A MANUSCRIPT FROM THE LIBRARY OF THE GHAZNAWID AMIR 'ABD AL-RASHĪD

by

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I. ABŪ BAKR MUḤAMMAD B. 'ABD ALLĀH'S BOOK ON THE PHYSICAL AND MORAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PROPHET

The University Library in Leiden possesses an Arabic MS. containing a book on the Physical and Moral Characteristics of the Prophet—a subject which belongs to the sphere of the science of Tradition and one to which a number of books has been devoted. There were handed down many traditions describing the Prophet's physical appearance and his moral character, and the books in question presented anthologies of these traditions. The classical representative of the genre is the monograph by one of the great authorities of the science of Tradition, al-Tirmidhī, which was highly venerated by later generations.² The author of our book was merely an epigone compared with a "father" of the literature of Tradition such as al-Tirmidhī, whose book was in fact among his sources. Nor does he count among the great and famous such as abounded also among the epigone authors of secondary compilations. His name: Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, seems totally forgotten and the Leiden copy of his book seems to be the only one extant. Not that the book is devoid of all interest. The traditions discussed in it are of course also known from other sources, but the notes appended to them—mainly of textual and philological character—refer to many early authorities of the science of Tradition and Arabic philology. Indeed,

¹ Kitāb Khulq al-Nabī wa-Khalqih, MS. no. 437, described in P. de Jong and M. J. de Goeje, Catalogus Codicum Orientalium Bibliothecae Academiae Lugduno-Batavorum, iv (1866), pp. 60–1. (The book is not registered in Brockelmann's History of Arabic Literature.) I am most grateful to Dr. J. Parsons for taking the excellent photographs from this MS. which is rather difficult to photograph, and for the authorities of the Leiden University Library for their permission.

² Kitāb al-Shamā'il; see Brockelmann, i, 169–70, Supplement, i, 268–9.
the author vaunts the comprehensiveness of his lexicographical notes.\(^3\)

I found no information whatsoever about the author. It is possible that I have not looked at all the right places and something will yet turn up; but it is evident that he was not an eminent scholar whose name would recur in the usual biographical sources. We can establish his background by examining the names of his teachers.

The teacher who is quoted most often as the authority for the traditions included in the book is Abū Sa'id 'Uthmān son of Abū 'Umar Muhammad b. Āḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Sijistānī. He is not quite unknown, but it is rather his father, Abū 'Umar, who was a scholar of some importance. He came from Nūqāt, also called Nūḥā, a suburb of Zaranj in Sijistān, and studied, according to the historians, in Harāt, Marw, Balkh and Transoxania. The exact date of his death is not given, but there is evidence that he was alive in 382/992–3. He had two sons 'Umar and 'Uthmān, who transmitted his teaching—'Uthmān being the teacher of our author.\(^4\) All the traditions quoted by our author in the name of Abū Sa'id 'Uthmān, were transmitted by the latter from his father—as we shall see, our author probably read with Abū Sa'id a book by Abū Sa'id's father. In the isnāds a great number of Abū 'Umar's authorities are named; I cannot enumerate them all, but choose a few names of particular interest. Abū 'Umar heard from Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. Khiw b. Ḥāmid b. Dillīya al-Tirmidhī the traditions about the Prophet's description related by Abū Naṣr's great compatriot, al-Tirmidhī, i.e., it seems, al-Tirmidhī's Kitāb al-Shamā'il.\(^5\) In a footnote I give the

\(^3\) P. 82: ‘"These are the rare expressions in the tradition related by 'Ali. Abū 'Ubayd [al-Qāsim b. Sallām, third/ninth century rather than al-Harawi, of the fourth/tenth century, cf. below, p. 11] and others have begun to explain it, but have not assembled all the rare information [al-nukat wa'l-ghurar] assembled by me in this book... The sheikh Abū Sulaymān al-Khaṭṭābī says rightly in the preface of his book [probably the book on the rare expressions in traditions, cf. below, p. 11]: ‘There remains a number of traditions which I was unable to explain and which I left so that God may disclose their secrets to those of His servants as He wills: every time has its own people and every generation its own knowledge.'"

\(^4\) A biography of Abū 'Umar is found in Yāqūt's Irshād al-Arīb, vi, 324–5, a short note in his Geographical Dictionary, s.v. ‘"Nāqāt" (iv, 824). The Ta'rikh Sistān (ed. Bahār, p. 20) includes among the famous men of Sijistān Abū Sa'id b. Abū 'Umar al-Naqātī, Abū 'Umar al-Naqātī, and Abū'l-Ḥasan 'Umar b. Abū 'Umar al-Naqātī. (The editor’s note, who wrongly takes Yāqūt’s note in the Geographical Dictionary to mean that 'Umar was the brother, not the son, of Abū 'Umar, should be disregarded.) Yāqūt includes among the teachers of Abū 'Umar also Abū Sulaymān al-Khaṭṭābī, whom we shall meet repeatedly. For 'Umar, son of Abū 'Umar, see also below, p. 12 note 22.

\(^5\) Abū Naṣr gave the lecture attended by Abū 'Umar al-Sijistānī ‘"in his house in Tirmidh" (p. 22). I found no information about Abū Naṣr. Since his father and great
names of those masters of Abu 'Umar of whom it is stated where he met them; the towns are Balkh, Tirmidh and Nasaf, and this confirms and completes Yaqūt's statement about Abū 'Umar's journeys in Khurāsān and Transoxania in search of knowledge.

Another teacher of our author was Abū Ṭalīb 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Muḥammad, whose name occurs almost as frequently as that of Abū Sa'īd Uṭhmān al-Sijistānī. His fame, however, did not reach beyond his immediate circle, since his name seems to have escaped the attention of the compilers of biographical repertories. Our author heard from him traditions related by the famous scholar Abū Sulaymān al-Khaṭṭābī (died 386/996 or 388/998), who taught in Sijistān and other parts of Eastern Iran.

Other teachers of the author, less often mentioned by him, were Abū Sa'īd al-Khalīl b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Sijistānī, about whom I found no information, and Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. Yaḥyā, about whom I found only that he was from Sijistān and related traditions from al-Khaṭṭābī in that country. Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān Ḥanbal b. Ḥanbal al-Fārisī (I have no information about him) is only quoted twice (pp. 83–4 and 145).

Most of the author's teachers were, then, from Sijistān, and he himself was obviously also a native of either Sijistān or a neighbouring region, and possible a resident of Ghazna. It is not surprising that the library of the amīr of Ghazna—for which, as we shall see, the MS. was written—should have included a volume by a local author, though author's fame did not spread beyond his own country. The eulogy at the beginning of the book: "Thus says Abū Bakr Muhammad the son of 'Abd Allāh the son of 'Abd al-'Azīz, may God be pleased with him and his parents"

6 Abū Ḥāmid al-Būsanjī, from whom Abū 'Umar heard a tradition "in Būsanj, a village belonging to Tirmidh" (see Yaqūt, i, 758 (p. 261); 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muḥammad b. 'Allūya al-Abharī, whom he heard in Tirmidh (p. 328); Abū Bakr Ḥanbal b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Khuwāshī, whom he heard in Balkh (pp. 340, 382); Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Ḥāmid al-Warrāq, whom he also heard in Balkh (p. 384); 'Abd al-Muʿmin b. Khalāf, whom he heard in Nasaf (p. 338).

7 For al-Khaṭṭābī see Brockelmann, i, 174, Supplement, i, 275. On p. 332 the author quotes an observation of al-Khaṭṭābī about a luminous stone which he had seen in Ukhšātha in the province of Ushrūsana.

suggests that the MS. was copied after the author's death.9

With the help of my old notes, taken in Leiden many years ago, I can give a brief description of the work. It is ordered according to the primary authorities to which the various traditions are ascribed. After an introduction, the traditions ascribed to 'Ali are given (pp. 21 ff.). Then follow the traditions ascribed to 'Ā'ishah (pp. 83 ff.), Hind bint Abī Ḥāla (pp. 144 ff.), Umm Ma'bad (pp. 197 ff.), Anas b. Mālik (pp. 255 ff.) On p. 258 there begins a series of paragraphs discussing the traditions concerning the Prophet's use of various kinds of perfume. Then there follow additional traditions from Anas (pp. 289 ff.), traditions from al-Barā' b. 'Āzib (p. 302), Jābir b. Samura (pp. 303 ff.), Abū Hurayra (pp. 341 ff.), al-'Adā' b. Khālid (pp. 346 ff.), Abū Tufayl (pp. 350 ff.), Rubayya' (pp. 352 ff.), Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī (pp. 353 ff.), 'Abd Allāh b. Ḩārith (pp. 356 ff.), Qurṭ b. Rabi'a (pp. 364 ff.), Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh (pp. 366 ff.), Hind bint Jawn (pp. 369 ff.). At the end (pp. 380 ff.) there are some traditions about the miraculous quality of the Prophet's sweat etc. and (pp. 385 f.) his luminosity in the dark.

A few indications about the written sources used by the author may complete this summary description of his book. We have seen that his chief oral authority was Abū Sa'īd 'Uthmān b. Abī 'Umar Muḥammad al-Sijistānī, who transmitted to our author traditions from his father Abū 'Umar. From some references10 it results that these traditions were contained in a book compiled by Abū 'Umar, the subject of which was perhaps the same as that of our author: the traditions containing the description of the Prophet. The traditions from al-Tirmidhī's al-Shama'il, which as we have seen our author derived from Abū 'Umar, were probably included in that book.11 We have seen that two of the teachers of our

9 It is true that the formula radita'llah 'anhu can also be used after the name of a living person (I. Goldziher, "Über die Eulogien der Muhammedaner", Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft, 1896, p. 122, note 1), but this usage is very rare and is here excluded by the addition of the reference to the parents.

10 "That is what Abū 'Umar says in his book", p. 272; "In the book of Abū 'Umar it is spelt just as I have written", p. 379. The books by Abū 'Umar enumerated by Yāqūt seem to belong—to judge from their titles—to belles-lettres, so that the book referred to by our author can be identified by none of them.

11 Since the author also refers to particular spellings in al-Tirmidhī's book (e.g. p. 327: "I found it written thus in Abū 'Isā's book") it is obvious that he also read it directly, no doubt with his master Abū Sa'īd, who handed it down from his father Abū 'Umar. (Abū 'Umar derived the traditions of al-Tirmidhī, as we have seen, from Abū Naṣr Muḥammad.) There is nothing strange in Abū 'Umar including traditions from al-Tirmidhī in his own compilation which he read with his son, but also reading with his son al-Tirmidhī's book.
A MS. from the Library of a Ghaznavid Amir

author were disciples of al-Khaṭṭābī, so that it is natural that he used the writings of that famous traditionist. They many traditions are said to be extracted from "the book" of an older authority, Ibn Abī Khay-thama.13

In his comments the author uses a number of special works on gharīb al-ḥadīth, rare words in Tradition. He says that he took the commentary on the tradition of Hind bint Abī Hāla from "Ibn Qutayba’s book" (Ibn Qutayba’s famous book on rare words is obviously meant), making, however, additions of his own (p. 197). The commentary on Umm Ma’bad’s tradition is taken "from Ibn Qutayba and other scholars" (p. 205). As we have seen, the author used al-Khaṭṭābī’s book on the subject; he also quotes the famous Gharīb al-Ḥadīth by Abū ‘Ubayd al-Harawi, who was a disciple of al-Khaṭṭābī and was thus an older contemporary of the author.14 Of other philological works we may mention some book by Abū Mūsā al-Ḥāmid and another by al-Azhari, both perused in the autograph.15 Ibn Jinnī is also quoted.16 Of lesser authors an autograph by the sheikh Abū Bakr,17 or Abū Bakr al-Ḥanbali,18 is often quoted: its title is sometimes specified as al-Shawāhid,19 and on one occasion the information is vouchsafed that its author died before the final revision of the book.20 I think this author is identical with Abū

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12 See above, p. 8 note 3, for a quotation from the preface of al-Khaṭṭābī to a book of his, probably his famous work on Gharīb al-Ḥadīth. The traditions are always quoted from al-Khaṭṭābī through the intermediary of Abū Ṭālib ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Muḥammad. Many are accompanied by comments due to al-Khaṭṭābī; it is likely that the traditions and the comments are derived from the Gharīb al-Ḥadīth, which our author would have studied with Abū Ṭālib, al-Khaṭṭābī’s pupil. (I have no access to al-Khaṭṭābī’s book and cannot check directly whether the traditions in question are discussed in it.)

13 Died 279/992; see Brockelmann, Supplement, i, 272 (add.: al-Khaṭṭābī al-Baghdādī, Taʾrikh Baghdadī, iv, 162; Ibn al-‘Imād, Shaṭṭarāt al-Dhakhr, ii, 174). He is the author of a great biographical work on traditionists (still extant in MS.); the traditions quoted by our author may come from it.


15 Abū Mūsā (d. 305/918). Brockelmann, Supplement, i, 170, 184) is quoted on pp. 61, 104, 123, 168-9: al-Azhari (d. 370/980; Brockelmann, i, 134-5, Supplement, i, 197) on p. 62.

16 Ibn Jinnī died in 392/1002 (Brockelmann, i, 137, Supplement, i, 191-2). He is quoted on p. 18.

17 Pp. 16-17, 30, 42-3, 72, 109.

18 P. 80: bi-khaṭṭ Abū Bahr fi Shawāhidīh.

Bakr 'Abd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥanbalī, who composed a dirge on al-Khaṭṭābī and was thus a contemporary of the author's teachers. There are mentioned the "Baghdādi Notes" by a certain Abū'l-Ḥasan 'Umar b. Abī 'Umar, whom I cannot identify.

II. THE MANUSCRIPT

So much for the text. As for the splendid MS. which contains the text, it has a colophon from which we learn the identity of the scribe who wrote—and presumably also illuminated—it: Abū Bakr Mūhammad b. Rāfī' the warrāq, "in Ghazna, may God preserve it". The warrāq was a professional copyist and bookseller—the shopkeepers in the market of stationers (ṣīq al-warrāqīn) naturally enough themselves produced their own wares. There was good reason why in this case our bookseller of Ghazna made an effort to produce a book as beautiful as he could make it: his customer was not a scholar who would not care too much about the look of his textbook and who would not usually be able to afford a luxury copy, but the amīr of Ghazna himself, the ruler of a great empire, in fact the son of Māḥmūd of Ghazna. To tell the truth, the Ghaznavid empire had sadly declined from its mighty state under Māḥmūd by the time of Abū al-Rashīd, his son and third successor—but even so its ruler would expect a copy worthy of a library which must have included many books owned by his father, that great patron of literature.

We learn of the provenance of the book from the library of the amīr of Ghazna from his ex-libris on the title-page. In fact the title-page is taken up by two ex-libris: one of the amīr Abū al-Rashīd in six lines, the other of a certain rich merchant, written between the first and second lines of the other ex-libris. In order to explain this anomaly I assume that the ruler's ex-libris originally contained two more lines which were later erased to give way to the ex-libris of a subsequent owner: we shall see that an examination of the titles of the rulers as they appear in the

21 Yāqūt, Irshād al-ʿArib, ii, 87. On p. 108 in our book it is related that Abū Bakr "asked Abū Muhammad al-Sirāfī" (whom I cannot, however, identify).
22 P. 16 (his autograph fi ba'd taʿlīqātihīn-Baghdādiyya), p. 194. (While reading the proofs I realize that Abū'l-Ḥasan 'Umar is probably the brother of Abū Saʿīd 'Uthmān al-Sijistānī, see p. 8 note 4.) A poem "by one of the moderns" is quoted on the authority of a certain sheikh Muḥammad b. Abī Yūsuf (p. 301), and on p. 276 a verse "by one of the moderns" with a tajūtis on the word ʿād is quoted from Abū'l-Fath, who is probably none other than Abū'l-Fath al-Bustī, the court poet of the Ghaznavids, and himself one of the chief representatives of tajūtis poetry.
23 The alternative that Muḥammad b. Rāfī' was a craftsman permanently employed at the amīr's court cannot, of course, be ruled out.
ex-libris confirms this assumption.\(^{24}\)

The ex-libris of 'Abd al-Rashid as it stands now reads:

\[
\text{للخزاعة كتب الأمير السيد الملك}
\]

\[
\text{مغر دين الله ومظاهر خليفة الله}
\]

Two lines containing the ex-libris of the merchant Muḥammad b. Shībl]

\[
\text{ابن منصور عبد الرشيد بن بِيمين الدولة}
\]

\[
\text{أمين الله ابن القسم محمود}
\]

\[
\text{بن ناصر الدين نصير أمير المؤمنين}
\]

\[
\text{أطال الله بقاءه و[أعز] أنصاره}
\]

For the library of the amir, the king, who glorifies God's religion, and aids God's caliph . . . Two lines containing the ex-libris of the merchant . . . Abū Manṣūr 'Abd al-Rashīd, the son of the Right-Hand of the Empire, Trusty Keeper of the Islamic Religion, Abu'l-Qāsim Māh mù, the son of the Helper of Religion—Assistant of the Commander of the Faithful; may God prolong his life and give glory to his victories.

It is not at all easy to read this text, which is written in gold against the background of a scrolling: the colour is badly damaged and it took several sessions during my stay in Leiden in 1951 to make out the script, by catching the reflection of the faded gold near a window. It was only after having done the work that I noticed that I had a predecessor nearly a century ago. Whereas in the catalogue of the Arabic MSS. of the Leiden Library (dated 1866) it was stated that the MS. was written for 'some prince', in an appendix (dated 1877) it was added\(^{25}\) that during a visit J. von Karabacek had made an attempt to decipher the ex-libris and read part of it, establishing the identity of the prince as the Ghaznavid 'Abd al-Rashid. Since, however, he was unable to read some words, and others he read incorrectly, I do not regret the efforts spent upon the ex-libris, of which I can now offer a fairly certain text.

\(^{24}\) The alternative would be to assume that the book was made for the merchant and was then acquired by the amir, whose ex-libris was then written above and below that of the merchant. This is rather unlikely in itself, and the fact that some elements, which should figure in the title of the amir, are absent, seems to clinch the argument in favour of the explanation offered in the text.

\(^{25}\) At the end of vol. vi/1 of the catalogue (published by M. Th. Houtsma in 1877); see p. 229.
‘Abd al-Rashid’s reign only lasted for three years. He had been imprisoned by Mawdūd, his brother, when the latter assumed power. On Mawdūd’s death in 440/1049, however, ‘Abd al-Rashid was proclaimed ruler by some troops who happened to be near his place of prison. They marched on Ghazna, causing ‘Ali, son of Sultan Mas‘ūd I, to flee from the capital, which was occupied by ‘Abd al-Rashid. In 442/1051 he in his turn was murdered by the usurper Tughril, a former ghulām of Sultan Maḥmūd.26

III. THE TITLES IN THE EX-LIBRIS

The ex-libris is not only valuable as a monument of Islamic art in itself and as evidence for the date and provenance of the MS., but also provides information about the titles born by ‘Abd al-Rashid and his grandfather Sabuktakīn (Sebiiktigin). In a thorough article entitled “The Titulature of the Early Ghaznavids”27 C. E. Bosworth reviewed the evidence available on the subject. Some uncertainty remained about Sabuktakīn’s title, and I do not think that Bosworth has drawn the right conclusion. In 384/994 Sabuktakīn and his son Maḥmūd helped the Sāmānīd amīr Nūḥ b. Mansūr defeat the rebellious generals Abū ‘Ali and Fā’iq, and as a reward, Sabuktakīn was given a new title. There is, however, some doubt about what the title exactly was: there is no question but that it was composed with “Nāṣir”, “the Helper of...”, but there is a conflict of evidence about the second part. According to Bosworth “Nāṣir ad-Daula is probably the original form, and the din component making it Nāṣir al-Dīn wa’l-Dawla may have been added to it in popular usage soon after his death or even during his lifetime”. The evidence seems to me to impose quite different conclusions. The title Nāṣir al-Dīn wa’l-Dawla is attested by weighty authorities. Abu’l-Fath al-Bustī, Sabuktakīn’s intimate court poet calls him by this title in his dirge,28 and the same form is given by al-Bīrūnī and Gardīzī, both writers who lived under the early Ghaznavids.29 It is true that this full title was

27 Oriens, 1962, pp. 210 ff. The discussion of Sabuktakīn’s title is on p. 216.
28 Quoted by al-‘Utbī, al-Ta’rīkh al-Yamīnī, Cairo 1896, i, 263 and Ibn Khallikān, in his article on Maḥmūd of Ghazna (ed. Wästenfeld, no. 723).
29 Al-Bīrūnī wrote his Chronology in 390/1000, during Maḥmūd’s reign, but before
often abbreviated—not, however, into Nasir al-Din, but into Nasir al-Din. Abu'l-Fath, in a second dirge, employs the form Nasir Din al-Ilah, which is merely a poetical variant of Nasir al-Din, as is the form Nasir al-Din, which occurs in an anonymous dirge. These are contemporary passages. A few years after Sabuktaqin's death, Firdawsi, in the chapter of the Shâh-nâmâ containing the dedication to Mahmûd of Ghazna refers to Mahmûd's brother Nasr as "the son of him who is called Nasir al-Din." Similarly, al-'Utbi, speaking of the same prince, has Nasr b. Nasir al-Din, and speaking of a third brother, Ismâ'îl b. Nasir al-Din. Farrukhî, court panegyrist of the Ghaznavids, calls Mahmûd "son of Nasir al-Din" and Yûsuf "son of Nasir-i Din," and also in the headings of numerous poems dedicated to these and other members of Sabuktaqin's dynasty he is always referred to as Nasir al-Din. Our ex-libris confirms that in the court of Ghazna, in referring to the ancestor of the dynasty, the shortened form Nasir al-Din was used.

There is only one apparent exception. In describing the bestowal of the title upon Sabuktaqin, al-'Utbi according to the printed text gives it as Nasir al-Dawla. This is strange, since it goes against all the other contemporary evidence, and also, as we have seen, against al-'Utbi's own usage in other passages of his book. Thus there is good reason to assume that the text is incorrect, and this is confirmed by the fact that the coming to his court. Gardizi wrote in Ghazna under the reign of 'Abd al-Rashîd. The passages are in al-Biruni's Chronology (al-Ābâr al-Bâqiya, ed. Sachau), p. 134, and in Gardizi's History (Zau al-Ābbâr, ed. M. Nazim), p. 62. On pp. 59 and 63, however, Gardizi writes Nasir al-Din.

30 Abu'l-Fath's second dirge and the one by the anonymous poet are quoted by al-'Utbi after Abu'l-Fath's first dirge, i, 263.

31 Ed. Vullers, i, 13, line 230.

32 ii, 330. He also quotes (p. 332) a poem composed by himself in which he calls the prince Naṣr b. al-amîr Naṣîr Din Allâh using a "poetical" form similar to the one used by Abu'l-Fath. When Juzjânî, Žobagît-i Naṣîrî, ed. W. Nassau Lees, p. 8 (transl. H. G. Raverty, p. 75) gives Sabuktaqin's title as Naṣîr Din Allâh, he probably had some such poem in mind. Nizâm al-Mulk (Siyâsat-nâma, p. 126) also gives Sabuktaqin the title Naṣîr al-Dîn (though his account of its bestowal is erroneous).

33 See for example Dīwân (Teheran 1932), p. 85 l. 3 (Maḥmûd); p. 140 l. 15, p. 142 l. 5, p. 201 l. 14, p. 220 l. 5 (Yûsuf). There is no need to give references for the very numerous headings. Also the Ziyârîd Kay Kâ'în's in his Qâbûs-nâma calls his father-in-law "Maḥmûd son of Naṣîr al-Dîn" (ed. Levy, p. 6).

34 i. 193.
reading Nāṣir al-Dīn is also attested for this passage.\textsuperscript{35} By accepting this as the true reading\textsuperscript{36} the anomaly is eliminated: all the contemporary sources have either the full Nāṣir al-Dīn wa’l-Dawla or the shortened Nāṣir al-Dīn. Only later sources of no authority have Nāṣir al-Dawla,\textsuperscript{37} all to be rejected.

The shortened form Nāṣir al-Dīn was preferred for ordinary use. It is not likely that the more pompous Nāṣir al-Dīn wa’l-Dawla is a “popular usage”, and it seems to me obvious that it was the official form assumed by Sabuktaḵīn in 384/994. It is true that the dawla titles are first in chronological appearance; it is only with the Saljūqs that the dīn ones become preponderant, although the Ghaznavids continued, on the whole, to favour the older, dawla ones.\textsuperscript{38} Yet the evidence shows that the title bestowed upon Sabuktaḵīn was Nāṣir al-Dīn wa’l-Dawla which was currently abbreviated into Nāṣir al-Dīn. These facts are of great importance for the history of titles in Islam, and it is satisfactory that they can be firmly established as facts.

Let us come to the owner of the MS., ‘Abd al-Rashīd.\textsuperscript{39} That his kunya was Abū Mansūr, is also attested by Gardīzī.\textsuperscript{40} Of his titles, line 1 of the ex-libris gives some preliminary ones: “The amīr, the lord, the king”. Line 2 has in the first instance Muʿizz Din Allāh, “One who glorifies God’s religion”: this title is also attested by Gardīzī. The second title: Muẓāhir Khalīfat Allāh, “Who aids God’s caliph”, is not otherwise known. These two complex titles, similar to those invented by the later Buwayhid s, can, however, by no means be the only ones given to the amīr in the ex-libris, but must have been preceded by titles of the

\textsuperscript{35} There is no critical edition of the text. The old Manchester MS. (John Rylands Library, no. 288, dated 595/1198), and the fairly old MS. Oxford 811 (7th/8th cent.) have, as the printed text:

\begin{verbatim}
ولنبي الأمير الوزير الأمير سيبككتين
(.this word om. Oxford)

والنبي الأمير الوزير سيبككتين بناصر الدين
\end{verbatim}

(The reading of the Manchester MS. was kindly ascertained for me by Dr. J. D. Latham.)

\textsuperscript{36} One can explain how the original Nāṣir al-Dīn was changed into Nāṣir al-Dawla: al-‘Utbi relates in the same passage that Maḥmūd was given the title of Sayf al-Dawla, and I suggest that this caused some copyist to write Nāṣir al-Dawla by a sort of attraction.

\textsuperscript{37} Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 72, and Ibn Khalīlīḵān in the title of the article on Maḥmūd of Ghazna (see above, p. 14 note 28).

\textsuperscript{38} This is a quotation from Bosworth, who thus motivates his conclusion that the form with dawla was the original title of Sabuktaḵīn.

\textsuperscript{39} Bosworth discusses ‘Abd al-Rashīd’s titles on pp. 230–1.

\textsuperscript{40} P. 63.
simpler (and older) type, since they regularly precede in the complete series the more complex ones. Gardizī gives as ‘Abd al-Rashid’s title Sultan-i Mu’azzam ‘Izz al-Dawla wa-Zayn al-Milla Sayf Allāh Mu’izz Din Allāh. The coins only show the simple titles: ‘Izz al-Dawla wa-Zayn al-Milla Sayf Allāh. It seems obvious to me that the titles ‘Izz al-Dawla wa-Zayn al-Milla Sayf Allāh did in fact figure in the two lines (between the present lines 1 and 2) which were subsequently erased in order to make place for the ex-libris of the merchant Zayn al-Dīn. Since they would not have filled the two lines, we may assume that there were a few more words, more preliminary epithets for instance, such as “the great, the victorious” etc. The title Naṣīr Amīr al-Mu’mīnīn, “Assistant of the Commander of the Faithful”, which—as titles of this type always do—comes at the very end, was not hitherto attested for ‘Abd al-Rashīd.41

IV. THE CALLIGRAPHY OF THE MANUSCRIPT

The historical information incidentally provided by the ex-libris—however trifling—is welcome, but incomparably greater is the artistic importance of the manuscript, in regard mainly to its writing, but also to its illumination.

The book counts among the important documents of Arabic calligraphy, since, together with a few other MSS., it bears witness to a decisive stage in its history. In the early centuries of Islam we have to distinguish between three kinds of script—leaving aside epigraphical writing.42 First there is the variety of scripts used for the Koran—all called conventionally, though rather inaccurately, Kufic. Secondly, there are the scripts, showing variations according to their time and place, used in copying books. Thirdly, we have the more cursive scripts used for letters, documents, and notes, out of which were evolved in the chanceries various formal scripts. The eleventh-twelfth century specimens confirm

41 We see from the preceding that the evidence of the ex-libris fits beautifully with the information given by Gardīzī—which is not surprising, as Gardīzī wrote under ‘Abd al-Rashīd’s reign. In contrast, statements of later historians (Ibn al-Athīr, Mujmal al-Tawāriḥ, Ḥamīd Allāh Mustawfī, Sayf al-Dīn Faḍlī, quoted by Bosworth) about titles allegedly borne by ‘Abd al-Rashīd, such as Shams Dīn Allāh, Sayf al-Dawla, Jamāl al-Dawla, Majd al-Dawla, can now be definitely dismissed.

42 Cf. Ibn Durustawāyḥ’s classification: “As far as its fundamental character is concerned, writing is one, and the single letters of the alphabet have the same form in all the scripts. The letters are similar, though through their different uses they receive different shapes, as in the scripts of the Koran (al-maṣāḥif), the copyists (al-warrāqīn) and the secretaries (al-kuttāb), etc.”; Kitāb al-Kuttāb, pp. 66–7.
that chancery script, in contrast to the Koranic and book scripts, always affected a certain cursiveness of ductus, though a highly stylized cursiveness. In the fourth century of the Hijra (tenth century A.D.) there was introduced a new Koranic script, which I proposed to call "rhomboid" script. This was at the beginning used side by side with the "Kufic", which by the end of the fourth/tenth century went out of use. The rhomboid script survived until the sixth/twelfth century, but gave way in its turn to a competitor which appeared at the beginning of the fifth/eleventh century: the naskh script. Here we have a somewhat different process from that which brought the rhomboid script into use. That script was a new invention, which the naskh script of course was not: it is, as its name shows, the "copying" or book hand. The novelty consisted in the new function of the naskh as a Koranic script, which was also accompanied by an improvement of the naskh in order to fit it for its new part. The first extant Koran in naskh was written by the famous calligrapher Ibn al-Bawwâb in 301/1000–1. It is likely that in the improvement of the naskh script Ibn al-Bawwâb had predecessors in the fourth/tenth century, but it is perhaps not far fetched to ascribe to him the novelty of using a naskh still further regularized by him for copying the Koran. The next earliest Korans in naskh are the copies preserved

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42 The papyri show the writing used for correspondence in the early centuries of Islam. For the stylized chancery scripts developed in the third–fourth, ninth–tenth centuries we have no specimens, but the Fatimid documents from the fifth–sixth–eleventh–twelfth centuries (see my Fatimid Decrees, London 1964) allow to form a general picture, since the script employed in them is presumably derived from some 'Abbasid chancery script. The chancery scripts in Ibn al-Bawwâb’s manner reproduced by al-Tîbî (see below, p. 29 note 50) tally well with this conclusion.

44 See my remarks in the Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, 1954, pp. 398 and 399. I hope to show that the rhomboid script is based on a certain type of naskh, which was, however, so profoundly modified that it is not quite inappropriate to speak of a "new invention". Note added during the correction of the proofs:


46 "Ibn al-Bawwâb observed that the Banû Muqla had improved the taqfi‘âl and the naskh scripts, but had failed to attain the highest degree of perfection: he completed their work. He also found that his master Ibn Asad was writing poetry in a naskh hand which approximated to the muhaqqaq: he perfected this too". This passage comes from an anonymous treatise on calligraphy: the original is published in Majallat Ma‘kad al-Makhzûţât al-‘Arabiyya, 1955, p. 126; an English translation is found in Rice, p. 7 (reproduced here with slight emendations).

47 There is a reference to Ibn al-Bawwâb’s improvement of the script of the Koran (qalam al-mâshâkhîf) in the treatise referred to in the preceding note, loc. cit. One of the
in the British Museum, the Chester Beatty Library and the Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi and discussed by Rice on pp. 24–7, belonging to the third decade of the fifth Islamic century.

This elevation of the naskh to the rank of a Koranic script and the fashion introduced (it seems) by Ibn al-Bawwāb of employing it in illuminated luxury Korans gave rise to use of naskh also in non-Koranic luxury books. We have not enough materials to be able to say with certainty which was the script usually employed for luxury books (other than Korans) in the early centuries of Islam. From the fifth/eleventh century onwards naskh is employed for luxury copies—i.e. illuminated books written for the libraries of rulers, high dignitaries, or other rich men. There is in the Bodleian Library in Oxford a copy of Miskawayh’s ʿĀdūb al-Furs dated 439/1047 which is the earliest luxury MS. of a non-Koranic text known to me written in the new style. Our MS. is second in the chronological order. The lay-out of these two MSS. is related to that of the Koran MSS. insofar as they have rosettes dividing the sentences (corresponding to the verse-divisors in the Koran), panels for chapter headings, marginal palmettes. A copy of Salāma b. Jandal’s collected poems, which belongs here through the use of calligraphic naskh, can be dated to between 445/1053 and 456/1063—probably to 455 or 456/1063–4. Its lay-out, however, follows a different pattern: whereas the commentary is written in naskh, the verses are in large characters said to be thulūth.

Incidentally the use of the thulūth script in luxury books is due to a similar adaptation as that of the naskh. The naskh was adapted from its original sphere (ordinary secular books) to a new one: Korans and other luxury books. The thulūth was originally a chancery script, which was also adapted for the same new uses. Ibn al-Bawwāb was famous for his

followers of Ibn al-Bawwāb is said to have been famous for his Koranic script (Yaqūt, Ẓīkād al-ʿArb, v, 304, quoted by Rice, p. 10). Al-Ṭābib (for whose specimens of calligraphy see below, p. 20 note 50) gives a specimen of the maṣāḥif script according to the manner of Ibn al-Bawwāb (pp. 54–7) which on the whole corresponds fairly well to the script of the Chester Beatty MS. (This usage has to be distinguished from the older one, where “script of the maṣāḥif” refers to the so-called “Kufic” scripts.) The name “Koranic script” suggests that the naskh used by Ibn al-Bawwāb and his school for Korans was of a particular kind, distinguished from ordinary naskh. This point needs further clarification.

48 I hope to discuss this MS. in the near future.

49 See Rice, pp. 19–22. This MS. is then the first example for the alternate use of the two scripts, frequently practised afterwards. The idea itself to write verse and commentary in different scripts was, as I hope to show on another occasion, already known in the fourth/tenth century.
improvement of various chancery scripts, the *thuluth* amongst them,\(^{50}\) and one may perhaps risk the conjecture that the use of *thuluth* in books was also due to his example.\(^{51}\)

Let us, however, come back to our MS. which is in *naskh* script. Not, however, in the style developed for the *naskh* by Ibn al-Bawwāb and accepted as canonical by his followers. The script of our MS. is strikingly idiosyncratic and shows that at the period the "manner of Ibn al-Bawwāb" (*fāriqāt Ibn al-Bawwāb*) did not oust individuality. The scribe of the MS. and his customer have accepted the new idea that the ordinary book hand, the *naskh*, may, if given extra care, be used for luxury MSS., but did not yet think it essential to conform to the actual style of the standard *naskh* going back to Ibn al-Bawwāb. The scribe probably based the script of this MS. on his ordinary handwriting which he used for copying cheaper books commissioned by lesser persons. For the luxury MS. destined for the library of the amīr he gave his own handwriting a calligraphic quality rather than adapting Ibn al-Bawwāb’s style. Strict followers of the school of Ibn al-Bawwāb would have no doubt condemned the calligraphy as unorthodox and therefore inferior, but I cannot help feeling—though it would be futile to try to award marks—that in writing and lay-out our MS. can vie with Ibn al-Bawwāb’s Koran and the other luxury MSS. of its period.

Where it falls off is the illumination, which cannot stand comparison with the richness and refinement of the illumination in Ibn al-Bawwāb’s

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\(^{50}\) See for example the passage (indicated above, p. 18 note 46) from the anonymous treatise on calligraphy. There exist specimens by later calligraphers exemplifying various scripts "in the manner of Ibn al-Bawwāb", which seem to go back—through many intervening media, of course—to originals in the hand of Ibn al-Bawwāb. A collection made by Ibn al-Tābi for the Mamlūk sultan Qānsūh al-Ghawrī is available in a facsimile edition: *Jāmī Maḥāsin Kitāb al-Kutūb*, published by S. al-Munajjid, Beirut 1962, and can give an approximate idea of the various scripts.

\(^{51}\) The diwān of Ṣalāmā b. Jandal bears a colophon purporting to be in the hand of Ibn al-Bawwāb. According to Rice this is a forgery, but may reflect the fact that authentic MSS. by Ibn al-Bawwāb were written in alternating *thuluth* and *naskh*. A MS. entirely in *thuluth*, allegedly by Ibn al-Bawwāb, is a forgery (Rice, p. 27). So are probably two others, accepted as genuine by A. Süheyl Ünver, who has written a naive book on Ibn al-Bawwāb, in which all the colophons allegedly containing signatures of Ibn al-Bawwāb are taken on their face value (I use the Arabic translation, al-*Khaṭṭāt al-Baghdādi* ‘Ali b. Ḥilāl al-*masakhūr* b’Ibn al-Bawwāb, Baghdad 1958, pp. 24 ff. [no. 1], p. 33 [no. 8]). I know of yet another *thuluth* MS. presumably forged on his name: Munich 791 of which I possess photographs. These MSS. may point to the existence of genuine MSS. written by Ibn al-Bawwāb in *thuluth*. 
Koran, and the MSS. of Miskawayh and Salāma b. Jandal. The scrolling on the page of the ex-libris (Fig. 1) is rather trivial, and the panels of the first two pages (Figs. 2–3), though the general impression is pleasant, do not reach the level of the illumination of the other MSS. The palmettes forming the marginal decoration accompanying chapter-headings are rather poor if we think of the wide range of palmettes in Ibn al-Bawwāb's Koran. Moreover, our stationer shows himself rather casual in his work, since he put such palmettes in four cases only, at the beginning of the book, leaving the subsequent chapter-headings without this ornament. In short, as an illuminator, he does not rise above mediocrity.

V. THE LATER VICISSITUDES OF THE MANUSCRIPT

The volume does not seem to have remained long in the library of the Ghaznavids. Its first subsequent owner was a rich merchant whose ex-libris occupies, if my conjecture is acceptable, the place of the second and third lines of the original ex-libris of 'Abd al-Rashīd. The new ex-libris reads:

"Belongs to the sheikh Zākī al-Dīn, Glory of the Merchants, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Shībī al-Ḥīṃṣī". This text is in Kufī script, which I shall not attempt to date accurately, but I hardly think it would be later than the twelfth century. The new owner bears the name "al-Ḥīṃṣī", so that he, or his family, came from Ḥīṃṣ in Syria; where he actually lived is unknown.

A slightly later owner put his motto into the upper left corner:

"Yūsūf b. Yaghmūr trusts in the forgiving God". The last two letters of Yaghmūr have been cut away, but fortunately they can be supplied, since the name is to rhyme with al-ghafūr. There was a famous amīr of this name in the reign of the Ayyūbid ruler al-Kāmil, and I think it most probable that we have here his ex-
1. Page of the ex-libris
VI. DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATES

The dimensions of the book are 24.5 × 16.7 cms., with only insignificant differences in the various folios. The written surface measures ca. 18 × 11 cms. and there are 10 or 9 lines to each page.

Fig. 1 shows the page with the ex-libris. As I have said, the ex-libris of 'Abd al-Rashid is in bad condition, and since most of the gold of the writing has disappeared, it can hardly be read in the photograph. The outlines of the scrolling are in red, which is then filled in with gold. The three-dots ornament is in blue, and the frame of the ex-libris is also blue.\(^5\)

The ex-libris of the merchant Muḥammad b. Shibli al-Ḥimṣi has also deteriorated, but is clearly legible. It is in a panel in a frame with ornament of dots. The four corners are cut off and contain fleurons.

The verso of fol. 1 (Fig. 2) and the recto of fol. 2 (Fig. 3) contain the title of the book on two almost, though not entirely, mirroring panels with knobs (familiar from MSS. of the Koran). The sides of the panels are prolonged downwards to form, with a corresponding horizontal border, a frame for the whole of the page, furnished with an ornament of dots. In the outer lower corner of both pages half of the upper knob is repeated. The colours employed in the panels, knobs, and frames, are gold, red, blue, green.

There follows on fol. 4v the basmala and the author's name, all in thick gold letters framed within black contours. The text then begins with the author's preface.

The next plates provide specimens of the text and at the same time illustrate the style of the chapter-headings, which are in golden letters within black outlines of a different style from the writing of the text, with palmettes of various shapes on the margin opposite them. These palmettes only occur near the beginning of the volume, on pp. 8, 21, 26, 28. Afterwards the scribe made his task easier by omitting them.

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\(^5\) If my conjecture that the panel with the ex-libris of the merchant Muḥammad b. Shibli is later addition, the two lines above and below it, separating it from the first scrolling of the large ex-libris above, and the five below, must also be a later addition.
2. Title (Right page)
The frame of the palmettes is in blue, the scrolling inside is filled in gold within black outlines, the ground behind is partly left empty, partly coloured in red and green.

Fig. 4 shows p. 8, containing the end of the author's preface and the beginning of the chapter on the meaning of the words *khalq* and *khulq*, physical and moral characteristics, respectively. Fig. 5 shows p. 21, with the beginning of the chapter containing the traditions about the description of the Prophet ascribed to 'Ali b. Abī Tālib. The first tradition is derived from al-Tirmidhi's *Shamā'il* (Cairo 1889, p. 19) through the usual *isnād*: al-Tirmidhi—Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. Khīw—Abū 'Umar Muḥammad b. Ahmad al-Sijistani—his son Abū Sa'id—the author. At the beginning of p. 26, reproduced in Fig. 6, we see the end of the quotation, viz. al-Tirmidhi's critical remark about the tradition: "Abū Ḥasan i.e. al-Tirmidhi] says: This is a beautiful and correct ḥadīth"—the adjectives being of course the technical terms employed in the science of Tradition for the designation of the most trustworthy traditions. There follows a note by the author on one of the authorities occurring in the chain of the tradition. The chapter-heading announces additional readings for the tradition discussed before.

Fig. 7 shows the beginning of the next chapter, still dealing with the tradition related from 'Ali; its subject-matter is apparent from the heading: "The explanation of the rare words occurring in these traditions."

Finally, in Fig. 8 there can be seen the last page (p. 387) of the text, with the colophon giving the name of the scribe, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Abī Kāfi the stationer, and indicating Ghazna as the place in which the copy was made.
لا أستطيع قراءة النص العربي من الصورة.
لا مصداق ولا كلام للسلاطين، لم يرضوا بعضهم
ببعض، ثم أتى الله عليه فص من السنة الزائدة
فقال: إنما أتى الله عليه فص من السنة الزائدة.
المراة والنظر فص من السنة الزائدة.
لاقت الله ذلك الفصح، فإنها صفة مقدسة.
فقال: كنHonda وسارة للصلاة، سراً.
وضع الله الله وصياً على ما اعتبر
القواعد عليه في صحرار، وصياً للصلاة.
وريمة与此 صورته زهوراً، بعجة.
PAINTINGS

from

ISLAMIC LANDS

Essays by

D. Barrett, O. Grabar, E. Grube, A. S. Melikian Chirvani,
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