Alī al-Thaqafī (d. 328), 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Sharqī (d. 328) and Abū Ḥamid b. Bilāl al-Bazzāz (d. 330), but did not hear ḥadīth from them.<sup>2</sup> In 334/945 he copied ḥadīth from the dictation of Ibn Hibbān al-Bustī (d. 354) who was then at Nishāpūr.<sup>3</sup> Al-Ḥākim spent the next seven years at his native city assiduously striving for the acquisition of 'ilm al-ḥadīth studying under Ibn al-Akḥram (d. 344), Abū 'Alī al-Naysāburī (d. 349) and Muḥammad b. Sālih b. Hānī.<sup>4</sup>

It was during this period al-Ḥākim enrolled himself, among others, as a pupil of Abū Bakr al-Ḍaba'ī (d. 342) and became before long a pet student of his. Under him he received a thorough training in 'ilm al-ḥarḥ wa al-ta'dīl, 'ilal al-ḥadīth and other technical branches of ḥadīth literature.<sup>5</sup> His relation with Abū Bakr al-Ḍaba'ī appears to have been very close and intimate as he occupied a prominent and special position among his disciples, helping him in his compilations while consulting him in his turn with regard to the critical study of al-rijāl and the text of ḥadīth.<sup>6</sup> Also during this period al-Ḥākim took his first lesson of Shāfi'ite fiqh from Abū al-Walīd Ḥassān b. Muḥammad al-Naysāburī (d. 349) and Abū Sahl al-Su'lūkī (d. 369) — the two leading jurists of Nishāpūr.<sup>7</sup>

It may be mentioned that his father 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad founded an institution known as Madrasa dār al-Sunna for higher studies in ḥadīth and set up an endowment for its support and maintenance. Both these institutions, namely, the Madrasa and the endowment were entrusted to Abū Bakr al-Ḍaba'ī for proper management and administration — a capable and reliable person that he was.<sup>8</sup>

1 Huffāz, iii, 227. 2 Al-Siyāq, fol. 4-5. 3 Al-Subkī, iii, 64; *infra*, p. 221.  
4 Al-Sam'ānī, art, "al-Bayyī'." 5 Al-Siyāq, fol. 6.  
6 Ibid. 7 Al-Subkī, iii, 65. 8 Al-Siyāq, fol. 6-7; al-Subkī, iii, 66.

In 341/952<sup>1</sup> al-Ḥākim left for al-ʿIrāq by way of Hamadān, where he received ḥadīth from ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Hamdān al-Jallāb (d. 342). On his arrival at Baghdād he heard ḥadīth from the following traditionists:

ʿUthmān b. Aḥmad b. al-Sammāk (d. 344);

Aḥmad b. Sulaymān al-Najjād (d. 348);

Daʿlaj al-Sijzī (d. 351);

Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Qaṭṭān<sup>2</sup> (d. 350).

Besides ḥadīth, al-Ḥākim acquired here the science of al-qiraʿat under Abū ʿĪsā Bakkār b. Aḥmad al-Baghdādī (d. 353)<sup>3</sup>, and had further training in al-fiqh studying under Abū ʿAlī b. Abī Hurayra (d. 345)<sup>4</sup>. Then on his way to Makka en route al-Kūfa he heard ḥadīth from Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Shaybānī, and read ʿilm al-qiraʿat with Abū ʿAlī al-Naqqār al-Kūfī (d. 343)<sup>5</sup>. On the occasion of performing hajj he heard ḥadīth at Makka from Ibn Abī Maysara. His wanderjahre in al-ʿIrāq and al-Ḥijāz took him two years to finish. In 343/954<sup>6</sup> he returned to his native land and resumed the first phase of riḥla fī talab al-ʿilm in Khurāsān and Mā Warāʾ al-Nahr hearing ḥadīth from noted traditionists like prince Khalaf b. Aḥmad (d. 398) at Nishāpūr, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Tājir (d. 346) at Marw, Khalaf b. Muḥammad al-Khayyām (d. 361) at Bukhārā and Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Samarqandī and many others.<sup>7</sup> Early in 344/955 he returned home and joined the school of the illustrious transmitter Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Aṣamm (d. 346) hearing ḥadīth from him till Rabīʿ ii, 346/957. A pet and beloved student of his, al-Ḥākim acquired from

1 Al-Subki, iii, 64; al-Siyāq, loc.cit.

2 Al-Samʿānī, art "al-Bayyī";" al-Khatīb, v, 473-74.

3 Huffāz, iii, 228.

4 Wafayāt, i, 484.

5 Huffāz, loc. cit.

6 Al-Siyāq, fol.7.

7 Al-Samʿānī, loc. cit.

al-Asamm the vast store of ahādīth transmitted by him<sup>1</sup> and became virtually its repository as we shall presently see.

All the authors of rijāl confirm that the number of shuyūkh of al-Hākim was two thousand; of them one thousand belonged to Nishāpur alone<sup>2</sup>. Besides those mentioned above, the names of the following shuyūkh of al-Hākim from Nishāpur<sup>3</sup> have been preserved for us:

Abū Tāhir al-Muhammāḍabādhi (d. 336);

Abū Bakr b. Khalīl al-Qattān (d. 332);

Muhammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Isfahānī al-Saffār (d.339)nazīl Nishāpur;

Abū Hāmid al-Muqri;

Abū Bakr al-Daba'i (d. 342);

Muhammad b. Muhammad al-Faqīh;

Abū al-Walīd al-Naysābūrī (d. 349);

Muhammad b. 'Alī al-Mudhakkir.

In 355/965 al-Hākim, at the age of thirty five, started dictating hadīth and the first country where he did so was recorded as Transoxiana.<sup>4</sup> In 359/969 he was appointed qādī, judge of Nishāpur by the Sāmānīd prince Mansūr b. Nūh I (350-366/961-976). He was subsequently invested with the office of qādī of Jurjān, but he refused it with thanks.<sup>5</sup>

Al-Hākim commanded great dignity and honour among the contemporary princes of Eastern Caliphate. During the tenure of his assignment as judge of Nishāpur he was frequently employed by the Sāmānīd princes on ambassadorial mission to the Buwayhids of Baghdād.<sup>6</sup> It is worthwhile

1 This is clear from the īsanād of al-Mustadrak.

2 Al-Subkī, iii, 65; Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz, Bustān al-Muhaddīthīn, ed. Lahore, 1898, p.42.

3 Ta'rikh Naysābūr, pp. 75 et seq.

4 Ma'rifa 'Ulūm al-Hadīth, p. ج.

5 Al-Subkī, iii, 65.

6 Ma'rifa 'Ulūm al-Hadīth, p. د.

to mention that his assumption of high office did not hamper his scholarly pursuits, on the contrary it afforded him ample opportunities to pursue intellectual activities hand in hand with his official functions. Thus, immediately after his assumption as qāḍī of Nishāpūr he visited Baghdād in 360/970 where already his reputation as a profound scholar of ḥadīth had spread so that on his arrival at the metropolis he was warmly received by the scholars over there; he addressed conferences attended among others by the huffāz or experts of Apostolic traditions. Also he had polemical discourses with al-Dāraqutnī (d.385) who was satisfied with the erudition of this young traditionist in the lore of ḥadīth literature. In 367/977 al-Hākim again visited Baghdād. This time he dictated ahādith to the Muhaddithūn there. His sojourn at the metropolis was marked by the close association of al-Dāraqutnī who heard ḥadīth from him transmitted on the authority of al-Aṣamm (d.346)<sup>1</sup>.

Al-Hākim was pro-Ahl al-Bayt and on that account he reaped blame and added to his enemies. His views about Ahl-al-Bayt infuriated the Karramis who became a party to the conspiracy against him to constrain him to renounce his opinion. But al-Hākim was firm in his profession. This resulted in his ostracism; he could hardly dare come out of his house to say prayer in the mosque. The Karramis broke his pulpit and prevented him from coming out of the house. He died at Nishāpūr on 3rd Ṣafar, 405/1014 and was buried there. Al-Qāḍī Abū Bakr al-Ḥiyarī led the funeral prayer.<sup>2</sup>

Al-Hākim possessed a wonderful retentive memory the like of which was seldom to be met with in the contemporary generation of

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1 Huffāz, iii, 229; MaʿrifaʿUlūm al-Ḥadīth, p. ٢.

2 Ibid; al-Subkī, loc. cit; al-Mustadrak, iv, 614; al-Khawli, pp.71 et. seq.

muhaddithūn. He could repeat from memory practically the whole of ahādīth textually as well as the chains of transmitters together with the critical study of the individual transmitter.<sup>1</sup>

We have seen how Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī ransacked the treasures of al-'Irāq, al-Ḥijāz and the provinces of Eastern Caliphate with a view to collecting Apostolic traditions. He acquired a vast store of ḥadīth at Nishāpūr particularly from savants like Abū Bakr b. Ishāq al-Faqīh, Abū al-'Abbās al-Aṣamm, Ustādh Abū al-Walīd and Ḥamshād al-'Adl. Then by his repeated tours to the major centres of ḥadīth like Baghdād, al-Kūfa, Makka on the west, and Hamadān, Marv and Bukhārā on the east, his accumulation of ḥadīth reached the peak. By 350/961 al-Ḥākim completed his quest of ḥadīth. Now, he started studying them critically. With that end in view he had to go into the intricacies of the question of integrity and soundness of the rijāl or transmitters of ḥadīth. It may be mentioned that al-Ḥākim had the gift of the science of al-jarh wa al-ta'dīl to an extent that had few parallels among his contemporary traditionists. To bear out our assertion we may point out that even in his young age

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1 Al-Subkī (vol.iii, 66-67) has left us the following interesting account of the memory of al-Ḥākim vis-a-vis Badi' al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī (d.398). It is said that on his arrival at Nishāpūr in 383/993 (Supra, p.85) the young al-Hamadhānī was warmly hailed by the people there and conferred upon him the title of Badi' al-Zamān, wonder of the time, because of his power to memorize one hundred couplets having heard them once, and reproduce them from top to bottom and from bottom to top. He gave an air of his superiority over the huffāz, the memorizers of the texts and chains of ḥadīth literature. This came to the knowledge of al-Ḥākim who despatched to him a juz' (fifty to hundred folios) containing the texts and chains of ḥadīth requesting him to reproduce them from memory, fixing the following Friday as the time by which he should do it. It was strange to find that al-Hamadhānī being unable to memorize them returned the folios after Friday saying: "Who can memorize these (folios) containing Muḥammad, son of so and so; Ja'far, son of so and so on the authority of so and so with diverse names and far-fetched words?" At this al-Ḥākim impressed upon him the nature of hard work a traditionist had to perform while reproducing ḥadīth from memory.

al-Ḥākim was considered to be an authority on that science and his veteran teachers like al-Imām Abū Bakr al-Dabaʿī (d.342), Abū al-Walīd al-Naysābūrī (d.349) and others used to fall back on his authority in order to decide the soundness or otherwise of transmitters; and the judgement or opinion of al-Ḥākim was considered to be the last word in that respect.<sup>1</sup>

It appears that Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim after having acquired a vast store of ḥadīth examined the available collections of sound traditions starting from al-Ṣiḥāh al-Sitta down to Ibn Ḥibbān's Ṣaḥīh. The result and the conclusion he arrived at was interesting. He found that although his teacher and the teacher of his teacher viz., Ibn Ḥibbān and Ibn Khuzayma respectively collected a good deal of ahādīth, not covered by al-Ṣiḥāh al-Sitta, yet an appreciable number of sound traditions remained untouched and, what is more, that the traditions that conformed to the standard of Imāms al-Bukhārī and Muslim, were numerous and had yet to be collected and codified. The process of al-Ḥākim's survey and examination of the traditions conforming to the standard of the Shaykhān seems to be lengthy. For, al-Ḥākim could not start his work which he termed as al-Mustadrak ʿalā al-Ṣaḥīhayn, a supplement to Ṣaḥīhs of Bukhārī and Muslim, earlier than 373/983, although as an author his career commenced in 338/949 at the age of seventeen.

It is strange that although al-Ḥākim started his career as a student of ḥadīth under Ibn Ḥibbān he had not narrated from him any ḥadīth in his Mustadrak. The reason was not far to seek. For, Ibn Ḥibbān could not perhaps satisfy the standard of a sound transmitter as set forth by al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī.

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<sup>1</sup> Al-Subkī, iii, 65; Huffāz, loc. cit; Khātima al-Mustadrak, iv, 614.

His works:

(i) Al-Mustadrak 'alā al-Sahihayn fi al-Hadīth (published)<sup>1</sup>.

We have noticed how al-Ḥākim accumulated the vast store of ḥadīth by repeated study-tours throughout the centres of the east and the west. We have also seen the painstaking labour he underwent in order to sift them critically judging all aspects of the chains of transmitters. He formulated five principles<sup>2</sup> covering reliable transmitters of ḥadīth unanimously approved and accepted as reliable by all the a'imma, top ranking authorities of ḥadīth, including Imāms al-Bukhārī and Muslim. Now, al-Ḥākim found a multitude of ahādīth conforming to and satisfying the standard of Imāms al-Bukhārī and Muslim but were not included in the Ṣaḥīhān. These extra traditions al-Ḥākim codified in a volume named significantly as al-Mustadrak 'alā al-Sahihayn — a Supplement par excellence of the Ṣaḥīhs of al-Bukhārī and Muslim. Al-Ḥākim arranged the ahādīth according to the chapters of al-fiqh following the system of Imām Muslim, i.e. dividing the book into kutub or chapters without adding tarjuma al-abwāb, or rubrics as has been done by Imām al-Bukhārī. He frequently added, after producing the text of a ḥadīth, phraseologies like:<sup>3</sup>

هذا حديث صحيح على شرط الشيخين ولم يخرجاه  
 " " " " البخاري ولم يخرجه  
 " " " " مسلم ولم يخرجه  
 " " " " الاسناد ولم يخرجاه

1 Hyderābād, 1342 A.H.

2 For details, see al-Madkhal fi Usūl al-Hadīth (Halab, 1351 A.H.), p. 7 sq.

3 Cf: Al-Mustadrak; al-Khawli, p.72.

While giving the chains of narrators al-Ḥākim occasionally mentions the centres he heard ḥadīth from, and the popular centres mentioned in al-Mustadrak are Baghdād, al-Kūfa and Makka on the west, and Hamadān, al-Rayy, Nishāpūr, Marv and Bukhārā on the east. But the majority of ḥadīth he heard were at Nishāpūr and the shuyukh thereof were Abū Bakr b. Ishāq al-Ḍaba'ī (d.342), Hamshād al-ʿAdl and Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Aṣamm. It appears that after compiling his al-Mustadrak, al-Ḥākim dictated it to his students piecemeal at different times at different centres. His first dictation was dated 373/983 and that of the last Dhū al-Ḥijja, 401/1010 barely three years before his death.

While evaluating the traditions of al-Mustadrak the critics of aḥādīth could not, in a number of cases, agree with al-Ḥākim as to the steadfastness of the narrators, found fault with his standard and criticized his lapses and laxities inasmuch as, in their opinion, al-Mustadrak contained a number of weak, unknown and even forged traditions. Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī (d.748) thoroughly examined and investigated into all aspects of the aḥādīth of al-Mustadrak and the result of his investigation he incorporated in a volume called Talkhiṣ al-Mustadrak, or short report on al-Mustadrak. He summed up his evaluation of the aḥādīth of al-Mustadrak as follows:

A multitude of traditions covering about half of the book conformed to the standard of both al-Bukhārī and Muslim or one of them; one fourth having sound guarantors and the rest viz., one fourth has no locus standi as ḥadīth and even some are mawḍūʿ i.e. fabricated.<sup>1</sup>

It is strange how al-Ḥākim being a traditionist of high calibre, unanimously accepted as a great authority on ḥadīth, could have collected aḥādīth weak, indifferent and even forged. This can be accounted

<sup>1</sup> Al-Subkī, iii, 69.



for by more than one reason:

First, al-Hākim compiled his work towards the fag end of his life and he passed away before he could make a thorough recast and revision of ahādīth he had collected in his al-Mustadrak. Secondly, according to one authority he could not keep mental equilibrium in his old age and thus a number of unwarranted ahādīth were included in his al-Mustadrak.<sup>1</sup> But to my mind, the main cause of this unfortunate state of things was his frustrations in his old age because of the victimization he suffered at the hands of the Karramis, being compelled to lead an ostracized life as we have mentioned above. Be that as it may, al-Hākim has left an immortal name by producing his monumental work, viz., al-Mustadrak 'alā al-Ṣaḥīḥayn. Both al-Mustadrak and its Talkhīṣ have been published from Hyderābād in 1342 A.H. The editor after intensive study of the texts added on the margin the tarjuma or rubrics of the traditions where necessary.

(ii) Al-Madkhal ilā Ma'rifa al-Ṣaḥīḥayn (MS.)<sup>2</sup>: a treatise introducing the chains of narrators of the Ṣaḥīḥān. It begins with traditions emphasizing the verbatim preservation of sunna sounding a note of warning to those who impute apocryphal traditions to the Prophet(s). Then the author gives a list of transmitters common to the Ṣaḥīḥān as well as to each of them separately. It also furnishes a list of transmitters on whose authority al-Bukhārī narrated hadīth together with those with whom he met and heard hadīth from. The book serves purposes similar to those we have mentioned above.<sup>3</sup>

It may be noted in this connection that al-Maqdisī's (d.507) Kitāb al-Jam' bayna al-Ṣaḥīḥayn<sup>4</sup> elaborately discusses the major

1 Khawli, p.72.

2 A combined manuscript copy of this treatise and Kitāb Ma'rifa Ulūm al-Ḥadīth is preserved in Maktaba al-Takiyya al-Ikhlāsiyya at Ḥalāb. Vide al-Madkhal fī Uṣūl al-Ḥadīth, p.36.

3 Ibid. 4 Published from Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif, Hyderābād, 1323 A.H. Vide ibid. al-Fihris al-Jadīd, ed. Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif al-Uthmāniyya, Hyderābād, 1367 A.H., p.9.

chapters of this treatise making it fully useful as a work on the particular topic.

(iii) Ta'riḫ Naysābūr<sup>1</sup>.

This is a comprehensive and voluminous<sup>2</sup> cultural history of Nishāpūr. It deals with the leading scholars and transmitters of ḥadīth who were born and brought up there; it deals also with those tālibū al-ʿilm who either arrived there, passed by it, or settled and transmitted ḥadīth there<sup>3</sup>. Before giving the account of the leading scholars and traditionists, al-Ḥākim dealt at length with the growth and development of Nishāpūr as a cultural seat. To that end he investigated into the arrival of the Sahāba and the leading Tābiʿūn and their colonization there. In this chapter al-Ḥākim furnishes fuller details about the genealogy and biographical history of the Companions and the Followers concerned. Then he enumerates the second generation of Followers, then the third and the fourth generations<sup>4</sup>.

Al-Ḥākim classified the scholars of the third century A.H. (down to 320 A.H.) in six ṭabaqāt, categories giving an account of each scholar arranged alphabetically. At the end of this century he wrote a note saying that since the scholars mentioned above had preceded him, he could not obviously hear ḥadīth from them<sup>5</sup>.

Al-Ḥākim enumerated the fourth century scholars in alphabetic

1 This important work of al-Ḥākim has yet to be traced. But its mulakhkhaṣ, digest in Persian (ed. Dr. Bahman Karīmi, Teheran, 1337 A.H.) is available.

2 In eight (al-Samʿānī art "al-Naysābūrī"), six (Miftāḥ al-Saʿāda, i, 218) or twelve (Rieu, p.61).

3 ʿAbd al-Ghāfir al-Fārisī, Dhayl Ta'riḫ Naysābūr (MS. Kopruluzāde No. 1152), fol. 1. See GAL, SI, 623. A microfilm copy of the MS. is in possession of the Dacca University Library, and is under edition by Dr. Muḥammad Ishāq, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of the Department of Arabic and Islamic Studies, Dacca University.

4 Ta'riḫ Naysābūr, pp. 7-39; Ḥāji Khalīfa, i, 234; Barthold, op.cit., p.16.

5 Ibid.

order dating from 320/932 to 380/990<sup>1</sup>. It may be noted that among the fourth century scholars of Nishāpūr as many as one thousand had been the shuyūkh of al-Hākim<sup>2</sup>.

Al-Hākim's Ta'rikh was not merely a cultural history of Nishāpūr as detailed above. It was more than that. He enhanced the value of his work by furnishing historical facts regarding ancient Nishāpūr, its foundation, excavation of trenches around it situated as it was on a natural highland. Then follows the discussion about townships, valleys, villages, quarters, gardens, buildings and the outer wall of Nishāpūr. The next chapter deals with the conquest of Nishāpūr by the Sahāba and the Tābi'ūn; the foundation of Jāmi' Mosque, description of the two-domed mosque, mosques old and blessed wherein services and supplications were accepted. He also furnishes an account of the race ground of Nishāpūr, graveyards and tombs together with the leading personalities buried therein.<sup>3</sup>

The work formed the basis of Ta'rikh Bayhaq of Abū al-Hasan al-Bayhaqī, a chronicler of the 6th/12th century. Al-Subkī highly praised the work stating that he had never come across a book like this. To him it was a leading work compiled for any country, discussing the scholars of all categories.<sup>4</sup>

It seems that al-Hākim commenced his Ta'rikh in the early forties of the fourth century A.H. as is obvious from biographical sketches

1 Ibid., p. 113. The editor of Ta'rikh Naysābur (pp. 6; 113) misreads 308 (sic. ثمان وثلاثمائة) for 380.

2 Supra, p. 161.

3 Ta'rikh Naysābur, pp. 117-146; Hājī Khalīfa, loc. cit.; Barthold, loc. cit.

4 (sic.) قال ابن السبكي في طبقاته: وهو التاريخ الذي لم ير عيني تاريخاً أجمل منه، وهو عندي سيد الكتب الموضوعة للبلاد، فأكثر من يذكره من أشياخه وأشياخ أشياخه انتهى

of Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Aṣamm (d.346) and Abū ʿAlī al-Naysābūrī (d.349). He finished it in Ramadān, 388/998.

ʿAbd al-Ghāfir al-Fārisī continued this work down to 518/1124, and an abridged edition of al-Hākim's work was made by the historian al-Dhahabī (d.748)<sup>1</sup>, while a mulakhkhas in Persian was prepared by Ahmad b. Muḥammad b. Hasan b. Muḥammad known as al-Khalīfa al-Naysābūrī.

An extract from Ta'rikh Naysābūr as contained in Kitāb al-Muntazam by Ibn al-Jawzī (d.597) was published by Barthold in Zapiski, xviii, 0147<sup>2</sup>. Also copious quotations from Ta'rikh Naysābūr are found scattered in Kitāb al-Ansāb, Tadhkira al-Huffāz, Tabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyya and other rijāl works.<sup>3</sup>

(iv) Al-Madkhal fī Usūl al-Hadīth (published)<sup>4</sup>.

This is an appendix to Iklīl fī al-Hadīth<sup>5</sup>, a treatise on usūl al-hadīth. Al-Hākim collected a mass of hadīth and compiled them in his al-Iklīl without critically judging them. At the instance of Amīr al-Muzaffar al-Sāmānī, al-Hākim wrote al-Madkhal fī Usūl al-Hadīth in order to specify the standard of every hadīth occurring in al-Iklīl<sup>6</sup>. After examining every single hadīth of al-Iklīl, al-Hākim found ten categories of ṣaḥīh hadīth which he divided into two broad divisions: (i) unanimously accepted sound ahādīth and (ii) the ahādīth about whose soundness the authorities differed. Al-Hākim used distinct signs at the end of every hadīth to show its category as detailed below:

1 Hājī Khalīfa, i, 234; Barthold, p.16.

2 Barthold, p. 16 note 4.

3 Cf: See the article "al-Aṣamm, the Deaf Traditionist of Nishāpūr" (JA.S.P., vol. XIII, No.2, p. 144 note 1).

4 Halab, 1351 A.H. According to Hājī Khalīfa (vol. i, 135), al-Madkhal ilā al-Iklīl.

5 This exhaustive collection of hadīth has yet to be traced.

6 Al-Madkhal fī Usūl al-Hadīth (Halab, 1351), p.34.

(1) The sign of the first category of sound traditions as agreed upon by both Bukhārī and Muslim, is (ص)<sup>1</sup>.

(2) The second category of sound traditions are those narrated by a chain of steadfast transmitters going back to a Ṣahābī on whose authority, however, only one narrator transmitted. The sign of this category is (صِب)<sup>2</sup>.

(3) The third category of sound traditions are those handed down from a group of Tābi'ūn who narrated on the authority of Ṣahāba. The Tābi'ūn were reliable but none of them transmitted ḥadīth to more than a single transmitter. While giving a list of such Tābi'ūn al-Ḥākim mentioned the names of Ibn Hunayn, 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Farrūkh, 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Sa'īd etc. The sign of this category is (صم ت)<sup>3</sup>.

(4) The fourth category of sound traditions are those narrated, at every stage, by a single trustworthy narrator. The sign of this category is (ص ف)<sup>4</sup>.

(5) The fifth category of traditions are those narrated by a group of leading transmitters on the authority of their fathers and grand-fathers. The sign of this category is (صش)<sup>5</sup>.

The above-mentioned five categories of traditions were unani- mously accepted as sound; whereas the following five categories of traditions are not so as the critics differed in their opinion about their soundness<sup>6</sup>:

(1) The first category of traditions are the marāsīl approved of by the school of al-Kūfa. The sign of this category is (صم ف)<sup>7</sup>.

1 Ibid, pp.7; 35.

3 Ibid, pp.10;35.

5 Ibid, pp.12-13; 35.

7 Ibid, p.35.

2 Ibid, pp.9; 35.

4 Ibid, pp.11,35.

6 Ibid, p. 12.

(2) The second category of traditions are those narrated by mudallisūn who were considered sound by the authorities of al-Madīna. The sign of this category is ( مد )<sup>1</sup>.

(3) The third category of traditions are those transmitted by trustworthy narrators on the authority of a trustworthy group who, however, without citing the names of their teachers narrated it direct on the authority of the Prophet(s). The sign is ( ع )<sup>2</sup>.

(4) The fourth category of traditions are the versions narrated by such traditionists who neither know them nor preserve them. Such kinds of narrations, however, were not accepted by Imām Abū Hanīfa and Imām Mālik, nor did they consider them trustworthy. The sign is ( حظ )<sup>3</sup>.

(5) The fifth category of traditions are the narrations of innovators and the luxurious people whose traditions, in the opinion of the majority of the critics, were acceptable, provided they were truthful. The sign is ( صح )<sup>4</sup>.

It may be noted that the traditions without any sign as detailed above, are majrūh, defective<sup>5</sup>.

Al-Ḥākim in this treatise elaborately discussed every category of traditions sound or otherwise profusely citing examples of the relevant groups of transmitters.

(v) Maʿrifaʿ Ulūm al-Ḥadīth (Published).<sup>6</sup>

It is the second<sup>7</sup> important work on ʿilm al-ḥadīth or science of traditions. It comprises 52 topics under the following broad subjects, namely:

1 Ibid., pp.13-15; 35.

2 Ibid., pp.15; 35.

3 Ibid., pp.15-16; 35.

4 Ibid., pp.16-17; 35.

5 Ibid., p.17.

6 A critical edition of the book together with a detailed and scholarly discussion on the life of al-Ḥākim was published by Prof. Dr. S.M. Hossain, M.A., D.Phil.(Oxon) from Cairo, 1957.

7 The first work is al-Muhaddith al-Fāsil bayn al-Rāwī wa al-Wāʿi by al-Rāmahurmuzī. Vide Infra, pp.277-79.

Mustalah al-Hadīth or technical terms used in the science of tradition. Under each term al-Hākim quotes, by way of examples, the chain of narrators with the text of hadīth.

Rijāl al-Hadīth. Under this topic al-Hākim has given a detailed discussion on (a) those Companions of the Prophet(s) who were transmitters of hadīth — their tribes, genealogy, nick-names and the migration to different metropolises of Islam; and (b) of the Followers and the followers of the Followers together with their tribes, nicknames and habitation. In this connection al-Hākim has quoted the texts of ahādīth together with the chains of narrators.

Al-Jarh wa al-Ta'dīl: a study of those transmitters who are subject to criticism and scrutiny. In this connection al-Hākim has quoted the texts of ahādīth along with the chains of narrators.

Gharīb al-Hadīth: a study of the rare words used in hadīth. Here also al-Hākim has quoted the text of hadīth along with the chains of narrators.

A'mār al-Muhaddithīn: a study of the ages of the transmitters mentioning their dates of death.

Mawālī: a list of Mawālī and their descendants who were transmitters of hadīth.

A comprehensive list of the famous and reliable authorities of hadīth. Under this heading al-Hākim has furnished the names of the transmitters centre-wise, viz., al-Madīna, Makka, Egypt, Syria, Yaman, al-Kūfa, al-Baṣra, al-Jazīra, Wāsiṭ, and Khurāsān.

#### B. PHILOLOGISTS:

##### 1. Abū 'Umar al-Zāhid (d. 345/956)

A noted philologist<sup>1</sup> Abū 'Umar Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wāhid b. Abī

<sup>1</sup> Nuzha, p. 345.

Hāshim al-Zāhid was born in 261/874 at Abiward, a township on the edge of Marv desert near Nasā in Khurāsān province.<sup>1</sup> He was educated at Baghdād where he settled permanently.<sup>2</sup> He started his academic career as a student of hadīth which he heard from Mūsā b. Sahl (d. 278), Muhammad b. Yūnus al-Kudaymī (d.286), Ahmad b. 'Ubayd<sup>3</sup> Allāh al-Narsī, Bishr b. Mūsā al-Asadī (d.288) and a host of others<sup>4</sup>. But the subject he specialized in was philology which he studied assiduously under Tha'lab (d.291)<sup>5</sup>. By his long and close association with and uncommon devotion to Tha'lab he acquired the nickname of Ghulām Tha'lab, (a boy of Tha'lab). He was a repository of the knowledge of Tha'lab and disseminated it to a vast concourse of learners including the noble, essayists and litterateurs of Baghdād who gathered around him to acquire the science.<sup>6</sup> Among his disciples Ibn Khālawayh (d.370) was noteworthy.<sup>7</sup>

Abū 'Umar al-Zāhid possessed an extra-ordinary memory and could dictate from memory thirty thousand folios in philology.<sup>8</sup> This is also a pointer to the vast and wide knowledge he had in philology. It is an irony of fate that on account of his extra-ordinary memory he was sometime criticized for exaggeration and lying.<sup>9</sup> This does not seem to be fair because distinguished traditionists like al-Hakim Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Naysāburī (d.405), Abū al-Hasan b. Razaqwayh (d.412) and Abū 'Alī b. Shādhān (d.425) narrated hadīth on his authority.<sup>10</sup>

1 Le Strange, p.394.

2 Al-Khatīb, ii,359.

3 Or, 'Abd Allāh. Cf: Tabaqāt al-Hanābala, p.326.

4 Al-Khatīb, loc. cit.

5 On him, Wafayāt, i, 30.

6 Al-Subkī, ii, 171.

7 Supra, p.90.

8 Al-Khatīb, ii,357; Bughya, p.69; Zaydān, ii, 304.

9 Fihrist, p.113.

10 Al-Khatīb, ii, 357; Nuzha, pp.345-46.



Another significant feature of the life of Abū 'Umar was his austerity to an extent earning him the title of al-Zāhid, the ascetic par excellence.<sup>1</sup> He supported himself by embroidery; hence was his appellation al-Mutarriz, embroiderer<sup>2</sup>. He died at Baghdād on Sunday, 13th Dhū al-Qa'ḍa, 345/15th February, 957, and was buried in the cloister near the tomb of Ma'rūf al-Karkhī (d.200)<sup>3</sup>.

His works:

Ibn al-Nadīm ascribed to him twenty one books;<sup>4</sup> of them the following have come down to us:

(i) Kitāb al-'Asharāt (MS)<sup>5</sup>.

It is a lexicon edited by his disciple Ibn Khālawayh and contains explanations of many a group of ten synonymous words beginning with the same letter<sup>6</sup>.

(ii) Kitāb al-Farq mā bayn al-Dād wa al-Zā' (MS).<sup>7</sup>

(iii) Kitāb Fā'it al-Fasīh (MS)<sup>8</sup>: a supplement to al-Fasīh, a work on grammar by his teacher Tha'lab.<sup>9</sup>

(iv) Kitāb al-Madākhil wa al-Ziyādāt (published)<sup>10</sup>. This is a book on philology.<sup>11</sup>

(v) Kitāb Akhbār al-'Arab (MS):<sup>12</sup> a book on the history of the Arabs.

2. Al-Marzubānī (d.384/993)

Abū 'Ubayd Allāh<sup>13</sup> Muhammad b. 'Imrān b. Mūsā known to fame as

1 Wafayāt, i, 500.

2 Ibid, p.501.

3 Al-Khatīb, ii, 359.

4 Fihrist, p.113.

5 Berlin under No.7014. Cf: Najjār, ii, 218-19.

6 Ibid.; Zaydān, ii, 304.

7 Daftari Kutubkhāna Lāleli, Istanbul under No.3141. Cf: GAL, SI, 183.

8 The library of Husayn Chelebi at Brussa under No.19. Cf: Najjār, ii, 212.

9 Tabaqāt al-Hanābala, p.327.

10 The book was edited by Professor 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Maymūnī and published under the title al-Madākhilāt in the journal Majalla al-Majma' al-'Ilmi, vol. ix, pp. 532-44. Cf: Najjār, ii, 219. <sup>11</sup> Ibid.

12 Escorial, Paris. Cf: Zaydān, ii, 304.

13 Abū 'Abd Allāh according to al-Sam'ānī, art, "al-Marzubānī".

al-Marzubānī<sup>1</sup> belonged to a noble family of Khurāsān. His father 'Imrān b. Mūsā was a scholar and statesman and served as an envoy of the Sāmānīd princes of Khurāsān at the Abbasid court of Baghdād. Here al-Marzubānī was born in the month of Jumāda II, 296/909<sup>2</sup>.

Already a great metropolis of learning and culture Baghdād rose to prominence during the early decades of the 4th/10th century. As in Apostolic traditions and history so also in Arabic studies and philology we come across during this period a host of front-ranking scholars the like of whom could not possibly be assembled at any centre at one time. Mention in this regard may be made of the celebrated Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (d.310), the traditionists Ibn Abī Dā'wūd (d.316) and al-Baghawī (d.317), and the recognized grammarians and philologists of the eminence of Ibn Durayd (d.321), Niftawayh (d.323), Ibn al-Anbārī (d.328) and a host of others. It appears that 'Imrān b. Mūsā, the father of al-Marzubānī, was a patron of learning; his house at Baghdād was, as it were, reduced to a seminary where scholars would assemble to hold conferences and study-circles.<sup>3</sup>

The biographers of al-Marzubānī while giving an account of his life indicated that he acquired most of his education at his own house and that the number of his teachers was numerous. This was because al-Marzubānī had an unique opportunity of coming into contact, at his own house, with the recognized professors of Baghdād studying under as many of them as he could.

Al-Marzubānī had a thorough training in philology, grammar, the

1 This ascription refers to marzubān, the name of one of his forefathers. Vide Ibid.

2 Al-Marzubānī, al-Muwashshah (Cairo, 1343), p.4; Najjār, ii, 243.

3 Al-Khatīb, iii, 135; Najjār, ii, 243.

history of Arabic language and literature and hadīth. In Arabic studies he was a disciple of Ibn Durayd (d.321), Niftawayh (d.323) and Ibn al-Anbārī (d.328); while he heard hadīth from Ibn Abī Dā'wūd al-Sijistānī (d.316) and Abū al-Qāsim al-Baghawī (d.317)<sup>1</sup>. It is interesting to note that al-Marzubānī joined with Abū al-Faraj al-Isfahānī (d.356) to read Kitāb al-Nasab of Zubayr b. Bakkār (d.256) with Ahmad b. Sulaymān al-Tūsi (d.322)<sup>2</sup>. He also read the doctrines of the Mu'tazilites with some leading Mu'tazilite theologians<sup>3</sup>. On finishing his study al-Marzubānī appears to have served as Kātib, secretary to Abbasid government. But he devoted his talents to the advancement of learning which we may discuss as follows:

His house at the eastern quarter of Baghdād on the road of 'Amr al-Rūmī, already an institution of literary activities, was further developed by him providing more facilities to the students and scholars assembled there. The fact that he kept ready fifty beds and blankets for the use of the scholars passing their nights at the institution goes to show the presence of a number of up-country scholars not to speak of those of the metropolis<sup>4</sup>.

Al-Marzubānī was perhaps a rare genius who mastered the history of Arabic poetical literature from the Jāhiliyya period down to his time so thoroughly and minutely as to leave little room for others to add anything. The bibliographer Ibn al-Nadīm (d.385)<sup>5</sup>, a contemporary and close acquaintance of al-Marzubānī, who had been fully conversant with his works, left the following interesting details of some of his major works — a fact that goes to bear out our statement:

1 Al-Khatīb, iii, 135.

2 Ibid.; Udabā', iii, 52-54.

3 GAL, SI, 191 =Najjār, ii, 243.

4 Al-Khatīb, iii, 136.

5 Fihrist, pp.190-93.

Al-Muwaththaq.<sup>1</sup> It gives a comprehensive history of the poets of the Jāhiliyya, Mukhadram and Islamic periods down to the Abbasid Caliphate. It comprised five thousand folios.<sup>2</sup>

Al-Mustanir<sup>3</sup>. It gives a comprehensive history of the noted contemporary poets beginning from Bashshār b. Burd (d.167)<sup>4</sup> and ending with Ibn al-Mu'tazz (d.296)<sup>5</sup>. It also furnishes biographical notices together with their choice poems. It comprised ten thousand folios.<sup>6</sup>

Kitāb al-Mufid. It gives the history of the lesser poets of the Jāhiliyya and Islam, their nick-names and appellations; their physical handicaps and maladies like blindness, weak-sightedness, leprosy etc.; their religious schools and denominations like Shi'ism, Khārijism, Judaism, Christianity etc. It comprised over five thousand folios.<sup>7</sup>

Al-Mu'jam: an alphabetical list of as many as five thousand poets and their selected pieces of poetry together with brief biographical notes. It comprised one thousand folios.<sup>8</sup>

Kitāb al-Azmina. It is a study of the four seasons, different weathers, natural phenomena like storm, lightning, rain etc., astronomical details about the sun, the moon and their other celestial bodies together with their historical incidents and poetical compositions. It contained one thousand folios.<sup>9</sup>

Kitāb al-Mashraf. It contains the wise sayings of the Prophet(s), his noble manners and admonitions. It comprised three thousand folios.<sup>10</sup>

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- 1 Udabā', xviii, 272. "Al-Muwannaq" according to Ibn al-Nadīm (Fihrist, p.191).
- 2 Fihrist, p.191; Udabā', loc.cit.
- 3 Al-Muwashshah, p.7. Ibn al-Nadīm (Fihrist, p.190) and Yāqūt (Udabā', xviii, 269) do not mention the title of the book.
- 4 On him: al-Khatīb, vii, 112-18.
- 5 On him: al-Khatīb, x, 95-101.
- 6 Fihrist, p.190; Udabā', xviii, 269.
- 7 Fihrist, p.190; Udabā', xviii, 271.
- 8 Fihrist, p.192; Udabā', xviii, 271.
- 9 Fihrist, pp. 190-91; Udabā', xviii, 270.
- 10 Fihrist, p.191; Udabā', xviii, 271.

Al-Marzubānī was held in high esteem by the Buwayhid 'Adud al-Dawla (338-372/949-982) who would often call upon him while passing by his house in order to inquire about his health.<sup>1</sup> On several occasions he presented to him the royal robe of honour<sup>2</sup>. His sterling qualities of head and heart had been pithily summed up by his contemporary grammarian Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī (d.377) when he said: Abū 'Ubay Allāh was one of the admirable personalities of the world.<sup>3</sup> Al-Marzubānī died in 384/993 at Baghdād.<sup>4</sup>

His works:

According to Ibn al-Nadīm,<sup>5</sup> al-Marzubānī compiled fifty five works of which we have already mentioned the major and voluminous ones. Unfortunately with the exception of the following four titles all other works seem to have been the victims of the Mongol ravages:

(i) Al-Muwashshah (published)<sup>6</sup>

It is a work on the art of poetry. In this book al-Marzubānī gives a critical study of a number of leading poets from the Jāhiliyya down to his time. He divides the poets into two broad groups according to periods, viz., Jāhiliyya and Islam. He again sub-divides the poets of the Islamic period into two categories: (i) Poets of the early Islamic period, and (ii) poets of the later Islamic period whom he called al-Muḥdathūn or modern poets. The number of poets of the different periods al-Marzubānī discussed is as follows:

Jāhiliyya: 80

Early Islamic period: 151

Later Islamic period or modern poets: 26.

1 Al-Khaṭīb, iii, 136.

2 Najjār, ii, 243.

3 (Sic) أبو عبيد الله من محاسن الدنيا :Al-Khaṭīb, iii, 135;

al-Sam'ānī, art "al-Marzubānī".

4 Shadharāt, iii, 111. Notice of his life is also found in Ibn Ḥajr 'Asqalānī, Tabaqāt al-Mudallisīn (Egypt, 1322), p.7.

5 Fihrist, pp.190-92.

6 Cairo, 1343 A.H.

The author begins his work with a reference to all those blemishes of poetical compositions that fall under the category of what he termed as al-sannād, al-aqwā' al-Akfā' and al-ītā'.<sup>1</sup> He discusses every term quoting from appropriate poems to bear out his statement. The object of this discussion at the very beginning of his work, it seems, was to avoid them while engaging oneself in the art of poetry so that his poetry might be a perfect piece of art beyond all blemishes.

Al-Marzubānī arranged the poets alphabetically. While evaluating the poetry of a poet al-Marzubānī copiously quotes the relevant pieces of his poetry to show its merits or demerits. He frequently adds his own opinion or those of the critics of the respective periods with regard to the standard attained by the poets under review. The work seems to be dry to a casual reader, but by its close study one would come across mines of valuable and interesting information furnished by al-Marzubānī that can hardly be available elsewhere. Al-Marzubānī authenticates every information he supplied by quoting chains of narrators like traditionists with the appropriate formula of haddathana<sup>2</sup> — this perhaps is a unique feature of the present work of the author, viz., al-Muwashshah.

(ii) Mu'jam al-Shu'arā' (published)<sup>3</sup>

As the title shows, this is an alphabetical list of the poets belonging to Jāhiliyya and early Islam. The work seems to be an abridgement of the author's al-Mu'jam mentioned above.<sup>4</sup>

1 Al-Muwashshah, p.14.

2 "He narrates to us."

3 The work was edited by the famous orientalist Professor Krenkow as a supplement to al-Āmidī's Kitāb al-Mu'talif wa 'al-Mukhtalif with valuable notes here and there. But he could not avail himself of the whole Mu'jam al-Shu'arā' as he edited the portion of the work from ع to ٤ only. It was printed at Maktabat 'al-Qudsi in Cairo, 1354 A.H.

4 *Supra*, p.178.

Unlike al-Muwashshah al-Marzubānī gives in the work brief biographical notices of the poets, tracing their genealogy. Then he quotes a few specimens of his poetry. The work covers the leading poets as also the lesser ones. At the end of the work the author has appended a chapter on kunā, or nick-names of the less-known poets whose names had not come down to al-Marzubānī, but their poems were said to have been preserved in books. The author arranged the nick-names alphabetically adding against each nisba, appellation as to the tribe a particular poet belonged.

(iii) Al-Muqtabas fī Akhbār al-Nahwiyyīn (MS)<sup>1</sup>

This is a digest of the accounts of the grammarians of the Basra school, the Qur'ān reciters and the transmitters of ḥadīth belonging to al-Basra, al-Kūfa and Baghdād. It also furnished information about the first scholar who initiated criticism on Arabic syntax.<sup>2</sup>

(iv) Ash'ār al-Nisā' (MS)<sup>3</sup>. It gives the history of the women poets and their poetry. It comprised six hundred folios.<sup>4</sup>

1 MS. copy of the selection of the book is preserved in the library of Shahīd Ālī Bāshā, Istambul under No.2515. Vide Najjār, ii, 244.

2 Fihrist, p.192; Udabā', xviii, 271.

3 The manuscript of only the third part of the work is available in Kutubkhāna al-Khadiwiyya al-Misriyya, Cairo. (Najjār, ii, 244).

4 Fihrist, p.192; Udabā', xviii, 269. According to Muqaddama of al-Muwashshah, five hundred folios.

## SECTION II :

## PART I. Herat.

Situated on the north of the river Herat, the city of Herat was located towards the southern part of the Khurāsān province.<sup>1</sup> Its history goes back to Alexander, the Great (356-323 B.C.), for whom, it is said, the city was built while he had passed by it on his expedition to the east.<sup>2</sup> It rose into importance during the Sasanian period.<sup>3</sup> Herat went under rāshida Caliphs in 31/652 during the Caliphate of 'Uthmān<sup>4</sup>, and soon became a prominent seat of education and culture. It was a garden city well watered by the canals from the Herat river, its grand mosque being the most capacious.<sup>5</sup>

It may be pointed out at the outset that unlike other seats of learning of Persia, Herat developed pre-eminently as a centre of Arabic studies. Already during the first half of the 3rd/9th century it produced noted philologists and grammarians such as Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām al-Harawī (d.224)<sup>6</sup> and Abū 'Amr Shammār b. Hamdawayh al-Harawī (d.255)<sup>7</sup>. Let us now evaluate the services rendered by the scholars of Herat to Arabic studies in the 4th/10th century.

## 4TH/10TH CENTURY SCHOLARS OF HERAT AND THEIR WORKS

## PHILOLOGISTS:

1. Abū al-Fadl al-Mundhirī (d.329/940).

A grammarian and philologist Abū al-Fadl Muḥammad b. Abī Ja'far

1 Le Strange, Maps I and VIII.

2 Buldān, iv, 958-59.

3 Ency. of Islam, ii, 299.

4 Ṭabarī, i, 2885-86.

5 Maqdisī, pp.306; 330; al-Iṣṭakhrī, pp.265-66; Le Strange, p.407.

6 Author of Gharīb al-Hadīth, al-Gharīb al-Musannaf and Kitāb al-Amthāl.

For his life and works, see: Shadharāt, ii, 55-56; Zaydān, ii, 103-04; Sarkis, p.121; GAL, SI, 166-67= Najjār, ii, 155-59.

7 Author of Kitāb al-Silāh, Kitāb al-Jīm, Kitāb Gharīb al-Hadīth and Kitāb al-Jibāl wa al-Awdiya. For his life and works, see: Nuzha, pp.259-61; Udabā', xi, 274-75; Bughya, pp.266-67; Zaydān, ii, 185; GAL, SI, 179-



al-Mundhirī was born at Herat towards the second half of the 3rd/9th century<sup>1</sup>. He was a student of Abū al-Haytham al-Rāzī<sup>2</sup> on whose advice he repaired to Baghdād and studied under al-Mubarrad (d.285) and Tha'lab (d.291). He read Kitāb al-Nawādir<sup>3</sup> of Ibn al-A'rābī (d.231) with Tha'lab and under al-Mubarrad he prepared a selection of the former's al-Rawḍa<sup>4</sup> and al-Kāmil<sup>5</sup>. For many years al-Mundhirī remained with his teacher Abū al-Haytham al-Rāzī, mentioned above and copied at his dictations grammatical and philological materials to the extent of two hundred volumes<sup>6</sup>.

Abū al-Faḍl al-Mundhirī taught grammar and philology at Herat. Among his students Abū Mansūr al-Azharī (d.370) was outstanding<sup>7</sup>.

Al-Mundhirī died at Herat in 329/940<sup>8</sup>.

His works:

Kitāb Mafākhir al-Maqāl fī al-Masādir wa al-Af'āl (MS)<sup>9</sup>: a book on grammar.

Al-Mundhirī wrote several other books<sup>10</sup> which, however, have not come down to us.

## 2. Abū Mansūr al-Azharī (d.370/980).

A disciple of Abū al-Faḍl al-Mundhirī (d.329), Abū Mansūr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Azhar al-Azharī al-Harawī was born at Herat

(foot note continued)

Najjār, ii,201-02.

1 Udabā', xviii, 99; Huart, p.156. 2 Fihrist, p.116.

3 Hāji Khalīfa, ii,616.

4 It is a book on grammar. (Hāji Khalīfa, i,586).

5 Udabā', xviii, 100-101.

6 (sic.) ماتنی مجلد: Udabā', xviii, 99-100. 7 Ibid., p.99.

8 Bughya, p.29; GAL, SI, 189=Najjār, ii,238; Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber, p.216.

9 Köprülüzade Istanbul under No.1576. Vide GAL, SI, 189= Najjār, loc.cit.

10 (i) Kitāb al-Multaqat (Hāji Khalīfa, ii,514-15).

(ii) Kitāb Nazm al-Jumān (Ibid., p.605).

(iii) Kitāb al-Shāmil (Ibid., p.46).

(iv) Kitāb al-Ziyādāt, a supplement to al-Farrā's Ma'ānī al-Qur'an and Abū Ubayd's (d.224) Amthāl al-Muṣannaf and Gharīb al-Hadīth (Udabā', xviii, 99-100).

in 282/895<sup>1</sup>. His academic career started as a student of ḥadīth which he heard from al-Husayn b. Idrīs (d.ca.310), Muhammad b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Sāmī (d.301) and Abū Muhammad al-Muzanī al-Harawī (d.356)<sup>2</sup>. But his chief field was grammar and philology which he thoroughly studied at Herat under Abū al-Fadl al-Mundhirī<sup>3</sup>. His interest in philological studies is supported by the fact that while at Herat he read Kitāb al-Nawādir of Tha‘lab (d.291) under al-Mundhirī<sup>4</sup>. In his twenties he finished his education at Herat; then started his journey in quest of knowledge<sup>5</sup>. He left home presumably in 309/921, met al-Zajjāj (d.310) en route to Baghdād<sup>6</sup> and performed hajj in 311/923<sup>7</sup>. In Muharram 18, 312/924 on his homeward journey from al-Madīna via al-Kūfa his caravan was plundered by the Qarmathians<sup>8</sup> at al-Habīr<sup>9</sup>, and al-Azharī fell into the hands of the Arabs of the desert. He remained in bondage with them for a long time passing his winters at al-Dahnā<sup>10</sup>, springs at al-Ṣammān<sup>11</sup> and summers at al-Sitarayn<sup>12</sup>. Already a keen student of philology this captivity of al-Azharī stood him in good stead. He found ample time and scope to add to his knowledge of chaste Arabic and "learned a great quantity of words and singular expressions"<sup>13</sup>. After passing two years with the

1 Al-Subkī, ii, 106.

2 Ibid.; Udabā’, xvii, 165.

3 GAL, i, 129 = Najjār, ii, 263.

4 Wafayāt, i, 501.

5 GAL, i, 129 = Najjār, ii, 263.

6 Wafayāt, i, 502.

7 GAL, i, 129 = Najjār, ii, 263.

8 Wafayāt, i, 502.

9 It is on the road of Makka, (Buldān, iv, 951; Wafayāt, i, 502).

10 The great desert of Arabia (Buldān, ii, 635-36; Wafayāt, i, 502; Ency. of Islam, i, 893).

11 It is a sandy hill being nine days' journey from al-Baṣra (Buldān, iii, 416-17; Wafayāt, i, 502).

12 They are two valleys in Diyār Banī Rabī‘a (Buldān, iii, 38).

13 Wafayāt, i, 501-02 = iv, 311-12 of the Eng. translation of Wafayāt by De Slane.

Bedouins, al-Azharī arrived in Baghdād in about 314/926 and studied philology and grammar under Ibn al-Sarrāj (d.316)<sup>1</sup> and Niftawayh (d.323)<sup>2</sup>. He had a mind to read with Ibn Durayd (d.321) but could not do so, because the latter lost his mental equilibrium.<sup>3</sup> He, however, utilized his opportunity to read ḥadīth with Abū Bakr b. Abī Dā'wūd (d.316) and Abū al-Qāsim al-Baghawī (d.317)<sup>4</sup>, and Shāfi'ite fiqh with 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Baghawī<sup>5</sup>.

A noted philologist, al-Azharī spent close upon half a century in teaching and researches in ḥadīth and philological studies at Herat<sup>6</sup>. Among his students in philology mention may be made of Abū 'Ubayd al-Harawī (d.401) and in ḥadīth Abū Dharr 'Abd b. Aḥmad al-Harawī (d.435)<sup>7</sup>. As for his contributions to philology and grammar, we are going to discuss them here below. He died at Herat in 370/980<sup>8</sup>.

His works:

(i) Tahdhīb al-Lughā (published)<sup>9</sup>

It is a comprehensive lexicon running to ten volumes<sup>10</sup>. In arranging the work al-Azharī followed the order of letters introduced by al-Khalīl (d.175) in his Kitāb al-'Ayn<sup>11</sup>. Each letter is subdivided into six sections, viz.,

١- المضاعف. ٢- الثلاثي الصحيح. ٣- الثلاثي المعتل. ٤- اللغيف. ٥- الرباعي. ٦- والخماسي

1 He was a pupil of al-Mubarrad (285).

2 Udabā', xvii, 165.

3 Ibid.

4 Al-Subkī, ii, 106.

5 Udabā', loc. cit.

6 GAL, i, 129 = Najjār, ii, 263.

7 Al-Subkī, ii, 106.

8 Wafayāt, i, 502; Bughya, p.8; al-Yāfi'i, ii, 395-96; Shadharāt, iii, 72-73; Huart, pp.158-59.

9 Ed. and published by K.V. Zetterstien in MO in 1920 A.D. under pp. 1-106. (Najjār, ii, 264).

10 Wafayāt, i, 502.

11 Al-Khalīl "seems to have followed the alphabetical order of the Sanskrit grammarians which begins with the gutterals and goes on to the labials: 'ain, hā, khā, ghain, kāf, kāf, djīm, shīn, dād, šād, sīn, zā, ṭā, dāl, tā, zā, dhāl, thā, zay, lām, mīm, fā, nūn, wāw, alif (hamza), yā." Ency. of Islam, ii, 888.

The roots classed under each letter are those into which that letter enters, either as third, second, or first radical"<sup>1</sup>. According to Lane, al-Tahdhīb is an excellent lexicon from which he has largely drawn<sup>2</sup>. It is one of the chief sources of Lisān al-‘Arab by Ibn Manẓūr al-Ifriqī (d.711)<sup>3</sup>.

(ii) Kitāb al-Zāhir fī Gharīb Alfāz al-Shāfi‘ī (MS.)<sup>4</sup>

The book appears to be the same as Tafsīr Alfāz Mukhtasar al-Muzanī<sup>5</sup>. It is an elucidation of the rare and difficult words occurring in Mukhtasar al-Muzanī, a compendium of the legal teaching of al-Shāfi‘ī (d.204) by al-Muzanī (d.264). In the preface al-Azharī praises al-Shāfi‘ī for his legal acumen, elegance of speech and profound learning and adds that he had contemplated the compiling of a full glossary of all the difficult words used by him (al-Shāfi‘ī) in his al-Jāmi‘<sup>6</sup> which was the principal text book of his school. Subsequently, being afraid of the magnitude of the task, al-Azharī confined himself to an elucidation of the rare words occurring in Mukhtasar al-Muzanī<sup>7</sup>.

Besides, al-Azharī wrote a number of books<sup>8</sup>, which, however, have not come down to us.

3. Abū ‘Ubayd al-Harawī (d.401/1010)

Abū ‘Ubayd Ahmad b. Muḥammad al-Harawī hailed from Bāshān<sup>9</sup>, a village in Herat. As was the vogue he started his academic career as

1 Rieu, p.571.

2 Ibid.; Lane, Lexicon (London, 1863-93), preface, p.xiii.

3 Bankipore, xx, p.5. On Ibn Manẓūr al-Ifriqī, see: Ency. of Islam, ii, 403.

4 Berlin under No.4852; Köpruluzāde under No.568; and the British Museum under No.304. (GAL, i, 129; SI, 197= Najjār, ii, 264).

5 Bughya, p.8.

6 GAL, SI, 304.

7 Rieu, pp.194-95.

8 Bughya, p.8; Udabā‘, xvii, 165; al-Subkī, ii, 106; Hājī Khalīfa, i, 63; 112; 319; 222; 309-10; ii, 158; 405-06; Miftāh al-Sa‘āda, i, 97-98.

9 Or Fāshān. Wafayāt, i, 28.

a student of hadīth which he read with Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Yāsīn al-Harawī (d.334) and Abū Ishāq Ahmad b. Muḥammad al-Bazzār (d. ca.350)<sup>1</sup>. At this time the reputation of al-Azharī as an outstanding philologist spread at home and abroad drawing to his seminar at Herat students from far and near. It seems that al-Harawī being attracted by the erudition of al-Azharī enrolled himself as his student devoting himself to philological studies. Though his biographers mention al-Khattābī (d.388)<sup>2</sup> as one of his teachers in philology, al-Harawī spent most of his time with al-Azharī pursuing a thorough study on the subject, and became a scholar and a pet disciple of his having been known as Sāhib al-Azharī, a fellow par excellence of al-Azharī. In fact, al-Azharī had great confidence in his scholarship and was proud of him.<sup>3</sup>

Already well-versed in the text of hadīth al-Harawī undertook researches in the philological aspects of the Qur'ān and the hadīth. He made a wide survey of the gharīb, rare and obscure words and expressions contained therein. It seems that al-Harawī took up this specialized, but very important, branch of the studies of the Qur'ān and the hadīth at the instance of his beloved teacher al-Azharī whose Tahdhīb al-Lughā could not probably make full justice to this aspect of Arabic literature.<sup>4</sup>

He died at Herat in 6th Rajab, 401/1010.<sup>5</sup>

His works:

(i) Kitāb al-Gharībayn (MS.)<sup>6</sup>

As referred to above, this is a dictionary of the rare and

1 Al-Subkī, iii,34.

2 Infra, p. 227.

3 Wafayāt, loc. cit.; Udabā', iv, 260-61; Bughya, p.161.

4 Ibid.; al-Yāfi'ī, iii,3.

5 Ibid.; Bankipore Catalogue, XX,9; Shadharāt, iii,161; Huart, p.160.

6 Bankipore under No.1968, but Brockelmann (GAL. SI,200) gives the No.2805 which is not correct. For other MSS., see Ibid.

obscure words in the Qur'ān and the ḥadīth. It provides commentary on each and every word after citing the whole passage in which the word occurs. The dictionary is arranged alphabetically according to the first and the second letter of the words explained.<sup>1</sup>

The work is 'the first of its kind' in its conception and execution. According to Ibn al-Athīr (d.606), it served as a guide and model to all works on the subject down to his time.<sup>2</sup>

The emergence of this valuable work was hailed by the students who would flock to the house of al-Harawī to study it under him. Mention in this connection may be made of Abū 'Uthmān Ismā'īl b. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Ṣābūnī (d.449), Abū 'Umar 'Abd al-Wāhid b. Aḥmad al-Malīhī (d.463) and Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad al-Ardistānī (d.424)<sup>3</sup>, who read and transmitted the work on the authority of al-Harawī. From this it is obvious that the Kitāb al-Gharībayn attained popularity as a masterpiece on the subject even during the lifetime of al-Harawī.<sup>4</sup>

(ii) Kitāb Wulāt Hirāt.<sup>5</sup>

This book perhaps contains the early history of the rulers of Herat down to the author's time.

PART II. Marv.

Marv stood at a distance of 250 miles on the north of Herat<sup>6</sup>. It was a historic ancient city originally built by the Pishdadian

1 Ḥājī Khalīfa, ii, 156-57; Loth, p.276.

2 Bankipore Catalogue, XX, 8-9.

3 Or, according to Yāqūt (Udabā', loc.cit.), al-Azdistānī which is not correct.

4 Ibid.; al-Subkī, loc. cit.

5 Udabā', loc. cit.

6 Le Strange, p.397; Map. VIII.

monarch Tahamūrath<sup>1</sup>. Like Herat it was also a garden-city well-watered by the river Murghab<sup>2</sup>. Marv was conquered by 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amir in 31/652 during the Caliphate of 'Uthmān<sup>3</sup>. As mentioned above Marv stood on the Khurāsān road and soon became an Arab colony<sup>4</sup>. Subsequently the city developed upstream for about 150 miles as far as Marv al-Rūdh<sup>5</sup>. This Marv al-Rūdh became the headquarters of the government during the rāshida caliphs, where Ahnaf b. Qays built a Castle known as Qasr Ahnaf.<sup>6</sup> It is worthwhile to mention that many a Companion<sup>7</sup> and Follower<sup>8</sup> settled in Marv turning the city into a prominent centre of ḥadīth. Already in the 2nd/8th and <sup>the</sup> 3rd/9th centuries it produced numerous transmitters of ḥadīth of which a brief list is given below:

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- 1 Al-Iṣṭakhri, Kitāb Masālik al-Mamālik, ed. De Goeje (E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1927), p.258.
- 2 Ibn Ḥawqal, Kitāb Masālik al-Mamālik, translated by William Ouseley (London, 1800), p.216.
- 3 Tabarī, i, 2884-2888.
- 4 Balādhuri, p.409 = Eng. tr. by Hitti, p.170.
- 5 Le Strange, p.397 and Map.VIII.
- 6 Ibid, p.405.
- 7 Among the Companions who settled in Marv the names of the following have come down to us:  
 Burayda b. al-Ḥusayb al-Aslamī (d.63). On him, see: Ibn Sa'd, vii, pt. i, 3-4; Tajrīd, i, 50.  
 Abū Barza al-Aslamī (d.60). On him, see: Ibn Sa'd, vii, pt. i, 4; pt. ii, 100; Tajrīd, ii, 162.  
 Quthum b. al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib (d.56). On him, see: Tajrīd, ii, 14; Shadharāt, i, 61; Ibn Sa'd, vii, pt. ii, 101.  
 Ghālib b. Fudala b. 'Abd Allāh. On him, see: Ta'rikh Naysābūr, p.11; Tajrīd, ii, 2-3.  
 'Aṭīyya b. 'Amr al-Ghifārī. On him, see: Ta'rikh Naysābūr, p.10; Tajrīd, i, 413.  
 Muḥammad. On him, see: Ta'rikh Naysābūr, p.12; Tajrīd, ii, 61.
- 8 Among the Followers who settled in Marv the names of the following have come down to us:  
 'Abd Allāh b. Burayda b. al-Ḥusayb (d.115). On him, see: Ibn Sa'd, vii, pt. i, 160-61.  
 Al-Ahnaf b. Qays. On him, see: Supra, p.5 note 1.  
 Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra (d.83). On him, see: Ibn Sa'd, vii, pt. i, 94.  
 Yahya b. 'Aqīl al-Baṣrī. On him, see: Huffāz, i, 100.  
 Yahya b. Ya'mar. On him, see: Ibn Sa'd, vii, pt. ii, 101; Huffāz, i, 100.

Traditionists.

1. Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān 'Abd Allāh b. Mubāarak b. Wādih al-Hanzalī al-Marwazī (d.181)<sup>1</sup>, author of Kitāb al-Zuhd wa al-Raqā'iq<sup>2</sup>, Kitāb al-Jihād<sup>3</sup> etc.

2. Sa'īd b. Mansūr al-Marwazī (d.227)<sup>4</sup>, compiler of al-Sunan.<sup>5</sup>

3. Nu'aym b. Hammād al-Khuzā'ī al-Faradī al-Marwazī (d.229)<sup>6</sup>, one of the compilers of ahādīth in the form of al-Musnad. His compilation of ahādīth on 'the Qur'ān being a created one or not' was arranged in the form of Musnad.<sup>7</sup>

4. Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm al-Marwazī, known as Ibn Rāhawayh (d.238)<sup>8</sup>, author of a Musnad<sup>9</sup>, al-Tafsīr<sup>10</sup> and Kitāb al-Sunan fī al-Fiqh<sup>11</sup>.

5. Sulaymān b. Ma'bad al-Sinjī (d.257)<sup>12</sup>, author of a Ta'rikh<sup>13</sup>.

6. Aḥmad b. Sayyār b. Ayyūb al-Marwazī (d.268)<sup>14</sup>, author of Ta'rikh Marv.<sup>15</sup>

7. Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Sa'īd al-Marwazī (d.292)<sup>16</sup>, author of Risāla fī al-Jamu'a wa Faḍlihā<sup>17</sup> and a Musnad<sup>18</sup>.

1 Huffāz, i, 253-57; Fihrist, p.319; al-Nawawī, pp.365-68; GAL, SI, 256.

2 Hājī Khalīfa, ii, 279; GAL, loc. cit.; Tadhkira al-Nawādir, p.33.

3 GAL, loc. cit.

4 Huffāz, ii, 5; Shadharāt, ii, 62.

5 Hājī Khalīfa, ii, 36.

6 Al-Khatīb, xiii, 306-14; Huffāz, ii, 6-8; Husn al-Muhādīra, i, 196; Shadharāt, ii, 67; Najjār, iii, 156-57.

7 Husn al-Muhādīra, loc. cit.; GAL, SI, 257.

8 Huffāz, ii, 19-20; Wafayāt, i, 64-65; al-Subkī, i, 232-36; Shadharāt, ii, 89; Mustaṭrifa, pp.55-56; for other references see: GAL, SI, 257 = Najjār, iii, 157.

9 GAL, loc. cit.

10 Hājī Khalīfa, i, 306.

11 Fihrist, p.321.

12 Buldān, iii, 161; Shadharāt, ii, 136.

13 Buldān, loc. cit.

14 Al-Nawawī, pp.146-47; Huffāz, ii, 126; al-Subkī, i, 285-86; Shadharāt, ii, 154.

15 Hājī Khalīfa, i, 231; Wüstenfeld, p.23.

16 Huffāz, ii, 211-12; Shadharāt, ii, 209.

17 GAL, i, 518; SI, 272 = Najjār, iii, 203.

18 Mustaṭrifa, p.59.



8. 'Abdān b. Muḥammad b. 'Isā al-Marwazī (d.293)<sup>1</sup>, author of al-Mu'atta<sup>2</sup>, and Kitāb Ma'rifa al-Sahāba<sup>3</sup> in as many as 100 juz'.

9. Muḥammad b. Naṣr al-Marwazī (d.294)<sup>4</sup>, author of Qiyām al-Layl wa Qiyām Ramadān wa Qiyām al-Witr<sup>5</sup>, al-Musnad,<sup>6</sup> Kitāb Ta'zīm al-Ṣalāh,<sup>7</sup> Kitāb Ikhtilāf al-Fuqahā<sup>8</sup>, Kitāb al-Qasāma, etc.<sup>9</sup>

#### 4TH/10TH CENTURY SCHOLARS OF MARV AND THEIR WORKS

##### JURISTS:

##### 1. Al-Hākim al-Shahīd al-Marwazī (d.334/945)

Abū al-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, popularly known as al-Hākim<sup>10</sup> al-Shahīd<sup>11</sup> al-Marwazī, was an accomplished traditionist and jurist. He undertook an extensive tour of Islamdom from Transoxiana to North Africa in quest of ḥadīth.<sup>12</sup> From material furnished by al-Sam'ānī (d.562) in his Kitāb al-Ansāb<sup>13</sup> we may give a list of his shuyūkh centre-wise as follows:

Marv : Abū Rijā' Muḥammad b. Ḥamdawayh al-Hawrḡānī;<sup>14</sup>

- 
- 1 Al-Khaṭīb, xi, 135-36; Huffāz, ii, 231-32; Husn al-Muḥādīra, i, 197; Shadharāt, ii, 215.
- 2 Huffāz, loc. cit. 3 Husn al-Muḥādīra, loc. cit.; Mustatrifa, p.105.
- 4 Al-Khaṭīb, iii, 315-18; Huffāz, ii, 201-03; al-Subkī, ii, 20-24; Husn al-Muḥādīra, i, 169; Shadharāt, ii, 216-17; Sarkis, p.1740.
- 5 Sarkis, loc. cit. 6 GAL, SI, 258 = Najjār, iii, 159.
- 7 Huffāz, ii, 203. 8 Al-Subkī, ii, 25. 9 Al-Khaṭīb, iii, 316.
- 10 He was called al-Hākim because his genealogy goes back to al-Hākim as follows:  
Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Majīd b. Ismā'īl b. al-Hākim. Vide al-Fawā'id al-Bahīyya, p.76.
- 11 In a war with the Turks he fell in their hands and was bound on the top of two poles and pulled asunder, which caused his death, for this reason he is called al-Shahīd. Vide al-Sam'ānī, art "al-Shahīd"; GAL, SI, 294.
- 12 Ibid.
- 13 Ibid.
- 14 He hails from Hawrḡān, a village at Marv (Marāsīd al-Ittilā', iii, 1467). He transmitted ḥadīth on the authority of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d.241). Vide al-Fawā'id al-Bahīyya, loc. cit.

- Yahya b. Shāsawayh al-Dhuhlī;  
 Muḥammad b. 'Iṣām b. Suhayl;  
 Bukhārā : Muḥammad b. Sa'īd al-Nūjābādhī<sup>1</sup>;  
 Nishāpūr : 'Abd Allāh b. Shirwayh (d.305);  
 Rayy : Ibrāhīm b. Yūsuf al-Hisnjānī (d.301)<sup>2</sup>;  
 Baghdād : Al-Haytham b. Khalaf al-Dūrī (d.307);  
           Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣūfī (d.303);  
 Al-Kūfa : 'Alī b. al-'Abbās al-Bajalī (d.310);  
 Makka : Al-Mufaddal b. Muḥammad al-Jundī (d.308);  
 Egypt : 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Misrī (d.307).

While the leading traditionists and professors of Khurāsān heard hadīth from him. Mention may well be made of al-Ḥākim Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Naysābūrī (d.405) who was his favourite pupil. He was a hāfiz of hadīth and could produce from memory as many as sixty thousand ahādīth<sup>3</sup>.

Al-Ḥākim al-Shahīd was a leading jurist of the Ḥanafite school of law and according to Mawlana 'Abd al-Ḥayy al-Lakhnawī (d.1303)<sup>4</sup> his position is next to that of Imām Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī (d.187) inasmuch as his works al-Kāfī and al-Muntaqā were reckoned to be next to those of al-Shaybānī embodying as they did the principles of that school.

Al-Ḥākim al-Shahīd occupied high positions during the Sāmānīd rule. First he was appointed qādī of Bukhārā and then vizier of the province of Khurāsān. He was an able administrator. But in spite of his onerous

1 A native of Nūjābādh, a village at Bukhārā (Marāsīd al-Ittilā', iii, 1394) is called al-Nūjābādhī.

2 Jawāhir al-Mudīyya (vol.ii, 113) has al-Fahsajānī which does not seem to be correct.

3 Al-Sam'ānī, loc. cit.

4 Al-Fawā'id al-Bahīyya, loc. cit.

state duties he could find time at home and while on tour to devote to compilations. It is said that he would seldom allow any interview outside the appointed hours of the day and this routine he so rigorously followed that even he would not see the ruling Sultan outside the appointed hours. In the night of al-Rabī' II, 334/945 this scholar and administrator died in Marv in a war with the Turks. He fell in their hands and was bound on the top of two poles and pulled asunder, which caused his death; for this reason he is called al-Shahīd.<sup>1</sup>

His works:

(i) Al-Kāfi fi al-Fiqh (MS)<sup>2</sup>

Al-Hākim al-Shahīd made a thorough study of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī's six classical and fundamental works on Hanafite fiqh, viz., al-Jāmi' al-Saghīr, al-Jāmi' al-Kabīr, al-Siyar al-Kabīr, al-Siyar al-Saghīr, al-Ziyādāt and al-Mabsūt. He found too many repetitions in these works and at the instance of his favourite pupils he undertook the gigantic task of preparing a comprehensive work out of these six by sifting out the repetitions and gave the title of his work as Kitāb al-Kāfi.<sup>3</sup> Imām al-Sarakhsī (d.483) who praised this work produced a commentary on it in as many as 30 volumes under the title al-Mabsūt.<sup>4</sup>

(ii) Al-Muntacā. It is also a corpus of Hanafite fiqh comprising uncommon juridical problems, which al-Hākim al-Shahīd collected, as he says, out of as many as three hundred compilations by other scholars. But the work was not extant even during the time of Ḥājī Khalīfa.<sup>5</sup>

1 Al-Sam'ānī, loc. cit.; GAL, SI, 294.

2 Āyā Sofia, Istanbul under No. 1362/63. Vide GAL, i, 174; SI, 294. Al-Sarakhsī (d.483), Ahmad b. Mansūr al-Isbījābī (d.480) and Ismā'īl b. Ya'qūb al-Anbarī (d.331) wrote commentaries on al-Kāfi. Vide Ḥājī Khalīfa, ii, 255.

3 Al-Sarakhsī, Kitāb al-Mabsūt (Egypt, 1324 A.H.), Vol. I, pp. 3-4; vol. XXIX, p. 1.

4 Ibid.; according to Ḥājī Khalīfa (ii, 372) the manuscript of al-Mabsūt went to 50 volumes.

5 Ḥājī Khalīfa, ii, 537.

## 2. Abū Ishāq al-Marwazī (d.340/951)

Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Ahmad belonged to Marv al-Shāhajān. After receiving education at his home town he went to Baghdād and studied jurisprudence under Abū al-‘Abbās b. Surayj (d.306) thoroughly and became ṣāhib or a pet disciple of the latter.<sup>1</sup> He settled at Baghdād as a teacher of ḥadīth and fiqh, where he had his house at Qatī‘a al-Rabī‘<sup>2</sup>, a quarter in al-Karkh, which came to be known as Darb al-Marwazī or the lane of Abū Ishāq al-Marwazī<sup>3</sup>. A number of students including Abū Ḥamid al-Marwarrūdhī (d.362) read jurisprudence with him. In 306/918 he succeeded his teacher Abū al-‘Abbās b. Surayj as the chief Shāfi‘ite jurist of al-‘Irāq.<sup>4</sup> Here he compiled most of his works. Towards the close of his life he repaired to Egypt where he was well-received by the scholars and people at large. He was elevated to the chair of Imām al-Shāfi‘ī; ardent learners from far and near came and heard ḥadīth and fiqh from him. He produced as many as seventy scholars who spread over different cities to serve the cause of learning. He died in 340/951 in Egypt and was buried near the tomb of Imām al-Shāfi‘ī.<sup>5</sup>

His works:

(i) Sharḥ Mukhtasar al-Muzanī.<sup>6</sup>

(ii) Al-Uṣūl.<sup>7</sup>

The above two works do not seem to have survived the ravages of time.

## 3. Abū Ḥamid al-Marwarrūdhī (d.362/972)

A disciple of Abū Ishāq al-Marwazī (d.340), al-Qāḍī Abū Ḥamid Ahmad b. ‘Amir b. Bishr hailed from Marwarrūdh. He had a thorough

1 Shadharāt, ii, 355.

2 Ṣafi al-Dīn al-Baghdādī, Marāsīd al-Ittilā‘ (Cairo, 1374), iii, 1109.

3 Al-Khaṭīb, vi, 11; Wafayāt, i, 4.

4 Wafayāt, loc. cit.; Shadharāt, loc. cit.

5 Al-Khaṭīb, loc. cit.; Husn al-Muhādīra, loc. cit.; al-Yāfi‘ī, ii, 331.

6 Husn al-Muhādīra, loc. cit.

7 Ibid.

training in ḥadīth and fiqh at Baghdād under his aforesaid teacher and soon excelled as a traditionist and jurist of the school of Imām al-Shāfi'ī. On the completion of his education he was appointed Qādī of al-Baṣra where along with his official duties he would impart lesson in ḥadīth and fiqh. His school at al-Baṣra produced many a noted scholar like Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī (d.400),<sup>1</sup> Abū Ishāq al-Mihrānī and Abū Fayyād al-Baṣrī.<sup>2</sup>

Like his teacher Abū Ishāq al-Marwazī, Abū Ḥāmid al-Marwarrūdhī attained the stature of Imām (doctor) of the school of al-Shāfi'ī. He died at al-Baṣra in 362/972.<sup>3</sup>

Abū Ḥāmid al-Marwarrūdhī continued the researches of his teacher Abū Ishāq al-Marwazī on Sharḥ Mukhtasar al-Muzanī<sup>4</sup> on the doctrine of al-Shāfi'ī as well as on usūl al-fiqh, principles of jurisprudence.<sup>5</sup> He prepared al-Jāmi', a comprehensive treatise on the furū' (by-laws) of Shāfi'ite law.<sup>6</sup> But his works have not come down to us.

### PART III. Balkh.

Balkh, a beautiful city of Khurāsān Province, was situated at a distance about 50 miles south of the Oxus on the high road running from Marv al-Rūdh to Mā Warā' al-Nahar<sup>7</sup>. Balkh played, side by side with Marv, the role of the capital of Khurāsān upto the reign of 'Abd Allāh b. Ṭāhir (213-30/828-244) who moved the seat of government to Nishāpūr.<sup>8</sup> In the middle age it was one of the four quarters

1 Infra, p.244.

2 Al-Sam'ānī, art al-Marwarrūdhī; al-Subkī, ii,82-83.

3 Ibid.; Wafayāt, i,18-19; al-Yafi'ī, ii,375; Shadharāt, iii,40.

4 Hāji Khalīfa, ii,405-06.

5 Wafayāt, loc. cit.

6 Hāji Khalīfa, i,386.

7 Le Strange, Map.V.

8 Al-Istakhri, p.258; Le Strange, p.382;385.

of Khurāsān Province covering the districts of Jūzjān<sup>1</sup>, Tukhāristān<sup>2</sup>, Badakhshān,<sup>3</sup> Banjahīr<sup>4</sup> and Bāmiyān<sup>5</sup>. Balkh continued to flourish till the Ghuzz Turks devastated the city in 550/1155. Afterwards the city was rebuilt, but it was again destroyed by the Mongols in 617/1220. At present Balkh is an important town of Afganistan.<sup>6</sup>

In pre-Islamic days Balkh was a centre of Hellenic culture under the Achaemenids (639-330 B.C.) and the Greeks (330-250 B.C.). The Kushan Kings (40- ca. 215 A.D.) introduced here Buddhism and had many Vihars or Buddhist monasteries.<sup>7</sup>

During the Caliphate of 'Uthmān Aḥnaf b. Qays, after the conquest of Marv. al-Rūdh in 31/651 advanced as far as the Balkh quarter of Khurāsān. He sent Aqra' b. Hābis (d.33)<sup>8</sup>, a Companion of the Prophet(s) to conquer Jūzjān.<sup>9</sup> Next Aḥnaf reached Balkh after the conquest of Tāliqān<sup>10</sup> and Fāryāb<sup>11</sup>. Usayyid b. al-Mutashammis, a tābi'ī, was appointed governor of Balkh.<sup>12</sup>

During the Arab conquest the following Companions of the Prophet(s) visited Balkh:

'Abd Allāh b. 'Āmir;<sup>13</sup>

Aqra' b. Hābis al-Tamīmī;

Qays b. Haytham al-Sulamī<sup>14</sup>;

'Abd Allāh b. Khāzim al-Sulamī.<sup>15</sup>

1 Buldān, ii, 149.

3 Ibid., i., 528.

5 Al-Istakhri, pp. 275-78.

7 Ency. of Islam, i, 622.

8 Usd. i, 119-22; Isāba, i, 112; Tajrid, i, 27; al-Nawawī, pp. 161-62.

9 Buldān, ii, 149.

2 Buldān, iii, 518.

4 Or Panjahīr, Ibid., p. 743.

6 Le Strange, pp. 421-22.

10 Ibid., iii, 491-92.

11 Ibid., p. 840.

12 Ṭabarī, i, 2884-88; Ibn al-Athīr, iii, 60-62; Balādhuri, pp. 403-08.

13 q.v.p. 4.

14 Supra, p. 140.

15 Supra, p. 140.

As for the Tābi'ūn the following names have come down to us:

Ahnaf b. Qays;

Usayyid b. al-Mutashammis (d.31)<sup>1</sup>;

Al-Dahhāk b. Muzāhim al-Balkhī (d.105)<sup>2</sup>.

Introduction of Islamic sciences: Balkh developed as a seat of Islamic sciences and Arabic studies as early as during the latter half of the 1st century of Islam. This was because it was frequented by the Companions and Followers, some of whom having long sojourned there inasmuch as it was the seat of government on the high road to Transoxiana. Our contention is borne out by the fact that al-Dahhāk b. Muzāhim al-Balkhī who died in 105 A.H. was a noted traditionist, exegete and grammarian. We would like to give below a list of scholars subject-wise, who flourished in Balkh in the 2nd/8th and the 3rd/9th centuries:

Traditionists:

Zakariyyā b. Yahya al-Balkhī (d.230), compiler of Kitāb al-Īmān;<sup>3</sup>

Qutayba b. Sa'īd al-Baghlānī (d.240)<sup>4</sup>;

Ibrāhīm b. Ya'qūb al-Jūzjānī (d.259), author of Kitāb fī al-Du'afā';<sup>5</sup>

'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Balkhī (d.295), compiler of Kitāb al-Ta'rikh and Kitāb al-'Ilal;<sup>6</sup>

Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Tarkhān al-Balkhī (d.298)<sup>7</sup>.

Exegetes:

Al-Dahhāk b. Muzāhim al-Balkhī (d.105)<sup>8</sup>, author of al-Tafsīr.<sup>9</sup>

1 On him, see: Akhbār Isbahān, i, 226; Isāba, i, 92.

2 On him, see: Huffāz, i, 98; Udabā', xii, 15-16.

3 Huffāz, ii, 91.

4 Ibid, pp. 30-31; Shadharāt, ii, 94-95.

5 Huffāz, ii, 117; Mizān al-I'tidāl, i, 35-36; Shadharāt, ii, 139; Hāji Khalīfa, i, 391.

6 Al-Khatīb, X, 93-94; Huffāz, ii, 233-34; Shadharāt, ii, 219.

7 Huffāz, ii, 237-38; Buldān, i, 713-14.

8 Huffāz, i, 98; Udabā', xii, 15-16; Shadharāt, i, 124.

9 Balādhurī, p. 421.

Muqātil b. Ḥayyān al-Balkhī (d.140)<sup>1</sup>, compiler of a Tafsīr<sup>2</sup>.

Muqātil b. Sulaymān al-Balkhī (d.150)<sup>3</sup>, author of Tafsīr Khamsa<sup>5</sup>  
Mi'at Āyat min al-Qur'ān<sup>4</sup>, al-Tafsīr fī Mutashābih al-Qur'ān and  
Kitāb al-Wujūh<sup>6</sup>.

#### Jurists:

Al-Ḥakam b. 'Abd Allāh al-Balkhī (d.199)<sup>7</sup>, author of Kitāb al-Fiqh al-Akbar<sup>8</sup>;

Mūsā b. Sulaymān al-Jūzjānī (d.280)<sup>9</sup>, author of Kitāb al-Shurūt al-Kabīr<sup>10</sup>;

Aḥmad b. Ishāq al-Jūzjānī (d.ca.295)<sup>11</sup>, author of Kitāb al-Farq wa al-Tamyīz<sup>12</sup> and Kitāb al-Tawba.<sup>13</sup>

#### Grammarian:

Sa'īd b. Mas'ada al-Balkhī al-Akhfash al-Awsat (d.221)<sup>14</sup>, author of Kitāb Ma'ānī al-Qur'ān<sup>15</sup>, Sharh Abyāt al-Mu'āyā<sup>16</sup>, Tafsīr 'Ilm al-Qawāfī<sup>17</sup>, Kitāb al-Ishtiqāq<sup>18</sup> etc.

1 Ta'riḫ Jurjān, p.420; Huffāz, i, 164-65; al-Nawawī, pp.573-74; Mizān al-I'tidāl, iii, 196; Tahdhīb, X, 277-79; Khulāsa, pp.330-31.

2 Hājī Khalīfa, i, 315.

3 Al-Khatīb, xiii, 160-69; Huffāz, i, 165; Mizān al-I'tidāl, iii, 196-97; Khulāsa, p.331.

4 GAL, SI, 332.

5 Ibid.

6 Hājī Khalīfa, ii, 305; 628.

7 Mizān al-I'tidāl, i, 269; Fawā'id al-Bahīyya, p.32.

8 Shadharāt, i, 357.

9 Jawāhir al-Mudīyya, ii, 186; Fawā'id al-Bahīyya, p.90; GAL, SI, 291-92 = Najjār, iii, 257.

10 Najjār, loc. cit.

11 Fawā'id al-Bahīyya, p.12.

12 Ibid.

13 Ibid.

14 Or died in 315 A.H. according to Shadharāt, ii, 36. For his life and works, Fihrist, pp.77-78; Bughya, p.258; GAL, SI, 165= Najjār, ii, 151-52.

15 GAL, loc. cit.

16 Ibid.

17 Najjār, loc. cit.

18 Bughya, loc. cit.



Sūfi Scholars:

Ibrāhīm b. Adham (d.162)<sup>1</sup>;

Abū 'Alī Shāqīq (d.194)<sup>2</sup>;

Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān Hātim al-Asamm (d.237);<sup>3</sup>

Abū Hāmid Ahmad b. Khadrūya (d.240).<sup>4</sup>

## 4TH/10TH CENTURY SCHOLARS OF BALKH AND THEIR WORKS

A. AL-MUHADDITHŪN, THE TRADITIONISTS:

Muhammad b. 'Aqīl al-Balkhī (d.316/928).

Among the traditionists who flourished at Balkh during the 4th/10th century the name of Muhammad b. 'Aqīl al-Balkhī may be mentioned here.

A traditionist of Balkh Abū 'Abd Allāh Muhammad b. 'Aqīl b. al-Azhar b. 'Aqīl had a fair share of wanderjahre in quest of ḥadīth which he received from 'Alī b. Khashram al-Marwazī<sup>5</sup>, 'Abbād b. al-Walīd al-Ghubarī al-Karkhī (d.262)<sup>6</sup> and their contemporaries. Among his pupils were Muhammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Hindawānī (d.362) and Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Luqmān al-Suwādī (d.374)<sup>7</sup>. Muhammad b. 'Aqīl died in 316/928 after compiling the following books:<sup>8</sup>

(i) Al-Musnad:<sup>9</sup> a compilation of ahādīth arranged after the Companions of the Prophet(s).

1 About his life and sayings, Tabaqāt al-Sūfiyya, pp. 27-38; Ibn Taghribirdī, al-Nujūm al-Zāhira, (Cairo 1349), ii, 36-37; Kashf al-Mahjūb, Eng. tr., pp. 103-05; Nicholson, p. 232; Ency. of Islam, ii, 432-34; Hitti, p. 34.

2 For his biographical notice, teachings and works, Tabaqāt al-Sūfiyya, pp. 61-62; Kashf al-Mahjūb, Eng. tr., pp. 111-12; Fawāt al-wafayāt, i, 385; Shadharāt, i, 341; Nicholson, p. 233.

3 For his biography and sayings, Tabaqāt al-Sūfiyya, pp. 91-97; Kashf al-Mahjūb, Eng. tr., p. 115; Shadharāt, ii, 87-88.

4 Or Khadrawayh, (Tabaqāt al-Sūfiyya, p. 103. For his life, works and sayings, Kashf al-Mahjūb, Eng. tr., pp. 119-21.)

5 On him, Buldān, ii, 572; i, 569.

6 On him, Khulāsa, pp. 158-59; Buldān, iv, 256.

7 On him, Buldān, iii, 180.

8 Huffāz, iii, 12-13; Shadharāt, ii, 274; Mustatrifa, p. 61.

9 Huffāz, iii, 13.

(fi) Ta'rikh Balkh<sup>1</sup>. The book probably contains the biographical notices of the traditionists of Balkh.

(iii) Al-Abwāb:<sup>2</sup> chapters of ahādīth.

B. DOGMATIC THEOLOGIANS:

Abū al-Qāsim al-Ka'bi (d.319/931).

Among the dogmatic theologians who flourished at Balkh during the 4th/10th century the name of Abū al-Qāsim al-Ka'bi may be mentioned.

Hailing from Balkh Abū al-Qāsim 'Abd Allāh b. Ahmad b. Maḥmūd was called al-Ka'bi, because he was a descendant of Banū Ka'b. He was the founder of a sect of the Mu'tazilites called al-Ka'biyya after him. This Mu'tazilite sect holds that all actions of man are not predestined by God and man acts according to his will without the will of God.<sup>3</sup>

Al-Ka'bi went to Baghdād and stayed at the house of his friend 'Imrān b. Mūsā, the father of al-Marzubānī (d.384)<sup>4</sup>. Here he compiled a number of books on dogmatic theology<sup>5</sup>. He then visited Nasaf<sup>6</sup> and dictated ahādīth to scholars like Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā b. al-Husayn al-Nasafī (d.344)<sup>7</sup>. Afterwards he returned to Balkh, his native city where he was appointed vizier of Ahmad b. Sahl (d.307), the governor of Balkh and passed the remainder of his life till his death in 319/931.<sup>8</sup>

1 Hājī Khalīfa, i, 222.

2 Huffāz, loc. cit.

3 Al-Sam'ānī, art "al-Ka'bi"; Wafayāt, i, 252.

4 Supra, p. 175 seq.

5 Al-Khatīb, ix, 384.

6 Le Strange, pp. 441-43; 460.

7 Al-Sam'ānī, loc. cit.

8 Al-Khatīb, loc. cit. Notice of his life is also found in Jawāhir al-Mudīyya, i, 271; al-Yāfi'i, ii; 278; Lubāb, iii, 44; Shadharāt, ii, 281.

Al-Ka'bi was a dogmatic theologian and was the author of the following books:

- (i) Kitāb al-Maḡalāt: a book of essays on dogmatic theology<sup>1</sup>.
- (ii) Kitāb Tuhfa al-Wuzarā'(MS):<sup>2</sup> a book of wise counsels to vizier
- (iii) Tajrīd al-Jadl: a compendium on polemics.<sup>3</sup>
- (iv) Tafsīr: a voluminous commentary of the Holy Qur'ān in 12 volumes.<sup>4</sup>
- (v) Kitāb al-Intiqād fī al-'Ulūm al-Ilāhiyya: a book on divinity<sup>5</sup>.
- (vi) 'Uyūn al-Masā'il: a work of diverse theological problems in 9 volumes<sup>6</sup>.
- (vii) Mahāsin-Āl-Tāhir: a book on the good deeds of the Tāhirids (205-259).<sup>7</sup>
- (viii) Mustarshid fī al-Imāma: a guide book on leadership.<sup>8</sup>
- (ix) Mafākhir Khurāsān: the pride products of Khurāsān.<sup>9</sup>

#### C. GEOGRAPHERS:

Abū Zayd al-Balkhī (d.322/933)

Among the geographers who flourished at Balkh during the 4th/10th century the name of Abū Zayd al-Balkhī may be mentioned here.

A versatile genius Abū Zayd Ahmad b. Sahl, popularly known as Abū Zayd al-Balkhī was a philosopher, geographer, exegete and litterateur.<sup>10</sup> He was born at Shāmistiyān, a village near Balkh. His father, a school teacher was a native of Sijistān.<sup>11</sup> In the prime of his youth

1 Wafayāt, i, loc.cit.; Hājī Khalīfa, ii, 493; GAL, SI, 343.

2 Aya Sofia under No.2855 (GAL, i, 209 note 1; SI, loc.cit; Hājī Khalīfa, i, 267.).

3 Hājī Khalīfa, i, 249.

4 Ibid., p.306.

6 Ibid., p.144.

8 Ibid., p.427.

10 Cf: Fihrist, pp.198-99; Udabā', iii, 64-65; 76-77.

11 Udabā', iii, 68-69.

5 Ibid., ii, 266.

7 Ibid., p.389; al-Turkestan, p.11.

9 Ibid., p.477; Turkestan, loc.cit.

he arrived al-'Irāq and for long eight years he studied assiduously different Islamic sciences including philosophy, astronomy and medicine under erudite scholars there. Among his teachers only the name of celebrated al-Kindī (d.260) has come down to us.<sup>1</sup>

On finishing his education in al-'Irāq al-Balkhī returned home while already he was considered to be an Imām, authority of all branches of Islamic learning. At Balkh he devoted himself assiduously to the work of compilations on different branches of Islamic sciences<sup>2</sup>. He was offered the post of vizier by the prince Ahmad b. Sahl al-Marwazī (d.307), which he refused to accept. But then he had to concede to the request of the prince to accept the post of secretary under al-Ka'bi who was appointed vizier<sup>3</sup>. He proved himself so accomplished as a secretary that the governor<sup>4</sup> of Khurāsān invited him to act as a state-counsellor at Bukhārā, but he could not dare cross the Oxus to arrive Bukhārā<sup>5</sup>. It goes to his credit that his official duties could not, in any way, hamper his literary pursuits so that Ibn al-Nadīm (d.385) has furnished us with forty three titles of his works<sup>6</sup>. A peep into these works shows that his pen was facile practically in all domains of Islamic sciences. This was why Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawhīdī<sup>7</sup> had called him the Jāhiz (d.250)<sup>8</sup> of Khurāsān.<sup>9</sup> He died on Friday, the 20th Dhū al-Qa'da, 322/933 at Balkh.<sup>10</sup>

1 Ibid., pp.72-73. On al-Kindī, see: O'Leary, Arabic Thought and its place in History (London, 1939), pp.136-43.

2 Udabā', iii, 75.

3 Ibid.

4 Probably he is Ismā'īl b. Ahmad (290/295/902-907). Cf: Hitti, History of the Islamic peoples (England, 1949), p.167.

5 Udabā', iii, 86.

6 Fihrist, loc.cit. According to 'Alī b. Muhammad, the grandson of Abū Zayd al-Balkhī, the number of his works is about seventy. Vide Udabā', iii, 81.

7 Infra, p. 244.

8 On him, see: Shadharāt, ii, 121-22. 9 Udabā', iii, 79.

10 Ibid., p.82. Notice of his life is also found in Bughya, p.134; Sarkis, p.123; Zaydān, ii, 199-200; Huart, p.301; Ency. of Islam, i, 624; History of the Islamic Peoples, loc.cit.; Turkestan, p.11; Muslim Contribution to Geography, p.24.

His works:

Of his works mentioned above, only a solitary work, namely Kitāb al-Ashkāl or Şuwar al-Aqālīm<sup>1</sup> has come down to us. In it al-Balkhī has given geographical charts and maps. This work was a basis of geographical works by later geographers like al-Işṭakhri (d.340) and al-Maqdisī (d.507)<sup>2</sup>.

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1 A manuscript copy of the book is preserved in Berlin under No.6032. Vide, GAL, ,i,229; SI,408.

2 Ibid.; History of the Islamic Peoples, loc. cit.; Muslim Contribution to Geography, loc. cit.; Hitti, p.385.

## CHAPTER III

## THE PROVINCE OF SIJISTĀN

(i) Topography: Sijistān was the south-eastern frontier province of Persia. It was bounded on the north by Khurāsān, on the west by Qūhistān and the Great Desert; on the south by Mukrān and on the east by the principality of Sind. The river Helmund with its affluents ran through the province<sup>1</sup>. In the fourth/tenth century, Sijistān was bigger than Khurāsān and was formed of a number of districts including Zaranj, Farah, Nīshak, Bust, Bilād al-Dāwar, Rukhkhaj, Ghazna and Kābul. The capital of the province was Zaranj<sup>2</sup>.

(ii) Arab Conquest: In 23/643 during the Caliphate of 'Umar the Arabs invaded Sijistān and besieged Zaranj. The inhabitants concluded a treaty with the Arabs agreeing to pay tax<sup>3</sup>. After the assassination of Caliph 'Umar they broke the treaty. Again, in 30/650 during the Caliphate of 'Uthmān the Arabs under the leadership of al-Rabī' b. Ziyād al-Hārithī (d.53) conquered Sijistān and its ruler made a treaty with al-Rabī' by giving 1,000 slaves, each bearing a cup of gold.<sup>4</sup>

(iii) Introduction of Islamic Sciences: Among the Ṣahāba who visited Sijistān during the Arab conquest were 'Āsim b. 'Amr<sup>5</sup>, al-Rabī' b. Ziyād al-Hārithī<sup>6</sup>, mentioned above, 'Abd al-Rahmān b.

1 Le Strange, p.7; 334 and also Map.1.

2 Ibid., pp.335-37; 339; 341-42; 344-49.

3 Tabarī, i, 2705-06; Ibn al-Athīr, iii, 22.

4 Balādhurī, pp.392-94 = Murgotten, pp.141-43; Ibn al-Athīr, iii, 63; R.C. Majumdar, The Arab Invasion of India (Madras, 1931), Dacca University Supplement, pp.14-15.

5 Tabarī, i, 2705. On him, see: al-Istī'āb, ii, 500; Isāba, ii, 614-15; Tajrīd, i, 303.

6 Balādhurī, p.393; Ibn al-Athīr, iii, 63. He transmitted ḥadīth which had been recorded in the Sunans of al-Nasā'ī, Abū Dā'wūd and Ibn Māja. On him, see: al-Istī'āb, i, 180-81; Tajrīd, i, 189-90; Isāba, i, 1031-32; Uṣd, ii, 164; Tahdhīb, iii, 243-44.

Samura (d.50)<sup>1</sup>, 'Imrān b. al-Fuḍayl al-Burjūmī<sup>2</sup> and Ibn 'Āmir<sup>3</sup> — all of them residing as governors there during the Caliphate of 'Uthmān.<sup>4</sup> Of them al-Rabī' b. Ziyād and 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Samura were transmitters of ahādīth and also held the governorship of Sijistān during the reign of Mu'āwiya (41-60/661-80).<sup>5</sup>

Of the Tābi'ūn, Followers who arrived in Sijistān during the Arab conquest, the names of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umayr al-Laythī (d. 117)<sup>6</sup> and al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d.110)<sup>7</sup> have come down to us. The former served as governor of Sijistān during the Caliphate of 'Uthmān,<sup>8</sup> while the latter was kātib, secretary to al-Rabī' b. Ziyād al-Ḥārithī in Sijistān.<sup>9</sup> In 53/672 during the reign of Mu'āwiya, another Tābi'i, named Abū Ḥarb 'Abbād b. Ziyād (d.100)<sup>10</sup> filled the office of the governor of Sijistān. He was a narrator of ḥadīth and transmitted it on the authority of 'Urwa (d.ca.80) and Ḥamza (d.ca.83), the two sons of al-Mughira b. Shu'ba (d.50). Among those who received

- 
- 1 Balādhurī, p.394; Ibn al-Athīr, iii,63. Ahādīth transmitted by him are preserved in Sihah Sitta (Khulāṣa, p.193). On him, see: Ibn Sa'd, vii,8; al-Istī'āb, ii,393-94; Uṣd, iii,297-98; Isāba, ii,963-64; Tahdhīb, vi,190; Siyar al-Ṣahāba, vii, 163-66.
  - 2 Or 'Imrān b. al-Faṣīl.— Tabarī, i,2830; Balādhurī, p.395. On him, see: Tajrīd, i,451.
  - 3 Tabarī, i,2829; Balādhurī, p.394; Ibn al-Athīr, iii,63. On him, supra, p.4.
  - 4 Tabarī, i,2829; 2830; 2831; Ya'qūbī, p.282; Balādhurī, p.394.
  - 5 Al-Istī'āb, i,180-81; Isāba, ii,963.
  - 6 Tabarī, i,2705. Ahādīth narrated by him are preserved in Ṣaḥīh Muslim and the Sunan of Ibn Māja (Khulāṣa, p.177). On him, see: al-Istī'āb, ii,356; Tajrīd, i,351; Tahdhīb, v,343-44.
  - 7 Balādhurī, p.394. On him, supra, p.5.
  - 8 Tabarī, i,2828-29.
  - 9 Al-Istī'āb, i,180-81.
  - 10 Balādhurī, p.397. Ahādīth narrated by him are preserved in Ṣaḥīh Muslim and the Sunans of Abū Dā'wūd and al-Nasā'ī (Khulāṣa, p.157). On him, see: Tahdhīb, v,93-94; Buldān, iv, 184.

hadīth from Abū Harb were Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī (d.124) and Makhūl al-Kābulī (d.113).<sup>1</sup>

A list of 3rd/9th century scholars and their works:

Traditionists:

1. Abū Dā'wūd Sulaymān b. al-Ash'ath al-Sijistānī (d.275/889),<sup>2</sup> author of the Sunan,<sup>3</sup> Kitāb al-Marāsīl<sup>4</sup>, Kitāb al-Ba'th wa al-Nushūr<sup>5</sup>, Masā'il al-Imām<sup>6</sup> etc.

2. Abū Sa'īd 'Uthmān b. Sa'īd b. Khālid al-Dārimī al-Sijistānī (d.280/893)<sup>7</sup>, the author of Musnad al-Kabīr<sup>8</sup>, Kitāb fī al-Radd 'alā Bishr al-Marrīsī<sup>9</sup> and Kitāb fī al-Radd 'alā al-Jahmiyya<sup>10</sup>.

Philologists:

Among the philologists the name of Abū Hātim Sahl b. Muḥammad al-Sijistānī (d.255)<sup>11</sup> may be mentioned. He is the author of Kitāb

<sup>1</sup> Tahdhīb, v,93.

<sup>2</sup> Notice of his biography is available in all the rijāl books. Vide Akhbār Isbahān, i,334; al-Khatīb, ix,55-59; al-Yāfi'i, ii,189-90; Wafayāt, i,214; Tabaqāt al-Hanābala, pp.118-20; al-Subkī, ii,48-50; Huffāz, ii,152-54; Shadharāt, ii,167-68; Bustān al-Muhaddithīn, p.106; Sarkis, p.309.

<sup>3</sup> Abū Dā'wūd incorporated 4,800 ahādīth in his Sunan (Hājī Khalīfa, ii,34-35). It was first published from Delhi in 1271/2 A.H. For MSS. and commentaries of the book, see: Bankipore Cata., v, pt. i,111-116; GAL, i,161; SI,267; Sarkis, pp.309-10; Husayn Muhammad, i,236;279;290; al-Khawli, p.87.

<sup>4</sup> Published in Cairo, 1310 A.H. - Vide GAL, i,161; Sarkis, p.310.

<sup>5</sup> MS. copy is available in the 'Umūmiyya Library of Damascus under No.21,237. Vide GAL, SI,267.

<sup>6</sup> It contains the problems Abū Dā'wūd asked his teacher Imām Ahmad b. Hanbal (d.241) and the solutions given by the latter (Hājī Khalīfa, ii,299). MS. copy of the book is preserved in the 'Umūmiyya Library of Damascus under No.23,334. (GAL, SI,267).

<sup>7</sup> On him, see: al-Subkī, ii,53-54; Huffāz, ii,177-78; Shadharāt, ii,176.

<sup>8</sup> Huffāz, ii,178.

<sup>9</sup> MS. copy of the book is available in Köprülüzāde under No.850. (GAL, SI,342). Bishr al-Marrīsī was a theologian and jurist and died in 218/833. On him, see: Lubāb, iii,128; iv,545; Shadharāt, ii,44.

<sup>10</sup> Hājī Khalīfa, i,536. On Jahmiyya, supra, p.20.

<sup>11</sup> On his life and works, see: Fihrist, pp.86-87; Nuzha, pp.251-54; Udabā', xi,263; Buldān, iii,44; al-Yāfi'i, ii,156; Wafayāt, i,218-19; Tahdhīb, iv,257; Bughya, p.265; Shadharāt, ii,121; Zaydān, ii,185-86; Sarkis, pp.1008-09; Hājī Khalīfa, i,64; ii,258;279;283;287;292;293;294;296;297;302;304;493; GAL, i,107; SI,167 = Najjār, ii,159-61.



al-Mu‘ammarīn<sup>1</sup>, Kitāb al-Nakhl<sup>2</sup>, al-Addād,<sup>3</sup> Kitāb al-Wasāyā<sup>4</sup>,  
Sharh Kitāb al-Nawādir fī al-Lughā<sup>5</sup> etc.

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- 1 In this book Abū Ḥātim gave the duration of the lives of one hundred and eleven persons who lived fabulously long life, beginning with Prophet Nūh. Professor Ignaz Goldziher produced a German version of the book with introduction and critical notes and it was published from Leiden in 1899. It was printed in Cairo, 1323 A.H. (GAL, i, 107; SI, 167; Sarkis, p. 1009).
- 2 Published in Rome, 1873 A.H. (GAL, i, 107 = Najjār, ii, 160).
- 3 The book contains 170 words giving contradictory meanings. It was edited and published by A. Haffner in the collection Thalātha Kutub Addād in Beirut, 1912. (GAL, SI, 167 = Najjār, ii, 160; Sarkis, p. 1009).
- 4 This book contains a series of anecdotes relating to testament. It was printed in facsimile in Cambridge, 1896 (GAL, SI, 167).
- 5 This is a commentary on Kitāb al-Nawādir fī al-Lughā by Abū Zayd (d. 215). Vide GAL, SI, 163, 167 = Najjār, ii, 146; 161.

## 4TH/10TH CENTURY SCHOLARS OF SIJISTĀN AND THEIR WORKS

A. AL-MUHADDITHŪN, THE TRADITIONISTS:1. Ibn Abī Dā'wūd (d.316/928)

Abū Bakr 'Abd Allāh b. Abī Dā'wūd al-Azdī al-Sijistānī was a descendant of 'Amr al-Azdī, a partisan of 'Alī (35-40/656-661), who fell in the battle of al-Ṣiffīn.<sup>1</sup> He was a son of Imām Abū Dā'wūd al-Sijistānī (d.275),<sup>2</sup> and was known under his patronym Ibn Abī Dā'wūd. Born in 230/844<sup>3</sup> in the province of Sijistān Ibn Abī Dā'wūd was trained up in the lore of ḥadīth by his father<sup>4</sup>. He was a prominent tālib al-'ilm and travelled with his father extensively in Khurāsān, al-Jibāl, Fāris, al-Jazīra, al-'Irāq, al-Ḥijāz, al-Shām and Egypt hearing ḥadīth, both father and son, from the muhaddithūn thereof<sup>5</sup>. In 241/852, while a boy of eleven, Ibn Abī Dā'wūd heard ḥadīth at Ṭūs from Muḥammad b. Aslam al-Ṭūsī (d.242).<sup>6</sup> Thanks to al-Sam'ānī we have the following list of his shuyūkh living in different cultural centres of the Caliphate from whom Ibn Abī Dā'wūd heard ḥadīth:<sup>7</sup>

Marv	: Abū Dā'wūd Sulaymān b. Ma'bad al-Sinjī (d.257);
Nishāpūr	: Muḥammad b. Yahya al-Dhuhlī (d.258);
Al-Baṣra	: Muḥammad b. Bashshār Bundār (d.252);
Al-Kūfa	: Abū Sa'īd al-Ashajj (d.257);
Baghdād	: Aḥmad b. Manī' (d.244);
Hims	: Muḥammad b. 'Awf al-Ḥimsī (d.272);
Egypt	: Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ al-Ṭabarī (d.248);

1 Al-Sam'ānī, art "al-Sijistānī".

3 Al-Khatīb, ix, 465.

5 Al-Khatīb, ix, 464.

7 Al-Sam'ānī, loc. cit.

2 Supra, p. 206.

4 Huffāz, ii, 299.

6 Ibid, p. 465.

Ibn Abī Dā'wūd settled at Baghdād during the Caliphate of al-Muqtadir bi Allāh (295-320/908-932)<sup>1</sup>. He attained the rank of an imām (authority) in hadīth literature and carved out a seminary of his own at Baghdād where the traditionists of the eminence of Ibn Abī Hātim (d.327)<sup>2</sup>, Da'laḥ al-Sijzī (d.351), Abū Ahmad al-Hākim (d.378) and al-Dāraqutnī (d.385) acquired knowledge of hadīth<sup>3</sup>. A great son of a great father Ibn Abī Dā'wūd could narrate from memory thousands of ahādīth. Our statement is borne out by the following facts:

(i) During the reign of 'Amr b. al-Layth al-Ṣaffār (265-37/878-900) Ibn Abī Dā'wūd visited Sijistān and was warmly received by the traditionists of his native land. They requested him to narrate ahādīth, but he refused on the ground that he had no copies of his collections with him. "What need has the son of Abū Dā'wūd of written memorials"? — they remarked. Thereupon he dictated from memory as many as thirty thousand ahādīth. When this news reached Baghdād, the citizens thereof could hardly believe it and took it as a big joke Ibn Abī Dā'wūd had played upon the traditionists of Sijistān. The matter did not end there. They deputed a batch of scribes to Sijistān to copy out in extenso what Ibn Abī Dā'wūd had dictated there. On receiving the copies of the dictated traditions they compared them with the help of the experts of Baghdād, and to their utter surprise they could detect only six mistakes in all that Ibn Abī Dā'wūd had dictated extempore.<sup>4</sup>

(ii) At his old age Ibn Abī Dā'wūd lost his eye-sight. But, then he dictated to the students ahādīth from memory that were thoroughly checked by his son Abū Ma'mar, and found them correct word for word.<sup>5</sup>

1 Cf: al-Khatīb, ix,464; Najjār, iii,189.

2 Supra, pp.48-54.

3 Al-Subkī,ii,229-30.

4 Al-Khatīb,ix,466.

5 Shadharāt,ii,273.

In Qur'ānic studies Ibn Abī Dā'wūd was the disciple of Abū Khallād (d.261), Abū Zayd 'Umar b. Shabba (d.262), Yūnus b. Habib (d.267) and others, and was a teacher of Ibn Mujāhid (d.324) and al-Naqqāsh (d.351).<sup>1</sup>

Ibn Abī Dā'wūd died at Baghdād on Dhū al-Hijja 18, 316/Dec., 928. His bier was followed by three hundred thousand citizens of Baghdād. It is said that his funeral prayer continued to be performed as many as eighty times till the Caliph al-Muqtadir bi Allāh had to intervene to release his dead body from the enthusiastic crowds and was buried.<sup>2</sup>

His works:

(i) Kitāb al-Masāhif (published)<sup>3</sup>.

This is actually a work on ikhtilāf al-qirā'at or variant readings of some verses of the Holy Qur'ān as embodied in the personal codices of several Companions and the Followers. Besides, the work gives the history of the collection and codification of the Holy Text and other important matters regarding the Qur'ān.

The work has been divided into five juz' or parts. The first part and the half of the second are devoted to the history of the collection and codification of the Qur'ānic verses culminating in the standard text of Caliph 'Uthmān. It is only the second half of the second part and the first half of the third that deal with the variant readings of the Qur'ānic text by the Companions — the major portion coming down from Ibn Mas'ūd (d.32), Ubay b. Ka'b (d.19), 'Alī (d.40), Ibn 'Abbās (d.68), Anas (d.93) and Abū Mūsā (d.44 or 53). As for those by the Tabi'ūn they

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1 Ibn Abī Dā'wūd, Kitāb al-Masāhif, ed. A. Jeffery (Leiden, 1937), (introduction), p. 12.

2 Al-Khatīb, IX, 468. Notice of his life is also found in Akhbār Isbahān, ii, 66-67; Tabaqāt al-Ḥanābala, pp. 314-18; Fihrist, p. 324; Buldān, iii, 45; Wafayāt, i, 214; Najjār, iii, 189.

3 Edited and publ. by Professor Arthur Jeffery (Leiden 1937) containing 195 pages of Arabic text with an introduction and English version of the portion of ikhtilāf al-qirā'at covering pp. 50-92 of the text.

have been covered by Ibn Abī Dā'wūd in only four pages. The rest of the book is devoted to entirely new topics having no bearing on ikhtilāf al-qirā'āt. As a matter of fact, the fourth and the fifth parts deal with the various aspects of writing the Holy Text and some necessary masā'il of fiqh with regard to the Qur'ān. Now, the fourth part is sub-divided into two bābs or sections. The first section deals with the acceptance of wages in lieu of writing the Holy Text, the qualities necessary for a scribe, writing the text from memory, whether a Christian is eligible for being a scribe, veneration to the Qur'ān etc. The second section deals with diacritical marks — how to put the marks; writing the Holy Text in gold and decorating it with it; its buying and selling etc. The fifth and the last part gives masā'il al-Fiqhiyya, juridical problems like the trading of the mashaf or Holy Qur'ān; its touching, carrying and recitation; the inheritance of the copies of the Holy Book etc.

The work is helpful to the philologists towards grammatical and lexical studies, and for the exegetes to understand the significance of the verses concerned.

(ii) Kitāb al-'Aqida (published)<sup>1</sup>

This is a treatise on 'ilm al-kalām. In this treatise Ibn Abī Dā'wūd couched in verse the problems of scholastic theology.<sup>2</sup>

Besides the two books, described above, Ibn Abī Dā'wūd compiled other works on the sciences of al-Qur'ān and al-Hadīth,<sup>3</sup> but they have not come down to us.

2. Ibn Hibbān (d.354/965)

The celebrated traditionist, jurist and theologian Abū Ḥātim Muḥammad b. Hibbān al-Tamīmī al-Bustī, popularly known as Ibn Hibbān,

1 Published in Majmū'a, Cairo, 1340 A.H. (Najjār, iii, 189).

2 Ibid.

3 For titles of books, see: Fihrist, p.324; al-Khatīb, loc.cit.; Huffāz, ii, 253; Mustatṭifa, p.40.

came of an Arab stock,<sup>1</sup> his genealogy going back to Mudar<sup>2</sup>. He was born in 274/887<sup>3</sup> at Bust, a town in Sijistān<sup>4</sup>. Ibn Hibbān was an outstanding tālib al-‘ilm of his age. During his rihla fi ṭalab al-‘ilm he ransacked all the treasures of the East and the West. From al-Shāsh (modern Tashkent) in Central Asia to far off Alexandria in North Africa, he practically visited all the seats of learning in order to hear hadīth from the traditionists thereof<sup>4</sup>. The total number of his shuyūkh, as he himself says, went to the tune of two thousand<sup>5</sup>. Of them Yāqūt al-Hamawī (d.626) has preserved for us the names of a number of shuyūkh together with their seats of learning spread over the then Muslim world that Ibn Hibbān visited during his quest for knowledge. Broadly speaking, the countries Ibn Hibbān acquired knowledge from, were Mā Warā' al-Nahar, Persia, al-‘Irāq, al-Jazīra, al-Rūm, al-Shān, al-Hijāz and Egypt. We may reconstruct, with reference to Yāqūt<sup>6</sup>, the following table to show the centres countrywise, mentioning against each shaykh of Ibn Hibbān:

1. Mā Warā' al-Nahar (mod. Russian Turkestan):

Sughd : Abū Hafs ‘Umar b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥya al-Ḥamdānī;  
 Bukhārā : ‘Umar b. Muḥammad b. Buḥayr (d.311)<sup>7</sup>;

2. Persia:

(a) Sijistān province:

Bust: (i) Abū Ahmad Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm al-Qādī (d.307);

(ii) Abū al-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Junayd  
 al-Bustī ;

(b) Khurāsān province:

1 The statement of Huart (p.222) referring him to an Iranian origin does not seem to be correct.

2 Buldān, i,613.

3 The date of his death may be gleaned from the fact that he lived a life of eighty years. Shadharāt,iii,16.

4 Al-Sam‘ānī, art, "al-Bustī". 5 Huffāz,iii,126. 6 Buldān,i,613-15.

7 Huffāz,iii,126. On him,Huffāz,ii,258-59;Shadharāt,ii,262.

- Herat : Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān b. Sa'd al-Dārīmī ;
- Marv : (i) Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān 'Abd Allāh b. Maḥmūd b. Sulaymān al-Sa'dī (d.313);
- (ii) Abū Yahya Muḥammad b. Yahya b. Khālid al-Madīnī ;
- (iii) Abū 'Alī al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Muṣ'ab al-Sinjī<sup>1</sup>;
- (iv) Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Naṣr b. Tarqul al-Hawrḡānī;
- Nasā' : (i) Abū al-'Abbās al-Ḥasan b. Sufyān al-Shaybānī (d.303);
- (ii) Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. Yūsuf al-Nasawī ;
- (iii) Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd b. 'Adī al-Nasawī ;
- Nishāpūr : (i) Abū al-'Abbās Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm al-Sarrāj al-Thaqafī (d.313)<sup>2</sup>;
- (ii) Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Shīruwayh al-Azdī (d.305);
- (iii) Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. al-Musayyib b. Ishāq al-Argḥiyānī (d.315)<sup>3</sup>;

## (c) Jurjān province:

- Jurjān : (i) 'Imrān b. Mūsā b. Mujāshī (d. 305);
- (ii) Ahmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm al-Wazzān (d.307);

## (d) Jibāl province:

- Al-Rayy : (i) Abū al-Qāsim al-'Abbās b. al-Fadl b. 'Adhān al-Muqrī ;
- (ii) 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. Muslim al-Rāzī ;
- Al-Karaj<sup>4</sup>: (i) Abū 'Umāra Ahmad b. 'Umāra b. al-Ḥajjāj al-Ḥāfiz ;
- (ii) Al-Ḥusayn b. Ishāq al-Iṣbahānī ;

## (e) Khūzistān province:

- 'Askar Mukram: 'Abdān al-Ahwāzī (d.306);
- Tustar : Abū Ja'far Ahmad b. Muḥammad b. Yahya al-Ḥāfiz ;
- Al-Ahwāz : Abū al-'Abbās Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb al-Khaṭīb ;

1 He was a teacher of ḥadīth at Sinj, a village in Marv. Cf: Buldān, i, 613; iii, 161.

2 Supra, p. 152.

3 He imparts lesson on ḥadīth at Argḥiyān in Nishāpūr. Cf: Buldān, i, 613; Le Strange, p. 392.

4 Buldān, iv, 250-51; Le Strange, pp. 197-98.

3. Al-ʿIrāq:

- Al-Ubulla : (i) Abū Yaʿlā Muḥammad b. Zuhayr ;  
(ii) Al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad<sup>1</sup> b. Bistām ;
- Al-Baṣra : (i) Abū Khalīfa al-Jumahlī (d.305) ;  
(ii) Abū Yaʿlā Zakariyyā b. Yaḥya al-Sājī (d. . . . .)  
(iii) Abū Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Karīm b. ʿUmar al-Khatī ;
- Wāsiṭ : (i) Abū Muḥammad Jaʿfar b. Aḥmad b. Sinān  
al-Qaṭṭān (d.307) ;  
(ii) Al-Khalīl b. Muḥammad al-Wāsiṭī ;  
(iii) Khallād b. Muḥammad b. Khālid al-Wāsiṭī<sup>2</sup> ;
- Baghdād : (i) Abū al-ʿAbbās Ḥāmid b. Muḥammad b. Shuʿa  
al-Balkhī ;  
(ii) Abū Aḥmad al-Haytham b. Khalaf al-Dūrī (d. . . . .)  
(iii) Abū al-Qāsim ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b.  
ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Baghawī (d.313) ;
- Al-Kūfa : Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Zaydān al-Bajī  
(d.313) ;
- Sāmarrā : ʿAlī b. Saʿīd al-ʿAskarī (d.300)<sup>3</sup> ;
- Fam al-Ṣilḥ<sup>4</sup> : ʿAbd Allāh b. Qaḥṭaba b. Marzūq al-Ṣilḥī

4. Al-Jazīra (Upper Mesopotamia):

- Mawṣil : (i) Abū Yaʿlā Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. al-Muḥanna  
al-Mawṣilī (d.307) ;  
(ii) Ḥārūn b. al-Miskīn al-Baladī ;  
(iii) Abū Jābir Zayd b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b.  
Ḥayyān al-Mawṣilī ;  
(iv) Rawḥ b. ʿAbd al-Mujīb al-Mawṣilī ;

1 Ibn Ḥibbān, Saḥīḥ Ibn Ḥibbān, ed. Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākir (Egypt, p.64. According to Yaḥyā ( Buldān, i, 614) Muḥammad.

2 He was a muhaddith of Nahr Sābus, a village in Wāsiṭ. Buldān, loc. Le Strange, pp.38,73.

3 He lectured on ḥadīth at ʿAskar Sāmarrā. Buldān, i, 614.

4 Al-Samʿānī, art al-Ṣilḥī; Buldān, iii, 413.



- Sinjār : ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Haytham al-Mawsilī ;
- Naṣībīn : (i) Abū al-Sarī Hāshim b. Yahya al-Naṣībīnī ;  
(ii) Musaddad b. Ya‘qūb b. Ishāq al-Falūsī ;
- Diyār Rabi‘a : Muhammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Abī Ma‘shar al-Sulamī<sup>1</sup> ;
- Diyār Muḍar : Abū Badr Ahmad b. Khālīd b. ‘Abd al-Mālīk b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Musarriḥ al-Harrānī<sup>2</sup> ;
- Al-Rāfiqa<sup>3</sup> : Muhammad b. Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm b. Farrūkh al-Baghdādī ;
- Al-Raqqa : Al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Yazīd al-Qattān ;
5. Al-Rūm or Asia Minor (mod. Turkey):
- Al-Maṣṣīsa<sup>4</sup> : Abū Ṭālib Ahmad b. Dā‘wūd b. Muḥsin b. Hilāl al-Maṣṣīsi ;
- Antākiyya<sup>5</sup> : Abū ‘Alī Waṣīf b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Hāfiḥ ;
- Tarasūs<sup>6</sup> : (i) Muḥammad b. Yazīd al-Daraqī ;  
(ii) Ibrāhīm b. Abī Umayya al-Ṭarasūsī ;
- Adhana<sup>7</sup> : Muhammad b. ‘Allān al-Adhani ;
6. Al-Shām:
- Mambij : (i) ‘Umar b. Sa‘īd b. Sinān al-Hāfiḥ ;  
(ii) Ṣāliḥ b. al-Asbagh b. ‘Amir al-Tanūkhī ;
- Halab : ‘Alī b. Ahmad b. ‘Imrān al-Jurjānī ;
- Saydā<sup>8</sup> : Muḥammad b. Abī al-Mu‘afā b. Sulaymān al-Ṣaydāwī ;
- Bayrūt : Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Salām al-Bayrūtī (d.321) ;
- Hims : Muḥammad b. ‘Ubayd<sup>9</sup> Allāh b. al-Faḍl al-Kalā‘ī al-Rāhib (d.309) ;

1 He taught ḥadīth at Kafatūthā, a village in Diyār Rabi‘a. Cf: Buldān, i,614;iv,287; Le Strange, p.97.

2 He delivered lectures on ḥadīth at Sarghāmarta, a village in Diyār Muḍar. Cf: Buldān, i,614; iii,77.

3 It lies in the suburb of al-Raqqa. Hārūn al-Rashīd (170-93/786-809) built a palace at Rāfiqa, called Qaṣr al-Salām which was his summer resort. Le Strange, pp.101-102.

4 A town on the Mediterranean. Le Strange, pp.130-32. 5 Ibid, p.135.

6 Ibid, pp.130-34. 7 Modern Adana. Ibid, pp.130-32. 8 Buldān, iii,439.

9 Sahīh Ibn Hibbān, p.51. According to Yāqūt (Buldān, i,615) ‘Abd Allāh.

Dimashq : (i) Abū al-Ḥasan Ahmad b. 'Umayr b. Jawsā' al-Ḥāfiz (d.320);  
 (ii) Ja'far b. Ahmad b. 'Asim al-Ansārī ;  
 (iii) Abū al-'Abbās Ḥājib b. Arkīn al-Farghānī (d.306).  
 Al-Bayt al-Maqdis: 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Muslim al-Maqdisī al-Khatīb ;

Al-Ramla : Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Qutayba al-'Asqalānī ;

#### 7. Al-Hijāz:

Makka : (i) Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Mundhir al-Naysābūrī (d.318)<sup>1</sup>;  
 (ii) Abū Sa'īd al-Mufaddal b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Jundī (d.300);

#### 8. Miṣr:

Miṣr : (i) Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ahmad b. Shu'ayb b. 'Alī al-Nasā'ī (d.303)<sup>2</sup>;  
 (ii) Sa'īd b. Dā'wūd b. Wirdān al-Miṣrī ;  
 (iii) 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Sulaymān al-Mu'addal .

From the foregoing table there emerge the following facts:

(1) Ibn Ḥibbān was not content with the shuyūkh of the metropolitan centres alone; he went into the innermost recesses of the countries to find out the muhaddithūn and acquire ḥadīth from them.

(2) He collected vast materials on the text and the transmitters of ḥadīth which he later on fully utilized in compiling his works.

(3) Since the dates of death of quite a few shuyūkh were around 305/917 we may presume that Ibn Ḥibbān concluded his historic wanderjahre early in the first decade of the 4th/10th century.

1 Supra, p.154.

2 He left Egypt in 302 A.H. See, Supra, p.144.

Then Ibn Hibbān appears to have planned to pursue higher studies in what is termed as fiqh al-hadīth, i.e. juridical aspect of hadīth literature. For his proposed study he chose as his teacher Ibn Khuzayma (d.311)<sup>1</sup> of Nishāpūr where he arrived subsequently. Ibn Khuzayma was then at the height of his fame as a jurist and traditionist. All his biographers state that Ibn Hibbān drank deep at the well of Ibn Khuzayma acquiring mastery in fiqh and jurisprudence. He was constantly closeted with the venerable savant and in his urge to learn more and more he would not hesitate to tax him in season and out of season by putting to him questions regarding masā'il al-fiqhīyya<sup>2</sup>. It seems that Ibn Hibbān did not leave Nishāpūr so long his teacher was alive in order to complete his study of fiqh<sup>3</sup>. That by this time Ibn Hibbān acquired high erudition in legal science may be gathered from the fact that while at Nishāpūr he got the assignment of qādī of Samarqand under the Sāmānīd Abū al-Hasan Naṣr b. Ahmad (301-31/913-44)<sup>4</sup>.

For well over twenty years Ibn Hibbān held the post of qādī of Samarqand and elsewhere<sup>5</sup>. This was the most fruitful period of his life. For he fully utilized his leisure in researches and compilations, and also in delivering theological sermons and studying the subjects like medicine and astronomy.<sup>6</sup> It seems that during his stay at Samarqand he compiled most of his books on the science of hadīth, fiqh and kalām.<sup>7</sup> Our presumption is supported by the fact that he

1 Supra, p.147.

2 Buldān, i,613;619; al-Sam'ānī, art. "al-Bustī".

3 Buldān, i,619.

4 Mizān al-I'tidāl, iii,39.

5 Al-Subkī, ii,141; Lisān, v, 112; 114; Buldān, i,618.

6 Huffāz, iii,126; Mizān al-I'tidāl, iii,39.

7 Yāqūt (Buldān, i,616-18; 619-20) mentions as many as forty-nine titles.

removed all his compilations on his leaving Samarqand for Nishāpūr in 334/945<sup>1</sup>. It should be noted that the reason of his leaving Samarqand was a misunderstanding cropping up among the theologians there with regard to a theory of his on prophethood which he interpreted as a combination of 'ilm, knowledge and 'Amal, practice<sup>2</sup>.

Ibn Hibbān was accorded a rousing reception by the students and traditionists of Nishāpūr. Enthusiastic students including al-Hākim al-Naysābūrī who was then thirteen years old came in crowds to attend his dictation - class on ḥadīth which was first held on a Friday after juma' (congregational prayer)<sup>3</sup>. He could not, however, prolong his stay at Nishāpūr as he was again called by the Sāmānīd government under Nūh b. Naṣr (331-43/942-54) to assume the office of qādī at Nasā. In 337/948 Ibn Hibbān relinquished his post and again arrived in Nishāpūr where a khānqa, hospice was built for him to house his books and deliver lectures. He stayed there for three years dictating aḥādīth, teaching fiqh and kalām and delivering sermons. Here all his compilations were thoroughly studied under his guidance by the scholars of Nishāpūr.<sup>4</sup> In 340/951 he left Nishāpūr for his home at Bust in Sijistān<sup>5</sup>. But his view-points on nubuwwa,<sup>6</sup> prophethood, had produced adverse reactions to such an extent that he had to leave Sijistān soon after his arrival there.<sup>7</sup>

1 Cf: al-Sam'ānī, loc. cit; Lisān al-Mizān, V, 114-15.

2 The interpretation offered by Ibn Hibbān, though it did not find favour with his contemporary theologians, had nothing heretical in it as stated by C. Brockelmann in his article on "Ibn Hibbān" in Ency. of Islam (vol. ii, 386). For, the authorities like al-Subkī (Tabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyya, ii, 141), al-Dhahabī (Huffāz, iii, 126-27), Ibn Hajar 'Asqalānī (Lisān al-Mizān, V, 113-14) and Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Dihlawī (Bustān al-Muhaddithīn, p. 39) approved the view of Ibn Hibbān.

3 Al-Sam'ānī, loc. cit.

4 Ibid.; Buldān, i, 616.

5 Al-Sam'ānī, loc. cit.

6 According to some his view-points on hudūd, penal laws. That Ibn Hibbān's stand was correct has been stated by al-Subkī (Tab. al-Shāfi'iyya, ii, 141) and Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalānī (Lisān al-Mizān, V, 113-14).

7 Al-Subkī, ii, 141.

It is refreshing to note that the misunderstanding on account of which he had to leave Samarqand had, meanwhile been removed so that Ibn Hibbān returned there as a teacher.<sup>1</sup> Amīr Abū al-Muzaffar, the Sāmānid built for him a madrasa to impart lesson in hadīth and fiqh<sup>2</sup>. But he shortly returned to Bust presumably on the invitation of Ibn Bābū who invested him with an office in Sijistān.<sup>3</sup>

Towards the close of his life Ibn Hibbān returned to Bust.<sup>4</sup> His countrymen could now appreciate the greatness of the savant and accorded him the respect and veneration due to him. He employed all his resources to build up a befitting institution to house his books, with lecture-halls, accommodation for the scholars, researchers in fiqh and the students in general together with ancillary buildings. He created an endowment with a trustee having full provision for stipends for foreign students and facilities to copy out his books without their being issued out.<sup>5</sup> Despite all arrangements and precautions to perpetuate the cultural legacy of Ibn Hibbān, it would not endure long. Already during the time of al-Khatīb al-Baghdādī (d.463) this memorable institution did not seem to exist; most of the books were either damaged or lost. Al-Khatīb lamented the decline of education and culture of Sijistān and the loss of the valuable compilations of Ibn Hibbān. The reason for the ruin of the institution of Ibn Hibbān as adduced by Mas'ūd b. Nāṣir al-Sijzī (d.477) was the weakness of the Sultān and a government run by people having least solicitude for learning and culture.<sup>6</sup>

1 Lisān al-Mizān, V, 113-14.

2 Ibid.

3 Buldān, i, 620.

4 Al-Sam'ānī, loc.cit.

5 Buldān, i, 618-19; Lisān, V, 115.

6 Buldān, i, 617-18.

Abū Hātim Muḥammad b. Hibbān died at Bust in Sijistān on Friday night, 22nd Shawwāl 354/October, 965 and was buried at the courtyard of his house.<sup>1</sup>

Ibn Hibbān was a great authority on ḥadīth and fiqh. His special field of study was asmā' al-rijāl, the biographical literature of ḥadīth of which he is reckoned a critic with no parallel in his age. Himself a sound, firm and trustworthy transmitter of ḥadīth the verdict of Ibn Hibbān with regard to the veracity of a narrator was regarded as final. In fact, no rāwī was considered guaranteed unless confirmed by Ibn Hibbān. Standard biographical works like Tadhkira al-Huffāz and Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb are replete with his remarks regarding transmitters such as waththaqahu Ibn Hibbān — Ibn Hibbān certified him as reliable. This is a clear testimony to the high position Ibn Hibbān attained as a critic of transmitters. Al-Hākim al-Naysāburī (d.405) paying him high tributes said: A profoundly learned and wise man Ibn Hibbān had encyclopaedic knowledge in tradition, jurisprudence, philology and orations. His compilations especially in the science of ḥadīth had few precedents and parallels.<sup>2</sup> He was a repository of knowledge of Muslim tradition and culture as had spread out in various climes and countries of the world. Besides he was well-versed in medicine, astronomy, theology and other disciplines.<sup>3</sup>

1 Al-Sam'ānī, art "al-Bustī". Notice of his life is also found in al-Yāfi'ī, ii, 357; al-Suyūṭī, Tadrib al-Rāwī (Egypt, 1307), p. 32; Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 222; Abū al-Fidā, ii, 105; Shadharāt, iii, 16.

2 Buldān, i, 615-16 (sic.)

ابو حاتم البستي القاضي كان من اوعية العلم في اللغة والفقه والحديث والوعظ  
ومن عقلاء الرجال صنف فخرج له من التصنيف في الحديث ما لم يسبق اليه - معجم  
البلدان ج 1 ص 415 - 417

3 Mizān al-I'tidāl, iii, 39.

Before evaluating the works of Ibn Hibbān it may be mentioned that the impetus and inspiration Imām Bukhārī (d.256) provided towards the collection and codification of sahīh, sound traditions made possible the coming into being of the Sihāh Sitta, the last line of the compilers being al-Nasā'ī who died in 303/915. The hum- anly possible labour undertaken by the scholars of Sihāh Sitta succeeded in collecting the majority of the sahīh traditions. That there were genuine ahādīth outside their collection could not be gainsaid.<sup>1</sup> The credit of reopening the search of the rest of the genuine traditions went to Ibn Khuzayma (d.311), the teacher of Ibn Hibbān. He compiled his famous book entitled Sahīh Ibn Khuzayma containing a good number of sahīh ahādīth. Inspired by Ibn Khuzayma, Ibn Hibbān al-Bustī, labouring in the same field, succeeded in com- piling his Sahīh that furnishes us with an additional number of genuine traditions. It was his student al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī (d.405) who compiled his al-Mustadrak 'alā al-Sahīhayn considered, on the whole, a supplement to the genuine ahādīth as contained in the Sahīhān.<sup>2</sup>

His works:

(i) Al-Musnad al-Sahīh 'alā al-Taqāsīm wa al-Anwā' (published)<sup>3</sup>.

This work is termed by the scholars of hadīth as al-Taqāsīm wa al-Anwā' but commonly known as Sahīh Ibn Hibbān.<sup>4</sup> As a jurist and theologian Ibn Hibbān has evolved a new and novel system hither- to unknown among the compilers of hadīth. Prior to him the ahādīth were either compiled generally according to transmitters called

1 Al-Khawli, p.107.

2 Ibn Hibbān, Sahīh Ibn Hibbān, ed. Ahmad Muḥammad Shākir (Egypt, 1952) p.6.

3 Ed. & publ. by Ahmad Muḥammad Shākir, Egypt, 1952.

4 Sahīh Ibn Hibbān, p.6.

Masānīd<sup>1</sup> or according to the chapters of fiqh called Jawāmi<sup>2</sup> and Sunan.<sup>2</sup> Neither of these two systems were adopted by him. He surveyed the import of the whole range of ahādīth and reduced them into the following five taqāsīm or broad divisions in respect of their significations and each division into multiple anwā<sup>3</sup> or types as mentioned in the following table:<sup>3</sup>

- Division I : Awāmir, commandments being reduced into 110 anwā<sup>4</sup>, types.<sup>4</sup>
- Division II : nawāhī, prohibitions being reduced into 110 types.<sup>5</sup>
- Division III : Indispensable knowledge of things and matters as given by the Prophet(s). It has been reduced into 80 types.<sup>6</sup>
- Division IV : al-ibāhāt, permissible actions which are being reduced into 50 types.<sup>7</sup>
- Division V : Personal actions of the Prophet(s) covering his life and character designed as a model for his umma. This has been reduced into 50 types.<sup>8</sup>

Now, under each naw<sup>3</sup> type he has arranged ahādīth with a rubric followed by the term dhikr or discourse briefly introducing the theme of the hadīth. Then he presents the text of the hadīth after giving in extenso the chain of narrators going back to the Prophet(s). In

1 e.g. Musnad of Ahmad b. Hanbal.

2 e.g. the Jawāmi<sup>2</sup> and Sunan works.

3 Ṣaḥīh Ibn Hibbān, p.58.

4 Ibid., p.60.

5 Ibid., p.75.

6 Ibid., p.83.

7 Ibid., p.98.

8 Ibid., p.103.



this connection it is worthwhile to point out, in the first place, that just as Imām Bukhari's tarjama al-abwāb or rubrics give us fiqh, juridical implications pertaining to relevant ahādīth, so Ibn Hibbān's short titles under the term dhikr furnish us with the fiqh and his acumen of the science of tradition. Secondly, while producing the chain of narrators Ibn Hibbān occasionally mentions the source whence he acquired the hadīth. Such a sort of reference is rare in any other compilations. Thirdly, at the end of the text of a hadīth he adds commentaries by saying: "qāla Abū Hātim," where necessary, on difficult words and phrases, gives the desired meaning of the hadīth, clarifies its ambiguity and compromises apparent contradictions between hadīth and hadīth. This is also a unique feature of Ibn Hibbān's Sahīh not to be had in any other previous or contemporary hadīth compilations. Lastly, while giving the additional notes and commentaries Ibn Hibbān's language is remarkably chaste, clear and simple giving evidence of the command he had over Arabic language.<sup>1</sup>

Ibn Hibbān evolved this novel system following, as he says, the arrangement of the Qur'ān. Just as the verses of the Holy Book come under relevant sūras and juz' (part), likewise the ahādīth of his Sahīh come under relevant naw' and gism. He has designed this system, as he says, with a view to helping memorize the text of ahādīth with the least possible labour on the part of the ṭālibū al-ʿilm. Whether Ibn Hibbān succeeded in achieving his desired objective is a moot point. But the fact is that his uncommon arrangement faced the scholars with a great handicap in finding out the ahādīth on a particular chapter of fiqh.<sup>2</sup> To do away with this

1 Sahīh Ibn Hibbān, p.17. Cf: pp.199; 275-77.

2 Sahīh Ibn Hibbān, p.16.

apparent short-coming of Ibn Ḥibbān's arrangement Amīr 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Fārisī (d.739) rearranged the entire text of Ibn Ḥibbān's Sahīh into chapters of fiqh and gave the name of his book al-Ihsān fī Taqrīb Sahīh Ibn Hibbān. He treats Ibn Ḥibbān's principle of jurisprudence as given under the entire taqāsīm and anwā' as the muqaddama, introduction to al-Ihsān<sup>1</sup>. Then he gives a detailed preface of the contents of each kitāb or chapter as he prepared it under his new arrangement. Now, under each kitāb or chapter 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Fārisī gives strictly, according to Ibn Ḥibbān, the material of the original book starting with the rubric dhikr and then ending the text of hadīth or Ibn Ḥibbān's commentary as the case may be. He has neither added to, nor excluded from, anything in the book. But, at the end of Ibn Ḥibbān's text he refers to the naw' and qism under which the hadīth comes. Al-Ihsān may also be treated as a catalogue of Ibn Ḥibbān's Sahīh<sup>2</sup>. Thus, 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Fārisī did a great job in making the work of Ibn Ḥibbān's Sahīh more useful for the scholar as well as for the layman.

(ii) Rawdat al-'Uqalā' wa Nuzhat al-Fudalā' (published)<sup>3</sup>.

It is a book on ethics. Ibn Ḥibbān says in the preface that he compiled it being constrained by the dearth of wisdom an intelligent man has to exhibit in his daily conduct and behaviour. Social life, he said, was dominated by fools and pretenders who had but little share of wisdom.

Ibn Hibban describes in this book consolidated subjects on praiseworthy conduct and behaviour. He has carefully analysed all aspects of misdemeanour, unseemingly manners and unworthy human conduct so as to enable his reader to avoid them. The book describes in a number of chapters such traits of noble conduct as piety, contentment, truthfulness, bashfulness, humility, keeping of secrets, greetings

<sup>1</sup> Sahīh Ibn Hibbān, p.7.    <sup>2</sup> Ibid., p.17.    <sup>3</sup> Egypt, 1328.

and cheering manners. It also discusses, on the contrary, ignoble conduct like jealousy, miserliness, the signs of meanness, scrutiny of others private life, anger, greediness etc.

Every chapter begins with the citation of the text of hadīth relevant to it followed by Ibn Hibbān's chain of narrators going back to the Prophet(s). He often mentions the centres whence he acquired ahādīth. Then he elaborates and elucidates the subject concerned under قال ابو حاتم with occasional quotations from the wise men and poets of the past.

The book has been considered an excellent treatise on Islamic ethics that has ever been compiled, blending genuine ahādīth together with the fundamentals of good conduct indispensable for the acquisition of good luck in this life and also in the life hereafter. Ibn Hibbān has left for us, through this book, a clarion call to acquisition and culture of good conduct and a stern warning against behaviour that stains the noble character of man.

(iii) Kitāb al-Thiqāt (MS)<sup>1</sup>

This is a work on the criticism of ruwāt, transmitters. At the beginning of this book Ibn Hibbān has given the biography of the Prophet(s) followed by discussions on rāshida Caliphs. Then he gives an alphabetical list of the sahāba, Companions. Then follows the chapter on the tābi'ūn, Followers, in alphabetical orders, spread over different countries of Muslim dominion. Ibn Hibbān treats the ruwāt of the third century and the first half of the fourth century A in two independent chapters.

Ibn Hibbān, as he says, has included in this work only the thiqāt, reliable transmitters whose narrations are approved by the critics of hadīth literature, and as for those about whose veracity

<sup>1</sup> Āyā Sofia, Istambul; Maktaba Sultān Aḥmad Khan under No.2995; and the Asāfiyya library in Hyderābād. Vide GĀL, SI,273 = Najjār,iii,206.

the critics differ in their opinions, Ibn Hibbān scrutinized them thoroughly and accepted those as thiqāt about whom he had clear testimony. While those against whose veracity he had no clear proof were safely omitted.<sup>1</sup>

The book is oft-quoted in verifying the reliability or otherwise of the ruwāt as found in later biographical literature like Tadhkira al-Huffāz, Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb etc.

(iv) Al-Majrūhīn min al-Muhaddithīn<sup>2</sup>(MS)<sup>3</sup>

Just as Kitāb al-Thiqāt furnishes us with a comprehensive study of the reliable transmitters this work gives us, on the contrary, a list of weak, indifferent and impaired narrators and also fabricators of traditions. The author has discussed at length each so-called narrator rejecting the grounds of hadīth narrated by them.<sup>4</sup>

(v) Mashāhīr 'Ulamā' al-Amsār (MS)<sup>5</sup>. As the title shows the work contains studies on the outstanding traditionists living in different countries.<sup>6</sup> It may be pointed out that no biographers of Ibn Hibbān mention this book in the list of his compilations.

(vi) Kitāb al-'Azama (MS)<sup>7</sup>

This is a treatise on the greatness of Allāh. In this treatise the author describes the wonders of creation.<sup>8</sup>

(vii) Mukhtasar fī al-Hudūd (MS)<sup>9</sup>. This is a treatise on fiqh. It describes penal laws. It may be noted that the book created an adverse opinion against Ibn Hibbān in Sijistān.<sup>10</sup>

1 Tadhkira al-Nawādir, pp.90-91.

2 Sahīh Ibn Hibbān, p.118; 126.

3 Āyā Sofia, Istanbul under No.496 and the Āsafiyya library,Hyderābād under No.788.Vide GAL, loc. cit.

4 Tadhkira al-Nawādir, pp.92-93.

5 Leipzig under No.688 (GAL,loc. cit.;Ency. of Islam,ii,387).

6 Cf:Ency. of Islam, loc. cit.

7 Maktaba Shaykh al-Islām in Madīna (GAL, loc. cit.). 8 Ibid.

9 The Museum of the Batavia Society of Arts and Sciences,Batavia-the Hague under No.170.(Ibid).

10 Cf: Supra,p.218.

(viii) Asmā' al-Ṣahāba (MS)<sup>1</sup>. It furnishes a list of the sahāba. This seems to be the same as incorporated in Kitāb al-Thiqāt.

(ix) Tafsīr al-Qur'ān (MS)<sup>2</sup> a commentary on the Holy Qur'ān.

(x) Kitāb al-Hidāya fī 'Ilm al-Sunan. In this book Ibn Hibbān has shown his skill in the sciences of both ḥadīth and fiqh. The system he adopted in this book was as follows:

On quoting the text of a ḥadīth together with the chain of narrators, he discusses every individual member of a particular chain mentioning in detail his birth and death, his nick-name, the tribe he belonged to, his merit as a transmitter etc. Then he takes up the text of a ḥadīth and derives juridical problems from it clarifying the ambiguity and the contradictory position, if any, found in it.<sup>3</sup> According to Yāqūt (d.626), this is the most valuable and excellent work of Ibn Hibbān<sup>4</sup>. It comprises two volumes.<sup>5</sup>

Besides, Ibn Hibbān wrote a number of books<sup>6</sup> which does not seem to have survived the ravages of time.

### 3. Al-Khattābī (d.388/998)

Abū Sulaymān Hamd<sup>7</sup> b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Khattāb al-Khattābī al-Bustī was born at Bust in 319/931.<sup>8</sup> It is said that he was a descendant of Zayd b. al-Khattāb (d.12)<sup>9</sup>, a brother of Caliph 'Umar b. al-Khattāb. So was his nisba al-Khattābī<sup>10</sup>.

1 Maktaba Shaykh al-Islām in Madīna. (GAL,SI,273=Najjār, iii,207.)

2 Maktaba Shaykh al-Islām in Madīna. (Najjār, loc. cit.)

3 Buldān, i,617.

4 (Sic.) وهذا من اهل كتبه واعزها (Ibid.)

5 Ibid.p.618.

6 For titles of books, see: Ibid, pp.616-18; 620; Rawdat al-Uqalā', pp.19;27;36;94;111;135;185;200;205; Ḥājī Khalifa, i,214;357;ii,89; Najjār, iii,207.

7 His proper name was Hamd which was erroneously mentioned by some biographers as Ahmad (Wafayāt, i,167).

8 Udabā', x,269.

9 He embraced Islam before 'Umar and fell in the Battle of Yamāma (al-Istī'āb, i,184).

10 Al-Sam'ānī, art "al-Khattābī"; Bughya, p.239.

Al-Khattābī had a good share of rihla fī talab al-‘ilm in Khurāsān, Mā Warā’ al-Nahr, al-‘Irāq and al-Hijāz.<sup>1</sup> He had a thorough training in philology, hadīth and fiqh. He took philology and literature from the scholars of al-‘Irāq viz., Abū ‘Umar al-Zāhid (d.345), Abū ‘Alī Ismā‘īl al-Ṣaffār (d.341) and Abū Ja‘far al-Razzāz<sup>2</sup>. He received hadīth from Abū Sa‘īd b. al-‘Arābī (d.340) at Makka, Abū Bakr b. Dāsa (d.346) at al-Baṣra, Ismā‘īl al-Ṣaffār (d.341) at Baghdād, Abū al-‘Abbās al-Aṣamm (d.346) at Nishāpūr and their contemporaries. As for fiqh he acquired it studying under Abū Bakr al-Qaffāl al-Shāshī (d.366) at al-Shāsh (modern Tashkent) in Transoxiana.<sup>3</sup>

It appears that on finishing his education, Abū Sulaymān al-Khattābī arrived in Nishāpūr in the fifties of the 4th/10th century and ultimately chose it as his cultural abode. Said al-Hākim (d.405): "Al-Khattābī remained with us years at Nishāpūr devoting himself to the teaching of hadīth<sup>4</sup>. The brief statement of al-Hākim is meaningful. For, the university town of Nishāpūr stood in dire need of a scholar of the calibre of al-Khattābī inasmuch as the period of the old generation of outstanding savants there virtually came to an end by the first half of the 4th/10th century with the death of Abū Bakr al-Daba‘ī (d.342), Abū al-‘Abbās al-Aṣamm (d.346) and Abū ‘Alī al-Naysāburī (d.349)<sup>5</sup>. Even Ibn Hibbān al-Bustī (d.354) left Nishāpūr in 340/951.<sup>6</sup> It is therefore evident

1 Udabā’, x, 269.

2 Ibid., p. 268.

3 Al-Sam‘ānī, art, "al-Khattābī; al-Subkī, ii, 218; Bughya, p. 239.

4 (sic.) اقام عندنا بنيسابور سنين وحدث بها - al-Sam‘ānī, loc. cit.

5 Al-Khattābī also lamented the want of erudite shaykh to fulfil the growing demand of tālibū al-‘ilm at Nishāpūr. Cf: al-Khattābī, Ma‘ālim al-Sunan (Halab, 1351), pp. 2-3.

6 Supra, p. 218.

that the University town of Nishāpūr was on the look-out for an able shaykh who could occupy the vacant seat of an erudite teacher. The tālibū al-‘ilm of Nishāpūr including al-Hākīm found in Abū Sulaymān al-Khattābī a teacher of eminence. It appears that on an invitation from Nishāpūr al-Khattābī went there and started his career as a professor of ḥadīth. Al-Khattābī found the atmosphere there quite congenial to the pursuit of knowledge — teaching, research and compilation. So he chose it, as mentioned above, as his cultural abode passing there literally the fruitful years of his intellectual life.<sup>1</sup>

At Nishāpūr al-Khattābī delivered lectures on ḥadīth and dictated it to his students. The system he followed in imparting lessons in ḥadīth, as far as it could be gleaned, was first to discuss at length the rare words and difficult expressions used in every ḥadīth. Secondly, he would deduce juridical points arising out of ahādīth if there were room for doing so. His profound knowledge of Arabic coupled with his insight into al-figh found favour with his students attracting them from far and near. As a traditionist, he had a successful career. He produced some of the distinguished alumni of Nishāpūr and outside. To quote but a few names: al-Hākīm al-Naysābūrī (d.405), Abū Hāmid al-Isfarā‘īnī (d.412), Abū Dharr al-Harawī (d.434), Abū ‘Ubayd al-Harawī (d.401) and ‘Abd al-Ghāfir al-Fārisī (d.448) were his pet students in ḥadīth.

Side by side with his teaching of ḥadīth al-Khattābī spared no pains to put in black and white the results of his wide survey and deep investigation to illuminate the meaning of rare and uncommon words and expressions occurring in the text of ahādīth. It is

1 (sic.) امام مدّة بنيساپور بصنع (Huffāz, iii, 209).

worthwhile to mention that both Ibn Hibbān (d.354) and al-Khattābī were rare geniuses Sijistān had ever produced. But they excelled each other in two opposite fields of ḥadīth — Ibn Hibbān having few parallels as a critic of rijāl, while al-Khattābī made his mark as a specialist in Gharīb al-Ḥadīth. Just as the rijāl books are replete with oft-repeated quotations from the former, so also the commentaries of ahādīth are dotted with the opinions of the latter with regard to the meaning of rare words and expressions occurring in the text of ḥadīth.

With his intellectual pursuits al-Khattābī led a pious and ascetic life — thus making his position enviable among his contemporary scholars. There could be no better evaluation of his intellectual calibre than what has been stated by al-Thaʿālibī (d.429) who said: He may be very well compared with Abū ʿUbayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām (d.224) of his age in knowledge, culture, asceticism, piety, teaching and compilation<sup>1</sup>. Al-Thaʿālibī's estimate of al-Khattābī was shared by all of his biographers. As a matter of fact, al-Khattābī was the Abū ʿUbayd of his age in his knowledge of Gharīb al-Ḥadīth. To al-Khattābī goes the credit of being the first commentator of the Sahīh of al-Bukhārī<sup>2</sup> and the Sunan of Abū Dāʿwūd.<sup>3</sup> Besides, he was a poet, specimens of his poetry having been preserved for us in Yatīma al-Dahr<sup>4</sup> and Muʿjam al-Udabāʾ<sup>5</sup>.

1 Yatīma, iv, 231-32.

2 Al-Khawli, p.42.

3 Ibid, p.87.

4 Yatīma, iv, 231-33.

5 Udabāʾ, x, 269-72.



Towards the close of his life al-Khattābī returned to Bust and joined the khānqā on the bank of the Helmund devoting himself to asceticism in order to prepare himself for the life hereafter. He died there in 388/998.<sup>1</sup>

His works:

(i) Ma'ālim al-Sunan (published)<sup>2</sup>

The author says in the foreword that he undertook the work on the commentary of Sunan Abī Dā'wūd at the instance of his friends and students of Nishāpūr.<sup>3</sup> Also he pointed out that the Sunan Abī Dā'wūd was the first of the series of canonical collections that deal with ahādīth of juridical import<sup>4</sup>. So, he first chose composing this work. He formulated, as he says, his scheme of writing commentary on the text of ḥadīth covering the following studies:

(a) To write commentaries on rare and uncommon words and expressions occurring in the text.

(b) Clarification of ambiguity, if any, in the signification of the text bringing out the desired meaning.

(c) Deducing juridical problems where there is scope for it; otherwise the import of the ḥadīth is given in so many words.<sup>5</sup>

(d) Quoting the views of different schools of jurisprudence adding relevant arguments while discussing masā'il al-fiqhiyya arising out of the text.<sup>6</sup>

(e) To build out of the text of ḥadīth those juridical matters which a common man cannot dispense with in his day-to-day religious life.<sup>7</sup>

1 Najjār, iii, 212-13. Notice of his life is also found in Shadharāt, iii, 127-28; Bustān al-Muhaddithīn, p. 122; Lubāb, i, 378-79; Buldān, i, 612; Mustatrafā, p. 39; Huqūq, p. 223.

2 Halab, 1351 A.H.

3 Ma'ālim al-Sunan, p. 2.

4 Ibid., p. 7.

5 Ibid., p. 2.

6 Ibid., p. 8.

7 Ibid., p. 2.

Abū Sulaymān al-Khattābī undertook writing commentaries on the text of hadīth keeping in view his formulated scheme. While discussing juridical problems arising out of the text of hadīth he used the formulas like: قلت - وفيه من الفقه - وفيه دليل - وفيه etc

We may also gather from the foreword that al-Khattābī incorporated in his commentary a good deal of materials which he would dictate to his students.<sup>1</sup> This is a great pointer to the system of his imparting lessons and his mode of treatment of a given subject.

Ma'ālim al-Sunan was perhaps the first<sup>2</sup> commentary on the Sunan of Abū Dā'wūd covering studies of its text linguistically and juridically. It is intended both for the Muhaddithūn and the Fuqahā', as adumbrated by al-Khattābī himself<sup>3</sup>. He succeeded in making his commentary useful. As such, al-Khattābī's opinions were copiously quoted by the later commentators not only on the Sunan of Abū Dā'wūd, but also on other collections, a majority of genuine ahādīth being common to all, using the oft-quoted phrase قال الخطابي. A significant feature of al-Khattābī's treatment of subject is that he dealt with complicated meanings and problems in a concise but clear manner.

(ii) I'lām al-Hadīth fī Sharh Ma'ānī Kitāb al-Jāmi' al-Sahīh<sup>4</sup>  
(MS).<sup>5</sup>

This is a one-volume commentary on Sahīh al-Bukhārī. The reason for compiling this work is as follows:

1 Ibid., p.8.

2 Cf: al-Khawli, p.87; GAL, i,161.

3 Ma'ālim al-Sunan, pp.5-6.

4 The title is variously mentioned as I'lām al-Sunan (Wafayāt, i,166; al-Yāfi'i, ii,435; Hājī Khalīfa, i,365), Sharh al-Bukhārī (Bughya, p.239), I'lām al-Bukhārī (GAL, i,158) and I'lām al-Muhaddith (GAL, SI, 261).

5 Āyā Sofia, Istanbul under No.687; Oriental Public Library at Bankipore under No.150 & Fayd Allāh under No.437, 2642. (GAL, i,158; SI, 261 = Najjār, iii,167).

Immediately on the emergence of his valuable commentary on the Sunan of Abū Dā'wūd, the tālibū al-ʿilm and the scholars of Nishāpūr requested Abū Sulaymān al-Khattābī to compile another commentary on a standard hadīth compilation. In response to their demand, says al-Khattābī, he undertook to prepare a commentary on Sahīh al-Bukhārī under review:

Abū Sulaymān al-Khattābī, it appears, followed the same system, in compiling this commentary, as that of Maʿālim al-Sunan, viz., writing glosses on rare and uncommon words and expressions and elucidation of the meaning of the ambiguous ideas. His discourses, on the whole, were brief and concise excepting of course that, where required, he spared no pains to go into a lengthy discussion with a view to bringing out the underlying meaning.<sup>1</sup> According to al-Kirmānī, the commentary contains notes and glosses on diverse words and expressions.<sup>2</sup>

(iii) Gharīb al-Hadīth (MS.)<sup>3</sup>

This is a dictionary of rare words and phrases of hadīth literature.

Al-Khattābī made a wide survey of rare and uncommon words and expressions occurring in the corpus of Apostolic traditions and wrote glosses on them<sup>4</sup>. As Yāqūt (d.626) has it, his treatment of the book is excellent and language chaste and elegant.<sup>5</sup> It embraces in its purview those words and expressions left out by his predecessors, viz., Abū ʿUbayd (d.224) and Ibn Qutayba (d.276) in

1 Al-Khawli, p.42.

2 Hāji Khalifa, i, 365.

3 The library of Ashir Affendi, Astana under No.234. (GAL,SI,275).

4 Hāji Khalifa, ii, 155; Tadhkira al-Nawādir, p.41.

5 (sic) وهو في غاية الحسن والبلاغة — Udabā', x, 269.

their respective works.<sup>1</sup> It is a useful handbook on Gharīb al-Hadīth for the students of hadīth literature.

Ibn al-Athīr has quoted copiously from it in his Nihāya fī Gharīb al-Hadīth.<sup>2</sup>

(iv) Iṣlāh Ghalat al-Muhaddithīn (published)<sup>3</sup>: a book amending the mistakes committed by the muhaddithūn in respect of certain ahādīth. The work seems to be a new venture in the field. According to Hājī Khalīfa, no author preceded al-Khattābī to compile a book on this topic.<sup>4</sup>

(v) 'Ilm al-Hadīth (MS.)<sup>5</sup>: a treatise on the science of tradition. It deals with the different aspects of the technical terms of hadīth literature.

(vi) Shān al-Ad'īya al-Mā'thūra (MS.)<sup>6</sup>

This is a handbook of du'ā', supplication as transmitted on the authority of the Prophet(s) in genuine traditions. In it al-Khattābī mentioned the value and efficaciousness of the prayers and supplications taught by the Prophet(s).<sup>7</sup>

(vii) Bayān I'jāz al-Qur'ān (MS.)<sup>8</sup>

This is a work on the miracles of the Holy Qur'ān. By writing this book al-Khattābī attained the distinction of being the first author to write on the science of Ijāz al-Qur'ān.<sup>9</sup>

1 GAL, SI, 275 = Najjār, iii, 213.

2 GAL, i, 165.

3 Cairo, 1936; and Hyderābād, 1354 A.H. (GAL, i, 165; SI, 275 = Najjār, iii, 213).

4 Hājī Khalīfa, i, 112; Tadhkira al-Nawādir, p. 40.

5 Kutubkhāna Makhtūtāt al-Mawṣil, Baghdād under No. 84, 35. (GAL, SI, 275 = Najjār, iii, 213).

6 'Unūmiyya library, Damascus under Nos. 24, 308. (Ma'ālim al-Sunan, Editor's introduction, p. 20; Najjār, iii, 213).

7 Cf: Ibn al-Sunnī, 'Amal al-Yawm wa al-Layla. Also Supra, pp. 118-19.

8 Leiden under No. 1654. (GAL, SI, 275 = Najjār, iii, 213).

9 Al-Suyūtī, Itqān, pt. ii, 116; Hājī Khalīfa, i, 120.

(viii) Kitāb al-‘Uzla (published):<sup>1</sup> a book on the merits of seclusion. The author collected in this book the ahādīth on the merit of zuhd, asceticism. This seems to be the last compilation of al-Khattābī when he took to asceticism joining the khānqā on the bank of the Helmund towards the fag end of his scholarly life.

B. LITTERATEURS:

Al-‘Uzayrī (d.330/941)

Among the litterateurs who flourished in Sijistān in the 4th/10th century the name of al-‘Uzayrī may be mentioned here. A noted litterateur of Sijistān Abū Bakr Muhammad b. ‘Uzayr b. Aḥmad b. ‘Uzayr al-‘Uzayrī<sup>2</sup> was a tilmīdh, a favourite pupil of Abū Bakr Ibn al-Anbārī (d.326), the celebrated grammarian of Baghdād<sup>3</sup>. Of his

1 Cairo, 1936. (Najjār, iii, 213). According to Brockelmann (GAL, SI, 275) this is the same as Kitāb al-I‘tisām by al-Khattābī.

2 There is a good deal of controversy over the reading of the name and nisba, appellation of this scholar, some reading it as Ibn ‘Uzayz al-‘Uzayzī and others, Ibn ‘Uzayr al-‘Uzayrī. Al-Daraqutnī (d.385), Ibn Mākūla (d.473) and others read it as Ibn ‘Uzayz al-‘Uzayzī (Bughya, pp.72-73) — not Ibn ‘Aziz and al-‘Azizī as misread by Professor Rieu (Supplement to the catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the British Museum, ed. London, 1894, pp.75-76). The printed edition of Gharīb al-Qur‘ān (Egypt, 1342, p. 1) also gives the reading as Ibn ‘Uzayz. But the correct reading of the name is Ibn ‘Uzayr al-Uzayrī as expressly said by al-Sam‘ānī (Ansāb, art "al-‘Uzayrī") adding that whoever reads al-‘Uzayzī with two Zas commits a blunder ( ومن قال العزيزي بزائين فقد اخطأ :Ibid.)

Further, Abū Muhammad b. al-Akhdar, a teacher of al-Suyūṭī saw an autograph copy of Gharīb al-Qur‘ān at the end of which it was mentioned: (Bughya, loc. cit.) وكتب محمد بن عزيز بالرائ المعلة

The nisba al-‘Uzayrī is pertaining to Prophet ‘Uzayr (Lubāb, ii, 135; Lubb al-Lubab, p.179) and not to Banu ‘Azra, because in that case the nisba would have been al-‘Azārī (Bughya, loc. cit.).

3 GAL, i, 119 = Najjār, ii, 216.

biography we have but scanty information except that he led an unostentatious scholarly life.

Al-‘Uzayrī left an enduring name by producing a glossary of gharīb, rare and uncommon words and phrases occurring in the Holy Qur’ān. The title of his book is Nuzhat al-Qulūb; but it is popularly known as Gharīb al-Qur’ān,<sup>1</sup> a dictionary of gharīb words. In it al-‘Uzayrī collected the gharīb words and expressions. He wrote brief glosses on them by way of interpretation strictly on the line as could be understood in the light of the Qur’ān and Sunna and as commonly used in Arabic language.<sup>2</sup>

Al-‘Uzayrī followed a novel system in arranging his material. Unlike the system followed in a dictionary he did not split up the words in their derivations, but he arranged the words themselves alphabetically and according to the first letter only. As for the subsequent letter or letters of words he did not arrange them alphabetically but according to Sūras in ascending order, as mentioned below:

Al-‘Uzayrī treated every alphabet in three distinct abwāb or chapters, viz., words beginning with (i) dhumma, (ii) kasra and (iii) fatha — the total number of chapters being eighty five.

The author places under each bāb the words and phrases serially Sūra or chapterwise as they occur in the Holy Book from the beginning to the end. By this arrangement al-‘Uzayrī has furnished us with a catalogue of rare Qur’ānic words arranged serially spread over the Sūras of the Qur’ān one after another, with brief but most helpful glosses as mentioned above.

1 Egypt, 1342; also printed on the margin of Tabsīr al-Rahmān by ‘Alī al-Mahā’imī (Būlāq, 1295) and of Tafsīr by Ibn Kathīr, Arra, India 1307; Cairo, 1325. (GAL, SI, 183 = Najjār, ii, 217; Sarkis, p. 1008).

2 Ibid.

Al-'Uzayrī worked for fifteen years to compile this work in collaboration with Shaykh Abū Bakr Ibn al-Anbārī<sup>1</sup>, and on finishing his job he read it out to him word for word. Ibn al-Anbārī took great care to check out the material making improvements where he deemed it necessary. Thus Gharīb al-Qur'ān acquired a name and fame as an authoritative work on the subject right from its compilation. And eager and enthusiastic students from far and near gathered round al-'Uzayrī to read the work under him. Thus al-'Uzayrī opened classes for its lecture. Among those who read the work with him the names of the following have come down to us:

1. Abū Ahmad 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥasnūn (d.306);
2. Abū 'Amr 'Uthmān b. Ahmad b. Sam'ān (d.367);
3. Ibn Baṭṭa al-'Ukbarī (d.387).

According to al-Suyūṭī (d.911) this is the best known work on Gharīb al-Qur'ān occupying a high position in the field next to that of Ibn Qutayba (d.276).

#### C. POETS:

Abū al-Fath al-Bustī (d.401/1010)

Among the poets who flourished at Bust in Sijistān in the 4th/10th century the name of Abū al-Fath al-Bustī may be mentioned here.

A poet of repute al-'Amīd Abū al-Fath 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Bustī had a good training in ḥadīth literature acquiring a good share of it from Ibn Ḥibbān al-Bustī (d.354)<sup>2</sup>. Abū al-Fath al-Bustī cultivated the science of ḥadīth and had been a visiting professor of Nishāpūr where the traditionists were benefited by his scholarship. In fact, a group of scholars who came in contact with him spoke highly of his intellectual capabilities. In the list of his students the names of

<sup>1</sup> Nuzha, p.386; Itqān, pt. ii, 16; Miftāh al-Sa'āda, ii, 268.

<sup>2</sup> Al-Sam'ānī, art "al-Bustī"; al-Subkī, iv, 4.

Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī (d.405) and Abū 'Uthmān al-Sābūnī (d.447)<sup>1</sup> were included. His position as a scholar was highlighted by his friendship with his countryman Abū Sulaymān al-Khattābī (d.388)<sup>2</sup>.

Unlike other traditionists Abū al-Fath al-Bustī entered services in local government. This was because of his unique position as a litterateur whose literary talents, as a matter of fact, were utilized by the government. He served successively and successfully as a secretary to Bāṭayūr,<sup>3</sup> the ruler of Bust, Subuktigin (366-87/976-97)<sup>4</sup> and Sultān Maḥmūd (388-421/998-1030). In 401/1010 he undertook a tour in Transoxiana where at Bukhārā he breathed his last.<sup>5</sup>

As mentioned above Abū al-Fath al-Bustī was a poet and litterateur. He was a stylist prose-writer and was skilled in alliteration which he utilized to both prose and poetry<sup>6</sup>. He composed verses in praise of Subuktigin, Amīr Khalaf (352-93/963-1002), Sultān Maḥmūd and Shams al-Ma'ālī Qābūs (366-403/976-1012)<sup>7</sup>. Also he composed Diwān and Qasīd.

As a poet, litterateur and government officer Abū al-Fath al-Bustī had no doubt a successful career. But his training and erudition in hadīth sank, as it were, into oblivion. Not only that; he seems to have shifted from the traditional path of a Muhaddith by composing verses on the legality of the use of nabīdh, date-juice. Also he praised in his poetry the purity of the Karrāmiyyas, a theological sect unanimously held by the Muslim divines as

1 On him, Lubāb, ii, 44.

2 Al-Subkī, loc. cit.

3 Yatīma, iv, 204. According to al-'Utbi (Kitāb al-Yamīnī, tr. into English by James Reynolds, ed. London, MDCCC.LVIII, p.26) Bāyatūz.

4 Yatīma, loc. cit.; al-'Utbi, p.28; Mohammadan Dynasties, pp.285-86.

5 Yatīma, iv, 206; al-Subkī, loc. cit.

6 Yatīma, iv, 204.

7 Cf: al-Bustī's Diwān, (Beirut, 1294).



out of the pale of genuine believers. Thus, Ibn al-Ṣalāh (d.643), a spokesman of the traditionists, did not spare him from adverse criticism.<sup>1</sup>

His works:

(i) Dīwān (partly published)<sup>2</sup>: a collection of poems.

(ii) Al-Qaṣīda al-Nūniyya (published)<sup>3</sup>.

This is a popular piece of didactic poem of fifty eight verses having nūn as a common end-rhyme. The poet brings home the value of social service, spiritual elevation, God-fearingness and wisdom. He emphasized inter alia the transitoriness of worldly life. He abhors ignorance, barbarity, greediness, hatred, indolence and the consequences of evil actions. In short, the poem is instructive and valuable. As such, it was well-received by the succeeding generations.

D. PHILOSOPHERS:

Abū Sulaymān al-Mantiqī (d.ca.370/980).

Among the philosophers who flourished in Sijistān in the 4th/10th century the name of Abū Sulaymān al-Mantiqī may be mentioned. A leading philosopher and logician Abū Sulaymān Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir al-Mantiqī was born in Sijistān in about 300/912. He migrated to Baghdād and settled there permanently. Hence he was called nazil Baghdād, a domicile of Baghdād.<sup>4</sup>

Abū Sulaymān al-Mantiqī was a pupil of Mattā b. Yūnus (d.328) and Yahya b. 'Adī (d.364). He occupied a high position among the

1 Al-Subkī, iv, 4.

2 An extract from the Dīwān containing 85 pages has been published at Beyrouth, 1294 A.H. (Sarkis, p.564; GAL, SI, 445).

3 By Clement Joseph David in his Tanzih al-Albāb fī Hadā'iq al-Ādāb, Mōsul, 1863, pp.23-32. (Ibid.). It should be noted that al-Bustī's Nūniyya, though called qaṣīda, does not conform its conventional formalities.

4 Ibn al-Qiftī, Kitāb Akhbār al-'Ulamā' bi Akhbār al-Hukamā' (Egypt, 1326) pp.185-86.

philosophers of Baghdād. His house was a resort of scholars and philosophers, and a venue of philosophical debates and discourses. He was held in high esteem by the Buwayhid Āḍud al-Dawla (338-72/949-82) and enjoyed his patronage.<sup>1</sup>

Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawhīdī,<sup>2</sup> a pupil of his had close contact with him serving him as his assistant furnishing reports of philosophical discourses held in the city under the auspices of savants and dignitaries. The information thus collected helped al-Tawhīdī to compile inter alia his Kitāb al-Imtā' wa al-Mu'ānasa incorporating the philosophical discourses held in different sittings of Abū al-Faḍl 'Abd Allāh b. 'Arid al-Shirāzī, the vizier of the Buwayhid Ṣamsām al-Dawla (372-76/982-86; 379-88/989-98)<sup>3</sup>. Abu Sulaymān al-Mantiqī died in about 370/980<sup>4</sup>.

His works:

(i) Ṣiwān al-Ḥikma (MS.)<sup>6</sup>

It is a history of Greek and Muslim philosophers. It was an oft-quoted work concerning the history of philosophy. Ibn al-Nadīm (d.ca. 385), a disciple of his, and al-Shahrastānī (d.548) utilized the work in their respective works, viz., Kitāb al-Fihrist and al Milal wa al-Nihal respectively.

A Tatimma, supplement to Ṣiwān al-Ḥikma was produced by 'Abd Allāh b. Zayd al-Bayhaqī (d.570) under the title Ta'rikh Hukamā' al-Islām.<sup>6</sup>

(ii) Maqāla fī Anna al-Ajram al-'Ulwiyya dhāt Nufūs Nātiqa (MS)<sup>7</sup>.

(iii) Maqāla fī al-Muharriq al-Auwal (MS.).<sup>8</sup>

(iv) Maqāla fī al-Kamāl al-Khāss bi Naw' al-Insān (MS.)<sup>9</sup>

1 Ibid.

2 Infra, p. 244.

3 Ibn al-Qiftī, pp. 185-86.

4 GAL, i, 324 under the life-sketch of al-Bayhaqī. Notice of his life is also found in Fihrist, p. 369.

5 Berlin under No. 10052 (GAL, i, loc.cit.). 6 Ibid.

7 Libraries of Teheran and Rāmpūr, India. (GAL, SI, 378).

8 Libraries of Teheran and Rāmpūr, India (Ibid.)

9 Library of Rāmpūr, India (Ibid.).

## CHAPTER IV

## SECTION I. THE PROVINCE OF FĀRIS

(i) Topography: The province of Fāris occupies the northern shore of the Persian Gulf. It is bounded on the north by the Great Desert and the province of Jibāl, on the south by the Persian Gulf, on the east by Kirmān and on the west by Khūzistān.<sup>1</sup> It has five Kūras or districts, viz, Ardashīr Khurra with Shīrāz as the chief town, Sābūr, Arrajān, Iṣṭakhr and Dārābjird.<sup>2</sup>

Fāris had an ancient civilization. It was the home of the Achaemenids.<sup>3</sup> From the time of the Pishdādian monarchs down to the 3rd century A.H. Iṣṭakhr was the capital of Fāris. Zoroaster came to Iṣṭakhr from the mountain of Adharbayzān during the reign of Gushtasp who, it is said, got the Avesta written on tanned cow-hides.<sup>5</sup> The province of Fāris was the centre of fire-worshippers and innumerable fire-temples were built here.<sup>6</sup>

(ii) Arab conquest: In 23/643 during the Caliphate of 'Umar the province of Fāris was conquered by the Arabs.<sup>7</sup> Then after the assassination of Caliph 'Umar the inhabitants of Fāris rebelled and withheld payment of Jizya. The province was, however, conquered in 29/649 during the Caliphate of 'Uthmān.<sup>8</sup>

1 Vide Le Strange, Maps I and VI.

2 Ibid., p.248.

3 Ibid.

4 Cf: Le Strange, pp.275-76.

5 Malcolm, History of Persia (ed. London), i,45 also note S.

6 Vide Ibn Hawqal, p.106; 95; al-Istakhrī, p.139.

7 Tabarī, i, 2694-2703; Ibn al-Athīr, iii, 19-21.

8 Tabarī, i,2830-31; 2833; Ibn al-Athīr, iii,48-49; Balādhurī, pp.386-91.

The following Sahāba visited Fāris in the wake of the Arab conquest:<sup>1</sup>

Sāriyya b. Zunaym al-Kinānī (d.23);<sup>2</sup>

Mujāshī' b. Mas'ūd al-Sulamī;<sup>3</sup>

'Uthmān b. Abī al-'Ās al-Thaqafī (d.51 or 55);<sup>4</sup>

Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī;<sup>5</sup>

'Ubayd Allāh b. Ma'mar al-Tamīmī (d.29);<sup>6</sup>

Shibl b. Ma'bad al-Bajalī;<sup>7</sup>

Al-Hakam b. Abī al-'Ās al-Thaqafī;<sup>8</sup>

Sawwār b. Hammām al-'Abdī;<sup>9</sup>

Al-Jārūd al-'Abdī;<sup>10</sup>

Abū Sufra;<sup>11</sup>

'Abd Allāh b. 'Āmir;<sup>12</sup>

Abū Barza al-Aslamī (d.60);<sup>13</sup>

Ma'qal b. Yasār al-Muzanī (d.60);<sup>14</sup>

'Imrān b. al-Husayn al-Khuzā'ī (d.52);<sup>15</sup>

Harim b. Hayyān al-'Abdī.<sup>16</sup>

1 Ibid.

2 On him, see Tajrīd, i, 217; Isāba, ii, 100-02.

3 Supra, p.5.

4 Ahādīth narrated on his authority are preserved in Sahīh Muslim, three Sunans and Jāmi' of al-Tirmidhī (Khulāsa, p.220). On him, see Tajrīd, i, 402; Isāba, ii, 1098; al-Istī'āb, ii, 483-84; Tahdhīb, vii, 128-29.

5 Supra, p.4.

6 On him, see Tajrīd, i, 391; Usd, iii, 345; Isāba, iii, 153; al-Istī'āb, ii, 504.

7 On him, see Tajrīd, i, 271; Usd, ii, 385.

8 On him, see Tajrīd, i, 145; Isāba, i, 708-09; al-Istī'āb, i, 118.

9 On him, see Isāba, ii, 302-03; Buldān, ii, 887; Balādhurī, p.387.

10 On him, see Tajrīd, i, 79; Khulāsa, p.51; Usd, i, 260-61.

11 On him, see Tajrīd, ii, 190; al-Istī'āb, ii, 668; Isāba, iv, 198-200.

12 Supra, p.4.

13 Supra, p.189.

14 Ahādīth narrated on his authority are preserved in Sihāh Sitta (Khulāsa, p.328). On him, see al-Nawawī, p.568; Tahdhīb, X, 235-36.

15 Ahādīth narrated on his authority are preserved in Sihāh Sitta (Khulāsa, p.250). On him, see Tajrīd, i, 450; Tahdhīb, viii, 125-26.

16 On him, Tajrīd, ii, 127; al-Istī'āb, ii, 599; Isāba, iii, 1237-38.

(iii) Development of Arabic studies: Immediately after the Arab conquest the province of Fāris was dotted with Arab colonies. The famous tribe of 'Abd al-Qays settled at Tawwaj, a town in Ardashīr Khurra, where they built mosques. While the Kharasha b. Mas'ūd, a clan of Banū Tamīm migrated to Fasā in Dārābjird and developed it as their colony<sup>1</sup>. It is therefore apparent that due to the migration of the Arabs to this province early in the first century of the hijra Islamic sciences particularly Arabic studies were introduced here. It is worthwhile to mention that prior to the 4th/10th century Fāris produced famous grammarians like Sībawayh (d.ca.167)<sup>2</sup> and al-Kisā'ī (d.179),<sup>3</sup> litterateurs like Ibn al-Muqaffā' (d.140)<sup>4</sup> and traditionists like Abū Dā'wūd al-Ṭayālīsī (d.204)<sup>5</sup>.

1 Balādhurī, pp.386; 391.

2 His full name is Abū Bishr or Abū al-Ḥasan (Bughya, p.366) 'Amr b. 'Uthmān b. Qanbar al-Shīrāzī, popularly known as Sībawayh, a Persian word meaning fragrance of the apple. He is the author of al-Kitāb, a book on grammar. For his life and works, see: al-Khatīb, vii, 195-99; Wafayāt, i, 385-86; Bughya, loc. cit.; Nuzha, pp.71-78; Miftāh al-Sa'āda i, 129; Zaydān, ii, 114-15; Sarkis, p.1070; Najjār, ii, 134-35.

3 His name is Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Ḥamza, popularly known as al-Kisā'ī, an appellation given to him for his wearing garment for ihrām. (Wafayāt, i, 331; Lubāb, iii, 40). A descendant of Bahram b. Firūz he originally came from Fāris and settled at al-Kūfa. He was a grammarian and one of the seven Qur'ān-reciters. For his life and works, see: Fihrist, pp.44-45; al-Khatīb, xi, 403-15; Udabā', xiii, 167-203; Bughya, pp.336-37; Wafayāt, i, 330-31; Nuzha, pp.81-94; Ibn al-Jazrī, al-Nashr fī Qira'at al-'Ashr (Damascus, 1345 A.H.), i, 172-73; GAL, i, 115; SI, 177-78.

4 His name is Abū Muhammad 'Abd Allāh b. al-Muqaffā'. His father was a native of Firuzābād, a town near Shīrāz. He wrote books on Arabic language and literature and also translated Khudaynāma and Kalīla wa Dimna from Persian into Arabic. For his life and works, see: Fihrist, p.172; Khizānat al-Adab, iii, 459; Wafayāt, i, 149-51 under al-Ḥallāj; GAL, i, 151-52; SI, 234-36.

5 He is Abū Dā'wūd Sulaymān b. Dā'wūd al-Ṭayālīsī who wrote a Musnad. He wears Tayālisa, a Persian hood while using a turban and hence was called al-Ṭayālīsī. Vide Lubāb, ii, 96. For his life and works, see: Huffāz, i, 320-21; Mizān al-Ṭīdal, i, 413; Tahdhīb, iv, 182-86; Khulāsa, p.128; Bustān al-Muhaddithīn, p.31; GAL, SI, 257.

## 4TH/10TH CENTURY SCHOLARS OF FĀRIS AND THEIR WORKS

## A. LITTERATEURS:

1. Abū al-Qāsim ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Yūsuf (d.ca.390/1000)

Abū al-Qāsim ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Yūsuf al-Shīrāzī was a native of Shīrāz. He was a litterateur and a poet, and worked as the secretary in charge of the royal correspondence during the lifetime of the Buwayhid prince ʿAdud al-Dawla (338-72/949-82).<sup>1</sup> In 381/991 he was appointed vizier in al-Ahwāz by Bahā' al-Dawla (379-403/989-1012), the son of ʿAdud al-Dawla.<sup>2</sup> He died in about 390/1000.

His work:

Rasā'il (MS.)<sup>3</sup>. It is a collection of letters and despatches. In this collection, besides the copies of official letters, there are the records of important events that occurred in Buwayhid Kingdom from 335/946 to 380/990.<sup>4</sup>

It may be noted that some extracts from the letters and his poems are given by al-Thaʿālibī in Yatīma al-Dahr.<sup>5</sup>

2. Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawhīdī (d.ca.400/1009)

Abū Ḥayyān ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. al-ʿAbbās, popularly known as Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawhīdī<sup>6</sup>, whose family belonged to Shīrāz<sup>7</sup> was born at

1 Yatīma, ii, 86-87.

2 Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 37. Notice of his life is also found in Buldān, iv, 248; GAL, SI, 154 = Najjār, ii, 118.

3 Berlin under No. 8825. Vide Ibid.

4 Ibid.

5 Vol. ii, 87-97.

6 This nisba, ascription was given him because he belonged to the school of the Muʿtazilites who called themselves Ahl al-ʿAdl wa al-Tawhīd. Cf: Bughyā, p. 348; al-Tawhīdī, al-Muqābasāt, ed. by Hasan al-Sandūbī (Egypt, 1347 A.H.), p. 8 note 1. Cf: Al-Suyūṭī, Lubb al-Lubāb (Lugduni Batavorum, 1840), p. 55.

7 His original home was mentioned by different scholars in different places, e.g., Shīrāz, Nishāpūr and Wāsīt (Udabā, xv, 5). Wherever it might have been, he is after all a Persian by birth.

Baghdād in 312/924. He was brought up and educated in Baghdād where he studied grammar and philology with Abū Saʿīd al-Sīrāfī (d.368) and heard ḥadīth and tasawwuf from Jaʿfar al-Khuldī (d.348). He repaired to al-Baṣra to acquire al-Fiqh from Abū Ḥamid al-Marwarrūdhī (d.362).<sup>1</sup> He also heard ḥadīth from Abū Bakr al-Qaffāl al-Shāshī (d.366), a traditionist and jurist of Txanso-xiana.<sup>2</sup> He attended the philosophical discourses held at Baghdād under the auspices of the distinguished philosophers like Yahya b. ʿAdī (d.364) and Abū Sulaymān al-Mantiqī (d.370).<sup>3</sup>

Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawhīdī delivered lectures on various disciplines at Baghdād and Shirāz, and produced a number of pupils mentioned by al-Subkī.<sup>4</sup>

Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawhīdī flourished during the time of the Buwayhids. He enjoyed the patronage of the vizier al-Muhallabī (d.352) who, however, banished him from Baghdād before long on account of his heretical views.<sup>5</sup> Now he looked for patronage from the princes and the viziers of the East, and arrived at al-Rayy and

1 On Abū Ḥamid, supra, p.194 et. seq.

2 Al-Subkī, iv, 2.

3 Cf: al-Muqābasāt; Udabā', xv,36; Ency. of Islam, i,88.

4 Al-Subkī, loc. cit.

5 Al-Subkī, iv, 3; Ency. of Islam, i,88.

The following reasons were adduced in banishing him from Baghdād:

(i) Abū Ḥayyān denuded Allāh of His Attributes and found fault with sharīʿa. (Al-Subkī, loc. cit.).

(ii) He brought baseless charges against the noble Companions of the Prophet(s) and attacked the universally respected leaders of early Islam with derogatory remarks. (Ibid).

(iii) He confessed to have fabricated a story wherein Abū Bakr and ʿUmar were said to have addressed a lengthy epistle to ʿAlī with a view to convincing and winning him over to receive bayʿa, oath of allegiance to Abū Bakr as Caliph. This epistle was incorporated by Hasan al-Sandūbī in al-Muqābasāt (pp.25-44) under the title riwāyat al-saqifa. Cf: Mizān al-Iʿtidāl, iii,355.

remained first in the court of Ibn al-‘Amīd (d.360) and then al-Sāhib b. ‘Abbād till 370/980.<sup>1</sup> But he could not succeed in obtaining their favours due perhaps to his heretical views. It is significant that al-Sāhib b. ‘Abbād, a savant of liberal thinking and wide toleration that he was, could not see eye to eye with Abū Hayyān al-Tawhīdī. It seems that the heretical views of al-Tawhīdī were the main reason why he failed to receive recognition from al-Sāhib.<sup>2</sup> Not only that; al-Sāhib had to issue orders to kill him because he would not resist him from preaching his views at al-Rayy. He then fled away from al-Rayy, joined the enemy camp and started spreading ill names against the two venerable viziers viz., Ibn al-‘Amīd and al-Sāhib b. ‘Abbād.<sup>3</sup>

Abū Hayyān received favours from Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Ahmad b. Sa‘dān (d.375) and ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Arid al-Shīrāzī, the two viziers of the Buwayhid prince Saṃsām al-Dawla (372-76/982-86; 379-388/989-998) of Baghdād and Fāris.<sup>4</sup>

Towards the end of his life Abū Hayyān al-Tawhīdī committed his writings to fire and offered as a reason "the neglect of the people of Baghdād among whom he had lived twenty years<sup>5</sup>". In fact, he lived there a 'tabooed' life.<sup>6</sup> He died after 400/1009 at Shīrāz.<sup>7</sup>

1 Udabā', xv,5; 32-33.

2 Abū Hayyān al-Tawhīdī offered as a plea that he failed to be in al-Sāhib's good books because he had refused to act as his Kātib, amanuensis. (Udabā', xv,26,32,44; Ency. of Islam, i,87-88). But the plea does not seem to carry any weight.

3 Al-Subkī, iv,3. Abū Hayyān attacked them violently in his Mathālib al-Wazīrayn (the disgraceful acts of the two viziers). Cf: Udabā', xv,33 sq.; Wafayāt, ii,60 under Abū al-Faḍl b. al-‘Amīd.

4 Ency. of Islam, i,88.

5 Udabā', xv,16-17; 27. The available copies of his writings that have come down to us might have been gone out from the possession of al-Tawhīdī before consuming them to fire (Bughya, p.349; al-Muqābasāt, p.17).

6 Ency. of Islam, loc.cit; al-Nawawī, p.707; al-Muqābasāt, pp.8-13.

7 Udabā', xv,7. Notice of his life is also found in Miftāh al-Sa‘āda, i,188; Sarkis, pp.304-06.



Apart from his religious views Abū Hayyān al-Tawhīdī was recognized as a scholar of versatile learning having a facile pen in grammar, philology, poetry, belles-lettres, jurisprudence and theology. As a Mu'tazilite he had al-Jāhiz as his model; a stylist writer, a literary philosopher and a leader of elegant litterateurs. He had very few equals in sagacity, intelligence, memory, chaste expressions and wide range of knowledge.<sup>1</sup>

His works:

(i) Al-Muqābasāt (published)<sup>2</sup>: a collection of ethical, metaphysical and philosophical discourses couched in highly elegant and ornate prose. The total number of discourses comes to one hundred and six.

A critical edition of the book was brought out by Hasan al-Sandūbī in 1929.<sup>3</sup>

(ii) Al-Adab wa al-Inshā fī al-Sadāqa wa al-Sadīq (published).<sup>4</sup>

In this book Abū Hayyān al-Tawhīdī made a thorough survey of the extant prose and poetical literature to select quotations for his al-Sadāqa wa al-Sadīq. The quotations were either in the form of anecdotes, proverbs or wise sayings. He also pieced together the materials on the subject that were handed down to him as folklore which he gathered from his teachers and other contemporary litterateurs. The book furnishes us with specimens of a high literary style — a legacy of al-Jāhiz — exhibited by contemporary scholars and litterateurs. The book may be treated as a valuable treatise on friend and friendship.

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1 Udabā', xv, 5.

2 Bombay without any date; Shirāz, 1306 A.H.; ed. Hasan al-Sandūbī, Cairo, 1929 A.D. (GAL, SI, 436).

3 Ibid.

4 Egypt, 1323; Istanbul, 1301/2 under the title Risāla fī al-Sidq wa al-Tasdiq (Ibid.; Sarkis, p. 305).

Abū Hayyān al-Tawhīdī had a plan to compile a book like this. In 371/981 Abū 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'dān<sup>1</sup> came to know of this and requested him to expedite completion of his proposed book; but he could not complete it before Rajab, 400/1009<sup>2</sup>. This was perhaps the last compilation of al-Tawhīdī as he died immediately after 400/1009<sup>3</sup>.

(iii) Kitāb al-Sadāqa wa al-Sādīq (published)<sup>4</sup>, true friendship and sincere friend. This seems to be a treatise on the same subject as al-Adab wa al-Inshā fī al-Sadāqa wa al-Sādīq.

(iv) Risāla fī Thamarāt al-'Ulūm (published)<sup>5</sup>

This is a brief note on the description and scope of current sciences, viz., 'ilm al-fiqh (jurisprudence), 'ilm al-qiyās (analogical deduction), 'ilm al-kalām (scholastic theology), 'ilm al-nahw (syntax), 'ilm al-luġha (philology), 'ilm al-mantiq (logic) etc.<sup>6</sup>

(v) Risāla fī 'Ilm al-Kitāba (MS)<sup>7</sup>

This is a treatise on the science of penmanship.

(vi) Al-Ishārāt al-Ilāhiyya wa al-Anfās al-Rūhaniyya (MS)<sup>8</sup>.

This is probably the only book on sufism by al-Tawhīdī preserved for us. It "consists of prayers and homilies, with some edifying correspondence, and only occasional allusions to sūfi technicalities"<sup>9</sup>.

1 Supra, p.246.

2 Udaba', xv, 6-7; al-Muqābasāt, ed. Hasan al-Sandūbī (Cairo, 1929), p.19.

3 Supra, p.246.

4 Cairo, 1923. Vide GAL, SI, 436.

5 Along with Kitāb al-Adab wa al-Inshā fī al-Sadāqa wa al-Sādīq, Egypt, 1323. (Sarkis, p.305).

6 Cf: Risāla fī Thamarāt al-'Ulūm (Egypt, 1323), pp.190-97.

7 Oriental Academy of Wein under No.11 (GAL, SI, loc. cit.) or 9 (GAL, i, 244).

8 Zāhiriyya under No.49, 8 and 'Umumiyya under No.44, 8 (GAL, SI, loc. cit.). A manuscript of the commentary of the book made by 'Abd al-Qādir al-Maqdisī (d.934/1527) is preserved in the library of Berlin under No.2818 (Ibid) or 2819 (GAL, i, loc. cit.).

9 Ency. of Islam, i, 88.

(vii) Al-Imtā' wa al-Mu'ānasa.<sup>1</sup>

This is a collection of discourses held in different sittings of Abū al-Faḍl 'Abd Allāh b. 'Arid al-Shīrāzī<sup>2</sup> during the tenure of his office as vizier under Samsām al-Dawla<sup>3</sup>. The theme of discourses embraced tradition, sufism and personal aspirations of Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawhīdī. It was presented to the vizier.<sup>4</sup>

(viii) Kitāb al-Basā'ir wa al-Bashā'ir<sup>5</sup>(MS.).<sup>6</sup>

An extract of this book is said to have been given by al-Subkī in his Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyya.<sup>7</sup> But the printed edition of the book<sup>8</sup> before us does not contain the portion.

(ix) Dhamm<sup>9</sup> al-Wazīrayn (MS.)<sup>10</sup>: disgraceful acts of the two viziers, viz., Ibn al-'Amīd (d.360)<sup>11</sup> and al-Sāhib b. 'Abbād(d.385)<sup>12</sup>.

About this book Ibn Khallikān says:

In this book he recounted the vices of Ibn al-'Amīd and al-Sāhib b. 'Abbād. He attacked them violently in it enumerating their faults, stripping them of their merits and virtues, displaying utmost prejudice against them and treating them with great injustice.<sup>13</sup>

At the outset of the book Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawhīdī referred to the circumstances that compelled him to write it dealing at length with the mal-treatment and injustice alleged to have been meted out to him by Ibn al-'Amīd and al-Sāhib b. 'Abbād<sup>14</sup>.

1 Ibid.; GAL, SI, loc. cit.

2 Supra, p.246.

3 Ibn al-Qiftī, p.186.

4 Ibid.; al-Subkī, iv,3.

5 According to Margoliouth al-Dhakhā'ir. Vide Ency. of Islam, i,88.

6 Daftarī Kutubkhāna Fātih Jāmi', Istanbul under No.3695-9 (GAL,SI, loc. cit.).

7 Ency. of Islam, i,88.

8 Al-Subkī, iv,2.

9 Ibn Khallikān (Wafayāt, ii,60) has Mathālib.

10 Library of Constantinople. Vide Ency. of Islam, loc. cit.

11 Supra, p. 60.

12 Supra, p. 59 et. seq.

13 Wafayāt, ii, loc. cit.

14 Al-Muqābasāt, p.19.

It may be noted that the venomous attack by Abū Ḥayyān on two venerable savants of the Eastern Caliphate was not tolerated in any sober section of the people and as such the book was treated as proscribed.<sup>1</sup>

(x) Basā'ir al-Qudamā' wa Sarā'ir al-Hukamā' (MS.)<sup>2</sup>. As the book is not available, the subject-matter of it is not known to us.

(xi) Risāla li-Abī Bakr al-Tālqānī (MS.): an epistle for Abū Bakr al-Tālqānī, a contemporary of the author.

(xii) Risāla al-Hayāt (MS.). This seems to be a treatise on life. Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī wrote several books on various subjects,<sup>5</sup> but they have not come down to us.

#### B.GRAMMARIANS:

##### 1. Ibn Durustawayh (d.347/958)

Born at Fasā in 258/871<sup>6</sup> Ibn Durustawayh whose full name was Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far b. Durustawayh b. al-Marzubān al-Fārisī, had fairly a good training in ḥadīth at home under his father<sup>7</sup> who was a traditionist of repute. He also read at Fasā under Ya'qūb al-Fasawī (d.277) the latter's works, viz., al-Ta'rikh and Mashīkha. His father took him to Baghdād for higher training in ḥadīth, and by virtue of the position of his father as a traditionist Ibn Durustawayh was enabled to hear ḥadīth from 'Abbās al-Dūrī (d.271) and his contemporaries, though at that time he was merely a boy.<sup>8</sup>

1 Wafayāt, loc. cit.

2 Cambridge under No.134 and John Rylands Library, Manchester under No.767. - Vide GAL, SI, loc. cit.

3 E.J.Brill, Leiden under No.360. - Vide ibid.

4 Shahīd 'Alī Pashā, Istanbul under No.1186. - Ibid.

5 For titles of books, see: Ibid.; Udabā', xv, 7-8; iii, 27 under Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī; Sarkis, pp.305-06; Ḥājī Khalīfa, i, 132-33.

6 Al-Khatīb, ix, 429; GAL, i, 112 = Najjār, ii, 186.

7 He was a student of 'Alī al-Madīnī (d.234). Vide al-Khatīb, loc. cit.

8 Shadharāt, ii, 375.

Ibn Durustawayh acquired a thorough and extensive knowledge in ḥadīth literature. His rank as a transmitter may be judged from the fact that the traditionists of the fame of al-Dāraqūṭnī (d.385), Ibn Shāhīn (d.385), Muḥammad b. al-Muzaffar (d.379), and their like heard ḥadīth from him and narrated it on his authority. But the critics of ḥadīth literature differ in their opinion as to the trustworthiness of Ibn Durustawayh. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghḍādī (d.463) discussed at length his position as a transmitter. It appears that though some held him as a da'if, weak, authority, the critics like al-Husayn b. 'Uthmān al-Shirāzī and Abū 'Abd Allāh b. Manda al-Hāfiẓ (d.395) entertained a high opinion about him considering him as a thiqa, reliable transmitter.<sup>1</sup>

Side by side with his training in ḥadīth Ibn Durustawayh studied different branches of Arabic literature, its grammar and philology under Ibn Qutayba (d.276), al-Mubarrad (d.285) and Tha'lab (d.291).<sup>2</sup> It is worthwhile to mention that he excelled in this field also.<sup>3</sup> It is interesting to note that though thoroughly adept in the lore of ḥadīth and its different aspects as his book Gharīb al-Ḥadīth<sup>4</sup> shows, Ibn Durustawayh, like his other compatriots, diverted himself to 'ilm al-naḥw wa al-lughā, the grammatical and philological sciences.<sup>5</sup>

Ibn Durustawayh saturated himself from both streams of Arabic grammar, al-Kūfa and al-Basra schools, as among his teachers we find Tha'lab (d.291) belonging to the former and al-Mubarrad

1 Al-Khaṭīb, ix, 428-29.

2 Fihrist, p.93; Wafayāt, i, 251.

3 Shadharāt, ii, 375.

4 Fihrist, p.94.

5 Cf: Shadharāt, loc. cit.

(d.285) to the latter. But in the long run he developed his inclination to the Baṣra school to such an extent that he became its exponent. Thus, Ibn Durustawayh is remembered as a pet student of al-Mubarrad<sup>1</sup>.

Ibn Durustawayh had a permanent domicile in Baghdād devoting himself to teaching ḥadīth, Arabic language and grammatical sciences, and also to writing books on them. From a pretty big list of his compilations<sup>2</sup> of which the majority were on grammar and philology, we may presume that Ibn Durustawayh was fully preoccupied with philology and linguistic sciences rather than traditional lores. Among his students of grammar the name of Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Marzubānī (d.384)<sup>3</sup> and of ḥadīth al-Dāraquṭnī (d.385) may be mentioned. He died in 347/958 in Baghdād.<sup>4</sup>

His works:

We have already mentioned that Ibn Durustawayh wrote a large number of books, a list of which had been furnished by Ibn al-Nadīm.<sup>5</sup> But, with the exception of the following one book none of his compilations could yet be traced.

Kitāb al-Kuttāb (Published)<sup>6</sup>

This is a code-book for the scribes. In this book Ibn Durustawayh has given the rules and regulations that a scribe has to abide by in doing his job. The book contains twelve chapters, each

1 Bughya, p.279; Fihrist, loc. cit.

2 For his compilations, ibid.

3 Supra, p.175 et. seq.

4 Al-Khaṭīb, loc. cit.; Nuzha, pp.356-58; Sarkis, p.101. Notice of his life is also found in al-Muntazam, vi,388; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, viii,208; Miftāh al-Sa'āda, i,136; Muhammad Bek Dayyāb, Kitāb Ta'rikh Adab al-Lughat al-'Arabiyya (Egypt, 1318), ii,24; Huart, p.149; Wüstenfeld, p.122; Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber, p.105.

5 Fihrist, pp.93-95.

6 Beirut, 1921.

bearing a number of fusūl or articles. Broad headings of the chapters are as follows:

- Chapter I : On hamza, compression. It deals with the mode of writing hamza occurring in a word at different places - beginning, middle and end of a word, a group of words or a sentence. The chapter contains ten articles.
- Chapter II : On madd. It deals with the mode of the lengthening of hamza. It has six articles.
- Chapter III : On qasr. It deals with the mode of shortening of vowels.<sup>1</sup> It has got seven articles.
- Chapter IV : On al-wasl wa al-fasl. It deals with the mutual connection of words in a sentence and their separation, and the mode to write them appropriately. It has eleven articles.
- Chapter V : On al-hadhf. It deals with different forms of idghām, insertion and hadhf, curtailment, shortening of letters etc. It has got ten articles.
- Chapter VI : On al-jiyāda. It deals with the additions of  $\text{ج}^2 - \text{ح}^3 - \text{و}^4$  in order to distinguish a particular set of words from others. It has four articles.
- Chapter VII : On badl, permutation. It deals with the permutation of  $\text{و} - \text{ي} - \text{ا} - \text{ه} - \text{و}$ . It has five articles.
- Chapter VIII : On nugat, dots. It deals with the various kinds of dots and their necessity emphasizing that the absence of dots and their incorrect use lead to serious complications in respect of getting the desired meaning. It has five articles.

1 Viz.,  $\text{و} - \text{ي} - \text{ا}$ . 2 فعلوا (Kitāb al-Kuttāb, p.44).

3 مه in place of ما (ibid, p.46).

4 عرو to distinguish from عمر; اولئك to distinguish from الثك (ibid, p.46).

- Chapter IX : On shakl, vowel-points. It deals with different forms of vowel-points and their importance for differentiation between word and word. It has three articles.
- Chapter X : On qāfiyya, rhyme. It deals with the indispensable need of knowledge of rhyme for a scribe. It has five articles.
- Chapter XI : On rasm al-khatt, form of script. In this chapter he has given a detailed description of the exact shape of every alphabet, its component parts, the various changing shapes it takes in course of its placement in a word. The author has furnished tables of ideal specimen of writing of the most complicated combination of the alphabet and emphasized that the shape of a letter in a particular alphabet must bear its standard shape wherever placed. He has also given in this chapter the procedure to be followed in beautifying every alphabet using different shapes of pen. It has fifteen articles.
- Chapter XII : On ilhāq, appendix. This chapter deals with the formalities to be observed by a scribe in his writing, e.g., how to begin a book or an epistle, its subject-matter and how to end. Then he devotes as many as sixteen articles on the sophisticated use of dates giving full details of lunar months and their days and nights etc. Also an article is added to the use of genders. There are two articles on pen, ink-pot, ink etc.



From the foregoing detailed contents of the book two broad facts come into bold relief. First, the art of writing reached its zenith in the fourth century of the hijra after undergoing an evolution in the course of the early centuries of Islam. Second, the community of the scribe who played a great role in preserving and disseminating, on the one hand, the works of poets, litterateurs and the scholars as a whole, and the governmental and official documents on the other, were highly learned in the Arabic language, its orthography, philology, grammar and syntax.

In short, Kitāb al-Kuttāb may be reckoned as an important document on the epoch-making events that was brought about by the extensive development of hand-writing in the period under review.

## 2. Abū Sa'īd al-Sīrāfi (d.368/978)

Abū Sa'īd al-Ḥasan b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Marzubān al-Sīrāfi was born in 280/893<sup>1</sup> at Sīrāf,<sup>1</sup> a small town on the Persian Gulf<sup>2</sup>. He belonged to a magian family; his father Bahzād was named 'Abd Allāh on his conversion to Islam<sup>3</sup>. He received early education in grammar, Arabic language and fiqh at his native town where he also read arithmetic. Then began his riḥla, journey in quest of knowledge while he barely crossed his teens. First we find him in 'Umān on the other side of the Persian Gulf studying Ḥanafite fiqh, but the name of his teacher has not come down to us. Then he came to 'Askar Mukram and stayed with Abū Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Ṣaymarī al-Mutakallim reading with him 'ilm al-Kalām, scholastic theology<sup>4</sup>. Here he also studied

1 Udabā', viii, p.228. 2 Buldān, iii, 211. 3 Al-Khaṭīb, vii, 341.

4 Fihrist, p.93; Wafayāt, i, 131; GAL, i, 113 = Najjār, ii, 187.

al-naḥw, syntax under grammarian Mabramān (d.345)<sup>1</sup>.

To acquire higher education in tradition and philology he went to Baghdād and heard ḥadīth from 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Ziyād al-Naysābūrī (d.324), Muḥammad b. Abī al-Azhar al-Būshanjī (d.325) and their contemporaries<sup>2</sup>. Here he completed his study on grammar and philology reading with al-Sarrāj (d.316) and Ibn Durayd (d.321) respectively; and Qur'ānic sciences under Abū Bakr b. Mujāhid (d.324)<sup>3</sup>.

From a significant incident that happened immediately after his coup de grâce to his education, we may judge his eminent position in the intellectual life of Baghdād. In 320/932 a polemical conference was convened in Baghdād to debate the comparative merits of Greek Logic and Arabic grammar between Mattā b. Yūnus al-Qunnā'ī (d.328), a leading Christian philosopher and Abū Sa'īd al-Sīrāfī. This historic conference was presided over by the vizier Ibn al-Furāt (d.327)<sup>4</sup> and was attended by a galaxy of scholars including 'Alī b. 'Īsā (d.334)<sup>5</sup>, Ibn al-Ikshīd (d.326)<sup>6</sup> and Ibn Abī Bishr (d.324)<sup>7</sup>. The proceedings of the conference preserved for us show in extenso how al-Sīrāfī overwhelmed his counterpart by exhibiting by far the superior scholarship not only in his own subject, namely Arabic grammar, but also in Greek Logic. Thus al-Sīrāfī, now only

1 Udabā', viii, 149; Bughya, p.74; 220. 2 Al-Khatīb, vii, 341.

3 Ibid., p.342.

4 He is Abū al-Fath al-Fadl b. Ja'far and acted as vizier under Caliph al-Muqtadir (295-320/908-932) and al-Rādī (322-29/934-40) and also as revenue collector of Egypt and Syria under the latter (Ency. of Islam, ii, 377-78).

5 He served thrice as vizier under Caliph al-Muqtadir. On him, see Fihrist, 186; Shadharāt, ii, 336.

6 He is Abū Bakr Ahmad b. 'Alī b. Ma'jūr, a Mu'tazilite theologian. On him, Fihrist, pp.245-46.

7 His name is Abū al-Hasan 'Alī b. Ismā'īl al-Ash'arī, a leader of the Sunni School of thought. On him, Fihrist, p.257; Shadharāt, ii, 303-05.

forty years old, emerged as an outstanding authority on grammar.<sup>1</sup>

Al-Sīrāfī started his career as a teacher and judge of Baghdād which two functions he performed with rare ability and success. As a teacher he taught the sciences of al-Qur'ān, al-naḥw, philology, scholastic theology, poetry, prosody and mathematics.<sup>2</sup> He was one of the leaders of the Baṣra school of grammarians<sup>3</sup> and produced, among others, Muḥammad b. Ja'far al-Khālī' (d.422)<sup>4</sup>, a teacher and author of grammar. It is interesting to note that his erudition in al-naḥw, syntax, the science of the Qur'ān and mathematics was widely recognized so that the following teachers of his read with him the subject mentioned against each:

1. Ibn Durayd : al-naḥw.
2. Ibn Mujāhid : al-naḥw.
3. Al-Sarrāj : 'ilm al-Qur'ān.
4. Mabramān : mathematics.<sup>5</sup>

As a Hanafite jurist al-Sīrāfī held at intervals the judgeship of eastern and western quarters of Baghdād for many years. Besides, he gave fatwa, legal decisions in the Jāmi' of al-Ruṣāfa<sup>6</sup> in Baghdād for long fifty years.<sup>7</sup>

Closely connected, as he was, with educational, cultural and administrative affairs of Baghdād al-Sīrāfī became the centre of reference and consultations in matters of religious and profane

1 Al-Muqābasāt, pp.68-87; Udabā', viii, 190-229. An English version of the proceedings together with the Arabic text was published by Margoliouth in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland for 1905, pp.79-129.

2 Al-Khatīb, vii, 341.

3 Ibid.

4 He was a descendant of Amīr Mu'āwiya. He wrote some books on grammar. On him; Bughya, p.235.

5 According to Professor Krenkow, al-Sīrāfī 'studied mathematics under Mabramān' (vide Ency. of Islam, iv, 444). But the fact is as we have stated in the text:

وقرأ على أبي بكر بن السراج وأبي بكر مبرمان النحو وقرأ عليه أحدهما القرآن ودرس (sic.)

عليه الآخر الحساب vide al-Khatīb, vii, 342; al-Sam'ānī, art "al-Sīrāfī".

6 It lies in the eastern quarter of Baghdād. Vide Buldān, ii, 783.

7 Udabā', viii, 149-50.

sciences, juridical and administrative problems raised by princes and viziers of the Caliphate<sup>1</sup>. Mention in this respect may be made of the Sāmānid Nūh b. Naṣr (331-43/942-54); the Daylamite al-Marzubān b. Muḥammad (d.346)<sup>2</sup>; the ruler of Sijistān Abū Ja'far Ahmad (311-52/923-63)<sup>3</sup>; and the viziers al-Bal'ami (d.363)<sup>4</sup> and Ibn Hinzāba (d.391)<sup>5</sup> of Bukhārā and Egypt respectively. They often wrote to him letters containing hundreds of questions arising out of the study of the Holy Qur'an, hadīth, al-fiqh, Arabic poetry, proverbs etc.<sup>6</sup> They addressed him as imām al-muslimīn and shaykh al-islām.<sup>7</sup>

We have it on the authority of Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawhīdī (d.400)<sup>8</sup> that in the court of al-Ṣāhib b. 'Abbād discussions went on with regard to Abū Sa'īd al-Sīrāfī<sup>9</sup>. Ibn 'Abbād who acquired a good deal of knowledge from him by personally attending his lectures in Baghdād<sup>10</sup> was so impressed with his profound scholarship and rare personality that he considered him superior to contemporary scholars.<sup>11</sup> While Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawhīdī himself regarded him as one who held authoritative position in diverse fields of learning and became the leader of the leading scholars of various disciplines.<sup>12</sup>

1 Ibid., pp.179-80.

2 Ruler of Adhrabījān. On him, Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 205; Abū al-Fidā, pt.ii, 101.

3 On him, Dr. Muḥammad Ishāq, A scholar prince of Sistān, an article published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan, June, 1965, vol. x, No.1, p.57.

4 He held the vizierate under the Sāmānid princes 'Abd al-Mālik (343/954-350/961) and Mansūr (350/961-366/976). Vide Barthold, p.10.

5 He served as vizier under the Ikhshīdite Kāfūr (355-57/966-68) and others. — Huffāz, iii, 212-13; Ency. of Islam, ii, 378.

6 Udabā', viii, 179-80.

7 (sic.) امام المسلمين و شيخ الاسلام : Udabā', viii, 179. He seems to be the first shaykh al-islām which designation became popular in later days. Vide Ency. of Islam, iv, 275-79.

8 Supra, p.244.

9 Udabā', viii, 187.

10 Cf: Udabā', vi, 276-79 and also supra, p.62.

11 Udabā', viii, 187.

12 (sic.) شيخ الشيخ و امام الائمة : Udabā', viii, 150.

Towards the close of his life Abū al-Fath Ibn al-ʿAmīd (d.366) visited Baghdād in 364/974 when an assembly of scholars was held there including al-Sīrāfī and the philosopher Abū al-Ḥasan al-ʿĀmirī. There al-ʿĀmirī tried to confound and corner al-Sīrāfī by putting a grammatical riddle but the latter retorted him by improvising verses — a scholarly feat admired by Ibn al-ʿAmīd<sup>1</sup>.

Al-Sīrāfī led a strictly pious life devoting himself to rigorous practices in prayers and fasting<sup>2</sup>. Perhaps as a part of his programme of pursuing religious life he would not accept any wages in lieu of his duties as a qādī or a teacher, and supported himself by penmanship<sup>3</sup>. Thus al-Sīrāfī earned his living by the toil

1 Udabā', viii, 229-32.

2 Ibid, p.172; Bughya, p.222.

3 Al-Khatīb, vii, 342; Udabā', viii, 146.

All the biographers admired al-Sīrāfī as a God-fearing man living an honest, simple and self-contented life. (sic) *وكان ديناً ورعاً تقياً بليداً*

*زاهداً عابداً خاشعاً له ذأب بالهار من القرآن والحشوع وورود بالليل من القيام والخضوع - ادباء، ج ١، ص ١٧٢؛ بغية - ص ٢٢٢*

There was, however, a story current among some copyists of Baghdād that he caused his pupils to make copies of MSS. and with a view to selling them at higher prices, he would certify them to be correct transcription (Udabā', viii, 189-90). Yāqūt, while narrating this story, expressed his grave doubt as to its veracity and said:

*وهذا ضد ما وصفه به الخطيب من ميانة الدين وتأيية من اخذ رزق على القضاء و  
تفاعته بما يحصل من نسخه هذه والله اعلم بما كان - ادباء، ج ١، ص ١٩٠*

This is contrary to what al-Khatīb (d.463) said about his qualities of being as steadfast in religion and refusal to accept maintenance allowance for his qadā, judgeship remaining content with what he earned by his copying. In this connection the following statement of Professor Krenkow (Ency. of Islam, iv, 445) appears to be a travesty of the facts:

"Against this (i.e. pious life of al-Sīrāfī) Yāqūt tells us that he (al-Sīrāfī) was accused of borrowing valuable manuscripts from two book-sellers and, being too mean and too poor, he caused his pupils to make copies of them. At the end of these he wrote that the work had been read over to him, and such copies later commanded a higher price than the originals, on account of the reputation of al-Sīrāfī".

It may be noted that Abū ʿAlī al-Fārīsī (q.v.) could not see eye to eye with al-Sīrāfī and "displayed his envy openly — ('He and his followers'). (Udabā', viii, 147; Ency. of Islam, iv, 445). Maybe the story of fraudulent practices for earning money attributed to al-Sīrāfī might have been concocted by his adversaries.

of his hand<sup>1</sup> — an ideal life cherished by every pious Muslim. He died in Baghdād on Monday, the 2nd Rajab, 368/3rd February, 979<sup>2</sup>.

His works:

Abū Sa'īd al-Sīrāfī was a scholar of rare combination. He was a jurist, grammarian, geographer, mathematician, astronomer and above all deeply versed in Arabic language and literature. A list of his works together with their available description is given below:

(i) Sharh Kitāb Sībawayh.

Al-Kitāb by the celebrated Sībawayh (d.ca.167) is a classic of Arabic grammar. The work is divided into two parts, and has 720 faṣls, chapters in all. The first part deals with 'ilm al-nahw or syntax and the second with 'ilm al-sarf or etymology. Though the work is contrary to popular arrangement, it embraces and satisfies all that are required for a student in the study of Arabic grammar. It should be noted that Sībawayh's approach to and presentation of grammatical problems are stiff and philosophical and at times abstruse beyond the grasp of students of ordinary calibre. This aspect of al-Kitāb was admitted even by al-Mubarrad (d.285) who used to hold a thorough test before allowing a student to read this book with him.<sup>3</sup>

Since the emergence of this classic work on Arabic grammar, erudite grammarians like Bakr b. Muḥammad Abū 'Uthmān al-Māzinī (d.249)<sup>4</sup>, 'Alī b. Sulaymān al-Akhfash al-Aṣghar (d.315)<sup>5</sup>, Abū Bakr al-Sarrāj (d.316), Mabramān (d.345), al-Sīrāfī and others wrote commentaries on this book.<sup>6</sup> But with the exception of the one of al-Sīrāfī no earlier commentary has come down to us.

1 (sic.) وكان زاهدًا لا يأكل إلا من كسب يده - الخطيب، ج ٧، ص ٣٤٢

2 Al-Khatīb, vii, 342. Notice of his life is also found in al-A'lām, ii, 210-11; Jawāhir al-Mudīyya, i, 196; Nuzha, pp. 379-82; al-Muntazam, vii, 95; al-Yāfi'i, ii, 390-91; Abū al-Fidā, pt. ii, 120; Lisān al-Mizān, ii, 218; Shadharāt, iii, 65-66; Miftāh al-Sa'āda, i, 140-41; Sarkis, p. 1071; Dayyāb, ii, 24-25; Huart, p. 149; Die grammatischen schulen der Araber, p. 107.

3 Zaydān, ii, 114-15.

4 On him, Bughya, pp. 202-03.

5 On him, Bughya, p. 338.

6 Hāji Khalīfa, ii, 282-83.

While commenting, al-Sirāfi elaborately explained abstruse expressions bringing into bold relief the vague ideas, and clarified the ambiguous terms. He has followed a system of self-imposed questions on a particular mas'ala, grammatical problem, using the terms: فإن قال قائل or إن سأل سائل and he himself gives his answer saying either قيل له or فالجواب <sup>4</sup>. Thus al-Sirāfi has made his commentary easy and interesting to read and it served the purpose of wide-spread utility of Sibawayh's al-Kitāb.

A substance of al-Sirāfi's commentary has been printed on the margin of Sibawayh's al-Kitāb published in Būlāq, 1316/1898. While Dr.G. Jahn has brought out a selection of al-Sirāfi's commentary together with the German version, published from Berlin in 1895/1900.<sup>5</sup>

(ii) Kitāb Asmā' Jibāl Tihāma wa Amākinihā<sup>6</sup> (published)<sup>7</sup>.

This is a tract describing the hills of Tihāma (the southern regions of Arabian Peninsula)<sup>8</sup> and their locations<sup>9</sup>.

In writing this book al-Sirāfi depended on notes left by 'Arām b. Asbagh al-Sulamī who might have lived in the third century A.H. Yāqūt utilized the book in Mu'jam al-Buldān<sup>10</sup>.

(iii) Akhbār al-Nahwiyyin al-Basriyyin (published)<sup>11</sup>.

The book gives the geographical notices of the Basra school of grammarians together with their disputes. Al-Suyūṭī (d.911) utilized

1 Sibawayh's Buch Uber Die Grammatik by G. Jahn (Berlin, 1895), vol.i, pp.3; 4; 6-9; 11-12; 14; 20; 23; 33; 39; 40; 57-58.

2 Ibid., pp. 3; 5; 9; 13.

3 Ibid., p.1.

4 Ibid., pp.2;4.

5 GAL, i, 101 = Najjār, ii, 136.

6 Hāji Khalifa (vol.ii, 261) has makānihā.

7 Ed. and published by 'Abd al-Salām Hārūn in the collection Nawādir al-Makhtūṭāt from Maṭba'a li-Janna al-Ta'lif wa al-Tarjama wa al-Nashr in 1375/1956. — Najjār, ii, 187.

8 Hitti, pp.15; 102; 103.

9 Hāji Khalifa, ii, 261; GAL, SI, 175 = Najjār, ii, 187-88.

10 GAL, SI, 175 = Najjār, ii, 188.

11 Published by F.Krenkow in Algeria from al-Maktaba al-'Arabiyya, 1935 (Najjār, ii, 188). The title is variously given as Kitāb Akhbār al-Nahwiyyin (Fihrist, p.93), Akhbār al-Nuhāt al-Basriyyin (Bughya, p.222);

the book in his Bughya<sup>1</sup>. It may be noted that al-Mubarrad (d.285) was the first scholar who compiled a book on this topic. Then came our author who furnished fuller information regarding the grammarians of this school.<sup>2</sup>

(iv) Sharh Maqṣūra Ibn Durayd (MS.)<sup>3</sup>: a commentary on al-Maqṣūra<sup>4</sup> by Ibn Durayd.

(v) Sharh Islāh al-Mantiq (MS.)<sup>5</sup>.

The book gives explanatory notes on the poems cited by Ibn al-Sikkīt (d.244) in Islāh al-Mantiq, a book on belles-lettres.<sup>6</sup>

(vi) Al-Ighrāb fī al-I'rāb (MS.)<sup>7</sup>: a book on the rare grammatical construction of sentences.

Abū Sa'īd al-Sīrāfī wrote a commentary on the verses quoted by Ibn Durayd in his large dictionary called Jamhara fī al-Lughā. Professor F. Krenkow has thoroughly studied the Leiden manuscript of Jamhara incorporating al-Sīrāfī's commentary. The method (followed by al-Sīrāfī in his commentary), as Professor Krenkow says, "is most pedantic. Every word is explained, seldom is there a reference to the historical background, but in very many cases it is evident that Sīrāfī had diligently asked Ibn Durayd for an explanation and the whole commentary gives the impression that his only share in the work has been to write down these additional explanations which are not found in the other manuscripts of the Djamhara"<sup>8</sup>.

(footnote continued)

Tabaqāt al-Nuhāt (Tadhkira al-Nawādir, p.94), Tabaqāt al-Nahwiyyin al-Basriyyin (Najjār, ii, 188) and Akhbār al-Nuhāt al-Basriyyin (Ency. of Islam, iv, 445).

1 Ency. of Islam, iv, 445.

2 Hāji Khalīfa, ii, 96.

3 A manuscript of it mixed with that of the commentary of Ibn Khālawayh (d.370) is available in the library of Leiden, Halland under No.619. (Najjār, ii, 179).

4 For al-Maqṣūra, supra, p.94.

5 Köprülüzāde Muhammad Pāshā Kutubkhāna Daftari, Istanbul under No.1296 (GAL, SI, 175; 180 = Najjār, ii, 188; 206).

6 Hāji Khalīfa, i, 112.

7 The library of the Kings College, Cambridge

under No.1239 (Najjār, ii, 188).

8 Ency. of Islam, iv, 445.



Besides the books noticed above, titles mentioned in the footnotes were also written by al-Sīrāfi<sup>1</sup>. But they have not come down to us.

### 3. Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī (d.377/987)

Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan b. Ahmad b. 'Abd al-Ghaffār al-Fārisī al-Fasawī, popularly known as Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī, was born in 288/900<sup>2</sup> at Fasā, a town in the district of Dārābjird in Fāris<sup>3</sup>. His mother was of pure Arab stock belonging to the tribe of Sadūs that migrated to Fāris during the Arab conquest<sup>4</sup>. Of his early education we have no information furnished by his biographers. It is obvious that he received a thorough training in his native town in various

- 
- 1 (i) Alifāt al-Qat' wa al-Wasl, a book on the pronounced and the unpronounced alifs that are called hamza al-qat' and hamza al-wasl. — Hāji Khalīfa, i, 139.
- (ii) Al-Iqnā' fī al-Nahw, a book on grammar left by him incomplete and was completed by his son Yūsuf (d.385). By writing this book al-Sīrāfi, as his son says, made the science of grammar easy. — Hāji Khalīfa, i, 132; Ency. of Islam, iv, 445.
- (iii) Kitāb Jazīra al-'Arab, a book on the geography of the Arabian Peninsula. — Udabā', viii, 150; Buldān, i, 7; 138; GAL, SI, 175 = Najjār, ii, 188; Ency. of Islam, iv, 445.
- (iv) Al-Madkhal ilā Kitāb Sibawayh, an introduction to al-Kitāb of Sibawayh. — Udabā', viii, 150; Bughya, p.222; Ency. of Islam, iv, 445.
- (v) San'at al-Shi'r wa al-Balāgha. This seems to be a book on prosody and rhetoric. — Udabā', viii, 150; Hāji Khalīfa, ii, 80.
- (vi) Al-Waqf wa al-Ibtidā', a book on punctuation. The book was perhaps written on the correct pauses and stops in the recitation of the Holy Qur'an. — Hāji Khalīfa, ii, 306; Ency. of Islam, iv, 445.
- (vii) Shawāhid Sibawayh, explanations of the verses cited in the al-Kitāb of Sibawayh. Vide Ency. of Islam, iv, 445.

2 Wafayāt, i, 131.

3 Buldān, iii, 891.

4 Najjār, ii, 190.

disciplines. But he found grammatical studies of the Arabic language to be his favourite field in which he was destined to excel many of his contemporaries. Now, to acquire accomplishment in the subject he arrived at Baghdād in 307/919 and sat at the feet of al-Zajjāj (d.310) and al-Sarrāj (d.316), the two illustrious teachers of grammar in the city.<sup>1</sup> At Baghdād Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī took the opportunity of hearing ḥadīth from 'Alī b. al-Husayn b. Ma'dān (d.ca.310), a student of Ishāq b. Rāhawayh (d.238)<sup>2</sup>. After studying at Baghdād he returned home and spent some time at 'Askar Mukram to give the finishing touch to his education under Abū Bakr al-Mabramān (d.345)<sup>3</sup>. Then we find Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī touring round the Muslim countries visiting the seats of learning.<sup>4</sup> While sojourning at Mawsil he peeped into the study circle of Ibn Jinnī (d.392) held in the Jāmi' mosque there. It is said that Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī raised before him a grammatical problem for solution. Being unable to solve it and getting its true exposition from Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī himself, Ibn Jinnī was so charmed with his erudition that henceforth he became his disciple studying the science of grammar till the end of his life.<sup>5</sup>

Thereafter he went to Syria, visited its cultural seats and arrived Halab in 341/952, where in the court of Sayf al-Dawla b. Hamdān (333-56/944-67) he remained for a considerable period.<sup>6</sup> Here he enjoyed the royal hospitality of the Prince and held literary meetings with al-Mutanabbī (d.354)<sup>7</sup>.

On the conclusion of his wanderjahre Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī came back to Fāris, when already his fame as an outstanding scholar had

1 Udabā', vii, 233; Wafayāt, i, 131.

2 Al-Khatīb, vii, 275.

3 Udabā', vii, 233. Mabramān taught grammar at his native town 'Askar Mukram and not at Baghdād as Sadruddin (Sayfuddaulah and his time, p.168) would have us believe. Cf: Shadharāt, ii, 310.

4 Wafayāt, i, 131.

5 Najjār, ii, 244.

6 Wafayāt, i, 131.

7 Ibid.

spread far and wide.<sup>1</sup> The Buwayhid prince 'Adud al-Dawla (338-372/949-982), himself a man of literary taste<sup>2</sup> invited him to his court at Shīrāz and read with him<sup>3</sup>, and gauging his profound knowledge in grammar remarked: "I am just like a boy before Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī in grammar".<sup>4</sup> 'Adud al-Dawla held him in high esteem and included him among his chosen associates holding occasionally discussions on grammatical problems with him.<sup>5</sup> He wrote Kitāb al-Īdāh wa al-Takmila for the prince 'Adud al-Dawla.<sup>6</sup>

At Shīrāz Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī delivered lectures on grammatical sciences. Among his products the name of 'Alī b. 'Alī b. 'Isā al-Rabā'ī (d.420), a noted grammarian has been preserved for us.<sup>7</sup>

It appears that on the death of 'Adud al-Dawla in 372/982<sup>8</sup> Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī left for Baghdād and founded there a seminary which for long years remained a centre of grammatical studies there. He spent the rest of his life teaching philology and grammar and produced, among others, al-Jawharī (d.393)<sup>9</sup>, al-Tanūkhī (d.447),<sup>10</sup> al-Rummānī (d.384)<sup>11</sup> and Abū Ṭalīb al-'Abdī (d.406)<sup>12</sup>. This famous seminary of Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī was headed by Ibn Jinnī on his expiry in 377/987<sup>13</sup>.

1 Ibid.

2 Shadharāt, iii,72.

3 Hājī Khalīfa, i,177.

4 (sic.) انا غلام ابى على النخوى الفارسي في النحو

al-Khatīb, vii,275-76.

5 Udabā', vii,237-38; Bughya, p.216.

6 Wafayāt, i,131; Shadharāt, iii,88.

7 Al-Khatīb, xii, 17-18; Bughya, p.344.

8 Shadharāt, iii,72.

9 He is Abū Naṣr Ismā'īl b. Hammād al-Jawharī, the author of Kitāb al-Sihāh. For notice of his life, Nuzha, pp.418-21; Bughya, p.195; Shadharāt, iii,142-43.

10 On him, al-Sam'ānī, art "al-Tanūkhī"; Shadharāt, iii,276.

11 About his life and works, Nuzha, pp.389-92; Bughya, p.344; Najjār, ii,189-90.

12 Bughya, (p.129) misprints it as al-'Īdī. Al-'Abdī was a commentator of al-Īdāh (ibid; Hājī Khalīfa, i, 177).

13 Al-Khatīb, vii,275; Nuzha, p.387; al-Muntazam, vii,138; Najjār, ii,244.

Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī was intimate with al-Sāhib b. 'Abbād (d.385)<sup>1</sup> and had literary correspondence with him<sup>2</sup>.

Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī was an eminent authority on Arabic grammar and, according to some, even superior to al-Mubarrad (d.285)<sup>3</sup>. While according to his student Abū Tālib al-'Abdī (d.406), Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī was more clear sighted<sup>4</sup> in al-naḥw, syntax than Sībawayh (d.ca.167)<sup>5</sup>. He breathed his last at Baghdād in the month of Rabi' al-Awwal, 377/June, 987 at the age of eighty nine, and was buried in the graveyard of al-Shūnīziyya<sup>6</sup> to the west of Baghdād.<sup>7</sup>

His works:

(i) Kitāb al-Īdāh wa al-Takmila (published)<sup>8</sup>

As the title shows, it is a work on the clear exposition of grammar. A medium sized volume it contains 196 chapters devoting 30 to etymology and 166 to syntax.<sup>9</sup>

In the preface the author mentions the name of prince 'Adud al-Dawla and prays for his well-being<sup>10</sup>. When the book was presented to 'Adud al-Dawla he expressed his dissatisfaction over it as, according to him, no new points were added and that it was good for boys. At this Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī wrote al-Takmila, the supplement, and placed it before the prince. The standard of the Takmila was so high that 'Adud al-Dawla was constrained to say that his remark regarding Kitāb al-Īdāh might have enraged the shaykh so that he included in the Takmila those problems which neither he nor we could properly understand.<sup>11</sup>

1 q.v.p.59. 2 Udabā', vii, 249 sq.

3 Al-Khatīb, vii, 275; Udabā' vii, 232-234.

4 (sic.) المر: Udabā', vii, 239.

5 q.v. p.243. 6 Buldān, iii, 338.  
7 Al-Muntazam, vii, 138; Shadharāt, iii, 88. Ibn al-Athīr (Ta'rikh Kāmil, ix, 21) mentions the year of his death as 376. Notice of his life is also found in Nuzha, pp.387-89; Fihrist, p.95; al-Yafī'i, ii, 406-07; Miftāh al-Sa'āda, i, 139-40; Abū al-Fidā, pt.ii, 124-25; Dayyāb, ii, 24; al-A'lam, ii, 193; Sadrud-dīn, p.168; Huart, p.150.

8 Published in Hyderabad. — GAL, SI, 176 = Najjār, ii, 191.

9 Hājī Khalīfa, i, 177. 10 Bankipore Cata., xx, 47 under No.2013.

11 Hājī Khalīfa, i, 177; Udabā', vii, 238.

Since the appearance of this invaluable treatise on grammar scholars of different time and clime compiled a series of commentaries, expositions, glosses and abridgements of this book<sup>1</sup>. The following may be mentioned:

Ibn Jinnī (d.392): Sharḥ al-Īdāh(MS)<sup>2</sup>.

Abū Ṭālib al-ʿAbdī (d.406): Sharḥ al-Īdāh<sup>3</sup>.

Ibn al-Bannā' al-Miṣrī (d.471)<sup>4</sup>: Sharḥ al-Īdāh (MS)<sup>5</sup>

ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī (d.471): Sharḥ al-Īdāh wa al-Takmila(MS)<sup>6</sup>.

Abū Bakr al-Andalusī: Sharḥ al-Īdāh (MS)<sup>7</sup>

Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Ḥimṣī (d.644): Nazam al-Īdāh wa al-Takmila.<sup>8</sup>

Ibn al-Ḥājjib (d.646): al-Muktafī li al-Mubtadī<sup>9</sup>.

It is interesting to note that Abū ʿAlī al-Fārisī himself wrote a commentary on the verses cited in Kitāb al-Īdāh and named it Sharḥ Abyāt al-Īdāh<sup>10</sup> or according to Yāqūt, Kitāb al-Īdāh al-Shiʿrī<sup>11</sup>

(ii) Kitāb al-Shiʿr or Kitāb al-ʿAdudī (partly published)<sup>12</sup>

It furnishes a study of the venues and place-names occurring in poetical literature. Ibn Jinnī prepared a recension of the book which has come down to us. The book is also called Kitāb al-ʿAdudī because Abū ʿAlī al-Fārisī dedicated it to prince ʿAdud al-Dawla<sup>13</sup>.

1 Ḥājjī Khalīfa, i,177; GAL, SI,176 = Najjār,ii,191-92.

2 Daftari Kutubkhāna Qiliç. ʿAlī Pāshā, İstambol under No.930. Vide ibid.

3 Ḥājjī Khalīfa, i,177.

4 He is Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Bannā' al-Miṣrī al-Muqrī. Bughya, p.216.

5 Bankipore, Patna under No.2014. — Bankipore Cata., xx,48-49; Najjār, ii,191.

6 Escorial, Paris under No.44; Daftari Kutubkhāna Bāyezid, İstambol; and Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Cairo. — GAL, SI, 176 = Najjār,ii,191.

7 Maktaba Ismāʿil Affendi, İstambol. — GAL, SI, 176 = Najjār,ii,192.

8 Ḥājjī Khalīfa, i,178.

9 Ibid., p.177.

10 Fihrist, p.75.

11 Udabā', vii,240.

12 Ed. and publ. by H.J. Roediger in de nominibus verborum arabicis, Halis, 1869, pp.1-11. — Vide GAL, SI, 176 = Najjār, ii,192.

13 Ibid.

(iii) Kitāb Jawāhir al-Nahw (MS.)<sup>1</sup>: a treatise on syntax.

(iv) I'rāb al-Qur'ān (MS).<sup>2</sup> It is a grammatical study of the verses of the Holy Qur'ān.

(v) Kitāb al-Ighfāl fī mā Aghfalahu al-Zajjāj fī al-Ma'ānī(MS)<sup>3</sup>

It is properly a supplement to Ma'ānī al-Qur'ān by al-Zajjāj (d.310) that deals with the grammatical analysis of the Holy Qur'ān.<sup>4</sup> In the preface the author says that he has discussed in this book those problems which have been overlooked by his teacher inadvertently.<sup>5</sup>

(vi) Kitāb al-Hujja wa al-Ighfāl (MS)<sup>6</sup>.

It is a commentary on Kitāb al-Qira'āt al-Sab' (a book on the seven readings of the Holy Qur'ān) by Ibn Mujāhid (d.324)<sup>7</sup>.

Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī presented this book to al-Sāhib b. 'Abbād with an inscription praying for the peace and prosperity of al-Sāhib. It became the precious possession of the library of al-Sāhib and was consulted by Salāma b. 'Iyād al-Nahwī (d.533) in Safar, 522/1128<sup>8</sup>.

(vii) Kitāb al-Masā'il al-Baghdādiyya or Kitāb al-Masā'il al-Mushkila (MS).<sup>9</sup>

(viii) Kitāb al-Masā'il al-Shīrāziyya (MS)<sup>10</sup>.

The books under serial Nos. (vii) and (viii) seem to deal with the literary and grammatical problems raised by the scholars of Baghdād and Shīrāz respectively.

1 Kutubkhāna i mubāraka Āsitaniquds i Ridawī, Meshhed under No.7,19. — GAL, SI, 176 = Najjār, ii,193.

2 The library of Egypt. — Vide Najjār, ii,193.

3 Kutubkhāna al-Khadiwiyya al-Misriyya, Cairo. — GAL, SI, 176-Najjār, ii,193.

4 Cf: ibid; Hājī Khalīfa, i,121.

5 Tadhkira al-Nawādir, p.19.

6 Oriental Public Library at Bankipore, Patna under No.1211. For other MS. copies, GAL, SI, 176 = Najjār, ii,192-93.

7 Ibid.

8 Udabā', vii,239.

9 The library of Shahīd 'Alī Pāshā, Istambul under No.2516. — Vide GAL, SI, 176 = Najjār, ii,193.

10 Daftari Kutubkhāna Rāghib Pāshā, Istambul under No.1379. — Vide Najjār, ii,193.

(ix) Kitāb al-Tadhkira (MS)<sup>1</sup>

In this book the author has given grammatical exposition to abstruse verses of some poets.<sup>2</sup>

Al-Ḥasan b. Ahmad al-Ghandajānī (d.ca. 428) wrote a treatise entitled Nuzhat al-Adīb refuting some grammatical theories advanced in al-Tadhkira.<sup>3</sup>

Besides the books noticed above, titles mentioned in the foot-notes were also written by Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī<sup>4</sup>. But they are yet to be traced.

1 A manuscript is preserved in Zanjān. — Vide Najjār, ii, 194.

2 Khizānat al-Adab, i, 21; iv, 390; 392; Najjār, ii, 193.

3 Udabā', vii, 265; Bughya, p. 217; Khizānat al-Adab, i, 21.

4(i) Kitāb al-Masā'il al-Halabiyya. — Udabā', vii, 240.

(ii) Kitāb al-Masā'il al-Baṣriyya. — Ibid, p. 241.

(iii) Kitāb al-Masā'il al-Dimashqiyya. — Ibid.

(iv) Kitāb al-Masā'il al-'Askariyya. — Ibid.

(v) Kitāb al-Masā'il al-Karmaniyya. — Ibid.

These five books seem to deal with the literary and grammatical problems raised by the scholars of Ḥalab, al-Baṣra, Damascus, 'Askar Mukram and Kirmān respectively.

(vi) Kitāb Masā'il al-Qasriyya (Udabā', vii, 240): Some grammatical problems were dictated to Muhammad b. Tuways al-Qasri, a student of Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī. The book was titled after the name of the student. (Udabā', xviii, 206-07).

(vii) Kitāb al-Masā'il al-Manthūra. (Udabā', vii, 241).

(viii) Kitāb al-Masā'il al-Majlisiyyat (Wafayāt, i, 132).

(ix) Kitāb al-Masā'il al-Muṣṣlaḥa min Kitāb Ibn al-Sarrāj. (Udabā', vii, 241)

(x) Al-Awwāliyyāt fi al-Nahw. (Najjār, ii, 193).

(xi) Maqāsid Dhawī al-Albāb fī al-'Amal bi al-Astarlāb. (Ibid.).

(xii) Kitāb Abyāt al-I'rāb. (Fihrist, p. 75; Udabā', vii, 240).

(xiii) Kitāb Mukhtasar 'Awāmil al-I'rāb. (Ibid.).

(xiv) Kitāb al-'Awāmil al-Mi'at. (Wafayāt, i, 131).

(xv) Kitāb al-Maqsūr wa al-Mamdūd. (Ḥājī Khalīfa, ii, 302).

(xvi) Kitāb Naqs al-Hadhūr. (Udabā', vii, 241).

(xvii) Kitāb al-Tarjama. (Ibid.).

(xviii) Kitāb Abyāt al-Ma'ānī. (Ibid.).

(xix) Kitāb al-Tatabba' likalām Abī 'Alī al-Jubbā'ī fī al-Tafsīr. (Ibid.).

(xx) Kitāb Tafsīr Qawlihi Ta'ālā: " يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا إِذَا قُمْتُمْ إِلَى الصَّلَاةِ "

Ibid. — "

## C. GEOGRAPHERS:

Al-Iṣṭakhrī (d. in the 2nd half of the 4th century A.H.)

Among the geographers who flourished in Fāris in the 4th/10th century the name of al-Iṣṭakhrī may be mentioned here. Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Fārisī commonly called al-Iṣṭakhrī was born and brought up at Iṣṭakhr in Fāris.<sup>1</sup> He migrated to Baghdād and settled at al-Karkh, a quarter thereof; hence is his nisba, appellation al-Karkhī.<sup>2</sup>

Al-Iṣṭakhrī was a prominent and systematic geographer of the 4th/10th century<sup>3</sup>. Of his education we have but little information. It appears that during his student career he felt an urge for the acquisition of knowledge pertaining to climes and countries of the then world. With this end in view he set out on a wanderjahre before 340/951 and travelled widely in all the lands from India to the Atlantic Ocean and from the Persian Gulf to the Caspian Sea<sup>4</sup>. In 340/951 he arrived in the Indo-Pak Sub-continent and met his contemporary geographer Ibn Hawqal (d. ca. 366/976) in the Indus Valley<sup>5</sup>. They might possibly have exchanged here geographical information.<sup>6</sup>

Al-Iṣṭakhrī is credited with being the first geographer who wrote down in Arabic his findings based on the geographical data he collected in the course of his travels from the lips of countrymen as well as those handed down from the books of Ptolemy (d. 2nd century A.D.)<sup>7</sup>. He died in the second half of the 4th/10th century. The date of his death is not known.

1 Bustānī, Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif, (Beirut, 1878), iii, 744.

2 Sarkis, p. 453; Zaydān, ii, 327; Sayyid Sulaymān Nadwī, 'Arab wa Hind ki Ta'alluqāt (Allahābād, 1930), p. 38.

3 Le Strange, p. 13.

4 Bustānī, iii, 744-45; Elliot and Dowson, The History of India, (London, 1867), i, 26.

5 'Arab wa Hind Ki Ta'alluqāt, p. 38.

6 Elliot and Dowson, i, 26.

7 Bustānī, iii, 745.



His works:

(i) Kitāb al-Aqālīm<sup>1</sup> (published)<sup>2</sup>: a book on climes.

In this book al-Istakhrī with the help of nineteen suwar or maps has described the boundaries of the kingdoms, their cities and the distances in between them, oceans, rivers etc. In the preface the author says that the book was written on the basis of the earlier work of the same name by Abū Zayd al-Balkhī (d.322/933). All these maps are coloured ones.<sup>3</sup>

The book begins with the map of Arabia followed by the maps of the Persian Gulf, North Africa, Spain, Egypt, Syria, Jerusalem, the Mediterranean Sea, Mesopotamia, al-‘Irāq, Khūzistān, Fāris, Kirmān, Sind, Arminiyya, Adhrabijān, Jibāl, Tabaristān or Daylam, Caspian Sea, Khurāsān, Sijistān, Afghanistān and Transoxiana.<sup>4</sup>

(ii) Kitāb Masālik al-Mamālik (published)<sup>5</sup>

As the title shows, it is a geographical work on the routes of the kingdoms. In this book al-Istakhrī produced the geographical account of the Muslim countries during the 4th century A.H. So unlike the earlier geographers he did not divide the world into seven climes, but he divided it, according to Muslim kingdoms, into twenty regions. He described each region in a separate chapter. The regions are: Arabia, the Persian Gulf, North Africa, Egypt, Syria, the Mediterranean Sea, Mesopotamia, al-‘Irāq, Khūzistān, Fāris, Kirmān, cities of

1 Also called Suwar al-Aqālīm (Sarkis, p.454).

2 Ed. and publ. by Dr. Moeller at Gotha, 1839 under the title "Liber Climatum". A German translation of the book by Dr. Mordtmann appeared from Hamburg, 1845 under the title "Das Buch der Länder". Signor Madini translated the portion of Sijistān into Italian and published it at Milan, 1842. - Vide Zaydān, ii, 327-28; Elliot, i, 26.

3 Zaydān, ii, 327-28; Sarkis, p.454.

4 Ibid.

5 Ed. and published by De Goeje in Leiden, 1870 (Sarkis, p.454) and the second edition in 1927 and the latest edition in 1967.

Sind, Arminiyya, Adharbayjān, al-Jibāl, al-Daylam, the Caspian Sea, the Great Desert between Khurāsān and Fāris, Sijistān, Khurāsān and Transoxiana. He made frequent references to the maps of each region as given in his Kitāb al-Aqālīm.<sup>1</sup>

While describing a region al-Istakhri first described its boundaries. Such descriptions are followed up by the accounts of cities, towns, villages and important rivers along with their climates and products. Generally he concluded each chapter with a table of distances between cities and towns. He cited in the book a few extracts from the Holy Qur'ān in support of some of the geographical accounts of Arabia<sup>2</sup>, Egypt<sup>3</sup>, Syria<sup>4</sup>, and Fāris<sup>5</sup>. It is to be noted that he described his own region Fāris more elaborately than the other regions<sup>6</sup>.

Scholars hold different views regarding the books of al-Istakhri. Some are of opinion that he wrote two independent books -- one, named Kitāb al-Aqālīm or Suwar al-Aqālīm and the other Kitāb Masālik al-Mamālik. While others say that the former is nothing but a synopsis of the latter. Thus the editors of his works published them separately as two books.<sup>7</sup>

Some scholars are of opinion that al-Istakhri's Masālik al-Mamālik and Kitāb al-Aqālīm are nothing but a reproduction of Abū Zayd's Suwar al-Aqālīm<sup>8</sup>. But this opinion does not seem to be correct. As a matter of fact, in writing his Kitāb al-Aqālīm, al-Istakhri's intention was to indicate the position of the different regions of

1 Kitāb Masālik al-Mamālik, ed. De Goeje (Leiden, 1927), pp. 2-4.

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 15; 19; 20.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 55.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 59.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 140.

6 Sykes, *History of Persia*, ii, 9. Cf: Kitāb Masālik al-Mamālik, pp. 96-158.

7 Cf: Zaydān, ii, 327-28; Sarkis, p. 454; *Ency. of Islam*, ii, 560.

8 Zaydān, ii, 327.

the Muslim world by means of maps and in the course of doing so he utilized the material provided by Abū Zayd in his Suwar al-Aqālīm.<sup>1</sup> As for the Masālik al-Mamālik, al-Iṣṭakhri offered in it in detail the geographical accounts of the regions of the Muslim world mentioned above. The descriptions of the regions given in the work are based on the information he collected in the course of his travels from the residents of the respective regions, and also those handed down from the books of Ptolemy.<sup>2</sup>

#### D.MYSTICS:

Abū 'Abd Allāh b. Khafif al-Shirāzī (d.371/981)

Among the mystics who flourished in Fāris in the 4th/10th century the name of Abū 'Abd Allāh b. Khafif al-Shirāzī may be mentioned. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Khafif b. Isfakshādh al-Dabbī al-Shirāzī came of a royal stock<sup>3</sup>. After hearing ḥadīth from Hammād b. Mudrik al-Fustujānī (d.301), 'Abd al-Mālik b. Khulayd b. Rawāha he studied Shāfi'ite jurisprudence with Abū al-Hasan al-Ash'arī (d.324)<sup>4</sup>. He enjoyed the association of ascetics like Ruwaym (d.303), Abū Muḥammad al-Jarīrī (d.311) and Abū al-'Abbās b. 'Atā' (d.309), and had contact with al-Husayn b. Mansūr al-Hallāj (d.309).<sup>5</sup> He had a large number of disciples who called themselves al-Khafīfiyya after the name of his father.<sup>6</sup> He died in 371/981 at Shirāz.<sup>7</sup>

1 Ibid.

2 Bustānī, iii, 745.

3 Al-Yāfi'i, ii, 397.

4 Al-Sam'ānī, art "al-Shirāzī"; al-Subkī, ii, 150 sq.

5 Tabaqāt al-Sūfiyya, p.462.

6 Kaṣhī al-Mahjūb, p.247.

7 Al-Sam'ānī, loc. cit. Notice of his life is also found in Ta'rikh Naysābūr, p.160; Buldān, iii, 350; Lubāb, ii, 39; Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 7; al-Muntazam, vii, 112; Shadharāt, iii, 76-77.

His works:

- (i) Wasiyya (MS.)<sup>1</sup>: a book on counsels and advice.
- (ii) Al-'Aqida al-Sahīha (MS.)<sup>2</sup>: a book on sound dogma.
- (iii) Kitāb Awsāf al-Qulūb (MS.)<sup>3</sup>: a book on the attributes of soul.
- (iv) Kitāb al-Fadā'il wa Jāmi' al-Da'wat wa al-Adhkār.<sup>4</sup>

In this book the author narrates the merits of the Qur'ān and quotes the texts of invocation in salāt and other prayers as well as the texts of the invocations of other Prophets, the Companions, the Followers and Muslim ascetics.<sup>5</sup>

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1 Tübingen under No.89, 21 and Shahīd 'Alī Pāshā under No.1388. (GAL, SI, 359).

2 Āyā Sofia, Istambol under No.4792. (Ibid).

3 Asitaniquds i Ridawi, Meshhed. (Ibid).

4 Hāji Khalīfa, ii,293.

5 Ibid.

SECTION II. The Province of Khūzistān.

(i) Topography: Khūzistān (modern Arabistān)<sup>1</sup> is a small province occupying the lower waters of the Dujayl on the south-western frontier of Persia. It was bounded on the east by Fāris; on the west by al-‘Irāq; on the north by the province of Jibāl and on the south by the Persian Gulf.<sup>2</sup> The province was fabulously rich during the early centuries of Islam. Al-Ahwāz, ‘Askar Mukram, Tustar, Sūs, Rāmahurmuz, Junday Sābūr and Surraq were the chief cities.<sup>3</sup>

Al-Ahwāz, the capital of Khūzistān was situated on the border of al-‘Irāq. The river Dujayl with its affluents passed through the city.<sup>4</sup> A centre of trade al-Ahwāz exported sugar, rice and silk to all over Persia, al-‘Irāq, Syria and Arabia.<sup>5</sup>

(ii) Arab conquest: In 17/638 the Arabs under the command of Abū Mūsā al-Ash‘arī conquered al-Ahwāz, Manādhir and Nahr Tīra and besieged Tustar. The people of Tustar fought against the Arabs and finally their ruler Hurmuzān surrendered and embraced Islam. Then the Arabs conquered one after another Rāmahurmuz, Sūs, Junday Sābūr, ‘Askar Mukram and other towns of Khūzistān. Some of these towns were taken by force and some by treaty on the stipulation that they would pay tributes.<sup>6</sup> During and after the Arab conquest the following Sahāba and Tābi‘ūn visited Khūzistān:

Names of some of the Sahāba are mentioned below:

1. Abū Mūsā al-Ash‘arī;<sup>7</sup>
2. ‘Utba b. Ghazwān;<sup>8</sup>

1 Le Strange, p.232.

3 Al-Istakhri, pp.88-89.

5 Ibid, p.246; Ency. of Islam, ii, 985.

6 Balādhuri, pp.376-83 = Murgotten, pp.112-21.

7 Supra, p.4.

8 On him, see: Tajrid, i, 399; Isāba, ii, 1086.

2 Al-Istakhri, p.88; Le Strange, Map I

4 Le Strange, pp.233-34.

3. Nu'aym b. Muqarran;<sup>1</sup>
4. Al-Nu'mān b. Muqarran (d.21);<sup>2</sup>
5. Al-Barā' b. Mālik (d.17 or 20);<sup>3</sup>
6. Muhammad b. Ja'far b. Abī Tālib;<sup>4</sup>
7. Suwayd b. Muqarran;<sup>5</sup>
8. Anas b. Mālik (d.93);<sup>6</sup>
9. 'Ammār b. Yāsar (d.37);<sup>7</sup>
10. Al-Rabī' b. Ziyād (d.53);<sup>8</sup>
11. Samura b. Jundab al-Fazārī (d.58 or 60);<sup>9</sup>
12. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Āmir;<sup>10</sup>
13. Al-Barā' b. 'Āzib al-Anṣārī (d.72);<sup>11</sup>
14. Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān (d.36);<sup>12</sup>
15. Qarāza b. Ka'b al-Anṣārī (d.40).<sup>13</sup>

Among the Tābi'ūn the name of Ahnaf b. Qays<sup>14</sup> may be mentioned.

(iii) Development of Arabic studies before 4th century A.H.

Before taking notice of the 4th/10th century scholars, we should like to mention some outstanding figures of Khūzistān who flourished in the third century A.H. They were as follows:

1. Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb b. Ishāq b. al-Sikkīt (d.244) was a grammarian and philologist.<sup>15</sup> He was the author of Kitāb Iṣlāh al-Mantiq<sup>16</sup>

1 Supra, p.42.

2 Isāba,iii,1164-65.

3 He is the brother of Anas b. Mālik. On him, see: Tajrīd,i,48-49; al-Istī'āb,i,57; Isāba,i,290.

4 On him, see: Tajrīd,ii,60; al-Istī'āb,i,234.

5 Supra, p.80.

6 On him, see: Tajrīd,i,32; al-Istī'āb, i,35; Isāba,i,138.

7 On him, see: Tajrīd,i,425; al-Istī'āb,ii,422.

8 Supra,p.204.

9 On him, see: Tajrīd,i,257; al-Istī'āb,ii,464-65.

10 Supra, p.4. 11 Supra,p.42. 12 Supra,p.42. 13 Supra,p.42.

14 Supra,p.5.

15 Al-Khatīb,xiv,273-74; Udabā',xx,50-52; al-Yāfi'i, ii,147-49; Bughya, p.418; Fihrist,pp.107-08; Nuzha, pp.238-41; Wafayāt,ii,309-12; Shadharāt,ii,106; Zaydān, ii,118; Najjār, ii,205.

16 Edited and published by Cheikho in Beyrouth,1898. Also printed in Egypt,1907;at Dār al-Ma'ārif in Egypt,1949. - GAL,SI,180 = Najjār, ii,206; Zaydān, ii,118.

(a book on the correct expression of ideas in language), Kitāb al-Alfāz<sup>1</sup> (a book on Arabic words and phrases), Kitāb al-Qalb wa al-Ibdāl<sup>2</sup> (a book on synonyms), Kitāb al-Addād<sup>3</sup> (a book on antonyms), Sharh Qasīda li 'Umāra b. 'Aqīl<sup>4</sup> (a commentary on an ode written by 'Umāra b. 'Aqīl, d.ca.248) etc.

2. Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Harb al-'Askarī al-Simsār (d.282),<sup>5</sup> compiler of Musnad Abī Hanīfa.<sup>6</sup>

3. Abū Muḥammad Sahl b. 'Abd Allāh b. Yūnus al-Tustarī (d.283) was a ṣūfī scholar.<sup>7</sup> He was the author of Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'Azīm,<sup>8</sup> Kitāb Daqā'iq al-Muhibbīn<sup>9</sup> (a book on the niceties of the beloved of Allāh), Kitāb Mawā'iz al-'Ārifīn<sup>10</sup> (a book on the admonitions of the knowers of Allāh), Kitāb Jawābāt Ahl al-Yaqīn (Answers of the people of conviction)<sup>11</sup> etc.

4. Abū 'Alī 'Asal b. Dhakwān al-'Askarī (d.ca.295) was a grammarian and philologist<sup>12</sup>. He was the author of Kitāb al-Jawāb al-Muskīt<sup>13</sup> and Kitāb Aqsām al-'Arabiyya.<sup>14</sup>

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- 1 Published in Beyrouth, 1896-98; also in an abridged form in Beyrouth, 1897. — GAL, SI, 180 = Najjār, ii, 207.
- 2 Ed. and Publ. by Haffner in *Texte zur ar. Lex.* (Leipzig, 1905). Vide GAL, SI, 180-81.
- 3 Also ed. and publ. by Haffner in Thalāth Rasā'il fī al-Addād (Beyrouth, 1912). GAL, SI, 181.
- 4 MS. copy is preserved in Kutubkhāna al-Khadiwiyya al-Misriyya, Cairo. Ibid.
- 5 On him, Hājī Khalīfa, ii, 431; GAL, i, 157.
- 6 MS. copy is preserved in Köprülüzāde Moḥammad Pāshā Kutubkhāna Daftari, Istanbul. Vide GAL, i, 157.
- 7 Tabaqāt al-Sūfiyya, pp. 206-11; al-Yāfi'i, ii, 200; Wafayāt, i, 218; Buldān, i, 850.
- 8 Ed. and publ. by Na'sānī in Cairo, 1326. Vide GAL, SI, 333.
- 9 Fihrist, p. 263.
- 10 Ibid.
- 11 Ibid.
- 12 Udabā', xii, 168-69; Bughya, p. 324.
- 13 Ibid.
- 14 Ibid.

## 4TH/10TH CENTURY SCHOLARS OF KHŪZISTĀN AND THEIR WORKS

A. AL-MUHADDITHŪN, THE TRADITIONISTS:Al-Rāmahurmuzī (d.360/970)

Among the Muhaddithūn who flourished in Khūzistān in the 4th/10th century the name of al-Rāmahurmuzī may be mentioned. Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Khallād al-Rāmahurmuzī belonged to Rāmahurmuz, a city in Khūzistān. After receiving primary education in hadīth from his father he left for the quest of knowledge before 290/902, and visited Shīrāz, al-Baṣra, al-Kūfa and Baghdād studying hadīth under Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥadramī (d.297), Muḥammad b. ‘Uthmān b. Abī Shayba (297), Abū Khalīfa al-Jumahī (d.305), ‘Abdān al-Ahwāzī (d.306) and their contemporaries. Muḥammad al-Ṣaydāwī (d.402), al-Ḥasan b. al-Layth al-Shīrāzī (d.405), Ibn Mardawayh (d.412) and a group of traditionists of Fāris received hadīth from him.<sup>1</sup>

A reliable transmitter of hadīth al-Rāmahurmuzī was an authority on ‘ulūm al-hadīth, the sciences of tradition. He served as a qādī of Khūzistān during the amirate of ‘Adud al-Dawla (338- 72/949-82).<sup>2</sup>

As a scholar al-Rāmahurmuzī had close relations with Abū al-Faḍl Ibn al-‘Amīd (d.360) and al-Muhallabī (d.352). He had literary correspondence with them in prose and verse. Thanks to al-Tha‘alibī (d.429) and Yāqūt (d.626) the correspondence has been preserved for us.<sup>3</sup>

Al-Rāmahurmuzī died at Rāmahurmuz in 360/970<sup>4</sup>.

Al-Rāmahurmuzī was a devoted student of hadīth literature. He had a creative and imaginative mind and is said to have compiled the

1 Al-Sam‘ānī, art "al-Rāmahurmuzī"; Huffāz, iii, 113; Udabā’, ix, 17.

2 Al-Sam‘ānī, loc. cit.; Udabā’, loc. cit.

3 Yatīma, iii, 233-34; Udabā’, ix, 6-15.

4 Huffāz, iii, 113; Shadharāt, iii, 37.



first work on 'ulūm al-hadīth, or the sciences of traditions. It should be noted that already by the third century A.H. the 'ilm riwāyat al-hadīth or mustalāh al-hadīth, (the science of narration and techniques of hadīth) took its final shape sponsored by such eminent traditionists as Shu'ba b. al-Hajjāj (d.160), Yahya b. Sa'īd al-Qattān (d.198), Ahmad b. Hanbal (d.241), Bukhārī (d.256), Muslim (d.261), al-Tirmidhī (d.279) and their like<sup>1</sup>. But the science of narration and techniques of hadīth remained by and large in a fluid state being either handed down by memory or preserved in personal copies of an individual traditionist. And no attempt was made to give a systematic shape by compiling them into a volume so as to ensure their preservation for posterity. It goes to the credit of al-Rāmahurmuzī that he made painstaking endeavours in collecting, processing and codifying them in a book. Thus came into being the Kitāb al-Muhaddith al-Fāsil<sup>2</sup> bayn al-Rāwī wa al-Wā'ī, probably the first literature on 'ulūm al-hadīth<sup>3</sup>.

The emergence of this work of al-Rāmahurmuzī ushered in a new epoch in 'ulūm al-hadīth, engaging in the field such eminent authors as al-Hākīm (d.405)<sup>4</sup>, Abū Nu'aym al-Isbahānī (d.430), al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d.463)<sup>5</sup>, Ibn al-Salāh (d.643)<sup>6</sup> and many others to produce

1 M.Z. Siddiqī, Hadīth Literature (Calcutta University, 1961), p.190.

2 Hājī Khalīfa (Kashf al-Zunūn, ii, 391) has al-Fāsil.

3 Ibn Hājir, Nuzha al-Nazar fī Tawdīh Nukhba al-Fikr (ed. Delhi, undated), p.3

Hājī Khalīfa, ii, 391; al-Khawli, p.160; M.Z. Siddiqī, pp.164, 190, 191, but he misreads al-Rāmahurmuzī as al-Rāmhurmuzī.

4 Ma'rifat al-'Ulūm al-Hadīth li al-Hākīm, ed. S.M. Hussain, Hyderābād, 1356.

5 Kifāya fī Ma'rifat Usūl 'Ilm al-Riwāya, ed. Hyderābād, 1357. M.Z. Siddiqī misprints his date of death as 403/1012 (op. cit. p.164) and 1002-1071 (op. cit. p.191).

6 'Ulūm al-Hadīth.

works on the subject.<sup>1</sup> It is said that as many as one hundred books were compiled on the subject which were 'important enough to be treated as an independent branch of knowledge'.<sup>2</sup>

Al-Rāmahurmuzī was an author of thirteen books on different branches of Arabic literature. The following two books are available:

(i) Kitāb al-Muhaddith al-Fāsil bayn al-Rāwī wa al-Wā'if (MS.).<sup>3</sup>

As mentioned above this is a work on the science of narration and techniques of ḥadīth.

(ii) Kitāb Amthāl al-Hadīth (MS.).<sup>4</sup>

This is a selection of ahādīth that passed as proverbs with regard to warning, admonition, exhortations, wise sayings etc.<sup>5</sup>

Besides the books mentioned above, titles mentioned in the footnotes were also written by al-Rāmahurmuzī<sup>6</sup>. But they did not seem to stand the ravages of time.

1 Nukhba, p.3.

2 M.Z. Siddiqi, p.164 ✓

✓ quoting Tadrib al-Rāwī by al-Suyūṭī, ed. Egypt, 1307 A.H., p.9.

3 MS. copies are preserved in Kgl. Bibliothek zu Berlin; Escorial I in Paris; Köprülüzāde Mohammad Pāshā Kutubkhāna Daftari, Istanbul; Shahīd 'Alī Pāshā (Weisw.I); 'Umūmiyya library of Damascus; and in Kutubkhāna i-mubāraka Asitāniquds-i-Ridawī in Meshhed. — GAL, SI, 274 = Najjār, iii, 209.

4 Escorial I, Paris. Vide GAL, SI, 274 = Najjār, iii, 209.

5 Cf: Itqān (pt.ii, 131), the chapter on 'Amthāl al-Qur'ān'.

<sup>6</sup>(i) Kitāb Adab al-Nātiq. Vide Fihrist, p.220; Udabā', ix, 5.

(ii) Kitāb Adab al-Mawā'id. Vide Fihrist, p.221.

(iii) Kitāb al-Falak fī Mukhtār al-Akhbār wa al-Ash'ār. Vide Udabā', ix, 5. Ibn al-Nadīm (Fihrist, p.220) has Kitāb al-'Ilal fī Mukhtār al-Akhbār.

(iv) Kitāb Imām al-Tanzīl fī al-Qur'ān. Vide Ibid.

(v) Kitāb al-Manāhil wa al-A'tān wa al-Hanīn ilā al-Awtān. Vide Fihrist, p.221; Udabā', loc. cit.

(vi) Kitāb al-Marāthī wa al-Ta'āzī. Vide Udabā', loc. cit. Ibn al-Nadīm (Fihrist, p.220) has Kitāb al-Rathā' wa al-Ta'ārī.

(vii) Kitāb al-Nawādir wa al-Shawārid. Vide Fihrist, p.220; Udabā', loc. cit.

(viii) Kitāb Rabī' al-Mutayyam fī Akhbār al-'Ushshāq. (Ibid.)

(ix) Kitāb al-Rayhanatayn al-Hasan wa al-Husayn. Vide Udabā', loc. cit. Ibn al-Nadīm (Fihrist, p.220) has Kitāb al-Rujhān bayn al-Hasan wa al-Husayn.

(x) Kitāb Risālat al-Safar. Vide Udabā', loc. cit.

(xi) Kitāb al-Shayb wa al-Shabāb. Vide Fihrist, p.221.

## B. PHILOLOGISTS:

1. Mabramān (d.345/956)

Abū Bakr Muhammad b. ‘Alī b. Ismā‘īl al-‘Askarī popularly known as Mabramān hailed from Azam, a place between al-Ahwāz and Rāmahurmuz<sup>1</sup>. He took elementary knowledge in Arabic grammar from Yazīd b. ‘Abd al-Akbar al-Azdī,<sup>2</sup> the father of al-Mubarrad (d.285). He then acquired proficiency in the subject studying under al-Mubarrad and Abū Ishāq al-Zajjāj (d.310). By virtue of his scholarship in grammar, philology and rhetoric he became the head of an institution at al-Ahwāz. Among his noted students mention may be made of Abū Sa‘īd al-Sīrāfī (d.368) and Abū ‘Alī al-Fārisī (d.377)<sup>3</sup>.

Mabramān was reckoned as an authority of Arabic language. He died in 345/956<sup>4</sup>. He wrote books on grammar, rhetoric and other allied subjects. Mention has been made of the following books, which, however, have not come down to us:

(i) Sharh Kitāb Sībawayh, a commentary on al-Kitāb by Sībawayh (d.167). This commentary was left incomplete.<sup>5</sup>

(ii) Sharh Shawāhid Sībawayh, explanatory notes on the extracts taken as examples in al-Kitāb by Sībawayh.<sup>6</sup>

(iii) Sharh Abyāt Sībawayh, a commentary on the verses cited as examples by Sībawayh in his al-Kitāb?<sup>7</sup>

1 Buldān, i,233.

2 He belongs to the tribe of Azd and hence is called al-Azdī. Vide Wafayāt, i,495.

3 Udabā', xviii,254-55; Bughya, pp.74-75; Shadharāt, ii,310.

4 Ibid.; Shadharāt (loc. cit.) has 327/938 as the date of his death. Notice of his life is also found in Miftāh al-Sa‘āda, i,137.

5 Hājī Khalīfa, ii,283.

6 Ibid.

7 Ibid.

(iv) Talqīh al-Jārī, a book justifying the popular use of the erroneous expressions.<sup>1</sup>

(v) Sharh Kitāb al-Akhfash, a commentary of a book on grammar by al-Akhfash (d.215)<sup>2</sup>.

## 2. Abū Ahmad al-ʿAskarī (d.382/993)

A noted philologist, grammarian, traditionist and theologian Abū Ahmad al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAskarī was born at ʿAskar Mukram on Thursday, 16th of Shawwāl, 293/13th August, 906<sup>3</sup>.

Before he was in his teens Abū Ahmad al-ʿAskarī along with his brother Abū ʿAlī al-ʿAskarī attended at his native town, the ḥadīth seminary of ʿAbdān al-Ahwāzī (d.306) who was then at the height of his age and fame as a professor of ḥadīth.<sup>4</sup> His eagerness and ability to grasp the techniques of the science of tradition impressed the shaykh so much that he gave this boy ijāza or permission to transmit ḥadīth on his authority. Thus Abū Ahmad al-ʿAskarī attained the privilege of possessing ʿuluww al-isnād, the higher chain of authorities of which very few contemporary traditionists could boast.<sup>5</sup>

Then the young traditionist went to Baghdād for higher studies in the disciplines of ḥadīth and Arabic literature. From the available data of his biography it appears that Abū Ahmad spent most of his time there studying grammar, philology, belles-lettres and other allied subjects under Ibn Durayd (d.321) and Niftawayh (d.323). He, however, became a favourite student of Ibn Durayd receiving intensive

1 Ibid., vol. i, 329.

2 Udabā', loc. cit.; Bughya, loc. cit.

3 Udabā', viii, p. 233.

4 Akhbār Iṣbahān, i, 272; al-Samʿānī, art "al-ʿAskarī."

5 Udabā', viii, 236-37.

and thorough training in linguistics and philological studies. During his stay at Baghdād he attended the lectures on ḥadīth delivered in the seminaries of Abū al-Qāsim al-Baghawī (d.317) and Ibn Abī Dā'wūd al-Sijistānī (d.316), the two outstanding shuyūkh of the city.<sup>1</sup> While at Baghdād Abū Ahmad became intimate with Ibn al-Ji'ābī (d.355), a leading traditionist of al-'Irāq.<sup>2</sup>

Abū Ahmad al-'Askarī visited Ispahān several times on educational missions.<sup>3</sup> In 349/960 he visited Ispahān with Ibn al-Ji'ābī who arrived there to attend the historic conference of the huffāz convened by al-Ṣāhib b. 'Abbād.<sup>4</sup> It appears that Abū Ahmad did not then attain the position of a recognized authority in the intellectual field so as to attract the attention of al-Ṣāhib b. 'Abbād as would the following account show.

Abū Ahmad was like a star in the firmament of Khūzistān. He dedicated his whole life to the advancement of Arabic studies and for that he took upon himself the duty of imparting instructions in philology, grammar, theology and tradition. He was a centre of attraction of the leading scholars of the age, who thought it a great privilege and honour to be enlisted among his pupils. In his periodical assemblies of dictations held at 'Askar Mukram, Tustar and other cities of Khūzistān he would address a vast concourse of cross-sections of scholars hailing from far and near. Some of the leading authors of the age like Abū Nu'aym al-Iṣbahānī (d.430), Abū Sa'd al-Mālīnī (d.412) and Abū Hilāl al-'Askarī were his pupils.<sup>6</sup> The last

1 Ibid. 2 Al-Sam'ānī, art "al-'Askarī".

3 Ibid.; Akhbār Isbahān, i, 272.

4 Al-Sam'ānī, loc. cit; Huffāz, iii, 117-18. Cf: Supra, p.13.

5 Udabā', viii, 236.

6 Ibid, p.238.

named scholar who was his nephew had been a pet student and a direct product of this school.<sup>1</sup> Al-Qādī Abū Bakr al-Bāqillānī (d.403) and Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Sulamī (d.412) transmitted ḥadīth on his authority in al-'Irāq and Khurāsān respectively by ijāza.<sup>2</sup>

Al-Sāhib b. 'Abbād who had correspondence with Abū Ahmad was eager to meet him and invited him to al-Rayy, but he refused to go there on the ground of infirmity. It is noteworthy that al-Sāhib immediately on his assumption as vizier in 367/977 got a special tour programme sanctioned by his master Mu'ayyid al-Dawla (366-373/976-983) for 'Askar Mukram.<sup>3</sup> On arrival at 'Askar Mukram accompanied by Fakhr al-Dawla, al-Sāhib made special arrangement to receive the shaykh<sup>4</sup> (venerable professor) in his camp.<sup>5</sup> Thanks to Ibn al-Jawzī (d.597) we have a graphic description of the high literary exchanges that passed between the two savants of 4th century Persia.<sup>6</sup> The journey of al-Sāhib all the way from al-Rayy to the southernmost province of Khūzistān with the sole purpose of meeting Abū Ahmad al-'Askarī speaks volumes of the high position the latter held in literary fields.

Abū Ahmad al-Ḥasan b. 'Abd Allāh al-'Askarī died on Friday, the 7th Dhū al-Hijja, 382/4th Feb., 993 at 'Askar Mukram.<sup>7</sup>

1 Udabā', viii, 258-59. 2 Ibid., p. 239. 3 Wafayāt, i, 132.

4 Al-Sāhib wrote the following couplets addressing al-'Askarī:

ولما ابیتم ان تزوروا وقلتم - ضعفا فما نقوی علی الوحذان  
اتیناکم من بعد ارض نزورکم - فکم منزل بکر لنا و عوان  
ناشدکم هل من قری لنزیلکم - بطول جوار لا بمل حفان

Vide al-Muntāzam, vii, 191.

5 Ibid; Udabā', viii, 248-54.

6 Al-Muntāzam, vii, 191-92.

7 His death was mourned in the following couplets:

قالوا مزی الشیخ ابواحمد - وقد رثوه بضروب الندب  
فقلت بامن فقد شیخ مزی - لکنه فقد فنون الارب

Udabā', viii, 251; 233. Notice of his life is also found in Wafayāt, i, 132-33; Buldān, iii, 676; al-Yāfi', ii, 415-16; Abū al-Fidā, ii, 133; Bughya, p. 221; Shadharāt, iii, 102-03; Zaydān, ii, 305; Sarkis, p. 1327; Ency. of Islam i, 489.

Abū Aḥmad al-ʿAskarī was an authority on philology, rhetoric, literature, logic and asmā' al-rijāl. He was probably the first scholar who undertook a thorough investigation into the correct reading of nomenclature of the traditionists.<sup>1</sup> Hitherto there had been no means of correct reading of those transmitters who correspond in script but differ in reading;<sup>2</sup> common in names with those of their fathers but differing in personalities.<sup>3</sup> Names differ by omission or insertion of dots<sup>4</sup> or vowel-points.<sup>5</sup> This is entirely a new field of studies pertaining to asmā' al-rijāl covered by Abū Aḥmad. The importance of this branch of 'ilm al-rijāl al-hadīth was recognized by the contemporary and succeeding generation of scholars who compiled works on it. Mention in this respect may be made of al-Dāraqutnī (d.385), ʿAbd al-Ghanī b. Saʿīd (d.409), al-Khatīb al-Baghdādī (d.463), Amīr Abū Naṣr b. Makūla (d.487), Ibn Nuqṭa (d.629), Ibn Ḥajr (d.852) and a host of others.<sup>6</sup>

His works:

(i) Kitāb al-Tashīf (published)<sup>7</sup>

In this work the author has analysed and explained the rare words and the proper names, resembling in script, which were used by the leading poets and litterateurs in their works — and thus leading to misreading and distortions in spelling and pronunciation. The

1 Al-Khawli, p.157.

2 For example: سلام and سلام — al-Khawli, p.156.

3 e.g.; شرح الخليل بن احمد — Ibid.

4 e.g.; شرح بن النعمان and سريح بن النعمان — Ibid.

5 e.g.; عقيل and عقيل — Ibid.

6 Hāji Khalīfa, ii,407; al-Khawli, p.157.

7 Egypt, 1327 A.H. — Zaydān, ii,305. The work is also called as Kitāb al-Tashīf wa al-Tahrif (ibid.), Sharh mā Yaqaʿu fīhi al-Tashīf wa al-Tahrif (GAL, SI,193 = Najjār, ii,251) and Tashīf al-Shiʿr (Encyclopaedia of Islam, i,489). But, according to Professor Charles Rieu to whom we owe a thorough review of the manuscript, the title is Kitāb al-Tashīf (Rieu, Supplement to the Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the British Museum, ed. London, 1894, pp.573-74). Cf: Udabā', viii,241; Bughya, p.221.

errors were committed, as he says, specially with regard to the reading of the words of poetry, the names of the poets, the Ayyām al-‘Arab, the battle-days of Arabia, the names of their horsemen, their onslaughts and the places of their skirmishes.<sup>1</sup> The words were distorted and altered by change of dots<sup>2</sup> or vowel-points<sup>3</sup>, or by insertion or omission of them<sup>4</sup> as occurred in the works of the leading poets and litterateurs.<sup>5</sup>

Although belonging to the school of al-Baṣra like his teacher Ibn Durayd (d.321), Abū Aḥmad al-‘Askarī was meticulously impartial in pointing out the errors of the Baṣrans 'as unsparingly as those of the grammarians of Kufa'<sup>6</sup>.

The work is divided into abwāb or chapters. It may be particularly mentioned that in chapter vii, he has treated in considerable detail the poems of Imru' al-Qays, al-Nābigḥa, Zuhayr, al-A‘shā, Tarafa and a few other pre-Islamic poets. The next chapter is devoted to the errors committed in the reading of the rare words and proper names in Kitāb al-Ḥamāsa of Abū Tammām.<sup>7</sup>

While giving a correct reading of the ambiguous words and proper names he has explained them elaborately. This valuable work has been

شرحت في كتابي هذا الالفاظ والاسماء المشككة التي تتشابه في صورة الخط فيقع فيها التصحيح  
ويدخلها التحريف مما يعرض في الفاظ اللغة والشعر وفي اسماء الشعراء وايام الحرب واسماء  
فرسانها ووقايعها واماكنها وما يعرض في علم الانساب وغيرها من الاشكال الخ

(Rieu, p.573).

2 e.g., Khalil misread يوم بعات as يوم بعات — Vide al-Suyūṭī, al-Muzhir (Cairo, undated), ii, 353.

3 Just as يوم الكلاب for يوم الكلاب Ibid.

4 e.g., misreading الزنج — occurring in the saying of Caliph ‘Alī viz

خراب البصرة بالزنج — for الزنج . According to al-Dhahabī this mistake was detected after the lapse of two hundred years (Ḥājī Khalifa, i, 287)

5 Rieu, p.573.

6 Ibid.

7 Ibid., p. 574.



fully utilized by al-Suyūṭī (d.911) quoting copiously from it in his al-Muzhir.<sup>1</sup>

The author states that he compiled a comprehensive work on tashīf, mistake committed in writing, including those by the traditionists in identifying the transmitters whose names were distorted by use or omission of vowel-points, dots, etc. But, at the request of the muḥaddithūn of Ispahān and al-Rayy he divided it into two 'separate works': (i) what concerned the students of hadīth literature and (ii) what was required by udabā', men of letters. It is the manuscript of the second work which has been commented on by Professor Charles Rieu (as mentioned above.) The first work which goes under the title of Tashīfāt al-Muḥaddithīn or Kitāb al-Tashīf, is properly Kitāb al-Mukhtalif wa al-Mu'talif as given by Ibn Khallikān and al-Suyūṭī, and later confirmed by al-Khawli.<sup>2</sup>

A part of this Kitāb al-Mukhtalif wa al-Mu'talif was published from Egypt in 1326 A.H. under the title of Tashīfāt al-Muḥaddithīn.<sup>3</sup>

(ii) Kitāb al-Zawājir wa al-Mawā'iz (MS)<sup>4</sup>: a book on admonitions and exhortations in the light of Qur'ānic verses and Apostolic traditions.

(iii) Kitāb al-Maṣūn (MS).<sup>5</sup>

This is a treatise on belles-lettres comprising chapters on prose

1 Muzhir, i, 584; ii, 353.

2 Wafayāt, i, 132; Bughya, p. 221; al-Khawli, p. 157; Rieu, p. 573.

3 Najjār, ii, 251.

4 Köprülüzāde Mohammad Pāshā Kutubkhāna Daftari, Istanbul. — GAL, SI, 193 = Najjār, ii, 251.

5 Escorial, Paris under No. 377. — Derenbourg, Les Manuscrits Arabes De 'l-Escorial (Paris, 1884), i, 248; GAL, SI, 193 = Najjār, ii, 251.

It begins with:

باب في نقد الشعر قال الحسن بن عبد الله بن سعيد اخبرنا ابو بلتر محمد بن الحسن  
ابن دريد قال اخبرنا الرياشي عن الاصمعي عن ابي عمرو بن العلاء الخ

— Derenbourg, i, 248.

anecdotes, proverbs, and literary criticism of prose and poetry.

The author has dealt with the topics under different abwāb, chapters.<sup>1</sup>

(iv) Risāla fī Tafdīl bayna Balāghatay al-‘Arab wa al-‘Ajam (MS).<sup>2</sup>

This is a treatise on the superiority of the rhetorics of the Arabs over that of non-Arabs.<sup>3</sup>

(v) Al-Ḥikam wa al-Amthāl (MS):<sup>4</sup> a treatise on wise sayings and proverbs.

Besides the books noticed above, titles mentioned in the footnotes were also written by Abū Ahmad al-‘Askarī<sup>5</sup>.

### 3. Abū Hilāl al-‘Askarī (d.395/1005)

Al-Ḥasan b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Sahl, commonly known as Abū Hilāl al-‘Askarī, was another outstanding figure of ‘Askar Mukram. According to his biographers he was educated at al-Baṣra, Baghdād and Ispahan, but none of them furnishes us with any name of his teachers thereof<sup>6</sup>. The fact is that Abū Hilāl al-‘Askarī acquired a thorough and extensive education and training under his maternal uncle Abū Ahmad al-‘Askarī (d.382) so much so that he was called a tilmīdh, or

1 Derenbourg, i, p.248.

2 British Museum, London. — Ellis, i, 619-20; GAL, SI, 193 = Najjār, ii, 251.

3 Ellis, i, 619-20.

4 MS. copy of the book is preserved in the library of Zakī Bāshā, Egypt. — Zaydān, ii, 305.

5 (i) Kitāb Rabī‘ al-‘Adāb. — Al-Suyūṭī, Sharḥ Shawāhid al-Mughnī Egypt, 1322 A.H.), p.186. The title is erroneously printed as Kitāb Rabī‘ al-Abrār in GAL, SI, 193 = Najjār, ii, 251.

(ii) Rāḥat al-Arwāh. — Ḥājī Khalīfa, i, 531.

(iii) Kitāb Ṣinā‘a al-Shi‘r. Yāqūt consulted this book. — Udabā’, viii, 236; Sarkis, p.1327. In Bughya (p.221) the title is given as Ṣinā‘a al-Shu‘arā’.

(iv) Kitāb fī ‘Ilm al-Mantiq. — Abū al-Fidā, pt.ii, 133. Its title is mentioned in Wafayāt (vol.i, 132) as Kitāb ‘Ilm al-Mantiq and in Bughya (loc. cit.) and Sarkis (p.1327) as Kitāb fī al-Mantiq. Ḥājī Khalīfa (vol.ii, 303) has Kitāb al-Mantiq.

(v) Kitāb Taṣḥīh al-Wujūh wa al-Nazā‘ir. — Udabā’, viii, 236.

6 Zaydān, ii, 283; GAL, i, 126; Hidāyat Ḥusain, Catalogue Raisonné of the Buhār library or Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the Buhār library (Calcutta, 1923), ii, 266-67 under No.220.

devoted disciple of the latter.<sup>1</sup> As a matter of fact, he was a prototype of Abū Aḥmad al-ʿAskarī attaining erudition in his field, viz., Apostolic traditions and Arabic studies, like grammar, rhetoric, proverbs, philology and belles-lettres. Besides, he was a poet and also an author on Qurʾānic exegesis and chronicles. In fine, Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī was a versatile genius<sup>2</sup>.

It seems that after giving a finishing touch to his studies under his maternal uncle, Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī undertook, as was the vogue in his days, educational tours visiting cultural seats like al-Baṣra, Baghdād and Ispahān, and was benefited naturally by contacts with the literary figures there. But they could not make any appreciable impact on his life so as to preserve their names among his teachers.

It is interesting to note that not only the field of studies of the two ʿAskarīs — Abū Aḥmad and Abū Hilāl — was by and large the same, but also their names together with those of their fathers' were similar causing confusion by the later scholars and bibliographers.<sup>3</sup>

Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī transmitted ḥadīth occasionally, and among those who narrated ḥadīth on his authority, the names of Abū Saʿd al-Sammān al-Ḥāfiẓ (d.445) and Abū al-Ghanāʾim b. Ḥammād al-Muqri (d.ca.444) have been mentioned.<sup>4</sup> But he spent most of his time in studies and researches compiling books on diverse branches, viz., Qurʾānic lores, traditions, chronicles and Arabic studies.

1 Udabā', viii, 258; 263.      2 Cf: Udabā', viii, 260; 263-64; supra, pp. 284-87; also infra, pp. 289-99.

3 Udabā', viii, 259. Jurjī Zaydān (vol. ii, 284) and Brockelmann (vol. i, 126-27) ascribe Kitāb al-Maṣūn and al-Tafdīl bayna Balāghatay al-ʿArab wa al-ʿAjam to Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī, which are actually of Abū Aḥmad al-ʿAskarī. Cf: Ellis Catalogue of Arabic Books in the British Museum (London, 1894), i, 619-20; Derenbourg, i, 248.

4 Udabā', viii, 260.

Like his teacher Abū Aḥmad al-‘Askarī, Abū Hilāl laid the foundation of a new science which later on came to be known as ‘ilm al-awā’il<sup>1</sup>, an offshoot of ‘ilm al-tawārikh, or the science of historiography, and his Kitāb al-Awā’il<sup>2</sup> constituted the first work on the subject<sup>3</sup>. This is entirely a new field of historical research initiated by Abū Hilāl. Following his model many a distinguished author like al-Ṭabarānī (d.360), Muḥammad b. Qāsim al-Rāshidī, Ibn Ḥajr ‘Asqalānī (d.852) and others compiled books on the subject.<sup>4</sup>

A well-dressed intellectual personality, Abū Hilāl al-‘Askarī led a dignified and self-contained life.<sup>5</sup> He died in about 395/1005. The exact date of his death has not come down to us. But since Kitāb al-Awā’il, the last book he wrote, was dated 395/1005<sup>6</sup>, his biographers accepted it to be the date of his death.

His works:

(i) Kitāb Jamharat al-Amṭhāl (Published).<sup>7</sup>

This is a collection of proverbs arranged according to the letters of the alphabet, every letter being taken as a bāb, chapter; thus the total number of bābs in the book coming to twenty nine. Since amṭhāl, proverbs, are a branch of ‘ilm al-lughā, philology<sup>8</sup> their importance in linguistic study cannot be overestimated. So, Abū Hilāl al-‘Askarī made a wide survey of the proverbs current among the languages

1 i.e. the knowledge or chronicle of beginnings.

2 q.v., p.295.

3 Ḥājī Khalīfa, i,170.

4 Ibid.

5 Udabā’, viii,259.

6 Udabā’, viii,264. Notice of his life is also found in al-Bākhari, Dumyat al-Qasr (Halab, 1349 A.H.), p.101; Buldān, iii,676; Bughya, p.221; Tabaqāt al-Mufasssirin, p.10; Khizānat al-Adab, i,112; Sarkis, pp.1327-28; Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber, pp.254-55; Ency.of Islam, i,489.

7 Bombay, 1306/7 A.H. and on the margin of Majmā’ al-Amṭhāl by al-Maydānī at al-Maṭba‘a al-Khayriyya, Egypt, 1310 A.H. — Vide GAL, i,126; Zaydān, ii,283.

8 Miftāh al-Sa‘āda, i,219.

from the ancient times down to his days. But he was very cautious in their selection. The principle he followed in it was that the proverbs that stood the test of time and became integrated with the language, viz., those current in the pre-Islamic and early Islamic periods, were to be accepted. As a result the proverbs of modern origin (amthāl al-muwallidīn) did not find place in his book. Besides, he criticized Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī (d.ca.360) for incorporating proverbs of modern origin in his Kitāb Amthāl 'alā Af'ala<sup>1</sup>.

While introducing a proverb Abū Hilāl al-'Askarī endeavoured to trace its origin, its speaker, time, place and circumstances under which it was spoken. For, according to him, the real significance of a proverb will be lost sight of if we do not take into account all these factors. In fact, the knowledge of antecedents of a proverb is imperative for its proper understanding. Then he would illustrate its use by copious quotations from poetry and other sources. The total number of proverbs incorporated in this book comes to about 1800.<sup>2</sup> The work is an indispensable hand-book for the students of Arabic literature, with al-Maydānī's Majma' al-Amthāl.

(ii) Kitāb al-Ṣinā'atayn (published)<sup>3</sup>: a book on the ingredients of prose and poetry. This is a standard book on rhetoric next to Kitāb al-Bayān wa al-Tabayīn by al-Jāhīz (d.255). In the preface the author, while commending the book of al-Jāhīz, adds that the valuable knowledge of the science of rhetoric contained in that book is given in a desultory manner and it is not easy to get to it. For this reason, as he says, he has processed the materials in a way so as to bring it within easy reach of the students of rhetoric.<sup>4</sup>

1 Jamharat al-Amthāl published on the margin of Majma' al-Amthāl by al-Maydānī, i, 2-3; also supra, pp. 37-39.

2 The first proverb is ان من البيان لسحرا (Jamharat al-Amthāl, i, 5) while the last proverb is ايسر من لغمان بن عاد (ibid, ii, 282).

3 Constantinople, 1319-20 A.H.

4 Kitāb al-Sinā'atayn, p. 5; Ḥājī Khalīfa, ii, 81.

For convenience's sake he divides the book into ten chapters and each chapter again into sections or sub-sections. Brief headings of the chapters are given below:

- Chapter I : On the meaning, significances of rhetoric, its definition and subject matter.
- Chapter II, III & IV : On 'ilm al-ma'ānī : portion of the rhetoric.
- Chapter V : On elaborate as well as concise description of speech.
- Chapter VI : On the merits and demerits of borrowing something about literature from the predecessors.
- Chapter VII : On the discussion of similes.
- Chapter VIII : On rhymed prose.
- Chapter IX : On the elaborate description of 'ilm al-badī', elocution. In this chapter as many as 35 types of al-badī' have been discussed.
- Chapter X : On the rules regarding the beginning and the ending of speeches, poems etc.<sup>1</sup>

While treating a subject the author generally supports it by citing copious examples from the Holy Qur'ān, Apostolic traditions and verses from pre-Islamic and post-Islamic poets.

Abū Hilāl al-'Askarī records at the end of the book that he completed it in the month of Ramadān, 394/1004<sup>2</sup>.

(iii) Diwān al-Ma'ānī (published)<sup>3</sup>: an anthology of poetry arranged alphabetically according to subject matters. This is a voluminous book having five hundred folios or one thousand pages. It is divided into twelve bābs, chapters. An incomplete manuscript

<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> Kitāb al-Sinā'atayn, p.370.

<sup>3</sup> Cairo, 1934 (Najjār, ii, 252). The book is also called Diwān al-'Askarī (Ḥājī Khalīfa, i, 516). We have not been able to lay hand on the book, but we have a description of an incomplete manuscript preserved in the Khadiwiyya library in Cairo furnished by Jurjī Zaydān (vol.ii, 284), which we have incorporated in the body of our thesis.

preserved in the Khadiwiyya library in Cairo comprises the following chapters, the contents of which are given against each:

- Chapter VII : On the description of cloud, rain, lightning, thunder, water, gardens, plants, breeze etc.
- Chapter VIII : On the description of war, arms and ammunitions.
- Chapter IX : On the description of ink-pot and rhetoric.
- Chapter X : On the description of the horse, the camel, meadows, wild animals and birds.
- Chapter XI : On the description of Khidāb i.e., dying the hair and beard, death and disease, asceticism etc.<sup>1</sup>

The work is useful to the student of Arabic literature furnishing him with poetry on interesting and novel subject-matters pertaining, as seen above, to various aspects of man, animal, plant and different phenomena of nature.<sup>2</sup>

(iv) Sharh Diwān Abī Mihjan (published)<sup>3</sup>.

In the brief preface Abū Hilāl says that Ibn al-Sikkīt (d.244), al-Sukkari (d.275) and Abū al-Hasan al-Tūsi (d.ca.250) concerned themselves with collecting the Diwāns, anthologies of the famous poets of the Jāhiliyya and of Islam, and published them doing full justice to their scholarships in annotating and writing glosses on the poems. But they were indifferent towards lesser and obscure poets. Abū Hilāl, then he adds, took upon himself the task of collecting and annotating, on the line followed by the above-mentioned authors, all the Diwāns of the lesser poets of the period, one after another. Accordingly he chose

1 Zaydān, ii, 284.

2 Ibid.

3 Edited and published by C. Landberg in *Primeurs Arabes* (Leiden, 1886), vol. i, pp. 58-73. — Vide GAL, i, 41; 127; Ellis, i, 620; Sarkis, p. 1328; Ency of Islam, i, 489.

the Dīwān of Abū Mihjan<sup>1</sup> as the first work of his proposed series. It is not known whether he could fulfil his cherished desire. But his first book on the series, namely, the Dīwān of Abū Mihjan has come down to us with his annotations and glosses.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> His name is 'Amr b. Ḥabīb. (According to some, Mālik b. Ḥabīb, 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥabīb or Kunayna). He belonged to the tribe of Thaqīf and embraced Islam in Ramaḍān, 9/December, 630 along with the members of his tribe. He heard hadīth from the Prophet(s) and also narrated it on his authority.

Abū Mihjan was an illustrious horseman of the Jāhiliyya and Islam, endowed with superb prowess, indefatigable stamina, and of rare dash and drive. He was a born poet of high calibre, generous and noble-minded; but he was addicted to wine to such an extent that no blame, chastisement and even flogging would resist him from that. For having this forbidden drink Caliph 'Umar flogged him several times and then exiled him to Hadawda, an island in the sea and deputed with him Ibn Jahra to guard him (Sharh Dīwān Abi Mihjan p.62). But the guard sensing his life at stake fled away to report to the Caliph. Meanwhile, Abū Mihjan left his exile and joined the army of Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās in the battlefield of al-Qādisiyya to participate in the fight against the Persians. On hearing this the Caliph asked Sa'd to put Abū Mihjan in chains and confine him. The battle started while he was in chains. But on getting the shocking news of the reverses of the Muslims, he became restless to participate in the battle and besought Salma bint Ḥafsa, the wife of Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās to release him from the fetters and provide him with a horse. He gave his solemn word that he would return and be in chains again in the event of his remaining alive. It is worthwhile to mention that the wise lady complied with his request with a view to utilizing his gallantry in that critical juncture for the good of the Muslims. It goes without saying that on entering the thick of the historic battle of al-Qādisiyya Abū Mihjan exhibited his genius as a fighter and unprecedented gallantry in such a manner that he won the day. He returned with flying colours and went into his confinement putting himself in chains as before. When the entire story came to the knowledge of Sa'd, he released him saying that he could no longer confine such a precious soul, while Abū Mihjan, on his part, decided that he would not again taste the forbidden drink. Abū Mihjan was true to his word and would not touch wine henceforth. Not only that; he composed verses on the vice of wine as is evident from the following couplets quoted in al-Isti'āb, ii, 663:

رأيت الخمر صالحة و فيها - خصال تملك الرجل الحلما  
فلا والله اشربها حياتي - ولا اشقى بها ابدا سقما

(For other verses on the vice of wine, see Sharh Dīwān Abī Mihjan, pp.67-68.)

Abū Mihjan practically passed the rest of his life in the battlefield and died in Adhrabiḡān or Jurjān in 30/650. — Vide al-Isti'āb, ii, 662-64. For other sources, see Tabarī, i, 2288; 2312-15; Balādhuri, p.258 = p.414 of the Eng. tr. by Hitti; Ibn al-Athīr, ii, 234; Usd, v, 290-92; Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm, Kitāb al-Kharāj, Egypt, 1303), pp.17-18.

<sup>2</sup> Sharh Dīwān Abī Mihjan, p.58.



It is a small Dīwān comprising seventy six verses. Its subject-matter is briefly given as follows:

Abū Mihjan starts his Dīwān stating that the goodness of man depends on one's religion and character<sup>1</sup>. He emphasizes his love for fighting, to exhibit his skill with sword and lances.<sup>2</sup> Then he thanks Allāh for his release from the hand of Ibn Jahra while in exile in the island of Ḥaḍawāḍa<sup>3</sup>. Then he makes a brief reference to the reverses suffered by general Abū 'Ubayd b. Mas'ūd al-Thaqafī (d.13) and his army in the battle of al-Jisr during the Caliphate of 'Umar.<sup>4</sup> He bewails their death and defeat.<sup>5</sup> Abū Mihjan divests himself of the vice of wine with repentance for drinking it.<sup>6</sup> Then he expresses his restlessness for not being able to participate in the battle of al-Qādisiyya as he was in chains there while the Muslims were in a critical position.<sup>7</sup> He mentions the deputation of his uncle, Ghaylān b. Salama al-Thaqafī by Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb to the Persian monarch in a successful trade mission.<sup>8</sup> Abū Mihjan ends his Dīwān expressing his desire to be buried underneath a vine tree in order that his bones may be saturated with its juice.<sup>9</sup>

While glossing the verses Abū Hilāl al-'Askarī appears to have used the modern system, viz., first, he writes notes on rare words and expressions clarifying their meanings, quoting often verses and proverbs in support of his comments. Then if the idea conveyed by a particular couplet is vague or obscure, he would give its meaning in a few clear words. His approach to the subject is simple and is free

1 Ibid.

2 Ibid, pp.59-60.

3 Ibid., p.62.

4 Tabarī, i, 2174-81; Balādhurī, pp.251-52; Ibn al-Athīr, ii, 213-15.

5 Sharh Dīwān Abī Mihjan, pp.63-66.

6 Ibid., pp.67;69.

7 Ibid, p.68.

8 Ibid., pp.70-72.

9 Ibid., p.72.

from all grammatical, rhetorical or hair-splitting discussions. He seems to have written the glosses for ordinary students.

While going through the sharh, one is impressed with the clarity of the idea expressed by Abū Hilāl in explaining every couplet fully utilizing his wide range of knowledge of Arabic literature. Now, the question that presents itself to us is: why Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī did not thoroughly discuss grammatical implications of the verses as did al-Zamakhsharī in his Lāmiyyat al-ʿArab. The answer is not far to seek. For, the age of Abū Hilāl was that of wide-spread knowledge, culture and cultivation of grammar and rhetoric, and an ordinary student was fully conversant with its rudiments. While during the time of al-Zamakhsharī (d.538) the grammatical studies of the Arabic language was on the wane. So, he had to explain the grammatical implications while writing glosses on the Lāmiyyat al-ʿArab.

(v) Kitāb al-Awā'il (MS.)<sup>1</sup>: a chronicle of beginnings.

This is a compendium of history from the Jāhiliyya down to the author's time. Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī made a comprehensive survey of the whole range of history and listed and recorded the beginnings of striking events, priorities, practices and significant deeds etc. associated with different communities, personalities and regimes.<sup>2</sup> The work is divided into ten chapters. For its proper evaluation the scope and contents are given below chapter by chapter:

Chapter I : On the accounts of the noble works and affairs  
introduced by the Quraysh;

Chapter II : On those by the people of the Jāhiliyya period in  
general;

1 Copies of MSS. are preserved in Paris; Dār al-Kutub al-Misriyya, Cairo; the library of Hakīm Agha in Constantinople; Buhār library; Muslim University in Aligarh; and Rāmpūr State Library in India.— Vide GAL, SI, 194 = Najjār ii, 253.

2 Catalogue Raisonée, ii, pp. 266-67 under No. 220.

- Chapter III : On those associated with the Prophet(s);
- Chapter IV : On those associated with the Companions of the Prophet(s);
- Chapter V : On those handed down from Muslim Kings;
- Chapter VI : On those from rulers, viziers and nobles.
- Chapter VII : On the discussion of judges, scholars, followers of religious schools and authors of books.
- Chapter VIII: On the discussion of women.
- Chapter IX : On what has been handed down from non-Arabs.
- Chapter X : On the discussion of beginnings of colourful events handed down from Arabs and non-Arabs.<sup>1</sup>

The work is the first of its kind on the subject and served as a model for the later scholars to write books and brochures.<sup>2</sup>

This was the last book of Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī and he completed its dictation on Wednesday, the 10th of Shaʿbān, 395/3rd June, 1005.<sup>3</sup> The author died shortly after its compilation.<sup>4</sup>

Imām Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d.911) prepared a compendium of this book entitled Kitāb al-Wasāʿil, a part of which was published by R. Gosche from Halle in 1864.<sup>5</sup>

(vi) Kitāb al-Furūq fī al-Luġha (published)<sup>6</sup>: a book on philology

The author has discussed at length the synonyms of a wide range of vocabularies commonly used in Arabic literature. From this work one may measure the extent of knowledge Abū Hilāl had in Arabic.<sup>7</sup>

1 Catalogue Raisonné, ii, pp. 266-67 under No. 220.

2 Zaydān, ii, 284; Ḥājī Khalīfa, i, 170; supra, p. 289.

3 Udabaʿ, viii, 264. This autograph copy of the book appears to be preserved in the library of Shaykh al-Islām in al-Madīna. - Tadhkira al-Nawādir p. 74.

4 Supra, p. 289.

5 GAL, SI, 194 = Najjār, ii, 253.

6 Cairo, 1935. According to GAL, (SI, 194 = Najjār, ii, 253) Maʿrifa al-Furūq fī al-Luġha or al-Furūq al-Luġhawīyya.

7 Khizāna al-Adab, i, 112.

A student of Abū Hilāl al-‘Askarī compiled a mukhtasar, (abridgement) of this book under the title al-Luma‘ fī al-Furūq which was published in Būlāq, 1322 and Egypt, 1345<sup>1</sup>.

(vii) Al-Talkhīs fī Ma‘rifat Asmā‘ al-Ashyā‘ (MS):<sup>2</sup> a book on philology.

(viii) Al-Mu‘jam fī Baqīyya al-Ashyā‘ (published)<sup>3</sup>.

This seems to be an appendix to the above book.

(ix) Risāla fī Dabt wa Tahrīr Mawādi‘ min Dīwān al-Hamāsa li Abī Tammām (MS)<sup>4</sup>: a treatise on the correct reading of the place-names occurring in Dīwān al-Hamāsa of Abū Tammām. This seems to be a supplement to Kitāb al-Tashīf by his teacher Abū Ahmad al-‘Askarī who devoted chapter VIII of this book (Kitāb al-Tashīf) to the errors committed in reading the rare words and proper names in Dīwān al-Hamāsa of Abū Tammām.<sup>5</sup>

(x) Al-Nawādir fī al-‘Arabiyya (MS).<sup>6</sup>

In this book the author has answered many questions on philology and literature raised by his contemporaries.<sup>7</sup>

(xi) Fadl al-‘Atā‘ ‘alā al-‘Usr (published)<sup>8</sup>: a treatise on the virtues of giving alms in spite of hardship. The author appears to have quoted copiously from the Holy Qur‘ān and hadīth in support of his contention.

1 GAL, SI, 194 = Najjār, ii, 254.

2 Daftari Kutubkhāna Lāleli, Istanbul, - Ibid.

3 Cairo, 1932. — Vide GAL, SI, 194 = Najjār, ii, 252.

4 Dār al-Kutub al-Misriyya, Cairo. Another MS. copy of this book under the title al-Risāla al-Māssa fī mā lam Yudbat min al-Hamāsa is preserved in the library of ‘Ashir Affendi. - Vide GAL, SI, 194 = Najjār, ii, 254.

5 Cf: supra, p. 285.

6 Escorial I, Paris. - Vide GAL, SI, 194 = Najjār, ii, 254.

7 Ibid.

8 Published by Mahmūd al-Jibālī, Cairo, 1326 A.H. under the title Kitāb al-Kuramā‘; later printed in Cairo, 1353 A.H. restoring the former title Fadl al-‘Atā‘ ‘alā al-‘Usr. Cf: GAL, SI, 194 = Najjār, ii, 254; Sarkis, p. 1528; Ency. of Islam, i, 489.

(xii) Al-Hathth 'alā Talab al-'ilm (MS)<sup>1</sup>

As the title shows, this is a treatise urging the quest of knowledge particularly that of hadīth. For, 'ilm, in the contemporary sense, was equivalent to 'ilm al-hadīth (the science of tradition).<sup>2</sup>

(xiii) Man Ihtakama min al-Khulafā' ilā al-Qudāt (MS).<sup>3</sup>

Abū Hilāl al-'Askarī undertook a thorough research into the history of the Caliphs with a view to finding out the accounts of those Caliphs who appeared before the courts of law for trial. This treatise embodies the result of his investigation.<sup>4</sup>

(xiv) Tafsīr al-Qur'ān (MS)<sup>5</sup>: an exegesis of the Holy Qur'ān in five volumes.

Abū Hilāl al-'Askarī while giving the meanings of the verses of the Holy Qur'ān has endeavoured to bring into bold relief the inherent beauties of languages and ideas of the Holy Book.<sup>6</sup> This seems to be a monumental work of the author.

(xv) Al-Mu'rib 'an al-Maghrib (MS)<sup>7</sup>.

This is a book on philology.<sup>8</sup>

(xvi) Risāla fī mā Yashuqqu 'alā al-Insān thumma idhā 'tāda saḥula (MS)<sup>9</sup>.

1 Dār al-Kutub al-Misriyya, Cairo; and the library of 'Ashir Affendi. — Vide GAL, SI, 194 = Najjār, ii, 254.

2 Cf: Rihla fī talab al-'ilm means journey in quest of 'ilm hadīth.

3 The library of 'Ashir Affendi. — Vide GAL, SI, 194 = Najjār, ii, 254.

4 Hājī Khalīfa, i, 224-25.

5 Kutubkhāna-i-mubāraka Asitāniquds i Ridawi, Meshhed; and the library of Teheran. — Vide GAL, SI, 194 = Najjār, ii, 254. According to Yāqūt (Udabā', viii, 263) the title is Kitāb al-Kahāsīn fī Tafsīr al-Qur'ān, while Hājī Khalīfa (i, 312) gives it Tafsīr al-'Askarī.

6 Udabā', viii, 263.

7 The library of 'Ashir Affendi. — Vide GAL, SI, 194 = Najjār, ii, 254.

8 Cf: Hājī Khalīfa, ii, 466, art al-Mu'rib 'ammā fī al-Sihāh wa al-Maghrib.

9 The library of 'Ashir Affendi. — GAL., SI, 194 = Najjār, ii, 254.

(xvii) Mahāsin al-Naṭhr wa al-Nazm min al-Kitāba wa al-Shi'r  
(published)<sup>1</sup>.

It is an anthology of chosen prose and poetry comprising 170 pages.<sup>2</sup>

(xviii) Majmū'a Rasā'il al-ʿAskarī (MS):<sup>3</sup> a collection of epistles of al-ʿAskarī.

Besides the books mentioned above, titles mentioned in the foot-notes were also compiled by Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī.<sup>4</sup> But they did not seem to stand the ravages of time.

1 Published without mentioning date and place. — Vide Najjār, ii, 254.

2 Ibid.

3 The library of Dāmād Ibrāhīm Pāshā, Istambol. — Ibid.

4 (i) Ash'ār (al-ʿAskarī): al-Jurjānī (d.471), al-Bākhārzi (d.400) and al-Nuwayrī (d.732) incorporated in their works copious quotations from the poems of al-ʿAskarī. — Vide GAL, SI, 194 = Najjār, ii, 254.

(ii) Nawādir al-Wāhid wa al-Jam'ī. — Udabā', viii, 264.

(iii) Kitāb al-Dirham wa al-Dīnār. — GAL, SI, 194 = Najjār, ii, 254.

(iv) San'at al-Kalām. — Ibid.

(v) Sharh al-Faṣīh, a commentary on al-Faṣīh ( a book on philology) by Abū al-ʿAbbās Tha'lab (d.291). — Ibid.

(vi) Kitāb al-Tabṣira. — Udabā', viii, 263.

(vii) Kitāb al-ʿUmda. — Ibid.

(viii) Kitāb Fadl al-Ghinā 'alā al-ʿUshr. — Khizāna al-Adab, i, 112

(ix) Kitāb mā talḥanu fihi al-Khāṣṣa. — Udabā', viii, 263. Bughya (p.221) and Hājī Khalīfa (ii, 354) have Lahn al-Khāṣṣa.

(x) Risāla fī al-ʿUzla wa al-Ista'nās bi al-Waḥda. — Bughya, p.221; Die grammatischen, p.255.

(xi) Qaṣīda fī Fadl al-Shitā'. — Ibid.; Udabā', viii, 264-67.

## CHAPTER V

## SECTION I. The Province of Ṭabaristān.

(i) Topography: The mountainous region lying between the Caspian Sea on the north and Elburz mountains on the south is known as Ṭabaristān.<sup>1</sup> It is bounded on the east by the provinces of Qūmis and Jurjān, and on the west by Gīlān and Jibāl provinces.<sup>2</sup> At present it is called Māzandarān.<sup>3</sup>

(ii) Arab conquest: In 30/650 Sa'īd b. al-'Ās (d.59) with a number of Arabs invaded Ṭabaristān, conquered Ṭamisa, a city in the eastern frontier of Ṭabaristān near Jurjān, and besieged the fortress in Sāriyya, the capital of Ṭabaristān. The inhabitants after little resistance came to terms with the Arabs on payment of tributes. Then the Arabs captured the fortress and conquered the whole of Ṭabaristān.

In the wake of the Arab conquest the following Sahāba visited Ṭabaristān:

1. Sa'īd b. al-'Ās (d.59)<sup>5</sup>;
2. Al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (d.49)<sup>6</sup>;
3. Al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (d.61)<sup>7</sup>;

1 Ṭabar in the local dialect means 'Mountain' and hence Ṭabaristān means "the Mountain Land." Vide Le Strange, p.369.

2 Le Strange, Map.V.

3 Le Strange, loc. cit.; Ency. of Islam, vol. iv, pp.579-80.

4 Tabarī, i, 2835-2838.

5 Ahādīth narrated by him are preserved in al-Adab al-Mufrad, Sahih of Imām Muslim, Marāsīl of Abū Dā'wūd, Sunan of al-Nasā'i and Tafsir of Ibn Māja. (Khulāsa, pp 118-19) On him, see: Tajrīd, i, 239; Tahdhīb, iv, 48-50; al-Istī'āb, ii, 540; Shadharāt, i, 65; Siyar al-Sahāba, vii, 86-90.

6 Ahādīth narrated by him are preserved in the Jāmi' of Tirmidhī and the Sunans of Abū Dā'wūd, al-Nasā'i and Ibn Māja (Khulāsa, p.67). On him see: Tajrīd, i, 139; al-Istī'āb, i, 139; al-Nawawī, p.204; Tahdhīb, ii, 295-301.

7 Ahādīth narrated by him are preserved in Ṣiḥāh Sitta (Khulāsa, p.71). On him, see: Tajrīd, i, 140; al-Istī'āb, i, 142; al-Nawawī, p.211; Tahdhīb, ii, 345-57; Madāmin Hissa Ghayra Muhājirin wa Ansār, i, 141-244.

4. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās (d.68);<sup>1</sup>
5. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar b. al-Khattāb (d.74);<sup>2</sup>
6. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ (d.65)<sup>3</sup>;
7. Hudhayfa b. al-Yamān (d.36)<sup>4</sup>;
8. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām (d.73)<sup>5</sup>.

(iii) Introduction of Islamic sciences: Like Nishāpūr and Marv centres of Khurāsān province, Tabaristān developed into a centre of ḥadīth and fiqh due to the endeavour and efforts of the Sahāba Tābi'ūn. We have it on the authority of al-Sam'ānī (d.562)<sup>6</sup> that many scholars including jurists and traditionists flourished in Tabaristān and undertook study-tours in quest of ḥadīth and fiqh. Now, before entering into discussion of the 4th/10th century scholars of Tabaristān and their works, we would like to discuss below a few scholars living in the 2nd/8th and 3rd/9th centuries:

#### Traditionists:

1. Abū Marwān al-Ḥakam b. Muḥammad al-Ṭabarī (d.210). He journeyed in quest of ḥadīth and heard ḥadīth from Sufyān b. 'Uayn al-Kūfī (d.198)<sup>7</sup> at Makka. A number of students including the inhabitants of Tabaristān received ḥadīth from him. He died in 210/825.<sup>8</sup>

1 Aḥādīth narrated by him are to be found in Ṣiḥāh Sitta (Khulāṣa, pp.171-72). On him, see: Tajrīd, i, 344; al-Istī'āb, i, 372; Tahdhīb, v, 276-79.

2 Aḥādīth narrated by him are recorded in Ṣiḥāh Sitta (Khulāṣa, pp.175-76). On him, see: Tajrīd, i, 349; al-Istī'āb, i, 368; Tahdhīb, v, 328-30.

3 Aḥādīth narrated by him are preserved in Ṣiḥāh Sitta (Khulāṣa, p.176). On him, see: Tajrīd, i, 350; al-Istī'āb, i, 370; Tahdhīb, v, 337-38; Shadharāt, i, 73.

4 Supra, p.42.

5 Supra, p.5.

6 Kitāb al-Ansāb, art "al-Ṭabarī".

7 Huffāz, i, 242-44.

8 Al-Sam'ānī, loc. cit.



2. Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm al-Ṭabarī. After having a good deal of ahādīth from Sufyān b. ‘Uayna, mentioned above, and al-Faḍl<sup>1</sup> b. ‘Iyād al-Marwazī (d.187), the two professors at Makka, he finally settled in al-Yaman as a professor of ḥadīth. A group of scholars belonging to Ṭabaristān and outside took dictation of ahādīth from him and narrated them on his authority.<sup>2</sup>

Theologian:

Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Sahl Rabbān al-Ṭabarī (d.240)<sup>3</sup>, author of Kitāb al-Dīn wa al-Dawla (The book of religion and empire)<sup>4</sup>, Kitāb Tuhfa al-Mulūk (Wise counsels to the kings),<sup>5</sup> Kitāb Firdaws al-Ḥikma (Paradise of wisdom)<sup>6</sup> etc.

4TH/10TH CENTURY SCHOLARS OF ṬABARISTĀN AND THEIR WORKS

A. JURISTS:

Ibn al-Qāṣṣ al-Ṭabarī (d.335/946)

Among the jurists who flourished in Ṭabaristān in the 4th/10th century the name of Ibn al-Qāṣṣ al-Ṭabarī may be mentioned. A Shāfi‘ite jurist Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. Abī Aḥmad al-Qāṣṣ al-Ṭabarī, popularly known as Ibn al-Qāṣṣ<sup>7</sup>, was a pupil of Abū al-‘Abbās b.

1 Tadhkira al-Huffāz (i,225) has الفضيل

2 Al-Sam‘ānī, loc. cit.

3 Mainly a philosopher and an authority on the science of hygiene ‘Alī b. Sahl was well versed in Arabic language and literature and also wrote books on Islamic religion and history. For notice of his life, Fihrist, p.412; Buldān, ii,608; GAL, SI,414-15.

4 Edited and translated by A.Mingana (Manchester,1922). Vide GAL,loc.ci

5 Fihrist, loc.cit.

6 Ibid.

7 His father Abū Aḥmad in course of his delivering religious sermons used to narrate to the people of Daylam interesting anecdotes about the Companions of the Prophet(s) and other great men of the past in order to encourage them to do good deeds and hence he was called al-Qāṣṣ. (Al-Nawawī, p.741; Wafayāt, i,18).

Surayj (d.306)<sup>1</sup>. He visited al-Basra, al-Kūfa and Baghdād where he heard ḥadīth from Abū Khalīfa al-Basrī (d.305), Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Muṭayyin al-Ḥadramī (d.297), Yūsuf b. Ya‘qūb al-Qādī (d.297), ‘Abd Allāh b. Nājiya (d.301) and others.<sup>2</sup> At Baghdād he studied jurisprudence under Abū al-‘Abbās b. Surayj.<sup>3</sup> He then returned to his native city Ṭabaristān as a teacher of fiqh. Here Abū ‘Alī al-Zajjājī (d.ca.400) and the scholars of Ṭabaristān learnt jurisprudence from him.<sup>4</sup> Towards the end of his life he left for Tarasūs,<sup>5</sup> in Cilicia to join the assignment of a qādī.<sup>6</sup> Here in 335/946, while he was delivering religious sermons in a gathering, he fell down senseless due to exuberance of emotion and died.<sup>7</sup>

His works:

(i) Al-Talkhīs fī al-Furū‘ (MS)<sup>8</sup>: a compendium on Shāfi‘ite jurisprudence. While compiling the book the author has followed the system mentioned below. He has divided the book in a number of abwāb (chapters). In every chapter he has given the clear and express injunctions enunciated in the Qur‘ān and the ḥadīth and also those deduced therefrom. He has specifically mentioned, where necessary, those juridical matters of the Ḥanafite school which were adopted against their accepted principles. Though small in size, the book in its discipline is a comprehensive one dealing with the principles and by-laws of jurisprudence.<sup>9</sup>

1 Wafayāt, loc. cit.

2 Ibid.; al-Subkī, ii, 103.

3 Ibid.

4 Al-Subkī, loc. cit.; Shadharāt, ii, 339.

5 Le Strange, p. 130.

6 Wafayāt, loc. cit.; al-Subkī, loc. cit.

7 Wafayāt, loc. cit. Notice of his life is also found in al-Yāfi‘ī, ii, 319; Huart, pp. 238-39.

8 Ayā Sofia, Istanbul under No. 1074 (GAL, i, 180). The book has many commentaries of which the following are famous: Commentaries of Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Khatān (d. 386), Abū Bakr al-Shāshī (d. 365) and Abū ‘Alī al-Sinjī (d. 430). See Ḥājī Khalīfa, i, 327.

9 Ibid.; al-Nawawī (p. 741) said: فلم يصنف قبله ولا بعده مثله في أسلوبه

(ii) Al-Miftāh, a book on Shāfi'ite laws.<sup>1</sup>

(iii) Adab al-Qādī: This is a book containing the procedure to be adopted by a Qādī while deciding case-laws according to the school of Imām al-Shāfi'i.<sup>2</sup>

(iv) Dalā'il al-Qibla: It is an abridgement mostly dealing with history and stories about the conditions of the earth and its wonders.<sup>3</sup>

(v) Kitāb al-Mawāqīt.<sup>4</sup>

(vi) Kitāb fī al-Tawassuṭ, a book on Shāfi'ite jurisprudence. It was of medium size. In this book the author put forward certain objections against the principles propounded by Imām al-Shāfi'i.<sup>5</sup>

Besides, Ibn al-Qāṣṣ compiled a book on Ihrām al-Mar'a (ceremonial intention prior to performing pilgrimage by women) and also he commented on the ḥadīth:<sup>6</sup> "يا ابا عمير ما فعل النخير"

#### B. HISTORIANS:

Al-Ṭabarī (d.310/922)

Among the historians who flourished in Ṭabaristān in the 4th/10th century the name of al-Ṭabarī may be mentioned. Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī was born in 224/838 at Āmul, the capital of Ṭabaristān.<sup>7</sup> He began his education at a very early age and learnt

1 Ḥājī Khalīfa, ii, 485. The noted commentaries on the book are those of Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Mālik al-Ṭabarī (d.470), Abū al-Khayr al-Maqdisī (d.480), 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Baghdādī (d.429) and Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Fasawī. Abū 'Alī al-Zajjājī, a pupil of Ibn al-Qāṣṣ produced a supplement to the commentary made by 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Baghdādī. (Ibid.).

2 Ibid., i, 73.

3 Ibid., i, 495.

4 Ibid., ii, 303.

5 Ibid., ii, 406.

6 Shadharāt, ii, 339.

7 Wafayāt, i, 456; Udabā', xviii, 47-48.

the Qur'ān by heart at the age of seven.<sup>1</sup> He then travelled from country to country in search of knowledge and visited the centres of Persia, al-'Irāq, Syria and Egypt.<sup>2</sup>

Thus we find that after studying the Holy Qur'ān with Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Talhī,<sup>3</sup> a pupil of Khallād (d.220)<sup>4</sup> and after hearing ḥadīth from the Muhaddithūn at his native place Āmul, he left home for al-Rayy where he heard ḥadīth from Muḥammad b. Hamīd al-Rāzī (d.248) and others.<sup>5</sup> In 241/855<sup>6</sup> he arrived at Baghdād and heard ḥadīth from Aḥmad b. Manī' (d.244), Ishāq b. Abī Isrā'īl (d.245) and their contemporaries.<sup>7</sup> After receiving a good deal of aḥādīth from Muḥammad b. Bashshār Bundār (d.252) and Abū Ḥātim al-Sijistānī (d.250) at al-Basra and Abū Kurayb (d.248) and others at al-Kūfa<sup>8</sup> he came back to Baghdād where he studied Shāfi'ite jurisprudence under al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Za'farānī (d.260), Dā'wūd b. 'Alī al-Iṣbahānī (d.270)<sup>9</sup> and others.<sup>10</sup> He then visited the centres of ḥadīth learning in Syria and heard ḥadīth from the scholars there.<sup>11</sup> In 253/867 he journeyed to Egypt and studied the Holy Qur'ān and the Mālikite jurisprudence with Yūnus b. 'Abd al-A'lā (d.264). Here he met Ismā'īl b. Yahya al-Muzanī (d.264) and completed his study of Shāfi'ite jurisprudence with al-Rabī' b. Sulaymān (d.270)<sup>12</sup>.

1 Udabā', xviii, 49.

2 Al-Khatīb, ii, 162; al-Subkī, ii, 135.

3 Al-Subkī (ii, 136) mentions al-Talkhī which is not correct. Cf: Lubāb, ii, 88.

4 On him, see: Shadharāt, ii, 47.

5 Udabā', xviii, 49-50; 66; al-Subkī, loc. cit.

6 Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal died in 241/855. Cf: Udabā', xviii, 50.

7 Al-Khatīb, loc. cit.

8 Udabā', xviii, 48-52.

9 Supra, p. 8.

10 Fihrist, p. 326; Udabā', xviii, 52-53; 78.

11 Udabā', loc. cit.

12 Ibid.; Fihrist, loc. cit.

From Egypt al-Ṭabarī returned via Syria to Baghdād where, except for two journeys in Ṭabaristān, he settled till his death devoting himself entirely to teaching and compilation. A large number of scholars like Ahmad b. Kāmil (d.350), al-Ṭabarānī (d.360), Makhlad al-Bāqarhī (d.339) and others were among his students.<sup>1</sup> For the first ten years he taught jurisprudence according to the Shāfi'ite school of law<sup>2</sup> and then established an independent school which later on came to be known as al-Jarīriyya, slightly different from the school of Imām al-Shāfi'ī.<sup>3</sup> He criticized the various schools of Sunni law and regarded Ahmad b. Ḥanbal (d.241) as an authority on ḥadīth and not on fiqh. By this he incurred the displeasure of the Hanbalites.<sup>4</sup>

Al-Ṭabarī was a great authority on various branches of learning viz., ḥadīth, Qur'ānic exegesis, the science of the recitation of the Qur'ān, jurisprudence, history, poetry, grammar, philology etc. Besides, he had logic, mathematics and medicine at his finger's ends. By studying at home and abroad, he acquired encyclopaedic knowledge unsurpassed by anyone before or since.<sup>5</sup> It is said that for long forty years he wrote forty sheets a day.<sup>6</sup> The Caliph al-Muktafi (d.289-95/902-08) once asked the 'Ulamā' of Baghdād to compile a book containing only those principles which were agreed upon by all the jurists. The 'Ulamā' in a body expressed their

1 Al-Subkī, ii, 136.

2 Ibid., p.137.

3 Fihrist, p.327; Ency. of Islam, iv, 578-79.

4 Udabā', xviii, 58; Abū al-Fidā, ii, 71.

5 Udabā', xviii, 59-61.

6 Al-Sam'ānī, art "al-Ṭabarī".

inability to do so and all of them unanimously recommended Ibn Jarīr for this arduous task. Accordingly he dictated to the 'Ulamā' the book in question for which the Caliph offered him a handsome honorarium which he refused to accept.<sup>1</sup> Once the vizier al-'Abbās b. al-Ḥasan (d.296)<sup>2</sup> desiring to learn something about fiqh requested Ibn Jarīr to abridge one of his books for the purpose. Then Ibn Jarīr prepared an abridgement of his book al-Latīf, named it al-Khafīf and sent it to the vizier. Thereupon the vizier sent one thousand dīnārs to the author, but he did not accept it.<sup>3</sup> Ibn Jarīr was once offered the post of qāḍī, but he refused to accept it on the ground that it might hamper his devotion to teaching and compiling books.<sup>4</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, while on study-tour, received from his father a yearly allowance which did not always reach him punctually and on one occasion he had to sell the sleeves of his shirt to buy bread for sustenance.<sup>5</sup> While studying at Baghdād his father died and in order to meet his expenses he served as a tutor to the son of the vizier 'Ubayd Allāh b. Yahya (d.263)<sup>6</sup> for a considerable period.<sup>7</sup> Thus we find that although he was not quite well off, he refused to accept financial aid even as remuneration offered him by the viziers and the chiefs of the time.

A versatile scholar and a man of character al-Ṭabarī possessed an uncommon memory, intelligence and sagacity.<sup>8</sup> He died in 310/922 at Baghdād at the age of eighty six.<sup>9</sup>

1 Al-Suyūṭī, Tabaqāt al-Mufasssīrīn (Leyden, 1839), pp.30-31.

2 He was the minister of Caliph al-Muktafi bi Allāh. Vide Ency. of Islam, i, 11.

3 Al-Subkī, ii, 137.

4 Ibid., p. 138; Najjār, iii, 46.

5 Al-Subkī, loc. cit.

6 He held the vizierate under the Caliphs al-Mutawakkil (232-47/847-61) and al-Mu'tamid (256-79/870-92). Vide Shadharāt, ii, 147.

7 Nicholson, p. 350; Ency. Britannica, XXI, 728. 8 Al-Khatīb, ii, 163.

9 Ibid., p. 166. Notice of his life is also found in Huffāz, ii, 251-55; al-Yāfi'i, ii, 261; Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 49; Buldān, i, 68; Shadharāt, ii, 260; Zaydān, ii, 197-99; 211; Gibb, pp. 56-57; Huart, pp. 181-82; Hitti, pp. 390-91.

His works:

(i) Ta'rikh al-Rusul wa al-Mulūk (Published)<sup>1</sup> or History of the Apostles and the Kings.

The history of al-Ṭabarī begins with the creation of the world and goes down to 302/914.<sup>2</sup> But al-Ṭabarī does not give a compact narrative of historical events as commonly understood by the term "history". Now what he does may be briefly stated as follows:

During his extensive study-tour al-Ṭabarī collected a vast mass of historical documents. His search was so thorough and complete that he could gather almost all the documents of the whole events down to 302/914. Now he arranged these documents chronologically tabulating them under the years of the Hijra and mentioning in every document the chain of narrators through which it was transmitted to him. Sometimes his versions of a particular event seem to be quite contradictory and he does not try to prefer one to the other, nor does he compromise them, much less does he touch on the comparative reliability of this or that version. Thus, for example, he has quoted in extenso, the divergent evidences connected with the bay'a (allegiance) to 'Alī by Ṭalḥa (d.36) and al-Zubayr (d.36). According to some documents their bay'a to 'Alī was under duress, while according to others, the bay'a was willing and spontaneous. Now, we are in a position to scrutinize the different

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1 Ed. and publ. by De Goeje at Leyden, 1879-1901.

2 While compiling Ta'rikh al-Rusul wa al-Mulūk al-Ṭabarī only made a passing reference to the reign of the Umayyads and the 'Abbasids in two parts. During the time of al-Muqtadir bi Allah (295-320/907-932) he was asked to give an elaborate narration of these two parts which he did and named al-Qat'ān, two parts. (Udabā', xviii, 70). But the printed edition of the work does not contain these details.

sources of his documents, by studying judiciously and with an open mind the character of the narrators of a particular event and get the real information. Of course, there is a danger of misinterpreting the real fact, if motivated by preconceived ideas and notions.

The development of isnād literature was the result of the indefatigable labour and researches of the traditionists for the sake of separating fabricated ahādīth from the body of the whole mass of traditions. Now, al-Ṭabarī as a front-ranking Muhaddīth elevated the historical literature on a par with hadīth literature by introducing isnād before narrating every event and thus affording us a canon of criticism before accepting the version of a particular event. In short, according to al-Ṭabarī it is not enough to narrate a historical fact; it must be backed by the source from which it has emanated; otherwise it is not worthy of acceptance. Thus, of all the historians it was al-Ṭabarī who initiated a new and novel system of introducing historical matters opening for us an unlimited scope of research and investigation.

(ii) Jāmi' al-Bayān fī Tafsīr al-Qur'ān (published).<sup>1</sup>

In this work al-Ṭabarī first collected the ample material of traditional exegesis and thus created a standard work upon which later Qur'ānic commentators drew; it is a treasure of information for historical and critical research scholars. Ṭabarī's own position with regard to the traditions collected by him is mainly defined by

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<sup>1</sup> Cairo, 1321 A.H.; Būlāq, 1323-9 A.H. A MS. copy of the translation of the book in abridged form into Persian by the 'Ulamā' of Transoxiana is preserved in the British Museum under No.8,9; Paris, Bloche under No.25; Asiatic Society of Bengal under No.955. (GAL,SI,218). Also translated into Turkish and a manuscript of it is in Ayā Sofia under No.87. (Najjār, iii,49).



lexicographical and grammatical criteria. But he also deals with dogmatic and legal deductions which can be obtained from the Qur'ān, and sometimes he expresses an opinion without basing it on historical criticism.<sup>1</sup>

(iii) Kitāb Ikhtilāf al-Fuqahā' (Published).<sup>2</sup> It deals with the divergent views of the jurists on different juridical problems.

(iv) Al-Dhayl al-Mudhayyal (Published)<sup>3</sup>. The work is originally current as an appendix to al-Tabari's Ta'rikh al-Rusul wa al-Mulūk. It gives the most necessary facts about the persons, particularly Ṣahāba and Ṭabi'ūn whom he has used as authorities in hadīth.<sup>4</sup>

(v) Sharh al-Sunna (partly published):<sup>5</sup> interpretation of Muslim law.

(vii) Kitāb Tahdhīb al-Āthār (MS)<sup>6</sup> arrangement of traditions.

It is a collection of ahādīth arranged according to the system of Musnad. The work starts with the ahādīth narrated by Hadrat Abū Bakr al-Siddīque, and contains inter alia the hadīth of Ahl al-Bayt and Mawālī, and a portion of ahādīth of Ibn 'Abbās (d.68). At the end of every hadīth al-Ṭabari discusses elaborately its soundness or otherwise, the different chains of transmitters through which it has been handed down, and whether fiqhī masā'il can be drawn from the hadīth together with different views of scholars giving their respective reasons. The linguistic intricacies of the hadīth have also

1 Ency. of Islam, iv, 578-79.

2 Ed. and publ. by Joseph Schacht in Leiden, 1933, and also by F. Kern in Cairo, 1320 A.H. (GAL, SI, 218).

3 A selection of it along with al-Tabari's History is published from Leiden in 1897/1898 (Ibid).

4 Ibid.

5 A MS. copy of the whole book is preserved in the library of Revan--koshk under No. 510(3). The last part of the book on al-I'tiqād along with Masālik al-Absār fi Mamālik al-Amsār by Ibn Fadl Allāh al-'Umari is published from Bombay in 1311 and 1321 A.H. (Ibid.)

6 Köprülüzāde under Nos. 269-270 (GAL, SI, loc. cit.).

been clarified. According to 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Khawli, Kitāb Tahdhīb al-Athār is one of the great books of Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī.<sup>1</sup>

(vii) Bishārat al-Mustafa (MS):<sup>2</sup> good news of the Prophet(s).

It is written in 17 parts.<sup>3</sup>

(viii) Tabsīr Uli al-Nuhā wa Ma'ālim al-Hudā(MS): an insight for the wise and torch of guidance.

(ix) Al-Latīf min al-Bayān 'an Ahkām Sharā'i' al-Islām: a book on fiqh.<sup>5</sup>

Besides these he wrote a good number of books<sup>6</sup> which, however, have not come down to us.

1 Al-Khawli, p.33; Mustatrifa, p.38.

2 MS. copies of seven parts are found in Najaf and of others in Teheran and Khurāsān. (GAL, loc. cit.).

3 Ibid.

4 Escorial I, Paris under No.1514(6). Vide ibid.

5 Ibid.

6 For titles of books, see: ibid.; Fihrist, p.327; al-Subkī, ii, 136; Udabā', xviii, 80-81; Ḥājī Khalīfa, i, 386; ii, 283; 294-95.

## SECTION II. The Province of Jurjān.

(i) Topography: The province of Jurjān or Gurgan lay at the south-eastern corner of the Caspian. It consisted mostly of the broad plains and valleys watered by the Jurjān and the Atrak rivers. The important cities of the province were Jurjān, the capital of the province, Astarābād and Abaskun which were connected by a high road linking up with Māzandarān and Qūmis<sup>2</sup>. The Jurjān river divided the city of Jurjān into two parts, east and west, traversed by a bridge of boats. On the east side of the river lay Jurjān proper and on the west side Bakrābād, the suburb.<sup>3</sup>

(ii) Arab conquest: In 22/642 during the Caliphate of 'Umar the Arabs under the leadership of Suwayd b. Muqarran<sup>4</sup>, a Companion of the Prophet(s) overran the province of Jurjān by making a treaty with Ruzbān Sūl, its governor.<sup>5</sup> The province was, however, conquered in 30/650 by Sa'īd b. al-'Ās (d.ca.58), a Companion of the Prophet during the Caliphate of 'Uthmān.<sup>6</sup>

In the wake of the Arab conquest, a number of Sahāba visited Jurjān<sup>7</sup>; among them the following are noteworthy:

1. Suwayd b. Muqarran<sup>8</sup>;
2. Sa'īd b. al-'Ās<sup>9</sup>;
3. Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān (d.36)<sup>10</sup>;

1 Le Strange, p.376.

2 Maqdisī, p.354, 357; Ibn Hawqal, p.180; Le Strange, p.381 and Map V.

3 Al-Istakhrī, p.212; Le Strange, p.377.

4 On him, supra, p.80.

5 Tabarī, i, 2657-2659.

6 Ibid, p.2839.

7 Ta'rikh Jurjān, pp.6-11.

8 On him, supra, p.80.

9 On him, supra, p.300.

10 On him, supra, p.42.

4. Abū Hurayra (d.58)<sup>1</sup>;
5. 'Abd Allāh b. al-'Abbās (d.68)<sup>2</sup>;
6. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar (d.74)<sup>3</sup>;
7. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr b. al-'Ās.(d.65)<sup>4</sup>;
8. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr (d.73)<sup>5</sup>.

(iii) Development of Islamic sciences prior to the 4th/10th century:

It may be mentioned that Jurjān developed as an Arab colony and among the settlers the names of Kurz b. Wabra al-Hārithī<sup>6</sup>, a tabi'i and 'Isā b. Sulaymān al-Dārimī (d.153)<sup>7</sup> and Shujā' b. Sabīh<sup>8</sup>, the two tabi' tabi'un have come down to us.

Scholars flourished in the 3rd/9th century.

#### Traditionists:

1. 'Abd al-Mu'min b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-'Attār al-Jurjānī (d.ca.210), compiler of a book on al-Jihād.<sup>9</sup>
2. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muhammad b. Sinjār al-Jurjānī (d.258)<sup>10</sup>, author of a Musnad.
3. Abū Yāsir 'Ammār b. Rajā' b. Sa'īd al-Istarābādī (d.268), compiler of al-Musnad.<sup>11</sup>
4. Abū Ya'qūb Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā al-Wazdūlī al-Jurjānī (d.295)<sup>12</sup>, author of a Musnad.

1 Ahādīth narrated on his authority are preserved in Shihāh Sitta (Khulāsa, p.397). On him, see: al-Istī'āb, ii, 697-98; Shadharāt, i, 63.

2 On him, supra, p.301.

3 On him, supra, p.301.

4 On him, supra, p.301.

5 On him, supra, p.5.

6 He narrated hadīth on the authority of Anas b. Mālik whereas Abū Tayba 'Isā b. Sulaymān and Shujā' b. Sabīh narrated hadīth on the authority of Kurz b. Wabra. For details, see: Ta'rikh Jurjān, pp.295-305; 187-88.

7 On him, see: Ibid., pp.244-54.

8 He was a mawla of Kurz b. Wabra and was a captive at Jurjān. Ibid., pp.187-88.

9 Ta'rikh Jurjān, p.200.

10 Ibid., pp.337-38; Huffāz, ii, 141-42; Husn al-Muhādīra, i, 196; Shadharāt, ii, 138.

11 Ta'rikh Jurjān, p.241; Huffāz, ii, 128; Mustatirifa, p.55.

12 On him, see: Ta'rikh Jurjān, p.120; Huffāz, ii, 128.

Jurists:

1. Abū Zakariyyā Yahyā b. Sa'īd al-Sa'igh, compiler of a book on Usūl al-Fiqh.<sup>1</sup>
2. Abū Muḥammad Ja'far b. Tarkhān al-Istarābādī (d.277), author of many compilations.<sup>2</sup>

## 4TH/10TH CENTURY SCHOLARS OF JURJĀN AND THEIR WORKS

A. AL-MUHADDITHUN, THE TRADITIONISTS:1. Ibn 'Adī al-Jurjānī (d.365/975)

Abū Aḥmad 'Abd Allāh b. 'Adī b. 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Jurjānī was born in 277/890 at Jurjān.<sup>3</sup> He first heard ḥadīth at his native town in 290/902 from Aḥmad b. Ḥafs al-Sa'dī (d.293) and others.<sup>4</sup>

Ibn 'Adī was a widely travelled traditionist. From his first round of itinerary it appears that he arrived in Egypt in 297/909, and heard ḥadīth from 'Alī b. Sa'īd al-Rāzī (d.297), Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Nasā'ī (d.303) and al-Qāsim b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ikhmīmī.<sup>5</sup> While his second round of itinerary that commenced in 305/917 covered the cultural seats of al-'Irāq and Syria as follows:<sup>6</sup>

Al-'Irāq:

- |          |   |                                  |
|----------|---|----------------------------------|
| Al-Baṣra | : | Abū Khalīfa al-Jumhī (d.306);    |
| Baghdād  | : | 'Abū Muḥammad b. Sa'īd (d.318);  |
| Al-Kūfa  | : | Abū 'al-'Abbās b. 'Uqda (d.332). |

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1 Ta'riḥ Jurjān, p.454.

2 Vide Ibid, p.476.

3 Ta'riḥ Jurjān, p.225.

4 Ibid., p.226.

5 Ibid.; Buldān, ii,52.

6 Ibid.

Syria:

Damascus : Ahmad b. 'Umayr b. Jawsā' (d.320);

Hims : Hubayl b. Muhammad;

Harrān : Abū 'Arūba al-Harrānī (d.318);

Ba'labakk : Abū Ja'far Ahmad b. Hāshim.

During his rihla fī talab al-'ilm he took special pains to collect traditions of early authorities, and succeeded in acquiring those of Mālik b. Anas (d.179), al-Awzā'ī (d.156), Sufyān al-Thawrī (d.161), Shu'ba (d.160), Ismā'īl b. Abī Khālid (d.145) and a host of others. Also he was one of the collectors of Musnad Abī Hanīfa.<sup>1</sup>

A reliable and steadfast transmitter of hadīth Ibn 'Adī was highly spoken of by his contemporaries like al-Dāraqutnī (d.385) and al-Khalīlī (d.440)<sup>2</sup>. Among those who received hadīth from him mention may be made of Abū Sa'd al-Mālīnī (d.412) and Hamza al-Sahmī (d.427), the author of Ta'rikh Jurjān.<sup>3</sup> He possessed an inborn retentive memory and outshone the huffāz<sup>4</sup> like 'Abd al-Bāqī b. Qānī' (d.352), al-Ṭabarānī (d.360) and Abū Ahmad al-Kabīr (d.378), known as al-Hākīm al-Kabīr.<sup>5</sup> As a critic of rijāl he was bracketted with Ibn Hibbān al-Bustī (d.354). He died in 365/975 at Jurjān and was buried in the compound of the mosque of Kurz b. Wabra<sup>6</sup> there. Abū Bakr al-Ismā'īlī (d.371)<sup>7</sup> offered his janāza, funeral prayer<sup>8</sup>.

1 Buldān, ii, 53.

2 Ta'rikh Jurjān, p.226; Huffāz, iii, 143. On al-Khalīlī, see Huffāz, iii, 301.

3 Buldān, ii, 52.

4 Pl. of hāfiz, the outstanding memorizers of hadīth.

5 Vide, Huffāz, iii, 143.

6 Q.v.p. 313.

7 Q.v.p. 316.

8 Ta'rikh Jurjān, pp.225-26.

His works:

(i) Kitāb al-Kāmil fī Ma'rifa al-Du'afā' al-Muhaddithīn (M. S.)<sup>1</sup>

This is a comprehensive work on the criticism of al-rijāl, transmitters of hadīth. In it the author collected all those transmitters who had been subject of criticism even if belonging to the narrators of the Sahīhān. After giving a brief notice of every transmitter he quoted one hadīth or more from among the rare and rejected aḥādīth transmitted by him — thus furnishing a clear evidence of his being a defective transmitter. The work enjoyed reputation as an authority on al-jarh wa al-ta'dīl and the opinion of Ibn 'Adī was accepted as the last word. Both the earlier authorities like al-Dāraquṭnī (d.385) as also the later authorities accepted al-Kāmil as the reliable work on the subject.<sup>2</sup>

(ii) Asmā' al-Sahāba (MS),<sup>3</sup> a book on the companions of the Prophet (s).

2. Abū Bakr al-Ismā'īlī (d.371/981)

Abū Bakr Ahmad b. Ibrāhīm b. Ismā'īl b. al-'Abbās al-Jurjānī, popularly known as al-Ismā'īlī after his grand-father, was born at Jurjān in 277/890. He started to hear hadīth at an unusually early age of six and that in 283/896 from Ahmad b. Khālid al-Dāmighānī (d.ca.285/898)<sup>4</sup>. In 287/900 he heard hadīth from Talḥa b. Abī Talḥa al-Jurjānī (d.ca.290/903)<sup>5</sup> and Hammād b. Ahmad b. Hammād al-Marwazī (d.ca.290/903)<sup>6</sup> of Jurjān<sup>7</sup>. In 294/906 he left for ṭalab al-'ilm

1 The library of al-Khadiwiyya al-Misriyya, Cairo, and of Top Kapu. (GAL, i, 167; SI, 280). A manuscript of the abridgement of the book by Ahmad b. Aibak al-Dimyāṭī (d.749) is available in Berlin under No. 9944. (Ibid.)

2 Al-Khawli, p.149; Mizān, i, 2; Lisān, i, 6.

3 Library of Madīna, under No.270. (GAL, loc. cit.)

4 Ta'rikh Jurjān, p.32 under al-Dāmighānī.

5 Ibid., p.195 under Talḥa b. Abī Talḥa.

6 Ibid., p.160.

7 Ibid., p.75.

(in quest of knowledge) and arrived at Nasā where he read with al-Hasan b. Sufyān (d.303/915) the latter's al-Musnad and other books on hadīth.<sup>1</sup> In 296/908 he went to Baghdād, and studied hadīth and fiqh under Yūsuf al-Qādī (d.297/909) and others. He then visited the centres of al-‘Irāq hearing hadīth from Abū Khalīfa al-Jumahī (d.305) at al-Basra, Muhammad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Hadramī (d.297) at al-Kūfa and Abū Ya‘lā al-Mawṣilī (d.307) in al-Jazīra. He also received hadīth from ‘Abdān al-Ahwāzī (d.306) at ‘Askar Mukram. Also he frequently sojourned Nishāpūr with a view to hearing hadīth.<sup>2</sup>

Abū Bakr al-Ismā‘īlī occupied an enviable position in Jurjān as a traditionist and Shāfi‘ite jurist. Besides, he was a noble man possessing a vast fortune, humanitarian and generous. He appears to have been appointed as a high official of Jurjān. Two of his official visits to Nishāpūr have been recorded: viz, in 317/929 and in Dhū al-Qa‘da, 338/949. On the latter occasion he stayed at the residence of al-Hasan Abū Naṣr Maṣṣūr b. Qarātikīn (d.340)<sup>3</sup>, the governor of Nishāpūr. He, however, shifted to the house of Abū Bakr al-Daba‘ī (d.342) on invitation and spent his evenings devoting to a weekly cultural programme like imla, dictating hadīth, nazr, researches, qirā‘at, (science of recitation) and kalām, theological discussions. Ardent students like al-Ḥakīm (d.405) and leading scholars of Nishāpūr attended the programme.<sup>4</sup>

Abū Bakr al-Ismā‘īlī was an eminent traditionist and Shāfi‘ite

1 Al-Sam‘ānī, art "al-Ismā‘īlī"; Huffāz, iii, 151; al-Subkī, ii, 80.

2 Al-Sam‘ānī, loc. cit.; al-Subkī, ii, 79-80.

3 He served as governor of Khurāsān from 334/945 to 340/951. Vide Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 181, 194.

4 Ta‘rīkh Naysābūr of al-Ḥakīm quoted by al-Sam‘ānī under art "al-Ismā‘īlī"; Siyāq, fol. 17.



jurist. He was a popular and leading figure in the country among all strata of society. By virtue of his intellectual attainments and material prosperity he commanded respect both at home and abroad.<sup>1</sup> The vizier Abū al-Fadl Ja'far b. al-Fadl (d.391)<sup>2</sup> of Egypt paid him tribute saying: "He was endowed with knowledge coupled with worldly pomp and good reputation."<sup>3</sup> He died at Jurjān in 371/981. The news of his death cast a shadow of gloom all over the country. We have it on the authority of Hamza al-Sahmī (d.427) that his death was condoled at Baghdād for three or five days in the mosque of Abū al-Qāsim al-Dārakī (d.375) in the assemblies of leading traditionists like al-Dāraquṭnī (d.385) and Ibn Shāhīn (d.385), jurists, nobility and merchants of the metropolis.<sup>4</sup> Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh b. Ahmad al-Razjāhī recited an elegy on that occasion.<sup>5</sup>

His works:

(i) Kitāb al-Mu'jam fī al-Asāmī (MS):<sup>6</sup> a dictionary on the biographical notices of the shuyūkh of al-Ismā'īlī arranged alphabetically.<sup>7</sup>

(ii) Al-Mustakhraj 'alā al-Sahīh (MS):<sup>8</sup> The work is the result of investigation of the author into the chains of traditions such as marāsīl and ta'liqāt incorporated in the Sahīh of al-Bukhārī (d.256). He succeeded in tracing the connecting chains of narrators concerning those ahādīth and furnished them in the present work.<sup>9</sup>

1 Al-Sam'ānī, loc. cit.

2 He was an Ikhshidite vizier and traditionist. On him, see Shadharāt, iii, 135.

3 (sic:) لقد كان رزق من العلم والجاه وكان له صيت حسن  
Ta'rikh Jurjān, p.70.

4 Ibid., pp.71-72.

5 Ibid.

6 Library of Walī al-Dīn under No.845. (GAL. SI,275).

7 Hājī Khalīfa, ii, 463.

8 Al-Subkī, ii, 80. A manuscript of it in the handwriting of Ibn Hajr is available in the German library. The book was abridged by Ibn Hajr and was named al-Muntaqa. Vide 'Abd al-Rahmān Mubārakpurī, Muqaddama Tuḥfa al-Ahwadhī (Sharh Jāmi' al-Tirmidhī), ed. Delhi, 1359, p.163.

9 Ibn Hajr 'Asqalānī, Fath al-Bārī, (Muqaddama), ed. Cairo, undated, pp.344-80; al-Khawli, p.41; 162.

Abū Bakr al-Isma'īlī is said to be the author of Musnad 'Umar b. al-Khattāb which he arranged in two volumes. Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī (d.748) who consulted the work and added glossaries to it highly praised the work as one of profound knowledge and rare memory.<sup>1</sup>

B. POETS:

Qādī Abū al-Hasan al-Jurjānī (d.392/1001)

Among the poets who flourished in Jurjān in the 4th/10th century the name of Qādī Abū al-Hasan al-Jurjānī may be mentioned. An accomplished jurist, poet and literary critic, Abū al-Hasan 'Alī b. 'Abd al-'Azīz was born at Jurjān in the early twenties of the 4th century A.H.<sup>2</sup> In his young age he undertook a study tour accompanied by his elder brother Abū Bakr Muhammad<sup>3</sup> and travelled extensively in the cities of al-'Irāq and Syria in quest of knowledge.<sup>4</sup> In 337/947 on their homeward journey they arrived in Nishāpūr while Abū al-Hasan al-Jurjānī was yet in his tender age.<sup>5</sup> Then both of them heard a good deal of ahādīth from the shuyūkh thereof.<sup>6</sup>

Al-Sāhib b. 'Abbād (d.385)<sup>7</sup> being highly impressed with the scholarship of Abū al-Hasan al-Jurjānī drew him near and appointed him qādī of Jurjān which post he held for a long time.<sup>8</sup> Abū al-Hasan

1 Huffāz, iii,149.

2 The statement of Ahmad 'Arif (al-Wasāṭa bayn al-Mutanabbī wa Khushūmih. Saida, 1913,p.4) saying that Abū al-Hasan al-Jurjānī was born in 290/902 is highly improbable as al-Jurjānī was yet to reach the age of puberty when he arrived at Nishāpūr in 337/947. (Udabā',xiv,15).

3 Udabā', xiv,15. Abū Bakr was a jurist and theologian. (Ibid.)

4 Yatīma, iii,238.

5 (sic.) قد ناهز الحليم (Udabā', xiv,15); literally on the verge of puberty. Cf: Wafayāt, i,325 (sic.) وهو صغير غير بالغ

6 Udabā',xiv,15.

7 Supra,p.59.

8 Yatīma,iii,239; Udabā', xiv. 21.

al-Jurjānī was held in high esteem by al-Sāhib who once presented him with perfume on the occasion of 'Īd al-Fitr.<sup>1</sup> After the death of al-Sāhib Abū al-Ḥasan al-Jurjānī was elevated to the position of chief judge of al-Rayy and remained in office till his death in 392/1001.<sup>2</sup>

Abū al-Ḥasan al-Jurjānī was a versatile genius. He combined in himself the scholarship of a jurist, poet and literary critic.<sup>3</sup> He expounded 4000 legal problems on wakāla, a chapter on al-Fiqh pertaining to commercial, matrimonial and other transactions.<sup>4</sup> He has left

1 It is said that while al-Jurjānī was returning from the house of al-Sāhib on the day before 'Īd al-Fitr, a messenger handed over to him the perfume of 'Īd with a piece of paper bearing the following couplets:

يأيها الغاضى الذى نفسى له - مع قرب عهد لقائه مشاقفة  
أهديت عطرا مثل طيب ثنائه - فكأنما الهدى له أخلاقه

"O the Qādī ! despite whose visit (to me) a little before my mind was eager to see him; I presented to him perfume just like the fragrance of his good name. As though I made a present to him, the symbol of his own character." (Yatīma, iii, 240; Udabā', xiv, 20-21).

2 Yatīma, iii, 239. Al-Ḥākim (quoted in Udabā', xiv, 15) gives the date of his death as 366/976. This does not seem to be correct for the following reasons:

(i) Al-Jurjānī was still in the service of judgeship during the lifetime of al-Sāhib who died in 385/995 and after his death he was appointed Qādī al-Qudāt of al-Rayy (Yatīma, iii, 239).

(ii) Yāqūt categorically says:

مات بالرى يوم الثلاثاء لست بعين من ذى الحجة سنة اثنتين وتسعين  
وثلاثمائة وهو قاضى القضاة بالرى حينئذ -

He died at al-Rayy on Wednesday, Dhū al-Hijja 24, 392 while he was Qādī al-Qudāt there. (Udabā', xiv, 15).

(iii) Yāqūt (Udabā', xiv, 16) categorically says that 'Abd al-Qāhī al-Jurjānī was a student and admirer of Abū al-Ḥasan al-Jurjānī. Now, 'Abd al-Qāhī al-Jurjānī, a noted philologist (On him, see: GAL, SI, 503; Miftāh, i, 143; al-Subkī, iii, 242) died in 471/1078. The date of his birth does not seem to be earlier than 380/990.

3 Udabā', xiv, pp. 14-15; Shadharat, iii, 56.

4 Al-Subkī, ii, 308; Ḥājī Khalīfa, ii, 307.

for us his Wasāta which is a valuable contribution to literary criticism. As a poet his style was simple;<sup>1</sup> specimens of his numerous poems are to be had in Yatīma<sup>2</sup> and Udabā<sup>3</sup>.

His works:

(i) Al-Wasāta bayn al-Mutanabbī wa Khusūmihi (published)<sup>4</sup>

The book was written as a refutation of the allegations brought against al-Mutanabbī (d.354) by his antagonists headed by al-Ṣāhib b. 'Abbād (d.385) who in his treatise al-Kaṣhf<sup>5</sup> exposed the defects in the poems of al-Mutanabbī. The author has divided the book into two parts. In the preface to the first part he pointed out the mistakes committed by the poets of Jāhiliyya period like Imru' al-Qays<sup>6</sup>, Labīd<sup>7</sup>, Zuhayr<sup>8</sup> etc. He brought in a comparative study of the poems of al-Mutanabbī with those of his leading predecessors viz., Jarīr (d.110), Farazdaq (d.110), Abū Nuwās (d.196), Abū Tammām (d.231) and al-Buhturī (d.284) by quoting copiously from their poems, pointing out their mistakes — grammatical, rhetorical as well as factual. He then came to the conclusion that no poet was found to have composed uniformly first class poems; among their poems there were many which are definitely of an ordinary standard and some even vulgar. The reason, as he said, was the varied circumstances, local forces and above all the mental state and attitude of the poet. Then he

1 Wafayāt, i, 325. Notice of his life is also found in Ta'rikh Jurjān, p.277; al-Yāfi'i, ii, 386-87; Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 74; Sarkis, p.682.

2 Vol.iii, 244-59.

3 Vol.xiv, 25-35.

4 Saida, 1913.

5 Supra, p.71.

6 Al-Wasāta, p.12; 14.

7 Ibid., p.13.

8 Ibid., p.16.

dwelt at length on complicated and patched up poems of al-Mutanabbī<sup>1</sup> and also on points of disapproval of the critics in his poems.<sup>2</sup> Al-Jurjānī produced a pretty long selection of the chosen poems of al-Mutanabbī with a view to showing his skill in composing superb poems far surpassing not only his contemporary poets but also some of his predecessors.<sup>3</sup> Then, after touching on the philosophy of, and the similes in, the poems of al-Mutanabbī, he entered into the vexed question of plagiarism and discussed at length its various aspects reproducing copiously the relevant verses from the poems of both pre-Islamic and post-Islamic periods, particularly Imru' al-Qays, Hassān b. Thābit, Bashshār b. Burd (d.166), Abū Tammām, al-Buhturī and Ibn al-Rūmī.<sup>4</sup> His conclusion reveals that it was not actually saraqa, plagiarism but simple cases of tawārud<sup>5</sup>, coincidence that usually occurred between a poet and a poet in the sphere of language and ideas.<sup>6</sup> In short, al-Jurjānī very ably vindicated al-Mutanabbī as a poet of rare genius ever produced during the Abbasid period. His al-Wasāṭa is a standard work of literary criticism handed down to us from the fourth century critics.

It will not be out of place to commend the labours of the editor, Ahmad 'Arif al-Zayn who has made al-Wasāṭa easy reading by adding glossaries of difficult words and also supplying the title of

1 Ibid., pp.61-85.

2 Ibid., pp.329-60.

3 Ibid., pp.86-125.

4 On him, see: Fihrist, p.235.

5 توارد means coincidence between two pieces of verses by two poets, just as توارد الشعراء means: the two poets chanced to compose coincident verses.

6 Al-Wasāṭa, pp.151-305.

the subject-matters at the top of every page.

(ii) Kitāb al-Wakāla, a chapter on fiqh mentioned above.

(iii) Kitāb Tafsīr al-Qur'an al-Majīd, a commentary on the Qur'an

(iv) Kitāb Tahdhīb al-Ta'rikh: This is an abridgement of the History of al-Ṭabarī (d.310) and was written in one volume.<sup>2</sup>

(v) Diwān, a collection of poems.<sup>3</sup> In his Diwān frequented by eulogy to al-Sāhib b. 'Abbād, Shams al-Ma'ālī Qabūs b. Washmkir (366-403/976-1012) and others there are poems depicting wise sayings also.<sup>4</sup>

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1 Udabā', xiv, 19.

2 Ibid.; Sarkis, loc. cit.

3 Wafayāt, i, 324.

4 Yatīma, iii, 244-59; al-Subkī, ii, 309.

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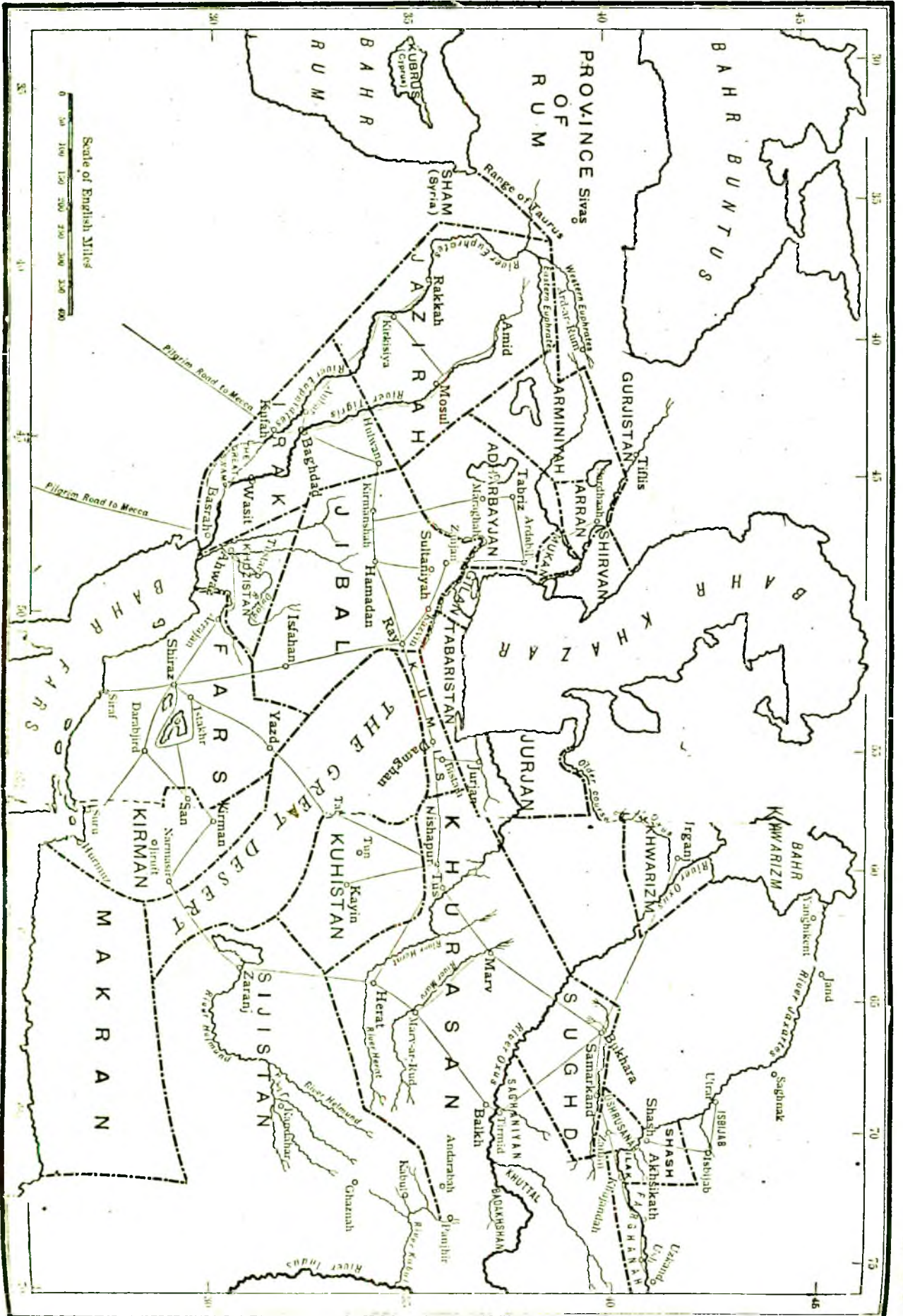
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Map showing the highways running through the provinces of Persia and the principal centres of learning located therein in the 4th/10th century.